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# The 14th Century ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’

*An Annotated Translation of Selected Parts of the 《云南志略》*

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## The Yúnnán Papers

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

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

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

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

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## 1 Introduction

The ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》 was compiled at the beginning of the 14th century by Lǐ Jīng 李京, a Chinese official who had served the Yuán dynasty government in the pacification of Yúnnán, where he gained first-hand knowledge its indigenous population.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the introduction to her translation of a key part of the text, Jacqueline M. Armijo-Hussein introduces Lǐ Jīng:

Li Jing was a native of Hebei, who in the spring of the fifth year of the Dade reign period (1301) was appointed Deputy Pacification Commissioner of Wusa and Wumeng, with the rank of ‘bearer of the tiger tablet’ and the military rank of commanding myriarch. The Wusa Wumeng administrative unit, established in 1276, was based in Weining (Guizhou) and included Wumeng (Zhaotong), Dongchuan and Mangbu (Zhenxiong). [...] According to his own introduction, Li Jing arrived in Yunnan in the midst of the Burma campaign, during which the Mongols had several major battles with the Burmese. His responsibilities included travelling throughout the province in search of supplies and funding for the military campaign. *Yunnan Zhilue* is believed to have been originally written in 1303 in the form of a report of the author’s findings during his two years of travel. It was edited and revised in 1331. (Armijo-Hussein (2001), p. 88)

While the text contains a brief outline of Yúnnán’s history, the text is mostly considered important for its descriptions of the customs of some of the indigenous groups of Yúnnán. As Jacqueline M. Armijo-Hussein points out there are also some interesting parallels to Marco Polo’s roughly contemporary records.

## 2 About this Translation

The text of the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》 is contained in the multi-volume collection of historic texts on Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》.<sup>(2)</sup>

Several historic copies of the text seem to be extant, but it is unclear how these texts relate to each other.

- A hand-written copy held at the Yunnan Provincial Library<sup>(3)</sup> This appears to be a complete text and seems to contain the same errors as indicated in the 《云南史料丛刊》, see illustration 1. The text contains punctuation marks that appear to have been added later. I refer in the notes to this text as the *YPL manuscript*.

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<sup>(1)</sup> see Herman (2007).

<sup>(2)</sup> Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, pp. 120–133.

<sup>(3)</sup> archived at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Ynlib29010672-0001-%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E5%BF%97%E7%95%A5.pdf>. The work has a library mark ‘272.27 通 67’. The text was at a time available at <http://msq.ynlib.cn/frontend/#/details?id=29010672-0001>.

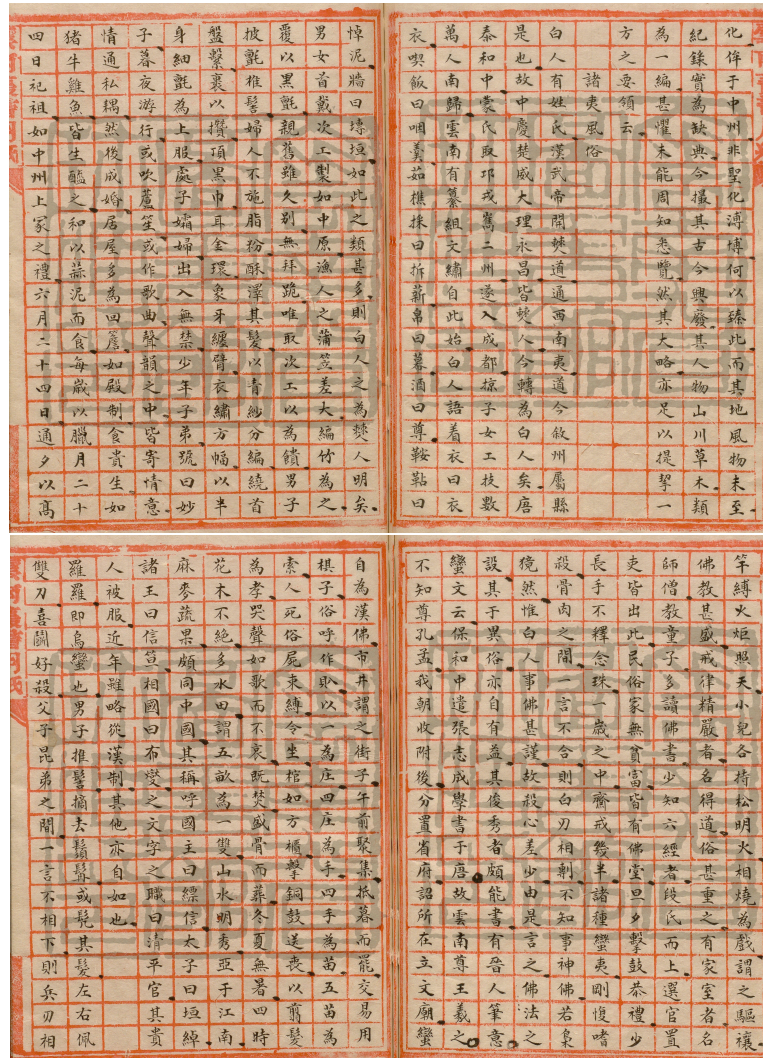


Illustration 1:  
The Section on the Bái people in the 《云南志略》

Source: Yunnan Provincial Library <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Ynlib29010672-0001-%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E5%BF%97%E7%95%A5.pdf>

- A further hand-written copy,<sup>(4)</sup> which appears to be a part of ‘*Shuōfú*’ 《说郛》(第三十六卷), a text compiled by the Míng dynasty scholar Táo Zōngyí 陶宗仪. The afterword to the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》 in the 《云南史料丛刊》 by Mù Qín 木芹 notes that the text used there is based on the 《说郛》.
- A copy held at the Harvard-Yenching Library.<sup>(5)</sup> This copy contains only a part of the text.

The text used for this translation has been copied from an online archive<sup>(6)</sup> and mistakes in the text have been corrected according to the 《云南史料丛刊》.

### 3 Annotated Translation

#### 3.1 Autobiographical Note 《自序》

云南志略自序

Autobiographical Note to the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’

Lǐ Jīng’s personal introduction to the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》 reveals not only that he spent considerable time travelling through various regions of Yúnnán, but that he also used a number of older resources to compile his text.

These are

- Lè Shǐ 乐史’s ‘*Tàipíng Universal Gazetteer*’ 《太平寰宇记》, a Northern Sòng compendium of two hundred *juàn*. Particularly in the later *juàn* it covers the affairs of states at China’s periphery.
- Fán Chuò 樊绰’s ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》, a Táng dynasty text that contains the most detailed information about Yúnnán.
- Guō Sōngnián 郭松年’s ‘*Nánzhào Travel Notes*’ 《南诏纪行》, a undated text compiled during the Yuán dynasty that, as a travel record, mostly contains information about the journey from central Yúnnán to Dàlǐ. That text is also known as the ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》.

盖尝览乐史《寰宇记》、樊绰《云南志》及郭松年《南诏纪行》，窃疑多载怪诞不经之说。

大德五年春，奉命宣慰乌蛮。比到任，值缅事无成，诸蛮拒命，屡被省

I have studied Lè Shǐ’s ‘*Tàipíng Universal Gazetteer*’, Fán Chuò’s ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ and Guō Sōngnián’s ‘*Nánzhào Travel Notes*’, I suspect that they contain many strange and unfounded sayings.

**In spring of the 5th year of Dàdé**, I received orders to pacify the *Wū Mán*. When I arrived, it happened that the situation in Miǎn

云南志略 5

r5: In spring of the 5th year of Dàdé ] 1301 CE.

<sup>(4)</sup> archived at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%EF%BC%88%E5%A4%A7%E5%BE%B7%EF%BC%89%E4%BA%91%E5%8D%97%E5%BF%97%E7%95%A5.pdf?uselang=zh-cn>

<sup>(5)</sup> available online at <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990067290410203941/catalog>.

<sup>(6)</sup> at <https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E9%9B%B2%E5%8D%97%E5%BF%97%E7%95%A5>.

云南志略 10

檄措办军储事，乌蛮、六诏、金齿、白夷，二年之间奔走几遍。于是山川地理、土产、风俗，颇得其详。始悟前人记载之失，盖道听涂说，非身所经历也。因以所见，参考众说，编集为《云南志略》四卷。

was unresolved, all the *Mán* resisted orders, and I was frequently called upon to deal with provisions for the army, so for two years I rushed back and forth between the *Wū Mán*, the six *zhào*, the Golden Teeth, and the *Bái Yí* multiple times. I so obtained a relatively detailed understanding of the region's geography, its local products and customs. I began to understand the failings in my predecessors' writings, which relied on hearsay and were not based on their own experiences. So I compiled the '*General Record of Yúnnán*' in four *juàn* from what I saw myself and consultations of others.

云南志略 20

至若世祖皇帝汗马之劳，大帅兀良吉歹血战之功，平章赛典赤宽仁之政，与夫帅府、行省之废置沿革，自有《云南事迹总录》在，兹不复云。

When it comes to Kublai Khan's heroic efforts, the merits of the **great commander Uriyangkhadaï** in bloody battles, and the **benevolent administration of Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din**, as well as the changes in commanders and provincial government – this all is already covered in the **General Record of Events in Yúnnán**, so it does not need to be retold here.

### 3.2 General Outline of Yúnnán 《云南总叙》

The first part of the '*General Record of Yúnnán*' 《云南志略》 contains a very standard outline of the region's history that contains nothing much of interest.<sup>(7)</sup>

云南志略 25

云南通中国史

云南上世无可稽考。按《华阳国志》，楚威王遣庄蹻略地巴黔，伐夜郎，植牂牁，西至滇池。会秦夺楚黔中地，不得归，遂留王滇池。云南通中国自此始。

The History of Yúnnán's Contact with China

Yúnnán prehistoric times cannot be examined. According to the '*Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá*', **king Wēi of Chǔ** sent **Zhuāng Qiāo** to explore the frontier with **Bā** and **Qián**, he made an expedition against **Yèláng**, established **Zānggē**, and in the west he reached **Diānchí**. When later **Qín** took the lands **Chǔ** and **Qiánzhōng**, he could not return, so he remained as king of **Diānchí**. The contact between Yúnnán and China began then.

汉武帝开燧道，通西南夷。元狩元年，使吕越人等求身毒国。至滇，滇

Hàn emperor **Wǔ** opened the **Bó** road and established contact with the western and southern *Yí*. **In the 1st year of Yuánshòu, Lǚ from**

r18: great commander Uriyangkhadaï ] Mongol general who played a significant role in the conquest of Dàlǐ 大理, see Rossabi (2009), pp. 24–28.

r18–19: the benevolent administration of Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din ] For a comprehensive analysis, see Armijo-Hussein (1997).

r21: in the General Record of Events in Yúnnán ] 云南事迹总录 is either a generic term or a specific book title – but if it is a book then I have found no other reference to it.

r25: king Wēi of Chǔ ] Warring States period, ruled 340–329 BC

r32: In the 1st year of Yuánshòu ] 122 BCE.

r32–33: Lǚ from Nányuè ] i.e. Lǚ Jiā 吕嘉.

(7) The text deviates from standard histories a little, which I attribute to Lǐ Jīng not having a copy of those texts at hand.

王留使者四岁。使者还言：“滇，大国。”滇，今中庆是也。元鼎五年，发巴蜀罪人及八校尉兵伐之，南人震恐，请置吏，遂立越嵩郡。后讽滇王入朝，不听。元封二年，发巴蜀兵征之，滇王降，以滇为益州。地节二年复叛，以金城司马陈立为牂牁太守，平之。明帝永平元年，诸部悉反，以安汉张翕讨之，渡澜沧江，置永昌郡，以广汉郑纯为永昌太守。元初四年，越嵩反，诸部皆应之。诏益州刺史张乔讨之。叛酋封离等诣乔，陈叛乱之由，乞降。乔厚加慰纳，奏长吏奸猾侵犯蛮夷者九十余人，皆斩之。三十六部闻之，悉来内附。

蜀建兴三年，诸葛亮征南，闻孟获为夷、汉所服，募生致之，凡七纵七擒。获曰：“公，天威也。南人不复反矣。”诸部悉平。亮即其渠帅而用之。或以谏亮，亮曰：“若留外部人，则当留兵，留兵则粮加。以夷新伤破，父兄死丧，留外人而无兵，必成祸患。今吾欲不留兵，不运粮，纪网粗定，夷汉粗安。”于是悉收豪杰以为官属，出其金银、丹漆、牛马，以给军国之用。终亮之世，夷不复反。

*Nányuè* and others went in search for the state of *Shēndú*. When they reached *Diān*, the king of *Diān* detained the envoys for four years. Upon their return, the envoys said: ‘*Diān* is a powerful state’. *Diān* is today’s *Zhōngqìng*. In the 5th year of *Yuándǐng*, an expedition made up of convicts from *Bā* and *Shǔ* and eight groups of soldiers defeated them, the southerners were frightened and asked for a government to be installed and then *Yuèxī* prefecture was set up. Later, the king of *Diān* was exhorted to come to the court, but he refused. In the 2nd year of *Yuánfēng*, an expedition from *Bā* and *Shǔ* soldiers was sent, the king of *Diān* capitulated, and *Diān* became *Yìzhōu*. In the 2nd year of *Dìjié* they rebelled again, and *Sīmǎ Chén* from *Jīnchéng* was appointed as *Zānggē* grand protector, pacifying them. In the 1st year of Eastern *Hàn* emperor *Míng*’s *Yǒngpíng* reign, all regions were in rebellion again, *Zhāng Xì* from *Ānhàn* went to punish them, he crossed the *Láncāng* river and established *Yǒngchāng* prefecture, and *Zhèng Chún* from *Guǎnghàn* was appointed grand protector for *Yǒngchāng*. In the 4th year of *Yuánchū*, *Yuèxī* rebelled, the regions all joined in. An edict was issued that the *Yìzhōu* regional inspector *Zhāng Qiáo* punish them. The rebel leader *Fēng Lí* and others went to see *Qiáo* to explain the reasons for the revolt, asking to surrender. *Qiáo* comforted them and wrote a memorial that over ninety high officials had treacherously infringed on the *Mányí*, and decapitated them all. When the thirty-six region heard this, they all came to submit.

In the 3rd year of *Shǔ*’s *Jiànxīng* reign, *Zhūgé Liàng* made his southern expedition, he heard that that both the *Yí* and *Hàn* had submitted to *Mènghuò*, he intended to capture him alive, and captured and released him seven times. *Mènghuò* said: ‘The Duke is as mighty as heaven. The southerners will not again rise in rebellion.’ So all regions were pacified. *Liàng* then used their leaders to rule them. When anyone argued with *Liàng*, he said: ‘If I appoint rotating officials, then I have to provide soldiers, if I provide soldiers, I have to add provisions. If I cause the *Yí* new injuries, fathers and sons will be grieving, if I station officials, but no soldiers, that will for sure lead to disaster. Today I do not desire to station soldiers, so I do not need to carry provisions, the net will be about

云南志略 35

云南志略 40

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云南志略 50

云南志略 55

云南志略 60

云南志略 65

r 36: In the 5th year of *Yuándǐng* ] 112 BCE.

r 41: In the 2nd year of *Yuánfēng* ] 109 BCE.

r 43: In the 2nd year of *Dìjié* ] 68 BCE.

r 45-46: In the 1st year of Eastern *Hàn* emperor *Míng*’s *Yǒngpíng* reign ] 58 CE.

r 49-50: In the 4th year of *Yuánchū* ] 114 CE.

r 57: In the 3rd year of *Shǔ*’s *Jiànxīng* reign ] 225 CE.

r 59-60: captured and released him seven times ] ‘seven times captured, seven times released’ 七纵七擒 is a fixed expression.

云南志略 75

晋武帝以天水李毅为南蛮校尉，统五十八部。毅卒，宁州夷叛，救援苦未至。毅女秀，明达有父风。众推秀领宁州事，婴城固守。城中粮尽，掘鼠而食。伺夷稍息，辄出击之，终得保完。今有庙在晋宁州。

tightenend, the *Yí* and *Hàn* will largely be at peace.’ Then he recruited their finest men as officials. He collected gold and silver, cinnabar and lacquer, cattle and horses, to provide for the military and the state. At the end *Liàng*’s rule, the *Yí* never again rebelled. *Jìn* emperor *Wǔ* appointed *Lǐ Yì* from *Tiānshuǐ* as commandant for the southern *Mán*, he ruled fifty-eight regions. When *Lǐ Yì* died, the *Níngzhōu Yí* rebelled and bitterly no rescue had arrived. *Yì*’s daughter *Xiù* was extremely bright and had her father’s airs. The people pushed for *Yì*’s daughter *Xiù* to lead the *Níngzhōu* affairs, she defended the city. When provisions inside the walled town were exhausted, they ate rats. They waited for the *Yí* to be slightly negligent, then stormed out and attacked them, achieving a complete defense in the end. Today there is a temple in *Jìnníng* prefecture.

It follows a passage on the *Cuàn* clan 爨氏, a powerful family who controlled eastern *Yúnnán* from the *Jìn* dynasty 晋朝 until its defeat by *Nánzhào*.

云南志略 85

爨人之名始此  
晋武帝时，以爨深为兴古太守。今曲靖也。爨人之名始此。

The beginning of the fame of the *Cuàn* Clan  
**During the time of *Jìn* emperor *Wǔ***, *Cuàn Shēn* was appointed as grand protector for *Xīnggǔ*, today it is called *Qǔjìng*. The fame of the *Cuàn* clan began at that time.

云南志略 90

齐永平中，以陈显达为益州都督。显达一目，夷人慢之。达遣使责其租税，獠帅曰：“两目刺史尚不能调，况一目耶？”遂杀其使。显达分遣将帅，声言出猎，夜往袭之，无少长尽杀之。蛮夷震服。

**During the *Yǒngpíng* reign of emperor *Wǔchéng* of *Qí* dynasty**, *Chén Xiǎndá* was appointed *Yìzhōu* commander-in-chief. *Xiǎndá* had only one eye and the *Yí* people disrespected him. *Dá* sent out an envoy to scold them to pay their taxes, the leader of the *Láo* said: ‘Even a two-eyed regional inspector cannot handle this, let alone a one-eyed one.’ Then he killed the envoy. *Xiǎndá* sent out his commanders, pretending to be a hunting expedition, at night he attacked them, killing all of them not sparing old nor young. The *Mányí* frightfully submitted.

云南志略 100

梁武帝大同三年，武陵王纪都督益州。先是蜀乱，建宁、越巂之地累朝不能有。至纪，开越巂，通建宁，贡献方物十倍前人，以(爨)瓚为(南)宁州刺史。

**In the 3rd year of *Liáng* dynasty emperor *Wǔ*’s *Dàtóng* reign**, *Wǔlíng* prince *Jì* served as was commander-in-chief in *Yìzhōu*. Before that *Shǔ* was in turmoil, the lands of *Jiànníng* and *Yuèxī* had over successive dynasties not been brought under control. When *Jì* arrived, he opened *Yuèxī*, connected it with *Jiànníng*, and ensured tributes in all sorts of goods were ten times greater than previously, he appointed *Cuàn Zàn* as regional inspector for *Nánníng*

l83: 爨人] In the *YPL manuscript*: 秦人.

l96: 梁武帝] In the *YPL manuscript*: 梁帝.

r84: During the time of *Jìn* emperor *Wǔ*] 266–290 CE.

r87: During the *Yǒngpíng* reign of emperor *Wǔchéng* of *Qí* dynasty] ruled 561—†565.

r96: In the 3rd year of *Liáng* dynasty emperor *Wǔ*’s *Dàtóng* reign] 537 CE.

隋开皇中，以史万岁南征，蛮夷皆降。师还，复叛。蜀王秀奏万岁贪赂，至生边患。万岁以罪废。乃以梁毗为西宁州刺史。诸酋相率以金遗毗，毗置金座侧，对之恸哭曰：“此物饥不可食，寒不可衣，汝等以此相残；何为今将此来，要杀我耶？”一无所取，蛮酋大悦。

唐武德元年，以爨弘达为崑州刺史。开元中，以鬼主爨归王为(南)宁州都督。

prefecture.

**During the Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign**, Shǐ Wànsuì made an expedition against the south, the *Mányí* all capitulated. When the general returned, they rebelled again. The Shǔ prince Xiù wrote a memorial accusing Wànsuì of corruption and causing trouble in the border regions. Wànsuì was convicted and deposed. Then Liáng Pí was appointed as regional inspector for Xīníng prefecture. Their leaders came to Pí bringing gold, Pí put the gold next to his seat and crying, said: “These things you cannot eat during famine nor wear in winter, what ill intentions do you harbour? Are you bringing this to kill me?” He did not keep anything and the leaders were extremely pleased.

**In the 1st year of the Táng Wǔdé reign**, Cuàn Hóngdá was appointed regional inspector for Kūnzhōu. **In the Kāiyuán period**, the spirit lord Cuàn Guīwáng was appointed as commander-in-chief for Nánning prefecture.

云南志略 105

云南志略 110

云南志略 115

After this somewhat eclectic review of the early history of Yúnnán, the text continues with the developments that led to the state of Nánzhào during the Táng dynasty.

云南建国称王始此

初，蛮酋张氏名仁果，时当汉末，居蒙舍川，在诸部之南，故曰南诏。诏，汉语国君也。传三十三王，至乐进求，为蒙氏所灭。

蒙氏名细奴罗。城蒙舍之龙于图而都之，国号大象，自称奇王。云南建国称王始此，唐贞观三年也。在位二十一年。

子罗晟立，是为兴宗王。始用三军。景云元年，御史李知古请兵伐南诏，南诏臣服。知古增置郡县而重赋之，

About the foundation of Yúnnán as state and the beginnings of the title king there

In the beginning the *Mán* chief of the Zhāng clan was called Rénguǒ, that was at the time of the late Hàn, he lived in Méngshè valley, which was to the south of the other regions, so it was called Nánzhào. *zhào* means ruler of the state in Chinese. After thirty-three generations it came to Lèjìnqiú, he was eliminated by the Méng clan.

[The leader of the ] Méng Shì was called Xīnúluō, he made the walled town of Méngshè on Lóngyútú to his capital and called it Great State of Méng and proclaimed himself king Qí. That the founders of the states in Yúnnán called themselves king began then, **in the 3rd year of Táng Zhēnguān**. He ruled for twenty-one years.

His son Luōshèng took the throne and called himself king Xīng-zōng. He began the use of three armies. **In the 1st year of Jǐngyún**, censor Lǐ Zhīgǔ requested soldiers to strike Nánzhào and

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[127: 细奴罗] variant writing of Xīnúluó 细奴逻.

[127: 龙于图] variant writing of Lóngyú Shān 龙于山.

r104: During the Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign ] .

r115: In the 1st year of the Táng Wǔdé reign ] reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Gāozǔ 高祖, 618–626 CE, i.e. 618 CE.

r116: In the Kāiyuán period ] 713–741 CE, second reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗.

r131: in the 3rd year of Táng Zhēnguān ] 627 CE.

r134–135: In the 1st year of Jǐngyún ] 710 CE.

诸部皆叛，杀知古，以其尸祭天。罗晟在位三十七年。

云南志略 140 子晟罗皮立，是为太宗王。始得意于六诏。蒙氏居蒙舍川，号蒙舍诏；施望欠据石和城，号施浪诏；丰咩据邓赅川，号邓赅诏；丰时据浪穹，号浪穹诏；波冲据越柞川，号末些诏；辅源罗据越嵩，号蒙嵩诏；是为六诏。开元二年，遣其相张建成入朝，玄宗厚礼之，赐浮屠像，云南始有佛书。在位三十七年。

云南志略 155 子皮罗阁立，赂节度使王昱，求合六诏。朝廷从之，封大酋帅、越国公、云南王，赐名归义，尽有云南之地。自是以后，不可复制。在位五年禅。

云南志略 160 其子阁罗凤，是为武王。改元建踵。云南改元始此。阁罗凤妻女尝谒都督张虔陀，处陀皆通之，且多求乞。阁罗凤不胜其忿，遂发兵反，攻陷姚州，杀处陀。唐以剑南节度使鲜于仲通将兵八万讨之。蒙使行成，勿许。及战，仲通大败，仅以身免。阁罗凤乃结之吐蕃，刻石于龙尾关，明其不得已叛唐之意。天宝十三载，剑南留后李宓将兵七万致讨，阁罗凤诱之，全军以没。唐益发兵，竟不克，前后死者二十馀万人。在位二十年，

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Nánzhào submitted. Zhīgǔ established prefecture and counties, taxing them heavily, the regions all rose in revolt and killed Zhīgǔ and offered his corpse as a sacrifice to heaven. Luōshèng reigned for thirty-seven years.

His son Shèngluōpí took the throne, he became known as king Tàizōng. He began to covet the six *zhào*. The Méng Shì lived in Méngshè valley, so it was called Méngshè *zhào*, Shī Wàngqián lived in the walled town of Shíhé, it was called Shìlàng Zhào, Fēngmiē lived in Dèngdàn valley, it was called Dèngdàn Zhào, Fēngshí lived in Làngqióng, it was called Làngqióng Zhào, Bōchōng lived in Yuètuò valley, it was called Mòxiē Zhào, Fǔyuánluō lived in Yuèxī, it was called Méngxī Zhào, these were the six *zhào*. **In the 2nd year of Kāiyuán**, he sent his prime minister Zhāng Jiànchéng to the court, Xuánzōng rewarded him amply, granted him a Buddha statue, **from then on Yúnnán had Buddhist scriptures**. He reigned for thirty-seven years.

His son Píluōgé took the throne, he bribed the military commissioner Wáng Yù, asking to unite the six *zhào*. The court supported this, granted him the title of great chieftain, duke of the State of Yuè, king of Yúnnán, gave him the name Guīyì, eternally to hold the lands of Yúnnán. From then on 不可复制. He ruled for five years and **abdicated**.

His son Géluōfèng, and was known as king Wǔ. He changed the reign name to Jiànzhōng. The use of reign years in Yúnnán began with this. Géluōfèng and his wife and daughter frequently paid their respect to **commander-in-chief Zhāng Chùtuó**, Chùtuó had relations with both, and often asked for this. Géluōfèng could not control his anger and sent out troops in rebellion, he attacked and took Yáozhōu, killing Chùtuó. The Táng ordered the Jiànnán military commissioner Xiānyú Zhòngtōng to sent out eighty thousand troops to punish them. The Méng came for peace talks, to no avail. War began, Zhòngtōng suffered a great defeat, and just managed to escape with his life. Géluōfèng then allied itself with Tǔbō and **carved a stone at Lóngwěi pass**, clearly stating that he

[142–143: 丰咩] alternate writing of Fēngmiē 丰咩.

[143: 邓赅川] The character *dàn* is in other texts written as *dàn* 赅.

[144–145: 末些诏] alternate writing of Mòxiē Zhào 磨些诏

[160: 张虔陀] In the *YPL manuscript*: 张处陀.

r148: In the 2nd year of Kāiyuán ] 713 CE.

r150–151: from then on Yúnnán had Buddhist scriptures ] Many dispute this as much too early, see Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010), p. 315.

r157: abdicated ] ?

r161: commander-in-chief Zhāng Chùtuó ] i.e. Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀.

r169: carved a stone at Lóngwěi pass ] the ‘*Déhuà Stele*’ 《德化碑》.



禅。

其子凤伽异，自号“主父”，居太和城。凤伽异 ...

...立，是为孝桓王。改元建龙。制清平官已下十司，给服禄。徙都苴咩城。封点苍山为中岳。遣乌蛮鬼主梦冲苴来朝，复臣于唐。与剑南节度使韦皋连兵讨吐蕃，大破之，取铁桥等一十五城。在位三十年。

子寻阁券立，是为孝惠王。改元应道。在位二年。

子券龙晟立，是为幽王。改元龙兴。淫虐不道，弄栋节度使王苴颠弑之。在位五年。

弟券利立，是为靖王。改元全义。在位八年。

弟券丰佑立，是为昭成王。改元保和，又改天启。唐太和三年，蛮有学书子弟在成都，得蜀之虚实。遣清平官蒙苴颠大〔举〕入寇，取邛、戎、嶲三州，遂入成都，掠子女百工数万人南归。在位三十六年。

had no choice but to rebel against the Táng. In the 13th year of **Tiānbǎo**, the Jiànnán caretaker Lǐ Mì led seventy thousand troops in suppression, Géluōfèng trapped them and the whole army perished. The Táng sent more troops, but without success, over time over two hundred thousand men perished. He reigned for twenty years and abdicated.

His son Fèngjiāyì, called himself Zhǔfù, he lived in the walled town of Tàihé. Fèngjiāyì ...

...took the throne, he was known as king Xiàohuán. He changed the reign period to Jiànlóng. He created below the prime minister ten offices, and granted them robes and emoluments. He moved the capital to the walled town of Jūmiē. He consecrated Diǎncāng mountains as the central mountain. He sent the Wū Mán spirit lord Mèngchōng Jū to the court and again submitted to the Táng. The Jiànnán military commissioner Wéi Gāo sent out troops to punish Tǔbō, greatly defeating it. He gained fifteen towns including Tiěqiáo. He reigned for thirty years.

His son Xúngéquàn took the throne, he became known as king Xiàohuì. He changed the reign period to Yìngdào. He reigned for two years.

His son Quànlóngshèng took the throne, he became known as king Yōu. He changed the reign period to Lóngxīng. He was extremely tyrannical without restraint, the Nòngdòng military commissioner Wáng Jūdiān had him murdered. He reigned for five years.

His younger brother Quànlì took the throne, he was known as king Jìng. He began the Quányì reign. He reigned for eight years.

His younger brother Quànfēngyòu took the throne, he became known as king Zhāochéng. He began the Bǎohé reign and then the Tiānqǐ reign. In the 3rd year of Táng Tàihé, the Mán had students learning in Chéngdū and gained Shǔ's weaknesses and strength. They sent the qīngpíngguān Méng Jūdiān on a large plunder expedition, he took the three prefectures Qióng, Róng, and Xī, then entered Chéngdū, captured tens of thousands of their children, wo-

云南志略 170

云南志略 175

云南志略 180

云南志略 185

云南志略 190

云南志略 195

云南志略 200

[170: 禅] I think that this character belongs at the end of this passage and does not start the next. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 125.

[177: 凤伽异 ...] The text in the YPL manuscript is corrupted here, there is a passage missing.

[178: ...立] The text in the YPL manuscript is corrupted here, a passage is missing, this passage is about Yimóuxún 异牟寻.

r170-171: In the 13th year of Tiānbǎo ] yeard754.

r177: Fèngjiāyì ... ] A passage is missing here.

r178: ...took the throne ] A passage is missing here.

r181: Jūmiē ] Another writing for Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, the third capital of Nánzhào.

r196: Quànfēngyòu ] i.e. Quànfēngyòu 劝丰佑, ruled 823-859.

r198: In the 3rd year of Táng Tàihé ] 829 CE.

云南志略 205

子世隆立，始僭帝号，改元建极。遣清平官董成入朝于唐，受敌国礼而还。九年，遣杨首庆归所俘三千人，唐杀首庆。十年，世隆自将侵蜀，遂破成都。自是，大渡河以南尽属蒙矣。在位十八年，殂于越嵩。谥景庄。

云南志略 215

子法尧立，改元贞明。嬖昆仑女，失道，竖人杨定、赵登弑之。在位二十年。

云南志略 220

子舜化立，改元中兴。在位三年。布燮郑买嗣篡之，国灭。

蒙氏自细奴罗至舜化共十三主，合二百四十七年，即唐光〔化〕二年也。

men, artisans and returned south. He ruled for thirty-six years.

His son Shìlóng took the throne, began to call himself illegitimately emperor, he began the Jiànjí reign. He sent the prime minister Dǒng Chéng on a tribute mission to the Táng, he received a hostile reception and left. **In the 9th year**, the envoy Yáng Qiúqìng brought back three thousand captives, the Táng killed Qiúqìng. **In the 10th year**, Shìlóng himself led troops to invade Shǔ and then destroyed Chéngdū. From then on the Dàdù Hé served as the southernmost border with the Méng. He ruled for eighteen years and died in Yuèxī. His posthumous name is Jǐngzhuāng.

His son Fǎyáo took the throne and began the Zhēn Míng reign. He favoured a princess from Kūnlún, and lost his way over it, the servants Yángdìng and Zhàodēng killed him. He ruled for twelve years.

His son Shùnhuà took the throne, and began the Zhōngxīng reign. He ruled for three years. The chief minister Zhèng Mǎisì usurped the throne, and the state was extinguished.

The Méng Shì from Xīnúlō to Shùnhuà had thirteen rulers who ruled for two hundred and forty-seven years, that was **in the 2nd year of Táng Guānghuà**.

After the demise of Nánzhào three powerful families successively tried to succeed it.

- Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣 founded the Great State of Chánghé 大长和国.
- Zhào Shànzhèng 赵善政 founded the great state of Tiānxīng 大天兴国, which is called Xīngyuánguó 兴元国 here.
- Yáng Gānzhēn 杨干贞 founded the Great State of Yìníng 大义宁国.

云南志略 225

买嗣，唐西泸令郑回之后。阁罗凤陷嵩州，得回，以清平官，迁侍中。至买嗣，渐盛，竟至于篡。买嗣易名昶，国号大长和，改元安国。在位九年。

云南志略 230

子仁旻立。凡五改元，曰孝治、天瑞、安和、贞佑、初立。在位十八年，侍中

Mǎisì was a descendant of the Táng commander of Xílú Zhèng Huí. When Géluōfèng had invaded Xīzhōu, he captured Huí, appointed him prime minister, and promoted him to palace attendant. At that time Mǎisì had been rising, up to the point where he usurped power. Mǎisì changed his name to Chǎng, and the state was called great state of Chánghé, he began the Ānguó reign. He ruled for nine years.

He son Rénmín took the throne, he had five reign periods, they were called Xiàozhì, Tiānrùi, Ānhé, Zhēnyòu and Chūlì. He ruled

r 207: In the 9th year ] 0 CE.

r 208–209: In the 10th year ] 1 CE.

r 217: Shùnhuà ] i.e. Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, ruled 897–902.

r 221–222: in the 2nd year of Táng Guānghuà ] 899 CE.

r 230: Rénmín ] i.e. Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻.

赵善政篡之。

善政立，国号兴元，改元应天。历二年，剑川节度使杨干真杀之。

干真国号义宁。改元曰光圣，曰皇兴，曰大明，曰鼎新，曰建国。凡九年，通海节度使段思平灭之，时晋天福三年〔也〕。

for eighteen years, then palace attendant Zhào Shànzhèng usurped the throne.

Shànzhèng took the throne, changed the name of the state to Xīngyuán and began the Yīngtiān reign. In the second year of the dynasty, the Jiànchuān military commissioner Yáng Gānzhēn killed him.

Gānzhēn called the state Yíning. His reign periods were called Guāngshèng, Huángxīng, Dà míng, Dǐngxīn, Jiànguó. In total for nine years, then the Tōnghǎi military commissioner Duàn Sīpíng eliminated him, that was in the 3rd year of the Jìn Tiānfú reign.

云南志略 235

云南志略 240

After these three shortlived dynasties, Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 rose to power and founded the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国.

The names and reign periods of the successive rulers from the Duàn clan are not entirely consistent with the names recorded in the ‘Unofficial History of Nánzhào’ 《南诏野史》, but often the difference is in a single character. There is no authoritative source for these names and multiple spellings also appear in other documents.

思平蒙清平官忠国六世孙，布燮保隆之子。国号大理，改元文德，都直咩城。在位八年，号太祖先帝。

宋太祖建隆三年，王全斌克蜀，欲因取云南。太祖止之曰：“德化所及，蛮夷自服，何在用兵”于是开边之衅息矣。

子思英立，改元文经。在位一年，逊位为僧。

Sīpíng served the Méng as prime minister, he was the **sixth generation grandson of Zhōngguó**, son of the **chief minister Bǎolóng**. He called the state Dàlǐ, began the Wéndé reign, the capital was the walled town of Jūmiē. He ruled for eight years, and **posthumously became known as emperor Tàizǔ**.

**In the 3rd year of Sòng emperor Tàizǔ’s Jiànlóng reign**, Wáng Quánbīn conquered Shǔ and desired to gain Yúnnán. The Tàizǔ stopped him and said: ‘Our virtuous education has reached them, the Mányí submit willingly, is there need to use force?’ With this a bloodbath at the border was avoided.

His son Sīyīng took the throne and began the Wénjīng reign. He ruled for one year and abdicated to become a monk.

云南志略 245

云南志略 250

l242: 布燮 ] In the YPL manuscript: 布燮

l247: 宋太祖建隆三年 ] I think this whole passage is misplaced here, as the event mentioned is in 962 CE, long after the death of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平. The Tàizǔ 太祖 referred to here is the first emperor of the Sòng dynasty, not Duàn Sīpíng.

r235: 杨干真 ] In the text: 杨干真

r241: in the 3rd year of the Jìn Tiānfú reign ] 938 CE.

r242: Sīpíng ] ruled 938–944.

r242–243: the sixth generation grandson of Zhōngguó ] Duàn Jiǎnwèi 段俭魏 was granted the title Zhōngguó, meaning ‘loyal to the state’.

r243: chief minister Bǎolóng ] Duàn Bǎolóng 段保隆

r245–246: posthumously became known as emperor Tàizǔ ] meaning ‘founding emperor’.

r247: In the 3rd year of Sòng emperor Tàizǔ’s Jiànlóng reign ] 962 CE.

r252: Sīyīng ] ruled 944–945.

云南志略 255	思平母弟兴胄立，改元主治。在位五年，殂，谥文武先皇。	Sīpíng's younger brother Xīngzhòu took the throne and began the Zhǔzhì reign. He was on the throne for five years when he passed away, his posthumous title was emperor Wénwǔ.
	子思聪立。改元明德，又改广平、圣德。在位十七年。	His son Sīcōng took the throne, he changed the reign year to Míngdé, then to Guǎngpíng, and Shèngdé. He ruled for seventeen years.
云南志略 260	[素顺立，改元明政。在位十七年。]	[Sùshùn took the throne, began the Míngzhèng reign. He ruled for seventeen years.]
	子乘英立。改元广明，又改白明应、明圣、(明)治、明统。在位二十五年。	His son Sùyīng took the throne, he changed the reign year to Guǎngmíng, then to Míngyìng, Míngshèng, Míngzhì, and Míngtǒng. He ruled for twenty-five years.
云南志略 265	子素廉立。改元明启。在位十三年。	His son Sùlián took the throne, he changed the reign year to Míngqǐ. He ruled for thirteen years.
	素英之孙素隆立，改元明通。在位五年，禅位为僧。	Sùyīng's grandson Sùlóng took the throne, he changed the reign year to Míngtōng. He ruled for five years, then abdicated to become a monk.
云南志略 270	素廉之子素真立，改元正治，在位十六年。	Sùlián's son Sùzhēn took the throne, he changed the reign year to Zhèngzhì. He ruled for sixteen years.
	素英孙素兴立，改元圣明。在位三年。	Sùyīng's son Sùxīng took the throne, he changed the reign year to Shèngmíng. He ruled for three years.
云南志略 275	思平五世孙思廉立，改元保安、太安、正安、正德、保德。在位三十年。	Sīpíng's fifth generation grandson Sīlián took the throne, he changed the reign year to Bǎoān, Tàian, Zhèngān, Zhèngdé, and Bǎodé. He ruled for thirty years.
	子廉义立，改元上德。在位七年，遇弑。	His son Liányì took the throne, he changed the reign year to Shàngdé. He ruled for seven years and was murdered.
云南志略 280	思平五世孙晖寿立，改元上明，在位一年。	Sīpíng's 5th generation grandson Huīshòu took the throne, and changed the reign period to Shàngmíng, he ruled for one year.
	思廉之孙政明立，改元保定、建安、	Sīlián's grandson Zhèngmíng took the throne, changed the reign

/254: 兴胄] Probably should be Duàn Sīliáng 段思良.

/260: [素顺立，改元明政。在位十七年。]] In the YPL manuscript a generation is missing.

/262: 乘英] Should be 素英.

/279: 晖寿] i.e. Duàn Shòuhuī 段寿辉.

/281: 政明] i.e. Duàn Zhèngmíng 段正明.

r254: younger brother] The text say *mǔ dì* 母弟, so a younger brother by the same mother, but not the same father.

r254: Xīngzhòu] Duàn Xīngzhòu 段兴胄 should probably be Duàn Sīliáng 段思良, ruled 945–951.

r257: Sīcōng] ruled 951–968.

r260: Sùshùn] ruled 968–985.

r262: Sùyīng] ruled 985–1009.

r265: Sùlián] ruled 1009–1022.

r267: Sùlóng] ruled 1022–1026.

r270: Sùzhēn] ruled 1026–1041.

r272: Sùxīng] ruled 1042–1044.

r274: Sīlián] ruled 1044–1074.

r277: Liányì] ruled 1074–1080.

r279: Huīshòu] ruled 1080–1081.

r281: Zhèngmíng] ruled 1081–1094.

<p>天祐。在位十六年，逊位于鄯阐岳牧高泰升。</p> <p>升泰，改元上治，国号大中。历二年，殂。子孙不敢继，复归段氏。</p>	<p>period to Bǎodìng, Jiànnān, and Tiānyòu. He ruled for sixteen years, he abdicated in favour of the Shànchǎn <b>strongman</b> Gāo Shēngtài. <b>Shēngtài changed</b> the reign period to Shàngzhì and called the state Dàzhōng. He ruled for two years before he died. His son and grandson did not dare to succeed him, and the power returned to the Duàn clan.</p>	<p>云南志略 285</p>
<p>政明之子政淳立，改元天授、明开、大政、文安。在位十三年。</p>	<p>Zhèngmíng's son Zhèngchún took the throne, changed the reign period to Tiānshòu, then Míngkāi, Dàzhèng, and Wénān. He ruled for thirteen years.</p>	<p>云南志略 290</p>
<p>子政严立，改元日改、文治、永嘉、天保、广运。在位四十年。</p>	<p>His son Zhèngyán took the throne, he changed the reign period to Rìgǎi, Wénzhì, Yǒngjiā, Tiānbǎo, and Guǎngyùn. He ruled for forty years.</p>	
<p>子政兴立，改元天宝、龙兴、盛明、建德。在位二十六年。</p>	<p>His son Zhèngxīng took the throne, he changed the reign period to Tiānbǎo, Lóngxīng, Shèngmíng, and Jiàndé. He ruled for twenty-six years.</p>	<p>云南志略 295</p>
<p>子政智立，改元利真、盛德、嘉会、元亨、安定。在位二十九年。</p>	<p>His son Zhèngzhì took the throne, he changed the reign period to Lìzhēn, Shèngdé, Jiāhuì, Yuánhēng, and Āndìng. He ruled for twenty-nine years.</p>	
<p>子智廉立，改元凤历、元寿。在位六年。</p>	<p>His son Zhìlián took the throne, he changed the reign period to Fènglì and Yuánshòu. He ruled for six years.</p>	<p>云南志略 300</p>
<p>子智祥立，改元天开、天辅、仁寿。在位三十四年。</p>	<p>His son Zhìxiáng took the throne, he changed the reign period to Tiānkāi, Gǎiyuán, Tiānfǔ, and Rénshòu. He ruled for thirty-four years.</p>	
<p>子祥兴立，改元道隆。在位十六年。</p>	<p>His son Xiángxīng took the throne, he changed the reign period to Dàolóng. He ruled for sixteen years.</p>	<p>云南志略 305</p>
<p>子兴智立，改元天定，是岁壬子。越明年，钦遇我世祖皇帝由吐蕃、丽江</p>	<p>His son Xīngzhì took the throne, he changed the reign period to Tiāndìng, it was <b>the rénzǐ year</b>. Two years later, our esteemed em-</p>	

/283: 高泰升 ] should be Gāo Shēngtài 高升泰, that writing is confirmed in many other sources.

/284: 升泰 ] should be Gāo Shēngtài 高升泰.

/288: 政淳 ] i.e. Duàn Zhèngchún 段正淳.

/291: 政严 ] i.e. Duàn Zhèngyán 段正严.

/294: 政兴 ] i.e. Duàn Zhèngxīng

/297: 政智 ] this should be Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴.

r283: strongman ] unclear.

r284: Shēngtài ] ruled 1094–1096.

r284: changed ] it is interesting to note that the text omits the usual *lì* (meaning that someone takes power) here.

r288: Zhèngchún ] .

r291: Zhèngyán ] ruled 1108–1147.

r294: Zhèngxīng ] ruled 1147–1171.

r297: Zhèngzhì ] that name is wrong, it should be Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴, ruled 1171–1200.

r300: Zhìlián ] ruled 1200–1204.

r302: Zhìxiáng ] ruled 1204–1239.

r305: Xiángxīng ] ruled 1239–1251.

r307: Xīngzhì ] ruled 1251–1253.

r308: the rénzǐ year ] 1252 CE.

入，兴智举国出奔，至鄙阐，被擒。

段氏至思平至兴智共二十二主，合三百一十六年。

国朝平云南

云南志略 315

甲寅春，大驾东还，命大将兀良吉歹专行征伐，三十七部及金齿、交趾举皆内附，云南悉平。兀良吉歹回师之后，委任非人，政令屡变；天庭高远，不相闻知。边鄙之民往往复叛。

迨至至元甲戌，以平章政事赛天赤行省云南。下车之日，立州县，均赋役；兴水利，置屯田；擢廉能，黜污滥；明赏罚，恤孤贫。秉政六年，民情丕变，旧政一新，而民不知扰。及薨之日，遥近闻知，如丧父母。于时公于内廷眷顾甚重，凡属职除授及南方便宜，无不俞允。而公亦开诚布公，宽大廉简。故能上下感戴，声名洋溢。后之继者，虽有善政，莫能及也。

云南志略 325

云南志略 330

云南志略 340

云南志略 345

呜呼！云南于古为蛮獠之域。秦、汉以来，虽略通道，然不过发一将军、遣一使者，以镇遏其相残，慰喻其邪戾而已。所任得人，则乞怜效顺；任非其人，则相率以叛。羁縻苟且，以暨于唐，王师屡覆，而南诏始盛矣。天宝以后，值中原多故，不暇

peror Kublai Khan invaded from Tǔbō and Lǐjiāng, Xīngzhì abandoned the state and fled, reached Shànchǎn, where he was captured.

The Duàn clan were from Sīpíng to Xīngzhì in total twenty-two generations, ruling for three hundred and sixteen years.

The Current Dynasty Pacifies Yúnnán

In spring of the Jiǎyín year, the emperor returned to the east, he ordered that the senior commander Uriyangkhadaï act alone in the military expeditions, the thirty-seven tribes, the Jīnchǐ and Jiāozhǐ all submitted, Yúnnán was entirely pacified. After Uriyangkhadaï returned to the capital, he appointed outsiders whose regulations changed frequently, the court did not pay any attention as there was no communication. So the frontier population gradually rebelled again.

In the jiǎxū year of the Zhiyuán period, the administrator in charge of affairs Sàitiānchì was appointed for the province of Yúnnán. The day he arrived, he established prefectures and counties, equalized taxes and labour services, launched irrigation projects, established garrison farms, promoted honest officials and dismissed corrupted ones, reward and punishment were clear and he cared for orphans and the poor. During his six years in office, the living situation of the people changed dramatically, old policies were made new, but the people did not notice and were undisturbed. The day he died, near and far all heard it as if they had lost their father or mother. During his time, the duke paid much attention to the affairs of the court, of all his appointments of officials and considerations regarding the south was not one that was not just. The duke was also frank and openminded, lenient and simple. So superiors and subalterns respected him and he had an excellent reputation. None of his successors, even though they were capable administrators, could compare with him.

Wūhū! Yúnnán was once the land of the Dànláo. From the Qín and Hàn onwards as there was communication in general it required no more than dispatching a general or sending an envoy to quell their strife and console their wishes. If they appointed men of virtue, they asked for mercy and were loyal, if they appointed those without they rebelled one after another. Control was laggard, and only when it got to the Táng, the imperial army frequently attacked

[323–324: 赛天赤] a miswriting of Sàidiānchì 赛典赤.

r 315: In spring of the Jiǎyín year ] 1254 CE.

r 323: jiǎxū year of the Zhiyuán period ] 1274 CE.

及。五季扰乱，而郑、赵、杨氏亦复攘据。宋兴，介于辽、夏，未遑远略。故蒙、段二姓与唐、宋相终始。

天运勃兴，文轨混一，钦惟世祖皇帝天戈一指，尽六诏之地皆为郡县。迄今吏治文化侔于中州，非圣化溥博，何以臻此。

而其地风物未至记录，实为缺典。今撮其古今兴废、其人物、山川、草木，类为一编，甚惧未能周知悉览。然其大略，亦足以提挈一方之要领云。

them, only from Nánzhào began their rise. After the Tiānbǎo period, there were many problems in the central plains that were impossible to control. During the disturbances of the five dynasties, the clans of the Zhèng, Zhào and Yáng again gained control. When the Sòng rose they were between the Liáo and the Xixià, so they were to busy for long term plans. So the two families of the Méng and the Duàn began and ended with the Táng and the Sòng at the same time.

If heaven's will is strong, the paths of culture merge. Our esteemed emperor Kublai Khan has received the mandate of heaven, so in the end the lands of the six zhào were organized as prefectures and counties. So now administration and culture match those of the central regions. Without the extensive edification of the sages how could they have reached such heights?

But its lands, customs and products have never been documented, which is a real omission. Now I have collected their rise and fall over the times, their people and products, their mountains and valleys, their plants, organized according to similarity, but I fear that I cannot know everything. So it is a rough outline, which should be sufficient to understand the essentials.

云南志略 350

云南志略 355

云南志略 360

云南志略 365

### 3.3 The Customs of the Various Yí 《诸夷风俗》

This part of the 《云南志略》 is considered the most interesting as it gives an early description of the customs of the various indigenous people of Yúnnán.

This section is translated in Armijo-Hussein (1997), pp. 131–149 and Armijo-Hussein (2001). While the later translation improves the first, the first contains ‘excerpts from the writings of Marco Polo, who travelled to this region at virtually the same time that Li Jing was there. Perhaps they even met.’<sup>(8)</sup>

诸夷风俗

Customs of the various Yí

#### The Bái People 白人

The first group introduced are the *bái rén* 白人, literally meaning the ‘White People’. While today one of the officially recognized *mínzú* 民族 are the *Bái zú* 白族, the use of this term here predates

r347–348: After the Tiānbǎo period ] 742–756 CE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng.

r350–351: the clans of the Zhèng, Zhào and Yáng again gained control ] A reference to the shortlived rules of three clans, see page 14.

r357: lands of the six zhào ] i.e. the territory of Nánzhào and with extension the lands of Yúnnán.

<sup>(8)</sup> . I have my doubts that they met, to the contrary, I believe that the striking similarity in some passages is an indication that they both copied from another, now lost, work.

this group by centuries and must be seen as synonym to the *Bái Mán* 白蛮, who were seen as closer to Chinese culture than the *Wū Mán* 乌蛮, which are in the subsequent section introduced under the term *Luōluō* 罗罗.

白人，有姓氏。  
汉武帝开爨道，通西南夷，道今叙  
州属县是也。故中庆、楚威、大理、永  
昌皆爨人，今转为白人矣。

唐太和中，蒙氏取邛、戎、嵩三州，  
遂入成都，掠子女工技数万人南归，  
云南有纂组文绣自此始。

The Bái people have **clans with family names**.

Hàn Emperor Wǔ opened the Bó road to establish contact with the western and southern Yí, today the road belongs to Xùzhōu county. So the Bó people in Zhōngqìng, Wēichǔ, Dàlǐ and Yǒngchāng have all become Bái people today.

During the Tàihé period, the Méng clan took the three prefectures of Qióng, Róng and Xī, then invaded Chéngdū and carried off children, women, and artisans and brought them back south, from then on Yúnnán had fine weaving and silk embroidery.

It follows a passage on the language spoken by the Bái people. It is interesting to note that the usage of some of the words is also documented in a contemporary dictionary of the Bái language 白语, the 'BAIF HANB CIP DIAINT: 白汉词典'.<sup>(9)</sup> Where I have found direct parallels, I have added this in the annotations below.

白人语：  
着衣曰衣衣，  
吃饭曰咽羹茹，  
樵采曰折薪，

The Bái people language:

for putting on clothes they say *yīyī*,

for eating they say *yāngēngrú*,

for collecting wood they say *zhéxīn*,

*l*370: 楚威] This should be Wēichǔ 威楚, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 127.

*l*373: 太和] In the *YPL manuscript: tàihé* 泰和, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 127.

*r*368: clans with family names] I chose this somewhat clumsy translation as I think the choice of words in Chinese *xìng shì* 姓氏 expresses that their clans have family names, i.e. the Bái people to a certain extent follow Chinese customs, which sets them apart from the other groups that are mentioned later. Armijo-Hussein (2001), p. 88 improves her earlier translation in Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 131 ('Am ong the Bai they are clans.') as: 'The Bai people have both surnames and clan names'.

*r*370–371: Xùzhōu county] This refers to the eastern road into Yúnnán, via present-day Yībīn 宜宾.

*r*371: Zhōngqìng] present-day Kūnmíng.

*r*371: Wēichǔ] present-day Chǔxióng 楚雄.

*r*372: Yǒngchāng] present-day Bǎoshān 保山.

*r*373: Tàihé period] i.e. the Tàihé reign of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, 827–835.

*r*373: Méng clan] The ruling clan of Nánzhào.

*r*374: then invaded Chéngdū] Chéngdū 成都 was sacked in the winter of 829–830 CE.

*r*375–376: from then on Yúnnán had fine weaving and silk embroidery] This is reported in the 'Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government' 《资治通鉴》

*r*378: *yīyī*] literally 'clothes-clothes'. 'BAIF HANB CIP DIAINT: 白汉词典' (2022), p. 246: '【yib yib】意义: Y- yil ~guanl. 穿衣; 穿裤子.'

*r*379: *yāngēngrú*] literally 'swallow broth eat'.

*r*380: *zhéxīn*] literally 'cutting timber'.

<sup>(9)</sup> The modern written form of the Bái language 白语 follows largely the Chinese Pinyin system but with an additional letter at the end of each morpheme indicating the tone.



帛曰幕，  
酒曰尊，  
鞍鞞曰悼泥，  
墙曰砖垣。  
如此之类甚多，则白人之为僰人，  
明矣。

for silk they say *mù*,  
for wine they say *zūn*,  
for saddle they say *dàoní*,  
for wall they say *zhuānyuán*.

There are many such cases, so it is clear that the Bái people were  
the Bó people.

云南志略 385

男女首戴次工，制如中原渔人之蒲  
笠，差大，编竹为之，覆以黑毡。亲  
旧虽久别，无拜跪，唯取次工以为  
馈。

Men and women wear *cìgōng* on their heads, they are made like  
the fishermen's straw hats in China, but they are bigger and woven  
from bamboo and covered with black felt. Relatives and old  
friends, even after a long separation, do not kowtow, they only take  
off their *cìgōng* as a courtesy.

云南志略 390

男子披毡，椎髻。  
妇人不施脂粉，酥泽其发，以青纱  
分编，绕首盘系，裹以攒顶黑巾；耳  
金环，象牙缠缠臂；衣绣方幅，以半  
身细毡为上服。

Men drape felts over their shoulders, and tie their hair in a bun.  
Women do not wear makeup, they moisten their hair with fat, use  
blue threads to braid their hair, wind it into a flat coil, bind it on  
the top of their heads and cover it with black cloth. In the ears they  
wear silver rings and ivory tangles on their arms, they embroider  
square pieces of cloth, and cover the upper body in fine felt.

云南志略 395

处子孀妇出入无禁。少年子弟号曰  
妙子，暮夜游行，或吹芦笙，或作歌  
曲，声韵之中皆寄情意，情通私耦，  
然后成婚。居屋多为回檐，如殿制。

Young maidens and widows go about without restraint. Young  
men are called *miàozi*, they go out at night either playing the  
*lúshēng* or singing ballads, their sounds full of affection. Sweet-  
hearts have private encounters and marry later. Their houses often  
have round eaves, constructed like temple halls.

云南志略 400

It follows a passage on the still extant culinary custom to eat meat raw.

食贵生，如猪、牛、鸡、鱼皆生醢之，  
和以蒜泥而食。

They prefer food raw, pork, beef, chicken and fish are all **pickled  
raw**, they eat it mixed with garlic.

A very similar passage is also contained in Marco Polo's records of the region, here in the translation  
by Henry Yule:<sup>(10)</sup>

Let me tell you also that the people of that country eat their meat raw, whether it be of  
mutton, beef, buffalo, poultry, or any other kind. Thus the poor people will go to the

r381: *mù* ] literally 'curtain, drape'.

r382: *zūn* ] literally 'vine vessel'. *BAIF HANB CIP DIAINT*: 白汉词典' (2022), p. 282: '[zvnX]酒'.

r383: *dàoní* ] Armijo-Hussein (2001), p. 88: 'fear of mud'.

r384: *zhuānyuán* ] literally 'clay bricks'.

r399: *miàozi* ] meaning something like 'pretty boys'.

r403-404: pickled raw ] or 'minced raw', Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 1332?

<sup>(10)</sup> Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 133 points to this passage. While some may consider this passage in Marco Polo's work as a proof of his first-hand experience, I think that the similarity of the sentence structure and the fact that Marco Polo returned to Venice before the '*General Record of Yúnnán*' 《云南志略》 was compiled indicates that both texts rely on an unknown third text.

shambles and take the raw liver as it comes from the carcass and cut it small, and put it in a sauce of garlic and spices, and so eat it; and other meat in like manner, raw, just as we eat meat that is dressed. (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 40)

#### Festivities and religious customs:

云南志略 405	每岁以腊月二十四日祀祖，如中州上冢之礼。	Every year on the 24th day of the last month they perform rituals for their ancestors, just like the rite of going up to the graves in China.
云南志略 410	六月二十四日，通夕以高竿缚火炬照天，小儿各持松明火相烧为戏，谓之驱禳。	<b>On the 24th day of the 6th month</b> throughout the night they light up the sky with a torch tied to a large pole. <b>Children carry pine torches to set each other ablaze as a play</b> , they call this ‘driving out evil’.
云南志略 415	佛教甚盛。戒律精严者名得道，俗甚重之。有家室者名师僧，教童子，多读佛书，少知六经者；段氏而上，选官置吏皆出此。	Buddhism flourishes. Those who strictly follow the discipline are called <i>having attained the Way</i> , lay people hold them in high esteem. Those <b>who have a family and home</b> are called <i>teacher monks</i> . They educate the children. They mostly read the Buddhist scriptures, but know little of the <b>six classics</b> . From the time of the Duàn clan the officials were selected from amongst them.
云南志略 420	民俗，家无贫富皆有佛堂，旦夕击鼓恭礼，少长手不释念珠，一岁之中，斋戒几半。	Regarding their customs, their homes, regardless of poor or rich, all have a Buddhist hall, in the morning and evening they strike a drum and pay their respects. Young and old never let go of their prayer beads, within one year they fast almost half.
云南志略 425	诸种蛮夷刚愎嗜杀，骨肉之间一言不合，则白刃相刳；不知事神佛，若枭獍然。惟白人事佛甚谨，故杀心差少。由是言之，佛法之设，其于异俗亦自有益。	All groups of Mányí are headstrong and fond of killing, [even] if they have disagreements within their clan, they kill each other point blank. Those who know nothing of spirits and Buddha act like disobedient children. Only the Bái people have a deep understanding of Buddha, so their violent inclinations have lessened. From this follows that the establishment of Buddhism is of benefit for those of different customs.
云南志略 430	其俊秀者颇能书，有晋人笔意。蛮文云：“保和中，遣张志成学书于唐。”故云南尊王羲之，不知尊孔、孟。	Their elite can somewhat write calligraphy in the style of the Jin masters. A <i>Mán</i> text says: ‘ <b>At the time of Bǎohé, we sent Zhāng Zhìchéng to study with the Táng.</b> ’ So in Yúnnán they venerate <b>Wáng Xīzhī</b> , even they do not know and venerate Confucius nor

r 408: On the 24th day of the 6th month ] That is still the day (almost) that the *Bái zú* 白族 celebrate torch festival 火把节. (The Bái celebrate it now on the 25th day.)

r 409–410: Children carry pine torches to set each other ablaze as a play ] This custom is still extant: dry saw dust is used to create blazing, but harmless, explosions.

r 414: who have a family and home ] Today, the local Buddhist sect called Āzhàlì 阿吒力, in which the Fǎ 佛法 is passed down family lines.

r 416: six classics ] The six Confucian classics, of which five are extant.

r 430: At the time of Bǎohé ] around 784 CE.

r 430–431: we sent Zhāng Zhìchéng to study with the Táng. ] This is also mentioned in the ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏野史》, but this might be a confusion with a contemporary Chinese poet of the same name.

r 432: Wáng Xīzhī ] famous calligrapher of the Jin dynasty.

我朝收附后，分置省府，诏所在立文庙，蛮自为汉佛。

Mencius.

After they submitted to the present court, they were divided into administrative units and edicts were issued to establish Confucian temples, the *Mán* regarded them as the Buddhas of the Hàn.

云南志略 435

In the following section on markets mentions the use of cowry shells for trade.<sup>(11)</sup>

市井谓之街子，午前聚集，抵暮而罢。  
交易用贝子，俗呼作𧄨，以一为庄，四庄为手，四手为苗，五苗为索。

A market is called *gāizǐ*, the people gather in the morning and when the evening approaches they go home.  
They use cowrie shells to trade, they call them *bā*, **one is called *zhuāng*, four *zhuāng* are called *shǒu*, four *shǒu* are called *miáo*, five *miáo* are called *suǒ*.**

云南志略 440

Marco Polo's accounts also mention cowrie shells, where interestingly he also notes that eighty cowries together are considered a unit.

Their money is such as I will tell you. They use for the purpose certain white porcelain shells that are found in the sea, such as are sometimes put on dogs' collars; and 80 of these porcelain shells pass for a single weight of silver, equivalent to two Venice groats, *i.e.* 24 piccolli. Also eight such weights of silver count equal to one such weight of gold. (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 39)

Vogel (2012) discusses the use of cowry shells in Yúnnán in detail.<sup>(12)</sup>

人死，俗尸，束缚令坐，棺如方柜。击铜鼓送丧，以剪发为孝，哭声如歌而不哀。既焚，盛骨而葬。

When a man dies, the custom is to bind him in a sitting position, the coffin is like a square chest. They beat the drums to send someone off, they cut their hair out of propriety, their wailing is like a song not like a lamentation. Then they cremate the body and inter the bones.

云南志略 445

冬夏无暑，四时花木不绝。多水田，谓五亩为一双。山水明秀，亚于江南。

In summer nor winter is it [**cold or**] hot, over four seasons neither flowers nor trees wither. They have many paddy fields, they call

*l*439: 贝] In the *YPL manuscript*: *qí*, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 128. Probably 肥肥 would have been the right character here, see Vogel (2012), p. 237.

*l*439: 𧄨] This should be unicode 27D29, 𧄨 < 𧄨 贝 八 >.

*l*447: 冬夏无暑] In the *YPL manuscript* is possibly a character missing and it should read like 冬夏无寒暑.

*r*437: *gāizǐ*] this term with this pronunciation, which deviates from modern standardized Chinese, is still in use today  
*r*439–441: one is called *zhuāng*, four *zhuāng* are called *shǒu*, four *shǒu* are called *miáo*, five *miáo* are called *suǒ*] That eighty cowries are one *suǒ* is conformant with the text on a stele in Kūnmíng 昆明 from that period, see Vogel (2012), p. 237.

*r*447: [**cold or**] ] There is possibly a character missing in the text.

*r*448–449: they call five *mǔ* one *shuāng*] This measurement is reported in the 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán' 《云南志》.

<sup>(11)</sup> This passage is discussed in Vogel (2012), pp. 238–239.

<sup>(12)</sup> see Vogel (2012), which mentions further locations in Marco Polo's accounts where cowry shells were in circulation.

麻、麦、蔬、果颇同中国。

其称呼国主曰缥信，太子曰坦绰，诸王曰信苴，相国曰布燮，之文字之职曰清平官。其贵人被服，近年虽略从汉制，其他亦自如也。

云南志略 455

five *mǔ* one *shuāng*. The scenery is beautiful, second only to Jiāngnán. Hemp, wheat, vegetables, and fruits are almost like in China.

They call their state's king Piǎoxìn, the heir is called Yuánchuò, all the **princes** are called *xìnjū*, the prime minister is called *bùxiè*, who is in charge of records is called *qīngpíngguān*. In recent years, their nobles wear clothes generally like the Hàn, other things are also similar.

### The Luōluō 罗罗

The term Luōluō in its various writing forms has long been a pejorative term for the people who were also called *Wū Mán* 乌蛮, indigenous people of Yúnnán considered further from Chinese civilization than the *Bái Mán* 白蛮.

This passage is also translated in Herman (2007), pp. 66–67.

罗罗，即乌蛮也。

男子推髻，摘去须髯，或髡其发。左右配双刀，喜斗好杀，父子昆弟之间，一言不相下，则兵刃相接，以轻死为勇。马贵折尾，鞍无，剡木为蹬，状如鱼口，微容足指。

云南志略 460

Luōluō are the *Wū Mán*.

The men bind their hair in a knot, and pluck out their beards and sometimes shave their heads. They carry paired knives, and like to fight and kill. If between elders and sons or brothers they cannot arrive at an agreement, they attack each other with weapons. They disregard death as courage. They value horses, **cut their tails**, do not use saddles, cut out a piece of wood to use as stirrups which look like a fish's mouth, small enough to hold a foot.

妇女披发，衣布衣，贵者锦缘，贱者被羊皮。乘马则并足横坐。室女耳穿大环，剪发齐眉，裙不过膝。

云南志略 465

Women let their hair grow, dress in cotton cloth, their nobility in brocade, **the lower ranks use goat skin capes**. When they ride a horse, they sit crosslegged. Unmarried girls wear large earrings, they cut their hair to the brows and their skirt does not reach the knee.

男女无贵贱皆披毡，跣足，手面经年不洗。

云南志略 470

Men and women regardless of status all wear felt capes, go barefoot and do not wash their hands or faces for years.

夫妇之礼，昼不相见，夜同寝。子生十岁，不得见其父。妻妾不相妒忌。虽贵，床无褥，松花铺地，惟一毡一席而已。

云南志略 475

The custom for married couples is not to see each other during the day, but to sleep together at night. When children are ten years old, they must not see their father. Wives and concubines are not jealous of each other. Even the nobles do not have mattresses on

*l* 452: 坦绰] In the *YPL manuscript: yuántǎn* 垣坦, changed according to the Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 128.

*l* 453: 信苴] In the *YPL manuscript: xìndá* 信笪, the Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 128 has, without annotation, *xìnjū* 信苴, a title mentioned in other texts.

*r* 453: princes] the character *wáng* 王 in this passage is used for both the national ruler and those below him, I follow Armijo-Hussein (2001), p. 90 in this translation.

*r* 462: cut their tails] See Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 47: 'And you must know that the people dock two or three joints of the tail from their horses, to prevent them from flipping their riders, a thing which they consider very unseemly.'

*r* 466: the lower ranks use goat skin capes] This is still a custom today, see Goodman (2000).

嫁娶尚舅家，无可匹者，方许别娶。

有疾不识医药，惟用男巫，号曰大奚婆，以鸡骨占吉凶；酋长左右斯须不可阙，事无巨细皆决之。

凡娶妇必先与大奚婆通，次则诸房昆弟皆舞之，谓之和睦；后方与其夫成婚。昆弟有一人不如者，则为不义，反相为恶。正妻曰耐德，非耐德所生，不得继父之位。若耐德无子，或有子未及娶而死者，则为娶妻，诸人皆得乱，有所生，则为已死之男女。酋长无继嗣，则立妻女为酋长，妇女无女侍，惟男子十数奉左右，皆私之。

酋长死，以豹皮裹尸而焚，葬其骨于山，非骨肉莫知何处。葬毕，用七宝偶人，藏之高楼，盗取邻近贵人之首以祭。如不得，则不能祭。祭祀时，亲戚毕至，宰祭牛羊动以千数，少者不下数百。

每岁以腊月春节，竖长竿横设一木，左右各座一人，以互相起落为戏。

多养义士，名直可，厚贍之。遇战斗，视死如归。善造坚甲利刃，有价值数十马者。标枪劲弩，置毒矢末，露血立死。

their beds, pine needles cover the floor, they just have one felt and one mat, nothing else.

**They marry into the family of the maternal uncle, only if there is no match they can marry someone else.**

In case of illness they are not familiar with medicine and only make use of male shamans, called *dàxīpó*, who use chicken bones for divination. They surround the chief at all times, all matters of the state, large or small, are decided by them.

At a wedding, the woman must first have relations with the *dàxīpó*, then dance with all the brothers in the house, this is called 'making friends'. Only after that the marriage with her husband can be consumed. If among the brothers one does not follow this, it is considered irresponsible as it brings mutual resentment. An official wife is called *nàidé*, if someone who is not a *nàidé* bears a child, he cannot inherit the father's position. If a *nàidé* does not have children or a child dies before marriage, they arrange a wife for him and everyone can consort with her, if she bears a child it is considered the child of the deceased. If a chief does not have an heir then his wife's daughter is appointed as chief. She does not have any female servants, only a dozen men serve her and all have private relations with her.

When a chieftain dies, he is wrapped into panther skin and burned, his bones are buried on the mountains in a place unknown apart from his blood relatives. **When the burial is concluded they use icons of the seven treasures and store them in a tall building.** They go out and take the head of a nobleman from nearby as offering in the ritual. If this is unsuccessful the rites cannot be conducted. At the time of the ritual, when all relatives have arrived, they slaughter a thousand oxen and goats, and for a small funeral no less than one hundred.

Every year in the last month when they celebrate the new year, they erect a large pole and place a pole across with one man sitting left and right, they rise and fall together as a game.

They raise many noblemen, which they call *Jūkě*, they are amply rewarded. When they go into battle, they look upon death like going home. They are skilled at making strong armour and sharp daggers, which are worth tens of horses. On their spears and bows they have poisonous tips, when they stain the blood one dies instantly.

云南志略 480

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云南志略 500

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云南志略 510

r 478: They marry into the family of the maternal uncle ] The custom of cross-cousin has been documented even in the 20th century, see Xǔ Lǎngguāng 许烺光 (1948), pp. 81–82.

r 499–500: When the burial is concluded they use icons of the seven treasures and store them in a tall building ] This is very similar to a passage from the Lotus Sutra: 复见诸佛般涅槃后，以佛舍利、起七宝塔。In the translation by Burton Watson: 'And one [...] could also see how, after the Buddhas had entered parinirvana, towers adorned with the seven treasures were erected for the Buddha relics.' (Watson (1993), p. 6).

Again there is a similar passage in Marco Polo's records:<sup>(13)</sup>

They ride long like Frenchmen, and wear armour of boiled leather, and carry spears and shields and arblasts, and all their quarrels are poisoned. (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 47)

云南志略 515 自顺元、曲靖、乌蒙、乌撒、越嵩，皆此类也。

The people in Shùnyuán, Qūjìng, Wūméng, Wūsā and Yuèxī are all of their kind.

Then follows an annotation mentioning a stele now known as the 'Cuàn Lóngyán Stele' 《爨龙颜碑》, which is still extant. It is unclear why this annotation is inserted here.

云南志略 520 今陆凉州有爨府君碑，载爨氏出楚令尹子文之后，受姓班氏，西汉末，食河南邑，因以为氏，为镇蛮校尉宁州刺史，晋成帝以爨深为兴古太守，之后爨瓚，爨震相继不绝。

Today in Lùliáng prefecture is a stele of a Cuàn commandery governor, recording that the Cuàn clan are the descendants of Chǔ minister Zǐ Wén, they received the clan name Bān, at the end of the Western Hàn [they were granted] a fiefdom in Hénán, so they became a clan, they were appointed as commandants to suppress the Mán, Níng prefecture regional inspectors, **during the time of Jìn emperor Chéng** Cuàn Shēn was appointed as grand protector of Xīngǔ, afterwards Cuàn Zàn and Cuàn Zhèn continued without interruption.

云南志略 525 唐开元初，以爨归王为南宁州都督，理石城部，即今曲靖也，爨人之名原此。

**At the beginning of the Táng Kāiyuán period**, Cuàn Guīwáng was appointed as commander-in-chief of Nánníng prefecture, administered the Shíchéng region, today's Qūjìng, the reputation of the Cuàn stems from there.

云南志略 530 然今日白人为白爨，罗罗为黑爨，字复讹为寸矣。👁️

So today the Bái people are known as white Cuàn, the *luōluō* as black Cuàn, this character is frequently misread as *cùn*.

The passage ends with another myth of people with tails that also appears in the 'Extensive Records of Tàipíng' 《太平广记》.

大德六年冬，京从脱脱平章平越嵩之叛，亲见射死一人，有尾长三寸许。询之土人，谓此等间或有之，年老往往化为虎云。

**In winter of the 6th year of Dàdé**, the capital ordered the administrator to pacify a rebellion in Yuèxī, he himself saw a man shot dead with an arrow who had a tail about three *cùn* long. When he asked the local people, they said that this happens sometimes, and that old people often turn into tigers.

l530: 👁️ ] Source text: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 129

r 521–522: during the time of Jìn emperor Chéng ] 325–342 CE.

r 525: At the beginning of the Táng Kāiyuán period ] 713–741 CE, second reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗, so after 713.

r 531: In winter of the 6th year of Dàdé ] yeadw1302.

(13) mentioned in Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 139

**The Golden Teeth Yi** 金齿夷

The term *Jīnchǐ* 金齿 literally means ‘Golden Teeth’ and refers to a tribal custom of gilding teeth that the region of the old Hàn dynasty 汉朝 foundation of *Yǒngchāng* 永昌, present-day *Bǎoshān* 保山, was known for.

金齿百夷，记识无文字，刻木为约。

The Golden Teeth *Yi*: they do not have written records and carve their contracts into wood.

The absence of writing, the habit of gilding teeth and using carved wood for contracts were also noted in Marco Polo’s accounts:<sup>(14)</sup>

They have no letters or writing; (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 53)

The people of this country all have their teeth gilt; or rather every man covers his teeth with a sort of golden case made to fit them, both the upper teeth and the under. The men do this, but not the women. (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 52)

When these people have any business transactions with one another, they take a piece of stick, round or square, and split it, each taking half. And on either half they cut two or three notches. And when the account is settled the debtor receives back the other half of the stick from the creditor. (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 53)

酋长死，非其子孙自立者，众共击之。

When a chieftain dies, if someone who is not his son or grandson takes the throne, the people will attack him collectively.

男女文身

Men and women are tattooed.

云南志略 540

去髭须鬓眉睫，以赤白土傅面，彩绶束发，衣赤黑衣，蹶绣履，带镜，呼痛之声曰“阿也韦”，绝类中国优人。

[Men] remove facial hair including on the temples, the eyebrows and eyelashes, they apply red and white clay to their faces, use coloured threads to bind their hair and dress in black and red cloth. They walk in embroidered shoes, and wear belts with mirrors. When they feel pain, they call out *āyěwéi*, similar to actors in China.

云南志略 545

不事稼穡，唯护小儿。

They do not engage in farm work, and only take care of their offspring.

天宝中，随爨归王入朝于唐，今之爨弄实原于此。

During the *Tiānbǎo* period, they accompanied *Cuàn Guīwáng* for an audience with the *Táng*, today’s *cuànnòng* originates from this.

云南志略 550

[54]: 去髭须鬓眉睫] In the *YPL manuscript* is probably the character *Nán* missing at the beginning.

r 541: [Men] ] As there is a similar passage on women further below, it seem that this passage is about men only.

r 549: During the *Tiānbǎo* period ] 742–756 CE, last reign period of *Táng* dynasty emperor *Xuánzōng*

r 549: *Cuàn Guīwáng* ] *Cuàn Guīwáng* is mentioned in the ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》，where his descendants are after a failed rebellion moved into the *Yǒngchāng* region, 第四卷.

r 550: *cuànnòng* ] a form of theatre play, see West (1981), pp. 450–442 and Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 141. This seems very dubious.

(14) Again, credit to Armijo-Hussein (1997), pp. 139–140 for pointing out these passages.

妇女去眉睫，不施脂粉，发分两髻，衣文锦衣，联缀珂贝为饰。尽力农事，勤苦不辍。

Women remove their eyebrows and eyelashes and do not apply powder, they part their hair into two coils, they wear clothes embroidered with patterns, and put together jade and cowries for ornamentation. They work hard in the fields without a break.

云南志略 555

及产，方得少暇。既产，即抱子浴于江，归付其父，动作如故。至于鸡亦雌卵则雄伏也。

When they give birth they take very little rest. After birth, they take the baby and wash it in the river, then they give it to the father and continue to work as before. This extends to their chickens: the hen lays the egg and the rooster incubates it.

For the last passage on childbirth, again there is a somewhat parallel passage in Marco Polo's accounts:

And when one of their wives has been delivered of a child, the infant is washed and swathed, and then the woman gets up and goes about her household affairs, whilst the husband takes to bed with the child by his side, and so keeps his bed for 40 days; and all the kith and kin come to visit him and keep up a great festivity. They do this because, say they, the woman has had a hard bout of it, and 'tis but fair the man should have his share of suffering. (Yule (1871), vol. 2, p. 52)

风土下湿上热，多起竹楼。

The climate of the land is humid in the lowlands and hot in the highlands, and they mostly build houses from bamboo on stilts.

居滨江，一日十浴，父母昆弟惭耻不拘。

They live close to the rivers, and take ten baths a day, the whole family together without shame.

有疾不服药，惟以姜盐注鼻中。

If they are ill, they do not use medicine and only put ginger and salt into their nose.

云南志略 565

槟榔、蛤灰、茯苓叶奉宾客。

**Betel nut, lime and leaves of *filiú* are offered to guests.**

少马多羊，杂羈无统略。

**They have few horses and many goats, they have various bridles, but do not corral them.**

云南志略 570

有仇隙，互相戕贼。遇破敌，斩首置于楼下，军校毕集，结束甚武，髻插雉尾，手执兵戈，绕俘馘而舞，仍杀鸡祭之，使巫祝之曰：“尔酋长，人民速来归我！”祭毕，论功名，明赏罚，饮酒作乐而罢。攻城破栅，不杀

They hold bitter feuds and attack each other. When they defeat an enemy, they cut off his head and place it below their house. Their military schools all gather together and when hostilities have finished, they stick pheasant tails into their hair, hold their weapons in their hands, and dance around their captives. Then they sacrifice a chicken and their shaman says to them: 'Chieftain and

*l566*: 杂羈无统略] The Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 129 segments this sentence differently, so that 略 forms the beginning of the next sentence. I have followed the segmentation that was added in the *YPL manuscript*.

*r565*: Betel nut, lime and leaves of *filiú* are offered to guests.] This custom continues today, see also Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 142.

*r565*: leaves of *filiú*] The term *filiú* 茯苓 is not used elsewhere, but obviously refers to leaves that are used together with betel nut.

*r566-567*: they have various bridles, but do not corral them] Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 142 takes this as a comment on their lack of government: 'They do not have an absolute authority or any rules or regulations', but I think this is a comment on their livestock practices.



其主，全家逐去，不然，囚之至死。

people quickly submit to us.' After the sacrifice, they discuss merit titles, reward and punishment, they drink and make merry, When they attack a walled town or they burst through palisades, they do not kill its rulers, the whole family is driven away, or they imprison them until they die.

云南志略 575

嫁娶不分宗族，不重处女，淫乱同狗彘。女子红帕首，馀发下垂。未嫁而死，所通之男人持一幡相送，幡至百者为绝美。父母哭曰：“女爱者众，何期夭耶！”

Marriages are not restricted by clan, they do not care about virginity, they have promiscuous relations like dogs and pigs. Maiden wear red headdresses, the remaining hair hangs down. If a maiden dies, the men who she had relations with hold up banners to send her off, if the banners reach one hundred they consider her very beautiful. Her parents will cry 'Our daughter had many lovers, how can it be that she died so young?'

云南志略 580

交易五日一集，旦则妇人为市，日中男子为市，以毡、布、茶、盐互相贸易。

For trade they assemble every five days, in the morning the women hold market, in the day the men hold market, they trade felt, cloth, tea, and salt.

云南志略 585

地多桑柘，四时皆蚕。

Their land has many **mulberry trees and zhè**, and silkworms throughout the seasons.

云南志略 590

The section concludes with notes on the extent of their settlements, noting the various customs in the names given to the tribes.

金里两齿，谓之金齿蛮；漆其齿者，谓之漆齿蛮；文其面者，谓之绣面蛮；绣其足者，谓之花脚蛮；彩缯分撮其发者，谓之花角蛮。

Those who gilt two teeth are known as Golden Teeth *Mán*, those who lacquer their teeth are known as Lacquered Teeth *Mán*, those who tattoo their faces are known as Embroidered Face *Mán*, those who embroider their feet are known as Flowery Feet *Mán*, those who bind their hair with colourfull cloth are known as Flowery Horn *Mán*.

云南志略 595

西南之蛮，白夷最盛。

Of the *Mán* in the south-west, the white *Yí* are the most prosperous.

北接吐蕃，南抵交趾，风俗大概相同。

In the north they border Tǔbō, in the south they reach Jiāozhǐ, their customs are very similar.

云南志略 600

### The Mòxiē Mán 末些蛮

The Mòxiē, an alternative writing of Mòxiē Mán 磨些蛮, are thought to be the ancestors of today's Nàxī 纳西族 people who now populate the region described.

末些蛮，在大理北，与吐蕃接界，临金沙江。地凉，多羊、马及麝香、名

The Mòxiē *Mán* live north of Dàlǐ in the regions bordering Tǔbō adjacent to the Jīnshā river. The land is frigid, there are many goats

r 588: salt ] Hans Ulrich Vogel notes this as possible evidence of salt as a medium of exchange, see Vogel (2012), p. 299. r 589: mulberry trees and zhè ] The 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán' 《云南志》 makes a clear distinction between Sāng and zhè 柘, the latter being a shrub with fruit similar to mulberries: '蛮地无桑，悉养柘'.

铁。依江附险，酋寨星列，不相统摄

善战喜猎，挟短刀，以砗磲为饰。少不如意，鸣钲相仇杀，两家妇人中间和解之，乃罢。

云南志略 610

妇人披毡，皂衣，跣足，风鬟高髻。女子剪发齐眉，以毛绳为裙，裸霜不以为耻。既嫁，易之。淫乱无禁忌。不事神佛，惟正月十五日登山祭天，极严洁。男女动百数，各执其手，团旋歌舞以为乐。

云南志略 615

俗甚俭约，饮食疏薄，一岁之糴圆粮 [已半实糴也]。贫家盐外不知别味。

云南志略 620

有力者尊敬官长，每岁冬月宰杀牛羊，竞相邀客，请无虚日；一客不至，则为深耻。

人死，则用竹箬舁至山下，无棺槨，贵贱皆焚一所，不收其骨；非命死者，则别焚之。其馀颇与乌蛮同。

and horses, and also **moschus oxen**, and is famous for iron. They live close to the rivers in dangerous locations, the chieftain's village is arranged like a star, they do not recognize a common leader.

They are good at fighting and like to hunt, they carry a short dagger and use mother of pearl as ornament, at the slightest provocation the strike the gongs and kill their enemies, the women of the two families must intervene to make peace, and with that it is finished.

The women carry a felt over their shoulders, their clothes are black, they walk barefoot, they bind their hair in a topknot. Young women cut their hair to their eyebrows, use wool strings as skirts and are not afraid of being naked. **When they marry, they change it.** They are promiscuous and there are not taboos in marriage. They do not believe in sages or Buddha, only on the 15th day of the first month they climb the mountains to make sacrifices to heaven, this is a strict affair. Several hundred men and women join their hands and sing and dance in a circle for fun.

They are naturally thrifty, their food and drink is sparse, **one years grain tax is a cauldron of grain [using up half of their grain]**. Poor families do not know anything for seasoning but salt.

Their powerful men respect the officials and each year in the winter month they sacrifice cattle and goats, eagerly invite guests **on a market day**. If just one of them does not attend it is considered a great shame.

When a man dies, they use a bamboo map to bring him up to below the mountain, they do not use coffins, rich and poor are all cremated in the same place and their bones are not collected. Those who died a violent death must not be cremated there. The rest is all like the *Wū Mán*.

### The *Tǔláo Mán* 土獠蛮

l619–620: 一岁之糴圆粮 [已半实糴也] ] In the *YPL manuscript* two different characters are used for *liáng* 糧 and *liáng* 粮. This suggests that they have different meaning here, maybe one standing for grain, the other for grain tax.

r603: moschus oxen ] i.e. yak.

r603: is famous for iron ] I think this is a misunderstanding by Lǐ Jīng. In the region was a well-known iron-bridge crossing the Jīnshā river 金沙江, called Tiěqiáo 铁桥. This bridge also gave the region its name during Nánzhào.

r613: When they marry, they change it ] A reference to the custom of 'putting on the skirt' upon maturity for girls (Goodman (1997a))?

r619–620: one years grain tax is a cauldron of grain [using up half of their grain] ] This sentence is unclear. Armijo-Hussein (2001), p. 94 translates it as 'A year's worth of food might half consist of turnips,' but that translation ignores that part of the sentence is a comment written in smaller characters.

r624: on a market day ] or 'every single day' Armijo-Hussein (2001), p. 95? – today days without a market are called *kōng*.

土獠蛮，叙州南、乌蒙北皆是。

男子及十四、五，属左右击去两齿，然后婚娶。猪、羊同室而居。无匕筋，手抟饭而食。足踏高橇，上下山坂如奔鹿。妇人跣足、高髻，桦皮为冠，耳坠大双环，衣黑布，顶带锁牌以为饰。出入林麓，望之宛如猿猱。人死，则以棺木盛之，置于千仞巖崖之上，以先堕者为吉。

山田薄少，刀耕火种。所收稻谷，悬于竹棚之下，日旋捣而食，常以采荔枝、贩茶为业云。

The *Tǔláo Mán*: south of Xùzhōu and north of Wūméng are all of their kind.

Men, when they reach fourteen or fifteen, have two teeth removed on the left and right side, afterwards they marry. Pigs and goats live together in their houses. They do not have utensils and use their fingers to roll the food into a ball. They walk on **high platforms** and go up and down the mountain slopes like deer. The women walk barefoot, bind their hair high, they use birch bark as hats, and wear two large earrings, dress in black cloth, around the neck they fasten a lock plate as ornament. When they go in and out of the mountain forests, they look like monkeys from a distance. When someone dies, they place him in a wooden coffin, which they place on mountain cliffs one thousand *rèn* high and consider those lucky who fall down first.

The fields in the mountains are poor and few, **they use a knives to till and fire for planting**. They hang their rice harvest below their bamboo houses, turn it around and pound it every day before they eat it. They often pick lychees and trade tea for a living.

云南志略 635

云南志略 640

云南志略 645

### The 'Wild Mán' 野蛮

The 'Wild Mán' live west of Xúnchuán, i.e. in the lowlands west of the Gāolígòng mountains 高黎贡山. Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 95 suggests that the term refers to the people now known as Jǐngpǒ Zú 景颇族.

野蛮，在寻传以西，散居岩谷。

无衣服，以木皮蔽体，形〔貌〕丑恶。

男少女多，一夫有十数妻。

持木弓以御侵暴。

不事农亩，入山林采草木及动物而食。无器皿，以芭蕉叶藉之。

The 'Wild Mán' live west of Xúnchuán, scattered in the valleys and gorges.

They do not wear clothes, and use tree bark to cover their bodies, and are of ugly appearance.

There are few men but many women, so one husband has tens of wives.

They use wooden bows to defend themselves against attack.

They do not engage in field farming, they go into the mountain forests to pick grass, wood and [hunt] animals to eat. They do not have utensils and use banana leaves instead.

云南志略 650

云南志略 655

[649: 寻] In the *YPL manuscript*: *yí*, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 130.

r 636: high platforms ] I think this refers to some sort of walking support to move through mud.

r 645–646: they use a knives to till and fire for planting ] i.e. practice swidden agriculture.

**The Wòní Mán** 斡泥蛮

What are here called the Wòní Mán 斡泥蛮 are probably the ancestors of today's Hāní Zú 哈尼族, of which some subgroups, most notably the Akha, still make extensive use of cowry shells today.<sup>(15)</sup>

云南志略 660

斡泥蛮，在临安西南五百里，巢居山林。极险，家有积贝，以一百二十索为一窖，藏之地中。将死，则嘱之子曰：“我平日藏若干，汝可取几处，余者勿动，我来生用之。”其愚如此。

The Wòní Mán live five hundred *lǐ* south-west of Línān, they dwell in high houses in the mountain forests. Extremely dangerous. In their homes they hoard cowries, one hundred and twenty make one cache, that they hide underground. When they are about to die, they say to their sons: I have hidden so and so much, you can use those of several places, the remaining you must not use, when I am reborn, I will use them. They are stupid like this.

**The Pú Mán** 蒲蛮

The Pūzǐ Mán 扑子蛮, here also written Púmán 蒲蛮, are another group that were mentioned in the Yúnnán Zhì.

云南志略 670

蒲蛮，一名扑子蛮，在澜沧江以西。

性勇健，专为盗贼，骑马不用鞍。跣足，衣短甲，膝颈皆露。善用枪弩。首插雉尾，驰突如飞。

The Púmán, also called Pūzǐ Mán. They live west of the Lánkāng river.

They are strong and valiant, engage in robbery, they ride horses without saddle, they walk without shoes, their armour is short and does not cover neck and knee. They are good at using lances and bows. They place pheasant tails in their hair and charge forward as if flying.

## 4 Glossary

**Āzhàlì** 阿吒力: Bái Zú 白族 Buddhist sect – see page 22

**Bái** 白: white, – see pages 22, 26, 32

**Āndìng** 安定: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴 – see page 17

**Bái Mán** 白蛮: Bái Mán, tribal classification during the Táng dynasty, the Bái Mán were the considered closer to Chinese culture than the Wū 乌 Mán – see pages 19, 24, 32

**Ānguó** 安国: reign period of Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣 – see page 14, see 郑买嗣

**Ānhé** 安和: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, after 910 – see page 14, see 郑仁旻

**Bái Rén** 白人: Bái people, term for ethnic group – see pages 20–22, 32

**Bā** 巴: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the eastern part of present-day Sichuan – see page 8, 9

**Báiyí** 白夷: Bái Yǐ, – see page 8, 32

**Báiyǔ** 白语: Bái language, – see page 20, 32

[660: 贝] In the YPL manuscript: jù 具, corrected according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 130.

[659: 斡泥蛮] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 130 has Gǎnní Mán 斡泥蛮.

[659–660: they dwell in high houses] The term *cháojū* can also be interpreted pejoratively as ‘they nest in’, but I think that this is a reference to houses built on stilts.

<sup>(15)</sup> see Goodman (1997b) and Vogel (2012), p. 259.

- Bái zú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ērhǎi – see pages 19, 22, 33
- Bān Shì** 班氏: Bān clan, historic clan name – see page 26, 33
- Bǎoān** 保安: reign period of Duàn Silián 段思廉 – see page 16
- Bǎodé** 保德: reign period of Duàn Silián 段思廉 – see page 16
- Bǎodìng** 保定: reign period of Duàn Zhèng-míng 段正明 – see page 17
- Bǎohé** 保和: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Yímóuxún, 784– – see page 13, 22
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page 20, 27, see 永昌
- Běisòng** 北宋: Northern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 960–1127 – see page 7, 33
- Bōchōng** 波冲: – see page 12
- Bó** 爨: ancient tribal group – see page 20, 21
- Bódào** 爨道: Bó road, historic name for the road from Sìchuān into Yúnnán, via present-day Qūjìng 曲靖 – see pages 8, 20, 33
- Bù** 部: region, a very generic term, ‘principally suggests a part, section, or division of a whole’, see Hucker (1985), 4764 – see pages 9, 11, 26, 33
- Bùxiè** 布燮: chief minister, highest ranking Nánzhào official, a title in use in the late period of Nánzhào, see Backus (1981), p. 160. Also used on the 《三十七部会盟碑》 – see pages 14, 15, 33
- Chángjiāng** 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river – see page 33
- Chǎng** 昶: another name for Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣, also written as 昶 – see page 14, see 郑买嗣
- Chén Xiǎndá** 陈显达: – see page 10
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 – see pages 13, 14, 20
- Chūlì** 初立: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, 910– – see page 14
- Chǔ** 楚: – see page 8
- Chǔ Guó** 楚国: kingdom of Chǔ, ancient Chinese state before the Qin dynasty, 704–223BCE – see page 26, 33
- Chǔ Wēi Wáng** 楚威王: king Wēi of Chǔ, king of Chǔ – see page 8, 33
- Chǔxióng** 楚雄: present-day town west of Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 20
- Chuān** 川: valley, – see page 12, 33
- Chūnqiū** 春秋: spring and autumn period, 770–475BCE – see page 33
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China – see pages 9–11, 26, 33
- Cuàn** 爨: surname, name of powerful clan in the east of Yúnnán before Nánzhào – see page 10, 26
- Cuàn Guīwáng** 爨归王: tribal leader – see pages 11, 26, 27
- Cuàn Hóngdá** 爨弘达: – see page 11
- Cuàn Lóngyán Bēi** 《爨龙颜碑》: ‘Cuàn Lóngyán Stele’, one of the oldest steles found in Yúnnán – see page 26, 33

- cuànnòng** 爨弄: a form of theatre play, see West (1981), pp. 450–442 and Armijo-Hussein (1997), p. 141 – see page 27
- Cuàn Shēn** 爨深: Cuànshì 爨氏 clan elder – see page 10, 26
- Cuànshì** 爨氏: Cuàn clan, powerful clan that ruled eastern Yúnnán 云南 prior to Nánzhào – see pages 10, 26, 34, see 爨龙颜碑
- Cuàn Wán** 爨玩: 爨 clan leader, defeated by 史万岁 – see page see 史万岁
- Cuàn Zàn** 爨瓚: Cuànshì 爨氏 clan elder – see page 10, 26
- Cuàn Zhèn** 爨震: Cuànshì 爨氏 clan elder – see page 26
- Dà Méng Guó** 大蒙国: Great State of Méng, official name of Nánzhào in the 《南诏野史》 – see page 11, 34
- Dà Chánghé** 大长和: great state of Chánghé, successor state to Nánzhào – see page 14, 34
- Dàchánghéguó** 大长和国: Great State of Chánghé, – see page 14, 34
- Dàdé** 大德: reign period of Yuánchéngzōng 元成宗, 1297–1307 – see page 7, 26
- Dàdù Hé** 大渡河: Dàdù river, tributary to the Mínjiāng 岷江 in south-west of 成都, during the Sòng dynasty it formed the border to the tribal regions of the south-west. – see page 14, 34
- Dàjiāng** 大将: senior commander, – see page 18, 34
- Dàlǐ** 大理: – see pages 7, 15, 20, 29
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253 – see page 15, 34
- Dàlǐxíngjì** 《大理行记》: ‘Dàlǐ Travel Notes’, work by Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, also called Nánzhào jìxíng 南诏纪行 – see page 7, 34
- Dàtiānxīngguó** 大天兴国: great state of Tiānxīng, short-lived Nánzhào successor state, 928, also written as Xīngyuánguó 兴元国 – see page 14, 34
- Dàtóng** 大同: reign period of Liáng Wǔ Dì 梁武帝, 535–546 – see page 10
- dàxīpó** 大奚婆: dàxīpó, term for a male shaman – see page 25, 34
- Dà Yìníng Guó** 大义宁国: Great State of Yìníng, last of the short-lived successor states of Nánzhào, 929–937 – see pages 14, 15, 34
- Dàzhōng** 大中: – see page 17
- dàn** 睑: administrative unit of Nánzhào – see page 12
- Dànláo** 蜚獠: name for tribal people – see page 18
- 《德化碑》 《德化碑》: ‘Déhuà Stele’, most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history – see page 12, 34
- Dèngchuān** 邓川: – see page 12
- Dìjié** 地节: reign period of Hàn Xuāndì 汉宣帝, 69–65 – see page 9
- Dīān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page 9, see 滇国
- Dīānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 8, 34

- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 35
- Diān Wáng** 滇王: king of Diān, – see page 9, 35
- Diǎncāngshān** 点苍山: Diǎncāng mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 13, 35
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 35
- Dōnghànmíngdì** 东汉明帝: Eastern Hàn emperor Míng, Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor, 58–75 – see page 9, 35
- Dǒng Chéng** 董成: Nánzhào envoy – see page 14
- Dǒugǔyútù** 斗谷于菟: Chūnqiū official for Chǔ Guó – see page *see* 子文
- Dūdū** 都督: commander-in-chief, ‘chief of military forces in a prefecture’, see Hucker (1985), 7311 – see pages 10–12, 26, 35
- Duàn** 段: clan name of the ruling family of Dàlǐ kingdom – see page 19
- Duàn Xiángxīng** 段祥兴: – see page 17
- Duàn Zhìxīng** 段智兴: – see page 17
- Duàn Bǎolóng** 段保隆: father of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 – see page 15
- Duàn Jiǎnwèi** 段俭魏: general of Nánzhào, given the name Duàn Zhōngguó 段忠国 by 阁罗凤 – see page 15, *see* 段忠国
- Duàn Liányì** 段廉义: – see page 16
- Duàn Shì** 段氏: Duàn clan, ruling clan of Dàlǐ Guó – see pages 15, 17, 18, 22, 35
- Duàn Shòuhuī** 段寿辉: – see page 16
- Duàn Sīcōng** 段思聪: – see page 16
- Duàn Sīlián** 段思廉: – see page 16
- Duàn Sīliáng** 段思良: third ruler of Dàlǐguó 大理国, 899–952, younger brother of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 – see page 16
- Duàn Sīpíng** 段思平: – see pages 15, 16, 18
- Duàn Sīyīng** 段思英: – see page 15
- Duàn Sùlián** 段素廉: – see page 16
- Duàn Sùlóng** 段素隆: – see page 16
- Duàn Sùshùn** 段素顺: – see page 16
- Duàn Sùxīng** 段素兴: – see page 16
- Duàn Sùyīng** 段素英: – see page 16
- Duàn Sùzhēn** 段素真: – see page 16
- Duàn Xīngzhì** 段兴智: – see page 17, 18
- Duàn Xīngzhòu** 段兴胄: brother of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平, probably a miswriting of Duàn Sīliáng 段思良 in the 《云南志略》 – see page 16, *see* 段思良
- Duàn Zhèngchún** 段正淳: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, 1096–1108 – see page 17
- Duàn Zhèngmíng** 段正明: – see page 16, 17
- Duàn Zhèngxīng** 段正兴: – see page 17
- Duàn Zhèngyán** 段正严: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1108–1147 – see page 17
- Duàn Zhìlián** 段智廉: – see page 17
- Duàn Zhìxiáng** 段智祥: – see page 17
- Duàn Zhōngguó** 段忠国: Nánzhào prime minister, the name Zhōngguó was given to him by 阁罗凤, his original name was Duàn Jiǎnwèi 段俭魏 – see page *see* 段俭魏

- Ērhǎi** 洱海: lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xiěrhé 西洱河 – see page 36
- Fǎ** 法: *dharma*, the Buddhist teachings – see page 22, 36
- Fǎhuájīng** 法华经: Lotus Sutra, key sutra – see page 25, 36
- Fǎyáo** 法尧: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Lóngshùn 隆舜, 877–897 – see page 14
- Fán Chuò** 樊绰: assistant to cai xi ttx = , – see page 7, 36
- Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜: eminent Yúnnán historian, 1903–1983 –
- Fēng Lí** 封离: – see page 9
- Fēngmiē** 丰咩: – see page 12
- Fēngshí** 丰时: – see page 12
- Fēngyòu** 丰佑: Nánzhào ruler –
- Fèngjiāyì** 凤伽异: – see page 13
- Fǔjūn** 府君: commandery governor, ‘unofficial reference to a Commandery Governor’, see Hucker (1985), 2051 – see page 26, 36
- Gāolígòngshān** 高黎贡山: Gāolígòng mountains, major mountain range on the western side of the Nùjiāng 怒江 – see page 31, 36
- Gāo Shēngtài** 高升泰: short-term ruler of Dàlǐ 大理, 1094–1096 – see page 17
- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 – see pages 12–14, see 阁逻凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: –
- 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 pages 9, 18, 36
- Guānghuà** 光化: reign period of Táng emperor Zhāozōng, 898–901 – see page 14
- Guǎnghàn** 广汉: – see page 9
- Guǎngmíng** 广明: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng, 986–1004 – see page 16
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province –
- Guǎngyùn** 广运: – see page 17
- Guīyì** 归义: Submitting to Righteousness, honorific of Nánzhào ruler Píluōgé 皮罗阁 – see page 12, 36
- Guǐzhǔ** 鬼主: spirit lord, – see pages 11, 13, 36
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: today a province in south-west China –
- Guō Sōngnián** 郭松年: Yuán Cháo official – see page 7
- Hāní Zú** 哈尼族: one of the officially recognized Mínzú 民族 – see page 32
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see page 27, 36
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China – see pages 9–11, 18, 22, 24, 36
- Hànāndì** 汉安帝: Hàn emperor Ān, Hàn emperor Ān, 106–125 – see page 36
- Hànjìnchūnqiū** 《汉晋春秋》: ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jìn*’, work by Xí Záochǐ 习凿齿 – see page 36



- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see pages 8, 20, 37
- Hàn Xuāndì** 汉宣帝: Hàn emperor Xuān, Hàn dynasty emperor Xuān, 73–49 BCE – see page 37
- Hángzhōu** 杭州: –
- Hénán** 河南: – see page 26
- Hòujìn** 后晋: Later Jìn, Chinese dynasty, 936–947 – see page 37
- Hòujìngāozǔ** 后晋高祖: Later Jìn emperor Gāozǔ, founding emperor of Hòujìn 后晋, 936–942 – see page 37
- Hòushǔ** 后蜀: Later Shǔ, short-lived empire in Sìchuān, one of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 934–965 – see page 37
- Hūbìliè** 忽必烈: Kublai Khan, Mongol leader who conquered Dàlǐ 大理 in 1253 – see page 37
- Huáyáng Guó Zhì** 《华阳国志》: ‘*Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá*’, – see page 8, 37
- Huǒbǎjié** 火把节: torch festival, traditional festivity of the Bái Zú 白族 and ?? – see page 22, 37
- Jiāhuì** 嘉会: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴 – see page 17
- Jiànān** 建安: reign period of Duàn Zhèngmíng 段正明 – see page 17
- Jiànchuān** 剑川: – see page 15
- Jiàndé** 建德: reign period of Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴 – see page 17
- Jiànjí** 建极: – see page 14
- Jiànlóng** 建隆: reign period of Sòng Tàizǔ 宋太祖, 960–963 – see page 15
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān – see page 12, 13
- Jiànníng** 建宁: an early administrative district in present-day eastern Yúnnán – see page 10
- Jiànxīng** 建兴: first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237 – see page 9, see 刘禅
- Jiāngjūn** 将军: general, ‘throughout history the most common term for the commander of a substantial body of troops, whether a regular officer of the standing army or the ad hoc commander of a special force organized for a campaign; occurs with many kinds of prefixes’, see Hucker (1985), 694 – see page 18, 37
- Jiāngnán** 江南: – see page 23
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam – see page 18, 29
- Jiédù Shǐ** 节度使: military commissioner, ‘a military title of great historical importance’ ‘during much of the late T’ang period they were virtually autonomous regional governors’, see Hucker (1985), 777 – see pages 12, 13, 15, 37
- Jīnchéng** 金城: – see page 9
- Jīnchǐ** 金齿: Golden Teeth, name given to the area of present-day Bǎoshān, because it was the tribal area of the Jīnchǐmán 金齿蛮 – see pages 8, 18, 27, 37, see 金齿蛮
- Jīnchǐ Mán** 金齿蛮: Golden Teeth, tribal group, the name translates as ‘golden teeth’ – see page 37

- Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā river, major river separating Yunnan and Sichuan – see pages 29, 30, 38
- Jìn** 晋: Chinese dynasty – see page 15, 22
- Jìn Cháo** 晋朝: Jìn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 266–420 – see pages 10, 22, 38
- Jìnchéngdì** 晋成帝: Jìn emperor Chéng, Jìn dynasty emperor, 325–342 – see page 26, 38
- Jìnníng** 晋宁: present-day town south of Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 10
- Jìnwǔdì** 晋武帝: Jìn emperor Wǔ, Jìn 晋 emperor Wǔ, 236–290 BCE – see page 10, 38
- Jǐngpǒ Zú** 景颇族: one of the officially recognized Mínzú 民族 – see page 31
- Jǐngyún** 景云: reign period of Táng Ruìzōng 唐睿宗, 710–711 – see page 11
- Jǐngzhuāng** 景庄: – see page 14
- Jǐngwáng** 靖王: king Jìng, posthumous title of Quànlìshèng – see page 13, 38, *see* 劝利晟
- Jùn** 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng – see pages 9, 12, 19, 38
- Kāihuáng** 开皇: – see page 11
- Kāiyuán** 开元: 713–741 BCE, second reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗 – see pages 11, 12, 26
- Kāngxī** 康熙: second emperor of the Qīng, 1661–1722 –
- Kāngxī Zìdiǎn** 康熙字典: Kāngxī 康熙 dictionary, Kāngxī 康熙 era dictionary – see page 38
- Kǒngzǐ** 孔子: Confucius, – see page 22, 38
- Kūnlún** 昆仑: a term for diverse people of south-east Asia, possibly sea-farers, *see* Coedès (1975), p. 9 – see page 14
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 – see page 23
- Kūnmíng Shì** 昆明市: Kūnmíng City, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 38, *see* 拓东
- Kūnzhōu** 昆州: – see page 11
- Láncāng river** 澜沧江: Láncāng river, major river in Yunnan, the Mekong – see pages 9, 32, 38
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five Zhào – see page 12
- Làngqióng Zhào** 浪穹诏: Làngqióng Zhào, – see page 12, 38
- Láo** 獠: tribal group in regions west of Yúnnán, for the term and its pronunciation *see* Churchman (2016), pp. 87–88 – see page 10
- Lè Shǐ** 乐史: Bèisòng 北宋 author of the 《太平寰宇记》 – see page 7
- Lǐ Jīng** 李京: historian during the Yuán Cháo 元朝 – see pages 5, 7, 8, 30
- Lǐ Mì** 李宓: Táng dynasty general, also written as Lǐmì 李宓 – see page 13
- Lǐ Shìmín** 李世民: name of Táng emperor Tàizōng –
- Lǐ Yì** 李毅: general of the Xījìn 西晋, –306 – see page 10
- Lǐ Zhīgǔ** 李知古: Táng censor – see page 11, 12
- Lìjiāng** 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan – see page 18

- Liángcháo** 梁朝: Liáng dynasty, – see page 39
- Liáng Pí** 梁毗: – see page 11
- Liáng Wǔ Dì** 梁武帝: Liáng dynasty emperor Wǔ, – see page 10, 39
- Liáo** 辽: northern dynasty, 916–1125 CE – see page 19
- Línān** 临安: capital of the Southern Sòng, present-day Hángzhōu 杭州 – see page 32
- Língyǐn** 令尹: minister, a ‘minister’ in Chǔ Guó – see page 26, 39, see 子文
- Liú Shàn** 刘禅: second ruler of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 207–271 –
- Liúhòu** 留后: caretaker, ‘lit., an agent left behind, a deputy. (1) TANG-SUNG: Capital Liaison Representative, an agent in the dynastic capital charged with maintaining communication between the central government and his superior in a territorial base, such as a Prince or Military Commissioner (chieh-tu shih), Hucker (1985), p. 3790 – see page 13, 39
- Liù zhào** 六诏: six zhào, Chinese term for the six Zhào that were united in Nánzhào, but this was not term Nánzhào used itself – see pages 8, 12, 19, 39
- Lóngshùn** 隆舜: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Fǎyáo 法尧, 877–897 –
- Lóngwěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěrhǎi – see page 12, 39
- Lóngxīng** 龙兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Quànlóngshèng, 810–816 – see page 13, 17
- 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 11, 39
- Lúshēng** 芦笙: *lúshēng*, traditional instrument – see page 21, 39
- Lǚ Jiā** 吕嘉: – see page 8
- Lùliáng** 陆良: present-day county in eastern Yúnnán – see page 26
- Lùnyǔ** 《论语》: ‘*Analects*’, a collection of sayings attributed to Confucius, one of the ‘Four Books’, for a translation, see Legge (1861b) – see page 39
- Luōshèng** 罗晟: – see page 11, 12
- Luóshèng** 逻盛: second ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 674–712, also called Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎 –
- Luóshèngyán** 逻盛炎: second generation of rulers of Nánzhào, son of 细奴逻, also written as – see page see 逻盛
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest – see pages 8, 10, 11, 13, 22, 26, 29, 31
- Mányí** 蛮夷: Mányí, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China – see pages 9–11, 15, 22, 39

- Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nánzhào – see pages 12–15, 19
- Ménggǔ** 蒙古: Mongol, – see page 40
- Méngshè** 蒙舍: one of the five Zhào, in the present-day basin of Wēishān 巍山, excavations believed to be the settlement of the Méng 蒙 clan have been made south of the present county town 田怀清 (2011) – see page 11
- Méngshèchuān** 蒙舍川: Méngshè valley, in present-day Wēishān 巍山 – see pages 11, 12, 40
- Méngshè zhào** 蒙舍诏: one of the six zhào that formed Nánzhào – see page 12
- Méng Shì** 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of Nánzhào – see pages 11, 12, 14, 20, 40
- Méngxī Zhào** 蒙嵩诏: Méngxī zhào, one of the ?? – see page 12, 40
- Mèngchōng** 梦冲: – see page 13
- Mènghuò** 孟获: tribal leader during the Sānguó 三国 period – see page 9
- Mèngzǐ** 孟子: Mencius, – see page 22, 40
- Miǎn** 缅: Miǎn, present-day Myanmar – see page 7, 40
- Mínjiāng** 岷江: Mín river, most important tributary to the Chángjiāng 长江, west of 成都 – see page 40
- mínzú** 民族: contemporary Chinese term for officially recognized ethnic groups in China – see page 19
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see page 7, 40
- Míngdé** 明德: reign period of Duàn Sīcōng 段思聪, 953– – see page 16
- Míngshèng** 明圣: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 16
- Míngtōng** 明通: reign period of Duàn Sùlóng 段素隆 – see page 16
- Míngtǒng** 明统: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 16
- Míngyìng** 明应: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 16
- Míngzhèng** 明政: reign period of Duàn Sùshùn 段素顺, 969–, this reign period is mentioned on the 《三十七部会盟碑》 – see page 16
- Míngzhì** 明治: reign period of Duàn Sùyīng – see page 16
- Móxiē Mán** 磨些蛮: – see page 29
- Móxiē Zhào** 磨些诏: one of the six Zhào – see page 12
- Mù Qín** 木芹: Yúnnán historian, disciple of Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 – see page 7
- Nàxīzú** 纳西族: Nàxī, present-day ethnic group – see page 29, 40
- Nánběi Cháo** 南北朝: northern and southern dynasties, period of short-lived dynasties, 386–589 – see page 40
- Nán níng** 南宁: city in present-day Guǎngxī 广西 – see pages 10, 11, 26
- Nánsòng** 南宋: Southern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 1127–1279 – see page 40
- Nán Yí** 南夷: southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China – see page 40
- Nányuè** 南越: southern Yuè, non-Chinese people in southern China – see pages 8, 9, 40

- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ērhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 10–14, 19, 20, 30, 41
- Nánzhào jìxíng** 《南诏纪行》: ‘*Nánzhào Travel Notes*’, work by Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, also called Dàlǐxíngjì 大理行记 – see page 7, 41
- 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 page 41
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’, import Míng Cháo 明朝 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào – see pages 15, 22, 41
- Níngzhōu** 宁州: Níng prefecture, – see pages 10, 26, 41
- Nòngdòng** 弄栋: present-day Yáoān 姚安 – see page 13
- Ōuyáng Xiū** 欧阳修: Sòng dynasty historian –
- Píluōgé** 皮罗阁: Ruler of Nánzhào – see page 12
- Piǎoxìn** 牒信: – see page 23
- Píngzhāng** 平章: administrator, , see Hucker (1985), 4699 – see pages 18, 26, 41
- Pūzǐ Mán** 扑子蛮: – see page 32
- Púmán** 蒲蛮: – see page see 扑子蛮
- qīzòng qīqín** 七纵七擒: ‘*seven times captured, seven times released*’, a phrase from the 《汉晋春秋》 describing Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s actions against the rebel Mèngguò 孟获 – see page 9, 41
- Qícháo** 齐朝: Qí dynasty, dynasty during the Nánběi Cháo 南北朝 period, divided into 北齐 (479–502) and 南齐 (550–577) – see page 41
- Qíjiā Wáng** 奇嘉王: king Qíjiā, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào – see page 41, see 细奴逻 & 奇王
- Qí Wáng** 奇王: king Qí, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào – see page 11, 41, see 细奴逻 & 奇嘉王
- Qíwǔchéngdì** 齐武成帝: emperor Wǔchéng of Qí dynasty, emperor Wǔchéng of Qí dynasty – see page 10, 41
- Qián** 黔: – see page 8
- Qiánshǔ** 前蜀: Former Shǔ, one of the ??, 907–925 – see page 41
- Qiánzhōng** 黔中: ancient Chinese district, in present-day eastern Guìzhōu and western Húnán – see page 8
- Qín** 秦: – see page 8, 18
- qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister – see pages 13–15, 24, 41
- Qióng** 邛: – see page 13, 20
- Qiúshuài** 酋帅: chieftain, – see page 12, 41
- Qūjìng** 曲靖: – see page 10, 26
- Quányì** 全义: reign period of Nánzhào ruler 劝利晟, 816–819 – see page 13
- Quànfēngyòu** 劝丰佑: Nánzhào ruler, 823–859 – see page 13
- Quànli** 劝利: Nánzhào ruler – see page 13
- Quànlishèng** 劝利晟: Nánzhào ruler, 816–823 –

- Quànlóngshèng** 劝龙晟: ruler of Nánzhào 810–816 – see page 13
- Rénguǒ** 仁果: – see page 11
- Róng** 戎: – see page 13, 20
- Sàidiǎnchì** 赛典赤: Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din, Yuán 元 ruler in Yúnnán, for biography see Rachewiltz (1993) and Armijo-Hussein (1997) – see pages 8, 18, 42
- Sānguó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 42
- Sānshíqībù** 三十七部: thirty-seven tribes, often referred to groups in eastern Yúnnán – see page 18, 42
- Sānshíqī Bù Huìméng Bēi** 《三十七部会盟碑》: 'Stele of the Alliance of the Thirty-Seven Tribes', Dàlǐ kingdom period stele, erected in 971, to commemorate the alliance of the Dàlǐ kingdom with the so called thirty-seven tribes of eastern Yúnnán – see page 42, see 三十七部
- Shànchǎn** 鄯阐: name of the eastern capital of Nánzhào – see page 17, 18
- Shàngdé** 上德: reign period of Duàn Liányì 段廉义 – see page 16
- Shàngzhì** 上治: reign period of Gāo Shēngtài 高升泰 – see page 17, see 高升泰
- Shēndú Guó** 身毒国: state of Shēndú, an ancient reference to India – see page 9, 42
- Shèngdé** 盛德: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴 – see page 17
- Shèngluōpí** 盛罗皮: – see page 12
- Shèngluópí** 盛逻皮: ruler of Nánzhào, \*673 †728, ruled 712–728 –
- Shèngmíng** 圣明: reign period of Duàn Sùxīng 段素兴 – see page 16
- Shèngmíng** 盛明: reign period of Duàn Zhèngxīng 段正兴 – see page 17
- Shīlàng Zhào** 施浪诏: Shīlàng zhào, one of the six zhào – see page 12, 42
- Shī Wàngqiàn** 施望欠: – see page 12
- Shíchéng** 石城: – see page 26
- Shíhé** 石和: – see page 12
- Shǐ Wànsuì** 史万岁: \*549–†600, a famous general during the Suí dynasty, who in 597 led a military expedition into present-day eastern Yúnnán against the rebellious Cuàn 爨 clan leader called Cuàn Wán 爨玩 – see page 11
- Shìlóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, \*844, †859, †877 – see page 14
- Shìzhōng** 侍中: palace attendant, 'hit, serving in the palace', see Hucker (1985), 5229 – see pages 14, 15, 42
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see pages 9, 10, 13–15
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sānguó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 42
- Shǔ Hàn** 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sānguó 三国 period, 221–263 – see page 42
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu – see page 42

- Shǔ Wáng Xiù** 蜀王秀: Shǔ prince Xiù, – see page 11, 43
- Shùnhuàzhēn** 舜化贞: last ruler of Nánzhào, 897–902 – see page 14
- Shùnyuán** 顺元: – see page 26
- Shuōfú** 《说郛》: ‘Shuōfú’, Míng Cháo 明朝 collection of texts, compiled by Táo Zōngyí 陶宗仪 – see page 7, 43
- Sīmǎ Chén** 司马陈: – see page 9
- Sìchūān** 四川: Chinese province –
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see page 15, 43
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty – see page 19, 43
- Sòng Tàizǔ** 宋太祖: Sòng emperor Tàizǔ, Second Sòng emperor, ruled 976–997 – see page 15, 43
- Suí Cháo** 隋朝: Suí dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 581–618 – see page 11, 43
- Tàihé** 太和: the Tàihé reign of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, 827–835 – see page 20, 43
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào – see page 13
- Tàipíng Guǎngjì** 《太平广记》: ‘*Extensive Records of Tàipíng*’, – see page 26, 43
- Tàipíng Huányǔ Jì** 《太平寰宇记》: ‘*Tàipíng Universal Gazetteer*’, Běisòng 北宋 work written by Lè Shǐ 乐史, see Wilkin-son (2013), p. 738 – see page 7, 43
- Tàishǒu** 太守: grand protector, ‘a title commonly awarded chieftains of southern and southwestern aboriginal tribes’. Herman (2009) translates it as ‘governor’, noting that it was a title given to members of the indigenous local elite, see Hucker (1985), 1985 – see pages 9, 10, 26, 43
- Tàizōng** 太宗: Second Táng dynasty emperor Lǐ Shìmín 李世民, ruled 626–649 – see page 12
- Tàizǔ** 太祖: designation for the founding emperor of a dynasty – see page 15
- Tǎnchùò** 坦绰: Nánzhào and Dàlǐ kingdom title, akin to 清平官, see Zhū Yuèméi 朱悦梅 (2001), p. 76 and Bryson (2012), p. 15 – see page 23
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see pages 7, 11, 26, 43
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see pages 11–14, 18, 19, 22, 27, 43
- Táng Ruìzōng** 唐睿宗: Táng emperor Ruìzōng, Táng emperor – see page 43
- Tángtàiōng** 唐太宗: Táng emperor Tàizōng, Second Táng dynasty emperor Lǐ Shìmín 李世民, ruled 626–649 – see page 43
- Tángwénzōng** 唐文宗: Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 809–840 – see page 43
- Táng Xuánzōng** 唐玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756 – see page 43
- Tángzhāozōng** 唐昭宗: Táng emperor Zhāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor – see page 43
- Táo Zōngyí** 陶宗仪: Míng Cháo 明朝 scholar – see page 7

- Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742–756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng – see pages 13, 19, 27
- Tiāndìng** 天定: reign period of Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智 – see page 17
- Tiānfú** 天福: reign period of Hòujìngāozǔ 后晋高祖, 936–944 – see page 15
- Tiānqǐ** 天启: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Xúngéquàn, 840–859 – see page 13
- Tiānrùi** 天瑞: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, after 910 – see page 14, see 郑仁旻
- Tiānshòu** 天授: reign period of Duàn Zhèngchún, 1097– – see page 17
- Tiānshuǐ** 天水: – see page 10
- Tiěqiáo** 铁桥: a strategic crossing of the Jin-shajiang, on the route to Tibet – see page 13, 30
- Tōnghǎi** 通海: present-day 通海, an important town on the route to the coast – see page 15
- Tǔláo Mán** 土獠蛮: name for tribal group – see page 31
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire – see pages 12, 13, 18, 29
- Túntián** 屯田: garrison farm, military settlements – see page 18, 44
- Tuōtuō** 脱脱: Mongol officer – see page 26
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- wáng** 王: king, ‘King, title commonly used in reference to rulers of foreign states and alien peoples’. It is important to note that this does not have the meaning of a ruler equal to the Chinese emperor, it is a designation of a ruler below him, when used in titles conferred by China, the ruler of a vassal state, see Hucker (1985), 7634 – see pages 8, 11, 12, 24, 44
- Wáng Cuódiān** 王嵯颠: ??–859, Nánzhào military commissioner of Nòngdòng. Also written as 王苴颠, 蒙嵯颠, 王嵯颠, 王嵯颠 – see page 13
- Wáng Jiàn** 王建: founder of the Qiánshǔ 前蜀, see Wang (2011) –
- Wáng Quánbīn** 王全斌: general, defeated the Later Shǔ in 964, see <https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/%E7%8E%8B%E5> – see page 15, 44
- Wáng Xīzhī** 王羲之: Jin general and calligrapher, ca.303–361, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wang\\_Xizhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wang_Xizhi) – see page 22, 44
- Wáng Yù** 王昱: Jiédù Shǐ of Jiànnán in 738, bought off by Píluōgé to support Nánzhào – see page 12
- Wēibǎoshān** 魏宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山 – see page 44
- Wēichǔ** 威楚: – see page 20
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 魏宝山 – see page 44
- Wéi Gāo** 韦皋: Táng dynasty general and military commissioner of 西川, 745–805, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wei\\_Gao](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wei_Gao) – see page 13, 44
- Wénān** 文安: reign period of Duàn Zhèngchún – see page 17
- Wéndé** 文德: reign period of Duàn Sīpíng 段思平 – see page 15



- Wénjīng** 文经: reign period of Duànsīyīng, 945 – see page 15, see 段思英
- Wénwǔ** 文武: kings Wén and Wǔ, a short form of referring to the Zhōu dynasty kings Wén and Wǔ – see page 16, 45
- Wénzhì** 文治: reign period of the 16th king of Dǎlǐ kingdom, ?? – see page 17, see ??
- Wòní Mán** 鞞泥蛮: name for tribal group – see page 32
- Wū Mán** 乌蛮: *Wū Mán*, – see pages 7, 8, 13, 20, 24, 30, 45
- Wūméng** 乌蒙: tribal group – see page 26, 31
- Wūsā** 乌撒: a tribal region in the north-east of Yúnnán – see page 26
- Wǔdài Shíguó** 五代十国: ‘Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms’, period after the collapse of the Táng when China disintegrated in multiple states, 907–960, a term coined by Ōuyáng Xiū 欧阳修 – see page 45
- Wǔdé** 武德: reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Gāozǔ 高祖, 618–626 – see page 11
- Wǔjì** 五季: five dynasties, historic period, 907–960 CE – see page 19, 45
- Wǔlíng Wáng Jì** 武陵王纪: Wǔlíng prince Jì, – see page 10, 45
- Wǔwáng** 武王: king Wǔ, posthumous title of Géluófèng 阁逻凤 – see page 12, 45
- Wùliángjídǎi** 兀良吉歹: Uriyangkhadai, Mongol general who played a significant role in the conquest of Dǎlǐ 大理, see Rossabi (2009), pp. 24–28 – see pages 8, 18, 45
- Xī** 僖: – see page 13, 20
- Xīchāng** 西昌: –
- Xīchuān** 西川: western part of Jiànnán –
- Xīhàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE – see page 26, 45
- Xīlú** 西泸: – see page 14
- Xīnán Yí** 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the 《史记》 denoting non-Chinese people in present-day Sìchuān, Guìzhōu 贵州 and Yúnnán. It is often translated as ‘southwestern barbarians’, but it seems to be a short form referring to both Xī Yí 西夷 and Nán Yí 南夷, see Yang (2004), pp. 5–6 – see pages 8, 20, 45
- Xīníng** 西宁: – see page 11
- Xīxià** 西夏: western Xià, dynasty, 1038–1227 CE – see page 19, 45
- Xī Yí** 西夷: western Yí, – see page 45
- Xīzhōu** 僑州: Xīzhōu, a prefecture at present-day Xīchāng 西昌 – see page 14, 45
- Xí Záo chǐ** 习凿齿: author of the 《汉晋春秋》 –
- Xìnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, \*617 †674, ruled 649–674 – see page 11, 14
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán – see page 12
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see pages 12, 18–20, 45
- Xiàohuánwáng** 孝桓王: king Xiàohuán, posthumous name of Yì móu xún – see page 13, 45
- Xiàohuìwáng** 孝惠王: king Xiàohuì, posthumous name of Xúngéquàn – see page 13, 45, see 寻阁劝
- Xiàowèi** 校尉: commandant, ‘commandant, normally prefixed with functionally descriptive or laudatory terms’, see Hucker (1985), 2456 – see pages 10, 26, 45

- Xiàozhì** 孝治: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, 910– – see page 14
- xìnjū** 信苴: *xìnjū*, unclear, appears to be a honorific granted to the Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管 – see page 24, 46
- Xīnggǔ** 兴古: – see page 26
- Xīngyuán** 兴元: Táng dynasty district belonging to Shānnánxīdào, Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鹤 (2012), p. 839 – see page 15
- Xīngyuánguó** 兴元国: name of Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in the 《云南志略》 – see page 14
- 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 page 11, 46, see 逻盛炎
- Xíngshěng** 行省: province, title of a province during the Yuán 元 – see page 18, 46
- Xùzhōu** 叙州: region in today's Yíbīn 宜宾 – see page 20, 31
- Xuánzōng** 玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756 – see page 12
- Xúnchuán** 寻传: region of present-day Dehong, northern Burma – see page 31
- Xúngéquàn** 寻阁劝: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 808–809 – see page 13
- Yáng** 杨: – see page 19
- Yáng Gānzhēn** 杨干贞: founder of the Nánzhào successor state Dà Yìníng Guó 大义宁国 in 928, ?–937 – see page 14, 15
- Yángjūmiē** 阳苴咩: historic capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dali – see page 13, 15
- Yáng Qiúqìng** 杨酋庆: – see page 14
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán –
- Yáozhōu** 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安 – see page 12, 46
- Yèláng** 夜郎: ancient powerful political entity in the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see page 8
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see pages 9, 10, 19, 27, 29, see 蛮
- Yíbīn** 宜宾: city in southern Sichuān – see page 20
- Yimóuxún** 异牟寻: ruler of Nánzhào, 754–808 – see page 13
- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106BCE, covering the region of present-day Sìchuān with its center at 成都. In 742 it became Shǔjùn 蜀郡, but the name remained in use to refer to 成都 – see pages 9, 10, 46
- Yìngdào** 应道: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Xúngéquàn, 809 – see page 13
- Yìngtiān** 应天: reign period of Zhào Shànzhèng 赵善政 – see page 15
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see pages 9, 20, 27
- Yǒngjiā** 永嘉: – see page 17
- Yǒngpíng** 永平: reign period of Wáng Jiàn 王建, 910–915 – see page 10
- Yǒngpíng** 汉明帝永平: only reign period of Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor Míng – see page 9
- Yōuwáng** 幽王: king Yōu, – see page 13, 46

- Yùshǐ** 御史: censor, title, see Hucker (1985), 8167 – see page 11, 47
- Yuán** 元: Yuán, Chinese dynasty, 1271–1368 – see page 47
- Yuánchéngzōng** 元成宗: Temür Khan, Yuán 元 emperor, 1294–1308 – see page 47
- Yuánchū** 元初: reign period of Hàn emperor Ān, 114–120 – see page 9
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- Yuánfēng** 元封: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104BC – see page 9
- Yuánhēng** 元亨: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴 – see page 17
- Yuánshìzǔ** 元世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294 参政 – see pages 8, 18, 19, 47
- Yuánshòu** 元狩: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 122–117 – see page 8
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368 – see pages 5, 7, 36, 47
- Yuèguó** 越国: State of Yuè, early state in the east of present-day China, mentioned in ?? records – see page 47
- Yuèguógōng** 越国公: duke of the State of Yuè, title – see page 12, 47
- Yuèxī** 越巂: Prefecture belonging to Jiànnán. Called Xīzhōu 618–742 then Yuèxī 742–756, in 757 invaded and captured by Nánzhào and 吐蕃, later reestablished as 越巂 789–865 – see pages 9, 10, 12, 14, 26
- Yuèxī Zhào** 越析诏: – see page 12
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5, 7, 8, 10–12, 15, 18–20, 22–24
- king of Yúnnán** 云南王: king of Yúnnán, Táng dynasty title for some of the rulers of Nánzhào, first conferred upon Pīluōgé in 738 – see page 12, 47
- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’, Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán – see pages 7, 23, 27, 29, 32, 47
- Yúnnánzhìlùè** 《云南志略》: ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 dynasty history of Yúnnán, compiled by Lǐ Jīng 李京 – see pages 5, 7, 8, 19, 21, 47
- Zānggē** 牂牁: the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see page 8, 9
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475–221 BCE – see page 47
- 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 12
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- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张虔陀: ruler of Yáozhōu who played an important role in the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng dynasty in 751. Killed by Nánzhào in 751. – see page 12
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- Zhāng Xì** 张翕: official during 魏晋 – see page 9
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- Zhāochéngwáng** 昭成王: king Zhāochéng, posthumous name of 丰佑 – see page 13, 48
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 11, 48
- Zhào** 赵: clan name – see page 19
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- zhè** 柘: *Maclura tricuspidata*, Chinese mulberry – see page 29
- Zhēngguān** 贞观: reign period of Tángtài-zōng, 627–649 – see page 11
- Zhēn Míng** 贞明: – see page 14
- Zhēnyòu** 贞佑: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, after 910 – see page 14, see 郑仁旻
- Zhèng** 郑: – see page 19
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- Zhèngzhì** 正治: reign period of Duàn Sùzhēn 段素真, 1027– – see page 16
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- Zhōngguó** 忠国: honorary name given to Duàn Jiǎnwèi 段俭魏 – see page 15
- Zhōngqìng** 中庆: Yuán Cháo 元朝 name for 昆明 – see page 9, 20
- Zhōngxīng** 中兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 898–902 – see page 14
- Zhōngyuán** 中原: central plains, term for the Chinese heartlands, the middle and lower regions of the Huánghé 黄河 – see page 19, 48
- Zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit – see pages 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 26, 48
- Zhōu Cháo** 周朝: Zhōu dynasty, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty – see page 48
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 9, 10
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- Zīzhì Tōngjiàn** 《资治通鉴》: ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’, – see page 20, 48
- Zǐ Wén** 子文: courtesy name of Dǒugǔyútù 斗谷于菟, minister during Chǔ Guó, mentioned in the 《论语》: ‘令尹子文三仕為令尹’, which Legge (1861a), p. 57 translates as

‘The minister Tsze-wǎn thrice took office’  
– see page 26

**Zǒngguǎn** 总管: route commander, ‘YÜAN:  
Route Commander; in collaboration with

an Overseer headed a unit of territorial administration called a Route (lu), each supervising the governance of about 100.000 residents’, see Hucker (1985), 7110  
– see page 49

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- Zīzhì Tōngjiàn 资治通鉴, 20-375-20-376*n*