THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA
PART IV

AREA WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

FROM LI-CHIANG TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

The western and north-western region of Yun-nan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe comprises the valley of the Yangtze, from the town of Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba in Na-khi), west of Li-chiang, to the village of Ch'i-tsung (Na-khi, Gyi-dzu; Tibetan, Je-drong) in the north on the Yangtze. Ch'i-tsung is beyond the ancient T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) which once spanned the river; it is now under the magistracy of Wei-hsi. The region to and including the hamlet of La-p'u, on a western tributary which debouches at the village of Ch'i-tsung into the Yangtze, is also inhabited by them. To the north of La-p'u are still a few more villages inhabited by Na-khi, but the remainder of the territory towards Kar-ri (the Keng-li 更里 of the Chinese) and Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 is inhabited mainly by Tibetans.¹

I. THE SALWEEN-MEKONG AND MEKONG-YANGTZE WATERSHEDS

The Mekong valley, separated from the Yangtze in the south by the Li-tip'ing 栗地坪 Range, and to the north by the Hung-p'o Mountains 紅坡山 and Pai-mang Shan, is inhabited by Na-khi from A-du (A-ti 阿滴) south of Wei-hsi on the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, which debouches into the Mekong, as far north as the village of Chang-lung, written Chang-lung (Willow valley) half a day's journey beyond Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛 (Yar-kha-lo) in Hsi-k'ang. To be sure, not all the villages on either bank of the Mekong are inhabited by Na-khi, for they often alternate with Tibetan villages, or Tibetans and Na-khi live together as in Tz'u-chung 資中 on the west bank. The Li-chiang border extends as far south-west as T'ung-tien 通甸 on the T'ung-tien Ho, and north-west to Shu-miao 樹苗 on the east bank of the Mekong, with Lu-tien 魯甸 and T'o-chih 拖枝, typical Na-khi villages, south of the Li-tip'ing divide, which is also the border between the Li-chiang and Wei-hsi districts. The Salween valley (Nu chiang 恕江 also written Lu chiang 潞江), is mainly inhabited by the Li-su and Nu-tzu 挹子 tribes, the latter extending up the

¹This mountain has been given by all previous travelers as the White horse mountain, or Pai-ma Shan 白馬山. This is due in part to the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a final consonant. Mang they would pronounce ma, which has been taken to mean ma 馬, hence the White horse Mountain. The Tibetan name of the mountain is, however, Pad-ma pronounced Pe-ma, meaning lotus, and it is thus possible that the Chinese have transcribed the Tibetan name of the mountain, as in their literature it is called Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, more correctly 白銅山 (White sharp-pointed Mountain). In the Yin-nan Pei-cheng-chih 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, p. 3b, the mountain is called Pai-mang Shan 白銅山. The character mang here can only be interpreted as “a sharp point,” hence White sharp-pointed Mountain.
Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan—Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze— to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20'); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊岔 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iù Chiang 洱江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang T'aihsieh-shan 四壁雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.
From the Li-chiang plain we go west up the slopes of the southern-most spur of the snow range which joins the further range commonly called Wen-pi Shan and Sä-bpî zhêr ny-lv in Na-khi, also known in Chinese as San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山. A paved road leads steeply to the pass called Huang-shan-shao 黃山哨, a distance of 10 li from the town. In former days soldiers were stationed there to protect the approach to the plain and city. A small hamlet called Gkaw-gku is situated in the pass, where food is sold to travelers. The pass itself is known as Gkaw-gku to the Na-khi. A few yards beyond the village the road forks, the left or southern leading direct to La-shih-pa, and the right or northern to Shih-ku via A-hsi (Aw-khi or A-khi in Na-khi).

The Shih-ku trail descends slightly and leads past a flat-topped hill also known as Huang-shan-shao. It is sparingly covered with pine trees and from the summit a fine view is obtainable of the La-shih Lake, called La-shi Khu in Na-khi and Lung Hai 龍海 (Dragon Lake) in Chinese. This lake has a habit of disappearing through subterranean channels. At the time of writing (1934) the lake basin has been practically entirely reclaimed and excellent crops are grown where formerly was water. A terrible road leads down to the plain past the hamlet of Ch'ang-la-shih 長剌是. We cross the plain between the lake and the little village of Muan-bä, which we leave to our right, and pass between fields and the hamlet of Gkû-la-wua to the foot of a pine-covered hill and the village of Dto-k'ö (Foot of the hill; H-M., Toke). This village possesses groves of walnut trees; maize, pumpkins, squash and rice are cultivated. Elevation 8,625 feet.

From the village of Dto-k'ö, the trail ascends the pine-covered hill immediately back of it; the soil is decomposed sandstone of a reddish-grey color. The path is narrow and winds through scrub vegetation between sink-holes such as are encountered on the Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 plain, of which it is the northern border. It ascends higher, and the funnel-shaped sink-holes become larger and more numerous, their throats lined with vertical limestone walls. We emerge on to a pass at 9,300 feet elevation which is in fact a plateau with a small hamlet called Ggô-mbo. The village people are dependent for their

So as not to confound it with the snow range called Jade dragon Mountain (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山) it is here called the Wai 外 (Excluded) outside dragon mountain San-pi.

All Li-chiang Na-khi call the plain west of La-shih to Kuan-shang, Lo-shui-tung. It seems, however, that only one cavern, or sink-hole, bears that name. It must be the subterranean outlet of the lake which is so named, for the Li-chiang records state that "it is 20 li south-west of Li-chiang in La-shih li, the natives call the Lo-shui-tung, or sink-hole, the Hai-yen 海眼 (Eye of the lake)," the lake proper being called the Lung Hai on the Chinese military map of Yün-nan. In the summer and autumn all the waters of the snow range (in this region) collect and inundate the land. They then filter through the sink-hole and flow through subterranean channels. Others say they flow into the Yangtze. This is why the sink-hole is called Hai-yen. The Yün-nan T'ung-chih and the Li-chiang ju chih êüeh say that the Mu-pieh Ho 木別河 is 15 li west of Li-chiang and flows south-west of La-shih li into the Hai-yen. It seems that Hai-yen is also the name of the lake, as the Mu-pieh Ho flows into it, although the Chinese name for it is Lung Hai (Dragon Lake).

The village is also called Mbo-shi (H-M., Muscie).
water supply on a stagnant pool immediately beside the trail, whose water is of a deep yellowish-red color.

Beyond the village the path divides, the right branch leading to Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) and the left to Shih-ku. The whole country takes on the aspect of an undulating plateau similar to that of Lo-shui-tung on the Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa road. The sink-holes are crater-like, and so numerous that their rims meet. The soil is a brilliant red and cultivation is continued up to the steeply sloping walls of the holes, buckwheat being the main crop. Na-khi are the sole cultivators.

The upper edge of the plateau drops steeply to an undulating, much-furrowed valley floor. Immediately below flows the Yangtze, making a narrow bend, where a ferry plies to the village of Ba-lo on the west bank of the river. The trail descends now into the Yangtze valley at a fair grade over the otherwise steep slope, till we reach the valley floor and the river bank. Looking west we behold a peculiar triangular peak at the foot of which Shih-ku (Rock drum) village is situated. There is some pine forest on the broad valley floor, though a good deal of it is under cultivation. So much has the soil been disturbed and denuded of its trees, that the whole valley floor is eroded into a maze of small canyons. Sharp limestone boulders washed out from their embeddings dot the ground. The trail is in many places obliterated and one is forced to cross these miniature canyons over narrow ridges. In places the packed, hard trail is a mere shell over an abyss washed out beneath. The soil is a dark-red loam in which are deeply embedded black limestone boulders of fantastic shapes. On this furrowed, hilly floor the La-shih-pa road joins the one from Dto-k'ö. The trail descends steeply to a ravine called Leng-shui kou 冷水溝 (Cold water ravine), which debouches into the Yangtze 57 li from Li-chiang, and 20 li from Shih-ku. In the ravine is situated the hamlet of Leng-shui-kou, the Gyi-t'khi-lo of the Na-khi. A path leads down-stream to the village of A-khi (Aw-khi), where there is a lovely Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple).

Our way leads upstream towards the curious-looking peak behind Shih-ku. This mountain is called Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 and is 80 li distant from Li-chiang.

When looking up stream near Leng-shui-kou where the Yangtze is about 600 yards wide, one would be convinced that the Yangtze issues from the valley behind Shih-ku and Wang-chiang Shan. Only close to Shih-ku is the sharp bend of the river visible.

At the foot of the Shih-ku spur the Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [Stream which rushes on to the river (Yangtze)] debouches into the Yangtze.

The Na-khi call it La-ba gyi and La-ba pa-tzu gyi (Chinese, La-pa Chiang 刺巴江), for its source is in a mountain called La-ba Ngyu; elevation 14,500 feet. Shih-ku itself is called La-pa La-ba (La-ba in Na-khi), and Do-ngà-rong

In the Li-chiang records given as Ch'ung Chiang 冲江, or Ch'ung-chiang Hsiao-ho 冲江小河 (Small stream).
SHIH-KU

(Do-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku.

The Yangtze at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards; on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (Gregory).

The town of Shih-ku is situated on the very bend of the Yangtze, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety.

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese; the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (or Loba) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou (Chu-ko Liang) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan. The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku (Chen t'u-fan drum). At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of

longed to Yüeh-sui, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Zo Shui 卓水, and became the Chu-hou (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌哺氏. There was born Chuan Hsu 昌虞, who for 10 years assisted Shao Hao 少昊 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Zo Shui is the present Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze).

Kun 龜 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 衛. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no illicit offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 畿山 and there obtained the J-i 喜戏 (Coix lacrima-jobii, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The Fang-yü chi-yao 方輿紀要, ch. 24, fol. 27, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石紐山 is one li south of Shih-ch'üan hsien 石泉縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an fu 龍安府 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the T'ien-hsi 天史 to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The Li-fan T'ing-chih, ch. 1, fol. 29b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hua-li 通化理. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石紐山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'üan hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jou, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

7 Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50' and longitude 99° 55', according to Major H. R. Davies (Yün-nan, p. 256).
hsin-yu 辛酉 (1561) the native prefect Mu Kao pacified the T'u-fan and engraved the hymns of his victories on the drum. (This is from the Li-chiang fu chih lüeh, Vol. 1, ch. 4, p. 35b.)

Chavannes translated the inscriptions into French from a copy (rubbing) brought back by Bacot. I give here an independent English translation of the original.

3. THE STONE-DRUM INSCRIPTIONS OF SHIH-KU

The inscription of 1548. — The Song of Universal Peace

"When we had received our orders to go on a punitive expedition against the wild tribes, everything went off propitiously. By virtue of bountiful blessings from Heaven we had an overplus of luck.

"The people of the country, supporting their old men, came to return to allegiance. The former subjects came leading their youngsters by the hand to behold the glorious aspect of the country. By refraining from killing, in order to spare the inhabitants, considerable good works were performed; by applying military strategy to gain victories, both virtue and prestige were achieved. With the flags to shade the sun the accumulated clouds became colorful, and when blood dripped from the swords and spears the cold blades had proved their sharpness. When the bugle sounded the command to advance to the north, the courage of the Huns fell. If shields and spears were pointed westward the enemy lost his wits. Benevolent words transform a region like the grass bows under the passage of the wind; superior steeds [of noble blood] travelling over the country, are like the hoar-frost illuminated by the sun.

"Bravery in war and military resourcefulness are as unfathomable as God, and thus no man should endeavor to wholly comprehend them.

"Fierce as the leopards we overran the land, and the enemy could not withstand us.

"Loyalty we rendered to our Holy Sovereign, and we pacified the frontier lands. For ever our black army 10 will stand guard over a territory of 10,000 li."

The Song of the Conquerors

"Within two years we have carried victory east and west of the River [the Yangtze]. The neighing of our steeds of war was heard thousands of li

8 Chavannes was quite correct in surmising that the inscription of 1548 could not have been engraved in that year, as it records campaigns executed during the years 1548–1549. He says, "et si les deux inscriptions n'ont pas été toutes deux gravées en 1561." According to the Li-chiang chronicle they were both cut in 1561.

9 Hao ling 諦令: by this is understood an order to an army to advance, for example, by means of a certain bugle.

10 Wu-shih 唐師 (Black army).

Chavannes in his translation of the song remarks that in no literary text had he found an explanation of the epithet Wu 唐 applied to soldiers.

The explanation seems simple. The Li-chiang soldiers were not Chinese, but Mo-so who call themselves Na-khi and whom the Chinese class under the Wu-man 唐蠻 (Black barbarians), hence the term Wu-shih.
away. The region was so cold that water froze and frost formed in the sixth moon. The wind was biting, and during the three months of the autumn the mists and the rains obscured the view. Snowflakes were as large as the palm of the hand. It rained from morning to night. With the wind blowing like arrows, the roads and passes were covered with frozen snow. By spreading sand over the frozen trail cattle and horses could pass over them.

"The horses of the brigands marched southward crossing the River, and invaded our frontier territory of Lin-hsi; but the Celestial soldiers guarded the borders. The orders of their officers were like thunderbolts and lightning, and the rebels having lost their courage had no time to gather their flags. They fled, helping each other across the river and leaving behind saddled horses, riderless, and sacks of grain. The garments of the brigands and sacks [of grain] covered the battle-field. Our soldiers vied with one another in tearing away the tents of the Hsiung-nu [Barbarians, Huns]. Some crept on all fours and, carrying their spears and arrows reversed, surrendered. Our advancing soldiers shook like a thunderbolt the spirit of Shan-yü 单于 [the head of the Tibetan brigands, is meant, used metaphorically here].

"Heads were heaped up like hills, blood flowed like rivers and buff-coats and rattan shields filled up hollows and ditches.

"To conquer the barbarians we have now passed the years of shen 申 and yu 西. [The years wu-shen 戊申 and己酉 chi-yu of Chia-ching or 27th and 28th, corresponding to 1548 and 1549, are meant.] Now in the deserts there are no more traces of the foxes and the leopards. [The Tibetan brigands had been conquered and are thus symbolized.]

"A metal tablet 300 feet high was erected to commemorate the exploits of the gallant general of the Ming dynasty. The returning soldiers brought back a great victory and their joyous songs resounded like the waves of the ocean. The flags reflected the sun, and the East and the South were made red by them, the brass drums sounded like thunder, which penetrated to the West and the North.

"The resourcefulness of our braves exceeded that of Kuan Chung 管仲." Our men of talent showed to the world a shrewdness worthy of Wu (and) Sun 武孫."

11 Lin-hsi 靈西 is the present-day Wei-hsi hsien.

12 Shan-yü according to Ma Tuan-lin is equivalent to the modern Khan. Shan-yü has the meaning of vast, extensive. The first Shan-yü mentioned in the Han Shu ch. 94, fol. 5a was a Hsiung-nu by name T'ou-man 蹇滿. In his wars against the Ch'in 秦 (255-207 b.c.) he was not victorious. Thereafter he retired to the north where he lived for more than ten years. His son and heir apparent was called Mo-t'u 蒙軻 (209-175 b.c.). There were many Shan-yü who were the kings of the Hsiung-nu.

13 Kuan Chung, also known as Kuan I-wu 管夷吾, died in 645 b.c. He was a native of the state of Ch'i 萊, whose minister he became in 685 b.c.

14 This should in all probability read Sun Wu instead of Wu Sun. Sun Wu also called Sun-tzu 孫子 was a native of the State of Ch'i 萊. He wrote a treatise on the art of war (Ping-fa 兵法) and his name is usually associated with that of Wu Ch'i 吳起 as the two masters of the science of tactics and strategy. It may however stand for Wu 吳 and Sun, but in that case the writer used the wrong character Wu 吳 instead of Wu 吳. The latter was a native
"We have annihilated 400 camps of dogs and sheep [the Tibetans are here meant], and swept away 5,000 villages of the barbarians. The wind having blown the wicked clouds away, both the sky and earth were made serene. The sun having conquered the mountain which barred his way, the heights and the valleys were made bright. We returned to submit this to our sagacious Lord of the Ming dynasty; we, with the entire universe, rejoice in this universal peace."

The Moon on the West River

"The chiefs leading a million brave soldiers, their majestic air like that of a tiger and of a plumed bird bent on exterminating, they struck and roared like the thunder. Who dares to disobey! The prisoners of the North and the barbarians of the West, the jackal and the dog who had offended Heaven, earth and the gods, this day we have entirely swept away, and suppressed those offensive beings.

"We shall enjoy a superabundant prosperity and peace in perpetuity."

"Written in tune as if drunken with peace. A Toast to Universal Peace.

"The three armies have decapitated the wicked barbarians, the supreme chief is beaten with the ivory drumstick. The heads of the dogs lay covering the ground, piled up as at the Feng and Yü 封殻. Our military virtue was made to rebound; the streams of blood eddied around the armor and 洱. The bodies of the slaughtered lay so thick that our horses could not move, the prowess of our soldiers was such that the western corner was pacified. Their names are sung through the ages."

"In the great Ming dynasty, Chia-ching, the 27th year (1548), when the dragon was in the attitude wu-shen 戊申 on an auspicious day in the middle of Spring, our great general, the pacificator of the West, the lord of the purple gold, sung this while playing on his sword like on a musical instrument."

The inscription of 1561. — Records of Great Exploits and Great Victories

"If an exploit is not outstanding, one's fame cannot be achieved; if virtue is not conspicuous, one's standing cannot be established. As exploit means loyalty to the king, and virtue means filial piety to the parents, one can obtain

of the State of Wei 衛 who died in 381 B.C. He had studied the art of war in the State of Lu 魯 and gained great proficiency therein.

Giles, Biographical Dictionary, no. 1825 gives Sun Wu, using the wrong character wu 吳, it should be wu 武. The biography of Sun Wu may be found in the Shih Chi, ch. 65, fol. 1a.

16 The mountains of Feng and Yü are in the province of Che-chiang, and there, in the days of Confucius, a gigantic bone pile existed. Feng Shan is 18 li from the hsien city of Wu-k'ang 武康. A prince of the Wang-mang 沛芒i family dwelled on the Feng Yü mountains. In the T'ang dynasty the mountains were called Fang-feng Shan 防風山 and Yü Shan 胡山. The latter is 2 li south-east of Feng Shan.

16 Two Chinese characters have been defaced and hence illegible.
exploit through loyalty, and virtue through filial piety. Be loyal after you have become noble, and you shall keep the hereditary rank; be filial after you have become wealthy, and you shall retain the position permanently. Within the four seas, in China as well as in foreign countries, the great virtue of loyalty and filial piety constitutes the universal ruling force, from which people derive blessings, glories and perpetual inheritance. Heaven helps human beings to attain their aims, and would be moved by their consciousness.

“In the year wu-shen 戊申 (1548) the Tibetan robbers depredated the territory of Mao-ch’ü-ko 毛佐各 of the district of Lin-hsi. My honorable father ordered me, his eldest son, Mu Kao, to take command and lead the brave soldiers to exterminate the bandits. In the same year, the eighth moon and 9th day (September 10th, 1548) we arrived at Li-kan-mao 利·毛. Before the sun had risen we advanced on the retreating brigand soldiers numbering more than 200,000; over 2,800 of them were decapitated. Success was as easy as the splitting of bamboos. Our troops advanced as far as Kung-tsu 割土 before we returned.

“Upon reporting the victory to the three high provincial officials, the superiors bestowed golden medals, golden flowers, colorful satins, cows and wine to reward the rank and file; and gave to my honorable father the farms (of the great victor) of Mu-chien and A-hsi, 1,000 taels of gold, and 10,000 of silver, ten pairs of various sorts of silk gauzes, satins, damasks, and lustrines, one gold goblet, one pair of gold fruit trays, one complete set of gold medals, and a gold necklet bearing the inscription, “With a sincere heart you have responded for the benefit of the Empire,” one pair of golden flowers, one golden belt, one set of golden saddles, and one white horse.

“In the eighth moon of the year chi-yu 己酉 (August 23rd to September 20th, 1549) when the Tibetans again invaded the border region of Chao-k’o 昭可 and Pa-t’o 巴托 of Chü-chin 亀津, orders were given me, Mu Kao,

17 The Hsiü Yünn-nan T‘ung-chih-kao, Vol. 38, ch. 71, p. 6a, writes Mao-ch’ü-kung 毛佐公, and states that it came under Wei-hsi 維西 (formerly called Lin-hsi) and that from Wei-hsi to A-te-chiu 阿徳囚 were six stages, and from the latter to T‘ien-chu-chai 天柱寨 were three stages, and thence to Mao-ch’ü-kung another three stages, and from the latter place to Tibet 54 stages. Mao-ch’ü-ko was, therefore, 12 stages from Wei-hsi, it is not stated in what direction but probably towards A-tun-tzu.

Lin-hsi was north-west of Li-chiang 460 li. The district was created in the Yuan dynasty in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277). To the west of Lin-hsi was the T‘u-fan territory.

Chavannes says that in the Mu Chronicle the name Mao-ch’ü-ko appears twice, in the 14th and 16th generations. In the second instance it is preceded by the words Ni-na. Ni-ya is the Na-khi name of Wei-hsi.

18 Mu-chien 木堅 is a district east of Li-chiang comprising a number of villages. It is called in Na-khi, Ss-ngyi; Mu-chien is a translation of the words Ss-ngyi (Durable wood). A-hsi is a village as well as a district on the Yangtze west of Li-chiang and north-east of Shih-ku. The words used here are: ta-sheng chuang 大勝庌 = farm-steads of the great victor, i.e. the farms belonging to the great victorious Mu family.

Chü-chin is now obsolete. It was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t’an 露波九駟; west of it was the T‘u-fan district. The great chiefs of the Mo-so lived there for generations. In the Yuan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 臨宗 (1253) it was annexed. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), in the Chiu-t’an 九駟, was established Chü-chin chou, but belonging to Li-chiang Lu 峪江路 (Li-chiang Circuit).
to mobilize a large force to proceed to Pa-t’o-chai 巴托寨. There we fought and the brigands received a crushing defeat, with over a thousand of them beheaded by our forces, and innumerable more drowned in the river. After that our troops marched to Kan-to-kuang 卡朵光 and other peaceful regions, in order to soothe and pacify the people ere they returned.

"The success was again reported to the superiors and a reward similar to that of the previous occasion was bestowed on my venerable father as before.

"My venerable father said, ‘He who practises benevolence has no enemy. He who plans strategy in his tent assures victory a thousand li distant. The Mu family has for generations been the protecting barrier of the Ming empire.

" ‘It maintained peace with firmness in the entire region. If in the south of Tien 滇 [Yün-nan] the chickens and dogs are not afraid, and if the army and the people live in peace, is that not, in brief, due to the grace of the Mu family?’

" ‘In order to show publicly his loyal heart, a vassal worthy of the name, whether asleep or while eating, must never forget [what he owes to the sovereign]; therefore my sons and grandsons shall wear the golden belt embossed with the flowers which was bestowed on us in recompense by Imperial decree and which bears the words, ‘To a loyal heart which responded for the benefit of the Empire,’ and hereditarily shall defend Li-chiang.’

" ‘As lofty as the height of the North Sacred Mountain, and as vast as the expanse of the South Sea [so be the majesty of the Mu family]. We have engraved this inscription on this stone in order that it may be handed down to posterity.

Poetry says:

"In recompensing the favors of the Empire, he brandished a pair of swords, and the wind and the rain were made to whirl busily. When he brandished a single sword, devils and spirits would hide away. With his heroism the frontier regions were kept in strict order; the cold brightness of his sword penetrated the constellations of the Cow-herd and the Great Bear. He had been the key to a stone gate in hereditarily defending the territory of the Ming dynasty.”

This is now followed by the Song of Peace:

*The Toast to Universal Peace*

"We inscribed the ode about the great victories; we have composed with joy the rhymes about universal peace; for the three armies when the merits gained by each one were repeatedly discussed, it was a rare and beautiful spectacle. The brocaded silk garments, in front and behind, were singularly

The iron chain-bridge was the point of friendly intercourse between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T’u-fan, and on that account it was called Ta-chin-tu 大津渡 (Great ford) (over the Yangtze). Hence also Chü (the great) chin (ford or mart). See page 289.
harmonious. The red hue of the banners reflected the first movements of the
sun; the merry songs were heard a hundred li away.

"In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561) when the dragon was in the atti-
tude of hsìn-yü 午西, in the ninth moon (October 9th to November 6th) on
an auspicious day, the civil and military prefect of Li-chiang, hereditary
T'u-ssu [native chief], received by Imperial decree and favor promotion to
the grade of mandarin of the third rank, and a dignity similar to the
nine ministers was bestowed by the supplementary title of Ya-chung ta-fu
亞中大夫 [vice-minister, ○ ○ ○ ], Mu Kao of the hereditary Mu family
○ ○ ."

4. FROM SHIH-KU TO CHÜ-TIEN 石鼓 巨甸

From Shih-ku the trail descends to the Ch'ung-chiang Ho (Major Davies'
Hsi-mi Ho), the Pa-tzu gyi (La-ba gyi) of the Na-khi. Old willows line the
banks of the stream, while a covered wooden bridge, the posts held together
by crudely forged chains, spans it.20 Arrived at the Yangtze (the Chinese
Ch'ang Chiang 長江 or Long River) we follow its western bank under the
shade of giant willows which have weathered many a flood. The river is here
very broad and its waters a silvery gray; it is decidedly picturesque where
it turns to the east and then north, to cut through the Li-chiang Snow range.
The fields are of a rich sandy loam and bear excellent crops of rice and maize,
much finer in every way than on the upper slopes.

We now enter the wide river valley and lose sight of the spur on which
Shih-ku is situated. The mountains rise steeply on both sides of the valley
floor, exposing reddish-yellow sandstone; the grassy slopes support scattered
pine trees with long drooping branches. A few li over a sandy road through
broad maize-fields, bring us to the hamlet of Shih-men-kuan 石門關21
(Stone gate pass); diagonally opposite on the east bank of the river is the
hamlet of Boa-t'a-wà (H-M., Botauo). This is a historic spot. A native
Supervisor (Hsün-chien 巡檢) was established here in the 22nd year of
Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) of the Yuan dynasty, but later abolished. In ancient
days it belonged to the district of Chü-chin and to the village La-pa-ts'un
剌巴村 (the present Shih-ku, for the latter is called La-ba in Na-khi). Many
battles have been fought here against the T'u-fan who dwelled to the north
of it. It was the battle-ground of the T'ang, as well as of the Mongol and the
Ming generals.22

20 The bridge is called Lai-yüan ch'iao 來遠橋, and is also known by the name of Tiao-
ch'iao-kuan 弓橋關, and was built in the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739).

21 The distances from Li-chiang to Chü-tien and beyond are given as follows in the Li-chiang
records, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34: from Li-chiang to Shih-ku 77 li, to Shih-men-kuan 20 li, to
Chiao-t'ou 70 li, to the large village of Chü-tien 70 li, to T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關)
90 li.

22 In the ninth year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (793), P'u-wang 裕王, a
Na-khi chief, guided the T'ang troops under General Wei Kao 楊國 to fight the T'u-fan at
Shih-men-kuan and defeated them (see Mu Chronicle, p. 95).

In 1382 Fu Yu-te 傅友德, a Ming general, was sent to conquer south-west China for the
Empire. It was then that the Na-khi chief Mu Te submitted and guided Fu Yu-te's troops
to subdue the Tibetans who had resisted at Shih-men-kuan. In 1385 the native chief of
Back of Shih-men-kuan a beautiful little valley extends west into the wooded hills, while a perfect cone of a mountain stands sentinel at the entrance, crowned by a lovely temple, guarding the valley and the village (Plate 153).

The trees found along the river bank here are mostly *Diospyros lotus*, a wild persimmon, walnuts and catalpas. The trail is very narrow and follows the bank of the river which is, however, quite broad, and full of islets (October). Red sandstone walls are exposed on the otherwise green slopes of the mountain, which rise steeply from the valley floor. Fields of maize and a few houses announce the fact that we have reached the hamlet of Müen-tsü-du (Mu-ts’ao-tu 木草都; H-M., Mutsüito).

The hamlet is distinctly scattered, for several li beyond is the rest of the village, considered part of it, but called Bü-du-sù-wù-a-lo (H-M., Büdsüolo). At this village a little stream enters the Yangtze, spanned by a small, wooden, covered bridge, picturesquely set in a grove of willows.

The region is called Hung-shih-ngai (紅石巖; Red cliff), from the red sandstone cliff mentioned previously. The Li-chiang records state that “it is exactly 100 li from Li-chiang, or 20 li from Shih-ku, and rises straight from the Yangtze, overlooking the same; it flanks the river for a distance of over 30 li and adjoins Shih-men Kuan to the south. It is the throat of the Mongols and Tibetans, and is still considered the dangerous pass of western Yün-nan.” It is indeed a very important pass, the only one here on the Yangtze and frequented by the Tibetans, who come, sometimes with a thousand pack-mules, once a year to fetch tea from P’u-erh 普洱 in south Yün-nan. In the summer-time, when the Yangtze is in flood, the trail is often submerged and impassable.

Many valleys debouch into the Yangtze valley, the trail passing through bushes of small white-flowered Bauhinias, *Prinsepia utilis*, Spiraeas, a *Desmodium* with pink flowers, Rhamnus, etc. The path is lined by limestone boulders and conglomerate. The valley narrows and we enter a veritable canyon of bleak, reddish sandstone walls which rise hundreds of feet straight from the river-bed. This is the real Hung-shih-ngai (H-M., Hoschinga), the “dangerous pass of western Yün-nan.” The trail is built up of rock, straight out of the river-bed and flush with the wall. Opposite, on the eastern bank of the Yangtze, is situated the Na-khi hamlet of Lā-ndo (Leng-tu 冷渡; H-M., Lindo). A blackish peculiarly shaped mountain guards the other side of the canyon.

The mountain spur which flanks the Yangtze on the west is called Hua-ma Shan (花馬山; see Historical Part pp. 95, 186), after which the ancient

Chü-chin chou, named A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, revolted and took possession of Stone gate Pass, but was defeated by Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, who was marquis of Chi-an 吉安. In 1391, according to the Ming annals, the Na-khi chief Mu Ch'u (the eighth generation, born in 1345, and known as A-te A-ch'u) guarded the Shih-men Kuan, when he became the chief of Li-chiang at the death of his father. He was succeeded at Stone gate Pass by his brother Mu Kuei 木軔. In the Mu chronicle the latter's name is written Mu K'uei 木軔. His Na-khi surname was A-k'o. He was the Shih-men-kuan Ch’ien-fu-chang 千夫長 (Head of a thousand men). Later he became a Hu-fu-fa 餘伏法. Shih-men-kuan is the name of a village as well as of a pass.
Mo-so Kingdom was called Hua-ma Kuo. The Chü-tien River has its source west of it, on the south-eastern slopes of Li-ti-p'ing and in Han-sou Mountain 漢 數山. The Li-chiang records state that Hua-ma Shan is 350 li from Li-chiang. This must be an error, or perhaps the extreme northern end is meant, and this would indicate that the mountain extends to T'a-ch'eng, which is 350 li from Li-chiang. On the Chinese military map the mountain is marked from south of Shih-men Kuan to San-k'ai-tzu 三 街子 (this should read Shang-ko-tzu 上 格子).

Beyond Hung-shih-ngai canyon the river widens and makes a large sweeping curve on the west bank. The mountains look bleak and dreary and are grass-covered only. Immediately beyond the cliff, and beneath the vertical sandstone wall on the north side, is a nice little temple which belongs to the hamlet of Ssaw-ssaw-gku — in Chinese the name is transcribed Shan-hsien-ku 山 仙 妃 (H-M., Sansankou) — only one li distant. Willow trees and large, spreading Albizzias line the bank of the Yangtze, while long, sandy or rock-strewn islets are visible everywhere in the river-bed (October).

The trail, now muddy, leads between rice-fields for about ten li to the Na-khi hamlet of Aw-gkv-dzhi. Wide valleys open out into the main gorge. We enter beautiful groves of Castanopsis Delavayi and oaks, beyond which we reach the hamlet of Shō-dzo (Shang-ko-tzu or Upper Ko-tzu), while further down is the hamlet of Hsia-ko-tzu (Lower Ko-tzu). As already remarked, the Chinese map gives the village wrongly as San-kai-tzu 三 街子 (H-M., Sangaidsi), but the Li-chiang records give it as I wrote it down on the spot. The village is situated on the floor of a broad lateral valley carrying a fairly large stream called the Sung-chiang Ho 宋江河, which is crossed by a covered wooden bridge. Opposite on the east bank, in Chung-tien territory, is the hamlet of Nda-lā.

A legend is connected with the cliff at Nda-lā, which is known as Bā-mā-a. It is the story of a girl who was given in marriage. When she left her home she looked back, and was carried off by the clouds and winds to Bāmā-a. She was hence known as Nda-lā-a-ssaw-mi, which means the girl (whose soul) was scattered or blown by the wind to Nda-lā. A whole book is devoted to the seven wind spirits of which she is one. It is chanted during the Hār-la-lū l'ō ceremony in propitiation of these wind spirits, who are believed to liberate the dogs of the clouds and wind, and bombard the houses of the people with stones, and close up the water-courses.

Beyond the hamlet the hill-sides are pine-covered, and the river-bed narrow and of considerable depth. Near here the river makes a rather sharp curve to the west, due to a broad peninsula which extends deeply into its bed (Plate 154). The vegetation is of a scrub-xerophytic type and consists mainly of Pyracantha bushes, Escholtzia, Prinsepia, Ligustrum, while blue-flowered Didissandra cling to the rock walls. The trail skirts the mountainside which it also ascends, and here we encounter Castanopsis, Cornus capitate, Excoecaria, etc. Descending again to the plain we pass the hamlet of Dsi-gku (Tz'u-k'ai 茨開) situated near the river bank. The Chinese

23 In the Li-chiang records it is written Tz'u-k'ō 夾科, which is the better transcription of the Na-khi name of the place.
military map gives Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 below San-kai-tzu (Shang-ko-tzu) and opposite Lä-ndo (Leng-tu), while in reality it is beyond Dsi-gku, which itself is some distance north of San-kai-tzu.

Between Ssaw-ssaw-gku and Dsi-gku, or Dsi-gkv as the Li-chiang Na-khi pronounce it, are several villages, as Muan-ssu-dzhu (H-M., Musoidso), or Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場 in Chinese, on the Li-chiang side of the river; and on the east bank, or Chung-tien side, the hamlets of Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打烈; H-M., Ta-lä), and north of it the village of Ss or Ss(êr)-lä (H-M., Sa-lä), and north of this, also on the Chung-tien side of the river, the village of Ch'ou-dzhu (H-M., Tschodjio).

Near Dsi-gku the soil is red, and sandstone and mica abound. Opposite the large village of Ta-t'ang 大塘 on the Chung-tien side, the mountain-sides slope gently toward the Yangtze. Here along the river cultivation is carried on, while above the fields are dense pine forests, extending into a valley and up the steep mountain slopes on the Li-chiang side. The fields bear crops of millet and maize and, on the slopes above, rice. A large grove of lovely old oaks, through which the trail leads, relieves the monotony of the sandy fields. Here, near the village of Vu-dzhu (H-M., Mudschuo; the Chinese Wu-chu 梧竹), situated on the Chung-tien side, is a long island.

The scenery is weird and lonely, especially where the trail enters groves of Castanopsis, quercus (oaks) and pines; the mountain slopes are steep and huge boulders lie about everywhere. On the opposite side a narrow, dark valley debouches into the Yangtze at the hamlet of Nda-gka-du. Five li beyond bring us to the village of Ba-lo (Chinese Pa-lo 巴羅) at the mouth of a long, broad valley, almost as broad as that of the Yangtze itself. An iron chain-bridge spans the Ba-lo gyi which issues from the broad valley. It has two branches, the northern one carrying the larger stream; in the southern branch, called Yi-gv lo, are situated about ten villages.

Ba-lo itself is called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 in Chinese (Bridge-head) on account of the iron chain-bridge which spans the Ba-lo gyi. This is, however, not the iron chain-bridge (T’ieh-ch’iao 鐵橋) which figures so largely in all the battles fought between the Na-khi and Tibetans, nor where the Mongols and the Ming soldiers fought when conquering the territory for China. Ba-lo itself is one of the dreariest spots imaginable and compares unfavorably even with villages situated in the lonely Pa-pien Ho 把邊河 valley in the south of Yün-nan. Altogether three ferries ply across the Yangtze between Shih-ku and Ch'iao-t’ou: one at Shih-ku, where, since my last visit, a crude row-boat, such as is commonly used in this primitive part of the world, has taken the place of the raft; one at Müen-tsü-du; and one at Dsi-gkv.

The trail leads over the iron chain-bridge across the Ba-lo gyi, and climbs the slippery rocks on the other side, leading along the steep, rocky bank down to the plain and the village of Muan-fu-k’o (Chu-ko-ling 諸葛嶺).
From here it ascends and leads over a narrow pass high above the river. The cliffs are densely wooded and very steep; at the pass itself stone barricades had been erected with loopholes, to prevent Tibetan brigands from paying their annual visits to this part and to within sight of Li-chiang itself, for the purpose of looting and burning. A little beyond the pass on the plain is the Chinese village of Pai-feng-ch’iang 白粉塘 (H-M., Befeng djiang), in the Li-chiang records written 白粉塘. The distance to this village from Shang-ko-tzu is 45 li. About 15 li beyond is the village of Wu-hou-p’o 武侯坡.

Thirty li from Pai-feng-ch’iang we reach the hamlet of La-dsu-lo (H-M., Ladsulö). The trail passes through groves of Quercus variabilis, over rocky slopes, and along steep mountain-sides, over landslides and boulders — the path being positively dangerous.

La-dsu-lo is situated at the mouth of a long valley which extends deeply into the western watershed. A good-sized stream flows here into the Yangtze, crossed by a stone-arch bridge. Beyond La-dsu-lo are fine broad rice-fields through which the trail winds, the valley floor being quite broad but narrowing beyond, the trail following close to the river bank and somewhat above it. Here in the Yangtze is a long, sandy grass-covered island where natives are busy washing gold in the most primitive way.

Passing through scrub oaks and by sandstone boulders, we reach an old temple, whence one can see Chü-tien across the broad expanse of the river valley, while, beyond, a blue ridge practically closes the valley, save for an outlet for the river from the north.

5. CHÜ-TIEN 亘甸

The trail now follows the mountain, leaving the Yangtze and entering the valley of its tributary, the Chü-tien Ho (Hsin-i Ho 新移河), which has its source in the Li-ti-p’ing 樹地坪 hills. A stone bridge crosses it and one trail leads north from here to Chü-tien, while another to the left leads to Lu-tien 魯甸 and Wei-hsi 維西.

Chü-tien, called Kün-dü (Kun-sdud) 25 in Tibetan, and Gkv-dü in Nakhī, situated at an elevation of 6,450 feet, is a dusty, miserable place; the upper or northern half of the town had been burned by Tibetan brigands.

Like their ancestors whose depredations are recorded in the Mu Chronicle, the Tibetans still invade this territory, burn, rob, and loot to their hearts’ content, for there are no more native Shih-men guards to keep them back, as in the days of old. These hordes can only be held in check by troops which are occasionally rushed up from Ta-li with machine-guns, usually much too late and after the Tibetans have done their depredations and have retreated into their mountain fastnesses, where the Chinese soldiers are unable to pursue them.

To Chü-tien belongs a lamasery named Hsing-hua Ssu 興化寺, called in Tibetan, Theg-chhen-dar-rgyas gling pronounced The-chhen dar-gye-ling. 26 It is situated north-west of the Chü-tien plain, 10 li from the town.

At Chü-tien (Major Davies, Ch’i-tien; H-M., Tjü-tien) the river is very
broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou, and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T’a-ch’eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: “Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t’an [the Yün-nan Tien-hsi calls it Lo-tzu 羅雀 and the Nan-chao Yeh-shih Lo-p’o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it.” The Tien-hsi says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T’ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獵, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

27 Regarding Chü-chin chou, the Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that “in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T’ang dynasty it was the Lo-p’o-chiu-t’an 羅婆九阮. The P’u 濟 and Lu 獵 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force.”

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading “Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨,” that “Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T’ang history relates that the Chieh Ch’iang 即羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氏, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai.” We have here direct proof that the Ch’iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch’iang were the descendants of the great Ch’iang ancestor Yuan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 西支河. (This, in the Yu Kung, is called the Hsi-chi 河支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch’uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch’iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 犁牛 (Yak) Yueh-sui Ch’iang 越荷羌. Li-chiang was the Yueh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 湘堂. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch’iang 仇羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch’iang 西羌 (Western Ch’iang) in the Hou Han Shu (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yuan Ti 元帝 (48-33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch’iang plundered Lung-hsi 隆西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 忞 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien 方興彙編 豐裔典, ch. 47; Ch’iang-pu-hui-k’ao 充部彙考, fol. 26a-b.
established in the Chiu-t’an 九 畝 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü-chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麓江路). During the Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang.

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 宣宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsuan-fu-ssu 萱撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T’ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang, in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 潭 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH’I-TSUNG 其宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü-tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白蓮 (White lotus), and Bā-lā-a in Na-khi (H.M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of ‘A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅 ; H.M., Dolō). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggō-lv-wúa (H.M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second.

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-khù-ndu (Lower Khùndu; Hsia-heng-t’u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggō-khù-ndu (Upper Khùndu; Shang-heng-t’u 上亨土; H.M., Gohenda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 級巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the
foot of the hills past the village Lao-ts’un 老村, and ascend a bluff covered with pine scrub. Rafts ply here on the river to the Chung-tien side while others float down the river, from Chi’i-tsung (Gyi-dzu in Na-khi). Descending the rocky bluff over a dusty trail, we come to fields in the now broad, flat valley floor which here is quite uninteresting. Hamlets are situated on both sides of the river, all inhabited by Na-khi. One is of especial interest. It is the hamlet of T’a-ch’eng 塔城 (T’a-dza), actually Hsia-t’a-ch’eng 下塔城 or Lower T’a-ch’eng also known as Wai 外 T’a-ch’eng, the Na-khi Muan-t’a-dza. It was also called T’ieh-ch’iao ch’eng 鐵橋城 (Iron-bridge walled town). Another Na-khi name for the village was T’a-dzhi, the Chinese Shih-tzu 柿子 (Persimmon) on account of the many persimmons which grew there.

The T’a-ch’eng Kuan (T’a-ch’eng Pass) 塔城關, called in Na-khi Nér-hār mbu (Gunny-bag hill) (Plate 155) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and was the border of the ancient Chu-chin chou. Beyond it to the north is Wei-hsi territory. T’a-ch’eng Kuan, 8,000 feet in height, is a triangular rock peak and lateral rock wall composed of grey corrugated schist, it causes the Yangtze to make a sharp bend, and it was here beyond doubt, at the foot of the peak, that the T’ieh-ch’iao (Iron bridge) was located. The Li-chiang fu chih liieh 上 ch. 4, fol. 27a, states expressly that beyond the pass was Wei-hsi territory, and the only village here beyond the pass is Chi’t-tsung, which is in the Wei-hsi district. It adds that the Yangtze enters at the foot of the pass into Li-chiang territory. On the top of the pass are the remains of an old Cha-tzu 閘子 or barrier, now overgrown with shrubs and vines. This barrier gate was repaired by order of the authorities in the seventh year of Ch’ien-lung (1742). The spur known as Kuan-p’o 關坡 to the Chinese is forested with evergreen trees, representing many species. Looking upstream we see the village of Chi’t-tsung (Gyi-dzu in Na-khi and Je-drong, written rJe-grong 鈦城 in Tibetan) a short distance away on the west bank of the river, and beyond it the arid gorge of the Yangtze, whence the latter issues from a defile formed by a gray limestone wall. The mountains to both sides of the valley are rather low and pine covered. A large triangular rock peak and a lateral rock wall crowned by smaller sharp pinnacles jut out into the river bed, forcing the Yangtze to make a sharp bend (Plate 156).

South of the bridge was the T’ieh-ch’iao ch’eng 鐵橋城, (Walled town of the iron bridge), and this can have been no other than the present village of

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28 Chi’t-tsung and La-p’u, of the district of Wei-hsi, shared an official called a T’u-na-tsung 士把總 (Native sergeant). He ruled over Chi’t-tsung, La-p’u, Chia-mu-k’o 加木科, Hsia-t’a-ch’eng 下塔城, and other villages. His rule extended from Chi’t-tsung — La-p’u east to the Chung-tien district boundary, 70 li; south to the Li-chiang border, 50 li; west to the Wei-hsi border and Kung-lung 工龍, 100 li, (a trail leads from La-p’u via Ch’uan-hu 串處, and Kung-lung 工龍 to La-p’u-wan 利昔灣, a little north of Wei-hsi); north to Wei-hsi T’o-ting 維西拖頂, 30 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Ch’i-li-chi-pu 龜力赤普. Originally he was the T’u-mu 士目, or headman, of Chi’t and La (Chi’t-tsung and La-p’u). In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1720) the office was changed and the region annexed and a hereditary Chi’t-la t’u-pa-tsung was appointed. He was given the name of Wang Chung 王忠. He handed down his office to Ho Nien 霍年. After his death Yung T’ai 永泰 inherited the office, and after his death his son Ch’ang 嘉 inheritance the position in the 30th year of Tao-kuang (1850).
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T’a-dza (T’a-ch’eng), which was one of 16 walled places in T’u-fan territory which were taken by I-mou-hsün when he attacked the Iron bridge. The government of the Iron Bridge was thereupon established at T’a-dza. At the place where the bridge once spanned the river, the holes in the stones, where the iron links were fastened, can still be seen in the winter when the water is clear. No trace of these links has, however, survived.

The iron bridge was the border between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the Tibetans, and the same records state that it was built during the Sui dynasty (590-617) by Shih Wan-sui 史萬歲 and Su Jung 蘇桀; others say it was built by the T’u-fan. This last is, however, very doubtful. The bridge was destroyed by I-mou-hsün (sixth King of Nanchao, 778-808) during his attack on the T’u-fan in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) of the T’ang Emperor Te Tsung 德宗, to prevent them from entering Li-chiang territory, which then belonged to Nan-chao. I-mou-hsün had subdued also the Na-khi Kingdom after he ascended the throne in 778.

We descend steeply over a very rocky trail to fields and cross a bridge over a stream called Sä gyi. This stream has its source in a meadow to our left (west), near the foot of the mountains; it is broad but short and debouches into the Yangtze. A few more steps and we arrive at the village of Ch’i-tsung. At the time of my visit the place was in ashes, having been burnt one month previously by the Tibetan brigands. It is said that a lot of undesirable Chinese and Na-khi had joined the Tibetans, whom the people here call Ku-tsung.

The Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, fol. 7a-b, says in regard to the Ku-tsung 窮宗; also written 古宗, that they are the ancient T’u-fan, and that there were two tribes of Ku-tsung, none of them having family names; they live near Ch’i-tsung and La-p’u. In the Ming dynasty the chief of the Na-khi, Mu, failed to exterminate them and they scattered among the land of the Mo-so (Na-khi), and therefore these are called Mo-so Ku-tsung. The second tribe of Ku-tsung live at sPong-tse-ra (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闍) and A-tun-tzu, and these are called Ch’ou Ku-tsung 臭古宗 (Evil-smelling Ku-tsung); they are of course Tibetans (PLATE 202). The language of the two tribes is the same, but their character is said to be different. The Mo-so Ku-tsung are reputed to be very much like the Mo-so. This of course, can be understood, for having lived among them, they have adopted Mo-so habits and customs.

It seems that the Ch’ou Ku-tsung who live at Pong-tse-ra and A-tun-tzu are part of the Hsiang-ch’eng Tibetans 鄉城 who live east of Pong-tse-ra in Hsi-k’ang formerly part of Ssu-ch’uan.
CHAPTER II

WEI-HSI 維西

I. THE WEI-HSI RECORDS

According to the Yun-nan Pei-cheng-chih 雲南備徵志, and the Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu 維西聞見錄 (Transcription or records of things heard and seen about Wei-hsi), ch. 18, fol. 1, Wei-hsi was outside the border of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan). It was incorporated with Li-chiang and its territory ruled by the (Li-chiang) T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect).

The Yun-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 33, p. 44b, states that, “In the T'ang dynasty, the T'u-fan T'ieh-ch'iao 吐蕃絳橋 was the territory of a Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner). In the Mongol dynasty it became the territory of the Li-chiang Circuit, and in the Ming dynasty that of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. At the change of the dynasty, Wu 呉 (Wu Sankuei) rebelled and later his grandson gave the land to the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it belonged to Ho-ch'ing fu. A T'ung-p'an of the latter place was transferred to reside there and to protect their territory. In another line on the same page it says that a Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-class assistant department magistrate) from Chien-ch'uan chou 劍川州, a town to the south of Li-chiang resided there with a garrison.

“Wei-hsi t'ing was the Lin-hsi hsien of the Yuan dynasty. It was in the northwest, and was the land of the T'u-fan.

“In the Ming dynasty the native magistrate sent his soldiers to improve the land; its existence dates from that time.”

The Yun-nan T'ung-chih states further that Wei-hsi became part of the empire during the Ming dynasty. During the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) it was under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) a transferable official was appointed there. Nothing is known of the previous successive changes in the Wei-hsi district.

The Wei-hsi Geographical Records state that from the Han dynasty to the Sung dynasty nothing is known about it. In the Yuan dynasty it adjoined the border of Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.

No records of the climate or customs of the territory were kept.

In the year chi-ch'ou 己丑 of Ch'ien-lung (1769), a certain Yü Ch'ing-ch'ang 余慶長 filled the function of T'ung-p'an at Wei-hsi. Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, who was his younger brother and had the rank of Kung-sheng 賛生 (Senior licentiate) lived with him in the yamen. He enquired about the past from the old native officials, and also from such as could speak Chinese, and thus he acquired considerable knowledge. Yü Ch'ing-yüan composed the Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu already quoted, and it is due to him that we have any records at all about this interesting region, its people, customs, etc.

1 The office of T'ung-p'an of Li-chiang was established in 1723. The Na-khi T'u-chih-fu (Native prefect) was reduced at that time to assistant prefect of the second class.
"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) Wei-hsi was the eastern border of the T'u-fan, and prior to the Ming dynasty there were no records. During the reign of Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) the Li-chiang native prefect of the Mu family gradually became powerful and led his Mo-so soldiers to attack the T'u-fan. The latter then built several hundred watch-towers to resist them, and guarded and strongly fortified all important places, such as the villages of Liu-ts'un, La-p'u, and Chi'tsung. The Mu family made a huge battering-ram and, pulling it after them, struck their watch-towers, causing them to collapse. All their important places were then captured, and the people butchered. After that the Mo-so tribespeople were brought to rule over them. From the north of Pen-tzu-lan they came to submit. Thereupon Wei-hsi and Chung-tien and the villages of Pa-t'ang, Li-t'ang, and Ch'i-tsung became part of the empire. The Mu family collected the land tax, and this was reported to the throne. In the 13th year of K'ang-hsi (1674) Wu San-kuei rebelled; when his grandchild, Shih-fan, was defeated, he ceded the region north of Chi'tsung and presented it to Ch'ing-hai (that is, Koko Nor), and asked them to come to his rescue. Wei-hsi was again lost to the Tibetans. After several years it was again retaken. Those territories which belonged to Ssu-ch'uan were kept in restraint by native officials. The affairs of the Dalai Lama, who was greatly respected by the dynasty, were not interfered with.

"In the 7th year of Yung-cheng (1729), the families of north-western Yin-nan were divided and some were placed under the rule of Ho-ch'ing fu. The Ho-ch'ing T'ung-p'an was transferred to rule them and he established himself in the city (Wei-hsi). One thousand soldiers were also placed there under the control of a Ts'an-chiang (Colonel). To seven old headmen was given the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung, and to three the rank of T'u-pa-tsung."

"In the 19th year of Ch'ien-lung (1754) the administrative seat of the country bordering on Li-chiang was changed and placed under Li-chiang fu."  

**2. THE NATIVE OFFICIALS**

The Wei-hsi Lan-ts'ang Chiang ruled over La-jih, La-p'u-wan, Lo-chi-ku, Hsiao-wei-hsi, and other villages. His ancestors lived at Yu-i-ts'un, from which village it is 60 li east to Chi'tsung La-p'u; 15 li south to La-p'u-wan; west, 100 li to the Nu-ti, the region of the Nu-tzu tribe, who live on the Salween; 200 li north to the village of Chih-yeh-ts'un. His first ancestor was Chao-mu. In the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung

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*This was Mu Tseng, who fought many battles against the Tibetans of Nyi-na, which is the Na-khi name for Wei-hsi (see Mu chronicle, p. 126–27). He was born in 1587 and died in 1646.

*Also written Peng instead of Pen.

*Pei-cheng-chih ch. 18, fol. 1a–2a, and 17, fol. 84a.
(1742), the Li-su robbers rose, and so he joined the army, and fighting them with energy he acquired merit, and was appointed hereditary Yen-chiang 漢江 T'u-pa-tsung (Native sergeant of the Mekong river bank). The office was handed down to Kuo-chün 國俊; after his death Hsin 忻 inherited the office. After the latter's death Chao-chang 朝常 inherited. He died in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). His son Wei 沃 died of illness in the army. His grandson Chiu-hsi 尊錫 assumed the position.

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There was established what was called the Northern circuit and the Western circuit on the Mekong. The Northern circuit (Pei-lu) was ruled over by a T'u-ch'ien-tsung 通千總 (Native lieutenant). His ancestral seat was the territory of K'ang-p'u 康普 and extended east to K'ang-p'u Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, 30 li; south to the Nu Chiang 縱江 (Salween) 50 li; west to Wo-lu-ngai ch'iao 窩路巖橋, 30 li; north to Ngai-wa-ngai ch'iao 県瓦巖橋, 70 li.

His first ancestor was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, who governed the affairs of Kung-lung 工龍. He led his drilled soldiers to attack the Li-su robbers, whereupon he acquired merit, and was rewarded with the office of hereditary T'u-ch'ien-tsung. The office was handed on to Shih-lu 世祿. The latter was succeeded by Liang-pi 良弼. After his death, his son Wen-han 文翰 assumed the position. The present T'u-ch'ien-tsung is the Nan T'uan-shou 喃團首 (Nan, head of the Militia).

The Western circuit (Hsi-lu 西路) was ruled by a T'u-pa-tsung (sergeant) who lived hereditarily at K'ang-p'u village 康普村. His territory extended to the east 10 li from the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong); south 15 li to Kan-lan-mu 橋欞木; west to the Salween (Nu-tzu Chiang 懸子江), 150 li, and north to Cha-lo-ching 渣洛箐, 80 li. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) Wang-lien 王連 captured and chained many prisoners and assisted in extirpating the Li-su robbers. He died in battle.

A memorial being granted, the hereditary title of Hsi-lu T'u-pa-tsung (Sergeant of the Western circuit) was transmitted to his son Shih-chio 世爵. The latter transmitted it to Jung 榮. In the military duties connected with the subjection of Yün chou 雲州 and Ta-yao 大姚 he acquired merit. He was rewarded with the Lan-ling 藍翎 (Raven plume) and also the rank of Shou-pei 守備 (Second Captain). Jung died and his son Chi-jen 吉仁 inherited the position.

Wei-hsi district has to-day a total of twenty-one t'u-ssu or native officials.

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6 This mountain, written more correctly Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, extends from north to south and east of a lower parallel range which hems in the Mekong. Valleys extend to the Mekong at various places. The range stretches north towards Tung-chu-lin and forms the western valley wall of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河.

6 Yün chou, now called Yün hsien, is south of Hsia-kuan and Meng-hua about six to seven stages.

7 Ta-yao is north-west of Ch'u-hsiung about four stages, and about eight stages from the capital via the northern route, Wu-ting, Fu-min 武定富民.
3. THE DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

To the east of the city of Wei-hsi the territory adjoins Li-chiang, a distance of 70 li; the great Li-ti-p'ing Range connects the two territories. In the south it adjoins the T'o-chih ta-ch'iao 拖枝大橋 (T'o-chih is south-west of Lu-tien, and the Ta-ch'iao is a bridge over the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 on which T'o-chih the Na-khi T'o-dtû, [H-M., Toschû], is situated. The Yung-ch'un Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Han-sou Shan which belongs to Li-chiang. It is 25 li distant from Wei-hsi. In the west the territory adjoins I-wan-shui 一碗水 and Jih-teng-ts'un 日登村, which belong to Lan-p'ing [probably the Shih-teng 石登 of the Chinese Yün-nan military map]. In the north it adjoins the A-tun-tzu border at the village of Ta-shih-t'ou-ts'un 大石頭村, on the east bank of the Mekong, south of Tz'u-chung 趙中. North-north-east it adjoins Chung-tien and Te-jung 德榮 of the Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 in Ssu-ch'uan, as well as adjoining on Pa-an 巴安 and several hsien of Ssu-ch'uan. North-north-west it borders on Tz'u-k'ai 仔藜, where there is a deputy magistrate. On the west it borders on the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (球江), the eastern branch of the Irrawadi of the Burma border. In the north it adjoins the Tibetan province of Ch'a-wa-lung 乍瓦龍 (Tsha-wa-rong). Its width from east to west is 70 li and its length from south to north is 405 li.

These boundary notes have been taken from the Wei-hsi Ti-li-chih 維西地理誌 (Geographical records of Wei-hsi) which adds that the southern part of the district is the narrowest and that it was quite broad in the north.

The Tien-hsi, ch. 1, fol. 26b, states the distances as follows: 70 li east to the Li-chiang district border; 1,080 li west to Ch'a-wa-kang 擦瓦岡 in Tibet (this is in Tsha-wa-rong, south-eastern Tibet see page 198); south to the Li-chiang border, a distance of 25 li; north to the Chung-tien border, 310 li; south-east to the Li-chiang border, 70 li; south-west to the Li-chiang border, 70 li. North-east to the Chung-tien border, 320 li; north-west to the Chung-tien border, 720 li.

4. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO WEI-HSI

South of Chü-tien the Yangtze receives a tributary called Hsin-i Ho 新移河, of which one source is on the south-eastern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing, and not the La-pa Shan as the Yün-nan military map would make us believe. The stream is better known as the Chü-tien Ho 8. A bridge of stone slabs

8 North of T'o-chih, is the hamlet of A-dû which is all Na-khi, while T'o-chih is said to be Hsi-fan.

8 Also written 得榮. It is in the realm of the Ba-thang T'u-ssu (Pa-t'ang) 巴塘上司 in Hsi-k'ang. The Hsiang-ch'eng country was also in the territory of the Ba-thang chief, but was made a magistracy called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣 in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and the T'u-ssu (chief) was abolished. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese control the region. Rather, since the abolishing of the chieftainship (that is, the native hereditary governor) the Hsiang-ch'eng have become lawless and independent. The region is now in Hsi-k'ang and not Ssu-ch'uan.

9 The Chü-tien Ho, according to the Yün-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 22, fol. 35, has its source in the Han-sou Shan, 400 li north-west of Li-chiang. All the Lu-tien waters join it and to-
crosses it, over which the trail leads to Chü-tien. Instead of going over the bridge, we follow the south side of the stream to the hamlet of Hsin-i (Bi-met’ang in Na-khi). The southern side of the lower part of this valley is crystalline limestone, while the rocks near Bä-da are mica schist. The people are a mixture of Na-khi and Chinese, but not Tibetan as Kingdom Ward tells us. One li beyond Hsin-i we come to the village of Gu-du-wua; here we meet with lamaistic structures, such as mani rock piles, on the smooth surfaces of which is chiseled the familiar Tibetan prayer, the magic formula of Chenrezig, *Om mani padme hum*. A few li more bring us to the hamlet of La-p’iu-gku (H-M., Lapikou; the Chinese, La-p’ieh-ku 拉坡古) which boasts of a large Chinese temple dedicated to the Kuan-sheng Ti 關聖帝.

The trail continues up the cultivated valley where in the order of their importance, maize, rice, beans, and buckwheat are grown, also sorghum. Here, beyond La-p’iu-gku, we cross the stream over a narrow board bridge and follow its northern bank. The trees along the bank are mostly willows, together they flow south-east past Chü-tien hsün’shung (Chü-tien military post) into the Yangtze. On the northern bank of the Chü-tien Hsü, between the two bridges which span that tributary of the Yangtze, is situated a small hamlet called Pai-t’a 白塔 (White stupa, or White pagoda).

Two li south of Chü-tien on the slopes, above the Yangtze, there stands a pagoda known to the people as Man-tzu t’a 馬字塔 (Pagoda with Manchu letters). The pagoda is actually below a Kuan-yin Temple (Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺) near the village of A-wüa (A-wats’un 阿瓦村), in the li of Chü-tien. It is about 15 feet or more high and is quadrangular. Tradition relates that it was built by Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) at the time of his Burmese campaign. His army travelled by this road (Chü-tien) while en route to attack Mien-tien 縣甸 (Burma). On their arrival at Chü-tien they were footsore and weary and they camped there. As they were people from the north it is believed that they knew Manchu characters (probably Mongolian script) and thus the building of this pagoda is attributed to Kublai Khan. As the rock selected for the building of the t’a was of a poor quality, the characters soon became illegible. It was later repaired and reconstructed and a Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddha) was requested to write the text, previously chiseled into the rock, on the plastered walls of the repaired pagoda.

The text written in Tibetan is still legible. It reads as follows:

"**OM MA NI PAD ME HÚM HRI!**

May the pagoda with basis and globe grant long life, health, happiness and perfection for a period of hundred years (perpetually) to traversing military forces, travelers, etc., while crossing the river which has the appearance of milk.

Erected in the fire—female-sheep year, in the beginning of the year, in the third moon, on the 14th day, on a full moon, on a Thursday.

Chiseled into the rock by the inscription sculptor Nyi-ma, motivated by me A-zho La-tsa-yar.

May long life, health, happiness and perfection be granted."

This last sentence is repeated. The pagoda was to guarantee success to those who were to undertake the crossing of the river at this place. As it is said that the pagoda was erected by Mongols while engaged in an expedition against Burma, the date given above can only be April 26, 1307, or the eleventh year of the period Ta-te 大德 of the Mongol Emperor Ch’eng Tsung 成宗 (Timur or Olcheitu). It could not have been the year 1247, the previous fire-sheep year, for the Mongols did not make their appearance in Yün-nan until the year 1253.

Olcheitu succeeded Kublai Khan on the throne of China. The foundations of houses which once upon a time stood around the pagoda are still visible. Every year people worshipped here.
PLATE 153. — THE YANGTZE NEAR SHIH-MEN-KUAN

金沙江石門關

The trail north of Shih-men-kuan is very difficult to negotiate especially in the summer when it is flooded by the Yangtze. In the distance immediately back of Shih-men-kuan is a steep conical mountain crowned by a temple.
The large bend of the river is actually between the villages of Shang-ko-tzu and Tz’u-k’ai. Photographed from a bluff north of Shang-ko-tzu, 1½ stages north of Shih-ku.
Plate 155. — The Tä-ch'êng K'üan, One of the Most Historic Passes of Northwestern Yün-Nan.

(Conway's Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
The defile is the ethnic border between the Na-khi and Tibetans. The river flows through arid gorges and is still the border between Chung-tien and Wei-hsi — Te-ch’ìn (A-tun-tzu) as far as T’o-hsien 沱 関. From there on it becomes the border between Te-ch’ìn and Hsi-k’ang.
A Na-khi from the village of Lu-tien on the Li-ti-p'ing, showing how to use the crossbow.

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
The town consists of about 400 houses and is at an elevation of 8,000 feet. Its inhabitants are mostly Chinese.

Plate 158: THE TOWN OF WEI-HSI
Unlike the Li-chiang Na-khi lamas who belong to the Karma-pa sect, the lamas of K'ang-p'u, Shou-kuo Ssu, belong to the reformed Yellow Sect.
He was better known as Wang Tsan-ch'en. Photographed in his Yamen in 1923.

PLATE 160.—THE LATE MUN-KWUA OR NA-KHI CHIEF OF YEH-CHIH
WANG KUO-HSIANG

葉枝木瓜王國相

He was better known as Wang Tsan-ch'en. Photographed in his Yamen in 1923.
PLATE 161. — THE MEKONG NEAR THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LO-NDU

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
There are two rope bridges at Lo-ndu, for crossing from the east to the west bank and vice versa. The rope is made of twisted bamboo (Arundinaria), and the post around which it is wound, of cypress wood. The ropes are changed about every three months, depending on the traffic.
Plate 163. — The Mekong Gorge near Tse-yi-p’o

Formidable rapids preclude any attempt at navigation. On the steep walls of the gorge grow Junipers and Cypresses.
Horses are equally frightened when crossing a rope bridge; they usually kick, open their mouth and lift up their tail. Arrived on the other side they lie down exhausted.
In the autumn hundreds of pilgrims cross here en route to the sacred Dokar La.
The Valley of the Mekong between Yang-tsa and Yeh-tsi is an arid trench. Note the trail built up against the cliff. Owing to constant rockslides the Chinese have given this part of the gorge the name of "Hill of the shuttle rock."
The caravan trail which leads to Ngun-ya is visible on the east slope of the arid gorge. The Mekong, is of a blue green, especially in the winter. The bushes are *Sophora viciifolia* and *Bauhinia densiflora*.
while several species of oaks grow on the lower half of the mountain slopes, and above them are forests of pines. Two li beyond the last village we come to the Na-khi hamlet of Bä-da (H-M., Bäta) situated along a brook lined with walnut trees. Here the valley narrows considerably; the slopes are terraced and mainly rice is grown. The rocks are phyllitic schist, with many quartz-veins and limestone, and the trees pines and oaks. This calcareous phyllitic stage is succeeded by crumpled quartz-mica schist, and as the valley narrows to a ravine the river-bed is littered with igneous rocks (GREGORY). On the south bank of the stream is situated the hamlet of Wu-lu-wan 萄窪灣. In the narrowest part of the valley or just a short distance beyond, another valley debouches from the south. Here the trail passes through the village of Chi-li-wan 吉利灣.

In the main valley, about a half a li beyond Chi-li-wan, cultivation ceases, with the exception of some steep, cultivated hill-sides with one or two houses. The forest here is of a mixed and semi-evergreen type and is mainly composed of several species of oaks, Castanopsis concolor, and Schima argentea, while along the stream Alnus nepalensis is the most common tree, in company with Uraria sinensis. The trail leads across a wooden bridge and follows on the south bank to a meadow, and then ascends the southern valley slopes in steep zigzags. Opposite on the steep northern valley slopes there are still a few fields and huts. From here a commanding view rewards the traveler looking back towards the Yangtze over the valley of the Chii-tien Ho. The former type of vegetation has now given way to pines and oaks, with Rhododendron racemosum and Rhod. decorum, Lyonia ovalifolia, etc.

Leaving the main branch of the valley we turn directly south, at an elevation of 8,000 feet, into another branch which becomes narrower and narrower, the stream being the width of a brook; but the ravine, instead of terminating in a mountain spur, emerges by a narrow cleft into a broad, circular basin, the rushing brook becoming a broad stream, again flowing lazily in a sandy, gravelly bed between fields. In the valley tall pine trees form dense forests till we come to the hamlet T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘 (H-M., Taipingta). From here we descend through wild walnut groves and pass another hamlet called Ta-shui-kou 大水溝. The trail leads to the stream-bed which it follows.

The vegetation now changes completely, being composed mostly of Pyrus pashia, Malus, Corylus or hazel-nut bushes, and tall trees (Corylus chinensis), also several species of Acer, as Acer robustum with cane-brake, or Arundinaria faberi as undergrowth. It takes on the character of the uplands, for we find Meliosma cuneifolia, Viburnum, Cornus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, Desmodium, etc.

Lu-tien village. — The narrow ravine, with its steep slopes, opens out abruptly through the narrow cleft mentioned, into the broad amphitheatrical valley, with scattered groups of houses which comprise the Na-khi village of Lu-tien 魏甸 11 (MAJ. D., Li-tien), the Na-khi, Lv-dü. 12 This is 70 li distant

11 Tien 甸 stands for frontier lands.
12 The hamlet is situated on decomposed outcroppings of eruptive rocks. The most conspicuous rocks of the floor basin are biotite-quartz-diorite-porphyry, also rhyolite and...
from Chu-tien and 60 li from Wei-hsi. It is also spoken of as Lu-tien t’o-ting, a ward of Li-chiang, of which it is north-west and distant 400 li, which is also the distance from that city to the Wei-hsi district border. Lu-tien is actually composed of five villages called: Tien-pei, Tien-wei, Tien-nan, Tien-hsin, and Tien t’ou, while directly west of the latter is the hamlet of Hsin-shang.

The stream is crossed over a wooden bridge and the first house encountered is the schoolhouse. On the northern valley slopes is a lamasery, the most imposing building in the valley. Elevation of Lu-tien 8,900 feet. Lu-tien is called Rü-dü (Rus-bsdus) in Tibetan, and the lamasery is known to the Chinese as Ling-chiao Ssu, and to the Tibetans as bKris-dgahhkhyil gling (Lamasery of prosperity and emblem of purity). The word bKris is an abbreviation of bKra-shis.

The trail ascends the western mountain slope back of the village, with a ravine to the south — the head-waters of the Lu-tien Ho by which name this part of the stream is known. Here at 9,500 feet grow three species of the family Taxaceae, namely Cephalotaxus Fortunei, a glaucous shrub or small tree with plum-like fruits, Torreya Fargesii, and the Chinese yew, Taxus chinensis, a shrub with red fruits; also several species of oaks, Acer, Lithocarpus variolosa, Pyrus pashia, Cornus, Engelhardtia, Pinus Armandii, Rhododendron decorum, Berberis, Rhamnus, Elaeagnus, etc. As we ascend higher the forest becomes denser and consists mainly of huge oaks, Quercus semicarpifolia, the Yün-nan hemlock Tsuga yün-nanensis, with Arundinaria faberi as undergrowth. The trail leads finally out into pine and oak forest at 10,200 feet. Usnea longissima, a lichen of long yellow strands, festoons all the trees.

The Li-ti-p’ing divide. — We emerge finally at a pass, 10,800 feet elevation, which leads out into a broad, grassy plateau (Yangtze-Mekong watershed). The soil is a reddish-yellow decomposed sandstone. The swampy alpine meadow is lined by dense spruce (Picea ascendens) forest mixed with a copper-bark birch (Betula japonica var. szechuanica) and with cane-brake (Arundinaria) undergrowth. At the time of my visit (October) the meadows were blue with a lovely species of Gentian (Gentiana sino-ornata). The trail leads across the meadow along the forest. The birch and Sorbus trees were then in autumn garb, and their gay-colored foliage contrasted beautifully against the dark spruces. The forest was carpeted with deep moss, as were the fallen giants of spruces, long since dead. Picea ascendens forms pure stands on the Li-ti-p’ing. The forest is dense and somber, a solid wall of green, only on the outskirts grows the bushy, yellow-flowered Rhododendron litiense, with wild cherry trees. The former, five to six feet tall, forms a belt around the forest, while a smaller species covers the otherwise bare hill-

felsite. On the ascent to the Li-ti-p’ing pass the diorite-porphyry and granite are better preserved than in the basin floor (GREGORY).

18 In the Yün-nan T’ung-chih, T’o-ting is written T'o-ting.
sides. Unfortunately the Li-ti-p’ing is a notorious robber haunt where Li-su robbers hold up caravans, and loot and murder. Hence caravans and travelers do not tarry long, but hasten to more friendly regions. It is a gorgeous place to camp, virgin, undisturbed, a paradise for the lover of the out-of-doors.

The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chik*, ch. 18, fol. 3, says: “The Li-ti-p’ing 栗地坪 is 40 li east of Wei-hsi. The road is narrow and like the steps of a stairway, the immense trees form a huge canopy which cuts off all view, clouds envelop the region, being wafted back and forth by the wind. There is much rain and mist, and even on a summer day one must wear furs. In the ninth moon there is much rain and snow; in the winter and spring the snow lies 10–20 feet deep. Once the snow lay so deep in the autumn that along the road tall poles had to be erected at intervals of 10 feet with cross-pieces tied for support. Often for 20 to 30 days the trail would be completely blocked. In the second or third moon [April to May] the trail would be passable for human beings but not for horses. Even after days and days of sunshine only half the snow would melt. After the beginning of summer the snow would melt sufficiently to make the trail visible, as well as the cliffs. In ancient days the snow lay deeper, but is now diminishing in volume.”

This would indicate that in earlier days (the book was written in 1831) the forests were vaster than they are now, as it states that the road was narrow and like a stairway and no view could be had. To-day the central part of the Li-ti-p’ing is cleared of forest and its place is taken by a broad meadow. The snow is still a great obstacle to travel and the road is often closed for months.

The pass at the northern, or Wei-hsi, side of the Li-ti-p’ing, is at an elevation of 11,000 feet. The summit of this pass consists of a ridge of porphyry, while the descent westwards is over decomposed igneous rocks with occasional outcroppings of limestone and dolerite. A long spur extends southwest by west towards Wei-hsi; the upper part consists of slate and the lower part of black slate, or phyllite, with intrusive rhyolite (GREGORY). The trail descends through lovely pine and spruce forest mixed with oak, and becomes really a road and a surprisingly good one for this part of the world, with few rocks and a good grade. We follow on the top of a lateral spur through beautiful forest, but then descend rather steeply to a small stream which leads to the village of Pei-pa. The view of Wei-hsi is hidden by a mountain range which extends at right angles to the spur we descend. The vegetation at the little stream is composed mainly of wild pears and apples, maples, hazelnut bushes, and oaks (*Quercus Griffithii*), plus bushy *Rhododendron racemosum* and a hydrangea. Beyond Pei-pa we descend to the Wei-hsi Stream which flows in a northerly direction into the Mekong. This stream is called the Yung-ch’un Ho 永春河 (Eternal spring River). A wooden bridge spans it which is called Ch’ing-yün-hsiang ch’iao 慶雲享橋. It is also called the Yung-ch’ün ch’iao and was first built in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834).

The banks of the stream are flat and wide-spreading and are cultivated with maize and rice.
**Wei-hsi.**—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 你那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung) in Tibetan, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch’un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T’ung-p’an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t’ai 嘉爾泰 ordered the T’ung-p’an Ch’en Ch’üan 陳權 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T’ao 王藻 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T’ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The Ssu-ch’uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch’un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 獅華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 維安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 龍經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.17

Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch’un Ho from the Mekong.18 The mountain is called the T’ai-i Shan 太乙山 (Mountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T’ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹苗. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong 19 pronounced Kye-nä-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is “To hold or maintain the West.”

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEH-CHIH 葉枝 PLAIN

We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

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16 วะนะ งะ
17 คำว่าคำว่า
18 The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GREGORY).
19 ফাঙ্গণ রাত্রে
arch bridge by a small hamlet consisting of a few houses. The trail leads on the east bank of the stream along the foot of a rocky mountain slope composed of reddish-purple boulders. The vegetation consists mainly of bushes such as Corylus and Escholtzia. The mountains rise to about 2,000 feet on the west bank, and 3,000 feet on the east bank, with secondary parallel ridges. Terraced rice-fields extend along the banks, but well above the river. On the west bank is situated the village of Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬壠. Here the slopes of the mountain are covered with tall forests of Pinus yünnanensis. One li beyond we come to a few houses which compose the village of Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍壠, also situated on the west bank. The river winds considerably, passing through a small rocky defile, the trail following downstream on the east bank. The path becomes narrower and almost impassable due to many wash-outs and projecting boulders. About a hundred feet above the stream on the west bank is the hamlet of Ma-li-p'ing 麻梨坪.

We cross a small tributary and follow the ever-narrowing trail, which in places is really perilous, winding up and down and around hill-sides, then again through groves of oaks and Cornus capitata trees, pears, Rhamnus, and Berberis, until we come to the poorest village so far encountered; it is called La-p'u-wan 脣普灣 (also written 剌普灣). Soon we come to another village called Chuang-fang 住房; here the river is very narrow and strewn with huge boulders, a wooden bridge crossing it. The hamlet is on the east bank almost at the level of the river-bed. A little over a li brings us to the Tibetan village of Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石). About 30 li to the west of this place a quicksilver mine is said to exist. Red sandstone and gray grits with patches of manganese dioxide and iron oxide are to be found at Wua-shih (GREGORY).

The valley becomes considerably narrower with rather steep slopes.

Ka-ka-t'ang village. — Ten li more and we arrive at the narrow, filthy conglomerate of huts and pigsties which calls itself the village of Ka-ka-t'ang 憶墨塘. Near the entrance to the village is a spring enclosed in a square rock basin over which a tiny Lung-wang shrine had been built. Fish swam peacefully in it. The inhabitants nearly all have goitres, some of extraordinary size, almost as large as the head itself.

From Ka-ka-t'ang a trail leads east across a pass and along the valley of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 秋河 to La-p'u. The Chung-ch'iu Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing and flows first parallel with the Yung-ch'un Ho and then turns straight north there it is called La-p'u Ta-ho; it bends east at La-p'u, and debouches into the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung 長江. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan gives its source south of Pong-tse-ra and ignores two high passes between Pen-tzu-lan 奔子關 and La-p'u, thus making the stream flow over the passes south, instead of from south to north. Davies' map is here also completely wrong, for the two sources of his stream, one in the Kar-ri La and the other in the Ponge La, a pass 12,150 feet in height, flow together on the map, but have no outlet. The Yon-dze-khà, which is the Tibetan name of the stream, rises in the Pai-mang Shan and flows south, but above Rong-sha (Lo-she 洛舍); it then flows east and debouches into the Yangtze.
From Ka-ka-t'ang the trail follows high above the stream, but descends now and again to its bed. It is in places washed out and narrowed by projecting boulders, so that the loads have to be lifted from the saddles, and carried across on their frames sideways. On this stretch it is best to follow the Tibetan custom of tying the loads directly to a saddle, rather than the Yünnanese custom of having a wooden saddle-frame which can be lifted off the saddle and rested on the ground.

A-nu-ndo hamlet. — After a march of 30 li we pass the small Tibetan hamlet of A-nu-ndo the Chinese A-nan-to 阿南多 (H-M., Anadon, MAJ. D., A-nan-tu). On the steep hill-sides cultivation is carried on, the principal crops being maize, millet, beans and tobacco, the leaves of the latter are tied to strings which are stretched under the eaves of the houses to dry. The trail follows the river in a north-westerly direction; the ravine becomes narrower and, about 15 li beyond A-nu-ndo, which is on the west bank, another stream joins the main stream we have been following. Major Davies places his A-nan-tu at the bend of the river where it flows west into the Mekong and receives the affluent just mentioned. This, however, is not so. The bend is 15 li north of A-nu-ndo.

The trail leads on down the spur separating the two streams and follows up the affluent from the east for a few hundred yards, crosses it over a bridge and follows the steep, rocky mountain slopes composed of slate, shale and sandstone. To the east, high cliffs with rugged peaks rise several thousand feet into the sky. We follow the main stream, augmented by the affluent, down a narrow gorge with steep, overhanging sandstone walls, a short distance beyond which the stream enters the Mekong.

Ho-chiang-ch'iao on the Mekong. — At the mouth of the stream is situated the hamlet of Ho-chiang-ch'iao 合江橋, and, one li beyond, the first single-rope bridge spans the Mekong. The bridge consists of one bamboo rope evenly suspended but sagging in the middle. A short distance beyond this bridge on the east bank of the Mekong is the hamlet Pei-ch'i-ts'un 北濟村 (H-M., Betjihsün) above which the river makes a curve at the foot of a high peak. The trail soon descends to near the water's edge, passes a huge rapid and climbs again to below the village of Lao-ch'ing-ku 老慶古, situated on a prominent bluff. Here maize is the principal crop. At the mouth of a narrow ravine, along the banks of a tributary of clear, bluish water debouching from the west into the Mekong, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'ang 老 chàng. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. A few li beyond, after having passed through walnut and chestnut groves, we reach the most forlorn of all villages, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西 (Small Wei-hsi), the acme of neglect. At this village is a Catholic church in charge of a Chinese priest. Elevation of Hsiao-wei-hsi 6,400 feet, and a distance of 90 li from Ka-kat'ang.

Here the Mekong valley is inhabited by a tribe called the La-mao jen 剃毛人 (La-mao), besides Mo-so and Chinese. The Yün-nan T'ung-chih writes Tz'u-mao 剃毛, and has the following to say in ch. 202, p. 22b, "They dwell on the banks of the Lan-ts'ang Chiang; they delight to live near the
Their language is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 輸, Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind."

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪桶, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 出大 (H-M., Djūta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩怒. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa "A. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a bluff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500-2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Shou-kuo Ssu lamasery. — We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普, called K'u-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 500 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 喃. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his
spacious house and court, facing the west on the second floor, is the private Lama chapel of our friendly host. [He has since died; the early ancestor who was commissioned T’u-ch’ien-tsung in the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠山, see p. 296.] The lamas here are all Na-khi. (PLATE 159).

Their lamasery is called Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺 and is situated beyond K’ang-p’u in a grove of pines above the village of Ga-la-she (Ka-la-she 嘎拉舍). It is 240 li north of Wei-hsi, and was built in the 12th year of Yung-cheng (1734). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling 20 and the region in which K’ang-p’u is situated is known as Mi-nag-rong 21 (Valley of the black people). This, with the A-tun-tze lamasery called Te-ch’in Ssu 德欽寺 in Chinese and De-chhen-gling 22 in Tibetan, and the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery called Don-grub-gling 23 in Tibetan, and situated at Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), belong to the (Ge-lug-pa Yellow reformed sect), whose head is the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa. To this same sect belongs also the lamasery of Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺, the Tibetan Yangs-pa-chan, 24 situated north-east of Wei-hsi and built in the 18th year of Ch’ien-lung (1753).

From K’ang-p’u we descend to the Mekong over a rocky trail, then in great zigzags over a huge bluff to 500 feet above the river. Enormous boulders project everywhere, covered with orchids. At the summit of the bluff is a fine grove of pines and two mani shrines, with slabs of smooth rock engraved with the ubiquitous Tibetan formula. The Mekong is here very narrow, flowing between steep walls, but widens somewhat near the village of Ga-la-she, beyond which the river turns east-north-east. There a canyon opens into the Mekong gorge, sending a torrent of clear water between huge vertical cliffs of whitish-yellow limestone into the river, while high above a snow-capped peak crowns the scene.

The Mekong now enters a narrow gorge, the waters forming tremendous rapids of considerable length which undermine the walls of conglomerate and black slate on both banks. Near the village of Hsiao-sheng-tao the river widens, the hamlet being situated on a gentle, fan-shaped slope at the mouth of a circular ravine. Several li beyond, the trail skirts a huge, yellow sandstone cliff, over steep steps, with a sheer drop of 50 feet to the river. The trail is exceedingly narrow and hewn into the cliff, in places broadened by a plank or log with an abyss beneath. Ahead is a long island covered with forest; the river is here very broad, and terraced rice-fields extend down to its banks.

Yeh-chih plain. — The plain of Yeh-chih 葉枝 is called Yu-dtū in Na-khi and is under a Tu-ssu 土司 of the Na-khi tribe. The late chief’s name was Wang Tsan-ch’en 王贊臣 (PLATE 160). He is known as the Mun-kwua (Military Official), commonly spoken of as the Mu-kua 木瓜 in Chi-

20 པོ་མི་ཐོག་པོ་ིན་ 21 རྩེ་བོའི་ 22 ཡེ་ཐོ་གོ་ིན་ 23 ཡོང་གུ་གི་ 24 ཡོང་པ་ཁང་ 25 ཡོངས་པ་ཁང་

Yangs-pa-chan is the Tibetan translation of the name of the town Vaiśālī, in which Buddha often resided.
nese. He was the descendant of a military officer placed there by the ancient Na-khi chiefs to rule the district. His son has now succeeded him. His power extends to the Chi'iu Chiang, whence the Chi'iu-tzu tribe pay him tribute-taxes in kind. The Yün-nan T'ung-chih mentions as first ancestor a certain Wang Lien who ruled as sergeant at K'ang-p'u, (see page 296); the Wang family apparently moved to Yeh-chih later.

Following along the sandy stream-bed on the edge of the fields for about two li, we reach the hamlet of Yeh-chih. The T'u-ssu has a very spacious mansion and was a very hospitable host, and a friend of the foreigner. Mr. George Forrest, the English botanist, owed his life to him when he was pursued by the lamas of A-tun-tzu and other lamaseries in 1905, and even saw the venerable Père Dubernard murdered in cold blood at Tz'u-ku, where the Catholic mission used to be. At the time of my visit in 1923 the T'u-ssu was 65 years of age. In the rear of his yamen is a private chapel, where a lama prays and beats the drum and blows his conchshell for the spiritual benefit of the T'u-ssu and his household.

East of Yeh-chih is a peculiar mountain range, purple in color and much eroded. It is the Pai-ngai Shan (White cliff Mountain) which extends from north of Yeh-chih to below K'ang-p'u. To the west of Yeh-chih, forming the Mekong—Salween divide, is the Nu Shan, which extends from north of Yeh-chih to south of Wei-hsi. The southern part of this mountain, back of the hamlet of Fu-ch'uan, on the west bank of the Mekong, is known as Fu-ch'uan Shan. North of Fu-ch'uan is the hamlet of Ch'i-p'u. The Fu-ch'uan Shan is a wonderful botanical collecting ground, as is the entire Mekong—Salween divide in Yün-nan and Tibet. It is south of the Wei-hsi district border.

The climate of Yeh-chih is warm, but in the three winter months all the surrounding mountains are covered with snow, which even in the spring does not melt. In September heavy frosts begin, but the climate of Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, is much hotter in the summertime.

Père F. Goré in his Notes sur les Marches Tibétaines, Hanoi, 1923, p. 47, calls him Nou Koua, chief of the Nou or Lou-tseu. This is, however, erroneous, for Mun-kwua is a Na-khi term meaning "Soldier Governor." There were only two Mun-kwua, one at Yeh-chih, the other at O-yü on the Zho Chhu and they were the highest-ranking officials after the chief at Li-chiang.

The father of the late Mun-kwua was a great friend of the conqueror of the Ta-li Mohammedans, the famous Yang Yü-k'o. He was assassinated in 1871 while carrying out the latter's orders to subjugate the Hung-p'o Lamasery, one stage south of A-tun-tzu. Although the Chinese revenged his death, it was not sufficient for the new Mun-kwua, the son of the victim, for he called out 2,000 Li-su who, prior to marching forth, drank fresh bull's blood, swearing vengeance. They brought destruction to all the villages controlled by the Hung-p'o lamas to within sight of the village of Tz'u-ku, but spared the Christians and the Catholic missions. They drove off the flocks of the peasants and the latter they carried off into slavery.

All foreigners who passed through Yeh-chih have only kind words and praise for the Mun-kwua. T. T. Cooper, who travelled through his territory in 1868 when Ta-li was in the hands of the Moslems, and when his way south was barred, enjoyed the hospitality of the father of the late Mun-kwua Wang Tsan-ch'en, and has the highest praise for him and his relatives. Even the Catholic priests, when expelled from Tz'u-ku, found refuge with the Mun-kwua, who was their friend.
6. THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE YEH-CHIH T’U-SSU.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Yü Te-chün, a Chinese botanist who recently visited Yeh-chih, I have come into the possession of a copy of the genealogical record of the Wang family of Yeh-chih. This record has been jealously guarded by the present T’u-ssu of Yeh-chih, who even declared not to possess any. The record is not flattering and this may account for his reluctance to reveal it. The Wang family which since the death of the late T’u-ssu has degenerated, exercises now only a nominal control over the district. The record is brief and full of hostile remarks about certain members of the family. It was written by Li Wen-ch’üan, alias Li Yü-lien, a Chinese, who was the tutor and secretary of the late T’u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch’én, also known as Wang Kuo-hsiang. Both T’u-ssu and secretary were living at the time of my visit in October 1923, while leading an expedition in south-eastern Tibet for the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C. Besides the Genealogical record here published, there exists apparently another one, but that is not available and may be no more extant.

It is most curious that so little is known about the male line of the Wang family, for the first two rulers mentioned are women. The first is a mother-in-law of the female tribal chiliarch, and the second is her daughter-in-law. The husband of the latter was presumably an outsider and is therefore not mentioned in the family record.

Introduction to the Genealogical Record. — Li Yü-lien, B.A., was requested by the T’u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch’én to compose this record, so we are told in the introductory remarks, which are as follows:

“There have been eight generations from the first ancestor to Hsiang 恆 (Wang Kuo-hsiang). During that period some of the forefathers, leading a patriotic life, achieved much in the way of reclaiming waste lands, erecting temples and lamaseries; also in the construction of bridges. Others again distinguished themselves in military exploits. Among those who were repeatedly rewarded with medals and other decorations, mention may be made of the ancestor of the fourth generation on whom was bestowed an honorary tablet by the viceroy. The writer’s (the late T’u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch’én) own father (T’ing-chao 廷詔) was promoted from a Pa-tsung (Sergeant) to a Ch’ien-tsung 千總 (Lieutenant) and Shou-pei 守備 (Second captain). On him was also bestowed the third grade peacock feather, as well as a tablet bearing the inscription Wei Kuo Chüan Ch’ü 爲國捐軀 (You gave your life for your country). Unfortunately he died suddenly while serving his country, as a result of a quarrel among the brothers in the family. The Li-chiang prefect Chu 朱 27 sent a eulogy for his funeral.

The writer’s third uncle by the name of Hsüan 賢, who harbored evil intentions, wanted a share of the property, kept on causing trouble until the case was finally brought before a court. Unexpectedly the writer’s false uncle

27 Chu Ch’ing-ch’un 朱慶椿 became Li-chiang Chih-fu 知府 or prefect in the eleventh year of Hsien-feng 成豐 (1862).
T'ing-tso, who followed the bad example of the other uncle caused incessant trouble.

Now several decades have elapsed and the writer’s age is almost seventy. It is still remembered that the writer was treated like a dog or a sheep by his two wolf-like uncles who were bent on exterminating him. Moreover, the second and fourth uncles, who were lamas, trying to dig up the rats and catch the birds, compelled us to give them a portion of the family property and issue a title deed to cover their share. In consequence the family tie with them was severed.

Alas! Is it conceivable that my mortal body should have undergone so many upheavals of the world? The only consolation I have lies in the prosperity the family has gradually enjoyed by virtue of the secret blessings from the ancestors.

After the family residence was destroyed by fire, a new and more elaborate building was erected in its place. Farmsteads have been established at such villages as Pa-ti, Tzu-li, East Pai-man-lo and West Pai-man-lo, To-lo, Lung-t’o-lo, and Lung-t'o-lo. Difficulties were often experienced in arranging weddings and funerals. In handling official business and in dealing with public affairs, much was left to be desired. Putting my hand over my heart in self-examination, I do not know how much energy has been spent over these matters.

Now I have sons and many nephews, and ere long the grandsons will themselves have children of their own. Time certainly flies and I am much moved by the fact that the span of life is merely like a dream.

I have requested Mr. Li Yü-lien, B. A., to compose this article. It is not intended to add anything to the glories already existing, but merely to state the facts so that a part of the grandeur of the past may still be seen by posterity.”

“On a lucky day in the fourth lunar month, in the seventh year of the Republic of China (May 10th–June 9th, 1918).

Recorded by Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相 (Wang Tsan-ch’en 王贊臣). Composed and written by Li Yü-lien (Li Wen-ch’uan) tutor 西席 to the ancient Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 (Kingdom of the piebald horse).”

Genealogical Record of the Wang family.

First Generation. — Ho-niang 禾娘: The mother-in-law of the female tribal lieutenant Chih-ming. Her daughter-in-law Chih-ming was brave and loyal and alone succeeded her husband in office and opened up Wei-hsi. Unfortunately her husband died early, survived by a daughter. Ho-niang and her son’s wife carried on extensive philanthropic work by erecting six temples which they endowed with land and fields. They rehabilitated

*The text actually says: ch’ui-hsien = (whose) mouth watered. As an old saying goes, ‘who will quietly let another man snore beside his own bed’? A lawsuit was filed against him at the office of the prefect and the case was appealed to the office of the Tao-yin and then to the viceroy. Complaint was made against the designs of the said false uncle and his son who intended to confuse our ancestral line by the admission of persons of different surnames. The case was finally settled when a definite verdict was issued for each party to abide by its documentary evidence.
the estates belonging to the various petty tribal officers, and clearly defined the boundaries of the properties of the inhabitants, and erected a city wall.

In the 15th or 16th year of Yung-cheng (A.D. 1737 or 1738) they requested that the tribal system be changed to the Chinese system and that an office for the pacification of the tribespeople be established.

It may be mentioned that since the founding of the Republic, Wei-hsi has been made into a district.

Second Generation. — Wang A-chih 王阿芝: Daughter of Ho-niang, left K’ang-p’u for Yeh-chih where her surname was changed to Wang. She had no son but only a daughter who was married to Tsai-hsi 代錫。The latter lived with her in her family. Like her mother she inherited the hereditary position and increased the family property by the reclamation of waste land.

(The name of the daughter does not appear in the record, neither did she succeed her mother).

Third Generation. — Wang Tsai-hsi 王再錫: The son-in-law of Wang A-chih. He had two sons. No reference can be found in the family genealogy as to his birthplace. However he succeeded his mother-in-law holding the same position and was known to be upright and unselfish. He was kind to the people.

Fourth Generation. — Wang An 王安: The eldest son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He was sincere and honest by nature. He was systematic in performing official duties and efficient in tranquilizing the people. His superiors appreciated his ability and all the people liked to obey his orders. It was a pity that he did not live long. He had two sons Ch’ao-tung 朝棟 and Ch’ao-fu 朝馥.

Wang Ting 王定: The second son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He had two daughters, their names are not given; one of them was married to Ho Shih-ch’ang 程世昌 of Tien-ku 北古, who lived in his wife’s family.

He was kind and righteous. Both the Chinese and tribespeople liked him. The viceroy presented him with an honorary tablet bearing the inscription: Hsing Tui Ku Ch’u 行敦古處 = Your character is sterling.

Fifth Generation. — Wang Ch’ao-tung 王朝棟: The eldest son of Wang An died early. A man whose original name was Chao 趙 was taken into the family, which named him P’u 璞; Wang Ch’ao-tung’s daughter was given him in marriage. It is impossible to ascertain whence P’u’s father Chao Kuo-chün 趙國俊 had come from.

Yung-cheng ruled for thirteen years only; it should read the 2nd or 3rd year of Ch’ien-lung.

Tien-ku is the Na-khi Dü-gkv; it is north of Yeh-chih.

Chao Kuo-chün was the Yen-chiang t’u-pa-tsung 津江土把總 the native sergeant of the Mekong river bank. His first ancestor was Chao Mu 趙慕 who was appointed to the above position in the seventh year of Ch’ien-lung (1742); he had been victorious over Li-su robbers of Ngai-wa-lo 嚴瓦洛。Chao Hsin 趙信, the son of Chao Kuo-chün inherited the
Wang Ch'ao-fu 王朝輔: The second son of Wang An. He had no son but only two daughters. He was a prudent and industrious young man. He often shared the sufferings and joys of his servants. Villagers and members of his clan admired him for his industry and foresight.

Ho Shih-ch'ang 王世昌: He married one of the daughters of Wang Ting; originally his personal name was Shih-ch'ang. Since he married one of the Wang daughters and lived with the Wang family, he should not have kept the surname Ho. It is also impossible to say why T'ien-chio 天稽 was called the son and heir. It is believed that perhaps at the time of succeeding to the hereditary title, the recorder played a trick and caused an erroneous entry. It will be noted that Ho Shih-ch'ang was the second son-in-law of Wang Ting and that T'ien-chio was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu. Why was he still called son in the records? The land register of the ancestor of the fourth generation was somewhat obscure and contradictory in this respect.

Sixth Generation. — Wang P'u 王璞: He came to Yeh-chih from Wei-hsi and married the daughter of Wang Ch'ao-tung. He had two sons but no daughter. The names of his two sons were Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Wan-nien 萬年.

Wang T'ien-chio 王天稽: He was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu and had four sons and two daughters. His sons were named: T'ing-chao 延昭; Ming-chüeh 明覺, he was the Chang-chiao 掌教 (Wielder of supreme religious authority) of Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺; T'ing-hsüan 延暹 and Te-tu 得度, the latter was a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. The eldest daughter was married to the Wang family of K'ang-p'u 32 and the second daughter was married to the Ho family of Tien-ku. T'ien-chio's parents had died when he was still young. Game hunting was his hobby. When he grew into manhood he was prudent and kind. He built the Hsien-jen 隐禁 or the cave of the immortals and the Lo-tzu bridge 羅子橋. He did much in the reclamation of land and in mining.

Wang T'ien-lu 王天禄: He was T'ien-chio's younger brother, who was the adopted son of Ho Hui-tsu 霍維祖. He was the assistant tribal officer of Yeh-chih. His false (spurious) younger brother, T'ien-kuei 天貴 was the father of the spurious uncle T'ing-tso 廷佐. The family register showed that the spurious father was given a share of the property and that his son was married to the daughter of the Sang family 桑氏 at Kung-shui 公水, 33 and lived in the wife's family. He was followed by his son Chao Ch'ao-chang 趙朝璋 who was killed in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). See also chapter: Wei-hsi native officials. — From: Yün-nan T'ung-chih ch. 145, fol. 33b.

32 It would appear that there was a Wang family at K'ang-p'u which had nothing to do with the Wang family of Yeh-chih. The former was the native Pa-tsung of the Western circuit of Hsi-lu 西路. This Pa-tsung and the Pa-tsung of Northern circuit or Pei-lu 北路 named Nan 姜 resided at K'ang-p'u. Now only the Nan family resides at K'ang-p'u. There is also a Lin-ch'eng t'u pa-tsung 隆城土把總 by the name Wang who lives thirty li east of Li-ti-p'ing 地坪 at Yung-an-ts'un 永安村.

33 The members of the Sang family were T'u-pa-tsungs of A-tun-tzu, dating to the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).
It could not be understood why he started a lawsuit to get a share of the property. He would not have left his wife and children and come to T'opapa-k'o 拖八科, had there not been a prospect of snatching a further portion of the family property.

**SEVENTH GENERATION.** — *Wang Wan-ch'un* 王萬春 and *Wang Wan-nien* 王萬年: They were the elder and second sons of Wang P'u, and became the adopted sons of T'ing-hsüan 廷暹, the third son of T'ien-ch'io. They should have been able to get along with others amicably but after their cousin was assassinated at Hung-p'o 紅坡, they at first attempted in vain to encroach upon the property; later they instituted a lawsuit with a view of seizing the property. It was a great pity that they had no consideration for their sister-in-law and nephews, who were thus exposed to starvation.

*Wang T'ing-ch'ao* 王廷謨: He was the eldest son of T'ien-ch'io. He was brave and resourceful by instinct. He won victories in suppressing the Mohammedan uprising led by Tu 杜. Five of the districts under the Li-chiang prefect sent tablets bearing the inscriptions: Li Yüan Pao Chang 麗垣保障 = the Bulwark of Li-chiang, and Wei Kuo Wei Min 爲國爲民 = for the Country and for the People, etc. He was later instructed by Yang Wu-min 楊武愍 (General Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科 of Ta-li fame) to urge the people to pay the military tax, but he was unfortunately murdered by the wicked lamas. Prefect Chu 朱 a former prefect of Li-chiang and Li 李 the prefect then in office, sent eulogies for his funeral. One of the eulogies was engraved on his tombstone.

**EIGHTH GENERATION.** — *Wang Kuo-hsiang* 王國相 (Plate 160): He was the eldest son of Wang T'ing-ch'ao. He was clever when young and skilled in painting. While he has enjoyed Heaven's blessing, he has been prudent and modest. He has continued the good works of his ancestors in such projects as building highways, repairing bridges, erecting temples and developing waste land. Most of his achievements have already been recorded in the new family genealogy. He has started to accumulate funds for constructing a rope-bridge and ferries. He is most congenial when dealing with the people, and has been quite successful in teaching his sons, grandsons, younger brothers and nephews. The composer of this article has been in his employ for over a decade and is well aware of his enjoyment of prosperity, good reputation and ripe old age. All necessary enterprises have been carried out in all speediness. It may be appropriate to present him with the following eulogies: A noble pair of brothers and a good father and son. He had four brothers named Kuo-tung 国棟; Kuo-liang 国樑; Teng-tzu 登子 [he was a lama of Shou-kuo Ssu] and Kuo-ts'ai 國材. His brother Kuo-tung became a member of the Ho family; he had seven daughters and one son Ho Hou-pen 禾厚本. Kuo-liang had one daughter and one son by name Wen-min 文敏. Kuo-ts'ai had one daughter and three sons: Wen-ch'ang 文養 who became the Chang-chiao of Shou-kuo Ssu, Wen-fu 文敷 and Wen-huan 文煥 who became a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. Wang Kuo-hsiang had three daughters and three sons. The first born is Wang Wen-cheng 王文政, then Wen-shu 文淑 who died in childhood, and Wen-tien 文搢.
Wang Kuo-cheng 王國楨: Was the son of Wang T'ing-hsüan [The assertions made by the author of this genealogy are so uncomplimentary that they are here omitted. Suffice it to say that the clan has degenerated and that opium has played its part in the downfall of the family].

NINTH GENERATION. — Wang Wen-cheng 王文政: Is the eldest son of Wang Kuo-hsiang and is the present ruler of Yeh-chih. He exercises however little authority and it is doubtful if his son will ever inherit the office. He is the father of three sons and one daughter. The sons are named: Wang Chia-lu 王嘉祿, Wang Chia-jui 王嘉瑞 and Wang Chia-pi 王嘉弼. Wang Wen-cheng has since died and his son Wang Chia-lu has succeeded him.

Concluding remarks. — When the Genealogical record was written, Wang Kuo-hsiang was the eighth generation of rulers, but the seventh who ruled at Yeh-chih, for the first generation lived at Wei-hsi. In fact the town is said to have been opened by Chih-ming who also is said to have built the city wall. The first reference to Na-khi being given charge of the region of Wei-hsi, the ancient Lin-hsi and the Na-khi Nyi-na, occurs in the Mu family Chronicle during the rule of A-te A-chu, the eighth generation, in the year 1406.

Recently K'ang-p'u has been attached to Yeh-chih and now forms only a chü 局; the T'u-ssu has lost part of his authority and is only permitted to collect taxes from the Li-su living in the mountains and from Na-khi villages. He administers about 800 families in all.

7. FROM YEH-CHIH PLAIN TO TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

After leaving the Yeh-chih T'u-ssu's yamen we cross the Yeh-chih stream and climb high above the Mekong, passing the village of Tien-ku 甸古, the Dü-gkv of the Na-khi. The trail is again very narrow, covered by landslides and often dropping vertically into the Mekong, which runs like a mill-race. We next pass the village of 'A-wùa (Ngai-wa),

The villages next passed are P'u-lo-tzu 普羅子 (H.-M., Palonso) and Ssi-li the Chinese Tzu-li 子里, each near a lateral stream. The Mekong beyond the last village makes a sharp curve, due to the resistance of the conglomerate, and ahead on a bluff is visible the hamlet of P'u-ti 普地. After crossing over a long wooden bridge a tributary between two vertical cliffs, two li more bring us to the village of Na-kan-to 那干多, and, near another bend of the river, to the village of Ba-dü (Pa-ti 巴滴 or 巴的), distance 65 li from Yeh-chih. Ba-dü is a pure Na-khi village, situated at the foot of a hill forested with pines; opposite on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ku-pu 故布.

Skirting the village of Ba-dü, we come to the hamlet of Lo-ndu (PLATES 161, 162) (Lo-ta 獲達 in Chinese; Maj. D., Nan-tao), and follow the curves

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*a* The Chinese Yen-wa 嶽巖, pronounced Ngai-wa in Yün-nan.

*b* In Tibetan Ba-glang-tsho 巴龍措, pronounced Ba-lang-tsho.
of the mountain slopes over loose slate; on the very banks of the river a short distance beyond Lo-ndu, are hot springs of clear water, forming several small pools almost in contact with the waters of the Mekong. The vegetation is here composed of Excoecaria and other small shrubs. Beyond are large boulders with broad, white quartz veins. After passing a lateral torrent over a wood-plank bridge, we come to the hamlet of Pa-lo or Po-lo (on the Chinese map, Wu-lu receptive, Tibetan U-rong). One li beyond Po-lo the Mekong emerges from a very narrow gorge, with rock walls worn smooth by the torrent, the sides vertical and overhanging. Along the exceedingly narrow trail one can see huge pot-holes, made in the walls by the surging waters of the river thousands of years ago. In places there is no solid trail and wooden planks are laid across narrow chasms, the waters of the Mekong roaring beneath. Again we meet with the magic formula, Om mani padme hum, this time engraved in large letters on the smooth, worn rock wall. The valley becomes still narrower, the trail passing through forests of Quercus variabilis, Cupressus Duclouxiana, and Thuja orientalis, which grow along the river bank. The Thuja trees are as wild as the cypresses, and are not escaped from cultivation as some plant collectors claim.

The gorge of Lung-dre (Liu-tui or Tso-tui, Na-khi Lo-ndér; in Tibetan Lung-hbrel,87 or Connecting valley), which debouches further north from the west into the Mekong, is one grand forest of Thujas and cypresses. I have met with them in gorges east of the Ya-lung in uninhabited regions, where they formed the only covering of the mountain slopes, but nowhere are they so stately as in the drier, lateral canyons which debouch into the Mekong from the Salween — Mekong watershed. There they occupy the inaccessible cliffs and for that reason are immense, well-formed trees. These trees are first met with here and beyond the narrow, rocky gorge of the Mekong.

The trail descends to the stream-bed littered with huge boulders, which cause a tremendous rapid. The mica schist is here arranged in vertical folds. Not far beyond is the hamlet of Tse-yi-p’o (Chieh-i-p’o 结衣坡, or 結義坡) half Chinese, half Tibetan. Here again are formidable rapids which would preclude any attempt at navigation. The mountains rise high on both sides, while the river passes through a most beautiful but short, rocky gorge, forested with junipers (PLATE 163). Beyond, on the west bank of the river, high up on the steep hill-side, is the village of Pa-thang (Pa-tung 巴東). This is the first village in the Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu) district west of the Mekong, and Ta-shih-t’ou 大石頭 is the first east of the Mekong.

_Tz’u-ku and its rope bridge._ — A short distance beyond we arrive at the rope bridge of Tz’u-ku 荖姑,89 also written Chu-ku 著姑. Here prior to

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86 In the January, 1926, number of the (London) Geographical Journal (Dr. H. Gordon Thompson: From Yün-nan fu to Peking, etc.), there is a photograph of this gorge facing p. 12, the title of which is “The Mekong near Pah-tih.”
87 In Tibetan 聯堆 or 聯堆 Spag-thang or Spag-gtong.
88 In Tibetan 斯弩 or 斯弩 Sagittaria sagittifolia L. cultivated for its tubers.
89 Tz’u-ku is the name of a marsh plant Sagittaria sagittifolia L. cultivated for its tubers.
1905 a Catholic mission was established, where Père Dubernard was murdered in cold blood by the fanatic lamas. The bridge is 150 feet above the river-bed and one glides down at express speed to less than 50 feet on the other side. Those unaccustomed to crossing by such not altogether too safe means, strapped to an oak-wood slider greased with yak butter, are all but cheerful at the prospect, be they native or European; those used to crossing such ropes suspended high above the river, pass back and forth as unconcerned as we would cross a courtyard. The rope is often greased by the man sliding across; he would put liquid butter from a bamboo tube into his mouth and, holding his head above the rope, would let the butter run out of his mouth on to the rope. Only mules, horses and heavyweights reach the other bank without aid. Lightweights remain suspended on the sagging rope, in the middle over the roaring torrent. This necessitates pulling oneself up hand over hand to the other side. Once crossed one must confess that this sliding into space is not an unpleasant sensation, the only disagreeable feature is the preliminary tying up in leather straps, fastened to the short semicircular oaken slider. The horses are not less frightened than their riders, for they kick the air with tails up and open mouths, and lie down exhausted from fear on the other side (Plate 164).

From Tz'u-ku to Tz'u-chung is a distance of five li. The latter is a scattered Tibetan village consisting of about 30 houses, with a few Na-khi families who have settled there, while beyond the poor village are a few leper huts. The most imposing building here is the Catholic church, almost worthy of the name cathedral. It was built here, after the destruction of the mission at Tz'u-ku in 1905, by Père Ouvrard who also built the church at Ta-chien-lu. He died later at Tz'u-chung. It was Père Ouvrard who told me that it was easier to convert a Tibetan lama than a Na-khi layman, of whom he had not a single convert. A short distance north of Tz'u-ku, on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ch'eng-to-lo, in Tibetan, Chhu-rdo-lung, pronounced Chhu-do-lung or Valley of water and stones.

From Tz'u-ku a trail leads up the mountain range to the Hsi La 夕拉 in Tibetan Sibs La, a pass over the Mekong-Salween divide (this part of the range being also called Hsi-la hsüeh-shan 錫拉雪山), and thence to the Salween, which route will be described in a separate chapter, although no Na-khi live there. Between Tz'u-ku and Tz'u-chung the river bank is strewed with boulders of coarse-grained purple porphyry and rhyolite, marking the beginning of another development of igneous rocks. At Tz'u-chung proper the river bank consists of pink and black porphyry, which also extends up the hill-side to about 6,800 feet (Gregory).

Do-lung gorge and Mt. Me-tse-mo. — From Tz'u-ku we follow the east bank of the Mekong, never wider than 60–80 yards, to the Tibetan village of Huan-fu-p'ing 换夫坪 or 换富坪 (H-M., Fangfuping) 25 li distant, and

*In Tibetan the name is variably written Tshogs-drug 朵木 or Tshed-grong 朵木 pronounced Tshe-drong.
thence to Ta-shui-kou situated on a bend of the great river. Twenty li beyond Huan-fu-p'ing we come to an exceedingly narrow part of the Mekong gorge, arid in the extreme, and scarcely more than a trench. The trail which leads through the gorge is passable for porters only, while the mule caravans pass over the mountain-side at its entrance, emerging near Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu). This gorge is called Do-lung in Tibetan, and To-lo in Chinese. The trail is one of the worst on the entire stretch to A-tun-tzu, and is simply an echelon, built by means of slender props against the cliff, a sort of trestle-work spanning a chasm. Where the Mekong enters the gorge there is a fierce rapid but in the gorge itself the river flows placidly enough. Nyi-thang called To-lo-t'ang in Chinese, is a Tibetan village situated on a flat spur north of the Do-lung gorge, and consists of a few houses only (Plate 165).

Money is here valueless, for the peasants of this area will sell nothing, but are willing to exchange grain or other victuals for salt and coarse Chinese tea, two commodities unobtainable in this region. The peasants are much afflicted with goitre.

From here one has the first glimpse of the mighty promontory of the Kha-wa-kar-po range, Mt. Me-tse-mo, the southernmost and highest mountain of that magnificent divide. On a manuscript map of the district of A-tun-tzu in the Provincial Library at K'un-ming, the range is marked Yung-chih hsiueh-shan, after a village called Yung-chih, situated on the eastern slopes, and on the west bank of the Mekong. The northern end of the same range is marked as Tu-chü-ling hsiueh-shan. Mt. Me-tse-mo is a wonderful dome, standing separately and projecting from the rest of the range; it is covered with immense masses of snow, with buttresses on each side at the base of the peak. In the early hour of dawn the dome looked a death-like grey, cold and forbidding, but as soon as the sun shone on its almost vertical snow-fields it turned to a rich pink, while the Mekong valley was still sleeping in deep, gloomy shadows.

The trail leads past a narrow lateral gorge and then opposite the Lung-dre canyon which debouches from the west, misty and mysterious, into the Mekong. Up Lung-dre gorge a trail leads to the Zhi-dzom La and to the Salween.

Yang-tsa village. — Cypress trees (Cupressus Duclouxiana) line the Mekong river banks; the valley becomes narrower and more arid, the walls steep and furrowed by huge land-slides. The hamlet of Se-ra-thang (Se-lo-t'ung) is here situated on a small meadow with the mountain walls rising steeply back of it. A few li beyond and the scenery is still more arid save for the cypress trees; not far beyond is the village of Yang-tsa, also called La-tsa, a few scattered houses among boulders. Three rope-bridges are stretched across the river here (Plate 166). In the autumn...
this is a very busy place, for pilgrims, who circumambulate the sacred Kha-wa-kar-po mountains, must cross here to ascend the Do-kar La into Tibet. Then hundreds will slide across in a day, and the rope must be changed once a week, or every three days when the traffic is heavy, as the slender, twisted strands are unable to withstand the strain, for heavy horses cross as well as men. Opposite Yang-tsa is a small Tibetan temple, and above it is situated the Tibetan village of Gyang-dzom (Yung-chih), whence a trail leads to the sacred Do-kar La (rDo-dkar-la, Pass of the white rocks; the Chinese To-k’a-la 多卡拉). The valley narrows again, the rock walls are red and bare, and only among the fields of Yang-tsa are walnut trees grown, the only trees in this region.

From Yang-tsa two roads or trails lead to Yeh-tsi (Yen-tzu 燕子). The upper or main trail leads high above the river, while the smaller one leads directly through the deep, narrow gorge ahead. Only dry, arid scrub vegetation, consisting mainly of Osteomeles Schwerinae, and bushes of the small-leaved Bauhinia densiflora, sparingly covers the loose, rocky slopes. The lower trail through the gorge is built up against the vertical cliff by means of posts which rest on rocks below (Plate 167). It thus leads zigzag up the face of the cliff, suspended over the chasm below in which the Mekong roars.

This part is known to the Chinese as So-shih-p’o 棱石坡. The Yin-nan T’ung-chih says that “it is 300 li north of Wei-hsi. The rocks are like a shuttle, always sliding and ever restless, hence the name So-shih-p’o (Hill of the shuttle rocks). It is three li long, its foot resting in the Mekong. In wind and rain the gravel rolls down and rocks fall from the heights. When travelers wish to pass through they must observe whether there is any wind or rain. Only when there is neither is it possible to traverse this place. Once the rocks and gravel start sliding there is no escape. Anyone travelling from Wei-hsi up the Mekong to Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu) must cross this region, there is no other way; it is on the road to Ba-thang (Pa-t’ang 巴塘) in Ssu-ch’uan (now Hsi-k’ang) and Tibet.”

This is true indeed. It is necessary to traverse the place in the early morning ere the wind rises, for by 10 or 11 a.m. a terrific wind howls through the canyon, hurling down rocks which cause avalanches and woe to the traveler caught in this gorge. A new grave on the slopes, if such it could be called — for a man was simply buried under the rocks — testified to the truth of the statement.

Yeh-tsi and Hung-p’o lamaseries. — Beyond, in a flat, circular depression, is situated the village of Yeh-tsi (Chinese Yen-tzu 燕子) and diagonally across on the western mountain slopes the village of Bar-ta; three rope-bridges span the river, which is comparatively wide at this place. The only vegetation growing here and there consists of bushes of Osteomeles Schwerinae, Bauhinia densiflora and the prostrate Thuja orientalis. The people of Yeh-tsi, in contrast to the inhabitants of other Tibetan villages along the Mekong, are rather surly and unfriendly. A valley opens out here which

" Gyang-hdzom གྱང་དྲེ་ཟློམ " 
" hBah-thang རྒྱ་པོ་ཐང་"
has its source on the western slopes of Pai-mang Shan 白馬山 (also written 芒 and 茅), which are visible through Yeh-tsi valley. Part of the waters of its stream are led by ditches to the village, which is inhabited by Tibetans only. The sky is an azure blue, the atmosphere crystal clear, making every rock stand out sharply defined.

In this valley is situated the Hung-p’o 紅坡 Lamasery, called Yang-pa-chen-ling (Yangs-pa-chan-gling, Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八京寺), which belongs to the Yellow sect, perhaps so named after a monastery in northern Tibet of the same name. It is, however, also the name of a city in Magadha on the site of modern Allahabad. The lamasery was built in the 18th year of Ch’ien-lung (1753). Hung-p’o is known in Tibetan as Ngü-phu, from dngul, silver, and phu, the upper part of a sloping valley. There are also two villages called Hung-po, one north and one south of the lamasery.

Ngun-ya village. — Beyond Yeh-tsi we cross a spur and follow along the now more gently sloping hill-side, past another gap, and arrive at the village of Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 果念); this is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, and is the last pure Na-khi village in north-west Yün-nan. There are, however, other villages inhabited either wholly or in part by Na-khi, across the Yün-nan border in Hsi-k’ang. At Ngun-ya, or Gun-ya, the Mekong flows in a deep trench imprisoned by steep rock walls. It makes a sharp curve to the east, flows through a defile and encircles the spur on the southern slopes of which Ngun-ya is situated; it makes in fact a double horseshoe bend. (Plates 168). Beyond Ngun-ya it flows through a very narrow gorge with a tributary descending through a rocky, arid canyon with the pinnacles of the high mountains visible in the distance.

Fuel is scarce here, the nearest wooded mountain being Pai-mang Shan to the east. The people of Ngun-ya are very friendly and helpful to the traveler, quite a contrast to the surly attitude of the people of Yeh-tsi. They are, however, sorely afflicted with goitre. On the road one meets now only Tibetans, stalwart fellows who greet one with upturned hands raised to about the chest — survival of an ancient custom to show that the hands hold no arms.

All along the Mekong on small promontories are more or less ruined watchtowers built of mud bricks (Plate 169) their walls pierced with loop-holes. It used to be, and still is, the belief that these towers were built by the ancient Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pe (Mu Sen-pe, as it is pronounced by the Na-khi). But, as has already been related, they were not erected by the Na-khi rulers but by the T’u-fan, against the invasion of Na-khi soldiers led by their chiefs. These towers are to be found all along the Chinese — Tibetan, not political, but ethnic border. They are common north in Mu-li, on the Zho Chhu, on the hills in the Li-t’ang River valley, on the Ya-lung, and in the region of Chiu-lung hsien 九龍縣, south of Ta-chien-lu. They form, in fact, an ethnic boundary line from the Mekong to the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河.

From the gorge beyond Ngun-ya the trail again climbs the rocky, steep
slopes, whence the tip of Me-tse-mo becomes visible in the west. Here the Mekong makes a complete S figure, flowing through a very narrow defile. The trail leads to the top of the spur, through a gap with two mani pyramids. No view is, however, obtainable from this spur as one might expect. At the northern slope of the spur is an oblong, somewhat horse-shoe-shaped valley, with fields and scattered walnut trees, and a conglomeration of houses which form the village of Chia-pieh 加別 or Chia-pi 加必. The Chia-pieh stream flows below the village through a narrow ravine cut through brown sandstone into the Mekong. We follow the stream to the Mekong which, a little south of Chia-pieh, enters a very narrow, forbidding-looking gorge; the stream is here not wider than 60 yards with a strong current. Boulders of limestone in the Chia-pieh stream are covered with the familiar Tibetan magic formula in bas-relief. Here the Mekong is a fierce rapid, rushing madly into the weird black gorge.

The trail follows the Mekong in its arid trench, here with less steep slopes. On the west side a torrent joins it; it is a glacier stream from the Kha-wakar-po range. Far away to the north there could clearly be seen a white pyramid west of Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs or lho), the Chinese Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛, in south-east Tibet. It is the Ta-mo-yum (written stag-mo-yum, Tigress mother), another sacred peak of the Tibetans. Kingdon Ward tells us that Ta-mo-yum is a hump of porphyry.

The trail follows over a small plain strewn with boulders and rocks; the mountains rise gently from it, and the Mekong flows between rock walls some 60 feet below it. The vegetation here is a typical xerophytic one consisting mainly of Sophora vicifolia, Berberis, and the small-leaved Bauhinia densiflora.

Up the Te-ch’in valley from Chin-ta. — A few li bring us to the mouth of a narrow valley; it is the Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu) valley with its stream rushing into the Mekong at the foot of a small flat spur on which is situated the Tibetan hamlet of Jö-mdah (hJol-mdah), in Chinese, Chin-ta 金打. Leaving the Mekong behind we follow the narrow lateral valley up to the village of Lo-ga-ngu, where a stream descends the slopes of Pai-mang Shan and joins the Te-ch’in stream. Here the mountain slopes, higher up, are again covered with Thuja orientalis, but stunted trees. A short distance beyond is the hamlet of Ch‘i-tzu-shih 棋子石, inhabited by friendly Tibetans (Plate I 70). Maize is still cultivated in the otherwise barren valley. From the slopes back of the village a view can be had of Mt. Me-tse-mo (Yung-chih hsüehshan 庸支雪山), the highest and southernmost peak of the Kha-wa-dkar-po range (Plate I 71).

The trail follows the A-tun-tzu stream, crossing it several times, once over a wooden bridge, past the village of Ching-k‘ou 至口 to the town of A-tun-tzu (Plate I 72). The A-tun-tzu valley is bounded on the East by the steep walls of a plateau (13,000 ft.), from the edge of which the country rises to the rocky peaks of the Mekong-Yangtze divide. Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu) itself lies between hills of mica-schist on the west and limestone (Minchia Series) to the east.
CHAPTER III

TE-CH’IN AND THE MEKONG — SALWEEN DIVIDE

I. THE TOWN OF TE-CH’IN 德鈞 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

The town of Te-ch’in is situated at the head of the valley at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it consists of 300-400 houses extending from wall to wall, filling the valley completely. In Tibetan the town is known as Jö or Jöl (written hJol).¹ On a hill overlooking the town to the north, is situated the lamasery of Te-ch’in Ssu 德鈞寺 (in Tibetan bDe-chhen-gling, Lamasery of great happiness),² founded in the second year of Ch’ien-lung (1737). Its 30 buildings including a large chanting hall have been built since 1905 after the destruction of the original lamasery, which was situated in the valley in the outskirts of the town. This was destroyed by Chinese soldiers in punishment for the murder of the Catholic priests and the burning of their missions in the Mekong and Salween valleys. The present site is a strategic one overlooking the town and, being situated at the summit of a hill, can be easily defended. Like the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery further south, it belongs to the Yellow sect.

In ancient days A-tun-tzu had no wall. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730), a garrison of soldiers was established and a tamped earth wall built. No wall exists, however, at present (PLATE 173). The town is inhabited by Tibetans, Chinese, and Na-khi, and has experienced many a raid by the Tibetans from the north, so that the merchants of A-tun-tzu used to keep their better-class goods a few days’ journey south, on the west bank of the Mekong. It is the last frontier town in north-west Yün-nan, and one of the highest situated in the province. Its climate is raw, cold and dusty in the winter, quite a contrast to the villages a little further down in the same valley near the Mekong. Being shut in at the head of the valley, surrounded by steep, high mountains, the sun does not shine long in A-tun-tzu during the winter months.

Although the place is now a hsien city, a native official, whose Tibetan title is Zhal-ngo ³ (Face or Presence, formerly a term applied to an officer over 50 soldiers), still holds office, subject to the magistrate of the town. The title for a Ch’ien-tsung (Lieutenant or leader of 1,000 soldiers) is Tong-pön, written sTong-dpon.⁴ The Yün-nan T’ung-chih 雲南通志 has the following to say about A-tun-tzu, ch. 145, fol. 32:

“In former days A-tun-tzu was ruled by Wei-hsi, but was under the immediate control of one native lieutenant and one native sergeant or Dang-pön (ldang-dpon),⁵ the equivalent to the Chinese Pa-tsung (there are said

¹ Jö
² Jöl
³ Zhal-ngo
⁴ sTong-dpon
⁵ ldang-dpon
now to be two sergeants in office), responsible to the Wei-hsi magistrate. They attended to the affairs of A-tun-tzu, Ta A-tung 大阿董 (the Tibetan Dang or Dang-po$^6$) and Hsiao A-tung, also Tung-ti-kung 動地公, Hung-p'o and other villages.

"The A-tun-tzu native lieutenant for generations had his seat at A-tun-tzu, and his territory extended east to Lu-k'a 路卡 adjoining Yeh-chih, 240 li; south to Ch'a-li-p'o 翡利坡 adjoining the territory of Ssu-ch'uan, 100 li; west to Hsü-kung-ts'un 钱工村 7 adjoining Hsi-ts'ang 西藏 (Tibet), 200 li; north to Pi-yung-kung-ts'un 必用工村 8 adjoining Ssu-ch'uan, 200 li. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Ho Liang-tou 禾良斗 was ordered to lead his native [barbarian] soldiers to attack the K'ang-p'u Li-su robbers. He acquired merit, and was rewarded with the raven plume, and confirmed as the hereditary A-tun-tzu lieutenant (T'u-ch'ien-tsung). The office was transmitted to his son, Ssu-na Weng-hsiieh 恩那翁學. Ssu-na died and the office was inherited by Kung-pu 倬布 Weng-hsiaie. Kung-pu died and his son, Ting-pan 定邦, inherited the office. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume.

"The A-tun-tzu T'ü-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the lieutenant, restrained the barbarian peasants, and guarded the borders of Ssu-ch'uan and Tibet. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Sang Shang-ta 桑 上達 went to attack the Li-su robbers at K'ang-p'u and acquired merit; he was rewarded with the raven plume, and was confirmed as hereditary native sergeant (T'ü-pa-tsung) of A-tun-tzu. Shang-ta handed down his office to Lung-pu 隆布, the latter to Pu-kung 布工. During the reign of T'ung-chih (1862-1874) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume. Pu-kung died, his son, Ch'un-hua 春華, also died of illness, and his grandson, Wen-han 文翰, being still a minor, his mother attended to the affairs of the orphan."

* * *

2. COLOPHON ON MANUSCRIPT MAP IN K'UN-MING PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

"In the olden days A-tun-tzu belonged to the Tibetans. When Chung-tien and Wei-hsi came under the government of Yün-nan, the native officials were abolished, and transferable officers appointed. The first Chinese official in A-tun-tzu was a Tan-yao wei-yüan 影壓委員 (a Delegate repressing violence) whose duty it was to control the frontier. At first A-tun-tzu came under the rule of Li-chiang, and later under Wei-hsi. At that time the Tan-

$^6$ A-dang is half Chinese and half Tibetan, the Tibetan name is more often written Dang 烏 ; according to P. F. Goré the inhabitants are known as Dang-po-wa 朵朵玨 which means angry or hostile people.

$^7$ Hsü-kung is the last village north-west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and west of the Mekong, on the eastern slopes of the Kha-wa-kar-po range on the Tibetan border.

$^8$ Pi-yung-kung is on the east bank of the Mekong, south of the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border.
yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必川工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 茂頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

"Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 believers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr., p. 687). It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMads-tse-mo) means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of
ice, tapering into a spire of ethereal blue, almost transparent and merging into an azure sky.

Next to it is a huge crest of ice, a giant cock’s comb known as Pe-zhwa (Padzhwa) or Lotus hat, while the peak Dam-pa Sang-gye (written Dam-pa sangs-rgyas), meaning “Excellent (Holy) Buddha” adjoins it to the north. The central pyramid is Kha-wa-kar-po proper, with radiating glaciers, one of which extends deep down into the Mekong valley to within two miles of the river. The glaciers are however retreating. The peak to the north of the central pyramid is called Si-go-dum (written Sri-mgo-rdum) which means “Headless demon Si (Sri).” A village situated at its foot is also called Si. This last of the higher peaks is adjoined by two minor ones to the north, beyond which the range dwindles to snowless crags. The base of the range consists of mica schist, covered by Minchia limestone and black shale, which are overlaid by basalt, which lies beneath tuffaceous trachyte with coarsely porphyritic sanidine trachyte on the summit (GREGORY). In Chinese the northern end of the range is called Tu-ch’ü-ling Hsüeh-shan. The entire range is called Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan—“Great snow-range of the four Mang.”

The Tibetans look upon the range, or Kha-wa-kar-po proper, as the abode of the great Yi-dam bDe-mchhog, the Sanskrit Saṁvara, Chief of happiness, also called dPal-khor-lo-sdam-pa. This Yi-dam is the tutelary deity of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, a branch of the Nying-ma-pa (rNying-ma-pa) Red lama sect.

One of the best views obtainable of this range is from a mountain west of A-tun-tzu called Mt. Drong-go (written Grong-gog), 13,500 feet in height. The summit of this mountain is clear of trees, although Abies and rhododendron forest cover its slopes. On this summit-meadow a seat of stone slabs has been erected for lamas to sit and meditate. A more wonderful place for meditation it is certainly difficult to find. The Mekong flows about 12,500 feet below the summit of the Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid (PLATE 174), at an elevation of 7,500 feet.

From Pai-mang Shan a beautiful view of this range is also to be had (PLATE 203) but the best view is unquestionably from Mt. Drong-go.

The Tibetans circumambulate this range in the late summer, ere the passes become closed by the snow. Coming from Tsha-rong (Hot valley) in southeastern Tibet, they cross the Shu La (Shug-la), 16 a 16,000 feet high pass, and descend by Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu) into the Mekong valley whence they go south, crossing the Mekong to the east bank at Liu-t’ung.

The Mang are large serpents; they are the Mahoraga of the Hindu-Buddhists and Lamaists, which the Tibetans call lTo-hphye-chhen-po. They are the great reptile or creeper demons in shape like boas. The Mang are also large serpents as the python, and it is possible that that name has been given the range on account of its length, or on account of the long snake-like glacier which descends from Kha-wa-kar-po into the Mekong valley.
chiang 溜筒江 north of A-tun-tzu. They continue south to Yang-tsa whence they again cross to the west over a rope-bridge and climb to the Do-kar La (White rock Pass), from here descending once more into Tibet. This is the Yün-nan—Tibet—Tsha-rong border. The journey via the Do-kar La is described elsewhere.

4. FROM TE-CH’IN (A-TUN-TZU) NORTH TO THE MEKONG

From Te-ch’in the trail leads north of the town out of the valley, climbing zigzag up the mountain slopes. Turning to the right, or east, we enter the Dru La (written hBrug-la, Thunder-dragon Pass)¹⁸, elevation 12,500 feet, and descend into a ravine. We follow down its stream which flows by Hsia A-tung 下阿壩 (Dang), and debouches into the Chü-k’o-ti Chiang 鞠克底江.¹⁰ United they flow into the Mekong. Before us is the A-dang mountain; the ravine becomes very rocky and the cliffs are covered with Picea trees, rhododendrons, Berberis, willows, etc. We follow the A-dang lung-pa (valley) through a narrow, rocky gap to A-dang village, situated at an elevation of 9,400 feet and inhabited entirely by Tibetans (Plate 175). East of A-dang a trail leads to the Tsha-le Pass (Tsa-li 塔里 or Ts’a-li 擦里), the actual border between Yün-nan and Hsi-k’ang and the shortest route to Ba-thang.

Here on the trail we met with many pilgrims bent on circumambulating the snow range, their only pack animals being sheep loaded with tsamba (roasted barley flour), the staple food of the Tibetans (Plate 176). The sheep had their ears pierced and, instead of ear-rings, red and yellow tassels were fastened in the holes. This ear-mark denotes their being sacred, for once they have circumambulated the sacred snow range with their masters, they are never killed but allowed to die a natural death.

From A-dang (A-tung) we turn west and follow the A-dang lung-pa over a narrow trail along the mountain-side, bare save for stunted Thuja orientalis, a few Berberis, Cotoneaster, and the small-leaved Bauhinia densiflora bushes. The slopes become steeper, the tremendous rock-slides and enormous boulders which lie about testify to the danger of the trail. On the north side of the gorge are pure limestone outcroppings with hot springs. The stream flows through a broad but steep gorge and the entire rock canyon is filled with the most awe-inspiring scenery. A peerless peak, the last of the Kha-wakar-po range, shone forth in all its glory.

The trail is built of logs above the river-bed against the steep cliff. It is useless in the winter when the stream carries less than half of its summer volume, and one can meander anywhere in the broad gorge. From the village of Dza-di, within the gorge, the river descends in huge cascades over enormous boulders, the stream-bed being lined with cypresses and Thuja orientalis trees. High above the mouth of the gorge, the stream turns south as a long, narrow spur extends south into the Mekong valley, separating it from

¹⁸ ဗီးဗီး ¹⁰ Another name for this stream which has its source in the Tsha-le (Tsa-li) mountain (Ts’a-li Hsueh-shan) is Jung-p’u Ho 竹普河.
the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k’o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t’ung-chiang 溪筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t’ou-chiang 溪頭江; Ting’s New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts’ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t’ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan). The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual.

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K’A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k’a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t’ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by landslides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields.

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t’ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts’un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts’un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p’u 江埔, La-p’u 拉埔, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴美 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 墩永碕 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2’ 30”). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930-1931 Ya-k’a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch’uan. The Yün-nan—Tibet and former Ssu-ch’uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo.

* 015178
The last village inhabited by Na-khi is called Chueh-lung 覺隆 the Tibetan Chang-lung written iChang-lung 21 or Willow valley.

Chang-lung is really a district of villages situated at the head of a lateral valley which merges into a plateau. This valley, debouching from the north-east into the Mekong, divides the salt wells of Yen-ching 花井 (called in Tibetan Tsha-kha-lo, written Tshwa-kha-logs, 22 Region of the salt mines) with the seven small villages around the brine wells on both banks of the Mekong from the village of Yar-kha-lo a thousand feet above the river. 23 The tributary is crossed over a bridge after which the trail leads up Yar-kha-lo.

Opposite Yen-ching, on the west bank of the Mekong is the village of Chia-ta 加打.

The Na-khi living in and around Tsha-kha-lo are called Jang-böd or Tibetan-Na-khi, written hJangs-bod 24 and those to the south in Yün-nan, Chinese-Na-khi or hJangs-rgya 25 (Chinese Jang). This is the last group of Na-khi on the Mekong. According to Père Goré, the Tibetan-Na-khi are still found further north, one group in the small valley of the Ta Chhu, north-east of Yen-ching and Dzang-ngön written rDzang-sngon 26 north of the Yün-nan border and west of the Yangtze; the other on the Teng Chhu written sTeng-chhu or Upper river, 27 a tributary of the Yangtze, in the Ba-thang district.

6. TSAH-ROONG (CH'A-WA-LUNG 索瓦龍)

From Yang-hta up Lung-dre Gorge. — Crossing the rope-bridge at Yang-tsa 羊咱, the Tibetan La-tsa, one finds a Tibetan village on the west bank of the Mekong, called Tse-ri-teng (rTse-ri-teng 面 豐), with a small temple on a promontory. Here the Tibetans are quite friendly, but it is necessary to be firm with them in engaging porters, for it is impossible to take pack animals across the Do-kar La owing to the narrowness and steepness of the trail, and also because it is impossible to buy fodder for them in that wilderness. The only pack animals that are taken across are sheep, as has already been mentioned.

The headman of Tse-ri-teng provides the porters, in fact he is obliged to do so on presentation of a written order in Tibetan from the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) magistrate. Having secured porters for the baggage, we follow the stream-bed zigzag, back of the little temple until we enter pine forest; from here one can survey the Mekong — Yangtze divide and the arid gorge of the Mekong. Crossing a spur we find ourselves in the Lung-dre gorge 28

21 覺隆 22 花井
23 Yar-kha-lo is merely a Catholic settlement around a mission where Père F. Goré labored for many years. Another village called P'u-ting 蠶丁 was the seat of the magistrate ere the Chinese lost the region to the Tibetans, and is therefore known as the real Yen-ching to the Chinese.
24 豐 25 豐
26 丹宗 27 丹宗 28 豐
(Lo-ndêr in Na-khi), and have an unobstructed view up to the Zhi-dzom La which leads to the Salween valley (see journey to Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 薮蒲桶). At the head of the latter is the Dra-chhen (Brag-chhen) peak, the "Great rock" which the French baptized Francis Garnier Peak, and which has been erroneously called Maya by foreign travelers. The trail leads high up on the ridge above Lung-dre through stunted oaks, with the deep and densely forested ravine to our left or south. Up this deep gorge a magnificent panorama of the snow peaks to the west in Tsha-rong, or Tshwa-rong the Chinese Ch'a-wa-lung 蘇瓦龍, unfolds itself.

The mountain mass, with its enormous limestone crags projecting from the snow-fields, is known to the Tibetans as Drö-su-po, and is no longer in Yün-nan but Tsha-rong, south-east Tibet.

The trail continues up the deep ravine through oak and pine forest, high above the roaring stream which descends from Mt. Drö-su-po, while from the north it is joined by a stream which has its source in one of the glaciers of Me-tse-mo.

Do-kar La. — Leaving the Lung-dre gorge we turn north, up the valley which leads to the Do-kar La (White rock Pass), following a glacier torrent through Abies (Abies Forrestii) and maple (Acer) forest with a few rhododendrons as undergrowth. Near the junction of the two streams the Do-kar La valley is narrow, but gradually widens and large birches (Betula japonica var. szechuanica) take the place of the Abies or firs. The trail is rocky and leads gently out of the forest into meadow-land with birch forest surrounding it. Limestone cliffs hem in the valley; a waterfall descends from the rocky crest of the western wall, and icicles hang everywhere. Mountain ranges forming an amphitheater separate the Mekong from the Salween.

The Do-kar La itself is a disappointing rocky peak with three or four crags resembling a cock's comb; it is situated at the head of a lateral valley. The main valley is closed by a low mountain crest, snow-capped and glacier-bearing; the snout of the glacier which fills the head of the valley descends from Me-tse-mo. This peak is entirely in Yün-nan, while the western slopes of the main Kha-wa-kar-po Range are in Tibet proper.

The trail leads first through forest and then crosses the stream which has its source in the glacier at the head of the valley called Muandri, enters fir forest, and ascends zigzag in the Do-kar La gorge. Various species of rhododendron form the undergrowth among the firs. We enter finally an amphitheater surrounded by rocky peaks crowned with snow, while a gap at the head of it is the pass which leads to Tsha-rong. From the pass there is no view to be had of any of the peaks which form the Kha-wa-kar-po Range, with the exception of the very tip of the southern-most peak which is only visible from the steep slopes leading up from the Muandri glacier stream to the mouth of the actual Do-kar La valley. To see this mountain close it is best to follow to the end of the main narrowing valley, and climb up the Muandri glacier which descends from it.

The trail leads through rhododendron bushes among limestone boulders to the edge of a meadow in a fairly straight line, but when reaching the sloping
meadow ascends in long zigzags to the pass (Plate 177). From near the top of the pass a view opens out to the Mekong—Yangtze divide and also to the Si La which leads over the same divide into the Salween further south. At the summit of the Do-kar La, 14,500 feet, an obo or cairn of rocks with prayer flags and rags tied to bamboo marked the pass. A wonderful panorama of the mountains unfolds to the east and the rocky snow-crowned range in Tsha-rong to the west (Plates 178, 179). It is impossible to remain long on the summit owing to the terrific winds, and one is glad to seek the shelter of the western vertical wall. The descent into Tsha-rong is a sheer drop down which the trail leads in short zigzags said to be 118 in number (Plate 180). In winter when ice covers the narrow path the descent is dangerous, for a slip would land one a thousand feet or more below.

The trail to Men-kung. — We go down into a deep valley, closed to the south by a snow peak of the Drö-su-po Range, from which a glacier descends, and a stream sends its waters to the Salween at Lha-khang-ra, the Chinese La-kung-lo 拉公羅. This stream, here called Drö-su Chhu, flows through lovely Abies forest and then disappears under the black rocks and boulders with which its bed is strewn. We emerge from the valley at a small meadow faced by a huge, bare, red rock wall.

The trail continues along the stream-bed, here flat and broad, lined by birches, while firs cling to the mountain-side. Five li beyond a valley opens out to the west with a trail leading to the Salween; the stream and valley being called Chô-dzung. Instead of descending we keep to the western wall of the gorge above the roaring torrent. The trail now enters beautiful forest of tall Abies and Picea (spruce) trees. Fifteen li beyond we cross, by a few logs, a stream issuing from the east, and which has its source in a lake called Shü-tong Tsho up the mountain-side. Now the Abies trees give way to Picea, and the latter further on to Tsuga (hemlock) trees. The trail leads high above the river, a huge torrent of white foam, in a deep ravine. Deeper becomes the valley, hemmed in by massive snow peaks in the east, while ahead they seem to close it. The conifers give way to evergreen forest composed solely of enormous oaks, Quercus semicarpifolia, with Rhododendron decorum as undergrowth. Skirting a lateral ravine over a narrow trail we reach the mouth of a valley, here called Dö-chu-pu-drôn, which opens out from the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Looking up this rocky valley (mostly greyish-blue limestone), with its upper slopes forested with tall firs, we behold the western slopes of Kha-wa-kar-po and neighboring peaks. This deep and narrow valley leads east, out into a long, broad valley, densely forested on the western side, and extending along the Kha-wa-kar-po Range from north to south (Plate 181).

The slopes of Kha-wa-kar-po on the Tibetan side are steeper, yet the snow descends much lower than on the Mekong side. At the entrance to the ravine, or rather at the mouth, for no trail leads into it, there is a peculiar obo, if such it can be called, consisting of huge bundles of bamboo or cane-brake, leaning so as to form a pyramid. Stones are tied to these bundles,
and to the branches of nearby trees; flags and rags covered with prayers are fluttering from the cane-brake, to which also Tibetan pilgrims have added their queues as offerings to the mountain gods. Innumerable wooden teabowls lay scattered on the ground (Plate 182). The little hill on which these offerings are placed by the devout pilgrims (Plate 183), in full view of Kha-wa-kar-po, is called Hlu-wu-si. A glacier, descending from the Kha-wa-kar-po Range, deposited enormous quantities of detritus in the flat valley bottom immediately below giving it the appearance of a quarry.

The stream flows nearly a thousand feet below the trail and, turning south-west, joins the Salween one and a half days’ journey distant at Lhakhang-ra, while a trail leads to Bonga and A-bong (A-pan apons). At Bonga formerly the French Catholic Mission du Thibet had established a station. They were, however, driven out by the lamas of Men-khang, the capital of Tsha-rong.22

From Hlu-wu-si the trail descends to a meadow called Chhu-na-thang written Chhu-nag-thang or Plain of the black river; the Chinese Cho-na-t'ang 阿那塘. Here we met our Tibetan pilgrim friends with their sheep laden with tsamba, everyone carrying two bamboos, one as a staff, the other to be deposited at Hlu-wu-si and added to the obo pile. They constantly mumbled the magic formula Om mani padme hum. At Chhu-na-thang the pilgrims tarry to eat their frugal meal of tsamba and buttered tea churned with salt. Some there are, especially nuns and monks, who do nothing all year long but cross the Do-kar La in penance, to acquire merit. Others even go so far as to measure the entire distance, with their own bodies, up and down the rocky path, over ice and snow, lying down flat, next rising, folding their hands in prayer above their head, and lie down again where their outstretched arms and hands had marked the ground, repeating the performance. Thus they consume months in making the weary journey.

Men-khang written sMan-khang the Chinese Men-kung 門隴, is situated south of the Salween at an elevation of 7,044 feet (Bailey), while the river, which here makes a bend at right angles, flows at a height of 6,050 feet. North-west of it is the lamasery of Men-k'ung Ssu 關客寺. A trail leads from here to Dza-yul written rDza-yul or Land of clay; the Chinese Ch'a-yü 察隅, via Jih-chien 日東, Na-chiao 納交 and Tu-wa 度瓦. From Na-chiao a trail leads west to Ri-ma (Li-ma 力巏), and also to Sha-mei 沙美 (Assam).

22 The Catholic mission at Bonga was founded by M. Renou in 1854. The mission had been repeatedly attacked, until on September 29th, 1865, MM. F. Biet and C. H. Desgodins were attacked there by 300 armed men headed by the Abbot Atu of the lamasery of Men-khang, four persons sent by the chiefs of Lhasa, and the chief of the three great lamaseries. The priests were made prisoners, told to pack their belongings, and depart. On October 7th, 1865, when they left Bonga and as they were marching along the foot of the mountains, they saw their mission station go up in flames. Bonga had been ceded in perpetuity to the French Catholic mission in 1862 by the Peking Government, ratified by Lhasa. It seems that the French ambassador at Peking, so states M. Desgodins, in order to spare himself the trouble of protecting the missionaries, preferred himself to order their expulsion. (La Mission du Thibet 1872, p. 110.)
7. ACROSS THE MEKONG—SALWEEN DIVIDE BY THE SI LA (PASS)

The country of the Nu-tzu 水子 (Nu tribe), who call themselves Nu or A-nu, is situated in the Salween valley from Lyu-ra-gang, erroneously spelled Yuragan, in the south, to Sang-tha, Chinese Sung-t’a 松塔, in the north. The latter place is in Tibetan territory in the province of Tsha-rong, in the arid region of the Salween valley. North of Sang-tha are Tibetans, and south of Lyu-ra-gang are the Black Li-su (Hei Li-su 黑猳猳, also written 劉些). The Nu are practically confined to the Salween valley and the lower slopes of the mountains separating its tributaries, while on the higher slopes and summits of A-lo-la-kha and Nying-ser La written sMyig-ser-La 36 (Pass of the yellow bamboo), which form the divides between the parallel-flowing tributaries, Li-su have settled. The Nu are a very backward lot and have no written language. Although a divisional magistrate has recently been established at Da-ra near Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung, the Nu still pay tribute to the Mun-kwua (Mu-kua 木瓜) (T’u-ssu) of Yeh-chih on the Mekong.

The actual distance from the Mekong to the Salween as the crow flies is roughly 17 miles, yet the Salween flows about 1,000 feet lower than the Mekong. 37

In the dry, barren regions of the Salween and of the Mekong their tributaries debouch at right angles, but in the heavily forested region, under the snow peaks, south of Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung, the tributaries of the Salween flow parallel and gradually enter that river. This necessitates crossing the several intervening watersheds, until one finally reaches the Salween after having covered more distance in a vertical than in a horizontal line. I merely include this region in the territory of the former Na-khi rulers, as the inhabitants are subjects of the Na-khi chief of Yeh-chih who receives their taxes to this day.

There are two routes to the Salween from the Mekong at about 28° latitude; one over the Si La and another via Lung-dre (the Lu-tzu Long-bi), while a third route leads farther north over the Do-kar La to the Salween at Lha-khang-ra, but that is outside of our territory, being in Tibet proper. There is a fourth route still higher up, across the Yün-nan—Hsi-k’ang border from Yar-kha-lo and Yen-ching, called Tsha-kha (Tshwa-kha) in Tibetan. It leads via Jada on the west bank of the Mekong, and then south by Dra-na (brag-nag) to Men-khang on the Salween, which here flows east for a short distance and then south again. The highest range in this region is the Mekong—Salween divide composed of many snow peaks, while on the Salween—Irrawadi divide there is only one snow peak namely the Ke-nyi-chum-po north-west of Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung. This mountain is, however, lower than any of the peaks of the Mekong—Salween divide.

36 36

37 This may be explained by the Salween being an older river than either the Mekong or Yangtze, and that the profuse precipitation, caused by the full force of the monsoon striking the high range separating it from the Irrawadi to the west, produces a higher volume of water, and hence causes a quicker and deeper erosion. This also accounts for the considerably larger volume of water carried by the Salween than by the Mekong; the former is also a swifter river.
PLATE 169. — ANCIENT TIBETAN WATCH TOWERS, COMMON IN THE MEKONG VALLEY

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
Although it was quite cold the people went about half naked, and the children entirely so. Their village is at an altitude of 9,500 feet in an arid canyon east of the Mekong (November 1923).
Plate 171. — Mount Me-tse-mo, the Highest Peak of the Kha-wa-kar-po Range

The peak is approximately 21,000 feet — in height. Photographed from an elevation of 9,500 feet, above the village Ch'i-tzu-shih in the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley.
Plate 172. — The Town of T'e-Chin (A-Tun-Tzu) as seen from the Dru La. Elevation 12,500 feet.

(Courtesy Rul. Geor. Soe.)
PLATE 173. — THE BLEAK TOWN OF TE-CH’IN (A-TUN-TZU)

德欽 (阿墩子)

It is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet at the head of a valley. Its inhabitants are Tibetan, Na-khi and Chinese;
Plate 174. — Kha-wa-kar-po, the Central Peak of the Range

This magnificent range whose glaciers descend deep into the Mekong valley, forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border. Abies in foreground. Photographed from Mount Drong-go, west of Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu).
He is armed with flintlock gun and sword; his garment is of P’u-lu (Tibetan woolen cloth) and his boots of felt with leather soles.
Women are especially religious, and nuns often perform continuous pilgrimages around the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Sheep loaded with tsumba serve as pack animals, as the Do-kar La trail is not negotiable for mules or horses.
PLATE 177. — THE SACRED DO-KAR LA
PLATE 178. — LOOKING TOWARD YUN-NAN FROM THE DO-KAR LA

View down the Do-kar La valley; the range in the distance is the Mekong—Yangtze divide.
Plate 179. — The Mountains of Tsha-rong

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
In 118 zigzags the trail leads from the Do-kar La into the Drö-su Chhu valley of Tsha-rong.
PLATE 181.—THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO PEAK VIEWED FROM TSA-rong, TIBET

Looking east up Dō-chu-pu-drön valley towards the massive Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid. Spruces and firs cling to the limestone cliffs.
On a small hill called Hlu-wu-si, in full view of the Kha-wa-kar-po Peaks, Tibetan pilgrims deposit bamboo canes, wooden tea bowls, queues, stones, flags, rags, etc., as offerings to the gods believed to inhabit the snow peaks.
PLATE 183. — TIBETAN PILGRIMS FROM KHAM ON ROAD TO THE SACRED DO-KAR LA.
With Birches, Hemlocks (Tsuga), Maples and many other trees, this magnificent fir forms lovely forests on the eastern slopes of the Mekong—Salween divide at an elevation of 9,000 to 10,000 feet.
From Tz'u-ku to Ri-sha-thang. — Between Tz'u-ku village and Tz'u-chung the narrow, rocky trail ascends the mountain slope at a terrific angle, zigzag through scrub oak, thence through pine forest. From this trail a magnificent view unfolds over the Mekong—Yangtze watershed with Pai-mang Shan the prominent peak in the distance, and the narrow band of the Mekong deep below. Higher up the vegetation changes from pine forest to deciduous forest composed of large-leaved Cornus, Prunus, Rhododendron decorum and Pinus Armandi. The exceedingly narrow trail leads finally in short zigzags to the top of the ridge; a steep, rocky bluff dropping vertically to the Mekong. From this bluff there is an unobstructed view of the Si La across a circular, deep valley with a torrent rushing towards the Mekong. Here one is as in another world, for the vegetation changes completely. The trail enters mixed forest of enormous conifers such as Abies chensiensis (Plate 184), trees 150 feet in height and trunks four feet in diameter, immense Betula (birches) 80 feet tall, and huge Tsuga yunnanensis (hemlocks). These and many others reared their crowns into the azure autumn sky, forming a vast canopy of foliage.

The undergrowth is mainly composed of rhododendrons with thick leathery leaves and brown or silvery tomentum on their lower surface. Hugh strands of the pale yellow lichen, Usnea longissima, draped the branches of the tall conifers and large maples, some in crimson foliage, others of a golden yellow; the copper-colored, curled bark of the giant birches and the scarlet leaves of Ampelopsiscissus vines gave additional colors to Nature's palette. The soil is mainly composed of black humus, a tangle of roots and holes.

The trail descends gradually through this glorious forest, where many birds fluttered about, small orchids and numerous ferns festooned the trees, and moss carpeted the ground. From this forest one enjoys glimpses of the Si La, whose reddish rocks were still void of snow. The track emerges onto a small meadow with a shepherd's hut, bordered by tall conifers. Savage cliffs rise steeply thousands of feet above us covered with Abies, junipers, Cupressus, Thuja and Taxus trees, interspersed with brilliantly colored Sorbus and Acer (maples). Ahead, the entire aspect of the scene changes, the region becomes drier, the trees crooked and smaller, most of them now leafless, and cane-brake (Arundinaria) makes its appearance, indicating higher altitude. We follow along the bed of a crystal brook, a torrent in the rainy season, as the presence of huge trees washed down roots and all testified. On the north bank of the stream at an elevation of 10,350 feet is a small meadow with a shepherd's hut, called Ri-sha-thang written Ri-bya-thang.38

Here the forest is open and consists of crooked trees of birch and Sorbus, whose white fruits were set off against the crimson foliage; of conifers, Abies, Picea, and Tsuga also abound. In this region little frequented by man the birds are tame, so much so that as I wrote my notes sitting on a fallen log on the edge of the forest, two birds boldly alighted, one on my arm and the other on my hand, and I stopped writing to behold my friendly visitors.

From Ri-sha-thang the trail leads steeply through rhododendron forest of several species, over ground thickly covered with moss. After climbing over
a rocky path, we emerge, onto a meadow full of boulders encrusted with lichens. The rhododendron forest is here mixed with Larix (larches), with undergrowth of Rubus, and cane-brake. The mountain slopes are deeply furrowed by cascades which descend over talus slopes to the stream-bed. Beyond the meadow open moorland commences; green, slimy pools, deep peat and sphagnum moss cover a considerable area. This is the favorite abode of many primulas, especially Omphalogramme, also Pedicularis, Corydalis, and Potentilla associated with shrubby rhododendrons of many species.

The Si La. — The trail follows first along the stream-bed then crossing it twice ascends the talus slope. The valley now widens into an amphitheater with high snow peaks to the north. Rhododendrons are everywhere; it is indeed the botanist’s paradise. Prostrate shrubby rhododendrons cover the mountain slopes as with a densely woven mat associated with other prostrate plants such as Gaultherias and Vacciniums. At 11,600 feet we encounter the last Abies which here line the margins of the moorland, turned brown by the frost of approaching winter.

A glorious view is obtained of a conical peak about 17,000 feet in height, to the north-north-west, which my Tibetan porters called Dra-chhen (Plates 185, 198); written Brag-chhen, the Francis Garnier Peak of the French). The peak is part of the main Mekong—Salween divide, only projecting above the range of lower peaks like an overhanging pyramid. The trail leads up the dome-like crest, over loose rocks and boulders, where ill-defined hoofmarks made by laden mules are the only guide across the stony waste. The mountain is bleak, no shrubs or bushes occur, only alpine flowers between the cracks, such as Delphinium, Cremanthodium, Potentilla and others. The Si La written Sris-la is 14,500 feet in height with a vast flank of mountains all around the pass several thousand feet higher and white with snow. From the weird, inhospitable summit we look down into a deep, narrow valley, its sides dropping vertically; the mountains to the west rise steeply, their peaks hidden in snow clouds. Here below the pass, the small purple-flowered Rhododendron saluenense made its home, indifferent to cold and the snow which covers it for several months in the year. Further down is a grove of Abies and the trail is lined with various species of rhododendron. Far below the pass, some 3,000 feet, there is a small, deep blue lake at the foot of a precipitous wall. It sends a little stream into the Ser-wa lung-pa or Hailstone valley, the lower slopes of which are covered with cane-brake and Lonicera (honeysuckle) bushes. Looking from the valley floor of Ser-wa lung-pa (H-M., Suaa lumba) to the summit of the Si La, the steep mountain wall appears almost negotiable. Gazing south, down the

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The ascent to the Si La is over schistose grits, which also form the peaks to both sides of the pass. At 11,100 feet we find the first evidence of glacial action by a few moraines, which rest further up on glaciated surfaces of a grey to brownish quartzose gneiss. Higher up the characteristic rock is a schistose quartzite formed from a grit (Gregory).
narrow valley, the eye meets wonderful mountain ranges and deep, narrow canyons, all densely forested. Indeed a wild and glorious country.

*Nying-ser La (Pass).* — From the Ser-wa lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo of the Li-su) the trail ascends gradually, at first zigzag and then steeply, through Abies and Picea forest, with undergrowth composed of several species of rhododendron. To the south the Nam-la-shu-ga Peak 42 glistened in the morning sun; a pale pink sky illuminated the lovely icy scenery, while the deep valley of the Ser-wa lung-pa lay hidden in purplish-black shadows; only the projecting ridges were aglow from the faint, misty rays, reflected from the snow peaks. Higher and higher we ascend, stately Abies trees, 80–90 feet in height, towering all around us, their somber branches festooned with the long, yellow streamers of *Usnea longissima* and their feet embedded in soft, rich, green moss. As the sun appeared above the great divide and a flood of light permeated all, the frost and icicles glistened like diamonds in the morning sun and the entire forest likened a transparent, flawless emerald.

We reached the pass called Nying-ser La 43 (Yellow bamboo pass) at an elevation of 12,400 feet, and a wonderful panorama lay before us (Plate 186). A tangled mass of rhododendrons, mixed with the ericaceous *Cassiope dendrotricha* with quadrangularly arranged foliage, covered the ground. Looking east there towered the great Salween—Mekong divide with its conical peak Dra-chhen; and to the west lay the huge Salween valley with its central barrier range called A-lo-la-kha. This range is much lower and the Doyon Stream flows east of it parallel to the Salween, into which it debouches farther south, united with the Ser-wa lung-pa. Buttresses covered with deciduous forest now in the most glorious autumn tints, drop abruptly into the deep valley below. From the Mekong divide a triangular spur extends steeply into the Salween valley, while to the south of it, a deep valley opens from the west, up which a trail leads to the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (Ch’iu Chiang 球江), the Trun 44 of the Lu-tzu and Ch’iu-tzu. From the Nying-ser La (Pass) we descend through somber Abies and Picea forest with rhododendron bushes, and over an open fell which further on gave place to deciduous forests of Sorbus, Prunus, Pyrus, Populus, Litsea, Aralia, and rhododendron.

*Bahang village of the Lu-tzu tribe.* — Bahang (Pai-han-lo 白汗洛), situated on a grassy bluff composed of granite-gneiss is reached after a zigzag descent through pine forest mixed with willows and poplars. The largest part of this bluff is occupied by the Catholic mission, with the Lu-tzu huts arranged around the slopes (Plate 187). Bahang consists of 18 huts, besides the mission, and Père Georges André, the most friendly host, is the spiritual adviser of the Lu-tzu. The mission had been burnt twice in 34 years by the lamas of Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung, the last time in 1905. For four or

4a This is the Nange La of HANDEL-MAZZETTI. The real Nange La Pass and Peak is however south-west of the Nam-la-shu-ga. The latter is a Lu-tzu name.

4b This is the Nisirengo of HANDEL-MAZZETTI, see: note 36, page 330.

4c The Ch’iu-tzu name is Trun, and not Taron as given on the maps and in books.
five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter. To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

The Lu-tzu have no written language, while the spoken language itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu (PLATE r88).

The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor. They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The Yün-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

“Their name Nu-tzu is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

“In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows.

“...The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

“The Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that “they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [Note: —The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [Capricornis], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien [the rhizome of a species of Coptis] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill.”
and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red t'eng 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

“The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather Huang-lien for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats.”

The Li-chiang fu chih lüeh states that “the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high.”

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (Pteridium aquilinum) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (Plate 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered Alnus nepalensis trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, Plagiogyria glauca. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (Magnolia rostrata and M. nitida), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (Plate 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle
alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (Plates 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu, flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra with its many mani pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 豳薾椣. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (Plate 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

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47 達拉

48 Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 贡山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 琵江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ṿuṅgar (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-ts'ong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.
Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung lamasery is situated in a grove of oak trees, beyond the first lateral stream which is crossed by a very handsome wooden bridge, roofed with slate. The lamasery (known to the Chinese as Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺) was built in the 30th year of Ch'ien-lung (1765). From it a trail leads to the famous marble gorge (Plates 194, 195); it first crosses the second lateral stream in its deep ravine and then descends to some 50 feet above the river. The almost white marble walls of the gorge rise several hundred feet vertically from the river-bed and are in places overhanging. Here and there on the steep face of the cliff grow a few fan palms of the genus Trachycarpus, whose slender trunks rise from crevices in the rock wall. The trail in the marble gorge is only a hand's breadth, if that, wide, at one place consisting of a single small log spanning a gap. On this one either balances like a tight-rope walker, or hugs the wall, while crossing over the chasm with the Salween roaring beneath. On a little terrace above the east (left) bank of the Salween, at the entrance to the marble gorge, is the tiny Lu-tzu hamlet called Chiam-bshel, as isolated as any place can be in this world.

8. MT. KE-NYI-CHUM-PO 49 OF THE SALWEEN—IRRAWADI DIVIDE

To reach the Ke-nyi-chum-po peak crowned with eternal snow, the highest point of the Salween—Irrawadi divide in this region, it is necessary to cross the stream north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung and follow it up where it nears the larger stream; these two streams separate the plateau from the rest of the terrain. Here the Ch'ang p'u-t'ung plain narrows into a long knife-edge ridge which forms the wall of the two valleys. After passing some Li-su huts among maize fields we ascend the ridge back of the marble gorge. The ridge which is covered with tall grass and pine trees becomes exceedingly steep and narrow, especially its northern slope which forms the deep gorge of Si-ki-t'ong (Ssu-chi-t'ung 思記通) called in Lu-tzu, Ssö-chin-tung, and Nyin-wua-lo by the Li-su. Nyin-wua-lo is not the name of a village as marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map, but is the name of the whole valley, although a few huts are near its mouth. Lo both in Li-su and in Na-khi means valley. In it a tiny hamlet, also called Si-ki-t'ong, is situated; the vegetation is composed of deciduous and evergreen trees like Acer, Rhododendron, Tsuga, large Lyonia (Pieris), etc. We climb to a high knoll at 9,100 feet elevation, and here we behold the entire mountain mass of Ke-nyi-chum-po, called Dji-nyi chim-mbo by the Lu-tzu as well as Li-su, wrapped in virgin white, its crescent-shaped glacier covering it as with a mantle (Plate 196). The Si-ki-t'ong gorge, deep and narrow with precipitous cliffs, extends from the foot of the glacier to the Salween valley. Dense forests, most difficult to penetrate, cover the rocky slopes. It is the home of the beautiful conifer Taiwania cryptomerioides a relative of the California Sequoias;

*The peak is often erroneously called the Gom-pa La (dGon-pa-la 甘登拉). The latter (la) is a pass further back and south of the peak. This peak with its glacier the Tibetans call Ke-nyi-chum-po, and the Lu-tzu and Li-su, Dji-nyi-chim-mbo. In Ting's New Chinese Atlas the pass is called Shu-wang Shan-k'ou 舒莊山口, but the snow peak is not marked.*
strange to say, it occurs here, in Burma, and on the island of Formosa, but nowhere else.

The main peak of Ke-nyi-chum-po is a blackish rock, probably porphyry which rests on limestone, and rises from about the center of the mountain pass, with a rampart-like crest extending from its northern flank, sheltering the glacier. To the south-east the rocks are cut into steps and grooves, the result of former glaciation, for the main glacier is now retreating. The spur from which the panorama is described, adjoins a high, forested mountain, the sides of which, facing the gorge, are cleft into deep, narrow canyons with rock pinnacles extending along their sides. In the distance to the north-east a snow-covered range is visible, while towards the south lies the beautiful Salween—Mekong divide with its southern peak, the Nam-la-shu-ga, about 16,000 feet in height.

A trail leads on the northern valley slopes of Si-ki-t'ong, below the glacier to the summit ridge and thence over the Gom-pa La and several other passes to the Ch'iu Chiang 漳江, or 球江, the Trun (spelled erroneously Taron on foreign maps) of the Ch'iu-tzu 獨子. At the foot of the Gom-pa La is a large lake in a wilderness of rock; altitude approximately 14,000 feet. The Trun is the easternmost branch of the Nmai Hka, transcribed En-mei-k'ai Chiang 恩梅開江, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi which at Tu-lung 滬龍 flows at an elevation of 5,400 feet, there a rope-bridge spans it; it is the Du-dum of the Lu-tzu. This region is inhabited by Ch'iu-tzu, a tribe related to the Nu or Nu-tzu of the Salween.

Shang-p'a. — Below Tu-lung the Ch'iu Chiang is called Tu-lung Ho by the Chinese, and its eastern affluent, the Meh Hka the Lung-ku Ho 龍骨河 or Dragon bone River. Two terrible trails lead to P’u-t’ao 普討 (Fort Hertz) in Upper Burma, one from Lyu-ra-gang (the Yuragan of the maps) south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, and another trail via Si-ki-t'ong and the Gom-pa La to the north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.

The main or western branch of the Irrawadi, called Nam-ch'iu or Mali Hka, transcribed Ma-li-k'ai 麻栗開 and Mai-li-k’ai Chiang 梅立開江, is not the Ch'iu Chiang of the Chinese but is called the I-lo-wa-ti Chiang 伊落瓦底江, a transcription of the word Irrawadi.

Shang-p'a 上帕, or 上帕, the seat of a magistrate, whence the Li-su-in-habited part of the Salween is supposed to be governed, is situated at about the height of Li-chiang, on the eastern (left) bank of the Salween. A trail leads from Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 via La-chi-ming 唄鶴鳴 salt-wells and Tien-shang 甸上 to Ying-p'an-k'ai 荫磐街 on the Mekong, thence to So-lo 索羅 via Chi-wei 吉尾; from So-lo one trail leads west to Chih-tzu-lo 知子羅 via the So-lo La and another north to Shang-p’a on the Salween. To the south of Shang-p’a is the hamlet of O-ma-ti 俄瑪底.

The mountain range to the east of Shang-p’a is called the Nu Shan 怒山 (Shan-mo 山脈).

The Ch’iu-tzu tribe. — The Ch’iu-tzu (Plate 197), according to the Yünnan T’ung-chih, ch. 202, p. 19b, “dwell beyond the great snow range of the Mekong. They belong to the wild tribes of the western region of Ho-ch’ing
9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN—MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.—Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceae, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceae, Rhododendron sinonuttallii, Rhododendrun sinogrande, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceae, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceae, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect Huang-lien for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."
and hosts to a varied array of epiphytes, especially ferns. The giant lily (
*Lilium giganteum*) grew everywhere. It was then in the fruiting stage and the lightest touch sent the winged seeds like snow-flakes fluttering to the ground.

After having spent a peaceful night in the mossy bosom of this forest, where magnolias and rhododendrons grew to immense trees, we continue to a steep slope with two narrow ravines, where two small streams descend close to each other in cascades to the Do-yon lung-pa. Here we find larches, maples, *Pyrus*, *Sorbus*, etc. We ascend the steep slopes which are covered with Anaphalis and large-leaved *Rubus*. The trees are now smaller and birches are again common, forming more open forest with bamboo, gradually giving way to conifer forest of *Abies* and *Larix*, with many rhododendrons, *Sorbus*, and roses. Ascending the sharp ridge of a triangular spur, we finally emerge onto alpine meadows bordered by firs and *Rhododendron colletum*, while the mossy margins were lined with primulas.

**Mt. Dra-chhen and the Zhi-dzom La (pass).** — The trail leads east across the swampy meadows to the pass at the foot of the peak Dra-chhen.\(^6^0\) (Plate 198). This peak consists of banded crystalline limestone, while the valley below the pass is cut out of biotite-granite-porphyry, as well as schistose grits, such as are found on the Si La. This schist series continues as far as Lung-dre. At Lung-dre the schists are replaced by gneiss and foliated biotite-granite. This gneiss is succeeded eastward by green slate and hornstone. Lower down a white fine-grained quartzite is followed by purple sandstone, while the eastern end of the Lung-dre gorge gives a deep section through red sandstones with veins of quartz (Gregory). From the pass, which is at 12,300 feet elevation, a fine view is obtainable north-eastward, where two high snow peaks of the Pai-mang Shan (the Mekong—Yangtze divide) pierce the clouds. Looking across the Salween a few snow-covered peaks were visible above a sea of clouds which filled the valley of that river. From the Zhi-dzom La, which the Lu-tzu call Long-bi La, we follow a narrow gap along a small brook through forest, the landscape being rather dreary. Passing a meadow called Tsa-sso-thang we continue our descent to 10,500 feet and thence through dead forest to another camping place called Lii-lo-thang. Here a valley opens out from the north; crossing the stream to the west where a small affluent joins it, we descend, entering again lovely forest. The trail leaves the stream-bed and climbs zigzag high above it through conifers, birches, maples, etc. (Plate 199).

Our trail descends once more, the stream has become a mighty cascade roaring in its prison, lined by magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) of enormous size, associated with *Pinus Armandi* whose large cones littered the trail (elevation 8,950 feet). Crossing several brooks we ascend the slopes,\(^6^0\) Handel-Mazzetti calls this mountain Maya. Maya is really the name of a rock to the north of the mountain further along on the pass. Père Georges André of Bahang, who enquired repeatedly of different individuals as to the identity of Maya, was always pointed out a certain rock on the pass, while the name of the peak itself was given as Dra-chhen (Pra-chen in Lu-tzu), Brag-chhen being pronounced *Dra* or *Djra-chhen*, meaning “Great crag.” This name was also given me for the peak in question by Tibetan porters, when we first spied it from below the Si La (Plate 185), and again when we passed it crossing the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-hdzom-la བཞིཧྭཞོི ཀྲ) (Plate 198).
now drier, and emerge into tall *Pinus yunnanensis* forest with its inseparable associates *Rhododendron decorum* and *Quercus semicarpifolia*. Here the soil is gravelly, the rocks a soft granite with quartz veins. At a sharp turn to the east on the dry pine-covered ridge, we behold a most beautiful view. North-east three snow-capped peaks of Hung-p’o Shan, part of the Mekong—Yangtze divide, pierced the sky. From here we descend to the village of Lung-dre,61 the Long-bi of the Lu-tzu, situated at the junction of two streams: the one we had followed, and the larger one which has its source in the glaciers of Drö-su-po and Do-kar La. Here on a small terrace stands this poor and lonely village.

*Wild Thuja trees at Lung-dre.* — From Lung-dre we descend through poplar forest and past a row of *mani* pyramids amidst some *Thuja orientalis* trees, which also cover the dry, rocky slopes of this valley, in company with *Cupressus Duclouxiana*. Crossing the torrent over a wooden bridge we enter a narrow gorge between high, steep walls of whitish limestone. These rocky walls are covered exclusively with gnarled and twisted *Thuja* trees which, in spite of the late E. H. Wilson’s assertions that they do not occur wild because he had never seen them, grow here decidedly wild, and not only here but also in remote valleys of south-west Hsi-k’ang where he never penetrated. Higher up on the summit crest *Cupressus Duclouxiana* trees hold sway; one may as well assert that they also are escapes from cultivation. Crossing the stream once more the trail leads over tremendous rock avalanches and landslides, only to cross again the roaring torrent to the north side over a shaky bridge, and to continue in somber, dry forest at the foot of red sandstone cliffs. We finally climb steeply over the most appalling trail built zigzag against the overhanging wall of rock, a scaffolding suspended over a black chasm. It actually swings free, hundreds of feet above the torrent, which roared invisibly in the black abyss. A gale was howling; at every step the trail swayed, especially around sharp turns, where it projected into the void. This dreadful piece of trail, clings to the cliff and yet is not part of it; the fact that the cliff is overhanging makes it still more appalling, for below the trail the cliff recedes towards the bottom of the canyon.

Arrived at the top of the precipice we behold the Mekong deep below us. In descending to the Mekong it is necessary to follow upstream for a considerable distance. The river is here lined with beautiful cypresses (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*). We cross the mouth of the Do-kar La stream over strong wooden planks resting on a huge triangular boulder in the stream-bed. (PLATE 200). The Mekong is here very narrow and flows swiftly, a great contrast to the Salween valley south of Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung, with its forests and abundant moisture. Here the river flows at 7,300 feet elevation (PLATE 201), and the air is warm in comparison to the icy, cold, wet Zhi-dzom La. Much more water appears to be descending from the Zhi-dzom La than from the Si La, for the former pass is a veritable bog through which it is difficult to pass in winter and still more so in the rainy season. The journey from Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung to the Mekong via the Zhi-dzom La takes about three days and the same length of time is required from Tz’u-chung to Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung via the Si La. A strenuous trip, to say the least, at any time of the year.

61 In V. K. Ting’s *Atlas* it is called Lung-te-li 龍得里.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTH-EASTERN REGION OF TE-CH’IN (A-TUN-TZU)

The region from Te-ch’in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu) to Ch’i-tsung, Tibetan Je-drong (rJe-grong) \(^1\) comprises the Yangtze drainage basin which lies in latitude 28° 30’—27° 35’. The Yangtze flows throughout in an arid, narrow gorge, flanked on the east, especially in the neighborhood of Pen-tzu-lan, by high, treeless, barren mountains which appear to be sandstone, one even reaching a height of 18,000 feet. This range is in Hsi-k’ang 西康, and more particularly in Hsiang-ch’eng 鄉城 country, inhabited by wild, lawless Tibetans known as the Hsiang-ch’eng-wa, or Chha-threng, written Phyag-phreng,\(^2\) the terror not only of Chinese and tribespeople, but of other Tibetan clans as well, even of the fearless Gang-kar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling).\(^3\)

Hsiang-ch’eng was established as a magistracy in the 34th year of Kuang-hsi (1908), and was called Ting-hsiang hsien 時鄕縣, but in name only, it is left severely alone by the Chinese, and the Tibetan outlaws do just as they please.

The territory here described includes the 20,000 feet snow range Pai-mang Shan, immediately south of Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu), and two other high passes further south: the Kar-ri and the Ponge La. The valley between the two passes is called Yon-dze-khi, its stream debouches near Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙) into the Yangtze. South of the Ponge La is a maze of mountains, forested with pines, etc., on the eastern slopes, and spruces and fir on the wetter western slopes.

The country north of Ch’i-tsung is mainly inhabited by Tibetans; those living near Ch’i-tsung are called the Mo-so Ku-tsung 摩些古宗 and those around Pen-tzu-lan, Ch’ou Ku-tsung 鄰古宗 (Plate 202). They are all agriculturists, but as there is little arable land except such as is available on the river terraces of the Yangtze and Yon-dze-khi, they just manage to exist.

The volume of water carried by the Yangtze is considerably larger than that of either the Salween or Mekong, and the current slower. Rapids occur below Chu-pa-lung 竹巴籠 (south of Ba-thang) where the river is reduced to a width of 100 yards. The barren valley slopes are composed of sandstone. The few hamlets in this arid gorge are situated on narrow shelves of alluvial detritus, with even occasional sand dunes. At Pen-tzu-lan the Yangtze is about 100 yards wide, and flows at an elevation of 7,100 feet. Here are rubble terraces covered with soil partly cultivated. Below Ch’i-tsung the character of the landscape changes completely. We have a broad valley floor with large fertile terraces, forested mountain slopes, and a quietly flowing river until Shih-ku is reached.

\(^1\) See: p. 292.
\(^2\) གཟའི་ཁུང་
\(^3\) ལྟེག་གུང་བོ་
PAI-MANG SHAN

I. PAI-MANG SHAN 白鑲山, OR PE-MA LA

From Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) we follow the main road south for a short distance, then turn south-east instead of west whither the main road leads to the Mekong, and climb zigzag steeply to a gap which leads to Pai-mang Shan. The slopes of the mountain are partly forested but are fast becoming denuded because the Tibetans char the wood for the use of A-tun-tzu town. We met many yak coming from Pai-mang Shan, loaded with both charcoal and firewood, destined for A-tun-tzu. From the gap the trail descends to a deep valley with a stream joined by one from Pai-mang Shan pass, both flowing west to the Mekong. Our path skirts the eastern mountain slope and emerges into a broad valley, opening out towards the Mekong. From here the entire Kha-wa-kar-po range, the Mekong—Salween divide, is visible in all its glory (PLATE 203). Two glaciers descend into the valley of the Mekong, but the river, flowing about 12,000 feet below the summit peaks, remains invisible. After passing the small hamlet called Ra-shu (Mu-lung-shu 木龍樹) where potatoes are cultivated for the A-tun-tzu market, we come to a small meadow with an old tumble-down house, and thence ascend the valley with the stream roaring about 1,000 feet below the trail.

The Tibetans speak of a Pe-ma La which has, however, nothing to do with the Chinese Pai-ma 白馬 (White horse). It is the Tibetan way of pronouncing Pad-ma (the Lotus), and Pe-ma La 佩邏 means the Lotus Pass.

The region east of Pai-mang Shan is little known and is a blank on the Davies map. There is, however, a trail which leads over the Dru La north-east to the main Yangtze divide, here called the Mu-ting Shan 茅頂山 after a village situated on the Yangtze by that name. The range is also called Jung-liu Hsüeh-shan 穎雪山. What seems to be a continuation of it to the north is called the Nu-lu Hsüeh-shan 鴟鵥雪山 (Nu-lu Snow range). Over this range a pass leads to the Yangtze called Rün-tsi La. The height of this pass, the highest in this region, is said to be 16,500 feet. At Mu-tung there is a Tibetan T'u-ssu and a population of about 50 families, also a tiny lamasery; the village is about 1,000 feet above the Yangtze and about three li distant from the narrow and arid Yangtze gorge. The slopes on which Mu-tung is situated are terraced, and wheat, millet and buckwheat are grown. Of fruit trees, pomegranates, walnuts, and a small persimmon are cultivated (K. Ward). On Mu-ting Shan grow lovely rhododendrons such as Rhododendron Beesianum, Rhod. dryophyllum, Rhod. dumosulum, Rhod. schizopeplum, etc. On the Rün-tsi La charming alpine plants abound such as Saxifraga Wardii, Saxifraga flagellaris subsp., megistantha Paraquilegia microphylla, Dracocephalum Rockii, Saxifraga diapensia, Chionocharis (Myosotis) hookeri, a forget-me-not cushion plant with tiny silvery leaves and sky-blue flowers, blue poppies such as Meconopsis rudis and Meconopsis eximia, and many others, too numerous to mention.

Beyond the Rün-tsi La to the north-east is a lower pass called the Chnù-ma La (probably the Chinese Nu-lu Shan 鴟鵥山), whence a trail leads to Mu-tung. Yün-nan territory extends a considerable distance along the west bank of the Yangtze, forming a narrow strip with Hsi-k'ang on both sides of the river. The last village on the main road north from A-tun-tzu is Lung-ya-li 朗雅里 (MAJOR DAVIES' Lung-xang-nang), below the Tsha-le (Tsa-li 鐵嘴 or Ch'a-li 茶里) Pass.

The villages on the west slopes of the Yangtze valley are, from about the height of A-tun-tzu north, Sung-tiao 宋刀, K'a-sa 卡陣, Sheng-kung 昌工, the lamasery Yuan-ko Su 可善寺 (this lamasery was built in the 11th year of Ch'ien-lung (1746), Kung-kung 羆蒙, Chi-sha-k'a 吉沙卡, Lou-lung 楚龍, Ch'a-kung 奇工, then the village of Ya-ra-no (Liao-la 了拉), and a pass over the Yangtze—Tsha-le River divide, 16,300 feet in height, called the Da La (Te La 得拉), which is also the Yün-nan—Hsi-k'ang Border.
The mountain slopes are covered with dead trees, but *Quercus semicarpifolia* bushes were coming up everywhere; farther on the slopes were covered with large trees of the same species of oak festooned with the long, beard-like lichen *Usnea longissima*. The trail is lined with roses, *Caragana Franchettiana* and Berberis. At 13,000 feet we come to a stream which descends from the eastern mountain slopes while the trail leads to a fine meadow and good camping ground. Another stream flows from the pass, and this we follow, the rocky stream-bed (ice-covered, December) being the trail, up a narrow valley, which higher up broadens somewhat. To the east a small valley debouches into a meadow, another lovely camping place. The snow peaks of Pai-mang Shan are further south, for we have not as yet reached the first pass over the range. Abies trees abound here, but still more numerous are the arborescent, *Rhododendron flavorum* and *Rhod. tritifolium* 15–20 feet tall, with thick, leathery leaves and brown tomentum beneath, which cover the hill-sides in company with *Rhod. aischropleum*, *Rhod. globigerum* and *Rhod. dictyotum*.

From here the trail follows the stream, then zigzags to the top of the pass with low scrub (*Rhododendron tapetiforme*) covering the ground. An obo with prayer-flags crowns the pass; to the east massive crags of yellow, weathering rock, identified by Gregory as rhyolite, flank this upper valley, while to the west the gently sloping snow-covered declivities of the Pai-mang Shan become visible. The trail crosses a small plateau with stunted *Rhododendron tapetiforme* bushes (PLATE 204) and then arrives at a shallow ravine with Abies and Larix trees and rhododendron undergrowth. Following the east bank of the valley, which becomes broader as we advance, we finally reach a lateral ravine from the east with a stream descending it. The vegetation here is composed mainly of junipers, Larix, *Caragana jubata*, rhododendron and *Spirea lavgata*, Rosa, and Berberis. The trail ascends the eastern mountain-side with the stream deep below in the valley; here a fine view of the main peak of Pai-mang Shan to the south-west gladdens the eye (PLATE 205). It is a rectangular peak, covered with snow and retreating glaciers. The range is composed of metamorphic rocks, granite and porphyry.5

Following the trail over a rounded ridge, we finally reach the southern pass of Pai-mang Shan, 13,600 feet elevation; thence we descend into a deep valley filled with junipers (*Juniperus Wallichiana*) some 40 feet tall. Larix (larches) grow scattered among them with undergrowth of Sorbus, Berberis and rhododendron. A long, sharp ridge extends from the steep wall of the main peak into the valley below.

Flanking the valley on the east are two bare clumsy-looking mountains, one of a greyish-ochre rock, with gravelly slopes, which has the appearance of grey-colored frosting having been poured over it; the other is a Sienna-red mountain mass with wavy strata near the summit.

From the pass, where a brownish biotite-granite-porphyry is to be found, the main central part of the range is composed of granite, while its eastern foot-hills are of slate and Minchia limestone. Farther east the ridges are of mica schist. The granite had been affected by intense earth movements due to pressure from the west, and this is shown by the inclusion of slabs of Devonian rock in the brecciated banded granite (Gregory).
we descend on to a plateau with small brooks, and thence down a broad valley with massive mountain walls on both sides, parts of Pai-mang Shan. The valley increases in depth and is densely wooded with conifers; to the west are visible the last of the snow-covered rocky peaks of Pai-mang Shan. The trail descends at an easy grade leading first through forest of Abies, Larix and Juniperus and then through the most beautiful stands of *Picea complanata* (Plate 206), a spruce with trunks of more than 100 feet in height. The handsome, yellow-flowered *Rhododendron Wardii* forms here the undergrowth. The mountain slopes to both sides are a dark green, the forest extending high up the slopes which appear as if covered with dark velvet. At the margins are small meadows filled with lovely blue iris. Abruptly this forest gives way to one of a mixed type of *Quercus semicarpfolia*, Betula, and other deciduous trees, with *Paeonia lutea* (the yellow peony) growing on the outskirts. A few li beyond we reach the hamlet of I-chia-p'o 一家坡 (also called Ni-la-lung 浑拉龍) situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it stands beside the contact of hornblende-granite with the Devonian sediments. This point is two stages from A-tun-tzu, a distance of about 105 li.

From I-chia-p'o the trail descends over a rocky slope (green grits and slates) with a stream roaring deep below. Here the oak forest gives way to pines, *Pinus yunnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*, with a few scattered oaks and *Rhododendron decorum*. The trail crosses the stream-bed, and follows on the western bank through scrub forest and bushes of Rosa and Berberis, only to ascend once more. On the east bank is situated a small Tibetan hamlet whose houses had been reduced to ashes. Only the charred walls remained near terraced fields. These ruins date back to 1905 when the Chinese troops set fire to this and other villages and lamaseries, after the Tibetan revolt against China. The rebellion was led by the lamas of Tung-chu-lin and other lamaseries, who brutally murdered two Catholic priests and burned their mission station on the Mekong.

2. **TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY 東竹林喇嘛寺**

The road to Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery leads over a gravelly limestone spur (Minchia limestone) with scattered *Thuja orientalis* (arbor-vitæ) trees, past an affluent of the stream which descends from Pai-mang Shan. Here the trail forks, one leads to a village situated at the foot of a hill, the other up the hill on which Tung-chu-lin, the Tibetan Dön-dru ling (Don-grub-gling) Lamasery has been rebuilt.8

The golden roofs of this lamasery are visible from afar, glistening brilliantly in the sunlight. The entire lamasery is surrounded by a low, white-washed wall, and resembles more a town than a monastery (Plate 207). It consists of about 150 houses with flat, wooden slat-roofs weighted down by

*Don-grub* (Siddhārtha) means one who has reached his goal, and also one who has successfully performed his work.

It was in this lamasery that the founder of the Catholic mission (Mission du Thibet) Père Renou disguised as a merchant found shelter in 1850 and received lessons in the Tibetan language from the Living Buddha himself. It formed the center of resistance dur-
rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village—not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch’a-mu-to 喀木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of tsamba (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed with Thuja orientalis bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of Thuja orientalis and Sophora viciifolia bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rse-ra) (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闢) where two native officials reside: a Ch’ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子闢

In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch’in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch’ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch’u-chiu 枝臾 and Mu-ting 莫頂, also Chio-pa 角壩, T’ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 拉郎 villages.
The T'u-ch'ien-tsung hereditarily resides at Pen-tzu-lan; his territory extends east to the Hsi-k'ang—Tibetan border and the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, 20 li; south to T'o-ting 拖 璞 of the Wei-hsi border, 240 li; west to I-chia-p'eng 一家棚 of the Wei-hsi border, 150 li; north to Wei-hsi and the Ba-thang border, 500 li. His first ancestor’s barbarian name was Shen-weng 神翁. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the native office was changed and naturalized, and the memorial for his appointment as hereditary native lieutenant was approved by the Throne. He guarded the important borders of Ssu-ch’uan (now Hsi-k’ang)—Tibet. The office was handed down to the son of San-chia-ch’i-li 三家七里 (his Tibetan name transcribed), whose name was changed to Wang Shih-ch’ang 王世昌. Shih-ch’ang died and his son Ch’en 謙 inherited the office. After the latter’s death his son Wan-nien 焕 assumed the position in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834). The present ruler is Wang Chao-lin 王兆麟.

The T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the native lieutenant, restrained the Man-i (barbarians). They governed and guarded the important frontiers. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the hereditary rank of the T'u-pa-tsung was approved. His first ancestor was Pieh-ma 皮馬; afterwards his name was changed to Po 柏. The office was transmitted to Po-hui 柏煥. Hui died and Mou 茂 inherited the office. Mou died and his son Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青 inherited the office in the first year of Kuang-hsu (1875).

According to the Wei-hsi Wen-Chien lu, “Pen-tzu-lan is situated on the banks of the Yangtze; the territory is narrow and difficult and the mountains high. In the summer the heat is intense, while on the tops of the mountains there is much snow; in the winter the cold is severe.

“At Pen-tzu-lan are said to grow five trees called Tsang-t'ao 藏桃. The leaves are like those of willows, the flowers are deep red and the petals are like those of a peach. It flowers in the 12th moon, the flowers are large and long; in the third moon the flowers drop, and in the sixth moon the fruit is ripe, and red as a peach. The taste is astringent and the fruit not edible. If one wishes to eat it, it must be treated like the Hu-t'ao 胡桃. The kernel is fragrant and sweet. Tradition relates that during the reign of K'ang-hsi the territory belonged to Ch'ing-hai 青海; the headman of that region came to Pen-tzu-lan and took the seeds back with him to Ch'ing-hai [Koko Nor], but they would not grow.”

4. ACROSS KAR-RI LA (PASS) OF KENG-LI LA 更里拉

Continuing our journey we come to three converging gorges in the center of which is a large, massive, pyramidal mountain, clothed in its upper third

*Hu-t’ao is the earliest designation in Chinese for the walnut and means the peach of the Hu. Hu was the Chinese name for the Iranians. The term Ho-t’ao 胡桃 is a later one for the walnut and means seed peach, or the peach containing a kernel (Lauffer Sino-Iranica). The Tsang-t’ao is very possibly the almond (Prunus amygdalus) but the latter has not yet been found in China. What the Chinese call Hsing-jen 杏仁 is not the almond but the kernels of the apricot — although genuine almonds, because they resemble the seeds of the apricot, are also called Hsing-jen. The only almond occurring in China is a wild species known as Prunus tangutica and occurs in western Kan-su along the T’ao River as a thorny shrub, where I collected it in 1925 and 1926.
with scrub vegetation; beyond a high, bare range rises above it, with a black, sharply-pyramidal rock forming the highest point.

We reach a hamlet of a few houses constructed of red earth, built close together like a fortress, with the windows near the roof, the latter crowned by huge mounds of grass. Yak were grazing over the bare, dry fields. Below in the ravine is the Tibetan village of Yo-nyi (Yo-i 羊尼; in Yün-nan pronounced Yo-ni) with its terraced fields, grey and dusty. We descend and follow at the bottom of a narrow, rocky valley, bare of vegetation with the exception of *Sophora vicifolia* bushes, till we reach the Tibetan hamlet of Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東). Here walnuts and willows grew along the fields. To the east is the trail to Pong-tse-ra, and to the west the trail which leads to the Kar-ri (Keng-li 興里) Pass. At Sha-dung we cross the stream which descends from the Kar-ri La and follow the valley on the south bank. Near the mouth of this lateral valley is a formidable dwelling with a golden spire, the compound is surrounded by a wall on which Tibetan mastiffs were racing wildly up and down. It is the residence of a Huo-fu (incarnation of the Tung-chu-lin lama).

The trail enters an arid and weird, ravine with loose rocks and boulders scattered over the slopes to the very top. It is narrow and one li beyond its mouth it is blocked by an isolated, pyramidal hill crowned by a *Shan-shen Miao* 神廟 (Shrine to a mountain spirit). Here the stream makes a detour to the left; to the right a barren valley opens out near the temple-crowned hill, covered with cactus (*Opuntia monacantha*). What little vegetation there is consists of Berberis, Sophora, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*, while deciduous willow trees line the banks of the stream. *Pteris longifolia* is also common. On the right hill-side is a congregation of houses resembling watch-towers. It is the hamlet of Pe-shin. Dogs run around wildly on the flat roofs, barking viciously at the traveler in the deep and narrow ravine. It would be easy to stop an army here by rolling down the loose rocks which lie in myriads on the valley slopes. Beyond Pe-shin the slopes are composed of disintegrated shale and fine grey dust resembling ashes.

Farther on, the valley divides, the right-hand branch being quite barren; the trail follows up the left branch and here, at the mouth of the valley in a specially constructed shed three large cylindrical prayer-wheels, eight feet long and one foot in diameter, dressed in red and white skirts, whirled around like mad, driven by the stream. Further up the valley was another set, but these were out of commission. For 10 li the trail leads through this rocky, ever-narrowing ravine, till we come to the fortress-like Tibetan hamlet of Sha-yi (Shou-its'un 洗義村), situated on a flat spur above the river. At one end of the village is a lama shrine or small temple, with a golden roof and spire, probably the private chapel of the Tibetan T'u-ssu who resides here.

Near Sha-yi the trail passes through *Pinus Armandi* forest which later gives place to *Quercus semicarpifolia* trees, with here and there a *Rhododendron decorum*, several deciduous trees, rose-bushes, Caragana, etc. The mountains rise steeply, the stream is ice-bound (December), and at an eleva-
tion of 10,000 feet we enter oak forest with *Pinus yünnanensis* and a few spruces. White-barked birches make their appearance where a deep lateral ravine opens to our right. The left valley, into which our trail leads, broadens, and red-barked birches and Piceas abound with several species of rhododendron. A beautiful meadow framed by mossy forest invites to a rest and lunch. The meadow was a mass of iris, while wild cherries and pears grew on the outskirts of the forest surrounding it. After climbing a central rocky spur we find ourselves in beautiful Picea forest with *Rhododendron levistatum* as undergrowth, all festooned with long strands of *Usnea longissima*. To our left is a deep, densely-forested valley, with the snow-covered summit of the Kar-ri written dKar-ri La, White mountain Pass shaped like an amphitheater, towering high above us.

The trail, composed of black slate which is exposed beneath morainic drift, is now almost a road and leads zigzag to the flat summit of the Kar-ri La, with the usual obo and prayer-flags. The wind howled in fury at the top, which was covered with a low scrub rhododendron with indigo-blue flowers and bronze leaves; the altitude was 13,700 feet.

The northern slope which we had ascended was deep in snow, while the south-western slope which we began to descend was entirely free of it. The trail goes down zigzag to a meadow called Pun-tra 1,000 feet below the pass, with dense spruce or Picea forest to both sides, while the shrubs represented species of Sorbus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, etc. From the summit pass the Yün-nan—Hsi-k'ang border is visible. It is formed by a row of peculiar peaks, bleak and barren, to the east of the Yangtze, which flows at their foot. The entire landscape was hazy owing to fires on the hill-sides, started by Li-su tribespeople.

From the Pun-tra meadow below the Kar-ri Pass, we descend along the stream-bed; here the mountain-sides rise steeply several thousand feet, covered with Abies forest and crowned at their summit with alpine meadows. The ravine narrows, but to our left a broader valley opens; the stream we have been following is separated by a narrow comb of earth and loose rocks from the larger one which it joins. The walls are mainly of old limestone, the stream flowing between steep slopes which for a short distance are composed of loose soil and boulders, with trees and dead logs overhanging them; the trail crosses the stream many times. The vegetation changes, the forest is of a mixed type composed of spruces, maples, and oaks (*Quercus semicarpfolia*), while the upper slopes of the broadening ravine are covered with pure stands of Picea. Many landslides have obliterated the trail, buried under boulders with tree trunks sticking out of them. The slightest vibration dislodges the loose mass.

Here we met with Li-su tribespeople and Tibetans armed with cross-bows, and a lama with red cloak and yellow hat, bound for Tung-chu-lin. Descending rapidly we pass into *Pinus Armandi* and oak forest with undergrowth of Rosa, Berberis and Corylus, etc. The valley broadens considerably and we enter the village of Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里), situated on a spur at an elevation of 9,000 feet.
The houses of Kar-ri are of mud brick, but are unlike the Tibetan houses of the Mekong valley, which have flat dirt roofs. Here the roofs are of wooden slats weighted down by rocks, as is the Na-khi custom.

The Chinese map gives the village of T'o-ting between Sha-yi and Kar-ri. This village was said to have been the northern border of the Wei-hsi district, but we have not encountered such a place on the road from Pong-tse-ra to Kar-ri, neither is it marked on Davies' map. South of Kar-ri the rocks are Devonian sediments which form also the hills to the south of the river.

To the east a small valley debouches into the one we have been descending; deciduous oak scrub covers the lower slopes, while the hill-sides above are clothed with *Pinus yunnanensis*. A deep valley extends diagonally across the mouth of the Kar-ri valley, the trail leading to the broad, rocky stream-bed which we cross to the south bank, where the hamlet of Tsho-kha-thang, written mTsho-kha-thang is situated (Plate 208). The women of this region dress like the Na-khi or Mo-so women of La-pao, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang, wearing much-pleated hemp cloth skirts; they are unlike Tibetan women, and belong to the Mo-so Ku-tsung tribe (Plate 209). The houses are very quaint and it seems that their domestic animals enjoy residence in the upper story of their houses, while the family lives on the ground-floor, as the accompanying picture would indicate (Plate 208).

5. YON-DZE-KHÀ (CHU-PA-LUNG 竹巴龍)

We now reach the Yon-dze-khà which has its source on the southern slopes of Pai-mang Shan; it is spanned by a covered wooden bridge (Plate 210). The trail follows the south bank downstream, through *Quercus semicarpifolia* forest, the stream thundering over huge boulders, a mass of foam. Up it leads again a forested spur and thence to the deep, rocky gorge of the Yon-dze-khà, weird and dismal, with fantastic peaks to the east. We continue down the gorge, mainly composed of limestone, crowned by crags and odd pinnacles, the highest of which bear Picea trees which accentuate their loftiness. To the west a brook descends from a narrow zigzag valley, at the head of which black, rocky snow-crowned peaks rear their bleak summits into the sky. A long wooden plank-bridge spans the stream and leads us to the Tibetan hamlet of Na-ri (Na-li). Na-ri is situated on the east bank of the stream at the foot of a huge, grey limestone cliff with a deep ravine opening out behind the village; in the distant background a high, deep-blue, densely forested range closes the valley.

12 Handel-Mazzetti gives a village of To-tyü which may be identical with the Chinese T'o-ting, but this village is at the junction of the Yon-dze-khà and the Yangtze, and on the western bank of the latter. As the Chinese map is not at all reliable, it is very likely that T'o-ting is identical with To-tyü, which may be the Na-khi pronunciation of it.

13 甥

14 The lower part of this gorge is known as Cho-pa-rong written lChog-pa-rong (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍; also Chou-pa-lo 竹巴河); the stream is called Chu-pa Ho 竹巴河. The divide between this latter stream and the Mekong is known as Chou-pa-lo Hsūeh-shan (Snow mountain of Chou-pa-lo).
From Na-ri we follow a narrow trail up and down, first high above the river, then in and out of ravines; the main road, however, leads on the west bank at an even grade. A few li bring us to the hamlet of Yun-gou where the ravine becomes very narrow and the stream enters a deep limestone gorge lined with Cupressus trees. Beyond the gorge on the east bank of the river is a huge limestone boulder which appears suspended over the stream, its lower surface being flat; hot water passes through the rock and flows from the flat under-surface as from a sieve. Limestone crags and mountains tower 2,000 feet above the river-bed, the slopes being covered with scrub oak and pines. The whole scenery is strange and dismal.

At the end of the day's stage is the hamlet of Dshii-dzung situated on the east bank of the river. From this village the trail follows the clear stream, crosses two lateral affluents and ascends a rocky bluff. The trees on the lower slopes are all walnuts, while oaks and *Pinus yunnanensis* clothe the upper. We come to a cantilever bridge at the village of Ndo-sung (To-sung 嘉松) on the east bank of the stream. The entire village consists of one large white house and a few log huts. We enter forest of pines and deciduous oaks in the broadening valley; mountains about 12,000 feet in height and composed of limestone rise to the east. The next village, called Sha-lon, in Chinese Sha-lung 沙龍, is situated on a hill in the valley. The Tibetan dialect spoken here is different from that of A-tun-tzu and Chung-tien. Three li beyond the village of Sha-lon, the trail leaves the main stream, enters a narrow valley and crosses the affluent which issues from it.

We follow on the top of the spur which separates it from the main stream to a small hamlet called Chao-to (Ch'ang-ta 昌大); five li beyond we reach the village of To-gu-ti the Chinese T'o-ko-ti 拖格底. Near the entrance to the village a gate was erected across the trail. It consisted of two pine trees connected by braided strands of bamboo from which wooden swords dipped in blood hung suspended. On inquiry I was informed that an epidemic was rampant among the horses in this village, and the swords, were to drive or keep out the demon which caused it. At the other end of the village was a similar gate, but from the bamboo rope swung the huge wooden penis of a horse. Not far from this village situated on the left bank, is the hamlet of Nin-yü, where another cantilever bridge spans the river. As the valley floors became broader and the land more suitable for agriculture, villages are also more frequent.

Two li bring us to the village of Ka-su, and a short distance beyond situated on a terrace is the village called Sa-gè-ti (Sheng-keng-ting 生更丁); here are limestone and black shales both much contorted. Walnuts grow along the river bank, the Tibetans, similarly to the Na-khi, use the oil for cooking. The trail crosses a rather large, flat cultivated area to a village called Sha-shao 沙啞 situated under a huge limestone bluff. Here a valley opens out into the Yon-dze-khà, from the right, or west, bringing a stream of considerable size from the eastern slopes of the mountains, which form the Mekong–Yangtze divide in the neighborhood of Yeh-chih. A trail leads up this valley and over the divide to the Mekong a little north of Yeh-chih.

To the south of the valley is a high spur which Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls Ko-bu-dä — this is the Chinese Kuo-pu-te 過不得 (Cannot be
crossed). Evidently when asking his guide about the name of the mountain he replied that it could not be crossed; Handel-Mazzetti, thinking it was the name, put it on his map. According to a Chinese map the name of the mountain is Hsiung-kung Shan [hsiung-kung Shan] but that name is locally unknown and seems to be an invention of the Chinese cartographer.

Opposite the bridge which here spans the stream is a small Tibetan hamlet. Another village is perched against the northern hill-side of the valley, while ancient watch-towers, built by the Tibetans centuries ago to keep out Mo-so soldiers, crown the ridge. As has already been remarked elsewhere, Major Davies' map is here wrong, for his stream has no outlet, while in fact the Yon-dze-khà flows into the Yangtze ten li from the hamlet of Rong-sha (Lo-sha or Lo-she) which consists of about ten houses.

6. ACROSS PONGE LA (PASS)

From Sha-shao, two li of marching along the stream, which is here quite broad but shallow, brings us to the village of Ton-ri, Chinese T’an-lien 貫nelly, on its east bank among fields; this is by far the greatest expanse of flat territory encountered in this valley. Crossing another affluent (the rocks in its bed are gneiss and granite) coming from the south-west, called the Shio-ndo (Hsiang-to 香多) after the village situated up the valley on its east bank, we enter a gorge with limestone rocks and crags. The district or region is here known as Du-bà-lo. The trail ascends a rocky bluff high above the river which flows east-north-east, very placidly and clear as crystal. From the limestone bluff we look down on the village of Rong-sha situated at the mouth of a narrow valley above terraced fields. Mandarin oranges are grown here. At the head of the Rong-sha valley is the Ponge La (Pass) at a height of 12,150 feet.

At Rong-sha we turn directly south up the lateral valley along terraced fields, the slopes of the mountains being pine-covered. To the east of Rong-sha is visible a high, bare range at the foot of which the Yangtze flows. The trail leads steeply up the valley through Pinus yunnanensis forest, with deciduous oaks, Quercus Griffithii, as undergrowth, also the ubiquitous Rhododendron decorum and Quercus semicarpifolia. Further on the ravine divides into two branches, the trail following steeply the eastern branch on the east bank. Here we encounter clearings and wheat-fields. The valley slopes are inhabited by Li-su tribespeople who speak broken Tibetan. Above the fields we come to alpine meadows and rows of beautiful Picea trees, with here and there a Pinus Armandi, the five-needled Pai-sung 白松 or white pine.

The real climb to the Ponge La commences. The trail follows the narrowing meadow which gradually merges into Picea forest with undergrowth of Rhododendron heliolepis and a silvery-leaved species, also found on the Kar-ri La, besides Rhododendron irroratum and Rh. eritimum both arborescent species and a few deciduous trees such as Betula and Pyrus. Looking up to the pass it seemed only a short distance away, but the climb is an arduous one, especially as the trail becomes the stream-bed, which on our
visit was frozen and full of fallen trees and decayed logs. Near the head of
the stream the narrow gulch is filled with fallen trees, and the trail leads in
short and sharp zigzags to the pass, which resembles a trench, very different
from the broad Kar-ri La. This pass, height 12,150 feet, is composed of
green shale and shows no trace of glacial action. Abies tower to right and
left, and a high, bare mountain range is visible in the distance, one black
pyramidal peak being especially prominent.

Looking south from the pass we behold a deep ravine with steep walls and
crags covered with snow. In the distance loom up range upon range, one
flat, bowl-shaped mountain especially attracting our attention. We descend
steeply in sharp zigzags, almost spirals, through Abies and Picea forest; the
trail resembles a narrow trench, hardly one foot wide but much deeper. As
the mountain slopes steeply and the trail is very bad, it is best to camp just
below the pass on the grassy downs, or on the top where there are, or were,
some roofless log cabins.

Continuing the descent we finally reach the village of Pa-sho-nyi-ra situ-
atuted on the left or east valley slopes and inhabited by Tibetans, but of a
different type from the Tibetans to the north. The people as well as their
dogs seem to be of an inferior breed from those one is accustomed to meet
on the Mekong and north of A-tun-tzu.

The forest through which we traverse is indeed stately, large oaks, an
evergreen species but different from any previously met with, Pyrus yün-
nanensis, Piceas, pines, climbing roses, Ligustrum, etc., form the under-
growth. We pass several Li-su huts and then enter the common yellow pine
forest P. yünnanensis, mixed with Quercus semicarpifolia and Rhododendron
decorum, with an occasional Tsuga. We continue in the deep ravine among
stunted trees, past an enormous black limestone bluff, and emerge into a
large valley into which the ravine from the Ponge La debouches at right
angles. At the mouth of the ravine is situated the village of Shyon-gung
among terraced fields.

The trail does not descend to the valley floor but leads around a bluff, and
along the foot of a limestone range covered with a species of Castanopsis.
The valley is considerably broad with fields lining both banks of the stream.
Its southern wall is formed by a high range densely forested and apparently
of a different rock formation to the northern one which is composed of lime-
stone boulders, buried in red shale. Following at the foot of the limestone
range we come to the hamlet of T'a-ch'eng 塔域 (T'a-dza in Na-khi) in-
habited by Na-khi and Tibetans, who also speak Li-su. This is the Shang
(Upper) T'a-ch'eng while the Hsia 下 (Lower) T'a-ch'eng is south of
Ch'i-tsung and the T'a-ch'eng Kuan.

7. LA-P'U AND CH'I-TSUNG 布普其宗

The next village is Yon-dron-ko, also called Yon-dron-wan, the Chinese
Yin-to-wan 義多彜. Here the valley is still broader, we pass many villages,
most of which were then in ashes, having been burnt by Tibetan robbers who
came within' 60 li of Li-chiang. To the north, towers the bare limestone range,
while the southern one is densely forested; the valley floor is here an alluvial
fan, extending in fertile terraced fields to the stream-bed. We cross the latter over a wooden-covered bridge to a village, follow the hill-side past many other villages of which the largest is La-p’u (called La-p’o by the Na-khi), famous in Mo-so annals. It was like the other villages, entirely in ashes. The inhabitants are a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan. The women wear the Mo-so pleated skirt and large ear-rings. The trail leads along the hill-side, the valley narrows again, and fields cease; we follow immediately above the stream-bed, whose slopes are forested with the common pine, while a scrub oak, Cornus, and *Rhododendron racemosum* grow along the trail.

The ravine becomes narrower and deeper, the stream flowing between steep, forested walls of crystalline limestones and schists. These limestones form also the precipices above the Yangtze at Ch’i-tsung, where that river flows at an altitude of 6,800 feet. The La-p’u Lamasery, called the Lai-yüan Ssu 來遠寺, built in the sixth year of Ch’ien-lung (1741) is visible high up on the northern mountain-side. In Tibetan the lamasery is called hBreng-khung-dgon ° while La-p’u is known to them as gLu-hphe ° (pronounced Lu-phe). Further west, not far from this lamasery, is said to be another called Ta-mo Ssu 㨴摩寺. It was built four years earlier than the Lai-yüan Ssu, namely in the second year of Ch’ien-lung (1737). It is called bsTan-hphel-gling ° in Tibetan. The Chinese Ta-mo is equivalent to the Sanskrit Dharma or Bodhidarma, the twenty-eighth Indian and first Chinese patriarch, who arrived in China A.D. 520, the reputed founder of the Ch’an or Intuitional School in China. The trail descends and passing a rocky bluff we emerge into the Yangtze valley at Ch’i-tsung, a journey of nearly nine days from A-tun-tzu, and a distance of approximately 450 li.

° 950x500 | ° 950x500 | ° 950x500
PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND BOUNDARIES OF YUNG-NING 永寧

I. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning.

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi) family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403-1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A.

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 裏化 (Li-t'ang 裏塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

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1 The name Hli-khin is derived from Hli: the name of the Yung-ning plain and khin: man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, khi. The Hli-khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhēr-khin.
as Mu-li 木栗 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the present Ch’ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k’-ang and partly in Ssu-ch’uan. The T’u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T’u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch’uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch’ama-to 察木多; Chhab-mdo) in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa 黃教). He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: “Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work.” The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: “If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity.” The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po (The first Mu-li T’ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 49th year of K’ang-hsi (1710) the Ch’ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T’u-pai-hu 千戶 and T’u-ch’ien-hu 千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch’ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the Ssu-ch’uan t’u-i k’ao that the Tso-so and Ch’ien-so T’u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:
"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approved he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh or 在 the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief." His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob.

Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 堋. (PLATE

The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ér, the Na-khi Mbēr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (巴爾瑞丹). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced dān or den; its final n is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu or K'ang-wu (in Tibetan, Khe-long). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bsod-nams-dar-rgyas-gling 赤瓦千滿達賴寺 is situated.

The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. Hsüan simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of wei, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-p'u 李章甫 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The late Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命自在佛敏吉呼闊克圖一等 夫虎掌之任川邊佛教會長陸軍中將緒世襲木裏宣慰司同知 assassination "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 項此稱扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorfic: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei ch'iu ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu木裏宣慰司備要處指揮中央勘巡軍第三軍 bölten 九龍防司令部. At Min-chi the small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa木拉著部, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs rnam-sprul 詩敦桑普, (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan 格斯班桑丁), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (his captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-
Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning, for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 掸打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-diü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, i.e., the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 楼頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-diü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv diü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; yi stands for the name of the Yangtze, gv is a box in Na-khi, and diü means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (See also Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 嘉米; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shōh and the Hli-khin, Lā-mō or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nōh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

The Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b-34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: “The Yung-ning T’u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a
frontier district of Yün-nan, adjoining Ssu-ch'uan and the land of the T'u-fan. Its ancient name was Lou-t'ou t'an and is also known as Ta-lan Mo-hsieh 答藍勉. At the close of the Han 漢 dynasty [about A.D. 24] the Yung-ning A T'u-ssu's ancestor — Ni-yüeh-wu 泥月鳥 — pacified the T'u-fan and settled in their land.” (The Tien-hsi Vol. 2, fol. 10a calls him Tsu (祖)-ni-yüeh-wu and states that he was a chief of the Mo-so man).

“In the T'ang dynasty it belonged to the Nan-chao Kingdom under the rule of the Meng family (649–902). After that it was occupied by the Mo-so man [Na-khi] but later again recovered. In the Sung dynasty it belonged to the Ta-li 大理 dynasty under the rule of the Tuan family (937–1094).

“In the Yuan dynasty, Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈 sojourned [with his troops] at Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和” (PLATE 212). This place is called in Hli-khin, La-paddü; it is a meadow about one and a half li west of the Yung-ning Lamaser; the Hli gyi (Hli River) crosses the meadow in the center. The southern part of the meadow is called Jih (Sun) and the northern part of the meadow Yiieh (Moon) and collectively Jih-yüeh-ho (Union of the sun and moon). The late Tsung-kuan 總管 of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan 阿彌山 or A To-ch'i 阿彌奇 (PLATE 213), often told me that Kublai Khan camped there with his army. The Tsung-kuan and his relatives used always to escort me as far as this place when I left Yung-ning for Li-chiang. He said that from time immemorial, when anyone started on a voyage from Yung-ning, the first place to camp would be at Jih-yüeh-ho. He himself was proud of his Mongol origin, for he was a descendant of one of the Mongol officers left by Kublai Khan in Yung-ning to govern that territory.

“In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed to the

*This is apparently in imitation of the Tibetan name of Yung-ning which is Thar-lam, meaning the “road to Nirvana,” which also the Chinese name Yung-ning (Eternal peace) indicates. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call it Ta-long. The Yung-pei Records write it 馴 instead of 驄 or 驃, which is the correct character meaning the Thar-lam of the Mo-so or Mo-hsieh tribe.

*We have here the first record of the settlement of the Mo-so and their chief Ni-yüeh-wu who must have been accompanied by a horde of his tribe, otherwise he could not have dislodged the Tibetans and settled in their land which bore the name of Thar-lam, the Tibetan name of Yung-ning to this day. This was said to have taken place about A.D. 24. We further learn from the Nan-chao Yeh-shih 南昭野史, as well as from the Yüan Shih 元史 (Mongol History) that the first chief of the Mo-so to settle south-west of the Yangtze, that is within the Yangtze loop, came from the present Yung-ning, then called Lou-t'ou; he himself was called Po-ch'ung 波渾. He settled in what was afterwards called the district of Pao-shan, 獨山 the present La-pao, 245 li north of Li-chiang and 150 li south-west of Yung-ning. He founded the Mo-so Kingdom (Yüeh-hsi chao) during the T'ang dynasty in the early part of the eighth century and called his kingdom Mo-so chao and also Hua-ma Kuo, 花馬國. We learn from the Li-chiang Records that he was murdered in the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (A.D. 738). According to the Nan-chao Records he dwelt at Sui chou 楚州, which was the name of Li-chiang during the T'ang dynasty, changed later to Kun-ming hsien. He may have been one of the seven Mo-so brothers who established themselves at La-pao during the Eastern T'ang (Tung T'ang 東唐) dynasty.

We thus learn that the Mo-so reached the region of Yung-ning — Li-chiang, or the present north-west of Yün-nan, at the close of the Han dynasty about A.D. 24. It is possible that the Mo-so man afterwards went south of Yung-ning, and that Po-ch'ung founded the Mo-so Kingdom only after Mo-so had long been settled among the P'u and Hsieh tribes and in what is now the Li-chiang district.
empire. [The old Tien-hsi says that Ho-tzu 賀字, who was the 31st generation after Ni-yueh-wu, submitted in that year to the empire; but the new edition of the Tien-hsi omits this.] The Yuan Shih ch. 61, fol. 9a states the same, adding that in the 16th year of Chih-yüan (1279) it was changed to a chou 州.

"In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), the office of Ch'a-yen-kuan 茶鹽管 [the Yung-pei Record says Ch'a-ian-kuan 茶鹽管 and the Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih: ‘Ta-lan kuan-min-kuan 茶鹽管民管’, or the civil official of Ta-lan which is correct] was established. In the 16th year the office was abolished and the department of Yung-ning in the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝府 was established. In the Ming dynasty during the period of Hung-wu (1368-1398) it became subject to the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) it was changed and made subject to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) 潘滬衛; in the fourth year of Yung-lo (1406) it was changed again to Yung-ning fu, to which belonged the Ssu-ch'uan Chang-kuan-ssu 四川長官司. The native official received the title of prefect and a seal of office, also a letter ordering him to restrain his tribal people. Thereupon the Ssu-ch'uan Tso-so T'u-ssu, by name La-ma-fei 骆馬非, occupied the territory and killed Pu-sa 撒 the father and his son [the Yung-ning T'u-ssu and his son]. His wife then accused him before the Chen-shou 鎮守 (Defense commissioner). Thereupon La-ma-fei was arrested and was ordered to be sent to the capital but he died on the road. The territory was again delimited. Pu-sa's younger brother, Nan-pa 南八, then took charge of the Tso-so T'u-ssu's affairs.

"During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436-1449), all the wild tribes of Yen-ching [east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan] advanced to attack him. The native [prefect] official could not prevent them from doing so, and thus he petitioned that a prefect and sub-prefect be established and a yamen built in the Lan-ts'ang wei-ch'eng 潘滬衛城 (walled town of the military station of Lan-ts'ang). The latter then held the district and governed it from a distance.

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (1698), Pei-sheng chou was changed and raised to the fu-city of Yung-pei; the sub-prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning was changed to the sub-prefect of fu-city of Yung-pei and the native prefect of Yung-ning (Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu) was made subject to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The T'u-ssu was delegated to rule in the

10 The Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih 雲南備徵志, ch. 15, fol. 20a, says Ma-la-fei instead of La-ma-fei. This is a mistake. There is a 馬喇 (vice-headman or Fu-chang-kuan-ssu) by the name A, but he is not to be confused with the Tso-so T'u-ssu called La-ma-fei. The A T'u-ssu or T'u-kuan of Ma-la was a Pa-i 楚吹 tribesman and not a Mo-so or Na-khi. The Ma-la territory adjoined the land of the Yün-nan Pei-sheng T'u-ssu Chang 赤王司. The same work (ch. 9, fols. 70b-71a) states further that "in the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1429) Shih-pu-la-fei 畫不剌非 of the barbarian village of Yung-ning, conspired with Ma-la-fei the native official of the Ssu-ch'uan Salt-well military station, to kill Ko-chi-pa-ho. They were then pacified by the Imperial army. Thereupon Pu-sa was ordered to succeed to the title of prefect of Yung-ning. Later, he (Pu-sa), was also killed by Shih-pu-la-fei. After his death, his younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position. In the second year of Cheng-t'ung (1437) Ma-la-fei was attacked by Nan-pa, who recovered Wu-chieh 烏削 [this is probably Wu-chio 烏角 near Yung-ning in Mu-li Hsi-k'ang] and other stockaded villages. It is said that Nan-pa was also killed by Ma-la-fei."
Yüan dynasty but without documentary evidence, and only when Pu-tu-
ko-chi came on to the scene in the Ming dynasty was there con-
ferred upon him by letters patent the office of Yung-ning T’u-chih-chou
永寧土知府 (Native Department magistrate of Yung-ning). In the 16th
year of Shun-chih (1659) when high officials came to Yün-nan fu, the T’u-
ssu led his people to confer with them, whereupon he was appointed to the
position of T’u-chih-fu 士知府, which until this day remains a hereditary
post without change.”

THE FOUR CHANG-KUAN-SSU DISTRICTS

As regards the four districts ruled by the four Chang-kuan-ssu (native
headmen) under the T’u-ssu of Yung-ning, the Chia-ch’ing I-t’ung-chih, ch.
497, fol. 5b, states that they were established in the fourth moon of the 4th
year of Yung-lo; (the personal records of the A family, chiefs of Yung-ning,
state the 24th day of the fourth moon and 4th year of Yung-lo (May 25th,
1402). Later they belonged to the Yün-nan Yung-ning wei 雲南永寧衛.
The four Chang-kuan-ssu were all Hsi-fan officials, by name A 阿. After the
reign of Cheng-t’ung 正統, about 1450, the Yen-ching native chiefs seized
the territory by force. The four native officials then ceased to exist (were
abolished). Apparently the entire region was a lawless one, and the Yung-
ning chiefs, being unable to rule it, later turned the land over as a gift to the
Incarnation of Chha-mdo, as related elsewhere. It appears that the lawless
Wu-so (Five So), especially the Tso-so who made inroads into Yung-ning,
and killed the son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, possessed themselves of the four territ-
ories, the Yung-ning chiefs retaining only a nominal control. Thus it be-
came part of Ssu-ch’uan. The Chha-mdo Incarnation later by converting
the inhabitants to the Yellow Lama Church subdued them, and succeeded
in establishing his steward, a man of Mongol origin, as the temporal ruler
of what is now Mu-li. It is significant that the Tso-so, who were apparently
the ringleaders in the seizing of the territory, and did not look with favor on
the establishing of the Yellow Church, refused to be converted, and remained
to this day adherents of the Shamanist Bön sect, the pre-Buddhist religion
of Tibet.

5. YUNGS-PEI RECORDS, CH. 2

In another volume (ch. 2, fol. 1a-5a) of the Yung-pei Records much of
the foregoing is repeated regarding Yung-ning and adjacent territory with
the exception of the following, which is of historic interest: “The Yung-pei
district was between the borders of Yün-nan and the State of Shu [western
Ssu-ch’uan] and in ancient times was between Yueh-sui and I chou. In
those days it had many names which cannot now be determined nor what
part of the country they represented.

“It is stated that Tien-sheng 滇省 [Yün-nan] was in the realm of Yü-
kung 萬貢 (2200 B.C.) called Liang chou. Ch’eng-wang 成王 of the Chou
dynasty (1115-1079 B.C.) united Liang 梁 with the State of Yung and called
it Yung chou 羸州 or the department of Yung. Yung-pei was subject to
Yung chou; it was west of the province of Tien 滇.
"In the period of the Contending States (Commenced 480? or 468?–479 B.C.) it belonged to the land of Pai-kuo (Land of the White Kingdom).

"In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 25) the land northwest of the T'ieh-chiao (Iron bridge; see p. 25) was occupied by the Shih-man (Shih barbarians)."

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) in the 11th year of Cheng-yüan (795), I-mou-hsun of the Nan-chao Kingdom took by force the land of the Man, called Pei-fang t'an (district of Ch'eng-chieh); he deported the P'o-jen (people that territory, and called it Chien-ch'iang and also Ch'eng-chi Chun (Commandery of Shan-chü).

"During the Five Dynasties (907–960) Cheng Mai-ssu rebelled against the house of Meng (they are the Shan or Pa-i, who dwelled in the Pai-kuo or Pai-tzu Kuo (district of Ch'eng-chieh)); later he changed the name to Shan-chü Chun (Commandery of Shan-chü).

"In the Sung dynasty (960–1279) the house of Tuan occupied Ta-li, and changed the name Shan-chü Chun to Ch'eng-chi Chun, and placed Kao Hui-ch'iu to keep it in order. The Kao family thus dwelled there for many generations.

In the Yuan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung (1253), Kao Chun (he ruled from 937–944 and was the founder of the Ta-li Kuo kingdom) conquered Nan-chao, changed the name of Ch'eng-chieh t'an and created the Ch'eng-chi Chun (Commandery of Shan-chü).

The Shih-man inhabited the third of the six Chao which comprised the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom). Their territory was the Shih-lang chao (of which Shih-wang-ch'ien was the founder; it was situated on the Mi-tz'u Ho (Meng-tze) Shan and the mountains of Meng-tz'u-ho Shan in Lang-kung (ch'iung) shu (north of Ta-li).

The Nan-chao Yeh-shih gives the 15th year (799) instead of the 11th (795). Ch. 7, fol. 30 of the Yung-pei Records gives also the 15th year. The same record also states that later the Ch'eng-chieh t'an (district of Ch'eng-chieh) was the founder; it was situated on the Mi-tz'u Ho and the mountains of Meng-tz'u-ho Shan."

"The Nan-chao Yeh-shih says the Mo-so instead of Li-su. This latter name is usually written 力竺 or 縣.

"The Kao family succeeded the Tuan family on the throne of Ta-li under the name of the Ta-chung Kuo (1094–1096).

"Kao Chun according to the Mongol history, ch. 61, fol. 6a, was the chief of Pei-sheng."
Plate 185 — PIRS AND RHODOPODENDRONS BELOW THE SI LA

(Courtesy Nat. Geor. Soc.)
Plate 186. — THE VALLEY OF THE SALVWEEN

Looking west from the Nyung-ser La, elevation 13,400 feet, into the Salvween valley. The central spur (lower right) is A-lo-la-Kha; the snow-covered range is the Salvween. The rhes (fir) and rhododen-

Drums in foreground.
The village is situated at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking the Doyon lung-pa, a tributary of the
Through continuous intermarriage many of them are cretins and nearly all are afflicted with goitre.

Plate C88 - A NU-TZU (LU-TZU) FAMILY FROM PAI-HAN-LO (BAHANG)
PLATE 189.—LU-TZU HUTS AT BAHANG
PLATE 190. - THE SALWEEN RIVER AS SEEN FROM A-LO-LA-KHA

(Courtesy Nat. Geo. Soc.)

The river, flowing south in its narrow trench; seen from an elevation of 8,000 ft. on the western slopes of A-lo-la-kha above Chang-ra (Cho-la) and south of Chang-pu-tung.
The Lu-tzu are confined to the Salween valley between Lyu-ra-gang and Sang-tha. To the north of them are Tibetans and to the south the Black Li-su.
In the winter the crossing of the Salween is accomplished by dug-out canoes paddled by Lu-tzu; in the summer a single rope stretched across the river serves as a bridge. The Salween flows here at 5,800 feet.
PLATE 193. — CH’ANG-P’U-T’UNG IN THE SALWEEN VALLEY

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
North of Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung the Salween flows through a beautiful marble gorge, it is the gateway to South-eastern Tibet or Tsha-rong. Fines in foreground.
The trail through the gorge is on the left and consists of a few sticks visible in the picture. The Salween valley is here densely forested with tropical, evergreen trees and palms, which higher up give way to pines, spruces, firs and finally alpine meadows studded with gorgeous flowers. The bright stream of light on the Salween is the mouth of the Ssu-chi-t'ung.
This snowpeak is a little north of Ch’ang-p’u-t’ung at about latitude 28° 2'. A pass called the Gom-pa La leads to the Ch’iu Chiang or Trun, still in Yün-nan. The tremendous gorge at the foot of the mountain mass is Ssu-chi-t’ung. This is the home of *Taiwania cryptomerioides*.
PLATE 197.—A CH’IU-TZU FROM THE TRUN VALLEY

The Ch’iu-tzu are closely related to the Lu-tzu of the Salween but their language is not the same. They live in the valley of the Trun, an affluent of the Nmai Hka, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi: They are a very friendly and peaceful people.
PLATE 198. — DRA-CHHEN PEAK AT THE HEAD OF THE ZHI-DZOM LA

The Zhi-dzom La, elevation 12,300 feet, is to the north of the Si La and is the easiest pass to the Salween. Mt. Dra-chhen, "the Great Crag," flanks it. Abies and Rhododendron in foreground.
Dense forests of Spruces and Taiwania Trees cover the northeastern slopes of the Zhi-dzom La below Lü-lo-thang, elevation 9,000 feet.
The Do-kar La Stream is joined by the Lung-dre Stream below Lung-dre and united they enter the Mekong at an elevation of 7,300 feet.
chou was made subject to the military and civil Hsüan-fu-ssu of the Li-chiang Circuit 麗江路軍民撫司 and to be governed by him.

“In the Ming dynasty, the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), Kao Ts’e 高策 led his people to submit to the empire. In the 17th year (1384) a Pei-sheng chou liu-kuan chih-chou 北勝州流官知州 (Pei-sheng transferable Department magistrate) was established and Kao Ts’e was appointed native Department magistrate. He was to govern the I-min 火氏 (wild tribes) and his Pei-sheng chou was made subject to the military and civil magistracy of Ho-ch’ing. In the 29th year (1396) the Lan-ts’ang wei military and civil tribal chieftaincy was established and was ordered to take charge of the district, which became joined to the military station of Lan-ts’ang (wei).”

“In the sixth year of Cheng-t’ung (1441) this was changed, and the Yün-nan pu-cheng-shih-ssu 雲南布政使司 (Yün-nan provincial governor) together with the Wei (military station) was to govern it. Again Lang-ch’ü chou 浪渠州 (Lang-ch’ü district) subject to the Wei, was made dependent on the Yün-nan-tu Chih-hui-shih-ssu 雲南都指揮使司 (Yün-nan capital Tribal government).

“In the Ch’ing dynasty, the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), there was established the Pei-sheng ying (cantonment). In the fifth year of K’ang-hsi (1666), Pei-sheng chou was placed under Ta-li fu, and there was added to it and established the Yung-pei chen 永北鎭 (Yung-pei brigades).”

In the 22nd year (1683) it was changed to Yung-pei hsieh 協 territorial regiment. In the 26th year (1687) Lan-ts’ang wei was abolished and all the collected taxes were taken and brought into the chou (district). In the 31st year (1692) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan Ch’eng-hsün 范承勳, examined the frontier and reported to the Emperor that it was an important and strategic land, and Pei-sheng chou was made the Chih-li chou 直隸州 (Independent department) reporting direct to the provincial government. Later it was changed back to Yung-pei chen. In the 37th year (1698) the Pei-sheng chih-li chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei (Yung-pei fu 永北府) and the Yung-ning t’ung chih 同知 (sub-prefect) was changed to the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect under whose rule the hereditary Yung-ning native prefect was placed. In the 38th year (1699) Shun chou 順州 subject to Ho-ch’ing fu was also placed under the rule of the sub-prefect.

“In the 32nd year of Ch’ien-lung (1767) the fu-magistracy was changed and was made an independent sub-prefecture or chih-li-t’ing 直隸廳 subject to I-hsi tao 迤西道.”

“In the 35th year (1770) the Chen 鎭 or brigade was changed into a Ying or battalion, governed by a Ts’an-chiang 參將 (Colonel), subject to the Ho-li chen 鳳麓鎭 (Ho-ch’ing–Li-chiang brigades).

Kao Ts’e was the son of Kao Pin-hsiang 高斌祥, native prefect of Pei-sheng during the Yüan dynasty, who, when he made his submission to the Ming dynasty, was reduced to a superintendent or prefect of the second class.

The ancient military station of Lan-ts’ang (wei) is the present city of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) according to the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fol. 6b.

I-hsi is a circuit in the west of Yün-nan comprising Ta-li, Ch’u-hsiung, Yung-ch’ang, Yung-pei, Li-chiang, and Meng-hua, but in reality it comprises the entire west of Yün-nan, beginning west of K’un-ming.
"In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊街坪 subject to it.

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 请保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsu (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫, had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Huang-chung-chuang 华榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b-4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [i.e., the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀛沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 洛水 and She-k'ua 蛇跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡, 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜脚村 [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-liü and P'u-dyu of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 鳥角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

20 Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

21 The present Hua-p'ing 华坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

22 He was the joint or sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文昭, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章齡高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

23 On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡西坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 蘆綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 納朗.

24 In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 鳥角.

25 章齡高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.
CHAPTER II

FAMILY CHRONICLES OF THE YUNG-NING T'U-SSU

In the possession of the family of the present Yung-ning chiefs there are two brief chronicles written in Chinese and in manuscript form. One of these chronicles begins with the first ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi, who makes his appearance in local history in the year 1381, when he submitted to the Ming dynasty with all his subjects; it ends with A Heng-fang of the 19th generation, born on May 7th, 1830. The second chronicle is an abridged account of the first and ends with the present T'u-ssu, A Min-han 阿敏漢, great-grandson of A Heng-fang.

The late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan (Governor) (Plate 213), a close relative of the T'u-ssu, claimed, like the rest of the A family of Yung-ning (Plate 214), to be of Mongol origin and descendant of a Mongol officer or officers left by Kublai Khan to rule Yung-ning, when on his conquest of Yuan-nan in 1253. The A family has always told me that they considered themselves Mongols, and their build and physiognomy bear out their statement. The first ancestor who appears in their biographical history at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1381, does not bear a Mongol but a genuine Na-khi name. The name P'u-dtu is distinctly Na-khi, and is the term for a closely braided basket which does not leak. It is also perhaps a clan name, for the Na-khi of Li-chiang are divided into the P'u-dtu, Gv-hö, Gv-ndza and other clans. Each clan performs its special propitiation of Heaven (Muan-bpö) (Plate 65) on specified days in the first moon, the date varying for each clan. The origin of the names or their real meaning is now no more ascertainable.

I. CHRONICLE ACCORDING TO THE 19TH DESCENDANT, A HENG-FANG

"An official family record of the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yuan-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Heng-fang.

Pu-tu-ko-chi, the first ancestor: "My Personal Deposition:

"I, the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yuan-nan 雲南永寧府, named A Heng-fang 阿恒芳, aged fifty-eight, having a purple-colored face with a small beard, being a subordinate official of the magistracy of the directly ruled t'ing-city of Yung-pei 永北廳, state in my evidence that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉. In the 14th year of the period of Ming Hung-wu (1381), this ancestor submitted to the Imperial rule with all his subjects of the chou-city of Yung-ning. The application of his submission was duly sent to the Emperor, who reappointed Pu-tu-ko-chi as prefect of the city of Yung-ning to govern all his tribespeople, and to defend his whole territory in the same way as he had done before. Meanwhile, this ancestor died of illness in his official residence, and the case was duly reported to the Imperial court."
The second generation: My ancestor of the second generation was named Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八合 and, as the son of the previous prefect, succeeded to his father's position, and pacified all the land to his southern boundaries. In the 12th moon of the third year of Ming Yung-lo (December, 1405–January, 1406) he led the Huo-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-heads) of the four villages of Hsiang-lo 香羅, Ko-tien 革甸, Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之 and La-tz’u-ho 刺次和, by the names of Pan-pi-t’a 板必他, Tz’u-lang 火郎, Pu-chi-fen 卜吉分 and A-chih-chü 可只倂, to the Imperial capital to have audience with the Emperor.

On the 24th of the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo (May 12th, 1406) Ko-chi-pa-ho received an Imperial despatch, which ordered his chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫 (Functionary of the third class honor), and appointed him also as the local prefect of Yung-ning. In the territory of the four villages Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz’u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 (Senior village officials) were established, and they were all put under his rule.

To his subordinates, that is Pan-pi-t’a and the other three fire-heads, the Emperor gave four letters patent and five official seals, conferring on each of them the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠賢校尉 (Military officer of the fifth rank); he appointed each of them also as the vice-senior officials of their respective villages. The Emperor again appointed Ko-chih-pa-ho as prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, and gave him a golden belt, inlaid with flowers befitting his official rank, and engraved in its center, with the four Chinese characters K’o Tu Chung Cheng 克篤忠貞 (Capable of continued loyalty and uprightness). All these Imperial letters patent and appointments were duly received and read with expressions of thanks for the grace of the Emperor. This ancestor Ko-chih-pa-ho died in office on account of old age and a certain illness.

Third generation: "On the 15th of the ninth moon of the 12th year of Yung-lo (1414), my ancestor of the third generation, named Pu-sa 卜撒, succeeded to his father's position, and assumed his official duties in due time. On a certain night of the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October, 1417) his territory was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei 刺馬非, rebel chief and tribal official of the Tso-so Salt-well garrison, Yen-ching wei Tso-so 頓井衛戸所 of the province of Ssu-ch’uan, who killed Pu-sa. On the 24th of the sixth moon of the 21st year of Yung-lo (July 31st, 1423), Nan-pa 南八, second son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, succeeded to his brother Pu-sa's position as the local prefect. He assumed his official duties in due time; meanwhile, a part of his territory was again boldly invaded and occupied by a tribal chief of the Salt-well garrison Wu-so 頓井衛印所 of the province of Ssu-ch’uan."

¹ Hsiang-lo, according to the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao, ch. 117, pp. 23–24, was 150 li north of Yung-ning, Ko-tien 120 li north-west, Wa-lu-chih 280 li north, and La-tz’u-ho 240 li north-east of Yung-ning. At the latter place a senior official whose name was A, resided in the third year of Yung-lo (1405).
² That year had two ninth moons, so he could have assumed his position either on September 28th, 1414, or October 28th of that year.
³ The Wu-so (Five So) are five semi-independent chieftains, who rule to this day their
This case was accordingly reported to the Brigade-General and the two Provincial Commissioners, who duly attended to the matter. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), an application was made on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and established two transferable officials, namely a sub-prefect and a chief secretary, in the prefect's yamen. Their official residences were built in the city of Lan-ts'ang wei. They took charge of the official seals and defended their territory.

Fourth to tenth generation: “Ancestor Nan-pa died in office of illness, and thereupon A-chü 阿袞, of the fourth generation, succeeded to his father's position as the local prefect on the 18th of the sixth moon of the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (July 28th, 1458). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (September 12th, 1484), A-ch’o 阿綽, blood-brother of A-chü, succeeded to his brother's position as the local prefect. He died of illness. On the 9th of the second moon of the 9th year of Hung-chih 弘治 (February 22nd, 1496), A-kuei 阿routes, of the fifth generation, succeeded to his father A-cho’s position as local prefect. He died in office of illness, and on the 14th of the sixth moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (July 24th, 1515), A-hui 阿輝, of the sixth generation, succeeded to his father A-kuei’s position as local prefect. There were born A-ho 阿和 and A-che 阿哲, of the seventh generation. On the 16th of the sixth moon of the 9th year of Chia-ching (July 10th, 1530), A-hui 阿輝 died of illness, and on the 24th of the fourth moon of the 19th year of Chia-ching (May 29th, 1540), A-ho succeeded to his father A-hui’s position as local prefect. While in office he begot A-ying 阿英 and A-hsiung 阿雄. A-ho died of illness, and A-ying, his elder son and ancestor of the eighth generation, succeeded to his father’s position as local prefect on the 5th day of the ninth moon, the 36th year of Chia-ching (September 27th, 1557). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 5th of the ninth moon of the 2nd year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1574), A-hsiung, second son of A-ho, succeeded to his brother A-ying’s position as local prefect. A-hsiung left no heir, and A-pu 阿卜, elder son of A-ho’s blood-brother A-che, should have succeeded to A-hsiung’s position as local prefect, but on account of his ill-health he was unable to do so. In the 14th year of Wan-li (1586), A-hsiung died of illness and A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠, elder son of A-pu, had the right to succeed to his position. On the 9th of the third moon of the 19th year of Wan-li (1591), A Ch'eng-chung, ancestor of the ninth generation, succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect. During his tenure of office there was born to him A-ch'uian 阿鍾. In the 38th year of Wan-li (1610), A-ch’üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, succeeded to his father’s position as local prefect. On the 5th of the sixth moon of the 42nd year of Wan-li (July 11th, 1614), he assumed his official duties. In the 8th year of Ch‘ung-cheng 崇禎 (1635), he begot A Chen-ch’i 阿謙翼, A-ch’üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, died of illness in his official residence, and A Chen-ch’i, of the 11th generation, succeeded to his father A-ch’üan’s position as local prefect.

various territories in the south-west corner of Ssu-ch’uan; two of them, the Ch’ien-so and Tso-so, adjoin Yung-ning on the east.

4 In that year there were two third moons. The date for the first third moon is April 2nd, 1591, and for the second, May 1st, 1591.
**Eleventh and twelfth generation**: "In the fourth moon of the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih (May–June, 1659), when the Imperial troops came to Yün-nan, A Chen-ch'i sent messengers to them, and returned to allegiance. He was then permitted to rule his district as usual. In the meantime he received an Imperial note, informing him that all the tribal chiefs of the province of Yün-nan had followed his example by returning to allegiance. On account of the merit he had thus acquired the Board of Civil Office issued him special instructions, stating that he had been definitely appointed local prefect. The appointment was duly received and he assumed his official duties accordingly. In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), he begot A T'ing-k'un 阿廷錮. He died of illness on the 2nd of the eighth moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (August 27th, 1669). In the third moon of the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (April–May, 1670), the Provincial Governor sent an application on behalf of A T'ing-k'un to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and permitted him to succeed his father A Chen-ch'i in the position of local prefect.

**Wu San-kuei's Revolt**: "In the eleventh moon of the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1673), when the rebel Wu 呉 rose against the government, A T'ing-k'un was forced to hand over his Imperial appointment, and an illegal appointment was then issued by Wu, compelling him to rule his district as before and to restrain the Fan 番 and I 夷 (Tibetans and Lo-lo). On the the 19th of the fourth moon of the 14th year of K'ang-hsi (May 13th, 1675), during his tenure of office he begot A Chin-hui 阿錦輝. In the eighth moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680), A T'ing-k'un, hearing that the troops of the present Imperial court had restored the province of Ssu-ch'uan, sent special messengers to the town of Chien-ch'ang 陳 and first offered to return to allegiance by putting himself under the command of the Yung-lüeh General 勇略將軍, to whom accordingly he handed the illegal appointment. In the seventh moon of the 21st year of K'ang-hsi (August, 1682), Viceroy Ts'ai 督部堂蔡 holding the additional title of Sui-yüan General 綏遠將軍, issued him an official dispatch, ordering him to assume his official duties, to restrain all his aborigines, and to rule his district. In the first moon of the 24th year of K'ang-hsi (February, 1685), Viceroy Ts'ai sent a nomination on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and issued him official letters patent. In the same moon of the same year, A T'ing-k'un received his official appointment, and obeyed the Imperial order by assuming his official duties in due time. In the eleventh moon of the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1698), he received instructions from the Board of Civil Office, ordering the chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, and to be under the control of the fu-city of Yung-pei; he was bidden to do his official duties as usual, in restraining the aborigines and paying his land taxes to the government.

**Thirteenth generation**: "In the sixth moon of the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (July–August, 1705), A T'ing-k'un, on account of his suffering from chronic rheumatism, was unable to perform his official duties. He therefore applied for permission to resign, and A Chin-hui 阿錦輝, ancestor of the 13th generation and elder son of A T'ing-k'un, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the fourth moon of the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (May, 1706),
through the courtesy of the Provincial Treasurer his case was reported in detail to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who put their joint signatures to an application on his behalf which they forwarded to the Board. On the 20th of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1707) the Board favoured A Chin-hui by issuing him letters patent as local prefect, which he duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. In the eighth moon of the 50th year of K'ang-hsi (September-October, 1711), he suffered from a paralytic stroke, which was found incurable. On the 20th of the eleventh moon of the same year (December 29th, 1711), he died of illness while still in office.

“A Hsi-yüan 阿錫遠, elder son of A Chin-hui, became thus the rightful heir to his father’s position. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated his blood-uncle, A Chin-hsien 阿錫先, to comfort and support the orphan, and to assist in managing local affairs. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), A Hsi-yüan came of age. On the 13th of the ninth moon of the 1st year of Yung-cheng (October 11th, 1723) while the application requesting his right of inheritance was being prepared, he died suddenly of illness. His death was due to a natural cause, and the news was reported clearly to the court. He left neither an heir nor any blood-brothers. The case was investigated and it was proved that the local official secretary, A Chin-hsien, was in truth the blood-brother of A Chin-hui. Now, A Hsi-yüan was dead, therefore A Chin-hsien, ancestor of the 13th generation, was the rightful successor to his brother’s position as ruler of this district. There were no corrupt practices at all in this matter. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) applications were sent to the Provincial Government, requesting that he be permitted to succeed his brother, A Chin-hui, in the position of local prefect. On the 26th of the third intercalary moon of the 5th year of Yung-cheng (May 16th, 1727), the Viceroy sent his nomination to the Board of Civil Office, which then issued him letters patent, appointing him local prefect, and authorizing him to assume his official duties. On the 2nd of the first moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1727) he suffered from heart trouble and gout, which was found to be incurable, and on the 4th of the fourth moon of the same year (May 24th, 1727) he died as the result of his illness.

Fourteenth generation: “A Yu-wei 阿有威, ancestor of the 14th generation and elder son of A Chin-hsien, was examined by the Provincial Treasurer, and found to be the rightful heir and successor to his father’s position. The case was duly reported on his behalf to both Viceroy and Provincial Governor, who then joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Board, which issued official letters patent in his favor appointing him local prefect. This was on the 20th of the third moon of the 6th year of Yung-cheng (April 28th, 1728). The appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties.

“In the sixth moon of the same year (July), the Nung tribe 犬人 rebelled against the government. A Yu-wei was instructed by Defence Commissioner Liu 柳 of Yung-pei to send his local militiamen to exterminate the rebels. A Yu-wei selected 300 men to join the government troops, and advanced with them to La-ju-wo 腊汝窩, where they assisted each other in carrying on a
campaign against the robbers. Pursuing the rebels to Tso-so territory, they captured the leader of the brigands alive. In the twelfth moon of the 11th year of Yung-cheng (January, 1734), the Emperor rewarded the headman of the militia with 10 taels of silver, and each of the 299 militiamen with one tael and two candareens of silver. In receiving this reward, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor. In the fifth moon of the 10th year of Yung-cheng (June-July, 1732), on account of a certain massacre caused through mutual enmity among the tribespeople, Defence Commissioner Liu of Yung-pei instructed A Yu-wei to send his local militiamen to assist the government troops in their campaign to exterminate those robbers. He accordingly selected 500 local volunteers, and advanced with them to the place of fighting. Owing to his careful planning and cooperating with the government troops, the leader of the Hsi-fan robbers, named Cha-shih-teng 乍實等, was captured alive. After withdrawing his own troops, he received instructions from the Emperor, who rewarded Ch'i-k'o-ch'u 萧可初, headman of the militia, with 26½ taels of silver, and each of the 499 militiamen with a silver medal. In the tenth moon of the 1st year of Ch'ien-lung (November, 1736), he respectfully received a gracious Imperial mandate, stating that all those chiefs and local prefects governing the tribespeople of Yün-nan province who wished to apply for hereditary rank, were requested to do so by sending a careful report, together with their nominations to the Emperor. Ancestor A Yu-wei reported in conformity with the usual regulations to the Imperial court, which then issued him two Imperial mandates, one conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 恭憲大夫 (Functionary of the fourth class honor) and the other appointing him local prefect. While in office there were born to him two sons named A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌 and A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌 respectively.

Fifteenth generation: “In the fourth moon of the 5th year of Ch'ien-lung (April 26th–May 24th, 1740), A Yu-wei died of illness; therefore in accordance with the usual custom A Shih-ch'ang, his elder son, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the tenth moon of the 6th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 8th–December 7th, 1741) the Provincial Treasurer reported on A Shih-ch'ang's behalf to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who again joined their signatures in his favor to nominate him to the Emperor. In the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747), official letters patent were issued to him, appointing him local [native] prefect. The latter were duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. On the 23rd of the second moon of the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (March 30, 1769), A Shih-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-pi 阿良弼, his elder son and ancestor of the 16th generation, became the rightful heir and successor. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated Chang-shih 章氏, mother of A Liang-pi, to comfort and support him [the minor]. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) he died of illness without having succeeded to his father's position and left no heir. The Provincial Treasurer 布政司 Ch'ien 謭 investigated this matter carefully in his favor and reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy 晉部堂 Chang 彰 and the Provincial Governor 撫部院 Na 納, asking them to permit A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌, blood-uncle of A
Liang-pi, to inherit the office. It was known that A Ch'i-ch'ang was the second son of the late native prefect A Yu-wei by his first wife Chang-shih, therefore it was found in order for A Ch'i-ch'ang to succeed to his brother's position. Meanwhile, nominations were sent in his favor to the Emperor, who issued him official letters patent, appointing him local prefect. On the 9th of the ninth moon of the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (October 16th, 1771), the appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties, to rule over his district, and to restrain the aborigines.

Sixteenth generation: "On the 20th of the second moon of the 1st year of Chia-ch'ing (March 28th, 1796), A Ch'i-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-fu 阿良輔, ancestor of the 16th generation and elder son of A ch'i-ch'ang by his first wife A-shih 阿氏, became the rightful heir to the position. On the 29th of the third moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing (April 25th, 1797), the Provincial Treasurer Ch'en 許 reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy Lo 勲 and the Provincial Governor Chiang 江, who, favoring him, sent his nomination to the Emperor, and asked permission for him to assume his hereditary post. Official letters patent were then issued to him, appointing him native prefect. On the 12th of the third moon of the 3rd year of Chia-ch'ing (April 27th, 1798), the said appointment was received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. Sometime before this, in the 1st year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796), the wild Lo-lo robbers of Wei-yüan 威遠 created trouble.

The Provincial Governor sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating those wild tribes. A Liang-fu 阿良輔 selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a captain to lead them. They were to join the government troops, and advanced to the place of trouble in order to assist in this campaign. On account of the excellent service rendered by the militiamen in putting the Lo-los to the sword, both the captain and the men were rewarded by all the high authorities of the military headquarters with silver medals, cows and wine. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor again relieved the relatives of the killed and wounded militiamen in the war, by granting them an indemnity of 80 taels of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor.

"In the sixth intercalary moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing, (July 24th-August 21, 1797), the Chung Miao 習苗 of Nan-lung 南龍 committed unlawful acts, and the Viceroy Lo 勲 sent dispatches to all chiefs, ordering them to send the militiamen under their command to join the government troops, in order to reduce those tribes to submission. A Liang-fu selected 50 men of his militia, and appointed a headman to command them, and advanced with them to assist in attacking the enemy. Meanwhile he was again instructed to send his militia to assist in the attack. This time he selected 30 men and appointed a headman to command them and to accompany the government troops and assist in conquering the tribes. On account of this meritorious service, both the headman and the militia were rewarded with

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6 Either the Hei-chung-miao 黑狛苗 or the Chung-chia 狛家 and Miao-tzu 苗子 tribes are meant, all of which live in the province of Kuei-chou where Nan-lung is situated.
silver medals, silver ingots, cows and wine, which gifts were duly received and distributed to them all. This time, each of the headman of the militia was rewarded with six taels of silver, and three taels of silver to repair their clothing. Before they started on their journey, each of them was paid two taels of silver for the support of his home. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor relieved relatives of the killed and wounded in the war by granting them an indemnity of a considerable amount of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks. Meanwhile, A Liang-fu was instructed by the government to attend to certain military affairs at Wei-hsi 維西; this task he accomplished without the slightest fault or delay. On the 20th of the ninth moon of the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (October 22nd, 1815), A Liang-fu, ancestor of the 16th generation, suffered from a cold which was then found to be incurable. On the 29th of the same moon of the same year, (October 31st), he succumbed to his illness.

Seventeenth generation: “A Hui-yüan 阿會元, ancestor of the 17th generation and elder son of A Liang-fu by his first wife Chang-shih 章氏, had reached maturity, and was, therefore, found to be the rightful heir to his father’s position. In the first moon of the 21st year of Chia-ch'ing, (February, 1816), the Provincial Treasurer Han 韓 reported in his favor to both the Viceroy Po 伯 and the Provincial Governor Ch'en 陳, who again joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Emperor, who then issued him an official dispatch, appointing him as the native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. On the 25th of the first moon of the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (March 12th, 1817), letters patent were duly received which authorized him to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes to the government.

“In the first year of the period of Tao-kuang (1821), Lo-lo robbers created trouble in the district of Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪, in the territory ruled over by two aboriginal chiefs named Kao 高 and Chang 章 respectively. A Hui-yüan received instructions from the Viceroy, stating that the Emperor had approved his report, and that government troops of the two provinces Ssu-ch’uan and Yün-nan would shortly be dispatched to capture or exterminate those robbers. No sooner had he received this information, than the Superintendent of Military Affairs and Intendant of the Circuit of West Yün-nan 遠西道 named Hsieh 謝, and the Sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to guard all important passes and prevent the robbers crossing them. A Hui-yüan accordingly selected 300 volunteers and appointed a headman to command them to meet the enemy. He was again instructed to transport rations for the soldiers and to furnish provisions to the chair-coolies and horses. These services he performed without the slightest delay.

“In the 25th year of the period of Tao-kuang (1845), when the Moham- medan robbers of Mi-tu 彌渡 ⁷ and Yung-ch’ang 永昌 created trouble, he

⁶ Chiu-ya-p’ing is the present day Hua-p’ing 華坪 and is east of Yung-sheng on the Yung-sheng–K’un-ming highway.

⁷ Mi-tu is 30 li south of Hung-ngai and two and a half days south-east of Ta-li. Yung-
was instructed by Sub-prefect Liu 劉 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen to escort the soldiers' rations. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them in order to escort the transport of the soldiers' rations to the Military Commissariat of the city of Ta-li. The rations were delivered safely to that bureau and without delay.

In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), Yao Shan 烏山, a region under the rule of the chief of Lang-ch'ü was made unsafe by bands of highway robbers. A Hui-yüan was therefore instructed by sub-prefect Hsiung 熊 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen and attack the brigands. He selected 300 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order that they might advance and join the government troops to ward off the brigands. Again, he was instructed to superintend the transporting of the soldiers' rations, and to find chair-coolies and horses. He performed these services without delinquency or delay. While in office, there was born his first son, A Yu-hsing 阿毓興, who was duly reported to the government for registration.

"Now, when A Yu-hsing had reached maturity, he was found to be the rightful successor to his father's position. However, owing to pressing affairs and bad communications, he was prevented from sending his report to the government and could not apply for his right of inheritance. In the sixth moon of the eighth year of Hsien-feng (July 11th-August 8th, 1858), hairy rebels created trouble at Tali. The Provincial Commander-in-Chief 頭軍門 Ch'u 趙 sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to assist the government troops in exterminating the rebels. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to ward off the enemy. He was again instructed to raise funds to pay the soldiers, and he duly delivered the same safely to the General Military Commissariat of the city of Yung-pei 永北軍需總局. In the first moon of the 11th year of Hsien-feng, (February 10th-March 10th, 1861) the hairy rebels came to Yung-pei. Sub-prefect Hu 胡 of Yung-pei sent him an order to mobilize his troops to exterminate the robbers. He then selected 300 militia and a headman and sent them against the rebels. He was also ordered to send funds for the pay of soldiers. In the seventh

ch'ang (Pao-shan 柏山) is in the south-west of Yün-nan four stages north-east of T'eng-yüeh on the highway between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 橫衝).

*Yao Shan (Medicine Mountain) is a high range which extends from north to south, west and south of Yung-ning. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

*The so-called hairy rebels here mentioned are none other than the Mohammedans of Ta-li. The Yung-pei chih-li t'ing chih ch. 3, fol. 50b relates that in the sixth year and eighth moon of Hsien-feng (August 30th-September 28th, 1856), the Mohammedans of Ta-li rebelled. In the battle with the rebels, magistrate Mao Yü-ch'eng 毛玉成, who led the native troops, was killed. The Moslem robbers of the western district thereupon captured Ta-li and also Yung-ch'ang where they established themselves. The Moslem native, by name Tu Wen-hsiu 項文秀, was made their chief and took the title of Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yuan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. They allowed their hair to grow long, cast a false seal, appointed illegal officials, and hoisted their own flag, white in color. They also changed their type of garments and headgear, and established a false calendar.
month of the same year, the city of Yung-pei was captured by the hairy rebels. Sub-prefect Wu 晟 of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to join the government troops, in order to attack the enemy. He was again instructed to secure military rice. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 500 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in attacking and exterminating the robbers. He performed these services without delay. In the tenth moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-chih (November 11th–December 10th, 1863), he again attacked the lair of the robbers at Yung-ch'eng 永城. He also received an urgent dispatch from sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei, instructing him to mobilize his militia and to secure military rice. He accordingly selected 200 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in exterminating the robbers. In the 4th year of T'ung-chih (1865), on account of the robbers attacking the city of Yung-ch'ang, sub-prefect Ts'ao 曹 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, instructing him to order his militiamen to assault the city of Yung-ch'ang. Ancestor A Hui-yüan selected 300 volunteers to assist in this campaign. He was then instructed to raise 2,000 taels for military purposes; this amount he paid without delay. On the 10th of the first moon of the 6th year of T'ung-chih (February 14th, 1867), being advanced in years, he became ill. From this illness he never recovered. On the 28th of the same moon (March 4th) he died in office. The date of his death was carefully reported to sub-prefect Na 納 of the city of Yung-pei, who forwarded the same on his behalf to the government for registration.

Eighteenth generation: "After certain investigations, it was found that A Yu-hsing 阿毓興, ancestor of the 18th generation, was the elder son of native prefect A Hui-yüan of the fu-city of Yung-ning by his first wife, A-shih 阿氏. He was born on the 16th of the second moon of the 16th year of Chia-ch'ing (March 10th, 1811), therefore A Yu-hsing was the rightful heir to his father's position. Since he did not formally apply for his right of inheritance, he was given only an ordinary appointment. He received the same in due time, and was thus authorized to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribespeople, and pay the land taxes. In the eleventh moon of the 8th year of T'ung-chih (December 3rd, 1869–January 1st, 1870), while the city of Yung-ch'ang was being attacked, he received an urgent dispatch from each of the high authorities, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen and assist in exterminating the robbers. He was also instructed to secure chair-coolies and military rice, etc. My father, A Yu-hsing, personally led his militiamen to render assistance in exterminating the robbers. As he travelled through many humid regions, his limbs became afflicted with gout.

"At that time he was already 60 years of age, and, since he was unable to perform his official duties, he applied for permission to resign, and requested that his elder son A Heng-fang 阿恆芳 be allowed to succeed him. This was duly reported to sub-prefect Kuo 郭 of the city of Yung-pei. While documents were being drawn up on his behalf by sub-prefect Kuo asking each of

10 That is Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng 永勝, four stages east of Li-chiang.
the high authorities to consent to his right of inheritance, on account of his father's old age, ill-health, and retirement, this sub-prefect died in office of illness, hence the documents could not be forwarded to the government.

Nineteenth generation: "In truth, my name is A Heng-fang, and I was born by A-shih 阿氏, my mother and the first wife of my father, A Yü-hsing, on the 15th of the fourth moon of the 10th year of Tao-kuang (May 6th, 1830). I am the elder son of my father, therefore I am the rightful heir and successor to his position. This had not been reported to the government, although I had reached majority and am eligible to inherit my father's position. Therefore I sent on the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (September 18th-October 16th, 1876), my personal depositions to sub-prefect Wu 吳 of the city of Yung-pei, containing a careful description of my physical features, ancestral history, official seal-print, the geographic maps of my territory, and other evidences, in the form of a statistical table. I had hoped that he would report on my behalf to Intendant Hsiung 熊 of the Circuit of West Yün-nan, who would in turn report on my behalf to the Provincial Treasurer, who would report to both the Viceroy Liu 劉, and the Provincial Governor Tu 杜. The latter were to nominate me to the Emperor, requesting him to grant me the right to assume my ancestors' hereditary position. I also sent most respectfully my report to the Emperor. On the 3rd of the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (April 23rd, 1879) I received from sub-prefect Hu 胡 of the city of Yung-pei an official diploma together with an official dispatch, informing me that letters patent had been issued on behalf of the native prefect A Heng-fang of the fu-city of Yung-ning on the 13th of the second moon of the 4th year of Kuang-hsü (March 16th, 1878) by the Board of Civil Office, but it was delivered through the Board of War and Viceroy Liu. I immediately wrote a reply acknowledging the receipt of these letters patent authorizing me to assume my official duties, rule over my district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes. I am now still holding this position. My first wife was named Ch'eng-shih 程氏, and gave birth to my elder son, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, on the 26th of the first moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (February 20th, 1876). On account of his minority, he is now unable to rule over this district, but he has already been registered to succeed me in the future. This is here added simply for the purpose of rendering a clear and complete statement." 

2. ACCORDING TO THE 22ND DESCENDANT, A MIN-HAN

"An official family record of the Native prefects of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Min-han.

"On account of services rendered in supplying military rice in the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th-April 28th, 1879) this was the late retired T'u-ssu (Chief) of Yung-ning. He died in the summer of 1938.

"Here follows a statement regarding the four boundaries of Yung-ning, which are practically the same as described on p. 364."
Colonel Kao Yin-huai 高蔭槐 did me the favour of requesting the Provincial Government to grant me the right of inheritance. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931), Provincial Chairman Lung 龍主席 sent me a dispatch approving the said request, and I, A Min-han, descendant of the 22nd generation of my clan, am thus authorized to succeed to my ancestral position. I have two brothers named A Min-chu 阿民柱 and A Min-fan 阿民藩 respectively.

"My Personal Deposition:

"I, the native prefect A Min-han 阿民漢 of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the hsien-city of Yung-pei, state that I am now 22 years of age, of middle stature, white-faced and beardless, and that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi. In the reign of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398), this ancestor submitted himself and the people of his chou-city of Yung-ning to the Imperial rule, and the Emperor approved his request and appointed him native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning, in order that he could rule over the Fan-i 番夷 (barbarous tribes) and defend his territory. Ko-chi-pa-ho, my ancestor of the second generation, conquered the southern frontier of our district. On account of this service, he was promoted to the position of native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. Thenceforth, one generation succeeded the other till A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮 ámbito, my ancestor of the eleventh generation, who, submitting to the Imperial rule in the reign of Shun-chih of the Ch'ing 淸 dynasty (1644–1661), was then appointed to rule over his district and permitted to assume his hereditary position as native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning.

"Twentieth generation: "This position was inherited by many generations till the time of A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who is of the 20th generation, and who is my grandfather. In the 20th year of Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing 淸 dynasty (1894), he succeeded to his father's position. At that time he sent a statement to the provincial authorities, petitioning them to permit his elder son A Chan-k'o 阿占科 to be his rightful successor. On the 26th of the eighth moon of the 12th year of the Chinese Republic (October 6th, 1923), my father A Chan-k'o unfortunately died of illness. Since I was the elder son of A Chan-k'o and the grandson of A Ying-jui, a report was sent to the magistrate of the hsien-city of Yung-pei, asking that my right of inheritance be confirmed.

"Twenty-second generation: "In the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th, 1930), Colonel Kao of the 3rd regiment reported in my favour to Lung Yün 龍雲, Chairman of the Provin-

a This is not correct, for he was born in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung 宣統 (1910). Even reckoning the Chinese way, he would be only 21 and not 22 years of age.

b This is incorrect, as A Chan-k'o was alive on February 5th, 1924, the Chinese New Year of the 13th year of the Republic, when he received me at the yamen of Yung-ning with his father A Ying-jui who was then still living.

In the family tree of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu it gives the date of the demise of A Chan-k'o as the eighth moon of the 16th year of the Republic, and if he died on the 26th of the eighth moon of that year this would be equivalent to the 21st of September, 1927, which is probably correct.
cial Government, requesting him to grant me the right of inheritance and to issue me an official appointment. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931) I received the appointment. As my grandfather A Ying-jui is old and feeble, he applied for permission to resign, which was duly approved and registered. On the first of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 19th, 1931), after receiving my appointment, I succeeded to his position and assumed my official duties. All that I have stated in my deposition is true and without mistake. I hope you will fully acquaint yourself with the foregoing.

"My Official Title:
"My official title is 'The Hereditary Native Prefect A Min-han of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the hsien-city of Yung-pei.'"

3. ACCORDING TO THE YUNG-PEI CHIH-LI T'ING CHIH

The Yung-pei Chih-li t'ing chih gives in ch. 3, pp. 36b-41a, a brief account of the family history of the ruling T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. There are certain discrepancies between the personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs and those published in the Yung-pei Records, and a translation of the latter is here given, for comparison. The first personal records are in manuscript form and are in the possession of the Yung-ning chiefs, who kindly permitted me to have them copied. The second, printed in the official gazetteer of Yung-pei, under whose jurisdiction Yung-ning comes, is long out of print and only one copy is available in K'un-ming, and not accessible to every one. [Two copies of this work, besides the very rare Yung-pei fu chih, are in my private library.] A translation of the records pertaining to Yung-ning and the other Na-khi T'u-ssu and their territory, is here appended.

In the Ming dynasty:

Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉: He held the position of native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning. In the 14th year of the period of Hung-wu (1381), he and all his subjects submitted to the government, which appointed him native prefect of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year of the same period (1396), his district became subordinate to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (Lan-ts'ang wei 滇沧衛).

Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八合: Son of the former, succeeded to his father's position as prefect of their chou-city. In the third year of Yung-lo (1401), he governed the four places called Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December 22nd 1405–January 19th, 1406), his fire-heads (headmen) of the Hsi-fan tribe, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a, Pu-lang 布郎, 15 Pu-chi-fen and A-chih-chü, went to the capital to have audience with the Emperor, who was so pleased with them that in the fourth year of the same reign (1402), he sent Imperial letters patent to Ko-chi-pa-ho, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city.

15 In the personal family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is given as Tz'u-lang 火郎. The territory of these former four officials belongs now to Mu-li.
of Yung-ning. He also conferred on him the additional honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu (Functionary of the third class honor). In his four subordinate villages, namely Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior officials) were established, while on each of the fire-heads, Pan-pi-t'a, etc., was conferred the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei (Military officer of the fourth rank), by five Imperial mandates and six official seals. He was also given a golden belt inlaid with silver flowers, and carved with four Chinese characters: K'o Tu Chung Ch'eng (Capable of continued loyalty and honesty), by a separate Imperial mandate. In the eighth moon of the same year (September 12th—October 11th, 1406), he obeyed the Imperial order by changing his chou-city to a fu-city, and assumed his official duties in due time, governing the four senior officials of the four places, Hsiang-lo, etc., as his subordinates. In the 10th year of the same reign (1412), the Emperor conferred on his father Pu-tu-ko-chi the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu, and on both his mother A-ta 阿大 and his wife Chia-shih 甲矢 the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人.

Pu-sa 卜撤: In the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) he succeeded to his father's position as prefect of the fu-city. In the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October 10th—November 8th, 1417), on a certain night, his district was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei, the native official of the Tso-so Salt-well military station in the province of Ssu-ch'uan, and Pu-sa was murdered. His younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position.

Nan-pa 南八: In the 21st year of Yung-lo (1423), after he had succeeded to his brother's position, his district was again boldly invaded and occupied by the local Wu-so chiefs of Ssu-ch'uan. Both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor sent men to investigate this matter on his behalf. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), reports were submitted to the Emperor, who duly granted his requests by appointing two additional officials, a transferable sub-prefect, and a transferable secretary of records at the military station of Lan-ts'ang. An official yamen was then built for their use within that city. These two officials took charge of the seals and defended their territory.

A-chü 阿哲: Son of Nan-pa. In the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (1458), he succeeded to the position of prefect of the fu-city. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-ch'o 阿茶: Younger brother of A-chü, succeeded him in the second year of Ch'eng-hua (1466).

16 The manuscript family records of the Yung-ning chiefs mention only four credentials and five seals.

17 In the Yung-ning family records of the T'u-ssu the last character is cheng 陳.

18 In the private family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the date is given as the 12th year (1414).

19 The personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the date as the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Cheng-hua (September 12th, 1484).
A-kuei 阿貴: Son of A-ch'o, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hung-chih (1496).

A-hui 阿輝: Son of A-kuei, succeeded the latter in the 10th year of Cheng-te (1515).

A-ho 阿和: Son of A-hui, succeeded him in the 10th year of Chia-ching (1531).  

A-ying 阿英: Son of A-ho, succeeded him in the 36th year of Chia-ching (1557). He left no heir.

A-hsiung 阿雄: Younger brother of A-ying. In the second year of Wan-li (1574), he assumed office. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-pu 阿卜: Elder son of his younger brother A-che 阿哲, of the same mother, succeeded him. Meanwhile, on account of A-pu's ill-health, A Ch'eng-chung, his elder son, assumed office.

A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠: He succeeded to the official position in the 19th year of Wan-li (1591).

A-ch'üan 阿銓: Son of A Ch'eng-chung, succeeded to his position in the 42nd year of the reign of Wan-li (1614).

In the Ch'ing dynasty:

A Chen-ling 阿錕麟:  

Son of A-ch'üan. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1650) as the Imperial troops reached Yün-nan, he and his subordinates submitted to the Imperial rule. He was then ordered to rule over his district. Meanwhile, the Board of Civil Office issued him official letters patent, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city.

A T'ing-k'un 阿庭琨: Son of A Chen-ling, assumed office in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670). In the 12th year of the same reign (1673) the rebel Wu 胡 rose against the government. In the 19th year (1680), when the Imperial troops recovered Yün-nan, he went with his subordinates to Ssu-ch'üan, and there made his submission to the Imperial rule. In the 24th year (1685) he received an official dispatch ordering him to assume his official duties. In the 37th year (1698), instructions were received ordering the chou-city of Pei-sheng to be changed to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The fu-city of Yung-ning was then made subordinate to the fu-city of Yung-pei. A T'ing-k'un was also instructed to rule over his district and to restrain the tribespeople as heretofore.

A Chin-hui 阿錕輝: Elder son of A T'ing-k'un, succeeded to the latter's position in the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706). He died of illness and left no heir.


* The private records give the 10th year (1540).

* In the private records the name is given as ch'i 赤 instead of ling 鏡.
A Yu-wei 阿有威: Son of A Chin-hsien, succeeded him in the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728). In the sixth moon (July) of the same year, owing to the rebellion of the Nung 獠 tribe he was instructed by Brigade-General Liu 柳 to send his militia to the lair at La-ju to exterminate the robbers. He was then rewarded with certain gifts. In the 10th year of the same reign (1732), murders took place among Hsi-fan tribespeople who had rebelled; he was instructed by Brigade-General Liu to order his militiamen to join the government troops, and assist in exterminating the rebels. Meanwhile, he succeeded in capturing the Hsi-fan (leader) Cha-shih-teng 乍 實等 of Liao-tu 料渡. He was then rewarded by the Emperor for his military services. In the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), two Imperial dispatches of grace were sent to him, conferring on him certain honorary titles.

A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌: Son of A Yu-wei, who died when his son was only seven years old. His mother, Chang-shih, supported and comforted the orphan A Shih-ch'ang, and assisted in managing the affairs of their district. In the 15th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1750) 甲他 he had reached majority and applied for permission to succeed to his father's position.

A Chi'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌: Second son of A Yu-wei, succeeded his brother in the 36th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1771).

A Liang-fu 阿良輔: Elder son of A Chi'i-ch'ang, succeeded him in the 3rd year of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798). In the first year of the same period (1796), before he succeeded to his father's position, certain tribal brigands created trouble at the city of Wei-yüan 威遠, whereupon he was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating the brigands. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service. Again, in the 2nd year of the same reign (1797), some Chung-miao (tribespeople), of the city of Nan-lung 南茏 of the province of Kuei-chou, rebelled against the government; he was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating the rebels. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service.

A Hui-yüan 阿會元: Son of A Liang-fu, succeeded him in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817). In the first year of the reign of Tao-kuang (1821) some tribal brigands created trouble. He was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in guarding them. In the 25th year of the same reign (1845) certain Mohammedan brigands of Mi-tu 畹渡 and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble. He was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating them. In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853) highway robbers made Yao Shan 藥山, a mountain range under the jurisdiction of the T'u-ssu of Lang-ch'ü, unsafe. He was instructed to send his militiamen to guard against

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22 The private records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747).
23 Wei-yüan is in Yün-nan and 340 li north-west of P'u-erh 普洱, latitude 23° 29', longitude 100° 55'. It came under P'u-erh fu in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).
24 Nan-lung is the ancient name of the present An-lung 安龍 formerly also called Hsing-i fu 興義府. It received the latter name in the second year of Chia-ch'ing (1797). Latitude 25° 15', longitude 106°.
them. He was also ordered to secure chair-coolies and horses and to supply military provisions. Meanwhile, during the rebellion of the brigand Tu 社,\textsuperscript{25} he was repeatedly instructed to send his militiamen to render help in exterminating the rebels, and to supply military rice and other provisions in order to assist in carrying on this campaign.

\textit{A Yu-hsing} 阿毓興: Elder son of A Hui-yüan. During his tenure of office his district was much disturbed, and therefore he found no opportunity to apply for the right of inheritance. He was given only an ordinary certificate of appointment to office which authorized him to command his militiamen and to assist in exterminating brigands. Meanwhile, he suffered from gout, and thereupon applied for retirement.

\textit{A Heng-fang} 阿恆芳: Elder son of A Yuhsing. Owing to his father's old age, illness, and his having resigned from office he applied for the right to succeed him. In the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (1879) an official diploma was delivered to him, and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. In the 19th year of the same reign (1893) he retired from office.

\textit{A Ying-jui} 阿應瑞: Elder son of A Heng-fang (Plate 214). Owing to his father's resignation, he applied for the right of inheritance. In the 22nd year of the same reign (1896) his request was duly approved by the Emperor, who then issued him an official diploma and authorized him to assume his official duties. [He died in 1938 and his grandson, A Min-han 阿民漢, has succeeded him as native prefect of Yung-ning.]

\textsuperscript{*}His name was Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀. He was a Mohammedan headman (shou 首). Later he called himself Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. He was a leader of the Mohammedan rebellion.
CHAPTER III

THE MOUNTAINS OF YUNG-NING

The Yung-pei Chi-li t'ing chih ch. 1, fol. 16b, gives the following mountains as belonging to the Yung-ning territory:

La-pu Shan 剃不山: North of the Yung-ning Wa-lu Chang-kuan-ssu 永寧瓦魯長官司. The Yün-nan T'ung-chih amplifies this brief information by stating that the mountain is 280 li north of Yung-ning fu and 35 li north-east of the ancient (舊) Wa-lu Chang-kuan-ssu.

As already remarked in the introduction to the chapter on Yung-ning, the territory to the north, which is now Mu-li, belonged once to Yung-ning. The chiefs were given jurisdiction over it by Imperial decree in the fourth year of Yung-lo, the 24th of the fourth month (May 12th, 1406). The particular Yung-ning chief was called Ko-chi-pa-ho and was of the second generation. Wa-lu, or Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之, is the Wa-erh-chai 窪耳寨 of to-day, called Wa-chin by the Hsi-fan of Mu-li.1 It is the oldest of the three larger monasteries in Mu-li and claims to be over 500 years old. The rDo-rje (Thunderbolt) is the protecting symbol of Wa-chin. A high mountain range over which a pass leads into the Li-t'ang River valley 25 to 30 li north-east of Wa-chin, is considered the embodiment of the rDo-rje and protective spirit of Wa-chin.2 The pass, the highest in the neighborhood (elevation 15,420 feet) is called rDo-rje ran in Hsi-fan. It is the La-pu Shan of the Chinese mentioned as situated in Yung-ning which then had jurisdiction over Wa-chin (Wa-lu-chih). The mountain is also called Lieh-pu Shan 列卜山. The Yün-nan T'ung-chih states that it is 730 li north of Yung-pei, that it is also called Lieh-pu Shan, and that Lieh-pu and La-pu are interchangeable. This mountain is of course no longer in Yung-ning or Yün-nan territory but in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's domain in Hsi-k'ang.

Kan-mu Shan 千木山 (PLATE 216): This mountain, according to the Yung-pei Records, is 15 li east of Yung-ning and is said to be over 80 chang (a chang 史 is 10 Chinese feet) in height. Its circumference at the base is 100 li. Another name for it is Shih-t'ou Shan 獅頭山 (Lion-head Mountain). It is also called Ku Shan 孤山 (Solitary Mountain).

Kan-mu Shan is the most prominent feature of the Yung-ning landscape; the Chinese apply different names to various parts of the mountain. It is the Lion Mountain (Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山), called Seng-ge ga-mu by the Hli-khin people and Seng-ge dKar-mo, or White lioness, by the Tibetans,

1 In Tibetan the place is called Lha-khang-steng 须在堂 or Terrace of the house of the gods. Here is a large lamasery called dGah-ldan-dar-rgyas gling 575353113, named after the great lamasery of Ga-den in Tibet.

2 The name of the mountain god and protective deity of Wa-chin is Lha-steng-gzhi-bdag-kha-drag-rdo-rje 须於千木大威猛多訶, shortened to Kha-dra (Mighty dorje or thunderbolt).
and represents the mountain goddess (dKar-mo). The southern part or broad head of the mountain which faces the Yung-ning Lake is called Lion-head Mountain, while its broadside which forms the eastern border of the Yung-ning plain, or Hli-du, is looked upon as the Lion Mountain (Shih-tzu Shan); that part is also called Chia-mu Shan (First mother Mountain). Another name is Ku Shan, because it stands alone unconnected with any other range, being separated from the mountain to the east of it, Wu-zi Pu-nà, the mountain god of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu, by a ravine and pass. Kan-mu Shan is 13,100 feet in height, and rises 3,600 feet above the lake and 3,700 feet above the Yung-ning plain. It is of limestone with superimposed volcanic rock in its northern lower end. There is a distinct crater-like depression in the broad central part of the mountain, and a peculiar crater is attached to its north-western end. On account of these depressions it is considered a female rather than a male mountain deity. This is also expressed in the Chinese name Chia-mu Shan (First mother Mountain).

The Yün-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 27, fol. 2b, states [in addition to the remarks in the Yung-pei Records], that the mountain is 398 li north-west of Yung-pei and 10 li south-east of Yung-ning. Its color is a hoary purplish green, its summit penetrates the clouds, and its base is over 100 li in circumference. Careful records note that the sound complexes Kan-mu and Chia-mu are interchangeable. At its foot is the Lu-ku Hu (Yung-ning Lake), erroneously given in the Ming I-t'ung-chih as Lu-k'u Hai-tzu; this is identical with Lu-ku Hu, the correct rendering.

Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain): The Gko-mun Ngyu of the Li-chiang Na-khi and Seng-ge ga-mu of the Hli-khin is, as has already been remarked, the dominant feature of the landscape. It is a beautifully proportioned mountain and is well named, extending along the Yung-ning plain like a reposing lion, its head facing the lake and its paws, the lateral spurs, resting in the blue waters of the lake. It is no wonder that a mountain with such outstanding features and individuality should have been selected as the mountain goddess of the district. The name Yung-ning, meaning Eternal Repose or Tranquility, must have been derived from the majestic pose and serenity of this mountain. It is most easily ascended from lake or south side, for at any other place the sheer cliffs of its upper part bar the way.

Back of Hsiao-lo-shui 小 страхов (Law-zhër) a trail leads steeply zigzag up a narrow valley, or rather ravine, through oak forest, Quercus semicarpifolia; it is the same trail which leads to the territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. From this path we turn west, up a steep pine-covered spur to the rim of a crater-like depression at 12,500 feet, situated on the northern flanks of Seng-ge ga-mu. This depression is overgrown with cane-brake, so common at the higher altitudes; spruces, rhododendrons and peonies, are also present.

She is said to dwell in Shih-tzu Shan. Kan-mu, is the phonetic rendering of the Tibetan dKar-mo and the Hli-khin Ga-mu. The goddess is pictured riding a hind (Plate 245).

The name Yung-ning is in all probability a translation of its ancient Tibetan name Thar-lam, which means the way or road to emancipation (Nirvana).
From this side-crater we climb steeply to the broad limestone crest of the mountain. The top of the mountain is fairly broad, and here again is a circular depression. The highest part on the broad summit is a limestone knoll to the west, overlooking the plain of Yung-ning, and is exactly 13,100 feet in height.

The view from the top of this mountain is magnificent: deep below at its foot, lies the placid lake with its islets, which appeared like tiny boats floating on the surface of the waters (Plate 217). To the west extends the plain of Yung-ning with its villages, and beyond, the long mountain range called Shwua-gu which separates the Sä gyi, or Sä dji as the Hli-khin people pronounce it, from the Shu gyi or Zho Chhu, Iron river. This river is an affluent of the Wu-liang Ho 無量河, and it forms the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan as

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5 The Yün-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 27, fol. 15, has the following to say about this river:

"The Wu-liang Ho is also called Wu-lang Ho 五郎河. It has two sources. One is called To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 and has its beginning in Ni-t'i Shan 楚 Norte in the Ba-thang Tu'-ssu territory of Ssu-ch'uan. The stream is also called Sha-lu-ch'i-pó 沙魯楚泊; its ancient name was Sha-li-ch'u-no-erh 沙里楚諾爾. The source is a lake or pond, whence it flows more than 600 li to the Yün-nan border. The other source of the Wu-liang Ho is called Li-ch'u Ho 里楚河 and comes from the Lin-k'a-shih Tu'-ssu territory 隆卡石土司 from the foot of the eastern slopes of Li-mu Shan 里穆山. It flows south-east to the territory of the Li-t'ang Tu'-ssu. Where the two sources unite is at the Sha-lu-ch'ü Shan 沙魯齊山 and they become the Cha-mu-ch'u Ho 撒穆楚河; united they flow 1,400 li outside the Yün-nan border, and thence south-east 70 li within the Yün-nan border and there the stream is called the Wu-liang Ho. Flowing south it passes the Yung-ning territory for 200 li. Its western bank is the Li-chiang — Chung-tien border. It receives small affluents, flows east and again south-east and is called the Wu-lang Ho. On the left it receives the Liu-ho Shui 原河水." [The Wu-liang Ho did flow past (west) Yung-ning territory for 200 li before Mu-li became separated from it and was still under Yung-ning jurisdiction. Now the river flows west of Yung-ning, only for about 25 li. Its western bank is the border of Li-chiang — Chung-tien but only for a very short distance.]

Here ends the description in the T'zung-chih. The latter is seriously wrong when it states in the next paragraph that the Liu Ho has its source south-east of the Lang-ch'ü Tu'-ssu's territory, for if that were the case it could not flow into the Wu-liang Ho, for all the waters of Yung-ning and those of the Lang-ch'ü Tu'-ssu form the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho 打沖河 and flow into the Li-t'ang River, while the Wu-liang Ho flows into the Yangtze.

The Yung-pei Records continue where the T'zung-chih leaves off and say: "Flowing south-west [after it has received the Liu Ho] it receives a stream from the left called Kuan-yin Ho 観音河 and flows then south-west into the Chin-sha Chiang [Yangtze]."

On examining the map of the Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao, ch. 71, fol. 2b, I find that the entire map is wrong.

There is, however, a second Wu-liang Ho, also a tributary of the Yangtze, but a considerable distance removed from the first. This second one has its source south-west of Yen-yüan 聖源 in Ssu-ch'uan, flows from east to west, north of Yung-pei, and debouches into the Yangtze near Tzu-li-chiang 桦里江, south-east of Li-chiang. The map in the Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao makes one of these rivers by two, taking the stretch of the Yangtze between their mouths and calling it part of the Wu-liang Ho. Yet the Yangtze is drawn, in addition, describing a short, very shallow loop, a little distance north of the town of Li-chiang.

As to the first Wu-liang Ho great confusion exists, and V. K. Ting's New Atlas of the Chinese Republic has only added to this confusion. The real Wu-liang Ho consists of two distinct branches, both these branches have their source in about the same latitude, near the 29th degree. The To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 is the westernmost, it is in fact an
THE MOUNTAINS OF YUNG-NING

well as the Yung-ning—Chung-tien border. As this eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho has no Chinese name and none is given on V. K. Ting’s map (35) I baptize it the T’ieh Ho 鐵河 or Iron River which is the meaning of all three tribal names of that River, viz. Tibetan, Hsi-fan and Na-khi. On the limestone cliffs immediately below the crest of Shih-tzu Shan grow tall juniper trees. To the north is visible the entire mountain system of Ki-bo Shan, a much crenellated limestone mass, which hems in Mu-li to the south, and which must be crossed to reach Mu-li Monastery on the Li-t’ang River. The distant peaks of the Gangkar-ling system tower above the entire landscape far to the north.

In the rock wall which forms the summit crest of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing the lake, is a huge cave, high and roomy, but with an entrance so small that a man has to lie down flat in order to crawl in. Somewhere on this mountain lie hidden a bejewelled golden girdle and other treasures given to one of the early T’u-ssu, probably the second generation Ko-chi-pa-ho during the reign of Yung-lo (1403–1424). That T’u-ssu hated his second son who succeeded him after his first son had been murdered, and so he buried the jewels somewhere on that mountain. On his deathbed he gave vague directions where they were to be found, but they have as yet not been located. All the other treasures possessed by the ancient chiefs have been

affluent of the western branch of the Wu-liang Ho. It has its source south of the Lha-mo-long La (pass) the Chinese La-mu-lung 拉木龍. On the east bank of this stream is situated the Gangkar-ling Lamasery (Kun-ka-ling 康卡理). The source of the western branch is to the north of the Lha-mo-long La, it flows first north and then east as the Tao-pa 景鉢 River, Tao-ch’eng hsien 豆城縣 being situated on its north bank. The Tao-pa Ho receives several small affluents from the north and turns south and south-west as the Wu-liang Ho. V. K. Ting, however, leaves the Tao-pa Ho suspended, flowing nowhere, and makes the Li-t’ang River which flows west of Li-t’ang join a stream which has its source near Na-pu 那布 (Na-bu); this stream with its source at Na-pu is the eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho.

Davies has this stream flowing [he presumed so, as the course of the river is dotted only] into the Li-t’ang River. In fact this stream is the Zho Chhu and flows directly south parallel to the Li-t’ang River into the Yangtze at the very apex of the loop in which Li-chiang is situated. This eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho is the Cha Chhu (Ichags-chhu 之江) of the Tibetans, the Zho Chhu of the Mu-li Hsi-fan, and the Shugyi of the Na-khi. It receives several affluent streams, the largest coming from the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) mountains, such as the Gangs-kha Chhu which has its source on the eastern slopes of Mt. Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje), the easternmost peak of the system. Another affluent is the Tong Chhu, which has its source west of the Gangkar-ling peaks, on the western slopes of Mt. Jambyang (hJam-dbyangs). While exploring the Gangkar-ling mountain system for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., in 1928 [See J. F. Rock, Konka Risumgongba, Holy mountain of the outlaws in the National Geographic Magazine Vol. LX, No. 1, July 1931, p. 7], I saw to the north-west of Mt. Chenrezig, a tremendous gorge extending from north to south; this apparently is the western and main branch of the Wu-liang Ho, the Zho Chhu flowing parallel to it. They unite about 30 li north of the apex of the Yangtze loop (see page 241).

* The proper name of the range is Gangs-dkar-gling (White Snow Monastery) and not gangs-ka-ling as Kingdon Ward writes it and which he translates as the Snowy place (in Geographical Journal, Vol. 64: 3, 229; The Snow Mountains of Yün-nan). If that were the name it should be transcribed gans-kha and not gangs-ka. A monastery is situated to the north or north-west of the peaks from which the mountain range derives its name or vice versa.
stolen by their wild neighbors, the Tibetans, who to this day still make incursions into the impoverished country of Yung-ning.

The northern end of Seng-ge ga-mu is open, and thus the mountain has really the shape of a horseshoe. A ravine leads east of the mountain separating it from a terrific limestone cliff with a huge cavern. The limestone is grey and cinnabar-red, as is the soil which discolors the stream. The north-eastern wall of the mountain is pierced by several small ravines, their slopes being forested with pines and the golden oak. The ravine to the east of the mountain becomes narrow higher up, and terminates in cliffs of limestone which form the summit of Mt. Wua-zhu Pu-nà, the mountain god of the Ch’ien-so people in Ssu-ch’uan. The mountain can also be compared to a hand, the open palm being the crater-like depression with an outlet to the north, through which a stream flows into the Hli gyi or Hli dji. Here, near the cave in the grey and red limestone cliff called Shih-tzu wan (Lion’s cove), is a small village occupied by Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch’uan. The ravine itself is the divide between Yun-nan and Ssu-ch’uan (Plate 219).

Liu-nieh Shan 六捏山: West of La-tz’u-ho in Yung-ning. According to the Yun-nan T’ung-chih, ch. 127, fol. 1b, the mountain is 240 li north-east of Yung-ning and was in the ancient La-tz’u-ho of the Chang-kuan-ssu. The mountain extends several 10 li and is in the best part of the realm of the senior official (Chang-kuan-ssu). La-tz’u-ho is now in Mu-li and probably north of K’u-lu or south-east of Wa-erh-chai. The exact location of this mountain is not known to me as the Mu-li Hsi-fan have their own names for their mountains. There is one conspicuous limestone mountain in what seems to have been the ancient La-tz’u-ho; that mountain is called Dza-mpe-she ran in Hsi-fan, and Dzong-spe-bzhag-ring in Tibetan. It is east of Wa-erh-chai.

Pu-wu Shan 卜兀山: It belonged once to Yung-ning and is 150 li north of it. It is south-west of the ancient Hsiang-lo tien of the Chang-kuan-ssu. This cannot be any other place than Mu-li and the mountain is probably the limestone range to the east of and parallel to Mt. Ki-bo of the Hsi-fan, which is two stages from Yung-ning. Mu-li district must have been the ancient Hsiang-lo tien, for there is no other place between Mu-li and Wa-lu-chih or Wa-erh-chai, 250 li north of Yung-ning. The distance given for Hsiang-lo tien can only have reference to the present-day Mu-li district in which the Mu-li Monastery is situated. The Hsiang-lo is undoubtedly the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, now a small village to the south-east of Mu-li Monastery, among the spurs of Pu-wu Shan.

Kan-ju Shan 幹如山: It is 120 li west of Yung-ning village, and north of the ancient Ko-tien of the Chang-kuan-ssu. It is considered a perilous place (to approach). This is the Gonschiga of Handel-Mazzetti which he makes 4,900 meters, or 16,000 feet, in height. The Chinese Yun-nan military map gives Ko-tien on the Yun-nan—Hsi-k’ang border but within...
Yung-ning territory. The mountain is, however, in Mu-li territory southwest of Mu-li Gom-pa (Mu-li Monastery). The latter is called dGah-Idan-bshad-sgrubs-rnam-par-rgyal-bai-gling

Chin-ting Shan 金鼎山: Is two li north-west of Yung-ning.

K’a-hsi p’o 卡洗坡: Is 280 li north of Yung-pei, 170 li south of Yung-ning town, and 120 li north of Ning-lang (Lang-ch’ü chou); it is the border of Yung-ning and Lang-ch’ü territories. (K’a-hsi p’o is also marked as a village on the Chinese map.)

A-la Shan 阿刺山: Said to be 300 li east of Yung-pei and forms the Ssu-ch’uan — Yün-nan border. A stream called Chan Ho 站河 has its source on the north-western slope. (It is east of Lang-ch’ü chou.)

Tso-so Shan 佐所山: Over 400 li north of Yung-pei, and east of Yung-ning. The source of the Lu-ku Hu is at its southern foot. The waters of the lake flow south then east through Hai-men-ch’iao 海門橋 into the Ta-ch’ung Ho. This mountain is east of Wua-zhu Pu-nà, which in turn is east of Lion Mountain and separated from the latter by a gap or pass.

Pai-chio Shan 白角山: 80 li north of Yung-pei in the ancient Lang-ch’ü chou and Pai-chio hsiang 白角鄉, whence the mountain derived its name or vice versa.

Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山: North of Yung-pei and north-west of Lang-ch’ü chou. (This is the Alo-shan of Handel-Mazetti.)

Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain): Extends north-east to the Hsi-k’ang border. It is the Wua-ha of the Yung-ning people with the Dzoan-p’u peaks at its southern end. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze gorge; a branch or spur of the mountain joins Mien-mien Shan. It is called Yao Shan on account of the many medicinal plants growing on it. Its height is approximately 15,500 feet.
CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (Plate 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K’ai-chi Ho 勒其河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒其河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch’ien-so country in Ssu-ch’uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 

陀羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luê-dzu law-k’aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k’ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k’a-khi-llü [also called P’u-dyü]; then along the Zhao Chhu on the Hsi-k’ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch’iao 塘耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch’ü chou, the present Ning-lang 峴潦; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T’o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k’o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k’o 上俸可.
Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luè-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wuliang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (Plate 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Vo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (Plate 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (Plate 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhèr-khin.1 They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhèr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

1 All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhèr-khi or Zhèr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word zhèr means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. Zhèr-khin is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a “Zhèr-zo” — son or child of Zhèr; the name Zhèr-dū (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. See: J. F. Rock, the Zhèr-khin tribe and their religious literature in Monumenta Serica Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.
of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhēr-khin tribe have already been described.

The Zhēr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtū with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wuia with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Shu Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Shu Chhu are the following Zhēr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhēr-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhēr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtū-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).

The Yung-ning Lamasery.— The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu (from the Tibetan mKhnn-pol) and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is Dto-mba Shi-lo, who interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean “no fighting” (from dgra-mi-dgos=enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtū-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po). The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, “What a good place to build a lamasery,” for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean “no fighting” (from dgra-mi-dgos=enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Dto-mba Shi-lo. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thub-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dga-den Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling thar-lam gتسانگReturnsg). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mā-gko, which means lamasery place—Da-mā, literally ground-mother; gko, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mā-gko by the Na-khi. In the Yün-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 仩 vectors The I-t'ung-chih gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 仩 vectors Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 利佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855-1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.
represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (Plate 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 瞿勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.4 (Plate 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (Plate 212). In

Hli-dü language the place is known as La-pa-ddü (pronounced La-pa-tri) and consists of a meadow traversed by the Hli gyi. Here on the banks of this stream, Kublai Khan camped; his army camped on the broad flat plateau above the stream to the east. He sojourned here ere he pushed on south, crossing the Yangtze near Feng-k’o, and storming the first Na-khi settlement at La-pao. At the present T’ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 or Hsüeh-shan shih-men Kuan 雪山石門關 (Snow mountain gate Pass) he fought his first battle with the Mo-so. (PLATE 103).

The historic Mongol camp was not far from the wooden bridge which spans the Hli gyi at the village of Ba-chü. One crosses it on the way to the summit of Mt. Yo-wa-bu and to Feng-k’o on the Yangtze. The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 30b, state:

"After the Sung and at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, in the 2nd year of Hsien Tsung 懐宗 (1252) the T’ai Ti 太弟 (Royal brother) Hu-pi-lieh received orders to attack Nan-chao. He sojourned [camped] at Jih-yüeh-ho."

The Tuan 段氏 family sent Kao T’ai-hsiang 高泰祥 to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. The Mongol generals Wan-yen 完顏 (elsewhere called Po 伯 yen), Pu-hua hu-erh 不花虎兒 and others watched (the two river banks).

Hu-pi-lieh supplied them with skin bags on which they crossed the river. The soldiers of Kao T’ai-hsiang fled and he was captured. He refused to be humiliated and was therefore executed. He was decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓 [South gate tower] of Ta-li fu. About the crossing of the Yangtze by Hu-pi-lieh and his army, the Li-chiang fu chih chieh, ch. 4, fol. 35, has the following to say under the heading Chiu yen-tang Lu 舊堰當路 (Circuit of the ancient Yen-tang): "It was situated west of Li-chiang outside the frontier. In the beginning of Pao-yu 賓祐 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1252) the Mongols came to attack Ta-li. T’e-lich 武列 was in the T’u-fan country and there the army divided. One went by the west road which was the Yen-tang road, one went by the east road into the Pai-man country (land of the white barbarians), which is the present Yao-an hsien 姚安縣. General Hu-pi-lieh led the cavalry by the middle

Kao T’ai-hsiang was appointed prime minister of the Ho-li Kuo 後理國 dynasty by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsiang 段智祥 in 1237.

The Nan-chao Yeh-shih states that Kao T’ai-hsiang was sent to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. Opposite them the Mongol generals Po-yen 伯顔, Pu-hua-hu-erh-tun 不花虎兒敦 and others, fearlessly observed the two sides of the river. Hu-pi-lieh ordered them to cross the river and to attack the T’u-fan and advanced on the Mo-ti 摩刺 (Mo-so).

SAINSON, Nan-choo Ye-che, p. 109, translates this passage wrongly thus: "Battant les T’ou-fan a Tche-ma-ti, il déboucha à Che-men et passa" (to attack the T’u-fan at Tse-ma-ti, etc.); the Chinese text reads: 破吐蕃摩刺出石門. The word chih 相 means to advance, to go forward, and Mo-ti is a name given the Na-khi or Mo-so. The Fang-yü chi-yao 方舆紀要, ch. 32, fol. 28, states that the Mongols (under) Hu-pi-lieh brought to submission the Mo-ti (Mo-so), emerged from the Shih-men 石門 (Rock gate) (PLATE 103) and passed on.

* He is the Bayan of Marco Polo and was Kublai Khan’s most famous lieutenant. See GILES Biographical Dictionary 1663.

* The Mongol History writes T’a-la 塔拉 and T’e-la 忍剌.
FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

road from Yüeh-sui to cross the Chin-sha Chiang which is in Pei-sheng chou. The army divided before it reached the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河, considerably to the north of the Yangtze and north-east of Li-chiang. Wu-liang-ho-tai 元良合带 led by the west road from Yen-tang Lu, Prince Ch'ao-ho-yeh-chih-lieh 抄合也只烈 led his army by the east road and the land of the Pai-man. Hu-pi-lieh, leading his cavalry by the middle road, arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城 on the day i-ssu 乙巳 the 29th day of the ninth moon, the 3rd year of Hsien Tsung (October 23rd, 1253; Sainson translates 乙巳 as “Les uns et les autres” and does not give the date). They left their heavy baggage behind and in the tenth moon they crossed the Ta-to Ho. In the eleventh moon they arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭寨 (see Mu Chronicle, A-tsung A-liang). Ta-yao Shan. — Leaving Jih-yüeh-ho, the trail follows the Hi li gyi or K'ai-ai-chi Ho for a short distance, then winds up and down over the pine-covered foot-hills of the range which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze. Climbing the steep, densely forested mountain-side through spruces, firs, rhododendrons, etc., we reach the summit pass called Yo-wa-bu, 12,500 feet elevation (Plate 230). Here on this pass, a flat expanse covered with a wonderful forest of Abies, Picea, Tsuga, with canebrake undergrowth, is a log cabin inhabited by Li-su guards armed with cross-bows (Plate 231). They are always on the look-out for roving bandits and run to Yung-ning to notify the chief of the approach of robbers or report their movements. The entire mountain is called Ta-yao Shan 大藥山 (Great medicine Mountain). It extends east of the Yangtze to the Tsui-yi valley, its south-eastern part is controlled by the Lang-ch'ü T' u-ssu. In the second year of Hsien-feng (1852) this latter part of the mountain was the stronghold of a bandit horde. The distance from Yung-ning to the summit pass is 27 li. From the pass we descend steeply over a rocky trail through majestic forest of spruce and hemlock, some 100 feet or more in height, associated with fir, oak, maple, red birch, wild cherry and undergrowth of rhododendrons, Berberis, Ribes, Spiræa, willows, Ligustrum, Lonicera and cane-brake; the best preserved part of this forest is at 11,000 feet elevation.

Lower down, the forest gives way to pine, till we emerge in a valley by a little hamlet and fields called Ggô-wùa 22.5 li from the Yo-wa-bu Pass, or a total of 51.5 li from Yung-ning.

Ggô-wûa and the Dji lo (valley). — Gwô-wùa (Upper dwelling) is situated at the head of a fairly broad valley at an elevation of 9,500 feet, exactly the height of Yung-ning. The valley is called the Gyi or Dji lo (Water valley). Its slopes are pine-covered. The trail descends to the stream which we cross over a wooden bridge, then climbs along the northern valley wall composed of loose schist which moves at the gentlest step. The trail is

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8 Pei-sheng chou is the district of Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng; the Yangtze separates the two hsien, Li-chiang and Yung-sheng. Yung-ning is under the latter's jurisdiction.

9 This is the present Yao-an hsien, north of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming, (according to the Li-chiang Records).
obliterated in many places, making the passage of a loaded mule very dangerous. This valley becomes a canyon lower down to where it debouches into the Yangtze.

We arrive at a bluff where a beautiful vista opens towards the Yangtze and the terrific rock gate, the Gv-ho-gu gorge. This part of the valley resembles an amphitheater, on whose gentle terraced slopes a tiny hamlet also called Ggö-wua is situated. Above the village under immense maple trees, one of seven feet in diameter, is a lovely clear crystal spring. The peasants are all Lü-khi or Hli-khin, save one family which is Chinese. They migrated to this place from Chiang-hsi (Kiangsi) five generations ago.

Following the Yangtze to Feng-k’o. — From the lower Ggö-wua we ascend an arid, scrub-covered terrain to a pass, and then descend over a most terrible trail of only a hand’s width. Some ten years ago the entire, almost vertical mountain-side, several hundred feet in height, slid down into the valley carrying with it a small hamlet situated on a terrace high above the old trail. Man and beast perished, only one or two houses remained standing. The entire mountain-side in this valley is loose gravel, broken shale and schist. The trail is indeed a dangerous one and difficult to negotiate on account of constant landslides. After skirting this perilous place, we ascend gradually to another tiny hamlet of a few huts, called A-shi-wua-lo. The trail now leads to a pass and a circular depression, the bed of an old pond at an elevation of 8,800 feet (PLATE 232) whence we can overlook the entire Yangtze valley. The mountains, whose slopes are covered with Heteropogon contortus grass, are here dissected into many deep gorges, which debouch into the terrific canyon along which our trail leads. The walls drop almost vertically to the narrow valley floor, which sends foaming torrents into the Yangtze; the whole scenery is of indescribable magnificence.

Steeply we descend over the grassy spur along a narrow ravine, one trail leading down into it, while another leads along its crest. To the right (north) on a little terrace nestled against the steep mountains is the hamlet of Ba-a at 6,500 feet elevation. This trail is a terror to the muleteers; in wet weather it is as slippery as ice, on account of the yellow clay of which the hills are here composed. The heat is intense in the middle of the day, there is no shade as the hills are devoid of trees and only covered with the reddish-brown Heteropogon grass.

We come to the hamlet of Law-k’a-khi-llu [also called P’u-djü or Pu-chio ト脚 or ト脚]. The hamlet is divided into two parts by the valley called Bu-k’o and its torrent, which descends from Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan), Yo-wa-bu and Ggö-wua valley. A small hamlet called Wàa-sha-lo is situated in the ravine. Here the peasants speak both Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so or Hli-dü. Below Law-k’a-khi-llu there is a fierce rapid in the Yangtze which here makes a bend in its narrow canyon. The trail leads down to the torrent of the Bu-k’o dji which must be forded, an impossible feat in the rainy season. From here it is 10 li over the grassy slopes to the Feng-k’o ferry. A Tibetan (mchhod-rten མཆོད་རྟེན་) chhorten [the equiva-
PLATE 201. — THE MEKONG NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE DO-KAR LA STREAM

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
PLATE 202. — CH’OU KU-TSUNG (TIBETANS) FROM NEAR PEN-TZU-LAN

They wear a single garment and use cross bows, the arrows are stuck into the hair.
Plate 204.—The Highest Pass across the Pai-mang Shan

白鑽（白马）拉

The pass is 15,800 feet above sea-level; to the west facing this view are the snow and glacier-crowned peaks of Pai-mang Shan, to the east (in background) bare yellow massive crags of rhyolite. The low bushes in foreground are *Rhododendron tapetiforme*. 
PLATE 205. — THE HIGHEST PEAK OF PAI-MANG SHAN

The peak is 20,000 feet in height and mainly composed of granite. Photographed with front lens removed, looking west from an elevation of 15,000 feet.
PLATE 206. — THE ROAD TO TUNG-CHU-LIN THROUGH MAGNIFICENT SPRUCE FOREST

Picea complanata with Rhododendron Wardii as undergrowth forms pure stands at 12,000 feet, north of Tung-chu-lin Lamaser. Usnea longissima festoons the trees.
Plate 207. - Tung-chu-lin Lamasery
Second story: the roofs are of wooden boards weighted down with rocks. The stables are in the covered with lamped, rolled earth; the roofs in this region is very different from that of the houses in the Mehong Valley. Instead of being tall.

Plate 208 — A M0-30 — TIBETAN HOMESELD NEAR KAR-RI

(Courtesy Nat. Geor. Soc.)
lent of a stupa] stands on the terrace above the Yangtze a few li from the ferry, announcing that here is lama land.

From P'u-djii (Law-k'a-khi-llii) south to opposite the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo valley, the district is called Tso-lo-wu and is Yung-ning territory. Here the mountain-side is extremely steep. Half-way up the mountain there used to be a small lake which was called Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. It has, however, been drained, a tiny hamlet has been established, and the bottom of the former pond converted into fields.

Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大藥山, also written 大薬山) hems in the Yangtze which flows several thousand feet beneath its summit. Opposite the gorge of Lv-ts'o lo, which is on the Li-chiang side, is a deep, narrow, hanging defile called Ba-cha-dji-ki; on a terrace above the division of the torrent which descends into the Yangtze is the hamlet of Mi-ndu-wüa (pronounced Mindwua).

The torrent mentioned above is joined by another, coming from a similar defile in the mountain wall further to the north, the stream flowing behind a promontory range. South of Ba-cha-dji-ki is another ravine with a village called Nda-shi. Beyond is the terrific rock gate through which a narrow foot-path, if such it can be called, leads along the cliff above the Yangtze to La-pao. The traveller must be immune from vertigo or else he will land in the Yangtze; there is really no path in the proper sense of the word, he has to make sure of his footing on the rocks as he goes sideways embracing the cliff with both hands. Beyond the defile the Yangtze makes a curve to the east, to the mouth of Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai (also called Chiang-wa 江外) where there is a ferry. From Tsui-yi a trail leads to Yung-ning which is shorter than the Feng-k'o road. This region is described in the next chapter. For description of the Yangtze gorge from Lv-ts'o lo south to La-pao see page 258.

3. FROM YUNG-NING TO CHIANG-WAI 江外 ON THE YANGTZE

The shortest way from Li-chiang to Yung-ning or vice versa is by way of Chiang-wai and the Tsui-yi valley over a southern pass of the Great medicine Mountain called Wua-ha in the Hli-du language. The route is, however, not as safe as the Feng-k'o one, for Lo-lo robbers are often met with on the summit and on the alpine meadows near there; many a lonely traveler has been murdered in cold blood by these highwaymen, who are as cruel, if not more so, than Chinese bandits. With a proper well armed escort, there is, however, nothing to fear. The route is a far lonelier one, but perhaps also more interesting and wilder, than the Feng k'o one and is more frequented by Yung-ning people than any other route to Li-chiang.

From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads to K'ai-chi 開基, then crosses the wooden bridge\(^\text{10}\) over the Hli dji or Hli gyi (K'ai-chi Ho) to the village of Ba-chü. Thence we follow the road which leads to the Yung-ning T'u-ssu's yamen and to the lake shore of the Lu-ku Hu, as far as the ancient and now dilapidated Ch'eng-huang Miao 城隍廟. Here a trail leads

\(^{10}\) A stone-arch bridge once spanned this river a little further up-stream from the present bridge, but was washed away shortly after my first visit in 1924.
over the eroded hill-side, then proceeds on the top of a flat spur, covered with small stunted *Quercus semicarpfolia* bushes. Limestone outcroppings are visible everywhere. We pass between two limestone hills covered with oaks which grow in the cracks of the whitish-gray limestone. The trail of even grade leads along the hill-side overlooking the second and smaller plain south of the Yung-ning plain, through which the Hli gyi winds. Many limestone hills stand sentinel here, the path winding between or over them. The entire region is covered with scrub oaks, and is lonely in the extreme.

**The Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu cave.** — Seven li from the Ch'eng-huang Temple or 10 from the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail turns up a valley called Gi-k'wa-wu; here we encounter limestone sink-holes, such as occur on the Lo-shui-tung plain 落水洞 between Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa刺是壩 on the way to Li-chiang. Four and a half li to the north from where the trail enters the Gi-k'wa-wu valley, through a rocky gap, there is a huge limestone cave called Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu, elevation 10,800 feet. About 1,000 people can take refuge in this cave, for as a refuge and place of hiding it is used, when Gangkar-ling — Tibetan bandits go on the war-path to rob and burn. The Yung-ning people flee with their mules and other livestock to this cave, a hidden retreat difficult to find. It is off the main trail and one must retrace one's steps going north from the gap down the valley. There are several small passage-ways which lead from the rear of the cave into the mountain. Its vault is enormous. Where the light could not reach we found long slender stalagmites of ice formed by the dripping from the ceilings. It is related that Guru Karma-pa, by name Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas (pronounced Chho-kyi-chung-ne), who came to Li-chiang and established the Karma-pa (the Li-chiang people pronounce it Ga-ma-pa) lamaseries there, lived in this cave. High up in a crevice in the ceiling is his staff, wedged in between the rocks.

**Bu-llu dji valley.** — From Gi-k'wa-wu we follow up a broad spur, and enter a circular depression with many sink-holes; deep below us flows the Bu-llu dji in an exceedingly narrow, precipitous, limestone gorge. The trail leads high above the stream-bed over a natural rock ledge, smooth and slippery like a macadam road, and descends along the pine-covered hill-

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11 The Hsi-t'u Ssu-pao fa-shih 西土四寶法師 (Fourth precious *fa-shih* Buddhist priest of the western land [Tibet]) a Karma-pa lama came to Li-chiang in the year keng-hsü 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730). He and his followers went to Chi-tsu Shan to worship [Chi-tsu Shan is a sacred Buddhist mountain to the north-east of the Ta-li Lake] and passed through Li-chiang. On the La-shih li Lo-shui-tung 剌是里落水洞 [to the west of Li-chiang, see geographical part of Li-chiang] on a cliff they saw the footprints of the Buddha of Magadha (摩迦陀祖師) and advised that a lamasery be built. (From a stone inscription in the Chih-yün Ssu 指雲寺, a Karma-pa Lamasery at La-shih li, Li-chiang.) The Karma-pa sub-sect was founded by Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mKhyen-po (Dus-gsum-mKhyen-po). He was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192. His monastery, called Tshu-mtshur Lha-lung, (Thub-thog, 9), was built at mTshur-phu, (Sher-rong), north of Lhasa, beyond Ser-ra (gSer-ra thugs-chhe-gling Monastery of the Mighty Heart enclosed in gold), and is still the most powerful of all the Kar-gyu-pa sub-sects (WADDEL). 

*See Chapter III. 2, page 204.*
sides to the valley floor and the stream, but keeps to the east of it. The Bu-llu dji valley floor resembles a long, narrow plain, in which the river describes a tortuous course.

The first Hli-khin village we strike in this valley is called Mu-ddri-di-man (Mu-ddù-du-man in Li-chiang Na-khi) situated at an elevation of 10,500 feet on the east bank of the Bu-llu dji. It is the Mu-ti-ching 木底琴 of the Chinese, and is 12 li distant from Guru Karma-pa's cave. Beyond this little hamlet the trail crosses the stream and leads up the valley on its west bank, past a side stream descending from Wua-ha Mountain; near its mouth is situated the hamlet of Llu-lo-kwei (Lo-lo-kuan 獅獠關). Following along fields we ascend the valley which here is quite broad and flat, the hill-sides being covered with spruces (Picea), white pines Pinus Armandii, and also the yellow pine Pinus yunnanensis. Oaks and white birches are also not uncommon. It is a beautiful valley indeed, hemmed in by high mountains forested mainly with tall spruces. The last little hamlet is called Shan-on, situated at 10,700 feet elevation on the east bank of the stream and at the mouth of a lateral gully; it is 12 li from Mu-ddri.

Bo-wu-tsu valley. — A few li beyond the village of Shan-on the Bu-llu dji valley narrows considerably and is here known as Bo-wu-tsu to its head. The best time to travel over this route is in the winter; in the summer it is said to be dangerous to tarry in this region, on account of the thousands of leeches which stretch their heads from every rock, grass blade and bush, ready to attach themselves to man and beast. The trail ascends steeply up the narrowing Bo-wu-tsu valley, whose western walls tower high above the river. We enter dense forest of spruces with undergrowth of cane-brake, rhododendrons, etc. At 10,800 feet the first firs (Abies) make their appearance, and at 11,200 feet we emerge into pure stands of Picea likiangensis which has the appearance of Picea purpurea, so common in the mountains of western Kansu. A torrent roars here; we descend to cross it to the east bank, and climb out into an open valley with hills to the east. Here, the vegetation has changed entirely, and we are once more in pine forest with oak scrub.

The A-ngu valley. — We ascend over a narrow rocky trail leaving the stream-bed below, and come to another valley which opens out from the east, the junction of the two valleys being called Che-kök-t’ou-tse. This spot is a noted robber haunt, and Lo-lo, who have their stronghold at the head of the side valley, on a mountain called Pu-mu, waylay lonely travelers, and rob and beat them, if they do not murder them. From this broad knoll in the middle of the main valley, the trail descends again to the stream-bed and crosses it at 11,325 feet elevation, entering dense forest of Picea likiangensis with scrub-oak as undergrowth. The whole scenery is weird and lonely. The trail crosses the stream once more to the west bank, and leads out into boggy alpine meadows which form the head of Bo-wu-tsu valley, here called Zhe-dsu. Huts of yak herders are near a small ravine opening out from the east. Here the head of the valley is merely a flat meadow through which the stream meanders in innumerable zigzags. A trail leads through the little valley by the yak herders' camp to Pi-yi and
Yung-sheng. We follow the main stream, which has become a mere brook, and cross it to the west bank. The valley broadens, the surrounding hills are low and are sparsely covered with pines and Picea trees.

We come to a forking of the valley, or rather to the junction of two valleys — our valley, which leads to the left (south) and another opening from the right (west). At the head or what seemed the head of the valley there loomed up high limestone mountains with prominent crags piercing the sky. It is the southern end of Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan); this particular peak is called Dzo-an-p'u and represents another mountain god of the Hli-khin people. In this valley which debouches from Dzo-an-p'u are lovely meadows alternating with forests. The yak and half-breed Yak called Dzo (mDzo in Tibetan) of the Yung-ning chief and family roam here several hundred strong, herded by Tibetans who alone know how to handle them (PLATE 233). Quite a distance up the valley there is a limestone cave in the mountain cliff called 'A-bu-kwo at an elevation of 11,650 feet. The slopes of the valley are covered with spruces and evergreen oaks (Quercus semicarpifolia).

The main valley extends south, with broad, undulating, hilly country bordering it. It is a lonely region, a broad, high upland in which the streams coming from the crags and peaks of Wua-ha and Dzo-an-p'u have begun to cut as yet only shallow valleys. The valley leading south is called A-ngu, and the distance from Shan-on to this highland is 24 li and thence 10 li to the cave 'A-bu-kwo. We continue up the A-ngu valley, which spreads out into various shallow branches with yak herders' encampments, the broad, shallow floor being 11,600 feet above sea level. Picea likiangensis covers the low spurs in open formation, giving way to pines on one side of the slopes, and to oaks and white birches on the other. The oaks form here large low masses together with the small-leaved, blue-flowered Rhododendron dasypetalum which grow in clumps. The highest point of this grassy, shallow valley is 11,680 feet. Limestone outcroppings make their appearance, also funnel-shaped sink-holes, hiding-places of Lo-lo robbers. Here we begin to descend gradually until we find ourselves on the edge of a terrific limestone cliff at an elevation of 11,600 feet, with a sheer drop of 600 feet to its foot. The top of this cliff is the most dangerous spot as far as attacks from bandits are concerned. The trail descends steeply in short zigzags over the cliff to a small meadow with willow bushes. Three valleys converge here at the foot of the cliff. One deep valley issues from the west, sending down a stream which joins the short valley coming from the south; both flow in a curve to the east. These valleys are full of slender bamboo or cane-brake and form an excellent hiding place for Lo-lo highwaymen. The trail ascends the narrow valley from the south, crosses another lateral ravine from the west and emerges into the grassy head of the valley, one branch extending east. We climb the shorter branch to the south-west to a pass at 11,400 feet elevation. This pass, where many a poor traveler has been murdered by Lo-lo robbers, is called Gi-kwua-gu-k'aw.

Tsui-ji. — We now descend into a glen which leads us out into the long broad valley called Ga-zu law-k'aw, the entire district being known as
Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t’o, meaning “Iron nuggets steep place,” from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 塬耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch’iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角塱 in Lang-ch’ü T’u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t’o is 22.5 li.

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 搁耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshēr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lō-bū. Beyond Lō-bū the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (Heteropogon contortus), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-du, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory.

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent.

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P’ā-dā. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (Plates 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dū and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been
dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones. Lime-stone is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families constantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neighborhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (Plate 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female Cannabis sativa. The children go entirely naked and are black from filth.

From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over landslides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of Phyllanthus emblica, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, Maba buxifolia, Dodonaea viscosa, compositae and Heteropogon contortus grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus Delavaya (species) yün.nanensis.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa (TIM) on the west bank of the Yangtze. (See journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k’o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (Plate 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t’o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K’O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khîn tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan en route to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Lué-du law-k’aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hër-dû or Här-lër-dû in Na-khî. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luë-
dzu and Hër-dü, is arid, similar to the lower end of Tsui-yi, but perhaps even more so.

**Up the Sä dji to To-ka-bo Pass.** — From the lamasery the trail leads as far as the Jih-yüeh-ho and then to the Sä dji or Sä gyi which has its source on the eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zhu Chhu divide. The Sä dji joins the Hli dji by the village of T’o-dji, south of the hamlet of K’ai-chi and there they flow united as the K’ai-chi Ho. From this junction the Hli-khin people call it the Hli dji because it traverses the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü and after which they call themselves the “Hli-khin” or people of “Hli,” dü meaning land. Eight and a half li bring us to the banks of the Sä dji which we cross over a bridge by the village of A-dju at an elevation of 9,800 feet. Continuing west we enter a ravine and climb the pine-covered spur to an elevation of 10,400 feet, with deep depressions to the south and a Lo-lo settlement called Gu-tsêr on the slopes. In great zigzags the trail ascends the forested spur to a gap at 11,650 feet, overlooking a valley to the north, which has its source east of the To-ka-bo Pass, and which debouches into the Sä dji. Here grows the white pine *Pinus Armandi* in company with the yellow pine, and species of deciduous oaks. Higher up these give way to spruce and poplar forest, mixed with maples (Acer) and rhododendrons. At an elevation of 12,200 feet, a magnificent vista opens out over Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain) and part of the beautiful Lake Lu-ku [La-t’a  Khū, as the Li-chiang Na-khi call it] (Plate 237).

The trail follows the summit ridge to the Pass To-ka-bo, elevation 12,600 feet. To the north is the long high range called Shwua-gu with a view up the Sä dji, and a valley mentioned previously which leads from our pass into the latter. The virgin forest immediately below the pass is magnificent beyond words. It was autumn (1929) when I traversed this region, and all the deciduous trees were in their rich autumn garb. Tall spruces, birches, maples, with undergrowth of rhododendron and Lonicera, their foliage a golden yellow, bronze, or red, composed this glorious forest at an elevation of 12,400 feet. From To-ka-bo we descend along a spur with a valley to the north, a branch of which we skirt to a meadow surrounded by pine forest, and known to Hli-khin as Wua-ssu-to. Here is water and the lovely little meadow in the pine forest invites for a midday halt and rest for man and beast.

**Luê-dzu valley.** — From Wua-ssu-to we descend into a deep valley with the stream to the south of the trail, to the Hli-khin hamlet of Luê-dzu, elevation 10,100 feet. The valley itself is named after the village — Luê-dzu law-k’aw. Distance from Yung-ning 55 and a quarter li.

Skirting a ravine, the trail continues down the Luê-dzu valley, to the hamlet of To-kwa, elevation 9,600 feet, and then to a gap on the spur which separates Luê-dzu from a valley called Hër-dü in Hli-dü, and Hăr-lër-dü in Na-khi. There are two paths — one descends the Luê-dzu valley, and another crosses the spur into a branch of Hër-dü valley. These two paths meet again at the hamlet of Hër-dü. Beyond the village the two streams unite and debouch into the Yangtze. A short distance further we come to a bluff overlooking the Yangtze at 6,800 feet. The mouth of the Hër-dü valley
is called Sä-dji-ma; it was here that a ferry once plied to the Li-chiang side of the river.

_Crossing the Yangtze._— At the time of my visit in 1929, while returning from an expedition to Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar (Minya Konka) for the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C., all the ferries over the Yangtze had been smashed on account of the occupation of the Yung-pei and Yung-ning region by military rebels and their horde of soldiers; it was to prevent them from crossing the Yangtze and occupying Li-chiang territory. Under the above circumstances we found it expedient to cross the river as speedily as possible in order to escape the rebels, who were then nearing Yung-ning. The good and friendly Tsung-kuan, the real ruler of Yung-ning, accompanied us to the Yangtze to personally supervise our difficult crossing of that river on inflated goatskins. My entourage was a large one, consisting of many men, mules, horses and loads; the crossing by this primitive method took two days. We followed the river upstream, for the usual crossing at Sä-dji-ma is only suitable for boats. The light goatskin rafts would be quickly carried down to the fierce rapid a short distance from the mouth of Hër-dû. We eventually crossed three li higher up at a more placid stretch of the river.

A few words as regards the crossing of the Yangtze. All Zhër-khin people are expert swimmers. Twenty-two of them had been called together from the entire Yung-ning—Yangtze bank from as far south as T'o-lä-tsu. They were ready with their goatskins. Each skin was entire and formed a bag, only the neck was open, every other aperture being securely tied. The skin is held over the stomach, lengthwise so that the neck reaches to the mouth. The hind legs of the skin are securely tied with string, and are then passed between the swimmer’s groins and tied over his buttocks. The neck of the animal is held in the mouth, and on entering the water the skin is inflated. They bobbed up and down in the swift current like corks, and when caught by a whirlpool they were sucked completely out of sight but soon popped up again. The mules and horses swam across, each man taking one by the reins; the more obstreperous animals needed three men. Often mule and man would disappear, being sucked down by the whirlpools for several seconds. We as well as our belongings were ferried across on inflated goatskin rafts, which consisted of 12 skins tied to sticks. They were much better constructed than the goatskin rafts used on the Yellow River in the Tibetan grasslands. There the rafts could be paddled across by one or two men, but here usually five men had to handle one raft, two pushing and swimming behind, and three, with ropes over their shoulders or holding them in their mouth, pulling and swimming in front. They first pushed the raft along the cliff (Plate 238) until they reached the current, where there was also a whirlpool and where they were carried down-stream at express speed. When a considerable distance down, one would lead, swimming and

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pulling with all his might making for the other shore. Still they were carried
down-stream until they struck another eddy, where they swam ashore. The
ordeal was now to carry the raft back for a mile over the rocks on the oppo-
site bank, inflate the skins, refasten the strings and plunge again into the
water, pulling for the starting point. Although the atmosphere was balmy,
the water was like ice, and the poor men, stark naked as they were, shivered
visibly. It was a curious sight to see them coming back sitting in the water
like corks, their bronze-colored bodies glistening in the sunlight. After two
days of strenuous work we reached the other side of the Yangtze without
the loss of a thing, save a mule who fell over the cliff into the river.

San-chiang-k'ou. — From the mouth of Hėr-dū the trail leads over an
impossible terrain along the cliffs; it is exceedingly narrow and the slopes
down into the Yangtze next to vertical. Projecting rocks and boulders
caused one of our mules to be pushed over the precipice, breaking his back.
By an improvised trail down a talus slope we descended to the Yangtze.
The heat is stifling in these arid canyons. From here it is 16 li to the junct-
tion of the Wu-liang Ho and the Yangtze (Plate 105). This stretch is also
called Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (dji) by the aborigines, who consider apparently
the real Wu-liang Ho an affluent of the Zho Chhu. Opposite to where the
Wu-liang Ho debouches into the Yangtze, on the Li-chiang side, is the small
hamlet of Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o). Here besides the Wu-liang Ho
two other streams empty into the Yangtze, the Ha-lo dji (Ha-lo Stream)
from the Li-chiang side, and the Hėr-dū below the Wu-liang Ho on the
Yung-ning side, hence the name of this region, San-chiang-k'ou 三江口
(Mouths of three rivers).

Hla-mo-dzu Mountain. — On the right or western bank of the Zho Chhu
and north of the Yangtze is a mountain called Hla-mo-dzu (H-M., Lamatzo)
a spur of which forms the Yangtze valley wall and separates a stream from
the river, namely the Chwua-dzu dji which flows into the Zho Chhu not far
above its junction with the Yangtze.

Hla-mo-dzu is the border between the Hsi-k'ang — Mu-li, and Yün-nan
— Chung-tien districts. Hsi-k'ang extends to the bank of the Yangtze west
of the Wu-liang Ho, and to the summit of Mt. Hla-mo-dzu. Handel-
Mazetti's map is here wrong, as he gives the Mu-li border farther north, and
makes Hla-mo-dzu and a considerable stretch to the north of it, Yün-nan
territory.

O-yü district. — On the banks of the Zho Chhu in Yung-ning territory are
situated the hamlets of Yu-mi, Shu-dtū, Bpo-lo, the Chinese Po-lo 波羅,
(H-M., Polo) and Zo-wua. They are inhabited by the Zhēr-khīn, a tribe
related to the Na-khī and Hli-khīn. Yu-mi is on the border between Yung-
ning and Mu-li territory. The first village in the latter is Dze-ngu (H-M.,
Dsengo), others are Dshe-pu and Gya-pu — all inhabited by Zhēr-khīn.
The large village of O-yü, Wo-ya (Envelope) in Chinese, farther up the Zho
Chhu valley is inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khī, the descendants of former
Na-khī soldiers who guarded that region in the days of the Ming dynasty
during the rule of Mu Tseng (1587–1646) (Plate 239). The famous gold-
bearing Lo-nda gyi (Lung-ta Ho 拉打河) enters the Zho Chhu north of the Chwua-dzu dji at the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan border. The northern half of the north-western slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zho Chhu divide, forms the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning territories. The district of O-yü is situated on the banks of the Zho Chhu in Mu-li territory. There are in all over 200 Na-khi families, or over 1,000 men, women and children, living in O-yü. The district is known to the Hsi-fan as Wua-yeagko. From O-yü the district of Bbër-ddër in the Chung-tien magistracy can be reached in two days via the mountains and gorges of Gkû-dû. From Shen-dzong in Mu-li country, where a cantilever bridge spans the Zho Chhu and where a trail leads to the Tibetan-inhabited region of Mu-li, it is four days to O-yü, following the Zho Chhu down-stream. On the west bank of the Zho Chhu (the Shu dji of the O-yü Na-khi) the following villages comprise O-yü: K'o-ndso, Wua-zhi, Mbi-dû, Re-bu (the Li-chiang Na-khi call this place Llû-bbu; we see here the influence of the neighboring Tibetans), Dji-ku (the Li-chiang Gyi-gkv); then the hamlets of Dji-man (Gyi-man) and Gkv-gkû. One day west of Shen-dzong are the villages of Shü-lo-gu-nyi and Shü-lo-dshër-bbu.

Besides the Na-khi villages enumerated above and belonging to the district of Mu-li in south-west Hsi-k'ang, there is one more Na-khi hamlet called T'o-lä-gki, harbouring several families. It is situated above the east bank of the Li-t'ang River, opposite Mu-li Lamasery and near the small monastery called 1Đän-hdra-ri-khrod 14 (pronounced Den-dra-ri-thrö).

The entire lower slopes of the Yangtze valley are covered with the reddish-brown grass Heteropogon contortus. On these dry slopes grows a beautiful shrub or small tree, a species of Hibiscus, H. aridicola with white flowers, the petals being pale green at the base. It reminds one of Hibiscus Brackenridgei of Hawaii, which grows in similar arid situations, associated with the same species of grass. Hibiscus aridicola has, however, long rambling branches. The remainder of the vegetation is similar to or the same as elsewhere in the Yangtze loop.

5. FROM YUNG-NING TO CH'IEN-SO IN SSU-CH'UAN

The T'u-ssu family feud. — The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu 前所土司 is not extensive, consisting of only one large valley in which is situated the yamen of the chief, and a little lamasery, or rather a lama temple. There are in all six villages in the valley, which extends north-east, then east. The T'u-ssu belongs to the Hli-khin tribe. His family name is A 阿 and he is a relative of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The Ch'ien-so native chieftainship was established in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), the present T'u-ssu, A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟, being the ninth generation.16 Like the Tso-so chieftains, they have degenerated, and recently a feud arose between the present chief and his brother, so that neither could remain in the territory.

14 བོད་རྡོ་རྗེ་
16 During the Ming dynasty the same family ruled the territory in question under the title of Chiliarch or T'u-ch'ien-hu.
This T'u-ssu brought in Lo-lo settlers to counteract his brother's activities, the outcome being that the peasants were the sufferers. His mother, a refined old lady, was a relative of the Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning. Her husband, the late T'u-ssu, died in 1909 at the age of 33. During the feud between her sons she ran the affairs of her forlorn little country which had once seen better days. The T'y-ssu has since then shot his brother in cold blood. Whereupon the wife of his brother employed a relative to kill A Ch'ao-tung. The Ch'ien-so territory was then taken over by the Mu-li T'u-ssu but in 1944 it was again relinquished to the impoverished A family.

Ch'ien-so country is beautiful, but several villages have been burned by the Lo-lo, especially in the Du-llo dyi valley, and it is impossible for the peasants to return. Some have sought asylum in Yung-ning, others in Mu-li. The outlook is not a bright one unless order is restored and the Lo-los are kept in check.

The Mu-li — Ch'ien-so — Yung-ning border is not correctly marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Instead of extending south-east from the Mu-li pass which leads to Lā-dgyu-dzu (Lidjiatsun of Handel-Mazzetti, and the Chinese Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), the boundary is formed by the eastern wall of the Erh dji valley, extending north and south till it strikes the confluence of the Erh dji with the Hli dji. From there it continues as a ditch across the fields, south-east to the valley which debouches from the rear of Lion Mountain.

Erh dji valley. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads along the northern edge of the plain to the mouth of the Erh dji valley, which extends from the village of Wua-la-pi to the Yung-ning plain; there the Erh dji stream joins the Hli dji. South of the Erh dji ford, is the deep crater-like depression of Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain). On the north-western slopes of the latter are two small craters, and here the limestone is superimposed with volcanic rock. These craters whose outlines are very distinct and unmistakable, face north and are apparently much younger than Lion Mountain itself. Leaving the village of A-gu-wua to our left, still in Yung-ning territory, we proceed along the edge of the plain and at the foot of the spur, instead of crossing it by the trail which leads to Mu-li via Wua-la-pi. At the foot of the mountain which forms the eastern valley wall of the Erh dji, and near its mouth, stands a white house close to the village of A-nda, both of which are in Ssu-ch'uan and Ch'ien-so territory. The eastern spur leads north and south and forms the Yung-ning — Ch'ien-so and Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. The actual boundary, 11.5 li from Yung-ning, is the mere ditch which divides the Erh dji valley and crosses the plain of Yung-ning diagonally south-east, to the foot of Lion Mountain.

Following the Hli dji through the Ch'ien-so valley. — Crossing the mouth of the Erh dji valley we come to the hamlet of Vu-dchii in Ch'ien-so territory, two li from the Yung-ning border. Here the Hli dji flows in long zigzags across the plain, and enters the valley of Wua-zhu (Wua-zhu law-k'aw); the trail follows down-stream along the northern valley slopes. Wua-zhu is the Na-khi name of the Ch'ien-so country. East of Seng-ge ga-mu and separated by a gap, is another but inconspicuous limestone mountain; this is the
mountain god of the Ch’ien-so people and is called Wua-zhu Pu-nà. Adjoining it to the east is Tso-so Shan in the Tso-so T’u-ssu territory. Wua-zhu Pu-nà, unlike Seng-ge ga-mu is a male deity and is depicted wearing a black garment and riding a black horse.

The Wua-zhu valley narrows, limestone outcroppings and cliffs are on the north side, at the foot of which our trail leads with the Hli dji immediately below. Six li from Vu-dchu, is the hamlet of ‘A-mbe, the houses are of the log-cabin type, though some have tamped earth walls. The vegetation on the limestone spur to the north is entirely composed of oaks, *Quercus semi-carpifolia*, while along the trail grow bushes of *Prinsepia utilis*, called Shu-da or Shér-da in Na-khi. This shrub flowers twice, in the winter and in the summer but produces fruit only from summer flowers. The southern slopes of the valley are forested entirely with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The Hli dji is here a sluggish river, with fish weirs stretched across the shallow bed. There are beautiful camping places on its south bank under groves of poplars. Five li from the village of ‘A-mbe the river makes a sharp bend north-east, near the small hamlet of Wo-yü-pa-k’a-ko, at an elevation of 9,500 feet. It winds considerably. From the north a limestone spur extends into the Ch’ien-so valley, the southern slopes of which are covered with pine groves, while straight ahead, on the northern slopes of the valley, is situated the yamen of the Ch’ien-so T’u-ssu. Another valley opens out from the north, pine scrub covering the slopes here, while old oak trees grow on the southern hill-sides.

A lama temple called Wua-zhu Gom-pa, representing the Yellow sect, stands on the west bluff of the side valley, while the yamen is on the eastern one. The place where the yamen stands is called Hli-da (Li-ta 利達) and is at an elevation of 9,600 feet. The distance from Yung-ning to Hli-da is 31.5 li. The main building is over 90 years old and is in a bad state of repair. Back of it is a small temple with a large figure of Yamiintaka, conqueror of Yama, King of Death, one of the most venerated tutelary deities (Yidam) of the Yellow Church.

Below the yamen the valley narrows and forms a defile through which the Hli dji has cut its way. Here it is exceedingly beautiful. The walls of the limestone gorge are a pearl grey and rise vertically from the river-bed. Large old evergreen oaks line the banks, their crowns over-hanging the stream, a lovely picture of peace and solitude. Here we noticed a large family of Maccacus monkeys which made its way chattering over the cliffs, the mothers with babies on their backs. When they finally reached the top of the rocky walls, they swung on to the trees and disappeared over the mountains. Beyond this defile a valley opens from the west called Du-llo law-k’aw, a distance of seven li from Hli-da. The Du-llo dji has two sources, one south and the other north of Lä-dgyu-dzu in Mu-li territory. A bridge of wooden planks, hardly worthy of the name of bridge, spans it.

Beyond the bridge where the Hli dji makes a sharp bend, it is joined by the Du-llo dji; this region is called Dji-tsu-kwan. Once inhabited, the fields on the northern slopes of the river valley are now abandoned, and the village which stood here and which bore the name of Tse-bu is in ashes. It is impossible for any one to remain here owing to the savage Lo-lo robbers. Only
large and well armed parties may dare venture here, anything less would be robbed and murdered by these outlaws.

The trail leads past the incinerated village along pine and oak-covered hills, strewn with boulders of limestone. The valley becomes shallower and here and there a small lateral stream joins the waters of the Hli dji; the latter flows placidly, but winds considerably in the broadening valley where we encounter tilled ground. We follow up a side valley for a short stretch to the hamlet of Hliu-wa, and then emerge again into the main valley of the Hli dji, in which we continue down-stream past another hamlet called Da-wuá, elevation 9,350 feet. Beyond the hamlet is a marshy meadow in which grows a variety of *Acorus calamus*, perhaps var. *vulgaris*, the Chinese Ch’ang-p’u 薏蒲. The local people call it Chu-bbu and the Li-chiang Na-khi, Ch’um-bbbe. The peasants are forbidden to dig the rhyzomes of this plant, as the T’u-ssu had reserved himself the right to do so. The root is of medicinal value and sells in Ssu-ch’uan for two or three dollars silver a catty (Chinese pound). Beyond Da-wuá the Hli dji enters a terrific defile about one li long with vertical limestone walls. Continuing a short distance east beyond the gorge, it makes a sharp bend south, and enters Tso-so territory.

*Mu-li boundary.* — From Da-wuá a trail leads north up the side valley and climbs steeply the eastern valley slopes which are covered with forests of tall pines. Most of them have, however, been felled, as at Ghugh-t’o, by Lo-lo who inhabit these mountains. The Lo-lo, who live in huts made of pine boards tied together with ropes, had fled, as the Mu-li King, whose lama emissaries they had robbed while bent on a mission to Lhasa, was then on the war-path; he had sent his Tibetan cavalry to chastise them. There is one person the Lo-lo is in awe of, and that is a Tibetan of the uncontrolled territory of Gangkar-ling. The summit of the ridge, at an elevation of 10,900 feet, is the border between the Ch’ien-so T’u-ssu and Mu-li territory. In the distance, visible from the ridge, is a high mountain spur which forms the divide between Mu-li and the territory of the Hou-so 東所 T’u-ssu. The latter is also a member of the Na-khi — Hli-khin tribe, and rules over peasants of the same stock with a sprinkling of Lo-lo tribespeople.

Below the spur which forms the Ch’ien-so — Mu-li divide flows the Shu-lo-k’o; it sends its waters into the Hli dji, where it turns south into Tso-so country, beyond the defile of Da-wuá chu-bbu, as the place is called, west of the gorge. The Shu-lo-k’o is entirely inhabited by Hei Lo-lo 黑柸龍 (Black Lo-lo) under the control of the Mu-li lamas, who belong to the Hsi-fan tribe, but who call themselves Ch’ra-me, which the Chinese transcribe Chia-mi 甲迷.

6. FROM YUNG-NING TO RIN-JOM GOM-PA (WU-CHIO SSU LAMASERY)

The north-westernmost part of Ch’ien-so territory, where it adjoins Mu-li in the north and Yung-ning in the south, consists of the valleys of Wua-lu, Du-llo and part of Ha-la-mi, but the only village in this part of Ch’ien-so is the scattered hamlet of Du-llo. It was in ashes and the fields were abandoned. To reach the monastery of Wu-chio 烏角 or Rin-jom Gom-pa (Rin-
Dhor-ldan-pa),
dedicated to the goddess Palden Lhamo (dPal-lidan Lha-mo), is by way of the above-mentioned valleys. The boundary between Mu-li and Ch'ien-so is below Rin-jom Gom-pa in the valley of Ha-la-mi.

_Du-llo and its destruction by Lo-lo bandits._ — Opposite the hot springs, situated in the Erh dji valley, one half of which is in Yung-ning and the other in Ch'ien-so territory, a valley extending from north-east to south-west debouches into it. This valley is called Wu-a-lu. It is more of a ravine than a valley and leads to a pass among forested hills. It becomes very narrow in its upper half, where it is joined by another ravine with a rocky defile. The slopes are covered exclusively with the yellow Yun-nan pine. There is a maze of spurs over which the trail leads to a pass and down another small rocky ravine, which debouches into the broad valley of Du-llo. Here at the junction of the ravine and the Du-llo dji, on the northern bank of the latter, stood the hamlet of Du-llo; now only the charred mud walls of the few houses which composed the village remain.

On February 9th, 1929, the eve of Chinese New Year, when the poor Hli-khin peasants had decorated the gates of their homes, with pine trees, the savage Lo-lo came and robbed them, drove off their cattle, and set their houses on fire; worse still, their children were carried off into slavery. And this happened less than 10 miles from where Chinese New Year was celebrated in great style in Yung-ning. Passing by here on my way to Mu-li in March of the same year, a few of the peasants were sitting in the ruins of their former homes; silently they contemplated the ashes of what constituted their former belongings. Their overlord, the T'u-ssu of Ch'ien-so, an opium sot, who was at feud with his brother and who had invited the Lo-lo to settle in his territory (see p. 4104), had fled from the wrath of his brother, who had waylaid him with the intention of killing him. He was safely camping on the Li-t'ang River in Mu-li territory. His enemy brother had likewise fled and was living on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u in the Yung-ning Lake, also an addict to the opium pipe. No one cared for the poor peasants, who were thus delivered up into the hands of outlaws and robbers. I mention this to show what dreadful conditions prevail in this part of China, and how indifferent the officials are to the dire distress of the peasants and the lawlessness in the country.

This state of affairs is of course mainly due to lack of communications, the wildness of the country, and the long distance, comparatively speaking, from the governing center of these outposts of China. But if the truth must be told, it is also due to the indifference of the Chinese officials. It would be useless for the people to attempt to complain to the magistrate under whose jurisdiction they come, for between them and Yen-yuan, the seat of the magistrate, are independent Lo-lo who would rise en masse and inflict worse punishment. Only a large military force would be able to deal with them. Under present conditions, with the peasantry disorganized, their ruling

10 ज्ञातात्त्विकता 17 गृहज्ञान

18 In the summer of 1942 the entire bank of the Erh dji on the Ssu-ch'uan side was planted to opium, a sea of purple flowered poppies extended to the foot of the mountains.
chiefs at feud with each other, and themselves refugees, they cannot help but be prey to the rapacious, cruel Lo-lo.

_Ha-la-mi valley._—Crossing the Du-llo Stream the trail leads up another broad valley which debouches at Du-llo village into the Du-llo valley. This valley is called Ha-la-mi, the lower half of which belongs to Ch'ien-so territory.

At the corner of the junction of these valleys stood the ruins of other homes. The Lo-lo robbers had done a thorough job in looting the poor innocent and undefended peasants. No one cared about their trials and tribulations.

In the Ha-la-mi valley a trail leads to Wu-chio Monastery situated in the territory of the once powerful Lama King of Mu-li whom the Lo-lo greatly feared and respected. Ha-la-mi is a beautiful valley, forested with pines and oaks. Yet the fields along the crystal-clear stream have been abandoned by their owners on the Ch'ien-so side of the line for fear of being carried off into slavery by the Lo-lo, should they dare go out to till them. The elevation at the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li border is 9,700 feet.

Ere reaching Wu-chio Monastery, a valley debouches into Ha-la-mi from north-west. A bridge spans that stream.

_Wu-chio Lamasery._—Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺 is situated at an elevation of 10,100 feet on a terrace which juts out into the stream. North of Wu-chio although in a continuation of Ha-la-mi valley, the stream is called La-dze dji and has its source in the huge limestone mountain called Hla-dze or La-dze.10

The lamasery consists of one stone building containing the main shrine and chanting hall, while log cabins house the few lamas who attend to the worship of the most dreaded demon goddess of the Lama Church, Palden Lhamo. Wu-chio Ssu (Rin-jom Gom-pa) is well known in Tibet as it is said to have been one of the early dwelling-places of the goddess. It is a mysterious spot, the temple dark and gloomy like all Tibetan chanting halls. One corner of the building was partitioned off and this was the sanctuary of the fierce goddess whose image, represented by a fresco, adorned the wall. The painting was covered with silk scarfs which served as a curtain. Butter lamps which were burning in front of it, furnished the only light; all was still and hushed. In front of the old temple stood two immense juniper trees at least 500 years old. The lamas related that the goddess delights to live in trees. Facing the valley in which Wu-chio Ssu is situated are the mighty crags of La-dze or Hla-dze. In this mountain is a large cave known as La-dze ni-kung. Palden Lhamo is reputed to have lived there in the dim and hoary past. Water issues from this cave, which is said to be the source of the La-dze dji.

10 The Hsi-fan of Mu-li, who call themselves Ch'ra-me and whom the Na-khi call Boa, look upon Mt. Hla-dze as the cradle of their race. Like the people of Yung-ning do still, and the Li-chiang Na-khi did in former days, the Boa cremate their dead. They take the ashes and fragments of bones of their cremated relatives and deposit them on the limestone cliffs of Hla-dze, similarly to the chiefs of Yung-ning whose ashes are deposited at the foot of the cliffs, high up on Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain).
CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in winter-time it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south. A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

I. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts’o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P’i-chiang-ts’un (Tanners’ village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山麂 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis. They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

1 Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is Grus nigricollis (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, Ciconia nigra is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such Anas crecca, Anas platyrhyncha, and Anas nyroca are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gyi-dsu. Two species are found, Proctopus nigricollis with black necks, and the North China species Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are Mergus merganser orientalis (the Nda-lā-lā of the Na-khi), Casarca ferruginea, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), Niroca fuligula, Niroca niroca and others.

2 The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mā mbu-hār (Female serow with the blue mane).
Plate 209. — Mo-so — Ku-tsung Tribal Woman of Tsho-khâ-thang

The women of this region wear long pleated skirts like the Na-khi women of La-pao; they speak only Tibetan and do not understand Na-khi.
This type of bridge is common in the Tibetan part of the Yarlung drainage basin.

PLATE 210. - TIBETAN WOODEN BRIDGE OVER THE YON-DZE-KHA

(Submitted: Nat. Geol. Soc.)
The late Mu-li or Mi-li rGyal-po (King) in front of his throne clad in priestly robes. The banners on the wall represent from left to right: Thugs-rje-chhen-po-bchug-gchig-zhal — the eleven-headed Chenrezig; the Tibetan pantheon Lam-rim-tshogs-shing; Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow sect.
PLATE 212.—HERE AT JIH-YÜEH-HO KUBLAI KHAN CAMPED WITH HIS ARMY

永寛日月和元世祖驻蹕處

It was on this historic spot that Kublai Khan camped in December 1253, when he attacked Yün-nan. It is called La-pa-ddü by the people of Yung-ning. The author was always escorted by the rulers of Yung-ning as far as the Jih-yüeh-ho, when he took leave of them. From right to left, mounted: a servant; A Yün-shan, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan; a Tibetan incarnation; A Shao-fu the abbot of Yung-ning; J. F. Rock; Li Ssu-ch'en, a Na-khi assistant.
Plate 213.—A Yün-shan the Late Tsung-kuo of Yung-ning.

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

He was of Mongol ancestry, a descendant of one of Kublai Khan's officers left to rule Yung-ning in 1253. He holds in his arm his last-born son, declared a lama incarnation in 1931. See plate 254.
PLATE 214. — THE FAMILY OF THE YUNG-NING NATIVE PREFECT

The center figure in Chinese dress is the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui; on his left the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan; between the two in the rear the present T'u-ssu A Min-han. To the right of the late T'u-ssu, his wife, sister of A Yün-shan. To her right the abbot of Yung-ning Lamasery A Shao-fu, second son of the late T'u-ssu.
She is dressed in her best; wound around her head she wears strings of cornelian, amber and turquoise. Over her forehead is a strip of cloth studded with gold nuggets. Her earrings suspended from her hair are of solid gold as are the buckles of her silk jacket.
Height and rises 3,600 feet above the lake. At the foot of the upper limestone cliffs is a large cave.

The southern end of Szen-Fe-ga-mu is broad and massive hence the Chinese call it Lion-head. It is 13,100 feet in

Plate 216. — THE LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN OR SHIH-T'OU SHAN

(Courtesy Nat. Geol. Soc.)
The Zho Chhu or Shu Gyi of the Na-khi has its source at Na-pu and flowing parallel to the Li Chhu or Li-t'ang River, joins the main Wu-liang Ho some ten miles above its confluence with the Yangtze; see Plate 105. Photographed from an elevation of 12,000 feet, between the villages of Ga-ro and Dze-ru, Mu-li Territory.
PLATE 219.—SHIH-TZU-WAN OR LION’S COVE

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
PLATE 220. — THE YUNG-NING PLAIN WITH LION MOUNTAIN

The Plain is called Hli-dü and is the largest level piece of land in Yung-ning. Its elevation is 9,500 feet. Lion Mountain, the landmark of Yung-ning, is 13,100 feet in height.
Only members of the ruling family are allowed to wear long skirts. They adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments and wear a white goat skin jacket held in place by a large round, silver buckle.
PLATE 222. — YUNG-NING NDA-PA (SORCERERS) PERFORMING THE ZHI-WUA-GKĀ CEREMONY

All their rituals are performed out of doors, on a meadow; in this case on the Yung-ning plain, in front of the lamasery. The Zhi-wua-gkā (burning of the demons), like all other Nda-pa ceremonies, ends in drunkenness.
This structure is called Nya-ta and is erected once every three or four years by the ancient sect of sorcerers called Ha-pa who have survived in Yung-ning and in Mu-li. The Nya-ta is built of wood and is surrounded with a network of string known as Na-k'wai by the Na-khi Dto-mbas. It is erected in the first moon, first in a valley, and in the second moon is moved to a hillside where it is left until a new one is needed.
It is also called Ta-lan Ssu after the Tibetan name of the lamasery. The central building is the main temple or chanting hall; the square building to the left of it houses the giant statue of Maitreya, the Coming Buddha. The small buildings surrounding the temple are the homes of the lamas. They are however empty except on certain festive occasions.
ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-nga, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K’ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-chü. Behind the village of K’ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K’ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginkgo tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T’U-SSU YAMEN

West of K’ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-ddü of the Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji and Bu-lu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dzoan-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T’o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K’ai-chi where the stream is known as K’ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T’u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (Sopora japonica, the Na-khi Li-law ndzër) stand at the entrance which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. The present T’u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民漢 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1382). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T’u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui’s father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T’u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T’u-ssu of Yung-ning.

From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-‘a-bu.

*The words sā dji (Li-chiang Na-khi, sā gyi) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.
The ravine narrows, the trail crosses the stream twice, and finally emerges by a small lake and the hamlet of Chu-di, situated on the southern side on higher ground. As the land is marshy it is often difficult to cross. From Chu-di the trail ascends a scrub-covered spur overlooking the lake near, or to the south-west, of the hamlet of Hli-ki; from here it continues around the south-western side of the lake to Ta-lo-shui 大囲水.

3. P'i-k'u-wua Hill

The shortest way to the lake is across the Yung-ning plain through the hamlet of Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, along ditches to the banks of the Hli-dji which must be forded, thence to a hill called P'i-k'u-wua, six li from the lamasery in a south-easterly direction. On the top of this hill is a temple with a huge figure of Chenrezig 5 with the thousand arms and eyes (Kuan-yin 觀音 of the Chinese). East or to the rear of P'i-k'u-wua is the hamlet of Nda-po. Here a nice house with a spacious court denotes the family home and the birthplace of the late and lamented Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan of Yung-ning. Near Nda-po a stream is crossed which has its source in, or is the outlet of, the little lake or marsh on the banks of which Chu-di is situated.

The trail follows along the foot-hills, into the narrowing wedge of the plain between the south-eastern foot of Lion Mountain and the outer spurs which hem in the lake. At the village of Bo-dzu it climbs a ridge to a pass of 10,190 feet elevation, with a ravine to the right and the plain on the left. Descending again it leads past two ponds, the first a smaller one and the second a larger one. The remnants of these circular basins with standing water would appear to testify to a former succession of lakes similar to the present Yung-ning Lake. The Yung-ning plain itself probably was once a large lake in which P'i-k'u-wua hill formed an island similar to the islands in the present Lu-ku Lake.

The trail leads along the slopes of Lion Mountain and along the edge of the larger basin up the pine and oak-covered spur, thence down to another cultivated basin with standing water to the south-west. Crossing the basin, about three li in diameter, we reach the spur which separates us from the main lake (Plate 240). From the summit of the spur it is four li to the lake shore at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, where there are a few houses and cultivated fields and a good beach for landing boats. Both dug-out canoes made

4 On the top of P'i-k'u-wua the cremation ceremony for the dead, that is for deceased members of the Yung-ning ruling class only, takes place. The late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan 阿雲山, however, was cremated on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u.

5 This form of Chenrezig has 11 heads and is usually standing. In addition to the double pair of arms it has numerous others (said to be 1,000 in all) rotating from the body like a halo, each hand carrying weapons to defend its devotees. The 11 heads are arranged in a cone and are said to represent the unhappy state of Avalokita, whose head split into pieces with sorrow on contemplating the pitiable condition of depraved humanity. In each of his hands, in the center of the palm, he has an eye, hence his name: “He who looks down.” In this form he is known as Samanta-mukha in Sanskrit. The 11-headed form is known in Tibet as Chenrezig chu-chi-zhel (spyan-ras-gzigs bchu-gchig-zhal) 千手千眼大慈大悲觀音菩薩. In Chinese the thousand arms and thousand eyes Kuan-yin is known as 千手千眼大慈大悲觀音菩薩 (Bodhisattva Kuan-yin who has 1,000 arms and 1,000 eyes, great in mercy and great in compassion).
of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p’u are in use.

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu. Here another relation of the T’u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 総管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery 附近 near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture.

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year’s Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison “SSo sso sso sso la.” At the same time they throw handfuls of tsamba up to the shrine, this being the New Year’s offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call Bu-chër; the Chinese speak of it as P’i-p’a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (Plate 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as

* In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 賊破.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling 札布大院). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

† The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness 甘丹善巧勝輪院). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.
mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief’s family for lack of storage space. When wanted the Buchér is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndër, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or obo, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Chi'en-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-duy (Wu-chio 觀角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (Plate 242).
CHAPTER VI

Yung-ning Lake and Tso-so Territory

1. LU-KU HU (YUNG-NING LAKE)

The Yung-ning Lake (called Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 in Chinese and by the Li-chiang Na-khi La-t’a Khü) is known to the Yung-ning people as Lo-shu Khü. This magnificent sheet of water is divided almost in half by a long peninsula, broad where it projects from the land and narrowing to a sharp point; this peninsula is called T’u-bbu and extends from north-east to south-west into the lake. The Yün-nan—Ssu-ch’uan border passes through the lake, cutting off the south-western point of the peninsula. A ravine extending down the western face of the wooded spur is the border. By far the larger part of this beautiful lake is in Yün-nan as are also three of the five islands scattered over it. The smallest island is west of the Yün-nan border and is called Nyi-se. It is an oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and only a short distance from the northern shore between the villages of Hli-ki and Law-zhër, the Chinese Lo-shui 洛水 or Hsiao 小 (Small) Lo-shui.

Immediately beyond is the border of the Yung-ning—Mu-li—Tso-so territory. Here is a boundary stone, erected in the 17th year, second moon and 27th day of Chia-ch’ing of the Ch’ing dynasty (April 8th, 1812), which denotes the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning. On one side is inscribed the above date, and on the western face of the stone is inscribed 雲南永寧土司東北界至此 (Up to here is the Yün-nan Yung-ning T’u-ssu north-east border); on the eastern face is engraved 四川木裏土司西南界至此 (Up to here is the Ssu-ch’uan—Mu-li T’u-ssu south-west border).

Strange to say, the Mu-li King possesses a strip of land on the north shore of the lake, three li long; it consists of a spur and a bay, with a valley extending west-north-west, a continuation of the bay. The spur is bare, the soil red; it extends from a white limestone bluff on Lion mountain to the bank of the lake. In the lake, just beyond the little peninsula which forms the narrow bay belonging to Mu-li, is a triangular island called A-na-wa, once a part of the projecting spur which forms the bay. This island also belongs to the Mu-li lama King. The ridge is semicircular in outline and is part of a crater wall, the island of A-na-wa being a remnant of the other half of the crater.

Legendary origin. — At the foot of the ridge near the frontier is a huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin 仟乎-pa-k’o (Hole whence the lake came forth). It is believed that here the lake has its source. A legend connected

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1 This may be in imitation of Lo-shui, two villages by that name situated near the lake shore. The two villages in question are called Law-zhër in Na-khi and Lü-khi.

2 Part of the northern, and all of the western and southern shore of the lake is in Yung-ning, Yün-nan territory, while the eastern end and a short stretch of the northern shore, where it joins the eastern, is in Ssu-ch’uan. The peninsula of T’u-bbu, with the exception of the south-west end, is also in Ssu-ch’uan.
with this bluff relates that in ancient days before the existence of the lake there lived in a rock cave (now under the water at this bluff) a huge fish. The people tried to pull this giant out of the cave, but could not move it. They then employed nine yaks, tugging a rope tied to the fish’s tail. When they had pulled the fish out, a tremendous volume of water poured forth, forming the present lake. The area now occupied by the lake is said to have been a large plain on which many yaks grazed.

Another story relates how a deaf and dumb yak herder saw under the rock at the foot of the bluff, a water-hole which was plugged up with a huge fish. Daily he cut off a piece of this fish for food. One day the other yak herdners found out whence he secured his fish. Thereupon they used yaks, and in the above described manner pulled out the fish.

**Yung-pei t’ing Records.** — The Yung-pei t’ing Records state that where now the lake is there was once upon a time a hsien called Lu-ku hsien. In ch. 2, fol. 4b, it relates that: “The Yuan-shih ti-li chih (Geographical Records of the Mongol History) states that Lu-ku hsien, (magistracy of Lu-ku) was subject to Li chou (of Chien-ch’ang) (Circuit of Chien-ch’ang, [the present Hsi-ch’ang or Ning-yüan fu (prefecture in Ssu-ch’uan])]. The Lo-lo-man (Lo-lo savages) dwelled there. On the arrival of the Meng family (649) they found that of all the feudatory tribes the Lo-lo had been the first settlers, and so the Wu-man chief was placed in charge of Pei-ch’eng; [the Lo-lo belong to the Wu-man or Black barbarians]. They gradually became flourishing and numerous and thus they called themselves the Lo-lan pu (Lo-lan tribe); they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.

“P’u-te 蒲德, who was their descendant, sent his nephew Chien-tai to make his submission. Later he turned against his uncle and killed him. He himself then said: ‘I am a great chief,’ and the entire tribe joined him. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) he was pacified [suppressed].

“A Ch’ien-hu 千戶 [official ruling over 1,000 families] was then established. In the 13th year (1276) he was promoted to a Wan-hu [official ruling over 10,000 families]. In the 19th year (1282) the office was changed into a magistracy (hsien), but it is not known when it became part of the chiin (of Yung-pei). Now the Lu-ku Lake is said to have been their land, that is, where the lake is now was their land.”

*The Chia-ch’ing I-t’ung-chih, ch. 401, fol. 4b, states Tz’u-ch’eng instead of Pei-ch’eng. By the former the town or ch’eng of Lu-ku is meant and by the latter the city of Yung-pei or Pei-sheng; which is correct is difficult to say, but it seems probable that Lu-ku hsien is meant. The Lo-lo settled there and called themselves the Lo-lan pu 落蘭部 or Lo-lan tribe; they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.*

*It is quite possible that in ancient days the lake and the surrounding territory belonged to Lu-ku hsien; Lu-ku hsien was established by the Mongols in 1278, and the name Lu-ku has survived in the name of the Yung-ning Lake to the present day. We find the name Lu-ku Shui in the Mongol History but whether it was a river or lake is not mentioned; it is possible that Lu-ku Shui was the ancient name of the Ya-lung which is known as the Lu Shui. Furthermore the Mongol History states that Li chou which governed Lu-ku hsien was east of the Lu-ku Shui, which would then be correct. There is, however, a gross error in the map of the Ning-yüan (Hsi-ch’ang hsien) district in the Ssu-ch’uan T’ung-chih (Topographical Records of Ssu-ch’uan). There the Ya-lung River is called the
The Yung-pei Records further state in ch. 1, fol. 30b, that the lake is also called Lu-k'u Hai 魯寇海 [the word k'u means a cave or a hole in the ground]; and that it possesses three islands. [In reality it has five, three in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan.]

The Tien-hsi 滇綫, Vol. 7, fol. 5a, says that the western part of the lake, ruled by Yung-ning, is called Lu-k'u Hai, in the center is a small mountain called Shui-chai 水寨, on this island the T'u-ssu 建筑 built a stronghold. Its outlet is at Hai-men-ch'iao 濤門橋 (Lake gate bridge), the water flowing into the Ta-ch'ung Ho in Ssu-ch'uan, [that is in the Tso-so country]. The circumference of the lake is 100 li [not following the shores of the long peninsula called T'u-bbu].

Description of the lake. — The Yung-ning Lake is without exception the finest sheet of water in the whole of Yün-nan; a more beautiful setting it is difficult to imagine. Its water is as clear as crystal, of a deep blue, which shades into purple at the foot of the wooded hills. It is surrounded by forested mountains whose sides are furrowed by deep ravines and whose little streams find their way into the lake. The quiet and peace which reigns here is indeed wonderful; the islets float like ships on a placid sea; all is serene, indeed a fitting place for gods to dwell (PLATE 243). It was my good fortune to visit this lake at many different times from 1924 to 1942 and to spend happy weeks on the lovely island of Nyo-ro-p'u, the only one of the islands belonging to Yün-nan which is inhabited. The lake is uniformly deep and flat-bottomed, the average depth being 220 English feet. Its elevation is 9,600 feet above sea level and 100 feet higher than the Yung-ning plain.

Hospitality of Yung-ning chiefs. — The hospitality of the Yung-ning chiefs, especially of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain) was unsurpassed. Friendliness personified, A Yün-shan made one really feel welcome. Yet peaceful as the lake and the surrounding country appear, its inhabitants have experienced bitter and stormy days and undoubtedly will continue to experience them.5

Ta-ch'ung Ho to where it debouches into the Yangtze. The Ta-ch'ung Ho, as explained by me elsewhere, is an affluent of the Li-t'ang River, and the latter a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang 雅隆江. On another map the upper part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho is called the Ya-lung Chiang. The real Ta-ch'ung Ho (called Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country) is thus marked on the map mentioned as Wo-lo Ho 武落河.

In the text, ch. 15, fol. 29a, of the same work, it states that the Jo Shui 若水 is identical with the Lu Shui and that another name for both is Ta-ch'ung Ho; from this it can be seen that the Ya-lung is also called Lu Shui.

On page 34b, the Yangtze is, however, also called the Jo Shui, and is made to flow into the Lu Shui or Ya-lung, which is also given as Jo Shui.

Thus it is impossible to take any given location of a place seriously, especially when stated east or west of such and such a river, for it is next to impossible to decide which river is meant.

We find mention made of a Lu-ku Ho which is probably identical with the Lu-ku Shui; this Lu-ku Ho is made to flow into the Yangtze. It does, however, state that the Lu-ku Ho flows south-east of Mien-ning 安寧 into the territory of Hui-li 福理, and this makes it the An-ning Ho 安寧河 which flows, however, into the Ya-lung (Chin Chiang 金江) and not into the Yangtze.

5 Since this was written the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-ling) Tibetan outlaws have again
To the north-west of Yung-ning dwell the outlaw Tibetans of the Kung-kaling and Hsiang-ch'eng countries, who are ever bent on robbing; to the east and south are the insurgent savage Lo-lo whom it is impossible for the Chinese, or the degenerate smaller T'u-ssu on the Ssu-ch'uan side of the lake and Yung-ning, to control. In addition to the raids perpetrated by these wild tribes, an occasional military rebel, like the former chairman of the Yün-nan Provincial Government Hu Jo-yü, who having been turned out, attempted to regain control of the province, settles with his hordes like locusts on this beautiful, but otherwise poor region. He and his hungry soldiers impoverished the peasants and forced their headmen or chiefs, on pain of death, to contribute not only food but money for their support.

The good old Tsung-kuan was always busy, he detested any one who smoked opium and had no good word for such. His righteous anger was aroused when an official order came from the Yun-nan Government in 1931 forcing his people to grow opium. He was a wise man and his counsel was always in demand. The neighboring chiefs in Ssu-ch'uan, and the Lang-ch'ü chief to the south-east of his territory, always asked his assistance when in trouble, for he was greatly respected on account of his sense of justice, and unimpeachable character. It was a great loss not only to Yung-ning and Yun-nan, but to all the poor and troubled chiefs, his neighbors, whose burden he helped carry, when he passed away on the 28th day of the second (intercalary) fifth moon of the 22nd year of the Republic (July 20th, 1933).

Lion Mountain. — One of the most conspicuous landmarks which confront the lake on the north, is the southern face of Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain; Seng-ge ga-mu). The latter is a Tibetan word Seng-ge dKarmo (White Lioness), Seng-ge meaning lion, dkar white, and mo female. It is the Chinese Kan-mu Shan. In Na-khi it is called Gko-mun Ngyu (Hawk Mountain). This mountain is mirrored in the lake, its broad face representing the lion's head (Plate 244), while its body extends to the north, the long western slopes of it forming the eastern boundary of the Yung-ning plain. No hunting is permitted, and here roam many bears who live on the oaks, and often come to the fields of the villages and eat their broad beans and peas. Deer, stags, blue sheep, serow, and goral roam over its rocky slopes and cliffs. The goddess Kar-mo is pictured riding a hind (Plate 245). Two shrines have been erected to her in Yung-ning, one on the western slopes of the mountain which bears her name, and one on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (Plate 246).

invaded Yung-ning territory, burnt its peaceful homes, driven off 1,600 head of livestock, and killed a number of peasants. This state of affairs is only attributable to the shortsightedness of certain Chinese militarists who, personally kill or order the killing of inoffensive native rulers who alone are able to control these wild border tribes. The murder of the Mu-li King is a case in point, and is directly responsible for the invasion of Yung-ning by the Gangkar-ling outlaws. It is true that some of the T'u-ssu are not fit to rule, but this degeneration has been brought about by the opium habit and the latter again by the forced growing of opium by the Chinese authorities for the sake of revenue. Tribespeople usually do not smoke opium and would never grow it were they not at times forced to and heavily fined should they refuse to grow it, plus being taxed for what they could grow. Happily those days are past.
The first village one strikes on the lake-shore coming from Yung-ning is Hli-ki, situated on the small peninsula which extends here into the lake from Seng-ge ga-mu or Lion Mountain. There is very little flat lake-shore indeed, especially on the western end where the mountains fall steeply into the water. One trail leads over the mountains, while a lower one leads along the lake-shore but is forced to climb the slopes, as the waters of the lake wash the foot of the hills forested with pines and oaks.

2. THE MU-LI KING’S TERRITORY ON THE LAKE

From Hli-ki bay the trail climbs the spur on which the village of Hli-ki is situated, then skirts another bay with a valley and cultivated fields, and climbs to the top of the next spur. A valley extends from Seng-ge ga-mu to the lake, while a long, wooded peninsula stretches south into the lake. From the long peninsula [not T’u-bbu] at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu the trail descends to broad fields and the shores of a lovely bay. In the distance in Ssu-ch’uan there loomed up a high, rocky peak called Ssu-p’u-wua in the territory of a T’u-ssu, the land being called Nyi-bu-chu, east of the Tso-so territory and still inhabited by Hli-khin. The trail continues to another spur above Hsiao-lo-shui (called Law-zhêr in Na-khi or Hli-khin) and descends to the above village, the distance from Hli-ki to Hsiao-lo-shui being about nine li. A short distance beyond the bay in which Hsiao-lo-shui is situated is the Yün-nan — Yung-ning — Ssu-ch’uan, — Mu-li boundary stone. Hsiao-lo-shui is the last and easternmost hamlet in Yung-ning.

From the boundary stone a narrow strip of land three li long extends along the lake-shore, and belongs to the Mu-li T’u-ssu (Mu-li lama King) of south-west Hsi-k’ang, formerly ruled by Ssu-ch’uan, if the little strip of land on the lake shore comes now under Hsi-k’ang or is still part of Ssu-ch’uan is not known; the high mountains to the back of it are in Ch’ien-so T’u-ssu territory, in Ssu-ch’uan. On the dark mountain slopes, on a steep spur, a white rock is noticeable; Mu-li territory extends from this white rock above the boundary stone to the lake. At the foot of the ridge near the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch’uan boundary is the huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Khü-pa-k’o (Hole whence the lake issues). It is believed that the lake had its source beneath this rock.

What is now Mu-li territory on the northern lake-shore belonged in the days of the Na-khi chiefs, to the Li-chiang district; it was first inhabited or settled by soldiers who were sent there by them to keep guard. The present inhabitants are the descendants of these soldiers. After the Na-khi lost their independence, the soldiers took to banditry and never returned to Li-chiang. The name of the place where these people settled is now called Dta-dzu or Ta-dzui in Na-khi, (Tao-tse 盜賊), the meaning being Great robbers or Highway robbers; in this case the Chinese name has been phonetically rendered into Na-khi, but it does not have the Chinese meaning, and cannot be translated. These soldier-highwaymen were first stationed at Pai-chio-pa 白角壇 as soldiers under the Mu T’u-ssu 木土司; but when the Mu family ceased to rule as chiefs of Li-chiang (1723), the soldiers, instead of returning to their homes, looked for a place to settle. They then went to the Yung-
ning lake-shore on the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu. Na-khi will always dwell where there is plenty of oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), the leaves of which they use as litter for their pigs; the decayed leaves with the pig manure are afterwards put into the fields as fertilizer. There were few oaks at Pai-chio-pa, so they went in search of a place where there were plenty, and seeing an abundance on Seng-ge ga-mu they settled on its southern slopes and became an independent robber band. Later, fearing they would get into trouble, they requested Mu-li to annex them, and so became subjects of the Mu-li King. Thus the village, which to this day retains the name of Ta-dzu (Taotse 盗賊 or Ta-tse 太賊, both meaning Highway robbers) in reference to the unsavory occupation followed by the ancestors of the present inhabitants, became Mu-li territory. There are two villages on the strip of land along the lake belonging to Mu-li, both of which are known as Dta-dzu, Ta-dzu or Ta-tse, as explained above. One village is situated on the shore and the other up in the valley back of the spur which juts out into the lake forming a bay. Red soil covers the spur, on whose top is a small lama temple. Beyond the spur, and once part of it, is the island of A-na-wa also belonging to the Mu-li King. There is no house or temple on the islet, save a little hut on the north-east slopes where a Mu-li lama goes to meditate. The Mu-li King himself had never seen this part of his territory on the lake. The bay in which the island is situated only a short distance from shore is no longer Mu-li but Tso-so territory (Plate 255).

3. — Tso-so Territory in South-West Ssu-ch’uan

In Na-khi Tso-so land is called La-t’a. Beyond Ta-dzuui we cross three small streams at the foot of Tso-so Shan and come to the broad shore and valley at the base of the T’u-bbu peninsula. This is the main approach to the Tso-so T’u-ssu’s territory. From this shore it is ten li inland to the official residence of the Tso-so T’u-ssu, whose family name is La 啜. The residence is a poor affair surrounded by a large grove of trees. A short time previous to my visit it was partly burned by the Gangkar-ling bandits, especially the Tibetan Tong-chhen (sTong-chhen) a ferocious bunch of outlaws. Back of the residence is the village of To-shi (Ta-ch’ung 大沖), with 40 families.

*The Wo-lo or Ta-ch’ung Ho.* — Tso-so is drained by the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch’ung Ho 打冲河), the various branches of which have a number of Hli-khin as well as Chinese names. For example, the Yung-ning branch of it has its source on the eastern slopes of Dzo-an-p’u Mountain which is the southern end of the Wua-ha Mountain (Yao Shan). It becomes the Hli gyi, or Hli dyi, where it traverses the Yung-ning plain [called in Chinese the K’ai-ch’i Ho 開差 after a village by that name]. After having traversed the Hli-dü plain it enters Ch’ien-so territory as the Lo-chi Ho 勒汲河 until it reaches Da-wuia the last hamlet in that district. There it receives a tributary from Mu-li in the north called the Shu-lo-k’o. From Da-wuia it flows south and joins the main branch of the Ta-ch’ung Ho coming from south of Lang-chü

*It is also written 大租 on the Yungpei Records sketch map.

7 *See note 9, page 241.*
chou, with its source on the northern or north-eastern slopes of the Mien-
mien Mountain. This part of the river is called the Lo-i Chiang 羅易江. From the eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Shan further north it receives a small affluent called the Mi Ho 米河 (Rice river); another branch in the east is known to the Chinese as the Yen-ching Ho 順井河. These two main branches flow united as the Ta-ch'ung Ho into the Li-t'ang River, and not into the Ya-lung Chiang, as the Chinese Yün-nan military map, as well as the older Chinese maps, would make us believe. These maps ignore the existence of the Li-t'ang River and draw the Ya-lung in its stead. Furthermore Ch'ien-so territory is marked much too far north and west, instead of north-east of Yung-ning. It would be of little benefit and would only create confusion were I to quote the Yung-pei Records regarding the sources, etc., of the Ta-ch'ung Ho.

A valley extends from the T'u-bbu peninsula, to the mainland, carrying a stream through Tso-so territory east into the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung River). Another branch it receives in the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake (Lu-ku Hu), the outlet being called the Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge), for a bridge spans the stream at the effluence of the lake. Thus the lake drains into the Ta-ch'ung Ho, the latter into the Li-t'ang, and the Li-t'ang into the Ya-lung, which debouches into the Yangtze somewhat north-west of K'un-ming.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu family.—My first visit to Tso-so land was in the company of the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan. He had been asked to act as intermediary between the Tso-so T'u-ssu and the King of Mu-li, who was on the point of invading the former's territory with his Tibetan cavalry from Ga-ro, an unsavory lot with a notorious reputation. Tso-so country to-day is a law-
less tract of land. The T'u-ssu family have lost all the respect of their peasants and are unable to control their territory, living themselves in con-
stant fear of being kidnapped by the Lo-lo who form a major portion of their so-called subjects. The T'u-ssu, a young man of 26, admitted to me that he is unable to exert any authority east of the Wo-lo Ho. The Lo-lo repeatedly invaded and plundered his territory from the north and east — recently very nearly succeeding in carrying off the chief himself into slavery — while the Gangkar-ling bandits harass it from the north-west.

The older members of the chief's family, such as La Tsung-kuan 喇總管 and the old abbot of their lamasery which represents the Bön sect, were all addicted to opium; the former had died since my first visit in 1928, so there is now no one to take the responsibility of government and the poor peasants suffer without redress. The new and young abbot is a brother of the present T'u-ssu (PLATE 247). Matters had come to such a pass that the peasants were on the point of informing their chief that they did not want him any more. Whenever the approach of bandits is reported, the La family flees post-haste to the island of Bu-wua situated in the south-western part of the lake leaving the peasants to their fate. Their livestock is driven off, their houses burnt, and all that is left to them are ruins; into the fields of standing wheat which the bandits cannot carry off, they turn their horses loose and leave the stubble. Last, but not least, their children are carried off to be sold into slavery.
Such is the lot of the poor peasants of the Tso-so territory and the same holds good for the Ch’ien-so country. I have met peasants from the latter who had lost everything and were migrating with a chair or a cupboard on their back, climbing the 13,000 feet high mountain of Ki-bo which separates Mu-li from Ch’ien-so territory, to beg the Mu-li King for a little land where they could settle and start life anew. No one of the ruling class of Ssu-ch’uan, an immense province without communication with this south-westernmost corner, cares for the peasants of these T’u-ssu, of whom there are five, called the Wu-so. The Yung-ning Tsung-kuan took pity on them and acted as intermediary between them and the Lo-lo, for the latter respected him and listened to his advice. Although powerless against the Tibetans, yet with the goodwill of the King of Mu-li he could at times avert pending troubles. Now, since the decease of that most active personality, who was like a father with a big heart for any one in trouble, the country has fallen on evil days. It is the beginning of the end of the native chiefs.

The Tso-so T’u-ssu is said to rule (?) over 1,000 families. However, he himself stated to me that he can, or supposedly can, control only his Na-khi subjects, who dwell west of the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch’ung Ho. Although his territory extends east of the Wo-lo Ho, he cannot even venture there, as it is inhabited by Lo-lo tribal clans in whose fear and dread he and his subjects constantly live. Since my first visit, their residence, at best a small affair, was being rebuilt, mostly of mud bricks and wood. The old decayed and half burnt yamen still stood in a long court full of weeds. The old Bön Temple in the rear had been spared by the Tibetan bandits, and there still sat enthroned as of old the founder of the Bön sect Tön-pa Shenrab (sTon-pa gShen-rabs-mi-po), with Yidam (tutelary deities of the Bön church) to both sides of him.

Only in the women members of the chief’s family of Tso-so land is refinement to be seen, the men being degenerate and addicted to opium (Plate 248).

**T’u-bbu peninsula.** — The long spur which juts out into the lake and forms the T’u-bbu peninsula ends abruptly to the rear of the present Tso-so yamen. It does not join the mountain range to the north, but leaves a broad, flat stretch of land between; the main road to Yen-yüan or Yen-ching, to which the Tso-so or La-t’a T’u-ssu is subordinate, leads over this little plain. The mountain god of the Tso-so people is called Yon-tra T’u-bbu, and is represented by the T’u-bbu peninsula. He is pictured riding a white horse, and is accompanied by a white dog and a white rooster. In the left hand he carries a flag like the Tibetan god of wealth, and in his right a Bum-pa (Amṛta vase). His face is white. Facing the god is his wife, a kLu-mo (female water spirit), rising from a spring. In winter the temperature in Tso-so land is considerably colder than that on the islands in the lake where the deciduous trees lose their leaves much later than on the mainland. The elevation at the Tso-so yamen is 9,700 feet and is ten li distant from the lake-shore. The trail leads from the Tso-so chief’s house and village of Toshi, up the valley, leaving to the west the last hill which is still a part of the T’u-bbu peninsula. At the end of the T’u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-
eastern base, is a square lama temple, commonly called Anu Gom-pa, belonging to the Bön or Black lama sect. It is a poorly constructed building containing only one large room, and is surrounded on three sides by low mud huts roofed with boards, weighted down with stones. These are the living quarters of the lamas when attending festivals, as on the annual Tor-gya-la (時節供養) when the gtor-ma of the Bön deity Ta-lha (Ter-ma) suppresses and banishes all evil, sickness, etc. (Plate 249). The gtor-ma is burned at the end of the ceremony. Their large Bön temple is called Phun-tshogs-bden-rgyas-gling,8 pronounced Phun-tshog-den-gye-ling a smaller Bön temple in the vicinity being called Sun-te-nyi. The Tso-so, as well as the natives of the other four So, call themselves (Na-z(u); this is equivalent to the Na-khi Na-zo which means a male Na-khi.

Five li from the temple the trail brings us to a small hamlet with another, but much smaller, Bön temple or chapel. The hamlet is called Bo-shaw. Between the latter and the main temple is another little village called Gudu-lo. East of Bo-shaw a distance of five li up the valley is the hamlet of Wu-du-lo. From Bo-shaw it is only a short distance to the tiny hamlet of Hlu-wa on the shore of the lake, at the southern end of the broad base of T‘u-bbu.

Outlet of the lake at Hai-men-ch‘iao. — A few li beyond Hlu-wa is the outlet of the lake. A long valley extends east-north-east into which Lu-ku Lake empties; the valley is very broad and is a vast swamp extending from hill to hill. The outlet is a sluggish stream, spanned by a wooden bridge, with hardly any noticeable current; it converts the valley into a great marsh; outlet, stream and valley collectively are known as Hai-men-ch‘iao (Lake gate bridge).

This stream unites with the one flowing from the center of the T‘u-bbu peninsula and together they flow into the Ta-ch‘ung Ho at an elevation of 8,700 feet, not far from the hamlet of San-chia-ts‘un 三家村. East of the actual bridge Hai-men-ch‘iao is a long sandy stretch with a little hamlet on the southern end which is in Yün-nan. Between this little hamlet and a stream called the Chi-p‘u Ho is the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch‘uan border. On this stream is situated the hamlet of Chi-p‘u in Tso-so land.

Shan-kwua on the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch‘uan border. — Beyond the little hamlet on the southern end of the broad sandy stretch in Yün-nan, a small stream called the Shan-kwua flows into the lake. About six li before reaching the lake a bridge crosses it and here are two hamlets, both of which are known as Shan-kwua (She-k‘ua 舍路); they are in Yün-nan and form the border between Yung-ning and Tso-so land in Ssu-ch‘uan. This is a distance of 60 li from Yung-ning. The Shan-kwua Stream has its source south-west in the mountains which here encircle the lake, while broad valleys debouch to the lake-shore from the east in Tso-so land.

8 नावें ऐसा नामची
4. TA-LO-SHUI 大 suç水

West of Shan-kwua, near a small stream, are three hamlets collectively called Lan-fan. Two streams debouch here into the lake. The westernmost Lan-fan is situated between the two streams, of which the western one debouches from a deep valley extending north-east, past a deep bay. The trail climbs a bluff overlooking the lake and here one obtains a beautiful view over the south-eastern end of this lovely sheet of water (Plate 250). Continuing west along its shores we come to another stream which flows through a deep, winding ravine which we cross; here at its mouth is the hamlet of Dyi-p’u, whence a trail leads over the mountains to Pai-chio. The lakeshore extends north-north-west, the mountains sloping closely down to the water. By far the broadest expanse of level ground along the shore is some five li beyond Dyi-p’u, where two streams debouch into the lake. Here is also the largest village. It is inhabited, like the rest, purely by Hli-khin or Yung-ning Mo-so peasants, and is called by them Lo-shu [Ta-lo-shui, Large Lo-shui; in contradistinction to Hsiao-lo-shui (Small Lo-shui) called Law-zhër, situated on the northern shore]. From here one can reach Bo-wu-tsu valley to the south-west by following the valley edge by Ta-lo-shui and climbing zigzag to the top of the encircling mountains, here covered with spruce and fir forest. A magnificent view over nearly the entire lake is to be had from half way up the mountain on the trail to Bo-wu-tsu. From the summit ridge the trail descends to an alpine meadow which is the head of a valley called Nya-mu-lo and which debouches into Bo-wu-tsu below the hamlet of Law-k’a.

From Ta-lo-shui, where the Yung-ning chiefs have a commodius house with a Lama Buddhist chapel, the trail follows along the lakeshore crossing three small streams. The mountains slope rather steeply to the water, with the exception of a peninsula which is the nearest point of land to Nyo-ro-p’u, the most important island in the lake. There are no more villages between Ta-lo-shui and the pass over which the trail leads to Yung-ning and the lamasery 23 li distant.

In 1940 a battle was fought here between the lamas of Yung-ning and Lo-los brought in by the son of the late Tsung-kuan to suppress the authority of the abbot A Shao-fu 阿少符. A feud has thus developed in the Yung-ning A family to the detriment of the country.

5. ISLANDS IN THE LU-KU HU

There are altogether five islets in the Yung-ning Lake, of which three are in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch’uan. Yün-nan possesses the two largest, while the third largest belongs to the Tso-so T’u-ssu and is in Ssu-ch’uan. The smallest is a mere oblong rock near the northern shore below Seng-ge-mu (Lion Mountain). The most interesting historically are Hle-wu-be and Nyo-ro-p’u which belong to the Yung-ning chief. Both these islands are fairly large comparatively speaking, and were inhabited as far back as the Ming dynasty when the Li-chiang chiefs, especially Mu Sheng-pai, or Mu Tseng (1587–1646), had control over this territory.

The names of the islands in Yün-nan are: Nyo-ro-p’u, situated in the cen-
ter of the north-western half of the lake and exactly ten li from Hli-ki; Hlew-u-be, off the south-western point of T'u-bbu peninsula and separated from the latter by a channel breast-deep; and the third Nyi-se, a mere oblong rock, probably once fallen from the heights above or part of the rocky shore of the lake. It is covered with scrub vegetation. Of the two Ssu-ch'uan islets one is called Bu-wua and belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu; it is in the south-eastern half of the lake close to the slopes of the T'u-bbu peninsula. The second is called A-na-wa and belongs to the Mu-li lama King (Plate 255). It is a small islet situated south-east of the spur of Ta-dzui which forms the bay in the Mu-li part of the lake-shore.

Nyo-ro-p'u. — (Plates 251, 252). Nyo-ro-p'u, which the Hli-khin people call Khyo-ô-on and the Na-khi Khü-wua-gku, is the most important strategically, as it is out of the range of rifle bullets, being located in the center of the lake. It is 100 feet in height and is surrounded by a wall with watch-towers and loop-holes, to ward off attacks by possible bandits. Furthermore, to prevent landing anywhere on the island, large pine trees have been sunk around the island, the base of the trees resting on the shore the branches sticking out of the water (Plate 252). It is impracticable for any row-boat to approach the island save on the west side, where there is a regular landing place, a channel between sunken pine trees. There are also only two gates in the wall, one at the landing on the west shore, and one opposite on the east shore. The highest point, 100 feet above the lake, is at the southern end. The western side is nearly a straight line, and is 813 feet long; the eastern side is convex and measures 1,083 feet; the north point of the island is 66 feet across and the south point 40 feet, giving the island a total circumference of 2,002 feet. The northern crest is long and narrow with a small path leading to a lovely little tea or rest-house. The island has only been recently again inhabited (since 1920) when the late Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan, brother-in-law of the chief, built a residence first on the northern slope, and then a larger and massive house on the highest point after leveling off the top of the island. Here at least his family could be safe from the attacks of the Gangkar-ling bandits, who more than once came to Yung-ning to loot and burn. No rifle shot can reach the island and as there are no other boats available except those owned by him, it is impossible for any one to approach it; furthermore the Tibetans, having a holy fear of water, would never venture on the lake. From behind the loop-holes in the solid wall, any enemy could be held at bay. The island serves also as a treasure-house for all valuables, such as silver ceremonial utensils, butter lamps, etc., used in the lama ceremonies. All the valuable brocade dresses with gold and silver spangles, valuable Tibetan paintings, heirlooms, etc., not only of the Yung-ning chief, but also the treasures belonging to the Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü) chief to the south of Yung-ning, are kept in safety on the island. I was often told that it held over 100 horseloads of treasure.

On this island were born the last three children of the Tsung-kuan's last marriage (Plates 253, 254); the youngest son, born in 1927, was, during my visit to Yung-ning in 1931–1932, declared by Lhasa to be the third incarnation of a Huo-fu (Living Buddha) of Dre-pung Lamasery, situated
some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdag-phug⁹ (pronounced Khentriül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned. The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yünnan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. See: J. F. Rock, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the National Geographic Magazine Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he
PLATE 225.—THE YUNG-NING LAMA CHANTING HALL

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
They represent from left to right: 1, the Tibetan stag or Sha-wa, the messenger of the god of the dead; 2 and 3, the central and northern gShin-rje sngon-po=the blue Lords of the dead; 4 and 5, Shwa-nag=Black hat dancers (sorcerers); 6, Dam-chan-gshin-rje chhos-kyi-rgyal-po=Vama the Lord (judge) of the dead; 7, the latter's wife Chi-mun-tra; 8, mGon-po bram-ze=Brāhma nātha; 9, kShe-tra-pā-la=the oracle of Serra monastery; 10, Ma-hā-kā-la or mGon-po phyag-drug-pa; 11, Seng-ge gdong-chan=the lion-faced companion of Lha-mo the She-devil.
A motley crowd gathers in the court of the Yung-ning Lamasery at every festival; the long skirted women belong to the Hli-khin tribe.
This giant image was erected by the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. It is of gilt clay and its interior is filled with the Kang-gyur (bKah-hgyur) and Tang-gyur (bsTang-hgyur), the Tibetan Classics; in all some 317 Volumes. Note the tall lamas to both sides of the image.
PLATE 229.—NA-KHI DTO-MBAS PERFORMING THE HĀR-LA-LLŪ CEREMONY

The ceremony, lasting from three to five days, is to propitiate the spirits of suicides causing harm to the family to
Plate 230.—Yo-wa-bu Pass over the Ta-yao Shan

The author’s entourage on Yo-wa-bu Pass in front of the Li-su guard station. It is the most important pass over Ta-yao Shan, on the caravan route to Yung-ning from Feng-k’o, on the Yangtze.
On the summit pass in lovely fir and spruce forest Li-su guards are on the lookout for bandits. They run to Yung-ning to notify the chief should robbers make their appearance. Lo-lo have now settled immediately east of Yo-wa-bu, and thus the pass is practically in the hands of robbers.
The Yangtze forms here the border between Yung-ning and the Li-chiang district. The mountain visible through the clouds is Hua-ti-yi ny-lv; the terraced fields (lower left) belong to the village of Law-k‘a-khi-llü (Pu-chio). Feng-k‘o is west of the river about center of picture.
PLATE 233. — YUNG-NING PIEN-NIU OR HALF-BREED YAK

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
PLATE 234. - THE LI-SU HAMLET OF BA-SSU-KO

永寧屬栗栗村子

Ba-ssu-ko is situated on a terrace in the Tsui-yi valley at an elevation of 7,050 feet. It is the only Li-su village in this area. Note the pumpkins on the roofs of the houses.
PLATE 235. — LI-SU LOG CABINS OF THE BA-SSU-KO VILLAGE
Nearly all are cretins and afflicted with goitre. Their constant intermarriage has caused them to degenerate. They live a miserable existence, isolated from the rest of the world.
PLATE 237. View over Yung-ning and Lion Mountain from East of To-ka-bo Pass

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
It took the expedition two days to ferry its entourage and belongings from Yung-ning to the Li-chiang side of the river. More than twenty Zhër-khin swimmers were engaged for the purpose.
The Na-khi of O-yü are the descendants of professional soldiers who guarded the region, which from 1406 to 1729 was ruled by Na-khi chiefs. They were said to have been placed there by Mu Sheng-pai. Many are now soldiers in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's tribal guard. He wears a panda skin as headdress.
The trail in the foreground leads to the village of Hli-ki near the foot of Lion Mountain. The Yün-nan—Ssu-ch’uan border is beyond (east) the long, wooded peninsula. The trees covering the lake-encircling hills are mainly pines and oaks. Tso-so T’u-ssu territory in the background.
chose to spend the last years of his life. After the Japanese had taken T'eng-ch'ung in south-west Yün-nan it was rumoured in the summer of 1942, that they were on their way to Ta-li. In order to avoid falling into their hands I left Li-chiang intending to make my way north through Mu-li to K'ang-ting. I stopped en route at Yung-ning but owing to a severe illness was prevented from carrying out my plan. I visited the island of Nyo-ro-p'u and stayed there about ten days. I enquired of the two last born sons of the late Tsung-kuan, who were living on the island with their mother, where their father's grave was. To my greatest astonishment they replied that they did not know. I then asked a lama who said his ashes are buried on the island of Hle-wu-be. I then requested the two sons to accompany me to the island to visit their father's grave; to this they consented. We rowed over with a lama who took us up to the broad part of the spur, back of the ancient tower-ruin of the days of Mu Sheng-pai, and there found two graves, one that of a lama (on the south edge of the spur) and the other north of it that of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan. Not even a stone marked the spot, only a few rocks and thorny branches covered a small circular depression, yet his remains had been buried there since 1933. The two sons who had never visited the grave amused themselves elsewhere while I meditated at the resting place of my old friend. The boys had rowed by there nearly every day with their Lo-lo dogs when on their way hunting in the forests around the lake, but did not even enquire where their father was buried.

The present Yung-ning Tsung-kuan is the second son of the late A Yün-shan; he was selected by his father and previously acted for him on various occasions. His name is A-pi 阿琛 in Chinese, and A-p'a-du-dji in the Mo-so Hli-khin language.

Hle-wu-be. — The island of Hle-wu-be is situated off the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula and is the oldest inhabited island in the lake. It is in line with, and south three li of the island of Nyo-ro-p'u, and separated from T'u-bbu by a narrow channel about four feet deep. It is densely wooded with pines and other trees, and covered with vines such as climbing Lonicera, etc. Near the center of the island is an ancient lama temple with a low hut for a priest or hermit, hidden in trees and shrubbery. In the sixth moon the peasants of Hli-khin land (Yung-ning) come to this islet to pray in the temple. Many birds have made their home on this peaceful spot, as it is now uninhabited. On its very top is the ruin of an old watch-tower built by the Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pai, (1587-1646). Little remains but about 15 feet of the tower in which a tree had taken root, grown to large size but has now died and crumbled. This island is better wooded than the rest as it has remained uninhabited for a century or more. The trees extend to the water's edge, forming a jungle; two trails lead to the top, one from the northern slope and one from the eastern, on both sides being a landing-place for canoes.

Ny-se and A-na-wa. — The island of Nyi-se is a low oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and, like Hle-wu-be, close to the mainland. This holds also good for the islands of A-na-wa and Bu-wua, the latter being still closer
to the shore than the former. A-na-wa is the smaller of the two Ssu-ch'uan islands; the top is rocky and bare, only the eastern and northern shores are wooded with willows. (Plate 255)

Bu-wua. — Bu-wua, which belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu, has a residence and Bön lama Temple on its summit. It forms a broad triangle and its slopes are wooded. It is not used as a residence like Nyo-ro-p'u but merely as a place of refuge for the Tso-so chief and his family at the approach of either Tibetan or Lo-lo bandits.

T'u-bbu peninsula. — There remains now the long T'u-bbu peninsula. This latter discharges a stream from its central portion eastwards, which flows past the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung) and, united with the Hai-men-ch'iao, flows into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. The peninsula, which is about ten li in length, is densely wooded with pines and oaks. The last third or south-western end of this land tongue is in Yün-nan, the remainder in Ssu-ch'uan. A small ravine on its north-western slope, with a hut where a Chinese family has settled, is the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan. The slopes are very steep and rocky and covered with scrub oaks and pines. Its highest point is in Yün-nan. Near the end of the peninsula the top is more or less broad and there can still be seen the remains of a house once inhabited by the proud Na-khi war-lord, MuT'ien-wang 木天王, the "Celestial King Mu," as Mu Tseng used to be styled 300 years ago. Now the remnants of the walls are moss covered and damp, buried in forest of oak and pine. All the glory of the past has vanished. To-day not a vestige remains of the power once held by the Na-khi chiefs in the days of the Ming, when they reached their height in Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Tseng); their descendants a counterpart of the ruins on this peninsula, live in poverty in the Li-chiang district, without a trace of the martial spirit which characterized their noble ancestors.
CHAPTER VII

NING-LANG 寧蒗 or LANG-CH’Ü CHOU 蘆窪州

I. BOUNDARIES

The district of Lang-ch’ü which is still under a native T’u-ssu is now called Ning-lang 寧蒗. The present T’u-ssu, like his ancestors, bears the family name A 阿 and is a relative of the T’u-ssu of Yung-ning. The Lang-ch’ü territory is situated between Yung-ning and the territory of Yung-pei, east of the Yangtze loop, and is bordered to the east by the Chung-so T’u-ssu 中所土司 in Ssu-ch’uan. It is watered by the Wo-lo Ho, the southern branch of which has its source south of Lang-ch’ü chou. The chief is a Mo-so, as are most of the T’u-ssu in this region, viz., the Chung-so, Tso-so, Ch’ien-so, Hou-so 后所 and Yu-so 右所, who are collectively called the Wu-so (Five So). The peasants are also Mo-so, but in Lang-ch’ü territory the Lo-lo have now the upper hand and are the real masters. A similar situation prevails in the territory of the other So.

The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, have the following to say regarding the boundaries of that district:

“IT is 220 li north of the ruling city of Yung-pei. Its original name was Lo-kung 羅共 and it is inhabited by the Lo-lo and Mo-so tribes.

“In the east it borders on Ko-na-ssu 格納思, 100 li to the Ssu-ch’uan Chung-so border.

“In the south to the Tien Ho 薄河 120 li to the border of the Chang 章 T’u-ssu [he was T’u-ssu of Pei-sheng].

“In the west to Chin-hsing 金形 180 li to the border of Li-chiang fu [in the Yangtze valley].

“In the north to K’a-hsi-p’o 卡西坡 120 li to the border of Yung-ning. This is a village east of Mien-mien Shan (Continuous Mountain).”

2. HISTORICAL RECORDS

The Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 4b, state the following about the district:

“The seat of government of the Lang-ch’ü territory is at Lo-kung t’an 羅共蹕, situated east of Li-chiang and north of the governing chün 郡 [Yung-pei], adjoining and contiguous with Yung-ning.

“Originally three tribes dwelled there from generation to generation; they are the Lo-lo, Mo [Mo-so] and Hsieh 些 [Li-hsieh 力幾]. Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253). In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272), the district was incorporated in the empire. In the 16th year (1279) the name Lo-kung t’an was changed to the department of Lang-ch’ü chou. During the reign of Cheng-t’ung (1436–1449) it became subject to Lan-ts’ang wei (military station of Lan-ts’ang); [this is the present Yung-pei or Yung-sheng].

“In the 26th year of K’ang-hsi (1687) the Wei was abolished and united
with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) the chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.¹ In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐順公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿各, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿珀, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿洪, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鸑, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿賢, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿逵, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬曆 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尚義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

¹ In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yuan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368-1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 帝知州 (Native sub-magistrate).
Then came A Ssu-tsu 阿蘇祖, son of the former. In the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (1692) he gratefully received from the provincial ruler Ma 马, the official title of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Native lieutenant). He also appointed him to rule over the Fan and 亡 untamed barbarians and savages [Tibetans and Lo-lo are meant], and allowed him to collect taxes.

He died without sons and his younger brother, A Ssu-hsien 阿蘇賢, followed him, having received from fu-magistrate Li 李 permission to assume the position. In the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (1705) he received from the Board of Frontiers a commission to be the native chief and to rule his district.

Then followed A T'eng-lung 阿騰龍, who was the former's first-born. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720) his father died, and in the 60th year (1721) he assumed his father's position. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) he received orders from General Liu 柳 to come to La-ju-wo 腊肉窪 to join the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan military officials, to capture the bandit chief Liao-ma-ch'e 了馬車. He endured many hardships, became ill and died.

Afterwards followed A Feng-t'ai 阿逢泰, son of T'eng-lung. At his father's death he was still a minor. The magistrate of Yung-pei, Shih Hsiang 石祥 by name, arranged to have his paternal grandmother [of the La family], look after the affairs of office and also after the orphan grandchild. In the 13th year of Ch'ien-lung (1748) he reached his majority and was then asked to assume his father's position.

After him came A Ch'i-chi 阿其吉, his son. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy Te 德 ordered him to assume his father's position. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) he was ordered to assemble his native troops and his headmen and to lead them to Wei-yüan, where there was trouble. Later he led his troops to Nan-lung to attack the Chung and Miao tribes. Afterwards they were again sent to Wei-hsi. He acquired merit on these expeditions, and was given a silver medal, cattle and wine.

Then followed A Erh-fu 阿爾福, the son of A Ch'i-chi. In the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809) Viceroy Chang 章 ordered him to assume his father's position.

Then followed A Wei-chu 阿為柱, the former's first-born. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) Viceroy Po 伯 sent him letters patent. In the 10th year of Tao-kuang (1830) he asked for permission to assume his hereditary position. In the 22nd year (1842) he received from the Executive Office an official commission and a copper seal, and thereupon assumed his official position. In the 27th year (1847) he led the native troops to Yen-yüan hsien in Ssu-ch'uan where he captured the Moslem rebel Hai-pa-wang 海壩王. His military exploits were recorded. In the 29th year (1849) he repaired the wall of his city (Lang-ch'ü chou). He received from his su-

8 Wei-yüan was in the district of P'u-erh, north-west of that city in the south of Yün-nan. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Yin-sheng fu 銀生府; in the Yuan it was known as Wei-yüan. It is the present Ching-ku 景谷 on the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河 which flows into the Mekong.

9 Nan-lung is in the province of Kuei-chou.

4 Wei-hsi is in the north-west of Yün-nan.
periors the title of Yiin-t’ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch’uan bandit Ts’eng Hung-shun 龔洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei 云沛 was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尚文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsü 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲鶴) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T’ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T’eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yun-t’ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsu (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 錦祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather’s wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsu (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position.”

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T’u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k’ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch’en 陳 from Wa-li 威裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k’ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants en route, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yün-nan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

*Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch’uan who are overrunning this region, both the T’u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T’u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.
none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 蒯苴土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to
the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang also Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers going [the word ch'iḥ 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every ch'iḥ from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.
PART VI

YEN-YUAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

YEN-YUAN DISTRICT RECORDS

The District of Yen-yuan (Salt-well) is situated in south-western Ssu-ch’uan and south-east of Hsi-k’ang.

The Yen-yuan magistracy comprises a considerable area still ruled by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderantly Mo-so; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascendancy. Yen-yuan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yun-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch’uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yun-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yun-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yuan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.1 Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five So (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the Ssu-ch’uan T’ung-chih (General Topography of Ssu-ch’uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (Chia-ch’ing I-t’ung-chih 嘉慶一統志).

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the Yen-yuan hsien chih (Yen-yuan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.2 A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935-1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

1 He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch’un-p’in 頂扎巴松典椿品.

2 The Pei-p’ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T’u-shu-kuan 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.
work is not in manuscript, but is a block-print consisting of six pen 本. It is not divided throughout into numbered chapters, and its pages are numbered in part; an index (mu- lu 目錄) is also lacking. Furthermore, pages are missing here and there throughout the six volumes. There are no maps.

I have lately come into the possession of a copy of the Yen-yüan Records through the kindness of the Mu-li ruler. The same pages are missing as in the Peiping copy, which would indicate that the printing blocks representing these pages have been lost and not the pages themselves.

The first preface is dated the 17th year of Kuang-hsü (1891) while the second preface is dated the 19th year of Kuang-hsü (1893). The Record was compiled by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu Chün-yün 吳郡雲 and Ku P'ei-yüan 顧培源, who was a Chien-sheng 監生 (Collegian of the Imperial Academy).

This work has enabled me to give here a detailed account of the genealogical history of the native Mo-so chiefs and the history of the territory they rule; a general account of the history and topography of the entire region under the jurisdiction of Yen-yüan is also added. I have only been able to make extensive visits to the territory of three, namely Mu-li, Tso-so and Ch'ien-so.

An account of the Mu-li lama King or Pacification Commissioner, his genealogical records and the history and geographical account of his kingdom, is reserved for a separate work which will include also Hsi-k'ang or the Tibetan Marches.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Past and present designations. — The Yen-yüan hsien chih, ch. 2, fol. 1, states that: "The land of Yen-yüan is in the extreme south-west of China. At one of its frontiers there is a salt lake. This land is also called Tso 乍 and possesses a clear [salt] spring which is indeed a treasure. In the Yuan dynasty this land was called Jun 井 (Extra) as if it were a small piece of land added to the empire. In the Ming dynasty it was called a Ching 井 (Well) as if it had been an insignificant territory.

"Since the time of the Han dynasty this territory had been captured several times but could not be retained as part of the Chinese empire. At times it was rejected by the Imperial Court and later could not again be recovered, not even by force. Yet for several thousand years it has retained its beauty and mysteries. The emperor tried to acquaint the tribes peoples with Confucianism and graced them with virtues. They looked upon this as a constellation which supplied them with food.

"Therefore the first name given to this land was Yuan 源 (Source of a spring). The intention was that the people should keep firmly impressed in their mind the stream of the Imperial grace and not sever their connection with it.

Establishment between Hsia and Han dynasties. — "According to the Yü-kung 禹貢 (Tribute of Yü) of the Hsia dynasty 夏 (2205–2197 B.C.) which governed the province of Liang chou, the land of Yen-yüan hsien was situated outside its south-west frontier. In the 30th year of Nan Wang 鞏王
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

of the Chou dynasty 周 (285 B.C.) the State of Ch'in 秦 appointed a prefect to govern the land of Shu [Ssu-ch'uan] and called it Tso 稷, which is the first appearance of the name in the History of China. At the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.) there was established Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 (district of Ting-tso) in the same territory, subordinate to the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶺郡 and ruled by an official bearing the title of Tu-yü 都尉.3

Under Shu Han, Chin, Sung, and Northern Chou. — “Under the various dynasties which followed, as the Shu Han, Chin and Sung, the name as well as the policy towards it remained unchanged. In the Ch'i 脫 dynasty (479–501) the land was lost to the Liao 異 tribes.4 In the second year of T'ien-ho 天和 of the Northern Chou dynasty 北周 (567) the Principality of Ting-tso 定作鎮 was established there.

Under T'ang and Sung. — “In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the hsien of K'un-ming 昆明縣 was established subject to the department of Sui 嵩州. Afterwards the Meng family 蒙氏 of the Nan-chao Kingdom made it to Chün 郡 of Hsiang-ch'eng 香城. In the Sung dynasty (960–1126) it was nominally kept in restraint (by the emperor) but was really controlled by the Ta-li Kingdom which called it the Ho-t'ou 霍頭甸.

Under Yüan. — “In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it became the land of the Lo-lan tribe [Lo-lan pu; the Lo-lan tribe and Lo-lo are identical. see p. 416]. In the 10th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) it acknowledged allegiance to the empire. In the 14th year (1277) the Yen-ching Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch of Yen-ching) was established. In the 15th year (1278) there was created the department of Chin 金州 (Chin chou), later demoted to the district of Chin 金縣 or Chin hsien.

“In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Jun-yen chou 閫鹽州 and made subordinate to Te-p'ing Lu 德平路 (Circuit of Te-p'ing). In the 27th year (1290) the chou was made into a hsien and the prefecture of Po-hsing 柏興府 was established.5

In the National Library of Peiping (now temporarily in the safe-keeping of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.) there is extant the 3d. volume of a rare work entitled: Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao 四川土夷考 published in the Wan-li period (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, the other volumes have unfortunately been lost. This work (the 3d. chapter) deals in part with Yen-yüan and the Wu-so 五所, and I give here translations as far as they concern us here. As regards Yen-yüan it states under the heading Yen-ching wei 楊城蔚 "According (to records) Yen-ching wei under the Han dynasty was the land of Ting-tso hsien of the Chün of Yüeh-sui. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty it was called Po-hsing fu 柏興府. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu po 柏興千戶所 and afterwards was again changed to Yen-ching wei, or the military garrison of Yen-ching.”

According to Ma Tuan-lin the Liao are a tribe of barbarians or (Man) mentioned in antiquity. Their original home was in the region situated between Liang chou and I chou. From Han-chung 漢中 [parts of Shensi and Ssu-ch'uan] they penetrated to Chiung 邰 and Tso (Ssu-ch'uan and the region of Yen-yüan).

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih, ch. 15, fol. 30a. states the name Po-hsing was applied to it because of the dense forest of Sung Po 桉柏 pines and cypresses [junipers or Thuja orientalis could also be meant] which existed there on a mountain called Po-lin Shan 柏林山
This town was made subordinate to a Hsüan-wei-ssu 宜慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) belonging to the Lo-lo tribe.

Under Ming. — "In the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) the same name was retained as well as the policy towards it, but it was later changed to Po-hsing chou. In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so 柏興千戶所 (Petty military station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subordinate to the Wei of Chien-ch'ang 建昌衛. In the 27th year (1394) the Wei of Yen-ching was established and its ruler was given the title of Chün min chih-hui shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and civil leader of the native tribes).

Under Ch'ing. — "At the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) it was still called Yen-ching wei. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) the office of the Military Station was abolished and the hsien of Yen-yuan was established in its stead, subordinate to the fu-city of Ning-yuán 寧遠府.

2. SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Under Han. — "In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) there was established the hsien of Ting-tso. In the sixth year of Yüan-feng 元封 (105 B.C.) the land of Chiung and Tso was changed into the Chün of Ch'en-li 沈黎郡. In the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.) Ch'en-li was abolished and two Tu-yü 都尉 (Captains) were appointed, one to govern Mao-niu 牛疫 and to control the foreign Ch'iang 畿 tribes, and the other to govern Ch'ing-i 青衣 and to control the people of Han (Chinese), at that time Ting-tso was subject to the Tu-yü of Mao-niu.

(Cypress forest Mountain) 10 li south of the city of Yen-yuan. The color of the forest was beautiful and the trees tall, touching heaven. It was surrounded by the Lung Shui (Dragon River) and was the border of Tien (Yün-nan) and Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and the land where the Chinese and barbarians met.

The old Ssu-ch'üan T'ung-chih (of 1733), ch. 27, fols. 13b-14a, states that in ancient times the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 (Mo-so) dwelled where Po-hsing was. At the end of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寳, about A.D. 755, it was captured by the T'u-fan. In 1273 the chief of the Mo-sha tribe of Yen-ching submitted to the empire.

In 1280 there were established P'u-lo chou 普樂州 and Jun-yen chou 閩雅州 and in 1290 the two were united and made the Jun-yen hsien or Jun-yen district, of which the prefectoral city was Po-hsing (fu).

6 E. Chavannes in Vol. I, Introduction to Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien, p. LXXXVIII, states that Ch'en-li (Tchen-li) was the ancient territory of the principate of Tso, and is the present prefecture of Li-chiang.

The old Chia-ch'ing I t'ung-chih (of 1733), ch. 403, fol. 1b, states that Ch'en-li was south-east of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 and was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷都都國 (Kingdom of Tso-tu of the Western Barbarians). According to the Shih Chi 史記 (Historical Records), Hsi-Tso-tu 徐都 were the largest of the 10 tribal chieftain territories situated to the north-east of Sui 應.

In the Han dynasty the Marquis of Tso 作侯 was murdered and Tso-tu was changed to Ch'en-li Chün. The latter was, however, abolished in the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.). During the Chin dynasty it was again established by dividing Han-chia 漢嘉 (the present Ming-shan hsien 名山縣 under Ya-chou fu 雅州府). The name of Ch'en-li does not appear in the Li-chiang fu chih lüeh.

7 Mao-niu hsien is the territory south of the present Ch'ing-ch'i hsien under Ya-chou fu.
"Then there was established the hsien or district of Sui-chiu 邵久縣. The name Sui-chiu was derived from the name of a mountain. According to the Shan Hai Ching 山海經, the Sheng Shui 纏水 has its source in the Pa-sui Mountain 巴遂山. According to the Hua-yang chih 華陽志, in Sui-chiu there is a hsien and a river called Sheng Shui.

Under the Three Kingdoms and Shu Han period. — “During the period of the Shu Han dynasty of the Three Kingdoms (221-265) it was called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien. In the (two) Chin dynasties (265-419) it was also called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien but was changed and made subject to Yün-nan Chün, which was later again abolished. In the Sung dynasty of the house of Liu 宋 (420-478) it was again called Ting-tso hsien. In the Ch'i, Liang and Pei Chou 趙梁北周 dynasties (479-580) it had the following designations:

"In the Ch'i dynasty it was the Liao Chün 猪郡 of Yüeh-sui, and the hsien of Ting-tso was subject to the latter."°

"In the Liang dynasty, Ting-tso hsien was again established, subordinate to Sui chou. Later it fell into the hands of its aggressors. In the Later [northern] Chou Chou the Principality of Ting-tso was established.

Under T'ang. — “In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the district of K'un-ming was created, subject to Sui-chou. Afterwards it ceased to exist as the Nan-chao Kingdom captured it. The latter established in its stead the Chün of Hsiang-ch'eng. In the seventh year (624) there was established the chou of Hsi-yü 西豫. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) its name was changed to

In the Han Shu it relates that the descendants of the Ch'iang chief Wu-i 焉無弋 established separate tribes of which one was the Miao-niu tribe [or Yak tribe who apparently were nomads herding yak (Mao-niu)]. They were the Yüeh-sui Ch'iang. This Tu-yü resided in Miao-niu and was the ruler of the barbarians who lived outside the border. In the second year of Yen-kuang 延光 (A.D. 123) of the Eastern Han, the tribes of Miao-niu rebelled and attacked Ling Kuan 霧關. [This pass is 60 li north-west of Lu-shan hsien 廬山縣 and adjoins the border of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州. It led over the Ling Shan and was considered of great strategic importance as one guard is said to be able to hold up 100 attackers. It adjoined the border of the Pai-lang 白狼 barbarians; it was like the belt of the Fan and Man tribes.] They were then attacked by Chang Ch'iao 張喬 who defeated them. [He was a native of Nan-yang 南陽 in Ho-nan and was a hereditary official appointed during An Ti 安帝 (107-125).]

The ch'ing-i hsien (district of Ch'ing-i) is the land to the north of the present-day Ya-an hsien 雅安縣.

According to the Ya-chou fu chih, ch. 3, fol. 34b, Ch'ing-i hsien was originally the kingdom of the Ch'ing-i Ch'iang 青衣羌. In 201 B.C., that is the sixth year of Kao Tsu of the Han dynasty, it was first opened and the district of Ch'ing-i established. It then belonged to the Chün of Shu 獨郡.

° In the Western Han dynasty it was a district in the Chün of Yüeh-sui. In the Ch'in 晉 dynasty it was a hsien in Ning chou 宁州 in the Chün of Yün-nan 雲南郡. It is the land to the west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien of Ssu-ch'uan.

° Yün-nan Chün was 80 li south of Yün-nan hsien, subject to Ta-li fu, Yün-nan province. It is the present day Hsiang-yün 西雲 (pronounced Ch'iang-yün in Yün-nan), two and a half stages east of Ta-li.

°° The hsien was abolished as the Liao tribes captured it.
Chi-mi Mi chou (Chi-mi "of Mi chou"); [it was north-west of Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 in Yün-nan] it controlled two districts, Mo-yü 磨庾 and Ch'i-pu 七部.

"Afterwards they were abolished.

"Then there was established the hsien of Ch'ang-ming 昌明縣 subject to Sui chou.

"At the end of the reign of Cheng-kuan (649) there were established one chou, namely Lao chou 牢州 and three hsien, Sung-wai 松外, Hsün-sheng 賢聲, and Lin-k'ai 林開.

"At the beginning of the reign of Yung-hui 永徽 (650), the chou was abolished and the (three) hsien demoted and included in Ch'ang-ming hsien. Afterwards it was again abolished.

Under Sung and Yüan. — "At the beginning of the Sung dynasty (960) the territory was subject to a Chi-mi, but afterwards the Ta-li Tuan Shih 大理段氏 [ruling house of Tuan of Ta-li (Yün-nan)] conquered it by force, and changed its name to Ho-t'ou tien 禾頭旬. In the Yüan dynasty the fu-city of Po-hsing was established. In the 17th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1280) the chou of Jun-yen 閩鹽州 was founded and in the 27th year (1290) it was demoted to a hsien, and then in the hsien was established a fu-city subject to the Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing Hsüan-wei-ssu 羅羅蒙慶宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing).

"In the 15th year of Chih-yüan (1278) there was established the chou-city of Chin 金州. Afterwards it was demoted and made a hsien, namely Chin hsien, subject to the fu-city of Po-hsing.

Under Ming. — "In the Ming dynasty there was established the Yenching wei (Salt-well military station). In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed and made the Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so (Military sub-station of the Chilarch of Po-hsing), subject to the Chien-ch'ang military station. In the 27th year it was changed and the Yenching Wei Chün-min Chih-hui-shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and Civil Leader of the native tribes of the military Station of Yen-ching) was established, subject to the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司 (mobile captain); thereafter Chin hsien was abolished.

"Yen-yüan was called Ting-tso and in ancient days belonged to Sui chou. Yet Tso itself is not Yen-yüan, for Sung, Mou, Ch'en-li Chin-ch'uan, and Wei-tsans 松, 茂, 沈黎, 金川, 衛藏, all these were called Tso. But strange to say our district [Yen-yüan] is generally believed to, have been the territory of Tso. [Li-chiang also belonged to Ting-tso in the Han dynasty]. Yen-yüan, did not represent the whole of Sui 畿, for the territory of Sui

During the T'ang dynasty dependencies of the empire were ruled by indigenous chiefs and this type of local government, of which there were ninety-two, was called Chi-mi tu-tu ular 督府. Chi-mi-chou 醴州 was the designation of a prefecture of a tributary state ruled by a native prince. See R. des Rotours, Les grand fonctionnaires de provinces en Chine sous la dynastie des T'ang in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 25, 1928, p. 243.

Mo-yü was a district also called Chi-mi as was Mi chou. It is the land of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

This hsien belonged to Chien-nan Tao 劍南道 (Circuit of Chien-nan) and was subject to Sui chou. It was south-west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.
also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 会理, Hui-wu 会無, Yao chou 萧州 and Ma-hu 马湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui.

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yueh-lu 月魯.

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 崂饕. On the south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsun 卯尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 蘭渾. Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan.

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border 15 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 盆士坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒泊海 of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司 subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military So (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 流寧營 of the district of Mien-ning 聲寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'u T'u-ssu.

Yueh-lu stands for Yiieh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsun is I Mou-hsun, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chun-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la 写喀喇, its ruler had the title of rgyal-po 仁波切 or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.
North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yun-nan and the border of the T'usu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua].

"The distance from Yen-yuan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yuan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso was situated between T'ai-teng and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh, crossed by the Jo Shui [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang], which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh.

"The district of Sui-chiu was changed and made subordinate to Yun-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yun-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source. It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yuan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien lay in the south of Yen-yuan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo and No-lung.

18 Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui (see further discussion of the name Sui). According to the Mien-ning hsien chih it is stated that Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

19 Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the Shui tao t'i kang is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yuan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

20 The last edition of the Yun-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420-478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the Shui-ching chu (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yuan and east of Li-chiang.

21 The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yun-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-
“According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung].

**In the T'ang dynasty.** — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 廣州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 萊州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

**Under the Mongols.** — "In the Yuan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利鏘," 22 the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西瀧 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

**Under the Ming dynasty.** — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yenching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打衝河守鎮千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 聲中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

22 Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yuan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yuan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利鏘和堡 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-ho Shan 魯和山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 30 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 菈摩 barbarians dwelled there.
more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893).—“This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

“The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]). The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 马剌非 peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T’u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves.”

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

“Junipers grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land. This district is situated between the Yun-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

“The land of Chiung and of Chiang is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

“Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

“Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five So, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]”

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

No-chi.—“The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T’ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T’u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 寧蕃城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 蕨都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages—Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

Probably Juniperus Wallichiana or J. formosana.
the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 魏皋 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom.

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yuan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the Yüan Shih, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Ch'in 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獵獵 and Ju-k'u茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅思宣慰司. The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: Po-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans). All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 太渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.
to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu
ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the I-t'ung chih was
situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han
dynasty.

"According to the Shu Chih 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially
in the Biography of Chang I 張疑傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso,
T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the Chün 郡 [perhaps here
translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced
salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by
their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of
their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑 27 of the
(Pai 白) Lang 郭 and Chiu 始 the King of P'an-mu 羅木 were angry and dis-
liked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly
to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and
many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty state that Ting-tso hsien
was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Bar-
barians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native
princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙作都 was the largest of them all. The Hua-yang kuo
chih states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu
Shui 潘水 on the border of Pin-kan 濮剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白擎沙夷
dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for
them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 窄罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武候 (Marquis of Wu) (181-
234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao
Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso
and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'un-
meng belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the Yuan ho chih 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to
Sui chou 嵩州. K'un-meng was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han
dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were
called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to
cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. See PLATES 162, 164]. For
example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo
ropes were stretched. The character tso 索 is equivalent to the character

27 The Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 羅木國 was west
of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu,
Lou-po 樂蒲, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the
barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國 which is the present territory lying to
the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順城府 in Ssu-
ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the
Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was
the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.
chiao (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 南方夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.

Sui-chiu. — “It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yuan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yueh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 榮門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134—87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — “According to the Records of the Chiu T’ang (Old T’ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 篤州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 汀州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 鏡沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yuan.

The obsolete Ch’ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng 莊勝 and Lin-k’ai. — “According to the I-t’ung chih these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T’ang History the land of Ch’ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k’ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch’ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T’ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch’uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 72 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch’ang explained. — “According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch’u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch’ang-li

28 The K’ang-hsi Dictionary states that tso is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. "in the Show-wen 謌文 it is said to be equivalent to chiao which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of wei 華 (reed) was called chiao.]

29 The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 檳州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch’u 頭州 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 越雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch’u 留勳 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sungwai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The Yün-nan T’ung-chih states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch’u, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.
YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their cities [ch'ang meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 綏 most of the cities were called ch'ang, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 雲中, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (or chou). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the I-t'ung-chih, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K’u-lu 枯樁, also called K’ang-wu 康塚 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'í 蘇祁, P'u-chai 堡寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-li 西嶺, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 遺戎; all these were important garrison towns. 12

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羅浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

80 These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

81 The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

82 Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 成通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 延慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.
Yang-p'eng ling, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Jun-yen chou.—“Jun-yen chou was the land of K’un-ming of the T’ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P’u-lo chou.—“P’u-lo chou was to the north of the T’ang dynasty Ch’ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P’u-chi. Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou.—“The Hsi-yü chou, or Mo-yü hsien, and the hsien of Ch’i-pu. At the beginning of the reign of T’ang T’ien-pao (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo and Shu-mo respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch’i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t’ou tien (or Lo-lan pu).—“According to the Fang-yü chih yao, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu, or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p’u and Ta-ch’ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu-chou and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 3rd month, Lu-t’ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t’a submitted and the latter’s son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch. Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

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In the T’ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao, ch. 74, fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character cheng 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon), Lu-t’ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t’a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征服) 月鲁帖木兒 Yueh-lu-t’ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character yüeh is taken from his name and made to read “first moon,” in the second the character yüeh is left as part of his name and the first character is read cheng, “to attack, to subjugate.”

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year
Yen Chung-tso so. — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 禾溪 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 35 it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yuan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏. Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yuan only. Yen-yuan is also spoken of as Sui 蜀, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yun-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yuan."

The magistrate who compiled the Yen-yuan hsien chih discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 45 (145–86–74 B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yuan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of... of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two yüeh, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

The Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

Wai-tsang was really the land of the Chi'ang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 玉昆. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po ト袈士倫波 bKra-shis- lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsan 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 嘉木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong 羌戎).
Yueh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太宗 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

“The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it Tso. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a sheng 索 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

“The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [Sui is also read Hsi]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yueh-hsi chao 越壕. The character hsi 豕 is similar in sound to the character sui 紫 or to the sound of the character 徙 hsi. In the Shih Chi 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙竹都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.37

“The character 徙 is but another way of writing the character sui 紫 but the character 豕 is an erroneous one.

“This would surely indicate that the Yueh-sui 越壕 is the Sheng-sui 紫壕, (that is, the Yangtze).

“All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 當府 may be called Sui 紫, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yueh 越.

“In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

“The word Tso was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yueh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters mai 遥 and yao 遥 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

“The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 湘水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.38
"Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang "溯江", but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."
CHAPTER II

THE EIGHT MO-SO CHIEFTAICIES IN SOUTH-WEST SSU-CH’UAN

The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch’uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch’ien-so (Front So) and the Tso-so (Left So); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch’ü T’u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so (Central So) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch’ü T’u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so (Rear So) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so (Right So) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left So) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch’uan. These comprise the Wu-so (Five So or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh, T’u-ssu in the north, near the bend of the Li-t’ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t’ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T’u-ssu’s southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T’u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t’ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la (A-sa-la T’u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 華苐縣, whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies’ map, in fact the only one of the eight T’u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T’u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T’u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

1. KUA-PIEH 瓜別

“The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

1 In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine so (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch’ien-so and Hou-so.
Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 没没古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 古-布山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 勃納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-ki, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌印山 adjoining the land of Mu-ki, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

"The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 shih 砟 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 tan 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every tan of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

"There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-ki." (Plate 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-ki at the time of my first visit to the Mu-ki King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒没 for and Chia-cho Shan 甲撰山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白腳河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-ki territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-ki border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his Naturbilder aus Südwest China, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace circled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his Plate 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character Chi 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).—"The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫. He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

*This name does not occur in the first edition of the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.
whereupon he received an official seal and Imperial letters patent appointing him as the ruler of Kua-pieh.

"Chi Chio-pu 己角補 was the eldest son of P'o 追 by his first wife. In the 55th year of K'ang-hsi (1716) he succeeded his father as T'u-ssu. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the Fan [Hsi-fan] brigands of Yü-o 魚窩 he acquired merit, and was rewarded with 300 taels of silver. In the 11th year (1733) he again joined the Imperial army, attacking the Fan bandits of Erh-ssu 兒斯. He captured the rebel Wu-sha-chia 烏沙甲 and more than 10 bandits. He was granted more than 600 taels of silver and promoted to a higher official rank.

"Chi Lien-kuei 己聯貴, the eldest son of Pu 補 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 25th year of Ch'ien-lung (1760).

"Chi Shao-hsien 己紹先, the eldest son of Kuei 褄 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

"Chi Kuang-tsung 己光宗, the eldest son of Hsien 先 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"Chi Kuo-fu 己國富, eldest son of Tsung 宗 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (1815). In the 23rd year of Tao-kuang (1843) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the brigand chief Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒 he acquired merit, and received the Lan-ling 藍翎 [Blue plume, a raven's feather conferred as a reward for services upon officials below the sixth grade. Giles, No. 6732].

"In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan 張大脚板 (Chang with the big feet) of Yün-nan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he was ordered by the government to lead his troops to exterminate them. He then received the peacock's feather instead of the former Blue Plume. In the 11th year (1861) the brigand leader Ma Jung-Hsien 馬榮先 and his followers burned and looted Mien-hua-ti 棉花地 in the district of Yen-yuan. Fu joined the Imperial army and by subjugating the brigands he acquired merit and was promoted to the second official rank. In the third year of T'ung-chih (1864) he retired from his official post.

"Chi T'ien-hsi 己天錫 was the eldest son of Fu 富 by his first wife. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he succeeded to his father's position. In the sixth year (1867) he led his own troops to build defense works and to exterminate the Yün-nan bandits. On this account the Emperor conferred on him the honorific title of Pa-t'ù-lu 巴圖魯 (Strong and brave; [Baturu is a decoration rewarded for military prowess and bestowed only on such as already have the peacock's feather]).

"Chi T'ing-liang 己廷樑, son of the brother of Hsi 襄, succeeded to his uncle's position in the 15th year of Kuang-hsü 光緒 (1889)."
2. MA-LA 马喇

Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 马喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 撒夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yuan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yuan District Records calls them P'o 蓬, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the Tu-jen 卢人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the Yen-yuan hsien chih it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 魏穴羌. They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 蓬, the radical of which is jen 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犬 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

The Yun-nan T'ung-chih, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叔徙甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 峯峨. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-ch'uan fu 漢江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yun-nan.

“The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yuan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所チン and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 體之蘇 of Yung-pei, Yun-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崕 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yun-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂營, a distance of 70 li,
adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.\(^7\)

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 tan [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official."

According to the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 米多.

The second edition of the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (1816), ch. 97, fol. 10a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄭 Penn 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,\(^8\) 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ongai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior native deputy official.) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勛 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.\(^9\)

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsun 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳憲, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

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\(^7\) The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

\(^8\) There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌堡 馍 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

\(^9\) The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.
prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or Fu as given in the other Records).

“A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch’ien, succeeded his grand-father in the 14th year of Ch’ien-lung (1749).

“A Chi-ch’ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng’s legal wife, succeeded to his father’s position in the 53rd year of Ch’ien-lung (1788).

“A Hui-chien 阿繪健, eldest son of Ch’ang’s legal wife, succeeded to his father’s position in the 19th year of Chia-ch’ing (1814).

“A Wen-ju 阿文藇, eldest son of Chien’s legal wife, succeeded to his father’s position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

“A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu’s legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

“A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother’s position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890).”

The T’u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts’un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

“Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p’ai 五里牌,10 of the village of Mei-tzu-p’u 梅子壇 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).11 The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咫那山 and Shu-p’u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿迫古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

“The Ch’ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 tan [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch’ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

10 Mei-tzu-p’u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p’ai has reference to a p’ai (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p’u.

11 Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raised by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch’ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.
They are often kept for ten years, and are used as mattresses for that length of time, before being eaten. Horizontal slices are cut as from a loaf of bread; these, with butter or cheese, serve as New Year gifts to the lamas and peasants from the Yung-ning chiefs.
PLATE 242. — A LO-LO FROM WU-CHIO VILLAGE

Many Lo-lo villages are distributed through southern Mu-li. They behave in Mu-li territory, but often leave their villages to rob elsewhere.
PLATE 243. — THE YUNG-NING LAKE WITH THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P’U

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
Here the author spent many happy weeks translating Na-Khi literature.

On the northern end of Ny-o-to-pn is a lovely tea-house whence a beautiful vista opens over the lake to Lion-head.

Plate 24. — View of Lion-Head Mountain from the Center of Ny-o-to-pn.
She rides a hind and is patroness of Yung-ning. From a Tibetan painting made in Lha-sa. To the left, near her hand holding a flute, is Lion Mountain; lower left, Yung-ning lake with two ducks. Above her in center is Amitabha.
PLATE 246. — SENG-GE GA-MU’S SHRINE ON NYO-RO-P’U

In the little window of the shrine is a picture of the goddess. Pine branches are burned as offering to her every morning and evening in the little furnace, while a lama strikes the gong suspended from the tree. Prayer flags flutter from under the roof of the shrine which is situated in the center of Nyo-ro-p’u.
Plate 247. — The Abbot of the Tso-so Bön Lamaser
y

He is the brother of the Tso-so T'u-ssu. Only Tso-so land has adhered to the Bön sect. The lamaser, like the whole country, is in a terrible state of neglect.
The women alone of the Tso-so T’u-ssu family show refinement. Like their sisters of Yung-ning they wear long pleated skirts.
Plate 249. — Tso-so Bön Lamas Gathered for the Dance
四川左所黑喇嘛開教會
Lake shore beyond the first bay is in Yün-nan. Pines in foreground.

The outlet of the lake is through the broad valley in the Tso-so mountains in the distance. The little village on the

Plate 250. — THE SOUTHEASTERN END OF YUN-KING LAKE

(Courtesy Nat. GeoM. Soc.)
PLATE 251. — YUNG-NING LAKE AND NYO-RO-P’U ISLAND AS SEEN FROM THE T’U-BBU PENINSULA

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)
The lake is alive with fish, some of them poisonous. Pine trees have been sunk around the island to prevent landing of enemies. The village of Ta-Io-Shui in middle distance.
The little boy in her arms is the last born and was declared the incarnation of a Dre-pung Lama. She wears a brilliant Paris-green skirt, a red sash, and a jacket of blue brocade with golden yellow sleeves. In her hair she wears cornelian, ivory and coral beads.

In 1931 Lhasa authorities declared him an incarnation of a high lama of Drepung Monastery. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-dbyin-dbang-phyug. He was preliminarily installed in the Yung-ning Lamasery on February 11th, 1932.
A-na-wa Island belongs to the Lama Kingdom of Mu-li as does the shore opposite visible in the picture. Willow tree in foreground.
They are oppressed by the lamas, and dare not look up in the presence of superiors. The men wear no trousers but, like the women, wear striped skirts woven of yak hair, the men's skirts have horizontal, those of the women longitudinal stripes. They are forbidden to wear shoes.
hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa
阿撤，12 and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 龍馬柳槽.” 13

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that
his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese
territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 雲中 of Yen-
yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a
distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh
territory.

*Imperial audiences and tribute.* — “In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time com-
manded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of
tribute: Four small boxes of ch'ang-pu 貴蒲 [the rhizomes of Acorus cala-
mus var. vulgaris L. which grows in swammy places in this region], weighing
12 catties; four ju-ling 茼苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of
fungus Pachyma pinetorum growing from the roots of pines, and used medi-
cinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six
taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ½ of a tael; four wooden bowls
weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (Acer);
these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan
tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are
worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (tsang-
hsiang 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-
deer Moschus moschatus and M. chrysogaster]; four leopard skins weighing
16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were
offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button
to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a
necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung
(February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume
his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience
he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always
rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts.”

*Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch).* — “Lang Chün-
wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the
Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance
whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent order-
ing him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

“Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to
his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

12 This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 黃邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

13 The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州府 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.
"Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, eldest son of the legal wife of Pao, succeeded to his father's position in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784).

"Lang T'ing-hsi 郎廷慧, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded his father in the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809). [He is mentioned in the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih of 1816 as the ruling chiliarch of Ku-po-shu].

"Lang T'ing-fang 郎廷芳, son of the brother of Hsi by the legal wife, succeeded to the position in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821).

"Lang Ying-sheng 郎應聲, eldest son of the legal wife of Fang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the 22nd year (1842) on account of his meritorious services rendered in suppressing the brigand Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王獻扒, he was rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume. In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the Yün-nan brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he joined the Imperial troops to attack Chang. After the expedition he was rewarded with the peacock’s feather. In the 10th year of Hsien-feng (1860) the Yün-nan brigand Ma Jung-hsien and others escaped and disturbed the peace at Mien-hua-ti in the district of Yen-yüan. On account of his meritorious services in that campaign the Emperor promoted him to the third official rank.

"Lang Ch'ao-ting 郎朝鼎, eldest son of the legal wife of Sheng, succeeded to his father's position in the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

"Lang Jui-lin 郎瑞麟, eldest son of the legal wife of Ting." [He was apparently T'u-ssu at the time of the compiling of the Yen-yüan Records; no further notes as to his assumption of office, etc., are given.] The present Ku-po-shu native chiliarch is Lang Chih-pang 郎治邦.

The Ku-po-shu census of 1834 revealed a population of 585 households consisting of 1,461 tribespeople.

4. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE SO KUO

"Of the So Kuo 所國, the first to be established were the Chung and Tso which formed one So. Now they are divided into five So and are known as the Wu-so, subject to the magistracy of Yen-yüan, formerly called the Yenching wei. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 whose old remnants are the present military transport circuit-post of Sha-p'ing 沙平. In the Yuan dynasty it was the territory of Lu chou 瀘州 in the Chien-ch'ang Circuit” (Yen-yüan hsien chih).

5. CHUNG-SO 中所

"The seat of the chief of Chung-so 中所 is 100 li from the district town of Yen-yüan.

"The now obsolete Lu chou was 25 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present-day Hsi-ch'ang hsien. The savages who dwelt there called it Sha-ch'eng-chien 沙城險."

"The home of the Chung-so chief is situated on the mountain-side above the village of Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草場, a distance of 135 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and about 60 li from Yen-ching. The mountains around there are inhabited by Lo-lo tribespeople who live in rude pine-log huts. The mountains are covered with pine forest with undergrowth of Rhododendron decorum."
“The eastern border of Chung-so extends to the A-kuo Ho 阿果河, a distance of 15 li, adjoining the border of Pai-yen-ching 白蓮井; the southern border extends to the village of No-lung 藥弄, adjoining the boundary of the Yun-nan district of Ta-yao, a distance of 400 li; to the west the border extends to the summit of the Ko-na-ssu Mountains 格納思山, a distance of 100 li, adjoining the border of the Yun-nan Lang-ch'iü district. To the north the border extends to the banks of the Ta Ho, 大河 a distance of 60 li, adjoining the territory of the Tso-so native chiliarch. The circumference of the entire Chung-so territory is 575 li. The chief controls 50 villages inhabited by native tribes [I-min 炎民]. [Lo-lo, Mo-so and Hsi-fan are here meant.]

“The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu pays taxes in kind amounting to 19 tan [piculs] of buckwheat. This is forwarded to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In addition he pays a land improvement tax of 15.66 taels' silver to the magistrate of Yen-yüan.”

According to the Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (ed. 1733) the borders of Chung-so extend east to A-ko 阿各 (the edition of 1816 states A-ko Ho or A-ko Stream); south to Sa-che 撒者; west to the border of Ku-mu 古木; north to Mi-i 迷易.17

“He controls 820 households of tribespeople [the edition of 1816 states, 485 families].

Imperial tribute and rewards. — “In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the second-class native chiefs of the aborigines were commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Thereupon La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相 went to Peking in person and took with him the following articles of tribute: A brass Buddha sitting on a silver throne and weighing 8.10 taels, five Ha-ta 吳惹 [the Tibetan Khatag (written Kha-btags)],18 weighing two catties; five China-roots [Fu-ling] weighing 27 catties and 8 taels; five boxes of Ch'ang-p'u (Acorus roots) weighing five catties; five foxskins weighing 4 catties; five bear galls weighing 7.7 taels, and five pockets of musk weighing 3.15 taels. These articles he presented to the Emperor, who honoured him with the button of the fourth rank. Hereafter when commanded to have audi-

18 See note 7 on page 457.

17 At Mi-i there is a native chiliarch whose family name is An 安. His ancestor was An Wen 安文 who also submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi. This chiliarch resides and rules over a district called Li-ch'i chou 雷溪州 under the prefecture of Hui-li.

The Ming Shih, ch. 311, fol. 16a, states that the native official Ch'ien-hu of Mi-i was called Hsien 蕭. His first ancestor was a native of Ching-tung 景通, Yun-nan, and belonged to the P'o tribe 貞種. The above is also recorded in the Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao of Ming Wan-li (1573-1620). But it adds that the name of his distant ancestor was A 阿 and that the latter possessed no fields in Ching-tung. He lead his tribesmen and migrated to Mi-i where they possessed themselves of fields and stayed. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) he followed the army, attacked and advanced on Tung-ch'uan and Mang-pu where he killed the robbers. Having thereby acquired merit he then submitted and left for the capital where the Emperor appointed him hereditary assistant chiliarch of Mi-i-so.

19 Presentation or salutation scarfs made of silk; the longest and best are presented to high officials; they carry respect according to their quality, color and length.
ence, he either went himself or sent his representatives and was always rewarded with precious gifts.19

**Genealogy of the Chung-so T’u-ch’ien-hu.** — "La Jui-lin 喇瑞麟 returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K’ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent and ordered him to reside in Chung-so and administer its affairs as the native Ch’ien-hu. He belonged to the Mo-so tribe.

“La Chün-jung 喇君榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Lin, succeeded to his father’s position in the 15th year of Ch’ien-lung (1750).

“La Yung-chung 喇用中, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father’s position in the 20th year of Ch’ien-lung (1755).

“La T’ing-hsiang 喇廷相, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father’s position in the 34th year of Ch’ien-lung (1769).

“La Ying-han 喇英翰, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsiang, succeeded to his father’s position in the ninth year of Chia-ch’ing (1804). [He is mentioned in the Ssu-ch’uan T’ung-chih of 1816 as the ruling T’u-ssu of Chung-so.] In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821) he was ordered to join the punitive expedition against the Yün-nan wild tribes. He was afterwards rewarded with the fourth class official button.

“La Wen-ch’ing 喇文清, eldest son of the legal wife of Han, succeeded to his father’s position in the third year of Tao-kuang (1823). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) the Yün-nan bandit chief Chang Ta-chio-pan and his followers disturbed the peace. He led his own militia, pursued the brigands and helped exterminate them all, whereupon the Emperor rewarded him with the peacock plume.

“La Pang-tso 喇邦佐, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch’ing, succeeded to his father’s position in the first year of T’ung-chih (1862). In the sixth year of T’ung-chih (1867) the Yün-nan brigands besieged Yen-yuan, whereupon he led his own soldiers, raised defence works and helped to exterminate the bandits. The Emperor thereupon conferred on him the additional rank of Brigadier-General.

“La Shu-t’ung 喇淑統, nephew of Tso. He was appointed as the rightful heir and succeeded to his uncle’s position. [No date is given of his assuming the office of Ch’ien-hu of Chung-so.]

“The present (1940) Ch’ien-hu of Chung-so is La Ch’eng-chieh 喇成傑.

“In the Chung-so territory are two stockaded villages of importance. One is called Shui-tz’u-wa-chai 水次灣寨 and the other Ch’e-ch’iu-chai 扯邱寨. Another village is called La-t’a-chai 喇踏寨.

19 The Ssu-ch’uan t’u-i k’ao p. 38a states: The Chung-so T’u-ch’ien-hu’s family name is La 喇; his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He submitted to the Imperial rule and extirpating the brigands he acquired merit and received the hereditary rank of Assistant Chilarch. In previous years he paid tribute in horses and received the Imperial command to remain at his post and lend assistance to the postal courier. His territory adjoined Lang-ch’ü chou in Yün-nan and was repeatedly raided. The land originally under his jurisdiction was narrow and closely hemmed in. There were barely a hundred tribesmen and their position was isolated and weak, but they defended themselves energetically. The present resident (written in the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty [1573–1620]) La Shu-tsu 喇淑祖 continues the clan according to the law of inheritance.
"The census of 1834 held in the Chung-so territory revealed a population of 485 households composed of 1,283 tribespeople."

6. TSO-SO

"The seat of the T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so is 240 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is formed by the Mountain Shata-wa-t'a-erh (Shan) and adjoins the boundary of the district of Yen-yüan, a distance of 400 li. The southern border is at Pa-ch'iu and adjoins the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district, a distance of 120 li. The western border adjoins the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory distant 30 li. The northern border adjoins the border of the Pacification Commissioner's territory of Kua-pieh 120 li [and also that of Mu-li]. The entire territory has a circumference of 670 li, extending from north to south 240 li and from east to west 430 li.

"He rules over 1,001 families of tribespeople [who are mostly Mo-so, or, to be correct, Hli-khin or Lükhi, a branch of the Na-khi, also Lo-lo and Hsi-fan]."

"The Tso-so chief pays taxes in kind amounting to 70 tan of buckwheat. This is delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. He controls also the native chief of Pi-chü-lu. The latter place is also known as Nan-yang-chai."

The Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao pp. 37a–37b relates of the Tso-so territory as follows:

"The family of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch) is La, his distant ancestor La-t'a was a native of that place. In the 25th year of the period Hung-wu (1392) Yueh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la planned a revolt but were reduced to submission. La-t'a returned allegiance, established a great army at Yen-ching wei and repeatedly attacked the robbers; he acquired merit and pacified the people.

The second generation ancestor La-ma-fei went in audience with the Emperor and paid tribute in horses which he sent to the capital. He was thereupon promoted to hereditary Native Assistant chiliarch of Tso-so of Yen-ching wei.

In the 11th year of the period Yung-lo (1413) he was promoted by Imperial decree hereditary Cheng Ch'ien-hu, his descendants have inherited the title without interruption. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou of Yün-nan. He had a strong force of soldiers and horses. Recently (this was written in the Wan-li period [1573–1620]) his territory was seized by the Li-chiang fu native official Mu Wang 木旺 (see Page 122). Yung-ning fu also encroached on its borders and appropriated it and the tribesmen agreed to leave. The present resident (Wan-li period v.s.) La-ma-kao in his youth was an orphan and helpless to cope with the situation, but now that he has reached maturity he is rich, brave and shrewd and protects his inheritance."

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (edition 1733) states that the eastern border is at the mouth of the Wo-lo Ho [a branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho],
south to the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu of Yün-nan; west to the borders of the territory of Yung-ning, Yün-nan; and north to the border of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. At the time of the publication of this topography (1733) he ruled over 1,201 households. The Topography published in 1816 states that he rules over 525 households.

The ancestor of the Tso-so T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman, by name La-t'a 喇塔 (also written 他). According to the statement of the present Tso-so chief his first ancestor was called La-ma-t'a 喇馬塔. His territory to this day is called La-t'a and the Yung-ning Lake, the eastern half of which is in his domain, is known to the Mo-so as La-t'a Khū (La-t'a Lake).

Under the Mongols and Mings.—Little or nothing is known as to the history of this region prior to the Ming dynasty, save that it was conquered by Kublai Khan in 1253. He left officers in Yung-ning to rule the territory, which then was subject to Yung-ning and the latter in turn subject to the rulers of Li-chiang (see History of Yung-ning).

The Tu-shih jang-yü chi-yao ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that in the first moon of the 25th year of Hung-wu (January 25th-February 22nd, 1392) Yueh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 and the native, La-t'a 喇他 submitted to the empire and obeyed. The Ming Shih 明史, ch. 311, fols. 14a-b, states that Chia-ha-la was a Mo-so-tung 麻些洞 native chief. [In the ancient literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi), written in pictographs, it relates of their dwelling in caves]. It was not until towards the close of the period Hung-wu of the first Ming Emperor (1368-1398) that Yün-nan and especially the south-western part of China including the territory in question was subjugated.

It remained a last stronghold of the Mongols. The Yung-ning chiefs to this day pride themselves on their Mongol origin. Female relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were given in marriage to the aboriginal Mo-so native chiefs of Tso-so, called La-t'a.

The first Tso-so to visit the capital of the Ming empire, then Nanking, was the son of La-t'a or La-ma-t'a, called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. He made his submission and paid tribute. The Ming History relates that when the Imperial troops had captured Chien-ch'ang, Chia-ha-la was appointed a captain. Yueh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol military commander, resisted and with his followers tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops who had begun the subjection of the South-west. All his followers were killed, and he escaped to Po-hsing chou [the present-day Yen-yuan hsien], at that time ruled by Chia-ha-la. On the arrival of Yueh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, Chia-ha-la also rebelled. They were pursued by the Imperial troops who had commissioned a certain Pai-hu 百戶 (Centurion) by the name of Mao-hai 毛海 to arrange for their capture. He succeeded not only in capturing Yueh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, but also his son P'an-po 胖伯. Their followers thereupon made their submission; Yueh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and his son were taken to the capital and executed. Chia-ha-la was also captured and executed because he had also rebelled. This happened in the last (31st) year of Hung-wu (1392). It appears that the Chung-so and Tso-so chiefs also assisted in the capture of
Chia-ha-la, although it is stated that he was actually captured by Hsü K’ai 徐凱, a military commander.

At that time Chung-so and Tso-so had not yet been divided and were under the rule of a T’u-ch’ien-hu whose name was La-wu 剃兀. His son, who went later to pay tribute, was then appointed Fu-ch’ien-hu and not until the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) did he become officially T’u-ch’ien-hu. Thus the office of the Chung-tso T’u-ch’ien-hu had its beginning in that year. It was shortly afterwards that the Mu family (the chiefs) of Li-chiang encroached on the territory of the So and the latter lost about half of their domain.

**Genealogy of the Tso-so T’u-ch’ien-hu.** — “La shih-ying 啼聲英 was the first T’u-ch’ien-hu of Tso-so. He was a Mo-so tribesman and submitted to the Ch’ing dynasty in the 49th year of K’ang-hsi (1710). Thereupon the Emperor issued him letters patent and an official seal and ordered him to reside in the native village of To-she 多舍寨 in Tso-so territory as its native chieftain of one thousand (families).

“La Nan-chung 啼南仲, eldest son of the legal wife of Ying, succeeded to his father’s position in the 52nd year of K’ang-hsi (1713). In the 60th year (1721) he joined the Imperial troops to attack the Fan tribes [Hsi-fan, i.e., Mu-li natives of La-ju-o 胡汝窝; the Yung-pei Records write La-jou-o 胡肉窝] and succeeded in capturing the bandit chief Liao-ma-erh-ch’e 了馬兒車. On account of the meritorious service thus rendered he was rewarded with the fourth official rank and the appropriate official robes, plus 150 taels of silver.

“In the third year of Yung-cheng (1725) he again joined the Imperial troops to attack the bandits of Yung-ning in Yün-nan. [The Yung-ning people are neighbors of the Tso-so and belong to the same tribe, yet they have always hated each other and in the various chronicles they call each other bandits.] He succeeded in capturing the bandit leader and 37 of his followers. In the 10th year (1732) he was rewarded with robes and button of the third official rank, also a court dress and cap used in Imperial audience, and a pinto horse.

“La Kuang-yüan 啼光遠, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father’s position in the 23rd year of Ch’ien-lung (1758).

“La Kuo-yü 啼國玉, first legal grandson of Yuan, succeeded to his grandfather’s position in the 53rd year of Ch’ien-lung (1788).”

One generation is here apparently missing, namely the father of Te whose name must have been La (?) tsung 啼宗.

“La Pang-te 啼邦徳, eldest son of Tsung 宗, succeeded to his father’s position in the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858). In the sixth year of T’ung-chih the Yün-nan bandits besieged the town of Yen-yüan [Mohammedan rebels are here meant; they had even gone to Mu-li and slaughtered the lamas of Wa-chin]. He raised a military contingent and defense works and assisted in exterminating the bandits. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the second rank.

“La Cheng-hsiang 啼植祥, eldest son of the legal wife of Te, succeeded to his father’s position in the ninth year of T’ung-chih (1870).”
The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai. [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [See also Tso-so T'u-ssu under Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

"The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所千户 is 120 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州 and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao of the Ming Wan-li period (1573-1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州 21 governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]; south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿尼塔家 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan; west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung 22 at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 應家莊. The edition of 1733

20 Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

21 At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 趙, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 赵三嘉 was appointed T'u chih-chou 城州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 聯, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 鳳家.

22 Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.
YU-SO gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou (Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so (徳昌所). It is possible that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893.

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 tan of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22,011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Genealogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八ozo was the first ancestor of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chái) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch).

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yin-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yun-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yin-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-
minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠. The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 得).

8. Ch'ien-so 前所

"The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波菴 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出豬村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khig Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao of the Ming Wan-li period (1573-1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position. It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 赤郎村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-
ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border.

*Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so.

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsu (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, see Ch'ien-so under Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 洽橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 揚克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*].

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (q.v.), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border
Adjoining the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山頂, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k’o 雅押克山, a distance of 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers’ rations. In the Ssu-ch’uan T’ung-chih of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different So under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch’uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

“The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 迷雅寨. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople.”

Genealogy of the Hou-so T’u-pai-hu. — “Pai Ma-t’a 白馬塂 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T’u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K’ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

“Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T’a, succeeded to his father’s position in the ninth year of Ch’ien-lung (1744).

“Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father’s position in the 34th year of Ch’ien-lung (1769).

“Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father’s position in the 54th year of Ch’ien-lung (1789).

“Pai Kuo-hsien 白國賢, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father’s position in the 17th year of Chia-ch’ing (1812).

“Pai T’ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

“Pai T’ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 翦, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

“Pai Huai-hsing 白懷馨, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father’s position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

“Pai Chung-yo 白鐘瑤 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.
ADDENDUM

After I had written this book I returned in 1940 to Li-chiang in north-western Yün-nan to continue my investigations on the literature of the Na-khi tribe. While translating manuscripts and discussing with my dto-mbas (Na-khi priests) the aboriginal inhabitants, the P'u 水 tribe of Li-chiang which had been conquered by Ye-ku-nien chief of the Mo-so-man, I learned that the P'u are identical with the Boa, the Chinese Hsi-fan of Mu-li 木里.

In Na-khi manuscripts they are called 'P'u-mi which is a transcription of P'ron-mö by which name they designate themselves in Mu-li, while Boa is a derogatory name the Na-khi have given them. Before the arrival of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in Li-chiang the 'P'u-mi occupied the entire Li-chiang territory, but were conquered during the T'ang dynasty by Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te (618–626), or rather who held office during that time. The 'P'u-mi were driven by them to the north as well as into the mountains in the various li of the district of Li-chiang where they can still be found as in Nan-shan, Hsiang-ko li, etc., while the Na-khi occupied the plains and valleys.

During the Sung dynasty (see page 180–81) the 'P'u again gained control of their former territory till the advent of Yeh-yeh in 1101 A.D.

The Boa or 'P'u-mi together with the Hli-khin of Yung-ning once more tried to invade Li-chiang about 1521 but they were utterly defeated and most of them were decapitated at a place now known as Boa-shi or dead Boa, the Chinese Pai-sha-kaì 白沙街.

In a book of the "T'na k'ö ceremony called 'T'u 'lü it speaks of the 'P'u as follows: 'Ghiugh 'muan 'ngyü 'nnü, 'ndzër 'ssä 'dzu; 'Dzi 'muan 'ndsü 'nnü, 'P'u 'ssä 'ndsü; 'P'u 'ndsü 'haw 'muan 'shu, 'Ghugh 'haw 'ndzër 'muan 'shu.

Translated this reads: Before the birds were, the trees had been born; before the 'Dzi (Na-khi are meant) had settled, the P'u were settled; where the 'P'u had settled it was unnecessary to look for food (elsewhere), neither did the birds have to look for a roost. In another manuscript called 'Ö-yu-ngv-'szi-'yi of the 'Zhi 'mä funeral ceremony it relates that the 'P'u ate raw meat and that they also ate their dead. That the 'P'u must have been a very primitive people is borne out by the present living condition of their descendants in Mu-li where they form the main population. I have observed them eating carrion honey-combed by maggots of the thickness and size of a man's finger.

Little is known of their language which is very different from the other tribal languages; they have no written language but the lamas among them have employed the Tibetan script for it.
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Shih-men-kuon 石門崗, II, III
Shih-ngai-t’ang 石峨塘, II
Shih-teng 石亭, II
Shih-ts’u Shan 錫子山, III
Shih-wan-ho 石灣河, IV
Shio-ndo (Hsiang-to 習多), II
Shio-ndo (river), II
Shö-dzo (Shang-kö-tzu 樟子), II, III
Sho-ko dë, III
Shou-kö Su 俱圃寺 (bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling), II
Shu La (Shug La), I
Shu-ch’e 柴季, I
Shu-ho 東河 (Shwu-a-wuá), III
Shu-lo-k’o, III, IV
Shu-miao 梓苗, II
Shu-pa 桂巴, II
Shu-pu-pü 揮把鋪, IV
Shui-chia 水家, III
Shui-chien 石家, III
Shui-t’ang-tzu 水塘子, IV
Shwu-a-wuá, III
Shwu-a-wuá-gku, III
Shyon-gung, II
Si La 夕拉, IV
Si La (Hsi La 錫拉), I
Si-ger-dum (Sri-mgo-drum), I
Si-li, III, IV
Si-li (Tso-na), III, IV
Sinter terraces, III
So-lo-dzu, III
So-me Ho 索美河, I
So-shih-p’o 松石坡, I
Ss-lä, II, III
Ssw-gkaw-ndso Gyi, III
Ssw-gkaw-gku (Swan-hsien-ku 山仙姑), II, III
Ssi-li (Tzu-li 子里), II
Ssu-ch’i-t’ung 思就連 (Si-ki-t’ong), I
Ssu-mang Ta-hsiüeh Shan 綠頂大山, see Kha-
wa-kar-po Range
Ssu-pa-lo, II
Ssu-ts’er-ngu, II, III
Ssu-ts’un 司村, I
Sung-pü’tzu 松壘子, IV
Sung-po 松坡, II, III
Ta-ch’i 大其, II
Ta-ch’i-yang-pa 大楊坡, II
Ta-ch’ia 大橋, II
Ta-ch’iao 大橋, II
T'ai-i
Tech'in
Ta-yao
Te-ch'in
Ta-hua-shu 大花樹, III
Ta-huo Shan 大火山, II, III
Ta-k'ou (Nda-gy), III
Ta-li 西里, I
Ta-liu, IV
Ta-lo-shui 大洛水 (Lo-shu), III
Ta-mo Su 湖蓮寺 (bTan-hphel-gling), II
Ta-mo-yum, IV
Ta-niu-ch'ang 大牛庵, II
Ta-p'ing-tzu 大坪子, IV
Ta-p'u, IV
Ta-pu-tzu 大鋪子, IV
Ta-ra (Ta-la 那拉), II
Ta-ra Peak, III
Ta-ra Shan, III
Ta-shan 大山, III
Ta-shen-kou 大深溝, III
Ta-shih-pa 大石坡, II
Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭, I, II
Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 (near Do-lung), I;
(near T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘), I;
(river), I
Ta-t'ang 大塘, II, III
Ta-tu-k'ou 大渡口, IV
Ta-wan 大灣, III
Ta-yao Shan 素約 [素]山 (Wua-ha Shan), III
Ta-yeh-fang, IV
Ta-ying 大英, IV
Ta-dza (Hsia or Wai-t'ao-ch'eng 下外塔城), II
T'ai-i Shan 天山 (T'ien-i Shan 天山), II
T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘, II
T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村, III
T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關, III
T'ai-tzu-t'ung 太子鍾, III
T'ang-shui-tu 湖樹渡, I
Tech'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) (Jül), I
Tech'in Su 德欽寺 (De-chhen-gling), I
Tel-i-p'u 得力堡, II
Te-sheng-kou 得勝溝, II
Te-na-lo 特那洛, II
Ti-ma 達馬, II
Ti-tsang Su 地藏寺, II, III
Tiao-chung-yan 鐵鍊岩, IV
T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山, II, III
T'ieh-chiao鐵橋, Ancient, II
Tien-gou, IV
Tien-wei 西尾, II
Tien-sheng-ch'iao 天生橋, II
Tiger-leap Rapid (Hu-t'iao-t'an 虎跳灘), III
Ting-po Ho 定波河, I
T'khi-dü (Chi-chür), III
T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ii, III
To-gu-ti (T'o-ko-ti 擎樓底), II
To-ka-bo, III
To-kwa, III
To-na-ko 海那各, II
To-pegä, IV
To-shi (Tech'in 大沖), III
To-chih 拖支 (To-dü), II
To-chih Ta-ch'iao 拖支大橋, II
To-djri, III
To-k'ö-shér (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), III
To-lä-gki, IV
To-lä-tsu, III
To-mu-lang 拖木郎 [龍] (T'o-mu-na), II
To-ting 拖頂, II
Ton-du La, I
Ton-ri (Tan-lien 深入), II
Ton-tao-ho 頭道河, IV
Tra-shi-khang-ser, IV
Tsa-na Shan 哲那山, IV
Tsa-sher, III
Tsa-ssö-thang, I
Tsain-t'ong, IV
Tsap'o K'ong, IV
Ts'a-hai 深海 (Nda-bpa Khü) (Na-pa Tsho), II
Ts'a-ko-tien 草甸甸, IV
Tse-bu, III
Tse-li 塞里, II
Tse-ma La (Chi'-ma La 裏馬拉), I
Tse-mi (P'a-lo), III
Tse-mi-lo 播米洛, II
Tse-mu-shou 筆木售, II
Tse-r'i-t'eng, IV
Tse-yi-p'o (Chieh-i-p'o 夏地), II
Tsen-pa, I
Tsha-le (Ts'ai-la 塞良), I
Tsha-le La (Ch'a-li Hsiieh-shan 范里雪山), I
Tsha-rong, I
Tsho-dru (Tz'u-chung 茨中), I, II
Tso-so Shan 左所山, III
Tso-so Ya-men 左所衙門, III
Ts'o-lo-wu, III
Tsang-en (Tsung-en 仲恩), I
Tsing-t'ou-tien 右所天, III
Tsu-b'a, II, III
Tsu-kuei, I
Tsu-t'ou-p'o, III
Tsui-yi (Ts'wue-yi), I
Tu-keng-la hsiieh-shan 豆更拉雪山, I
Tu-bbu, III
T'u-kuan-ts'un 帝官村, II, III
Tu-kung-p'u, IV
Tu-lu, IV
Tung Shan 東山, III
T'ung-en 通恩, II
T'ung-tiao-wan, III
T'ung-tien 通甸, II
Tzu-li-chiang-ts'un 柘里江村 ('A-gkv-dzhi), III
Tz'u-k'ue 茨街 (Chu-ku 種街), I, II
Tz'u-wu 茨巫, I

Ui Chhu (O-i Ho 鄭富河), I

Vu-dchü, III
Vu-dzhu (Wu-chu 桃竹), II, III

Wa'a Mbu, III
Wabo, I
Wa'erh Lo 拉耳羅, III
Wa'erh-lo 拉耳羅, III
Wak'a凹卡, I
Wa-li 淡里, IV
Washwua, III

Wan-da-nong (Wan-ta-lung 當大龍), I
Wan-sung Shan 萬松山 (Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu), III
Wang-chiang Shan 望江山, II
Wei-hsi 維西 (Ba-lung) (Nyi-nya), II
Wei-teng 萬渡, II

Wen-feng Ssu 文峰寺 (Müan bbu-nä), III
Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村 (Swa-ssu-k'a), III
Wen-pi Shan 文筆山 (Sä-bpi zhër nv-iyv), III
Weng-tu 翁渡, I

Wo-lo Ho 卧羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打沖河) (Hli Gyi) (K'ai-chi Ho 開基河) (Lo-chi Ho 劉激河), III, IV
Wo-lo-ho 卧羅河 (village), IV
Woyü-p'a-k'ao, III
Wu-chio 羽重, III
Wu-dzu-lo, III

Wy-hou-p'o 武侯坡, II

Wu-lang Ho 五浪河 (Wu-liang Ho 五浪河), III, IV

Wu-li 五里, I
Wu-lu-wan 禄魯灣, II
Wu-shu-wua, III
Wu-tou-chung 五斗 المناطق, IV
Wua-bpa-du, III

Wua-div-k'o-du (Wa-tun-k'o-tui 瓦墩課堆), III
Wua-k'eqan-ts'än (Pai-ma-li 白馬里), III
Wua-ha Shan, III
Wua-ko, IV
Wua-la-pi, III
Wua-lo-k'o, III
Wu-lu, III
Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石), II

Wua-su-to, III
Wua-zhu Gom-pa, III
Wua-zhu law-k'aw, III
Wua-zhu-pu-nä, III

Ya-lung Chiang 燕郊江 (Lu Shui 滦水) (Chin Chiang 柳江) (Jo Shui 著水), IV
Ya-ma-dá, III, IV
Ya-men (village near Ba-chü), III
Ya-men, III
Ya-pe-ti 亞信地, IV
Ya-la-no (Liao-la 3 拉), I
Ya-t'ang 阿塘, II
Ya-tsi K'ong, IV
Ya-tsi Rän, IV

Yang-liu-p'ing 楊柳坪, III
Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八寺 (Yangs-pa-chen), I
Yang-tsa 扬哈 (La-tsa 扬哈), I
Yangtsie River, see Yang-tzu Chiang 楊子江
Yang-tzu Chiang 楊子江 (Dri Chhu) (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) (Gi-dji) (Ha-yi-bi) (La-lér Ha-yi-bi) (Yi-bi), I, II, III
Yao Shan 遼山 (Gkaw-ngaw gkii-p'ir Ngyu), III
Yao Shan, III
Yao (Yo)-ts'a-o-p'ing 賽草坪, III, IV
Yarkha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛), I
Yeh-chiu 葉秋 (Yüdii), I
Yeh-tsi (Yen-tzu 試子), I
Yen-ching 墾井 (Tsha-kha-lo), I
Yen-ching Ho 墾井河, IV
Yen-kou-pa 墾頭坡, III
Yen-lu Shan 遼路山 (Hsüeh-p'än Shan 集壁山), II

Yen-t'ang 墾塘 (Hei-yen-t'ang 黑壘塘), IV
Yen-yüan 墾源, IV
Yi-be Gom-pa, IV
Yi-bi (river), see Yang-tzu Chiang 楊子江
Yi-bi (village), III
Yi-dsö, III
Yi-gö-rú, I
Yi-gfx, III

Ying-chia-shan, III
Ying-p'an-kai 墾屎街, II
Yo-nyi (Yoi 稚宜), I
Yo-wa-bu, III

Yon-chu (Yung-chih 儲支), I
Yon-dron-wan (Yin-to-wan 因多灣), II
Yon-dze-kha (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍) (Cho-pa-rong), II

Yu-di-min, IV
Yu-k'o, III
Yu-k'o-lo, III

Yu-lo (Ying-p'an-ts'un 墾盤村), II, III

Yu-mi, III
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Yu-so 右所, IV
Yun-gou (Lang-kuo 郭果), II
Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, II
Yung-ning 永寧, III
Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), III
Yü-feng Ssu 玉峯寺 (bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling), III
Yü-hoa-ts' an (Ho-tao-yüan 核桃園), III
Yü-lung Kuan 玉龍關, III
Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山, III
Yü-lv-t'o, III

Za-ba, III
Za-kha-ya (San-k'o-ya 三克極), IV
Zam-pa-dru-kha (San-pa-te-k'a 三巴得卡), I
Zaw-muṅ, III
Zhe-dsu (Bo-wu-tsu), III
Zhi-dzom La (Long-bi La), I
Zhi-ron K'ong, IV
Zho Chhu (Shu Dji [Gyi]), III
Zhi-chin, IV
Zi-ga, IV
Zi-shér-dto, II, III