
**THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA**



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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

SHAN-TZU-TOU, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山與白水河

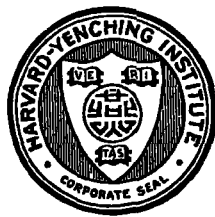
Photographed from an elevation of 10,500 feet, from a ridge overlooking the upper Pai-shui or White water, the Gyi-p'ër of the Na-khi. The main glacier on the eastern slopes is the source of the Gyi-p'ër. The trees in foreground are pines and spruces, the pale foliated trees poplars in autumn garb. On the higher slopes are firs and spruces, the lighter-colored trees, larches.

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THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

BY

JOSEPH F. ROCK



VOLUME I

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*To those persons who made our expeditions a
success, and who are thus indirectly
responsible for this book*



PREFACE

The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944-1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants

The maps were made by myself in the field, using as a basis the excellent map of Yün-nan by Major Davies, and the sketch map of the region of the upper Salwin, the Trun River, Mekong and Yangtze, published by the late Dr. Handel-Mazzetti.

The altitudes of towns, villages, rivers, passes, etc., are based on aneroid and hypsometer readings, while those of inaccessible peaks are approximate only. In certain instances, heights of mountains as determined by others, such as those of the snow peaks of the Yü-lung Shan, have been adopted.

I have endeavored to give the Na-khi name for every place, mountain, valley, meadow or crag in the area occupied by the Na-khi tribe. In regions where they live together with Chinese, Tibetans or other tribespeople, names of places, etc., are given as far as ascertainable, in those languages also.

Now, a few words as to the orthography of Chinese as well as Na-khi and Tibetan names employed in this work:

I have followed the Wade-Giles system of romanization throughout the work, with the exception of certain words which are pronounced differently in Yün-nan, as *ngai* (cliff) for *yen*, *kai* (market, street) instead of *chieh* and a few others which are indicated in their respective places. I have not followed the spelling of geographic names adopted by the Chinese Government Postal Service, but in some instances I have added them in parenthesis, while for words like Yangtze, the spelling generally in use has been adhered to. Tibetan names have been given in Tibetan script wherever possible; the transcription and romanization employed is that of Sir Basil John Gould, with certain modifications. In a few instances, it was not possible to ascertain the Tibetan orthography of names of places, etc., situated in remote and sparsely inhabited regions where the natives were illiterate. Even most lamas are ignorant of the proper spelling of Tibetan names. In nearly every instance, Chinese characters follow proper names, as well as geographic names, and in parenthesis follows the spelling of place names used on the maps of Major Davies and Handel-Mazzetti to facilitate their identification. For the pronunciation of Na-khi words the notes on pages xix-xx, below, are to be consulted.

Mr. B. Armstrong Claytor of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, has prepared the index.

J. F. ROCK

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, SUMMER, 1945

NOTE: Handel-Mazzetti published in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna (Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Bd. 97), a map and description of Li-chiang, and parts of the Mekong, Salwin, and Irrawadi. It includes the Yangtze loop, Chung-tien and its dependencies. As guides and collectors he had with him Na-khi from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö. All Na-khi, as well as most Yunnanese, are unable to pronounce final consonants, as *n* or *ng*. The spelling, therefore, of place names, etc., on his map is very bad. In addition he adopted the German romanization for the Chinese names mispronounced by the Na-khi, and the result is far from happy. The names of the Li-chiang snow peak may here serve as an example. Handel-Mazzetti gives it as Satseto; this is not a Na-khi name, but the purely Chinese term *Shan-tzu* 扇子 (a fan) and *tou* 陡 (steep, vertical). He gives the name Satseto as if it were a Na-khi one. Along with the Na-khi and Chinese names which I shall quote, will be put in parenthesis those given by Handel-Mazzetti (abbreviated to H-M).

CONTENTS

㊦ VOLUME I ㊦

NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NA-KHI WORDS	xix
--	-----

PART I. — INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF YÜN-NAN	3
I. TERRITORY BETWEEN K'UN-MING (YÜN-NAN FU) AND LI-CHIANG	11
II. THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT	40

PART II. — THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

I. "RECORDS OF LI-CHIANG"	45
II. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE REGION	48
III. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LI-CHIANG	63
IV. THE GENEALOGICAL CHRONICLES OF THE MU FAMILY	66
V. THE FIRST CHRONICLE	76
VI. THE HISTORICAL GENERATIONS OF THE NA-KHI KINGS	87
VII. COLOPHON AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS OF THE NA-KHI CHIEFS	154

PART III. — THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

I. THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG	171
II. THE MOUNTAINS OF LI-CHIANG	183
III. LAMASERIES AND BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF LI-CHIANG	201
IV. LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE AND TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE YANGTZE LOOP	212
V. THE LI-CHIANG TERRITORY WITHIN THE YANGTZE LOOP	229
VI. CHUNG-TIEN	248
VII. AIR FLIGHT ROUND LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE AND THROUGH THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO — YANGTZE GORGE	272

㊦ VOLUME II ㊦

PART IV. — AREA WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF LI-CHIANG

I. FROM LI-CHIANG TO CH'I-TSUNG	275
II. WEI-HSI	294
III. TE-CH'IN AND THE MEKONG-SALWEEN DIVIDE	320
IV. THE SOUTH-EASTERN REGION OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)	342

PART V.—YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

I. HISTORY AND BOUNDARIES OF YUNG-NING	355
II. FAMILY CHRONICLES OF THE YUNG-NING T'U-SSU	365
III. THE MOUNTAINS OF YUNG-NING	382
IV. WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING	388
V. THE YUNG-NING PLAIN	410
VI. YUNG-NING LAKE AND TSO-SO TERRITORY	415
VII. NING-LANG OR LANG-CH'Ü CHOU	429

PART VI.—YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

I. YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT RECORDS	435
II. THE EIGHT MO-SO CHIEFTAINCIES IN SOUTH-WEST SSU-CH'UAN	453
ADDENDUM	471
INDEX	473

PLATES

VOLUME I

Frontispiece: Shan-tzu-tou, the Highest Peak of the Yü-lung Shan

FOLLOWING PAGE 28

1. The Northern End of Tien Ch'ih, the Yün-nan Lake
2. Tien Ch'ih Seen from Hsi Shan
3. A Typical Yün-nan Highway
4. West Shore of the Ta-li Erh Hai
5. Kuan-yin Ssu between Hsia-kuan and Ta-li
6. Two of the Three Pagodas of San-t'a Ssu
7. Min-chia Peasants
8. Min-chia Women
9. Yeh-yeh, Ancestor of the Mu Family
10. An Ancient Na-khi Manuscript
11. An Ancient Na-khi Manuscript
12. The Second Generation. Mou-pao A-tsung
13. The Third Generation. A-tsung A-liang
14. The Fourth Generation. A-liang A-hu
15. The Fifth Generation. A-hu A-lieh
16. The Sixth Generation. A-lieh A-chia

FOLLOWING PAGE 44

17. The Seventh Generation. A-chia A-te (Mu Te)
18. The Eighth Generation. Mu Ch'u
19. The Ninth Generation. Mu T'u
20. The Tenth Generation. Mu Shen
21. The Eleventh Generation. Mu Ch'in
22. The Twelfth Generation. Mu T'ai
23. The Thirteenth Generation. Mu Ting
24. The Fourteenth Generation. Mu Kung
25. The Fifteenth Generation. Mu Kao
26. The Sixteenth Generation. Mu Tung
27. The Seventeenth Generation. Mu Wang
28. The Eighteenth Generation. Mu Ch'ing
29. The Nineteenth Generation. Mu Tseng
30. Memorial Gate of the Mu Family, Li-chiang
31. The Twentieth Generation. Mu I
32. The Twenty-first Generation of the Second Chronicle. Mu Yu

FOLLOWING PAGE 76

33. The Twenty-second Generation. Mu Yao
34. The Twenty-third Generation. Mu Hsing
35. The Twenty-fourth Generation. Mu Chung
36. The Inscription at Hsüeh-sung-ts'un
37. The Twenty-fifth Generation. Mu Te
38. The Twenty-sixth Generation. Mu Hsiu
39. The Twenty-seventh Generation. Mu Jui
40. The Twenty-eighth Generation. Mu Han
41. The Twenty-ninth Generation. Mu Ching
42. The Thirtieth Generation. Mu Yin
43. The Thirty-second Generation. Mu Ch'ung
44. Mu Tseng as a Buddhist Monk

45. Scroll Inscription by Mu Tseng
46. The Second Scroll Inscription by Mu Tseng
47. Shrine of Mao and Yang
48. The Statue of Yang Shen

FOLLOWING PAGE 108

49. The Ancestral Tablet of Yang Shen
50. The Town of Li-chiang
51. The Li-chiang Market or Ssu-fang Kai
52. The Northwestern Part of the Li-chiang Plain
53. A Typical Street of Li-chiang
54. The Yü-lung Shan or Jade-dragon Mountain
55. The Three Protecting Lords, the Gangkar-ling Snow Peaks
56. Mount Chhana-dorje, the Holder of the Thunderbolt of the Gangkar-ling System
57. Mount Jambyang, the God of Learning of the Gangkar-ling System
58. Jambyang and Chenrezig of the Gangkar-ling System
59. Mount Chenrezig or Kuan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy of the Gangkar-ling System
60. Minya Gangkar, the Minya Snow Peak
61. The Temple of Sa-ddo or Pei-yo Miao
62. Main Shrine of Sa-ddo or Pei-yo
63. Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas
64. The Chieh-t'o-lin Lamasery

FOLLOWING PAGE 140

65. A Na-khi Muan-bpö D'a
66. Mount Shan-tzu-tou
67. Saussurea laniceps H-M
68. The Limestone Mass of Shan-tzu-tou
69. The Alpine Meadow of Man-dzu-gkv
70. The Gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv
71. The Sa-ba Gorge
72. Sa-ba dü-la-lo, the Northeastern Branch of Sa-ba
73. The Glacier at the Head of Sa-ba lo-gkv
74. The Na-khi Village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un
75. A Na-khi Farmer from the Village of Nv-lv-k'ö
76. Na-khi Women of the Village of Nv-lv-k'ö
77. Southern End of the Yü-lung Shan in Winter Snow
78. Mount Shan-tzu-tou
79. Nga-ba, the Ancient Bed of an Ice Lake
80. Nga-ba Transformed into a Blue Lake

FOLLOWING PAGE 156

81. Na-khi Woodcutters
82. Warrior Dressed in Hli-khin Armor
83. The White Water Glacier Stream
84. Nda-za gko, the Loveliest of Alpine Meadows
85. The Third Highest Peak Gyi-nà nv-lv
86. Looking South along the Yü-lung Shan
87. On the Summit Slopes of Gyi-nà nv-lv
88. The Confluence of the Chien-t'ai Ho and the Yangtze near Ta-ku

FOLLOWING PAGE 172

89. The Southern Peaks of 'A-ts'an-gko
90. The Northern Crags of 'A-ts'an-gko
91. The Alpine Region of Gv-ssu-gko dü-man
92. Virgin, Mixed Forest on the Eastern Slopes of Yü-lung Shan
93. The Pine Forest of Ghügh-t'o Wantonly Destroyed by Lo-lo Tribespeople
94. Lo-lo Women at Ghügh-t'o
95. Lo-lo Tribal Men from Ghügh-t'o
96. Na-khi Peasants of Mba-yi-wüa
97. A Na-khi Woman from Mba-yi-wüa

98. Mount Gyi-nà nv-lv and the 'A-ts'an-gko Range
99. The Na-khi Village of La-zä
100. The Yangtze at La-pao Looking Downstream
101. Na-khi (Zhër-khin) Ferryman at Feng-k'o
102. The Yangtze and Ferry at Feng-k'o
103. The Yangtze — Gv-ho-gu Gorge
104. In the Gv-ho-gu Yangtze Gorge

FOLLOWING PAGE 188

105. The Confluence of the Yangtze and the Zho Chhu
106. The Western Arm of the Yangtze Loop
107. The Eastern Arm of the Yangtze Loop
108. The Yangtze near P'a-lo
109. The Yangtze at Chiang-wai
110. The Only Bridge across the Yangtze
111. The Chin-lung ch'iao Chain Suspension Bridge
112. Gkaw-ngaw Lake
113. The Yangtze West of the Yü-lung Shan
114. The Ferry across the Yangtze at Yu-lo
115. The Yangtze at Ggö-lo
116. Chung-chia Tribespeople from La-muan-dze
117. The Entrance to 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge
118. Confluence of the Chung-chiang Ho and Yangtze
119. The Yangtze in the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge Near No-yü
120. The Yangtze in the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge

FOLLOWING PAGE 220

121. The Central Part of the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge
122. The Na-khi Hamlet Gyi-p'ër-lo in the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge
123. The Yangtze in the Central Part of the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge
124. The Celebrated Hu-t'iao-t'an or Tiger-leap Rapid
125. The Yangtze in the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge Looking Upstream from near the Hu-t'iao-t'an
126. The Pinnacled Limestone Wall of the Yangtze Gorge Opposite Ta-shen-kou
127. The End of the Trail in the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge
128. View into the 'A-ts'an-gko Gorge
129. The Yangtze in the Ta-ku Plain
130. Pine Forest in the Ha-ba District
131. Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv, the Fourth Highest Peak of the Yü-lung Shan
132. The Bbër-ddër Na-khi Village of Wu-shu-wüa
133. The Mountains of Gkü-dü Northeast of Bbër-ddër
134. Na-khi from the Village of Bu-du-wüa
135. The Mysterious Sacred Spring at Bbër-p'ër-dtër
136. The Sinter Terraces of Bbër-p'ër-dtër

FOLLOWING PAGE 244

137. The Sinter Cascades and Basins of Bbër-p'ër-dtër
138. The Sinter Terraces of Bbër-p'ër-dtër
139. Sinter Buttresses Support the Terraces of Bbër-p'ër-dtër
140. The Sacred Grotto Shi-lo Ne-k'o
141. Na-khi Swimmers with Their Inflated Goatskins
142. A Raft Negotiating the Yangtze
143. Na-khi Swimmers with Their Raft
144. Arrival of One of the Expedition's Goat-skin Rafts on the Ta-ku Side
145. The T'ai-tzu (Tung) Cave
146. 'A-dto-daw, the Western Wall of the Yü-lung Shan
147. Many Flying Squirrels Inhabit the T'ai-tzu (Tung) Cave
148. The Yangtze West of the Yü-lung Shan
149. The Bulky Mass 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv
150. Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv as Seen from Our Plane
151. The Peak of Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv or Ha-pa Shan
152. The Plane K'un-ming near Wen-hua-ts'un

VOLUME II

FOLLOWING PAGE 298

- 153. The Yangtze near Shih-men-kuan
- 154. The Yangtze near Nda-lä
- 155. The T'a-ch'eng Kuan, One of the Most Historic Passes of Northwestern Yün-nan
- 156. The Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung
- 157. A Na-khi with Crossbow
- 158. The Town of Wei-hsi
- 159. Na-khi Lamas of the Yellow Sect
- 160. The Late Mun-kwua or Na-khi Chief Yeh-chih Wang Kuo-hsiang
- 161. The Mekong near the Na-khi Village of Lo-ndu
- 162. The Rope Bridges across the Mekong at Lo-ndu
- 163. The Mekong Gorge near Tse-yi-p'o
- 164. The Rope Bridge across the Mekong at Tz'u-ku
- 165. The Tibetan Hamlet of Nyi-thang
- 166. The Rope Bridges at Yang-tsa
- 167. The Mekong North of Yang-tsa
- 168. The Mekong near Ngun-ya, Looking Upstream

FOLLOWING PAGE 330

- 169. Ancient Tibetan Watch Towers, Common in the Mekong Valley
- 170. Mekong Tibetans from the Village of Ch'i-tzu-shih
- 171. Mount Me-tse-mo, the Highest Peak of the Kha-wa-kar-po Range
- 172. The Town of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) as Seen from the Dru La, Elevation 12,500 Feet
- 173. The Bleak Town of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu)
- 174. Kha-wa-kar-po, the Central Peak of the Range
- 175. A Tibetan Soldier from A-tung
- 176. Tibetan Women Pilgrims
- 177. The Sacred Do-kar La
- 178. Looking toward Yün-nan from the Do-kar La
- 179. The Mountains of Tsha-rong
- 180. The Descent into Tsha-rong Southeastern Tibet
- 181. The Kha-wa-kar-po Peak Viewed from Tsha-rong, Tibet
- 182. Tibetan Offerings to the Kha-wa-kar-po Mountain God
- 183. Tibetan Pilgrims from Kham *en route* to the Sacred Do-kar La
- 184. *Abies Chensiensis*, the Tallest Conifer below the Si La

FOLLOWING PAGE 362

- 185. Firs and Rhododendrons below the Si La
- 186. The Valley of the Salween
- 187. The Lu-tzu Village of Bahang
- 188. A Nu-tzu (Lu-tzu) Family from Pai-han-lo (Bahang)
- 189. Lu-tzu Huts at Bahang
- 190. The Salween River as Seen from A-lo-la-kha
- 191. Lu-tzu Village Headman of Chang-ra
- 192. The Salween at Chang-ra
- 193. Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung in the Salween Valley
- 194. The Marble Gorge of the Salween
- 195. Within the Salween Marble Gorge
- 196. Mount Ke-nyi-chum-po of the Salween — Irrawadi divide
- 197. A Ch'iu-tzu from the Trun Valley
- 198. Dra-chhen Peak at the Head of the Zhi-dzom La
- 199. The Lung-dre Stream below the Zhi-dzom La
- 200. The Do-kar La Stream at Its Confluence with the Mekong

FOLLOWING PAGE 394

- 201. The Mekong near the Mouth of the Do-kar La Stream
- 202. Ch'ou Ku-tsung (Tibetans) from near Pen-tzu-lan
- 203. The Kha-wa-kar-po Range as Seen from Pai-mang Shan

- 204. The Highest Pass across the Pai-mang Shan
- 205. The Highest Peak of Pai-mang Shan
- 206. The Road to Tung-chu-lin through Magnificent Spruce Forest
- 207. Tung-chu-lin Lamasery
- 208. A Mo-so — Tibetan Homestead near Kar-ri

FOLLOWING PAGE 410

- 209. Mo-so — Ku-tsung Tribal Woman of Tsho-khà-thang
- 210. Tibetan Wooden Bridge over the Yon-dze-khà
- 211. The Late Mu-li T'u-ssu Hang Tz'u-ch'en-cha-pa
- 212. Here at Jih-yüeh-ho Kublai Khan Camped with His Army
- 213. A Yün-shan the Late Tsung-Kuan of Yung-ning
- 214. The Family of the Yung-ning Native Prefect
- 215. A Hli-khin Maiden of Yung-ning
- 216. The Lion-head Mountain or Shih-t'ou Shan
- 217. The Western End of the Yung-ning Lake
- 218. The Eastern Branch of the Wu-liang Ho or Zho Chhu in Mu-li Territory
- 219. Shih-tzu-wan or Lion's Cove
- 220. The Yung-ning Plain with Lion Mountain
- 221. Hli-khin Ladies, Members of the T'u-ssu Family
- 222. Yung-ning Nda-pa (Sorcerers) Performing the Zhi-wua-gkã Ceremony
- 223. A Ha-pa Contraption to Prevent Hailstorms
- 224. The Yung-ning Lamasery Djra-mi-gko

FOLLOWING PAGE 426

- 225. The Yung-ning Lama Chanting Hall
- 226. Lama Dancers of Yung-ning
- 227. Hli-khin, Na-khi, Hsi-fan, Li-su and Tibetans Come to Watch the Lama Dances at Yung-ning
- 228. The Maitreya or Coming Buddha in Yung-ning Lamasery
- 229. Na-khi Dto-mbas Performing the Hãr-la-lü Ceremony
- 230. Yo-wa-bu Pass over the Ta-yao Shan
- 231. Li-su Guard with Crossbow on Yo-wa-bu Pass
- 232. The Yangtze Valley Looking Southwest from near Bã-a
- 233. Yung-ning Pien-niu or Half-breed Yak
- 234. The Li-su Hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko
- 235. Li-su Log Cabins of the Ba-ssu-ko Village
- 236. Li-su Peasants of Ba-ssu-ko
- 237. View over Yung-ning and Lion Mountain from East of To-ka-bo Pass
- 238. Crossing the Yangtze near the Apex of the Loop
- 239. A Na-khi Soldier of O-yü, Now Serving the Mu-li T'u-ssu
- 240. The Northern Shore of Yung-ning Lake

FOLLOWING PAGE 458

- 241. Bu-chër, the Yung-ning Boneless Pig
- 242. A Lo-lo from Wu-chio Village
- 243. The Yung-ning Lake with the Island of Nyo-ro-p'u
- 244. View of Lion-head Mountain from the Center of Nyo-ro-p'u
- 245. Lion Mountain Goddess Seng-ge Ga-mu
- 246. Seng-ge Ga-mu's Shrine on Nyo-ro-p'u
- 247. The Abbot of the Tso-so Bön Lamasery
- 248. Hli-khin Ladies of the Tso-so La T'u-ssu Family
- 249. Tso-so Bön Lamas Gathered for the Dance
- 250. The Southeastern End of Yung-ning Lake
- 251. Yung-ning Lake and Nyo-ro-p'u Island as Seen from the T'u-bbu Peninsula
- 252. Landing on the West Shore of the Island of Nyo-ro-p'u
- 253. Wife of the Late Tsung-kuan with Her Children
- 254. Lu-zo the Last-born Son of the Late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan
- 255. View from the Island of A-na-wa
- 256. Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Peasants of Dshi-zhi in Mu-li

NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NA-KHI WORDS

<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>As in</i>
a	low back vowel	father
ǎ	same as above, short	Germ. <i>hat</i>
'a	low back vowel, with laryngeal constriction like Arabic ' <i>asim</i>	
ä	mid front vowel	Fr. <i>seize</i>
aw	half-low back vowel, rounded	awe
b	voiced bilabial stop, lenis	be
bb	voiced bilabial stop, fortis, long (the vowel after bb, dd, ff, gg, ll, and nn is always short, as compared with that after an initial denoted by single b, d, etc.)	
bp	unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
ch	unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
ch'	aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
d	voiced dental stop, lenis	day
dd	voiced dental stop, fortis, long	
ds'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, lenis	
dt	voiceless dental stop, fortis	
dz	voiced dental affricate	adze
e	half-high front vowel (slightly higher than ä)	egg
ër	retroflexed mid central vowel, with a slight pharyngeal constriction	
erh	(orthography for Chinese loan words, with same phonetic value as ër)	
ff	voiceless labio-dental fricative, fortis, long	
g	voiced velar stop, lenis	go
gg	voiced velar stop, fortis, long	
gh	voiced uvular (or pharyngeal) fricative, like Fr. r <i>grass-eye</i> or the Arabic <i>gham</i>	
gk	voiceless velar stop, fortis	
h	voiceless glottal fricative	hat
i	high front vowel	police
ĩ	high front vowel, slightly centralized	
k'	aspirated voiceless velar stop, fortis	
ḳh	voiceless velar fricative	Germ. <i>ach</i> .
kh	voiceless palatal fricative	Germ. <i>ich</i> .
l	voiced lateral continuant	low
ll	voiced lateral continuant, fortis, long	
lv	initial l plus syllabic v	
m	bilabial nasal, independent initial or combined with b to form the cluster mb	mother

<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>As in</i>
n	dental nasal, independent initial or combined with d and dz to form the clusters nd and ndz	no
<u>n</u>	(letter to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel)	
ng	velar nasal, independent initial or combined with g to form the cluster ngg (simplified into ng in the text)	long
nn	dental nasal, fortis, long	
nv	nasalized syllabic v	
ō	half-high back vowel, rounded	Germ. <i>Sohn</i>
ö	half-high front vowel, rounded	Germ. <i>Söhne</i>
ou	back rounded diphthong	no
p'	aspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
r	(see ěr)	
s	voiceless dental fricative, fortis	sister
ss	voiceless dental fricative, extra fortis, long	
sh	voiceless alveolar fricative	show
sz	voiced dental fricative, fortis, long (syllable or followed by ěr)	
t'	aspirated voiceless dental stop, fortis	
ts	unaspirated voiceless dental affricate	
ts'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, fortis	
u	high back vowel, rounded	rude
ũ	same as u, but less rounded and short	
ü	high front vowel, rounded (but back unrounded after gh)	Fr. <i>su</i>
ue	(after labials only) diphthong consisting of high back vowel, unrounded, followed by mid back vowel	
v	voiced labio-dental fricative, used in syllabic position after g, gk, k', d, dt, t' and l	
w	voiced bilabial continuant	way
wúa	special syllable, with prominence on "u" and value of "a" centralized	
wuà	same, with prominence on "a"	
y	voiced palatal continuant	yes
zh	voiced alveolar fricative	Fr. <i>je</i>

TONES

<i>Superscript</i>	<i>Description</i>
a ¹	low-falling
a ²	middle-level
a ³	high-short
a ⁴	high-rising

The fourth tone occurs only in words borrowed from the Chinese or Tibetan languages.

**THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA**



PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF YÜN-NAN

Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China, and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486, or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet - Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yunnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (see Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

In the area covered by map no. 1, the Na-khi live in scattered villages alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 tribe. — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).²

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊騫, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

¹ The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 獬豸), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

² The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 2a–5a, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 蒲蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 辰州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.³

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 瀆, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

³ The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298-293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-p'ung-chih*, ch. 499, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chü* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牁 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 月 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-lao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山洞 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'ao-ching ch'ao-wen chi* 巢經巢文集, ch. 2, fol. 1-2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lueh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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