

CHINESE MAPS AND PRINTS ON THE TIBET-GORKHA WAR OF 1788-92

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Song Yun's map of Tibet

The Chinese maps we want to introduce here have been drawn by, or under the direction of, a Chinese official of high rank, named Song Yun, who served five years, from 1794 to 1799, as high-commissioner in Tibet (Chu Zang Dachen) successively under the reigns of the emperors Qianlong and Jiaqing. Song Yun (1754-1835) was by birth a Mongol of the Blue Banner. He was appointed in Tibet in 1794, which was two years after the end of the Tibeto-Chinese-Nepalese war; one year later, in 1795, he left Lhasa for a patrolling tour at the frontiers, i.e. the Nepalo-Tibetan frontier. His tour took him through Gyantze, Tashilumpo, Lhaze, Lulu, Tingri, Nyalam (Kuti), then Jongkha and Kirong whence he rode back to Jongkha, and went on again to Lhaze, Sakya, and back to Tashilumpo. During this tour he reached the border of Nepal. The kingdom of Gorkha had, three years ago, been defeated by the Chinese forces and made a tributary kingdom to the Chinese Emperor. It was thus logical that the high-commissioner inspected the country--but it must be noted that Song Yun did not cross the border, did not enter Nepal proper.

During his trip, he wrote down many observations and drew many topographical sketches. Then he drew, or supervised the drawing of a map of Tibet in 15 sheets, with explanations: the Xizangtushuo, "explanations on a map of Tibet", or "annotated map of Tibet". Song Yun uses the words Xizang: Western Zang, which is about the same as the present Autonomous Region of Tibet. Actually his book is a description of Tibet from Dajianlu to the Nepalese border.

He wrote the manuscript under the reign of Daoguang (1821-1851), as his own comment testifies. Since he died in 1835, his work must have been completed between 1821 and 1835. It is a small book in four short volumes; the first 3 volumes include the annotated map of Xizang, the fourth part is a kind of addendum with the routes through Tibet to Xining via the then usual itineraries.

In the edition we use here (Taipei, Wen hai chubanshi, 1966) each sheet appears as two parts, on two different pages of the small sized book. Most sheets are maps of Tibet proper; two parts, with which we are concerned here, are maps of Nepal: one shows the area from Nyalam to Kathmandu; the other, the area from Kirong in Tibet to a little farther south than Betrawati and the Phalangu Khola; this second one shows the route followed by the Chinese army invading Nepal in July 1792; the first also shows data connected with the same war.

The history of this war is so well known that it is not necessary to explain it at length. Briefly: after a long period of strains in the relations between Nepal and Tibet because of economic exchanges, especially because of acute disagreements in connection with the old trade treaties and Nepalese monopoly of minting silver coins for Tibet, with tax rates and other trade matters, the Gorkhas had invaded Tibet in 1788, seized Kirong and Kuti, defeated the Tibetans, obtained from Tibet very favorable conditions and monopolistic advantages and, moreover, a yearly tribute in money. As is also well known, the Tibetans soon refused to pay the tribute, the situation worsened, then the Shamarpa Lama, brother of the recently deceased Panchen Lama in Tashilumpo, took refuge in Kathmandu at the King's court, and, following his advice, the Gorkhas invaded Tibet again, sacked and plundered the famous and immensely rich monastery of Tashilumpo, in October 1791, and came back to the Valley of Kathmandu with a considerable war booty. Then the Tibetan government asked for Chinese help, which the emperor Qianlong provided on the basis of his being the suzerain of Tibet. A large force was levied by Qianlong and sent to far away Nepal to "pacify the bandits". This is where the story of our maps begins in the last phase of the war, when the imperial army, gathering together first in Lhasa, started to invade Nepal through Kirong and through Kuti simultaneously.

These maps are neither rare nor unknown in China; in fact they have been published in several editions of books on Tibet; but they do not seem to have been published in any Nepalese book or article, or Western book about Nepal, nor do they appear in Dr. Harka Gurung's "Maps of Nepal". We feel this is a good opportunity to introduce them to Nepalese scholars. Besides, they also are pleasant to look at and amusing.

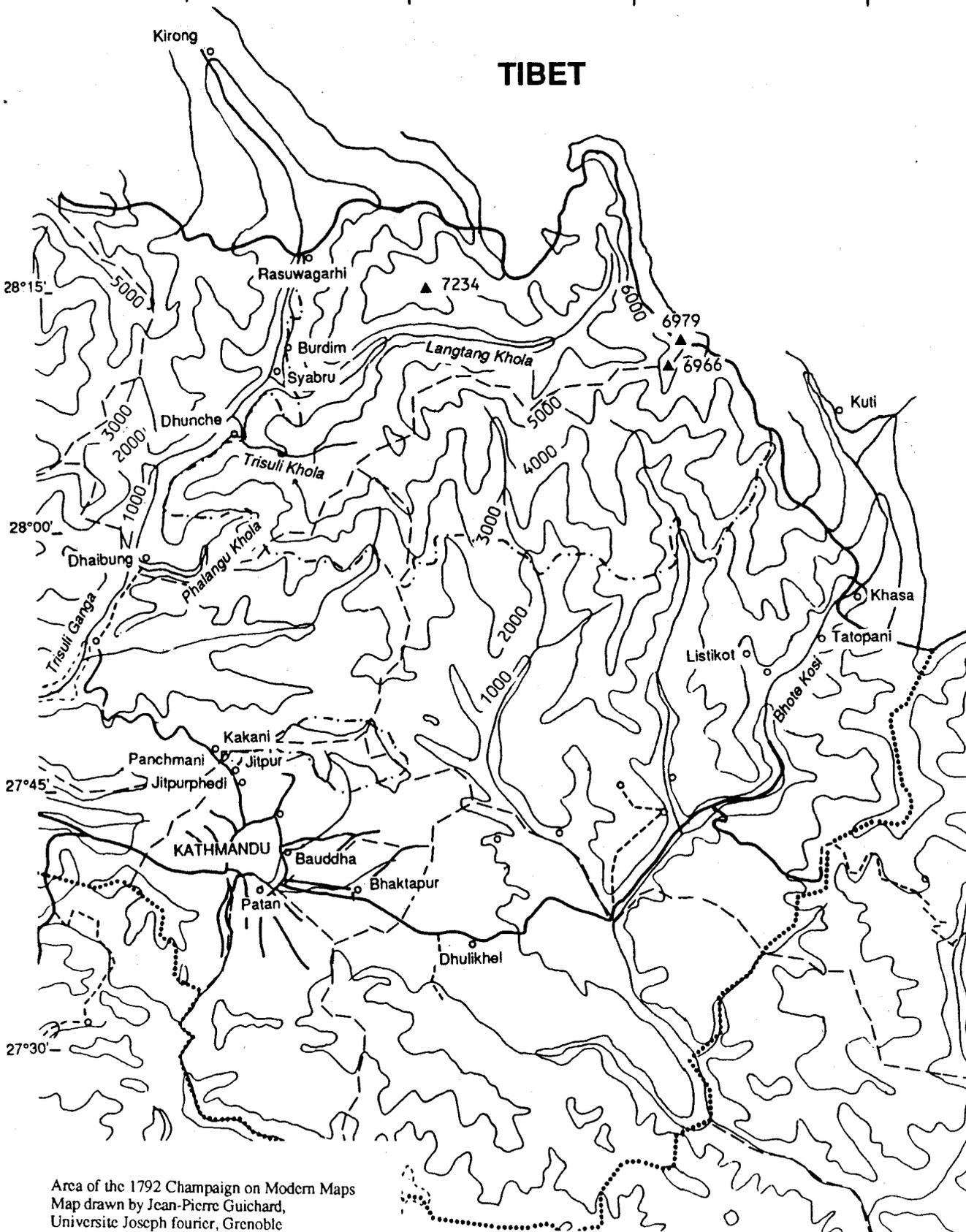
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TIBET



Area of the 1792 Champaign on Modern Maps
Map drawn by Jean-Pierre Guichard,
Universite Joseph fourier, Grenoble

The first distinctive feature of these two maps is their orientation: North at the bottom, South at the top, West on the Right, East on the left. This disposition does not make it easier to read and understand the data, and is a source of mistakes.

Another distinctive feature is the way the rivers appear: only sections of a river are to be seen, the rest is to be guessed, as parts are hidden by a mountain or something; this comes from the adopted perspective: drawing the map, as we also did in Europe in the past, like a painter sketching a landscape, the painter supposedly standing on a hill slightly above and overlooking the observed landscape. The map thus looks like a picture. The chief weak point of the map is, precisely, the river system. The missing parts, as far as we can guess, and even the existing parts, do not correspond to the actual river system. This is not typical of Chinese maps only: all maps of Nepal and Tibet of the same period show erroneous river systems. It is not in fact easy to sketch a river which sometimes is quite unattainable by man, not navigable, flowing in the bottom of deep gorges between abrupt banks; the traveller has often to follow a path winding far away from the river, and loses sight of it. The pilgrims' guides of Nepal, which the Chinese may have managed to provide themselves with before entering Nepal, generally show the route to be followed, but do not insist upon places not directly involved in the journey; in the same fashion, few place names on Song Yun's map show places not met on the described march route; and the rivers have no names! Maybe this is the reason why some very famous places are completely omitted, for instance the Swayambhu stupa. The chief course of the Trisuli Ganga is also missing, while the tributaries of that river, those at least which played an important part in the military operations, are shown.

The text in the Xizangtushuo is a mere enumeration of the place names of the map. To read and understand the map, with its shortcomings, we resorted to some other historical reports, Chinese, Nepalese, British, and to some old and modern other maps, and in some cases to personal investigations on the spot.

About the Nepal-Tibet war of 1788-1792 dozens of books and articles have been written. We shall not give here a full bibliography of those works. Let us mention here only a few fundamental sources which we used to attempt to elucidate the Chinese place names of the map and to find out their exact place.

First we used another work on Tibet by the same Song Yun: the *Xizhaotulue*; then, the *Shengwuji* compiled in 1841 by Wei Yuan (died 1856). The chapter on the Gorkha war has been partly translated into French by C. Imbault-Huart in the *Journal asiatique*, October-December 1878; two other fundamental sources for the story of this war are: the *Weizangtongzhi*, written about 1800 and published in the last years of the 19th century, and the *Xizangtukao*, written by Huang Benqiao and published in 1894; of

course, there are others (the Qing Annals), but we list here the sources we really used. In Western languages, one of the fundamental sources is W. Kirkpatrick's *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, first published in London in 1811. (Kirkpatrick arrived in Nepal in 1793, just after the end of the war and got first-hand information). Dilli Raman Regmi, the Nepalese historian, in his *Modern Nepal, Rise and Growth in the Eighteenth Century*, published in Calcutta in 1961, has collected an impressive amount of Nepalese sources on the Gorkha war (especially pp. 167-230), as well as what had already been published in Sylvain Levi's *Le Népal* (Paris, 1905-1908) and S. Cammann's *Trade through the Himalayas* (Princeton, 1951). Very useful also is L. F. Stiller's *The Rise of the House of Gorkha* (2nd ed., Patna, 1975).

All these books would not be enough without reliable maps: we have used old and modern maps kept in the collections of the Centre d'études himalayennes in Meudon:

- the map included in Kirkpatrick's book.
- India and Pakistan, Series U 502; 1:250,000; sheets NG 45 1, Kathmandu and NH 45 13, Jongkha Dzong (Washington, Army Map Service, 1963).
- Nepal, Tibet. Nepal 1:253 440. Sheet 72 E, Kathmandu (London, War Office, 1953).
- Helambu-Langtang 1:100,000 (Munich, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung, 1987).
- South-Central Tibet. Kathmandu - Lhasa route map. 1:1,000,000 (By R. de Milleville, London, Stanford, 1987).
- Lapchi Kang Nepal. 1:50,000 (Wien, Kartographische Anstalt Freytag - Berndt und Artaria, 1974).
- Bāgmatī Añcal--Madhyamāñcal Vikās Kṣetra,. A.05. 1:250,000 (Kathmandu, Ministry of Land reform, Topographical Department, 1977/78).
- Kathmandu Valley 1:50,000 (Munich, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung, 1977).

Confronting the reports on the military operations by Chinese authors, we are helped, for the first of our Song Yun maps, by the dotted line, supposed to show the march route of the Chinese army; and, on the second map, by the dotted line joining Nyalam to Kathmandu supposed to be the usual trade route.

Identifying place names on maps of Nepal has always been a riddle, because many places have several names, sometimes from different linguistic stocks (Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan for instance): Kathmandu/Yāngbu, Lalitpur/Patan, Bhaktapur/Bhadgaon, Baudha/Bodnath/Bya-rung-'kha-shor. To this difficulty we must here add a new one, and not a minor one: phonetic transcription into Chinese sounds of the Tibetan or Nepali or

Newari words, and representation of these sounds by Chinese ideograms. As a Chinese ideogram (almost) always has a meaning, or several meanings, meeting with a Chinese word one has first to find out whether it is a normal Chinese word with a meaning (like *shan*: mountain, *qiao*: bridge, *Balebu zong*, Nepalese fort etc.) or a purely phonetic rendering, the meaning then being not to be taken into account (Nielamu: Nyalam). Which makes a riddle within a riddle.

Another difficulty in confronting maps, written reports and the reality, is the distances: as everybody knows, in Nepal distances are counted not in linear measures, but in time measures; as is the case in all mountain areas; people would say: "two days'walk, four hours'walk", etc. W. Kirkpatrick, who carefully mentions distances, counts in *ghurries* (1 ghurry = 22¹/₂ minutes). And he adds (p.293): "the distances are not to be relied on... any of the ...itineras. Besides, it would not be easy to fix ... on any rule for converting time into road miles, while it would be altogether impossible for us to reduce these last... to horizontal distance".

This is quite clear. But all Chinese authors writing about this war count distances in *lis*! One wonders how they could estimate the distances in such a length unit, except by translating approximately time (of walk) into linear length -- not forgetting either that the length of the *li* has known some changes in Chinese history. In the XIXth century it was estimated (according to dictionaries) as equal to 1,890 English feet (1 foot = 30.48 cm), or 576 meters. On Song Yun's maps the distances between two places do not always seem correct.

In March 1792, the Chinese troops coming from the North, having crossed Qinghai, joined in Xizang the Chinese soldiers already garrisoned there; the imperial forces included Mandchu soldiers from Heilongjiang, men levied in the military colonies in Jinchuan (a district in the North of Sichuan, inhabited by an ethnic minority), natives of Eastern Tibet, and was put under the command of two of the best generals of their time: Fukangan, a Mandchu of the Yellow Banner, who had won fame twenty years before in the pacification of Jinchuan, and in 1784 in the Gansu rebellion, and Hailancha, another Yellow Banner Mandchu, who had fought in the Dzungar campaign, Birman war, Jinchuan, Gansu and Taiwan rebellions. Qianlong had indeed committed the pacification of Gorkha to his best officers. The campaign was carefully prepared, especially as to the food supplies, a most important matter in Tibet and the Himalayas where food is scarce. It was a very difficult campaign: an army of at least 10,000 men (some say 70,000; on the total number various sources do not agree) in a rugged country, where, often, it was not even possible to ride a horse, fighting so far away from its base in unknown mountains fiercely defended by an enemy famous for its warlike qualities and fighting on and for its own territory. The campaign remained in Chinese memory as feats of arms and

heroic deeds and was the theme of many chapters by historians and also of poems and paintings.

In June 1792 the Chinese troops were approaching the border of Nepal. In July (July 7th according to some Nepalese sources) they recaptured Jilong (Kirong), which the Gorkhas had to evacuate. And here our first Chinese map begins: leaving the impressive towers of Jilong (Reference Mark 1), the dotted line representing the march route passes the checkpost (*ka*: a guard-house at a pass, a customs barrier) of Sixin (Reference Mark 2), then reaches a bridge across a river (Reference Mark 3). From this bridge starts the campaign in Nepal proper, and here is the beginning of important military operations.

Resoqiao, or "The Iron Chains Bridge"?

Needless to say, in the Great Himalayan Range, an area of high abrupt slopes and deeply embanked rivers running as swift as torrents, bridges were fiercely fought for; several times during the campaign, the memorialists mention broken bridges and epic crossing of rivers. The first crossing-the-river story starts as soon as the Chinese battalions had entered the Nepalese territory. On Song Yun's map (Reference Mark 3) the place is called Resoqiao; and here is a first riddle: *qiao* is a bridge (on this map it is written with the key "stone"; in several texts it is written with the more usual key "wood"); *so* means: a large rope; and *re* means: hot. It all does not fit together; must we read Reso as a place name, not taking into account the meaning of *re* and *so*? True, Reso, phonetically, sounds a little like the place name Rasuwa. But, in Wei Yuan's *Shengwuji*, at this place in the story, the bridge is "a bridge of iron chains" (*tieso qiao*; *tie*: iron), a very typical kind of Tibetan bridge at that time; several historians adopted the meaning "bridge of iron chains", although some fundamental sources do write also "*reso qiao*". Let us pass now this first riddle, which does not change facts: there the Chinese found the bridge destroyed by the Nepalese.

According to Kirkpatrick (p.304), Russooa "is a Bhootia village, and marks the present limits of Nepaul in this direction. The first two or three ghurries of this road is winding, the remainder a descent. Under Russooa flows a rivulet bearing the same name, which is passed by a bridge. This stream joins the Trisoolgunga at Dhoonghia-sango (Dhoonghia bridge) to the westward of Russooa. The Nepaulians disputed the passage of this bridge with the Chinese army during three days".

The Trisoolgunga (Trisuli Ganga) is called, on this part of its course, Bhoté Kosi on some modern maps. This Dhoonghia-sângô may mean a bridge (*sanghu* in Nepali) of stone (from Nepali *dhunga*, stone?) which reminds us of the *qiao* with the key

"stone" instead of the key "wood". But if a bridge is made of stone, can it also be a bridge of iron chains?

Russooa appears on more recent maps as Rasuwagarhi, Rasuwagadhi (Nepali *garhi*: a fortress); Kirkpatrick mentions it as a mere village marking the border, could not it be Sixinka, the checkpoint of Sixin, on Song Yun's map ?

According to Wei Yuan, Resoqiao is 80 lis (46 km?) from Kirong.

The Chinese invading force had been divided to enter Nepal through several passes. Five regiments were to progress from Kirong through Rasuwa: an advance guard of three regiments under the command of Fukangan, followed by two regiments under Hailancha -- while other troops were progressing from Central Tibet towards Kuti. It was these five regiments which arrived before the destroyed bridge, in Sravan, 1849 Vikram Samvat, July 1792, according to D. R. Regmi, in the 8th month (July) according to Wei Yuan; according to the Weizang-tongzhi, the battle was fought on July 15th. According to Kirkpatrick the battle lasted three days.

Fukangan brought his soldiers into action, threw a bridge across the river and seized the checkpoint, while Hailancha secretly crossed the river up-stream on rafts, skirted the mountain and managed to emerge above the enemy's camp; then the five regiments joined forces and succeeded storming the Gorkha camp, slaughtering a great number of Nepalese soldiers, and pursuing the survivors on 160 *lis* (92 km?) until they reached a place named Xiebulu (Wei Yuan). Because of the steep slopes (and as there was not any flat room to pitch camp and keep prisoners), they did not make any prisoner, and not even one Gorkha was left (this is Wei Yuan's version).

These 160 lis between the Iron chains bridge and Xiebulu, make a distance twice as long as between Kirong and the said bridge: which does not seem to correspond to reality.

But the dotted line on Song Yun's map leads to a Xiebulu (Reference Mark 5) corresponding to the same distance as in the above text.

According to D. R. Regmi, in July 1792 the Gorkhas, after the battle at Rasuwa pass, fled back to **Syapruk** (which means they were not all exterminated after all); they stood on one side of the river, the Chinese being on the other side. All reports about the capture (or fall, according to which side the writer belongs) of Xiebulu make it clear that Xiebulu is very near to the river; this Xiebulu is certainly the same as Regmi's **Syapruk**; it may be the village, or somewhere not far from the presently existing village, of Syaphru on the modern 1:250,000 map in Nepali "Bagmati Ancal", near the

place where the Langtang Khola meets the Trisuli Ganga, and also the Syabrubensi of the Indian Survey 1:253,440 map, sheet 71 H, and the Syabru Bensi on the Helambu-Langtang 1:100,000 map.

The Storming of Xiebulu Redoubt

It is reported in *Weizangtongzhi* (Chap 13, zhong), according to which it took place on July 24th. The Chinese had advanced 167 *lis* deep into the territory of the "rebels". There was not any flat ground; officers and soldiers had to sleep on the dew on abrupt slopes. ... They reached Xiebulu, a place infested with "rebels", entrenched there in their camps and redoubt; a river flowed crosswise (east to west, crossing the path), deep and torrent-like; it was the same situation as had been at the Iron Chains Bridge: there had been a bridge, but the Gorkhas had destroyed it.

The Chinese bombarded the wooden stockades of the Nepalese and crushed and killed many of them; but the Nepalese would not withdraw, and held their ground. It was July 23rd, eight days after the Iron Chains Bridge affair.

The Chinese made a surrounding movement, managed to reach a place upstream, and built a bridge with dry trees, upon which they undauntedly and strenuously embarked, and tried to cross the frightening river; the gun-fire did not stop; the river rushed along torrent-like; suddenly the dry trees started drifting; crossing the river seemed impossible; and rain was pouring, as is usual in July; at sunset, the Chinese pretended to order withdrawal; about midnight, as the "rebels" were back in their camps, the Chinese took very tall trees and bound them together very tightly, then climbed the trees and thus crossed the river. Then they divided themselves into three groups.

On July 24th, at daybreak, with united strength, exerting all their energies, they crushed and defeated the enemy, killing more than three hundred "bandits"; they stormed and destroyed their five fortified camps and set them ablaze; assailed on three sides, the Gorkhas gave ground and fled, and the Chinese pursuing them killed three hundred more Nepalese soldiers.

In the *Xizangtukao* we find a poem by Yangkui, an advisor to Hailancha, inspired by the conquest of Xiebulu: mountain slopes burning for three days (or, "on the third day"?) so that only ashes were left. (Was Yangkui really an eye-witness of the affair or is it poetic license? Is it really possible, under the monsoon rains in July, for anything to burn three days, or even one day ?)

The battle for Dongjiao

After the fall of Xiebulu/Syapruk, the Gorkhas, according to D. R. Regmi, withdrew first to Dhunchay, then to Dhaibung. (*Modern Nepal*, pp.167-231).

According to the *Weizangtongzhi*, Fukangan and Hailancha took their five regiments from Xiebulu to Mount Dongjiao, with much difficulty and hardships: through clouds and rains in those rugged mountains all made of steep slopes and unfathomable precipices. We find the same description in Wei Yuan's *Shengwuji*: from Xiebulu to Dongjiao, at one hundred and several times ten *lis*, two cliffs standing like walls, parted in the middle by a river flowing crosswise, deep and torrent-like.

The "rebels" are entrenched there in their strongholds, stone redoubts. Fukangan skirts the mountain. The enemies sally out. The Chinese rush to the attack; the first waves are hacked to pieces; but the Gorkhas finally have to give ground, and they are relentlessly pursued farther back and farther back, until they stop on the eighth day (or on the eight of August?), the Chinese having stopped only for very short moments just for the most necessary time of rest.

And now is Dongjiao: in which it is very tempting to see the Dhunchay of Regmi, the Dhooncho of Kirkpatrick, somewhere near the Dhunche of our modern maps (approximately 28° 7' N. and 85° 18' E. on the 1987 Helambu- Langtang map 1:100,000). Dhunche lies a little south from the Trisuli Khola, a tributary of the Trisuli Ganga, which agrees with the Chinese report since this report mentions a river flowing "crosswise" (east to west) which it was very difficult to cross: here is the third cross-the-river story.

We find Dongjiao on Song Yun's map, although it is not written with the same Chinese ideograms as in *Weizangtongzhi* and *Shengwuji*. On Song Yun's map, moreover, we read Dongjiao Mahuang-shan (Reference Mark 7); which we must understand in the following way: there are two summits, one is Dongjiao-shan (*shan*: mountain) and one is Mahuang-shan (we find also this Mahuang, written with different Chinese ideograms, in related written sources); this is beyond doubt, because in *Xizangtukao* are to be found several poems by Yangkui, one is a "Poem on Mount Dongjiao", another is a "Poem on Mount Mahuang". Maybe it is the place where the dotted line, on Song Yun's map, goes through a pass between two summits, one a little higher than the other (Reference Mark 7). Starting from that pass the Chinese itinerary winds down the mountain through Chang-chan (or: the station of Chang ; *chan*: stage of a journey, station) (Reference Mark 8) to Yong Ya (Reference Mark 9).

The battle for Dongjiao is illustrated by a Chinese artist who engraved a series of prints, one of them kept in the Musee Guimet in Paris, which we shall describe at the end of the present chapter.

According to Wei Yuan, the Chinese reached Yong Ya on the 9th day of the 6th month (July) - but the *Weizangtongzhi* left us before Xiebulu on July 24th(?). But this same *Weizangtongzhi* says the Chinese were between Xiebulu and Dongjiao from the 2nd to the 8th day, which should be August rather than July, if one considers what comes after.

We read in the *Shengwuji* that from Yong Ya on, mountain ridges lie no longer east-west, but north-south, and so do the rivers: an observation which may help us in identifying the actual place of Yong Ya, which otherwise is a phonetic transcription which we have not been able to decipher.

After Yong Ya the Chinese met, or passed, a place named Baiguomu (?) (Reference Mark 10) and stopped before Duibumu (Reference Mark 11).

The Capturing of Duibumu

According to the *Weizangtongzhi*, Duibumu was captured in the 7th month (August): Fukangan seized Gelela (not on Song Yun's map), Duibumu, took possession of the bridge, and crossed--once more--a river.

In phonetic transcriptions the final *mu*, in Chinese, often represents a final "m" or "ng". This Duibumu looks very much like D. R. Regmi's **Dhaibung**, and Kirkpatrick's **Dhyboon**. Regmi writes: "we can safely infer that the last battle was fought in or near Dhaibung..."; and Kirkpatrick: "The Chinese general Thoong Than [Fukangan] did not descend below the town of Dhyboon, though part of his army did". There the victorious impulse of the invading army, exhausted, was brought to a stop.

On the map included in Kirkpatrick's book we see an important mountain called **Mt. Dhyboon** which is a South-Western shoulder of the Gosainkund range. On the West of it flows the Trisuli Ganga, and on the South it is limited by the tributary river (flowing into the Trisuli Ganga) called **Betrouilli** by Kirkpatrick, **Betrawati** by other writers, and **Phalangu Khola**, **Phalagu Khola** on our modern maps; the mountain towers above the place where the Phalangu Khola and the Trisuli Ganga meet.

On our recent maps we find the villages: **Dhaibung, Dhaibung Jivajive, or Jibjibe**; if they are not the exact place where the real old Dhyboon stood, they certainly are not far from it.

On Song Yun's map we can see, a little farther south after Duibumu on the dotted line, a bridge crossing a river with the words: Belanggu (Reference Mark 12) which very logically translates the word Phalangu: one bridge more to take possession of!

It will be the last one: and on Song Yun's map it is also the last bridge in the South related with the route of the Chinese army. And not without reason.

As the Chinese reached Duibumu, other regiments had entered Nepal through Kuti. The Chinese pressure upon the destiny of Nepal was such that there was no escape from it. The Nepalese had entrenched themselves in the fortress of Nuwakot, while the Chinese were settled in Dhaibung.

This is not the place here to explain at great length the details of the negotiations for an armistice, started as soon as July and going on, with interruptions, between the Chinese and the Nepalese; nor to describe the diplomatic activity with third countries. Let us only explain the map: ten Nepalese camps, according to Regmi, guarded the Southern side of the Phalangu Khola; the Chinese crossed the river nevertheless, on 5 Aswin 1849 V.S. (5th of October), (in the first days of September, according to Wei Yuan). They were now two or three days'walk from Kathmandu.

The Nepalese were in a difficult situation. So were the Chinese, in spite of appearances.

From this phase of the war on, the historian experiences a confusing feeling, for he finds that, according to the different chronicles, both partners are victorious and both partners are defeated.

According to Nepalese chronicles, the Chinese were stopped, at last, by the Gorkhas, on the mountain ridges just south of the Phalangu Khola, and did not go further. The cease-fire occurred in the first days of October. According to Fukangan's report to the Imperial Court, the Nepalese had "humbly asked to submit".

Fukangan reports about the great number of Nepalese killed and the vast territory occupied within the Gorkha kingdom; but he also reports about the terrible hardships suffered by his soldiers and about a very unhappy circumstance: imminence of heavy snow falls because of the forwardness of Autumn that year; they were expected earlier than

usual, according to intelligence from Tibet, and would soon "seal up", as the Chinese say, the mountain passes. The Chinese army would be trapped on foreign soil, so far away from its base; this explains why the Chinese army (excepting a small party which we shall meet later on) did not set foot in the Kathmandu Valley, did not plunder Kathmandu, and being so near to the capital city, turned back and, in October, hastened away towards the passes.

The Nepalese may have felt they had stopped the Chinese and thrown them back on the other side of the Himal. Nevertheless the Chinese got all that they wanted through the treaty of peace which followed soon: not only did they obtain the restitution of the booty plundered from Tashilumpo and not only did they put an end to the centuries-old privilege of Nepal of minting coins for Tibet, and not only were Kirong and Kuti given back to Tibet, but the Kingdom of Gorkha accepted Chinese suzerainty and as a vassal to the Emperor started sending a "tribute " to the Court (which was done until 1911). But it must also be remembered that, in contrast with the situation of Tibet, no Chinese High Commissioner was ever nominated for Nepal, no Chinese troops were left in the country; the Nepalese were not obliged to adopt the Chinese coinage; no Gorkha recruits were ever levied to fight under the Chinese banner... and the historian will also note that, from 1792 on, never, never did any invasion of Nepal by the North happen again.

Let us come back to our map: the war is over; the Chinese stopped a little south of Belangu/Phalangu Khola; and here also, significantly enough, the map itself stops.

Now this map includes a few other data which have not yet been explained: Reference Mark 4, on the way between Resoqiao and Xiebulu: Baodamu, may be the Birdim, Burdim of some modern maps.

Reference Mark 6: on the way between Xiebulu and Dongjiao Mahuang-shan: Geduo. As the French research worker D. Blamont, who has visited the country, explains, several villages in the district are called Kedo, but he does not know any Kedo exactly there, and also the name Geduo may translate the Nepalese *kot*: a fortress; many *kots* are to be found in the area; Dhunche was also a *kot* in the past.

Reference mark 13: Balebu zong. Zong is a Tibetan word meaning "a fortress"; Balebu renders the Tibetan Bal-po which means "Nepalese"; both words are common; Balebu zong: a Nepalese fortress; one of the *kot* of the district.

Reference Mark 14: Pozhongla-shan: Mount Pozhongla (?).

Reference Mark 15: Jiergeli-da-shan: the Great Mountain Jiergeli. It sounds like a Nepali word: Chirkari, Chirkali(?). A very impressive range of steep mountains as are found on so many Chinese paintings. Certainly it is the Gosainkund range. Three summits are crowned by what are obviously Hindu Nepalese temples; which is not surprising as in the Gosainkund range are to be found famous places of pilgrimage.

On this map series, as will be remarked, Buddhist and Hinduist styles of architecture are represented by clearly distinguishable different graphic symbols.

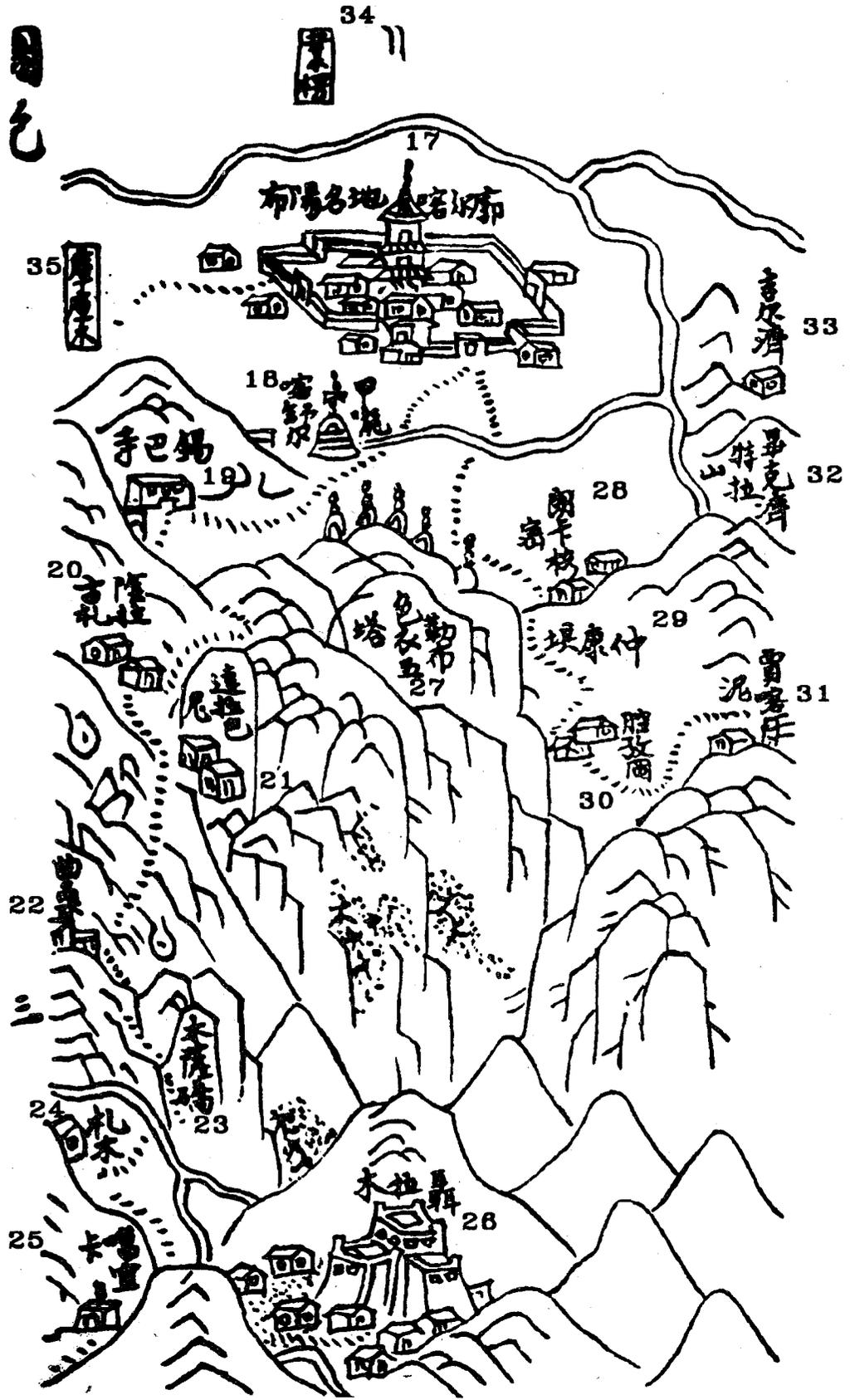
Reference Mark 16: here we have not a phonetic transcription but a comment in true Chinese: "here are Balebu (Nepalese) mines of iron and copper ore". Where are these mines to be found? Logically, on the Western slope of this shoulder of the Gosainkund, a little south-west of Dhaibung, between Dhaibung and the Trisuli Ganga. But, as far as we know, nothing is remembered there of such mines.

As has been mentioned above, when the Chinese regiments, after the battle at Duibumu/Dhaibung, stopped about there, a small party proceeded farther south. Kirkpatrick writes (p.302): "The Chinese General Thoong Thang did not descend below the town of Dhyboon, though part of his army did". And D. R. Regmi (p.195): "We can safely infer that the last battle was fought in or near Dhaibung. A small party of the Chinese had, however, come as far as the ridge in the north-east of the Valley to interview the Regent Bahadur Shah. This ridge is called Panchmane and has five stupas built by the Chinese as memorial to their coming into Nepal".

We may follow this new phase of the story on another fragment of the same series of maps: the sheet showing the area from Nielamu (Nyalam = Kuti) and Kathmandu. Here we find again steep mountains, rivers half visible and half to be guessed, North at the bottom and South at the top. The dotted line shows the usual trade route from Kathmandu to Kuti towards Lhasa; the itinerary is explained in Kirkpatrick and in *Xizangtukao*, chap.III.

The Reference Mark 17, Kuoerka di ming Yangbu, is easy to decipher: Territory of Kucerka = Gorkha, name: Yangbu. Yangbu is the Tibetan name, coming from the native Newar name, of Kathmandu. The drawing makes it clear that it is a chief city, surrounded by walls (which did exist at that time, but not nowadays); it is dominated by the steep roof, Newar style, of a Hindu building or royal palace.

Just above, that is, South from Kathmandu, in a rectangular cartouche, are written the words Yelang (Reference Mark 34) which is a transcription of the Tibetan name, coming from the original Newar name, of Lalitpur, also named Patan; not only an



Son Yun's Map No. 2

important town, but also previously a kingdom (hence the cartouche ?); on the left, i.e. on the east, another cartouche bears the words Kukumu (Reference Mark 35) also a Newari-Tibeto-Chinese transcription for Bhaktapur, or Bhadgaon, third important town and previously independent Kingdom in the Valley. When this map was drawn, these cities already were no longer independent kingdoms, but they still got a special treatment by the cartographer.

A little farther north from Kathmandu we find a drawing symbolizing an important stupa (Reference Mark 18), called on the map Jialongkeshuer, which is the phonetic rendering of the Tibetan Bya-rung-'kha-shor; it is the famous stupa called Baudha by everybody, except foreigners, who usually call it Bodnath.

Farther on, but not on the trade route itself, there stand somewhere on a slope, facing Kathmandu, on a line, four buildings, followed, a little lower, by a fifth one, maybe smaller, or partly broken, or maybe only the upper part of it is visible. They obviously are stupas (Reference Mark 27); Chinese legend: *Lebu se yi wu da*, which means: *wu da*, five stupas (towers, pagodas); *Lebu*: for Balebu, Nepalese; *se yi* means: coloured clothes. Five Nepalese stupas with... what does the "coloured clothes" mean? The multicoloured prayer banners, often seen hanging on lines on and about Buddhist buildings? Or is *se yi* simply a phonetic transcription? Of what?

Five Nepalese stupas: or Panchmanis, the Five manis: prayer-buildings, prayer-walls, prayer-stones, stupas.

Here are the Panchmanis mentioned by D. R. Regmi, built by the Chinese officers after the Dhaibung battle. These five stupas, or what is left of them, two centuries later, are still standing on the hill slope, facing the Valley, and I visited them, in November 1985, with R. de Milleville and J. Marvaud. The Nepalese historian D. R. Regmi, who knows the place, had explained where the stupas stand exactly: we first drove on the new Kathmandu-Kakani Road; Kakani, a village about 13 km, as the crow flies, North West from Kathmandu, may be found on Song Yun's map as Jiakeni (Reference Mark 31). The road leaves the Valley and starts climbing up the first hill encircling it. But we did not drive so far as Kakani: at Balaju we left the road and walked eastward for two or three hours, through rice and maize fields and up the slope where the village of Jitpur stands; the name of Jitpur in itself reminds one of a war, since *jit* means "victory" in Nepali, and *pur* means "town"; a little farther east stands the village of Jitpurphedi (*phedi*: the bottom of a hill).

Between the Kathmandu-Kakani road and Jitpur is a ridge whence all the Valley and the surrounding hills are within sight. This is the place where the Chinese advance party



arrived, and whence it contemplated Kathmandu, and where it built the five stupas. It is 85° 17' E. and 27° 48' N. on the 1:50,000 Kathmandu Valley map (Munich, 1977).

Peasants led us to the Panchmani, which they know as remains from the past, sometimes visited, but they do not remember exactly why. We were in front of four buildings, or rather stumps of buildings, four square-based monuments made of a mixture of brick, earth and stone. The upper part has a somewhat rounded top, covered now with weeds and bush and even a small tree. The four ruined buildings are about 1.5 or 2m high; their base is a square 5 paces long on each side and the interval between them is of 2 or 3 paces. They stand on a line oriented NE--SW, not far from a long wall encircling a wildlife preservation park in project. Standing there and facing Kathmandu in the distance, one may see, half-way to the city, slightly on the left, the vast white dome of Bauddha/Bodnath stupa, which corresponds to the pretty symbol on Song Yun's map captioned Jialongkeshuer (Reference Mark 18) as already noted before.

Now we have four stupas, not five. Where is the fifth? The village people there explain: a long time ago, there were five stupas, but the ground collapsed and one fell down into the ravine. True, after the fourth stupa, the end of the ridge has collapsed and only an abrupt slope is left. It is quite possible that in the bottom of the ravine lies the fifth stupa, powdered and dissolved by the rains and melted back into the hill earth. When did it collapse? Was it when this peasant's grandfather was still alive, or his great-great-great grandfather? He does not know: it was a long time ago, that's all.

But, what a strange coincidence: on Song Yun's map we clearly distinguish four stupas on a line and a part of a fifth one a little farther and lower on the right, as has been already observed; it may be on the far end of a ridge, a rather insecure position. The Chinese could not know that landslides are not infrequent there; all slopes are fragile in the area. Maybe the stupa had already half collapsed when Song Yun's map was drawn. Anyway, since 1792, the Panchmanis have suffered from 196 monsoon rains and at least one earthquake. It is almost a miracle that only one has disappeared.

Song Yun's map looks here so precise and exact, that even a small detail as that different fifth stupa was shown; but, to tell the truth, on the wrong side: it is shown on the right, i.e. West of the others, while we found the missing stupa should have been on the N.E. side on the line of five.

Let us now imagine the small party of "invaders" settled here and building the stupas; not in one day certainly; how much time was necessary--the map shows ornamented domes? And who, exactly, did the job? What is left is rudimentary, not

elaborate, only a mass of brick, stone and earth. But what did the now disappeared upper parts look like? Was something buried inside the stupas?

As is explained in Chinese texts, the "Chinese " troops invading Nepal were not actually Chinese, Han men; there were Manchus, Mongols, men from Jinchuan, even Tibetans; it is not easy now to find out a definite style in such simple ruined stumps of stupas -- and, by the way, the Chinese texts I have found about the war, do not mention this building of stupas there (but I have not read all and everything) and the legend on Song Yun's map calls them "Nepalese" stupas.

On this last phase of the war, two stories, or legends, remain: according to D. R. Regmi (p.195): "...This ridge is called Panchmane... there is a legend about this ridge. It is said that when the Chinese army looked down from the ridge, it saw a huge avalanche of men and women in arms coming in their direction. They thought that the Nepal Raja was much superior to them and they fled. The Gorkhalis celebrated the victory at the foot of the hills and named this place as Jitpurphedi". And also, according to a Nepalese inscription, the then Regent and uncle of the infant Nepalese king, Bahadur Shah, "claims to have routed the Chinese army".

Another story of the same kind is reported by Pudma Jung Bahadur Rana about one of his ancestors, Ranjeet Kunwar Rana (grand father to Jung Bahadur Rana). (See: *Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal*, by P. J. B. Rana, Kathmandu, 1974, pp.6-7). After the Dhaibung battle, "Ranjeet retreated further, and made another stand in the mountains of Panchmanay, whence with his reduced force he directed a night attack upon the enemy in a manner that reminds us of Hannibal. He fastened flaming torches to the horns of several hundred cattle which were driven in one direction, and in another he hung lights on every conspicuous bush and tree; while he himself marched silently in the dark and attacked the enemy in the rear, leaving the front open. The enemy, pressed in one quarter by an actual attack, and seeing lights on their right and left, fancied they had been caught in a trap, and so made their best haste to flee from the destruction which they feared was about to follow. They fled pell-mell, throwing down their arms, and leaving their camp to be plundered by the Nepalese. This happened on the 19th of September 1792, and the scene of the victory has since been called by the new name of Jitpur Fedi ..." Then the pious scion of Ranjeet Kunwar Rana gives a Nepalese version of the Sino-Nepalese treaty which does not attribute the victory to the Chinese, an interpretation of the facts which will be met in several other Nepalese reports, while the Chinese reports make it crystal clear that the Nepalese "bandits", "rebels", were defeated. As the consequences of the war, and the situation of both countries after this costly victory/defeat are well known, we shall not argue any longer about it.

Now let us try to identify some other place-names on Song Yun's map, which are not so easy to decipher. Many are on the then usual trade route between Kathmandu and Kuti: an itinerary running slightly north from our present Arniko highway, the modern all weather road from Kathmandu to Kodari, Khasa and Nyalam.

From Kathmandu/Yangbu (Reference Mark 17) two dotted lines run, one towards the right (i.e. NW) and Jiakeni/Kakani (Reference mark 37) and via this route Kirong is not far, as one Chinese text teaches. Before Kakani is Langkagemi (Reference Mark 28) which we also find, written with the same Chinese ideograms, in *Xizangtukao*, Chap.III. This place name I cannot decipher, nor can I decipher the next one, Zhongkang qu (Reference Mark 29) in which *qu* means an embankment, nor the following one (Reference Mark 30): Qiangzi gang in which *gang* means: ridge of a hill (same ideograms in *Xizang-tukao*); nor can I elucidate the name of the mountains: Bigejitela shan (*shan*: mountain) (Reference Mark 32) and Jierji (Reference Mark 33), which may have to be read as one word: Mounts-Jierjibigejitela(?)

The other dotted line leads us from Kathmandu to Nielamu (Reference Mark 20) with its enormous towers symbolizing a very important fortress. After having passed Baudha (see above) we meet Yinba si (Reference Mark 19): the temple (*si*) of Yinba; *yin* means: silver; *ba* may be only phonetic, or may be for the Tibetan *pa*, "a man from" (?). This name keeps its mystery for me, as well as the next one, Yinlaguzha (Reference Mark 20), a mere phonetic transcription also.

Then we meet Dalabani (Reference mark 21); there is a Dharapani (*dhara*: fountain, fountain waters in Nepali) just a little East from Nisti on the Lapchi Kang 1:50,000 map by Erwin Schneider (1974), half-way between Nisti and the Bhote Kosi River; this Nisti is the same as Listikot on the 1:250,000 Nepali map Bagmati Ancal, and the same as the Nesti of XVIIth century European travellers; it was then on the border between Tibet and Nepal, and still was in Kirkpatrick's time, as he himself wrote.

Then we arrive at Qusang (Reference Mark 22); here we have a phonetic transcription from Tibetan words meaning: hot waters; on modern maps it is the well known Tatopani, which means "hot waters" in Nepali. Here is another example of how the compilers of the Chinese map used sometimes the Tibetan name and sometimes the Nepali name of a place, probably according to whom had given them the information -- and why they did not use its local names, Newari or Tamang, etc. Here we meet the typical puzzle of geographic names in plurilingual countries.

After Tatopani is a bridge: Musaqiao (Reference Mark 23) where *qiao* means a bridge and is written not with the key "wood", but with the key "stone" as was the case

for Resoqiao. It seems we have now crossed the Bhote Kosi and are standing on its left, i.e. eastern bank. Musa is a name which does not remind us of any place name on our modern maps.

The following station is **Zhamu** (Reference Mark 24) which is clearly Zhangmu on R. de Milleville's Kathmandu-Lhasa 1:1 M route map (1987), or **Dram** on the Lapchi Kang map, or **Khasa** on several other maps.

After Khasa is a checkpost: **Keyi ka (?)** (Reference Mark 25) and then stands the fortress of Nielamu, where the map stops.

According to Song Yun's map and also according to *Xizangtukao*, the usual trade route, after Bauddha, went through: Yinba temple -- Yinlaguzha -- Dalabani/Dharapani -- Qu Sang/Tatopani -- Musa bridge --Zhamu/Zhangmu/Dram/Khasa -- Keyi checkpost - Nielamu/Kuti.

According to Kirkpatrick (pp.315-321), the trade route went through: Gooje-serri, near Pusputnath (Pashupatinath) -- Sankoo (Sanku on modern maps) -- Deopoor (Deupur on the Nepali map Bagmati Ancal) -- Seepa (Sipa on the Bagmati Ancal map) -- Jhari -- Choutra (Chautara on many modern maps) -- Koobindiah (Kuvinde on the Bagmati Ancal map) -- Bullephee (Balephi) on the Bagmati Ancal map) -- Phyria -- Phaldoo -- Laisti (Listikot on the Nepali map Bagmati Ancal), Nisti, Nesti etc. as seen above) -- Dhara-puni-gong (Dharapani) -- Dhoonga (just after it, the Bhote Kosi is crossed on an iron-bridge, probably an iron-chains bridge[?]) -- Khusa or Khussa-goombah (Khasa, see above) -- Chosiong (Choksum on the British 1953 map "Nepal, East Sheet", 1:506,880) -- Kooti This route runs chiefly on the right bank of the Sun Kosi (called Bhote Kosi on its upper course), slightly North or slightly West of the Arniko highway. The Chinese itinerary, between Bauddha/Bodnath and Dharapani, gives only two place names: Yinba temple and Yinlaguzha, while Kirkpatrick gives twelve places between Kathmandu and Dharapani.

Now let us look at another kind of historical source, which the above pages can help us understand: a Chinese victory picture of the Tibet-Gorkha war.

A Chinese Print Illustrating the Tibet-Gorkha war in the Musée Guimet in Paris

The picture we introduce here is a Chinese print kept in the collections of the Musée Guimet in Paris; it was offered to the said Musée in 1925 by a private collector (Wannieck donation). The original dimensions are 58 X 80 cm approximately. It is black on a cream-coloured ground. The title says: "Illustration of the storming of Mount



攻克東莞山之

圖

愈近賊寨守愈

固蓋之地更險

而行分兵爭者

穿幽阻合隊煙

根克要區手豈

斷脈膏情竅精

神鼓奇蓋動劫

有征無獲雖傳

古將惠兵忠實

使吾

癸丑新正月

御題

Chinese Print
By Courtesy of the Musee Guimet, Paris

Dongjiao". According to the files of the Musée, it is one out of a series of eight prints illustrating the Tibet-Gorkha war under Qianlong.

The Musée Guimet keeps many other Chinese prints illustrating Emperor Qianlong's victories, especially his victories in Central Asia in 1755-1759, and also victories in Taiwan, Yunnan, Hunan. Some of them were exhibited in 1967 and a printed catalogue of the exhibition, written by Mme Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, was published in 1969 (see: *Gravures des conquêtes de l'Empereur de Chine K'ien-long au Musée Guimet*, par Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens [Paris: Musée Guimet, 1969]). It offers 32 reproductions and an interesting commentary about the historical context and origin of the prints.

The prints illustrating the Central Asian wars were drawn by European Catholic missionaries *from* paintings by Chinese painters, and then sent to Paris for engraving on copper plates by famous French engravers, then sent back to Qianlong in China; all are prior to 1766; the last wars of Qianlong's time were also illustrated and the paintings engraved, but in China by Chinese artists and engravers; as Mme Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens explains, the Musée Guimet keeps some of those series of the later campaigns; unfortunately, no print of the Tibet-Gorkha war was included in Mme Pirazzoli's catalogue nor studied by her; it is only mentioned somewhere in the catalogue that a Nepal series does exist; which induced me to write to Mme Pirazzoli about the availability of it in Paris collections; she let me know there was *one* print of the Nepal series in the Musée Guimet. Recently the Musée Guimet kindly provided photographs of it and allowed it to be published.

Where the other seven prints of the series of eight are, in France, or some other place in Europe, I do not know.

Now let us have a look at the drawing:

The Chinese soldiers all wear the same round head-dress with a button at the top. Hanging out of many is to be seen the long tail imposed on the Chinese by the Mandchu rulers; some of the head-dresses are adorned at the back with an animal's tail (fox?), a distinguishing mark for commanding officers or petty officers(?). The Chinese wear rather high boots, half-long tunics with long sleeves, with a belt, above trousers, all clothes not tight, and the trousers thrust into the boots. There are four kinds of soldiers on the Chinese side: 1) infantry lancers; 2) infantry fusiliers, with a cartridge-belt; 3) a few bowmen on horseback; 4) upper right: infantry men with a saber and a very large oval shield on which a monstrous (terrifying?) face is painted: with eyes, nose, mouth. Only this kind of fighters has a shield. Comparing our print and the 32 prints published in

Mrs. Pirazzoli's catalogue, we find we meet *exactly the same shield* on two prints (and only on them) in the Taiwan series of prints (1786-88 campaign) painted by Jiaquan and Liming. There they are also held by infantry men with a curved saber. Maybe this kind of shield belongs to one of the allogeneous tribes (what the Chinese now call "ethnic minorities") recruited into the Chinese army. Such tribesmen fought in the Tibet-Gorkha war, according to historians.

Now the enemy, i.e. the Gorkhas: only infantry men are to be seen. Their weapons are either spears or swords. They wear a half-long tunic, with a loose belt, above trousers; their head-dress is a peaked cap, which does not really look like the well-known modern Nepalese cap; and -- a very characteristic feature which had attracted the attention of the Chinese invaders -- they fight barefoot.

On the Chinese side, two beautiful banners, with a dragon painted or embroidered on them, seem to be flapping proudly in the battle (bottom left and full center of the print).

The landscape shows very high and abrupt mountains, and two rivers, one larger and the other narrower, flowing into the first. Boulders appear here and there in the stream (no drowning or drowned soldier is shown, there is not a living being in the river).

By narrow hairpin paths, winding on the verge of precipices, the Chinese soldiers reach the bank of the smaller river, which they cross on a bridge built on wooden piles (bottom left); then they climb up the higher mountains and proceed towards two directions, left and right, fighting, beating off the Gorkha soldiers who scurry away, amidst the Nepalese forts or redoubts, truncated pyramid-shaped buildings which seem to be made of stone. Seven such truncated pyramids are to be seen. In front of the entrance of a large fort, in the middle of the print, a fierce fight is being carried on.

The Chinese use fire-arms; some are shown firing out of long guns or muskets, and thick wreaths of smoke keep twirling, before the central fort, and also inside another fort, and there they could be from Gorkha guns.

The artist has shown the fast flowing stream in a peculiar style, rather confusing as at first sight it seems up-stream and down-stream are inverted.

"The storming of Mount Dongjiao": starting from what we have read about the campaign, it is now easy to identify places and other data; looking at the print, from bottom to top, is to look towards the South; the large river which fills the right part of the sheet is the Trisuli Ganga, flowing towards the South; the river on the left, cross-

wise, with the bridge, is the Trisuli Khola; the mountains standing in the corner between the two rivers constitute the mountainous area including Dhunche, named Dongjiao Mount by the Chinese, in fact the end of the Gosainkund Range. The Gorkhas, entrenched in several redoubts, held the mountain. Beaten off, many were killed, especially those who are seen fighting in front of the large fort in the middle of the print, but others escaped, right and left, and are seen fleeing towards the South. (See above).

In the upper upper part of the picture is written a Chinese text in the same manner as in the twelve prints of the Yunnan, Taiwan and Hunan series reproduced in Mme Pirazzoli's catalogue. The title has already been explained; the text is dated first month (February) of the year 1793; it is a text of seventy words by the Emperor praising the courage of the (Chinese) fighters during the storming of Mount Dongjiao.

The picture, the author of which I do not know, shows a general stylistic resemblance to the Yunnan, Hunan and Taiwan series. But the final seal, at the end of the text, is not the same as on any others of those series. We find the same oval shield in the Taiwan series and on our print; but other elements are different: for instance, the manner of drawing the wreaths of smoke; actually wreaths of smoke are different in style in each series. So the first general resemblance may be confusing. Something more, it is hoped, will be found out one day about the Mount Dongjiao picture and its seven sisters in the Nepal series.

- Baigomu 白菓木
- Balebu zong 巴勒布宗
- Baodamu 包達木
- Belanggu 帕朗古
- Bigejitela 畢克濟特拉
- Chang chan 章站
- Chu Zang Dachen 駐藏大臣
- da 塔
- Dajianlu 打箭爐 打箭鑪
- Dalabani 達拉巴尼
- Daoguang 道光
- Dongjiao
On Song Yun's map 東角
in Weizangtongzhi 東覺
Guimet print 東覺
- Dongjiao Mahuang shan:
see Mahuang shan
- Duibumu 堆補木
- Fukangan 福康安
- gang 岡
- Geduo 噶多
- Gelela 噶勒拉
- Hailancha 海蘭察
- Huang Benqiao 黃沛翹
- Jiakeni 賈喀泥
- Jialongkeshuer 甲龍喀舒尔
- Jiaqing 嘉慶
- Jiergeli da shan 吉尔各哩大山
- Jierji 吉尔濟
- Jilong 濟龍
- Jinchuan 金川
- ka 卡
- Keyika 噶宜卡
- Kukumu 庫庫木
- Kuoërka 廓尔喀
- Langkagemi 朗卡格密
- Lebu se yi wu da 勒布色衣五塔
- Ma Huang shan
On Song Yun's map 馬黃山
in Xizangtukao 馬蝗山
- Musaqiao 木薩橋
- Nielamu 轟拉木
- Pozhongla shan 潑冲拉山
- Qiangzigang 腔孜岡
- Qianlong 乾隆
- qiao
with key "wood" 橋
with key "stone" 磣

Qing 清
 qu 渠
 Qusang 曲桑
 Resoqiao 熱索橋
 shan 山
 Shengwuji 聖武記
 Sixin 色新卡
 Song Yun 松筠
 tiesoqiao 鐵索橋
 Wei Yuan 魏源
 Weizangtongzhi 衛藏通志
 Xiebulu 協布魯
 Xining 西寧

Xizang 西藏
 Xizangtukao 西藏圖考
 Xizangtushuo 西藏圖說
 Xizhaotulue 西招圖略
 Yangbu 陽布
 Yangkui 楊揆
 Yeleng 葉楞, 葉楞
 Yinba si 錫巴寺
 Yinlaguzha 陰拉古札
 Yong Ya 雍雅
 Zhamu 札木
 Zhongkang qu 仲康渠

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Etude des cartes et gravures exécutées par Song Yun, officier chinois de haut rang et haut commissaire au Tibet sous les règnes des empereurs Qianlong et Jiaqing, illustrant la guerre entre la Chine et le Royaume de Gorkha en 1788-92

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