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**China's routes to Tibet during the early Qing Dynasty: A study of
travel accounts**

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University of Washington, 1994

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CHINA'S ROUTES TO TIBET DURING THE EARLY QING DYNASTY
a study of travel accounts

by
Ho-chin Yang

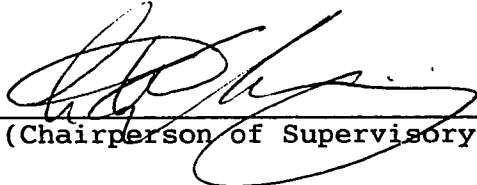
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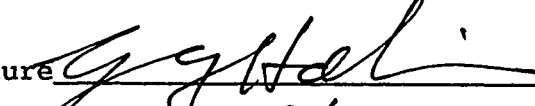
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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

China's Routes to Tibet During the Early Qing Dynasty
a study of travel accounts

by Ho-chin Yang

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Prior to the 18th century Chinese knowledge of the route conditions from China Proper to Tibet was fragmentary and largely fictitious. It was only after the Kangxi Emperor's expedition in 1720 that accurate information about Tibet became available to the Chinese.

This study uses both Chinese and Tibetan sources. The Chinese sources consist of two early Qing travel accounts: Zangcheng jilue, written by Jiao Yingqi in 1721 and Zangxing jicheng, a diary written by Du Changding, beginning on January 5, 1721, and ending on January 29, 1722. The Tibetan source is the section of the Fifth Dalai Lama's diary which concerns his trip from Lhasa to Peking and his return as recorded in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume One, folio 173b to folio 219a.

These texts are translated or summarized, and annotated as major sources for an examination of the Sino-Tibetan relations during the early Qing period.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

I. Chinese and Tibetan Sources

In this study, writings in both Chinese and Tibetan will be studied. The Chinese sources consist of two early Qing travel accounts: Zangcheng jilue and Zangxing jicheng. The Tibetan source consists of the section of the Fifth Dalai Lama's diary which concerns his trip from Lhasa to Peking, and his return, as recorded in his autobiography. These texts are translated or summarized, and annotated as major sources for an examination of the Sino-Tibetan relations during the early Qing period.

Although people had journeyed between China and Tibet throughout history, official Chinese records offered no details about either route conditions or the personal experiences of the travelers. As for unofficial Chinese accounts, none to my knowledge were published before the Qing period. Therefore, from the Tang dynasty (618-906) onward, for about eleven hundred years, the Chinese were limited to their historical records for studying relations between China and Tibet.

While Chinese governmental documents are important, they are invariably political; for their purpose is to aggrandize China's influence and power. These documents

represent the official point of view of the Chinese government, while private accounts are for the most part politically disinterested. The private accounts recount situations as the authors beheld them, divorced from their official duties. They wrote primarily to express their own feelings about people and matters or to describe their personal experiences. From such private records the reader can learn more about a people's activities, thought, and social patterns, uncolored by official record-keepers. A travel account usually covers geographical information, and observations about a people and their society in addition to the author's reactions toward the different cultures he encounters. Many private Chinese travel accounts were also written as works of literature; thus their value is not limited to factual recording, but they often offer material for literary appreciation as well. Therefore, a study of travel accounts provides an insightful approach toward understanding the encounter between the author's culture and the cultures he describes.

The earliest accounts of journeys between China and Tibet during the Qing dynasty were of Kangxi Emperor's expedition against the Dzungars who had invaded Lhasa and killed Lha-bzang Khan in 1717. Three years later the Dzungars were driven away from Tibet and the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757) was escorted by the imperial forces to Lhasa to be enthroned. This extensive military operation

brought about a greater familiarity with the geography of Tibet, which aided those Qing government officials who were responsible for dealing with Tibetan affairs. This was a turning point that tightened future relations between Lhasa and Peking.

The Zangcheng jilue was written by Jiao Yingqi in 1721; the Zangxing jicheng was a diary written by Du Changding, beginning on January 5, 1721, and ending on January 29, 1722. Jiao's journey began from Xining, passed through Lhasa, and then ended in Jingyang of Shaanxi province by way of Khams. Du's journey started from the capital city of Yunnan province and headed northwestward until he reached Lho-rong-rdzong. These two travel accounts have recorded geographical information and some notes about the Tibetan people in Tibetan areas.

During the Qing period there were three main routes leading to Lhasa from China. The first one began in Xining in the Kokonor region, and passed over the Ldang-la. This route was usually regarded as the primary route because it was traveled by most of the official envoys. The second route began in Chengdu in Sichuan, and passed through Dar-tse-mdo. A third course to Tibet was opened during the Dzungarian occupation of Tibet when Imperial Qing troops marched through southwest Khams from Yunnan. Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding have described the conditions of these three main routes leading to Lhasa from China. Moreover,

both accounts were written at the end of the Kangxi's reign, so that they have recorded the route conditions and cultural events of different geographical areas in Tibet of that time. For this reason, Jiao Yingqi's Zangcheng jilue and Du Changding's Zangxing jicheng are put together side by side in this dissertation to form a unique historical and geographical study about Tibet during the early Qing dynasty.

With their vivid and emotional descriptions of the Tibetan areas they traveled, Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding introduce the reader to a close-up Chinese picture of Tibet in the early 18th century. Since their writings are the earliest non-governmental publications, their historical value is as important as that of the contemporary official documents of their time. During the latter part of the Qing dynasty many travelers were inspired by the accounts of Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding; thus they too published their own works about Tibet. Consequently, these individual accounts on Tibet have become numerous; some of them are even compiled into different series of literature. For instance, Du Changding's Zangcheng jilue is quoted by the author of the Weizang tongzhi¹, as appendix to its Chapter Four, where route conditions in the Tibetan areas are included.

With the help of those later published Chinese literature, archives, and maps of Tibet, some questionable portions in the texts of Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding can be

discerned. By comparing the dates recorded by Du Changding in his diary Zangxing jicheng with the dates recorded in the Daqing shengzu renhuangdi shilu, the author of this dissertation found that some entries were dated inaccurately. Other geographical records have also helped the author in understanding the border situation between China and Tibet during the early Qing period.

In some cases, because the Qing Imperial documents did not record the route conditions of Tibetan areas in as great a detail as the accounts recorded by Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding, the geographical information the two travelers provide has helped cartographers and compilers of gazetteers to add more cultural notes and place names to their works. Therefore, the works by Jiao and Du should be regarded as important original sources for the study of Tibet during the early Qing period. Meanwhile, of course, they should also be studied with caution because such private accounts are usually fragmentary and occasionally colored with their authors' misconceptions or preconceptions.

In order to evaluate the two travel accounts by Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding, the author of this dissertation has undertaken a comparative study, comparing different editions of the original texts to correct printing errors before beginning to translate them. For the annotation and footnotes the author has studied not only the related official records, gazetteers, maps, but also most of the

available unofficial travel notes published during the Qing period. As a result of this comparative study, the value of the works by Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding becomes more apparent. Their beautiful writing style and poetic content show that the authors were skilled in Chinese literature, but the emotional descriptions of their respective journeys express negative attitudes taken toward both the hardships of their journey and the native peoples of the frontier regions. From their writings it is not difficult to realize that both Jiao and Du had strong ethnocentric reactions toward the frontier peoples of China--chauvinistic attitudes which even their eloquent lines of literature cannot hide. Hence while we can study Chinese travel accounts for their narrative aesthetics, we should also proceed one step further to search for some other hidden norm so that we can make use of the literature for other purposes, such as the study of the Sino-Tibetan relations during the early Qing period.

The Tibetan language had been ignored almost completely by Chinese authors who had written about Tibet during the Qing period. This short-coming provides ironic evidence which shows that Chinese intellectuals really never devoted thorough attention to the land of Tibet and its people. In this dissertation information derived from Chinese sources has been balanced with that taken from some of the works written by Tibetan scholars and Western travelers, thus

allowing for a more accurate description.

During the early Qing period there were psychological as well as geographical barriers which hindered the development of Sino-Tibetan relations. This study attempts to examine these problems between China and Tibet, relying upon the early Qing travel notes by Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding. The importance of these two accounts to the field of Tibetan studies rests not only on their contributions to geographical knowledge but also on the sentimental reactions of the authors to their journeys. The words and philosophy of these authors represent, generally, a Chinese attitude toward the land and people inhabiting China's border region, and this attitude reflects a line of cultural demarcation between the "Chinese" and the "barbarians." Such an attitude is the result of the following factors: language barriers, hardships of traveling, and political implications, all of which may be subsumed under Chinese ethnocentrism.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography offers the Tibetan viewpoint of travel between the two nations. The Fifth Dalai Lama was invited to Peking during the early Qing dynasty in the ninth year of Shunzhi to visit the Emperor. This sojourn was a very important matter in early Qing history, as it was the beginning of direct contact between the Tibetan and the Manchurian governments. Because of the existing political and religious unity, both the guest and

the host were happily satisfied with other's visit. Thus up to the end of the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime, the people of Tibet and the government or the imperial family of the Manchus co-existed harmoniously.

The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama was written in a diary style. Both the Autobiography and the Manchu imperial records were important historical records for studies on the relations between Tibet and China proper. In this dissertation, the author will use the original sources, namely, the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography and the Manchu government's historical records, to study the events which took place during the time when the Fifth Dalai Lama was traveling to Peking. Then, the author will use these edited records to critique various publications which have commented on the events of this time, and to point out and correct some of their inaccuracies.

The Fifth Dalai Lama was a religious leader. Wherever he went, people from all walks of life worshiped him, bowed to him and contributed whatever they had to him. In return, out of his compassionate altruism, he wanted to help sentient beings out of the suffering world. He was devoted to his religion and to making people happy; therefore, in his own writings there are no signs of grievance, indifference, or condescension directed toward any people or any matter. He respected himself; and his compassion, good-heartedness, and love were all reflected in his daily

activities, which undoubtedly influenced the people around him. Therefore his journey to Peking was considered an important matter by both the government and the common people. And as a result, his journey to Peking could also give the various peoples inside a fractionalized China the opportunity to work together as a harmonious group.

The summary of his autobiography will include his travel itinerary, presents received, and the activities in which he engaged. Because the Fifth Dalai Lama's account was the first Tibetan record of journey between Lhasa and Peking during the early Qing dynasty, it, like the travel logs of Jiao and Du, is an important historical and geographical document for the study of Sino-Tibetan relations during that period of time.

The Dalai Lama traveled during a peaceful time, and peaceful relations between China and Tibet existed throughout his lifetime. After he died, the regent (sde-srid), Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705) could not cooperate with those Mongols who were in Tibet. Though Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho had hoped for the Kangxi Emperor's support, the distant Manchu forces could not save his life from the Qoshot leader Lha-bzang Khan's suppression. After Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho was killed by the Qoshots in 1705, Lha-bzang Khan was recognized as king of Tibet. However, Lha-bzang Khan could not compete against the powerful Dzungars from Ili, and finally, in 1717, the Dzungars

invaded Lhasa and terminated the power held by Gushri Khan's family in Tibet. At that time the Manchu government, under Kangxi Emperor's rule, determined to restore peace in Tibet. As the result of his imperial military expedition, travels between China and Tibet began to open up; the accounts of Jiao Yingqi and Du Changding were products of this.

The time when the Fifth Dalai Lama traveled to Peking until the end of the Dzungar war in Tibet spanned a period of approximately 70 years. Although the representatives of both Chinese and Tibetan nationalities traveled through the same route in the Kokonor-Tibetan area, they certainly did not share the same kinds of sentiments, as evidenced by the markedly different experiences disclosed by their respective travel accounts.

II. Tibet in Chinese Archives

China began her dealings with Tibet during the Tang dynasty (618-906). Each succeeding dynasty conceptualized Tibet differently. As the concepts altered with each dynasty, so did the actual place names that were used for Tibet. The list below indicates these changes.

<u>Dynasty</u>	<u>Names of Tibet</u>
Tang (618-906)	Tufan

Song (960-1279)	Tufan
	Tubote
	Tiebude
Yuan (1279-1368)	Tufan
	Tubote
	Tuibaite
	Tiaobaiti
	Tiebude
	Tanggute
	Tangwuti
	Xifan
	Wusizang
Ming (1368-1644)	Wusizang
	Wusiguo
	Tanggute
Qing (1644-1911)	Tubote
	Weizang
	Xizang
	Xiyu
	Xizhao
	Zhaodi
Republic of China (1912-)	Xizang
The People's Republic of China (1949-)	
under its present administrative	
system refers to Tibet as Xizang	

Zizhiqu or the Tibetan Autonomous
Region².

In the seventh and eighth centuries Tufan's power permitted its occupation of areas including not only the Tibet we know today, but also the provinces of Qinghai, Xikang, and parts of Xinjiang, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Portions of Central Asia, India and Burma also fell under the Tufan empire. The Tibetan people themselves referred to the huge Tufan empire as Bod-chen-po or the Great Bod. Toward the end of the Tang dynasty the Great Bod empire collapsed. But, even after its collapse, Tufan remained an important name in Chinese records.

Although Tufan was the earliest official Chinese name for the Tibetan kingdom after the Tang dynasty, during the Yuan dynasty, additional names also appeared in the official Chinese records: such as Xifan and Wusizang. Moreover, during the Yuan time, the Chinese characters of Tufan were also written in simplified form. Consequently, in Chinese works on Tibet, "fan" came to be the symbol for the Tibetan area and "fanren" referred to the Tibetan people.³ In the Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-822 the Chinese character "fan" was the equivalent for the Tibetan word "bod." Therefore, Dafan was equivalent to Bod-chen-po; and Fanguo to Bod-yul.⁴

During the Tang dynasty both the Tuyuhun and the

Dangxiang⁵ occupied the Kokonor area. The latter lived in the upper valley of the Yellow River, while the Dangxiang, analogous to the Tufan, were northern Tibetans. The Mongols referred to them as Tangut (Tangud or Tangot), transcribed into Chinese as Tangwuti or Tanggute. During the Song dynasty (960-1279) the Tanguts established a regime named Xixia,⁶ known to the Tibetans as Mi-nyag.⁷ In 1227, shortly before his own death, Chinggis Khan conquered Xixia.⁸

In the Secret History of the Mongols, a breed of trained Tibetan dogs are mentioned. These dogs were written in Chinese as "tuoboduti nahuodi" a transcription of the Mongolian "Töbödüd nokhad-i."⁹ Therefore, historical evidence shows that since the 13th century the Mongols have been using Töböd or Töbed to name the Land of Snows, known to the western world as "Tibet." Tibetans themselves always used Bod, Bod-chen-po, Kha-ba-can, or Gangs-ljongs, etc. to name their own country. The Chinese word "Tufan" was possibly derived from the Turkic word "Tüpöt": "Tüp" means a nation or tribe, and the second half "pöt" is the Tibetan word for their nation "Bod".¹⁰ Later on, the word "Tüpöt" was transcribed into Chinese as "Tubote."¹¹ When the Fifth Dalai Lama was invited to visit Mukden in 1637, the invitation from the Manchu court reflected the usage of the word "Tubote."

Due to 'Phags-pa's influence in the Yuan Court,¹² the

word "Wusizang" entered Chinese history. The Yuan era coincided with the organization of the Land of Snows into an administrative system by the Mongols.¹³ Wusizang is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan "Dbus-Gtsang:" "Dbus" is the name given to the central area of Tibet where Lhasa is situated and "Gtsang" is the name given to the area to the west of Dbus. The chief city in this area is Gzhis-ka-rtse. When the word "Dbus" and the word "Gtsang" are joined together, they become a geographical term, referring to one of the three "chol-ka" or provinces of Tibet. During the Yuan period, Tufan was still used as the name for the Land of Snows. In the meantime Xifan and Tubote were also used to designate Tibet. The period of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) was the first time in Chinese history that Tibetan place-names were properly transcribed into Chinese characters. Therefore, in Yuan historical records we can ascertain that Wusizang, Duo, Gansi and Nalisu gulusun were used to transcribe Dbus-gtsang, A-mdo, Khams, and Mnga'-ris skor-gsum respectively.¹⁴

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) Wusizang officially replaced the old name Tufan. After the Chinese people learned that Wusi was actually only one word in Tibetan, written as Dbus, and pronounced similarly to the Chinese character "wei", Wusizang was then changed to Weizang. In the Qing dynasty Weizang was used simultaneously with Xizang. The famous work on Tibet entitled Weizang tongzhi

provides the best testimony for this observation.

Not only were the Tibetan people unable to understand why the Chinese called their country Tubote, but they were further confused by the Chinese attempt to find other names for Tibet. For, after the Kangxi Emperor had begun his military operations to annex Tibet into the great Qing empire, such names as Tanggute, Zhao, Xizhao, Xiyu, Weizang, Zang, Xizang, etc. were frequently used to refer to the Land of Snows.

In Tibetan the word Gtsang is translated into English as "clean" or "pure." As a geographical term, Gtsang refers to the area between Dbus (Chinese: Wei) and Mnga'-ris (Ali).¹⁵ The famous monastery, Bkra-shis lhun-po of the Paṅ-chen Lama, is located in this area. Central Tibet's principal river, the Gtsang-po, is known in India as the Brahmaputra. During the Tang dynasty history this river's name was transcribed into Chinese as Zanghe. This same river is called the Yalu zangbujiang¹⁶ in other Chinese sources. Gradually, the word "Zang" achieved symbolic significance in the Chinese mind, synonymous to the Land of the Tibetans.¹⁷ Tibet is on China's western border, so the direction word "xi," meaning west, is also very significant. When "xi" is added to the word "zang," they form "Xizang" as a geographical title. This designation, like the word "Xifan," relates similarly in the Chinese language to the designation of the land of Tufan as the country to China's

west.¹⁸ Still, before the Qing dynasty, Tibet was not officially named as "Xizang" in China's historical records.

During the first half of the 17th century the Qoshot Mongols, under the leadership of Gu-shri Khan,¹⁹ migrated into the Kokonor region from the area in Urumchi. They also became known as the Tanguts for they occupied the Tangut territory. Since the Qoshots also conquered other sections of Tibet, the entire area controlled by them was also known as Tangut or "Tanggute." This latter name achieved more familiar usage during the Qianlong and Jiaqing period. By this time the name Tubote began gradually to fall into disuse. The land of the Tanguts, however, remained within the greater Kokonor region called "Qinghai" by the Chinese and A-mdo by the Tibetans.²⁰

In Mongolian, Kokonor means "blue lake," translated into Chinese as Qinghai. The Tibetans call this lake "Mtsho-sngon,"²¹ literally translated as "lake-blue." Throughout Chinese history this lake, the largest salt water lake in China, has been called Xihai, Beiheqianghai, Xianhai, or Xianshui.²² The largest city near this lake is Xining.²³ In 1928 the Kokonor region was declared a new Chinese province and was named Qinghai; Xining became the provincial capital. The province derives its name from the Qinghai lake. While many national minorities live in this province--Tibetans, Mongolians and Huis (Mohammedans)-- the

Tibetans remained the most widely distributed racial group.

Although Tibetans constituted the largest group in the Kokonor region, they never claimed power over any institutions of importance there other than the religious control maintained over monasteries by the Dalai Lama's church-government.²⁴ Hereditary local chieftains, Tusi,²⁵ however, could be found among the Kokonor Tibetan communities. During the Qing period Tibetans in the Kokonor region were designated as Xifan or Tanggute (Tangut). The Imperial Controller-General at Xining²⁶ governed as the highest official, and this Imperial representative was also invested with dynastic control over the Mongols, as well as the Tibetans.

In order to organize the Mongols, the Manchus established the League-Banner administrative system. After the Mongols' submission to the Manchu dynasty, the significance of the traditional Mongol tribal organization, called "aimak" in Mongolian and translated as "bu" in Chinese, declined and the Mongol rulers lost their power.²⁷ During the Qoshot occupation of the Kokonor region, however, the Qoshots were disorganized due to the inability of the Gu-shri Khan's descendants to cooperate among themselves.²⁸ After the unsuccessful rebellion agitated by Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin²⁹ in 1724, the Yongzheng Emperor established his sovereignty, and the Kokonor region then became part of the Manchu dominion.

When the Dzungars were driven out of Tibet toward the end of the Kangxi Emperor's reign,³⁰ the name Xizang began to be used. This usage, however, did not become widespread until the time of the Manchu emissary to Lhasa, as Zhuzang dachen or Imperial Resident Ambans in Tibet during the reign of Yongzheng (1723-1735).

Because of the association with the famous Lhasa temple Jo-bo Khang or Dazhaosi,³¹ Xizang was also sometimes called Zhaodi or Xizhao. The Chinese word "Zhao" is a transcription of the Mongolian word "juu," meaning temple or monastery. The Mongolian word "juu" and the "zhao" in Dazhaosi both derive from the sound of the Tibetan word "jo-bo," which refers to Tibet's most famous statue, known as the Jo-bo Rin-po-che.³²

In the Daqing yitongzhi, Xizang was divided into four sections, namely Dbus (Wei), Gtsang (Zang), Khams (Kemu), and Mnga'-ris (Ali).³³ Two definitions exist for the Chinese geographical term "Zang." One means the entire Land of Snows; the other refers specifically to the area of Gtsang in Tibet. So that confusion may be avoided between these two areas, Qianzang or Anterior Tibet, and Houzang or Ulterior Tibet and Zhongzang or Central Tibet were created as three parts of Tibet.³⁴ Zhongzang represented Dbus; Qianzang included both Dbus and part of Khams; and Houzang was actually meant to represent Gtsang and some portion of

Mnga'-ris.

III. Early Qing and Tibet

At the end of the 16th century and during the first half of the 17th century the Manchus rapidly succeeded in building a state organization of sufficient strength to control China. In 1644 a Manchu emperor ascended the Dragon Throne in Peking, and China subsequently fell under the sway of the Manchu dynasty, commonly known as the Qing dynasty. The Manchus maintained rule until the 1911 revolution.

Nurhaci (1559-1626) created the Manchu kingdom in Manchuria. Beginning in 1616 he proclaimed Tianming his reign title. He died in the eleventh year of Tianming (1626) when he was 68 years old in the place called Aijibao near his capital city of Mukden. Posthumously, he was given the title "Taizu," meaning "Grand Progenitor."

Hong Taiji (1592-1643), known as Huangtaiji in Chinese, was the second Manchu ruler. He was Nurhaci's eighth son. Between 1627 and 1636 his reign title was Tiancong. For the rest of his years, another reign title, Chongde, was used. In 1636 Hong Taiji decided to use the Chinese character "Qing"³⁵ as the dynasty name for this Manchu kingdom. In 1644 the six-year-old Shunzhi Emperor, accompanied by his uncle, Dorgon (1612-1650), entered Peking. At that point the Ming dynasty officially ended.

Because Ming princes and generals were still struggling against the Manchu's invasion of China, the Manchus did not begin actual rule of China until the Kangxi Emperor's time. Shunzhi died on February 5, 1661. His successor, Kangxi, continued the 18th year of Shunzhi to its end. The first year of Kangxi commenced on February 18, 1662, and he ruled until his death in 1722, the 61st year of Kangxi.

From the second half of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, during the reigns of the powerful emperors Kangxi (1662-1722), Yongzheng (1723-1735), and Qianlong (1736-1795), the Manchus successively subdued the Mongol remnants in China's northwest, conquered the Khalkhas, the Kalmuks, the peoples in Chinese Turkestan, and pacified the Tibetans in the Kokonor region, Khams, Dbus and Gtsang. By this time Tibet was brought under the control of the Qing Emperor.

In 1629 the Manchus established at Mukden the Mongolian Superintendency, called Menggu yamen, to deal with Mongolian affairs. After other border affairs were added, the name of the office was changed in 1638 to Lifanyuan,³⁶ literally, the Ministry of Border Affairs, or Ministry of Vassal States Governance. In time this office handled relations with Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Russia and all of Mongolia. Imperial Residents or delegates were placed in Urga and in Lhasa early in the 18th century.

Lifanyuan was also known in English as the Colonial

Office, Court of Colonial Affairs, or the Ministry of Dependencies. At the Qing's nascence this office also was charged with handling foreign affairs. All dealings between China and Russia passed through this office until 1861 when Zongli geguo shiwu yamen (the Office of Foreign Affairs)³⁷ was established in Peking.

During the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) the Chinese empire was divided into twelve Sheng or Provinces. The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) adopted this system, and initiated changes, resulting in the existence of fifteen provinces.³⁸ By the reign of Kangxi, China was already divided into eighteen provinces.³⁹ During the Qing dynasty there were three Manchurian provinces called the Dongsansheng or Three-Eastern-Provinces, comprised of the territory originally inhabited by the Manchus. These three provinces were named Fengtian, Jilin, and Heilongjiang. Fengtian was also known as Shengjing, Shenyang, and Mukdan.

The Third Paṅ-chen Lama Blo-bzang dpal-ldan ye-shes (1738-1780) in his Shambha-la'i lam-yiq, written in 1775, lists 16 Tibetan names for Chinese provinces.⁴⁰ These 16 names actually include the 15 provinces of the Ming dynasty plus "Shenyang." He did not realize that in the reign of Kangxi the province of Anhui was formed from a portion of Jiangnan, the latter then becoming Jiangsu. Similarly, Gansu was formed from the partition of Shaanxi, and Huguang was divided into two provinces which received the

designations of Hubei and Hunan.

Bla-ma btsan-po (1789-1838) states in his 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad (f. 77b), "The people of Khams say that Tibet has thirteen myriarchies (khri-skor), Sde-dge has thirteen palaces (pho-brang), and China has thirteen provinces (zhing-chen)."⁴¹ He also learned this thirteen-province system from the Rgya-nag chos-'byung⁴² (A Buddhist History of China), written by Gung Gombojab (Mgon-po-skyabs) during the reign of Qianlong Emperor (1736-1796). In order to describe China's geography and population Bla-ma btsan-po copied into his book the ten-line verse from the Rgya-nag chos-'byung:⁴³

tsin yul g.yon na g.yu 'brug rgya mtsho 'khyil/
 g.yas na gser stag lcags ris yongs su bskor/
 nor 'dzin rin chen gzhong pa bcu gsum zhing/
 rgya ru phyogs rer le bar khri skor re/
 byin rlabs 'od 'bar ri bzhi lhun po lnga/
 mtsho lnga klung bzhi gdengs can pho brang gis/
 phyogs mtshams legs rgyan 'jam dbyangs mi gzugs kyi/
 gzhal yas khang bzhi'i 'khor du grong khyer tshogs/
 stong phrag gnyis dang ljongs grangs 'bum lhag khyim/
 grangs su rtsis na bye ba brgyad nye yod/

On China's left the turquoise dragon ocean swirls.

On the right the golden tiger Iron-mountain encircles

all.

There are thirteen precious receptacles holding
jewels.

Big wings are separated by a distance of a myriad li.
Four mountains and five masses are radiant with
blessing.

Adorned with five lakes four rivers and protective
palaces,

The four castles of the human-formed 'Jam-dbyangs are
magnificent.

Around them are two thousand cities, and
More than one hundred thousand districts.

If we count the number of families, it is near
eight million.

In the first line of Bla-ma btsan-po's verse the "rgya-
mtsho" (ocean) refers to the Bohai, the Huanghai (Yellow
Sea), and the Donghai (East China Sea). In the second line
the "lcags-ri" (Iron-mountain) is the Tibetan word for the
Great Wall in China. The third line of this verse indicates
the "thirteen provinces" of the old Ming system.⁴⁴ The
"rgya-ru" (big wings) of the fourth line can be interpreted
as the border regions in China. The human-formed 'Jam-
dbyangs (the bodhisattva of wisdom) mentioned in the seventh
line implies the Manchu Emperor. The "gzhal-yas khang-bzhi"
(four superb mansions) can be identified as the four

historical capital cities of China, namely, Dongjing, Nanjing, Xijing, and Beijing.

Bla-ma btsan-po must have known there were eighteen provinces in China when he wrote his 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad, since he mentioned these twice in relation to the geography of China (ff. 81a, 88b). In his list, however, Hwu-bkang and Cang-nan should have been changed into Bkang-zhis and Kyang-su (Jiangsu) respectively. The following list includes the names of the eighteen provinces⁴⁵ in China with the spellings as found in the works of the Third Pan-chen Lama and Bla-ma btsan-po.

<u>Names of Chinese Provinces</u>	<u>Bla-ma btsan-po</u>	<u>Third Pan-chen Lama</u>
1. Zhili	Tri-lis	Ti-li
2. Jiangsu	(Cang-nan)	(Kiang-nang)
3. Anhui	An-dpas	(Kiang-nang)
4. Jiangxi	Kyang-zhis	Kiang-se
5. Shandong	Shan-tung	Shan-tung
6. Shanxi	Shan-zhis	Shan-si
7. Henan	Hwe-nan	Ho-nang
8. Shaanxi	Zhan-shis	San-si
9. Gansu	Kan-zu'u	(San-si)
10. Fujian	Hphu-kyan	'Phu-kian
11. Zhejiang	Te-kyang	Te-kiang

12. Hubei	Hwu-pis	(Hu-kuang)
13. Hunan	Hwu-nan	(Hu-kuang)
14. Sichuan	Zi-khron	Zi-thu'an
15. Guangdong	Bkang-dung	Kuang-tung
16. Guangxi	(Hwu-bkang)	Kuang-si
17. Yunnan	Yun-nan	Yun-nan
18. Guizhou	Bkes-gro'u	Go'i-te'u

During the early stage of the Qing dynasty, while Tibet and Mongolia were controlled by the Manchus, they never became actual provinces of China. Both were classified as special regions, under the direct authority of the Lifanyuan. The Kokonor (A-mdo) was included in Gansu province, but the Mongols and Tibetans of this region were under the control of the Imperial Controller-General at Xining. The eastern section of Khams was under the jurisdiction of Sichuan. And the Provinces of Qinghai and Xikang were only established in 1928 and 1939 respectively, after China had become a republic, and long after the collapse of the Qing government.

From the late 16th century until the early 17th century the Manchus were in the process of consolidating their power in Manchuria. At approximately the same time Gu-shri Khan (1582-1655), a Qoshot leader, led his troops and tribesmen into the Kokonor region. By 1642 he had conquered Tibet, marking the second Mongolian subjugation of Tibet:

the first time took place in 1240. Gu-shri Khan did not rule Tibet directly. Instead, he retreated to the 'Dam region, northeast of Lhasa, leaving the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) to act as political ruler as well as religious head of Tibet, with a regent to see to daily administration. In response to the Manchu's invitation, this Dalai Lama visited Peking in 1653.

Lhasa was made as the capital by Tibet's imperial family between 7th and 9th century. During the Qing dynasty it served both as center for the Tibetan government and as headquarters for the Imperial Residents. The Fifth Dalai Lama started to rebuild the Potala in 1645, and it was completed after his death by the regent Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. The Potala became the greatest landmark in the capital of Tibet.⁴⁶ In 1720, after the Dzungars were driven out of Tibet, the Seventh Dalai Lama, Blo-bzang bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho, was escorted to Lhasa by an imperial army. This was the first time that a Manchu emperor ever supported a Dalai Lama and sought to establish direct control over Tibet. In order to commemorate victory over the Dzungars the Kangxi Emperor composed a historic treatise, which is known as "Shengzu renhuangdi yuzhi pingding xizang beiwen," or "The Inscription Composed by the Kangxi Emperor on the Restoration of Peace and Order in Tibet."⁴⁷ The text of the Inscription was engraved on a stone tablet, which was erected before the Potala. The tablet's erection was

decreed by an imperial order issued on November 18, 1721. The following is the translation of the Kangxi's Inscription.⁴⁸

The Inscription Composed by the Kangxi Emperor
on the Restoration of Peace and Order in Tibet

"Formerly in the seventh year of Chongde (1642), during the reign of Emperor Wen, the Taizong (1626-1643), knowing of the appearance of a superior man in the eastern country, the Pañ-chen Erdeni, the Dalai Lama and Gu-shri Khan sent envoys to see him. They traveled through unexplored regions and countries with hostile situations. A few years later, they finally arrived at Shengjing (Mukden). This was eighty years ago. Because the people on both sides showed their kindness and lived as patrons of the clergy, our life was so peaceful and happy. But after the death of the great Dalai Lama, the Sde-pa (sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho) kept the news hidden from us for sixteen years. During that period, he ruled madly according to his caprice. Lha-bzang Khan killed him and restored the religious order. For this reason we acceded to the united supplications of Lha-bzang Khan and all the people of the Kokonor when Tshe-dbang rab-brtan in his foolishness fomented troubles and excited the masses of the Dzungars to do wicked and riotous acts. They treated the Dalai Lama malevolently, destroyed the stupa of the

Fifth Dalai Lama, humiliated the Paṅ-chen, ruined the monasteries, and killed the lamas. Glorifying in being the champion of the Faith, he was in truth its destroyer. Moreover, he wanted to occupy the country of Tubote (Tibet) by himself.

In view of his lawless deeds, I ordered a prince to be the Prince Commander-in-chief, and also sent my other sons and grandsons to mobilize the Manchu, Mongol and Green-banner soldiers, with several ten-thousand men per group. Marching through malarial areas, daunted by nothing, they persevered until reaching their destination. Three times the rebels attacked their camp in the dead of night, but our soldiers repulsed them heroically, inflicting loss. All the rebels were dismayed and fled far away. We restored peace and order in Xizang (Tibet) without shooting even one arrow. So the law and Teaching of the Buddha were again glorified. The present reincarnation was granted a diploma and seal as the Sixth Dalai Lama.⁴⁹ A seat of meditation was properly erected for him, and the people of Tubote (Tibet), including both monks and laymen, were well taken care of. Therefore, they were all able to enjoy their lives once again and live peacefully.

Next all the officials and the people declared that the imperial troops in the western campaign had marched through unhealthy and dangerous land, remote from civilized areas, and had in less than half of a year they achieved such a

great victory the likes of which had never been seen before. Moreover, all Mongol tribes and the leaders of Tubote (Tibet) also memorialized us as follows:

'The Emperor is so powerful and shrewd in military strategy that no one in the past could be better than he. The imperial troops have come, and he has swept the foul fiends away. The Law and Teaching of the Buddha, which have always been believed zealously by the Mongols, is now restored. All the people of Kanma (Khams), Zang (Gtsang) and Wei (Dbus) are able to step out of their miserable existence and to live in peace and happiness. This is of such exalted virtue and great merit that we as your subordinates can never finish praising it. We respectfully beg that the Emperor will bestow on us a commemorative tablet written by himself, to be engraved on stone and set up on the land of Zhao (Jo-bo) so that it may be an everlasting testimony.'

Although I think we are unworthy of this honor, still, it being such a general and persistent request, I have composed this writing, and have had a stone erected in Xizang, so that Chinese and foreigners might be aware of the fidelity of the Dalai Lama during three reigns, and of the sincere devotion of the tribes to the Law and Teaching of the Buddha.

The purpose of my work is to show that we should sweep away the rebels, comfort those who are submissive to us, take good care of the general people, and glorify the

religion."

In the text of the Inscription, both "Xizang" and "Tubote" are mentioned three times. But the word "Xizang" also referred to Lhasa, the Tibetan capital. Other place-names, such as Zang, Wei, Kanma and Zhaodi, were used to transcribe Gtsang, Dbus, Khams and the Land of Jo-bo. In this inscription Xizang was first used officially to name the land of the Tibetans, known to the West as Tibet. The utilization of Zang as an all-inclusive compound follows Chinese literary tradition. That is to say, a well-trained Chinese writer would have avoided repeating the same word in the same essay over and over again. Instead, he would prefer to make use of synonymous words. For this reason different Chinese words referring to the same country, Tibet, are used.

In 1727 the Yongzheng Emperor appointed the first Imperial Residents (Ambans) to Lhasa. The Ambans were sent to oversee the administration of the Dalai Lama's government. By 1750 the final Dzungar rebellion was successfully extinguished. The Qianlong Emperor then established the Dalai Lama in a position of full temporal power, contingent upon a continuing Qing protectorate. The Dalai Lama's rule took ministerial form: four ministers (bka'-blon) in council governed under the supervision of the Imperial Residents. A Qing garrison of 1,500 men was stationed in Lhasa and the post routes between Lhasa and

Peking were kept open and guarded by the Imperial forces. In 1751 after the assassination of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal,⁵⁰ the powers of the Ambans greatly increased. Their offices in Lhasa were properly organized. By 1792, after the Gurkha war, an even more efficient Qing administrative system was established in Tibet.⁵¹

According to Chinese documents, the office of the Imperial Residents in Tibet was established in the spring of 1727 when the first two Manchu Ambans, Mala and Sengge, were appointed to Lhasa.⁵² In 1709, however, the Kangxi emperor sent Heshou⁵³ to Tibet to meet Lha-bzang Khan.⁵⁴ This conference marks the beginning of Manchu-Qoshot relations in Tibet. From 1727 to 1911 one hundred and fourteen Ambans had been stationed in Lhasa as Imperial Residents.⁵⁵ Most of the Ambans stationed in Lhasa were Manchu--some were Mongols--but none were Han Chinese.⁵⁶

Normally, these Imperial Residents of Tibet (Zhuzang dachen) were chosen from higher ranking Manchu officials, and they served under the direction of the Ministry of Dependencies (Lifanyuan). They could present Memorials directly to the Emperor on all important matters. The maximum period that an Amban remained in Tibet was usually one term of three years. Each Imperial Resident of Tibet was aided by an Assistant Resident (Bangban dachen). By 1911, the post of Assistant Resident was abolished and replaced by two Councillors (Canzan): Senior Councillor

(Zuocanzan) and Junior Councillor (Youcanzan).⁵⁷

When the Office was first established in Tibet, the Ambans' duties were not clearly described in official documents. They were instructed only to "manage Tibetan affairs." During Pho-lha-nas's rule of Tibet (1728-1747),⁵⁸ the Manchu Ambans' supervision was nominal; they controlled Tibetan relations with foreign states, but Pho-lha-nas actually governed Tibet according to his own ideas.

IV. Notes to Chapter One

1. Most people thought that the Weizang tongzhi was compiled by Helin, Imperial Resident Amban in Tibet, 1792-94. It was actually compiled by Songyun, Imperial Resident Amban in Tibet, 1794-99. But it was not published until 1895. Its 2nd edition was printed in Shanghai, 1937, in 2 vols; cf. Wylie, p. xxxv. The same book has been edited and reprinted in Lhasa, 1982, as one of the Tibet Study Series. The Weizang tongzhi and the Xizangzhi are printed together and published as one book. About the author of the Weizang tongzhi, see the research note by Wu Fengpei and Zeng Guoqing, Qingdai zhuzang dachen zhuanlue, Lhasa, 1988, pp. 98-104.

2. The People's Republic of China no longer lists Xikang as one of the Chinese provinces. The eastern section of Khams is again included within Sichuan province, while the western section of Khams has been established as Changdu Special District under the jurisdiction of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. For a study of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, see Yang Ho-chin, "The Government of Tibet: from the Politico-religious System to Autonomy," Bulletin of Tibetology, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, December 1973. For the maps of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, see Central Intelligence Agency, People's

Republic of China Atlas, Washington D. C., 1971, pp. 28-35;
Zhonghua renmin gongheguo ditu (Map of the People's
 Republic of China), Beijing, 1973. Also see Xu Meiyu,
 et al., Zhongguo dituce, Beijing, 1990.

For a detailed information of each shi and xian of the
 Tibetan Autonomous Region, see Li Hanjie, et al., Zhongguo
fensheng shixian dacidian, Beijing, 1990, pp. 1260-1302.

3. See Yuanshi, juan 87, "Baiguanzhi," and juan 202,
 "Shilaozhuan."

4. See Fang-kuei Li, "The Inscription of the Sino-
 Tibetan Treaty of 821-822," T'oung Pao, XLIV, Livr. 1-3, p.
 89; Fang-kuai Li and South W. Coblin, A Study of the Old
Tibetan Inscriptions, Institute of History and Philology,
 Academia Sinica, Special Publications No. 91, Taipei, 1987.

5. The Tuyuhun were conquered by the Tufan in 670. The
 Tanguts did not rise to power until the decline of the Tufan
 kingdom by the end of the tenth century. For a short
 history of the Tuyuhun and the Dangxiang (Tanguts), see Liu
 Yitang, Zhongguo bianjiang minzushi, Taipei, 1971, Vol. 1,
 pp. 366-78, 593-605. See also G. Molè, The T'u-yü-hun from
the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties, S.O.R.
 XLI, Roma, 1970.

6. For a chronological account of Xixia, from 982 to
 the end of the regime, see Dai Xizhang, Xixiaji, 28 juan,
 1924, reprinted in Taipei (3 vols), no date, the First
 Series, no. 4, Zhonghua wenshi congshu; Wu Tianchi, Xixia

shigao, Chengdu, 1980.

7. See TPS, p. 8; Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History, Yale University Press, 1967, p. 61; Louis M. J. Schram, "The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier: Their origin, history, and social organization," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 44, Part 1, Philadelphia, 1954, pp. 19-21. For the people and language of the Tanguts, see Prejevalsky, Mongolia II, London, 1876, reprinted 1968, Vol. II, pp. 109-138, 301-304.

8. See Liu Yitang, op. cit., pp. 509-11; TPS, pp. 8-9. Tangut had been called Xixia for about 80 years. The Tangut script was invented in 1036 and ceased to be used in 1227, when the Tanguts were conquered by the Mongols. See Eric Grinstead, Analysis of the Tangut Script, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 10, Studentlitteratur-Curzon Press, 1975, p. 44. Also see Wu Tianchi, op. cit.

9. For the passage regarding the Tibetan dogs mentioned in the Secret History of the Mongols or Yuanchao bishi, see Zhaqi Siqin (Jagchid Sechin), "Menggu diguo shidai dui tufan de jinglue," Bianzheng yanjiusuo nianbao, No. II, National Chengchi University, Taipei, 1971, pp. 115-16.

10. For the ancient Chinese pronunciation, see Bernhard Karlgren, Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese, Reprinted from the Museum of Far Eastern

Antiquities, Stockholm, Bulletin No. 26, 1954, pp. 218, 276, 285; and Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese, Paris, 1923, pp. 41, 319. A phonological discussion about "Bod" and "Fan" is found in Ouyang Wuwei, "Bo de jiangyu he bianjie," Xizang yanjiu, Taipei, 1960, pp. 1-8.

For a discussion of the word Bod, Tüpöt, and Tibet, see An Caidan, "'Tufan' yicheng yuyuan ji hanyi shuping -- jianlun 'Tufan' yuanyu gu Tujueyu shuo (The Etymology and Meaning of the Term Tubo,)" Zhongguo Zangxue, (herein after referred to as China Tibetology), Beijing, 4/1988, pp. 127-143; Nammkhavi Norbu, "Bod yici zhi youlai (Origin of the Word 'BOD')," translated into Chinese by Skal Bzang Vgyur Mea, China Tibetology, 1/1990, pp. 128-134.

11. For a brief discussion on the name of Tubote during the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, see S. W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet: from Chinese Sources," JRAS, Vol. XII, 1890, New Series, pp. 435-36; W. W. Rockhill, "Tibet. A Geographical, Ethnographical, and Historical Sketch, derived from Chinese Sources," JRAS, vol. XXIII, (New Series) 1891, pp. 5-6.

According to Liu Yitang, op. cit., pp. 612-13, 717, Fuding (1142-1182) was conferred with a title of "Tubote guowang" meaning the King of Tibet, by Chinggis Khan. But according to Ouyang Wuwei, op. cit., p. 3, 'Phags-pa received that title. If such a title had been conferred,

the name of Tubote then might be found in the Yuanshi. Liu mistakes Kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158) for Fuding, which is simply a Chinese translation of Bsod-nams rtse-mo (1142-1182). Nevertheless, the first Sa-skya member who received an invitation to go and see the Mongol prince was Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251). Therefore, Liu's information is doubtful. See Inaba Shōju and Satō Hisashi, Hu lan deb ther, Kyoto 1964, p. 118.

12. Basiba or 'Phags-pa of the Sa-skya clan in Tibet was born in 1235 and died in 1280. Khubilai Khan conferred upon him in 1260 the title of Guoshi meaning Teacher of the State, commissioning him thereby to create a new Mongolian alphabet, which was completed and introduced to the public by an imperial edict in 1269. This new Mongolian writing system is called 'Phags-pa script. See TPS, pp. 14-17, 252; Nicholas Poppe, The Mongolian Monuments in hP'asgs-pa Script, 2nd ed. translated and edited by John R. Krueger, Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden, 1957, pp. 1-18. According to the Fozu lidai tongzai, juan 21, 'Phags-pa was granted the title of Dishu in 1270; Inaba and Satō, op. cit., pp. 119, 132.

13. For the administrative system governing the Tibetan territory during the Yuan dynasty, see Yuanshi, juan 87, "Baiguanzhi": "Xuanzhengyuan"; TPS, pp. 7-17, 252-53.

14. The words Wusizang, Duo, Gansi and Nalisu gulusun recorded in the Yuanshi are transcriptions of the Tibetan

words Dbus-gtsang, Mdo, Khams, and Mnga'-ris skor-gsum.

15. "Dbus" means the center, but "Wei" in Chinese does not have that connotation; it is merely a Chinese transcription, just as English speaking people use "ü" to transcribe the pronunciation of "Dbus." Before Qing times, "Wusi," was the Chinese transcription of "Dbus." "Ali" is one of the Chinese names for Mnga'-ris. During the Yuan dynasty, it was written as "Nalisu." See Liu Yitang, op. cit., p. 614.

16. In most modern Chinese geography books, the Gtsang-po is called "Yalu zangbujiang." Cf. Daqing yitongzhi, juan 413, "Xizang," ff. 4a-b; Ge Suicheng, Zuixin zhongwai diming cidian, Shanghai, (2nd print) 1948, p. 1227. Sometimes it is called "Zangbujiang," or "Zangbochu;" Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi (herein after referred to as Tongwenzhi,) juan 21, ff. 1a-b.

17. "Gtsang-po" was written as "Zanghe" in the Tangshu; Tongwenzhi, juan 21, ff. 1a-b. For the origin of the name of Tibet, see Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, op. cit., p. 1; Liu Yitang, op. cit., pp. 379-87.

"'Xizang' as a name did appear in Mingshilu, shenzongchao, vol. 37, but, it was not exactly the same as the administrative region Xizang set up by the Qing Dynasty." "Up to the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1662-1722 A.D.) the name Tubote was gradually replaced by Xizang (Tibet)." For this information, see Liu Shengqi and Chang

Fengxuan, "An Explanatory Analysis of the Name "Xi Zang," Theses on Tibetology in China, compiled by Hu Tan, English translation of China Tibetology, 1988-1990, Beijing, pp. 1-29. For the original see China Tibetology, 2/1988, pp. 21-31.

18. When "Tufan" and "Xifan" were written with the character "fan" without the grass radical, they can easily give the reader the idea of the uncivilized aboriginal tribes living on the west of China, because the character "fan" without the grass radical has the meaning of "barbarous," "foreign," or "aborigines." The use of "Xizang" instead of "Xifan" in order to eliminate this graphic kind of discrimination was an appropriate gesture on the part of Qing authorities who were themselves none Han.

19. Gu-shri Khan (Gushi Han) was born in Dzungaria in 1582 and died in 'Bras-spungs on January 14, 1655. He was the nineteenth descendent of Chinggis Khan's brother Qabutu Qasar (Habutu Hasaer). The reliable records covering the history of the Qoshots commence during the lifetime of Gu-shri Khan's father. The Qoshots were one of the four wings of the Oirads. Gu-shri Khan began to organize his Qoshot tribesmen in Urumchi on the north side of the Tianshan in the modern Xinjiang province. After moving his people into the Kokonor region the Dzungars, another wing of the Oirads, took over Urumchi, his former grazing land. See Hu Naian, Zhonghua minzuzhi, Taipei, 1964, pp. 116-17; Henry H.

Howorth, History of the Mongols, Part I, London, 1876, p. 501.

It was in 1635 that Gu-shri Khan was said to have arrived at the upper part of the Yangtze River from Dzungaria. But the actual expedition did not take place until early in 1637 when he fought the first battle against Tsho-thu Khan in the upper part of the Kokonor. When Gu-shri Khan was marching into this area with his troops, they passed through Ili, the Tarim Basin, and the Tsaidam and then arrived at Bu-lung-ger (Barun-kure, or Balong) on the border of the Kokonor. Between 1638 and 1639 all the people of his tribe in Dzungaria also came to the Kokonor region. Finally, he reached Lhasa and received the name "Bstan-'dzin chos-rygal" from the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Gu-shri Khan also marched to Khams in order to subdue the king of Be-ri. In 1640 all the Khams territories north of those of the king of Sa-dam in 'Jang, located in the northwest of Yunnan, were brought under his dominion. When Gu-shri Khan came again into Dbus in 1641, the only threat remaining to the Dge-lugs-pa was Kar-ma Bstan-skyong dbang-po, the young son of the king of Gtsang; and even he was finally subdued. By 1642, Gu-shri Khan, at the age of 61 years, held dominion over Tibet. After the conquest of Tibet, Gu-shri Khan presented the entire country of Tibet as a religious gift to the Fifth Dalai Lama. This marked the first time that the Dalai Lama assumed both religious and

political leadership over Tibet. Travel between Lhasa and the Kokonor region then increased significantly.

In 1653, because of the strong relations Gu-shri Khan had built between his people and the Manchus, the Shunzhi Emperor awarded his efforts by conferring upon him a gold tablet inscribed with the title of "Zunwen xingyi minhui Gushi Han," meaning, "The Perceptive and Intelligent Gu-shri Khan who acts in accordance with Refinement and Righteousness." See Yang Ho-chin, Annals of Kokonor, Indiana University Publications, Volume 106, Uralic and Altaic Series, 1969, pp. 62, 71, 81; Ahmad, pp. 185, 187.

20. See J. F. Rock, The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions, Roma, 1956, pp. 3-23; Zhou Zhenhe, Qinhai, Shanghai, 1938.

21. See Sum-pa mkhan-po, Mtsho-sngnon gyi lo-rgyus; Yang Ho-chin, op. cit., pp. 6-10.

22. For all these historical names of the Kokonor, see Tongwenzhi, juan 14, ff. 1a-2b, juan 16, ff. 1a-3a; Yu Hao, Xiyu Kaoqulu, reprinted in Taipei, 1966, Zhongguo bianjiang congshu, 2nd Series, No. 22, juan 2, ff. 6a-8b.

23. For the historical and geographical account of Xining, see Yang Yingju, Xiningfu xinzhi, 1747; Yu Hao, op. cit., juan 2: "Xiningfu;" Rock, op.cit., pp. 21-23.

24. "In A-mdo (North-Eastern Tibet) there was till about the middle of the 19th century a commissioner called mDo sgar-dpon, whose functions concerned above all trade and

the control of the local monasteries." Petech, Aristocracy and Government in Tibet: 1728-1959, Roma, 1973, p. 13.

25. The native chieftains were known as Tusi. They were granted different titles, such as Zhihuishi, Xuanweishi, Anfushi, Qianhuzhang, Baihu, and Zhangguansi, etc. Both the different officials of Tusi and the native military troops led by Tuyouji or native Majors; Tudusi, native First Captains; Tushoubei, native Second Captains; Tuqianzong, native Lieutenants; and Tubazong, native Sub-Lieutenants, were under the direct control of the Ministry of War or Bingbu.

The system of Tusi was known during the Yuan dynasty, but it was not fully established until the Ming. In the Qing dynasty, the system became even more complete. Toward the end of the Qing dynasty, it was intended that the positions of the native hereditary chieftain were to be gradually replaced by non-hereditary officials appointed by imperial orders, but the Manchu government was not very successful in carrying out this policy.

For a general study of the Tusi system, see She Yize, "Mingdai zhi tusi zhidu," Yugong (the Chinese Historical Geography), Vol. 4, No. 11, Peking, 1936, pp. 1-9; "Qingdai zhi tusi zhidu," Yugong, Vol. 5, No. 5, 1936, pp. 1-28; Chen Han-seng, Frontier Land System in Southernmost China: A Comparative Study of Agrarian Problems and Social Organization among the Pai Yi People of Yunnan and the

Kamba People of Sikang, New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1949, pp. 76, 150; Brunnert and Haglestorm, Present Day Political Organization of China, Shanghai, 1912, nn. 752 B-F.

26. The Imperial Controller-General at Xining was called Xining banshi dachen or Zongli Qinghai shiwu dachen; W. F. Meyers, The Chinese Government, Shanghai, 1878, nn. 524, 562. For his official function, see Huang (Qing) chao tongdian, juan 36, no. 14: "Zhiguan."

27. The League-Banner system of the Mongols in Kokonor was established by an Imperial edict after Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin's rebellion was subdued in 1724. For the system and its history, see Daging huidian, juan 64-67; Daging Yitongzhi, juan 534-546; Menggu Youmuji, juan 12; Zhang Xingtang, Menggu mengqizhi de yiyi he yan'ge, Taipei: Mengzang weiyuanhui, 1954, pp. 1-21.

28. Gu-shri Khan's ten sons divided up his dominion in or before 1658; Tibet went to the eldest, Dayan Khan (1658-1668). The rest of the sons resided in the Kokonor region. The ancestor of the house of Huanghenan qinwang (the Prince south of the Yellow River) was originally the Jasak (Zhasake) of the Qoshot Front Banner, Yileduqi or El-du-cha tshe-ring in Tibetan, who was Gu-shri Khan's fifth son. See Rock, op. cit., pp. 47-50; Petech, pp. 282-83. A genealogical table of Gu-shri Khan and his descendants may be found in Sum-pa mkhan-po's Dpaq-bsam ljon-bzang,

reprinted by Lokesh Chandra, *Indo-Asian Literatures* Vol. 8, New Delhi, 1959, to face page 161; Ahmad, *Genealogical Table III: the Khoṣot*.

29. Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin or Luobuzang danjin was the son of Gu-shri Khan's tenth son Bkra-shis pa-thur; Menggu youmuji, juan 12, f. 9b; Tongwenzhi, juan 17, ff. 1a-2a. For the life and rebellion of Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, see Petech, pp. 95-101; Petech, "Notes on Tibetan History of the 18th Century," T'oung Pao, LII, 1966, p. 288.

30. After their defeat in 1720, the Dzungars retreated to their original territory in the Ili area; but they still tried to exercise their influence over the Tibetans. When 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal was preparing to rebel against the Manchu Empire, the Dzungars were his pledged allies. After the death of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal in 1750, the Dzungars lost hope in such a venture. See Petech, pp. 233-234.

31. Dazhaosi was the first Buddhist temple in Tibet. It is called Jo-khang or Jo-bo-khang by the Tibetans. See Weizang tongzhi, pp. 273-275; David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, New York, 1968, pp. 73-74. For a discussion of the word "zhao," see Lien-sheng Yang, "Luciano Petech, China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century," *HJAS*, Vol. 14, 1951, pp. 657-660.

32. This statue Jo-bo Rin-po-che is supposed to have been brought to Lhasa by Wencheng gongzhu, the Chinese wife of Srong-brtsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 649. See Alfonsa

Ferrari, Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Roma, 1958, p. 86, n. 39.

33. Dbus or Wei is located at the center of Tibet, and thus is called Zhongzang. Gtsang or Zang lies between Dbus and Mnga'-ris. Khams or Kemu is to the southeast of Dbus and to the north of Lijiang in Yunnan. Khams was also transcribed as Gansi or Kanma. Mnga'-ris or Ali is to the west of Gtsang, the westernmost part of Xizang or Tibet. See Daqing yitongzhi, juan 413, ff. 2a-b; Tongwenzhi, juan 18, "Xifan diming."

34. For Zhongzang, Qianzang, and Houzang, see Mayers, *op. cit.*, n. 564. In the Tongwenzhi, juan 18, f. 1a, however, the area of Dbus was called Qianzang, which contradicts Daqing yitongzhi, juan 413, in which Dbus is called Zhongzang.

35. Abahai was given the posthumous title of Taizong. The Manchu dynastic name Qing means "pure" or "clear." See Qingshiqao (Draft History of the Qing Dynasty), reprinted by Wenxue yenjiushe, Hong Kong, 1960, Benji 3, "Taizong benji II," p. 7; Daqing taizong wenhuangdi shilu, Vol. I, juan 28, f. 22.

36. For the organization of the Menggu yamen and Lifanyuan, see Huang (Qing) chao tongdian, juan 26, "Zhiguan" 4; Huang Fensheng, Bianjiang zhengjiao zhi yanjiu, 1st ed. 1946, reprint 1966, Taipei, pp. 17-32; Tao Daonan, Bianjiang zhengzhi zhidushi, Taipei, 1966, p. 18;

Mayers, op. cit., n. 183.

In the autumn of 1906 the name of Lifanyuan changed to Lifanbu and was charged with control of Mongolian, Tibetan and Mohammedan tribes inhabiting Mongolia, Tibet and districts bordering on Tibet and the region of Xining. In carrying out its duties this office was guided by the Lifanyuan (bu) zeli (Statutes of the Ministry of Dependencies). This zeli or statutes contains the rules and regulations governing the relations of China with the vassal tribes, such as Tibet, Mongolia, etc. The last edition bears the date 1891. For the translation of a few articles of the zeli, see Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 7-12. For Lifanbu, see Brunnert and Hagelstrom, op. cit., nn. 274, 491A, 940.

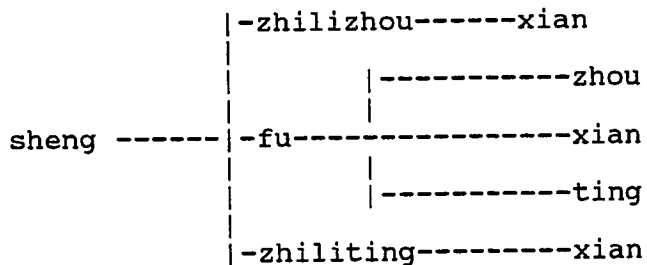
37. For the Zongli geguo shiwu yamen, see Qinding daqing huidian, juan 99-100; Mayers, op. cit., n. 151; Brunnert and Hagelstrom, op. cit., nn. 305, 930.

38. For the local administrative systems of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, see Chen zhiping, Zhonghua tongshi, Taipei, 1978, vol. 8, pp. 359-364; vol. 9, p. 111. The twelve provinces during the Yuan time were: Fuli, Lingbei, Liaoyang, Henan, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan, Jiangzhe, Jiangxi, Huguang, Zhengdong sheng.

39. For the establishment and historical changes of each province during the Qing dynasty, see Zhao Quancheng, Qingdai dili yan'gebiao, (1st ed. 1941), Beijing, 1955 (reprint). The 1744 edition of the Daqing yitongzhi

(Comprehensive Gazetteer for the Whole Empire of Qing) covers 18 provinces, 1,600 fu, zhou, xian, 58 colonies, and 30 tributary countries. For more discussion about Chinese provinces, see Yang Yuliu, Zhongguo lidai difang xingzheng quhua, (Administrative and Political Division of China), Taipei, 1957, pp. 308-318; Mayers, op. cit., nn. 272, 365.

According to the "Dilizhi" of the Qingshigao, toward the end of the Qing dynasty, under the 22 provinces there were 215 fu, 80 zhilizhou, 63 zhiliting, 1031 xian, 150 sanzhou, and 10 santing. Their administrative relations can be shown as the follows:



See Yang Yuliu, op. cit., p. 310; Brunnert and Hagelstrom, op. cit., n. 846; Tao Xisheng and Shen Renyuan, Ming Qing zhengzhi zhidu, Part Two: "Qingchao zhengzhi zhidu," Taipei, 1967, pp. 87-102.

After the province of Xinjiang or New Territory (commonly known to the Western world as Chinese Turkestan) was established by the Edict of November 17, 1884, the Qing Empire comprised twenty-two provinces. Taiwan, commonly known as Formosa, was established as a province in 1885, but

in 1894, after the Sino-Japanese war, it was ceded to Japan. Only after the Second World War, in 1945, was Taiwan returned to China. The three Manchurian provinces were not organized into the same administrative form as that of the 18 provinces of China until 1907.

40. Wylie, p. 186, n. 663.

41. Wylie, p. 103. The Tibetan text of 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad, the earlier (1820) version of the monumental Tibetan geography of the world, by Btsan-po No-mon-han, was recopied and printed in Gangtok, 1981. It was published by the Dzongsar Chhentse Labrang, Palace Monastery, Gangtok, Sikkim. The original text of the quoted passage translated by Wylie is found in the 1981 Gangtok edition, f. 104b.

42. See Sh. Bira "The Ja-nag-choin-jun, 'History of Buddhism in China' by Gung Gombojab," Mongolian Historical Literature of the XVII-XIX Centuries Written in Tibetan, ed. by Ts. Damdinsuren, Trans. from the Russian by Stanley N. Frye, the Tibet Society Occasional Paper No. 2, Bloomington, 1970, pp. 32-40. The Tibetan text of Rgya-nag chos-'byung was reprinted and published by Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1983. For the ten-line verse by Mgon-po-skyabs, see the 1983 Sichuan edition, p. 6.

43. 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad, f. 88b: line 3-6; 1981 Gangtok edition, f. 120b: line 1-4.

44. The thirteen Ming provinces are: Shandong, Shanxi, Henan, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Jiangxi, Huguang, Zhejiang, Fujian,

Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, and Guizhou. Chen Zhiping, op. cit., vol. 9, p. 111; Brunnert and Hagelstrom, p. 396.

45. See Chen Zhiping, op. cit., vol. 12, p. 37; Ch'u T'ung-tsu, Local Government in China Under the Ch'ing, Stanford, 1969, p. 11.

46. For the history and photographs of the Potala, see Shen Baichang, comp., Budalagong, Beijing, 1988.

47. "Shengzu renhuangdi yuzhi pingding xizang beiwen" was composed by the Kangxi Emperor in the spring of 1721. It is found in many Chinese works on Tibet published during the Qing period and it is always placed at the beginning of the book. See Huang Peiqiao, Xizang tukao, 1886, juanshou. See also Petech, p. 81.

This inscription is translated by W. W. Rockhill in JRAS 1891, Vol. XXIII (New Series), pp. 185-187. He translated the title of the inscription as "The Inscription Composed by the Kangxi Emperor on the Pacification of Tibet." His English translation of "pacification" for "pingding" is misleading. The Kangxi Emperor sent his army to drive the Dzungarian invaders out of Tibet rather than to "pacify" Tibet. Therefore, it is more appropriate to the intent of the inscription if the word "pingding" is interpreted as "to restore peace and order."

48. For the original text of the Inscription, see Appendix I. Also see Gu Zucheng, et al., comps., Qingshilu zangzu shiliao (herein after referred to as Shilu), Vol.

One, Lhasa, 1982, pp. 266-268; Zhang Yuxin, Qingzhengfu yu lamajiao, Lhasa, 1988, pp. 300-302. A stone tablet, carved with the inscription in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan, was erected at the foot of the south face of the Potala hill in Lhasa in 1724. For the Tibetan text and its English translation, see H. E. Richardson, Ch'ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa, S.O.R. XLVII, Roma, 1974, pp. 5-16.

49. Here, the so-called Sixth Dalai Lama is actually the Seventh, Blo-bzang bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708-1757), according to the Tibetans. The rightful Sixth Dalai Lama was Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho (1683-1706). Unfortunately, after the Regent Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho was killed by Lha-bzang Khan, Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho was exiled to China. On the way to China he died. Lha-bzang Khan then installed Ngag-dbang ye-shes rgya-mtsho (1686-1725) as the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1707; but he was never recognized by the Tibetans and Mongols. Therefore, both the true sixth and the puppet sixth were not included in the official Qing list of Dalai Lamas. Since Blo-bzang bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho was the legal successor of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682), he was recognized as the Sixth Dalai Lama by the Qing government. For a genealogical record of the Dalai Lamas, see Tongwenzhi, juan 23, ff. 1a-3b. In Tongwenzhi, Blo-bzang bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho, transcribed in Chinese as Luobuzang galezang jiamucuo, was also listed as the Sixth Dalai Lama. See also Petech, p. 71.

According to the Secret Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama, he neither died in Kunga Nor while he was exiled to China, but lived in secrecy for another forty years. For a study of the Sixth Dalai Lama's secret life, see Piotr Klafkowski, The Secret Deliverance of the Sixth Dalai Lama, as narrated by Dharmatala, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 3, Wien, 1979. The Tibetan text of the Secret Biography has been translated by Zhuang Jing into Chinese, entitled Cangyang jiacuo mizhuan, Beijing, 1981. See also Huang Hao and Wu Biyun, Comps., Cangyang jiacuo ji qi qingge yanjiu, Lhasa, 1985, pp. 474-552.

50. Petech, pp. 216-35.

51. Petech, pp. 256, 260.

52. Petech, pp. 264-66. See also Ding Shicun, Qingdai zhuzang dachenkao, 1st ed. 1943, reprint 1948, Mengzang weiyuanhui, Nanking, pp. 2-5, 18-21. Also see Wu Fengpei and Zeng Guoqing, Qingchao zhuzang dachen zhidu dejianli yu yan'ge, Beijing, 1989, pp. 14-16.

53. Heshou was a Manchu of the Plain Yellow Banner holding the title of Shilang. After his mission to Tibet and a few other appointments, he was promoted to Shangshu or President of the Lifanyuan; see Petech, p. 19.

54. Lha-bzang Khan was Gu-shri Khan's great grandson. He was killed by the Dzungars in 1717. See Yang Ho-chin, op. cit., pp. 46, 75.

55. For the office of the Imperial Residents in Tibet or Zhuzang banshi dachen yamen, see Mayers, op. cit., n. 565; Petech, pp. 86-87, 113, 255-57; Huang (Qing) chao tongdian, juan 36, "zhiguan" 14. See also Ding Shicun, op. cit. Wu Fengpei and Zeng Guoqing, op.cit., p. 171.

56. Only two Assistant Residents were Chinese, from Guangdong province. They were Zhang Yintang and Wen Zongyao. They were sent to Tibet during the closing years of the Qing dynasty. For short biographies of Zhang and Wen, see Ding Shicun, op. cit., pp. 129-34, 147-49. The last Imperial Resident was Lianyu; Ibid., pp. 134-41. He finally left Tibet in June 1912 and returned to Peking. Thus Manchu-Tibetan relations officially came to an end. Also see Wu Fengpei and Zeng Guoqing, Qingdai zhuzang dachen zhuanlue, Lhasa, 1988, pp. 252-286.

57. This final administrative change was proposed by the Imperial Resident Lianyu, dated January 29, 1911. After his proposal was approved by the Qing Court in March of the same year, Luo Changyi was appointed Zuocanzan, and Qian Xibao, Youcanzan. See Ding Shicun, op. cit., p.140; Brunnert and Hagelstrom, op. cit., pp. 571-72.

58. For the life of Pho-lha-nas, see Mi-dbang rtogs-brjod or the Biography of Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas (1689-1747) of Pho-lha. It is the main Tibetan source utilized by L. Petech for his China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century, 1950, 1972 (2nd revised edition); Petech, pp. 3-4, 176-97.

See also Petech, Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, pp. 211-16. The Chinese translation of the Biography of Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas by Tang Chi'an was published by Xizang Remin Chubanshe, Lhasa, 1988. Its Chinese title is Poluonai Zhuan, by Duoka xiazhong Cheren wangjie.

CHAPTER TWO

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Journey to Peking in 1652-53 According to his Autobiography

I. The Fifth Dalai Lama and His Mission

Even before Manchu political leaders had entered the city of Peking, they had already tendered invitations to Tibet inviting the Dalai Lama and other religious leaders to come and visit in Shengjing. The purpose of this visit would be for him to spread the religion of Buddhism and to better the lives of sentient beings.¹ This particular invitation received approval from the Mongolian peoples, and even Gu-shri Khan of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet recommended that the Dalai Lama should go to Peking to meet the Emperor of the Manchus. Gu-shri Khan's memorials can be found in the second volume of the Shizu shilu, the official records of the Shunzhi Emperor. In the eighth year of Chongde, the ninth month, on the wushen day (1643, 10, 29): "The Dalai Lama has tremendous religious power and knowledge. Please invite him to the capital and ask him to conduct religious ceremonies and read or write scriptures to benefit the entire country."² During those times Tibet was named Tubaite, Wusizang, or Tanggute in the Chinese records.³ As for the Fifth Dalai Lama, his name was recorded as

"Dachijin'gang Dalai Lama," "Dachijin'gang" being the translation of "rdo-rje-'chang." His name was also registered as the great lama who was in charge of the religious law, the holy priest lama, the Dalai Lama from the country of Tanggute, the Dalai Lama from the Tanggute tribes, or the Dalai Lama from the Tubaite tribes.⁴

After the Shunzhi Emperor of the Qing dynasty entered Peking, messengers were continuously dispatched to Tibet entreating the Fifth Dalai Lama to come to Peking. The Emperor also wrote to Gu-shri Khan and the Paṅ-chen Lama, requesting them to persuade the Dalai Lama to acquiesce. Finally he agreed to make the journey--in the year of the dragon, and with him would travel about three thousand people.⁵ At first, the Shunzhi Emperor considered traveling himself to Inner Mongolia in the place called Daiga⁶ to welcome the Dalai Lama; however, after serious consultation with the ministers and government officials, he dismissed that idea. Therefore the Fifth Dalai Lama left most of his entourage in Daiga and selected only about three hundred followers who together with him proceeded speedily into the capital area of Peking. The Dalai Lama and the Shunzhi Emperor's meeting was considered to be one of the most important events of the early Qing dynasty. Thus the Fifth Dalai Lama and his followers were received honorably and with great enthusiasm by the Manchu government, and all were deemed honorary guests in the capital. Through this meeting

the Manchu Imperial house, the Mongolian people, and the Tibetan people became much closer than before. In fact, during the lifetime of the Fifth Dalai Lama the Tibetan people could harmoniously coexist with other nationalities within the empire.

The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) recorded his religious events, daily life and his journey in his own diary and later converted it into his autobiography, which he began to write when he was fifty years of age (1666). It is an invaluable document for the studies of 17th century Tibetan history and religion. The autobiography's Tibetan title reads, "Za-hor gyi ban-de ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho'i 'di-snang 'khrul-pa'i rol-rtsed rtogs-brjod kyi tshul-du bkod-pa du-kū-la'i gos-bzang," which means "The fine silken dress, being the present illusively playful appearance of the priest from Za-hor, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, composed as Avadāna."⁷ The Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography was divided into three volumes. The first volume has 364 leaves including the dates from October 22, 1617, after he was born, up until May and June of 1665. The second volume has 281 leaves covering the period between June 21, 1665 and March 14, 1676, and the third volume has 246 leaves including the records between March 14, 1676 and October 16, 1681. Although the above three volumes were compiled from his own writings, there undoubtedly were other people who

contributed to the process.⁸

The Fifth Dalai Lama died on the 15th day of the second month of the Tibetan year of the water-dog (1682, 4, 2). After his death his regent Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho continued to write on the Fifth Dalai Lama's life, completing the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the biographical supplement to his autobiography. The fourth volume of the supplement includes the funeral and the last days of the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁹ The last part of the third volume, the portion which records events that took place shortly before the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama, was compiled by his secretary 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa and was based upon remnants of the Dalai Lama's original writings.¹⁰ Records of the travel to Peking to meet the Shunzhi Emperor were kept in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume One, folio 173b to folio 219a, (about 46 folios). All material subsisted in the format of original Tibetan block printing,¹¹ until in 1989 when the Tibetan People's Press reprinted "The Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, First Volume," in modern book form. The original Tibetan text of the journey to Peking has ninety-two pages, from page 343 to 434. As reference for this part of the text, a complete translation into Chinese by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin has been published in the Zhongguo Zangxue (China Tibetology), No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, 1992 and No. 1, 1993.¹²

According to the records in the Fifth Dalai Lama's

Autobiography, the important dates of his journey from Lhasa to Peking and from Peking back to Tibet were as follows:

In the water-dragon year (Tibetan calendar):

Third month, 15th day (Shunzhi ninth year, 1652, 4, 23): Journey begins in Lhasa.

Eighth month, 19th day (1652, 9, 21): Arrived in Sku-'bum or Taersi.

Eleventh month, 6th day (1652, 12, 6): Arrived in Ta'i-kha or Daiga.

Twelfth month, 5th day (1653, 1, 4): Arrived in Zhangjiakou.

Twelfth month, 16th day (1653, 1, 15): Arrived in Nanyuan, outside Peking city.

Twelfth month, 17th day (1653, 1, 16): Moved into the Yellow Temple.

In the water-snake year,

Second month, 20th day (Shunzhi tenth year, 1653, 3, 19): Left the Yellow Temple, arrived in Qingshuihe.

Tenth month, 15th day (1653, 12, 4): Returned to Lhasa.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography was recorded according to the Tibetan calendar for the year, month and date, a format very similar to the Han Chinese calendar.¹³ For a conversion of the dates recorded in the Fifth Dalai

Lama's Autobiography and the Manchu government records into the western dates, a comparative chart of the three different dates mentioned above can be found in the Qing shilu Zangzu shiliao (the historical records of the Tibetans in the Manchu official records), Volume Ten, page 467 to page 535.

Because his journey to Peking was a religious one, the Dalai Lama's records deal mainly with Buddhist religious rituals. As for his daily life, the times and the places, of all other, non-religious matters were not granted a great deal of space. However, their historical value is very important, as they can serve as supplementary historical records to the official documentation of the Manchu government. This study is based upon the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography in order to outline the historical and geographical records of his journey to Peking. The original text has been compared with the materials representing official Manchu history. In the translation of the Tibetan text, instead of using the Fifth Dalai Lama's personal writing style, the author of this study employs a narrative style to report what happened during his journey. As done in the conclusion and the notes of this study, the author will use the rearranged records as the basis with which to compare writings by other historians and to point out mistakes which they have made. Their mistakes may stem from their misunderstanding of the geographical and historical

context within the Peking city or its outskirts, or may be due to incorrect translations or misinterpretations of original Tibetan sources. The order of this study is to point out these errors and try the best to correct them.

II. Summary of the Tibetan text (f.173b-f.219a)

1. Introduction

Early in the Chu-'brug, water-dragon year (1652) when the Fifth Dalai Lama was 36 years old, he was ready to take the trip to Peking at the invitation of the first Manchu Emperor.

To follow the tradition established during the 'Phags-pa's time the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned the verses by Dkon-mchog (cog) lhun-grub in his Sa-skya'i gdung-rabs kha-rqyan as the basic form of his thirteen offices during his journey to Peking.

"Gsol gzims mchod gsum mjal yig mdzod pa gsum //
 thab 'dren dgan gsum skya rta mdzo khyi bzhi //
 chen po la 'os las tshan bcu gsum ste //
 'di dag chos kyi rgyal po sa skya pa //
 dpal ldan 'phags pa'i ring la dar ba yin //"

The thirteen offices were as the following:¹⁴

- | | | |
|------|-------|-------------------------------|
| [1.] | gsol | master of ceremonies |
| [2.] | gzims | master of the abbot's chamber |
| [3.] | mchod | master of rites |
| [4.] | mjal | master of receptions |
| [5.] | yig | master of writings |
| [6.] | mdzod | master of the treasury |
| [7.] | thab | master of the kitchen |
| [8.] | dren | master who introduces guests |
| [9.] | gdan | master of seats |

- [10] skya master of transports
 [11] rta master of horses
 [12] mdzo master of mdzo (yak and cow mongrel breed)
 [13] khyi master of dogs

On the 15th day of the third month, the Dalai Lama was in Lci-bde ri-zur and Dan-'bag gling-kha. Then, he passed through Gnas-chung-lcog. On the 17th day, he arrived in Chos-sde chen-po near 'Bras-spungs. This was the beginning of his journey to Peking. When he arrived in Sku-'bum it was the 19th day of the eighth month in the same year (1652).

2. Itinerary

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Itinerary Between Lhasa and Peking 1652-1653¹⁵

<u>Place</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Date</u>
lci-bde-ri-zur	346	L4	3/15
bud-mtshams	346	L4	
dan-'bag gling-kha	346	L4	
gnas-chung-lcog	346	L6	3/15
lhun-grub rab-brtan	347	L2	3/17
'dam	347	L3	
skyor-mo-lung	347	L4	3/18
tshal-po	347	L4	

yangs-pa-can	348	L2	
dkar-mo	348	L2	3/23
mthong-smon	349	L2	3/29
rtswa-sgye-mo	349	L2	3/30
bsam-grub bde-chen	349	L4	4/2
gro-ma-lung-gi-chu-tshan	350	L6	4/21
rgya-rgan	351	L5	
g.yang-ra	351	L5	
'bab-rong	352	L1	
na-grang-mo	352	L3	
glang-ling-la-kha	352	L4	4/30
sho-mong-'dzom-ra	352	L5	5/1
khroms-steng	352	L6	
chu-nag-kha	353	L1	
lha-ngar-sgang	353	L4	5/9
'brong-rtsa	354	L2	5/12
shag	354	L4	5/14
gad-skya	355	L2	5/19
snyug-la	355	L6	5/23
snyug-mda' chu-tshan-kha	357	L1	
gdang-la	357	L1	
gad-pa dkar-po	357	L2	
snyug-chu	357	L2	
ag-'dam-gyi-chu	357	L2	
gar-ba lha-rtse-gzhung	357	L3	
yags-gzhung	358	L2	6/2

brag-snying dkar-po	358	L2	
tho-khol 'u-su	358	L4	
tho-khol tho-lo-mgo rge-der-gu	358	L5	6/6
rabs-bdun-ma	358	L6	
'bri-chu'i rabs	358	L6	
pha-ri	358	L6	
dmar-chu	359	L2	6/7
kha-ra 'u-su	361	L1	6/14
na-rings kha-ra 'u-su	361	L2	
'bri-phu-na-ma-mdo	361	L3	
'bri-phu-rong	361	L4	
mdo-ba se-leb	361	L4	
ba-yan kha-ra	362	L1	
sha-la-thu	362	L2	
mtsho-skya-ring	362	L3	
bho-ro-rjo	362	L4	
ab-phyi du-thang	362	L6	
mdzo-khra-sdings	363	L1	
ldong-ra mtsho-nag	363	L2	
be'u-dug mtsho	363	L3	
dug-mtsho-kha	363	L3	6/26
thang-yangs-sa	363	L4	
a-rig	363	L4	
dkar-po-thang	363	L5	
sding-nel-thu	364	L5	6/30

ra-rgod-gzhung	365	L1	7/1
dgun-er-sgi	365	L2	
hang-nge-gzhung	365	L3	
khyung-thod	365	L3	
'obs-chen-gzhung	365	L4	
cha'i-ja	365	L6	
kha-tha'u	366	L5	7/11
mtsho khri-shog rgyal-mo'i 'gram	366	L6	7/13
bya-kha bu-lag	367	L6	7/18
ring-mo	368	L4	
dkar-thang mar-khu'i mtsho-mo	368	L5	7/20
bo-ro-chu-'gag	368	L5	7/20
ul-khen shi-bar-tha'i	369	L2	7/21
dkyil-sgar	370	L4	8/1
yo-le-thu	374	L4	8/17
nags-rong	374	L5	8/18
cha-gan tho-kho'i	374	L5	
rgya'i-lcags-ri phyi-ma	374	L5	8/19
go-skya-mkhar	374	L5	
zan-nyen-jing	374	L6	
sku-'bum byams-pa-gling	375	L2	
zi-ling	375	L6	
pheng-krung-yi	376	L5	
men-pas	376	L6	

lo'i-kwa'o-chang	377	L2	
bing-ku	377	L2	8/26
si-ri-te'i-dung	377	L3	
grong-lang-mkhar	378	L3	
phing-ting-chang	378	L5	8/28
zan-yon-tsang	379	L1	
yung-tha'i-ching	379	L4	9/3
lu-thang	379	L5	
ying-phan-sru	379	L5	9/5
chang-lu'u-sri	379	L6	9/6
drung-wi	380	L3	9/10
dhi-ri su-khu-do	380	L4	9/13
jin-lu-phu'u	380	L4	9/13
shi-gong-zi	380	L5	
jang-ye-phu	381	L1	
tso-yon-phu	381	L2	
kong-wu'u	381	L3	9/18
yu'i-tshen-yang	381	L4	
nying-zha-mkhar	381	L6	
jing-chu-phu	382	L1	
sma-chu	382	L4	9/21
'or-dus-su	382	L5	
zha-ldan	382	L5	
lang-ju	383	L1	
bhur-sig	383	L4	10/1
kha-ra 'u-su	383	L4	10/2

tho-su-thu	383	L5	
o-lon bu-lag	384	L1	10/3
ba-yen tho-lo-ge	384	L5	
ra-sa-su no'o	384	L3	
shi-ta-bu-ri-du	385	L3	
ul-chur-du	385	L5	
kha-ra bu-lag	385	L6	
sma-chu'i-'gram	387	L1	10/16
bo-tho-ge e-le-su	387	L3	10/18
thu-mu-ge	388	L3	10/26
e-re-khu	389	L2	10/29
u-su-thu-ru	390	L1	11/5
jor-de-mur	390	L2	
rdo'i-tho	390	L2	
khi-ri ta'i-kha	390	L4	11/6
khu-khe u-su	392	L1	11/28
rdzang-skya-khu	392	L3	12/5
lu-ya-grong	392	L4	12/5
ba-yan su-mi	392	L4	12/5
kho'a-las	393	L1	
sa-rdol	393	L2	
khyang-phi-ju	393	L3	
zha-hu-chang	393	L5	
ching-hong	393	L6	
chen-lo'u	394	L4	

ri-dags kho-tho	394	L4	12/15
chen-lo'u	395	L6	
pe-cing	395	L6	12/16
gzim-khang-ser-po	396	L1	12/17
pho-brang	398	L1	1/11
pho-brang chen-po	405	L6	2/18
tshing-sru'i-ho	407	L5	2/20
sa-ho	407	L6	
yu'i-lin	408	L1	
sa-'ching	408	L1	2/25
cing-min-zan	408	L4	
cha-gan tho-lo-go	408	L4	
bur-kha-su-tha'i-tu	408	L6	3/1
ta'i-kha	409	L4	3/10
cha-gan bu-lag	419	L3	L5/1
mkhar-sngon-po	419	L6	L5/6
rma-chu'i gru-kha	420	L5	L5/12
dbar-ge-ho	423	L3	L5/22
o-lon bu-lag	424	L4	6/1
sma-chu'i gru-bton	424	L5	6/7
'or-dus-su	424	L6	6/7
glang-ru	424	L6	
san-yang-byin	425	L2	6/19
lcags-rung	425	L4	
grong-lang-mkhar	425	L4	6/24

zi-ling	425	L6	
te'i-tung-dgon	425	L6	
sems-nyid-dgon	426	L1	
pa-ras	426	L1	
zho-mo thang-ra	426	L1	
dgon-lung	426	L2	6/30
bdag-thang	426	L5	
gser-khog	426	L5	
kha-lo 'u-su	427	L3	7/6
cha-gan tho-lo-go	427	L6	7/11
zi-ling	428	L4	7/16
mtsho-phyug-po ba-yan-nor	429	L3	7/26
chab-cha Lha-khang	429	L4	
a-rig	429	L6	8/5
a-lag-shar	430	L3	8/9
'bri-phu	430	L5	8/21
gur-ban no-mon-khan gyi nye-'dabs	430	L6	8/27
'bri-chu	431	L4	9/1
gdang-la	432	L4	9/19
shag	433	L2	9/20
mtsho-mo ra-ba	433	L2	
sho-mong 'dzom-ra	433	L3	10/1
na-lung dkar-mo	433	L4	10/5
g.yang-ra'i-mdo	434	L1	
Mtsho-sle-gdengs	434	L2	

'bogs	434	L2	
rwa-sgreng	434	L3	
stag-lung-dgon		435	L3
lhun-grub-rdzong	435	L6	10/15
'phan-yul	436	L1	
thang-sag	436	L3	
bye-ri stag-rtse	436	L5	10/18
'brom-stod	437	L2	
gtsug-lag-khang	437	L6	

3. Gift List

During the journey, the Dalai Lama received numerous gifts from his worshipers, local officials and the imperial government. The following is the list of gifts mentioned in his autobiography. The page and line numbers are based on the 1985 Delhi printing, Volume One.

<u>Tibetan</u>	<u>English Translation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Page/Line</u> <u>of Items</u>
padma ra-ga'i rta-chas	Equipment of a riding horse with red gem ornaments	1	347/4
rta-sngon-po	A blue horse	1	348/6
rta	Horse	100	352/6
rta	Horse	260	353/4
mdzo-mo be'u	Female mdzo (cross of yak and cow) and calves	100	353/6

mdzo-pho	male mdzo	20	
rta	Horse	70	357/3
khraab	Armor coat; costume	9	
spu-gnag	Yak	150	
rta	Horse		360/3
khraab	Armor coat; costume		
ja-pags	Tea leaves packed in hide bags		
rnga-mo	camel	80	361/1
rta-sga-bcas	horse with saddle	2	
rta	Horse	100	361/4
drel	Mule		
mdzo	mdzo		
ja	Tea		
rta	Horse	30	362/3
rnga-mo	Camel		
rnga-mo	Camel	50	362/4
dngul-mdong	Silver churn		362/5
dngul-bre	Silver bowl		
gos-dar	Silk		
rta	Horse	30	363/2
gser	Gold	60 zho	
rta-smar-po	Red horse	1	363/4
rta	Horse	800	364/1
gser	Gold	50 zho	
gnag	Yak		

lug	Sheep		
gser	Gold	a sheep's	364/5
		hoof size	
rta	Horse	1	
dngul	Silver		364/6
rta	Horse	150	
rta	Horse	150	365/2
rnga-mo	Camel		
lug	Sheep		
rta	Horse	30	365/3
rta	Horse		365/4
spu-gnag	Yak		
lug	Sheep		
gos-dar	Silk		365/5
ja	Tea		
rta	Horse		365/6
lug	Sheep		
kha-btags	Salutation scarf		366/1
gos	Silk		
dngul	Silver		
rta	Horse		
sbu-la-ga	Sable fur		
ja	Tea		
rta	Horse	200	366/2
rta	Horse	10	
gur-gdan	Cushions for tent		

rta	Horse	100	366/3
gos-dar	Silk		
shing-'bras	Fruits		
mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of pearls		366/4
zhwa	Cap		
za-'og-gi-ber	Glossy silk garments		
gos	Silk		
rta-dkar-po gser-gyi sga-chas-can	White horse with a gold saddle		
rta	Horse	100	366/5
lug	Sheep		
gser	Gold		367/2
gos-dar	Silk	30	367/3
rta	Horse	80	
rnga-mo	Camel		
rta	Horse	200	367/4
phying-gur	Felt tent	100	
rta	Horse	40	
rta	Horse	100	367/6
rnga-mo	Camel	2	
gos-yug	Silk	3 rolls	
kha-btags	Salutation scarf	300	368/1
gos-yug	Silk	7 rolls	
rta-sga-ma	Horse with saddle	2	
sbag-ja	Tea brick	8	

shing-'bras	Fruit		
rta	Horse	200	368/4
spu-gnag	Yak	100	368/5
gos-chen	Silk		368/6
dngul	Silver		
rta	Horse	10	
gser	Gold	50 zho	369/1
rta	Horse	250	
rta	Horse	300	369/3
gser	Gold	20 srang	369/4
rta	Horse	5	
dngul	Silver	500 srang	
gos-yug	Silk	50 rolls	
rta	Horse	500	369/5
rnga-mo	Camel		
lug	Sheep		
gos-dar	Silk		
rta	Horse	100	
gos-dar	Silk		370/1
gser-dngul-gyi mandala	Gold and Silver Mandala		
ja-ko-dra	Tea leaves in hide bags		
rta	Horse	16	371/1
gos-dar	Silk		
dril-bu	A bell		371/2
sbug-sil	Cymbals		

rta	Horse	500	371/3
spu-gnag	Yak	40	
ja	Tea		371/4
gos-dar	Silk		
rta	Horse	2,000	371/5
rta	Horse	500	
dngul-mdong	Silver Churn	5	371/6
gos-dar	Silk		373/1
rta	Horse		
gser	Gold	13 srang	373/5
rta	Horse	100	
dngul	Silver	500 srang	373/6
mu-tig-gis brgyan-pa'i 'phan	Ornamental Banner with pearls	5	374/4
rgya-long-shubs bcas	Chinese red coat	1	
rta	Horse	12	375/3
gos-dar	Silk		375/4
gser	Gold		
dngul	Silver		
ja	Tea		
rta	Horse	20	376/3
ja	Tea		376/6
gos-dar	Silk		
rta	Horse	20	377/1
rta	Horse	40	377/3

gos-yug	Silk	100 rolls	377/4
bla-bre	Canopy		
rta-sga-bcas	Horse with saddle		
rta	Horse	60	377/5
gser	Gold	150 zho	
gos-dar	Silk		
rta	Horse	700	
ber	Woolen cloak		378/4
kha-btags	Salutaion scarf		
dkar-yol-stegs-bcas	Porcelain ware with base		
thur-ma	Umbrella		
bsha'-tshe'i sder-ma	Tin plates	8	
gos-yug	Silk		
rta-sga-bcas	Horse with saddle		
dngul-gyi-lti-ri	Silver pitcher		378/5
ja-tshags-chab-ril	Ceremonial tea set		
mandala	Mandala		
gos-dar	Silk		
rta-sga-bcas	Horse with saddle		
rta	Horse	100	378/6
rta	Horse	100	379/1
gos-yug	Silk	3 rolls	
shing-'bras	Fruits		
rta	Horse	30	379/2

mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of Pearls		379/5
rta	Horse	40	380/2
rnga-mo	Camel	40	380/5
gos-yug	Silk		381/4
gser-gyi spos-phor	Golden incense burner		382/2
dngul-gyi-sder-ma	Silver plate	4	
gos-yug	Silk	4 rolls	
gos-gdan	Silk cushion		
gser-gyi-mandala	Golden mandala		382/6
rta	Horse	100	
rnga-mo	Camel		
gos-dar	Silk		
dngul	Silver		
rta	Horse	150	
rnga-mo	Camel		
gser	Gold		
ja	Tea		
bza'-bca'i-rigs	Food stuffs		
gos-dar	Silk		383/1
dkar-yol	Porcelain ware		
shing-'bras	Fruits		
gser-gyi-mandala	Golden mandala		383/6
dngul	Silver	400 srang	
rta	Horse	100	
gos-dar	Silk		

ras	Cotton cloth		
ja	Tea		
dngul	Silver		384/1
rta	Horse		
dngul	Silver	100 srang	384/3
rta	Horse	300	
dngul	Silver	200 srang	
gser-dngul gyi mandala	Gold and silver Mandala		384/5
rta	Horse		
gser-sgas mnan-pa'i rta	Horse with golden saddle		384/6
rnga-mo dkar-po	White camel		
gser-dngul-gyi snod-spyad	Things made of gold and silver		
sbu-la-ga'i-ber	Sable fur cloak		385/1
rta	Horse	100	
lug	Sheep		
dngul	Silver	1,000 srang	
rta	Horse	1,000	
rnga-mo	Camel	100	
lug	Sheep	10,000	
ja	Tea		
gos-dar	Silk		
sbu-la-ga'i-da-kho	Sable coat		385/2
dngul	Silver	300 srang	
rta	Horse		385/3

rnga-mo	Camel	
ja	Tea	
gser-dngul-gyi mandala	Gold and silver mandala	385/4
gos-dar	Silk	
gser-gyi-mdong-mo	Golden churn	385/5
rta-sga-bcas	Horse with saddle	
gur	Tent	386/1
bla-bre	Canopy	
gdan-bcas	Cushion	
dngul	Silver	1,000 srang
sbu-la-ga	Sable fur	
rta	Horse	
rnga-mo	Camel	
gser-dngul-gyi mdong-mo	Golden and silver churn	386/3
zo-lag	Milk bucket	
ka-to-ra	Copper Plate	
rta	Horse	
rnga-mo	Camel	
gser	Gold	386/5
dngul	Silver	
gos-dar	Silk	
ja	Tea	
rnga-mo	Camel	
ras-cha	Cotton cloth	

gser	Gold		386/6
dngul	Silver		
gos-dar	Silk		
ja	Tea		
ras-cha	Cotton cloth		
rta	Horse	200	387/4
sga-ma	Saddled horse	80	
gos-dar	Silk		388/6
gser	Gold		
dngul	Silver		
dkar-yol-gser-gyi stegs-bcas	Porcelain ware with golden base		389/4
gi-gu-shel	Enamelled ware		
gser-gyi-bzed-zhal	Gold spittoon		
mu-tig-gis spras-pa'i snam-sbyar	Religious mantle decorated with pearls		389/6
rgyal-srid-bdun yod-pa'i gser-gyi mandala	Golden mandala with seven different precious articles of royalty		390/1
gser-gyi-mandala	Gold mandala		390/2
ka-to-ra	Copper plate		
dngul-gyi-mandala	Silver mandala		
gzhong-pa	Tray		
mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of pearls		
gos-dar	Silk		
rta	Horses		

bkras-rtags nyin-mo bde-legs-ma	Silk with auspicious patterns		390/5
zhwa	Cap		
gos-ber	Silk cloak		
mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of pearls		
gos-sna-cha-thsang	Complete package of silk		
gser-sgas mnan-pa'i rta	Horse with golden saddle		
rnga-mo	Camel		
gser-gyi-mdong-mo	Golden churn		
gos-yug	Silk	10 rolls	
dngul	Silver	200 srang	390/6
mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of pearls		391/3
gser-gyi-mandala	Golden mandala		
ding-phon	Chinese satin		392/2
hor-jus	Mongolian silk		
g.yang-ti'u'i 'phreng-ba	Rosary of jade		393/2
gos-chen bum-gdan-ma	Silk pad for religious bottles		
dngul	Silver	100 srang	
chibs-sga-chas-can	Saddle set	2	393/4
bkras-rtags nyin-bde-ma	Silk with auspicious patterns		
hor-shel-gyi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of Mongolian crystal		
bla-gos	Religious robe		

gtur-bu	Religious wrapper	
rin-po-che tha-na'i 'phreng-ba	Rosary of gemstone	394/2
gser-srang lnga- bcu-las-grub- pa'i mdong-mo	Tea churn made of 50 srang of gold	
gser-sga rin- po-che'i phra-can	Golden saddle with jewels	
kha-btags nyin- bde-ma	Salutation scarf with auspicious patterns	
gser-gyi ka-to-ra	Golden bowl	396/2
gos-yug	Silk	10 rolls
mu-tig-gi zar-tshags	Tassel with pearls	396/3
gser-dngul-gyi mandala	Gold and silver mandala	396/4
dkar-yol	Porcelain ware	
gser-las grub-pa'i dkar-stegs	Porcelain and gold stand	
bzed-zhal	Spittoon	
spyi-blugs	Golden vase	
sder-ma 'brug-'phul-ba	Plate with dragon design	
spos-phor	Incense burner	
dung-chen	Trumpets	
rgya-gling	Horn, a woodwind instrument	
'phan	Banner	396/5
gdugs	Umbrella	
rgyal-mtshan	Flags	

ba-dan	Ensign with pendent	
nyi-yol	Sun shade	
kha-btags nyin-bde-ma	Salutation scarf with auspicious patterns	397/2
dngul	Silver	100 srang 397/4
gser-srang zhe-linga las-grub-pa'i mchod-kong	Oil burner made of 45 srang of gold	
lus-rgyan-gyi rin-po-che	Ornamental jewelry	397/5
gos-dar	Silk	
gser-gyi-mandala	Golden mandala	399/5
gser-gyi-sga khyad-mtshar	Golden saddle of special design	
dkar-yol-dang gser las grub-pa'i stegs	Porcelain ware with golden stand	399/6
spyi-blugs	Golden vase	
bzed-zhal	Spittoon	
gser-gyi-mdong-mo	Golden churn	400/2
dngul	Silver	1,000 srang
gos-yug	Silk	80 rolls
gser-dngul-la brdungs-pa'i mandala	Mandala made of gold and silver	
mu-tig-gi snam-sbya	Religious mantle decorated with pearls	401/2
gos-dar	Silk	
gser	Gold	
dngul	Silver	

gser-la brdungs- pa'i mandala	Mandala made of gold		401/3
'brug-gi sgo-nga	Dragon egg		
sbug-chol	Brass symbols		
dngul	Silver		
gos-dar	Silk		
dngul	Silver	1,000 srang	401/4
dā-dril	Hand-drum and bell		
'phreng-ba	Rosary		
ber	Cloak		
bla-re	Canopy		
gdugs	Umbrella		401/5
gdan-chas	Seating cushions		
gser-dngul-gyi mandala	Gold and silver mandala		401/6
rta	Horse		
gos-yug	Silk		
gser-gyi mandala	Golden mandala		404/2
mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of pearls		
gser	Gold	100 srang	
gser-gyi bum-pa	Golden jar		404/6
me-tog-gi-rigs sna-tshogs	Flowers of various kinds		
shing-'phreng	Wooden Rosary	500	
mu-tig-gis brgyan- pa'i	Religious cloak decorated with pearls		405/2

ber-zlam			
gos	silk		
mthe-bong-nyis 'gyur-tsam-gyi mu-tig	Pearl-double thumb size		
lnga-bcu-ma	50 srang pieces	3	
dngul-mdong	Silver churn		
gos-yug	Silk	15 rolls	
dar-ling	Thin silk		
sman-tse	Yellow silk scarf		
ra-ma-lug-gi sga thag-cha yob gdan	Saddle, straps, stirrups and cushions decorated with different precious metals		405/3
gser-las grub-pa'i mdong-mo	Golden churn	2	406/1
ka-to-ra	Copper plate	2	
gser	Gold	500 srang	
dngul-gyi-mdong-mo	Silver churns	8	
ka-to-ra	Copper plate	8	
dngul	Silver	10,000 srang	
srang-stong-las grub-pa'i dngul-khog chen-mo	Large vessel made of 1000 srang of silver		
gos-yug	Silk	1,000 rolls	
gser-sga	Golden saddles	10	406/2
stag-gzig-gi pags-pa	Tiger and leopard skin	10	
nor-sram	Precious sable skin	10	
ja-ko-dra	Tea leaves in hide bags	100	

gser	Gold	100 srang	
dngul	Silver	1,000 srang	
gos-yug	Silk	100 rolls	
gser	Gold	100 srang	407/1
gser-gyi mdong-mo	Golden churn		
ka-to-ra	Copper plate		407/2
gos-yug	Silk	100 rolls	
gser	Gold	100 srang	
gos-yug	Silk	150 rolls	
mu-tig-gi 'phreng-ba	Rosary of pearls		407/3
gser	Gold	300 srang	
kha-btags-kyi yol-ba	Silk curtain		
tha-na-mu-tig mdzub mo'i-mgo tsam-pa'i brgya-'phreng	String of 100 finger- tip size agate		407/4
rgya-gur	Tent	1	407/5
rta	Horse		407/6
rta	Horse	60	408/1
rta	Horse	350	409/1
dngul-las grub-pa'i khog-ma	Vessel made of silver		410/3
gser-gyi mandala	Gold mandala		410/4
rta	Horse	80	
gser-las grub-pa'i ka-to-ra	Plate made of gold		410/5
lte-ri	Pitcher	3	

mu-tig-gi snam-sbyar	Religious mantle decorated with pearls	
dngul	Silver	50 srang
gser-dngul rta-sga	Gold and silver horse saddle	411/5
gos-dar	Silk	
gser	Gold	412/2
dngul	Silver	
gos-dar	Silk	
ja	Tea	
pags	Leather	
rta	Horse	
gser	Gold	413/3
dngul	Silver	
gos-dar	Silk	
gser-dngul-gyi mandala	Gold and silver mandala	413/4
ka-to-ra	Copper plate	
mdong-mo	Tea churn	
gos-phyi-nang	Different silk	413/4
gser-sgas mnan-pa'i-rta	Horse with golden saddle	
gos-yug	Silk	400 rolls 414/1
gser-las grub-pa'i mandala	Mandala made of gold	414/2
snam-sbyar	Religious mantle	
bla-bre	Canopy	

'phan	Tassel	
gdan	Cushion	
bsil-g.yab	Fan	414/3
cog-tse-rnams mu-tig gis brgyan-pa	Tables decorated with pearls	
mu-tig	Pearls	
byu-ru	Coral	
ma-na-ho gsum-las grub-pa'i sgam-chung	Small box made of three pieces of agate	
gser-gzhong	Gold plate	
dngul-gzhong	Silver plate	
shel-gyi-par-bu	Crystal cup	
gos-dar	Silk	
gser-sgas mnan- pa'i-rta	Horse with gold saddle	
pags-rigs	Leather	
gya-nom-pa'i bdog-pa	Presents	415/4
gser-dngul-gyi ka-to-ra	Gold and silver plate	415/5
mdong-mo	Tea churn	
gos-dar	Silk	
dngul	Silver	
gos-dar	Silk	416/1
gser	Gold	
dngul	Silver	
gser-gyi mandala	Gold mandala	416/2

rin-cen sna-tshogs	Various precious articles		416/6
za-'og	Glossy silk cloth		
gser-dngul gyi ster-cha	Gold and silver presents		
gser-gyi tham-ka	Golden seal		418/1
gser-gyi spang-leb	Golden plates		
zang-zing-gi bdog-pa rgya-che	Lots of presents		418/4
gdugs	Umbrella	2	425/2
gos-yug	Silk	4 rolls	
dngul-gyi mdong-mo	Silver churn		
shing-'bras	Fruit		
zas-sna'i-rigs	Various kinds of food		
ja	Tea		426/3
gos-dar	Silk		
ras	Cotton cloth		
rta	Horses		
spu-nag	Yak		
rta-dkar-po	White horse	100	426/4
gos-dar	Silk		426/6
ja	Tea		
rta	Horse		
gser	Gold		430/6
rta	Horse		
khrab	Armor coat		
legs-skyes-kyi	Precious articles		433/5

dngos-po		
dngul-mdong	Silver churn	434/2
gos-dar	Silk	
legs-skyes-kyi bdog-pa	Precious presents	435/4
gos-dar	Silk	436/5

4. Outline of the Journey

The following is an outline of some important events recorded by the Fifth Dalai Lama on his journey to Peking and return trip to Lhasa in his autobiography.

Part One: From Lhasa to Peking

In the water-dragon year:

3rd month

15th day (1652, 4, 23)

The Dalai Lama traveled through Lci-bde ri-zur, Bud-mtshams, and Dan-'bag gling-kha (346). Then he was in Gnas-chung-lcog (346), inquiring for more religious information.

17th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Lhun-grub rab-brtan (347). Two good horses, named Phan-bde ngang-pa and Khyung-smug,

were selected for him to use. Some of the lamas escorted him all the way until 'Dam (347).

18th day

The Dalai Lama stopped for lunch at Skyor-mo-lung (347). In Tshal-po (347) he received many gifts, such as the riding horse equipment with red gem ornaments. The monks of Yangs-pa-can (348) welcomed his arrival.

23rd day

The Dalai Lama and his followers camped in Dkar-mo (348). Both Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi rgyal-po¹⁶ and Bstan-'dzin Chos-kyi rgyal-po (Gu-shri khan) came to see him off. A blue horse was offered to him.

29th day

He stayed in Mthong-smon (349).

30th day

He had lunch in Rtswa-sgye-mo (349). During the night, there was a heavy fall of snow.

4th Month

2nd day (1652, 5, 9)

He arrived in Bsam-grub bde-chen (349). Most of the lamas escorted him up to this place and then returned home.

Gu-shri Khan was ill so he also returned to Lhasa.

21st day

The Dalai Lama left Bsam-grub bde-chen and arrived in a hot spring area called Gro-ma-lung-gi chu-tshan (350). He stayed there for three days, due to the heavy snow.

In Rgya-rgan (351), he performed the religious service Rta-mgrin skyer-sgang lugs-kyi dbang-bzhi byin-rlabs¹⁷ for Skyid-shod tha'i-ji Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje.

In G.yang-ra (351), the sde-pa¹⁸ and his followers also arrived.

In 'Bab-rong (352) he conducted a special prayer meeting.

In Na-grang-mo (352), he wrote some thankful verses to praise the gods for the miraculous water that came out of the dry mountain side.

30th day

He passed through a mountain pass called Glang-ling la-ka (352).

5th Month

1st day (1652, 6, 6)

He arrived in Sho-mong 'dzom-ra (352). Da-la'i pa-dur was sick. It was said that he became well again the next day after the Dalai Lama performed some rituals and prayers for

him.

In Khroms-steng (352), a large reception was given by a group of Mongols for the Dalai Lama. He was offered about one hundred horses and other presents.

In Chu-nag-kha (353) the left banner of the Oirad (O-rod) Mongols were about to return to their own land. The Dalai Lama held a big party for them according to Mongol customs.

The Dalai Lama received 260 horses from the people who came to meet him.

9th day

The Dalai Lama was in Lha-ngar-sgang(353). He prayed for more than 3,000 Hor A-mdo-ba people. He saw rainbows in the clear sky and no cold wind. This was a good sign for the day.

Some Mongols offered him 20 male and 100 female mdzo and calves.

The Sde-pa inspected the camp site and made preparations for the journey. He also settled some dispute among the people who traveled with the Dalai Lama.

12th day

He arrived in 'Brong-rtsa (354) and performed religious rituals to bless about 30 monks and others.

14th day

He arrived in Shag. (354)

15th day

The Sde-pa set up special rules for his followers during the journey so that they would know how to work together peacefully.

19th day

He arrived in Gad-skya (355). He prayed for the Sde-pa and his officials with the following blessings (byin-rlabs):

"Tshe-dbang lcags-sdong-ma" and

"Rta-mgrin skyer-sgang-lugs."

23rd day

He arrived in Snyug-la (355) and camped at the bottom of the mountain. There were two lakes nearby and the water was milky white in color.

The Dalai Lama was cautioned that in going to China he might encounter some unexpected health hazards. This worry was enough to drive his followers to despair.

That same night he went to Snyug-mda' chu-tshan-kha (357), a place with hot springs in the lower part of the valley.

Gdang-la (357) was known to be the mountain pass where

a local deity would harm the travelers and their horses and mules. The Dalai Lama and his retinue passed through without any difficulties because the deity was appeased by their proper offerings.

He then traveled through a place called Cha-gan er-khi by the Mongols and called Gad-pa dkar-po (357) by the Tibetans. He crossed the rivers Snyug-chu and Ag-'dam-gyi-chu, and arrived in Gar-ba lha-rtse-gzhung (357) near the source of the river in the area called Chu-'go Bkra-shis 'khyil-ba (357).

Bi-ri stod-ta g.yul-rgyal and Chos-sgron who were brother and sister, and others offered to the Dalai Lama 70 horses, 9 sets of armor coat and 150 yak. About 200 people came to see the Dalai Lama and gave him receptions. In return he performed different rituals to bless them. Everybody wished him a safe trip to China and a quick return.

6th Month

2nd day (1652, 7, 7)

The Dalai Lama arrived in Yags-gzhung (358). When he arrived in Brag-snying dkar-po (358) there were people who came to welcome him from the 'Bri-chu area.

A group of people from Khams area brought with them a large amount of materials with which to make cowhide boats. Some people were sent to Rabs-bdun-ma to make arrangements

for the river crossing activities.

He then crossed the river called Tho-khol 'u-su(358). Though it was said that many great rivers flowed between Ag-'dam and this area, they could cross the rivers without many difficulties.

6th day

The Dalai lama arrived in Tho-khol tho-lo-mgo rge-der-gu (358). The river in this area was too deep for the horses to cross over to the other side. He sent about 50 Mongols and their leaders to build cowhide boats. There were about 200 people coming to meet the Dalai Lama. Some of the imperial officials found a shallow section of the river, near Rabs-bdun-ma (358), about half a day's journey away from here. That place was called 'Bri-chu'i rabs and there he crossed the river and stayed at Pha-ri (358), on the other side of the river.

7th day

The Dalai Lama crossed the Dmar-chu (359) and arrived at the other side of the river.

Having returned to Lhasa, the Sde-pa and his followers were in charge of the renovation for the monasteries. A great deal of gold, silver, and other materials were used for some of the remodeling. They also retouched the statues and repainted the walls.

While the Dalai Lama was in the upper part of the Dmar-chu valley, he received from the local people presents including horses, armor coats, and tea leaves packed in hide bags.

The Dalai Lama then passed through Kha-ra 'u-su (361) and arrived in the valley on the right side of Chu-nag phramo. In this area, about 300 people from Gu-yan tha-sur-kha came to meet him. He was offered with about 80 camels and two saddled horses.

14th day

The Dalai Lama sent Mgron-gnyer Ma-ni-ba as a messenger to deliver a letter and to report to the Emperor about the current situation in Na-rings kha-ra 'u-su (361).

Hundreds of people arrived with their camels and horses to meet the Dalai Lama and escort him on his journey. Some lamas traveled with him from 'Bri-phu-rong to Mdo-ba-se-leb (361), for about four days. When he arrived at 'Bri-phu namamdo (361) he was offered a large quantity of tea and about one hundred each of the following animals: horses, mules, and mdzo.

In Ba-yan kha-ra (362) some potential hazards were avoided because of the different religious services performed by the Dalai Lama for the people.

He began to write the biography (rnam-thar) of the all-

knowing Yon-tan rgya-mtso (the 4th Dalai Lama 1589-1617) when he was in Sha-la-thu (362).

Near the Mtsho-skya-ring (362) lake area, the Mongols presented him with many horses and camels.

He then arrived in Bho-ro-rjo (362). He received hundreds of presents from the Oirad Mongols, such as a silver churn, silver bowls, and silk.

He passed through Ab-phyi du-thang (362), a place mentioned as the Valley of the Hor Army during the time of the Ge-sar. He performed the Thugs-rje chen-po'i rjes-gnang for the A-lag-sha people.

He then arrived in Mdzo-khra-sdings (363), a place also mentioned in the story of the Ge-sar. More than 30 people came to meet him and present him with 30 horses and 60 zho of gold. He accepted an invitation and promised to visit to A-rig ¹⁹ and Dkar-po-thang.

He traveled through the area near the Ldong-ra mtsho-nag and the Be'u-dug mtsho, two of the five lakes categorized under the name of Mtsho-sman phyug-mo spun-lnga (363).

26th day

In Dug-mtsho-kha (363), he gave blessings to some 100 Mongols and the people of A-rig.

27th day

About mid-noon, lunch time, Me-rgan dka'-bcu shes-rab rgya-mtsho came and presented the Dalai Lama with a good red horse.

After traveling through a forest valley, he arrived at Thang-yangs-sa (363). About 300 horses and men came to meet him from A-rig.

He continued on to Dkar-po-thang (363) and camped there for three days. During the time he was there, hundreds of Mongols, along with their horses, came to meet him. He initiated 90 monks to become ordained monks (bsnyen-rdzogs) and 30 to be novice-monks (dge-tshul). He sat on the old seat once used by the all-knowing Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho (the 3rd Dalai Lama 1543-1588) and performed the Thugs-rje chen-po phyag-bzhi-pa'i rjes-gnang to bless the entire community of Mongols and Tibetans of that area.²⁰

The A-rig people presented him with 800 horses, 50 zho of gold and many sheep and yaks.

29th day

Around lunch time, the messenger named Se-chen dar-rgyas returned from his mission of delivering a letter to the Emperor.

30th day

In Sding-nel-thu (364), he received silver, gold and

horses as presents. While situated on a newly built seat, the Dalai Lama performed the Thugs-rje chen-po'i rjes-gnang. Lha-btsun se-chen khu-tshen presented him with 150 horses.

7th Month

1st day (1652, 8, 5)

The Dalai Lama arrived in Ra-rgod-gzhung (365). About 50 horsemen came to welcome him in the traditional Thu-med style. It was obvious that the monks were yellow sect believers.

The Dalai Lama sat atop a newly built seat to perform the Yig-drug gi bzlas-lung²¹ for the people of some 500 families in this area. He was offered 150 horses, camels, sheep and many other presents.

In Dgun-er-sgi (365) both people and their animals suffered while crossing the dangerous mountain passes. Thanks to their individual protective gods, they could reach level road again without any losses.

The people of A-rig stod-pa came from somewhere between Hang-nge-gzhung and Khyung-thod (365)²² to offer the Dalai Lama about 30 horses. He performed the Gdugs-dkar gyi rjes-gnang.

When the Dalai Lama arrived in 'Obs-chen-gzhung (365) he was offered many horses, sheep and yaks. A group of Mongols came from Khal-kha to present him with 200 srang of silver, silk, tea and hundreds of other presents.

2nd day

The Dalai Lama received 100 horses from the people of Stag-ring-shog and Dgon-lung. (365)

While in Cha'i-ja (365), he received more horses and sheep as presents. Hundreds of people from A-mdo traveled there to welcome him.

The people from Khal-kha and others offered him thousands of different presents, namely, salutation scarves, silk, sable fur, tea, horses, sheep, silver and even fruits.

11th day

By the imperial order, a special delegation headed by Sha-ji dha-ra khon-jin²³ came to welcome the Dalai Lama. They brought many valuable gifts for him, such as a rosary of pearls, caps and silk garments, white horse with a gold saddle, etc.

In Kha-tha'u (366), the Dalai Lama offered the Sphyan-ras-gzigs phyag-bzhi-pa'i rjes-gnang to Rgyal-khang-rtse Sprul-sku and his mother.

12th day

The Dalai Lama met with hundreds and thousands of the local people and Mongol horsemen. Some Chinese monks with court ranks had been escorted by about 100 horsemen to meet

him.

13th day

He arrived at Mtsho khri-shog rgyal-mo'i 'gram (366), the Kokonor lake area populated by Mongols. He offered rituals to bless about 3000 Mongols. He was presented with a bag of gold the size of a medium sized frog.

The people in Ha-sdong-do were planning to build a monastery in Kras-khul. The Dalai Lama gave his blessings for the plan and named it Dga'-ldan chos-gling. He was presented with more than 30 pieces of silk, about 80 horses, and camels. At another occasion, he received 200 horses and more than 100 felt tents. The abbot of the Dgon-lung presented him with about 40 horses. For the general public the Dalai Lama recited the Thugs-rje chen-po'i bzlas-lung. The Mongols sponsored great festivities for his followers.

The two officials in Zi-ling-mkhar (Xiningcheng) ordered his people to present tea, white rice, and fruits to the Dalai Lama.

Most people of this region were Mongols. The presents they offered to the Dalai Lama and his followers were sheep, horses, camels, silver, gold, and rolls of silk. In return, the Dalai Lama performed various rituals for the people, such as Spyan-ras-gzigs kyi rjes-gnang, and Phyang-drug-pa'i dbang-bzhi byin-rlabs.

18th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Bya-kha bu-lag (367). Mgo-dkar jan-co and his fifty or so officials and followers came from Zi-ling-mkhar (368) to meet the Dalai Lama; they presented him with many presents, including 100 salutation scarfs, 7 rolls of silk, 2 saddled horses, 8 loads of tea-bricks, and 3 bushels (khal) of dry fruits, etc. They offered him a cordial welcome and the official meetings were conducted in the traditional Chinese way.

An imperial messenger, U-ge de-khe'i, who had spent 15 days on the road, came to meet the Dalai Lama. Many monasteries in this area sent their high ranking monks to meet the Dalai Lama, and the Mongols also came with their horsemen. When he arrived in the area near the end of the lake called Ring-mo (368), he received more than 200 horses and about 100 yak from the local leaders.

20th day

Some of the Mongols were sent to set up camps by the lake area of the Dkar-thang mar-khu'i mtsho-mo, in Bo-ro chu-'gag (368). People from Khal-kha offered the Dalai Lama some expensive silk, silver and horses. He met more than 1000 other Mongols and received 50 zho of gold and 250 horses.

21st day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Ul-khen shi-bar-tha'i (369). He sent people to offer the armor sets, gold, silver, tea and medicine, etc., as sacrificial objects with which to honor the Kokonor lake.

Cha-gan no-mon-khan offered him 300 horses, and Ba-yan bla-ma offered him about 10. The people from Sgo-mi 'og-ma and others offered him 20 srang of gold and 5 horses.

The Dalai Lama sent Rab-'byams-pa zhabs-drung to the Oirad region laden with presents. Er-te-ni da'i-chen offered him 500 srang of silver, 50 rolls of silk, and the horses, camels and sheep about 500 in total. He offered the Sgrol-dkar yid-bzhin 'khor-lo'i rjes-gnang to the Mongol nobles and the Imperial messengers.

There were about 40 people came to meet him from A-mdo, and they all received satisfaction of seeing him.

For other groups he offered the Grub-rgyal lugs-kyi tshe-dbang. There were lots of presents offered to him, namely, silk, gold and silver-made mandala, and tea leaves packed in hide-bags, etc. He initiated some 40 monks to become ordained monks and more than 20 to be novice-monks.²⁴

8th month

1st day (1652, 9, 3)

The Dalai Lama arrived in Dkyil-sgar (370) and performed a sacrificial ceremony together with the monks of

the monastery called Rnam-par rgyal-ba'i phan-bde legs-bshad-gling.

5th day

A magnificent religious dance was performed.

6th day

Having completed seven days of the religious services by some local monks, it brought a great deal of happiness.

7th day

From the 7th day onward, he received horses, silk, and some religious objects such as bells and cymbals from both the general public and religious communities.

Second 7th day (tshes-bdun phyi-ma)²⁵

The Dalai Lama sent detailed letters to the monasteries in Tibet and Sikkim and instructed them to bury the pot of treasure for the benefit of the people in the Buddhist world.

The monks from Sku-'bum (371) and lots of other people came to meet the Dalai Lama and offered him presents such as some 500 horses, about 40 yak, tea, and silk. He offered many kinds of religious rituals to bless them. He initiated about 70 monks to become ordained monks.

Besides a newly built seat and thousands of other

presents Se-chen-hung tha'i-ji also offered the Dalai Lama 2000 horses. Bla-ma btsan-po offered him 500 horses in addition to a wealth of other presents.

To about 10,000 common and religious people arrived from the Dgon-lung and Sku-'bum monastery, the Dalai Lama offered the Thams-cad mkhen-po bsod-nams rgya-mtsho'i nye brgyud kyi spyang-ras-gzigs kyi rjes-gnang.

The Dalai Lama arrived in a well-built tent with good tables and chairs. It was set up for the arrival of Ja'i-sang bi-chi ye-chi. He offered the Dalai Lama silk and horses.

The Dalai Lama blessed everyone who came to the camp site and initiated 250 monks from the Dgon-lung and those of Bla-ma btsan-po's followers to become ordained monks and 150 to be novice-monks.

The Dalai Lama offered the Rta-mgrin skyer-sgang lugs-kyi dbang-bzhi byin-rlabs to the people who came to meet him. Chu-lum tha'i-ji, Ja'i-sang gu-shri, and Tha-sor-kha were in the group. In addition to the blessings and different services, the Dalai Lama also named two newly built monasteries: one was Dga'-ldan chos-'khor-gling, and the other, Dam-chos-gling. He also received silver, gold, and horses as presents. (373)

The Dalai Lama gave horses and silver to some key members of the Bya-khyung, Sku-'bum, and Dgon-lung monasteries. He gave one horse and two sheep to each monk

of the seven monastic institutes in the camp area, and one horse to every two transporters and servants. He sent back to the homeland of the Sde-pa more than 1000 zho of gold and about 800 horses. He also took that opportunity to write a letter to Bstan-'dzin chos-kyi rgyal-po (Gu-shri Khan) and send him some garments. To each of the general managers of the three monasteries, Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs, and Chos-'khor-rgyal, he bestowed 100 srang of silver. He also sent letters to some other lamas and gave them valuable presents.

At this time, the Dalai Lama felt that with the imperial government's help, he was greatly relieved from all worries about his journey.²⁶

17th day

The Dalai Lama left Bo-ro chu-'gag and arrived at Yo-le-thu (374). He was escorted by the chieftains of the Oirad Mongols.

18th day

Se-chen-hung tha'i-ji's wife offered him a Chinese red coat and 5 ornamental banners decorated with pearls.

He traveled through Nags-rong (374). It was a forest area with tall trees stretching high into the sky. The place he stayed was called Cha-gan tho-kho'i (374).

19th day

He traveled through Rgya'i-lcags-ri phyi-ma (374), the outer section of the Great Wall. In this area there was agricultural land and a walled city. The magistrate of Goskya-mkhar (374) came to meet him and offered him a lunch party. They used a wagon to carry the food out. There were different kind of fruits, refreshments and meats.

He then traveled through a city called Zan-nyen-jing (374). In that area most land was wet and green, abundant with trees, fruits and flowers, just like a heavenly park.

He traveled to the birth place of Btsong-kha-pa and arrived at Sku-'bum byams-pa-gling (375) by the invitation of the monastic community. He stayed in the newly built Chinese style house offered to him by Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin, a chieftain of the Oirad (O-rod).

He visited extensively the different religious establishments and blessed everyone, wishing each one of them a happy and long life. He was invited to the seat once belonging to the All-knowing Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho.

He received thousands of presents, including 12 horses, gold, silver, and tea, etc.

To about 5000 local people, including Chinese, Tibetan and Mongols, he offered a variety of religious services and tea. He stayed there for two days. On the day of his departure, four officials from the Zi-ling city (375) and about 100 of their horsemen came to welcome him. The four

officials were listed as Bi'i-phu'u-tsang, Ho-tshan-tsang, Thung-ye, and Bang-ye. He then arrived somewhere near the city of Zi-ling (375). There were numerous people in this area, but they were prevented from coming near the Dalai Lama, by a person holding in one hand a wooden board with an official notice on it, and in the other hand, an iron chain; he was walking along the road. At this place the Dalai Lama began to notice wheeled carts being used to transport goods.

Two local officials offered the Dalai Lama a traditional Chinese party. The next morning more officials and their people came to meet him.

A Chinese person guilty of robbing 400 srang of silver from a government treasury was hand-cuffed and incarcerated. The Dalai Lama paid 300 srang of silver and some horses to have him released. The Dalai Lama felt that the Chinese people cherished silver over their concern for others. His unexpected action surprised the local people.

The incarnated lama of 'Bri-gung from Pa-ras offered him 20 horses. As the Oirad chieftains and the head lama of the Sku-'bum came to see him off, everyone waved salutation scarves and voiced their good wishes. It was an emotional departure for the Dalai Lama. He stayed at the place called Pheng-krung-yi (376), near the monastery which once belonged to the late Bla-chen Dgongs-pa rab-gsal. Many people came to meet him. He observed many Chinese people holding in their hands banners, parasols, royal ensigns, and some

musical instruments. He met the religious community headed by Sgro-tshang nang-so and arrived at Men-pas (376). The local official gave him a warm reception.

Sgro-tshang nang-so and his religious community offered him thousands of presents, such as tea and silk, etc., and the people of the Dgon-lung monastery offered him about 20 horses.

Because the people in this area were so sincere about their faith, the Dalai Lama offered the Yi-drug gi bzlas-lung and other blessings.

He traveled over a long bridge and a large street in a market place outside the city of Men-pas (377). The local official of Lo'i-kwa'o-chang (377) came to pay respect to the Dalai Lama.

26th day

He arrived in Bing-ku (377) and ate lunch there. More than 150 people came from Pa-ras stong-shab to meet him and offer him about 40 horses. The local officials of the Grong-lang city (377), Te'i-dung and Se-ra-lung, together with 30 riders, came to welcome him. When he arrived at Si-ri te'i-dung²⁷ (377), the magistrate Li-phang-shu'u honored him with a Chinese reception. They offered many presents, such as 100 rolls of silk, canopy, horses with saddles, 150 zho of gold, etc.

27th day

The Dalai Lama offered a religious service for Mdo-pa gu-shri and many other people in that area. In a rest area (rta-'jam), near a bridge across from a big river, the three officials of the Grong-lang city, namely Bing-ye, Thung-ye, and Lu'u-tsha-cang, offered the Dalai Lama a Chinese style reception. He initiated 43 monks to become ordained monks, 86 to be novice-monks, and 80 to be novice (rab-byung) from the monasteries in that area.

Because there was no water available in that area for people to drink during that day's lunch time, they used a wagon to carry water over. The magistrate of Grong-lang brought with him food and fruits. He also served the Dalai Lama a cooked meal inside a big white tent.

The Dalai Lama traveled through a long ravine, where the land was in red color. In the welcome procession held there, people carrying flags in their hands marched on the outside lines and a large Chinese marching band marched down the middle. The Dalai Lama's group was escorted by some horsemen to a place near the city of Grong-lang (378), where they set up camp.

The three local officials offered a variety of wheat-flour-made-food and spared the lives of the chickens and pigs. They offered the Dalai Lama presents, such as a

woolen cloak, salutation scarves, umbrellas, porcelain ware with base, tin plates, silk and horses with saddles. The Dalai Lama offered them the Rta-mgrin gyi rjes-gnang.

28th day

The Dalai Lama arrived at Phing-ting-chang (378). The magistrate, Yu'u-skyi-yi, offered him a reception. About 60 local officials and their followers came to meet the Dalai Lama and offered him hundreds of presents, such as a silver pitcher, ceremonial tea set, mandala, silk and horses with saddles. During the days he stayed there, lots of people from Pa-ras came to see him; they offered him more than 100 horses. He blessed each one of them and fulfilled their wishes by offering them some religious services.

When he arrived at Zan-yon-tsang (379), near a big city surrounded by a wall, he received presents, such as horses, silk and fruits, from many different people. He offered the Chinese and the people from Pa-ras the Spyan-ras-gzigs kyi rjes-gnang. On the road, Bzang-po rgyal-mtshan of Pa-ras offered him 30 horses.

9th month

3rd day (1652, 10, 5)

The Dalai Lama traveled through a deep valley with trees hanging down from both sides of the mountain. Although there was no water running through the valley, the

forests and grass land were very lush. After passing through a few mountains and forests, he arrived in Yungtha'i-ching (379), which was a wide open dry area, belonging to the Manchu country (man-ju'i sa'i-cha).

He initiated 45 monks to become ordained monks and about 50 to be novice-monks from the Pa-ras area.

4th day

An imperial delegation, including Nom-chi bla-ma, Khi-ya, and Jang-gi, arrived and presented to the Dalai Lama a letter and gifts.

5th day

The Dalai Lama traveled through the desert area called Sgo-be by the Mongols and arrived in the area outside the Great Wall. Then, he arrived at a place called Ying-phan-sru (379)²⁸ in the Lu-thang (379) area. There was a variety of different small trees found in the forest.

6th day

Because there was no water on the road the Dalai Lama traveled 140 li (each Chinese li equals 500 meters) to a wetland area called Chang-lu'u-sri (379)²⁹ in Nying-zha (Ningxia). There were many birds, white snakes, and hawks.

He offered the ritual of Phyag-drug-pa'i dbang-bzhi byin-rlabs to Nom-chi bla-ma and Kho-lo-che sku-skye.

During his four day stay there, he sent letters and presents to the Emperor.

10th day

At the place they had lunch, three Cha-khar Mongol leaders presented to the Dalai Lama more than 40 head of horses and camels. The government of Nying-zha (Ningxia) arranged a Chinese palanquin³⁰ to carry the Dalai Lama. Riding behind the marching band and the colorful parade, he arrived in Drung-wi (380). The local officials of Ningxia and the community leaders all came with their servants and religious representatives to meet the Dalai Lama and offered him a lavish Chinese style reception. The messenger Ma-ni-ba returned from the imperial court. The Dalai Lama stayed there for three days.

13th day

Having traveled through the city of Dhi-ri su-khu-do (380) the Dalai Lama arrived in Jin-lu-phu'u (380). A delegation from the imperial court was already there. They presented him with about 40 head of horses and camels. He composed some religious notes as requested by the local people. He stayed in a place near the city of Shi-gong-zi (380). The local official offered him a Chinese style reception.

Near the city there was a monastery called Shi-gong-zi

built with a Chinese style roof. It was said that one man completed the building within eleven days. In that monastery there was a self-grown statue of the Buddha about ten feet high. A temple of the Buddhas of the past, present, and future (Dus-gsum Sangs-rgyas) and other religious establishments were found in a cave. The Dalai Lama did not go inside to visit; he only observed from afar.

After he traveled through a few other places, he arrived at the place near a monastery in the city of Jang-ye-phu (381). Seven Chinese people came to meet him and offered him many different fruits. The magistrate of a small city called Tso-yon-phu (381) came to pay respect to the Dalai Lama.

18th day

The Dalai Lama stayed in a place near the city of Kong-wu'u(381). The monastery call Glang-ru lung-bstan was located on the other side of the Yellow River. The magistrate offered him a large reception and presented him with silk and other gifts. The magistrate of Yu'i-tshen-yang (381) donned in his official costume and offered the Dalai Lama a reception.

The Dalai Lama continued his trip, traveling through many towns and cities in the area of Ningxia. Some Chinese monks and Buddhists came to meet him.

The city of Ningxia (Nying-zha-mkhar, 381) was very big

at the time. Inside Ningxia stood a white stupa and other well built monasteries with colorful roofs. Outside the city, the Dalai Lama passed through a stupa in the monastery where the robes and almsbowl of Kāśyapa (Sangs-rgyas mar-me-mdzad) were kept.

Passing through the road of a dense forest area, the Dalai Lama arrived in a small city called Jing-chu-phu (382). Two officials from Ningxia presented him with numerous presents, such as a gold incense burner, four silver plates, four rolls of silk and a silk cushion.

In Chinese cities there were magnificent buildings complete with high and well-built roofs. Multitudes of people gathered along the main road of the cities, burning incense. Some laid flowers, food, and drinks on the tables to show their respect to the Dalai Lama.

9th month

21st day (1652, 10, 23)

The Dalai Lama and his followers crossed Sma-chu (Rma-chu, the Yellow River) (382) on beautiful, big Chinese boats. The two Ningxia officials who came to escort him returned to their home office.

About 100 monks and 500 people arrived from Zha-ldan in 'Or-dus-su (Ordos) (382) to meet him. Shin-ta pa'i-li offered him a golden mandala, more than 100 horses, and a number of camels. A Bla-ma, from Rin-cen dpal-bzang offered

him silk and silver. A-kha'i bla-ma and Tha-yan-chi offered him about 150 horses and camels, and some gold, silver, tea and food stuffs.

Six lower ranked officials from Ningxia offered him silk and porcelain wares. The official from Lang-ju (383) offered him a lot of different goods.

The Dalai Lama offered the people the religious ritual 'Jam-dbyangs a-ra-pa-tsa-na and read some magic scriptures. The A-kha'i bla-ma and his followers offered every member in the Dalai Lama's camp tea, silk, and alms.

23rd day

Sha-ji dha-ra returned from his mission of delivering a letter and presents to the Emperor. The Dalai Lama offered about 100 people from Ordos, the following rituals: Sphyan-ras-gzigs phyag-bzhi-pa rjes-gnang, and Rigs-gsum mgon-po'i rjes-gnang.

Khi-ya bla-ma, Mgon-po khi-ya, and Bha-tha'i jang-qi arrived from the Emperor's court bearing an official letter and presents.

10th month

1st day (1652, 11, 1)

The Dalai Lama arrived in Bhur-sig (383).

2nd day

When the Dalai Lama arrived in the forest area called Kha-ra 'u-su (383), 'Ol-dga' gla-ba sgang-pa also arrived and brought with him the Tibetan official seal and other daily necessities.

The Dalai Lama next reached Tho-su-thu (383), by the Yellow River. This area was a mixture of sandy plains and grass land. Most of the water in this area was quite salty. Approximately 500 monks and their leaders came to offer the Dalai Lama thousands of presents, such as a gold mandala, 400 srang of silver, more than 100 horses, silk, cotton cloth, and tea. The Dalai Lama blessed Khi-ya bla-ma and offered him the ritual: Spyan-ras-gzigs kyi rjes-gnang. He then carried the Dalai Lama's letter of response to the Emperor.

3rd day

Shin-ta pa'i-li and Rin-cen be'i-se came with about 400 monks and presented silver and horses to the Dalai Lama.

When the Dalai Lama arrived in O-lon bu-lag (384), thousands of Mongol officials and their horsemen came bearing large amounts of silver and about 300 horses. The religious groups' presents included 200 srang of silver and about 100 horses. The Dalai Lama performed for them the ritual: Spyan-ras-gzigs phyag-bzhi-pa'i rjes-gnang. He also blessed as many as 5000 Mongols and strewed flowers for

them.

In Ba-yen tho-lo-ge (384), from another group of approximately 300 Mongols, he received more horses and a mandala made of gold and silver, decorated with colorful silk. The Dalai Lama offered different people different recitations of the precepts: for No-yon dbon-po's people, the Yig-drug-gi bzlas-lung; for Rin-cen-dbang, the Thugs-rje chen-po'i bzlas-lung.

In the area by the salty lake Ra-sa-su no'o (384), people from Mkhar-sngon-po converged to help the Dalai Lama organize the camp ground. They presented him with white camels and horses with golden saddles. Rin-cen-dbang and his wife offered the Dalai Lama articles made of gold and silver, a sable fur cloak, and hundreds of horses and sheep. Shin-ta pa'i-li's wife offered him about 20,000 items, such as 1000 srang of silver, 1000 horses, 100 camels, 10,000 sheep, tea, and silk, etc. Rin-cen-dbang's younger brother, Chos-tsho cho-gur presented him with a sable fur coat and more than 300 srang of silver.

The Dalai Lama offered the longevity ritual to bless the people who came to give him presents. Shin-ta pa'i-li offered the people of the Dalai Lama's camp an enormous banquet with lots of food. They stayed there overnight. The next day, Cho-gur sent people to escort the Dalai Lama to the campground and to prepare horses, camels and tea for him.

When the Dalai Lama arrived in Shi-ta-bu-ri-du (385), Bu-yan-du gu-shri and Yel-deng be'i-se, father and son, and 3000 other people also came to meet him there. They offered the Dalai Lama hundreds of presents, including silk and a gold and silver mandala. The Dalai Lama performed a special ritual for them. Gtsang-pa dka'-bcu bestowed upon the Dalai Lama a golden churn and a horse with saddle. Rin-cen be'i-se provided the people in the Dalai Lama's camp with meat, butter, and cheese.

In Ul-chur-du (385) the Dalai Lama initiated 9 monks to become ordained monks, 4 to be novice, and 18 to be Buddhist devotee (dge-bsnyen). Se-chen da'i-chen's daughter and another 500 or so people were offered the Spyan-ras-gzigs phyag-bzhi-pa'i rjes-gnang. Many Mongol leaders came to present to the Dalai Lama and his followers with gifts.

When the Dalai Lama arrived in Kha-ra bu-lag (385), Tshe-ring pe'i-se, Ratna tha'i-ji and about 1000 other people, greeted him. The presents offered to him included a tent, canopy, cushions, sable fur, horses, camels, golden and silver churns, milk bucket, copper basin, gold, silver, tea, silk and cotton cloth.

Thousands of other groups of people also came to this area to meet the Dalai Lama. In return, the Dalai Lama offered them different rituals and proffered many blessings to them.

16th day

The Dalai Lama made a stop at a grassland on the bank of the Yellow River (387). He performed the ritual Shangs-lugs rta-mgrin gyi byin-rlabs dbang-bzhi to endow power upon a group of the Mongols. He also blessed many Buddhist devotees and monks.

18th day

Because of a dangerous storm he could not cross the river. He camped at Bho-tho-ge E-le-su (387). The people from Mkhar-sngon-po presented him with more than 200 horses, 80 of which came complete with saddles.

20th day

He performed the ritual 'Phrin-las drag-por bsgrub-pa'i gtor-bzlog for three days, and during these three days, the cold wind storm made life very miserable.

22nd day

He performed a ritual to drive the devil away. The weather then warmed up and everything returned to normal again. He composed some religious verses as daily readings for Klang-bu-ba ngan-dbang legs-ldan.

23rd day

The Dalai Lama sent Me-rgan dka'-bcu shes-rab rgya-

mtsho to present a letter to the Emperor. The rituals he performed were:

Thugs-rje chen-po gtso-rkyang gi rjes-gnang and
Skyer-sgang lugs-kyi rta-mgrin gyi dbang-bzhi byin-
rlabs.

26th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Thu-mu-ge (388) in the Thu-med Mongol area. More than 500 horsemen came and offered him presents of fine silk, garments, and gold and silver. He offered flowers at the statues and sacred objects established by Bhe-kho kho-sho-chi. The Dalai Lama performed the Yi-ge drug-pa'i bzias-lung ritual for a group of Mongols, about 600 in total, and the Yi-ge drug-pa gtso-'khor gsum-pa'i rjes-gnang for many Mongolian officials.

29th day

The Dalai Lama left E-re-khu (389). At the place where he stopped for lunch, Nom-chi Bla-ma and four other people came to report that Khe-shing-ge chin-dbang³¹ was coming to welcome him. For the next two to three days, thousands of people came with their horses and camels to meet the Dalai Lama.

Greeting scarves appeared everywhere like snowflakes. An official in charge of the religious affairs from the Imperial court was there to offer him with presents such as

a piece of porcelain ware with a gold base, an enamel ware and a gold spittoon.

11th Month

2nd day (1652, 12, 2)

A huge parade procession was arranged by Khe-shing-ge chin-dbang and his guards. Behind him rode about 2,000 horsemen, and in front of him marched a large band playing music very loudly. A large crowd of people held in their hands various banners, weapons and other ceremonial and symbolic items.

Besides an official letter, many presents were given to the Dalai Lama, including a monk's robe decorated with pearls. From the Dbang himself came a gold mandala decorated with the seven different precious articles of royalty.³² For three days they stayed there to celebrate this occasion.

5th day

At the time when the Dalai Lama arrived in U-su-thu-ru (390), Jo-rig thu-dbang presented him with thousands of gifts such as a gold mandala with a metal platter, a silver mandala with a wooden frame, a string of pearl rosary, silk, and horses. He performed a ceremony of blessings for about 400 people.

From Jor-de-mur (390) he traveled through a valley

inhabited by wild animals and arrived at a place called Rdo'i-tho (390), located in a forest area.

6th day

He arrived at Khi-ri Ta'i-kha (390), where a newly built residence with a Chinese dome and a surrounding wall was completed for him by the order of the Emperor. He received a lot of presents from different people who came to meet him.

Urged by Khe-shin-ge chin-dbang, he performed many religious rituals for the people in the vicinity.

21st day

The Emperor sent Me-rgan dka'-bcu and Sha-ji dha-ra as messengers to meet the Dalai Lama.

23rd and 24th day

A rounded circle of rainbow appeared in the sky. The Dalai Lama had never witnessed such a phenomenon before, and because this rainbow could be seen by people from every direction, whoever saw it was astonished. He could not determine whether it was a good omen or a bad omen. Later on, this type of rainbow appeared a couple more times in Tibetan sky, each time accompanied by a death in a big family.

Earlier, he had expressed several times that he had no

intention to stay in China for a long period of time because of health dangers like the small-pox and other diseases. Now, he asked Me-rgan dka'-bcu to once again report these sentiments to the Emperor.

27th day

According to the Imperial order, the best way to guarantee a quick trip and return trip was to select 300 men to accompany him on the journey and to leave the rest of the followers in Ta'i-kha (392). If they were to travel in too large a group, too much time would be wasted and they would be more vulnerable to the various problems caused by different diseases. Thus they left some people behind and continued on.

28th day

He performed the Thugs-rje chen-po'i rjes-gnang for Sukhun tha-po-na and Me'i-ring jang-gi in Khu-khe u-su (392).

30th day

A group of about 10 people from the Khal-kha left banner royal family were on their way to pay tribute to the Emperor in order to negotiate some kind of business trade. He met with some of them.

12th month

5th day (Shunzhi ninth year, 1653, 1, 4)

The Fifth Dalai Lama and his followers, three hundred in number, entered through the Great Wall and arrived in Zhangjiakou (Rdzang-skya-khu) (392). They passed through an iron-cabled bridge outside the city and saw some stone lions and trees at both ends of the bridge, and also some tall stone pillars. They stayed in a place called Lu-ya-grong on the riverside. When they were passing through a place near the city of Ba-yan su-mi (392) they saw that the city was very big. There were about a thousand people emerging from the city gate. At that time, owing to the prevalence of smallpox throughout the area, the Qinwang, who was responsible for the Dalai Lama's journey to Peking, ordered three or four people to drive the people back into the city.

The Dalai Lama met with a group of the Oirad Mongols who were going to visit the Shunzhi Emperor.

Later he again visited a few monasteries. Among them was a newly completed building, erected by the order of the Emperor, at a place called Kho'a-las (393) near a bridge. The abbot of that monastery came out to meet the Dalai Lama and presented to him many presents including a string of jade rosary, some silk and one hundred ounces of silver.

Again he traveled through a few villages and cities;

one of them was called Sa-rdol (393). In that area he saw various tall buildings and holy statues. And then he arrived in Changpingzhou (Khyang-phi-ju)³³ (393).

The next day, a Lama named Bsam-blo a-zhang, together with his thirty disciples, came from the Yellow Temple, to meet the Dalai Lama. The Emperor also sent people to present to the Dalai Lama two imperial horses and other presents as well as to deliver welcome notes. The two horses were big and burly, and difficult for the Dalai Lama to ride upon. However, because they were especially granted to the Dalai Lama, it would be considered improper were he not to ride one. Thus, he chose to ride the white one. Before long he arrived at a place near Shahezhen (Zha-hu-chang)³⁴ (393). In that area he was received by the local officials; at the same time there were priests who offered him presents.

When the Fifth Dalai Lama arrived in the vicinity of the bridge called Qingheqiao (Ching-hong)³⁵ (393), the Emperor dispatched U'i-jing chin-dbang³⁶ and some three thousand horsemen to welcome him. Everyone among the troops held different parade objects, such as weapons, umbrellas, banners and other ceremonial items. Also there was a marching band performing music and a spectacular parade. After awhile, besides a group of smaller parade troops under the command of Khe-shing-ge Chin-dbang (Qinwang), there were very few people left marching. Having seen the parade, the

Dalai Lama felt that this kind of tradition was certainly different from any Tibetan custom he had seen.³⁷

Included in the Qinwang's gifts to the Dalai Lama were: one string of pearl rosaries, a tea churn made of fifty ounces of gold, a set of saddles decorated with gold, silver, and other jewelry. Along with these presents were given some ceremonial scarves with propitious designs. The next day the Qinwang again delivered a big Chinese style banquet to welcome the Dalai Lama and his party. That day it snowed very heavily. This particular weather was predicted by a western missionary whose name was Thang-shi-dbang.³⁸ It was said that the Qinwang was amazed at the accuracy of this weather forecast. So the Qinwang praised him with a great admiration.

The Dalai Lama stayed for two days in the place called Chen-lo'u³⁹ (394).

The Emperor came to meet the Dalai Lama at the place called Ri-dwags Kho-tho⁴⁰ (394) according to what had recorded on the written documents.⁴¹

16th day (1653, 1, 15)

When the Dalai Lama and his followers proceeded to meet the Emperor, they entered a beautiful and magnificent building surrounded by walls. When they arrived in the area from where they could almost glimpse the imperial throne, all of his followers dismounted their horses.⁴² They

continued marching onward for about four-arrows' shooting distance, and then, the Dalai Lama himself, also dismounted from his horse. At that time the Emperor descended his throne, and walked a distance of approximately twenty feet (ten gzu-'dom) toward the Dalai Lama to meet him and grasp his hands. Through the interpreter, they asked after each other's health and greeted each other.

The imperial throne stood as high as a human's waist. The Emperor sat on a small stool on his throne, and the Dalai Lama sat a little bit lower than the imperial throne. The distance between the two seats was fairly small--about two to three feet apart.

At tea time, although the Emperor asked the Dalai Lama to drink first, the Dalai Lama declined out of courtesy. Finally the Emperor agreed that both would drink at the same time. The Emperor treated the Dalai Lama cordially and presented him with many gifts. Likewise, the Dalai Lama sent to the Emperor about one thousand different presents, including some decorative objects made of coral, agate, and green jade. He also presented Tibetan woven wool, brown sugar, Tibetan incense, horses and animal skins such as black fox skins.⁴³ The two leaders proceeded to converse about the current Tibetan situation for a good while.

Upon meeting him the Dalai Lama conjectured the Shunzhi Emperor to be about seventeen years of age.⁴⁴ But though he looked young, his attitude and appearance was that of a

mature and dignified emperor.

After attending a well-prepared reception, the Dalai Lama returned that night to Chen-lo'u (395), the place where he had stayed the night before.

17th day (1653, 1, 16)

The Dalai Lama then moved into the Yellow Temple (Gzims-khang ser-po)⁴⁵ (396) located inside the Peking city limits, not too far from the imperial palace. The Shunzhi Emperor had spent ninety thousand ounces of silver in building this temple for the sole purpose of allowing the Fifth Dalai Lama to reside there during his visit to the capital. The reason for naming it the Yellow Temple was that in the process of building it, thousands of gold leaves were mixed in paint to paint the inner palace wall; the inner quarters would be the Dalai Lama's residence. It thus appeared shining yellow in color. The temple was so beautiful and magnificent that it was as if some heavenly god had used his or her supernatural powers to help design and complete the temple.⁴⁶

19th day (1653, 1, 18)

Bing-thu-dbang led about a hundred followers to meet the Dalai Lama and to present to him a golden plate, fine silk and other presents. For the visitors, be they high officials, priests, or common people, the Dalai Lama

performed religious ceremonies to bless them. One of the ceremonies was the Spyan-ras-gzigs gtso-'khor gsum-pa'i rjes-gnang.

25th day (1653, 1, 24)

The Emperor sent a special delegation to bring presents to meet the Dalai Lama. In addition to a mandala made of gold and silver,⁴⁷ which was decorated with the seven precious symbols, the presents also included a porcelain ware with a golden base, a spittoon, water bottles, plates decorated with dragon designs, incense burners, trumpets, and other musical instruments. There were also banners, umbrellas and other ceremonial objects.⁴⁸ Judging from the types and numbers of gifts he received, the Dalai Lama was obviously treated no less honorably than the Ti-shri during the Yuan dynasty. There were about a hundred other visitors present, for whom the Dalai Lama performed some religious ceremonies and again blessed.

New Year's day, in the Water-snake year:

Many people, including high government officials, imperial family members, and even the people from the Daiga area, came to visit the Dalai Lama and wish him a happy new year. They exchanged presents and invited one another to banquets. All were in very high spirits.⁴⁹

First month

3rd day (1653, 1, 31)

More people arrived to wish the Dalai Lama a happy new year. He performed religious ceremonies for the visitors, about fifty of them, and blessed them all. The Dalai Lama also performed a religious ceremony and explained Buddhist scripture for Khe-shing-ge Chin-dbang and his followers.

8th day (1653, 2, 5)

The Dalai Lama had an opportunity to perform a ritual for a family's funeral ceremony. At that time a very special phenomenon occurred in the sky. Whoever witnessed it was astonished.

11th day (1653, 2, 8)

The Dalai Lama was summoned to meet the Emperor in the Taihe Palace.⁵⁰

Under the jurisdiction of the Imperial City, there were thirteen Wu'u-kyang. In the capital of each province (Zhing-chen) resided an official called Kyun-min. Under each Kyun-min, there were thirteen Thi'i-tu'u. Under each Thi'i-tu'u, there were thirteen Tsong-ye, thirteen Tu'u-ye, thirteen Beng-ye and thirteen Thang-ye. In each provincial capital the armies numbered as many as five bushels of sesame seeds.⁵¹

The Imperial capital was enclosed by three layers of walls, each layer a different color: white, yellow and light red. The outermost layer of the city was very wide, so that, one had to walk for a long time to reach the next gate. Inside the city houses abounded. Outside the main gate of the palace, flags, ceremonial banners, umbrellas and other objects filled the air. While the Dalai Lama moved forward gradually, the band played beautiful music. Upon arriving at the Imperial Palace, all of the ministers and high officials were positioned properly; only the Emperor was absent. At that time the Dalai Lama seated himself on top of the two-foot wide seat which had been built for him. Before long, the music started anew, and the Emperor emerged from the back door and ascended to his own throne. At that time the Dalai Lama immediately rose from his own seat. The Emperor then, through the interpreter, asked the Dalai Lama to sit down. In the end they both sat down at the same time. On either side of the Emperor's seat, stood one high minister. The interpreter expressed the Emperor's wish for the Dalai Lama to drink the tea according to the rules they had agreed on the previous time.

The gold plates on the tables were only for the Emperor's use, while other people's plates were made of silver. Altogether, the banquet consisted of about fifty different dishes. It was a splendid banquet. The Emperor also granted gifts to fifteen of the Dalai Lama's important

followers. After the banquet the Dalai Lama and his followers returned to their residence.⁵²

12th day (1653, 2, 9)

The Dalai Lama wrote some religious scriptures with blessings and distributed them to whomever requested them.

14th day (1653, 2, 11)

The Dalai Lama delivered the ceremonial scarves written with lucky words to some of his worshipers. At that time a good omen miraculously appeared. Inside the temple, in the front row, and to the right side of the building poles, the Dalai Lama discovered water at the bottom. At first it was suspected that the water might have been spilled accidentally. Otherwise, the water might have dripped down from above, thus explaining the wet spots on the building poles. When the Dalai Lama returned from the palace, some water was still leaking. He could not determine whether what was happening constituted a good omen or a bad one. Later, flowers grew out of that very water spot. It was said that even the Emperor might go there to view this phenomenon for himself. Nobody knows for certain whether the story is true or not.

One night, dark clouds were rolling around like smoke in the sky, appearing to be some very strange and furious formation. In the Imperial City, many of the Tibetans and

Mongols witnessed and were frightened by the special phenomenon. It was interpreted as a symbolic incident foretelling a good omen.⁵³

The following is the list of the banquets held by the Qinwang and Junwang of the imperial family in honor of the Dalai Lama:⁵⁴

First month, 18th day (1653, 2, 15):

the imperial uncle Heshuo Zheng Qinwang prepared eighty feast tables for the Dalai Lama and other people. (400)

First month, 21st day (1653, 2, 18):

Cha-Khar Da'i Chin-dbang presented many offerings to the Dalai Lama. (400)

First month, 23rd day (1653, 2, 20):

Yi-le-thu Dbang held a large banquet for the Dalai Lama. (401)

First month, 27th day (1653, 2, 24):

the imperial brother Heshuo Chengze Qinwang prepared eighty banquet tables to entertain the Dalai Lama. (401)

First month, 29th day (1653, 2, 26):

Ging-ging also generously entertained the Dalai Lama. (401)

Second month, 3rd day (1653, 3, 2):

Chig-shin Dbang organized a big banquet to entertain the Dalai Lama. (404)

Second month, 12th day (1653, 3, 11):

Nel-ge'i Dbang set up a banquet to entertain the Dalai Lama. (405)

Besides the banquets, the Dalai Lama also received numerous presents. The following list indicates some of the gifts he had received.

From the two sons of the imperial uncle Heshuo Zheng Qinwang he received

a mandala made of gold and a very well decorated gold saddle.

From the imperial brother Heshuo Chengze Qinwang he received

a set of porcelain ware with gold bases, a ceremonial water bottle, a spittoon and others.

From Mgon-po tha'i-ji he received

a gold tea churn, a thousand ounces of silver, and eighty rolls of fine silk.

From Dge-slong Bsam-grub Chos-'phel he received

a mandala made of thirty ounces of gold and three hundred ounces of silver.

Other than those items mentioned above, the Dalai Lama also received lots of jewelry, gold, silver, horses, different kinds of fine silk and other objects. The Dalai Lama then performed various religious rituals to bless the people who had come to offer him presents. He also read scriptures and presented the visitors with ceremonial scarves; in addition he even gave sermons on Buddhist scriptures and initiated the Buddhist monks. These engagements kept him busy until the end of the first month. Then early on in the second month of the year, the Shunzhi Emperor requested that the Dalai Lama use his religious authority to settle a dispute between two monks. After placating matters the Dalai Lama reported to the Emperor and everybody was satisfied. The following is the story from the original text which describes this event.

"There was a monk whose name was Nas-ci tho-yon.

He was a well-read man, accepting of the different

sects of Buddhism and respectful toward all the gods of the world. He claimed he was the reincarnation of Tsong-kha-pa, the great master of the Yellow Hat Sect. And because he generously gave of himself to help the general public, he was highly regarded by the Mongolian people and enjoyed great popularity amongst his followers. Another monk, Byams-gling No-mon-khan, was quite jealous of his rival Nas-ci tho-yon. Their mutual hatred and disagreement were like that of the crow and owl who could not live together in the same world. Consequently their supporters became entangled in the antagonism and divided themselves into two opposing parties. Sometimes they were embarrassed to face each other.

When this situation was reported to the Emperor, he sent people to defer responsibility onto the Dalai Lama, saying, "the conflict between the two lamas is rooted in religious matters. You should be the one to judge the case." On the first day of the second month (1653, 2, 28), the Dalai Lama commenced investigating the case. He discovered that although Nas-ci tho-yon seemed to be genuinely concerned about people and respected the Lord Tsong-kha-pa as the master of his religious philosophy, he lacked a certain amount of

religious knowledge, and furthermore, was not receiving good guidance from his teacher and friends. Therefore, on the one hand the lama Byams-gling No-mon-khan's criticisms were valid; on the other hand, No-mon-khan was unwilling to tolerate any religious discussion or authority established by Na-ci tho-yon, and perpetually plotting to send this old Mongolian lama to prison.

Such a conflict proved very difficult for the Dalai Lama to mollify. He did not wish to offend either lama and yet, he could not disobey the order handed down to him by the Emperor. In the end the Dalai Lama relied on religious theory as a means of supporting the justice he prescribed, and presented a solution acceptable to both sides. The news of this settlement was finally reported to the Emperor, who was assured that no further inquiry into this matter would be necessary."⁵⁵

After the dust had settled, the Dalai Lama especially invited Nas-ci tho-yon to a session on Buddhist theory, and moreover transmitted to him some religious rites. As for the other monk, Byams-gling No-mon-khan, when the Dalai Lama was about to leave Peking, he delivered thousands of

presents to the Dalai Lama, such as a string of pearls, three hundred ounces of gold and also some fine silk curtains.

2nd month

12th day (1653, 3, 11)

The Shunzhi Emperor again sent people to deliver to the Dalai Lama presents such as an overcoat decorated with pearls and some invaluable pearls the size of two thumb tips. He also gave each of the Dalai Lama's followers three ingots of silver, each ingot weighing fifty ounces. Other presents included silver tea churns, fifteen rolls of clothing material,⁵⁶ fine silk, specially designed satin, whole sets of horse saddles and other equipment for the horse riders.

13th day (1653, 3, 12)

The Dalai Lama performed some special religious rituals, read scriptures, gave initiations and blessed both monks and the general public. For the imperial brother, Heshuo Chengze Qinwang, he paid special respects. People even came from as far away as the Daiga area to meet him.

18th day (1653, 3, 17)

The Dalai Lama was again invited into the Imperial City to meet the Emperor, who had arranged another great banquet

for him.⁵⁷ As the Dalai Lama was returning to the Yellow Temple, he offered flowers at the Buddhist statues. The Emperor gave him more presents such as: two tea churns and tea bowls made of fifty ounces of gold, five hundred ounces of gold, eight silver tea bowls and eight silver tea churns, ten thousand ounces of silver, a big pot made of one thousand ounces of silver, one thousand rolls of silk, ten gold saddles, ten of each the tiger skins, leopard skins and black fox skins.⁵⁸ In addition to all these, there were one hundred packages of tea leaves, packaged in cow hide. From the imperial mother the presents totaled one hundred ounces of gold, one thousand ounces of silver and one hundred rolls of silk.

During the last few days of the Dalai Lama's stay in Peking, he was very busy writing and reading scriptures and performing religious ceremonies and blessings for hundreds of thousands of people. The imperial uncle Heshuo Zheng Qinwang sent him yet another set of presents, including: one hundred ounces of gold, a gold tea churn and tea bowls, one hundred rolls of materials of fine silk, etc. The imperial brother Heshuo Chengze Qinwang gave the Dalai Lama one hundred ounces of gold, one hundred and fifty rolls of materials of silk, etc. The other imperial family members also offered him numerous presents.

In blessing the general public, the Dalai Lama also followed the Han Chinese Buddhist tradition of giving to the

Han people silver and other valuables. He spent more than five thousand ounces of silver for that purpose and as a result satisfied everybody.

20th day (1653, 3, 19)

When the Dalai Lama was about to leave the Yellow Temple, the Emperor dispatched special couriers to deliver him a string of pearl rosaries with about one hundred pearls--each the size of a fingertip.⁵⁹

For his return trip, umbrellas, victorious banners, flags and other ceremonial marching objects received from the Emperor were arranged at the front of the procession. That night he arrived in Tshing-sru'i-ho.⁶⁰ (407) escorted by the imperial uncle Heshuo Zheng Qinwang and some three thousand of his followers. The Qinwang presented to the Dalai Lama the following things: a spacious, well-built, and beautiful tent, a door cover made of the Mongolian silk, an umbrella, sitting pads, pillows and other presents. He also enacted the Emperor's wishes in organizing a large banquet for the Dalai Lama.⁶¹ After the banquet he bade the Dalai Lama farewell and returned to the city of Peking. As he was about to leave, he gave the Dalai Lama his own riding horse.

In Za-ho (407) and Yu'i-lin (408), near the Great Wall, more monks were initiated and blessed by the Dalai Lama.

Part Three: Return to Lhasa

2nd Month

25th day (1653, 3, 24)

The Dalai Lama arrived in Sa-'ching.⁶² (408) While stayed there he sent letters to Gu-shri Khan and the administrators in Tibet and offered prayers and many presents to the people who worked for the religious establishments in Tibet.

In Cing-min-zan (408), the Dalai Lama instructed Kho'as las bla-ma, Ar-sa-lang thu-shi-ye-thu, and others with the six-syllable mantra, as well as performing other religious ceremonies. He then traveled through Cha-gan tho-lo-go (468), outside of the Great Wall. To the Khe-shing-ge chin-dbang and U-da-ga be'i-se, the Dalai Lama offered some religious services, wishing them happiness and prosperity.

3rd Month

1st day (1653, 3, 29)

In Bur-kha-su-tha'i-tu (408), a delegation from Khal-kha came to meet the Dalai Lama.

2nd day

About 300 people from Cha-khar and Thu-med came to seek his blessings and offered about 60 horses to the Dalai Lama.

Having performed some religious ceremonies for the people who came to meet him, the Dalai Lama received 350 horses as gifts of thanks. He also blessed U-da-ga be'i-se and Khe-shing-ge chin-dbang with special rituals. A delegation from Khal-kha came to meet the Dalai Lama and presented him with letters and presents.

10th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Ta'i-kha (409). A throng of Tibetans and Mongols in that area lined up to welcome him on his return. He performed religious services for many different people, including Khe-shing-ge chin-dbang and U-da-ga be'i-se. Before the Chin-dbang embarked on his return trip to Peking, the Dalai Lama offered him and his followers a great deal of blessings. Together with a letter of good wishes and blessings the Dalai Lama sent the Emperor a great number of presents.

Hundreds of Mongols came to meet the Dalai Lama and presented him with presents, such as a vessel made of 300 srang of silver, a gold mandala, and 80 horses.

17th day

From Kha-ra-ching, Thu-ro'i no-yan and his followers came to offer the Dalai Lama hundreds of presents, such as a

basin made of 60 srang of gold, a pitcher made of 50 srang of gold, a pitcher made of 50 srang of silver, a religious mantle decorated with pearls, and 50 srang of silver. The Dalai Lama blessed them with religious rituals.

23rd day

The Dalai Lama met more Mongols and received more presents. He blessed the people with the rituals such as Spyan-ras-gzigs gtso-'khor gsum-pa'i rjes-gnang; Phyag-drug-pa'i rjes-gnang; and Thugs-rje chen-po phyag-bzhi-pa dang sgrol-dkar gyi rjes-gnang.

In Tibet, the Sde-pa, chief-administrator, was heading the renovation of the Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs monasteries. A huge spending fund was appropriated for hiring skilled workers and paying for the building materials. A group of some 60 especially trained calligraphers from southern Tibet, identified as the E-pa, were employed to copy the Bka'-'gyur and other Buddhist writings.

4th Month

4th day (1653, 5, 1)

From Kha-ra-chin, Thang-gud tha'i-ji and others came and offered the Dalai Lama about 100 different presents, including gold, silver and silk. The Dalai Lama then performed some rituals for them.

Cha-kan bha-pas Se-chen chin-dbang and his followers,

numbering over 100, brought more than 100 different presents, including a gold and silver mandala, copper basin, tea churn, different silk, and a horse with golden saddle. He blessed each one of them with religious rituals and provided the Chin-dbang with some special verses to read. All were satisfied.

At that time it was rumored that certain Chinese demons had invoked the spread of various incomprehensible diseases. People in the camps were terrified. In order to lead his people back to Tibet safely, the Dalai Lama performed rituals and wrote some specially needed verses to pacify the people.

12th day

Some people from the middle camp offered the Dalai Lama more than 400 rolls of silk and other presents. He performed several different rituals and prayers of blessings for them.

About 500 people came with their leader Kho-sho'i chin-dbang from Cha-khar. They offered him about a thousand different presents, such as, a mandala made of 100 srang of gold, a religious mantle, canopy, tassels, cushions, fans, a table decorated with pearls, a small box made of pearls, coral and agate, a gold plate, a silver plate, a crystal cup, a horse with gold saddle, and leather, etc. In return he blessed them by performing many different kinds of

rituals for their contentment.

Beginning on the 17th day, and for the next seven days, the Dalai Lama conducted various magical ceremonies with dagger and sticks in order to expel demons.

23rd day

In his dream, the face of Srid-gsum bdag-mo appeared slightly unhappy; he thus composed new scriptures for the purpose of restoring the religious power, and he delivered them to the public.

According to a message relayed through the oracle Chos-skyong chen-po, Chinese-looking people with daggers in their hair-tufts encircled the outer camp. Necks shaking, they were unable to endure their own suffering, and moreover, might spread some infectious throat disease among the campers. The next morning, the Chos-skyong chen-po was requested to come and explain this situation. It indicated that even though the oracle had seen such phenomena, it was difficult to make a judgment. But because a recent ritual had revealed that a dagger had already been studded into the demon's head, the disease would not be widely spread here. The Dalai Lama then presented offerings to thank the gods and transcribed some writings according to the prophet onto the scarves. After 14 days of religious endeavor, the adversity had taken a turn for the better.

29th day

From Khor-chin, Jo-rig-thu chin-dbang and Pa-thur-dbang arrived with about 500 people. They offered about 1000 items, including gold and silver plates, a tea churn, silk, and silver. The Dalai Lama performed for them the following rituals: Spyan-ras-gzigs gtso-'khor-gsum-pa dang sgröl-dkar gyi rjes-gnang. To another group of more than 500 people he performed Thugs-rje chen-po gtso-'khor gsum-pa'i rje-gnang. The Dalai Lama initiated 15 monks to become ordained monks, 32 to be novice-monks, 17 female novice (rab-byung-ma), and 20 Buddhist devotee.

Former 5th Month

1st day (1653, 5, 27)⁶³

From O-khan, Bam-so cho-khur came with 200 people to offer the Dalai Lama silk, gold and silver. Khor-ching Jul-ja-ga-dbang and his followers, about 500 in total, offered about 100 different presents including a gold mandala. The Dalai Lama performed Grub-rgyal-ma'i tshe-dbang and Ba-ri lugs-kyi rnam-'joms kyi rjes-gnang. For another 200 worshipers, he explained the teachings on the Snying-po don-gsum. The Dalai Lama gave everyone in the camp a present, such as silk, rosaries, etc. He also presented the local monks with many presents. Hundreds and thousands more Mongols, including monks and nuns, flocked to meet the Dalai

Lama and offer him their presents. To satisfy the wishes of his visitors, he performed different rituals to bless them.

From the Emperor, the Dalai Lama received a golden seal with the inscription in Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan characters. The following is the Tibetan inscription:

nub kyi lha-gnas-ches dge-ba bde-bar gnas-pa'i
 sangs-rgyas bka'-lung gnam-'og-gi skye-'gro thams-cad
 bstan-pa gcig-tu gyur-pa 'gyur-med rdo-rje-'chang
 rgya-mtsho'i bla-ma (417-418)

The Buddha who lives in the Great Virtue and Happiness of the Western Heaven whose words and injunctions have become the only teaching of all sentient beings in this world, the Unchanging Vajradhara Ocean Lama.⁶⁴

Along with the golden seal there were presented 15 or so gold plates. Each plate was as thick as the thickest paper used in religious books, with a width four fingers wide, and the length being a whole span. They were connected through holes and could be folded together. Engraved on the plates,⁶⁵ were the above mentioned three scripts, the Edict issued to inform the entire Western Side about the Dalai Lama's official title. The Emperor also bestowed presents upon the Dalai Lama. A celebration party was given in the most luxurious fashion.

The Mongolian translation of the seal's inscription was very poor. The above mentioned inscription was translated by a very learned Chinese translator. The Dalai Lama wrote verses invoking good luck, addressed to Dpal-ldan 'dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma and made an offering of the seal to her.

20th day

Delegations from Tibet came to urge the Dalai Lama to return sooner. Thus some important officials from the Imperial government arrived to escort him back to Tibet; Khi-ya bla-ma and U-da-ga be'i-se⁶⁶ were among them. Many high ranking Mongols and their followers came to see him off. For those thousands of the people, he performed different rituals and blessings.

25th day

As-khan a-ma (am-ban), a Manchu official, gave the people in the camps some loaded horses.

27th day

In the morning, the Dalai Lama offered a great ritual of worship with the people from the monastic colleges.

Later 5th Month

1st day (1653, 6, 25)

The Dalai Lama left Ta'i-kha and arrived in Cha-gan bu-lag (419).

2nd day

A group of more than 100 horsemen, who came to escort the Dalai Lama, returned to Peking with U-da-ga be'i-se and Dar-khan no-yon. The Dalai Lama met with Mongols from a different area and performed rituals for more than 3000 people.

6th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Mkharsngon-po, (419) a lively, populated area with well-stocked Chinese and Mongolian business stores. A multitude of people were in the market: some of them watching the street performances, and others praying for blessings.

The Dalai Lama offered flowers to the monasteries built during the Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho and the Altan Khan's time and then damaged by the Khan of Cha-khar. These monasteries were restored later. That night, he performed rituals for one group of 1500 people and for another group of about 5000.

For the next two or three days about three to four thousand people came continuously to worship him; he performed different rituals for them, and offered 50 zho of gold and 200 horses to the people who restored the

monasteries in Mkhar-sngon-po. He initiated about 30 monks.

12th day

The Dalai Lama stopped at the Grub-rgyal lha-khang while he was on his way to Rma-chu'i gru-kha, (420) a ferry landing by the Yellow River. He blessed three Thu-mad tha'i-ji and their followers, about 100 people in total. He stayed at a place about five li from the riverside. During the five days staying there, he offered the Thugs-rje chen-po gtso-rkyang-gi rjes-gnang to the people from the area around Mkhar-sngon-po. From the other side of the Yellow River about 500 people came to welcome him.

17th day

The Dalai Lama assigned Dar-khan nang-so to report to the people of Tibet that he was on his way home, and that he had been treated well by the Emperor.

He also sent a letter of response to the great oracle of the Gnas-chung monastery. In order to show his respect to the Buddha, he offered him presents including a fine silk scarf imprinted with words. Since he was granted a golden seal from the Emperor, he stamped the seal on the silk and offered it to the Buddha for blessings.

At each monastery he visited, he offered flowers and blessed the people with different rituals. Rin-cen-dbang invited him to a fabulous lunch party. He initiated 50

monks to become ordained monks, 60 to be novice-monks, and 30 Buddhist devotee.⁶⁷

He performed rituals for a great number people: one group was about 500 total; another group totaled more than 2000 people. During this time in Lhasa, beginning on the 14th day for two days, the monasteries and their monks were offered valuable rewards for performing religious services to bless the people in China and to strengthen their belief in Buddhism.

22nd day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Dbar-ge-ho (423) and stayed there for three days. According to the oracle, there was a danger that smallpox could spread among them. A couple of monks who had already shown symptoms on their hands and faces were ordered to be quarantined from the rest of the group. Special religious services were performed for the affected people. The demon of pestilence finally was abolished.

6th Month

1st day (1653, 7, 25)

The Dalai Lama arrived in O-lon bu-lag (424). Some 1000 Mongols came to see him off. He performed the 'Jam-dbyangs dmar-ser gyi rjes-gnang and other rituals for the people.

7th day

The Dalai Lama arrived at a ferry landing by the Rmachu (Yellow River, 424). The magistrate of Nying-zha (Ningxia) offered the Dalai Lama a magnificent boat. Some of its interior structures were built from bamboo material. That night he stayed in a place called 'Or-dus-su (424).

During lunch time, about ten Chinese monks from Glang-ru⁶⁸ (424) and their magistrate, came to meet the Dalai Lama and offered him refreshments. When six Chinese monks explained that they needed help to rebuild a monastery, the Dalai Lama offered them assistance and gave them four horses. The magistrate of Nying-zha offered the Dalai Lama presents, such as two umbrellas, four rolls of silk, and a silver churn.

19th day

In San-yang-byin (425), Chinese officials came to meet the Dalai Lama and offered him fruits and refreshments. On the next day, another group of Chinese officials offered him a welcome party. To a mixed group of the Han and Mongols he performed the ritual of Spyan-ras gzigs gtso-'khor gsum-pa'i rjes-gnang. He initiated 60 monks to become ordained monks, 11 to be newly devoted novice (bar-ma rab-byung), and 42 novice-monks.

Bla-ma btsan-po also came to meet him at the valley of Lcags-rung (425).

24th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in the city of Grong-lang (425). A welcome party was offered by three local officials.

The Dalai Lama was given an invitation by the people from the Dgon-lung monastery. Because of the sudden deaths of two famous monks, Stong-'khor-ba and Skyid-shod chos-rje some time ago, it was said that the local deity must be vicious. The apprehensive De-mo sprul-sku and his people were reluctant to go there and instead they were sent directly to Zi-ling (Xining, 425). The Dalai Lama and a group of 300 horse riders then traveled on to the Dgon-lung monastery. In the area of Te'i-dung-dgon (425), Sems-nyid-dgon (426), and the area in Pa-ras stong-shag (426) and Zhor-mo thang-ra (426), the Dalai Lama offered the Yi-ge drug-pa'i bzlas-lung to about 5000 people--both Chinese and Mongols, laity and clergy. He initiated 30 monks to become ordained monks and 32 novice-monks. He also visited the monastery where the remains of the late Bla-chen dgongs-pa rab-gsal (952-1035) were kept.

30th day

The Dalai Lama arrived at the Dgon-lung monastery (426), escorted by a procession of more than 900 monks. A

new seat was built on the right side of the mountain, by the monastery, in which the Dalai Lama could deliver a religious sermon. There were more than ten thousand people in the audience, including both the laity and the clergy.

7th Month

1st day (1653, 8, 23)

In the assembly hall a reception banquet was given in honor of the Dalai Lama. Many Mongols came to meet him and offered him gifts of tea, silk, cotton cloth, horses, and yak. To the people in that area, the Dalai Lama offered the 'Jam-dbyangs a-ra-pa tsa-na'i rjes-gnang. He was offered a lunch at Bdag-thang (426) by Chu-bzang rab-'byams-pa and his people.

Bla-ma btsan-po invited the Dalai Lama to the newly built monastery in Gser-khog (426). A grand banquet was held. The Dalai Lama received a complete set of the Bka'-'gyur printed in red ink during the times of Byams-chen chos-rje (1352-1435). The book cover and binding strings were all in traditional Chinese style. He also received other presents, such as silk, tea, horses, etc. That set of the Bka'-'gyur was then brought back to Tibet and kept in the 'Bras-spungs monastery. The Dalai Lama offered the Ma-ni'i bzlas-lung to more than 2000 people.

The Dalai Lama read the first three pages of the Dkon-cog brtsegs-pa to demonstrate how to deliver Buddhist

teachings. While the general public might not have comprehended all the instructions, having the opportunity to hear the Dalai Lama's voice was a great blessing in itself. To Bla-ma btsan-po and his thirty monks, the Dalai Lama offered the ritual of Phyag-drug-pa'i dbang-bzhi byin-rlabs.

6th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Kha-lo 'u-su (427), where there bubbled a hot spring. Since the time he had left 'Or-dus-su, his left foot had been uncomfortable, and a kind of yellowish pus developed on it. Among the followers of De-mo sprul-sku, there was a person named Kong-po'i lha-rje. He applied medicine to the Dalai Lama's foot, enabling him to walk again. After washing his feet in the hot spring, he was completely healed.

From Tibet a host of people representing different communities came to meet the Dalai Lama and presented him with letters and presents.

11th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Cha-gan tho-lo-go (427). For about four days, more than 7000 people and their officials journeyed from the Kokonor lake area to meet the Dalai Lama. He initiated about 160 monks to become ordained monks and 30 to be novice-monks, and he performed different rituals to fulfill different people's wishes. In addition, he sent a

letter with white and red crystal rosaries and a great deal of other presents to the Emperor.

When the Dalai Lama and his followers were traveling to Mongolia, they brought a great deal of barley with them, because of its scarcity in Mongolia. The Sde-pa issued an order to instruct the people on the journey to be thrifty. Therefore they used the supplies very sparingly, yet still managed to make proper offerings according to the local religious traditions.

16th day

In Xining (428) a lot of gtor-ma offerings were made and offered to different gods. The ceremonial rituals lasted for three days.

19th day

In the morning the Dalai Lama made a great deal of offerings to the gods.

22nd day

The Dalai Lama performed the Thugs-rje chen-po gtso-'khor gsum-pa and other rituals for about ten thousand people from different monasteries and communities around the Kokonor area.

26th day

The Dalai Lama left Cha-gan tho-lo-go and arrived in Mtsho-phyug-po Ba-yan-nor (429) and Chab-cha Lha-khang (429). He performed rituals for many people in that area.

8th Month

1st day (1653, 9, 22)

Se-chen hung-tha'i-ji and Ji-nong returned home with their followers, who had come to escort the Dalai Lama.

5th day

The Dalai Lama arrived at the neighborhood of a naturally formed bathing pond in the A-rig area (429). During the day, about 2000 people swarmed in to meet the Dalai Lama. He bathed in the hot spring at night. At the time, the plague was spreading among the A-rig community, and the followers of the Dalai Lama in the camp became so fearful that the visitors were not allowed to meet with the Dalai Lama and his followers.

8th day

In the morning the Dalai Lama offered bows and arrows, knives and swords and other offerings to the local deities and prayed for peace and safety for the people. Suddenly a great snow-storm commenced. It was said that that was the sign showing that the great and mighty mountain deity was

happy.

9th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in A-lag-shar (430). De-mo sprul-sku was granted a Gu-shri title and a seal. Together with his disciple, from there he returned to Khams.

21st day

The Dalai Lama arrived in 'Bri-phu (430) and performed rituals for the monks and common people in that area--about 600 total. He received many presents, such as gold, horses and armor coat, etc.

27th day

The Dalai Lama set up camps in the neighborhood of Gur-ban No-mon-khan by the 'Bri-chu (430). He stayed there for four days and received thousands of visitors.

9th Month

1st day (1653, 10, 22)

The Dalai Lama left 'Bri-chu (431). The Sde-pa sent people to deliver six riding horses to the Dalai Lama to welcome him home. In the afternoon, about one hundred monks from the monasteries, namely Jo-stan-dgon, Ra-shul-dgon, and others, were initiated to become ordained monks.

19th day

The Dalai Lama safely traveled through the pass of Gdang-la (432).

20th day

Smon-'gro pan-chen died. On the day of his cremation, the sky was clear, the wind gentle and the colorful clouds astonished all.

The Dalai Lama offered religious services to all who came to welcome his return. He and his people convened in Shag (433) for one day for a general religious assembly.

In Mtsho-mo ra-ba (433) the Dalai Lama offered the Thugs-rje chen-po gtso-'khor gsum-pa'i rjes-gnang to the wife of Da-la'i pa-thur and the people from Hor-a-mdo, a total of more than one thousand.

10th Month

1st day (1653, 11, 20)

In Sho-mong 'dzom-ra (433), the Dalai Lama offered rituals to more than a thousand Mongols, including those belonging to Da-la'i pa-thur.

5th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Na-lung dkar-mo (433). The Sde-pa and his followers came to meet him, and they stayed

there for three days. A lot of people came to offer the Dalai Lama food and presents. The Dalai Lama then traveled through G.yang-ra'i-mdo (434), Mtsho-sle-gdengs (434), and 'Bogs (434). He was invited to the monastery Rwa-sgreng (434), and stayed for three days in a newly built chapel. The Dalai Lama gave Grong-smad a-sug a rosary of pearls.

Next he arrived in Stag-lung-dgon (435) and received many presents there.

15th day

The Dalai Lama arrived in Lhun-grub-rdzong (435). Then, he traveled through 'Phan-yul (436) and honored the visits of 'Brug-pa sprul-pa'i-sku, Bde-chen chos-'khor-ba, Stag-rtse tha'i-ji mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, and others.

16th day

The Dalai Lama reported to a group of the monastic leaders about his religious journey to China. He had lunch in the monastery called Dga'-ldan chos-'khor in Thang-sag (436).

18th day

The Dalai Lama stay for three days in Bye-ri stag-rtse (436). The Tha'i-ji and his brother offered him a large banquet and lots of presents, including silk.

The Dalai Lama had lunch at 'Brom-stod (437). When he

reached the Gtsug-lag-khang (437) in Lhasa it must have been around the 20th day of the 10th Month (1653, 12, 9).

III. Notes to Chapter Two

1. See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 3.
2. See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 10.
3. For the discussion on the name, sound, and meaning of Xizang or Tibet, see Liu Yitang, op. cit., pp. 379-387. Also see Nammkhavi Norbu, "Origin of the Word 'BOD'", China Tibetology, 1/1990, pp. 128-134. Huang Fensheng, Zangzu shilue, ed. by Wu Jun, Beijing, 1985, pp. 3-9: It is pointed out by Wu Jun that after the Yuan dynasty, in Chinese records, the Tibetans were identified as the Tangwuti or the Tanggute. During the Qing dynasty Tibet was known as Tanggute, which is the transcription of the Tibetan word "Stod-bod", meaning, "the native Bod people in the Stod area."
4. See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 1-7.
5. Ibid., p. 17: "Shunzhi 9th year, first month, guiyou day (1652, 2, 9): The Dalai Lama of the Tanggute tribe reported to the Court about his journey dates." Ibid., pp. 19, 20: it was recorded that there were 3000 followers with the Dalai Lama during his journey in the Shilu. But this number is not found in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography.
6. Daiga is located in Liangcheng Xian in the Inner Mongolia. It is also called Daihai. See Li Hanjie, op.

cit., p. 182; Shilu, Vol. One, pp. 18, 20, 21. In Tibetan it is spelled Khi-ri ta'i-kha or Ta'i-kha.

7. Zahiruddin Ahmad has a very thorough study on the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, and a great deal of the records relating to his journey to Peking were translated and utilized in the book, Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century, Roma, 1970, hereinafter referred to as Ahmad. For the process of the compilation of the Autobiography and the Fifth Dalai Lama's own opinion about his autobiography, see Ahmad, pp. 24-32.

8. Ibid., pp. 25-31.

9. Ibid., p. 32. Supplement IV has 360 leaves, which covers the period between 1681, 10, 18 and 1683, 1, 26.

10. Samten Gyaltzen Karmay, Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama, London, 1988, p. 16. Hereinafter referred to as Visions.

11. The Autobiography of the Fifth Dali Lama used in this study was reproduced from an ancient print from the 'Bras-spungs Dga'-ldan pho-brang blocks, published by Tobden Tsering, Village Kawring, P.O. Gemur, Distt. Lahul, H.P. and printed at the Laxmi Printing Works, Lal Kuan, Delhi, 1985. Hereinafter referred to as Autobiography. The first volume of the autobiography contains 364 folios or leaves, each folio with two Arabic page numbers. The first volume ends at page 727.

12. This new print has a short title: Ngag-dbang blo-

bzang rgya-mtsho'i rnam-thar, published by the Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang (the Tibetan People's Press), Lhasa, 1989. Hereinafter referred to as Rnam-thar. Its Chinese title is Wushi Dalaizhuan. The text dealing with the journey to Peking (1652-1653) has been translated by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin. The Chinese translation was divided into four sections with the title of "Wushi dalai lama jinjingji (An Account of the Fifth Dalai Lama's Visit to Beijing)." See China Tibetology, 2/1992, pp. 41-50; 3/1992, pp. 71-83; 4/1992, pp. 48-57; 1/1993, pp. 117-123.

13. In this study the dates in the Tibetan text marked as hor-zla are the same as those recorded in the Shilu. Cf. Luciano Petech, "The Dalai Lama and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study," T'oung Pao, 47, 1959, p. 369. Huang Mingxin and Chen Jiujin, Zanqli de yuanli yu shijian, Beijing, 1989, p. 306: "The Tibetan calendar is based on the combination of the lunar and solar system. It is similar to the Xia calendar, but belongs to different calendar system." Ibid., p. 586: "When the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) was in Peking, he reviewed twice the books on the calendar systems from the Imperial Board of Astronomy in the Imperial Palace. He was so excited that he wanted to introduce the new calendar system (the Shixianli or Rgya-rtsis) into Tibet with the traditional terminology as those used in the original Tibetan calendar system (the Shilunli or Dus-'khor skar-rtsis.) Ibid., p. 569: "The Fifth Dalai

Lama was very interested in the calendar systems. He wrote a book on this subject with 56 leaves, entitled, Rtsis dkar-nag gi dris-lan nyin-byed dbang-po'i snang-ba (Questions and Answers on the White-black Calculation.) In Shunzhi 8th year (1651) he visited the Manchu Emperor in Peking...." The "Shunzhi 8th year" mentioned here should be the time period between the end of the Shunzhi 9th year and the beginning of the 10th year, because the Fifth Dalai Lama did not arrive in Nanyuan near the city of Peking until the 16th day of the 12th month in the Shunzhi 9th year.

14. TPS, p. 35.

15. In the Itinerary, the page numbers are based on the 1985 Delhi print of the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, volume one. The dates are the month and day recorded by the Dalai Lama according to the Tibetan calendar. In the Water-snake year (1653) there were two 5th months in the Tibetan calendar. The second 5th month is marked as L5. Cf. Shilu, Vol. Ten, p. 471.

For the identification of the place names between Lhasa and Xining during the Fifth Dalai Lama's journey to Peking, see Hisashi Satō, Studies in the Historical Geography of Tibet, Tokyo, 1978, pp. 61-88. For the places traveled by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and some useful notes, see the Chinese translation by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin in the China Tibetology, 1992-1993.

16. This is the First Paṅ-chen Lama, Blo-bzang chos-kyi

rgyal-mtshan (1570-1662). He is also referred to as the Fourth Paṅ-chen Lama by traditional Tibetan historians. His autobiography, entitled Chos-smra-ba'i dge-slong blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan gyi spyod-tshul gsal-bar ston-pa nor-bu'i phreng-ba, was reprinted and published in Lhasa, 1990. Its Chinese title is Disishi banchan zhuan (The Biography of the Fourth Paṅ-chen.) According to his autobiography, he left the Bkra-shis lhun-po on the 11th day of the 3rd month and met with the Fifth Dalai Lama in Yangs-pa-can on the 22nd day of the same month. They stayed together for 7 days. For the Tibetan text of this meeting, see the Autobiography, 1990 Lhasa edition, pp. 254-256. The Chinese version of this same account is recorded by Ya Hanzhang in his Banchan eerdeni zhuan (the Biography of the Paṅ-chen Lamas,) Lhasa, 1987, p. 48.

17. Such Buddhist rituals and terminology as "byin-rlabs (blessing)" and "rjes-gnang (authority)" have occupied a great deal of the space in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography. For the Tibetan Buddhist terminologies see Wang Yinuan, Zanqhan foxue cidian, Qinghai, 1988; Tsepak Rigzin, Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology, Dharamsala, 1986, pp. 122, 282.

18. The Sde-pa or regent during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama's journey to Peking was Bsod-nams rab-brtan, alias Bsod-nams Chos-'pel. He died on 1658, 4, 5. Cf. Petech, op. cit., pp. 377-378; Ahmad, pp. 44, 66. A list of

the regents from 1642-1957 is found in He Wenxuan, and Dou Cunqi, comps., Zhanghan duizhao Changyong hechengci cidian, (Bod-rgya shan-sbyar gyi shes-bya'i rnam-grangs kun-btus tshig-mdzod), Xining, 1987, pp. 856-861.

19. A-rig is written as Arou in the Anduo zhengjiaoshi (the Chinese translation of the Mdo-smad chos-'byung, the political and Religious History of A-mdo), Lanzhou, 1989, p. 207. Its Tibetan version was printed in 1982. A-rig is written as Alike in the Weizang tongzhi, reprinted in Lhasa and published together with the Xizangzhi, 1982, p. 506.

20. Both the Third and the Fifth Dalai Lama had visited the A-rig people in Dkar-po-thong. The Tibetan text in the Mdo-smad chos-'byung, p. 214, about the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit, was copied from the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. One, ff. 182a-182b. The word for Tibet, Bod, was misprinted as Bon on p. 214, of the Mdo-smad chos-'byung. For the Chinese translation, see Anduo zhengjiaoshi, p. 207.

21. For the meaning of the six-word or six-syllable prayer, Om-ma-ṅi-pad-me-hūṃ, see Zanghan foxue cidian, p. 428; Zanghan duizhao Changyong hechengci cidian, pp. 376-377.

22. The A-rig stod-pa were identified as Shang'arou. Hang-nge-gzhung is spelled Hang-nge'i-gzhung in the Mdo-smad Chos-byang, p. 214; it is identified as the area of Daheba, and Khyung-thod is Qiongtao in Chinese. See Anduo

zhengjiaoshi, p. 207.

23. This was the Shilang from Lifanyuan, named Shajidala, who was ordered to meet the Fifth Dalai on March 14, 1652. See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 17.

24. "Bsnyen-rdzogs bzhi-bcu-skor dang dge-tshul nyi-shu-lhag bsgrubs." This sentence on p. 368 in the Rnam-thar, Vol. One, is not translated by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin in "Wushi dalai lama jinjingji," China Tibetology, 3/1992, p. 73.

25. "Tshes-bdun phyi-ma" was wrongly translated as "the afternoon of the 7th day" by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin in China Tibetology, 3/1992, p. 73. For the traditional Tibetan calendar system with regard to the omitting or duplicating certain days, see Shakabpa, op. cit., pp. 15-17. A detailed scientific explanation of the Tibetan calendar system is found in Huang Mingxin and Chen Jiujin, Zanqli de yuanli yu shijian, Beijing, 1989, pp. 290-296.

26. "'di-nas bzung gong-nas lung-gnang-ba'i phogs-khal-rtas so-so'i 'bad-rtsol-la bltos-pa'i g.yeng-ba rang-sar grol." Cf. Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 373. This sentence is not translated by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin. Cf. China Tibetology, 3/1992, p. 74.

27. The place name Si-ri te'i-dung and one of the official's name Te'i-dung were both spelled as Si-ri te'i-drung and Te'i-drung in Rnam-thar, Vol. One, p. 376.

28. Yingpanshui is located on the border where the

Gansu province, the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region meet. For maps, see, Xu Meiyun, op. cit., pp. 31, 33.

29. Ibid., p. 33. Chang-lu'u-sri or Chad-lu'u-sri as spelled in Rnam-thar, Vol. One, p. 379, is found as Changliushui on maps.

30. The Chinese word for palanquin is "jiao", which was spelled skya'o by the Fifth Dalai Lama. See Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 380; China Tibetology, 3/1992, p. 76.

31. This is the Shunzhi Emperor's brother, Shuosai. For the biographical information of Shuosai, see Ahmad, pp. 172-173.

32. The seven precious articles of royalty are the wheel, gem, queen, minister, elephant, spirited horse, and the commander-in-chief. See Wang Yinuan, op. cit., 73-74; for color pictures, see Zhang Yisun, et al., comps. Zanghan dacidian, Beijing, 1986, Vol. Three, Appendix.

33. In Rnam-thar, Vol. One, it is spelled as Khyad-phi-ju. But in Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 393, the same place name is spelled as Khyang-phi-ju. Since it refers to the place called Changpingzhou, the Chinese word "chang" should be spelled as "khyang" in Tibetan. This place was called Changpingzhou during the Ming Dynasty and the same place was changed into Changpingxian after the Republic. It is located to the west side of the modern

Peking city. For the historical changes of Changpingxian, see Zhongguo fensheng shixian dacidian, p. 3. For the maps, see Qingdai yitong ditu, the Qianlong 25th year edition, 8th row, west-1; the 1966 Taipei reprinted edition, p. 105.

According to the actual geography, from Zhangjiakou to Changpingzhou (or Changpingxian) stretched a distance of about 185 kilometers. See Zhongguo jiaotong yingyun lichengtu, Beijing, 1991, p. 13, the map of Hebei Province. Riding a horse or walking on foot would take about five days. Therefore when the Dalai Lama and his followers, 300 in total, traveled to Changpingxian they should have arrived on the tenth day of the twelfth month. Changpingxian is situated to the northwest of Peking city, with about thirty-five kilometers in between.

Therefore when the Dalai Lama arrived in Changpingxian many people came out from the city of Peking to greet him.

34. The distance between Changpingxian and Shahezhen is about 10 kilometers. The Fifth Dalai Lama did not record the date of his arrival. If he and his followers traveled slowly and met the people who came to welcome them, it might have been an entire day's journey. Traveling from the Shahe Bridge for about 10 kilometers, they should have reached the area near the Qingshui River. From the Qingshui Bridge, traveling for another 10 kilometers or so, they then should have reached the city of Peking.

35. Qinghe is also known as Qingshuihe. A bridge

spans the river. Both the Shahe Bridge and the Qingshuihe Bridge are located on the main road from the city of Peking heading northward. There are towns, streets and residential quarters near both bridges.

36. This was the Heshuo Zheng Qinwang Jierhalang. A discussion on the names and titles of the qinwang during the early Qing period and their connections with the Fifth Dalai Lama when he was traveling to Peking is found in Ahmad, pp. 174-175.

37. See Ahmad, pp. 39-40, 144, 175. This passage is translated by Ahmad, "It was a sign that I was the legal King (of Tibet), of whom there was not the like in Tibet." His translation is incorrect. Cf. China Tibetology, 4/1992, p. 48.

38. This is Johannes Adam Schall von Bell (Tang Ruowang, 1591-1666). He was born in Germany and invited to Peking in 1622 to revised the calendar system. During the years of the Shunzhi Emperor, being a trained astronomer, he was appointed as Director of the Imperial Board of Astronomy and was granted the title of Guanglu Daifu. He wrote many works, for which see Chen Zhiping, Zhonghua tongshi, Vol. Ten, Taipei, 1978, Section 7, "Supplement to the Ming History," pp. 303, 314. The Shunzhi Emperor called Father Schall "grandpa" and consulted on him many matters. See Fairbank, Reischauer, and Craig, East Asia: the Modern Transformation, Boston/Tokyo, 1969, pp. 38, 42, 61. In the

Zangli de yuanli yu shijian, p. 564, there are words to introduce Father Schall and his work on the new calendar system.

39. Chen-lo'u could be the name of a building used for the Fifth Dalai Lama as a temporary residence during his trip toward the imperial city. That building should stand inside the Peking city, between the place called Nanyuan and the place referred to as the imperial city. According to dates given in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, they resided in that building on the 13th and 14th of the twelfth month. After two days rest, he then "traveled through the east side of the city of Peking and arrived in Nanyuan" to meet the Shunzhi Emperor. The quoted information is offered by Huang Hao in his article, "On the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Sixth Paṅ-chen, and the Old Palace and the Deshou Temple in Nanyuan," Xizang yanjiu, 1985, Vol. 3, p. 64.

40. "Ri-dwags" means "wild game;" "kho-tho" could be the same as in the Manchu spelled "hoton," meaning "city," or "wall." Cf. Sarat Chandra Das, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, reprinted in West Bangal, 1960, p. 1173; Jerry Norman, A Manchu-English Dictionary, Taipei, 1967, p. 197. "Ri-dwags kho-tho" refers to the hunting ground, the area then called Nanyuan. For the history and the description of the imperial hunting ground, see Huang Hao, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

Nanyuan was the hunting ground for the imperial family.

There were monasteries, temples and imperial quarters located about twenty some li outside the gate of Yongding in the south side of the Peking city. For the translation of Ri-dwags kho-tho, also see Ahmad, p. 175.

41. According to the Shilu, Vol. One, the meeting was on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month in the Shunzhi ninth year (1653, 1, 14): "the Dalai Lama arrived and visited the Emperor at Nanyuan. His Highness granted the seat and a banquet. The Dalai Lama presented to the Emperor with horses, and his homeland objects. The Emperor accepted them." For the original text, see Shilu, Vol. One, p. 22. Cf. China Tibetology, 4/1992, pp. 56, Note 12.

42. Ahmad, p. 175, mistranslated the passage "dmangs-mas rta-babs" as "Servants of (the Emperor) brought horses (for me)."

43. Ahmad, p. 176, misinterpreted that the presents mentioned in the text were the ones given to the Dalai Lama by the Shunzhi Emperor.

44. Actually the Shunzhi Emperor was born on the fifteenth day of March, 1638. At the time they met each other, the Emperor's actual age was fourteen years and ten months, while the Fifth Dalai Lama himself was thirty-six years of age.

45. The Yellow Temple is not mentioned in Ahmad, p. 176, because the original text used by Ahmad was illegible.

46. For the description of the East and the West

Yellow Temple, see Huang Hao, op. cit., pp. 65-66. Huang Hao stated that having met the Shunzhi Emperor in Nanyuan, the Fifth Dalai Lama was invited to live in the Yellow Temple outside the Desheng Gate of the Peking city. He also stated that the Fifth Dalai Lama lived in the East Yellow Temple first. "The East Yellow Temple was built on the site of the Pujing chanlin in the Shunzhi 8th year (1651) by the imperial order." According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, there was no mention of the two different Yellow Temples. However, there was a place called Chen-lo'u mentioned in the autobiography and the Fifth Dalai Lama stayed there for three nights: two nights before he had an audience with the Emperor in Nanyuan; after the visit, on the 16th day of the 12th month, he stayed in that same place for another night. Then, he moved into the Yellow Temple on the 17th day. The place called Chen-lo'u by the Fifth Dalai Lama has a similar sound as the "chanlin", meaning a Buddhist monastery, of the Pujing chanlin. Therefore, the Chen-lo'u or Chan-lin could have been used as a name referring to the East Yellow Temple.

47. There are two pictures of a pearl mandala listed as no. 142 and no. 143 in the Pho-brang Po-ta-la (Budala Gong), Beijing, 1988.

48. There are some pictures of the ceremonial objects in the Zanghan dacidian, Vol. Three, Appendix.

49. Visions, p. 35: The Dalai Lama was in the Yellow

Temple celebrating the New Year of the Water-snake year. He performed the atonement rite in honor of Dpal-ldan lha-mo. During the performance he realized that there was no longer any danger to his life in spite of his own fears and a prophecy of danger which threatened him during the coming year. He felt reassured that he would meet no obstacles on his return journey to Tibet.

50. See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 23.

51. For the translation, see Ahmad, 177; "The passage shows, obviously, the Dalai Lama's misunderstanding of the military structure of the Manchu Empire in China." The information about the Manchu government and military organization recorded by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography was merely hearsay. Cf. China Tibetology, 4/1992, pp. 49-50.

52. For the translation, see Ahmad, pp. 178-179. In Visions, p. 35, a record on the 11th day of the first month reads: "It is feared that in China life is too much given over to pleasure which the Tibetans cannot cope with and, moreover, in a country with such a vast population, the danger of smallpox and other epidemics breaking out is felt to be acute." This must have been the reason that the Fifth Dalai Lama wanted to return to Tibet as early as possible. The records in the Shilu, 21st day of the first month (1653, 2, 18), "The Dalai Lama memorialized as follows: the climate of this place does not suit me and I

have been ill. My followers, too, have been ill. I pray that the Emperor allows me to return home." See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 23.

53. This episode is mentioned in Miao Zhou Fashi's Mengzang Fo Jiaoshi, (Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhist History), Shanghai, 1935, p. 66. Even though his account is not quite accurate, he was one of the first authors to transcribe the original text of the Fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, and a Buddhist history of Tibet in Chinese.

54. According to the records in Shilu, Vol. One, p. 23, on the 16th day of the first month in the Shunzhi tenth year (1653, 2, 13) the Shunzhi Emperor again invited the Dalai Lama to have a banquet in the Taihe Palace and also gave him presents such as articles made of gold, colorful silk and sets of saddles for the horses. On the 17th day of the first month, the Emperor ordered others of the imperial family, such as Qinwang and Junwang, to invite the Dalai Lama to a banquet.

55. For the dispute between the two lamas, there is a full translation in Ahmad, pp. 179-180. Also see Miao Zhou Fashi, op. cit., p. 66; China Tibetology, 4/1992, p. 51. The biography of the Mongolian monk, Nas-ci tho-yon (1557-1653), was completed in 1697, in Mongolian. It was translated into Chinese by Cheng Chongde and Shen Xiaoting and published in Beijing, 1990, entitled "Neiqi tuoyin yishi zhuan," as part of the Qingdai menggu gaosengzhuan yiji.

The related story about Nas-ci tho-yon is found in the above mentioned book, pp. 142-43, 317-331.

56. The Tibetan word for silver tea churn is dngul-mdong, which is wrongly translated as silver coins by Ahmad, p. 180. He also misread fifteen rolls of cloth as fifty rolls.

57. On the same day, according to imperial Manchu records, there was a short note about this event: "For the farewell party for the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet, the Emperor arrived at the Taihe Palace, granted a big banquet and some presents such as saddles, horses, gold and silver, pearls and jade, fine silks and cloths, etc." See Shilu, Vol. One, p. 24. This was the third meeting in the Taihe Palace between the Dalai Lama and the Emperor. It was also the last time they faced each other. Two days later the Dalai Lama left Peking and started the journey back to Tibet.

58. The text used by Ahmad, p. 181, was illegible. The original print should be "nor-sram so-sor bcu-re." See Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 406; Rnam-thar, Vol. One, p. 404.

59. Ahmad, p. 181, wrongly translated "one hundred pearls" as "1,000 agates."

60. On the 11th day of the 12th month in the Shunzhi 9th year when the Fifth Dalai Lama first arrived in Qinghe, he used Ching-hong to spell the name of that place. On the

20th day of the 2nd month of the next year when he again arrived in Qinghe during his return trip, he then used Tshing-sru'i-ho to spell the name of the river, Qingshuihe. Be it Qinghe or the Qingshuihe, it should be the same place about 10 kilometers to the north side of the city of Peking. A bridge spans the river and not too far from the bridge is situated a town in whose vicinity farmers reside. For the translation, see Ahmad, p. 181.

61. The Fifth Dalai Lama left Peking on the 20th of the 2nd month. The dates of his autobiography were exactly the same as those recorded in the Imperial Manchu government records. In the Manchu official records, on the 20th day of the 2nd month in the Shunzhi tenth year, it was recorded as the following: "The Dalai Lama bowed farewell to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered Chengze Qinwang Shuosai together with the Gushan Beizi Guermahong, and Wudahai to lead the imperial troops to escort the Dalai Lama to the Daiga area. The Emperor also ordered his uncle Heshuo Zheng Qinwang Jierhalang, and the President of the Board of Ceremonies, Jueluo Langqiu, to hold a farewell party at Qinghe." Shilu, Vol. One, p. 25.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's return trip began from the Yellow Temple in Peking, marching northbound through Qinghe, and then from Qinghe along the same road on which he entered Peking. Finally he reached the Daiga area to rejoin the rest of his followers. Together they journeyed back to

Tibet.

62. Sa-'ching or Shacheng is located in Huailai Xian of Hebei province. Cf. Zhongguo fensheng Shixian dacidian, p. 82.

63. There were two 5th months in the Tibetan calendar during the Water-snake year. But the Chinese calendar showed two 7th months during that same year. Cf. Shilu, Vol. 10, p. 471; A Sino-Western Calendar for two Thousand Years: 1-2000 A.D., p. 331. Chen Qingying and Ma Lin incorrectly stated that there were two 6th months in the Chinese calendar during that year; China Tibetology, 4/1992, p. 57.

64. The original golden seal granted to the Dalai Lama was inscribed with Manchu, Chinese and Tibetan characters. This one is no longer in existence. The one that can be seen today in Manchu, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian is not the original. Cf. Ou Chaogui and Qi Mei, Xizang lidai zangyin, Lhasa, 1991, pp. 6, 12-13, note 25, 57, 58. For the inscriptions of the seal, see Dieter Schuh, "Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde, Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift," Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung III, Band 5, Sankt Augustin, 1981, pp. 1-5. A discussion about the golden seal is found in Samten G. Karmay, "A Propos d'un Sceau en Or Offert par L'empereur Shunzi (About a Golden Seal Offered by the Shunzhi Emperor,)" Tibet Civilisation et Societe, Paris, 1990, pp.

121-124. Karmay incorrectly identified "Ta'i-kha", the place where the Fifth Dalai Lama received the golden seal, as in "Mandchourie (Manchuria)", *ibid.*, p. 122.

65. For the Chinese version of the golden plates, see Shilu, Vol. One, pp. 25-26; the English translation, Ahmad, pp. 184-185. For the golden plates and the seal, see Budala Gong (pho-brang po-ta-la), plates 135 and 136; Potala Palace of Tibet, Shanghai/Hong Kong, 1982, p. 43.

66. U-da-ga be'i-se was Gushan beizi wudahai. Cf. Shilu, Vol. One, p. 27.

67. "bsnyen-rdzogs lnga-bcu/ dge-tshul drug-co/ dge-bsnyen sum-cu-tsam bsgrubs." These lines are not translated by Chen Qingying and Ma Lin. Cf. Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 420; China Tibetology, 1/1993, p. 118.

68. Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 424, the last line ended with "... glang-rur", but in Rnam-thar, Vol. One, p. 423, the place name "glang-ru" became "glang-ru lung-bstan." The Chinese name of the monastery "Glang-ru lung-bstan" is "Niujiào xuanjisi." For the Chinese translations, see China Tibetology, 3/1992, pp. 76, 82; 1/1993, p. 119. Cf. Autobiography, Vol. One, p. 381; Rnam-thar, Vol. One, p. 380. Also see Mdo-smad chos-'byung, p. 137; Anduo zhengjiaoshi, p. 134.

CHAPTER THREE

Jiao Yingqi's Journey to Lhasa in 1720-21

I. Jiao Yingqi and His Mission

The Zangcheng jilue, translated as A Brief Note on the Journey to Tibet, is a short account written by Jiao Yingqi, Magistrate of Jingyangxian, in Shaanxi province, on June 5, 1721. The original Chinese text is included in the Xizangzhi, reprinted in Taipei, Taiwan, 1966, by the Wen-hai Publishing Company. It can also be found in the fourth juan of the Weizang tongzhi.

According to Petech (1972), Jiao Yingqi was also the author of Xizangzhi, a local Tibetan gazetteer written shortly after 1737. "It consists of an introductory chapter written in 1721 at the age of 57 sui and of two unnumbered chapters."¹ The "introductory chapter" mentioned by Petech is actually the Zangcheng jilue; and the Xizangzhi utilized by him is the same edition reprinted in Taipei, 1966. In the Weizang tongzhi however, the Zangcheng jilue of Jiao Yingqi was quoted as an independent work, whereas the Xizangzhi was referred to as the Jiuzhi, or the Old Gazetteer.

The Xizangzhi was generally considered a work written by Yunli (1697-1738), the Guo Qinwang (Prince Guo). Yunli, the 17th son of Kangxi, was sent to meet the 7th Dalai Lama in the 12th year of Yongzheng (1734) at Mgar-thar in Khams;

he was to arrange the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa. After the monastery built there in honor of the Dalai Lama was named Huiyuanmiao by the Yongzheng Emperor, the location of the monastery, Mgar-thar, was also changed to a Chinese name, Taining. Even though the actual site of the monastery was northwest of Dajianlu, on the road to Derge, Yunli's journey was recognized as one to Xizang or Tibet.

Yunli returned to Peking from Taining the next year (1735) and published two books: Xizang riji, or Diary in Tibet, and Fengshi jixingshi, or Poems Composed during the Special Mission. It was said that the Xizangzhi was also written by him. This information can be found in the preface written by Hening for the reprinted edition of the Xizangzhi in 1792, four years after his discovery of an identical manuscript in Chengdu of Sichuan. The Xizangzhi reprinted by Hening contained no introductory chapter written by Jiao Yingqi. Instead, Hening wrote a preface for it, emphasizing the importance of the Xizangzhi to those interested in learning more about Tibet.

It seems unlikely that Jiao Yingqi would not have claimed authorship to such a valuable work on Tibet, if he had been the real author. He did sign his official name and title at the end of his short account Zangcheng jilue, and even clearly indicated that at the time of its completion, he was 57 years old. If he had completed another work on the history and geography of Tibet "shortly after 1737" as

Petech said, he would have been over 73 years of age. And, he most likely would have written an annotation explaining his reason for waiting until such an advanced age to compile the Xizangzhi.²

In 1711, Jiao Yingqi was appointed Magistrate of Jingyang in Shaanxi province. In 1716 he joined the army and oversaw the transport of grain supply for four years, during Kangxi's Hami expedition against Tshe-dbang rab-rtan of the Dzungar Mongols.

In 1720 Jiao Yingqi was given the assignment of supervising the transport of supplies accompanying the 7th Dalai Lama to Tibet. The journey began in Xining and continued through Riyueshan, the Hashiha River, Chaijikou, Gongga'naoer, Duoluo, Daba and other places.

They traveled under unusual weather conditions, such as snow or hail on sunny days, or heavy frost covering the ground in the warm summer season. After sixty days of travel the expedition arrived at Suolimang, where they crossed the Yellow River and passed by Xingsu Lake.

Next the expedition traveled to the area of Yalatayi, where there grew poisonous grass that was dangerous for the animals. In the region of Baiyanhala there were poisonous gases, and many dead bodies alongside the road. Eight of Jiao Yingqi's servants died. Jiao Yingqi felt that the fate of the travelers had been decided by the gods.

On the 21st day of the 7th month the expedition arrived

at Muluwusu. Here the Prince Yunti³ set up a military headquarters on the east bank of the Jinshajiang (Golden Sand River). From here General Yanxin,⁴ the General for the Pacification of the Rebellion, led the entire military force on a march into Tibet to try and locate and destroy the rebels. Jiao Yingqi followed the troops with the cattle, sheep and other provisions.

On the first day of the 11th month, Jiao Yingqi arrived in the capital of Tibet. By that time the army had already defeated the rebels and the Dalai Lama was established on the throne.

Jiao Yingqi was impressed with the city of Lhasa, and thus stayed there for eight days. He was unable to tour the city completely because the army was celebrating its triumph and returning to China; Jiao Yingqi was obliged to leave with them. Since he had been robbed and was left with little money to purchase provisions, he bought a few yaks to carry his personal belongings, and disposed of the rest of his possessions. Jiao Yingqi followed the army by riding on horseback; his servants followed on foot.

The army began its long return march to China. They crossed through many forests and swamps and encountered many dangers. After twenty days of travel they came in sight of the mountain Lali.⁵ It reached high in the sky, and they climbed all day until arriving at the summit. There they set up camp and spent the night. They could find no grass

for the animals and no wood for fire.

Provisions dwindled, and because no rice grew in the area, for two weeks they survived on barley for food. Jiao Yingqi recorded his dismay at having to stay in a barbarous region. "When such auspicious occasions as New Year's Eve, and such special holidays as New Year's Day came, I could not even get a single bit of rice to eat; it was extremely difficult for me to suffer such distress."⁶

After reaching Chamuduo, Jiao Yingqi received two pints of rice and two pints of wheat flour each day. He also borrowed two hundred taels of silver from the treasury to pay for his traveling expenses.

When the army reached Gongduo and Alangma they were unable to find any fodder. The mountain slopes were dangerously steep and a cold wind blew the snow through the mountains.

They arrived at a monastery called Hanrensi which reminded Jiao Yingqi of the monasteries in his homeland, China. Jiao Yingqi had been traveling in distant lands for nearly a year; all he felt, were inferior to China. During that year he experienced fear and suffered many difficulties. As he neared China, and the people knew how to behave in the Chinese way he felt happier.

By the time they reached Dajianlu,⁷ Jiao Yingqi had become too tired to continue riding his horse. Instead, he hired bearers to carry him on a sedan chair. The group

continued traveling through the Sichuan province and returned to his office in Jingyang. To commemorate his journey to Tibet, he composed the article with the title "Zangcheng jilue" on June 5, 1721, when he was 57 years of age.

II. Places Traveled by Jiao Yingqi

Jiao Yingqi started his journey from Xining, passed by Lhasa, and ended in Jingyang of Shaanxi province by way of Khams. The following is a list of place names traveled by him and recorded in his Zangcheng jilue or A Brief Note on the Journey to Tibet.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Xining | 14. Tongtianhe |
| 2. Riyueshan | 15. Qichahe |
| 3. Hashihashui | 16. Tazitou |
| 4. Chaijikou | 17. Shuicaotan |
| 5. Gongga'naoer | 18. Daban |
| 6. Duoluo | 19. Halawusu |
| 7. Daba | 20. Xizang |
| 8. Suolimang | 21. Mozhu |
| 9. Huanghe | 22. Jiangda |
| 10. Xingsuhai | 23. Lali |
| 11. Yalatayi | 24. Gongduo |
| 12. Baiyanhala | 25. Alangma |
| 13. Muluwusu | 26. Tangga |

27. Dandamu
28. Chalasongduo
29. Zongluosanba
30. Bianba
31. Aze
32. Shuobanduo
33. Luolongzong
34. Changdu
35. (Chamuduo)
36. Zhandui
37. Abula
38. Lishu
39. Jiaba
40. Jiangga
41. Hanrensi
42. Gudulong
43. Jinshajiang
44. Batang
45. Benchamu
46. Dasuotang
47. Lengshuiwan
48. Boli
49. Ganhaizi
50. Litang
51. Hexia
52. Zamala
53. Woluobo
54. Jianziwan
55. Magaizhong
56. Yalujiang
57. Bajiaolou
58. Wolongshi
59. Nawa
60. Zheduo
61. Dajianlu
62. Toudaoshui
63. Lengzhuguan
64. Ludingqiao
65. Hualinping
66. Feiyueling
67. Niushipo
68. Yangquanmen
69. Liya
70. Qiongzuo
71. Chengdu
72. Jinjiang
73. Xindu
74. Hanzhou
75. Deyang
76. Luofengpo
77. Mianzhou
78. Zitongxian

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 79. Jianguan | 92. Bao(cheng) |
| 80. Mamingge | 93. Mian(xian) |
| 81. Zhaohua | 94. Jitouguan |
| 82. Choubiyi | 95. Chencang |
| 83. Guangyuan | 96. Liuba |
| 84. Qianfoyan | 97. Nanxing |
| 85. Feixiadong | 98. Huangniushan |
| 86. Chaotianguan | 99. Baoji |
| 87. Shenxianyi | 100. Qishan |
| 88. Nanzhan | 101. Fufeng |
| 89. Beizhan | 102. Liquan |
| 90. Ningqiang | 103. Jing(shui) |
| 91. Jinniuxia | 104. Jingyang |

III. Translation of the Text

Zangcheng jilue

A Brief Note on the Journey to Tibet⁸

When did "zang"⁹ first come into existence? According to one adage, "there is a saint in the west." It is also said that "the Buddha was born there, and his family has been there for generations." Whether these sayings are valid or not, nonetheless, why is "zang" used to name Tibet? It is said that the word "zang" means "inexhaustible

treasury." This definition would accord with a theory that states, "the Buddhist texts, the Tripitaka (sanzang), consist of the Sūtra-piṭaka (jingzang), the Vinaya-piṭaka (lüzang), and the Abhidharma-piṭaka (lunzang)." ¹⁰ Herein lies the so-called "inexhaustible treasury."

The native barbarians ¹¹ also called Tibet "zhao," ¹² which, I ¹³ cannot explain. Most probably, the barbarous local language had a sound system but no written form. There is no doubt then, that any Chinese character used to transcribe a Tibetan sound would have nothing to do with its actual meaning.

It is true that, in the ancient times, nobody had ever heard about the existence of the Buddha. Only during the period of the Han and Tang dynasties, did this religion, which dealt with śūnyatā (emptiness) and nirvana (extinction), begin to be highly regarded. On several occasions, messengers were sent to the western regions to study Buddhist canonical literature, and to welcome a bone of the Buddha to China. Now, Buddhism has been widespread in China for more than one thousand years, unchanged: images of the Buddha have been made; monasteries have been erected; the Buddhist monks and nuns turn to and rely on the Dharma and the commandments; the ignorant worldly people follow them and believe in it faithfully. All these followers fast or adhere to a vegetarian diet; they find joy in the charity of giving alms. By their actions they expect

to accumulate merit which will enable them to ascend to the Pure Land of Amitābha in the West. In order to achieve this end, they were willing to sacrifice anything, including their own lives or the ruin of their families.

Those who are intent upon maintaining order in the worldly society often do not ponder over religious affairs. Their main concern is to use religion as a threat to warn the common people, or a didactic to enlighten fools, to awaken deluded beings, and to instruct the ignorant. They allow people to worship the Buddha only because they want people to be altruistic to not completely lose their inherent goodness. Indeed, if one had never been to Tibet,¹⁴ one would never have known the existence of the so-called Living Buddha.

In the fourth year (1715) of my appointed term as magistrate of Jingyang, the bandits on the western frontiers rose in rebellion and trespassed into Hami.¹⁵ The Son of Heaven appointed a general to exterminate the rebels. In the summer of the year of yiwei (54th year of Kangxi, 1715) I received an order to join the army and assume responsibility for transporting the grain supply for four years. Later on, when the rebel bandits had lost their power, they secretly plotted to encroach on Tibet. Outraged by their sedition, the Son of Heaven specially appointed the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Yunti (1688-1755) to lead the imperial army and wipe out those petty clowns.

In order to escort the Dalai Lama,¹⁶ who was the Living Buddha, to Tibet, I along with my colleagues, was ordered to supervise the transport of supplies. In the fourth month of the year of gengzi (59th year of Kangxi, 1720), we left Xining and marched out to the frontiers by way of Riyueshan, the Hashiha River, Chaijikou, Gongga'naoer, Duoluo, Daba,¹⁷ and some other places.

Sometimes snow or hailstones fell during the hot sunny days; other times heavy frosts covered the ground in the hot summer evenings. The weather phenomena were entirely different from that of China Proper.¹⁸ Sixty days later, we arrived at Suolimang. Then, we crossed the Yellow River and passed by the Xingsu lake. The surface of the lake was so broad that one could not see the other side. The waves in the lake were very smooth, and both sky and water were blue in color. Directly in the middle of the broad lake rose a rocky mountain. According to tradition, there were seven holes underneath the mountain, from which the water sprang. When I was studying Shanhaijing¹⁹ and geographical maps, I learned that the source of the Yellow River was this lake. I never used to accept this information as true, but now I must believe that the records were indeed accurate.²⁰

From there onward, we traveled through the area of Yalatayi, where the poisonous grass threatened the lives of the animals. In the region of Baiyanhala, pestilential

vapors were very harmful: any human being or animal would die within one or two days of exposure. Countless dead bodies occupied the road. After reaching this area, eight of my accompanying servants died within ten days. Under such circumstances, the travelers were fearsome, and the onlookers mournful. To be alive or dead, to exist or be destroyed, was up to Heaven's will, and there was nothing we could do about it.

We did not arrive at the Muluwusu until the 21st day of the 7th month. [In the language of the barbarous tribes, water was called wusu.]²¹ This river was also known as Tongtianhe, which was the source of the Jinshajiang (the Golden Sand River). At that time, the Prince's army set up headquarters on the east bank of the river, and Yanxin, General for the Pacification of the Rebellion (Pingni Jiangjun), led the march into Tibet; behind him advanced the entire military force, including the Lieutenant Generals, Provincial Commanders-in-Chief, Brigade Generals, and various Mongolian tribes. I was again ordered by the Prince to deliver cattle and sheep to Tibet as food supply for the soldiers, so I proceeded at the rear of the marching troops.

We started the journey on the 11th day of the 8th month. On the 17th day, we crossed the River Qicha. In that area we progressed secretly along a narrow path, on which there were no other travelers. Nor were there any barbarous inhabitants residing in the vicinity. Because we

were deep into the mountains and dark gorges, we could not find our way to the main road; we could only rely upon the surrounding geographical features to distinguish the directions, and in doing so we proceeded southwest. Although we were marching forward quickly, day and night, my mind was still wandering confusedly, and I was utterly ignorant of where we were heading. Finally, we found the main road at a place where the soldiers were setting up a military post. Only then could I relax a little. From Muluwusu to this place, should only have been a six or seven day journey.²² But, because we had gotten lost, it took us more than half a month to get there.

Although we were hoping to advance in long stages at a time, while marching forward as fast as possible, the old military stations were unexpectedly removed; consequently we were hindered on the way by many difficulties. At that time, because of the victory gained by our advanced troops, General Yanxin suspected that enemy bandits might attack our food supply at the rear of the main forces. Therefore, he ordered the soldiers to withdraw from the old posts and move to the south side of the mountain. Under such circumstances we needed to find a guide to lead us to the new stations. As we were traveling in an area devoid of human inhabitants, the difficulty and misery was much worse than that of a few days before. When we encamped on top of the Tazitou, the tent was cold and my blanket could not keep me warm. When

we traveled in the Shuicaotan (Water-plants-swamp), both people and horses stumbled and fell. When we entered a deep gorge, we saw that the rocks were scattered about in jagged disorder, sticking out in the uneven manner of some beast's claws or teeth. When we crossed the mountain ranges and the precipitous cliffs in the area of Daban, we had to use both hands and feet to climb over. Furthermore, all the barbarous people, being violent and crafty, liked to commit robbery. They grouped together in different numbers, and hid in dark or out-of-the-way places. They would steal people's possessions during the day, and attack the military camp at night. By the time I crossed the Halawusu, most of my mules and horses had been stolen. Even among my colleagues, there were very few who had not been troubled by those robbers. Such intractable barbarians should be punished by death without being granted a warning or the chance to learn to reform. I did not arrive at the capital city of Tibet²³ until the first day of the 11th month. By the time I arrived, our troops had already gained a victory, the rebel bandits had fled, and the Dalai Lama was seated on the throne. Without an incomparably good government and the matchless military power under His Imperial Majesty, the Son of Heaven, how could the situation have turned out so fortuitously?

When I was out surveying the capital of Tibet, I saw beautiful mountains and rivers, rich plains and fields,

dense trees, and houses crowded close together. Furthermore, the breeze was pleasant, the sunshine warm, and even during the winter the ground did not freeze; this was entirely different from the northwestern frontier. A rocky hill, smaller than the other surrounding mountains, rose in the middle of a level plain. On top of the hill stood a monastery in which the Living Buddha resided. This monastery was a many-storied building with hundreds of colorful towers. It is impossible to describe in detail the magnificent beauty of the golden glitter which covered the building. When I asked around about the origin of the Living Buddha, everyone attested that he had been continuously reborn from generation to generation, keeping his original body but returning to this world through a human womb. He would never be born outside the families of the barbarian tribes, but his birth place was not necessarily within one particular area.

As soon as he was born, he was able to fully relate his experiences from his previous life. He could even clearly remember all his predecessors of the religious line. After he was accepted by the people as the true incarnation, they would fight for the right to worship him, welcome him to the capital of Tibet, and seat him on the throne. His disciples were numerous, and the barbarian people would go to worship him day in and day out, just as if they were going to the market place. Not only the people from the nearby area, but

also people from far away countries such as Xihai or Qinghai,²⁴ and the Mongolian tribes under different princes, came to see him occasionally.

Various contributions were presented to him, such as leather, money, dogs, horses, pearls, jade, and other rare objects. It is true that, in this world, those with high governmental positions enjoy great fame, possess all sorts of riches and honors, and have tremendous happiness. But, these pursuers of fame and wealth must always labor over their duties and perpetually struggle amidst situational confusion; nothing can be easily achieved by anyone. As we studied the case of the Dalai Lama, however, he was a pure, naive young boy, with only his innocent face and untainted mind; and yet he could have such a beautiful palace and living quarters, enjoy good clothing and vessels for use, and even compel the people to believe deeply in him. He would never, however, take advantage of his privileged position by abusing his wealth and status. Nevertheless, the so-called Living Buddha is, indeed, a person who may enjoy all happinesses during his life-time in this world; I wonder whether he should be called a Buddha.

I stayed in the capital of Tibet for eight days. As soon as I finished my official duties, I went to the palace to pay a visit. Immediately after that I began my return journey. How regrettable that I was unable to have the pleasure of taking a complete tour around the city! It

happened that the imperial army was returning in triumph, so I once again followed them, back east. At that time, my fur clothing was dilapidated and my gold supply depleted, so I could not afford to buy mules and horses. I only bought a few yaks to carry my tent, clothing and bedding. I discarded the rest of my belongings, and rode behind the army on a light horse. My servants traveled on foot.

Having passed Mozhu, we started our long march and proceeded toward Jiangda. When we were crossing forests and swamps, we experienced all kinds of difficulties and dangers. Sometimes we walked along stone, ladder-like stepways; sometimes we crawled along planks laid across dangerous and precipitous points.

About twenty days later, we sighted the mountain Lali, which was lofty enough to touch the clouds. It took us a whole day to climb to the upper part of the mountain. By the time we arrived there, it was already too late to cross it. In that area, rocks were scattered haphazardly everywhere, the path was dangerous and narrow, and the greatest length the path remained level at any point was under ten feet. Moreover, the smudgy, pestilential vapors densely filled the air. There was neither firewood nor grass, and even a spoonful of water was difficult to find. The entire night, I could only sleep sitting up. Both people and horses were cold and hungry. The next day, we climbed to the top of the mountain where the ice was hard

and the snow slippery. All the towering mountains shone silvery in color. When I peered down from above, I felt dizzy and nervous, and in my horror-stricken state, I wanted to die. The only thing possible for me to do at that time was to sit atop a blanket, which was spread across the snow, and tie a rope around my waist. Then my servants, some in front, some at my back, dragged me, zigzagging down the mountain. Our luggage and other belongings were tossed down. As for the yaks and horses, their legs were tied up, and they were pushed and rolled down; consequently, half of them died or were wounded. This was, indeed, the most miserable situation that I had ever before experienced in my life.

During this period we not only had troubles in moving forward, but we were also running out of provisions. No rice grew in this barbarian area. Thus, for half a month, we could only feed on barley to satisfy our hungry stomachs. When such auspicious occasions as New Year's Eve, and such special holidays as New Year's Day came, I could not even get a single bit of rice to eat; it was extremely difficult for me to suffer such distress. Only after we reached Chamuduo,²⁵ was I allowed to receive two pints of rice and two pints of wheat flour each day, and there I was also able to borrow two hundred taels of silver from the treasury for my traveling expenses. This was only possible because the Governor-General of Sichuan, His Excellency Nian Gengyao,

had especially appointed the Intendant of Yongning, His Excellency Chi,²⁶ to store up grain supplies there in order to aid the returning officials and soldiers. His Excellency Nian sympathized with the difficulties and the fatigue which we had gone through on our march into Tibet. He was afraid that if we were not supplied with enough food, we might have to wander about in the foreign area without anything to eat. Consequently, I was rescued from exhaustion; was I not lucky? Thereupon, I found some other mules from the barbarian area to carry a few pieces of luggage, and prepared my horse and riding equipment for the journey.

When we were in the area around Gongduo and Alangma, we could not find any fodder. In the villages of Tangga and Dandamu the people were prosperous, but the mountain slopes were dangerously steep, and the purple fog was dismal. Chalasongduo was a dangerous place. Zongluosanba was located in the coldest area, where snow covered all the nearby mountains and a severely cold wind penetrated us to the bone. In Bianba the unwritten custom was liberal and gentle; in Aze the people were cunning. The mountains in Shuobanduo were so high and dangerous that people had to support each other by grasping onto one another's clothes or by clinging to a stick when they climbed along the mountain trails. In Luolongzong, strange rock formations and precipitous cliffs were everywhere, and the road wound first to the left and then to the right.

Changdu was a place with many scenic spots. Around this area, there were two rivers which resembled two dragons encircling. In Zhandui, there was a spectacular panorama which looked like a great host of mounted and foot soldiers. In places such as Abula and Lishu, robbers abounded in every village; Jiaba and Jiangga, too, were gathering places for bandits. All travelers, including soldiers, were scared to death of them.

As for the buildings of the monastery called Hanrensi, they were not different from those of China proper, and the scenery of the walnut gardens looked quite like that found in China.²⁷ Within the first ten days of the second month of the year, the red-flowering apricots were springing into blossom and permeating their fragrance, while the young branches of the willow trees were bending downward with their new leaves. In the fields, the rice grew, beautiful and green. Birds were singing, flowers were fragrant, and a mild breeze of spring was blowing under the warm sun. When I arrived there, I reflected that it had been nearly one full year since I had crossed the border and had been traveling in distant lands. During my long yet hastened journey abroad, everything I had seen was sad and lonely. But now, upon seeing such a beautiful place as this, how could my eyes and mind not rejoice?

As we continued our journey, we reached Gudulong, which

was a place for people to cross the Jinshajiang. There were four big boats there, and all of our people and horses, more than one thousand in number, finished crossing the river within a very short time. Many rivers flowed throughout the frontier, but people usually crossed by wooden bridges or by coracle. Out of the entire journey, this was the only place I had seen where a river was crossed by boat.

On both banks of the river, the peach blossoms and plum-blossoms were equally lovely,²⁸ and the villages near the mountain looked just like a beautiful painting. This place was abundant in grapes, which the barbarians used to make wine: and when they drank, they would drink to the point of inebriation.

When we had proceeded seventy more li,²⁹ we reached Batang, where the weather was warm, the land broad, the population dense, and the flowers and trees beautiful and many. Moreover, in the market places, there were also Han people who came from China Proper and resided there while doing business. When I arrived at Batang, both my horse and I were exhausted; we rested there for three days. Only after having had a good rest was I able to resume traveling again.

The mountain called Benchamu must be one hundred li tall; two days later, we reached the top. There was only one narrow path leading to Dasuotang. Although it was the third month of spring, the weather was not yet warm, and

there was a fury of buying and selling going on in the market place. There were many rivers in the vicinity of Lengshuiwan, and around Boli. In the Ganhaizi area, bandits secretly hid themselves. For several days, I did nothing but march on a snow-covered road, astride a wornout horse.

Then we reached Litang. In the beauty of its monasteries, its great number of lamas, and its collections of different goods, Litang was slightly superior to Batang. However, the Litang weather was cold, the fields were poor, and there were no beautiful flowers or trees. The next night we lodged at Hexia.

After reaching Zamala, we traveled eastward to Woluobo, for 60 li along a thickly snow-covered road: the snow was more than three feet deep. Then we reached Jianziwan. From there we proceeded downhill to Magaizong, and then to a place near the Yalujiang. It was said that the distance from Jianziwan to the river stretched one hundred and some li. The water in the river was very clear and fast-moving, and the rocks on both banks appeared very dangerous. While it was difficult for boats to cross the river there, carts and horses could travel back and forth on a floating bridge, just as they would on a level road. The bridge consisted of wide wooden planks which were placed atop several big boats lying in the middle of the river.

Having crossed the river, to the eastern side, we proceeded past Bajiaolou and Wolongshi, and then reached

Nawa and Zheduo. Although the people here were barbarians, this area was already near enough to China Proper that they knew how to observe the governmental laws. The area was under the jurisdiction of Hualin Ying.³⁰ When businessmen traveled here, whether singly or in pairs, they could safely go to or stop at any place they wished. Thenceforth, we would have no more problems with bandits.³¹

On the fourth day of the third month, I entered Dajianlu, which was located at the farthest end of the western border of Sichuan province. Being on barbarian territory, it was an important post on the road to Tibet. The Native Chieftain of Mingzheng³² controlled this area. His ancestors had not always been submissive to the imperial government, and consequently, in the 38th year of Kangxi (1699), the imperial soldiers were ordered to subjugate them. But the imperial government demonstrated both its mercy and power by giving the people evidence of its sincerity and righteousness. Finally, everyone in this area agreed to submit and become civilized. Now, the imperial soldiers were stationed in Dajianlu to garrison the place; both barbarians and Han people assembled and traded with each other there; thus Dajianlu had become a lively city.

When I reached Dajianlu, I was too tired to ride my enervated horse, so I hired bearers to carry me by a small sedan-chair. We proceeded from Toudaoshui, passed Lengzhuguan, and arrived at the bridge called Ludingqiao.

The bridge was more than one hundred feet high, and several hundred paces long. There were pavilions built on both banks of the river. Nine big iron cables were used to connect the two ends to support the bridge across the river, and the cables were covered with wooden boards. It was just as dangerous as a natural barrier. Whenever people or horses crossed it, they would walk slowly and in small groups. If there were too many people or horses walking on the bridge, it would begin to shake and swing. If it were blown by a strong wind, it would definitely be too dangerous to tread upon.

As we continued the journey, we passed Hualinping, Feiyueling, Niushipo, and Yangquanmen. The mountains were terribly steep and the rocky road was difficult to travel; it is impossible for me to explain such hardship in detail.³³

Next I traveled through the old sites of Liya, and the area of Qiongzuo. According to tradition, this was the old site where Wuhou caught Menghuo, and where Wenjun sold wine. I arrived at Chengdu on the 21st day. In the capital city of Sichuan, the fertile lands were vast, the population was dense, the natural scenery and resources were beautiful and abundant, and its elegant literary feats could be compared with those of Zhongzhou.³⁴ The only defect is that even though the river called Jingjiang is still lovely, the paper known as Wanjian is no longer in existence, and the

information about the original houses of Yang Xiong and Sima Xiangru were only recorded in geographical books. When I looked westward at the Han Imperial Tomb, which was the monument of the Emperor Zhaolie, I could not stop from lamenting over my sad memories. For some other sites such as the Longmen in Xindu, and the Fanghu in Hanzhou, many famous people and recluse-scholars had composed verses, all of which are sentimental enough to touch their reader's hearts.

When I was traveling from Deyang to Luofengpo, I saw that the grave and the family hall of Pang shiyuan were still there. When I was passing through Mianzhou and Zitongxian, I found that the appearance of the temple of Wenchangjun was majestic. In Jianguan, the rocky cliffs were steep and lofty, and along them, planks were laid to form a wooden path called Zhandao,³⁵ which looked like a wooden framework sticking up into the sky. There was another wooden path known as Mamingge which could be seen in Zhaohua. A relay station named Choubiyi was located in Guangyuan. The caves called Qianfoyan and Feixiadong were located in the same mountain. Chaotianguan and Shenxianyi were situated side by side. Anyone who traveled in this area would feel that the Southern Wooden-path (Nanzhan) was indeed difficult to traverse, but that the Northern Wooden-path (Beizhan) was even more dangerous.

Having passed Ningqiang and Jinniuxia, I felt sorry for

Wuding, because he had been such a foolish man to open a way by relying only on his courage. After having been in the area of Baocheng and Mianxian, and having crossed Jitouguan, I admired Zifang, because he had learned to become an immortal and had nurtured the divine element within himself so that he could be free from troubles.

The commemorative stone tablet for the ancient ford of Chencang was kept in Liuba. When the divine phoenix flew to this area, its nest could be found in Nanxing. A mountain known as Huangniushan was very high. The plains in Baoji were level and broad. Qishan was the birth place of the Zhou Dynasty. Fufeng was the original site of the capital of the Han Dynasty. Having passed all these places, I then arrived in Liquan, and from there the Jingyang³⁶ could be reached in a day.

From the second month of the year of bingshen (1716) when I first joined the army, to the fifth month of the xinchou (1721) when I returned to my office, I had been gone for six years.

Although the Prince's mission was not an easy task, I never refused to take up the responsibility of performing it, even if I might encounter a great deal of trouble and inconvenience. Nevertheless, with my weak and puny body, I had been running about year after year without taking a truly good rest at any time. Sometimes I slept on the dew and cloaked myself with the frost, and sometimes I fought

hunger and cold. Having experienced a rough journey, my body seemed to be reduced to mere skin and bones. Fortunately, I was able to return alive and without any sickness; this must have been because I was secretly protected by the Heavens.

Alas! I am fifty-seven years old now. My hair has become gray, and it is so easy for me to become tired, physically and mentally. I recall that during my younger years, I had always lived at home with my family, and was ashamed at being unable to travel to the various mountains and rivers, to glimpse the famous places and scenic resorts of the world. Later on, I passed the civil service examinations and entered into official circles. Thereafter, I could travel from place to place in famous areas such as Jing, Xiang, Han, Wei, Yan, Zhao, Qin, and Jin.³⁷ As for the rivers, I had seen the Jiang, Huai, He, and Han,³⁸ which were deep and not small. As for the mountains, I had seen Zhongnan, Heng, and Hua, which towered in their far off locations.

These sites were, however, all inside of China. Travelers only journey to these beautiful mountains and famous ruins, and Taoists love them, only because they are able, by some means or other, to view the real sites in person. If a place were located in remote and isolated wilderness, which could not be reached by boat or by cart, who would go to explore the source of Lake Xingsu? If

nobody had ever heard about a sacrificial mountain ceremony³⁹ being performed for Mount Kunlun, who would climb to its pinnacle? As for the so-called Zang, and the so-called Living Buddha, they had been regarded as utterly illusory, with no reality whatsoever. Therefore, people had never thought to go there or to see him. While people were thinking there was no need to go there, by chance I was able to go there; while people were thinking there was no use in seeing him, I did in fact see him. Could this not be considered an unusual story? Therefore, regardless of my vulgarity, I found some free time after my return from Tibet to write a rough outline about it.⁴⁰

I do not dare boast of my own achievements, nor do I merely attempt to sell some unusual news. I wrote these notes only because I wanted to record the experiences and the hardships which I encountered during the journey. All these unexpected events are still vivid before my eyes and alarming to my mind. They serve to remind me that though I subsist in a peaceful time, I should not forget the possibilities of danger, and though I am enjoying an easy life, I should not forget my work.

On the 11th day of the 5th month,
in the year of xinchou, during
the reign of Kangxi (June 5, 1721)
recorded by Jiao Yingqi, Magistrate
of Jingyangxian.

IV. Notes to Chapter Three

1. See Petech, p. 7.
2. For a discussion of the authorship of Xizangzhi, see Yang Ho-chin, "Xizangzhide zhuanshuren," Zhongguo bianzheng, Vol. 42, June 1973, Taipei, pp. 26-28; Petech, pp. 7, 175.
3. Yunti, or Yinti, (1688-1755) was the 14th son of the Kangxi Emperor. For a short biography, see Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912), Washington, 1943, Taipei Reprinted, 1967, pp. 930-931. Yunti's reports concerning the expedition against the Drungar's invasion of Tibet during 1720-21 were originally written in Manchu and presented to the Imperial court. The Chinese translation of Yunti's reports were edited and published by Wu Fengpei in Beijing, 1991, entitled Fuyuan Dajiangjun Yunti Zougao. For detailed reports about their activities in Muluwusu, see pp. 166-173 in the above mentioned book.
4. Yanxin was a great-grandson of Abahai, the Taizong Emperor of Qing. In 1718, he was appointed a member of the staff of Yunti. For a short biography, see A.W. Hummel, op. cit., pp. 907-908.
5. This is the Lha-ri-mgo in Wylie, pp. 99, 180-n. 599.

6. The same feelings occurred to Nikolay Przhevalsky (1839-88) while he was traveling to Tibet about one and a half centuries later. "Przhevalsky recorded the Russian New Year (13 January 1873) in his diary: 'Never in my life have I had to spend the New Year in such an absolute desert as we now find ourselves in ... We have absolutely no supplies left, except the accursed dzamba and a small quantity of flour. The privation is terrible but must be borne in the name of the expedition's great goal.'" Cf. Donald Rayfield, The Dream of Lhasa: The Life of Nikolay Przhevalsky (1839-88), Explorer of Central Asia, Ohio University Press, 1976, p. 77.

7. This is the Dar-rtse-mdo in Wylie, p. 184-n. 636. It is now called Kangding in Sichuan province. Cf. Li hanjie, op. cit., p. 1095.

8. Jiao Yingqi noted the composition date of Zangcheng jilue, or A Brief Note on the Journey to Tibet, at the conclusion of the work. But when the same work was appended to the end of the fourth juan in Weizang tongzhi, the date was noted directly under the title. For the Chinese text of Zangcheng jilue, see Appendix II. My English translation is based upon the original Chinese text in the Xizangzhi, reprinted in Taipei, 1966. The text in Weizang tongzhi has several printing errors, and some place names are in different Chinese forms. The same text is edited by Wu

Fengpei and printed in his Chuanzang yuzong huibian, Chengdu, 1985, pp. 11-16; Xizangzhi, Weizang tongzhi, Lhasa, 1982, pp. 61-66.

9. The Chinese character can be pronounced in two ways: "zang" or "cang" according to the pinyin romanization system. When it is pronounced "zang" with fourth tone, it means "a storehouse", while "cang" with second tone means "to hide". When this character appears after "xi", meaning "west", they form a noun, "Xizang," which has been used to refer to the area to China's west, ever since the end of the Kangxi period.

The word "zang" is also employed to transcribe the name of the largest and longest river in Tibet, the Gtsang-po, or the Brahmaputra. A discussion of the Chinese names for Tibet may be found in Liu Yitang, op. cit., pp. 378-87.

10. For an additional note of the term sanzang, see Soothill, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, 1937, London, p. 467.

11. In the text the words for barbarians were written as fanren. The character "fan" can be translated as barbarous. Nonetheless, "fan," a transcription of the Tibetan word "bod" meaning "Tibet", had been employed in this instance to name the land of the Tibetans. See Fang-kuei Li, op. cit., p. 89. For the expression "fan", see Rockhill, op. cit., p. 6. "Tuzhu," meaning "native people", was misprinted as "shangzhu" in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p.

113.

12. The character "zhao" is a transcription of the Tibetan word "jo-bo" which refers to the Buddha. Since Tibet was a Buddhist country it was very proper for the Tibetans to call their country the land of "jo-bo". For further discussion, see Lien-sheng Yang, op. cit., pp. 657-60.

13. "I" in the A Brief Note on the Journey to Tibet is the original author, Jiao Yingqi.

14. When the phrase "gu weichang shenglu zangdi" was reprinted in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 113, the first character "gu" was omitted.

15. Hami is located in the east side of the Xinjiang Uygur Zizhiqu (Autonomous Region), Li Hanjie, op. cit., pp. 1460-61.

16. This was the Seventh Dalai Lama, Blo-bzang bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708-1757).

17. The Riyueshan range is to the west of Xining and on the southern side of the Kokonor. "It was the real boundary between China and Tibet, though the actual frontier was the Tang-la Range." This remark is found in George Pereira's Journey: Peking to Lhasa, compiled by Sir Francis Younghusband, London, 1925, p. 112.

For the phrase "to march out to the frontier" the Chinese characters "chuguan" were printed in Xizangzhi, p. 3; but "chukou" in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 114. After

having left Xining, Jiao Yingqi reached Riyueshan, and then the Hashihashui. However, in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 114, another place name "Ashihanshui" was listed before Riyueshan.

All of the places traveled by Jiao Yingqi on his journey to Tibet are listed together and that list is placed in this chapter. A place name index for the Xizangzhi is found in Xizangzhi, Weizang tongzhi, Lhasa, 1982, pp. 67-112.

18. Traditionally speaking, Zhongyuan was referring to the lower valley of the Yellow River around Henan province. Actually, it is always used to mean the area under direct control of the Central Chinese Government. Therefore, the so-called "China Proper" or Zhongyuan was hereby differentiated from the minority or frontier areas.

19. Shanhaijing, or Classic of Mountains and Seas, is a pre-Han work of Chinese myths, legends and folktales in far off regions of ancient China. Its authorship is unknown. It is a kind of ancient Chinese geographical book. See Cihai, Taipei, 4th ed., 1959, Vol. I, p. 978; Chen Shouyi, Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction, New York, 1961, pp. 169, 267. For the original text, see Shanhaijing tushuo, Shanghai, 1925.

20. The original sources of the Yellow River have been found beyond the Xingsuhai. For further discussion, see China Pictorial or Renmin huabao, Beijing, No. 6, 1973, pp.

16-23. In Weizang tongzhi, juan 3, p. 64, it is also indicated that the original source was to the west of Xingsuhai.

Jiao Yingqi thought he passed by the Xingsuhai and observed a rocky mountain in the lake's midst. In fact, the lake he passed must have been the Zhaling Lake or the Eling Lake. The area called Xingsuhai, said to be the original source, is a swamp area comprised of innumerable lakelets. When sunshine is reflected from the surface of the water it appears as stars glittering here and there. Thus, this area is named Xingsuhai or Starry Sea. See J. F. Rock, op. cit., pp. 15, 146.

21. This note in the original text was placed under the Muluwusu, but it is not in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 114. "Wusu," or "usu," is a Mongolian word meaning water or river.

22. The Chinese text, quoted in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 114, says, "... it was only sixty-seven days' journey ..." I believe this is a printing error.

23. Lhasa has been the capital city of Tibet since 1642. Lhasa was the site of Ral-pa-can's court, but after the collapse of the Tibetan empire in the 9th century, Lhasa held no importance as a government seat until 1642. The author did not mention Lhasa by name, but instead he proclaimed his arrival at Xizang. This refers to the particularization of the country in its capital city; i.e.,

when one reaches the capital city then one has reached the country.

24. Qinghai is the Chinese name for Kokonor, but it also refers to the region around the lake. Xihai was an older name for the same lake. See Daging yitongzhi, juan 412, Part I.

25. Chamuduo or Changdu is the Chinese name for Chabmdo or Chamdo in Khams.

26. In Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 115, the name of the Governor-General of Sichuan was printed in full form, i.e., Nian Gengyao; but in Xizangzhi, p. 11., only his family name appears. Xizangzhi mentioned the family name of the Intendant of Yongning, and Weizang tongzhi did not. Perhaps he was the same person mentioned in the Nitui yunnan shilue, Chi Weitai, Assistant Prefect of Chongqing Prefecture in Sichuan. He was in charge of military supplies. See Yunnan tongzhi, juan 104, f. 16b.

27. Neidi, meaning the Inner-land, and Zhonghua are both used by Jiao Yingqi to name the Chinese territory where most Han people reside. Another term used by him to refer to China Proper is Zhongyuan.

28. An editorial note in Weizang tongzhi, "Jiaoziji", p. 7, says: "in the passage of 'liang'an zhengyan,' (p. 115), some words must be missing." The missing words are found in Xizangzhi, p. 13; thus, the passage should be "liang'an taoli zhengyan."

29. Li is a Chinese unit of linear measure. One li is roughly one-third of a mile. See Rockhill, op. cit., p. 22; Lin Yutang, Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage (Dangdai hanying cidian), The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1972, p. 1453.

30. Ying, Battalion or Division, was a fundamental military unit of all branches of the imperial army, distributed throughout the Qing Empire. See Mayers, op. cit., n. 439; Brunnert and Hagelstrom, op. cit., nn. 656F, 749. The garrisons stationed in Hualinping, near Dajianlu (Dar-rtse-mdo), were called Hualin Ying, under the command of the Provincial Forces of Sichuan. Whenever the Tibetans and the local chieftains on the eastern part of Khams were in conflict with each other or with the government, more soldiers would be transferred to this area to help the local garrison maintain order. See Sichuan tongzhi, juan 1, (map) ff. 23-24; juan 18, "Bianfang", ff. 24-29. For the jurisdiction of Hualin Ying, see "Ludingqiao beiji (Monument Inscription of the Luding Bridge)," composed by the Kangxi Emperor, in 1701; Weizang tongzhi, juanshou, pp. 1-2.

31. For the word "bandit" or "robber" or "brigand" the Tibetan word is "jag-pa". This Tibetan word "jag-pa" is transcribed into Chinese characters as "jiaba." It is common to use "jiaba" for "bandits" in Chinese literature on Tibet.

32. Mingzheng Tusi or the Native Chieftain Mingzheng was printed as Mingzhen in Xizangzhi, but Mingzheng in Weizang tongzhi; the latter is correct. Because this Native Chieftain had been appointed to rule over three districts: Changhexi, Yutong, and Ningyuan, even though he was called Mingzheng Tusi during Qing times, his official title was Mingzheng Changhexi Yutong Ningyuan Junmin Xuanweishisi. This title became hereditary in the same family, remaining so until the 1940's.

Xuanweishisi was a sub-third ranking title especially designed for the native chieftains or tusi. When the title was modified by junmin, it was indicated that the chieftain could be in command of both the military forces and the general public. Without understanding the nature of titles of this sort, W. W. Rockhill made a great number of mistakes in his translation of Weizang tuzhi, in JRAS, 1891, Vol. XXIII, new series, pp. 21-93.

For other Chinese records of Mingzheng Tusi, see Sichuan tongzhi, juan 19, f. 30; Li Yiren, Xikang zonglan, Shanghai, 1937, pp. 122-126.

33. At this point, Jiao Yingqi's difficulties encountered during the journey were over, and he entered Sichuan province where he again saw Chinese civilization. From there on he began to travel as a regular scholar-official, recollecting all the romantic memories of the classical literature he had studied previously. Since

Sichuan province is a province of tremendous historical significance, many places can be associated with factual or legendary events. In order to demonstrate his literary ability, he wrote the following portion of his journey in a very classical manner, using many proverbs.

34. Usually, Zhongzhou referred to the province of Henan, because it was known as Yuzhou in ancient times and was located at the center of Jiuzhou, or the Nine Ancient Divisions of the empire made by Yu. See Cihai, pp. 81-82. The Zhongzhou here used by Jiao Yingqi represents the cultural or literary center of China. For a discussion on the Jiuzhou in the Yugong, see Xin Shuzhi, Yugong xinjie, Beijing, 1964, pp. 32-36.

35. Zhandao is also called Gedao, or Zhange. Many such wooden paths could be found in the northeastern part of Sichuan. See Cihai, pp. 1520, 3035.

36. Jingyang appears in Weizang tongzhi, juan 4, p. 116, but it is printed as Jinggan in Xizangzhi, p. 18. It was the place he had been Magistrate before the Hami and Tibetan expeditions. Jingyang was in Xi'an Fu, Shaanxi province; G. M. H. Playfair, The Cities and towns of China: A Geographical Dictionary, Shanghai, 1910, n. 1114. Cf. Li Hanjie, op. cit., p. 1320.

37. Jing, Xiang, Han, Wei, Yan, Zhao, Qin, Jin, are the archaic literary geographical designations. Jing was one of the Nine Zhou or Divisions made by Yu, comprising

Hunan, Hubei, Guangxi, and parts of Sichuan, Guizhou and Guangdong. Jingxiang covers the provinces of Hunan, Hubei and Sichuan. Hanwei covers the provinces of Shanxi, and Henan. Yanzhao covers the province of Hebei or Zhili. Qinjin covers the provinces of Gansu, Shaanxi, and Shanxi. For a discussion on the ancient states in China and the Jiuzhou in the Yugong, see Xin Shuzhi, op. cit., pp. 12-17. See also Playfair, op. cit., nn. 1140, 2609, 1972, 6990, 7407, 324, 1105, 1073.

38. As for the famous rivers, Jiang is for the Changjiang, or the Yangtze; Huai for the Huaihe; He for the Huanghe, or the Yellow River; and Han for the Hanshui.

39. An engraved inscription, entitled "Feng Yanranshan Ming" was composed by Bangu (died 92 A.D.) of the Later Han Dynasty. It was written for the sacrificial ceremony performed on the Yanran Mountain in order to commemorate the victory over the northern people Xiongnu.

40. For the geographical description and maps on the roads from Chengdu of Sichuan to Lhasa, see Ma Shaoyun and Sheng Meixi, Weizang tuzhi, 1792, reprinted in Taipei, Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan, no. 57, ed. by Shen yunlong, pp. 1-143. Even though there is an English translation of this work by W. W. Rockhill, in JRAS, Vol. XXIII, New Series, 1891, pp. 21-93, 121-133, there are so many errors in his translation that it would be better not to use it. The notes, however, are very useful for those

who can read both Chinese and Tibetan works on Tibet.

CHAPTER FOUR

Du Changding's Journey to Tibet in 1721-22

I. Du Changding and his mission

The original text of the Zangxing Jicheng, or A Record of the Journey to Tibet, is a diary beginning on the 8th day of the 12th month, in the 59th year of Kangxi (January 5, 1721), and ending on the 13th day of the 12th month of the next year (January 29, 1722). The author Du Changding, actually completed the work on New Year's day of the 61st year of Kangxi (February 16, 1722). Some parts of the diary were rearranged according to his own notes and poems after he had completed the journey.

The text can be found in an unaltered reprint edition in the series of the Shiliao congbian, published by Guangwen Book Company, Taipei, Taiwan, 1968. Du's work was also collected into the Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao, the Zhaodai congshu, and the Gujin youji congchao.¹

Du Changding, styled Songfeng, was born in Qingpu of Jiangsu province. He was a private secretary and adviser² to Jiang Chenxi³ (1653-1721), who in 1716 rose in his official career to Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou. As Du's friend Dai Mengkui stated in the colophon, written for Du's work⁴ in the 8th month of the 11th year of Yongzheng (1733), Jiang treated Du as more than a mere

secretary; they were indeed very close friends. This is evidenced by the fact that when Jiang was charged with negligence in his official duty during the war against the Dzungar's invasion of Tibet,⁵ he was sent to Tibet by the Emperor in 1721 as a kind of punishment, even though Jiang's other followers had abandoned him, Du was still willing to accompany him on the unpleasant trip. The diary details this journey, and includes some very touching descriptions of the geographical features enroute. It is one of the best literary sources for first hand information on the particulars of a journey to Tibet during the early Qing dynasty. Most other records either detailed government approved subjects or strictly recounted place names and the distances between certain places. Du Changding's diary, however, is different; he wrote about the trip simply because he wished for his work to commemorate the friendship between his former employer and himself, and to describe the hardships they had gone through.

Du Changding was not only a man of literature, but also a soldier. On the journey to Tibet, he composed poems and sometimes also served as Jiang Chenxi's bodyguard. He escorted Jiang all the way until they reached Lho-rong Rdzong, but then he returned home upon Jiang's insistence that he should not suffer any more for him; Du was not a governmental official, while Jiang himself had no excuse to avoid the punishment. However, Jiang did not live long

enough to reach Lhasa, and died on the route shortly after his close friend Du Changding departed for home.

In the diary, Jiang Chenxi's death is not mentioned. Political awareness may have dictated its absence; that is to say, usually, one would not openly discuss a person who had been charged with a crime, especially if one had been personally involved with him.

II. Places Traveled by Du Changdin

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Yunnan | 17. Yunnanbao |
| 2. Deshengqiao | 18. Xiaoyunnan |
| 3. Jinhuaapu | 19. Baiya |
| 4. Bijiguan | 20. Dingxiling |
| 5. Anningzhou | 21. Zhaozhou |
| 6. Laoyaguan | 22. Dalifu |
| 7. Lufengxian | 23. Diancangshan |
| 8. Shezi | 24. Shaping |
| 9. Guangtongxian | 25. Dengchuanzhou |
| 10. Shijianpu | 26. Langqiongxian |
| 11. Chuxiongfu | 27. Sanying |
| 12. Lühe | 28. Guanyinshan |
| 13. Mopangpo | 29. Jianchuanzhou |
| 14. Zhennanzhou | 30. Jiuheguan |
| 15. Shaqiao | 31. Lijiang |
| 16. Pupeng | 32. Menggushao |

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 33. Axi | 58. Lancangjiang |
| 34. Jinshajiang | 59. (Liutongjiang) |
| 35. Mubiewan | 60. Meilishu |
| 36. Huangcaoba | 61. Jialang |
| 37. Zalagu | 62. Nujiang |
| 38. Qiaotou | 63. (Chichang) |
| 39. Luosiwan | 64. Lamatai |
| 40. Shierlan'gan | 65. Bitu |
| 41. Tuguancun | 66. Duotai |
| 42. Yijiaren | 67. Shatai |
| 43. Tuomulang | 68. Xiao Xueshan |
| 44. Xiaozhongdian | 69. Linmi |
| 45. Dazhongdian | 70. (Limi) |
| 46. (Zhongdian, Jiedang) | 71. Jiangmugun |
| 47. Jingkou | 72. Zhayigun |
| 48. Tangdui | 73. Reshuitang |
| 49. Nixi | 74. Sanbala |
| 50. Qiaotou | 75. Langda |
| 51. Bengzilan | 76. Muke |
| 52. (Buzili) | 77. Binda |
| 53. Chujiu | 78. Lieda |
| 54. Xiao Xueshan | 79. Batai |
| 55. Longshutang | 80. Cawagang |
| 56. Adunzi | 81. Tiantong |
| 57. Duomu | 82. Tashi |

- | | |
|-------------|------------------|
| 83. Bengda | 88. Xiaoyesang |
| 84. Xueba | 89. (Queqiao) |
| 85. Lutinan | 90. Luolongqiao |
| 86. Wahe | 91. Xiaoqiaobian |
| 87. Maliyi | 92. Luolongzong |

III. Translation of the Text

Zangxing jicheng

A Record of the Journey to Tibet

by Du Changding (Alias Songfeng, from Qingpu)

Gengzi (Kangxi 59th year), 12th month, 8th day (January 5, 1721):

His Excellency Jiang Chenxi, Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou, was ordered to enter Tibet to redeem himself by making a special effort; his offense was that he had delayed the supply of grain when Qin (Shaanxi province), Shu (Sichuan province) and Dian (Yunnan province) were jointly attacking the rebels in Tibet.⁶ The land of Tibet was indeed a very dangerous and difficult place in which to travel. In fact, because it was not a good place for people to go, all of Jiang's followers were allowed to return home; but, because of the close friendship between His Excellency and myself,⁷ it would have been difficult for me to leave him. Yet, since my mother was leaning against the gate looking for my return, I could not stay away for a long

time. Therefore, I requested that I be allowed to escort His Excellency beyond the frontiers, and that my time be limited to one year. I then dismissed my personal retinue and commenced the journey without them.

16th day (January 13, 1721):

Having departed from my friends in the office, we rode on horseback to Desheng Bridge, where we boarded a ship. From Jinhuaapu, sailing for a little more than 30 li, we arrived at Bijiguan. His Excellency Zhang Xuexiang, District Examiner of Schools,⁸ held a feast on the boat. After arriving at Bijiguan, we traveled by land for 35 li to Anningzhou,⁹ where we lodged for the night.

(Poem no. 1)

On the Road to the Frontier

-An Improvised Poem-

Being moved by close friendship,
 I did not at once turn my journey eastward.
 The tong wood is saved from the cooking fire;¹⁰
 The awl is indeed placed in a bag.¹¹

If I proceeded, my heart would still be strong;
 If I turned back, things would all be different.
 For a virtuous man, his promises are important;

Alone, I escort His Excellency.

17th day (January 14, 1721):

We traveled for 70 li and lodged at Laoyaguan. Formerly, I had traveled here four times with the District Examiner of Schools, who oversaw the examinations, while I reviewed the examination essays. Now, I am here again, but as a member of the military service. My present military employment is different than my former civil appointment. Prosperity and decline change with the times, and I am burdened by my conflicting emotions about the present and the past.

18th day (January 15):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Lufengxian.¹² His Excellency Zhang Yuan, the District Magistrate, invited us to stay overnight in the official compound. There were pavilions and ponds, and bamboo and plum trees. This was another beautiful place in Yunnan.

19th day (January 16):

We traveled 70 li, and arrived at Shezi, where we lodged for the night.

20th day (January 17):

We traveled 55 li and arrived at Guangtongxian. His excellency Liu Shu, the District Magistrate, also invited us

to stay in the official compound, but we did not accept. The buildings, ponds, and trees in this official compound were not as elegant as those in Lufengxian, but the grounds were more spacious.

21st Day (January 18):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Chuxiongfu.¹³ We lodged in the official guest house, which was built on an old military parade ground.

22nd day (January 19):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Lúhe, where we lodged for the night. There stood a temple dedicated to Lüzu, one who was able to fulfill prayers. At the foot of the mountain, a few li from the village, were Immortal's Bones. They looked like crystals, and could be used to cure boils. According to the legend, this Immortal had been transformed from human form by Lüzu. In the temple, there was a stone tablet on which the story was carved.

23rd day (January 20):

We traveled 35 li and lodged at the official compound of Zhennanzhou.

24th day (January 21):

We traveled 35 li and arrived at Shaqiao. The weather was

bitterly cold. We lodged at an inn and then received news that Jiang Lian, the eldest son of His Excellency, had been ordered to inspect schools in Zhongzhou (Henan).

25th day (January 22):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Pupeng, where we lodged for the night.

26th day (January 23):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Yunnanbao, where we lodged for the night.

27th day (January 24):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Baiya, where we lodged for the night.

28th day (January 25):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Zhaozhou; that day we crossed Dingxiling (pass). Since His Excellency Chen Shiang, the Department Magistrate, was ordered to travel to Zhongdian, in his stead his nephew invited us to lodge at the official compound. The pavilions and terraces there were grand and imposing. It was also one of the beautiful places in the western part of the province.

29th day (January 26):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Dalifu. We lodged at the official compound of His Excellency Bai Xun, the Intendant of Yongchangdao.¹⁴ That day we hunted along the way, for there were many wild goats. The quicker soldiers pursued them, but were unable to catch them. We only caught three or four turtle-doves. The wild goats were yellow goats, as big as deer, and could run very fast. According to the natives, their meat was tasty and even better than mutton.

Xinchou (Kangxi 60th year),

1st month, 1st day (January 28, 1721):

From Dali going northward for 70 li, we arrived and lodged at Shaping. I had not covered the places north of Dali on my earlier Examination-inspecting trips. The charm of the mountains and rivers made this area beautiful and also known as one of the scenic places in the western part of the province. As we were traveling along the foot of Mount Diancang, looking up at the snow accumulated on the Nineteen Mountain Peaks, the cold air penetrated to our bones. When we were passing through Langqiongxian, we had to take the narrow road along the river bank for almost 8 li. It was even more dangerous in this area than in the area of Yongchang in Guizhou province. Facing that situation, my heart was secretly sick with fear.

2nd day (January 29):

Having proceeded early in the morning for 15 li, we arrived at Dengchuanzhou. Water ran along the road on both sides. The north wind was blowing severely, and it was more than ten times colder here than it was in the provincial capital. After proceeding another 50 li, we arrived and lodged at Sanying.

3rd day (January 30):

We proceeded 30 li and arrived at Guanyinshan, where we lodged at the official compound of the Sub-district Deputy Magistrate. In the vicinity was Guanyin Cave, which was very isolated.

7th day (February 3, 1721):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Jianchuanzhou. His Excellency Wang Shigui, the Department Magistrate, invited us to reside in the official compound. For an entire month we stayed there to prepare our clothing, to find mules and horses, to make ready or repair equipment, such as felt tents, saddles, bridles, swords, arrows, bows and fire-arms, as well as to enlist some strong native soldiers. On the 27th day of the month (February 23), the grandson of His Excellency Jiang, Nan, styled Guangyin, together with Mr. Gu Shanchang, rushed here at full speed all the way from the Capital in order to escort His Excellency beyond the

frontiers.

2nd month, 1st day (February 26, 1721):

The military Commander of Yunnan, Lieutenant General Wuge, was leading his troops back from Tibet in triumph. His Excellency Jiang went to welcome them back and inquired in detail about the climate, the local customs beyond the frontiers, and the terrain along the road. There were two roads to enter Tibet from Zhongdian. The road via Tianzhuzhai and Chamuduo was broad but circuitous. In addition to the high mountains and big rivers, there were also many jiaba (bandits). This was also the thoroughfare along which the troops of Yunnan and Sichuan customarily assembled. The road via Buzili, Adunzi, Cawa, Bengda and Luolongzong, had steep-sloped hills and high mountain passes. It was such a narrow, winding path that hardly did any human being ever travel it. But this road was much shorter, and it was taken by His Excellency Wu on his victorious return. Therefore, we decided to go through Adunzi. /Jiaba means bandit./¹⁵

3rd day (February 28):

His Excellency Wu returned to the provincial capital, while his Excellency Jiang proceeded to the frontiers. His Excellency Gan Guobi, the Governor, also proceeded to the frontiers that day. All their banners and flags blended

together and extended continuously over several tens of li on the road. After proceeding 60 li, we arrived at Jiuheguan and stayed in felt tents overnight. The differences between China and the barbarians' land, and between the Chinese and the barbarians, had already become obvious upon reaching this area. Besides the Mosuo¹⁶ and Lisu¹⁷ people in our group, there was no human habitation in the vicinity; just us amidst the yellow sand and white grass. We arranged the cooking-pots, cooked meals, and trained the soldiers. I was overwhelmed with the grief of departing from my own country.

4th day (March 1, 1721):

At the fifth watch of the night we packed up, and at daybreak we ate breakfast and resumed our journey. We traveled 50 li and arrived at the Axi Ford, which was under the jurisdiction of Lijiang Tufu (Native Prefecture).¹⁸ Across the Axi was the land of the Guzong.¹⁹ The Axi is the same as the Jinshajiang (Golden-sand River), which originates from the Muluwusu, then enters the border area of Yongbeifu, passes through Yaoan, Wuding, and Xuzhou, joins the Changjiang (Yangtze River) at Minshan, and finally flows into the sea. In the book of Yugong,²⁰ "Minshan daojiang" means that the Jiang was traced up to the Minshan, and not that it begins at Minshan.²¹

5th day (March 2):

We crossed the floating bridge on the Jinshajiang and camped at Mubiewan on the northern bank of the river. That day we only traveled several li before we lodged for the night. We reviewed shooting practice at the gate of our camp.

6th day (March 3):

After proceeding 60 li, we arrived at Huangcaoba, where we lodged for the night. There was a tiger alarm that night, so we mobilized the soldiers to use both firearms and bows and arrows. It was really a big show.

7th day (March 4):

After proceeding 50 li, we arrived at Zalagu. From there we proceeded 15 more li and arrived at Qiaotou, where we lodged for the night. There was another tiger alarm.

8th day (March 5):

Having proceeded 30 li, we passed through Luosiwan and Shierlan'gan (Twelve Railings), after another 30 li we arrived at Tuguancun (Village), where we lodged for the night. Shierlan'gan was an important path for Zhongdian. The path was only about a foot wide, winding upward continuously for twelve different levels. If two persons on horseback met on that path, first, one would have to yield

at the ridge half-way up the mountain and wait until the one from opposite direction passed; then he could proceed. The mountains jutted high into the sky, and when one looked down into the ravine, it seemed hundreds of thousands of feet deep. The lofty snow-capped mountains of Lijiang stood on the opposite side, with their aged trees and green cliffs--too much for my eyes to take in at once. I had never experienced such an unbelievably dangerous path before. I wrote a poem to commemorate it:

(Poem no. 2)

On the Path of Shierlan'gan

The barbarian pass differs from China;
 It is really difficult to walk.
 Steep stream rushes on a taut thread;
 Lofty range is perhaps with thousand windings.

Towards dark, do not turn your head;
 Near an abyss, you dare to sit in the saddle.
 To show gratitude, despise the hazardous pass;
 Talk as you lean against the railings.

9th day (March 6):

After proceeding 60 li, we arrived at Yijiaren, where we lodged for the night. Ever since we crossed the river, there had been no trace of human habitation. We practiced shooting in the daytime, and pillowed on weapons at night. Indeed, I tasted the flavor of military life.

10th day (March 7):

We traveled 50 li and arrived at Tuomulang. His Excellency Zhang Guzhen, Provincial Commander-in-Chief, had been stationed here with his soldiers and held the responsibility of logging and building a fortress. It was a great undertaking beyond the frontiers. His Excellency Zhang had returned to his office with the victorious army, and thus, we stayed overnight in the empty fortress. Towards Tibet we began to see people and houses. Among thousands of mountains we suddenly saw the flat plain and wilderness on which lived several Guzong families. It could hardly be regarded as a village. The houses were built with logs which were piled up horizontally on the four sides as walls. They were a few tens of feet high, and a hole was opened through the middle as a door. In the lower story of the house lived cattle and horses, and in the middle story lived people. A single log was chiseled with dents to form a ladder for people to go up and down. In the highest story people worshiped the Buddha, or also lived. Their custom

dictated that men have disheveled hair and bare feet, wear cattle-felt clothes and be called lahu. Women were called akeji.²² They wore their hair with many small queues, to which were attached ornaments of coral, agate, beautiful seashells, tortoise-shell, silver coins, etc. The poor ones wore no ornaments, and went barefoot or wore red oxhide boots. Trade was undertaken by the women. For communication, interpreters were employed. While we were there, the three interpreters in the vicinity were Mieyang, Paiduo, and Yijiekeshi.

11th day (March 8):

We rested in the fortress for one day. After having bathed in the hot springs, we returned to the camp to practice shooting. The hot springs were 5 li from the fortress, and the water there was quite hot. There was no bath house, but several families lived beside them. If the ladies there noticed that some one was taking a bath, they had to peep at him through short glances. We then pitched a tent to avoid the embarrassment; the people laughed at seeing this.

12th day (March 9):

After proceeding 50 li, we arrived at Xiaozhongdian. Having crossed a wooden bridge, we traveled 4 or 5 more li, and then made camp. There were more people than at Tuomulang. For trading purposes, they only used uncoined silver. Since

they did not possess a standard scale and weights, the value of silver was determined by comparing it with the weights of certain stones. The iron-beamed steelyard was used there, and its proportions were double those of the Chinese ones. If one used tobacco, tea, cloth, needles, or thread, etc., to trade with the people, the value of these goods would be ten times greater than silver.

13th day (March 10):

After proceeding about 50 li, we arrived at Dazhongdian, its Tibetan name being Jiedang.²³ It was the first big tribe we had encountered beyond the frontiers. They had a Tibetan Magistrate, called Dieba²⁴ in the Tibetan language. There was a monastery, in which resided a Dalama and two lama Magistrates.²⁵ When they would meet the Dieba, they would touch each other's head to show that they were on an equal footing. Under the Dalama there were several hundred lamas, all of whom wore rough, red woolen robes which left their right shoulders and arms uncovered. When they performed ritual ceremonies, they slaughtered cattle or sheep. When a pilgrim arrived, they blew horns and beat drums to welcome him. Flour-made cookies, grapes, zanba (rtsam-pa),²⁶ and Shanhuo,²⁷ etc., were used as offerings. Cooked rice was mixed with malt syrup. They sat on the floor, and a small table about one foot high was placed in front of each seat. The images of the Buddha were grave and stern, similar to

those in China. They highly respected the images of the Buddhas of Delight,²⁸ who were always nude and performing sexual intercourse. Worshipers would all offer hada (khabtags) before the Buddhas. /Hada is translated as shoupa (handkerchief) in Chinese./²⁹ When low ranking people met higher ones, they could offer hada as presents, just like a Chinese visiting-card or name-card. Under the Dieba were used titles such as Mugua,³⁰ Oracle, Headman, etc. The resident population consisted of two hundred-odd families, who lived in the wooden framed houses.

That day, when His Excellency Jiang arrived, the Tibetan Magistrate and lama all came a long distance to meet him. They prostrated themselves at the road side, presented hada, offered butter-tea, and then led him to stay in the home of the former Tibetan Magistrate's third maternal uncle. At that time, the accumulated snow blocked the mountain passes and traffic was held up; thus we stayed temporarily at Zhongdian. There we hired 160 mules and horses, together with 40 coolies. For each horse to Tibet, we paid 40 taels; for each coolie, 24 taels. We drew up the contract, which was called a xinzi.³¹ Then we waited for the snow to melt so that we could continue on the journey.

18th day (March 15):

At dawn neighboring houses caught fire, and the flames almost reached the building in which we were staying.

Fortunately, we discovered it in time enough and immediately assembled the soldiers to rescue the houses and their residents. Since we had to move in such a hurry, it was difficult to find any safe place; the only remaining option was to make camp in the wilderness. Soon after we moved out our luggage, the flames reached our house and instantaneously burned it to ashes. Before the camp was set up, there were several hundred Guzong people carrying weapons approaching from afar, who wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to rob. Our people were frightened by the confusion, and could not attend to the situation. The threat was reported by an enlisted soldier, so both sides then spread out in battle array and waited. Because one person from the other side had attempted to rob, the Han Chinese fought with zeal and vigor, and reclaimed by force the articles which had been stolen; the rest of the gang then dispersed. In the afternoon it snowed heavily, and the fire was squelched.

19th day to 25th day (March 16 to March 22):

We stayed in Dazhongdian. The weather was sometimes clear, sometimes cloudy. This place had a great deal of pestilential snow. Those who drank the water from the shady spring all gasped for breath. The snow stung the eyes and if hands touched the snow, the hands would fall off. I had been lying ill for three days, and dared not take any

medicine; there was no place to find it anyway. After a period of heavy sweating, I became quite well again.

26th day (March 23):

The weather was rather clear. We looked around at the calamity-stricken residents; there was not a single thing left for them. When I arrived at the right side of the residence of the Tibetan Magistrate, a barbarian dog suddenly appeared, dancing fiercely; I was almost bitten by it. As for the dogs of Zhongdian, the tall ones were several feet tall, and roared like tigers. They would bite people's necks, and those who were bitten would in no way live. As soon as a dog raised by the Guzong people saw a Han person, it would bite him; but once it was bought by a Han person, it would then bite the Guzong. The dogs, however, only recognize those who fed them and couldn't distinguish between different kinds of people.

27th day (March 24):

Having witnessed the damage caused by the fire in Zhongdian, we ascertained that there were 175 calamity-stricken families. His Excellency Jiang and His Excellency Gan together donated money from their private funds to relieve the distress. They gave each family ten ounces of silver and each person two packs of tea, as well as two pieces of cloth. The joyful sounds of the people filled the roads,

and they were now willing to transport goods for His Excellency. Since he had to observe the rules of non-interference in local affairs, he had to refuse their offer.

29th day (March 26):

It snowed heavily. I wanted to be of a lax and liberal disposition, but, because the four sides of the felt tent shut me away from the outside fresh air, I felt miserable and depressed. In case of any irrational behavior that might occur in the middle of the night, I moved to the front door, so that I could easily get out. After the first watch of the night, the felt tent collapsed under the weight of the snow. In the tent, there were five or six other people who could not get out. Because I was at the front door, I got out of the tent and called people to come and pull out those trapped inside.

3rd month, 10th day (April 6, 1721):

Since Wengbula, the Tibetan Magistrate, offered his own residence as guest quarters, we accepted and moved in. When the weather cleared, we rode horses, shot and hunted, or reviewed and inspected the enlisted soldiers. When it was cloudy, we just sat upstairs or laid about. I still had to work alone on some official documents, but even that did not make me feel tired.

27th day (April 23):

A scout returned from Adunzi and announced that the accumulated snow had already melted; therefore, we decided to proceed.

28th day (April 24):

We returned to the camp and appointed people to move from one unit to another to examine the horses. I previously had had a very tame, strong gray horse, but because of the stable boy's negligence, the horse died from eating too much sandy earth, which had bloated its stomach. Even though the horses we had just selected were quite suitable, I remembered Shierlan'gan, and as a result I felt that there was nothing absolute I could depend upon in my personal life. As it would be even more dangerous on the road ahead, the fate of the rest of the horses was uncertain. I felt depressed about this for a long time. There was a large river in Zhongdian, and whenever a horse or a cow died, it would be thrown into the water. According to the local custom, there were four ways of burying the dead: Earth-burying--building the dead into a wall, Fire-burying--burning the bones of the dead and burying them in the cliff side, Water-burying--throwing the dead into the big river, and Bird-burying--cutting the flesh of the dead to feed the vultures and leaving the bones on a cliff side.

The people there believed in shamans, not medical doctors. They had ways of hunting rabbits and methods of catching other animals.³² On the first day and the fifteenth day of each month, people all say Om-ma-ṅi-pad-me-hūm.³³

29th day (April 25):

We traveled 20 li and arrived at Jingkou, where we lodged for the night. The horses were very tired. That night, it was suddenly rumored that a letter had been issued which stated that we were granted the favor of not going to Tibet.

4th month, 1st day (April 26, 1721):

I switched from my horse to a Qian (Guizhou) donkey. Having traveled 50 li, we arrived at Tangdui, where we lodged for the night.

2nd day (April 27):

We rested in Tangdui for one day. I sent a letter home.

3rd day (April 28):

Again we proceeded 50 li and arrived at Nixi, where we lodged for the night.

4th day (April 29):

We traveled 40 li and arrived at Qiaotou. There were hot springs by the riverside, at the foot of the mountain. The

view could have been a painting. By now, the weather was very hot. I bathed in the springs, and on the bridge I enjoyed the air. On the other side of the bridge, there stood a large, verdant mountain, which penetrated the sky. There laid the road that we would take the following day.

5th day (April 30):

We proceeded to the mountain pass. The road there was so narrow and steep that it was paved completely with stone steps. Having traveled 60 li in the mountains, we arrived at Bengzilan, also called Buzili, which was under the jurisdiction of Sichuan. It was a small tribe of Nitang that was formerly under the control of Lijiang. Earlier, it had been ceded to Tibet as a bribe by the Wu rebels.³⁴ This area then became a foreign land. Rice and wheat were abundant in this place, and through it was the necessary path to enter Tibet from Yunnan.

His Excellency Jiang had petitioned the Emperor for the area's return to Yunnan. The Governor-General of Sichuan considered it a vital grain producing area for his province, so he also petitioned the Emperor for temporary control over the area, as well as for a further discussion of its status at the completion of the military campaign. Nevertheless, this place was still considered as the boundary between China Proper and the outer lands. At that time, we made our camp on the farther bank of the Jinshajiang.

6th day (May 1, 1721):

The guard at the ford of the Jinshajiang came to report that the bridge over the Lancang River was broken, and it would take some time to repair it.

7th day (May 2):

It was very hot. I sighted a deep forest from afar. After much difficulty, I finally managed to reach it, and I found two walnut trees which were of a few tens feet apart. I rested there for a while. Nearby lived a man named Getumu, who, together with his son and daughter, offered me tea, wine, and fruits. Consequently, I moved to that place and lived there for more than two months.

In Buzili the scenery was very beautiful, and the people were very kind. We did not have any trouble with eating or dwelling there, but the summer heat was so intense that it was just as hot as the area south of the Yangtze River in the 6th or 7th month.

5th month, 24th day (June 18, 1721):

When the rebuilding of the bridge was about to be completed, we received an imperial decree, which instructed us to proceed together with the Manchu troops who were ordered to be stationed in Tibet. It was then that we began to realize

that the previous rumors were erroneous. Therefore, we hurriedly planned to start our journey. At that time, most of the enlisted soldiers had escaped from the camp, and almost every day we had to issue written orders to search for and arrest the deserters. There were only thirty-odd men who still remained in the camp, and they were not well-behaved. We made a great effort to watch over them.

6th month, 2nd day (June 26, 1721):

We started the journey from Bengzilan. After proceeding 60 li, we arrived at Chujiu. Riding on a Qian (Guizhou) donkey was very tiring for me.

3rd day (June 27):

I rode on a Hailiu horse instead of my donkey and ascended the Xiaoxueshan (Small Snow Mountain) from Chujiu. It was very hot in the morning, but the cold wind chilled us when we reached the middle of the mountain. His Excellency Jiang caught cold and became ill. Fortunately, I wore a sheep-skin coat, so I stayed healthy.

4th day (June 28):

His Excellency Jiang had diarrhea and could not walk; thus we rested for one day.

The Xueshan (Snow Mountain range) extended for 200 li, but was not of very high altitude. There were trees, but no

grasses, nor any human inhabitants in the vicinity. The water was not drinkable; whoever drank it would gasp for breath, and moreover, it would even endanger his life. There was a white python, which, could create floating clouds and fog, and could cause rain and snow to fall; whoever came in contact with the precipitation would get sick. The passers-by all walked hurriedly and as if they were gagged. If the passers-by were few, the sky would be clear and bright as usual; if any of them were noisy, they would definitely be harmed by its poison. At that time our two groups marched together, more than five hundred in number. When we lodged for the night, we beat the gongs and fired the cannons. It was continuously raining or snowing; therefore, many people became ill.

5th day (June 29):

Because there was no grass around our camp, the mules and horses were continuously crying of hunger. Since there were only two more stations till Adunzi, our people were willing to proceed in spite of ill-health; for there we could seek a medical attention for the sick persons. Having proceeded 50 li in heavy rain, we arrived at Longshutang, where we lodged for the night. In this area, there was not even one inch of level land, nor was even one square inch of it dry. After our camp was made, the humid and damp air steamed upwards inside of my tent as if I were living in a bedewed place.

It was difficult for me either to sit or to lie down anywhere. Even after a short sleep, my right arm was already affected by the dampness, and I could not raise it up, for it was too painful.

6th day (June 30):

In spite of my bodily pains, I mounted my horse. The snowflakes were as big as goose feathers. Most of the flowers I saw on the route could not be found in China; there were kinds of all seasons. One of them was similar to a chrysanthemum, but smaller and five-colored, and the leaves looked like sesame seed. Its Tibetan name was Helai mitu. /Mitu is translated as hua (flower). The meaning of Helai, however, remains unknown./³⁵ Having proceeded 50 li, we arrived at Adunzi and rested at Qilin's home for half a month, for the sake of our health.

(Poem no. 3)

On the Snowy Mountain Path to Adunzi

The mountain path wound like twisted intestines;
 Alone, I stepped on a lofty ladder, following a way that
 confused even birds.
 There was the sound of melting snow and a flying waterfall
 faraway;

I had no intention of seeking pleasure, but the wild flowers
were fragrant.

On the back of a lame donkey, my sorrow of separation
increased;

In the tune of a reed-pipe, I saw my home.

Laughing to myself, why am I traveling in a distant land?

Is this journey also to visit the Buddha?

20th day (July 14, 1721):

His Excellency Jiang sent his grandson, Nan, and Mr. Gu Shanchang back to the east to press for additional finances. The floating bridge of the Lancang River was about to be completed. We parted from friends and resumed our journey, though my arm was still painful and not yet cured. I proceeded, painful as it was, for more than 50 li and arrived at Duomu, where we lodged for the night. Qilin returned home. From there heading north, after passing Yanjing and traveling for several more days, one could reach Xiaotianzhu and Datianzhu. That area was the necessary route for the troops of Yunnan and Sichuan, when they customarily assembled to join forces. To the west was the Lancang River.

21st day (July 15):

We rested in Duomu. Having heard that there was a hot spring on top of the mountain and that it could cure sickness, I walked, painful as it was, for about 5 or 6 li until I reached it. The hot moisture was steaming up and rushing out at people. While I was taking a bath there, my arm ached and itched badly. Before long the pain had eased a little. There was another spring which was less effective, and yet another where the cold and hot water flowed together. There was cinnabar in a cave, inside of which, some greater-seal (dazhuan) characters were carved, reading, "Immortality-pill refining place of Laojun." The cinnabar could also be used to cure a disease. Having finished taking the bath, I got skin eruption all over my body, except my right arm. The pain, however, had already disappeared.

22nd day (July 16):

His Excellency Jiang went to bathe in the hot spring. In the afternoon the bridge-keeper reported that the repairs were completed. We then decided to cross the bridge, located about 40 li from Duomu, at about the fifth watch of the next morning, when the air was cool and the water in the river was low.

23rd day (July 17):

By the end of the fifth watch, having proceeded along the

river for 50 li, we reached the bridge. His Excellency Gan had already crossed the river and sat on top of the mountain. His Excellency Jiang stepped down from his sedan-chair with a fearful expression. Usually he was broad-minded and contemplative, and would not show his surprise either in times of favor or disgrace. When he received the imperial order, he was still talking and smiling calmly without any sign of depression or fear. Thus, none of his guests, friends, and followers had not admired his graceful manner. Even in the present situation, he barely changed his countenance. The Magistrate of Shiping, His Excellency Liu Hongdu, who was appointed to investigate the transport of the grain supplies and was stationed at Adunzi, insisted that His Excellency Jiang cross the bridge in a sedan-chair. Jiang, however, did not listen to him. Having offered a sacrifice to the river, His Excellency Jiang ordered two servants to support him by his armpits so that he could walk. I followed him with a staff in my hand, and Magistrate Liu walked beside us. The bridge was 6 odd feet wide and more than 500 feet long. It was formed by several tens of ox-hide sewn huntun, /huntun should be written as huntuo,³⁶ which were tied together by several tens of bamboo ropes. They floated on the water and were covered by wooden boards. When people walked on the bridge, the pressure of their weight caused the water to move violently, creating a great stir. Since the river was located to the

north of the Daxueshan, whenever the sun shone, the snow would melt, and whenever it rained the water would rise. Therefore, the water in the river flowed perpetually and rapidly; boats and rafts did not exist there, and the bridge would break immediately after its construction.

The native people tied the two ends of a bamboo rope to both banks of the river and used wood to make a liu (a sliding device). The liu was strung with leather straps which were tied to a person's waist. Thus he crossed the river by sliding over the bamboo rope from one bank to the other. This was called a suspended ferry, and the river was commonly known as Liutongjiang (Sliding-tube River). Because we doubted the safety of the bamboo ropes, we did not cross the river until the completion of the bridge. On that day, before noon, more than two feet of water began rushing over the bridge, and the waves were roaring. His Excellency Jiang almost fell into the water, but he escaped misfortune because Magistrate Liu supported him by the armpit. Though I did not fall, the water was already higher than my knees, and a little while later the bridge was broken by the rush of the water. Three persons fell in, but only one of them survived, because his toes had caught a rope; the rest could not be rescued. The survivor was an enlisted soldier from Kunming named Yang Jiaxiang, who was always gentle and cautious. The two dead were drafted Mosuo bridge-builders from Lijiang; their names, however, were

unknown.

People, horses and luggage then had to be transported across the river by bamboo ropes. It took us three days to finish the job. Across the river the land belonged to the Black Lama.³⁷ This area was even colder and poorer, for all the people had were cattle, sheep, and zanba (rtsam-pa). Foods like rice, beans, vegetables, fish, meat, chickens, and ducks were not at all obtainable.

(Poem no. 4)

My Feelings upon Crossing the Lancang River

Across the Lancang, to the west, where do I want to go?
For visiting the fairy raft, the worn road is forked.

/The Cawa, Bengda, and other tribes occupied the area where Zhang Qian passed through when he was misled by the Dipper. Grapes, lucerne, pomegranate, walnut, and other edible stuffs grew there. There were also ruins of the Magpie-Bridge, which will be discussed later in this work./³⁸

Busy and busy--I gradually realized that fame is merely
a dream;

With stars and more stars--my side-burns have become silky.

My talent burdens my body; I feel deeply ashamed;

Is there an end for my life of being a guest?

Ten thousand miles had long been considered
 an impossible distance;
 Now there is nothing strange about ten thousand miles.

In the sorrow of separation sentimental feelings
 grow to touch,
 Both emotional attachments and regrets are borne
 in the affectionate man.
 It is difficult to disperse troubles these days;
 It is impossible to study books and swords year after year.

Sad green is the spring grass I saw from a distance;
 Weeping red suddenly reminds me of the sound of cuckoos.
 How much deep remorse have you, my poor traveler?
 How messy are your tears and nose, when the sun sets?

/Beyond the frontiers, there were no other birds
 besides the vulture, crow and sparrow. This must
 be the reason why people would unconsciously think
 of the cuckoos./³⁹

25th day (July 19):

We proceeded 60 li and arrived at Meilishu. It was more
 than ten times as dangerous here as it had been at
 Shierlan'gan. The width of the road was less than one foot
 and the road was never level for more than ten feet at a
 time. On the left side there rose an unscalable cliff, and
 on the right, an abyss with a stream at the bottom of it.

This was the narrowest and most dangerous path we had traveled since we had crossed the frontiers. We proceeded on foot and dared not ride the horses. If any luggage or horses had fallen into the water, there would have been no way to rescue them.

26th day (July 20):

Our luggage was transported across the river one piece at a time, and it was one whole day before we completed the transfer. The river was the Lancang, and the mountain was Congling. Dark and misty clouds covered the sky every day. It was said that this place was where Bodhidharma⁴⁰ crossed the river in a small boat when he returned to the west alone.

27th day (July 21):

After His Excellency Jiang finished a sacrifice to the mountain, we ascended it along a winding path. There were precipitous cliffs and strange looking rocks; the peaks were lofty and dangerous. There was no space for a regular trail, so we used pickaxes by hand and held on to the rattans and creepers for support in order to crawl up the mountain. It was impossible for a horse to stand with all four hooves touching the ground, therefore, countless horses fell to their death. The air smelled so unbearably foul that we found it difficult to travel further. There was

neither grass nor human inhabitation in the vicinity. The sound of water was like the sound of thunder all through the night. The trees were so tall that they seemed to touch the sky; they were indeed very ancient. Having proceeded 50 li, we made our camp on rather flat ground and only pitched a few tents.

28th day (July 22):

Having climbed another 40 li, we reached the top of the mountain, where we stayed for the night on some level ground. That night I felt the recent dangers along the way were more dreadful than any we had experienced before, either within China Proper or outside the frontiers.

29th day (July 23):

We again ascended 20 li and reached the highest point, from which we could see thousands of mountains below our feet. The native people said that there was nothing higher than these mountains, which stretched southward from the Muluwusu, unbroken for several thousand li, through Burma and into the Southern Sea. This was the Ridge of the Universe. From there to the west, the mountains became lower and lower until they reached Lhasa. Lhasa is in the central area of Tibet.

A person of the Yuan dynasty printed the work, "A Discussion of the Mountain Ridges and the Heishui,"⁴¹ and he referred

to those mountains as the Ridge. The Lancang was on the east side and the Nujiang was on the west side. Many small rivers converged into these and then flowed southward into the sea, passing through Burma. They were also mentioned in the Yugong as the upper reaches of the Heishui⁴² in Yongzhou.⁴³ The Ruoshui⁴⁴ was in Leiwuqi,⁴⁵ a thousand li from this area. Kunlun⁴⁶ and Sanwei⁴⁷ were also located there. There was little chance of fair weather on top of those mountains. The distant ones were covered with sheet upon sheet of snow, in summer as well as in winter. From the 4th month to the 8th month, only the snow on broad roads melted. After the 9th month, the mountain passes were sealed by snow. We descended 60 li and arrived at the foot of the mountain, where we stayed overnight by a river. His Excellency Jiang was seriously ill. He said to me: "I am too weak to support myself. If I should die, just bury me, you don't have to return my bones home." I consoled him again and again, and asked him to take some medicine; but he would not listen to me.

The 1st day of the Intercalary 6th month (July 24, 1721): His Excellency Jiang started on the journey, ill as he was, and proceeded 60 li, arriving at Jialang. The road there climbed as steeply as those in Moluzhu and Meilishu. Then we began to see inhabitants and the smoke from their houses.

2nd day (July 25):

We stayed here one day to recover. The rivers in Jialang all flowed westward. They sprang from Congling and converged on the Nujiang in the area where we stayed. It was called Chichang. /Chang is translated as river or lake. The meaning of Chi is unknown./⁴⁸

3rd day (July 26):

His Excellency Jiang proceeded for 60 li despite his ill health, and arrived at Lamatai, where we lodged for the night. The mountain peaks there were no less sharp and the road no less narrow than those in Jialang. When we were near the monastery, there suddenly was level ground for about one li. I felt that horse could walk more comfortably and my heart was thus relieved.

4th day (July 27):

Passing over a narrow road around the waist of the mountain, we proceeded 60 li and arrived at Bitu, where we lodged for the night. The water in the Nujiang flowed so loudly day and night that people could not hear each other talking. The cliffs alongside the river were very high; when we looked down to the river, the running water looked like a thread. Occasionally there were extraordinary scenic spots, but I was too worried to be at leisure to appreciate them.

On this day, we were alarmed by bandits.

5th day (July 28):

We proceeded 60 li and arrived at Duotai, where we lodged for the night.

6th day (July 29):

Rest.

7th day (July 30):

We proceeded 70 li and arrived at Shatai. The road there was a little broader than that in Moluzhu. There would, however, never be such a narrow road in China Proper.

8th day (July 31):

We proceeded 8 li, then ascended Xiaoxueshan (Small Snowy Mountain). We moved along a winding path for more than 50 li before we reached the summit. Then we proceeded downhill and stayed at the foot of the mountain for the night. There was a great abundance of grapes. One could exchange a piece of cloth about a foot long for one or two pecks of grapes.

9th day (August 1, 1721):

We proceeded 60 li and arrived at Linmi; after 20 li more we arrived at a lamasery. There, we did not see our advance guard, so we felt irresolute and did not know what to do.

We therefore temporarily rested in the lamasery. The lamas' appearances were hideous and their minds were unfathomable. When the cattle and horses were passing through the gate of the lamasery, they at once took them by force. Under such circumstances, we could not avoid feeling cautious. A little while later the advance guard, hearing our gun sound, came marching over to guide us for 10 li until we reached the campsite, where we stayed for the night. That place was called Jiangmugun.

10th day (August 2):

We continued for 60 li and then arrived at Zhayigun, where there were several tens of families. A lamasery stood on the south side of a big bridge. From there the road led to the tribes of Linka and San'aguzong. One could buy zanba (rtsam-pa) here. We rested for one day.

12th day (August 4):

We proceeded along the river for several li. There were two mountain peaks standing opposite each other, one on the south side of the river, the other on the north. They were natural barriers, standing upright in the water. When one suspected that the path would end there, the winding road suddenly appeared again and still again around the lofty mountain. The narrow path was only a few steps wide, and there was a bridge. After crossing the bridge, the scenery

was quite different. We proceeded 60 li and arrived at Reshuitang, where we lodged for the night.

13th day (August 5):

We proceeded 60 li and arrived at Sanbala, where we lodged for the night.

14th day (August 6):

We proceeded 50 li and arrived at Langda, where we lodged for the night. /Langda is translated as a rising horse./⁴⁹

15th day (August 7):

We proceeded 20 li and arrived at Muke; another 40 li and we arrived at Binda, where we stayed for the night.

16th day (August 8):

Rest.

17th day (August 9):

We proceeded 50 li and arrived at Lieda; again several li and then lodged for the night.

18th day (August 10):

We proceeded 50 li and arrived at Cawagang. The local Tibetan Magistrate came to welcome us at a place several li from his office. His dress was magnificent and he was

accompanied by many followers. They all prostrated themselves by the roadside and offered us tea and fruits. When we asked them about local customs, we needed a double interpretation in order to communicate with each other. When the local Tibet Magistrate first heard of His Excellency Jiang's arrival, he ordered his men to pave the road between here and Batai. When we arrived, he invited us to live in the official compound. The political system here was majestic and the laws were strict. There were countless human heads, hands and feet hanging on the gate. According to their custom, if a person who committed a capital offense managed to take refuge in a lamasery, he escaped punishment. That was also the custom in Zhongdian and some other places. We stayed here for two days.

21st day (August 13):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Tiantong, where we lodged for the night. There was a horse-intoxicating grass⁵⁰ that grew luxuriantly. If mules or horses ate it, they became intoxicated as if they were poisoned. And it was impossible to keep them away from it.

22nd day (August 14):

We traveled 30 li riding on the intoxicated horses and arrived at Tashi, where we rested for two days.

25th day (August 17):

We traveled 80 li in the rain and arrived at Bengda. The Colonel, His Excellency Cao Weicheng, leading his troops, awaited us by the roadside. His Excellency Cao, styled Jingting, was the military Zhuangyuan of the Palace Military Examination in the year of guiwei (42nd year of Kangxi, 1703). He was at that time stationed there to protect the grain supplies. He welcomed His Excellency Jiang to reside in the official compound of the Tibet Magistrate, Dashi. We stayed there for three days. Near Xueba, it was miserably cold, and there was only one harvest each year. His Excellency Jiang realized that I was following him into a remote area, and he wanted several times to send me back home. I thought my one year escorting period would still allow me to advance with him for some distance. Anyone could estimate that my return journey would take a little more than five months. By the time I returned home, it would be very close to New Year's Eve. Because of this, His Excellency Jiang said, "You have devoted yourself to accompany me on this journey, and I greatly appreciate your noble faithfulness. My body, however, is the one which belongs to the Imperial Court; and, even if I must die for it, should I make any excuse not to? But your body is the one which belongs to your parents, therefore, I should not dare to involve you. Furthermore, have you committed any

crime for which you deserve to suffer? Traveling several thousand li, deep into the barbarian area, is not a short distance at all. One year of being together, to rely upon each other, is not a short period either. A princely man loves others with due regard to what is right, and he helps others because of his integrity. If you do not go back, you will only make me feel uneasy. I wish you to return home earlier to comfort your mother's longing heart." Thereupon, I decided to plan my return journey.

28th day (August 20):

Having hired some additional oxen and horses in Bengda, we then continued our journey. Traveling westward from that place for 500 and some li, there were no inhabitants along the way. His Excellency Cao escorted us to the road. We traveled 60 li and then stayed for the night. In this area, even during mid-summer, it was as cold as the coldest winter. This was a barren place called Xueba. In the mountain valley, there were Black Tents.⁵¹ The people there lived off of their cattle and sheep, which were grouped together by the thousands as they wandered in the wilderness. When they saw Han Chinese coming, they immediately came out to steal the horses. Those people were known as Jiaba (jag-pa). Many soldiers had died on their journeys. There were heaps of white bones in the mountains of Xueba.

(Poem no. 5)

Feelings about Xueba

With the sighing of the autumn wind, flocks of crows rise;
 While frontier dust rushes into my face, the sun sets easily.
 Do the white bones have consciousness or have they entered
 a dream?

Where on the green mountain could a home be built?

Over a shoulder, only west-returning shoes still remain;
 For eight months--an empty journey followed; and
 a fairy raft missed.

Yet--envy for the laborers, who are so accustomed to travel;
 The whip, and the shadow of a running horse,
 make old age older.

29th day (August 21):

We traveled 50 li and then lodged for the night. It snowed
 during the night.

30th day (August 22):

We traveled 50 li and then lodged for the night.

7th month, 1st day (August 23, 1721):

We traveled 50 li in the rain and snow. We lodged at a

place where there was water and grass.

2nd day (August 24):

We traveled 50 li and then lodged for the night. The horses were so tired and hungry that we could not urge them onward. Thus I improvised a verse.

(Poem no. 6)

A Sign for a Riding Horse

The weather is chilling in the seventh month,
 frontier grass is thin;
 The poor horse is sick on its legs and always hungry.
 It is unbearable to see a sweet grassy path buried by mud;
 It is hard to leave the birds' way and then ascend
 the jade green peak.

Running water from the snow mountain is startled by
 sudden cold;

Herbage on an autumn plain sighs for
 thickly growing in vain.

So sad, you have become exhausted and thin,
 only skin and bones remain;

How hurriedly, traveling from one ford to another,
 still there is no return.

3rd day (August 25):

We traveled 50 li and arrived at Lutinan, where we began to see trees, but still no inhabitants.

4th day (August 26):

We traveled 20 li and arrived at Wahe, where we began to see people. Their kind of farming did not require great human strength. We traveled 10 li more, then lodged for the night.

5th day (August 27):

We traveled 50 li and arrived at Maliyi. There, each woman wore a string of beautiful seashells, a string of agate, and a string of rosary beads. They also wore short-sleeved clothes. The weather was similar to that of the area to the south of the Yangtze River. While we were there, a horse thief came to steal our horses, but we caught him immediately.

6th day (August 28):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Xiaoyesang, where we lodged for the night. Xiaoyesang was a translation of Queqiao (Magpie Bridge).⁵² There was a big wooden bridge some forty feet long. Its modern name was Luolong Bridge and the Nujiang flowed underneath it. The water was pitch-black. When we used it to cook rice, the rice also became black.

This was the place where the Bowanghou (Zhang Qian), riding on a fairy raft, met the Cowherd and the Spinster.⁵³

7th day (August 29):

We set out on our journey at dawn. I wrote on a rock a verse entitled "The Seventh Evening of the Seventh Month on the Magpie Bridge." Having crossed the bridge, we ascended a high mountain pass for 50 li and arrived at the high point of the mountain pass. Again, we proceeded 20 and some li and arrived at Xiaoqiaobian, where we lodged for the night.

(Poem no. 7)

The Seventh Evening of the Seventh Month
on the Magpie Bridge

In a foreign land, how many wonderful evenings
have been squandered?

Just a fragrant trace--what can be done about
the Magpie Bridge?

The Strange Star must recognize the Loom-supporting Stone;
The Crane Rider still stops throwing her weaver's shuttle.

The Fairy Raft has come ever since ancient times;
More sorrow of separation must be told tonight.

Anyone pities those traveling the road over the horizon;
They cannot cross the bridge in a regular way.

8th day (August 30):

We traveled 40 li and arrived at Luolongzong (Lho-rong Rdzong), a tribe of eastern Tibet. There was a Tibetan Magistrate, and there, we could hire horses. Therefore, I decided to set the date of my return. Camp was set on top of a mountain.

9th day (August 31):

The soldiers under my command assembled around my tent to entreat me not to leave.

10th day (September 1, 1721):

His Excellency Jiang personally wrote a letter home. On the same day, we bid His Excellency Gan and Mr. Ling Zhaopeng farewell. Mr. Ling, styled Fujiu, was Xiangsheng of Ningbofu.⁵⁴ We had met on the frontiers. He presented to me as many as seven or eight piles of poems. Whenever he composed a poem and presented it to me, I composed one in response. However, I kept forgetting what I wrote for him soon after I finished composing it and giving it to him; I did not retain a single verse. To hire a mule to go to Bengda, one had to pay three and half taels of silver each. One contract was drawn for each mule and each trip in the

form of a written document, which was sealed and stamped with wax and seal. The written document was called jieshu and was written in the greater-seal (dazhuan) form by the Tibetans.⁵⁵

11th day (September 2):

After packing up, I escorted His Excellency Jiang to the riverbank, where I shed tears and did not have the courage to look up at him. When he rode out of sight, resting a hand on my sword I returned alone. Because of the language barrier, I could not talk to the Guzong people I hired. We could only guess the meanings of what we tried to express. After I arrived at Xiaoyesang, I stayed the night at the Ganbu's home. /Ganbu means headman./⁵⁶

12th day (September 3):

I arrived at Boxue, where I stayed for the night. That day I traveled 120 and some li, which covered five places that we had lodged before.

13th day (September 4):

I traveled about 100 li and arrived at Xueba, under a dark sky and heavy rain. Therefore, I had to stay for the night by the river-bank. I did not have a tent and the rain kept pouring down, so I was wet to the bone. I made some tea, ate some roasted-wheat-flour, and then sat down, still in my

clothes. At midnight, I heard a distant whistling sound approaching. I hastily called the Guzong, but there was no answer. Then I stood up, drew my sword, and shouted at the sound. I saw two riders cross the river and ride into the dark. After a little while, a Guzong began to feel happy and said, "Yabu, Yabu," which meant "good, good." This Guzong's name was Ajiesuonade.

14th day (September 5):

I traveled 100 and some li, and then slept overnight in the open by a riverside.

15th day (September 6):

I traveled 100 and some li, and arrived at the area near the Black Tents, where I slept overnight in the open.

16th day (September 7):

Having traveled 50 and some li, I began to see Han soldiers, and I arrived at Bengda in the rain. There I visited Cao Jingting and hired a new mule. Cao was also returning to the east, so we traveled together the next day.

17th day (September 8):

His Excellency Cao hired ula⁵⁷ for the trip. The rain and the snow were very heavy. When we were ascending a small hill, we almost tumbled to the bottom together with the

tired horses. In a little while, the weather cleared. We traveled 80 li and then lodged for the night at Tashi. From that point on my return journey, I began to sleep in a tent.

18th day (September 9):

Fair weather. We traveled 60 li and arrived at Tiantong, where we stayed for the night in a tent. We caught some fish for food, which was very delicious.

19th day (September 10):

We traveled 50 li and arrived at Cawa. We stayed over night at the home of the Tibet Magistrate and met two gentlemen from Sichuan, Mr. Wang and Mr. He. I did not know their first names, but both of them were in the military. I sent a letter to my friend Pei Gongzai. One had to pay a fifth tael of silver for an ula to travel one way between two stations.

20th day (September 11):

We traveled 50 li and arrived at Binda, where we stayed for the night in a Kangba. /Kangba (khang-pa) means a house./⁵⁸

21st day (September 12):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Wuya, where we lodged for the night.

22nd day (September 13):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Langda.

23rd day (September 14):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Sanbala.

24th day (September 15):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Reshuitang.

25th day (September 16):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Zhayigun.

26th day (September 17):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Jiangmugun. I heard that His Excellency Wuge, the Lieutenant General, had again led his troops to Tibet, and had already arrived at Limi. His Excellency Cao rode alone to see him. The rest of us stayed for the night in the monastery.

27th day (September 18):

The Lieutenant Generals, Wuge and Wunaha, were jointly leading one thousand Manchu soldiers to Tibet. The road was crowded with them. We rested for a day.

28th day (September 19):

His Excellency Wuge had already left, but His Excellency

Wunaha had not yet arrived. We took this opportunity to proceed downhill to the road, and we met His Excellency Wunaha on horseback; although he was an old man, but he was not a bit tired. We passed through Limi on a hillside in the rain and arrived at Batai. The total distance we traveled was 70 li.

(Poem no. 8)

A Dense Fog Over a Snowy Mountain

--to follow the rhyme used by Cao Jingting--

To brave the snow, to travel in the air, similar to
 an Immortal's act;
 Savage smokes, malarial rain, around the Dipper's side.
 Suddenly it seems people find it hard to reach
 the Milky Way;
 Recognize Lan'guan wrongly, the horse does not go forward.

The only fear, perhaps is there no way from here?
 Then, from where can I see the sky?
 Who knows he escaped the human womb?
 He casually talks the journey in the clouds and the flow
 in a stream.

29th day (September 20):

It was difficult for the ula to move forward, and our followers all lagged behind as a consequence. We rested for a day. Finally they arrived at the third watch.

30th day (September 21, 1721):⁵⁹

Fair weather. We traveled 60 li, crossed over Xiaoxueshan and then lodged for the night. The local people had naturally wicked dispositions. They secretly hid zanba (rtsam-pa) and fodder, and would not sell them to us. Some of the soldiers were starving. One bunch of grass sold for seven tenths of a tael of silver. The horses and mules were almost dead with hunger.

8th month, 1st day (September 22, 1721):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Shatai, where we lodged for the night. A place called Bitu, about 15 li from Shatai, kept rice in storage. All the soldiers received a full ten days' food, and appeared rejuvenated.

2nd day (September 23):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Duotai, where we lodged for the night.

3rd day (September 24):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Lamatai, where we lodged for the night.

4th day (September 25):

We traveled 60 li and then lodged for the night at Jialang, where we also rested for a day. The ula's services terminated at this place. I then hired mules from Nitang to cross the Xueshan and paid three taels of silver for each one. This place abounds in pears, apricots, and walnuts.

6th day (September 27):

Before the arrival of the hired mules, I first rode on one of Mr. Cao's horses, and proceeded together with him. After my mules arrived, I then returned the horse to Mr. Cao's servant and let him ride it. As we approached a narrow path, the horse became frightened and fell to the bottom of the mountain from the lofty cliffs. The horse died as its belly burst. At the time, Mr. Cao's servant was walking on foot; therefore, he escaped death. How fortunate I was that I also survived.

7th day (September 28):

As we ascended the Daxueshan, the sky was clear. After we reached the half way point of the mountain, there was a sudden dense fog, and it rained and snowed. We continued

climbing up in the snow, and not one of the followers did not have tears in his eyes. I walked on foot and crossed over to the other side of the mountain top, where we stayed for the night. It was very cold, like a freezing winter. When it stopped snowing, we made a fire with some wood. After being close to the fire for a whole night, my wet clothes dried.

8th day (September 29):

Fair weather. We proceeded downhill from the Xueshan. The road was very muddy and blocked with dead horses. It was difficult for us to pass through. After going down for some 30 li from the top, the road became very dry. We lodged at Meilishu, where we rested for a day.

10th day (October 1, 1721):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at the riverbank. I was already used to traveling on a narrow road. The floating bridge had been broken, so we crossed the river by means of a sliding-pipe (liutong). As my life depended upon a mere rope to cross the one thousand foot-wide river, I trembled at the thought of falling down, and being carried away by the roaring waves. But still, I had to try. I asked the Guzong to help me cross the river. When I began to slide, I closed my eyes and did not dare look anywhere. I then heard the slight whistling of the wind. When I opened my eyes a

little bit, I saw the wild rush of roaring waves, and immediately closed my eyes again. I did not open them until I reached the other bank of the river. Afterwards, I sat down and watched the rest of the group, the horses, and the luggage being transported across the river by means of the sliding-pipe. It was a truly spectacular display, unsurpassed by any other perils of the world. We stayed within earshot of the river that night.

(Poem no. 9)

Liutongjiang (Sliding-Pipe River)

On a rope flying across the river,
 Without handhold, a person is dangerously slung.
 Not by boat, to reach the other shore;
 Not by raft, to cross the ford of delusion.

In imagination, playing on a swing;
 In reality, a cause of salvation.
 The rushing waves are far below;
 Where is the dust of the world?

11th day (October 2, 1721):

Having traveled for 30 li, we met His Excellency Liu, the Magistrate of Shiping, and Zhang Ruogan, a military officer,

who together came to welcome us. Then, the four of us rode together to Duomu. After a meal, we marched on speedily and arrived at Adunzi. I again resided at Qilin's home for ten days. I had met his younger sisters, Elu and Azhemi, and Lama Lunji Beimu,⁶⁰ during my former stay. At this time, they still recognized me, and kept saying "Muqua yabu"⁶¹ loudly, and treated me to tea and refreshments. When I decided to return home, Lunji Beimu made me a present of a string of religious beads.

20th day (October 11):

We ascended the Xiaoxueshan in the rain for 60 li.

21st day (October 12):

We traveled in the rain for 60 li and arrived at Chujiu, where we lodged for the night.

22nd day (October 13):

We traveled 60 li and arrived at Bengzilan, where we stayed for three days.

25th day (October 16):

We crossed the Jinsha River, traveled 60 li, and arrived at Xingduo, where we lodged for the night.

26th day (October 17):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Tangdui, where we lodged for the night.

27th day (October 18):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Zhongdian, where we lodged for the night.

28th day (October 19):

We rested for one day, and hired horses and carriers for the journey back to China Proper from the frontiers. The residents there had already restored their business to normal.

29th day (October 20):

Rain. We traveled 30 li and arrived at Jingkou. I stayed there overnight with a Mosuo family, whose surname was Dong. The Guzong took their leave and departed from here.

30th day (October 21):

We traveled 80 li and arrived at Tuomulang, where we lodged for the night. It was raining throughout the night and the road became very muddy.

9th month, 1st day (October 22, 1721):

We traveled along the muddy road for 60 li and arrived at

Tuguan Village, where we lodged at a military station. The soldiers had recently built a cantonment, so they asked me to write a couplet⁶² for them. I wrote a pair of scrolls with two parallel sentences, which read:

"Government documents from thousands of miles away are
 carried to places even the wild geese can not reach.
 Three wooden houses are newly built when human strength is
 applied for the first time."

I wrote these couplets because those stationed soldiers were especially ordered to transmit official dispatches.

2nd day (October 23):

We traveled 60 li and then stayed at Yijiaren; during the night there was a tiger alarm.

3rd day (October 24):

We traveled 60 li, passing through Shierlan'gan and Luosiwan, and then arrived at Qiaotou, where we lodged for the night. At this time Shierlan'gan seemed to be just a level road.

4th day (October 25):

Having traveled 10 li, we arrived at Zalagu, where I met the Magistrate of Jianchuan, His Excellency Wang Shiqui, who was

on his way to Banjingdao, in Zhongdian. We agree that when I arrived at his official compound, I could shed my military uniform there. On that day, we crossed the Jinsha River and arrived at Axi, where we lodged for the night.

6th day (October 27):

We traveled 90 li. After we passed through Menggushao, we were in China Proper again. We then arrived at Lijiang, where we rested for seven days. There, I visited Shen Wosi and bid His Excellency Cheng Tingwei farewell as he left. We waited for the mules we had hired for our trip, and only when they all arrived, could we continue our journey.

12th day (November 2, 1721):

We traveled from Lijiang to Jianchuan, and arrived at the official compound on the 14th day (November 4). There, we relaxed for a whole day.

15th day (November 5):

Rest.

16th day (November 6):

We traveled 70 li and then lodged for the night at Guanyinshan.

17th day (November 7):

We traveled 90 li and then lodged for the night at the official compound of Dengchuanzhou. It rained heavily that day.

(Poem no. 10)

To Be Caught in the Rain en Route
 --to follow the rhyme used by Cao Jingting--

The wet clouds are not curled but frozen drops;
 The mud is slippery, for the rain never rests.
 The old horse is accustomed to galloping;
 Though, the going-home whip was willing to stay a moment.

Mountain mist makes people feel the drifting;
 Forest darkness fills magpies with much sorrow.
 Fortunately, it is already a Chinese road;
 A drinking house is there on the horizon.

18th day (November 8):

Having traveled 10 li, we passed along the riverbank in Langqiong. At this time, the road appeared broad and level, and was no longer as fearsome as it had been before. Then, we traveled 60 li more before we arrived at Dali and stayed at the official compound of His Excellency Zhang Yingzong,

the Military Commandant. His Excellency Zhang was my friend Zhang Ruogan's elder brother. His son-in-law, Mr. Chen Wanli, was a young gentleman of good disposition. When we were discussing literature, we had feelings of deep, mutual understanding.

20th day (November 10):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Zhaozhou, where we lodged for the night.

21st day (November 11):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Baiya, where we lodged for the night.

22nd day (November 12):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Xiaoyunnan, where we lodged for the night. Su Dianchen and others, whose mission was to deliver the troops' payroll and provisions, also arrived here.

23rd day (November 13):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Pupeng, where we lodged for the night.

24th day (November 14):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Shaqiao, where we lodged

for the night.

25th day (November 15):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Lühe, where we lodged for the night. On that day, we ascended Mopangpo. From there, I turned my head to look back at the snow-capped mountains in Lijiang. I have never seen anything as white and pure as those mountains under the clear sky.

(Poem no. 11)

To Turn My Head to Look at the Snow-Capped Mountains
in Lijiang from Mopangpo
--an improvised verse--

For several days, I lingered at the riverbank
of the Lijiang;
With my old whip, I am still traveling in the fragrant dust.
I have parted with the snow-capped mountains again,
ten days ago;
I turned to look to the end of the horizon,
thinking of my old friend.

26th day (November 16):

We traveled 80 li, passed Chuxiong, and arrived at Shijianpu, where we lodged for the night.

27th day (November 17):

We traveled 90 li, passed Guangtong, and arrived at Shezi, where we lodged for the night.

28th day (November 18):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Lufeng, where we lodged for the night.

29th day (November 19):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Laoyaguan, where we lodged for the night.

30th day (November 20, 1721):⁶³

We traveled 70 li and arrived at Anningzhou. We lodged for the night at a place called Tangquan, where I had bathed in the same hot spring five times before. After this trip, I might not be able to come back again.

10th month, 1st day (November 21, 1721):

We traveled 70 li and arrived at the capital of Yunnan province. I lodged for three days at an inn outside the gate of Nanguan.

On the 5th day (November 25) I began the journey home together with Mr. Lu Xiang, who was His Excellency Jiang's messenger. I traveled by double stages for 70 days and

reached home on the 13th day of the 12th month (January 29, 1722). When I thought of the days past, I realized there had been only one chance in ten thousand of preserving my life. My colleagues urged me to write about this, but I could hardly recall what had happened. Nevertheless, the friendship between His Excellency Jiang and me, the mountains, the rivers, the customs of the different places, and the hardships of the journey would become nothing but a dream, if I did not record them. Therefore, I recorded the journey in book form. As for the official matters, a poor and humble person like me would not dare to put in a word of interference.

In the spring of the year of renyin, during the reign of Kangxi (61st year of Kangxi; 1722 A.D.), recorded by Du Changding.⁶⁴

IV. Notes to Chapter Four

1. My English translation of the Zangxing jicheng, by Du Changding is based upon the Chinese text reprinted in the Shiliao congbian, published by the Guangwen Book Company, Taipei, 1968. See Appendix III. The Jinzang jicheng by Wang Shijun, the Weixi jianwenji by Yu Qingyuan, and Du Changding's work were reprinted and bound together in one volume. All these three works were edited by Yang Fuji of Zhenze in Jiangsu province. The original text is also edited and reprinted by Wu Fengpei in his Chuanzang youzong huibian, pp. 39-57.

In the Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao, Part Three, ff. 41-47, the eleven poems composed by Du Changding during his journey are not included. For the text in Zhaodai congshu and Gujin youji congchao, see Deng Yanlin, Zhongguo bianjiang tujilu, Shanghai, 1958, p. 209.

2. During the Qing period, in addition to the official system of appointment, learned people were hired to assist the officials with actual government service. These people were commonly known as muyuan, mubin, muke, or Muyou. They actually served as advisers or private secretaries to their employers. Each local administrator, from governor-general to district magistrate, could hire advisers or private secretaries to assist with official duties. Some of the advisers were in charge of military matters, known as

rongmu; others worked in the field of judicial matters or taxation, known as xingqian.

The relationship between this kind of employer and his employee was very flexible. Because there were no statues regulating their contract, the employee was not tied to any one office or any one employer; he was free to leave the office if he so desired. Due to this fact, an administrator would never act as a boss toward his private secretary or adviser; they behaved as friends.

Those who sought the positions of adviser or private secretary were always scholars or persons with special talents, even though they might have failed the examinations for official positions. Since most were well versed in the classics, a great deal of meritorious literary work was produced.

This system of employment was very popular during the Qing dynasty. For a thorough study of this arrangement, see Miao Quanji, Qingdai mufu renshi zhidu, Taipei, 1971.

3. For the family information of Jiang Chenxi, see Hummel, op. cit., pp. 142-43.

4. The colophon by Dai Mengkui is found at the end of Du Changding's work reprinted in the Shiliao congbian by the Guangwen Book Company. It is not included in the text collected in the Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao.

5. For an account of the Dzungar's invasion of Tibet, see Petech, pp. 32-65. For the political struggle between

Nian Gengyao, Governor-general of Sichuan, and Jiang Chenxi, Governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou, see Nidui Yunnan shilue, quoted in Yunnan tongzhi (1894), juan 104, ff. 13b-17b; Qingshiqao, Liezhuan 63, pp. 1090-1092.

6. The rebels were the Dzungars; they invaded Tibet in 1717 and occupied it for about three years. For a detailed study of this event, see Petech, pp. 32-90.

7. Because this diary was composed by Du Changding, he is the first person in this translation; i.e., the "I", "me" and "myself" are referring to Du Changding.

8. The title was Xueshi in Chinese; Mayers, op. cit., n. 323.

9. Zhou, or departments, were local administration units under a fu or prefecture; Mayers, op. cit., nn. 272, 284.

10. Tong tree is identified as *Paulownia tomentosa* in Lin Yutang's Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage, 1972, p. 129; also see Cihai, p. 1501. The wood is light and can be used for making stringed musical instruments.

Jiaoweiqin or jiaotong is a lute made of a piece of carved tong log, which was removed from the fire. Because of its quality, it produced a musical sound even when it was being burned.

Sometime during the Eastern Han dynasty a person from Wu burned tong wood for cooking. Cai Yong listened to the sound from the burning wood, and immediately sensed that it

was a piece of good material for making a good musical instrument. Therefore, he asked for permission to remove the half-burned wood, and he used that material to make a lute. The lute indeed produced a very beautiful, musical sound. It was called Jiaoweiqin, meaning "burning-tail lute", because one end of the lute was charred. Because the material came from tong wood, the instrument was also called Jiaotong, meaning "burned-tong wood". See Cihai, pp. 1838-1839.

The word "tong" in line 3 of this poem refers to His Excellence Jiang Chenxi, because the author felt that his employer's life had been spared, that is, pulled from the fire. The author further used the image to convey his faith in his employer's intrinsic goodness.

11. This image, from the story "zhuichu nangzhong", illustrates the difficulty of hiding "pointedness" or genius, i.e., the point will be sticking out sooner or later for brilliance cannot be concealed. In this sense the author says, indeed, the talented man is being repressed. See Cihai, p. 2980, and Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary, Revised American ed., Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 208.

12. Xian, or districts, were subject to a fu or zhilizhou; Mayers, op. cit., nn. 272, 289. Xian were the smallest administrative units within a province during the Qing dynasty. For a detailed study of this basic government

organization, see T'ung-tsu Ch'u, Local Government in China Under the Qing, Stanford University Press, 1969.

13. Fu, or prefectures, were the largest of the provincial subdivisions. On an average there were about ten under each province; Mayers, op. cit., nn. 272, 281.

14. Dao, or circuits, were directly under the provincial government's control. A circuit may have been limited to a single prefecture; it may also have comprised not only prefectures, but also independent departments, independent sub-prefectures, and even towns which could not be classed under any of these designations. The head of a circuit was called daotai, or circuit intendant. See Mayers, op. cit., nn. 278, 280; T'ung-tsu Ch'u, op. cit., p. 6.

15. This is the original note given by either the editor Yang Fuji or the author Du Changding. Jiaba is a Chinese transcription of the Tibetan word jag-pa, meaning bandit.

16. Mosuo or Moxie is the name of a tribe living in the area of Lijiang in Yunnan. They call themselves the Naxi or Na-khi. See Joseph F. Rock, The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China, 2 vols., Harvard, 1947; Li Lincan, "Lun Moxiezu xiangxing wenzi de fayuandi," Bianjiang lunwenji (Symposium on Borderland Affairs), ed. by Zhang Qiyun, Taipei, 1966, pp. 940-41. For a general description of the Naxis and their history see Ma Yin, ed. China's

Minority Nationalities, Beijing, 1989, pp. 288-295.

17. Lisu which was misprinted as Lili in the text, is the name of a tribe living in northwest Yunnan. Ibid., pp. 269-275; Hu Naian, op. cit., pp. 260-61.

18. Tufu, or native prefectures, were local political units whose administrators were leaders of the aboriginal tribes. There were four native prefectures in Yunnan during the Qing dynasty; Mayers, op. cit., n. 328. For the history and jurisdiction of Lijiang Tufu, see Shi Fan, Dianxi, 1807, Vol. 1, Part I, ff. 25-27; Vol. 9, Part II, ff. 13-14.

19. Guzong is the name of a tribe living on the border area between Khams and Yunnan. They were actually some of the Khams people who had been subjugated by the Mosuo people when the latter were powerful during the Ming dynasty. Those who lived among the Mosuo were called Mosuo Guzong; those in the area around Benzilan (Pong-rdzi-ra) and Adunzi were called Chouguzong. See Yu Qingyuan, Weixi jianwenji, 1770, ff. 11-14.

20. The Yugong, or Tribute to Yu, is the first chapter of the Xiashu or Documents of Xia; it is included in the Shujing, or Book of History. This ancient Chinese geographical work is believed to be composed in the beginning of the Western Zhou period (1066-771 B.C.). See Clae Waltham, Shu Ching: Book of History, A Modernized Edition of the Translations of James Legge, Chicago, 1971, pp. 39-45. For an annotated study of the Yugong, see Xin

Shuzhi, Yugong Xinjie, 1964.

21. "From Mount Min he traced the Jiang which, branching off to the east, formed the Tuo." This is translated from the original Chinese text: "Minshan daojiang dong biewei tuo." See Waltham, op. cit., p. 353. Minshan or Mount Min is in Sichuan province; see Ge Suicheng, op. cit., p. 565.

22. Probably lahu means "man" and akeji means "woman" according to the language of the native Guzong people. The Tibetan word for madam, older sister, is a-ce, a-che, or a-lce; Stuart H. Buck, Tibetan-English Dictionary: with Supplement, The Catholic University of America Press, 1969, p. 780.

23. Jiedang, sometimes written as Jiedamu, spelled Rgyal-thang in Tibetan. It was the region directly north of 'Jangs or Lijiang in Yunnan. For additional discussion see Wylie, pp. 99, 179; Ahmad, pp. 5, 147, 209, 211.

24. Yingguan was the Chinese title for a Tibetan rdzong-dpon, or district magistrate. It was commonly known as sde-pa, or transcribed into Chinese as diba or dieba. See Mayers, n. 578; Weizang tongzhi, juan 7, pp. 161-64; Petech, Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, pp. 12-13.

25. Ta bla-ma or dalama means a senior bla-ma, or a prior of a lamasery. "This dignity is invested with the control over the management and services of the monastery to which he belongs, subject to the commands of dzassak lama of

the locality." See Mayers, op. cit., n. 605; Petech, op. cit., p. 8. A bla-ma yingguan is a monk district magistrate with the religious designation bla-ma, or lama in Chinese.

26. Zanba is spelled rtsam-pa in Tibetan, usually written as tsamba in English. It is the flour of roasted barley, used by Tibetans as their staple food.

27. Shanhuguo is probably a kind of fruit.

28. The Buddhas of Delight is a translation of Huanxifo, which refers to the Yab-yum Yi-dam images. Yab signifies the male personage in the Yi-dam deity groups of Tantric Bodhisattwas, each clasping his yum, or female consort, in sexual embrace. Some discussions and photos of Yab-yum images can be found in The Newark Museum, Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection and other Lamaist Articles, Vol. III, New Jersey, 1971, pp. 1-2, 10-11, 21, 30, 36.

29. "Hada yiyan shoupa" is printed in a smaller type to serve as a footnote for the word "hada". The Chinese word "shoupa", meaning a handkerchief or scarf, was used by the original author to translate the Tibetan word "kha-btags", or a ceremonial scarf. For the description of kha-btags and the practice of offering them, see ibid., Vol. IV, 1961, pp. 4-9, 77.

30. "The Chinese equivalent for the word mugua is guan, meaning an official." This note is found in Yu Qingyuan, op. cit., f. 9b. It could be the Tibetan word "mgon-po", meaning master, lord or protector, used by the

Mosuo and Guzong people who lived among the Tibetans, the prefix m- being pronounced.

31. Xinzi could be a term referring to a written document, or a contract which can be trusted, used by the native people in that area. This term appears also in Yunnan tongzhi, juan 104, f. 15b. Cf. Xizangzhi, p. 138.

32. A shaman in this area could be a Tibet Bon-po priest who used magic to cure the sick, to divine the hidden, and to control events. Some of the magic methods were perhaps merely techniques to hunt rabbits or to catch other animals. See Charles Bell, The Religion of Tibet, 1st ed. 1931, reprinted, Oxford, 1968, p. 10.

33. Om-maṇi-pad-me-hūm is the most popular six-syllable mantra among the Tibetans. This mani formula is translated "Om, the Jewel in the Lotus, Hūm." Tibetans believe that the repetition of the mani formula will assure them a rebirth in Sukhavati, the Western Paradise of Amitabha, Buddha of Boundless Light. For the meaning of each syllable and its significance see The Newark Museum, op. cit., Vol. II, 1950, pp. 1-2; Alexandra David-Neel, Magic and Mystery in Tibet, New York, 1971 (republication of 1932), pp. 258-63. Cf. Zanghan foxue cidian, p. 428; Zanghan duizhao changyong hecheng cidian, pp. 376-377.

34. The Wu rebels included Wu Sangui (1612-1678) and his eldest grandson, Wu Shifan. Wan Sangui started his rebellion against the Qing government on December 28, 1673.

He died on October 2, 1678 and was succeeded by his grandson, Wu Shifan, who finally committed suicide on December 7, 1681, in Yunnan. Thus ended the rebellion begun by his grandfather eight years earlier. Wu Shifan was mistaken for Wu Sangui's son in W. W. Rockhill, "The Dalai Lama of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China (1644-1908)," T'oung Pao, Vol. XI, 1910, p. 19; in Ahmad, p. 220. See Yang Ho-Chin, The Annals of Kokonor, p. 80. For a discussion on the cession of the territories of Zhongdian and Weixi of Yunnan, see Ahmad, pp. 201, 222-24.

35. This is an original footnote for "helai mitu "; mitu is obviously a transcription for the Tibetan word "me-tog," meaning flower, which is "hua" in Chinese.

36. This is an original footnote for huntun, which is in this case an ox-hide sewn bag filled with air so that it can float on the water. Usually huntun is a Chinese kind of ravioli, commonly known as wonton, with meat stuffing and served in soup. In order to distinguish an "ox-hide bag" from an edible "wonton," the original note says that the former should be written as huntuo.

37. The Heilama or Black Lama could be a priest of the Black Bon, a shamanistic religion established in Tibet before the arrival of Buddhism. The Bon sometimes is referred to as the Black Religion because the Bon-po or the Bon priests usually wear black robes. See Hu Naian, "Bianjiang zongjiao gaishu," Bianjiang lunwenji, Vol. II,

Taipei, 1966, p. 984; Bell, op. cit., p. 16.

38. This is an original note. Zhang Qian was a high official and a general during the earlier years of Wudi (141-87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty. He was dispatched to make an alliance with a Central Asian people, known to the Chinese as Rouzhi, in 139 B.C. He was captured by the Xiongnu, the powerful nomads of China's northern frontiers. He eventually returned to China in 126 B.C. His second diplomatic embassy was in 115 B.C., this time to the Wusun, another Indo-European tribe living in the Ili Valley, north of the Tarim Basin. Zhang Qian brought back alfalfa and grapes from Central Asia to China. Because of his knowledge about the foreign situation, the emperor followed his advice of having more contact with the other part of the world, near China's southwestern frontiers. Some officials were even sent to find a way to contact India via Yunnan, but Zhang Qian himself might not have been sent for that particular trip. By an imperial order in 123 B.C., he was granted with a special title "Bowanghou." See the Biography of Zhang Qian, in the Qianhanshu, juan 61; Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, East Asia The Great Tradition, (A History of East Asian Civilization, Volume One, Boston & Tokyo, (Modern Asia Edition) Sixth printing, 1969, pp. 69, 109.

The Magpie Bridge is called Queqiao in Chinese. According to a Chinese myth, on the 7th day of the 7th lunar

month the magpies spread their wings together to form a bridge, enabling the lovers in heaven, the Cowherd and the Spinster, to meet that night. They are separated by the Milky Way and permitted to meet only once a year. See Lin Yutang's Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage, pp. 301, 1441.

39. This original note cannot convince people to believe that there were no other birds in that area. In Chinese literature the cuckoo is called duyū, zigui, zijuan and sigui, in addition to its common name, dujuan. A Chinese legend says that toward the end of the Zhou dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), after the King of Shu (Sichuan province) died, his soul was transformed into a cuckoo. Because his name was Du Yu, the cuckoo was also called duyū. To the Chinese ear the singing of cuckoo is very sad and makes a traveler feel homesick. Thus, the cuckoo is also called sigui, meaning "want to go home." See Cihai, pp. 851, 853, 1454, 1455.

40. Bodhidharma, commonly known as Damo and reputed as the founder of the Chan (Zen) School, is said to have arrived in China in 520 (variant 526). For a traditional account of his life and teachings, see Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey, Princeton, 1964 (Paperback Edition 1972), pp. 350-53; Soothill, op. cit., pp. 389, 415.

41. According to Ren Naiqiang, the text of "Gangji heishuibian (A Discussion of the Mountain Ridges and the

Heishui)" was written by Shi Bingxin of the Ming dynasty. Shi identifies the Lancangjiang with the Heishui, or the Black River, mentioned in the Yugong. He also regards the Nushan Mountain Ranges as the "gangji," or the world's highest mountain ridges, which forms a natural boundary between China and the southwestern aboriginal tribes. See Ren Naiqiang, Xikang tujing: Jingyubian, Nanking, 1933, pp. 119-20.

42. The Heishui, or Black River, mentioned in the Yugong was the border river between the ancient Yongzhou (in the modern Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai area) and Liangzhou (in the modern Sichuan area). When the Heishui flows into Liangzhou, it enters into the Yangtze River system; it has been called the Jinshajiang since the Tang dynasty. See Xin shuzhi, op. cit., pp. 282-83; Cihai, p. 3361. According to Ren Naiqiang, Xikang tujing: Diwenpian, Nanking, 1934, pp. 187-92, the Heishui is the northern source of the Jinshajiang.

43. Yongzhou is one of the Nine Ancient States called Jiuzhou in the Yugong. It covers the area of the provinces of Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai. See Cihai, p. 3103.

44. The Ruoshui is a river in the area of Zhangye of Gansu province. It is also called the Zhangyehe, or commonly known as the Heihe. See Cihai, p. 1082; Xin Xhuzhi, op. cit., p. 279.

45. Leiwuqi is usually referred to as the place called

Ri-bo-che in Khams. If the Ruoshui is in Leiwuqi and if it is "a thousand li" from the border of Yunnan and Khams as the text says, then this Leiwuqi must be elsewhere. Otherwise the author simply did not know the exact location of the Ruoshui.

46. Usually Kunlun means the Kunlun Mountains inside of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau. The Bayan Kara Mountains are the southeastern arm of the Kunlun Mountains. The ancient Kunlun mountain was on the eastern side of the Lop Nor, near Dunhuang. It was located in the mountain area nowadays called Sanweishan. The Kunlun in the Yugong could be the name of an ancient state in which a mountain named Sanwei was located. See Ren Naiqiang, op. cit., pp. 189-91.

47. According to Ren Naiqiang, the Sanwei in the Yugong is the name of a mountain in the ancient state of Kunlun. Its location is near Dunhuang in Gansu. In 1720, after his conquest of Tibet, the Kangxi Emperor of the Qing dynasty published some notes on geography, saying that "Sanwei refers to the three provinces of Tibet: Kemu (Khams), Wei (Dbus), and Zang (Gtsang)." His interpretation is by no means accurate or scientific. Nevertheless, many people followed his ideas and made the same mistakes. These geographical notes were compiled into Kangxi zhengyao, juan 18, "Yudi", ff. 8a-11b, by Zhang Qin, in 1910; also in Weizang tongzhi, juan 3, pp. 33-36. For a criticism on Kangxi Emperor's notes, see Ren Naiqiang, op. cit., pp. 181-

92.

48. This is an original note. The Tibetan word "chu" means water or river, "mtsho" means lake or sea. Whereas the Chinese character "chang" was perhaps used to transcribe either one of these two Tibetan words, Chichang could be the name of a certain portion of the Nujiang. The Tibetan name for the Nujiang is Dngul-chu, or Nag-chu. It is called the Salween River when it flows into Burma. For more detail about the Nujiang, see Wylie, p. 117, and Ren Naiqiang, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

49. This is an original note. Lang is from the Tibetan word lang-ba, meaning to get up or to rise up; ta is from rta, meaning horse.

50. The horse-intoxicating grass is called zuimacao in Chinese and dug-rtsa in Tibetan.

51. The Black Tents, or Heizhangfang, refer to the 'brog-pa, or nomadic Tibetans, who live in the black yak-hair tents called sbra-gur or phya-ra'i gur in the Tibetan language. "They are found all over Tibet, keeping each tribe or section to its own grounds; and are in various ways much superior to the husbandmen and cottagers of the country." See Das Tibetan-English Dictionary, pp. 934, 942. Those nomads who live in black tents are called 'brog-pa sbra-nag-can; those farmers who live in houses are called rong-ba khang-pa-can. The Chinese term heizhangfang is an equivalent for the Tibetan sbra-nag-can. "Sbra" is spelled

"pra" by Sum-pa mkhan-po in his Mtsho-sngon gyi lo-rgyus, pp. 455-56.

52. Que or magpie in Tibetan can be written in various ways such as skya-ka, skya-ga, skye-ka, ske-ka or skra-ka. But none of them can be pronounced as xiaoye. Therefore, xiaoye could be a colloquial Tibetan word for magpie. The Tibetan word for bridge is written as zam-pa or zam, which has a similar sound like the Chinese character sang. The Chinese word for bridge, however, is qiao, so queqiao means a magpie bridge; see note 38.

53. Zhang Qian of the Han dynasty was known by the special title of Bowanghou. The Cowherd and the Spinster are the fairy lovers known to the Chinese as Niulang and Zhinü. In this account the author implies that Zhang Qian was once lost and came into this area by mistake.

54. Xiangsheng is also known as shengyuan which is the official designation for the xiucai class. According to the Chinese system of competition for civil degrees during the Qing dynasty, a person who could pass the examinations held at a prefectural city would obtain his first degree and become entitled xiucai, which is translated by W.F. Meyers as Licentiate. See Meyers, op. cit., nn. 467-471. In this account, Mr. Ling Zhaopeng must be from Ningbo prefecture in Zhejiang province and had passed his examination there.

55. The greater-seal script of dazhuan is an ancient Chinese writing style. This kind of writing can be dated

back to the time of King Xuan of the Zhou dynasty, who reigned from 827 to 782 B.C. After the unification of China by the First Emperor of Qin in 221 B.C., Chinese writing underwent reform and a new style called xiaozhuan, or lesser-seal script, came to use. During those times paper had not yet been invented, and people wrote with a sort of fountain-pen upon small laths of bamboo or smooth wooden tablets. So, both greater and lesser seal characters are drawn with lines being uniformly thick. Nowadays calligraphers may use a regular brush to write Chinese characters in the seal style for an artistic presentation. For a historical sketch of the Chinese calligraphic styles, see L. Wieger, S., J., Chinese Characters: Their Origin, Etymology, History, Classification and Signification, the first edition in 1915, reprinted in New York, 1965, pp. 5-9; Liu Shih-hong, Chinese Characters and Their Impact on Other Languages of East Asia, Taipei, 1969, pp. 56-60.

Because the author, Du Changding, could not read Tibetan, when he saw the Tibetan writings, he immediately associated them with the Chinese greater-seal scripts. He was told that the Tibetan writings were called Jieshu, which could well be the Tibetan word for an agreement or a contract, spelled "chad-so" or "chad-gsab".

56. This is an original note. Ganbu derives from the Tibetan word rgan-po, meaning an elder or headman of a village. Rgan-po or headman was a political position in the

Tibetan villages. Sometimes the position was hereditary, sometimes all of the khral-pa, or taxpayer families, rotated in holding it, and sometimes the taxpayers selected the headman by consensus. Usually a headman should be able to read, write and calculate. The headman of a village was usually someone from a wealthy family who was respected by others. He represented the villagers in dealing with the district or higher level government officials; also he should be able to settle problems among his fellow villagers. If there were two headmen in the area, one would be called rgan-chen, or big headman, and the other, rgan-chung, or little headman. The rgan-chen was responsible for the external relations of the village and the rgan-chung was for the internal affairs. For a detailed study of the positions of a rgan-po, see Melvyn C. Goldstein, An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1968, pp.81-91; Pedro Carrasco, Land and Policy in Tibet, University of Washington Press, 1959, pp. 43-44, 71-72.

57. Wula, or ula is a Mongolian word by origin and also used by the Manchu people. Its verb form in Manchu is ulambi, meaning to pass on, pass to; to hand on, hand down. Ula, as a noun, means "relay post," although it has another meaning "a large river." See Jerry Norman, A Manchu-English Dictionary, Taipei, 1967, pp. 415, 416. When the word ula was used as the term for the corvee or compulsory labor

services, the Tibetans also borrowed it and spelled it as 'u-lag. The person who was ordered to fulfill his corvee duty was called 'u-lag-ba; for a female, 'u-lag-mo. See Gexi Quzha, Zangwen cidian, (Tibetan title: Dge-bshes chos-kyi grags-pas brtsams-pa'i brda-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba bzhugs-so,) Peking, 1957, p. 779.

Throughout Chinese history, there have been various forms of corvee as a regular tax or tribute system, and the so-called ula system had been practiced in Khams and other parts of Tibet long before the Manchu conquest. According to Chen Han-seng, there were no less than ten kinds of ula in Khams. One of them was the ula of transport animals, including horses, bullocks, and donkeys, to be furnished by those households possessing this animals. The 'u-lag-ba or those who met this ula, had to follow the animals; sometimes for a day, but often for three or four days before they returned home. The 'u-lag-ba had to equip and feed their own animals along the way. Usually a nominal fee was paid to the 'u-lag-ba. All officials and troops were entitled to requisition such ula, if they could present to the local headman an official document for that purpose. For a detailed study of the ula system, see Chen Han-seng, op. cit., pp. 118-125; Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 73-84.

58. This is an original note. Kangba is from the Tibetan word Khang-pa, meaning a house.

59. According to the Liangqiannian zhongxili

duizhaobiao (A Sino-western Calendar for Two Thousand Years, 1-2000 A.D.), by Xue Zhongsan and Ouyang Yi, 1st edition, Changsha, 1940, reprinted by Yumin Chubanshe, Taipei, 1969, p. 345, both the 7th and the 9th month of Kangxi 60th year (1721-22) have only 29 days each. But, Du Changding has the 30th day for each of these two months recorded in his diary. Perhaps he used a different Chinese lunar calendar; otherwise, he must have miscalculated the date. The only way to keep the order of days recorded by Du Changding is to convert his 30th day of the 7th lunar month into September 21. Consequently, the corresponding western date for his first day of the eighth month will have to be September 22, and his first day of the ninth month will be October 22. Then, his 30th day of the ninth month will have to be converted into November 20, and his first day of the tenth month will be November 21.

60. According to the poet Yuan Mei (1716-1798) of Qiantang (Hangzhou), as stated in his Suiyuan shihua, Qilin and his family were Guzong people, and Lunji Beimu, or Lunjibei, was a beautiful, intelligent girl, who could speak Chinese. She had an affair with Du Changding. Therefore, Yuan Mei said that the religious beads were given to Du as a farewell present by that affectionate girl. After Du returned home, he told the romance to some of his friends and it made the listeners feel sad. One gentleman named Shen Zida must have heard the story, as he composed a very

lengthy and romantic poem about the affair. This poem was collected in Yuan Mei's Suiyuan shihua. The editor, Yang Fuji, however, disagreed with Yuan Mei, saying that, based upon Du Changding's own diary, Lunji Beimu was a lama and the beads also came from that lama. Yang thought the information Yuan Mei had obtained was perhaps just hearsay. Thus, when he appended Yuan Mei's notes on Shen Zida's poem to the Zangxing jicheng while editing the work, Yang also inserted his own ideas into it. This appendix is found after the main text of Zangxing jicheng, on ff. 29a-30a. For a short biography of Yuan Mei, see Hummel, op. cit., pp. 955-957.

During the Qianlong period when Yang Fuji was undertaking the task of enlarging the Zhaodai congshu, originally compiled by Zhang Chao during the Kangxi period, Du Changding's Zangxing jicheng was added into it. Yang Fuji is also known as Yang Lieou. See Cihai, p. 1378; John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yu Teng, Qing Administration, Three Studies, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XIX, Harvard University Press, 1960, Third Printing, 1968, p. 179, n. 97.

61. "Mugua yabu" means "How are you, sir?" or "sir, you are very well!" This expression could be a transcription of the Tibetan "Mgon-po yag-po." See note 30 of this chapter.

62. Chinese couplets are called duilian. They are written with two parallel poetic sentences to express a

certain theme. When they are hung up as decoration, each sentence is treated as one scroll and is hung separately. For some examples of the duilian and their English translations, see T. C. Lai, Chinese Couplets, University of Hong Kong, 1969.

63. The ninth lunar month of Kangxi 60th year has only 29 days, but Du Changding's calendar has 30 days. See note 59 of this chapter.

64. Du Changding's diary ends here. For publication, he showed this work to his friend Dai Mengkui, who wrote a colophon, which was printed right after the main text. The colophon was composed in the first half of the 8th month, in the 11th year of Yongzheng (1733).

Chapter Five

CONCLUSION

The Fifth Dalai Lama's writings on his journey to Peking offered useful material from which to draw geographical and historical information about China and Tibet. He moved from one place to another, setting camps, performing rituals, and receiving gifts. From the list of the gifts he received and the places he traveled through, we can easily understand that he really had a peaceful and joyful journey. To help such a large group of travelers from Tibet to Peking, the Manchu imperial government had made all necessary arrangements for them. Such a successful event in fact opened the beginning of a good relationship between the Manchus and Tibetans. And the Fifth Dalai Lama's writings on his journey to Peking in his Autobiography is the first contemporary records for the early Qing history from the Tibetan point of view.

Even though there had been journeys to Tibet from China since the Tang dynasty, detailed records of actual journeys were not made public until the closing years of the Kangxi Emperor's time. Prior to the 18th century Chinese knowledge of the rout conditions from China proper to Tibet was fragmentary and largely fictitious. It was only after the Kangxi Emperor's expedition in 1720 that accurate information about Tibet became available to the Chinese.

Jiao Yingqi's account of his travels was completed in 1721; Du Changding's in 1722. Their works were the earliest informative accounts of travels to Tibet from China.

The importance of Jiao's and Du's texts lie in the scope of their geographical descriptions, which were based on personal experiences of the social and cultural life of minority peoples in China's border regions during the early Qing period. In addition to their records of hardships encountered on their journey to Tibet, there are notes about their reactions to the native people and their customs. The accounts of Jiao and Du breaks the historical silence of Chinese sources on route conditions from China to Tibet. The travel accounts recorded by Jiao and Du during the early Qing period consist of invaluable materials which enable us to analyze the reaction of Chinese officials and intellectuals toward Tibet and the Tibetans.

In contrast to the Fifth Dalai Lama's pleasant, profitable trip, Jiao and Du suffered much hardship during their travels. The people they met did not provide assistance and gifts, but often made things more difficult by robbing them. Jiao and Du regarded the Tibetans with mistrust and fear. Both felt great relief when they were able to leave Tibet and return to China proper.

Since the authors were Han people, they represented the Chinese, despite the fact that they were working for the Manchu's Qing government. From the Chinese point of view,

the Qing dynasty, as the legitimate successor of the Ming dynasty, continued the unbroken line of Chinese history. Although the Qing emperors were Manchus, the empire they conquered and ruled covered nearly the same territory as the Chinese empire. The relationship between the Manchus and the Chinese was that of ruler and subject. But, the Tibetans were geographically and culturally remote from China. Their language, customs and political system were different. This led the Chinese and the Manchus to treat the Tibetans differently. Because of differences in culture and difficulties in communication, the Chinese people, who regarded themselves as civilized, despised the Tibetans as barbarians. Such an arrogant attitude, however, was a response instigated by their unfamiliarity with the Tibetans. Their arrogance must have been a defense mechanism against an unfamiliar situation. Psychologists would say that their aggression toward the Tibetans was a phobic reaction instigated by psychological frustration, stress and conflict. The association of their fear with the unfamiliar situation in Tibet was one of the factors that resulted in unhealthy consequences for development of Sino-Tibetan relationship.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ahmad	Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century
Autobiography	The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, 1985 Delhi Edition
China Tibetology	Zhongguo zangxue, Beijing
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Petech	China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century, 1972
Rnam-thar	The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, 1989 Edition
Shilu	Qingshilu zangzu shiliao, 1982
Tongwenzhi	Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi
TPS	Tibetan Painted Scrolls
Visions	Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama
Wylie	The Geography of Tibet

GLOSSARY

Abula
Adunzi
Aijibao
Alangma
Ali
Anfushi
Anhui
Anningzhou
Arou
Ashihanshui
Axi
Aze
Baihu
Baiya
Baiyanhala
Bajiaolou
Balong
bangban dachen
Bangu
Baocheng
Baoji
Basiba
Batai
Batang

喇子堡麻使州漢水
刺敦雞朗里撫徽寧柔什喜則戶崖願角隆辦固城雞思臺塘
阿阿愛阿阿安安安安阿阿阿阿百白拜八巴封幫班褒寶八壩巴

Beiheqianghai
 beiji
 Beijing
 Beizhan
 beizi
 Benchamu
 Bengda
 Bengzilan
 Benzilan
 Bianba
 Bijiguan
 Binda
 bingbu
 bingshen
 Bitu
 Bohai
 Boli
 Bowanghou
 Boxue
 bu
 Budala Gong
 Buzili
 Cai Yong
 canzan
 Cawagang
 Chaijikou

卑 禾 羗 海
 碑 記 欄
 北 京 棧
 北 子
 貝 本 又 木
 本 崩 達 子
 崩 奔 子 子 欄
 邊 把 子 欄
 碧 鷄 達 子 欄
 賓 部 申 免 關
 兵 丙 必 海 黎 侯
 波 博 望 學
 波 部 布 達 拉 宮
 布 卜 自 立
 蔡 參 邕 贊
 擦 瓦 岡
 柴 鷄 口

Chalasangduo
 Chamuduo
 Changdu
 Changhexi
 Changjiang
 Changliushui
 Changpingxian
 Changpingzhou
 Chaotianguan
 Chen Qingying
 Chencang
 Chengdu
 Chengze Qinwang Shuosai
 Chi Weitai
 Chichang
 Chongde
 Chongqing
 Choubiyi
 Chouguzong
 chuguan
 Chujiu
 chukou
 Chuxiongfu
 Congling
 Daba

查喇松多
 察(叉)木多
 昌長西
 長江流水
 長昌平縣
 昌朝平天州
 陳慶閔英
 陳倉都
 成承澤親王碩塞
 遜維臺
 池崇德慶
 重筆古驛宗
 鼻出閔白
 杵出雄府
 楚蔥嶺
 達巴

dieba
 Dihua
 Dingxiling
 Dishi
 Donghai
 Dongjing
 Dongsansheng
 Du Changding
 duilian
 dujuan
 Dunhuang
 Duo
 Duoluo
 Duomu
 Duotai
 Du Yu
 Eling
 fan
 Fanghu
 Fanguo
 fanren
 Feixiadong
 Feiyueling
 Feng Yanranshan Ming
 Fengtian

巴, 煤 巴
 嶺
 省 丁
 洞 嶺 然
 山 銘

喋 迪 定 帝 東 東 東 杜 對 杜 敦 原 奪 多 多 杜 鄂 蕃 房 蕃 蕃 飛 飛 封 奉
 巴 化 西 師 海 京 三 昌 聯 鷗 煌 洛 目 臺 宇 陵 番 湖 國 人 霞 越 燕 天

fu	府	頂		
Fuding	福	風		
Fufeng	扶	臨		
Fulin	福	遠	大	將軍
Fuyuan Dajiangjun	撫	建		
Fujian	福	脊	黑	水
Gangji Heishuibian	岡	海	子	辨
Ganhaizi	乾	思		
Gansi	甘	肅		
Gansu	甘	道		
gedao	閣	子		
gengzi	庚	多		
Gongduo	工	噶	腦	兒
Gongga'naoer	工	東		
guan	官	祿	大	夫
Guangdong	廣	通	縣	
Guanglu Daifu	廣	西		
Guangtongxian	廣	元		
Guangxi	廣	音	山	
Guangyuan	觀	都	龍	
Guanyinshan	古	爾	瑪	洪
Gudulong	顧	未		
Guermahong	癸	西		
guiwei	癸	州		
guiyou	貴			
Guizhou				

Jianchuanzhou
 Jiang Chenxi
 Jiangda
 Jiangga
 Jiangmugun
 Jiangnan
 Jiangsu
 Jianguan
 Jiangxi
 Jiangzhe
 Jianziwan
 jiao
 Jiao Yingqi
 jiaotong
 jiaoweiqin
 jiaoziji
 Jiedamu
 Jiedang
 Jierhalang
 jieshu
 Jilin
 Jin
 Jing
 Jinggan
 Jingkou

劍 川 州
 蔣 陳 錫
 江 答 嚙 滾
 江 嚙 木 滾
 江 南 蘇 南
 江 蘇 閩 西
 劍 閩 西 浙
 江 浙 子 灣
 剪 轎 子 灣
 焦 應 旂
 焦 應 旂
 焦 應 旂
 校 尾 子 琴
 結 打 記
 結 黨 木
 濟 爾 哈 朗
 結 爾 樹
 吉 林
 吉 晉 荆 干
 涇 口
 箏

Jingshui
 Jingyang
 jingzang
 Jinhuapu
 Jinjiang
 Jinniuxia
 Jinshajiang
 Jitouguan
 Jiuheguan
 Jiuzhi
 Jiuzhou
 juan
 juanshou
 Jueluo Langqiu
 junmin
 junwang
 Kangding
 Kanma
 Kemu
 Kunlun
 Kunming
 Lali
 lama
 Lamatai
 Lancangjiang
 Langda

涇 涇 經 迤 錦 金 金 鷄 九 舊 九 卷 卷 覺 軍 郡 康 坎 喀 昆 昆 喇 喇 喇 喇 瀾 浪
 水 陽 藏 花 江 牛 沙 頭 河 志 州 首 羅 民 王 定 麻 木 命 明 里 麻 嘛 滄 打
 圃 峽 江 關 關 郎 球 崑 崙 臺 江

Langqiongxian
 Laoyaguan
 Leiwuqi
 Lengshuiwan
 Lengzhuguan
 Liangchengxian
 Liangzhou
 Lianyu
 Liaoyang
 Lieda
 Lifanbu
 Lifanyuan
 Lijiang
 Lili
 Limi
 Linmi
 Liquan
 Lishu
 Lisu
 Litang
 liu
 Liuba
 Liutongjiang
 Liya
 Longmen

浪老類冷冷涼
 梁聯遼烈理麗
 獠立臨西黎
 裡溜留溜黎
 龍

穿鴉五水竹城
 州豫陽達藩藩
 江獠米米泉樹
 塘

縣開(烏灣)開縣
 齊
 部院
 獠獠, 粟粟
 江

Longshutang

Ludingqiao

Lufengxian

Lühe

lunzang

Luo Changyi

Luobuzang Danjin

Luobuzang Galezang Jiamucuo

Luofengpo

Luolongqiao

Luolongzong

Luosiwan

Lutinan

lüzang

Ma Lin

Magaizhong

Mala

Maliyi

Mamingge

Meilishu

Menggu Yamen

Menggushao

Mianxian

Mianzhou

Mingshilu

Mingzhen

龍	樹	塘		
瀘	定	橋		
祿	豐	縣		
呂	合			
論	藏			
羅	長	綺		
羅	布	藏	丹	津
羅	布	藏	噶	勒
羅	布	藏	噶	佳
落	鳳	坡		木
落	龍	橋		磋
落	龍	宗		
螺	螭	灣		
魯	體	南		
律	藏			
馬	林			
麻	蓋	中		
馬	喇			
馬	里	衣		
梅	鳴	閣		
蒙	李	樹		
蒙	古	衙	門	
蒙	古	哨		
孟	古			
綿	縣			
明	州			
明	賓	錄		
	鎮			

Ningyuan
 Niulang
 Niushipo
 Nixi
 Nujiang
 Nushan
 pingding
 Pingni Jiangjun
 Pujing Chanlin
 Pupeng
 Qian Xibao
 Qianfoyan
 Qianhanshu
 Qianhuzhang
 Qiantang
 Qianzang
 qiao
 Qiaotou
 Qichahe
 Qin
 Qing
 Qinghai
 Qingheqiao
 Qingpu
 Qingshigao
 Qingshuihe

寧牛牛泥怒怒平平普普錢千前千錢前橋橋七秦清青清青清
 遠郎市西江山定逆靜湖錫佛漢戶塘藏
 坡
 將禪
 軍林
 寶岩書長
 頭岔河
 海河浦史水
 橋
 稿河

qinwang
 Qiongtao
 Qiongzuo
 Qishan
 que
 Queqiao
 renyin
 Reshuitang
 Riyueshan
 rongmu
 Rouzhi
 Ruoshui
 Sanbala
 santing
 Sanwei
 Sanying
 sanzang
 sanzhou
 Sengge
 Shaanxi
 Shacheng
 Shahezhen
 Shajidala
 Shandong
 Shang'arou

親 王
 穹 洮
 邱 竿
 岐 山
 鵲 橋
 鵲 寅
 壬 水
 熱 塘
 日 月
 戎 幕
 月 氏
 弱 水
 三 巴
 散 廳
 三 危
 三 營
 三 藏
 散 州
 僧 格
 陝 西
 沙 城
 沙 河
 沙 濟
 山 東
 上 阿
 鎮 柔
 達 喇

Shangshu
 Shanhaijing
 shanhuguo
 Shanxi
 Shaping
 Shaqiao
 Shatai
 Shen Zida
 sheng
 Shengjing
 shengyuan
 Shenxianyi
 Shenyang
 Shenzongchao
 Shezi
 shi
 Shi Bingxin
 Shierlan'gan
 Shijianpu
 shilang
 Shilu
 Shilunli
 Shixianli
 shoupa
 Shu
 Shuicaotan

尚書 經
 山海 果
 珊湖 西
 山坪 橋
 沙沙 臺
 煞子 大
 沈省 京
 盛生 員
 神仙 驛
 瀋陽 朝
 神宗 賢
 捨市 秉
 史史 信
 十二 闌
 石澗 鋪
 侍郎 干
 實錄 曆
 時時 憲
 手帕 曆
 蜀水 草
 灘

Shujing
 Shuobanduo
 Shuosai
 Sichuan
 sigui
 Songfeng
 Songyun
 Suolimang
 Taersi
 Taihe
 Taining
 Taizong
 Taizu
 Tang Ruowang
 Tangdui
 Tangga
 Tanggute
 Tangshu
 Tangwuti
 Tashi
 Tazitou
 Tiancong
 Tianming
 Tianshan
 Tiantong

書 經 多
 碩 板 塞 川
 碩 四 思 歸 風 筠
 四 松 松 索 力 莽 寺
 塔 爾 和 寧 宗 祖
 太 秦 太 太 湯 湯 湯 湯 若 確 噶 古 忒 唐 古 特
 塔 唐 唐 唐 唐 唐 唐 唐 兀 石 子 聰 命 山 通
 塔 塔 天 天 天 天 天 通

Tianzhuzhai	天	竺	寨
Tiaobaiti	條	拜	提
Tiebude	鐵	不	德
ting	廳		
tong	桐		
Tongtianhe	通	天	河
Toudaoshui	頭	道	水
Tubaite	圖	白	忒
Tubazong	土	把	總
Tubote	土	伯	特, 圖伯特, 塗特
Tudusi	土	都	司
Tufan	吐	蕃	, 土蕃, 土番
tufu	土	府	
Tuguancun	土	官	村
Tuibaite	土	擺	特
tuoboduti na	脫	特	都 惕 那 豁 的
Tuomulang	拖	木	郎
Tuqianzong	土	千	總
Tushoubei	土	守	備
tusi	土	司	
Tuyouji	土	游	擊
Tuyuhun	吐	谷	手 渾
tuzhu	土	著	
Wahe	瓦	合	
Wei	衛	, 危	, 魏
Weixi	維	西	

Weizang
 Wen Zongyao
 Wencheng Gongzhu
 Wolongshi
 Woluobo
 Wu Fengpei
 Wu Sangui
 Wu Shifan
 Wudahai
 Wudi
 wula
 wushen
 Wusi
 Wusiguo
 Wusizang
 Wusun
 xi
 Xia
 xian
 Xiang
 xiangsheng
 Xianhai
 Xianshui
 Xiaoqiaobian
 Xiaoxueshan

衛 藏
 温 宗
 文 成
 卧 龍
 卧 洛
 吳 豐
 吳 三
 吳 世
 吳 達
 武 帝
 烏 拉
 戊 申
 烏 斯
 烏 斯
 烏 斯
 烏 孫
 西 夏
 夏 縣
 襄 襄
 庠 庠
 鮮 鮮
 魚 魚
 小 小
 小 小

主
 荒公石波培桂璠海
 國(思)藏
 生海
 水橋
 邊山

Xiaoyesang
 Xiaoyunnan
 Xiaozhongdian
 xiaozhuan
 Xiashu
 Xifan
 Xihai
 Xijing
 Xikang
 xinchou
 Xindu
 xingqian
 Xingsuhai
 Xining
 Xining Banshi Dachen
 Xiningcheng
 Xiningfu
 Xinjiang
 xinzi
 Xiongnu
 xiucai
 Xixia
 Xiyu
 Xizang
 Xizang Zizhiqu
 Xizangzhi

曉
 小小小夏西西西辛新刑星西西西新信
 葉雲中篆書番海京康丑都錢宿寧寧寧疆子奴才夏域藏藏
 桑南甸
 西蕃
 海
 辦事大臣
 城府
 信字
 自治區
 志

Xizhao
 Xi'an
 Xuanweishi
 Xuanweishisi
 Xueba
 xueshi
 Yalatayi
 Yalu Zangbujiang
 Yalujiang
 Yan
 Yang Fuji
 Yang Lieou
 Yangquanmen
 Yanxin
 Yijiaren
 Yileduqi
 ying
 yingguan
 Yingpanshui
 Yinti
 yiwei
 Yongding
 Yongning
 Yongzhou
 youcanzan

西招
 西安
 宣慰使
 宣慰使司
 雪壩
 雪學使
 亞喇塔
 雅魯藏布江
 鴨綠江
 燕楊
 楊楊復
 羊延列
 一伊信
 營勒
 營官
 營盤
 胤禔
 乙未
 永定
 永寧州
 雍右
 參贊

Yu	禹	
Yuan Mei	袁枚	
Yuanchao Bishi	元朝秘史	
Yuanshi	元史	
Yugong	禹貢	
Yunli	允禮	
Yunnan	雲南	
Yunnanbao	雲南堡	
Yunti	允禔	
Yutong	魚通	
Yuzhou	豫州	
Zalagu	咱喇	姑
Zamala	咱麻	喇
zanba	摺	飽, 糶, 粃
Zang	藏	
Zangbochu	藏, 博	楚
Zangbujiang	藏布	江
Zanghe	藏河	藏河
zeli	則	
Zhaling	札陵	
zhandao	棧道	
Zhandui	占兌	
Zhang Chao	張潮	
Zhang Qian	張騫	
Zhang Yintang	張蔭	崇
Zhangguansi	長官司	

Zhangjiakou

Zhangye

zhan'ge

Zhao

Zhaodi

Zhaohua

Zhaozhou

Zhasake

Zhayigun

Zheduo

Zhejiang

Zhengdongsheng

Zhennanzhou

Zhenze

Zhihuishi

Zhili

zhiliting

zhilizhou

Zhinu

Zhongdian

Zhonghua

Zhongyuan

Zhongzang

Zhongzhou

zhou

張家口

張掖

棧閣

名, 詔, 招, 趙

詔地, 招地

昭化

趙州

札薩克

札薩克

者多

浙江

征東省

鎮南州

震澤

指揮使

指直

直隸

直隸

織女

中甸

中華

中原

中藏

中州

州

zhuangyuan

杖元 囊中

zhuichu nangzhong

錐處 辦事大臣衙門

Zhuzang Banshidachen Yamen

駐藏大臣

Zhuzang Dachen

zigui

子規 (鴛)

zijuan

子鵑

Zitongxian

梓潼縣

Zongli Geguoshiwu Yamen

總理各國事務衙門

Zongli Qinghaishiwu Dachen

總理青海事務大臣

Zongluosanba

宗洛三巴

zuimacao

醉馬草

Zunwen Xingyi Minhui Gushi Han

遵文行義 敏慧 顧實汗

zuocanzan

左參贊

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APPENDIX I.

Shengzu Renhuangqi Yuzhi Pingding Xizang Beiwen

(The Inscription Composed by the Kangxi Emperor
on the Restoration of Peace and order in Tibet)

聖祖仁皇帝御製平定西藏碑文

昔者

太宗文皇帝之崇德七年班禪額爾德尼達賴刺麻固始汗謂東
土有聖人出特遣使自人跡不至之區經讐敵之國閱數年始
達盛京至今八十載同行善事俱為施主頗極安甯後達賴刺
麻之殺第巴隱匿不奏者十有六年任意妄行拉藏滅之復興
其法因而允從拉藏苦苦腦兒羣眾公同之請中間策妄阿喇
滿坦妄生事端動準噶爾之眾肆行奸詐滅壞達賴刺麻并廢
第五輩達賴之塔辱踐班禪毀壞寺廟殺戮刺麻名為興教而
實滅之且欲竊據圖伯特國朕以其所為非法爰命皇子為大

西藏圖考卷之首

宸章

將軍王又遣朕子孫等調撥滿洲蒙古綠旗兵各數萬歷烟瘴之地士馬安然而至賊眾三次乘夜盜營我兵奮勇擊殺賊皆喪膽遠遁一矢不發平定西藏振興法教賜今虎必爾汗册印封爲第六輩達賴喇嘛安置禪榻撫綏圖伯特僧俗人眾各復生業於是文武臣工咸謂王師西討歷瘴癘險遠之區曾未半載輒建殊勳實從古所未有而諸蒙古部落及圖伯特酋長亦合詞奏曰皇帝勇畧神武超越往代天兵所臨邪魔掃蕩復興蒙古向所尊奉法教坎麻藏衛等部人眾咸得拔離湯火樂土安居如此盛德大業非臣下頌揚所能宣罄請賜御製碑文鐫勒招地以垂永久朕以何功焉而羣眾勤請不已爰紀斯文立石西藏俾中外知達賴喇嘛等三朝恭順之誠諸部落累世崇奉法教之意朕之此舉所以除逆撫順綏眾興教云爾

APPENDIX II.

Zangcheng Jilue

(A Brief Note on the Journey to Tibet)

藏程紀畧

夫藏何自助乎古稱西方有聖人謂佛生其地世居
於此是耶否耶然則何爲以藏名藏之爲言藏也無
盡藏之謂也意者以梵書三藏有經藏律藏論藏之
說若是之無盡藏耶其土著番人又稱之曰招此不
知何解大要土語發音有聲無字其無所取義無疑
獨是上古之時不聞有佛也漢唐間始重虛無寂滅
之教數遣使西域求佛經迎佛骨而佛教之興流傳

下新言

中國迄今千百祀不改彫形塑像崇建禪林釋子尼
 僧皈依法戒世俗庸衆從而敬信之持齋素樂佈施
 動日廣積功因願登西方極樂世界雖捨身破家勿
 惜有心世道者亦徃徃置而弗論要不過存此法門
 以警衆覺愚醒迷啟悟使之念佛從善不大失其本
 心而止固未嘗身履藏地亦未知有所謂活佛也余
 寧涇之四年西塞賊匪跳梁侵擾哈密

2

天子簡將征討乙未夏余捧檄從軍轉運糧儲歷有四載

嗣因逆賊勢窮潛行狡計掠及藏地

天子怒其猖獗特命大將軍王親統六師殄茲小醜
 因逆達賴喇嘛進藏是卽活佛余偕同事諸公奉調
 押運庚子四月由西寧出關走日月山哈什哈水柴
 鷄口工噶腦兒以及杏洛達巴等處赤日之下雪雹
 時加伏暑之中嚴霜夜襲天時地氣之不同蓋與中
 原迥絕越六旬而抵索力彝過黃河經星宿海水面
 平濶無際波瀾不驚上下天光一碧萬頃游中石山

3

身臨親志

二

一座相傳山底有七孔水從孔中迸出生平讀山游
 經覽圖記謂河源經出于此篇疑為誕今果信其
 不誣也自是而往亞喇塔夷之地藥草傷生拜顏哈
 拉之區瘴癘彌毒人畜中之不一二日輒死屍填道
 路莫可計勝余至此隨行僕從十日內死者八人此
 時此際行者寒心見者慘目生死存亡惟付之天命
 無可如何耳初秋念有一日始至木魯烏素番語水名烏素
 名通天河迺金沙江之源也時則 王師屯駐河東

平逆將軍延 率各部統提領蒙古諸部落舉兵
 進藏余復奉 王諭押送牛羊隨大兵後以濟軍糈
 於八月十一日起程十七日渡七翁河其處乃微行
 小徑無人跡往來無番夷住址深山窮谷圖識道途
 惟相其形勢審其方向指西南以行雖早夜奔馳而
 心中茫然不卜所之何地也既而得歸大路會官兵
 安塘其地瘴毒稍解計木魯烏素至此僅六七日之
 程而大路遷延已半月餘矣正欲倍道兼馳奮力前

五藏言

夢

往不期舊站改移中途多阻時 將軍延 因前軍
 戰捷慮賊截後糧路令 撥營據 于山南由是寇嚮
 導達新台八無人之境艱辛苦况較日前倍甚塔子
 頭上帳冷甚寒水草灘中人顛馬仆入深谷則亂石
 參差爪牙爭錯也越打班則肩纏峭壁手足伏行也
 又况番夷狡悍剽掠成風百十為群潛匿幽僻晝則
 奪物夜則劫營余 甫過哈喇烏素而驟馬搶去已盡
 卽我同事諸公亦鮮有不受其累者如此兇頑是又

6

不待教而識者也仲冬朔日方抵西藏至則我師告
 捷逆賊敗走而達賴喇嘛已入座矣非

聖

天子文德武功丕著無外島能如是耶迨觀藏內形勝
 山水環秀土田沃衍樹木濃蔭民居稠密且風和日
 暖嚴冬之際冰雪不凝洵寒域之別有天地也平川
 中擁一石山較諸峯獨小上建寺院為活佛所居層
 樓翠閣幾數百重金光綉麗美不勝述問所由來僉
 云活佛之生代有其人本係原身轉世脫胎無過番

7

百歲志

民之家但不一其地始生時即能言前世事衣鉢所
 傳一一不迷人驗其真爭相頂禮迎入前藏升座徒
 衆千萬番民日朝如市非特迤地爲然遠及西海青
 海各國蒙古諸王部落皆以時來見所貢皮幣犬馬
 珠玉奇產藥物不一而足嗟夫世之膺大位享大名
 身都富貴者福澤非不厚也然而名利場中事物經
 心攘攘勞勞迄無寧息茲觀達賴喇嘛居然赤子無
 知本來面目一塵不染其宮室楹處如是服食器用

8

如是人心悅服無不如是雖富貴之極無所用之然
 則所謂活佛者蓋現在受福之人也佛云乎哉余寓
 藏八日公事甫竣方得登堂一見見畢即行未獲從
 容遊覽娛暢心目殊爲恨事值大兵凱旋隨之東歸
 是時裘敝金盡驃馬不能置惟購牛數頭僅載帳房
 衣被輕騎以從他物悉屏棄從茲隨踰疊竹以長
 征向江答而就道穿林入澤屢險蹈危或步石級或
 緣木棧閱二十餘日望喇里之山高聳揮天自山下

9

平赤言

三

起行盡日乃及山肩天晚不能過其地皆亂石險窄
 平不滿丈且烟瘴甚大無片柴寸草雖勺水難覓乃
 坐臥一多人馬俱凍餒次日陟其巔則堅冰滑雪萬
 仞崇崗如銀光一片俯首下視神昏心悸毛骨悚然
 令人欲死不得已乃鋪毡坐雪上腰繫以繩僕從前
 拖後曳盤旋而下行李什物飛空而擲牛馬則縛足
 下墜傷斃者大半是誠有生來未歷之境未嘗之苦
 也夫何行動正艱口糧告絕且番地又不產米惟日

10

食青稞以充飢腹如此者半月當除多佳辰元旦令
 節米粒米沾口不可得困頓至此其何以堪厥後行
 至察木多 川督年 念進藏官兵勞苦已甚恐流
 離異域特委永寧道遲 屯糧接濟因得日支米二
 升麵二升并借庫銀二百兩以資盤費迺轍之困藉
 以復甦茲豈非天幸耶爰是莫覓番驛稍載行囊整
 轡以往歷工多阿朗麻之地芻草空虛過湯噶丹達
 木之村人民殷富坡高而險茶霧陰霾查喇松多可

11

平赤言

六

長也雪連四崗寒風徹骨落三巴其最焉邊把俗
 尙寬柔阿則人心狡詐頑板多之山崇嶺峻行豸扶
 杖壁衣浴龍宗之怪石巉岩到處左盤右折昌都多
 勝概形連二水環龍占兌有奇觀勢若干軍駐馬曰
 阿布喇曰黎樹村村盜藪曰夾勒曰江噶處處賊窩
 先屬行役征夫罔不驚心喪胆至如漢人寺房舍無
 殊內地核桃園風景頗似中華時方二月之初日正
 上旬之內紅香發而芬芳綠柳垂而青翠田園禾黍

12

郁郁青青鳥語花香風薰日暖為憶出口以來殊方
 絕域馳驅萬里舉目凄涼幾一年矣今見及此能不
 令人心目俱喪耶繼此則古都龍即金沙江過渡處
 有大船四隻千餘人馬片時即渡塞地河道頗多或
 係木橋或用皮筏舟楫往來此其僅見者其兩岸桃
 李爭妍村巷依山如畫土產葡萄最廣蠻人以此造
 酒飲之亦能醉人再行七十里至巴塘氣候溫暖地
 闊人稠花木繁茂可觀且集市之所內地漢人亦寓

13

此貿易余至此人困馬乏歇息三日然後起行本文
 木山高百里越二日而始登大所塘路通一線值三
 春其未暖諸物穢舊冷水澇附近波黎西面皆川乾
 海子潛藏羅盜惟茲數日之內無非雪路行程策駕
 前征裡塘告屆其寺院之華麗喇嘛之衆多諸貨之
 集聚較巴塘稍勝所不及者地道寒冷無嘉田花木
 之美耳次日宿河下及哩麻喇東行臥落波雪地六
 十里深三餘尺至剪子澇而下及麻蓋中漸下抵鴨

14

緣江蓋約百餘里云江水碧清而溜兩岸巖石甚險
 難以舟渡有大船數隻橫其中掩大板作浮橋車馬
 往來殆若坦途過此則江以東由八角樓臥龍石以
 至那凹者多羅屬番民逼近內地知畏王法為化林
 營所轄商民經過者即二人可行可止永無夾填
 之患矣三月初四日進打箭爐為蜀西極邊皆番地
 乃藏路咽喉土官明鎖哥統屬其先叛服不常康熙
 三十八年調兵勦平之宜以恩威彰以信義莫不頌

15

心向化今設兵戍守其地番漢咸集交相貿易稱鬧
 市焉余於此馬疲力倦乃覓夫乘小竹輿自頭道水
 越冷竹關抵瀟定橋橋高十餘丈長數百步兩岸建
 亭閣用大鐵繩九條縋巨飛渡其上覆以木板若天
 鑿然人馬須少行徐徐而過多即搖動若遇風則斷
 不可行矣繼此則化林坪飛越嶺再進而牛市坡羊
 圈門山勢陡惡石路艱難莫可殫述過黎雅之墟歷
 邛笮之境俗稱武侯擒獲文君當墟其舊地也念二

日入成都省會之區沃野千里人民輻湊景物豐美
 文采風流峙於中州獨是錦江雕甍瓦雘無存楊雄
 相如之故宅僅載誌乘西望漢陵昭烈帝之遺徽有
 不禁慨然嘆息者又如新都之龍門漢州之房湖高
 人逸士所觴咏皆足動人感懷由德陽至落鳳坡龐
 士元之墓祠宛在經綿州及梓潼縣文昌君之廟貌
 巍然劍關石壁峭聳棧道木架凌空閣日馬鳴見于
 昭化驛名筆著于廣元千佛岩與飛霞洞同山朝

天關並神仙驛接壤行是路者南棧固艱而北棧尤
 險盤差過金牛之峽磔五丁開道恃勇而愚褻汚踰
 鷄頭之關羨子房學仙養真自適陳倉古渡橋存於
 留壩靈鳳飛來築見于南星黃牛山勢龍從寶雞川
 原平衍岐山為周室發祥之橋扶風乃漢朝京輔之
 遠自是而達醴泉適涇干可旦夕至也計余自丙申
 二月從軍至辛丑五月回署六載于外雖王事靡
 盬勞瘁弗辭而以衰弱微軀頻年奔走旦夕無休宿

18

露披霜含飢忍凍崎嶇歷盡及骨僅存所幸以生還
 無恙者皆上蒼默佑所致也嗚呼余年五十有七
 矣毛髮蒼蒼精神多憊回憶少時居處家庭愧未能
 窮山極水以窺天下名勝繼而上公車登仕籍游覽
 荆襄韓魏間以及燕趙秦晉諸大境于水見江淮河
 漢非不大且深也于山見終南恒華非不高且遠也
 然猶是中國以內名山勝蹟游人之所寓目仙客之
 所景從不惜身至其地親見其實乃若遐荒絕塞舟

19

已列言

草不至誰探星宿之源封禪無聞孰陟崑崙之頂如
 所謂藏如所謂佛則亦虛誕險遠之說固不必其至
 之不必其見之也不必至而竟至之不必見而竟見
 之可不謂僥倖歟因不揣固陋於回藏之暇援筆以
 紀其略匪敢矜功市異亦以誌此番閱歷此番辛苦
 出之生平意外者觸目警心以不安不忘危逸不忘
 勞之意云爾

20

皆

康熙辛丑仲夏中浣之吉知涇陽縣事焦應旂識

APPENDIX III.

Zangxing Jicheng

(A Record of the Journey to Tibet)

藏行紀程
青浦杜昌丁松風著
庚子十二月初八日雲貴總督蔣公 <small>陳錫</small> 因秦蜀滇
會勅西藏誤搆奉
命進藏效力贖罪。藏故險阻、非人所行、從者皆散歸
余於公有知己之感、誼難舍去、獨以倚闕之望、不能
久借、請以一載為期、送公出塞、因遣僕從、孤身就道
十六日別晉中諸友、乘馬至德勝橋、登舟出近花園
水行三十餘里、至碧雞關、學使張公學華設席舟中
藏行紀程

抵關陸行三十五里安朔州宿

出塞就道口占

為有知音感遊蹤未遑東何曾餘驟下雖竟處曩

中行矣心還健歸歎事不同丈夫然諾重匹馬倘

從公

十七日行七十里宿老鴉關先是從學使者巡試往

返四過皆銜文也今從軍復經此地前後文武異用

盛衰殊時蓋不勝今昔之感云

十八日行七十里至祿豐縣縣令張公遣邀宿署中

有亭有池有竹有梅亦湖中之勝也

十九日行七十里至捨貴宿

二十日行五十五里至廣通縣令劉公邀亦邀入署

未果署中樓閣池樹不及祿豐之爾打而宏敞過之

廿一日行七十里至楚雄府宿公館中舊校閱處也

廿二日行七十里至呂合宿有呂祖廟禱之靈應去

村數里山腳有仙人骨如水晶能療瘡癩相傳仙人

為呂祖所度廟中有碑記題

廿三日行三十五里宿鎮南州署中

廿四日行三十五里至沙橋天氣嚴寒宿旅店中時
聞蔣公長君題有視學中州之
命

廿五日行七十里至普湖宿

廿六日行七十里至雲南堡宿

廿七日行七十里至白崖宿

廿八日行七十里至趙州是日過定西嶺州牧陳公
士昂奉差中甸其旌邀至署中宿亭臺壯盛迥西一
勝也

廿九日行七十里至大理府宿永昌道白公詢署是
日途中遊獵野羊甚多健卒追不能獲惟獲斑鳩三
四枚野羊即黃羊大如鹿最輕捷土人云其味肥美
勝於羊也

辛丑正月初一日由大理北行九十里至沙坪宿自
大理以北皆巡試所求經山川之秀為迥西勝冷點
蒼山廟堂十九峯頭積雪寒氣透入骨髓過浪穹縣
冷河峽岸約八里許其險視黔中永昌更甚心竊畏
之

初二日早行十五里至鄧州道旁兩岸皆水北風甚厲較之省會寒逾十倍又行五十五里至三營宿初三日行三十里至觀音山巡檢司宿有觀音巖頗

幽僻

初七日行七十里至劍川州州牧王公世貴邀宿署中備衣裝寬馱馬整葺毳帳教響刀箭弓弩火器之屬召募壯丁土兵共一月至廿七日蔣公孫耨字廣蔭同順子善長自京師兼道追送出塞

二月初一日滇中領兵都統五哥哥率所部自藏凱旋

蔣公往迎詢塞外風土及途中形勢甚詳自中甸進藏有兩路由天竺塞又木多一路道寬而遠多夾巴高山大川為滇蜀會兵孔道山下自立阿敦子擦瓦崩達洛龍宗一路高坡峻嶺鳥道羊腸幾非人迹所到然頗近五公凱旋所由遂定走阿敦子言賊也初三日五公旋省蔣公出塞撫軍甘公國璧亦於是日出塞旌旗相映絡繹數十里行六十里至九河關宿鹿峰中華夷已別所對摩麥獐獐黃沙白草無人煙埋鍋造飯訓練行伍不勝去國之悲

藏行紀程

四

初四日五鼓束裝天明早膳起行五十里至阿喜渡
 口麗江土府所屬過阿喜即狷狽地矣阿喜即金沙
 江發源木魯烏蘆入永北府界經姚安武定敘州至
 岷山歸長江出海禹貢岷山導江言導自岷山非源
 出岷山也

初五日渡金沙浮橋北岸木檝灣下營無人煙是日
 約行數里宿則營門闕射

初六日行六十里至黃草壩宿是夜有虎警大操募
 兵火器弓矢並舉依然大觀

初七日行五十里至哨喇姑又行十五里至橋頭宿
 有虎警

初八日行三十里過螺螄灣十二關干又行三十里
 至土官村宿十二關干為中甸要道路止尺許連折
 十二層而上兩騎相遇則於山腰脊先避俟過方行
 高插天俯視山溝深萬丈麗江雪山巍然對峙古木
 蒼崖目不勝賞然絕險為生平未歷有詩紀之

十二關干道中

夷險殊華夏真稱行路難危灘奔一線峻嶺恐千

王

盤薄耕休回首臨深敢披鞍報恩輕險阻漫說倚

關千

初九日行六十里至一家人宿渡江以來絕無人煙

晝習射夜枕戈有從軍之況焉

初十日行五十里至拖木耶提督張公谷真領兵駐

此策應伐木結寨塞外大規模也張公隨凱旋兵歸

署因宿空寨中始有人家萬山中忽見平原曠野粘

猴數家不成村落屋用全木橫壘四面為牆高可數

丈中開一穴為門下畜牛馬上居人獨木檠蘭為楹

以便上下最上供佛或亦居人其俗男子披髮跣足

衣牛羢衣名拉戶女子名阿克幾頭多細辮珊瑚瑪

瑙碑磔玳瑁以及銀錢銀虎之屬悉皆辮上賤者無

飾跣足或穿紅牛皮靴貿易皆女子負戴語言周通

事時通事三人名也御非多一結克什

十一日寨中歇一日浴溫泉歸營習射溫泉去寨五

里水頗熱無房屋苟有數家其婦女何人浴必薄而

觀之張恭以避羣然笑之

十二日行五十里至小中甸過木橋約行四五里下

營居民較拖木郎更多貿易用銀不用錢無準平法
 馬以石之輕重與銀相較用鐵鞍戕視中國加倍若
 以煙茶布帛鐵線等物貿易勝銀十倍
 十三日行五十餘里至大中甸番名結黨出塞第一
 部落有營官番名喋巴有喇嘛寺大喇嘛一人喇嘛
 營官二人與喋巴相見以頭相並言敵體也其下喇
 嘛數百皆偏袒右臂紅氍毹為衣念經則宰牛羊進
 香人至鳴角伐鼓以迎措飽麵果葡萄珊瑚果之屬
 為供米飯加餚館席地而坐小几高可尺許坐前各

道其一佛像莊嚴與中國略相似最重歡喜佛裸體
 交媾禮非者皆進哈答哈答譯以下見上用此為誓
 如中國之手本名帖也喋巴之下有木瓜神翁頭人
 等名色居民二百餘戶皆板屋是日蔣公至營官喇
 嘛皆遠接俯伏道旁遞哈答進酥油茶前引至舊營
 官三舅家住時積雪封山往來斷絕暫駐中甸雇寬
 驃馬一百六十頭夫四十名馬每頭四十兩到藏夫
 每名二十四兩到藏立文書名信子俟雪消起程
 十八日黎明鄰居失火延燒將及寓樓幸早覺即集

兵丁救護移徙倉卒無可遷之地不得已立營曠野
 中行李甫畢敵已及頃刻成灰燼方營寨未立有猓
 獠數百人持械遠來欲乘機擄掠人情皇皇前後不
 相顧募兵來告兩家遂列陣以待既有亡命一人來
 劫漢人力戰奪回劫物餘黨乃散午後大雪火熄
 十九日至廿五日住陰晴不時地多雪瘴飲陰泉之
 水者皆喘急手足觸雪卽墮兼傷日余臥病三日不
 敢服藥亦無覓處出汗而愈
 廿六日少晴周閱被災居民靡有孑遺至營官所居

之石忽一蠻犬狎狎跳舞幾被所嚙中甸之犬高者
 數尺聲如虎嚙人頭無生理狒狒畜者見漢人卽嚙
 一爲漢人所買卽嚙狒狒視所畜不視種類也
 廿七日蔣公見中甸回祿之慘查明被災一百七十
 五戶與甘公同捐私帑賑濟每戶白金十兩茶布各
 二按名給發歡聲載道願請代述格於例而止
 廿九日大雪余性疎放氈幃中四面蔽風苦沈悶夜
 半或狂呼而起是晚移前楹以便出入更餘罷帳被
 雪壓倒帳中五六月人皆不得出余在前楹得脫出呼

人次第狀出

三月初十日營官翁布拉請以其居爲館舍遂遷入
晴則馳馬射獵考較募兵陰則坐臥帳中尙有公牒
竟日獨理不以爲倦也

廿七日探使從阿敦子歸云積雪已消遂議前進

廿八日遷營中逐隊分撥派遣驗馬先是青馬頗馴
健爲廐人誤食沙土漲死今所選雖堪驅策而回念

十二關于所寄此一身者已歸烏有前途險惡更甚
餘馬當不知何如也爲之撫然久之中甸有大河馬

牛死皆棄於水俗有四葬土葬砌壁開火葬焚其骨
埋山崖中水葬投之大河烏葬剖其肉以喂鵝骨置
山崖尙巫不尙醫有打兔法捕捉法每逢朔望羣呼
噉嗎謎以嘲哂

廿九日行二十里至箐口宿馬力甚疲是夜忽傳有
兔進藏之信

四月初一日易駝驢行五十里至湯確宿

初二日湯確歇一日發家信

初三日又行五十里至泥西宿

初四日行四十里至橋頭有溫泉在江邊山腳下景
 可入晝時炎蒸浴於泉風於橋上過橋一大嶺若擊
 插天來日所行之路也
 初五日上嶺路窄而陡皆石橋也山行六十里至崩
 子欄卽卜自立川中所屬係泥塘小部落舊轄麗江
 吳逆割賂吐番遂爲外地頗產米麥滇中進藏必由
 之路也蔣公奏請還滇川督以蜀糧所產復奏暫歸
 於蜀俟軍旅事畢再議所屬故寨外以此爲界時於
 金沙彼岸結營

初六日金沙守渡弁來云瀾滄橋已斷修造尙需時
 日

初七日甚熱遙見深林攀援而至有核桃樹二株廣
 可數丈少憩有居人名格土木率子女獻茶酒果
 物因遷寓兩月餘卜自立山水頗佳風土亦善飲食
 居處都無所苦惟暑熱太盛不減江南六七月也

五月廿四日橋功將成

詔令偕駐藏滿兵同行始知傳聞之訛於是急謀啟
 行時募兵逃亡殆盡行文捕捉無虛日所存三十餘

人皆非馴良頗事防閑

六月初二日崩子欄啟行六十里至杵臼乘駝馳有
疲意

初三日易海驢馬從杵臼上小雪山早甚熱至半坡
寒風逼人蔣公中寒病矣余幸著羊裘得無恙

初四日蔣公病痢不能行歇一日雪山通亘二百里
不甚高有樹木不生草亦無人煙水不可飲飲則喘
急甚至傷生有白蟒能興雲霧降雨雪觸之即病過
者皆銜枚疾走人少則晴明如常若一喧雜必遭其

時時兩家並進約有五百餘人宿則鳴鑼放砲雨雪
連綿故多病者

初五日營中以無草驢馬飢號不已計至阿敦尙有
二程羣詩扶病前進至阿敦養疾大雨中行五十里
至麓樹塘宿地無寸平亦無寸乾立營寨帳中陰溼
之氣上蒸如露處坐臥維艱略睡片時右臂已受陰
溼痛不能舉

初六日扶痛上馬雪片大如鵝毛途中所見花卉四
時皆備多中國所未見一種似菊而小五色葉如芡

麻番名鶴來蜜塗來則不得其解行五十里至阿敦子宿七林家養病半月

阿敦子雪山道中

山程紆曲似迴腸，獨步危梯鳥道茫。銷雪有聲飛瀑遠，尋芳無意野花香。塞驢背上添離恨，蘆管聲中憶故鄉。自笑何緣經絕域，此行兼為謁空王。

二十日蔣公以催續餉遣孫榘同顧子善長東歸瀾滄浮橋垂成作別啟行臂痛猶未愈扶痛行五十餘里至多日宿七林回家自此北行過鹽井數日即小

天竺大天竺漢蜀會兵必由之路也西即瀾滄

廿一日歇聞山頂有溫泉能療疾扶痛而上約五六里至泉熱氣蒸人浴時臂痛殊酸癢頃之痛稍止又一泉功少遜又一泉冷熱交注有丹砂洞中鑄大篆云老君煉丹處亦能去病浴罷遍身發疹惟右臂不發而痛已愈

廿二日蔣公往浴溫泉午後守橋者報橋成橋去多木四十餘里約次日五鼓乘早涼水小而過

廿三日五更結束沿江行五十里至橋頭甘公已先

藏行紀程 七

三

渡坐山巔蔣公扶輿而下面有恐色蔣公度畢素淵

泓窳序不驚聞

命時淡然言笑絕無憂疑驚恐之色賓朋僚屬無不
服其雅量至是亦少改其度石屏牧劉公洪度以委

查糧運駐阿敦因請乘輿過橋不聽祭江畢令二僮

扶掖而前余杖策以從劉牧隨焉橋濶六尺餘長五

十餘丈以牛皮縫籠數十隻籠籠應竹索數十條

貫之浮水面施板於上行則水勢盪激掀播不寧蓋

江在大雪山之陰雨則水漲晴則雪消故江流奔注

無息時舟筏不能存橋成卽斲土人繫竹索於兩岸

以木爲溜穿皮條縛腰閉一溜而過所謂懸渡也俗

名溜筒江時畏竹索之險故俟橋成是日巳刻水高

橋二尺餘波浪衝擊蔣公幾至傾覆賴劉牧扶掖得

免余雖不至傾跌而水已過膝過片刻橋卽衝斷墮

水三人一以足指掛索得生餘則無從撈救矣生者

昆明募兵楊嘉祥素馴謹死者係麗江廖斐造橋匠

役也不知姓名人馬行李皆從竹索過三日始畢渡

江爲黑喇嘛所屬地更寒苦所有惟牛羊糞肥若米

立菜蔬魚肉雞鴨不可得矣

渡澗滄有感

瀾滄西渡欲何之為訪仙槎舊路歧探瓦崩達等
誤人半牛所經之地產芻芻昔昔石橋碌碌漸知
 胡批等物并有鶴橋遺蹟另載於後碌碌漸知
 名是夢星星博得鬢成絲才為身累殊多愧客作
 生涯可有期萬里自來稱絕域而今萬里未云奇
 別怨離懷觸緒生牽情翻悔是多情風波盡口消
 難得書劍頻年學不成愁碧漫看春草色啼紅忽
 憶杜鵑聲可憐遊子何窮恨掩袖斜陽滄澗橫外塞

禽鳥惟鴈與馬雀餘皆無有
收不覺杜鵑之繫人懷抱也

廿五日行六十里至梅李樹險仄較十二關于逾十
 倍寬不及尺平不及丈左絕壁右深淵出口以來所
 稱最窄最險莫過於此步行不敢乘馬行李馬匹有
 墮水者不可救矣

廿六日行李陸續渡江候一日始齊水即澗滄山即
 葱嶺陰雲之氣無間日相傳達摩一岸渡江隻履西
 歸處也

廿七日蔣公祭雪山然後迺還上山巉巖怪石凌嶒

率勇無一步可以循階歷級者用爬山虎攀藤附
 而上馬四蹄不能並立斃者不計其數臭氣觸鼻不
 可嚮邇無草無人煙水聲徹夜如雷樹木參天皆太
 古物也行五十里稍平處下營帳房僅下數頂
 廿八日又上四十里至山頂平處宿陰處較前更甚
 不獨中華未有卽塞外亦未之見也
 廿九日又上二十里至最高處萬山皆在足下土人
 云自木魯烏蘇而南綿亘數千里至緬甸插入南海
 高莫可比乃天地間之脊也自此而西山勢層疊而

下直至拉撒拉撒卽西藏之中藏也元人有圖斧黑
 水辨以此爲脊東瀾滄西怒江皆滙諸小水南流至
 緬甸出海者舊貢雍州黑水之上流也弱水在類五
 齊去此千里崑崙三危皆其地山巔晴時蓋少遙峯
 積雪冬夏無異四月至八月僅消大路之雪九月以
 後卽封山矣下六十里至披腳河邊宿蔣公之寨深
 矣語余曰力不能支死便埋我不必以骨歸也因勸
 慰數四且請進藥不聽。

閏六月初一日蔣公扶病就道行六十里至甲浪路

之仄與莫盧朱梅李揭同始有人煙

初二日養病一日甲浪之水皆西流發源怒管至此始歸怒江名為池做為池之義未詳

初三日蔣公扶病行六十里至喇嘛臺宿山尖窄路不滅甲浪將至寺忽有平地里許覺馬蹄少適心芻為之一開

初四日出腰窄路行六十里至必兔宿怒江之水晝夜潺潺不聞言語緣江萬丈俯視江流如線間有奇勝中心惴惴無暇領略也是日有夾巴之警

初五日行六十里至多臺宿

初六日歇

初七日行七十里至煞臺路較莫盧朱少寬而視中園則其窄尙未有也

初八日行八里上小雪山盤旋至頂約五十餘里下坡宿葡萄甚多以布尺許可易一二斗也

初九日行六十里至臨米又行二十里至喇嘛寺前驅不見蹤迹徬徨無措暫歇寺中而喇嘛狀貌猙獰居心叵測牛馬過其寺門輒強取至此未免有戒心

馮少頃前驅聞砲來邀復行十里至營中宿其地名

江木滾

初十日行六十里至札乙滾有數十家大橋南有喇嘛寺路通臨卡三阿曲宗諸部落有糌飽可以貿易

歌一日

十二日行數里皆沿江江南北兩峯對峙天然屏障壁立水中疑無路矣忽復尋迴路轉窄徑數武有一橋過橋又開生面行六十里至熱水莊宿

十三日行六十里至三巴拉宿

十四日行五十里至浪打宿浪打譯言起馬也

十五日行二十里至木科又行四十里至賓達宿

十六日歌

十七日行五十里至烈達復行數里宿

十八日行五十里至捺瓦岡營官數里外遠迎服飾甚偉侍從甚都俯伏道旁獻茶果問風俗則重譯始通先是營官問蔣公至遣人修道至壩臺接壤地及抵境邀駐署中制度壯麗法令森嚴門懸人頭手足無算其俗犯法應誅者投喇嘛寺即免中甸等處皆

然住三日

廿一日行六十里至天通宿有醉馬草甚肥驛馬食之皆醉似中莠者然不能禁

廿二日乘醉馬行三十里至塔石歇二日

廿五日雨中行八十里至崩達副將曹公維城率所

部迎於道旁曹公字敬亭癸未武會狀也時以護糧

駐此迎蔣公至營官大石署中宿住三日地苦寒近

雪塲歲止一收蔣公見余深入欲遣歸者屢矣余以

一載為期尚可前進至是計歸程須五月餘抵家已

通除矣。因顧謂曰捨身見送高義可感然我之身

朝廷之身也雖死奚辭君之身親之身也未敢相累

且君復何罪而受此乎深入番地數千里不為近矣

一載相依不為暫矣君子愛人以德相接以義至此

不返徒令吾不安耳願早歸以慰倚闕之望遂決歸

計

廿八日崩達添雇牛馬啟行自此以西五百餘里無

人煙曹公送於道行六十里宿其寒盛夏如隆冬不

毛之地名雪塲山間閉有黑帳房以牛羊為生數萬

六

成羣驅放曠野見漢人即出盜馬所謂夾巴也兵多
道死雪壩山中白骨紫紫

雪壩感懷

金風颯颯起烏鴉撲面避塵日易斜白骨有知還
入夢青山何處可為家一肩猶剩西歸履八月空
隨誤泛槎卻怪勞人奔走慣鞭絲颯影老年華

廿九日行五十里宿夜雪

三十日行五十里宿

七月初一日行五十里雨雪依水草處宿

初二日行五十里宿馬疲餓不勝驅策口占一律

歎所乘馬

七月陰寒塞草稀駑駘逸足總常飢泥塗忍便埋
芳徑鳥道難辭上翠微雪嶺流泉驚乍冷秋原昔
藉歎空肥可憐疲瘦甯皮骨僕僕津梁尙未歸

初三日行五十里至魯體南始見樹木尙無人煙

初四日行廿里至瓦河始見人家耕種不藉人力又
行十里宿

初五日行五十里至馬里衣女子掛磚碌瑪瑙戒珠

藏行紀程

九

各一串著半竹宛然江南也時有賊盜馬隨獲之
 初六日行六十里至噴栗桑宿譯言鵲橋也有大木
 橋長四十餘丈今名落龍橋下即怒江水深黑煮飯
 皆黑色即博望乘槎見牛女處也。

初七日曉發有鵲橋七夕一律書於石過橋上大嶺
 五十里始陟其巔又行二十餘里至小橋邊宿

鵲橋七夕

辜負靈霄異域過芳蹤無那鵲橋何客里定識支
 機石鶴馭仍停織錦梭自昔仙槎來已久此宵雅

恨訴應多堪憐遊子天涯路不得尋常一渡河。
 初八日行四十里至落龍宗頭藏部落也有營官可
 以雇馬遂定歸期營立山頭
 初九日帳下兵丁環帳慰問
 初十日蔣公親作家書是日送甘公及浚子兆鵬凌
 字扶九寧波府庠生塞外相識蒙贈詩至七八疊余
 亦有贈必答然隨答隨忘不能記憶雇脚騾至崩達
 每頭白金三兩五錢一乘一載立文書有圖章用火
 漆烙於紙上文曰結樹藏人皆大篆也

十一日東裝定送蔣公至河邊揮淚不忍仰視俟去
 騎已遠然後跨刀獨回所雇牯犛語言不通惟會意
 而已至曉葉桑宿甘布家甘布頭人名色
 十二日至波學宿是日行一百二十餘里經前所宿
 者凡五處
 十三日約行百里至雪坳中大雨昏黑不得已即於
 河邊宿無帳房而大雨不止徧體透溼烹茶食炒麪
 少許和衣而坐夜半忽有哨聲遠來亟呼牯犛不應
 自起拔刀叱之見兩騎隱隱渡河而去有頃牯犛始

以手加額曰呀部呀部譯言好也布犛名阿傑所那
 得
 十四日行百餘里傍水露宿
 十五日行百餘里至黑帳房邊露宿
 十六日行五十餘里始見漢兵雨中至崩達晤曹敬
 亭換驢曹亦將歸次日同行
 十七日曹公雇烏拉啟行雨雪甚寒上小坡幾與疲
 馬同墜少頃晴行八十里宿塔石歸途住帳房自此
 始

三

十八日晴行六十里至天通宿帳房釣魚為羹味甚

美

十九日行五十里至擦瓦宿管官家遇蜀中王何二

人不知其名皆行間效力者也寄一信與浩公在兄

烏拉每站給白金二錢

二十日行五十里至賓達宿康巴康巴謬言房也

廿一日行六十里至烏雅宿

廿二日行六十里至浪打

廿三日行六十里至三巴拉

廿四日行六十里至熱水塘

廿五日行六十里至札乙滾

廿六日行六十里至江木滾聞都統五公復領兵時

藏已至立米曹公單騎往見餘俱宿寺中

廿七日都統五哥吳納哈共領滿兵一千進藏途中

擁塞歇一日

廿八日五公已行吳公未至乘空下坡進遇吳公高

竿跨馬略無德容雨中過立米坡至壩臺共行七十

里

雪山大霧次曹敬亭韻

冒雪行空迹似仙
蠶煙瘴雨斗牛邊
乍疑霄漢人難到
錯認藍關馬不前
祇恐此中無去路
更從何處覩穹天
知他脫得凡胎否
漫說雲遊等逝川

廿九日烏拉艱難從行背後歇一日三更始到
三十日晴六十里過小雪山宿莽穉刁惡捨肥馬草
深藏不市軍中有忍餓者白金七錢易草一束牲畜
幾斃

八月初一日六十里至無臺宿去無十五里名必兔

有米存臺軍中具領穀十日糧始有生色
初二日六十里至多臺宿
初三日六十里喇嘛臺宿
初四日六十里甲浪宿歇一日烏拉至此止雇泥乘
腳騾過雪山每頭三兩其地多產梨杏核桃
初六日候腳騾未來先乘曹馬同行至則令曹僕乘
之行至窄處馬懸崖驚墜腸裂而死曹僕步行獲免
余之不為淵中魚也幸哉

初七日上大雪山晴至半山忽大霧雨雪冒雪而上

僕從無不下淚余步行過頂宿寒甚如隆冬雪止焚

柴向火一夜溼衣始乾

初入口時下雪山道甚泥濘死馬塞途無下足處下

三十餘里則甚乾宿梅李樹歇一日

初十日六十里至江邊路之窄已習慣矣浮橋已斷

從溜筒過以百丈之寬而命懸一索一失足則奔流

澎湃無所底止此中惶惶然不得以身試也令拈

猿扶過初脫手閉目不敢視耳中微聞風聲稍開見

洪流湯湯復慧閉達彼岸然後開視坐觀行李人馬

俱從索渡真一奇勝然天下之險莫過於此也宿江

干

溜筒江

一索橫飛過危懸無著身非船登彼岸不筏渡迷

津疑是鞦韆戲真成解脫因下臨波浪湧何處世

閒塵

十一日三十里過石屏牧劉公同張若干司戎來接

四騎並行至多日飯後兼程至阿敦仍住七林家爾

十日其妹芳綠妹阿者迷及喇嘛倫紀貝母皆前所

識至是尙識面連呼木瓜呀部餉茶果歸時偷紀
 以戒殊見贈
 二十日雨中上小雪山六十里
 廿一日雨行六十里至杵臼宿
 廿二日六十里至崩子擺宿三日
 廿五日渡金沙六十里至行多宿
 廿六日七十里至揚確宿
 廿七日七十里中甸宿
 廿八日歇一日羣進口馬腳居民已復業矣

廿九日雨三十里至箐口宿董姓廖夢家粘猴自此
 別
 三十日八十里至拖木耶宿夜雨甚泥濘
 九月初一日泥路六十里至土官村宿臺兵家新起
 營房求書對句爲題一聯云萬里羽書馳向馬飛不
 到處三開板屋創成人力乍通時蓋臺兵專主遞送
 公文故有出句
 初二日六十里宿一家人有虎聲
 初三日六十里過十二關干螺絲灣至橋頭宿視十

二聞于已如坦道矣

初四日十里哨喇姑遇劍川牧王公世貴往中甸班

荆道散相訂至其署脫征衣是日渡金沙至阿喜宿

初六日九十里過蒙古哨已屬內地至麗江休息七

日晤沈我斯別駕程公廷傑候腳騾到齊起行

十二日從麗江至劍川十四日至署盤桓竟日

十五日歇

十六日七十里宿觀音山

十七日九十里宿鄧州若日大雨

途中遇兩次曹敬亭韻

水雲凝不卷泥滑雨無休老馬頻衝慣歸鞭肯暫

留山迷人自遠林暗鶻多愁喜是中華路天邊有

酒樓

十八日行十里過浪穹河邊覺寬平非復向之窄長

矣又行六十里至大理城守張公應宗署宿張公卽

若干兄其婿陳子萬里滇中佳公子也與談文甚相

得

二十日七十里趙州宿

廿一日七十里白崖宿

廿二日七十里小雲南宿蘇殿臣等續解餉至

廿三日七十里普湖宿

廿四日七十里沙橋宿

廿五日七十里呂舍宿是日上沫滂坡同望麗江雪

山晴色相映潔白無比

沫滂坡同望麗江雪山口占

數月勾麗水濱鞭絲依舊撲芳塵雪山又作經

旬別回首天涯是故人

廿六日八十里過楚雄宿石湖鋪

廿七日九十里過廣通捨貴宿

廿八日七十里祿豐宿

廿九日七十里老鴉關宿

三十日七十里安寧州湯泉宿浴此泉凡五次從此

別矣

十月初一日七十里至雲南省宿南關外旅店三日

初五日同蔣公使者陸相兼程七十日至十二月十

三日抵家同憶往事實出萬死一生同人勸余記之

余已不復追憶然恐不記則蔣公知己之感及山川
 風土困苦艱難皆付之一夢矣故筆之於書至於公
 事則余素貧賤不敢置喙康熙壬寅春日杜昌丁識
 人生感意氣功名誰復論魏鄭公詠懷句也因念
 堂堂七尺軀非甚不肖孰無可激之氣而茫茫四
 海誰是知己則有不能以輕許耳吾友松風感制
 府蔣公國士見待時蔣公有西藏之役賓從散去
 吾友請從出塞艱險備嘗不以爲苦至今酒闌敘
 及慨當以慷披閱紀行一編雅服高義雖古人意

氣之感何多讓焉而蔣公報國之忠待士之誠正
 令人思仰不替云雍正十一年八月上旬同學弟
 戴夢奎跋。

蘇行紀程跋

康熙庚子歲常熟蔣公獲譴赴藏幕友青浦杜松風
 啟恩篤誼送之出塞至雪嶺而蔣公堅勸之歸往返
 在途幾及一載歸後追憶所經按日敘次以爲此編
 筆意雅飭出入陸放翁范石湖樓攻媿行記閒至附
 載諸詩清和宛轉其吐屬更自不凡也甲戌孟春震
 澤楊復吉識

孫貞起允升校字

蘇行紀程跋

附錄

袁枚隨園詩話

康熙庚子常熟古拔蔣杜呂丁入藏過澗滄百里其
 部落曰狒狒有小女名倫幾卑聰慧明豔能通漢語
 呂丁往來屢主其家見輒呼木瓜呀布木瓜者尊稱
 也呀布者猶言好也彼此有情臨行以所挂戒珠作
 贈揮淚而別古按原書狒狒七林之妹日夢緣日阿
 喇嘛所贈此係歸語士大夫咸爲憮然沈子大先生
 疑屬傳聞之誤歸語士大夫咸爲憮然沈子大先生
 作詩云狒狒小女年十六生長蠻鄉服蠻服紅罽韃

蘇行紀程

三

手

衫小垂手白毡貼地雙趺足漢家天子撫窮邊門前
 節使紛蟬聯慧性早能通漢語含情何處結微絲杜
 郎七尺青雲士仗劍辭家報知己匹馬翩翩去復來
 暫借狝猴息行李解鞍入戶詫嫣然萬里歸心一笑
 寬笑迎板屋藏春暖絮問游蹤念夏寒自言昔日曾
 相見君自無心妾自憐妾心如月常臨漢君意如雲
 欲返山私語閒將香字教烹茶知脈脈漿羶兩意綢
 繆俄十日誰云十日是千年留君不住歸東土恨無
 雙翼隨君舉聊解臂前瑪瑙珠將淚和珠視照真一

珠一念是妾心百回不斷珠中縷塵起如煙馬如電
 珠在君懷君不見黃河東流黑水西脈脈空懸情一
 綫

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