
The ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’

An Annotated Translation of the 《白国因由》

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The Yúnnán Papers

This text is part of a series of translations of historical Chinese texts concerning Yúnnán.

This series does not aim to present any new research but to allow an English-speaking audience to better understand Yúnnán’s history and culture through original texts. The texts are heavily annotated, giving geographical, historical and cultural background information and references to contemporary academic discussions.

The texts in this series are currently in draft and undergoing revision. Those translations that have reached a certain state of maturity can be found on my website at

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1 Introduction

The ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’ 《白国因由》 is a collection of legends about the miracle works of Guānyīn 观音 – the distinctive Chinese form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara – as protector of the lake Ērhǎi 洱海 region and his help in establishing Nánzhào 南诏 and the later Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国, fictionalized here as the ‘Bái kingdom 白国’. The 《白国因由》 was based on a work in the Bái language called ‘*Báigǔtōng*’ 《白古通》, a text now lost. The stories told in the 《白国因由》 are to this day an integral and popular part of folk mythology in the Dàlǐ 大理 region.

The 《白国因由》 was mentioned during the Chinese Republic in the multi-volume 《新纂云南通志》,⁽¹⁾ which noted:

白国因由无名氏撰

主要叙述白子国的创始源起，佛教色彩浓厚

The ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’ was compiled by an anonymous person

It mainly narrates the origins of the State of Bái with a strong Buddhist colour

The 《新纂云南通志》 then gives a brief summary of the stories.

In the 1930s, the local scholar Mǎ Zǐhuá 马子华 compiled notes to the text, which was reprinted in 1979 as Mǎ Zǐhuá 马子华 (1979).⁽²⁾ In the first edition of his acclaimed book 《大理古代文化史》, published in 1949, Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 also refers to the text.⁽³⁾

This indicates that the 《白国因由》 was certainly not an unknown text during the Chinese Republic.

A set of printing blocks of the 《白国因由》, carved in 1706, survived until at least 1957 when the eminent scholar of Yúnnán history Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 discovered it in a storeroom at Shèngyuán temple 圣源寺, an important Buddhist temple and shrine to Guānyīn on the slopes of Cāngshān 苍山.⁽⁴⁾ The stories had also been carved into the main temple’s door panels attesting to their significance in local religious belief.⁽⁵⁾ During the Cultural Revolution 文革 the printing blocks disappeared and are believed lost,⁽⁶⁾ while the door panels were badly defaced.

The stories told in the 《白国因由》 belong to a type of ‘miracle tales’ about Guānyīn that began circulating in China as early as the 4th century and are loosely based on the 25th chapter of the Lotus Sutra 《妙法莲花经》, which was first translated into Chinese in the 3rd century.⁽⁷⁾

In the introduction to his translation Watson summarizes the 25th chapter of the Lotus Sutra:

In order to make his [Avalokiteśvara’s] teaching and aid most readily acceptable to all kinds of beings, the bodhisattva is prepared to take on thirty-three different forms, matching his form to that of the being who calls upon him, whether that being be man or woman, exalted or humble, human or nonhuman in nature. (Watson (1993), p. xxii.)

(1) 《新纂云南通志》,第七十三卷四十页。A full scan of the work can be found at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:新纂雲南通志>.

(2) I possess a copy of the 1979 text.

(3) Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 (1949), pp. 36, 167.

(4) in the village of Qìngdòng 庆洞 25.83N 100.1E.

(5) the carved door panels are mentioned in the colophon, see section ‘Colophon’ on page 36. The badly defaced doors still exist.

(6) Chén Liàngxù 陈亮旭 in https://fo.ifeng.com/special/csl/content-3/detail_2013_11/04/30946232_0.shtml.

(7) Murase (1971), for a translation of the sutra, see Watson (1993).

Howard (1990), after summarizing the stories in the 《白国因由》, notes their simplicity:⁽⁸⁾

The naiveté which pervades all these stories indicates that the cult of Guanyin had penetrated Nanzhao society to its lowest strata. Even the most humble and ignorant, whose circumstances did not differ greatly from those of savages, knew Guanyin's boundless power. (Howard (1990), p. 8)

But this is of course based on the assumption that the stories in the 《白国因由》 are in fact transmissions from the Nánzhào period and not a later, even much later, mythologization of Nánzhào. However, Guānyīn appeared as an foreign monk mostly in stories circulating before the 10th century, while from the Sòng dynasty onwards Guānyīn began to be depicted in China in female form.⁽⁹⁾ So even though the printing blocks of the 《白国因由》 were only carved during the Qīng dynasty, the stories seem to point back to much earlier times.

2 About this Translation

The text for this translation has been sourced from the multi-volume collection of historical material concerning Yúnnán, 《云南史料丛刊》.⁽¹⁰⁾ That text is, according to the afterword by Lín Chāomín 林超民, based on the personal copy made by Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜.⁽¹¹⁾ I also possess a copy of unknown origin, in simplified script, published in 1984.

A copy made from the original printing blocks, rather than just a transcript, seems to survive in a library in Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市,⁽¹²⁾ for an example see illustration 1.

A version of the text is also available online.⁽¹³⁾

Previous Translations: A translation of the text has been published in Dà Lǐshì Wénhuàjú 大理市文化局 (2018). A translation of many parts of the text into German, although not marked as a translation, is contained in Yü (1991). A summary of the stories can be found in Howard (1990), pp. 7–8. A translation into Japanese with many annotations has been published in Tateishi (2004).⁽¹⁴⁾

3 Annotated Translation

The work is organized in eighteen chapters, with sixteen telling ‘wonderworks’ of Guānyīn saving the region from peril, while the remaining two narrate the mythical birth of Xìnúluó 细奴逻, the ancestor of the Méng clan 蒙氏 who founded Nánzhào.

⁽⁸⁾ Others note the simplicity of the stories as evidence of oral transmission, see Duàn Yuànyuàn 段媛媛 (2018).

⁽⁹⁾ For the transformation of the bodhissatva Avalokiteśvara into the Chinese deity Guānyīn 观音, the ‘Goddess of Mercy’, see Yü (2001).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), pp. 161–169.

⁽¹¹⁾ Afterword by Lín Chāomín 林超民 in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 169, which also mentions another copy published in 1998.

⁽¹²⁾ A private copy, with a full set of images, seems to be published at <https://www.163.com/dy/article/GQT4IQRCo543AZUo.html>. The work has a library stamp from Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市. While the exact provenance of the images is not clear, they are credible enough to correct two, in my opinion, wrongly transcribed characters in the 《云南史料丛刊》.

⁽¹³⁾ <https://www.zhonghuadiancang.com/foxuebaodian/baiguoyinyou/43637.html>. It seems to be a transcript of the version in 《云南史料丛刊》 (or based on the same source) as it contains the same two wrongly transcribed characters.

⁽¹⁴⁾ I cannot read Japanese and the electronic copy I possess is too a low quality for optical character recognition, so I could only make very limited use of it.

樂敬求朝覲上封雲鎮守將軍唐貞觀二年天師觀星奏曰西南有王着起上命訪之有細奴羅者出遂爲白國王

觀音初出大理國第一

隋末唐初羅刹久據大理國人民苦受其害自唐貞觀三年癸丑得觀音大士從西天來至五台峰而下化作一老人至村探訪羅刹及羅刹希老張敬事實村中人民一見老人如見父母無不敬愛備將朝人眼食人肉種種虐害人民事從頭告知老人老人乃慰衆曰羅刹父子數將盡爾等不日安樂慎勿憂懼然不可輕露此言露之恐招其害衆答曰但得彼父子數盡雖不敢過望惟來混度餘年耳老人遂于聖元寺前跌跏而坐手內忽現珠寶并有二童子侍立一人手執如意一人捧圓鏡前現白象鼻吐蓮花左有大鹿右有黃馬村人負齋供奉老人老人彈指說法開示衆人村中男婦愈如恭敬如兒女依從父母朝夕奉教不忍相捨五台峰之佛出塲即觀音化現處至今屢放祥光

觀音化身顯示羅刹第二

觀音大士探知張敬是阿育王之後張仁果之裔爲羅刹希老此時羅刹爲害張敬亦無之奈何但當日與羅刹來往者惟張敬一人觀音遂化爲一梵僧主于其家知張敬與羅刹厚交便于引進故也張敬見觀音溫柔慈善甚敬愛之旬日之後進言于羅刹曰我家來一梵僧自西天來容貌端好語言殊妙真爲可敬今欲他往我再三留之羅刹聞而歡悅即令張敬引來相會一見梵僧心生敬愛款待甚恭凡出入起居不肯相離即以人眼入肉爲供梵僧曰我受淨戒不食此物如食之即爲犯戒他日受無量苦報羅刹聞說善念忽生乃曰長者至我家不食我飲食我心不安欲與我要何物我當如命僧曰我出家人要個甚麼若王相愛只乞賜安樂處地方一塊結茅居之不識王意如何羅刹曰如此則不難但不知要得多少來的僧曰只要我的袈裟一鋪我的大跳四步就足矣羅刹乃笑曰太少了太少了任意去任意去梵僧遂作禮而致謝之

Illustration 1:
Print of the 《白國因由》

This print is part of the complete text apparently printed from the original printing blocks, kept at a library in Künming City 昆明市, available online. The exact provenance is unclear.

序言 Preface

The work begins with an introduction of the history of Buddhism in China in general and in the Dàlǐ region in particular written by the abbot of Shèngyuán temple, Jìyù 寂裕, who – according to the colophon – had overseen the carving of the printing blocks. Jìyù was clearly a Chán school 禅宗 Buddhist, the school of Buddhism dominant in the Dàlǐ region during the Sòng dynasty and to which all monasteries in the lake Ērhǎi region had been subordinated to at the beginning of the Míng dynasty, but which had not been present in the Ērhǎi region when the miracle works by Guānyīn purportedly took place.⁽¹⁵⁾

The introduction sets the scene for the Buddhism to assume patronage of the Bái kingdom by mixing canonical Chán school doctrine about the transmission of Buddhism from India with local legends to introduce the Dàlǐ region as part of the sacred geography of Buddhism.⁽¹⁶⁾

Yü explains the reasons for such an introduction:

The myth of patriarchal transmission originated in the Chinese Buddhists' great veneration of Indian Buddhism. Although historically there was no teacher-disciple relationship between Nāgārjuna and the Chinese patriarchs, the authority of famous Indian masters had to be invoked to give the newly established Chinese Buddhist school legitimacy. Chan was the school that took the patriarchal transmission most seriously. Although Chan did not exist in India, it nevertheless had to construct a link to Indian masters. The Chan tradition claims Mahākāśyapa as its first Indian patriarch and Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch, who brought Chan to China, as the first Chinese patriarch. (Yü (2020), p. 155)

释迦如来将心宗传迦叶，付金缕衣以待弥勒出世。

入涅时遗嘱云：我涅槃百年后，有百饭王孙裔阿育王者，集成教法，收我舍利。后迦毗罗国生阿育王。

5

Shakyamuni passed the Chán school to Kasyapa, entrusting him the **gold-threaded robe** to wait for the coming of Maitreya.

When he was entering nirvana, he made a will, saying: 'After being in nirvana for hundred years, there will be king Ashoka, a descendant of Śuddhodana, he will combine the teachings and collect my ashes.'

[3: 涅槃] A variant writing of *niēpán*, for nirvana.

[3-4: 百饭王] the term Bǎifàn Wáng appears a confusion of the term Jìngfàn Wáng 净饭王, which literally means 'Pure Rice King', but is the Chinese name for Śuddhodana, the father of Śakyamuni 释迦牟尼, and Bǎifàn Wáng 白饭王, the writing form used in the in the *'Unofficial History of Nánzhào'* 《南诏野史》: '又一说: 白子国之先, 有阿育国, 王能乘云, 上天娶天女, 生三子, 长季二子封于金马、碧鸡, 独封仲子于苍洱之间, 崇奉佛教, 不茹荤, 日食白饭, 人因称为白饭王.'

r2: gold-threaded robe] the robe is a 'a sign of the Dharma', see Yü (2020), p. 177, see also Adamek (2000). There is also a Táng dynasty poem called 《金缕衣》 contained in the *'Three Hundred Táng dynasty Poems'* 《唐诗三百首》, but it is not related in content.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The important Dàlǐ kingdom period *'Long Roll of Buddhist Images'* 《梵像卷》 depicts the penultimate ruler of Nánzhào, Lóngshùn 隆舜 as a Chán school 禅宗 patriarch, see Huáng Huáng 黄璜 (2019).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Such writings seem to have been quite common, e.g. the painter Huáng Xiàngjiān 黄向坚 wrote in a colophon to his *'Searching For My Parents'*: '及迦叶二十八传至达摩持迦叶所传之衣钵以入中国。六传至于卢能, 则唐之中叶也。', which Kindall (2016), p. 221 translates as '[The Buddhist doctrine] was transmitted from Kāśyapa through a chain of twenty-eight disciples to Bodhidharma, and it was he who brought the robe and begging bowl of Kāśyapa into China. There were then six transmissions to Luneng [Huineng; 638–713], who lived in the mid-Tang dynasty.'

<p>既长，见释迦遗语，会同当日闻经听法之天龙八部，护法神祇集成教法。</p>	<p>Later, Kapilavastu begat king Ashoka.</p>	<p>When he had grown up, he saw the will of Śākyamuni, and he gathered the eight divisions of spirits who had heard the scriptures and teachings, the protector gods then respectfully collected the teachings.</p>	<p>10</p>
<p>王将正果，乃造塔于天上、人间、龙宫、海藏，供养佛之舍利。</p>	<p>When the king was reborn, he built pagodas in heaven and on earth, the palace of the dragon king, and the treasury of the seas, to support Buddha's relics.</p>		

The last part is probably a reference to Qián Chù 钱俶, the king 王 of Wúyuè 吴越, who commissioned many pagodas in imitation of king Ashoka 阿育王. Yü writes:

Ch'ien Shu (929–988) was the last ruler of the Wu Yüeh Kingdom based in Hangchow and, like his ancestor Ch'ien Liu, a great patron of Buddhism. Following Emperor Asoka's example, he made 84,000 miniature reliquary pagodas. Dated 955, they were cast in bronze and sometimes gilded. [...] The emperor also sponsored the printing of 20,000 copies of the twentyfour manifestations of Kuan-yin by using a silkscreen process. (Yü (2001), p. 228)

She continues:

As the cult of Kuan-yin took root in China, the bodhisattva's converts were ready to perceive and present Kuan-yin in new ways more congenial to the Chinese audience. Kuan-yin was not only portrayed in new ways, but also given new epithets and names. The faithful wrote indigenous sutras and formulated new rituals to glorify and worship Kuan-yin. They told stories about Kuan-yin's miraculous responses and divine incarnations. It is only natural that they also created new and indigenous iconographic representations. (Yü (2001), p. 232)

The text then leads over to the lake Ērhǎi region as a favourite teaching ground of various bodhisattvas, most importantly Guānyīn, which will appear in a number of different 'scenes' in the remainder of this text.

<p>一日，王与师优波鞠多点视其塔，至白国阳南村造塔所，乃问师曰：</p>	<p>One day, the king, the teachers, monks and nuns came to see and count his pagodas, they came to Yángnán village in the Bái kingdom where the pagodas had been built, and asked the teacher:</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>“此国山青水秀，有何灵迹？”</p>	<p>'In this country, the mountains are green and the waters limpid, this is the legacy of what spirit?'</p>	
<p>师曰：</p>	<p>The teacher said:</p>	
<p>“此处称灵鹫山，释迦如来为法勇菩</p>	<p>'This place is called vulture peak, Shakyamuni as bodhisattva</p>	<p>20</p>

r 20: vulture peak] Língjiù Shān 灵鹫山 is the Chinese name for Gādhṛakūta गृध्रकूट or 'vulture peak', the mountain where Shìjiāmóuni gave many of his teachings. The grottoes Fēiláifēng 飞来峰 near Hángzhōu 杭州, which as Línān 临安 was capital of the Southern Sòng 南宋, part of Língyīn temple 灵隐寺, one of the earliest Buddhist temples believed to date back its foundation by the monk Huìlǐ 慧理 in 326 CE, appear the first making a reference to vulture peak 灵鹫山, so it seems that this text picks up on this Chinese Buddhist mythology placing it in the Ērhǎi region.

25	<p>萨时、观音为常提菩萨时，在此地修行。常提菩萨求法殷勤，法勇菩萨将无上菩提心宗在此尽传。后来观音菩萨尝来此处，去惟建国，王可令太子镇此也。”</p>	<p>Dharmodgata and Guānyīn as bodhisattva Chángtí practised here. Bodhisattva Chángtí was eagerly solicited for the teachings, bodhisattva Dharmodgata spread the Buddhist teachings to the Chán school here. Later, the bodhisattva Guānyīn came here frequently, founding the country. The king then approved to order princes to guard it.’</p>
30	<p>王有三子，遂封孟季于鄞郟，封仲子骠信直于白国。</p> <p>王乃升焰光天，告天王曰： “乞遣天宫尊而贤者下降白国，神助吾镇国治民。”</p>	<p>The king had three sons, so he granted Shànchǎn to the eldest and youngest son and made the middle son Piàoxìn Jū of the Bái kingdom.</p> <p>The king then raised a torch to the sky, and told the king of heaven: ‘I implore you to dispatch a venerable and wise man of the heavenly palace to descend to the Bái kingdom, for the spirits to assist us to guard the country and govern the people.’</p>
35	<p>遂与师同往碧溪山入寂焉。</p> <p>骠信直号神明天子，即五百神王也。</p>	<p>Then he went with the teacher to Bìxī mountain to enter nirvana. Piàoxìn Jū was also called the prince Shénmíng, and was the king of five hundred spirits.</p>

The last part of the introduction then leads over events which have a – minimal – correspondence to extant Chinese historical records: Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s incursions into Yúnnán in 225⁽¹⁷⁾ and the transfer of power from the local chieftain Zhāng Lèjīnqiú to Xīnúlúo, the founder of the Méng clan 蒙氏 that was to rule Nánzhào.⁽¹⁸⁾

40	<p>传至十七代孙仁果，汉诸葛入滇赐与姓张。</p> <p>至三十六代孙张乐进求朝觐，上封云镇守将军，唐贞观二年，天师观星奏曰：</p> <p>“西南有王者起。”</p>	<p>He passed on [his reign] to his seventeenth generation grandson Rénguǒ, the Chinese Zhūgé entered Diān and conferred him the family name <i>zhāng</i>.</p> <p>In the thirty-sixth generation, his grandson Zhāng Lèjīnqiú had an audience at court, the emperor made him general and defender of Yúnnán, in the 2nd year of Táng Zhēnguān, the astronomer observed the stars and declared:</p> <p>‘In the south-west a king will rise.’</p>
45	<p>上命访之，有细奴罗者出，遂为白国王。</p>	<p>The emperor ordered to investigate this, it was that Xīnúlúo was born, who became king of the Bái kingdom.</p>

[21: 常提菩萨] Should probably be Zhǔntípúsà 准提菩萨, bodhisattva Zhǔntí 准提菩萨 is one of the manifestations of Guānyīn.

[27: 鄞郟] Almost certainly an alternate writing of Shànchǎn 鄞阐, a reference to the eastern capital of Nánzhào.

[37: 赐] This character is carved as 场 in the print, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 168.

r28: Piàoxìn Jū] A different writing of Piǎoxìn 骠信, a title later rulers of Nánzhào adopted.

(17) Herman (2009).

(18) These events are also told in the ‘Illustrated History of Nánzhào’ 《南诏图传》.

第一 *Guānyīn Appears for the First Time in the Dàlǐ Kingdom* 观音初出大理国

This chapter begins the story of Guānyīn defeating the rākṣas 罗刹, demons mentioned in the 25th chapter of the Lotus Sutra 《妙法莲花经》, here in the translation by Watson:

若三千大千国土满中夜叉、罗刹欲来恼人，闻其称观世音菩萨名者，是诸恶鬼尚不能以恶眼视之，况复加害？
(Lotus Sutra 《妙法莲花经》)

Though enough yakshas and rakshasas to fill all the thousand-millionfold world should try to come and torment a person, if they hear him calling the name of the Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds, then these evil demons will not even be able to look at him with their evil eyes, much less do him harm. (Watson (1993), p. 299)

But even though rākṣas 罗刹 appear as evil demons very early in Buddhist scripts, the story of Guānyīn defeating them in the Dàlǐ does not seem to predate the early Míng dynasty: the story is never mentioned in any known early text, such as the *Illustrated History of Nánzhào* 《南诏图传》 or the *Long Roll of Buddhist Images* 《梵像卷》, but appeared first in the Míng dynasty *Báigǔtōng* 《白古通》.⁽¹⁹⁾

This first scene describes the arrival of Guānyīn 观音 at Wütái peak 五台峰, which is certainly an allusion to one of the sacred Chinese Buddhist and Daoist mountains, Mt Wütái 五台山.⁽²⁰⁾ Many other such references place the lake Ērhǎi region in the context of a 'sacred geography'. Robson notes:

The significant role that mountains played in the formation of early Buddhist sacred geography in China can be understood then as the product of attempts to gesture back to India, while at the same time creating a resonance with indigenous Chinese conceptions of sacred mountains. (Robson (2010), p. 1372)

观音初出大理国第一
隋末唐初，罗刹久据大理国，人民苦受其害，自唐贞观三年癸丑，得观音大士从西天来至五台峰而下，化作一老人，至村探访罗刹及罗刹希老张敬事实。

Part I – Guānyīn appears for the first time in the Dàlǐ kingdom
At the end of the Suí and the beginning of the Táng, the rākṣas had occupied the Dàlǐ kingdom for a long time, the people suffered bitterly, in the 3rd year of Táng Zhēnguān, *guǐchǒu*, the Great Being Guānyīn came from the western lands to descend on Wütái peak, transformed into an old man, and arrived at a village inquiring about the rākṣas and the truth of the story the rākṣas respectfully treating

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[47: 一] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 161 uses the numeral form 壹, but the print (see illustration 1 uses 一. There is no difference in meaning.

r 56: the 3rd year of Táng Zhēnguān, *guǐchǒu*] 629, *guǐchǒu* is name of the year in the sixty year cycle.

r 57: the western lands] Dà Lǐshì Wénhuàjú 大理市文化局 (2018) translates this as 'India', which is certainly the meaning of this expression.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (1997). The Míng dynasty 《重理圣元西山碑》 that records the history of Shèngyuán temple 圣源寺 notes that Guānyīn '降伏魑魅', 'subdued the evil spirits', using a different term for the spirits.

⁽²⁰⁾ The Qīng court particularly revived the cult of Mt Wütái 五台山, see Chou (2015), but it had been a destination of pilgrimage from early on and is depicted in murals at Dūnhuáng 敦煌.

<p>55 村中人民一见老人如见父母，无不敬爱，备将剜人眼、食人肉，种种虐害人民事从头告知老人，老人乃慰众曰：</p> <p>60 “罗刹父子数将尽，尔等不日安乐，慎勿忧惧，然不可轻露此言，露之恐招其害。”</p> <p>众答曰：</p> <p>65 “但得彼父子数尽，虽不敢过望，惟求混度余年耳。”</p> <p>老人遂于圣元寺前趺跏而坐，手内忽现珠宝，并有二童子侍立，一人手执如意，一人捧圆镜，前现白象，鼻吐莲花，左有犬鹿，右有黄马。</p> <p>村人负斋供奉老人，老人弹指说法，开示众人。</p> <p>75 村中男妇愈加恭敬，如儿女依从父母，朝夕奉教，不忍相舍。</p> <p>五台峰之佛出场，即观音化现处，至今屡放祥光。</p>	<p>Zhāng Jìng.</p> <p>When the villagers saw the old man, they immediately treated him as if he was their father or mother, everyone respected and loved him. They were just preparing to gouge out eyes and eat human flesh – all sorts of cruel treatment the people told the old man from the beginning, the old man then comforted the people, saying:</p> <p>‘The days of the rākṣas, father and son, are numbered, within a few days you will be peaceful and happy, do not be afraid, but do not carelessly divulge these words, if they leak out I fear calamity beckons.’</p> <p>The people said in response:</p> <p>‘If only the days of father and son were numbered! But we do not hope for much, if only we can get along for a few years!’</p> <p>The old man then sat down in front Shèngyuán temple with his feet crossed, in his hand a precious stone suddenly appeared, and two servants were in attendance, one held a sceptre in his hand, the other a round mirror, in front them appeared a white elephant, spurting lotus flowers from his trunk, on his left was a deer dog, on his right a yellow horse.</p> <p>The villagers served the old man vegetarian food as offering, the old man snapped his fingers to expound the teachings, revealing them to the people.</p> <p>The men and women in the village respected him more and more, just like children obey their parents, they received instructions from sunrise to dusk, and could not bear to leave.</p> <p>At the place where Buddha appeared on Wútái peak and where Guānyīn revealed himself an auspicious light still appears frequently.</p>
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第二 Guānyīn Incarnates to Reveal Himself to the Rākṣas 观音化身显示罗刹

观音化身显示罗刹第二

观音大士探知张敬是阿育王之后张仁

Part II – Guānyīn incarnates to reveal himself to the Rākṣas

The Great Being Guānyīn learned that Zhāng Jìng was a descendant

[56: 将] This character seems to be mistranscribed, including in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), which records it as the, non-existent, combination of 井 and 守. But it seems simply to be 將, see illustration 1.

[81: 二] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 161: 貳, see note on page 11.

r73–74: with his feet crossed] a Buddhist pose

r75: sceptre] Rúyì 如意

r76: round mirror] Faulk and Sharf (2003) describes bronze mirrors as ‘occult devices used to discern, reproduce, and divine reality’.

r85–87: At the place where Buddha appeared on Wútái peak and where Guānyīn revealed himself an auspicious light still appears frequently.] This is a reference to a natural phenomenon in Dàlì when the evening sun sets behind Cāngshān 苍山, the rays of the setting sun appearing like a halo behind the mountains.

果之裔，为罗刹希老。	of king Ashoka's son Zhāng Rénguǒ , so the rākṣas treated him like an elder.	83
此时罗刹为害，张敬亦无之奈何，但当日与罗刹来往者，惟张敬一人。	At the time the rākṣas brought harm, yet Zhāng Jìng could do nothing, as in those days Zhāng Jìng was the only one who had relations with the rākṣas.	
观音遂化为一梵僧住于其家。	Guānyīn so transformed into a foreign monk and went to his house to stay.	88
知张敬与罗刹厚交，便于引进故也。	He knew that Zhāng Jìng und rākṣas had an excellent relationship, making it convenient to introduce him.	
张敬见观音温柔慈善，甚敬爱之。	Zhāng Jìng saw Guānyīn's gentleness and benevolence, so he loved and revered him very much.	93
旬日之后，进言于罗刹曰： “我家来一梵僧，自西天来，容貌端好，语言殊妙，真为可敬。今欲他往，我再三留之。”	Ten days later, he made a suggestion to the rākṣas, saying: 'A foreign monk came to my house, he came from the western lands, of good appearance, of clever words, truly respectable. Now he desires to go somewhere else, I have asked him to stay a few times.'	
罗刹闻而欢悦，即令张敬引来相会。	When the rākṣas heard this they were overjoyed and ordered Zhāng Jìng to introduce him.	98
一见梵僧，心生敬爱，款待甚恭，凡出人起居，不肯相离，即以人眼、人肉为供。	Once they saw the foreign monk, in their hearts rose love and respect, and they treated him with utmost respect. In all aspects of daily life they did not want to part from him, so they offered him the people's eyes and the people's flesh.	103
梵僧曰： “我受净戒，不食此物，如食之即为犯戒，他日受无量苦报。”	The foreign monk said: 'I took on purity and abstinence, I do not eat these things, if I eat them I will violate my abstinence and suffer bitter revenge on another day.'	
罗刹闻说，善念忽生，乃曰：	When the rākṣas heard this, kind thoughts rose immediately, and they said:	108
“长者至我家，不食我饮食，我心不安，欲与我何物，我当如命，”	'When the venerable elder came to our house and did not take our food nor drink, our heart was uneasy, whatever thing you desires from us, we will do as you order.'	
僧曰：	The monk said:	113
“我出家人要个甚麽！若王相爱，只乞赐安乐处地方一块，结茅居之，不识王意如何？”	'I have become a monk – what can I desire? As the king is so kind to me, I am just asking for a peaceful place to build a small cottage to live, I do not know – can the king fulfill my wish?'	
罗刹曰：	The rākṣas said:	
“如此不难，但不知要得多少来的？”	'This is not difficult, but we do not know how much you require.'	118
僧曰：	The monk said:	
“只要我的袈裟一铺，我的犬跳四步，就足矣。”	'I just need to spread my cassock, my dog to jump four paces, that will be sufficient.'	
罗刹乃笑曰：	The rākṣas then said in response:	
“太少了，任意去，任意去！”	'So little, as you desire so it will be.'	123

r90: Zhāng Rénguǒ] So this is the Rénguǒ who had received the family name *zhāng* from Zhūgé Liàng, see line 38R on page 10.

r97: excellent] Legge (1861), p. 5: '厚, "thick", in opposition to 薄, "thin", metaphorically = good, excellent'.

梵僧遂作礼而致谢之。

The foreign monk then performed a rite to express his gratitude.

第三 Guānyīn Asks the Rākṣas to Sign a Deed 观音乞罗刹立券

125 观音乞罗刹立券第三

罗刹既慨然以地许观音，则未识观音大神通力。

越数日，乃告罗刹曰：

130 “昨承大王悯僧远来，慨然赐地，若是据占，恐招王怒，以我自思，求立一券，以为定准，方敢以袈裟铺之，白犬跳之，可求为遵守也。”

罗刹曰：

135 “长者太过于小心矣！袈裟一铺，犬跳四步之地无多地方，我既与之矣，长者何必多疑。”

罗刹虽如此言，是袈裟未铺，犬未跳，而以为少也、小也。

140 观音恐铺之跳之，罗刹不允，因此再三求其立券而后已。

又转求张敬曰：

145 “前承在中作美，王既赐地，僧以为无券则难免后日之反悔，僧心不安，乞再代恳赐券为凭。”

敬又奉其言，复与罗刹曰：

“前蒙大王赐梵僧地，吾信，以为王无悔矣。独异梵僧以为不立与他地券，则无凭据，不敢占地，恳王立与一券。”

罗刹曰：

“梵僧既然过虑，立券不难。”

于是观音即延罗刹父子，请主人张敬

Part III – Guānyīn asks the rākṣas to sign a deed

The rākṣas then as agreed granted a space to Guānyīn, but did not yet know Guānyīn's mighty spiritual powers.

After a few days, he told the rākṣas:

‘Yesterday, the great king bore the burden of taking pity on a monk from far away, and granted a space. If I occupy it to live, I fear I will provoke the king’s anger, so I thought by myself, I ask you to sign a deed as security, a space to spread my cassock and the white dog to jump, I ask that this will be respectfully granted.’

The rākṣas said:

‘The venerable elder is too anxious! Land to spread the cassock and for a dog to jump four paces is not much space, I have already granted it, the venerable elder does not need to be harbour any doubt.’

The rākṣas said it in these words, the cassock was not yet spread, the dog had not yet jumped, so they thought it was very, very small.

Guānyīn was afraid that spreading it and jumping it, the rākṣas would not agree, so once again he asked them to sign a deed, so after that nothing could happen.

So he passed on his request to Zhāng Jìng, saying:

‘Before you have arranged an agreement between us, the king has granted the land, the monk thinks if there is no deed, then it will be difficult to avoid that he will break his word at a later day, so the monk’s heart would not be at rest, so I ask to once again to grant me a deed as security.’

Jìng once again politely presented his words, and again said to the rākṣas:

‘Earlier, the great king of Méng granted the foreign monk the land, I trust that the king will not break his word. But the foreign monk thinks if no deed for the land has been signed, then there is no proof to occupy it, he would not dare to occupy the land, so he implores the king sign a deed.’

The rākṣas said:

‘Since the foreign monk is so worried, signing a deed is not difficult.’

Guānyīn then immediately invited the rākṣas, father and son, asked

[125: 三] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 162: 叁, see note on page 11.

r132: sign a deed] as the story will show, the emphasis lies on a written contract.

并张乐进求、无姓和尚、董、尹、赵等十七人，十二青兵同至上鸡邑村合会寺，料理石砚、石笔、石桌、至海东，将券书于石壁上，今存其迹。

his host Zhāng Jìng and Zhāng Lèjìnqiú, a monk without name, **the clans of Dǒng, Yǐn, Zhào, seventeen men in all**, and twelve imperial soldiers to come to the upper Jīyì village to the Héhuì temple, arranged an ink stone, a stone brush, and a stone table east of the lake, to write the deed on to the stone cliffs, today traces still remain. 163

第四 *Guānyīn Persuades the Rākṣas to Swear an Oath* 观音诱罗刹盟誓

观音诱罗刹盟誓第四
观音与罗刹立券，后复回合会寺，将石砚石笔送与灵昭文帝。

Part IV – Guānyīn persuades the rākṣas to swear an oath
Guānyīn and rākṣas signed the contract, after that they returned to Héhuì temple, and gave the ink stone and the stone brush to Língzhāo Wéndì.

今石砚、石笔在上鸡邑村西合会寺之北；石桌送在杨波远，今石桌见在杨波远村上。

Today the ink stone and the ink brush are west of upper Jīyì village and north of Héhuì temple, the stone table was given to Yáng Bōyuǎn, today the stone table is above Yáng Bōyuǎn's village. 168

斯时，观音告主人张敬曰：
“券虽已立，然恐罗刹之心叵测，不为万全之图不可，我愿彼父子对众立盟，才为定准。”

At this moment, Guānyīn told his host Zhāng Jìng:
'Even though the deed has been signed, I fear that the rākṣas' heart is unpredictable, unless everything is done as agreed it is not acceptable, I desire that father and son swear an oath in front of the people, only then it is secure.' 173

敬答曰：
“罗刹父子心果然叵测，诚不可不令盟誓也。”

Jìng said in response:
'The intentions of the rākṣas, father and son, are of course unpredictable, indeed an oath must be sworn.' 178

于是宛告之曰：
“蒙大王赐梵僧地，此大王厚恩矣。既已立券，而敬知梵僧小心过疑，欲再求大王立盟，诚为远虑也。”

Then he said tactfully:
'The great king of Méng has granted the foreign monk land, this is a great favour by the great king. The deed has been signed, but Jìng knows that the foreign monk is anxious and has doubts, I wish again to ask the great king to swear an oath, sincerely for all times to come.' 183

罗刹笑曰：
“梵僧何必如此过虑。”

The rākṣas smiled and said:
'The foreign monk does not need to be so suspicious.'

敬曰：
“自我思之，既蒙大王赐地，又与立券已是实心，何妨再与立盟，使他无疑，足见大王爱梵僧之德意。”

Jìng said:
'I myself think that, since the great king of Méng has granted the land and a deed has been signed, it is already sincere, so why not swear an oath to dispel his doubts, to show the great king's love for the foreign monk's virtue.' 188

罗刹信之，遂往榆城西苍山下，对众立盟曰：

The rākṣas trusted this, so they went to the walled town of Yú below Cāngshān in the west and swore an oath in front of the people, saying: 193

[164: 四] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 162: 肆, see note on page 11.

r166-167: the clans of Dǒng, Yǐn, Zhào, seventeen men in all] Seventeen men, of the same clan name, are in the colophon mentioned as teaching yoga 瑜伽, see page 40.

- 195 “天地圣贤、护法，鬼神在上，我父子对众立盟，送地与梵僧，任其袈裟一铺，白犬四跳，此外梵僧不得复求我父子，不得反悔，如有反悔，我父子堕落阴山，永不见天日，护法天神作证。”
- 梵僧合掌称赞。
今教场西，大石版者，即罗刹盟誓处。
- 205 今人于此解结焉。
- ‘Heaven and Earth, Sages and Worthies, Protectors of the Teachings, Ghosts and Spirits above, We, Father and Son, swear an oath in front of the people, to give the land to the foreign monk, allowing him to spread his cassock, the white dog to make four jumps, so the foreign monk must not again ask Us, Father and Son, We will not break our word, should we break our word, We, Father and Son, we will descend to a desolate place, never to see the light of day again, the Protectors of the Teachings, Heaven and the Spirits be our witness.’
The foreign monk brought his palms together as sign of approval.
Today, west of teaching field, is a big stone block, this is where the rākṣas swore the oath.
Today, people resolve their quarrels at this place.

第五 Guānyīn Spreads his Mantle and Gains the State 观音展衣得国

- 观音展衣得国第五
罗刹随观音至海东，观山青水秀，见石窟鱼窝，十分欢悦。
- 210 乃凭张敬并建国皇帝大护法等，遂令灵昭文帝秉笔将券书于石壁之上。
- 回至海西，又对众盟誓已。
- 215 罗刹父子以为些小地方，不以为意，只知与梵僧亲洽相忘于尔我，又何尝计较地界之多寡与得失也，时刻聆受开示，皆忘其食人肉、剜人眼，渐生善念，若有不复为恶之状。
- 此时，人民咸相谓曰：
“美哉，罗刹父子得梵僧劝化，不复为恶矣！”
- 225 父呼其子，兄唤其弟，俱向前感谢梵僧并建国皇帝、灵昭文帝之威力，有来奉酒饌者，又有来献茶饭者。
- Part V – Guānyīn spreads his mantle and gains the state
The rākṣas followed Guānyīn to the east of the lake, seeing the green mountains, the limpid waters, the caves and the fish nests, they were very happy.
And then relying on Zhāng Jìng, State Founding Emperor, the Grand Protectors of the teachings, the Língzhāo Wéndì was ordered to take the stone brush to engrave the deed on the stone cliff.
They returned to the west of the lake and in front of the people swore the vow.
The rākṣas, father and son, believed it to be a small land and paid no attention what the intention was, they just knew the harmonious relationship with the foreign monk, so they forgot about theirs and his, and how to haggle over land boundaries, and gain or loss; at that moment they listened carefully to the teachings; they both forgot that their food was human flesh, gouged out eyes, gradually developed good thoughts, as if they had the intention of never being evil again.
At that moment, the people said to each other:
‘How wonderful, the rākṣas, father and son, owing to the foreign monk’s exhortations, will never do evil again.’
Fathers called their sons, elder brothers called their younger brothers, all together expressed their gratefulness to the foreign monk, the State Founding Emperor, and Língzhāo Wéndì for their powers, some gave wine and food, some offered tea and rice.

[206: 五] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 162: 伍, see note on page 11.

r 213: gains the state]

<p>梵僧慰众曰： “好矣，尔等大王父子为善了，自从今日后，不复为恶食人肉、剜人眼了，尔等安乐之日至矣！各自向善务业，不必猜疑还如前日之为害也”。</p>	<p>The foreign monk comforted the people, saying: 'Well, father and son have turned towards the good, from now until into the future, there won't be the evil eating of human flesh again, gouging out eyes again, peaceful and happy days are here. If each applies himself to doing good works, no one needs to worry that there will be a return to the days of suffering.'</p>	<p>233</p>
<p>村中人民皆唯唯作谢而去。 于是观音对众将袈裟一铺，覆满苍、洱之境；白犬四跳，占尽两关之地。</p>	<p>The villagers all expressed their gratitude and then left. At this moment Guānyīn spread out his cassock, covering the entire borders of Cāng and Ēr, the white dog made four jumps, taking possession of land between the two gates.</p>	<p>238</p>
<p>罗刹一见大惊，拍掌悔恨，此时有五百青兵并天龙八部在云端拥护，大作鉴证，而罗刹父子悔恨不及矣。</p>	<p>When the rākṣas saw this they were very alarmed, clapped their hands in great remorse, at that moment there were five hundred imperial soldiers and eight divisions of spirits in the clouds endorsing it, confirming the agreement, so for the rākṣas, father and son, it was too late to regret.</p>	<p>243</p>

第六 *Guānyīn Lures the Rākṣas to Enter the Stone Cave* 观音引罗刹入石舍

<p>观音引罗刹入石舍第六 罗刹见梵僧将袈裟一铺，尽将大理境内遍覆；白犬跳步，自西山到东山，上关到下关，罗刹父子惶惶失色，乃曰： “了了，我国土人民悉为梵僧有矣。”</p>	<p>Part VI – Guānyīn lures the rākṣas to enter the stone cave When the rākṣas saw the foreign monk spreading his cassock to cover all inside the borders of Dàlǐ and the dog jumping from the western mountains to the eastern mountains, from Shàngguān to Xiàguān, the rākṣas, father and son, were stricken with fear and said: 'It is clear, our land and the people now all belong to the foreign monk.'</p>	<p>248</p>
<p>欲要反悔，则券已立，誓已盟，众人之前，自觉羞耻，乃自悔当日误听张敬之言，错与梵僧交接往来，于是父子私相语曰：</p>	<p>They wanted to break on their word, but the deed was signed, the oath was sworn in front of the people, they were aware of their humiliation and regretted that day wrongly believing the words of Zhāng Jìng, who treacherously had made dealings with the foreign monk, so father and son said privately to each other:</p>	<p>253</p>
<p>“张敬受我父子深思，反陷我国土，即那僧阳为浑厚，阴为诡诈，愚弄我父子，并吞我地界。”</p>	<p>'Zhāng Jìng enjoyed our, father and son's, consideration, but rebelled so our land was conquered, that monk is simple and honest on his open side, but on his hidden side cunning and deceitful, he deceived us, father and son, and swallowed our borders.'</p>	<p>258</p>
<p>虽怀忿憾，不敢反言，乃善告梵僧曰： “我国土人民尽属长者有矣。使我父子无居止之地，奈何？”</p>	<p>Even though they harboured enmity, they did not dare to break their word, and benevolently told the foreign monk: 'Our land and people now belong to the venerable elder. Since we, father and son, are without a place to remain, what can we do?'</p>	<p>263</p>

[245: 六] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 163: 陆, see note on page 11.

r 246: the two gates] These are Lóngwěi pass 龙尾关 in the south, present-day Xiàguān 下关, and Lóngshǒu pass 龙首关 in the north, present-day Shàngguān 上关.

265	僧曰： “此亦不难也，我别有天堂胜境，请王居之。” 即以上阳溪涧内碌瓮摩出一洞，化为金楼宝殿，白玉为阶，黄金为地，化螺蛳为人眼，化水为酒，化沙为食，美味、珍馐、器具种种俱。	The monk said: 'This is not difficult, I have another wonderful palace in heaven, I invite the king to live there.' So then he rubbed an ordinary stone pot inside a cave of Shàngyáng stream and a cave emerged, transformed into a golden house and treasure hall, with white jade as border, gold as floor, he turned river snails into human eyes, water into wine, sand into food of fine taste and rare delicacies, with all the utensils.
270	将罗刹父子引入于内，罗刹父子见之曰： “此境界胜于旧时我国土也。”	Then he led the rākṣas, father and son, inside and when the rākṣas, father and son, saw it they said: 'This realm is even better than our land in the past.'
275	僧曰： “此处王如不愿，仍将大王所赐我之地相还。” 罗刹曰： “此处极安乐，无不愿者，只求长者将我眷属移来，尽归于此。”	The monk said: 'If this place is not like the king desires, then I will return the conferred land to the great king in exchange.' The rākṣas said: 'This place is extremely peaceful and happy, there is nothing we do not agree, we only ask the venerable elder to let our family move here, then we will all return here.'
280	僧着护法神兵将伊家眷属尽移于内，以神通用一巨石塞其洞门，僧变作黄蜂而出。	The monk ordered the protectors of the teachings and spirit soldiers to lead their family inside, and used his mighty powers to move a giant stone to block the cave's gate, the monk then transformed into a wasp and flew out.
285	罗刹惊吐其舌，僧令铁匠李子行以铁汁浇之，又造塔镇于洞上，使伊父子永不能出此。	The rākṣas were alarmed and spit out their tongues, the monk ordered the blacksmith Lǐ Zǐxíng to use molten iron to pour onto them, and also built a pagoda to weigh down on top of the cave, so that father and son could never ever escape.
	Guānyīn 神通广大，罗刹恶业当终也。	Through Guānyīn's vast magic powers the rākṣas evil works came to an end.

With this the story of Guānyīn coming to Dàlǐ 大理 and defeating the evil rākṣas comes to an end.

第七 Heaven gives Birth to Xīnúluō, Ruler of the Bái Kingdom 天生细孛罗主白国

With this part, a new story begins: the story of Xīnúluō 细孛罗, the first ruler of Nánzhào 南诏.

295	天生细孛罗主白国第七 金齿龙泉寺下有易罗丛村，村内有两夫妇止生一女，名茉莉媿，其貌端美异常，父母择配，不欲嫁平常人。	Part VII – Heaven gives birth to Xīnúluō, Ruler of the Bái kingdom In Jīnchǐ below dragon well temple there is Yìluōcóng village, in the village lived a couple who only had one daughter, her name was Mòlìqiǎng, she was unusually beautiful, her parents sought a partner for her, not willing to marry her to an ordinary man.
300	有蒙迦独求娶为妻。 蒙迦因捕鱼溺死江中，茉莉媿往寻之，见江中有木一根逆流而上，遂惊	Méng Jiādú asked to take her as wife. Méngjiā drowned in the river as he was fishing, Mòlìqiǎng was searching for him, but in the river she only saw a log floating up-

[293: 七] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 163: 柴, see note on page 11.

迷若梦，见一美貌君子与之言语。

既醒，痛哭而回。

自后，常往龙泉池洗菜浣衣，于池边，又见前日梦中男子。

是夜，忽至房中，因而怀孕。

父母见之怪曰：

“汝为吾女，吾甚爱重，汝夫方歿，人来求配，吾不轻许。今汝身怀孕，是自误以辱我夫妇。将汝流于他方，远断恩爱！”

茉莉媿曰：

“非我自误以辱父母。因夫死，往江上寻夫，见木逆流，惊迷恍惚中见一男子，后往龙泉池浣洗，又见前梦中男子出而相戏，是晚彼男子至我房中，遂来往不次。”

夫妇相语曰：

“诚乃龙泉之黄龙也。”

后生九子。

金齿演习闻之，将茉莉媿并父母唤去，责曰：

“汝女无夫养子，风俗之耻，当加以刑。”

茉莉媿曰：

“事不干我父母，因我至龙泉浣洗，龙王染我而生九子，实出无奈，我岂不肖，辱及父母。”

演习曰：

“汝既沾龙胎而生子，有何证验？”

茉莉媿即令九子用衣襟取沙往西山堆之，则成九岗。

则演习信而省释之，即给与衣食而优养之。

至今永昌城西山有九龙岗者，即其事也。

stream, she was startled and enchanted as if in a dream she saw a handsome nobleman and talked to him.

When she woke up, she cried bitterly and returned home. 303

After that, she regularly went to the dragon well to wash clothes, next to the pond she saw again the man in the dream the day before.

That night, in her room she was suddenly pregnant.

When her parents realized this, they said surprised:

‘You are our daughter, we love you dearly, your husband just died, people asking for your hand, I did not easily grant it. Now you are pregnant, you made a mistake and brought shame on us. We will leave you in a far-away place and cut you off from our kind love.’ 308

Mòliqiǎng said:

‘I have not made a mistake to shame father and mother. Because my husband died, I went to the river to search for my husband, I saw a log floating upstream, I was startled and enchanted and absent-minded saw a young man, after that I went to the dragon well pool to wash clothes, and again saw the young man from my dream to emerge and approach me, that evening the young man came to my room, he never came again.’ 313

The couple said to each other:

‘This must be the yellow dragon from the dragon pool.’

After that she gave birth to nine boys.

When the Jīnchǐ yǎnxí heard this, he called Mòliqiǎng and her parents, and accusing them said: 323

‘Your daughter has no husband but raises a child, this disgraces our customs, I must punish you.’

Mòliqiǎng said:

‘This is not something my father or mother did, it is because I went to the dragon pool to wash clothes, the dragon king spoiled me and I gave birth to nine sons, it is unfortunately true, I am unworthy, I insulted my parents.’ 328

The yǎnxí said:

‘You have born children after being sullied by the dragon – do you have a proof?’ 333

Mòliqiǎng then ordered her nine sons to use their garments to get sands to bring it to the western mountains to heap it up, and nine mounds were made.

The yǎnxí believed it and released them, and gave her clothes and food to raise them. 338

Until now in the western mountains of the walled town of Yǒngchāng are nine mounds, this is the story.

第八 Mòliqiǎng Sends her Children to the Yellow Dragon 茉莉婁送子与黄龙

<p>茉莉婁送子与黄龙第八 龙子九人，既皆长大。 一夜，黄龙又至茉莉家见其子，与子 345 相戏，其子亦不知其是谁耳。</p> <p>茉莉告龙曰： “汝子长大，其数又多，我为女流不 能顾看，且为诸子受辱、受谤，汝当 350 计之，幸无我累也。”</p> <p>龙曰： “尔既不能顾看，可将诸子送付与我 来。”</p> <p>355 茉莉婁曰： “送至何处？”</p> <p>龙曰： “当初相会水泉之侧，芭蕉竹林茂密 处。尔呼之，我即应而出，接诸子。”</p> <p>茉莉信之，一日，遂将诸子引于龙泉 之傍，向芭蕉、竹林茂密处呼之，黄 龙即出，一一将子从水面接出。</p> <p>365 独幼子拉住母衣，茉莉曰： “独罗消不可与众兄弟去也。”</p> <p>茉莉谓龙曰： “幼子不欲去，乞留与我，俾我子母 得以相依。”</p> <p>370 龙曰： “尔既无依，将幼子留与你，宜也。况 众子久累于你，尔有情于我，我尚无 补报，将幼子与尔，要小心顾看，他 日报答尔养育之恩，而大昌其后者， 375 必此子也。”</p> <p>其八子辞其母，并辞别祖父母，驾起 五色祥云望空而去。</p> <p>茉莉婁携幼子望云中观看，八子皆现 380 龙象。 蒙迦亦现龙形，金光灿灿，真一条黄</p>	<p>Part VIII – Mòliqiǎng sends her children to the yellow dragon The nine children of the dragon all grew up. One night, the yellow dragon came once again to the house of Mòlì to see his children and play with them, but his children did not know who he was. Mòlì told the dragon: ‘Your children have grown up, and they are many, I as a woman cannot further care for them, furthermore I suffer humiliation and slander by everyone, you must make a plan, otherwise I will be ex- hausted.’ The dragon said: ‘Since you cannot care for them, entrust all the children to me.’</p> <p>Mòliqiǎng said: ‘Send them where?’ The dragon said: ‘Where we first met next to the the dragon well, at the place where the plantains and bamboo are dense. You call me and I will appear to receive the children.’ Mòlì trusted him. So one day she led the children to the dragon well, at the spot where the plantains and bamboo were dense she called him, the yellow dragon emerged and one by one received the chil- dren from the water. Only the youngest son grabbed his mother’s clothes, and Mòlì said: ‘Dúluō cannot leave with his brothers.’ Mòlì said to the dragon: ‘I do not want to let the youngest one leave, I beg you to leave him with me, as we rely on each other.’ The dragon said: ‘As you have no one to rely on, I will leave the youngest with you, this is appropriate. His brothers have long tired you, you are in love with me, I have not yet repaid you, the youngest will be with you, please take good care of him, one day he will repay you for the care given raising him, his descendents will prosper, it must be your son.’ The other eight sons bade farewell to their mother, and bade farefell to their grandparents, and rode away into the sky on five-coloured auspicious clouds. Mòliqiǎng took her youngest son to see them in the clouds, the eight children all took the shape of dragons. Méng Jiā also took the shape of a dragon: a glittering golden light,</p>
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[342: 八] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 163: 捌, see note on page 11.

<p>龙也。 黄龙帅其八子俯视茉莉婁，大吼三声，山川震动，竟飘然而去。</p> <p>茉莉婁携其幼子告曰： “女父去矣，女众兄长亦去矣，女当善体吾意，毋貽母忧。” 取名细孛罗。 然细孛罗虽年幼，亦能入孝出弟，举止异众。 须臾之间黄龙帅其八子又至家中辞曰： “吾至金阙缴旨，玉帝封八子为八部龙王，吾仍归本职，故来相辞耳。至于九子，仍白国主也。吾与女有厚望焉。”</p>	<p>truly a yellow dragon. The yellow dragon told his eight children to look down to see Mòliqiǎng, they made three loud calls, mountains and rivers shook, then they disappeared. Mòliqiǎng took her youngest son and told him: 'My husband has left, my sons have grown up and left, you must do good, lest you give your mother worries.' She named him Xìnúluō. Even though Xìnúluō was still young, he was filial and respectful, his manner different from others. In a moment, the yellow dragon taught his eight sons and returned home to say: 'I will go to the imperial palace to hand in an edict, the Jade emperor appointed your eight sons as dragon kings of the eight troops, I will return to carry out my duties, so I am coming to say good-bye. As to your nine sons, they will be the rulers of the Bái kingdom, you and I have great expectations.'</p>	<p>383</p> <p>388</p> <p>393</p> <p>398</p>
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第九 *Bō Xì Carries the Young Ruler to Move to Méngshè, Guānyīn Makes a Prophecy* 波细背幼主移居蒙舍观音授记

The ninth story to a large degree mirrors the key stories told in the *'Illustrated History of Nánzhào'* 《南诏图传》: Guānyīn 观音 arrives at the home of Xìnúluō 细孛罗, the founding father of Nánzhào, in the shape of a foreign monk 梵僧 begging for food. In this text, the appearance of Guānyīn is not described, the mere fact of begging for food characterizes him as non-Chinese, as 'Unlike in India, monks in China did not beg for food because there had never been such a religious tradition' (Yü (2020), p. 134). After Xìnúluō's family willingly donates food, Guānyīn makes a prophesy of founding a dynasty that would rule for thirteen generations. The story then continues with the sacrifice under the iron pillar 铁柱, in which the ruler of Yúnnán Zhāng Lèjìnqiú passes on his powers to Xìnúluō, after a bird magically anoints him.

<p>波细背幼主移居蒙舍观音授记第九</p> <p>细孛罗，父名蒙迦，乃龙泉黄龙，因奉上帝敕旨化作人形，娶茉莉婁为妻，竟生九子，其八子奉上帝命为八部龙王，其第九子与母茉莉婁同处。</p>	<p>Part IX – Bō Xì carries the young ruler to move to Méngshè, Guānyīn makes a prophecy Xìnúluō, his father was called Méng Jiā, he was the yellow dragon from the dragon well. He received the lord's order to take on the shape of a human, took Mòliqiǎng as wife, and begat nine sons, eight sons were presented to the emperor who appointed them as the dragon kings of the eight realms, the ninth son lived with his</p>	<p>403</p>
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[387: 女] I think this is a transcription error and should be 汝, for 'you'.

[399: 九] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 164: 玖, see note on page 11.

[409: lord's] unclear

r397: filial and respectful] This is a quote from the *'Analects'* 《论语》, '子曰：弟子入则孝，出则弟。', which Legge (1861), p. 4 translates as "The Master said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders."

<p>其母见邻居不可与共处，移居哀牢山下。 又有毫邻名三和者，图谋之。</p>	<p>mother Mòliqiǎng. As his mother could not get on with the neighbours they and moved to live below Āiláo mountains.</p>
<p>有仆波细负幼主避难，东迁开南城居之。 及长，躬耕养母，娶蒙歙为妻，生子罗晟，娶寻弥脚。</p>	<p>Then there was a lowly neighbour called Sān Hé, who conspired against her. There was the servant Bō Xì who carried the young master on his back to safety, they moved east to live in the walled town of Kāinán. When he grew up, he hunted and ploughed to support his mother, he took Méngxū as wife and begat a son, Luōshèng who married Xúnmíjiǎo.</p>
<p>一日孛罗父子往大巍山下耕田，茉莉媵婆媳做饭往馐，观音至其家化斋，婆媳将饭供之，观音曰：</p>	<p>One day, the father Núlúo and his son went to plough the fields below the big mount Wēi, Mòliqiǎng and her daughter-in-law made food to bring to the labourers, Guānyīn came to their house to beg for food, mother and her daughter-in-law gave the food to him, and Guānyīn said:</p>
<p>“不足。” 婆媳即尽其所有而化之。 做饭不及，只得煮麦粥送去，曰：</p>	<p>‘It is not enough.’ Mother and her daughter-in-law gave all they had to his apparition. The food was not enough, so they had no choice but to cook rice gruel to send, they said:</p>
<p>425 “今日你父子受饿矣！我们才要来送饭，不想有一位梵僧到家化斋，将饭化已彼；又云不足，尽将所有化之。</p>	<p>‘Today father and son will suffer hunger. Just as we went to send food again, we did not expect that a foreign monk would come to our home to ask for food. We gave the food to him, he said it was not enough, we gave him whatever we had.’</p>
<p>430 为此，做饭不及了，忙煮些麦粥来，你们将就充饥，时孛罗父子在彼歇息放牛，答曰：</p>	<p>For this reason there is not enough food, we have been busy to make some wheat gruel, we just may give you enough to eat, at that time Núlúo and his son were taking a rest and grazed the cattle, he said in reply:</p>
<p>“我们不曾饿”， 方才要食，观音又到。 435 孛罗一见，欣然又将粥供之。</p>	<p>‘We are not as hungry as the monk.’ When they were just beginning to eat, Guānyīn came again. When Núlúo saw him, with pleasure he offered him the gruel. The monk said:</p>
<p>僧曰： “我三次至汝家化斋，屡无愠色，真难得也。无有报汝，我已将罗刹除灭，已使汝为国主。”</p>	<p>‘I have come to your house three times to ask for food, you have never been angry, this is rare. I have not yet repaid you, I have already eliminated the rākṣas, and ordered you will be ruler of the state.’</p>
<p>孛罗曰： “我福薄，怎敢当此？”</p>	<p>Núlúo said: ‘I am unworthy, how can I dare to take on this task?’</p>
<p>445 僧曰： “汝之时至，不必辞，速用汝所佩之刀砍其犁柄数。”</p>	<p>The monk said: ‘Your time has come, you may not excuse yourself, quickly use your knife to cut the ploughshaft – how many strokes [do you need]?’</p>
<p>其数有十三刀。 僧曰：</p>	<p>It took thirteen strokes. The monk said:</p>

r 415: Āiláo mountains] Āiláo Shān 哀牢山

“汝主大理国土十三代也。”	‘You will rule Dàlǐ kingdom for thirteen generations.’	448
拏罗曰：	Núluō said:	
“谨谢长者。”	‘I sincerely thank the venerable elder.’	
观音授记曰：	Guānyīn made a prophecy:	
“汝主大理国土，俾世世子孙人民安 乐。”	‘You will rule the land of Dàlǐ kingdom, and lead generations of sons and grandchildren in peace and happiness.’	453
言毕而去。	After he had said these words, he left.	
时有张乐进求为云南诏酋长，具九鼎 牺牲，请拏罗诣铁柱庙祭天卜吉。	At the time there Zhāng Lèjìnqiú was the <i>zhào</i> and chief of Yúnnán, his arranged nine cauldrons for sacrifice, and invited Núluō to the iron pillar temple to perform rituals to heaven and to divine the fu- ture.	458
忽有金谷鸟，一名金汉王，飞在拏罗 右肩，连鸣“天命细拏罗”三次。	Suddenly there was a golden grain bird, his name was golden king of the Hàn, it flew on Núluō’s right shoulder, then crowed ‘Heaven appoints Xīnúlúō’ three times.	
众皆惊服。	The people were amazed and admiring.	
拏罗遂登位，称奇王。	Núluō then took the throne, his name was king Qí.	463
遂进贡朝唐，子孙累世封王。	Then he paid tribute to the Táng court, his sons and grandsons were for many generations appointed as kings.	
传至舜化真，共十三代，凡二百三十 七年。	They continued on until Shùnhuàzhēn, altogether thirteen genera- tions, all in all two hundred thirty-seven years.	

第十 *Guānyīn Carves an Image as Lecacy of his Love* 观音雕像遗爱

This part tells the legend of the Guānyīn image.⁽²¹⁾

The story of carving a statue of Guānyīn from a piece of wood is similar to a story from the 10th century at a monastery near Hángzhōu 杭州, as Yü Chün-fang points out:

The monastery [the T’ien-chu k’an-ching-yüan near Hangchow] underwent a major revival in 939 under the monk Tao-i who discovered a piece of marvelous wood lying in the stream from which a bright light shone. He took the wood to the local artisan K’ung to carve an image of Kuan-yin. But when K’ung cut the wood open, he found a ‘spontaneously formed’ image of Kuan-yin inside the wood. (Yü Chün-fang (1998), p. 464)

观音雕像遗爱第十	Part X – Guānyīn carves an image as legacy of his love	468
观音授记细拏罗回至主人张敬家内， 对敬曰：	After Guānyīn made the prophecy about Xīnúlúō, he returned to his host Zhāng Jìng’s home and said to Jìng:	
“细拏罗非常人也。我将大理国土人民 付与他掌管，主人以为何如？”	‘Xīnúlúō is an not an ordinary person. I will entrust the land and the people of the Dàlǐ kingdom to his administration, my host, what do you think?’	473

[468: 十] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 164: 拾, see note on page 11.

⁽²¹⁾ Faulk and Sharf (2003) discusses the etymology and significance of the term 像 and notes: ‘The etymology of *xiang* [...] suggests the sense of mystery and creative power associated with the iconic reduplication of reality in ancient China.’

- 张敬闻之粲然曰：
475 “长者自至我家，虽无甚恭敬，但降伏罗刹父子而得国土人民，皆我挽维之力。细孛罗无寸功，何得膺此大位？”
- 480 观音答曰：“非我私与也，天命有在也。但我至于汝家，多蒙看顾，将公分为宾居大王。谢公点苍中峰桃溪水一派，自洱河东山涌出，宾居地界灌溉一方，着彼处人民一年供奉牲仪三百六十副，胜于做王矣。”
485
- 敬挽手致谢曰：“长者顾爱之恩。”
- 490 又赐庙前金井、玉栏杆，香附子一种与敬，消宿食神效也。
- 一日观音语敬曰：“吾事毕矣，欲辞而去。”
495 敬再三哀留。
观音曰：“时不可违。”
敬曰：“其如我不能相舍何！”
乃打鼓动众，会集远近村屯男妇，攀留不已。
- 500 僧曰：“尔等既不忍舍，可取羊姜香木一段来，我自雕我像遗汝国中，见像即如见我。”
像成，众人观之，其容貌无异，众皆欢喜赞叹，遂建寺以镇之。
- 今圣元寺美髯古貌之像，即观音手雕也。
- When Zhāng Jìng heard this, he appeared angry and said:
'Since the venerable elder came to my house, even though I had **nothing to treat you respectfully**, vanquishing the rākṣas, father and son, gaining country and people, **this was all achieved through my efforts**. Xīnúluō has not made an *cùn* of contribution, how can he receive such an important position?'
Guānyīn said in response: 'This is not my private arrangement with him, it is the mandate of heaven. But as I have come to your house, I want to thank you for your care, I will officially appoint you as the great king of Bīnjū and grant you the waters of Táo stream of Cāngshān's central peaks, the region from where it springs from the eastern mountains of lake Ērhǎi and irrigates the lands of Bīnjū, the people there each year to pay you three hundred and sixty tribute animals, this is better than making you king!'
Jìng clasped his hands to express his gratitude and said: 'I am grateful for the venerable elders kind consideration!'
He also granted a golden well in front of the temple, a jade balustrade and some roots of fragrant wolfsbane, which miraculously cured Jìng's indigestion.
One day Guānyīn said to Jìng: 'My works are completed, I wish to say goodbye and leave.'
Jìng expressed his sorrow and urged him many times to stay.
Guānyīn said: 'The time must not be missed.'
Jìng said: 'I cannot part from you.'
And he beat the drums to stir the people, men and women from villages near and far gathered, detaining him endlessly.
The monk said: 'As you are all unwilling to let me go, then fetch a length of fragrant wood, I will myself carve my image to leave in your country, seeing the image will be like seeing me.'
When the image was completed, the people looked at it, its appearance was the same, the people were happy and overjoyed, so they built a temple to house it.
Today the statue in Shèngyuán temple with the beautiful beard and kind appearance: that was carved by the hands of Guānyīn himself.

第十一 **Guānyīn Teaches the Fāngguǎng Sutra, Bids Farewell to and Enters Nirvana** 观音
口授方广经辞张敬入寂第

观音口授方广经辞张敬入寂第十一

Part XI – Guānyīn teaches the Fāngguǎng sutra, bids farewell to

[482–483: I had nothing to treat you respectfully] unclear

[484–485: this was all achieved through my efforts] unclear

[481: 将] Again, mistranscribed as 并守 in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001).

[508: 十一] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 165: 拾壹, see note on page 11.

<p>细孛罗为大理国主，人民尽沐安乐。</p> <p>男耕女织，各安其业，熙熙攘攘，游于光化之天，然未曾深信佛法。</p> <p>忽一夜间，闻清幽之声，如歌如唱，令人可听。</p> <p>有起而伺之者，乃见一老人在途中经行唱念礼拜，至东方晓时不复见矣。</p> <p>众知是观音，乃问曰： “昨夜静时闻长者礼拜的音声，未识何所谓也？”</p> <p>僧曰： “我所礼拜者，诸佛菩萨名号，人若能一心敬礼，常常不断，可超地狱三途而登极乐，又能使人消灾集福。”</p> <p>众问曰： “如何是一心敬礼？”</p> <p>僧曰： “人人有心，心即是佛。因此心放逸把持不定，不能见佛。若籍此礼拜，时时存念，如饥思食，如渴思饮，心不散乱，久久自然明心见性，名为见佛，就是超地狱而登极乐了。即不能成佛，世生生人人身不失，常闻正法。”</p> <p>众人闻之，皆起信心。 即礼拜曰： “望长者垂慈教诲我们！”</p> <p>观音令婆罗部十七人以白音口授之，不久皆熟。</p> <p>自是转相传授，上村下营，善男信女，朔望会集，于三月十五日在榆城西搭蓬礼拜，方广经。</p>	<p>Zhāng Jìng, and enters nirvana</p> <p>When Xīnúlúo served as ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, the people were soaked in peace and happiness.</p> <p>The men ploughed, the women weaved, everyone was minding his works in peace, the people were bustling about, enjoying the lights of the sky, but they did not firmly believe in the teachings of Buddha.</p> <p>Then, suddenly at night, they heard a clear and distant voice, just like a song or a ballad, enticing people to listen.</p> <p>Those who joined then saw an old man meditating, reciting loudly and performing rituals as he walked, he went east and in the morning he was not seen again.</p> <p>The people became aware that it had been Guānyīn, and asked: 'Yesterday evening at the quiet time we heard the voice of a venerable elder performing rituals, do you know what he is called?'</p> <p>The monk said: 'It was me who performed the rituals, I was reciting the names of Buddha and the bodhisattvas, if the people sincerely pay obeisance, regularly and without fail, they can pass hell's three punishments and rise to extreme happiness, and also help people avoid calamity and gather good fortune.'</p> <p>The people asked: 'How can we wholeheartedly pay obeisance?'</p> <p>The monk said: 'Everyone has a mind, the mind thus is Buddha. Because of this if the mind is unrestrained and unable to grasp things, then it cannot see the Buddha. If you recite the rituals of these scriptures from time to time, like the hungry think of food, like the thirsty think of drink, the mind will not be in disorder, over a long time one will naturally be of clear mind and see its nature, this is called seeing Buddha, so then you will pass hell and rise to extreme happiness. If you cannot attain Buddhahood, you will be born again and again without relieve, frequently hearing the true teachings.'</p> <p>When the people heard this, their faith was stirred.</p> <p>They paid obeisance and said: 'Please venerable elder, teach us your kindness!'</p> <p>Guānyīn instructed seventeen men from the guardian regiment to teach them in the Bái language, not long and they all were familiar.</p> <p>From then on they instructed each other, in the the villages and the camps, the good men and pious women assembled on the new and the full moon, and on the full moon of the third month at the west-</p>	<p>513</p> <p>518</p> <p>523</p> <p>528</p> <p>533</p> <p>538</p> <p>543</p> <p>548</p>
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r 551: seventeen men from the guardian regiment] Are these the same seventeen men mentioned in the colophon as teaching yoga? See page 40.

	是日，彩云密布，观音驾云而去。	ern pagoda of Yúchéng put up tents to pay obeisance, performing the Fāngguǎng sutra.
	众皆举首遥望，攀留不及。	That day, rosy clouds covered everything and Guānyīn rode away on a cloud.
555	年年三月十五日，众皆聚集，以蔬食祭之，名曰祭观音处。	The people raised their heads to gaze into the distance, but it was too late to detain him.
	后人于此交易，传为祭观音街，即今之三月街也。	Every year, on the fifteenth day of the third month, people gather, to offer him vegetarian food, its name was the place where offerings to Guānyīn are made.
		Later people traded there, it became known as market of offerings to Guānyīn, today it is the Third Month Fair.

第十二 The Pūli Surrender to Guānyīn 嚩哩降观音

560	嚩哩降观音第十二 云龙洲东北箭杆场，有高岩一壁，名莲花峰。 其处有一种人名唤嚩哩，甚是怪异，不通声教，不信佛法，以射猎为生，操戈劫盗无所不为。	Part XII – The Pūli surrender to Guānyīn In the north-east of Yúnlóng prefecture in Jiàngāncháng is a high cliff, called Liánhuā peak. In that region there is a sort of people called Pūli, they are really strange, they have not received the voice of enlightenment, do not believe in the teachings of Buddha, they hunt with bow and arrow for a living, they take up arms to steal and rob: there is nothing they do not do.
	观音化作一梵僧，至彼村邑中化斋，语众曰：	Guānyīn turned into a foreign monk, went to their village to ask for food, and said to the people:
570	“人生世上甚是难得，不可起不好之心，错过时光，虚度此生。须当回头，早晚恭敬佛天，以求解脱。”	‘Life on earth is very hard, but it is not acceptable not to cultivate a good mind, if one misses the time, one wastes this life. You must repent, sooner or later respect Buddha in order to free yourself.’
	众曰：	The people said:
	“此老人自何而来？”	‘This old man – where does he come from?’
575	遂呼众用棍棒追赶，将近而不得，遽近之，而棍棒不能及老人身上。	So they called a crowd and used sticks and cudgles to pursue him, when they got close they could not reach him, they hurriedly approached him, but their sticks and cudgles could not touch the old man’s body.
	嚩哩愈加恼怒，乃商议曰：	The Pūli were increasingly annoyed, and discussed:
580	“今日我们看这老者栖于何处？好下手。”	‘Today, we will look where this old man is going to stay. Let’s get to action.’
	他立于高阜处视之，乃见观音跏趺端座，泰然自得。	They stayed at a high place watching for him, and they saw Guānyīn sitting cross-legged, calm and composed.
	众云：	The people said:
585	“好矣，这老者行不前矣，我等得以	‘Well, this old man cannot walk on any more, we wait so we can cap-

[556: put up tents] unclear

[560: 十二] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 165: 拾贰, see note on page 11.

施其力矣。”	ture his powers.’	
遂将火缚于棍棒之上烧之，而火不能烧老人，反为自烧。	So, they tied fire to the top of their sticks to burn him, but the fire could not burn the old man, they only burned themselves.	588
众仍复举火又要去烧，则见老人已隔河而不能近矣。	The people then again lit a fire to burn him, this time they saw the old man parting the river, so they could not reach him.	
瞿哩愈恨，欲渡河而追赶，水深不得过河。	The Pūli were very angry and wanted to cross the river to pursue him, but the water was so deep they could not cross.	
但绕河而追，自夜及旦不能至，止见老人驾彩云而立于虚空中，众乃惊觉，遂俯伏皈依，然后取香木雕观音像以供养之，年行二祭。	So they went around the river to pursue him, but from evening until dawn could not reach him, until they saw the old man riding a colourful cloud in the sky, so the people then saw clearly, lay prostrate and converted, and then brought a piece of fragrant wood, to carve an image of Guānyīn for worship, each year two offerings are made.	593
从此回心向善，不复起杀害之心矣。	From that moment on they repented and turned good, and never again had the intention to kill.	598

第十三 *Guānyīn Benefits the People and Enlightens the Pūli* 观音利人民化瞿哩

观音利人民化瞿哩第十三	Part XIII – Guānyīn benefits the people and enlightens the Pūli	
罗坪山后地名石明月者，其处人不知佛法。	Behind Luōpíng Shān is a land called Shímíngyuè, its people do not know the teachings of Buddha.	
正当栽插之时，观音携白犬到彼乞化。	Just at the time of the rice transplant, Guānyīn, leading his white dog, arrived to beg for food.	603
彼云：“我们自做自食，化人的没有。”	They said: ‘We rely on what we grow and make ourselves, there is no one to enlighten us.’	
观音曰：“你们若肯化我，自然有余。”	Guānyīn said: ‘If you are willing to accept my teaching, there will be abundance.’	608
彼云：“你老人家也自做自食去罢。”	They said: ‘You old man must also rely on what you make and grow yourself, there is no other way.’	
观音遂行。	Guānyīn then left.	
又到一处，有三子母在彼食晌午，见老人过，乃曰：	He arrived at a different place, there were three mothers with their sons just taking their lunch, when they saw the old man passing, they said:	613
“那老人家想必饿了，请他来用些晌午亦好。”	‘This old man must certainly be hungry, we must ask him to come to take eat some lunch.’	
即呼曰：“长者来，请用我们些斋。”	Calling him, they said: ‘Venerable elder, come to eat some food.’	
老人曰：“你们化我斋，我自有补报。”	The old man said: ‘You are inviting me to partake, I will repay you.’	618
食已，以石投彼田中，作白语云	After they had eaten, he took a stone and hurled it into their fields, and said in the Bái language:	
“至秋获谷五十石。”	‘When it comes to the autumn harvest, your grains will be fifty <i>dàn</i> .’	
语毕乃向山箐中行，遇兵马拥出，旗上书“瞿哩雄兵”四字，观音劝之曰：	After he said this, he walked towards the mountain valley, and encountered a groups of soldiers coming out, on their flag there was	623

[600: 十三] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 165: 拾叁, see note on page 11.

625	“你们各人有妻子父母，出兵何益？况人身难得，当回心向善。”	the slogan ‘Mighty army of the Pǔlǐ’, Guānyīn said to them: ‘Each of you has wife and children, father and mother, what use is it to go to war? Life is hard enough, you must repent and turn to good.’
	众怒曰：“此老者，出言无礼，推而斩之。”	The people said angrily: ‘This old man, his talk is so impolite, hit and kill him.’
630	斩已，少顷老人复立于前，众欲复杀之，观音变一美女登于云中，又忽立于高峰之顶而唤白狗，白狗应而吠之，乃驾祥云向西北去矣。	They killed him, but after a few moments the old man emerged just as before, the people wanted to kill him again, Guānyīn turned into a beautiful maiden riding in a cloud, and suddenly was on top of the mountain peak, calling his dog, the white dog then barked, and he rode on an auspicious cloud to the northwest and was gone.
	众曰：	The people said:
635	“此老人是天人也。我等无知妄为，招罪无量，当建寺立像，以求赦罪。”	‘This old man was a celestial being, we have been ignorant and acted foolish, we have brought boundless calamity upon us, we must build a temple and set up an image to beg for forgiveness.’
	今万松仙境高峰绝顶，人呼为娘娘叫狗山。	Today, people call the mountain peak of the fairyland with the ten thousand pine trees the ‘grandmother calling her dog mountain.’
640	罗坪山后有村名五十石者，此也。	Behind Luōpíng Shān there is a village called Wǔshídàn, that is the village.

第十四 Guānyīn Enlightens the Bái Yí to Repent Evil and Submit to the Right Path 观音化白夷反邪归正

645	观音化白夷反邪归正第十四 观音山西南界有夷人一种，身穿白衣，腰系红褙包，手执竹枪，相习为党。	Part XIV – Guānyīn enlightens the Bái Yí to repent evil and submit to the right path South-west of Guānyīn mountain, there is a group of Yí, who wear white clothes, with a red girdle around their waist, they carry bamboo rifles, they are familiar with each other.
	观音化作老人，手持拄杖，从彼群党傍过，众云：	Guānyīn turned into an old man, in his hand a bamboo rifle, passing by their village. The people said:
	“这老者自何而来，将他杀了。”	‘Where is this old man coming from, let’s go and kill him.’
650	老人曰：	The old man said:
	“你们杀我不好，成你们身上罪过。”	‘It is not good to kill me, if you do it, you will have a mark of guilt on your bodies.’
	众曰：	The people said:
	“这老者极可恶！”	‘This old man is really detestable.’
655	群起将老人杀了，分为三四段而掷之。	The people rose to kill the old man, they cut him into three, four pieces and hurled them away.
	行方半里，老人又邀路傍，对众人	They had merely walked half a <i>lǐ</i> , when the old man was once again

[642: 十四] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 166: 拾肆, see note on page 11.

[653: they are familiar with each other] unclear

r 647: Wǔshídàn] literally meaning ‘fifty *dàn*’, the amount of harvest Guānyīn had promised the villagers.

<p>说： “人上不可杀，杀人要还命。”</p> <p>众曰： “这东西古怪，杀了如何又复生，须用火烧之。”</p> <p>上前要将老人抬在火中，抬不动，将火拿来烧，火不着，老人反将众人须发烧尽，众人上前揪老人须，割老人耳，老人但微笑不动。</p>	<p>along the road, and said to the people: 'Men must not kill, if kill you violate the orders.'</p> <p>The people said: 'This is a strange thing, we killed him, yet he is alive again, we must use fire to burn him.'</p> <p>They stepped forward to hurl the old man into the fire, but they could not lift him up, then they fetched the fire to burn him, but the fire could not reach him, the old man turned around and the people's hair and beards burned entirely, the people stepped forward to seize the old man, cut his ear, but the old man just laughed, motionless.</p>	<p>658</p> <p>663</p> <p>668</p>
<p>众云： “你还不怕麼？”</p> <p>老人曰： “怕甚麼？我只恐怕你们堕火坑地狱。”</p> <p>众白夷大怒，着力攢砍，又将老人砍死，又恐复生，仍取火将老人烧为灰烬，入于竹筒中，掷在大江心。</p>	<p>The people said: 'Are you still not afraid?'</p> <p>The old man said: 'Afraid of what? I just fear that you will fall into the fire pits of hell.'</p> <p>The Bái Yī then were very angry, made renewed efforts to chop him, once again they hacked the old man to death, once again they were afraid he would come back to life, so they made a fire to burn the old man to ashes, put them into a bamboo tube, and hurled it into the middle of the big river.</p>	<p>668</p> <p>678</p>
<p>少顷，老人披着袈裟在云端曰： “你众人可能再来杀我了？” 众视之惊惶，皆叩头忏悔。</p> <p>内有年老的说： “今日错矣！此老人是上界佛神，我等妄为，焉得无罪，从今要悔心向善。” 此观音化白夷归义也。</p>	<p>But a moment later, the old man unrolled his cassock and rode on a cloud high in the sky, and said: 'Will you once again try to kill me?'</p> <p>The people looked at him panic stricken, they all kowtowed and repented.</p> <p>There is an old saying: 'Today we have sinned. This old man is spirit of the Buddha of the higher worlds! We have been impetuous and it is impossible that we have not sinned, from now on we repent and turn to good.'</p> <p>It was Guānyīn who enlighten the Bái Yī to submit to righteousness.</p>	<p>683</p> <p>688</p>

第十五 *Guānyīn uses his Magic Powers to Enlighten the People of Ěrhǎi* 观音以神通化二苍人

<p>观音以神通化二苍人第十五</p> <p>观音化作梵僧，携白犬至海东崆石村化斋。</p>	<p>Part XV – Guānyīn uses his magic powers to enlighten the people of Ěrhǎi</p> <p>Guānyīn transformed into a foreign monk and led his white dog to Kōngshí village on the eastern side of the lake to beg for food.</p>
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[689: 十五] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 166: 拾伍, see note on page 11.

r 697: Ěrhǎi] The Chinese expression 二苍 stands for lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 and Cāngshān 苍山.

村人不知向善，常畜刀枪，稍不如意，动辄厮杀。	The villagers did not know to be good, had the custom of storing up daggers and spears, if a small thing was not to their liking, they easily took up arms.
忽见观音白犬，皆起盗犬之心。	Suddenly they saw Guānyīn and his white dog, so they had the intention of stealing the dog.
此时观音已知之，欲藉此化彼，亦任其盗去。	Guānyīn already knew this and wanted to use it as a pretext to instruct them, so he gave them free reign to steal it.
700 果然盗去，杀而食之。	As expected, they stole, killed and ate it.
观音故意寻犬曰： “我有一白犬，随我到此，忽尔不见，恐有收得，乞放与我。”	Guānyīn intentionally looked for the dog and asked: 'I had a white dog, it followed me here, but suddenly it has disappeared, perhaps it has been taken, I beg you to return it.'
众曰： 705 “我们不见你犬是黑是白，若是你犬不见，你叫而犬自应。	The people said: 'We have not seen your dog, neither black nor white, if your dog has disappeared then call it, it should respond.'
”观音即呼其犬，犬于盗犬者腹中吠。	Guānyīn so called his dog, and the dog barked from the bellies of those who had stolen the dog.
众互相语曰： 710 “此老者极怪，并犬亦是怪的。”	The people said to each other: 'This old guy is extremely strange and his dog is also strange.'
遂大声曰： “你以我们为盗犬耶？”	Then in a loud voice they said: 'Are you accusing us of stealing the dog?'
各回家取出棍棒、刀枪而唬吓之，观音洋然而走，复呼其犬，犬又于众腹中吠。	They all went home to fetch their sticks and cudgels, daggers and spears to scare him Guānyīn appeared scared and left, again calling his dog and again his dog barked from their bellies.
715 众曰： “今日怪哉！此老者非妖怪而何？他到我们村中愚弄我等。” 即上前杀之，刀皆不能近其身。	The people said: 'Today is very strange. If this old man is not a demon – what is he? He came to our village to make a fool of us.' Then they rushed forward to kill him, but their daggers could not reach his body.
内有一人名唤王乐，谕众云： “这妖僧不将他杀了，恐其他往别处扬我们丑。” 急追之，愈追愈远。	Among them was one man called Wánglè, he told the people: 'This demon monk cannot be killed, perhaps he will go to other places speaking ill of us.' So they urgently pursued him, but the more they pursued him the further away he was.
行至九重岩转湾山口，众欲射之。	He went to the winding mountain pass at Jiǔzhòng cliff, the people desired to shoot him.
观音又呼犬二三声，犬在众腹中吠。	Guānyīn again called his dog two or three times, the dog barked from their bellies.
730 众视之则犬随观音走矣。 众腹皆痛，有伏于地者，有叫唤不止者，众忙作礼跪拜曰：	Then the people realized that the dog was obeying Guānyīn and fled. Their bellies ached, there was a dog inside, when he called it barked without fail, the people hurriedly paid their obeisances and kow-towed, saying:

r 728: Wánglè] In the 'Illustrated History of Nánzhào' 《南诏图传》 appears a villager by the name of Jiāmíng Wánglè 加明王乐 who acts as an adversary to Guānyīn, I suspect that passages refers to him.

“望长者恕我等无知冒犯，从今不敢妄为了。”

观音遂与众回至上苍，将刀枪棍棒丢在上苍池中，彼时皆成莲花瑞草。

至今九重岩石碑上写着：
第十七排观音叫犬处。

‘We beg the venerable elder to forgive us our ignorance and transgressions, from today on we will never act recklessly again.’

Guānyīn then accompanied the people back to the top of Cāngshān, there they threw their daggers and spears, their sticks and clubs into Cāngshān pond, they turned into an auspicious lotus flower.

Until today, on a stone tablet at Jiǔzhòng cliff it is written:
The seventeen line poem where Guānyīn called his dog.

738

第十六 *Guānyīn over Generations Enlightens and Alleviates Disaster* 观音累世行化救劫

The following story, loosely based on events and figures from the *Tiānbǎo Wars* 天宝战争, introduces the Eleven-faced Guānyīn 十一面观音 as a particular charm for good fortune in the Dàlǐ 大理 region. The Eleven-faced Guānyīn appears in an image in the ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》, together with the rulers of Nánzhào, see illustration 2.



Illustration 2:

The Eleven-Faced Guānyīn in the ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》

观音累世行化救劫第十六

唐天宝八年，云南太守张虔陀贪虐无道，阁罗凤诏怒而杀之，事闻于上，上命元帅鲜于仲通并大將王天运二人

Part XVI – Guānyīn over generations enlightens and alleviates disaster

In the 8th year of Táng Tiānbǎo, the grand protector Yúnnán Zhāng Qiántuó was greedy, cruel and without principles, Géluōfèng issued an angry order to kill him. When the emperor heard about it, he

743

[747: The seventeen line poem] unclear

[741: 十六] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 167: 拾陆, see note on page 11.

r750: In the 8th year of Táng Tiānbǎo] 749.

- 领兵十万取大理。
- 行至白崖，罗凤闻兵至，遂命子凤伽
750 异统兵迎敌，遇天运于途，使人说之
曰：
“汉人待将军平常，不如任我国希老，
富贵不少。”
天运闻言，遂不专攻。
于是白兵四下夹攻，天运败亡。
- 仲通方欲进兵，被伽异埋兵后取，则
760 汉兵尽亡，逃回者仅六七十人。
后有奸臣杨国忠欲欺上邀功，仍请兵
报复。
- 765 上令节度使李泌、何履光将兵十五万
从交趾国来，至龙尾关，罗凤夜静揭
营，汉兵内乱自杀死。
- 770 上复令张阿蛮将兵二十万讨大理，白
兵一时胆大，阵败难于抵挡。
忽遇一老人曰：
“你们兵败矣。速造十一面观音像
敬之，汉兵自然不能施力，如明早不
775 出，事不可救。”
罗凤闻言，造而敬之。
次日与汉兵会战，汉兵俱不能举动，
束手待戮。
780 诏兵复胜。
汉兵死不计数，罗凤立万人冢以祭
之，曰：
“吾所诛者仇人，所祭者义士也。”
事毕，追访老人，追至天长寺前，老
785 人立于石版上，遂不见。
众起石版，见石上有十一面观音像，
- ordered the marshall Xiānyú Zhòngtōng and the general-in-chief
Wáng Tiānyùn to lead an army of one hundred thousand men to cap-
ture Dàlǐ.
When they arrived at Báiyá, Luōfèng heard that troops were arriving,
so he ordered his son Fèngjiāyì to command soldiers to meet the
enemy, they encountered Tiānyùn along the way and the envoy said
to him:
‘The Hàn people are treating you like a common man, what about
serving our country as a respected elder, the rewards will be consid-
erable.’
When Tiānyùn heard this, he did not pursue the attack.
And then the Bái troops attacked from all sides, Tiānyùn was de-
feated and killed.
Zhòngtōng then desired to advance the troops, but Jiāyì hid his sol-
diers in order to capture them, the Hàn soldiers were almost wiped
out, just **six or seven** men escaped and returned home.
Then there was the wicked official Yáng Guózhōng who tried to de-
ceive the emperor claiming victory, and once again requested sol-
diers for reprisals.
The emperor ordered the Jiédù Shǐ Lǐ Mì and Hé Lǚguāng to lead one
hundred fifty thousand soldiers from Jiāozhǐ, when they reached
Lóngwěi pass Luōfèng attacked their camps in the middle of the
night, the Hàn soldiers were in chaos and killed each other.
The emperor again ordered Zhāng Āmán to lead two hundred thou-
sand soldiers to attack Dàlǐ, the Bái troops at that moment were cour-
ageous in battle, but it was difficult to offer resistance.
Suddenly they encountered an old man, who said:
‘You soldiers have been defeated. Quickly make an image of the
eleven-faced Guānyīn and pay obeisance, the Hàn soldiers then can-
not apply their force any more. If this has not been done by tomor-
row morning, there will be no succour.’
When Luōfèng heard this, he made one and paid his obeisances.
The next day there was a battle with the Hàn troops, the Hàn troops
were unable to act, helplessly awaiting death.
Troops were sent out for another victory.
The Hàn soldiers’s casualties were countless, Luōfèng erected a
tomb for ten thousand men, paid his obeisances, and said:
‘I punish my enemies, but I pay respect to the righteous.’
When this was completed, he pursuit the old man, and followed him
to the front of Tiāncháng temple, the old man was sitting on a stone
slab, and then disappeared.
The people raised the stone slab and saw that on the stone slab was

r768: six or seven] out of ten?

即迎而敬之。	an image of the eleven-faced Guānyīn, so they turned toward it to pay their obeisances.	788
又至宋时兵入大理，观音化作一老媪负石距之，官兵行至感通寺下，见一老妇用草索背大石，兵见而问曰：	When once again during the Sòng dynasty soldiers invaded Dàlǐ, Guānyīn transformed into an old woman, and shouldered a giant stone, officers and men arrived at Gǎntōng Sì and saw the old woman using a straw rope to shoulder the giant stone, the soldiers saw her, and asked:	793
“汝老妇如何背此大石？”	‘How can you old woman shoulder such a large stone?’	
答曰：	She said:	
“我年老不过背小的，你还不见年幼男子背的更大。”	‘I have grown old so I can only shoulder a small one, you have not yet seen the young men who can shoulder even bigger ones.’	798
兵乃闻言而相语曰：	The soldiers, when they heard this, said to each other:	
“老妇人之力尚且如是，若年幼男子必不可当。”	‘If an old woman’s powers are like this, then the young men must be invincible.’	
乃缩然自退。	And they shied away and retreated.	
今观音塘大石即遗记也。	Today, the large stone in the Guānyīn Táng temple remains as a reminder.	803

第十七 *Dà Yángmíng pursues Duàn Sīpíng, Guānyīn comes to his Assistance* 大杨明追段思平观音救护

大杨明追段思平观音救护第十七	Part XVII – <i>Dà Yángmíng pursues Duàn Sīpíng, Guānyīn comes to his assistance</i>	
唐明宗天成三年，杨干贞篡赵善政位，称大义宁国，伪号肃恭皇帝。	In the 3rd year of Later Táng emperor Míngzōng Tiānchéng, Yáng Gānzhēn seized the throne of Zhào Shànzhèng and proclaimed the Great State of Yíning, and called himself illegally emperor Sùgōng.	808
即位之后，贪虐无厌，中外咸怨。	After his enthronement, he was greedy and cruel without bounds, at home and abroad everyone hated him.	
所以大杨明称民怨以除干贞，竟篡其位。	So, <i>Dà Yángmíng</i> used the anger of the people to get rid of Gānzhēn, in the end usurping his throne.	813
平地得国，只宜小心保守，夫何谣言怪异，信假成真。	He gained the state with ease, and only needed to guard it carefully, but he heard strange rumors, what he believed to be false came true.	
人言	The people said:	
“段思平要得天下”。	‘Duàn Sīpíng desires to gain power.’	
牧牛放马处、砍柴伐木处、打碓磨面处、会客闲谈处，金曰：	Where they herded the cows and grazed the horses, where they cut the trees and chopped the wood, where they ground the flour and milled the grain, where they received guest or chatted around, they	818

[805: 十七] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 167: 拾柴, see note on page 11.

[807: 唐明宗] This should be 后唐明宗.

[814: In the 3rd year of Later Táng emperor Míngzōng Tiānchéng] 928.

[816: illegally] The Chinese term implies that he falsely claims to be emperor.

<p>“段思平要得天下。” 有人闻于大杨明，杨明怒曰： “段思平得天下，将我置于何地？彼 825 必有欺篡之心。</p> <p>速令军士访而擒之。 思平曰： “大杨明无故拿我，我不能辩。”</p> <p>但逃而避之。 军士追急至上关，将获，观音化作一 老人，在垆上打莽，思平道其事以求 救，老人即将思平藏之，追兵至，问 835 老人曰：</p> <p>“有一后生从此过去否？” 老人曰： “不见。” 840 兵闻言而返。 老人引思平入船，载至下关。 思平拜谢而去。 观音遇段思良、董伽罗领一白犬来至。 观音曰： 845 “思平方过，速于此处去。” 不一时，赶上思平，在品甸歇家，见 彼架上有枪一根，遂以犬易之。 此枪能透干牛皮四层。 行至帝释山，又拾得鞍辔一副，到狗 850 村铺池中洗之，忽有龙马一只，自池 内嘶出，思平以辔套之，遂获。</p> <p>思平无心得神枪龙马，天意其悠属 855 乎？ 夫段思平者，三灵之子也。 《白古通》云： 梅树结李，渐大如瓜。 忽一夜李坠，有娃啼声，邻夫妇起而 860 视之，见一女子，彼因无嗣，乃收而 育之。 既长，乡人求配弗许。</p>	<p>all said: 'Duàn Sīpíng desires to gain power.' Someone told Dà Yángmíng, Yángmíng said angrily: 'If Duàn Sīpíng gains the state, then what will happen to me? He must surely have the intention of seizing the state through decep- tion.' He quickly ordered his troops to search for him and capture him. Sīpíng said: 'Dà Yángmíng wants to detain me without reason, I cannot argue with him.' Then he fled to avoid him. The soldiers pursued him eagerly to Shàngguān and were about to capture him. Guānyīn then transformed into an old man, cutting buckwheat on the ridge, Sīpíng told him his story and asked for as- sistance, the old man then hid Sīpíng. When the pursuing soldiers arrived, they asked the old man: 'Has a young lad passed through here?' The old man said: 'I did not see him.' The soldiers believed him and left. The old man then led Sīpíng to a boat and took him to Xiànguān. Sīpíng paid obeisance to express his gratitude and left. Guānyīn encountered Sīliáng and Dǒng Jiālū, leading a white dog. Guānyīn said: 'Sīpíng passed through here, quickly go there.' After a short while, they caught up with Sīpíng, and took a rest at Pīndiàn, on a shelf they saw a spear, and they traded the dog for it. That spear could pass through four layers of cow hide. Then they travelled to Dìshì mountain, where they picked up a set of saddle and bridle, when they reached Gǒu village they washed them in a pond, all of a sudden there was a dragon horse, it emerged neighing from the pool, Sīpíng used the bridle to harness it and so tamed it. Sīpíng so inadvertently gained a magic spear and the dragon horse, if was not heaven's will what was it? Master Duàn Sīpíng was the son of three spirits. The 'Báigūtōng' says: A plum tree grows a plum, growing large as a melon. Suddenly one night, the plum falls, and a young girl cries, a neigh- bouring couple get up and look for it, they find a girl. As they had no children, they adopted and raised her. When she had grown up, the villagers sought her hand, but were not</p>
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[849: 辔] there is unreadable character, from the context it should be 辔. See Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 167.

忽有三灵白帝与之偶，生思平、思良。	accepted.	863
及长，无依无倚，惟甘贫度日，不敢妄为。	Then suddenly there were the three spirits Bái emperor and he became her husband, she gave birth to Sípíng and Siliáng. When they had grown up they had no support and no one to rely on, they passed the days in hardship, but did not dare to behave unreasonably.	868
岂料大杨明信其谣言，以自取绝灭。	Who would have thought that Dà Yángmíng believed these rumors, and so brought disaster upon himself.	
此莫之为而为者，天也。	That what is done without someone doing it is the work of heaven.	

第十八 Duàn Sípíng Attacks Dà Yángmíng, Guānyīn Showing the Way 段思平讨大杨明观音指路

段思平讨大杨明观音指路第十八	Part XVIII – Duàn Sípíng attacks Dà Yángmíng, Guānyīn showing the way	873
段思平既获龙马神枪之后，转至蒙舍城，凡见思平者，皆生仰慕，归之者众，从之者多。	After Duàn Sípíng obtained the magic spear and the dragon horse, he turned around towards the walled town of Méngshè, everyone who saw Sípíng admired him and the people submitted to him in ever greater numbers.	
自是入洱海城，屯粮聚兵三年，则三十六部首长俱来拱服。	After he entered the town of Ērhǎi, he stored up grain provisions and recruited soldiers for three years, and the leaders of the thirty-six tribes all admired and obeyed him.	878
军士众多，威风大振。	His troops were many, his powers were tremendous.	
由洱海过蒙舍，是夜思平连梦三事，令军师董伽罗解之，伽罗曰：	From Ērhǎi he passed Méngshè, that night Sípíng dreamed three things in succession, he asked the his military adviser Dǒng Jiālūo to explain them, Jiālūo said:	883
“是天王无敌之兆，擒大杨明而王大理无疑矣。”	“This is an unequivocal omen of heaven, there is not doubt that you will capture the Dà Yángmíng and be king of Dàlǐ”	
遂祭旗进兵，起程之日，途遇松矢爨酋阿宙、阿汪，以义合兵相助。	Then he saluted the flag and dispatched the troops on the day they set out, on the road they encountered the Cuàn chiefs from Sōngshǐ Ā Zhòu and Ā Wāng, and they agreed to join forces and come to assistance.	888
思平不甚欢喜，乃设酒劳众曰：	Sípíng was overjoyed, set up wine and said to the working people:	
“既承众烈士兴义相从，是盛举也！我对众立盟：我若得国，不负大义，	‘I am indebted to the righteous soldiers’ following, this is a magnificent undertaking. I swear this oath to you: if I gain the country, I	893

[871: 此莫之为而为者，天也。] see Mencius

[872: 十八] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 167: 拾捌, see note on page 11.

[883: 董伽罗] This name is incorrectly transcribed in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 168 as 董迦罗, it should be the Dǒng Jiālūo 董伽罗 already mentioned above.

[883: 伽罗] Again, wrong transcription as [董] 迦罗.

r 878: That what is done without someone doing it is the work of heaven.] This is a quote from Mengzi, which Legge (1875), p. 283 translates as “That which is done without man’s doing is from Heaven.”

	既患难与共，自然富贵同享。”	will not disappoint your great righteousness, in peril and danger we will be together, the riches we will enjoy together.’
	即统兵直抵河尾。	The he led the troops to Héwěi.
	此时大杨明防备，关口难开。	At that time Dà Yángmíng made preparations, the gate was difficult to break through.
900	偕众散步游行，忽见沙边水际立一美女，谓思平曰： “君欲取大理，兵从河尾渡水，马从三舍邑进，一到成功，大杨明可擒矣。” 思平依此而行，果擒大杨明而得国。	They were all walking around, suddenly they saw in the sands next to the waters a beautiful woman, she called Sīpíng and said: ‘The lord wishes to take Dàlǐ, the infantry should cross the river at Héwěi, the cavalry should enter from Sānshèyì, as soon as that has been achieved, Dà Yángmíng can be captured.’ Sīpíng acted as he was told, and captured Dà Yángmíng and gained the country.
	既即位，差官回河尾访彼指路之女人，则不可得。	After he was enthroned, he dispatched officials to return to Héwěi to enquire about the maiden who had pointed out the way, but could not find her.
910	思平又亲往访之，亦不可得，复于前日女人立处求之，则见有白石观音像一尊，思平领众迎而敬之。	Sīpíng then personally went there to enquire about her, but he could not find her either, he went again to the spot where on the previous day she had asked for him, this time he encountered a white stone that looked like an image of Guānyīn, Sīpíng instructed his troops to get it and pay obeisance.
915	知是观音显化，遂立金像寺以崇报焉。 段氏于是传二十二代，凡四百五十三年。 宋天子常以敕书玉印封之。	They learned that this was an apparition of Guānyīn, so they set up Jīnxiàng temple to honour him and pay obeisance. The Duàn clan ruled for twenty-two generations, in total four hundred fifty-three years. The emperors of Sòng regularly issued edicts granting them a jade seal.
920	至元朝受封为大理路。 高氏累世为相，历代葺忠，则忠义之名至今流传于不朽云。	In the Yuán dynasty Dàlǐ Lù was set up. The Gāo clan ruled for many generations, were loyal and devoted over the generations, so their reputation as loyal and righteous carries on until today as immortals.

With this, the eighteen stories that form the center of this work come to an end and the text is followed by a colophon summarizing the history of Buddhism in the Dàlǐ region.

题署 Colophon

925	大理古称泽国，又名灵鹫山，又名妙香城，又名叶榆池。 因此地山青水秀，诸佛菩萨常在此修	In old times Dàlǐ was known as land of waters, vulture peak, city of wonderful fragrance and pond of Yèyú. Because its green mountains and limpid waters, many Buddhas and
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r 903: Héwěi] 河尾 probably stands for Lóngwěi pass 龙尾关.

r 931: land of waters] or maybe ‘blessed country’?

r 931: vulture peak] See note on Língjiù Shān 灵鹫山 above, page 9.

r 932: wonderful fragrance] The expression Miàoxiāng 妙香 was used in the Śūraṅgama Sūtra 《楞严经》: ‘如来印我得香严号。尘气倏灭，妙香密圆。’; in the translation by Upāsaka Lu K’uan Yü: ‘The Tathagata sealed my awakening and named

行说法，开演道场，所以立名各异。

bodhisattvas practiced Buddhism, discussed the dharma and expounded the teachings here, establishing its special reputation.

928



Illustration 3:
The Yúnnánese Monks in the 《梵像卷》

The image is a composite from several plates, images 51 to 57, from right to left, from Chapin and Soper (1970)

The following section then names the ‘five generations of patriarchs’ of Chóngshèng temple 崇圣寺.⁽²²⁾

As the text of the woodblock print does not contain any separation markers, the segmentation of the patriarchs’ names is not immediately clear. The segmentation chosen in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 168 is: ‘张惟忠、李成眉买、僧顺圆、护疑、真证,’⁽²³⁾ which is, apart from the first, almost certainly wrong, as most of the names appear, albeit sometimes in different writing forms, in other documents. I believe the names should be read as follows:

Zhāng Wéizhōng 张惟忠: a Táng dynasty monk, whose name is corroborated by the important Sòng dynasty ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》 from the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国, which contains a series of sixteen images representing the Chán school patriarchs in Yúnnán, starting from Kasyapa 迦叶. Chapin, who first described this work, noted: ‘These are monks, [beginning with the] so-called patriarchs of the Ch’an sect; [the last nine⁽²⁴⁾ probably being local Yünnanese holy men].’⁽²⁵⁾

Adamek notes the significance of Zhāng Wéizhōng:

me “Fragrance-adorned.” After the sudden elimination of (relative) smell, the wonderful fragrance became mysteriously all-embracing.’ (Upāsaka Lu K’uan Yü (1966), p. 172).

⁽²²⁾ the large temple complex north of the walled town of Dàlǐ 大理, perhaps now better known for its Three Pagodas 三塔.

⁽²³⁾ This segmentation is also chosen in Mǎ Zǐhuá 马子华 (1979), which is a reprint of work completed already in the 1930s, I suspect it was actually taken from this text.

⁽²⁴⁾ This should read seven.

⁽²⁵⁾ Revised and annotated by Soper in Chapin and Soper (1970), p. 261. Chapin stated in Chapin (1936b) that she failed to identify the Yúnnánese monks. Some labels are almost unreadable, Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1967) identified the first Yúnnánese monk – image 51 in Chapin and Soper (1971) – as Zhāng Wéizhōng 张惟忠.

[The] last figure [of the Chan patriarchs in the 《梵像卷》, Zhāng Wéizhōng] provides a link with Sichuan Chan. Zhang Weizhong was also known as Nanyin (d. 821) and was a successor of Jingzhong Shenhui (720–794), though he may also have studied with the ‘seventh patriarch’ Heze Shenhui. Jingzhong Shenhui, unlike Bao Tang Wuzhu, was acknowledged by posterity as Wuxiang’s successor. Zhang Weizhong’s presence in the scroll reflects the connection between Jingzhong Shenhui and the Military Governor of Jiannan West, Wei Gao (d. 805), the architect of an alliance between the Nanzhao kingdom and the Tang. (Adamek (2003), pp. 42–43)

Zhāng Wéizhōng 张惟忠 is also noted (written as Zhāng Wéizhōng 张惟中) in the Qīng dynasty 《云南通志》: ‘惟中姓张氏传荷泽正派建法滇中自是衲子知有曹溪矣’.⁽²⁶⁾

Lǐ Chéngméi 李成眉: A biography of him is included in the Qīng dynasty ‘Records of Yúnnán Monks’ 《滇释纪》. He is also mentioned in the Kāngxī 康熙 period 《云南通志》: ‘建崇圣寺时成眉为司厨侍者’.

Mǎi Sēngshùn 买僧顺: this monk perhaps is depicted as the next monk in the 《梵像卷》, where a monk is labeled as ‘贤者买口嵯’.⁽²⁷⁾

He is also probably mentioned in the 《云南通志》, written as Mǎi Shùn 买顺.

The middle character inserted *sēng* 僧 simply means ‘monk’.

In the 《梵像卷》 the lineage of Chán school patriarchs then continues with master Chuntuó 纯陀大师 and monk Fāguāng 法光和尚 to terminate with mahārāja 摩诃罗嵯, a title of the penultimate ruler of Nánzhào Lóngshùn 隆舜, thus placing the Nánzhào ruler in a direct line of succession from Shakyamuni 释迦如来.⁽²⁸⁾ However, in the 《白国因由》 this succession is erased.

Yuán Hù 圆护: a Yuán dynasty monk, see Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (1996).⁽²⁹⁾ He is mentioned in the 《云南通志》 as a man from Dàlǐ, but the 《正德云南志》 records: ‘圆护，号念庵，滇海人。大理感通寺住持，有戒行，善书，笔法亲遒劲。一旦，无疾而化。’⁽³⁰⁾

Yí Zhēn 疑真: I have not been able to find this name in any other record.

The translation of this short passage then reads as:

930 彼时为土住者皆是西竺天宫圣贤降 | At the time, the locals were all descendants of holy men from the
生，维持教化，如：张惟忠、李成眉、 | heavenly palace of India, upholders of the teachings, like the con-
r.937: India] the term *xīzhū* is composed of the character for west and 天竺, an expression for India used in Buddhist texts.

⁽²⁶⁾ 《云南通志二十五卷》 – for an online version see <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=554395>. This text is also contained in the 1895 copy of the 《云南通志》 in 188th *juàn*. A scanned copy of that work is available at <https://fig.lib.harvard.edu/fig/?bib=007488488>, see illustration 4.

⁽²⁷⁾ The last two characters of the name are very unclear. Huáng Huáng 黄璜 (2019) suggests, without evidence and probably wrongly, that this is another name for Lǐ Chéngméi 李成眉. In the ‘Records of Yúnnán Monks’ 《滇释纪》, Mǎishùn 买顺 is introduced as a disciple of the above-mentioned Lǐ Chéngméi 李成眉.

⁽²⁸⁾ Huáng Huáng 黄璜 (2019).

⁽²⁹⁾ For more information about Yuán Hù online at https://fo.ifeng.com/special/tanmidalifoguo/lunwenjicui/detail_2013_11/04/30947001_0.shtml is also a lecture by Hóu Chōng 侯冲 given in 2013. I have not been able to find its contents published in a peer-reviewed journal.

⁽³⁰⁾ 《正德云南志》 34th *juàn*, reprinted in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol 6, p. 441.

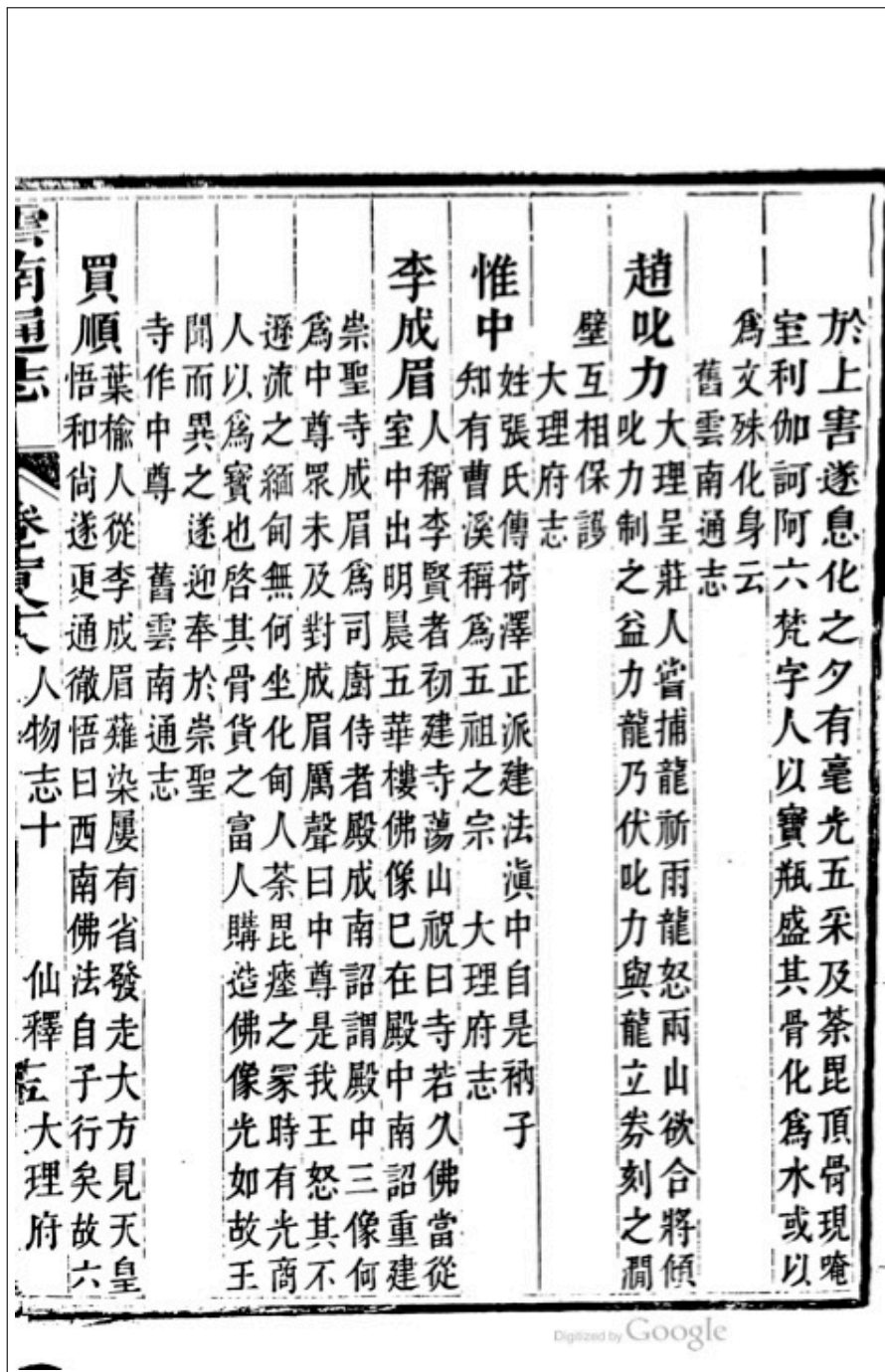


Illustration 4:
Page from the 《云南通志》 about Yúnnánese Monks

买僧顺、圆护、疑真证崇圣五代祖。

firmed five generations of patriarchs of Chóngshèng temple: Zhāng Wéizhōng, Lǐ Chéngméi, Mǎi Sēngshùn, Yuán Hù and Yí Zhēn.

The text continues by mentioning that number of clansmen taught yoga 瑜伽, a term that Yü explains in its historic context:

During the Ming (1368–1662), the founding emperor, Taizu (r. 1368–1398), dropped the classification of temples specializing in discipline and replaced it with a classification for those specializing in religious rituals. The revised categories are now *chan*, or meditation; *jiang*, or doctrine; and *jiao*, or practical instruction. The *jiang* was the same as the *jiao* of the Song and referred to temples that stressed doctrinal study. The term *jiao* was no longer applied to monasteries specializing in doctrinal study but was used to refer to a new and different type of temple that specialized in ritual performance, which then constituted the third category. Sometimes these temples were also called yoga or *yujia*. They focused on chanting sutras and reciting penances. Besides performing the rituals in the temple, these monks also went to the homes of devotees to conduct funeral services as well as rites of seeking long life, speedy recovery from disease, and so on. (Yü (2020), pp. 126–127)

董、尹、杨、赵等十七人精瑜伽教法，非贤而何？

935

且有观音菩萨默扶，故谓之佛国也。

dǒng, yǐn, yáng and *zhào* and other seventeen men excelled at the teaching the yoga dharma, if this is not virtuous, then what is it?

There was also bodhisattva Guānyīn's silent support, so it was called the land of Buddha.

The following mentions that the stories from the 'Báigǔtōng' 白古通 were carved into the door panels at Shèngyuán temple 圣元寺. These carvings survived until the Cultural Revolution 文革, when they were defaced, with only some remnants still visible.⁽³¹⁾

菩萨累劫救护此处，盖有十八化云，备载《夔古通》，其本寺隔扇所图绘者十八化内仅有几段，余皆开国除魔始末，鏤之，使千百年古迹如在目前。

940

The bodhisattvas repeatedly came to protect this land, there were eighteen apparitions detailed in the 'Báigǔtōng', amongst those painted on the partition boards in this temple of the eighteen are only some parts, the remainder are engravings of stories how the demons were expelled when the country was founded, so that events from one hundred thousand years ago are just like in front of one's eyes.

The following passage explains that the, now lost, 'Báigǔtōng' 《白古通》 was not written in Chinese but the Bó language, meaning the language of the local population, a precursor to the now officially recognized Bái ethnic group 白族. The Bó language had no written representation: Chinese characters close in sound to the local language were taken to write the texts, so that a person who could read

[931: 买僧顺] Is this a miswriting of 买顺嗟?

[938: 《夔古通》] variant writing of 'Báigǔtōng' 《白古通》.

⁽³¹⁾ Yáng Sīfēi 杨斯斐 and Huáng Zhèngliáng 黄正良 (2016).

Chinese and understand the local language could pronounce the characters and thus understand the text.⁽³²⁾

逐段缘由，原是𪛗语，但𪛗字难认，故译𪛗音为汉语，俾阅者一见了然	Because of the Duàn, originally it was [written] in the Bó language, but the Bó characters are hard to recognize, so they expressed the Bó sounds in Hàn language, so who read it could understand it immediately.	
虽未见《𪛗古通》而大概不外于斯。	As I have not seen the 'Báigǔtōng', but there is not much difference to the stories here.	948

Then follows the history of the Shèngyuán temple 圣元寺, which is – at least partly – corroborated by the still extant Míng dynasty 《重理圣元西山碑》, which was erected in 1450 at the temple.⁽³³⁾

按《𪛗古通》圣元寺建自隋末唐初，所以崇报观音菩萨开化安民之洪恩也。	According to the 'Báigǔtōng', Shèngyuán temple was established at the end of the Suí dynasty and the beginning of the Táng dynasty to pay obeisance and repay the bodhisattva Guānyīn for his great favour of enlightenment and comfort of the people.	953
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宋光宗壬子年，寺毁，平国公高顺贞复建之，不旬日而成，皆菩萨显应，以灵木为重梁，迄今犹存，以昭灵异也。	In the <i>rénzǐ</i> year of Sòng dynasty emperor Guāngzōng, the temple was destroyed, the duke of the state of Píng Gāo Shùnzhēn rebuilt it, not even ten days later it was finished, a manifestation of all the bodhisattvas, they used spirit wood for the main beams, so to this day it is like it always was, this is clearly the work of the spirits.	958
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至明元帅杨连重修时，洱河水面涌出一石，孙杨桂楼手抱至寺，奠于兰若。	Then in the Míng dynasty, when marshall Yáng Lián rebuilt it, from waters of lake Ērhǎi emerged a rock, his grandson Yáng Guìlóu carried it with his own hands to the temple to establish a monastery.	
楼台殿阁数十层，接连西山。后为水患，止存正殿。	There were ten tiers of towers, platforms, halls and pavilions, lining up to the western mountains. Later they were damaged by water, only the main hall remains.	963

祈见之者，当思菩萨开化之恩，以崇报之也。	I implore those who come to see it to consider the kindness of the bodhisattvas to enlighten us as to revere and to repay them.	
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康熙肆拾伍年丙戌孟夏之吉 圣元寺住持寂裕敬刊	On an auspicious day in the 1st month of summer in the 45th year of Kāngxī, <i>bǐngxū</i> Respectfully carved by the abbot of Shèngyuán temple, Jìyù.	968
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[954: 宋光宗壬子年] In the original, this is written as 宋炎宗壬子年, I think the first character of the emperor is miswritten as 炎 when it should be 光. The transcription in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (2001), p. 168 does not notice this. There was no Sòng dynasty emperor called 炎宗. A *rénzǐ* 壬子 year fell into emperor Guāngzōng's reign, in 1192.

r 961: In the *rénzǐ* year of Sòng dynasty emperor Guāngzōng] 1192.

r 974–975: in the 1st month of summer in the 45th year of Kāngxī, *bǐngxū*] 1706, the 4th lunar month is often considered the beginning of summer or it could be after Lìxià 立夏, both in May 1706.

⁽³²⁾ See Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2011) for translations of extant texts written in this form.

⁽³³⁾ For a rubbing of that stele see Yáng Shìyù 杨世钰 (1993), vol 2, p. 25, for a transcription of the text see Yáng Shìyù 杨世钰 (1993), vol 10, p. 48. For example, the 《重理圣元西山碑》 contains the following text: '按《郡志》，贞观癸丑，圆通大士开化大理，降伏魑魅，凿天桥，淪洱水，以妥民居。摄授蒙氏为诏之后，重建圣元梵刹以崇报之。' Note, that master Yuántōng 圆通大士 is another name of Guānyīn.

4 Glossary

- Ā Wāng** 阿汪: name mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 35
- Āyù Wáng** 阿育王: king Ashoka, Indian ruler, 268–232 BCE, who promoted the spread of Buddhism across Asia – see pages 8, 9, 13, 42
- Ā Zhòu** 阿宙: name mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 35
- Āiláo** 哀牢: legendary state in western Yúnnán during the Hàn dynasty. It is thought that a graveside discovered in 2012 in Chāngníng 昌宁 is related to it, see Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Líruì 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016), Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014) –
- Āiláo Shān** 哀牢山: Āiláo mountains, – see page 22, 42
- Bái** 白: white, – see pages 5, 25, 27–29, 32, 35, 42
- Báifàn Wáng** 白饭王: *white rice king*, – see page 8, 42
- Báigǔtōng** 《白古通》: ‘*Báigǔtōng*’, ancient text in the Bái language, now lost – see pages 5, 11, 34, 40–42
- Bái Guó** 白国: Bái kingdom, fictional name of a country, referring to Nánzhào and its successor states – see pages 5, 8–10, 18, 21, 42
- Báiguó Yīnyóu** 《白国因由》: ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’, Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào – see pages 5, 6, 38, 42
- Báiyá** 白崖: pre-Nánzhào polity, thought to have been in present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley – see page 32
- Báizǐ Guó** 白子国: state of Báizǐ, early state in western Yúnnán – see page 5, 42
- Bái zú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ērhǎi – see page 40, 42
- Báifàn Wáng** 百饭王: Báifàn king, ? – see page 8, 42
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page *see* 永昌
- Bìxī Shān** 碧溪山: Bìxī mountain, – see page 10, 42
- Bīnjū** 宾居: locality in region of present-day Bīnjū 宾局 in Bīnchuān 宾川 county – see page 24
- Bō Xì** 波细: – see page 21, 22
- Bó** 爨: ancient tribal group – see page 40, 41
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ērhǎi – see pages 5, 12, 15, 17, 24, 29, 31, 42
- Chánzōng** 禅宗: Chán school, main Buddhist school in China – see pages 8, 37, 38, 42
- Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山 –
- Chángtí Púsà** 常提菩萨: bodhisattva Chángtí, probably a miswriting of 准提菩萨 – see page 10, 42, *see* 准提菩萨
- Chóngshèng Sì** 崇圣寺: Chóngshèng temple, main temple north of Dàlǐ 大理, in front of it are the Three Pagodas 三塔 – see pages 37, 40, 42
- Chúntuódàshī** 纯陀大师: master Chúntuó, monk depicted in the 《梵像卷》 – see page 38, 42

- Cuàn 爨**: surname, name of powerful clan in the east of Yúnnán before Nánzhào – see page 35
- Dà Jiāngjūn 大將軍**: general-in-chief, ‘throughout history a designation of military officers in command of armies; more prestigious than General (chiang, Chiang-chiin) alone, less prestigious than Generalissimo (shang Chiang-chün)’, see Hucker (1985), p. 5897 – see page 32, 43
- Dàlǐ 大理**: – see pages 5, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 31–33, 35–38
- Dàlǐ Guó 大理國**: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253 – see pages 5, 8, 11, 23, 25, 37, 43
- Dàlǐ Lù 大理路**: Dàlǐ route, Yuán 元 name for Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 36, 43
- Dàtiānxīngguó 大天興國**: great state of Tiānxīng, short-lived Nánzhào successor state, 928, also written as Xīngyuánguó 興元國 – see page 43
- Dà Yángmíng 大楊明**: – see pages 33–36, see ??
- Dà Yíning Guó 大義寧國**: Great State of Yíning, last of the short-lived successor states of Nánzhào, 929–937 – see page 33, 43
- Dìshì Shān 帝釋山**: Dìshì mountain, locality mentioned in the 《白國因由》 – see page 34, 43
- Diān Guó 滇國**: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 10, 43
- Diān Shì Jì 《滇釋紀》**: ‘Records of Yúnnán Monks’, 1716 completed compendium on monks in Yúnnán, see Hé Jírán 和霽然 (2015) – see page 38, 43
- Dōng Hàn 東漢**: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 43
- Dǒng 董**: clan name – see page 15
- Dǒng Jiālūo 董伽羅**: – see page 34, 35
- Dúluō 獨羅**: another name for 細奴邏 – see page 20
- Duàn Shì 段氏**: Duàn clan, ruling clan of Dàlǐ Guó – see pages 36, 41, 43
- Duàn Sīliáng 段思良**: third ruler of Dàlǐguó 大理國, 899–952, younger brother of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 – see page 34, 35
- Duàn Sīpíng 段思平**: – see pages 33–36
- Dūnhuáng 敦煌**: one of the most important sites of early Buddhism – see page 11
- Ērhǎi 洱海**: lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xīěrhé 西洱河 – see pages 5, 8, 9, 11, 17, 24, 29, 35, 41, 43
- Fǎguānghéshàng 法光和尚**: monk Fǎguāng, monk depicted in the 《梵像卷》 – see page 38, 43
- Fǎyáo 法堯**: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Lóngshùn 隆舜, 877–897 –
- Fǎyǒng Púsà 法勇菩薩**: bodhisattva Dharma-dgata, a bodhisattva – see pages 9, 10, 43
- Fànsēng 梵僧**: foreign monk, the term denotes a monk from India or a Buddhist monk, I have translated this as ‘foreign monk’ as India was not even an entity at the time – see pages 6, 13–17, 21, 22, 26, 29, 43

- Fànxiàng Juàn** 《梵像卷》: ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’, a long scroll of Buddhist images painted between 1173 and 1176, see Chapin and Soper (1971) – see pages 8, 11, 31, 37, 38, 43
- Fāngguǎng Jīng** 方广经: Fāngguǎng sutra, a sutra mention in the 《白国因由》 – see pages 24, 26, 44
- Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜: eminent Yúnnán historian, 1903–1983 – see page 5, 6
- Fēiláifēng** 飞来峰: Flying Peak, grotto complex outside Língjiù Shān 灵鹫山, dating back to 326 – see page 9, 44
- Fèngjiāyì** 凤伽异: – see page 32
- Gǎntōng Sì** 感通寺: Gǎntōng temple, important temple on the slopes of 苍山 – see page 33, 44
- Gāo Shì** 高氏: Gāo clan, name of powerful clan in Yúnnán – see page 36, 44
- Gāo Shùnzhen** 高顺贞: – see page 41
- Géluófēng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 – see page 31, 32, see 阁逻凤
- Géluófēng** 阁逻凤: –
- Gǒu Cūn** 狗村: Gǒu village, locality mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 34, 44
- Guānyīn** 观音: Avalokiteśvara, one of the bodhisattvas, in Chinese also written as Guānshìyīn 观世音, which is a literal translation of the Sanskrit अवलोकितेश्वर. Guānyīn plays a key role in Nánzhào mythology, particularly in the 《南诏图传》 and the 《白国因由》 – see pages 5, 6, 8–18, 21–36, 40, 41, 44
- Guānyīn Dàshì** 观音大士: Great Being Guānyīn, honorific for Guānyīn, the ‘Great Being’ translation is taken from Chapin (1944), p. 153, who notes that ‘Ta-shih stands for the Sanskrit word Mahasattva’ – see pages 11, 12, 44
- Guānyīn Táng** 观音塘: Guānyīn Táng temple, a famous temple in Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 33, 44
- Guāngzōng** 光宗: Sòng emperor, 1189–1194 – see page 41
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see page 44
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China – see pages 23, 32, 41, 43, 44
- Hángzhōu** 杭州: – see page 9, 23
- Héhuì Sì** 合会寺: Héhuì temple, temple mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 15, 44
- Hé Lǚguāng** 何履光: – see page 32
- Hòu Táng** 后唐: Later Táng, shortlived dynasty, one of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 923–936 – see page 44
- Hòutángmíngzōng** 后唐明宗: Later Táng emperor Míngzōng, Later Táng emperor, 926–933 – see page 33, 44
- Huáng Lóng** 黄龙: yellow dragon, mythological figure – see pages 20, 21, 44
- Huáng Xiàngjiān** 黄向坚: late Míng Cháo 明朝, early Qīng dynasty painter, painted an important panorama of ??, see Kindall (2012), Kindall (2016) – see page 8
- Huīlǐ** 慧理: Indian monk, founder of Língyīn Sì 灵隐寺 in 326 – see page 9
- Jīyì Cūn** 鸡邑村: Jīyì village, a village in the Dàlǐ 大理 region – see page 15, 44
- Jīyù** 寂裕: abbot of Shèngyuánsì 圣元寺 who carved the 《白国因由》 – see page 8, 41

- Jiāmíng Wánglè** 加明王乐: tribal leader, that the name is comprised of four characters indicates that this was not a Chinese name. – see page 30
- Jiāpíluō Guó** 迦毗罗国: Kapilavastu, city in ancient India, residence of Shìjiāmóuní's father, and place where Shìjiāmóuní lived until he left the palace – see page 9, 44
- Jiāshā** 袈裟: cassock, robes of a Buddhist monk – see pages 13, 14, 16, 17, 45
- Jiāyè** 迦叶: Kasyapa, – see pages 8, 37, 45
- Jiàngāncháng** 箭杆场: legendary village in Yúnlóng 云龙 – see page 26
- Jiànguó Huángdì** 建国皇帝: State Founding Emperor, honorific – see page 16, 45
- Jiāngjūn** 将军: general, 'throughout history the most common term for the commander of a substantial body of troops, whether a regular officer of the standing army or the ad hoc commander of a special force organized for a campaign; occurs with many kinds of prefixes', see Hucker (1985), 694 – see page 10, 45
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam – see page 32
- Jiédù Shǐ** 节度使: military commissioner, 'a military title of great historical importance' 'during much of the late T'ang period they were virtually autonomous regional governors', see Hucker (1985), 777 – see page 32, 45
- Jīnchǐ** 金齿: Golden Teeth, name given to the area of present-day Bǎoshān, because it was the tribal area of the Jīnchǐmán 金齿蛮 – see pages 18, 19, 45, see 金齿蛮
- Jīnchǐ Mán** 金齿蛮: Golden Teeth, tribal group, the name translates as 'golden teeth' – see page 45
- Jīnxiàng Sì** 金像寺: Jīnxiàng temple, temple mentioned in the 《白国因由》, literally meaning 'golden image temple' – see page 36, 45
- Jīngfàn wáng** 净梵王: Śuddhodana, alternate writing for Jīngfàn Wáng 净饭王 – see page 45, see ??
- Jīngfàn Wáng** 净饭王: Śuddhodana, father of Shìjiāmóuní 释加牟尼 – see page 8, 45, see 释加牟尼 & 净梵王
- Jiǔzhòngyán** 九重岩: Jiǔzhòng cliff, locality mention in the 《白国因由》 – see pages 30, 31, 45
- Jūn** 君: lord, 'Throughout history a broad generic term for rulers and other official superiors: Lord, often used in contrast to Minister (ch'en)', see Hucker (1985), 1729 – see page 36, 45
- Kāinán** 开南: Nánzhào fortification, south-east of present-day Jǐngdōng 景东 – see page 22
- Kāngxī** 康熙: second emperor of the Qīng, 1661–1722 – see page 38, 41
- Kōngshí Cūn** 崆石村: Kōngshí village, village name in the 《白国因由》 – see page 29, 45
- Kūnmíng Shì** 昆明市: Kūnmíng City, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see pages 6, 7, 45, see 拓东
- Léngyánjīng** 《楞严经》: Śūraṅgama Sutra, – see page 36, 45
- Lǐ Chéngméi** 李成眉: eminent monk, founder of Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 – see page 38, 40
- Lǐ Jīng** 李京: historian during the Yuán Cháo 元朝 –

- Lǐ Mì** 李宓: Táng dynasty general, also written as Lǐmì 李宓 – see page 32
- Lǐ Shì mǐn** 李世民: name of Táng emperor Tàizōng –
- Lǐ Zǐ xíng** 李子行: mythological blacksmith in the 《白国因由》 – see page 18
- Lì xià** 立夏: beginning of summer, a solar term, in the beginning of May – see page 41, 45
- Lián huā fēng** 莲花峰: Lián huā peak, legendary cliff in Yún lóng 云龙 – see page 26, 45
- Lín ān** 临安: capital of the Southern Sòng, present-day Háng zhōu 杭州 – see page 9
- Lín Chāo mǐn** 林超民: Chinese historian, see <https://baike.baidu.com/item/林超民/1802034> – see page 6, 46
- Líng jù shān** 灵鹫山: vulture peak, Chinese transliteration of Gādhṛakūta गृद्धकूट, or ‘vulture peak’, a mountain where Buddha gave many of his teachings, including the 《妙法蓮花經》 – see pages 9, 36, 46
- Líng yǐn temple** 灵隐寺: ancient Buddhist temple complex near Háng zhōu 杭州, dating back to 326 – see page 9
- Líng zhāo Wéndì** 灵昭文帝: Líng zhāo Wéndì, – see pages 15, 16, 46
- Lóng quán Sì** 龙泉寺: dragon well temple, mythological temple in the 《白国因由》 – see page 18, 46
- Lóng shǒu pass** 龙首关: fortification at the northern end of the western side of Ěr hǎi 洱海 – see page 17
- Lóng shùn** 隆舜: Nán zhào ruler, also known as Fǎ yáo 法尧, 877—897 – see page 8, 38
- Lóng wěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěr hǎi – see pages 17, 32, 36, 46
- Lù** 路: route, ‘YÜAN: a stably defined territory administered by a Route Command ... Each Route Command was headed by an Overseer (ta-lu-hua-ch’ih) and a Commander (tsung-kuan). The Route was an all-purpose civil administration branch, in effect, of the central government.’; see Hucker (1985), 3839 – see page 46
- Lùn yǔ** 《论语》: ‘Analects’, a collection of sayings attributed to Confucius, one of the ‘Four Books’, for a translation, see Legge (1861) – see page 21, 46
- Luō píng shān** 罗坪山: Luō píng mountain, (fictitious) mountain in the 《白国因由》 – see pages 27, 28, 46
- Luō shā** 罗刹: rākṣas, mythical demon, mentioned in the 《妙法蓮花經》, terrorizing the people before being tamed by Guānyīn, derived from Sanskrit राक्षस. I have chosen the translation from Yü (1991) – see pages 11–18, 22, 24, 46
- Luō shèng** 罗晟: – see page 22
- Mǎi Sēng shùn** 买僧顺: monk mentioned in the 《白国因由》, possibly a miswriting of 买顺嗟 – see page 38, 40
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest –
- Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nán zhào – see page 14, 15
- Méng Jiā** 蒙迦: legendary father of Xīn ú luó 细奴逻 – see page 20, 21, see 细奴逻
- Méng Jiā dú** 蒙迦独: ancestor of the Méng Shì 蒙氏 – see page 18

- Méngshè** 蒙舍: one of the five Zhào, in the present-day basin of Wēishān 巍山, excavations believed to be the settlement of the Méng 蒙 clan have been made south of the present county town ㊦, see Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (2011) – see page 35
- Méng Shì** 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of Nánzhào – see pages 6, 10, 46
- Mènghuì** 梦讳: – see page 22
- Mèngzǐ** 孟子: Mencius, – see page 35, 46
- Mídù** 弥渡: valley south of Ěrhǎi –
- Mílè** 弥勒: Maitreya, – see page 8, 46
- Miàofǎ Liánhuā Jīng** 《妙法莲花经》: Lotus Sutra, ‘one of the most important and influential of all the sutras or sacred scriptures of Mahayana Buddhism’, Watson (1993), p. ix, translated first into Chinese in the 3rd century – see pages 5, 11, 47
- Miàoxiāng** 妙香: fine fragrance, a Buddhist term for a paradise-like region – see page 36, 47
- Mín Guó** 民国: Chinese Republic, republican period of China, 1912–1949 – see page 5, 47
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see pages 8, 11, 41, 47
- Móhēluōcuó** 摩诃罗嵯: mahārāja, title of Lóngshùn 隆舜: ‘Mahā was certainly the ruler known by the Indian title Mahārāja, the next-to-last monarch of Nan Chao (r. 877–897)’, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15, also used in a short form Móhē 摩诃 see = 隆舜 – see page 38, 47
- Mòliqiāng** 茉莉婁: – see pages 18–22
- Nánsòng** 南宋: Southern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 1127–1279 – see page 9, 47
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 5, 6, 8, 10, 18, 21, 31, 38, 47
- Nánzhào Túzhuān** 《南诏图传》: *‘Illustrated History of Nánzhào’*, important picture scroll dating back to 898, telling the story of the arrival of Buddhism and the divine appointment of the rulers of Nánzhào – see pages 10, 11, 21, 30, 47
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: *‘Unofficial History of Nánzhào’*, import Míng Cháo 明朝 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào – see page 8, 47
- Ōuyáng Xiū** 欧阳修: Sòng dynasty historian –
- Piǎoxìn** 膘信: – see page 10
- Pǐndiàn** 品甸: region to the east of Dàlǐ 大理 on the present-day Xiángyún 祥云 plain – see page 34, see 品甸海
- Pǐndiànǎi** 品甸海: lake in northern part of present-day Xiángyún 祥云 –
- Píngguó Gōng** 平国公: duke of the state of Píng, title mentioned in the 《南诏野史》 – see page 41, 47
- Pólúo Bù** 婆罗部: guardian regiment, Pólúo are Buddhist wardens – see page 25, 47
- Púsà** 菩萨: bodhisattva, Chinese term for bodhisattvas – see pages 10, 25, 37, 40, 41, 47
- Pǔlǐ** 普哩: legendary tribal group in Yúnlóng 云龙 – see pages 26–28
- Qíjiā Wáng** 奇嘉王: king Qíjiā, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào – see page 47, see 细奴逻 & 奇王
- Qí Wáng** 奇王: king Qí, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào – see page 23, 47, see 细奴逻 & 奇嘉王

- Qián Chù** 钱俶: last king of Wúyuè 吴越, 947–978, significant sponsor of Buddhism in China – see page 9
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see pages 6, 11, 38, 47
- Qīngdòng** 庆洞: village on the slopes on Cāngshān – see page 5
- Rénguǒ** 仁果: – see page 10, 13
- Rúyì** 如意: sceptre, an ornamental sceptre, symbol of Buddhism – see page 12, 47
- Sānguó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 47
- Sān Hé** 三和: – see page 22
- Sānlíng** 三灵: three spirits, – see pages 34, 35, 48
- Sānshèyì** 三舍邑: locality mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 36
- Sāntǎ** 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 – see page 37, 48, see 崇圣寺
- Sānyuèjiē** 三月街: Third Month Fair, important annual market, with origins in a festival in honour of Guānyīn – see page 26, 48
- Shànchǎn** 善阐: name of the eastern capital of Nánzhào – see page 10
- Shàngguān** 上关: present-day town at northern end of Ěrhǎi 洱海 – see page 17, 34
- Shàngyángxī** 上阳溪: Shàngyáng stream, one of the eighteen 苍山 streams – see page 18, 48
- Shénmíng Tiānzǐ** 神明天子: prince Shénmíng, honorific – see page 10, 48
- Shèngyuán Sì** 圣元寺: Shèngyuán temple, historic Buddhist temple on the slopes of Cāngshān – see pages 5, 8, 11, 12, 24, 40, 41, 48
- Shímíngyuè** 石明月: – see page 27
- Shíyī Miàn Guānyīn** 十一面观音: Eleven-faced Guānyīn, a particular depiction of Guānyīn with eleven faces – see page 31, 48
- Shìjiāmóuní** 释加牟尼: Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, whose clan name is Śākya and whose personal name Siddhartha – see pages 8, 9, 48
- Shìjiārúlái** 释迦如来: Shakyamuni, one of Shakyamuni's Dharma names – see pages 8, 9, 38, 48
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sānguó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 48
- Shùnhuàzhēn** 舜化贞: last ruler of Nánzhào, 897–902 – see page 23
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province –
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see pages 6, 8, 33, 37, 41, 48
- Sōngshǐ** 松矢: locality mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 35
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty – see page 36, 48
- Sòngguāngzōng** 宋光宗: Sòng dynasty emperor Guāngzōng, Sòng dynasty emperor, 1189–1194 – see page 41, 48
- Sùgōng Huángdì** 肃恭皇帝: emperor Sùgōng, (posthumous) name of Yánggānzhēn 杨干贞 – see page 33, 48, see 杨干贞
- Suí Cháo** 隋朝: Suí dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 581–618 – see pages 11, 41, 48

- Tàishǒu** 太守: grand protector, ‘a title commonly awarded chieftains of southern and southwestern aboriginal tribes’. Herman (2009) translates it as ‘governor’, noting that it was a title given to members of the indigenous local elite, see Hucker (1985), 1985 – see page 31, 48
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see pages 8, 10, 11, 37, 41, 48
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see pages 11, 23, 31, 48
- Tángshī Sānbǎi Shǒu** 《唐诗三百首》: ‘Three Hundred Táng dynasty Poems’, a collection of three-hundred poems from the Táng dynasty period, compiled in 1763–1764 by the Qīng 清 scholar Sūnzhū 孙洙 – see page 8, 48
- Tángtài zōng** 唐太宗: Táng emperor Tàizōng, Second Táng dynasty emperor Lǐ Shì mǐn 李世民, ruled 626–649 – see page 48
- Táoxī** 桃溪: Táo stream, one of the eighteen 苍山 streams – see page 24, 49
- Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742–756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng – see page 31
- Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng** 天宝战争: Tiānbǎo Wars, sequence of wars between the Táng and Nánzhào, 751–754 – see page 31, 49
- Tiāncháng Sì** 天长寺: Tiāncháng temple, – see page 32, 49
- Tiānchéng** 天成: first reign period of Hòutáng-míngzōng 后唐明宗, 926–930 – see page 33
- Tiānlóngbābù** 天龙八部: eight divisions of spirits, a term to signify all sorts of spirits, 天 an 龙 are considered to march in front of them – see pages 9, 17, 49
- Tiānshī** 天师: astronomer, title seemingly for an astronomer – see page 10, 49
- Tiězhù** 铁柱: iron pillar, mythological ritual site where the future Nánzhào king was anointed – see pages 21, 23, 49
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- Wàn lǐ xún qīn tú** 万里寻亲图: ‘Searching For My Parents’, painting by Huáng Xiàngjiān 黄向坚, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/73652> – see page 8, 49
- wáng** 王: king, ‘King, title commonly used in reference to rulers of foreign states and alien peoples’. It is important to note that this does not have the meaning of a ruler equal to the Chinese emperor, it is a designation of a ruler below him, when used in titles conferred by China, the ruler of a vassal state, see Hucker (1985), 7634 – see pages 9, 10, 13–15, 18, 23, 24, 35, 49
- Wáng Tiānyùn** 王天运: – see page 32
- Wēibǎoshān** 巍宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山 – see page 49
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 巍宝山 – see page 22, 49
- Wéngé** 文革: Cultural Revolution, 1966–1976 – see pages 5, 40, 49
- Wúyuè** 吴越: one of the ten countries during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period – see page 9
- Wǔdài Shíguó** 五代十国: ‘Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms’, period after the collapse of the Táng when China disintegrated in

- multiple states, 907–960, a term coined by Ōuyáng Xiū 欧阳修 – see page 49
- Wǔshídàn** 五十石: – see page 28
- Wǔtáifēng** 五台峰: Wǔtái peak, one of the peaks of Cāngshān – see pages 11, 12, 49
- Wǔtái Shān** 五台山: Mt Wǔtái, sacred peak in China – see page 11, 49
- Xìnúluō** 细奴罗: alternative writing of 细奴逻, used in the 《白国因由》 – see pages 18, 21–25, see 细奴逻
- Xìnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, *617 †674, ruled 649–674 – see page 6, 10
- Xiànguān** 下关: present-day administrative center of Dàlǐ, literally meaning ‘lower gate’ as this was the southern fortification of the Dàlǐ plain – see page 17, 34
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán – see page 32
- Xiāngfù** 香附: fragrant wolfsbane, a Chinese medicine plant – see page 24, 49
- Xiángyún** 祥云: –
- Xīnzōng** 心宗: Chán school, one of the schools of Buddhism – see pages 8, 10, 50, see 禅宗
- Xīngyuánguó** 兴元国: name of Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in the 《云南志略》 –
- Xúnmíjiǎo** 浚弥脚: – see page 22
- Yǎnxí** 演习: *yǎnxí*, a fictional official title – see page 19, 50
- Yáng Bōyuǎn** 杨波远: – see page 15
- Yáng Gānzhēn** 杨干贞: founder of the Nánzhào successor state Dà Yìníng Guó 大义宁国 in 928, ?–937 – see page 33
- Yáng Guìlóu** 杨桂楼: – see page 41
- Yáng Guózhōng** 杨国忠: Táng dynasty prime minister – see page 32
- Yáng Lián** 杨连: – see page 41
- Yángnán Cūn** 阳南村: Yángnán village, village mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 9, 50
- Yèyú** 叶榆: – see page 36
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see page 28, 29, see 蛮
- Yí Zhēn** 疑真: monk mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 38, 40
- Yiluōcóng Cūn** 易罗丛村: Yiluōcóng village, – see page 18, 50
- Yīn** 尹: administrator, ‘Administrator of a Superior Prefecture (fu) and normally its active head’, but also used as ‘common element in merit titles’, see Hucker (1985), 7969 – see page 15, 50
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see page 19
- Yúchéng** 榆城: walled town of Yú, – see pages 15, 26, 50
- Yújiā** 瑜伽: yoga, a form of ritual performance, see Yü (2020), p. 128 – see pages 15, 25, 40, 50
- Yùdì** 玉帝: Jade emperor, – see page 21, 50
- Yuán** 元: Yuán, Chinese dynasty, 1271–1368 – see page 50
- Yuán Hù** 圆护: eminent monk – see page 38, 40
- Yuánshuài** 元帅: marshall, – see pages 32, 41, 50
- Yuántōngdàshì** 圆通大士: master Yuántōng, another name of Guānyīn – see page 41, 50

- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368 – see pages 36, 38, 50
- Yúnlóng** 云龙: a region west of Ērhǎi – see page 26
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5, 6, 10, 21, 23, 34, 37
- Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《云南通志》: ‘*Yúnnán General Gazetteer*’, generic name for a number of historical works on Yúnnán – see page 38, 50
- Yúnnánzhìlùè** 《云南志略》: ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 dynasty history of Yúnnán, compiled by Lǐ Jīng 李京 – see page 50
- Zhāng Āmán** 张阿蛮: name mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 32
- Zhāng Jìng** 张敬: – see pages 12–17, 23–25
- Zhāng Lèjīnqiú** 张乐尽求: alternate form of Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求 in the 《南诏图传》 – see pages 10, 15, 21, 23
- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张虔陀: ruler of Yáozhōu who played an important role in the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng dynasty in 751. Killed by Nánzhào in 751. – see page 31
- Zhāng Rénguǒ** 张仁果: this name appears in various contexts related to Āyù 阿育 – see page 13
- Zhāng Wéizhōng** 张惟忠: – see pages 37, 38, 40
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 23, 51
- Zhào** 赵: clan name – see page 15
- Zhào Shànzhèng** 赵善政: founder of the shortlived Nánzhào successor state Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in 928, ?–929 – see page 33
- Zhēnguān** 贞观: reign period of Tángtài-zōng, 627–649 – see page 10, 11
- Zhònglǐ Shèngyuán Xīshān Bēi** 《重理圣元西山碑》: ‘*Reestablishing the Holy Origin of the Western Mountain*’ stele, 1450 stele at Shèng Yuánsì 圣元寺 recording the history of Buddhism in the region – see pages 11, 41, 51
- Zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit – see page 26, 51
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 10, 13
- Zhǔntípúsà** 准提菩萨: bodhisattva Zhǔntí, a bodhisattva that is also considered a manifestation of Guānyīn, Soothill and Hodous (2014), p. 405 – see page 10, 51

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