Special Issue

CHINESE HISTORICAL SOURCES ON BURMA
A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Works

by Sun Laichen
The Journal of Burma Studies

President, Burma Studies Group
F.K. Lehman

Managing Editor
Richard Cooler
Center for Burma Studies
Northern Illinois University

Production Editor
Edwin Zehner
Center for Southeast Asian Studies
Northern Illinois University

Copy Editors
Bonnie Adamson
Bob Vore

Manuscript Formatting
Marin Hanson
Publications Assistant
Mishel Filisha

Subscriptions
(815) 753-1981
Editorial Office
(815) 753-5790
E-Mail
seap@niu.edu
Fax
(815) 753-1651

The Journal of Burma Studies is an annual scholarly journal jointly sponsored by the Burma Studies Group (Association for Asian Studies), The Center for Burma Studies (Northern Illinois University), and Northern Illinois University's Center for Southeast Asian Studies.

Articles are refereed by professional peers. Send five copies of original scholarly manuscripts to The Journal of Burma Studies, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115.

Subscriptions are $12 per volume delivered book rate. Members of the Burma Studies Group (membership $25 per year) receive the journal as part of their membership. For air mail add $5 per volume. Send check or money order in U.S. dollars drawn on a U.S. bank made out to "Center for Southeast Asian Studies, NIU." Visa and Mastercard orders also accepted.

For abstracts of forthcoming articles, visit the website at: http://www.niu.edu/cseas/jbs.html

The Journal of Burma Studies will be abstracted or indexed in the following: America: History and Life; Bibliography of Asian Studies; Historical Abstracts; MLA International Bibliography

© 1997 Northern Illinois University,
Center for Southeast Asian Studies. ISSN # 1094-796X
The Journal of Burma Studies  
Volume 2: Special Issue  
1997

CHINESE HISTORICAL SOURCES ON BURMA  
A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Works  
Sun Liuchen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Bibliography of Chinese Historical Sources on Burma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Before the Tang dynasty (1st century B.C. to 618)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Tang dynasty (618-907)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Song dynasty (960-1279)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Yuan dynasty (1279-1368)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Ming dynasty (1368-1644)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Qing dynasty (1644-1911)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index to Annotated Sources</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Introductions and Compilations of Chinese Historical Sources on Southeast Asia</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. List of Research Works Concerning Burma that Use Chinese Sources</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Other References</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHINESE HISTORICAL SOURCES ON BURMA
A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Works

Sun Laichen

Introduction

Scholars have long recognized the significance of Chinese historical records for the study of early Southeast Asian history. However, these records have heretofore been of only limited use because specific sources relevant to Southeast Asia lie scattered among such a great mass and variety of other materials as to be extremely difficult to locate. To address this problem, Japanese and Chinese scholars in the early 1900s began compiling Chinese historical works. For several decades these efforts were tentative and incomplete; in fact, only with the efforts of Zhao Lingyang et al. in the 1960s (1968[II], 1976[II]) did systematic documentation...
begin in earnest. Since the 1980s, however, scholars in mainland China have made tremendous progress and have produced a number of comprehensive collections of materials on Southeast Asia, some covering the region as a whole and others focusing on individual countries. Some of the most notable of these works are Zhongguo guji zhong yongquan Feilubin ziliao huibian (Zhongshan Daxue Dognanya Lishi Yanjiusuo 1980[III]); Gudai Zhong Yue guanxi shi ziliao xuanbian (Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Lishi Yanjiusuo 1982[III]); Zhongguo guji zhong yongquan Laowo ziliao huibian (Jing Zhenguo et al. 1985[III]); Qing shilu Yuenan, Miandian, Taiqiu, Laowo shiliao zhaiichao (Yunnan Sheng Lishi Yanjiusuo 1985[III]); Zhongguo guji zhong yongquan Jianpuzhai ziliao huibian (Lu Junling and Zhou Shaoquan 1986[III]); Ming shilu leizuan—shewai shiliao bian (Wang Yude et al. 1991[III]); and Zhong Yue bianjie lishi ziliao xuanbian (Xiao Dehao and Huang Zheng, et al. 1993[III]). Other compilations on Burma, Singapore and Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia have been completed and await publication. Mention should be made too of the Gudai Nanhai diming huishi, by Chen Jiarong, Xiefang, and Lu Junling (1986[III]), which, though not a collection of sources per se, is of great help to anyone seeking Chinese sources for the study of Southeast Asian history. Japanese scholars have also produced compilations of sources (Momoki Shiro 1984-1985[II]; Onishi Kazuhiko 1991[III]), but not as many as have Chinese scholars.

Apart from fragmentary translations in academic publications, little effort has been made to render these valuable materials into English and other Western languages (Imbault-Huart, M. Camille 1878[IV]; Parker 1893[III], 1894[II]; Huber 1904 [III]; W. Warry n.d.[III]; Luce 1961[III]). As a result, scholars who do not read Chinese have but a poor understanding of which specific bibliography the complete citation for any given source can be found.

4 For general collections of Chinese historical records other than those compiled by Zhao Lingyang et al., see Fujita Toyohachi (1913[III], 1929[II]); Xiang Da (1930[II]); Wang Yong (1932[II]); Xu Daoling (1937[III]); Su Qianying (1941[III]); Wada Hisanori (1944[II]); Ishida Mikinosuke (1945[III]); Xu Yungiao (1959[II]); Zhu Jiegeng (1963a[I], 1963b[II]); Yunnan Sheng Lishi Yanjiusuo (1959[II], 1984[II]); Luo Huangchao (1979[III]); Fang Guoyu (1984a[II]); Li Xiaoyuan (1988[II]); Franke 1972[II]; Zhang Xinmin (1992[II]). Though they focus on Yunnan, the books by Fang Guoyu and Li Xiaoyuan and the collections by the Yunnan Sheng Lishi Yanjiusuo cite many sources related to Burma and Vietnam; Li Genyuan’s Yongchang fu wenzheng (1941[III]) contains many sources dealing with the former country.

5 Communication with Professor Yu Dingbang, August 9, 1996; Liu Yongzhuo (1994: 47[IV]).
Chinese sources on Burma (Tuchrello 1988:141[IV]). As the number of bilingual scholars increases, so too will the number of translations. In the meantime, however, a systematic introduction to the sources in question would be most useful. The present article is intended to provide such an introduction.  

Most of the materials annotated below are listed in the Zhongguo guji zhong de Miandian ziliao huibian [A corpus of Chinese historical sources on Burma] (hereafter as “Huibian”), compiled by Yu Dingbang 余定邦, Huang Zhongyan 黄重言, and Jiang Xingdong 江星東 of Zhongshan University. I have, however, made several changes to the system of annotation followed in that work. First of all, in order to save space, I have annotated only the primary and not the secondary sources. (“Primary source” here includes those that record earlier-period texts whose originals are no longer extant.) For works that contain both primary and secondary sources, only the primary ones are annotated. Secondly, I have excluded records that contain Dunxun 頓邁, Dianxun 典邁, Diansun 典孫, Dianyou 典游, or Quxun 曲邇, as these toponyms represent phonetic derivations of the proto-Mon dun sun or sun dun “five cities” and refer to the region centered not at Tenasserim, the conventional identification (Chen Ruxing 1979b:7; 1995b:2 [III]), but in the vicinity of Phong Tuk or Phra Pathom in the far north of the Siamo-Malayan isthmus (Wheatley 1956:17-30 [IV]; 1961:15-21, 286, 292 [IV]; 1983:213 [III]; Shorto 1963:583 [IV]), or near the Isthmus of Kra (Luce 1924a:155-156 [IV]), or, more specifically, at Takuapa. Thirdly, although I have followed Professors Yu,

---

6 Geoffrey Philip Wade (1994[III]) has translated into English all the materials pertaining to Southeast Asia in the Ming shi lu. He has also translated the Baiyi zhuan into English (Wade 1996[III]).

7 I have access neither to G. H. Luce’s unpublished “Chinese Books on Burma” (Nan Pan Hla 1979[III]) nor to A Catalogue of Chinese Books in the Library of the Burma Historical Commission (Anonymous 1961[IV]), but I am certain that many of the materials included in this paper do not appear in either of those works.

8 To be published by Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing. I am indebted to these three professors for compiling this work. Without their efforts, we would still have to spend more time in gathering these sources.

9 For the works that contain these terms, see Chen Jiarong, Xie Fang, and Lu Junling (1986:502, 503, 625-626 [II]) and Wheatley (1961:15-19 [IV]).

10 Pluvié ignores these studies and still identifies Dunxun with Tenasserim (1995: map 4 [IV]), though he at least includes Wheatley’s work (1961[IV]) in his bibliography (57). In 1979 Chen Ruxing (1979b) still held that the center region of Dunxun was possibly Tenasserim, but was more likely Takuapa, or at least Dunxun included the lower part of Tenasserim. In 1995 he modified
Huang, and Jiang in arranging the Chinese sources according to
dynastic periods, I have with but few exceptions reordered the
citations within each period according either to the time a work
was completed or to the time of the events it describes. And lastly,
for each work I have provided all available information regarding
the author’s life span and the time the work was completed or
published.

Although the Huibian contains citations for most Chinese
materials on Burma, there still remain many primary and
secondary sources not included there. Therefore, I have added all
the primary works I have collected through my own research and
that are not listed in the Huibian. These are marked with
asterisks. Still, the resulting composite bibliography is not
complete. Some potentially important omissions I know of are Dian
shi zouyi 漓事奏議, held at Zhejiang Tushuguan and at Yunnan
Zhaozhong ci liezhuang xuji 昭忠祠列傳續集, held at Beijing
Tushuguan and cited in Beijing Tushuguan (n.d.:424 [IV]), “Mian
dang” 綿撫, held at the Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan in Taiwan and
cited in Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan (1982:549 [IV]),¹¹ and Shi gui 使規,
held at Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan and cited in Guoli Zhongyang
Tushuguan (1986:382 [IV]).¹²

To minimize inaccuracies in the annotations, I have checked
most of the original sources included in the Huibian. However,
because some of the Chinese texts, especially those of the Ming and
Qing periods, are either extremely voluminous or were copied
several or even many times, it is often difficult to determine
whether a given work should be considered a primary or a
secondary source.¹³ In addition, since little detailed research has
been done on many of these texts, my information about them may
not always be entirely accurate.

¹¹ Altogether 6 volumes, and the numbers of pages of them are 195, 253, 310,
238, 209, and 231 respectively. I thank Wú Yongqíng 吳永平 of Leiden
University for providing this information.
¹² It is wrong to say this work is lost already (Jiang Yinglian 1980:24[III];
Wu Yongzhang 1991:76 [IV]).
¹³ For the categorization of Chinese sources on Southeast Asia of the Ming
period, see Franke (1972[II]). Franke remarks on the problems involved in
this work as follows: “This question of classification is, indeed, a very
difficult one; it requires a detailed investigation of a huge amount of
literature which cannot be carried out by a single scholar in a short period,
but only through a major research project” (156).
Introduction

Considering the great number of sources at hand, I would like to offer a few suggestions for future research. First of all, to avoid repeating what has already been done, researchers should consult all previous bibliographic studies before undertaking their own work. Starting with E. H. Parker, modern scholars have produced a great deal of research and have solved many important problems in the history of Burma and of Sino-Burmese relations.\textsuperscript{14} These studies have been done in several languages, including English, Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, and French, and are listed in Section III of this paper under the title “List of Research Works Concerning Burma That Use Chinese Sources.” Secondly, attention should be directed to sources from the Ming and Qing dynasties, which, despite the efforts of Ogiwara Hiroaki and Suzuki Chusei, have been relatively understudied compared to sources from the earlier Tang through Yuan periods. Among the problems meriting concerted research are the economic connections (notably trade) between China and Burma. While I agree in principle with Watanabe Yoshinari (1991:117 [IV]) that such research should address both the trade itself as well as its impact on state-formation and statecraft, I believe the scope of analysis should include not only those principalities located between China and Burma, as Watanabe says, but also the regions of southwestern China and Burma. Thirdly, Chinese sources should be compared to contemporaneous Burmese sources. G. H. Luce and Chen Ruxing have made great use of both Chinese and Burmese sources to study the history of the Pyu and of Sino-Burmese relations up to the early Ming. In China, scholars have by and large relied on Chinese sources alone to study the Sino-Burmese relationship.\textsuperscript{15} Japanese scholars, especially Ogiwara Hiroaki, have used some Burmese sources but not as many as might be wished.\textsuperscript{16}

The rationale for using a mix of Chinese and Burmese sources is that the unscrupulous use of Chinese sources alone has resulted in

\textsuperscript{14} See sections II and III. Assessing these works, however, requires another separate paper.

\textsuperscript{15} He Shengda’s Miandian shi, which makes use of Burmese sources in English and Chinese translation, is a welcome exception.

\textsuperscript{16} Japanese scholars from the 1950s to 1970s regularly used a large number of Chinese sources to study Burmese history and Sino-Burmese relations, now only Watanabe Yoshinari (1987[III]) and Kida Mikio (1981[III], 1986[III]) carry on this practice.
a number of Sinocentric perspectives of dubious merit. For example, the traditional Chinese view of Sino-Burmese historical relations is as the relations between suzerain and vassal. The Burmese, however, see their traditional relationship with China as one of “younger brother” to “elder brother” or, as equal to equal (Sun 1996[III]).\(^{17}\) Another example of a mistaken conclusion is the ethnic identity of the “Gwei” 贡 people (also spelled “Kwe,” “Gwe,” and many other ways in Western languages; the Chinese is “Gui” 贡, or 鬼), who were so prominent in 18th-century Burmese history. Chinese and Japanese scholars who depend only on Chinese sources have long been convinced that the Gwei were descended from the followers of Yongli 永曆, the last emperor of the Southern Ming dynasty (Suzuki and Orgiwa 1977[III]; Wang Hongdao 1981[III]; Ning Chao 1982[III]). However, by looking carefully at Burmese and other non-Chinese records, we can prove that the Gwei were not of Chinese descent.\(^{18}\)

One final recommendation, put forth by Watanabe Yoshinari (1990:20 [IV]; 1991:117 [IV]) and seconded here, is that greater advantage should be taken of Dai (Tai) language sources. Fortunately, ever since the 1940s Chinese scholars in Yunnan 禹南 (and Li Fuyi 李拂一 in Taiwan) have been researching and translating into Chinese a great many Dai records that shed light on the historical relations both among the Dai/Shan kingdoms and principalities of Southern and Southwestern Yunnan, Northern Burma, Northern Thailand, and Northern Laos and between those groups and China and Burma, respectively. To introduce the Dai sources and the Chinese translations in detail is beyond the scope of this paper; however, several articles that employ these sources (either solely or in conjunction with Chinese ones) are listed in Sections II and III (Tao Yunkui 1944[III]; Dao Yongming 1989[III]; Zhu Depu 1988[III], 1990[III]).

I have used the pinyin romanization system for Chinese works; variant spellings of Chinese names are given in parentheses. For the Burmese, I have employed the “conventional transcription”

---

\(^{17}\) Pasquet (1995a [III]), judging by the title, seems also to deal with this problem.

\(^{18}\) In 1994 (Sun 1994[III]) I still followed the conventional view, but more and more evidence has shown that it is wrong. See “Dehyphenation and Desinicization of the Ethnicity of the Gwei in Burmese History” (Sun 1998[III]).
provided in John Okell's *A Guide to the Romanization of Burmese* (1971[IV]). I follow the conventional system for the romanization of Japanese works. No diacritical marks are used in either the Chinese or the Burmese or the Japanese romanization system.
I. Bibliography of Chinese Historical Sources on Burma

A. Chinese historical sources on Burma
   before the Tang 唐 dynasty
   (from the 2nd century B.C. to 618)

1. **Title**: Shi ji 史記 (Records of the grand historian)
   **Author**: Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86? B.C.)
   **Summary**: Volumes 116 and 123 contain two passages that relate how Zhang Qian 張騫, the famous diplomat-cum-explorer of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), visited Daxia 大夏 (Bactria) and saw there Sichuan 四川 goods that he speculated must have come via Yunnan 雲南 and Yuandu 身毒 (India). Volume 123 also mentions “Dianyue” 滇越, which according to Chen Ruxing is a mistranscription of “Piaoyue” 漂越 and should be identified with “Pu-vastu,” i.e., the Pyu kingdom (1991d[III]).
   **Comment**: Completed before 91 B.C., these accounts indicate that the Sichuan-Yunnan-Burma-India overland trade route was already in use as early as (and probably before) the 2nd century B.C.

2. **Title**: Han shu 漢書 (History of the [former] Han dynasty [206 B.C.-25 A.D.])
   **Author**: Ban Gu 班固 (32-92)
   **Summary**: Volumes 28 and 61 contain two passages relevant to Burma. One records how during the reigns of Emperor Wu 武帝 (140-96 B.C.) and Wang Mang 王莽 (9-23), Han envoys sailed from modern Guangdong 廣東 province to India with the aim of buying luxury goods, such as pearl

---
1 Many scholars outside China mistakenly pronounce and spell the first character 身 as “shen” in English (Wang Gungwu 1958:23, note 25 [IV]; Watson 1962:269, 275, and 294 [IV]; Wolters 1967:257 [IV]; Yu Yingshi 1967: maps on the front and back end sheets, 112, 115 [III]) or as “chen” in French (Chavannes 1967:LXXIII [IV]). The ancient pronunciation of 身 as in 身毒 is in fact “$\text{ʔen}$” (Ji Xianlin et al. 1985:162, note 1 [IV]).

The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2 9
and opaque glass. Several place names are mentioned, including Duyuan 郡元, Yilumo 邑盧没, Chenli 鍾離, Fugandulu 夫甘都盧, Huangzhi 黃支, Pizong 皮宗, and Yichengbu 已程不. The other passage describes briefly the Han court's failed attempt to open the overland route leading to Daxia by pacifying the “Xinanyi” 西南夷 meaning “southwestern barbarians”.

Comment: The first passage is the earliest written evidence of the maritime trade between China and South and Southeast Asia. While the precise locations of most places have been debated for years, it should be certain that some of them have some bearing on Pyu history. Chen Ruxing postulates that Fugandulu (“Pugramadvara” in Sanskrit and “Pugamadvara in Pali, meaning "doorway to the land of the Pyu") was located at or around Takuapa on the west coast of the Malay peninsula (1991g[III]; 1994b:17 [III]). Chen speculates further that Pizong might have been located in present-day Burma; that its name was later changed to “Bisong” 比離, as recorded in the Tong dian 邑典 and Taiping yulan 太平御覽; and that it should be identified with the “Piqian” 胼疆 mentioned in the Liang shu 梁書, Nan shi 南史, and Taiping yulan, as well as with the “Michen” 米臣 that appears in Tang and Song records (1994b: 13-15 [III]).

*3. Title: Sanguo zhi 三國志 (History of the three kindoms)
Author: Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297)
Summary: Volume 30 cites the Wei lue 魏略, by Yu Huan 魏叡, in which are mentioned the terms Panyue 爾越 and Han Yue 漢越. The former is the Sanskrit name (Brahma-vatthu) for the Pyu people, while the latter might be a mistranscription of Piao Yue 漢越 (Chen Ruxing 1991d:194 [III]). In addition, the Sanguo zhi mentions the maritime route from Daqin 大秦 (the Roman empire) to Yongchang 永昌 (present-day Baoshan 保山), in southwestern Yunnan, thus alluding to the overland route between Yunnan and the Pyu kindom.
Comment: Completed around 290.

4. Title: Hou Han shu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han dynasty [25-220])

10 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
I. A. Before the Tang Dynasty (1st century B.C. to 618)

Author: Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445)
Summary: Volumes 4, 5, 6, 51, and 86 contain accounts of missions to China from the Shan kingdom 揚國, Dunrenyi 敦忍乙, and Lulei 陸類. Volume 88 mentions “Panqi” 磐起, which name is a mistranscription of Panyue (Chen Ruxing 1991d: 195 [III]).
Comment: Written between 424 (or 432) and 445. Scholars speculate that Dunrenyi and Lulei were located in the present-day Sino-Burmese border region, but their exact locations are not known. The location of the “Shan” kingdom mentioned in the chronicle has been a subject of considerable controversy: Most scholars in mainland China and Taiwan maintain that the kingdom was established by the Shan people, some holding that its territory included not only northern Burma but also parts of Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam (Fang Guoyu 1958: 7-10 [III]); Paul J. Bennet, on the other hand, argues for a location in north-central Arakan (1984[III]); and still others, including E. H. Parker, G. H. Luce, and Chen Ruxing, suggest locations in West Asia. Chen convincingly identifies it with modern Syria, called “Sham” by the Arabs (Chen Ruxing 1991b [III]).

5. Title: Huayang guo zhi 華陽國志 (The records of the region in the south of the Hua Mountain)
Author: Chang Qu 常璩
Summary: Volume 4 contains a brief passage describing how during the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 (58-76) of the Later Han dynasty, the Yongchang prefecture in southwestern Yunnan was established by peoples coming from Piaoyue 僑越 (the Pyu kingdom) and Yuandu 身毒 (India).
Comment: This short but very important record indicates that in the 1st century, China, Burma, and India maintained a very active intercourse, most likely of a commercial kind.

6. Title: Shui jing zhu 水經注 (Annotations of the Shui jing 水經)
Author: Li Daoyuan 郭璞元 (446? or 472?-527)
Summary: Volume 1 contains two citations from the Funan ji 扶南記 and the Funan zhuang 扶南傳 which mention a Buddhist kingdom named Linyang 林楊 (陽) or Dayang 墚楊.

The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2  11
Comment: Completed between 515 and 524 and very important for the study of Pyu history. The Shui jing (The book of waterways) was written in the 3rd century. Li Daoyuan made an extensive and important commentary on this text. Linyang (or Danyang) is thought to be the Vishnu city of the Pyu (Cher. Ruxing, 1995b [III]).

*7. Title: Liang shu 梁書 (History of the Liang dynasty [502-557])
   Author: Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557-637)
   Summary: Volume 54 contains a brief record concerning “Piqian guo” 毗騐國 (the Piqian kingdom).
   Comment: Completed in 636.

8. Title: Sui shu 隋書 (History of the Sui dynasty [581-518])
   Author: Wei Zheng 魏征 (580-643)
   Summary: Contains brief descriptions of the locations of and relations among several kingdoms in mainland Southeast Asia, including “Zhuijiang guo” 朱江國 (the Pyu kingdom) and Bisong 比嵩.
   Comment: Completed in 656.
B. Chinese historical sources on Burma during the Tang dynasty (618-907)

9. **Title:** *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (A journey to the West Region during the great Tang)  
**Author:** Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) and Bianji 辨機  
**Summary:** Volume 10 mentions the name Shilichadalo 室利差且羅 (Sri Ksetra), the then capital of the Pyu kingdom.  
**Comment:** Completed in 646.

*10. **Title:** *Da Tang Xiyu qiu fa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Biographies of the eminent monks who sought the law in the West Region during the great Tang)  
**Author:** Yijing 義浄 (635-713)  
**Summary:** Volume 1 contains a brief account of twenty monks who went on pilgrimage to Nalanda (Nalantuo 那蘭陀 in Chinese) in India from Sichuan.  
**Comment:** Completed in 691. Contains valuable information on the travel route from southwestern China to India via northern Burma.

11. **Title:** *Nanhai jigu nei fa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (On the esoteric doctrine remitted from the South Seas)  
**Author:** Yijing 義浄 (635-713)  
**Summary:** Volume 1 mentions the name Shilichadalo 室利差且羅 and the route from Nalanda in India to Sichuan.  
**Comment:** Written in 691.

*12. **Title:** *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (Pronunciation and meaning of the terms in Buddhist scriptures)  
**Author:** Huilan 慧琳 (737-820)  
**Summary:** Volume 81 gives a relatively detailed account of the Sichuan-Yunnan-Burma-India overland trade route from southwestern China to northeastern India, emphasizing the difficulties likely to be encountered along the way.  
**Comment:** Completed in 807 or 810. Also called *Huilan yinyi* 慧琳音義 or *Dazang yinyi* 大藏音義.

13. **Title:** *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏長慶集 (Collected works of Bai Juyi)
**Author:** Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846)

**Summary:** Volume 3 contains a poem describing briefly but vividly the performance of the Pyu troupe that visited Chang'an 長安 (modern Xi'an 西安), the then capital of the Tang. Volume 40 contains an imperial missive from Emperor Dezong 德宗 to Yongqiang 雍羌, the king of the Pyu kingdom.

**Comment:** Valuable for the study of Pyu music and, especially, Tang-Pyu relations. Bai Juyi mentions two Pyu musical instruments, the yulu 玉螺 and the tonggu 銅鼓, whose names mean literally “jade shell” and “bronze drum.” “Jade” and “bronze,” however, refer simply to the colors of these instruments and not to the material from which they were made. This had misled Liu Xun 劉恂 of the Tang dynasty, who says in his Lingbiao luyi 嶺表錄異 (Records of the exotic things beyond the mountain ranges) that the Pyu troupe used jade shells and bronze drums as musical instruments. One modern scholar has noted this error (Li Genyuan 1941: “Jizai” 紀載, book 1, volume 1, 10 recto [II]), but others still follow the early misreading (Chen Ruxing 1961[III]; Jiang Yingliang 1980:77[III]; Li Weiqing 1986:652 [IV]; Long Jianmin and Tang Chuchen 1988:252 [III]; Gu Hai 1990:63 [II]).

14. **Title:** Yuanshi changqing ji 元氏長慶集 (Collected works of Yuan Zhen)

**Author:** Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831)

**Summary:** Volume 24 contains a poem that briefly but vividly describes the performance style and techniques of Pyu music.

15. **Title:** Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 (Complete collection of Tang poems)

**Author:** Hu Zhijun 胡直勛 (783 jinshi 進士)

**Summary:** Volume 464 contains a brief poem describing a musical performance by a Pyu troupe.

16. **Title:** Piaguo yue song 驃國樂頌 (Praising Pyu music)

**Author:** Tang Ci 唐次

**Summary:** A poem describing a Pyu musical performance at the Tang court.

14  The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
17. **Title:** *Tong dian* 通典 (Encyclopedic history of institutions)  
**Author:** Du You 杜佑 (735-821)  
**Summary:** Volume 188 mentions "Bisong" 比嵩.  
**Comment:** Completed in 801.

18. **Title:** *Man shu* 閩書 (Book of the southern barbarians)  
**Author:** Fan Chuo 奉緯  
**Summary:** Volumes 2, 4, 7, and 10 contain accounts of the Minuo 羅訕, Michen 彌臣, "Piao guo" 驃國 (the Pyu kingdom), and Kunlun 昆侖 peoples, including their geographical locations, customs, architecture, religions, and trade.  
**Comment:** Completed in 863. This text exists under many other titles, one being *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 (The record of Yunnan). Fan Chuo supplemented his own observations with information from earlier records of Nanzhao 南詔 officials. The accounts of Minuo and Michen are especially revealing. The *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu* (see below) took information on the Pyu kingdom from the *Man shu*. In addition to describing various aspects of the three kingdoms themselves, the *Man shu* includes valuable information on contemporary trade routes between Yunnan, Burma, and India, and on the migrations of the Burmans and Shans (Chen Ruxing 1967; 1995a [III]).

19. **Title:** *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang dynasty)  
**Author:** Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946) et al.  
**Summary:** Volumes 13, 14, 29, and 197 contain accounts of the visit of Pyu envoys and musicians to Chang'an, of their musical performances there, and of the Pyu and Michen kingdoms.  
**Comment:** Completed in 944 or 945. Very important for the study of the Pyu kingdom, including matters of territorial control, foreign relations, political structure, architecture, religion, customary law, and social customs.

20. **Title:** *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Important documents of the Tang)  
**Author:** Wang Pu 王溥 (922-982)  
**Summary:** Volume 33 contains a brief description of a visit to the Tang of a Pyu entourage, including an account of their musical and dance performance. The Michen kingdom is

*The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2*
mentioned as well. Volume 100 mentions the Pyu kingdom in two quotations from the Xinan yifang zhi 西南異方志 and Nanzhong baijun zhi 南中八郡志, respectively, which were written between the 3rd and 5th centuries.

**Comment:** Completed in 961. An important record in that it contains information not available in standard histories like the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*.

21. **Title:** *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang dynasty)

**Author:** Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061) et al.

**Summary:** Volumes 22, 43, and 221 contain brief accounts of the visit of a Pyu envoy to the Tang and of the routes from Yunnan to India via Pyu. Volume 222 contains an extremely detailed description of the Pyu kingdom, including its geography, political structure, architecture, religion, customary laws, customs, agriculture, coinage, trade, musical instruments, songs (specific names are given), and musicians' costumes. Also dealt with are the Pyu's relations with the towns and settlements ("buluo" 部落 in Chinese)\(^2\) under its rule as well as those with the eighteen other kingdoms with which it had diplomatic or commercial ties. Brief mention is made of the maritime trade of Southeast Asia.

**Comment:** Completed in 1060. The most important single source for information on the Pyu kingdom.

\(^2\) I agree with Chen Ruxing that "buluo" should be translated as "settlement" instead of "tribe" (1991: chapter 5 [III]).

16  *The Journal of Burma Studies*, Volume 2
C. Chinese historical sources on Burma during the Song dynasty (960-1279)

22. **Title**: *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era [976-983])  
**Author**: Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) et al.  
**Summary**: Volumes 353, 787, 888, 956, 971, 981, and 982 contain quotations from various older works, such as the *Nanzhou bajun zhi* 南州八郡志, *Funan tusu* 扶南土俗, *Nanzhou yiwu zhi* 南州異物志, *Guang zhi* 廣志, and *Yunnan ji* 雲南記, which describe the products and customs of the "Piao guo” 鉞國, Linyang, Michen, and Piqian (Bisong).  
**Comment**: Completed in 983. Very valuable source in that all the cited works are no longer extant.

23. **Title**: *Lingwai daida* 峙外代答 (Instead of replies to enquiries about things beyond the mountain ranges)  
**Author**: Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1163 jinshi)  
**Summary**: Volume 2 contains a brief record of the stages between Dali 大理 and Pagan 蒲甘 (Pagan), together with descriptions of the royal palace at Pagan, official and monastic attire, and Buddhism.  
**Comment**: Completed in 1178. This is the earliest Chinese record containing the word *Pagan*.

24. **Title**: *Zhu fan zhi* 諸蕃志 (Description of foreign peoples)  
**Author**: Zhao Rukuo 趙汝括 (1165?-after 1225)  
**Summary**: Volume 1 contains a brief account of Pagan, its two missions (in 1004 and 1102) to the Song, and its relations with Zhenla 真臘 (in modern Cambodia).  
**Comment**: Prefaced in 1225. The description of Pagan is similar to that in the *Lingwai daida*, but the account of the missions from Pagan to the Song is unique.

25. **Title**: *Ke shu* 可書  
**Author**: Zhang Zhifu 張知甫

---

3 Li Genyuan (1941[II]), in his *Yangchengfu wenzheng* ("zi zai" book 1, volume 1, verso 14) and Fang Guoyu (1984a: volume 1, 142-143 [II]) both say this account comes from Gong Dingchen’s *Guoyu*. *Dongyujuan lu* 東原錄, Rao Zongyi (1974b:4 [III]) points out the source of this item is the *Ke shu*. Gu Hai (1990:123 [II]) also says the mission of Pagan is recorded in the *Ke shu*.
Summary: Contains a brief record of how Pagan and Dali sent missions with a large number of gifts, including Buddhist scriptures, to the Southern Song (1127-1279) in 1136.

Comment: Also called the Zhangshi ke shu 張氏可書. An extremely valuable source for the study of contemporary Buddhist practices, the commercial products of Pagan, and the relations between Pagan and the Southern Song.

26. Title: Yunlu manchao 雲麓漫抄 (Copied at random at the cloudy foot of the mountain)
Author: Zhao Yanwei 趙彦術 (?-after 1206)
Summary: Volume 5 mentions briefly that ships from Zhenla, Luohu 羅斛 (Lopbury, in southern Siam), and Pagan (Pagan) frequently called at the ports of Fujian 福建.
Comment: Completed in 1206.

27. Title: Song shi 宋史 (History of the Song dynasty)
Author: Tuotuo 脫脱 (1313-1355) et al.
Summary: Volumes 20 and 89 contain brief accounts of the mission from Pagan (Pagan) in 1106.
Comment: Completed in 1345.

28. Title: Song huiyao jigao 宋會要輯稿 (Recollection of the important documents of the Song dynasty)
Author: Zhang Dexiang 章得象 (978-1048), Li Xinzhuang 李心傳 (1166-1243) et al.; re-collected by Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848)
Summary: Contains a brief record of the mission sent by Pagan to the Song court in 1136.
Comment: The Song huiyao was originally compiled during the Song dynasty by various people and at different times (1044-1236). Lost in the mid-Ming period, the Song huiyao was re-collected from the Yongle dadian 永樂大典 by Xu Song in 1808.
D. Chinese historical sources on Burma during the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368)

*29. **Title:** Saipingshang dezheng bei 賽平章德政碑 (Inscription praising Saidianchi’s achievements)  
**Author:** Zhao Ziyuan 趙子元  
**Summary:** Contains information regarding the incursion into southwestern Yunnan by the Pagan army led by General Shiduoluobo 釋多羅伯 in 1277.  
**Comment:** The text consists of a stone inscription inscribed around 1278.

30. **Title:** Yuan wen lei 元文類 (Collection of the literary works of the Yuan)  
**Author:** Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294-1352)  
**Summary:** The item “Mian” 麼 is an extremely detailed account of the Yuan-Burmese wars between 1271 and 1301 and is an invaluable record of Yuan-Burmese relations and contemporaneous political developments in Burma. It was later included in several collections and renamed either the Huang Yuan zheng Mian lu 皇元征録 (Account of Great Yuan’s expedition to Burma), the Yuanchao zheng Mian lu 元朝征録, or the Zhiyuan zheng Mian lu 至元征録. The “Mianguo zhuan” 麼國傳 (Biography of Burma) in the Yuan shi is based on this account. The item “Zhaobu” 招捕 was included in later works under the title Zhaobu zonglu 招捕總録 (A complete record of the pacification of rebels). All the above-mentioned records might have derived originally from the Yuan jingshi dadian 元經世大典 (also entitled Huangchao jingshi dadian 皇朝經世大典), which was completed in 1331 and is no longer extant.  
**Comment:** Completed in 1334. Also called the Guochao wenlei 國朝文類.

31. **Title:** Daoqi zhilue 島夷志略 (Sketchy descriptions of the island barbarians)  
**Author:** Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 (1311-?)  
**Summary:** Contains four brief items, three of which record the products, customs, and trade of “Baduma” 八都馬

*The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2*
(Martaban), “Danmiao” 淡嶘 (Tavoy or Tenassarim⁴), and “Wudie” 烏參 (Ussa in Mon, referring to the old Pegu area). The fourth says that pilgrims can reach Mecca via Yunnan, an allusion to the overland route from Yunnan to Burma.

Comment: Completed in 1349. Valuable for the study of the maritime trade between China and Lower Burma, the general conditions obtaining in Lower Burma in the 14th century, and the route between Yunnan and Burma. A highly reliable account based on the author’s two trips to Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean in 1330-1334 and 1337-1339.

32. **Title:** Yuan shi 元史 (History of the Yuan dynasty)
**Author:** Song Lian 宋諫 (1310-1381) et al.
**Summary:** Volumes 6-22, 24-27, 29-30, 34, 36, 39, 61, 125, 133, 149, 165, 166, 168, and 210 contain relatively detailed records of Yuan-Burmese relations, including the Yuan-Burmese war and the exchanging of missions by the two countries.

Comment: Completed in 1370.

---

⁴ Chen Ruxing (1992c:54[III]) argues for Tenassarim.

20 **The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2**
E. Chinese historical sources on Burma during the Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644)

33. **Title: Baiyi zhuan 百夷傳 (Account of the Baiyi)**
   **Author:** Qian Guxun 錢古訓
   **Summary:** Qian Guxun and Li Sicong 李思聰 were sent to Burma by the Ming court in 1396 to mediate existing conflicts between the Ava dynasty and Luchuan. Qian's book describes many ethnic minorities in present-day southwestern Yunnan and northern Burma, including their geographical locations, customs, commercial products, and music. Also included is a preface by Yang Zhi 楊砥, who describes the cause and successful completion of Qian's mission to Burma.
   **Comment:** Written in 1397. Qian's book is based on personal observations and is considered highly reliable.

34. **Title:** Zeng xingren Li Sicong shi Miandian xu 贈行人李思聰使緬甸序 (Words dedicated to envoy Li Sicong for his mission to Burma)
   **Author:** Liu Sanwu 劉三吾 (1312-1399?)
   **Summary:** A brief record that gives the reason for Li Sicong's mission to Burma as being that of meditating the conflicts between Ava and Luchuan.

35. **Title:** Mubang xuanwei shisi yin 木邦宣慰使司印 (The seal of the Mubang pacification office)
   **Author:** Officially inscribed
   **Summary:** Nine Chinese characters, *Mubang junmin xuanwei shisi yin* 木邦軍民宣慰使司印, meaning "the seal of the Mubang military and civilian pacification office."
   **Comment:** The seal is that conferred on the Mubang 木邦 (Hsenwi) tusi by the Ming government in 1401. Now the seal is in Suzhou, Zhejiang province, China (Fang Guoyu 1984a.3:1142 [II]).

36. **Title:** Shi Mian lu 使緬錄 (An account of the mission to Burma)
   **Author:** Zhang Hong 張洪 (1364-1447)

---

5 I follow Wade (1996[III]) in translating this term.
Summary: Zhang Hong was sent to Burma to mediate the conflicts between Ava and Mohnyin (Mengyang 孟養 in Chinese) in 1406. The Shi Mian lu records the whole course of Zhang Hong’s mission, including six letters to the Ava king Mingaung (Naluota 那羅塔 in Chinese) in which he upbraids the monarch for invading Mohnyin and instructs him to greet the Ming envoys with proper protocol.

Comment: Highly reliable and informative. Several versions of Shi Mian lu lack Zhang Hong’s six letters.

37. Title: Nan yi shu 南夷書 (The book on the southern barbarians)
Author: Zhang Hong
Summary: A brief description of the conflicts between Ava and Mohnyin, and of Zhang Hong’s mission to Burma.

*38. Title: Shi jiang bei 善江碑 (Stele of the oath taken by the Irrawaddy river)
Author: Wang Ji 王驃 (1378-1460)
Summary: Eight Chinese characters, shi lan jiang ku, er nai de du 石臘江樸爾乃得渡, meaning “you cannot cross the river until rocks break and the river dries.”
Comment: A stele erected in 1448 by the Ming general Wang Ji, who drove the Maw Shans to the west bank of the Irrawaddy. The stele was found near Myitkyina and according to Chinese accounts was broken and dropped into the Irrawaddy by the British in 1900.

*39. Title: Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu 景泰雲南圖經志書 (Gazetteer of Yunnan compiled during the reign of Jingtai [1450-1456])
Author: Chen Wen 陳文 (1405-1468) et al.
Summary: Contains brief descriptions of the territory, history, customs, mountains and rivers, and native products of the tuis 土司 (pacification office) in present-day Burma, including Mubang, Mengyang (Mohnyin), Miandian 緬甸 (Ava), and Menggen 孟艮 (Kengtung).
Comment: Compiled in 1454 or 1455. Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu is based on earlier gazetteers of Yunnan that are no longer extant, making it the earliest one of its kind.

22 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
40. **Title:** Huanyu tongzhi 寶字通志 (Geography of the Ming)
   **Author:** Chen Xun 陳循 (1385-1461)
   **Summary:** Volume 118 mentions a mission from Dahui 打回 (Tavoy) in 1405.
   **Comment:** Completed in 1456.

41. **Title:** Nanzhao tongji 南詔通紀 (General account of Nanzhao)
   **Author:** Yang Nai 楊鼐 (1489 juren 舉人)
   **Summary:** Contains a brief record of the Nanzhao army that helped Burma repel an invasion by Sri Lankan forces in the mid-9th century.
   **Comment:** Written before 1532 and printed between 1532 and the 1570s or 1580s. The passage in question appears in the Wanli Yunnan tongzhi (萬歷) 雲南通志, volume 11. The invasion is also recorded in the Nanzhao yeshi 南詔野史, volume 1 (completed in or shortly after 1585 by Ni Lu 倪略 [1522 juren]), in the Baigu tongji qianshu 白古通記僞述 (completed after 1675), in the Tengyue zhouzhi 騰越州志, volume 11, and in the Dian lue 滇略, volume 8, though details vary. The most extensive of these accounts is that in the Baigu tongji qianshu. The ultimate source might be either the Baigu tongji 白古通記 or the Bogu tongji 楊古通記, the latter of which was written in the Bai language, perhaps during the early Yuan period, and later translated into Chinese. The Chinese version has been replicated numerous times under differing titles—Baigu tong 白古通, Baigu ji 白古記, and so on. No corroborating evidence of a Sri Lankan invasion of Burma in the mid-9th century exists, although one certainly took place in the 12th century (see Aung-Thwin 1976[IV]).

42. **Title:** Nanyuan manlu 南園漫錄 (notes by Zhang Zhichun)
   **Author:** Zhang Zhichun 張志淳
   **Summary:** Volumes 2 and 7 describe the Ming army attack on Luchuan, conflicts among the tusi, and the role of the Ming eunuchs (who prized the precious stones from the

---

6 Charles Backus (1981:129-130 [III]) believes that this account was written in the Southern Song but misplaced in the 9th century.
Chinese Historical Sources on Burma

Ming-Burma border region) in Ming-Burmese border politics in the 15th century. These volumes also record briefly the manner in which the Ming envoys were greeted by the Ava king and how the Ava king and the Dai/Tai chieftains addressed themselves and the Ming emperor.

Comment: Prefaced in 1515 and printed in 1526.

43. Title: Tuguan dibu 土官底簿 (Archives of the native officials)
Author: Anonymous
Summary: Volume 1 contains brief mention of a Yunnan official ordering an interpreter to escort Burmese envoys to Burma, and of officials in Menggen, Mengyang, Mubang, and Luchuan.
Comment: Compiled around 1540.

*44. Title: Huang Ming jingji wenlu 皇明經濟文錄 (Collection of Ming political writings)
Author: Wan Biao 萬表 (1498-1556)
Summary: Volume 30 contains three "memorials" from the Ava government, a fourth memorial opposing the war against Luchuan in the 15th century, and an epitaph of Wang Ji, leader of the Ming army in the wars with Luchuan. In one memorial, Ava requests the Ming court to repatriate Burmese translators then serving in the siyi guan 四夷館 (Translators Institute).
Comment: Prefaced in 1554. The information about Burmese native translators serving in the Chinese capital is especially important.

45. Title: Yanjiao jiwen 炎徼紀聞 (Record of things heard in the remote hot south)
Author: Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (circa 1503-after 1563)
Summary: Volume 4 contains an account of Mengmi 孟密 (Mong Mit) and Mengyang that describes the conflicts among the tuisi (especially the rebellion of Luchuan and the Ming efforts to suppress it) and the effect the Ming eunuchs' demand for precious stones had on border region affairs.
Comment: Prefaced in 1560. Also called the Xingbian jiwen 行邊紀聞. Based on the Nanjuan manlu.

24 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
46. **Title:** *Shuyu zhoubi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (A comprehensive record of foreign countries)
   **Author:** Yan Congjian 嚴從簡 (1559 jinshi)
   **Summary:** Volume 9 contains detailed accounts of the conflicts among the *tusis* in present-day southwestern Yunnan and northern Burma in the 15th and (especially) early-16th centuries, and of the Ming regime's efforts to mediate those conflicts.
   **Comment:** Completed in 1574 and printed in 1583. Based on Ming archival records.

47. **Title:** *(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi* (萬歷)雲南通志 (Gazetteer of Yunnan compiled during the reign of Wanli [1573-1619])
   **Author:** Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (1496-1580)
   **Summary:** Volume 16 contains a brief record of the duties of Mubang, Mengyang, and Menggen as stipulated by the central Ming government, and of the routes by which the *tusis* sent delegations to the Ming capital.
   **Comment:** Completed in 1576.

48. **Title:** *Huayi yiyu: Miaodian guan yiyu* 華夷譯語缅甸館譯語 (Foreign-Chinese vocabulary: Burmese-Chinese vocabulary)
   **Author:** Officially compiled
   **Summary:** Includes the "Miaodian guan zazi" 緬甸館雜字 (Burmese-Chinese vocabulary) and the "Miaodian guan laiwen" 緬甸館來文 (Credentials from the Translators Institute of Burmese). The latter of these includes in its turn various 15th- and 16th-century Ming imperial edicts together with state letters from Mubang, Mongmi 孟密, Manlajia 滿剌加 (Malacca), and Ava.

49. **Title:** *Siyi guan kao* 四夷館考 (Study of the *Siyi guan*)
   **Author:** Wang Zongzai 王宗載 (1562 jinshi)
   **Summary:** Volume 2 contains a short record of native Burmese translators serving in the *Siyi guan*.
   **Comment:** Preface dates to 1580.

50. **Title:** *Xinanyi fengtu ji* 西南夷風土記 (Account of the customs and geography of the southwestern barbarians)
   **Author:** Anonymous

*The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2*
Summary: A detailed description of the natural history, agricultural products, trade, ethnography, military preparedness, etc. in southwestern Yunnan and Burma in the 16th century.

Comment: Written in 1583. The text consists of the author’s own observations during a journey to the Ming-Burmese border region, probably as a secretary in the Ming army.

*51. Title: Weiuyan Ying shizhong bei 威遠營誓忠碑 (Stele of the oath taken at the Weiuyanying)
Author: Liu Ting 劉廷 (circa 1552-1619)
Summary: Oath of allegiance to the Ming government taken by the Mengyang, Mubang, Mengmi, and Longchuan tusis.
Comment: The stele was erected in 1584 and unearthed in Manmaw (Manmo 蠍莫 in Chinese) in Burma in 1929.

52. Title: Ming huidian 明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty)
Author: Shen Shixing 申時行 (1535-1614) et al.
Summary: Volumes 108, 109, and 113 contain regulations concerning grants and gifts made to envoyos from such tusis as Mubang, Mianidian, Mengyang, Mengmi, Menggen.
Comment: Based on the Ming archives and completed in 1587. Also called Da Ming huidian 大明會典.

53. Title: Xuzhongci ji 序忠祠記 (Notes on the Xuzhongci)
Author: Li Shida 李士達
Summary: Records of battles between the Ming and Burmese armies from 1583 to 1586, including eulogies to the soldiers who died in those conflicts.
Comment: This is a stele erected in 1587 inside the Xuzhongci (temple for celebrating the loyals) in the Shidian 施甸 region of southwestern Yunnan.

54. Title: Guang zhiyi 廣志綴 (Wide collections)
Author: Wang Shixing 王士性 (1546-1598)
Summary: Volume 5 contains accounts of the Burmese invasions into Yunnan in the late 16th century and of Wang’s advice for mobilizing troops and provisions to counter the invasion. Mention is also made of amber and gems in Mengmi and of a Ming delegation to the capital of the Toungoo dynasty (old Pegu).

26 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
Comment: Prefaced in 1597. Wang Shixing was a military general whose troops were stationed in Lancang in southwestern Yunnan, near the Burmese border. His record is considered very reliable.

55. **Title:** Miandian shimo (A general history of Burma)  
**Author:** Bao Jianjie (?-1621)  
**Summary:** A short history of Sino-Burmese relations from the Han through the Ming dynasties, with a very detailed account of the Ming-Burmese wars in the late 16th century.  
**Comment:** Completed in 1603. First included in Dian zhi (Volume 30). Also called Mian lue (A brief record of Burma). Based on Ming archival records. Though Bao Jianjie might be wrong in identifying the “Shan” kingdom with Burma, he was the first to write on Sino-Burmese relations from a historical perspective. Contains valuable information on the rise and expansion of the Toungoo dynasty.

56. **Title:** Wanli yehuo bian (Collection of unofficial materials during the reign of Wanli)  
**Author:** Shen Defu (1578-1642)  
**Summary:** Volume 30 and the supplemental volume 4 contain brief accounts of the 4i 4is in Burma and the rise and decline of the Toungoo dynasty during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.  
**Comment:** The main text was finished in 1606, the supplement in 1619. The complete work (main text and supplement) was rearranged in 1700 by a Qing scholar; an addendum was added in 1713 by one of Shen’s descendants. Based on other sources, including the Mian lue.

57. **Title:** Quxiao xinwen (Report on contemporary scenes)  
**Author:** Fan Shouji (1542-circa 1611)  
**Summary:** Contains a brief record describing how a group of Chinese nationals defected to the Toungoo dynasty and later helped the Toungoo invade of Yunnan.
58. **Title:** Wanli wugong lu 萬歷武功錄 (Military achievements during the reign of Wanli)
**Author:** Qu Jiusi 戲九思 (1546-1617)
**Summary:** Volume 6 contains the most detailed and reliable extant record of the Burmese invasions of southwestern Yunnan, and of the Ming counterattack, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.
**Comment:** First printed in 1612. Qu Jiusi based his account on Ming official archives.

*59. **Title:** Guochoa xianzheng lu 國朝獻征錄 (Collection of documents of the Ming dynasty)
**Author:** Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540-1620)
**Summary:** Volumes 1, 2, and 8 contain seven biographies and epitaphs of Zhang Hong (see item 36) and of the Ming generals involved in Ming-Burma border warfare in the 15th century.
**Comment:** Printed in 1616.

60. **Title:** Dian lue 滇略 (A sketchy record of Yunnan).
**Author:** Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1567-1624).
**Summary:** Volumes 3, 4, and 9 contain brief discussions of the commercial products of Burma.
**Comment:** Compiled around 1621.

*61. **Title:** Xiyuan wenjian lu 西園聞見錄 (Account by Zhang Xuan)
**Author:** Zhang Xuan 張萱 (1558-1641)
**Summary:** Volumes 66, 79, and 80 contain accounts of Ming-Luchuan warfare and Burmese envoys in the mid-15th century and of Ming-Burmese warfare in the late 16th century.
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1627 and again in 1632. Not published in its entirety until 1940 (by the Harvard-Yenching Institute of Beijing 北平 in Beijing). Contains some information found nowhere else.

*62. **Title:** Wu bei zhi 武備志 (Treatise on armaments and military affairs)
**Author:** Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (1594-1640)

Comment: Completed in 1621. The complete title of the map is “Zi Baochuan chang kaichuan cong Longjiang guan chushui zhidi waiguo zhufan tu” 自寶船廠開船從龍江關出水直抵外國諸番圖. The shortened title, “Zheng He hanhaitu” 鄭和船海圖, reflects Zheng He’s last expedition in 1430. Names like Zhupai, Kediemi, Machuan, Mawak, and Mo are yet to be identified.

63. Title: *Huang Ming xiangxu lu* 皇明象胥錄 (Account of foreign countries recorded by the imperial Ming interpreter)
   Author: Mao Ruizheng 茅瑞徵 (circa 1597-1636)
   Summary: Volume 4 contains a brief record of the conflicts between Dongmamniu (Burma) and Siam during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.
   Comment: Prefaced in 1629.

64. Title: *Siyiguan zengding guanze* 四夷館增訂館則 (Additional regulations of the Siyi guan)
   Author: Lu Weiqi 呂維祺 (1587-1641)
   Summary: Volumes 1, 7, 12, 13, and 20 contain lists of the instructors and students, both Chinese and Burmese, who served in the Miandian guan. Entries include personal names and places of origin. Also included are two memorials, written in 1566 and 1584, respectively, about recruiting new translators.
   Comment: Completed in 1630.

65. Title: *Dian zhi* 濂志 (Gazetteer of Yunnan)
   Author: Liu Wenzheng 劉文徵 1633
   Summary: Volume 1 includes a map of the “southwestern barbarians” in which some Burmese place names are
shown; volumes 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, and 30 contain poems, memorials, and essays regarding Ming-Burmese relations and wars.

Comment: Completed in 1632. A very important work in that various of its parts were reproduced in numerous later works.

*66. Title: Nanzhong jiwen 南中紀聞 (Accounts of South China)
   Author: Bao Yuji 包汝楫
   Summary: Contains two brief descriptions of “Mian ling” 鬱鈴 (Burmese penis bells).
   Comment: Written in 1633.

*67. Title: Huango Ming jingshi wenbian 皇明經世文編 (Collection of Ming political writings)
   Author: Chen Zilong 陳子龍 (1608-1647), Xu Fuyuan 徐孚遠 (1599-1665) et al.
   Summary: Volumes 15, 28, 30, and 31 contain several memorials concerning the wars between Ming China and Luchuan in the mid-15th century; volumes 182 and 381 make brief mention of Burma.
   Comment: Compiled in 1638.

68. Title: Ming shilu 明實錄 (Veritable records of the Ming dynasty)
   Author: Dong Lun 董倫, Wen Tiren 溫體仁 (?-1638; 1598 jinshi) et al.
   Summary: Contains very detailed accounts of Ming-Burmese political, economic, and military relations from 1374 to 1627.
   Comment: The Ming shilu was compiled during the reign of the emperor immediately succeeding the one to whose reign the records pertain. The compilers thus had access to very rich primary materials, and the shilu is consequently a highly valuable source.

69. Title: Yeshi lu 也是錄 (Record written by Yeshi)
   Author: Deng Kai 鄧凱
   Summary: A detailed account of the refuge of Yongli 永暦 (1647-1662), the last emperor of the Southern Ming dynasty, and his retinue, in Burma.

30 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
Comment: “Yeshi” is Deng Kai’s Buddhist name. Deng Kai followed Yongli to Burma and became a monk after Yongli was executed by the Qing in Kunming. As a first-hand account, the Yeshi lu is the most reliable and valuable among the various accounts of Yongli’s refuge in Burma.

70. **Title:** Qiu ye lu 求野錄 (Unofficial records)  
**Author:** Ke Xi Qiao Yin 客溪樵隱  
**Summary:** Almost the same record as that of the Yeshi lu, but with added details.  
**Comment:** The Qiu ye lu was based on the Yeshi lu. The compiler’s assumed name is Ke Xi Qiao Yin, but his real name has been lost. The Qiu ye lu includes some details not found in the Yeshi lu.

71. **Title:** Shou Mian jishi 禦面紀事 (Account of the Emperor’s stay in Burma)  
**Author:** Liu Chai 劉茝  
**Summary:** A detailed record of Yongli’s refuge in Burma.  
**Comment:** Liu Chai was a member of the Hanlin Academy of the Southern Ming court. He did not enter Burma with Yongli but remained in the border region. His account of Yongli’s refuge inside Burma seems to be drawn from the Yeshi lu, but his discussion of how Yongli and his retinue entered Burma and of how he (Liu Chai) and others tried to rescue Yongli is original.

72. **Title:** Xu Xiale youji 徐霞客游記 (Travel notes of Xu Xiale)  
**Author:** Xu Xiale 徐霞客 (1586-1641)  
**Summary:** Volumes 8-10 contain miscellaneous notes about Burmese gems and gem processing in Tengye 騰越 (present-day Tengchong 騰衝), travel routes leading from the Yunnan border to Burma, a Chinese Buddhist monk’s trip to Burma, and people from Yunnan going to Burma for trade.  
**Comment:** Xu Xiale traveled in southwestern Yunnan in 1639. This work consists of his personal observations.

73. **Title:** Ming shi 明史 (History of the Ming dynasty)  
**Author:** Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672-1755) et al.
Chinese Historical Sources on Burma

Summary: Contains records of the political and economic intercourse and, especially, military conflicts between Ming China and Burma.

Comment: Compiled in 1739. The Ming shi is much less detailed than the Ming shilu.
74. **Title:** Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian 清代檔案史料叢編 (Collection of Qing historical archives), volume 6  
**Author:** Compiled by Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an Guan 中國第一歷史檔案館  
**Summary:** Contains a memorial to the Qing emperor (item 105), a proclamation to the Burmese government (item 106), and an edict to the Mengding 孟定 chief (item 107)—all written in 1659 in the name of Hong Chengchou 洪承畴 (1593-1665) and all regarding the pursuit of Li Dingguo 李定國 (1620-1662) and the extradition of Yongli—together with a memorial (item 111) by Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612-1678) in 1661 about Li Dingguo's flight from Menggen to Burma.  
**Comment:** Published in 1980 by the Zhonghua Shuju.

75. **Title:** Tianfu guangji 天府廣記 (Record of the royal granary)  
**Author:** Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1593-1675)  
**Summary:** Volume 27 contains two items, one an account of how teachers were chosen for the siyi guan 四譯館 and the other a memorial written around 1567 by a scholar stating the need to recruit more Burmese language instructors.  
**Comment:** Sun Chengze was appointed superintendent of the siyi guan in 1644.

76. **Title:** Dian kao 滇考 (Study of Yunnan)  
**Author:** Feng Su 馮紹 (1658 jinshi)  
**Summary:** Volume 2 contains two items which record how the late Ming government sent eunuchs to Yunnan to buy gems, some of which were imported from Burma.  
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1665.

77. **Title:** Nanzhong zashuo 南中雜說 (Miscellaneies of the Nanzhong region)  
**Author:** Liu Kun 劉嵒 (1659 jingshi)  
**Summary:** Contains two items, one a hearsay account of how the Burmese used poisonous insects to kill people (including Chinese), and the second consisting of detailed descriptions of the precious stones produced in Burma, the monopolistic policy of the Burmese king with respect to the gem trade, the classification of precious stones, and
Chinese Historical Sources on Burma

Chinese gem merchants and the manner in which they organized themselves on their way to Burma.

**Comment:** Written around 1680 and possibly revised later. Probably the earliest evidence on the organization of Chinese trade caravans to Burma. Liu Kun held office in Yunnan for more than ten years.

---

78. **Title:** Shi Dian Zaji 使滇雜記 (Miscellaneous notes on the trip to Yunnan)
**Author:** Xu Jiong 徐炯
**Summary:** Contains a brief comment on gems produced in Burma.
**Comment:** Xu Jiong was sent by the Qing emperor to Yunnan in 1687-1688. The *Shi Dian Zaji* is a compilation of his travel notes.

---

79. **Title:** Yeshi wuwen 野史無聞 (Collection of unofficial histories)
**Author:** Zheng Da 鄭壇
**Summary:** Contents are similar to those of the *Yeshi lu* and the *Qiu ye lu*.
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1692. Zheng Da claims that his work was based on his talks with a general under Li Dingguo in 1684 and with Deng Kai in 1690. That Zheng Da’s work is very similar to that by Deng Kai is therefore not surprising. However, the *Yeshi wuwen* provides some valuable details not found in the *Yeshi lu*, the *Qiu ye lu*, or in any other source. Written in vernacular language.

---

80. **Title:** Ting wen lu 庭聞錄 (Record of things heard at home)
**Author:** Liu Jian 劉健
**Summary:** Describes how the armies loyal to Yongli tried to rescue him from the Burmese between 1659 and 1661.
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1719. Based on two books by the author’s father, Liu Kun. We do not know Liu Kun’s source(s), but they are likely reliable since Liu Kun was living in Yongchang in southwestern Yunnan when Yongli and his followers fled to Burma. While the *Yeshi lu* and *Qiu ye lu* provide us with valuable information on Yongli’s refuge in northern Burma, the *Ting wen lu* sheds much light on Ming military activity in Burma as far south as Toungoo.

---

34. *The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2*
81. **Title:** *Dian xiao ji* 滇小記 (A short account of Yunnan)
**Author:** Ni Tui 倪蜕 (1668-after 1742)
**Summary:** Contains relatively detailed descriptions of the precious stones from Mengmi, amber from Mengyang, and the travel routes from Yunnan to Burma.
**Comment:** Written after 1719.

82. **Title:** *Dian Yun linian zhuan* 滇雲歷年傳 (A general history of Yunnan)
**Author:** Ni Tui (1668-after 1742)
**Summary:** Contains two accounts dealing with Qing-Burmese border affairs during the reigns of Kangxi 康熙 (1662-1722) and Yongzheng 雍正 (1723-1735).
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1737. Also entitled *Yunnan shilue* 雲南事略 (A sketchy record of Yunnan). The second account contains the earliest reference in Chinese to Burma’s exportation of cotton to Yunnan.

83. **Title:** *Dian nan xinyu* 滇南新語 (New treatise on southern Yunnan)
**Author:** Zhang Hong 張泓
**Summary:** Contains two brief items, one an account of how Chinese traders traveled to Burma to buy precious stones, including a description of the mining and marketing of the stones by the indigenous people, and the other about the export of tea from Mubang to Yunnan and the interior of China.
**Comment:** Since Zhang Hong served in various official capacities in Yunnan between 1741 and 1753, this work must have been written during or after this time.

84. **Title:** *Miandian zhu yi kao lue* 缅甸諸夷考略 (Study of the various barbarians in Burma) and *Mubang xianghui song* 木邦輿會頌 (Extoling Mubang’s allegiance)\(^7\)
**Author:** Zhu Fengying 朱鳳英
**Summary:** The first record begins with a brief description of 13 regions and cities in Burma and the *tusi* in the Sino-Burmese border region, then recounts how Mubang

---

\(^7\) I thank Wu Yongping 吳永平 for locating and sending me these two items from Taiwan.

---

*I. F. Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2*
was attacked by a force of militant Chinese; the second record provides additional details about Mubang and the “submission” of Burma to the Qing.

Comment: Probably written in the 1750s. The author, was the official in charge of Western Yunnan and is mentioned in the document. He must have received the envos from Mubang and been responsible for drafting these two records. We should not be misled by Zhu’s mention of the so-called “submission” of Burma, for it was hardly that.

*85. **Title:** Huang Qing zhigong tu 皇清職貢圖 (Illustration of tributary peoples of the Qing)
**Author:** Yongxuan 永綸 (1746-1832), Dong Gao 董謨 (1740-1818) et al.
**Summary:** Volumes 1 and 7 contain five drawings and illustrations of Burmese and “Piao” 裔 (Pyu) peoples in Burma and Yunnan.
**Comment:** Completed in 1758 and supplemented in 1763. Also called the Qing zhigong tu 清職貢圖.

86. **Title:** Congzheng Miandian riji 從征缅甸日記 (Diary of the punitive expedition to Burma)
**Author:** Zhou Yu 周裕
**Summary:** Records the author’s observations while accompanying the Qing army into Burma as a secretary in 1767-1768.
**Comment:** Written in 1769. A valuable source for the study of the Qing-Burmese War and of Qing-Burmese trade.

87. **Title:** Zheng Mian jilue 征缅紀略 (A sketchy record of the punitive expedition to Burma)
**Author:** Wu Kai 吳楷 (1769 jinshi) and Wang Chang 王昶 (1725-1806)
**Summary:** A very detailed account of the Qing-Burmese War between 1765 and 1769, including discussion of the two missions from Burma in 1787 and 1789 that signaled the restoration of Qing-Burmese official relations.
**Comment:** Wu Kai followed the Qing army’s last expedition into Burma in 1769. He drew on other sources to cover the entire course of the Qing-Burmese War. Wu Kai’s original work is no longer extant; the edition we have is that edited by Wang Chang.
88. **Title:** Miandian suoji 緬甸琐記 (Miscellaneous notes on Burma)  
**Author:** Fuxian 傅顯 (?-1769)  
**Summary:** A brief record of the military system, customs, products, and major cities of Burma.  
**Comment:** Fuxian served in and died during the Qing army's 1769 expedition to Burma.

89. **Title:** Dian xing rilu 游行日錄 (Dairy of the journey in Yunnan)  
**Author:** Wang Chang  
**Summary:** Contains news about the Qing-Burmese War that Wang Chang heard on his journey to Burma from November 1768 to April 1769.  
**Comment:** Written in 1770.

90. **Title:** Zheng Mian jiwen 征邏紀聞 (A record of the punitive expedition to Burma)  
**Author:** Wang Chang  
**Summary:** A day-by-day account of the Qing army's last expedition to Burma in 1768-1769, including valuable details of Qing-Burmese negotiations.  
**Comment:** Written in early 1770.

91. **Title:** Chunrongtang ji 春融堂集 (Collection of Chunrongtang)  
**Author:** Wang Chang  
**Summary:** Contains poems written during Qing-Burmese War.  
**Comment:** Also included in the Shilu 詩錄, book 3 of the Yongchang fu wenzheng 永昌府文徵.

92. **Title:** Huangchao wugong jisheng 皇朝武功紀盛 (Record of the military achievements of the Qing)  
**Author:** Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814)  
**Summary:** Volume 3, entitled Pingding Miandian shulue 平定緬甸述略 (A sketchy record of the pacification of Burma), is a somewhat detailed account of the 1765-1769 Qing-Burmese War.  
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1792. Zhao Yi served in the Qing army during the last two expeditions to Burma (1768-1769).
Since his work covers the war from its very beginning, he must have derived information from other sources.

**93. Title:** Gaozong yuzhi shiwen shiquan ji 高宗御制詩文十全集 (Collection of poems on Qing’s ten wars by Qing Gaozong)
**Author:** Qing Gaozong 淸高宗 (1736-1795)
**Summary:** Volumes 40, 41, and 42 contain about sixty poems related to Burma and the Qing-Burmese War.
**Comment:** Composed by Qianlong between 1766 and 1790 and compiled afterwards by Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞 (1731-1803), the Minister of Works.

**94. Title:** Ping Mian tu 平緬圖 (Illustration of the war against Burma).
**Author:** Anonymous
**Summary:** Illustration of battle scenes from the Qing-Burmese War.
**Comment:** Precise date of composition unknown.

95. **Title:** Yanpu Zaji 翔鶴雜記 (Miscellany written under the eaves)
**Author:** Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1726-1801)
**Summary:** Volumes 3 and 4 contain miscellaneous notes related to Burma, including mention of the Qing-Burmese War, Burmese penis bells, the mining of precious stones in Mong Mit, and the mining of silver.
**Comment:** A very valuable source for the study of Qing-Burmese trade in gems and silver, and for the study of Chinese silver mining in Burma.

96. **Title:** Sui Mian jishi 稽瞑記事 (A record of the pacification of Burma)
**Author:** Sun Shiyi 孫士毅 (1720-1796)
**Summary:** Very detailed account of the Qing-Burmese War, especially the early period.
**Comment:** Sun Shiyi served in the Qing army’s last expedition to Burma, in 1769. Ironically, however, the Sui Mian jishi provides little information on that expedition but details all the events prior to 1769. There is therefore some doubt of Sun being the real author. Fang Guoyu (1984a, vol. 2, 531-532 [II]) has speculated that the work was written between late 1776 and early 1780 by
Sun's subordinate(s) while he was serving as financial commissioner and governor of Yunnan. Many details included in this source are not found elsewhere.

97. **Title:** Qingchao wenxian tongkao 清朝文獻通考 (General history of institutions and critical examination of documents and studies of the Qing Dynasty)
**Author:** Officially compiled
**Summary:** Volume 296 contains a relatively long account of the 1765-1769 Qing-Burmese War.
**Comment:** Compiled during the reign of Qianlong (1736-1795).

98. **Title:** Yongchang fuzhi 永昌府志 (Gazetteer of the Yongchang prefecture)
**Author:** Xuan Shitao 宣世濤, Liu Yuke 劉毓珂 et al.
**Summary:** Volumes 23, 25, and 26 of the 1785 edition by Xuan Shitao contain several memorials from Ming and Qing times that touch upon Ming- and Qing-Burmese relations, a number of poems and records by Ming poets regarding Burmese precious stones and other products, and a short account of a Burmese letter to the Ming during the late 16th century. Volumes 65 and 66 of the 1884 edition by Liu Yuke includes several other poems on Ming- and Qing-Burmese relations.
**Comment:** There are altogether four editions of this work, and I have so far gained access to only the two mentioned above. The other two were compiled in 1702 and 1826, respectively.

99. **Title:** Oubei shichao 延北詩鈔 (Collection of poems by Zhao Yi)
**Author:** Zhao Yi
**Summary:** Volumes 1, 2, and 3 contain poems touching upon the Qing-Burmese War.
**Comment:** Zhao Yi composed these poems while serving in the Qing army. Printed in 1791. Also included in the Shilu 詩錄, book 3 of the Yongchang fuzhi 永昌府志文徵.
100. **Title:** Juyu ji 綦隅集 (Collection of poems by Zhao Wenzhe)  
**Author:** Zhao Wenzhe 趙文哲 (1725-1773)  
**Summary:** Contains poems written during the Qing-Burmese War.  
**Comment:** Zhao Wenzhe served in the Qing army and fought against the Burmese. Also included in the *Skilu* 詩錄, book 3 of the *Yongchang fu wenzheng* 永昌府文徵.

101. **Title:** Dian hai yuheng zhi 滇海銳衡志 (Record of the resources of Yunnan)  
**Author:** Tan Cui 檀萃 (?-1799)  
**Summary:** Volumes 2, 5, and 9 contain descriptions of Burmese products, including jade and jade Buddha images, penis bells, eggplants, insects, rubies, cotton, and cotton cloth.  
**Comment:** Prefaced in 1799 and printed in 1804.

102. **Title:** Tengyue zhou zhi 順越州志 (Gazetteer of the Tengyue Department); *Tengyue ting zhi* 順越廳志 (Gazetteer of the Tengyue Subprefecture)  
**Author:** Wu Kai 吳楷, Tu Shulian 副史廉 et al.; Chen Zonghai 陳宗海, Zhao Ruili 趙瑞禮 et al.  
**Summary:** Volumes 2, 3, 8, 9, and 10-12 of the *Tengyue zhou zhi* contain information regarding travel routes leading to Burma, commercial products of Burma, biographies of Ming and Qing figures involved in Burma affairs, activities of the “Gui” people, the resumption of Qing-Burmese relations after the Qing-Burmese War, the establishment of *Mianzi guan* 縁字館, and Ming- and Qing-period memorials and essays concerning Ming- and Qing-Burmese relations; volumes 15, 17, and 20 of the *Tengyue ting zhi* contain a brief account of Burma prior to its annexation by the British in 1885, a map of Burma, a preface by Wu Kai to the *Tengyue zhou zhi*, and a map of the southwestern Yunnan border region.  
**Comment:** the *Tengyue zhouzhi* was first compiled in 1770 by Wu Kai and was expanded by Tu Shulian in 1790. The *Tengyue ting zhi* is a continuation of the *Tengyue zhou zhi* and was completed in 1887. These are very important.

---

8 Fang Guoyu (1984a, 2, 530 [III]) puts this as *Zouyu ji* 縦隅集, which might be a mistake.
sources for the study of Ming- and Qing-Burmese economic and political relations.

103. Title: *Dian xi* 漢繹 (A collection of works on Yunnan)
    Author: Shi Fan 邏範 (1751-1811)
    Summary: Volumes 11, 16, 19, 20, 26, 28, 36, and 40 contain the following: a proclamation by Deng Zilong 鄧子龍, a biography of Ha Guoxing 哈國興, a record about Baigu 白古 (Pegu), a proclamation by Liu Ting 劉廷, a document by Tan Cui 楊萃, a treatise by Wu Zongyao 吳宗耀, a memorial by Zhou Yuli 周於禮, a map of the 18 *tusi*, and a list of Burmese words together with pronunciation guidelines and Chinese translations.
    Comment: Prefaced in 1807. Shi Fan’s work is an extensive collection of written works on Yunnan from earliest times. Though most of the items in the *Dian xi* are extant in their original form, some are difficult to obtain. A few are preserved only in Shi Fan’s collection. The account about Pegu is particularly valuable for the study of the Gui people of Lower Burma.

104. Title: *Zhuyeting zaji* 竹葉亭雜記 (Miscellany written in the Bamboo Leaf Pavilion)
    Author: Yao Yuanzhi 姚元之
    Summary: Volume 1 contains a very brief account of the Burmese mission to Beijing in 1796.
    Comment: The contents consist primarily of the Jiaqing Emperor’s edict to Burmese envoys.

105. Title: *Xiaoting zalu* 嘯亭雜錄 (Miscellany written in the Xiao Pavilion)
    Author: Zhaolian 昭連 (1780-1833)
    Summary: Volume 5 contains a very detailed record of the Qing-Burmese War, and volume 7 mentions Gongliyan 宮里雁, the leader of the Gui.
    Comment: Completed in 1814 or 1815 and known to have been printed in 1880, if not before. The section on Burma is entitled “Miandian guicheng benmo” 緬甸歸誠本末 (The process of Burma’s submission). Zhaolian was only a compiler, but he no doubt had access to primary sources. Some details, such as Wu Shangxian’s enticing Burma to send a mission to the Qing in 1749-1750 and the struggles.
for the throne among Alaungpaya, the Gui, and the Mon
troops from lower Burma ("Minjia" 敏家 in Chinese), are
original and valuable.

106. Title: Hai lu 海錄 (A record of travel on sea)
Author: Xie Qinggao 謝清高 (1765-1821) and Yang Bingnan
楊炳南
Summary: Volume 1 contains a brief account of late
18th-century "Wutu guo" 魯土國 (the Ussa kingdom)—its
cities (which include Tuowai 陀恆 [Tavoy], Meiliju
佉麗居 [Mergui], Yinggong 營工 [Rangoon], Beigu 伯姑
[ Pegu], and Anghua 安華 [Ava]), trade, Chinese
communities, customs, commercial products, and so on.
Comment: Xie Qinggao worked on European ships navigating
between China and Europe circa 1782-1795. In 1820 he
narrated his observations to Yang Bingnan, who wrote
them down.

107. Title: Chaojin tuji 朝觐諸記 (Diary of pilgrimage)
Author: Ma Fuchu 馬復初 (?-1874)
Summary: Contains a brief record of Ma's trip to Mecca via
Burma in 1841-1842, including information on the routes
leading into Burma, Chinese traders, Chinese copper,
Muslims in Burma, and ship fare.
Comment: Ma Fuchu, also called Ma Dexin 馬德新, was a
Chinese Muslim.

*108. Title: Qinding libu zeli 欽定禮部則例 (Stipulations of the
Ministry of Rites made by imperial order)
Author: Officially compiled
Summary: Volumes 171 and 179 contain accounts of missions
and "tributes" from Burma, Qing gifts in return, and Qing
regulations regarding Burmese missions, particularly the
granting of gifts to Burmese officials and royalty.
Comment: Finished in 1845.

109. Title: Mian shu 縉述 (An account of Burma); Mianguo jilue
緬國紀略 (A short account of Burma)
Author: Peng Songyu 彭崧毓
Summary: The Mian shu is a relatively detailed record of
the cities, festivals, royalty, bureaucracy, format of
official credentials, army, religion, law, language,
Chinese minorities, trade, customs, and products of Burma in the mid-19th century; the Mianguo jilue traces briefly Burmese history and Qing-Burmese relations up to 1843 and details the struggle for succession between Bagyidow (Mengji 孟既 in Chinese; 1819-1837) and Tharawaddi (Mengkeng 孟坑 in Chinese; 1837-1846).

Comment: Written in 1848 by Peng Songyu, Associate Administrator (tongzhi 同知) of the Tengyue prefecture, who recorded information about Burma given him by a Burmese envoy sent by the myowun of Bhamo to Yongchang in 1848. The Mianguo jilue is appended to the Mian shu. The information on Qing-Burmese relations is derived from old Tengyue gazetteers; the account of the struggle for succession, however, seems to originate from the same Burmese envoy who provided information for the Mian shu.

110. Title: Hai ke ri tan 海客日談 (Diary written by sea traveller)

Author: Wang Zhi 王芝

Summary: Volumes 1, 2, and 3 contain a day-to-day record of the author's travels in southwestern Yunnan and Burma in 1871, touching upon agriculture, the market value of rice, Chinese minorities, architecture, food, ships, rivers, commercial products, music and musical instruments, traditional dance, religion, the palace in Mandalay, bureaucracy, dress styles, language, marriage, and Burma's conflicts with the British. A list of Burmese words with pronunciation guidelines and Chinese equivalents is included at the beginning of the book.

Comment: Completed in 1872 and published in 1876. Also called the Hai shuo 海說 or Yuying luzhi 游瀛蠡志. Wang Zhi served in the Qing army at Tengyue 腾越 in southwestern Yunnan and proceeded to South Asia and Europe via Burma.

111. Title: Xiyou riji 西曆日記 (Diary of the journey to the West)

Author: Huang Maocai 黄懋材

Summary: A day-to-day record of the author's journey through Burma to India in 1879, touching upon the country's monetary system, cities, architecture, rivers, Chinese communities, climate, agriculture, commercial
products, internal and external trade, bureaucracy, drama, conflicts with the British, and the struggle for royal succession. Huang met two Burmese princes in exile in Bengal.

**Comment:** Huang Maocai was sent to India by Ding Baozheng 丁寶楨 (1820-1886), the governor of Sichuan. Very important source for the study of Burmese history, Qing-Burmese trade, and the Chinese community in Burma.

**112. Title:** Yongchang fu ru Mian jing daoli tu 永昌府入缅京道里圖 (Map of the routes from the Yongchang prefecture to the capital of Burma)

**Author:** Anonymous

**Summary:** A color map of travel routes from Yongchang to Ava.

**Comment:** Drawn during the 18th or the 19th century.

**113. Title:** Li Wenzhonggong quanjji 李文忠公全集 (Complete works of Li Hongzhang)

**Author:** Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901)

**Summary:** Volumes 4, 9, and 18 contain Li Hongzhang’s five conversations with British officials about Burma affairs between 1875 and 1885, plus a letter dated 1885 from Paris regarding Britain’s annexation of Burma.

**114. Title:** Miandian tushuo 緬甸圖說 (An illustrated record of Burma)

**Author:** Wu Qizhen 吳其慎

**Summary:** A detailed description of the overland routes from Yunnan into Burma during the late 19th century, and of Burmese cities, the distances between them, and their commercial products.

**Comment:** Wu Qizhen was sent by the Qing court in early 1886 to inspect the border passes in southwestern Yunnan. He and another local official spent several months reading and examining relevant books in order to provide updated information on the routes leading to Burma. The information on Burma’s geography is based on a comprehensive Burmese map purchased by a border official and translated into Chinese. Extremely
important source for the study of Sino-Burmese political and economic relations.

115. Title: Cen Xiangqing zougao 岑襄勤公奏稿 (Cen Yuying’s memorials)
Author: Cen Yuying 岑毓英 (1829-1889)
Summary: Volumes 10-12 and 25-28 contain memorials by Cen Yuying regarding Qing-Burmese relations, border affairs, and the annexation of Burma by the British between 1874 and 1887.
Comment: Cen Yuying was the governor of Yunnan in the late 19th century.

116. Title: Xuxiu Yunnan tongzhi 續修雲南通志 (Supplement to the Comprehensive Gazetteer of Yunnan)
Author: Cen Yuying et al.
Summary: Volumes 114 and 116 contain records of border conflicts between Burma, Yunnan, and Siam, and of Qing-Burmese border affairs in the late 19th century.
Comment: Completed in 1891.

117. Title: Yong’an quanjí 唐庵全集 (Complete works of Xue Fucheng)
Author: Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894)
Summary: Volumes 1-4 contain Xue’s diary, written in 1890 during his trip to Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, together with various memorials written in 1891-1893 about Yunnan-Burmese border affairs.
Comment: Printed in 1884-1898. Xue Fucheng was a Qing diplomat. Very important source for the study of Qing-Burmese trade and of Chinese communities in Burma.

118. Title: Chushi riji xuke 出使日記續刻 (Supplement to the diary of diplomatic mission)
Author: Xue Fucheng 薛福成
Summary: Volumes 1-9 contain Xue’s diary from 1891 to 1893, including accounts of boundary negotiations, routes leading to Burma, and Chinese traders in Burma.
Comment: Xue Fucheng’s sources include letters from China, contemporary British newspapers, and Chinese records about Burma. Very important source for the study of...
Chinese Historical Sources on Burma

Qing-Burmese trade and political relations and the Chinese community in Burma.

119. Title: Dian Mian huajie tushuo 滇緬劃界圖說 (Illustrated explanation on the delimitation of the Yunnan-Burmese boundary)
Author: Xue Fucheng 薛福成
Summary: Contains memorials, official correspondence, and treatises regarding Qing-Burmese relations between 1891 and 1893, primarily with respect to the setting of boundaries.

120. Title: Binlangyu zhilue 檳榔屿志略 (A brief record of Pulau Pinang)
Author: Li Jun 劉鈞
Summary: Contains two brief records of Chinese merchant activity in Burma during the late 19th century.

121. Title: Zhentan ji 偵探記 (Record of the reconnaissance)
Author: Written by Zhang Dexin 張德馨 and Zhang Chengyu 張成瑜, edited by Yao Wendong 姚文棟
Summary: Day-to-day record of Britain's exploration of the Yunnan-Burmese border region in 1890-1891.
Comment: Zhang Dexin and Zhang Chengyu were sent by Qing border officials to act as horse-drivers for the British exploratory mission and hence to keep watch on their activities. The Zhangs kept separate diaries in Burmese lest the British, most of whom knew Chinese, should find them. The Zhangs later translated their diaries into Chinese.

122. Title: Jisi guangyi bian 集思廣益編 (A collection of all useful works)
Author: Yao Wendong 姚文棟
Summary: Volumes 1-2 contain four memorials by two officials about affairs in Burma and on the Yunnan-Burmese border in the early 1890s.
Comment: Yao Wendong was a Qing official and diplomat.

123. Title: Yunnan kanjie choubian ji 雲南勘界籌邊記 (Record of the delimitation of the boundary and the preparation for the border affairs in Yunnan)

46 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
124. **Title:** *Da Qing huidian shili* 大清會典事例 (Collected statutes and sub-statutes of the great Qing)  
**Author:** Officially compiled  
**Summary:** Volumes 502, 503, 504, 505, 507, 508, 509, 510, and 514 contain somewhat detailed records of Burmese tribute missions to China and of Qing regulations regarding those missions.  
**Comment:** Completed in 1899. Some information overlaps with that in the *Qinding libu zeli*.

125. **Title:** *Qing shilu* 清實錄 (The veritable record of the Qing Dynasty)  
**Author:** Officially compiled  
**Summary:** Contains very detailed records of relations between China and Burma from 1644 to 1911, focusing largely on the 1765-1769 Qing-Burmese War. The intercourse between China and British Burma primarily concerns the demarcation of the Sino-Burmese boundary.  
**Comment:** Like the *Ming shilu*, the *Qing shilu* was compiled by contemporaries, and so is highly reliable.

126. **Title:** *Qingchao xu wenxian tongkao* 清朝續文獻通考 (The Qing supplement to the *wenxian tongkao*)  
**Author:** Liu Jinzhao 劉錦藻 (1854-1929)  
**Summary:** Volumes 200 and 333 contain short descriptions of Burmese music and the annexation of Burma by the British.  
**Comment:** Compiled between 1894 and 1921.

127. **Title:** *Qing shigao* 清史稿 (The draft history of the Qing dynasty)  
**Author:** Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (1844-1927) et al.  
**Summary:** Volumes 6, 10-20, 23, 101, 114, 125, 137, 151-152, 154, 224, 236-237, 248, 301, 305, 318, 323, 327, 331-334, 337, 343, 358, 419, and 528 contain somewhat detailed records of Qing-Burmese intercourse from 1644 to 1911.
Comment: Compiled between 1914 and 1927, after the Qing dynasty ended. The Qing shigao is derived directly from primary records, one being the Qing shilu.

128. Title: Shiliao xunkan 史料旬刊 (The journal of historical materials)
Author: Collectively compiled
Summary: Numbers 22-25 contain several memorials and edicts of the Qinglong reign dealing with the Qing-Burmese War.
Comment: Written during the 18th century; compiled and published by the Palace Museum in 1931.

129. Title: Qingdai waijiao shiliao 清代外交史料 (Historical records of Qing’s foreign relations)
Author: Collectively compiled
Summary: Contains memorials and edicts from the reigns of Jiaqing 嘉慶 (1796-1820) and Daoguang 道光 (1821-1850), dealing with Qing-Burmese boundary disputes and border disturbances.
Comment: Written between 1805 and 1823; compiled by the Palace Museum and published in 1932.

130. Title: Qingji waijiao shiliao 清季外交史料 (Historical records of late Qing’s foreign relations)
Author: Wang Yanwei 王彦威 (1843-1904)
Summary: Volumes 40, 52, 61-65, 67, 69, 72-73, 84, 89-91, 96, 101, 114-117, 125, 152, 170, 181, and 200 contain official telegrams to the Qing court from envoys in Great Britain, together with official estimations of China’s relations with British Burma during the reign of Guangxu 光緒 (1875-1908). Also included are accounts of the dispute in Qing-Burmese relations surrounding the annexation of Burma by the British, and of the demarcation of the China’s border with British Burma.
Comment: Printed in 1932-1935. These are valuable primary sources written by contemporaries.

131. Title: Qing Xuantong chao waijiao shiliao 清宣統朝外交史料 (Historical records on Qing’s foreign relations during the reign of Xuantong [1909-1911])
Author: Wang Yanwei 王彦威
Summary: Volumes 14-15 and 17-20 contain collections of documents consisting primarily of the Yunnan governor’s memorials—and the replies to them from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—dealing with Qing-Burmese border affairs and the demarcation of boundaries during the reign of Xuantong.

132. Title: Ming Qing shiliao 明清史料 (Historical records of the Ming and Qing dynasties), “Geng bian” 庚编, volume 7
Author: Collectively compiled
Summary: Apart from an edict by Kangxi (1662-1722) about the capture of Yongli and a memorial regarding the Burmese mission during the reign of Jiaqing (1796-1820), all other memorials and edicts in the Ming Qing shiliao date to the reign of Qianlong and deal with Qing-Burmese border affairs and, especially, the Qing-Burmese War.
Comment: Written during the 17th and 18th centuries. Compiled by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, and published in 1936 and again in 1960. These records are authored by contemporary officials and emperors. The Ming Qing shiliao might have been one source of the Qing shilu. Like the Shiliao xunkan, the Ming Qing shiliao is an especially valuable source for the study of the Qing-Burmese War.

133. Title: Yongchang fu wenzheng 永昌府文徵 (Collection of works on the Yongchang prefecture)
Author: Li Genyuan 李根源 (1879-1965)
Summary: Contains records on Burma and Sino-Burmese relations.
Comment: Printed in 1941, this is a collection of literary and historical records dating from the Han through the Republic era and relating to the Yongchang prefecture and the border region in southwestern Yunnan. Many of these records—some of which are not easily accessible—deal with Burma and Sino-Burmese relations.

*134. Title: Gongzhong dang 宫中檔 (Archives of the secret palace memorials of the Qing dynasty)
Author: Compiled by Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院

The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2  49
Summary: The memorials written during the reigns of Yongzheng and, especially, Qianlong contain detailed information on Qing-Burmese relations and on the Qing-Burmese War in particular.

Comment: To my knowledge, Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan in Taiwan has between 1973 and 1988 published the Gongzhong dang of four reigns, those of Kangxi, Yongzheng, Qianlong, and Guangxu.

**135. Title: Shangyu dang 上諭檔 (Archives of the edicts)**

Author: Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’an Guan 中國第一歷史檔案館

Summary: Contains detailed information on Qing-Burmese relations and the Qing-Burmese wars. Again, the most detailed records are in the reign of Qianlong.

Comment: Published by the Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’an Guan in microfilm form in 1987, the Shangyu dang includes material from the reign of Yongzheng to that of Xuantong.
Title and Author Index to Annotated Chinese Sources
(References are to citation and not page numbers)

Baigu ji 41
Baigu tong 41
Baigu tongji 41
Baigu tongji qianshu 41
Baishi changqing ji 13
Baiyi zhuan 33
Ban Gu 2
Bao Jianji 55
Bao Ruji 66
Bianji 9
Binlangyu zhilue 120
Bogu tongji 41

Cen Xiangqinggong zougao 115
Cen Yuying 115, 116
Chang Qu 5
Chaojin tuji 107
Chen Shou 3
Chen Wen 39
Chen Xun 40
Chen Zilong 67
Chen Zhonghai 102
Chunrongtang ji 91
Chushi riji xike 118
Congzheng Miandian riji 86

Da Qing huiedian riji 124
Da Tang xiyu ji 9
Da Tang xiyu qiuq geosong zhuan 10
Daoyi zhilue 31
Dazang yinzi 12
Deng Kai 69, 79
Dian hai yuheng zhi 101
Dian kao 76
Dian lue 41, 60
Dian Man huajie tushuo 119
Dian nan xinwu 83
Dian xie 103
Dian xiao ji 81
Dian xing riti 89
Dian Yun linian zhuan 82
Dian zhi 55, 65
Dong Gao 85
Dong Lun 68
Du You 17
Fan Shouji 57
Fan Ye 4
Feng Su 76
Fuxian 22, 6
Fuxian zhuang 6
Fuxian 88

Gaozong yuzhi shiwen
shiquan ji 93
Gongzhong dang 134
Guang zhi 22
Guang zhiyi 54
Guochao wenle 30
Guochao xianzheng lu 59
Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan 134

Hai lu 106
Hai shuo 110
Haike ri tan 110
Han shu 2
Hou Han shu 4
Hu Zhijun 15
Huang Maocai 111
Huang Ming jingji wenli 44
Huang Ming jingji zhenbian 67
Huang Ming xiangxiu lu 63
Huang Qing zhigong tu 85
Huang Yuan zhen Mian lu 30
Huangchao jingshi dadian 30
Huangchao wugong jisheng 92
Huangyu tongzhi 40
Huanzhang zuo zh 5
Huayi yiyu: Miandian
guan yiyu 48
Huxin 12
Huxin yiyu 12

Jiao Hong 59
Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu 39
Jisi guangyi bian 122
Jiu Tang shu 18, 19, 20
Juyu ji 100
Ke shu 25
Ke Xi Qiao Yin 70

Li Daoyuan 6
Li Fang 22
Li Genyuan 133
Li Hongzhang 113
Li Jun 120
Li Shida 53
Li Wenzhonggong quawei 113
Li Xinzhuang 28
Li Yuanxiang 47
Liang shu 2, 7
Lingwai dada 23, 24
Liu Chai 71

The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2 51
Chinese Historical Sources on Burma

Liu Jian 80
Liu Jinzao 126
Liu Kun 77, 80
Liu Sanwu 34
Liu Ting 51, 103
Liu Wenzheng 65
Liu Xu 19
Liu Yuke 98
Liu Weiqi 64

Ma Fuchu (Ma Dexin) 107
Man shu 18
Mao Ruizheng 63
Mao Yuanxi 62
Mian lue 55, 56
Mian shu 109
Miandian guicheng benmo 105
Miandian shimo 55
Miandian suoji 88
Miandian tushu 114
Miandian zhuyi koole 84
Mianguo jilue 109
Ming huidian 52
Ming Qing shili 132
Ming shi 73
Ming shi 68, 73, 125
Mubang xianghua song 84
Mubang xuanweii shisi yin 35

Nanhai jigu neiia zhuan 11
Nanyi shu 37
Nanyuan manju 42, 45
Nanzhao tongji 41
Nanzhao yeshi 41
Nanzhong bajun zhi 20
Nanzhong jiwen 66
Nanzhong zashuo 77
Nanzhou bajun zhi 22
Nanzhou yizhou zhi 22
Ni Lu 41
Ni Tui 81, 82

Oubei shichao 99
Ouyang Xiu 21

Peng Songyu 109
Peng Yuanrui 93
Piaoqiu yue song 16
Ping Mian tu 94

Qian Guxun 33
Qinding libu zeli 108, 124
Qing Gaozong (Qianlong) 93
Qing shigao 127
Qing shili 125, 127, 132
Qing Xuanlong chao waijiao

shili 131
Qing zhiqong tu 85
Qingchaowenxian tongkao 97
Qingchaowenxian tongkao 126
Qingdai dang'an shili 94
Qingdai waijiu shili 129
Qingji waijiu shili 130
Qiu ye lu 70
Qu Jiuse 58
Quan Tang shi 15
Quxiao xinwen 57

Saipingzhang dezheng bei 29
Sanguo zhi 3
Shanxu dang 135
Shen Defu 56
Shen Shixing 52
Shi Dan zij 78
Shi Fan 103
Shi ji 1
Shi jiang bei 38
Shi Mian lu 36
Shili 128
Shou Mian jishi 71
Shui jing zhu 6
Shuyu zhouzi lu 46
Sima Qian 1
Siyi guan kai 49
Siyi guan zengding guanz 64
Song huaiyao jiagao 28
Song Lian 32
Song shi 27
Su Tianjue 30
Sui Mian jishi 96
Sui shu 8
Sun Chengze 75
Sun Shiyi 96

Taiying yulan 2, 22
Tan Cui 101, 103
Tang Ci 16
Tang huiyao 20
Tengyue ting zhi 102
Tengyue zhou zhi 102
Tian Rucheng 45
Tianfu guangji 75
Ting wen lu 80
Tong dian 2, 17
Tu Shuitian 102
Tuguan dibo 43
Tuotuo 27

Wan Biao 44
Wang Chang 87, 89, 93, 91
Wang Dayuan 31

52 The Journal of Burma Studies, Volume 2
1. Index to Annotated Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Title</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wang Ji 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Pu 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Shixing 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Yanwei 130, 131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Zhi 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Zongzai 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanli wugong lu 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanli yehuo bian 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi 41, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei lue 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei Zheng 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei yuanying shizhong bei 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen Tiren 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Bei zhi 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Kai 87, 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Qizhen 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xi’an yifang zhi 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xi’anxiu fenglu ji 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiaotong zalu 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xie Qinggao 106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xie Zhaozhe 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xin Tang shui 18, 20, 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xigou ri 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiyuan wenjian lu 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Fuyuan 67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Jiong 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Song 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Xiake 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Xiake yuji 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuan Shitao 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuanzang 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xue Fucheng 117, 118, 119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuixiu Yunnan tongzhi 116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuizongji ji 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yan Congjian 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Bingnan 106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Nai 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanjiao jiwen 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yampu zaji 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao Silian 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao Wendong 121, 122, 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao Yuanzhi 104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeshi lu 69, 70, 71, 79, 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeshi wenwen 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Jing 10, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiye jing yin yi 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yong an quanji 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongchang fu ru Mian jing daoli tu 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongchang fu wenzheng 91, 99, 100, 133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongchang fu zhi 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongxuan 85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu Huan 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan jingshi dadian 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan shi 30, 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan wen lei 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Zhen 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuanzao zheng Mian lu 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuanxi changjing ji 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuantu manchao 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan ji 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan kanjie choubian ji 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan shilue 82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan zhi 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuying luzhi 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeixing xinren Li Xiong shi Mianlian xu 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Chengyu 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Dexiang 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Hong 36, 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Hong 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Tingyu 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Xuan 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Zhichun 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Zhifu 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhangshi ke shu 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Erxun 127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Ruiqiao 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Ruli 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Wenzhe 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Yanwei 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Yi 92, 95, 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhao Ziyuan 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhaozhu zonglu 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhaozian 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Da 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng Dexin 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng He hanghai tu 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng Mian jilue 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng Mian jilue 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhentian ji 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhiyuan zheng Mian lu 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhongguo Dian Lishi Dang’an Guan 74, 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Qifu 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Yu 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu fan zhi 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Fengyue 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu yuetong zaji 104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>