
The Táng Era ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》

A New Annotated Translation of the 《蛮书》

LUDWIG M BRINCKMANN

2024

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

<https://www.yunnanexplorer.com/translations/>

This document was compiled on 10th July 2024.

The latest version of this document is available at
<https://yunnanexplorer.com/download/nanzhao/manshu.pdf>

© 2021–2024 Ludwig M Brinckmann

All rights reserved.

This work is licensed under a Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) and may be only be distributed in unmodified form and with this copyright notice included, see <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.



This document is work in progress, this copy was compiled on 10th July 2024.

The latest version of this document is available at
<https://yunnanexplorer.com/download/nanzhao/manshu.pdf>

Because of the many links provided, this document works best as an electronic copy.

To contact the copyright holder for any queries or comments, please write to:
ludwigbrinckmann@gmail.com.

Contents

1	Introduction	5
2	About this Translation	7
3	Annotated Translation	8
	第一卷 The Road Stages inside Yúnnán 《云南界内途程》	8
	第二卷 Mountains, Valleys, Rivers and their Sources 《山川江源》	22
	第三卷 The Six Zhào 《六诏》	32
	第四卷 Names and Classifications 《名类》	43
	第五卷 The Six Prefectures 《六睑》	60
	第六卷 The Cities and Towns of Yúnnán 《云南城镇》	68
	第七卷 The Produce and Products of Yúnnán 《云南管内物产》	82
	第八卷 The Customs of the Mán 《蛮夷风俗》	97
	第九卷 The Regulations and Government Structure 《南蛮条教》	103
	第十卷 The Tribal Countries bordering the Southern Mán 《南蛮疆界接连诸蕃夷国名》	109
	附录一 The Text of the Oath between Nánzhào and China 《南诏与中国誓文》	114
	附录二 Texts about the Lǐnjūn Mán 《有关廩君蛮资料》	122
5	Glossary	133
6	References	164
	Index	169

Maps

1	The Stages from Jiāozhǐ to Ānníng	11
2	The Stages from Tuòdōng to Ěrhǎi.	12
3	The Tuòdōng Region	23
4	The Ěrhǎi Region	24
5	The Yǒngchāng Region	25
6	The 'Eight' zhào	34
7	The Six dàn of Nánzhào	62
8	The Jiédù of Nánzhào	69
9	The Yúnnán Jiédù	70
10	The Tuòdōng Jiédù	73
11	The Níngběi and Tiěqiáo Jiédù	77
12	The Zhènxī Jiédù	80
13	The Salt Producing Regions	87
14	The Route of the Procession from Ānníng to Yángjūmiē.	116

Illustrations

1	Map detail of the route to India from Young (1907)	27
2	Detail of Farming in the ' <i>Illustrated History of Nánzhào</i> '	83
3	A Royal Procession in Zhāng Shèngwēn's ' <i>Long Roll of Buddhist Images</i> '	98

1 Introduction

The ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》 is – together with the ‘*Déhuà Stele*’ 《德化碑》 – the most important contemporary document about Nánzhào 南诏, the regional power that rose in the 7th century around Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 to dominate Yúnnán 云南 throughout much of the 8th and 9th centuries and thus came into conflict with Táng China.

The work contains all the then known information about Yúnnán: its road network, its political divisions and administration, its tribal composition and history, its local products and produce, dress and folk customs as well as its adjacent regions, in short: all the information of vital interest to a rival power. Its material was gathered 862–863 CE by Fán Chuò 樊绰, a Táng official stationed in the neighbouring Chinese protectorate Ānnán 安南 at a time of open hostilities with Nánzhào.

What can be described as a military intelligence report⁽¹⁾ now provides us with a description of south-western China during the Táng dynasty that is unrivalled in both scope and detail.

In his comprehensive review of historic literature about Yúnnán⁽²⁾ the eminent local historian Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 called the 《云南志》 a ‘most important classic book’.⁽³⁾

The Title of the 《云南志》

Not very much about the 《云南志》 is known with any certainty, not even its title.

In the west, because of the 1961 translation by Luce,⁽⁴⁾ it is perhaps best known as the ‘*The Man Shu - Book of the Southern Barbarians*’, but the title Mán Shū 《蛮书》 was only given to it during the Qīng dynasty.

Originally, the text may not have had a title.⁽⁵⁾ In Chinese texts, it is referred to under a multitude of names, such as 《云南志》, 《云南记》, 《云南史记》, 《南夷志》, and also 《蛮书》, leading to some confusion as to whether these titles referred to the same text or not.⁽⁶⁾

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜⁽⁷⁾ advocated using the name 《云南志》 and I follow this. C. Daniels suggested “*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*” as an appropriate translation of the title.⁽⁸⁾

The Author Fán Chuò 樊绰

Fán Chuò 樊绰 arrived in 862 in Ānnán 安南 and was tasked with gathering information about Nánzhào, which had previously invaded the region. Early in 863, Nánzhào staged a massive attack on its headquarters at Jiāozhǐ 交趾. This battle saw Fán Chuò’s superior Càì Xí 蔡袭 killed,⁽⁹⁾ Fán Chuò’s son carried off⁽¹⁰⁾ and Fán Chuò barely escaping with his life.

⁽¹⁾ Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 2 called it ‘investigation and research’ 调查研究.

⁽²⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), pp. 153–163, the section on the 《云南志》 is also published as Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1981).

⁽³⁾ 最重要的典籍

⁽⁴⁾ Luce (1961).

⁽⁵⁾ Fán Chuò 樊绰 referred to this work as the 《蛮志》, see line 2094 on page 123.

⁽⁶⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1981).

⁽⁷⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1981).

⁽⁸⁾ Prof. C. Daniels, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, <https://facultyprofiles.ust.hk/profiles.php?profile=christian-daniels-cdani>, private communication 2021.

⁽⁹⁾ see line 1985 on page 122.

⁽¹⁰⁾ see line 1985 on page 122.

After his return to China proper, Fán Chuò was, in the summer of 864, appointed as historian for Kuízhōu 夔州, a Táng administrative centre on the upper reaches of the Yangzi.⁽¹¹⁾ As the events at Jiāozhǐ had caused an understandable personal bitterness about Nánzhào,⁽¹²⁾ he compiled all the information he had gathered into a report which he submitted to the Táng court, advocating military action against the rebels.⁽¹³⁾ This report we now know as the 《云南志》.

Sources of the 《云南志》

As part of his work Fán Chuò 樊绰 entered an enemy camp in 862 and gathered some information on the tribal composition of the Nánzhào army,⁽¹⁴⁾ but as he never set foot in Yúnnán proper, the 《云南志》 is not a first-hand account. It was collated from earlier, now lost, documents.

Slightly different styles, word choices, and certain repetitions suggest that the text was assembled not from one, but various sources, some of which might have been Nánzhào officials, but the exact provenance of the information cannot be ascertained.

A likely source of the information is Yuán Zī 袁滋, the Chinese envoy who in 794 travelled to Yúnnán to oversee the rituals of the submission of Nánzhào to the Táng.⁽¹⁵⁾ He spent a total of about two months in the region and compiled a report known as ‘Yúnnán Chronicle’ 《云南记》.⁽¹⁶⁾ But this document was lost during the Sòng or Yuán dynasty and only quotes from it in other documents have survived.⁽¹⁷⁾

Editions of the 《云南志》

Fán Chuò 樊绰’s original report does not exist anymore. As source of material for Chinese history works, such as the 《旧唐书》, the 《新唐书》 and the 《资治通鉴》, it remained in circulation until the early Míng dynasty and was ostensibly entered into the great library collection 《永乐大典》 under the title 《云南史记》, but – even if this was so⁽¹⁸⁾ – the last copy perished in the 1900 burning of the Hànlín academy 翰林院.

However, under emperor Qiánlóng 乾隆 a copy was commissioned for the Qīng dynasty library collection 《四库全书》. There the title of the book became 《蛮书》. The copyists rearranged the material, seemingly from fragments, and added a significant number of annotations. Over time further copies based on the 《四库全书》 edition were made. Today, all extant copies of the 《云南志》 derive either directly or indirectly from the 《四库全书》 edition.

In the 20th century, interest in the regional history of China developed anew. In 1939 Xiàng Dá 向达 began comparing the various copies of the 《云南志》, finally leading to his 1962 comprehensive

⁽¹¹⁾ see line 2061 on page 123.

⁽¹²⁾ see line 2048 on page 122.

⁽¹³⁾ While most of the report is written in a neutral language, Fán Chuò’s personal hatred of Nánzhào shines through in occasional passages, such as in line 121 on page 17.

⁽¹⁴⁾ see page 46.

⁽¹⁵⁾ At Shímén 石门 along the access road from inner China a stone inscription called the ‘Yuán Zī Memorial Cliff Inscription’ 《袁滋题记摩崖石刻》 records this journey, see Táo Xuéxiàn 陶学宪 (1979) and Qín Píng 秦平 (2018).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 221–225 has an introduction by Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 to the text, he believes most of the 《云南志》 is a copy of the 《云南记》.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Backus (1981), p. 97. For a collection of fragments of that book see Qū Zhímǐn 屈直敏 (2009).

⁽¹⁸⁾ Mù Qín 木芹 (1995) voiced doubts that such a copy ever existed.

critical edition called 《蛮书校注》. In 1985 Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 expanded on this work with his 《云南志校释》, and in 1995 Mù Qín 木芹 published further annotations in his 《云南志补注》.

These three works were then used to compile a version of the 《云南志》 for the 1998-published 《云南史料丛刊》, a multi-volume edition of historical material relating to Yúnnán,⁽¹⁹⁾ which can be seen as the authoritative reference edition.

More recently Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 provided a series of books with a modern look at the history of Nánzhào with many notes on the text of the 《云南志》.⁽²⁰⁾

2 About this Translation

The Chinese text for this translation was first sourced from the CText.org project, an online library of classic Chinese texts, as it contains a good quality scan of the 《四库全书》 copy held at the library of Zhèjiāng university 浙江大学图书馆.⁽²¹⁾ The CText project used optical character recognition to generate a textual copy, which was made available to a community editing process to remove errors and improve typesetting.⁽²²⁾ Its simplified character version provided the starting point for my translation.⁽²³⁾

However, the 《四库全书》-based version not only does not contain the critical annotations and corrections made over time, but also introduced its own transcription errors.⁽²⁴⁾ C. Daniels⁽²⁵⁾ suggested that I base my translation on Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜's authoritative version published in 1998. For this purpose, I cross-checked the text against a copy of Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), and with few exceptions, this translation follows the text in the 《云南史料丛刊》. In some instances, however, the 《云南史料丛刊》 noted that certain corrections should be made, but refrained from changing the reference text for one reason or another. In some of these – rare – instances, I have changed the text to a version that I found more credible.⁽²⁶⁾

Previous Translations

In 1961, Luce provided the first full translation of the 《云南志》 into English in his *The Man Shu - Book of the Southern Barbarians*.⁽²⁷⁾ This work has remained the standard translation.

In 2018, a translation by the Dali scholar and translator Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 was posthumously published as 《蛮书英译: Manshu – Records of the Man People》.⁽²⁸⁾

⁽¹⁹⁾ The collection was published under the nominal editorial leadership of the eminent local historian Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜, who had passed away in 1983.

⁽²⁰⁾ particularly his Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c) and Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016b).

⁽²¹⁾ <https://ctext.org/library.pl?res=5818>. A full scan of the document is also available, in two parts, at <https://archive.org/details/06061161.cn> and <https://archive.org/details/06061162.cn>. The text of another copy is available at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=932667>.

⁽²²⁾ This, non-static, result can be found at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?res=468773>.

⁽²³⁾ The symbol ⓘ marks a link to the scan of the 《四库全书》 copy at the end of all sections of the Chinese text.

⁽²⁴⁾ As part of the community editing effort I corrected some of the transcription and typesetting errors.

⁽²⁵⁾ private communication 2021.

⁽²⁶⁾ These changes are marked in the footnotes with a ⓘ and the differences are explained.

⁽²⁷⁾ Luce (1961), available online <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/57513>.

⁽²⁸⁾ Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018). The print-run of this book is small and it will be difficult to find outside of China.

A partial translation by Walter Stanish is available online.⁽²⁹⁾

I have referred to all three translations for my translation, particularly for unclear passages.

Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先⁽³⁰⁾ mentions as a possible further translation the 1992 MA thesis by Notar,⁽³¹⁾ however, her thesis is not accessible and it is unclear if it indeed contains a translation.

Some passages from the first *juàn* are translated into French in Pelliot (1904b).

Some passages of the 《云南志》 are translated in other works, such as Yang (2004).

3 Annotated Translation

第一卷 The Road Stages inside Yúnnán 《云南界内途程》

The first *juàn* describes the road network inside Yúnnán as well as the principal access routes from Chéngdū 成都 in the north, Róngzhōu 戎州 in the north-east and Ānnán 安南 in the south-east, i.e. the regions controlled by Táng China at the time this work was compiled.

Translation Notes

As the description will show, the principal caravan roads into and through Yúnnán in use in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century were already well established during the Táng dynasty.

However, the change of geographic names, such as those of administrative regions, towns, rivers, lakes, etc, make the journeys described in this text almost unrecognizable to a modern reader. The aim of the annotations for this part is to match the geographic names of the Táng dynasty with their modern-day equivalents.

As the mode of travel in Yúnnán did not change in any fundamental way until the beginning of the 20th century, the road stages described here differ little from those in use one thousand years later. It is thus possible to use the records of later times to establish the paths used back then with considerable certainty.

Western explorers have left a large volume of travel descriptions of south-west China during the late Qīng dynasty and the Republican period. Very detailed descriptions of the caravan network can be found in the following English-language books:

- Garnier gives an account of the French expedition up the Mekong into Yúnnán and to Dàlǐ 大理 in 1866–1868 CE.⁽³²⁾
- Anderson as well as Coryton and Margary give some of the earliest accounts of the road from Burma towards the Ěrhǎi 洱海 region, when they led an expedition from British Burma into Yúnnán.⁽³³⁾

⁽²⁹⁾ <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Translation:Manshu>. While this translation adds comments and annotations, it also contains significant flaws and is not complete. The work seems discontinued and, as of 2021, is threatened with deletion. Note 2024: this text has been deleted, it remains accessible at <https://web.archive.org/web/20230403232016/https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Translation:Manshu> (accessed 26th May 2024).

⁽³⁰⁾ Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018)

⁽³¹⁾ Notar (1992).

⁽³²⁾ Garnier (1996).

⁽³³⁾ Anderson (1876); Coryton and Margary (1874-1875).

- Colquhoun was a Scottish explorer who left a voluminous account of his travels in south-western China.⁽³⁴⁾
- d'Orleans describes the road from Ānnán 安南 to Dàlǐ 大理.⁽³⁵⁾
- Davies traveled extensively in Yúnnán in search of terrain suitable for a railway from Burma and produced one of the best maps of Yúnnán.⁽³⁶⁾
- Rock gives a detailed description of the caravan road from Kūnmíng to Dàlǐ 大理 with many historical annotations.⁽³⁷⁾

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 4–16 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 14–20. Parts are translated into French in Pelliot (1904b).⁽³⁸⁾

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 gives a detailed analysis of these roads in his 《中国西南历史地理考释》.⁽³⁹⁾

Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 37–41 also has comprehensive annotations on this section.

The text starts with Ānníng 安宁, a town in central Yúnnán at the crossroads of the caravan routes from Róngzhōu 戎州 in the north, Ānnán 安南 in the south, and the Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 region in the west.⁽⁴⁰⁾

安宁城，后汉元鼎二年伏波将军马援立铜柱定疆界之所 [马援定交阯，为后汉光武帝建武十九年事。元鼎乃西汉武帝纪年，后汉并无此号，盖樊绰失于考据之误]。

The walled town of Ānníng: In the 2nd year of Yuándǐng of the later Hàn dynasty, general Mǎ Yuán, the ‘Subduer of the Waves’ set up a bronze post to demarcate the frontier. [The pacification of Jiāozhǐ by Mǎ Yuán happened in the 19th year of later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ’s Jiànwǔ reign. Yuándǐng is a reign period of Hàn Wǔdì, during the later Hàn dynasty period there was no such reign, here Fán

云南志 5

[1: 安宁城] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 8 reprises the discussion started by Mù Qín 木芹 (1980) that in this text the names Ānníng 安宁 and Jiāozhǐ 交阯 should be swapped around, as Mǎ Yuán 马援 was in Jiāozhǐ, but not in Yúnnán.

r1: The walled town of Ānníng] at present-day Ānníng 安宁

r1–2: In the 2nd year of Yuándǐng of the later Hàn dynasty] As the copyist notes this reign year does not exist. He surmises the date mentioned must be the 19th year of Jiànwǔ of the Guāngwǔ emperor of the later Hàn dynasty 后汉. Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 345, Luce (1961), p. 4 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 8 all agree the year mentioned should be 43.

⁽³⁴⁾ Colquhoun (1883a); Colquhoun (1883b).

⁽³⁵⁾ d'Orleans (1896).

⁽³⁶⁾ Davies (1909).

⁽³⁷⁾ Rock (1947).

⁽³⁸⁾ I cannot read French, but a cursory investigation of this document suggests to me that it contains nothing that has not been covered in later critical editions or translations.

⁽³⁹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 520–548.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ but Ānníng 安宁 was not, as the text suggests, the location where a border post was established during the Hàn dynasty, see annotation on page 9.

去交阯城池四十八日程。
汉时城壁尚存，碑铭并在。👁️

Chuò made a mistake].
To the **moated town of Jiāozhǐ** it is forty-eight stages.
The Hàn dynasty town walls are still extant and there are also tablet inscriptions.

The first journey described is from the capital of Ānnán 安南 to the capital of Nánzhào Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩⁽⁴¹⁾ on the western side of Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海.

This journey first involved travelling up the Red River by boat, then disembarking and travelling up to the Yúnnán plateau. I am not familiar with the stages in Ānnán, but as the text states it was a journey by boat all places mentioned must be along the river's course. Zhōu Zhènè 周振鹤 (2012), p. 574 provides a map, unfortunately without modern reference points, of Ānnán in 754.

There is no agreement on the location of the final point of disembarkation, called Gǔyǒngbù 贾勇步. Several Chinese historians, including Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 524, have placed the disembarkation point at present-day Hékǒu 河口, at the modern border between China and Vietnam. I, however, believe that the point was probably present-day Mànhào 蔓耗, where boats still stopped until the railway was completed in 1911. This is also the location indicated in 《中国历史地图集》, which also indicates approximate positions of some of the other localities mentioned in this text.⁽⁴²⁾

苴咩 [上音斜，下符差切] 城，从安南府城至蛮王见坐苴咩城水陆五十二日程，只计日，无里数。

Yángjūmiē town [the first is pronounced xié, the second similiar to qiē]: It is a journey of fifty-two stages by water and land from the capital of Ānnán to the current seat of the *Mán* king, **reckoning only the days, not the distance.**

云南志 15 从安南上水至峰州两日，至登州两日，至忠诚州三日，至多利州两日，至奇富州两日，至甘棠州两日，至下步三日，至黎武賚栅四日，至贾勇步五日。已上二十五日程，并是水路。👁️

From Ānnán upriver to Fēngzhōu takes two days, then to Dēngzhōu two days, then to Zhōngchéng prefecture three days, then to Duōlì prefecture two days, then to Qífù prefecture two days, then to Gāntáng prefecture two days, then to Xiàbù three days, then to Líwǔbì stockade four days, then to Gǔyǒngbù five days. These twenty-five stages are all by river.

l9: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=9>

l20: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=9>

r8: moated town of Jiāozhǐ] region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam

r11: Yángjūmiē] The text only says *jūmiē* 苴咩, but it is clear that this refers to Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩.

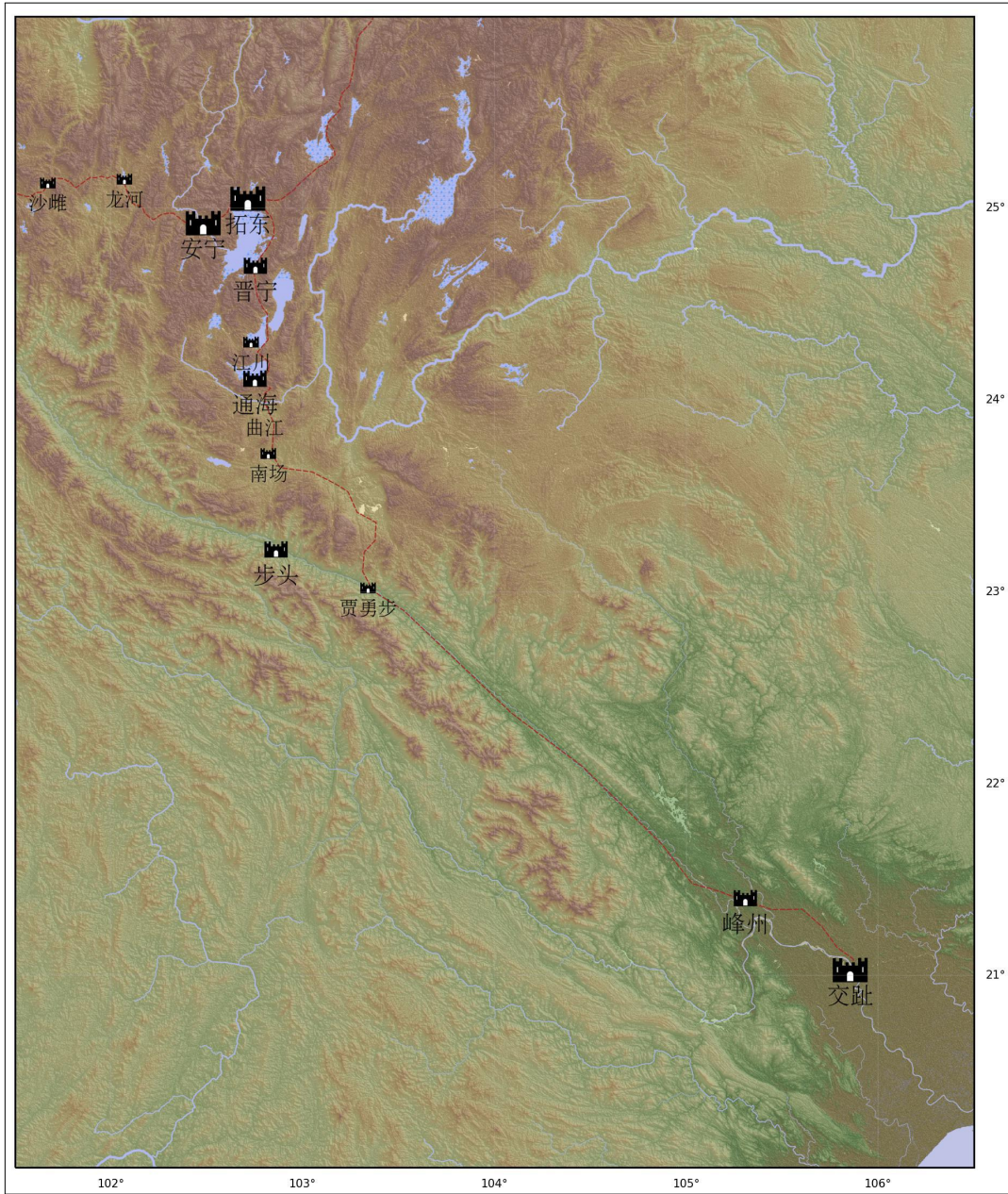
r11–12: the first is pronounced xié, the second similiar to qiē] The modern reading of 阳苴咩 is Yángjūmiē, but the pronunciation at the time is contentious. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 439 summarizes the discussion and settles on Yang-tshia-mia. See also Zhào Yún 赵云 and Wáng Yùshān 王育珊 (2016) for a discussion of the origin of this name..

r13–14: reckoning only the days, not the distance] For other roads, distances are given in *lǐ* for every stage.

r15: Fēngzhōu] present-day Phong Châu

⁽⁴¹⁾ The modern reading of 阳苴咩 is Yángjūmiē, but the pronunciation at the time is contentious. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 439 summarizes the discussion and settles on Yang-tshia-mia. See also Zhào Yún 赵云 and Wáng Yùshān 王育珊 (2016) for a discussion of the origin of this name.

⁽⁴²⁾ Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 72–73. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 524 gives a detailed reasoning, but I think he is wrong.

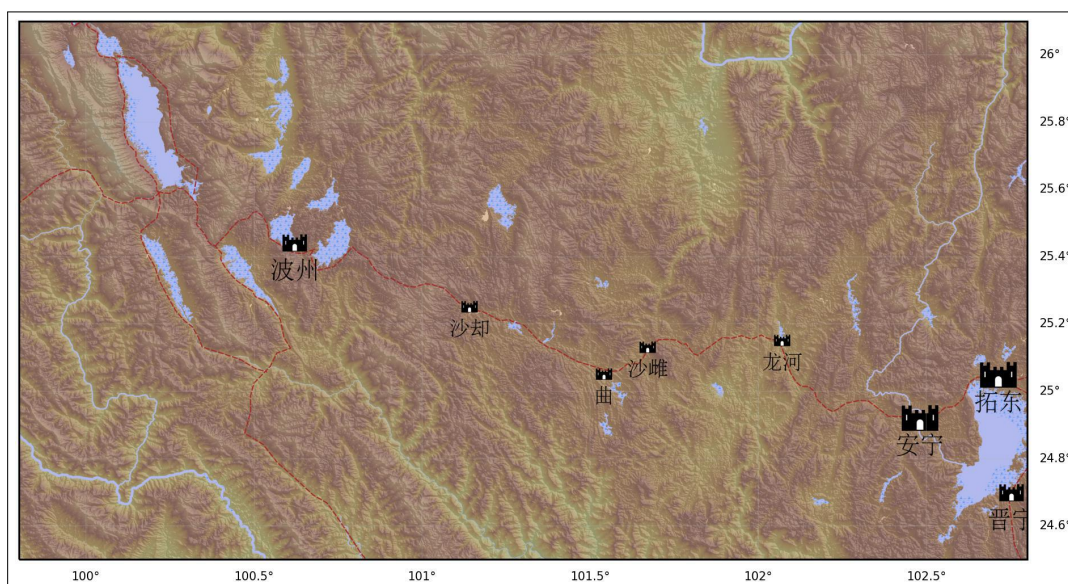


Map 1:
The Stages from Jiāozhǐ to Ānníng

The following paragraph is one of the frequent historic interludes about the happenings in Ānnán at the time when Fán Chuò 樊绰 was stationed there. Here he explains the background of the tribal unrest against the Táng before the full outbreak of hostilities between Nánzhào and the Táng.

大中初悉属安南管系，其刺史并委首领勾当。大中八年，经略使苛暴，川洞离心，疆内首领，旋被蛮贼诱引，数处陷在贼中。👁️

At the beginning of the Dàzhōng era the region was entirely under the administration of Ānnán, whose regional inspector appointed chieftains for illicit affairs. In the 8th year of Dàzhōng the military commissioner was tyrannical and the river settlements became disloyal to the centre, the local chieftains were tempted by the Mán bandits and many regions fell in the hands of the bandits.



Map 2:
The Stages from Tuòdōng to Ērhǎi.

The text continues then with the journey by land up to the Yúnnán highlands.

从贾勇步登陆至矣符管一日。从矣 | From the landing at Gǔyǒngbù to Yífú inn it is one day. From Yífú

l24: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=9>

l27: 矣符管] Here the character *guǎn* 管 is used, while in the following the character *guǎn* 馆 is used, this is an error, see Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 4.

r21: At the beginning of the Dàzhōng era] The Dàzhōng reign period was 847–859 CE, this must mean before 847–854 CE.

r23: In the 8th year of Dàzhōng] 854.

r24: river settlements] *chuāndòng* 川洞 literally means river plains and caves, Dòng 洞 is a term for settlements in the southern regions.

r27: Gǔyǒngbù] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 5 identifies this, without giving his reasoning, as present-day Hékǒu 河口. I think this is not possible as the remaining distance would be too far to cover in the stages indicated. I assume that this is present-day Mànhào 蔓耗 蔓, which until roads were built was the final landing point for boats coming up the Red River.

符管至曲乌馆一日，至思下馆一日，至沙只馆一日，至南场馆一日，至曲江馆一日，至通海城一日，至江川县一日，至晋宁馆一日，至鄯阐柘东城 [「柘东」，《旧唐书》及《通鉴》俱作「拓东」，胡三省云，言开拓东境也，《新唐书》作「柘」，从木，与此同]

从柘东节度城至安宁馆一日，安宁馆本是汉宁郡城也。从安宁城至龙和馆一日，至沙雌馆一日，至曲馆一日，至沙却馆一日。至求赠馆一日，至云南驿一日，至波大驿一日，至白岩驿一日，至龙尾城一日。

李谧伐蛮，于龙尾城误陷军二十万

to **Qūwū inn** another day, to **Sìxià inn** one day, to **Shāzhǐ inn** one day, to **Náncháng inn** one day, to **Qūjiāng inn** one day, to **Tōnghǎi town** one day, to Jiāngchuān county one day, to Jìnníng inn one day, to **the walled town at Shànchǎn Tuòdōng** one day. [Tuòdōng is both in the 'Old History of the Táng' and the 'Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government' written as Tuòdōng, Hú Sānshèng says [it means] 'opening up of the eastern borders', the 'New History of the Táng' writes Zhè, the wood[blocks] and writing are the same.]

From Tuòdōng military district town to Ānníng inn is one stage, Ānníng inn was during the Hàn dynasty **the seat** of Níng prefecture. From Ānníng to Lónghé inn it is one stage, then one stage to Shācí inn, then to Qū inn one stage, then to Shāquè inn one stage, then to Qiúzèng inn one stage, then to Yúnnán post station one stage, then to Bōdà post station one stage, then to Báiyán post station one stage, then another stage to the walled town of Lóngwěi.

Lǐ Mì attacked the barbarians at Lóngwěi, and led two hundred

云南志 30

云南志 35

云南志 40

[31: 晋宁] ➔ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 9 has '进宁'; not '晋宁'. Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 3 points out this mistake.

[36: 安宁馆] The 《四库全书》 copy has 宁寔馆, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 8.

[41: 白岩驿] The 《四库全书》 copy has 白巖驿, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 8, an alternative writing of Báiyá 白崖.

From there a steep path used to go up towards Méngzì 蒙自. Alternatively, it could be present-day Liánhuātān 莲花滩, downstream from Mànhào 蔓耗, from where a river valley could have been followed to what Mù Qín 木芹 identifies as the next stage.

r28: Qūwū inn] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 5 identifies this, again without giving his reasoning, as present-day Qilùbái 期路白.

r28: Sìxià inn] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 5 identifies this as present-day Méngzì 蒙自 ④.

r28: Shāzhǐ inn] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 5 identifies this as present-day Shādiàn 沙甸 ④.

r29: Náncháng inn] Probably present-day Nánzhuāng 南庄 ④.

r29: Qūjiāng inn] Present-day Qūjiāng 曲江 ④.

r29-30: Tōnghǎi town] Present-day Tōnghǎi ④.

r31: the walled town at Shànchǎn Tuòdōng] Rock (1947), p. 13 explains that in 808 Xúngéquàn 寻阁劝 renamed Tuòdōng 拓东 as Shànchǎn 鄯阐.

r37: the seat] literally 'the walled town'.

r39: Qū] Qū post station

r40: Qiúzèng inn] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 547 identifies this as Pǔpéng 普棚, Rock (1947), p. 23 also has Pǔpéng 普棚 as one stage from Yúnnán 云南.

r40: Yúnnán post station] Present-day Yúnnányì 云南驿 ④.

r41: Bōdà post station] I think this is about at present-day Qīnghǎiyíng 青海营 ④, at the time the western area of the plain of present-day Xiángyún 祥云 was a large lake or swampland, with the caravan trail going along its southern side.


r41: Báiyán post station] At the northern end of present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley ④, a stretch of old caravan road leading up the mountains from the valley is still extant. A tribal chiefdom before Nánzhào, the so-called Báizǐ Guó 白子国, was located in this area. After the existence of this chiefdom was long disputed, an archeological find seems to have confirmed its existence. See also Rock (1947), p. 25.

r43-45: Lǐ Mì attacked the barbarians at Lóngwěi, and led two hundred thousand men into disaster, today it is the Ten Thousand Men Tomb.] This is a reference to the Tiānbǎo Wars 天宝战争, where Táng general Lǐ Mì lead an army against Nánzhào and was disastrously defeated.

众，今为万人冢。

至阳苴咩城 [「阳」，《新唐书》作「羊」] 一日。

蛮王从大和城移在苴咩城 [案「蛮王至咩城」十一字，原本误入正文，今改正]

云南志 50 

thousand men into disaster, today it is the Ten Thousand Men Tomb.

To the walled town of Yángjūmiē [In the 'New History of the Táng' the character *yáng* [in Yángjūmiē] is written *yáng*.] is another stage.

The king of the *Mán* moved from Dàhé to Yángjūmiē [This sentence has been erroneously inserted into the main text, here corrected.]

The following describes the roads from present-day Sìchuān 四川 province into Yúnnán. There were two principal roads, one via present-day Liángshān 凉山 and Yáoān 姚安, called the southern road 南路, the other the road via Yíbīn 宜宾 and Zhāotōng 昭通, called the northern road 北路.

The exact stations on these journeys are difficult to ascertain and there is a certain amount of confusion as the two roads are essentially described twice.

This road description can also be compared to the journey of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 during his southern expedition in 225. At that time two roads were known, the western via the highlands of Liángshān called Máo niú dào 旄牛道, literally meaning 'yak road', the eastern called the Bó dào 犍道, as it passed through the lands of the ancient Bó 犍 people.⁽⁴³⁾

The first part describes the road from present-day Chéngdū 成都 going south to the border with Yúnnán.

自西川成都府至云南蛮王府、州、县、馆、驿、江、岭，關，塞，并里数计二千七百二十里。

云南志 55 从府城至双流县二江驿四十里，至蜀州新津县三江驿四十里，至延贡驿四十里，至临邛驿四十里，至顺城驿五十里，至雅州百丈驿四十里，至名山县顺阳驿四十里，至巖道县延化驿四十里。

云南志 60


从延化驿六十里至管长贲关。从奉义驿至雅州界荣经县南道驿七十五里，至汉昌六十里 [此句上有脱文]，属雅州，城名葛店。至皮店三十里，至黎州潘仓驿五十里，至黎武城六十里，至白士驿三十五里 [过汉源县十里]，至通望县本笈驿四十里 [去大渡

云南志 65

From the government seat Chéngdū of Xīchuān to the seat of the *Mán* king of Yúnnán, crossing the districts, counties, inns, postal stations, rivers, mountains, passes, and villages totals two thousand seven hundred and twenty *lǐ*.

From the government seat to Shuāngliú county Èrjiāng post station it is forty *lǐ*, to Shǔ Zhōu Xīnjīn county Sānjiāng post station forty *lǐ*, another forty *lǐ* to Yángòng post station, then to Línqióng post station forty *lǐ*, to Shùn townpost station fifty *lǐ*, then to Yǎzhōu Bǎizhàng post station Yì forty *lǐ*, to Míngshān county Shùnyáng post station forty *lǐ*, forty *lǐ* to Yándào county Yánhuà post station.

From Yánhuà post station sixty *lǐ* to Guǎnchángbì pass, from Fèngyì post station to the border of Yǎzhōu and Róngjīng county Nándào post station seventy-five *lǐ*, to Hàrchāng in Yǎzhōu sixty *lǐ* [something missing in this sentence.], the town is also called Gédiàn. To Pídiàn it is thirty *lǐ*, to Lízhōu's Pāncāng post station fifty *lǐ*, to the walled town of Líwǔ sixty *lǐ*, to Báishì post station thirty-five *lǐ* [passing through Hànyuán for Xiàn ten *lǐ*], to Tōngwàng county Běn-

l50: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=9>

l52: 關] The 《四库全书》 copy has 關, which makes no sense, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 9–10.

l59: 巖] The 《四库全书》 copy has 巖, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 9–10.

⁽⁴³⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1980).

十里]，至望星驿四十五里，至清溪关五十里，至大定城六十里，至达士驿五十里 [黎、嵩二州分界]。至新安城三十里，至菁口驿六十里，至荣水驿八十里，至初里驿三十五里，至台登城平乐驿四十里 [古县今废]。至苏祁驿四十里 [古县]。至嵩州三阜城四十里 [州城在三阜山上]，至沙也城八十里 [故嵩州大和年移在台登]，至俭浪驿八十里，至俄淮岭七十里。下此岭入云南界。

已上三十二驿，计一千八百八十里 [上文惟三十驿，计一千四百九十五里，与此数不符]。并属西川管，差官人军将专知驿务。👁

láng post station forty *lǐ* [ten *lǐ* to Dàdù], to Wàngxīng post station forty-five *lǐ*, to Qīngxī pass fifty *lǐ*, to Dàdìng town sixty *lǐ*, to Dáshì post station fifty *lǐ* [the border between Lízōu and Xīzhōu]. To Xīnān town thirty *lǐ*, to Jīngkǒu post station sixty *lǐ*, to Róngshuǐ post station eighty *lǐ*, to Chūlǐ post station thirty-five *lǐ*, to the walled town of Tái dēng's Pínglè post station forty *lǐ*, to Sūqí post station forty *lǐ* [that is the old county town, now abandoned]. To the walled town of Xīzhōu's Sānfù forty *lǐ* [the capital of the prefecture is on top of Sānfù mountain] formerly Xīzhōu moved in the Dàhé year to Tái dēng.. Then to the walled town of Shāyě eighty *lǐ*. To Jiǎnlàng post station eighty *lǐ*, to Éhuáilíng ridge seventy *lǐ*. Below this ridge the road enters Yúnnán.

In total, thirty-two post stations, and one thousand eight hundred eighty *lǐ* [The above text has thirty stations, and in total one thousand four hundred ninety-five *lǐ*, which does not conform to the numbers mentioned]. These stops all belong to the Xīchuān administration, they send out civil officials or military officers to deal with the post station responsibilities.

云南志 70

云南志 75

云南志 80

云南志 85

The following section describes the journey across the mountains from southern Sichuan towards Ērhǎi. There is considerable disagreement as to where the various stations were located,⁽⁴⁴⁾ but the journey almost certainly followed the broad valley of present-day Xīchāng 西昌 and Déchāng 德昌, then crossing the Jīnshā River 金沙江 into present-day Yǒngrén 永仁, Dàyáo 大姚, and then Yáoān 姚安.

云南蛮界：从嵩州俄淮岭七十里至菁口驿，三十里至茈驿，六十里至会川镇，差蛮三人充镇。

五十五里至目集驿，七十里至会川，有蛮充刺史，称会川都督。

从目集驿至河子镇七十里，泸江乘

Within the borders of the *Mán* in Yunnan: From Xīzhōu's Éhuáilíng it is seventy *lǐ* to Jīngkǒu post station, thirty *lǐ* further to Pí post station, and sixty *lǐ* to Huìchuān town, where three *Mán* people have been sent to administer the town.

Fifty-five *lǐ* to Mùjí post station and seventy *lǐ* to Huìchuān, where a *Mán* acts as regional inspector, it is called the Huìchuān commander-in-chief.

It is seventy *lǐ* from Mùjí post station to Hézi town. Then comes

云南志 90

[83–84: 军将] In the 《四库全书》 copy 将军, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 10.

[84: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=12>

r78: the walled town of Shāyě] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 548 identifies this as Lùmǎbǎo 禄马堡, which makes no sense as that village is in a remote valley in a different direction. I assume that this must be in the vicinity of present-day Huángliánguān 黄联关👁.

r79: Jiǎnlàng post station] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 548 identifies this as Déchāng 德昌.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is also possible that the description has errors, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), pp. 9–10 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 11–12.

云南志 95	皮船渡泸水。 从河子镇至末栅馆五十里，至伽毗馆七十里，至清渠铺八十里，渡绳桥 [《云南行记》云渠桑驿]。 至藏傍馆七十四里，至阳褒馆六十	the Lúshuǐ, which one crosses on leather floats . From Hézi town to Mòzhà inn it is fifty <i>lǐ</i> , to Jiāpí inn seventy <i>lǐ</i> , to Qīngqú Pū eighty <i>lǐ</i> , where one crosses by rope bridge. [The <i>Yúnnán Travel Records</i> ' writes Qúsāng post station.] To Cángbàng inn it is seventy-four <i>lǐ</i> , to Yángbāo inn sixty <i>lǐ</i> , then one crosses a big mountain range, extremely dangerous.
云南志 100	里，过大岭险峻极。 从阳褒至弄栋城七十里，本是姚州，旧属西川。天宝九载，为姚州都督张乾陀 [「乾」《唐书》作「虔」] 附蛮所陷。	From Yángbāo to Nòngdòng town it is seventy <i>lǐ</i> , originally part of Yáozhōu, once belonging to Xīchuān. In the 9th year of Tiānbǎo , the Yáozhōu commander-in-chief Zhāng Qiántuó [The <i>History of the Táng</i> ' writes <i>qián</i> as <i>qián</i> .] was captured by the <i>Mán</i> .
云南志 105	从弄栋城至外弥荡八十里，从外弥荡至求赠馆，至云南城七十里，至波大驿四十里，至渠蓝赵馆四十里，至龙尾城三十里。	From the walled town of Nòngdòng it is eighty <i>lǐ</i> to Mídàng , from Mídàng to Qiúzhèng inn, then to Yúnnán town seventy <i>lǐ</i> , then forty <i>lǐ</i> to Bōdà post station, to Qúlánzhào inn forty <i>lǐ</i> , and thirty <i>lǐ</i> to the walled town of Lóngwěi.
云南志 110	从龙尾城至阳苴咩城五十里。 以上一十九驿，计一千五十四里 [十九驿，共计一千六十九里，与此数亦不符]。👁️	From Lóngwěi to the walled town of Yángjūmiē it is fifty <i>lǐ</i>. The nineteen post stations above are in total one thousand and fifty-four <i>lǐ</i> . [Above there are nineteen post stations, in total one thousand six hundred and nineteen <i>lǐ</i> , the numbers do not add up.]

The following section contains the concluding remarks of Fán Chuò submitting his report to the emperor and is inserted in error at this position. This section illustrates that even very obvious collating errors happened when the text was copied.

南蛮因姚州之后，属蛮管系。

The southern *Mán*, after what happened at Yáozhōu, belong to the *Mán* administrative system.

^{l105}: 外弥荡] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 13 notes that in the 《新唐书》外弥荡 is written as 外沓荡馆。

^{l105-106}: 从外弥荡至求赠馆] Annotation in the text: 此句下有脱文 - There is a part missing after this sentence. Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 13 points out that there a likely seven characters missing, indicating one more stage in between the two.

^{l107}: 渠蓝赵] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 13 points out that already previously this was taken as a copying error for Qúliànzhào 渠敛赵, which it certainly is.

^{l112}: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=14>

^{r95}: leather floats] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 16 translates this as 'leather boats'. For an illustration what such a raft looked like, see Rock (1947), plate 142 and 143: the skins of goats were sown airtight to make a balloon, which was then inflated and either used as a boyancy aid for an individual swimmer or multiple skins attached to a frame to carry goods across a river.

^{r102}: In the 9th year of Tiānbǎo] 750.

^{r105}: Mídàng] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 10 places it at present-day 弥兴.

^{r105-106}: from Mídàng to Qiúzhèng inn] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 10 places it at 营武关, a place near present-day 天生堂. As the copyist notes, there is a stage missing, which would be at present-day Pǔpéng 普朋. At this point the road from the north joins the road between Ānníng and Yángjūmiē given previously.

^{r106}: Yúnnán town] Present-day Yúnnányì 云南驿.

^{r107}: to Qúlánzhào inn forty *lǐ*] At present-day Fèngyí 凤仪, on the southern side of Ěrhǎi.

^{r109}: From Lóngwěi to the walled town of Yángjūmiē it is fifty *lǐ*.] Fāng Guóyú 万国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 12 notes that the distance is at most thirty *lǐ*.

从邕州路至蛮苴咩城，从黔州路至蛮苴咩城，两地途程，臣未谙委。伏乞下堂帖令分析。缘南蛮奸猾，攻劫在心，田桑之余，便昌斗敌。

若不四面征战，凶恶难悛。所以录其城镇川原，尘渎宸宸。或冀破其蚁聚之众，永清羌虜之夷。臣披沥恳忱，无任陨越之至

[此条乃附载陈说之词，如后世著书之案语，原本误连正文，遂令文义格碍，今低一格以别之，后仿此] ④

About the two roads from Yōngzhōu and from Qián prefecture to the walled town of the Mán Yángjūmiē, I have no experience. I implore to issue an edict to investigate. As the southern Mán are treacherous and like to plunder and have leisure from agricultural work, they are apt to fight their enemies.

Unless they are attacked from all sides, they will not repent their evil. So I have recorded their towns, valleys, and plains, animals insulting the emperor. I hope we will smash their ant swarms and forever clear the area of the Qiāng. Your honest servant submits his immensely flawed work.

[This section are explanatory remarks in an appendix, comments by a later author, mistakenly linked to the main text, so they are disconnected from the text, so they have been lowered by one character to point this out.]

云南志 115

云南志 120

云南志 125

The following describes the two roads leading into Yúnnán from the north: one from present-day Yíbīn, the other going south from Chéngdū through present-day Liángshān to Yáozhōu.

从石门外出鲁望、昆州至云南，谓之北路。从黎州、清溪关出邛部，过会通，至云南，谓之南路。④

From Shímén going out to Lǔwàng and Kūnzhōu to Yúnnán is called the northern road. From Lízhōu and Qīngxī pass going to Qióngbù via Huìtōng to Yúnnán is called the southern road.

云南志 130

The first road described is the northern road, via north-eastern Yúnnán.

In the 《四库全书》 copy the stage numbering is confused, this is corrected in the text. (45)

从戎州南十日程至石门。上有隋初

From Róngzhōu it is two stages to Shímén, above which there is

[121: 尘渎] In the copy clearly 塵黷, but Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 18 copies this differently.

[127: ④] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=15>

[129: 州] The 《四库全书》 copy has 川, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 12.

[130: 从] character added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 12.

[131: ④] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=16>

[132: 十] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 12–13 suggests that this should read 二.

r115: the two roads from Yōngzhōu and from Qián prefecture] i.e. the roads from present-day Guìzhōu 贵州, then a tribal region not under Chinese control.

r121–122: animals insulting the emperor] Unclear how to translate this, Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 17 translates it as ‘nothing but dust that might defile the Imperial chamber’.

r129: Lǔwàng] Modern-day Wēining 威宁 in Guìzhōu 贵州

r130: Lízhōu] present-day Hànyuán 汉源 south of Chéngdū, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 15.

r130: Qīngxī pass] present-day Hǎitáng 海堂 ④ according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 534 and Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 15, but I think this is an error.

r131: Qióngbù] present-day Yuèxī 越西 south of Chéngdū according Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 334 and Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 15.

r132: Róngzhōu] Present-day Yíbīn

(45) Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 40.

刊记处，云：「开皇五年十月二十五日，兼法曹苏荣领始、益二州石匠，凿石四孔，各深一丈，造偏梁桥阁，通越忻州、津州。」盖史万岁南征出于此也。

越忻州今西洱河东一日程，越忻州谿长故地也。津州未详其处。

天宝中，鲜于仲通南溪下兵亦是此路。后遂闭绝。仅五十年来，贞元十年，南诏立功，归化朝廷，发使册命。而邛部旧路方有兆吐蕃侵钞隔关。

其年七月，西川节度韦皋乃遣巡官监察御史马益开石门路，置行馆。

石门东崖石壁，直上万仞，下临朱提江流，又下入地中数百尺，惟闻

an inscription from the early Suí dynasty, saying ‘On the 25th day of the 10th month in the 5th year of Kāihuáng the judge Sū Róng ordered masons from Shǐ Zhōu and Yìzhōu to chisel four holes into the stone, each one *zhàng* deep, to build a slanted plank bridge to connect Yuèxī and Jīnzhōu.’ Shǐ Wànsuì started his southern expedition from there.

Yuèxī prefecture is one stage east of Xiě Hé, Yuèxī prefecture is the native land of the Yuèxī prefecture elder. I do not know where Jīnzhōu is.

During the Tiānbǎo period the troops of Xiānyú Zhòngtōng came south along this road, after that this road was gradually blocked. Only fifty years later, in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, Nánzhào gained merit by submitting to China, the court sending out envoys and edicts. But along the old road to Qióngbù were countless Tibetans extorting money and blocking it.

In the 7th month the military commissioner of Xīchuān, Wéi Gāo, sent the inspector Mǎ Yì to open the road to Shímén and establish travel inns.

The eastern cliffs of Shímén rise more than ten thousand *rèn*, the Shūshí river running below. It flows down into the earth several

l134: 苏] The 《四库全书》 edition has Huáng 黄, but Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 33 suggests it should be Sū 苏.

l139: 西洱河] 西河河 in the 《四库全书》 copy, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 12–13.

l140: 津州未详其处] I think there is a character missing and this should read Hújīn 湖津, a county established in 618 as part of Xiézhōu 协州, it is today's Huóshāozhài 火烧寨 in Dàguān 大关, see Liú Shùnliáng 刘顺良 (1993). Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 40 thinks this should read 巨津, but this in a totally different location.

l149: 开] The 《四库全书》 copy 闭, i.e. ‘close’, but Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 26 suggests it should be 开, i.e. ‘open’.

l149: 置] In the 《四库全书》 copy 量, a simple writing error, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 12–13.

r133–134: On the 25th day of the 10th month in the 5th year of Kāihuáng] 585 CE.

r136: one *zhàng*] several meters

r137–138: Shǐ Wànsuì started his southern expedition from there.] Shǐ Wànsuì 史万岁 was a Suí dynasty general, who led an expedition into Yúnnán. Backus (1981), pp. 10–13 gives some background, but Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 8 notes that he took the southern road 南路, the mistake in the 《云南志》 probably arising because along that road is also a pass called Shímén which Fán Chuò 樊绰, lacking first-hand knowledge, confused with each other. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 349–350 has further notes on this.

r139–140: Yuèxī prefecture is one stage east of Xiě Hé, Yuèxī prefecture is the native land of the Yuèxī prefecture elder.] This is clearly an annotation by the writer, but I think he confuses Yuèxī 越析 east of Ěrhǎi 洱海 with Yuèxī 越嵩, which was a Chinese administrative region from early on (see Liú Shùnliáng 刘顺良 (1993), the character used is similar to 嵩.)

r142: During the Tiānbǎo period] 742–755 CE.

r142–143: the troops of Xiānyú Zhòngtōng came south along this road] This is a reference to one of the punishment expeditions against Nánzhào during the Tiānbǎo period.

r144: the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794 CE.

r146–147: But along the old road to Qióngbù were countless Tibetans extorting money and blocking it.] This is the other, i.e. the southern, road.

r149–150: establish travel inns] the version in the

r152: Shūshí river] Shūshí is a historic name for present-day Zhāotōng 昭通, see Liú Shùnliáng 刘顺良 (1993), it is pronounced Shūshí (see 《汉语大辞典》).

水声，人不可到。西崖亦是石壁，傍崖亦有阁路，横阔一步，斜亘三十余里，半壁架空，欹危虚险。其安梁石孔，即隋朝所凿也。阁外至夔岭七日程，直经朱提江，下上跻攀，偻身侧足。又有黄蝇、飞蛭、毒蛇、短狐、沙虱之类。

石门外第三程至牛头山，山有诸葛古城，馆临水，名马安渡。上源从阿等路部落，绕蒙夔山，又东折与朱提江合。

第四程至生蛮阿部落，第五程至蒙夔岭。岭当大漏天，直上二十里，积阴凝闭，昼夜不分。从此岭头南下八九里，青松白草，川路渐平。

第六程至鲁望，即蛮汉两界，旧曲，靖之地也。曲州、靖州废城及邱墓碑阙皆在。依山有阿竿路部落。过鲁望第七程至竹子岭。岭东有暴蛮部落，岭西有卢鹿蛮部落。

第八程至生蛮磨弥殿部落，此等部落，皆东爨乌蛮也。男则发髻，女则散发。见人无礼节拜跪，三译四译，乃与华通。

大部落则有鬼主，百家二百家小

hundred *chǐ*, one can only hear the water, but cannot get to it. On the western side is also a cliff, on that side is a planked path, a single pace wide, winding for more than thirty *lǐ*. In the middle of the cliff runs a scaffold, dangerously slanting in the air. It is fixed into holes in the stone, which were chiseled during the Suí dynasty. From this planked section it is seven stages to the Kuíling, crossing the Shūshí river, clambering up and down, hunched over with fear. There are yellow flies, flying leeches, poisonous snakes, **sand-spitters**, sand lice.

On the 3rd day after leaving Shímén one comes to Niútóu mountain, on this mountain there was the old walled town of Zhūgé Liàng, the inn is next to the river, called the Mǎān crossing. Upstream it comes from the Āděnglù tribe, it flows around Méngkuí mountain, twists eastwards and flows into the Shūshí river.

On the 4th day, one gets to the wild *Mán Ā* tribe, then on the 5th day to the Méngkuí ridge, called the 'Great Leaking Sky', twenty *lǐ* high, day and night shrouded in clouds. From the ridge down eight or nine *lǐ* there are pine trees and white grass and the road gets gradually more level.

On the 6th day one gets to Lǔwàng, the border between the Hàn and *Mán*, the old location of Qūjìng. The abandoned forts of Qūzhōu and Jìngzhōu and many graves and grave towers are still there. In the mountains live the Āgānlù tribe. One passes Lǔwàng on the 7th day and reaches Zhúzǐ range, east of it lives the Bào Mán tribe and west of it the Lúlù Mán tribe.

On the 8th day one reaches the wild *Mán Mómidiàn* tribe, which belongs to the eastern Cuàn *Wū Mán*. The men wear their hair in a bun, but the women carry it open. When one encounters them, they do not have the etiquette to kneel and kowtow, only after translating three or four times they can communicate with the Chinese.

The big tribes have a **senior spirit lord**, the small ones of one hun-

云南志 155

云南志 160

云南志 165

云南志 170

云南志 175

云南志 180

云南志 185

l168: 第四] The《四库全书》edition has 第五.

l168: 第五] The《四库全书》edition has 第七.

l173: 第六] The《四库全书》edition has 第九.

l179: 第八] The《四库全书》edition has 第六.

l185: 大] character added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 13.

l185-186: 百家二百家小部落，亦有小鬼主] The《四库全书》copy has 百家二百牛马，with the copyist annotating that the sentence is unclear.

r160: sand-spitters] a type of legendary monster

r173: Lǔwàng] Present-day Lǔdiàn 鲁甸.

r185: senior spirit lord] The term Guǐzhǔ 鬼主 implies that a tribal leader has special connection to the world of spirits,

部落，亦有小鬼主。一切信使鬼巫，用相服制。

土多牛马，无布帛，男女悉披牛羊皮。

云南志 190

第九程至制长馆，于是始有门阁廊宇迎候供养之礼，皆汉地。

凡从鲁望行十二程，方始到柘东。



dred families and two hundred just a lesser spirit lord.

On the land there are many horses and cattle, they do not have cotton or silk, men and women just drape cow or goat skins.

On the 9th day one gets to Zhìcháng inn and from there on pavilions and guest accommodation are provided, they are all Hàn.

In total, it is twelve stages from Lǔwàng to Tuòdōng.

The second road from Sichuan into Yúnnán is the road southwards from Chéngdū via Liángshān 凉山.

This road has already been described above (see page 15), which suggests that the text was compiled from two different sources, with no one noticing the similarities between the routes.

This text makes clear that the regions west of this road were at least for a time controlled by Tǔbō, which had blocked the road for a time.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The passage ends with events in 791 CE: the tribal leader prince Mèngchōng 梦冲 decided to side with Tǔbō, resulting in Wéi Gāo ordering his assassination to replace him with a more pliable leader.⁽⁴⁷⁾

云南志 195

黎州南一百三十里有清溪峡，乾元二年置关。关外三十里即嵩州界也。

行三百五十里至邛部川，故邛部县之地也。

云南志 200

下南一百三十里至台登，西南八十里至普安城，剑南西川节度使重兵大将镇焉。

云南志 205

台登直北去保塞城八十里，吐蕃谓之北谷。天宝以前，嵩州柳强镇也。自入吐蕃更增修险，因城下有路，向曩恭地。


One hundred thirty *lǐ* south of Lízhōu is the Qīngxī gorge, where in the second year of Qiányuán a checkpoint was established. Thirty *lǐ* beyond the gate is the border with Xīzhōu.

After three hundred fifty *lǐ* one reaches the Qióngbù valley, the old location of Qióngbù county.

Going another one hundred thirty *lǐ* further south one reaches Táidēng is reached, south-west eighty *lǐ* is the walled town of Pǔān, the military commissioner Jiànnán Xīchuān is stationed here with significant forces.

From Táidēng going straight north eighty *lǐ* one reaches the walled town of Bǎosāi, Tǔbō calls it the 'northern valley'. Before the Tiānbào period, it was Xīzhōu Liǔqiáng town. After becoming part of Tǔbō it was renovated and strengthened because below the

[186–187: 一切信使鬼巫，用相服制。] Added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 13.

[193: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=16>

i.e. he is some some sort sorcerer or ritualist. For comments on this section regarding tribal groups in southern Sìchuān, see Glahn (1987), p. 25, who translates the term 鬼主 as 'Demon Master'.

[194–195: in the second year of Qiányuán] 759 CE

[195: checkpoint] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 19 translates 关 as 'strategic pass'. I think checkpoint is a better translation.

[200: Táidēng] present-day Lúgū in Miǎnníng 冕宁, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 15

[200: Pǔān] present-day Lízhōu 礼州, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 15

[203–204: the walled town of Bǎosāi] present-day Miǎnníng 冕宁, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 15.

[204–205: Before the Tiānbào period] before 742 CE.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ See page 18.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ see Backus (1981), p. 92. This event is also mentioned in 'Translation Notes'.

谷东南一百三十里至罗山城，天宝以后，吐蕃新筑，非国家旧城。

贞元十年十月，西川节度兵马与云南军并力破保塞，大定，献俘阙下。十一年正月，西川又拔罗山，置兵固守。邛南驿路由此遂通。

台登城直西有西望川。行一百五十里入曲罗。泸水从北来，至曲罗萦回三曲。每曲中间皆有磨些部落，以其负阻深险，承上莫能攻讨。泸水从曲罗经剑山之西，又南至会同川。边水左右，总谓之西蛮。

邛部东南三百五十里至勿邓部落，大鬼主梦冲地方阔千里。邛部一姓，白蛮五姓，乌蛮初止五姓，在邛部台登中间，皆乌蛮也。

乌蛮妇人以黑缯为衣，其长曳地；白蛮妇人以白缯为衣，下不过膝。又束、钦两姓在北谷，皆白蛮。三姓皆属梦冲。内受恩赏于国，外私于吐蕃。

贞元七年，节度使韦皋使嵩州刺史

town runs the road to Nǎngōng.

One hundred thirty *lǐ* south-east of this valley is the walled town of Luōshān, rebuilt by Tǔbō after the Tiānbǎo period, it is not the old Chinese town.

In the 10th month of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the forces of the military commissioner of Xīchuān joined forces with the troops of Yúnnán to capture Bǎosāi, after the pacification prisoners of war were presented to the court to ask for forgiveness. At the beginning of the 11th year, Xīchuān once again seized Luōshān and stationed soldiers for defense there, so after this the post road from Qióngbù going south was gradually open again.

From the walled town of Táidēng going west one reaches Xīwàng valley, and after another one hundred fifty *lǐ* one enters Qūluō. The Lúshuǐ flows from the north and at Qūluō makes three turns. Between each turn live the Móxiē, because their terrain is extremely dangerous, the Chéngshàng could not attack. The Lúshuǐ from Qūluō passes west of Jiànshān, then turns south to Huìtóng valley. The people left and right of the river are all called western Mán.

From Qióngbù to the south-east three hundred and fifty *lǐ*, the Wùdèng tribe is reached, their senior spirit lord Mèngchōng has a territory thousand *lǐ* wide. In Qióngbù is one clan, five Bái Mán clans and in the beginning only five Wū Mán clans, Between Qióngbù and Táidēng, are all Wū Mán.

The Wū Mán women wear black silk clothes, so long that they drag on the ground. The Bái Mán women wear white silk clothes, that do not go below the knee. In the northern valley are two clans called Shù and Qīn, who are Bái Mán. Three clans all belong to Mèngchōng. The interior had received favours from the emperor, the exterior privately held to Tǔbō.

In the 7th year of Zhēnyuán, the Jiédù Shǐ Wéi Gāo ordered the

云南志 210

云南志 215

云南志 220

云南志 225

云南志 230

云南志 235

[220: 曲] missing in the copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 34.

[221: 承上] Annotation in the text: 承上蛮官名，见后文。- 承上 is the title of a Mán official, see below. [see line 754R on page 50].

[231: 乌蛮] missing in the copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 35.

[232: 白蛮妇人以白缯为衣，下不过膝。] missing in the copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 35.

r 208–209: the walled town of Luōshān] Present-day Xǐdé 喜德.

r 209: after the Tiānbǎo period] after 755 CE

r 211: In the 10th month of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794 CE.

r 215: the 11th year] 795 CE.

r 219–220: one enters Qūluō. The Lúshuǐ flows from the north and at Qūluō makes three turns] This is an area to the north of present-day Mùlǐ 木里, where the Yǎlóng River 雅砻江, coming from the north, makes a turn northwards before flowing south again.

r 237: In the 7th year of Zhēnyuán] 791 CE.

苏隗杀梦冲，因别立大鬼主。

云南志 240

勿邓南七十里有两林部落 [此下当有阙文]。👁️

regional inspector of Xīzhōu Sū Wèi to kill Mèngchōng to install another spirit lord in his stead.

Seventy *lǐ* south of Wùdèng is the Liǎnglín tribe. [Something missing after this.]

第二卷 Mountains, Valleys, Rivers and their Sources 《山川江源》

The second *juàn* focusses on the geographical features of Yúnnán and beyond, including regions of present-day Burma and Tibetan areas north of Yúnnán.

Translation Notes

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 investigated the names and locations of rivers, mountains, valleys, etc. mentioned in this chapter and gave contemporary names for most places in his 《中国西南历史地理考释》。(48)

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 17–22 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 21–26. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 41–45 has comprehensive annotations on this section.

The first section covers the geographical features of the region of present-day Kūnmíng, then called Tuòdōng 柘东。(49)

金马山在柘东城螺山南二十余里，高百餘丈，与碧鸡山东南西北相对。土俗传云，昔有金马，往往出见，山上亦有神祠。从汉界入蛮路出此山之下。螺山偏地悉是螺蛤，故以名焉。

云南志 245

The Jīnmǎ mountain lies about twenty *lǐ* south of Tuòdōng's Luó mountain, it is several hundred *zhàng* high, facing Jade Chicken Mountain south-west to north-east. According to local legend, in the past there was a golden horse, appearing frequently. On the mountain are temples and ancestral halls. The road from the Hàn territory into the Mán territory begins below this mountain. Everywhere on the slopes of Luó mountain are snails and shells, hence

[240: 林] in the copy 姓, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 36.

[241: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=20>

r 240–241: Liǎnglín tribe. [Something missing after this.] The copyist noted something missing, but with the change by Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 35 the sentence becomes understandable.

r 242: Jīnmǎ mountain] The name translates as Golden Horse Mountain.

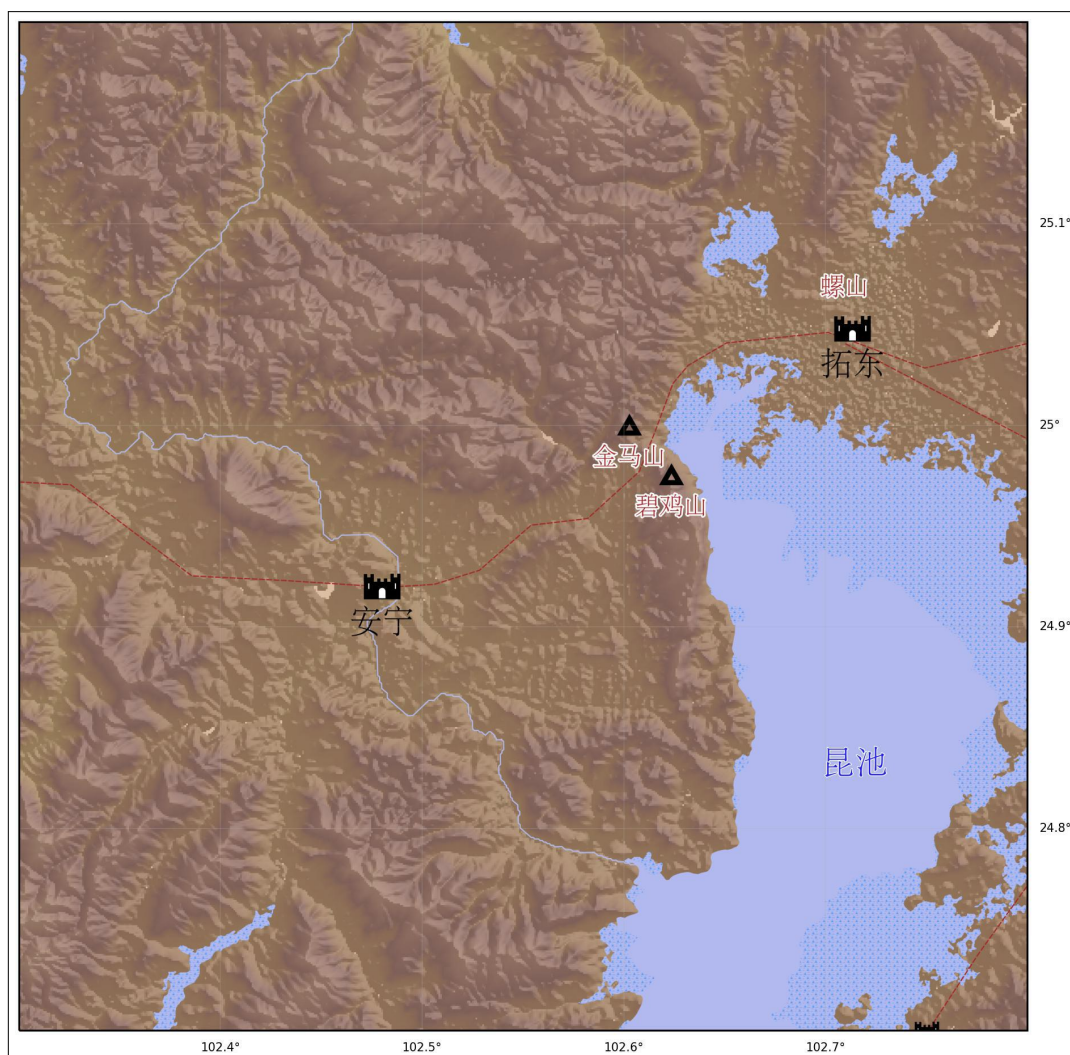
r 242–243: Luó mountain] This name translates as Conch Mountain. Its exact location is unclear, certainly in the north or north-east of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明, Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 38 places it at present-day Yuántōng Shān 圆通山, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 550 places it at Dàpǔjí Shān 大普吉山 as that mountain is shaped like a conch

r 243–244: Jade Chicken Mountain] The name translates as Jade Chicken Mountain.

r 244–246: According to local legend, in the past there was a golden horse, appearing frequently. On the mountain are temples and ancestral halls.] The 'History of the Hàn Dynasty' 《汉书》 already records Jīnmǎ 金马 and Bìjī 碧鸡 as sacred sites: 「或言益州有金马碧鸡之神」。(50).

(48) Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 549–566

(49) The 《云南志》 uses the writing form 柘东, other historic documents use 拓东, which is also the form used today.



Map 3:
The Tuòdōng Region

碧鸡山在昆池西岸上，与拓东城隔水相对。从东来者冈头数十里已见此山。山势特秀，池水清澹。水中有碧鸡山，石山有洞庭树，年月久远，空有余本。👁️

its name.

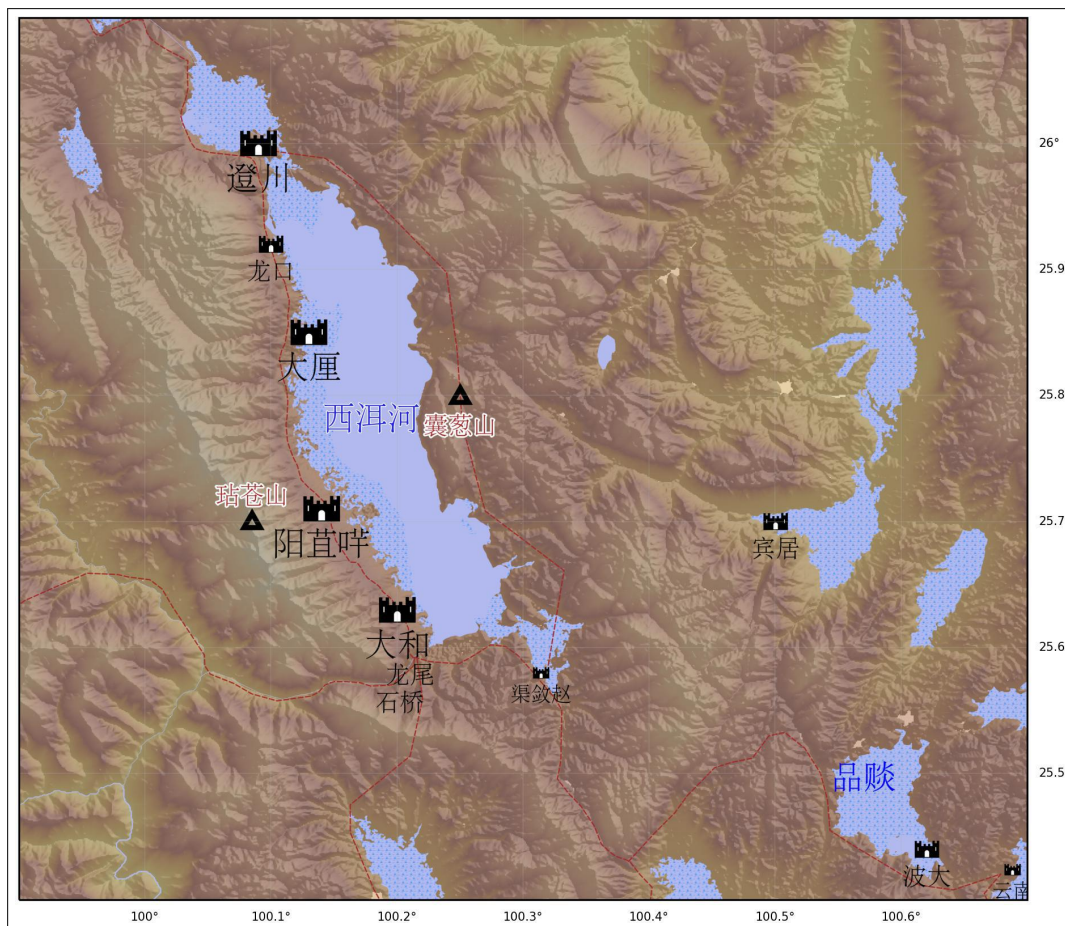
Bìjī mountain is on the western side of Kūnchí, across the water from the walled town of Tuòdōng. Coming from the eastern side, one can already see it from the top of the ridge several tens of *lǐ* away. The mountain is extremely beautiful, the lake's waters are clear and calm. In the middle of the water is Jīnmǎ mountain, on the stony mountain grow **Dòngtíng trees**, over the passage of time they have nothing but roots.

云南志 250

云南志 255

l254: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=23>

r255: **Dòngtíng trees**] **Dòngtíng trees** are mentioned in a poem by Táng dynasty poet Mǎ Dài 马戴 (799–869 CE), called 《猿啼洞庭树，人在木兰舟》，but I have otherwise not been able to find a reference that would indicated what kind of tree this is.



Map 4:
The Ěrhǎi Region

The following section covers the Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 and Cāngshān 苍山 region, including the mountains on the eastern side of Ěrhǎi.⁽⁵¹⁾

玷苍山。南自石桥，北抵登川，长一百五十余里，名为玷苍。直南北，亦不甚正。东向洱河，城郭邑居，棋布山底。西面陡绝，下临平川。山顶

云南志 260

Cāngshān: from **Shíqiáo** in the south they reach up to **Dēngchuān** in the north, in total more than one hundred fifty *lǐ*, named for their mottled green. They run directly from south to north, but not entirely straight. To the east lies Ěrhé, walled cities and villages

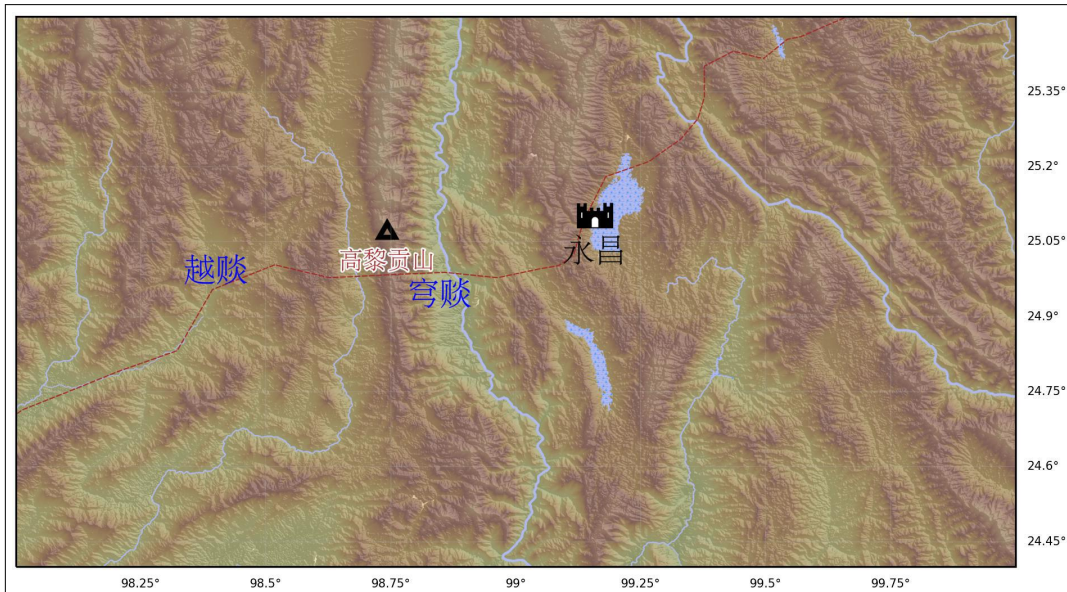
[257: 玷苍山] 案玷《唐书》作点 – The character 玷 is written as 点 in the 《唐书》.

r257: Shíqiáo] The name means stone bridge. At the southern end of Cāngshān 苍山 it probably is at present-day Tiānshēng Qiáo 天生桥, a natural crossing over the outflow of Ěrhǎi 洱海, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406.

r257: Dēngchuān] In the vicinity of present-day Dèngchuān 邓川, where the ruins of an old walled town, called Déyuán 德源, were excavated ④.

r260–261: walled cities and villages lie scattered at the base of the mountain] The oldest villages in the region are all strung along the base of Cāngshān, see Zhōu Jǐnguó 周锦国 and Zhào Yuánliáng 赵元梁 (2013).

(51) Part of that passage is translated in Pidhainy (2005).



Map 5:
The Yǒngchāng Region

高数千余丈，石棱青苍，不通人路。
夏中有时堕雪。

囊葱山在西洱河东隅，河流俯啮山根。土山无树石。高处不过数十丈。面对宾居、越析，山下有路，从渠敛赵出登川。👁️

lie scattered at the base of the mountain. Their western side is steep and the lower part is a basin. The mountains are several thousand *zhàng* high, the stony ridges are greenish-blue, there is no road across it. In the middle of summer sometimes falls snow. The Nángcōng Mountains are on the eastern side of Xiě Hé, with streams nibbling at the feet of the mountains. They are soil mountains with neither trees nor rocks, and they are only several tens of *zhàng* high. They lie opposite Bīnjū and Yuèxī, at the bottom of the mountains is a road, it is possible to travel from Qúliànzhào to Dēngchuān.

云南志 265

云南志 270

The following covers the area west of Yǒngchāng 永昌, present-day Bǎoshān 保山. From the plateau of Yǒngchāng the terrain drops steeply towards the Nù River 怒江, which was feared for its miasmas, or tropical diseases. On the western side of the Nùjiāng the Gāolígòng Mountains 高黎贡山 rise steeply and formed a significant obstacle for caravans: in summer the Nùjiāng

l262: 夏] In the 《四库全书》 copy 冬, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 39.

l268: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=24>

r261–262: Their western side is steep and the lower part is a basin.] The western side of Cāngshān is much steeper than the eastern side, the valley mentioned is the plain of Yàngbì 漾濞 🌐.

r266–268: They are soil mountains with neither trees nor rocks, and they are only several tens of *zhàng* high] While the mountains between Ěrhǎi 洱海 and the Bīnchuān valley are a bit higher than just a few metres, it is interesting to note that, as like today, the mountains are described as barren. This is an effect of the rain-shadow of the Cāngshān mountains, resulting in very little rainfall on the western slopes of these mountains.

r268: Bīnjū] In the region of present-day Bīnjū 宾局 in Bīnchuān 宾川 county.

r268: Yuèxī] present-day Bīnchuān.

r269: Qúliànzhào] At present-day Fèngyí 凤仪, on the southern side of Ěrhǎi.

valley is hot and humid, posing a serious malaria risk to anyone crossing it, but in winter snow on the mountain passes made the journey equally dangerous, something even recorded in folk songs, as this text notes. On the western side of the Gāolígòng Mountains 高黎贡山 lies the Yuè Dàn area, around present-day Tóngchōng 腾冲.

The scant descriptions given about the region west of the Nùjiāng show that Yǒngchāng was the western-most point the Chinese had any reliable information about, with scant knowledge of the region beyond the Gāolígòng Mountains.

The crossing of the Nùjiāng is not described in detail, but I assume that the crossing was probably at Shuānghóng Bridge 双虹桥, a double-span bridge utilizing a rocky outcrop in the middle of the Nùjiāng to build a bridge out of two shorter segments. From about there were two historic paths across the Gāolígòng Mountains that both reach the Tóngchōng area.

高黎共山在永昌西，下临怒江。左有平川，谓之穹𦉳，汤浪加萌所居也。草木不枯，有瘴气。

云南志 275


自永昌之越𦉳，途经此山，一驿在山之半，一驿在山之巔。朝济怒江登山，暮方到山顶。

云南志 280

冬中山上积雪苦寒，夏秋又苦穹𦉳、汤浪毒暑酷热。河𦉳贾客在寻传羁离未还者为之谣曰：

「冬时欲归来，高黎共上雪。

秋夏欲归来，无柳穹𦉳热。

春时欲归来，囊中络赂绝。」

The Gāolígòng Mountains are west of Yǒngchāng, down below they face the Nù River. On the right is a flat valley, called Qióng Dàn. It is the home of the Tānglàng and Jiáméng. The vegetation there does not wither and there are miasmas.

The journey from Yǒngchāng to Yuè Dàn crosses these mountains, one post stop is halfway up the mountain and one is at the peak. Crossing the Nùjiāng and climbing the mountain one reaches the top only at dusk.

In the middle of winter snow piles up on top of the mountain and it is bitter cold, summer and autumn are also hard, in Qióng Dàn and Tānglàng the heat is unbearable. The merchants from Hé Dàn, who are forced to stay, have a saying:


'If you want to return in winter on the Gāolígòngshān is snow.

If you want to return in summer or autumn, Wu!Bang! there is the heat of Qióng Dàn.

If you want to return in spring, there is no *luòlù* left in your bag.'


The following section covers present-day northern Burma, an area not very accessible even today. The vague descriptions and exaggerated claims about the size of produce suggest that none of the sources of this text had ever travelled there.

Had there ever been a land road to India, it would have passed through this region. It took a considerable effort to build the 'Stilwell Road' during the Second World War and the road only remained open for a short period,⁽⁵²⁾ so it seems unlikely that there was ever a regularly used land road

[271-272: 左有]  Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 17 has '左右', not '左有'. Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 65 suggests it should be 左有 (i.e. on the right hand side), not 左右 (i.e. on both sides) as there is only flat land on the western side.

[284: 囊] The 《四库全书》 copy has 平, but Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 65 suggests, based on other texts which have this passage, that it should be 囊. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 18 agrees.

[284: 络赂] Annotation in the text: 络赂, 财之名也 - *luòlù* is another name for money.

[284: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=25>

r284: Wu!Bang!] Sound of a clapper in a Chinese opera.

r286: *luòlù*] money, see the annotation by the copyist.

⁽⁵²⁾ Tuchman (1972)



Illustration 1:
Map detail of the route to India from Young (1907)

between India and China via Yúnnán.⁽⁵³⁾ Since the land-sea road, down the Irrawaddy from northern Burma and then along the coast to India, is comparatively easy, it seems much more likely the road from China to India via Yúnnán, the so-called Shu-India road, was along the coast from the Irrawaddy delta.

大雪山在永昌西北。从腾充过宝山
城，又过金宝城以北大賧，周迴百
余里，悉皆野蛮，无君长也。地有
瘴毒，河賧人至彼中瘴者，十有八
九死。阁罗凤尝使领军将于大賧中筑

The big snow mountains are north-west of Yǒngchāng, from
Téngchōng one passes the walled town of Bǎoshān and also the
Great Dàn north of the walled town of Jīnbǎo, which measures
more than one hundred *lǐ*, they are all wild *Mán* without leaders.
The land has poisonous miasmas, if the people from Hé Dàn go

云南志 290

r288: Téngchōng] This is perhaps the first mention of the name Téngchōng 腾冲 in a Chinese document (Kott (2003)). Its location, west of the Gāolígòng Mountains 高黎贡山, suggests that its location is about where present-day Téngchōng is located ⑥.

r288–289: the Great Dàn north] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 552–553 suggests that this is Kǎndǐ 坎底, present-day Putao, in northern Burma, once known as Hkamti Long. It is the only larger flat area in that region, so deserving the name. Kingdon-Ward (1921) contains a map with details of the area in question. Guǎngdàng 广荡 mentioned in page 78 might be the same place.

r291–292: if the people from Hé Dàn go there and catch it, eight or nine out of ten will die] There seems to have been some knowledge that the local people were immune to disease.

(53) The Táng dynasty monk Xuánzàng 玄奘 reports in his 'Great Táng Records of the Western Regions' 《大唐西域记》 that such a connection existed. Young (1907) made such a journey and provides a detailed map, however the names on the map have no similarity to the names used in this text, see figure 3 on page 98.

云南志 295

城，管制野蛮。不逾周岁，死者过半。遂罢弃不复往来。其山上肥沃，种瓜瓠长丈余，冬瓜亦然，皆三尺围。又多薏苡，无农桑，收此充粮。三面皆是大雪山，其高处造天。往往有吐蕃至賧货易，云此山有路，去赞普牙帐不远。👁

there and catch it, eight or nine out of ten will die. Géluōfèng once sent an army to establish a city in the Great Dàn to control those wild *Mán*. But after not even one year, half of them had died, he gradually gave up the occupation and never went back. The soil of these mountains is fertile, gourds grow longer than one *zhàng*, winter gourds also ripen, they can be three *chǐ* in circumference. There are lots of Job's tears, but there is no cultivation nor mulberry trees, they are harvested to make up for a lack of grain. On three sides there are big snow mountains as high as the sky. Frequently people from Tǔbō come to this Dàn to trade, they say there is a road over the mountains, it is not far to the military camp of the Zànpǔ.

Fán Chuò 樊绰 then turns to the course of the Jīnshā River 金沙江, the main tributary of the Yangzi 长江 and the most significant river in the region. The places in this section are difficult to identify, as the area was at the time mostly under the control of Tǔbō this is not surprising. The tribes of this area are called the Móxiē Mán 磨些蛮, often considered the ancestors of the Nàxī 纳西. The first river mentioned is the Sūnshuǐ 孙水, which today is known as the XXX 安宁河, flowing southwards into the Jīnshā River from present-day Xīchāng 西昌.

云南志 305

又有孙水，源出台登山，南流过襁州，西南至会州，诺賧与东泸水合。古诺水也。

There is the Sūnshuǐ river, its source in the Tǎidēng mountains, it flows south through Xīzhōu, then south-west until Huìzhōu, Nuò Dàn and into the Eastern Lú River, which used to be called the Nuò River.

源出吐蕃中节度北，谓之诺矣江，南郎部落。又东折流至寻传部落，与磨些江合。

A river with its source inside Tǔbō's northern Jiédù is also called Nuòyǐ River, the Nánláng tribe lives there. It then flows eastwards until the Xúnchuán tribe, where it flows together with the Móxiē River.

云南志 315

源出吐蕃中节度西其笼川犛牛石下，故谓之蛮犛牛河。环绕弄视川，南流过賧桥上下磨些部落，即谓之磨些江。至寻传与东泸水合。东北过会同川，总名泸水。

Its source is below the yak rocks of the Lóng valley west of the Tǔbō military district, so it is also called the *Mán's* XXX. It flows around the Nòngshì valley, then south past Tiěqiáo, where the Móxiē tribe lives, so it is also called the Móxiē River. In Xúnchuán it flows together with the Dōnglúshuǐ, north-east passing Huìtóng valley, after the confluence it is called the Lú River.

蜀忠武侯诸葛亮伐南蛮，五月渡泸

When the loyal Shǔ marquis of Wǔ Zhūgé Liàng made his exped-

l296: 是] The 《四库全书》 copy has 占, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 18.

l298: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=26>

l303: 孙] Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 72 adds this character, but it is omitted in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 19.

l304: 水合] Annotation in the text: 此处似有脱漏 - The copyist notes that something missing, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 19 adds 水合.

l307: 吐蕃] The 《四库全书》 copy only has 蕃, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 43.

l317: 蜀忠武侯诸葛亮] Honorific frequently used for Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮.

r302: Zànpǔ] ruler of Tǔbō.

r313: Nòngshì valley] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 559 identifies this as present-day Bēnzǐlán 奔子栏 🌐, one of the few fertile valleys along the Jīnshā River.

水处，在弄栋城北，今谓之南泸。

两岸葭苇，大如臂胫。川中气候常热，虽方冬行过者，皆袒衣流汗。

又东北入戎州界，为马湖江。至关边县门，与朱提江合，流戎州南城入外江。👁️

ition against the southern *Mán*, he crossed the *Lúshuǐ* in the 5th month north of the walled town of *Nòngdòng*, today this is called the Southern *Lú* River.

云南志 320

On both sides of the river are reeds, wide as arms and shins. The weather in the valley is often hot, and even when winter the clothes of those passing through take off their clothes dripping with sweat. From the north-east it enters *Róngzhōu* where it is known as *Mǎhú* River, until the gates of *Guānbiān* county, where it flows together with the *Shūshí* river, and then south of *Róngzhōu* it enters the outer river.

云南志 325

Now comes a section on the present-day *Diānchí* 滇池 area.

The main river flowing into *Diānchí* 滇池 is the river now called *Pánlóng* River 盘龙江, which as the text notes, flows into the lake from the north-east.

The outflow of the *Diānchí* 滇池 is the *Tángláng* River 螳螂江, later called the *Pǔdù* River 普渡河, before it flows into the *Jīnshā* river 金沙江, here called the *Lú* River 泸水.

昆池在柘东城西，南北百余里，东西四十五里。

水源从金马山东北来。柘东城北十数里，官路有桥渡此。水阔二丈余，清深迅急，至碧鸡山下，为昆州，因水为名也。土蛮亦呼名滇池 [今晋宁川中，自有大池在东南，当是滇池。水不可呼池，乃蛮不能别]。滇池水亦名东昆池。

Kūnchí lies west of *Tuòdōng*, north to south it is over one hundred *lǐ*, east to west forty-five *lǐ*.

云南志 330

Its waters come from north-east of the Golden Horse Mountain. About ten *lǐ* north of the walled town of *Tuòdōng* is a bridge on the official road crossing it. Its waters are more than two *zhàng* wide, green, deep, quick, and turbulent. When it reaches the foot of *Biji* mountain, that is *Kūnzhōu*, named after the lake. The local tribe also calls it *Diānchí* [In *Jīnníng* valley there is also a big lake, it is the south-east, that is *Diānchí* 滇池. A river cannot be called a lake, but the *Mán* cannot distinguish them.] The waters of *Diānchí* are also called the eastern *Kūnchí*.

云南志 335

西南绕山，又西北池流为河，过安宁城下。亘水东西有桥三十，一阔长三百馀步。

In the southwest it is surrounded by mountains, in the northwest it flows again as a river, passing below *Ānníng*. Across the water from east to west are thirty bridges, one is more than three hundred paces long.

云南志 340

徒行七日程，与泸水合。👁️

Seven stages away it flows into the *Lúshuǐ* river.

l321: 葭] added according to *Xiàng Dá* 向达 (1962), p. 45.

l322: 方] The 《四库全书》 copy has 至, changed according to *Xiàng Dá* 向达 (1962), p. 45.

l324: 江] added according to *Xiàng Dá* 向达 (1962), p. 45.

l325: 戎州] The 《四库全书》 copy has 戎门, corrected according to *Xiàng Dá* 向达 (1962), p. 45.

l326: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=27>

l328: 南北] The 《四库全书》 copy only has 南, changed according to *Xiàng Dá* 向达 (1962), p. 46.

l328-329: 东西] The 《四库全书》 copy is missing these two characters, changed according to *Xiàng Dá* 向达 (1962), p. 46. See also the annotation by the copyist.

l329: 四十五里] Annotation in the text: 此四字疑衍文 - In these four characters there is an error.

l343: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=28>

r327: outer river] *Wài* river 外江 literally means 'outer river', referring to the lower reaches of the *Yangzi* 长江.

r339-340: In the southwest it is surrounded by mountains, in the northwest it flows again as a river, passing below *Ānníng*] The outlet of *Diānchí* is on its western side, the river then flows northwest past *Ānníng* 安宁, as described.

The following describes a lake system south of Diānchí, which could, judging by the distance, be the lakes north of Jiāngchuān 江川, but, if one considers the distance description of two stages from Diānchí as wrong, it seems more likely to be the valley system of present-day Jiànshuǐ 建水 and Shípíng 石屏. The description of the cave could be what is now called ‘Swallow Cave’ 燕子洞, east of Jiànshuǐ 建水.⁽⁵⁴⁾

云南志 345 又量水川在滇池南两日程，汉旧黎州也。川中有大池，其水东泄。流处出一石窠中，流水甚广，石窠甚狭。土蛮云，此忽窠空，则百姓忧溺。

新丰川亦有大，甚广。👁️

Two stages south of Diānchí is Liàngshuǐ valley, the old Hàn Lí prefecture. In the middle of the valley are big lakes, the water runs off eastwards. The water flows out of a hole in the stones, the water is very wide, the hole is very narrow. The local tribes say if the hole becomes empty the people will drown.

In Xīnfēng valley there is also a big lake.

The Lánkāng river 澜沧江, or Mekong, was called just that during the Táng dynasty.

云南志 350 澜沧江源出吐蕃中大雪山下莎川。东南过聿賚城西，谓之濼水河，又过顺蛮部落。南流过剑川大山之西。澜沧江南流入海。

云南志 355 龙尾城西第七驿有桥，即永昌也。两岸高险，水迅激。横亘大竹索为梁，上布箬，箬上实板，仍通以竹屋盖

The Lánkāng River springs in Shā valley at the foot of the big snow mountains in Tǔbō. In the south-east it passes west of Yùjī town, where it is called Lài River, and then it passes the region of the Shùn Mán tribe. South it flows west of the big snow mountain of Jiànchuān and then the Lánkāng river flows south into the sea.

Seven stages west of the walled town of Lóngwěi is a bridge leading to Yǒngchāng. On both sides there are high cliffs, the water flows fast and rapid. It is spanned by a bamboo-covered bridge. It

l347: 此] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 48.

l347: 窠] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 48.

l347: 则] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 48.

l349: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=28>

r350: Shā valley] Location unclear, the Mekong springs in present-day Zádūo 杂多 county, in Tibetan called ཇུ་ལོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་, pronounced [dza tʰø dzɔŋ], which bears a phonetic similarity to Shāchuān 莎川 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zadoi_County (accessed February 9, 2021)).

r351: Yùjī town] Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), pp. 80–81 places this at present-day Déqīn.

r353–354: west of the big snow mountain of Jiànchuān] This is Lǎojūnshān 老君山 in present-day Lánpíng 兰坪 county 📍.

r355: Seven stages west of the walled town of Lóngwěi] Seven stages from Ěrhǎi 洱海 📍 to the Mekong crossing makes about sense.

r355: bridge] maybe the location of the Jìhóng bridge 霁虹桥 between present-day Shānyáng 衫阳 on the eastern side and Shuǐzhài 水寨 on the western side. The geographic description that follows matches this location. Needham (1971), pp. 200–201 notes that the gorge there had been bridged ‘since ancient times’ and that the bridge was ‘formerly of bamboo cables’, before being replaced by iron chains around 1470 CE.

r357–359: It is spanned by a bamboo-covered bridge. It uses large bamboo ropes as support, on top of it are bamboo mats and on top of them are wooden planks.] This sounds like a description of a cover over this bridge, but I doubt this was the case: unlike a cantilevered wooden bridge, a bamboo rope bridge does not require structural support by a cover, to the contrary, it is too weak to support additional weight. For a picture how such a bridge looked like see Knapp and Miller (2019), p. 15. In the 20th century there were buildings on the bridge-heads on both sides. As Fán Chuò 樊绰 never went there, this description of the bridge might not be entirely accurate.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ For the controversy about the location of Liàngshuǐ valley see Zhào Lǚfū 赵吕甫 (1985), pp. 79–82.

桥。其穿索石孔，孔明所凿也。昔诸葛征永昌，于此筑城。今江西山上有废城遗迹及古碑犹存，亦有神祠庙存焉。👁️

uses large bamboo ropes as support, on top of it are bamboo mats and on top of them are wooden planks. The ropes pass through holes in the stone, these were chiselled by Kǒng Míng. It was built when Zhūgē Liàng attacked Yǒngchāng. Today, on the western side of the mountain are the ruins of an abandoned town. There are still old tablets as well as an ancestral temple.

云南志 360

The following section introduces the rivers of Burma, the Irrawaddy, and the streams further west. The Lishuǐ 丽水 is the present-day Irrawaddy, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 562. But the second major river, the Mínuò River 弥诺江, is not entirely clear. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 566 identifies it as the Qīndūn 欽敦 river, or Chindwin. I think this is wrong. The Chindwin is a tributary to the Irrawaddy and does not independently flow into the sea. It might be the Pathein, a western branch of the Irrawaddy. It is obvious from the descriptions given that the Burmese lowland was not particularly well known.

又丽水一名禄卑江，源自邈些城三危山下。南流过丽水城西。又南至苍望。又东南过道双王道勿川西，过弥诺道立栅。又西与弥诺江合流。过骠国南入于海。

Then there is the Lishuǐ, also called Lùbēi River. Its source is in Luóxiē, below Sānwēi mountain. South it flows west of the walled town of Lishuǐ, then south to Cāngwàng, then it flows southeast through the Dàowù valley of the Dàoshuāng king. West it passes the Mínuòdào lì stockade, then west again where it flows into the Mínuòjiāng. Then it flows southwards through the state of Pyu before entering the sea.

云南志 365

水中有蛟龙、鳄鱼、乌鰂鱼。又有水兽似牛，游泳则波涛沸涌，状如海潮。《禹贡》导黑水至于三危，盖此是也。或云源当是大月河，恐非也。

In the water are flood dragons, crocodiles and tilapia. There are also water beasts that resemble cattle, when swimming the waters are boiling, like sea tides. The 'Tributes of Yǔ' traces the Hēishuǐ to Sānwēi mountain, it is probably so. There is the saying its source is the Dàyuè River, I do not think so.

云南志 370

又弥诺江在丽水西，源出西北小婆罗门国。南流过涌腋苴川，又东南至兜弥伽木栅。分流绕栅，居沙滩南北一百里，东西六十里。合流正东，过

The Mínuòjiāng is west of the Lishuǐ, its source is in the lesser state of Pólómén in the northwest. It flows south through the Yǒngyìjū valley, then southeast reaching Dōumíjiāmù stockade, here it branches flowing around the stockade. The sandbank is

云南志 375

[361: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=29>

[364: 禄卑江] In the copy, the 卑 character is miswritten as 𠂇 over 斗, such a character does not exist, says the copyist. However, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 566 retains the character as written, according to the 《汉语大辞典》 *bēi* is pronounced *bēi*.

r360: Kǒng Míng] Another name for Zhūgē Liàng.

r361-362: on the western side of the mountain are the ruins of an abandoned town] The location of this place could be at present-day Shānyáng 衫阳 ☉, a township on a small plain high above the river.

r363: ancestral temple] Today, there are temples on the eastern side of the bridge, the first one Xīshānsì 西山寺 ☉ closer to Shānyáng 衫阳, then another one, Jiāngdǐngsì 江顶寺 ☉, right before the steep descend into the gorge begins. Because of the location it seems likely that a temple existed there early on.

r366: Lishuǐ] the Irrawaddy

r371: tilapia] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 21-25 translates this as 'black cuttlefish'. Cuttlefish is a saltwater species, I think this means tilapia, an edible freshwater fish.

云南志 380 弥臣国，南入于海。👁️

one one hundred *lǐ* from south to north, sixty *lǐ* from east to west. In the east the waters flow together again, then pass the state of **Míchén** before flowing south into the sea.

第三卷 The Six Zhào 《六诏》

The third *juàn* introduces the six *zhào* 六诏, or local polities, and how they – one by one – fell under the rule of the Méngshè 蒙舍 clan, who ruled the southernmost *zhào* 诏, to form the unified polity that would become known as Nánzhào 南诏.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Translation Notes

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 23–32 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 27–33. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 41–45 has comprehensive annotations on this section.

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 discusses various sources of the history of the six *zhào* in his 《南诏之兴盛》，while in his 《两爨六诏地理考释》 he attempts to locate the places mentioned in this section in detail, concluding with a table matching pre-Nánzhào place names with present-day place names.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The numbering of places in this section is confused, starting with a third point and skipping the seventh. This has led to a significant discussion of what and where exactly the six *zhào* were.

The text frequently talks about Méng Guīyì 蒙归义. This is a reference to the Nánzhào ruler Píluógé, *697 †748, whose family name was Méng 蒙 and who had received the honorific Guīyì 归义 from the Táng.

The first section introduces the ethnicity of all the *zhào* as *Wū Mán* 乌蛮, meaning the ‘Black’ or ‘Dark *Mán*’, one of the large subdivisions of ethnic classification applied at the time to the indigenous people of Yúnnán. However, it is important to note that this classification was based on a perceived level of development rather than ethnic markers, with the *Wū Mán* 乌蛮 being considered less ‘civilized’ than the *Bái Mán* 白蛮 or ‘White *Mán*’.⁽⁵⁷⁾

This first section also notes that there were once eight *zhào* 诏, with the exact meaning of this much disputed. As Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 22 notes the text is self-contradictory.⁽⁵⁸⁾ From

l380: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=31>

r381–382: state of Míchén] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 21–25 translates this as ‘Mandalay’. I think this is wrong, it seems that this indicates a principality in the Pathein region.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ While some claim that the six *zhào* covered a much wider area of Yúnnán, this text shows clearly that all the *zhào* were in the vicinity of Lake Ērhǎi 洱海, making a claim for another *zhào* as far away as Qūjìng 曲靖, as the “*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*” 《南诏野史》 claims, highly dubious, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 405.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), pp. 400–410

⁽⁵⁷⁾ see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 407.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 22 suggests that it should read 城时傍及剑川矣罗识二族之后, but also notes that neither 六诏 nor 八诏 were terms used by Nánzhào.

the numbering, it appears that the text actually introduces eight *zhào*, but the first and the sixth are not named. My interpretation of the text is that the two unnamed *zhào* are in the Báiyá 白崖 and the Jiànchuān 剑川 region respectively.

六诏并乌蛮又称八诏。

盖白崖城时傍及剑川矣罗识二诏之后，开元年中，蒙归义攻石桥城，阁罗凤攻石和，亦八诏之数也。👁

The six *zhào* are all *Wū Mán*, they are also called the eight *zhào*.

Regarding the descendants of the two *zhào* Báiyá town's Shíbàng and Jiànchuān's Yīluōshì, in the years of Kāiyuán, Méng Guīyì attacked the walled town of Shíqiáo, Géluōfèng attacked Shíhé, they were among the eight *zhào*.

云南志 385

The second section discusses the genealogies of the previously mentioned two other clans.⁽⁵⁹⁾

时傍母，蒙归义之女，其女复阁罗凤。

初，咩罗皮既败，时傍入居遼州，招诱上浪，得数千户。后为阁罗凤所猜，遂迁居白崖城。

Shíbàng's mother was a daughter of Méng Guīyì, her daughter then married Géluōfèng.

When Miēluōpí was defeated, Shíbàng settled in Téngzhōu, he won over the Shànglàng and gained several thousand households. Afterwards Géluōfèng mistrusted him and he moved to the walled town of Báiyá.

云南志 390

及剑川矣罗识与神川都督言语交通 [原本「川都督」上脱「神」字，今据《新唐书》增入]，时傍与其谋，俱求立为诏。谋泄，时傍被杀害。矣罗识北走

Jiànchuān's Yīluōshì and the commander-in-chief of Shénchuān [The Shén character is missing in the original text, added according to the 'New History of the Tang'] had talks, Shíbàng conspired with him, both demanding to become a *zhào*. After the conspiracy came

云南志 395

l384: 白崖] In the copy Báiyán 白岩, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 56.

l386: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=33>

l388–389: 其女复阁罗凤] Instead of 其女复, the 《四库全书》 copy has just Qī 妻, with the annotation: 《新唐书·南诏传》云，时傍母，归义女，其女复妻阁罗凤。据其文，则此妻字上应有「其女复」三字，盖原本脱误 (The 'New History of the Tang' (Nánzhào Biographies) says, the mother of Shíbàng is the daughter of Méng Guīyì and her daughter married Géluōfèng. There are three characters missing in the text). This is also the opinion in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 23. But Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016b), pp. 52–56 suggests that there are many more mistakes in this paragraph, leading to a substantially different genealogical tree.

l390: 州] In the 《四库全书》 copy Zhōu, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 56.

l394: 矣] The 《四库全书》 copy does not have this character, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 56.

l397: 矣] The 《四库全书》 copy does not have this character, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 56.

r384: Báiyá] at northern end of present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley.

r385: 开元年中] The 《四库全书》 has '开元元年中', but that would mean 713, but that is clearly too early, as Géluōfèng was only born in 712, so one 元 is a extraneous character, it should be '开元二十五年中', i.e. 737, see also Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 93.

r385: Jiànchuān] a plain to the north of the Ěrhǎi drainage area ㊦, still called by this name.

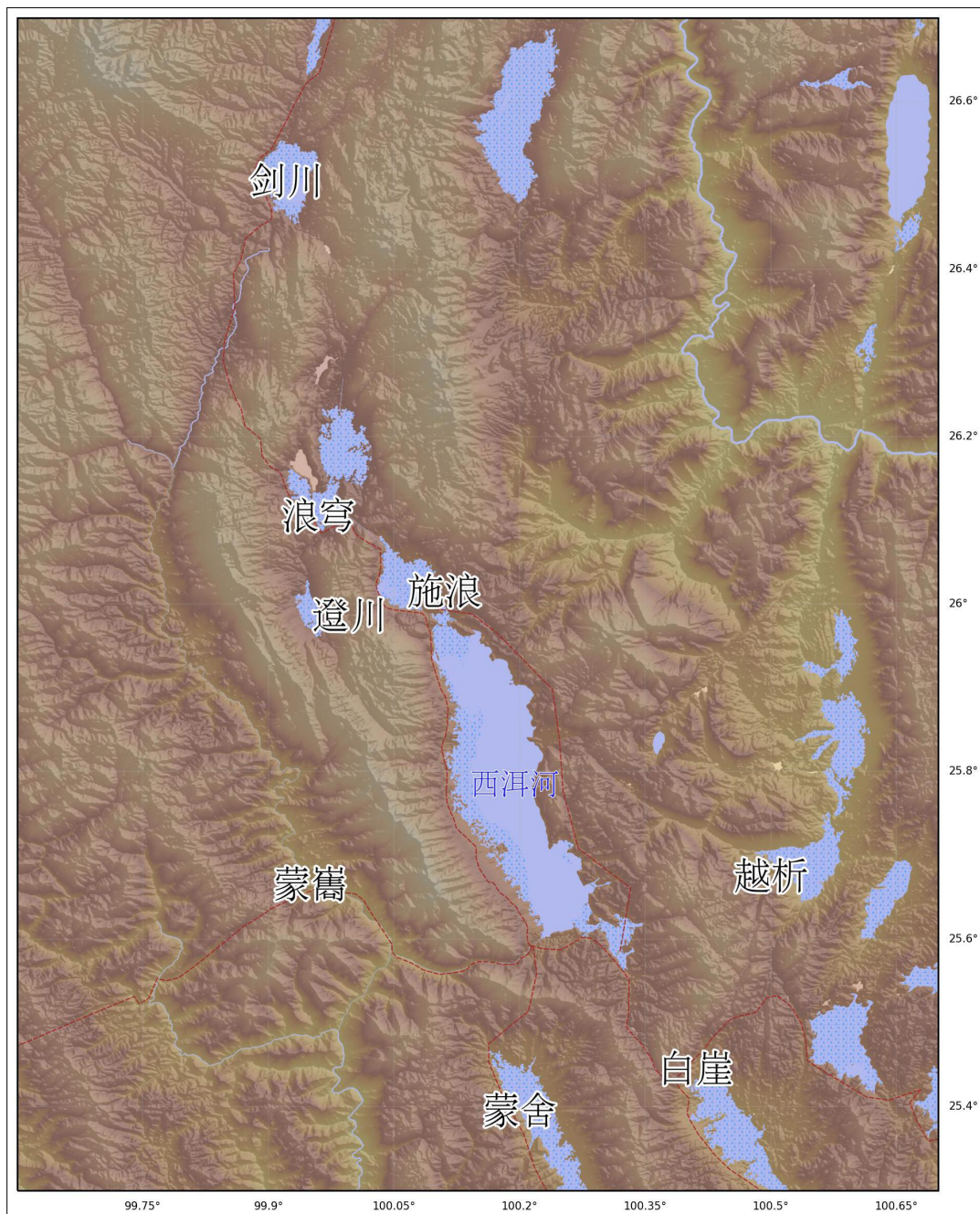
r385: the years of Kāiyuán] 713–741 CE, but this particular event falls into 737.

r386: Shíqiáo] The name means stone bridge. At the southern end of Cāngshān 苍山 it probably is at present-day Tiānshēng Qiáo 天生桥, a natural crossing over the outflow of Ěrhǎi ㊦, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406.

r386: Shíhé] south of Ěrhǎi in present-day Fèngyí 凤仪 ㊦, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406 locates it west of Fèngyí, near Fēiláisi 飞来寺 ㊦.

r391: Shànglàng] This is the 'upper Làng 浪', i.e. probably Làngqióng 浪穹.

(59) Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016b), pp. 52–56 believes there are many errors in this section, with names being confused, and suggests corrections that lead to an interpretation that conforms more with other documents.



Map 6:
The 'Eight' zhào

神川，神川都督送之罗些城 [此条虽不标诏名，据上文，则时傍及罗识亦在诏数也]。👁️

to light, Shíbàng was killed. Yǐluōshì went north to Shénchuān, the Shénchuān commander-in-chief gave him the town of Luōxiē. [Even though this passage does not mention the names of the zhào, according to the text above, Shíbàng and Luōshì are counted among them.]

云南志 400

Fán Chuò then introduces the six zhào 诏 one by one and discusses how each of the territories gradually fell to the southernmost zhào, the area of the Méngshè 蒙舍 clan, which is discussed last.

The discussion starts with Méngxī 蒙騫, the largest zhào. This text does not mention where it was located, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 locates it in present-day Yàngbì 漾濞 county, on the western side of Cāngshān 苍山.⁽⁶⁰⁾

蒙騫一诏最大。初騫辅首卒 [「辅」原本作「转」，今从《新唐书·南诏传》改正]，无子。源罗子年弱，及照源在南诏。蒙归义密有兼吞之意，推恩啗利，源众归焉。居数月，俘照源及源罗子，遂并其地。👁️

Méngxī is the largest zhào. When Xífǔshǒu died [The character Fǔ is misspelt in the original, corrected according to the 'New History of the Táng'], he left no son. Yuán Luō's son was still young and Zhào Yuán was in Nánzhào. Méng Guīyì had the secret intention of annexing both their territory. He bestowed favours and offered many benefits, so that the people of Yuán followed him. After several months, Zhào Yuán and Yuán Luō's son were captured and their territory annexed.

云南志 405

The next section, labeled the third part, talks about Yuèxī 越析 zhào and its fall to Nánzhào. The area discussed is present-day Bīnchuān 宾川 county, east of Ěrhǎi 洱海.

This section mentions a legendary weapon of the region, the duóqiào 铎鞘. Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 translates the term as 'halberd'.⁽⁶¹⁾

三，越析，一诏也。亦谓之磨些诏。部落在宾居，旧越析州也。去囊葱山一日程。

有豪族张寻求 [「张」原本作「帐」，今从《新唐书·南诏传》改正]，白蛮也。开元中，通诏主波冲之妻，遂阴害波冲。剑南节度巡边至姚州，使召寻求

Third: Yuèxī is a zhào, also called Móxiē zhào. The tribe lives in Bīnjū, which is the old Yuèxī prefecture. It takes a day's travel to reach the Nángcōng Mountains.

There was a powerful clan leader Zhāng Xúnqiú [The character Zhāng was misspelled as Zhàng in the original, corrected according to the 'New History of the Táng'], who was Bái Mán. In the years of Kāiyuán, he had an affair with the wife of the zhào leader

云南志 410

云南志 415

l398: 些城] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 56 removes a spurious 二 from 些二城, and adds 之, fundamentally altering the meaning of the sentence.

l400: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=33>

l407: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=34>

l414-415: 开元中] In the 《四库全书》 copy 贞元中, but as this would be after 785, so much later than the other events described here. Mù Qín 木芹 (1995) suggests that this is a mistake and it should read 'in the years of Kāiyuán 开元', so 713-742 CE, i.e. before the unification of Nánzhào. This makes sense. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998b), p. 23 agrees.

r399: Luōxiē] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016b), p. 52 does not follow Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 56 in removing the 二 and suggest these are two towns, with Xiēchéng 些城 being present-day Shāxī 沙溪.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 402

⁽⁶¹⁾ Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 28

答杀之。遂移其诸部落，以地并于南诏。

波冲兄子于赠提携家众出走，天降铎鞘 [「铎鞘」乃兵器，据后《物产篇》内有越析诏于赠「天降铎鞘」云云，疑此「走」字上当有「出」字，「降」字上当有「天」字]。东北渡泸，邑龙佉沙，方一百二十里，周迴石岸，其地总谓之双舍。于赠部落亦名杨堕，居河之东北。

云南志 425

后蒙归义隔泸城临逼于赠，再战皆败。长男阁罗凤自请将兵，乃击破杨堕，于赠投泸水死。数日始获其尸，并得铎鞘。👁

云南志 430

Bōchōng and secretly assassinated Bōchōng. When the military commissioner for Jiànnán came for a border patrol to Yáozhōu, he summoned Xúnqiú and flogged him to death. Then he moved his people and united their land with Nánzhào.

The older brother of Bōchōng, Yúzèng, fled with his family, a *duóqiào* [The *duóqiào* is a weapon, in the section on local products is a section on the *duóqiào* that fell from heaven. There are two characters missing.] fell from heaven. North-east he crossed the Lú and settled at Lóngqūshā, one hundred twenty *lǐ* across, totally surrounded by stone cliffs, others call the region Shuāngshè. Yúzèng's tribe is also called Yángduò, they live north-east of the river.

Afterwards Méng Guīyì cut off the walled town at the Lú, trapping Yúzèng, but each campaign failing. His oldest son Gélúfèng volunteered to lead the troops, he attacked and defeated Yángduò, Yúzèng drowned in the Lúshuǐ. His corpse was recovered after a few days, the *duóqiào* was also gained.

The following three sections introduce the area north of Ěrhǎi, where three *zhào* are located, all belonging to one group, called the Làng, so these three *zhào* are collectively called the 'Three Làng'. The description starts with Làngqióng 浪穹, a principality in present-day Ěryuán 洱源🌐, north-west of Téng Dàn 漾濞.⁽⁶²⁾ This region retained the name until the 20th century.

四，浪穹，一诏也。

云南志 435

诏主丰时、丰咩兄弟俱在浪穹。后丰咩袭漾濞居之，由是各为一诏。

Fourth: Làngqióng is another *zhào*.

Its rulers were Fēngshí and Fēngmiē, two brothers, both living at Làngqióng. Later Fēngmiē made a raid on Téng Dàn to live there, so each was one *zhào*.

丰时卒，子时罗铎立。时罗铎卒，子铎逻望立，为浪穹州刺史。与南诏战败，以部落退保剑川，故盛称剑浪。卒，子望偏立。望偏卒，子偏罗矣立。

云南志 440

When Fēngshí died, his son Shíluōduó became ruler. When Luōduó died, his son Duólúowàng became ruler and regional inspector of Làngqióng prefecture. After being defeated by Nánzhào, his tribe retreated to the safety of Jiànchuān, so this was called

*l*421: 出] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 59.

*l*421: 天] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 59.

*l*432: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=35>

*l*438: 时] Added this character according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 61.

*l*438: 时] Added this character according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 61.

*l*441-442: 望偏卒，子偏罗矣立。偏罗矣卒，子矣罗君立] The 《四库全书》 copy just has 望偏卒，罗矣罗君立, but according to the 《新唐书·南诏传》 there are several characters missing, added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 24. The 《四库全书》 copy has this annotation: 《新唐书·南诏传》，望偏死，子偏罗矣立。偏

*r*422: in the section on local products] see page 96.

*r*423-424: There are two characters missing.] The copyist explains the mistake, I have added the characters following Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 59.

*r*441: Jiànchuān] a plain to the north of the Ěrhǎi drainage area 🌐, still called by this name

⁽⁶²⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 403.

偏罗矣卒，子矣罗君立。

贞元十年，南诏击破剑川，俘矣罗君，徙永昌。

凡浪穹、遼賧、施浪，总谓之浪人，故云三浪诏也。👁️

Jiànlàng. After his death, his son Wàngpiān ascended to the throne. When Wàngpiān died, Piānlōuōyǐ became ruler.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, Nánzhào attacked and destroyed Jiànchuān, captured Piānlōuōyǐ, and moved him to Yǒngchāng.

All the people from Làngqióng, Téng Dàn, Shìlàng are called Làng, so this was called the 'Three Làng zhào'.

云南志 445

Téng Dàn 遼賧 is near present-day Dèngchuān 邓川 🌐.⁽⁶³⁾ Dèngchuān 邓川 is located on a low hill on the northern end of Ěrhǎi 洱海, the ruins of Déyuán 德源 town were excavated there.

During the time discussed here, the area surrounding Dèngchuān was probably a large swampland, Xīhú 西湖 north of Dèngchuān is one relic of it. During the Nánzhào era, the first irrigation canal, now called the Luòshí 落实 river was dug through the mountain. The Míjū 弥苴 was at the time a meandering river, today it is a drainage canal constructed during the Míng dynasty.⁽⁶⁴⁾

五，遼賧，一诏也。

主丰咩，初袭遼賧，御史李知古领诏出问罪，即日伏辜。其子咩罗皮，后为遼賧州刺史，与蒙归义同伐静河蛮。遂分据大厘城。咩罗皮乃归义之甥也。弱而无谋，归义袭其城夺之。咩罗皮复入遼賧，即与浪穹、施浪两诏援兵伐归义。归义于时既克大厘，叶龙口城，归义闻三浪兵至，率众拒战。三浪大败，追奔过遼賧，败卒多陷死于泥沙之中，咩罗皮从此退居野共川。咩罗皮卒，子皮罗遼立。皮罗遼卒，子遼罗颠立。遼罗颠卒，子颠之托立。南诏既破剑川，收野共，俘颠之托，徙永昌。👁️

Fifth, Téng Dàn is another zhào.

When its ruler Fēngmiē attacked Téng Dàn, the censor Lǐ Zhīgǔ was ordered to find out about the crime. On that day he accepted his punishment. His son Miēluōpí subsequently served as regional inspector for the Téng Dàn prefecture and joined forces with Méng Guīyì to attack and pacify the Hé Mán, who then partly resided in Dàxī. Miēluōpí was the nephew of Méng Guīyì, he was weak and guileless. After Méng Guīyì attacked his city and plundered it, Miēluōpí once again went to Téng Dàn, where he joined forces with Làngqióng and Shìlàng to attack Méng Guīyì. Meanwhile he had conquered Dàxī and built Lóngkǒu town. When he heard that the troops of the three Làng arrived, he fought a big war. After the three Làng suffered a great defeat, they fled to Téng Dàn, where many people died in the swamps. After this Miēluōpí retreated to Yěgòng valley. After Miēluōpí died, his son Píluōténg

云南志 450

云南志 455

云南志 460

罗矣死，子罗君立。与此不同，疑此文有脱误 - According to the 《新唐书南诏传》: after Wàngpiān 望偏 died, his son Piānlōuōyǐ succeeded him, when he died, his son Luōjūn followed him. This is different to this text, the 《四库全书》 copyist assumes there are characters missing.

l447: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=36>

l449: 李知古] Annotation in the text: 「李」原本作「为」，今据《新唐书》改正 - The character 李 was originally written as 为, corrected after the 《新唐书》.

l455: 归义]

l461: 颠之托立] Annotation in the text: 「颠之托」《新唐书》作「颠文托」- Spelling differences.

l462: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=37>

r 444: 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r 444-445: Nánzhào attacked and destroyed Jiànchuān] So this is after Nánzhào submitted to the Táng and attacked Tǔbō.

r 454: Dàxī] on the northern part of the plain west of Ěrhǎi, in the region of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲.

r 462: Yěgòng valley] maybe in the present-day Hèqǐng 鹤庆 region

⁽⁶³⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982)[p. 403]

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Elvin (2002), Ěr Yuánciànshuǐliandiànlìjúbān 洱源县水利电力局编 (1995).

took the throne. After Píluōténg died his son Téngluōdiān took the throne. After Téngluōdiān died, his son Diānzhītūō took the throne. Nánzhào then destroyed Jiànchuān, took Yěgòng, captured Diānzhītūō, and took him to Yǒngchāng.

From the above it is clear that the next *zhào*, Shīlàng 施浪, must be in the vicinity of the two Làng 浪 *zhào*, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 locates it at the mouth of the Míjū 弥苴, the river system that drains the region north or Ěrhǎi into the lake.⁽⁶⁵⁾ This area saw a significant change to its geography since the Míng dynasty, Shīlàng 施浪 may have been on a hill east of Dèngchuān 邓川, e.g. near present-day Qīngsuǒ 青索.

六，施浪，一诏也。诏主施望欠。

云南志 470

初阁罗凤据石和城，俘施各皮，而望欠援绝。后与丰咩子咩罗皮同伐蒙归义，又皆败溃，退保牟苴和城。归义稍从江口进兵，胁其部落。无几，施望欠众溃，仅以家族之半，西走永昌。初闻归义又军于澜沧江东，去必取永昌，不能容。望欠计无所出，有女名遗南，以色称。却遣使求致遗南于归义，许之。望欠遂渡澜沧江，终于蒙舍。👁

云南志 475

Six: Shīlàng also is a *zhào*, the ruler of the *zhào* is called Shī Wàngqiàn.

In the beginning, when Géluōfèng seized Shíhé, he took Shīgèpí as prisoner, isolating Wàngqiàn. Afterwards, he joined Fēngmiē and Miēluōpí to attack Méng Guīyì, but they were defeated every time, and for safety retreated to Mójūhé town. Méng Guīyì slowly brought troops from Jiāngkǒu, threatening their tribes. Little later the troops of Wàngqiàn were overwhelmed and he fled west to Yǒngchāng with merely half of his clan. When he heard that Méng Guīyì again had troops on the eastern side of the Láncāng River, certain to take Yǒngchāng, he was desperate. Wàngqiàn could think of an escape. He had a daughter called Yínán who was known for her beauty. He sent out an envoy to ask to betroth Yínán to Méng Guīyì, which was accepted. Shī Wàngqiàn then crossed the Láncāng River again and died at Méngshè.

Even though it is not mentioned, the following describes the genealogy of another *zhào*.

望欠弟望千 [望千虽不标诏名，而列于六诏、八诏之间，则以当第七诏也]，当牟苴和城初败之时，北走吐蕃。吐蕃立为诏，归于剑川，为众数万。望千生千傍，千傍生傍罗颠。南诏既

云南志 485

Wàngqiàn's younger brother [even though Shī Wàngqiàn is not called a *zhào*, as he follows the sixth and precedes the eighth *zhào*, he must be taken as the seventh *zhào*.], Wàngqiàn, went north into Tǔbō when the walled town of Mójūhé had suffered its first defeat. Tǔbō appointed him as *zhào* and he returned to Jiànchuān, command-

l470: 子] Added this character according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 65.

l471: 牟苴和城] 🐞 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 26 has '矣苴和城', not '牟苴和城'. A miswriting.

l478: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=38>

l484: 牟苴和城] 🐞 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 26 has '矣苴和城', not '牟苴和城'. A miswriting, see above.

l486: 千] Added this character according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 66.

r 466: Yǒngchāng] present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953).

r 476–477: had troops on the eastern side of the Láncāng River, certain to take Yǒngchāng] present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 404.

破剑川，尽获施浪部落。傍罗颠脱身走泸北。今三浪悉平，惟傍罗颠、矣罗识也子孙在蕃中。👁

ing many thousands of people. Wàngqiān had a son Qiānbàng, who had a son called Bàng Luōdiān. When Nánzhào attacked Jiànchuān, it gained the Shīlàng tribe. Bàng Luōdiān escaped with his life and went to north of the Lú. Today the three Làng are pacified, only the descendents of Bàng Luōdiān and Yīluōshì are in Tǔbō.

云南志 490

The last, here numbered the 8th, *zhào* is Méngshè 蒙舍, the southernmost *zhào*, that subjugated all the other previously mentioned areas. It was located in present-day Wēishān 巍山 valley.⁽⁶⁶⁾

This section is one of the most important parts of the 《云南志》, as it presents the genealogy of the Méng 蒙 clan, who, with the support of the Táng, became the most powerful group, unifying the region. Subsequently, the relationship with the Táng deteriorated sharply with Nánzhào seeking an alliance with Tǔbō, before submitting again to the Táng. In this text, the reasons for the break are not detailed, but details are given in the text of the 《德化碑》 and the 《旧唐书》.

The genealogy of the Méngshè 蒙舍 clan mentioned in this section has received much attention. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 in his 《南诏之兴盛》 analyses the differences in the various historic sources, which agree on Shè Lóng 舍龙 as the mythological founder of the Méngshè clan, even though the exact genealogy is not clear.⁽⁶⁷⁾

八，蒙舍，一诏也。居蒙舍川，在诸部落之南，故称南诏也。姓蒙。

Eight: Méngshè is another *zhào*, it is located in Méngshè valley, south of all the other tribes, so it is called the **southern *zhào***. Their clan name is Méng.

云南志 495

贞元年中，献书于剑南节度使韦皋，自言本永昌沙壶之源也。南诏八代祖舍龙，生龙独罗，亦名细奴逻。

During the Zhēnyuán years, they presented a memorial to the military commissioner of Jiànnán, Wéi Gāo, claiming they descended from Shāyī in Yǒngchāng and that the 8th generation ancestor was Shè Lóng, who begat Lóngdúluō, who was also called Xīnúlúo.

当高宗时，遣首领数诣京师朝参，皆得召见，赏锦袍锦袖紫袍。

At the time of Gāozōng, he sent his leaders many times to the capital for imperial audiences. Whenever an audience was granted, they were awarded brocade robes and purple robes with brocade sleeves.

云南志 500

l489: 矣罗识] Annotation in the text: 「矣识」即前所称「剑川矣罗识」- The 《四库全书》 copyist notes that the person called Yī Shì 矣识 is the previously mentioned Yīluōshì.

l489: 罗] Added this character according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 66.

l489: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=39>

l497: 沙壶] The 《四库全书》 copy clearly has Shāhú 沙壶, but Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 110 argues that it should be Shāyī 沙壹. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 28 notes the different forms.

r494: southern *zhào*] As this is the explanation of the name Nánzhào, I translate it here. Otherwise I will continue to use the untranslated term.

r496: During the Zhēnyuán years] 785–805 CE.

r498: Shāyī] The Bai people have an origin story of their mythological mother was Shāyī 沙壹, who conceives from a dragon and gives nine little dragons, the youngest of them Xīnúlúo 细奴逻.

r500: At the time of Gāozōng] 650–683 CE

⁽⁶⁶⁾ For a discussion of the location of the Méngshè valley, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 401.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994a), pp. 478–484.

云南志 505 细奴逻生逻盛，逻盛生盛逻皮，盛
逻皮生皮逻阁，皮逻阁生阁罗凤。

云南志 510 当天后时，逻盛入朝，其妻方娠，
行次姚州，生盛逻皮。逻盛闻而喜
曰：「吾且有子承继，身到汉地，死
无憾矣！」既至谒见，大蒙恩奖，敕
鸿胪安置，赐锦袍、金带缯彩数百
匹，归本国。开元初卒。

云南志 515 其子盛逻皮立，盛逻皮卒，子皮逻
阁立。朝廷授特进台登郡王，知沙
州刺史，赐名归义。长男阁罗凤授特
进兼杨瓜州刺史。次男诚节蒙舍州刺
史。次男崇，江东刺史，次男成进，
双祝州刺史。

云南志 525 初，炎阁未有子，养阁罗凤为子。阁
罗凤复归蒙畔，故名承炎阁，后亦
不改。

天宝四载，阁罗凤长男凤伽异入朝
宿卫，授鸿胪少卿。

Xīnúluó begat Luóshèng, Luóshèng begat Shèngluó pí, Shèngluó pí
begat Píluógé, Píluógé begat Géluófèng.

In the Tiānhòu era, Luóshèng went to court, just as his wife was
pregnant. When he was stopping at Yáozhōu, she gave birth to
Shèngluó pí. When Luóshèng heard this he said with joy: 'Since I
now have a son who will carry my name, I can go to the Hàn areas
and die without regret'. When he was granted an audience, he was
amply rewarded. He was appointed as ceremonial minister and
was bestowed a brocade robe, a golden belt, and hundreds of rolls
of multi-coloured silk. He returned home and died at the **begin-
ning of the Kāiyuán period**.

His son Shèngluó pí succeeded him. The court appointed him as
lord specially advanced, king of Táidēng prefecture, and regional
inspector of Shāhú prefecture and was given the name Guīyì. His
eldest son Géluófèng was appointed lord specially advanced and
also regional inspector for Yángguā prefecture. The next son
Chéngjié was appointed as regional inspector of Méngshè, another
son, Chóng, as regional inspector for Jiāngdōng, the last son as
regional inspector for Shuāngzhù prefecture.

At first, Yángé did not have a son, he raised Géluófèng as his son.
Géluófèng returned to Méngmiē, he took his name from Yángé
and did not change it later.

In the 4th year of Tiānbǎo, Géluófèng's eldest son Fèngjiāyì
entered the court's residential guard and was given the title of ju-
nior ceremonial minister.

l504-505: 细奴逻生逻盛，逻盛生盛逻皮，盛逻皮生皮逻阁，皮逻阁生阁罗凤] There is a major error in the
genealogy here, caused by some omissions, the 《四库全书》 copy has 细奴逻生逻盛炎炎生盛逻皮盛逻皮生阁逻凤，
changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 66. The 《四库全书》 copy has the the annotation 《唐书》盛罗皮下尚有
皮逻阁一代，此本盖有脱文 - 'According to the 《唐书》 after Shèngluó pí there is first the generation of Píluógé, this
text is missing some characters.' The genealogic naming convention clearly demands a generation in between, see Lo
(1945).

l507: 逻盛] The 《四库全书》 copy has 逻盛炎, omitted the last character according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 70.

l515-516: 盛逻皮卒，子皮逻阁立] Added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 70.

l517: 赐名归义] Added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 70.

l518: 诚节] The 《四库全书》 edition has 成节度, but Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), pp. 114-115 suggests it should be
Chéngjié 诚节.

l523: 炎阁未有子] Annotation in the text: 《唐书》炎阁为逻盛炎长子，盛逻皮之兄 - According to the 《唐书》 Yángé
was the eldest son of Luóshèngyán and elder brother of Shèngluó pí.

l524: returned to Méngmiē] unclear

r506: In the Tiānhòu era] This would be in the 684704 period, but this is not possible, as Shèngluó pí 盛逻皮 was born
in 674, so it should read 高宗五年, see also Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016a), p. 66.

r507: Yáozhōu] prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安.

r513-514: at the beginning of the Kāiyuán period] 713.

r526: In the 4th year of Tiānbǎo] 745.

七载蒙归义卒，阁罗凤立，朝廷册袭云南王。以伽异大卿，兼杨瓜州刺史。

阁罗凤攻石河城，擒施谷皮，讨越析梟于赠，西开寻传，南通骠国。及张乾拖陷姚州，鲜于仲通战江口，遂与中原隔绝。

阁罗凤尝谓后嗣悦归皇化，但指大和城碑及表疏旧本，呈示汉使，足以雪吾前过也。

凤伽异先死。大历十四年，阁罗凤卒，伽异长男异牟寻继立，生寻梦湊，一名阁劝。

异牟寻每叹地卑夷杂，礼仪不通，隔越中华，杜绝声教。遂献书檄，寄西川节度使韦皋。韦皋答牟寻书，申以朝廷之命。

牟寻不谋于下，阴决大计。遂三路发使，冀有一达。一使出安南，一使出西川，一使出黔中。

贞元十年，三使悉至阙下。朝廷纳其诚款，许其归化。节度恭承诏旨，专

In the 7th year Méng Guīyì died, Géluōfèng succeeded him, the court invested him as the inheritor of the title 'King of Yúnnán', Fèngjiāyì became senior [ceremonial minister] and regional inspector for Yángguā.

Géluōfèng attacked the fortress at Shíqiáo and captured Shīgǔpí, made a punishment expedition to Yuèxī, decapitated Yúzèng, in the west opened Xúnchuán, in the south established connections with the state of Pyu. When Zhāng Qiántuō was captured at Yáozhōu and Xiānyú Zhòngtōng fought war at , the relations with **the central plains** were severed.

Géluōfèng said that he ordered the next generations to return their loyalty to the court. This is all confirmed by a **tablet at the walled town of Tàihé** and old decrees as presented to Hàn envoys, sufficient to exculpate the past betrayal.

Fèngjiāyì died first, **in the fourth year of Dàlì** Géluōfèng died. Fèngjiāyì's eldest Yìmóuxún inherited the throne, his son was Xún Mèngcòu, also called Géquàn.

Yìmóuxún always lamented that his land was backward and the tribes in disarray, the rites non-sensical, cut off from China and education. Therefore he sent a letter to the military commissioner of Xīchūān Wéi Gāo. Wéi Gāo responded to Yìmóuxún, passing his orders to the court.

Yìmóuxún did not consult with those below him and secretly decided on a great plan. He then sent off envoys on three roads, in the expectation that one would arrive. One went via Ānnán, one went out via Xīchūān and another went via Qiánzhōng.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the three envoys all arrived at the court. The court accepted their sincerity and allowed the submis-

云南志 530

云南志 535

云南志 540

云南志 545

云南志 550

云南志 555

l529: 蒙归义卒] Annotation in the text: 《唐书》蒙归义即皮罗阁，乃唐所赐名也 - According to the 《唐书》 Méng Guīyì is Píluōgé, a name conferred to him by the Táng court.

l530: 以] In the 《四库全书》 copy 矣, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 73.

l533: 河] In the 《四库全书》 copy 桥, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 73.

l543: 十] Added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 74.

l552: 发] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 74 has 奉, and so has Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 27, but the 《四库全书》 copy has clearly 发.

l553: 一使出黔中] Annotation in the text: 此五字原本脱，据《唐书》补入 - Those five characters were in missing in the original, added according to the 《唐书》.)

r529: In the 7th year] 748.

r537:] literally 'the river's mouth', a reference to the outflow of Ěrhǎi at Lóngwěi 龙尾 pass

r538: the central plains] China. The event mentioned here is the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng in 750.

r540-541: a tablet at the walled town of Tàihé] The stone tablet referred to here is undoubtedly the 《德化碑》.

r543: in the fourth year of Dàlì] 779.

r555: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

遣西川巡官崔佐时亲信数人，越云南与牟寻盟于玷苍山下。

誓文四本：内一本进献，一本异牟寻置于玷苍山下神祠石函内，一本纳于祖父等庙，一本置府库中，以示子孙，不令背逆，不令侵掠。👁

云南志 570

贞元十年，以尚书祠部郎中兼御史中丞袁滋、内给事俱文珍、刘幽岩入云南，持节册南诏异牟寻为云南王，为西南之藩屏。牟寻男阁劝已后继为王 [「贞元十年，以尚书」云云，至「后继为王」五十八字，与独锦蛮事不相涉，以文义推之，疑为《八诏篇》「蒙舍条」下之文，当在「不令侵掠」句后，错简于此]。👁

sion to the court. The military commissioner respectfully accepted the edict and sent in return the administrative assistant of Xīchuān Cūi Zuǒshí and several assistants to pass through Yúnnán and forge an allegiance with Yì móu xún at the foot of Cāngshān.

There were four books of the Oath: one was given as tribute, one Yì móu xún placed in a stone box at temple at the foot of Cāngshān, one was stored at the ancestors' temple, and one was stored at the government archives to tell the descendants not to go back on this order and not to invade and plunder.

It follows another historical part, which in the 《四库全书》 copy is placed in the 4th *juàn*, describing that in the autumn of 794 the high-ranking official Yuán Zī 袁滋 came to the court of Nánzhào.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán the minister at the director of the bureau of sacrifices and vice censor-in-chief Yuán Zī together with the eunuch ceremonial secretary Jù Wénzhēn and Liú Yōuyán came to Yúnnán carrying the patents to invest Yì móu xún of Nánzhào as 'king of Yúnnán', serving as a shield for the south-west. Yì móu xún's eldest son Géquàn afterwards succeeded as king.

The last section once again cuts to the events in Ānnán 安南, where the beleaguered Chinese tried to remind the attacking forces of Nánzhào of their Oath of Allegiance in 794, by flinging a copy of the oath into their camp. As Nánzhào continued the attack, this proved futile.

云南志 575

臣咸通四年正月，奉本使尚书蔡袭意旨，令书吏写蛮王异牟寻《誓文》数本，并书牒系于车弩上，飞入贼营。臣切览牟寻《誓文》，立盟极切。

今南蛮子孙，违负前誓，伏料天道

Your servant in the first month of the 4th year of Xiántōng received my minister's Cǎi Xí instructions and ordered a clerk to write several copies of this oath by the Mán king Yì móu xún, attached the document to a catapult and flung it into the camp of the rebels. I carefully read Yì móu xún's oath to establish close alliance.

Today, the descendants of the king of the Nánmán violated this

l557: 巡官] Annotation in the text: 判官《唐书》作「巡官」- In the 《唐书》 written as 巡官. See also Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 77.

l564: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=39>

l570-573: 「贞元十年，以尚书」云云，至「后继为王」五十八字，与独锦蛮事不相涉，以文义推之，疑为《八诏篇》「蒙舍条」下之文，当在「不令侵掠」句后，错简于此] This last part has nothing to do with the Dújǐn Mán, it should be after the part on 《八诏篇》 section 第三卷, Bǔ Shào xiān 卜绍先 translates this at Bǔ Shào xiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 33.

l574: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=50>

r566: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r575: in the first month of the 4th year of Xiántōng] 863.

必诛，容臣亲于江源访觅其《誓文》，续俟写录真本进上 [异牟寻《誓文》今附卷末，而此云待访觅续写者，盖其初作此篇时尚未得《誓文》，故所言如此。其后访觅附入，而此本未及刊削，遂前后互异其说耳]。👁️

oath, I propose that the Way of Heaven must punish them. **Please allow this servant and his assistants to search for the original oath and pass a true copy to the court.**

第四卷 *Names and Classifications* 《名类》

The fourth *juàn* gives an ethnic classification of the people in Yúnnán: it names the various groups, their main settlement areas, their leaders, and the connections and conflicts between them.

Fán Chuò 樊绰, the author of this report, witnessed Nánzhào's attack on Ānnán 安南 and his account points out that various tribal groups formed part of the Nánzhào army, so that for the Táng understanding the tribal composition of Yúnnán was of vital military importance.

Translation Notes

The ethnic and clan classification presented in this *juàn* has caused such an intense debate amongst – not only Chinese – historians and anthropologists that it is impossible to adequately summarize it. A review of many opinions can be found in Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a).

For the sake of clarity, I have used the indicated secondary literature to identify the places and regions mentioned in this *juàn*.

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 33–50 and Bǔ Shàoqiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 34–45. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 has an extensive section on the tribes mentioned in this section.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The first section introduces the Cuàn 爨, an ancient clan that used to control the eastern parts of Yúnnán.⁽⁶⁹⁾

西爨，白蛮也。东爨，乌蛮也。

The western Cuàn are *Bái Mán*, the eastern Cuàn are *Wū Mán*.

l583–587: 异牟寻《誓文》今附卷末，而此云待访觅续写者，盖其初作此篇时尚未得《誓文》，故所言如此。其后访觅附入，而此本未及刊削，遂前后互异其说耳] Yimóuxún's Oath is now attached at the end of this *juàn*. The saying that he would search for it and write it, is because in the beginning had not yet obtained a copy of the Oath, so said it like this. Later when it was discovered, it was attached at the end, but this passage was not deleted, so there is a difference between the former and later part of this text.

l587: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=33>

r582–584: Please allow this servant and his assistants to search for the original oath and pass a true copy to the court.] This last sentence states that Fán Chuò needs to search for an original copy of the Oath sworn by Yimóuxún. However, as the copyist notes, a copy of the oath is attached at the end of this document. So this sentence should have been removed in later editing.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 54–66.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ For background information on the Cuàn see Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (2001a) and Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (2001b).

云南志 590

当天宝中，东北自曲靖州，西南至宣城，邑落相望，牛马被野。在石城、昆川、曲轭、晋宁、喻献、安宁至龙和城，谓之西爨。在曲靖州、弥鹿川、升麻川，南至步头，谓之东爨，风俗名爨也。👁️

At the time of **Tiānbǎo**, from **Qū** and **Jìng** prefectures in the north-west to **Xuānchéng** in the south-west villages are close together, cattle and horses are grazed on open pastures. From **Shíchéng**, **Kūnchuān**, **Qūè**, **Jìnníng**, **Yùxiàn**, **Ānníng** to **Lónghé** they are called the western **Cuàn**. From **Qū** and **Jìng** prefectures, **Mílù valley**, **Shēngmá valley** going south towards **Bùtóu** they are called the eastern **Cuàn**, or commonly called **Cuàn**.

Backus explains that from 740 the **Táng** took a more active interest in eastern **Yúnnán**, intending to build a road to **Ānnán**, and thus coming into conflict with the **Cuàn**.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The **Táng** then utilized **Méng Guīyì**, i.e. **Píluógé** 皮逻阁, the chief of the **Méng** 蒙 clan, to weaken the **Cuàn**.

云南志 600

初，爨归王为南宁川都督，理石城，袭杀盖聘、盖启父子 [原本讹作「孟轲」[孟启]，今据《新唐书》改正]，遂有升麻川。归王兄摩湓。湓生崇道，理曲轭川为两爨大鬼主。崇道弟日进，日用在安宁城。

Earlier, **Cuàn Guīwáng** had been appointed as commander-in-chief of **Nánníng** prefecture, administering **Shíchéng**. He assassinated **Gàichěng** and **Gàiqǐ**, father and son [In the original written as **Mèngkē** and **Mèngqǐ**, here corrected according to the '*New History of the Táng*'], gaining **Shēngmá valley**. **Guīwáng**'s brother was **Móbàn**, **Móbàn** had a son called **Chóngdào**, who administered **Qūè valley**, he was a senior spirit lord of the two **Cuàn**. The younger brothers of **Chóngdào**, **Rìjìn** and **Rìyòng**, were in the walled town of **Ānníng**. When **Zhāngchóu Jiānqióng** opened a road to **Bùtóu** the town **Ānníng** was fortified. The **Mán** masses rose, captured, and killed the envoy in charge of the town's construction.

云南志 605

及章仇兼琼开步头路，方于安宁筑城。群蛮骚动，陷杀筑城使者。

Xuánzōng sent an envoy to the King of Yunnan, **Méng Guīyì**, ordering him to mount a punishment expedition. When **Guīyì** stopped

玄宗遣使敕云南王蒙归义讨之。归义师次波州，而归王及崇道兄弟、爨彦

l594: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=45>

r589: At the time of **Tiānbǎo**] 742–756 CE, last reign period of **Táng** dynasty emperor 玄宗

r589: **Qū**] region of present-day north-eastern **Yúnnán**, **Yǒngshàn** 永善, **Zhāotōng** 昭通 and **Huìzé** 会泽, **Liào Déguǎng** 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55

r589: **Jìng**] region of present-day north-eastern **Yúnnán**, **Dàguān** 大关 and **Yíliáng** 彝良, **Liào Déguǎng** 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55

r590: **Xuānchéng**] present-day **Yuánjiāng** 元江, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 356

r591: **Shíchéng**] present-day **Qūjìng**, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 352

r592: **Kūnchuān**] present-day 昆明 region, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 352

r592: **Qūè**] present-day **Mǎlóng** 马龙, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 356, or **Sōngmíng** 嵩明, **Liào Déguǎng** 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55

r592: **Jìnníng**] **Jìnníng** 晋宁

r592: **Yùxiàn**] present-day **Chéngjiāng** 澄江, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 356

r592: **Ānníng**] at present-day **Ānníng** 安宁

r592: **Lónghé**] present-day **Lùfēng**, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 354.

r593–594: **Mílù valley**] present-day region of **Mílè** 弥勒 and **Shīzōng** 师宗, **Liào Déguǎng** 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55

r594: **Shēngmá valley**] region of present-day **Xúndiàn**, **Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜 (1987), p. 334

r594: **Bùtóu**] landing point on the **Hónghé** 红河, near present-day **Yuányáng** 元阳, **Liào Déguǎng** 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Backus (1981), pp. 64–67.

璋等十余人诣军门拜谢，请奏雪前事。归义露章上闻，往返二十五日，诏书下，一切释罪。

无何，崇道杀日进，又阴害归王。归王妻阿媿，乌蛮女也，走投父母，称兵相持。诸爨豪乱。阿媿私遣使诣乌蒙舍川求投，归义即日抗疏奏闻。阿媿男守偶，遂代归王为南宁州都督，归义仍以女妻之。又以一女妻崇道男辅朝。

崇道内怀忿惋，外示和平，犹与守偶母子日相攻伐。阿媿又诉于归义，兴师问罪。行次昆川信宿而曲辘川溃散。崇道南走黎川。归义尽俘其家族羽党，并杀辅朝而取其女。崇道俄亦被杀。诸爨由是离弱。

及归义卒，子阁罗凤立，守偶并妻归河賧，从此与皇化隔绝。阿媿自为乌蛮部落王，从京师朝参，大蒙恩赏。阁罗凤遣昆川城使杨牟利以兵团胁西爨，徙二十余万户于永昌城。乌蛮以言语不通，多散林谷，故得不徙。

是后自曲靖州、石城、升麻川、昆川南至龙和以来，荡然兵荒矣。日用子孙今并在永昌城。界内乌蛮种类稍稍复

at *Bō zhōu*, Guīwáng and Chóngdào's brothers, Cuàn Yànzāng and ten others went to the military gate asking for forgiveness. Guīyì passed their request to the emperor, returning within twenty-five days. The emperor issued an edict pardoning everyone.

Not long after Chóngdào killed Rìjìn and injured Guīwáng, Guīwáng's wife, Āchà, a *Wū Mán* woman, fled to her hometown, calling for reinforcements and all the Cuàn clan leaders rose up. Āchà personally send an envoy to the *Wū Mán* Méngshè valley asking for refuge, Guīyì on the same day wrote a memorial to the emperor. Āchà's son Shǒuǒu then replaced Guīwáng as the commander-in-chief of Nánning prefecture. Guīyì offered him the hand of one his daughters and another to Fǔcháo, the son of Chóngdào.

Chóngdào, even though inside he was full of hatred, outside he appeared calm, he attacked Shǒuǒu and his mother every day. When Āchà told Guīyì, he send a punitive expedition. They stopped at Kūn valley for two days as the troops in the Qūè valley dispersed, Chóngdào fled south to Lízhōu. Guīyì captured his clan and associates, killed Fǔcháo, and took his daughter back. Chóngdào was murdered a little later, leaving the Cuàn divided and weak.

Then, after Guīyì died, his son Géluōfèng succeeded him, Shǒuǒu and his wife returned to Hé Dàn, and were from then on separated from China. Āchà proclaimed herself queen of the *Wū Mán*, she went to the capital for an audience with the emperor and enjoyed a great reception. Géluōfèng sent the Kūn valley envoy, Yáng Móulì, to encircle the western Cuàn, and moved twenty-thousand households to Yǒngchāng. But the *Wū Mán* could not be moved as they did not understand the order and lived scattered in the mountains.

Afterwards, the region from Qū and Jìng prefectures, Shíchéng, Shēngmá valley, Kūn valley south down to Lónghé was lost to military turmoil. Now, Riyòng's descendents live in Yǒngchāng.

云南志 610

云南志 615

云南志 620

云南志 625

云南志 630

云南志 635

云南志 640

[617: 守偶] Annotation in the text: 「守偶」《新唐书》作「守隅」- 守偶 is written 守隅 in the 《新唐书》.

[630: 河賧] Annotation in the text: 「河賧」原本作「阿体」, 今从《唐书》改正 - 河賧 was written 阿体, corrected according to the 《唐书》.

[633: 徙二十余万户] Some think that this number is an error and it should be 徙二千余户, as the number is simply to large compared with the likely population at the time and the size of the region, see Duàn Dǐngzhōu 段鼎周 (1994).

[640: 并] In the 《四库全书》 copy 立, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 32.

[640: 。界内乌蛮] ⇨ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 43 has '界内。乌蛮', not '。界内乌蛮'. Mù Qín 木芹 (1995),

r609: Bō zhōu] near present-day Xiángyún 祥云

r626: Lízhōu] Sichuān Hànyuán 汉源

r633-635: Géluōfèng sent the Kūn valley envoy, Yáng Móulì, to encircle the western Cuàn, and moved twenty-thousand households to Yǒngchāng.] This has been taken as a proof of a succession from the western Cuàn *Bái Mán* in western Yúnnán, but Duàn Dǐngzhōu 段鼎周 (1994) argues that this massive population migration never happened.

r640-643: Now, Riyòng's descendents live in Yǒngchāng. Within the borders the *Wū Mán* gradually recovered their

振，后徙居西爨故地。今与南诏为婚姻之家。👁

Within the borders the *Wū Mán* gradually recovered their strength and moved to the lands once inhabited by the western Cuàn. Today they are related to the Nánzhào by marriage.

The following digression gives the background to the developing crisis in Ānnán.

云南志 645 南蛮去安南峰州林西原界二十二日程。

From the territory of the southern *Mán* to Ānnán's Fēngzhōu's Línxīyuán border it is twenty-two stages.

自大中八年，安南都护擅罢林西原防冬戍卒，洞主李由独等七绾首领被蛮诱引，复为亲情。日往月来，渐遭侵轶。罪在都护失招讨之职，乖经略之任。

From the 8th year of Dàzhōng, the protector general of Ānnán withdrew the winter forces from Línxīyuán without authorization, the leader of the Dòng Lǐ Yóudú and seven related leaders were won over by the *Mán*, returning to their clan people. Time and time again they suffered invasions. The fault lies with the failure of the protector general, deviating from his responsibility to plan and control.

云南志 650 臣于咸通三年春三月四日，奉本使尚书蔡袭手示，密委臣单骑及健步二十以下人，深入贼帅朱道古营寨。三月八日，入贼重围之中。蛮贼将杨秉忠大羌杨阿触、杨酋盛悉是乌蛮，贼人同迎，言辞狡诈。

Your servant received on the 4th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng the order instructions from minister Cài Xí, secretly entrusting your servant to ride alone with less than twenty people to enter the camp of the rebel leader Zhū Dàogǔ. On the 8th day of the 3rd month, I entered the enclosure of the rebels. The rebel commander Yáng Bǐngzhōng, the leader Yáng Āchù and Yáng Qiúshèng were all *Wū Mán* rebels, we were together received with cunning words.

云南志 665 臣却回一一白于都护王宽。宽自是不明，都无远虑，领得臣书牒，全无指挥。蔡京擅放军迴，苟求朝奖，致令臣本使蔡袭枉伤矢石，陷失城池。徵之其由，莫非蔡京王宽之过！[此条原本文多讹脱，今据《通鉴考异》所

Your humble servant had a wide discord, one by one I explained it to the protector general Wáng Kuān. Wáng Kuān of course could not understand it, he lacks foresight. He received your humble servant's written record, but took no action whatsoever. Without authorization, he let the army return home and urgently pressed the court for a promotion. This led to your humble servant's superior

p. 7 segments these two sentences differently, giving a very different meaning. I think Mù Qín 木芹 is more likely the intended meaning.

l642: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=45>

l644: 安南峰州] In the 《四库全书》 copy 安峰州, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 33.

l648: seven related leaders] unclear

l663: 蔡京] Added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 34.

l665: 蔡京] Added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 34.

strength and moved to the lands once inhabited by the western Cuàn.] The different segmentation of this sentence in the 《云南史料丛刊》 gives a different meaning: 'Now, Riyòng's descendents live within the borders of Yǒngchāng. The *Wū Mán* gradually recovered their strength and moved to the lands once inhabited by the western Cuàn.' I think the meaning of these sentences is that the western Cuàn were forcefully relocated to Yǒngchāng, thus creating a space into which the *Wū Mán* then migrated.

r 646: From the 8th year of Dàzhōng] 854

r 653–654: on the 4th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 6th April 862.

r 656–657: On the 8th day of the 3rd month] 10th April 862.

引《蛮书》原文，订正考异。又云：蔡袭将兵代宽，宽为已替之人，安能擅放军回，令袭陷没，疑《蛮书》「擅放军回」上少「蔡京」二字，盖「蔡京」时为岭南西道节度，贪懦败事，故《考异》云然。👁

Cài Xí being harmed with stones and the loss of the moated city. Examining the reasons for all this proves, it is not Cài Xí fault, but Wáng Kuān's. [This section contains many errors in the original text, now corrected according to the 《通鉴考异》 citing the 《蛮书》. Additional remark: Cài Xí commanded the troops instead of Wáng Kuān. Wáng Kuān had already been replaced. Regarding sending the troops home without authorization, resulting in the drowning of Cài Xí, I suspect the two characters Cài Jīng 蔡京 are missing. That Cài Jīng 蔡京 was appointed in Língnánxīdào military district. His greed let to the loss of all, so the 《通鉴考异》 is correct.]

云南志 670

云南志 675

The first group introduced is the Dújǐn Mán 独锦蛮 in central Yúnnán.

独锦蛮者，乌蛮之苗裔也。在秦藏川南去安宁两日程。天宝中命其长为蹄州刺史 [「蹄州」原本作「岨州」，今据《新唐书》改正]。其族多姓李。

The Dújǐn Mán are descendants of the *Wū Mán*, they live south of Qíncáng valley, two stages from Ānníng.

During the Tiānbǎo period, their chief was appointed regional inspector of Tí Zhōu [In the original text Tí prefecture was written Kuī prefecture, this was corrected according to the 'New History of the Táng']. In this clan, most are called Lǐ.

云南志 680

异牟寻母，独锦蛮之女也。牟寻之姑，亦嫁独锦蛮。独锦蛮之女为牟寻妻。有李负监，贞元十年，为大军将，在勃弄川为城使等。👁

The mother of Yimóuxún descended from the Dújǐn Mán. Yimóuxún's aunt married a Dújǐn Mán. His wife was also Dújǐn Mán. There was Lǐ Fùjiān, in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán he was appointed general and town administrator of Bónòng valley.

云南志 685

In the 《四库全书》 copy follows another part, which most historians place in the 3rd juàn.⁽⁷¹⁾

/671: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=48>

/677: 者] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 88.

/677: 之] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 88.

/678: 川] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 88.

/679: 命其长] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 89.

/685: 李负监] 委负监

/685-686: 大军将] In the 《四库全书》 copy 大将军, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 89.

/686: 勃弄] The text has 勃弄栋, but the last character is probably superfluous, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 57.

/686: 使等] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 89.

/686: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=50>

r677-678: they live south of Qíncáng valley, two stages from Ānníng] There is some controversy about the location, depending on the interpretation of the character 南, i.e. whether to go south from or south to Ānníng 安宁, see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 52.

r678: Qíncáng valley] Qíncáng 秦藏

r679: During the Tiānbǎo period] 742-756 CE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗

r685: in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r686: Bónòng] 勃弄

⁽⁷¹⁾ see page 42.

The next group is the Nòngdòng Mán 弄栋蛮, named after their homeland around Nòngdòng 弄栋.⁽⁷²⁾

弄栋蛮，则白蛮苗裔也。本姚州弄栋县部落。其地旧为哀州。

云南志 690 尝有部落首领为刺史。有误殴杀司户者，为府、丞论罪，遂卒众北奔 [《新唐书·南诏传》云：「有为刺史者误杀其参军，率族北走。」据其文，则此「卒」字当作「率」字，「家众」下，当有「北走」字，盖原本脱误]。后分散在磨些江侧，并剑共诸川悉有之，余部落不去。

云南志 695 当天宝中，姚州刺史张乾陀守城拒战，陷死殆尽。

云南志 700 贞元十年，南诏异牟寻破掠吐蕃地邑，收获弄栋城，迁于永昌之地。



The Nòngdòng Mán are descendants of the *Bái Mán*. They were originally a tribe in Yáozhōu's Nòngdòng county, and their land was called Póu Zhōu.

They once had a leader who served as regional inspector, he inadvertently killed a revenue manager and when he was found guilty by the higher government, he led his people to the north. Afterwards they lived scattered on both sides of the Móxiē river and in Jiànchuān and Gòngchuān. The rest did not move.

During the Tiānbǎo period, when the regional inspector of Yáozhōu Zhāngqiántuó defended the city against a significant attack, most of them were killed.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Nánzhào Yímóuxún plundered the Tǔbō villages, he captured the walled town of Nòngdòng and moved the population to Yǒngchāng.

Next covered are the Qīnglíng Mán 青蛉蛮.

青蛉蛮，亦白蛮苗裔也。本青蛉县部落。

云南志 705 天宝中巂州初陷有首领尹氏父兄子弟相率南奔河湟。阁罗凤厚待之。

贞元年中南诏清平官尹辅首、尹宽求

The Qīnglíng Mán were also descendants of the *Bái Mán*. They were originally a tribe in Qīnglíng county.

During the Tiānbǎo period, when Xīzhōu had just fallen, its chiefs and the clansmen of the Yīn clan moved to Hé Dàn, where Gélúofēng treated them kindly.

In the Zhēnyuán period, the prime minister Yīn Fǔqiú and Yīn

[691: 丞] In the 《四库全书》 copy 城, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 91.

[691: 遂卒众北奔] In the 《四库全书》 copy 遂卒家众, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 90.

[691-695: 《新唐书·南诏传》云：「有为刺史者误杀其参军，率族北走。」据其文，则此「卒」字当作「率」字，「家众」下，当有「北走」字，盖原本脱误] In the 《新唐书南诏传》 it says：有为刺史者，误杀其参军，率族北走 According to this text, the character 卒 must be 率, below 家众 it must have 北走, this text has errors and omissions.

[701: 地] In the 《四库全书》 copy 城, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 91.

[702:] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=51>

r697: During the Tiānbǎo period] 742-756 CE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗

r700: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794

r700-702: the Nánzhào Yímóuxún plundered the Tǔbō villages, he captured the walled town of Nòngdòng and moved the population to Yǒngchāng.] Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 140 points out that the walled town at Nòngdòng 弄栋 in 794 was under control of Nánzhào, so it was not necessary to capture it. He surmises that an original text referred to the population of the Nòngdòng Mán, in the areas north of the town, was captured and transferred.

r705: During the Tiānbǎo period] 742-756 CE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗

r708: In the Zhēnyuán period] 785-804 CE.

(72) present-day Yáoān 姚安 region.

[《唐书》作「作「尹仇宽」」]，皆其人也。
衣服言语与蒙舍略同。👁️

Kuānqiú of Nánzhào were from this tribe.
Their dress and language are similar to that in Méngshè.

云南志 710

The Sháng people 裳人 people are described as a Chinese group who assimilated with the indigenous population in the Tiěqiáo 铁桥 region.

裳人，本汉人也。部落在铁桥北，不知迁徙年月。
初袭汉服，后稍参诸戎风俗，迄今但朝霞缠头，其余无异。

The Sháng people are originally Hàn, now their tribe lives north of Tiěqiáo, it is unclear when they migrated there.

In the beginning they wore Hàn dress, but later gradually adopted tribal customs. Up to now they still wear a red turban, otherwise, there are no differences anymore.

云南志 715

贞元十年，南诏异牟寻领兵攻破吐蕃铁桥节度城，获裳人数千户，悉移于云南东北诸川。

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, when the Nánzhào Yimóuxún sent troops to attack Tǔbō's Tiěqiáo military district town, he captured several thousand households of Sháng people, and moved them all to the valleys in the northeast of Yúnnán.

今铁桥城为南蛮所据，差大军将为城使。👁️

Today, the southern *Mán* inhabit the fortress at the walled town of Tiěqiáo, they sent out a great commander to administer the town.

云南志 720

The Chángkūn Mán 长禪蛮 is a group in the Jiànchuān 剑川 area, named after their long trousers.

长禪蛮，本乌蛮之后，部落在剑川，属浪诏。

The Chángkūn Mán were originally descendants of the *Wū Mán*, living in Jiànchuān belonging to Làngzhào.

其本俗皆衣长禪曳地，更无衣服，惟披牛羊皮。

Their custom is to wear trousers that touched the ground and no other clothes other than the skin of cattle and goats.

云南志 725

南诏既破剑浪，遂迁其部落，与施、顺诸蛮居，养给之。👁️

When Nánzhào defeated Jiànlàng, they were moved to live together with the Shī Mán and Shùn Mán.

The Hé Mán 河蛮 were a group living on the shores of Ěrhǎi 洱海, but were driven northwards.

河蛮，本西洱河人，今呼为河蛮，故城当六诏皆在，而河蛮自固洱河城邑。

The Hé Mán were originally the people of the Xiě Hé, and are called the Hé Mán today. Their old settlement areas were all within the six zhào, but they settled in the towns and villages along the Ěrhé.

云南志 730

开元已前，尝有首领入朝本州刺史，

Before the Kāiyuán period, one of their chiefs once went to

l709: 《唐书》作「作「尹仇宽」」 Written as 尹仇宽 in the 'History of the Táng'[cb]

l710: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=52>

l720: 大军将] In the 《四库全书》 copy 大将军, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 92.

l721: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=52>

l725: 披] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 92

l727: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=53>

r716: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794

r722: Chángkūn Mán] the name translates as 'long trousers'

r726: Jiànlàng] principality of a Làng group that moved to Jiànchuān

r728: Hé Mán] the name translates as 'River Mán', referring to Xiěhé

r732: Before the Kāiyuán period] 713–741 CE.

云南志 735 受赏面归者，及南诏蒙归义攻拔大大厘城，河蛮遂进迁北，皆羈制于浪诏。

the emperor and was rewarded by the regional inspector of this prefecture. When the Nánzhào Méng Guīyì took the walled town of Dàxī, the Hé Mán afterwards moved north and came under the control of Làngzhào.

贞元十年，浪诏破败，复徙于云南东北柘东以居。

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, Làngzhào was defeated and they were once again resettled, this time in Yúnnán's northwestern Tuòdōng.

云南志 740 柘东城去安南城三十九日程。咸通三年十二月二十七日，蛮贼逼

From Tuòdōng it is thirty-nine stages to Ānnán.

云南志 745 [逼]原本作「通」，今据《通鉴考异》所引《蛮书》文改正] 交州城池。河蛮在苏历

On the 27th day of the 12th month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng, tribal bandits attacked the moated town of Jiāozhōu. The Hé Mán set up camp at the old town near Sūlì river and more than two thousand men boarded bamboo rafts.

The Shī Mán 施蛮, north-west of Tiěqiáo, are thought by some to be the ancestors of the present-day Lisù 傣族.⁽⁷³⁾

云南志 750 施蛮，木乌蛮种族也。铁桥西北大施贖、小施贖，斂寻贖皆其所居之地。

The Shī Mán were originally a group of Wū Mán.

They live northwest of Tiěqiáo in Dàshī Dàn, Xiǎoshī Dàn, and Liànxún Dàn.

男以缁布为纒裆裤。妇人从顶横分其发，当额并顶后各为一髻。男女终身并跣足披羊皮。

The men all wear plainly woven cloth as trousers, the women part their hair at the top, with a knot on the forehead and behind. Men and women wrap their bodies and walk barefoot all their life, draping sheep skin over their shoulders.

部落主承上，皆吐蕃伪封为王。

The main tribal leaders Chéngshàng were all awarded the title of king by Tùbō.

l734: 厘] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 92.

l742-743: 「逼」原本作「通」，今据《通鉴考异》所引《蛮书》文改正] The character 逼 was originally written as 通, corrected according to the《通鉴考异》 quoting the《蛮书》

l743: 城池] In the original 池城, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), pp. 92-93.

l744-745: 案:「逼」原本作「通」，今据《通鉴考异》所引《蛮书》文改正] The characters 苏历 were originally written as 苏厝, corrected according to the《通鉴考异》

l746: 上] In the《四库全书》copy 士, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 93.

l746: 𠄎] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=53>

l748-749: 大施贖、小施贖，斂寻贖皆其所居之地] Annotation in the text: In the《四库全书》copy: 大施体，施贖、斂寻 - 《新唐书·南诏传》作施蛮居大施贖、斂寻贖，此文疑有误 - In the《新唐书南诏传》this is written that the Shī Mán live in Dàshī Dàn and Liànxún Dàn, there are errors in this section.

l748-749: 大施贖、小施贖，斂寻贖皆其所居之地] In the《四库全书》copy: 大施体，施贖、斂寻, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 95.

l751: 终] In the《四库全书》copy 络, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 94.

r737: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r741: On the 27th day of the 12th month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 20th January 862.

(73) Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 59.

贞元十年，南诏攻城邑，虏其王寻罗并宗族置于蒙舍城，养给之。👁️

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, when Nanzhao attacked their towns, their king Xúnluō and his clansmen were brought to the walled town of Méngshè, where they were provided for.

The Shùn Mán 顺蛮 were a group originally living north of Ērhǎi 洱海 in Jiànchuān 剑川 and Hèqìng 鹤庆 before migrating north.

顺蛮，本乌蛮种类，初与施蛮部落参居剑、共诸川。

The Shùn Mán, originally a group of Wū Mán, initially lived together with the Shī Mán in Jiànchuān and Gòngchuān.

云南志 760

咩罗皮、铎罗望既失遼川、浪穹，退而逼夺剑，共，由是迁居铁桥已上，其地名剑羌，在剑寻賧西北两百里。

When Miēluōpí and Duólúowàng lost Téngchuān and Làngqióng and retreated and captured Jiànchuān and Gòngchuān, then they moved north of Tiěqiáo to a place called Jiànqiāng, two hundred lǐ northwest of Jiàn xún Dàn.

男女风俗与施蛮略同。其部落主吐蕃亦封王。

The customs of their men and women are similar to those of the Shī Mán, their clan leaders were also appointed king by Tǔbō.

云南志 765

贞元十年，南诏异牟寻虏其王傍弥潜宗族，置于云南白岩，养给之。

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Nánzhào Yímóuxún captured their leader Bàngmíqián clan's people, installed them in Yúnnán's Báiyá where he provided for them.

其施蛮部落百姓，则散隶东北诸川。👁️

The Shī Mán folks were dispersed and subordinated to various basins in the north-east.

云南志 770

The next big group is the Móxiē Mán 磨些蛮, a group living in the areas of present-day Lìjiāng 丽江 and are thought to be the ancestors of the Nàxī 纳西族.⁽⁷⁴⁾

磨些蛮，亦乌蛮种类也。铁桥上下及大婆、小婆、三探览、昆池等川，皆其所居之地也。

The Móxiē Mán are also a group of Wū Mán, they live in the vicinity of Tiěqiáo and in the Xiǎopó, Dàpó, Sāntànlǎn, and the Kūnchí valley.

土多牛羊，一家即有羊群。终身不洗手面，男女皆披羊皮。俗好饮酒歌舞。

Their land has many cattle and goats, each household has a flock of goats. They never wash their hands or faces once in their lives, men and women wear goat skins. Customarily they are good at drinking, singing and dancing.

云南志 775

l756: 贞元十年] Annotation in the text: 原本祇作「贞元年」，据《新唐书》乃「贞元十年」事，今补入 - Originally just written as 贞元年, according to the 《新唐书》 it is 贞元十年, one character added.

l757: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=54>

l763: 剑] In the 《四库全书》 copy 斂, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 95.

l771: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=55>

l772: 磨些蛮] In the 《四库全书》 copy only 磨蛮, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 38 also does not correct it, but quite obviously, this must be 磨些蛮, see also Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 153 and Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 59.

l773: 昆池等川] Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), pp. 153–154 suggests that this should be 昆明等川, as the region is around Kūnmíng, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 38 does not correct it.

r756: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r767: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

(74) see Chén Nán 陈楠 (1998) for an explanation of some of the names from Tibetan and the earliest mention of this tribe in Chinese sources.

此种本姚州部落百姓也。
 云南志 780 南诏既袭破铁桥及昆池等诸城，凡
 虏获万户，尽分隶昆川左右及西爨
 故地。
 磨些蛮，在施蛮外，与南诏为婚姻
 家，又与越析诏姻娅。👁

Originally they were from Yáozhōu.
 When Nánzhào attacked Tiěqiáo, Kūnchí and other forts, all were
 captured, divided, and subordinated to the areas of Kūnchuān and
 western Cuàn.
 Apart from the Shī Mán, the Móxiē Mán have formed marriages
 with Nánzhào and Yuèxī.

The Pūzǐ Mán 扑子蛮 seem to be a Tai group,⁽⁷⁵⁾ mostly living in the subtropical areas to the south
 and south-west of the Ěrhǎi 洱海 region.

云南志 785 扑子蛮，勇悍矫捷。
 以青婆罗缎为通身裤。善用泊箕竹
 弓，深林间射飞鼠，发无不中。部落
 首领谓酋为上。土无食器，以芭蕉叶
 藉之。
 云南志 790 开南、银生、永昌、寻传四处皆有。铁
 桥西北边延澜沧江亦有部落。

The Pūzǐ Mán people are brave and vigorous.
 They wear a blue piece of **kapok cloth** around the body as trousers.
 They are good at using bamboo bows and hunt flying rats deep in
 the forest, they never miss a shot. **Their leader is called *qiú***, the
 natives don't have eating utensils, they just use a banana leaf.
 They can be found all around **Kāinán, Yínshēng, Yǒngchāng, and**
Xúnchuán. Their tribe also lives north-west of Tiěqiáo along the
Láncāng River.

云南志 795 臣本使蔡袭咸通四年正月三日阵面
 上生擒得扑子蛮，拷问之并不语，
 截其腕亦不声。

On the 3rd day of the 1st month of the 4th year of Xiántōng your
 humble servant's superior Càì Xí battling at the front captured a
 Pūzǐ Mán alive. He tortured him for interrogation, but he did not
 say a word, not even when his hand was cut off.

l780: 昆池] again, this should be 昆明, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 154 changes this, see above.

l784: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=56>

l785: 矫捷] In the 《四库全书》 copy 矫捷, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 96.

l785: 矫] unclear

l786–787: 泊箕竹弓] In the 《四库全书》 copy 白箕竹, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 96.

l786–787: 泊箕竹弓] unclear

l787–788: 部落首领谓酋为上。] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 96 notes that the meaning is unclear.

l788: 土] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 97.

l788: Their leader is called *qiú*] unclear

r786: kapok cloth] In the text is clearly 婆罗 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 38 does not change this, but I think this should be changed to 娑罗. Luce and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 have avoided translating this term.

r790: Kāinán] south-east of present-day Jǐngdōng 景东, 📍 24.33N 100.91E.

r790: Yínshēng] Yínshēng 银生

r790: Yǒngchāng] present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) Most likely this is to mean the lowland areas of the Nùjiāng 怒江 west of it.

r791: Xúnchuán] region of present-day Dehong, northern Burma

r791–792: north-west of Tiěqiáo along the Láncāng River] That would be in the upper reaches of the Láncāng River 澜沧江 river close to present-day Déqīn 德钦. While a migration that far up the river is not entirely impossible, I think it is more likely that the text should read 'south-west of Tiěqiáo along the Láncāng River river.', living on stretches of the river belonging to present-day Wéixī 维西, which are low in elevation and where flat land provides opportunities for wet-rice cultivation.

r793: On the 3rd day of the 1st month of the 4th year of Xiántōng] 25th January 863.

(75) Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 60 thinks the Pūzǐ Mán 扑子蛮 were the ancestors of the Bùlǎng 布朗族 and Déángzú 德昂族 people.

安南子城虞候梁轲云是扑子蛮。今梁轲见在贼中，僭称朱鸢县令。其梁轲始由再宾任使，前后三度到蛮王处通好，结构祸胎。👁️

Liáng Kē, inspector of a town belonging Ānnán, was said to be a *Pūzǐ Mán*. Today Liáng Kē is with the *Mán* rebels, claiming to be the magistrate of Zhūyuān county. Liáng Kē in the beginning served as envoy, coming three times to the seat of the *Mán* king for friendly relations, which was the root of all evil.

云南志 800

The Xúnchuán Mán 寻传蛮 were a group in the western lowlands.

寻传蛮，阁罗凤所讨定也。

俗无丝绵布帛，披娑罗笼。跣足可以践履榛棘。持弓挟矢射豪猪生食其肉，取其两牙双插顶傍为饰，又条其皮以系腰。每战斗，即以笼子笼头如兜鍪状。

The Xúnchuán Mán were militarily pacified by Géluōfēng. Customarily they do not have silk or cotton, they wrap robes made from silkcotton. Walking barefoot, they can go through thorny bushes. Carrying bow and arrow they shoot porcupines and eat their flesh raw. They pull out two teeth and stick them into their topknots as an ornament and use their leather as a belt. Whenever they go into battle, they put bamboo covers on their heads, similar to a helmet.

云南志 805

臣本使蔡袭咸通三年十二月二十七日，以小枪鏢得一百余人。臣本使蔡袭问梁轲见有竹笼头猪皮系腰，遂说寻传蛮本末。江西将军士取此蛮肉为炙。👁️

Cài Xí, my superior, **on the 27th day of the 12th month in the 3rd year of Xiántōng**, captured more than one hundred of them just using small spears. When Cài Xí asked Liáng Kē if he had seen the bamboo helmets and leather belts, he told him all the details about the Xúnchuán Mán. Officers and soldiers from Jiāngxī had eaten their flesh.

云南志 810

云南志 815

The following describes a group of wild people living in the forests of present-day Burma.

裸形蛮，在寻传城西三百里为窠穴，谓之为野蛮。

阁罗凤既定寻传而令野蛮散居山谷。其蛮不战自调伏集，战即召之。其男女遍满山野。亦无君长。

The Luǒxíng Mán live in caves three hundred *lǐ* west of the walled town of Xúnchuán, for this reason they are also called the 'Wild Mán'.

When Géluōfēng subdued Xúnchuán he ordered the wild *Mán* to scatter in the mountains. In times of no conflict, these people live according to their own and assemble for war under their own sum-

云南志 820

l799: 再宾] Annotation in the text: 「再宾」二字未详 - The characters 再宾 are unclear.

l800: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=57>

l803: 娑罗笼] In the 《四库全书》 copy 波罗皮, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 97.

l804: 豪猪] Annotation in the text: 「豪」字原本作「蒙」, 今据《新唐书·南诏传》改正 - Originally 豪 was written as 蒙, corrected according to the 《新唐书南诏传》.

l805: 顶] In the 《四库全书》 copy 髻, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 97.

l806: 其] In the 《四库全书》 copy 猪, Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 97.

l814: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=58>

l820: 其蛮不战自调伏集, 战即召之] Annotation in the text: 二语文义未明, 疑有脱误 - These two sentences are unclear, the 《四库全书》 copyist suspects there is something missing.

l820: 即] In the 《四库全书》 copy 自, corrected according to corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 99.

r797: inspector of a town belonging Ānnán] The source has 安南子城, literally meaning a 'son town', i.e. a subordinated town. Thanks to Christian Daniels for pointing this out.

r810-811: on the 27th day of the 12th month in the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 20th January 863.

云南志 825

作搗栏舍屋。多女少男。无农田，无衣服，惟取木皮以蔽形。或十妻五妻共一丈夫，尽日持弓，不下搗栏。有外来侵暴者则射之。其妻入山林，采拾虫鱼菜螺蚬等归啖食之。

去咸通三年十二月二十一日，亦为群队，当阵面上。如有不前冲，前监阵正蛮旋刃其后。👁️

The Wàngjūzǐ Mán 望苴子蛮, a warrior tribe west of the Lánkāng River.

云南志 835

望苴子蛮，在澜沧江以西，是盛罗皮所讨定也。

其人勇捷，善于马上用枪。所乘马不鞍。跣足衣短甲，才蔽胸腹而已。股膝皆露兜。髻上插犛牛尾，驰突若飞。其妇人亦如此。南诏及诸城镇大将出兵，则望苴子为前驱。

云南志 840

咸通四年正月二十三日，蔡袭城上以车弩射得望苴子二百人，马三十余匹。二月七日城陷，及臣本使蔡袭在左膊中箭，元从已尽。臣右腕中箭，携印浮水渡江。荆南、江西、鄂、岳、襄州将健约四百余人，携陌刀骑马突到城东水际。荆南都虞候

云南志 845

mon. Their men and women live all across the countryside. They do not have a leader.

They scrape trees to build shelters. Women are more numerous than men. They do not cultivate land nor wear clothes, and use tree bark to cover their bodies. Maybe ten or five women share one husband. They always carry a bow and do not come down from the shelter. Any intruders will be shot. The women go into the mountain forests to collect insects, fish, plants, snails, clams as devouring them upon return.

On the 21st day of the 12th month in the 3rd year of Xiántōng, they teamed up for an attack. Whoever did not storm forward was killed.

The Wàngjūzǐ Mán live to the west of the Lánkāng River and were conquered by Shèngluōpí.

They are nimble and good at using spear and lance while riding. They do not use a saddle, ride barefoot and wear a short armour that covers nothing apart from their chest; their legs and knees are exposed. They stick a yak tail into their helmets and charge forward as if they are flying, their women are also like this. If the Nánzhào and the local generals dispatch troops, the Wàngjūzǐ ride in front.

On the 23rd day of the 1st month in the 4th year of Xiántōng, Cài Xí shot two hundred Wàngjūzǐ and more than thirty horses from a cart on the fortress. On the 7th day of the 2nd month, the town fell and Cài Xí was hit in the left arm, all the men died. An arrow hit me in the right wrist, but I took the seal and swam across the river. Over four hundred men from Jīngnán, Jiāngxī, È, Yuè and Xiāng prefectures carrying long daggers rode suddenly to the east

l824: 作搗栏舍屋] Annotation in the text: 「搗」《说文》、《集韵》并音「劼」音「臈」刮也，搗也 - The character 搗 is pronounced *jié* or *là* according to the 《说文》 and the 《集韵》，meaning scrape or flog

l833: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=59>

l836: 其人勇捷] In the 《四库全书》 copy only unclear 矫捷, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 100.

l836-837: 善于马上用枪。所乘马不鞍。] In the 《四库全书》 copy 善于马上用枪铲骑马不用鞍, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), pp. 100-101.

l847-848: 荆南、江西、鄂、岳、襄州将健约四百余人] Annotation in the text: 此句原脱「荆南」二字，又「岳」字讹作「兵」字，今从《通鉴》改正 - In the original the characters 荆南 were omitted and the character 岳 was written as 兵, corrected according to the 《通鉴》.

r831: On the 21st day of the 12th month in the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 16th January 863.

r836-839: They are nimble and good at using spear and lance while riding. They do not use a saddle, ride barefoot and wear a short armour that covers nothing apart from their chest; their legs and knees are exposed. They stick a yak tail into their helmets] This passage is also translated in Daniels (2021).

r843: On the 23rd day of the 1st month in the 4th year of Xiántōng] 14th February 863

元惟德、管都头谭可言、江西军判官傅门谓将士曰：「诸儿郎等！水次无船，入水必死。与诸兄弟每一个人杀得两蛮贼，我辈亦得便宜。」遂相率入东罗城，拥门里，一边排长刀，一边排长马。突其蛮贼，从城外水次骑马入门，悉无备敌。臣见僧无碍说云。此日午前旋杀贼并马，仅二三千贼，马三百来匹。蛮贼杨思缙在子城内一更时始知出救。翌日以马肉分俵十二营贼众。👁️

of the town along the water. The inspector of Jīngnán Yuán Wéidé, the area command leader in charge Tán Kěyán and the military administrative assistant from Jiāngxī Fù Mén said to the enlisted men: 'To everyone, there are no boats on our side of the water, who gets into the water will certainly die. However, if we each kill two *Mán* rebels, then we will prevail.' So then, one after another, they entered Dōngluō town, passing through the city gate, on one side a column holding daggers, on the other a column of horses, attacking the *Mán* rebels. From the waterfront outside the fortress they entered the gate, all unprepared for a fight. That is what the monk Wúài said when I met him. **That day around noon**, the rebels and their horses had all been killed, two to three thousand bandits and about three hundred horses. The bandit Yáng Sijìn was inside the palace town and when he got to know about it, he came out for the rescue. The next day, horse meat was served to the twelve rebel camps.

云南志 850

云南志 855

云南志 860

云南志 865

The Wàngmán 望蛮 and Wàiyù 外喻 groups live north-west of Yǒngchāng 永昌, probably the Nùjiāng 怒江 valley.

望蛮外喻部落，在永昌西北。其人长大，负排持稍，前往无敌。又能用木弓短箭。箭鏃傅毒药，所中人立毙。

The Wàngmán and Wàiyù tribe live north-west of Yǒngchāng. These people grow tall, shoulder long spears and were invincible in the past. They know how to use wooden bows with short arrows and paint poison on the arrowheads, whoever gets hit, dies immediately.

云南志 870

妇人亦跣足，以青布为衫裳，联贯珂贝巴齿真珠。斜络其身数十道。有夫者竖分发为两髻，无夫者顶为一髻垂之。

The women also walk barefoot, wearing a blue cloth as garment. They string jade and shells, the end of teeth and pearls together, and sling more than ten around their bodies. Married women divide their hair into two knots, the unmarried make a knot on top of their heads, dropping it.

云南志 875

其地宜沙牛，亦大于诸处牛，角长四尺已来。妇人惟嗜乳酪，肥白，俗好遨游。👁️

Their land is good for Sand oxens, which are larger than elsewhere, their horns can be longer than four *chǐ*. Women like eating white and fat cheese and are used to travelling.

[856: 臣见僧无碍说云] Annotation in the text: 此句原本作「臣见僧元得」，今考《通鉴考异》有引樊绰所说「僧无碍」之文，知「得」「碍」字形相近，而「无」又讹为「元」耳，谨改正 - This sentence was originally written as 臣见僧元得, consulting the 《通鉴考异》 citing Fán Chuò it says 僧无碍. The characters 得 and 碍 have a similar form, and 无 and 元 are similar, respectfully corrected.

[858: 思缙] Annotation in the text: 《唐书》作「思僭」误 - Name spelling

[860: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?file=59015&page=60>

[867: 大] missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

[867: 负] missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

[873: 发为] missing in 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

[874: 垂之] missing in 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

[878: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=62>

r860: Wúài] the monk's name translates as 'Without Obstacles'

r860: That day around noon] Wǔqián 午前 denotes the time from 11am to 1pm.

More tribal groups in the areas of Yǒngchāng 永昌 and Kāinán 开南 are described by their physical appearance.

云南志 880 黑齿蛮、金齿蛮、银齿蛮、绣脚蛮、绣面蛮，并在永昌、开南，杂类种也。

云南志 885 黑齿蛮以漆漆其齿，金齿蛮以金镂片裹其齿，银齿以银。有事出见人，则以此为饰，寝食则去之。皆当顶上为一髻。以青布为通身裤，又斜披青布条。绣脚蛮则于踝上腓下，周匝刻其肤为文彩。衣以绯布，以青色为饰。绣面蛮初生后出月，以针刺面上，以青黛涂之，如绣状。

僧耆悉属安西城。皆为南诏总之，攻战亦召之。👁️

The Hēichǐ Mán, the Jīnchǐ Mán, the Yínchǐ Mán, the Xiùjiǎo Mán, the Xiùmiàn Mán all live in Yǒngchāng and Kāinán, together with various other ones.

The Hēichǐ Mán paint their teeth with lacquer, the Jīnchǐ Mán wrap their teeth in gold foil, the Yínchǐ Mán use silver. When they are going out to see people they adorn their teeth, but take it off to sleep and eat. They all wear a topnot and use a blue cloth to cover their bodies and drape another piece of blue cloth across. The Xiùjiǎo Mán have tattoo above the ankle below the calf, they use red cloth as garment, using a blue cloth as ornament. The Xiùmiàn Mán get tattooed with indigo on the face a few months after birth, like an embroidery.

The Sēngqí belong to the walled town of Ānxī, they are administered by Nánzhào, who recruits them in war.

Three more groups follow, named for their appearance – the Chuānbí Mán or ‘pierced noses’ and the Chángzōng Mán or ‘long manes’ – or their region.

云南志 895 穿鼻蛮、长鬃蛮、栋峰蛮，其蛮并在柘东南，生杂类也。
穿鼻蛮部落以径尺金环穿鼻中隔，

The Chuānbí Mán, the Chángzōng Mán, and the Dòngfēng Mán all live in the south of Tuòdōng, living in scattered groups.

The Chuānbí Mán have a golden ring one *chǐ* in diameter pierced

l880: 开南] Annotation in the text: 「开南」《新唐书》作「关南」与此异 - 开南 is written as 关南 in the 《新唐书》，different to here.

l883: 银齿以银] missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

l884: 寝] missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

l885: 上] missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

l885-886: 又斜披青布条。] Annotation in the text: 此处脱银齿蛮一条 - A section on the Yínchǐ Mán 银齿蛮 is missing.

l886: 腓] In the 《四库全书》 copy 排, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

l889: 以青黛涂之，如绣状] In the 《四库全书》 copy 以青黛傅之, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103.

l891: 僧耆] Annotation in the text: 「僧耆」亦蛮部之名，此下当有脱文 - Sēngqí is the name for another tribe, there is something missing below.

l891: 安西城] The 《四库全书》 copy has 西安城, but Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 103 argues it should be 安西城, however argues for further investigation.

l892: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=63>

l893-894: 在柘东南，生杂类也] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 104 places the comma differently: 在柘东，南生杂类也

r879: Hēichǐ Mán] the name translates as ‘black teeth’

r879: Jīnchǐ Mán] the name translates as ‘golden teeth’

r879: Yínchǐ Mán] the name translates as ‘silver teeth’

r879: Xiùjiǎo Mán] the name translates as ‘tattooed feet’

r880: Xiùmiàn Mán] the name translates as ‘tattooed face’

r880: Yǒngchāng] present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953)

r880: Kāinán] south-east of present-day Jǐngdōng 景东, ㊦ 24.33N 100.91E.

下垂过颐。若是君长，即以丝绳系其环，使人牵起乃行。其次者以花头金钉两枚，从鼻两边穿令透出鼻孔中。长鬃蛮部落、栋峰蛮部落鬃黑而长，当额前为一长鬃，髻下过脐。每行即以物撑起。若是君长，即使两女人前各持一物，两边撑其髻乃行。

今亦为南诏所总，攻战即点之。👁️

through their nose, hanging over to their chin. If he is a leader, he has a silk cloth tied to this ring, he walks with someone leading him along. The next rank down has flower-headed golden nails passing from both sides through the nostrils. The Chángzōng Mán and Dòngfēng Mán have long black manes, over the forehead is a long mane, a tress down to below the navel, it has to be held up while walking. A leader will have two women holding one each, on both sides supporting the tress while walking.

Now they are administered by Nánzhào, who will enlist them in war.

云南志 900

云南志 905

The next section discusses the Máng Mán 茫蛮, a group in the lowlands of Yúnnán. (76)

茫蛮部落，并是开南杂种也。茫是其君之号，蛮呼茫诏。

从永昌城南，先过唐封，以至凤蓝苴。以次茫天连，以次茫吐薹。又有大賧、茫昌、茫盛恐、茫藓、茫施、皆其类也。

楼居，无城郭。或漆齿。皆衣青布裤，藤篾缠腰，红缯布缠髻，出其余垂后为饰。妇人披五色娑罗笼。

The Máng Mán tribe lives scattered south of Káinán, Máng is the name for their leader, the Mán call him Mángzhào.

From Yǒngchāng south, one first passes Tángfēng, then one reaches Fènglánróng, then Mángtiānlián, then Mángtǔhāo, then comes Dà Dàn, Mángchāng, Mángshèngkǒng, Mángxiǎn and Mángshī, these all belong to them.

Their houses are on stilts, they do not have walled towns. Some colour their teeth, they all wear blue cloth as trousers, winding bamboo strips around their waist, a red cloth is used to tie up the hair, the rest hanging down as ornament. Married women wear a multi-

云南志 910

云南志 915

1896: 颐] In the 《四库全书》 copy 頤, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 104.

1899: 鬃] In the 《四库全书》 copy 发, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 104.

1900: 鬃] added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 104.

1904: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=64>

1909: 苴] In the 《四库全书》 copy 草, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 104.

1910: 藓、茫] Annotation in the text: 「藓」《新唐书》作「鲜」- 藓 is written 鲜 in the 《新唐书》.

1911: 皆] In the 《四库全书》 copy 茫皆, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 104.

1906–907: Máng is the name for their leader] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 suggests that the text should read 茫是其居之号 ‘Máng is the name for their territory’. Daniels (2021) points out that there is no evidence of ‘Tai ethnolinguistic stock in the Upper Mekong as early as the eighth or ninth centuries,’ adding ‘a more plausible explanation is to understand mang as a prefix of Mon origin signifying kings or a kingdom and zhao as the Sinitic transliteration of the Nanzhao term for principalities/kingdoms. In this reading, Mangzhao can be translated as “king of the realm” and Mang Man as “barbarians with a king/kingdom”’.

1908: Tángfēng] present-day Fèngqìng 凤庆, Sòng Shǔhuá 宋蜀华 (1978).

1909: Fènglánróng] Present-day Línkāng 临沧, Sòng Shǔhuá 宋蜀华 (1978).

1909: Mángtiānlián] present-day Mènglián 孟连, see Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol. 5, pp. 80–81

1909: Mángtǔhāo] maybe present-day Měngā 勐阿, Sòng Shǔhuá 宋蜀华 (1978)

(76) Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 63 considers them to be ancestors of present-day Dǎizú 傣族, while XXX check Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 63 considers them ancestors of the Wázú 佉族. Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1961) points out that the character Máng 茫 has a similar pronunciation to měng 勐, a character commonly used today in placenames in Xīshuāngbǎnnà 西双版纳 and other southern regions, denoting a flat area. Sòng Shǔhuá 宋蜀华 (1978) points out, the name Máng Mán 茫蛮 means nothing but ‘people on the plains’, as opposed to those living in the mountain areas.

孔雀巢人家树上。象大如水牛。土俗养象以耕田，仍烧其粪。

云南志 920 贞元十年南诏异牟寻攻其族类。

咸通三年十二月二十一日，亦有此茫蛮，于安南苏历江岸聚二三千人队。👁

coloured robes made from silkcotton.

Peacocks nest in trees near the people, and elephants are as large as water buffalos. They customarily raise elephants to till the fields and burn their excrement.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Nánzhào Yimóuxún attacked their clan.

On the 21st day in the last month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng, two or three thousand Máng Mán gathered at the banks of the Sùlì river in Ānnán.

The following mentions a number of groups living in the area of Táidēng 台登, which is in the present-day Xīchāng 西昌 region.

As the historic events mentioned show, the tribal groups varied their allegiance between the Táng and Tǔbō 吐蕃: Prince Jūmèng was a local leader siding with Tǔbō and was killed on the behest of Wéi Gāo 韦皋, the Táng administrator.⁽⁷⁷⁾

云南志 925 粟粟两姓蛮、雷蛮、梦蛮，皆在邛部台登城，东西散居，皆乌蛮、白蛮之种族。

丈夫妇人以黑缯为衣，其长曳地。又东有白蛮，丈夫妇人以白缯为衣，下不过膝。

云南志 930

梦蛮主苴梦冲，开元末，尝受恩赐于国，而暮年又私于吐蕃。

云南志 935

贞元七年，西川节度使韦皋遣夔州刺史苏瑰就杀梦冲。因别立鬼主，以总其部落，共推为蛮长。

贞元中，那时为都大鬼主，其时梦

The Sù Mán and Lì Mán, the Léi Mán and the Mèng Mán live scattered east and west around the walled town of Táidēng of Qióngbù, they are belong to the Wū Mán or Bái Mán.

Men and women wear black silk as garments, so long that they touch the ground. East of them are Bái Mán, their men and women wear white silk as garments, which do not go below the knee.

The leader of the Mèng Mán, prince Jūmèng, at the end of the Kāiyuán period, received favours of the country, but at the end of his life secretly sided with Tǔbō.

In the 7th year of Zhēnyuán, the military commissioner of Xīchuān Wéi Gāo sent the regional inspector of Xīzhōu Sū Wěi to kill prince Mèng, so that someone else would become spirit lord when all the tribes got together to elect a new leader.

In the Zhēnyuán period, he served as senior spirit lord, prince

l924: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=64>

l925: 邛] The 《四库全书》 copy has 茫, but it is likely to be an error, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 44.

l931: 苴梦冲] Annotation in the text: 原本作「首」, 今从《唐书》改正 - 苴 was originally written as 首, corrected according to the 《唐书》.

l935: 苏瑰] Annotation in the text: 《唐书》作「苏崧」- In the 《唐书》 written as 苏崧.

l938: 那时] In the 《四库全书》 copy 船持, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 44.

r920: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r922: On the 21st day in the last month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 16th January 863.

r931: The leader of the Mèng Mán, prince Jūmèng] Chōng 冲 here means 'prince' (Christian Daniels, private communication). I think this could also be then translated as 'prince Jū of the Mèng'.

r932: of the country] i.e. the Táng

r934: In the 7th year of Zhēnyuán] 791.

(77) This event is also mentioned in 'Translation Notes', see also Backus (1981), p. 92.

冲及骠傍皆卑事之。亦呼为东蛮。👁

Mèngchōng and Piàobàng were his servants. They are also called 'eastern *Mán*'.

云南志 940

The Fēngbā Mán are a group in the southern areas of present-day Sìchuān 四川.

丰巴蛮，本出巽州百姓，两林南二百里而居焉。丰巴部落。

贞元中，大鬼主骠傍、阿诺两姓及诺蛮部落，皆为丰巴部落。心长向国。

👁

The Fēngbā Mán originally are people from Xīzhōu, and live two hundred *lǐ* south of Liǎnglín.

During the Zhēnyuán period, the clans of the great spirit lords Piàobàng and Ānuò as well as the Nuò Mán tribe, all belonged to the Fēngbā tribe. **They have always been loyal to the emperor.**

云南志 945

崇魔蛮，去安南管内林西原十二日程。溪洞而居，俗养牛马。比年与汉博易。

自大中八年经略使苛暴，令人将盐往林西原博牛马，每一头匹只许盐一斗。因此隔绝，不将牛马来。👁

The Chóngmó Mán live twelve stages from Línxīyuán in Ānnán, **they live along streams and in caves**, customarily raise cattle and horses. They trade every year with the Hàn.

From the 8th year of Dàzhōng the cruel military commissioner ordered people to take salt to Línxīyuán to trade for cattle and horses and only gave one Dǒu of salt for one head of cattle or a horse, after that the trade ceased, cattle and horses never came again.

云南志 950

桃花人，本属安南林西原七馆洞主大首领李由独管辖。亦为境上戍卒，每年亦纳赋税。

自大中八年被峰州知州官申文状与李涿，请罢防冬将健六千人，不

The Táohuā people originally belonged to the jurisdiction of Qīwǎndòng in Línxīyuán in Ānnán, that was ruled by the great leader Lǐ Yóudú. They provided soldiers for the border forces and paid taxes every year.

From the 8th year of Dàzhōng, the magistrate of Fēngzhōu submitted a letter to Lǐ Zhuō, asking to withdraw six thousand winter

云南志 955

l939: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=66>

l941: 丰巴蛮] Annotation in the text: 「丰巴」《唐书》作「丰琶」- Fēngbā 丰巴 is written as 丰琶 in the 《唐书》

l943: 及] In the 《四库全书》 copy 乃, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 44.

l944: 心长向国。] Annotation in the text: 此一段文有脱误 - There is something missing in this section.

l945: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=67>

l951: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=67>

l958-959: 与李涿] Annotation in the text: 「与李涿」三字，原本作「与缘」，今据《通鉴考异》所引《蛮书》文改正 - The three characters 与李涿 were originally written as 与涿, corrected here according to the quotation of the 《蛮书》 in the 《通鉴考异》.

r943: During the Zhēnyuán period] 785-804 CE

r945: They have always been loyal to the emperor.] The meaning of this sentences is unclear, there is probably something missing, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 44.

r947: they live along streams and in caves] Glahn (1987), pp. 30-31 points out that this metaphor commonly denotes tribal country, but that the term denoted open space between mountains. Pulleyblank (1983), p. 430: "Tung 洞 seems to represent a native word meaning "mountain valley" or "level ground between cliffs and beside a stream."

r949: From the 8th year of Dàzhōng] 854.

r958: From the 8th year of Dàzhōng] 854

云南志 960 要味、真、登州境上防遏。其由独兄弟力不禁，被蛮柘东节度使与书信，将外甥嫁与李由独小男，补柘东押衙。自此之后，七绾洞悉为蛮收管。

臣于咸通三年三月八日入贼重围，因见柘东蛮判官杨忠义背后领八个蛮持弓枪，臣因问贼帅朱道古根源。

切以桃花人今亦呼桃花蛮也，本安南林西原七绾洞左右侧居。人披羊皮或披毡。前梳髻。虽拘于蛮，心皆向唐化。

咸通三年三月二十一日，仅五六千人，安南城西角下营。蛮贼杨思缙委罗伏州扶邪县麻光高令部领之。👁️

troops from the defense of the borders of Wèi, Zhēn and Dēngzhōu. Because of this Lǐ Yóudú's brothers could not be stopped. He received a letter from the *Mán* military commissioner in Tuòdōng, suggesting his niece marry Lǐ Yóudú's youngest son to fill a vacancy as a Yāyá in Tuòdōng. After this Qīwǎndòng fell into the hands of the *Mán*.

I personally entered the encirclement of the rebels on the 8th day of the 3rd month in the 3rd year of Xiántōng and saw the *Mán* administrative assistant of Tuòdōng Yáng Zhōngyì, followed by eight *Mán* holding bows and spears. I asked the leader of the rebels, Zhū Dàogǔ about their origins.

In the beginning the Táohuā people were also called Táohuā Mán, they lived around the Qīwǎndòng in Línxīyuán in Ānnán. They drape goat skins or felt over their shoulders, and comb their hair into a knot in front. Even though they are constrained by the *Mán*, their heart has always been with the emperor.

On the 21st day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng, merely five to six thousand men set up camp in the western corner of the fortress of Ānnán. The *Mán* rebel Yáng Sījìn appointed the leader of Luōfú prefecture's Fúxié county Má Guānggāo, to lead them.

第五卷 The Six Prefectures 《六睑》

The fifth *juàn* introduces the six *dàn* 睑 that were part of Nánzhào. While the previously used term *zhào* 诏 denotes an independent polity, the copyist of the 《四库全书》 points out in his introductory remarks that the term *dàn* denotes an administrative division inside a larger polity, akin to a prefecture 州.

Translation Notes

Historians disagree about the pronunciation of the character 睑 which is traditionally written as 驗. Xiàng Dá 向达 suggests it has a Thai origin and should be pronounced *xien* (Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962),

l960: 味] Annotation in the text: 「味」原本作「来」，今据《通鉴考异》所引《蛮书》文改正 - 味 was originally written as 来, corrected here according to the 《通鉴考异》.

l961: 力] In the 《四库全书》 copy 所, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 45.

l961: 节度使] In the 《四库全书》 copy just 节使, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 45.

l961: 书信] Annotation in the text: 「书信」原本作「善信」，今据《通鉴考异》所引《蛮书》文改正 - 书信 was originally written as 善信, here corrected according to the quotation of the 《蛮书》 in the 《通鉴考异》.

l978: 麻光高] Annotation in the text: 「光高」原本作「先高」，今据《通鉴考异》有引《蛮书》思缙、光高部领之文，知「先」字常作「光」字，谨改正 - 光高 was originally written as 先高, here corrected according to the quotation of the 《蛮书》 in the 《通鉴考异》.

l978: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=67>

r 966–967: on the 8th day of the 3rd month in the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 10th April 862

r 976: On the 21st day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 23rd April 862.

p. 114.); Luce chose *t'an* (Luce (1961).); Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 chose *jian* (Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018).); Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 argues, based on the choices given in the Kāngxī Zìdiǎn 康熙字典, that the pronunciation for this local expression written in Chinese should be *dàn* (Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 66.) I follow this.

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 investigates the names and locations of rivers, mountains, valleys, etc. mentioned in this chapter and gives contemporary names for most places.⁽⁷⁸⁾


Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 has an extensive section pointing out the locations of place names mentioned in this section.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The maps in 《中国历史地图集》 illustrate roughly, but in my opinion sometimes inaccurately, the locations of many historic places on a contemporary map of China.⁽⁸⁰⁾

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 51–56 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 46–49.

The first paragraph is, as one can see from the original document where the text is written in smaller characters,⁽⁸¹⁾ in its entirety an annotation by the copyist pointing out that the unusual character 睑 has the same meaning as 州, i.e. prefecture. That the copyist felt it necessary to add this explanation suggests that even Chinese court officials at the time would have not been familiar with this term, so most likely it was a local expression.

睑者州之名号也。韦齐休《云南行记》有十睑，字作此睑字。

[「睑」字，原本误作「脸」，今从《一统志》改正。又韦齐休《云南行记》七字原本误作大书，今亦改正。] 

dàn is another word for prefecture. Wéi Qíxiū's book 'Yúnnán Travel Records' mentions ten *dàn*, they are all written using this character.

[In the original text, the character 睑 was erroneously written as 脸, this has been corrected from the 《一统志》. Also the seven characters Wéi Qíxiū's 《云南行记》 have been misspelt as *dàshū* 大书. This error this has been corrected here.]

云南志 985

The 'Yúnnán Travel Records' 《云南行记》 mentioned is one of the 'lost books' of Yúnnán, it is cited in other sources, but its full content is lost. Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1999) has collected the fragments from this book in other sources.

The main part of the text then introduces the six⁽⁸²⁾ *dàn* of Nánzhào one by one.

大和谓之大和睑、阳苴咩谓之阳睑， | Dàhé is called Dàhé Dàn, Yángjūmiē is called Yáng Dàn, Dàxī is

l986: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=71>

r988: 谓之大和睑] These five characters are not in the 《四库全书》 copy, they are added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 46.

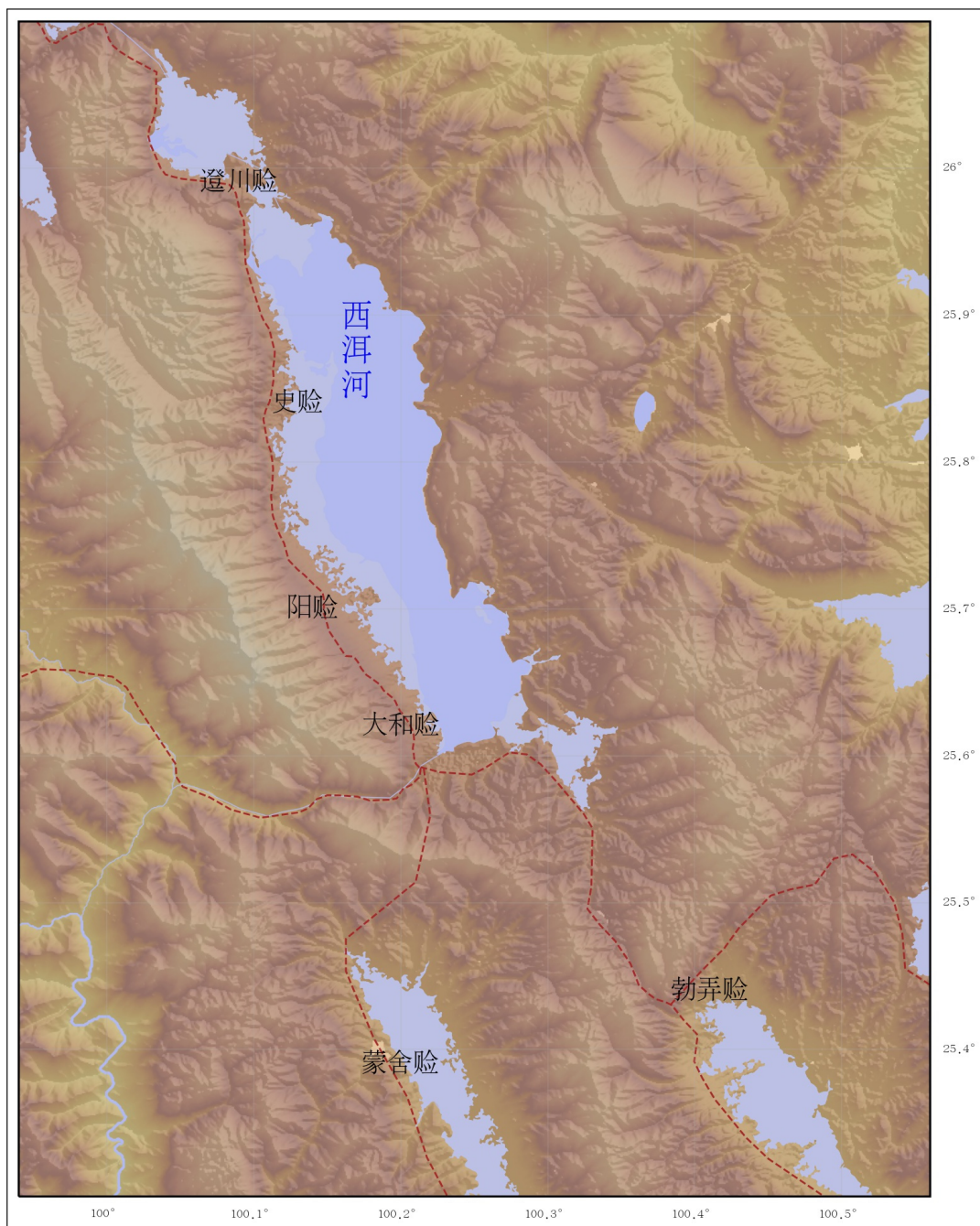
⁽⁷⁸⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 549–566.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 66–72

⁽⁸⁰⁾ See the maps on pages 67–68, 80–81 in Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol. 5.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 46 typesets this paragraph as an annotation to the main text.

⁽⁸²⁾ The 《四库全书》 copy mentions only five, causing confusion probably caused by a simple omission.



Map 7:
The Six *dàn* of Nánzhào

大厘谓之史睑，遼川谓之遼川睑，蒙舍谓之蒙舍睑，白崖谓之勃弄睑。云南、柘东、永昌、宁北、镇西及开南、银生等七城则有大军将领之，亦称节度。贞元十年，掠吐蕃铁桥城，今称铁桥节度。其余镇皆分隶焉。👁️

called Shǐdàn, Téngchuān is called Téngchuān Dàn, Méngshè is called Méngshè Dàn, Báiyá is called Bónòng Dàn.

云南志 990

Then⁽⁸³⁾ follow the main towns on the western side of Ěrhǎi 洱海 with details how Méng Guīyì 蒙归义, i.e. the founder of Nánzhào Píluōgé 皮罗阁, conquered the region in 737 and the subsequent establishment of three capitals of Nánzhào: Dàhé 大和, i.e. the first capital at present-day Tàihé 太和,⁽⁸⁴⁾ Dàxī 大厘,⁽⁸⁵⁾ in the vicinity of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲, and Yángjūmiē, the third capital near present-day Dàlǐ 大理.

大和城、大厘城、阳苴咩城，本皆河蛮所居之地也。

开元二十五年，蒙归义逐河蛮，夺据大和城。后数月，又攻破咩罗皮苴咩盛罗皮，取大厘城，仍筑龙口城为保障。阁罗凤多由大和、大厘、遼川来往。

蒙归义男等初立大和城，以为不安，遂改创阳苴咩城。👁️

The walled towns of Dàhé, Dàxī, and Yángjūmiē were originally all settlement areas of the Hé Mán.

In the 25th year of Kāiyuán, Méng Guīyì drove out the Hé Mán and occupied Dàhé. Some months later, he defeated Miēluōpí and seized the walled town of Dàxī, and built a walled town at Lóngkǒu for protection. Gélúōfèng often travelled between Dàhé, Dàxī, and Téngchuān.

Méng Guīyì's son founded the walled town at Dàhé, but thought it unsafe and established the walled town at Yángjūmiē.

云南志 995

云南志 1000

[989: 遼川睑] 🐼 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 46 has ‘贙睑’, not ‘遼川睑’. The 《四库全书》 copy has 贙睑, but Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 66 notes that 贙睑 should be 遼睑, in the 《新唐书·南蛮上》 it is written as 遼川睑, however Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 46 demands further verification and retains 贙睑. I also think this is simply a miswriting and should be either 遼川睑 or 遼睑.

[990-991: 蒙舍谓之蒙舍睑，白崖谓之勃弄睑。] Annotation in the text: 标题称六睑，第十卷亦有六睑之文，此所别乃止五睑，疑后龙口一城当亦为一睑，系传写误脱一句也 - The title names six prefectures and in the tenth section (see 第十卷) is also this saying, but here the description is limited to five, I suspect *lóngkǒu* is also a prefecture and there is a section missing here. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 66 points out that *lóngkǒu* 龙口 was not one of the *dàn*.

[991-994: 云南、柘东、永昌、宁北、镇西及开南、银生等七城则有大军将领之，亦称节度。贞元十年，掠吐蕃铁桥城，今称铁桥节度。其余镇皆分隶焉] Annotation in the text: 自「云南柘东」至「皆分隶焉」五十二字，与六睑文不相属，疑为第六篇「云南城镇」条下之文，错简于此 - This last part is not related to the six districts, I suspect this part belongs into the sixth part (see 第六卷).

[994: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=71>

[1003: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=72>

r 997: In the 25th year of Kāiyuán] 737.

r 998: 咩罗皮] The original text says 苴咩盛罗皮, which is an obvious writing mistake, Shèngluōpí 盛罗皮 is a Nánzhào ruler from a different generation, the copyist seemingly confused by the similar characters. Changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 115 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 46.

r 999: Lóngkǒu] This could either be in the south or in the north of the plain.

⁽⁸³⁾ The 《四库全书》 copy continues with a section that should be, as the copyist already noted, in the next *juàn*. I have placed it there, following Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 50, see line 1086 on page 69.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ 太和 and 大和 are just alternate writing forms of the same character, C. Daniels, pers. comm.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Regarding the name Dàxī 大厘, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 68 points out that the traditional character is Dàxī 大釐, so it should be pronounced Dàxī 大釐, the simplified character does not have this pronunciation.

Dàhé 大和 became the first capital of Nánzhào, established on an easily defensible hillside on the western side of Lake Ěrhǎi. ⁽⁸⁶⁾

The stone tablet mentioned is the ‘*Déhuà Stele*’ 《德化碑》, one of the key remnants of Nánzhào. ⁽⁸⁷⁾

云南志 1005 大和城北去阳苴咩城一十五里。巷陌皆垒石为之，高丈馀，连延数里不断。城中有大碑，阁罗清平官王蛮利之文。论阻绝皇化之由，受制西戎之意。👁️

From Dàhé it is fifteen *lǐ* north to Yángjūmiē. The alleys all have stone ramparts, **more than a *zhàng* high**, continuous for many *lǐ*.

In the city itself is a big stone tablet, the writing is by Géluōfèng's prime minister Wáng Mán Lì. It discusses the reason why he broke allegiance with the Táng emperor as he was under pressure from the Xīróng.

Lóngwěi was a fortification at the crucial crossing of the outflow of Ěrhǎi. Today, the location is called Lóngwěi pass 龙尾关. Lóngwěi pass lies on the northern side of the river, with a bridge across below it. The present-day road, which partly follows the old caravan road, goes up the hillside, passes through Lóngwěi pass before turning northwards, past several historic temples, and on towards snake bone pagoda 蛇骨塔, a Nánzhào era brick pagoda, then towards Tàihé, the first capital of Nánzhào.

云南志 1015 龙尾城，阁罗凤所筑。萦抱玷苍南麓数里，城门临洱水下。河上桥长百余步。过桥分三路：直南蒙舍路，向西永昌路，向东白崖城路。👁️

The walled town of Lóngwěi was built by Géluōfèng. It winds around the southern part of Diāncāng for several *lǐ*, its city gate is near the lower part of Ěrshuǐ.

A bridge several hundred paces long crosses the river. Crossing the bridge the road branches in three directions: directly south is the road to Méngshè, going west the road to Yǒngchāng, and going east the road to Báiyá.

The next locality is Dàxī 大厘. From its description, it is clear that this is a location in the present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 area, but I suspect its location was closer to present-day Zhōuchéng 周城, which now is the largest village of the Bai minority. Zhōuchéng lies at the foot of Cāngshān 苍山, on the

l1007-1008: 阁罗清平官王蛮利之文] Annotation in the text: 《旧唐书》阁罗凤得西泸令郑回，甚爱重之，更名「蛮利」，后为清平官。此云「王蛮利」者，疑即其人也 - According to the 《旧唐书》，Géluōfèng when he obtained Xilú, he captured Zhèng Huí. He liked him so much, that he gave him the name Mán Lì, and he later became prime minister. I suspect that mentioned Wáng Mán Lì is that person.

l1009: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=73>

l1016: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=73>

r1005: more than a *zhàng* high] more than four meters.

r1007: 碑] In the 《四库全书》 copy 牌, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 47.

r1011: 龙尾城] In the 《四库全书》 copy 龙口城, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 47.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ at present-day Tàihé 太和.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ The question of the authorship of the ‘*Déhuà Stele*’ mentioned in the annotation by the copyist has fascinated generations of Chinese historians, see the debate in Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1978), Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1985a), Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1985b), Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986a) and Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1987).

old caravan road, while Xǐzhōu lies closer to the present-day lakeshore, which is likely to have been swampland during the Nánzhào period.

With regards to the island in Ěrhé 洱河, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 68 thinks this is the present-day 南诏风情岛 next to Shuāngláng.

大厘城南去阳苴洋城四十里，北去龙口城二十五里，邑居人户尤众。

The fortress at Dàxī: going south it is forty *lǐ* to Yángjūmiē, **going north it is twenty-five *lǐ* to Lóngkǒu**, the number of people and households there is particularly high.

云南志 1020

咩罗皮多在此城。并阳苴咩并遼川，今并南诏往来所居也。家室共守，五处如一。

Miēluōpí resided often in this city. Both Yángjūmiē and Tóngchuān are places where the Nánzhào comes and goes. **These residences are defended together, five places like one.**

东南十余里有舍利水城，在洱河中流岛上。四面临水，夏月最清凉，南诏常于此城避暑。👁️

To the southeast over ten *lǐ* away is Shèlì water fortress, on an island floating in the middle of Ěrhé. It is surrounded by water, in the summer months it is cool and fresh, the Nánzhào often comes here to escape the summer heat.

云南志 1025

The next locality is Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, the third – and at the time of writing the principal – capital of Nánzhào. It was established in the north-west of present-day Dàlǐ 大理, which was established during the Míng dynasty after the Nánzhào capital had been razed to the ground.

阳苴咩城，南诏大衙门。

The walled town Yángjūmiē is the principal government office of Nánzhào.

上重楼，左右又有阶道，高二丈余，甃以青石为磴。楼前方二三里。南北城门相对。太和来往通衢也。从楼下门行三百步至第二重门，门屋五间。两行门楼相对，各有榜，并清平官大军将六曹长宅也。入第二重门，行二百余步，至第三重门。门列戟，上有重楼。入门是屏墙。又行一百余步，至大厅，阶高丈余。重屋制如蛛网，架空无柱。两边皆有门楼。下临清池。大厅后小厅，小厅后即南诏宅也。客馆在门楼外东南二里。仅前有亭，亭

On the top are the important halls, with steps to the left and right, which are more than two *zhàng* high, **blue stone** is used as steps. In front of it is a square of two or three *lǐ*. The south and north gate are facing each other along the main road to Dàhé. Three hundred paces from the lower gate is the second main gate, **next to the gate are five halls**. Two passage gates are facing each other, with boards on each: these are the residential quarters of the prime ministers, the great commanders, and the leaders of the six ministries. Entering the second gate and walking more than two hundred paces, one gets to a third gate. At the gate halberds are displayed, above it is the main hall. Passing through the gate one comes to a screen wall, and after more than one hundred paces one reaches the prin-

云南志 1030

云南志 1035

云南志 1040

/1026: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=73>

r1018–1019: going north it is twenty-five *lǐ* to Lóngkǒu] This is not the Lóngkǒu previously (and erroneously) mentioned in the 《四库全书》 copy, but its counterpart in the north, present-day Lóngshǒu pass 龙首关.

r1021: 咩罗皮] The original text says 盛罗皮, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 118 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 47, see also line 998.

r1022–1023: These residences are defended together, five places like one.] All five places lie on the western side of Ěrhái, to the west shielded by the mountains and to the north and south protected through the forts at Lóngkǒu and Lóngshǒu pass respectively, so they are forming one unit of defense.

r1031: blue stone] i.e. marble Dàlǐ Shí 大理石.

r1034–1035: next to the gate are five halls] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 48 suggests that the text should read 门旁屋五间, otherwise the text is difficult to understand.

临方池，周回七里，水深数丈，鱼鳖悉有。👁️

cipal hall, with a flight of steps more than one *zhàng* high leading to it. The principal hall is built like a spider web, the frame is empty without pillars. Gates are on both sides. Below are clear ponds. Behind the principal hall is a smaller hall, and behind this smaller hall are the living quarters of the Nánzhào. The guest rooms are two *lǐ* to the south-east outside the gates. In front of them is a pavilion, facing a square pond. The pond's circumference is seven *lǐ*, the water is several *zhàng* deep, with fish and turtles.

Téngchuān is thought to have been at present-day Dèngchuān 邓川, where just north of the modern town, on a strategically important hill, the relics of Déyuánchéng, a fortified town, have been uncovered.

The location of the other places mentioned in this section is not clear.⁽⁸⁸⁾

云南志 1050

遼川城，旧遼川也。南去龙口城十五里。

初望欠部落居之，后浪穹诏丰咩袭而夺之。丰时孙铎逻望与南诏战败，退保剑川南，遂有城。

The fortress at Téngchuān is the old Téngchuān. Going south it is fifteen *lǐ* to the walled town at Lóngkǒu.

It was where Wàngqiàn's tribe once lived, after that the *zhào* of Làngqióng Fēngmiē attacked and plundered it. The grandson of Fēngshí Duólúowàng battled with the Nánzhào and lost, then fled to the safety of southern Jiànchuān, after that they possessed this walled town.

城依山足，东距泸水，北有泥沙。自阁罗凤及异牟寻皆填固增修，最为名邑。

The walled town is at the foot of the mountains, east is the Lúshuǐ, north is a swamp. After Géluōfèng and Yímóuxún fortified and repaired it, it became a well-known settlement.

云南志 1060

东北有史郎川，又东禄诺品川，又北俄坤。👁️

Northeast is Shìlàng valley, and east is Lùnùòpǐn valley, and north is Èkūn.

The next section introduces the area of the southernmost *zhào*, in the valley of present-day Wēishān 巍山. The longest tributary to the Red River 红河 flows through the valley towards the south-east and the center of the valley may have been a large lake.⁽⁸⁹⁾

l1043: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=74>

l1061: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=75>

r1051: the walled town at Lóngkǒu] i.e. Lóngshǒu pass 龙首关, the northern fortification.

r1052: 望欠] The 《四库全书》 copy has 望父, but it should be Wàngqiàn, as in Shī Wàngqiàn, see 'Translation Notes', see Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 120, Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 48 also makes this correction.

r1053: 丰时孙铎逻望] In the 《四库全书》 copy 丰咩孙铎望, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 120.

r1060: 史郎川] The 《四库全书》 copy has 史郎, but it should be Shìlàng, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 48 and also 'Translation Notes'.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 48 takes Níshā 泥沙 as marsh areas, but Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 69 speculates that it refers to the valleys of present-day Míshā and Shāxī. Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 48 translates this as 'swamps'. Èkūn 俄坤 is according to Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 69 a Bái name for Hèqìng 鹤庆 and Lùnùòpǐn 禄诺品 the region south of it, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 49 places it in the Èrhǎi basin.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 70–71.

蒙舍川，罗盛已上之地。旧为蒙舍州，去龙尾城一日程。

当五诏俱存，而蒙舍北有蒙嵩诏，即杨瓜州也。同在一川，地气有瘴，肥沃宜禾稻。又有大池，周回数十里，多鱼及凌芡之属。

川中水东南与勃弄川合流。南有笼磨些川。

凡遼川，河賧，蒙舍谓之川賧。然邑落人众蔬果水凌之味，则蒙舍为尤殷。👁️

Méngshè valley is the territory of Luōshèng and his ancestors. It was once called Méngshè prefecture and is a day's walk from the walled town Lóngwěi.

When the five *zhào* existed, north of Méngshè was Méngxī *zhào*, that is Yángguā prefecture. They share the same valley, in the air is miasma, the soil is fertile and suitable to grow rice, there is also a big lake, more than ten *lǐ* around, there are plenty of fish and water chestnuts.

In the middle of the valley, the waters flow south-east and flow into the Bónòng River. South is Lóngmóxiē valley.

All of Téngchuān, Hé Dàn, and Méngshè are called valley Dàn. The villages are populous, fruit and vegetables and water chestnuts are abundant in Méngshè.

云南志 1065

云南志 1070

Qúliànzhào is in the valley of modern-day Fèngyí 凤仪, an expanse of flat-land south of Ěrhǎi. Until the 20th century, Fèngyí was known as Zhàozhōu, still reflecting the name from a thousand years earlier.⁽⁹⁰⁾

渠敛赵，本河东州也。西岩有石和城。

乌蛮谓之土山坡陀者，谓此州城及大和城俱在陂陀山上故也。

州中列树夹道为交流，村邑连薨，沟塍弥望。大族有王、杨、李、赵四姓，皆白蛮也。云是沮蒲州人，迁涉至此，因以名州焉。东北至毛郎川，又东北至宾居汤。又北至越析川，磨

Qúliànzhào was once called Hédōng prefecture, on a western cliff is the walled town of Shíhé.

The *Wū Mán* call it 'Soil Mountain Slope', because, like Dàhé, this administrative town sits on the slope of a soil mountain.

In the middle of the prefecture is a tree-lined road for communication, the villages are close to each other, water canals are everywhere. The four eminent clans are *Wáng, Yáng, Lǐ, and Zhào*, they are all *Bái Mán*. It is said that they come from Jūpú prefecture and moved here, giving the region its name. In the north-east

云南志 1075

云南志 1080

[1072: 凡遼川，河賧] 🐉 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 49 has '凡遼川河'; not '凡遼川，河賧'. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 49 suggests that this character is missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, as the sentence then makes more sense, but does not add it.

[1074: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=76>

r1062: Luōshèng] Luōshèng 罗盛 was the son of Xīnúlúó, the mythological ancestor of the Méng clan. This points out that Méngshè is the ancestral homeland of the Nánzhào rulers.

r1063: 龙尾城] The 《四库全书》 copy has 龙口城, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 49.

r1071: Bónòng River] present-day Mídùhé 弥渡河, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016b), p. 7. The two rivers' confluence is just north of present-day Nánjiàn 南涧 county town.

r1071: Lóngmóxiē valley] the region of Gōngláng 公郎, near the Lāncāngjiāng, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 49

r1072: All of Téngchuān, Hé Dàn, and Méngshè are called valley Dàn.] I think this means that these areas are lowland areas.

r1075–1076: on a western cliff is the walled town of Shíhé] south of Ěrhǎi in present-day Fèngyí 凤仪 🐉, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406 locates it west of Fèngyí, near Fēiláisi 飞来寺 🐉.

r1082–1083: It is said that they come from Jūpú prefecture and moved here, giving the region its name] See Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 71–72 for an interpretation.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ For the later development, see Ma Jianxiong (2014)

些诏故地也。👁

one reaches Mǎoláng valley, further on north-east one reaches Bīnjūtāng, and north Yuèxī valley, the ancestral home of the Móxīè zhào.

Báiyá 白崖 was an important Nánzhào settlement at the northern end of present-day Mídù valley, once the location of Báizi Guó 白子国, a precursor to Nánzhào.

白崖城在勃弄川，天宝中附于忠、城、阳等五州之城也。

The walled town Báiyá is in Bónòng valley, during the Tiānbǎo period it was attached to five prefectures: Zhōng, Chéng, Yáng etc. It uses the mountain for fortification, which is ten zhàng high, on four sides water flows around it, there are only two gates: to Kāinán and the north. On the southern side is the old town, two lǐ around, east and north is the new town, in the 7th year of Dàlì Gélúōfèng founded the new town, it is four lǐ around. Outside the north gate is a bamboo grove, as big as a man's shin and more than one hundred chǐ high. Inside the place there is the principal hall built by Gélúōfèng, a decorated corridor and curved side halls, behind them is a courtyard with green and luxuriant oranges looking out over the northern walls. In the old town is a pond more than three hundred paces square, in the water is a pavilion, where weapons and armour are rumored to be stored. The valley is more than twenty lǐ from east to west, and more than one hundred from north to south. Those ranking below prime minister are allotted fields, which are everywhere. Relatives of the Nánzhào also live in the vicinity of this town.

云南志 1090

依山为城，高十丈，四面皆引水环流，惟开南北两门。南隅是旧城，周回二里。东北隅新城，大历七年阁罗凤新筑也。周回四里。城北门外有慈竹丛，大如人胫，高百尺余。地内有阁罗凤所造大厅，修廊曲庑，厅后院橙枳青翠，俯临北墉。旧城内有池方三百余步，池中有楼舍，云贮甲仗。川东西二十余里，南北百余里。清平官已下，官给分田，悉在。南诏亲属亦住此城傍。

云南志 1095

其南二十里有蛮子城，阁罗凤庶弟诚节母子旧居也。正南去开南城十一日程。👁

Twelve lǐ south is the palace town of the Mán, the ancestral place of Chéngjié, Gélúōfèng's half-brother, and his mother. Straight south it is eleven stages to Kāinán.

云南志 1105

第六卷 The Cities and Towns of Yúnnán 《云南城镇》

The sixth juàn describes Nánzhào's military districts or Jiédù 节度 which controlled and administered the wider region.

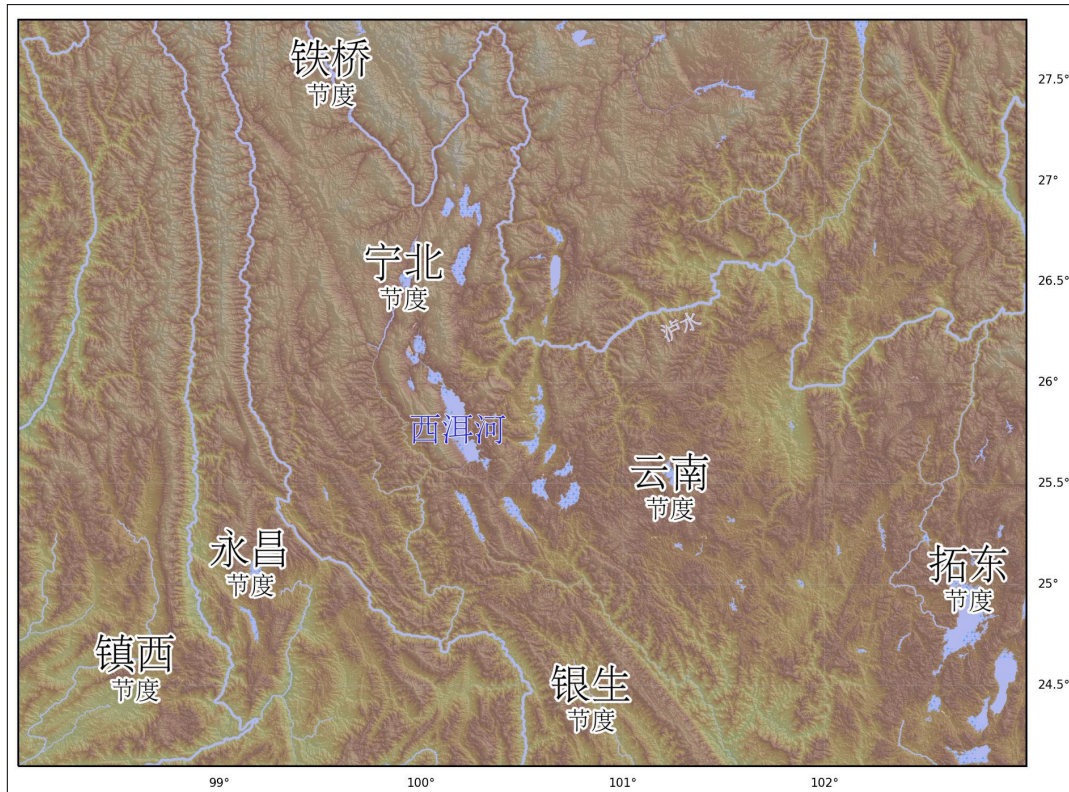
l1084: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=77>

l1107: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=77>

r1087: Báiyá] Some remains of Báiyá 白崖 have been found at the northern end of present-day Mídù valley 🌐. The finds tally with the description in this, see Lǐ Qìng huá 李庆华 (2009), Yáng Měi láo 杨美劳 and Shèng Dài chāng 盛代昌 (2015).

r1092: in the 7th year of Dàlì] 772.

r1105: palace town of the Mán] The term Zǐ chéng 子城



Map 8:
The Jiédù of Nánzhào

Translation Notes

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 57–66 and in Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 50–56. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 486–492 and Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 72–87 both have comprehensive annotations on this section.

The following section is in the 《四库全书》 copy placed in the fifth *juàn*, but as the copyist noted at the time, it belongs in this part and introduces the content of this *juàn*.⁽⁹¹⁾

云南、拓东、永昌、宁北、镇西及开南、银生等七城，则有大军将领之，亦称节度。
贞元十年掠吐蕃铁桥城，今称铁桥

The seven walled towns of Yúnnán, Tuòdōng, Yǒngchāng, Níngběi, Zhèn xī and Kāinán, Yínshēng have great commanders to command them, and are known as military districts.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán Tǔbō's walled town Tiěqiáo was an-

云南志 1110

[1108: 拓东] The 《四库全书》 copy has 柘东, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 50.

r1110: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794, i.e. after Nánzhào submitted to the Tāng.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Historians widely agree on this, see Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 126, Zhào Lǚfū 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 205, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 50 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 50.

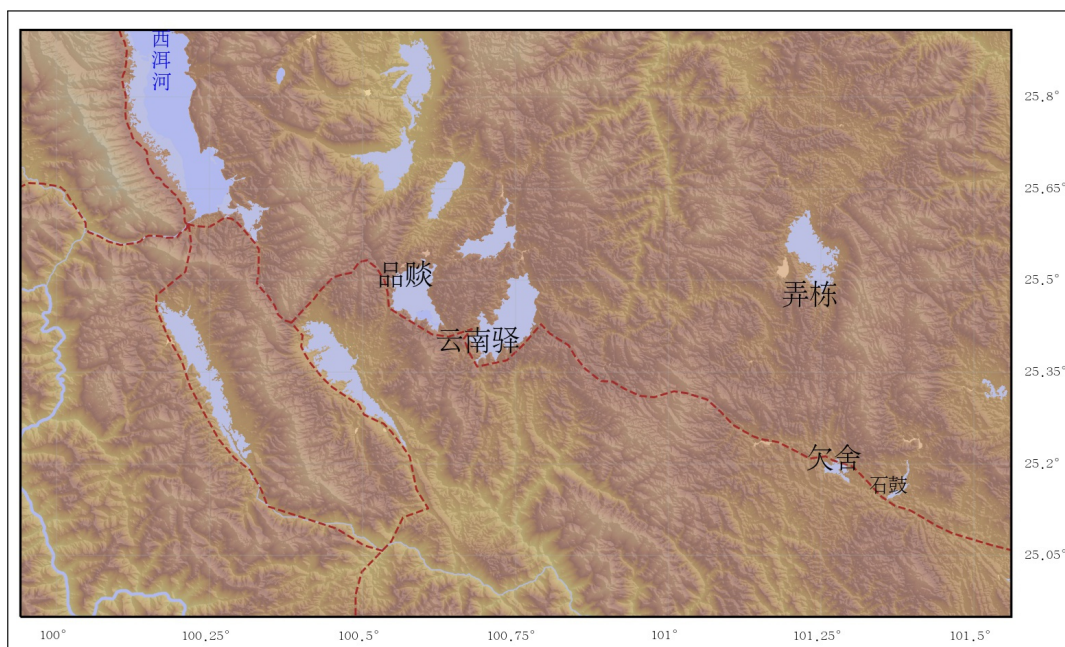
节度。
其余镇皆分隶焉。👁️

nexed, now it is called the Tiěqiáo military district.
All the other towns are their subdistricts.

The Yúnnán Jiédù 云南节度

The description starts with Yúnnán 云南, which refers here to the region east of Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海. In 664 the Táng established Yáozhōu 姚州 as area command 都督府 to administer this region and in 742, at the beginning of the Tiānbǎo 天宝 period, renamed it Yúnnán 云南.⁽⁹²⁾ In 750 the region fell to Nánzhào. South of it, along the caravan road between Lake Ěrhǎi and Lake Dian, a postal station called Yúnnányì 云南驿 was established.

In the following section, this use of names appears to have led to a certain confusion. The first mentioned walled town Yúnnán 云南 possibly refers to Nòngdòng 弄栋, the town established by Nánzhào near the old location of Yáozhōu 姚州. However, the distances along the caravan road mentioned later are measured from Yúnnányì 云南驿, while the town of Nòngdòng 弄栋 is mentioned again by its name under Nánzhào.



Map 9:
The Yúnnán Jiédù

云南城，天宝中阁罗凤所规置也。尝 | The walled town of Yúnnán was planned and established by

[113: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=71>

⁽⁹²⁾ For the history of the Chinese district see Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鹤 (2012), pp. 1300–1310.

为信州地。

城池郭邑皆如汉制。州中南北二十余里，东西四十五里。带邑及过山虽有三千余户，田畴多废，闾里少人。

诸葛亮分永昌东北置云南郡。斯即其故地也。

西隔山有品𪗗，亦名清字川，尝为波州。大池绕山，长二十余里。波州废地在池东南隅。

故渭北节度段子英，此州人也。故居坟墓，皆在云南。

东第二程有欠舍川，大都部落。第三程至石鼓驿，旧化川也。第四程至曲驿，有大览𪗗、小览𪗗，汉旧览州也。

弄栋城在故姚州川中，南北百余里，东西三十余里。

Géluōfèng during the **Tiānbǎo period**. Before that it was the territory of Xìnzhōu.

The town, moats, walls and residential areas all follow the Hàn system. From the middle of the prefecture it is over twenty *lǐ* from south to north, and forty-five *lǐ* from east to west. Even though in the settlement areas and in the mountains beyond live more than three thousand households, the fields are largely abandoned and few people live in the **villages**.

When Zhūgé Liàng divided Yǒngchāng into north and east, he established Yúnnán prefecture. This place was its old administration.

West of it, separated by mountains, is Pǐn Dàn, also called Qīngzì valley, formerly Bō zhōu. A big lake winds around the mountains, over twenty *lǐ* long. Bō zhōu's abandoned administration lies at the lake's south-eastern corner.

The former military commissioner of Níngběi Duàn Zǐyīng was a native of this prefecture. His residence and grave are in Yúnnán.

Two stages east of Yúnnán is Qiàns hè valley, a mostly tribal area, on the third day one reaches Shígǔ post station, the old Huà valley. On the fourth day one reaches Qū post station, there is Dàlǎn Dàn and the Xiǎolǎn Dàn, the old Hàn Lǎnzhōu.

The walled town of Nòngdòng is in the plain of the old Yáozhōu. From north to south it is over one hundred *lǐ*, from east to west

云南志 115

云南志 1120

云南志 1125

云南志 1130

云南志 1135

[115: 信州] The 《四库全书》 copy has 信州, and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 50 does not change it, but notes that this is unlikely correct and points to a number of other possibilities. According to Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 206 it should be 匡州.

[116: 品𪗗] 𪗗 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 50 has ‘品𪗗’, not ‘品𪗗’. All of Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 206, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 51 and Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 73 agree on this change.

[1130: 渭北节度] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 52 suggests that this should be 宁北节度.

r115: Tiānbǎo period] 742–755 CE, but since Géluōfèng 阁罗凤 ruled from 752 it must be after that.

r1122: villages] The character 闾 is a historic tax administration term for twenty-five families.

r1126–1127: Pǐn Dàn, also called Qīngzì valley, formerly Bō zhōu] a plain in north-west of present-day Xiángyún 祥云. r1127–1128: A big lake winds around the mountains, over twenty *lǐ* long.] At the northern end of the Xiángyún 祥云 plain is a remnant of a once much larger lake, called Píndiànǎi 𪗗.

r1128–1129: Bō zhōu's abandoned administration lies at the lake's south-eastern corner] At the southern end of the Xiángyún plain is another lake remnant, called Qīnghǎihú, which even in the first half of the 20th century was considerably larger, see Rock (1947), p. 24, at its southeastern corner is Qīnghǎiyíng 青海营 village, its name suggesting a Míng dynasty military post. Any road would have to circle the lake mentioned either on the southern side or the northern side. I suspect that the abandoned town mentioned is about where Qīnghǎiyíng is located today 𪗗.

r1133: Yúnnán] Here Yúnnán 云南 seems to refer to Yúnnányì 云南驿.

r1133: Qiàns hè valley] at present-day Nánhuá.

r1134: Shígǔ post station, the old Huà valley] On the eastern side of the Nánhuá valley is still a village called Shígǔ. See also Rock (1947), p. 21.

r1135: Qū post station] at present-day Chǔxióng.

r1137: walled town of Nòngdòng] present-day Yáoān 姚安 region.

云南志 1140

废城在东岩山上。当川中有平岩，周回五六顷，新筑弄栋城在其上。

more than thirty *lǐ*.

The abandoned walled town is on the eastern mountain cliff. In the middle of the valley is a flat rock, in circumference five or six *qǐng*. When the walled town of Nòngdòng was rebuilt, it was built on top of it.

云南志 1145

管杂蛮数部落，悉无汉人。
姚州百姓陷蛮者，皆被移隶远处。
👁

It administers various tribes, there are no Hàn people.

The local people of Yáozhōu fell into the hands of the *Mán* and without exception have been forcefully moved to far-away places.

The Tuòdōng Jiédù 拓东节度

The next Jiédù 节度 discussed is Tuòdōng 拓东.⁽⁹³⁾ It was located in the basin of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明市.

Jìnníng 晋宁 lies at the south-eastern end of Diānchí 滇池, perhaps where present-day Jìnníng 晋宁 is located.⁽⁹⁴⁾ It is interesting to note that the graves of kingdom of Diān 滇国, which were excavated in the 20th century and yielded important archeological treasures, including the ‘Seal of the King of Yunnan’ 《滇王之印》, were not only clearly visible, but that their provenance was also known at the time.

The location of Shíchéng 石城 is not entirely clear, it was located in the eastern part of Yúnnán, in the region of present-day Qūjìng 曲靖.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The town mentioned in the following paragraph, Xīnfēng 新丰, is equally not clear.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Shēngmá 升麻 is present-day Sōngmíng 嵩明 or Xúndiàn 寻甸.⁽⁹⁷⁾

The last part on the regions south-east of Ānníng 安宁 describes an alternative road to the Ānnán 安南: via Ānníng, Tōnghǎi 通海 and present-day Jiànshuǐ 建水 to embark at a place called Bùtóu 步头 for the journey downriver.⁽⁹⁸⁾

拓东城，广德二年凤伽异所置也。

The walled town of Tuòdōng was established by Fèngjiāyì in the 2nd year of Guǎngdé.

其地汉旧昆川，故谓昆池。

It is in the location of the old Hàn dynasty Kūn valley, also called Kūnchí.

[1146: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=83>

r1148: 2nd year of Guǎngdé] 764

⁽⁹³⁾ Both writing forms, 拓东 and 柘东 [nc], are used throughout the 《四库全书》 copy.

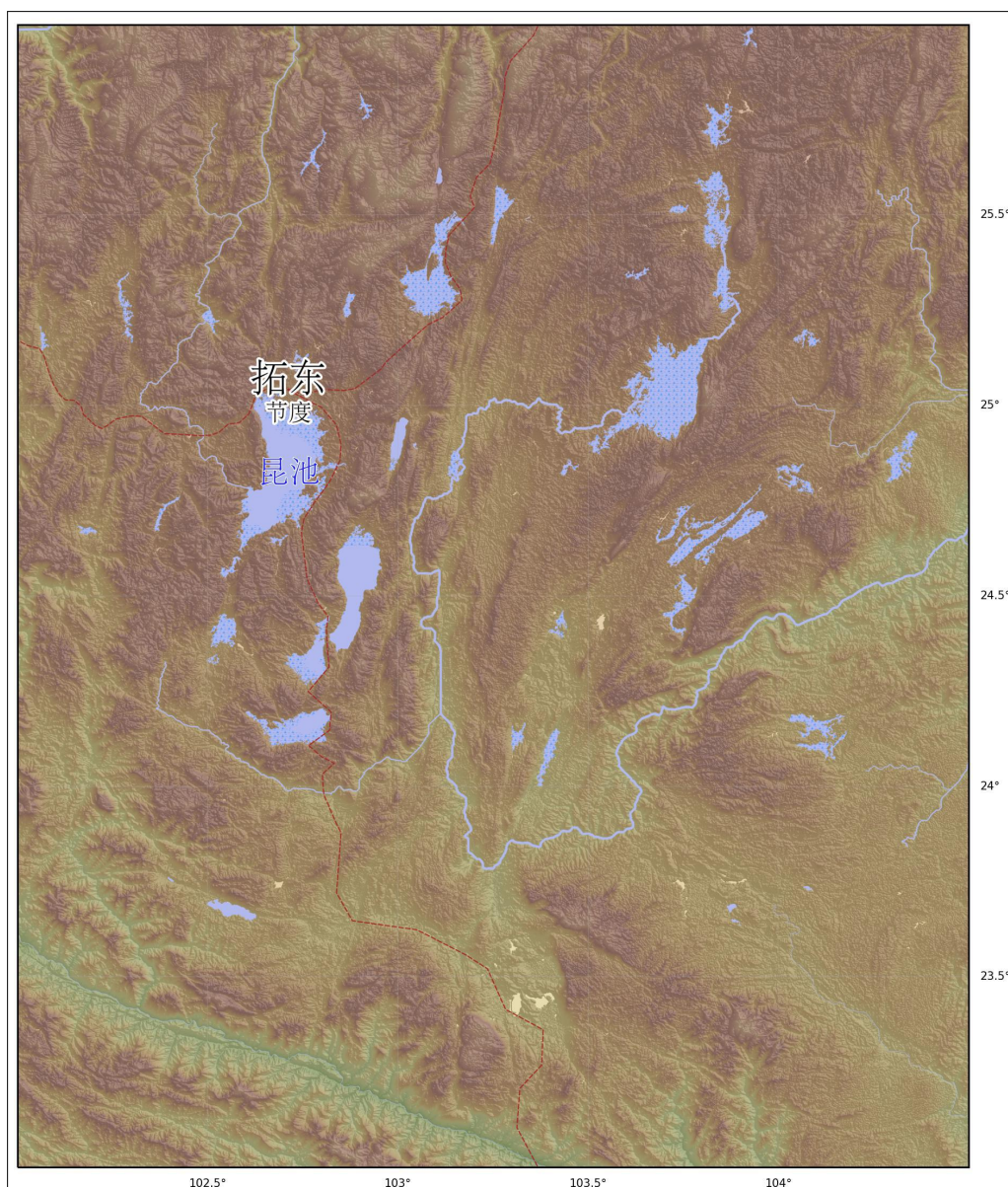
⁽⁹⁴⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 75.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 75 vaguely writes Qūjìng plain, Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81 places it at present-day Qūjìng 曲靖.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81 places it at present-day Yíliáng 宜良.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 220, Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81 places it at present-day Xúndiàn.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ This is the road to Bùtóu 步头 mentioned in page 44. From the description it is clear that Bùtóu must be upstream of the embarkation point at Gǔyǒngbù 贾勇步, I speculate that this is somewhere a little upstream from present-day Yuányáng 元阳. Gǔ Yuèjuān 谷跃娟 (2007) places it at Ātǔ 阿土, which is a village just downstream from Yuányáng.



Map 10:
The Tuòdōng Jiédù

东北有井邑城隍，城西有汉城，土俗相传云是庄躄故城。城之东十余里有谷昌村，汉谷昌王故地也。

贞元十年，南诏破西戎，迁施、顺、

Northeast lies the **moated fort of Jǐngyì**, west of the city is a Hàn dynasty walled town. The local legend say it is the old fort of Zhuāng Qiāo. East of the city more than ten *lǐ* is Gǔchāng village, the Hàn Gǔchāng king lived there.

In the **10th year of Zhēnyuán**, when Nánzhào attacked the western

云南志 1155

r1151: moated fort of Jǐngyì] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018) translates chéngguáng 城隍 as a 'temple of the patron god of the city', I think this is a mistake, as Chéngguáng 城隍 only became popular gods from the Míng dynasty onwards, see Johnson (1985).

r1155: 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

	磨些诸种数万户以实其地。又从永昌以望苴子、望外喻等千余户分隶城傍，以静道路。	tribes, several ten thousand households from the Shī, Shùn and the Móxiē tribes were moved to build it. From Yǒngchāng more than a thousand households of Wàngjūzǐ and Wàngwàiyù were moved to the vicinity of this city in order to pacify the roads.
云南志 1160	晋宁州，汉滇池故地也。在柘东城南八十里晋宁平川，幅员数百里。西爨王墓，累累相望。	Jìnníng prefecture is where the old Hàn dynasty Diānchí used to be. Eighty <i>lǐ</i> south of Tuòdōng is the Jìnníng plain, a vast territory of several hundred <i>lǐ</i> , the graves of the kings of the western Cuàn are everywhere to be seen.
	石城川，味县故地也。	Shíchéng valley is the old site of Wèi county.
云南志 1165	贞观中为郎州，开元初改为南宁州。	During the Zhēnguān period it was known as Lángzhōu, at the beginning of the Kāiyuán period it was changed into Nánning prefecture.
	州城即诸葛亮战处故城也。城中有诸葛亮所撰文，立二碑，背上篆文曰：此碑如倒，蛮为汉奴。近年，蛮夷以木撑柱。	The capital of the prefecture is the location where Zhūgé Liàng once fought a battle. In the center of the town are inscriptions by Zhūgé Liàng on two steles, on the back is written: 'Should this stele fall, the Mán will become slaves of the Hàn'. In the last years the Mán have used wood to prop the tablets up.
云南志 1170	臣今春见安南兵马使郭延宗曾奉使至柘东，停住一月日，馆谷勤厚，赠遗不轻。	This spring I saw the Ānnán commander, Guō Yánzōng, who was once sent as envoy to Tuòdōng, he stayed for one month, food and accomodation were ample, presents and gifts were not spared.
云南志 1175	又有夔鹿弄川，汉同劳县故地也。在龙河遇川南百余里。	There is also Kuìlùnòng valley, where the Hàn Tóngláo county was located, it is more than one hundred <i>lǐ</i> south of the Lónghéyù valley.
	石城南面有新丰川，汉南宁州新丰县故地也。废城墙堑犹在，大小石城川同。	South of Shíchéng is the Xīnfēng valley, the seat of the Hàn Nánning prefecture's Xīnfēng county. The wall of the abandoned town is still there. Its size is about the same as that of the Shíchéng valley.
云南志 1180	升麻川西川南有曲轭川，汉南宁州	South-west of Shēngmá valley is the Qūè valley, during the Hàn it

[1156: 以实其地] unclear

[1160: 滇池] In the 《四库全书》 it is written 滇河, but it should be Diānchí 滇池, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 75.

[1161: 晋宁] The 《四库全书》 copy only has 晋, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 52 suggests that there is a character missing.

[1168–1171: 城中有诸葛亮所撰文，立二碑，背上篆文曰：此碑如倒，蛮为汉奴。近年，蛮夷以木撑柱] Annotation in the text: 《新唐书》谓诸葛亮碑在柘东城，与此不合，盖《唐书》之误 - The 《新唐书》 says that Zhūgé Liàng's stele is in Tuòdōng, which does not conform with this, it must be an error in the 《唐书》.

[1173–1175: 臣今春见安南兵马使郭延宗曾奉使至柘东，停住一月日，馆谷勤厚，赠遗不轻] Annotation in the text: 以上五句与上下文不相属，疑亦错简在此 - The last five sentences have no relation to the context, the copyist thinks they are inserted here in error, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 52 leaves this paragraph here.

[1176: 汉同劳县故地也] Annotation in the text: 《旧唐书·地理志》郎州有同乐县，「同劳」疑即「同乐」之误 - In the 《旧唐书地理志》郎州 has a 同乐 county, the copyist suspects 同劳 is a misspelling of 同乐.

r 1162: the graves of the kings of the western Cuàn] On the eastern side of Diānchí 滇池 many tombs from the kingdom of Diān 滇国 period have been excavated, the most important location being ⑥.

r 1165: During the Zhēnguān period] 627–649 CE

r 1165–1166: at the beginning of the Kāiyuán period] 713–741 CE.

同起县也。

安宁镇，去柘东城西一日程，连然县故地也。

通海镇去安宁西第三程，至龙封驿。驿前临瘴川，去柘东城八日程，汉俞元县故地也。

量水川汉旧黎州。今吐蕃呼为量水川。

通海城南十四日程至步头。从步头船行沿江三十五日出南蛮。

夷人不解舟船，多取通海城路贾勇步入真、登州林西原，取峰州路行。

量水川西南至龙河，又南与青木香山路直，南至崑崙国矣。👁️

was the Nánning prefecture's Tóngqǐ county.

Ānníng town is one stage west of Tuòdōng, it was formerly Liánrán county.

Tōnghǎi town: going west from Ānníng, on the third day one reaches Lóngfēng post station. Before the post station is the Línzhàng valley, eight days from the walled town of Tuòdōng, it is the old location of the Hàn dynasty Yúyuán county.

The Liàngshuǐ valley is the old Hàn dynasty Lízōu. Today Tǔbō calls it Liàngshuǐ valley.

South of the walled town of Tōnghǎi one reaches Bùtóu after fourteen stages, from Bùtóu it is thirty-five stages by river boat to the southern Mán.

The tribal people are not skilled going by boat, and often choose the road from the walled town of Tōnghǎi to Gǔyǒngbù via Dēngzhōu, Línxīyuán and Fēngzhōu.

Southeast of the Liàngshuǐ plain one reaches the Lónghé, further south it connects to the Qīngmùxiāng mountain road, and directly south reaches Kūnlún country.

云南志 1185

云南志 1190

云南志 1195

云南志 1200

The Níngběi Jiédù 宁北节度

The following section covers the region north of Ěrhǎi 洱海, which was Níngběi 宁北 military district.

Chinese historians do not agree on many of the locations of the places mentioned in this section, not very surprising given the lack of detailed information. Before the submission of Nánzhào to the Táng the region north of Ěrhǎi was under control of Tǔbō, there was perhaps little opportunity to gather intelligence in this region.⁽⁹⁹⁾

宁北城在汉牂牁县之东境也。本无城池。今以浪人诏矣罗君旧宅为理所。

The walled town of Níngběi lies within the eastern borders of the Hàn Yèyú county, it does not have a moat, today the old residence of Yǐluōjūn, the zhào of the Làng people, is used as administration.

/1191: 量水川] Annotation in the text: 《旧唐书·地理志》黎州有梁水县,「量水」盖即「梁水」转音之讹 - The 《旧唐书·地理志》 says that in Lízōu is a Liángshuǐ county, Liàngshuǐ 量水 must be a change of sound of Liángshuǐ 梁水.

/1200: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=84>

/1202: 牂] The 《四库全书》 copy has 桑, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 54.

r1193: the walled town of Tōnghǎi] Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 84 points out that Tōnghǎi 通海 should be Ānníng 安宁 here, as this road does not pass through Tōnghǎi.

r1193: Bùtóu] landing point on the Hónghé 红河, near present-day Yuányáng 元阳, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 77–79 captures some of the controversial opinions: Níngběi lies north of present-day Dèngchuān, maybe near present-day Zhōngsuǒ or maybe further north at present-day Ěryuán. Yěgòng is in present-day Hèqīng 鹤庆, Huǐ valley 隄川 lies maybe near present-day Sānyíng 三营, Kuì valley 愧川 lies maybe present-day Sōngguì 松桂, Jiǔ Dàn 九贇 present-day Jùdiàn 巨甸, with the crossing at Tiěqiáo 铁桥 yet further north. See also Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), pp. 84–85.

云南志 1205 东地有野共川，北地有虺川，又北有愤川，又北有郎婆川，又北有桑川，即至铁桥城北九燄川。又西北有罗眉川。又西牟郎共城。又西至傍弥潜城，西有盐井。

盐井西有斂寻城。皆施蛮、顺蛮部落今所居之地也。

又西北至聿贲城，又西北至弄视川。

👁️

Eastwards is Yěgòng valley, north is the Huǐ valley, further north is the Lángpó valley, yet further north is the Sāng valley, then one gets to north to Tiěqiáo's Jiǔ Dàn valley.

To the northeast there is the Luōméi valley, further west is Mólánggòng, yet further west one reaches the walled town of Bàngmíqián, **west of it are salt wells.**

West of the salt wells is the walled town of Liànxún. The Shī Mán and Shùn Mán live there now.

Yet further north-west one reaches the walled town of Yùjī, and again further north-west one reaches Nòngshichuān.

The Tiěqiáo Jiédù 铁桥节度

The Tiěqiáo 铁桥 military district controlled the northernmost region of Nánzhào, after it had conquered the region from Tǔbō in 794. Tiěqiáo 铁桥, meaning 'Iron Bridge', i.e. a chain bridge, was the most important river crossing of the Jīnshā river 金沙江, which formed a significant barrier to Tibetan groups pushing south. It was located north of present-day Tǎchéng 塔城.

The event describing cutting the bridge at Tiěqiáo 铁桥 refer to the campaign by Nánzhào against Tǔbō after the submission to the Táng in 794.

Apart from its military importance this military district also controlled the salt-producing Kūnmíng region, which is present-day Yányuán in south-western Sìchuān.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

云南志 1215 铁桥城在剑川北三日程。川中平路有驿。

贞元十年，南诏蒙异牟寻用军破东西两城，斩断铁桥，大笼官已下水死者以万计。

今西城南诏置兵守御，东城至神川以来，半为散地。

见管汤浪、加萌、于浪、传充、长禕、磨些、扑子、河人、弄栋等十余种。

The walled town of Tiěqiáo is three stages north of Jiànchuān, in the valleys the road is flat and there are post stations.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Nánzhào Yìmóuxún used the military to capture two towns east and west, cutting the chain bridge, the Dàlóng officer and tens of thousands of his underlings fell into the water and drowned.

Today, the western town is defended by troops of the Nánzhào, from the eastern town to Shénchuān half of the land is abandoned. More than ten tribes are administered: Tānglàng, Jiāméng, Yúlàng, Chuányǎn, Chángkūn, Móxiē, Pūzǐ, Hé people, Nòngdòng and oth-

l1209: 西] This character is omitted from Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 54.

l1214: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=87>

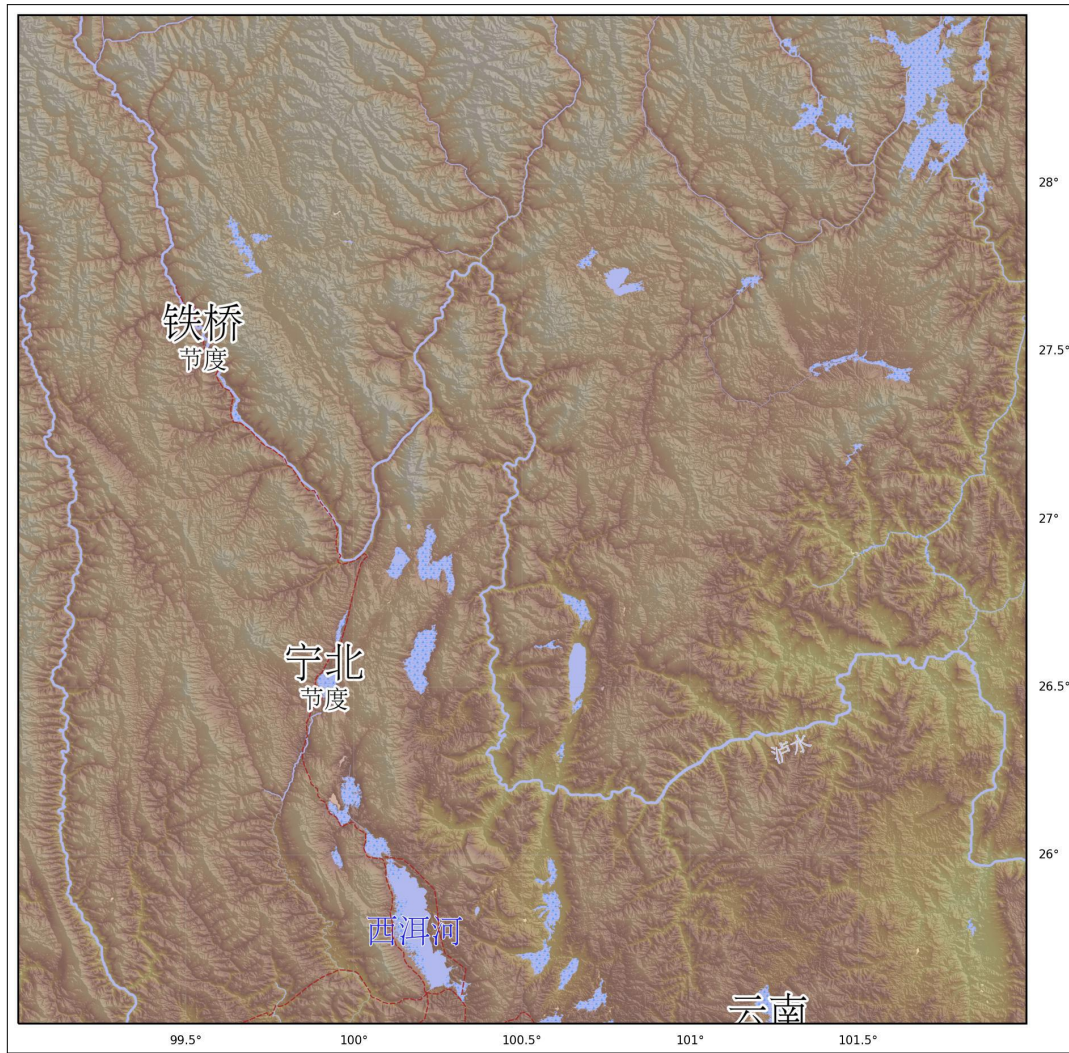
l1217: 南诏蒙异牟寻] ⇨ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 56 has '南诏异牟寻', not '南诏蒙异牟寻'. One character missing, certainly just an omission.

l1223: 汤浪、加萌] ⇨ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 56 has '浪加萌', not '汤浪、加萌'. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 56 notes that the 《四库全书》 copy writes 浪加萌, likely missing a character and it should read 汤浪、加萌, as these two tribal groups are mentioned together in page 26.

r1210: west of it are salt wells] Zhū Xiá 朱霞 (2011) suggests this refers to present-day Míshā 弥沙 in Jiànchuān county, there is a salt well in present-day Míjǐng 弥井.

r1217: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ It has no relation to present-day capital of Yúnnán, Kūnmíng 昆明.



Map 11:
The Níngběi and Tiěqiáo Jiédù

昆明城在东泸之西，去龙口十六日程。

正北有讳苴川，正南至松外城，又正南至龙怯河，西南至小婆城，又西南至大婆城，西北至三探览城，又西北至铁桥东城。

ers.

The walled town of Kūnmíng is west of the eastern Dōnglú River, **sixteen stages from Lóngkǒu.**

Directly north is the Huìjū valley, directly south is the walled town of Sōngwài, further directly south comes the Lóngqiè river, **further south-west the walled town of Xiǎopó, even further south-west the walled town of Dàpó, north-west the walled town of Sāntànlǎn, and further north-west to the eastern walled town of**

云南志 1225

云南志 1230

r1227: sixteen stages from Lóngkǒu] That is, sixteen stages north of the Ērhǎi region.

r1229–1233: further south-west the walled town of Xiǎopó, even further south-west the walled town of Dàpó, north-west the walled town of Sāntànlǎn, and further north-west to the eastern walled town of Tiěqiáo] I think that describes the area north of present-day Shígǔ, where it is possible to travel on the northern side of the Jinshājiāng, first going south-west, then north-west to reach the eastern side of Tiěqiáo.

云南志 1235

其铁桥上下及昆明、双舍，至松外已东，边近泸水，并磨些种落所居之地。👁

Tiěqiáo.

Up and down from Tiěqiáo and Kūnmíng, Shuāngshè east of Sōngwài, along the Lúshuǐ, are the areas where the tribes of the Móxī live.

The Yǒngchāng Jiédù 永昌节度

The next section introduces the region around Yǒngchāng 永昌, several stages to the west of the Ěrhǎi 洱海 region, present-day Bǎoshān 保山. This was once the furthest outpost of the Hàn empire.

云南志 1240

永昌城，古哀牢地，在玷苍山西六日程。

西北去广荡城六十日程。广荡城接吐蕃界，隔候雪山。西边大洞川，亦有诸葛武侯城。

Yǒngchāng is the old Āiláo, six stages west of the Cāngshān mountains.

Northwest it is sixty stages to Guǎngdàng, on the border to Tǔbō. It is separated by the Hòu snow mountains.

On the western side is the Dàdòng valley, where Zhūgé Liàng's fortress was.

云南志 1245

城中有神庙，土俗咸共敬畏，祷祝不阙。蛮夷骑马，遥望庙即下马趋走。

西南管柘南城，土俗相传，呼为要镇。

正南过唐封川，至茫天连。

In the town is a temple, where the locals go to worship without fail. When a Mán rides a horse and in the distance sees the temple, he dismounts and walks.

In the southwest it administers Zhènán, according to the local legends it is a key town.

Directly south one passes Tángfēng valley and reaches Mángtiānlíán.

云南志 1250

自澜沧江已西，越跋扑子，其种并是望直子。俗尚勇力，土又多马。

开元已前闭绝，与六诏不通。盛罗皮始置柘俞城，阁罗凤已后，渐就柔

West of the Lánkāng River, the region of the Pūzǐ of Yuè Dàn, who are all Wàngjūzǐ. Customarily they are valiant and their land has many horses.

Before the Kāiyuán era, they were closed off and had no connection with the six zhào. Shèngluōpí began to construct the walled

l1234: 及] In the 《四库全书》 copy 乃, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 55.

l1236: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=88>

l1254: 置] The 《四库全书》 writes 罢, but it should be 置, see Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 160.

r1239: Guǎngdàng] Maybe present-day Putao in upper Burma, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 83, but others do not dare to place it, see Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 283, see also page 27.

r1246: Zhènán] Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骥 (1985), vol. 5, pp. 80–81 places this at present-day Yǒngkāng 永康.

r1248: Tángfēng valley] present-day Fèngqīng 凤庆, Sòng Shǔhuá 宋蜀华 (1978)..

r1249: Mángtiānlíán] present-day Mènglián 孟连, see Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骥 (1985), vol. 5, pp. 80–81.

r1253: Before the Kāiyuán era] i.e. before 713–741 CE.

r1254: Shèngluōpí began to construct] So this construction began after 713 and before 728, Shèngluōpí's death, Daniels (2021).

r1254–1255: the walled town at Zhèyú] 柘俞 should be pronounced Zhèyú, see Wén Wéi 文薇 and Yǐn Jiāzhèng 尹家政 (2007). Wén Wéi 文薇 and Yǐn Jiāzhèng 尹家政 (2007) quotes the 1885 《永昌府志》: ‘正元十二年, 异牟寻取越跋, 置软化府 (在永昌西, 樊、骠、峨昌三蛮所居, 唐为羁縻州, 至是始立郡, 即今腾越也)’; to claim that Zhèyú 柘俞 was an early name for present-day Téngchōng 腾冲, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 473 reads this as Zhèyú 柘俞 being simply another name for Yǒngchāng 永昌, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 83 follows him..

服。

通计南诏兵数三万，而永西居其一。

又杂种有金齿、漆齿、银齿、绣脚、穿鼻、裸形、磨些、望外喻等，皆三译四译，言语乃与河賧相通。👁

town at Zhèyú, after Géluōfèng they were gradually subdued.

In total Nánzhào has thirty thousand soldiers, some are stationed west of Yǒngchāng.

There are many tribes, such as the Jīnchǐ, Qīchǐ, Yínchǐ, the Xiùjiǎo, Chuānbí, Luǒxíng, Móxiē, Wàngwàiyù and others. They all can, when interpreted a few times, communicate with the Hédàn.

云南志 1255

云南志 1260

The Yínshēng Jiédù 银生节度

The Yínshēng 银生 military district controlled what is present-day southern Yúnnán.

From Nánzhào's center around Lake Ěrhǎi travelling south-east along the river valleys it took ten days to reach the southern military district of Yínshēng 银生 and another day to reach Kāinán 开南, the gateway towns yegpy 云南. Information about the remaining localities mentioned is too vague to place them with any certainty.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

银生城在扑賧之南，去龙尾城十日程，东南有通鐙川，又直南通河普川，又正南通羌浪川，却是边海无人之境也。

东至送江川，南至邛鹅川，又南至林记川，又东南至大银孔。

又南有婆罗门、波斯、闍婆、勃泥、昆仑数种。

外通交易之处，多诸珍宝，以黄金麝香为贵货。扑子、长鬃等数十种蛮。

又开南城在龙尾城南十一日程，管柳追和都督城，又威远城、奉逸城、利润城，内有盐井一百来所。

The walled town of Yínshēng is south of Pū Dàn, ten stages to the walled town at Lóngwěi, south-east is Tōngdēng valley, directly south it connects to Hépǔ valley, and yet further south to Qiānglàng valley, an area next to a lake with no inhabitants.

East one reaches Sòng river valley, south Qióngé valley and further south Línjì valley, then south-east is Dà'yínkǒng.

Further to the south are many tribes: Póluómén, Bōsī, Dūpó, Bóní and Kūnlún.

Those places that trade with the exterior abound in treasures, with gold and musk the most precious goods. There are more than ten tribes, including Pūzǐ and Chángzōng.

The walled town of Kāinán is eleven stages south of the walled town of Lóngwěi. The walled town of Liǔzhūihé is the seat of the commander-in-chief. There is also the walled town of Wēiyuǎn,

云南志 1265

云南志 1270

云南志 1275

[1260: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=89>

r1255: after Géluōfèng they were gradually subdued] Daniels (2021) translates these characters as 'soothing of the submitters with gentle virtue'.

r1258–1259: There are many tribes, such as the Jīnchǐ, Qīchǐ, Yínchǐ, the Xiùjiǎo, Chuānbí, Luǒxíng, Móxiē, Wàngwàiyù and others.] These tribes were covered in 'Names and Classifications 《名类》':

r1262–1263: The walled town of Yínshēng is south of Pū Dàn, ten stages to the walled town at Lóngwěi]

r1273–1274: eleven stages south of the walled town of Lóngwěi] So one stage further on from Yínshēng. There is still a village called Kāinán at about a day's walk distance south of Jǐngdōng 🌐 24.33N 100.91E.

r1274: walled town of Liǔzhūihé] .

r1275: There is also the walled town of Wēiyuǎn] present-day Jǐnggǔ 景谷, its township name is Wēiyuǎn 威远, a salt-producing region into the 20th century, see Brown (1920), pp. 174–176.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 486–487.

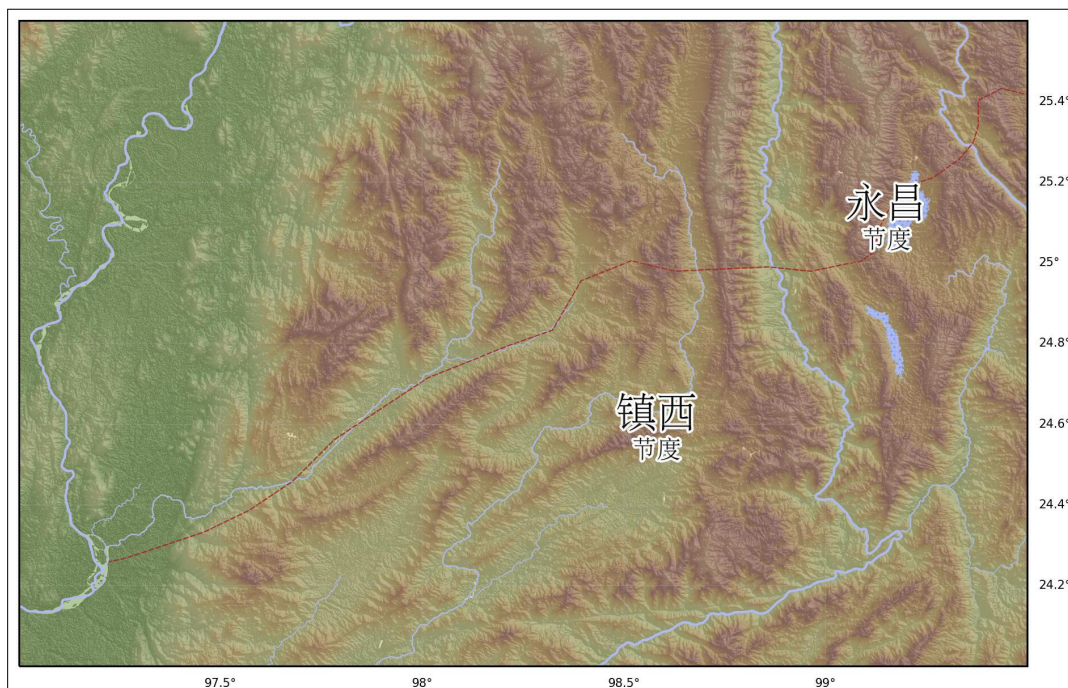
茫乃道并黑齿等类十部落，皆属焉。



the walled towns of Fèngyì and Lìrùn, in the area are more than one hundred salt wells.

Mángnǎidào, the Hēichǐ and more than ten other tribes all belong to it.

The Zhènxī Jiédù 镇西节度



Map 12:
The Zhènxī Jiédù

The following again contains information about the area to the west of Yǒngchāng 永昌, this area must be the seventh military district mentioned in the introduction, called Zhènxī 镇西. Later this was renamed Lìshuǐ 丽水 military district.⁽¹⁰²⁾

[1279:] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=90>

r1276–1277: the walled towns of Fèngyì and Lìrùn, in the area are more than one hundred salt wells] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 487 notes that east of Wēiyuǎn 威远 are many more salt-producing towns and speculates that Fèngyì 奉逸 and Lìrùn 利润 are among them. For the salt administration during the Qīng dynasty and a map of salt wells in the region, see Chén Yìrén 陈懿人 (2020).

r1278: Mángnǎidào] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 486 speculates that this could be the capital of present-day Xīshuāngbǎnnà 景洪, but I think it is the village of Měngnǎi 23.41N 100.95E, a two-day journey from Wēiyuǎn. This village used to be on the caravan route between Wēiyuǎn and Pǔěr, the present-day Níngěr 宁洱, see Dodd (1996), p. 72. The village is also on the map in Davies (1909). See also Daniels (2021).

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Because of the ordering of the text, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 491 states that these regions were all administered

As for other outlying regions, the scarcity of descriptions makes it impossible to locate the places mentioned.⁽¹⁰³⁾

陆路去永昌十日程，水路下弥臣国三十日程。南至南海，去昆仑三日程。

中间又管模迦罗、乾泥、礼强子等族类五部落。

越礼城在永昌北，管长傍、藤弯。长傍城，三面高山，临禄卑江。藤湾城南至磨些乐城，西南有罗君寻城。

又西至柯城，渡水郎阳川，直南过山至押西城。又南至首外川，又西至茫部落，又西至盐井，又西至拔熬河。

丽水城、寻传大川城，在水东。

从上郎坪北里眉罗苴盐井，又至西安城，直北至小婆罗门国。东有宝山城，又西渡丽水至金宝城。眉罗苴西南有金生城。

从金宝城北牟郎城渡丽水，至金宝城。从金宝城西至道吉川，东北至门波城，西北至广荡城，接吐蕃界。北对雪山，所管部落与镇西城同。

镇西城南至苍望城，临丽水，东北

By land it is ten days to Yǒngchāng, downstream by river to Míchén country thirty days. Southwards to the southern sea it takes three days.

In between five tribes, the Mójialuō, the Qiánní, the Lǐqiángzǐ and others, are under its administration.

The walled town of Yuèlǐ is north of Yǒngchāng, it administers Chángbàng and Téngwān. Chángbàng is surrounded by high mountains on three sides, next to the Lùbēi River. South of the walled town of Téngwān is the walled town of Móxièlè, south-west the walled town of Luōjūnxún.

Going west comes the walled town of Kē, crossing the river is the Lángyáng valley, directly south, crossing the mountains one reaches the walled town of Yāxī. Further south is Shǒuwài valley, further west lives the Máng tribe, again further west are salt wells, and then one reaches the Bááo River.

The walled town of Lìshuǐ and the large Xúnchuán valley are all on the eastern side of the river.

From the Shàngláng valley north to the Méiluōjū salt wells, and further to the walled town of Xiān, going north one reaches the lesser state of Pólūmén. East is Bǎoshān, west crossing the Lìshuǐ river one reaches the walled town of Jīnbǎo.

South-east of Méiluōjū is the walled town of Jīnshēng. From Jīnbǎo north to the walled town of Móuláng and crossing the Lìshuǐ river, one reaches the walled town of Jīnbǎo. West of Jīnbǎo one reaches Dàojí valley, north-east is the walled town of Ménbō, northeast **the walled town of Guǎngdàng, near the border with Tǔbō.**

North one meets the snow mountains, the tribes under administra-

云南志 1280

云南志 1285

云南志 1290

云南志 1295

云南志 1300

云南志 1305

r1280: By land it is ten days to Yǒngchāng] That road would have been from Yínshēng 银生 via present-day Fèngqìng, not via the Ērhǎi 洱海 region.

r1280–1281: downstream by river to Míchén country thirty days] For the Míchénguó 弥臣国 see page 110, there is of course no direct river route.

r1298: Xiān] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 482–483 places this at Mogaung in upper Burma.

r1300: Jīnbǎo] Present-day Myitkyina in upper Burma.

r1304–1305: the walled town of Guǎngdàng, near the border with Tǔbō] Maybe present-day Putao in upper Burma, see page 27 and page 78.

by Yínshēng, constituting a vast military district with control of parts of present-day Thailand and Burma, but I think this might simply be an ordering problem in this text, as the regions mentioned here would have been almost impossible to reach without passing through Yǒngchāng 永昌 first. Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 7 also suggests that there is an ordering problem in this section.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 481 has a sketch-map indicating the likely locations. Young (1907) describes a journey from Yúnnán to India, with a detailed map, but it is impossible to recognize any names from this text.

至弥城，西北至丽水渡。

云南志 1310 丽水渡而南至祁鲜山，山西有神龙河栅。祁鲜已西，即裸形蛮也。管摩零都督城在山上。

云南志 1315 自寻传、祁鲜已往，悉有瘴毒，地平如砥，冬草木不枯，日从草际没。诸城镇官惧瘴疠，或越在他处，不亲视事。

云南志 1320 南诏特于摩零山上筑城，置腹心，理寻传、长傍、摩零、金、弥城等五道事云。凡管金齿、漆齿、绣脚、绣面、雕题、僧耆等十馀部落。👁️

tion are the same as in **Zhènxī**. South of Zhènxī is the walled town of Cāngwàng, next to the Lìshuǐ river, north-east is the walled town of Mí, north-west one reaches the Lìshuǐ ford.

The Lìshuǐ ford leads south towards the Qíxiān mountains, west of the mountains is Shénlóng river stockade. West of the Qíxiān are the Luǒxíng Mán. The town that administers the Mólíng is located on a mountain.

From Xúnchuán and Qíxiān are miasmas, the land is flat like a grindstone, in the winter the plants don't wither, the sun rises from the grass. All the town officials fear the miasmas, or go to different places, they do not personally attend affairs.

The Nánzhào specifically built the town on Mólíng mountain and installed trusted assistants to administer five Dào: Xúnchuán, Chángbàng, Mólíng, Jīn and Mí, they all administer the Jīnchǐ, Qīchǐ, Xiùjiǎo, Xiùmian, Diāotí, Sēngqí and other tribes.

第七卷 **The Produce and Products of Yúnnán** 《云南管内物产》

The seventh *juàn* covers agriculture and natural resources.

Translation Notes

Over the course of history, food plants in China have changed considerably as have their names, particularly when it comes to plants in the periphery of China unknown in the central provinces. For this *juàn* I have tried to cross-reference the names given with those in the 1848 Qing dynasty reference work 《植物名实图考》.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 67–76 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 57–65. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 87–97 has comprehensive annotations on this section, while Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a), pp. 167–253 gives a broader overview of the material culture during the Nánzhào period.

Lunar months in this section have been translated into the corresponding month in the western calendar, with an annotation of the original text.

^{l1321}: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59015&page=90>

^{r1307}: Zhènxī] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 479–481 states the confusion about the location of this place, which might be in the present-day Yíngjiāng region.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Wú Qíjùn 吴其濬 (1848), this work is available in digitized form at [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)) (accessed 26th May 2024) and I have added links to the relevant images.

General Agriculture

The text starts with a description of general agriculture and the crops in common use.

Apart from certain grains are not being cultivated anymore, the description would also fit Yúnnán in the 19th or early 20th century. The text mentions that over the summer season paddy rice is planted and over the winter season barley, which Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 notes as the earliest reference to multi-cropping in Chinese records.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The use of two animals for ploughing the fields is illustrated in the ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏图传》 from 898, which shows two water buffaloes resting, with the farming implements on the ground behind them (see figure 2 on page 83).



Illustration 2:
Detail of Farming in the ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’

从曲靖州已南，滇池已西，土俗唯
业水田。种麻豆黍稷，不过町疃。

South of Qūjìng Zhōu and west of Diānchí the local custom is to
farm only paddy rice and sow hemp, beans, **proso millet**, and **fox-**

r1323: proso millet] *Panicum miliaceum*, proso millet or broomcorn millet is a grain crop that has long been cultivated in China.

r1323–1324: foxtail millet] *Panicum italicum* L.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1983).

- 云南志 1325 水田每年一熟。从八月获稻，至十一月十二月之交，便于稻田种大麦，三月四月即熟。收大麦后，还种粳稻。小麦即于冈陵种之，十二月下旬已抽节如三月，小麦与大麦同时收刈。
- 云南志 1330 其小麦面软泥少味。大麦多以为麩，别无他用。
酝酒以稻米为曲者，酒味酸败。
- 云南志 1335 每耕田用三尺犁，格长丈余，两牛相去七八尺，一佃人前牵牛，一佃人持按犁辕，一佃人秉耒。
- 云南志 1340 蛮治山田，殊为精好。悉被城镇蛮将差蛮官遍令监守催促。如监守蛮乞酒饭者，察之，杖下捶死。
- 每一佃人佃，疆畛连延或三十里。浇田皆用源泉，水旱无损。

tail millet not far from the home.

Paddy rice ripens once a year. It is harvested in **September**, and then until **the end of the year** the farmers plant barley in the paddy fields, which ripens in **April**. After harvesting the barley, they plant paddy rice again. Wheat is sown in the hills and in **January** it already sprouts like it was **April**. Wheat and barley are harvested at the same time.

The wheat flour is soft and tastes a little muddy. The barley is **parched**, otherwise, it has no use.

For making wine they use the paddy rice as yeast, the wine is sour. When they plough the fields, they use a plough **three *chǐ*** wide, more than **one *zhàng*** long with two oxen spaced **eight or seven *chǐ*** apart, one farmer pulls the oxen, the other holds the beam pressing it down, a third one guides the plough.

The *Mán* administration of the **mountain fields** is very good: everywhere is supervised and spurned on by *Mán* officials sent out from the towns. If a supervising *Mán* asks for wine or food, he will be investigated and beaten to death.

In each farming area, the field's borders extend for thirty *lǚ*.

They use spring water for irrigation, flood or drought do not cause damage.

l1327–1328: 粳稻] Gēngdào 粳稻 is today the term used for *Oryza sativa subsp. japonica*.

l1328–1330: 小麦即于冈陵种之，十二月下旬已抽节如三月，小麦与大麦同时收刈。] 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 60–61 has ‘小麦即于冈陵种之，十二月下旬已抽节，如三月小麦与大麦同时收刈。’; not ‘小麦即于冈陵种之，十二月下旬已抽节如三月，小麦与大麦同时收刈。’. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 60–61 acknowledges that the reading chosen here does not make sense, but does not correct the placement of the comma suggested by Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 171.

l1333: 曲] In the 《四库全书》 copy: 麩, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 60.

l1342: 每一佃人佃，疆畛连延或三十里。] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 61 notes that this sentence is incomprehensible. Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1961) took it as a reference to the extend of conscripted labour, but the Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 61 suggests that the text should read 每一佃区，佃疆畛连延或三十里, taking this as a reference to the size of villages or contiguous agricultural areas. My translation follows this.

l1334: three *chǐ*] about 1m

l1335: one *zhàng*] three metres

l1335–1336: eight or seven *chǐ*] two metres

r1325: September] In Chinese: lunar 8th month.

r1326: the end of the year] In Chinese: to the time when the 11th and the 12th month meet, i.e. late December or early January.

r1327: in April] In the original: in the 3rd or 4th month.

r1328: January] In Chinese: in the last third of the 12th month.

r1329: April] In Chinese: 3rd month.

r1332: parched] dry-roasted, an ancient way of preserving grain and making it suitable for long-term provision. As water is removed, it is also lighter to carry.

r1338: mountain fields] Wang Níngshēng 汪宁生 (1977) takes this as a reference to rice terrasses.

r1342: In each farming area, the field's borders extend for thirty *lǚ*.] The meaning of this is unclear.

收刈已毕，蛮官据佃人家口数目，
支给禾稻，其余悉输官。👁️

After the harvest has been completed, the *Mán* administrator allocates grain according to a family's size, and what is leftover belongs to the government.

云南志 1345

Sericulture

The text notes that there are no mulberry trees and *zhè* 柘 is cultivated instead. This is *maclura tricuspidata*,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ a shrub still farmed today for its fruit similar to mulberries.

Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 has a longer discussion of sericulture and cloth making in the Erhai region.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

<p>蛮地无桑，悉养柘，蚕绕树。</p> <p>村邑人家柘林多者数顷，耸干数丈。</p> <p>二月初蚕已生，三月中茧出。</p> <p>抽丝法稍异中土。</p> <p>精者为纺丝绌，亦织为锦及绢。其纺丝入朱紫以为上服。锦文颇有密致奇采，蛮及家口悉不许为衣服。其绢极粗，原细入色，制如衾被，庶贱男女，计以披之。</p> <p>亦有刺绣。蛮王并清平官礼衣悉服锦绣，皆上缀波罗皮。</p> <p>俗不解织绌罗。</p>	<p>There are no mulberry trees in the <i>Mán</i> area, they grow <i>zhè</i>, the cocoons winding around the trees.</p> <p>Those villagers with large <i>zhè</i> plantations own several <i>qǐng</i>, with the trees trunks several <i>zhàng</i> high.</p> <p>In early April, the silkworms hatch and emerge from the cocoon in the middle of the month.</p> <p>The reeling of the silk differs little from the method used in China. The finest is spun into damask silk, while the coarser one is woven into brocade and tabby. The best silk is dyed vermilion and used for the finest garments. The brocade patterns are extremely fine, so the <i>Mán</i> and normal people are not allowed to use it as garment. The coarsest tabby is only slightly dyed, it is used to make quilts, many men and women of the lower ranks use it as capes.</p> <p>They also embroider: the ritual garments of the <i>Mán</i> king and the prime minister are all embroidered and tiger skins are sewn onto them.</p> <p>Originally they did not know how to weave silk.</p>	<p>云南志 1350</p> <p>云南志 1355</p> <p>云南志 1360</p> <p>云南志 1365</p>
---	--	---

l1345: 蛮官] In the 《四库全书》 copy 官蛮: corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 60.

l1346: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=2>

l1352: 二月] In the 《四库全书》 copy 三月: corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 60.

l1358: 原细入色] Annotation in the text: 「原细」二字未详 - the two characters *yuánxì* 原细 are unclear.

l1363: 波罗皮] Annotation in the text: 南蛮呼大虫为「波罗密」- The southern *Mán* call tigers '*bōluōmì*'.

r1352: early April] In Chinese: beginning of the 3rd month.

r1355-1356: The finest is spun into damask silk, while the coarser one is woven into brocade and tabby.] The text mentions three grades of silk products, I am not familiar with silk production, so the English terms might well be wrong here.

r1359: The coarsest tabby is only slightly dyed] The copyist annotates that two characters 原细 are unclear and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 58 silently adds a *not* to his text, translating this as 'the original silk is not dyed', but Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a), p. 215 suggests that 细 means 'little', I follow his suggestion.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maclura_tricuspidata, accessed 17 December 2020 [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十五卷/柘](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十五卷/柘) (accessed 26th May 2024).

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a), pp. 212-223

自大和三年蛮贼寇西川，虏掠巧儿及女工非少，如今悉解织绫罗也。
👁️

Only after the 3rd year of Dàhé, when the *Mán* raided Xīchuān and captured many craftsmen and female workers, they learned how to spin and weave it.

The following section notes the cultivation of the Shāluó 娑罗⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ tree, which today translates as sal tree,⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ but from the description of the use of its seeds it is more likely that the term is used, maybe mistakenly, for the kapok tree 木棉,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ which was long cultivated in the southern regions of Yúnnán for its seed fibre.

云南志 1370

自银生城、柘南城、寻传、祁鲜已西，蕃蛮种并不养蚕，唯收娑罗树子破其壳，中白如柳絮，组织为方幅，裁之笼头，男子妇女通服之。骠国、弥臣诺悉皆，皆披娑罗缎。👁️

West of the walled towns of Yínshēng and Zhènán, Xúnchuán and Qíxiān, the *Mán* do not raise silkworms, they collect the seeds of the Shāluó tree, break their shells, inside is white like willow, which they weave into pieces of cloth and cut into turbans, men and women all wear robes. In the state of Pyu, Míchén, and Mínuò all wear garments made from Shāluó.

Salt Production

In the inland region of Yúnnán, salt – an essential nutritional element for humans and livestock as well as a necessity for traditional food preservation – is only found in a small number of places, making them contended focus points of political control.⁽¹¹¹⁾

The text here notes several salt-producing places, describes production methods, regulations, and taxation.

The section on the salt-making technique of the Tibetans illustrates a primitive method of obtaining salt from brine water.

The section concludes noting that prices for common goods were expressed in weights of salt. Nánzhào did not have currency and while cowry shells were used as precious goods, there is no evidence that

l1368: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=3>

l1370: 娑罗树] In the 《四库全书》 copy 娑罗树: corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 63.

l1371–1372: 裁之笼头，男子妇女通服之] unclear

l1372–1373: 弥臣诺] This is a shortened form of writing Míchén 弥臣 and Mínuò 弥诺, see Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 261.

l1373: 娑罗缎] In the 《四库全书》 copy 罗缎: corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 63.

l1373: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=4>

r1366: the 3rd year of Dàhé] 829 CE, i.e. the Nánzhào raid on Chéngdū 成都.

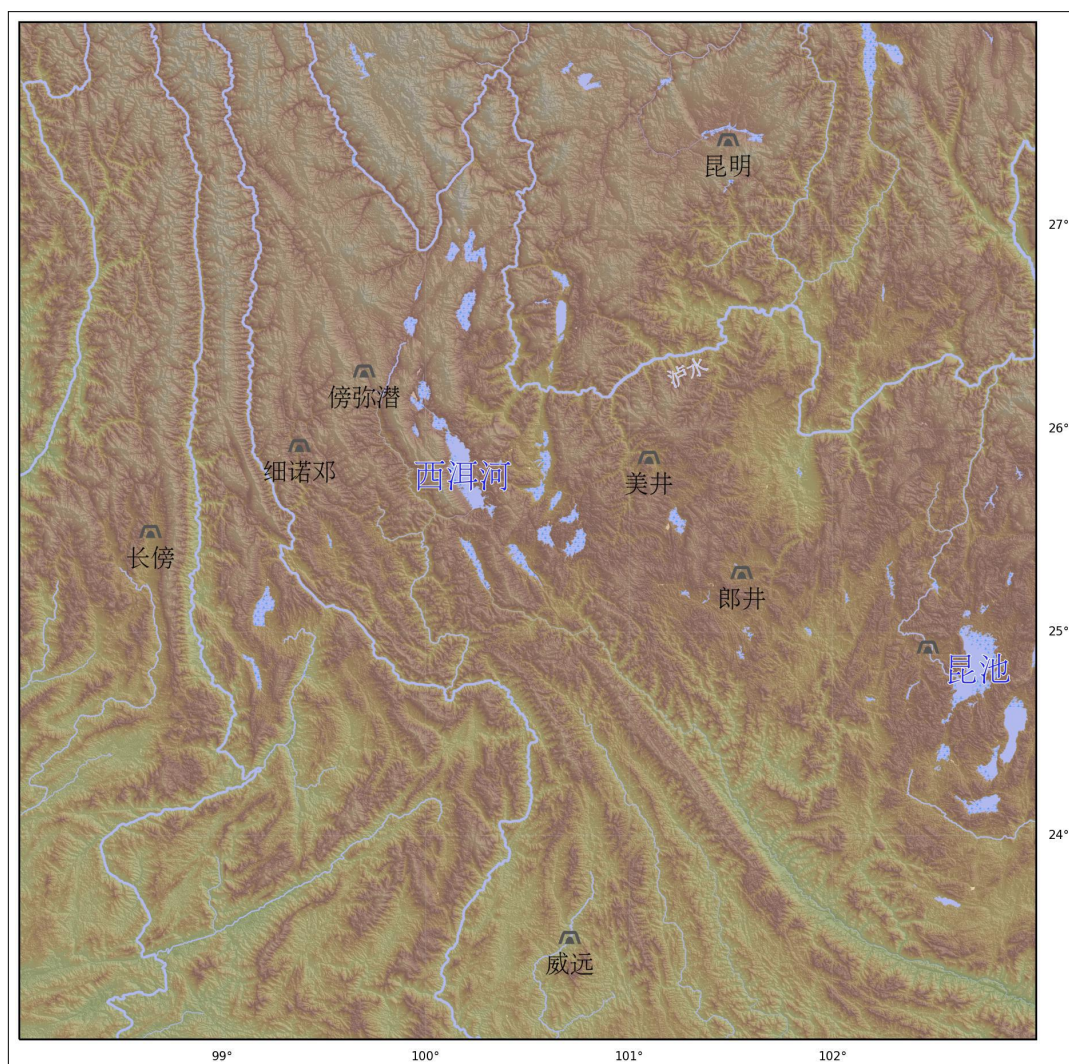
r1373: the state of Pyu, Míchén, and Mínuò] For the location of the Piàoguó 骠国, Míchén 弥臣 and Mínuò 弥诺 see ‘The Tribal Countries bordering the Southern *Mán* 《南蛮疆界接连诸蕃夷国名》’.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The 《四库全书》 copy uses variants of 娑罗, most likely a mistake.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ *shorea robusta*.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ *ceiba pentandra*, [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十卷/木棉](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十卷/木棉) (accessed 26th May 2024), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ceiba_pentandra, accessed 26th May 2024 Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010b), p. 216 also notes that some Yí 彝 groups refer to this tree as ‘sala’.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ For background information of salt making in the region, see Zhū Xiá 朱霞 (2011), which gives locations for some of the salt wells discussed here, and Vogel (2008).



Map 13:
The Salt Producing Regions

they were used for everyday transactions. In ‘The Customs of the *Mán* 《蛮夷风俗》’, it is said that cloth bundles were used as price measurement.

其盐出处甚多，煎煮则少。

安宁城中皆石盐井，深八十尺，城外又有四井，劝百姓自煎。

There are many salt sources, but not many places where it is **evaporated**.

In the centre of Ānníng are rock salt mines, **eighty *chǐ*** deep. Outside the town are four more wells, where the locals have permission to evaporate it.

云南志 1375

r1375–1376: evaporated] The traditional method of salt-making in Yúnnán is to evaporate brine from brine wells. There are very few places in Yúnnán where rock salt is mined. A further salt producing region, in the Yínshèng military district, has already been mentioned in ‘The Cities and Towns of Yúnnán 《云南城镇》’.

r1377: eighty *chǐ*] 30m

云南志 1380 天宝八载，玄宗委特进何履光统领十道兵马，从安南进军伐蛮国。十载已收复安宁城并马援铜柱，本定疆界在安宁，去交趾四十八日程，安宁郡也。何履光本是邕管贵州人，旧尝任交、容、广三州节度。天宝十五载，方收蛮王所坐大和城之次，属安禄山造逆，奉玄宗诏旨，将兵赴西川，遂寝其收复。

云南志 1385 升麻、通海已来，诸爨蛮皆食安宁井盐。唯有览赅城内郎井盐洁白味美，惟南诏一家所食取足外，辄移灶减闭其井。

云南志 1395 泸南有美井盐，河赅、白崖、云南已来，供食。昆明城有大盐池，比陷吐蕃。蕃中不解煮法，以咸池水沃柴上，以火焚柴成炭，即于炭上掠取盐也。贞元十年春，南诏收昆明城。今盐池属南诏，蛮官煮之，如汉法也。

In the 8th year of *Tiānbǎo*, Xuánzōng issued an edict for the lord specially advanced Hé Lǚguāng to lead ten columns of troops from Ānnán to attack the lands of the *Mán*. In 10th year of *Tiānbǎo*, he captured the walled town of Ānníng and the bronze pillar erected by Mǎ Yuán to mark the border at Ānníng, it is forty-eight stages to Jiāozhǐ, this was Ānníng prefecture. Hé Lǚguāng was originally from Yōngguǎn's Guìzhōu, and had already served as military commissioner of three regions, Jiāo, Róng, and Guǎngzhōu. In the 15th year of *Tiānbǎo*, when he was about to capture Dàhé, the residence of the *Mán* king, Ān Lùshān rebelled and he received Xuánzōng's order to lead his troops to Xīchuān and had to abandon retaking it.

In Shēngmá, Tōnghǎi, and beyond, the Cuàn *Mán* all eat the salt from the Ānníng wells. Only the salt from the Lángjǐng salt well at the walled town of Lǎn Dàn is pure white and has a good taste, only the family of the Nánzhào can obtain it, and after they have taken enough they remove the hearths and close the well.

South of the Lú is Měijǐng salt well, its salt is used all over Hé Dàn, Báiyá and Yúnnán.

In Kūnmíng is a big salt pond, which has fallen into the hands of Tǔbō. The people from Tǔbō do not know how to evaporate salt: they pour brine on firewood, then make charcoal out of the firewood and obtain the salt from the charcoal. In the spring of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán Nánzhào captured Kūnmíng, so the salt pond now belongs to Nánzhào. The *Mán* administration of salt making is just like the Hàn.

1380–1388: 天宝八载，玄宗委特进何履光统领十道兵马，从安南进军伐蛮国。十载已收复安宁城并马援铜柱，本定疆界在安宁，去交趾四十八日程，安宁郡也。何履光本是邕管贵州人，旧尝任交、容、广三州节度。天宝十五载，方收蛮王所坐大和城之次，属安禄山造逆，奉玄宗诏旨，将兵赴西川，遂寝其收复] Annotation in the text: 此条乃叙次盐井所在，其「天宝八载」以下一百十四字，于上下语意不相属，疑亦他处之文，因安宁城而错误在此 - This section is placed in the section on salt wells, these 140 characters are not related to this, I suspect that they misplaced here because of Ānníng.

1383: 交趾] In the 《四库全书》 copy 交趾: alternate characters, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 63.

r1380: the 8th year of *Tiānbǎo*] 749.

r1382: 10th year of *Tiānbǎo*] 751.

r1388: 15th year of *Tiānbǎo*] 756.

r1392–1396: In Shēngmá, Tōnghǎi, and beyond, the Cuàn *Mán* all eat the salt from the Ānníng wells. Only the salt from the Lángjǐng salt well at the walled town of Lǎn Dàn is pure white and has a good taste, only the family of the Nánzhào can obtain it, and after they have taken enough they remove the hearths and close the well.] This passage is also translated in Zhū Xiá 朱霞 (2011).

r1397: Měijǐng salt well] maybe present-day Shíyáng 石羊 in Dà yáo 大姚 county.

r1399: Kūnmíng] this is Yányuán 盐源 in present-day south-western Sichuān 四川, as the present name suggests, it is a historic salt producing area.

r1402–1403: the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

东蛮磨些蛮诸蕃部落共食龙佉河水，中有盐井两所。

剑寻东南有傍弥潜井、沙追井，西北有若耶井、讳溺井，剑川有细诺邓井。丽水城有罗苴井。长傍诸山皆有盐井，当土诸蛮自食，无榷税。

蛮法煮盐，咸有法令。颗盐每颗约一两二两，有交易即以颗计之。👁️

The Dōng Mán and the Móxiē Mán use water from the Lóngqū Hé, where there are two salt wells.

South-east of Liànxún are the Bàngmíqián and the Shāzhuī, north-west is Ruòyé well, Huìni well, in Jiànchuān is Xīnuòdèng well, near the walled town of Lìshuǐ is Luōjū well, in the Chángbàng mountains salt wells are everywhere, which the locals consume themselves without paying taxes.

The Mán have regulations for the boiling of salt. Each piece of salt must weigh one or two *liǎng*, in business transactions salt is used to calculate prices.

云南志 1410

云南志 1415

Tea

茶出银生城界诸山，散收无采造法。

蒙舍蛮以椒姜桂和烹而饮之。👁️

Tea comes from the mountains of the border area of the walled town of Yínshēng, gathered without a fixed method for collection or processing.

The Méngshè Mán mix it with spices, ginger, laurel, boil it and drink it.

云南志 1420

Tropical Fruit

荔枝、檳榔、诃黎勒、椰子、桃榔等诸 | Lychee, betel nut, myrobalan, coconut, sugar palm, and other trees

l1406: 佉] In the 《四库全书》 copy 佉: alternate characters, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 64.

l1408: 剑] In the 《四库全书》 copy 剑: alternate characters, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 64.

l1409: 剑] In the 《四库全书》 copy 剑: alternate characters, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 64.

l1414: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=5>

l1419: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=7>

l1421: 荔枝] *litchee sinensis*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十一卷/荔枝](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十一卷/荔枝) (accessed 26th May 2024).

l1421: 檳榔] *areca catechu*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十二卷/檳榔](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十二卷/檳榔) (accessed 26th May 2024).

l1421: 诃黎勒] *terminalia chebula*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十五卷/毗黎勒](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十五卷/毗黎勒) (accessed 26th May 2024).

l1421: 椰子] *cocos nucifera*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十一卷/椰子](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十一卷/椰子) (accessed 26th May 2024).

l1421: 桃榔] *arenga pinnata*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十一卷/桃榔](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十一卷/桃榔) (accessed 26th May 2024).

r1409: Xīnuòdèng well] Xīnuòdèng 细诺邓

r1410–1411: in the Chángbàng mountains salt wells are everywhere] Chángbàng 长傍

r1419–1420: The Méngshè Mán mix it with spices, ginger, laurel, boil it and drink it.] Is this a reference to what is now called Sāndào Chá 三道茶, a Bái form of drinking tea?

<p>树，永昌、丽水、长傍、金山并有之。 甘橘，大厘城有之，其味甚酸。穹𦉳有橘，大如覆杯。</p> <p>云南志 1425 丽水城又出波罗蜜果，大者若汉城甜瓜，引蔓如萝卜，十一月十二月熟。皮如莲房，子处割之，色微红，似甜瓜，香可食。或云此即思难也。南蛮以此果为珍好。</p> <p>云南志 1430 禄卑江左右亦有波罗蜜果，树高数十丈，大数围，生子，味极酸。</p> <p>蒙舍、永昌亦有此果，大如甜瓜，小者似橙柚，割食不酸，即无香味。土俗或呼为长傍果，或呼为思漏果，亦呼思难果。👁️</p> <p>云南志 1435</p>	<p>grow all over Yǒngchāng, Lìshuǐ, Chángbàng, and Jīnshān. Sweet oranges grow in Dàxī, but they are very sour. Qióng Dàn has oranges as big as an overturned cup.</p> <p>Lìshuǐ also has jackfruit, the largest ones as big as melons in China, its vines stretched like grapes. They ripen in December and January, their skin is like a lotus seedpod, divided like a uterus, its colour reddish, resembling a sweet melon. Tasty to eat. Some say this is the Sīnán, the locals consider it precious.</p> <p>On both sides of the Lùbēi river grow jackfruit, their trees several dozen <i>zhàng</i> high and several in circumference. Its seeds are exceedingly sour.</p> <p>In Méngshè and Yǒngchāng they also have this fruit, the largest ones as large as sweet melons, the small ones like a pomelo. If one cuts them to them, they are not sour but also have no taste. The locals call them Chángbàng, Sīnán or Sīnán fruit.</p>
--	--

Medicinal Products

It follows a section on natural products used as medicine.

其次有雄黄，蒙舍川所出。

There is also **orpiment**, a product of Méngshè valley.

l1423: 橘] In the 《四库全书》 copy 桥, but the copyist already notes that this is an error, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1423: 甚] character missing, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1423: 穹] In the 《四库全书》 copy 宁, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1424: 橘] In the 《四库全书》 copy 桥, but the copyist already notes that this is an error, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1424: 杯] In the 《四库全书》 copy 杯, but the copyist already notes that this is an error, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1425: 波罗蜜果] *artocarpus heterophyllus*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第三十一卷/波羅蜜](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第三十一卷/波羅蜜) (accessed 26th May 2024).

l1426: 萝卜] In the 《四库全书》 copy: 葡萄, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1436: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=7>

r1426–1427: in December and January] In Chinese: in the 11th and 12th month.

r1437: orpiment] i.e. arsenic sulphide. Xiónghuáng 雄黄, literally meaning ‘male yellow’, is generally translated as realgar, but the mineral of interest was probably Cíhuáng 雌黄, literally meaning ‘female yellow’, a byproduct of the decay of realgar. For a comparative meaning of these terms, see Shu, Giaccari and McCarthy (2021), pp. 104–105. Cíhuáng was mainly used to blot out mistakes when copying texts.

r1437: a product of Méngshè valley] Moore-Bennet (1915), p. 225 confirms the area south of Dàlǐ as a mining region for this mineral a thousand years later: ‘Arsenic in the form of orpiment occurs in many places in northwestern Yunnan, the chief mines being in the Tali prefecture near Chaochow, a village to the south of Tali Lake, and in Menghwa, a district about 45 miles south-easterly from Talifu in Mitu, and Wuli and many smaller outcrops throughout this district. As in other mines, the outcrops only are worked, but as these usually occur at some distance above water level on the sides of mountains, greater depth is obtained, with increased output from these deposits, than from most similar deposits in China. Realgar is found with orpiment in the same mines, but is considered on account of its reddish tinge of less value than orpiment, and in many cases where the red color is pronounced is discarded by the Chinese workers.’

青木香，永昌所出，其山多青木香山，在永昌南三月日程。

濩歌诺木，丽水山谷出。大者如臂，小者如三指，割之色如黄蘗。土人及河豚蛮皆寸截之。

丈夫妇女久患腰脚者，浸酒服之，立见效验。👁️

Aristolochia comes from Yǒngchāng, from the mountains named after it, a three months' daily journey south of Yǒngchāng.

Huògēnuò wood comes from the valleys of the Lìshuǐ. The big trees are like upper arms, the small ones like three fingers, when cut it is like **Huángbò**.

The locals and the Hé Dàn Mán cut it into pieces a few centimetres long, men and women who are suffering from pain in the back or legs steep it in wine for immediate relief.

云南志 1440

云南志 1445

Forestry Products

藤藟生永昌河豚。缘皮处无竹根，以藤渍经数月，色光赤，彼土尚之。

孟滩竹，长傍出。其竹节度长三尺，柔细可为索，亦以皮为麻。

野桑木，永昌已西诸山谷有之，生于石上。及时月择可为弓材者，先截其上，然后中割之，两向屈令至地，候木性定，断取为弓。不施筋漆，而

Rattan vine grows in Yǒngchāng and Hé Dàn. **Because there are no bamboo roots, they take rattan and steep it for several months until it is soft. Its colour becomes purple, the locals like it.**

Mèngtān bamboo grows in the mountains of Chángbàng, its sections are **three zhàng** long, it is soft and fine, suitable for making ropes, its bark can be used as hemp.

Wild mulberry trees are in the mountain valleys west of Yǒngchāng, growing on rocks. At the right time, they pick those that can be used to make bows, first cutting them above, then in the middle, and both ends are bent down to the ground, after a time the wood

云南志 1450

云南志 1455

l1438: 青木香] *aristolochia*, see [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第二十五卷/木香](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第二十五卷/木香) (accessed 26th May 2024).

l1439: 月] added 月 according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 65.

l1442: 河豚蛮] The copy has only 豚蛮, Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 105 suggests that this should be 河豚蛮. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 66 also notes this, but does not add this character in the text.

l1444: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=9>

l1446-1447: 藤藟生永昌河豚。缘皮处无竹根，以藤渍经数月，色光赤，彼土尚之] Annotation in the text: 此条文义未明，疑有讹脱 - This sentence is unclear, I suspect an error.

l1449: 长] The copy does not have this character, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 66 also does not add it, but Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 272 suggests adding it.

l1452: 已] In the 《四库全书》 copy 巴: miswriting, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 66.

r1438: *Aristolochia*] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 61 translates this as *green aucklandia root*, which is a similar plant to *aristolochia*. See [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_\(道光刻本\)/第二十五卷/木香](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/植物名實圖考_(道光刻本)/第二十五卷/木香) (accessed 26th May 2024), which also mentions that 木香 comes from Yǒngchāng 永昌.

r1440: Huògēnuò wood] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 61 translates this a 'teak', following an early suggestion by Cén Zhòngmiǎn 岑仲勉 (source unknown). There have been more suggestions, see Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 271. I do not know that it is, Wú Qìjùn 吴其濬 (1848) does not seem to contain this.

r1442: it is like Huángbò] Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 271 suggests this is Huángbǎi 黄柏 or the amur cork tree, *phellodendron chinense* Schneid., see <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/黄檗> (accessed 26th May 2026).

r1446-1448: Because there are no bamboo roots, they take rattan and steep it for several months until it is soft. Its colour becomes purple, the locals like it.] As the copyist notes, this sentence is unclear.

r1449: Mèngtān] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 66 suggests that this is 麻竹, *dendrocalamus latiflorus*, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 272 suggests that this is Jízhú 棘竹, both sorts of giant bamboo.

r1450: three zhàng] 1m.

劲利过于筋弓，蛮中谓之膜弓者是也。👁️

becomes fixed, it can then be cut off to make a bow. Without lacquer, its strength exceeds that of a strung bow. The *Mán* call them *chēn* bows.

Precious Metals

The following section covers gold, describing how it is extracted from surface materials being washed down the mountains or panned, by forced labour, from the Lìshuǐ.⁽¹¹²⁾

云南志 1460 生金，出金山及长傍诸山、藤充北金宝山。

Raw gold comes from the **Jīn mountains**, the Chángbàng mountains, and **Jīnbǎo** mountains north of Tóngchōng.

云南志 1465 土人取法，春冬间先于山上掘坑，深丈馀，阔数十步。夏月水潦降时，添其泥土入坑，即于添土之所沙石中披拣。有得片块，大者重一觔，或至二觔，小者三两五两，价贵于麸金数倍。

The mining method of the local people is like this: **in spring and winter**, the locals dig pits, several *zhàng* deep and tens of paces across. In summer time, when the rain waters rush down, the mud fills the pits. Out of this sand they pick the nuggets. They obtain flakes and pieces. The large ones can be one or even two *jīn*, the small ones are a few *liǎng*. They are much more expensive than **gold dust**.

然以蛮法严峻，纳官十分之七八，其余许归私。如不输官，许递相告。

The regulations of the *Mán* are strict: the officials take between seventy and eighty per cent, the rest is privately kept. If one does not pay the official, one is prosecuted.

麸金出丽水，盛沙淘汰取之。

Gold flakes are obtained by panning the rich sands of the Lìshuǐ river.

河贖法，男女犯罪，多送丽水淘金。

The law of Hé Dàn is that if a man or a woman commits a crime, they are sent to the Lìshuǐ to pan for gold.

云南志 1475 长傍川界三面山并出金，部落百姓悉纳金，无别税役征徭。👁️

The mountains surrounding the Chángbàng valley on three sides all have gold, the locals all pay tax with gold, there are no other taxes or forced labour.

l1457: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=9>

l1464: 觔] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 66 chooses the traditional character here over 斤, but is not consistent in its use. The reasoning is not explained.

l1473: 河贖法] In the 《四库全书》 copy 沙贖法, which does not make much sense, as Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 66 notes, however it retains the original characters.

l1476: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=10>

r1459: Jīn mountains] this just means 'gold mountains'.

r1460: Jīnbǎo] this just means 'gold treasure mountains'.

r1461–1462: in spring and winter] this is the dry season.

r1467: gold dust] the term *fūjīn* is the term later used for what is obtained when panning for gold in a river.

(112) This passage is translated and discussed in Vogel (2012), pp. 277–278. There is a map of mining locations in Yúnnán in Vogel (2012), p. 247.

Silver, Sèsè and Amber

sèsè 瑟瑟 is a blue-coloured precious stone.

银，会同川银山出。锡，瑟瑟山中出。禁戢甚严。

琥珀，永昌城界西去十八日程琥珀山掘之，去松林甚远。片块大重二十餘斤。

贞元十年，南诏蒙异牟寻进献一块，大者重二十六斤，当日以为罕有也。



Silver comes from the mountains of the Huítóng valley. Tin and sèsè come from the mountains. The collection is strictly forbidden.

Amber is mined in the **Hǔpò mountains, eighteen stages west of the walled town of Yǒngchāng, in faraway pine forests**. A big piece may weigh more than twenty *jīn*.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Nánzhào Méng Yimóuxún offered one piece weighing twenty-five *jīn* as tribute, it was considered very rare at the time.

云南志 1480

云南志 1485

Horses

Horses were of particular interest to China as it routinely engaged on its northern borders with nomadic tribes. Later, when during the Sòng dynasty, the usual supply of horses to the Chinese cavalry was interrupted, China even encouraged private trade missions into Yúnnán. Such a trade mission is documented in the 1074 *Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan* 《云南买马记》.

马出越賧川东面一带，岗西向，地势渐下，乍起伏如畦畛者，有泉地美草，宜马。

初生如羊羔，一年后，纽莎为拢头縻系之。三年内饲以米清粥汁。四五年稍大，六七年方成就。尾高，尤善驰骤，日行数百里。本种多骠，故代称越賧骠。近年以白为良。

藤充及申賧亦出马，次賧、滇池尤佳。

东爨乌蛮中亦有马，比于越賧皆少。一切野放，不置槽枥。

Horses come from the plains east of Yuè Dàn valley, where the hills slope westwards and the terrain gradually goes down, undulating like the borders between fields. There is spring water and good grass, suitable for horses.

They are born just like lambs, after one year a rope is put around the neck to restrain them. For the first three years, the horses are fed clear gruel, after four or five years they are quite big and fully grown after six or seven. They have long tails, are suitable for gallop and are able to cover several hundred *lǐ* in a day. They are mostly **piebald**, so they are called the ‘Yuè Dàn piebald’. Lately, the white ones are considered the best.

Téngchōng and Shēn Dàn also breed horses, the ones from Cì Dàn and Diānchí are particularly good.


The eastern Cuàn Wū Mán also have horses, but not as many as Yuè Dàn. Some roam wild without corrals.

云南志 1490

云南志 1495

云南志 1500

/1478: 山中出] Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 275 thinks there is the name of the mountain missing.

/1485: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=11>

/1490: 莎] This character denotes a type of fiber used for making ropes, maybe 莎草, *cyperus rotundus*.

r1480: Hǔpò mountains] this just means ‘amber mountains’.

r1480–1481: eighteen stages west of the walled town of Yǒngchāng, in faraway pine forests] i.e. somewhere in present-day upper Burma

r1483: 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794, i.e. when Nánzhào and the Táng had made peace again.

r1495: piebald] black and white or speckled

唯阳苴畔及大厘、遼川各有槽枥，喂马数百匹。👁️

Only Yángjūmiē, Dàxī, and Dēngchuān have troughs and stables where they raise several hundred horses.

Wild Animals

犀出越啖、丽水。
其人以陷穿取之。每杀之时，天雨震雷暴作。
寻传川界、壳弄川界亦出犀皮。

云南志 1505

Rhinoceros come from Yuè Dàn and Lìshuǐ.

The locals set traps to catch them. Whenever they kill one, a big thunderstorm would erupt.

The border areas of the Xúnchuán and Kénòng valleys also produce rhinoceros hides.

蛮排甲并马统备马骑甲仗，多用犀革，亦杂用牛皮。负排罗苴已下，未得系金佉苴者，悉用犀革为佉苴，皆朱漆之。

云南志 1510

The *Mán* soldiers mostly use them for shields and as armour for their horses, but sometimes also use cow leather. The foot soldiers, Luōjū and below are not allowed to wear golden *qūjū*, they can only use rhino-skin as belts, which they paint red.

大虫，南诏所披皮，赤黑文深，炳然可爱。

Tigers: the Nánzhào drapes a tiger skin over his shoulders, its colour red and black with deep fur, very elegant.

云大虫在高山穷谷者则佳，如在平川，文浅不任用。

云南志 1515

It is said, the best tigers are from the deep valleys of the high mountains, while the fur of those from the plains is thin and not suitable.

麝香出永昌及南诏诸山，土人皆以交易货币。👁️

Musk comes from Yǒngchāng and various other mountains of Nánzhào, the locals it as currency in trade.

Domestic Animals

沙牛，云南及西爨故地并只生沙牛，俱绿地多瘴，草深肥，牛更蕃生犊子。
天宝中，一家便有数十头。

云南志 1520

sand oxens: in the areas of Yúnnán and the former regions of the western Cuàn they raise only Sand oxens. The pastures have miasmas, the grass is tall and abundant, the cows frequently calve.

In the Tiānbǎo period, each household had tens of cattle.

l1501: 遼] The text has 登, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 67 changes it to conform with other parts of the text.

l1502: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=12>

l1503: 丽水] In the copy 高丽, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 67. Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 278 suggests this could either be Lìshuǐ or Gāolígòng Shān 高黎贡山, but since rhinoceros are beasts of the tropical savannah, Lìshuǐ seems more likely.

l1506: 壳弄] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 67 suggests that this is miswritten, it needs to be a tropical area.

l1506: 皮] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 67 uses, without explanation 革, 'hide', but the 《四库全书》 copy clearly shows 皮. There is no difference in meaning.

l1508: 统备] Annotation in the text: 《新唐书》作「统伦」- In the 《新唐书》 written as Tǒnglún.

l1517: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=13>

r1510: *qūjū*] Nánzhào ceremonial belts

r1518: sand oxens] a distinctive breed of cattle with light-brow fur, possibly an early breed of what is now called Diānzhōngniú 滇中牛, a 'classic Chinese indigenous cattle breed with historical records dating back to 200 BC' Zhang, Qu and Jia (2021)

r1521: In the Tiānbǎo period] 742–755 CE.

通海已南多野水牛，或一千二千为群。

弥诺江已西出犛牛，开南以南养象，大于水牛。一家数头养之，代牛耕也。

鹿，傍西洱河诸山皆有鹿。龙尾城东北息龙山，南诏养鹿处，要则取之。览賧有织和川及鹿川。龙足鹿白昼三十五十，群行啮草。

鲫鱼，蒙舍池鲫鱼大者重五斤。

西洱河及昆池之南接滇池，冬月，鱼、雁、鸭、丰雉、水獭鸟遍于野中水际。

大鸡，永昌云南出，重十馀斤。觜距劲利，能取鸱、鶚、鷩、鹞、鸱、鸢、鸢、鸢之类。

象，开南已南多有之。或捉得人家多养之，以代耕田也。

猪、羊、猫、犬、骡、驴、豹、兔、鹅、鸭，诸山及人家悉有之。但食之与中土稍异。蛮不待烹熟，皆半生而吃之。

大羊多从西羌、铁桥接吐蕃界三千二千口将来博易。👁️

South of Tōnghǎi wild water buffaloes are abundant, in herds of one or two thousand.

West of the Mínuò river are black oxen, south of Kāinán they raise elephants, large as water buffaloes. Every household has a few and uses them instead of cows to plough the fields.

Deer: in the mountains all along the banks of the Xiě Hé are deer. North-east of the walled town of Lóngwěi is Xilóngshān where the Nánzhào raises deer, when he needs one he takes one. In Lǎn Dàn are Zhīhé valley and Lù valley. The dragon-foot deer graze in herds of thirty to fifty in broad daylight.

Golden Carp: the golden carp from Méngshè lake can weigh as much as five *jīn*.

At Xiě Hé and Diānchí, as well as the lakes connected to it during the winter months are many fish, geese, ducks, fat pheasants, and water-fowl in the uncultivated water margins.

Big fowl in the area of Yǒngchāng and Yúnnán can weigh more than ten *jīn*, their beaks and claws are sharp, hawks, osprey, sparrow hawks, magpies, ducks, pigeons, robins, mynahs, etc can be caught.

There are many elephants in Kāinán and south of it. Some are captured and trained to plough the fields.

Pigs, goats, cats, dogs, mules, donkeys, leopards, rabbits, geese, ducks can be found in the mountains and the houses. But they are eaten slightly differently from the way in China. The *Mán* do not cook them fully, but eat them half raw.

Big goats mostly come from western Qiāng and Tiěqiáo on the border to Tǔbō. They come in flocks of two or three thousand and are used for trade.

云南志 1525

云南志 1530

云南志 1535

云南志 1540

云南志 1545

/1524: 已] in the 《四库全书》 copy 巴, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 68.

/1524: 犛牛] the simplified version of this is 牦牛, 'yak', but it more likely stands here for a black oxen.

/1524: 以] in the 《四库全书》 copy 已 changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 68.

/1524: 象] 🐘 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 68 has '处', not '象'. Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 7 suggested that this should be 象, 'elephants', and not 处, as otherwise the sentence is difficult to understand. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 68 agreed, but did not correct the text. Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 203 did not notice this mistake.

/1527: 河] In the 《四库全书》 copy: 沙, changed according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 69

/1548: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=13>

r1525: elephants] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 68 suggests this should read as 'elephants', and refers to line 915, which has '象大如水牛'.

r1528: North-east of the walled town of Lóngwěi is Xilóngshān] This must be present-day Mǎěr Shān 马耳山 🌐.

r1530: Lù valley] this simply means 'deer valley'.

r1530: The dragon-foot deer] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 69 notes that the expression 龙足鹿 is unclear.

Weapons

This section introduces the mysterious *duóqiào* 铎鞘, the most highly prized weapon of Nánzhào. In ‘The Six Zhào 《六诏》’ it had already been mentioned that such a weapon, ‘having fallen from the sky’, was in the possession of a tribal leader in the Yuèxī 越析 area and was captured by Nánzhào after his death.

It remains unclear what a *duóqiào* actually was: 铎 denotes a bell used for proclamations, 鞘 denotes a scabbard or a scabbard-like object, but in this combination the two characters appeared first on the ‘*Déhuà Stele*’ 《德化碑》, and then later only in this text and directly related documents, such as the ‘*New History of the Táng*’ 《新唐书》 and the ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏野史》. As Fán Chuò 樊绰 felt the need to describe it in detail, this weapon was also unknown in China during his time. The description given here leaves room for interpretation, leading to speculation in Guō Tàizōng 郭泰宗 (2021) that some unusual crescent-shaped decorated bronze weapons discovered in a burial site in Chāngníng 昌宁 in 2012 could be examples of *duóqiào*.⁽¹¹³⁾ Guō Tàizōng 郭泰宗 (2021) also notes that the shape of the weapons, which bear no resemblance to other finds elsewhere, made them impractical for battle use, suggesting that they were ceremonial items.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Their excavation site lies west of the Lake Ērhǎi region, again consistent with the statement in the text that the weapons came from Lìshuǐ 丽水, a region in the western lowlands, and were not manufactured locally, like the other weapons mentioned. He speculates that the *duóqiào* could have been discovered in similar gravesites during the Nánzhào period, thus explaining the notion that they had ‘fallen from the sky’ and then buried underground for a long period.

Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010b), pp. 344–345 points out that a strange looking weapon matching the description of the *duóqiào* appears depicted as part of a royal procession in the Zhāng Shèngwēn 张胜温’s 《梵像卷》 scroll.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

云南志 1550

铎鞘状如刀戟残刃。积年埋在高土中，亦有孔穴傍透朱笥。出丽水。装以金穹铁簿，所指无不洞也。南诏尤所宝贵。

duóqiào are shaped like halberds and have deadly blades. They were buried on high ground for many years, have holes on their sides with red shafts. They come from Lìshuǐ. They are decorated with golden domes and iron handles. There is nothing they cannot penetrate. The Nánzhào particularly treasures them.

云南志 1555

以名字呼者有六：一曰禄婆摩求，二曰亏云孚，三曰铎戢，四曰铎摩

There are six names for them: the first one is called Lùpómóqiú, the second Kuīyúnfú, the third Duójí, the fourth Duómóping,

l1550–1551: 高土] Maybe: 高岭土, meaning ‘clay’? Guō Tàizōng 郭泰宗 (2021) suggests that 高土 refers to a mound in the vicinity of a valley, like Dàdiànshān 大甸山, where the weapons were excavated.

l1555–1557: 以名字呼者有六：一曰禄婆摩求，二曰亏云孚，三曰铎戢，四曰铎摩那，五曰同铎] Annotation in the text: 惟有五名，疑缺其一 - There should be six names, one name is missing.

r1550: *duóqiào* are shaped like halberds and have deadly blades] Lacking a better word, I have taken the translation as ‘halberd’ from Bù Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 64.

r1555–1557: There are six names for them: the first one is called Lùpómóqiú, the second Kuīyúnfú, the third Duójí, the fourth Duómóping, and the fifth Tóngduó.] As the copyist notes, these are only five namees, one name is missing.

⁽¹¹³⁾ The archeological report is published in Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Lírui 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016). It does not use the word *duóqiào* 铎鞘, but calls the finds 铜弯刀, ‘curved bronze blades’.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ This is also the opinion of Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014).

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ see figure 3 on page 98, see also Huáng Chéng 黄诚 and Yáng Dōngméi 杨冬梅 (2016).

郝，五曰同铎。

昔时越析诏于赠有天降铎鞘；后部落破败，盛罗皮得之。今南诏蛮王出军，手中双执者是也。

贞元十年，使清平官尹辅首入朝，献其一。

郁刀次于铎鞘。造法用毒药虫鱼之类，又淬以白马血，经十数年乃用。中人肌即死，俗秘其法，粗问得其由。

南诏剑。使人用剑，不问贵贱，剑不离身。造剑法，锻生铁，取迸汁，如是者数次，烹炼之。剑成即以犀装头，饰以金碧。

浪人诏能铸剑，尤精利，诸部落悉不如，谓之浪剑。南诏所佩剑，已传六七代也。

枪箭多用斑竹，出蒙舍白崖诏南山谷。心实圆紧柔细，极力屈之不屈。诸所出皆不及之。👁️

and the fifth *Tóngduó*.

In former times the *zhào* of Yuèxī Yúzhèng owned a *duóqiào* that had fallen from the sky, after his tribe was defeated Shèngluōpí obtained it. Whenever the Nánzhào, the *Mán* king, goes into battle, he holds it in both hands.

In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the prime minister Yǐn Fǔqiú went to court and presented a *duóqiào* as tribute.

The *yù* dagger ranks second to the *duóqiào*. It is made like this: one takes poison, insects, fish etc, tempers it in the blood of a white horse, then the blade can be used for more than ten years. If one stabs someone in the flesh, he will die immediately. Its way of production is a secret, I have only been able to get rough information. The swords of Nánzhào: those who use a sword, regardless of their rank, always carry it with them. The fabrication method: they first forge the cast iron and capture the molten iron, repeating this several times until it is refined. When the sword is finished, they decorate its hilt with rhinoceros [horn?] and embellish it with gold and jade.

The people of Làng know how to cast swords, which are exquisite and very sharp. As the other tribes all do not match it, it is called the Làng sword. The personal sword of the Nánzhào has been passed down for six or seven generations.

Spears and arrows are mostly made from mottled bamboo, they come from the mountains and valleys south of Méngshè and Báiyá. Its inside is firm, it is round and firm, soft and extremely bendable yet does not break, no other place has anything as good as this.

云南志 1560

云南志 1565

云南志 1570

云南志 1575

云南志 1580

第八卷 *The Customs of the Mán* 《蛮夷风俗》

The 8th *juàn* covers a variety of customs in the Nánzhào area, such as dress, hairstyles, wedding customs, festivals, eating habits, measurements, building styles, currency, and trade.

The descriptions provided here match the visual records in the 'Illustrated History of Nánzhào' 《南诏图传》 as well as the stone carvings at Shízhōngshān 石钟山.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

l1575: 诏] unclear

l1579: 斑竹] *phyllostachys bambusoides*.

l1581: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=15>

r1562: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999) has detailed colour pictures of the stone carvings of the Nánzhào kings.



Illustration 3:
A Royal Procession in Zhāng Shèngwēn's 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images'

Translation Notes

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 77–81 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 66–69.

Royal Attire

其蛮丈夫一切披毡，其余衣服略与汉同，唯头囊特异耳。

南诏以红绶，其余向下皆以皂绶绢。其制度取一幅物，近边撮缝为角，刻木如樗蒲头，实角中，总发于脑后为一髻，即取头囊都包裹头髻上结之。

云南志 1590

The men of the *Mán* all drape a felt over their shoulders, the rest of their clothes is roughly similar to the *Hàn*, only their **turban** is peculiar.

The *Nánzhào* uses red silk, those below him all black tabby-silk. **The method is to take a length of material, fold it together and sew a horn, they carve a piece of wood like a piece used in *chūpú* and place it in the middle of the horn to strengthen it, gather the hair in a knot behind the head and use the turban to cover it.**

r1584: turban] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 66 translates *tóunáng* 头囊 as 'head bag'.

r1587–1590: The method is to take a length of material, fold it together and sew a horn, they carve a piece of wood like a piece used in *chūpú* and place it in the middle of the horn to strengthen it, gather the hair in a knot behind the head and use the turban to cover it] The style can be seen in the depiction of *Géluófēng* 阁罗凤 in a grotto *Shízhōngshān* 石钟山, see *Lǐ Kūnshēng* 李昆声 (1999), p. 59. *chūpú* 樗蒲 is an ancient game played with small pieces of wood. Thanks to 依兰蒂 to point this out.

羽仪已下及诸动有一切房甄别者。

The feather fan bearer and below all have their ways to distinguish themselves.

然后得头囊。

Then the turban is complete.

若子弟及四军罗苴已下，则当额络为一髻，不得带囊角；当顶撮髻髻，并披毡皮。

Younger male relatives, fourth army troops and below make a knot on the forehead, they are not allowed to wear a turban with a horn, they make braids on both sides of the head, and also wear a felt or hide.

云南志 1595

俗皆跣足，虽清平官、大军将亦不以为耻。

By custom, they are all barefoot, not even the prime minister and the great commander consider it shameful.

曹长已下，得系金佉苴。

From the ministry leader downwards they are permitted to wear a golden *qūjū*.

云南志 1600

或有等第载功褒奖得系者，不限常例。👁️

Sometimes others, according to their achievements, are permitted to wear one, not limited by the established rules.

Ceremonial Wear

The text refers to tigers as *dàchóng* 大虫 because of a prohibition during the Táng of using the character *hǔ* 虎, as the grandfather of the founder of the Táng dynasty was called Lǐ Hǔ.

贵緋、紫两色，得紫后，有大功则得锦。又有超等殊功者，则得全披波罗皮。

They cherish red and purple. After they are allowed purple, if they make a great contribution they may wear silk brocade.

云南志 1605

其次功，则胸前背后得披，而阙其袖。又以次功，则胸前得披，并阙其背。

Only those of exceptional service may dress completely in tiger skin. The next level down may wear it in front and on the back, but without sleeves. The next lower level may only wear it on their chest, but not on their back.

云南志 1610

谓之「大虫皮」，亦曰「波罗皮」。谓腰带曰「佉苴」。👁️

They call tiger skin *bōluō* skin. They call their belts *qūjū*.

/1591: 羽仪已下及诸动有一切房甄别者] Annotation in the text: 此句疑有讹脱 - There is an error in this sentence.

/1600: 得系金佉苴] Annotation in the text: 原本阙「金」字，今据《新唐书》增入 - Spelling error corrected.

/1603: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=18>

/1612: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=19>

r1591: feather fan bearer] The expression Yǔyí 羽仪 denotes a rank, meaning those who carry feather fans in rituals. In the 《南诏图传》 is an image of two attendants holding something that might be feathers on a pole. A stone carving in Shízhōngshān 石钟山 shows them next to Yímóuxún 异牟寻 during a ritual, Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999), p. 56 labels these attendants Yǔyí 羽仪. See 'Military Organization'.

r1591-1592: below all have their ways to distinguish themselves] The copyist surmises there is an error in this section, this section might have been inserted in error as the main text continues afterwards.

r1594-1597: knot on the forehead, they are not allowed to wear a turban with a horn, they make braids on both sides of the head, and also wear a felt or hide] The 《南诏图传》 has several images of lower ranked people with topknots on their foreheads and cloth draped over their shoulders.

r1598-1599: they are all barefoot, not even the prime minister and the great commander consider it shameful] The 《南诏图传》 shows several higher ranking officials barefoot, seemingly only the highest officials wear shoes.

r1601: *qūjū*] A special belt.

Attire of female nobles and their servants.

妇人，一切不施粉黛，贵者以绫锦为裙襦，其上仍披锦方幅为饰。

两股辫其发为髻，髻上及耳，多缀真珠、金、贝、瑟瑟、琥珀。

贵家仆女亦有裙衫，常披毡，及以赠帛韬其髻，亦谓之头囊。👁️

云南志 1620

The women do not use face powder or eyebrow tint, the noblewomen wear silk as skirts and jackets, and above drape a square piece of brocade as an ornament.

They braid their hair into two strands and make a knot above the ears, they often adorn the braids and the ears with real pearls, gold, cowry shells, *sèsè*, and amber.

The maidservants of the nobles wear long skirts and often drape a felt over their shoulders, and they often use silk gifted to them to cover their hair, this is called the turban.

Marriage Customs

A part is translated in Bryson (2017), p. 28.

南诏有妻妾数百人，总谓之诏佐。

清平官、大军将有妻妾数十人。

俗法：处子、孀妇出入不禁。少年子弟暮夜游行闾巷，吹壶卢笙，或吹树叶，声韵之中，皆寄情言，用相呼召。

嫁娶之夕，私夫悉来相送。

既嫁有犯，男子格杀无罪，妇人亦死。

或有强家富室责资财赎命者，则迁徙丽水瘴地，终弃之，法不得再合。

👁️

云南志 1630

云南志 1635

The **Nánzhào** has hundreds of wives and concubines, they are called the *zhàozuǒ* [assistants of the king].

The prime ministers and great commanders have dozens of wives and concubines.

The custom is that **unmarried women** and widows are not prohibited to go out. At night, adolescent men walk through the alleys, blowing gourds or leaves, expressing their feelings through the music and courting each other.

On the evening of the wedding, her male relatives all see her off.

If a married woman commits adultery, killing the man is not a crime, the woman is put to death.

A wealthy household has the obligation to save the offender's life by paying retribution, in this case, the offender is exiled to **the miasmatic regions of Lishuǐ** and he stays there for the rest of his life, the law does not allow a return.

Festivities

每年十一月一日，盛会客，造酒醴，杀牛羊，亲族邻里更相宴乐，三月

Every year on the first day of the eleventh lunar month is a grand reception, they brew liquor and kill cattle and sheep. Relatives,

l1620: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=20>

l1635: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=20>

r1622: Nánzhào] here the ruler of Nánzhào

r1626: unmarried women] literally 'virgins'.

r1634-1635: to the miasmatic regions of Lishuǐ] The frontier regions of Yǒngchāng 永昌

内作乐相庆，帷务追欢。

clansmen, and neighbours take turns to invite each other for joyous banquets. **In the third month**, they play music and celebrate together, and suspend all business to pursue pleasure.

云南志 1640

户外必设桃茷，如岁旦然。

Outside a peach stick and broom must be set up to mark the first day of the new year.

改年即用建寅之月。

The new year begins in the Jiànyín month.

其余节日，粗与汉同，唯不知有寒食清明耳。👁️

Other festivals are roughly like the Hàn, but they do not know Cold Food Day and Tomb Sweeping Day.

云南志 1645

Eating Customs

每饮酒欲阑，即起前席奉觞相劝。

Whenever festivities are about to come to an end, the host will rise and toast everyone.

有性所不能者，乃至起前席扼腕的颡，或挽或推，情礼之中，以此为重。

Who cannot drink grabs the host's wrists and put them on his forehead, pulling and pushing, this etiquette is of great importance.

云南志 1650

取生鹅治如脍法，方寸切之，和生胡瓜及椒椒啖之，谓之「鹅阙」，土俗以为上味。

They cut a raw goose into square pieces, devour it with great pleasure together with raw cucumber and pepper. They call this *équè*, the local customs consider it a delicacy.

南诏家食用金银，其余官将则用竹簟。

The household of the Nánzhào eat from gold and silver plates, their officials use bamboo mats.

云南志 1655

贵者饭以筋不匙，贱者搏之而食。

The nobles eat with chopsticks not spoons, the lower ranks grab the food to eat.

👁️

Measurements

l1646: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=21>

l1657: 筋] *zhù* 箸 is an old Chinese term for chopsticks, still used in the Bái language today, maybe this is miswritten, see Yáng Liánfēn 杨莲芬 (2012), which also notes that chopsticks were used in the Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 area more than two thousand years ago.

l1658: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=21>

r1640: In the third month] the text clearly has 月, but Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 68 seems to think that this should read these forementioned festivities last for three days. Luce (1961), p. 78 takes this as meaning in the third month.

r1642–1643: peach stick and broom must be set up to mark the first day of the new year.] 桃杖 ‘peach stick and broom’ used to expel evil.

r1644: The new year begins in the Jiànyín month.] Jiànyín is the first month of the Gānzhi calendar 干支历, the Chinese calendar based on the position of the handle of the Big Dipper. Here this implies that Nánzhào followed the Táng calendar, an important element of submission.

r1645–1646: Cold Food Day and Tomb Sweeping Day] Hánshī 寒湿 is the evening before Qīngmíng Jié 清明节, where only cold dishes can be consumed. Since these days are intimately linked with Hàn burial culture, it is not surprising that these were not practised in Nánzhào.

r1657: chopsticks] See Luce (1961), p. 78.

云南志 166o 一尺，汉一尺三寸也。
一千六百尺为一里。
汉秤一分三分之一。
帛曰幕，汉四尺五寸也。

田曰双，汉五亩也。👁️

One *chǐ* is equivalent to one Hàn *chǐ* and three *cùn*.
One thousand six-hundred *chǐ* are one *lǐ*.
On the Hàn scales, one *fēn* is one third.
For silk the measurement is called *mì*, it is equivalent to Hàn four *chǐ* five *cùn*.
The measurement for fields is called *shuāng*, it is equivalent to five Hàn *mǔ*.

There is no currency in Nánzhào, prices are expressed in lengths of silk.

本土不用钱，凡交易缁、帛、毡、罽、金、银、瑟瑟、牛羊之属，以缁帛幕数计之，云某物色直若干幕。👁️

The locals do not use money, all the trade is in fabrics, silk, felt, rugs, gold, silver, *sèsè*, cattle, and sheep, expressed in lengths of silk fabric, saying something is worth so and so many *mì*.

Domestic Buildings

云南志 167o 凡人家所居，皆依傍四山，上栋下宇，悉与汉同，惟东西南北，不取周正耳。
别置仓舍，有栏槛，脚高数丈，云避田鼠也，上阁如车盖状。👁️

The houses of the normal people all rest on four stones, upstairs is a building, below is an open space, all the same with the Hàn, but not strictly arranged from east to west or south to north.
Set apart are barns, they have posts as feet several *zhàng* high, to keep field mice away they say. The upper buildings look like covered carts.

Burial Customs

In the east of Yúnnán, in the areas of the Xīcuàn and Bái Mán earth burials are carried out, while in western Yúnnán, including Nánzhào, cremation is practised, with the ears retained. No burial site of the rulers of Nánzhào has ever been found, nor has any of the mentioned cremation bottles.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ This part is also translated in Bryson (2017), p. 27

云南志 167o 西爨及白蛮死后，三日内埋殓，依汉法为墓。
稍富室广栽杉松。
蒙舍及诸乌蛮不墓葬，凡死后三日焚尸，其余灰烬，掩以土壤，唯收两耳。
云南志 168o 南诏家则贮以金瓶，又重以银为函盛之，深藏别室，四时将出祭之。其

After death, the Xīcuàn and Bái Mán carry out the burial within three days, building tombs like the Hàn.
The somewhat affluent widely plant pine trees.
The Méngshè and the Wū Mán do not build tombs, three days after death they cremate the bodies, the remaining ashes are spread over the soil, but they keep both ears.
Those of the Nánzhào family are placed into heavy golden bottles and covered in a layer of silver, and kept in a separate room, wor-

l1664: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=22>

l1668: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=22>

l1673: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=22>

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Xuē Lín 薛琳 (2003).

馮家或銅瓶、鐵瓶盛耳藏之也。👁️

shipped throughout the year. Other families use copper or iron bottles to keep the ears.

Language

言語音白蠻最正，蒙舍蠻次之，諸部落不如也。但名物或与漢不同，及四聲訛重。

When it comes to language, the *Bái Mán* are most accurate, the *Méngshè Mán* come second, the other tribes cannot match them. But the names for things are not the same as the *Hàn*, the four tones are severely wrong.

云南志 1685

大事多不与面言，必使人往来达其词意，以此取定，谓之行诺。👁️

Significant affairs are usually not discussed face to face, messengers are sent back and forth to achieve an agreement. If they reach an agreement in this manner, it is called a 'walked promise'.

云南志 1690

A word list of the *Wū Mán*.

fangguoyuxxx thinks that this word list shows that the language of the *Bái* people had not developed at the time and that the words are of *Qiāng* origin. XXX find reference.

大虫谓之波罗密。犀谓之矣。带谓之佉苴，饭谓之喻，盐谓之宾，鹿谓之识，牛谓之舍，川谓之睽，谷谓之浪，山谓之和，山顶谓之葱路，舞谓之伽傍。

Tigers are called *bōluōmì*. A rhinoceros is called *yǐ*. Belts are called *qūjū*. Rice is called *yù*, salt is called *bīn*, deer are called *shì*, cattle are called *shè*, a river valley is called *dàn*, a gorge is called *làng*, mountains are called *hé*, peaks are called *cōnglù*, dancing is called *jiābàng*.

云南志 1695

加，富也。阁，高也。诺，深也。苴，俊也。

jiā means rich, *gé* means high, *nuò* means deep, *jū* means beautiful.

东爨谓城为弄，谓竹为翦，谓盐为翦，谓地为响，谓请为数，谓酸为制。言语并与白蛮不同。👁️

The *Dōng Cuàn* call towns *nòng*, bamboo *jiǎn*, salt *jiǎn*, land *jū*, to request *shù*, sour *zhì*. Their language is not the same as the *Bái Mán*.

云南志 1700

第九卷 *The Regulations and Government Structure* 《南蛮条教》

The ninth *juàn* covers administration and government, with a focus on military organization and training.

Translation Notes

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 82–89 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 70–74. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 100–109 has comprehensive annotations on this section.

/1683: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=23>

/1690: 之行诺] Annotation in the text: 才勺反 - Unclear what this annotation is meant to say.

/1690: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=23>

/1692: 波罗密] Annotation in the text: 亦名「草罗」- also called *cǎoluō*

/1692: 犀谓之矣] Annotation in the text: 读如咸 - pronounced *xián*

/1701: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=24>

Military Organization

	南俗务田农菜圃。战斗不分文武。无杂色役。	Southern customs: they engage in farming and growing vegetables. During war there is no differentiation between civilians and the military, there is no conscripted labour.
云南志 1705	每有征发，但下文书与村邑理人处，克往来月日而已。其兵杖人各自赍，更无官给。	Every time there is a military campaign, orders are given to an administrator, stating the time to assemble, nothing else. Soldiers bring their own weapons, there are no official provisions.
云南志 1710	百家已上有总佐一，千人已上有理人官一。人约万家以来，即制都督，递相管辖。	For one hundred or more households there is one general assistant, for thousand and above there is one administrator, if there are ten thousand or more households then they are administered by a commander-in-chief. The administration is hierarchial.
云南志 1715	上官授与四十双，汉二顷也。上户三十双，汉一顷五十亩。中户、下户各有差降。	The upper officials are granted forty <i>shuāng</i> , that is two <i>Hàn qǐng</i> . Upper households receive thirty <i>shuāng</i> or one <i>qǐng</i> and fifty <i>mǔ</i> . Middle and lower households accordingly less.
云南志 1720	每家有丁壮，皆定为马军，各据邑居远近，分为四军，以旗幡色别其东南西北，每而置一将，或管千人，或五百人。四军又置一军将统之。如有贼盗入界，即罪在所入处面将。	All the households who have able-bodied young men are assigned to the cavalry, they are divided into four armies, according to the distance of the village. The colour of their flags classifies them as east, south, west, or north. Each location has a general in charge of either one thousand or five hundred men. Four armies are unified under one general. Should bandits invade the territory, the offender where it happened will face the general.

The Luōjū 罗苴 are the elite soldiers.

云南志 1725	罗苴子皆于乡兵中试入，故称四军罗苴子。 戴朱兜鍪，负犀皮铜股排，跣足历险如飞。	The Luōjū are all recruited through tests from among the local soldiers, this is why they are also called the Luōjū of the four armies. They wear red helmets and on the back rhinoceros skin with strands of copper, they march in line barefoot and experience danger as if they were flying.
	每百人罗苴佐一人管之。👁️	A Luōjū assistant is in charge of every hundred men.

l1720: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=26>

l1723: 罗苴子] The 《四库全书》 edition has Jūzǐ 苴子, but it should be Luōjūzǐ 罗苴子, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 302.

l1724: 戴朱兜鍪] Annotation in the text: 《新唐书·南诏传》作「戴朱鞮鍪」[光]字疑「朱」字之讹 - The 《新唐书南诏传》 has 戴朱鞮鍪, the character 光 is miswritten as Zhū.

l1727: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=27>

r1712: *shuāng*] One *shuāng* 双 is equivalent to five *mǔ*, see page 102.

r1715: 每家有丁壮，皆定为马军，] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 75 points out that this is a mistake, see o: those with horses are assigned to the cavalry.

The Fùpái 负排 are the security guards of the government.

负排又从罗苴中拣入，无员数。南诏及诸镇大军将起坐不相离捍蔽者，皆负排也。👁️

Fùpái are selected from within the Luōjū, their number is not fixed. Those protecting the Nánzhào or all the garrisons' great commander, whether they are standing or sitting, are all Fùpái.

云南志 1730

The Yǔyí 羽仪 or feather fan bearers are a group of people recruited from the nobility for ceremonial roles.

羽仪亦无员数，皆清平官等子弟充，诸蛮不与焉。常在云南王左右。

The feather fan bearers are also not fixed in number, their ranks are all filled with children and siblings of prime minister and other officials, the ordinary *Mán* are not amongst them. They always accompany the Yúnnán king.

羽仪长帐前管系之。

The leader of the feather fan bearer is in charge of them in front of a curtain.

云南志 1735

羽仪长八人，如方内节度支衙官之属。

There are eight leaders of the feather fan bearers, just like the military district within our borders they support the administration of the yamen.

清平官已下，每入见南诏，皆不得佩剑，唯羽仪长得佩剑。

From the prime minister downwards, whenever they see the king, they are not allowed to carry a sword, only the leaders of feather fan bearer are allowed to carry a sword.

云南志 1740

出入卧外，虽不主公事，最为心腹亲信。👁️

They enter and leave the private areas, even though they are not in charge of official work, they are the most trusted assistants.

The government is organized as six *cáo* 曹, or *cáo*, a form of organization copied from the Táng.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

其六曹长即为主外司公务。

The leaders of the six *cáo* are in charge of outside affairs.

云南志 1745

六曹长六人，兵曹、户曹、客曹、刑曹、工曹、仓曹，一如内州府六司所掌之事。

The six *cáo* have six leaders: the military *cáo*, the revenue *cáo*, the reception *cáo*, judicial *cáo*, the works *cáo*, and the grain store *cáo*, just like in the interior administration six officers are in charge of affairs.

又有断事曹长，推鞠盗贼；军谋曹长，主阴阳占候，同伦长两人，各有副都，主月终唱。诸曹稽逋如录事之

Then there is the deciding *cáo* leader, investigating bandits, the *cáo* leader for military planning, in charge of *yīn yáng* and divination; there are two *Tónglún*, each has a deputy, reporting at the end of

云南志 1750

l1730: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=27>

l1735: 帐前] unclear

l1744: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=28>

l1747: 仓曹] The 《四库全书》 edition has Huìcáo 会曹, but Cāngcáo 仓曹, as suggested by Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 102 makes more sense.

l1751: 同伦长两人] Annotation in the text: 「同伦」原本讹作「司仑」, 今据后文改正 - In the copy 同伦 is wrongly written as 司仑, corrected here according to the text below.

l1752: 唱] Annotation in the text: 此字未详, 疑误 - This character is probably wrong.

r1752: Tónglún] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994b), p. 590 thinks Tónglún is a confidante of the zhào.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ See Hucker (1985), 3820 for the Chinese government organization. Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2018), pp. 56–61 gives a commentary on this subsection, together with an organization chart.

	职。	the month. Each <i>cáo</i> has someone in charge of investigating and recording fugitives.
云南志 1755	曹官文牒下诸城镇，皆呼主者。	All the towns under the administration of the <i>cáo</i> call them masters.
	六曹长有课效明著，得迁补大军将。 👁️	If a leader of the six <i>cáo</i> stands out for being effective, he can progress to great commander.
The highest level of government is made up of six <i>Dà Jūnjiāng</i> 大军将 or great commanders and six <i>qīngpíngguān</i> 清平官 or prime ministers.		
	大军将一十二人，与清平官同列。	There are twelve great commanders, they have the same rank as the prime ministers.
	每日见南诏议事。出则领要害城镇，称节度。	They meet every day with the <i>Nánzhào</i> to discuss affairs and go out to administer the important towns, called <i>Jiédù</i> .
	有事迹功劳殊尤者，得除授清平官。	If they render exceptional service, they can be appointed as prime minister.
云南志 1765	清平官六人，每日与南诏参议境内大事。其中推量一人为内算官，凡有文书。便代南诏判押处置。有副两员同勾当。	There are six prime ministers, they meet every day with the <i>Nánzhào</i> to discuss significant internal affairs. One of them is appointed as head of the cabinet. Whenever there are letters, he signs them off on behalf of the <i>Nánzhào</i> and handles them. He has two assistants assigned to him.
云南志 1770	又外算官两人，或清平官或大军将兼领之。六曹公事文书成，合行下者，一切是外算官，与本曹出文牒行下，亦无商量裁制。	There are two officials in charge of foreign affairs. They act together with either a prime minister or a great commander. When the six <i>cáo</i> complete an official letter, they hand them to those below, all are foreign affairs officials and they negotiate with the relevant <i>cáo</i> , without a limit on discussions.
云南志 1775	又有同伦判官两人，南诏有所处分，辄疏记之，转付六曹。	There are two <i>Tónglún</i> administrative assistants, if the <i>Nánzhào</i> has a matter to decide, it is all recorded and then transferred to the six <i>cáo</i> .
	近年已来，南蛮更添职名不少。👁️	In the last years, the southern <i>Mán</i> have added quite a few official titles.

Military training.

云南志 1780	凡试马军，须五次上。 射中片板为一次上； 中双庶子为一次上； 四十步外走马据颇柱中斗子为一次	Whenever they employ a cavalryman, he must pass five tests. One is to shoot an arrow into the center of a board. Hitting the double <i>Shùzǐ</i> is another. Riding a horse from forty paces away hitting the <i>pǒ</i> pillar is another.
----------	---	---

l1758: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=28>

l1763: 得除授清平官] Annotation in the text: 原本以除授为句，今据《唐书·南诏传》「大军将出治军壁。称节度，次补清平官」之文，是除授下应有「清平官」三字，原本盖因下条相属而误脱耳，今增入 - In the copy the sentence finishes with 除授, according to the 《唐书南诏传》 which adds the three characters 清平官 corrected.

l1778: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=29>

l1782: 庶子] Annotation in the text: 二字未详 - These two characters are unclear.

l1783: 据] Annotation in the text: 此字未详 - This character is unclear.

r1782: *Shùzǐ*] as the copyist says, this is unclear.

上；

盘枪百转无失为一次上；

能算能书为一次上。

试过有优给。

步卒须为五次上。

玷苍山顶立旗，先上到旗下为一次上；

蓦一丈三尺坑过为一次上；

急流水上浮二千尺为一次上；

弄剑为一次上；

负一石五斗米四十里为一次上。

已上一一试过，得上次者补罗苴也。



蛮王为楼，及诸城镇村邑，但有空平处，即立木八十尺，刻其上为斗子，中间以墨三寸规之，名曰颇柱。

所试人持竹剑，去颇柱四十步外，走马向前柱，中斗子者上，中第二规次之，中第一规为下。

每农隙之时，邑中有马者，皆骑马于颇柱下试习。

每岁十一、十二月，农收既毕，兵曹长行文书境内诸城邑村谷，各依四军，集人试枪剑甲胄腰刀，悉须犀利，一事阙即有罪。其法一如临敌。

布阵罗苴子在前，以次弓手排下，以次马军三十骑为队。如此次第，常为定制。临行交错为犯令。

每战，南诏皆遣清平官或腹心一人在军前监视。有用命不用命及功大小先后，一一疏记，回具白南诏，凭此为定赏罚。

Twisting a spear a hundred times without dropping it is another.

云南志 1785

Being able to count and to read is another.

Once they pass they receive good benefits.

Foot soldiers must pass five tests.

They plant a flag on top of Diàncāngshān, first going up to the flag and coming down is one.

云南志 1790

Dashing over a pit one *zhàng* and three *chǐ* wide is another.

Floating on rapid water for two thousand *chǐ* is another.

Handling a sword is another.

Shouldering a stone the weight of five *dǒu* of rice for forty *lǐ* is another.

云南志 1795

If the above have been passed one by one he can become a lower-level Luōjū.

At the palaces of the *Mán* king and all the towns and villages wherever there is a flat area, a wooden pole eighty *chǐ* high is erected, at its top, they carve a cross mark, and around the middle they paint circles three *chǐ* wide. This is called the *pǒ* pillar.

云南志 1800

Those men taking a test grasp a bamboo sword, and from forty paces apart ride a horse towards the pillar. Who hits the cross mark in the middle comes out first, who hits the second circle comes second, who hits the first circle comes last.

云南志 1805

Every time the fieldwork rests, in those villages with cavalry all ride their horse to practice for the test under the *pǒ* pillar.

Every year, during the 11th and 12th months, when the harvest is finished, the leader of the military *cáo* issues a decree to all the towns and villages within the borders, each according to the four armies, to assemble the people to check weapons, armour and daggers. They must all be sharp, every fault is considered a crime. The method is just like when facing the enemy.

云南志 1810

The battle formation has the Luōjū in front, then the archers, and behind them thirty horsemen forming a brigade. This procedure has a long history. Being disorderly counts as insubordination.

云南志 1815

In every battle, the Nánzhào orders a prime minister or a subordinate to monitor the situation in front of the troops if orders a carried out or not and if the contribution is great or not, everything gets recorded and reported back to the Nánzhào in detail, who based on it determines reward or punishment.

云南志 1820

l1797:] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=31>

l1799-1800: 斗子] unclear

r1798: 村] Corrected from 林, according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 77.

- 云南志 1825 军将犯令，皆得杖，或至五十，或一百。更重者徙瘴地。
 诸在职之人，皆以战功为褒贬黜陟。
 ④
- 云南志 1830 每出军征役，每蛮各携粮米一斗五升，各携鱼牖，此外无供军粮料者。
 蛮军忧粮易尽，心切于战。出界后，许行劫掠，收夺州溪源百姓禾米牛羊等辈。
- 云南志 1835 用军之次，面前伤刀箭许将息，佯背后伤刀箭辄退者，即刃其后。④
- If a general disobeys an order, he gets beaten, fifty times or one hundred times, in serious cases they are taken to the miasma regions.
 Those in official positions are degraded or promoted according to their military contribution.
 Whenever they go on military expeditions every *Mán* brings one *dǒu* and five *shēng* of grain as well as fish, as otherwise there is no one to provide for them.
 The *Mán* army is concerned that the provisions run out, so they are eager to go to war, as after leaving their borders they are allowed to engage in plunder and keep the grain, rice, cattle, goats, etc from the local population for themselves.
 In wartime, when they are wounded by a sword or an arrow from the front, they are allowed to recover. But those who suffer a wound by sword or arrow to the back and then retreat are struck down from behind.

The following section, covering battle regulations, is in the 《欽定四庫全書》 version erroneously added to the end of the 8th *juàn*, but according to the critical edition in the 《云南史料丛刊》 belongs here.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

- 云南志 1840 朝廷差使到云南，南诏迎接远送。
 自数年来，缘邕、交两地长吏苛暴，恣杀非事，致令众蛮告冤，因兹频来攻掠。
- 云南志 1845 伏蒙圣心，徵发大军指挥，期于克复。
 其容州经管三十四羈縻州。
- When the court sends envoys to Yúnnán, the Nánzhào welcomes them and also accompanies them back.
 In the last couple of years, because the high officials of Yōng and Jiāo have been harsh and ruthless, killing without restraint, many *Mán* have filed complaints resulting in frequent attacks and plunder.
 I lie prostrate receiving the favour of Your Majesty for sending out a big army to restrain them.
 Róng Zhōu administers thirty-four subordinated prefecture.

/1826: ④] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=32>

/1835: 。] Annotation in the text: 此条当在第九卷《南蛮篇》中，是传写者误入于此 - This section belongs into "The Regulations and Government Structure 《南蛮条教》"; a copyist inserted it here in error.

/1835: ④] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=24>

/1844: 伏蒙圣心] unclear

/1846: 其容州经管三十四羈縻州] Annotation in the text: 《新唐书·地理志》岭南道羈縻州九十二，隶桂管者七州，隶邕管者二十六州，隶安南者四十一州，并无属容管者，与此稍有不合 - According to the 《新唐书地理志》，Língnán Dào Jīmízhōu has ninety-two, Lìguì administers seven prefectures, Lìyōng administers twenty-six prefectures, Lìānnán forty-one, there are some inconsistencies.

/1846: subordinated prefecture] 'lit., a prefecture under loose rein: Subordinated prefecture, a category of adminis-

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 78. Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 also adds this to the end of the 9th *juàn* section, see Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 74.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 78.

伏请委安南大首领为刺史。武定州亦请委大首领为长吏者。踵前许经略使眷顾亲属，奏元从押衙为刺史，恐非稳便。

I politely petition to appoint the principal tribal leader of Ānnán as regional inspector. I petition to entrust Wǔdìng to the tribal leader as a high official. In the past permission was given for the military commissioner to show concern for his blood relatives, and a memorial was sent to appoint his follower and lackey to regional inspector. I fear this is not appropriate.

云南志 1850

臣窃知故安南前节度使赵昌，相继十三年，缉理交阯，至今遗爱，布在耆老，至境内无事。

Your humble servant has personally known the previous military commissioner of Ānnán Zhào Chāng. He administered Jiāozhǐ for thirteen years and old people still express affection. It used to be calm within the borders.

云南志 1855

其时以都押衙杜英策为招讨副使，入院判案，每月料钱供给七十贯。以寄客张舟为经略判官，已后举张舟为都护。

When the lackey Dù Yīngcè served as assistant envoy to Nánzhào, he entered court to decide cases and was given seventy Guàn per month as remuneration. The visitor Zhāng Zhōu was appointed as administrative assistant for planning and control, later Zhāng Zhōu was promoted to protector general.

云南志 1860

自李象古任安南经略使案，恣意贪害。遂至征兵。

Since Lǐ Xiàngǔ took up the post of military commissioner of Ānnán he was wilful and caused damage through embezzlement, causing the dispatch of troops.

续又有李涿继之诛剥，令生灵受害。莫非长吏非人所致。👁

Afterwards, Lǐ Zhuō continued the plunder, causing damage to all souls. Is it possible that the administrator was not the right person for this position?

云南志 1865

第十卷 *The Tribal Countries bordering the Southern Mán* 《南蛮疆界接连诸蕃夷国名》

The tenth *juàn* covers the regions bordering Nánzhào that were outside the sphere of Chinese influence. It is clear from the scarce detail given about each country that Fán Chuò 樊绰 had found little information about them.

Translation Notes

This part is translated in Luce (1961), pp. 90–89 and Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), pp. 70–74. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 109–113 has comprehensive annotations on this section.

trative units into which submissive foreign and aboriginal groups were commonly organized to fit into the Chinese governmental hierarchy, usually headed by hereditary native chiefs and subordinate to a Chinese Area Command' Hucker (1985), 571

/1847: 武定州] Annotation in the text: 《新唐书·地理志》武定州乃安南都护府所属羁縻州之一 - According to the 《新唐书地理志》Wǔdìng is one of the subordinated prefectures subordinated to Ānnán 安南.

/1862: 自李象古任安南经略使案] Annotation in the text: 原本作「李象右」, 今考《唐书》李象古为安南都护, 以苛刻失众, 为贼杨清所害, 盖即此人, 今改正 - In the copy written as 李象右, in the 《唐书》 it says Lǐ Xiàngǔ 李象古 was the protector general of Ānnán and lost the support of the people because of his cruelty and harmed the rebel Yáng Qīngsuǒ, that must be this person, here corrected.

/1865: 李涿继之诛剥] Annotation in the text: 原本「涿」上脱「李」字, 今据《通鉴》增入 - In the copy 李 is written as 李象右, corrected according to the 《资治通鉴》.

/1866: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=33>

Mínùò 弥诺 is probably ancient Arakan, covering the coastal area of present-day north-western Burma, while Míchén 弥臣 was likely in southern Burma, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy River or near Pathein.⁽¹²¹⁾

云南志 1870	弥诺国、弥臣国，皆边海国也。呼其君长为寿。弥诺面白而长，弥臣面黑而短。性恭谨，每与人语，向前一步一拜。	Mínùò and Míchén are both states bordering the sea. They call their chieftains <i>shòu</i> . The people of Mínùò have long and white faces, the people of Míchén short and dark faces. Their nature is respectful and cautious, when they talk to each other they step forward one pace and bow.
云南志 1875	国无城郭。弥诺王所居屋之中有一大柱，雕刻为文，饰以金银。弥臣王以木栅为居，海际水中。以石狮子为屋四足，仍以板盖，悉用香木。	There are no walled towns in the country. In the middle of the palace where the king of Mínùò resides is a big pillar, engraved with characters and adorned with gold and silver. The king of Míchén lives in a wooden palisade in the middle of the water, with four stone lions as feet of the palace. Everything else is covered with planks made of fragrant wood.
云南志 1880	王出即乘象，百姓皆楼居。披娑罗笼。男少女多。俗好音乐。楼两头置鼓，饮酒即击鼓，男女携手楼中舞蹈为乐。	When the king leaves he rides on an elephant, the ordinary people live in houses on stilts. They dress in robes made from silkcotton. Men are few, women are many. By custom, they are very good at music. Drums are placed at the end of buildings, when they drink they beat the drums, men and women dancing hand in hand in the middle of the building.
	在蛮永昌城西南六十日程。太和九年曾破其国，劫金银，掳其族三二千人，配丽水淘金。👁️	They are located sixty stages south-west of the <i>Mán's</i> Yǒngchāng. In the 9th year of Tàihé these countries were conquered, stealing gold and silver and enslaving two to three thousand people, sending them to the Lìshuǐ to pan for gold.

l1875: 有一] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

l1877: 为] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

l1880: 王出即乘象] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

l1880: 娑罗] The 《四库全书》 copy has 娑罗, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231, see Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 109, see page 86.

l1881: 少] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

l1881: 俗] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

l1882: 女] In the 《四库全书》 copy 子, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

l1888: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=36>

r1881: robes made from silkcotton] a covering made from made from the seeds of the 娑罗 tree. Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 75 translates it as 'ceiba silk robes', while Luce (1961), p. 90 notes: 'wear "cages" = ("cage = heads", smock-frocks?) of po-lo (silkcotton?)'. The character 笼 was used as an 'elegant term' during the Táng dynasty, meaning to "veil" or, literally, "encage", Owen (1977), p. 9.

r1887: In the 9th year of Tàihé] 2nd February 835.

r1889: Lìshuǐ] the Irrawaddy

(121) Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 translates them as Mani and Mandalay respectively, which I think is wrong. Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 75.

The second part covers Piàoguó 骠国, the state of Pyu, located in present-day central Burma. It is interesting to note that Fán Chuò describes the state of Pyu as a Buddhist country, while this term is never used to describe Nánzhào.

The section ends with a misplaced section.

骠国在蛮永昌城南七十五日程，阁罗凤所通也。

其国用银钱。以青砖为圆城，周行一日程。百姓尽在城内。有十二门。当国王所居门前有一大大象，露坐高百余尺，白如霜雪。

俗尚廉耻，人性和善少言，重佛法。域中并无宰杀。又多推步天文。

若有两相诉讼者，王即令焚香向大象思惟是非，便各引退。其或有灾疫及不安稳之事，王亦焚香对大象悔过自责。

男子多衣白毡。妇人当顶为高髻，以金银真珠为饰，余著青娑罗裙。又披罗缎，行必持扇。贵家妇女，皆三人五人在傍持扇。

有移信使到蛮界河赋。则以江猪白毡及琉璃罽为贸易。与波斯及婆罗门邻接。西去舍利城二十日程。据佛经，舍利城，中天竺国也。近城有沙山，不生草木。《恒河经》云：沙山中过。然则骠国疑东天竺也。

蛮贼太和六年劫掠骠国，虏其众三

The state of Pyu lies seventy-five stages south of the *Mán's* Yǒngchāng, Géluōfēng started relations with it.

This country uses silver money. Green bricks form a circular city wall, which takes one day to walk around. The people all live inside the walls, there are twelve gates. In front of the king's residence in the open air is a seated elephant, over one hundred *chǐ* tall, white as frost.

Integrity and honour are the prevailing customs, the people are gentle and speak little, attach great importance to the teaching of Buddha, inside the country they do not slaughter animals. They practice fortune telling by astrology.

In case of a dispute, the king will order to burn incense in front of the elephant and will ponder who is wrong before each retreats. In case of epidemics or destabilising events, the king will burn incense in front of the elephant to atone for his failures.

The men mostly wear white felts, the women bind their hair high in a knot with gold, silver, and pearls as ornaments, they wear blue kapok skirts and meshed silk, when they walk they hold a fan. Noblewomen always have a few people nearby holding a fan.

When messengers are sent to the border with the *Mán* at Hé Dàn, they bring porpoises, white felt, coloured stones, and jars for trade. It borders Bōsī and the state of Pólúōmén, twenty stages to the west is the walled town of Shèlì. According to the sutras, Shèlì is in the middle of state of Tiānzhú, nearby are sanddunes where nothing grows. The Ganges Sutra says: 'one passes through the sandy mountains', so the state of Pyu must be east of state of Tiānzhú.

In the 6th year of Dàhé *Mán* rebels plundered the state of Pyu

云南志 1890

云南志 1895

云南志 1900

云南志 1905

云南志 1910

云南志 1915

/1894: 大象] In the 《四库全书》 copy 大象, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 233.

/1901-1902: 大象] In the 《四库全书》 copy 大象, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 233.

/1902: 是] In the 《四库全书》 copy 其, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 233.

/1903: 大象] In the 《四库全书》 copy 大象, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 233.

/1905: 毡] unclear

/1906: 余] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 233.

/1906: 娑罗] The 《四库全书》 copy has 婆罗, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 231.

/1907: 女] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 233.

/1910: 毡] unclear

/1910: 罽为贸易] Annotation in the text: 「罽」原本作「盟」, 「贸易」原本作「加」, 今从《新唐书·骠国传》改正 - Spelling mistakes in the original, corrected according to the 《新唐书骠国传》.

r1916: In the 6th year of Dàhé] 6th February 832.

千余人，隶配柘东，令之自给。今子
孙亦食鱼虫之类，是其种末也。

云南志 1920

咸通四年正月六日寅时，有一胡僧，
裸形，手持一仗，束白绢，进退为
步，在安南罗城南面。本使蔡袭当时
以弓飞箭当胸，中此设法胡僧，众
蛮扶舁归营幕。城内将士，无不鼓
噪。👁️

云南志 1925

and enslaved more than three thousand men, sending them to
Tuòdōng to fend for themselves. To this day their descendants still
eat fish, insects, and the like.

**In the early morning of the 6th day of the first month of the 4th
year of Xiántōng** a naked monk, holding a stick and a white bundle
was walking back and forth south of the walls of Ānnán. The envoy
Cài Xí took a bow and shot this cunning monk in the middle of the
chest. The *Mán* rebels carried him back into the fortress. Inside
the fortress was a great uproar.

The state of Kūnlún 昆仑国 was a polity probably located near the mouth of the Salween.⁽¹²²⁾

昆仑国正北去蛮界西洱河八十一日
程。出象及青木香、旃檀香、紫檀香、
槟榔、琉璃、水精、蠡杯等诸香药珍宝
犀牛等。

蛮贼曾将军马攻之，被昆仑国开路
放进军后，凿其路通江，决水掩浸。
进退无计。饿死者万余，不死者，昆
仑去其右腕放回。👁️

From the state of Kūnlún it is eighty-one stages straight north to
the border of the *Mán* at Xǐě Hé. It exports elephants, green fra-
grant wood, sandalwood, purple sandalwood, areca, glazed pearls,
crystals, seashell cups and other fragrant medicine, jewels, rhino-
ceros horn, etc.

Mán rebel once sent troops and cavalry to open the road to the
state of Kūnlún. They left the road open to let the soldiers in, after-
wards chiseled to connect the road to a river so that it flooded and
drowned them as there was no way out. More than ten thousand
starved to death, those who had not died had their right hands cut
off by the Kūnlún before they were allowed to return.

The following section covers two Hindu polities, the greater and the lesser Póluóménguó, north of
Yǒngchāng 永昌.

大秦婆罗门国界永昌北，与弥诺国
江西正东西城楼接界。东去蛮阳苴

The **greater qín Póluóménguó** lies north of the border of
Yǒngchāng, west of the river of Mínuò and has a border with Ānxī,

l1925: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=37>

l1927: 象及] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 238.

l1927: 旃] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 238.

l1928: 杯] In the 《四库全书》 copy 坏, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 238.

l1934: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=39>

l1937: 大秦婆罗门国] The Qín 秦 character could be wrong, it should match the 小婆罗门 of the next paragraph, see
Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), pp. 321–323. But 《中国历史地图集》 adds 秦 to 小婆罗门, writing it as 小秦婆罗门, see Tán Qíxiāng
谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 81 follows Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 242 by noting
that there are errors in this passage, but leaves it as in the 《四库全书》 copy as there are no other sources to rely on.

l1937–1938: 弥诺国江西正东] Annotation in the text: 此句疑有脱误 - Some error in this sentence

r1920–1921: In the early morning of the 6th day of the first month of the 4th year of Xiántōng] 28th January 863.

r1937: greater qín Póluóménguó] As qín 秦 might have been inserted in error, the translation is unclear.

(122) Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), pp. 318–320.

畔城四十日程。蛮王善之，街来其国。
👁️

east forty stages is the *Mán's* walled town Yángjūmiē. **The *Mán* king is kind to them, there is a road to this country.**

云南志 1940

小婆罗门国与骠国及弥臣国接界，
在永昌北七十四日程。
俗不食牛肉，预知身后事。
出贝齿、白蠟、越诺。
共大耳国往来，蛮夷善之，信通
其国。👁️

The lesser state of Póloumén borders the state of Pyu and the XXX state, it is seventy-four stages from Yǒngchāng.
As a custom, they do not eat beef and expect an afterlife.
They export cowry shells, ivory, white wax, and Yuènuò.
They have relations with Dàěr country, the *Mán* king is kind to them and maintains contact with them.

云南志 1945

The state of Yèbàn 夜半国 was another polity in present-day Burma.⁽¹²³⁾

夜半国在蛮界苍望城东北隔丽水
城川原。

The state of Yèbàn lies north-east of the *Mán* border town of Cāngwàng, on the other side of the river plain of the walled town of Lishuǐ.

其部落妇人，唯与鬼通，能知吉凶
祸福，本土君长崇信之。
蛮夷往往以金购之，要知善恶。

The women of this tribe can communicate with the spirits and can tell the future, the local chieftains trust them.

云南志 1950

界接丽水相近。蛮贼曾攻不得，至今
衔恨之。👁️

It borders Lishuǐ. In the past, the *Mán* rebels tried to conquer it but failed, until now they still harbour resentment.

云南志 1955

昆明牂牁。本使臣蔡袭尝奏请分布军
马，从黔府路入。👁️

With regards to Kūnmíng and Zānggē, the envoy Cài Xí asked to send troops coming from Qián.

/1939: 蛮王善之，街来其国] Annotation in the text: 案此八字文不相属，疑有脱误 - Something wrong with the last eight characters.

/1940: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=40>

/1941: 国] missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 242.

/1944: 贝] In the 《四库全书》 copy 见, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 242.

/1944: 白] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 242.

/1945-1946: 蛮夷善之，信通其国] Annotation in the text: 此七子文亦不属 - These last seven characters are out of context.

/1945-1946: 通其] In the 《四库全书》 copy 共, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 242.

/1946: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=40>

/1948: 川原] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 244.

/1951: 之] Missing in the 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 244.

/1954: 界接丽水] In the 《四库全书》 copy 昆明、牂牁 at the beginning, removed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 244.

/1955: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=41>

/1957: 从黔府路入] Annotation in the text: 此条之首，当有脱文 - Some characters have been lost at the beginning.

/1957: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=41>

r1939-1940: The *Mán* king is kind to them, there is a road to this country.] This is unclear as there seem to be mistakes in the 《四库全书》 copy.

r1944: Yuènuò] A sort of fabric.

r1945: Dàěr country] Lǐ Jiārui 李家瑞 suggested that Dàěr 大耳 is a miswriting of 食耳国, meaning the Arab world, see Zhào Lǚfū 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 324.

⁽¹²³⁾ Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 325

The following Queen country 女王国 is, given the scarcity of information, hard to locate, but it must be in northern Thailand, Laos or northern Vietnam.⁽¹²⁴⁾

云南志 1960

女王国去蛮界镇南节度三十余日程。其国去驩州一十日程，往往与驩州百姓交易。蛮贼曾将二万人伐其国，被女王药箭射之，十不存一，蛮贼乃回。👁

The Queen country lies thirty stages distant from the Zhènnán military district. From this country to Huān Zhōu it is ten stages, there is regular trade with Huān Zhōu.

In the past *Mán* rebels send twenty thousand men to conquer this country, but because of the queen's poisonous arrows only one in ten survived and the *Mán* retreated.

In the following comes the Zhēnlàguó, maybe a precursor to the Khmer Kingdom in present-day Cambodia and southern Vietnam.⁽¹²⁵⁾

云南志 1965

水真腊国、陆真腊国，与蛮镇南相接。蛮贼曾领马军到海畔，见苍波汹涌。

The water Zhēnlàguó and the land Zhēnlàguó are adjacent to the *Mán* town to the south, in the past, the *Mán* rebels sent troops to reach the sea, when they saw the turbulent green waves they turned back disheartened.

云南志 1970

[怅然收军却回] 此篇乃载南蛮接壤之国，自此以下，皆别说他事，盖附录之文，传写失其标目耳。今各低一格，以别之 👁

[This text is about the countries adjacent to the southern *Mán*, from here below it says nothing about their affairs. It must be an appendix, but it index has been lost. The copyist will lower the text one row, to distinguish it.]

附录一 The Text of the Oath between Nánzhào and China 《南诏与中国誓文》

As the annotation of the copyist at the end of the last section above⁽¹²⁶⁾ notes, the following is unrelated to the main topic of this report.⁽¹²⁷⁾

The text describes the Chinese mission in the autumn of 794 to the Nánzhào capital Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩 in recognition of Yì móu xún 异牟寻's renewed submission to the Táng. The mission was led by

1962: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=41>

1964: 腊] In the 《四库全书》 copy 蜡, but Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 245 writes 腊.

1964: 腊] In the 《四库全书》 copy 蜡, but Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 245 writes 腊.

1971: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=42>

⁽¹²⁴⁾ see Mù Qín 木芹 (1995), p. 326. The 《中国历史地图集》 places the Queen country in present-day northern Thailand, see Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81. Jim Goodman, a Thailand-based ethnic researcher, suggested that this refers to Queen Cāmadevī, the historically confirmed queen of Hariphunchai, a 7th or 8th century Mon kingdom centered on today's Lamphun in northern Thailand (personal communication with Jim Goodman, 13. June 2021). Little is known about Queen Cāmadevī, but her cult continues until today. There are a number other references to this kingdom in Chinese sources, see Bielenstein (2005), p. 259.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ Bielenstein (2005), p. 52, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 326. Backus (1981), p. 134 seems to think it is present-day Cambodia.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ see annotation on page 114.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ To differentiate it, the text in 《四库全书》 copy is lowered the text by one row, for an example see 👁 <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=42>. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 83 nor Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 248 add a new heading, but Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), pp. 329–364 decided to place this material in two appendices. I follow him in this decision.

Yuán Zī 袁滋 and the leading members of the mission were recorded in the 'Yuán Zī Memorial Cliff Inscription' 《袁滋题记摩崖石刻》.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The first part here is misplaced, narrating events in 863, followed by another misplaced sentence about Tiěqiáo 铁桥.

咸通四年六月六日，蛮贼四千余人，草贼朱道古下二千人，共棹小船数百只收郡州。得安南都押衙张庆宗、杜存陵，武安州刺史陈行余，以航舶战船十余只，筑损蛮贼船三十来只沉溺。

臣九月二十一日于滕州见安南虞候史孝懃，并得兵马使徐崇雅信，蛮贼不解水，悉皆溺死。

吐蕃铁桥节度本属吐蕃，贞元十年蒙异牟寻攻破，今并属蛮管。👁️

On the 6th day of the 6th month of the 4th year of Xiántōng more than four thousand *Mán* rebels and more than two thousand rebels under the command of rebel Zhū Dàogǔ together rowed several hundred small boats to capture the capital, capturing the Ānnán lackey Zhāng Qìngzōng and Dù Cúnlíng. The regional inspector of Wǔān Zhōu Chén Xíngyú used a dozen warships to ram them and sunk more than thirty boats of the *Mán* rebels.

On the 21st of the 9th month, your servant went to see the Ānnán inspector Shǐ Xiàomǐn in Xī Zhōu and received a letter from the commander Xú Chóngyǎ saying that the *Mán* rebels did not know how to swim and all drowned.

Tǔbō's Tiěqiáo military district was previously subordinate to Tǔbō, in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán Yì móu xún attacked it, today it is under the administration of the *Mán*.

云南志 1975

云南志 1980

云南志 1985

The next section appears to be cut together from unconnected parts: it begins with the narration of Tǔbō conferring Yì móu xún a title to then abruptly switching to the Chinese mission to Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩 in 794.⁽¹²⁹⁾

The description of the road the mission took is the same as the road from Ānníng to Yángjūmiē described in the first *juàn* of this work, see 14.⁽¹³⁰⁾

/1974: 郡州] Annotation in the text: 《通鉴考异》引《唐实录》以「郡州」为「交州」，《补国史》亦同。是「郡州」乃州名也 - The 《通鉴考异》 and the 《唐实录》 write 郡州 as Jiāozhōu 交州, the 《补国史》 agrees. Jùn Zhōu is the name of the prefecture.

/1975: 武安州刺史陈行余] Annotation in the text: 《新唐书·地理志》武安州属安南都护府 - According to the 《新唐书·地理志》, Wǔān Zhōu belongs to Ānnán.

/1983-1984: 吐蕃铁桥节度本属吐蕃，贞元十年蒙异牟寻攻破，今并属蛮管] Annotation in the text: 吐蕃铁桥节度以下二十五字，文义与上文不相属，是亦他处错简于此 - These last 25 characters are misplaced. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 83 suspects that this sentence belongs into "The Cities and Towns of Yúnnán 《云南城镇》".

/1984: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=42>

r1972: On the 6th day of the 6th month of the 4th year of Xiántōng] 25th June 863.

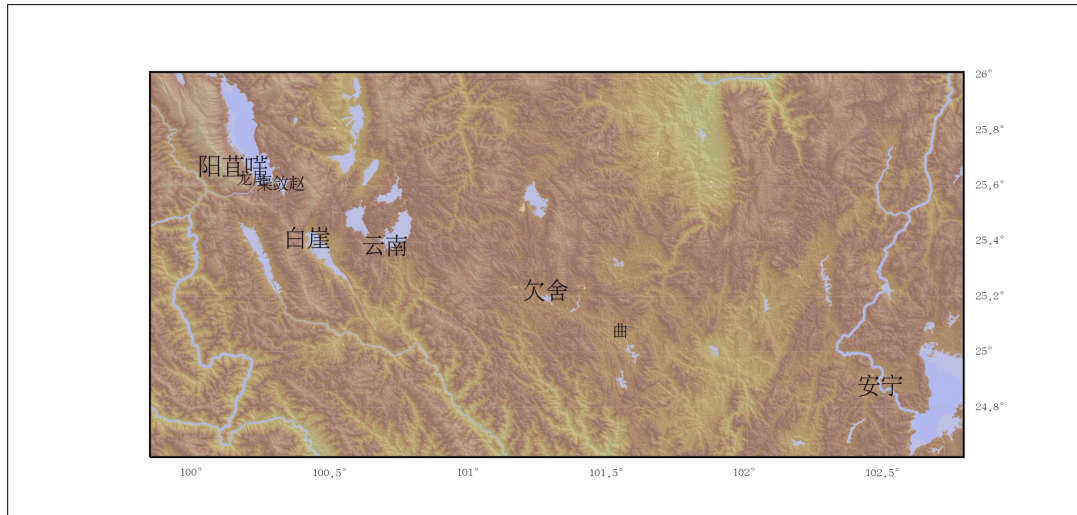
r1975: the capital] of Annan.

r1984: in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 5th February 794.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Táo Xuéxiàn 陶学宪 (1979); Qín Píng 秦平 (2018).

⁽¹²⁹⁾ That these parts do not belong together was noted by the copyist of the 《四库全书》 and of course in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 83-85, but as the original version could not be ascertained, both decided to leave it as is.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ see "The Road Stages inside Yúnnán 《云南界内途程》".



Map 14:
The Route of the Procession from Ānníng to Yángjūmiē.

异牟寻曾诈臣事吐蕃，吐蕃遂封异牟寻江西卑贱。

云南志 1990

因遣曹长段南罗各同伦判官赵伽宽等九人，与南诏清平官尹辅酋及亲信李罗札将大马二十匹迎，子弟羽仪六人沿路视事。

云南志 1995

十五日至安宁城。城使段伽诺出步军二百队，马军一百队夹道排立，带甲马六十队引前，步枪五百人随后，去城五十里迎候。

Yimouxun pretended to be a servant of Tǔbō, Tǔbō conferred upon him the title of Jiāngxībēijiàn.

For this reason, he sent out the head of the *cáo* Duàn Nánluōgè, the Tónglún administrative assistant Zhào Jiākuān, and others, altogether nine men alongside the Nánzhào prime minister Yīn Fǔqiú, his aide Lǐ Luōzhá, leading twenty large horses as a welcome, six young feather fan bearer watched the proceedings along the road. On the 15th day, they reached the walled town of Ānníng. The town administrator Duàn Jiānuò came out fifty *lǐ* with two hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry standing in line along the road, sixty armoured horsemen leading in front, behind them five hundred spear bearers as a welcome.

1986–1987: 异牟寻曾诈臣事吐蕃，吐蕃遂封异牟寻江西卑贱] Annotation in the text: 以下皆纪册封南诏之事，此二十十字文不用周，盖所纪册封一事，佚其前段，而此条佚其后段耳，今不可考，姑仍其旧 - The copyist noted that the first twenty characters are out of context and something before and after was lost, but as it was impossible to verify, he decided to leave it as it was.

1986–1987: 异牟寻江西卑贱] In the 《四库全书》 copy 异牟江寻西卑贱, so it seems quite clear that this is a simple copying mistake, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 83 does not change it as there is no other source to verify it. 1987: 。] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 83 places a , here, directly connecting it with the following. As these sentences to not connect, a break seems more appropriate.

1993: 安宁城] The 《四库全书》 copy has 安南城, but it should be 安宁城, Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 250, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 339.

r1987: Jiāngxībēijiàn] According to Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 339, this a transliteration of Tibetan, meaning of 日东王, or 'King of the East'. Bryson (2015) disagrees.

r1988: For this reason] As these sentences do not seem connected, this literal translation makes no sense.

r1993: On the 15th day] This must be 12th November 794.

r1993: Ānníng] at present-day Ānníng 安宁

十九日到曲驿。镇使杨盛出马军一百三十队步军一百七十队，夹道排立，带甲马二百人引前，步枪三百人随后，去驿一十里迎接。

二十一日过欠舍川。首领父老百余人，蛮夷百姓数千人，路傍罗列而拜，马上送酒。云南节度将五十匹马来迎。

二十三日到云南城。节度蒙首物出马军一百队，步军三百人，夹道排立，带甲马一十队引前，步枪五百人随后，去城一十里迎候。门前父老二百余人，吐蕃封王数人，在路迎拜。是日，南诏使大军将兼户曹长王各苴来迎。

二十四日到白崖城。城使尹嵯迁出马军一百队，步军二百队，夹路排立，引马六十匹，步枪五百人，去城五里迎候。

南诏遣大军将李凤岚，将细马一千匹并伎乐来迎。渠敛道中路客馆馆前父老二百余人，蛮夷百姓五六十人，路迎马前。大军将喻于俭出马步军三百队夹路排立，引马六十匹，步枪三百人，去城五里迎候。

On the 19th day, they reached Qū post station. The town administrator Yáng Shèng came out ten *lǐ* with one hundred and thirty cavalry and one hundred and seventy infantry, standing in line along the road, with two hundred armoured horsemen in front and three hundred infantry following them as a welcome.

On the 21st day, they passed Qiànshè valley. More than one hundred aged tribal leaders and several thousand *Mán* commoners lined the road to perform rituals and loaded wine on horses as a gift. The military commissioner of Yúnnán sent fifty horses as a welcome.

On the 23rd day, they reached the walled town of Yúnnán. There the military district Méng Qiúwù came out ten *lǐ* with one hundred cavalry and three hundred infantry lining the road, ten armoured horses at the front and fifty infantrymen following them as a welcome. In front of the gate were more than two hundred elders, tens had been given the title 'king' by Tǔbō, performing welcoming rituals along the road. On this day, the Nánzhào envoy great commander and head of the revenue *cáo Wáng Gèjū* came out as a welcome.

On the 24th day, they reached the walled town of Báiyá. The town administrator Yīn Cuǒ came out five *lǐ* with one hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry lining the road, sixty armoured horsemen and five hundred spear bearers as a welcome.

The Nánzhào sent out the great commander Lǐ Fènglǎn leading one thousand fine horses and entertainment troops as a welcome. At an inn along the road at Qúliàndào two hundred elders and five to six hundred *Mán* commoners welcomed them on the road, with horses in front. The great commander Yù Yú 俭 came out five *lǐ* with three hundred infantry lining the road, sixty armoured horse-

云南志 2000

云南志 2005

云南志 2010

云南志 2015

云南志 2020

云南志 2025

l2003: 欠舍川] In the 《四库全书》 copy 吹舍川, but it should be 欠舍川, Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 250, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 341.

l2017: 尹嵯迁] ❶ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), pp. 84–85 has '尹嵯', not '尹嵯迁'. Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 250 notes that this person is probably the same as Yīn Cuóqiān 尹嵯迁 mentioned on the Déhuà Bēi 德化碑, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 340 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 84–85 all agree.

l2021: 大军将李凤岚] notes that this is probably the same person as Lǐ Fùjiān 李负监 mentioned in 'Names and Classifications' 《名类》.

r1998: 19th day] 16th November 794.

r1998: Qū post station] at present-day Chǔxióng

r2003: On the 21st day] 18th November 794.

r2003: Qiànshè valley] at present-day Nánhuá

r2008: On the 23rd day] 20th November 794.

r2008: walled town of Yúnnán] at present-day Yúnnányì

r2017: On the 24th day] 21st November 794.

r2017: walled town of Báiyá] at northern end of present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley

r2023: Qúliàndào] At present-day Fèngyí 凤仪, on the southern side of Ěrhǎi

云南志 2030 南诏妹李波罗诺将细马一十匹来迎。入龙尾城客馆，南诏异牟寻叔父阿思将大马二百匹来迎。

云南志 2035 二十六日过大和城，南诏异牟寻从父兄蒙细罗勿及清平官李异傍、大军将李千傍等，将细马六十匹来迎，皆金鏐玉珂，拂髦振铎。

夹路马步军排队二十余里。

云南志 2040 南诏蒙异牟寻出阳苴咩城五里迎。先饰大象十二头引前，以次马军队，以次伎乐队，以次子弟持斧钺。南诏异牟寻衣金甲，披大虫皮，执双铎鞘。男蒙阁劝在傍，步枪千余人随后，马上祇揖而退。

云南志 2045

日授册。👁

men in front, and three hundred spear bearers to await their arrival.

The younger sister of the Nánzhào Lǐ Bōluōnuò lead ten fine horses to receive them, they entered the guesthouse at the walled town of Lóngwěi. The uncle of the Nánzhào Yīmóuxún Ā Sī led two hundred large horses as a welcome.

On the 26th day, they passed the walled town of Dàhé. There the older cousin of the Nánzhào Yīmóuxún, Méng Xīluōwù, the prime minister Lǐ Yìbàng and the great commander Lǐ Qiānbàng lead sixty fine horses as a welcome, with gold lances and jade ornaments, when they flicked their mane, the bells chimed.

Two hundred cavalry and infantry lined the road for more than twenty ǐ.

The Nánzhào Yīmóuxún came five ǐ out of Yángjūmiē as a welcome. The procession was led by twelve decorated elephants, behind them the cavalry, the entertainment troupes, and then young men holding hatchets and battle-axes. The Nánzhào Yīmóuxún was wearing golden armour, over the shoulders a large tiger skin, holding a double *duóqiào*. His son Méng Géquàn was by his side, more than one thousand spear bearers following them. Those on horses bowed and retreated.

On the day he received the investiture.

The following then describes the ritual in which Yīmóuxún was awarded the title of Nánzhào.

l2029: 南诏妹] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 251 suspects that either a 婿 or a 倩 is missing here.

l2029: 细] This character is present in the 《四库全书》 copy and in Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 251, but missing in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 85, an omission.

l2034: 蒙细罗勿] Annotation in the text: 「罗勿」原本作「四勾」, 今据《新唐书》改正 - Spelling mistake, corrected.

l2036: 鏐] There are variant spellings of this character in the sources, see Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 251 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 85.

l2036: 拂髦振铎] Annotation in the text: 「振」原本作「根」, 今据《新唐书》改正 - Spelling mistake, corrected

l2036-2037: with gold lances and jade ornaments, when they flicked their mane, the bells chimed.] unclear

l2043-2044: 铎鞘] The 《四库全书》 copy just has 铎, but it should be *duóqiào* 铎鞘, Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 341.

l2045: 马上祇揖而退] Annotation in the text: 原缺 - missing in the source.

l2046-2047: Those on horses bowed and retreated.] unclear

l2048: 日授册] Annotation in the text: 原缺 - missing in the source.

l2048: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=43>

l2048: On the day he received the investiture.] unclear

r2029: younger sister] In the 《四库全书》 copy a 婿 is probably missing, changing the meaning to brother-in-law (married to a younger sister).

r2030-2031: walled town of Lóngwěi] at present-day Xiàguān 下关

r2033: On the 26th day] 23rd November 794.

r2033: walled town of Dàhé] first capital of Nánzhào, at present-day Tàihé

r2040: Yángjūmiē] capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dàlǐ

r2045: double *duóqiào*] *Duóqiào* 铎鞘

贞元十年十月二十七日阳苴畔城具仪注设位，旌节当庭，东西特立。

On the the 27th day of the 10th month of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, rituals were prepared at Yángjūmiē, banners were hung at the court, set up from east to west.

云南志 2050

南诏异牟寻及清平官已下，各具仪礼。面北序立，宣慰南诏使东向立，册立南诏使南向立，宣敕书读册文讫。

The Nánzhào Yimóuxún, the prime ministers, and those below each made ritual offerings, facing north in order of their rank. The pacification commissioner and envoy to Nánzhào facing east, the envoy to Nánzhào conferring the title facing south, and the edict was read out in full.

云南志 2055

相者引南诏蒙异牟寻离位受册，次受贞元十年历日。👁

An aide ushered the Nánzhào Yimóuxún from his seat to receive the edict, then received an almanac for the 10th year of Zhēnyuán.

The Qīng dynasty 清朝 collection of supplemental documents of the Táng dynasty 唐朝 called Supplemental Táng dynasty Writings 《唐文拾遺》 contains an interesting note attributed to Wéi Gāo 韦皋:⁽¹³¹⁾

南诏前遣清平官尹伊宽献所授吐蕃印五，二用黄金。今赐印请以黄金，从蛮夷所重。👁

Nánzhào previously sent the envoy prime minister Yīnyikuānxiàn to receive from Tǔbō five seals, two used gold. Now, to confer the seal please use gold, the Mányí consider it important.

云南志 2060

Yimóuxún's remarks at the end of the ceremony.

南诏及清平官已下稽顙再拜，手舞足蹈，庆退而言，牟寻曾祖父开元中册云南王，祖父天宝中又蒙册袭云南王。

The Nánzhào Yimóuxún, the prime ministers, and below all kow-towed multiple times to pay their respect, dancing overjoyed. The celebration ended and he said: 'The great grandfather of Mouxún was conferred the title of "king of Yúnnán" in the Kāiyuán era, my grandfather was also conferred the title of "king of Yúnnán" in the Tiānbǎo era.'

云南志 2065

自隔大国，向五十年。贞元中皇帝圣明，念录微效，今又赐礼命，复睹汉仪，对扬天休，实感心肺。👁

'Since the break of relations with the great kingdom, almost fifty years have passed. In the Zhēnyuán era, the virtuous emperor has remembered my humble service and today grants again this title.

云南志 2070

[2053: 东] In some other sources, this is written as 南, see Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 251.

[2054: 册] Annotation in the text: 此条「册」字原本俱讹作「开」, 今据文改正 - Spelling error, corrected.

[2058: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=43>

[2061: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=308484>

[2064-2065: 蒙册袭] unclear

[2070: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=43>

r2049-2050: On the the 27th day of the 10th month of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 24th November 794.

r2058: almanac] Twitchett (1992), pp. 57-62 discusses a Rìlì 日历, a 'Daily Calendar', prepared as the base for the eventual compilation of the Veritable Record, but notes that this practice only started in 805.

r2058: for the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r2065: in the Kāiyuán era] 713-741 CE.

r2066-2067: in the Tiānbǎo era] 742-756 CE.

r2069: In the Zhēnyuán era] 785-805 CE.

⁽¹³¹⁾ Backus (1981), p. 97.

Witnessing again the rites of the Hàn, I am sincerely grateful for the blessings from heaven.'

云南志 2075 其日楼下大会，又坐上割牲，用银平脱马头盘二面。牟寻曰，此是天宝初先人任鸿胪少卿宿卫时，开元皇帝所赐。比宝藏不敢用，得至今。

On that day below was a great congregation, with ritual slaughter, served on two silver platters with horse heads. Móuxún said: 'These are gifts from the Kāiyuán emperor to my predecessor when he served as ceremonial minister and lesser night guard at the beginning of the Tiānbǎo period. Until now we never dared to use these treasures.'

云南志 2080 又伎乐中有老人吹笛妇人唱歌，各年近七十余。牟寻指之曰，先人归蕃来国，开元皇帝赐胡部及龟兹音声各两部。今死亡零落尽，只余此二人在国。

Amongst the joyous crowd was an old man playing the flute and a woman singing, both more than seventy years old. Móuxún pointed at them, saying: 'When my father returned home from the court, the Kāiyuán emperor granted him two music troupes, one from Húbù, one from Guīzī. They have all died apart from these two who are still in our country.'

云南志 2085 酒既行，牟寻自捧杯擎跪劝让。册立使袁滋引杯酹酒曰：「南诏当深思祖宗绪业，坚守诚信，为西南藩屏，使后嗣有以传继也。」

Wine was being passed around, Móuxún raised a cup, made his obeisance, and kneeled, urging others to follow. The envoy conferring the title, Yuán Zī, took the cup, spilled some wine, and said: 'The Nánzhào should ponder the deeds of his ancestors, serving steadfast and loyal as protection of the south-west, may the coming generations continue this.'

异牟寻嘘嘻曰：「敢不承命！」

Yimóuxún sighed and said: 'I am not worthy to receive such an order.'

其年十一月七日事毕，发阳苴咩城。
👁️

After these affairs were completed on the 7th day of the 11th month, they departed from the walled town of Yángjūmiē.

The following then records a reciprocal mission with treasures given to the Chinese court by Nánzhào. From the times mentioned, it seems clear that the reciprocal mission accompanied Yuán Zī back on the road to Shímén 石门, i.e. the same road they came on.

云南志 2095 云南王蒙异牟寻以清平官尹辅首十七人，奉表谢恩，进纳吐蕃赞普钟印一面。并献铎鞘、浪川剑、生金、瑟

The king of Yúnnán Yimóuxún, the prime minister Yīn Fǔqiú, in total seventeen people, submitted an expression of gratitude to the emperor, submitted the seal of the Zànpǔ Zhōng of Tǔbō. They

[2071–2072: I am sincerely grateful for the blessings from heaven.] unclear

[2074: served on two silver platters] unclear

[2075: 先人] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 252 points out that this refers to Fèngjiāyì 凤迦异.

[2075: 卫] Annotation in the text: 「卫」上原脱「宿」字，今补入 - Spelling error, corrected.

[2086: 酹] In the 《四库全书》 copy 洒, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 252.

[2087: spilled some wine] unclear

[2089: protection of the south-west] unclear

[2094: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=43>

[2096–2097: 进纳吐蕃赞普钟印一面] Annotation in the text: 《通鉴》吐蕃谓弟为钟，南诏服吐蕃时，封为赞普钟日东王 - According to the Zizhi Tongjian 资治通鉴, Tǔbō calls a younger brother 钟, so when the Nánzhào was a vassal of Tǔbō he was conferred the title of 'Little brother of the Zànpǔ and King of the Rising Sun'.

瑟、牛黄、琥珀、白毡、纺丝、象牙、犀角、越跋马、统备甲马、并甲文金，皆方土所贵之物也。

also presented a *duóqiào*, a sword from Làngchūān, raw gold, *sèsè*, **Niúhuáng**, amber, white felt, silk, ivory, rhino horn, horses from Yuè Dàn, fully equipped armoured horses, gold-plated armour, all being precious local products.

云南志 2100

仍令大军将王各苴、柘东副使杜伽诺具牛羊领鞍马及丁夫三百人提荷食物。

Then the great commander Wáng Gèjū, the deputy administrator of Tuòdōng Dù Jiānuò were ordered to prepare cattle and goats, to saddle horses, and for three hundred conscripts to carry provisions on their backs.

云南志 2105

其年十一月二十四日送至石门。从石门更十日程到戎州。

That year, on the 24th day of the 11th month, they were escorted to Shímén. From Shímén it was ten more days to Róngzhōu.

自后南蛮移心向化，遂与吐蕃仇隙。

Afterwards, the southern *Mán* changed his heart to follow China, and bitter quarrels with Tǔbō followed.



The following parts again seem to be assembled from text fragments, lacking context to understand them.

伏缘数年之间，当州镇厘革南诏入朝人数，纵有经过者，邮传残薄。

I politely note, that because of the passage of several years, the reorganization of towns and villages, the number of Nánzhào people travelling to the court, even though some passed through, the postal system was in a bad state.

云南志 2110

兼缘安南大中年奏请隔绝南诏往来通好。谨按《尚书经》云：抚我则后，虐我则仇。

At the same time **in the Dàzhōng era**, Ānnán made a petition to the emperor to break off friendly relations with Nánzhào, respectfully quoting the , saying: **He who soothes us is our sovereign; he**

云南志 2115

*l*2098: 琥珀] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 84 has 武珀, as there is no explanation for the diversion from the 《四库全书》 copy or from Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 252, this is a miswriting.

*l*2098: 毡] unclear

*l*2107: 戎州] In the 《四库全书》 copy 茂州, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 252.

*l*2109: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=43>

*l*2114: 大中年] Annotation in the text: 原本作「大中牟」, 今据《唐书》及《通鉴》, 宣宗大中十三年, 杜棕为西川节度使, 奏请节减南蛮习学子弟及入贡徭从人数, 南诏怒, 自是颇扰边境, 书中所说, 当指此事。「牟」字盖「年」字之讹, 谨改正 - Spelling mistake, corrected according to the 《唐书》 and the 《资治通鉴》. In the 13th year of Xuānzōng's Dàzhōng (859) Dù Zōng was appointed military commissioner of Xīchūān, he requested reducing the number of young students of the southern *Mán* and those bringing tribute, which angered the Nánzhào. From this on there was unrest at the border. What is mentioned in this book, must be this affair. So the character 牟 must be 年.

*r*2098: *sèsè*] a gemstone

*r*2099: Niúhuáng] ox gallstones, *calculus bovis*, a precious Chinese medicine

*r*2106: That year, on the 24th day of the 11th month] 20th December 794.

*r*2110–2113: I politely note, that because of the passage of several years, the reorganization of towns and villages, the number of Nánzhào people travelling to the court, even though some passed through, the postal system was in a bad state.] As Luce notes, the meaning of this sentence is obscure. He translates this sentence as 'I submit that (one) reason is that in the course of several years, the divisions (chou) and the garrison-towns (chen) have been regulated and reformed.', see Luce (1961), p. 97.

*r*2114: in the Dàzhōng era] 847–858 CE.

*r*2116:] Shàngshū 尚书.

*r*2116–2117: He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy.] This translation is taken from Legge (1865), p. 296.

- 云南志 2120 本使蔡袭去年正月十四日内四度中矢石，家口并元随七十余人，悉殒于贼所。
臣长男韬及奴婢一十四口，并陷蛮陬。
臣夙夜忧忆本使蔡袭，行坐痛心。
- 云南志 2125 切以蛮贼尚据安南，今溪源并诸州各自固守，其首领将吏，去年春夏频请救兵。
- 云南志 2130 自是海门不与发遣，并不给与戈甲弓弩，致令蛮贼侵掠州军。
- 云南志 2135 臣以南蛮从古及今，凡虏掠诸处百姓夷獠隶也处则贵。溪源首领已下，知其配隶之事，固惜副卿必合戮力齐心，共御蛮夷之残暴[「臣」以下五十一字，文义未详，且不相属，当有脱误]。👁

who oppresses us is our enemy.

On the 14th day of the 1st month last year, my superior Cài Xí was hit four times by arrows and stones, his family and followers, in total seventy men, all were killed at the hand of the rebels.

Your servant's eldest son, Tāo, and fourteen of his maidservants were taken to the *Mán* settlements.

Your servant remembers Cài Xí day and night, mourning him every moment.

The *Mán* certainly still occupy Ānnán, today Xīyuán and all other prefectures are all firmly defended, their leaders and officers in spring and summer of last year frequently asked for reinforcements.

From that on Hǎimén did not send envoys and also did not supply armour nor crossbows, leading to *Mán* rebels seizing the troops of this prefecture.

Your servant is of the opinion that from the beginning until the *Mán* plunder all regions and enslave the nobles of the lesser tribes in its territory. The leader of Xīyuán and below all know of the related affairs and steadfastly insist that the assistant officers must join their forces to control the savagery of the *Mán*.

附录二 Texts about the Lǐnjūn Mán 《有关廩君蛮资料》

The following last part is largely not directly connected with Nánzhào, but with the events in Ānnán and some tribal myths that Fán Chuò collected while in the camp of the rebel troops.

Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 355 calls this section 《樊绰所辑有关廩君蛮资料》 'Material Collected by Fán Chuò 樊绰 about the Lǐnjūn Mán'. I have also taken this as the section heading, even though tribal stories only are only one part of this section.

Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), pp. 254–268 provides ample textual comments, but Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 86–87 has only a few annotations to this part, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 116–119 has far more comprehensive commentary.

/2125: 溪源] 🐾 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 86 has '江源', not '溪源'. The 《四库全书》 copy has 江源, which seems to be an error, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 116, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 86 does not correct it.

/2129: 自是海门] Annotation in the text: 安南既陷，以海门镇为行交州 - After Ānnán had fallen, Hǎimén town was appointed to administer Jiāozhōu.

/2133: 溪源] The 《四库全书》 copy has 江源, which seems to be an error, see Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 116, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 86 does not correct it.

/2133–2134: plunder all regions and enslave the nobles of the lesser tribes in its territory.] unclear

/2135–2137: [「臣」以下五十一字，文义未详，且不相属，当有脱误]] The copyist notes that the meaning of these characters is not clear is not clear, the sentences do not join up and there must be something missing.

/2137: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=50>

r 2118: On the 14th day of the 1st month last year] 863.

r 2129: Hǎimén] port town serving to administer Ānnán 安南 after 863, exact location unclear.

又黔、泾、巴、夏四邑苗众。

咸通三年春三月八日，因入贼朱道古营栅竟日，与蛮贼将杨羌，杨阿触、杨酋盛、柘东判官杨忠义话得姓名，立边城自为一国之由。

祖乃盘瓠之后。其蛮贼杨羌等云绽盘古之后。

此时缘单车问罪，莫能若是。

咸通五年六月，左授夔州都督府长史，问蛮夷巴、夏四邑根源，悉以录之，寄安南诸大首领。详录于此，为《蛮志》一十卷事，庶知南蛮首末之序。👁

The descendants of the four districts of Qián, Jīng, Bā, Xià.

In spring, on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng, I entered the military camp of the rebel Zhū Dàogǔ and talked the whole day with the *Mán* rebel general Yáng Qiāng, Yáng Āchù, Yáng Qiúshèng, and the administrative assistant of Tuòdōng Yáng Zhōngyì. I learned their family names and the reasons to set up a border town and establish their own country.

Their ancestors were descendants of Pánhù; the *Mán* rebel Yáng Qiāng and others said they were descendants of Pángǔ.

At the time, because I was in a single cart investigating a crime, I was unable to find out if this was true.

In the 6th month of 5th year of Xiántōng, when this lowly person was appointed as principal historian Kuízhōu area command, I enquired about the roots of the *Mányí* in the four districts of Bā and Xià and recorded everything, sending it to the main leaders in Ānnán. In detail it is recorded like below, in ten *juàn* of the Gazetteer of the *Mán*, much of it previously unknown about the southern *Mán*.

云南志 2140

云南志 2145

云南志 2150

云南志 2155

The following then records one of the origin stories collected by Fán Chuò.⁽¹³²⁾

谨按后汉《南蛮传》，昔高辛氏有戎寇吴将军。

Respectfully referring to the Records of the Southern *Mán* of the Later Hàn, at the time of Gāoxīn Shì there was a Róng bandit,

[2138: 。] 🐞 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 86 has ‘,’; not ‘.’. Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 254 and Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 86 place a comma at the end of this sentence, directly connecting it with the following passage. However, it seems that the following is a new sentence, unconnected to this, which appears incomplete.

[2140–2141: 将杨羌，杨阿触] 🐞 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 86 has ‘将大羌杨阿触’; not ‘将杨羌，杨阿触’. Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 116, 118 points out that below on line 2058 on page 123 below the name 杨羌 is mentioned again, so this is likely a copying error.

[2145–2146: 绽盘古之后] Annotation in the text: 「绽」字有讹 - The character 绽 is wrong.

[2147: 若是] Annotation in the text: 「若」字有讹 - The character 若 is wrong.

[2153:] Annotation in the text: 案：以下六条，又附录中旁及之文，今再低一格以别之 - The next six sections belong in the appendix, they are indented one row to differentiate the text.

[2153: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=52>

r2138: The descendants of the four districts of Qián, Jīng, Bā, Xià] As this is not a complete sentence, it appears to announce the topic of the following passages.

r2139–2140: In spring, on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of Xiántōng] 10th April 862.

r2141–2142: Yáng Qiāng, Yáng Āchù] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 254 takes the preceding five characters as one name, but if one follows Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2016c), pp. 116, 118, see annotation on page 123, then a separation into two names makes more sense.

r2143: family names] I think this can be understood as genealogies.

r2149: In the 6th month of 5th year of Xiántōng] 864.

r2149–2150: this lowly person was appointed] the Chinese expression 左授 could be translated as ‘demoted to’, but I think it is polite self-deprecation.

⁽¹³²⁾ There is some doubt if the passages below were written by Fán Chuò, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 87.

云南志 2160 帝患其侵暴，乃下敕曰：
「有人得戎寇吴将军头者，赐金百
镒，封邑万家，妻以少女。」

时帝有犬名盘瓠，后遂之寇所，因
啗得吴将军头来，其寇遂平。

帝大喜，因以官爵赏赐，犬不起。

帝少女闻之，奏曰：「皇帝信不可
失！深忧犬之为患。」

帝曰：「当杀之。」

女曰：「杀有功之犬，失天下之信
矣！」

帝曰：「善乎！」

云南志 2175 因请匹之。帝不得已，乃以配盘瓠。

盘瓠得女，负入南山，处于石室，其
处险阻，不通人迹。

云南志 2180 后生十二子，六男六女，自相匹偶。

缉草木皮以为衣服。

帝赐以南山，仍起高栏为居止之。

云南志 2185 其后滋蔓，自为一国。

按王通明《广异记》云：

高辛时，人家生一犬初如小特。

云南志 2190 主怪之，弃于道下，七日不死，禽兽
乳之，其形继日而大。主人复收之。

当初弃道下之时以盘盛叶覆之，因
以为瑞，遂献于帝，以盘瓠为名也。

云南志 2195 后立功，啗得戎寇吴将军头，帝妻
以公主，封盘瓠为定边侯。

general Wú.

The emperor suffered his violent invasions, so he issued an edict:
'Who brings the head of the Róng bandit general Wú, shall be given
one hundred *yì* of gold, an estate of ten thousand people and my
daughter as wife.'

At the time the emperor had a dog called Pánhù which then went
to the place of the bandit, and because he gnawed off general Wú's
head and brought it back, the bandits were pacified.

The emperor was very pleased, but the dog was not qualified to
receive an official rank.

When the daughter of the emperor heard this, she sent a petition
saying: 'The emperor must not break his word. I worry that the dog
will cause trouble.'

The emperor said: 'Then kill him!'

The woman said: 'Kill a meritorious dog? That means losing the faith
of heaven.'

The emperor said: 'You are right.'

Then he [the dog] requested a mate. The emperor had no choice
but to marry her to Pánhù.

After Pánhù obtained the daughter, he carried her on his back into
the southern mountains, where they lived in a stone house, located
in a dangerous place, unconnected from the traces of man.

She had twelve children, six boys, and six girls, who married each
other.

The wove grass and bark to make clothes.

The emperor granted them the southern mountains and they built
houses on stilts to live in.

From then on they prospered, founding a country.

According to **Wáng Tōngmíng's** it says:

At the time of Gāoxīn a human family gave birth to a dog, at first
like a small bull.

The owner thought this was strange and abandoned it on the road,
but after seven days it was still not dead, birds and beasts gave him
milk, and he grew bigger day by day. The owner took him back.

When he was abandoned on the road, a layer of verdant leaves
covered him, as this was considered auspicious, he was given as
a tribute to the emperor and given the name Pánhù.

Afterwards, he acquired merit by gnawing off the head of the Róng
bandit general Wú, he took a princess as wife and was conferred

[2159: 帝] In the 《四库全书》 copy 为, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 255.

[2185: 其后滋蔓，自为一国] Annotation in the text: 此文与今《后汉书·南蛮传》不同 - This does to match the .

r 2186: Wáng Tōngmíng's] .

公主分娩七块肉，割之有七男，长大各认一姓，今巴东姓田、雷、再、向、蒙、旻、叔孙氏也。

其后苗裔炽盛，从黔南逾昆、湘、高丽之地，自为一国，幽王为犬戎所杀，即其后也。

盘瓠皮骨今见在黔中，田、雷等家时祀之。👁️

the title **Hóu of Dìngbiān**.

The princess gave birth to seven pieces of meat, cutting them apart there were seven boys, after growing up each representing one family. Today, those are the names of the clans east of Bā called Tián, Léi, Zài, Xiàng, Méng, Mǐn and Shūsūn.

云南志 2200

After that their descendants flourished and spread from Qián south beyond the areas of Kūn, Xiāng, and Gāoli, establishing their own country. king Yōu was killed at the hands of the dog Róng, they are his descendants.

云南志 2205

The skin and bones of Pánhù are still in Qiánzhōng, venerated by the Tián, Léi, and other families.

The follows an origin story about Lǐnjūn, leader of the Bā clan.

巴中有大宗，廩君之后也。《汉书》，巴郡本有四姓，巴氏、繁氏、陈氏、郑氏，皆出于武落锤离山。

其山黑赤二穴。巴氏之子，生于赤穴，繁、陈、郑三姓生于黑穴。

未有君长，俱事鬼。乃其掷剑于石穴，约能中者奉以为君。巴氏子务相独中之。又令乘土船下夷水到盐阳，约能浮者为君。务相独浮，因立务相为君也。

遂有神女谓廩君曰，此地广大，鱼盐所出，请为留之。廩君不许。

神女暮来取宿，晨则化为飞虫，群蔽日月，天地晦冥，积十余日。

廩君伺其便射之，天乃开朗。

In middle Bā is a big clan, they are descendants of Lǐnjūn.

According to the *'History of the Hàn Dynasty'*, in the Bā prefecture were once four families, the Bā, the Fán, the Chén, and the Zhèng clan, all coming from the Wǔluò Zhōnglí Mountains.

云南志 2210

In these mountains are two caves, one black, one red.

The children of the Bā clan were born in the red cave, the children of the three clans, the Fán, the Chén, and the Zhèng, were born in the black cave.

云南志 2215

There was no overall chief, **they all served the spirits**.

When they tossed a sword into the stone cave, who was able to hit the target would be appointed as ruler.

Alone the son of the Bā clan Wù Xiāng hit the target.

Then it was ordered to travel in an earth boat down the Yí River to Yányáng, who was able to float would be appointed as ruler.

云南志 2220

Alone Wù Xiāng was able to float, so Wù Xiāng was appointed as ruler.

After that there was a goddess who said to Lǐnjūn: 'This place is vast, fish and salt are everywhere, please let me stay here.' But Lǐnjūn did not allow this.

云南志 2225

When night fell, the goddess came to ask for accommodation, and in the morning changed into flying insects, obscuring sun and moon, turning the world into darkness for more than ten days.

Lǐnjūn waited for an opportunity to shoot them and the sky be-

云南志 2230

[2203: Kūn] unclear

[2203: Xiāng] unclear

[2207: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=53>

r 2197: Hóu of Dìngbiān] this could be translated as 'Marquis who Pacifies the Borders'.

r 2216: they all served the spirits] As one can see from the juxtaposition on line 2137 on page 127, this means they were not following the Dào.

廩君方定居于夷水。三姓皆臣事之。

廩君死，魂魄化为白虎。

及惠王并巴蜀，以巴夷为蛮夷君，尚女。

其人有罪，得以爵除。

出赋二千一十六钱，三岁一出义赋一千八百钱，人出幪布八丈二尺，鸡羽三十鍬也。👁️

云南志 2240

巴氏祭其祀，击鼓而祭，白虎之后也。

按《华阳国志》，秦昭王时，白虎为害，多伤人。

云南志 2245

乃购之曰，有杀得白虎者，封邑千家，继以金帛。

于是胸忍夷廖仲药等以竹弩射之，中而死。

云南志 2250

秦遂刻石，为夷人立盟曰，夷人顷田不租，十妻不算，伤人不论。

秦犯夷输黄龙一双，夷犯秦输清酒一钟。

云南志 2255

夷人遂因号虎夷，一名弦头，刚勇颇有先人之风。👁️

came clear.

Lǐnjūn settled on the Yí River. The other three clans all were his servants.

After Lǐnjūn died, his **spirit and body** transformed into a white tiger.

When king Huì united Bā and Shǔ, he made the Bā the chiefs of the *Mán* and married a daughter.

Who commits a crime can be exempted because of nobility.

They must pay tax two thousand and sixteen cash, every three years one thousand eight hundred cash, per person eight *zhàng* and two *chǐ* of cloth and thirty arrows made of chicken feather.

The Bā clan makes ritual offerings by beating a drum, they are descendants of white tigers.

According to the ‘*Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá*’, at the time of the king Zhāo of Qín there was a dangerous tiger, harming many people.

So he set a bounty for it, saying: ‘Who kills the white tiger, shall be given an estate of a thousand people together with gold and silk.’

So Qú Rěnyí, Liào Zhòngyào, and others used a bamboo crossbow to shoot and kill it.

The Qín carved a stone, allying with the Yí, saying: The Yí do not rent one *qǐng* of land, **ten wives do not count**, they are immune from harming people.

If the Qín violate the Yí, they must donate a pair of yellow dragons, if the Yí violate the Qín they must donate a jar of clear wine.

So the Yí were called the tiger Yí, or ‘bowstring heads’, the Gāngyǒng have much of the spirit of their ancestor.

按《秦纪》，始皇十八年，巴郡出大

According to the ‘*Records of Qín*’, in the 18th year of Shǐhuáng, in

[2239–2241: 出赋二千一十六钱，三岁一出义赋一千八百钱，人出幪布八丈二尺，鸡羽三十鍬也] Annotation in the text: 此文与今《后汉书·南郡蛮传》稍有异同 - The account differs a little from that in the Hòuhàn Nán Mán Chuán. [2239: 二千一十六钱] In the 《四库全书》 copy 二千一十六百万钱, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 258.

[2241: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=56>

[2256–2257: 夷人遂因号虎夷，一名弦头，刚勇颇有先人之风] Annotation in the text: 所引《华阳国志》与今本文稍不同 - There are some differences to the Huáyánguó Zhì 《华阳国志》

[2256–2257: 刚勇] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 260 usually marks proper names with a sidebar, but he does not do this here, even though it seems to be a name of a tribal group, which is again mentioned below on line line 2123 on page 127.

[2257: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=58>

r 2234: spirit and body] spiritual concept of soul and body

r 2252: ten wives do not count] Luce (1961), p. 102 adds ‘for purposes of taxation?’

r 2258: in the 18th year of Shǐhuáng] 228 BCE.

<p>人，长二十五丈，一夫两妻，号曰左右也。 是故左思《蜀都赋》云，刚勇生其方，风谣尚其武。👁️</p>	<p>Bā prefecture emerged a giant, twenty-five <i>zhàng</i> tall, one man and two wives, called left and right. There is the old Zuǒ Sī's '<i>Shǔ Capital Rhapsody</i>' saying: 'The Gāngyǒng came from this place, folk ballads praise their army.'</p>	<p>云南志 2260</p>
<p>按《夔城图经》云，夷事道，蛮事鬼。] 初丧鞮鼓以为道哀，其歌必号，其众必跳，此乃盘瓠白虎之勇也。 俗传正月初夜，鸣鼓连腰以歌，为踏虎之戏。 五月十五日招命骑健画楫图舟，十船同角，千人齐声，唱鼓扣舷，沿江腾波而下。 俗三月八日为大节，以陈祠享，振铎击鼓师舞为敬也。👁️</p>	<p>According to the '<i>Illustrated Book of the Town of Kuí</i>': 'The <i>Yí</i> serve the <i>Dào</i>, the <i>Mán</i> serve the spirits.' At the beginning of a funeral, a small drum leads the funeral, they must sing his name, the crowd must dance as that is the valour of <i>Pánhù</i> and the white tiger. It is customarily said, on the evening of the first month, they beat the drums joined to their hips to sing, as a play of treading on the foot of the tiger. On the 15th day of the 5th month, an edict is given for the <i>Qíjiàn</i> to paint oars and ornament boats, ten boats to one bugle, one thousand people in unison sing and beat the side of the boats as drums, churning downwards along the river. According to their customs, on the 8th day of the 3rd month is a big festival, they lay out the offerings, shake the <i>Duó</i>, beat the drums and dance as a sign of respect.</p>	<p>云南志 2265 云南志 2270 云南志 2275</p>
<p>夷蛮居山谷，巴夏居城郭。与中土风俗礼乐不同。👁️</p>	<p>The <i>Yí Dàn</i> live in the mountains, those from <i>Bā</i> and <i>Xià</i> in fortified towns. Their demeanor, customs, rites, and music are not the same as in China.</p>	<p>云南志 2280</p>

The following passages then narrate the events that led to the eventual resubmission of Nánzhào to the Táng.

<p>云南诏蒙异牟寻与中国誓文，臣今录白进献。👁️</p>	<p>The <i>zhào</i> of Yúnnán, Yímóuxún, swore an oath of allegiance, your servant records everything today and offers it as tribute.</p>
-------------------------------	--

The following narrates the events leading to the realignment and the 'Oath of Allegiance'.

贞元十年岁次甲戌正月乙亥朔， | **In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, Jiǎxū was the last day of the year,**

[2262: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=58>

[2276: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=59>

[2278: 夷蛮居山谷] Annotation in the text: 「蛮」即蛮之别名 - 蛮 is another form of 蛮.

[2279: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=60>

[2282: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=60>

[2283–2284: 朔，越] Missing in 《四库全书》 copy, added according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 261. But Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985), p. 329 agrees adding the first character 朔, questions the second one 越. It does not seem to add any meaning.

r 2283–2285: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, Jiǎxū was the last day of the year, Yìhài was the new moon of the first month, and the 5th day was Jímǎo] 4th February 794 was the last day of the 9th year of Zhēnyuán, 5th February 794 the beginning of the the 10th year, and 9th February 794 the 5th day.

云南志 2285	越五日己卯，云南诏异牟寻及清平官大军将与剑南西川节度使巡官崔佐时谨诣玷苍山北，上请天、地、水三官，五岳四渎及管川谷诸神灵同请降临，永为证据。念异牟寻乃祖乃父忠赤附汉。	Yǐhài was the new moon of the first month, and the 5th day was Jǐmǎo, the zhào of Yúnnán, Yímóuxún, the prime ministers, great commanders and the military commissioner and inspector of Jiànnán's Xīchuān Cuī Zuǒshí solemnly walked north to Cāngshān, implored the three offices of heaven, earth and water, the five peaks, the four rivers and all the spirits governing the mountains and rivers to come to witness for all eternity. Yímóuxún in front of his fathers and forefathers swore solemnly his submission to the Hàn.
云南志 2295	去天宝九载，被姚州都督张乾陀等离间部落，因此与汉阻绝，经今四十三年。	Before, in the 9th year of Tiānbǎo, the commander-in-chief of Yáozhōu Zhāng Qiántuó created a split with the tribes, resulting in a break of relations with the Hàn, but now forty-three years have passed.
云南志 2300	与吐蕃洽和，为兄弟之国。吐蕃赞普册牟寻为日东王。亦无二心，亦无二志。去贞元四年，奉剑南节度使韦皋卜射书，具陈汉皇帝圣明，怀柔好生之德。七年，又蒙遣使段忠义等招谕，兼送皇帝敕书。	They made peace with Tǔbō and became a vassal country. The XXX of Tǔbō conferred on Yímóuxún the title of 'King of the Eastern Sun', without betrayal or infidelity. In the 4th year of Zhēnyuán the military commissioner of Jiànnán, Wéi Gāo sent a pūshè letter, the magnanimous emperor expressing his willingness to forgive to achieve a reconciliation.
云南志 2310	遂与清平官大军将大首领等密图大计，诚矢天地，发于禎祥，所管部落，誓心如一。去年四月十三日，差赵莫罗眉、扬大	In the 7th year, Méng dispatched the envoy Duàn Zhōngyì and others to the emperor asking for mercy and received an edict from the emperor. Afterwards, he and the prime ministers, the great commanders, and all the principal leaders made a secret plan, imploring heaven for an auspicious day to set out, the tribes under their administration all vowed to act as one. On the 13th day of the 4th month of last year, Zhào Mòluōméi,

*l*2284: 五日] In the 《四库全书》 copy 五月, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 261.

*l*2285: 巡官] Added according to according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 261 for clarification, see also the following note.

*l*2285–2286: 崔佐时] Annotation in the text: 崔佐时乃韦皋所遣西川节度巡官，不可直称节度使，疑有脱文 - Cuī Zuǒshí was dispatched by Wéi Gāo as inspector of Xīchuān military district, so it is not correct to say that he was Jiédù Shǐ, so the copyist suspects that something is missing here.

*l*2293: 姚州] In the 《四库全书》 copy clearly 姚川, silently corrected by Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 263.

*l*2307: imploring heaven] unclear

*r*2288: implored the three offices of heaven, earth and water] TODO: Bryson (2017), p. 31 mentions a paper by Hou Chong about this.

*r*2293: in the 9th year of Tiānbǎo] 750.

*r*2297: vassal country] The term 兄弟之国 literally means 'little brother country', I think 'vassal' is an appropriate translation, Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 80 translates this as 'serves as its brotherly kingdom'.

*r*2300: In the 4th year of Zhēnyuán] 788

*r*2301: pūshè letter] a historic title, literally meaning 'charioteering archer', but was used as title of particularly capable officers in charge of temporary assignments

*r*2303: In the 7th year] 791.

*r*2306: he] Yímóuxún is not explicitly mentioned here, but the action described happened under his orders.

*r*2310: On the 13th day of the 4th month of last year] 27th May 793.

和眉等赍仆射来书，三路献表，愿归清化，誓为汉臣。

启告祖宗明神，鉴照忠款。

今再蒙皇帝蒙剑南西川节度使韦皋仆射，遣巡官崔佐时传语牟寻等契诚，誓无迁变。

谨请西洱河玷苍山神祠监盟，牟寻与清平官洪彘利时、大军将段盛等，请全部落，归附汉朝，山河两利。

即愿牟寻、清平官、大军将等，福祚无疆，子孙昌盛不绝。

管诸賧首领，永无离二。兴兵动众，讨伐吐蕃，无不克捷。

如会盟之后发起二心，及与吐蕃私相会合，或辄窥侵汉界内田地，即愿天地神祇其降灾罚，宗祠殄灭，部落不安，灾疾臻凑，人户流散，稼穡产畜，悉背减耗。

如蒙汉与通和之后，有起异心，窥图牟寻所管疆土，侵害百姓，致使部落不安，及有患难不赐救恤，亦请准此誓文，神祇共罚。

如蒙大汉和通之后，更无异意，即愿大汉国祚长久，福盛子孙，天下

Yáng Dàhémei, and others were dispatched carrying the *pūshè* letter, via three roads made a petition, to express the willingness to submit to the enlightenment and promising to be servants of the Hàn.

They made a statement to the ancestors and the pure spirits to bless their true loyalty.

Today again, the illustrious emperor and the illustrious military commissioner of Jiànnán's Xīchuān Wéi Gāo *pūshè*, sent out the inspector Cūi Zuǒshí to convey a message to Móuxún and others a sincere carved agreement, swearing to never break it.

Respectfully petitioning at the temple of Diàncāngshān at Xiě Hé to witness the alliance, Móuxún, the prime minister Hóng Piàolishí, the great commander Duàn Shèng, and others requested all the tribes to submit to the Hàn court, for the benefit of the mountains and rivers of both sides.

They vowed never-ending for Móuxún, the prime ministers, great commanders and all others boundless blessings, uninterrupted prosperity for their sons and grandsons.

The officials offered to the leaders to never defect.

They mobilized the troops and stirred the people for expeditions against Tǔbō, not one without success.

Should after the alliance any disagreement occur, should with Tǔbō secret mutual agreements be made, or they intended to invade the lands within borders of the Hàn, then they were willing for the venerated spirits to hand down punishment, their ancestral halls be destroyed, the tribes would be without peace, disaster and pestilence would strike together, the people and households would scatter, sowing and farmwork, breeding livestock all would decline.

If after the mutual peace with the illustrious Hàn disagreement should arise, if they had intentions for the land of Móuxún, or encroaching his people, cause the tribes to be without peace, in trials and tribulations do not succour, so upon approval of the text of this vow, we pray that the respected spirits punish them all.

If after the mutual peace with the illustrious Hàn there is no disagreement, then we are wishing the great kingdom of the Hàn long

云南志 2315

云南志 2320

云南志 2325

云南志 2330

云南志 2335

云南志 2340

云南志 2345

[2315–2316: They made a statement to the ancestors and the pure spirits to bless their true loyalty.] unclear

[2317: illustrious] unclear


[2317: illustrious] unclear

[2318: *pūshè*] unclear


[2340: illustrious] unclear

[2345: illustrious] unclear

r 2313: to the enlightenment] meaning the Táng.

- 清平，永保无疆之祚。
- 云南志 2350 汉使崔佐时至益州，不为牟寻陈说，及节度使不为奏闻牟寻赤心归国之意，亦愿神祇降之灾。
- 云南志 2355 今牟寻率众官具牢醴，到西洱河，奏请山川土地灵祇。
- 请汉使计会，发动兵马，同心戮力，共行讨伐。
- 云南志 2360 然吐蕃，神川、昆明、会同已来，不假天兵，牟寻尽收复铁桥为界，归汉旧疆宇。
谨率群官虔诚盟誓，共克金契，永为誓信。
- 其誓文一本请剑南节度随表进献，一本藏于神室，一本投西洱河，一本牟寻留诏城内府库，贻诫子孙。
- 云南志 2370 伏惟山川神祇，同鉴诚恳！⁽¹³³⁾ 
- prosperity, that their children and grandchildren may prosper and multiply, we pray for peace under heaven, that eternally the blessings will be boundless.
- Should the Hàn envoy Cūi Zuǒshí upon reaching Yìzhōu not state towards Móuxún that military commissioner agreed with Móuxún's petition to submit to the kingdom, then we wish that the venerated spirits bring down disaster.
- Today Móuxún led a crowd and officials together carrying out ritual offers to Xiě Hé to pray to the spirits of the mountains, the rivers, and the land.
- The Hàn envoy was asked to prepare the meeting, set cavalry and infantry in march joining their forces to set out a punishment expedition.
- So Tǔbō, Shénchuān, Kūnlún, Huìtóng, and others could not rely on the forces of heaven, Móuxún reconquered Tiěqiáo as the border, returning it to the old lands of the Hàn.
- He respectfully lead a group of officials to solemnly swear the oath of alliance, together carved the oath into gold, swearing loyalty forever.
- Of this oath, one copy was entrusted as a tribute to the Jiédù of Jiànnán, one copy was hidden in the hall of spirits, one copy was submerged in Xiě Hé, one copy Móuxún stored in archives of **the imperial city** to bequeath a commandment to his descendants.
- Lying prostrate in front of the venerated spirits of the mountains and valleys to witness their sincerity.

The following sentence is a finishing clause, Fán Chuò 樊绰 submitting his report.

- 某年六月二十一日奏状，今谨录白献进 
- 云南志 2375 东蛮和使杨传盛等，六月十八日到安南，赍蛮王蒙异牟寻与臣绢书一
- This year, on the 21st day of the 6th month, I submit this record of these events.
- The Dōng Mán peace envoy Yáng Chuánshèng and others arrived on the 18th day of the 6th month at Ānnán, sending to your servant

^l2360: 昆明] In the 《四库全书》 copy 昆仑, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 265

^l2370: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=60>

^l2372–2373: 某年六月二十一日奏状，今谨录白献进] Annotation in the text: 后题贞元十年奏状，而此阙其年，亦刊削不尽之文 - The 《四库全书》 copyist points out that the name of the year is missing, but this must be the 10th year of Zhēnyuán.

^l2373: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=64>

^r2368–2369: the imperial city] Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020), p. 72 points out that, as Yimóuxún 异牟寻 had already moved the capital in 787, this must refer to Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩.

^r2375: to your servant] i.e. Fán Chuò.

⁽¹³³⁾ TODO xiangdaz66

封，并金缕合子一具。

合子有绵，有当归，有朱砂，有金。
右东蛮国王是故云南诏王阁罗凤孙，
姓蒙，名异牟寻。

遣前件使赍表诣阙，于今月十八日
到，兼得其王牟寻与臣书，远陈诚
恳，并金缕合子一枚。

其使昧言，送合子中有绵者，以表
柔服，不敢更与为生梗，有当归者
永愿为内属，有朱砂者，盖献丹心
向阙，有金者言归义之意，如金之
坚。👁️

a silk letter by Méng Yimóuxún and a gold engraved box.

Inside the box was silk, angelica, cinnabar, and gold.

It was engraved that the king of Dōng Mán is the grandson of the former *zhào* Géluōfèng, his family name is Méng, his name is Yimóuxún.

云南志 2380

He sent the aforementioned envoy to send a memorial to the emperor to express, arriving today on the 18th day of this month, at the same time carrying a letter from his king Yimóuxún to your servant, expressing his eternal sincerity and also one gold engraved box.

The envoy **pointed out**, that inside the box was silk, representing expresses the softness of his submission, that he would not dare to stiffen, there was also angelica representing the eternal wish of submission; there was cinnabar representing loyalty, this representing his red heart turned to the gates of the court, and there was gold representing the **wishes of Guīyì**, as solid as gold.

云南志 2385

云南志 2390

The following section describes, once again, the three roads the envoys to the Táng court took to ensure that at least one arrived.

又言蛮王蒙异牟寻积代唐臣，遍沾
皇化。

天宝年中，其祖阁罗凤被边将张乾
陀谗构，部落惊惧，遂违圣化，北向
归投吐蕃赞普。

以赞普年少，信任谗佞，欲并其国。

蒙异牟寻远怀圣化，北向请命。

故遣和使，乞释前罪。
愿与部落竭诚归附。

缘道遐阻，伏恐和使不达，故三道
遣：

He added: the king of the *Mán* Méng Yimóuxún has for many generations been a servant of the Táng, always benefitting from the enlightenment of the emperor.

In the years of Tiānbǎo, his grandfather Géluōfèng was falsely accused by the border official Zhāng Qiántuó, the tribes were frightened and so he turned against the emperor and sided north to seek an alliance with the Zànpǔ of Tǔbō.

云南志 2395

As the Zànpǔ was young, believed the slanderers and desired to unite the countries.

Méng Yimóuxún always longed for the enlightenment of the emperor, looking north to receive orders.

云南志 2400

So he sent a peace envoy begging to explain his previous crimes.

He is with his tribes wholeheartedly willing to submit to the emperor.

As the road may be blocked, he worries the peace envoy might not arrive, so he sent out envoys on three roads:

云南志 2405

l2378: 右] In the 《四库全书》 copy 石, corrected according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 266.

l2378: It was engraved that] unclear

l2385: pointed out] unclear

l2389: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=65>

l2400: 蒙异牟寻] In the 《四库全书》 copy only 蒙寻, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 266.

r2390: wishes of Guīyì] This refers to the will of Píluōgé 皮罗阁, who had received the Chinese honorific Guīyì 归义, to submit to the Táng.

r2394: In the years of Tiānbǎo] 742–755 CE.

- 一道出、石门，从戎州路入；一道出牂牁，从黔府路入；一道出夷獠，从安南路入。
- 其杨传盛等，今年四月十九日从蛮王蒙异牟寻所理大和城发，六月十八日到安南府。
- 云南志 2415 其和使杨传盛年老染瘴虐，未得进发。
臣见医疗，使获稍损，即差专使领赴阙廷。
- 云南志 2420 其使云，异牟寻自祖父久背国恩，今者愿弃豺狼之思，归圣人之德。
- 云南志 2425 此皆陛下雨露之泽及外夷，故蛮徼遐荒，愿为内属。
臣忝领蕃镇，目睹升平，踊跃忻欢，倍万常幸。
- 云南志 2430 右蛮王与臣书及金镂合子等，谨差十将李茂等随表奉进。
谨奏。
贞元十年六月二十一日，安南都护充管内节度观察处置等使检校工部尚书御史大夫臣赵昌奏状。👁️
- 云南志 2435
- 贞元十年南诏蒙异牟寻请归附圣唐，愿充内属，盟立誓言，永为西南藩屏。
- 云南志 2440
- The first road starts at Shímén entering from the road to Róngzhōu, one road starts from Zānggē entering from the road of government to Qián, one road starts from Yíláo entering from the road to Ānnán.
- His peace envoy Yáng Chuánshèng and others set out from the seat of the Mán king Yìmóuxún, the walled town of Dàhé, on the 19th day of the 4th month and arrived on the 18th day of the 6th month at the Ānnán government.
- As the peace envoy Yáng Chuánshèng was old and was infected with miasma, he could not set out to submit [the letter].
Your servants visited him and arranged medical treatment, as soon as the envoy got a little better, a special envoy was sent out to usher him to go to the gates of the court.
- This envoy said: Since the time of his grandfather, Yìmóuxún has long turned his back to the benevolence of the kingdom, today he is willing to abandon the thinking of cruel and evil people and submit to the virtue of the sages.
- Like this all your majesty's favours will reach to the outmost Yí, the Mán borders and wild lands are willing to submit as interior.
Your servant is unworthy to command the foreign towns, he witnessed peace and prosperity, jumping with joy he celebrates, he is blessed with good fortune ten thousand times.
- The unworthy Mán king sent your servant a letter, a gold engraved box, and other things, respectfully sent the file leader Lǐ Mào and others to present it to the court.
Respectfully submitted.
- On the 21st day of the 6th day of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Ānnán protector general in charge of the inner military district, surveillance and supervisory commissioner, to verify the minister of the Gōngbù, censor grand master your servant Zhào Chāng this memorial.
- In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán, the Nánzhào Méng Yìmóuxún petitioned to submit to the holy Táng, agreed to be entirely under its rule, to take an oath of alliance to forever protect the south-west.

l2407: 石门] In the 《四库全书》 copy 石山, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 266.

l2429: unworthy] unclear

l2435: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=66>

r 2411: peace envoy] Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 266 adds *héshǐ* 和使 to the name, without giving reasons, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 90 does not follow this.

r 2417: Your servants] This cannot be Fán Chuò 樊绰, as this refers to a totally different time.

r 2433: On the 21st day of the 6th day of the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 22nd July 794.

r 2438: In the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

臣今于安南郡州溪源首领耆老处借得故蛮王蒙异牟寻誓文一本，安南都护赵昌贞元十年奏状白一本。

伏以故南诏蒙异牟寻嗣孙酋龙不守祖父留训，既违盟誓，自掇祸殃。尚未悛心，犹恣狂暴。

全驱蚁聚之众，攻劫邕、交之人。五载兴兵，三来虏掠。顾生灵之何负，受涂炭之苦辛。👁

Today your servant has borrowed from the aged leader of Xīyuán in Ānnán prefecture a copy of the holy oath sworn by the *Mán* king Yímóuxún and a clear copy of the imperial edict by the Ānnán prefecture Zhào Chāng issued in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán.

It shows that the descendent grandson of the Nánzhào Yímóuxún Qiúlóng did not heed the lesson of his grandfather, violating the oath of alliance, courting disaster and still not repenting, acting mad and violently.

Driving out all ant-like masses to strike the people of Yōng and Jiāo. In the 5th year, he sent out troops, three times he plundered. How can the living souls be let down, suffering such utter misery.

云南志 2445

云南志 2450

The last paragraph contains the closing sentences of Fán Chuò 樊绰 submitting his report to the emperor.

臣去年正月二十九日，已录蛮界程途，及山川城镇、六诏始末、诸种名数、风俗条教、土宜物产、六险名号、连接诸蕃，共纂录成十卷，于安南郡州江口，附襄州节度押衙张守忠进献。

今臣谨录故蛮王蒙异牟寻贞元十年誓文及赵昌奏状白，随表奉进以上。👁

Last year, on the 29th day of the first month your servant recorded the roads within the borders of the *Mán*, the mountains and rivers, the towns and cities, the beginning and end of the six *zhào*, all the names, the customs and believes, the local products, the names of the six *dàn*, all the neighbouring barbarians, compiled and edited everything in ten *juàn* and submitted it, at the river port of Ānnán prefecture, to the lackey of the military commissioner of Xiāngzhōu Zhāng Shǒuzhōng.

Today your servant respectfully records the oath the *Mán* king Méng Yímóuxún gave in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán as well as the imperial edict by Zhào Chāng and submits them to the court.

云南志 2455

云南志 2460

4 Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Prof. Christian Daniels for extensive annotations to an early version of this translation, Nóng Lándì 侂兰蒂, Liú Kànkàn 刘衍衍, and Jim Goodman for helpful conversations.

5 Glossary

/2445: 酋龙] In the 《四库全书》 copy 惠龙, changed according to Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962), p. 267.

/2451: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=68>

/2462: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=59017&page=68>

r2444: in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

r2446: Qiúlóng] Chinese writing for the Nánzhào ruler 世隆 to avoid a taboo character.

r2452: Last year, on the 29th day of the first month] 863220

r2461: in the 10th year of Zhēnyuán] 794.

- Āchà** 阿姹: wife of tribal leader Cuàn Guīwáng 爨归王 – see page 47, *see* 爨归王
- Āděnglù** 阿等路: tribal group – see page 19
- Āgānlù** 阿竿路: tribal group – see page 20
- Āmán** 阿蛮: tribal group – see page 19
- Ānuò** 阿诺: tribal leader – see page 61
- Ā Sī** 阿思: relative of Yimóuxún – see page 123
- 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) – see page 81
- Ān Lùshān Zhī Luàn** 安禄山之乱: Ān Lùshān rebellion, rebellion during the Táng dynasty period – see page 92
- 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 Jímí 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 pages 5, 8–10, 12, 43–46, 48, 52, 55, 60–63, 75, 77, 92, 113, 114, 116, 120, 121, 127–129, 136–138
- Ānníng** 安宁: in the region of present-day Ānníng Shì 安宁市 ㊦. In the vicinity of Ānníng 安宁 the relics of a Nánzhào era temple, called Fǎhuá Sì 法华寺, have been discovered, *see* Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999), pp. 126–133 ㊦. – see pages 9, 13, 16, 30, 46, 49, 75, 78, 92, 120, 121
- Ānníng Hé** 安宁河: river in southern Sìchuān – see page 29
- Ānníng Shì** 安宁市: Ānníng city, present-day city in central Yúnnán –
- Ānxī** 安西: – see page 58, 117
- Bā** 巴: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the eastern part of present-day Sichuan – see pages 128–133
- Bááo Hé** 拔熬河: Bááo River, a river – see page 85
- Bái Mán** 白蛮: Bái Mán, tribal classification during the Táng dynasty, the Bái Mán were the considered closer to Chinese culture than the Wū 乌 Mán – see pages 22, 34, 37, 45, 47, 50, 60, 70, 107, 108
- Báiyá** 白崖: pre-Nánzhào polity, thought to have been in present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley – see pages 13, 14, 34, 36, 53, 64, 67, 70, 92, 102, 122
- Báizǐ Guó** 白子国: state of Báizǐ, early state in western Yúnnán – see page 14, 70
- Bái zú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ērhǎi – see pages 68, 93, 106, 107
- Bàng Luōdiān** 傍罗颠: tribal leader – see page 40
- Bàngmíqián** 傍弥潜: – see pages 53, 79, 93
- Bǎosāi** 保塞: – see page 21
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page 26, 81, *see* 永昌
- Bǎoshān** 宝山: – see page 28, 85
- Bào Mán** 暴蛮: – see page 20

- Běi Lù** 北路: northern road, one of two roads from Sìchuān into Yúnnán in ancient times, the other one the Nán Lù 南路 – see page 14, 18, *see* 南路
- Bēnzǐlán** 奔子栏: Tibetan town in north-western Yúnnán –
- Bìjī** 碧鸡: jade chicken, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 23
- Bìjī mountain** 碧鸡山: Jade Chicken Mountain, landmark mountain in the Diānchí 滇池 region, translates as ‘jade chicken mountain’ – see page 23, 30
- Bīnchuān** 宾川: present-day county east of Ěrhǎi – see page 26, 36
- Bīnjū** 宾居: locality in region of present-day Bīnjú 宾局 in Bīnchuān 宾川 county – see page 26, 37
- Bīnjūtāng** 宾居汤: – see page 70
- Bīngmǎshǐ** 兵马使: commander, ‘common designation for military officers on duty assignments in troubled frontier zones or in armies on campaign, with varying prefixes and other forms ...all forms of ping-ma shih seem to have been less prestigious than the term *chiangchün* (General) in its various forms’, see Hucker (1985), 4684 – see page 77, 120
- Bōchōng** 波冲: – see page 37
- Bōdà** 波大: – see page 14, 17
- Bōsī** 波斯: Bōsī, – see page 83, 116
- Bō zhōu** 波州: name in the 《唐书》 for Xiángyún 祥云 – see page 46, 73
- Bó** 爨: ancient tribal group – see page 14
- Bódào** 爨道: Bó road, historic name for the road from Sìchuān into Yúnnán, via present-day Qūjìng 曲靖 – see page 14
- Bóní** 勃泥: – see page 83
- Bónòng** 勃弄: – see page 49, 70
- Bónòngchuān** 勃弄川: Bónòng River, present-day Mídùhé 弥渡河, *see* Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016b), p. 7 – see page 69
- Bónòng Dàn** 勃弄睑: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 64
- Bǔguóshǐ** 《补国史》: – see page 121
- Bùlǎngzú** 布朗族: Bùlǎng, present-day ethnic group – see page 54
- Bùtóu** 步头: Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81 places this at present-day Yuányáng 元阳 on the Red River. Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55 suggests this is a variant writing of *bùtóu* 埠头, meaning pier. The term *bùtóu* 步頭 stems from a non-Sinitic word of the Wú and Chǔ regions, meaning river crossing, later de-ambiguous as *bùtóu* 埠頭, *see* Zeng and Anderl (2022), p. 16. – see pages 46, 75, 78
- Cài Jīng** 蔡京: – see page 49
- Cài Xí** 蔡袭: Táng dynasty administrator – see pages 6, 44, 48, 49, 55–57, 116, 118, 127
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi – see pages 24–26, 36, 43, 67, 81, 111, 133
- Cāngwàng** 苍望: – see pages 32, 86, 118
- Cángbàng** 藏傍: – see page 16
- cáo** 曹: *cáo*, Nánzhào term unit of government, akin to a department, apparently modelled on the Táng dynasty administrative system – see pages 110–112, 121
- Cáocháng** 曹长: ministry leader, head of a Cáo 曹 – see page 103, *see* 曹

- Cén Zhòngmiǎn** 岑仲勉: – see page 95
- Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山 – see page 100
- Chángbàng** 长傍: a region west of the Gāolígòng Mountains, north of present-day Ténghōng 腾冲, but the exact location is unclear, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 477–478 for a discussion – see pages 85, 86, 93, 94, 96, 97
- Chángjiāng** 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river – see pages 6, 29, 30
- Chángkūn Mán** 长禪蛮: – see page 81
- Chángkūn Mán** 长禪蛮: tribal group, the name translates as ‘long trousers’ – see page 51
- Chángzōng Mán** 长鬃蛮: ‘long manes’, – see page 59, 83
- Chén Xíngyú** 陈行余: – see page 120
- Chéng** 城: town, – see pages 10, 13, 15–17, 21, 38, 39, 51, 57
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 – see pages 8, 14, 18, 20, 90
- Chénghuáng** 城隍: city protector god, – see page 76
- Chéngjié** 诚节: – see page 42, 71
- Chéngshàng** 承上: *Mán* title – see page 22, 53
- Chóng** 崇: – see page 42
- Chóngdào** 崇道: tribal leader – see page 46, 47
- Chóngmó Mán** 崇魔蛮: – see page 61
- Chǔ** 楚: important state before the Qín Cháo 秦朝, in present-day Húběi 湖北 –
- Chuān** 川: valley, – see pages 29, 32, 33, 39, 54, 69, 74, 77, 78, 81–83, 85, 122
- Chuānbí Mán** 穿鼻蛮: ‘pierced noses’, tribal group, name translates as ‘pierced noses’ – see page 59, 82
- Chuányǎn** 传爨: – see page 81
- Cíbù Lángzhōng** 祠部郎中: director of the bureau of sacrifices, high official title – see page 44
- Cì Dàn** 次贖: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 67 places this near Diānchí, as there was once a Cìjùn – see page 98
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China – see pages 12, 16, 22, 38, 39, 42, 49, 50, 52, 61, 113, 120
- Cuàn** 爨: surname, name of powerful clan in the east of Yúnnán before Nánzhào – see pages 45–47, 92
- Cuàn Guīwáng** 爨归王: tribal leader – see page 46, 47
- Cuàn Wán** 爨玩: Cuàn 爨 clan leader, defeated by Shǐ Wànsuì 史万岁 – see page see 史万岁
- Cuàn Yànzhang** 爨彦璋: – see page 46
- Cuī Zuǒshí** 崔佐时: Táng dynasty envoy to Nánzhào in 794 – see pages 43, 133–135
- Dà Dàn** 大贖: – see page 60
- Dàdiànshān** 大甸山: name of a bronze age burial site in Chāngníng 昌宁, see Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Líruì 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016) – see page 101
- Dàdòng** 大洞: – see page 81
- Dàdù** 大渡: – see page 15

- 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. –
- Dàěr** 大耳: – see page 118
- Dàfū** 大夫: grand master, ‘throughout history found as a suffix in many titles of relative importance’, see Hucker (1985), 5939 – see page 138
- Dàguǐzhǔ** 大鬼主: great spirit lord, appellation of a tribal leader – see page 61, see 鬼主
- Dàhé** 大和: – see pages 14, 15, 90, 116
- Dàhé Dàn** 大和谿: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 64
- Dà Jūnjiāng** 大军将: great commander, Jūnjiāng 军将 is ‘an ad hoc designation for a military commander’, see Hucker (1985), 1745 – see pages 51, 68, 72, 103, 104, 109–111, 122, 123, 126, 133–135
- Dàlǎn** 大览: – see page 74
- Dàlǐ** 大理: – see pages 9, 64, 67, 95
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253 –
- Dàlì** 大历: reign period of Táng emperor Dàizōng, 766–779 – see page 43, 70
- Dàlóng** 大笼: Tibetan military title – see page 80
- Dàmíngyītǒngzhì** 《大明一统志》: ‘*Great Ming Unified Gazetteer*’, –
- Dàpó** 大婆: – see page 54, 81
- Dàshī Dàn** 大施谿: – see page 52
- Dàtáng Xīyù Jì** 《大唐西域记》: ‘*Great Táng Records of the Western Regions*’, narrative of Xuánzàng 玄奘’s travels to India, completed in 646 – see page 27
- Dàxī** 大厘: earlier name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see pages 39, 52, 64, 66, 67, 94, 98, see 史城
- Dàyáo** 大姚: present-day county in Yúnnán – see page 16
- Dàyínkǒng** 大银孔: – see page 83
- Dàyuèhé** 大月河: Dàyuè River, – see page 32
- Dàzhōng** 大中: reign period of Tángxuānzōng 唐宣宗, 847–860 CE – see pages 12, 48, 61, 62, 127
- Dǎizú** 傣族: Dǎi, – see page 59
- Dàn** 谿: 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 pages 28, 29, 69, 74
- dàn** 谿: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 63, 64
- Dào** 道: circuit, Táng dynasty administrative division, akin to a province, first created in 627 during the Táng dynasty – see pages 86, 131, 132
- Dàojí** 道吉: – see page 85
- Dàoshuāng** 道双: – see page 32
- Dàowù** 道勿: – see page 32
- Déángzú** 德昂族: Déáng, present-day ethnic group – see page 54
- Déchāng** 德昌: – see page 15, 16

- Déhuà Bēi** 德化碑 《德化碑》: ‘*Déhuà Stele*’, most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history – see pages 5, 40, 43, 66, 100, 122
- Déqīn** 德钦: – see page 31, 54
- Déyuán** 德源: ruin site north of Ěrhǎi – see page 38
- Déyuánchéng** 德源城: ‘Source of Virtue’, honorific title of Dèngchuān 邓川, present-day name of a excavation site of a fortification near Dèngchuān 邓川 – see page 68
- Dēngchuān** 登川: – see pages 64, 66, 98
- Dēngzhōu** 登州: town along the Hónghé 红河 in Ānnán – see pages 10, 62, 78
- Dèngchuān** 邓川: – see pages 38, 39, 68, 79
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page *see* 滇国
- Diān Wáng Zhī Yìn** 《滇王之印》: Seal of the King of Diān 滇, important relic from the kingdom of Diān, mentioned in the 《史记》 – see page 74
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明 – see pages 23, 30, 31, 72, 74, 76, 77, 87, 98, 99
- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 74, 77
- Diānzhītuō** 颠之托: – see page 39
- Diàncāngshān** 玷苍山: – see page 134
- Diāotí** 雕题: – see page 86
- Dìngbiān** 定边: Táng dynasty military district in present-day Sichuan, established in 868 on petition of Lǐshìwàng to better control the border areas with Nánzhào. This district is only mentioned in the 《新唐书》 and the 《资治通鉴》, see Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鹤 (2012), p. 1266. – see page 130
- Dōng Cuàn** 东爨: eastern Cuàn, – see pages 20, 45, 46, 98, 108
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 –
- Dōnglú** 东泸: eastern Dōnglú River, the present-day Yalong river – see page 81
- Dōnglúshuǐ** 东泸水: Eastern Lú River, – see page 29
- Dōngluō** 东罗: – see page 57
- Dōng Mán** 东蛮: eastern Mán, – see pages 61, 93, 136
- Dòng** 洞: settlement, term for settlements particularly in the Guǎngxī 广西 region – see page 12, 48
- Dòngfēng Mán** 栋峰蛮: tribal group – see page 59
- Dòngtíng** 洞庭: – see page 23
- Dōumíjiāmùzhà** 兜弥伽木栅: Dōumíjiāmù stockade, – see page 33
- Dǒu** 斗: dou, historic volume measure, equivalent to ten 升, about ten litres – see page 62
- Dū** 都: area command, name of an administrative area – see page 57
- Dūdū** 都督: commander-in-chief, ‘chief of military forces in a prefecture’, see Hucker (1985), 7311 – see pages 16, 36, 46, 47, 83, 108, 133

- Dūdūfǔ** 都督府: area command, 'Táng dynasty military jurisdiction and/or its headquarters', see Hucker (1985), 7314 – see page 72, 129
- Dūhù** 都护: protector general, title – see pages 48, 114, 138
- Dūhùfǔ** 都护府: protectorate, 'protectorate, the jurisdiction of a protector general (tuhu), or the designation of his headquarters', see Hucker (1985), 7238 – see page 5
- Dūpó** 闍婆: – see page 83
- Dújīn Mán** 独锦蛮: – see page 44, 49
- Dù Cúnlíng** 杜存陵: – see page 120
- Dù Jiānuò** 杜伽诺: – see page 126
- Dù Yīngcè** 杜英策: – see page 114
- Dù Zōng** 杜棕: – see page 127
- Duàn Jiānuò** 段伽诺: – see page 121
- Duàn Nánluōgè** 段南罗各: – see page 121
- Duàn Shèng** 段盛: – see page 135
- Duàn Zhōngyì** 段忠义: – see page 134
- Duàn Zǐyīng** 段子英: – see page 74
- Duōlì** 多利: – see page 10
- Duólúowàng** 铎罗望: – see page 53
- Duólúowàng** 铎逻望: – see page 38, 69
- duóqiào** 铎鞘: *duóqiào*, highly-prized, mythological ceremonial weapon of Nánzhào. 鞘 is often translated as a 'scabbard' – see pages 36, 37, 100, 101, 123, 126, 132
- Éhuáilíng** 俄淮岭: – see page 15, 16
- Ékūn** 俄坤: – see page 68, 69
- È Zhōu** 鄂州: – see page 57
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xiě Hé – see pages 5, 9, 10, 16, 18, 24–26, 31, 33, 36–39, 51, 53, 54, 64, 66–68, 70, 72, 78, 79, 81, 82, 85, 100, 106
- Ēryuán** 洱源: present-day county north of Ērhǎi, formerly known as 浪穹 – see page 37, 79
- Fǎhuá Sì** 法华寺: Fǎhuá Sì, Buddhist temple near Ānníng 安宁 –
- Fán Chuò** 樊绰: assistant to cai xi ttx = , – see pages 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, 29, 32, 36, 44, 45, 57, 100, 114, 115, 128, 129, 136, 138
- Fànxiàng Juàn** 《梵像卷》: 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images', a long scroll of Buddhist images painted between 1173 and 1176, see Chapin and Soper (1971) – see page 100
- Fēngbā** 丰巴: – see page 61
- Fēngbā Mán** 丰巴蛮: – see page 61
- Fēngmiē** 丰咩: founder of the state of Téngdàn Zhào 遼賧詔, for pronunciation of the name see Pelliot (1904a), p. 1101 – see pages 38, 39, 69
- Fēngshí** 丰时: – see page 38, 69
- Fēngzhōu** 峰州: Táng dynasty administrative region on the Red River – see pages 10, 48, 62, 78
- Fèngjiāyì** 凤伽异: – see pages 42, 43, 76
- Fèngjiāyì** 凤迦异: Son of Nánzhào ruler 阁罗凤, died before his father – see page 125
- Fènglánróng** 凤蓝茸: – see page 60
- Fèngqìng** 凤庆: – see page 85

- Fèngyí** 凤仪: location of historic 渠敛赵 town (⊕ 25.58N 100.31E) – see page 70, *see* 渠敛赵
- Fèngyì** 奉逸: – see page 83, 84
- Fúbō** 伏波: ‘Subduer of the Waves’, honorary title of Mǎ Yuán 马援 – see page 10, *see* 马援
- Fúxié** 扶邪: – see page 63
- Fǔcháo** 辅朝: – see page 47
- Fù Mén** 傅门: – see page 57
- Fùpái** 负排: Nánzhào body guards – see page 109
- Gàichěng** 盖骋: ruler of Shēngmá 升麻 – see page 46, *see* 升麻
- Gàiqǐ** 盖启: ruler of Shēngmá 升麻 – see page 46, *see* 升麻
- Gāntáng** 甘棠: – see page 10
- Gānzhīlì** 干支历: Gānzhī calendar, Chinese calendar based on the position of the handle of the Big Dipper – see page 105
- Gāngyǒng** 刚勇: – see page 132
- Gāolígòngshān** 高黎贡山: Gāolígòng Mountains, major mountain range on the western side of the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see pages 26–28
- Gāolì** 高丽: Korea, reference to the Korean Goryeo dynasty, 918–1392 – see page 130
- Gāoxīn Shì** 高辛氏: legendary emperor 帝馨 – see page 129, 130
- Gāozōng** 高宗: Táng emperor Gāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruling 649–683 – see page 41
- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE – see pages 34, 37, 39, 42, 43, 47, 51, 55, 56, 66, 67, 69–72, 82, 102, 115, 136, 137, *see* 阁罗凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE – see page 28, 41
- Géquàn** 阁劝: – see page 43, 44
- Géquàn** 阁劝: – see page 123
- Gēngdào** 粳稻: – see page 88
- Gōngbù** 工部: ministry of works, ‘ministry of Works, one of the top-echelon agencies’, *see* Hucker (1985), 3462 – see page 138
- Gòngchuān** 共川: possibly region of present-day Hèqìng – see page 50, 53
- Gǔchāng** 谷昌: – see page 77
- Guānbiān** 关边: – see page 30
- Guāncházhìshǐ** 观察处置使: surveillance and supervisory commissioner, – see page 138
- Guǎn** 馆: inn, – see pages 13, 16, 17, 19, 20
- Guǎnchángbì** 管长贲关: – see page 15
- Guàn** 贯: one thousand cash, – see page 114
- Guāngwǔ** 光武: emperor Guāngwǔ, 后汉 emperor, ruled 25–57 – see page 9
- Guǎngdàng** 广荡: – see pages 28, 81, 85
- Guǎngdé** 广德: reign period of Táng emperor Dàizōng, 763–764 – see page 76
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province –
- Guǎngzhōu** 广州: south-eastern region of China – see page 92
- Guīyì** 归义: *Submitting to Righteousness*, honorific of Nánzhào ruler 皮罗阁 – see page 33, 137

- Guīzī** 龟兹: Region of northwestern China – see page 125
- Guǐ** 鬼: spirit, – see page 131, 132
- Guǐzhǔ** 鬼主: spirit lord, – see pages 20, 22, 46, 61
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: province in south-west China – see pages 17, 18, 92
- Guō Yánzōng** 郭延宗: – see page 77
- Gǔyǒngbù** 贾勇步: – see pages 10, 12, 13, 75, 78
- Hǎimén** 海门: port town serving to administer Ānnán 安南 after 863, exact location unclear, see Yáng Xiyì 杨希义 (1983) – see page 127
- Hǎitáng** 海堂: – see page 18
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see pages 9, 10, 13, 74, 76–79, 81
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty – see pages 20, 23, 31, 41, 43, 51, 61, 73, 74, 77, 93, 102, 105–108, 125, 133–136
- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: ‘History of the Hàn Dynasty’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty – see page 23, 130
- Hànchāng** 汉昌: – see page 15
- Hàn Guāngwǔ** 汉光武: later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ, 后汉 emperor, ruled 25–57 – see page 10
- Hànlínyuàn** 翰林院: Hànlín academy, imperial academy, founded during the Táng dynasty, most of its texts were destroyed in the 1900 fire – see page 6
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see page 10
- Hànyuán** 汉源: – see page 15, 18
- Hé Dàn** 河谿: – see pages 27, 28, 47, 51, 69, 81, 92, 95, 97, 116
- Hé Dàn Mán** 河谿蛮: – see page 82, 95
- Hédōng** 河东: as the name indicates, a region east of a river – see page 70
- Hékǒu** 河口: – see page 10, 13
- Hé Lǚguāng** 何履光: – see page 92
- Hé Mán** 河蛮: – see pages 39, 51, 52, 64, 66, see 西洱河
- Hépǔ** 河普: – see page 82
- Hézǐ** 河子: – see page 16
- Hèqìng** 鹤庆: – see pages 53, 68, 79
- Hēichǐ Mán** 黑齿蛮: Black Teeth, tribal group, the name translates as ‘Black Teeth’ – see page 58, 83
- Hēishuǐ** 黑水: Black River, location mentioned in the 《禹贡》, translated as ‘black water’ in Legge (1865), p. 119, he thinks it is the Jīnshā 金沙 river – see page 32
- Hénghéjīng Hénghéjīng**: Ganges Sutra, – see page 116
- Hónghé** 红河: Red River, – see page 69
- Hónglú** 鸿胪: ceremonial minister, ‘honorary designation granted to a southwestern aboriginal chief, Hucker (1985), p. 2905 – see page 42, 125
- Hóng Piàolìshí** 洪骠利时: – see page 135

- Hóu** 侯: marquis, 'Marquis, a title of nobility, usually next in prestige only after Prince (wang) and Duke (kung), 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 130
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty – see page 9, 10
- Hòuhànnánmánchuán** 后汉南蛮传: Records of the Southern *Mán* of the Later Hàn, – see page 129
- Hòuxuěshān** 候雪山: Hòu snow mountains, – see page 81
- Húběi** 湖北: Chinese province –
- Húbù** 胡部: – see page 125
- Hújīn** 湖津: a county established in 618 as part of Xiézhōu 协州, it is today's Huǒshāozhài 火烧寨 in Dàguān 大关, see Liú Shùnlíáng 刘顺良 (1993) – see page 19
- Hùcáo** 户曹: revenue *cáo*, one of six *cáo* in Nánzhào, 'responsible for overseeing regional or local fiscal management', see Hucker (1985), 2798 see = 曹 – see page 122
- Huáyáng Guó Zhì** 《华阳国志》: 'Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá', – see page 131
- Huà valley** 化川: – see page 74
- Huān Zhōu** 驩州: – see page 119
- Huángbǎi** 黄柏: amur cork tree, – see page 95
- Huǐ valley** 虺川: – see page 79
- Huìchuān** 会川: – see page 16
- Huìjū** 讳菴: – see page 81
- Huìnì** 讳溺: – see page 93
- Huìtōng** 会通: – see page 18
- Huìtóng** 会同: region of present-day Huili, southern Sichuan – see pages 22, 29, 97, 135
- Huìwáng** 惠王: king Huì, – see page 131
- Huìzhōu** 会州: – see page 29
- Jīmízhōu** 羁縻州: subordinated prefecture, form of administration of border areas, using local officials, not direct rule – see page 113
- Jìhóngqiáo** 霁虹桥: Jìhóng bridge, historic bridge across the Lánkāng 澜沧 river – see page 31
- Jiāméng** 加萌: tribal group on the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 27, 80
- Jiāpí** 伽毗: – see page 16
- Jiànchuān** 剑川: – see pages 31, 34, 36, 38–40, 50, 51, 53, 69, 72, 74, 79, 93
- Jiànlàng** 剑浪: principality of a Làng group that moved to Jiànchuān – see page 38, 51, see 剑川
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān – see pages 21, 37, 41, 133, 134, 136
- Jiànqiāng** 剑羌: – see page 53
- Jiànshān** 剑山: Jiànshān mountain, – see page 22
- Jiànshuǐ** 建水: present-day town south of Tōnghǎi 通海 – see page 31, 75
- Jiànwǔ** 建武: reign period of Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉光武, 25–56 – see page 9, 10
- Jiànxún Dàn** 剑寻贖: – see page 53

- Jiànyín** 建寅: – see page 105
- Jiāngchuān** 江川: – see page 13, 31
- Jiāngdǐngsì** 江顶寺: Jiāngdǐng temple, temple near the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 32
- Jiāngdōng** 江东: – see page 42
- Jiāngkǒu** 江口: literally ‘the river’s mouth’, a reference to the outflow of Ěrhǎi at Lóngwěi 龙尾 pass – see page 40, 42
- Jiāngxī** 江西: region of China – see page 55, 57
- Jiāngxībēijiàn** 江西卑贱: – see page 121
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam (⊕ 21.03N 105.85E) – see pages 6, 9, 10, 52, 92, 113
- Jiāozhōu** 交州: early administrative unit covering the coastal region of present-day Guǎngxī 广西 and northern Vietnam, for a discussion of the history of the region see Churchman (2016), pp. 53–62 – see page 121, 127, *see* 安南
- Jiédù** 节度: military district, – see pages 13, 29, 49, 51, 71, 72, 74, 78, 79, 82, 84, 91, 109, 110, 119, 120, 122, 133, 136, 138
- 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 19, 21, 22, 37, 41, 43, 61, 62, 74, 92, 113, 122, 127, 133–135
- Jīn** 金: – see page 86
- Jīnbǎo** 金宝: – see page 28, 85
- Jīnchǐ Mán** 金齿蛮: Golden Teeth, tribal group, the name translates as ‘golden teeth’ – see pages 58, 82, 86
- Jīnmǎ** 金马: golden horse, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 23
- Jīnmǎ mountain** 金马: Golden Horse Mountain, landmark mountain in the Diānchí 滇池 region, translates as ‘golden horse mountain’ – see page 23, 30
- Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā River, upstream part of the Chángjiāng 长江, separating Yúnnán and Sìchuān – see pages 16, 29, 30, 79
- Jīnshān** 金山: – see page 94
- Jīnshēng** 金生: – see page 85
- Jīnzhōu** 津州: – see page 18, 19
- Jìn Cháo** 晋朝: Jìn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 266–420 –
- Jìnchéng** 晋城: – see page 74
- Jìnníng** 晋宁: present-day town south of Kūnmíng 昆明 – see pages 13, 30, 46, 74, 77
- Jīng** 泾: – see page 128
- Jīngkǒu** 菁口: – see page 16
- Jīnglüè Shǐ** 经略使: military commissioner, variant of Jiédù Shǐ, see Hucker (1985), 1231 – see pages 12, 61, 113, 114
- Jīngnán** 荆南: – see page 57
- Jǐngdōng** 景东: – see page 84
- Jǐnghóng** 景洪: capital of Xīshuāngbǎnnà 西双版纳 – see page 84
- Jǐngyì** 井邑: – see page 76
- Jǐngzhōu** 靖州: region in north-eastern Yúnnán – see pages 20, 45–47
- Jiǔ Dàn** 九贖: – see page 79

- Jiùtáng Shū** 《旧唐书》: 'Old History of the Táng', major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty – see pages 6, 13, 40, 66
- Jiùtángshū·Dìlǐzhì** 《旧唐书·地理志》: – see page 78
- Jiùtángshūdìlǐzhì** 《旧唐书地理志》: – see page 78
- Jūmèng** 苴梦: – see page 60, 61
- Jūpú** 沮蒲: – see page 70
- Jùdiàn** 巨甸: – see page 79
- Jù Wénzhēn** 俱文珍: name mentioned on the 《袁滋题记摩崖石刻》, see <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/俱文珍> – see page 44
- Jùn** 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng – see pages 13, 42, 73, 92, 130, 132, 138
- Jùn Zhōu** 郡州: – see page 121
- Kāihuáng** 开皇: – see page 18
- Kāinán** 开南: Nánzhào fortification, south-east of present-day Jǐngdōng 景东 – see pages 54, 58, 59, 70–72, 82–84, 99, 100
- Kāiyuán** 开元: 713–741 BCE, second reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗 – see pages 34, 37, 42, 52, 61, 66, 77, 82, 125
- Kǎndǐ** 坎底: – see page 28
- Kāngxī** 康熙: second emperor of the Qīng, 1661–1722 –
- Kāngxī Zìdiǎn** 康熙字典: Kāngxī 康熙 dictionary, Kāngxī 康熙 era dictionary –
- Kē** 柯: – see page 85
- Kéngòng** 壳弄: – see page 98
- Kǒng Míng** 孔明: Zǐ (courtesy name) of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 32, see 诸葛亮
- Kuíchéngtújīng** 夔城图经: 'Illustrated Book of the Town of Kuí', – see page 132
- Kuílíng** 夔岭: Kuí ridge, – see page 19
- Kuìlùnòng** 夔鹿弄: – see page 77
- Kuízhōu** 夔州: – see page 6, 129
- Kuì valley** 夔川: – see page 79
- Kūn valley** 昆川: another name for Diānchí 滇池 – see page 76
- Kūnlún** 崑崙: – see page 78
- Kūnlún** 昆仑: a term for diverse people of south-east Asia, possibly sea-farers, see Coedès (1975), p. 9 – see page 117, 135
- Kūnlúnguó** 昆侖国: state of Kūnlún, term for diverse people of south-east Asia, possibly sea-farers, see Coedès (1975), p. 9 – see page 83, 117, see 昆仑
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 – see pages 23, 54, 79, 81, 92, 93, 118
- Kūnmíng** 昆明市: Kūnmíng, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 9, 74, see 拓东
- Kūnzhōu** 昆州: – see pages 18, 30, 46, 47, 54
- Làishuǐ Hé** 濛水河: Lài River, – see page 31
- Láncāng river** 澜沧江: Láncāng River, major river in Yúnnán, the Mekong – see pages 31, 40, 54–56, 82
- Lánpíng** 兰坪: present-day town in western Yunnan – see page 31
- Lǎn Dàn** 览贲: – see page 92, 99
- Lǎnzhōu** 览州: – see page 74

- Lángjǐng** 郎井: maybe in present-day Mouding 牟定 county, see Zhū Xiá 朱霞 (2011) – see page 92
- Lángpó valley** 郎婆川: – see page 79
- Lángyáng** 郎阳: – see page 85
- Lángzhōu** 郎州: probably a reference to present-day Qūjìng 曲靖, see http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/tgaz/placename/hvd_80238 – see page 77
- Làng** 浪: – see pages 34, 37–40, 79, 101
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five *Zhào* – see pages 34, 37–39, 53, 69
- Lànggrénjiàn** 浪人剑: sword of the Làng people, – see page 126
- Làngzhào** 浪诏: – see page 51, 52
- Lǎojūnshān** 老君山: Lǎojūn mountain, major mountain north of Ērhǎi – see page 31
- Léi Mán** 雷蛮: Héhuì temple, – see page 60
- Lí** 黎: – see page 31
- Líniú River** 犛牛河: – see page 29
- Líwǔbì** 黎武贲: – see page 10
- Lízhōu** 黎州: present-day Sìchuān Hànyuán 汉源, on the northern side of the Dàdù Hé 大渡河 (⊕ 29.35N 102.64E) – see pages 15, 18, 21, 47, 78
- Lǐ Bōluōnuò** 李波罗诺: – see page 123
- Lǐ Fènglán** 李凤岚: probably the same person as 李负监, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 85 – see page 122
- Lǐ Fùjiān** 李负监: probably the same person as 李凤岚, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 85 – see page 49, 122
- Lǐ Hǔ** 李虎: grandfather of the first emperor of the Táng dynasty – see page 104
- Lǐ Jiārùi** 李家瑞: – see page 118
- Lǐ Luōzhā** 李罗札: – see page 121
- Lǐ Mào** 李茂: – see page 138
- Lǐ Mì** 李宓: Táng dynasty general, also written as Lǐmì 李宓 – see page 14
- Lǐ Qiānbàng** 李千傍: – see page 123
- Lǐqiángzǐ** 礼强子: – see page 85
- Lǐ Shìmín** 李世民: name of Táng emperor Tàizōng –
- Lǐ Xiàngǔ** 李象古: , see <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/李象古> – see page 114
- Lǐ Yìbàng** 李异傍: – see page 123
- Lǐ Yóudú** 李由独: leader of the Qīwǎndòng Mán – see page 48, 62
- Lǐ Zhīgǔ** 李知古: Táng censor – see page 39
- Lǐzhōu** 礼州: – see page 21
- Lǐ Zhuō** 李涿: Táng dynasty official in Ānnán, also written as 李琢 – see page 62, 114
- Lìjiāng** 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan – see page 53
- Lì Mán** 栗蛮: – see page 60
- Lìrùn** 利润: – see page 83, 84
- Lìshuǐ** 丽水: Irrawaddy, the Irrawaddy, also called the Lùbēijiāng 禄卑江, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 562 – see pages 32, 33, 72, 81, 84–86, 93–98, 100, 101, 105, 115, 118
- Lìsùzú** 僂僂族: Lìsù, – see page 52

- Liánrán county** 连然县: – see page 78
- Liànxún** 敛寻: – see page 79, 93
- Liànxún Dàn** 敛寻贖: – see page 52
- Liáng Kē** 梁轲: – see page 55
- Liángshān** 凉山: – see pages 14, 18, 20
- Liángshuǐ** 梁水: – see page 78
- Liǎnglín** 两林: in Sìchuān Liángshān 凉山, present-day Pǔxióng 普雄, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 617 (⊕ 28.5N 102.65E) – see page 22, 61
- Liàngshuǐ** 量水: – see page 31, 78
- Liào Zhòngyào** 廖仲药: – see page 132
- Líncāng** 临沧: city in south-western Yúnnán –
- Línjì** 林记: – see page 83
- Línxīyuán** 林西原: Táng dynasty administrative region on the Red River – see pages 48, 61, 62, 78
- Línzhàng** 临漳: – see page 78
- Lǐnjūn** 廩君: – see page 130, 131
- Lǐnjūn Mán** 廩君蛮: – see page 128
- Língnánxīdào** 岭南西道: western Língnán circuit, administrative district – see page 49
- Língwài Dàidá** 《岭外代答》: *Língwài Dàidá*, Sòng dynasty geographical work, written by Zhōu Qùfēi 周去非 in 1178 –
- Liú Yōuyán** 刘幽岩: name mentioned on the 《袁滋题记摩崖石刻》 – see page 44
- Liǔqiáng** 柳强: – see page 21
- Liǔzhuīhé** 柳追和: – see page 83, 84
- Liùcáo** 六曹: six ministries, Nánzhào term for the six units of government, akin to a department, apparently modelled on the Táng dynasty administrative system – see page 68, see 曹
- 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 page 33, 82
- Lóng valley** 笼川: – see page 29
- Lóngfēng** 龙封: – see page 78
- Lónghé** 龙和: – see page 46, 48
- Lónghé** 龙河: – see page 13, 78
- Lónghéyù** 龙河遇: – see page 78
- Lóngkǒu** 龙口: – see pages 39, 66–68, 81
- Lóngmóxiē** 笼磨些: the region of Gōngláng 公郎, near the Lánkāngjiāng, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 49 – see page 69
- Lóngqiè** 龙怯: a region somewhere north of Dàlǐ 大理, an administrative district of Nánzhào and also a river – see page 81
- Lóngqū Hé** 龙怯河: Lóngqū River, unknown river, must be north of the Lújiāng 卢江 – see page 93
- Lóngqūshā** 龙怯沙: – see page 37
- 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 67, 68
- Lóngwěi** 龙尾: – see pages 14, 17, 31, 66, 69, 82–84, 99, 123
- Lóngwěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěrhǎi – see page 66

- Lúgū** 泸沽: – see page 21
- Lújiāng** 卢江: Lú River, –
- Lúlù Mán** 卢鹿蛮: – see page 20
- Lúshuǐ** 泸水: Lú River, the Jīnshā 金沙 river – see pages 16, 22, 29, 30, 37, 40, 69, 81, 92
- Lǔdiàn** 鲁甸: – see page 20
- Lǔwàng** 鲁望: – see page 18, 20
- Lù** 路: route, ‘YÜAN: a stably defined territory administered by a Route Command ... Each Route Command was headed by an Overseer (ta-lu-hua-ch’ih) and a Commander (tsung-kuan). The Route was an all-purpose civil administration branch, in effect, of the central government.’, see Hucker (1985), 3839 –
- Lùbēi River** 禄卑江: – see page 32, 85
- Lùnuòpǐn** 禄诺品: – see page 68, 69
- Luōfú** 罗伏: – see page 63
- Luōjū** 罗苴: Nánzhào elite troops – see pages 93, 98, 109, 111, 112
- Luōjūn** 罗君: – see page 38
- Luōjūnxún** 罗君寻: – see page 85
- Luōméi valley** 罗眉川: – see page 79
- Luōshān** 罗山: – see page 21
- Luōshèng** 罗盛: – see page 69
- Luōxiē** 罗些: – see page 36
- Luó** **mountain** 螺山: Conch Mountain, mountain in the north-east of present-day Kūnmíng, exact location unclear – see page 23
- Luóshèng** 逻盛: second ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 674–712, also called Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎 – see page 41
- Luóshèngyán** 逻盛炎: second generation of rulers of Nánzhào, son of 细奴逻, also written as – see page 42, see 逻盛
- Luóxiē** 罗些: – see page 32
- Luǒxíng Mán** 裸形蛮: tribal group – see pages 55, 82, 86
- Luòshí** 落实: – see page 38
- Má Guānggāo** 麻光高: – see page 63
- Mǎāndù** 马安渡: Mǎān crossing, – see page 19
- Mǎ Dài** 马戴: – see page 23
- Mǎhú river** 马湖江: Mǎhú River, – see page 30
- Mǎ Yì** 马益: name mentioned on the 《袁滋题记摩崖石刻》 – see page 19
- Mǎ Yuán** 马援: general during the later Hàn dynasty – see pages 9, 10, 92
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest – see pages 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 28–30, 33, 34, 46, 48, 55–57, 59, 62, 63, 71, 74, 77, 81, 88–90, 92, 93, 96, 98, 100, 102, 107, 109, 111–113, 115–120, 122, 127, 128, 131, 132, 137, 138
- Mán Lì** 蛮利: name given to Zhèng Huí 郑回, meaning ‘for the benefit of the Mán 蛮’ – see page 66, see 郑回
- Mán Shū** 《蛮书》: Mán Shū, another name for the 《云南志》 by 樊绰 – see pages 5, 7, 49, 52, 62, 63
- Mánwáng** 蛮王: Mán king, term for the ruler of Nánzhào or Dàlǐ kingdom – see pages 10, 44, 101, 137, 138

- Mányí** 蛮夷: *Mányí*, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China – see pages 118, 124, 129
- Mánzéi** 蛮贼: *Mán* rebel, – see pages 116–120, 127, 128
- Mánzhì** 《蛮志》: Gazetteer of the *Mán*, – see page 5, 129
- Máng** 茫: – see page 59, 85
- Mángchāng** 茫昌: – see page 60
- Máng Mán** 茫蛮: – see page 59, 60
- Mángnǎidào** 茫乃道: – see page 83, 84
- Mángshèngkǒng** 茫盛恐: – see page 60
- Mángshī** 茫施: – see page 60
- Mángtiānlíán** 茫天连: – see page 60, 82
- Mángtǔhāo** 茫吐薅: – see page 60
- Mángxiǎn** 茫藓: – see page 60
- Mángzhào** 茫诏: – see page 59
- Máoláng** 毛郎: – see page 70
- Máoniúdào** 鹿牛道: yak road, historic name for the road via Liángshān 凉山 from Sichuān into Yúnnán – see page 14
- Méiluōjū** 眉罗菹: – see page 85
- Měijǐng** 美井: maybe present-day Shíyáng 石羊 in Dàyáo 大姚 county, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 454–455 – see page 92
- Ménbō** 门波: – see page 85
- Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nánzhào – see pages 33, 40, 41, 46, 69, 123, 136
- Méngkuí** 蒙夔: – see page 19, 20
- Méngmiē** 蒙咩: – see page 42
- Méng Qiúwù** 蒙酋物: – see page 122
- 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 田怀清 (2011) – see pages 33, 36, 40–42, 47, 51, 53, 64, 67, 69, 93–95, 99, 102, 107
- Méngshè Dàn** 蒙舍睑: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 64
- Méngxī** 蒙嵩: – see page 36, 69
- Méng Xìluōwù** 蒙细罗勿: – see page 123
- Méngzì** 蒙自: – see page 13
- Měngnǎi** 勐乃: present-day village in southern Yunnan – see page 84
- Mèngchōng** 梦冲: – see pages 21, 22, 61
- Mèng Mán** 梦蛮: – see page 60, 61
- Mí** 弥: – see page 86
- Míchén** 弥臣: – see pages 85, 90, 114, 115, 117
- Míchéngguó** 弥臣国: state of Míchén, – see page 33, 85
- Mídàng** 弥荡: – see page 16
- Mídù** 弥渡: valley south of Ěrhǎi – see page 14, 70
- Míjǐng** 弥井: present-day village in Jiànchuān 剑川 county, location of a historic salt well – see page 79, see 傍弥潜
- Míjū** 弥苴: embanked river flowing through the Dèngchuān 邓川 basin – see page 38, 39
- Mílù** 弥鹿: present-day region of Mílè 弥勒 and Shīzōng 师宗, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55 – see page 46

- Mínùò** 弥诺: Arakan, – see pages 90, 99, 114, 115, 117
- Mínùòdàolìzhà** 弥诺道立栅: Mínuòdàoli stockade, – see page 32
- Mínùòjiāng** 弥诺江: Mínuò River, – see page 32, 33
- Míshā** 弥沙: present-day township in Jiànchuān 剑川 county – see page 68, 79
- Miǎnníng** 冕宁: – see page 21
- Miēluōpí** 咩罗皮: – see pages 34, 39, 53, 66, 67
- Mínjiāng** 岷江: Mín River, most important tributary to the Chángjiāng 长江, west of 成都 –
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see pages 6, 38, 39, 67, 73, 76
- Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明 –
- Míngshān** 名山: – see page 15
- Móbàn** 摩泐: – see page 46
- Mójiālūo** 模迦罗: – see page 85
- Móling** 摩零: – see page 86
- Mómídiàn** 磨弥殿: – see page 20
- Móxiē river** 磨些江: Móxiē River, – see page 29, 50
- Móxiēlè** 磨些乐: – see page 85
- Móxiē Mán** 磨些蛮: – see pages 22, 29, 36, 53, 54, 70, 77, 81, 82, 93
- Mòzhà** 末栅: – see page 16
- Móujūhé** 牟苴和: – see page 39, 40
- Móuláng** 牟郎: – see page 85
- Móulánggòng** 牟郎共: – see page 79
- mǔ** 亩: land measurement – see page 108
- Mùjí** 目集: – see page 16
- Mùlǐ** 木里: – see page 22
- Nàxīzú** 纳西族: Nàxī, present-day ethnic group – see page 29, 53
- Náncháng** 南场: – see page 13
- Nánhuá** 南华: – see page 74
- Nánjiàn** 南涧: – see page 69
- Nánláng** 南郎: – see page 29
- Nánlúshuǐ** 南泸水: Southern Lú River, – see page 29
- Nán Lù** 南路: southern road, one of two roads from Sìchuān into Yúnnán in ancient times, the other one the Lù 路 – see page 14, 18, *see* 北路
- Nánmán** 南蛮: southern *Mán*, – see pages 17, 29, 44, 48, 51, 78, 126, 129
- Nánníng** 南宁: city in present-day Guǎngxī 广西 – see pages 46, 47, 77, 78
- Nánxī** 南溪: Táng dynasty administrative region, also called –
- Nányízhì** 《南夷志》: another name used for the 《云南志》 – see page 5, *see* 云南志
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 5–7, 10, 12, 14, 19, 33, 34, 36–42, 44, 45, 48, 50–54, 56, 59, 60, 63, 64, 66–72, 77–80, 82, 86, 90–93, 97–102, 104–107, 109–115, 119, 121–128, 133, 138

- Nánzhào Túzhuan** 《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 87, 102, 103
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’, import Míng 明 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào – see page 33, 100
- Nángcōng Shān** 囊葱山: Nángcōng Mountains, – see page 25, 37
- Nǎngōng** 囊恭: – see page 21
- Nèigěishì** 内给事: eunuch ceremonial secretary, palace title, see Hucker (1985), 4149 – see page 44
- Níshā** 泥沙: place name, location north of Ěrhǎi – see page 68
- Níngběi** 宁北: town to the north of Ěrhǎi, probably near present-day Jiànchuān 剑川. The name means ‘pacified north’ – see page 78, 79
- Níngěr** 宁洱: present-day city in southern Yunnan – see page 84
- Níuhuáng** 牛黄: bezoar, ox gallstones, *calculus bovis*, a precious Chinese medicine – see page 126
- Niútóushān** 牛头山: Niútóu mountain, – see page 19
- Nòngdòng** 弄栋: present-day Yáoān 姚安 – see pages 16, 29, 50, 72, 74, 81
- Nòngdòng Mán** 弄栋蛮: tribal group – see page 50
- Nòngshìchuān** 弄视川: Nòngshì valley, a valley, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 559 identifies this as present-day Bēnzǐlán 奔子栏
- ⊕, one of the few fertile valleys along the Jīnshā River – see page 29, 79
- Nǚwángguó** 女王国: Queen country, – see page 118, 119
- Nùjiāng** 怒江: Nù River, major river in western Yunnan, the Salween – see pages 26, 27, 54, 57
- Nuò Dàn** 诺曷: – see page 29
- Nuò Mán** 诺蛮: – see page 61
- Nuò Shuǐ** 诺水: Nuò River, – see page 29
- Nuòyǐ river** 诺矣江: Nuòyǐ River, – see page 29
- Pángǔ** 盘古: – see page 128
- Pánhù** 盘瓠: – see pages 128–130, 132
- Pánlóngjiāng** 盘龙江: Pánlóng River, river draining into Diānchí 滇池 – see page 30, see 滇池
- Pànguān** 判官: administrative assistant, ‘from the 700s the manager of official paperwork on the staff of a Military Commissioner (chieh-tu shih) or comparable regional dignitary, a duty undertaken by military officers as well as civil officials, apparently regardless of rank’, see Hucker (1985), 4425 – see pages 43, 57, 62, 111, 114, 121, 128
- Píluōgé** 皮罗阁: fourth ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 728–748 CE – see pages 42, 52, 64, 66, 137
- Píluōténg** 皮罗遼: – see page 39
- Píluógé** 皮逻阁: ruler of Nánzhào, *697 †748, ruled 728–748 – see pages 33, 34, 36, 37, 39–42, 46, 47
- Pí post station** 茈驿: – see page 16
- Piānlouyǐ** 偏罗矣: tribal leader – see page 38

- Piàobàng** 骠傍: – see page 61
- Piàoguó** 骠国: state of Pyu, region of present-day central Burma – see pages 32, 42, 90, 115–117
- Pǐn Dàn** 品爓: a plain in north-west of present-day Xiángyún, the name in the is written as 品𤑔爓, probably a writing mistake, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 51 – see page 73
- Pǐndiànhǎi** 品甸海: lake in northern part of present-day Xiángyún 祥云 – see page 73
- Póluómén** 婆罗门: Póluómén, – see page 83
- Póluóménguó** 婆罗门国: state of Póluómén, reference to India as a Hinduist state – see pages 33, 85, 116, 117
- Póu Zhōu** 衰州: – see page 50
- Pū Dàn** 扑爓: – see page 82
- pūshè** 仆射: *pūshè*, a historic title, literally meaning ‘charioteering archer’, but was used as title of particularly capable officers in charge of temporary assignments, see Hucker (1985), 4862 – see page 134
- Pūzǐ Mán** 扑子蛮: – see pages 54, 55, 81–83
- Pǔān** 普安: – see page 21
- Pǔdù Hé** 普渡河: Pǔdù River, – see page 30
- Pǔěr** 普洱: present-day city in southern Yunnan – see page 84
- Pǔpéng** 普朋: location of historic caravan station (⊕ 25.34N 100.91E) – see page 16
- Pǔpéng** 普棚: – see page 13
- Pǔxióng** 普雄: township in Sìchuān Liángshān 凉山 (⊕ 28.5N 102.65E) –
- Qīchǐ** 漆齿: – see page 82, 86
- Qīwǎndòng** 七缩洞: – see page 62
- Qífù** 奇富: – see page 10
- Qíjiàn** 骑健: – see page 132
- Qíxiān** 祁鲜: – see page 86, 90
- Qiānbàng** 千傍: – see page 40
- Qiánní** 乾泥: – see page 85
- Qiányuán** 乾元: – see page 21
- Qiánzhōng** 黔中: ancient Chinese district, in present-day eastern Guìzhōu and western Húnán – see pages 17, 43, 118, 128, 130, 137
- Qiànshè** 欠舍: – see page 74, 122
- Qiāng** 羌: ethnic group in western Sichuan – see page 17, 107
- Qiānglàng** 羌浪: – see page 82
- Qiánlóng** 乾隆: Qīng dynasty emperor Qiánlóng, Qīng dynasty emperor, 1735–1796 – see page 7
- Qīndūn** 钦敦: – see page 32
- Qín** 秦: – see page 132
- Qín Cháo** 秦朝: Qín dynasty, –
- Qíncáng** 秦藏: – see page 49
- Qínjì** 秦纪: ‘*Records of Qín*’, – see page 132
- Qínzhāowáng** 秦昭王: king Zhāo of Qín, – see page 131
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see pages 5, 7, 8, 84, 86, 124
- Qīnghǎihú** 青海湖: lake in present-day Xiángyún 祥云 – see page 73
- Qīnghǎiyíng** 青海营: town in present-day Xiángyún 祥云 – see page 73, 74

- Qīnglíng** 青蛉: west of 弄栋 – see page 50
- Qīnglíng Mán** 青蛉蛮: tribal group – see page 50
- Qīngmíng Jié** 清明节: Tomb Sweeping Festival, traditional Chinese day of mourning, fifteen days after Spring Equinox – see page 105
- Qīngmùxiāng** 青木香: – see page 78
- qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister – see pages 51, 66, 68, 71, 89, 101, 103, 104, 109–112, 121, 123, 124, 126, 133–135
- Qīngqú Pū** 清渠铺: – see page 16
- Qīngsuǒ** 青索: present-day village north of Ěrhǎi – see page 39
- Qīngxī pass** 清溪关: strategic pass on the route from Nánzhào to Chengdu – see pages 15, 18, 21
- Qīngzì valley** 清字川: Qīngzì plain, historic name for the Xiángyún 祥云 plain – see page 73
- Qióngbù** 邛部: – see pages 19, 21, 22, 60
- Qióng Dàn** 穹贖: – see page 27, 94
- Qióngé** 邛鹅: – see page 83
- Qióngzhōu** 邛州: region in Sìchuān – see page 18
- Qiúlóng** 酋龙: Chinese writing for the Nánzhào ruler 世隆 – see page 138
- Qiúzèng** 求贖: – see page 13, 16
- Qūè** 曲轭: present-day Mǎlóng 马龙, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 356, or Sōngmíng 嵩明, Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016c), p. 55 – see pages 46, 47, 78
- Qūjiāng** 曲江: – see page 13
- Qūjìng** 曲靖: – see pages 20, 33, 75
- Qūjìng Zhōu** 曲靖州: – see page 87
- qūjū** 佉苴: Nánzhào ceremonial belts – see page 98
- Qūluō** 曲罗: – see page 22
- Qūwū** 曲乌: – see page 13
- Qū post station** 曲驿: – see pages 13, 74, 122
- Qūzhōu** 曲州: region in north-eastern Yúnnán – see pages 20, 45–47
- Qúliànzhào** 渠敛赵: – see pages 17, 26, 70, 122
- Qú Rěnyí** 胸忍夷: – see page 132
- Rìjìn** 日进: tribal leader – see page 46, 47
- Rìlì** 日历: a ritual document – see page 124
- Rìyòng** 日用: tribal leader – see page 46, 48
- Róng** 戎: – see page 129, 130
- Róng Zhōu** 容州: – see page 92, 113
- 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 pages 8, 9, 18, 30, 126, 137
- Ruòyé** 若耶: – see page 93
- Sān Guó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 –
- Sāntànlǎn** 三探览: – see page 54, 81
- Sānwēishān** 三危山: Sānwēi mountain, – see page 32

- Sānyíng** 三营: – see page 79
- Sāng valley** 桑川: – see page 79
- sèsè** 瑟瑟: sèsè, unknown precious stone of blue colour – see pages 97, 104, 106, 126
- Sēngqí** 僧耆: – see page 58, 86
- Shāchuān** 莎川: Shā valley, – see page 31
- Shācí** 沙雌: – see page 13
- Shāhú** 沙壶: – see page 42
- Shāniú** 沙牛: sand oxen, a distinctive breed of cattle with light-brow fur, possibly an early breed of what is now called Diānzhōngniú 滇中牛, a ‘classic Chinese indigenous cattle breed with historical records dating back to 200 BC’ Zhang, Qu and Jia (2021) – see page 58, 99
- Shāquè** 沙却: – see page 13
- Shāxī** 沙溪: – see page 36, 68
- Shāyī** 沙壹: legendary ancestor in Āiláo – see page 41
- Shāzhǐ** 沙只: – see page 13
- Shāzhuī** 沙追: a salt-producing region – see page 93
- Shāluó** 娑罗: kapok, – see pages 54, 90, 116
- Shānyáng** 衫阳: – see page 31, 32
- Sháng rén** 裳人: Sháng people, tribal group, originally Han – see page 51
- Shàngláng** 上郎: – see page 85
- Shànglàng** 上浪: – see page 34
- Shàngshū** 尚书: minister, ‘minister, head of a top-level administrative agency in the central government’s Department of State Affairs’, see Hucker (1985), 5042 – see pages 44, 48, 127, 138
- Shéngǔtǎ** 蛇骨塔: snake bone pagoda, a Nánzhào 南诏 period pagoda south of Tàihé 太和 – see page 67
- Shèlì** 舍利: – see page 116
- Shè Lóng** 舍龙: historic ancestor of the Méng 蒙 clan – see page 41
- Shēn Dàn** 申贖: – see page 98
- Shénchuān** 神川: region north of Erhai – see pages 36, 80, 135
- Shénlónghézhà** 神龙河栅: Shénlóng river stockade, – see page 86
- Shēngmá** 升麻: – see pages 46, 47, 75, 78, 92
- Shèngluōpí** 盛罗皮: – see pages 41, 56, 66, 82, 101
- Shèngluōpí** 盛逻皮: ruler of Nánzhào, *673–†728, ruled 712–728 CE – see page 41, 42
- Shīgèpí** 施各皮: – see page 39
- Shīgǔpí** 施谷皮: – see page 42
- Shīlàng** 施浪: north of Erhai – see pages 38–40, 69
- Shī Mán** 施蛮: – see pages 51–54, 77, 79
- Shī Wàngqiān** 施望千: tribal leader – see page 40
- Shī Wàngqiàn** 施望欠: – see pages 39, 40, 68
- Shíbàng** 时傍: – see page 34, 36
- Shíchéng** 石城: – see pages 46, 47, 75, 77, 78
- Shígǔ** 石鼓: – see page 74, 81
- Shíhé** 石和: – see pages 34, 39, 70
- Shíjiāng** 十将: file leader, Hucker (1985), p. 5214: throughout history a not uncommon designation for the commander of a military squad of 10 soldiers – see page 138

- Shílúoduó** 时罗铎: – see page 38
- Shímén** 石门: pass along the road from Sichuan to Yunnan – see pages 6, 18, 19, 126, 137
- Shípíng** 石屏: present-day town in southern Yunnan – see page 31
- Shíqiáo** 石桥: locality at the southern end of Cāngshān 苍山, probably at present-day Tiānshēng Qiáo 天生桥, a natural crossing over the outflow of Ěrhǎi 洱海 ④, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406. The name means ‘stone bridge’, see ④ 25.58N 100.2E – see pages 24, 34, 42
- Shízhōngshān** 石钟山: temple complex in present-day Jianchuan county – see page 102, 103
- Shǐdàn** 史谿: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 64
- Shǐchéng** 史城: ancient name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page see 大厘
- Shǐhuáng** 始皇: emperor Shǐ, – see page 132
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘Records of the Historian’, –
- Shǐ Wànsuì** 史万岁: *549–†600, a famous general during the Suí dynasty, who in 597 led a military expedition into present-day eastern Yúnnán against the rebellious Cuàn 爨 clan leader called Cuàn Wán 爨玩 – see page 18
- Shǐ Xiàomǐn** 史孝愍: – see page 120
- Shǐ Zhōu** 始州: – see page 18
- Shìlóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, *844, Ψ859, †877 –
- Shǒuǒu** 守偶: tribal leader, son of Cuàn Guīwáng 爨归王 – see page 47, see 爨归王
- Shǒuwài** 首外: – see page 85
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see page 131
- 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 29
- Shǔdū Fù** 《蜀都赋》: ‘Shǔ Capital Rhapsody’, poetry collection by Zuǒ Sī 左思, translation in Knechtges (1982), pp. 341–371 – see page 132
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu –
- Shǔ Zhōu** 蜀州: – see page 14
- shuāng** 双: land measurement, equivalent to five *mǔ* – see page 106, 108
- Shuānghóngqiáo** 双虹桥: Shuānghóng Bridge, double span bridge over the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 26
- Shuāngláng** 双廊: present-day town on the eastern side of Ěrhǎi – see page 67
- Shuāngliú** 双流: – see page 14
- Shuāngshè** 双舍: – see page 37, 81
- Shuāngzhù** 双祝: – see page 42
- Shuǐzhài** 水寨: village to the west of the Lāncāng 澜沧 river (④ 25.27N 99.34E) – see page 31
- Shùn Mán** 顺蛮: – see pages 31, 51, 53, 77, 79
- Shūshí** 朱提: historic place name for what is now the north-east of Yúnnán, pronounced Shūshí, see 《古代汉语词典》 (2002), p. 2043 – see page 19, 30

- Sīhù** 司户: revenue manager, revenue manager, Hucker (1985), p. 5643 – see page 50
- Sīxià** 思下: – see page 13
- Sìchūān** 四川: Chinese province – see pages 14, 20, 61, 79, 92
- Sìdú** 四渎: four rivers, key Chinese philosophical concept – see page 133, see 五岳
- Sījūnlǜojū** 四军罗苴: fourth army troops, – see page 103
- Sìkù Quánshū** 《四库全书》: ‘Complete Library of the Four Treasuries’, Qīng dynasty library collection – see pages 7, 13–15, 18–20, 25, 27–30, 34, 36–38, 40–44, 48–64, 66–69, 72, 74, 77, 79, 81, 82, 88–90, 92–94, 96–99, 109, 110, 113, 115–119, 121–123, 125–127, 129, 131, 133, 135–138
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see page 6, 97
- Sōngguì** 松桂: town in present-day Hèqìng 鹤庆 – see page 79
- Sōngmíng** 嵩明: present-day town east of Kūnmíng 昆明 – see page 75
- Sōngwài** 松外: – see page 81
- Sòng river** 送江: – see page 83
- Sūlì** 苏历: – see page 52, 60
- Sū Róng** 苏荣: – see page 18
- Sū Wěi** 苏隗: – see page 22, 61
- Sù Mán** 粟蛮: – see page 60
- Suí Cháo** 隋朝: Suí dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 581–618 – see page 18, 19
- Sūnshuǐ** 孙水: – see page 29
- Suōluōlóng** 娑罗笼: robes made from silkcotton, a covering made from made from the seeds of the 娑罗 tree. Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018), p. 75 translates it as ‘ceiba silk robes’, while Luce (1961), p. 90 notes: ‘wear “cages” = (“cage = heads”, smock-frocks?) of po-lo (silkcotton?)’. The character 笼 was used as an ‘elegant term’ during the Táng dynasty, meaning to “veil” or, literally, “encage”, Owen (1977), p. 9. – see pages 55, 60, 115, see 娑罗
- Tǎchéng** 塔城: present-day settlement near Jīnshājiāng 金沙江 – see page 79
- Táidēng** 台登: – see pages 15, 21, 22, 29, 42, 60
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào – see pages 43, 64, 66–68, 70, 92, 115, 123, 137
- Tán Kěyán** 谭可言: – see page 57
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see pages 5, 27, 104, 124
- Tānglàng** 汤浪: tribal group on the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 27, 80
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see pages 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 23, 31, 33, 38, 40, 42, 45, 46, 60, 61, 66, 72, 79, 97, 104, 105, 110, 119, 133, 134, 137, 138
- Táng Dàizōng** 唐代宗: Táng emperor Dàizōng, Táng emperor, 762–779 –
- Táng Dézōng** 唐德宗: Táng emperor Dézōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 780–805 CE –
- Tángfēng** 唐封: – see page 59, 82
- Tángláng river** 螳螂江: Tángláng River, – see page 30
- Tángshílù** 《唐实录》: – see page 121

- Tángshū** 《唐书》: 'History of the Táng', – see pages 16, 24, 42, 43, 51, 61, 77, 127
- Tángtàiōng** 唐太宗: Táng emperor Tàizōng, Second Táng dynasty emperor Lǐ Shì mǐn 李世民, ruled 626–649 –
- Tángwénshíyí** 《唐文拾遺》: Supplemental Táng dynasty Writings, – see page 124
- Tángxuānzōng** 唐宣宗: Táng emperor Xuānzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 846–859 –
- Táng Xuánzōng** 唐玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756 –
- Táohuā Mán** 桃花蛮: – see page 62, see 桃花人
- Táohuārén** 桃花人: Táohuā people, – see page 62
- Tèjìn** 特进: lord specially advanced, Hucker (1985), p. 6335: 'a supplementary title, in early use apparently only as an honorific'. – see page 42, 92
- Téngchōng** 腾充: – see page 28
- Téngchōng** 腾冲: important present-day city in western Yunnan, west of the Gāolígòngshān 高黎贡山 – see pages 26–28
- Téngchōng** 藤充: – see page 96, 98
- Téngchuān** 潼川: – see pages 24, 26, 34, 53, 67–69
- Téngchuān Dàn** 潼川谿: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 64
- Téng Dàn** 潼谿: – see pages 37–39
- Téngdàn Zhào** 潼谿诏: –
- Téngluōdiān** 潼罗颠: – see page 39
- Téngwān** 藤弯: – see page 85
- Tí Zhōu** 蹄州: – see page 49
- Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742–756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗 – see pages 16, 19, 21, 42, 45, 49, 50, 70, 72, 92, 99, 125, 133, 137
- Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng** 天宝战争: Tiānbǎo Wars, sequence of wars between the Táng and Nánzhào, 751–754 – see page 14
- Tiānhòu** 天后: – see page 41
- Tiānshēng Qiáo** 天生桥: Tiānshēng bridge, a natural bridge over the outflow of Ěrhǎi (⊕ 25.58N 100.2E) –
- Tiānzhúguó** 天竺国: state of Tiānzhú, – see page 116
- Tiěqiáo** 铁桥: a strategic crossing of the Jinshajiang, on the route to Tibet – see pages 29, 51–55, 72, 79, 81, 100, 119, 120, 136
- Tōngdēng** 通登: – see page 82
- Tōnghǎi** 通海: present-day 通海, an important town on the route to the coast – see pages 13, 75, 78, 92, 99
- Tōngjiànkǎoyì** 《通鉴考异》: – see pages 49, 52, 57, 62, 63, 121
- Tóngláo** 同劳: ancient administrative unit, location unknown – see page 77
- Tónglún** 同伦: high post in Nánzhào – see pages 110, 111, 121
- Tóngqǐ** 同起: – see page 78
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire – see pages 21, 22, 29, 31, 38, 40, 50, 51, 53, 60, 61, 66, 72, 78, 79, 81, 85, 93, 100, 120–122, 124, 126, 134, 135, 137
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào – see pages 13, 20, 23, 30, 52, 59, 62, 72, 74, 76–78, 116, 126, 128

- Wǎzú** 佉族: Wǎ, – see page 59
- Wàiyù** 外喻: tribal group – see page 57
- 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 page 14
- Wáng Gèjū** 王各苴: – see page 122, 126
- Wáng Kuān** 王宽: – see page 48, 49
- Wáng Tōngmíng** 王通明: – see page 130
- Wàngjūzǐ** 望苴子: – see pages 56, 77, 82
- Wàngjūzǐ Mán** 望苴子蛮: tribal group – see page 56
- Wàngmán** 望蛮: tribal group – see page 57
- Wàngpiān** 望偏: tribal leader – see page 38
- Wàngwàiyù** 望外喻: – see page 77, 82
- Wēibǎoshān** 巍宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山 –
- Wēiníng** 威宁: – see page 18
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 巍宝山 – see page 40, 69
- Wēiyuǎn** 威远: present-day Jǐnggǔ 景谷, its township name is Wēiyuǎn 威远, a salt-producing region into the 20th century, see Brown (1920), pp. 174–176 – see page 83, 84
- 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 19, 21, 22, 41, 43, 60, 61, 124, 133, 134
- Wéi Qíxiū** 韦齐休: – see page 63
- Wéixī** 维西: present-day county in north-western Yunnan – see page 54
- Wèi county** 味县: Hàn dynasty administrative distric, below Yìzhōu – see page 77
- Wèi Zhōu** 味州: – see page 62
- Wū Mán** 乌蛮: *Wū Mán*, – see pages 20, 22, 33, 34, 45, 47–49, 51–53, 60, 70, 98, 107
- Wú** 吴: state during the Zhànguó 战国 period –
- Wúài** 无碍: – see page 57
- Wú Jiāngjūn** 吴将军: general Wú, – see page 129, 130
- Wǔān Zhōu** 武安州: – see page 120, 121
- Wǔdìng** 武定: – see page 113
- Wǔ Hóu** 武侯: marquis of Wǔ, title of Zhūgéliàng 诸葛亮 – see page 29, see 诸葛亮
- Wǔluòzhōnglíshān** 武落钟离山: Wǔluò Zhōnglí Mountains, – see page 130
- Wǔyuè** 五岳: five peaks, key Chinese philosophical concept, for the Nánzhào 南诏 context Chapin and Soper (1971), p. 81: ‘In 784 the ambitious sixth Nan Chao ruler, I-mou-hsün, usurped one the the age-old prerogatives of the Chinese emperor by designating an official set of Five Great Peaks and Four Great Waterways.’ – see page 133, see 四渎

- Wùdèng** 勿邓: – see page 22
- Wù Xiāng** 务相: – see page 131
- Xiān** 西安: – see page 85
- Xīchāng** 西昌: – see pages 16, 29, 60
- Xīchuān** 西川: western part of Jiànnán – see pages 14–16, 19, 21, 43, 61, 90, 92, 127, 133, 134
- Xīcuàn** 西爨: western Cuàn, – see pages 45–48, 54, 77, 99, 107
- Xīěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi –
- 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 18, 25, 51, 52, 99, 117, 134–136
- Xīfǔshǒu** 嵩辅首: – see page 36
- Xīhú** 西湖: present-day lake north of Ěrhǎi – see page 38
- Xīlóngshān** 息龙山: – see page 99
- Xīmán** 西蛮: western *Mán*, – see page 22
- Xīqiāng** 西羌: western Qiāng, – see page 100
- Xīshānsì** 西山寺: Xīshān temple, – see page 32
- Xīshuāngbǎnnà** 西双版纳: southern part of Yúnnán – see page 59, 84
- Xīwàng** 西望: – see page 22
- Xīyuán** 溪源: – see page 127, 138
- Xīzhōu** 嵩州: Xīzhōu, a prefecture at present-day Xīchāng 西昌 – see pages 15, 16, 21, 22, 29, 50, 61
- Xī Zhōu** 滕州: – see page 120
- Xǐdé** 喜德: – see page 21
- Xǐzhōu** 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ěrhǎi, about modern location of Dàxī 大厘 – see page 64, 67, *see* 大厘
- Xīnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, *617 †674, ruled 649–674 CE – see page 41, 69
- Xīnuòdèng** 细诺邓: present-day Nuòdèng 诺邓 in Yúnlóng 云龙 county – see page 93
- Xià** 夏: – see pages 128, 129, 133
- Xiàbù** 下步: – see page 10
- Xiàguān** 下关: present-day administrative center of Dàlǐ, literally meaning ‘lower gate’ as this was the southern fortification of the Dàlǐ plain –
- Xiānyú Zhōngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán – see page 19, 42
- Xiántōng** 咸通: reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Yìzōng 懿宗, 860–873 – see pages 44, 48, 52, 55, 56, 60, 62, 116, 120, 121, 128, 129
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see pages 14, 15, 30, 36, 50, 55, 63, 78, 79
- Xiāngyáng** 襄阳: city in Húběi 湖北 –
- Xiāngzhōu** 襄州: present-day Xiāngyáng 襄阳 – see page 57
- Xiāngyún** 祥云: – see page 14, 73
- Xiǎolǎn** 小览: – see page 74
- Xiǎopó** 小婆: – see page 54, 81
- Xiǎoshī Dàn** 小施啖: – see page 52
- Xīnfēng** 新丰: – see pages 31, 75, 78

- Xīn Táng Shū** 《新唐书》: ‘*New History of the Táng*’, major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty – see pages 6, 13, 14, 16, 34, 36, 37, 46, 47, 49, 53, 60, 77, 100
- Xīntángshū·Dìlǐzhì** 《新唐书·地理志》: – see page 121
- Xīntángshū·Nánmánshàng** 《新唐书·南蛮上》: – see page 64
- Xìnzhōu** 信州: – see page 73
- Xiùjiǎo Mán** 绣脚蛮: tribal group, the name translates as ‘tattooed feet’ – see pages 58, 82, 86
- Xiùmiàn Mán** 绣面蛮: tribal group, the name translates as ‘tattooed face’ – see page 58, 86
- Xú Chóngyǎ** 徐崇雅: – see page 120
- Xuānchéng** 宣城: – see page 45
- 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 page 124
- Xuānzōng** 宣宗: Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 846–859 – see page 127
- Xuánzàng** 玄奘: Chinese monk, 602–664, who travelled to India from 629–645, bringing back many Buddhist scriptures – see page 27
- Xuánzōng** 玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756 – see page 46, 92
- Xúnchuán** 寻传: region of present-day Dehong, northern Burma – see pages 29, 42, 54–56, 85, 86, 90, 98
- Xúnchuán Mán** 寻传蛮: tribal group – see page 55
- Xúndiàn** 寻甸: present-day town east of Kūnmíng 昆明 – see page 75
- Xúngéquàn** 寻阁劝: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 808–809 CE – see page 13
- Xúnguān** 巡官: inspector, ‘inspector, a lowly official, functions no clear, found on the staffs of the T’ang Ministry of Revenue (hu-pu). Military Commissioner (chieh-ru shih)’, see Hucker (1985), 2746 – see page 133, 134
- Xúnluō** 寻罗: – see page 53
- Xún Mèngcòu** 寻梦凑: – see page 43
- Yāxī** 押西: – see page 85
- Yāyá** 押牙: lackey, title – see page 114, see 押衙
- Yāyá** 押衙: lackey, – see pages 62, 113, 120
- Yǎān** 雅安: region in Sìchuān –
- Yǎlóngjiāng** 雅砻江: Yǎlóng River, major tributary to the Jīnshā 金沙 river – see page 22
- Yǎzhōu** 雅州: present-day Sìchuān Yǎān 雅安 (🌐 29.99N 103.01E) – see page 15
- Yángé** 炎阁: – see page 42
- Yányáng** 盐阳: – see page 131
- Yányuán** 盐源: – see page 79, 92
- Yànzǐdòng** 燕子洞: ‘Swallow Cave’, cave complex near Jiànshuǐ 建水 – see page 31
- Yáng Āchù** 杨阿触: – see page 48, 128
- Yángbāo** 阳褒: – see page 16
- Yáng Bǐngzhōng** 杨秉忠: – see page 48

- Yáng Chuánshèng** 杨传盛: – see page 136, 137
- Yáng Dàhémei** 扬大和眉: – see page 134
- Yáng Dàn** 阳谿: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 64
- Yángduò** 杨墮: – see page 37
- Yángguā** 杨瓜: – see page 42, 69
- Yángjūmiē** 阳苴咩: historic capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dali – see pages 10, 14, 16, 17, 64, 66–68, 98, 117, 119, 120, 123–125, 136
- Yáng Móuli** 杨牟利: – see page 47
- Yáng Qiāng** 杨羌: – see page 128
- Yáng Qīngsuǒ** 杨清所: – see page 114
- Yáng Qiúshèng** 杨酋盛: – see page 48, 128
- Yáng Shèng** 杨盛: tribal leader – see page 122
- Yáng Sījīn** 杨思缙: hucker 8134 – see page 57, 63
- Yáng Zhōngyì** 杨忠义: – see page 62, 128
- Yáng Zuǒ** 杨佐: author of the 《云南买马记》 –
- Yàngbì** 漾濞: present-day county west of 苍山 – see page 25, 36
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán – see page 14, 16
- Yáozhōu** 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安 (⊕ 25.51N 101.24E) – see pages 16–18, 37, 41, 42, 50, 54, 72, 74, 100, 133
- Yěgòng** 野共: – see page 39, 79
- Yèbànguó** 夜半国: state of Yèbàn, – see page 118
- Yèyú** 牒榆: term for the Dàlǐ 大理 plain, first appearing in the 《史记》 – see page 79
- Yītǒngzhì** 《一统志》: ‘*Unified Gazetteer*’, refers to the Dàmíngyītǒngzhì 大明一统志 – see page 63
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see page 132, 138, see 蛮
- Yībīn** 宜宾: city in southern Sìchuān – see page 14, 18
- Yí Dàn** 夷蠶: – see page 133
- Yíláo** 夷獠: tribal group in south-western Guǎngxī 广西, described in the Língwài Dàidá 岭外代答 – see page 137
- Yíliáng** 宜良: present-day town east of Kūnmíng 昆明 – see page 75
- Yínán** 遗南: – see page 40
- Yíshuǐ** 夷水: Yí River, – see page 131
- Yízú** 彝族: Yí, one of the officially recognized ethnic groups in the PRC – see page 90
- Yífú** 矣符: – see page 13
- Yíluōjūn** 矣罗君: – see page 79
- Yíluōshì** 矣罗识: tribal leader – see pages 34, 36, 40
- Yì** 驿: post station, – see pages 13–17, 74
- Yímóuxún** 异牟寻: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 779–808 CE – see pages 43, 44, 49–51, 53, 60, 69, 80, 97, 103, 119–121, 123–126, 133–138, see 酋龙

- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106 BCE, 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 page 18, 135
- Yínchǐ Mán** 银齿蛮: tribal group, the name translates as ‘silver teeth’ – see page 58, 82
- Yínshēng** 银生: – see pages 54, 72, 82, 84, 85, 90, 91, 93
- Yīn** 尹: administrator, ‘Administrator of a Superior Prefecture (fu) and normally its active head’, but also used as ‘common element in merit titles’, see Hucker (1985), 7969 – see page 50
- Yīn Cuóqiān** 尹嗟迁: Qīngpíngguān, probably the same person as 尹嗟 mentioned in the 《云南志》, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 85 – see page 122
- Yīn Cuǒ** 尹嗟: Qīngpíngguān, probably the same person as 尹嗟迁 mentioned on the 《德化碑》, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 85 – see page 122
- Yīn Fǔqiú** 尹辅酋: Qīngpíngguān, probably the same person as 尹附酋 mentioned on the 《德化碑》, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 85 – see pages 51, 101, 121, 126, see 尹附酋
- Yīn Fùqiú** 尹附酋: Qīngpíngguān, probably the same person as 尹辅酋 mentioned in the 云南志, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998c), p. 85 – see page see 尹辅酋
- Yīn Kuānqiú** 尹宽求: – see page 51
- Yīnyīkuānxiàn** 尹伊宽献: – see page 124
- Yíngjiāng** 盈江: – see page 86
- Yōngguǎn** 邕管: – see page 92
- Yōngzhōu** 邕州: historic administrative region, first set up in the Táng dynasty, around present-day Nán níng 南宁 (⊕ 22.82N 108.36E) – see page 17, 113
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see pages 26, 27, 31, 32, 38–41, 47, 48, 50, 54, 57–59, 67, 72, 73, 77, 81, 82, 84, 85, 94–97, 99, 100, 105, 115, 117
- Yǒnglèdàdiǎn** 《永乐大典》: Yǒnglè Encyclopedia, – see page 6
- Yǒngrén** 永仁: present-day county in Yúnnán – see page 16
- Yǒngyìjū** 涌腋菑: – see page 33
- Yōuwáng** 幽王: king Yōu, – see page 130
- Yúhòu** 虞候: inspector, hucker 8134 – see pages 55, 57, 120
- Yúlàng** 于浪: – see page 81
- Yúyuán county** 俞元县: – see page 78
- Yúzhèng** 于贍: ruler of Yuèxī, defeated by Nánzhào – see pages 37, 42, 101
- Yǔgòng** 《禹贡》: ‘*Tributes of Yǔ*’, ancient text, translated in Legge (1865) – see page 32
- Yǔyí** 羽仪: feather fan bearer, title court official during Nánzhào – see pages 103, 109, 121
- Yùdāo** 郁刀: yù dagger, Nánzhào weapon – see page 101
- Yùjī** 聿賚: – see page 31, 79
- Yùshǐ** 御史: censor, title, see Hucker (1985), 8167 – see page 38, 138

- Yùshǐ Zhōngchéng** 御史中丞: vice censor-in-chief, '2nd executive official of the Censorate (yü-shih rhi), no longer having any special relationship with the palace but occasionally in T'ang and commonly in Sung serving as actual head of the Censorate when the post of Censor-in-chief was left vacant', see Hucker (1985), 8174 – see page 44
- Yùxiàn** 喻猷: present-day Chéngjiāng 澄江, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 356 – see page 46
- Yù Yú** 儉 喻于儉: – see page 122
- Yuán** 元: Yuán, Chinese dynasty, 1271–1368 –
- Yuándǐng** 元鼎: reign period of Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔdì 武帝, yebci116–111 – see page 9, 10
- Yuán Luō** 源罗: – see page 36
- Yuán Wéidé** 元惟德: – see page 57
- Yuányáng** 元阳: present-day town on the Red River – see page 75
- Yuán Zī** 袁滋: Táng dynasty envoy to Nánzhào in 794 – see pages 6, 44, 119, 125, 126
- Yuán Zī Tíjì Móyá Shíkè** 《袁滋题记摩崖石刻》: 'Yuán Zī Memorial Cliff Inscription', Táng inscription – see page 6
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368 – see page 6
- Yuè Dàn** 越贖: – see pages 26, 27, 82, 97, 98, 126
- Yuèlǐ** 越礼: – see page 85
- Yuènuò** 越诺: – see page 118
- Yuèxī** 越嶲: – see page 18
- Yuèxī** 越析: one of the five *Zhào* – see pages 18, 19, 26, 36, 37, 42, 54, 70, 100, 101
- Yuèxī** 越西: – see page 18
- Yuè Zhōu** 岳州: – see page 57
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5–10, 12–15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27, 33, 42, 43, 45–47, 49, 51–53, 59, 64, 72–75, 79, 82, 85, 87, 90, 91, 96, 97, 99, 107, 109, 113, 133
- Yúnnánjì** 《云南记》: 'Yúnnán Chronicle', report compiled by 袁滋 on this mission to Nánzhào in 794, now lost. – see page 5, 6, see 袁滋
- Yúnnán Mǎimǎ Jì** 《云南买马记》: 'Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan', Sòng dynasty text by Yáng Zuǒ 杨佐 – see page 97
- Yúnnánshǐjì** 《云南史记》: name of the 《云南志》 in the 《永乐大典》 library collection – see page 5, 6, see 云南志
- 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 pages 44, 124–126
- Yúnnán Xíngjì** 《云南行记》: 'Yúnnán Travel Records', – see pages 16, 63, 64
- Yúnnányì** 云南驿: important caravan station, three stages before Dàlǐ 大理 (⊕ 25.39N 100.69E) – see pages 13, 17, 72, 74, 122
- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán', Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán – see pages 5–8, 18, 23, 40
- Záduō** 杂多: – see page 31
- Zànpǔ** 赞普: title of the ruler of Tǔbō – see pages 29, 126, 134, 137

- 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 126, see 赞普
- Zānggē** 牂牁: the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see page 118, 137
- Zéi** 贼: bandits, – see page 12
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475-221 BCE –
- Zhǎng** 长: head, ‘lit., senior. ... Common suffix indicating the chief official of whatever is designated by what precedes: Head, Chief, Director, Magistrate, etc.’, see Hucker (1985), 84 – see page 121, 122
- Zhāngchóu Jiānqióng** 章仇兼琼: Jiédù Shǐ of Jiànnán – see page 46
- Zhāng Qiántuō** 张乾拖: – see page 42
- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张乾隆: – see page 134, 137
- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张虔陀: ruler of 姚州 who played an important role in the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng dynasty in 751. Killed by Nánzhào in 751. – see page 16, 50
- Zhāng Qìngzōng** 张庆宗: – see page 120
- Zhāng Shèngwēn** 张胜温: – see page 100
- Zhāng Xúnqiú** 张寻求: – see page 37
- Zhāng Zhōu** 张舟: – see page 114
- Zhāotōng** 昭通: – see page 14, 19
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see pages 33, 34, 36–41, 52, 63, 68–70, 79, 101, 110, 133, 136
- Zhào Chāng** 赵昌: – see page 113, 138
- Zhào Jiākūān** 赵伽宽: – see page 121
- Zhào Mòluóméi** 赵莫罗眉: – see page 134
- Zhào Yuán** 照源: tribal leader – see page 36
- Zhàozhōu** 赵州: historic name for present-day Fèngyí 凤仪 – see page 70
- zhè** 柘: *Maclura tricuspidata*, Chinese mulberry – see page 89
- Zhèjiāngdàxué túshūguǎn** 浙江大学图书馆: library of Zhèjiāng university, – see page 7
- Zhènán** 柘南: – see page 81, 90
- Zhèyú** 柘俞: – see page 82
- Zhēnguān** 贞观: reign period of Tángtài zōng, 627–649 – see page 77
- Zhēnlàguó** 真腊国: state of Zhēnlà, – see page 119
- Zhēnyuán** 贞元: reign period of Táng Dézōng 唐德宗, 785–805 CE – see pages 19, 21, 22, 38, 41, 43, 44, 49–53, 60, 61, 72, 77, 80, 93, 97, 101, 120, 121, 124, 125, 133, 134, 136, 138
- Zhēn Zhōu** 真州: – see page 62
- Zhèn** 镇: town, – see pages 16, 21, 78
- Zhènnán** 镇南: present-day Nánhuá 南华, see Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986b) – see page 119
- Zhènxī** 镇西: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 481 places it at present-day Yíngjiāng 盈江 – see page 84, 86
- Zhèng Huí** 郑回: Han administrator captured by Nánzhào, serving as teacher to the royal family and as prime minister – see page 66
- Zhīzhōu** 知州: magistrate, ‘MING: Subprefectural Magistrate’, see Hucker (1985), 965 – see page 62

- Zhìcháng** 制长: – see page 20
- Zhōngchéng** 忠诚: – see page 10
- Zhōngsuǒ** 中所: village on the Dèngchuān 邓川 plain (⊕ 26.06N 100.04E) – see page 79
- zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit – see pages 10, 15, 17–19, 31, 37–39, 42, 45–47, 49, 52, 57, 63, 69, 70, 73, 74, 77, 78, 113, 121, 127
- Zhōu Qùfēi** 周去非: author of the *Língwài Dàidá* 岭外代答 –
- Zhōuchéng** 周城: present-day village near Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page 67
- Zhū Dàogǔ** 朱道古: – see pages 48, 62, 120, 128
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see pages 14, 19, 29, 32, 73, 77, 81
- Zhūyuān** 朱鸢: – see page 55
- Zhúzi** 竹子: – see page 20
- Zhuāng Qiāo** 庄蹻: Chǔ 楚 general who became king of Diān[napi] during the Warring States period – see page 77
- Zīzhì Tōngjiàn** 《资治通鉴》: ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’, – see pages 6, 13, 114, 126, 127
- Zǐ** 子: courtesy name, a courtesy name traditionally given to Chinese people upon reaching adulthood –
- Zǐchéng** 子城: palace town, the term denotes an inner town, within a outer wall, the seat of the ruler and the palace, see Steinhart (2014), p. 19. – see page 57, 71
- Zuǒ** 佐: assistant, Nánzhào title for official in charge of one hundred men – see page 109
- Zuǒ Sī** 左思: Jìn Cháo 晋朝 poet – see page 132

6 References

- Anderson (1876). ‘*Mandalay to Momien - A Narrative of the Expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875*’. London: Macmillan (cit. on p. 8).
- Backus, Charles (1981). ‘*The Nan-chao Kingdom and T’ang China’s Southwestern Frontier*’. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cit. on pp. 6, 18, 20, 44, 58, 114, 119).
- Bielenstein, Hans (2005). ‘*Diplomacy And Trade In The Chinese World, 589-1276*’. Leiden: Brill (cit. on p. 114).
- Brown, J. Coggin (1920). ‘*The Mines and Mineral Resources of Yunnan, with Short Accounts of its Agricultural Products and Trade*’. In: *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India XLVII*, part I, pp. 1–201 (cit. on pp. 79, 157).
- Bryson, Megan (2015). ‘*Tsenpo Chung, Yunnan Wang, Mahārāja: Royal Titles in Narratives of Nanzhao Kingship between Tibet and Tang China*.’ In: *Cahiers d’ Extrême-Asie* 24, pp. 59–76 (cit. on p. 116).
- (2017). ‘*Goddess on the Frontier: Religion, Ethnicity, and Gender in Southwest China*’. Stanford: Stanford University Press (cit. on pp. 100, 102, 128).
- Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2018). 《蛮书英译: *Manshu – Records of the Man People*》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 7–9, 16, 17, 20, 22, 31, 32, 35, 42, 43, 52, 61, 66, 69, 73, 82, 85, 91, 96, 98, 101, 103, 108–110, 128, 155).

- Chapin, Helen B. and Alexander C. Soper (1971). 'A Long Roll of Buddhist Images: Revised by Alexander C. Soper'. *Artibus Asiae* (cit. on pp. 139, 157).
- Chén Nán 陈楠 (1998). 《吐蕃与南诏及洱河诸蛮关系从考》. In: Chén Nán 陈楠 (1998). 《藏史丛考》. 民族出版社 (cit. on p. 51).
- Chén Yirén 陈懿人 (2020). 《清代边疆整合中的盐与云南威远》. In: 清史论丛 1, pp. 126–147 (cit. on p. 80).
- Churchman, Catherine (2016). *People between the Rivers: The Rise and Fall of a Bronze Drum Culture, 200–750 CE*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman and Littlefield (cit. on p. 143).
- Coedès, G (1975). 'The Indianized States of Southeast Asia'. Australian National University (cit. on p. 144).
- Colquhoun, Archibald R. (1883a). 'Across Chryse: Being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay'. Vol. 1. London: Sampson Low, Marson, Searle and Rivington (cit. on p. 9).
- (1883b). 'Across Chryse: Being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay'. Vol. 2. London: Sampson Low, Marson, Searle and Rivington (cit. on p. 9).
- Coryton, J. and Mr. Margary (1874-1875). 'Trade Routes between British Burmah and Western China; with Extracts of Letters from Mr. Margary'. In: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 19.4, pp. 264–291 (cit. on p. 8).
- Crespigny, Rafe de (2007). *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23-220 AD)*. Leiden: Brill (cit. on p. 164).
- d'Orleans, Prince Henry (1896). 'A Journey from Tonkin by Tali-fu to Assam'. In: *Geographical Journal* 8.6, pp. 566–585 (cit. on p. 9).
- Daniels, Christian (2021). 'Nanzhao as a Southeast Asian kingdom, c.738–902'. In: *Southeast Asian Studies* 52.2, pp. 188–213 (cit. on pp. 54, 57, 78–80).
- Davies, Henry Rodolph (1909). *Yün-Nan: The Link between India and the Yangtze*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cit. on pp. 9, 80).
- Dodd, William Clifton (1996). *The Tai Race: Elder Brother of the Chinese*. Bangkok: White Lotus (cit. on p. 80).
- Duàn Dǐngzhōu 段鼎周 (1994). 《僰人、西爨白蛮和白人，各有自己的源流》. In: 云南学术探索 2, pp. 52–56 (cit. on p. 45).
- Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2018). 《南诏大理文化史》. 广西师范大学出版社 (cit. on p. 105).
- Elvin, Mark (2002). 'The Impact of Clearance and Irrigation on the Environment in the Lake Erhai Catchment from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century'. In: *East Asian History* 23.1 (cit. on p. 37).
- Ēr Yuánxiànshuǐliándiànlìjúbān 洱源县水利电力局编 (1995). 《洱源县河湖专志集》. (Cit. on p. 37).
- Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953). 《两汉经略西南：郡县设置与行政同志》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994). 《方国瑜文集》. 云南教育出版社 (cit. on pp. 38, 52, 56, 161).
- (1980). 《诸葛亮南征的路线考说》. In: 思想战线 2, pp. 44–50 (cit. on p. 14).
- (1981). 《僰绰〈云南志〉考说》. In: 思想战线 1, pp. 3–8 (cit. on p. 5).
- (1982). 《两爨六招地理考释》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994). 《方国瑜文集》. 云南教育出版社 (cit. on pp. 24, 32, 33, 35–39, 67, 154).
- (1984). 《云南史料目录概说》. 中国北京: 中华书局 (cit. on p. 5).
- (1987). 《中国西南历史地理考释》. 中国北京: 中华书局 (cit. on pp. 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 22, 27, 28, 31, 44, 57, 61, 69, 78–82, 136, 145, 146, 148, 150, 152, 162, 163).

- Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994a). 《南诏之兴盛》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994). 《方国瑜文集》. 云南教育出版社 (cit. on pp. 32, 39).
- (1994b). 《南诏名号考》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994). 《方国瑜文集》. 云南教育出版社 (cit. on p. 105).
- (1998a). 《云南史料丛刊》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 6, 7, 9, 13, 15–17, 19, 20, 26, 28, 32, 33, 36, 39, 41, 45, 46, 51, 52, 58–61, 63–67, 69, 71, 74–76, 78, 84–86, 88–92, 94, 95, 104, 107, 108, 112, 114–118, 121–123, 132).
- (1998b). 《云南史料丛刊》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998). 《云南史料丛刊》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on p. 35).
- (1998c). 《云南史料丛刊》. Vol. 2. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 13–15, 17, 18, 26, 38, 45, 46, 61, 63, 67, 71, 76, 84, 95, 108, 117, 122, 123, 136, 145, 146, 151, 161).
- Garnier, Francis (1996). ‘*Further Travels in Laos and Yunnan*’. Bangkok: White Lotus (cit. on p. 8).
- Glahn, Richard von (1987). ‘*The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Expansion, Settlement, and the Civilizing of the Sichuan Frontier in Song Times*’. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (cit. on pp. 20, 59).
- Gǔ Yuèjuān 谷跃娟 (2007). 《南诏史概要》. 昆明: 云南大学出版社 (cit. on p. 72).
- Guō Tàizōng 郭泰宗 (2021). 《南诏兵器“铎鞘”释考》. In: 形象史学, pp. 141–146 (cit. on p. 96).
- Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014). 《寻找“哀牢古国”: 云南昌宁大甸山墓地发掘》. In: 大众考古 8, pp. 29–34 (cit. on pp. 96, 134).
- Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Lírui 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016). 《云南昌宁县大甸山墓地发掘简报》. In: 考古 1, pp. 3–32+2 (cit. on pp. 96, 134, 136).
- Huáng Chéng 黄诚 and Yáng Dōngméi 杨冬梅 (2016). 《从〈张胜温画梵像〉探讨南诏大理国兵器甲胄》. In: 商丘职业技术学院学报 15.4, pp. 117–119 (cit. on p. 96).
- Hucker, Charles (1985). ‘*A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*’. Stanford: Stanford University Press (cit. on pp. 105, 109, 135, 137–143, 147, 150, 151, 153, 155–157, 159, 161–163).
- Johnson, David (1985). ‘*The City-God Cults of T’ang and Sung China*’. In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2 (cit. on p. 73).
- Kingdon-Ward, Frank (1921). ‘*In Farthest Burma: The Record of an Arduous Journey of Exploration and Research Through the Unknown Frontier Territory of Burma and Tibet*’. Seeley (cit. on p. 27).
- Knapp, Ronald G. and Terry E. Miller (2019). ‘*China’s Covered Bridges: Architecture over Water*’. 上海交通出版社 (cit. on p. 30).
- Knechtges, David R. (1982). ‘*Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature: Rhapsodies on metropolises and capitals, Xiao Tong (501–531)*’. Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press (cit. on p. 154).
- Kott, Diana (2003). ‘*Die erste Stadt an der äußersten Grenze: Die historische Entwicklung der Stadt Tengchong im Prozeß der Entstehung und Konsolidierung des Grenzgebietes im Westen der chinesischen Provinz Yunnan*’. PhD. Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (cit. on p. 27).
- Legge, James (1865). ‘*The Chinese Classics*’. Vol. 3. Trübner (cit. on pp. 121, 141, 161).
- Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1983). 《南诏农业雏议》. In: 思想战线 5, pp. 54–57 (cit. on p. 83).
- (1999). 《南诏大理国雕刻绘画艺术》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on pp. 97–99, 134).
- Lǐ Qīnghuá 李庆华 (2009). 《白崖旧城新识》. In: 大理文博 - *Dali Cultural Relics* (cit. on p. 68).
- Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016a). 《南诏也是新编与校按》. 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on p. 40).
- (2016b). 《南诏史探选题与专论》. 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on pp. 7, 33, 35, 67, 135).
- (2016c). 《南诏史料辑要与校按》. 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on pp. 7, 9, 17, 22, 32, 43, 44, 47, 50–52, 57, 61, 63, 65–67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 78, 82, 103, 105, 109, 110, 122, 123, 135, 148, 152).

- Liú Shùnliáng 刘顺良 (1993). 《昭通地区建置沿革考》. In: 云南师范大学学报 4, pp. 35–38 (cit. on pp. 18, 142).
- Lo, Ch'ang-peí (1945). 'The Genealogical Patronymic Linkage System of the Tibeto-Burman Speaking Tribes'. In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8.3/4, pp. 349–363 (cit. on p. 40).
- Luce, Gordon H. (1961). 'The Man Shu - Book of the Southern Barbarians'. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University (cit. on pp. 5, 7, 9, 22, 32, 43, 52, 61, 69, 82, 98, 101, 103, 109, 110, 121, 126, 155).
- Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1961). 《南诏国内的部族组成和奴隶制制度》. 上海人民出版社 (cit. on pp. 57, 84).
- Ma Jianxiong (2014). 'The Zhaozhou Bazi Society in Yunnan: Historical Process in the Bazi Basin Environmental System during the Ming Period (1368-1643)'. In: Liu, Ts'ui-jung (2014). 'Environmental History in East Asia'. Routledge (cit. on p. 67).
- Moore-Bennet, Arthur J. (1915). 'moorebennet1915'. In: *Far Eastern Review* 11, pp. 215–227 (cit. on p. 90).
- Mù Qín 木芹 (1980). 《〈云南志〉校补序》. In: 思想战线 5, pp. 72–78 (cit. on p. 9).
- (1995). 《云南志补注》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on pp. 6, 7, 12, 13, 15–17, 20, 35, 45–47, 75, 81, 91, 95, 112–114, 137).
- Needham, Joseph (1971). 'Science and Civilisation in China: Physics and Physical Technology – Civil Engineering and Nautics'. Vol. 4-3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cit. on p. 30).
- Notar, Beth Ellen (1992). 'Contested terrains of history: Reading The Book Barbarians'. MSc. University of Michigan (cit. on p. 8).
- Owen, Stephen (1977). 'The Poetry of the Early T'ang'. New Haven: Yale University Press (cit. on pp. 110, 155).
- Pelliot, Paul (1904a). 'C. Sainson : Nan tchao ye che, histoire particulière du Nan-tchao'. In: *Bull. de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 4, pp. 1094–1127 (cit. on p. 139).
- (1904b). 'Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle'. In: *Bull. de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 4, pp. 131–413 (cit. on pp. 8, 9).
- Pidhainy, Ihor (2005). 'The Temples of Yunnan: Literati Travel Writing during the Jiaping reign (1522-1567)'. In: 'Unpublished Draft' (cit. on p. 24).
- Pulleyblank, E.G. (1983). 'The Chinese and Their Neighbours in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times'. In: Keightley, David N. (1983). 'Origins of Chinese Civilization'. University of California Press (cit. on p. 59).
- Qín Píng 秦平 (2018). 《唐袁滋题名摩崖石刻探析》. In: 北方文学 12, pp. 120–121 (cit. on pp. 6, 115).
- Qū Zhímǐn 屈直敏 (2009). 《袁滋〈云南记〉考略》. In: 中国边疆史地研究 19.3, pp. 140–147 (cit. on p. 6).
- Rock, Joseph Francis (1947). 'The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China'. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (cit. on pp. 9, 13, 16, 71).
- Shu, Yue, Jennifer Giaccari and Blythe McCarthy (2021). 'Historical, Modern, and Chemical Pigment Names'. In: McCarthy, Blythe and Giaccari, Jennifer (2012). 'Scientific Studies of Pigments in Chinese Paintings'. Archetype (cit. on p. 90).
- Sòng Shǔhuá 宋蜀华 (1978). 《从樊绰〈云南志〉论唐代傣族社会》. In: 思想战线 6, pp. 58–65 (cit. on pp. 57, 78).
- Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (2014). 'Chinese Architecture in an Age of Turmoil, 200–600'. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (cit. on p. 164).

- Tán Qíxiāng 谭其骧 (1985). 《中国历史地图集》. 中国地图出版社 (cit. on pp. 10, 30, 57, 61, 72, 78, 112, 114, 135).
- Táo Xuéxiàn 陶学宪 (1979). 《唐袁滋题名摩崖》. In: 昆明师院学报 3, pp. 73–74 (cit. on pp. 6, 115).
- Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (2011). 《南诏大理国瓦文》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 148).
- Tuchman, Barbara (1972). *Stilwell and the American Experience in China*. Bantam Books (cit. on p. 26).
- Twitchett, Denis (1992). *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cit. on p. 119).
- Vogel, Hans Ulrich (2008). *Types of Fuel used in the Salt Works of Sichuan and Yunnan in Southwestern China: A Historical Overview*. In: Weller, Oliver (2008). *Sels, eau et forêt d' hier à aujourd' hui*. Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comte (cit. on p. 86).
- (2012). *Marco Polo Was in China: New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues*. Leiden: Brill (cit. on p. 92).
- Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1985a). 《〈南诏德化碑〉碑文作者为王蛮盛质疑: 上》. In: 云南社会科学 4, pp. 68–76 (cit. on p. 64).
- (1985b). 《〈南诏德化碑〉碑文作者为王蛮盛质疑: 下》. In: 云南社会科学 5, pp. 80–88 (cit. on p. 64).
- (1987). 《〈南诏德化碑作者问题答疑〉读后驳答: 上》. In: 云南民族学院学报 3 (cit. on p. 64).
- (2001a). 《释爨及西爨白蛮》. In: 云南民族学院学报 5, pp. 62–74 (cit. on p. 43).
- (2001b). 《释爨及西爨白蛮 (续)》. In: 云南民族学院学报 6, pp. 16–28 (cit. on p. 43).
- Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020). 《〈南诏图传〉的创作、使用与流传》. In: 南京艺术学院学报 6, pp. 69–76 (cit. on p. 130).
- Wāng Níngshēng 汪宁生 (1977). 《远古时期云南的稻谷栽培: 云南少数民族科学史学习札记》. In: 思想战线 1, pp. 98–102 (cit. on p. 84).
- Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1978). 《〈南诏德化碑〉作者考》. In: 思想战线 2, pp. 85–87 (cit. on p. 64).
- (1986a). 《〈南诏德化碑〉作者问题答疑》. In: 思想战线 3 (cit. on p. 64).
- (1986b). 《大理行记校注 – 云南志略校注》. 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on p. 163).
- (1999). 《云南古佚书钞》. 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 61).
- Wén Wéi 文薇 and Yǐn Jiāzhèng 尹家政 (2007). 《“腾冲”、“柘俞”地名考注》. In: 大理学院学报, pp. 5–7 (cit. on p. 78).
- Wú Qíjùn 吴其濬 (1848). 《植物名实图考》. (Cit. on pp. 82, 91).
- Xiàng Dá 向达 (1962). 《蛮书校注》. 中国北京: 中华书局 (cit. on pp. 5–7, 9, 12, 16–18, 21, 22, 25, 28–30, 33, 35, 36, 38–42, 47–57, 60, 63, 65, 66, 69, 78, 84, 95, 110–114, 116–124, 126–128, 130–133).
- Xuē Lín 薛琳 (2003). 《南诏大理国王陵之谜: A Mystery of Nanzhao-Dali Kingdom's Mausoleums》. 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on p. 102).
- Yang, Bin (2004). *Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)*. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on p. 8).
- Yáng Liánfēn 杨莲芬 (2012). 《浅谈筷子在白族民俗中的寓意》. In: 大理文博 - Dali Cultural Relics 6, pp. 97–98 (cit. on p. 101).
- Yáng Měiláo 杨美劳 and Shèng Dàichāng 盛代昌 (2015). 《弥渡白岩四座古城遗址简述》. In: 大理文博 - Dali Cultural Relics, pp. 43–48 (cit. on p. 68).
- Yáng Xīyì 杨希义 (1983). 《唐代行交州海门镇所在方位考辨》. In: 学术论坛 5 (cit. on p. 141).
- Young, E. C. (1907). *A Journey from Yün-Nan to Assam*. In: *Geographical Journal* 30.2, pp. 152–180 (cit. on pp. 27, 81).

- Zeng, Chen and Christoph Anderl (2022). 'From Colloquialism to Metaphorical Expression: A Diachronic Study of Chinese Dialect Words Based on Chán Buddhist Literature'. In: *Religions* 13, 900 (cit. on p. 135).
- Zhang, Xianfu, Kaixing Qu and Peng Jia (2021). 'Assessing Genomic Diversity and Productivity Signatures in Dianzhong Cattle by Whole-Genome Scanning'. In: *Frontiers in Genetics* 12, p. 1864 (cit. on pp. 94, 153).
- Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a). 《洱海区域古代文明: 南诏大理国时期》. Vol. 下卷. 云南省教育出版社 (cit. on pp. 43, 82, 85).
- (2010b). 《洱海区域古代文明: 南诏大理国时期》. Vol. 上卷. 云南省教育出版社 (cit. on pp. 86, 96).
- Zhào Lǚfǔ 赵吕甫 (1985). 《云南志校释》. 中国社会科学出版社 (cit. on pp. 7, 13, 18, 26, 28, 30, 33, 39, 40, 48, 51, 52, 69, 71, 72, 78, 86, 91, 93, 94, 104, 113, 114, 116–118, 122, 127).
- Zhào Yún 赵云 and Wáng Yùshān 王育珊 (2016). 《南诏古城阳苴咩地名译音考》. In: *中国边疆史地研究* 4 (cit. on p. 10).
- Zhōu Zhènè 周振鹤 (2012). 《中国行政区划通史: 唐代卷》. 复旦大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 10, 70, 134, 138).
- Zhōu Jǐnguó 周锦国 and Zhào Yuánliáng 赵元梁 (2013). 《大理市村庄名称调查研究: 以大理镇等 5 个镇为例》. In: *大理学院学报* 12.12, pp. 7–12 (cit. on p. 24).
- Zhū Xiá 朱霞 (2011). 'The Production of Well Salt by Ethnic Minorities in Pre-modern Yunnan: The "Illustrations on the Salt Production Methods of Yunnan" '. In: *East Asian Science, Medicine and Technology* (cit. on pp. 76, 86, 88, 145).
- 《古代汉语词典》(2002). 商务印书馆 (cit. on p. 154).
- 汉语大辞典编辑委员会 (1993). 《汉语大辞典》. (Cit. on pp. 18, 31).

Index

- | | |
|--|---|
| 公元前 228 年, 126-2258n | 737 年, 33-385n, 33-385n, 63-994, 63-997n |
| 43 年, 9-1-9-2n | 740 年, 44-587 |
| 225 年, 14-50 | 742-755 年, 18-142n, 71-1115n, 94-1521n, |
| 585 年, 18-133-18-134n | 131-2394n |
| 627-649 年, 74-1165n | 742-756 年, 44-589n, 47-679n, 48-697n, |
| 650-683 年, 39-500n | 48-705n, 119-2066-119-2067n |
| 664 年, 70-1086 | 742 年, 20-204-20-205n, 70-1107 |
| 674 年, 40-506n | 745 年, 40-526n |
| 684 年, 40-506n | 748 年, 41-529n |
| 712 年, 33-385n | 749 年, 88-1380n |
| 713-741 年, 33-385n, 49-732n, 74-1165-74-1166n, | 750 年, 16-102n, 41-538n, 70-1113, 127-2293n |
| 78-1253n, 119-2065n | 751 年, 88-1382n |
| 713-742 年, 35-414-35-415n | 752 年, 71-1115n |
| 713 年, 33-385n, 40-513-40-514n, 78-1254n | 754 年, 10-10 |
| 728 年, 78-1254n | 755 年, 21-209n |

- 756 年, 88-1388n
759 年, 20-194-20-195n
764 年, 72-1148n
772 年, 68-1092n
779 年, 41-543n
785-804 年, 48-708n, 59-943n
785-805 年, 39-496n, 119-2069n, 163
785 年, 35-414-35-415n
787 年, 130-2368-130-2369n
788 年, 127-2300n
791 年, 20-193, 21-237n, 58-934n, 127-2303n
794 年, 6, 18-144n, 21-211n, 37-444n, 41-555n,
42-492, 42-565, 42-566n, 47-685n,
48-700n, 48-700-48-702n, 49-716n,
50-737n, 51-756n, 51-767n, 58-920n,
69-1111n, 73-1155n, 76-1204, 76-1204,
76-1217n, 88-1402-88-1403n,
93-1483n, 97-1562n, 132-2438n,
133-2444n, 133-2461n
795 年, 21-215n
799-869 年, 23-255n
808 年, 13-31n
829 年, 86-1366n
847-854 年, 12-21n
847-858 年, 121-2114n
847-859 年, 12-21n
847-860 年, 137
854 年, 12-23n, 45-646n, 59-949n, 59-958n
859 年, 121-2114n
862-863 年, 5
862 年, 5, 6
863 年, 5, 42-575n, 121-2118n, 133-2452n
864 年, 6, 123-2149n
898 年, 83-1279
1074 年, 93-1368
1470 年, 30-355n
1866-1868 年, 8
1900 年, 6
1939 年, 6
1983 年, 7
2012 年, 96-1485
585, 22 Nov [开皇五年二十五], 18-133R
737 [开元二十五年], 63-994, 63-997R
749 [天宝八年], 88-1380R
750 [天宝九年], 16-102R
751 [天宝十年], 88-1382R
759 [乾元二年], 20-194R
764 [广德我二年], 72-1148R
791 [贞元七年], 58-934R
794 [贞元十年], 37-444R, 41-555R, 42-566R,
47-685R, 48-700R, 49-716R, 50-737R,
51-756R, 51-767R, 58-920R, 69-1111R,
73-1155R, 76-1217R, 88-1403R,
93-1483R, 97-1562R, 115-1984R,
119-2058R, 127-2283R, 132-2438R,
133-000R, 133-000R
794, 12 Nov [贞元十年十五日十月], 116-1993R
794, 16 Nov [贞元十年十九日十月], 117-1998R
794, 18 Nov [贞元十年二十一日十月],
117-2003R
794, 20 Nov [贞元十年二十三日十月],
117-2008R
794, 21 Nov [贞元十年二十四日十月],
117-2017R
794, 22 Nov [贞元十年二十五日十月],
118-2030R
794, 23 Nov [贞元十年二十六日十月],
118-2033R
794, 24 Nov [贞元十年 1027], 119-2049R
794, 20 Dec [贞元十年十一二十四], 121-2106R
829 [大和三年], 86-1366R
832 [大和九年], 111-1916R
835 [太和九年], 110-1887R
854 [大中八年], 12-23R, 46-646R, 59-949R,
59-958R
862, 20 Jan [咸通三年十二月二十七日],
50-741R
862, 06 Apr [咸通三年三月四日], 46-653R
862, 10 Apr [咸通三年三月八日], 46-656R,
60-966R, 123-2139R
862, 23 Apr [咸通三年三月八日], 60-976R
863, 16 Jan [咸通三年十二月二十一日],
54-831R, 58-922R
863, 20 Jan [咸通三年十二月二十七日],
53-810R
863, 22 Jan [四年正月二十九日], 133-000R
863, 25 Jan [咸通四年正月三日], 52-793R
863, 28 Jan [咸通四年正月六日], 112-1920R

- 863, 14 Feb [咸通四年正月二十三日],
54-843R
- 863, 25 Jun [咸通四年六六], 115-1972R
- 864, Jul [咸通五年六月月], 123-2149R
- Āchà 阿媿, 45-614R, 45-616R, 45-618R,
45-624R, 45-631R
- Āděnglù 阿等路, 19-165R
- Āgānlù 阿竿路, 19-176R
- Āmán 阿蛮, 19-168R
- Ānuò 阿诺, 59-944R
- Ā Sī 阿思, 118-2031R
- Āiláo 哀牢, 78-1237R
- Ānlùshān Zhī Luàn 安禄山之乱, 88-1389R
- Ānnán 安南, 5, 8, 9, 10-10, 10-10, 10-10, 10-13R,
10-15R, 12-20, 12-22R, 41-553R, 42-565,
43-587, 44-595, 46-595, 46-644R,
46-646R, 50-740R, 53-797R, 58-924R,
59-946R, 59-955R, 60-972R, 60-978R,
72-1146, 74-1173R, 88-1382R, 88-1387R,
109-1847R, 109-1847*n*, 109-1854R,
109-1862*n*, 109-1863R, 112-1922R,
115-1975R, 115-1975*n*, 115-1979R,
121-2114R, 122-2058, 122-2125R,
122-2129*n*, 123-2153R, 130-2375R,
132-2410R, 132-2414R, 132-2434R,
133-000R, 133-000R, 133-000R
- Ānníng 安宁, 9, 9-1R, 9-1*n*, 13-36R, 13-37R,
13-38R, 16-105-16-106*n*, 29-340R,
29-339-29-340*n*, 44-592R, 44-603R,
44-605R, 47-678R, 47-677-47-678*n*,
72-1146, 72-1146, 75-1185R, 75-1187R,
75-1193*n*, 87-1377R, 88-1383R,
88-1384R, 88-1385R,
88-1380-88-1388*n*, 88-1393R, 115-1971,
116-1993R
- Ānníng hé 安宁河, 28-302
- Ānxī 安西, 56-891R, 112-1938R
- Bā 巴, 123-2138R, 123-2151R, 125-2121,
125-2200R, 125-2208R, 125-2209R,
125-2210R, 125-2213R, 125-2219R,
126-2236R, 126-2236R, 126-2242R,
127-2259R, 127-2278R
- Bááo Hé 拔熬河, 81-1294R
- Bāzhào piān 八诏篇, 42-570-42-573*n*
- Bái 白, 21-228R, 21-232R, 21-234R, 32-382,
35-415R, 43-588R, 45-633-45-635*n*,
48-687R, 48-703R, 58-927R, 58-929R,
67-1082R, 102-1549, 102-1675R,
103-1685R, 103-1700R
- Báishì 白土, 14-67R
- Báiyá 白崖, 13-41R, 13-41*n*, 33-382, 33-384R,
33-393R, 51-769R, 63-990R, 64-1017R,
68-1061, 68-1087R, 68-1087*n*,
88-1398R, 97-1580R, 117-2017R
- Bǎizhàng 百丈, 14-59R
- Báizǐ Guó 白子国, 13-41*n*, 68-1074
- Báizú 白族, 66-1049, 89-1419-89-1420*n*,
101-1657*n*, 103-1582
- Bàng Luōdiān 傍罗颠, 39-488R, 39-489R,
39-491R
- Bàngmíqián 傍弥潜, 51-768R, 76-1210R,
89-1408R
- Bào 暴, 19-177R
- Bǎosāi 保塞, 20-204R, 21-213R
- Bǎoshān 保山, 25-270, 78-1214
- Bǎoshān 宝山, 27-288R, 81-1299R
- Běi Lù 北路, 14-50, 17-130R
- Běnláng 本箆, 15-69R
- Bìjī 碧鸡, 22-244-22-246*n*
- Bìjī Shān 碧鸡山, 22-243R, 22-243-22-244*n*,
23-250R, 29-334R
- Bīnchuān 宾川, 24-266-24-268*n*, 35-409
- Bīnjū 宾居, 25-268R, 35-411R
- Bīnjūtāng 宾居汤, 68-1085R
- Bó 燹, 14-50
- Bōchōng 波冲, 36-417R, 36-417R, 36-421R
- Bōdà 波大, 13-41R, 16-107R
- Bódào 燹道, 14-50
- Bóní 勃泥, 79-1268R
- Bónòngchuān 勃弄川, 67-1071R
- Bónòng Dàn 勃弄谿, 63-990R
- Bōsī 波斯, 79-1268R, 111-1911R
- Bō Zhōu 波州, 45-609R, 71-1127R, 71-1128R
- Bǔguóshǐ 补国史, 115-1974*n*
- Bùlǎngzú 布朗族, 52-771
- Bùtóu 步头, 44-594R, 44-604R, 72-1146,

- 72-1146, 72-1146, 75-1193R, 75-1194R
- Cài Jīng 蔡京, 47-674R, 47-674R
- Càixí 蔡袭, 5, 42-576R, 46-654R, 47-667R, 47-668R, 47-671R, 47-673R, 52-794R, 53-810R, 53-812R, 54-843R, 54-846R, 112-1923R, 113-1956R, 122-2118R, 122-2123R
- Cángbàng 藏傍, 16-99R
- Cāngshān 苍山, 24-256, 24-257R, 24-260-24-262n, 24-266-24-268n, 25-261n, 35-401, 42-560R, 42-562R, 64-1012R, 64-1017, 78-1237R, 107-1789R, 128-2287R
- Cāngwàng 苍望, 31-366R, 82-1308R, 113-1948R
- Cáo 曹, 105-1674, 105-1674, 105-1745R, 105-1746R, 105-1746R, 105-1746R, 105-1747R, 105-1747R, 105-1747R, 105-1747R, 105-1750R, 105-1750R, 106-1753R, 106-1755R, 106-1757R, 106-1772R, 106-1773R, 106-1777R, 107-1809R, 116-1988R
- Cáocháng 曹长, 99-1600R
- Cén Zhòngmiǎn 岑仲勉, 91-1440n
- Chángbàng 长傍, 81-1286R, 81-1286R, 82-1320R, 89-1410R, 90-1422R, 90-1436R, 91-1449R, 92-1459R, 92-1475R
- Chángjiāng 长江, 6, 28-291, 29-327n
- Chángkūn 长辉, 76-1224R
- Chángkūn 长禪, 49-702, 49-722R
- Chāngníng 昌宁, 96-1485
- Chángzōng 长鬃, 56-878, 56-892, 56-893R, 57-899R, 79-1272R
- Chén Xíngyú 陈行余, 115-1977R
- Chéng 城, 10-11R, 13-30R, 14-58R, 15-70R, 15-72R, 16-101R, 16-106R, 21-207R, 37-447, 37-458R, 38-472R, 49-717R, 55-856R
- Chéngdū 成都, 8, 14-50, 14-51R, 17-128, 17-130n, 17-131n, 20-193, 86-1366n
- Chénghuáng 城隍, 73-1151n
- Chéngjié 诚节, 40-518n, 40-520R, 68-1106R
- Chéngjiédù 成节度, 40-518n
- Chéngshàng 承上, 21-222R, 50-754R
- Chóng 崇, 40-521R
- Chóngdào 崇道, 44-601R, 44-603R, 45-609R, 45-613R, 45-621R, 45-622R, 45-626R, 45-627R
- Chóngmó 崇魔, 59-946R
- Chǔ 楚, 135
- Chūlǐ 初里, 15-73R
- Chuān 川, 28-315R, 31-367R, 31-378R, 37-462R, 51-774R, 67-1072R, 71-1133R, 72-1141R, 74-1164R, 75-1192R, 78-1241R, 78-1248R, 79-1263R, 79-1264R, 79-1265R, 79-1266R, 79-1266R, 79-1267R, 81-1291R, 81-1292R, 81-1295R, 81-1297R, 81-1304R, 117-2003R
- Chuānbí 穿鼻, 56-865, 56-878, 56-893R, 56-895R, 79-1259R
- Chuányǎn 传究, 76-1224R
- Cíbùlángzhōng 祠部郎中, 42-566R
- Cì Dàn 次贲, 93-1497R
- Cìshǐ 刺史, 12-22R, 15-92R, 22-238R, 36-439R, 37-451R, 40-516R, 40-519R, 40-520R, 40-521R, 40-522R, 41-531R, 47-679R, 48-690R, 48-697R, 50-733R, 58-935R, 109-1848R, 109-1851R, 115-1976R
- Cuàn 爨, 43-587, 43-587, 44-595R, 44-595, 44-595, 44-602R, 45-615R, 45-628R, 88-1392R
- Cuàn Guīwáng 爨归王, 44-596R, 44-600R, 45-609R, 45-613R, 45-614R, 45-618R
- Cuàn Yànzhāng 爨彦璋, 45-609R
- Cuī Zuǒshí 崔佐时, 42-559R, 128-2285-128-2286n, 128-2287R, 129-2319R, 130-2350R
- Dà Dàn 大贲, 57-910R
- Dàdiànshān 大甸山, 96-1550-96-1551n
- Dàdìng 大定, 15-70R
- Dàdòng 大洞, 78-1241R
- Dàdù 大渡, 15-69R
- Dàěr 大耳, 113-1945R, 113-1945n
- Dàfū 大夫, 132-2436R
- Dàguǐzhǔ 大鬼主, 59-943R

- Dàhé 大和, 14-48R, 15-78R, 86-1366R, 111-1916R
 Dàhé Dàn 大和殓, 61-988R
 Dà Jūnjiāng 大军将, 49-721R, 65-1037R,
 69-1109R, 99-1599R, 100-1624R,
 105-1729R, 106-1674, 106-1674,
 106-1758R, 106-1759R, 106-1771R,
 117-2014R, 117-2021R, 117-2025R,
 118-2035R, 121-2102R, 128-2285R,
 128-2306R, 129-2323R, 129-2326R
 Dàlǎn 大览, 71-1135R
 Dàlì 大历, 41-543R, 68-1092R
 Dàlǐ 大理, 8, 9, 63-994, 65-1017, 90-1437n
 Dàlóng 大笼, 76-1219R
 Dàpó 大婆, 51-773R, 77-1231R
 Dáshì 达士, 15-70R
 Dàshī Dàn 大施燄, 50-748R, 50-748-50-749n
 Dàtáng Xīyù Jì 大唐西域记, 27-000
 Dàxī 大厘, 37-454R, 37-458R, 50-735R,
 61-988R, 63-994, 63-995R, 63-999R,
 63-1000R, 64-1010, 65-1018R,
 90-1423R, 94-1501R
 Dà yáo 大姚, 15-86
 Dà yín kǒng 大银孔, 79-1267R
 Dà yuè hé 大月河, 31-375R
 Dà zhōng 大中, 12-21R, 12-21n, 12-23R, 46-646R,
 59-949R, 59-958R, 121-2114R,
 121-2114n
 Dǎizú 傣族, 57-892
 Dàn 殓, 27-289R, 28-293R, 28-301R, 67-1072R,
 71-1135R, 71-1136R
 Dàn 殓, 60-924, 60-940, 61-980, 61-981R,
 61-982R, 63-990-63-991n, 133-000R
 Dào jí 道吉, 81-1304R
 Dào shuāng 道双, 31-367R
 Dào wù 道勿, 31-367R
 Dé áng zú 德昂族, 52-784
 Dé chāng 德昌, 15-79n, 15-86
 Dé huà Bēi 德化碑, 5, 39-492, 41-540-41-541n,
 64-1003, 64-1003, 64-1003, 96-1380,
 117-2017n
 Dé qīn 德钦, 30-351n, 52-791-52-792n
 Dé yuán 德源, 37-447
 Dé yuán chéng 德源城, 66-1027
 Dēng 登, 63-989R, 63-1001R, 94-1501R
 Dèng chuān 邓川, 37-433, 37-433, 37-447,
 37-447, 38-466, 66-1027, 75-1150
 Dēng zhōu 登州, 10-16R, 60-960R, 75-1198R
 Dì jiǔ 第九, 19-173n
 Dì liù 第六, 19-179n
 Dì qī 第七, 19-168n
 Dì wǔ 第五, 19-168n
 Diàn cāng shān 玷苍山, 129-2321R
 Diān chí 滇池, 23-250R, 29-302, 29-302, 29-327,
 29-328R, 29-335R, 29-336R, 29-337R,
 29-338R, 29-339-29-340n, 30-327,
 30-327, 30-344R, 70-1113, 72-1113,
 72-1150R, 74-1160R, 74-1160n, 74-1162n,
 83-1322R, 93-1498R, 95-1534R
 Diān guó 滇国, 72-1146, 74-1162n
 Diān Wáng Zhī Yìn 滇王之印, 72-1146
 Diān zhī tuō 颠之托, 38-464R, 38-466R
 Diāo tí 雕题, 82-1321R
 Dìng biān 定边, 125-2197R
 Dòng 洞, 12-24n, 46-648R
 Dōng Cuàn 东爨, 19-180R, 43-588R, 44-595R,
 93-1499R, 103-1699R
 Dòng fēng 栋峰, 56-893R, 57-900R
 Dōng lú 东泸, 77-1226R
 Dōng lú shuǐ 东泸水, 28-305R, 28-315R
 Dōng luō 东罗, 55-856R
 Dòng tíng 洞庭, 23-255R, 23-255n
 Dōu mí jiā mù zhà 兜弥伽木栅, 31-378R
 Dù Cún líng 杜存陵, 115-1976R
 Dū dū 都督, 15-93R, 16-103R, 33-394R, 35-399R,
 44-596R, 45-619R, 79-1275R,
 104-1711R, 128-2293R
 Dū hù 都护, 46-646R, 46-651R, 46-662R,
 109-1861R, 109-1862n, 132-2434R
 Dū hù fǔ 都护府, 5
 Dù Jiānuò 杜伽诺, 121-2103R
 Dú jīn 独锦, 42-570-42-573n, 47-595, 47-677R,
 47-683R, 47-684R, 47-684R
 Dū pó 闾婆, 79-1268R
 Dù Yīngcè 杜英策, 109-1857R
 Dù Zōng 杜棕, 121-2114n
 Duàn Jiānuò 段伽诺, 116-1994R
 Duàn Nánluōgè 段南罗各, 116-1988R
 Duàn Shèng 段盛, 129-2323R

- Duàn Zhōngyì 段忠义, 128-2303R
 Duàn Zīyīng 段子英, 71-1130R
 Duōlì 多利, 10-17R
 Duólúowàng 铎逻望, 36-439R, 66-1054R
 Duólúowàng 铎罗望, 51-761R
 Duóqiào 铎鞘, 35-409, 36-422R, 36-422R,
 36-423R, 36-433R, 96-1368, 96-1374,
 96-1485, 96-1485, 96-1549, 96-1549,
 96-1550R, 97-1558R, 97-1563R,
 97-1564R, 118-2043-118-2044n,
 118-2045R, 121-2098R, 127-2276R
- Éhuáilíng 俄淮岭, 15-79R, 15-87R
 Ékūn 俄坤, 66-1049, 66-1061R
 È Zhōu 鄂州, 54-848R
 Ěrhǎi 洱海, 5, 8, 9, 10-10, 15-86, 18-139-18-140n,
 24-248, 24-256, 24-260R,
 24-266-24-268n, 30-355n, 32-382,
 35-409, 36-409, 37-447, 38-466,
 49-721, 51-746, 52-784, 63-987, 64-994,
 64-1003, 64-1013R, 65-1017,
 65-1022-65-1023n, 65-1025R, 66-000,
 67-1061, 70-1086, 70-1113, 75-1150,
 75-1150, 77-1227n, 78-1214, 79-1214,
 81-1280n, 96-1549, 101-1657n
- Èrjiāng 二江, 14-55R
 Ěryuán 洱源, 36-433, 75-1150
- Fànxiàng Juàn 梵像卷, 96-1549
 Fēngbā 丰巴, 59-924, 59-941R, 59-941n,
 59-945R
 Fèngjiāyì 凤伽异, 40-526R, 41-531R, 41-543R,
 41-544R, 72-1147R
 Fèngjiāyì 凤迦异, 120-2075n
 Fènglánróng 凤蓝茸, 57-909R
 Fēngmiē 丰咩, 36-435R, 36-436R, 37-449R,
 38-470R, 66-1053R
 Fèngqìng 凤庆, 81-1280n
 Fēngshí 丰时, 36-435R, 36-438R, 66-1054R
 Fèngyì 奉义, 14-63R
 Fèngyì 奉逸, 80-1276R, 80-1276-80-1277n
 Fèngyí 凤仪, 67-1061, 67-1061
 Fú bō 伏波, 9-2R
 Fúcháo 辅朝, 45-620R, 45-627R
- Fù Mén 傅门, 55-852R
 Fùpái 负排, 105-1603, 105-1728R, 105-1730R
 Fúxié 扶邪, 60-979R
- Gàichěng 盖骋, 44-598R
 Gàiqǐ 盖启, 44-598R
 Gāntáng 甘棠, 10-18R
 Gānzhìlì 干支历, 101-1644n
 Gāngyǒng 刚勇, 126-2257R, 127-2262R
 Gāoli 高丽, 125-2203R
 Gāolígòngshān 高黎贡山, 25-270, 26-270,
 26-270, 26-270, 26-271R, 26-283R,
 27-288n
- Gāoxīn Shì 高辛氏, 123-2157R, 124-2187R
 Gāozōng 高宗, 39-500R
 Gāozōngwǔnián 高宗五年, 40-506n
 Gédiàn 葛店, 14-65R
 Géluófèng 阁逻凤, 28-292R, 40-505R
 Géluófèng 阁罗凤, 33-385n, 33-386R, 33-389R,
 33-388-33-389n, 33-392R, 36-430R,
 38-469R, 40-518R, 40-523R, 40-524R,
 40-526R, 41-529R, 41-533R, 41-539R,
 41-543R, 45-629R, 45-633R, 48-707R,
 53-802R, 53-819R, 63-1000R,
 64-1007R, 64-1007-64-1008n,
 64-1011R, 66-1058R, 68-1093R,
 68-1096R, 68-1106R, 71-1115R, 71-1115n,
 79-1255R, 98-1587-98-1590n,
 111-1891R, 131-2379R, 131-2394R
- Géquàn 阁劝, 41-545R, 42-571R
 Géquàn 阁劝, 118-2045R
 Gēngdào 粳稻, 84-1327-84-1328n
 Gōngbù 工部, 132-2436R
 Gòngchuān 共川, 48-694R, 51-760R, 51-762R
 Gǔchāng 谷昌, 73-1153R, 73-1154R
 Gǔyǒngbù 贾勇步, 10-10, 10-19R, 12-27R,
 72-000, 75-1197R
- Guàn 贯, 109-1858R
 Guǎn 馆, 12-27R, 13-28R, 13-28R, 13-28R,
 13-29R, 13-29R, 13-30R, 13-36R, 13-37R,
 13-38R, 13-39R, 13-39R, 13-39R, 13-40R,
 16-96R, 16-96R, 16-99R, 16-99R,
 16-106R, 16-107R, 19-164R, 20-190R
- Guānbiān 关边, 29-325R

- Guāncházhùzhìshǐ 观察处置使, 132-2435R
 Guǎnchángbì 管长贲, 14-62R
 Guāng 光, 104-1724*n*
 Guǎngdàng 广荡, 27-288-27-289*n*, 78-1239R,
 81-1305R
 Guǎngdé 广德, 72-1148R
 Guāngwǔ 光武, 9-1-9-2*n*
 Guǎngzhōu 广州, 88-1387R
 Guǐ 鬼, 125-2216R, 127-2264R
 Guīyì 归义, 32-382, 131-2390*n*
 Guìzhōu 贵州, 17-115*n*, 17-129*n*, 88-1386R
 Guǐzhǔ 鬼主, 19-185R, 19-185*n*, 20-186R,
 21-227R, 22-239R, 44-602R, 58-936R,
 58-938R
 Guīzī 龟兹, 120-2083R
 Guō Yánzōng 郭延宗, 74-1173R
- Hǎimén 海门, 122-2129R, 122-2129*n*
 Hǎitáng 海棠, 17-130*n*
 Hàn 汉, 19-173R, 20-191R, 22-246R, 30-344R,
 40-509R, 41-541R, 49-711R, 49-713R,
 59-948R, 71-1117R, 72-1144R, 74-1171R,
 88-1405R, 98-1584R, 101-1645R,
 101-1645-101-1646*n*, 102-1659R,
 102-1661R, 102-1662R, 102-1665R,
 102-1670R, 102-1676R, 103-1687R,
 104-1712R, 120-2071R, 128-2292R,
 128-2295R, 129-2314R, 129-2324R,
 129-2334R, 129-2340R, 129-2345R,
 129-2346R, 130-2350R, 130-2357R,
 130-2362R
 Hàrchāng 汉昌, 14-64R
 Hàn Cháo 汉朝, 9, 10-9R, 13-37R, 71-1136R,
 72-1149R, 73-1151R, 73-1154R, 74-1160R,
 74-1176R, 74-1179R, 74-1183R, 75-1190R,
 75-1191R, 75-1203R, 78-1214
 Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉光武, 9-4R
 Hànlínyuàn 翰林院, 6
 Hánshī 寒湿, 101-1645-101-1646*n*
 Hàn Shū 汉书, 22-244-22-246*n*, 125-2209R
 Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 9-5R
 Hànyuán 汉源, 14-68R, 17-130*n*
 Hé 河, 37-453R, 49-710, 49-728R, 49-729R,
 50-735R, 50-742R, 63-996R, 63-997R
- Hé Dàn 河谿, 26-281R, 27-291R, 45-630R,
 48-706R, 67-1072R, 76-1224R,
 79-1261R, 88-1397R, 91-1443R,
 91-1446R, 92-1473R, 111-1909R
 Hédōng 河东, 67-1075R
 Hékǒu 河口, 10-10, 12-27*n*
 Hé Lǚguāng 何履光, 88-1381R, 88-1385R
 Hépǔ 河普, 79-1264R
 Hèqìng 鹤庆, 51-758, 66-000, 75-1201
 Hézi 河子, 15-94R, 16-96R
 Hēichǐ 黑齿, 56-879R, 56-882R, 80-1278R
 Hēishuǐ 黑水, 31-373R
 Hénghéjīng 恒河经, 111-1914R
 Hónghé 红河, 66-1061
 Hónglú 鸿胪, 40-511R, 40-528R, 41-531R,
 120-2076R
 Hóng Piàolìshí 洪骠利时, 129-2322R
 Hóu 侯, 125-2197R
 Hòu Hàn 后汉, 9-2R, 9-1-9-2*n*, 9-6R
 Hòuhàn Nán Mán Chuán 后汉南蛮传,
 126-2239-126-2241*n*
 Hòuhànánmánchuán 后汉南蛮传,
 123-2156R
 Hòuxuěshān 候雪山, 78-1240R
 Húbù 胡部, 120-2083R
 Hùcáo 户曹, 117-2015R
 Hújīn 湖津, 18-140*n*
 Huà 化, 71-1134R
 Huáyáng Guó Zhì 华阳国志, 126-2244R
 Huáyángguó Zhì 华阳国志,
 126-2256-126-2257*n*
 Huān Zhōu 驩州, 114-1959R, 114-1960R
 Huáng 黄, 18-134*n*
 Huángbǎi 黄柏, 91-1442*n*, 91-1442*n*
 Huángbò 黄蘗, 91-1442R
 Huángliánguān 黄联关, 15-78*n*
 Huǐ 虺, 75-1201, 76-1205R
 Huìchuān 会川, 15-89R, 15-91R, 15-92R
 Huìjū 讳苴, 77-1228R
 Huìnì 讳溺, 89-1409R
 Huìtóng 会同, 21-223R, 28-315R, 93-1478R,
 130-2360R
 Huìtōng 会通, 17-131R
 Huìwáng 惠王, 126-2236R

- Huìzhōu 会州, 28-304R
Huògēnuò 濮歌诺, 91-1440R
- Jìhóngqiáo 霁虹桥, 30-355*n*
Jímízhōu 羈縻州, 108-1846R, 108-1846*n*,
109-1847*n*
Jíyùn 集韵, 54-824*n*
Jízhú 棘竹, 91-1449*n*
Jiāméng 加萌, 26-273R, 76-1223R
Jiāpí 伽毗, 16-96R
Jiànchuān 剑川, 30-354R, 33-382, 33-385R,
33-394R, 36-441R, 37-445R, 38-465R,
38-486R, 39-489R, 48-694R, 49-710,
49-723R, 51-746, 51-760R, 51-762R,
66-1055R, 69-1108R, 71-1130R,
76-1210*n*, 76-1215R, 89-1409R
Jiànlàng 剑浪, 37-442R, 49-726R
Jiǎnlàng 俭浪, 15-79R
Jiànnán 剑南, 20-201R, 36-418R, 39-497R,
128-2287R, 128-2300R, 129-2318R,
130-2367R
Jiànqiāng 剑羌, 51-763R
Jiànshān 剑山, 21-223R
Jiànshuǐ 建水, 30-343, 30-343, 72-1146
Jiànwǔ 建武, 9-1-9-2*n*, 9-5R
Jiàn xún Dàn 剑寻燄, 51-764R
Jiànyín 建寅, 101-1644R, 101-1644*n*
Jiāngchuān 江川, 13-30R, 30-327
Jiāngdǐngsì 江顶寺, 30-363*n*
Jiāngdōng 江东, 40-521R
Jiāngkǒu 江口, 38-473R, 41-537R
Jiāngxī 江西, 53-814R, 54-848R, 55-852R
Jiāngxībēijiàn 江西卑贱, 116-1987R
Jiāozhǐ 交趾, 5, 6, 9-1*n*, 9-1*n*, 9-4R, 10-8R,
50-742R, 88-1385R, 108-1841R,
109-1854R
Jiāozhōu 交州, 115-1974*n*, 122-2129*n*, 133-000R
Jiédù 节度, 13-36R, 28-307R, 28-312R, 47-675R,
49-717R, 68-1074, 69-1110R, 70-1112R,
72-1113, 75-1150, 76-1204, 76-1214,
79-1214, 79-1214, 80-1236, 80-1236,
81-1261, 87-1375-87-1376*n*, 105-1738R,
106-1762R, 114-1959R, 115-1983R,
117-2009R, 128-2285-128-2286*n*,
130-2366R, 132-2434R
Jīn 金, 82-1320R
Jīnbǎo 金宝, 27-289R, 81-1300R, 81-1301R,
81-1303R, 81-1303R
Jīnchéng 晋城, 72-1113
Jīnchǐ 金齿, 56-879R, 56-882R, 79-1258R,
82-1320R
Jīnmǎ 金马, 22-242R, 22-242*n*,
22-244-22-246*n*, 23-254R, 29-330R
Jīnníng 晋宁, 13-30R, 29-335R, 44-592R,
72-1113, 74-1160R, 74-1161R
Jīnshā 金沙, 15-86, 28-291, 28-302, 29-327,
76-1204
Jīnshān 金山, 90-1422R
Jīnshēng 金生, 81-1301R
Jīnzhōu 津州, 18-137R, 18-141R
Jīng 泾, 123-2138R
Jīngdōng 景东, 78-1273-78-1274*n*
Jīnghóng 景洪, 80-1278*n*
Jīngkǒu 菁口, 15-72R, 15-88R
Jīnglüè Shǐ 经略使, 12-23R, 59-949R,
109-1849R, 109-1862R
Jīngnán 荆南, 54-848R, 55-850R
Jīngyì 井邑, 73-1151R
Jīngzhōu 靖州, 19-175R, 44-589R, 44-593R,
45-638R
Jiǔ Dàn 九燄, 75-1201, 76-1207R
Jiùtáng Shū 旧唐书, 6, 13-32R, 39-492,
64-1007-64-1008*n*
Jiùtángshū·Dìlǐzhì 旧唐书·地理志, 75-1191*n*
Jiùtángshū·dìlǐzhì 旧唐书地理志, 74-1176*n*
Jùdiàn 巨甸, 75-000
Jūmèng 苴梦, 58-917, 58-931R, 58-936R
Jūpú 沮蒲, 67-1082R
Jù Wénzhēn 俱文珍, 42-568R
Jùn 郡, 13-37R, 40-516R, 71-1124R, 88-1385R,
125-2209R, 127-2259R, 133-000R,
133-000R, 133-000R
Jùn Zhōu 郡州, 115-1974*n*
Kāihuáng 开皇, 18-134R
Kāinán 开南, 52-790R, 56-865, 56-880R,
57-906R, 68-1091R, 68-1107R,
69-1109R, 78-1273-78-1274*n*, 79-1224,

- 79-1273R, 95-1524R, 95-1541R
 Kāiyuán 开元, 33-385R, 35-414-35-415*n*,
 35-416R, 40-514R, 49-732R, 58-932R,
 63-997R, 74-1166R, 78-1253R,
 119-2065R, 120-2075R, 120-2082R
 Kāndǐ 坎底, 27-288-27-289*n*
 Kē 柯, 81-1290R
 Kéngòng 壳弄, 94-1506R
 Kǒng Míng 孔明, 31-360R
 Kuì 愤, 75-1201
 Kuíchéngtújīng 夔城图经, 127-2263R
 Kuí líng 夔岭, 19-158R
 Kuílùnòng 夔鹿弄, 74-1176R
 Kuízhōu 夔州, 6, 123-2150R
 Kūn 昆, 72-1149R
 Kūnlún 崑崙, 75-1201R
 Kūnlún 昆仑, 112-1936R, 130-2360R
 Kūnlúnguó 昆仑国, 79-1269R, 112-1758,
 112-1926R, 112-1932R
 Kūnmíng 昆明, 9, 22-241, 51-773R, 51-773*n*,
 52-780R, 72-1113, 76-1214, 76-1214,
 77-1226R, 78-1234R, 88-1399R,
 88-1403R, 113-1956R
 Làishuǐ Hé 濑水河, 30-352R
 Lāncāng 澜沧, 30-343, 30-350R, 30-354R,
 38-476R, 38-481R, 52-792R,
 52-791-52-792*n*, 52-792*n*, 54-796,
 54-834R, 78-1250R
 Lǎn Dàn 览贖, 88-1394R, 95-1529R
 Lánpíng 兰坪, 30-353-30-354*n*
 Lǎnzhōu 览州, 71-1136R
 Làng 浪, 33-391*n*, 36-409, 36-433, 37-446R,
 37-447R, 37-459R, 37-460R, 38-447,
 39-490R, 75-1204R, 97-1575R,
 97-1577R
 Làngjǐng 郎井, 88-1393R
 Làngpó 郎婆, 76-1206R
 Làngqióng 浪穹, 33-391*n*, 36-433, 36-434R,
 36-436R, 36-440R, 37-446R, 37-457R,
 51-761R, 66-1053R
 Làngrénjiàn 浪人剑, 121-2098R
 Làngyáng 郎阳, 81-1291R
 Làngzhào 浪诏, 49-723R, 50-736R, 50-737R
 Làngzhōu 郎州, 74-1165R
 Lǎojūnshān 老君山, 30-353-30-354*n*
 Léi 雷, 58-925R
 Lì 栗, 58-925R
 Lí 黎, 30-344R
 Liǎnnán 隶安南, 108-1846*n*
 Lǐ Bōluōnuò 李波罗诺, 118-2029R
 Lǐ Fènglán 李凤岚, 117-2021R
 Lǐ Fùjiān 李负监, 47-685R, 117-2021*n*
 Lìguài 隶桂, 108-1846*n*
 Lǐ Hǔ 李虎, 99-1549
 Lǐ Jiārui 李家瑞, 113-1945*n*
 Lǐjiāng 丽江, 51-758
 Lǐ Luōzhá 李罗札, 116-1991R
 Lǐ Mào 李茂, 132-2430R
 Lǐ Mì 李宓, 13-43R, 13-43*n*, 14-45*n*
 Líniú Hé 犛牛河, 28-312R
 Lǐ Qiānbàng 李千傍, 118-2035R
 Lǐqiángzǐ 礼强子, 81-1283R
 Lìrùn 利润, 80-1276R, 80-1276-80-1277*n*
 Lìshuǐ 丽水, 31-343, 31-364R, 31-366R, 31-376R,
 69-1109R, 77-1229*n*, 78-1233*n*, 80-1236,
 81-1295R, 81-1299R, 81-1302R,
 82-1308R, 82-1309R, 82-1310R,
 89-1410R, 90-1422R, 90-1425R,
 90-1430R, 91-1440R, 92-1321, 92-1471R,
 92-1474R, 94-1503R, 94-1503*n*,
 94-1503*n*, 96-1549, 96-1552R,
 100-1635R, 110-1889R, 113-1949R,
 113-1954R
 Lìsùzú 傣傣族, 50-727
 Líwǔ 黎武, 14-67R
 Líwǔbì 黎武贲, 10-19R
 Lǐ Xiàngǔ 李象古, 109-1862R, 109-1862*n*
 Líxiàngyòu 李象右, 109-1862*n*
 Lǐ Yìbàng 李异傍, 118-2035R
 Lìyōng 隶邕, 108-1846*n*
 Lǐ Yóudú 李由独, 46-648R, 59-956R, 60-961R,
 60-963R
 Lǐ Zhīgǔ 李知古, 37-449R
 Lízhōu 黎州, 14-66R, 15-71R, 17-130R, 20-194R,
 45-626R, 75-1191R, 75-1191*n*
 Lízhōu 礼州, 20-200*n*
 Lǐ Zhuō 李涿, 59-959R, 109-1865R

- Liánrán 连然, 75-1185R
 Liànxún 敛寻, 76-1211R, 89-1408R
 Liànxún Dàn 敛寻贐, 50-749R,
 50-748-50-749n
 Liáng Kē 梁轲, 53-797R, 53-798R, 53-799R,
 53-812R
 Liǎnglín 两林, 22-240R, 59-942R
 Liángshān 凉山, 14-50, 14-50, 17-128, 20-193
 Liàngshuǐ 量水, 30-344R, 75-1191R, 75-1192R,
 75-1199R
 Liángshuǐ 梁水, 75-1191n
 Liào Zhòngyào 廖仲药, 126-2249R
 Línjì 林记, 79-1267R
 Lǐnjūn 廩君, 122-2058, 125-2118, 125-2208R,
 125-2224R, 125-2226R, 125-2230R,
 126-2232R, 126-2234R
 Línqióng 临邛, 14-58R
 Línzhàng 临瘴, 75-1189R
 Língnán Dào 岭南道, 108-1846n
 Língnánxīdào 岭南西道, 47-675R
 Liùcáo 六曹, 65-1037R
 Liú Kànkàn 刘衍衍, 133
 Liǔqiáng 柳强, 20-205R
 Liú Yōuyán 刘幽岩, 42-568R
 Liùzhào 六诏, 32-363, 78-1254R
 Liǔzhūihé 柳追和, 79-1274R
 Lóng 笼, 28-311R
 Lóngfēng 龙封, 75-1188R
 Lónghé 龙和, 44-592R, 45-639R
 Lónghé 龙河, 13-38R, 75-1199R
 Lónghéyù 龙河遇, 74-1177R
 Lóngkǒu 龙口, 37-458R, 63-999R, 65-1019R,
 65-1018-65-1019n, 65-1022-65-1023n,
 66-1051R, 77-1227R
 Lóngmóxiē 笼磨些, 67-1071R
 Lóngqiè 龙怯, 77-1229R
 Lóngqū Hé 龙怯河, 89-1406R
 Lóngqūshā 龙怯沙, 36-425R
 Lóngshǒu 龙首, 65-1018-65-1019n,
 65-1022-65-1023n, 66-1051n
 Lóngwěi 龙尾, 13-42R, 13-43R, 16-108R,
 16-109R, 30-355R, 64-1003, 64-1003,
 64-1010, 64-1010, 67-1064R, 79-1263R,
 79-1274R, 95-1528R, 118-2031R
 Lùbēijiāng 禄卑江, 31-364R, 81-1287R
 Lǔdiàn 鲁甸, 19-173n
 Lúgū 泸沽, 20-200n
 Lúlù 卢鹿, 19-178R
 Lùmǎbǎo 禄马堡, 15-78n
 Lùnuòpǐn 禄诺品, 66-000, 66-1060R
 Lúshuǐ 泸水, 16-95R, 21-220R, 21-222R,
 28-316R, 29-318R, 29-327, 29-343R,
 36-424R, 36-429R, 36-432R, 39-490R,
 66-1057R, 78-1235R, 88-1397R
 Lǔwàng 鲁望, 17-129R, 19-173R, 19-176R,
 20-192R
 Luōfú 罗伏, 60-979R
 Luōjū 罗苴, 89-1410R, 94-1510R, 104-1603,
 104-1722R, 104-1723R, 104-1727R,
 105-1728R, 107-1797R, 107-1814R
 Luōjūn 罗君, 36-441n, 37-442n
 Luōjūnxún 罗君寻, 81-1289R
 Luōméi 罗眉, 76-1208R
 Luó Shān 螺山, 22-242R, 22-242-22-243n,
 22-248R
 Luōshān 罗山, 21-209R, 21-215R
 Luóshèng 逻盛, 40-504R, 40-504R, 40-506R,
 40-508R
 Luōshèng 罗盛, 67-1062R, 67-1062n
 Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, 40-523n
 Luòshí 落实, 37-447
 Luóxiē 逻些, 31-365R
 Luōxiē 罗些, 35-399R
 Luǒxíng 裸形, 53-816R, 79-1259R, 82-1312R
 Mǎāndù 马安渡, 19-164R
 Mǎ Dài 马戴, 23-255n
 Má Guānggāo 麻光高, 60-979R
 Mǎhú 马湖, 29-324R
 Mǎ Yì 马益, 18-149R
 Mǎ Yuán 马援, 9-1n, 9-2R, 9-4R, 88-1384R
 Mán Lì 蛮利, 64-1008R, 64-1007-64-1008n,
 64-1008n
 Mánshū 蛮书, 5, 6, 47-670R, 50-742-50-743n,
 59-958-59-959n, 60-961n, 60-978n
 Mánwáng 蛮王, 10-13R, 42-577R, 97-1560R,
 132-2412R, 132-2429R, 133-000R,
 133-000R

- Mányí 蛮夷, 113-1952R, 119-2061R, 123-2151R
Mánzéi 蛮贼, 111-1916R, 112-1924R, 112-1931R,
113-1954R, 114-1961R, 114-1965R,
115-1973R, 115-1978R, 115-1981R,
122-2130R, 123-2141R, 123-2145R
Mánzhì 蛮志, 5, 123-2154R
Máng 茫, 57-000, 57-892, 57-905, 57-906R,
57-906R, 58-923R, 81-1293R
Mángchāng 茫昌, 57-910R
Mángnǎidào 茫乃道, 80-1278R
Mángshèngkǒng 茫盛恐, 57-910R
Mángshī 茫施, 57-911R
Mángtiānlián 茫天连, 57-909R, 78-1249R
Mángtǔhāo 茫吐薶, 57-909R
Mángxiǎn 茫藓, 57-910R
Mángzhào 茫诏, 57-907R
Máoláng 毛郎, 68-1084R
Máoniúdào 旄牛道, 14-50, 14-50
Měijǐng 美井, 88-1397R
Méiluōjū 眉罗苴, 81-1297R, 81-1301R
Ménbō 门波, 81-1304R
Mèng 梦, 58-925R, 58-931R
Méng 蒙, 32-382, 39-492, 39-495R, 44-595,
67-1062n, 118-2045R, 131-2379R
Mèngchōng 梦冲, 20-193, 21-227R, 21-235R,
22-238R, 59-939R
Méngkuí 蒙夔, 19-166R, 19-169R
Méngmiē 蒙咩, 40-524R
Měngnǎi 勔乃, 80-1278R
Méng Qiúwù 蒙酋物, 117-2009R
Méngshè 蒙舍, 32-363, 35-401, 38-481R,
39-466, 39-492, 39-492, 39-492,
39-493R, 39-493R, 40-520R, 45-616R,
49-710R, 51-758R, 63-989R, 64-1016R,
67-1062R, 67-1062n, 67-1063R,
67-1065R, 67-1072R, 67-1074R,
89-1419R, 90-1433R, 90-1437R,
95-1532R, 97-1580R, 102-1678R,
103-1686R
Méngshè Dàn 蒙舍谿, 63-990R
Mèngtān 孟滩, 91-1449R
Méngxī 蒙蒿, 35-401, 35-402R, 67-1065R
Méng Xiluōwù 蒙细罗勿, 118-2034R
Méngzì 蒙自, 12-27n, 13-28n
Mì 霁, 102-1668R
Mí 弥, 82-1309R, 82-1320R
Míchén 弥臣, 81-1281R, 86-1373R,
86-1372-86-1373n, 86-1373n, 110-1744,
110-1868R, 110-1871R, 110-1877R,
113-1941R
Míchénguó 弥臣国, 32-381R, 81-1280-81-1281n
Mídàng 弥荡, 16-105R, 16-106R
Mídù 弥渡, 13-41n, 68-1061, 68-1087n
Míjǐng 弥井, 76-1210n
Míjū 弥苴, 37-447, 38-466
Mílù 弥鹿, 44-593R
Mínuò 弥诺, 86-1373R, 86-1372-86-1373n,
86-1373n, 95-1524R, 110-1730, 110-1730,
110-1868R, 110-1870R, 110-1875R,
112-1938R
Mínuòdàolizhà 弥诺道立栅, 31-368R
Mínuòjiāng 弥诺江, 31-349, 31-369R, 31-376R
Míshā 弥沙, 66-1027, 76-1210n
Miǎnníng 冕宁, 20-200n, 20-203-20-204n
Miēluōpí 咩罗皮, 33-390R, 37-451R, 37-454R,
37-456R, 37-461R, 37-462R, 38-471R,
51-761R, 63-998R, 65-1021R
Míng Cháo 明朝, 6, 37-447, 38-466, 65-1017,
71-1128-71-1129n, 73-1151n
Míngshān 名山, 14-59R
Móbàn 摩漉, 44-600R, 44-601R
Mójiālō 模迦罗, 81-1283R
Móling 摩零, 82-1312R, 82-1318R, 82-1320R
Mómidiàn 磨弥殿, 19-179R
Móxiē 磨些, 21-221R, 28-302, 28-309R,
28-313R, 28-314R, 35-410R, 48-693R,
51-758, 51-772R, 52-783R, 68-1085R,
74-1157R, 76-1224R, 78-1236R,
79-1259R, 89-1406R
Móxiēlè 磨些乐, 81-1288R
Mòzhà 末栅, 16-96R
Móujūhé 牟苴和, 38-472R, 38-485R
Móuláng 牟郎, 81-1302R
Móulánggòng 牟郎共, 76-1209R
Mù 亩, 104-1712n
Mùjí 目集, 15-91R, 15-94R
Mùlǐ 木里, 21-219-21-220n
Mùmían 木棉, 86-1306

- Nàxīzú 纳西族, 28-302, 51-758
- Nánchǎng 南场, 13-29R
- Nándào 南道, 14-64R
- Nánhuá 南华, 71-1134*n*
- Nánjiàn 南涧, 67-107*n*
- Nánláng 南郎, 28-308R
- Nán Lù 南路, 14-50, 17-131R, 18-137-18-138*n*
- Nánlúshuǐ 南泸水, 29-320R
- Nánmán 南蛮, 16-113R, 29-318R, 42-581R, 46-644R, 49-720R, 75-1195R, 121-2108R, 123-2155R
- Nánníng 南宁, 44-597R, 45-619R, 74-1166R, 74-1180R, 75-1184R
- Nányízhì 南夷志, 5
- Nánzhào 南诏, 157
- Nánzhào Túchuán 南诏图传, 83-1261, 83-1279, 97-1549, 97-1549, 99-1591*n*, 99-1594-99-1597*n*, 99-1598-99-1599*n*
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ 南诏野史, 32-382, 32-382, 96-1477
- Nángcōngshān 囊葱山, 25-265R, 35-412R
- Nǎngōng 囊恭, 21-207R
- Nèigěishì 内给事, 42-568R
- Níshā 泥沙, 66-1027
- Níngběi 宁北, 75-1150, 75-1150, 75-1202R
- Níngěr 宁洱, 80-1278*n*
- Niúhuáng 牛黄, 121-2099R
- Niútóushān 牛头山, 19-162R
- Nòngdòng 弄栋, 16-101R, 16-105R, 29-319R, 48-676, 48-676, 48-687R, 48-688R, 48-701R, 48-700-48-702*n*, 48-702*n*, 69-1108R, 70-1113, 70-1113, 71-1137R, 72-1142R, 76-1224R
- Nóng Lándì 依兰蒂, 133
- Nòngshìchuān 弄视川, 28-313R, 76-1214R
- Nùjiāng 怒江, 25-270, 25-270, 25-270, 26-270, 26-270, 26-270, 26-272R, 26-277R, 52-790*n*, 55-865
- Nǚwángguó 女王国, 114-1867, 114-1867, 114-1958R
- Nuò 诺, 59-944R
- Nuò Dàn 诺賧, 28-304R
- Nuò Shuǐ 诺水, 28-305R
- Nuòyǐ 诺矣, 28-308R
- Pāncāng 潘仓, 14-66R
- Pángǔ 盘古, 123-2146R
- Pànguān 判官, 42-558R, 55-852R, 60-968R, 106-1775R, 109-1860R, 116-1989R, 123-2142R
- Pánhù 盘瓠, 123-2145R, 124-2163R, 124-2176R, 124-2177R, 124-2194R, 125-2206R, 127-2267R
- Pánlóngjiāng 盘龙江, 29-302
- Pídiàn 皮店, 14-66R
- Píluógé 皮逻阁, 32-382, 32-382, 33-385R, 33-388R, 33-388-33-389*n*, 35-405R, 36-429R, 37-452R, 37-454R, 37-455R, 37-457R, 38-471R, 38-472R, 38-475R, 38-480R, 40-505R, 40-505R, 40-504-40-505*n*, 40-517R, 41-529R, 41-529*n*, 44-595, 44-595, 44-607R, 44-608R, 45-611R, 45-617R, 45-619R, 45-624R, 45-626R, 45-629R
- Píluógé 皮罗阁, 41-529*n*, 50-734R, 63-987, 63-994, 63-997R, 63-1002R, 131-2390R, 131-2390*n*
- Píluóténg 皮罗遼, 37-462R, 38-463R
- Píyì 苾驿, 15-88R
- Piānluōyǐ 偏罗矣, 36-441*n*, 37-442*n*, 37-443R, 37-445R
- Piàobàng 骠傍, 59-939R, 59-944R
- Piàoguó 骠国, 31-369R, 41-536R, 86-1373R, 86-1373*n*, 111-1744, 111-1744, 111-1758, 111-1890R, 111-1915R, 111-1916R, 113-1941R
- Pǐn Dàn 品賧, 71-1126R
- Pǐndiànǎi 品甸海, 71-1127-71-1128*n*
- Pínglè 平乐, 15-74R
- Póluómén 婆罗门, 79-1268R
- Póluóménguó 婆罗门国, 31-377R, 81-1299R, 111-1911R, 112-1826, 112-1937R, 113-1941R
- Póu Zhōu 哀州, 48-689R
- Pǎn 普安, 20-200R
- Pū Dàn 扑賧, 79-1262R
- Pǔdù Hé 普渡河, 29-327
- Pǔěr 普洱, 80-1278*n*
- Pǔpéng 普朋, 16-105-16-106*n*

- Pǔpéng 普棚, 13-40*n*, 13-40*n*
 Pūshè 仆射, 128-2301R, 129-2311R, 129-2318R
 Pūzǐ 扑子, 52-771, 52-771, 52-785R, 52-795R,
 53-798R, 76-1224R, 78-1250R,
 79-1272R
- Qīchǐ 漆齿, 79-1258R, 82-1321R
 Qífù 奇富, 10-17R
 Qíjiàn 骑健, 127-2271R
 Qīwǎndòng 七缩洞, 59-955R, 60-964R,
 60-972R
 Qíxiān 祁鲜, 82-1310R, 82-1311R, 82-1314R,
 86-1370R
 Qiānbàng 千傍, 39-487R
 Qiánlóng 乾隆, 6
 Qiánní 乾泥, 81-1283R
 Qiànshè 欠舍, 71-1133R, 117-2003R
 Qiányuán 乾元, 20-195R
 Qiánzhōng 黔中, 17-115R, 41-554R, 113-1957R,
 123-2138R, 125-2202R, 125-2206R,
 132-2409R
 Qiāng 羌, 17-123R, 103-1582
 Qiānglàng 羌浪, 79-1265R
 Qín 秦, 112-1937*n*, 126-2251R, 126-2254R,
 126-2255R
 Qīn 钦, 21-234R
 Qíncáng 秦藏, 47-678R
 Qīndìngsìkùquánshū 钦定四库全书, 108-1691
 Qīndūn 钦敦, 31-349
 Qínjì 秦纪, 126-2258R
 Qínzhāowáng 秦昭王, 126-2245R
 Qīng Cháo 清朝, 5, 6, 8, 80-1276-80-1277*n*,
 82-1261, 119-1971
 Qīnghǎihú 青海湖, 71-1128-71-1129*n*
 Qīnghǎiyíng 青海营, 71-1128-71-1129*n*,
 71-1129*n*
 Qīnglíng 青蛉, 48-686, 48-703R
 Qīngmíng Jié 清明节, 101-1645-101-1646*n*
 Qīngmùxiāng 青木香, 75-1200R
 Qīngpíngguān 清平官, 106-1763*n*
 Qīngqú Pū 清渠铺, 16-97R
 Qīngsuǒ 青索, 38-466
 Qīngxīgān 清溪关, 15-70R, 17-130R, 20-194R
 Qīngzì 清字, 71-1126R
- Qióngbù 邛部, 18-146R, 20-197R, 20-198R,
 21-216R, 21-226R, 21-228R, 21-230R,
 58-927R
 Qióng Dàn 穹燄, 26-272R, 26-280R, 26-285R,
 90-1423R
 Qióngé 邛鹅, 79-1266R
 Qióngzhōu 邛州, 17-131R
 Qiúlóng 酋龙, 133-000R
 Qiúzáng 求赠, 13-40R, 16-106R
 Qū 曲, 13-39R, 13-39*n*, 71-1135R, 117-1998R
 Qūè 曲轭, 44-592R, 44-601R, 45-625R,
 74-1183R
 Qūjiāng 曲江, 13-29R, 13-29*n*
 Qūjìng 曲靖, 19-174R, 32-382, 72-1146, 72-1146,
 72-1146
 Qūjìng Zhōu 曲靖州, 83-1322R
 Qūjū 佉苴, 94-1510R
 Qúliànzhào 渠敛赵, 16-107R, 16-107*n*,
 25-269R, 67-1061, 67-1075R, 117-2023R
 Qūluō 曲罗, 21-219R, 21-220R, 21-223R
 Qú Rěnyí 胸忍夷, 126-2249R
 Qūwū 曲乌, 13-28R
 Qūzhōu 曲州, 19-175R, 44-589R, 44-593R,
 45-638R
- Rìjìn 日进, 44-603R, 45-613R
 Rìlì 日历, 119-2058*n*
 Rìyòng 日用, 44-603R, 45-640R, 45-640*n*,
 46-643*n*
 Róng 戎, 123-2157R, 124-2160R, 124-2195R,
 125-2204R
 Róngjīng 荣经, 14-63R
 Róngshuǐ 荣水, 15-72R
 Róng Zhōu 容州, 88-1387R, 108-1846R
 Róngzhōu 戎州, 8, 9, 17-132R, 29-324R,
 29-326R, 121-2107R, 132-2407R
 Ruò 若, 123-2147*n*
 Ruòyé 若耶, 89-1409R
- Sāndào Chá 三道茶, 89-1419-89-1420*n*
 Sānfù 三阜, 15-76R, 15-77R
 Sānjiāng 三江, 14-56R
 Sāntànlǎn 三探览, 51-773R, 77-1232R
 Sānwēishān 三危山, 31-365R, 31-374R

- Sānyíng 三营, 75-1201
 Sāng 桑, 76-1206R
 Sèsè 瑟瑟, 93-1321, 93-1479R, 100-1618R,
 102-1667R, 121-2098R
 Sēngqí 僧耆, 56-891R, 56-891*n*, 82-1321R
 Shāchuān 莎川, 30-350R, 30-350*n*
 Shācí 沙雌, 13-38R
 Shāhú 沙壶, 40-517R
 Shāluó 娑罗, 52-786R, 86-1279, 86-1371R,
 86-1374R, 111-1907R
 Shāniú 沙牛, 55-876R, 94-1518R, 94-1519R
 Shāquè 沙却, 13-39R
 Shāxī 沙溪, 35-399*n*, 66-1049
 Shāyě 沙也, 15-78R
 Shāyī 沙壹, 39-498R, 39-498*n*
 Shāzhǐ 沙只, 13-28R
 Shāzhuī 沙追, 89-1408R
 Shānyáng 衫阳, 30-355*n*, 30-361-30-362*n*,
 30-363*n*
 Shànglàng 上浪, 33-391R
 Shàngláng 上郎, 81-1297R
 Sháng rén 裳人, 49-686, 49-711R, 49-718R
 Shàngshū 尚书, 42-566R, 42-576R, 46-654R,
 121-2116R, 132-2435R
 Shégǔtǎ 蛇骨塔, 64-1010
 Shèlì 舍利, 65-1024R, 111-1912R, 111-1912R
 Shè Lóng 舍龙, 39-492, 39-499R
 Shénchuān 神川, 33-394R, 35-398R, 35-399R,
 76-1222R, 130-2360R
 Shēn Dàn 申贲, 93-1497R
 Shénlóng hézhà 神龙河栅, 82-1311R
 Shèngluó pí 盛逻皮, 40-504R, 40-504R,
 40-506*n*, 40-508R, 40-515R, 40-523*n*
 Shèngluó pí 盛罗皮, 40-504-40-505*n*,
 54-835R, 63-998*n*, 78-1254R, 78-1254*n*,
 97-1559R
 Shēngmá 升麻, 44-594R, 44-600R, 45-639R,
 72-1146, 74-1183R, 88-1392R
 Shī 施, 49-727R, 50-721, 50-747R,
 50-748-50-749*n*, 51-760R, 51-766R,
 51-770R, 52-783R, 74-1156R, 76-1211R
 Shíbàng 时傍, 33-384R, 33-388R,
 33-388-33-389*n*, 33-390R, 33-396R,
 35-398R, 35-401R
 Shíchéng 石城, 44-591R, 44-597R, 45-638R,
 72-1146, 74-1164R, 74-1179R, 74-1181R
 Shǐ Dàn 史贇, 63-989R
 Shīgèpí 施各皮, 38-469R
 Shígǔ 石鼓, 71-1134R, 71-1134*n*, 77-1229*n*,
 78-1233*n*
 Shīgǔpí 施谷皮, 41-533R
 Shíhé 石和, 33-386R, 38-469R, 67-1076R
 Shǐhuáng 始皇, 126-2258R
 Shíjiāng 十将, 132-2430R
 Shilàng 施浪, 37-446R, 37-457R, 38-447,
 38-466, 38-467R, 39-489R, 66-1060R,
 66-1060*n*
 Shíluōduó 时罗铎, 36-438R, 36-439R
 Shímén 石门, 6, 17-129R, 17-132R,
 18-137-18-138*n*, 18-149R, 18-151R,
 19-162R, 120-1985, 121-2107R,
 121-2107R, 132-2407R
 Shípíng 石屏, 30-343
 Shíqiáo 石桥, 24-257R, 33-386R, 41-533R
 Shǐ Wànsuì 史万岁, 18-137R, 18-137-18-138*n*
 Shī Wàngqiàn 施望欠, 38-467R, 38-470R,
 38-474R, 38-477R, 38-480R, 38-482R,
 66-1052R, 66-1052*n*, 66-1052*n*
 Shī Wàngqiān 施望千, 38-482R, 38-484R,
 39-487R
 Shǐ Xiàomǐn 史孝愨, 115-1980R
 Shízhōngshān 石钟山, 97-1549,
 98-1587-98-1590*n*, 99-1591*n*
 Shǐ Zhōu 始州, 18-135R
 Shǒuǒu 守偶, 45-618R, 45-623R, 45-629R
 Shǒuwài 首外, 81-1292R
 Shù 束, 21-234R
 Shǔ 蜀, 126-2236R
 Shǔdū Fù 蜀都赋, 127-2261R
 Shǔ Guó 蜀国, 28-317R
 Shūshí 朱提, 18-152R, 18-152*n*, 18-152*n*, 19-158R,
 19-166R, 29-326R
 Shǔ Zhōu 蜀州, 14-56R
 Shùzǐ 庶子, 106-1782R
 Shuāng 双, 102-1664R, 104-1712R, 104-1712*n*
 Shuānghóngqiáo 双虹桥, 26-270
 Shuāngláng 双廊, 65-1017
 Shuāngliú 双流, 14-55R

- Shuāngshè 双舍, 36-426R, 78-1234R
 Shuāngzhù 双祝, 40-522R
 Shuǐzhài 水寨, 30-355n
 Shùn 顺, 14-58R, 30-353R, 49-727R, 51-746,
 51-759R, 74-1156R, 76-1212R
 Shùnyáng 顺阳, 14-60R
 Shuōwén 说文, 54-824n
 Sìdú 四渎, 128-2289R
 Sīhù 司户, 48-691R
 Sìjūnlǚ 四军罗苴, 99-1594R
 Sìkù Quánshū 四库全书, 6, 7, 13-36n, 13-41n,
 14-52n, 14-59n, 15-83-15-84n, 17-129n,
 17-131, 18-134n, 18-139n, 18-149n,
 18-149n, 19-168n, 19-168n, 19-173n,
 19-179n, 19-185n, 20-186n, 25-262n,
 26-284n, 28-296n, 28-307n, 29-322n,
 29-325n, 29-328n, 29-328-29-329n,
 33-385n, 33-388-33-389n, 33-390n,
 33-394n, 33-397n, 35-414-35-415n,
 36-441n, 37-442n, 37-442n, 37-442n,
 39-489n, 39-497n, 40-504-40-505n,
 40-505n, 40-507n, 40-518n, 41-530n,
 41-533n, 41-552n, 42-492, 45-640n,
 46-644n, 47-653, 47-685-47-686n,
 48-691n, 48-691n, 48-701n, 49-720n,
 50-746n, 50-748-50-749n, 50-749n,
 50-751n, 51-763n, 51-772n, 52-785n,
 52-786-52-787n, 53-803n, 53-805n,
 53-806n, 53-820n, 53-820n, 54-836n,
 54-836-54-837n, 55-867n, 55-867n,
 55-873n, 55-874n, 56-883n, 56-884n,
 56-885n, 56-886n, 56-889n, 56-891n,
 57-896n, 57-899n, 57-909n, 57-911n,
 58-925n, 58-938n, 59-943n, 60-940,
 60-961n, 60-961n, 61-980, 61-988n,
 63-987, 63-989n, 64-1007n, 64-1011n,
 65-1018-65-1019n, 66-1052n,
 66-1053n, 66-1060n, 67-1063n,
 67-1072n, 69-1074, 69-1108n, 71-1115n,
 72-1113, 74-1160n, 74-1161n, 75-1202n,
 76-1223n, 78-1234n, 78-1254n,
 84-1333n, 85-1345n, 85-1352n, 86-1279,
 86-1370n, 86-1373n, 88-1383n,
 89-1406n, 89-1408n, 89-1409n,
 90-1423n, 90-1423n, 90-1424n,
 90-1424n, 90-1426n, 91-1452n,
 92-1473n, 94-1506n, 95-1524n,
 95-1524n, 95-1527n, 104-1723n,
 105-1747n, 108-1691, 110-1875n,
 110-1877n, 110-1880n, 110-1880n,
 110-1881n, 110-1881n, 110-1882n,
 111-1894n, 111-1901-111-1902n,
 111-1902n, 111-1903n, 111-1906n,
 111-1906n, 111-1907n, 112-1927n,
 112-1927n, 112-1928n, 112-1937n,
 113-1939-113-1940n, 113-1941n,
 113-1944n, 113-1944n,
 113-1945-113-1946n, 113-1948n,
 113-1951n, 113-1954n, 114-1889,
 114-1964n, 114-1964n, 115-1971,
 116-1986-116-1987n, 116-1993n,
 117-2003n, 118-2029n, 118-2029n,
 118-2043-118-2044n, 120-2086n,
 121-2098n, 121-2107n, 122-2125n,
 122-2133n, 124-2159n, 126-2239n,
 127-2283n, 128-2284n, 128-2284n,
 128-2293n, 130-2360n,
 130-2372-130-2373n, 131-2378n,
 131-2400n, 132-2407n, 133-2445n
 Sīnán 思难, 90-1429R, 90-1436R, 90-1436R
 Sixià 思下, 13-28R
 Sòng 送, 79-1266R
 Sòng Cháo 宋朝, 6, 93-1321
 Sōngguì 松桂, 75-1201
 Sōngmíng 嵩明, 72-1146
 Sōngwài 松外, 77-1229R, 78-1235R
 Sù 粟, 58-925R
 Sū 苏, 18-134n
 Sūlì 苏历, 50-743R, 58-923R
 Sūqí 苏祁, 15-74R
 Sū Róng 苏荣, 18-134R
 Sū Wěi 苏隗, 22-238R, 58-935R
 Suí Cháo 隋朝, 18-133R, 18-137-18-138n,
 19-157R
 Sūnshuǐ 孙水, 28-302, 28-303R
 Suōluōlóng 娑罗笼, 53-803R, 58-916R,
 110-1881R

- Tǎchéng 塔城, 76-1204
- Táidēng 台登, 15-74R, 15-78R, 20-200R,
20-203R, 21-218R, 21-230R, 28-303R,
40-516R, 58-915, 58-926R
- Tàihé 太和, 41-541R, 61-988R, 63-994, 63-994,
63-995R, 63-998R, 63-1000R,
63-1002R, 64-994, 64-1003, 64-1004R,
64-1010, 65-1033R, 67-1077R,
88-1388R, 110-1887R, 118-2033R,
132-2412R
- Tán Kěyán 谭可言, 55-851R
- Táng 唐, 5, 6, 8, 12-20, 12-20, 13-43*n*, 14-45*n*,
23-255*n*, 30-343, 32-382,
37-444-37-445*n*, 39-492, 39-492,
39-492, 41-529*n*, 41-538*n*, 43-587,
44-587, 44-595, 58-915, 58-924,
58-932*n*, 64-1009R, 69-1111*n*, 70-1086,
75-1150, 76-1204, 93-1483*n*, 99-1549,
101-1644*n*, 105-1674, 114-1889, 127-2137,
129-2313*n*, 131-2137, 131-2390*n*,
131-2392R, 132-2439R
- Táng Cháo 唐朝, 5, 27-286, 99-1549, 119-1971
- Tángfēng 唐封, 57-908R, 78-1248R
- Tángláng 螳螂, 29-327
- Tānglàng 汤浪, 26-273R, 26-281R, 76-1223R
- Tángshílù 唐实录, 115-1974*n*
- Táng Shū 唐书, 40-504-40-505*n*, 41-553*n*,
45-630*n*
- Tángshū 唐书, 16-103R, 24-257*n*, 40-523*n*,
41-529*n*, 42-557*n*, 49-709*n*, 58-931*n*,
58-935*n*, 59-941*n*, 74-1168-74-1171*n*,
109-1862*n*, 121-2114*n*
- Tángshū Nánzhào Chuán 唐书南诏传,
106-1763*n*
- Tángwénshíyí 唐文拾遗, 119-1971, 119-1971
- Táohuā 桃花, 60-971R
- Táohuārén 桃花人, 59-954R, 60-971R
- Tèjìn 特进, 40-516R, 40-518R, 88-1380R
- Téngchōng 腾充, 27-288R
- Téngchōng 腾冲, 26-270, 26-270, 27-288*n*,
27-288*n*
- Téngchōng 藤充, 92-1460R, 93-1497R
- Téngchuān 遼川, 24-257R, 25-270R, 33-390R,
51-761R, 65-1021R, 66-1027, 66-1050R,
66-1050R, 67-1072R
- Téngchuān Dàn 遼川殄, 63-989R
- Téng Dàn 遼賧, 36-433, 36-436R, 37-433,
37-446R, 37-448R, 37-449R, 37-452R,
37-456R, 37-460R
- Téngluōdiān 遼罗颠, 38-463R, 38-464R
- Téngwān 藤弯, 81-1286R, 81-1288R
- Tí Zhōu 蹄州, 47-680R
- Tiānbǎo 天宝, 16-102R, 18-142R,
18-142-18-143*n*, 20-205R, 21-209R,
40-526R, 44-589R, 47-679R, 48-697R,
48-705R, 68-1087R, 70-1108, 71-1115R,
88-1380R, 88-1382R, 88-1388R,
94-1521R, 119-2067R, 120-2077R,
128-2293R, 131-2394R
- Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng 天宝战争, 13-43*n*, 14-45*n*
- Tiānhòu 天后, 40-506R
- Tiānzhúguó 天竺国, 111-1913R, 111-1915R
- Tièqiáo 铁桥, 28-313R, 49-686, 49-712R,
49-717R, 49-721R, 50-727, 50-748R,
51-763R, 51-773R, 52-780R, 52-791R,
52-791-52-792*n*, 69-1111R, 70-1112R,
75-000, 76-1204, 76-1204, 76-1204,
76-1207R, 76-1215R, 77-1229*n*,
78-1233*n*, 78-1233R, 78-1234R,
95-1547R, 115-1946, 115-1983R,
130-2361R
- Tōngdēng 通登, 79-1263R
- Tōnghǎi 通海, 13-29R, 13-29-13-30*n*, 72-1146,
75-1187R, 75-1193R, 75-1193*n*, 75-1193*n*,
75-1197R, 88-1392R, 95-1522R
- Tōngjiàn 通鉴, 54-847-54-848*n*
- Tōngjiàn kǎoyì 通鉴考异, 47-670R, 47-676R,
50-742-50-743*n*, 50-744-50-745*n*,
55-856*n*, 59-958-59-959*n*, 60-960*n*,
60-961*n*, 60-978*n*, 115-1974*n*
- Tóngláo 同劳, 74-1176R
- Tónglún 同伦, 105-1752R, 105-1752*n*, 106-1775R,
116-1989R
- Tóngqǐ 同起, 75-1184R
- Tōngwàng 通望, 14-68R
- Tǔbō 吐蕃, 20-193, 20-193, 20-204R, 20-206R,
21-209R, 21-236R, 28-301R, 28-302,
28-307R, 28-311R, 30-351R,

- 37-444-37-445*n*, 38-484R, 38-485R,
39-492R, 39-492, 48-701R, 49-717R,
50-755R, 51-766R, 58-915, 58-924,
58-933R, 64-1010R, 69-1111R, 75-1150,
75-1191R, 76-1204, 76-1204, 78-1239R,
81-1305R, 88-1400R, 88-1400R,
95-1548R, 115-1957, 115-1983R,
115-1984R, 116-1986R, 116-1986R,
117-2013R, 119-2060R, 120-2097R,
120-2096-120-2097*n*, 120-2097*n*,
121-2109R, 128-2297R, 128-2298R,
129-2331R, 129-2333R, 130-2360R,
131-2397R
- Tuòdōng 拓东, 13-31R, 13-31R, 13-31*n*, 13-31*n*,
13-36R, 20-192R, 22-241, 22-242R,
23-251R, 29-328R, 29-331R, 50-739R,
50-740R, 56-894R, 60-962R, 60-964R,
60-968R, 69-1108R, 72-1113, 72-1113,
72-1147R, 74-1161R, 74-1168-74-1171*n*,
74-1174R, 75-1185R, 75-1189R,
112-1918R, 121-2103R, 123-2142R
- Wǎzú 佉族, 57-905
- Wàiyù 外喻, 55-833, 55-866R
- Wáng Gèjū 王各苴, 117-2015R, 121-2102R
- Wàngjūzǐ 望苴子, 54-796, 54-834R, 54-841R,
54-844R, 74-1158R, 78-1251R
- Wáng Kuān 王宽, 46-662R, 46-662R, 47-669R,
47-671R, 47-672R
- Wàngmán 望蛮, 55-801, 55-866R
- Wàngpiān 望偏, 36-441*n*, 37-442R, 37-443R
- Wáng Tōngmíng 王通明, 124-2186R
- Wàngwàiyù 望外喻, 74-1158R, 79-1259R
- Wàngxīng 望星, 15-69R
- Wéi Gāo 韦皋, 18-148R, 20-193, 21-237R,
39-497R, 41-549R, 41-549R, 58-924,
58-935R, 119-1971,
128-2285-128-2286*n*, 128-2301R,
129-2318R
- Wēiníng 威宁, 17-129*n*
- Wéi Qíxiū 韦齐休, 61-981R, 61-985R
- Wēishān 巍山, 39-492, 66-1061
- Wéixī 维西, 52-791-52-792*n*
- Wèixiàn 味县, 74-1164R
- Wēiyuǎn 威远, 79-1275R, 80-1276-80-1277*n*,
80-1278*n*, 80-1278*n*
- Wèi Zhōu 味州, 60-960R
- Wú 吴, 135
- Wū 乌, 19-180R, 21-229R, 21-230R, 21-231R,
32-382, 32-382, 33-383R, 43-588R,
45-614R, 45-616R, 45-631R, 45-635R,
45-640*n*, 46-641-46-643R, 46-643*n*,
46-659R, 47-677R, 49-722R, 50-747R,
51-759R, 51-772R, 58-927R, 67-1077R,
93-1499R, 102-1678R, 103-1582
- Wúài 无碍, 55-860R
- Wūān Zhōu 武安州, 115-1975*n*, 115-1977R
- Wúdèng 勿邓, 21-227R, 22-240R
- Wǔdìng 武定, 109-1847*n*, 109-1848R
- Wǔ Hóu 武侯, 28-317R
- Wú Jiāngjūn 吴将军, 124-2158R, 124-2160R,
124-2164R, 124-2196R
- Wǔluòzhōnglíshān 武落钟离山, 125-2211R
- Wù Xiāng 务相, 125-2219R, 125-2222R,
125-2222R
- Wǔyùè 五岳, 128-2288R
- Xī 嵛, 18-139-18-140*n*
- Xiān 西安, 81-1298R
- Xīchāng 西昌, 15-86, 28-302, 58-915
- Xīchuān 西川, 14-51R, 15-84R, 16-102R, 18-148R,
20-201R, 21-212R, 21-215R, 41-549R,
41-554R, 42-558R, 58-935R, 86-1366R,
88-1390R, 121-2114*n*,
128-2285-128-2286*n*, 128-2287R,
129-2318R
- Xīcuàn 西爨, 43-588R, 44-593R, 45-634R,
45-633-45-635*n*, 45-640*n*,
46-642-46-643R, 46-643*n*, 52-782R,
74-1162R, 94-1519R, 102-1549,
102-1675R
- Xǐdé 喜德, 21-208-21-209*n*
- Xiě Hé 西洱河, 18-139R, 25-265R, 49-728R,
49-731R, 95-1527R, 95-1534R,
112-1927R, 129-2321R, 130-2355R,
130-2368R
- Xífǔshǒu 嵩辅首, 35-402R
- Xīhú 西湖, 37-447

- Xilóngshān 息龙山, 95-1528R
 Xilú 西泸, 64-1007-64-1008n
 Ximán 西蛮, 21-224R
 Xínúluó 细奴逻, 39-498n, 39-499R, 39-499R,
 40-504R, 67-1062n
 Xìnuòdèng 细诺邓, 89-1409R
 Xīqiāng 西羌, 95-1547R
 Xīshānsì 西山寺, 30-363n
 Xīshuāngbǎnnà 西双版纳, 57-000, 80-1278n
 Xīwàng 西望, 21-218R
 Xīyuán 溪源, 122-2125R, 122-2134R, 133-000R
 Xī Zhōu 滕州, 115-1980R
 Xīzhōu 衢州, 15-71R, 15-76R, 15-77R, 15-87R,
 20-196R, 20-205R, 22-238R, 28-304R,
 48-705R, 58-935R, 59-941R
 Xīzhōu 喜洲, 63-994, 64-1010, 65-1017
 Xià 夏, 123-2138R, 123-2152R, 127-2278R
 Xiàbù 下步, 10-18R
 Xiántōng 咸通, 42-575R, 46-654R, 50-741R,
 52-793R, 53-811R, 54-831R, 54-843R,
 58-922R, 60-967R, 60-976R,
 112-1921R, 115-1972R, 123-2140R,
 123-2149R
 Xiányúzhòngtōng 鲜于仲通, 18-142R, 41-537R
 Xiángyún 祥云, 13-41n, 71-1127-71-1128n,
 71-1128-71-1129n
 Xiāngzhōu 襄州, 54-849R, 133-000R
 Xiǎolǎn 小览, 71-1136R
 Xiǎopó 小婆, 51-773R, 77-1230R
 Xiǎoshī Dàn 小施啖, 50-748R
 Xīnān 新安, 15-72R
 Xīnfēng 新丰, 30-349R, 72-1146, 74-1179R,
 74-1180R
 Xīnjīn 新津, 14-56R
 Xīn Táng Shū 新唐书, 6, 13-34R, 14-46R,
 16-105n, 33-388-33-389n, 33-396R,
 35-403R, 35-415R, 44-599R, 45-617n,
 47-681R, 51-756n, 57-910n,
 74-1168-74-1171n, 96-1458
 Xīntáng Shū 新唐书, 56-880n, 94-1508n
 Xīntángshū 新唐书, 37-449n
 Xīntángshū·Dìlǐzhì 新唐书·地理志, 115-1975n
 Xīntángshū·Nánmánshàng 新唐书·南蛮上,
 63-989n
 Xīntáng Shū Dìlǐ Zhì 新唐书地理志,
 108-1846n, 109-1847n
 Xīntáng Shū Nánzhào Chuán 新唐书南诏传,
 36-441n, 37-442n, 50-748-50-749n,
 53-804n, 104-1724n
 Xīntángshū Nánzhàochuán 新唐书南诏传,
 48-691-48-695n
 Xīntáng Shū Piàoguóchuán 新唐书骠国传,
 111-1910n
 Xīnzhōu 信州, 71-1116R
 Xiùjiǎo 绣脚, 56-879R, 56-887R, 79-1259R,
 82-1321R
 Xiùmiàn 绣面, 56-880R, 56-888R, 82-1321R
 Xú Chóngyǎ 徐崇雅, 115-1981R
 Xuānchéng 宣城, 44-590R
 Xuānwèi Shǐ 宣慰使, 119-2054R
 Xuánzàng 玄奘, 27-286
 Xuánzōng 玄宗, 44-607R, 88-1380R, 88-1390R
 Xúnchuán 寻传, 28-309R, 28-314R, 41-535R,
 52-791R, 53-796, 53-802R, 53-814R,
 53-817R, 53-819R, 81-1295R, 82-1314R,
 82-1319R, 86-1369R, 94-1506R
 Xúndiàn 寻甸, 72-1146, 72-1146
 Xúngéquan 寻阁劝, 13-31n
 Xúnguān 巡官, 128-2286R,
 128-2285-128-2286n, 129-2319R
 Xúnluō 寻罗, 51-757R
 Xún Mèngcòu 寻梦凑, 41-544R
 Yǎlóngjiāng 雅砻江, 21-219-21-220n
 Yǎxī 押西, 81-1292R
 Yāyá 押牙, 109-1857R
 Yāyá 押衙, 60-964R, 109-1851R, 115-1976R,
 133-000R
 Yǎzhōu 雅州, 14-59R, 14-63R, 14-64R
 Yándào 巖道, 14-60R
 Yángé 炎阁, 40-523R, 40-523n, 40-524R
 Yángòng 延贡, 14-57R
 Yánhuà 延化, 14-60R, 14-62R
 Yányáng 盐阳, 125-2221R
 Yányuán 盐源, 76-1214, 88-1399n
 Yànzǐdòng 燕子洞, 30-343
 Yáng 阳, 68-1088R
 Yáng Āchù 杨阿触, 46-658R, 123-2141R

- Yángbāo 阳褒, 16-99R, 16-101R
 Yàngbì 漾漈, 24-261-24-262*n*, 35-401
 Yáng Bǐngzhōng 杨秉忠, 46-658R
 Yáng Chuánshèng 杨传盛, 130-2374R,
 132-2411R, 132-2415R
 Yáng Dàhémei 扬大和眉, 129-2311R
 Yáng Dàn 阳贲, 61-988R
 Yángduò 杨堕, 36-427R, 36-431R
 Yángguā 杨瓜, 40-519R, 41-532R, 67-1066R
 Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, 10-10, 10-11R, 10-11*n*,
 14-46R, 14-47R, 14-48R,
 16-105-16-106*n*, 16-109R, 17-116R,
 61-988R, 63-994, 63-995R, 63-1003R,
 64-1004R, 65-1017, 65-1018R,
 65-1021R, 65-1028R, 94-1501R,
 113-1939R, 114-1889, 115-1968, 115-1971,
 118-2040R, 119-2050R, 120-2094R,
 130-2368-130-2369*n*
 Yáng Móuli 杨牟利, 45-634R
 Yáng Qiāng 杨羌, 123-2141R, 123-2145R
 Yáng Qīngsuǒ 杨清所, 109-1862*n*
 Yáng Qiúshèng 杨酋盛, 46-659R, 123-2142R
 Yáng Shèng 杨盛, 117-1999R
 Yáng Zhōngyì 杨忠义, 60-968R, 123-2143R
 Yáoān 姚安, 14-50, 15-86
 Yáo zhōu 姚州, 16-102R, 16-103R, 16-113R,
 17-128, 36-418R, 40-507R, 41-537R,
 48-688R, 48-698R, 52-779R, 70-1107,
 70-1113, 71-1137R, 72-1145R, 95-1537R,
 128-2294R
 Yèbànguó 夜半国, 113-1867, 113-1947R
 Yěgòng 野共, 37-462R, 38-465R, 75-1201,
 76-1205R
 Yèyú 櫟榆, 75-1203R
 Yì 驿, 13-40R, 13-41R, 13-41R, 14-55R, 14-56R,
 14-57R, 14-58R, 14-58R, 14-59R,
 14-59R, 14-60R, 14-61R, 14-62R,
 14-63R, 14-64R, 14-66R, 14-67R,
 15-69R, 15-69R, 15-71R, 15-72R, 15-73R,
 15-73R, 15-74R, 15-74R, 15-79R, 15-88R,
 15-91R, 15-94R, 16-98R, 16-107R,
 16-110R, 16-111R, 71-1134R
 Yí 夷, 126-2251R, 126-2251R, 126-2254R,
 126-2255R, 126-2256R, 126-2256R,
 127-2263R, 132-2424R
 Yībīn 宜宾, 14-50, 17-128, 17-132*n*
 Yí Dàn 夷蛮, 127-2278R
 Yífú 矣符, 12-27R, 12-27R
 Yíláo 夷獠, 132-2409R
 Yíliáng 宜良, 72-1146
 Yíluōjūn 矣罗君, 75-1204R
 Yíluōshì 矣罗识, 33-385R, 33-394R, 35-398R,
 35-401R, 39-489*n*, 39-491R
 Yìmóuxún 异牟寻, 41-544R, 41-546R, 41-549R,
 41-551R, 42-560R, 42-562R, 42-569R,
 42-570R, 42-577R, 42-579R,
 43-582-43-584*n*, 43-587*n*, 47-683R,
 47-684R, 48-700R, 49-716R, 51-767R,
 58-920R, 66-1058R, 76-1217R,
 93-1483R, 99-1591*n*, 114-1889, 115-1963,
 115-1984R, 116-1986R, 118-1971,
 118-2031R, 118-2034R, 118-2040R,
 118-2043R, 119-1985, 119-2052R,
 119-2057R, 119-2062R, 119-2064R,
 120-2074R, 120-2080R, 120-2085R,
 120-2091R, 120-2095R, 127-2281R,
 127-2306*n*, 128-2285R, 128-2290R,
 128-2298R, 128-2303R, 129-2319R,
 129-2322R, 129-2326R, 129-2341R,
 130-2351R, 130-2352R, 130-2354R,
 130-2361R, 130-2368R,
 130-2368-130-2369*n*, 131-2376R,
 131-2380R, 131-2383R, 131-2391R,
 131-2400R, 132-2412R, 132-2420R,
 132-2438R, 133-000R, 133-000R,
 133-000R
 Yínán 遗南, 38-478R, 38-479R
 Yíshuǐ 夷水, 125-2220R, 126-2232R
 Yītǒngzhì 一统志, 61-985R
 Yìzhōu 益州, 18-135R, 130-2350R
 Yízú 彝族, 86-1306
 Yín 尹, 48-706R
 Yínchǐ 银齿, 56-879R, 56-883R,
 56-885-56-886*n*, 79-1258R
 Yǐn Cuǒ 尹嗟, 117-2018R
 Yǐn Cuóqiān 尹嗟迁, 117-2017*n*
 Yǐn Fǔqiú 尹辅酋, 48-708R, 97-1562R,
 116-1990R, 120-2095R

- Yīn Kuānqiú 尹宽求, 48-708R
 Yīnshēng 银生, 52-790R, 69-1109R,
 78-1273-78-1274*n*, 79-1214, 79-1214,
 79-1262R, 81-1261, 81-1280*n*, 86-1369R,
 87-1375-87-1376*n*, 89-1417R
 Yīnyīkuānxiàn 尹伊宽献, 119-2059R
 Yíngjiāng 盈江, 82-1307*n*
 Yǒngchāng 永昌, 25-256, 25-270, 26-270,
 26-271R, 26-275R, 27-287R, 30-356R,
 31-361R, 37-445R, 38-466R, 38-475R,
 38-477R, 39-498R, 45-635R, 45-640R,
 45-640*n*, 46-643*n*, 46-643*n*, 48-702R,
 52-790R, 55-833, 55-866R, 56-865,
 56-880R, 57-908R, 64-1016R,
 69-1108R, 71-1123R, 74-1157R, 78-1214,
 78-1237R, 79-1257R, 80-1224, 81-1261,
 81-1280R, 81-1285R, 90-1422R,
 90-1433R, 91-1438R, 91-1438*n*,
 91-1439R, 91-1446R, 91-1452R,
 93-1481R, 94-1516R, 95-1537R,
 100-1634-100-1635*n*, 110-1886R,
 111-1891R, 112-1837, 112-1938R,
 113-1942R
 Yōngguǎn 邕管, 88-1386R
 Yǒnglèdàdiǎn 永乐大典, 6
 Yǒngrén 永仁, 15-86
 Yǒngyìjū 涌腋苴, 31-378R
 Yōngzhōu 邕州, 17-115R, 108-1840R, 133-000R
 Yōuwáng 幽王, 125-2204R
 Yùdāo 郁刀, 97-1564R
 Yùgòng 禹贡, 31-373R
 Yùjī 聿賚, 30-351R, 76-1213R
 Yúlàng 于浪, 76-1223R
 Yùshǐ 御史, 37-449R, 132-2436R
 Yùshǐ Zhōngchéng 御史中丞, 42-567R
 Yùxiàn 喻献, 44-592R
 Yǔyí 羽仪, 99-1591R, 99-1591*n*, 99-1591*n*,
 105-1603, 105-1665, 105-1731R,
 105-1735R, 105-1737R, 105-1741R,
 116-1992R
 Yù Yú 愔喻于愔, 117-2025R
 Yúyuán 俞元, 75-1190R
 Yúzhèng 于赠, 36-421R, 36-426R, 36-430R,
 36-432R, 41-534R, 97-1558R
 Yuán Cháo 元朝, 6
 Yuándǐng 元鼎, 9-1R, 9-5R
 Yuán Luō 源罗, 35-404R, 35-408R
 Yuán Wéidé 元惟德, 55-850R
 Yuányáng 元阳, 72-000, 72-000
 Yuán Zī 袁滋, 6, 42-503, 42-567R, 115-1925,
 115-1936, 120-1985, 120-2087R
 Yuán Zī Tíjì Móyá Shíkè 袁滋题记摩崖石刻,
 6, 115-1936
 Yuè Dàn 越谗, 26-270, 26-275R, 78-1250R,
 93-1486R, 93-1495R, 93-1499R,
 94-1503R, 121-2100R
 Yuèlǐ 越礼, 81-1285R
 Yuènuò 越诺, 113-1944R
 Yuèxī 越嵴, 18-139-18-140*n*
 Yuèxī 越析, 18-137R, 18-139R, 18-139R, 18-140R,
 18-139-18-140*n*, 25-268R, 35-401,
 35-410R, 35-411R, 41-534R, 52-784R,
 68-1085R, 96-1374, 97-1558R
 Yuèxī 越西, 17-131*n*
 Yuè Zhōu 岳州, 54-848R
 Yúnnán 云南, 5-9, 9-1*n*, 10-10, 12-26, 13-40R,
 13-40*n*, 14-50, 14-50, 14-52R, 15-80R,
 16-106R, 17-128, 17-129R, 17-131R,
 17-131, 18-137-18-138*n*, 20-193, 21-213R,
 22-241, 22-241, 27-000, 27-272, 32-382,
 32-382, 41-530R, 42-559R, 43-574,
 43-587, 43-587, 44-588,
 45-633-45-635*n*, 47-643, 49-719R,
 50-738R, 51-768R, 57-892, 61-980,
 70-1086, 70-1113, 70-1113, 70-1114R,
 71-1124R, 71-1132R, 71-1133R, 71-1133*n*,
 72-1146, 76-1214, 79-1214, 81-1261,
 83-1261, 86-1306, 86-1306,
 87-1375-87-1376*n*, 87-1376*n*, 92-1321,
 93-1347, 94-1518R, 102-1549, 102-1556,
 105-1734R, 108-1838R, 127-2281R,
 128-2285R
 Yúnnánjì 云南记, 5, 6
 Yúnnán Mǎimǎ Jì 云南买马记, 93-1368
 Yúnnánshǐjì 云南史记, 5, 6
 Yúnnánwáng 云南王, 42-570R, 119-2065R,
 119-2066R, 120-2095R
 Yúnnán Xíngjì 云南行记, 16-97R, 61-980,

- 61-981R, 61-986R
 Yúnnányì 云南驿, 13-40n, 16-106n, 70-1113,
 70-1113, 71-1133n, 117-2006R,
 117-2008R
 Yúnnán Zhì 云南志, 5-8, 18-137-18-138n,
 22-000, 39-492
- Záduō 杂多, 30-350n
 Zànpǔ 赞普, 28-302R, 120-2096-120-2097n,
 128-2298R, 131-2397R, 131-2398R
 Zànpǔ Zhōng 赞普鍾, 120-2097R
 Zānggē 牂牁, 113-1956R, 132-2408R
 Zéi 贼, 12-26R, 12-26R
 Zhàn 绽, 123-2145-123-2146n
 Zhǎng 长, 116-1988R, 117-2015R
 Zhāngchóu Jiānqióng 章仇兼琼, 44-604R
 Zhāng Qiántuó 张乾陞, 128-2294R, 131-2395R
 Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀, 16-103R, 48-698R
 Zhāng Qiántuō 张乾拖, 41-536R
 Zhāng Qìngzōng 张庆宗, 115-1976R
 Zhāng Shèngwēn 张胜温, 96-1549
 Zhāng Xúnqiú 张寻求, 35-413R, 36-419R
 Zhāng Zhōu 张舟, 109-1859R, 109-1860R
 Zhào 诏, 32-363, 32-382, 32-382, 32-382,
 32-382, 32-382, 32-382, 32-382, 33-382,
 33-382, 33-383R, 33-383R, 33-384R,
 33-387R, 33-397R, 35-382, 35-382,
 35-400R, 35-401, 35-401, 35-402R,
 35-410R, 35-410R, 35-416R, 36-409,
 36-433, 36-434R, 36-437R, 37-447R,
 37-448R, 38-447, 38-466, 38-466,
 38-467R, 38-467R, 38-483R, 38-483R,
 38-484R, 38-486R, 39-466, 39-481,
 39-493R, 49-730R, 60-924, 66-1052R,
 66-1061, 67-1065R, 67-1065R,
 68-1086R, 75-1204R, 97-1558R,
 105-1752n, 127-2281R, 128-2285R,
 131-2379R, 133-000R
 Zhào Chāng 赵昌, 109-1854R, 132-2436R,
 133-000R, 133-000R
 Zhào Jiākuān 赵伽宽, 116-1989R
 Zhào Mòluóméi 赵莫罗眉, 128-2310R
 Zhāotōng 昭通, 14-50, 18-152n
 Zhào Yuán 照源, 35-404R, 35-407R, 35-408R
- Zhàozhōu 赵州, 67-1061
 Zhè 柘, 85-1279, 85-1348R, 85-1350R
 Zhèjiāngdàxué túshūguǎn 浙江大学图书馆, 7
 Zhènán 柘南, 78-1246R, 86-1369R
 Zhèyú 柘俞, 79-1255R
 Zhèn 镇, 15-89R, 15-94R, 16-96R, 20-205R,
 75-1185R, 75-1187R
 Zhēnguān 贞观, 74-1165R
 Zhēnlàguó 真腊国, 114-1867, 114-1964R,
 114-1964R
 Zhènnán 镇南, 114-1958R
 Zhèn xī 镇西, 80-1236, 82-1307R, 82-1307R
 Zhēnyuán 贞元, 18-144R, 21-211R, 21-237R,
 37-444R, 39-496R, 41-555R, 42-566R,
 47-685R, 48-700R, 48-708R, 49-716R,
 50-737R, 51-756R, 51-767R, 58-920R,
 58-934R, 58-938R, 59-943R, 69-1111R,
 73-1155R, 76-1217R, 88-1403R,
 93-1483R, 97-1562R, 115-1984R,
 119-2050R, 119-2058R, 119-2069R,
 127-2283R, 127-2283n, 128-2285n,
 128-2300R, 130-2372-130-2373n,
 132-2433R, 132-2438R, 133-000R,
 133-000R
 Zhēn Zhōu 真州, 60-960R
 Zhèng Huí 郑回, 64-1007-64-1008n
 Zhìcháng 制长, 20-190R
 Zhīhé 织和, 95-1530R
 Zhīzhōu 知州, 59-958R
 Zhōng 忠, 68-1088R
 Zhōngchéng 忠诚, 10-16R
 Zhōngsuǒ 中所, 75-1150
 Zhōu 州, 10-16R, 10-17R, 10-17R, 10-18R, 15-77R,
 17-115R, 18-139R, 18-139R, 18-140R,
 30-345R, 35-411R, 36-440R, 37-452R,
 40-517R, 40-519R, 40-522R, 44-589R,
 44-593R, 44-597R, 45-619R, 45-638R,
 47-680R, 47-681R, 50-734R, 54-849R,
 60-979R, 60-980, 61-981R, 67-1063R,
 67-1066R, 67-1075R, 67-1079R,
 67-1082R, 68-1088R, 71-1118R, 71-1131R,
 74-1160R, 74-1167R, 74-1168R, 74-1180R,
 75-1184R, 108-1846n, 108-1846n,
 115-1974n, 122-2126R, 122-2131R