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# Guō Sōngnián's *Dàlǐ Travel Notes*

*An Annotated Translation of 郭松年's 《大理行记》*

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LUDWIG M BRINCKMANN

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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.

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[ludwigbrinckmann@gmail.com](mailto:ludwigbrinckmann@gmail.com).

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## 1 Introduction

The ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》 is a Yuán dynasty text compiled by Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, who travelled to Dàlǐ 大理 sometime between 1279–1288 CE. Not much known about the author or the history of the text.<sup>(1)</sup>

With only about 1500 characters the ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》 is not very long, but it gives a description of a journey from the capital of the newly established Yúnnán province 云南行省, Zhōngqìng 中庆, to Dàlǐ 大理, together with notes on geography, history, and local customs.

As it was compiled shortly after the destruction of the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国 by Kublai Khan 忽必烈 the ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》 is often considered rare document of the situation in Yúnnán at the beginning of the Yuán dynasty, prompting Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 to say,

Guō Sōngnián passed on his journey through Yúnnán, Báiyá, Zhàozhōu, Lóngwěi pass, Dàlǐ and other places, recording geography, customs, products, and social life. Although his account is short, it is accurate. 「松年此行，周历云南、白崖、赵州、龙尾关、大理等地，记其山川、风俗、物产、社会生活诸端，虽简略而确切。」 (Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, p. 134)

even though he continued to point out several inaccuracies.

Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 states in his critical notes to the text that Guō Sōngnián

provided us with invaluable material and foundation for the research of the history of Nánzhào and the Dàlǐ kingdom 「给我们研究南诏、大理国历史，提供了不得多得的重要资料和依据」 (Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 4)

Lǐ Jié 李劫 voices some – unspecified – reservations about its authenticity, but nevertheless continues to praise the text:

Despite its brief length, the historical value of this text has been widely recognized by later generations. Although the authenticity and accuracy of some of its content still require further verification, the book has already become essential reading for the study of the local history of Dàlǐ and the history of ethnic groups in southwest China – this requires no further elaboration by the author. 「尽管篇幅不长，其史料价值已为后世所公认，虽然有些内容的真伪虚实尚有待于进一步考证，但该书已成为研究大理地方史、西南民族史所必读的文献，这已无须笔者赘言。」 (Lǐ Jié 李劫 (2001))

Even recently scholars have continued to praise its relevance.<sup>(2)</sup>

However, apparently unnoticed, significant sections of the text, including on those Buddhism, were obviously copied verbatim from the earlier ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》，which was first published in 1265 CE, i.e. before Guō Sōngnián came to Yúnnán. It is

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<sup>(1)</sup> Background details are taken from Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), pp. 245–247 (the text is copied into his introduction to the text in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, pp. 135–137), Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), and Hé Liùhuā 和六花 (2006).

<sup>(2)</sup> See, e.g., Lǐ Yànfēng 李艳峰 (2018), Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015).

known that the extant versions of the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》 have been annotated later, but a comparison of the copied passages, which have been added to the text below, suggests that Guō Sōngnián copied from the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》 and not vice versa. Other passages seem to appear in this text for the first time, but since many texts have been lost, the verbatim copying of passages raises questions maybe not about the accuracy, but its authenticity.

Ihor Pidhainy contrasts the work with Yáng Shèn 杨慎’s later ‘*Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains*’ 《游点苍山记》<sup>(3)</sup> and notes that

[t]here is almost no personal element in this work in which the writer reveals himself. Moreover, Guo just briefly alludes to contemporaries – his real interest is in historical personages who were involved in the creation of buildings. Beyond this, his description of the region is limited. The reader feels as if Guo never personally experienced the places he describes, for his admiration seems from a distance. (Pidhainy (2005), p. 204)

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<sup>(3)</sup> Pidhainy (2005), pp. 201–204.

大理行記  
元 郭松年撰  
平湖陸 烜訂

中慶距大理城西顧里有千厓府治一曰威楚州  
四曰安寧鎮南雲南趙州縣三曰麻品安邊白崑  
皆三府支屬鎮南而西有離嶺即大理之境出行  
七十里有甸焉川原坦夷山勢回合周二百餘里  
乃雲南州也州西北十餘里山麓間有石如鏡先  
大理行記  
奇覽齋

可見面故舊名鏡州張氏進求時州北龍興和山  
忽五色雲起蕭索輪囷終日不散人以爲祥州居  
雲之南因改今名又西行三十餘里至品甸按唐  
史嘗置坡州亦名清子川其川澤土壤不減雲南  
而民種時爲不及爾甸中有池名曰清湖灌溉之  
利達於雲南之楚湖西官道中有石焉紋如古篆  
號曰地符行人謹避莫敢踐之又山行三十里至  
白崑甸其地形南北袤大小畧與雲南品甸相埒

居民轉集禾麻蔽野縣西石崖斬絕其色如雪故  
曰白崑赤水江回環曲折經於其中甸西南有古  
朝中有鐵柱高七尺五寸徑二尺八寸乃昔時蒙  
氏第十一王景莊王所造題曰建極十三年壬辰  
四月庚午朔十有四日癸丑土人歲歲賭金其  
上號天尊柱四時享祀有禱必應或以爲武侯所  
立柱也又山行四十里至趙州甸即趙險也山形  
四周回抱有藏風蔽氣之勢川澤平曠故家膏水  
大理行記  
奇覽齋

猶有存者神莊江貫於其中溉田千頃以故百姓  
富庶少旱虐之災出州治十五里路轉峰回茂林  
修竹蔚然深秀中峰舊建神廟在焉凡水旱疾疫  
祈禱有徵州人賴之州之北行約數百步地極明  
秀蒙昭成王保和九年有高將軍者即此地建通  
知寺其殿像壁繪於今罕見意非漢匠名筆不能  
造也出寺門東北行一里餘有高原號城潞其地  
空而不耕乃世祖駐蹕之所也川行三十里至河

尾關即洱水之下流也架木爲梁長十五丈餘穹  
形飲水觀而視之如虹蜿蜒順流而下約一里許  
有石門巨石橫楣號石馬橋爲羣波爭道之地懸  
流奔注雲濤雪浪聲聞數里河尾橋之西有關焉  
北入大理名龍尾關即蒙氏所築西扼蒼山東屬  
洱水其高壁危構巋然猶存入關十五里山壑濃  
秀望之蔚然前陳者點蒼之奔衝也諸峰羅列前  
後參從有城在其下是曰太和周十有餘里夷語  
大理行記  
奇覽齋

以坡陀爲和在坡陀故謂之太和昔蒙歸義王  
皮羅閣自蒙社徙河西乃築此城後閣羅鳳以張  
虔隨纓構乃殺之陷唐鮮于仲通兵因自結之吐  
蕃受鍾王刻石記功明不得已而改號蒙國大詔  
立德化碑使蜀人鄭回製文其碑今在即唐代宗  
大曆元年也又北行十五至大理名陽苴咩城亦  
名紫城方圍四五里即蒙氏第五王神武王閣羅  
鳳肇普鍾十三年甲辰歲所築時唐代宗廣德二

Illustration 1:  
1745 Print of the 《大理行記》 (I)

Source: Harvard Library <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/chinese-rare-books/49-990080704670203941>

## 2 About this Translation

The text of the ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》 is contained in the multi-volume collection of historic texts on Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》.<sup>(4)</sup>

The text used for this translation has been copied from an online archive<sup>(5)</sup> and mistakes in the text have been corrected according to the reference edition in 《云南史料丛刊》 and Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986). Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986) provides detailed annotations and critical notes comparing the various versions of the text, which have assisted my translation and understanding. Another transcription of the text can be found at <https://toyoshi.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/maruha/siryo/dalixingji.html>.

A scanned copy of a 1745 CE block-printed version of the text can be found at Harvard Library,<sup>(6)</sup> see illustration 1 and illustration 2. The text is also contained in the later ‘*Yúnnán General Gazetteer*’ 《云南通志》.<sup>(7)</sup>

The text is also included in Chinese travel anthologies, such as Zhāng Chéngdé 张成德 (2002), pp. 411–418.

Some passages are translated in Pidhainy (2005), but I am not aware of any complete translation.

## 3 Annotated Translation

The text begins by placing the Dàlǐ 大理 region some one thousand *lǐ* from Zhōngqìng 中庆, the Yuán dynasty capital of Yúnnán province now known as Kūnmíng 昆明市, followed by a brief description of the regions administrative hierarchy.

中庆距大理城西顾里有千。

历府治一，曰威楚；州四，曰安宁、镇南、云南、赵州；县三，禄品、安边、白崧，皆三府支属。镇南而西有

大理行记 5

From Zhōngqìng the walled town of Dàlǐ is about a thousand *lǐ* to the west.

One passes through one *fǔ*, called Wēichǔ; four *zhōu*, namely Ānníng, Zhènnán, Yúnnán, and Zhàozhōu; and three counties, Lùpǐn, Ānbiān, and Báiyán, all of which are subordinate to the

r1: Zhōngqìng ] present-day Kūnmíng 昆明市.

r3: Wēichǔ ] present-day Chǔxióng 楚雄.

r4: Ānníng ] present-day Ānníng Shì 安宁市.

r4: Zhènnán ] present-day Nánhuá 南华.

r4: Yúnnán ] present-day Yúnnányì 云南驿.

r4: Zhàozhōu ] present-day Fèngyí 凤仪.

r5: Lùpǐn ] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), p. 246; present-day Lùfēng 禄丰.

r5: Ānbiān ] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), p. 246; present-day Móudìng 谋定.

r5: Báiyán ] i.e. Báiyá 白崖, location of an early ruler in Yúnnán, in present-day northern Mídù 弥渡.

r5–6: the three *fǔ* ] Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 9 points out that the three *fǔ* 府, the highest administrative units within a province, are Zhōngqìng 中庆, Wēichǔ 威楚, and Dàlǐ 大理.

(4) Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 3, pp. 135–137.

(5) at <https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E5%A4%A7%E7%90%86%E8%A1%8C%E8%A8%98>.

(6) <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/chinese-rare-books/49-990080704670203941>, the scan is of the complete ‘*Collection of Strange Books from Jin Study*’ 《奇晋斋丛书》, the text of the ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》 be found at location 276–282.

(7) In the 第二百三十一卷.

雌岭，即大理之境。

three *fǔ*. To the west of Zhènnán lies the Cí mountain range, which marks the boundary of Dàlǐ.

The following sections then cover the various valleys belonging to Dàlǐ *fǔ* as one reached them when setting out from the provincial capital.

The first plain is the broad valley of Yúnnányì 云南驿.

出行七里有甸焉，川原坦夷，山势回合，周二百馀里，乃云南州也。

After setting out for seventy *lǐ*, one reaches a valley, where the land is flat and open, the mountains forming a ring around it, spanning over two hundred *lǐ*. This place is Yúnnán *zhōu*.

大理行记 10

州西北十馀里山麓间，有石如镜，光可鉴面，故旧名镜州。

Northwest of the *zhōu*, in the foothills of the mountains, about ten *lǐ* away, is a rock that shines like a mirror, bright enough to reflect one's face, hence it was originally named *Jìngzhōu*.

张氏进求时，州北龙兴和山，忽五色云起，萧索轮囷，终日不散，人以为祥。州居云之南，因改今名。

At the time of Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú, to the north of the state, at Lóngxīnghé mountain, suddenly a cloud of five colors arose, spinning and whirling, remaining all day without dispersing, and people took it as an auspicious sign. As this place was located to the south of these clouds, it changed its name to the current one.

大理行记 15

Then comes the present Xiángyún 祥云 plain, then mostly covered by a large lake or swampland. The description here appears similar to the one in the Táng dynasty 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán' 《云南志》<sup>(8)</sup>.

l8-9: 出行七里有甸焉，川原坦夷，山势回合，周二百馀里，乃云南州也。] In the 'Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān' 《纪古滇说原集》:「城东去七里有甸言川，其川源平坦，山势回合，周有二百馀里，乃云南州，又筑一城焉。」. It is interesting to note that in the 'Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān' 《纪古滇说原集》 the distance is calculated as seventy *lǐ* from Dàlǐ 大理, while here no reference point is given in the text, giving the impression that the distances are measured coming from the east. Hé Liùhuā 和六花 (2006), p. 60 notes this passage as giving Guō Sōngnián's itinerary and direction without noticing that the passage was not originally written by him.

l11-12: 州西北十馀里山麓间，有石如镜，光可鉴面，故旧名镜州。] This passage is almost exactly the same in the 'Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān' 《纪古滇说原集》.

l14-16: 张氏进求时，州北龙兴和山，忽五色云起，萧索轮囷，终日不散，人以为祥。州居云之南，因改今名。] Again, the passage is almost identical to the 'Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān' 《纪古滇说原集》，taking the writing error pointed out by Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 10 into account, this text has been copied from the former.

l14: 张氏进求 ] i.e. Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú 张乐尽求, see Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 10.

r6-7: To the west of Zhènnán lies the Cí mountain range, which marks the boundary of Dàlǐ ] The term Cí Líng 雌岭 for the mountain range is not used elsewhere (see Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 9), but from the description it refers to the range between Nánhuá 南华 and the Xiángyún 祥云 basin. I think it is quite possible a listening or writing mistake by the author or a later copyist. The boundary of Dàlǐ means the boundary of the *fǔ*.

r8: out for seventy *lǐ* ] A pointed out in the annotation to the Chinese text, the distance is measured from Dàlǐ, not from Zhōngqìng, and even that is not accurate if one considers the eastern part of that plain, which is further from Dàlǐ than seventy *lǐ* along the road then in use (via Báiyá).

r13: *Jìngzhōu* ] *jìng* 镜 meaning *mirror*.

r14: At the time of Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú ] Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú 张乐尽求 was the semi-mythical ruler before Nánzhào 南诏 who abdicated in favour of Xínúluó 细奴逻.

r18: it changed its name to the current one ] The naming of Yúnnán 云南 is not generally associated with Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú.

(8) in the 第六卷.

大理行记 20 又西行三十馀里，至品甸。按《唐史》，尝置波州，亦名清子川。

其川泽土壤不减云南，而民种蒔为不及尔。甸中有池，名曰青湖，灌溉之利达于云南之野。

湖西官道中有石焉，纹如古篆，号曰地符，行人谨避，莫敢践之。

Traveling further west for more than thirty *lǐ*, one reaches Pǐndiàn. According to the ‘*History of the Táng*’, this place was once named Bō zhōu, also known as the Qīngzì plain.

The rivers, marshes, and soil here are not inferior to those in Yúnnán, though the agricultural practices of the local people are not as advanced. In the middle of the plain is a lake called Qīnghú, whose irrigation benefits reach the fields of Yúnnán.

West of the lake, on the official road is a stone with patterns resembling ancient seal script, known as *earth mark*. Travelers pass by it with caution, not daring to step on it.

As the old caravan road circumnavigated the lake to its south, a traveller then entered the northern end of what is now called Mídù 弥渡, then known as Báiyá, here written as Báiyán 白崑, for the white cliffs at the northern end of the plain.

Again, this whole passage, including the section on the iron pillar 铁柱 and the (wrong) dates, is copied from the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》.

大理行记 30 又山行三十里至白崑甸，其地形南北袤，大小略与云南、品甸相埒。居民湊集，禾麻蔽野，县西石崖斩绝，其色如雪，故曰崑白崑。赤水江回环曲折，经于其中。

大理行记 35 甸西南有古庙，中有铁柱，高七尺五寸，径二尺八寸，乃昔时蒙氏第十一主景庄王所造，题曰「建极十三

Traveling thirty *lǐ* through the mountains, one reaches the Báiyán plain. Its land stretches from south to north, its size is roughly comparable to Yúnnán and Pǐndiàn. Its population is dense and grain fields cover the entire land. To the west of the county, there are sheer cliffs of stone, white as snow, hence the name Báiyán. The Chìshuǐ River winds and twists through it.

In the southwest of the plain, there is an ancient temple, inside stands an **iron pillar**. It is seven *chǐ* and five *cùn* tall, with a diameter of *chǐ* and eight *cùn*. In earlier times, the *n*th ruler of the

l19–20: 至品甸。按《唐史》，尝置波州，亦名清子川] In the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》:「至品甸，按《唐史》尝置坡州，亦名清子川。」

l20: 清子川] In the ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》 this is written as Qīngzì valley 清字川。

l22–24: 其川泽土壤不减云南，而民种蒔为不及尔。甸中有池，名曰青湖，灌溉之利达于云南之野] In the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》:「其川泽土壤不减云南，而民种蒔为不及尔。甸中有池名曰清湖，灌溉之利达于云南之埜湖。」

l26–27: 湖西官道中有石焉，纹如古篆，号曰地符，行人谨避，莫敢践之。] In the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》:「西官道中有石，石上纹如古篆，号曰地符，王因遣使禁行人谨避，不许践之。」 The text in the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》 is embedded in historical detail, the text here seems to be a selection from that.

l29–33: 又山行三十里至白崑甸，其地形南北袤，大小略与云南、品甸相埒。居民湊集，禾麻蔽野，县西石崖斩绝，其色如雪，故曰崑白崑。赤水江回环曲折，经于其中。] In the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》:「又山行三十里至白岩甸，其地行南北袤，大小略与云南、品甸相埒，居民甚众，禾麻蔽野。西有石岩削壁，其色如雪，故曰白岩。又有赤水江，回环曲折经于其中。」

l35–39: 中有铁柱，高七尺五寸，径二尺八寸，乃昔时蒙氏第十一主景庄王所造，题曰「建极十三年壬辰四月庚子朔十有四日癸丑」铸。] In the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》:「中立铁柱，高七尺五寸，径二尺八寸，上题曰「建极十三年壬辰四月庚子朔十有四日癸丑」铸。」

r36: iron pillar] This is the iron pillar 铁柱 in the Tiězhǔ temple 铁主庙 on the western side of the plain.

r37–38: the *n*th ruler of the Méng clan king Jǐngzhuāng built it] The ruler referred to is Shílong 世隆, \*844, †859, †877, who was posthumously called Jǐngzhuāng 景庄.

年壬辰四月庚子朔十有四日癸丑]铸。

土人岁岁贴金其上，号天尊柱，四时享祀，有祷必应。

或以为武侯所立，非也。

**Méng clan king Jǐngzhuāng built it.** It is inscribed with the date ‘On the 14th day, *guǐchǒu*, of the 4th month, *gēngzǐ*, of the 13th year of Jiànjí, the *rénchén* year.’

The locals apply gold to it every year, calling it the ‘Pillar of Heavenly Worship’. They worship it throughout the year, and prayers offered here are said to be invariably answered.

Some believe it was erected by **marquis of Wǔ**, **this is not the case.**

大理行记 40

The caravan road then turned northwards again, entering the plain of present-day Fèngyí 凤仪。

又山行四十里至赵州甸，即赵脸也。山形四周回抱，有藏风蔽气之势。川泽平旷，故家乔木犹有存者。神庄江贯于其中，溉田千顷，以故百姓富庶，少旱虐之灾。

出州治十五里，路转峰回，茂林脩竹，蔚然深秀，中而建峰神庙在焉。凡水旱疾疫，祈请有徵，州人赖之。

州之北，行约数百步，地极明秀，蒙昭成王保和九年，有高将军者即其地建遍知寺。其殿像壁绘于今罕见，意非汉匠名笔，不能造也。

Traveling forty *lǐ* further through the mountains, one arrives at the Zhàozhōu plain, also known as Zhàodàn. The mountains encircle the area on all sides, creating an environment **that stores wind and suppresses the qì**. The rivers and marshes are wide and flat, hence the families prosper. The Shénzhuāng river runs through the area, irrigating thousands of *qǐng* of fields. Therefore, the people are prosperous and suffer rarely from severe drought.

Fifteen *lǐ* from the state administration, the road winds around peaks, with dense forests and tall bamboos, creating a deeply beautiful scenery. In the midst of this, there is a temple to the mountain god. For all droughts, floods, diseases, or epidemics, prayers there are effective, and the people rely on it.

To the north of the *zhōu*, after walking about a few hundred *bù*, the land becomes exceptionally beautiful. **In the 9th year of the Bǎohé reign of the Méng king Zhāochéng**, a general named Gāo built the Biànzhī temple on this site. The temple’s statues and wall

大理行记 45

大理行记 50

大理行记 55

大理行记 60

l44: 非也] The ‘Collection of Strange Books from Jin Study’ 《奇晋斋丛书》 edition has *zhùyě*, see illustration 1, which makes no sense.

l60: 意非汉匠名笔，不能造也] It is interesting to note that a stele memorializing the reconstruction of this temple during the Míng dynasty quotes this passage, see Duàn Jīnlù 段金录 and Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2000), p. 408.

r39–40: On the 14th day, *guǐchǒu*, of the 4th month, *gēngzǐ*, of the 13th year of Jiànjí, the *rénchén* year.] Shìlóng 世隆 took the throne in 859 CE, so the 13th year would have been 872 CE, but the *gānzhī* for the month and day do not correspond with the month and day given.

r44: marquis of Wǔ] i.e. Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 who campaigned in Yúnnán in 225 CE, but is very unlikely to have reached western Yúnnán.

r44: this is not the case] The story that Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 set up the iron pillar 铁柱 is told in the ‘Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān’ 《纪古滇说原集》，which to me also suggests that Guō Sōngnián 郭松年 had read that text. See also Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 13 about the story’s origin.

r46: Zhàodàn] the character *dàn* 脸 denotes an administrative unit from the Nánzhào period, it is unclear how it should be pronounced.

r47–48: that stores wind and suppresses the *qì*] There is an expression *cángfēng jùqì* 藏风聚气 ‘storing wind and gathering *qì*’ in Chinese geomancy 风水 that is considered auspicious for building houses, see Wáng Yún 王昀 (2012), p. 36, but this expression here is that the *qì* is concealed, not gathered, which sounds negative, but it might well be that the author was not so familiar with the correct expression.

r58–59: In the 9th year of the Bǎohé reign of the Méng king Zhāochéng] a reign period of Quàn fēngyòu 劝丰佑 who was also called king Zhāochéng, i.e. 832 CE.

大理行记 65 出寺门，东北行一里余，有高原，号澄城。其地空而不耕，乃世祖驻骅之所也。近岁州采建一佛宇，遇旦望焚香祝寿，盖以报圣恩之万一焉。

paintings are rarely seen today; it is believed that they could not have been made without the skill of famous Hàn craftsmen.

Exiting the temple gate and walking northeast for more than a *lǐ*, there is a high plain known as the town mound. This land, open and uncultivated, is where Kublai Khan once halted his horses. In recent years, the state built a Buddhist temple here, and every morning incense is burned to wish for longevity to repay a small fraction of his imperial favours.

From there, the lower end of the Dàlǐ 大理 plain was reached at Lóngwěi pass 龙尾关。

大理行记 70 川行三十里，至河尾桥，即洱水之下流也；架木为梁，长十五丈余，穹形饮水，睨而视之，如虹霓然。

Traveling thirty *lǐ* through the plain, one arrives at Héwěi bridge, at the outflow of Ěrhǎi. A wooden bridge is built here, over fifteen *zhàng* in length, arching over the water. Looking at it from a distance, it resembles a double rainbow.

大理行记 75 顺流而下约一里许，有石门，巨石横楣，号石马桥，为群波争道之地，悬流奔注，云涛雪浪，声闻数里。

About a *lǐ* downstream, there is a stone gate, with a huge rock forming the horizontal lintel, known as Shímǎ bridge. This place is where the waves vie for passage, with the suspended water rushing and pouring, creating cloud-like waves and snow-like foam, the sound of which can be heard from miles away.

大理行记 80 河尾桥之西有关焉，北入大理，名龙尾关，即蒙氏之所筑也。此为州之大观，故记之。

To the west of Héwěi bridge, there is a gate called Dragon Tail Gate, leading north into Dàlǐ, constructed by the Méng clan. This is one of the grand sights of the state, hence it is recorded here.

西阨苍山，东属洱水，其高壁危构，岿然犹存。

To the west closed in by Diǎncāng Mountains, and to the east is Ěrhǎi with its high walls dangerously constructed, standing majestically.

大理行记 85 入关十五里，山壑浓秀，望之蔚然前陈者，乃点苍之奔冲也；诸峰罗列，前后参从，有城在其下，是曰太和，周十有馀里。

Fifteen *lǐ* after the gate, the mountains and valleys are dense and beautiful. What appears majestically arrayed in the forefront is the rushing surge of Diǎncāng Mountains. With their peaks arrayed in succession, both in the front and back, there lies a city beneath them, called Tàihé, more than ten *lǐ* in circumference.

大理行记 90 夷语以坡陀为和，和在城中，故谓之太和。昔蒙归义王皮罗阁自蒙舍徙河西，乃筑此城。后阁罗凤以张虔陀谗构，乃杀之，陷唐鲜于仲通兵。因

In the *Yí* language, *pōtuó* means 'peace' and since peace is within the city, it is thus named Tàihé. In the past, the Méng king Guīyì Píluōgé moved from Méngshè to the west of Ěrhǎi and built this city. Later, Géluōfèng was slandered by Zhāng Qiántuó and killed

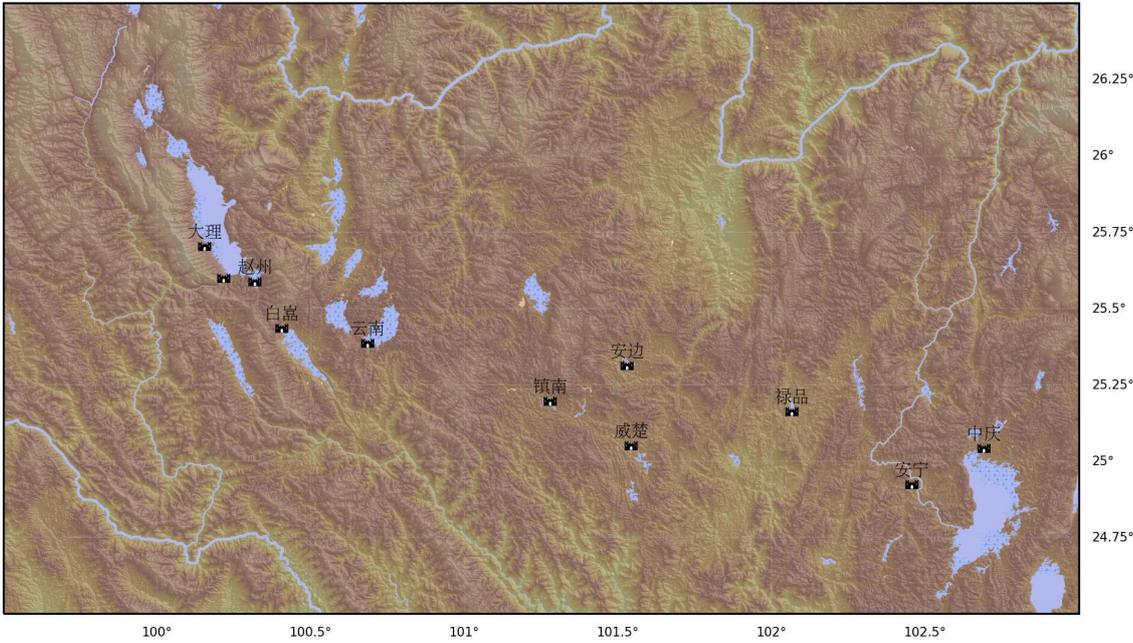
[64: 澄城] This should read *chéngdūn*, meaning a mound, see Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 15.

[69: 河尾桥] In the 1745 CE edition *héwěi* pass 河尾关, corrected following Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), pp. 15–16

[90: 舍] There is another character in the blockprint, see illustration 1 三 b.

r73–74: a stone gate, with a huge rock forming the horizontal lintel, known as Shímǎ bridge ] This will be Tiānshēng bridge, a natural arch over the waters of the Xiěr River.

r88: Tàihé ] The first capital of Nánzhào.



Map 1:  
Map of the 《大理行记》

This map was produced with open source software with publicly available data, including some map data from OpenStreetMap.

自结之吐蕃，受锤王，刻石记功，明不得已而改号蒙国大诏，立德化碑，使蜀人郑回制文，其碑今在，即唐代宗大历元年也。

又北行十五里至大理，名阳苴咩城，亦名紫城，方围四五里，即蒙氏第五主神武王阁罗凤赞普锤十三年甲辰岁所筑，时唐代宗广德二年也。自后郑、赵、杨、段四氏皆都其中。

him, leading to Táng's Xiānyú Zhòngtōng attacking with troops. Consequently, he aligned himself with Tǔbō, accepted the title of Zhōng king, and carved a stele to commemorate his achievements. Reluctantly changing his title to the Grand Proclamation of the Meng Kingdom, he erected the 'Déhuà Stele' and commissioned Zhèng Huí from Shǔ to compose its inscription. This stele still exists today, dating back to the first year of the Dàlì era under Táng emperor Dàizōng.

Fifteen *lǐ* northward lies Dàlì, known as Yángjūmiē, also called *purple city*, with a square perimeter of four to five *lǐ*. It was built in the 13th year, *jiǎchén*, by the fifth ruler of the Méng clan, immortal warrior king Gélúōfèng, the Zànpǔ Zhōng, which corresponds to the 2nd year of the Guǎngdé era of Táng emperor Dàizōng. Successively, the Zhèng, Zhào, Yáng, and Duàn families

大理行记 95

大理行记 100

大理行记 105

[93: 锤王] a short form of Zànpǔ Zhōng 赞普锤, the title conferred by Tǔbō 吐蕃.

[101: 阳苴咩] one of the many variant writings of Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, the last capital of Nánzhào.

r99–100: to the first year of the Dàlì era under Táng emperor Dàizōng ] 766 CE.

r102: *purple city* ] This term first appears in this text, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 648.

r102–106: It was built in the 13th year, *jiǎchén*, by the fifth ruler of the Méng clan, immortal warrior king Gélúōfèng, the Zànpǔ Zhōng, which corresponds to the 2nd year of the Guǎngdé era of Táng emperor Dàizōng ] 764 CE, the king referred to here is the Nánzhào ruler Gélúōfèng, ruled 748–779 CE.

大理行记 110

是城也，西倚苍山之险，东挟洱水之阨，龙首关于邓川之南，龙尾关于赵陁之北；昔人用心，自以为金城汤池，可以传之万世。及天兵北来，一鼓而下，良可叹哉！此非在德不在险之明效大验欤？

all established their capitals here.

This city, backed by the perilous Cāngshān to the west and flanked by the treacherous Ērhǎi to the east, is bordered by Dragon Head Gate south of Dèngchuān, and Dragon Tail Gate north of Zhàodàn. In the past, people thought of it as an impregnable fortress, a golden city with iron walls, meant to last for eternity. However, when the imperial troops from the north arrived, it fell with just one drumbeat, a truly lamentable event! Does this not vividly demonstrate that success depends not on geographical advantages but on virtue?

大理行记 120

故大理之民，数百年之间五姓守固。值唐末五季衰乱之世，尝与中国抗衡。宋兴，北有大敌，不暇远略，相与使传往来，通于中国。故其宫室、楼观、言语、书数，以至冠婚丧祭之礼，干戈战陈之法，虽不能尽善尽美，其规模、服色、动作、云为，略本于汉。自今观之，犹有故国之遗风焉。

The people of ancient Dàlǐ were for several hundred years governed by five families. During the chaos of the late Táng dynasty and the Five Dynasties, they often fought with China. When the Sòng dynasty rose, due to its formidable enemies in the north it had no capacity for distant conquests, and they maintained diplomatic relations with China through envoys. Consequently, their palaces, towers, language, literature, and even the rituals of dress, weddings, funerals, and sacrificial ceremonies, as well as methods of warfare, though not perfectly refined, broadly followed the Hàn in terms of scale, dress, behavior and action. Observing it now, they appear like remnants of the motherland's customs and traditions.

大理行记 125

若夫点苍之山，条冈南北，百有馀里；峰峦岩岫，縈云戴雪，四时不消；上则高河、窰海，泉源喷涌，水镜澄彻，纤芥不容，佳木奇卉，垂光

As for the Diǎncāng Mountains, the ridges stretch north to south for more than a hundred *lǐ*; its peaks and cliffs, twined with clouds and capped with snow, remain unthawed throughout the year. Atop is the Gāo Hé and hidden lakes, where springs gush forth; the

大理行记 130

l108–110: 西倚苍山之险，东挟洱水之阨，龙首关于邓川之南，龙尾关于赵陁之北] In the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》: 「大理西倚点苍，东挟洱水，点苍之险，洱水之阨，龙首关于邓川之南，龙尾关于赵陁之北。」

l109: 阨] In the blockprint edition written as < [ ] 阨 >, a non-existing character, which I think is meant to mean begin protected by the water of the lake, Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986) substitutes 阨, which is the character used in the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》.

l117–119: 数百年之间五姓守固。值唐末五季衰乱之世，尝与中国抗衡] Another passage copied from the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》 almost verbatim: 「蒙、郑、赵、杨、段五姓，数百年之间，五姓守固，值唐末五季衰乱之世，兵不远及。五姓之主，互与中国抗。」

l119–120: 宋兴，北有大敌，不暇远略，相与使传往来，通于中国。] Again, almost copied verbatim, with a crucial difference of missing a negation: 「宋兴，北有大敌，不暇远略，使传往来，不通于中国。」

r112–113: 一鼓而下，良可叹哉！此非在德不在险之明效大验欤？] This passage, with attribution, is quoted in the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》，most likely a later annotation to the text.

r121–122: they maintained diplomatic relations with China through envoys] The text in the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》 states that contact was *not* maintained, which is closer to the truth.

r132: Gāo Hé ] Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 21: another name for the Féng Hé 冯河.

倒景，吹风嘘云，神龙所宅，岁旱祈祷，灵贖昭著；派为一十八溪，悬流飞瀑，泻于群峰之间，雷霆砰轰，烟霞掩霭，功利布散，皆可灌溉。

洱水则源于浪穹，涉历三郡，淳湫紫城之东；北自河首，南尽河尾，波涛二关之间，周围百有馀里；内则四洲、三岛、九皋之奇，浩荡汪洋，烟波无际。于以见江山之美，有足称者。

然而此邦之人，西去天竺为近，其俗多尚浮屠法，家无贫富皆有佛堂，人不以老壮，手不释数珠；一岁之间斋戒几半，绝不茹荤、饮酒，至斋毕乃已。

沿山寺宇极多，不可殫记。中峰之下有庙焉，是为点苍山神，亦号中岳。

中峰之北有崇圣寺，中有三塔，一大二小，大者高二百馀尺，凡一十六级，样制精巧，即唐遣大匠恭韬、徽义所造。塔成，韬、义乃归。中峰之南有玉局寺，又西南有上山寺。

waters are so clear that **even the tiniest thing cannot be hidden**. Exquisite trees and rare plants reflect their beauty in a mirror. The blowing wind hisses and celestial dragons dwell there. In times of drought, prayers are answered as the spirits sent eighteen streams in cascading waterfalls, pouring between peaks amidst thunderous roars, creating misty veils of spray. These streams distribute water widely so that all can irrigate.

The waters of Ērhǎi spring in Làngqióng, traverse three counties, swelling east of the *purple city*. From its northern head to its southern tail, waves roll between two mountain passes, spanning a circumference of more than a hundred *lǐ*. Within it lie four islets, three islands, and nine inlets of wonder, forming a vast, boundless expanse of water and mist. Such is the beauty of these rivers and mountains, truly deserving of admiration.

But the people of this state, for whom traveling west to India is not far, mostly adhere to Buddhist practices. Regardless of wealth or poverty, every household has a Buddhist shrine. People, young and old, constantly hold prayer beads in their hands. For almost half of the year, they observe fasting and abstain from eating meat and drinking alcohol, only resuming after the fasting period ends. Along the mountain, there are numerous temples, too many to fully document. Below the central peak, there is a temple dedicated to the Diǎncāng Mountains spirit, also known as the central peak.

North of the central peak is the Chóngshèng temple with three pagodas—one large and two small. The largest one, over two hundred *cùn* high with sixteen levels, is exquisitely crafted, constructed by the Táng dynasty artisans Gōng Tāo and Huī Yì. After completing the pagoda, Gōng Tāo and Huī Yì returned home. South of the central peak is Yùjú temple, and to the southwest, Shàngshān temple.

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大理行记 140

大理行记 145

大理行记 150

大理行记 155

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It follows a passage important for its description of Buddhist practice in the Dàlǐ region. Its mention of a group of *enlightened men* 得道 in charge not only of religious, but also secular affairs, who are not chaste is considered the earliest known description of the Āzhàlì 阿吒力 branch of esoteric Buddhism 密教 that is still extant in some rural areas in Dàlǐ today.

[147-151: 然而此邦之人，西去天竺为近，其俗多尚浮屠法，家无贫富皆有佛堂，人不以老壮，手不释数珠；一岁之间斋戒几半，绝不茹荤、饮酒，至斋毕乃已。] In the BCE 纪古滇说原集: 「邦人以去天竺不远，其俗多尚浮屠法，家无贫富者皆有佛堂，人不以老壮，手不释数珠，一岁之间，斋戒几半，绝不茹荤饮酒，至斋毕乃已。」—Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986) singles out this passage to highlight the importance of this text. Other books, such as the 《云南佛教史》 attribute the passage correctly to the 《纪古滇说原集》，see Wáng Hǎitāo 王海涛 (2001), p. 177.

[153: 沿山寺宇极多] In the 'Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān' 《纪古滇说原集》: 「沿山寺宇极多」

r133: even the tiniest thing cannot be hidden ] unclear expression, Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), p. 21 notes that it has been borrowed from another text.

大理行记 165 凡诸寺宇皆有得道居之。得道者，非  
师僧之比也。师僧有妻子，然往往读  
儒书，段氏而上有国家者设科选士，  
皆出此辈。今则不尔。其得道者，戒  
行精严，日中一食，所诵经律一如  
大理行记 170 中国；所居洒扫清洁，云烟静境，花  
不禅房，水循堂厨，至其处者，使人  
名利之心俱尽。

大理行记 175 此大理之大观。南游则永昌、腾冲，  
北走则鹤庆、丽江。周行数千里，皆  
莫若此也。

All these temples are inhabited by *enlightened men*, who are not comparable to ordinary monks and priests. These priests often have wives and children, and study Confucian texts. In the past, the Duàn clan and other noble families would select scholars for government positions from among these priests. Nowadays, this is no longer the case. The *enlightened men* observe strict discipline, eating only once a day at noon, and their recitation of scriptures and adherence to religious precepts are the same as in China. Their dwellings are clean and tranquil, with no flowers in the meditation rooms and water following the path of the temple kitchen. Being in their presence extinguishes all desires for fame and fortune in one's heart.

This is an overview of Dàlǐ. To its south are Yǒngchāng and Téngchōng, to its north Hèqìng and Lìjiāng. One thousand *lǐ* around it, nothing compares to it.

年也自後鄭趙楊段四氏皆都其中是城也西倚  
 蒼山之險東挾洱水之泥篲首關於鄧州之南龍  
 尾關於趙臉之北昔人用心自以為金城湯池可  
 以傳之萬世及天兵北來一鼓而下豈非在德不  
 在險之明效大驗歟故大理之民數百年之間五  
 姓守固值唐宋五季衰亂之世嘗與中國抗衡未  
 與北有大敵不暇遠畧相與使傳往來通於中國  
 故其宮室樓觀言語書數以至冠婚喪祭之禮于  
 大理行記 四 奇麗齋

之東北自河首南盡河尾波濤二關之間周圍百  
 有餘里內則四洲三島九壘之奇浩蕩汪洋烟波  
 無際於以見江山之美有足稱者然而此邦之人  
 西去天竺為近其俗多尚浮屠法家無貧富皆有  
 佛堂入不以老壯手不釋數珠一歲之間齋戒幾  
 半絕不茹葷飲酒至齋畢乃已沿山寺宇極多不  
 可殫紀中峰之下有廟焉是為點蒼山神亦號中  
 嶽中峰之北有崇聖寺中有三塔一六二小大者  
 大理行記 五 奇麗齋

游則永昌騰衝北走則鶴慶麗江周行數千里皆  
 莫若此也  
 按明馮時可滇行記畧云滇南有苦地六月即  
 如深秋不用揀角蒜苗一也嚴冬雖雪滿山陰而  
 雲氣侵膚不用圍爐服裘二也地氣高爽與雲接  
 濕三也草木高大而有十丈餘其茶花如碗大榆合  
 抱鵝 蓬菜和熟十萬餘畝如錦四也日月  
 與星比別處倍大而空明五也花卉多異品六也  
 望遠至二十月猶圓滿七也冬日不冷八也溫泉  
 處：皆有九也岩間深窟奇絕十也同治大理  
 行記附錄於此陸姬  
 大理行記 六 奇麗齋

Illustration 2:  
 1745 Print of the 《大理行記》 (II)

Source: Harvard Library <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/chinese-rare-books/49-990080704670203941>

## 4 Glossary

- Āzhàlì** 阿吒力: Bái Zú 白族 Buddhist sect, belonging to Mìjiào 密教 – see page 15
- Ānbiān** 安边: present-day Móuding 谋定 – see page 8
- Ānníng** 安宁: in the region of present-day Ānníng Shì 安宁市 安宁市. In the vicinity of Ānníng 安宁 the relics of a Nánzhào era temple, called Fǎhuá Sì 法华寺, have been discovered, see Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999), pp. 126–133 安宁市. – see page 8
- Ānníng Shì** 安宁市: Ānníng city, present-day city in central Yúnnán – see page 8, 18
- Báiyá** 白崖: pre-Nánzhào polity, thought to have been in present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley – see pages 5, 8–10
- Báiyán** 白崖: writing of Báiyá 白崖 in the 《大理行记》 – see page 8, 10, see 白崖
- Bái zú** 白族: Bái ethnic group, officially recognized ethnic minority in China, main settlement area around Ērhǎi –
- Bǎohé** 保和: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Yímóuxún, 784– – see page 11
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page see 永昌
- Biànzhī Sì** 遍知寺: Biànzhī temple, temple in Zhàozhōu 赵州, the history is recorded on stele documented in Duàn Jīnlù 段金录 and Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (2000), pp. 407–408. The temple does not exist any more and its location is unclear, but I suspect it was at the location of the present-day Yǔhuā Sì 雨花寺 – see page 11, 18
- Bō zhōu** 波州: name in the 《唐书》 for Xiángyún 祥云 – see page 10
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ērhǎi – see page 14, 18
- Chìshuǐ river** 赤水江: Chìshuǐ River, river through the Mídù 弥渡 valley – see page 10, 18
- Chóngshèng Sì** 崇圣寺: Chóngshèng temple, main temple north of Dàlǐ 大理, in front of it are the Three Pagodas 三塔 – see page 15, 18
- Chǔxióng** 楚雄: present-day town west of Kūnmíng 昆明 – see page 8
- Cí Líng** 雌岭: Cí mountain range, geographic term not in use any more, mountain range west of Nánhuá 南华 – see page 9, 18
- Dàlǐ** 大理: – see pages 5, 8, 9, 12–16
- Dàlǐ Xíngjì** 《大理行记》: ‘Dàlǐ Travel Notes’, work by Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, also called 《南诏纪行》 – see pages 5, 8, 18
- Dàlǐ superior prefecture** 大理府: Dàlǐ prefecture, later name of the Dàlǐ administrative region – see page 18
- Dàlǐfǔ Zhì** 《大理府志》: ‘Dàlǐ prefecture Zhì志’, title of a number of local histories for Dàlǐ 大理, such as the 《嘉靖大理府志》 and the 《康熙大理府志》 – see page 18
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253 – see page 5, 18
- Dàlì** 大历: reign period of Táng emperor Dàizōng, 766–779 – see page 13
- Dédào** 得道: *enlightened men*, name for Buddhist priests in Dàlǐ 大理, used in the 《云南志略》 and the 《大理行记》 – see pages 15, 16, 18

- Déhuà Bēi** 德化碑 《德化碑》: 'Déhuà Stele', most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history – see page 13, 18
- Dèngchuān** 邓川: – see page 14
- Dìfú** 地符: *earth mark*, name of a mythological stone on the Yúnnányì 云南驿 plain – see page 10, 19
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page see 滇国
- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 19
- Diānzàijì** 《滇载记》: 'Historical Records of Diān', Míng 明 period historical work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, completed 1525 – see page 19
- Diǎncāng Shān** 点苍山: Diǎncāng Mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理 – see pages 12, 14, 15, 19
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 19
- Dù Yòu** 杜佑: Táng dynasty scholar and politician, 735–812, compiler of the 《通典》 –
- Duàn** 段: clan name of the ruling family of Dàlǐ kingdom – see page 13
- Duàn Shì** 段氏: Duàn clan, ruling clan of Dàlǐ Guó – see page 16, 19
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called ??, Xiě Hé – see pages 12, 14, 15, 19
- Fǎhuá Sì** 法华寺: Fǎhuá Sì, Buddhist temple near Ānníng 安宁 – see page 19
- Fēngshuǐ** 风水: geomancy, Chinese geomancy – see page 11, 19
- Féng Hé** 冯河: Féng Hé River, river on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 14, 19
- Fèngyí** 凤仪: location of historic 渠敛赵 town (🌐 25.58N 100.31E) – see page 8, 11, see 渠敛赵
- fǔ** 府: prefecture, administrative unit during the Yuán Cháo 元朝 – see pages 8, 9, 19
- gānzhī** 干支: sexagenary cycle in Chinese calendars – see page 11
- Gāo Hé** 高河: Gāo River, river on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 14, 19, see 冯河
- Gāo Shì** 高氏: Gāo clan, name of powerful clan in Yúnnán – see page 11, 19
- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE – see page 12, 13, see 阁逻凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE –
- Gōng Tāo** 恭韬: legendary architect of the Three Pagodas 三塔 – see page 15
- Guǎngdé** 广德: reign period of Táng emperor Dàizōng, 763–764 – see page 13
- Guīyì** 归义: *Submitting to Righteousness*, honorific of Nánzhào ruler 皮罗阁 – see page 12, 19
- Guō Sōngnián** 郭松年: Yuán Cháo official, compiler of the 《大理行记》 – see pages 1, 5, 6, 9, 11
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see page 19
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty – see pages 12, 14, 19
- Hào** 号: *sobriquet*, assumed literary name – see page 19

- Héwěi Qiáo** 河尾桥: Héwěi bridge, bridge over the Xiě Hé – see page 12, 19
- Hèqìng** 鹤庆: – see page 16
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty – see page 20
- Hòuhàn Shū** 《后汉书》: ‘History of the Later Hàn Dynasty’, classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China – see page 20
- Hūbìliè** 忽必烈: Kublai Khan, Mongol leader who conquered Dàlǐ 大理 in 1253 – see page 5, 20
- Huī Yì** 徽义: legendary architect of the Three Pagodas 三塔 – see page 15
- Jìgǔdiānshuō Yuánjí** 《纪古滇说原集》: ‘Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān’, 1265 compendium by Yúnnán scholar Zhāng Dào zōng 张道宗 – see pages 5, 6, 9–11, 14, 15, 20
- Jiājìng** 嘉靖: emperor Jiājìng, Míng 明 emperor, 1521–1566 – see page 20
- Jiājìng Dàlǐ Fǔzhì** 《嘉靖大理府志》: ‘*Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlǐ*’, first gazetteer of the Dàlǐ 大理 region, compiled by Lǐ Yuányáng 李元阳, published 1563, see Sūn Péng 孙鹏 (2014) – see page 20
- Jiànjí** 建极: reign period of 世隆, 860–877 – see page 11
- Jǐngzhuāng** 景庄: posthumous name of 世隆 – see page 10, 11
- Jìngzhōu** 镜州: *Jìngzhōu*, ancient administrative district mentioned in some documents including the 《大理府志》 – see page 9, 20
- Kāngxī** 康熙: second emperor of the Qīng, 1661–1722 –
- Kāngxī Dàlǐfǔ Zhì** 《康熙大理府志》: ‘*Dàlǐ prefecture Zhì* 志’, Kāngxī 康熙 period local gazetteer, reprinted in Yáng Shìyù 杨世钰 (2007), vol. 4 – see page 20
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 –
- Kūnmíng** 昆明市: Kūnmíng, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 8, 20, see 拓东
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five Zhào – see page 15
- Lǐ Jīng** 李京: historian during the Yuán Cháo 元朝 –
- Lǐ Yuányáng** 李元阳: Míng 明 Dàlǐ 大理 scholar, see Xing (2022), Daniels (2020), p. 141 –
- Lìjiāng** 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan – see page 16
- Lóngshǒu pass** 龙首关: Dragon Head Gate, fortification at the northern end of the western side of Ěrhǎi (🌐 25.93N 100.1E) – see page 14, 20
- Lóngwěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěrhǎi – see pages 5, 12, 14, 20
- Lóngxīnghé Shān** 龙兴和山: Lóngxīnghé mountain, mountain – see page 9, 20
- Lùfēng** 禄丰: county in Yúnnán – see page 8
- Lùpǐn** 禄品: present-day Lùfēng 禄丰, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), p. 246 – see page 8
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest –
- Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nánzhào – see page 11, 12
- Méngǔ** 蒙古: Mongol, – see page 20

- 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 12
- Méng Shì** 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of Nánzhào – see pages 10–13, 21
- Mídù** 弥渡: valley south of Ěrhǎi – see page 8, 10
- Mìjiào** 密教: esoteric Buddhism, branch of Buddhism – see page 15, 21
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see page 11, 21
- Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明 – see page 21
- Móudìng** 谋定: county in Yúnnán – see page 8
- Nánhuá** 南华: – see page 8, 9
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 5, 9, 12, 13, 21
- Nánzhào Jìxíng** 《南诏纪行》: ‘*Nánzhào Travel Notes*’, work by Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, also called 《大理行记》 – see page 21
- 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 21
- Pílūōgé** 皮罗阁: fourth ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 728–748 CE – see page 12
- Pǐndiàn** 品甸: region to the east of Dàlǐ 大理 on the present-day Xiángyún 祥云 plain – see page 10, see 品甸海
- Pǐndiànǎi** 品甸海: lake in northern part of present-day Xiángyún 祥云 –
- Qíjìnzhāi Cóngshū** 《奇晋斋丛书》: ‘*Collection of Strange Books from Jin Study*’, Qīng dynasty Qiánlóng 乾隆 period collection of texts from earlier dynasties, the earliest print I have found is from 1745, see <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/chinese-rare-books/49-990080704670203941> – see pages 8, 11, 21
- Qiánlóng** 乾隆: Qīng dynasty emperor Qiánlóng, Qīng dynasty emperor, 1735–1796 – see page 21
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see page 21
- Qīnghǎihú** 青海湖: lake in present-day Xiángyún 祥云 – see page 10
- Qīngzì valley** 清字川: Qīngzì plain, historic name for the Xiángyún 祥云 plain – see page 10, 21
- Qúliànzhào** 渠敛赵: –
- Quànfēngyòu** 劝丰佑: Nánzhào ruler, ruled 823–859 CE – see page 11
- Sān Guó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 21
- Sāntǎ** 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 – see page 21, see 崇圣寺
- Shàngshān Sì** 上山寺: Shàngshān temple, – see page 15, 21

- Shénwǔ Wáng** 神武王: immortal warrior king, posthumous title of Géluófèng 阁逻凤 – see page 13, 21, *see* 阁逻凤
- Shénzhuāng river** 神庄江: Shénzhuāng river, river in the Zhàozhōu 赵州 plain – see page 11, 22
- Shímǎ Qiáo** 石马桥: Shímǎ bridge, bridge over the Xiě Hé – see page 12, 22
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘*Records of the Historian*’, – see page 22
- Shìlóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, \*844, †859, †877 – see page 10, 11
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see page 13
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 22
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province –
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see page 14, 22
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào – see page 12
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see pages 9, 14, 15, 22
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see page 13, 22
- Táng Dàizōng** 唐代宗: Táng emperor Dàizōng, Táng emperor, 762–779 – see page 13, 22
- Tángshū** 《唐书》: ‘*History of the Táng*’, – see page 10, 22
- Téngchōng** 腾冲: important present-day city in western Yunnan, west of the Gāolíngōng-shān 高黎贡山 – see page 16
- Tiānshēng Qiáo** 天生桥: Tiānshēng bridge, a natural bridge over the outflow of Ěrhǎi (⊕ 25.58N 100.2E) – see page 12, 22
- Tiānzhú** 天竺: India, Ancient name for India – see page 15, 22, *see* 身毒
- Tiězhǔmiào** 铁主庙: Tiězhǔ temple, temple on the present-day Mídù 弥渡 plain, named for an iron pillar said to date back before the Nánzhào period – see page 10, 22
- Tiězhù** 铁柱: iron pillar, mythological ritual site where the future Nánzhào king was anointed – see pages 10, 11, 22
- Tōngdiǎn** 《通典》: ‘*Comprehensive Statues*’, 801 work by Dù Yòu 杜佑 – see page 22
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire – see page 13
- 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 10–13, 22
- Wēibǎoshān** 巍宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山 – see page 22
- Wēichǔ** 威楚: – see page 8
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 巍宝山 – see page 22

- Wǔdài** 五代: Five Dynasties, period of five short-lived dynasties after the fall of the Táng dynasty, 907–960 – see page 14, 22
- Wǔ Hóu** 武侯: marquis of Wǔ, title of Zhūgéliàng 诸葛亮 – see page 11, 23, see 诸葛亮
- Xiěr Hé** 西洱河: Xiěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake – see page 12, 23
- Xìnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, \*617 †674, ruled 649–674 CE – see page 9
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán – see page 13
- Xiángyún** 祥云: – see page 9
- Yán Shīgǔ** 颜师古: Táng dynasty historian and linguist –
- Yáng** 杨: – see page 13
- Yángjūmiē** 阳苴咩: historic capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dali – see page 13
- Yáng Shèn** 杨慎: Míng 明 scholar, originally from Sichuān, exiled to Yúnnán in 1524, compiler of the 《滇载记》 and many other works. His Hào 号 was 升庵 – see page 6, see 滇载记
- 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 (⊕ 25.51N 101.24E) – see page 23
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see page 12, see 蛮
- Yímóuxún** 异牟寻: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 779–808 CE –
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see page 16
- Yóu Diǎncāngshān Jì** 《游点苍山记》: ‘Account of a Trip to the Diǎncāng Mountains’, work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎 – see page 6, 23
- Yǔhuā Sì** 雨花寺: Qīng dynasty temple in Zhàozhōu 赵州, possibly built on the location of the older Biànzhī Sì 遍知寺 (⊕ 25.58N 100.3E) –
- Yùjú Sì** 玉局寺: Yùjú temple, temple on Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山 – see page 15, 23
- Yuán Shìzǔ** 元世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294 – see page 12, 23
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368 – see pages 5, 8, 19, 23
- Yuāndú** 身毒: ancient reference to India, first appearing in the 《史记》. The term is pronounced *Yuāndú*, see 《古代汉语词典》(2002), p. 1385, not *Shēndú*, as in the 《通典》 it states (in the chapter on India): 「颜师古云：捐毒即身毒，身毒则天竺也。塞种即释种也，盖语音有轻重也。」– ‘Yán Shīgǔ noted: *Juāndú* is *Yuāndú*, *Yuāndú* is *Tiānzhu*. Just like *Sāizhōng* is *Shìzhōng*, they are variations in the intensity of the pronunciation.’ However, this is not entirely uncontested as it can also be argued that this annotation mistakes a small state called *Juāndú* 捐毒 mentioned in the 《后汉书》(第八十六卷 for *Yuāndú*, see Wilkinson (2013), p. 358. The term is synonymous with 天竺 – see page see 天竺
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5, 8–11
- Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《云南通志》: ‘*Yúnnán General Gazetteer*’, generic name for a number

- of historical works on Yúnnán – see page 8, 23
- Yúnnán Xíngshěng** 云南行省: Yúnnán province, title of Yúnnán during the Yuán Cháo 元朝 – see page 5, 24
- Yúnnányì** 云南驿: important caravan station, three stages before Dàlǐ 大理 (⊕ 25.39N 100.69E) – see page 8, 9
- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’, Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán – see pages 9, 10, 24
- Yúnnánzhìlùè** 《云南志略》: ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 dynasty history of Yúnnán, compiled by Lǐ Jīng 李京 – see page 24
- Zànpǔ** 赞普: title of the ruler of Tǔbō –
- Zànpǔ Zhōng** 赞普钟: title given to the rulers of Nánzhào 吐蕃, meaning ‘younger brother’ of the Zànpǔ 赞普, also written as Zànpǔzhōng 赞普钟 – see page 13, see 赞普
- Zhāng Dào zōng** 张道宗: author of the 《纪古滇说原集》, a man from Yúnnán, who lived at the end of the Sòng dynasty and beginning of the Yuán Cháo 元朝, otherwise nothing is known about him –
- Zhāng Lèjīnqiú** 张乐尽求: alternate form of Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求 in the 《南诏图传》 – see page 9, see 张乐尽求
- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张虔陀: ruler of 姚州 who played an important role in the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng dynasty in 751. Killed by Nánzhào in 751. – see page 12
- Zhāochéngwáng** 昭成王: king Zhāochéng, posthumous name of Quàn fēng yòu 劝丰佑 – see page 11, 24
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 24
- Zhào** 赵: clan name – see page 13
- Zhàodàn** 赵脸: writing in the 《大理行记》 for Zhàozhōu 赵州, I think the writing follows the character *dàn* 脸 in the 《云南志》 – see page 11, 14
- Zhàozhōu** 赵州: historic name for present-day Fèngyí 凤仪 – see pages 5, 8, 11
- Zhènnán** 镇南: present-day Nánhuá 南华, see Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986) – see page 8, 9
- Zhèng** 郑: – see page 13
- Zhèng Huí** 郑回: Han administrator captured by Nánzhào, serving as teacher to the royal family and as prime minister – see page 13
- Zhì** 志: *gazetteer*, term for official regional records – see page 24
- Zhōngqìng** 中庆: Yuán Cháo 元朝 name for the capital of Yúnnán, present-day 昆明 (⊕ 25.05N 102.71E) – see pages 5, 8, 9
- zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit – see pages 8, 9, 11, 24
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 11
- Zǐchéng** 紫城: *purple city*, another name for Dàlǐ 大理, appears first in the 《大理行记》, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 648 – see pages 13, 15, 24

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