
The ‘*Historical Records of Diān*’

An Annotated Translation of Yáng Shèn’s 《滇载记》

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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 ‘*Historical Records of Diān*’ 《滇载记》 by the exiled scholar Yáng Shèn 杨慎 is the earliest of the Míng dynasty period ‘unofficial histories’, i.e. private reconstructions of Yúnnán’s local history. Completed in 1525 CE, it marks the beginning of a process⁽¹⁾ that culminated in the ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏野史》.

Yáng Shèn, *1488–†1557, also known by his literary name Shēngān 升庵, was Míng court official, who, after criticizing the emperor, was exiled to remote Yǒngchāng 永昌 in western Yúnnán in 1524 CE, where he spent the rest of his life.⁽²⁾ The prolific scholar, writer, and poet left a voluminous work that was later considered important enough to be included in the Qīng dynasty ‘*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*’ 《四庫全書》 library collection.⁽³⁾

Yáng Shèn was, in modern parlance, quite a *character*: Ihor Pidhainy, in the introduction to his comparison of various biographies of Yáng Shèn, characterizes him:

Yang Shen (1488–1559), a mid-Ming poet, scholar and exile lived a life that came to inhabit the Chinese consciousness during the late imperial period. The role he played in national politics, his stature as a scholar and his eccentricities in exile fascinated and annoyed the scholarly class. Yang can be said to be an excellent example of how a life story is told and transformed by those who came after him, how a life story is itself affected by the context of the day, and how what was most sublime for one generation became a scholarly pursuit of local scholars three hundred years later. (Pidhainy (2011))

He continues,

Yang’s image ran the gamut from cultural hero to immoral and degenerate drunkard. [...] the creation of Yang Shen’s persona was in part the work of Yang himself. He was the main source for many of its aspects, shaping what was known of him from Yunnan. However, there is to be drawn a division between the acts he was known for and the works that he wrote. The former involved a theatricality that was necessary in part to survive the emperor’s wrath, the latter was his shaping and commenting on the Chinese literary tradition. Both left a legacy. Among the stories that clung to the legend of Yang Shen, two stand out. First, there is his infamous parading through the streets of the market, with flowers in his hair and wearing make-up. Chen Hongshou, the late Ming artist, captured the mood of this brilliantly in a painting in which Yang stands, seemingly befuddled, in a clearing with a couple of women attending him. (Pidhainy (2011))

For the painting by Chén Hóngshòu 陈洪绶, *1598–†1652, mentioned here called ‘*Shēngān Wearing Flowers in His Hair*’ 《升庵簪花图》 see illustration 1. It bears the inscription:⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Yáng Shèn contributed to many local histories, such as the ‘*Mù Clan Illustrated Genealogy*’ 《木氏图谱》 around 1545 CE, see Lian Ruizhi (2019), p. 132.

⁽²⁾ Actually, he spent considerable time travelling the province and lived in Gāoyáo 高峣 on the western side of Lake Dian 滇池, see Pidhainy (2011), p. 10.

⁽³⁾ For his work see Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002) and online [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/升菴集_\(四庫全書本\)](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/升菴集_(四庫全書本)). (accessed 12th July 2024).

⁽⁴⁾ For a detailed analysis of the painting, see Yi Lidu (2011).



Illustration 1:

Painting by Chén Hóngshòu 陈洪绶 called 'Shēngān Wearing Flowers in His Hair' 《升庵簪花图》

Source: <https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/File:升庵簪花图.jpg>

杨昇庵先生放滇时，双髻簪花，数女子持尊，踏歌行道中

When Yang Sheng'an was in exile in Dian (Yunnan), he wore flowers in both hair coils, accompanied by several females with wine vessels, singing and dancing on the road. (Translation by Yi Lidu (2011))

Yáng Shèn and his works made not only an indelible contribution to the formation of a Yúnnánese identity, but achieved nationwide fame that continued to grow over the centuries. Pidhainy concludes,

Yang's effect on the local scholars was so great that, beyond the creation of a local identity, Zhang Fengshu wrote in a postface to Yang's works that the Dian people admired him to such an extent that they viewed him as their first teacher [...]. That this process is still ongoing might be suggested in the active scholarship on the part of self-identified Yunnan scholars. (Pidhainy (2011), p. 24)

In his ancestral temple on the western side of Kūnmíng 昆明, a statue to him survived into the early 20th century, which Joseph Francis Rock included in his *'The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China'*, see illustration 2.⁽⁵⁾

As the *'Historical Records of Diān'* 《滇载记》 was completed just after Yáng Shèn's arrival in Yúnnán, it must be seen as reflecting his early understanding and interpretation of the region's history.⁽⁶⁾

⁽⁵⁾ His ancestral temple has been restored and is now a museum, however the statue that Joseph Francis Rock photographed seems to have been lost.

⁽⁶⁾ For his later poetic work on Yúnnán, see Pidhainy (2005).



Illustration 2:
 Statue of Yang Shen

Source: Rock (1947), vol. 1, plate 48

2 About this Translation

The ‘*Historical Records of Diān*’ 《滇載記》 survives in many copies. The earliest I have been able to find in a library catalogue is a blockprint from 1544 CE⁽⁷⁾ held at the National Central Library of Taiwan.⁽⁸⁾

⁽⁷⁾ Míng Jiājìng Jiǎchén 明嘉靖甲辰.

⁽⁸⁾ https://aleweb.ncl.edu.tw/F/TFUFXKIVT75AUAAL488R9BYJ6XUK946ACK5AX3FIHMC41AEXGC-33195?func=full-set-set&set_number=005070&set_entry=000018&format=999. I have not seen this copy and it does not seem to have been digitized.

The text of the 《滇载记》 is contained in the multi-volume critical edition of historical material regarding Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》, ⁽⁹⁾ which according to the introduction is based on a 1605 CE print.

The only publicly online available scan of the book that I have been able to find is a 1936 CE published collection of historic texts containing several works. ⁽¹⁰⁾ The provenance of this copy is unclear, it contains a number of errors that appear to have crept in when this edition was prepared. The illustrations included here are from that book. It appears that the digitally available text ⁽¹¹⁾ is based on that copy.

The Chinese text used here has been copied from the CText version, corrected using the 《云南史料丛刊》 whenever I noticed obvious errors.

The text is also included in his collected works, Yáng Shēngān 杨升庵 (2002), vol. 2, pp. 207–. This text also contains annotations to the text.

A further edition of the text, with copious annotations, can be found in Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), pp. 71–88. Where the annotations point to factual errors in the text, I have included them in the footnotes.

The work does not have section titles, I have added them to provide some structure.

I am not aware of an English translation.

At the end I have added a translation of an introduction to the text by Jiāng Lóng 姜龙, written in 1543 CE as it includes some additional information on the sources for this text. This introduction is included in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 4, p. 756 and in Wáng Wéncái 王文才 (1985), pp. 50–52.

3 Annotated Translation

3.1 Stories from Āiláo

The first part ⁽¹²⁾ is based on the ‘*Biographies of Āiláo*’ 《哀牢传》, the earliest extant mythological history of Yúnnán, written during the Western Hàn 西汉.

滇域未通中国之先，有低牟苴者，居永昌哀牢之山麓 [今金齿地]。

滇载记 5

有妇曰沙壹，浣絮水中，触沈木，若有感，是生九男，曰九隆族。

种类滋长，支裔蔓衍，窃据土地，散居溪谷，分为九十九部。

When Diān was not yet in contact with China, there was Dīmóujū, who lived in Yǒngchāng at the foot of the Āiláo Mountains [today's Jinchǐ region].

There was a women called Shāyī. When she was washing clothes in the water, she touched a sunken log which seemed to be alive. Later she gave birth to nine boys, who were called the Jiǔlóng tribe.

When they had all grown up, their descendants spread out, occupying the lands, living scattered in the mountain valleys, and split into ninety-nine tribes.

⁽⁹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 4, pp. 756–765.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Wáng Yúnwú 王云五 (1936), available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:NLC416-06jho08429-16916_%E5%A4%A7%E7%90%86%E8%A1%8C%E8%A8%98.pdf%20th%20July%2024.

⁽¹¹⁾ <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?chapter=588873> (accessed 11th July 2024).

⁽¹²⁾ see illustration 4.

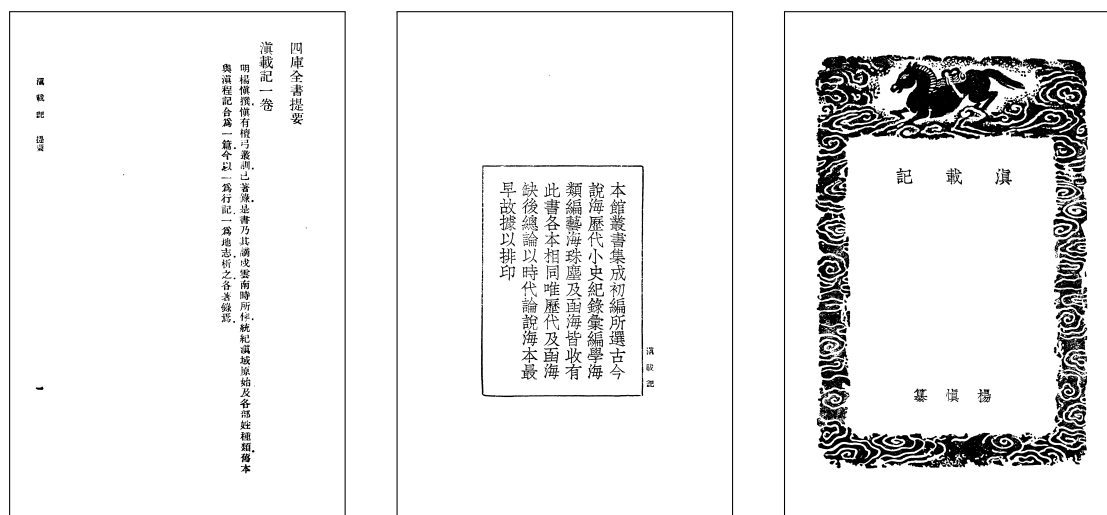


Illustration 3:
The 《滇載記》(I)

Source: 《大理行記及其它五種》1936

3.2 The Six Zhào

Then⁽¹³⁾ follows an introduction of the six *zhào* 六詔, the principalities around Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 before their unification into Nánzhào. The text appears based on the much more detailed Táng dynasty 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán' 《云南志》.

其渠酋有六，各号为詔，夷语谓詔为王。

其一曰蒙舍詔 [今蒙化府]，其二曰浪穹詔 [今浪穹县]，其三曰邓脸詔 [今邓川州]，其四曰施浪詔 [今浪穹县蒙和次之地]，其五曰摩紫詔 [今丽江府]，其六曰蒙嵩詔 [今建昌]。

They had six chiefs, called *zhào*, as in the *Yi* language they call a king *zhào*.

The first was called Méngshè *zhào* [today's Méngguà prefecture], the second was called Làngqióng *zhào* [today's Làngqióng county], the third was called Dèngliǎn *zhào* [today's Dèngchuān prefecture], the fourth was called Shìlàng *zhào* [today the territory of Làngqióng county's Ménghéci], the fifth was called Mózi *zhào* [today's Lìjiāng prefecture], and the sixth was called Méngxī Zhào [today's Jiànchāng].

滇載記 10

滇載記 15

[12–13: 浪穹] In 《大理行記及其它五種》 edition this is written as Làngshī 浪施, which is clearly a mistake, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 4, p. 757.

[13: 邓脸詔] This is a variant writing of Téng Dàn 澄賧.

[15: 摩紫詔] This is a variant writing of Móxiē Zhào 磨些詔.

[16: 蒙嵩詔] The 《大理行記及其它五種》 edition wrongly uses a different character for Xī 嵩.

[17–18: today's Jiànchāng] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 73 points out that this is wrong, it was located in what is now northern Wēishān 巍山 and Yàngbì 漾濞.

r16: Ménghéci] unclear name.

⁽¹³⁾ see illustration 4.

滇載記
號曰大夏始建年號曰贊普... 破之異者... 漢承唐... 破之異者... 漢承唐...

滇載記
漢承唐... 破之異者... 漢承唐... 破之異者... 漢承唐...

滇載記
漢承唐... 破之異者... 漢承唐... 破之異者... 漢承唐...

Illustration 4: The 《滇載記》(II)

Source: 《大理行記及其它五種》1936

兵將不能相君長。
至漢，有仁果時，九隆八族之四世孫也，強大，居昆弥川 [今白崖定西岭]。
Their military leaders could not overcome each other to become sovereign.
During the Hàn dynasty there was the period of Rénguǒ, who was a 4th generation offspring of the eighth Jiùlóng, he was mighty and powerful and lived in Kūnmí valley [today's Báiyá Dìngxī range].

3.3 The Three Kingdoms Period

Then (14) follows a passage based on the 'Records of the Three Kingdoms' 《三国志》 narrating the story of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮.

傳十七世，至龙佑那，当蜀汉建兴三年，诸葛武侯南征雍闓，师次白崖川，获闓斩之，封龙佑那为首长，赐姓张氏，割永昌益州地，置云南郡于白崖。
诸夷慕武侯之德，渐去山林，徙居

This continued for seventeen generations until Lóng Yòunà. In the 3rd year of Shǔ Hàn's Jiàn-xīng era, Zhūgé Marquis of Wǔ made his southern campaign against Yōng Kǎi, the master stopped at Báiyá valley, captured Kǎi and executed him, appointed Lóng Yòunà as chief and granted him the name Zhāng, he split the lands of Yōngchāng and Yìzhōu, and established Yúnnán commandery in Báiyá.
The Yí all admired the virtue of the Marquis of Wǔ, abandoned

r 24-25: In the 3rd year of Shǔ Hàn's Jiàn-xīng era] 225 CE.
r 25-26: Zhūgé Marquis of Wǔ made his southern campaign against Yōng Kǎi] i.e. Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮'S southern expedition.

(14) see illustration 4.

平地，建城邑，务农桑。

诸部于是始有姓氏。

龙佑那之十六世孙，曰张乐进，求逊位于蒙氏。考其时，盖唐世也。

张氏或称昆弥国，或称白国，或称建宁国，其年系莫可推详。

the forests and moved to the flat lands, established settlements, farmed and practiced sericulture.

All the tribes began at this time to form clans.

The 16th descendant of Lóng Yòunà was called Zhāng Lèjìnqiú, he abdicated in favour of the Méng clan. This was during the Táng.

The Zhāng clan was also called state of Kūnmí and also called Bái kingdom and also called state of Jiànníng, their calendar system cannot be understood.

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3.4 The Nánzhào Rulers

Then⁽¹⁵⁾ follows the genealogy of the Méng clan 蒙氏, i.e. the later rulers of Nánzhào.

The 1st Generation: Xīnúluó 细奴逻

From the early history of the clan leader Zhāng Lèjìnqiú, the story moves on to Xīnúluó 细奴逻, here written as Xīnúluō 细奴罗, the ancestor of the Méng clan 蒙氏.

蒙氏始兴，曰细奴罗，九隆五族，牟苴蕙之三十六世孙也。

耕于巍山之麓。

数有神异，孳牧繁息，部众日盛，代张氏立国号曰封民。

蒙氏伪称南诏，实唐贞观三年也。

迁居珑玕图山 [今蒙化]。

及高宗时，遣子入侍，朝命授细奴罗以巍州刺史。

死，伪谥高祖，又称奇王。

When the Méng clan began to rise, [their ruler] was called Xīnúluō, the fifth tribe of the Jiǔlóng, a 36th generation descendant of Mójū.

He farmed below mount Wēi.

There were an number of auspicious omens, breeding cattle produced much offspring, the people were flourishing, so the Zhāng clan established a state called Great Fēng People's Kingdom.

The Méng clan called themselves Nánzhào, that was **in the 3rd year of the Táng Zhēngguān era.**

They moved to Lóngyútú Shān [today's Méngguà].

Then **at the time of Gāozōng**, he sent his son to serve at the court, the court issued an edict to appoint Xīnúluō as Wēizhōu regional inspector.

After his death, he was given the name Gāozǔ and was called **king**

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滇载记 45

滇载记 50

[47: 唐贞观三年] should be 唐贞观二十三年, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 73.

[49: 珑玕图山] This is a variant writing of Lóngyú Shān 龙于山, the tú 图 appeared in texts after the Yuán dynasty, see Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015).

[47-48: in the 3rd year of the Táng Zhēngguān era] this would be 629 CE, but Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 71 points out that it should be the 23rd year, i.e. 649 CE.

[49: Lóngyútú Shān] The meaning of the name is unclear, Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015) argues that it was a deliberate invention of characters to evade taboos and that the term signifies Lóngyú 龙舆, i.e. 'dragon's carriage'.

[50: at the time of Gāozōng] Táng emperor Gāozōng ruled 649-683 CE.

[53: Gāozǔ] The term Gāozǔ 高祖 is only used for the founding emperor of a dynasty.

[53-54: king Qí] This is also the title given to him in the *Illustrated History of Nánzhào* 《南诏图传》.

⁽¹⁵⁾ see illustration 4.

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子罗晟嗣。

Qí.

His son Luōshèng was his heir.

The 2nd Generation: Luōshèng 罗晟

罗晟攢立，当高宗上元元年。

Luōshèng ascended the throne, that was in the 1st year of Gāozōng's Shàngyuán reign.

至睿宗景云中，姚州蛮先附吐蕃。

Until Táng Ruìzōng's Jǐngyún reign, the Mán of Yáozhōu were subordinated to Tǔbō.

滇载记 60

御史李知古请兵击降之，筑城置州县，重税赋。

The censor Lǐ Zhīgǔ requested troops to attack and subdue them, he fortified walled towns and established prefectures and counties, and imposed heavy tax burdens.

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因诛其豪耆，掠其子女为奴婢，群蛮怨怒，引吐蕃攻知古，杀之。于是，姚耆路绝。

Because he executed their aristocracy in Xī, carried off children and women as slaves, the Mán were discontent and indignant, and lead Tǔbō to attack Zhīgǔ, killing him. So then the road between Yáo and Xī was blocked.

晟犹奉唐正朔。

Shèng still honoured the Táng calendar.

死伪谥世宗，子晟罗皮嗣。

When he died he was given the title Shìzōng, his son Shèngluōpí was his heir.

The 3rd Generation: Shèngluōpí 盛逻皮

The next ruler was Shèngluōpí 盛逻皮, here written as Shèngluōpí 晟罗皮.

滇载记 70

晟罗皮之立，当玄宗先天元年。

Shèngluōpí ascended the throne, that was in the 1st year of Xuánzōng's Xiāntiān reign.

立孔子庙于国中，死谥威成王，子皮罗阁嗣。

He established a temple for Kǒngzǐ in the middle of the state, when he died he was given the title king Wēichéng, his son Píluōgé was his heir.

The 4th Generation: Píluōgé 皮罗阁

Then came Píluōgé 皮罗阁, ruled 728–748 CE. With apparent approval of the Táng, he unified the six zhào to one polity under his rule. The corresponding legend that he burned the other leaders in the Sōngmíng tower 松明楼 makes here an early appearance.

l63: 耆] This character is written in many different forms, here in conformance with 《云南史料丛刊》.

l70: 玄宗先天元年] Should be see 玄宗开元元年, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 74.

r56–57: in the 1st year of Gāozōng's Shàngyuán reign] 674 CE.

r58: Until Táng Ruìzōng's Jǐngyún reign] 710 CE.

r70–71: in the 1st year of Xuánzōng's Xiāntiān reign] 712 CE, but should be 713 CE.

<p>皮罗阁之立，当玄宗开元十六年，受唐册封，为云南王，赐名归义。</p>	<p>When Píluōgé took power, in the 16th year of the Kāiyuán reign of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, he was invested with titles, was appointed king of Yúnnán and given the name Guīyì.</p>	<p>滇载记 75</p>
<p>于是，南诏浸强大，而五诏微弱。</p>	<p>Then Nánzhào gradually became powerful, while the other five zhào were weak.</p>	
<p>皮罗阁因仲夏二十五日，祭先之期，建松明为楼，以会五诏，宴醉后，罗阁佯下楼，击鼓举火焚楼，五诏遂灭。</p>	<p>As the 25th day of mid-summer was the time to make sacrifices to the ancestors, Píluōgé erected the Sōngmíng tower, assembled the five zhào. After they had eaten and were drunk, Luōgé feigned something to go downstairs, beat the drums, lit a fire to burn the tower, the five zhào perished.</p>	<p>滇载记 80</p>
<p>阁赂剑南节度使，求合五诏为一，朝廷许之。于是，尽有云南之地。</p>	<p>Gé bribed the military commissioner of Jiànnán, requesting to unite the five zhào into one, the court permitted this. From then on he controlled the lands of Yúnnán.</p>	<p>滇载记 85</p>
<p>因破吐蕃，卒为边患，不可复制。</p>	<p>Because of the conflict with Tǔbō, soldiers created havoc in the border regions, and it was impossible to restore rule.</p>	
<p>既并五诏，乃卜太和形胜，左洱水，右苍山，山海之交，结于子午，遂筑太和城。</p>	<p>So he annexed the five zhào. An omen favoured the location of Tàihé, with Ěrshuǐ on the left and Cāngshān on the right, where mountains and lake met was a meridian, so there they built the walled town of Tàihé.</p>	<p>滇载记 90</p>
<p>自蒙舍徙居之，立上下二关，曰龙首，曰龙尾，连陷邓川、永昌、石鼓，沙追賧、龙怯賧。</p>	<p>They moved from Méngshè to live there, established two gates, Shàngguān and Xiàguān, called Lóngshǒu and Lóngwěi, and then conquered Dèngchuān, Yǒngchāng, Shígǔ, Shāzhūi Dàn, and Lóngqiè Dàn.</p>	<p>滇载记 95</p>
<p>后遣其孙凤伽异入朝，唐授鸿胪少卿，妻以宗女，赐乐一部，南诏于是始有中国之乐。</p>	<p>Later, he sent his grandson Fèngjiāyì to court, the Táng appointed him as ceremonial minister and vice minister, gave him a imperial daughter as wife, conferred him a musical troupe, from then on Nánzhào had the music of China.</p>	<p>滇载记 100</p>
<p>死，子阁罗凤嗣。</p>	<p>When he passed away, his son Géluōfèng succeeded him.</p>	

The 5th Generation: Géluōfèng 阁罗凤

Géluōfèng 阁罗凤 broke with the Táng, leading to a long conflict.

阁罗凤之立，以天宝八年。

Géluōfèng was enthroned in the 8th year of Tiānbǎo.

[75: 玄宗] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 4 notes that in the copy the edition is based on, the name is written as Yuánzōng 元宗, this was to avoid a taboo character.

[95: 邓川] This is written as Liáochuān 遼川, but should mean Dèngchuān 邓川, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 4, p. 757.

r75-76: 16th year of the Kāiyuán reign of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng] 728 CE.

r80: the 25th day of mid-summer] i.e. the 6th month. This is the day, the Bái ethnic group 白族 celebrate their annual torch festival 火把节 today.

r100: conferred him a musical troupe] This group of musicians is referred to again when Nánzhào submits to China fifty years later, see page 16.

r103: 8th year of Tiānbǎo] 749 CE.

<p>故事首长谒都督偕妻子行，凤掣家至云南。</p> <p>滇载记 105</p>	<p>太守张乾拖皆私之，复多徵求，凤怒，反攻云南，杀乾拖，取夷州三十二，陷嵩州，获唐西泸令郑回，拜清平官 [即其国承相也]。</p> <p>滇载记 110</p>	<p>天宝十年夏四月庚寅，剑南节度使鲜于仲通，将命致讨，凤伽异及段俭魏，逆战于西洱河，唐兵死者六万人，仲通仅以身免。</p> <p>滇载记 115</p>	<p>封俭魏为清平，赐名段忠国，以旌之，遂臣于吐蕃，封之为东帝，刻碑国门之外，明叛唐非得已也。</p>	<p>俭国号曰大蒙，始建年号曰赞普钟。</p>	<p>十三年，剑南留后李宓，将兵击之，为蒙氏所诱，全军没焉。</p> <p>唐益发兵，竟不能克，前后死者二十万人。</p> <p>南诏自是始于中国隔绝矣。</p> <p>代宗大历十四年死。</p> <p>滇载记 125</p>	<p>伪谥神武，子凤伽异未嗣而死，孙异牟寻立 [僭改元赞普钟七，长寿十一]。</p> <p>滇载记 130</p>	<p>It was custom that the chief pay a visit to the commander-in-chief with his wife and children, so Fèng took his family with him to Yúnnán.</p> <p>The grand protector Zhāng Qiántuō took private interest in [his wife], soliciting many times, Fèng was angry, rebelled and attacked Yúnnán, killed Qiántuō, and occupied thirty-two regions of the Yí, took Xīzhōu, captured the Táng commandant of Xīlú Zhèng Huí and made him prime minister [that is that state's prime minister].</p> <p>In the 4th month of the 10th year of Tiānbǎo, gēngyín, the Jiànnán military commissioner Xiānyú Zhòngtōng, ordered a punishment expedition, Fèngjiāyì and Duàn Jiǎnwèi faced them in battle at Xīěr Hé, sixty thousand Táng troops died, Zhòngtōng barely saved his life.</p> <p>He made Jiǎnwèi prime minister, granted him the name Duàn Zhōngguó, gave him honours, and he became a vassal of Tǔbō, was granted the title of eastern emperor, carved a stele outside the capital's gate, explaining that he had no choice but to rebel against the Táng.</p> <p>Jiǎn changed the state's name to Dàméng, and began a new reign called Zànpǔzhōng.</p> <p>In the 13th year, the caretaker of Jiànnán Lǐ Mì lead troops to attack them, the Méng clan tricked them and the whole army drowned.</p> <p>The Táng sent ever more troops, but could not defeat him, from beginning to end two hundred fifty thousand men died.</p> <p>Nánzhào from then on became separated from China.</p> <p>He passed away in the 14th year of the Dàlì reign of Dàizōng.</p> <p>His illegitimate posthumous name was Shénwǔ. As his son Fèngjiāyì had died before he succeeded, his grandson Yì móuxún took power. [He illegitimately changed the reign to Zànpǔzhōng seven [years], Chángshòu eleven [years]].</p>
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The 6th Generation: Yì móuxún 异牟寻

Yì móuxún 异牟寻, ruled 779–808 CE, submitted again to the Táng.

^{l122}: 赞普钟] variant writing of Zànpǔ Zhōng 赞普钟.

^{l131}: 七] should be 十七, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 74.

^{r106}: Yúnnán] here referring to Yáozhōu.

^{r112}: In the 4th month of the 10th year of Tiānbǎo, gēngyín] 999 CE.

^{r119–120}: carved a stele outside the capital's gate] that is the 'Déhuà Stele' 《德化碑》.

^{r124}: In the 13th year] 754 CE.

^{r129}: in the 14th year of the Dàlì reign of Dàizōng] 779 CE.

^{r132–133}: seven [years]] should be seventeen [years].

异牟寻以唐代宗大历十四年嗣立，有智数，善抚众，居史城 [史城，今喜州也]，连兵吐蕃入寇。

唐神策都将李晟，击破之，异牟寻惧，改城羊 [征志作牟] 賧苴咩 [今大理]，改国号曰大理，自称曰日东王，僭封五岳四渎，并立祠，三皇庙，春秋致祭。

以国界内点苍山为中岳，东川界江云露松外龙山为东岳 [在今禄劝州，一名绛云露山，一名云龙山，有十二峰皆峭拔，其山有共命鸟穴]，银生部日界蒙乐山为南岳 [在今乐甸，又名无量山，其山千仞，有一殿，摇摇柱自空中来，天帝取天女处]，永昌腾越界高黎共山为西岳 [在今腾冲。一名昆仑隅，东临浓江，西临龙川，左右有平川，名鸟穹甸。草卉贯四叙不凋，瘴气最恶。冬雪，至春方融。夏秋，雾甸炎炽，商贾愁怨，为之谣曰：「冬时欲归来，高黎其上雪。夏秋欲归来，无奈穹甸热。春时欲归来，囊中资粮绝。』]，丽江界玉龙山为北岳 [在今丽江，一名耸雪山，其山九峰，雪贯四时，玉立万仞，千里望之，若在咫尺，与蜀松州诸山相接也]。

Yimouxun succeeded him and was enthroned in the 14th year of Tang emperor Dàizōng's Dàli reign, he was cunning and apt at governing his people, he resided in Shǐchéng [Shǐchéng is today's Xǐzhōu], he joined forces with Tǔbō to plunder.

The Tang Shéncè general Lǐ Shèng attacked and defeated him, Yimouxun was afraid and moved his capital to Yángdàn's Jūmiē [today's Dàli], changed the name of the state to Dàlǐ, and called himself the King of the Eastern Sun and misappropriated the five peaks and four rivers, and erected an ancestral hall, a Three Emperor temple, where in spring and autumn rites were conducted.

He declared that within the borders of his state Diǎncāng Mountains was the Central Marchmount, the Dōngchuān border river flowing from Yúnnán to Sōngwài's Lóng mountain as the eastern mound [in today's Lùquàn prefecture, also called Jiàngyúnlù mountain or Yúnlóng mountain, there are twelve precipitous peaks, and on their mountains are many double-headed birds.], Yínshēng region border Ménglè mountain as the southern mound [in today's Lèdiàn, also called Wúliàng Mountains, its mountains [rise] a thousand rēn, there is a temple with a swaying pillar hanging in the air, the place where the lord of heaven took a celestial woman.], Yǒngchāng and Téngyuè borders Gāolígòng Mountains mountains as the eastern mound [in today's Téngchōng, also called the borders of Kūnlún, in the east it is close to Nóng river, in the west close to the Lóngchuān river, around it are flat areas, called Niǎoqióng Diàn. The grass and plants never wither throughout the four seasons, the miasmas are extremely bad. In winter it snows, only in spring it melts. In summer and autumn, the fields are foggy and scorching hot, the merchants complain bitterly, there is the saying: 'If you want to return in winter, on top of Gāolí is snow, if you want to return in summer or autumn, the heat is unbearable, if you want to return in spring, the resources in your bag have been exhausted.']. On the border with Lìjiāng is Jade Dragon mountain as northern mound [in today's Lìjiāng, also called the lofty snow mountain, its mountains have nine peaks, there is snow throughout the four seasons, the jade [cliffs] are very steep, one can see it from a thousand lǐ, as if it was close and

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l139: 羊 [征志作牟] 賧苴咩] In: 牟賧苴咩

r134-135: in the 14th year of Tang emperor Dàizōng's Dàli reign] 779 CE.

r138: Shéncè general] i.e. imperial general.

r138: Lǐ Shèng] *727-†793.

r139: Yángdàn's Jūmiē] Variant writing of Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩.

r140-141: called himself the King of the Eastern Sun] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 75 points out that this was a title given to him by Tǔbō 吐蕃.

r141-142: five peaks and four rivers] The five peaks and four rivers 五岳四渎 refer to China's sacred perimeter, so Nánzhào also claiming such sacred sites was considered preposterous.

r149: double-headed birds] Buddhist birds

滇载记 170 以黑惠江、澜沧江、潞江、丽江为四
渎。

接点苍之颠，添洱河之水，立官号
曰九爽三托。

滇载记 175 其地，东至于铜柱铁桥、蟠桃玉榆，
东南至于交址，南至于骠国水落山，
西至于太石，西北至于吐蕃，北至
于神川，东北至于黔巫，八方之地
属以八演，从中国教令，都曰苴咩，
别都曰善阐，皆中国降人为之经画
也。

德宗贞元三年，郑回说以大义，令
复归唐，异牟寻然之。

滇载记 185 会西川节度使韦皋招抚群蛮，寻因
求内附，而犹结好吐蕃，皋乃为书
遗寻，叙其归化之诚，转至吐蕃，吐
蕃疑之，异牟寻归附之志益坚。

九年，上表请绝吐蕃，复臣于唐。

十年，自将数万人袭吐蕃，大破之，
遣其弟献图纳贡，及吐蕃所颁金印，
请复号南诏。

滇载记 195 唐以其功，遣使册之，赐银窠、黄金
印，王北面跪受之。宴使者，出玄宗
所赐器物，指老笛工、歌女曰：「皇
帝所赐龟兹，惟二人在耳。」使者
曰：「南诏当深思祖考，子孙勿替，
尽忠皇唐。」对曰：「敢不敬使者之

滇载记 200

comes in contact with Shǔ's Sōngzhōu mountains.].

And he designated the Hēihuì River, the Lánkāng River, the Lùjiāng
and Lìjiāng as the four rivers.

The peaks of Diǎncāng replenish the waters of Ērhé, he established
officials of nine *shuǎng* and three *tuō*.

Its territory reaches the copper pillar and the iron bridge in the
east, **with flat peaches and jade elms**, in the south-east it reaches
Jiāozhǐ, in the south to state of Pyu's Shuǐluò mountain, in the west
to Tàishí, in the north-west to Tǔbō, in the north to Shénchuān,
in the north-east to **Wūqián**, the land all belonged to **the eighth
scroll**, from China came the teachings, the capital is called Jūmiē,
the other capital is called Shànchǎn, descendants from China drew
up the maps.

In the 3rd year of Táng Dézōng's Zhēnyuán reign, Zhèng Huí
spoke of the rightness and ordered him to resubmit to the
Táng, Yimóuxún followed this.

So Xīchuān military commissioner Wéi Gāo offered an amnesty to
the *Mán*, Xún then asked to submit, but remained aligned with
Tǔbō, Gāo then wrote a letter addressed to Xún, talking of his sin-
cere wish to submit and send it through Tǔbō, Tǔbō became suspi-
cious, so Yimóuxún desire to submit hardenend.

In the 9th year, he sent a memorial to sever ties with Tǔbō, and
become a vassal of the Táng once again.

In the 10th year, he himself led several ten thousand men to attack
Tǔbō, dealing it a great defeat, then he sent his younger brother to
bring maps as tribute, and the golden seal conferred by Tǔbō, and
asked him to restore the name Nánzhào.

Because of his contributions, the Táng then sent an **envoy** with
insignia, conferred him a silver box with a golden seal, the king
knelt facing north to receive it. At the banquet envoy was presen-
ted with utensils granted by Xuánzōng, he pointed out the old
flute player and the female singer, saying: 'Of the [musicians from]
Guīzī granted by the emperor, only these two are still alive.' The en-

r171: 水] The《大理行记及其它五種》edition has *yǒng* 永, which makes no sense, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 4, p. 758.

r174: with flat peaches and jade elms] Pántáoyùyú 蟠桃玉榆?

r177: Wūqián] Wūqián 巫黔.

r177-178: to the eighth scroll] refers to eighth of the the nine parts of China in the expression Jiǔzhōu 九州, referring to Liángzhōu 梁州, see Herrmann (1922).

r181: In the 3rd year of Táng Dézōng's Zhēnyuán reign] 787 CE.

r189: In the 9th year] 793 CE.

r191: In the 10th year] 794 CE.

r195: envoy] i.e. Yuán Zī 袁滋.

命！」

死伪谥孝恒，改元二 [见龙、上元]，子寻阁劝嗣。

voy said: 'Nánzhào deeply considers his ancestors, his descendants may never decline, forever faithful to the emperor.' He answered: 'I am not worthy to receive the envoy's orders!'

He passed away, his illegitimate posthumous name was Xiàohéng, he had two reign periods [Jiànlóng and Shàngyuán], his son Xúngéquàn succeeded him.

滇载记 205

The 7th Generation: Xúngéquàn 寻阁劝

Xúngéquàn, ruled 808–809 CE.

寻阁劝以唐德宗贞元十五年立。

死，子劝龙晟立 [伪谥孝文，改元应道]。

Xúngéquàn was enthroned in the the 15th year of Táng emperor Dézōng's Zhēnyuán reign.

He passed away, his son Quànlóngshèng was enthroned.

[His illegitimate posthumous name was Xiàowén, he began the Yingdào reign.].

滇载记 210

The 8th Generation: Quànlóngshèng 劝龙晟

Quànlóngshèng, ruled 809–816 CE.

劝龙晟以唐宪宗元和元年立，淫虐不道，其臣嵯颠杀之，而立其弟劝利晟。

谥曰幽，改元龙兴。

Quànlóngshèng was enthroned in the 1st year of Táng emperor Xiànzōng's Yuánhé reign, he was intemperate and cruel, without dào, his official Cuódiān killed him and enthroned his younger brother Quànlìshèng.

His posthumous name was Yuēyōu, he began the Lóngxīng reign.

滇载记 215

The 9th Generation: Quànlìshèng 劝利晟

Quànlìshèng, ruled 816–823 CE.

劝利晟以唐宪宗元和元年立。

死，伪谥靖王，子晟丰佑立，改元全义。

Quànlìshèng was enthroned in the 1st year of Táng emperor Xiànzōng's Yuánhé reign.

He passed away, he illegitimate posthumous name was Jìngwáng, his son Shèngfēngyòu was enthroned, he began the Quányì reign.

滇载记 220

*l*212: 唐宪宗元和元年] The《大理行记及其它五種》edition has some mistakes here, corrected according to the《云南史料丛刊》. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 75: should be 唐宪宗元和四年.

*l*217: 唐宪宗元和元年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 75: should be 唐宪宗元和十一年.

*r*207: 唐德宗贞元十五年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 75: should be 唐宪宗元和三年

*r*207–208: in the the 15th year of Táng emperor Dézōng's Zhēnyuán reign] 799 CE, but should be 808 CE.

*r*212–213: in the 1st year of Táng emperor Xiànzōng's Yuánhé reign] 806 CE, should be 809 CE.

*r*214: Cuódiān] this refers to Wáng Cuódiān 王嵯颠.

*r*217–218: 1st year of Táng emperor Xiànzōng Yuánhé reign] 806 CE, but should be see 816 CE, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 75: should be 唐宪宗元和三年

The 10th Generation: Quànfēngyòu 劝丰佑

Quànfēngyòu 劝丰佑, ruled 823–859 CE, is here written as Shèngfēngyòu 晟丰佑.

晟丰佑以穆宗长庆四年立。

趨敢善用其下。

滇载记 225

文宗太和三年，西川节度使杜元颖，不恤士卒，有流入蛮境者，蛮衣食之。由是，尽得蜀之虚实。与其臣嵯颠，遂谋入寇。

滇载记 230

以蜀卒为乡道，袭陷邛、戎、嵩三州，引兵径入成都，取诸经籍，大掠子女工技数万人，及珍货而还。南诏工技、文织自是与中国将矣。

丰佑乃遣使上表请罪元颖，朝廷以李德裕代之。

滇载记 240

德裕保障有方，索南诏所掠百姓，得四千人。

丰佑死。伪谥昭成，子世隆立，改元二，保和、天启。

Shèngfēngyòu was enthroned in the 4th year of Táng emperor Mùzōng's Chángqìng reign.

He was agile and courageous and good at using those below him.

In the 3rd year of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng's Tàihé reign, the Xīchuān military commissioner Dù Yuányǐng did not care about his soldiers, there were some who fled into the territory of the Mán, the Mán gave them clothes and food. Because of that, they learned about the situation in Shǔ and his official Cuódiān then schemed to invade and plunder.

Using Shǔ soldiers to lead the way, they attacked and captured the three prefectures Qióng, Róng, and Xī, and led soldiers to rapidly advance on Chéngdū, capturing the classics and scriptures, enslaved tens of thousands of children, women, craftsmen and skilled people, precious goods and then they returned. The skills of Nánzhào in crafts and arts, writing and weaving were from then on comparable with China.

Fēngyòu then sent an envoy to the emperor with a memorial blaming Yuányǐng, the court appointed Lǐ Déyù to replace him.

Déyù's protection was appropriate, he searched for those people abducted by Nánzhào, and obtained four thousand men.

Fēngyòu passed away, he illegitimate posthumous name was Zhāochéng, his son Shìlóng was enthroned, he began two reigns Bǎohé and Tiānqǐ.

The 11th Generation: Shìlóng 世隆

Shìlóng 世隆, *844, Ψ859, †877.

世隆之立，以唐武宗会昌十三年。

初韦皋开蜀，清溪道以通群蛮入贡，又选子弟聚之成都，教之书数以羁縻之，而军府不时给其饩须，南诏因是不肯入贡。

Shìlóng was enthroned in the 13th year of Táng emperor Wǔzōng's Huìchāng reign.

Earlier Wéi Gāo had opened Shǔ, the Qīngxī pass was the road for the Mán to bring tribute, and he also selected young men to gather in Chéngdū teaching them the classics in order to make them vassals, and the military administration frequently gave them provi-

r 221–222: in the 4th year of Táng emperor Mùzōng's Chángqìng reign] 824 CE.

r 224: In the 3rd year of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng's Tàihé reign] 829 CE.

r 244–245: in the 13th year of Táng emperor Wǔzōng's Huìchāng reign] that would be 853 CE, but that does not make any sense: Táng emperor Wǔzōng only ruled until 846 CE, Shìlóng 世隆 was enthroned in 859 CE.

r 246: Qīngxī pass] The Qīngxī pass 清溪关 was a key pass on the road from Chéngdū 成都 to Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海, exact location unclear.

r 247: young men] literally children and younger brothers.

滇载记 270	僖宗乾符元年，复寇西川，陷黎州，入寇邛崃关，胜负不常。	In the 1st year of Xizōng's Qiánfú reign , he sacked Xīchuān again, captured Lízhōu, invaded and plundered Qiónglái pass, but with varying success.
滇载记 275	二年，攻雅州，闻高骈改西川，遣使请和。 骈发兵追至大渡河，杀获甚众，擒其酋长数十人。 四年，复寇越，死于景净寺。	In the 2nd year , he attacked Yǎzhōu, when he heard that Gāo Pián attacked Xīchuān, he sent an envoy asking for peace. Pián sent out troops to chase him to the Dàdù River, killed or captured a great many, and captured several dozen of his leaders. In the 4th year , he sacked Yuèxī again. He passed away at Jǐngjìng temple.
滇载记 280	自世隆嗣立以来，为边患殆二十年，中国为之虚耗，而其国亦弊。 伪谥景庄皇帝，子隆舜嗣，改元建极。	From Shìlóng succession onwards twenty dangerous years passed in the border regions, China's costs were high, so the country suffered. His illegitimate posthumous name was emperor Jǐngzhuāng, his son Lóngshùn succeeded him, and changed the reign to Jiànjí.

The 12th Generation: Lóngshùn 隆舜

Lóngshùn 隆舜, ruled 877–897 CE.

滇载记 285	隆舜 [《通鑑》作「苙」，误也。南诏名，皆父子相承，世隆之子曰隆舜，近是] 之立，以僖宗乾符四年。	Lóngshùn [In the ' <i>Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government</i> ' written with <i>zhǐ</i> , an error. In the Nánzhào names each father is linked to his son, Shìlóng's son was called Lóngshùn, this is obvious.] was enthroned in the 4th year of Xizōng's Qiánfú reign .
滇载记 290	性好畋猎酣宴，委国事于其臣。 是岁请和，许之。 又迭请和亲。 广明元年，遣宗正少卿李龟年充使。	By his nature he enjoyed hunting and feasting and left the state affairs to his officials. As he was young, he asked for peace, this was granted. He also repeatedly asked for intermarriage. In the 1st year of Guǎngmíng , he sent the chamberlain for the imperial clan vice minister Lǐ Guīnián to serve as envoy.
滇载记 295	中和元年，上表款附。 三年，以宗室女妻之。 后内嬖失道，为竖臣杨登所弑。 伪谥宣武，子舜化真嗣，改元二，贞	In the 1st year of Zhōnghé , he submitted a memorial to be a vassal. In the 3rd year , he was given an imperial daughter as wife. Later he lost the trust of his inner circle and was killed by the lowly official Yáng Dēng. His illegitimate posthumous name was Wǔxuān, his son

[298: 宣武] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 76: should be Wǔxuān 武宣.

r 270: In the 1st year of Xizōng's Qiánfú reign] 874 CE.

r 273: In the 2nd year] 875 CE.

r 277: In the 4th year] 877 CE.

r 286–287: in the 4th year of Xizōng's Qiánfú reign] 877 CE.

r 292: In the 1st year of Guǎngmíng] 880 CE.

r 294: In the 1st year of Zhōnghé] 881 CE.

r 295: In the 3rd year] 883 CE.

r 298: Wǔxuān] corrected according to Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 76.

明、嵯耶。

Shùnhuàzhēn succeeded him, he had two reign periods, Zhēnmíng and Cuóyé.

滇载记 300

The 13th Generation: Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞

The last ruler of Nánzhào, Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, ruled 897–902 CE, is here written as Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化真.

舜化真之立，以唐昭宗乾宁四年。

Shùnhuàzhēn was enthroned in the 4th year of Táng emperor Zhāozōng's Qiánníng reign.

改元中兴。

He began the Zhōngxīng reign.

上书于唐，唐欲报以诏，王建言小夷不足辱诏书，臣在西南，彼何敢犯塞，从之。

He sent a letter to the Táng, the Táng desired to reciprocate by issuing an edict, Wáng Jiàn opined that a lowly Yí was not worthy of an edict, he was a servant in the south-west, how could he dare to attack the borders, this was agreed.

滇载记 305

立四年，其臣郑买嗣夺之，而灭其国，追谥孝哀。

He had ruled for four years, when his official Zhèng Mǎisì deposed him and destroyed his state, he was given the posthumous name Xiàōāi.

滇载记 310

Then comes a brief summary of the dynasty.

蒙氏自细奴罗至舜化真十有三世，立三百十年，而为郑氏。

The Méng clan: from Xīnúluō to Shùnhuàzhēn there were thirteen generations, in power for three hundred and ten years, then came the Zhèng clan.

3.5 Great State of Chánghé

After the Méng clan 蒙氏 was removed from power, the Zhèng clan 郑氏, i.e. descendants of Zhèng Huí 郑回, took power, proclaiming the Great State of Chánghé 大长和国, which lasted for three generations and twenty-six years. In Chinese records, only two major events are recorded: an attack on Shǔ 蜀 and the request of a princess for marriage from the Southern Hàn 南汉.

郑买嗣本唐郑回之后，世为蒙氏清平。

Zhèng Mǎisì was a descendant of the Táng's Zhèng Huí, whose family served the Méng clan as prime minister for many generations.

滇载记 315

唐昭宗光化五年，既灭蒙氏，而自立，改国号曰大长和，改元曰安国。

In the 5th year of Táng emperor Zhāozōng's Guānghuà reign, he wiped out the Méng clan and took power himself, changing the

[312: 三百十年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 77: 二百五十四年.

[316: 唐昭宗光化五年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 77: 天复二年

r301–302: in the 4th year of Táng emperor Zhāozōng's Qiánníng reign] 897 CE.

r312: for three hundred and ten years] actually two hundred and fifty-four years.

r316: In the 5th year of Táng emperor Zhāozōng's Guānghuà reign] 902 CE – but in fact, this year did not exist as Táng emperor Zhāozōng began the Tiānfù reign in 901 CE, see the correction by Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 77 to the Chinese text.

滇载记 320	死，伪谥德桓，子旻嗣立。	name of the country to Great State of Chánghé, and began the reign period Ānguó. After his death his illegitimate temple name was Déhuán, his son Mǐn succeeded on the throne.
	攻蜀黎州。王建发兵大破之，俘斩数万级，溺死数万人。	He attacked Shǔ's Lízhōu. Wáng Jiàn sent out troops to defeat them, capturing several ten thousand prisoners of war, several ten thousands were injured or killed.
滇载记 325	求婚于南汉，汉主以会城公主妻之。	He asked the Southern Hàn for marriage, the Hàn ruler gave him princess Huìchéng.
	改元五，曰始元、曰天瑞景星、曰安和、曰贞佑、曰初历。	He changed the reign name five times, calling it Shǐyuán, Tiānrùi Jǐngxīng, Ānhé, Zhēnyòu, and Chūlì.
滇载记 330	死，伪谥肃文，子隆亶嗣立，改元天应。	He died and his illegitimate temple name was Sùwén, his son Lóngdǎn succeeded on the throne, he changed the reign to Tiānyìng.
	未几，为东川节度使杨于真所杀。	Not long after, he was killed by the military commissioner of Dōngchuān Yáng Yúzhēn.
滇载记 335	郑氏三传，历年二十有六，而为赵氏。	The Zhèng clan lasted for three generations over twenty-six years. It was followed by the Zhào clan.

After three generations, the new dynasty came to an end.

郑氏三传，历年二十有六，而为赵氏。	The Zhèng clan lasted for three generations over twenty-six years, and were followed by the Zhào clan.
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3.6 Great State of Tiānxīng

The Zhèng clan was followed by Zhào Shànzhèng 赵善政, but the strong man behind all this was Yáng Gānzhēn 杨干贞, here written as Yáng Gānzhēn 杨干真, who was to install himself as ruler not even a year later.

滇载记 340	赵氏名善政，为封氏清平。	He was from the Zhào clan, his name was Shànzhèng, his clan served as prime minister.
	杨干真既杀灭郑氏，遂拔善政而立之。	Yáng Gānzhēn then killed and wiped out the Zhèng clan, and promoted Shànzhèng to rule in his stead.
	后唐明宗之天成三年也。	That was in the 3rd year of Later Táng emperor Míngzōng's Tiānchéng reign.
滇载记 345	改国号曰大天兴。	He changed the name of the state to Great State of Tiānxīng.
	立仅十月，干真又夺之，而为杨氏。	He ruled only for ten months, Gānzhēn then deposed him and installed the Yáng clan.

[332: 东川] should be Jiànchuān 剑川, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 77.

[333: Dōngchuān] should be Jiànchuān 剑川, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 77.

[342–343: in the 3rd year of Later Táng emperor Míngzōng's Tiānchéng reign] 928 CE.

3.7 Great State of Yining

Yáng Gānzhēn 杨干贞, ruled 929–937 CE, was after two years deposed by Duàn Sīpíng 段思平.

杨氏名干真，既夺赵氏而有蒙国，
改国号曰大义宁，改元曰尊圣。

He was from the Yáng clan, his name was Gānzhēn, he deposed the Zhào clan and their Great State of Méng, he changed the name of the state to Great State of Yining and began the Zūnshèng reign.

贪虐无道，中外咸怨。

He was avaricious and cruel without dào, everyone grew discontent.

滇载记 350

通海节度使段思平，兴师问罪，干
真不能御，走死。

The Tōnghǎi military commissioner Duàn Sīpíng sent a punitive expedition, Gānzhēn was unable to resist and was killed on the run.

杨氏立仅二年，而段氏兴焉。

The Yáng clan ruled only for two years, then the Duàn clan rose.

滇载记 355

3.8 The Dàlǐ Kingdom

The Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国 was established in 937 CE by a descendant of Duàn Jiǎnwèi 段俭魏, who had risen to prime minister 清平官 under Géluōfèng 阁罗凤, see page 13.

The passage begins with the claim that the Duàn clan 段氏 hailed from Wǔwēi 武威, i.e. a region in Gānsù 甘肃, a claim first raised in the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》. However, the Dàlǐ scholar Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 contests this vigorously, stating that the Duàn clan 段氏 had long been a powerful family in the region and that the term wǔwēi 武威 here represents a honorific title given to the family.⁽¹⁶⁾

段氏之先，武威郡人。

The ancestor of the Duàn clan was a man from Wǔwēi commandery.

有名俭魏者，佐蒙氏有功，赐名忠
国，擢清平官。

His name was Jiǎnwèi, he made merit assisting the Méng clan and was given the name Zhōngguó and promoted to prime minister.

The 1st Generation: Duàn Sīpíng 段思平

Duàn Sīpíng 段思平, ruled 937–944 CE.

六传而生思平，思平生有异兆。

After six generations Sīpíng was born, Sīpíng was born with lucky omens.

滇载记 360

杨干真忌之，使人索捕。思平逃匿，

Yáng Gānzhēn envied him, and employed men to search and ar-

^{l355}: 二年] should be 八年, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 77.

^{r355}: two years] eight years.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015), pp. 35–40. He most importantly points to a page in the ‘*Illustrated Annals of Yúnnán*’ 云南图经志书 where Jiǎ Fú 段福, i.e. prince Duàn Fú 段信苴福, is associated with the title Wǔwēi Gōng 武威公 (see 第七卷, 7 页 b), see https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:ZHSY100065_景泰雲南圖經志書明鄭顛陳文纂修明景泰刻本.pdf/249 (accessed 15th July 2024))

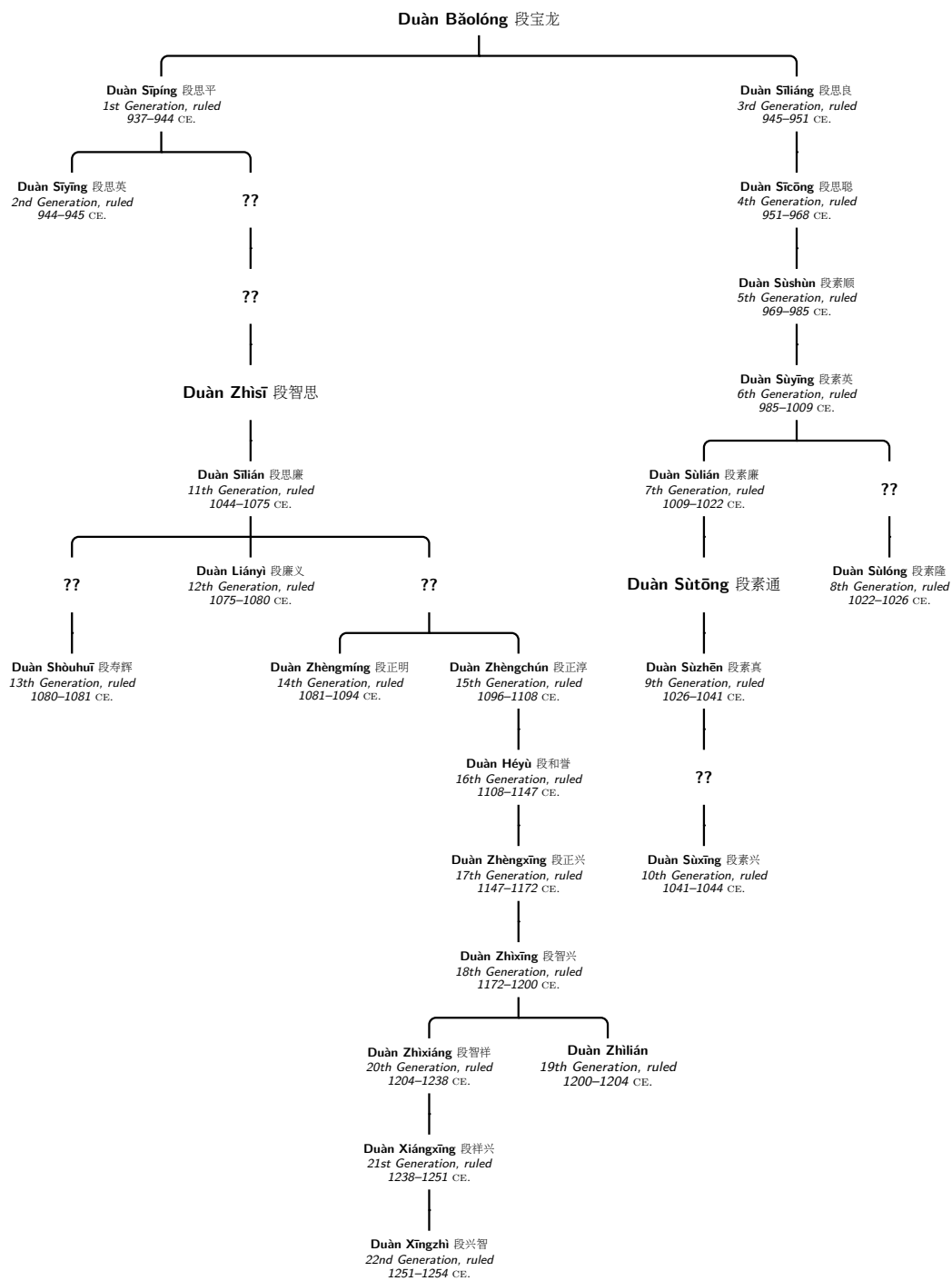


Illustration 6:
The Duàn clan family tree

得奇戟于品甸波大村，又得神骥于叶镜湖 [在云南县正南大波铺是也]。饥摘野桃，削之，核肤有文曰：「青昔。」思平折之曰：「青乃十二月，昔乃二十一日。今杨氏政乱，吾当以是日举义乎」

遂借兵东方，黑爨、松爨三十七部皆助之。众至河尾。

是夕，思平梦人斩其首，又梦玉瓶耳缺，又梦镜破，惧不敢进兵，其军师董迦罗曰：「三梦皆吉兆也。公为大夫，夫去首，为天，天子兆也。玉瓶去耳为王，王者兆也。镜中有影，如人有敌，镜破则无影，无影则无敌矣。三梦皆吉兆也。」

思平乃决明旦引兵欲渡，莫知所从，见江尾一妇被纓而浣者，指曰：「人从我江尾，马从三沙矣。尔国名大理。」从之得济。

既逐杨氏而有蒙国，遂改国号曰大理，改元曰文德。时后晋天福二年也。死，伪谥太祖。

rest him. Sīpíng escaped and went into hiding, and obtained a magical halberd in Pǐndiàn's Bōdà village, and also obtained a magic steed at Yèjìng lake [today Yúnnán county straight south at Dà Bōpū]. Starving, he plucked a wild peach, peeled it and on the outside of the stone were the characters 'qīng xī'. Sīpíng deciphered it and said: 'qīng means the 12th month, xī means 21st day. Now the Yáng clan is in turmoil, I must start a revolt on that day.'

So he borrowed troops from the east regions, the black Cuàn, the Sōng Cuàn and the thirty-seven tribes all supported him. The troops arrived at the tail of the river.

That night, Sīpíng dreamt of a man with his head cut off, he also dreamt of a jade bottle with an ear missing, he also dreamt of a broken mirror, so he feared to advance his troops, his military advisor Dǒng Jiālūo said: 'The three dreams are all good omens: **The male represents a man, a man without his head represents heaven, meaning a omen from heaven. A jade bottle without an ear means king, a good omen for the king.** In the mirror is a reflection, if there is a man, there is an enemy, a broken mirror has no reflection, so there is no enemy. The three dreams are all good omens.'

Sīpíng then made a decision to lead his troops the next morning to attempt to cross the river, but did not know where. At the mouth of the river he saw a woman covering a jade stone and washing it. She pointed with her finger and said: 'The infantry follows me to Jiāngwěi, the cavalry follows to Sānshāyǐ. Your state will be called Dàlǐ.' He followed this and had great success.

Then he chased Yáng clan and gained the state of Méng, he changed the state's name calling it Dàlǐ, and began the Wéndé reign. That was during the 2nd year of the Later Jīn Tiānfú reign. He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous title Tàizǔ.

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The 2nd Generation: Duàn Sīyīng 段思英

Duàn Sīyīng 段思英 ruled 944–945 CE.

传子思英，立未几，死，伪谥文经武 | He passed on to his son Sīyīng. He died not long after being en-

r 372: at the tail of the river] Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 was seen as a river having a head and a tail at Lóngwěi pass 龙尾关.

r 377–378: The male represents a man, a man without his head represents heaven, meaning a omen from heaven.] This is a play on the Chinese characters here: the character for man fū 夫 without the top leaves tiān 天.

r 378–379: A jade bottle without an ear means king, a good omen for the king.] The character yù 玉 without the last stroke leaves wáng 王, the character for king.

r 391: during the 2nd year of the Later Jīn Tiānfú reign] 937 CE.

明。 高昇太有功段氏常國人所立以宋晉宗之元百二年立號改國號曰大中國改元上治臨其太子
明曰段氏不德國人推我不得已從之今其已長可逐其物無後人勿效尤也太祖遂其遺教求
段氏餘子而立而段氏復興曰後理國高氏世相之實則政者由之國為高國主遂於真
正海復國改元天授以高太明為高太連朝宋宋經籍得六十九卷立十三年再改元
曰明明文宗即位僧正勳死偽從中宗
正興以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
正興以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
智惠以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
智惠以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗

明。 高昇太有功段氏常國人所立以宋晉宗之元百二年立號改國號曰大中國改元上治臨其太子
明曰段氏不德國人推我不得已從之今其已長可逐其物無後人勿效尤也太祖遂其遺教求
段氏餘子而立而段氏復興曰後理國高氏世相之實則政者由之國為高國主遂於真
正海復國改元天授以高太明為高太連朝宋宋經籍得六十九卷立十三年再改元
曰明明文宗即位僧正勳死偽從中宗
正興以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
正興以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
智惠以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
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明曰段氏不德國人推我不得已從之今其已長可逐其物無後人勿效尤也太祖遂其遺教求
段氏餘子而立而段氏復興曰後理國高氏世相之實則政者由之國為高國主遂於真
正海復國改元天授以高太明為高太連朝宋宋經籍得六十九卷立十三年再改元
曰明明文宗即位僧正勳死偽從中宗
正興以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
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智惠以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗
智惠以來宋宗廟十七年改元四水真太寶龍開盛明選位為僧正勳死偽從中宗

Illustration 7: The 《滇載記》(IV)

Source: 《大理行記及其它五種》1936

滇載記 395 □皇帝。

throned, his illegitimate posthumous title was Wénjīng Wǔ □ emperor

The 3rd Generation: Duàn Siliáng 段思良

Duàn Siliáng 段思良 ruled 945–951 CE.

國人立其叔思良。 思良以後晉開運三年，改元至治。

The state's people appointed his uncle Siliáng. Siliáng was enthroned in the 3rd year of the Later Jìn Kāiyùn reign, and began the Zhìzhì reign.

滇載記 400 死，偽諡□□，傳子思聰。

He passed away, was given the posthumous title [??], passing on to his son Sīcōng.

The 4th Generation: Duàn Sīcōng 段思聰

Duàn Sīcōng 段思聰 ruled 951–968 CE.

思聰以後周廣順三年立，改元三， Sīcōng was enthroned in the 3rd year of the later Zhōu [398: 開運三年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德廣 (2016): 開運二年.

r 395–396: posthumous title was Wénjīng Wǔ □ emperor] On the 'Illustrated History of Nánzhào' 《南詔圖傳》 is a royal figure labeled Wénwǔ Huángdì 文武皇帝, some think this is Duàn Sīpíng 段思平.
r 398: in the 3rd year of the Later Jìn Kāiyùn reign] 946 CE, should be 945 CE.
r 400: [??]] marked as non-readable characters.
r 402–403: in the 3rd year of the later Zhōu Guǎngshùn reign] 953 CE.

曰明德、广德、圣德。

死伪谥□□，传于素顺 [素顺于思聪未知何属也]。

Guǎngshùn reign, he began three reign periods, called Míngdé, Guǎngdé, and Shèngdé.

He passed away and was given the posthumous title [??], and was succeeded by Sùshùn [The relationship between Sùshùn and Sīcōng is unknown.].

滇载记 405

The 5th Generation: Duàn Sùshùn 段素顺

Duàn Sùshùn 段素顺 ruled 969–985 CE.

素顺以宋太祖建隆四年立。

时王全斌既平蜀，欲因兵威取滇以图进于上，太祖鉴唐之祸基于南诏，以王斧画大渡河曰：「此外非吾有也。」

由是，云南三百年不通中国，段氏得以睨临熨爨以长世焉。

素顺十七年，改元明正。

死，伪谥应道皇帝，传子素英。

Sùshùn was enthroned in the 4th year of Sòng emperor Tàizǔ's Jiànlóng reign.

When Wáng Quánbīn had pacified Shǔ he desired to use force to take Diān and sent a memorial with a map, the Tàizǔ warned of the Táng disaster in Nánzhào, and with a jade axe he made a line at the Dàdù River, saying: ‘What lies beyond this, does not belong to me.’

Because of this, over three hundred years Yúnnán was not connected with China, the Duàn clan were able to control the Bó and Cuàn for generations.

In the 17th year Sùshùn began the Míngzhèng reign.

He passed away, his illegitimate posthumous name was emperor Yìngdào, his son Sùyīng succeeded him.

滇载记 410

滇载记 415

滇载记 420

The 6th Generation: Duàn Sùyīng 段素英

Duàn Sùyīng 段素英 ruled 985–1009 CE.

素英以宋太祖雍熙二年立，改元五，曰广明、明应、明圣、明德、明治。

死伪谥昭明，传于素廉。

Sùyīng was enthroned in the 2nd year of Sòng Tàizǔ's Yōngxī reign, he began five reign periods, called Guǎngmíng, Míngyìng, Míngshèng, Míngdé, and Míngzhì.

He passed away, his illegitimate posthumous name was Zhāomíng, he was succeeded by Sùlián.

滇载记 425

l403: 圣德] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 78: 顺德

l408: 建隆四年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 78: 开宝二年.

r405: [??] characters unreadable

r406: Sùshùn] yepyc 素顺 is Duàn Sùshùn 段素顺.

r408–409: in the 4th year of Sòng emperor Tàizǔ's Jiànlóng reign] 963 CE, but should be 969 CE.

r410: When Wáng Quánbīn had pacified Shǔ] General Wáng Quánbīn 王全斌 conquered Later Shǔ 后蜀 in 964 CE.

r411: Tàizǔ] i.e. Sòng emperor Tàizǔ.

r418: In the 17th year] this must be his 17th year, so 979 CE.

r421–422: in the 2nd year of Sòng Tàizǔ's Yōngxī reign] 985 CE.

The 7th Generation: Duàn Sùlián 段素廉

Duàn Sùlián 段素廉 ruled 1009–1022 CE.

素廉以宋真宗祥符二年立，改元二，曰明启、乾兴。

死伪谥敬明，传于素隆。

Sùlián was enthroned in the 2nd year of Sòng emperor Zhēnzōng's Xiángfú reign, he began two reign periods, Míngqǐ and Qiánxīng.

He passed away, his illegitimate posthumous name was Jìngmíng, he was succeeded by Sùlóng.

The 8th Generation: Duàn Sùlóng 段素隆

Duàn Sùlóng 段素隆 ruled 1022–1026 CE.

素隆以宋天禧二年立，改元曰明通、天圣，避位为僧。

死，伪谥秉义，传于素贞。

Sùlóng was enthroned in the 2nd year of Sòng Tiānxǐ, he began the Míngtōng and Tiānshèng reign, he renounced the throne to become monk.

He passed away, his illegitimate posthumous name was Bǐngyì, he was succeeded by Sùzhēn.

The 9th Generation: Duàn Sùzhēn 段素真

Duàn Sùzhēn 段素真 is here written as Sùzhēn 素贞, he ruled 1026–1041 CE.

素贞以宋仁宗天圣四年立，改元正治。

死，伪谥圣德，传于素兴。

Sùzhēn was enthroned in the 4th year of Sòng emperor Rénzōng's Tiānshèng year, he began the Zhèngzhì reign.

He passed away, was given the illegitimate posthumous title Shèngdé, he was followed by Sùxīng.

The 10th Generation: Duàn Sùxīng 段素兴

Duàn Sùxīng 段素兴 ruled 1041–1044 CE.

滇载记 440

素兴以宋庆历元年立，改元二，圣明、天明。

以无道，国人废之，而立思廉。

Sùxīng was enthroned in the 1st year of the Sòng's Qìnglì reign, he began two reigns, Shèngmíng and Tiānmíng.

As he had no *dào*, the people deposed him and installed Silián.

[426–427: 改元二，曰明启、乾兴] Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2016), p. 78: 改元一，曰明启。Qiánxīng 乾兴 was a reign period of Sòng emperor Zhēnzōng.

r 426–427: in the 2nd year of Sòng emperor Zhēnzōng's Xiángfú reign] 1009 CE.

r 427–428: two reign periods, Míngqǐ and Qiánxīng] Just one reign period, Qiánxīng was a reign period of Sòng emperor Zhēnzōng.

r 431: in the 2nd year of Sòng Tiānxǐ] 1018 CE.

r 436–437: in the 4th year of Sòng emperor Rénzōng's Tiānshèng year] 1026 CE

r 440: in the 1st year of the Sòng's Qìnglì reign] 1041 CE.

The 11th Generation: Duàn Silián 段思廉

Duàn Silián 段思廉 ruled 1044–1075 CE.

思廉以宋庆历四年立。

皇佑中，广西侂智高掠广州，败走大理。狄青募死士使大理求之。会智高已死于大理，函其首至京师。段氏至是，始闻名于中国。

思廉立三十一年，改元四，曰保安、政安、政德。

死，伪谥世宗，传子连义。

Silián was enthroned in the 4th year of the Sòng's Qìnglì reign.

The emperor protected China, in Guǎngxī Nóng Zhìgāo plundered Guǎngzhōu, he was defeated and fled to Dàlǐ. Díqīng recruited brave soldiers to go to Dàlǐ to request him. When they arrived Zhìgāo had already passed away in Dàlǐ, they carried his head to the capital. From then on the Duàn clan was famous in China.

Silián ruled for thirty-one years, he began four reign periods, called Bǎoān, Zhèngān, Zhèngdé.

He passed away, was given the illegitimate posthumous name Shìzōng, and passed power to his son Liányì.

滇载记 445

滇载记 450

The 12th Generation: Duàn Liányì 段廉义

Duàn Liányì 段廉义 is here written as Liányì 连义, ruled 1075–1080 CE.

连义以宋熙宁八年立，改元二，曰上德、广安。

为其臣杨义贞所杀。杨义贞篡立，自号广安皇帝，凡四年。

段氏臣岳侯高智升，遣子升太，起东方兵讨灭之，而立段寿辉 [寿辉，连义之从子]。

Liányì was enthroned in the 8th year of the Sòng Xīnìng reign, he began two reign periods, called Shàngdé and Guǎngān.

He was killed by his official Yáng Yìzhēn. Yáng Yìzhēn usurped power, called himself Guǎngān emperor, ruled for four years.

The Duàn clan official the Marquis of Yuè Gāo Zhìshēng sent out his son Shēngtài to raise troops in the east to attack and destroy him, and installed Duàn Shòuhuī [Shòuhuī was a nephew of Liányì.]

滇载记 455

The 13th Generation: Duàn Shòuhuī 段寿辉

Duàn Shòuhuī 段寿辉 ruled 1080–1081 CE.

寿辉立二年，改元曰上明，传于正明。

Shòuhuī ruled for two years, he began the Shàngmíng reign, and passed power to Zhèngmíng.

滇载记 460

The 14th Generation: Duàn Zhèngmíng 段正明

Duàn Zhèngmíng 段正明 ruled 1081–1094 CE.

正明以宋元丰五年立，改元三，曰

Zhèngmíng was enthroned in the 5th year of Sòng Yuánfēng, he

r 443: in the 4th year of the Sòng's Qìnglì reign] 1044 CE.

r 444: Nóng Zhìgāo] Nóng Zhìgāo 侂智高 was a tribal leader in Guǎngxī 广西 during the Sòng dynasty, led a rebellion, was defeated in 1054 and fled to the Dàlǐ kingdom, see Anderson (2007) and also Barlow (1987), pp. 254–258.

r 453: in the 8th year of the Sòng Xīnìng reign] 1075 CE.

r 462: 五年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 79: 四年.

r 462: in the 5th year of Sòng Yuánfēng] 1082 CE, but should be 1081 CE.

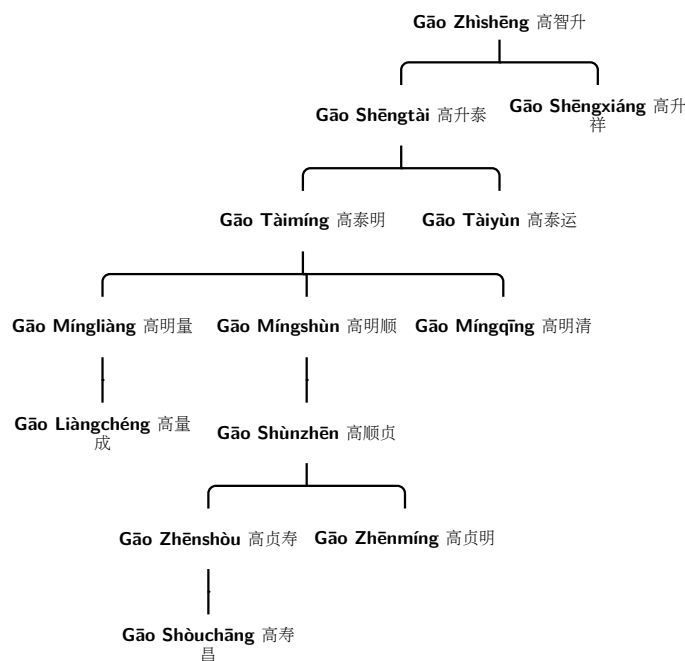


Illustration 8:
The Gāo clan family tree

保立、建安、天佑。
避位为僧。

真载记 465

时国人皆归心高氏，遂奉高升太为主，而段氏中绝。

began three reign periods, called Bǎolì, Jiànnān, and Tiānyòu.
He abdicated to become a monk.

At that time the people all willingly submitted to the Gāo clan, and installed Gāo Shēngtài as ruler and the Duàn clan [rule] was interrupted in the middle.

Interregnum: Gāo Shēngtài 高升泰

Gāo Shēngtài 高升泰, here written as Gāo Shēngtài 高升太,⁽¹⁷⁾ usurped power from the Duàn clan and began a brief interregnum, he ruled 1094–1096 CE.

高升太有功段氏，为国人所立，以宋哲宗之元符二年立。

改国号曰大中国，改元上治。

Gāoshēngtài made merit for the Duàn clan and was brought to power by the people, he was enthroned in the **2nd year of Sòng dynasty emperor Zhézōng's Yuánfú reign**, He changed the name of the state to state of Dàzhōng and began the Shàngzhì reign.

⁽¹⁷⁾ r 469–470: in the 2nd year of Sòng dynasty emperor Zhézōng's Yuánfú reign] that would be 1099 CE, but this is wrong, it should be 1094 CE.

⁽¹⁷⁾ see illustration 7, middle

临终，属其子太明曰：「段氏不振，国人推我，我不得已从之。今其子已长，可还其故物。尔后人勿效尤也。」

At the end of his life, he said to his son **Tàimíng**: ‘The Duàn clan lacks vitality, the people chose me, I had no choice but to obey them. Today, their son has already grown up, it is right to return to the old arrangement, the later generations must not follow a bad example.’

滇载记 475

太明遵其遗言，求段氏余子正淳立之，而段氏复兴，号曰后理国。

Tàimíng followed his death wish, and asked that the Duàn clan’s son [by a concubine] Zhèngchún ascend the throne, and the Duàn clan rose again, and changed the name of the state to Later Kingdom of Dàlǐ.

滇载记 480

高氏世相之，赏罚政令皆由之，国人称为高国主。

The Gāo clan served over generations as prime ministers, rewarded and punished, reigned and gave orders according to their wishes, the people called the Gāo rulers of the state.

波斯、昆仑诸国，来贡大理者，皆先谒相国焉。

When Bōsī and the state of Kūnlún came to bring tribute to Dàlǐ, they all first called on the prime ministers.

滇载记 485

The 15th Generation: Duàn Zhèngchún 段正淳

Duàn Zhèngchún 段正淳 ruled 1096–1108 CE.

正淳复国，改元天授。
以高太明为相，高太连为栅主。

Zhèngchún restored the state and began the Tiānshòu reign. He appointed Gāo Tàimíng as prime minister and Gāo Tàilián as *zhàzhǔ*.

遣太连朝宋，求经籍，得六十九家。

Gāo Tàilián was sent to the Sòng court, asking for scriptures, and obtained [the works of] sixty-nine scholars.

滇载记 490

立十三年，再改元曰开明、文安。

He ruled for thirteen years, he also changed the reign to Kāimíng and Wénān.

避位为僧。

He abdicated to become a monk.

传子正严。

He passed power to his son Zhèngyán.

滇载记 495

死，伪谥中宗。

He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Zhōngzōng.

The 16th Generation: Duàn Zhèngyán 段正严^严

Duàn Zhèngyán 段正严^严 ruled 1108–1147 CE.

正严以宋徽宗大观二年。

Zhèngyán was enthroned in the 2nd year of Sòng emperor Huīzōng’s Dàguān reign.

立四十年，改元四，曰日新、永嘉、保天、广运。

He ruled for forty years, he also changed the reign four times to Rìxīn, Yǒngjiā, Bǎotiān, and Guǎngyùn.

滇载记 500

r 473: Tàimíng] Gāo Tàimíng 高泰明 is written as Gāo Tàimíng 高太明 here, their naming follows the patronymic linkage scheme, see Lo (1945).

r 491: [the works of] sixty-nine scholars] unclear

r 498–499: in the 2nd year of Sòng emperor Huīzōng’s Dàguān reign] 1108 CE.

避位为僧。
传子正兴。
死，伪谥宪宗。

He abdicated to become a monk.
He passed power to his son Zhèngxīng.
He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Xiànzōng.

The 17th Generation: Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴

Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴 ruled 1147–1172 CE.

正兴以宋高宗绍兴十七年立，改元四：永贞、太宝、龙兴、盛明。

Zhèngxīng was enthroned in the 17th year of Sòng emperor Gāozōng's Shàoxīng reign, he began four reign periods: Yǒngzhēn, Tàibǎo, Lóngxīng, Shèngmíng.

避位为僧。
传子智兴。
死，伪谥景宗。

He abdicated to become a monk.
He passed on to his son Zhìxīng.
He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Jǐngzōng.

真载记 510

The 18th Generation: Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴

Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴 ruled 1172–1200 CE.

智兴以宋孝宗乾道八年立，改元五，曰利贞、盛德、嘉会、元亨、安定。

Zhìxīng was enthroned in the 8th year of Southern Sòng emperor Xiàozōng's Qiándào reign, he began five reign periods, called Lìzhēn, Shèngdé, Jiāhuì, Yuánhēng, and Āndìng.

死，伪谥宣宗。

He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Xuānzōng.

传子智连。

He passed on to his son Zhìlián.

The 19th Generation: Duàn Zhìlián 段智廉

Duàn Zhìlián 段智廉, here written as Duàn Zhìlián 段智连, ruled 1200–1204 CE.

智连以宋宁宗庆元六年立，改元凤历。

Zhìlián was enthroned in the 6th year of Southern Sòng emperor Níngzōng's Qīngyuán reign, he began the Fènglì reign.

死，伪谥享天。

He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Xiǎngtiān.

传弟智祥。

He passed on to his younger brother Zhìxiáng.

真载记 520

1506–507: 改元四：永贞、太宝、龙兴、盛明] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 80 adds a reign period *jiàndé* 建德.

r506–507: in the 17th year of Sòng emperor Gāozōng's Shàoxīng reign] 1147 CE.

r513–514: in the 8th year of Southern Sòng emperor Xiàozōng's Qiándào reign] 1173 CE.

r519–520: in the 6th year of Southern Sòng emperor Níngzōng's Qīngyuán reign] 1200 CE.

The 20th Generation: Duàn Zhìxiáng 段智祥

Duàn Zhìxiáng 段智祥 ruled 1204–1238 CE.

智祥以宋宁宗开禧元年立，改元天开、仁寿。

死，伪谥神宗。

传子祥兴。

Zhìxiáng was enthroned in the 1st year of Southern Sòng emperor Níngzōng's Kāixī reign, he began the Tiānkāi and Rénshòu reign.

滇载记 525

He passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Shénzōng.

He passed on to his son Xiángxīng.

The 21st Generation: Duàn Xiángxīng 段祥兴

Duàn Xiángxīng 段祥兴 ruled 1238–1251 CE.

祥兴以宋理宗嘉熙三年立，改元道隆。

甲辰，元兵攻之，高禾逆战，败死。宋遣使祭之。

祥兴死，伪谥孝义。

传子兴智。

Xiángxīng was enthroned in the 3rd year of Sòng emperor Lǐzōng's Jiāxī reign, and began the Dàolóng reign.

滇载记 530

In the *jiǎchén* year, the Yuán troops attacked him, Gāo Hé confronted them in battle, suffered a defeat and died. The Sòng sent an envoy for condolences.

Xiángxīng passed away and was given the illegitimate posthumous name Xiàoyì.

滇载记 535

He passed on to his son Xīngzhì.

The 22nd Generation: Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智

Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智 ruled 1251–1254 CE.

兴智以元宪宗元年立，改元天定。

壬子岁，元忽必烈将兵击之，分三道进，自临洮经行山谷二千馀里，浮金沙江以革囊济，进薄大理。

兴智及高太祥拒战，大败。

祥、兴奔善阐。太祥就擒，不屈，斩

Xīngzhì was enthroned in the 1st year of Mǒngke Khan, he changed the reign to Tiāndìng.

In the *rénzǐ* year, Yuán Kublai Khan led troops to attack him, three armies advanced from Lǐntáo, crossing mountains and valleys for more than two thousand *lǐ*, floated across the Jīnshā River using leather bags, and advanced on Dàlǐ.

滇载记 540

Xīngzhì and Gāo Tàixiáng resisted them in battle, they suffered a great defeat.

Xiáng and Xīngzhì fled to Shànchǎn. Tàixiáng was taken prisoner,

滇载记 545

[529: 嘉熙三年立] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016): 嘉熙二年立

r 524–525: in the 1st year of Southern Sòng emperor Níngzōng's Kāixī reign] 1205 CE.

r 529–530: in the 3rd year of Sòng emperor Lǐzōng's Jiāxī reign] 1239 CE, but should be 1238 CE.

r 531: In the *jiǎchén* year] 1244 CE.

r 537: in the 1st year of Mǒngke Khan] 1251 CE.

r 539: In the *rénzǐ* year] 1252 CE.

r 540: from Lǐntáo] i.e. from a region in Gānsù 甘肃.

r 543: Gāo Tàixiáng] Gāo Tàixiáng 高泰祥 here written as Gāo Tàixiáng 高太祥.

于五华楼下。时白日当午，忽云起雷震，世祖异之，曰：「忠臣也！」

he was unrepentant and dismembered below Wǔhuá tower. During the day at noon, suddenly clouds gathered and there was a thunderstorm, Shìzǔ considered this strange and said 'A loyal official!'

滇载记 550 遂虜兴智，灭其国。

They succeeded to capture Xīngzhì and destroyed his country.

Then comes the usual summary of the Duàn clan 段氏 ruling Dàlǐ, see also illustration 6.

段氏自思平至兴智，二十二主，历三百五十年。

The Duàn clan from Sīpíng to Xīngzhì were twenty-two rulers, within **three hundred fifty years**.

3.9 The Duàn Clan Route Commanders

After the defeat of the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国, the Duàn clan 段氏 proved indispensable for governing the region and their leading men were appointed as route commanders *zǒngguǎn* 总管 and thus continued de-facto ruling Yúnnán for another eleven generations.

The text here presents almost no information for most, only towards the end seems information more readily available. One of the most comprehensive coverages of Mongol rule in Yúnnán can be found in Robinson (2020), pp. 224–229. Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2015) has a very comprehensive analysis of the Zǒngguǎn 总管 period.⁽¹⁸⁾

元既灭段氏而有其地，得五城、八府、蛮郡三十有七，设大理都元帅府，仍录段氏子姓世守其土。

The Yuán thus eliminated the Duàn clan and appropriated their lands, they took five walled towns, eight prefectures, the thirty-seven *Mán* districts, established the Dàlǐ area command military command, and employed the descendants of the Duàn clan to guard their lands in succession.

滇载记 555

赦兴智封为摩诃罗嵯，管领八方。

They pardoned Xīngzhì and appointed him *mahārāja* to administer all regions.

滇载记 560

兴智死，元季乱，中原多故，段氏复据之。于是，有十一总管出焉。

Xīngzhì passed away, the Yuán were in turmoil for a period, in the central plains was much strife, so the Duàn clan seized it again. From them came eleven route commanders.

l551–552: 历三百五十年] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 80: 历三百十五年

r552: three hundred fifty years] three hundred and fifteen years.

r558: *mahārāja*] Móhēluōcuó 摩诃罗嵯 is a Chinese transliteration of *mahārāja*.

⁽¹⁸⁾ There is also an earlier edition of the work, Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2006), I am not aware of any material differences between the two editions.

The 1st Generation: Duàn Shí 段实

The relation of the first route commander 总管, Duàn Shí 段实, with his predecessor Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智 is not clear, either Duàn Xīngzhì was the father or an elder brother.⁽¹⁹⁾

All the Dàlǐ route commander carry the prefix *xìnjū* 信苴, a honorific given to at least some of the Dàlǐ rulers at the time, meaning ‘prince’.⁽²⁰⁾

一代总管曰信苴段实。

元中统二年入觐，世祖嘉之，赐玺书，令总管大理、善阐、会川、建昌、永昌、腾越诸郡，以功累授行省参政。

以攻石城、[今曲靖] 及仁德府 [今寻甸]。

功，锡虎符为总管。

The 1st generation route commander was called Prince Duàn Shí.

In the 2nd year of the Yuán Zhōngtǒng era he had an audience with the emperor, Kublai Khan praised him, granted him official seals, he was ordered to administer Dàlǐ, Shànchǎn, Huìchuān, Jiànchāng, Yǒngchāng, and Téngyuè commandery, for his record of merit he was made provincial assistant grand councilor of the Yuán.

He attacked Shíchéng [today’s Qūjìng] and Réndé prefecture [today’s Xúndiàn].

He was successful and was awarded a tiger tally and made route commander.

滇载记 565

滇载记 570

The 2nd Generation: Duàn Zhōng 段忠

Again, the relation with his predecessor is not clear, either father and son or brothers.⁽²¹⁾

二代总管信苴段忠。

至元中，随元师伐西林，破会川，通善阐，平休林，武定、缅甸之役皆有功，授金齿宣慰，兼掌军民万户府。

The 2nd generation route commander was called Prince Duàn Zhōng.

In the Zhìyuán era he followed the marshall to attack Liǎnglín, he defeated Huìchuān, connected a road to Shànchǎn, he pacified Xiūlín, the campaigns against Wǔdìng and Miǎndiàn were both successful, he was made Jīnchǐ pacification commissioner while also administering ten thousand military and civil households.

滇载记 575

滇载记 580

The 3rd Generation: Duàn Qìng 段庆

三代总管信苴段庆。

The 3rd generation route commander was called Prince Duàn Qìng.

[576: 西林] should be Liǎnglín 两林, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 80.

r564: In the 2nd year of the Yuán Zhōngtǒng era] 1261 CE.

r576: In the Zhìyuán] 1264–1294 CE.

⁽¹⁹⁾ see Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 43 for sources.

⁽²⁰⁾ see Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 43.

⁽²¹⁾ see Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 52 for sources.

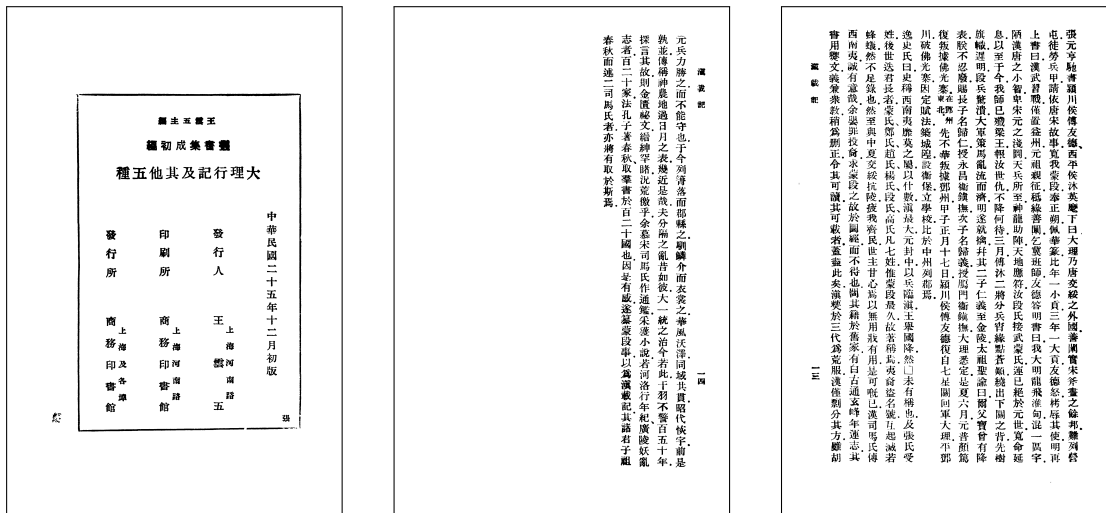


Illustration 10:
The 《滇载记》(VI)

Source: 《大理行记及其它五種》1936

时元大德中，中原板荡梁王，以元宗室镇善阐，与段氏分域，构隙。

至大二年，梁王大破光兵。

光将高蓬守罗那关，梁王密招之，不从，乃赂蓬庖人刺蓬，以其首献梁王，王并庖人戮之。

至治元年，玉案山产小赤犬，群吠遍野。占云，天狗坠地为赤犬，其下有大军覆境。又时雨铁，民舍、山石皆穿，人物值之多毙。谣俗号曰铁雨。

Guāng.

During the time of Yuán Dàdé, the central plains were in upheaval, Prince Liáng was appointed as Yuán clansman to guard Shànchǎn, he divided the territory with the Duàn clan, breaking it up.

滇载记 595

In the 2nd year of Zhìdà, Prince Liáng defeated the troops of Guāng.

Guāng gave Gāopéng Luōnà gate to defend, Prince Liáng secretly recruited him, he did not obey, so he bribed Péng's cook to stab Péng, to present his head to Prince Liáng, the king then executed the cook.

滇载记 600

In the 1st year of Zhìzhì, in Yùàn mountain a small red dog was born, it barked all over the place. They consulted an oracle: **When a heavenly dog falls from the sky as a red dog, then a mighty army would attack the borders.** At the time it also rained iron, piercing houses and mountains, people and their crops all dropped dead. The people called it the iron rain.

滇载记 605

r 594: Yuán Dàdé] 1297–1307 CE.

r 595: Prince Liáng] Prince Liáng 梁王 was a title given to Yuán officials ruling in Yúnnán, they were offspring of Kublai Khan 忽必烈, see Robinson (2020), p. 225.

r 596: he divided the territory with the Duàn clan] Liángwáng 梁王 ruled in Shànchǎn, while the Duàn clan 段氏 ruled Dàli 大理.

r 597: In the 2nd year of Zhìdà] 1309 CE.

r 603: In the 1st year of Zhìzhì] 1321 CE.

r 604–605: When a heavenly dog falls from the sky as a red dog] A *tīan gǒu* 天狗 stands for a meteor, a red one must be particularly visible, maybe appearing as a fireball.

The 9th Generation: Duàn Gōng 段功

The main event during the administration of Duàn Gōng 段功,⁽²²⁾ who ruled 1252–1368 CE, was the short-lived Míng Xià dynasty 明夏 in Sìchuān founded by rebel-leader Míng Yùzhēn 明玉珍, see Fölster (2009), pp. 39–42.

九代总管段功。
滇载记 610 初袭爵，为蒙化知府。

至正十二年，继立为总管。

癸卯，明玉珍自楚入蜀，据之，分兵
滇载记 615 四掠，号曰红巾。

明玉珍自将红巾三万，攻云南。

梁王及宪司官皆奔威楚，诸部悉乱。

功谋于员外杨渊海，渊海卦之吉，
乃进兵至吕阁，败红巾于关滩江，
杀获千计。
滇载记 625 红巾收合馀衄，再战，复胜，杀段氏
骁酋铁万户。

红巾屯古田寺，段氏夕潜火其寺，
滇载记 630 红巾军乱，死者什七八。

又追至回磴关，大败之。
滇载记 635 红巾大呼之曰：「待明年，来复仇。」

时功在战间，得玉珍母寄其子书，
云尔征南务得之，不得轻还，军少
粮乏，我当添补。杨渊海效其书迹，
易之曰：「中国兵来急，尔宜早归。」
遂募能入红军营者，有小卒陈惠愿
行。玉珍得书，恐国中有变，又新失
利，遂急收军。功追之至七星关，又

The 9th generation route commander was called Duàn Gōng.
In the beginning he received the hereditary title and was appointed as Méngguà prefect.

In the 12th year of Zhìzhèng, he inherited the title of route commander.

In guǐmǎo, Míng Yùzhēn entered Shǔ from Chǔ Guó, and occupied it, divided the troops and **plundered everywhere**, they were called the Red Turbans.

Míng Yùzhēn himself led thirty thousand Red Turbans and attacked Yúnnán.

Prince Liáng and the surveillance commission officials fled to Wēichǔ, all regions were in turmoil.

Gōng consulted with the eminent official Yáng Yuānhǎi, Yuānhǎi's omen was auspicious, and he advanced troops to Lǚgé, defeated the Red Turbans at Guāntān River, killed and enslaved thousands. The Red Turbans suffered defeat, again went into battle, he emerged victorious again, and killed the Duàn Shì valient chief Tiě Wànhù.

The Red Turbans were stationed in the old Gǔtián temple, the Duàn clan at night set his temple on fire, the Red Turbans army was in turmoil, some seven or eight [out of ten] perished.

Then he chased them to Huídèng pass, dealing them a great defeat. Red Turbans shouted out loud: 'Wait for next year, then we will take revenge.'

During the battles Gōng captured a letter sent by Yùzhēn's mother to her son, saying 'You must march south to do what is required, and must not rashly retreat. If the troops are insufficient or the rations lacking, I will take care of replenishments.' Yáng Yuānhǎi faked her writing and changed it to: 'China's troops are arriving promptly, retreat as early as possible.' Then he recruited someone capable to enter the Red Turbans' camp, the footsoldier Chén Huì

r 612: In the 12th year of Zhìzhèng] 1352 CE.

r 614: In *guǐmǎo*] 1363 CE.

r 615: plundered everywhere] unclear

r 617: Míng Yùzhēn] Míng Yùzhēn 明玉珍

r 617: himself] That Míng Yùzhēn 明玉珍 personally led the troops is not confirmed in other sources, see Fölster (2009), p. 42.

(22) see illustration 9, right.

胜之而还。

was willing to go. Yùzhēn received the letter, and feared that China's troops had changed, and he would suffer another defeat, so he urgently gathered his troops. Gōng chased them to Qīxīng pass and after another victory retreated.

滇载记 640

The following part then shows the power of Yáng Shèn 杨慎's storytelling craft as he fictionalizes the power struggle into an intricate love story. The story had so much allure that in the 20th century the famous writer Guō Mòruò 郭沫若 used it as the base for this play 'Peacock's Gallbladder' 《孔雀胆》.⁽²³⁾

红巾既退，梁王深德段功，以女阿
襜妻之，为之奏，授云南平章。功自
是，威望大著于西南。

The Red Turbans retreated and Prince Liáng was deeply grateful to Duàn Gōng, gave him his daughter Āgái as wife, and appointed him as Yúnnán administrator. From then on, Gōng's prestige grew greatly in the south-west.

滇载记 645

梁王曲意奉之，功恋恋不肯归国。其
大理夫人高氏，寄乐府促之归，其
词曰：

Prince Liáng flattered him with titles and Gōng reluctantly submitted to the state. His Dàlǐ wife of the Gāo clan sent him a *Yuèfǔ* urging him to return, its lyrics read:

滇载记 650

风卷残云，
九霄冉冉逐。
龙池无偶，
水云一片绿。
寂寞倚屏帟，
春雨纷纷促。
蜀锦半床闲。鸳鸯独自宿。
好语我将军，
只恐乐极生悲冤鬼哭。

A strong wind scatters the clouds,
hanging softly from the highest heaven,
The dragon pond is without a spouse,
The water and the clouds are one expanse of green.
Lonely leaning against the screen,
The spring rains are slowly approaching.
Brocade from Shǔ covers half the bed,
The mandarin duck sleeps alone.

滇载记 655

I say to my general
I only fear that extreme joy will bring sorrow making a grieving spirit cry

滇载记 660

功得书及归，既而复往。其臣杨智、
张希乔留之，不听，既至善阐，梁人
私语梁王曰：「段平章复来，有吞金
马、咽碧鸡之心矣。盍早图之。」

Gōng received the letter and returned, but soon left again. His officials Yáng Zhì and Zhāng Xīqiáo attempted to detain him, but he did not listen. When he arrived in Shànchǎn, the people of Liáng whispered to Prince Liáng, saying: 'The Duàn administrator is coming again, he has the intention to swallow the golden horse and annex the jade chicken. You must make a plan as soon as possible.'

滇载记 665

梁王始启疑于平章，密召阿襜主，

Prince Liáng began to doubt the administrator and secretly sent

滇载记 670

r650: to return] i.e. to Dàlǐ 大理.

r668-669: to swallow the golden horse and annex the jade chicken] golden horse 金马 and jade chicken 碧鸡 stand for central Yúnnán.

⁽²³⁾ see Yu (2018).

命之曰：「亲莫若父母，宝莫若社稷。功今志不灭我不已。脱无彼，犹有他平章，不失富贵也。今付汝以孔雀胆一具，乘便可毒殄之。」

主潜然不敢受命，夜寂人定，私语平章曰：「我父忌阿奴，愿与阿奴西归。」

滇载记 680 因出毒具示之，平章曰：「我有功尔家。我趾自蹶伤，尔父尚尝为我裹之，尔何造言至此？」三谏之，终不听。

滇载记 685 明日，邀功东寺演梵，至通济桥，马逸，因令番将格杀之。

滇载记 690 阿 禧主闻变，失声哭曰：「昨暝烛下，才讲与阿奴，云南施宗、施秀烟花殒身。今日果然！阿奴虽死，奴不负信黄泉也。」

欲自尽，梁王防卫者乃万方。

滇载记 695 主愁愤作诗曰：
吾家住在雁门深，
一片闲云到滇海。
心悬明月照青天，
青天不语今三载。
欲随明月到苍山，
滇载记 700 悞我一生路踏里彩 [锦被名也]。
吐噜吐噜段阿奴 [吐噜，可惜也]，
施宗施秀同奴歹 [歹，不好也]。
云片波粼不见人，
押不芦花颜色改 [押不芦，乃北方起死

滇载记 705 回生草名]。
肉屏独坐细思量 [肉屏，骆驼背也]，

a letter to princess Āgái, the letter read: 'There is no closer relation than father and mother, there is no greater treasure than **the state**. Gōng now ceaselessly proclaims not wanting to destroy me. I cannot get rid of him, he is even my administrator, he is certainly wealthy and high-ranking. Today I present a peacock gallbladder to you, use it when it is convenient to kill him with poison.'

The distraught princess did not dare to carry out the order, and in the middle of the night, she privately said to the administrator: 'My father envies Ā Nú, I wish to return with Ā Nú **to the west**.'

She took out the poison to show it to him, the administrator said: 'I have made merit to marry you. When I hurt my foot stumbling your father still bandaged it for me, where have you heard this rumor?' She admonished him three times, but in the end he did not listen.

The next day, he paid a visit to the eastern temple to practice Buddhism, he arrived at Tōngjì bridge, his horse escaped, and a Fān commander killed him in a fight.

When princess Āgái heard this, she cried with breaking voice: 'Yesterday at night under the candle, I spoke with Ā Nú, Yúnnán's Shī Zōng and Shī Xiù light fireworks over his death. It happened today! Ā Nú died, but he must not suffer in the netherworld.'

She tried to kill herself, but Prince Liáng's guards watched everywhere.

Grieving, princess Āgái wrote a poem:
My home lies deep inside **goose** gate,
A drifting cloud reached the Sea of Diān.
My heart is suspended like the moon in the sky.
Three years of silent nights have passed.
I desire to follow the moon to Cāngshān,
Denying me a life of happiness.
I pity my Duàn Ā Nú,
Shī Zōng and Shī Xiù both enemies of Ā Nú,
Clouds and waves unseen by men,
The **Yabùlú flower** changes colour,

Alone on a horse's back, I ponder deeply,
The pine forests of the Western Hills sprinkled with frost.

r 672-673: the state] literally, the altars to the earth gods, but since it was the responsibility of the state to maintain them, I think this expression is meant to mean the (Mongol) state here.

r 679: Ā Nú] Ā Nú 阿奴 is her nickname for her husband Duàn Gōng 段功.

r 679: to the west] i.e. Dàlǐ.

r 695: goose] geese are the bearers of letters from afar, see Ch'en and Mote (2002), p. 16

r 704: Yabùlú flower] As the commentary says, a flower that brings the dying back to life.

西山铁立霜潇洒。][铁立，松林也]

平章从官员外杨渊海，亦题诗粉壁，
饮药而卒，诗曰：

半纸功名百战身，
不堪今日总红尘。
死生自古皆由命，
祸福于今岂怨人。
蝴蝶梦残滇海月，
杜鹃啼破点苍春。
哀怜永诀云南土，
锦酒休教洒泪频。

梁王哀渊海之名，缙意欲为己用，
见诗痛悼之，乃厚恤之，令随平章
榿归葬大理。

The administrator and subordinate official Yáng Yuānhǎi also in-
scribed a poem on a wall, then took poison and died. The poem
goes:

Half a sheet of glory for a life of hundred battles,
Today it all turns to dust and smoke,
Life and death have always been set by fate,
How can one blame others for blessing or misfortune,
The dream of a butterfly fades under the moon of the Sea of
Diān,
The cuckoo cries and breaks the spring of Diǎncāng.
With sorrow I part from the lands of Yúnnán,
Good fortune causes sorrow.

滇载记 710

滇载记 715

滇载记 720

Prince Liáng mourned Yuānhǎi's fame, and twistedly wanted to
used it for personal gains. But when he saw the poem he mourned
him deeply and ordered the administrator's coffin be returned to
Dàlǐ for burial.

The 10th Generation: Duàn Bǎo 段宝

Duàn Bǎo 段宝 ruled 1368–1381 CE.⁽²⁴⁾

十代总管信苴段宝，功之子。

洪武元年，嗣职。

梁王遣矢刺平章，七攻大理，不克，
乃讲和，奏升宝为云南左丞。

未几，明玉珍复侵善阐，梁王遣叔
铁木的罕借兵大理，时宝已长，答
书云：

The 10th generation route commander was Prince Duàn Bǎo,
Gōng's son.

In the 1st year of Hóngwǔ, he inherited the office.

Prince Liáng sent the administrator Shìlā to attacke Dàlǐ seven
times without success, then made a truce, and sent a memorial to
promote Bǎo to Yúnnán left aide.

Shortly after, the Míng Yùzhēn invaded Shànchǎn again,
Liángwáng sent his uncle Tiěmù Dehǎn to borrow troops from
Dàlǐ, at that time Bǎo had already grown up and sent a letter in
reply:

滇载记 725

滇载记 730

滇载记 735

[728: 梁王遣矢刺平章，七攻大理] this passage appears differently in the various editions of the 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào' 《南诏野史》，sometimes with Píngzhāng 平章 inserted, sometimes not, so that Shìcìqī 矢刺七 could also be read as a name, as in Sainson (1904), p. 141, see also Mù Qín 木芹 (1990), p. 364.

r727: In the 1st year of Hóngwǔ] 1368 CE.

r732: his uncle Tiěmù Dehǎn] unclear name.

(24) illustration 9, left.

<p>杀虎子而还喂其虎母， 分狙栗而自诈其狙公。 假途灭虢，献璧吞虞。 金印玉书，乃为钓鱼之香饵。 真载记 740 绣闺淑女，自设掩雉之网罗。 况平章既亡，弟兄罄绝， 今止遗一獒一奴， 奴再赘华黎氏， 獒又可配阿谿妃，</p> <p>真载记 745 如此事诺， 我必借大兵。 如其不可，待金马山换作点苍山， 昆明池改作西洱河时，来矣。</p> <p>书后附以诗云：</p> <p>烽火狼烟信不符， 骊山举戏是支吾。 真载记 755 平章枉丧红罗帐， 员外虚题粉壁图。 凤别岐山祥兆隐，</p> <p>麟游郊藪瑞光无。 自从界限鸿沟后， 真载记 760 成败兴衰不属吾。</p> <p>梁王见之，恨宝入骨。</p>	<p>Killing the tiger cub and feeding it to its mother, Dividing the monkey nuts and deceiving the monkey chief, Borrowing the road to crush Guó, offering a <i>bì</i> to choke Yú, The golden seal and the jade letter are nothing but bait for fishing. The virtuous lady set herself the trap for the pheasant. The administrator dead, his brothers are diminished. What remains is a dog and a servant. The servant marries into the Chinese Lí clan, The dog can mate with princess Āgái. If this is promised, I will surely lend an army. If not, I will wait for Golden Horse Mountain exchanged for Diǎncāng Mountains, And Kūnmíng Lake changed for Xiě River – then I will come.</p> <p>At the end of the letter he added a poem, saying:</p> <p>Beacon fires and smoke signals bring false alarms, The game at Mount Lí was a mere deception. The administrator unjustly perished within the red silk curtains, The official's empty poem adorns the painted wall. The phoenix departed from Qí Mountain, hiding the auspicious signs, The unicorn roamed the wilds, with no light of good omen. Since the boundary at Hónggōu was drawn, Success and failure, rise and fall, are no longer mine to bear.</p> <p>Prince Liáng saw this, he hated Bǎo to his bones.</p>
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It follows the story of Duàn Sēngnú 段僧奴, the sister of Duàn Bǎo 段宝 and daughter of Duàn Gōng 段功, who married the Jiànchāng 建昌 official Ā Lí 阿黎 in 1372 CE.⁽²⁵⁾

<p>平章女僧奴志恒不忘复仇，将适建 昌阿黎氏出，手刺绣文旗以与宝 曰：「我自束发，闻母溺父冤，恨非 男子不能报，此旗所以识也。今归夫 家，收合东兵，飞檄西洱，汝急应兵 会善闻。」</p> <p>真载记 765</p>	<p>The administrator's sister Sēngnú was intent to never forget revenge. As she was about to marry Ā Lí in Jiànchāng, she embroidered a flag with characters and gave it to Bǎo, saying: 'I tied up my hair when I heard of my mother drowning and my father's sorrow, I hate not being a man to exact revenge, this flag symbols my intention. Now as I am moving to my husband's</p>
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r 738: Borrowing the road to crush Guó, offering a *bì* to choke Yú,] *jiǎtúmièguó* 假途灭虢 is an idiom expressing a war strategy of deception to defeat two enemies: Jìn 晋 wanted to defeat Guó 虢, but needed to pass through Yú 虞 first, however after defeating Guó it also annexed Yú.

⁽²⁵⁾ see Zhang Xílù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 160.

又作诗二章，曰：	family, I will quickly unite the soldiers in the east, I am sending this urgent messages to Xǐě, you must quickly respond and join forces in Shànchǎn.'	滇载记 770
瑚钩我出香闺， 蒲目潸然泪湿衣。 水鉴银台前长大， 金枝玉叶下芳菲， 鸟飞兔走频来往， 桂馥梅馨不暂移。 惆怅同胞未忍别， 应知含恨点苍低。	She also wrote two poems:	滇载记 775
何彼秾秾花自红， 归车独别洱江东。 鸿台燕苑难经目， 风刺霜刀易塞胸。 云旧山高连水远， 月新春叠与秋重。 泪珠恰似通宵雨， 千里关河几处逢。	Coral hooks draw me out of the fragrant boudoir, Eyes filled with tears, soaking my clothes. I grew up before the silver mirror stand, Blossoming under golden branches and jade leaves. Birds fly and rabbits run, coming and going frequently, The fragrance of osmanthus and the scent of plum never fade. Reluctant to part from my sibling, I know the grief clouds Cangshan with sorrow.	滇载记 780
后宝闻高皇帝开基金陵，遣其叔段真，自会川入京，奉表归款，朝廷亦以书报之 [见御制文集]。	Why are those flowers so lush and red, As the return carriage leaves the east of Erjiang alone? The grand sights of Hongtai and Yan Garden are hard to see, Wind and frost pierce my heart easily. Clouds over the old mountains link with distant waters, New moons and springs pile up with autumn's weight. Tears fall like rain throughout the night, How many times do I encounter the barriers and rivers over a thousand miles?	滇载记 785
时有妖巫女，歌曰：	Later, when Bǎo heard that the emperor had laid the foundation for [the capital] Jīnlíng he sent his uncle Duàn Zhēn to enter the capital from Huìchūān, presenting a memorial of submission, the court responded with a letter. [see <i>'Imperial Collection of Literary Works'</i>].	滇载记 795
莫道君为山海主，山海笑谐谐。 园中花谢千万朵，别有明主来。	At the time there was a witch who sang, There is no way for the Lord to become ruler of mountains and seas, mountains and seas laugh together. In the gardens countless flowers wither, an enlightened ruler will come	滇载记 800
r 795-796: the emperor had laid the foundation for [the capital] Jīnlíng] Míng emperor Hóngwǔ 明洪武 made the old Jīnlíng 金陵 capital of China, calling it Nánjīng 南京. r 798-799: see <i>'Imperial Collection of Literary Works'</i>] This refers to a passage in the <i>'Imperial Collection of Literary Works'</i> 《高皇帝御制文集》，第二卷	滇载记 805	

宝数日疾卒，子明嗣。

Duàn Bǎo fell ill and after a few days passed away, his son Míng inherited the office.

The 11th Generation: Duàn Míng 段明

See illustration 9, right.

滇载记 810

十一代总管信苴段明。
洪武十四年，授以宣慰。

The 11th generation route commander Prince Duàn Míng.

In the 14th year of Hóngwǔ, he was made pacification commissioner.

壬戌春正月，天兵破善阐，梁王自鸩，党属悉俘。

In spring, in the 1st month of the *rénxū* year, imperial troops attacked Shànchǎn, Prince Liáng drank poisoned wine, his family and underlings were all taken captive.

明遣都使张元亨，驰书颍川侯傅友德、西平侯沐英。麾下曰：

Míng sent the area command envoy Zhāng Yuánhēng with an urgent letter to the marquis of Yǐngchuān Fù Yǒudé and the marquis of Xǐpíng Mù Yīng. It stated:

滇载记 820

「大理乃唐交绥之外国，善阐实宋斧画之余邦，难列营屯，徒劳兵甲，请依唐宋故事宽我。蒙段奉正朔，佩华篆，比年一小贡，三年一大贡。」

‘Dàlǐ is state outside Táng’s Jiāosuī, while Shànchǎn is in fact a state inside the region draw by the Sòng axe. It is difficult to establish camps and futile to supply arms. I petition that you show lenience like the precedent of the Táng and Sòng. The Méng clan and the Duàn respected the calendar, cherished the seals of China, and sent a small tribute mission every year and a large one every three years.’

友德怒，拷辱其使。

Yǒudé was angry, whipped and insulted the envoy.

明再上书曰：

Míng once again send a letter to the emperor, saying:

滇载记 830

「汉武习战，仅置益州；元祖亲征，只缘善阐。乞冀班师。」

‘Hàn emperor Wǔ engaged in battles, but only established Yìzhōu, Kublai Khan personally led an expedition but alone got hold of Shànchǎn. I hope that you will retreat the troops.’

友德答明书曰：

Yǒudé replied to Míng’s letter, saying:

滇载记 835

「我大明龙飞淮甸，混一区宇，陋汉、唐之小智，卑宋、元之浅图，天兵所至，神龙助阵，天地应符。汝段氏接武蒙氏，运已绝于元世，宽命延息以至于今，我师已歼梁王，报汝世仇，不降何待？」

‘We, the great Míng, rising like a dragon from the fields of Huái, unifying the realm, passing the small wisdom of the Hàn and Táng and the simple strategies of the Sòng and Yuán, Wherever the imperial forces go divine dragons lend assistance, heaen and earth are in harmony. You, the Duàn clan, have followed the Méng clan, but your mandate was cut off by Yuán, lenient orders have allowed you to continue until now. My troops have already eliminated Prince Liáng, thus eliminating your blood feud. Why do you hesitate to

r 811: In the 14th year of Hóngwǔ] 1381 CE.

r 813: In spring, in the 1st month of the *rénxū* year] 1381 CE.

r 816: Míng] i.e. Duàn Míng.

r 819: Táng’s Jiāosuī] Jiāosuī 交绥 is an unclear term.

三月，傅、沐二将分兵，宵缘点苍颠，绕出下关之背，先树旗帜。

迟明，段兵惊溃，大军策马乱流而济，明遂就擒，并其二子仁、义至金陵。

太祖圣谕曰：

「尔父宝曾有降表，朕不忍废。」

赐长子名归仁，授永昌卫镇抚。次子名归义，授雁门卫镇抚，大理悉定。

是夏六月，元普颜秣复叛，据佛光寨 [在邓州东北]。

先不华叛，据邓州。

甲子正月十七日，川侯傅友德，复自七星关回军大理，平邓川，破佛光寨，因定赋法，筑城隍，设卫堡，立学校，比于中州列郡焉。

逸史氏曰：史称西南夷靡，莫之属以什数，滇最大。

元封中，以兵临，滇王举国降，然未有称也。

及张氏受姓，后世迭君长者，蒙氏、郑氏、赵氏、杨氏、段氏、高氏，凡七姓，惟蒙、段最久，故著称焉。

surrender?’

In the 3rd month, the two generals Fù and Mù divided their troops, and at night they went along the Diǎncāng peaks, and averting the mountains emerged at the back of Xiàguān, planting their banner. At dawn, the Duàn soldiers were panic stricken and fled, the grand general whipped his horse and crossed the turbulent river, Míng was captured and with his sons Rén and Yì taken to **Jīnlíng**.

The Founding Emperor issued an edict saying:

‘Your father Bǎo had already petitioned to surrender, I cannot bear to ignore it.’

He granted his eldest son the name Guīrén, appointing him as pacification officer of the Yǒngchāng guard. The second son was given the name Guīyì and was appointed pacification officer of Yànmén guard. Dàlǐ was all secured.

In the summer, in the 6th month, the Yuán Pǔ Yánnóng rebelled again, occupied Fóguāng stockade [north-east of Dèngzhōu]

Earlier, 不华 had rebelled and occupied Dèngzhōu.

On the 17th day of the 1st month of the jiǎzǐ year, the Chuān Marquis Fù Yǒudé led his troops back from Qīxīng pass back to Dàlǐ, pacified Dèngchuān, destroyed Fóguāng stockade, established a tax system, constructed a moat, established defence fortresses, set up schools, in this way setting it up like the prefectures in the central regions.

The **unofficial historian** says: The historical records show that the western and southern Yí were fragmented, not yet subordinate, and counted several dozen, Diān the most powerful.

During the Yuánfēng period, they were confronted by military force, the king of Diān surrendered with his whole state, never to be mentioned again.

The Zhāng clan was conferred a name, in later generations many rulers succeeded each other, the Méng clan, the Zhèng clan, the Zhào clan, the Yáng clan, the Duàn clan, the Gāo clan – all in all seven families. Of them the Méng and the Duàn ruled the longest, so they are the best known.

r 843: In the 3rd month] 1381 CE.

r 848: Jīnlíng] The Míng capital, i.e. Nánjīng 南京.

r 856: In the summer, in the 6th month] 1381 CE.

r 859: On the 17th day of the 1st month of the jiǎzǐ year] 29th January 1384.

r 865: unofficial historian] this expression mimicks Sīmǎ Qiān 司马迁’s introductions to his historical commentary, where he calls himself Tàishǐgōng 太史公, the ‘The Grand Historian’, but draws attention to the fact that he was exiled and writing a historical work without being in office. Pidhainy (2008), p. 31 translates the term as ‘historian in retirement’.

r 868: During the Yuánfēng period] reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104BC.

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滇载记 860

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滇载记 875

夷裔盜名号，互起灭，若蜂蚁然，不足录也。

然至与中夏交绥抗陵，疲我齐民，世主甘心焉。

滇载记 880

以无用戕有用，是可慨已。

Their *Yí* descendants usurped the titles, rising and falling, just like ants, it is not worthwhile to record them.

Then they established contact with China fighting and resisting, exhausting our people, their rulers enjoying it.

To use the useless to harm the useful – that is truly lamentable.

It follows a most important passage in which Yáng Shèn 杨慎 reveals his sources: a book written in the local language using Chinese characters called “《白古通玄峰年运志》”. The meaning of this passage is disputed: some say, the “《白古通玄峰年运志》” is one book with a long title, others claim that he refers to two separate books called ‘*Báigǔtōng*’ 《白古通》 and ‘*Xuánfēng Era Gazetteer*’ 《玄峰年运志》 respectively. For the debate, see Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011).

汉司马氏传西南夷，诚有意哉！余婴罪投裔，求蒙、段之故于图经而不得也。

滇载记 885

问其籍于旧家，有《白古通玄峰年运志》其书。用僰文，义兼众教，稍为删正，令其可读。

其可载者，盖尽此矣。

The Hàn dynasty Sīmǎ family wrote the history of the western and southern *Yí* – they had sincere intention! I convicted and exiled, searched for the origins of the Méng and Duàn in the books and scriptures, but could not find anything.

So, I asked the old families about their books and found a book called “”. It is written in *Bó* characters, encompassing many meanings I have some left out and corrected others, to make it readable.

This is all that can be recounted here, so this stops here.

滇僰于三代为荒服，汉仅剽分其方，虽胡元兵力胜之，而不能守也。

滇载记 890

于今，列箐落而郡县之，驯鳞介而衣裳之，华风沃泽，同域共贯，昭代恢宇，前是孰并？传称神农地过日月之表，几近是哉！夫分隔之乱，昔如彼；大一统之治，今若此。干羽不警，百五十年。

滇载记 895

Diān and *Bó* were during the **three dynasties** wild and uncivilized regions, the Hàn merely conquered a part of their lands, and even though the troops of the barbarian Yuán defeated them, they could not control them.

Today, the ravines and valleys have been organized into commanderies and counties, the people have been tamed and clothed, the wind of enlightenment has made the swamps fertile, the territories are united, the current dynasty’s vast territory – can a previous one match them? The traditions say that Shénnóng’s land exceeded that of the sun and moon, we are nearly there! The divisions of the past were once such chaos, the great unity of this government is like this. Weapons have fallen silent for one hundred and fifty years.

探言其故，则金匱秘文，縉绅罕睹，况荒徼乎？余慕宋司马氏作《通鉴》，采获小说，若《河洛行年纪》、《广陵妖乱志》者，百二十家，法孔子著《春秋》，取群书于百二十国也。

滇载记 905

Exploring the reasons, it is because the secret writings of the golden bookshelves are seldom seen by the officials, let alone those of these desolate lands. I admire the **Sòng Sīmǎ family who wrote the ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’**, gathering stories, like the ‘*Annals of the Yellow and Luo River*’ and the ‘*Chronicle*

r889: the three dynasties] i.e. Xià Dynasty 夏朝, Shāng Dynasty 商朝, and Zhōu dynasty 周朝, everything before the Hàn dynasty 汉朝.

r904–905: the Sòng Sīmǎ family who wrote the ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’] i.e. Sīmǎ lake 司马池 and his son Sīmǎ Guāng 司马光.

因是有感，遂纂蒙、段事以为《滇载记》，其诸君子祖《春秋》而述，二司马氏者，亦将有取于斯焉。

of the *Guǎnglíng Rebellion*' from one hundred and twenty families, following the way Kǒngzǐ edited the spring and autumn period who drew from one hundred and twenty states.

Inspired by this, I have compiled the affairs of the Méng and Duàn into the 'Historical Records of Diān', narrating it like our ancestor wrote the and the two Sīmǎ have also been used.

滇载记 910

3.10 Preface to the 'Historical Records of Diān' 《滇载记》《滇载记序》

In 1543 CE, the official Jiāng Lóng 姜龙, *sobriquet* 号 Mèngbīn 梦宾, wrote an introduction to the text, that reveals that he was a collaborator on the text. While this preface mostly contains the usual stanzas, a passage sheds a little further light on the main source of the text, the 'Báigǔtōng' 《白古通》.

滇载记序

云南古西南外徼，虽唐虞之声教弗暨焉。王制出学简，不帅教屏诸西方者，曰夔。今其志犹云汉夔同风，岂以是与秦庄襄略地至滇，遂留不返。汉张骞之徒乃通滇，滇之言曰：“汉孰与我大？”是未始知有中国也。

Preface to the 'Historical Records of Diān'

Yúnnán, an ancient outlying region of the south-west, did not attain the cultural enlightenment of Tángyáo and Yúshùn. Its royal system, based on simple teachings did not lead the teachings to those screened off in the the western regions, which were called Bó. Today, the records still say that Hàn and Bó shared their customs, is it possible that during the Qín Zhuāng Xiāng invaded Diān to never return? During the Hàn dynasty Zhāng Qiān's troops connected Diān and Diān asked them: "The Hàn is as powerful as we are?" They had not yet heard of China.

滇载记 5

滇载记 10

嗣后虽尝置郡，特遥领于益州部，徒有其名，靡之而已。昭烈时，分建宁置云南郡。晋唐以来，畔服靡常。迨我明大一统，荒遐悉臣，于是云南始入版图，与侯甸齿。二百年来，渐濡涵育，文献聿兴。寢寢之乎追躅上国，圣化覃被之功，殆谓贤于尧舜，无论秦汉矣。

Afterwards, although a commandery was established it was specially governed from the distant Yìzhōu region, this was misleading as it was only governed lightly. During the time of Zhāoliè, Jiànníng was divided and Yúnnán commandery established. From the Jìn and Táng on, there was constant rebellion and submission, until through the great unification of our current dynasty the desolate regions received officials and Yúnnán began to be part of our territory, arranged like a distant territory. For the last two hundred years they gradually received enlightenment and official documents began to thrive. Gradually raising the level of the state, these achievements of spreading the sacred enlightenment can be called as worthy as that of Tángyáo and Yúshùn, not to mention the Qín and Hàn.

滇载记 15

滇载记 20

第志记荒落，史有阙文焉。《一统志》

The early records are scattered and systematic history writing is

r911-912: like our ancestor wrote the] i.e. the 《春秋》 en = 'Spring and Autumn Annals' in the form of annals.

r912: the two Sīmǎ] again: Sīmǎ lake 司马池 and his son Sīmǎ Guāng 司马光.

r3: Tángyáo and Yúshùn] short form for Tángyáo and Yúshùn, legendary Chinese rulers.

r7: Zhuāng Xiāng] i.e. king Xiāng of Qín 秦襄王.

r13: Zhāoliè] Zhāoliè is a posthumous title for Liú Bèi 刘备, ruler of the Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉.

滇载记 25 虽因往记取备职方，然亦略矣。顷龙官仪曹郎坐出位言事黜，俄起废承乏边圉蜀。杨子用修由侍从论时事，忤旨谪戍博南。相得甚欢，暇则相与稽古问俗。茫然莫溯其源，澹索之民间，得敝帙于故博士张云汉氏，曰《白古通》。白即燹从省也，其事怪，其词鄙。盖滇地与身毒密迩，汉使之入也，假道于彼。则其怪也有所蒙袭，无足究者。其书不著作者姓氏，亦不审昉于何代，意其经几译而后属之书文。何由雅也？

滇载记 45 余辄以愿杨子芟薙芜陋，括以文章家法，以成一方之志。词旨简奥，足以补史氏之阙。初，南诏自相雄长，尝称王于其国，故援偏安之例以载记目之。嗟乎！古今纂言者惟史为难，惧其狃于闻而斲其实也。纪要荒事尤难，惧其远而诞于闻也。

滇载记 55 是编也，创于其土之人，而杨子述之，且亲涉其地，与其贤士大夫游，其见闻弗诞弗取矣，不亦可传也？

滇载记 60 陆子浚明往在谏垣，以直言废家居。余间出其稿，陆子乃亟为披校缮写入梓，冀衍其传，俾异日职史者有取焉。

夫云南旷古无述，述自今始。二子之用心亦勤矣。谓龙实与闻其由，宜引

missing. The *'Unified Gazetteer'* – although it gathered the records as it was its duty – was very sketchy. Recently the official Lóng at the ministry of rites remonstrated with the emperor and was dismissed from office, and is presently on an unworthy post in the borderlands of Shǔ. Yáng Shèn Yòngxiū engaged in the the discussion of that affair, disobeyed a decree and was exiled to Bónán. They struck up a friendship, and in their spare time studied the classics and enquired about local customs. Unable to trace their origins, they searched widely with the local people and discovered a shabby book from the former scholar Zhāng Yúnhàn, called *'Báigǔtōng'*, with Bái being a simplification of Bó. Its stories were strange, its language crude. As the lands of Diān are close to Yuāndú, Hàn envoys entered it passing through here. Its strange elements and the history of the Méng are insufficiently investigated. This book did not write down its author and it is unknown when it was written, implying that its writings were translated many times and only later written down as a book. How could it possibly be a refined book?

I therefore asked the dishonoured Yáng Shèn to eliminate the untidy and the coarse, and to edit it as a document, compiling a local *gazetteer*. The words are simple yet profound, sufficient to fill the gaps of history writing. In the beginning, Nánzhào rose to power on its own and proclaimed itself a kingdom on its lands. So, guided by the principle of local rule, it has been recorded here as such. Alas! Then and now, of those compiling the stories only the historians find it difficult fearing this would be limited to hearsay and thus perverting the truth. Recording the events of remote regions is especially difficult, as perhaps the distance makes the stories preposterous.

This compilation was begun by local people and written down by Yáng Shèn who personally went to the region, reaching its scholars and senior officials. His accounts are neither exaggerated nor unfounded, so they must be preserved.

Lù Jùn míng who was once at the censorate and was dismissed for honest words. I found the time to pay him a private visit with a draft, Lù unrolled it for review and carved it into blocks in the hope that it would be disseminated widely so that later historians can benefit from it.

In ancient times Yúnnán did not have any records, their records begin with these. The two men put a real effort into it. It is said that

r 26: the official Lóng] I think the writer of the preface refers to himself here.

r 29: Yáng Shèn Yòngxiū] Yáng Shèn 杨慎, courtesy name Yòngxiū 用修.

r 29–31: engaged in the the discussion of that affair, disobeyed a decree and was exiled to Bónán] This refers to the *Great Ritual Controversy* 大礼仪 that saw Yáng Shèn 杨慎 exiled.

诸端以备岁月之考，故忘其不文以附于二子云尔。

嘉靖癸卯秋，古娄姜龙梦宾甫序

Lóng had firsthand knowledge of these events, and it is appropriate to sketch out the elementary principles so that later generations can examine them, so ignoring my lack of talent I add these to the work of the two men.

In autumn of Jiājìng *guǐmǎo*, the simple and unworthy Jiāng Lóng, Mèngbīn, wrote this preface.

滇载记 65

滇载记 70

4 Glossary

Āgái 阿襁: princess given to Duàn Gōng 段功 as wife – see page 39

Āgáizhǔ 阿襁主: princess Āgái, – see pages 40, 42, 49

Ā Lí 阿黎: official – see page 42

Ā Nú 阿奴: nickname for Duàn Gōng 段功 – see page 40

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 Lírui 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016), Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014) –

Āiláo Shān 哀牢山: Āiláo Mountains, – see page 8, 49

Āilāo Zhuān 《哀牢传》: ‘*Biographies of Āiláo*’, one of the oldest texts about Yúnnán, describing the mythology of the ancient land of Āiláo – see page 8, 49

Ānguó 安国: reign period of Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣 – see page 22, see 郑买嗣

Ānnán 安南: a Táng dynasty protectorate in the area of present-day northern Vietnam. During the Táng dynasty Ānnán was subordinated to Língnándào 岭南道, the Jīmí 羁縻 region governing the

southern coastal areas. Its official name changed frequently: before 681 it was called Jiāozhōu 交州, then until 757 Ānnán 安南, then until 863 Zhènnán 镇南, then Xíngānnán 行安南 before reverting to Ānnán 安南 in 866. Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鹤 (2012), pp. 1205–1217 – see page 19

Bāyǎn 八演: eighth scroll, refers to the nine parts of China in the expression Jiǔzhōu 九州, referring to Liángzhōu 梁州, see Herrmann (1922) – see page 16, 49

Báigǔtōng 《白古通》: ‘*Báigǔtōng*’, ancient text in the Bái language, now lost – see pages 46–49

Báigǔtōng Xuánfēngnián Yùnzhi 《白古通玄峰年运志》: ‘’, longer title of a lost text more commonly known as 《白古通》, but some suggest it is actually two books, the 《白古通》 and the 《玄峰年运志》 – see page 46, 49

Bái Guó 白国: Bái kingdom, a, possibly apocryphal, state in western Yúnnán that precedes Nánzhào, first mentioned in the 《纪古滇说原集》, see Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), p. 113 – see page 11, 49

Báiguó Yīnyóu 《白国因由》: ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’, Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào – see page 49

r69: In autumn of Jiājìng *guǐmǎo*] 1543 CE.

- Báiyá** 白崖: pre-Nánzhào polity, thought to have been in present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley – see page 10
- Bái zú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ērhǎi – see page 13, 50
- Bǎohé** 保和: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Yímóuxún, 784– – see page 18
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page see 永昌
- Běisòng** 北宋: Northern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 960–1127 – see page 50
- Bì** 璧: a piece of ceremonial jade – see page 42
- Bìjī** 碧鸡: jade chicken, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 39, 50
- Bōsī** 波斯: Bōsī, – see page 31, 50
- Bó** 爨: ancient tribal group in Yúnnán – see pages 27, 46, 47
- Bónán** 博南: – see page 48
- Bù** 部: region, a very generic term, ‘principally suggests a part, section, or division of a whole’, see Hucker (1985), 4764 – see pages 15, 47, 50
- Cānzhèng** 参政: assistant grand councilor, ‘Lit., to take part in governance.’, see Hucker (1985), 6868 – see pages 35, 36, 50
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ērhǎi – see pages 13, 40, 50
- Cáo Wèi** 曹魏: one of the three kingdoms during the Sān Guó 三国 period, 220–226 –
- Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山 –
- Chángjiāng** 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river – see page 50
- Chángqìng** 长庆: reign period of Táng Mùzōng 唐穆宗, 821–824 – see page 18
- Chén Huì** 陈惠: – see page 38
- Chén Hóngshòu** 陈洪绶: late Míng 明 painter – see page 5
- Chéng** 丞: aide, ‘one of the commonest in Chinese official nomenclature’, see Hucker (1985), 457 – see page 41, 50
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 – see page 18, 19
- 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 page 50
- emperor Chū** 出帝: emperor of the Later Jìn, 942–947 –
- Chǔ Guó** 楚国: state of Chǔ, ancient Chinese state before the Qin dynasty, 704–223BCE – see page 38, 50
- Chǔxióng** 楚雄: present-day town west of Kūnmíng 昆明 –
- Chuān** 川: valley, – see pages 10, 45, 50
- Chūnqiū** 春秋: spring and autumn period, 770–475BCE – see page 47, 50
- 《春秋》 **py** = Chūnqiū 《春秋》 **en** = ‘*Spring and Autumn Annals*’: Chinese classic, earliest text arranged in annals form, attributed to Kǒngzǐ 孔子 – see page 47, 50
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China – see page 11, 50

- Cuàn** 爨: surname, name of powerful clan in the east of Yúnnán before Nánzhào – see page 27
- Cuàn Lóngyán Bēi** 《爨龙颜碑》: ‘*Cuàn Lóngyán Stele*’, one of the oldest steles found in Yúnnán – see page 51
- Cuànshì** 爨氏: Cuàn clan, powerful clan that ruled eastern Yúnnán 云南 prior to Nánzhào – see page 51, see 爨龙颜碑
- Cuóyé** 嗟耶: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Lóngshùn 隆舜, 889–897 – see page 21, see 隆舜
- Dà Méng Guó** 大蒙国: Great State of Méng, official name of Nánzhào in the 《南诏野史》 – see pages 14, 23, 51
- Dàchánghéguó** 大长和国: Great State of Chánghé, – see pages 21, 22, 51
- Dàdé** 大德: reign period of Yuán Chéngzōng 元成宗, 1297–1307 – see page 37
- Dàdù Hé** 大渡河: Dàdù River, tributary to the Mínjiāng 岷江 in south-west of 成都, during the Sòng dynasty it formed the border to the tribal regions of the south-west. – see pages 20, 27, 51
- Dàfēng Míngguó** 大封民国: Great Fēng People’s Kingdom, self-appellation of Nánzhào during the reign of Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 897–902, meaning unclear – see page 11, 51, see 舜化贞 & 中兴
- Dàguān** 大观: reign period of Sòng Huīzōng 宋徽宗, 1107–1110 – see page 31
- Dàlǐ** 大理: – see pages 15, 23, 25, 29, 31, 33–35, 37, 39–41, 44, 45, 51
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253 – see pages 23, 34, 51
- Dàlǐyì** 大礼议: *Great Ritual Controversy*, conflict over ritual at the beginning of the Míng 明 Jiājìng 嘉靖 period, 1521–1524 – see page 48, 51
- Dàlì** 大历: reign period of Táng emperor Dàizōng, 766–779 – see page 14, 15
- Dàmíngyītǒngzhì** 《大明一统志》: ‘*Great Míng Unified Gazetteer*’, – see page 51
- Dàtiānxīngguó** 大天兴国: great state of Tiānxīng, short-lived Nánzhào successor state, 928, also written as Xīngyuánguó 兴元国 – see page 22, 51
- Dàxī** 大厘: earlier name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page see 史城
- Dà Yìníng Guó** 大义宁国: Great State of Yìníng, last of the short-lived successor states of Nánzhào, 929–937 – see page 23, 51
- Dàzhōng Guó** 大中国: state of Dàzhōng, short-lived state in the Dàlǐ 大理 region under control of the ?? clan, 1094–1096 – see page 30, 51
- Dàizōng** 代宗: – see page 14
- Dàn** 爨: character used in many place names, apparently indicating a – somewhat smaller – flat area used for cultivation, akin to today’s use of 平坝, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 3 – see page 13
- Dào** 道: *dào*, key Daoist concept, often translated as ‘the way’ – see pages 17, 23, 28, 51
- Déhuà Bēi** 德化碑 《德化碑》: ‘*Déhuà Stele*’, most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history – see page 14, 51
- Dèngchuān** 邓川: – see pages 9, 13, 45
- Dīmóujū** 低牟苴: mythological ancestor – see page 8, 11

- Díqīng** 狄青: Běisòng 北宋 general – see page 29
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see pages 8, 27, 41, 45–48, see 滇国
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明 – see pages 5, 40, 52
- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 52
- Diān Wáng** 滇王: king of Diān, – see page 45, 52
- Diānzàijì** 《滇载记》: ‘*Historical Records of Diān*’, Míng 明 period historical work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, completed 1525 – see pages 5–8, 47, 52
- Diǎncāng Shān** 点苍山: Diǎncāng Mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理 – see pages 15, 16, 41, 42, 45, 52
- Dìngxī Líng** 定西岭: Dìngxī range, old name for the mountain range between Wēishān 巍山 and Mídù 弥渡 – see page 10, 52
- Dōngchuān** 东川: eastern part of Jiànnán – see page 15, 22
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 52
- Dǒng Jiālūo** 董迦罗: name mentioned in the 《白国因由》 – see page 25
- Dū** 都: area command, name of an administrative area – see pages 34, 44, 52
- Dūdū** 都督: commander-in-chief, ‘chief of military forces in a prefecture’, see Hucker (1985), 7311 – see page 14, 52
- Dù Yòu** 杜佑: Táng dynasty scholar and politician, 735–812, compiler of the 《通典》 –
- Dù Yuányǐng** 杜元颖: *775 †838, Táng dynasty official, served as military commissioner and was blamed for deterioration of relationships with Nánzhào – see page 18
- Duàn** 段: clan name of the ruling family of Dàlǐ kingdom – see pages 40, 45–47
- Duàn Sēngnú** 段僧奴: sister of Duàn Bǎo 段宝 – see page 42
- Duàn Xiángxīng** 段祥兴: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1238–1251 CE – see page 24, 33
- Duàn Zhìxīng** 段智兴: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1172–1200 CE – see page 24, 32
- Duàn Bǎo** 段宝: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see pages 41–45
- Duàn Gōng** 段功: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, his grave mound is in the Three Pagodas 三塔 complex (⊕ 25.71N 100.14E) – see pages 38–42
- Duàn Guāng** 段光: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 36, 37
- Duàn Héyù** 段和誉: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1108–1147 CE – see page 24, 31
- Duàn Jiǎnwèi** 段俭魏: general of Nánzhào, given the name Duàn Zhōngguó 段忠国 by 阁罗凤 – see page 14, 23, see 段忠国
- Duàn Jùn** 段俊: 6th Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 36
- Duàn Liányì** 段廉义: twelfth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1075–1080 CE – see page 24, 29
- Duàn Lóng** 段隆: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 36

- Duàn Míng** 段明: last Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, later changed his name to Duàn Shì 段世, which has led to the confusion in some works that these were two different people, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), pp. 236–239 and Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 67 – see page 44, 45
- Duàn Qìng** 段庆: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 35
- Duàn Rén** 段仁: son of Duàn Míng 段明 – see page 45
- Duàn Shí** 段实: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, also called Duàn Xīnjū 段信 – see page 35
- Duàn Shì** 段世: see Duàn Shì 段世 – see page see 段明
- Duàn Shì** 段氏: Duàn clan, ruling clan of Dàlǐ Guó 大理国 – see pages 23, 27, 29–31, 34, 37–39, 44, 45, 53
- Duàn Shòuhuī** 段寿辉: thirteenth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1080–1081 CE – see page 24, 29
- Duàn Sīcōng** 段思聪: fourth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 951–968 CE – see pages 24, 26, 27
- Duàn Sīlián** 段思廉: eleventh ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1044–1075 CE – see pages 24, 28, 29
- Duàn Sīliáng** 段思良: third ruler of Dàlǐguó 大理国, 899–952, younger brother of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平, ruled 945–951 CE – see page 24, 26
- Duàn Sīpíng** 段思平: founder of the Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 937–944 CE – see pages 23–26, 34
- Duàn Sīyīng** 段思英: second ruler of the Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 944–945 CE – see page 24, 25
- Duàn Sùlián** 段素廉: seventh ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1009–1022 CE – see pages 24, 27, 28
- Duàn Sùlóng** 段素隆: eighth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1022–1026 CE – see page 24, 28
- Duàn Sùshùn** 段素顺: fifth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 969–985 CE – see page 24, 27
- Duàn Sùtōng** 段素通: – see page 24
- Duàn Sùxīng** 段素兴: tenth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1041–1044 CE – see page 24, 28
- Duàn Sùyīng** 段素英: sixth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 986–1009 CE – see page 24, 27
- Duàn Sùzhēn** 段素真: ninth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1026–1041 CE – see page 24, 28
- Duàn Xīnjū Fú** 段信苴福: prince Duàn Fú, uncle of Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智, he carried the title The Duke Wǔwēi 武威 – see page 23, 53
- Duàn Xīngzhì** 段兴智: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1251–1254 CE – see pages 24, 33–35
- Duàn Yì** 段义: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, son of Duàn Míng 段明 – see page 36, 45
- Duàn Zhēn** 段真: uncle of Duàn Bǎo 段宝, sent with a submission letter to the Míng 明 – see page 43
- Duàn Zhèng** 段正: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 36
- Duàn Zhèngchún** 段正淳: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1096–1108 CE – see page 24, 31
- Duàn Zhèngmíng** 段正明: fourteenth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1081–1094 CE – see page 24, 29
- Duàn Zhèngxīng** 段正兴: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1147–1172 CE – see page 24, 32

- Duàn Zhèngyán** 段正严: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1108–1147 CE, also known as Duàn Héyù 段和誉 – see page *see* 段和誉
- Duàn Zhìlián** 段智廉: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1200–1204 CE – see page 24, 32
- Duàn Zhìsī** 段智思: father of Duàn Silián 段思廉 – see page 24
- Duàn Zhìxiáng** 段智祥: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1204–1238 CE – see pages 24, 32, 33
- Duàn Zhōng** 段忠: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 35
- Duàn Zhōngguó** 段忠国: Nánzhào prime minister, the name Zhōngguó was given to him by 阁罗凤, his original name was Duàn Jiǎnwèi 段俭魏 – see page 14, 23, *see* 段俭魏
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xiě Xī 西洱, Xiě Hé – see pages 9, 13, 16, 18, 25, 54
- Fǎyáo** 法尧: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Lóngshùn 隆舜, 877–897 –
- Fēngyòu** 丰佑: Nánzhào ruler – see page 17
- Fèngjiāyì** 凤伽异: – see page 13, 14
- Fóguāng Zhài** 佛光寨: Fóguāng stockade, mountain stronghold north of Ērhǎi, site of resistance against the Míng 明 in 1382 CE, *see* Lián Ruìzhī 连瑞枝 (2020), pp. 34–38 – see page 45, 54
- fǔ** 府: prefecture, administrative unit during the Yuán Cháo 元朝 – see pages 9, 34, 35, 54
- Fù Yǒudé** 傅友德: Míng 明 general – see page 44, 45
- Gānsù** 甘肃: Chinese province – see page 23, 33
- Gāo Hé** 高禾: member of the Gāo Shì 高氏 – see page 33
- Gāohuángdì Yùzhì Wénjí** 《高皇帝御制文集》: ‘Imperial Collection of Literary Works’, collection of writings under Míng Hóngwǔ 明洪武 – see page 43, 54
- Gāolígòng Shān** 高黎贡山: Gāolígòng Mountains, major mountain range on the western side of the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 15, 54
- Gāo Liàngchéng** 高量成: Dàlǐ kingdom prime minister, mentioned on a stele found in the Chǔxióng 楚雄 region, Wàn Kuíyī 万揆一 (1986) and Rui Zēngruì 芮增瑞 (1992) – see page 30
- Gāo Míngliàng** 高明亮: son of Gāo Tàimíng 高泰明 – see page 30
- Gāo Míngqīng** 高明清: son of Gāo Tàimíng 高泰明 – see page 30
- Gāo Míngshùn** 高明顺: – see page 30
- Gāopéng** 高蓬: Dàlǐ 大理 official – see page 37
- Gāo Pián** 高骈: – see page 19, 20
- Gāo Shēngtài** 高升泰: short-term ruler of Dàzhōng Guó 大中国, ruled 1094–1096 CE – see page 29, 30
- Gāo Shēngxiáng** 高升祥: – see page 30
- Gāo Shì** 高氏: Gāo clan, name of powerful clan in Yúnnán – see pages 30, 31, 39, 45, 54
- Gāo Shòuchāng** 高寿昌: Dàlǐ kingdom official – see page 30

- Gāo Shùnzhen** 高顺贞: – see page 30
- Gāo Tàilián** 高太连: – see page 31
- Gāo Tàimíng** 高泰明: Dàlǐguó 大理国 prime minister – see page 30, 31
- Gāo Tàixiáng** 高泰祥: – see page 33
- Gāo Tàiyùn** 高泰运: – see page 30
- Gāoyáo** 高峣: location on the western side of Diānchí 滇池 – see page 5
- Gāo Zhēnmíng** 高贞明: Dàlǐ kingdom official – see page 30
- Gāo Zhēnshòu** 高贞寿: Dàlǐ kingdom official – see page 30
- Gāo Zhìshēng** 高智升: – see page 29, 30
- Gāozōng** 高宗: Táng emperor Gāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruling 649–683 – see page 12, 55
- Gāozǔ** 高祖: founding emperor, temple name for founder of a dynasty – see page 11, 55
- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE – see pages 13, 14, 23, see 阁逻凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE –
- Gōng** 公: duke, '(1) Duke, from high antiquity the highest title of nobility after wang, normally reserved for members of the ruling family; ... Commonly prefixed with territorial names, ... (2) The Honorable or His Honor, polite term of indirect address applied to someone considered deserving of respect', see Hucker (1985), 3388 – see page 55
- Gǔtiánsì** 古田寺: Gǔtián temple, – see page 38, 55
- Guāntān river** 关滩江: Guāntān River, – see page 38, 55
- 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 page 55
- Guānghuà** 光化: reign period of Táng emperor Zhāozōng, 898–901 – see page 21
- Guǎngdé** 广德: reign period of Táng emperor Dàizōng, 763–764 – see page 27
- Guǎnglíngyāoluànzhì** 《广陵妖乱志》: 'Chronicle of the Guǎnglíng Rebellion', – see page 46, 55
- Guǎngmíng** 广明: reign period of Táng Xīzōng 唐僖宗, 880–881 – see page 20
- Guǎngmíng** 广明: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng, 986–1004 – see page 27
- Guǎngshùn** 广顺: reign period of the 后周 founder, 951–954 – see page 26, 27
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province – see page 29
- Guǎngzhōu** 广州: south-eastern region of China – see page 29
- Guīyì** 归义: *Submitting to Righteousness*, honorific of Nánzhào ruler 皮罗阁 – see page 13, 55
- Guīzī** 龟兹: Region of northwestern China – see page 16
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: province in south-west China –
- Guō Mòruò** 郭沫若: Chinese writer – see page 39

- Guó 號**: state during the Chūnqiū 春秋 period – see page 42
- Hàn Cháo 汉朝**: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see pages 10, 46, 47, 56
- Hàn 汉**: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty – see pages 22, 44, 46–48, 56
- Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝**: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see page 44, 56
- Hànyuán 汉源**: –
- Hào 号**: *sobriquet*, assumed literary name – see page 47, 56
- Héluòxíng Niánjì 《河洛行年纪》**: ‘*Annals of the Yellow and Luo River*’, – see page 46, 56
- Hēi Cuàn 黑鬮**: black Cuàn, clan in eastern Yúnnán, part of the Cuànshì 鬮氏 – see page 25, 56
- Hēihuì river 黑惠江**: Hēihuì River, river – see page 16, 56
- Hóngjīn 红巾**: Red Turbans, peasant rebel movement during the latter half of the Yuán Cháo 元朝 – see pages 38, 39, 56
- Hónglú 鸿胪**: ceremonial minister, ‘honorary designation granted to a southwestern aboriginal chief, Hucker (1985), p. 2905 – see page 13, 56
- Hóngwǔ 洪武**: sole reign period Míng emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng, 1368–1398 – see page 41, 44
- Hóu 侯**: marquis, ‘Marquis, a title of nobility, usually next in prestige only after Prince (wáng) and Duke (kūng), sometimes hereditary, sometimes conferred for special merit; usually prefixed with a geographic name designating the noble’s real or hypothetical fief.’; see Hucker (1985), 2205 – see page 45, 56
- Hòu Hàn 后汉**: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty – see page 56
- Hòuhàn Shū 《后汉书》**: ‘*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*’, classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China – see page 56
- Hòujìn 后晋**: Later Jìn, dynasty during the Wǔdài 五代 period, 936–947 – see pages 25, 26, 56
- Hòujìn Gāozǔ 后晋高祖**: Later Jìn emperor Gāozǔ, founding emperor of Hòujìn 后晋, 936–942 – see page 56
- Hòulǐguó 后理国**: Later Kingdom of Dàlǐ, – see page 31, 56
- Hòushǔ 后蜀**: Later Shǔ, short-lived empire in Sìchuān, one of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 934–965 – see page 27, 56
- Hòu Táng 后唐**: Later Táng, shortlived dynasty, one of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 923–936 – see page 56
- Hòutáng Míngzōng 后唐明宗**: Later Táng emperor Míngzōng, Later Táng emperor, 926–933 – see page 22, 56
- Hòuzhōu 后周**: later Zhōu, 951–960, the last in a succession of five short-lived dynasties that controlled northern China after the Táng dynasty – see page 26, 56
- Hūbìliè 忽必烈**: Kublai Khan, Mongol leader who conquered Dàlǐ 大理 in 1253 – see pages 33, 37, 56
- hǔfú 虎符**: tiger tally, a sign of authority given by the emperor in the shape of a tiger. The Yuánshǐ 元史 lists various levels of such

- tallies, see Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 44 – see page 35, 56
- Huídèng pass** 回磴关: Huídèng pass, – see page 38, 57
- Huìchāng** 会昌: reign period of Táng Wǔzōng 唐武宗, 841–846 – see page 18
- Huìchénggōngzhǔ** 会城公主: princess Huìchéng, – see page 22, 57
- Huìchuān** 会川: – see page 35, 43
- Huǒbǎjié** 火把节: torch festival, traditional festivity of the Bái Zú 白族 and ?? – see page 13, 57
- Jìgǔdiānshuō Yuánjí** 《纪古滇说原集》: ‘Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān’, 1265 compendium by Yúnnán scholar Zhāng Dào zōng 张道宗 – see page 23, 57
- Jiājìng** 嘉靖: emperor Jiājìng, Míng 明 emperor, 1521–1566 – see page 49, 57
- Jiāxī** 嘉熙: reign period of Sòng Lǐzōng 宋理宗, 1237–1240 – see page 33
- Jiāzhōu** 嘉州: a district in present-day southern Sichuān, east of Lèshān 乐山 (⊕ 29.6N 103.78E) – see page 19
- Jiānwèi** 犍为: – see page 19
- Jiànchāng** 建昌: administrative region in present-day Sichuān, south of the Dàdù Hé 大渡河. It was set up first by Nánzhào in the 9th century, in 1275 divided and in 1383 again set up – see pages 9, 35, 42
- Jiànchuān** 剑川: – see page 22
- Jiànjí** 建极: reign period of 世隆, 860–877 – see page 20
- Jiànlóng** 建隆: reign period of Sòng Tàizǔ 宋太祖, 960–963 – see page 27
- Jiànlóng** 见龙: reign period of Yì móu xún, 779– – see page 17
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sichuān – see page 13, 14
- Jiànníng** 建宁: an early administrative district in present-day eastern Yúnnán – see page 47
- Jiànníng Guó** 建宁国: state of Jiànníng, – see page 11, 57
- Jiànxīng** 建兴: first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237 – see page 10, see 刘禅
- Jiànyuán** 谏垣: censorate, ‘unofficial reference’, see Hucker (1985), 881 – see page 48, 57
- Jiāng** 将: commander, a generic term for some in charge – see page 40, 57
- 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 36, 57
- Jiāng Lóng** 姜龙: Míng 明 official, *sobriquet* Mèngbīn 梦宾 – see pages 8, 47–49
- Jiāngwěi** 江尾: locality around Ěrhǎi – see page 25
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam (⊕ 21.03N 105.85E) – see page 16, 19
- 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 pages 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 57, 58
- 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 8, 35, 58, see 金齿蛮
- Jīnchǐ Mán** 金齿蛮: Golden Teeth, tribal group, the name translates as 'golden teeth' – see page 58
- Jīnlíng** 金陵: present-day Nánjīng 南京, under the Southern Sòng ?? – see page 43, 45
- Jīnmǎ** 金马: golden horse, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 39, 58
- Jīnmǎ mountain** 金马: Golden Horse Mountain, landmark mountain in the Diānchí 滇池 region, translates as 'golden horse mountain' – see page 42, 58
- Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā River, upstream part of the Chángjiāng 长江, separating Yúnnán and Sìchuān – see page 33, 58
- Jìn** 晋: Chinese dynasty – see page 42, 47
- Jǐngjìngsì** 景净寺: Jǐngjìng temple, – see page 20, 58
- Jǐngtài** 景泰: Míng 明 emperor –
- Jǐngyún** 景云: reign period of Táng Ruìzōng 唐睿宗, 710–711 – see page 12
- Jǐngzhuāng Huángdì** 景庄皇帝: emperor Jǐngzhuāng, posthumous name of 世隆 – see page 20, 58
- Jìngwáng** 靖王: king Jìng, posthumous title of Quànlishèng 劝利晟 – see page 17, 58, see 劝利晟
- Jiǔlóng** 九隆: mythical son of a dragon and Shāyī 沙壹 in the 《哀牢传》 – see pages 8, 10, 11
- Jiǔzhōu** 九州: nine divisions, a classic term for China as the country was thought to be made up of nine parts – see page 58
- 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 43, 58
- Jùn** 郡: commandery, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng, 'a standard unit of territorial administration normally incorporating and coordinating several Districts (hsien)', see Hucker (1985), 1731 – see pages 10, 23, 35, 46, 47, 58
- Kāixī** 开禧: reign period of ??, 1205–1207 – see page 33
- Kāiyuán** 开元: 713–741 BCE, second reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗 – see page 13
- Kāiyùn** 开运: reign period of Chūdì 出帝, 944–947 – see page 26
- Kǒngquè Dǎn** 《孔雀胆》: 'Peacock's Gallbladder', 1940s play by Guō Mòruò 郭沫若 – see page 39, 58
- Kǒngzǐ** 孔子: Confucius, – see pages 12, 47, 58
- Kūnlún** 昆仑: a term for diverse people of south-east Asia, possibly sea-farers, see Coedès (1975), p. 9 – see page 15
- Kūnlúnguó** 昆仑国: state of Kūnlún, term for diverse people of south-east Asia, possibly sea-farers, see Coedès (1975), p. 9 – see page 31, 58, see 昆仑
- Kūnmíguó** 昆弥国: state of Kūnmí, – see pages 10, 11, 58
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 – see page 6, 42

- Kūnmíng** 昆明市: Kūnmíng, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 59, see 拓东
- Láncāng river** 澜沧江: Láncāng River, major river in Yúnnán, the Mekong – see page 16, 59
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five Zhào – see page 9
- Lèshān** 乐山: district in southern Sichuān –
- Lízhōu** 黎州: present-day Sichuān Hànyuán 汉源, on the northern side of the Dàdù Hé 大渡河 (⊕ 29.35N 102.64E) – see pages 19, 20, 22
- Lǐ Déyù** 李德裕: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ and prime minister – see page 18
- Lǐ Guānián** 李龟年: Táng official – see page 20
- 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 14
- Lǐ Shèng** 李晟: 李晟??, Táng dynasty general – see page 15, 59
- Lǐ Shì mín** 李世民: name of Táng emperor Tà-izōng –
- Lǐ Zhīgǔ** 李知古: Táng censor – see page 12
- Lǐjiāng** 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan – see pages 9, 15, 16
- Liángshān** 凉山: –
- Liángwáng** 梁王: Prince Liáng, – see pages 37–42, 44, 59
- Liángzhōu** 梁州: a district set up by Cáo Wèi 曹魏 in 264 in the present-day Sichuān region, the eighth of the legendary Jiǔzhōu 九州 mentioned in the 《禹贡》 –
- Liǎnglín** 两林: in Sichuān Liángshān 凉山, present-day Pǔxióng 普雄, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 617 (⊕ 28.5N 102.65E) – see page 35
- Líntáo** 临洮: region in Gānsù 甘肃 – see page 33
- Língwài Dàidá** 《岭外代答》: ‘Língwài Dàidá’, Sòng dynasty geographical work, written by Zhōu Qùfēi 周去非 in 1178 – see page 59
- Liú Bèi** 刘备: founder of the Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 dynasty, 161–223 – see page 47
- Liúhòu** 留后: caretaker, ‘lit., an agent left behind, a deputy. (1) T’ANG-SUNG: Capital Liaison Representative, an agent in the dynastic capital charged with maintaining communication between the central government and his superior in a territorial base, such as a Prince or Military Commissioner (chieh-tu shih); Hucker (1985), p. 3790 – see page 14, 59
- Liú Shàn** 刘禅: second ruler of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 207–271 –
- Liù zhào** 六诏: six zhào, Chinese term for the six Zhào that were united in Nánzhào, but this was not term Nánzhào used itself – see pages 9, 12, 59
- Lóngchuān** 龙川: a river in western Yúnnán – see page 15
- Lóngqiè** 龙怯: a region somewhere north of Dàlǐ 大理, an administrative district of Nánzhào and also a river – see page 13
- Lóngshǒu pass** 龙首关: Dragon Head Gate, fortification at the northern end of the western side of Ěrhǎi (⊕ 25.93N 100.1E) – see page 13, 59

- Lóngshùn** 隆舜: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Fǎyáo 法尧, ruled 877–897 CE – see page 20
- Lóngwěi** 龙尾: – see page 13
- Lóngwěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěrhǎi – see page 25, 60
- Lóngxīng** 龙兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Quànlóngshèng, 810–816 – see page 17
- Lóngxīng** 龙兴: reign period of Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴 – see page 32
- Lóng Yòunà** 龙佑那: – see page 10, 11
- Lóngyú Shān** 龙于山: mount Lóngyú, early Nánzhào period location mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, its relics have been excavated the hills north-west of Wēishān 巍山. On the 《南诏图传》 the name appears written as < [山]尤 > 岢山, but 岢山 appears (in old style characters) in the 《南诏野史》. In the 《明一统志》 第八十六卷, it is written as Lóngyútú Shān 龍宇圖山. Lóngyúshān 龙于山 is the modern accepted simplified form, see Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015), but 岢yútúshān is also used, see Dǒng Ài 董艾 (2019). The meaning of the name is unclear, Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015) argues that it was a deliberate invention of characters to evade taboos and that the term signifies Lóngyú 龙輿, i.e. ‘dragon’s carriage’. For a recent dating of some of the finds, see Zhāng Nǎiwēn 张乃温 (2022) (📍 25.34N 100.21E) – see page 11, 60
- Lùjiāng** 潞江: Lùjiāng, historic name for the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 16, 60
- Lù Jùnmíng** 陆浚明: – see page 48
- Lùquàn** 禄劝: county in Yúnnán – see page 15
- Luōshèng** 罗晟: – see page 12
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest – see pages 12, 16, 18, 34
- Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nánzhào – see pages 25, 45–48
- Ménggǔ** 蒙古: Mongol, – see page 60
- Ménggǔ Shìzǔ** 蒙古世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294 – see page 60
- Ménggǔ Shìzǔ Hūbìliè** 蒙古世祖忽必烈: Kublai Khan, – see page 34, 60
- Ménggǔxiànzōng** 蒙古宪宗: Möngke Khan, – see page 33, 60
- Ménghuà** 蒙化: historic name for present-day Wēishān 巍山 – see pages 9, 11, 38
- 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 9, 13
- Méng Shì** 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of Nánzhào – see pages 11, 14, 21, 23, 44, 45, 60
- Méngxī Zhào** 蒙嵩诏: Méngxī zhào, one of the ?? – see page 9, 60
- Mèngbīn** 梦宾: *sobriquet* of Jiāng Lóng 姜龙 – see page 47, 49
- Mídù** 弥渡: valley south of Ěrhǎi –
- Miǎndiàn** 缅甸: Miǎndiàn, present-day Burma, the lowlands west of Yúnnán – see page 35, 60
- Mínjiāng** 岷江: Mín River, most important tributary to the Chángjiāng 长江, west of 成都 – see page 60

- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see pages 5, 44, 61
- Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明 – see page 45, 61
- Hóngwǔ** 明洪武: Míng emperor Hóngwǔ, sole reign period of Míng emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng 朱元璋, 1368–1398 – see page 43, 61
- Míngdé** 明德: reign period of Duàn Sīcōng 段思聪, 953– – see page 27
- Míngshèng** 明圣: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 27
- Míngtōng** 明通: reign period of Duàn Sùlóng 段素隆 – see page 28
- Míng Xià** 明夏: Míng Xià dynasty, short-lived dynasty in Sìchuān, 1363–1371, see Fölster (2009) – see page 38, 61
- Míngyītǒngzhì** 《明一统志》: *Míng Unified Gazetteer*, Míng 明 geographic work, published 1461 – see page 61
- Míngyìng** 明应: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 27
- Míng Yùzhēn** 明玉珍: peasant rebel leader who established the Míng Xià 明夏 – see pages 38, 39, 41
- Míngzhì** 明治: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 27
- 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. This title was also later given to members of the Duàn clan see = 隆舜 – see page 34, 61
- Móxiē Zhào** 磨些诏: one of the six Zhào – see page 9
- Mùshītúpǔ** 《木氏图谱》: *Mù Clan Illustrated Genealogy*, – see page 5, 61
- Mù Yīng** 沐英: – see page 44, 45
- Nánhàn** 南汉: Southern Hàn, one of the ??, 917–971 – see pages 21, 22, 61
- Nánjīng** 南京: Chinese city, Míng Hóngwǔ 明洪武 made it the capital of China in 1368 – see page 43, 45
- Nánníng** 南宁: city in present-day Guǎngxī 广西 –
- Nánsòng** 南宋: Southern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 1127–1279 – see page 61
- Nánsòng Gāozōng** 南宋高宗: Southern Sòng emperor Gāozōng, Southern Sòng emperor, 1127–1162 – see page 61
- Nánsòng Níngzōng** 南宋宁宗: Southern Sòng emperor Níngzōng, Southern Sòng emperor Níngzōng, 1194–1224 – see pages 32, 33, 61
- Nánsòng Xiàozōng** 南宋孝宗: Southern Sòng emperor Xiàozōng, Southern Sòng emperor, 1162–1189 – see page 32, 61
- Nánxī** 南溪: Táng dynasty administrative region, also called –
- Nán Yí** 南夷: southern *Yí*, general term for non-Chinese people south of China – see page 61
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 9, 11, 13–21, 27, 48, 61

- 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 11, 26, 62
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’, import Míng 明 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào – see pages 5, 41, 62
- Nóng Zhìgāo** 依智高: tribal leader in Guǎngxī 广西 during the Sòng dynasty, led a rebellion, was defeated in 1054 and fled to the Dàlǐ kingdom, see Anderson (2007) and also Barlow (1987), pp. 254–258 – see page 29
- Nòngdòng** 弄栋: present-day Yáoān 姚安 –
- Nùjiāng** 怒江: Nù River, major river in western Yunnan, the Salween – see page 62
- Ōuyáng Xiū** 欧阳修: Sòng dynasty historian –
- Píluōgé** 皮罗阁: fourth ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 728–748 CE – see page 12, 13
- Piàoguó** 骠国: state of Pyu, region of present-day central Burma – see page 16, 62
- Pǐndiàn** 品甸: region to the east of Dàlǐ 大理 on the present-day Xiángyún 祥云 plain – see page 25, see 品甸海
- Pǐndiànǎi** 品甸海: lake in northern part of present-day Xiángyún 祥云 –
- Píngzhāng** 平章: administrator, see Hucker (1985), 4699 – see pages 39–42, 62
- Pǔxióng** 普雄: township in Sichuān Liángshān 凉山 (⊕ 28.5N 102.65E) –
- Pǔ Yánnóng** 普颜秣: rebel leader – see page 45
- Qīxīng pass** 七星关: Qīxīng pass, – see pages 39, 45, 62
- Qíjiā Wáng** 奇嘉王: king Qíjiā, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào – see page 62, see 细奴逻 & 奇王
- Qí Wáng** 奇王: king Qí, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào – see page 11, 62, see 细奴逻 & 奇嘉王
- Qiándào** 乾道: reign period of Nánzōng Xiàozōng 南宋孝宗, 1165–1173 – see page 32
- Qiánshǔ** 前蜀: Former Shǔ, one of the ??, 907–925 – see page 62
- Qiánxīng** 乾兴: reign period of Sòng Zhēnzōng 宋真宗, 1022 – see page 28
- Qiánfú** 乾符: reign period of Táng Xīzōng 唐僖宗, 874–879 – see page 20
- Qiánníng** 乾宁: reign period of Táng emperor Zhāozōng, 894–898 – see page 21
- Qín** 秦: – see page 47
- Qín Cháo** 秦朝: Qín dynasty, – see page 62
- Qínxiāngwáng** 秦襄王: king Xiāng of Qín, Qín 秦 king – see page 47, 62
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see page 5, 62
- qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister – see pages 14, 21–23, 62
- Qīngxī pass** 清溪关: Qīngxī pass, strategic pass on the route from Nánzhào to Chengdu – see page 18, 62
- Qīnglì** 庆历: reign period of Sònggrénzōng 宋仁宗, 1041–1048 – see page 28, 29

- Qìngyuán** 庆元: reign period of ??, 1195–1200 – see page 32
- Qiónglái pass** 邛崃关: director, strategic pass in 雅州 – see page 20, 63
- Qióngzhōu** 邛州: region in Sìchuān – see page 18
- Qiúlóng** 酋龙: Chinese writing for the Nánzhào ruler 世隆 –
- Qūjìng** 曲靖: – see page 35
- Quányì** 全义: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Quànlishèng 劝利晟, 816–819 – see page 17
- Quànfēngyòu** 劝丰佑: Nánzhào ruler, ruled 823–859 CE – see page 18
- Quànlishèng** 劝利晟: Nánzhào ruler, ruled 816–823 CE – see page 17
- Quànlóngshèng** 劝龙晟: ruler of Nánzhào 809–816 – see page 17
- Réndé** 仁德: – see page 35
- Rénguǒ** 仁果: – see page 10
- Rìdōngwáng** 日东王: King of the Eastern Sun, honoray title for Nánzhào rulers when the submitted to 吐蕃 – see page 15, 63
- Róngzhōu** 戎州: historic administrative district, present-day Yíbin 宜宾, prefecture in north-eastern Yúnnán, established in 649 as ??, in 652 it became 戎州, in 742 it became 南溪, then in 758 it became 戎州 again before being disbanded in 907 (⊕ 28.77N 104.63E) – see page 18
- Sān Guó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 63
- Sānguó Zhì** 《三国志》: ‘Records of the Three Kingdoms’, official history of Wèi 魏, Shǔ and Wú 吳 – see page 10, 63
- Sānhuáng Miào** 三皇庙: Three Emperor temple, ‘the Three Sovereigns of Chinese tradition are usually considered to be the mythical emperors of antiquity. However, the list of the three varies in different sources. As Daoists appropriated the belief in the Three Sovereigns they became identified with the Sovereigns of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.’ Littlejohn (2020), p. 186 – see page 15, 63
- Sānshíqībù** 三十七部: thirty-seven tribes, often referred to groups in eastern Yúnnán – see page 25, 63
- Sāntǎ** 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 – see page 63, see 崇圣寺
- Shāyī** 沙壹: legendary ancestor in Āiláo – see page 8
- Shāzhuī** 沙追: a salt-producing region – see page 13
- Shànchǎn** 善阐: another name for Tuòdōng 拓东 (⊕ 25.05N 102.7E) – see pages 16, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, see 拓东
- Shāngcháo** 商朝: Shāng Dynasty, second Chinese dynasty, ca. 1600–1046 – see page 46, 63
- Shàngguān** 上关: gate at the northern end of the Dàlǐ 大理 plain – see page 13
- Shàngyuán** 上元: reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 674–676 – see page 12, 17
- Shǎoqīng** 少卿: vice minister, ‘Vice Minister, common title for 2nd tier executive officials of central government agencies headed by Chief Ministers’, see Hucker (1985), 5091 – see pages 13, 20, 63

- Shàoxīng** 绍兴: reign period of Nán Song Gāozōng 南宋高宗, 1131–1162 – see page 32
- Shéncè army** 神策军: army of inspired strategy, one of Táng dynasty imperial armies – see page 15, 64
- Shénchuān** 神川: region north of Erhai – see page 16
- Shénnóng** 神农: Holy Farmer, legendary founder of Chinese agriculture – see page 46, 64
- Shēngān** 升庵: temple name of Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 5
- Shēngān Zānhuā Tú** 《升庵簪花图》: ‘*Shēngān Wearing Flowers in His Hair*’, painting of Shēngān 升庵 by Chén Hóngshòu 陈洪绶 – see page 5, 64
- Shèngluópí** 盛逻皮: ruler of Nánzhào, *673–†728, ruled 712–728 CE – see page 12
- Shèngmíng** 盛明: reign period of Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴 – see page 32
- Shīlàng** 施浪: north of Erhai – see page 9
- Shī Xiù** 施秀: – see page 40
- Shī Zōng** 施宗: – see page 40
- Shíchéng** 石城: – see page 35
- Shígǔ** 石鼓: – see page 13
- Shǐchéng** 史城: ancient name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page 15, see 大厘
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘*Records of the Historian*’, – see page 64
- Shǐlà** 矢刺: – see page 41
- Shǐyuán** 始元: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, 910– – see page 22, see 郑仁旻
- Shì** 氏: clan, term for group sharing the same surname – see page 64
- Shìlóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, *844, †859, †877 – see pages 18–20
- Shìzōng** 世宗: frequently used temple name for deceased emperors – see page 12
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see pages 16, 18, 21, 22, 27, 38, 39, 48
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 64
- Shǔ Hàn** 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sān Guó 三国 period, 221–263 – see pages 10, 47, 64
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ commandery, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu – see page 64
- shuǎng** 爽: *shuǎng*, local term for a province – see page 16, 64
- Shùnhuàzhēn** 舜化贞: last ruler of Nánzhào, 897–902 – see page 21
- Shùn Huángdì** 顺皇帝: Toghon Temür, last Yuán 元 emperor, 1333–1368 – see page 64
- Sīmǎ** 司马: adjutant, hucker 5713 – see pages 46, 47, 64
- Sīmǎ lake** 司马池: father of Sīmǎ Guāng 司马光 – see page 46, 47
- Sīmǎ Guāng** 司马光: Sòng dynasty scholar, wrote the 《资治通鉴》 – see page 46, 47
- Sīmǎ Qiān** 司马迁: Hàn dynasty historian, author of the 《史记》 – see page 45
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province – see page 38

- Sìkùquánshū** 《四庫全書》: 'Complete Library of the Four Treasuries', Qīng dynasty library collection – see page 5, 65
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see page 65
- Sōng Cuàn** 松爨: – see page 25
- Sōngmínglóu** 松明樓: Sōngmíng tower, legendary building where Píluōgé killed the other five *Zhào* – see pages 12, 13, 65
- Sōngwài** 松外: – see page 15
- Sōngzhōu** 松州: – see page 16
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty – see pages 28, 29, 31, 33, 44, 46, 65
- Sòng Shénzōng** 宋神宗: Sòng emperor Shénzōng, Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1067–1085 – see page 65
- Sòng Gāozōng** 宋高宗: Sòng emperor Gāozōng, Sòng dynasty emperor, ruling 1127–1162 – see page 32, 65
- Sòng Huīzōng** 宋徽宗: Sòng emperor Huīzōng, Sòng emperor, 1100–1125 – see page 31, 65
- Sòng Lǐzōng** 宋理宗: Sòng emperor Lǐzōng, Sòng emperor, ruled 1224–1264 CE – see page 33, 65
- Sòng Rénzōng** 宋仁宗: Sòng emperor Rénzōng, Sòng emperor, 1022–1063 – see page 28, 65
- Sòng Tàizǔ** 宋太祖: Sòng emperor Tàizǔ, Second Sòng emperor, ruled 976–997 – see page 27, 65
- Sòng Zhézōng** 宋哲宗: Sòng dynasty emperor Zhézōng, Sòng dynasty emperor, 1085–1100 – see page 30, 65
- Sòng Zhēnzōng** 宋真宗: Sòng emperor Zhēnzōng, Sòng emperor, 997–1022 – see page 28, 65
- Tàihé** 太和: the Tàihé reign of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, 827–835 – see page 18, 65
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào – see page 13
- Tàishí** 太石: – see page 16
- 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 14, 65
- Tàizǔ** 太祖: designation for the founding emperor of a dynasty – see page 25, 45
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see page 9, 65
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see pages 11–16, 21, 27, 44, 47, 65
- Táng Dàizōng** 唐代宗: Táng emperor Dàizōng, Táng emperor, 762–779 – see page 15, 65
- Táng Xīzōng** 唐僖宗: Táng emperor Xīzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 873–888 – see page 20, 65
- Táng Dézōng** 唐德宗: Táng emperor Dézōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 780–805 CE – see pages 16, 17, 65
- Táng Gāozōng** 唐高宗: Táng emperor Gāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruling 649–683 – see page 11, 65

- Táng Mùzōng** 唐穆宗: Táng emperor Mùzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 821–824 CE – see page 18, 66
- Táng Ruìzōng** 唐睿宗: Táng emperor Ruìzōng, Táng emperor – see page 12, 66
- Tángtài zōng** 唐太宗: Táng emperor Tàizōng, Second Táng dynasty emperor Lǐ Shì mǐn 李世民, ruled 626–649 – see page 66
- Táng Wénzōng** 唐文宗: Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 809–840 – see page 18, 66
- Táng Wǔzōng** 唐武宗: Táng emperor Wǔzōng, Táng emperor, ruled 841–846 CE – see page 18, 66
- Táng Xiànzōng** 唐宪宗: Táng emperor Xiànzōng, Táng emperor, ruled 806–820 CE – see page 17, 66
- Táng Xuánzōng** 唐玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756 – see page 13, 66
- Tángyáo** 唐尧: –
- Tángyú** 唐虞: Tángyáo and Yúshùn, short form for Tángyáo and Yúshùn, same as Yáoshùn 尧舜 – see page 47, 66
- Táng Zhāozōng** 唐昭宗: Táng emperor Zhāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor – see page 21, 66
- Téngchōng** 腾冲: important present-day city in western Yunnan, west of the Gāolígòngshān 高黎贡山 – see page 15
- Téng Dàn** 遼燄: – see page 9
- Téngyuè** 腾越: – see page 15, 35
- Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742–756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗 – see page 13, 14
- Tiānchéng** 天成: first reign period of Hòutáng Míngzōng 后唐明宗, 926–930 – see page 22
- Tiāndìng** 天定: reign period of Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智 – see page 33
- Tiānfú** 天福: reign period of Hòujìn Gāozǔ 后晋高祖, 936–944 – see page 25
- Tiānfù** 天復: reign period of Táng emperor Zhāozōng, 901–904 – see page 21
- tiān gǒu** 天狗: meteor, literally meaning ‘heavenly dog’, Soothill and Hodous (2014) – see page 37, 66
- Tiānqǐ** 天启: reign period of Nánzhào ruler 寻阁劝, 840–859 CE – see page 18
- Tiānshèng** 天圣: reign period of Sònggrénzōng 宋仁宗, 1023–1032 – see page 28
- Tiānxǐ** 天禧: reign period of Sòng Zhēnzōng 宋真宗, 1017–1021 – see page 28
- Tiānyìng** 天应: reign period of Zhèng Lóngdǎn 郑隆亶, 927–928 – see page 22, see 郑隆亶
- Tiānzhú** 天竺: India, Ancient name for India – see page 66, see 身毒
- Tiěmù Dehǎn** 铁木的罕: unclear name, Temür Khan? – see page 41
- Tiěqiáo** 铁桥: iron bridge, a strategic crossing of the Jinshajiang, on the route to Tibet – see page 16, 66
- Tiě Wànghù** 铁万户: – see page 38
- Tōngdiǎn** 《通典》: ‘Comprehensive Statues’, 801 work by Dù Yòu 杜佑 – see page 66
- Tōnghǎi** 通海: present-day 通海, an important town on the route to the coast – see page 23

- Tōngjì Qiáo** 通济桥: Tōngjì bridge, – see page 40, 67
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire – see pages 12–16
- tuō** 托: a Nánzhào title – see page 16
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- 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, 16, 25, 37, 67
- Wáng Cuódiān** 王嵯颠: ??–859, Nánzhào military commissioner of Nòngdòng. Also written as 王苴颠, 蒙嵯颠, 王嵯颠, 王嵯颠 – see page 17, 18
- Wáng Jiàn** 王建: founder of the Qiánshǔ 前蜀, see Wang (2011) – see page 21, 22
- Wáng Quánbīn** 王全斌: general, defeated the Later Shǔ in 964 – see page 27
- Wēibǎoshān** 巍宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山 – see page 67
- Wēichéng Wáng** 威成王: king Wēichéng, posthumous name of 盛逻皮 – see page 12, 67, see 盛逻皮
- Wēichǔ** 威楚: – see page 38
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 巍宝山 – see pages 9, 11, 67
- Wēizhōu** 巍州: name of a nominal fiefdom around Wēishān 巍山 – see page 11
- Wéi Gāo** 韦皋: Táng dynasty general and military commissioner of 西川, 745–805, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wei_Gao – see pages 16, 18, 67
- Wèi** 卫: guard, ‘N-S DIV-MING: Guard, standard term for a large military organization normally in garrison but available for active defense duty’, see Hucker (1985), 7658 – see page 45, 67
- Wèi** 魏: one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国 –
- Wéndé** 文德: reign period of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 – see page 25
- Wénwǔ Huángdì** 文武皇帝: Wénwǔ emperor, a name for Duàn Sīpíng 段思平? – see page 26, 67
- Wūqián** 巫黔: ancient county in the region of ??, established during the Zhànguó 战国 period – see page 16
- Wú** 吴: one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国 –
- Wúliàng Shān** 无量山: Wúliàng Mountains, mountain range south of Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 15, 67
- Wǔdài** 五代: Five Dynasties, period of five short-lived dynasties after the fall of the Táng dynasty, 907–960 – see page 67
- 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 67
- Wǔdìng** 武定: – see page 35
- Wǔ Hóu** 武侯: Marquis of Wǔ, title of Zhūgéliàng 诸葛亮 – see page 10, 67, see 诸葛亮

- Wǔhuá Lóu** 五华楼: Wǔhuá tower, important ceremonial building in Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 34, 68
- Wǔwēi** 武威: – see page 23
- Wǔwēi Gōng** 武威公: The Duke Wǔwēi, title given to the Duàn clan, see Yúnnán Tújīng Zhìshū 云南图经志书 – see page 23, 68
- Wǔxuānhuángdì** 武宣皇帝: emperor Wǔxuān, – see page 20, 68
- Wǔyuèsìdú** 五岳四渎: five peaks and four rivers, – see page 15, 68
- Xīchāng** 西昌: administrative center in southern Sìchuān –
- Xīchuān** 西川: western part of Jiànnán – see pages 16, 18, 20
- Xīdòng** 溪洞: geographical term used for tribal group in northern Vietnam – see page 19
- Xīěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi – see page 43
- Xīěr Hé** 西洱河: Xīěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake – see pages 14, 42, 68
- Xī Hàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE – see page 8, 68
- Xīlú** 西泸: – see page 14
- Xīnán Yí** 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the 《史记》 denoting non-Chinese people in present-day Sìchuān, Guìzhōu 贵州 and Yúnnán. It is often translated as ‘southwestern barbarians’, but it seems to be a short form referring to both Xī Yí 西夷 and Nán Yí 南夷, see Yang (2004), pp. 5–6 – see pages 45, 46, 68
- Xīníng** 熙宁: reign period of Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1068–1077 – see page 29
- Xīpíng hóu** 西平侯: marquis of Xīpíng, title of Mù Yīng 沐英 – see page 44, 68
- Xīshān** 西山: Western Hills, scenic mountains west of Diānchí 滇池 – see page 40, 68
- Xī Yí** 西夷: western Yí, – see page 68
- Xīzhōu** 儋州: Xīzhōu, a prefecture at present-day Xīchāng 西昌 – see pages 12, 14, 18, 19, 68
- Xǐzhōu** 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ěrhǎi, about modern location of Dàxī 大厘 – see page 15, see 大厘
- Xìnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, *617 †674, ruled 649–674 CE – see page 11, 21
- Xiàcháo** 夏朝: Xià Dynasty, first Chinese dynasty, ca. 2070–1600 – see page 46, 68
- Xiàguān** 下关: present-day administrative center of Dàlǐ, literally meaning ‘lower gate’ as this was the southern fortification of the Dàlǐ plain – see page 13, 45
- Xiāntiān** 先天: reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗, 712–713 – see page 12
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán – see page 14
- Xiántōng** 咸通: reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Yìzōng 懿宗, 860–873 – see page 19
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see pages 9, 12, 25, 46, 68
- Xiànsī** 宪司: surveillance commission, ‘surveillance commission’, see Hucker (1985), 2537 – see page 38, 68
- Xiángfú** 祥符: reign period of Sòng Zhēnzōng 宋真宗, 1008–1016 – see page 28

- Xiángyún** 祥云: –
- Xiàohéng** 孝恒: posthumous name of Yimóuxún – see page 17
- xìnjū** 信苴: prince, a honorific meaning ‘prince’ (see Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2015), p. 43), granted to the Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see pages 35, 36, 41, 44, 69
- Xīngyuánguó** 兴元国: name of Dàtiānxīng-guó 大天兴国 in the 《云南志略》 –
- Xiūlín** 休林: – see page 35
- Xuānwèi Shǐ** 宣慰使: pacification commissioner, in Hucker (1985) only documented from the Yuán 元 dynasty as ‘one of the most prestigious titles granted aboriginal tribes in southwestern China and their natural, mostly hereditary chiefs,’ see Hucker (1985), 2682 – see pages 35, 44, 69
- Xuánfēngnián Yùnzhi** 《玄峰年运志》: ‘*Xuánfēng Era Gazetteer*’, lost historic book, but maybe just part of the title of one book called Báigǔtōng Xuánfēngnián Yùnzhi 白古通玄峰年运志 – see page 46, 69
- Xuánzōng** 玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756 – see pages 12, 16, 19
- Xúndiàn** 寻甸: present-day town east of Kūnmíng 昆明 – see page 35
- Xúngéquàn** 寻阁劝: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 808–809 CE – see page 17
- Yǎn** 雅安: region in Sìchuān –
- Yǎzhōu** 雅州: present-day Sìchuān Yǎn 雅安 (⊕ 29.99N 103.01E) – see page 19, 20
- Yán Shīgǔ** 颜师古: Táng dynasty historian and linguist –
- Yànmén** 雁门: Goose Gate, poetic expression – see page 45, 69
- Yáng Dēng** 杨登: assassin of Lóngshùn 隆舜 – see page 20
- Yáng Gānzhēn** 杨干贞: founder of the Nánzhào successor state Dà Yìníng Guó 大义宁国 in 928, ?–937 – see page 22, 23
- Yángjūmiē** 阳苴咩: historic capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dali – see page 15, 16
- Yáng Shèn** 杨慎: Míng 明 scholar, originally from Sìchuān, exiled to Yúnnán in 1524, compiler of the 《滇载记》 and many other works. His Hào 号 was 升庵 – see pages 5, 6, 39, 46, 48, see 滇载记
- Yángshì** 杨氏: Yáng clan, one of the powerful clans of Nánzhào – see pages 22, 23, 25, 45, 69
- Yáng Sījìn** 杨思缙: hucker 8134 – see page 19
- Yáng Yìzhēn** 杨义贞: short-lived ruler of Dàlǐ 大理, who deposed Duàn Liányì 段廉义 in 1080, only to be deposed himself a few months later – see page 29
- Yáng Yuānhǎi** 杨渊海: – see page 38, 41
- Yáng Zhì** 杨智: servant of Duàn Gōng 段功 – see page 39
- Yàngbì** 漾濞: present-day county west of 苍山 – see page 9
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán –
- Yáoshùn** 爨舜: Tángyáo and Yúshùn, short form for Tángyáo and Yúshùn, same as Tángyú 唐虞 – see page 47, 69
- Yáozhōu** 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安 (⊕ 25.51N 101.24E) – see pages 12, 14, 69

- Yèjìng hú** 叶镜湖: Yèjìng lake, lake in the Dàlǐ 大理 region, where Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 obtained a magic steed – see page 25, 70
- Yītǒngzhì** 《一统志》: ‘*Unified Gazetteer*’, refers to the Dàmíngyītǒngzhì 大明一统志 – see page 48, 70
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see pages 9, 10, 14, 21, 46, see 蛮
- Yíbīn** 宜宾: city in southern Sìchuān –
- Yícao** 仪曹: ministry of rites, , see Hucker (1985), 3017 – see page 48, 70
- Yíláo** 夷獠: tribal group in south-western Guǎngxī 广西, described in the Língwài Dàidá 岭外代答 – see page 19
- Yímóuxún** 异牟寻: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 779–808 CE – see pages 14–16, see 酋龙
- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106BCE, covering the region of present-day Sìchuān with its center at 成都. In 742 it became Shǔjùn 蜀郡, but the name remained in use to refer to 成都 – see pages 10, 44, 47, 70
- Yìzōng** 懿宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 859–873 – see page 19
- Yínshēng** 银生: – see page 15
- Yǐngchuān Hóu** 颖川侯: marquis of Yǐngchuān, title of Fù Yǒudé 傅友德 – see page 44, 70
- Yìngdào** 应道: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Xúngéquàn, 809 – see page 17
- Yōng Kǎi** 雍闾: clan leader during Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s time, see Crespigny (2007), p. 989 – see page 10
- Yōngxī** 雍熙: reign period of Sòng Tàizǔ 宋太祖, 984–987 – see page 27
- Yōngzhōu** 邕州: historic administrative region, first set up in the Táng dynasty, around present-day Náníng 南宁 (⊕ 22.82N 108.36E) – see page 19
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see pages 5, 8, 10, 13, 15, 35, 45
- Yǒngzhēn** 永贞: reign period of Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴, 1148– – see page 32
- Yòngxiū** 用修: courtesy name of Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 48
- Yú** 虞: state during the Chūnqiū 春秋 period – see page 42
- Yúshùn** 虞舜: –
- Yǔgòng** 《禹贡》: ‘*Tributes of Yǔ*’, ancient text, translated in Legge (1865) – see page 70
- Yùàn Shān** 玉案山: Yùàn mountain, mountain east of Ěrhǎi – see page 37, 70
- Yùlóng Shān** 玉龙山: Jade Dragon mountain, large mountain near Lǐjiāng 丽江 – see page 15, 70
- Yùshǐ** 御史: censor, title, see Hucker (1985), 8167 – see page 12, 70
- Yuán** 元: Yuán, Chinese dynasty, 1271–1368 – see pages 33–37, 44–46, 70
- Yuán Wǔzōng** 元武宗: Külüg Khan, Yuán 元 emperor, 1308–1311 – see page 70
- Yuán Chéngzōng** 元成宗: Temür Khan, Yuán 元 emperor, 1294–1308 – see page 70
- Yuánfēng** 元丰: reign period of Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1078–1085 – see page 29

- Yuánfēng** 元封: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104BC – see page 45
- Yuánfú** 元符: reign period of Sòng Zhézhōng 宋哲宗, 1098–1100 – see page 30
- Yuánhé** 元和: sole reign period of Táng Xiànzōng 唐宪宗, 806–820 – see page 17
- Yuánshī** 元师: marshall, ‘a common designation for an eminent military officer on active campaign’, see Hucker (1985), 8244 – see page 35, 71
- Yuánshǐ** 《元史》: ‘*History of the Yuán Dynasty*’, one of the official twenty-four Chinese histories, compiled during the Míng 明 – see page 71
- Yuán Shìzǔ** 元世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294 – see pages 35, 44, 71
- Yuánshuàifǔ** 元帅府: military command, ‘designation given some southwestern aboriginal tribes’, see Hucker (1985), 8245 – see page 34, 71
- Yuán Zī** 袁滋: Táng dynasty envoy to Nánzhào in 794 – see page 16
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368 – see page 11, 71
- Yuāndú** 身毒: ancient reference to India, first appearing in the 《史记》. The term is pronounced *Yuāndú*, see 《古代汉语词典》(2002), p. 1385, not *Shēndú*, as in the 《通典》 it states (in the chapter on India): 「颜师古云：捐毒即身毒，身毒则天竺也。塞种即释种也，盖语音有轻重也。」– ‘Yán Shīgǔ noted: *Juāndú* is *Yuāndú*, *Yuāndú* is *Tiānzhu*. Just like *Sāizhōng* is *Shìzhōng*, they are variations in the intensity of the pronunciation.’ However, this is not entirely uncontested as it can also be argued that this annotation mistakes a small state called *Juāndú* 捐毒 mentioned in the 《后汉书》(第八十六卷 for *Yuāndú*, see Wilkinson (2013), p. 358. The term is synonymous with 天竺 – see page 48, see 天竺
- Yuè Hóu** 岳侯: Marquis of Yuè, honorific title given to some members of the Gāo clan – see page 29, 71
- Yuèxī** 越巂: Prefecture belonging to Jiànnán. Called Xīzhōu 618–742 then Yuèxī 742–756, in 757 invaded and captured by Nánzhào and 吐蕃, later reestablished as 越巂 789–865 (⊕ 28.65N 102.5E) – see page 20
- Yuèfǔ** 乐府: *Yuèfǔ*, poetry style – see page 39, 71
- 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, 8, 10, 13–15, 25, 27, 34, 36–41, 47, 48
- Yúnnán Zhìlùè** 《云南志略》: ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 dynasty history of Yúnnán, compiled by Lǐ Jīng 李京 – see page 71
- Yúnnán commandery** 云南郡: Yúnnán commandery, commandery in the Yúnnányì 云南驿 plain – see page 47, 71
- Yúnnán Tújīng Zhìshū** 云南图经志书: ‘*Illustrated Annals of Yúnnán*’, Jǐngtài 景泰 period work on Yúnnán, completed in 1545 CE – see page 23, 71
- king of Yúnnán** 云南王: king of Yúnnán, Táng dynasty title for some of the rulers of Nánzhào, first conferred upon 皮罗阁 in 738 – see page 13, 71
- Yúnnányì** 云南驿: important caravan station, three stages before Dàlǐ 大理 (⊕ 25.39N 100.69E) –

- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán', Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán – see page 9, 72
- Zànpǔ** 赞普: title of the ruler of Tǔbō –
- Zànpǔ Zhōng** 赞普钟: title given to the rulers of Nánzhào by 吐蕃, meaning 'younger brother' of the Zànpǔ 赞普, also written as Zànpǔzhōng 赞普钟 – see page 14, see 赞普
- Zhàzhǔ** 栅主: zhàzhǔ, Dàlǐ kingdom title – see page 31, 72
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475-221 BCE – see page 72
- Zhāng** 张: common family or clan name – see page 10
- Zhāng Dào zōng** 张道宗: author of the 《纪古滇说原集》, a man from Yúnnán, who lived at the end of the Sòng dynasty and beginning of the Yuán Cháo 元朝, otherwise nothing is known about him –
- Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú** 张乐尽求: alternate form of Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú 张乐尽求 in the 《南诏图传》. Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (1990), p. 54 argues that the name should be segmented as Zhāng Lèjǐn Qiú 张乐尽求 as the Lèjǐn 乐尽 is a double name according to local tradition – see page 11
- Zhāng Qiān** 张骞: – see page 47
- Zhāng Qiántuō** 张乾拖: – see page 14
- Zhāngshì** 张氏: Zhāng clan, ancient Yúnnán clan – see pages 11, 45, 72
- Zhāng Xīqiáo** 张希乔: servant of Duàn Gōng 段功 – see page 39
- Zhāng Yuánhēng** 张元亨: – see page 44
- Zhāng Yúnhàn** 张云汉: scholar from which Yáng Shèn 杨慎 obtained a copy of the 《白古通》 – see page 48
- zhào** 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his realm – see pages 9, 13, 72
- Zhào Shànzhèng** 赵善政: founder of the shortlived Nánzhào successor state Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in 928, ?–929 – see page 22
- Zhàoshì** 赵氏: Zhào clan, clan name – see pages 22, 23, 45, 72
- Zhēnguān** 贞观: reign period of Tángtài zōng, 627–649 – see page 11
- Zhēnmíng** 贞明: reign period of Lóngshùn 隆舜 – see page 21
- Zhēnyuán** 贞元: reign period of Táng Dé zōng 唐德宗, 785–805 CE – see page 16, 17
- Zhèn fǔ** 镇抚: pacification officer, – see page 45, 72
- Zhèng Huí** 郑回: Han administrator captured by Nánzhào, serving as teacher to the royal family and as prime minister – see pages 14, 16, 21
- Zhèng Lóngdǎn** 郑隆亶: ruler of Nánzhào successor state – see page 22
- Zhèng Mǎisì** 郑买嗣: first ruler of Dàchánghéguó 大长和国, ruled 902–909 CE – see page 21
- Zhèng Mín** 郑旻: son of Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣 – see page 22
- Zhèng Rénmín** 郑仁旻: second ruler of Dàchánghéguó 大长和国, 910–926, son of Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣 –
- Zhèngshì** 郑氏: Zhèng clan, – see pages 21, 22, 45, 72

- Zhèngzhì** 正治: reign period of Duàn Sùzhēn 段素真, 1027– – see page 28
- Zhīfǔ** 知府: prefect, ‘prefect of a superior prefecture’, see Hucker (1985), 983 – see page 38, 73
- Zhì** 志: *gazetteer*, term for official regional records – see page 48, 73
- Zhìdà** 至大: reign period of Yuán Wǔzōng 元武宗, 1308–1311 – see page 37
- Zhìyuán** 至元: reign period of Hūbìliè 忽必烈, 1264–1294 – see page 35
- Zhìzhèng** 至正: reign period of Shùn Huángdì 顺皇帝, 1341–1368 – see page 38
- Zhìzhì** 至治: reign period of Duàn Sīliáng 段思良, 946–951 – see page 26, 37, see 段思良
- Zhōnghé** 中和: reign period of Táng Xīzōng 唐僖宗, 881–885 – see page 20
- Zhōngtǒng** 中统: reign period of Ménggǔ Shìzǔ 蒙古世祖, 1260–1264 – see page 35
- Zhōngxīng** 中兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 898–902 – see page 21
- Zhōngyuè** 中岳: Central Marchmount, i.e. central holy mountain, translation by ??? – see page 15, 73
- zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit – see pages 9, 12, 15, 18, 19, 45, 73
- Zhōu Qùfēi** 周去非: author of the *Língwài Dàidá* 岭外代答 –
- Zhōu Cháo** 周朝: Zhōu dynasty, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty – see page 46, 73
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 10
- Zhū Yuánzhāng** 朱元璋: founding Míng 明 emperor –
- Zīzhì Tōngjiàn** 《资治通鉴》: ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’, – see pages 20, 46, 73
- Zǐ** 子: courtesy name, a courtesy name traditionally given to Chinese people upon reaching adulthood – see page 48, 73
- Zōngzhèng** 宗正: chamberlain for the imperial clan, ‘one of the Nine Chamberlains’, see Hucker (1985), 7080 – see page 20, 73
- Zǒngguǎn** 总管: route commander, ‘YÜAN: Route Commander; in collaboration with an Overseer headed a unit of territorial administration called a Route (lu), each supervising the governance of about 100.000 residents’, see Hucker (1985), 7110 – see pages 34–36, 38, 41, 44, 73
- Zūnshèng** 尊圣: reign period of Zhào Shànzhèng 赵善政, 928 – see page 23
- Zuǒ** 左: left, part of titles, junior to 右 – see page 41, 73

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