
The ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’

An Annotated Translation of the 《南诏图传》

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The Yúnnán Papers

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The goal of this series is not to present any new research, but to allow an English speaking audience to 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.

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1 Introduction

The *‘Illustrated History of Nánzhào’* 《南诏图传》⁽¹⁾ is the most significant *pictorial* document from the late period of Nánzhào 南诏, the polity that rose around lake Ērhǎi 洱海 in the 7th century to dominate Yúnnán 云南 during much of the 8th and 9th centuries.

It consists of two parts: a picture scroll 画卷 and a text scroll 文字卷. The picture scroll presents several loosely connected stories about the foundation of Nánzhào: Guānyīn, the sinicized form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,⁽²⁾ arrives in the form of a foreign monk with magic powers to make a prophecy to the future rulers of Nánzhào and overcomes hostile tribal people; it shows the creation of an image of Guānyīn in a distinctive Yúnnánese form and its worship by several dignitaries; a ceremony below a sacred iron pillar, in which an auspicious bird anoints the Nánzhào ruler; and a mythological map of lake Ērhǎi. The accompanying, but separate, text scroll provides – more or less – an elucidation of the stories and some background to the creation of the picture scroll.⁽³⁾

As the scrolls interweave Nánzhào creation myths with religious imagery they are seen as key documents for understanding early Yúnnán belief systems, the transmission of Buddhism in Yúnnán, and the formation and religion of Nánzhào.⁽⁴⁾

1.1 Provenance and Modern Reception

As Chinese records never once mentioned the 《南诏图传》 before 1727, the scrolls’ provenance is unknown.

The first mention of the scrolls is a 1727 commentary by the Qīng dynasty scholar Zhāng Zhào 张照, who came across them in a private home in Běijīng.⁽⁵⁾ The scrolls were later, but not before 1900,⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾ The scrolls, which have no inscribed name, are known under a variety of names: Chapin (1944), p. 159 used 《南诏图传》 or the ‘Roll of pictures of Nan-chao’; Xú Jiārui 徐嘉瑞 (1949), p. 416 used 《南诏中兴国史画》; Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1967) also used 《南诏图传》; the multi-volume collection of historical material about Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》 called them 《南诏史画卷》 (Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 417.); Wāng Níngshēng 汪宁生 (1980) used 《南诏中兴二年画卷》; Lǐ Huìquán 李惠铨 (1985) 《南诏中兴画卷》, etc.

⁽²⁾ In pre-Sòng China, Guānyīn 观音 is a male figure, often depicted as an itinerant monk, asking for alms and with magic powers. For the evolution of Guānyīn in Chinese Buddhism to the white-robed female figure, see Yü (2001). In the remainder of this text I will use the Chinese transliteration Guānyīn, rather than the transliteration Avalokiteśvara from the Sanskrit अवलोकितेश्वर.

⁽³⁾ The form of the text seems to stand in the tradition of Huàběn 话本 or ‘story telling scripts’, a ‘narrative form of popular chantefable during the Tang [...which] must have evolved from the prose parts of transformation texts. [...] This genre lays emphasis on talking rather than singing and pays more attention to developing the story itself’ (Rong (2013), pp. 405–406). ‘Transformation texts are story-telling texts. Corresponding to this are the “transformation tableaux” (*bianxiang* 變相) which are story-telling pictures. At the time the performance of a section of a transformation text was probably accompanied by showing a corresponding transformation tableau’ (Rong (2013), p. 402). That both text and picture part survive is rare.

⁽⁴⁾ But see also Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 35 noting that ‘nothing is specifically Buddhist except the designation of one principal as a Brahman monk, with begging-bowl and staff, and of the other as a form of Avalokiteśvara, with phial and willow spray’. In comparison, the 972 CE text called *‘Story of Lord Yuǎn of Mount Lú’* 《庐山远公话》, found at Dūnhuáng 敦煌, which tells the story of the 4th century monk Huiyuǎn 慧远, is stylistically similar and shares a number of tropes, but has many direct references to Buddhist scriptures.

⁽⁵⁾ His commentary is now mounted as first part of the picture scroll, for text and translation, see page 10. It is actually not clear if he also saw the text scroll.

⁽⁶⁾ At least the text scroll remained in China until 1899 when four large banner characters were mounted in front of the text scroll, see page 29. On the picture scroll is an inscription by Chéng Qīnwáng 成亲王, a son of emperor Qiánlóng, from 1820, see page 29.

taken out of the country.⁽⁷⁾ In 1932, Helen B. Chapin saw the picture scroll in New York at the Yamanaka and Company auction house.⁽⁸⁾ The picture scroll was sold in 1933, the text scroll in 1936, and both scrolls were then taken to Japan and united at the private Yūrinkan Museum 藤井齐成会有鄰館 in Kyoto, where they are still kept today.⁽⁹⁾

It was Chapin who first mentioned the 《南诏图传》 in academic publications when she made passing references to the picture scroll as the ‘Yamanaka scroll’ in her works on the ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》, a Dàlǐ kingdom period Chán school scroll that shares some of the imagery.⁽¹⁰⁾ Then, in 1944, Chapin published a long article on ‘*Yünnanese Images of Avalokiteśvara*’ that not only put the picture scroll into its cultural context, but also provided a transcription and translation of its text together with a full reproduction.⁽¹¹⁾

The earliest mention in mainland Chinese literature was by the Dàlǐ born scholar Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞, who described the work in his influential 1949 book 《大理古代文化史》.⁽¹²⁾ The length of the discussion and the fact that the book also contained a reproduction of the picture scroll attests to the importance Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 paid to the scroll.⁽¹³⁾

Then, in 1967, Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 published a booklet covering several early artworks from Nánzhào and the Dàlǐ kingdom, including the 《南诏图传》.⁽¹⁴⁾

1.2 Dating of the Scrolls

The picture scroll is dated 中兴二年三月十四日,⁽¹⁵⁾ while the text scroll is dated 中兴二年戊午岁三月十四日,⁽¹⁶⁾ i.e. both claim to be made in the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng 中兴, a reign period of the last

⁽⁷⁾ When exactly, by whom and how the scrolls were taken to the US is not known, but it seems likely that – at least in the case of the picture scroll – it was the auction house Yamanaka and Company 山中商会: at the beginning of the 20th century, the Japanese firm had established itself as the foremost dealer in Chinese artwork with offices in major western cities. For the purpose of acquisition, the company had set up a branch office in Běijīng 北京, where it also bought wholesale from impoverished imperial princes, see Zōng Yuán 宗元 (2012). The text scroll was sold in 1936 by a different auction house, see Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 10.

⁽⁸⁾ In 1930, the first scene of the scroll was reproduced as an illustration in *Art News*, where it was given ‘circa late 13th century’ as date, with the curious caption: ‘Nan shown visiting various historical places of Buddhas’. The image was attributed ‘Courtesy of Yamanaka and Company’, see March (1930), p. 91. This is probably the earliest reproduction of a part of the scroll. As Chapin (1944), p. 162 mentioned this, I assume that she became aware of the scroll through this publication.

⁽⁹⁾ For the transmission history see also Soper and Chapin (1970), Lǐ Huìquán 李惠铨 and Wáng Jūn 王军 (1984), and Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Chapin (1936a), Chapin (1936b) and Chapin (1938). These articles, long inaccessible as they had been published in a small circulation journal in British India, were republished with commentary by Alexander C. Soper in 1970–1971 in Chapin and Soper (1970a), Chapin and Soper (1970b), and Chapin and Soper (1971a) and in 1971 combined into the book ‘*A Long Roll of Buddhist Images: Revised by Alexander C. Soper*’.

⁽¹¹⁾ Chapin (1944), pp. 159–171. Chapin had no knowledge of the text scroll (Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 (1982), p. 55 also notes this) nor apparently of the commentary by Zhāng Zhào 张照 now mounted in front of the picture scroll.

⁽¹²⁾ Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 (1949), pp. 418–426.

⁽¹³⁾ It appears that, like Chapin, Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 was not aware of the text scroll, leading me to assume that he gained his knowledge from her 1944 article.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 (1967). That booklet contains a Chinese part and an ‘English summary’, which is actually a self-contained work, here cited as Li Lin-Ts’an (1967). This work was republished, in slightly expanded and improved form, in Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 (1982).

⁽¹⁵⁾ see page 26.

⁽¹⁶⁾ see page 42.

ruler of Nánzhào Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, which corresponds to 898 CE.⁽¹⁷⁾ However, as it is not clear whether the scrolls are originals or later copies, their dating is contested.

Zhāng Zhào 张照's 1727 commentary considered the scrolls a Táng dynasty or Five Dynasties work, i.e. a work from the last years of Nánzhào or the early period of the Dàlǐ kingdom.⁽¹⁸⁾

Chapin however – based on the depiction of Guānyīn in the distinctive Ācuóyé 阿嵯耶 style which she assumed developed only during the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国 period⁽¹⁹⁾ – judged them to be much later copies:

A copy, made probably in the 12th or 13th century, of an earlier work executed in 899, was our first judgment. And although it is just possible that the painting, executed about the 12th century and dated 899, was intended to function as proof that the type of image used by the TUAN family as a dynastic talisman had functioned similarly for the house of MENG, we shall, until further evidence is found, consider the scroll a 12th century copy, in which the current style of image was substituted for an earlier type. It is, moreover, not absolutely out of the question to suppose that our type of image came to Yunnan as early as 899. (Chapin (1944), p. 160)

But Soper, in his revision of her papers, noted:

She [Chapin] apparently toyed with the idea that it might be a Late Li⁽²⁰⁾ forgery from beginning to end, concocted to add authority to a dynastic symbol which in fact was of recent date. This possibility I think may be set aside: it is hardly conceivable that the twelfth century could have simulated so early a pictorial style, or have invented so primitive a cult. (Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 41)

However, Soper still assumed it to be a copy, noting as the deciding factor for his dating of the scroll a small wall painting he thought to reflect a style after the Sòng dynasty painter Lǐ Táng 李唐.⁽²¹⁾

Li Lin-Ts'an (1967), p. 69 was the first to question this dating, but he reserved judgement as he had not been able to examine the scrolls in detail. But, with the knowledge of Zhāng Zhào 张照's colophon, he considered the extant scroll at least an early copy, created in year 945 for the Duàn clan 段氏 ruling the Dàlǐ kingdom based on a lost original from 898. He pointed out, if the extant version was a Sòng dynasty copy, then there would have been three works: the original from 898, the early copy, and then the extant copy.⁽²²⁾

A 1265 CE text called 'Collected Records of the Stories of Old Diān' 《纪古滇说原集》 tells, in somewhat muddled form, the story depicted on the picture scroll. As the sequence of events matches that of the

⁽¹⁷⁾ Chapin (1944) took this as 899, however the text scroll, which she had not seen, clarifies this as the wùwǔ 戊午 year, so 898, see page 42.

⁽¹⁸⁾ For text and translation, see page 10.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Images of Ācuóyé Guānyīn are generally dated to the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国 period, but there are Ācuóyé-style relics in private collections that were made during the late Nánzhào era, see Woon Wee Teng (2019), pp. 246–247 and Woon (2019). These relics were not known at the time Chapin made her assessment.

⁽²⁰⁾ The 'Late Li' period refers to the second part of the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国, also sometimes called Later Kingdom of Dàlǐ 后理国, after the Duàn clan 段氏 had regained power in 1095 after the short reign of Gāo Shēngtài 高升泰.

⁽²¹⁾ For a recent calligraphic analysis, see Yáng Shìjié 楊世傑 (2020).

⁽²²⁾ Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 did not revise this assessment in the 1982 edition, see Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1982), pp. 55, 155.

《南诏图传》 it seems safe to argue that Zhāng Dào zōng 张道宗, the author of the work, was familiar with the scroll.⁽²³⁾

Recent Chinese research tends to see the scrolls as early art works, such as Wáng Jīng jīng 王京晶 (2020) who asks: why would a ruler from the Duàn clan 段氏 of the Dà lǐ kingdom period have commissioned a work that celebrates the rule of a former dynastic family, the Méng clan 蒙氏?

I am not aware that radiocarbon dating has been performed on the scrolls.⁽²⁴⁾ An analysis of the colour pigments used could also shed light on its creation time and cultural connections.⁽²⁵⁾

2 About this Translation

2.1 Source Material

Both scrolls are kept at the Yūrinkan Museum in Kyoto, Japan, but they do not seem to be on exhibition. No one claims to have seen the scrolls in recent years, and all scholars seem to be working from the same three reproductions:

- At least the picture scroll was reproduced around 1932 by the auction house Yamanaka and Company 山中商会. This set of pictures was then used for Chapin (1944).⁽²⁶⁾ Xú Jiā rui 徐嘉瑞 (1949) seems to have copied this set.
- Both scrolls were for a second time reproduced before 1967, maybe specifically for inclusion in Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1967).⁽²⁷⁾ This black-and-white set was reprinted in Soper and Chapin (1970) and Chapin and Soper (1971b).
- Before 1982 the scrolls were photographed once again, this time in colour, maybe specifically for the improved version of Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1967) published in 1982. But while this reproduction is of much better quality, it is missing the last two scenes, where black-and-white pictures, maybe those from 1967, were substituted. At the beginning of that part six important characters were cut off.⁽²⁸⁾

All other reproductions seem to be copies of these⁽²⁹⁾ and no other photos of the scrolls seem to be in circulation.

The text of text scroll, in simplified characters, is contained in Lǐ Huì quán 李惠铨 and Wáng Jūn 王军 (1984); a version with minor differences can also be found in Liào Dé guǎng 廖德广 (2016), pp. 137–

⁽²³⁾ Or a different rendering, maybe in the form of a wall painting.

⁽²⁴⁾ Analysis has been performed of documents from the Buddhist grottoes at Dūnhuáng, which allowed dating them within a range of about one hundred years to between the 7th and 10th centuries, see Richardin, Cuisance and Buisson (2010).

⁽²⁵⁾ For results obtained through analysis of pigments used on documents recovered from Dūnhuáng 敦煌, see Giaccari, Joseph and Winter (2021).

⁽²⁶⁾ see the attribution in Chapin (1944), plates 7-8, but maybe the pictures were taken earlier as March (1930), p. 91 includes a picture of the first scene.

⁽²⁷⁾ This set of images was marked as ‘Courtesy of Fujii Yurinkan, Kyoto, Japan’, Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1967).

⁽²⁸⁾ For a comparison of the images, see page 26.

⁽²⁹⁾ Both the reproductions in Wāng Níng shēng 汪宁生 (1980) and in Zhāng Zēng qí 张增祺 (2010), for example, are missing the same part as the 1982 version. Unattributed reproductions of unknown provenance circulating in the Chinese market also seem to be copies of this. The images contained in this paper are made from scans of such a reproduction in my possession.

140. A copy can be found online at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?chapter=763546>. The multi-volume 《云南史料丛刊》 contains the annotating characters of the picture scroll, but does not include the text scroll.⁽³⁰⁾

The text used here has been sourced from the online version mentioned above and has been carefully compared against the reproduction in Soper and Chapin (1970), with the annotations by the copyist in the text scroll marked in smaller script and in brackets [].

2.2 Previous Translations

Chapin (1944), pp. 160–171 provides the full text and a translation of the picture scroll, while Soper and Chapin (1970) provides a full translation of the text scroll. Several other publications translate short passages, such as Woon Wee Teng (2014), Bryson (2015), Bryson (2017), Woon Wee Teng (2019), and Daniels (2021).

The comprehensive annotations in Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) and Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010), p. 359 have assisted this translation. Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2006) is said to contain important notes, I currently do not have access to this book.

2.3 Translation Notes

The term Huà 化 is a difficult term to translate: it denotes a ‘transformation’ or ‘manifestation’, but in this text should be understood as ‘wonder-working’⁽³¹⁾ or ‘神迹、显化’⁽³²⁾ ‘*The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*’ explains the corresponding Sanskrit term ‘nirmita’, which in Chinese is rendered as 化:

In Sanskrit, ‘conjured,’ referring to something perceived by the sensory organs to be real but that is in fact illusory, like the moon on the surface of a lake or the water in a mirage. The term is often associated in Buddhist literature with the various doubles the Buddha conjures of himself in order to bring varying types of sentient beings to liberation (Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 588)

I have chosen to translate the term as ‘manifestation’.

The term *fānsēng* 梵僧 is commonly understood to mean a Buddhist monk from India and translated as ‘Indian monk’⁽³³⁾ or ‘Brahman monk’⁽³⁴⁾ a term that ‘came to be used to describe a Buddhist monk of superior learning, or of unusual—often magical—attainments’⁽³⁵⁾ but I think to a contemporary person it would have meant a monk from far away, dressed in non-local robes, performing non-local rites, rather than someone associated with a specific far-away region. I have chosen to translate the term as ‘foreign monk’. Furthermore, as Guy (1995) points out, the Ācúoyé 阿嵯耶 form of Guānyīn resembles early Buddhist works from south-east Asia, so translating it as ‘Indian monk’ prejudices the origin.

2.4 Acknowledgements

Thanks to Liú Kànkàn 刘衍衍 for many helpful comments on a draft version of this translation.

⁽³⁰⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 417–419.

⁽³¹⁾ Soper and Chapin (1970).

⁽³²⁾ Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020), i.e. ‘miracle work or instruction, teaching’.

⁽³³⁾ as in Chapin (1944) and Daniels (2021).

⁽³⁴⁾ as in Soper and Chapin (1970).

⁽³⁵⁾ Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 8

3 Annotated Translation

3.1 Zhāng Zhào's Commentary 张照跋

Today, mounted in front of the picture scroll is a 1727 commentary by the Qīng dynasty scholar Zhāng Zhào 张照.⁽³⁶⁾ Alexander C. Soper noted:

At this point we must return to the preface to the picture scroll which Chapin seems never to have seen nor heard of, written by Chang Chao in 1727. Chang (1691–1745) was a southerner who late in life won the favor of the Ch'ien-lung emperor because of his artistic talents and antiquarian learning. [...] Two decades before, he had held posts in the Yünnanese state educational system, and it was presumably there that he saw the Nan Chao roll and wrote for it, signing himself 'Chang Chao among the clouds'. (Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 20)

The first part of his introduction is a 'prosaic enumeration'⁽³⁷⁾ of reign dates:

<p>哀牢后为蒙氏。 唐永徽间，蒙细奴逻代张乐尽求称王，国号封民。 细奴逻传子逻盛炎。逻盛炎八传至祐隆，始僭称帝。 祐隆传子隆舜。隆舜传子舜化贞。 自蒙细奴逻至是，二百五十年，为郑买嗣所夺。唐昭宗之天复二年也。 卷中所云武宣皇帝，隆舜也。所云中兴，舜化贞年号也。郑氏改封民为长和。</p>	<p>After Āiláo it was governed by the Méng clan. During the Táng Yǒnghuī period, Méng Xīnúló replaced Zhāng Lèjīnqiú as king, the country's name was Fēngmín. Xīnúló passed the rule to his son Luóshèngyán, Luóshèngyán after eight generations passed the rule to Yòulóng, who illegally began to call himself emperor. Yòulóng passed the rule to his son Lóngshùn, Lóngshùn passed the rule to his son Shùnhuàzhēn. From Méng Xīnúló up to that it was two hundred and fifty years, Zhèng Mǎisi deposed him. That was in the 2nd year of the Tiānfù reign of Táng emperor Zhāozōng. What on the scroll is called emperor Wǔxuān is Lóngshùn. What is called Zhōngxīng was a reign name of Shùnhuàzhēn. The Zhèng clan changed the name from Fēngmín to Chánghé.</p>
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r2: During the Táng Yǒnghuī period] reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 650–655 CE.

r3: Fēngmín] i.e. 大封民国 – Great Fēng People's Kingdom.

r5–6: Yòulóng, who illegally began to call himself emperor] The Nánzhào ruler Shílóng 世隆 used a character in his name that was considered taboo by the Chinese court, so in many later Chinese records he is written with different characters, here as Yòulóng 祐隆. He also offended the court by assuming the title *huángdì* 皇帝. This is in detail recorded in the 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào' 《南诏野史》.

r7: Yòulóng] i.e. 世隆 – Shílóng.

r10–11: in the 2nd year of the Tiānfù reign of Táng emperor Zhāozōng] 902.

r14: Fēngmín] i.e. 大封民国 – Great Fēng People's Kingdom.

r14: Chánghé] i.e. 大长和 – Great State of Chánghé.

⁽³⁶⁾ The text of Zhāng Zhào 张照's commentary reprinted in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 419–420 was taken from his 《天瓶斋书画跋》 and is largely, but not entirely, identical to the version mounted in front of the picture scroll. The text translated here stems from the photographic reproduction in Soper and Chapin (1970), with some help from the version published in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 419–420 as Zhāng Zhào's calligraphic style is not easy to read.

⁽³⁷⁾ Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 20.

赵善政夺之，改长和为天兴。	Zhào Shànzhèng deposed him, changed the name from Chánghé to	15
	Tiānxīng.	
杨干贞夺之，改天兴为义宁。	Yáng Gānzhēn deposed him, changed the name from Tiānxīng to	
	Yìníng.	
段思平夺之，改义宁为大理。	Duàn Sīpíng deposed him, changed the name from Yìníng to Dàlǐ.	
当后晋高祖之天福二年，历后周宋元，皆为段氏大理国。	In the 2nd year of Tiānfú of Later Jìn emperor Gāozǔ, throughout	20
明洪武始入版图，今为大理军民府。	the later Zhōu, Sòng, and Yuán it was the Duàn clan's Dàlǐ kingdom.	
	During Míng emperor Hóngwǔ it was integrated into the territory,	
	today it is the military and civil Dàlǐ prefecture.	

其地犹有阿嵯耶观音遗迹。	In the region are still relics of Ācuóyé Guānyīn.	
事载省志，与卷中语同。但省志分为二事，又不著阿嵯耶观音号，得此可补其阙略矣。	The event is recorded in the provincial gazetteer and on the scroll	25
	in the same words. But the provincial gazetteer divides it into two	
	events and does not mention the name Ācuóyé Guānyīn, from this	
	some gaps and omissions can be corrected.	

He then notes the discrepancy between the dates on the scroll: the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng reign of Shùnhuàzhēn corresponds to 898 CE, while the 1st year of Wénjīng of Duàn Sīyīng corresponds to 945 CE,⁽³⁸⁾ a difference of forty-seven years, posing the question if this work was begun in 898 and completed in 945 or whether it was copied with annotations from an earlier work in 945. But he had no doubt that this was a work from that period and not a copy from the 12th century as Chapin (1944) suggested.

篇首文经元年则段思英伪号，当后晋主重贵开运三年，距舜化贞伪号中兴二年，已四十有七载。	At its beginning, the 1st year of Wénjīng of Duàn Sīyīng's illegitimate	30
	reign, which is the 3rd year of the Kāiyùn reign of the Later Jìn emperor Shí Zhòngguì, is separated from the 2nd year of the illegitimate	
	Zhōngxīng reign of Shùnhuàzhēn by forty-seven years.	
作此图，岂始于舜化贞时，成于段思英时欤？抑舜化贞时所图，段思英时复书仪注，冠于图首欤？皆不可考。	As to who made it – was begun during the time of Shùnhuàzhēn and	
	completed during the time of Duàn Sīyīng? Or was the scroll made	35
	during the time of Shùnhuàzhēn and at the time of Duàn Sīyīng the	
	book was copied with annotations? Neither can be proven.	
要之为唐末五代人笔，无可疑。	Whatever it is, there is no doubt that it was the work of the hands of	
	a man in the late Táng dynasty or the Five Dynasties.	

[30: 后晋主重贵] The Later Jìn emperor being referred to is Shí Zhòngguì 石重贵, who ruled 942–947.

r16: Tiānxīng] i.e. 大天兴国 – Great State of Tiānxīng.

r18: Yìníng] i.e. 大义宁国 – Great State of Yìníng.

r20: In the 2nd year of Tiānfú of Later Jìn emperor Gāozǔ] 937.

r22: During Míng emperor Hóngwǔ] sole reign period Míng emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng, 1368–1398.

r29: Duàn Sīyīng] ruler of the Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 944–945.

⁽³⁸⁾ Zhāng Zhào 张照 seems to refer to a part of the scroll that has been lost, as in the surviving parts there is no reference to the 1st year of Wénjīng. Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 20 speculate that the front could have been cut off during reframing in 1899.

纸色淳古，绝似唐人藏经。

The colour of the paper is pure and ancient, similiary to the scriptures stored by the Táng people.

In 1726, Zhāng Zhào had been appointed to Yúnnán where he must have acquired some knowledge of Ācuóyé Guānyīn imagery, recognizing the value of the 《南诏图传》 when he saw it the in the capital.⁽³⁹⁾ He continued:

蛮酋传国之赤刀、大训岿然，几及千年老物，亦顾厨米船之乙观也。

Precious swords and books from the Mán chiefs' dynasties remain as relics, items almost a thousand years old among them calligraphy by the erudite Mǐ Fèi.

不知何年转入京师，流落市贾。

I do not know what year it was brought to the capital and handed around between merchants.

好事者购以归琳光松园老人丈室。

A benefactor bought it and returned it to the mansion of an old man at Línguāngsōng Yuán.

每月十八日顶礼阿嵯耶观音如图是又他年香积之籍征也已

Every month on the 18th day he prostrated himself in front of the Ācuóyé Guānyīn image, the incense accumulated over the years is proof of this.

Then Zhāng Zhào signs off, in an unusual way:

雍正五年岁在丁未四月
望日云间张照记

In the 4th month of the 5th year of Yōngzhèng, the *dīngwèi* year.
Recorded by Zhāng Zhào, looking at the sun and the clouds

3.2 The Picture Scroll 画卷

The picture scroll consists of a number of 'scenes', with figures and items labelled and some explanatory notes given. As usual with Chinese picture scrolls, unrolling it from right to left exposes the stories. Elizabeth Kindall writes about this art form:

Often compared to a musical composition, the handscroll format offered artists an opportunity to create an infinite number of dynamically diverse yet interrelated scenes in one work. The spatial and temporal implications of this format made it possible for viewers to read the pictorial and some times inscriptional content of these scenes as though it were happening before their eyes. (Kindall (2012))

^{l42}: 观] The written character is *dū* 覩, a rare form. The 《古代汉语词典》(2002), p. 338 notes that this has the meaning of *cháokàn* 查看, i.e. 'closely examine'.

^{r41}: Precious swords] I assume that this is a metaphor for scriptures.

^{r42-43}: among them calligraphy by the erudite Mǐ Fèi] The term *mǐchuán* 米船 refers to the Northern Sòng 北宋 calligrapher Mǐ Fèi 米芾, who liked to travel around by boat to paint, so that his works were later referred to as Mǐ Jiā Chuán 米家船, literally 'Master Mǐ Fèi's boats', special thanks to Liú Kànkàn 刘衍衍 for suggesting this.

^{r51}: In the 4th month of the 5th year of Yōngzhèng, the *dīngwèi* year] 1727.

^{r52}: Recorded by Zhāng Zhào, looking at the sun and the clouds] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 20: 'Chang Chao among the clouds'.

⁽³⁹⁾ Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020), p. 74.



Illustration 1:
King Qi's Home 奇王家

Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 41 takes the wallpainting inside the building just to the right of the second woman, 'two egrets or flamingoes on a beach' as decisive to date the scroll to the Sòng dynasty.

Many of the labels are written in a very simple style as if someone was pointing at the images and telling the stories behind them to an audience. Without the explanations given in the text scroll, understanding the legends and their historical references would have been very difficult.

Scholars have adopted different ways of dividing the scenes of the picture scroll. As the first part corresponds relatively closely to the first three manifestations 化 in the text scroll, some texts, such as the 《云南史料丛刊》,⁽⁴⁰⁾ have labelled the parts of the picture scroll correspondingly, however this works less well for the later part. I have chosen to follow the approach presented in Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020), who divided the scenes according to context but dividing it into even smaller segments.

King Qi's Home 奇王家

The opening scene of the scroll corresponds to the first manifestation 化 of the text scroll, so we know that the house depicted is king Qi's home. Qi Wáng 奇王 was the posthumous name of the founder of Nánzhào Xīnúlúo 细奴逻. The other king mentioned, king Xīngzōng 兴宗王, refers to Xīnúlúo's son and heir Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎.⁽⁴¹⁾

Inside the simple structure of the house are two unnamed women⁽⁴²⁾ preparing offerings and a woman engaged in handicraft.⁽⁴³⁾ Birds are perched on flowering trees behind the house, above it an orchestra of six female musicians is performing, in the foreground is a rack with two lengths of cloth, a dog, and the wives of the two kings presenting offerings to a foreign monk holding an alms bowl in his hands.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, pp. 417–419.

⁽⁴¹⁾ This connection of names is made explicit on the picture scroll a bit later, see page 17.

⁽⁴²⁾ perhaps the same women as in the foreground.

⁽⁴³⁾ maybe spinning?

𠂇鸟 凤子 凤鸟 奇王家龙犬 5 天乐时供养奇王家 兴宗王妇梦讳 奇王妇得弥脚	? bird young phoenix male phoenix The dragon dog of king Qí's home. Heavenly music provides nourishment for the home of king Qí. King Xingzōng's wife Mènghuì King Qí's wife Xúnmiǎojiǎo
---	--

The Officials 文武士

Progressing to the left then comes king Qí 奇王 receiving a civil and a military official, above them – in a cloud – a number of soldiers. The role of these officials can maybe be understood from the text scroll: the officials accept the teachings and make the state prosperous.⁽⁴⁴⁾



Illustration 2:
The Officials 文武士

Left: on the 《南诏图传》 – Right: on the 《梵像卷》 (image from Lǐ Línchàn 李霖灿 (1982), image 86)

The two officials are also depicted on the 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images' 《梵像卷》, see illustration 2, and are mentioned in the 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào' 《南诏野史》.

天兵来助 武士名郡矣	Heavenly soldiers come to assistance. Military official Gèjùnyǐ
---------------	--

[1: 𠂇鸟] There is only part of the first character visible, Chapin (1944), p. 161 thinks this must be the female phoenix 鳳鸟.
 [9: 武士名郡矣] the name appears also in the text scroll, where it is written as 各郡矣. The 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào' 《南诏野史》 mentions a military official called Guō Jùnyǐ 郭郡矣.

r1: ? bird] first character cut off.

r2: young phoenix] or 'the son of the phoenix'? Chapin (1944), p. 161.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ see page 30. Chapin (1944), p. 162 did not know the text scroll: 'These two officials have no place here between the gift of food and the prophecy unless some episode involving them and the Indian monk, who re-appears facing them, has escaped us.'

Asking for Food 乞食

The next scene depicts the kings' wives, Mènghuì 梦讳 and Xúnmíjiǎo 浚弥脚, making offerings to the monk for a second time. This scene corresponds to the second manifestation 化 in the text scroll.⁽⁴⁵⁾



Illustration 3:
Mènghuì and Xúnmíjiǎo making offerings

The monk's lotus turban, which Chapin (1944), p. 153 notes indicates Guānyīn,⁽⁴⁶⁾ is now placed on a rock, while the monk is wearing a covering made from the two lengths of cloth that were hanging on a rack at the beginning of the scroll.

梦讳
浚弥脚
施黑淡彩二端已为戒

梦讳布盖贵重人头戴赤莲之

已冠顺蕃俗缠头也脱在此
回乞食時

Mènghuì
Xúnmíjiǎo
They gave two lengths of cloth, one black, one light, as [as a vow of] abstinence
Mènghuì's cloth covers the nobleman's head who had been wearing a red lotus on his head. 15
He has already taken off the foreign style turban and put it here
This is the time he returns to ask for food.



Illustration 4:
The Prophecy 授记

The Prophecy 授记

In this scene Guānyīn makes his prophecy to the two women: the monk is seated in the centre, holding his alms bowl, his staff and flask⁽⁴⁷⁾ in front of him. The content of the prophecy is not mentioned here, it is only given in the text scroll.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Rightmost, in a violation of the temporal line, but correct spatially (if one assumes the house to be further right), is one of the women returning home after the prophecy. To the left, one of the women beckons the kings who are farming on mount Wēi to come and see the monk.

^{l10}: 文士罗傍] The 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào' 《南诏野史》 mentions a civil official called Bō Luōpáng 波罗旁.

^{r13-14}: [as a vow of] abstinence] ?

^{r17}: put it here] The red lotus turban is depicted on a piece of rock.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ see page 31.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Chapin (1944), p. 153: 'the red lotus of the turban represents or suggests the red lotus, attribute of Avalokitesvara'.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ The phial 净水瓶 contains ambrosia 甘露, a frequent symbol of Guānyin.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ see page 32.

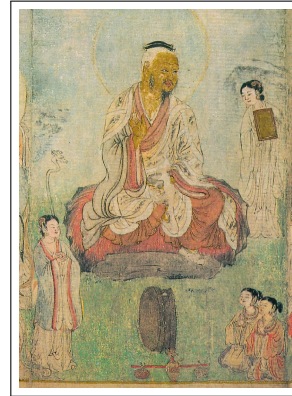


Illustration 5:
The Prophecy on the 《梵像卷》

Left: Farming under Wēishān – Right: Guānyīn makes the prophecy (images from Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 (1982))

Surrounding Guānyīn are a number of magic apparitions in the shape of animals that are said to leave traces in the rocks. Chapin (1944) did not make an attempt at explaining this part, but they appear to have a Vedic, not a Buddhist, background – to the extent that Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001), p. 4 argues that the foreign monk should be seen as a Brahman monk. Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 explains the animals in the scene like this:

The Horse represents Dadhikra, a hinduist mythological animal, ⁽⁴⁹⁾ but it could also represent Kanṭhaka, ‘the horse Gautama rode when he [...] renounced the world.’ ⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Blue Oxen is Shiva’s vehicle Nanda, thus representing Shiva.

The Elephant represents Ganesh, who is also the god of prophecies, but then a white elephant is also part of Buddhist mythology as the future Buddha was conceived through a white elephant entering Maya’s, his mother’s, womb in a dream. ⁽⁵¹⁾

Similar imagery, but without the Hinduist elements, appears in the 《梵像卷》: in the 58th frame a monk, representing Guānyīn with his staff and flask, is shown instructing two women kneeling in front of him, with a bronze drum in front of them reinforcing the connection to the imagery in the 《南诏图传》. In the 86th frame then is a similar agricultural scene of men ploughing with water buffalows under a mountain, see illustration 5.

There is also a certain similarity with the Nánzhào period stone carvings at Bóshénwǎhēi 博什瓦黑 in present-day southern Sìchuān, see illustration 6. ⁽⁵²⁾

⁽⁴⁹⁾ McDonell (1897), p. 148 notes that ‘various individual devine steeds occur in Vedic mythology’.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 417

⁽⁵¹⁾ Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 536.

⁽⁵²⁾ The drawing of the petroglyph has been taken from Howard (1996), p. 241, however it does not seem to come from any of the sources cited there, so I suspect the drawing was taken from another archeological report. – While locals in the area had been aware of the stone carvings at Bóshénwǎhēi 博什瓦黑, they were brought to the attention of archeologists only in 1958 and comprehensively investigated in 1984. The early reports described the seated figure as a Bímó 笔摩, a traditional



Illustration 6:
Drawing of the petroglyph at Bóshénwǎhēi 博什瓦黑

<p>20 梦讳等授记了回归家 马踪 白马上出云中待童手把铁杖</p>	<p>25 得弥脚梦讳等施食了更授记 圣踪 象踪 梵僧坐处盘石上有衣服踪</p>	<p>30 白象上出化云中侍童手把方金镜 牛踪 青沙牛不变后立为牛 祷此其因也 于时梦讳急呼奇王等至耕田也</p>	<p><u>Mènghuì and the other return home after receiving the prophecy.</u> Horse hoofprint Above the white horse emerges a cloud, in it is a young servant holding an iron staff in his hand. Xúnmíjiǎo and Mènghuì, after donating food, receive the prophecy. Holy footprint Elephant footprint At the spot where the foreign monk was sitting on top of a flat stone is an imprint of his clothes. Above the white elephant emerges a cloud, in it is a young servant, holding a square bronze mirror. Cow hoofprint The <u>blue sand oxen does not change.</u> This is the reason cows are worshipped later. The time Mènghuì urgently calls king Qí and the others to come to the fields.</p>
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[28: 手] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 417 has this as 王, which makes no sense. In the reproductions this character is unclear, but 手 not only makes sense, it mirrors the use to the right of it.

r19: Mènghuì and the other return home after receiving the prophecy.] The female figure Mènghuì 梦讳 is turned right, leaving the scene. This is the last event in this scene even though it is on the right.

r31: blue] or 'blue-green' – Chapin (1944), p. 163? The sand oxen 沙牛 is clearly an Indian-style buffalo, while the two animals used for ploughing are water buffalo.

r31: sand oxen does not change] Chapin (1944), p. 163 notes that this means that the sand oxen 沙牛 do not produce wonders.

Yì 彝族 ritualist, and the animal in front as a demon 怪兽, see Chén Míngfāng 陈明芳 (1982) and Lí Jiāfāng 黎家芳 (1982); Lí Shào míng 李绍明 (1988) argued that the seated figure clearly depicts a Buddhist monk and the animal in front is a, somewhat transformed, dog; Zhāng Zé hóng 张泽洪 and Liào Líng 廖玲 (2015) suggest that the monk represents Chandragupta 赞陀崛多.

奇王蒙细奴逻
兴宗王蒙逻盛
等相随往看圣化

King Qí Méng Xīnúló
King Xīngzōng Méng Luóshèng
They follow her to see the holy transformation.

35

Stealing the Dog 偷犬



Illustration 7:
Stealing the Dog 偷犬

After the scene below mount Wēi, an entirely new story begins: the same foreign monk, i.e. Guānyīn, with his dog confronts non-believing tribal people. The tribal people are depicted with dark skin, hair bound in a top-knot, simple clothes, weapons and ferocious expressions – all very much in contrast to the peace and calm of the first scene.

First, Guānyīn asks the villagers for alms, but they steal and eat the white dog. They then attack and kill Guānyīn, but he proves invincible, emerging from the violent attacks unscathed. The exact events are much clearer from the accompanying story in the text scroll, where they are told as the fifth manifestation 化, see page 34.

兽贖穷石村中邑主加明王乐
等三十人偷食梵僧白犬
梵僧钵孟锡杖邑主王乐
差部下处券赴奏龙于山上

In Shòu Dàn's Qióngshí village, the village leader Jiāmíng Wánglè and thirty men steal the foreign monk's white dog to eat it.
The foreign monk's alms bowl and staff, the village leader Wánglè orders his subordinate Chùquàn go and place them on

40

[41: 差] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 417 takes this as *qiāng* 羌, but *chà* 差 seems to make more sense.

[41: 龙于山] On the scroll this is written as < 山尤 > 岍山, but the modern accepted writing is Lóngyú Shān 龙于山, see Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015). The meaning of the name is unclear, Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015) argues that it was a deliberate invention of characters to evade taboos and that the term signifies Lóngyú 龙舆, i.e. 'dragon's carriage'.

r 40–42: The foreign monk's alms bowl and staff, the village leader Wánglè orders his subordinate Chùquàn go and place them on mount Lóngyú.] Chapin (1944), p. 164's tentative translation was 'The village magistrate, Wang Lo, and Ch'iang Pu order? Waich'üan? to go offer the Indian monk's bowl and staff on Hsiao-yü mountain', but if one reads the character as *chà* 差 the sentence makes sense.

r 41: Wánglè] i.e. 加明王乐 – Jiāmíng Wánglè.

共王乐等卅人伤害梵僧初解支体以
此为三段后烧火中骨盛竹筒抛于水里

此澜沧江也
梵僧所留靴变为石今现在穷石村中

mount *Lóngyú*.

Wánglè together with thirty men injure and harm the foreign monk, then cut his body into three pieces, burn it in the fire, pour his bones into a bamboo tube, and throw it into the water.

This is the *Láncāng* river.

The shoes left by the foreign monk turn to stone, today they can be seen in *Qióngshí* village.



Illustration 8:
Pursuit 追之不及

50 梵僧破筒而出王乐等
遂即追之不及
王乐部等莫能进始乃
归心稽颡伏罪

王乐等骑牛乘马急趣梵僧

数里之间梵僧缓步追之不及

The foreign monk breaks the bamboo and comes out. *Wánglè* and the others then chase him, but cannot reach him.

Wánglè and the tribe cannot move forward, in the beginning they are of their old belief, then they prostrate themselves and admit their failures.

Wánglè and the others ride buffalows and horses to urgently apprehend the foreign monk.

After a few miles, the foreign monk strolls along, they chase him, but cannot reach him.

Guānyīn Casts the Holy Image 观音铸圣像

The following scene, see illustration 9 (left), shows a tribal man beating a bronze drum, in the centre the foreign monk, conjuring up an image of himself as *Ācuóyé Guānyīn*, to his left an old man, to his right a tribal leader labelled *Lǐ Mánglíng* 李忙灵. Further left, so in the timeline later, the old man is casting a metal⁽⁵³⁾ statue in the shape of *Ācuóyé*, with a similar statue, much larger, behind him on

[54: 王乐等骑牛乘马急趣梵僧] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 418 places these last two columns of text into the next scene.

r 49: *Wánglè*] i.e. 加明王乐 – *Jiāmíng Wánglè*.

(53) Metalworking tools as well as a fire are in front of him.

a mountain. This scene corresponds to the sixth manifestation 化 of Guānyīn in the text scroll, see page 34, and similar imagery appears on the 《梵像卷》, see illustration 9 (right).



Illustration 9:
Guānyīn Casts the Holy Image

Left: on the 《南诏图传》 – Right: on the 《梵像卷》 (image from Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1982), image 99)

The depiction of the bronze drum 鍤鼓 is similar to drums from the kingdom of Diān period unearthed in Yúnnán, including those discovered in the Dàlǐ region.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (1985) points out that copper is pronounced *gēng* in the Bái language, so the term *gēnggǔ* 鍤鼓 according to him simply means ‘copper drum’.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Penth pointed out that the term ‘*mang*’ has the meaning of “king” or of “kingdom”⁽⁵⁶⁾, with Daniels providing additional historical context:

The term Mang Dao is recorded in the Nanzhao Tuzhuan (The Pictorial Biography of Nanzhao), which recounts the tale of the Avalokitesva Bodhisattva converting ethnic leaders in Kainan to Acuoye Guanyin 阿嵯耶觀音 worship. The scroll records the names of two mang leaders. The first is Li Mangling, the great leader of the Mang Dao, whom the Avalokitesva Bodhisattva encountered after reaching his territory (jie 界) during the reign of the second Nanzhao monarch Meng Luosheng 蒙羅盛 (674?–712?). The second was Li Mangqiu, a late-ninth-century Mang Man leader who notified the Nanzhao Emperor Longshun 隆舜 (r. 877–97) in a memorial of 897 that a bronze image of the Acuoye Guanyin cast by a wonder-working, proselytising Indian monk (a transformation of Avalokitesva) and a bronze drum beaten by Li Mangling roughly two hundred years earlier still remained on a mountain in his territory. The location of the Acuoye image and bronze drum reveals that Li Mangqiu’s village, Shimen, was situated within the former territory of Li Mangling, indicating continuity of rule by mang leaders. The retention of mang as a prefix in the personal names of Li Mangling and Li Mangqiu corroborates that kings or nobles of the Mang Man in the Upper Mekong had been governed loosely for over two hundred years at least. (Daniels (2021), pp. 209–210)

⁽⁵⁴⁾ see Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (1981) and Zhāng Shēn 张绅 and Yáng Fèngyīng 杨凤英 (1990).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ It is often assumed that the drums discovered around lake Ērhǎi had been brought in from outside, however Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (1985) contests this by pointing at the rich history of copper artefacts in the region.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Penth (1989), p. 11.

	梵僧乃出开南嵯浮山顶。	The foreign monk then appears on the summit of Kāinán's mount Qiāngfú.
60	开南普苴诺苴大首领 张宁健等幸蒙顶礼 于打铍鼓化现一老人称云解铸圣像	Kāinán Pǔjū Nuòjū's great leader Zhāng Níngjiàn and others are blessed to offer sacrifices on top of Méng mountain. When the bronze drum is beaten, an old man appears who says he knows how to cast a holy image.
65	忙道大首领李忙灵 老人铸圣像时 圣像置于山上焉	The great leader of Mángdào Lǐ Mánglíng When the old man casts the holy image. The holy image is installed on the mountain.

The Sacrifice at the Iron Pillar 祭铁柱

This scene depicts a tribal meeting below a sacred iron pillar 铁柱, with nine people performing sacrifices. To the right and left of the iron pillar are columns of text, the longer text on the left giving the names and titles of those attending the gathering.

But what the scene actually depicts – the anointment of the ruler of Nánzhào – is much better understandable, through the explanation in the text scroll, see page 29.

其铁主盖帽变为石于今现在广化群今 号银生 兽燠穷石村中铁柱高九尺七寸	The cap covering the iron pillar turned into stone. Today it can be seen at Guǎnghuàqún, today it is called Yínshēng. The iron pillar in Shòudàn's Qióngshí village is nine <i>chǐ</i> and seven <i>cùn</i> high.
--	--

/58: 嵯浮山] The first character is written as < 嵯山羗 > in the text scroll.

/61: 宁健] Chapin (1944), p. 165 thinks that the two characters are transposed, but since the name also appears in the text scroll, this is unlikely.

/67: 主] clearly written as 主, but should be 柱.

r60: Pǔjū Nuòjū] unclear, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 31 takes the four characters as a single place name, but the term Pǔjū 普苴 appears in isolation in the text scroll, see page 34.

r60: Zhāng Níngjiàn] Chapin (1944), p. 165 refers to the Qīng dynasty《滇云历年传》and suggests that his name refers to Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求, the ruler of state of Jiànníng 建宁国 mentioned in the 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào'《南诏野史》, but Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 31 disputes this and points to the text scroll.

r67: The cap covering] Lǐ Huìquán 李惠铨 (1985) points out that the meaning is incomprehensible.



Illustration 10:
The Sacrifice at the Iron Pillar 祭铁柱

The following text then presents, quoting a lost work called 《张氏国史》, a name roll of those attending the gathering. Attending the ceremony is Méng Luóshèng, i.e. the previously mentioned Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, the son of Xīnúluó 细奴逻. This is incongruent, as according to the legends, power was transferred to Xīnúluó as the founder of the Méng clan.

按张氏国史云云南大将军张乐尽求西
洱河
右将军杨农拣左将军张矣牟拣巍峰刺
史蒙
逻盛勋公大部落主段宇拣赵览宇施拣
望李史
顶王青细莫等九人祭铁柱时

According to master Zhāng's state history: Yúnnán general-in-chief Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú, Xiè Hé right general Yáng Nóngjiǎn, left general Zhāng Yīmóujiǎn, mount Wēi regional inspector Méng Luóshèng, the honourable leader of a large tribe Duàn Yǔjiǎn, Zhào Lǎnyǔ, Shī Jiǎnwàng, Lǐ Shǐdǐng, and Wáng Qīngxìmò made offerings at the iron pillar at that time.

75

Then comes a passage that seems to explain the relationship between the ruler of Nánzhào and Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú, the tribal leader in charge of the ritual. There is a curious miswriting in this passage which spells 西二河 instead of 西洱河 – maybe this passage was added later by a different person?

(57)

都知云南国诏西
二河侯前拜大首
领将军张乐尽求

Everyone knows that the zhào of the state of Yúnnán, the marquis of Xīèrhé was the formerly appointed great leader general Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú.

80

178–79: 西

二河] Liáng Xiǎoqiáng 梁晓强 (2006), p. 127 takes this miswriting of 西洱河 as an indicator of carelessness in the preparation of the picture scroll.

(57) These events are also told in the 'Origins of the Bai Kingdom' 《白国因由》.

The Nánzhào King Worships Ācuóyé 南诏王礼阿嵯耶

The subsequent scene shows two named tribal leaders; the Nánzhào ruler Lóngshùn 隆舜, here labelled 蒙隆昊,⁽⁵⁸⁾ with two attendants; and the emperor Zhōngxīng, i.e. Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, with two named officials behind him gathered around a large statue of Ācuóyé Guānyīn, with a bronze drum in front of the statue.

The two Nánzhào rulers, Lóngshùn 隆舜 and Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, also appear in the 103rd frame of the 《梵像卷》, see illustration 11, and Lóngshùn also appears in the 55th frame.



Illustration 11:

The Nánzhào King Worships Ācuóyé 南诏王礼阿嵯耶

Left: on the 《南诏图传》 – Right: on the 《梵像卷》: emperor Zhōngxīng is the (from the reader's perspective) leftmost in the middle row, the inscription reads '孝哀中兴皇帝', Chapin and Soper (1971b); in the bottom row, the second man from the centre, dressed in a *dhoti* and with a hairstyle matching the 《南诏图传》, is Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞 (image from Li Lincàn 李霖灿 (1982), image 103)

As each person is labeled with his titles, this scene has found considerable interest as it seems to give an indication of the religious-political concepts governing the Dàlì region in the 10th century. Megan Bryson considers the scene, which is linked to the text scroll,⁽⁵⁹⁾ a 'consecration rite':

Elite Dali-kingdom Buddhists drew from multiple sources in developing a tradition that could, among other things, support their right to rule. Esoteric Buddhism in particular offered techniques for rulers to identify with powerful, enlightened beings. One of these techniques was the *abhiṣeka* (Ch. *guānding* 灌頂) consecration rite modeled on royal coronation in which the practitioner became one with a deity. The end of the *Nanzhao tuzhuan's* illustrations featured an *abhiṣeka* rite in its scene of the penultimate Nanzhao ruler Meng Longshun 蒙隆舜 (who also went by the title Mahārāja) standing in a devotional posture before a statue of Acuoye Guanyin. Two attendants holding vases stand behind the ruler, who is barefoot and dressed only in a *dhoti*, far different from the standard tall crown and robe worn by Nanzhao kings. (Bryson (2016), p. 75)

Likewise, Daniels (2021), p. 210 interprets the scene as depicting the coronation of Lóngshùn.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ On the possible meaning of Hào 昊, see Li Lincàn 李霖灿 (1967), p. 54.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ see page 37.

Bryson (2015), pp. 74–75 further links this to Buddhist scriptures only found in the Dàlǐ region and to the 12th century ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》:

Dali-kingdom rulers presented themselves as heirs to Nanzhao in several ways: they claimed Nanzhao royal titles such as Piaoxin 驃信, meaning ‘Lord of Pyu’ (modern-day Myanmar); donned the same tall crowns; and continued to worship Acuoye Guanyin as a tutelary deity. In fact, the *Painting of Buddhist Images* reproduces almost the entire visual narrative of the *Illustrated History*, culminating in a scene of all the Nanzhao rulers worshipping Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara. Dali rulers – or at least Duan Zhixing, who commissioned the painting – thus claimed to carry on the Buddhist mandate originally bestowed by Acuoye Guanyin upon the early Nanzhao kings. (Bryson (2022), p. 95)

In Bryson (2017), p. 35, she concludes that ‘in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* the source of the Nanzhao kings’ Buddhist royal mandate is unmistakably India’ and notes that this ‘conforms to Luo Zhao’s interpretation that the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* marks the Nanzhao court’s attempt to distance themselves from the fading powers of Tang and Tibet.’⁽⁶⁰⁾

Many of the titles of the dignitaries are unclear. Chapin (1944), pp. 167–168 simply transliterates them, often without an attempt of segmentation. Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001), p. 4 attempts to interpret these titles, which do not appear elsewhere.

石门邑主罗和李忙求	Shímén village chief Luóhé Lǐ Mángqiú	
慈双字李行	Císhuāngyǔ Lǐ Xíng	
驃信蒙隆昊	piàoxìn Méng Lónghào	
摩诃罗嵯土 轮 王 但	mahārāja, the earth wheel king, and dànbi qiānjiàn calls on the four	85
界谦贱四方请为一家	directions to become one family.	
中兴皇帝	Emperor Zhōngxīng	
巍山主掌内书金券赞卫	The ruler of Mount Wēi, the Zhǎngnèishū, Jīnquàn, Zànwèi,	
理昌忍爽臣王奉宗	Lǐchāng, and Rěnshuǎng, the official Wáng Fèngzōng	
信博士内掌侍首望忍爽臣张顺	The Xìnbóshì, Nèizhǎngshì, Qiúwàng, and Rěnshuǎng, the official	90

184: 驃信蒙隆昊] These five characters are slightly to the right and below the next column.

185: 摩诃罗嵯] This is exactly the title given to the figure in the 55th scene of the ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》, Chapin and Soper (1971b), Plate 23.

186: 谦贱四方请为一家] Chapin (1944), p. 168 thinks that this is a transposition and should read 谦贱请四方为一家.

188–89: 巍山主掌内书金券赞卫

理昌忍爽臣王奉宗] This is the annotation above the right one of two men lined up behind 中兴皇帝.

190: 信博士内掌侍首望忍爽臣张顺] This is the annotation above the left man.

r 83: Císhuāngyǔ] unclear title, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15 translate it as ‘Minister of Rites’.

r 84: Méng Lónghào] i.e. 隆舜 – Lóngshùn.

r 85: earth wheel king] Bryson (2015), pp. 73–74 notes, that while this phrase does not seem to be used elsewhere, it indicates a Buddhist monarch.

r 85: dànbi qiānjiàn] Bryson (2015), p. 74 interprets the term *dànbi qiānjiàn* 但界谦贱, which is not used elsewhere, as a Tibetan honorific: ‘*bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan* is a Tibetan term that means “victory banner of the [Buddhist] teachings”. But Daniels (2018), p. 208 translates the passage as ‘accepts responsibility for the good and the mean, and requests all four quarters come together as one family.’

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Bryson (2017), p. 193, note 74.

Zhāng Shùn

Then follows a section that reads like it could have once been the colophon to this scroll, with the two dignitaries depicted just before, Zhāng Shùn 张顺 and Wáng Fèngzōng 王奉宗, signing and dating it. The titles given to them are exactly what was written next to their images just previously, leaving their status obscure.

95	巍山主掌内书金券赞卫理昌忍爽臣王 奉宗等申谨按巍山 起因铁柱西洱河等记并国史上所载图 书圣教初入邦国之原 谨画图样并载所闻具列如左臣奉宗等 谨奏	The ruler of Mount Wēi, the Zhǎngnèishū, Jīnquàn, Zànwèi, Lǐchāng, and Rěnshuǎng, the official Wáng Fèngzōng and others solemnly declare that we have – according to the reports about the reasons for the raising of the mount Wēi iron pillar, about Xiě river etc., as well as the national history – respectfully drawn a book about the first arrival of the holy teachings in our country and have written down what we have heard in the sequence as before. Respectfully memorialized by the servant Fèngzōng and others.
100	中兴二年三月十四日 信博士内常士酋望忍爽臣张顺	On the 14th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng The Xīnbóshì, Nèizhǎngshì, Qiúwàng, and Rěnshuǎng, the official Zhāng Shùn
105	巍山主掌内书金券赞卫理昌忍爽臣王 奉宗等 谨	The ruler of Mount Wēi, the Zhǎngnèishū, Jīnquàn, Zànwèi, Lǐchāng, and Rěnshuǎng, the official Wáng Fèngzōng Solemn Proclamation

With this colophon the scroll should have come to an end, but as two unrelated scenes follow, some have suggested that those were added later.⁽⁶¹⁾

Wénwǔ Emperor 文武皇帝

What is now the penultimate scene is comprised of a royal figure, labelled Wénwǔ Huángdì Shèngzhēn 文武皇帝圣真, followed by an official carrying a sword, and a group of court attendants. The royal figure in front could be Duàn Sīpíng 段思平, the founder of the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国, as in the ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏野史》 it is noted that he was given the posthumous title Holy Civil and Martial Founding Emperor 太祖圣神文武皇帝.⁽⁶²⁾

The interpretation of this scene has been complicated by only a low-quality black-and-white reproduction being available. Moreover, in the later and more widely circulating reproductions the label

[101: 常] Chapin (1944), p. 169 takes it as 掌.

r99: Fèngzōng] i.e. 王奉宗 – Wáng Fèngzōng.

r100: On the 14th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng] 8th April 898, this corresponds to the day with the inscription in the text scroll, see page 42.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010), p. 359.

⁽⁶²⁾ Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1967), p. 49 and Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 20.



Illustration 12:
Wénwǔ emperor 文武皇帝

Left: the complete version, here taken from Soper and Chapin (1970) – Right: the version with the characters missing, here taken from my unattributed scan circulating in the Chinese mainland, but the reproduction in Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1982) also has these characters missing, while the earlier version in Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1967) is complete.

identifying the main figure has been cut out (see illustration 12).⁽⁶³⁾ The clearly visible line where the characters were cut out has led some to believe that this part was added later.⁽⁶⁴⁾

文武皇帝圣真

侍内官幕爽长赞卫丘双赐姓杨

赏看装龙头刀臣保行即是白崖乐尽求

Wénwǔ emperor true sage

The Shì nèiguān and head of the Mùshuǎng, the Zàn wèi Qiūshuāng was granted the family name Yáng.

Look at the official who carries the sword with the the dragon head,

[106: 文武皇帝圣真] These characters are missing in later reproductions, see the introduction on page 26. They were transcribed in Xú Jiārui 徐嘉瑞 (1949), p. 426, but not in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 429.

[107: 侍内官幕爽长赞卫丘双赐姓杨] This text is inside a box.

[107: The Shì nèiguān and head of the Mùshuǎng, the Zàn wèi Qiūshuāng] this seems a list of unclear titles, Qiūshuāng could be a given name, see Chapin (1944), p. 169.

[108: the family name Yáng] clearly a Chinese family name, the granting of which was considered a privilege.

[109–111: Look at the official who carries the sword with the the dragon head, Bǎoxíng, that was Báiyá's Lèjīnqiú['s sword]. Zhāng Huàchéng was his assistant.] The segmentation and translation of this passage is unclear. As Soper in his annotation in Chapin and Soper (1970a), p. 191 points out Chapin (1944), p. 170's 'tentative rendering' as 'Observe the Minister who bears the dragon-headed blade. His attendants are CHANG Hua and CH'ENG Chieh, courtiers of [CHANG] Lo-chin-ch'iu of Pai-yai.'

⁽⁶³⁾ The first complete reproduction, in Chapin (1944), was in black-and-white, but it contained the six characters. So did the reproduction in Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1967), Soper and Chapin (1970), and in the book Chapin and Soper (1971b). It appears that when a new set of colour images was taken of the picture scroll, the last two scenes were left out and substituted from the images contained in Lǐ Lín càn 李霖灿 (1967). So, in the 1982 not only were six characters were left out, but the image composition left a line where the images were stitched together. In the earlier versions no such line is visible and, to the contrary, the scroll appears here to be one continuous piece of material. The subsequent map of Ěrhǎi however has clearly been cut.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020) speculates that during the time of Duàn Sìyīng the scrolls entered the royal collection of the Dàlǐ kingdom and that Duàn Sìyīng ordered to add Duàn Sìpīng, the founding father of the Duàn clan, either on the original or a copy of the scroll.

110 张化成节内人也

Bǎoxíng, that was Báiyá's Lèjīnqiú[’s sword]. Zhāng Huàchéng was his assistant.

Xiě Hé Map 西洱河图

The last scene is the earliest known map of lake Ěrhǎi 洱海, then called Xiě Hé 西洱河, depicted as two intertwined snakes, a conch in the northern part and a fish in the southern part. The cardinal directions and the rivers flowing into and out of the lake are correctly given.

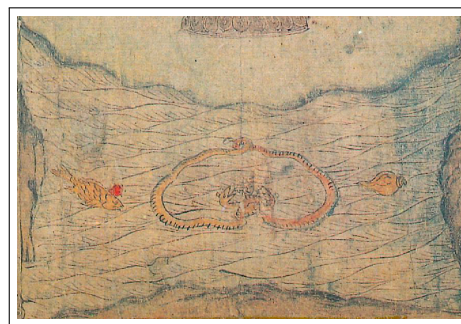


Illustration 13:
Ěrhǎi Map 洱海图

Left: on the 《南诏图传》 – Right: on the 《梵像卷》 (image from Li Lincàn 李霖灿 (1982), frame 101)

This image is considered important for the understanding of religious beliefs in the region.⁽⁶⁵⁾ A very similar image can also be seen in the 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images' 《梵像卷》, see illustration 13.

北弥直怯江
西东
西洱河者西河如耳即
115 大海之耳也河神有
金螺金鱼也金鱼白
头头上有轮爰. 毒
蛇绕之居之左右分

North Mízhíqiè river
West East
Xiě Hé, the Xīhé is like an ear, meaning the ear[-shaped] large lake.
There are river spirits: a golden conch and a golden fish. The golden fish has a white head, above the head is a wheel, poisonous snakes wind around it, left and right are divided into two rivers.

[117: 爰.] Chapin (1944), p. 170 places a question mark here, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 419 places a comma behind it to take it as a sentence finishing character, it has no other meaning.

was almost certainly wrong, as there is only one attendant. The two names mentioned here, Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求, who was the local ruler at Báiyá 白崖 before Xīnúlóu, and Zhāng Huàchéng 张化成, who is mentioned in the text scroll as a local ruler, see page 34 and see also Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 33. In Chapin and Soper (1970a), p. 191, she noted on the sword: 'In the Yunnanese painted scroll [...], the minister of the ruler Shun-hua-chen [...] is represented carrying a sword which the text, i.e. an inscription on the painting, tells us was handed down from Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu. [...] It is possible that this is the same sword.'

r 110: Bǎoxíng] i.e. 杨保行 – Yáng Bǎoxíng.

r 114: Xīhé] i.e. 西洱河 – Xiě Hé.

(65) Lǐ Huìquán 李惠铨 (1985), Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (1993).

为二河也			120
龙尾江		Lóngwěi river	
矣辅江		Yǐfǔ river	
南		South	

Further left then comes an inscription by Chéng Qīnwáng 成亲王, a son of Qīng dynasty emperor Qiánlóng, dated 1820 and two seals.⁽⁶⁶⁾

嘉庆二十五年岁在庚辰九月廿二日成 亲王观		On the 22nd day of the 9th month 25th year of Jiāqìng, <i>gēngchén</i> ,
		examined by Chéng Qīnwáng

3.3 The Text Scroll 文字卷

At the beginning of the text scroll are four large banner characters that were, as the following shows, added in 1899.

般若真源		True Springs of Prajñā	125

These are followed by the date, a title and the name of the person making this inscription.

光緒己亥中伏日		Guāngxù <i>jǐhài</i> middle <i>fú</i> day
皈依三教弟子		The Initiated Disciple of the Three Teachings and Buddha
周德钊敬题		Zhōu Dézhāo respectfully inscribed [this]

The main text of the text scroll then begins with a passage that will be – character for character – repeated later.⁽⁶⁷⁾ It recalls a legendary tribal meeting during which an auspicious bird flies from the centre of worship, the iron pillar 铁柱, to perch on the shoulders of the future king Xīngzōng 兴宗王, which was the name posthumously given to Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, the second ruler of Nánzhào 南诏.⁽⁶⁸⁾ It is not difficult to see this as a divine intervention, as Fabrizio Pregadio writes:

Because of their gift of raising in flight to heaven and treading the earthly ground, birds play in several cultures the function of mediators between our world and the world above us. In parallel to this, birds are also images of the descent of the divine spirit to earth

[125: 般若] These characters are the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit word प्रज्ञा and should be pronounced something like *bōrě*.

r123: On the 22nd day of the 9th month 25th year of Jiāqìng, *gēngchén*] 28th October 1820

r125: True Springs of Prajñā] Translation from Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 10.

r126: Guāngxù *jǐhài* middle *fú* day] 中伏日 is the 4th 庚 day after the summer solstice 夏至, that year this should have been 31st July 1899.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ In my copy, the inscription is partly cut off, but it is clearly visible in Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 (1982) and also recorded in Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020).

⁽⁶⁷⁾ page 35.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ This is an unexplained inconsistency: Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎 is the second generation, it should really be Xīnúlúo 细奴逻. Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 10 noted this, and apparently also Lǐ Líncàn 李霖灿 (1967), but neither offers an explanation.

and of the ascent of the human spirit to heaven. For these reasons, birds are usually auspicious creatures; [...] In this sense, birds fulfill a prophetic function by transmitting and revealing the divine or celestial will to humanity. (Pregadio (2020), p. 31)

The corresponding image in the picture scroll can be seen in illustration 10.

铁柱记云：	The 'Records of the Iron Pillar' say:
130 初三赧白大首领大将军张乐尽求并兴宗王等九人，共祭天于铁柱侧。	In the beginning, the great leader general Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú of the Bái kingdom of the three Dàn, king Xīngzōng and others, in all nine men, made sacrifices to heaven beside the iron pillar.
主鸟从铁柱上飞憩兴宗王之臂上焉。	The master bird flew from the top of the iron pillar to rest upon the shoulder of king Xīngzōng.
135 张乐尽求自此已后，益加惊讶。	From that moment on, Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú became evermore astounded.
兴宗王乃忆，此吾家中之主鸟也，始自忻悦。	King Xīngzōng then recalled: 'this is my family's master bird', and he was delighted.

The First Manifestation

After the setting of the context as the divine anointment of king Xīngzōng by the auspicious bird, the story then tells of seven manifestation 化 of Guānyīn 观音 in the shape of a 'foreign monk'.

While there is no heading for this section, it is evident that this is the manifestation,⁽⁶⁹⁾ as seen in illustrations 1 and 2.

140 此鸟憩兴宗王家，经于一十一月后乃化矣。	The bird rested at king Xīngzōng's house, after eleven months it disappeared.
又有一犬，白首黑身 [号为龙犬]。	There was also a dog with a white head and a black body [known as dragon dog].
生于奇王之家也。	He had been born at king Qí's home.
145 瑞花两树，生于舍隅，四时常发 [俗云橙花]。	Two auspiciously flowering trees sprouted at a corner of the house, in all four seasons they regularly flowered [said to be orange-coloured flowers].
其二鸟每栖息此树焉。	Two birds often perched on these trees.
又圣人梵僧未至前三日，有一黄鸟来	Three days before the holy foreign monk arrived, a yellow bird came

r131: Bái kingdom of the three Dàn] an unclear term, 赧 denotes a flat river valley, so with some justification Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) speculates that this refers to an alliance of three valleys of the 白蛮

r133: master bird] an unclear term

r139: eleven months] or 'in the eleventh month'? Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 10.

r140: disappeared] This is unclear, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 10 wrote 'disappeared', but 化 could mean another transformation.

r142: [known as dragon dog]] This is an annotation by the copyist, it is a reference to the picture scroll, where the dog is marked with the two characters *lóngquǎn* 龙犬. This is the translation in Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 11.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ I think this section lacks a heading as the form of the text is like a story being told: only at the very end it is revealed that what happened was an appearance of Ācuóyé 阿嵯耶, i.e. the work of Guānyīn 观音.

<p>至奇王之家 [即鹰子也]。 又于兴宗王之时，先出一士，号曰各郡矣，著锦服，披虎皮，手把白旗，教以用兵；次出一士，号曰罗傍，著锦衣。</p>	<p>to king Qí's home [this is the young hawk]. Then during the time of king Xīngzōng, a first official appeared, his name was Gèjùnyǐ, he was wearing silk clothes with a tiger skin over his shoulders, in his hand a white flag, he instructed how to use weapons; then a second official appeared, his name was Luōbàng, wearing silk clothes.</p>	<p>150</p>
<p>此二士共佐兴宗王统治国政。其罗傍遇梵僧以乞书教，即封氏之书也 [其二士表文武也]。</p>	<p>These two officials assisted king Xīngzōng to govern the state. Luōbàng encountered the monk and asked for books of the teachings, and was given the books of the Fēng clan. [These two officials represent the civil and military arts.]</p>	<p>155</p>
<p>后有天兵十二骑来助兴宗王，隐显有期，初期住于十二日，再期住于六日，后期住于三日。</p>	<p>Afterwards, twelve celestial soldiers rode to assist king Xīngzōng, disappearing and appearing at times, at first they stayed for twelve days, the second time they stayed for six days, then the last time they stayed for three days.</p>	<p>160</p>
<p>从此兵强国盛，辟土开疆，此亦阿嵯耶之化也。</p>	<p>From then on the troops were strong and the country prospered, they opened the land and expanded the borders, this was a manifestation of Ācuóyé.</p>	<p>165</p>

After the revelation that these magic events were a manifestation of Ācuóyé 阿嵯耶, i.e. Guānyīn, follow further manifestations.

The Second Manifestation

After having received the first offerings, Guānyīn appears again, testing the devotion of the kings' wives, who show themselves as unselfish and devoted to the teachings.⁽⁷⁰⁾

<p>第二化 浚弥脚、梦讳等二人欲送耕饭。其时梵僧在奇王家内留住不去。</p>	<p>The Second Manifestation Xúnmiǎojiǎo and Mènghuì intended to send vegetarian food. At that moment a foreign monk took a rest at the house of king Qí and did not leave.</p>	<p>170</p>
<p>浚弥脚等送饭至路中，梵僧已在前回乞食矣。 乃戴梦讳所施黑淡彩二端迭以为首饰 [盖贵人所施之物也，后人效为首饰也]。</p>	<p>When Xúnmiǎojiǎo and the other were on the way sending the food, the foreign monk was already ahead of them asking for food. Then he put on two lengths of cloth, one dark, one light, donated by Mènghuì, as head ornament [this was something the nobility gave as alms, later people used it as head ornaments].</p>	<p>175</p>
<p>其时浚弥脚等所将耕饭，再亦回施，无有恻惜之意。</p>	<p>When Xúnmiǎojiǎo and the other are about to deliver vegetarian food, he returned again and they gave without considering their sacrifice.</p>	<p>175</p>

r149: [this is the young hawk]] Annotation by the copyist, again I believe the text here points to the picture scroll, where one bird is marked as such.

r157: was given the books of the Fēng clan] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 11 has '[and was given] the Book of the Feng People [?]. Note, that in the commentary by Zhāng Zhào 张照 it is stated that the name of the state was Fēngmín 封民, see page 10.

r167: vegetarian food] The term Gēngfàn 耕饭 signifies food that has come from agriculture, as opposed to meat, i.e. the result of an animal being killed. It is an indicator of Buddhist practice as opposed to Hinduist practice.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ see illustration 3.

The Third Manifestation

In his third manifestation, Guānyīn uses his powers to conjure up all sorts of strange imagery and he makes a prophecy to the kings' wives.⁽⁷¹⁾

<p>第三化 浚弥脚等再取耕饭家中，送至巍山顶上。 180 再逢梵僧坐于石上，左有朱鬃白马，上出化云，中有侍童，手把铁杖；右有白象，上出化云，中有侍童，手把金镜。</p> <p>并有青沙牛。 浚弥脚等敬心无异，惊喜交并，所将耕饭，再亦施之。 梵僧见其敬心坚固，乃云恣汝所愿。</p> <p>浚弥脚等虽申恳愿，未能遣于圣怀。</p> <p>乃授记云： 「鸟飞三月之限，树叶如针之峰，奕叶相承，为汝臣属。」 195</p> <p>授记讫，梦讳急呼耕人奇王蒙细奴逻等云： 「此有梵僧，奇形异服，乞食数遍，未恻圣贤。今现灵异，并与授记；如今在此。」 200</p> <p>奇王蒙细奴逻等相随往看，诸馀化尽，唯见五色云中，有一圣化，手捧</p>	<p>The Third Manifestation Xúnmiǎojiǎo and the other were again fetching vegetarian food from their house to deliver to the top of mount Wēi. Once again, they encountered the foreign monk sitting on a stone, on his left side was a white horse with a red mane, above it clouds were emerging, in the middle was a boy servant, his hand grasping an iron staff, on the right hand side was a white elephant, above it clouds were emerging, in the middle was a boy servant, in his hand holding a golden mirror. There was also a <u>blue sand oxen</u>. Xúnmiǎojiǎo and the other revered him unfailingly, they were pleasantly surprised and once again they gave him the vegetarian food. The foreign monk saw their steadfast devotion and said, they could wish what they desired. Xúnmiǎojiǎo and the other then divulged their desires, <u>but could not sent them to the bosom of the holy man</u>. Then he made a prophecy, saying: 'Within three months a bird will fly, leaves will be as many as a mount of needles, the leaves will continue generation after generation and you will be the ruler.' After he made the prophecy, Mènghuì urgently called the ploughmen, king Qí, Méng Xīnúlúo, and the other, saying: 'There is a foreign monk, a strange appearance in foreign robes, who begged for food a few times, a holy man who cannot be harmed. Today various spirits appeared, he made a prophesy, just now and here.' King Qí, Méng Xīnúlúo, and the other followed them to look, all that was there had disappeared, only in the middle of a five-coloured</p>
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[203: 王] This character is missing, Lǐ Huìquán 李惠铨 and Wáng Jūn 王军 (1984) adds it.

r186: blue sand oxen] 青 here probably stands for the Sanskrit term नील, signifying blue. The animal on the scroll has, as can be most clearly seen in the colour reproduction in Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1982), a blue, not a green tint, and the animal is an Indian style cow, not a water buffalo. The animal is most likely a reference to the Hindu god Shiva. Shiva's vahana (vehicle) is a bull called Nandideva, see Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001), p. 4, so the bull represents Shiva. But this does not necessarily point to India as the source of this imagery: the 'Thousand Hands Sūtra' 《千手经》 originally, in Sanskrit, had the title 'Blue Throated Sūtra' and referred to Indian imagery. 'The Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Guanyin became popular in China through translations of the Qianshou Jing ("Thousand Hands Sūtra"; Nilakanṭhasūtra) made between the mid-seventh and early-eighth centuries.' Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 736.

r191–192: but could not sent them to the bosom of the holy man.] Unclear.

⁽⁷¹⁾ This corresponds to illustration 3.

钵盂，升空而住。	cloud was a holy manifestation, in the hand clasping an alms bowl, rising to the sky where he remained.	205
又光明中仿髯见二童子，并见地上有一青牛，馀无所在。	In the middle of the ray of light it seemed they saw two boy servants, above them a blue cow, everything else had disappeared.	
往看石上，乃有圣迹及衣服迹，并象马牛踪，于今现在。[后立青牛祠此其因也。]	They went and saw on top of the stone a holy footprint, the imprint of his clothes, prints of an elephant, a horse and a cow, they still there today. [Later the veneration of blue cows arose from this.]	210

The Fourth Manifestation

From the fourth manifestation on, Guānyīn appears in a new setting: confronting tribal people in the south. The villagers steal and eat his dog in order to humiliate him, but the dog barks out of the villagers's bellies. The villagers then try to kill Guānyīn, but even though they dismember and burn him, he reappears unscathed, the tribal people then realizing his powers and submitting to him. This manifestation is depicted in illustration 7.

第四化 兴宗王蒙遯盛时，有一梵僧，来自南开郡西澜沧江外，兽贖穷石村中，牵一白犬，手持锡杖钵盂，经于三夜。	The Fourth Manifestation At the time of king Xīngzōng, Méng Luóshèng, there was a foreign monk, who came from west of Nánkāi prefecture from the further regions of the Láncāng river, to Qióngshí village of Shòu Dàn, leading a white dog, in his hands holding a staff and a bowl, he stayed for three nights.	215
其犬忽被村主加明王乐等偷食。	The dog was suddenly stolen and eaten by the village head Jiámíng Wánglè and others.	
明朝，梵僧寻问，翻更凌辱。	The following morning, the foreign monk searched and enquired, they turned their backs to humiliate him even more.	220
僧仍高声呼犬，犬遂噉于数十男子腹内。	The monk then called his dog in a loud voice, the dog then barked from the bellies of more than ten boys and men.	
偷食人等，莫不惊惧相视，形神散去。	Those who had stolen [the dog] to eat looked frightened at each other, the form and spirit then disappeared.	225
谓圣僧为妖怪，以陋质为骁雄。	They called the holy monk a demon, a weak person pretending to be a hero.	
三度伤害，度度如故。	The struck him three times, each time deadly.	
初解支体，次为三段，后烧火中，骨肉灰烬，盛竹筒中，抛于水里。	They cut his body into three parts, then burned him in the fire, his bones and flesh turned to ash, they poured it into a bamboo tube and threw it into the water.	230
破筒而出，形体如故，无能损坏。	He broke the bamboo tube and emerged in the shape of his body just like before, they could not injure him.	
钵盂锡杖，王乐差部下外券赴奏于山上，留著内道场供养顶礼。	The bowl and the staff, Wánglè sent his underling Wàiquàn to the mountain top, where they remained to make offerings and prostrate themselves.	235

r 213: Luóshèng] i.e. 遯盛炎 – Luóshèngyán.

r 234: Wánglè] i.e. 加明王乐 – Jiámíng Wánglè.

其靴变为石，今现在穷石村中。

His shoes turned into stones, they can still be seen in Qióngshí village.

The Fifth Manifestation

In his fifth manifestation, Guānyīn again overcomes hostile tribal people, who in the end submit to him, see illustration 8.

	第五化	The Fifth Manifestation
240	梵僧手持瓶柳，足穿屣履，察其人 辈根机下劣，未合化缘，因以隐避登 山。	The foreign monk held a <u>vase</u> and a <u>willow</u> in his hands, on his feet wooden shoes, judging that these men were rooted in evil, and not ready for his teachings, so he went to hide in the mountain.
	村主王乐等，或骑牛马乘，或急行而 赶之。	The village leader <u>Wánglè</u> and others, some riding oxens or horses, some running, pursued him.
245	数里之间，梵僧缓步而已，以追之莫 及。	After a few <i>li</i> , the foreign monk just strolled along, those pursuing him could not reach him.
	后将欲及，梵僧乃回首看之，王乐等 莫能进步。	As they were about to reach him, the foreign monk turned his head to look at them, <u>Wánglè</u> and the others were unable to move for- ward.
250	始乃归心稽颡伏罪。	Then they began to submit willingly, prostrated themselves and ad- mitted their failures.
	梵僧乃出开南 < [] 山羗 > 浮山顶。	The foreign monk then appeared on the summit of Kāinán's mount Qiāngfú.
255	后遇普苴大首领张宁健。[即建成之父 也建成即张化成也]。	Later he encountered the great leader of Pǔjū Zhāng Níngjiàn. [The father of Jiànchéng, Jiànchéng was also called Zhāng Huàchéng. He is also mentioned in the 《南诏野史》 as being in charge of building a temple for Guānyīn at Báiyá during the time of Luóshèngyán. He travelled to the Chinese court in 714.]
	后出和泥大首领宋林别之界焉。	Later he appeared in the lands of the great leader of the Héní, Sòng Línbié.
	林则多生种福，幸蒙顶礼。	He made [the lands of] Lín prosperous, grateful for the benefits he conducted the rites.

The Sixth Manifestation

This section narrates the story of the casting of the image of Ācuóyé, see illustration 9.

r 240: a vase and a willow] markers of Guānyīn.

r 243: Wánglè] i.e. 加明王乐 – Jiāmíng Wánglè.

r 254–255: The father of Jiànchéng, Jiànchéng was also called Zhāng Huàchéng] This is possibly a person on the picture scroll, called Zhāng Jiànchéng 张建成, see page 27.

r 261: Lín] i.e. 宋林别 – Sòng Línbié.

r 261–262: grateful for the benefits he conducted the rites] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 13: 'being granted the privilege of offering worship on the mountain-top'.

第六化	The Sixth Manifestation	
圣僧行化至忙道大首领李忙灵之界焉。	The holy monk, on his journey to enlighten, appeared in the lands of the great leader Lǐ Mánglíng of Mángdào.	265
其时人机暗昧，未识圣人。	At that time, the people were still in the darkness and did not recognize the holy man.	
虽有宿缘，未可教化。	Even though fate brought him there to lodge, he was not able to enlighten them.	
遂即腾空乘云，化为阿嵯耶像。	Then he rose to the sky riding on a cloud, and took the form of Ācuóyē.	270
忙灵惊骇，打钹鼓，集村人。	Mánglíng was panic-stricken and beat the bronze drum to gather the villagers.	
村人既集之，仿髻犹见圣像，放大光明。	When the villager had gathered, it seemed as if they were seeing a holy image spreading bright light.	275
乃于打钹鼓之处，化一老人云：	Then at the spot where the bronze drum had been beaten, an old man appeared, saying:	
「乃吾解熔铸，作此圣容所见之形，毫厘不异。」	‘I know how to cast, I will make an image like this holy appearance, with no difference at all.’	
忙灵云：	Mánglíng said:	280
「欲铸此像，恐铜钹未足。」	‘I want to cast his image, but I fear the copper will not suffice.’	
老人云：	The old man said:	
「但随铜所在，不限多少。」	‘Follow me to where the copper is, there will be no limits.’	
忙灵等惊喜从之，铸作圣像，及集村人鼓，置于山上焉。	Mánglíng and the others were all pleased and obeyed him, he cast the holy image, then the village drums were gathered and set up on the top of the mountain.	285

After this comes an exact repetition of the passage from the beginning about the ritual at the Iron Pillar, see page 29.

This seems like nothing but a mistake by the copyist and supports the view that the extant copy is an inferior copy, not a copy that was presented to the court.

铁柱记云：	The ‘Records of the Iron Pillar’ say:	
初三賧白大首领大将军张乐尽求并兴宗王等九人，共祭天于铁柱侧。	In the beginning, the great leader general Zhāng Lèjīnqiú of the Bái kingdom of the three Dàn, king Xīngzōng and others, in all nine men, made sacrifices to heaven beside the iron pillar.	290
主鸟从铁柱上飞憩兴宗王之臂上焉。	The master bird flew from the top of the iron pillar to rest upon the shoulder of king Xīngzōng.	
张乐尽求自此已后，益加惊讶。	From that moment on, Zhāng Lèjīnqiú became evermore astounded.	
兴宗王乃忆，此吾家中之主鸟也，始	King Xīngzōng then recalled: ‘this is my family’s master bird’, and he	295

r272: Mánglíng] i.e. 李忙灵 – Li Mánglíng.

r289: Bái kingdom of the three Dàn] an unclear term, 賧 denotes a flat river valley, so with some justification Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) speculates that this refers to an alliance of three valleys of the 白蛮

r291: master bird] an unclear term

自忻悦。 | was delighted.

The Seventh Manifestation

The last manifestation does not have an accompanying part in the picture scroll.

It discusses the arrival of Buddhism in Yúnnán by recounting a debate in Yìzhōu 益州, i.e. Chéngdū 成都, held in 819 when Nánzhào envoys claim to have encountered a monk called Jīn 金. Jīn Héshàng 金和尚, also called Wúxiāng 无相, ‘was known as the founder of [a] Sichuan Chan school, the Jingzhong school of Chengdu.’⁽⁷²⁾ While the alleged encounter in 819 was not possible as by that time Wúxiāng 无相, who lived around 684–762, had long passed away, Chéngdū was then a centre of religious controversy between different Chán schools, see Adamek (2007). The competing Bǎotáng 保唐 school claimed to be ‘in possession of the key Chan talisman, the robe of the “first patriarch” Bodhidharma,’ which ‘became so hotly contested an item as to provoke tales of murder and intrigue.’⁽⁷³⁾ So the debate about the arrival of Buddhism recalled here can be seen as part of the *Mystique of Transmission*,⁽⁷⁴⁾ in which Nánzhào claimed a unique source, maybe even giving ‘Nanzhao Buddhism a direct link to Buddhism’s Indian source.’⁽⁷⁵⁾

While some Chinese scholars, such as Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) and Luō Zhào 罗炤 (2006), – not without reason – question the veracity of the account, it is perhaps the fact of such a debate that is most significant. In Wendy Adamek’s words:

However, current scholarly practice also asks us to acknowledge that a quest for ‘facts’ often reveals more about its own context than that of the apparent subject, while the faultlines of fiction may admit echoes from the past that have been expunged from more authoritative works. (Adamek (2007), pp. 4–5)

When it comes to the authenticity of the 《南诏图传》, it is maybe important to note that while Wúxiāng belonged to the lineage of the Jìngzōng 净宗 school, during the Sòng dynasty ‘the “orthodox” view [...] was firmly established [...], in which Huineng 慧能 is the undisputed sixth patriarch and the Zhishen branch [to which Wúxiāng/Jīn Héshàng belonged] no longer features.’⁽⁷⁶⁾ If the 《南诏图传》 was a Sòng dynasty copy, would they have not removed references to Monk Jīn?

For a translation of parts of this section, see Bryson (2015), p. 72 and Bryson (2017), p. 34.

第七化
全义四年己亥岁，复礼朝贺。

The Seventh Manifestation
In the 4th year of Quányì, a jǐhài year, a courtesy mission again went to court.

r 298: In the 4th year of Quányì, a jǐhài year] 819, Quányì 全义 is a Nánzhào reign period, jǐhài 己亥 adds the Chinese cyclical year and allows a precise dating against the Chinese calendar.

⁽⁷²⁾ Adamek (2007), p. 6

⁽⁷³⁾ Adamek (2007), p. 4.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ so the title of Adamek (2007).

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Bryson (2015), p. 73.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Vermeersch (2018), p. 269.

<p>使大军将王丘佺、酋望张傍等部至益州，逢金和尚云：</p> <p>「云南自有圣人入国授记，汝先于奇王，因以云南，遂兴王业，称为国焉。</p> <p>我唐家或称是玄奘授记，此乃非也。</p> <p>玄奘是我大唐太宗皇帝贞观三年己丑岁，始往西域取大乘经，至贞观十九年乙巳岁，居于京都。</p> <p>汝奇王是贞观三年己丑岁始生，岂得父子遇玄奘而同授记耶？</p> <p>又玄奘路非历于云南矣。保和二年乙巳岁，有西域和尚菩立陁河来至我京都云：「吾西域莲花部尊阿嵯耶观音从蕃国中行化至汝大封民国，如今何在？」</p> <p>语讫，经于七日，终于上元莲宇。</p> <p>我大封民国始知阿嵯耶来至此也。</p>	<p>The envoys, the great commander <u>Wáng Qiūquán</u>, and <u>Qiúwàng Zhāng Bàng</u>, and others arrived in <u>Yìzhōu</u>, and <u>encountered Monk Jīn</u>, who said:</p> <p>‘In <u>Yúnnán</u> there was holy man who entered the country and made a prophesy to your former king Qí, so <u>Yúnnán</u>, through the works of king Xīng, became known as a state.’</p> <p>We, the <u>Táng</u>, sometimes say that it was <u>Xuánzàng</u> who made this prophesy, this is wrong.</p> <p><u>Xuánzàng</u> began, under the great <u>Táng</u> emperor <u>Tàizōng</u>, in the <u>3rd year of Zhēnguān</u>, a <u>jǐchǒu</u> year, to go to the western regions to obtain the scriptures of the Great Wheel, in the <u>19th year of Zhēnguān</u>, an <u>yǐsì</u> year, he returned to the <u>capital</u>.</p> <p>Your king Qí was born in the <u>3rd year of Zhēnguān</u>, a <u>jǐchǒu</u> year, so how could father and son have encountered <u>Xuánzàng</u> with the same prophesy?</p> <p>Furthermore, <u>Xuánzàng</u>’s route did not pass through <u>Yúnnán</u>.</p> <p>In the <u>2nd year of Bǎohé</u>, an <u>yǐsì</u> year, from the western regions the monk <u>Pūlituóhé</u> came to our capital, and said:</p> <p>‘The venerated <u>Ācuóyé Guānyīn</u> of the western regions of the lotus division came from the foreign regions to enlighten your <u>Great Fēng People’s Kingdom</u>, where is he now?’</p> <p>After he finished, he stayed for seven days, and passed away at <u>Shàngyuán</u> temple.</p> <p>Our <u>Great Fēng People’s Kingdom</u> then began to understand that <u>Ācuóyé</u> had come to our lands.</p>	<p>300</p> <p>305</p> <p>310</p> <p>315</p> <p>320</p>
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With this part the telling of Guānyīn’s manifestations has come to an end and the following sections then seem to explain the reasons this document has been commissioned.

<p>帝乃欲遍求圣化，询谋太史摛托君占奏云：</p> <p>「圣化合在西南，但能得其风声，南</p>	<p>The emperor then desired to search everywhere for manifestations of the holy [man], and asked the grand astrologer lord <u>Huītūō</u>, who made a divination and reported:</p> <p>‘The holy [man] appeared the south-west, but we only heard ru-</p>	<p>325</p>
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[320: Great Fēng People’s Kingdom] self-appellation of Nánzhào during the reign of Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 897–902, meaning unclear

r 300: Wáng Qiūquán] Wáng Qiūquán 王丘佺

r 301: Yìzhōu] i.e. Chéngdū.

r 301–302: encountered Monk Jīn] Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) points out that this is impossible, as the monk known as Monk Jīn 金和尚 had by then long died.

r 308–309: in the 3rd year of Zhēnguān, a jǐchǒu year] 629.

r 310–311: in the 19th year of Zhēnguān, an yǐsì year] 645, the dates of Xuánzàng 玄奘’s travel are correct.

r 311: capital] then Chángān.

r 312: in the 3rd year of Zhēnguān] 629.

r 316: In the 2nd year of Bǎohé, an yǐsì year] 825.

r 325: The emperor] of Nánzhào, possibly Quàn fēngyòu 劝丰佑, Bryson (2015), p. 73.

面逢于真化。]
 330 乃下勅大清平官澜沧郡王张罗疋：
 「富卿统治西南，疆界遐远，宜急分
 星使，诘问圣原，同遵救济之心，副
 我钦仰之志。」
 张罗疋急遣男大军将张疋傍，并就银
 生节度张罗诺、开南都督赵铎咩访问
 原由，但得梵僧靴为石。
 欲擎舁以赴阙，恐乖圣情。
 遂绘图以上呈。
 儒释惊讶。
 345 并知圣化行至首领张宁健及宋林则之
 处，餘未详悉。
 至嵯耶九年丁巳岁，圣驾淋盆，乃有
 石门邑主罗和李忙求奏云：
 「自祖父已来，吾界中山上，有白子
 影像一躯，甚有灵异，若有人取次无
 敬仰心，到于此者，速致亡，若欲除
 灾禳祸，乞福求农，致敬，祭之无不
 355 遂意。今于山上，人莫敢到。」奏讫

mors, in the south we have come across a true manifestation.’
 Then he gave an order to the great prime minister and king of
 Láncāng prefecture Zhāng Luōpǐ:
 ‘My blessed servant rules the south-west, as the borders are far away,
 it is appropriate to speedily dispatch an imperial envoy to enquire
 about the origin of the holy man, respect my desire to relieve my
 heart and assist my genuine wish.’
 Zhāng Luōpǐ urgently sent out his son, the great com-
 mander Zhāng Pǐbàng, the military commissioner of Yínshēng
 Zhāng Luōnuò, the commander-in-chief of Kāinán Zhào Duómíe
 to enquire about its source, but they only found the stone with the
 foreign monk’s shoes.
 They wanted to raise it to bring to the court, but feared this was con-
 trary to the holy wish.
 So they made a painting to present to the emperor.
 The religious experts were astonished.
 And they found out that the holy manifestation had reached the
 lands of leader Zhāng Níngjiàn and Sòng Línzé, more was not known
 clearly.
 Then in the 9th year of Cuóyé, a *dīngsì* year, the emperor was
 consecrated with water, and there was the report by the chief of
 Shímén village Luōhé Lǐ Mángqiú, which said:
 ‘From the times of our grandfathers, in our lands there has been a
 figure of a white man on a mountain, very mystical. If men sought
 it without the intention for veneration, those who reached it died
 quickly, but if they desired to prevent disaster and expel misfortune,
 prayed for good fortune and sought good harvests, paid obeisance
 and made sacrifices, then nothing was not according to their wishes.

r 329: we have come across a true manifestation] unclear passage, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15: ‘but the ruler will meet a conversion to the truth’

r 331: Láncāng] i.e. 澜沧江 – Láncāng river.

r 337: Zhāng Pǐbàng] Note the combination of a Chinese surname, Zhāng 张, with the local patronymic naming system where the second character of the father’s given name becomes the first character in the son’s given name, here Pǐ 疋, see Lo (1945).

r 338: Zhāng Luōnuò] The patronymic naming system would suggest that he was a brother of Zhāng Luōpǐ, as they share the first character of their given names, and as he was subordinate to him, he was probably a younger brother.

r 343: So they made a painting to present to the emperor.] This seems to a reference to the 《南诏图传》 itself.

r 348: the 9th year of Cuóyé, a *dīngsì* year] 897, Cuóyé is a reign period of Nánzhào ruler Lóngshùn 隆舜, 889–897, but it is also the year Lóngshùn 隆舜 died and Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞 took the throne.

r 348–349: the emperor was consecrated with water] Several researchers take this as description of a consecration ceremony, e.g. Bryson (2016), p. 75 and Daniels (2018), p. 106, see the comments to the corresponding scene in the picture scroll, illustration 11, on page 24. Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15 has tentatively a very different translation: ‘when the august palanquin [overturned like] a water-filled basin [i. e. when the ruler died suddenly?]

r 352: white man] Bryson (2017), p. 192, note 79 notes that the term Bái 白 is used just twice in the 《南诏图传》，with a vague meaning and should be taken as an ethnonym. In the picture scroll, the tribal people are depicted with a dark skin, while Guānyīn and the Nánzhào officials have a much lighter complexion.

<p>勅遣慈双字李行将兵五十骑往看寻觅，乃得阿嵯耶观音圣像矣。</p> <p>此圣像即前老人所铸也。并得忙灵所打鼓呈示摩诃，摩诃倾心敬仰，熔真金而再铸之。</p>	<p>Today people do not dare to go up that mountain.’ End of report. An order was given to send the Císhuāngyǔ Lǐ Xíng to lead fifty troops on horses in search for it, and to obtain the holy image of Ācuóyé Guānyīn.</p> <p>This holy image was that the old man had cast.</p> <p>And they also obtained the drum that Mánglíng had beaten, and presented it to Mòhē, Mòhē venerated and adored it, raw gold was smelt and it was forged anew.</p>	360
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The following section then records the order given by the Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞 to the Rúshì 儒释, a term that I translate here after Bryson (2017), p. 35 as ‘religious experts’, to investigate the origins of teachings. This decree is dated 14th March 898, so immediately precedes the date of the picture scroll, which is given as 8th April 898. This implies that between the imperial decree and the completion of the scroll only about twenty days passed, leading Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020), p. 71 to conclude that the two officials mentioned on the picture scroll, Wáng Fèngzōng 王奉宗 and Zhāng Shùn 张顺, were at that time not actually sent out to investigate, but merely instructed to present what they knew.

<p>敕大封民国圣教兴行，其来有上，或从胡梵而至，或于蕃汉而来，奕代相传，敬仰无异，因以兵马强盛，王业克昌，万姓无妖扎之灾，五谷有丰盈之瑞。</p>	<p>Imperial Decree: In the Great Fēng People’s Kingdom the holy teachings prosper. Since its arrival, either from Hú or from Fàn, or from Fán or Hàn, it has been transmitted from generation to generation, revered without fail, causing the military to be strong and powerful, the works of the king prospered in his descendants, the people did not suffer the demon’s stabs, the harvests were blessed to be bountiful.</p>	365
<p>然而朕以童幼，未博古今，虽典教而入邦，未知何圣为始，担欲加心供养，图像流形，今世后身，除灾致福。</p>	<p>But We because of our young age young do not yet have knowledge of the old and new, so when the classic teachings entered the country, we do know which holy man came first, I am willing carry the burden to support and foster it, to spread this drawing in this world and afterwards, to prevent disaster and govern for prosperity.</p>	370
<p>因问儒释耆老之辈，通古辨今之流，莫隐知闻，速宜进奉。</p>	<p>So I have asked all the venerated religious experts, fluent in the old wisdoms and today’s debates, not to hide their knowledge, [but] to quickly and easily advance what they believe.</p>	375
<p>勅付慈爽，布告天下，咸使知闻。</p>	<p>This edict is entrusted to Císhuǎng, to make it known to all under</p>	380

r 362: Mánglíng] i.e. 李忙灵 – Lǐ Mánglíng.

r 363: Mòhē] mahārāja 摩诃罗嵯 was a title of the ruler of Nánzhào, as Lóngshùn 隆舜 had already passed away, this must refer to Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞.

r 366–367: either from Hú or from Fàn, or from Fán or Hàn] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 17: ‘The first Fan stands for India, the second for Tibet. Han is China. What Hu may have implied in Nan Chao in 899 is less clear: perhaps Buddhist Central Asia, with special reference to the the city-state of Khotan (which presumably was reached through Tibet).’

r 367: Fán] i.e. 吐蕃 – Tǔbō.

r 372–373: But We because of our young age young do not yet have knowledge of the old and new] Born in 877, Shùnhuàzhēn was twenty-one years of age, so the self-deprecating statement of being too young to know about the origins of the teachings does make sense here.

r 375–376: to spread this drawing in this world and afterwards] Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020) draws a parallel to the vow of allegiance that Yímóuxún 异牟寻 that was stored in an archive for posterity.

中兴二年二月十八日

heaven, to send the wisdom to all.

On the 18th day of the 2nd month of the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng.

The main text has now concluded and is followed by a 'long panegyric in honor of Avalokiteśvara'.⁽⁷⁷⁾
Soper and Chapin note:

The panegyric completely lacks the catchwords of familiar Buddhist teaching. There is no asceticism, no meditation, no Prajñā, no Nirvāṇa, no Dharma, no Buddha even. In spite of the early drift of Yünnanese Buddhism toward esoteric practises, we meet no Vajra power and no sexuality. The deity is addressed as a source of immeasurable power, as a god of battles who brings victory, as a bestower of good fortune and an averter of evil. He is a kind of lowest common denominator among great gods, and the fact that he has a name seems unimportant. (Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 35)

Translating this passage is difficult.

<p>大矣哉！ 阿嵯耶观音之妙用也！ 385 威力罕测，变现难思，运悲而导诱迷涂，施权化而拯济含识。</p> <p>顺之则福至，逆之则害生。 心期愿谿，犹声逐响者也。 390 由是乃效灵于巍山之上，而乞食于奇王之家。</p> <p>观其精专，逐授记筭，龙飞九五之位，鸟翔三月之程。</p> <p>395 同赞期，共称臣妾，化俗设教，会时立规，感其笃信之情，遂现神通之力。</p> <p>则知降梵释之形状，示象马之珍奇。</p>	<p>Great deeds have been achieved! The magic powers of Ācuóyē Guānyīn! A power rare to fathom, his magic appearances hard to believe, with compassion he guides the confused, exerting the power of his manifestations to save and aid all sentient beings. Following him brings fortune, going against him brings about harm. Our hearts hope for joy, just like a sound is followed by an echo. So he manifested himself on the summit of mount Wēi and asked for alms at the house of king Qí. He witnessed their dedication to the essence, and bestowed them a prophecy, that the dragon will fly when nine is in the fifth position, the bird flies in the third month. Together in the period of praise, all calling themselves his subjects and concubines, enlightening the customs and establishing the teaching, then establishing rules for the time, feeling the passion of his believes, and then witnessing his magical power. Those knowing that he would descend in the shape of the foreign</p>
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[392: 筭] The character *bì* 筭 signifies a strip of bamboo with a something written on in and broken into two halves, of which one is given to each party as evidence.

r 382: On the 18th day of the 2nd month of the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng.] 898th March 14.

r 389: Our hearts hope for joy] Unclear, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 17: 'When our hopes and prayers are in accord [with His will?]

r 393: the dragon will fly when nine is in the fifth position] this translation from Bryson (2015), p. 75, who notes that this expression comes from the Book of Changes 《易经》: '九五：飞龙在天，利见大人', which Legge (1899), p. 57 translates as 'In the fifth line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon on the wing in the sky. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.', it is a metaphor for the king being present.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 9.

铁杖则执于拳中，金镜而开于掌上。	Buddha, revealing the extraordinary treasures of an elephant and horse.	400
聿兴文德，爰立典章。	He then held the iron staff in his fist, and opened the bronze mirror in the palm of his hand.	
叙宗祧之昭穆，启龙女之轨仪。	Then culture and virtue would thrive, from there on the rules were established.	405
广施武略，权现天兵，外建十二之威神，内列五七之星曜。	He told of the zhāomù of his family line, and beginning from the rules of the dragon wife.	
降临有异，器械乃殊，启摧凶折角之方，广开疆辟土之义。	Broadly applying military strategy, with the power to appear as soldiers from heaven, outside establishing mighty spirits of the twelve, inside five and seven heavenly bodies.	410
遵行五常之道，再弘三[]之基。	He descend brought miracles, his weapon staff was deadly, beginning to push back the evil from this corner of land, widening the borders and opening the land for virtue.	
开秘密之妙门，息灾殃之患难。	Following the path of the five virtues, strengthening the foundations of the three [?].	415
故于每年二月十八日，当大圣乞食之日，是奇王睹像之时，施麦饭而表丹诚，奉玄彩而彰至敬。当此吉日，常乃祭之。	He opened the wonderful gate to the esoteric, caused the tribulations of calamity to cease.	
更至二十八日，愿立霸王之丕基，乃用牲牢而享祀西耳河。	So each year on the 18th day of the 2nd month, the day the great saint was begging for alms, the day king Qí saw the image, grain and rice are offered as expression of sincere devotion, offering profound colours as sign of utmost devotion. On this auspicious day, he has continually been worshipped.	420
	Then on the 28th day, it is willed to establish the great heritage of the monarch and cattle is sacrificed at Xīěrhé.	

Then follows a section that refers to the map of lake Ěrhǎi 洱海, here referred to as Xīěrhé 西耳河.

记云：西耳河者，西河如耳，即大海之耳也。	The records say: Xīěrhé, the Xīěhé is like an ear, it is the ear of the big sea.	425
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l414: 遵行五常之道，再弘三[]之基] Soper and Chapin (1970), note 30 notes that after 三 a character is missing, he suggest that this refers to a Buddhist term, with the character omitted as a code of secrecy. But the whole expression could also refer to sāngāng wǔcháng 三纲五常, i.e. the three cardinal rules and five permanent virtues of Confucianism.

l424: 西耳河] variant writing of 西洱河.

l425: 西耳河] variant writing of 西洱河.

r407: dragon wife] I assume this references Shāyī 沙壹, the mythological ancestor of the Méng clan 蒙氏 from Āiláo 哀牢, who conceived her children with a dragon. Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 17 notes that he does not understand this reference and suggests that this figure represents the deity presiding over Kūnmíng 昆明 lake.

r409: mighty spirits of the twelve] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 17: 'zodiac'

r410: five and seven heavenly bodies] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 17 takes this as the five planets and the five planets plus earth and moon.

r415: [?]] Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 18: 'treasures?'

r416: He opened the wonderful gate to the esoteric] Bryson (2017), p. 34: 'opening the marvelous gate of the esoteric'.

r425: Xihé] i.e. 西洱河 – Xīěrhé river.

主风声、扶桑影照其中，以种瑞木， 遵行五常，乃压耳声也。	Dominating the voices of the wind, the reflection of the Fúsāng illuminates its midst, seeding auspicious trees, following the five virtues, and so suppressing the voices of the lake.
二者，河神有金螺金鱼也。 金鱼白头，额上有轮。	There are two river gods: the golden conch and the golden fish. The golden fish has a white head, on its forehead is a wheel.
蒙毒蛇绕之，居之左右，分为二耳 也。	The ignorant poisonous snakes surround it, they reside on the left and the right, dividing the lake into two parts.
435 而祭奠之，谓息灾难也。	They are worshipped and honoured, in order to prevent calamities.

After this, the text returns again to the creation of the scroll.

乃于保和昭德皇帝绍兴三宝，广济四 生，乃舍双南之鱼金，仍铸三部之圣 泉。	Later, during Bǎohé, emperor Zhāodé promoted three treasures to extend the benefits to all living beings, they forsook the precious gold of the fish, to cast the holy source of the three divisions.
440 雕金卷付掌御书魏丰郡长，封开南侯 张傍，监副大军将宗子蒙玄宗等，遵 崇敬仰，号曰建国圣源阿嵯耶观音。	Holder of a gold scroll carved with the royal writ, the head of Wēifēng prefecture, appointed as marquis of Kāinán, Zhāng Bàng, the su- pervising assistant great commander, the imperial son, Méng Xuán- zōng, revered and venerated and called him the kingdom-founding holy source Ācuóyé Guānyīn.
445 至武宣皇帝摩诃罗嵯，崇像教真宗， 自获观音之真形，又蒙集众之鼓。	Up to emperor Wǔxuān mahārāja, the lofty image teaching the true religion, and obtaining the true image of Guānyīn and the drum that had assembled the unenlightened masses.
泊中兴皇帝问儒释耆老之辈，通古辨 今之流，崇入国起回之图，至安邦俗	When emperor Zhōngxīng asked the elders of the religious experts about the course of the old wisdoms and modern discourse, they

[441: 建国圣源阿嵯耶观音] A similar inscription can be found in the 86th image in the 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images' 《梵像卷》，see Chapin and Soper (1971b), p. 134.

r 427–430: Dominating the voices of the wind, the reflection of the Fúsāng illuminates its midst, seeding auspicious trees, following the five virtues, and so suppressing the voices of the lake.] Having personally lived close to lake Ērhǎi 洱海 for a period of time, I can attest that the winds across the lake are extremely strong, justifying the expression 'howling winds'.

r 428: the reflection of the Fúsāng illuminates its midst] The Fúsāng 扶桑 is a mythological tree, mentioned in the 'Classic of Mountains and Seas' 《山海经》: '汤谷上有扶桑，十日所浴'. The tree is associated with the sunrise and it can be noted that Ērhǎi is to the east of the Nánzhào capitals with the sun rising over the lake. Birrell (1999), p. 128 translates the passage as 'Up in Hotwater Valley there is the Leaning Mulberry tree. That is where the ten suns are bathed.'

r 430: lake] literally 'ear', a reference to Xiě Hé 西洱河.

r 433: ignorant poisonous snakes] 蒙 referring to non-believers here?

r 434: dividing the lake into two parts] The Bái ethnic group in the lake Ērhǎi have the concept of a dividing line in the lake, running west to east at about the middle of the lake. But Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 18: 'so making a double ear division'

r 436: during Bǎohé, emperor Zhāodé] it is unclear to whom this refers, it could also be segmented as Bǎohé Zhāodé Huángdì 保和昭德皇帝. Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 18 has some speculation about his identity.

r 437: all living beings] 四生 is a Buddhist term for the 'four forms of being born', i.e. all beings.

r 437–438: they forsook the precious gold of the fish] *shuāngnánjīn* 双南金 is a term denoting the highest quality of gold. Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 18: 'he gave as alms the fish-gold of Shuang-nan[?]'

r 438: to cast the holy source of the three divisions] Again, unclear: Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 18: 'and minted [coins] on behalf of the saintly brotherhood of the Three [Tantric?] Divisions'. I think that this refers to the statue of Ācuóyé.

r 439: Holder of a gold scroll carved with the royal writ] translation taken from Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 18.

r 444: emperor Wǔxuān] The commentary by Zhāng Zhào says that this name refers to Lóngshùn 隆舜.

之化。

赞御臣王奉宗信博士内常侍首望忍爽
张顺等谨按巍山起回、铁柱西耳河等
记，而略叙巍山已来胜事。

时中兴二年戊午岁三月十四日谨记。

reverently presented the drawing of the rise of the state, the pacification of the country and the enlightenment of its customs. 450

Praise the imperial officer Wáng Fèngzōng and the Xìnbóshì, Nèichángshì, Qiúwàng, and Rěshuǎng Zhāng Shùn to solemnly inspect the events at mount Wēi, and the records of the iron pillar and Xǐěr Hé, and outline the glorious events on mount Wēi.

Respectfully recorded on the 14th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng, the wùwǔ year. 455

[452: 西耳河] variant writing of 西洱河.

[455-456: on the 14th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Zhōngxīng, the wùwǔ year] 8th April 898. The date given is the same as on the picture scroll, see page 26.

4 Glossary

- Ācuóyé** 阿嵯耶: a Yúnnán-specific depiction of Guānyīn, – see pages 7, 9, 11, 12, 20, 24, 30, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, see 观音
- 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 10, 41
- Báiguó Yīnyóu** 白国因由: ‘Origins of the Bai Kingdom’, Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào, – see page 23
- Báiyá** 白崖: pre-Nánzhào polity, thought to have been in present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley, – see pages 27, 28, 34
- Báiyǔ** 白语: Bái language, , – see page 21
- Báizú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ěrhǎi, – see page 42
- Bǎohé** 保和: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Yímóuxún, 784–, – see page 37, 42
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌, – see page see 永昌
- Bǎotáng** 保唐: Chánzōng 禅宗 school in Sìchuān, see Adamek (2007), – see page 36
- Běijīng** 北京: present-day capital of China, – see page 5, 6
- Běisòng** 北宋: Northern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 960–1127, – see page 12
- Bǐmó** 笔摩: Bǐmó, Yí ritualist, – see page 17
- Bō Luōpáng** 波罗旁: official mentioned in the 《南诏野史》, – see page 16
- Bóshénwǎhēi** 博什瓦黑: site of Nánzhào stone carvings in southern Sìchuān, see Howard (1996), – see page 17
- bōrě** 般若: wisdom, Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit ॠ, meaning the highest form of wisdom, not attainable via reasoning, – see page 29
- Chánzōng** 禅宗: Chán school, main Buddhist school in China, – see page 6, 36
- Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山, –
- Chángān** 长安: historic city, present-day Xiān, – see page 37
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南, – see page 36, 37
- Chéng Qīnwáng** 成亲王: son of Qiánlóng 乾隆, – see page 6, 29
- Chūhuángdì** 出皇帝: emperor Chū 出, Hòujìn 后晋 emperor Chūhuángdì 出皇帝, 942–947, –
- Chùquàn** 处券: unclear, maybe a name, – see page 19
- Císhuāngyǔ** 慈双宇: Císhuāngyǔ, unclear title, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15 translate it as ‘Minister of Rites’, – see page 25, 39
- Císhuǎng** 慈爽: name mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, likely to be a monk’s temple name, meaning ‘Compassionate Brightness’, – see page 40
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China, – see page 23

- Cuóyé** 嗟耶: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Lóngshùn 隆舜, 889–897, – see page 38, *see* 隆舜
- Dà Chánghé** 大长和: great state of Chánghé, successor state to Nánzhào, – see page 10
- Dàchéng** 大乘: Great Wheel, , – see page 37
- Dàfēng Míngguó** 大封民国: Great Fēng People's Kingdom, self-appellation of Nánzhào during the reign of Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 897–902, meaning unclear, – see pages 10, 37, 39, *see* 舜化贞 & 中兴
- Dà Jiāngjūn** 大将军: general-in-chief, ‘throughout history a designation of military officers in command of armies; more prestigious than General (chiang, Chiang-chiin) alone, less prestigious than Generalissimo (shang Chiang-chün)’; *see* Hucker (1985), p. 5897, – see page 23
- 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 37, 38, 42
- Dàlǐ** 大理: , – see pages 6, 11, 21, 24, 25
- Dàlǐ superior prefecture** 大理府: Dàlǐ prefecture, later name of the Dàlǐ administrative region, – see page 11
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253, – see pages 6–8, 11, 26, 27
- Dàshǒulǐng** 大首领: great leader, title of tribal leaders, translation taken from Daniels (2021), – see pages 22, 23, 30, 34, 35
- Dàtiānxīngguó** 大天兴国: great state of Tiānxīng, short-lived Nánzhào successor state, 928, – see page 11
- Dà Yīníng Guó** 大义宁国: Great State of Yīníng, last of the short-lived successor states of Nánzhào, 929–937, – see page 11
- dànbì qiānjiàn** 但界谦贱: *bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan*, honorific for the ruler of Nánzhào. ‘*bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan* is a Tibetan term that means “victory banner of the [Buddhist] teachings”’, Bryson (2015), p. 74, Bryson (2017), p. 34, – see page 25
- 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 Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty, – see page 21
- Dūdū** 都督: commander-in-chief, ‘chief of military forces in a prefecture’, *see* Hucker (1985), 7311 – see page 38
- Duàn Shì** 段氏: Duàn clan, ruling clan of Dàlǐ Guó, – see pages 7, 8, 11, 27
- Duàn Sīpíng** 段思平: , – see pages 11, 26, 27
- Duàn Sīyīng** 段思英: , – see page 11, 27
- Duàn Yǔjiǎn** 段字拣: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 23
- Dūnhuáng** 敦煌: one of the most important sites of early Buddhism, – see page 5, 8
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xiěr 西洱, Xiěrhé 西洱河, – see pages 5, 21, 27, 28, 41, 42
- Fàn** 梵: a reference to India, – see page 39
- Fànsēng** 梵僧: foreign monk, the term denotes a monk from India or a Buddhist monk, I have translated this as ‘foreign monk’ as India was not even an entity at the time, – see pages 5, 9, 13, 17–20, 22, 30–34, 38

- 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 (1971b), – see pages 6, 14, 17, 21, 25, 28, 42
- Fúsāng** 扶桑: Fúsāng, legendary mulberry tree in the ocean where the sun is supposed to rise, – see page 42
- Fǔ** 府: prefecture, , –
- Gānlù** 甘露: ambrosia, literally meaning 'sweet dew', a Buddhist magic potion, – see page 16
- Gāo Shēngtài** 高升泰: short-term ruler of Dàlǐ 大理, 1094–1096, – see page 7
- Gèjùnyǐ** 各郡矣: military official depicted on the 《南诏图传》, his name could also be 名郡矣 or just 郡矣. The first character is clearly written as 各 in the text scroll, the picture scroll is not entirely clear and has been read as 名 in Fāng Guóyú 万国瑜 (1998b), p. 417 and Chapin (1944), p. 162, – see page 14, 31
- Gēngǔ** 鍤鼓: bronze drum, name for a type of drum in the 《南诏图传》, the meaning of *gēng* 鍤 is unclear, but it indicates a utensil made from metal. The depiction of the drum in the 《南诏图传》 is similar to drums unearthed from the Diān period, – see pages 21, 22, 35
- Gōng** 公: duke, '(1) Duke, from high antiquity the highest title of nobility after wang, normally reserved for members of the ruling family; ... Commonly prefixed with territorial names, ... (2) The Honorable or His Honor, polite term of indirect address applied to someone considered deserving of respect', see Hucker (1985), 3388 – see page 23
- Guānyīn** 观音: Avalokiteśvara, one of the bodhisattvas, in Chinese also written as Guānshìyīn 观世音, which is a literal translation of the Sanskrit अवलोकितेश्वर. Guānyīn plays a key role in Nánzhào mythology, particularly in the 《南诏图传》 and the 《白国因由》, – see pages 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15–17, 19–21, 24, 30–34, 37–40, 42, 43
- Guāngxù** 光绪: penultimate Qing dynasty emperor, 1875–1908, – see page 29
- Guǎnghuàqún** 广化群: place name, – see page 22
- Guō Jùnyǐ** 郭郡矣: military official, perhaps the same as Gèjùnyǐ 各郡矣 mentioned on the 《南诏图传》, – see page 14
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220, –
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, – see page 39
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE, –
- Héní** 和泥: tribal group, see Daniels (2021), – see page 34
- Héshàng Púlituóhé** 和尚菩立陁诃: monk Púlituóhé, name of a monk in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 37
- 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 23, 42
- Hòujìn** 后晋: Later Jin, Chinese dynasty, 936–947, – see page 11

- Hòujìngāozǔ** 后晋高祖: Later Jìn emperor Gāozǔ, founding emperor of Hòujìn 后晋, 936–942, – see page 11
- Hòulǐguó** 后理国: Later Kingdom of Dàlǐ, , – see page 7
- Hòuzhōu** 后周: later Zhōu, 951–960, the last in a succession of five short-lived dynasties that controlled northern China after the Táng dynasty, – see page 11
- Hú** 胡: , – see page 39
- Huà** 化: manifestation, Buddhist term, implying a transformation, manifestation, or wonder-working, – see pages 9, 13, 15, 19, 21, 30–38
- Huītūō** 摛托: , – see page 37
- Huìyuǎn** 慧远: 4th century monk, 344–416, – see page 5
- Jìgǔdiānshuō Yuánjí** 纪古滇说原集: ‘*Collected Records of the Stories of Old Diān*’, 1265 compendium by Yúnnán scholar Zhāng Dàozōng 张道宗, – see page 7
- Jiāmíng Wánglè** 加明王乐: tribal leader, that the name is comprised of four characters indicates that this was not a Chinese name., – see pages 19, 20, 33, 34
- Jiāqìng** 嘉庆: Qīng dynasty emperor, 1796–1820, – see page 29
- Jiànchéng** 建成: early commandery in the south-west, established during the Hàn, see Herman (2009), – see page 34
- Jiànníng Guó** 建宁国: state of Jiànníng, , – see page 22
- Jiāngjūn** 将军: general, ‘throughout history the most common term for the commander of a substantial body of troops, whether a regular officer of the standing army or the ad hoc commander of a special force organized for a campaign; occurs with many kinds of prefixes’, see Hucker (1985), 694 – see pages 23, 30, 35
- Jiédù Shǐ** 节度使: military commissioner, ‘a military title of great historical importance’ ‘during much of the late T’ang period they were virtually autonomous regional governors’, see Hucker (1985), 777 – see page 38
- Jīn Héshàng** 金和尚: Monk Jīn, moniker of a high Táng dynasty monk, also called Wúxiāng 无相, 684–762, Jīn was his common family name, who is also mentioned in scriptures found at Dūnhuáng 敦煌, Adamek (2007), Yáng Míngzhāng 楊明璋 (2019), – see page 36, 37, see 无相
- Jīnluó** 金螺: golden conch, , – see page 42
- Jīnquàn** 金券: unclear title, – see page 25, 26
- Jīnyú** 金鱼: golden fish, , – see page 42
- Jìngshuǐpíng** 净水平: flask, an elongated flask containing Gānlù 甘露, often associated with Guānyīn, – see page 16
- Jìngshuǐpíng** 净水瓶: phial, a flask containing clear water for ritual use, an attribute often associated with Guānyīn, – see page 16
- Jìngzōng** 净宗: Jìngzōng school, Chánzōng 禅宗 school based in 成都, Adamek (2007), – see page 36
- Jūn** 君: lord, ‘Throughout history a broad generic term for rulers and other official superiors: Lord, often used in contrast to Minister (ch’én)’, see Hucker (1985), 1729 – see page 37
- Jùn** 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng, – see pages 33, 38, 42

- Kāinán** 开南: Nánzhào fortification, south-east of present-day Jǐngdōng 景东, – see pages 22, 34, 38, 42
- Kāiyùn** 开运: reign period of Chūdi, 944–947, – see page 11
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源, – see page 41
- Láncāng river** 澜沧江: Láncāng river, major river in Yunnan, the Mekong, – see pages 20, 33, 38
- Lǐchāng** 理昌: unclear title, – see page 25, 26
- Lǐjì** 礼记: , –
- Lǐ Mánglíng** 李忙灵: tribal leader mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, for an interpretation of the name see Daniels (2021), pp. 209–210, – see pages 20, 22, 35, 39
- Lǐ Mángqiú** 李忙求: tribal leader mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 25, 38
- Lǐ Shǐdǐng** 李史顶: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 23
- Lǐ Shìmín** 李世民: name of Táng emperor Tàizōng, –
- Lǐ Táng** 李唐: Sòng painter, c1050–1130, – see page 7
- Lǐ Xíng** 李行: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 25, 39
- Liánhuābù** 莲花部: lotus division, ‘The Lotus Division is the division (or family) of the esoteric maṇḍala governed by Avalokiteśvara.’ Bryson (2017), p. 34, – see page 37
- Línguāngsōng Yuán** 琳光松园: locality mentioned on the 《南诏图传》, – see page 12
- Lóngquǎn** 龙犬: dragon dog, , – see page 14, 30
- Lóngshùn** 隆舜: Nánzhào[npi] ruler, also known as Fǎ Yáo 法尧, 877–897, – see pages 10, 24, 25, 38, 39, 43
- Lóngwěijiāng** 龙尾江: Lóngwěi river, another name for the outflow of Ěrhǎi, – see page 29
- Lóngyú Shān** 龙于山: mount Lóngyú, early Nánzhào period location mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, its relics have been excavated the hills north-west of Wēishān 巍山. On the 《南诏图传》 the name appears written as < 山尤 > 岢山, but 岢山 appears (in old style characters) in the 《南诏野史》. 龙于山 is the modern accepted simplified form, see Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015). The meaning of the name is unclear, Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015) argues that it was a deliberate invention of characters to evade taboos and that the term signifies Lóngyú 龙舆, i.e. ‘dragon’s carriage’. For a recent dating of some of the finds, see Zhāng Nǎiwēn 张乃温 (2022), – see page 19, 20
- Lúshān Yuǎngōng Huà** 庐山远公话: ‘Story of Lord Yuǎn of Mount Lú’, early story book discovered at Dūnhuáng 敦煌, the text is archived at the British Library, Stein 2073, http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=105149731;recnum=2072;index=1, title translation by Hao (2016), p. 169. The text is translated in Waley (1960), pp. 97–123 and in Sen and Mair (2005), and summarized in Idema (2010), p. 7408., – see page 5
- Luōbàng** 罗傍: civil official depicted on the 《南诏图传》, – see page 15, 31
- Luōhé** 罗和: , – see page 25, 38
- Luóshèng** 逻盛: second ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 674–712, also called Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, – see page 19, 23

- Luóshèngyán** 逻盛炎: second generation of rulers of Nánzhào, son of 细奴逻, also written as , – see pages 10, 13, 23, 29, 33, 34, see 逻盛
- Mán** 蛮: a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest, – see page 12
- Mángdào** 忙道: , – see page 22, 35
- Méng** 蒙: , – see pages 10, 19, 22, 23, 32, 33
- Méng Shì** 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of Nánzhào, – see pages 8, 10, 23, 41
- Méng Xuánzōng** 蒙玄宗: unclear person in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 42
- Mènghuì** 梦讳: , – see pages 14, 15, 18, 19, 31, 32
- Mídù** 弥渡: valley south of Ěrhǎi, –
- Mízhíqièjiāng** 弥直怯江: Mízhíqiè river, river in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 28
- Mǐ Fèi** 米芾: Běisòng 北宋 calligrapher, as he liked to travel around by boat, his works were later referred to as Mǐjiāchuán 米家船., – see page 12
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644, –
- Míng Hóngwǔ** 明洪武: Míng emperor Hóngwǔ, sole reign period Míng emperor Zhū Yuánzhāng, 1368–1398, – see page 11
- Móhēluōcuó** 摩诃罗嵯: mahārāja, title of Lóngshùn 隆舜: ‘Mahā was certainly the ruler known by the Indian title Mahārāja, the next-to-last monarch of Nan Chao (r. 877-897); Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15, also used in a short form Mólē 摩诃 see = 隆舜, – see pages 25, 39, 43
- Mùshuǎng** 幕爽: unclear title, – see page 27
- Nánkāi** 南开: , – see page 33
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, – see pages 5–7, 10, 13, 17, 22–24, 29, 36–39, 42
- Nánzhào Túzhuān** 南诏图传: ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’, important picture scroll dating back to 898, telling the story of the arrival of Buddhism and the divine appointment of the rulers of Nánzhào, – see pages 5–7, 12, 17, 24, 36, 38
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 南诏野史: ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’, import Míng Cháo 明朝 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào, – see pages 10, 14, 16, 22, 26, 34
- Nèichángshì** 内常侍: Nánzhào title, – see page 43
- Nèizhǎngshì** 内掌侍: unclear title, – see page 25, 26
- Nuòjū** 诺苴: unclear term, – see page 22
- piàoxìn** 骠信: later self-appellation of the ruler of Nánzhào, first chosen by 寻阁劝 in 808, for its significance see Backus (1981), p. 102, – see page 25
- Pǔjū** 普苴: unclear place name in southern Yúnnán, mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 22, 34
- Qíjiā Wáng** 奇嘉王: king Qíjiā, posthumous name of Xìnúluó 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào, – see page see 细奴逻 & 奇王
- Qí Wáng** 奇王: king Qí, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào, – see pages 13, 14, 19, 30–33, 37, 40, 41, see 细奴逻 & 奇嘉王
- Qiānshǒu Jīng** 千手经: ‘*Thousand Hands Sūtra*’, Chinese title of the Nīlakaṇṭha Sūtra, Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 689, – see page 32

- Qiāngfúshān** 羗浮山: mount Qiāngfú, mountain mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, writing as < 山羗 > 浮山, this character does not seem to be in the Unicode character set, v.14.0, <http://www.unicode.org/versions/Unicode14.0.0/>, – see page 22, 34
- Qiánlóng** 乾隆: Qīng dynasty emperor Qiánlóng, Qīng dynasty emperor, 1735–1796, – see page 6, 29
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE, – see pages 5, 10, 22, 29
- Qīng** 青: blue, as a Buddhist term, the meaning is ‘blue’, Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 1086, – see page 32
- Qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister, – see page 38
- Qióngshícūn** 穷石村: Qióngshí village, , – see pages 19, 20, 22, 33, 34
- Qiūshuāng** 丘双: unclear title, – see page 27
- Qiúwàng** 酋望: notable leader, ‘prestigious title’ bestowed by the Nánzhào king on Báimán tribal chiefs, Daniels (2021), – see pages 25, 26, 37, 43
- Quányì** 全义: reign period of Nánzhào ruler 劝利晟, 816–819, – see page 36
- Quànfēngyòu** 劝丰佑: Nánzhào ruler, 823–859, – see page 37
- Rěnshuǎng** 忍爽: Rěnshuǎng, unclear title, – see pages 25, 26, 43
- rúshì** 儒释: religious experts, term in the 《南诏图传》, ‘a term that can mean “Confucianism and Buddhism” but in this context clearly refers to religious experts’, Bryson (2017), p. 35, – see pages 38, 39, 43
- Sāndànbái** 三谿白: Bái kingdom of the three Dàn, an unclear term, Dàn 谿 denotes a flat river valley, so with some justification Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) speculates that this refers to an alliance of three valleys of the Báimán, – see page 30, 35
- 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 18, 32
- Shāyī** 沙壹: legendary ancestor in Āiláo, – see page 41
- Shānhǎijīng** 山海经: ‘*Classic of Mountains and Seas*’, classic Chinese book of mythologies, for a translation of the work see Birrell (1999), – see page 42
- Shānzhōng Shānghuì** 山中商会: Yamanaka and Company, Japanese antiques dealer and auction house, sold a large number of Chinese artworks in the first half of the 20th century, including the 《南诏图传》, see Zōng Yuán 宗元 (2012), – see page 6, 8
- Shàngyuánliányǔ** 上元莲宇: Shàngyuán temple, temple name, – see page 37
- Shèngluópí** 盛逻皮: ruler of Nánzhào, *673 †728, ruled 712–728, –
- Shī Jiǎnwàng** 施拣望: , – see page 23
- Shímén village** 石门邑: Shímén village, village name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 25, 38
- Shí Zhòngguì** 石重贵: name of Hòujìn 后晋 emperor Chūhuángdì 出皇帝, 942–947, – see page 11
- Shílóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, *844, †859, †877, – see page 10

- Shènèiguān** 侍内官: unclear title, – see page 27
- Shǒulǐng** 首领: leader, title of tribal leaders, – see page 38
- Shòudàn** 兽啖: Shòu Dàn, name of a valley, location unclear, – see pages 19, 22, 33
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu, –
- Shùnhuàzhēn** 舜化贞: last ruler of Nánzhào, 897–902, – see pages 7, 10, 11, 24, 38, 39
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province, – see page 17
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279, – see pages 7, 11, 36
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty, – see page 5
- Sòng Línbié** 宋林别: tribal leader, – see page 34
- Sòng Línzé** 宋林则: tribal leader mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 38
- Tàishǐ** 太史: grand astrologer, ‘Lit., grand scribe. (1) CHOU: variant of m-shih (Grand Scribe). (2) CH’IN-WAN: variant of r’ai-shih ling (Grand Astrologer); not later than very early Han lost its scribal functions, thereafter throughout imperial history was associated with the recording and interpreting of celestial and other remarkable natural phenomena, weather forecasting, and other esoteric aspects of astronomy, in contrast to the more rational and objective astronomical and calendrical work’, see Hucker (1985), 6212 – see page 37
- Tàizǔ Shèngshén Wénwǔ Huángdì** 太祖圣神文武皇帝: Holy Civil and Martial Founding Emperor, posthumous name of Duàn Sípíng 段思平, – see page 26, see 段思平
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, – see page 7, 12
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907, – see page 10, 37
- Táng Gāozōng** 唐高宗: Táng emperor Gāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruling 649–683, –
- Tángtàizōng** 唐太宗: Táng emperor Tàizōng, Second Táng dynasty emperor Lǐ Shímín 李世民, ruled 626–649, – see page 37
- Tángzhāozōng** 唐昭宗: Táng emperor Zhāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, – see page 10
- Téngjǐngqíchénghuìyǒulínguǎn** 藤井齐成会有鄰館: Yūrinkan Museum, Museum in Kyoto, Japan, where the 《南诏图传》 is kept, – see page 6, 8
- Tiānfú** 天福: reign period of Hòujìnggāozǔ 后晋高祖, 936–944, – see page 11
- Tiānfù** 天復: reign period of Táng emperor Zhāozōng, 901–904, – see page 10
- Tiězhù** 铁柱: iron pillar, mythological ritual site where the future Nánzhào king was anointed, – see pages 5, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 35, 43
- Tiězhùjì** 铁柱记: ‘Records of the Iron Pillar’, a lost book, mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 30, 35
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire, – see page 39
- Wàiqiànwǎn** 外券: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 34
- Wáng** 王: king, ‘King, title commonly used in reference to rulers of foreign states and alien peoples’. It is important to note that this does not have the meaning of a ruler

- equal to the Chinese emperor, it is a designation of a ruler below him, when used in titles conferred by China, the ruler of a vassal state, see Hucker (1985), 7634 – see pages 13, 38, 39
- Wáng Fèngzōng** 王奉宗: one of the two men who presented the 《南诏图传》, – see pages 25, 26, 39, 43, *see* 张顺
- Wáng Qīngxì mò** 王青细莫: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 23
- Wáng Qiūgè** 王丘各: , –
- Wáng Qiūquán** 王丘佺: Wēn Yùchéng 温玉成 (2001) suggests that this is Wáng Qiūgè 王丘各 mentioned on the , – see page 37, *see* 王丘各
- Wēibǎoshān** 巍宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today's Wēishān 巍山, –
- Wēifēng** 巍丰: unclear locality in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 42
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 巍宝山, – see pages 16, 19, 23, 25, 26, 32, 40, 43
- Wénjīng** 文经: reign period of Duànsīyīng, 945, – see page 11, *see* 段思英
- Wénwǔ Huángdì** 文武皇帝: Wénwǔ emperor, a name for Duànsipíng 段思平?, – see page 27
- Wúxiāng** 无相: religious name of the Táng dynasty monk Jīn Héshàng 金和尚, – see page 36, *see* 金和尚
- Wǔcháng** 五常: five virtues, literally 'five constants', meaning five constant virtues, – see page 41, 42
- Wǔdài** 五代: Five Dynasties, period of five short-lived dynasties after the fall of the Táng dynasty, 907–960, – see page 7, 12
- Wǔxuānhuángdì** 武宣皇帝: emperor Wǔxuān, , – see page 10, 43
- Xiěr Hé** 西洱河: Xiěr river, historic name for Ěrhǎi 洱海, – see pages 23, 26, 28, 41–43
- Xīnúlúo** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, *617 †674, ruled 649–674, – see pages 10, 13, 19, 23, 28, 29, 32, 33
- Xiàzhì** 夏至: summer solstice, one of the twenty-four 节气, – see page 29
- Xìnbóshì** 信博士: title mentioned on the 《南诏图传》, this title is not recorded elsewhere and might signify a Buddhist disciple, *see* Wāng Níngshēng 汪宁生 (1980), p. 144, – see pages 25, 26, 43
- Xīngwáng** 兴王: king Xīng, posthumous name of Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, the second ruler of Nánzhào, – see page 37
- Xīngzōng Wáng** 兴宗王: king Xīngzōng, posthumous name of second ruler of Nánzhào, Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, *see* Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 10, – see pages 13, 14, 19, 29–31, 33, 35, 36, *see* 逻盛炎
- Xuánzàng** 玄奘: Chinese monk, 602–664, who travelled to India from 629–645, bringing back many Buddhist scriptures, – see page 37
- Xúngéquàn** 寻阁劝: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 808–809, –
- Xúnmíjiǎo** 寻弥脚: , – see pages 14, 15, 18, 31, 32
- Yáng** 杨: , – see page 27
- Yáng Bǎoxíng** 杨保行: name on the 《南诏图传》, – see page 27, 28
- Yáng Gānzhēn** 杨干贞: founder of the Nánzhào successor state Dà Yìníng Guó 大义宁国[npci] in 928, ?–937, – see page 11

- Yáng Nóngjiǎn** 杨农拣: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 23
- Yízú** 彝族: Yí, one of the officially recognized ethnic groups in the PRC, – see page 18
- Yífújiāng** 矣辅江: Yífú river, river flowing into Ěrhǎi, – see page 29
- Yìjīng** 易经: Book of Changes, one of the oldest Chinese classics, – see page 40
- Yímóuxún** 异牟寻: ruler of Nánzhào, 754–808, – see page 39
- 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 36, 37
- Yínshēng** 银生: , – see page 22, 38
- Yōngzhèng** 雍正: Qīng dynasty emperor, 1723–1735, – see page 12
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953), –
- Yǒnghuī** 永徽: reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 650–655, – see page 10
- Yòu** 右: right, part of titles, senior to 左, – see page 23
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368, – see page 11
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district, – see pages 5, 12, 21, 23, 36, 37
- Zàntuójuéduō** 赞陀崛多: Chandragupta, legendary Indian monk said to have come to Dàlǐ 大理, see Lian Ruizhi (2019), p. 123, – see page 18
- Zànwèi** 赞卫: zànwèi, unclear title, see also Wáng Jīngjīng 王京晶 (2020) for use of this title on a 971 stele, – see pages 25–27
- 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 27, 42
- Zhāng** 张: common family or clan name, – see page 23
- Zhāng Bàng** 张傍: , – see page 37, 42
- Zhāng Dào zōng** 张道宗: author of the 《纪古滇说原集》, a man from Yúnnán, who lived at the end of the Sòng dynasty and beginning of the Yuán Cháo 元朝, otherwise nothing is known about him, – see page 7
- Zhāng Huàchéng** 张化成: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see pages 27, 28, 34
- Zhāng Jiànchéng** 张建成: Nánzhào prime minister to Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎 and 盛逻皮, mentioned in the 《南诏图传》 and the 《南诏野史》, first appointed 674, made tribute mission in 714, – see page 34
- Zhāng Lèjīnqiú** 张乐尽求: alternate form of Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求 in the 《南诏图传》, – see pages 10, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 35
- Zhāng Luōnuò** 张罗诺: , – see page 38
- Zhāng Luōpǐ** 张罗疋: Nánzhào Qīngpíngguān, – see page 38
- Zhāng Níngjiàn** 张宁健: chieftain mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, maybe also in the 《南诏野史》, see Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 13, – see pages 22, 34, 38

- Zhāng Pǐbàng** 张丕傍: name of official in the 《南诏图传》, son of Zhāng Luōpǐ 张罗丕, – see page 38, *see* 张罗丕
- Zhāng Shùn** 张顺: one of the two men who presented the 《南诏图传》, – see pages 26, 39, 43, *see* 王奉宗
- Zhāng Yímóujiǎn** 张矣牟拣: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 23
- Zhāng Zhào** 张照: Qīng dynasty official, who wrote in 1727 wrote an introduction to the 《南诏图传》, – see pages 5–7, 10–12, 31, 43
- Zhǎngnèishū** 掌内书: unclear title, – see page 25, 26
- Zhāodé Huángdì** 昭德皇帝: emperor Zhāodé, unclear reference to an emperor, – see page 42
- Zhāomù** 昭穆: zhāomù, system of arranging ancestral temples, the term is used in the XXX 《礼记》: ‘士大夫不得祔于诸侯, 祔于诸祖父之为士大夫者, 其妻祔于诸祖姑, 妾祔于妾祖姑; 亡则中一以上而祔。祔必以其昭穆。诸侯不得祔于天子, 天子、诸侯、大夫可以祔于士。’, which Legge (1885b), p. 51 translates as ‘The tablet of an (ordinary) officer or of a Great officer could not be placed in the shrine of a grandfather who had been the lord of a state; it was placed in that of a brother of the grandfather who had been an (ordinary) officer or a Great officer, The tablet of his wife was placed by the tablet of that brother’s wife, and that of his concubine by the tablet of that brother’s concubine. If there had been no such concubine, it was placed by the tablet of that brother’s grandfather; for in all such places respect was had to the rules concerning the relative positions assigned to the tablets of father and son. The tablet of a feudal lord could not be placed in the shrine of the son of Heaven (from whom he was born or descended); but that of the son of Heaven, of a feudal lord, or of a Great officer, could be placed in the shrine of an (ordinary) officer (from whom he was descended).’ See also Legge (1885a), pp. 223–225, – see page 41
- zhào** 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his realm, – see page 23
- Zhào Duómīē** 赵铎咩: , – see page 38
- Zhào Lǎnyǔ** 赵览宇: name in the 《南诏图传》, – see page 23
- Zhào Shànzhèng** 赵善政: founder of the shortlived Nánzhào successor state Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in 928, ?–929, – see page 10
- Zhēnguān** 贞观: reign period of Tángtàizōng, 627–649, – see page 37
- Zhèn** 朕: We, a majestic self-appellation, – see page 39
- Zhèng Mǎisì** 郑买嗣: first ruler of Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣, ruled 093–099, – see page 10
- Zhèngshì** 郑氏: Zhèng clan, , – see page 10
- Zhōngxīng** 中兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 898–902, – see pages 6, 10, 11, 26, 40, 43
- Zhōngxīnghuángdì** 中兴皇帝: emperor Zhōngxīng, posthumous name of Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, – see pages 24, 25, 43, *see* 舜化贞
- Zhōu Dézhāo** 周德钊: name of copyist of the 《南诏图传》, – see page 29
- Zhǔniǎo** 主鸟: master bird, auspicious bird in the 《南诏图传》, – see pages 30, 35, 36
- Zuǒ** 左: left, part of titles, junior to 右, – see page 23

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