Yúnnán in Hóng Mài's 'Róngzhāi's Random Notes'

An Annotated Translation of the Parts of《容斋随笔》

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The Yúnnán Papers

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

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

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

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Contents

1	Introduction	5
2	About this Translation	5
3	Annotated Translation The Submission of the Southern Yí to Zhūgé Liàng《南夷服诸葛》Lǐ Mì Attacks Nánzhào《李宓伐南诏》	5 5 6
4	Glossary	8
5	References	12
Ind	lex	14

1 Introduction

The 《容斋随笔》 or '*Róngzhāi*'s *Random Notes*'⁽¹⁾ is a collection of essays by the Sòng dynasty scholar Hóng Mài 洪迈, *1123–†1202, *sobriquet* 号 Róngzhāi 容斋, hence the name of the text. The text includes a number of excerpts from now lost historic texts about Yúnnán.⁽²⁾

2 About this Translation

I came across passages about Yúnnán in the 《容斋随笔》 through their mention in Glahn (1987). Many different editions of the text have been published. The text used here has been copied from an online resource ⁽³⁾ and compared against an edition published in 2015.⁽⁴⁾

I am not aware of an English translation.

3 Annotated Translation

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The Submission of the Southern Yí to Zhūgé Liàng《南夷服诸葛》

This *juàn* contains a story recording how the legendary Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, who led a military expedition into eastern Yúnnán in 225 CE, was still revered in the region almost one thousand years later.

The story was originally recorded in the now lost '*Records of Yúnnán during the Zhìdào Period*'《至 道云南录》 compiled by Xīn Yíxiǎn 辛怡显, about whom not much is known.⁽⁵⁾ As the text refers to the 993–995 CE rebellion by Lǐ Shùn 李顺 in Shǔ 蜀, i.e. modern Sìchuān 四川, he must have been sent to Yáozhōu 姚州 during the early period of the Dàlǐ kingdom 大理国.

南夷服诸葛

蜀刘禅时,南中诸郡叛,诸葛亮 徵之,孟获为夷汉所服,七战七 擒,曰:「公,天威也,南人不复反 矣。」《蜀志》所载,止于一时之事。 The Submission of the southern Yí

During the time of Shù's Liú Shàn, the regions of Nánzhōng all rebelled, Zhūgé Liàng went on a campaign against them, the *Yí* and Hàn had submitted to Mènghuò. [After] he **battled seven times and was released seven times**, he said, 'The Duke has the might of heaven, the people of the south will not rise in rebellion again.'

容斋随笔5

 r_{4-5} : battled seven times and was released seven times] 'seven times captured, seven times released' 七纵七擒 is a famous phrase to illustrate the benevolent character of Chinese expansion into its borderlands.

⁽¹⁾ The title has also been translated as 'Random Jottings by Rongzhai' (Zhang (2015), p. 136), 'Miscellaneous Notes from a Capacious Studio' (Holcombe (2001), p. 266), 'Random Notes of Hong Mai' (Hartman (2021), p. 337), 'Tolerant Study Miscellaneous Notes' (Wilkinson (2013), p. 764), etc.

 $^{^{(2)}}$ For more information about the work, see Wilkinson (2013), p. 765.

⁽³⁾ at https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?res=623827 (accessed 24th June 2024), another version is available at https://zh.wikisource.org/ wiki/%E5%AE%B9%E9%BD%8B%E9%9A%A8%E7%AD%86_(%E5%9B%9B%E9%83%A8%E5%8F%A2%E5%88%8A%E6%9C%AC) (accessed 24th June 2024).

⁽⁴⁾ Hóng Mài 洪迈 (2015).

 $^{^{(5)}}$ see Pù Cuìlíng 普翠灵 (2019) for what is known about him.

		The ' <i>Records of Shǔ</i> ' records this as a temporary affair.
	国朝淳化中,李顺乱蜀,招安使雷	During the Chúnhuà era of the present dynasty , Lǐ Shùn brought
	有终遣嘉州上人辛怡显使于南诏,	unrest to Shǔ, the pacification commissioner Léi Yǒuzhōng dis-
容斋随笔10	至姚州,其节度使赵公美以书来迎,	patched the Jiāzhōu nobleman Xīn Yíxiǎn as envoy to Nánzhào.
	云:「当境有沪水,昔诸葛武侯戒	When he reached Yáozhōu, its military commissioner Zhào Gōng-
	曰:「非贡献徵讨,不得辄渡此水;	měi welcomed him with a letter, stating 'Our border is the Lú River.
	若必欲过,须致祭,然后登舟。」今遣	Long ago, the marquis of Wǔ Zhūgé warned: "No-one will be able to
	本部军将赉金龙二条、金钱二千文并	cross this river without making sacrifices before going into battle.
容斋随笔15	设酒脯,请先祭享而渡。」	Who wants to cross must first perform rites and only then take a
		boat." Today we sent our district commanders to confer two golden
		dragons and two thousand string of gold coins, they also set up
		food and wine to make offerings before crossing.'
	乃知南夷心服,虽千年如初。鸣呼,	So we know that the southern Yi submitted sincerely – after a thou-
容斋随笔 20	可谓贤矣!	sand years just like in the beginning. <i>Alas</i> , he can truly be called a
		sage!
	事见怡显所作《云南录》。	This story can be read in Yíxiǎn's 'Records of Yúnnán during the
		Zhìdào Period'.

Lǐ Mì Attacks Nánzhào《李宓伐南诏》

The second story in this *juàn* concerns the wars of the Táng court against Nánzhào \overline{pa} ? in the 7th century, in which several Chinese punishment expeditions against Nánzhào failed abysmally before coming to an end through unrest in China proper.

	李宓伐南诏	Lǐ Mì attacks Nánzhào
容斋随笔 25	唐天宝中,南诏叛,剑南节度使鲜	During the Táng Tiānbǎo period, Nánzhào rebelled and the
	于仲通讨之,丧士卒六万人。	Jiànnán military commissioner Xiānyú Zhòngtōng was sent on a
		punitive expedition, losing sixty thousand soldiers.
	杨国忠掩其败状,仍叙其战功。时募	Yáng Guózhōng concealed this defeat pretending he had won.
	兵击南诏,人莫肯应募,国忠遣御	When he recruited soldiers to attack Nánzhào, the people were
容斋随笔30	史分道捕人,连枷送诣军所,行者	unwilling to enlist, so Guózhōng sent censors on separate roads
	愁怨,所在哭声振野。	to catch people, shackle them and bring them into the military
		camps, the men were distraught, the sound of them wailing shook
		the lands.
	至十三载,剑南留后李宓将兵七万	Then in the 13th year , the caretaker of Jiànnán Lǐ Mì led seventy
容斋随笔35	往击南诏。南诏诱之深入,闭壁不	thousand troops to strike Nánzhào. Nánzhào tricked him to penet-
	战, 宓粮尽, 士卒瘴疫及饥死什七	rate deep, closing the walls without fighting, Mi's provisions were
	八,乃引还。蛮追击之,宓被擒,全	exhausted, seven out of eight of his men fell ill and died of hunger,

122:《云南录》] short for 'Records of Yúnnán during the Zhìdào Period'《至道云南录》.

r 8: the Chúnhuà era of the present dynasty] reign period of Sòng emperor Tàizǔ, 990–995 CE. *r* 12: Lú River] i.e. the Jīnshā River 金沙江.

r 25: Táng Tiānbǎo period] 742–756 CE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗. *r* 34: in the 13th year] of Tiānbǎo, i.e. 744 CE.

军皆没。同忠隐其败,更以捷闻,益 发兵讨之。此《通鉴》所纪。	forcing him to retreat. The <i>Mán</i> pursued in attack, Mì fell prisoner and his entire army drowned. Again, Zhōng covered up this defeat,	
	reporting a victory, and even more troops were sent out. This is re-	容斋随笔 40
	corded in the 'Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government'.	
《旧唐书》云:「李宓率兵击蛮于西洱	The 'Old History of the Táng' states: 'Lǐ Mì led his troops to at-	
河,粮尽军旋,马足陷桥,为閤罗凤	tack the Mán at Xīěr Hé, the provisions were exhausted and he	
所擒。」	retreated. On a bridge, his horse stumbled and he was captured	
	by Géluōfèng.'	容斋随笔45
《新唐书》亦云:「宓败死于西洱河。」	The 'New History of the Táng' also records: 'Lǐ Mì was defeated and	
	died at Xīěr Hé.'	

The following text then quotes an excerpt from poem by the Táng dynasty Gāo Shì 高适, *704-†765, about the Tiānbǎo Wars 天宝战争:

The complete poem is included in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998b), p. 196, which made a number of changes to the version published in the '*Complete Poems of the Táng dynasty*'《全唐诗》.⁽⁶⁾ An extensively annotated version of the poem can be found in Yú Hǎidì 于海娣 (2010), pp. 111–113; the notes there have greatly assisted this translation. This version of the poem with some of the annotations is also available online.⁽⁷⁾

予按高适集中有《李宓南征蛮》诗一	My comment: In the collection of works by Gāo Shì is a poem	
篇,序云:	called 'Li's Yúnnán Campaign against the Mán'《李云南征蛮》,	
	its preface states:	容斋随笔 5o
「天宝十一载,有诏伐西南夷,丞相	'In the 11th year of Tiānbǎo, there was an edict to send an expedi-	
杨公兼节制之寄,乃奏前云南太李	tion against the western and southern Yí. The prime minister and	
宓涉海自交趾击之,往复数万里,	military commissioner duke Yáng sent a memorial that the former	
十二载四月,至于长安。君子是以	Yúnnán grand protector Lǐ Mì cross the sea from Jiāozhǐ to attack	
知庙堂使能,而李公效节。予忝斯人	them, back and forth it was ten thousand $l\check{\iota}$. In the 4th month of	容斋随笔55
之旧,因赋是诗。」	the 12th year, he reached Cháng'ān. A gentleman knows that the	
	imperial court employs capable individuals, and duke Lǐ demon-	
	strated his loyalty. I, unworthy to be an old friend of his, have thus	
	composed this poem.'	

其略曰:

Shortened, it reads like this:

容斋随笔 6o

152: 兼] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 196 corrects this to bing.

152: 太] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 196 corrects this to *tàishǒu*, which makes sense.

r 51: In the 11th year of Tiānbǎo] 752 CE.

 r_{55-56} : In the 4th month of the 12th year] 753 CE.

r 60: Shortened] Several verses from the poem have been dropped in this text, for the full text see Yú Hǎidì 于海娣 (2010), pp. 111–113.

⁽⁶⁾ The changes are noted in the annotations to the Chinese text below.

⁽⁷⁾ https://baike.baidu.com/item/李云南征蛮诗/9981765 (accessed 25th June 2024).

	肃穆庙堂上,深沉节制雄。	In the solemn and grand court the calm and imposing military
	遂令感激士,得建非常功。	commissioner, Inspiring soldiers' hearts to achieve great success,
	鼓行天海外,转战蛮夷中。	They march beyond the heavenly sea , fighting with the <i>Mányí</i> ,
容斋随笔65	长驱大浪破,急击群山空。	Driving through great waves, striking the valleys between the
		mountains.
	饷道忽已远,县军垂欲穷。	Supply lines stretch afar, the army at point of starvation,
	野食掘田鼠,哺餐兼僰僮。	For food in the wild they dug for field mice and supplemented their
		meals with boy servants from Bó.
容斋随笔 70	收兵列亭堠,拓地弥西东。	They withdrew from battle, setting up watchtowers, expanding the
		lands from east to west.
	泸水夜可涉,交州今始通。	Crossing the Lú River at night, Jiāozhōu is now connected.
	归来长安道,召见甘泉宫。	Returning to Cháng'ān they are summoned to Gānquán palace.

Hóng Mài was aware that his description of the war, which in its entirety focussed on the bravery of the soldiers, was written with significant poetic license.

其所称述如此,虽诗人之言未必皆 容斋随笔₇₅ 实,然当时之人所赋,其事不应虚 言,则宓盖归至长安,未尝败死,其 年又非十三载也。 味诗中掘鼠餐僮之语,则知粮尽危 急,师非胜归明甚。 When the story is recorded like this, the poet's words might not all be true, but as the ode was written at the time, it is not necessarily without base: here Lǐ Mì returned to Cháng'ān, he was not defeated and did not die, and it was also not **in the 13th year**.

The parts of the story where they dig for mice and eat the children show that the provisions were exhausted and they were in great danger, the troops were not victorious when they returned to the court.

4 Glossary

Ānnán 安南: a Táng dynasty protectorate in the area of present-day northern Vietnam. During the Táng dynasty Ānnán was subordinated to Língnándào 岭南 道, the Jīmí 羁縻 region governing the southern coastal areas. Its official name changed frequently: before 681 it was called Jiāozhōu 交州, then until 757 Ānnán 安南, then until 863 Zhènnán 镇南, then Xíngānnán 行安南 before reverting to Ānnán 安南 in 866. Zhōu Zhènhè 周振 鹤 (2012), pp. 1205–1217 –

asty, 960–1127 – see page 8

Bó 僰: ancient tribal group -

Bó tóng 僰僮: boy servants from Bó, young slaves from Bó – see page 8

Cháng'ān 长安: historic city, present-day Xīān – see page 7, 8

Chángjiāng 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river – see page 8

Chéngxiāng 丞相: prime minister, also translated as 'counselor-in-chief': 'A title of

Běisòng 北宋: Northern Sòng, Chinese dyn-

*l*63: 建] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 196 corrects this to *jiàn* 见.

l 70: 亭堠] as *tínghòu* 亭候 in the block printed version, Yú Hǎidì 于海娣 (2010), p. 112, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 2, p. 196 and others correct this to *tínghòu* 亭堠

g61–62: military commissioner] i.e. Yáng Guózhōng 杨国忠, then military commissioner 节度使 for Jiànnán 剑南. *r* 64: heavenly sea] i.e. Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海.

r 65–66: Driving through great waves, striking the valleys between the mountains] i.e. warfare by land and lake. r 77: in the 13th year] 744 CE.

great significance in Chinese history, normally indicating the most esteemed and influential member(s) of the officialdom, who was leader of and spokesman for the officialdom vis-a-vis the ruler and at the same time the principal agent for implementing the ruler's wishes in all spheres, civil and military', see Hucker (1985), 483 – see pages 7–9

- Chúnhuà 淳化: reign period of Sòng Tàizǔ 宋 太祖, 990-995 - see page 6
- Dàlǐ Guó 大理国: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937—-1253 – see page 5, 9
- **Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25-220 - see page 9
- **Ěrhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ěrhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xīěr Hé – see page 8, 9
- fù 赋: ode, ancient poetry form see page 8, 9
- Gāo Shì 高适: Táng dynasty poet see page 7
- Géluófèng 阁逻凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748-779 CE - see page 7
- **Gōng** 公: duke, '(1) Duke, from high antiquity the highest title of nobility after wang, normally reserved for members of the ruling family; ... Commonly prefixed with territorial names, ... (2) The Honorable or His Honor, polite term of indirect address applied to someone considered deserving of respect', see Hucker (1985), 3388 – see pages 5, 7, 9
- Guǎngxī 广西: southern Chinese province –
- Guìzhōu 贵州: province in south-west China

- Hàn Cháo 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE-220 - see page 9
- Hàn 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty – see page 5, 9
- Hànjìnchūnqiū 《汉晋春秋》: 'Annals of the Hàn and Jìn', work by Xí Záochǐ 习凿齿 – see page 9
- **Hào** 号: *sobriquet*, assumed literary name see page 5, 9
- Hóng Mài 洪迈: Sòng dynasty scholar, compiler of the《容斋随笔》, sobriquet Róngzhāi 容斋 – see page 5, 8
- Huáyáng Guó Zhì《华阳国志》: 'Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá', - see page 9
- Jiāzhōu 嘉州: a district in present-day southern Sìchuān, east of Lèshān 乐山 (● 29.6N 103.78E) – see page 6
- Jiànnán 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān see page 6, 8
- Jiāozhǐ 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into presentday Vietnam (● 21.03N 105.85E) – see page 7
- Jiāozhōu 交州: early adminstrative unit covering the coastal region of present-day Guǎngxī广西 and northern Vietnam, for a discussion of the history of the region see Churchman (2016), pp. 53-62 – see page 8, see 安南
- Jiédù Shǐ 节度使: military commissioner, 'a military title of great historical importance' 'during much of the late T'ang period they were virtually autonomous regional governors', see Hucker (1985), 777 – see pages 6–9

- **Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā River, upstream part of the Chángjiāng 长江, separating Yúnnán and Sìchuān – see page 6, 9
- **Jìn** 晋: Chinese dynasty –
- Jiùtáng Shū 《旧唐书》: 'Old History of the *Táng*', major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty – see page 7, 10
- **Jūnjiāng** 军将: commander, see page 6, 10
- Lèshān 乐山: district in southern Sìchuān –
- Léi Yǒuzhōng 雷有终: see page 6
- Lǐ Mì 李宓: Táng dynasty general, also written as Lǐmì 李宓 – see pages 6-8
- Lǐ Shǔ 李蜀: short-lived polity in Sìchuān -
- Lǐ Shùn 李顺: rebel leader in Shǔ, founder of Lǐ Shǔ 李蜀 – see page 5,6
- Lĭyúnnánzhēngmán 《李云南征蛮》 'Li's Yúnnán Campaign against the Mán', poem by Gāo Shì 高适 - see page 7, 10
- Liúhòu 留后: caretaker, 'lit., an agent left behind, a deputy. (1) T'ANG-SUNG: Capital Liaison Representative, an agent in the dynastic capital charged with maintaining communication between the central government and his superior in a territorial base, such as a Prince or Military Commissioner (chieh-tu shih)', Hucker (1985), p. 3790 - see page 6, 10
- Liú Shàn 刘禅: second ruler of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 207–271 – see page 5
- Lúshuǐ 泸水: Lú River, the Jīnshā 金沙 river see pages 6, 8, 10
- *Mán* 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest – see Shǔ 蜀: name of a state during the Warring page 7

- Mányí 蛮夷: Mányí, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China - see page 8, 10
- Mènghuò 孟获: tribal leader during the Sān Guó \equiv \equiv period – see page 5
- Mínghū 鸣呼: alas, see page 6, 10
- Nán Yí 南夷: southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China - see pages 5, 6, 10
- Nánzhào 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see page 6, 10
- Nánzhōng 南中: 'most common name for the southwest region (Yunnan, Guizhou, and southern Sichuan) prior to the Tang dynasty', Herman (2009) – see page 5
- qīzòng qīqín 七纵七擒: 'seven times captured, seven times released', a phrase from the 《汉晋春秋》 describing Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛 亮's actions against the rebel Mènghuò 孟 获 – see page 5, 10
- **Quántángshī** 《全唐诗》: 'Complete Poems of the Táng dynasty', historic collection of Táng poetry, a commented edition is available in Yú Hǎidì 于海娣 (2010) - see page 7,10
- Róngzhāi 容斋: sobriquet of Hóng Mài 洪迈 see page 5
- Róngzhāi Suíbǐ《容斋随笔》: 'Róngzhāi's Random Notes', Sòng dynasty text by Hóng Mài 洪迈 – see page 5, 10
- **Sān Guó** Ξ **E**: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dong Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220-280 - see page 10
 - States period, later used to refer to the

western part of present-day Sìchuān – see page 5, 6

- Shǔ Guó 蜀国: state of Shù, one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 11
- Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sān Guó 三国 period, 221–263 – see page 11
- Shǔzhì《蜀志》: 'Records of Shǔ', part of the 《华阳国志》 see page 6, 11
- Sìchuān 四川: Chinese province see page 5
- Sòng Cháo 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960-1279 - see page 5, 11
- **Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty see page 11
- Sòng Tàizǔ 宋太祖: Sòng emperor Tàizǔ, Second Sòng emperor, ruled 976–997 – see page 11
- Tàishǒu 太守: grand protector, 'a title commonly awarded chieftains of southern and southwestern aboriginal tribes'. Herman (2009) translates it as 'governor', noting that it was a title given to members of the indigenous local elite, see Hucker (1985), 1985 – see page 7, 11
- Táng Cháo 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see page 7, 11
- Táng 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see page 6, 11
- **Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742-756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗 – see page 6, 7
- **Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng** 天宝战争: Tiānbǎo Wars, sequence of wars between the Táng and Nánzhào, 751–754 – see page 7, 11

- Wǔ Hóu 武侯: marquis of Wǔ, title of Zhūgéliàng 诸葛亮 – see page 6, 11, see 诸 葛亮
- Xīěr 西洱: shorter form of Xīěr Hé, a reference to Ěrhǎi –
- Xīěr Hé 西洱河: Xīěr River, historic name for Ěrhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake – see page 7, 11
- Xīnán Yí 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the 《史记》 denoting non-Chinese people in presentday Sìchuān, Guìzhōu 贵州 and Yúnnán. It is often translated as 'southwestern barbarians', but it seems to be a short form referring to both Xī Yí 西夷 and Nán Yí 南夷, see Yang (2004), pp. 5–6 – see page 7, 11
- Xī Yí 西夷: western Yí, see page 11
- Xí Záochǐ 习凿齿: author of the 《汉晋春秋》
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán – see page 6
- Xīn Táng Shū《新唐书》: 'New History of the Táng', major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty see page 7, 11
- Xīn Yíxiǎn 辛怡显: author of the Zhìdào Yúnnán Lù 至道云南录 – see page 5,6
- Xuánzōng 玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 712-756 -
- Yáng Guózhōng 杨国忠: Táng dynasty prime minister see pages 6–8
- Yáoān 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán -
- Yáozhōu 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安 (● 25.51N 101.24E) – see pages 5, 6, 11

- Chinese people in the south-west see page 5, see 蛮
- Yùshǐ 御史: censor, title, see Hucker (1985), 8167 – see page 6, 12
- Yúnnán 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see page 5, 7
- 招安使: pacification commis-Zhāoānshĭ sioner, Sòng dynasty title, 'ad hoc assignment foran official who was, literally, "sent out to summon (rebels, bandits, other disaffected groups) to peace.", see Hucker (1985), 279 - see page 6, 12
- zhào 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 12

- Yí 夷: one of the collective terms for non- Zhìdào 至道: reign period of Sòng Tàizǔ 宋太 祖,995-997 -
 - Zhìdào Yúnnán Lù 《至道云南录》: 'Records of Yúnnán during the Zhìdào Period', lost work by Xīn Yíxiǎn 辛怡显 during the Běisòng 北宋 Zhìdào era, see Pǔ Cuìlíng 普翠灵 (2019). Extant parts of the text are collected in Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1999), pp. 467-48 - see pages 5, 6, 12
 - Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 5, 6
 - **Zīzhì Tōngjiàn**《资治通鉴》: 'Comprehensive *Mirror for Aid in Government'*, – see page 7,12

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Index

225年,5 742-756年, 6-25n 744年, 6-34n, 8-77n 752年, 7-51*n* 753年, 7-55-7-56n 990-995年, 6-8n 993-995年,5 Bótóng 僰僮, 8-69R Chángān 长安, 7-56R, 8-73R, 8-76R Chéngxiāng 丞相, 7-52R Chúnhuà 淳化, 6-8R Dàlǐ Guó 大理国, 5 Ěrhǎi 洱海, 8-64n Fù 赋, 8-75R Gāo Shì 高适, 7-47, 7-48R Géluófèng 阁逻凤, 7-45R Gōng 公, 5-5R, 7-53R, 7-57R Hàn 汉, 5-4R Hào 号, 5 Hóng Mài 洪迈, 5, 8-73 Jiāzhōu 嘉州, 6-10R Jiànnán 剑南, 6-26R, 6-34R, 8-61-8-62n Jiāozhǐ 交趾, 7-54R Jiāozhōu 交州, 8-72R Jīnshā 金沙, 6-12n Jiùtáng Shū 旧唐书, 7-42R Jūnjiāng 军将, 6-16R Léi Yǒuzhōng 雷有终, 6-9R Lǐ Mì 李宓, 6-24R, 6-34R, 6-36R, 7-38R, 7-42R, 7-46R, 7-54R, 7-57R, 8-76R Lǐ Shùn 李顺, 5, 6-8R Lǐyúnnánzhēngmán 李云南征蛮, 7-49R Liú Shàn 刘禅, 5-2R Lúshuǐ 泸水, 6-12R, 8-72R

Mènghuò 孟获, 5-4R Nányí 南夷, 5-1R, 6-19R Nánzhōng 南中, 5-2R Qīzòng Qīqín 七纵七擒, 5-4-5-5n Quántángshī 全唐诗, 7-47 Róngzhāi 容斋, 5 Róngzhāi Suíbǐ 容斋随笔,5 Shǔ 蜀, 5, 5-2R, 6-9R Shǔzhì 蜀志, 6-7R Sòng Cháo 宋朝, 5 Tàishǒu 太守, 7-54R Táng 唐, 6-23, 6-25R Táng Cháo 唐朝, 7-47 Tiānbǎo 天宝, 6-25R, 6-34n, 7-51R Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng 天宝战争, 7-47 Wǔ Hóu 武侯, 6-13R Xīěr Hé 西洱河, 7-43R, 7-47R Xīnán Yí 西南夷, 7-52R Xiānyúzhòngtōng 鲜于仲通, 6-26R Xīn Táng Shū 新唐书, 7-46R Xīn Yíxiǎn 辛怡显, 5, 6-10R, 6-22R Yángguózhōng 杨国忠, 6-28R, 6-30R, 7-39R, 7-53R, 8-61-8-62n Yáozhōu 姚州, 5, 6-11R Yí 夷, 5-3R Yùshǐ 御史, 6-30R Yúnnán 云南, 5, 7-54R Zhāoānshǐ 招安使, 6-9R Zhìdào Yúnnán Lù 至道云南录, 5, 6-22R, 6-22n Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, 5, 5-3R, 6-13R Zīzhì Tōngjiàn 资治通鉴, 7-41R

Mányí 蛮夷, 8-64R