
‘Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān’

An Annotated Translation of the Yuán dynasty Yúnnán History 《纪古滇说原集》

LUDWIG M BRINCKMANN

2024

The Yúnnán Papers

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

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

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

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

This document was compiled on 20th October 2024.

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

© 2021–2024 Ludwig M Brinckmann

All rights reserved.

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



This document is work in progress, this copy was compiled on 20th October 2024.

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

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

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

Contents

1	Introduction	5
2	About this Translation	7
3	Annotated Translation	7
	Preface 序	7
	The ‘ <i>Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān</i> ’ 《纪古滇说原集》	10
	Diān 滇	10
	Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻	16
	Báizǐ Guó 白子国	17
	The Western Hàn 西汉	17
	Wáng Mǎng 王莽	20
	The Eastern Hàn 东汉	21
	The Three Kingdoms 三国	22
	The Suí Dynasty 隋朝	24
	The Táng dynasty 唐朝	24
	The Dàilǐ Kingdom 大理国	37
	The Yuán Dynasty 元朝	39
	Postscript 跋	40
4	Glossary	41
5	References	67
	Index	69

Illustrations

1	Preface by Mù Cháobì 沐朝弼 to the 《纪古滇说原集》	9
2	Excerpt from the 《纪古滇说原集》	16

1 Introduction

The 《纪古滇说原集》 or ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’, also known as 《纪古滇说集》,⁽¹⁾ is a history work claiming to be compiled by the Yúnnán native Zhāng Dào zōng 张道宗 at the end of the Sòng, beginning of the Yuán dynasty. At the end of the book, the year 1265 CE is given as date,⁽²⁾ which would make the text the earliest extant systematic history of Yúnnán.

As the title suggests, the 《纪古滇说原集》 is derivative narration of the history of Yúnnán from the earliest times with stories copied from the standard histories, such as the ‘*Records of the Historian*’ 《史记》, the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》 and the ‘*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*’ 《后汉书》. As some of the stories are very similar to those in the later collection of Buddhist legends called ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’ 《白国因由》, it is also possible that some were copied from a now lost work in the local language called ‘*Báigǔtōng*’ 《白古通》.⁽³⁾

The 《纪古滇说原集》 is certainly not a reliable work of history writing, it rather represents a stage in the evolution of Yúnnán’s historic and religious folk mythology. The eminent scholar of Yúnnán’s history Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 noted that its contents is mostly myths and legends and very little real history;⁽⁴⁾ his disciple Mù Qín 木芹 called it of ‘no great value’, but saw it as a work illustrating the rise of Buddhism in the region.⁽⁵⁾

Not much seems to be known about the work or its author.⁽⁶⁾ The earliest extant copy was engraved during the Míng dynasty in 1549 CE and later mounted with an introduction by Mù Cháobì 沐朝弼 and a postscript by Yáng Shèn 杨慎. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 noted that the work was entered into the Tiānyī Pavillion 天一阁 private library. He also mentioned two further copies in other Chinese libraries, but as he had not seen them he could not say if there were any differences. The text later became a chapter in the Qīng dynasty collection of historic material about Yúnnán called ‘*Comprehensive Revised Records of Yúnnán*’ 《云南备徵志》.⁽⁷⁾

As nothing is known about the author nor the transmission history of the work, doubts about the text’s authenticity were raised as early as the 1798 CE published ‘*Annotated Bibliography of the “Complete Library of the Four Treasuries”*’ 《四库全书总目提要》, which notes about the text:

日本题宋张道宗撰。前有嘉靖己酉沐朝弼序，则称道宗为元人。卷末	The old edition mentions the Sòng man Zhāng Dào zōng as editor. However, the preface dated the Jiājìng jǐyǒu year by Mù Cháobì
--------------------------------	--

r2: dated the Jiājìng jǐyǒu year] 1549 CE.

(1) Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 652.

(2) But as the text references the later ‘*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*’ 《大理行记》 the extant text must have been augmented afterwards. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), p. 220 notes that the additions could have been made by later generations.

(3) The relationship between the two texts is unclear. It is possible that the ‘*Báigǔtōng*’ 《白古通》 copied from the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》, or vice versa, or even that both texts existed in parallel drawing from a common source, see Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2019), p. 136.

(4) Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 654.

(5) Mù Qín 木芹 in his afterword to the text in the Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 663.

(6) The most detailed information about the transmission history and the various versions of the text can be found in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, pp. 652–654.

(7) In the 5th *juàn*, see Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 36. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 notes that it is unclear on which copy this text was based.

四库总目 5

题「咸淳元年春正月八日，滇民张道宗录」。而书中又载元统二年立段信苗实为大理宣慰使司事，颠倒抵牾，猝不可诘。其书大抵阴剽诸史《西南夷传》，而小变其文。

四库总目 15

惟所记金马碧鸡事，称阿育王有三子争逐一金马，季子名至德，逐至滇池东山获之，即名其山曰金马。长子名福邦，续至滇池之西山，忽见碧凤，即名其山曰碧鸡。所谓金马、碧鸡之神，即是二子。其说荒诞，与史传尤异。文句亦多不雅驯，殆出臆托。

四库总目 25

况书中明言：「宋兴以北有大敌，不暇远略。使传往来，不通中国。」何以度宗式微之时，转奉其正朔？然则非惟道宗时代恍惚难凭，即其人之有无且不可遽信矣。

卷首有杨慎点校字，其即慎所依托而故谬其文以疑后人欤？

calls Dào zōng a Yuán man. At the end of the *juàn* it states ‘in spring, on the 8th day of the 1st month of Xiánchún’s 1st year, recorded by the Diān commoner Zhāng Dào zōng’. But in the book it also mentions that **in the 2nd year of Yuántǒng Duàn Xīnjūshí** was appointed as Dǎlǐ pacification commissioner clerk, **a conflict which is impossible to resolve**. This book heavily plagiarizes the ‘*Records of the Western and Southern Yí*’, with only minor changes to the text.

It alone records the story of the golden horse and the jade chicken, noting that king Ashoka had three sons who pursued a golden horse. The youngest son was called Zhì dé, he chased it to a mountain east of Lake Dian where he caught it, so he called it Golden Horse Mountain. The eldest son was called Fú bāng, he continued up to Diānchí’s Western Hills, where he suddenly saw a jade phoenix, so he called it Jade Chicken Mountain. The spirits of golden horse and jade chicken are the two sons. The writing is fantastical and deviates far from the historical records. Its writing is not very refined and might have been forged.

The text also states explicitly, ‘When the Sòng rose there were great enemies in the north and they had no plan to deal with distant regions. Envoys and trade could not reach China.’ How is it then possible that during the decline of Dào zōng **the official calendar was transmitted?** Thus, not only is the time of Dào zōng unreliable, not even his mere existence can be proven with confidence.

At the beginning of the *juàn* are annotations by Yáng Shèn, maybe these were made by Shèn in order to mislead future generations?

While later the eminent scholar Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 noted without comment that it was thought that the text was a forgery,⁽⁸⁾ while Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 noted that there was not actually any proof.⁽⁹⁾ The scholar Hóu Chōng 侯冲 noted that the text contains material that existed during the Yuán dynasty.⁽¹⁰⁾

l4-5: 段信苗] Clearly written in this form in the source, but should probably read Duàn Xīnjūshí 段信苴实.
l28: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?file=76398&page=184>

r4: Xiánchún’s 1st year] 1265 CE.

r6: in the 2nd year of Yuántǒng] 1334 CE.

r7-8: a conflict which is impossible to resolve] As the claimed time of completion is well before an entry for a later date. I think that the reign period should have maybe been recorded as Zhìyuán 至元, i.e. 1264-1294 CE, which would fit with the lifetime of Duàn Shí.

r8-9: ‘*Records of the Western and Southern Yí*’] part of the Hàn dynasty history work ‘*Records of the Historian*’ 《史记》.

r24: Dào zōng] Southern Sòng emperor, ruled 1264-1274 CE.

r24-25: the official calendar was transmitted] The acceptance of the official imperial calendar was generally seen as a sign of submission to Chinese rule.

(8) 「古滇说一书，四库提要，以为杨慎伪作。」，Xú Jiārùi 徐嘉瑞 (1946)，五一。

(9) Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2019)，p. 136.

(10) 「保存了一些至少在元代甚至元代以前就已存在的资料」，Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011)，pp. 69-71.

2 About this Translation

The text of the 《纪古滇说原集》 is contained in the multi-volume collection of historical material about Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》.⁽¹¹⁾

A block-printed copy of the text was included in the 1941 CE published ‘*Collectanea from the Hall of Profound Observation*’ 《玄览堂丛书》.⁽¹²⁾

Another, entirely handwritten copy of the preface and the main text, but not the postscript by Yáng Shèn 杨慎 (even though he is mentioned having perused the text), can be found in 《大理丛书: 史籍篇》 (2012), vol. 2, pp. 1–40.⁽¹³⁾

A further, unrelated, copy of the text was included in the Qīng dynasty collection of texts 《云南备徵志》, which can be found in 《大理丛书: 史籍篇》 (2012), vol. 10, pp. 348–366.⁽¹⁴⁾ A critical transcription of this text is included in Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 (2010), vol. 上, pp. 303–. This text provides critical notes, comparing the version contained in the ‘*Comprehensive Revised Records of Yúnnán*’ 《云南备徵志》 with the above-mentioned version contained in the ‘*Collectanea from the Hall of Profound Observation*’ 《玄览堂丛书》.

An online transcription of the text is available at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=974784>, but its segmentation seems to contain a number of errors. There is also a transcription by Hayashi Kenichiro 林谦一郎 at <https://toyoshi.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/maruha/siryu/jigudianshuo.html>.⁽¹⁵⁾

I am not aware of an English translation, but as it copies many passages from the official histories, their relevant translations have helped to understand the text.

3 Annotated Translation

The work work extant in the 《玄览堂丛书》 consists of three parts: a preface written by Mù Cháobì 沐朝弼, who served in the 16th century as a high official in Yúnnán, then followed by the main text of the 《纪古滇说原集》 compiled by Zhāng Dào zōng 张道宗, followed by an afterword composed by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, a leading scholar exiled to Yúnnán in 1524 CE.

Preface 序

纪古滇说集序

Preface to the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’

⁽¹¹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, pp. 652–663. The text published there was taken from the above-mentioned 《玄览堂丛书》.

⁽¹²⁾ As the earliest text included in this collection, in the 1st 册, a scanned copy of which is available at <https://taiwanebook.ncl.edu.tw/zh-tw/book/NTUL-9910003349>. This edition appears based on a copy from the same printing blocks held in Hong Kong at <https://repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/sc/item/cuhk-959684>. Note: The Hong Kong copy has a number of stamps in red that are black, i.e. copied, in the Taiwan copy, but another (red) stamps were added to the Taiwan copy that were added after the Hong Kong copy received stamps in the same locations. The Hong Kong copy also misses the additional covering parts that came with being included in the 《玄览堂丛书》 and the postscript by Yáng Shèn 杨慎.

⁽¹³⁾ This was mentioned in Wright (2019), p. iv, who also noted that this text contains upper margin annotations.

⁽¹⁴⁾ I found this text through its mention in Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 4, which notes that this text is more affected by copying errors, but contains the afterword by Yáng Shèn. I have not attempted to make a comparison.

⁽¹⁵⁾ I found this via Wright (2019), p. iv.

云南古为滇国，天则参井馀气，地则梁益裔土，故其沿革附于巴蜀，河图纬所谓南中为蜀之苑囿是也。

『史记·西南夷传』，班固、范曄衍之，至晋常璩作『南中志』，附于『华阳国志』详矣。

余家重膺天恩，世守滇云，戎政之暇，求滇之遗迹，病其略也。

盖史之体，内华夏而外荒徼，今也九州岛同城，四海一贯，固不厌其详且烦也。

纪古滇说 15

In ancient times Yúnnán was known as the kingdom of Diān, in heaven the abundant energies of Cān and Jǐng, on earth the remote regions of Liáng and Yì, so its history was categorized under Bā and Shǔ, the 'River Chart Augury' called Nánzhōng the pleasure garden of Shǔ.

The biographies of the western and southern Yí in the 'Records of the Historian' were written by Bān Gù and Fàn Yē, up to the Jin dynasty Cháng Qú wrote the 'Records of Nánzhōng' as an appendix to the 'Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá'.

My family received the blessings of heaven and were over generations guardians of Diān, when at leisure from military affairs I searched for the remnants of Diān, but illness cut it short.

In the canon of history, there was the interior of China and the barren outer lands, today these islands are joined with the nine divisions and the four seas are under one rule – so expounding their details is not tiresome.

The list of historical works mentioned in the following paragraph, while certainly not complete,⁽¹⁶⁾ gives an impression of which works were in wider circulation during the Míng dynasty.

于类书所引杨子云『蜀本纪』、譙周『异物志』，仅存千百于一二；若任豫之『益州记』、韦管『云南事状』、韦齐休之『云南行记』、樊绰之『云南志』『南蛮记』，皆名存而籍亡久矣，莫可徵也。

纪古滇说 20

In the classical works are fragmentary quotations from Yáng Zǐyún's 'Records of Shǔ' and Qiáo Zhōu's 'Records of Strange Things', but of Rèn Yù's 'Records of Yìzhōu', Wéi Guǎn's 'Yúnnán Facts and Situation', Wéi Qíxiū's 'Yúnnán Travel Records', Fán Chuò's 'Gazetteer of Yúnnán' or 'Records of the southern Mán', only their names are known but the works have long been forgotten and it is impossible to examine them.

Mù Cháobi 沐朝弼 then claims that his family had kept a copy of the 《纪古滇说原集》. Despite his doubts about the veracity and the poor writing, he considered the text worth preserving and ordered to carve a set of printing blocks. But it is peculiar that his introduction and the main text does not seem to have been made by the same person as the text appear quite different, for comparison see illustrations 1 and 2.

家所旧藏有『纪古滇说集』，乃元人张道宗所录，始自唐虞，讫于咸淳，方

纪古滇说 25

My family possesses an old collection called 'Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān', recorded by the Yuán scholar

l9: 详矣。] The segmentation of this passage is not clear, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 654 continues after this with 余家重膺天恩, but from the woodcut print, it appears that a new section begins after 余家重膺

r2-3: in heaven the abundant energies of Cān and Jǐng] this astrological placement of the region is also contained in the 'Unofficial History of Nánzhào' 《南诏野史》.

r26: Yuán] The handwritten copy of the 《纪古滇说原集》 contains the annotation that he was not a Yuán dynasty man.

r26: scholar] The text only says 'man', so suggesting that he had no official title, but obviously he must have been a literate person.

⁽¹⁶⁾ see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998) for a comprehensive list and Mǎ Qiáng 马强 (2005) for a summary discussion.

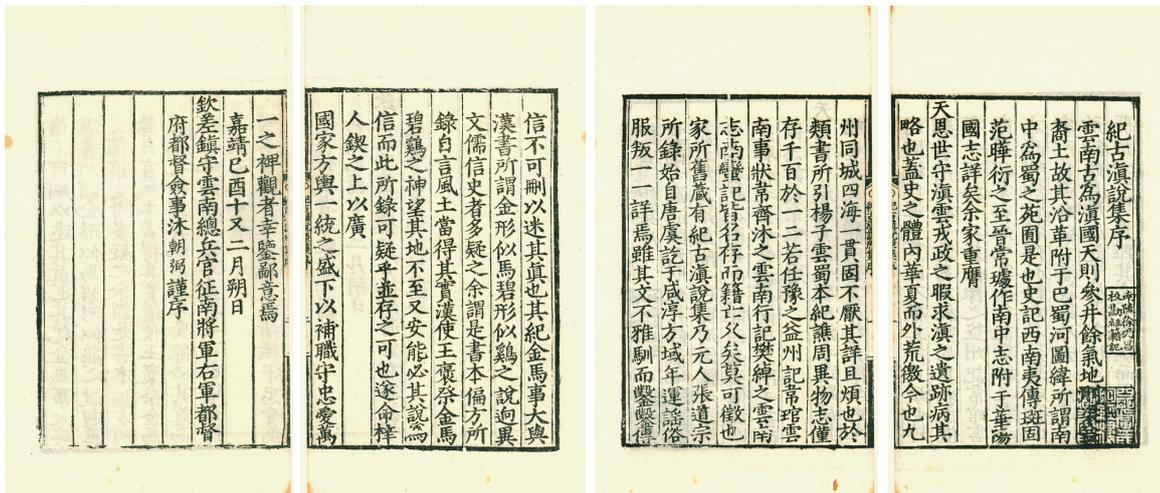


Illustration 1:
Preface by Mù Cháobì 沐朝弼 to the 《纪古滇说原集》

Source: 《纪古滇说原集》 copy held at the National Central Library 国家图书馆, see <https://taiwanebook.ncl.edu.tw/zh-tw/book/NTUL-9910003349>.

域年运，謠俗服叛，一一详焉。

虽其文不雅驯，而凿凿传信不可删，以迷其真也，其纪金马事，大与『汉书』所谓金形似马、碧形似鸡之说迥异，文儒信史者多疑之。

余谓是书本偏方所录，自言风土当得其实，汉使王褒祭金马、碧鸡之神，望其地不至又安能必其说为信，而此所录可疑乎！并存之可也。

遂命梓人鐫之，上以广国家方輿一统之盛，下以补职守忠爱万一之裨，观者幸鉴鄙意焉。

Zhāng Dào zōng, it begins with Tángyáo and Yúshùn, ending with Xiánchún, the tribulations over the years in the region, the legends and customs, the submissions and the rebellions – all are described in detail.

Even though the writing is not polished, it records confirmed sayings that cannot be expurgated, [but] make one confused over its veracity. As its recordings of the affairs of the golden horse and the jade chicken are very different from the 'History of the Hàn Dynasty', many scholars doubt their veracity.

I personally think that this book records old sayings and I believe that its sayings about the customs are accurate. **The Hàn envoy Wáng Bào worshipped the divine beings of the golden horse and the jade chicken.** As he described these lands how can he not have been there? So one can trust his sayings, but one can also doubt his recordings. So both must be preserved.

So I ordered to carve printing blocks, so that the emperor may expand and unify the lands and prosper, and in hope of the benefit for those below to improve the loyalty and benevolence of their work. May the reader favourably view my humble contribution.

纪古滇说 30

纪古滇说 35

纪古滇说 40

纪古滇说 45

He signs off, as was custom, listing his name and titles, as well as the date, in 1549 CE.

r 27: Tángyáo and Yúshùn] Tángyú 唐虞: Tángyáo and Yúshùn.

r 27–28: ending with Xiánchún] reign period of Southern Sòng emperor Dùzōng, 1265–1274.

r 37–39: The Hàn envoy Wáng Bào worshipped the divine beings of the golden horse and the jade chicken] This refers to the passage on Wáng Bào 王褒 below, see page 19.

嘉靖己酉十又二月朔日
钦差镇守云南总兵官征南将军右军
都督府都督佥事沐朝弼谨序。

On the first day of the 12th month of the *jǐyǒu* of Jiājìng
Respectful preface by Mù Cháobi, the imperial envoy of the gar-
rison in Yúnnán, the regional commander for the southern exped-
ition, the general of the right army, and assistant to the area com-
mand commander-in-chief.

The ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’ 《纪古滇说原集》

After this critical introduction begins the text of the 《纪古滇说原集》 proper.

As the text will show, its content is derived from a number of old books, but is not copied verbatim: these stories were known to the educated elite, but they were not learned by rote, and some creative composition was used to forge the text.

Diān 滇

The text begins with a mythological introduction of the region of Lake Dian 滇池 and the ancient kingdom of Diān 滇国.

古滇，始自唐虞而前，渐渐有野人
授土号，法外君长。

The old Diān began even before Tángyáo and Yúshùn, as over time
untamed people took title of the lands, **their rulers ignorant of the**
dharma.

唐分命仲宅西曰昧谷，虞导黑水至
于三危，入于南海。

Tángyáo received the order to reside in the western lands called
Mèigǔ, Yúshùn guided the **Black River to Sānwēi and to enter the**
southern sea.

纪古滇说 55

The text then follows ancient stories about the Great Yǔ 大禹, the legendary tamer of the floods. Certain phrases appear taken from the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》, but the whole story told here seems only extant in the Táng dynasty ‘*Old Scriptures of the Mountains and Rivers*’ 《古岳渎经》. It is followed by geographical information about Lake Dian from the 《史记》.

大禹治水命神庚辰徇南海分派江河，
流沙金色，故名金沙，入昧谷，见水
多聚于山顶，溪池广远，谷岛高峙，
乃曰滇水。

The Great Yǔ controlled the waters and ordered the spirit
Gēngchén to inspect the southern seas and to direct the rivers, it
flowed with a golden hue, so was called [river of] **golden sands**, it
enters Mèigǔ, one can see water accumulating on the mountain
tops, the streams and rivers flow wide, with valleys and islands

纪古滇说 60

r 46: On the first day of the 12th month of the *jǐyǒu* of Jiājìng] 19th December 1549.

r 51: Tángyáo and Yúshùn] Tángyú 唐虞 is a short form for Tángyáo and Yúshùn, legendary Chinese rulers.

r 52–53: their rulers ignorant of the *dharma*] Of course *fǎwài* 法外 could be translated in many ways, but as the remainder of the text narrates the arrival of Buddhist belief in the region, I think here *fǎ* 法 here refers to *fófǎ* 佛法.

r 55: Mèigǔ] Mèigǔ 昧谷 is a mythological place where the sun sets, but here seems to be used as a geographical location.

r 55–56: the Black River to Sānwēi and to enter the southern sea.] The Hēishuǐ 黑水 and Sānwēi 三危 are locations mentioned in the 《禹贡》, for translation and annotations see Legge (1865), pp. 40–120. The question where these rivers are is also discussed in the ‘*Jiājìng Period Gazetteer of Dàlì*’ 《嘉靖大理府志》.

r 59: [river of] golden sands] The upper part of the Yangzi 长江 is called *River of Golden Sands* 金沙江.

滇水周三百里，其地万里，皆蛮夷所有。

high above them, so it was called lake Diān.

The circumference of lake Diān is three hundred *lǐ*, its lands are ten thousand square *lǐ*, various *Mányí* inhabit it.

Then come the even more legendary states further west, but the text seems to contain several major confusions.

The Great State of Qín or Dàqín Guó 大秦国 is generally assumed to refer to the Roman empire and the introductory phrase here considers it to be in the far west; the state of ?? 身毒国 refers to the Indian subcontinent, but the third state mentioned, the state of Yìqú 义渠国 was not a state in the far south-west, but in the north-west, mentioned in the 《史记》 as a rival to another state, also called state of Qín 秦国, the state that later first unified China under its rule.

The next state then mentioned, the state of Jiǎopú 獂濮国, is mentioned in the much later ‘*Extensive Records of Tàipíng*’ 《太平广记》 as a state west of Yǒngchāng 永昌, where people have tails. There seems to be no other record of this fabulous region.

西穷极有大秦国、身毒国、义渠国、獂濮国，茶弼沙国有圣人名徂葛尼到此。

In its extreme west is the great state of Qín, the state of ??, the state of Yìqú, and the state of Jiǎopú. In the state of Chábìshā was a wise man called Cúgéní who came here.

纪古滇说 65

诸国皆有君长，茶弼沙是日落之所，有大洋，日入其洋矣。

Their countries all have rulers, Cházhōushā is where the sun sets, there is a great ocean, the sun sets in it.

外有缅甸诸国，西南滨海黑水所流八百、日南、占城、真腊、登流眉、宾童龙国，有王舍城中目连舍基，此南海滨也，与滇水相去不远。

Further away is state of the Yí of Miǎn, in the south-west it is close to the sea, the Black River flows for eight hundred [*lǐ*] to Rìnnán, Zhānchéng, Zhēnlà, Dēngliúméi, and the state of Bìntónglóng, in the middle of Wángshèchéng remains a foundation of Maudgalyāyana’s convent, it borders the southern sea, not far from lake Diān.

纪古滇说 70

纪古滇说 75

And then a passage ostensibly copied from the ‘*Records of the Historian*’ 《史记》.

自此西南夷君长以十数，夜郎最大；其西靡莫之属以十数，滇最大；自滇以北君长以十数，邛都最大；此皆魑结，耕田，有邑聚。

From here, the western and southern Yí have dozens of rulers, Yèláng is the greatest, west of it are dozens who belong to the Mímò, Diān is the greatest. North of Diān are dozens of rulers, Qióngdū is the greatest. They bind their hair in a bun, they till fields, and live in villages.

纪古滇说 80

其外西自同师以东，北至牂榆，名为牂、昆明，皆编发，随畜迁徙，毋

Beyond in the west, east of Tóngshī and north of Yèyú, are the Xī and Kūnmíng. They braid their hair, they follow their livestock,

*l*72: 目连] short form of Mùjiānliányán 目犍连延.

*r*67: Cúgéní] perhaps Alexander the Great?

*r*73: Wángshèchéng] the name means literally ‘abode of the king’, i.e. Buddha, it is a reference to one of the ancient sites of Buddhism in India, Rājagṛha.

*r*74: Maudgalyāyana] one of Buddha’s ten disciples,

*r*81: Xī] a reference to Xīzhōu 雋州, i.e. present-day southern Sìchuan.

*r*82: Kūnmíng] a reference to the salt producing areas of present-day Yányuán 盐源, not the region of the present-day capital of Yúnnán.

	常处，毋君长，地方可数千里。	do not have fixed abode, do not have rulers, their lands are several thousand <i>lǐ</i> .
纪古滇说 85	自崑以东北君长以十数，冉駹最大。其俗或土著，或移徙，在蜀之西。	North-east of Xī are dozens of rulers, Rǎnmáng is the greatest. Their custom is to live on the land or to move around, this is west of Shǔ.
	自冉駹以东北君长以十数，白马最大。	From Rǎnmáng to the north and east are there are dozens of rulers, Báimǎ is the greatest.
纪古滇说 90	皆氐类也，此皆巴蜀西南外蛮夷也。	They are all of the <i>Dǐ</i> kind, these are all <i>Mányí</i> beyond the borders to the west and south of Bā and Shǔ.

The following then presents a convoluted mix-up of pre-historic Chinese dynastic legends, the earliest appearance of the story of king Ashoka 阿育王 as the promoter of Buddhism in Yúnnán,⁽¹⁷⁾ the story of Shāyī 沙壹 (here written as Shāyī 沙一), the legendary ancestor of the Āiláo Yī 哀牢夷 who bears a dragon ten sons of which the youngest becomes king, ostensibly copied from the much earlier 'Biographies of Āiláo' 《哀牢传》.

	周宣王在位四十六年，时乃周室中兴，远闻西南有身毒国，即天竺国也。	King Xuān of Zhōu was on the throne for forty-six years, during his time the house of Zhōu prospered again and it was heard from afar that in the south-west was the state of ??, also called the state of Tiānzhú.
	先昭王二十一年，有净梵王妃摩耶氏生太子悉多，不欲为君长，入山秃发也。	Earlier, in the 21st year of king Xuānzhāo of Zhōu, there was king of Jìngfàn, his wife Māyā had many children, [one] did not desire to be king, entered the mountains and shaved his head.
纪古滇说 100	至宣王时，西天竺亦有国曰摩耶提，乃王也，是净梵王摩耶之后裔也。	At the time of king Xuān of Zhōu, in the western Tiānzhú there was a country called Móyéti, it had a king who was also a descendant of king of Jìngfàn and Māyā.
	摩耶提名阿育，生三子，长曰福邦，其名也，次曰弘德，季曰至德。	Māyā chose the name Ashoka, he begat three sons, the eldest was Fúbāng, the second was Hóngdé, the youngest Zhìdé.
纪古滇说 105	三子俱健勇，因父阿育王有神骥一匹，身高八尺，红鬃赤尾，毛有金色，三子共争之，王莫能决。	His three sons were without exception mighty and brave, as their father king Ashoka had an excellent steed, which was eight <i>chǐ</i> in height, with a red mane and fire-red tail, its fur was golden, his three sons fought over it, the king could not make a decision.
	乃曰：「三子皆一也，与一则偏一，而不爱于二也」。	He said: 'My three sons are all equal, to choose one and slight the other is unfair to the others.'
纪古滇说 110	乃命左右曰：「将我神骥纵驰而去，有能追获者主之。」乃一纵直奔东向	And he gave an order to his men: 'Take my excellent steed, unbridle it and let it go, who can chase and capture it will be its owner.' And

r 92: King Xuān of Zhōu was on the throne for forty-six years] 827–782 BCE.

r 94–95: the state of ??, also called the state of Tiānzhú] i.e. India.

r 96: in the 21st year of king Xuānzhāo of Zhōu] 975 BCE? – king Xuānzhāo of Zhōu 周昭王 only reigned for nineteen years.

r 96–97: king of Jìngfàn] i.e. Śuddhodana, the father of Śākyamuni.

r 97: his wife Māyā] i.e. Móyé.

(17) The story of king Ashoka 阿育王 and his sons appears in local history for the first time according to Ān Qí 安琪 (2013).

而去。

三子各领部众相与追逐，其季子至德先至滇之东山，而获其神骥，就名其东山以为金马山。

长子福邦续至滇池之西山，闻季子以获其马，停憩于西山之麓，忽有碧凤呈祥，后误目山曰碧鸡。

次子弘德后至滇之北野，各主之不回。

王忧思，滇类众，恐未获归，乃遣舅氏神明统兵以应援。

将归，不期哀牢夷君主阻兵塞道而不复返矣。

once unbridled, it ran off into the east.

His three sons each led troops to chasing it, the youngest son Zhidé reached the eastern mountains of Diān first and captured the excellent steed, and so called the eastern mountains Golden Horse Mountain.

The eldest son Fúbāng continued to the mountains west of Diānchí, when he heard that the youngest brother had caught the horse, he stopped and rested at the foot of the western mountains, suddenly there was an auspicious sign of a jade phoenix, so later this mountains was erroneously called Jade Chicken Mountain.

The second son Hóngdé later reached the wildernis north of Diān, and the three rulers did not return.

The king was worried, as the people of Diān had not yet been able to return, so he sent his uncle Shénmíng to lead troops to provide assistance.

Just when they were to return, suddenly the ruler of the Āiláo Yí blocked off the roads and they could not turn back.

纪古滇说 115

纪古滇说 120

纪古滇说 125

With this mention of the Āiláo Yí blocking the return of king Ashoka's sons – a commingling of the 'Records of the Historian' 《史记》 stories of the Chǔ general Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻 who led an expedition into the region and, as he could not return, turned 'native' and became king of Diān 滇王 with perhaps the story of Zhāng Qiān 张騫 reporting of goods from Bactria 大夏 and the subsequent failed mission to find a way to state of ?? from kingdom of Diān 滇国 – a continuity in the story is invented, which then retells the story from the 'Biographies of Āiláo' 《哀牢传》.

This story makes the connection of kingdom of Āiláo 哀牢国 and Xínúluó 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào, here written as Xínónglè 习农乐.

哀牢国，永昌郡也，其先有郡人蒙迦独，妻摩梨羌，名沙一，居于牢山。

蒙迦独尝捕鱼为生，后死牢山水中，不获其尸。

妻沙一往哭于此，忽见一木浮触而来，旁边漂沉，离水面少许，妇坐其上，平稳不动。

明日视之，见木沉触如旧，遂尝浣絮其上，若有感，因怀妊，十月孕，生九子，复产一子，共男十人。

In the kingdom of Āiláo, i.e. the district of Yǒngchāng, there was once a local man called Méng Jiādú, his wife was Mólíqiāng, also called Shāyī, they lived on Āiláo Shān.

Méng Jiādú often went fishing for a living, but he later died in the waters of the Āiláo Mountains, his body was never found.

His wife Shāyī went there to mourn him, and suddenly saw a log floating in the water and she touched it, next to her it submerged, emerging over the water surface only a little, she sat on it, it was stable and did not move.

She went to see it the next day, she saw the submerged log and touched it as before, then washed her clothes on top of it, it was as if it was alive, and she was pregnant, after ten months she gave

纪古滇说 130

纪古滇说 135

纪古滇说 140

[138: 木] In the original text it reads *shuǐ* 水, changed according to Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), p. 145 who changed it according to meaning of the text.

r130: Mólíqiāng] 茉莉婁 is a variation of Mòlìqiāng 茉莉婁.

r131: Shāyī] Shāyī 沙壹 is the writing in the 'Biographies of Āiláo' 《哀牢传》.

同母一日行往池边，询问其父。
母指曰：「死此池中矣。」
语未毕，见沉木化为龙，出水上。

沙一与子忽闻龙语曰：「若为我生子，今俱何在？」九子见龙惊走，独一小子不能去，母固留之，此子背龙而坐。

纪古滇说 150 龙因舐之，就唤其名曰：「习农乐。」母因见子背龙而坐，乃鸟语谓背为九，谓坐为隆，因其名池曰九隆。

习农乐后长成，有神异，每有天乐奏于其家，凤凰栖于树，有五色花开，四时常有神人卫护相随。

纪古滇说 155

诸兄见有此异，又能为父所舐而与名，遂共推以为王，主哀牢山下。

纪古滇说 160

哀牢山又有一人唤奴波息者夫妇，复生十女子，因与习农乐兄弟皆娶以为妻。

纪古滇说 165

奴波息见习农乐有神异，遂重爱之，而家大旺。

邻有禾和者，嫉欲害之，习农乐奉母夜奔巍山之野，躬亲稼穡，修德惟勤，教民耕种。

纪古滇说 170

其九弟兄有妻，后渐相滋长，种人皆刻画其身，象龙文，衣著尾。

birth to nine sons, and later another one, in total ten sons.

They all went to the water's edge, and enquired about their father. The mother told them: 'He died in this pond.'

When she had not yet finished speaking, they saw the floating log turn into a dragon emerging from the water.

Shāyī and her sons suddenly **heard** the dragon say: 'Since you are all my sons, where do you live now?' The nine sons were startled seeing the dragon and ran away, only the youngest one could not run, so he stayed behind, and sat on the back of the dragon.

So the dragon licked him and gave him a name, saying 'Xínónglè.' When his mother saw him sitting on the dragon's back, and in the bird language the back is called *jiǔ*, and sitting is called *lóng*, so she called him Jiǔlóng.

When Xínónglè grew up, there were strange magic happenings, wherever he went all the time music from heaven accompanied his home, a phoenix was perching on the tree, many-coloured flowers bloomed, all the time defended and accompanied by divine beings.

When his brothers saw these omens, they understood that he had these abilities because his father had licked him and given him his name, so they all proposed him to be their king to rule everything below the Āiláo Mountains.

In the Āiláo Mountains there was also someone called Nú Bōxī and his wife, who gave birth to ten girls, so they were all given as wives in marriage to the brothers of Xínónglè.

When Nú Bōxī saw that Xínónglè had unnatural abilities, he cherished and loved him, and their house prospered greatly.

In the neighbourhood there was a man called Hé Hé, he was jealous and wanted to harm him, Xínónglè took his mother and in the night fled to the wilderness of mount Wēi, and farmed himself, eagerly cultivated virtue, and taught the people to till and cultivate.

His nine brothers had wives, over time they all grew in number. These people all carve pictures in the shape of a dragon into their bodies and their clothes have a **tail**.

r146: heard] understand?

r150: Xínónglè] Obviously a different writing of Xínúluó 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào.

r154-158: When Xínónglè grew up, there were strange magic happenings, wherever he went all the time music from heaven accompanied his home, a phoenix was perching on the tree, many-coloured flowers bloomed, all the time defended and accompanied by divine beings.] Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), p. 146 notes how similar this discriptions to the 'Illustrated History of Nánzhào' 《南诏图传》.

r168: Hé Hé] This is the person called Sān Hé in the 'Origins of the Bai Kingdom' 《白国因由》.

r175: tail] The myth of state of Jiǎopú 鞞濮国 recorded in the 'Extensive Records of Tàipíng' 《太平广记》 notes people from the west of Yǒngchāng 永昌 as having tails, this myth is also referred to earlier in this text, see page 11.

It follows a passage that narrates the contents of the ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏图传》 picture scroll, showing that the stories were familiar in the late Sòng dynasty. However, there are a few indicators that Zhāng Dào zōng 张道宗 had not seen the scroll himself: on the picture scroll many names are spelled out and the spelling here deviates significantly, to the point of being erroneous.

- Xīnúlúo 细奴逻 is written as Xínónglè 习农乐
- Xúnmíjiǎo 浔弥脚 is written as Xīmìjué 细密觉
- Zhāng Lèjìnqiú 张乐尽求 is written as Zhāng Lèjìnqiú 张乐进求, this is also the writing in the 《白国因由》.

In my view suggests that the story told in the 《南诏图传》 was not exclusively transmitted via the scroll. Maybe the story was depicted on a temple mural and thus accessible to the public in a way a precious scroll like the 《南诏图传》 would not have been.

习农乐在于巍山之野，主其民，咸尊让也。

有梵僧续旧缘，自天竺国来乞食于家，习农乐同室人细密觉者，勤供于家。

而饷夫耕，前则见前僧先在耕所坐向。

问其言，僧曰：「汝夫妇虽主哀牢，勤耕稼穡，后以王兹土者无穷也。」

语毕，腾空而去，乃知是观音大士也。

复化为老人，自铸其像，留示其后，今阿嵯观音像者是也。

大将军张乐进求后来求会诸首，合祭于铁柱，凤凰飞上习农乐之左肩，乐进求等惊异，尚其有圣德，遂逊位其哀牢王，孙名奇嘉者，以蒙号国也。

In the wilderness of mount Wēi Xínónglè ruled his people, they all honoured and submitted to him.

There was a foreign monk who followed an old tradition and came from the state of Tiānzhú to beg for food at his home, **Xínónglè's wife Xīmìjué** generously provided for him in the house.

She brought provisions for her husband who was tilling, the monk was seen sitting ahead in the fields.

She asked him, the monk said: ‘Even you and your husband are rulers of Āiláo and diligently till and harvest, later he will be king of these lands forever.’

When he had finished saying this, he rose into the sky and disappeared, then they knew this was the Great Bodhisattva Guānyīn.

He turned into an old man, and cast an image of himself, which remained as a sign of himself, it is the image today of **Ācuō Guānyīn**.

Later, the general Zhāng Lèjìnqiú requested an assembly of the leaders, they worshipped together at the iron pillar, a phoenix came flying and perched on the left shoulder of Xínónglè, Lèjìnqiú and the others were astonished, they thought he had sacred virtue, and abdicated as king of Āiláo [in favour or] **his grandson Qíjiā**, and chose the name Méng for the country.

纪古滇说 180

纪古滇说 185

纪古滇说 190

纪古滇说 195

r179–180: Xínónglè's wife Xīmìjué] This is not consistent with the names on the ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏图传》, where Xúnmíjiǎo 浔弥脚 is the wife of king Qí 奇王.

r189: Ācuō Guānyīn] A different writing of Ācuóyé 阿嵯耶 Guānyīn 观音.

r190: Later, the general Zhāng Lèjìnqiú] Alternative writing of Zhāng Lèjìnqiú 张乐尽求.

r194: his grandson Qíjiā] king Qí 奇王 or king Qíjiā 奇嘉王 was actually the posthumous name of Xīnúlúo 细奴逻.

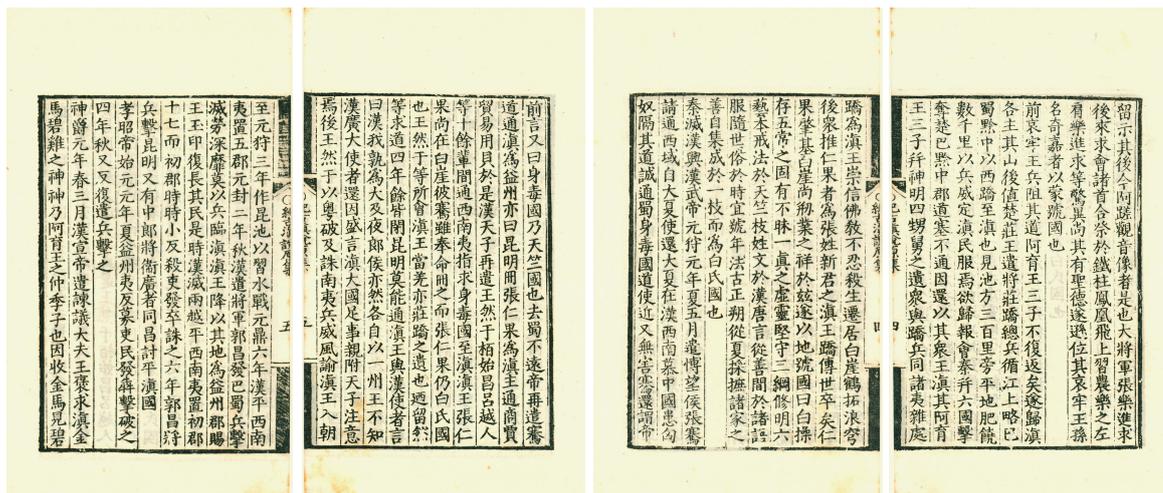


Illustration 2:
Excerpt from the 《纪古滇说原集》

Source: 《纪古滇说原集》 copy held at the National Central Library 国家图书馆, see <https://taiwanebook.ncl.edu.tw/zh-tw/book/NTUL-9910003349>.

Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻

The story of Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻 was first told in the ‘Records of the Historian’ 《史记》.

前哀牢王兵阻其道，阿育王三子不
复返矣，遂归滇，各主其山。

Earlier, the troops of the king of Āiláo blocked the road, the three sons of king Ashoka could not return, so they went back to Diān, each ruling his own mountain.

纪古滇说 200

后值楚庄王遣将庄蹻总兵循江上，
略巴、蜀、黔中以西。

Later, king Zhuāng of Chǔ sent the commander Zhuāng Qiāo to lead troops up the river, invading Bā, Shǔ and Qián to the west.

蹻至滇也，见池方三百里，旁平地
肥饶数千里，以兵威定，滇民服焉。

Qiāo arrived in Diān, he saw a lake three hundred *lǐ* in circumference, with flat lands adjacent to it fertile for more than one thousand *lǐ*, so he secured the region with the might of his troops, and wore the clothes of the people of Diān.

纪古滇说 205

欲归报，会秦并六国，击夺楚巴、黔
中郡，道塞不通，因还以其众王滇。

When he desired to return and report, Qín had unified the six kingdoms, attacked and seized the territory of Chǔ, Bā, and Qián, blocking the roads. As there was no way through, he turned back and used his troops to be king of Diān.

纪古滇说 210

其阿育王三子并神明四甥舅之遗众
与蹻兵同诸夷杂处。

King Ashoka's three sons and the descendants of Shénmíng's nephews and uncles lived together with the soldiers of Qiāo in the regions of the Yí.

蹻为滇王，崇信佛教，不忍杀生，迁
居白崖、鹤拓、浪穹。

Qiāo became king of Diān, he believed in the Buddhist teachings, did not allow to kill living beings. He moved to Báiyá, Hètùò, and Làngqióng.

[213–214: Báiyá, Hètùò, and Làngqióng] i.e. the wider Lake Ērhǎi 洱海 region, thus bridging the gap from Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻 to Nánzhào 南诏.

Báizǐ Guó 白子国

It follows a passage that for the first time in extant records mentions the Bái kingdom 白国, a variant writing of state of Báizǐ 白子国.⁽¹⁸⁾ Whether this state ever existed remains heavily contested amongst scholars.⁽¹⁹⁾

后众推仁果者为张姓新君之滇王，躋传世卒矣。

仁果肇基白崖，尚耒业之祥于兹，遂以地号国曰白，操存五常之固有，不昧一真之虚灵，坚守三纲，修明六艺，本戒法于天竺，枝姓文于汉唐，言从善闻于诸语，服随世俗于时宜，号年法古，正朔从夏，采摭诸家之善，自集成于一枝，而为白氏国也。

Later, the people promoted Rénguǒ as the new ruler of the Zhāng clan and to king of Diān, Qiāo's reign came to an end.

Rénguǒ laid the foundation for Báiyá, the good omens of his works continue until today, then he called his country the Bái kingdom, upheld the integrity of the five virtues, did not forget the essence of the one truth, held fast to the three virtues, and carried forward the six arts. The local rules of the *dharma* [were like in] Tiānzhú, the calendar, family names and characters were the same as during the Hàn and the Táng, their language system followed our language, their clothes followed the appropriate customs, the naming of reigns accorded to old rules, their calendar followed China, they selected the best of all teachers, and integrated it all into one branch, and so created the state of the Bái clan.

纪古滇说 215

纪古滇说 220

纪古滇说 225

The Western Hàn 西汉

The following passages have been copied out of the 《史记》 and 《汉书》.

秦灭汉兴，汉武帝元狩元年夏五月，遣博望侯张骞请通西域，自大夏使还。

大夏在汉西南，慕中国，患匈奴隔其道，诚通蜀身毒国道使近，又无害，骞还谓帝前言。又曰：「身毒国乃天竺国也，去蜀不远」。

帝再遣骞道通滇为益州，亦曰昆明，册张仁果为滇主。

通商贾，贸易用贝。

The Qín dynasty fell, the Hàn dynasty rose, **in the 5th month of the summer of the 1st year of the Yuánshòu reign of Hàn emperor Wǔ**, the Marquis of Bówàng, Zhāng Qiān, was dispatched with the task to open a road to the western regions, after the envoy had returned from Bactria.

Bactria lies to the south-west of the Hàn, it admired China, and suffered from the Xiōngnú blocking the road, and earnestly wished that the road from Shǔ to Yuāndú be opened as it was the shortest for envoys and without dangers. Qiān reported this upon his return to the emperor. He said: 'The state of ?? is the state of Tiānzhú, not far from Shǔ.'

The emperor then dispatched Qiān to open the road to Diān, i.e. Yìzhōu, **also called Kūnmíng**, and appointed Zhāng Rénguǒ as ruler of Diān.

Merchants passed through, using cowry-shells for trade.

纪古滇说 230

纪古滇说 235

纪古滇说 240

r228–229: in the 5th month of the summer of the 1st year of the Yuánshòu reign of Hàn emperor Wǔ] 122 BCE.

r240: also called Kūnmíng] Kūnmíng was at the time a name for the salt-regions in south-western Sichuān.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), p. 113.

⁽¹⁹⁾ See Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), pp. 109–112 for a summary of the debate.

- 纪古滇说 245 于是汉天子再遣王然于、栢始昌、吕越人等十馀辈，间通西南夷，指求身毒国。
- 纪古滇说 250 至滇，滇王张仁果尚在白崖，彼骞虽奉命册之，而张仁果仍白氏国也。
- 纪古滇说 255 王然于等所会滇王当羌，亦庄躄之遗也。乃留然等求道四年馀，皆闭昆明，莫能通。
- 纪古滇说 260 滇王与汉使者言曰：「汉我孰为大？」及夜郎侯亦然。各自以一州王，不知汉广大。
- 纪古滇说 260 使者还，因盛言滇大国，足事亲附，天子注意焉。
- 纪古滇说 265 后王然于以粤破及诛南夷兵威风谕滇王入朝。
- 纪古滇说 265 至元狩三年作昆池，以习水战。
- 纪古滇说 270 元鼎六年，汉平西南夷，置五郡。
- 纪古滇说 270 元封二年秋，汉遣将军郭昌，发巴蜀兵，击灭劳深、靡莫，以兵临滇，滇王降，以其地为益州郡，赐王玉印，复长其民。
- 纪古滇说 275 是时汉灭两越，平西南夷，置初郡十七，而初郡时时小反，杀吏，发卒诛之。
- 六年，郭昌将兵击昆明，又有中郎
- So the Hàn emperor again sent out a mission with Wáng Rányú, Bó Shǐchāng, and Lǚ Yuè as leaders of more than a dozen men, to connect to the western and southern Yí, in the search for the state of ??.
- When they reached Diān, the king of Diān, Zhāng Rénguǒ, was still in Báiyá, even though Qiān carried titles, Zhāng Rénguǒ ruled the land of the Bái clan.
- Wáng Rányú and the others met the king of Diān, Dāngqiāng, he was a descendant of Zhuāng Qiāo.
- So Wáng Rányú and the others stayed, searching for the road for more than four years, but the Kūnmíng blocked everything, so they could not pass through.
- The king of Diān asked the Hàn envoy: 'The Hàn or I – which one is greater?', just like the marquis of Yèláng.
- As each was king of their own region, they did not know that the Hàn was the widest and greatest.
- The envoy returned, reporting that Diān was a great state, and that there were sufficient reasons to establish close relations, the emperor took notice of this.
- Later, reports that Wáng Rányú destroyed Yuè and punished the southern Yí with the might of his military reached the king of Diān and he made a tribute mission.
- In the 3rd year of Yuánshòu** Kūnmíng lake was constructed and war on water was practised.
- In the 6th year of Yuándǐng**, the Hàn pacified the western and southern Yí and established five commanderies.
- In the fall of the 2nd year of Yuánfēng**, the Hàn dispatched the general Guō Chāng to raise troops in Bā and Shǔ, to attack and wipe out the Láoshēn and Mǐmò. When the troops approached Diān, the king of Diān surrendered. His lands were made Yìzhōu commandery. The king was conferred a jade seal and he continued to lead his people.
- At this time the Hàn wiped out the two Yuè, pacified the western and southern Yí and established seventeen commandery. During that time there were small rebellions, they killed officials, and troops were sent out to punish them.
- In the 6th year** Guō Chāng led troops against Kūnmíng, there was

[243: 栢始昌] alternative writing for Bái Shǐchāng 栢始昌.

[250: 当羌] this is a miswriting of the Cháng Qiāng 尝羌, which is the name of the king of Diān in the 《史记》.

r 265: In the 3rd year of Yuánshòu] 120 BCE.

r 267: In the 6th year of Yuándǐng] 111 BCE.

r 269: In the fall of the 2nd year of Yuánfēng] 109 BCE.

r 279: In the 6th year] i.e. the 6th year of Yuándǐng 元鼎, 111 BCE, the author confuses the time line here.

将卫广者，同昌讨平滇国。

the Zhōngláng commander Wèi Guǎng, at the same time Chāng punished and pacified the kingdom of Diān.

纪古滇说 280

孝昭帝始元元年夏，益州夷反，募吏民发犍击破之。四年秋，又反，复遣兵击之。

In the summer of the 1st year of the Shǐyuán reign of Hàn emperor Zhāo, the Yí in Yìzhōu rebelled, Qiān officials set out quickly to attack and defeat them. In the 4th year, they rebelled again, and again troops were sent out to attack them.

纪古滇说 285

The following passage about Wáng Bāo 王褒, ca. *84–†53 BCE, being sent to Yúnnán in search for the golden horse 金马 and jade chicken 碧鸡 is recorded in a local *gazetteer* 志 included in the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》: 「或言益州有金马碧鸡之神，可醮祭而致，于是遣谏大夫王褒使持节而求之。」– ‘Some say that in Yìzhōu are divine beings of a golden horse and a jade chicken, which can be summoned through sacrificial rituals. So the grand master of remonstrance Wáng Bāo was sent out as an imperial envoy in search of them.’⁽²⁰⁾ In similar form this is also recorded in Wáng Bāo’s biography in the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》: 「后方士言益州有金马碧鸡之宝，可祭祀致也，宣帝使褒往祀焉。褒于道病死，上闵惜之。」– ‘Later, a local history claimed that in Yìzhōu were treasures of a golden horse and a jade chicken, which could be summoned through sacrificial rites. Hàn Emperor Xuān sent Bāo to perform these rites. However, Bāo fell ill and died on the way, and the emperor mourned his loss deeply.’⁽²¹⁾

But while it is recorded in the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》 that Wáng Bāo was sent to Yìzhōu, the mythological stories related to it find no mention.

神爵元年春三月，汉宣帝遣谏议大夫王褒，求滇金马、碧鸡之神。

In the 3rd month of the 1st year of the Shénjué reign, Hàn emperor Xuān sent out the grand master of remonstrance Wáng Bāo, to search for divine beings of Diān’s golden horse and jade chicken. These divine beings were king Ashoka’s second son, who had caught the golden horse and seen the jade phoenix soaring into the sky. Each had become the ruler of their mountains, the brothers of Fúbāng and his uncle Shénmíng had all become divine beings[, see below].

纪古滇说 290

神乃阿育王之仲季子也，因收金马，见碧凤腾翔，各以山主之，及兄福邦、舅神明俱为神矣。[又见后。]

王褒由川之来，路道险远弗果，在蜀而望滇赛之。

Wáng Bāo came along the river valley, the roads were so dangerous and so long that success was not possible, so from Shǔ he looked towards the fortress of Diān.

纪古滇说 295

The following story that a white pheasant was given in tribute to the court seems to have been copied from the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》，where it narrates: 「始，凤益州令塞外蛮夷献白雉，

r282–283: In the summer of the 1st year of the Shǐyuán reign of Hàn emperor Zhāo] 86 BCE.

r284: In the 4th year] 83 BCE.

r286: In the 3rd month of the 1st year of the Shénjué reign] 61 BCE.

(20) 《汉书》《郊祀志下》。

(21) 《汉书》《严朱吾丘主父徐严终王贾传下》。Knechtges and Chang (2010), vol. 2, p. 1127: ‘Ca. 53 B.C.E., the treasures of a bronze horse and leek-green jade chicken were discovered in Yìzhou 益州, in Wang Bao’s native Shu area. Emperor Xuan sent Wang Bao to bring the objects back to the capital. However, he died en route.’

元始元年正月，莽白太后下诏，以白雉荐宗庙] – ‘Earlier, there were rumors that the *Mányí* beyond the borders in Yìzhōu had presented a white pheasant. In the 1st month of the 1st year of the Yuánshǐ reign, Wáng Mǎng advised the empress dowager to issue a decree, recommending that the white pheasant be offered to the ancestral temple.’⁽²²⁾

汉平帝元始元年春正月，滇王献白雉于朝。

In the 1st month of the 1st year of the Yuánshǐ reign of Hàn emperor Píng, the king of Diān brought a white pheasant as tribute to the court.

Wáng Mǎng 王莽

Then follow events recorded during the interregnum of Wáng Mǎng 王莽, who ruled the shortlived Xīn dynasty 新朝 from 9–23. They seem selected from the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》《王莽传中》.

纪古滇说 300

王莽天凤元年秋，益州蛮夷杀其大尹，莽发兵击之。

In the autumn of the 1st year of Wáng Mǎng’s Tiānfèng reign, the Yìzhōu *Mányí* killed his grand protector, Mǎng sent out troops to attack them.

三年冬，莽大发兵击益州，滇王领率诸蛮会兵迎敌，莽兵败回。

In the winter of the 3rd year Mǎng sent out many soliders to attack Yìzhōu, the king of Diān lead troops of an alliance of various *Mán* to engage him in battle, Mǎng’s soldiers were defeated and retreated.

蛮夷亦杀其太守，莽遣宁始将军廉丹发巴、蜀吏人及转兵谷卒徒十数万众击之，吏卒疫，连年不能克而返。

The *Mányí* then killed his grand protector, Mǎng instructed the Níngshǐ general Lián Dān to sent out more than one hundred thousand troops from Bā and Shǔ with provisions to attack them, but soldiers and officers fell ill and for many years failed in conquest and retreated.

莽以文齐为太守，开通路道，灌溉垦田三千馀顷，率厉兵马，修障塞，降集群夷，甚得其和。

Mǎng appointed Wén Qí as grand protector, who opened roads, irrigated and cultivated more than three thousand *qǐng* of farmland, leading and training both infantry and cavalry, repaired guard posts. He defeated and settled various *Yí*, achieving peace.

及公孙述据益土，文齐固守据险。述拘其妻子，许以封侯，齐遂不降。

Then Gōngsūn Shù occupied the land of Yì, Wén Qí defended himself using the natural barriers. Shù captured his wife and promised to make him marquis, but Qí did not surrender.

l300–301: 王莽天凤元年秋，益州蛮夷杀其大尹，莽发兵击之] ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》《王莽传中》:「益州蛮夷杀大尹程隆，三边尽反。遣平蛮将军马茂将兵击之。」

l300–301: 大尹] during that period the name for Tàishǒu 太守.

r297–298: In the 1st month of the 1st year of the Yuánshǐ reign of Hàn emperor Píng] 1 BCE.

r300: In the autumn of the 1st year of Wáng Mǎng’s Tiānfèng reign] 14.

r303: In the winter of the 3rd year] ,

r316: Then Gōngsūn Shù occupied the land of Yì] Gōngsūn Shù was ruler of the shortlived Chéng dynasty 成家.

(22) 《汉书》《王莽传上》.

闻光武即位，乃间道遣使自闻。

When he heard that later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ was about to be enthroned, so he dispatched an envoy on a shortcut to hear it himself.

纪古滇说 320

蜀平，徵为镇远将军，封成义侯，于道卒，诏起祠堂立庙祀之。

Shǔ was pacified, he was summoned to be appointed as Zhènyuǎn general, was given the title of marquis of Chéngyì. He passed away on the journey, and an edict was given that an ancestral temple was to be established to offer sacrifices in his honour.

纪古滇说 325

The following passage on Gōngsūn Shù 公孙述 stems from the 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty' 《后汉书》《南蛮西南夷列传》.

及公孙述据益土，文齐固守据险。述拘其妻子，许以封侯，齐遂不降。

Then Gōngsūn Shù occupied the land of Yì, Wén Qí defended himself using the natural barriers. Shù captured his wife and promised to make him marquis, but Qí did not surrender.

闻光武即位，乃间道遣使自闻。

When he heard that later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ was about to be enthroned, so he dispatched an envoy on a shortcut to hear it himself.

纪古滇说 330

蜀平，徵为镇远将军，封成义侯，于道卒，诏起祠堂立庙祀之。

Shǔ was pacified, he was summoned to be appointed as Zhènyuǎn general, was given the title of marquis of Chéngyì. He passed away on the journey, and an edict was given that an ancestral temple was to be established to offer sacrifices in his honour.

纪古滇说 335

The Eastern Hàn 东汉

The following passages have been selectively (and with errors) copied from the 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty' 《后汉书》. For a translation of the related passages in the 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty', see Wylie (1882), pp. 228–229.

建武八年，滇王属夷渠帅栋蚕与姑复、牒榆、桥栋、连然、滇池、建宁、昆明诸种反叛，杀长吏，益州太守繁胜与战而败，退保朱提。

In the 8th year of Jiànwǔ, the tribal leader of regions subordinate to the king of Diān, Dòng Cán, rebelled together with the Gūfù, Yèyú, Lòngdòng, Liánrán, Diānchí, Jiànníng, and Kūnmíng, killing high officials. The Yìzhōu grand protector Fán Shèng fought them in battles, but was defeated, and retreated to Shūshí.

纪古滇说 340

十九年，光武帝遣武威将军刘尚等，

In the 19th year, later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ sent out the

l336: 建武八年] This should be 建武十八年, see 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty' 《后汉书》第八十六卷.

l337: 滇池] the character 滇 is missing in the original, this is not noted in the 《云南史料丛刊》. I consider this simply an omission and not an indication that their text was based on a different copy.

r 319: later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ] i.e. the first emperor of the Eastern Hàn 东汉.

r 326: Then Gōngsūn Shù occupied the land of Yì] Gōngsūn Shù was ruler of the shortlived Chéng dynasty 成家.

r 329: later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ] i.e. the first emperor of the Eastern Hàn 东汉.

r 336: 帅] in the copy it is shī 师, but according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 663 it should be shuài 帅, based on a similar text in the 《云南备徵志》.

r 336: In the 8th year of Jiànwǔ] 32 CE, but should be 42 CE.

r 341: In the 19th year] 43 CE.

发广汉、犍为、蜀郡兵及朱提夷合一万三千人击之，尚军遂渡泸水入益州界，群夷闻大兵至，皆弃垒奔走。

二十年，连与栋蚕等大战数月，滇王退兵昆明，刘尚追栋蚕至不韦，斩之，虏七千余人，得生口五千七百，马三千匹，牛羊二万馀头，夷遂平。

纪古滇说 350

Wǔwēi general Liú Shàng and others with troops from Guǎnghàn, Jiānwèi, Shǔ, as well as Yí of Shūshí, in total thirteen thousand men, to attack them. Shàng's army then crossed the Lú River and entered the borders of Yìzhōu. When the Yí masses heard that a large army arrived, they all abandoned their fortresses and ran away.

In the 20th year, after they fought successive battles with Dòng Cán over many months, the king of Diān fled with his troops to Kūnmíng, Liú Shàng chased Dòng Cán to Bùwéi, executed him, took more than seven thousand men as prisoners, took five thousand seven hundred heads of cattle, three thousand horses, and more than twenty thousand goats and sheep, the Yí were then pacified.

Again, the following passages stem from the 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty' 《后汉书》, where the history of the region is narrated in much more detail.

纪古滇说 355

汉明帝永平十二年春，哀牢王内附。

章帝建初元年，哀牢王反，伐滇，滇王兵及郡兵击斩之，并哀牢也。

纪古滇说 360

安帝元初五年，卷夷大牛种封离等久叛，遂杀守令。

纪古滇说 365

次年永昌、益州诸夷皆叛，诏遣益州刺史张乔、从事杨竦将兵击破之。竦病死，乔痛惜之，乃刻石勒铭，图画其像，时有神马四匹出滇池。

In spring of the 12th year of Eastern Hàn emperor Míng's Yǒngpíng reign, the king of Āiláo submitted.

In the 1st year of Hàn emperor Zhāng's Jiànchū reign, the Āiláo king rebelled and attacked Diān, the king of Diān's soldiers and regional troops defeated and killed him, and annexed Āiláo.

In the 5th year of Hàn emperor Ān's Yuánchū reign, Fēng Lí and others of the Dàniú of Juàn Yí rebelled for a long time, and killed the magistrate.

The following year the Yí of Yǒngchāng and Yìzhōu rebelled, an edict sent the Yìzhōu regional inspector Zhāng Qiáo, and the official Yáng Sǒng led the troops to attack and destroy them. Sǒng died of illness, Tòng mourned him and carved a stone with an inscription and his image. At that time four divine horses emerged from Diānchí.

The Three Kingdoms 三国

纪古滇说 370

三国蜀汉丞相诸葛亮南征自越嶲，乃建兴三年春至南中，所在战捷，由是斩雍闿等。

During the Three Kingdoms the Shǔ Hàn prime minister, Zhūgé Liàng, made his southern expedition from Yuèxī, and **in the spring of the 3rd year of Jiànxiāng** reached Nánzhōng, he was victorious

r 348: In the 20th year] 44 CE.

r 355–356: In spring of the 12th year of Eastern Hàn emperor Míng's Yǒngpíng reign] 69 CE.

r 357: In the 1st year of Hàn emperor Zhāng's Jiànchū reign] 76 CE.

r 360: In the 5th year of Hàn emperor Ān's Yuánchū reign] 118 CE.

r 363: The following year] 119 CE.

r 370–371: in the spring of the 3rd year of Jiànxiāng] 225 CE

雍闾者乃益州郡之耆帅，阻拒汉兵，亮斩之，遂平。

时孟获僭为蛮王，诱扇诸夷，牂牁、越嶲皆应孟获。

其人素为夷、汉所服，占据昆明、东川、武定以及乌撒、沾蒙数千里地，其众数万，亮经会川，历三绛 [武定也]，弄栋 [姚安也]。而抵永昌，断九隆山脉以歇王气，遂将孟获生擒于营，使观营垒，七纵七擒，以知亮有天威也。

回兵白崖，立铁柱以纪南征，改益州郡曰建宁，以仁果十七世孙张龙佑领之。别遣将略兴古 [曲靖也]。牂牁 [顺元也]。朱提 [乌蒙也]。等郡。

晋光熙元年春三月，五荅夷寇宁州，刺史李毅卒。

太宁元年，宁州刺史王逊死之。

咸和八年春三月，宁州降于成。[四川也。]

太元二年春，西南夷遣使朝于秦。

十七年冬月，以殷仲堪为都督总荆、益、宁三州诸军事。

wherever he fought, resulting in the execution of Yōng Kǎi and others.

At the time Yōng Kǎi was the senior leader of Yìzhōu commandery, he resisted the Hàn forces, Liàng executed him and then they were pacified.

At that time Mèngguò usurped the title of *Mán* king, he encouraged the various *Yí* to rise up, Zānggē and Yuèxī responded to Mèngguò's call.

He was widely respected by the *Yí* and the Hàn, he occupied several thousand *lǐ* of Kūnmíng, Dōngchuān, Wǔdìng, and also Wūsā and Zhānméng, with a population of several ten thousand, Liàng passed through Huìchuān and Sānjiàng [that is Wǔdìng], Nòngdòng [that is Yáoān.], finally reached Yǒngchāng, broke through the Jiǔlóng mountain range to quell the king's *qì*, then he captured Mèngguò alive in his camp, showed him the fortifications, capturing him seven times and releasing him seven times, so that he would understand that Liàng had the heaven's might.

He returned with the troops to Báiyá, set up the iron pillar as proof of his southern expedition, changed the name from Yìzhōu commandery to Jiànníng, and appointed the 17th generation descendant of Rénguǒ Zhāng Lóngyòu ruled it. He also sent generals to occupy Xīngǔ [that is Qǔjìng], Zānggē [that is Shùnyuán], Shūshí [that is Wūméng], and other regions.

In the nth month of the 1st year of Guāngxī, the Wǔdā *Yí* attacked Níngzhōu, regional inspector Lǐ Yì died.

In the 1st year of Tàiníng, the Níngzhōu regional inspector Wáng Xùn died.

In the 3rd month of the 8th year [of Xiánhé], Níngzhōu submitted to Chéng [that is Sichuān.]

In spring of the 2nd year of Tàiyuán, the western and southern *Yí* sent an envoy to to the court to report.

In winter of the 17th year, Yīn Zhòngkān was appointed as commander-in-chief leader for the three prefectures of Jīng, Yì,

纪古滇说 375

纪古滇说 380

纪古滇说 385

纪古滇说 390

纪古滇说 395

纪古滇说 400

/399: 咸和] these two characters giving the reign year are missing, but it appears that the text narrates events during that period.

r 392: Zhāng Lóngyòu] Lóng Yòunà 龙佑那?

r 395: In the nth month of the 1st year of Guāngxī] yeat306.

r 397: In the 1st year of Tàiníng] 323 CE.

r 399: In the 3rd month of the 8th year [of Xiánhé]] 333 CE, but since the reign period is missing in the text, this is uncertain.

r 400: Chéng [that is Sichuān.]] I think this is wrong: Chéng 成 here does not stand for Chéngjiā 成家, i.e. Sichuān 四川, but Jin dynasty emperor Chéng 晋成帝.

r 401: In spring of the 2nd year of Tàiyuán] 377 CE.

r 403: In winter of the 17th year] 392 CE.

and Níng in charge of military affairs.

The Suí Dynasty 隋朝

The passage for the Suí dynasty tells the story of Shǐ Wànsuì, *549–†600, the story has been copied from the *'History of the Suí Dynasty'* 《隋书》.⁽²³⁾

隋开皇十七年二月，遣太平公史万岁讨南宁羌，平之。万岁，京兆人，拜左领军将军。

南宁夷名爨玩者来降，拜昆明刺史，既而复叛，万岁复征之。自蜻蛉川经弄栋小勃弄，大勃弄，至于南中。贼前后屯据要害，万岁皆挥兵破之。

行数里，见孔明纪功碑铭，其背曰：「万岁之后，胜我者过此」。万岁遂令左右倒其碑，见其座下刻石在内曰：「隋开皇十九年，将军史万岁至此」。重扶其碑，遂立之，惶恐再拜而进。

纪古滇说 420

渡西洱海，入渠滥川，行千馀里，破其三十馀部，爨玩以金宝赂万岁，岁还朝，以罪除名。

纪古滇说 425

In the 2nd month of the 17th year of the Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign period period, the duke of Tàipíng, Shǐ Wànsuì, was sent out in an expedition against the Nánning Yí, pacifying them. Wànsuì was a native of Jīngzhào, and was appointed left general of the army.

The Nánning Yí [leader] Cuàn Wán submitted and was appointed regional inspector of Kūnmíng, but rebelled again, Wànsuì once again led an expedition against him. Setting out from the Qīnglíng river, passing through Nòngdòng's Xiǎo Bónòng and Dà Bónòng, he reached Nánzhōng. The bandits were entrenched in strategic positions, Wànsuì led troops to smash them.

He marched for many *lǐ* and saw the inscription on **Kǒng Míng's memorial stele**, which said on its back: 'After ten thousand years, who will surpass me will pass this.' Wànsuì then ordered his men to topple the stele, and saw that below it was engraved in the stone: 'In the 19th year of Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign period the general Shǐ Wànsuì reached this place.' So he propped up the stele, lifting it up, panic-stricken paid his respects and marched on.

He crossed the Lake Ěrhǎi, entered Qúlàn valley, marched for more than one thousand *lǐ*, defeated more than thirty tribes, Cuàn Wán bribed him with golden treasures and Suí returned to the court, was convicted and his name expunged.

The Táng dynasty 唐朝

The text then continues with the foundation of Nánzhào 南诏, establishing a connection between Rénguǒ 仁果 and Zhāng Lèjìnqiú 张乐尽求 (here written as Zhāng Lèjìnqiú 张乐进求).

唐张仁果三十三代孙张乐进求改建宁为云南，唐册乐进求为首领大将

During the Táng, Zhāng Rénguǒ's thirty-third generation descendant, Zhāng Lèjìnqiú, changed the name from Jiànníng to Yúnnán,

r 406–407: In the 2nd month of the 17th year of the Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign period period] 597.

r 417–418: Kǒng Míng's memorial stele] i.e. the stele that Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 had erected at the Tiězhǔ temple 铁主庙.

r 418: After ten thousand years] A word play on the name Shǐ Wànsuì, where Wànsuì 万岁 means 'ten thousand years'.

r 421: In the 19th year of Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign period] ,

(23) For historical background, see Backus (1981), pp. 10–12.

军云南王。

乐进求因祭铁柱，见习农乐有金铸凤凰飞上左肩，乐进求等惊异之，遂逊位其哀牢王孙。王以蒙号国，王曰奇嘉。

社稷之耑于斯，故称蒙社，乃唐高宗永徽四年，即蒙十三王之鼻祖也。

the Táng conferred Lèjìnqiú the title of leader general-in-chief and king of Yúnnán.

When Lèjìnqiú worshipped at the iron pillar, he saw that the gold cast phoenix flew unto Xínónglè's left shoulder, Lèjìnqiú and the others were astonished, and he abdicated as king of Āiláo.

The king chose Méng as name of the country, the king was called Qíjiā.

Since the altar to the earth gods was established there, it was called Méngshè. **In the 4th year of the Yǒnghuī reign of Táng Emperor Gāozōng**, he became the first of the thirteen kings of the Méng.

纪古滇说 430

纪古滇说 435

Then follows the story of Dàlǐ 大理's Chóngshèng temple and the Three Pagodas 三塔, the pagodas still standing today. The year of the construction of the pagoda is here given as 713 CE, which places it into the reign of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng 唐玄宗. This passage is one of the textual sources for the dating of the Qiānxún pagoda 千寻塔.⁽²⁴⁾

先是，唐遣大匠恭韬、徽义至蒙国，于开元元年癸丑岁造三塔于点苍山下，建崇圣寺于塔之上，倚山临水，无不精丽，塔高三百餘尺，崇高十六级。

Earlier, the Táng dispatched the master craftsman Gōng Tāo and Huī Yì to the land of the Méng. **In the 1st year of Kāiyuán, the guǐchǒu year**, they erected **three pagodas** below Diǎncāng Mountains and built Chóngshèng temple above the pagodas. The mountains behind them facing the waters are exceptionally refined and beautiful. The pagoda is taller than three hundred *chǐ*, loftily standing with sixteen levels.

纪古滇说 440

纪古滇说 445

第二兴宗王乐诚有治国之风，夷民安堵，厥后威成王诚乐立，乃第三世也。王威服诸邦，崇信佛教。

The second king Xīngzōng Lèchéng had ability to govern the country, the *Yí* lived in peace, afterwards **king Wēichéng Chénglè** ascended the throne, that was the third generation.

The king commanded the respect of the states and believed in Buddhism.

纪古滇说 450

The following legend of Yáng Dàoqīng 杨道清 appears in no other extant text, making Xú Jiārui 徐嘉瑞 believe that the text was made up by Yáng Shèn 杨慎.⁽²⁵⁾

时有滇人杨道清者，殉道忘躯，日

At that time there was Yáng Dàoqīng in Diān, who was extremely

[452: 滇] The transcription by Hayashi Kenichiro 林谦一郎 has Diǎn 點, Xú Jiārui 徐嘉瑞 (1946), 五一 refers to this being written as Qí 淇 (which he takes as an indication that the whole text is a forgery by Yáng Shèn 杨慎), it is unclear in which copies these characters appear.

r 438–439: In the 4th year of the Yǒnghuī reign of Táng Emperor Gāozōng] 653 CE.

r 441–442: In the 1st year of Kāiyuán, the *guǐchǒu* year] 713.

r 442: three pagodas] Actually, the central pagoda Qiānxún pagoda 千寻塔, preceded the side pagodas by several hundred years.

r 447: The second king Xīngzōng Lèchéng] i.e. the second ruler Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎.

r 448: king Wēichéng Chénglè] i.e. Shèngluópí 盛逻皮.

⁽²⁴⁾ Its construction date is not certain, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1978), Fù Guāngyǔ 傅光宇 (1988).

⁽²⁵⁾ Xú Jiārui 徐嘉瑞 (1946), 五一.

- 课经典，感现观音大士，遐迩钦风，渔者焚网于点水之旁，酒家隳其器具，皆以利物为心。
纪古滇说 455
- 蒙氏威成王闻知，及亲幸于滇，册道清为显密融通大义法师。始塑大灵土主天神圣像，曰摩诃迦罗，筑滇之城，以龟其形，江萦之蛇，其相取义『易』之既济，王慕清净法身，以摩诃迦罗神像立庙以镇城工，五年龟城完也。
纪古滇说 460
- 庙隅有神匠曰罗都道太，自蜀中来，塑像将成，又有菩提巴坡者自天竺至，以秘咒丹书神位为种子，创庙中城而奉之。
纪古滇说 470
- 大义法师又以菩提珠分一树庭之西，期以兴废，岁九树三枯，复挺一株盛茂，于是大灵赫赫，以保黎民，调风顺雨，干戈偃息。
纪古滇说 475
- 王建都城中，册为天府，祛邪辅正为事，复像二神，一镇龟城之顶，一镇城之南，灵德一然。
纪古滇说 480
- 王九年，追封阿育王三子一舅，皆谥以帝号，而神主各山，以庙祀之；长子福邦为碧鸡山主，庙山之下，谥曰伏羲山河清邦景帝，次为灵伏
纪古滇说 485
- devout, studying the scriptures every day, evoking the appearance of Great Bodhisattva Guānyīn. Far and near all revered his spirit, the fishermen burned their nets on the shore of Lake Dian and taverns destroyed their cooking gear, all out of respect for the living things.
When the Méng clan's king Wēichéng heard this, he personally travelled to Diān, and conferred Dàoqing the title of 'harmonizing the esoteric and exoteric' great righteous *dharma* master. He began casting the holy image of the great spirit the earth god, called Móhējiālūō, and built a walled town at Diān in the shape of a turtle, the rivers encircling it like snakes, thus obtaining the [sign of] *jìjì* from the 'Book of Changes'. The king venerated the purity of the *dharma*, and erected a temple for the holy image of Móhējiālūō in order to protect the city, after five years the turtle city was completed.
In a corner of the temple was a sacred master called Luōdūdàotài, who had come from Shǔ. When he had almost finished casting the image, **Buddhabhadra arrived from India**, used sacred spells he wrote a memorial tablet in vermilion as a seed to establish the temple in the town for worship.
The great righteous *dharma* master divided a Bodhi beads into a tree in the west of the yard, over the seasons it prospered and withered, every year of the nine trees three died, but one sprouted and prospered, this was the illustrious spirit protecting the people, taming the winds, and regulating the rains, and everything was at peace.
The king founded the capital, proclaiming it the capital of heaven, and drove away evil spirits to assist righteousness. He established two spirits, one to guard the top of the turtle city, another to protect it south, their virtues were the same.
- In the king's 9th year**, he conferred posthumous titles to the three sons of king Ashoka and his uncle, each of their spirits was given a mountain to rule, and a shrine to present offerings. The eldest son Fúbāng was appointed as ruler of Jade Chicken Mountain,

l458-460: 蒙氏威成王闻知，及亲幸于滇，册道清为显密融通大义法师。始塑大灵土主天神圣像，曰摩诃迦罗] This is seen as the earliest mention of temples to Dàhēitiān 大黑天, see Zhū Yuèméi 朱悦梅 (2001), p. 80.

l462: 既济] In the text *jìjì* 既济, but should probably be *jìjì* 既济, the name of the 63rd hexagram in the 'Book of Changes' 《易经》.

r463-464: the [sign of] *jìjì* from the 'Book of Changes'] The 63rd of the hexagrams in the 'Book of Changes' 《易经》, ䷛.
r470: Buddhabhadra arrived from India] I guess Pútíbāpō 菩提巴坡 might be a different writing of Tuóbátuólūō 陀跋陀罗.

r483: In the king's 9th year] ??

雝夷滇河圣帝，三为金马名山至德景帝，庙于金马山麓；谥舅氏神明乃曰大圣外祖神明天子，庙亦碧鸡山主庙之左。

with the temple at its foot, posthumously known as emperor Fúyì Shānhéqīngbāng, the second son was appointed holy emperor Língfú Chóuyí Diānhé, the third as emperor of the golden horse and all mountains Zhídé, with the temple at the foot of Golden Horse Mountain, the uncle Shénmíng was appointed Dàshèng Wà-izǔ emperor Shénmíng, the temple to the left of the temple of the ruler of Jade Chicken Mountain.

纪古滇说 490

时六诏之渠帅曰蒙社诏、越嵩诏、越析诏、浪穹诏、施浪诏、遼賧诏，国相张建成始服五诏。

At the time there were six leaders of a *zhào* called Méngshè *zhào*, Yuèxī *Zhào*, Yuèxī *Zhào*, Làngqióng *Zhào*, Shìlàng *Zhào*, Téngdàn *Zhào*, the prime minister Zhāng Jiànchéng began to control the five *Zhào*.

纪古滇说 495

Then follows the story of Zhāng Jiànchéng 张建成 being sent to Chéngdū 成都 where he was received by Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng 唐玄宗 and given a Buddha statue as diplomatic gift, this story is also contained in the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》. For context of this story, see Howard (1997), p. 43, Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a), p. 315 disputes this story as much too early.

又三年，王遣张建成朝唐，建成乃喜州人也。入觐过成都大慈寺，适寺初铸神钟以成，寺僧戒曰：「击钟一声，施金一两。」时建成连扣八十声，僧惊问曰：「汝何人连扣如此？」曰：「吾南使张建成也。」僧乃易其名曰化成。成曰：「佛法南矣。」遂学佛书，归授滇人。

Then in the 3rd year, the king sent Zhāng Jiànchéng to the Táng court, Jiànchéng was a man from Xǐzhōu. He passed through Chéngdū and visited Dàcí temple, where a sacred bell had just been cast, the temple’s abbot admonished him and said: ‘To strike the bell once, you must give one *liǎng* of gold.’ Jiànchéng struck it in succession eighty times, the abbot was startled and asked: ‘Who are you to strike it like this?’ He answered: ‘I am the southern envoy Zhāng Jiànchéng.’ The abbot then changed his name to Huàchéng. Chéng said: ‘The Buddhist teachings have reached the south.’ Then he studied the scriptures, and returned to teach the people of Diān.

纪古滇说 500

成至京，朝唐，时玄宗在位，厚礼待之，赐以浮屠像而归。王崇事佛教，自兹而启。

Chéng went to the capital and paid a visit to the Táng court, **at the time Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng was ruling**, who bestowed him with ample gifts and granted him an image of Buddha and he returned. The king’s reverence for the Buddhist teachings began then.

纪古滇说 505

纪古滇说 510

王遣将守龟城，以还蒙社。

The king sent generals to guard the tortoise city, and returned to Méngshè.

纪古滇说 515

[494: 越嵩诏] This appears in the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》 as Méngxī *Zhào* 蒙嵩诏.

[498: 又三年] Should probably be 二年 as in the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》, the reference to the reign period is missing here.

[498: Then in the 3rd year] 715 CE, but it should probably be 714 CE as the ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志略》 records this journey as in Kāiyuán 开元 二年.

[509–510: at the time Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng was ruling] Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng 唐玄宗 ruled 712–756 CE.

The following story about the monk also appears in the ‘*A Brief Outline of Diān*’ 《滇略》. The story, as it is told here, seems to introduce a few misunderstandings, as the story in the 《滇略》 makes more sense.

有李和尚，名绍祖者，精密法教，与道清显圣，尝持一铁钵盂，入定不语，民称曰「无言和尚」。

纪古滇说 520

与杨国师赌手段也，欲晴，则钵内火光烛天，遂晴；欲雨，则钵内白气上腾升云，遂雨。王亦封为灌顶国师。

一日王诏绍祖于崇圣寺讲经，有老翁立听毕，忽乘风云而去，王惊。问曰：「此洱水之龙也。」

There was a monk called Lǐ, his name was Shào zǔ, who excelled in the Buddhist teachings, his conduct was pure showing his spirituality. He often held an iron alms bowl, did not speak during meditation, the people called him the silent monk.

He once entered a competition with the master teacher Yáng: if he desired [the sky] to be clear, then a fire in his alms bowl would light up the sky, and so it cleared up; if he desired it to rain, then from within his alms bowl white mist would rise and make clouds, and it would rain. The king then conferred him the title of master teacher Guàndǐng.

One day, the king issued an edict for Shào zǔ to read the scriptures at Chóngshèng temple, there was an old man who when he had finished listening, suddenly rode on a cloud in the wind and was gone, the king was astonished, and enquired about it. It was said: ‘He is the dragon of Ěrhǎi!’

For comparison, this is how the story appears in the ‘*A Brief Outline of Diān*’ 《滇略》:

无言和尚姓李氏，绍祖父精密教法，尝持一铁钵入定咒诵。

纪古滇说 535

欲晴，则钵内火光烛天，欲雨则钵内白气上升，遂雨。蒙氏封为灌顶。

国师尝于崇圣寺讲经，有老翁立听毕，乘风云而去，众惊问之，曰：「洱水龙也」

纪古滇说 540

There was a silent monk from the Lǐ clan, who had learned the esoteric teachings from his ancestors, he often used an iron alms bowl sitting in meditation chanting mantras.

When he wished [the sky] to be clear, then a fire in his alms bowl would light up the sky; if he wished it to rain, then from within his alms bowl white mist would rise, and it would rain. The Méng clan conferred him the title Guàndǐng.

He would often recite the scriptures at Chóngshèng temple. There was an old man who when he had finished listening, suddenly rode on a cloud in the wind and was gone, the people were astonished and asked about it. It was said: ‘He is the dragon of Ěrhǎi!’

Then comes the fourth generation Nánzhào ruler, Píluōgé 皮罗阁, who received the honorific Guīyì 归义, here written as Kuílèjué 魁乐觉.

后王逝，子归义王立，乃第四世也。王名魁乐觉，于戊辰年即位。

纪古滇说 545

遣部将平五诏，威声大振，时唐玄

After the king passed away, his son Guīyì took the throne, that was the fourth generation. The king was called Kuílèjué, he ascended the throne in the wùchén year.

He sent his men to pacify the five zhào, and his prestige was great,

r 525: Guàndǐng] meaning *abhiseka*, the term for the Buddhist initiation ritual of sprinkling water on a novice's head.

r 542: Guīyì] i.e. Píluōgé 皮罗阁, ruled 728–748 CE.

r 544: in the wùchén year] 728 CE.

宗开元十五年也，五诏遂平服，唐册王为特进云南王越国公开府仪同三司。

自唐进封之后，永昌诸郡、緬、暹罗、大秦此皆西通之国，交址、八百、真腊、占城、挝国此皆南通之国，俱以奇珍金宝盐锦毡布瑠巴具岁进于王不缺，于是渐有昌也。

that was the **time of the 15th year of the Kāiyuán era of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng**. The five *zhào* were pacified and subordinated. The Táng then conferred the king titles lord specially advanced, king of Yúnnán, and duke of the State of Yuè, and **commander unequalled in honour**.

纪古滇说 550

After he had received these titles from the Táng, the regions of Yǒngchāng, Miǎn, Xiānlūo, Dàqín to the west of the state and Jiāozhǐ, Bābǎi, Zhēnlà, Zhānchéng, and the **Zhuā Guó** to the south, all sent priceless golden treasures, salt, brocade, felt, and cloth, **gems and utensils** yearly without fail, so it became prosperous.

纪古滇说 555

The fifth generation ruler, Gélúōfèng 阁罗凤, here written as Juéluōfèng 觉罗凤.

王崩，子觉罗凤 [觉亦作阁] 立，始建元曰长寿，唐遣中使黎敬义特节册封觉罗凤为云南王。

时有建南节度使鲜于仲通、姚州太守张虔罔间度蒙有隙也，神武王遂分将障隘各处，筑城畜武习马练兵，据大理城，与云南城上下联络，固修城郭，曰威楚州城。

The king passed away, his son **Juéluōfèng** [also written with *gé*]. He took the throne and began the Chángshòu reign, the Táng sent the imperial commissioner Lí Jingyì carrying insignia to invest Juéluōfèng as king of Yúnnán.

At the time there was a disagreement between the Jiànnán military commissioner Xiānyú Zhòngtōng and the Yáo prefecture grand protector Zhāng Qiántuó and **they deceived Méng**, so the immortal warrior king then improved his strategic locations, built towns, stockpiled arms, and trained his cavalry and infantry. He resided at the walled town of Dàlǐ, and up and down from Yúnnán built fortifications, this was known as the walled towns of Wēichǔ prefecture.

纪古滇说 560

纪古滇说 565

It follows a short geographical part.

太和城，此城原是习农乐自蒙社徙所建筑也，羊苴咩城、白崖城，此城张乐进求建筑也，文案洞城，亦乐

Tàihé is the walled town Xínónglè built when he moved his capital from Méngshè. The town of Yángjūmiē, Báiyá – the town Zhāng Lèjīnqiú had built –, the walled town of Wénàndòng, where

纪古滇说 570

l547: 开] in the copy it is 归, but according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 663 it should be 开, this is based on a similar text in the 《云南备徵志》, see <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=103052&page=261>.

l551: 暹] In the text *xiān*, corrected according to the Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 663.

l557: 特] [持]

l560: 建南] Copying error, it should be 剑南.

r546–547: time of the 15th year of the Kāiyuán era of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng] 727 CE.

r550: commander unequalled in honour] a honorific title with unclear reference, see Hucker (1985), 3024.

r552: Xiānlūo] a reference to the state of Siam that was unified in the 14th century out of two states, Xiān 暹 and Luō 罗.

r552: Dàqín] great state of Qín 大秦国 is generally a reference to the Roman empire, which does not make sense here.

r553: Zhuā Guó] i.e. Laos.

r555: gems and utensils] *jūbājù* 瑠巴具 is an unclear term.

r556: Juéluōfèng] i.e. Gélúōfèng 阁罗凤, ruled 748–779 CE.

r562: they deceived Méng] unclear.

进求原所居也，于是通修理之。

又邓川东十里邓贇诏之妻名慈善者，因诏先被平，慈善筑城负固之，神武王亲率兵去欲妻之，慈善坚执不从。誓曰「一女不更二夫」，乃居城以自守，王领兵因攻之，不克。慈善卒，王嘉其节，赐号德源城，亦修理之。

纪古滇说 575

城东去七十里，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。

纪古滇说 585

州西北十馀里，山麓间有石如镜，光可照面，旧名镜州，先张乐进求时，州北龙兴和山忽五色云起，萧索轮囷，终日不散，以为祥州，居云之南，因乐进求改名云南，亦筑城焉。

纪古滇说 590

至河尾关乃洱水之下流也，苍山之势，群波争道，迭水悬流奔注，云涛雪浪翻腾，声若如雷。

纪古滇说 595

合洱海有两关，曰龙尾关、曰龙首关，此上下双关也，皆神武王所筑之。

纪古滇说 600

Lèjìnqiú had originally resided, and were consequently rebuilt.

There is also Dèngchuān, it is ten *lǐ* east of it. The wife of the Dèngdàn *zhào* was called Císhàn, because the *zhào* had earlier pacified them, Císhàn fortified the town and held her position there, the immortal warrior king personally led troops there to take her as wife, but Císhàn was steadfast and did not obey. She swore an oath, saying 'One woman cannot have two husbands', so she remained in the town and defended it herself, the king lead troops to attack it, but could not conquer it. Císhàn died, the king praised her chastity, conferred her the walled town of Déyuán, and restored it.

Seventy *lǐ* east of the town is Diànyán valley, the land is flat surrounded on all sides by mountains, its circumference is more than two hundred *lǐ*, there is also Yúnnán prefecture, where another walled town was built.

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. At the time of Zhāng Lèjìnqiú, north of the state, at Lóngxīnghé mountain, a multicoloured cloud appeared suddenly, 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 the clouds, Lèjìnqiú changed its name to Yúnnán and built a walled town there.

Then one reaches Dragon Tail Gate where Ěrhǎi flows out below Cāngshān, masses of waves fighting for a way, the waters rushing turbulently, clouds billow and snow flutters around, loud as thunder.

Two gates enclose Lake Ěrhǎi, called Dragon Tail Gate and Dragon Head Gate, the two gates above and below, both were constructed by the immortal warrior king.

It follows the history of the Tiānbǎo Wars 天宝战争, in which Nánzhào aligned itself with Tǔbō 吐蕃 to fight the Táng dynasty. The Táng were internally weakened through the Ān Lùshān rebellion 安祿山之乱 and were defeated.

八年，各城始完，兵亦练熟，结好土蕃，以逸待劳矣。

In the 8th year, the walled towns were all completed and the troops were well trained, so he joined forces with Tǔbō, and he was ready for an exhausted enemy.

r 581: Diànyán valley] unclear what that refers to.

r 587: Jìngzhōu] jìng 镜 meaning mirror.

r 587-588: At the time of Zhāng Lèjìnqiú] Zhāng Lèjìnqiú 张乐尽求 was the semi-mythical ruler before Nánzhào 南诏 who abdicated in favour of Xīnúlúo 细奴逻.

r 594: Dragon Tail Gate] written as héwěi, i.e. 'river tail'.

r 601: In the 8th year] 749

唐玄宗天宝九年，虔陀饮酖卒。

十年，遣鲜于仲通帅师伐蒙，大战于赵州之西，唐师败绩。

十三年六月，再遣前云南郡都督李宓，广南节度使何履光统雄兵二十万再伐大蒙，又战于龙尾关东，唐兵败绩，将士卒多死之。

觉罗凤曰：「天子致讨，兵士何辜！」遂敛尸葬之，为万人，其如山之高也。

王遂得唐西泸令，姓郑名回，回者巨儒也。

蒙王请回以师礼之，赐爵国贤大丞相宰辅清平官，文风始大振矣。

立蒙国大诏德政之碑在太和城。

In the 9th year of the Tiānbǎo reign of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, Qiántuó drank poison and died.

纪古滇说 605

In the 10th year, Xiānyú Zhòngtōng was sent out to lead troops against Méng, a big battle was fought at to the west of Zhàozhōu, the Táng leader was utterly defeated.

In the 6th month of the 13th year, the former Yúnnán commandery commander-in-chief Lǐ Mì was sent out again and the Guǎngnán military commissioner Hé Lǚguāng led twenty thousand valient soldiers to attack the great Méng anew. They fought again east of Dragon Tail Gate, the Táng troops were defeated, many officers and troops died.

纪古滇说 610

Juélúofèng said: 'As the emperor sent them on this expedition, how can the soldiers be guilty?' He then built a grave for their remains, for ten thousand men, as high as a mountain.

纪古滇说 615

The king then captured the Táng commander of Xílú, his name was Zhèng Huí, Huí was a great scholar.

The Méng king asked Huí to teach him the rites, he conferred him the titles of the state's worthy prime minister, *bulwark of the state*, and prime minister, their cultural level greatly improved.

纪古滇说 620

He erected the **Great State of Méng Dézhèng stele** at the walled town of Tàihé.

The sixth generation, Yimóuxún 异牟寻, here referred to by his posthumous name king Xiàohuán 孝桓王 and a variant writing, Yimùxīn 意慕新.

王崩，子孝桓王立，乃第六世也。

The king passed away, his son Xiàohuán took the throne, he was the sixth generation.

纪古滇说 625

王名意慕新，仍以郑回为相，凡事皆从回说。

The king's name was Yimùxīn, he appointed Zhèng Huí as prime minister, in all affairs he followed Huí's counsel.

即位之初，建元上元，唐德宗贞元之初也。

When he took the throne, he began the Shàngyuán reign, that was also the **beginning of Táng emperor Dézōng Zhēnyuán reign.**

纪古滇说 630

六年，使西川节度使韦皋诣蒙修好于唐。皋字成武，京兆万年人也。贞元初，代张延赏为剑南节度使。

In the 6th year, the Xīchuān military commissioner Wéigāo was sent to Méng to repair relations with the Táng. Wéi Gāo was called Chéngwǔ, a man from the capital's Wànnián. At the beginning of the Zhēnyuán period he had replaced Zhāng Yánshǎng as Jiànnán military commissioner.

纪古滇说 635

[627: 意慕新] Interesting writing of Yimóuxún 异牟寻.

r 604–605: In the 9th year of the Tiānbǎo reign of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng] 750

r 606: In the 10th year] 751.

r 609: In the 6th month of the 13th year] 754 CE.

r 623: the Great State of Méng Dézhèng stele] i.e. the 'Déhuà Stele' 德化碑.

r 630: the beginning of Táng emperor Dézōng Zhēnyuán reign] 785 CE.

r 631: In the 6th year] 792 CE.

r 633–634: At the beginning of the Zhēnyuán period] 785 CE.

<p>唐因蒙附结土蕃，连败唐师，乃使皋至蒙和好。</p> <p>皋至，蒙王意慕新与丞相郑回商确回唐，乃以皋言，请修旧好，蒙诏从之。</p> <p>八年，遣使崔佐时谢请和好，唐再遣祠部郎中袁兹来蒙宣诏，时宪宗元和年也。</p>	<p>The Táng, as Méng had joined forces with Tùbō, had suffered consecutive defeats, so Gāo was sent to Méng to make peace.</p> <p>Gāo arrived, the Méng king Yìmùxīn and his prime minister Zhèng Huí negotiated a return to the Táng, Gāo spoke, asking for a restoration of the old relationship, the Méng <i>zhào</i> agreed with it.</p> <p>In the 8th year, Cuī Zuǒshí was sent out as an envoy to ask for peace, the Táng again sent the director of the bureau of sacrifices Yuán Zī to go to Méng to proclaim the edict, that was in Táng emperor Xiànzōng's Yuánhé period.</p> <p>A letter was issued appointing Méng as king of Nánzhào, he was conferred a golden seal by Yuánhé and an edict granted that the walled town of Diān be known as Shànshàn. He sent the Nòngdòng military commissioner Wángcuó to Shànshàn to establish the Juézhào and Huìguāng temples and it was ordered that the grand master duke Wèichígōng to burn bricks, inscribing the name of the craftsman on each of them. He began the construction of two pagodas at Shànshàn, then he founded the Miào yìng temple and study hall with a small pagoda behind it, the people of Diān held him in high esteem.</p> <p>Shortly after, king Xiàohuán passed away, that was in the 3rd year of Táng Yuánhé, the Táng issued an edict that the chamberlain for ceremonials Wǔ Shǎoyí serve as envoy to the burial ceremonies.</p>
<p>纪古滇说 640</p>	
<p>纪古滇说 645</p>	<p>册号蒙为南诏王，赐元和金印，诏赐滇城为善禅，遣弄栋节度使王嵯诣善禅创建觉照、慧光二寺，命大匠尉迟公烧造砖石，皆勒其匠名，始建双塔以为善禅浮屠，及创妙应讲寺并一小塔于后，滇人崇尚善之。</p>
<p>纪古滇说 650</p>	
<p>纪古滇说 655</p>	<p>未几，孝桓王卒，乃唐元和三年也，唐诏太常卿武少仪持节祭葬。</p>

The seventh generation, Xún gé juàn 寻阁劝, here referred to as Xīn jué quàn 新觉劝.

<p>第七代孝惠王名新觉劝，遣使贡唐，伴唐使同归。</p> <p>新觉劝立，建元应道，群臣上尊号曰骠信帝，骠信君也。</p> <p>唐亦遣使册新觉劝为云南王。</p> <p>时新觉劝因以称帝，以善禅城为东</p>	<p>The seventh generation, king Xiàohuì was called Xīn jué quàn, he sent a tribute mission to the Táng, they returned accompanied by Táng envoys.</p> <p>When Xīn jué quàn took the throne, he began the Yìng dào reign, all officials greatly respected him, calling him emperor <i>piào xìn</i>, <i>piào xìn</i> meaning monarch.</p> <p>The Táng sent out an envoy with insignia to appoint Xīn jué quàn king of Yúnnán.</p> <p>At this time Xīn jué quàn called himself emperor, and made the</p>
--	---

l642: 袁兹] variant writing of Yuán Zī 袁滋.

l658: 代] in the copy 代, added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 663, based on a similar text in the 《云南备徵志》, I have not found the relevant passage, but the change is trivial and obvious.

r 641: In the 8th year] 794 CE.

r 643–644: in Táng emperor Xiànzōng's Yuánhé period] reign period of Táng Xiànzōng 唐宪宗, 806–820.

r 649: the Juézhào and Huìguāng temples] the temples now known as western pagoda temple 西塔寺 and eastern pagoda temple 东塔寺,

r 652–653: Miào yìng temple] I think this might be a miswriting and it should be Miào zhàn sì 妙湛寺, a temple in the south of Kūnmíng, which is generally thought to be a later foundation.

r 655–656: 3rd year of Táng Yuánhé] 808 CE.

京，太和城为西京。

帝诣东京，唐使至矣。使乃徐云虔也，云虔为岭南西道节度使辛说遣使如南诏。

云虔至善禅城，驃信诏入，问唐遣来意。

云虔与之抗礼，王怒曰：「汝何无礼乎！」

云虔曰：「王之先，由大唐之命，得合六诏为一，恩德深厚，中间乖隔，罪在边鄙。今驃信若欲修好念旧，岂可违祖考之故事乎！顺祖考，孝也；事大国，义也；息战争，仁也；审名分，礼也；四者皆令德也，而可不勉乎！」

驃信曰：「吾欲遣人与唐约为舅甥也，吾何肯表贡之于唐乎！今闻尔言，四者令德之语，授尔木夹遣还。」

然终不肯受册奉贡，乃僭称帝号于善禅也。

walled town of Shànshàn his eastern capital, and the walled town of Tàihé became his western capital.

When the emperor visited the eastern capital, a Táng had arrived there. The envoy was Xú Yúnqián, Yúnqián had been dispatched to Nánzhào by the military commissioner for western Língnán circuit, Xīn Dǎng.

When Yúnqián arrived at the walled town of Shànshàn, the *piàoxìn* gave permission for him to enter and he enquired about Táng envoy's intentions.

Yúnqián did not offer him courtesy and the king became angry and said: 'How can you be so disrespectful?'

Yúnqián replied: 'Your majesty's ancestors achieved to unite the six *zhào* because of the great Táng's mandate, the benevolence was profound, the estrangement between us is only because of the border issues. Today as the *piàoxìn* wishes to restore the old friendship, how can you ignore your ancestor's practice? Obeying the forefathers is filial, to handle the affairs of state is righteous, to stop war benevolent, to understand one's status is proper. These four are all excellent virtues, and you must strive for them.'

The *piàoxìn* said: 'I wish to sent a man to the Táng to forge a band of cousins, how could I sent tribute to the Táng! Today I have heard your speech about the four virtues I should follow, I will give you a wooden peg and sent you back.'

In the end he was unwilling to receive tribute and he exceeded his authority by calling himself emperor of Shànshàn.

纪古滇说 670

纪古滇说 675

纪古滇说 680

纪古滇说 685

纪古滇说 690

The eighth generation, Quànlóngshèng 劝龙晟, here written as Quànlóngchéng 劝龙成, who ruled 809–816 CE.

后卒，其子劝龙成立，是为幽王，建元龙兴，罢帝号而与唐和。

未几而卒，时穆宗长庆三年也。

穆宗遣少府少监李铣诣善禅葬祭。

After he died, his son Quànlóngchéng took the throne, he was known as king Yōu, he began the Lóngxīng reign, he renounced the emperor title and sought peace with the Táng.

Not much later, he passed away, that was **in the 3rd year of Táng emperor Mùzōng's Chángqìng reign.**

Mùzōng sent the lesser defender and vice director Lǐ Xiǎn to Shànshàn for the funeral rites.

纪古滇说 695

The ninth generation, Quànlìshèng 劝利晟, here written as Quànlǐ 劝礼, who ruled 816–823 CE.

其子劝礼立，乃第九世也。建元全义，以王嵯为相。

先是，第六祖孝桓王意慕新封点苍

His son Quànlǐ ascended the throne, he was the ninth generation. He began the Quányì reign, Wángcuó was appointed prime minister.

Before that, the sixth king Xiàohuán Yìmùxīn had declared the

纪古滇说 700

r 695–696: in the 3rd year of Táng emperor Mùzōng's Chángqìng reign] 823 CE.

山为中岳，至王亦大祀之，仍封中岳苍山。

群臣上尊号曰靖王，王建昭灵育物土主庙在城北，创中岳神祠在城西中峰之下，善禅慧光、觉照二寺并塔落成。

Diāncāng Mountains as central mound. Up to this king they conducted great sacrifices there and declared Cāngshān the central mound.

His officials gave him the title king Jìng, the king built the Zhāolíng Yùwù earth god temple north of the walled town, and established the central mound altar to the west of the walled town below the central peak, in Shànshàn the construction of the two pagodas for Huìguāng temple and Juézhào temple was completed.

The tenth generation, Quànfēngyòu 劝丰佑, who ruled 823–859 CE.

王卒，其子昭成王劝丰佑立，建元保和，乃蒙第十世也。

纪古滇说 715

『唐史』文宗太和三年，王嵯领兵攻嵩、邛、戎三州，遂入蜀，止西效十日，慰赉居人，取其经籍，掠工技数万人，南(之)(诏)工织自是与中国同。

唐大中十年，南诏王劝丰佑建五花楼，以会西南夷十六大国君长也，楼方广五里，高百尺，上可容万人，昭成王保和五年已建完也。

保和八年，昭成王幸善禅东京，树碑于金马以绝(纪)方物。

The king passed away, his son, king Zhāochéng Quànfēngyòu, took the throne, he began the Bǎohé reign, he was the tenth generation descendant of the Méng.

According to the *'History of the Táng'*, in the 3rd year of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng's Tàihé reign, Wángcuó led troops to attack the three prefectures of Xī, Qióng, and Róng, then he entered Shǔ, stopped at the western walls [of Chéngdū] for ten days, comforting the local people, acquiring their scriptures and books, and taking tens of thousands of craftsmen as captives, from then on weaving and craft in Nánzhào were equal to those of China.

In the 10th year of Táng Dàzhōng, the king of Nánzhào Quànfēngyòu constructed the Wǔhuá tower for a congregation of the sixteen tribal heads of the western and southern Yí, the tower was five *lǐ* wide and one hundred *chǐ* high, able to hold ten thousand men, it was completed in the 5th year of king Zhāochéng's Bǎohé reign.

In the 8th year of Bǎohé, king Zhāochéng visited the eastern capital Shànshàn, and erected a stele at Jīnmǎ to record tributes.

The eleventh generation, Shìlóng, *844, Ψ859, †877.

纪古滇说 730

王卒于善禅，葬起蒙舍，其子世隆立，乃第十一世也。

世隆即位，建元建极，称景庄帝，国号大理，改西京曰中都，善禅东京曰上都。

纪古滇说 735

元年，帝遣大将军独彦侵播州，又

The king died in Shànshàn, and was returned Méngshè for burial, his son Shìlóng was enthroned, he was the 11th generation.

Shìlóng ascended throne and began the Jiànjí reign, he was called Jǐngzhuāng emperor, he called the country Dàlǐ, he changed the western capital's name to Zhōngdū, and Shànshàn, the eastern capital, was called Shàngdū.

In his 1st year, the emperor sent out the general-in-chief Dú Yàn

[729: 起] written as <[𠃉]走巴>, not a unicode character.

r 714–715: in the 3rd year of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng's Tàihé reign] 829 CE.

r 721: In the 10th year of Táng Dàzhōng] 836 CE.

r 725–726: in the 5th year of king Zhāochéng's Bǎohé reign] 828 CE.

r 727: In the 8th year of Bǎohé] 831.

r 735: In his 1st year] 859 CE.

r 735: Dú Yàn] this name does not seem to be mentioned anywhere else.

侵武州，皆陷之。

二年，攻安南、邕州，亦陷之。

八年，遣清平官董成入唐，求授敌国礼。

冬，复寇安南，次年春陷之，交址唐经略使蔡袭死之。是时乃唐懿宗咸通四年也。

建极十一年，又犯蜀，掠工匠玉帛以归，自是尽有大渡河迤南之地。

十三年，王遣使至品甸，按《唐史》尝置坡州，亦名清子川，其川泽土壤不减云南，而民种蒔为不及尔。

甸中有池名曰清湖，灌溉之利达于云南之楚湖。

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。

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。

建行宫于白崖甸中，亲履甸之西南，建清致神庙，宽广精丽。

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

to attack Bōzhōu, then Wǔzhōu, both were taken.

In his 2nd year, he attacked Ānnán and Yōngzhōu, they also fell.

In his 8th year, he sent his prime minister Dǒng Chéng to the Táng, **to petition to receive rituals as an enemy state.**

In winter, he again invaded Ānnán, capturing in spring the following year, Càixí, **the Táng military commissioner to Jiāozhǐ was killed.** This was during the **4th year of Táng emperor Yìzōng Xiántōng reign.**

In the 11th year of Jiànjí, he again invaded Shǔ, taking craftsmen and precious items back, from then on the regions south of the Dàdù River were his.

In the 13th year, the king sent an envoy to Pǐndiàn, according to the ‘*History of the Táng*’ Pōzhōu had once been established there, it was also called Qīngzǐ valley, its marshes and fields were not inferior to those of Yúnnán, but the people’s agricultural techniques could not match them.

In the middle of the plain is a lake called Qīng lake, its irrigation benefits come close to Yúnnán’s Yě lake.

On the western official road is a stone, on the stone are patterns like the old seal script, it is called *earth mark*, so the king sent envoys to warn travellers to avoid it and prohibited stepping on it.

After thirty *lǐ* travelling through the mountains, one reaches the plain of Báiyán, its lands stretch from south to north, its size about the same as Yúnnán, Pǐndiàn, the population is dense, and grain fields cover the entire land. To its west there is a stone cliff, its colour like snow, so it is called Báiyán. There is also the Chìshuǐ River, winding and turning flowing through it.

An imperial palace was constructed in the middle of the Báiyá plain, he went himself to the south-west of the plain and constructed Qīngzhì temple, it is large and exquisite.

In its midst is an iron pillar, seven *chǐ* and five *cùn* high, its diameter *chǐ* and eight *cùn*, on its top it says ‘**On the 14th day, guǐchǒu, of the**

纪古滇说 740

纪古滇说 745

纪古滇说 750

纪古滇说 755

纪古滇说 760

纪古滇说 765

r737: In his 2nd year] 860 CE.

r738: In his 8th year] 866 CE.

r739: to petition to receive rituals as an enemy state] The wording here is peculiar, but the ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’ 《资治通鉴》 gives a bit more background, explaining that Dǒng Chéng 董成 went to Chéngdū 成都 to be recognized as equal. See also Backus (1981), p. 146.

r741–742: Càixí, the Táng military commissioner to Jiāozhǐ was killed] This event is amply covered in the ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》.

r742–743: the 4th year of Táng emperor Yìzōng Xiántōng reign] 863 CE.

r744: In the 11th year of Jiànjí] 870 CE.

r747: In the 13th year] 872 CE.

r767–768: On the 14th day, guǐchǒu, of the 4th month, gēngzǐ, of the 13th year of Jiànjí, the réncén 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.

月庚午朔十有四日癸丑铸]，以镇(其)(山)川，实唐咸通十二年也。

王回朝，遣将袭嘉、黎、雅三州，皆陷之，又进犯成都。

甲午建极十五年，乃唐僖宗乾符元年冬，景庄遣使寇西川，陷黎州，入邛崃关，掠工匠玉帛金银男女而归。

纪古滇说 775

4th month, *gēngzǐ*, of the 13th year of Jiànjí, the *rénchén* year. in order to protect its mountains and rivers, that is actually the **12th year of Táng Xiántōng era.**

The king returned to the court, and sent out generals to attack the three prefectures Jiā, Lí, and Yǎ, they were all taken, and then he attacked Chéngdū.

In the 15th year of Jiànjí, *jiǎwǔ*, i.e. in winter of the 1st year of Táng emperor Xizōng's Qiánfú reign, Jǐngzhuāng dispatched messengers to invade Xīchuān, captured Lízhōu, invaded Qiónglái pass, captured artisans, jade, silk, gold and silver, men and women and retreated.

The twelfth generation, Lóngshùn 隆舜, he ruled 877–897 CE.

A couple of entries that belong to his reign are misplaced in the section about his son, Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, below.

建极十九年春二月，景庄卒，子隆舜立，称为宣武帝。

纪古滇说 780

即位之初，改国号大封民国，建元贞明。

三年，幸善闾城，仍为东京，祭阿育王子金马、碧鸡二山景帝及祀神明天子各庙，立迁都，郊祀山川、社稷二坛于善闾东京城外，山川坛西南又筑一城，与其子舜化所居，名曰中城。

纪古滇说 785

卒于东京，葬起大封名国。

In spring, in the 2nd month of the 19th year of Jiànjí, Jǐngzhuāng passed away, his son Lóngshùn ascended the throne, he was known as emperor Xuānwǔ.

At the beginning of his reign, he changed the country's name to Great Fēng People's Kingdom and began the Zhēnmíng reign.

In the 3rd year, he travelled to the walled town of Shànchǎn and declared it the eastern capital, he made offerings to the two mountain emperors, king Ashoka's sons Jīnmǎ and Bìjī, made offerings to all the temples devoted to the bright son of heaven, he moved the capital, made sacrifices to mountains and rivers at two altars outside the eastern capital, Shànchǎn, at the mountain and river alters in the south-west he built another walled twown, his son Shùnhuà resided there, so it was called the middle capital.

He passed away in the eastern capital, for his burial he returned to Great Fēng People's Kingdom.

The thirteenth generation, Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, here referred to as Shùnhuà 舜化, he ruled 897–902 CE.

In the middle of this section are a number of misplaced entries, that belong to the period of Lóngshùn 隆舜 above.

其子舜化立，乃十三代也。

His son Shùnhuà ascended the throne, he was the thirteenth generation.

l792: 起] again, written as <[走巴]>, not a unicode character.

l792: 大封名国] a miswriting of Dàfēng Míngguó 大封民国

r769–770: 12th year of Táng Xiántōng era] 871.

r774–775: In the 15th year of Jiànjí, *jiǎwǔ*, i.e. in winter of the 1st year of Táng emperor Xizōng's Qiánfú reign] 874 CE.

r779: In spring, in the 2nd month of the 19th year of Jiànjí] 877 CE.

舜化即位东京，建元中兴，称为孝哀帝。

唐乾符六年春，岭南节度使辛谠遣使来，广明元年夏六月，僖宗遣宗正少卿李龟年至善阐，与南诏和亲。

次年又改元中和，元年秋八月，遣使上表于唐。

三年冬，唐遣中使以宗室女妻之。

舜化于唐昭宗乾宁四年冬十二月，遣使上书于唐。

孝哀帝轻车回大封民国，入太和城宫，被郑买嗣弑之，买嗣遂篡其位，国号天长，改元安国。

初，买嗣为宣武之相，宣武幸善阐，留买嗣以守国，岂期弑孝哀而篡其位也！

后有赵善政、杨于贞等递相篡位，三主共三十六年，而至武威人段思平，乃五代晋时也。

Shùnhuà took the throne in the eastern capital, he began the Zhōngxīng reign, and was known as emperor Xiàōāi.

In the spring of the 6th year of Táng Qiánfú, the Língnán military commissioner Xīn Dǎng again sent out an envoy, in summer in the 6th month of the 1st year of Guǎngmíng, Táng emperor Xīzōng sent an envoy, the chamberlain for the imperial clan and vice minister Lǐ Guīnián, to Shànchǎn to make a visit Nánzhào to foster peace.

The next year he changed the reign to Zhōnghé, in autumn in the 8th month of the 1st year, he sent envoys to present a memorial to the emperor.

In the winter of the 3rd year, Táng sent an envoy to give him a daughter of the imperial household as wife.

Shùnhuà, in winter, in the 12th month of the 4th year of Táng emperor Zhāozōng's Qiánníng reign, sent an envoy with a letter for the Táng.

Emperor Xiàōāi returned in a light carriage to Great Fēng People's Kingdom, entered the palace of the walled town of Tàihé, Zhèng Mǎisi assassinated him, Mǎisi then usurped the throne, he called the state Tiāncháng, and he began the Ānguó reign.

Earlier, Mǎisi served as prime minister for emperor Xuānwǔ, when emperor Xuānwǔ travelled to Shànchǎn he left Mǎisi in charge of the country, so it could be expected that he would kill emperor Xiàōāi and usurp the throne.

After that there were Zhào Shànzhèng, Yáng Yúzhēn and others who one after another usurped the throne, three rulers over thirty-six years, until it came to a man from Wǔwēi, Duàn Sípíng, this was during the Five Dynasties's Later Jìn period.

纪古滇说 800

纪古滇说 805

纪古滇说 810

纪古滇说 815

纪古滇说 820

The Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国

It follows a very brief history of the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国 with a passage detailing the prevalence of Buddhist belief in the region.

[814: 天长] I think this should be *dàcháng* 大长

[820: 杨于贞] i.e. Yáng Qiánzhēn 杨乾贞.

r798: In the spring of the 6th year of Táng Qiánfú] 879, this entry belongs under Lóngshùn 隆舜.

r799–800: in summer in the 6th month of the 1st year of Guǎngmíng] 880 CE.

r804–805: in autumn in the 8th month of the 1st year] 881 CE, again this entry belongs under Lóngshùn.

r807: In the winter of the 3rd year] 883 CE, again belongs under Lóngshùn.

r809–810: in winter, in the 12th month of the 4th year of Táng emperor Zhāozōng's Qiánníng reign] 897 CE.

r822: to a man from Wǔwēi, Duàn Sípíng] Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (2015), pp. 35–40 investigates this in great detail and states that this is wrong: the Duàn clan 段氏 has long been a powerful family in the Dàlǐ region and the term *wǔwēi* 武威 is a honorific title given to him and not his hometown.

- 纪古滇说 825 段思平得之，更国号曰大理，始称先帝，蒙、段同四十一主，共历六百有一年，皆都于善阐、大理也。
- 善阐金碧为城，昆水为池。
- 纪古滇说 830 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，龙尾关于赵脸之北。
- 纪古滇说 835 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。
- 纪古滇说 840 宋兴，北有大敌，不暇远略，使传往来，不通于中国。
- 纪古滇说 845 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。
- 纪古滇说 850 沿山寺宇极多，而礼佛游玩者弗绝，至大元世祖天兵北来，进丽江石门关一鼓而下，其国乃终。
- 纪古滇说 855 大理摩诃罗嵯段兴智建元天定，元年而降于元。世祖以天戈南指，望风纳款，岂以金城汤池传之万世乎！
- 郭松年『大理行』曰：「良可叹哉！此非在德不在险之明验大效矣！」
- Duàn Sīpíng took power and changed the name of the country to Dàlǐ, he began to call himself the first emperor, the Méng and Duàn together had forty-one rulers, ruling in total for six hundred and one year, both Shànchǎn and Dàlǐ were the capital. Shànchǎn uses Golden Horse Mountain and Jade Chicken Mountain as wall, the waters of Kūn as moat.
- In the west Dàlǐ lies on the slopes of the Diǎncāng Mountains, in the east is confined by Ěrhǎi, Diǎncāng Mountains are dangerous, Ěrhǎi is treacherous, Dragon Head Gate is south of Dèngchuān, Dragon Tail Gate is north of Zhàoliǎn.
- The Méng, Zhèng, Zhào, Yáng, and Duàn are the five family names. Over several hundred years these five families were steadfast, up to the last years of the Táng and the unrest and decline of the five dynasties, no troops could overcome them. The rulers of these five families jointly resisted China.
- When the Sòng rose, they had a formidable enemy in the north, and had no time for distant occupations, there was no exchange of envoys with China.
- 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. There are many temples along the mountains, and those traveling to worship Buddha never ceased, until the soldiers of the great Kublai Khan arrived from the north, passing through Lìjiāng's Shíménguān one strike and their country came to an end.
- The Dàlǐ *móhēluōcuó* Duàn Xīngzhì declared the Tiāndìng reign, in his first year he capitulated to the Yuán. Kublai Khan pointed his imperial dagger south and achieved submission through his vision, how could such an impregnable fortress be passed through all ages?
- Guō Sōngnián says in his '*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*': 'Truly lamentable! Does this not vividly demonstrate that success depends not on geo-

[854: 指] character added according to Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 663.

[857–858: 郭松年『大理行』曰：「良可叹哉！此非在德不在险之明验大效矣！」] As the '*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*' 《大理行记》 was published after this text was originally composed, this must have been added later.

r829: Kūn] i.e. Lake Dian 滇池.

r852: *móhēluōcuó*] Móhēluōcuó 摩诃罗嵯 is a form of writing *mahārāja*.

r857: Guō Sōngnián says in his '*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*'] As the '*Dàlǐ Travel Notes*' 《大理行记》 was written after 1265 CE, this text must have been amended later.

The Yuán Dynasty 元朝

During the Yuán dynasty, the Mongol administration continued to make use of the Duàn clan as local administrators, beginning with Duàn Xìnjūshí 段信苴实.

元仍立段信苴实留守大理，是以削其号也，苍洱底定。

元帝命信苴实大将睦力，合兵东征于越，段兴智同信苴福为副行征，所向皆克，回至京，赏赉甚厚。

兴智死，元遣使谕祭赐物以归，葬还大理，乃嘉历数之祥，乃宣谕信苴实曰：

「向帅我师，往临尔境，重拒国人之请，因从诚信之盟，蚁附而来，忠勤益著，庸尔至优之渥，彰以同视之仁，可赐虎符，依旧管领大理、善阐、威楚、统矢、会川、建昌、腾越、谋统等州城勾当，仍悉各处万户千户队长管民之官属，并听信苴实节制。尚修前效，毋负初心，安抚已附之民，招集未降之众，国典有常，卿其勉之，宜令准此。」

即元中统二年也，任信苴实为大理宣慰使司世袭都元帅，阶镇国，复升云南行省参知政事。

故，子信苴庆继袭父职，阶亦如之，中庆路总管高龙缙为左丞，阶资善，俾段之子孙世世荣享于旧。

The Yuán, as before, installed Duàn Xìnjūshí as regent for Dàlǐ, revoked his name of the state, and pacified Cāngshān and Lake Ěrhǎi.

The **first Yuán** emperor ordered the senior commander Xìnjūshí to join forces for an expedition to Yuè, Duàn Xīngzhì together with Xìnjū as vice commander conquered them all, returned to the capital, and was bestowed great favours.

When Xīngzhì died, the Yuán dispatched envoys to carry out the rituals to bestow him gifts for his submission, he was returned to Dàlǐ for burial, was praised for his accomplishments over the years, and a proclamation was made where Xìnjūshí said:

‘The venerable late leader of the troops, when I entered your borders he refused the requests of his countrymen and sincerely complied with our alliance, so they arrived like ants, his devotion and diligence benefitting all, the ordinary thus became excellence, showing his benevolence, the Khan had bestowed him a tiger talisman, and he continued to administer the provincial towns of Dàlǐ, Shànchǎn, Wēichǔ, Tǒngshǐ, Huìchuān, Jiànchāng, Téngyuè, and Móutǒng, and was in charge of all the subordinates in administering the affairs of tens of thousand households and thousand households who all listened to Xìnjūshí command. The deceased studied the ancient teachings, he never forgot his original intentions, he appeased the people in towns and the countryside, and brought those into the fold who had not yet submitted. The rules of the country are unchangeable, the high officials must strive for them and he has been a paragon of this.’

Then **in the 2nd year of Zhōngtǒng**, Xìnjūshí took up his post in the office of the Dàlǐ pacification commissioner as hereditary marshall, he was promoted to *defender of the state*, and further to assistant administrator for Yúnnán province.

As a result, his son Xìnjūqìng continued in his father’s post, rising just like him. The Zhōngqìng route route commander Gāo Lóngshàn was appointed as left aide and was promoted for his service and ability. As a result, the children and grandchildren of the Duàn enjoyed over generations the same honours as in the old times.

纪古滇说 860

纪古滇说 865

纪古滇说 870

纪古滇说 875

纪古滇说 880

纪古滇说 885

纪古滇说 890

r 862: first Yuán]

r 885: in the 2nd year of Zhōngtǒng] 1261 CE.

Then Zhāng Dàoōng signs off with the date 26th January 1265 and gives us the only biographical information known about him: he was a man from Diān, i.e. Yúnnán.

纪古滇说 895 崑
咸淳元年春正月初八日滇民张道宗录。

Date

On the 8th day of the 1st month of the 1st year of *xiānchún* recorded by Zhāng Dàoōng from Diān.

Postscript 跋

The text was later annotated by a postscript, dated 19th December 1549, by the eminent exiled scholar Yáng Shèn, who is said to have compiled the ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’ 《南诏野史》.

纪古滇说 900 跋纪古滇说集
总戎云楼沐公命梓人刻『纪古滇说集』，慎得披阅焉，曰兹『野史』之流，郡乘之裨也，比于虞初九百之说，方朔三千之牒，要为有系不涉无益，传之不亦可乎！

Postscript to the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’

The esteemed general of Yúnlóu, the duke Mù ordered to carve the ‘*Collected Stories from the Annals of Ancient Diān*’, Shèn read it carefully, it is roughly like Yuán Zī’s unofficial history, bringing the benefit of a local history, like the nine hundred sayings of the early Yú or the three thousand tablets of Fāngshuò, to sum it up: it contains the essential without going into the unnecessary and is worthy of transmission.

纪古滇说 905 窃谓公之命梓是也，有四善焉：讯俗一也；辨方二也；好古三也；崇文四也。

I personally say that his order to engrave it was right as there were four benefits: the first the investigation of customs, the second the analysis of geography, the third its appreciation of antiquity, the fourth its veneration of literature.

纪古滇说 910 其为文教之揆，武卫之奋，以承九重付畀之重，一方式遏之略于兹乎取焉。

It provides manifold assistance for the teachings of literature and the struggle for defense, its restrained form has been inherited from Zī.

谨跋之于卷尾云。

I respectfully place this postscript at the end of the scroll.

嘉靖己酉十二月朔日

On the 1st day the 12th month of the *jǐyǒu* year during emperor Jiājìng

纪古滇说 915 治属博南戍史杨慎谨书。

Respectfully written by Yáng Shèn, the historian of Bónán garrison.

l899: 兹] variant writing of Yuán Zī 袁滋.

r895: On the 8th day of the 1st month of the 1st year of *xiānchún*] 26th January 1265.

r899: Shèn] i.e. he himself.

r900: Yuán Zī’s unofficial history] this refers to a lost text Yuán Zī 袁滋 had compiled, which formed the base for the ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》.

r902: the three thousand tablets of Fāngshuò] The Western Hàn official Dōng Fāngshuò 东方朔, *154–†93 BCE, is said to have compiled three thousand tablets.

r910–911: its restrained form has been inherited from Zī] unclear.

r913–914: On the 1st day the 12th month of the *jǐyǒu* year during emperor Jiājìng] 19th December 1549.

4 Glossary

- Ācuóyé** 阿嵯耶: a Yúnnán-specific depiction of Guānyīn, – see page 15, see 观音
- Āyù** 阿育: Ashoka, Indian ruler, 268–232 BCE, who promoted the spread of Buddhism across Asia, – see page 12, 41
- Āyù Wáng** 阿育王: king Ashoka, Indian ruler, 268–232 BCE, who promoted the spread of Buddhism across Asia, in early texts from Yúnnán he becomes a mythological figure, – see pages 6, 12, 13, 16, 19, 26, 36, 41
- Āiláo** 哀牢: legendary state in western Yúnnán during the Hàn dynasty. It is thought that a graveside discovered in 2012 in Chāngníng 昌宁 is related to it, see Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Lírui 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016), Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014), – see page 15, 22
- Āiláo Yí** 哀牢夷: Āiláo Yí, mythological tribe hailing from the Āiláo Shān 哀牢山, in present-day Bǎoshān 保山, – see pages 12, 13, 41, see 哀牢
- Āiláoguó** 哀牢国: kingdom of Āiláo, , – see page 13, 41
- Āiláo Shān** 哀牢山: Āiláo Mountains, , – see pages 13, 14, 41
- Āiláo Wáng** 哀牢王: king of Āiláo, ancient title, – see pages 16, 22, 25, 41
- Āiláo Zhuān** 《哀牢传》: ‘*Biographies of Āiláo*’, one of the oldest texts about Yúnnán, describing the mythology of the ancient land of Āiláo, – see pages 12, 13, 41
- Ānguó** 安国: reign period of Zhèng Mǎisi 郑买嗣, 903–909 – see page 37, 41, see 郑买嗣
- Ān Lùshān Zhī Luàn** 安禄山之乱: Ān Lùshān rebellion, rebellion during the Táng dynasty period, – see page 30, 41
- Ānnán** 安南: a Táng dynasty protectorate in the area of present-day northern Vietnam. During the Táng dynasty Ānnán was subordinated to Língnándào 岭南道, the Jímí 羁縻 region governing the southern coastal areas. Its official name changed frequently: before 681 it was called Jiāozhōu 交州, then until 757 Ānnán 安南, then until 863 Zhènnán 镇南, then Xíngānnán 行安南 before reverting to Ānnán 安南 in 866. Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鹤 (2012), pp. 1205–1217, – see page 35
- 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, –
- Ānníng Shì** 安宁市: Ānníng city, present-day city in central Yúnnán, – see page 41
- Bā** 巴: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the eastern part of present-day Sichuan, – see pages 8, 12, 16, 18, 20
- Bābǎi** 八百: Bābǎi, , – see page 29, 41
- Báigǔtōng** 《白古通》: ‘*Báigǔtōng*’, ancient text in the Bái language, now lost, – see page 5, 41
- Bái Guó** 白国: Bái kingdom, a, possibly apocryphal, state in western Yúnnán that precedes Nánzhào, first mentioned in the 《纪古滇说原集》, see Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), p. 113, – see page 17, 41

- Báiguó Yīnyóu** 《白国因由》: ‘Origins of the Bai Kingdom’, Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào, – see pages 5, 14, 15, 42
- Báimǎ** 白马: state mentioned in the 《史记》, – see page 12
- Báishì** 白氏: Bái clan, a reference to the clan ruling Báiyá 白崖, – see pages 17, 18, 42
- Báiyá** 白崖: pre-Nánzhào polity, thought to have been in present-day Mídù 弥渡 valley, – see pages 16–18, 23, 29, 35
- Báizǐ Guó** 白子国: state of Báizǐ, early, possibly apocryphal, state in western Yúnnán, see Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011), pp. 109–132, – see page 17, 42
- Bǎi Shǐchāng** 柏始昌: general during the Hàn dynasty, – see page 18
- Bān Gù** 班固: historian who compiled the 《汉书》, – see page 8
- Bǎohé** 保和: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Yímóuxún, 784–, – see page 34
- Bǎohé** 劝丰佑保和: reign period of Quàn-fēngyòu 劝丰佑, 824–839 CE, – see page 34
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌, – see page see 永昌
- Bìjī** 碧鸡: jade chicken, mythological animal in Yúnnán, – see pages 6, 9, 19, 36, 42
- Bìjī mountain** 碧鸡山: Jade Chicken Mountain, landmark mountain in the Diānchí 滇池 region, translates as ‘jade chicken mountain’, – see pages 6, 13, 26, 27, 38, 42
- Bīntónglóng Guó** 宾童龙国: state of Bīntónglóng, ancient state in the south, possibly southern Vietnam/Cambodia, – see page 11, 42
- Bōzhōu** 播州: Bōzhōu, Táng dynasty administrative region around present-day ??, – see page 35, 42
- Bō zhōu** 波州: name in the 《唐书》 for Xiángyún 祥云, – see page 35
- Bó** 帛: silk, , – see page 36, 42
- Bónán** 博南: , – see page 40
- Bówàng Hóu** 博望侯: Marquis of Bówàng, , – see page 17, 42
- Bùwéi** 不韦: county in Yǒngchāng 永昌, named after Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦, – see page 22
- Cǎiyún** 彩云: a walled town built by Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求, also referred to as Wénàndòng 文案洞, –
- Cài Xí** 蔡袭: Táng dynasty administrator, – see page 35
- Cānzhīzhèngshì** 参知政事: assistant administrator, ‘originally a supplementary title conferred on eminent officials entitling them to participate in policy discussions’, see Hucker (1985), 6872 – see page 39, 42
- Cāngěr** 苍洱: Cāngshān and Lake Ěrhǎi, referring to 苍山 and Ěrhǎi, – see page 39, 42
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi, – see pages 30, 34, 42
- Cáo Wèi** 曹魏: one of the three kingdoms during the Sān Guó 三国 period, 220–226, –
- Chábìshā Guó** 茶弼沙国: state of Chábìshā, legendary state in the west, could be Egypt, thought to be where the sun enters the sea, – see page 11, 42
- Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山, –

- Cháng Qiāng** 尝羌: name the king of Diān, – see page 18
- Chángjiāng** 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river, – see page 10, 43
- Chángqìng** 长庆: reign period of Táng Mùzōng 唐穆宗, 821–824, 821–824 CE – see page 33, 43
- Cháng Qú** 常璩: Chinese historian, compiled the 《华阳国志》, *291–†361 – see page 8, 43
- Chángshòu** 长寿: reign period of 阁罗凤, – see page 29
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南, – see pages 27, 34–36
- Chéngjiā** 成家: Chéng dynasty, short-lived state in present-day Sìchuān, 25–36 CE – see pages 20, 21, 23, 43
- Chéngxiāng** 丞相: prime minister, also translated as ‘counselor-in-chief’: ‘A title of great significance in Chinese history, normally indicating the most esteemed and influential member(s) of the officialdom, who was leader of and spokesman for the officialdom vis-a-vis the ruler and at the same time the principal agent for implementing the ruler’s wishes in all spheres, civil and military’, see Hucker (1985), 483 – see pages 22, 31, 32, 43
- Chìshuǐ river** 赤水江: Chìshuǐ River, river through the Mídù 弥渡 valley, – see page 35, 43
- 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 pages 25, 28, 43
- Chǔ** 楚国: state of Chǔ, ancient Chinese state before the Qin dynasty, 704–223BCE, – see pages 13, 16, 43
- Chǔzhuāngwáng** 楚庄王: king Zhuāng of Chǔ, king of Chǔ, 613–591, – see page 16, 43
- Chūnqiū** 春秋: spring and autumn period, 770–475BCE, – see page 43
- Cíbù Lángzhōng** 祠部郎中: director of the bureau of sacrifices, high official title, – see page 32, 43
- Císhàn** 慈善: legendary wife of Píluóténg 皮逻遼 and model of virtue, – see page 30, see 皮逻遼
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China, – see pages 22–24, 43
- Cúgéní** 徂葛尼: legendary figure from the far west, perhaps Alexander the Great, – see page 11
- Cuàn** 爨: surname, name of powerful clan in the east of Yúnnán before Nánzhào, –
- Cuàn Wán** 爨玩: Cuàn 爨 clan leader, defeated by Shǐ Wànsuì 史万岁, – see page 24, see 史万岁
- Cuī Zuǒshí** 崔佐时: Táng dynasty envoy to Nánzhào in 794, – see page 32
- Dà Méng Guó** 大蒙国: Great State of Méng, official name of Nánzhào in the 《南诏野史》, – see page 31, 43
- Dà Bónòng** 大勃弄: , – see page 24
- Dàchánghéguó** 大长和国: Great State of Chánghé, , – see page 37, 43
- Dàcí Sì** 大慈寺: Dàcí temple, important early temple in 成都, – see page 27, 43

- 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 35, 44
- Dàfēng Mínguó** 大封民国: Great Fēng People's Kingdom, self-appellation of Nánzhào during the reign of Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 897–902, meaning unclear, – see pages 36, 37, 44, see 舜化贞 & 中兴
- Dàhēitiān** 大黑天: partly evil deity, originated from the Indian god Shiva, – see page 26
- Dàjiāng** 大将: senior commander, , – see page 39, 44
- Dà Jiāngjūn** 大 将 军: general-in-chief, 'throughout history a designation of military officers in command of armies; more prestigious than General (chiang, Chiang-chiin) alone, less prestigious than Generalissimo (shang Chiang-chün)', see Hucker (1985), p. 5897, – see pages 25, 34, 44
- Dàlǐ** 大理: , – see pages 6, 25, 29, 34, 37–39
- 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, 38, 44
- Dàlǐ superior prefecture** 大理府: Dàlǐ prefecture, later name of the Dàlǐ administrative region, – see page 44
- Dàlǐfǔ Zhì** 《大理府志》: 'Dàlǐ prefecture Gazetteer', 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 44
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253, 937–1253 CE – see page 37, 44
- Dàniú** 大牛: tribal group mentioned in the 《后汉书》, – see page 22
- Dàqín Guó** 大秦国: great state of Qín, state in the far west, assumed to be a reference to the Roman empire, – see pages 11, 29, 44
- Dàtiānxīngguó** 大天兴国: great state of Tiānxīng, short-lived Nánzhào successor state, 928, also written as Xīngyuánguó 兴元国, – see page 44
- Dàxī** 大厘: earlier name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲, – see page see 史城
- Dàxià** 大夏: Bactria, , – see pages 13, 17, 44
- Dàyì Fǎshī** 大义法师: great righteous *dharma* master, legendary title, – see page 26, 44
- Dà Yǔ** 大禹: Great Yǔ, , – see page 10, 44
- Dàzhōng** 大中: reign period of Tángxuānzōng 唐宣宗, 847–860 CE, – see page 34
- Dào** 道: circuit, Táng dynasty administrative division, akin to a province, first created in 627 during the Táng dynasty, – see page 44
- Déhuà Bēi** 德化碑 《德化碑》: 'Déhuà Stele', most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history, – see page 31, 44
- Déyuánchéng** 德源城: walled town of Déyuán, honorific title of Dèngchuān 邓川, present-day name of an excavation site of a fortification near Dèngchuān 邓川, – see page 30, 44
- Dēngliúméi** 登流眉: Dēngliúméi, ancient state in the south, possibly southern Thailand, – see page 11, 44
- Dèngchuān** 邓川: , – see page 30, 38
- Dī** 氏: ancient tribal classification, – see page

- Dìfú** 地符: *earth mark*, name of a mythological stone on the Yúnnányì 云南驿 plain, – see page 35, 45
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region, – see pages 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16–19, 22, 25–27, 32, 40, see 滇国
- Diān Chéngjì** 《滇程记》: ‘*Records of a Journey to Diān*’, Míng 明 period travelogue by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, – see page 45
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明, – see pages 6, 10, 13, 21, 22, 26, 38, 45
- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty, – see pages 8, 10, 13, 19, 45
- Diān Lüè** 《滇略》: ‘*A Brief Outline of Diān*’, work by Xiè Zhào zhè 谢肇淞, completed in 1621, – see page 28, 45
- Diān Shuǐ** 滇水: lake Diān, another name for Diānchí 滇池, – see page 11, 45, see 滇池
- Diān Wáng** 滇王: king of Diān, , – see pages 13, 16–18, 20–22, 45
- Diānzàijì** 《滇载记》: ‘*Historical Records of Diān*’, Míng 明 period historical work by Yáng Shèn 杨慎, completed 1525, – see page 45
- Diǎncāng Shān** 点苍山: Diǎncāng Mountains, mountain range west of Dàlǐ 大理, – see pages 25, 34, 38, 45
- Dōngchuān** 东川: eastern part of Jiànnán, – see page 23
- Dōng Fāngshuò** 东方朔: Xī Hàn 西汉 official, *154–†93 BCE – see page 40, 45
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220, – see page 21, 45
- Dōnghàn Míngdì** 东汉明帝: Eastern Hàn emperor Míng, Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor, 58–75, ruled 58–75 CE – see page 22, 45
- Dōngtǎsì** 东塔寺: eastern pagoda temple, temple in Kūnmíng 昆明, – see page 32, 45
- Dǒng Chéng** 董成: Nánzhào envoy, – see page 35
- Dòng Cán** 栋蚕: tribal leader, – see page 21, 22
- Dūdū** 都督: commander-in-chief, ‘chief of military forces in a prefecture’, , see Hucker (1985), 7311 – see pages 10, 23, 31, 45
- Dūdūfǔ** 都督府: area command, ‘Táng dynasty military jurisdiction and/or its headquarters’, , see Hucker (1985), 7314 – see page 10, 45
- Dú Yàn** 独彦: , – see page 34
- 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 38, 39
- Duàn Xìnjūshí** 段信直实: , – see page 6, 39
- Duàn Qìng** 段庆: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, ruled 1284–1307 CE – see page 39, 45
- Duàn Shí** 段实: Dàlǐ 大理 Zǒngguǎn 总管, also called Duàn Xìnjūrì, Ψ₁₂₆₁–†1282 – see pages 6, 39, 45
- Duàn Shì** 段氏: Duàn clan, ruling clan of Dàlǐ Guó, – see pages 37, 39, 45
- Duàn Sīpíng** 段思平: founder of the Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 937–944 CE, ruled 937–944 CE – see pages 37, 38, 45

- Duàn Xīngzhì** 段兴智: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1251–1254 CE, ruled 1251–1254 CE – see pages 38, 39, 46
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xiě Hé, – see pages 16, 24, 28, 30, 38, 46
- Fǎ** 法: *dharma*, the Buddhist teachings, – see pages 10, 17, 26, 46
- Fǎhuá Sì** 法华寺: Fǎhuá Sì, Buddhist temple near Ānníng 安宁, – see page 46
- Fǎyáo** 法尧: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Lóngshùn 隆舜, 877–897, ruled 877–897 CE – see page 46
- Fán Chuò** 樊绰: assistant to cai xi ttx = , author of the 《蛮书》, – see page 8, 46
- Fán Shèng** 繁胜: Dōng Hàn 东汉 military leader, – see page 21
- Fànsēng** 梵僧: foreign monk, the term denotes a monk from India or a Buddhist monk, I have translated this as ‘foreign monk’ as India was not even an entity at the time, – see page 15, 46
- Fàn Yē** 范晔: historian during the Liú Sòng 刘宋, compiled the 《后汉书》, *398–†445 – see page 8, 46
- Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜: eminent Yúnnán historian, 1903–1983, – see page 5
- Fēng Lí** 封离: , – see page 22
- Fèngyí** 凤仪: location of historic 渠敛赵 town, (⊕ 25.58N 100.31E) – see page see 渠敛赵
- Fúbāng** 福邦: son of Āyù Wáng 阿育王, – see pages 6, 12, 13, 19, 26
- fǔ** 府: prefecture, administrative unit during the Yuán Cháo 元朝, – see page 46
- gānzhī** 干支: sexagenary cycle in Chinese calendars, – see page 35
- Gāo Lóngshàn** 高龙缮: , – see page 39
- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE, ruled 748–779 CE – see pages 29, 31, 46, see 阁逻凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE, ruled 748–779 CE – see page 46
- Gēngchén** 庚辰: legendary spirit who helped Dà Yǔ 大禹 to regulate the waters, – see page 10, see 大禹
- 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 24, 40, 46
- Gōngsūn Shù** 公孙述: ruler of the short-lived Chéngjiā 成家 state in present-day Sìchuān, –†36 – see pages 20, 21, 46
- Gōng Tāo** 恭韬: legendary architect of the Three Pagodas 三塔, – see page 25
- Gūfù** 姑复: tribal group and county, in the Yǒngshèng 永胜 region of Yúnnán, – see page 21
- Gǔyuèdújīng** 《古岳读经》: ‘*Old Scriptures of the Mountains and Rivers*’, , – see page 10, 46
- Guāndù** 官渡: town south of Kūnmíng 昆明, –

- Guānyīn** 观音: Avalokiteśvara, one of the bodhisattvas, in Chinese also written as Guānshìyīn 观世音, which is a literal translation of the Sanskrit अवलोकितेश्वर. Guānyīn plays a key role in Nánzhào mythology, particularly in the 《南诏图传》 and the 《白国因由》, – see page 15, 47
- Guānyīn Dàshì** 观音大士: Great Bodhisattva Guānyīn, honorific for Guānyīn, Chapin (1944), p. 153 translates this as ‘Great Being’, noting that ‘Ta-shih stands for the Sanskrit word Mahasattva’, see Móhēsà 摩诃萨, – see pages 15, 26, 47
- Guàndǐng** 灌顶: *abhiseka*, term for the Buddhist initiation ritual by sprinkling water on the head, – see page 28, 47
- Guāngxī** 光熙: reign period of Jìn huìdì 晋惠帝, 306, – see page 23
- Guǎnghàn** 广汉: , – see page 22
- Guǎngmíng** 广明: reign period of Táng Xīzōng 唐僖宗, 880–881, – see page 37
- Guǎngnán** 广南: region in south-eastern Yúnnán, – see page 31
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province, –
- Guīchéng** 龟城: tortoise city, name for Kūnmíng 昆明, – see page 27, 47
- Guīyì** 归义: *Submitting to Righteousness*, honorific of Nánzhào ruler Píluógé, – see page 28, 47
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: province in south-west China, –
- Guō Chāng** 郭昌: Hàn dynasty general, – see page 18, 19
- Guō Sōngnián** 郭松年: Yuán Cháo official, compiler of the 《大理行记》, – see page 38
- Guójiātúshūguǎn** 国家图书馆: National Central Library, national library in Taipei, – see pages 9, 16, 47
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220, – see pages 6, 17, 47
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty, – see pages 3, 9, 17, 18, 21–23, 45, 47
- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty, – see pages 5, 9, 10, 17, 19, 20, 47
- Hànāndì** 汉安帝: Hàn emperor Ān, Hàn emperor Ān, 106–125, ruled 106–125 CE – see page 22, 47
- Hàn Guāngwǔ** 汉光武: later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ, 后汉 emperor, ruled 25–57, ruled 25–57 CE – see page 21, 47
- Hàn píngdì** 汉平帝: Hàn emperor Píng, Hàn emperor Píng, 1BC–5AD, – see page 20, 47
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE, ruled 140–87 BC – see page 17, 47
- Hàn Xuāndì** 汉宣帝: Hàn emperor Xuān, Hàn dynasty emperor Xuān, 73–49 BCE, ruled 73–49 BC – see page 19, 47
- Hànyuán** 汉源: , –
- Hànzhāngdì** 汉章帝: Hàn emperor Zhāng, Hàn emperor Zhāng, 75–88, ruled 75–88 CE – see page 22, 47

- Hànzhāodì** 汉昭帝: Hàn emperor Zhāo, Hàn dynasty emperor Zhāo, 86–74BCE, ruled 86–74 BC – see page 19, 48
- hào** 号: *sobriquet*, assumed literary name, – see page 48
- Hé Lǚguāng** 何履光: , – see page 31
- Hétúwěi** 《河图纬》: ‘*River Chart Augury*’, ancient revelatory text, ‘believed to embody and witness the mandate to rule sanctioned by Heaven’, Pregadio (2020), p. 43, – see page 8, 48
- Hètùo** 鹤拓: another name for Nánzhào, its origin is unclear, it is possibly related to a legend, see Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010b), pp. 369–370, – see page 16
- Hēishuǐ** 黑水: Black River, location mentioned in the 《禹贡》, translated as ‘black water’ in Legge (1865), p. 119, he thinks it is the Jīnshā 金沙 river, – see pages 10, 11, 48
- Hóngdé** 弘德: son of Āyù Wáng 阿育王, – see page 12, 13
- Hóu** 侯: marquis, ‘Marquis, a title of nobility, usually next in prestige only after Prince (wang) and Duke (kung), sometimes hereditary, sometimes conferred for special merit; usually prefixed with a geographic name designating the noble’s real or hypothetical fief.’, , see Hucker (1985), 2205 – see pages 18, 20, 21, 48
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty, – see page 48
- Hòuhàn Shū** 《后汉书》: ‘*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*’, classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China, – see pages 5, 21, 22, 48
- Hòujìn** 后晋: Later Jìn, dynasty during the Wǔdài 五代 period, 936–947, – see page 37, 48
- Hūbìliè** 忽必烈: Kublai Khan, Mongol leader who conquered Dàlǐ 大理 in 1253, – see page 48
- Huáyáng Guó Zhì** 《华阳国志》: ‘*Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá*’, , – see page 8, 48
- Huī Yì** 徽义: legendary architect of the Three Pagodas 三塔, – see page 25
- Huìchuān** 会川: , – see page 23, 39
- Huìguāngsì** 慧光寺: Huìguāng temple, , – see pages 32, 34, 48
- 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, 7, 8, 10, 40, 48
- Jiājìng** 嘉靖: emperor Jiājìng, Míng 明 emperor, 1521–1566, – see pages 5, 10, 40, 48
- 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 10, 48
- Jiāzhōu** 嘉州: a district in present-day southern Sìchuān, east of Lèshān 乐山, (⊕ 29.6N 103.78E) – see page 36
- Jiānwèi** 犍为: , – see page 22
- Jiànchāng** 建昌: administrative region in present-day Sìchuān, south of the Dàdù Hé 大渡河. It was set up first by Nánzhào in the 9th century, in 1275 divided and in 1383 again set up, – see page 39
- Jiànchū** 建初: reign period of Hàn emperor Zhāng, 76–84, – see page 22

- Jiànjí** 建极: reign period of 世隆, 860–877, – see pages 34–36
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sichuān, – see page 29, 31
- Jiànníng** 建宁: an early administrative district in present-day eastern Yúnnán, – see pages 21, 23, 24
- Jiànwǔ** 建武: reign period of Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉光武, 25–56, – see page 21
- Jiànxīng** 建兴: first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237, the first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237 – see page 22, 49, see 刘禅
- Jiànyìdàfū** 谏议大夫: grand master of remonstrance, ‘prestigious official [...] whose principal function was to attend and advise the emperor’, , see Hucker (1985), 831 – see page 19, 49
- Jiāng** 将: commander, a generic term for some in charge, – see pages 16, 19, 49
- Jiāngjūn** 将军: general, ‘throughout history the most common term for the commander of a substantial body of troops, whether a regular officer of the standing army or the ad hoc commander of a special force organized for a campaign; occurs with many kinds of prefixes’, , see Hucker (1985), 694 – see pages 10, 13, 15, 18, 20–22, 24, 49
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam, (⊕ 21.03N 105.85E) – see page 29, 35
- Jiǎopú Guó** 獒濮国: state of Jiǎopú, legendary lands to the south of Yǒngchāng 永昌, where people have tails, mentioned in the 《三才图会》, – see pages 11, 14, 49
- 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 29, 31–33, 37, 49
- Jīnmǎ** 金马: golden horse, mythological animal in Yúnnán, – see pages 6, 9, 19, 27, 34, 36, 49
- Jīnmǎ mountain** 金马: Golden Horse Mountain, landmark mountain in the Diānchí 滇池 region, translates as ‘golden horse mountain’, – see pages 6, 13, 27, 38, 49
- Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā River, upstream part of the Chángjiāng 长江, separating Yúnnán and Sìchuān, – see page 10, 49
- Jìn** 晋: Chinese dynasty, – see page 23
- Jìn Cháo** 晋朝: Jìn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 266–420, 266–420 – see page 8, 49
- Jìnchéngdì** 晋成帝: Jìn dynasty emperor Chéng, Jìn dynasty emperor, 325–342, ruled 325–342 CE – see page 23, 49, see 显宗
- Jìn huìdì** 晋惠帝: Jìn 晋 emperor Huì, Jìn 晋 emperor Huì, 290–301 – see page 49
- Jìn Míngdì** 晋明帝: emperor Míng of Jìn, Jìn Cháo 晋朝 emperor, 323–325, – see page 49
- Jìn Xiàowǔ Dì** 晋孝武帝: Jìn 晋 emperor Xiàowǔ, Jìn 晋 emperor Xiàowǔ, – see page 49
- Jīng** 荆: , – see page 23
- Jīnglüè Shǐ** 经略使: military commissioner, variant of Jiédù Shǐ, , see Hucker (1985), 1231 – see page 35, 49
- Jīngzhào** 京兆: , – see page 24

- Jǐngxīng** 井星: star constellation, indicating the south-west, – see page 8, *see* 参星
- Jǐngzhuāng** 景庄: posthumous name of 世隆, – see page 34, 36
- Jìngfàn wáng** 净梵王: Śuddhodana, father of Shijiamóní 释加牟尼, alternate writing for Jìngfàn Wáng 净饭王, – see page 12, 50, *see* ??
- Jìngfàn Wáng** 净饭王: Śuddhodana, father of Shijiamóní 释加牟尼, – see page 50, *see* 释加牟尼 & 净梵王
- Jìngwáng** 靖王: king Jìng, posthumous title of Quànlishèng 劝利晟, – see page 34, 50, *see* 劝利晟
- Jìngzhōu** 镜州: Jìngzhōu, ancient administrative district mentioned in some documents including the 《大理府志》, – see page 30, 50
- Jiǔlóng** 九隆: mythical son of a dragon and Shāyī 沙壹 in the 《哀牢传》, – see page 14, 23
- Jiǔzhōu** 九州: nine divisions, a classic term for China as the country was thought to be made up of nine parts, – see page 8, 50
- Jiùtáng Shū** 《旧唐书》: ‘*Old History of the Táng*’, major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty, – see page 50
- juàn** 卷: scroll, physical division of a text, – see page 6, 50
- Juàn Yí** 卷夷: tribal group mentioned in the 《后汉书》, – see page 22
- Juézhào Sì** 觉照寺: Juézhào temple, , – see pages 32, 34, 50
- Jùn** 郡: commandery, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng, ‘a standard unit of territorial administration normally incorporating and coordinating several Districts (hsien)’, , *see* Hucker (1985), 1731 – see pages 18, 23, 31, 50
- Kāifǔyítóng sānsī** 开府仪同三司: commander unequalled in honour, ‘first an honorific title (chia) for eminent generals, then from Sui a prestige title (san-kuan) for both civil officials and military officers’, , *see* Hucker (1985), 3105 – see page 29, 50
- Kāiyuán** 开元: 713–741 BCE, second reign period of Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗, – see pages 25, 27, 29
- Kāngxī** 康熙: second emperor of the Qīng, 1661–1722, ruled 1662–1722 CE – see page 50
- Kāngxī Dàilǐfǔ Zhì** 《康熙大理府志》: ‘*Dàilǐ prefecture Gazetteer*’, Kāngxī 康熙 period local gazetteer, reprinted in Yáng Shìyù 杨世钰 (2007), vol. 4, – see page 50
- Kě** 可: Khan, title of Mongol ruler, – see page 39, 50
- Kǒng Míng** 孔明: Zǐ (courtesy name) of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, – see page 24, *see* 诸葛亮
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源, – see pages 11, 17, 18, 21–24
- Kūnmíng** 昆明市: Kūnmíng, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào, – see page 32, 50, *see* 拓东
- Kūnmíngchí** 昆明池: Kūnmíng lake, artificial lake dug during the reign of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 for military training, – see page 18, 50

- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five *Zhào*, – see page 16
- Làngqióng Zhào** 浪穹诏: Làngqióng Zhào, – see page 27, 51
- Lǎowō** 老挝: Laos, present-day nation south of China, – see page 29, 51
- Lèshān** 乐山: district in southern Sìchuān, –
- Lí Jìngyì** 黎敬义: , – see page 29
- Lízhōu** 黎州: present-day Sìchuān Hànyuán 汉源, on the northern side of the Dàdù Hé 大渡河, (⊕ 29.35N 102.64E) – see page 36
- Lǐ Guānián** 李龟年: Táng official, – see page 37
- Lǐ Jīng** 李京: historian and poet during the Yuán Cháo 元朝, compiled the 《云南志略》, *1251– – see page 51
- Lǐ Mì** 李宓: Táng dynasty general, also written as Lǐmì 李宓, – see page 31
- Lǐshào zǔ** 李绍祖: a monk in the 《纪古滇说原集》, – see page 28
- Lǐ Xiǎn** 李铣: Táng dynasty official, – see page 33
- Lǐ Yì** 李毅: general of the Xījìn 西晋, –306, – see page 23
- Lǐ Yuányáng** 李元阳: Míng 明 Dàlǐ 大理 scholar, see Xing (2022), Daniels (2020), p. 141, *1497–†1580 – see page 51
- Lìjiāng** 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan, – see page 38
- Lián Dān** 廉丹: official, †22 – see page 20, 51
- Liánrán** 连然: ancient name for Ānníng 安宁, – see page 21
- Liángzhōu** 梁州: a district set up by Cáo Wèi 曹魏 in 264 in the present-day Sìchuān region, the eighth of the legendary Jiǔzhōu 九州 mentioned in the 《禹贡》, – see page 8
- Língnán** 岭南: , – see page 37
- Língnánxīdào** 岭南西道: western Língnán circuit, administrative district, – see page 33, 51
- Liú Shàn** 刘禅: second ruler of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 207–271, *207–†271 – see page 51
- Liú Shàng** 刘尚: , – see page 22
- Liúshǒu** 留守: regent, a duty assignment for a prince, , see Hucker (1985), 3813 – see page 39, 51
- Liú Sòng** 刘宋: Liú Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 420–479, 420–479 CE – see page 51
- Liùguó** 六国: six kingdoms, six kingdoms annexed by Qín 秦, – see page 16, 51
- Liùyì** 六艺: six arts, i.e. rites, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy and mathematics, – see page 17, 51
- Liù zhào** 六诏: six *zhào*, Chinese term for the six *Zhào* that were united in Nánzhào, but this was not term Nánzhào used itself, – see page 33, 51
- Lóngshǒu pass** 龙首关: Dragon Head Gate, fortification at the northern end of the western side of Ěrhǎi, (⊕ 25.93N 100.1E) – see pages 30, 38, 51
- Lóngshùn** 隆舜: Nánzhào ruler, also known as Fǎyáo 法尧, ruled 877–897 CE, ruled 877–897 CE – see pages 36, 37, 51
- Lóngwěi pass** 龙尾关: Dragon Tail Gate, historic fortification at the southern end of Ěrhǎi, – see pages 30, 31, 38, 51

- Lóngxīng** 龙兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Quànlóngshèng, 810–816, – see page 33
- Lóngxīnghé Shān** 龙兴和山: Lóngxīnghé mountain, mountain, – see page 30, 52
- Lóng Yòunà** 龙佑那: , – see page 23
- Lòngdòng** 枏栋: region established during the Xī Hàn 西汉 in present-day Yáoān 姚安 region, – see page 21
- Lúshuǐ** 泸水: Lú River, the Jīnshā 金沙 river, – see page 22, 52
- Lǚ Bùwéi** 吕不韦: Zhànguó 战国 period scholar and politician, –
- Lǚ Jiā** 吕嘉: , –
- Lǚ Yuè** 吕越: Lǚ Jiā from Nányuè, , – see page 18, 52
- Lù** 路: route, ‘YÜAN: a stably defined territory administered by a Route Command ... Each Route Command was headed by an Overseer (ta-lu-hua-ch’ih) and a Commander (tsung-kuan). The Route was an all-purpose civil administration branch, in effect, of the central government.’, see Hucker (1985), 3839 – see page 52
- Luōdūdào** 罗都道太: Luōdūdào, , – see page 26, 52
- Luóshèng** 逻盛: second ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 674–712, also called Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, ruled 674–712 CE – see page 52
- Luóshèngyán** 逻盛炎: second generation of rulers of Nánzhào, son of 细奴逻, – see page 25, see 逻盛
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest, – see page 20
- Mán Shū** 《蛮书》: Mán Shū, another name for the 《云南志》 by 樊绰, – see page 52
- Mánwáng** 蛮王: Mán king, term for the ruler of Nánzhào or Dàlǐ kingdom, – see page 23, 52
- Mányí** 蛮夷: Mányí, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China, – see pages 11, 12, 20, 52
- Mèigǔ** 昧谷: legendary place in the west where the sun sets, – see page 10
- Méng** 蒙: clan name of the ruling family of Nánzhào, – see pages 15, 25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 38
- Ménggǔ** 蒙古: Mongol, , – see page 52
- Ménggǔ Shìzǔ** 蒙古世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294, – see page 52
- Méng Jiādú** 蒙迦独: ancestor of the Méng Shì 蒙氏, – see page 13
- Méngshè** 蒙舍: one of the five Zhào, in the present-day basin of Wēishān 巍山, excavations believed to be the settlement of the Méng 蒙 clan have been made south of the present county town 田怀清 (2011), – see pages 25, 27, 29, 34
- Méngshè zhào** 蒙舍诏: one of the six zhào that formed Nánzhào, – see page 27
- Méng Shì** 蒙氏: Méng clan, ruling clan of Nánzhào, – see pages 26, 28, 52
- Méngxī Zhào** 蒙嵩诏: Méngxī zhào, one of the ??, – see page 27, 52
- Méngyuè** 蒙越: one of the five Zhào, – see page 27
- Mènghuò** 孟获: tribal leader during the Sān Guó 三国 period, – see page 23
- Mídù** 弥渡: valley south of Ěrhǎi, –

- Mǐmò** 靡莫: non-Chinese group in southern China, – see page 11, 18
- Miǎn** 緬: Miǎn, present-day Myanmar, – see page 29, 53
- Miǎndiàn** 緬甸: Miǎndiàn, present-day Burma, the lowlands west of Yúnnán, – see page 53
- Miǎnyíguó** 緬夷國: state of the *Yí* of Miǎn, likely a reference to Miǎndiàn 緬甸, – see page 11, 53
- Miàoyìng Sì** 妙應寺: Miàoyìng temple, temple mentioned in the 《紀古滇說原集》, – see page 32, 53
- Miàozhànsì** 妙湛寺: Yuán Cháo 元朝 temple in the Guāndù 官渡 district of Kūnmíng 昆明, – see page 32
- Mínjiāng** 岷江: Mín River, most important tributary to the Chángjiāng 長江, west of 成都, – see page 53
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644, – see pages 5, 8, 53
- Míng** 明: Míng, usually referring to the Míng 明, – see page 53
- Móhējiālūo** 摩訶迦羅: Mahakala, a partly evil spirit, also called Dàhēitiān 大黑天, modeled on the Indian god Shiva, – see page 26, 53
- Móhēluōcuó** 摩訶羅嵯: *mahārāja*, title of Lóngshùn 隆舜: ‘Mahā was certainly the ruler known by the Indian title Mahārāja, the next-to-last monarch of Nan Chao (r. 877-897)’, Soper and Chapin (1970), p. 15, also used in a short form Móhē 摩訶. This title was also later given to members of the Duàn clan see = 隆舜, – see page 38, 53
- Móhēsà** 摩訶薩: mahāsattva, an epithet of a bodhisattva, see Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 508, also used for an advanced bodhisattva, – see page 53
- Móyé** 摩耶: Māyā Devī, wife of Jìngfānwáng 淨梵王, mother of Shìjiāmóuní 釋加牟尼, – see page 12, 53
- Mòliqiǎng** 茉莉婁: , – see page 13
- Móutǒng** 謀統: , – see page 39
- Mù Cháobì** 沐朝弼: Míng 明 official in Yúnnán, – see pages 5, 7, 8, 10, 40
- Mùjiānliányán** 目犍連延: Maudgalyāyana, close disciple of Shìjiāmóuní 釋迦牟尼, transliteration from Sanskrit, – see page 11, 53
- Mù Qín** 木芹: Yúnnán historian, disciple of Fāng Guóyú 方國瑜, – see page 5
- Nán Mán** 南蠻: southern *Mán*, , – see page 53
- Nánmánjì** 南蠻記: ‘Records of the southern *Mán*’, alternate title of the 《雲南志》, – see page 8, 53, see 雲南志
- Nánníng** 南寧: city in present-day Guǎngxī 廣西, – see page 24
- Nánsòng** 南宋: Southern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 1127–1279, – see page 53
- Nánsòng Dùzōng** 南宋度宗: Southern Sòng emperor Dùzōng, Southern Sòng emperor, 1264–1274, – see page 6, 53
- Nánxī** 南溪: Táng dynasty administrative region, also called , –
- Nán Yí** 南夷: southern *Yí*, general term for non-Chinese people south of China, – see page 18, 53

- Nányuè** 南越: southern Yuè, non-Chinese people in southern China, – see page 18, 54
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ērhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, – see pages 13, 14, 16, 24, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 54
- Nánzhào Jìxíng** 《南诏纪行》: ‘*Nánzhào Travel Notes*’, work by Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, also called 《大理行记》, – see page 54
- Nánzhào Túzhuān** 《南诏图传》: ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’, important picture scroll dating back to 898, telling the story of the arrival of Buddhism and the divine appointment of the rulers of Nánzhào, – see pages 14, 15, 54
- Nánzhào Wáng** 南诏王: king of Nánzhào, official title conferred to some of the rulers of Nánzhào by the Táng dynasty, – see page 32, 54
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’, import Míng 明 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào, – see pages 8, 40, 54
- Nánzhōng** 南中: ‘most common name for the southwest region (Yunnan, Guizhou, and southern Sichuan) prior to the Tang dynasty’, Herman (2009), – see pages 8, 22, 24
- Nánzhōngzhì** 《南中志》: ‘*Records of Nánzhōng*’, part of the 《华阳国志》, – see page 8, 54
- Níngzhōu** 宁州: Níng prefecture, , – see pages 23, 24, 54
- Nòngdòng** 弄栋: present-day Yáoān 姚安, – see pages 23, 24, 32
- Nú Bōxī** 奴波息: , – see page 14
- Pílūōgé** 皮罗阁: fourth ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 728–748 CE, ruled 728–748 CE – see page 28, 54
- Pílūóténg** 皮逻迆: *Zhào*, killed by Pílūōgé, –
- piàoxìn** 骠信: later self-appellation of the ruler of Nánzhào, first chosen by 寻阁劝 in 808, for its significance see Backus (1981), p. 102, – see page 32, 33
- Pǐndiàn** 品甸: region to the east of Dàlǐ 大理 on the present-day Xiángyún 祥云 plain, – see page 35, see 品甸海
- Pǐndiànǎi** 品甸海: lake in northern part of present-day Xiángyún 祥云, –
- Púsà** 菩萨: bodhisattva, Chinese term for bodhisattvas, – see page 54
- Qíjiā Wáng** 奇嘉王: king Qíjiā, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào, – see pages 15, 25, 54, see 细奴逻 & 奇王
- Qí Wáng** 奇王: king Qí, posthumous name of 细奴逻, the founder of Nánzhào, – see page 15, 54, see 细奴逻 & 奇嘉王
- Qiānshì** 佽事: assistant, ‘literally suggesting and perhaps originally denoting a seal-keeper for or co-signatory with the head of the named agency’, , see Hucker (1985), 917 – see page 10, 54
- Qiānxún Tǎ** 千寻塔: Qiānxún pagoda, the central of the three pagodas in Dàlǐ 大理, – see page 25, 54
- Qián** 黔: , – see page 16
- Qiánfú** 乾符: reign period of Táng Xizōng 唐僖宗, 874–879, – see page 36, 37
- Qiánníng** 乾宁: reign period of Táng emperor Zhāozōng, 894–898, – see page 37

- Qiáo Zhōu** 谯周: Sān Guó 三国 scholar, – see page 8
- Qīnchà** 钦差: imperial envoy, generic title, – see page 10, 55
- Qín** 秦: Chinese dynasty, –
- Qín Cháo** 秦朝: Qín dynasty, , – see pages 16, 17, 55
- Qín Guó** 秦国: state of Qín, early Chinese kingdom, united China for the first time as the Qín Cháo 秦朝, – see page 11, 55
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE, – see pages 5, 7, 55, 57
- Qīnghú** 清湖: Qīng lake, , – see page 35, 55
- qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister, – see pages 31, 35, 55
- Qīngzhìshénmiào** 清致神庙: Qīngzhì temple, , – see page 35, 55
- Qīngzì** 清字: , – see page 35
- Qióng Dū** 邛都: Qióng district, tribal region in present-day southern Sìchuān, – see page 11, 55
- Qiónglái** 邛崃关: Qiónglái pass, strategic pass in Sìchuān, – see page 36, 55
- Qióngzhōu** 邛州: , – see page 34
- Qiúlóng** 酋龙: Chinese writing for the Nánzhào ruler 世隆, –
- Qūjìng** 曲靖: , – see page 23
- Qúlàn** 渠滥: region in Yúnnán, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1980), p. 18 suggests that this present-day Fèngyí 凤仪, – see page 24
- Qúliànzhào** 渠敛赵: , –
- Quányì** 全义: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Quànlishèng 劝利晟, 816–819, – see page 33
- Quànfēngyòu** 劝丰佑: Nánzhào ruler, ruled 823–859 CE, ruled 823–859 CE – see page 34, 55
- Quànli** 劝利: Nánzhào ruler, – see page 33
- Quànlishèng** 劝利晟: Nánzhào ruler, ruled 816–823 CE, ruled 816–823 CE – see page 33, 55
- Quànlóngshèng** 劝龙晟: ruler of Nánzhào 809–816, ruled 809–816 CE – see page 33, 55
- Rǎnmáng Guó** 冉駝国: state of Rǎnmáng, , – see page 12, 55
- Rénguǒ** 仁果: , – see page 17, 24
- Rèn Yù** 任豫: scholar, – see page 8
- Rìrán** 日南: ???, – see page 11
- Róngzhōu** 戎州: historic administrative district, present-day Yíbīn 宜宾, prefecture in north-eastern Yúnnán, established in 649 as ??, in 652 it became 戎州, in 742 it became 南溪, then in 758 it became 戎州 again before being disbanded in 907, (⊕ 28.77N 104.63E) – see page 34
- Sān Guó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280, 220–280 CE – see page 22, 55
- Sāncáitúhuì** 《三才图会》: *Illustrated Compilation of Heaven, Earth, and Man*, text by ?? and his son ??, completed in 1609 CE, – see page 55
- Sāngāng** 三纲: three virtues, three virtues of Confucianism, – see page 17, 55
- Sān Hé** 三和: , – see page 14

- Sānjiàng** 三绛: present-day Wǔdìng 武定, – see page 23
- Sāntǎ** 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺, – see page 25, 56, *see* 崇圣寺
- Sānwēi** 三危: location mentioned in the 《禹贡》, *see* Legge (1865), p. 40, – see page 10
- Shāyī** 沙壹: legendary ancestor in Āiláo, – see pages 12–14
- Shànchǎn** 善阐: another name for Tuòdōng 拓东, (⊕ 25.05N 102.7E) – see pages 32–34, 36–39, *see* 拓东
- Shàngdū** 上都: name given to Shànchǎn 善阐 by 世隆, – see page 34
- Shàngyuán** 上元: reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 674–676, – see page 31
- Shǎofǔ** 少府: lesser defender, ‘TANG-YUAN: unofficial reference to a District Defender’, *see* Hucker (1985), 5097 – see page 33, 56
- Shǎojiān** 少监: vice director, ‘a common title for 2nd tier executive officials of various agencies’, *see* Hucker (1985), 5089 – see page 33, 56
- Shǎoqīng** 少卿: vice minister, ‘Vice Minister, common title for 2nd tier executive officials of central government agencies headed by Chief Ministers’, *see* Hucker (1985), 5091 – see page 37, 56
- Yuāndú Guó** 身毒国: state of ??, an ancient reference to India, – see pages 11–13, 17, 18, 56, *see* 身毒
- Shénjué** 神爵: reign period of Hàn Xuāndì 汉宣帝, 61–58, 61–58 – see page 19, 56
- Shénmíng** 神明: male relative of Āyù Wáng 阿育王, – see pages 13, 16, 19, 27
- Shénwǔ Wáng** 神武王: immortal warrior king, posthumous title of Géluófèng 阁逻凤, – see pages 29, 30, 56, *see* 阁逻凤
- Shèngluó pí** 盛逻皮: ruler of Nánzhào, *673–†728, ruled 712–728 CE, ruled 712–728 CE – see page 25, 56
- Shēnxīng** 参星: star, indicating the southwest, – see page 8, *see* 井星
- Shīlàng Zhào** 施浪诏: Shīlàng zhào, one of the six zhào, – see page 27, 56
- Shíménguān** 石门关: Shímén gate, , – see page 38, 56
- Shǐchéng** 史城: ancient name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲, – see page *see* 大厘
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘Records of the Historian’, , – see pages 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16–18, 56
- 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, *549–†600 – see page 24, 56
- Shǐyuán** 始元: reign period of Zhèng Rénmín 郑仁旻, 910–, – see page 19, *see* 郑仁旻
- Shì** 氏: clan, term for group sharing the same surname, – see page 28, 56
- Shìjiāmóuní** 释加牟尼: Śākyamuni, Chinese name for the historic Buddha, – see page 56
- Shìjiāmóuní** 释迦牟尼: Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, whose clan name is Śākya and whose personal name Siddhartha, – see page 12, 56
- Shìlóng** 世隆: Nánzhào ruler, *844, †859, †877, *844, †859, †877 – see pages 34, 35, 56

- Shǒulìng** 守令: magistrate, ‘a combined, archaic, generic reference’, , see Hucker (1985), 5385 – see page 22, 57
- 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 8, 12, 16–22, 26, 34, 35
- 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 57
- Shǔ Hàn** 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sān Guó 三国 period, 221–263, – see page 22, 57
- Shǔběnjì** 《蜀本纪》: ‘Records of Shǔ’, , – see page 8, 57
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ commandery, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu, – see page 57
- Shǔ Yuāndú Guó Dào** 蜀身毒国道: road from Shǔ to Yuāndú, historical road from Sìchuān to India, via Yúnnán, – see page 17, 57
- Shùnhuàzhēn** 舜化贞: last ruler of Nánzhào, 897–902, ruled 897–902 CE – see pages 36, 37, 57
- Shùnyuán** 顺元: , – see page 23
- Shūshí** 朱提: historic place name for what is now the north-east of Yúnnán, pronounced Shūshí, see 《古代汉语词典》 (2002), p. 2043, – see pages 21–23
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province, – see pages 11, 17, 23
- Sìkù Quánshū** 《四库全书》: ‘Complete Library of the Four Treasuries’, Qīng dynasty library collection, – see page 57
- Sìkùquánshū Zǒngmù Tíyào** 《四库全书总目提要》: ‘Annotated Bibliography of the “Complete Library of the Four Treasuries”’, annotated bibliography of the 《四库全书》, begun in 1792, completed in 1798, – see page 5, 57
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279, 960–1279 CE – see page 15, 57
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty, – see pages 5, 6, 38, 57
- Suí Cháo** 隋朝: Suí dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 581–618, 581–618 CE – see page 24, 57
- Suí Kāihuáng** 隋开皇: Suí dynasty Kāihuáng reign period, first reign period of Suí Wéndì 隋文帝, 581–600, ruled 581— CE-†600 – see page 24, 57
- Suíshū** 《隋书》: ‘History of the Suí Dynasty’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Suí dynasty, – see page 24, 57
- Suí Wéndì** 隋文帝: Suí dynasty emperor Wén, Suí dynasty emperor, 581–604, – see page 57
- Tàicháng** 太常: chamberlain for ceremonials, ‘lit., great flag bearer ...: Chamberlain for Ceremonials, in charge of great state sacrificial ceremonies, especially at the Imperial Ancestral Temple ...and at imperial mausolea’, , see Hucker (1985), 6137 – see page 32, 57
- Tàihé** 太和: the Tàihé reign of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, 827–835, – see page 34, 57
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào, – see pages 29, 31, 33, 37

- Tàiníng** 太宁: reign period of Jìn Míngdì 晋明帝, 323–326, – see page 23
- Tàipíng Guǎngjì** 《太平广记》: ‘*Extensive Records of Tàipíng*’, , – see pages 11, 14, 58
- 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 20, 21, 29, 58
- Tàiyuán** 太元: reign period of Jìn Xiàowǔ Dì 晋孝武帝, 376–397, – see page 23
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, – see pages 10, 30, 58
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907, – see pages 17, 24, 25, 27, 29–38, 58
- Táng Xìzōng** 唐僖宗: Táng emperor Xìzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 873–888, ruled 873–888 CE – see pages 36, 37, 58
- Táng Dézōng** 唐德宗: Táng emperor Dézōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 780–805 CE, – see page 31, 58
- Táng Gāozōng** 唐高宗: Táng Emperor Gāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruling 649–683, ruled 649–683 CE – see page 25, 58
- Táng Mùzōng** 唐穆宗: Táng emperor Mùzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 821–824 CE, ruled 821–824 CE – see page 33, 58
- Tángshǐ** 《唐史》: ‘*History of the Táng*’, referring to either the 《旧唐书》 or the 《新唐书》, – see pages 34, 35, 58
- Tángshū** 《唐书》: ‘*History of the Táng*’, , – see page 58
- Táng Wénzōng** 唐文宗: Táng dynasty emperor Wénzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 809–840, ruled 809–840 CE – see page 34, 58
- Táng Xiànzōng** 唐宪宗: Táng emperor Xiànzōng, Táng emperor, ruled 806–820 CE, ruled 806–820 CE – see page 32, 58
- Táng Xuānzōng** 唐宣宗: Táng emperor Xuānzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 846–859, ruled 856–859 CE – see page 58
- Táng Xuánzōng** 唐玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756, ruled 712–756 CE – see pages 25, 27, 29, 31, 58
- Tángyáo** 唐尧: , – see page 10
- Táng Yìzōng** 唐懿宗: Táng emperor Yìzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruled 859–873 CE, ruled 859–873 CE – see page 35, 58
- Tángyú** 唐虞: Tángyáo and Yúshùn, short form for Tángyáo and Yúshùn, same as Yáoshùn 尧舜, – see pages 9, 10, 58
- Táng Zhāozōng** 唐昭宗: Táng emperor Zhāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, – see page 37, 58
- Tèjìn** 特进: lord specially advanced, Hucker (1985), p. 6335: ‘a supplementary title, in early use apparently only as an honorific’, – see page 29, 58
- Téngdàn Zhào** 遼賧詔: , – see page 27
- Téngyuè** 腾越: , – see page 39
- Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742–756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗, – see page 31
- Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng** 天宝战争: Tiānbǎo Wars, sequence of wars between the Táng and Nánzhào, 751–754, – see page 30, 58

- Tiāndìng** 天定: reign period of Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智, – see page 38
- Tiānfèng** 天凤: reign period of Wáng Mǎng 王莽, 14–19, – see page 20
- Tiānyī Gé** 天一阁: Tiānyī Pavillion, oldest Chinese private library, – see page 5, 59
- Tiānzhú** 天竺: India, Ancient name for India, – see pages 12, 17, 26, 38, 59, see 身毒
- Tiānzhúguó** 天竺国: state of Tiānzhú, , – see pages 12, 15, 17, 59
- 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 24, 59
- Tiězhù** 铁柱: iron pillar, mythological ritual site where the future Nánzhào king was anointed, – see pages 15, 23, 25, 59
- Tōngdiǎn** 《通典》: ‘Comprehensive Statues’, 801 work by Dù Yòu 杜佑, – see page 59
- Tóngshī** 同师: , – see page 11
- Tǒngshǐ** 统矢: , – see page 39
- Tǔzhǔ Miào** 土主庙: earth god temple, temple to local deities, – see page 59
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire, – see page 30, 32
- Tuóbátuólúo** 陀跋陀罗: Buddhabhadra, Indian Buddhist teacher who came to China in the 5th century., – see page 26, 59
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào, –
- Wànnián** 万年: county, – see page 31
- 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 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 25–36, 59
- Wáng Bāo** 王褒: Xī Hàn 西汉 poet from Shǔ, given the title Jiànyìdàfū 谏议大夫, see Knechtges and Chang (2010), vol. 2, pp. 1126–1134, ca. *84–†53 BCE – see pages 9, 19, 59
- 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 pages 32–34
- Wáng Mǎng** 王莽: only ruler of the Xīncháo 新朝, 9–23, 9–23 – see page 20, 59
- Wáng Rányú** 王然于: , – see page 18
- Wángshèchéng** 王舍城: Rājagṛha, ancient city in India where Buddha taught, the sanskrit name means ‘abode of the king’, – see page 11, 59
- Wáng Sōng** 王崧: Qīng dynasty scholar who compiled the 《云南备徵志》, –
- Wáng Xùn** 王逊: ?? official, –323, – see page 23
- Wēibǎoshān** 巍宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山, – see page 59
- Wēichéng Wáng** 威成王: king Wēichéng, posthumous name of 盛逻皮, – see pages 25, 26, 59, see 盛逻皮
- Wēichǔ** 威楚: , – see page 29, 39

- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 巍宝山, – see pages 14, 15, 60
- Wéi Gāo** 韦皋: Táng dynasty general and military commissioner of 西川, 745–805, *745–†805, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wei_Gao. – see pages 31, 32, 60
- Wéi Guǎn** 韦管: author of the 《云南事状》, – see page 8
- Wéi Qíxiū** 韦齐休: , – see page 8
- Wèichígōng** 尉迟公: duke Wèichígōng, a reference to Wèichí Gōngtāo 尉迟恭韬, – see page 32, 60
- Wèichí Gōngtāo** 尉迟恭韬: Táng dynasty architect, see Lutz (1991), pp. 28–29 and Liebenthal (1947), p. 7, –
- Wèi Guǎng** 卫广: general during the Xī Hàn 西汉, honoray title 中郎将, – see page 19
- Wénàndòng** 文案洞: a walled town built by Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求, also referred to as Cǎiyún 彩云, mentioned in the Diān Chéngjì 滇程记 and the 《嘉靖大理府志》, – see page 29
- Wén Qí** 文齐: , – see page 20, 21
- Zhuā Guó** 挝国: state of Zhuā, probably a reference to the region of present-day Lǎowō 老挝, – see page 29, 60
- Wūméng** 乌蒙: tribal group, – see page 23
- Wūsā** 乌撒: a tribal region in the north-east of Yúnnán, – see page 23
- Wǔcháng** 五常: five virtues, literally ‘five constants’, meaning five constant virtues, – see page 17, 60
- Wǔdài** 五代: Five Dynasties, period of five short-lived dynasties after the fall of the Táng dynasty, 907–960, – see page 37, 60
- Wǔdìng** 武定: , – see page 23
- Wǔhuá Lóu** 五华楼: Wǔhuá tower, important ceremonial building in Dàlǐ 大理, – see page 34, 60
- Wǔjì** 五季: five dynasties, historic period, 907–960 CE, – see page 38, 60
- Wǔ Shǎoyí** 武少仪: Táng dynasty official and poet, served as envoy to the funeral of Yímóuxún, – see page 32
- Wǔwēi** 武威: , – see page 22, 37
- Wǔzhōu** 武州: Táng dynasty administrative region, – see page 35
- Xīchuān** 西川: western part of Jiànnán, – see page 31, 36
- Xīěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi, –
- Xīěr Hé** 西洱河: Xiěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake, – see page 60
- Xī Hàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE, – see page 40, 60
- Xīlú** 西泸: , – see page 31
- 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, 11, 18, 23, 34, 60

- Xīnányīlièchuán** 《西南夷列传》: 'Records of the Western and Southern Yi', part of the 《史记》, – see page 6, 61
- Xīshān** 西山: Western Hills, scenic mountains west of Diānchí 滇池, – see page 6, 61
- Xītǎsì** 西塔寺: western pagoda temple, temple in Kūnmíng 昆明, – see page 32, 61
- Xī Yí** 西夷: western Yi, – see page 61
- Xīzhōu** 雋州: Xīzhōu, Táng dynasty administrative region in present-day southern Sìchuān, – see pages 11, 12, 34, 61
- Xǐzhōu** 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ěrhǎi, about modern location of Dàxī 大厘, – see page 27, see 大厘
- Xìnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, *617–†674, ruled 649–674 CE – see pages 13–15, 25, 29, 30, 61
- Xiānluō** 暹罗: Siam, a reference to the state of Siam that was unified in the 14th century out of two states, Xiān 暹 and Luō 罗, – see page 29, 61
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán, – see page 29, 31
- Xiánchún** 咸淳: reign period of Southern Sòng emperor Duzōng, 1265–1274, – see page 6, 9
- Xiánhé** 咸和: reign period of Jìn emperor Chéng, 326–335, – see page 23
- Xiántōng** 咸通: reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Yizōng 懿宗, 860–873, – see page 35, 36
- Xiǎnzōng** 显宗: temple name of Jìn emperor Chéng, –
- Xiángún** 祥云: , –
- Xiǎo Bónòng** 小勃弄: , – see page 24
- Xiàoāidi** 孝哀帝: emperor Xiàoāi, temple name of Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, but also temple name of Hàn emperor Āi, – see page 37, 61, see 舜化贞
- Xiàohuánwáng** 孝桓王: king Xiàohuán, posthumous name of Yímóuxún, – see pages 31–33, 61
- Xiàohuìwáng** 孝惠王: king Xiàohuì, posthumous name of Xúngéquàn, – see page 32, 61, see 寻阁劝
- Xiè Zhàozhè** 谢肇浙: author of the 《滇略》, *1567–†1624 – see page 61
- Xīncháo** 新朝: Xīn dynasty, short-lived dynasty, 9–23, – see page 20, 61
- Xīn Dǎng** 辛谠: Táng official, – see page 33, 37
- Xīn Táng Shū** 《新唐书》: 'New History of the Táng', major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty, – see page 61
- Xīnzuǎn Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《新纂云南通志》: 'New Compilation of the "Yúnnán General Gazetteer"', 1949 new edition of the 《云南通志》, – see page 61
- Xīngǔ** 兴古: , – see page 23
- Xīngyuánguó** 兴元国: name of Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in the 《云南志略》, –
- 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 25, 61, see 逻盛炎
- Xiōngnú** 匈奴: Xiōngnú, tribal group in north China, – see page 17, 61
- Xú Yúncián** 徐云虔: , – see page 33

- Xuānwèi Shǐ** 宣慰使: pacification commissioner, in Hucker (1985) only documented from the Yuán 元 dynasty as ‘one of the most prestigious titles granted aboriginal tribes in southwestern China and their natural, mostly hereditary chiefs’, see Hucker (1985), 2682 – see pages 6, 39, 62
- Xuānwǔdì** 宣武帝: emperor Xuānwǔ, posthumous name of Lóngshùn 隆舜, – see pages 36, 37, 62
- Xuánlǎntáng Cóngshū** 《玄览堂丛书》: ‘*Collected from the Hall of Profound Observation*’, 1941 published collection of historical texts collected by Zhèng Zhènduó 郑振铎, – see page 7, 62
- Xuánzōng** 玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756, –
- Xúngéquàn** 寻阁劝: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 808–809 CE, ruled 808–809 CE – see page 32, 62
- Xúnmíjiǎo** 浔弥脚: , – see page 15
- Yǎān** 雅安: region in Sìchuān, –
- Yǎzhōu** 雅州: present-day Sìchuān Yǎān 雅安, (🌐 29.99N 103.01E) – see page 36
- Yán Shīgǔ** 颜师古: Táng dynasty historian and linguist, *581–†645 – see page 62
- Yányuán** 盐源: , – see page 11
- Yáng** 杨: , – see page 38
- Yáng Dàoqīng** 杨道清: legendary figure, – see page 25, 26
- Yángjūmiē** 阳苴咩: historic capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dali, – see page 29
- Yáng Qiánzhēn** 杨乾贞: , – see page 37
- Yáng Shèn** 杨慎: Míng 明 scholar, originally from Sìchuān, exiled to Yúnnán in 1524, compiler of the 《滇载记》 and many other works. His Hào 号 was 升庵, *1488–†1557 – see pages 5–7, 25, 40, 62, see 滇载记
- Yáng Sǒng** 杨竦: , – see page 22
- Yáng Ziyún** 杨子云: Hàn dynasty scholar, – see page 8
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán, – see page 23
- Yáoshùn** 尧舜: Tángyáo and Yúshùn, short form for Tángyáo and Yúshùn, same as Tángyú 唐虞, – see page 62
- Yáozhōu** 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安, (🌐 25.51N 101.24E) – see page 29, 62
- Yě Hú** 桀湖: Yě lake, , – see page 35, 62
- Yèláng** 夜郎: ancient powerful political entity in the region of present-day Guìzhōu, – see page 11, 18
- Yèyú** 楛榆: , – see page 11, 21
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west, – see pages 16, 19, 20, 22–25, see 蛮
- Yíbīn** 宜宾: city in southern Sìchuān, –
- Yìjīng** 《易经》: ‘*Book of Changes*’, one of the oldest Chinese classics, – see page 26, 62
- Yímóuxún** 异牟寻: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 779–808 CE, ruled 779–808 CE – see pages 31–33, 62, see 酋龙
- Yìqú Guó** 义渠国: state of Yìqú, ancient state in the north-west of China, rival of the Qín Cháo 秦朝, – see page 11, 62
- Yìwù Zhì** 《异物志》: ‘*Records of Strange Things*’, , – see page 8, 62

- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106 BCE, covering the region of present-day Sìchuān with its center at 成都. In 742 it became Shǔjùn 蜀郡, but the name remained in use to refer to 成都, – see pages 8, 17–23, 63
- Yìzhōujì** 《益州记》: ‘Records of Yìzhōu’, – see page 8, 63
- Yīn Zhòngkān** 殷仲堪: , – see page 23
- Yìngdào** 应道: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Xúngéquàn, 809, – see page 32
- Yōng Kǎi** 雍闾: clan leader during Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s time, see Crespigny (2007), p. 989, – see page 23
- Yōngzhōu** 邕州: historic administrative region, first set up in the Táng dynasty, around present-day Nánning 南宁, (⊕ 22.82N 108.36E) – see page 35
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān 保山, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953), – see pages 11, 13, 14, 22, 23, 29
- Yǒnghuī** 永徽: reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 650–655, – see page 25
- Yǒngpíng** 汉明帝永平: only reign period of Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor Míng, 58–75 CE – see page 22, 63
- Yǒngshèng** 永胜: town in north-western Yúnán, –
- Yōuwáng** 幽王: king Yōu, , – see page 33, 63
- Yú** 虞: state during the Chūnqiū 春秋 period, – see page 40
- Yúshùn** 虞舜: , – see page 10
- Yǔgòng** 《禹贡》: ‘Tributes of Yǔ’, ancient text, translated in Legge (1865), – see page 10, 63
- Yuán** 元: Yuán, Chinese dynasty, 1271–1368, – see pages 5, 6, 8, 38, 39, 63
- Yuánchū** 元初: reign period of Hàn emperor Ān, 114–120, – see page 22
- Yuándǐng** 元鼎: reign period of Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔdì 武帝, yebci116–111, – see page 18
- Yuánfēng** 元封: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104 BC, reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104 BC – see page 18, 63
- Yuánhé** 元和: sole reign period of Táng Xiànzōng 唐宪宗, 806–820, – see page 32
- Yuánshǐ** 元始: reign period of Hàn Xuāndì 汉宣帝, 1 BC–5 AD, – see page 20
- Yuán Shìzǔ** 元世祖: Kublai Khan, Ménggǔ 蒙古 ruler, 1260–1294, – see page 38, 63
- Yuánshòu** 元狩: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 122–117, reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 122–117 – see pages 17, 18, 63
- Yuánshuài** 元帅: marshall, , – see page 39, 63
- Yuánshùndì** 元顺帝: Yuán emperor Shùn, last Yuán Cháo 元朝 ruler, 1333–†1368 – see page 63
- Yuántǒng** 元统: reign period of Yuánshùndì 元顺帝, 1333–1335, – see page 6
- Yuán Zī** 袁滋: Táng dynasty envoy to Nánzhào in 794, – see page 32, 40
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368, – see pages 6, 8, 39, 47, 63

- 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 *Tiānzhú*. Just like *Sāizhǒng* is *Shìzhǒng*, 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
- Yuè** 粤: , – see page 18
- Yuè** 越: Zhōu period state in present-day eastern China, – see page 39
- Yuèguó** 越国: State of Yuè, early state in the east of present-day China, mentioned in ?? records, – see page 64
- Yuèguógōng** 越国公: duke of the State of Yuè, title, – see page 29, 64
- Yuèxī** 越嶲: , – see page 22, 23
- Yuèxī Zhào** 越析诏: , – see page 27
- 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, 19, 24, 29–31, 35, 40
- Yúnnán Zhìlùè** 《云南志略》: ‘*General Record of Yúnnán*’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 dynasty history of Yúnnán, compiled by Lǐ Jīng 李京, – see page 27, 64
- Yúnnánbèizhēngzhì** 《云南备徵志》: ‘*Comprehensive Revised Records of Yúnnán*’, Qīng dynasty collection of historic texts by Wáng Sōng 王崧, – see pages 5, 7, 21, 29, 32, 64
- Yúnnánshìzhuàng** 《云南事状》: ‘*Yúnnán Facts and Situation*’, now lost book about events in Yúnnán during the Táng, some fragments are known, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, pp. 168–169, composed by Wéi Guǎn 韦管, – see page 8, 64
- Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《云南通志》: ‘*Yúnnán General Gazetteer*’, generic name for a number of historical works on Yúnnán, – see page 64
- king of Yúnnán** 云南王: king of Yúnnán, Táng dynasty title for some of the rulers of Nánzhào, first conferred upon 皮罗阁 in 738, – see pages 25, 29, 32, 64
- Yúnnán Xíngjì** 《云南行记》: ‘*Yúnnán Travel Records*’, , – see page 8, 64
- Yúnnán Xíngshěng** 云南行省: Yúnnán province, title of Yúnnán during the Yuán Cháo 元朝, – see page 39, 64
- Yúnnányì** 云南驿: important caravan station, three stages before Dàlǐ 大理, (🌐 25.39N 100.69E) –
- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’, Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán, – see pages 8, 35, 40, 64
- Zǎifǔ** 宰辅: *bulwark of the state*, ‘unofficial reference to a paramount executive official of the central government’, , see Hucker (1985), 6817 – see page 31, 64
- Zānggē** 牂牁: the region of present-day Guìzhōu, – see page 23
- Zhānchéng** 占城: , – see page 11, 29

- Zhānméng** 沾蒙: , – see page 23
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475–221 BCE, 472–221 – see page 65
- Zhāng Dàozōng** 张道宗: author of the 《纪古滇说原集》, a man from Yúnnán, who lived at the end of the Sòng dynasty and beginning of the Yuán Cháo 元朝, otherwise nothing is known about him, – see pages 5–7, 9, 15, 40
- 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 27
- Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú** 张乐尽求: alternate form of Zhāng Lèjǐnqiú 张乐尽求 in the 《南诏图传》. Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (1990), p. 54 argues that the name should be segmented as Zhāng Lèjǐn Qiú 张乐尽求 as the Lèjǐn 乐尽 is a double name according to local tradition, – see pages 15, 24, 25, 29, 30
- Zhāng Qiān** 张骞: , – see pages 13, 17–19
- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张乾陀: , – see page 29
- 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 31
- Zhāng Qiáo** 张乔: , – see page 22
- Zhāng Rénguǒ** 张仁果: this name appears in various contexts related to Āyù 阿育, – see pages 17, 18, 23, 24
- Zhāng Yánshǎng** 张延赏: Táng official, – see page 31
- Zhāochéngwáng** 昭成王: king Zhāochéng, posthumous name of Quànfēngyòu 劝丰佑, – see page 34, 65
- Zhāolíng Yùwù Tǔzhǔmiào** 昭灵育物土主庙: Zhāolíng Yùwù earth god temple, – see page 34, 65
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm, – see pages 27–30, 32, 65
- Zhào** 赵: clan name, – see page 38
- Zhào Shànzhèng** 赵善政: founder of the shortlived Nánzhào successor state Dàtiānxīngguó 大天兴国 in 928, ?–929, ruled 928–929 CE – see page 37, 65
- Zhàozhōu** 赵州: historic name for present-day Fèngyí 凤仪, – see page 31, 38
- Zhèjiāng** 浙江: Chinese province, –
- Zhēnlà** 真腊: , – see page 11, 29
- Zhēnmíng** 贞明: reign period of Lóngshùn 隆舜, – see page 36
- Zhēnyuán** 贞元: reign period of Táng Dézōng 唐德宗, 785–805 CE, 785–805 CE – see page 31, 65
- Zhèngguó** 镇国: *defender of the state*, , , see Hucker (1985), 382 – see page 39, 65
- Zhènyuǎn** 镇远: , – see page 21
- Zhèng** 郑: , – see page 38
- Zhèng Huí** 郑回: Han administrator captured by Nánzhào, serving as teacher to the royal family and as prime minister, – see page 31, 32
- Zhèng Mǎisì** 郑买嗣: first ruler of Dàchánghéguó 大长和国, ruled 902–909 CE, ruled 902–909 CE – see page 37, 65

- Zhèng Rénmín** 郑仁旻: second ruler of Dàchánghéguó 大长和国, 910–926, son of Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣, ruled 910–926 CE – see page 66
- Zhèng Zhènduó** 郑振铎: scholar, published the 《玄览堂丛书》, –
- Zhì** 志: *gazetteer*, term for official regional records, – see page 19, 66
- Zhìdé** 至德: son of Āyù Wáng 阿育王, – see pages 6, 12, 13
- Zhìyuán** 至元: reign period of Hūbìliè 忽必烈, 1264–1294, 1264–1294 CE – see page 6, 66
- Zhōngdū** 中都: name given to Dàlǐ 大理 by 世隆, – see page 34
- Zhōnghé** 中和: reign period of Táng Xìzōng 唐僖宗, 881–885, – see page 37
- Zhōngqìnglù** 中庆路: Zhōngqìng route, Yuán Cháo 元朝 name for 昆明, – see page 39, 66
- Zhōngshǐ** 中使: imperial commissioner, , – see page 29, 66
- Zhōngtǒng** 中统: reign period of Ménggǔ Shìzǔ 蒙古世祖, 1260–1264, – see page 39
- Zhōngxīng** 中兴: reign period of Nánzhào ruler Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 898–902, – see page 37
- Zhōu** 周: Zhōu, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty, – see page 12, 66
- zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit, – see pages 23, 29, 30, 34, 36, 66
- Zhōuxuānwáng** 周宣王: king Xuān of Zhōu, Zhōu dynasty king, 827–782, – see page 12, 66
- Zhōuzhāowáng** 周昭王: king Xuānzhāo of Zhōu, Zhōu dynasty king, 995–977, – see page 12, 66
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172, – see pages 22–24
- Zhuāng Qiāo** 庄跻: Chǔ general who became king of Diān during the Warring States period, – see pages 13, 16–18
- Zīzhì Tōngjiàn** 《资治通鉴》: ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’, , – see page 35, 66
- Zǐ** 子: courtesy name, a courtesy name traditionally given to Chinese people upon reaching adulthood, – see page 66
- Zōngzhèng** 宗正: chamberlain for the imperial clan, ‘one of the Nine Chamberlains’, , see Hucker (1985), 7080 – see page 37, 66
- Zǒng** 总: leader, generic term indicating leadership, – see page 23, 66
- Zōngbīngguān** 总兵官: regional commander, ‘Regional Commander, military head of a territorial jurisdiction generically called a Defense Command’, , see Hucker (1985), 7146 – see page 10, 66
- Zōngguǎn** 总管: route commander, ‘ÜAN: 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 39, 66
- Zuǒ** 左: left, part of titles, junior to 右, – see page 24, 66
- Zuǒchéng** 左丞: left aide, , , see Hucker (1985), 6951 – see page 39, 66

5 References

- Ān Qí 安琪 (2013). 《云南阿育王神话与南诏大理国的祖先历史叙事》. In: 民族文学研究 4, pp. 5–15 (cit. on p. 12).
- Backus, Charles (1981). *The Nan-chao Kingdom and Tang China's Southwestern Frontier*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cit. on pp. 24, 35, 54).
- Buswell, Robert E and Donald S. Lopez (2014). *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (cit. on p. 53).
- Chapin, Helen B. (1944). 'Yunnanese Images of Avalokiteśvara'. In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8.2 (cit. on p. 47).
- Crespigny, Rafe de (2007). *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23-220 AD)*. Leiden: Brill (cit. on pp. 63, 66).
- Daniels, Christian (2020). 'Upland Leaders of the Internal Frontier and Ming Governance of Western Yunnan, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries'. In: Daniels, Christian and Mǎ Jiànxióng 马健雄 (2020). *The Transformation of Yunnan in Ming China*. Routledge (cit. on p. 51).
- Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2019). 《论少数民族文献的经史双重特性: 以白族文献〈白古通纪〉为例》. In: 四川大学学报 3, pp. 134–142 (cit. on pp. 5, 6).
- Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953). 《两汉经略西南: 郡县设置与行政同志》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994). 《方国瑜文集》. 云南教育出版社 (cit. on p. 63).
- (1978). 《大理崇圣寺塔考说》. In: 思想战线 6, pp. 51–57 (cit. on p. 25).
- (1980). 《史万岁南征之石门关》. In: *None* 3, pp. 19–22 (cit. on p. 55).
- (1984). 《云南史料目录概说》. 中国北京: 中华书局 (cit. on p. 5).
- (1998). 《云南史料丛刊》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 5, 7, 8, 21, 29, 32, 38, 64).
- Fù Guāngyǔ 傅光宇 (1988). 《大理千寻塔始建年代考》. In: 思想战线 3, pp. 84–89, 98 (cit. on p. 25).
- Herman, John E. (2009). *The Kingdoms of Nanzhong China's Southwest Border Region Prior to the Eighth Century*. In: *T'oung Pao* 9.4 (cit. on pp. 54, 58).
- Hóu Chōng 侯冲 (2011). 《白族心史: 〈白古通记〉研究》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on pp. 6, 13, 14, 17, 41, 42).
- Howard, Angela F (1997). *The Dhāraṇī Pillar of Kunming, Yunnan: A Legacy of Esoteric Buddhism and Burial Rites of the Bai People in the Kingdom of Dali*. In: *Artibus Asiae* 57.1-2, pp. 33–72 (cit. on p. 27).
- Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014). 《寻找“哀牢古国”: 云南昌宁大甸山墓地发掘》. In: 大众考古 8, pp. 29–34 (cit. on p. 41).
- Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Líruì 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016). 《云南昌宁县大甸山墓地发掘简报》. In: 考古 1, pp. 3–32+2 (cit. on p. 41).
- Hucker, Charles (1985). *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (cit. on pp. 29, 42–46, 48–52, 54, 56–59, 62, 64–66).
- Knechtges, David R. and Taiping Chang (2010). *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*. Leiden: Brill (cit. on pp. 19, 59).
- Legge, James (1865). *The Chinese Classics*. Vol. 3. Trübner (cit. on pp. 10, 48, 56, 63).
- Lǐ Chūnlóng 李春龙 (2010). 《雲南備徵志》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 7).
- Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999). 《南诏大理国雕刻绘画艺术》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 41).
- Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016). 《南诏野史选最与校按》. 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on p. 7).

- Liebenthal, Walter (1947). 'Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan I'. In: *Monumenta Serica* 12, pp. 1–40 (cit. on p. 60).
- Lutz, Albert (1991). 'Der Tempel der Drei Pagoden von Dali: Zur Buddhistischen Kunst des Nanzhao- und Dali-Königreiches in Yunnan, China'. Zürich: Museum Rietberg (cit. on p. 60).
- Mǎ Qiáng 马强 (2005). 《论唐宋西南史志及其西部地理认识价值》. In: 史学史研究, pp. 54–60 (cit. on p. 8).
- Pregadio, Fabrizio (2020). 'The Man-Bird Mountain: Writing, Prophecy, and Revelation in Early China'. In: *Divination and Prognostication* 2 (cit. on p. 48).
- Soper, Alexander C. and Helen B. Chapin (1970). 'A Long Roll of Buddhist Images (I): Foreword and Excursion on the Text of the Nan Chao Tu Chuan by Alexander C. Soper'. In: *Artibus Asiae* 31.1, pp. 5–41 (cit. on pp. 5, 53, 61).
- Sūn Péng 孙鹏 (2014). 《李元阳嘉靖〈大理府志〉校注与研究》. MA. 云南民族大学 (cit. on p. 48).
- Tián Huáiqīng 田怀清 (2011). 《南诏大理国瓦文》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 52).
- Wilkinson, Endymion Porter (2013). 'Chinese History: A New Manual'. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (cit. on p. 64).
- Wright, Eloise E. (2019). 'Re-Writing Dali: The Construction of an Imperial Locality in the Borderlands, 1253-1679'. PhD. University of California (cit. on p. 7).
- Wylie, Alexander (1882). 'History of the Southern and South-Western Barbarians: Translated from the How Han Shoo, Book CXVI'. In: *Extrême-Orient*, pp. 198–246 (cit. on p. 21).
- Xing, Yuan (2022). 'Writing Yunnan into China: A Case Study on Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (1497–1580), a Yunnanese Scholar'. In: *Asian Studies*, pp. 1–20 (cit. on p. 51).
- Xú Jiārui 徐嘉瑞 (1946). 《南诏后期宗教考》. In: 东方杂志 42.9 (cit. on pp. 6, 25).
- Yang, Bin (2004). 'Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)'. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on p. 60).
- Yáng Shiyù 杨世钰 (2007). 《大理丛书方志篇》. 民族出版社 (cit. on p. 50).
- Zhāng Zēngqí 张增祺 (2010a). 《洱海区域古代文明: 南诏大理国时期》. Vol. 上卷. 云南省教育出版社 (cit. on p. 27).
- (2010b). 《洱海区域古代文明: 南诏大理国时期》. Vol. 下卷. 云南省教育出版社 (cit. on p. 48).
- Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (1990). 《南诏国王蒙氏与白族古代姓名制度研究》. In: 东南亚 4 (cit. on p. 65).
- (2015). 《元代大理段氏总管史》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 37).
- Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鹤 (2012). 《中国行政区划通史: 唐代卷》. 复旦大学出版社 (cit. on p. 41).
- Zhū Yuèméi 朱悦梅 (2001). 《大黑天造像初探: 兼论大理、西藏、敦煌等地大黑天造像之关系》. In: 敦煌研究 4, pp. 5–83+195–196 (cit. on p. 26).
- 《古代汉语词典》(2002). 商务印书馆 (cit. on pp. 57, 64).
- 《大理丛书: 史籍篇》(2012). 昆明: 云南民族出版社 (cit. on p. 7).

Index

- 公元前 1 年, 20-297-20-298*n*
公元前 61 年, 19-286*n*
公元前 83 年, 19-284*n*
公元前 86 年, 19-282-19-283*n*
公元前 109 年, 18-269*n*
公元前 111 年, 18-267*n*, 18-279*n*
公元前 120 年, 18-265*n*
公元前 122 年, 17-228-17-229*n*
公元前 827-782 年, 12-92*n*
公元前 975 年, 12-96*n*
14 年, 20-300*n*
25-36 年, 43
32 年, 21-336*n*
42 年, 21-336*n*
43 年, 21-341*n*
44 年, 22-348*n*
58-75 年, 63
69 年, 22-355-22-356*n*
76 年, 22-357*n*
118 年, 22-360*n*
119 年, 22-363*n*
220-280 年, 55
225 年, 22-370-22-371*n*
323 年, 23-397*n*
333 年, 23-399*n*
377 年, 23-401*n*
392 年, 23-403*n*
420-479 年, 51
581-618 年, 57
597 年, 24-406-24-407*n*
653 年, 25-438-25-439*n*
713 年, 25-439, 25-441-25-442*n*
714 年, 27-498*n*
715 年, 27-498*n*
727 年, 29-546-29-547*n*
728 年, 28-544*n*
749 年, 30-601*n*
750 年, 31-604-31-605*n*
751 年, 31-606*n*
754 年, 31-609*n*
785-805 年, 65
785 年, 31-630*n*, 31-633-31-634*n*
792 年, 31-631*n*
794 年, 32-641*n*
808 年, 32-655-32-656*n*
821-824 年, 43
823 年, 33-695-33-696*n*
824-839 年, 42
828 年, 34-725-34-726*n*
829 年, 34-714-34-715*n*
831 年, 34-727*n*
836 年, 34-721*n*
847-860 年, 44
859 年, 34-735*n*, 35-767*n*, 36-768*n*
860 年, 35-737*n*
863 年, 35-742-35-743*n*
866 年, 35-738*n*
870 年, 35-744*n*
871 年, 35-769-35-770*n*
872 年, 35-747*n*, 35-767*n*, 36-768*n*
874 年, 35-774-35-775*n*
877 年, 35-779*n*
879 年, 37-798*n*
880 年, 37-799-37-800*n*
881 年, 37-804-37-805*n*
883 年, 37-807*n*
897 年, 37-809-37-810*n*
907-960 年, 60
1261 年, 39-885*n*
1264-1294 年, 6-7-6-8*n*, 66
1265 年, 5, 6-4*n*, 38-857*n*
1334 年, 6-6*n*
1524 年, 7
1549 年, 5, 5-2*n*, 9-26
1798 年, 5
1941 年, 7
Ācuóyē 阿嵯耶, 15-189R, 15-189*n*
Āyù 阿育, 12-102R
Āyù Wáng 阿育王, 6-12R, 12-75, 12-91, 12-105R,
13-128, 16-197R, 16-209R, 19-289R,
26-484R, 36-786R

- Āiláo 哀牢, 15-184R, 15-194R, 22-357R, 22-359R
 Āiláoguó 哀牢国, 13-128, 13-129R
 Āiláo Shān 哀牢山, 13-131R, 13-133R, 14-162R,
 14-163R
 Āiláo Wáng 哀牢王, 16-196R, 22-356R,
 25-434R
 Āiláo Yí 哀牢夷, 12-91, 13-111, 13-127R
 Āiláo Chuán 哀牢传, 12-91, 13-128, 13-131n
 Ānguó 安国, 37-815R
 Ānlùshān Zhī Luàn 安祿山之乱, 30-600
 Ānnán 安南, 35-737R, 35-740R
- Bā 巴, 8-5R, 12-91R, 16-200R, 16-206R, 18-270R,
 20-309R
 Bābǎi 八百, 29-553R
 Báigǔtōng 白古通, 5
 Bái Guó 白国, 17-195, 17-218R
 Báiguó Yīnyóu 白国因由, 5, 14-168n, 15-175
 Báimǎ 白马, 12-89R
 Báishì 白氏, 17-227R, 18-249R
 Bǎi Shǐchāng 柏始昌, 18-243n, 18-244R
 Báiyá 白崖, 16-213R, 17-217R, 18-248R, 23-389R,
 29-569R, 35-758R, 35-761R, 35-763R
 Báizǐ Guó 白子国, 17-214
 Bān Gù 班固, 8-8R
 Bǎohé 保和, 34-712R, 34-726R, 34-727R
 Bījī 碧鸡, 6-11R, 6-18R, 9-34R, 9-39R, 19-285,
 19-285, 19-285, 19-288R, 36-786R
 Bījī Shān 碧鸡山, 6-17R, 13-121R, 26-486R,
 27-493R, 38-828R
 Bīntónglóng Guó 宾童龙国, 11-72R
 Bó 帛, 36-777R
 Bónán 博南, 40-915R
 Bówàngūhóu 博望侯, 17-230R
 Bō Zhōu 波州, 35-748R
 Bōzhōu 播州, 35-736R
 Bùwéi 不韦, 22-350R
- Càixí 蔡袭, 35-741R
 Cānzhīzhèngshì 参知政事, 39-888R
 Cāngěr 苍洱, 39-861R
 Cāngshān 苍山, 30-595R, 34-704R
 Chábishā Guó 茶弼沙国, 11-66R, 11-68R
 Chángjiāng 长江, 10-59n
- Cháng Qiāng 尝羌, 18-250R, 18-250n
 Chángqìng 长庆, 33-696R
 Cháng Qú 常璩, 8-9R
 Chángshòu 长寿, 29-557R
 Chéngdū 成都, 27-451, 27-500R, 34-717R,
 35-739n, 36-773R
 Chéngjiā 成家, 20-316n, 21-326n, 23-400n
 Chéngxiāng 丞相, 22-369R, 31-621R, 32-638R
 Chìshuǐ 赤水, 35-761R
 Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺, 25-427, 25-443R,
 28-527R, 28-538R
 Chǔ 楚, 13-128, 16-206R
 Chǔzhuāngwáng 楚庄王, 16-199R
 Cíbùlángzhōng 祠部郎中, 32-642R
 Císhàn 慈善, 30-573R, 30-574R, 30-576R,
 30-579R
 Cìshǐ 刺史, 22-364R, 23-396R, 23-397R,
 24-412R
 Cúgéní 徂葛尼, 11-67R
 Cuàn Wán 爨玩, 24-411R, 24-425R
 Cuī Zuǒshí 崔佐时, 32-641R
- Dà Bónòng 大勃弄, 24-414R
 Dàchánghéguó 大长和国, 37-815R
 Dàcí Sì 大慈寺, 27-500R
 Dàdù Hé 大渡河, 35-746R
 Dàfēng Mínguó 大封民国, 36-783R, 36-792n,
 36-793R, 37-812R
 Dàhēitiān 大黑天, 26-458-26-460n
 Dàjiāng 大将, 39-862R
 Dàlǐ 大理, 6-7R, 25-427, 29-565R, 34-732R,
 37-822n, 38-825R, 38-827R, 38-830R,
 38-852R, 39-860R, 39-868R, 39-875R,
 39-886R
 Dàlǐfǔzhì 大理府志, 10-55-10-56n
 Dàlǐ Guó 大理国, 37-793
 Dàlǐ Xíngjì 大理行记, 5, 38-857R,
 38-857-38-858n
 Dà Méng Guó 大蒙国, 31-623R
 Dàniú 大牛, 22-361R
 Dàqín Guó 大秦国, 11-56, 11-64, 11-65R,
 29-552R, 29-552n
 Dàxià 大夏, 13-128, 17-232R, 17-233R
 Dàyì Fǎshī 大义法师, 26-460R, 26-473R

- Dà Yǔ 大禹, 10-50, 10-57R
 Dàzhōng 大中, 34-721R
 Déhuà Bēi 德化碑, 31-623*n*
 Déyuánchéng 德源城, 30-580R
 Dèngchuān 邓川, 30-572R, 30-573R, 38-832R
 Dēngliúméi 登流眉, 11-72R
 Dǐ 氏, 12-90R
 Dìfú 地符, 35-755R
 Diān 滇, 6-5R, 8-12R, 8-13R, 10-51R, 11-78R,
 11-78R, 13-114R, 13-122R, 13-124R,
 16-197R, 16-201R, 16-204R, 17-239R,
 17-241R, 18-247R, 18-259R, 18-272R,
 19-288R, 19-296R, 22-358R, 25-452R,
 26-459R, 26-462R, 27-508R, 32-647R,
 32-654R, 40-859, 40-896R
 Diǎncāng Shān 点苍山, 25-442R, 34-703R,
 38-830R, 38-831R
 Diānchí 滇池, 6-14R, 6-16R, 10-50, 10-56,
 13-118R, 21-338R, 22-368R, 26-455R,
 38-829R, 38-829*n*
 Diānguó 滇国, 8-2R, 10-50, 13-128, 19-281R
 Diān Lüè 滇略, 28-497, 28-497, 28-515
 Diān Shuǐ 滇水, 11-62R, 11-63R, 11-75R
 Diān Wáng 滇王, 13-128, 16-208R, 16-212R,
 17-216R, 18-247R, 18-250R, 18-250*n*,
 18-255R, 18-263R, 18-272R, 20-298R,
 20-304R, 21-337R, 22-349R, 22-358R
 Dòng Cán 栋蚕, 21-337R, 22-348R, 22-350R
 Dǒng Chéng 董成, 35-738R, 35-739*n*
 Dōngchuān 东川, 23-381R
 Dōng Fāngshuò 东方朔, 40-902R, 40-902*n*
 Dōng Hàn 东汉, 21-319*n*, 21-329*n*
 Dōnghàn Míngdì 东汉明帝, 22-355R
 Dōngtǎsì 东塔寺, 32-649*n*
 Dūdū 都督, 10-50R, 23-404R, 31-610R
 Dú Yàn 独彦, 34-735R
 Duàn 段, 38-825R, 38-834R, 39-892R
 Duàn Qìng 段庆, 39-889R
 Duàn Shì 段氏, 37-822*n*, 39-823
 Duàn Shí 段实, 6-7-6-8*n*, 39-860R, 39-862R,
 39-864R, 39-869R, 39-879R, 39-885R
 Duàn Sīpíng 段思平, 37-822R, 38-824R
 Duàn Xìnjūshí 段信苴实, 6-4-6-5*n*, 6-6R,
 39-859
 Duàn Xīngzhì 段兴智, 38-852R, 39-863R,
 39-866R
 Ěrhǎi 洱海, 16-213-16-214*n*, 24-424R, 28-530R,
 28-541R, 30-594R, 30-598R, 38-831R,
 38-832R
 Fǎ 法, 10-53R, 17-221R, 26-465R
 Fànsēng 梵僧, 15-178R
 Fán Shèng 繁胜, 21-339R
 Fàn Yē 范晔, 8-8R
 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜, 5
 Fēng Lí 封离, 22-360R
 Fúbāng 福邦, 6-15R, 12-103R, 13-117R, 19-292R,
 26-486R
 Gānzhī 干支, 35-767*n*, 36-768*n*
 Gāo Lóngshàn 高龙谿, 39-890R
 Géluōfèng 阁罗凤, 29-541, 29-556R, 29-556*n*,
 29-559R, 31-615R
 Gēngchén 庚辰, 10-58R
 Gōng 公, 24-407R, 40-898R
 Gōngsūn Shù 公孙述, 20-316R, 20-316*n*,
 20-317R, 21-299, 21-326R, 21-326*n*,
 21-327R
 Gōng Tāo 恭韬, 25-440R
 Gūfù 姑复, 21-337R
 Gǔyuèdújīng 古岳读经, 10-56
 Guàndǐng 灌顶, 28-525R, 28-537R
 Guānyīn 观音, 15-189R, 15-189*n*
 Guānyīn Dàshì 观音大士, 15-187R, 26-454R
 Guǎnghàn 广汉, 22-342R
 Guǎngnán 广南, 31-611R
 Guāngxī 光熙, 23-395R
 Guīchéng 龟城, 27-514R
 Guīyì 归义, 28-541, 28-542R
 Guō Chāng 郭昌, 18-270R, 18-279R, 19-280R
 Guójiātúshūguǎn 国家图书馆, 9-24, 16-175
 Guō Sōngnián 郭松年, 38-857R
 Hàn 汉, 9-37R, 17-223R, 17-233R, 18-243R,
 18-255R, 18-255R, 18-258R, 18-267R,
 18-269R, 18-275R, 23-375R, 23-380R
 Hànāndì 汉安帝, 22-360R
 Hàn Cháo 汉朝, 6-8-6-9*n*, 17-228R

- Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉光武, 21-319R, 21-329R,
21-341R
Hàn píngdì 汉平帝, 20-297R
Hàn Shū 汉书, 5, 9-34R, 10-56, 17-227, 19-285,
19-285, 19-285, 19-285, 19-296,
20-296, 20-299, 20-300-20-301*n*
Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 17-229R
Hàn Xuāndì 汉宣帝, 19-285, 19-286R
Hànzhāngdì 汉章帝, 22-357R
Hànzhāodì 汉昭帝, 19-282R
Hé Lǚguāng 何履光, 31-611R
Hétúwěi 河图纬, 8-5R
Hètuò 鹤拓, 16-213R
Hēishuǐ 黑水, 10-55R, 10-55-10-56*n*, 11-71R
Hóngdé 弘德, 12-103R, 13-122R
Hóu 侯, 18-256R, 20-318R, 21-323R, 21-328R,
21-333R
Hòuhàn Shū 后汉书, 5, 21-318, 21-325, 21-325,
21-336*n*, 22-335
Hòujìn 后晋, 37-823R
Huáyáng Guó Zhì 华阳国志, 8-10R
Huìchuān 会川, 23-383R, 39-876R
Huìguāngsì 慧光寺, 32-649R, 34-710R
Huī Yì 徽义, 25-441R
- Jìgǔdiānshuōjí 纪古滇说集, 5
Jìgǔdiānshuō Yuánjí 纪古滇说原集, 5, 7, 7-1R,
8-000, 8-25R, 8-26*n*, 10-45, 40-897R,
40-899R
Jiājìng 嘉靖, 5-2R, 10-46R, 40-913R
Jiāzhōu 嘉州, 36-772R
Jiànchāng 建昌, 39-876R
Jiànchū 建初, 22-357R
Jiànjí 建极, 34-731R, 35-744R, 36-768R,
36-774R, 36-779R
Jiànnán 剑南, 29-560R, 31-634R
Jiànníng 建宁, 21-338R, 23-391R, 24-429R
Jiānwèi 犍为, 22-343R
Jiànwǔ 建武, 21-336R
Jiànxīng 建兴, 22-371R
Jiànyìdàfū 谏议大夫, 19-285, 19-287R
Jiāng 将, 16-199R, 19-280R
Jiǎopú Guó 缴濮国, 11-64, 11-66R, 14-175*n*
Jiāozhǐ 交趾, 29-553R, 35-741R
- Jìn 晋, 23-395R
Jìn Cháo 晋朝, 8-8R, 49
Jìnchéngdì 晋成帝, 23-400*n*
Jīnmǎ 金马, 6-11R, 6-14R, 6-18R, 9-33R, 9-38R,
13-115R, 19-285, 19-285, 19-285,
19-288R, 27-489R, 27-490R, 34-728R,
36-786R, 38-828R
Jīng 荆, 23-404R
Jīngfàn wáng 净梵王, 12-96R, 12-96-12-97*n*,
12-101R
Jīnglüè Shǐ 经略使, 35-741R
Jìngwáng 靖王, 34-706R
Jìngxīng 井星, 8-3R
Jìngzhào 京兆, 24-409R
Jìngzhōu 镜州, 30-587R
Jìngzhuāng 景庄, 34-732R, 36-775R, 36-779R
Jiǔlóng 九隆, 14-153R, 23-385R
Jiǔzhōu 九州, 8-15R
Juàn 卷, 6-3R, 6-27R
Juànyí 卷夷, 22-361R
Juézhào Sì 觉照寺, 32-649R, 34-710R
Jùn 郡, 18-268R, 18-273R, 18-276R, 23-374R,
23-391R, 31-610R
- Kāifǔyítóng sān sī 开府仪同三司, 29-550R
Kāiyuán 开元, 25-441R, 27-498*n*, 29-546R
Kě 可, 39-874R
Kǒng Míng 孔明, 24-417R
Kūnmíng 昆明, 11-82R, 17-240R, 17-240*n*,
18-253R, 18-279R, 21-338R, 22-350R,
23-381R, 24-412R, 32-652-32-653*n*
Kūnmíngchí 昆明池, 18-265R
- Làngqióng 浪穹, 16-214R
Làngqióng Zhào 浪穹诏, 27-495R
Lǎowō 老挝, 29-553*n*
Lǐ Guīnián 李龟年, 37-802R
Lìjiāng 丽江, 38-850R
Lí Jìngyì 黎敬义, 29-558R
Lǐ Mì 李宓, 31-610R
Lǐshào zǔ 李绍祖, 28-516R, 28-516R, 28-526R
Lǐ Xiǎn 李铣, 33-697R
Lǐ Yì 李毅, 23-396R
Lízhōu 黎州, 36-772R, 36-776R

- Lián Dān 廉丹, 20-308R
 Liánrán 连然, 21-338R
 Liángzhōu 梁州, 8-4R
 Língnán 岭南, 37-798R
 Língnánxīdào 岭南西道, 33-671R
 Liùguó 六国, 16-205R
 Liú Shàng 刘尚, 22-342R, 22-344R, 22-350R
 Liúshǒu 留守, 39-860R
 Liùyì 六艺, 17-221R
 Liùzhào 六诏, 33-679R
 Lòngdòng 栲栋, 21-338R
 Lóngshǒu 龙首, 30-598R, 38-832R
 Lóngshùn 隆舜, 36-710, 36-778, 36-780R,
 37-798*n*, 37-804-37-805*n*, 37-807*n*
 Lóngwěi 龙尾, 30-594R, 30-598R, 31-613R,
 38-833R
 Lóngxīng 龙兴, 33-693R
 Lóngxīnghé Shān 龙兴和山, 30-588R
 Lóng Yòunà 龙佑那, 23-392R, 23-392*n*
 Lúshuǐ 泸水, 22-344R
 Lǚ Yuè 吕越, 18-244R
 Luōdūdàotài 罗都道太, 26-468R
 Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎, 25-447*n*

 Mánwáng 蛮王, 23-377R
 Mányí 蛮夷, 11-64R, 12-90R, 20-296, 20-301R,
 20-307R
 Mèigǔ 昧谷, 10-55R, 10-55*n*, 10-60R
 Méng 蒙, 15-195R, 25-435R, 25-439R, 25-441R,
 29-562R, 31-607R, 31-612R, 31-620R,
 31-632R, 32-636R, 32-637R, 32-638R,
 32-640R, 32-643R, 32-645R, 34-713R,
 38-825R, 38-834R
 Mènghuò 孟获, 23-377R, 23-379R, 23-386R
 Méng Jiādú 蒙迦独, 13-130R, 13-132R
 Méngshè 蒙舍, 25-438R, 27-515R, 29-569R,
 34-729R
 Méngshè Zhào 蒙舍诏, 27-494R
 Méng Shì 蒙氏, 26-458R, 28-536R
 Méngxī Zhào 蒙嵩诏, 27-494*n*
 Méngyuè 蒙越, 27-495R
 Mímò 靡莫, 11-77R, 18-271R
 Miǎn 缅, 29-552R
 Miǎnyíguó 缅甸国, 11-70R

 Miào yìng Sì 妙应寺, 32-652R
 Miào zhàn sì 妙湛寺, 32-652-32-653*n*
 Míng Cháo 明朝, 5, 8-17
 Móhéjiālūo 摩河迦罗, 26-462R, 26-465R
 Móhēluōcuó 摩河罗嗟, 38-852R, 38-852*n*,
 38-852*n*
 Mòlǐqiǎng 茉莉婁, 13-130R, 13-130*n*
 Móyé 摩耶, 12-97R, 12-97*n*, 12-101R, 12-102R
 Mòutǒng 谋统, 39-877R
 Mù Cháobi 沐朝弼, 5, 5-2R, 7, 8-24, 10-47R,
 40-898R
 Mùjiānliányán 目犍连延, 11-72*n*, 11-74R
 Mù Qín 木芹, 5

 Nánmánjì 南蛮记, 8-22R
 Nán níng 南宁, 24-408R, 24-411R
 Nán sòng Dù zōng 南宋度宗, 6-24R
 Nányí 南夷, 18-263R
 Nányuè 南越, 18-275R
 Nánzhào Tú chuán 南诏图传, 14-154-14-158*n*,
 15-128, 15-175, 15-175, 15-179-15-180*n*
 Nánzhào Wáng 南诏王, 32-645R
 Nánzhào Yěshǐ 南诏野史, 8-2-8-3*n*, 40-893
 Nánzhōng 南中, 8-5R, 22-371R, 24-415R
 Nánzhōngzhì 南中志, 8-9R
 Níngzhōu 宁州, 23-396R, 23-397R, 23-399R,
 24-405R
 Nòngdòng 弄栋, 23-383R, 24-414R, 32-648R
 Nú Bōxī 奴波息, 14-163R, 14-166R

 Píluōgé 皮罗阁, 28-530, 28-542*n*, 28-543R
 Piào xìn 骠信, 32-662R, 32-663R, 33-673R,
 33-681R, 33-686R
 Pǐndiàn 品甸, 35-747R, 35-759R

 Qíjiā Wáng 奇嘉王, 15-194R, 15-194*n*, 25-436R
 Qí Wáng 奇王, 15-179-15-180*n*, 15-194*n*
 Qián 黔, 16-200R, 16-206R
 Qiānshì 佷事, 10-49R
 Qiānxún Tǎ 千寻塔, 25-439, 25-442*n*
 Qiánfú 乾符, 36-775R, 37-798R
 Qiánníng 乾宁, 37-810R
 Qiáo Zhōu 譙周, 8-19R
 Qīnchà 钦差, 10-47R
 Qín Cháo 秦朝, 16-205R, 17-228R

- Qín Guó 秦国, 11-64
 Qīng Cháo 清朝, 5, 7
 Qīnghú 清湖, 35-752R
 Qīngzhìshénmiào 清致神庙, 35-765R
 Qīngzì 清字, 35-749R
 Qióng Dū 邛都, 11-78R
 Qiónglái guān 邛崃关, 36-776R
 Qióngzhōu 邛州, 34-716R
 Qūjìng 曲靖, 23-393R
 Qúlàn 渠滥, 24-424R
 Quànfēngyòu 劝丰佑, 34-691, 34-711R,
 34-722R
 Quànlì 劝利, 33-699R
 Quànlìshèng 劝利晟, 33-657
 Quànlóngshèng 劝龙晟, 33-624, 33-692R
 Quányì 全义, 33-700R

 Rǎnmángguó 冉駝国, 12-85R, 12-88R
 Rénguó 仁果, 17-215R, 17-217R, 24-405
 Rèn Yù 任豫, 8-20R
 Rì nán 日南, 11-72R
 Róngzhōu 戎州, 34-716R

 Sāngāng 三纲, 17-220R
 Sān Guó 三国, 22-369R
 Sān Hé 三和, 14-168R, 14-168*n*
 Sānjiàng 三绛, 23-383R
 Sāntǎ 三塔, 25-439
 Sānwēi 三危, 10-55R, 10-55-10-56*n*
 Shāyī 沙壹, 12-91, 13-131R, 13-131*n*, 13-134R,
 14-146R
 Shànchǎn 善阐, 32-647R, 32-648R, 32-652R,
 33-667R, 33-673R, 33-691R, 33-698R,
 34-709R, 34-728R, 34-729R, 34-733R,
 36-784R, 36-789R, 37-802R, 37-817R,
 38-827R, 38-828R, 39-876R
 Shàngdū 上都, 34-734R
 Shàngyuán 上元, 31-629R
 Shǎofǔ 少府, 33-697R
 Shǎojiān 少监, 33-697R
 Shǎoqīng 少卿, 37-801R
 Shēndú Guó 身毒国, 11-64, 11-65R, 12-94R,
 13-128, 17-237R, 18-245R
 Shénjué 神爵, 19-286R
 Shénmíng 神明, 13-125R, 16-209R, 19-292R,
 27-491R, 27-492R
 Shénwǔ Wáng 神武王, 29-563R, 30-575R,
 30-600R
 Shèngluó pí 盛逻皮, 25-448*n*
 Shēnxīng 参星, 8-3R
 Shì 氏, 28-531R
 Shǐjì 史记, 5, 6-8-6-9*n*, 8-7R, 10-56, 11-64,
 11-64, 13-128, 16-195, 17-214, 18-250*n*
 Shìjiāmóuní 释迦牟尼, 12-96-12-97*n*
 Shīlàng Zhào 施浪诏, 27-495R
 Shìlóng 世隆, 34-698, 34-730R, 34-731R,
 35-767*n*, 36-768*n*
 Shíménguān 石门关, 38-851R
 Shǐ Wànsuì 史万岁, 24-354, 24-407R, 24-408R,
 24-412R, 24-416R, 24-418*n*, 24-419R,
 24-422R, 24-426R
 Shǐyuán 始元, 19-282R
 Shǒulìng 守令, 22-362R
 Shǔ 蜀, 8-5R, 8-6R, 12-87R, 12-91R, 16-200R,
 17-238R, 18-270R, 19-295R, 20-309R,
 21-322R, 21-332R, 22-343R, 26-469R,
 34-717R, 35-744R
 Shǔběnjì 蜀本纪, 8-19R
 Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 22-369R
 Shǔ Shēndúguó Dào 蜀身毒国道, 17-235R
 Shūshí 朱提, 21-340R, 22-343R, 23-393R
 Shùnhuàzhēn 舜化贞, 36-728, 36-778,
 36-790R, 36-794R, 37-796R, 37-809R
 Shùnyuán 顺元, 23-393R
 Sìkùquánshū Zǒngmù Tíyào 四库全书总目提
 要, 5
 Sòng 宋, 5, 5-1R, 6-21R, 38-839R
 Sòng Cháo 宋朝, 15-175
 Suí Cháo 隋朝, 24-335
 Suí Kāihuáng 隋开皇, 24-406R, 24-421R
 Suíshū 隋书, 24-405

 Tàicháng 太常, 32-656R
 Tàihé 太和, 29-568R, 31-624R, 33-668R,
 34-715R, 37-813R
 Tàiníng 太平, 23-397R
 Tàipíng Guǎngjì 太平广记, 11-64, 14-175*n*

- Tàishǒu 太守, 20-301R, 20-300-20-301n,
20-307R, 20-312R, 21-339R, 29-562R
- Tàiyuán 太元, 23-401R
- Táng 唐, 17-223R, 24-428R, 25-430R, 25-440R,
27-498R, 27-509R, 29-548R, 29-551R,
29-557R, 30-600, 31-608R, 31-613R,
31-618R, 31-632R, 32-636R, 32-639R,
32-642R, 32-656R, 32-656R, 32-659R,
32-660R, 32-664R, 33-669R, 33-674R,
33-679R, 33-686R, 33-687R, 33-694R,
34-721R, 35-738R, 35-741R, 36-770R,
37-798R, 37-807R, 37-811R, 38-836R
- Táng Cháo 唐朝, 10-56, 30-600
- Táng Dézōng 唐德宗, 31-630R
- Táng Gāozōng 唐高宗, 25-438R
- Táng Mùzōng 唐穆宗, 33-695R, 33-697R
- Tángshǐ 唐史, 34-714R, 35-748R
- Táng Wénzōng 唐文宗, 34-714R
- Táng Xìzōng 唐僖宗, 36-774R, 37-800R
- Tángxìzōngguǎngmíng 唐僖宗广明, 37-800R
- Táng Xiànzōng 唐宪宗, 32-643R
- Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗, 25-439, 27-497,
27-510R, 27-509-27-510n, 29-546R,
31-604R
- Tángyáo 唐尧, 10-54R
- Táng Yìzōng 唐懿宗, 35-742R
- Tángyú 唐虞, 9-27R, 9-27n, 9-27n, 10-51R,
10-51n
- Táng Zhāozōng 唐昭宗, 37-809R
- Tèjìn 特进, 29-548R
- Téngdàn Zhào 遄谏诏, 27-495R
- Téngyuè 腾越, 39-876R
- Tiānbǎo 天宝, 31-604R
- Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng 天宝战争, 30-541
- Tiāndìng 天定, 38-852R
- Tiānfèng 天凤, 20-300R
- Tiānyīgé 天一阁, 5
- Tiānzhú 天竺, 12-99R, 17-221R, 26-470R,
38-842R
- Tiānzhúguó 天竺国, 12-94R, 15-179R, 17-237R
- Tiězhù 铁柱, 15-191R, 23-389R, 25-432R
- Tiězhǔmiào 铁主庙, 24-417-24-418n
- Tóngshī 同师, 11-81R
- Tǒngshǐ 统矢, 39-876R
- Tǔbō 吐蕃, 30-600, 30-602R, 32-636R
- Tuóbátuólúo 陀跋陀罗, 26-470R, 26-470n
- Wànnián 万年, 31-633R
- Wáng Bāo 王褒, 9-38R, 9-37-9-39n, 19-227,
19-285, 19-285, 19-285, 19-285, 19-285,
19-287R, 19-294R
- Wáng Cuódiān 王嵯颠, 32-648R, 33-700R,
34-715R
- Wáng Mǎng 王莽, 20-296, 20-296, 20-300R,
20-301R, 20-303R, 20-305R, 20-307R,
20-312R
- Wáng Rányú 王然于, 18-243R, 18-250R,
18-252R, 18-262R
- Wángshèchéng 王舍城, 11-73R
- Wáng Xùn 王逊, 23-397R
- Weíchéng Wáng 威成王, 25-448R, 26-458R
- Wèichíngōng 尉迟公, 32-650R
- Weichǔ 威楚, 29-566R, 39-876R
- Wéi Gāo 韦皋, 31-631R, 31-632R, 32-637R,
32-638R, 32-639R
- Wéi Guǎn 韦管, 8-20R
- Wèi Guǎng 卫广, 19-280R
- Wéi Qíxiū 韦齐休, 8-21R
- Weishān 巍山, 14-170R, 15-176R
- Wénàndòng 文案洞, 29-570R
- Wén Qí 文齐, 20-312R, 20-316R, 20-318R,
21-326R, 21-328R
- Zhuā Guó 挝国, 29-553R
- Wǔcháng 五常, 17-219R
- Wǔdài 五代, 37-823R
- Wǔdìng 武定, 23-381R, 23-383R
- Wǔhuá Lóu 五华楼, 34-722R
- Wǔjì 五季, 38-836R
- Wūméng 乌蒙, 23-394R
- Wūsā 乌撒, 23-381R
- Wǔ Shǎoyí 武少仪, 32-657R
- Wǔwēi 武威, 22-342R, 37-822R
- Wúzhōu 武州, 35-736R
- Xīchuān 西川, 31-631R, 36-776R
- Xī Hàn 西汉, 40-902n
- Xīlú 西泸, 31-618R
- Xīnán Yí 西南夷, 8-7R, 11-76R, 18-245R,
18-267R, 18-275R, 23-401R, 34-723R

- Xinányilièchuán 西南夷列传, 6-8R
 Xínúluó 细奴逻, 13-128, 14-150n, 14-154R,
 14-165R, 14-166R, 14-169R, 15-175,
 15-176R, 15-179R, 15-192R, 15-194n,
 25-433R, 29-568R, 30-587-30-588n
 Xīshān 西山, 6-16R
 Xītǎsì 西塔寺, 32-649n
 Xīzhōu 雋州, 11-81R, 11-81n, 12-85R, 34-716R
 Xīzhōu 喜洲, 27-499R
 Xiánchún 咸淳, 6-4R, 9-28R
 Xiánhé 咸和, 23-399R
 Xiānlúo 暹罗, 29-552R
 Xiántōng 咸通, 35-743R, 36-770R
 Xiányúzhòngtōng 鲜于仲通, 29-561R, 31-606R
 Xiàoāidì 孝哀帝, 37-797R, 37-812R, 37-818R
 Xiǎo Bónòng 小勃弄, 24-414R
 Xiàohuánwáng 孝桓王, 31-600, 31-625R,
 32-655R, 33-702R
 Xiàohuìwáng 孝惠王, 32-658R
 Xīncháo 新朝, 20-299
 Xīn Dǎng 辛谿, 33-672R, 37-799R
 Xīngǔ 兴古, 23-393R
 Xīngzōng Wáng 兴宗王, 25-447R
 Xiōngnú 匈奴, 17-234R
 Xú Yúnqián 徐云虔, 33-670R, 33-670R,
 33-673R, 33-676R, 33-678R
 Xuánlǎntáng Cóngshū 玄览堂丛书, 7
 Xuānwèi Shǐ 宣慰使, 6-7R, 39-886R
 Xuānwǔdì 宣武帝, 36-781R, 37-816R, 37-817R
 Xúngéquàn 寻阁劝, 32-624, 32-658R, 32-661R,
 32-664R, 32-666R
 Xúnmiǐjiǎo 浚弥脚, 15-175, 15-180R,
 15-179-15-180n
 Yǎzhōu 雅州, 36-772R
 Yányuán 盐源, 11-82n
 Yáng 杨, 38-834R
 Yáng Dàoqīng 杨道清, 25-439, 25-452R,
 26-459R
 Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, 29-569R
 Yáng Qiánzhēn 杨乾贞, 37-820R, 37-820n
 Yáng Shèn 杨慎, 5, 6-27R, 6-28R, 7, 25-439,
 25-452n, 40-893, 40-899R, 40-915R
 Yáng Sòng 杨竦, 22-365R, 22-365R
 Yáng Zǐyún 杨子云, 8-18R
 Yáoān 姚安, 23-384R
 Yáozhōu 姚州, 29-561R
 Yě Hú 埜湖, 35-753R
 Yèláng 夜郎, 11-77R, 18-256R
 Yèyú 楛榆, 11-81R, 21-338R
 Yí 夷, 16-211R, 19-283R, 20-315R, 22-343R,
 22-345R, 22-353R, 22-363R, 23-378R,
 23-380R, 23-395R, 24-408R, 24-411R,
 25-448R
 Yìjīng 易经, 26-462n, 26-464R,
 26-463-26-464n
 Yìmóuxún 异牟寻, 31-600, 31-627R, 31-627n,
 32-638R, 33-702R
 Yìqú Guó 义渠国, 11-64, 11-65R
 Yìwù Zhì 异物志, 8-19R
 Yìzhōu 益州, 8-4R, 17-240R, 18-272R, 19-000,
 19-283R, 19-285, 19-285, 20-296,
 20-301R, 20-304R, 20-316R, 21-326R,
 21-339R, 22-345R, 22-363R, 22-364R,
 23-374R, 23-390R, 23-404R
 Yìzhōujì 益州记, 8-20R
 Yīn Zhòngkān 殷仲堪, 23-403R
 Yìngdào 应道, 32-661R
 Yǒngchāng 永昌, 11-64, 13-129R, 14-175n,
 22-363R, 23-384R, 29-552R
 Yǒnghuī 永徽, 25-438R
 Yōng Kǎi 雍闾, 23-372R, 23-374R
 Yǒngpíng 永平, 22-356R
 Yōngzhōu 邕州, 35-737R
 Yōuwáng 幽王, 33-693R
 Yú 虞, 40-902R
 Yǔgòng 禹贡, 10-55-10-56n
 Yúshùn 虞舜, 10-55R
 Yuán 元, 5, 6-3R, 8-26R, 38-853R, 39-860R,
 39-862R, 39-866R
 Yuán Cháo 元朝, 6, 8-26n, 39-793, 47
 Yuánchū 元初, 22-360R
 Yuándǐng 元鼎, 18-267R, 18-279n
 Yuánfēng 元封, 18-269R
 Yuánhé 元和, 32-644R, 32-646R, 32-656R
 Yuánshǐ 元始, 20-296, 20-297R
 Yuán Shìzǔ 元世祖, 38-850R, 38-854R
 Yuánshòu 元狩, 17-229R, 18-265R

- Yuánshuài 元帅, 39-887R
 Yuántǒng 元统, 6-6R
 Yuán Zī 袁滋, 32-642*n*, 32-643R, 40-899*n*,
 40-900R, 40-900*n*, 40-911R
 Yuè 粤, 18-262R
 Yuè 越, 39-863R
 Yuèguógōng 越国公, 29-549R
 Yuèxī 越巂, 22-370R, 23-378R
 Yuèxī Zhào 越析诏, 27-495R
 Yúnnán 云南, 5, 7, 8-2R, 10-48R, 11-82*n*, 12-91,
 19-285, 24-429R, 29-565R, 30-583R,
 30-592R, 31-609R, 35-750R, 35-753R,
 35-759R, 40-893
 Yúnnánbèizhēngzhì 云南备徵志, 5, 7,
 21-336*n*, 29-547*n*, 32-658*n*
 Yúnnánshìzhàng 云南事状, 8-20R
 Yúnnánwáng 云南王, 25-431R, 29-549R,
 29-559R, 32-665R
 Yúnnán Xíngjì 云南行记, 8-21R
 Yúnnán Xíngshěng 云南行省, 39-888R
 Yúnnán Zhì 云南志, 8-21R, 35-741-35-742*n*,
 40-900*n*
 Yúnnán Zhìlùè 云南志略, 27-494*n*, 27-497,
 27-498*n*, 27-498*n*

 Zǎifú 宰辅, 31-621R
 Zānggē 牂牁, 23-378R, 23-393R
 Zhānchéng 占城, 11-72R, 29-553R
 Zhānméng 沾蒙, 23-382R
 Zhāng Dàozōng 张道宗, 5, 5-1R, 6-3R, 6-5R,
 6-25R, 7, 9-27R, 15-175, 40-859,
 40-896R
 Zhāng Jiànchéng 张建成, 27-451, 27-496R,
 27-498R, 27-499R, 27-502R, 27-505R,
 27-506R, 27-509R
 Zhāng Lèjīnqiú 张乐尽求, 15-175, 15-190R,
 15-190*n*, 15-192R, 24-427, 24-429R,
 25-430R, 25-432R, 25-433R, 29-570R,
 30-571R, 30-588R, 30-587-30-588*n*,
 30-592R
 Zhāng Qiān 张骞, 13-128, 17-230R, 17-236R,
 17-239R, 18-248R, 19-283R
 Zhāng Qiántuó 张乾陀, 29-562R
 Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀, 31-605R

 Zhāng Qiáo 张乔, 22-364R, 22-366R
 Zhāng Rénguǒ 张仁果, 17-240R, 18-247R,
 18-248R, 23-392R, 24-428R
 Zhāng Yánshǎng 张延赏, 31-634R
 Zhào 诏, 27-494R, 27-497R, 28-545R, 29-547R,
 30-573R, 30-573R, 32-640R
 Zhào 赵, 38-834R
 Zhāochéngwáng 昭成王, 34-711R, 34-725R,
 34-727R
 Zhāolíng Yùwù Tǔzhǔmiào 昭灵育物土主庙,
 34-706R
 Zhào Shànzhèng 赵善政, 37-820R
 Zhàozhōu 赵州, 31-607R, 38-833R
 Zhènguó 镇国, 39-887R
 Zhēnlà 真腊, 11-72R, 29-553R
 Zhēnmíng 贞明, 36-783R
 Zhènyuǎn 镇远, 21-322R, 21-332R
 Zhēnyuán 贞元, 31-630R, 31-634R
 Zhèng 郑, 38-834R
 Zhèng Huí 郑回, 31-619R, 31-619R, 31-620R,
 31-627R, 31-628R, 32-638R
 Zhèng Mǎisi 郑买嗣, 37-813R, 37-814R,
 37-816R, 37-817R
 Zhì 志, 19-285
 Zhìdé 至德, 6-13R, 12-103R, 13-113R
 Zhìyuán 至元, 6-7-6-8*n*
 Zhōngdū 中都, 34-733R
 Zhōnghé 中和, 37-804R
 Zhōngqìnglù 中庆路, 39-890R
 Zhōngshǐ 中使, 29-558R
 Zhōngtǒng 中统, 39-885R
 Zhōngxīng 中兴, 37-797R
 Zhōu 周, 12-93R
 Zhōu 州, 23-404R, 29-567R, 30-583R, 30-585R,
 34-716R, 36-772R
 Zhōuxuānwáng 周宣王, 12-92R, 12-99R
 Zhōuzhāowáng 周昭王, 12-96R, 12-96*n*
 Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, 22-369R, 23-375R,
 23-382R, 23-388R, 24-417-24-418*n*
 Zhuāng Qiāo 庄躄, 13-128, 16-195, 16-199R,
 16-201R, 16-210R, 16-212R,
 16-213-16-214*n*, 17-216R, 18-251R
 Zìzhì Tōngjiàn 资治通鉴, 35-739*n*
 Zǒng 总, 23-404R

Zǒngbīngguān 总兵官, 10-48R
Zǒngguǎn 总管, 39-890R

Zōngzhèng 宗正, 37-801R
Zuǒchéng 左丞, 39-891R