
Yúnnán in the ‘History of Sòng’

An Annotated Translation of Selected Parts of the 《宋史》

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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.

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1 Introduction

The ‘*Sòng History*’ 《宋史》 is one of the twenty-four official Chinese histories, completed during the Yuán dynasty. With four hundred ninety-five *juàn* covering some three hundred years, it is the longest of the official histories, yet – not just because of lack of official contacts, but also because of flaws in the editing process – the work contains very little about the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国 that was ruling much of Yúnnán 云南 at the time of the Sòng.

Charles Hartman in his ‘*The Making of Song Dynasty History: Sources and Narratives, 960–1279 CE*’⁽¹⁾ details the editing process of the 《宋史》 – and its shortcomings: The compilation began with the maintenance of an official daily calendar *rìlì* 日历, but, as Hartman points out, during the Sòng ‘its timely compilation was the exception rather than the norm [...] the daily calendar was often not completed until many years later’. The *rìlì* was then edited into the ‘veritable record’ *shílù* 实录, but sometimes only many years after an emperor’s death: ‘For example, a definitive Shenzong Daily Calendar (Shenzong rili 神宗日歷), covering the years 1067 through 1085, was not established until 1116’ – an entry on the Dàlǐ Kingdom sending a tribute mission falls just into this period.⁽²⁾ Furthermore, ‘tension between the monarchy and Confucian literati over the proper role of history in governance profoundly shaped the contours of the surviving historical record’, with some parts rewritten many times. Sòng military defeats and the loss of its capital Biànjīng 汴京 in 1126 exacerbated the problems, ‘in any case, the daily calendars for the Huizong and Qinzong reigns, covering 1100 through 1127, had not been maintained’ – the important event of the Dàlǐ ruler Duàn Héyù 段和譽 being granted the title king 王 took place in 1117.⁽³⁾

With an editing process this deficient, it is not surprising that everything the 《宋史》 recorded specifically about the Dàlǐ Kingdom fits onto little more than two printing blocks, see illustration 1.

2 About this Translation

As mentioned above, the 《宋史》 is a voluminous work, but the entries touching upon Yúnnán are few.

The multi-volume 《云南史料丛刊》 contains a selection taken from two *juàn*:⁽⁴⁾

- first from the end of the 488th *juàn* of the 《四库全书》 edition where the text explicitly references the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国;⁽⁵⁾
- and then from the 496th *juàn*, where the work touches upon the various groups of the non-Chinese inhabitants of south-western China called the *Mányí* 蛮夷. As these passages – at

⁽¹⁾ All quotes in this paragraph from Hartman (2021), pp. 6–8.

⁽²⁾ see page 7.

⁽³⁾ see page 7.

⁽⁴⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, pp. 476–509.

⁽⁵⁾ The work is available online at <https://archive.org/details/06059126.cn> and a digitized copy at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=728441>.

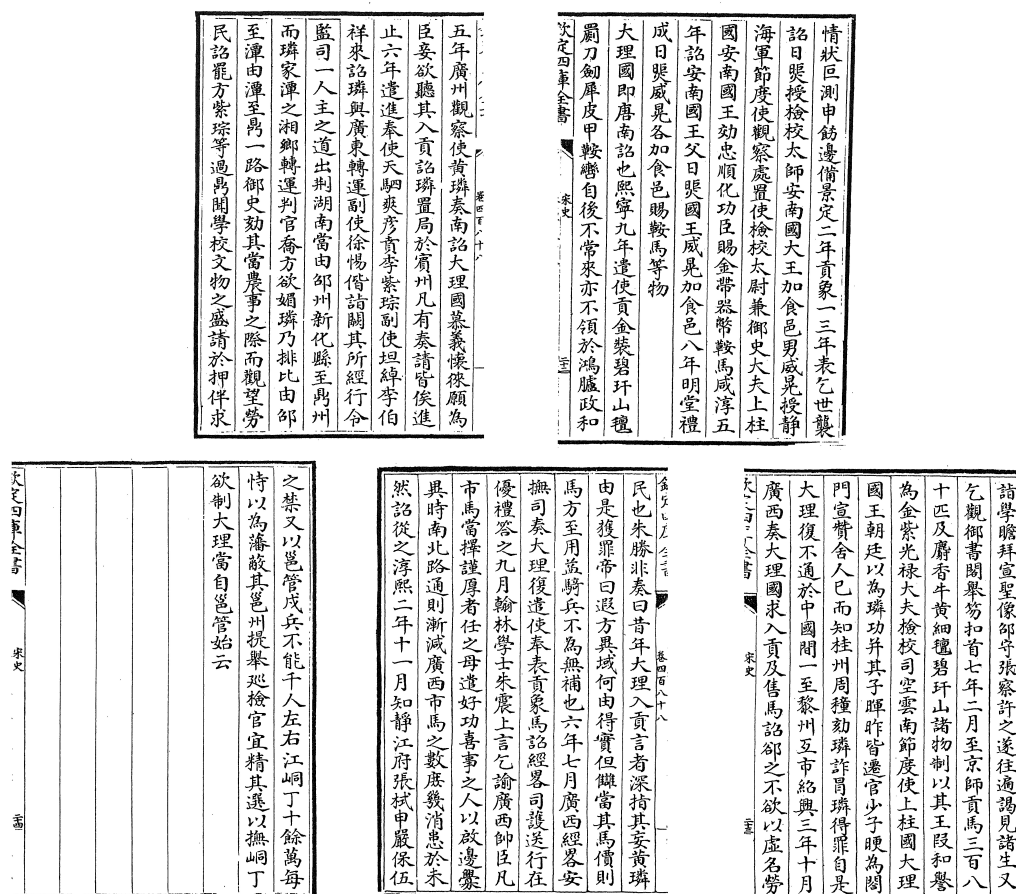


Illustration 1:
The Dàlì Kingdom in the 《宋史》

Source: 《四库全书》 copy of the 488th *juàn* of the 《宋史》.

least least at a cursory glance – contain little information pertinent to groups inside Yúnnán, I have decided not to translate them here.⁽⁶⁾

However, I have additionally included a number of other passages found by searching the 《宋史》 for certain keywords.⁽⁷⁾ These are certainly not complete and their selection is somewhat arbitrary.

Bielenstein (2005), pp. 268–269 provides a number of cross-references for the tribute missions to other primary sources. Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2016) places the tribute missions in their historical context. For historic context, see also Léi Xìnlái 雷信来 and Gé Quán 葛荃 (2017).

I am not aware of an English translation.

⁽⁶⁾ The work is available online at <https://archive.org/details/06075589.cn> and a digitized copy at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?chapter=863011>.

⁽⁷⁾ The CText website at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?res=975976> allows to search the entire work.

3 Annotated Translation

As is customary, the 《宋史》 is divided into several parts, first the *běnjì* 本纪, i.e. the chronicles of each emperor, followed by the *zhì* 志, i.e. treatises on specific topics, the *biǎo* 表, i.e. tables, and finally the *lièchuán* 列传, the biographies.

本纪十六 Shénzōng II 《神宗二》

The annals for Sòng emperor Shénzōng 宋神宗 contain only a single entry, for the year 1076.⁽⁸⁾

[神宗熙宁九年五月] 丙子, 大理国来贡。👁

[In the 5th month of the 9th year of the Xīnínɡ reign of Sòng emperor Shénzōng], on the *bǐngzǐ* day, a tribute mission from the Dàlǐ Kingdom arrived.

本纪二十一 Huīzōng III 《徽宗三》

The annals for Sòng emperor Huīzōng 宋徽宗 contain only a single entry, giving the exact date the Dàlǐ Kingdom ruler Duàn Héyù 段和誉 was appointed king.⁽⁹⁾

[徽宗政和七年] 二月癸亥, 以大理国主段和誉为云南节度使、大理国王。👁

In the 2nd month [of the 7th year of the Zhènghé reign of Sòng emperor Huīzōng], on the *guǐhài* day, the ruler of the Dàlǐ Kingdom Duàn Héyù was appointed Yúnnán military commissioner and king of the Dàlǐ Kingdom.

宋史 5

本纪二十七 IV 《高宗四》

The annals for Sòng emperor Gāozōng 宋高宗 contain only a single entry, for the year 1133, another tribute mission.

[绍兴三年十月] 甲午, 却大理国入贡。👁

[In the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Shàoxīng reign of Sòng emperor Gāozōng], on the *jiǎwǔ* day, a tribute mission from the Dàlǐ Kingdom arrived.

宋史 10

l2: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&remap=gb&file=67451&page=86&>

l6: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=67454&page=20>

l9: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&remap=gb&file=67457&page=149>

r1–2: [In the 5th month of the 9th year of the Xīnínɡ reign of Sòng emperor Shénzōng], on the *bǐngzǐ* day] 25th June 1076.

r4–5: In the 2nd month [of the 7th year of the Zhènghé reign of Sòng emperor Huīzōng], on the *guǐhài* day] 9th March 1117.

r8–9: [In the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Shàoxīng reign of Sòng emperor Gāozōng], on the *jiǎwǔ* day] 11th November 1133.

⁽⁸⁾ One should remember Hartman's caution that the 'definitive Shenzong Daily Calendar (Shenzong rili 神宗日歷), covering the years 1067 through 1085, was not established until 1116', see Hartman (2021), p. 6.

⁽⁹⁾ see page 11.

本纪四十四 IV《理宗四》

The annals for Southern Sòng emperor Lǐzōng 南宋理宗 contain only a single entry, for the year 1256, i.e. after Kublai Khan 忽必烈 had conquered the Dàlǐ Kingdom.

[宝佑四年五月] 甲辰, 罗氏鬼国遣报思、播言: 大元兵屯大理国, 取道西南, 将大入边。👁️

[In the 5th month of the 4th year of the Bǎoyòu reign of Southern Sòng emperor Lǐzōng,] on the *jiǎchén* day, the State of Luōshìguǐ sent a report saying that troops of the great Yuán were stationed in Dàlǐ Kingdom, occupied the road in the south-west, and were about to invade the border.

志一百三十九 Food and Commodities VIII《食货下八》

The *zhì* on food and commodities records another tribute mission, for the year 1136 CE.

[绍兴] 六年, 大理国献象及马五百匹, 诏偿其马直, 却像勿受, 而赐书劳遣之。👁️

In the 6th year [of the Shàoxīng reign of Sòng emperor Gāozōng,], the Dàlǐ Kingdom sent five hundred elephants and horses, an edict was issued to compensate them fairly for their horses, to refuse the elephants, and to grant them books as reward for their journey.

志一百五十一 Military Affairs XII《兵十二》

This section contains information about the horse trade at the border, including prices and the numbers of horses purchased. It is interesting to note that the *Mán* asked for specific classic works in return.

广马者, 建炎末, 广西提举峒丁李械请市马赴行在。绍兴初, 隶经略司。

When it comes to the horses from Guǎng, at the end of the Jiànyán reign, the Guǎngxī supervisorate for the native guardsmen Lǐ Yù asked to bring the horses from the markets to the emperor. At the beginning of the Shàoxīng reign, it was subordinated to the military commission.

三年, 即邕州置司提举, 市于罗殿、自杞、大理诸蛮。未几, 废买马司, 帅臣领之。

In the 3rd year, Yōngzhōu set up an office for the supervisorate, the market was held with *Mán* from Luōdiàn, Zìqǐ, and Dàlǐ. Not much later, the horse procurement office were abolished, and governed

l13: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&remap=gb&file=67477&page=118>

l18: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&remap=gb&file=67750&page=62&>

r11-12: [In the 5th month of the 4th year of the Bǎoyòu reign of Southern Sòng emperor Lǐzōng,] on the *jiǎchén* day] 8th June 1256.

r16-17: In the 6th year [of the Shàoxīng reign of Sòng emperor Gāozōng,]] 1136.

r21-22: at the end of the Jiànyán reign] i.e. at the end of the 1120s.

r23-24: At the beginning of the Shàoxīng reign] i.e. the early 1130s.

r26: In the 3rd year] 1133.

七年，胡舜陟为帅，岁中市马二千四百，诏赏之。

其后马益精，岁费黄金五镒，中金二百五十镒，锦四百，絁四千，廉州盐二百万斤，得马千五百。须四尺二寸已上乃市之。其直为银四十两，每高一寸增银十两，有至六七两者。

土人云，尤驯骏者，在其产处，或博黄金二十两，日行四百里，第官价已定，不能致此。

自杞诸蕃本自无马，盖转市之南诏。南诏，大理国也。

乾道九年，大理人李观音得等二十二人至横山砦求市马，知邕州姚恪盛陈金帛夸示之。

其人大喜，出一文书，称「利贞二年十二月」，约来年以马来。

所求《文选》、《五经》、《国语》、《三史》、《初学记》及医、释等书，恪厚遣之，而不敢上闻也。

岭南自产小驷，匹直十馀千，与淮、湖所出无异。

大理连西戎，故多马，虽互市于广南，其实犹西马也。每择其良赴三衙，余以付江上诸军。👁

by a military commissioner.

In the 7th year, Hú Shùnzhi was appointed military commissioner, every year two thousand four hundred horses were bought, an edict was issued praising him. 宋史 30

After that the horse [trade] increased in vitality, each year the expenses ran to five *yì* pure gold, two hundred and fifty *yì* silver, four hundred [bolts of] brocade, four thousand [bolts of] rough silk, two million *jìn* of salt from Liánzhōu which were traded for one thousand five hundred horses. They [the horses] must be four *chǐ* and two *cùn* tall or more. The price was forty *liǎng* silver, for each extra *cùn* in height ten *liǎng* of silver more – up to sixty or seventy *liǎng*. 宋史 35

The locals said that the outstanding horses bred in their region were sold for twenty *liǎng* gold, they could run four hundred *lǐ* a day, the official price was fixed and could not be changed.

The Zìqǐ Bō themselves did not breed horses, they sold on those from Nánzhào. Nánzhào, that is the Dàlǐ Kingdom. 宋史 45

In the 9th year of the Qiándào reign, Lǐ Guānyīn Dé and other twenty-two men from Dàlǐ arrived at Héngshān to trade horses, the administrator of Yǒngzhōu Yáo Kèshèng put gold and silk on display to show them off.

They were most pleased, and produced a document, which was signed as in the **12th month in 2nd year of Lìzhēn**. They agreed to bring horses every year. 宋史 50

They asked for the ‘*Selections of Literature*’, ‘*Five Classics*’, ‘*Discourses on the States*’, ‘*Three Histories*’ and the ‘*Records for Elementary Learning*’ and for books about medicine and Buddhism, Kè generously bestowed them and send them off, but did not dare to write to the court about it. 宋史 55

Língnán itself produces small horses, each worth more than ten thousand, not different to those from Huái or Hú.

Dàlǐ borders the Xīróng, as they have many horses, there was border trade in Guǎngnán, actually similar to the western horses. Every time they selected the best and drove them to the **three commands**. 宋史 60

l62: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&remap=gb&file=67762&page=114&>

r30: In the 7th year] 1137.

r46: In the 9th year of the Qiándào reign] 1173 CE.

r46: Lǐ Guānyīn Dé] His name is formed by inserting a Buddhist phrase in the middle, see Zhāng Xīlù 张锡禄 (1990).

r51: 12th month in 2nd year of Lìzhēn] Lìzhēn was a reign period of the Dàlǐ ruler Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴, 1172–1175 CE, i.e. 1173.

r62–63: three commands] collective term for the imperial military stationed at the court.

列传一百五十二 Yǔ Wénchānglíng 《宇文昌龄》

This entry stems from the biography of the official Yǔ Wénchānglíng 宇文昌龄, who at the end of the Zhèng hé reign of Sòng emperor Huīzōng 宋徽宗, i.e. around 1117, became administrator of Lízōu 黎州, a Chinese town on the northern side of the Dàdù River 大渡河, i.e. right on the border to the tribal regions.

The record seems to refer to a debate in court to expand the Sòng presence beyond the Dàdù River at the beginning of the 12th century. Over this Yǔ Wénchānglíng 宇文昌龄 was consulted and he advised against it as the arrangement since 965 had served China well.

I have included this passage here as it seems the first mention of the decision by the Sòng not to invade Yúnnán after its conquest of Shǔ in 965.

Yǔ Wénchānglíng's honorific name was Yǔ Wéncháng 宇文常 and so in this passage is referred to simply as Cháng 常.

政和末,知黎州。

有上书乞于大渡河外置城邑以便互市者,诏以访常。

宋史 70
常言:「自孟氏入朝,艺祖取蜀舆地图观之,画大渡为境,历百五十年无西南夷患。今若于河外建城立邑,虜情携贰,边隙寝开,非中国之福也。」

At the end of the Zhèng hé reign, he was appointed administrator of Lízōu.

A memorial was sent asking to set up a walled town beyond the Dàdù River to facilitate the border trade, an edict was issued to consult Cháng.

Cháng said: 'Since the Mèng clan has submitted to the court, our illustrious ancestor gained Shǔ and when he saw it on a map, he marked the Dàdù River as border, for one hundred and fifty years there has not been conflict with the western and southern Yí. If we were today to construct a walled town and establish settlements beyond the river, our enemy's sentiments will be disloyal, the buffer at the border will be gone, this is not beneficial for China.'

列传二百四十七 Foreign Countries IV 《外国四》

In the section about the Sòng's court with foreign countries, only a few entries are related to the Dàlǐ Kingdom.

The first entry, for 1076 records a Dàlǐ Kingdom tribute mission, but little was given in return, particularly not any official title.

For the Dàlǐ Kingdom itself, the period was one of turmoil, the 《南诏野史》 records that in 1080 Yáng Yìzhēn 杨义贞 killed Duàn Liányì 段廉义 and proclaimed himself ruler, only himself to be deposed shortly after.

大理国,即唐南诏也。

熙宁九年,遣使贡金装碧玕山、毡罽、

The Dàlǐ Kingdom is the Táng dynasty's Nánzhào.

In the 9th year of Xīníng, they sent envoys paying tribute of gold

[72: ] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=155439&page=77>

r 69: Since the Mèng clan has submitted to the court] Referring to the conquest of the Later Shǔ in 965.

r 77: In the 9th year of Xīníng] 1076.

刀剑、犀皮甲、鞍辔。自后不常来，亦不领于鸿胪。

adornments, *bìgānshān*, felts and rugs, daggers and swords, armory made from rhinoceros skin, saddles and bridles. After that they did not come regularly, and they were also not granted the title of ceremonial minister.

宋史 80

Then comes forty year gap in the records, indicating that relations with the Dàlǐ Kingdom had all but ceased.⁽¹⁰⁾ The initiative for the next contact once again came from Dàlǐ Kingdom.⁽¹¹⁾ This time, the tribute mission resulted in the desired official recognition of the Dàlǐ Kingdom, as Duàn Héyù, was recognized as king of Dàlǐ.⁽¹²⁾

政和五年，广州观察使黄璘奏，南诏大理国慕义怀徕，愿为臣妾，欲听其入贡。诏璘置局于宾州，凡有奏请，皆俟进止。

In the 5th year of Zhèngzhé, the investigating commissioner of Guǎngzhōu Huáng Lín reported, that the Nánzhào Dàlǐ Kingdom admired the righteousness, yearned to be solicitous, was eager to become a vassal, and wished to be allowed a tribute mission. An edict was issued for Lín to set up an office in Bīnzhōu, everything was put forth to the emperor, waiting for approval.

宋史 85

...

七年二月，至京师，贡马三百八十四匹及麝香、牛黄、细毡、碧玕山诸物。制以其王段和誉为金紫光禄大夫、检校司空、云南节度使、上柱国、大理国王。

...

In the 2nd month of the 7th year [of Zhèngzhé], they arrived at the capital, bringing three hundred and eighty four horses, musk, bezoar, fine felts, and *bìgānshān*. It was arranged to make their king Duàn Héyù lord of the golden seal and purple ribbon, acting minister of works, military commissioner of Yúnnán, supreme pillar of the state, and king of the Dàlǐ Kingdom.

宋史 90

The following passage then notes that the official mentioned above who had advocated closer ties with Dàlǐ, Huáng Lín 黄璘, had illegally enriched himself. What crimes he was found guilty for is not detailed here, but Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2016), p. 107 points to a passage in the work by Zhōu Huī 周輝, a contemporary administrator in Guǎngnán Xīlù 广南西路, called 《清波杂志》，which

[87: waiting for approval] unclear

r78: *bìgānshān*] unclear item, appears to be a precious stone, Bielenstein (2005), p. 269 simply translates the term as 'gems'.

r82: In the 5th year of Zhèngzhé] 1115.

r88: In the 2nd month of the 7th year [of Zhèngzhé] 1117.

r91: Duàn Héyù] The 16th king of the Dàlǐ Kingdom, ruled 1108–1147 CE.

r92–93: supreme pillar of the state] This prestigious title was mentioned has having been given to the Nánzhào ruler Géluōfēng 阁罗凤 (TODO: double check this refers to Geluofeng) on the 《德化碑》.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The 《南诏野史》 however records a tribute mission led by Gāo Tàiyùn 高泰运 in 1103.

⁽¹¹⁾ Bielenstein (2005), p. 269 translates one of the passages that he found as 'In the 4th month (May/June) of 1116, the Sung "ordered the Tali State to pay tribute", i.e. it expressed the wish to resume relations and trade. That year, envoys arrived (Sung shih 488:19a; Sung hui-yao, chüan 10,353)'. I have not found a passage stating that the Sòng 'ordered' a tribute mission.

⁽¹²⁾ The event is also noted in the annals of Sòng emperor Huizōng 宋徽宗, see page 7. In the following year this topic was asked in the imperial examinations: '代云南节度使大理国王谢赐历日' (《玉海》第二百零三卷 – a scan of the work is available online at <https://archive.org/details/06071141.cn> and the text at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?res=945969>).

under the heading ‘大理伪贡’, the ‘The False Dàlǐ Tributes’ accuses Huáng Lín of profiteering from the horse trade.⁽¹³⁾ James M. Hargett also details one way officials profited from the trade: ‘Local officials and horse procurement officers would first use inferior quality horses to establish a fixed market price, then use this fixed price later to buy better quality mounts; these horses would then be resold to the Song at a much higher price.’ (Hargett (2010), p. 68)

宋史 95	朝廷以为璘有功，并其子暉、昨皆迁官，少子暉为阁门宣赞舍人。	The court was of the opinion that Lín had rendered good services, and his sons Huī and Zuó were promoted, and his youngest son Gěng was appointed to audience attendant of the memorial reception staff.
	已而知桂州周穉劾璘诈冒，璘得罪。	After the administrator of Guìzhōu Zhōu Huī exposed that Lín had appropriated stolen goods, Lín was found guilty.

The 《宋史》 records this as the last contact for a long while.

宋史 100	自是大理复不通于中国，间一至黎州互市。	From then on Dàlǐ did not make contact again with China, even affecting the frontier trade at Lízhōu.
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However, other records point out that in fact tribute missions continued to arrive, for example the 1187 memoir by Mèng Yuánlǎo called records that ‘更有真腊、大理、大石等国，有时来朝贡。’ ‘Sometimes tribute missions from Zhēnlà, Dàlǐ, and Dàshí arrived’, see Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2016), p. 107.

In 1133, then came another request to send a tribute mission:

绍兴三年十月，广西奏，大理国求入贡及售马，诏却之，不欲以虚名劳民也。	In the 10th month of the 3rd year of Shàoxīng, Guǎngxī sent a memorial, that the Dàlǐ Kingdom was asking to send tribute and sell horses, this was declined as there was no desire to reward the people who had falsy appropriated a name.
朱胜非奏曰：「昔年大理入贡，言者深指其妄，黄璘由是获罪。」帝曰：「遐方异域，何由得实，但仇当其马价，则马方至，用益骑兵，不为无补也。」	Zhū Shèngfēi sent a memorial, which said: ‘In the past, Dàlǐ sent tribute, I profoundly point out their preposterousness, Huáng Lín received punishment for that.’ The emperor answered: ‘In these distant and foreign lands, how can we know the truth, but I resent the price of their horses, as their horses have just arrived they will be beneficial for the cavalry, there is nothing that can be done.’
六年七月，广西经略安抚司奏，大理复遣使奉表贡象、马，诏经略司护送行在，优礼答之。	In the 7th month of the 6th year [of Shàoxīng], Guǎngxī’s military commission sent a memorial that Dàlǐ again sent a memorial petitioning to send envoys bringing elephants and horses as tribute,

[98: 周穉] This should probably read Zhōu Huī 周輝, the author of the 《清波杂志》.

[100–101: even affecting] unclear

[102: In the 10th month of the 3rd year of Shàoxīng] 1133.

[112: In the 7th month of the 6th year [of Shàoxīng]] 1136.

(13) The passage in the 《清波杂志》 can be found online at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?file=84737&page=33>.

九月,翰林学士朱震上言,乞谕广西帅臣,凡市马当择谨厚者任之,毋遣好功喜事之人,以启边衅。异时南北路通,则渐减广西市马之数,庶几消患于未然。诏从之。

it was ordered that the military commission escort them to the emperor, giving them a courteous response.

宋史 115

In the 9th month [of the 6th year of Shàoxīng], the Hànlín scholar Zhū Zhèn made a petition, asking the Guǎngxī military commissioner, that for the administration of the horse markets prudent men were appointed, and not to sent a meritorious meddlesome man causing border conflict. As the times had changed, the road from north to south was open, so gradually the number of horses traded in Guǎngxī was reduced, in the hope of reduce the risk of calamity in advance. This was approved.

宋史 120

Then, again decades later, comes another entry:

淳熙二年十一月,知静江府张栻申严保伍之禁,又以邕管戍兵不能千人,左、右江峒丁十余万,每恃以为藩蔽,其邕州提举、巡检官宜精其选,以抚峒丁。欲制大理,当自邕管始云。

In the 11th month [of the 2nd year of Chúnxī], the prefect of Jìngjiāng Zhāng Shì petitioned to strictly apply the household system regulations, but noted that the garrison soldiers at Yōng did not even number one thousand men, while the native guardsmen from Zuǒ River and Yòu River numbered more than one hundred thousand, each was relied on to serve as a barrier. The Yōngzhōu supervisorate and military inspector officials must be carefully selected in order to pacify the native guardsmen. If one wishes to control Dàlǐ, it must begin with the Yōng.

宋史 125

宋史 130

列传二百五十五 *The Mányí IV* 《蛮夷四》

The text from this *juàn* has been included in the 《云南史料丛刊》, it stems from the 496th *juàn* in the 《四库全书》 edition.⁽¹⁴⁾

The text exclusively deals with non-Chinese groups, collectively called the *Mányí* 蛮夷, from the Sòng borderlands and not Yúnnán itself. Duàn Yùmíng 段玉明 (2016) points out that the tribal groups forming a form of buffer region between the Sòng and the Dàlǐ Kingdom, and therefore the transitive relations between them via these tribal groups are worthwhile to study.

However, I have decided not to include these passages here for translation.

^{r117}: In the 9th month [of the 6th year of Shàoxīng]] 1136.

^{r125}: In the 11th month [of the 2nd year of Chúnxī]] 1175.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The text is available online at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?chapter=863011>, a scan of the 《四库全书》 edition can be found at <https://archive.org/details/06075589.cn>.

4 Glossary

- Ānshùn** 安顺: region in present-day Guìzhōu 贵州, –
- Bǎowǔ** 保伍: household system, Sòng dynasty mutual household registration system, – see page 13, 14
- Bǎoyòu** 宝佑: reign period of Southern Sòng emperor Lǐzōng, – see page 8
- bìgānshān** 碧玕山: *bìgānshān*, unclear item, appears to be a precious stone, Bielenstein (2005), p. 269 simply translates the term as ‘gems’, – see page 11, 14
- Biànjīng** 汴京: Sòng dynasty capital, – see page 5
- Bīnzhōu** 宾州: Táng dynasty created administrative district in present-day Guǎngxī 广西, – see page 11
- Bō** 蕃: general term for Tibetan nomadic groups, the character is the same as used in 吐蕃, – see page 9
- Chángjiāng** 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river, – see page 14
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南, –
- Chūxuéjì** 《初学记》: ‘*Records for Elementary Learning*’, Táng dynasty elementary work, – see page 9, 14
- Chúnxī** 淳熙: reign period of Nán Sòng Xiàozōng 南宋孝宗, 1174–1189, – see page 13
- Dàdù Hé** 大渡河: Dàdù River, tributary to the Mínjiāng 岷江 in south-west of 成都, during the Sòng dynasty it formed the border to the tribal regions of the south-west., – see page 10, 14
- Dàlǐ** 大理: , – see pages 5, 8, 9, 11–13
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理国: Dàlǐ Kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253, 937–1253 CE – see pages 5, 7–14
- Dàlǐguó Wáng** 大理国王: king of the Dàlǐ Kingdom, official title given to the ruler of the Dàlǐ kingdom, – see pages 7, 11, 14
- Déhuà Bēi** 德化碑 《德化碑》: ‘*Déhuà Stele*’, most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history, – see page 11, 14
- Dōngjīng Mènghuá Lù** 东京梦华录: 《东京梦华录》, 1187 work by Mèng Yuánlǎo 孟元老, – see page 12, 14
- Dòngdīng** 峒丁: native guardsmen, native soldiers recruited by China in the border regions, the term Dīng 丁 denotes an able bodied male, the term Dòng 峒 a native settlement, – see pages 8, 13, 14
- Duàn Zhìxīng** 段智兴: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1172–1200 CE, 1172–1200 CE – see page 9, 14
- Duàn Héyù** 段和誉: Dàlǐ kingdom ruler, ruled 1108–1147 CE, ruled 1108–1147 CE – see pages 5, 7, 11, 14
- Duàn Liányì** 段廉义: twelfth ruler of Dàlǐ kingdom, ruled 1075–1080 CE, ruled 1075–1080 CE – see page 10, 14
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: Lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xiě 西洱, Xiě Hé, – see page 14
- Gāo Tàiyùn** 高泰运: , – see page 11

- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE, ruled 748–779 CE – see page 11, 15, see 阁逻凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 748–779 CE, ruled 748–779 CE – see page 15
- Gémén** 阁门: memorial reception staff, , , see Hucker (1985), 3175 – see page 12, 15
- Guāncháshǐ** 观察使: investigating commissioner, hucker 792, – see page 11, 15
- Guǎngdōng** 广东: Chinese province, –
- Guǎngnán** 广南: region in south-eastern Yúnnán, – see page 9
- Guǎngnán Xīlù** 广南西路: Guǎngnán Xīlù, Sòng administrative region covering present-day Guǎngxī 广西, Hǎinán 海南 and parts of Guǎngdōng 广东, – see page 11, 15
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province, – see pages 8, 12, 13
- Guǎngzhōu** 广州: south-eastern region of China, – see page 11
- Guìlín** 桂林: city in Guǎngxī 广西, –
- Guìzhōu** 桂州: administrative region created in 507, around today's Guìlín 桂林, – see page 12
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: province in south-west China, –
- 《国语》 **py = Guóyǔ** 《国语》: 'Discourses on the States', Zhànguó 战国 period work, see Knechtges and Chang (2010), pp. 308–311, – see page 9, 15
- Hǎinán** 海南: island in the south China sea, –
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220, – see page 15
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty, – see page 15
- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: 'History of the Hàn Dynasty', one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty, – see page 15
- Hànlínyuàn** 翰林院: Hànlín Academy, imperial academy, founded during the Táng dynasty, most of its texts were destroyed in the 1900 fire, – see page 13, 15
- Hànyuán** 汉源: , –
- Héngshān** 横山: Sòng dynasty trading port in Guǎngxī 广西, at present-day Tiándōng 田东, see Barlow (1987), p. 261 and Huáng Kuānzhòng 黄宽重 (1990), p. 3. For a detailed history, see Huáng Kuānzhòng 黄宽重 (1990), (⊕ 23.6N 107.13E) – see page 9
- Hónglú** 鸿胪: ceremonial minister, 'honorary designation granted to a southwestern aboriginal chief, Hucker (1985), p. 2905, – see page 11, 15
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty, – see page 15
- Hòuhàn Shū** 《后汉书》: 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty', classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China, – see page 15
- Hòushǔ** 后蜀: Later Shǔ, short-lived empire in Sìchuān, one of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 934–965, – see page 10, 15
- Hūbìliè** 忽必烈: Kublai Khan, Mongol leader who conquered Dàlǐ 大理 in 1253, – see page 8, 15

- Hú Shùnzhi** 胡舜陟: Sòng official, was later accused of receiving stolen gold and horses, died in prison, – see page 9
- Huáng Gěng** 黄哽: son of Huáng Lín 黄璘, – see page 12
- Huáng Huī** 黄晖: son of Huáng Lín 黄璘, – see page 12
- Huáng Lín** 黄璘: Sòng dynasty official, – see page 11, 12
- Huáng Zuó** 黄昨: son of Huáng Lín 黄璘, – see page 12
- Jiǎnxiào Sīkōng** 检校司空: acting minister of works, hucker 804, – see page 11, 16
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān, –
- Jiànyán** 建炎: reign period of Sòng Gāozōng 宋高宗, 1127–1130, 1127–1130 – see page 8, 16
- 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 page 7, 11, 16
- Jīnzǐ Guānglù Dàfū** 金紫光禄大夫: lord of the golden seal and purple ribbon, ‘lord of the golden seal and purple ribbon’, see Hucker (1985), 1158 – see page 11, 16
- Jǐn** 锦: brocade, highest class of silk products, – see page 9, 16
- Jīnglüè Ānfǔ Shǐ** 经略安抚使: military commissioner, ‘SUNG: Military Commissioner, one of several designations used for delegates from the capital in charge of Military Commissions (shuai-ssu) of Circuits (lu), especially in frontier zones.’, see Hucker (1985), 1232 – see page 16
- Jīnglüè Ānfǔ Sī** 经略安抚司: military commission, office of the Jīnglüè Ānfǔ Shǐ 经略安抚使, – see page 12, 16, see 经略安抚使
- Jīnglüèsī** 经略司: military commission, ‘lit., one who takes charge of and puts in order (an area), military commissioner’, the term here denotes his office, , see Hucker (1985), 1231 – see pages 8, 13, 16
- Jìngjiāng** 静江: Southern Sòng administrative district, – see page 13
- Lízhōu** 黎州: present-day Sìchuān Hànyuán 汉源, on the northern side of the Dàdù Hé 大渡河, (⊕ 29.35N 102.64E) – see page 10, 12
- Lǐ Guānyīn Dé** 李观音得: a Dàlǐ 大理 trader who arrived at a horse market in the 12th century, – see page 9
- Lìzhēn** 利贞: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴, 1173–1175, – see page 9
- Liánzhōu** 廉州: district in Guǎngxī 广西, – see page 9
- Liángcháo** 梁朝: Liáng Dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 502–557, – see page 16
- Língnán** 岭南: , – see page 9
- Luōdiàn** 罗殿: state in western Guìzhōu 贵州, recorded from the Táng dynasty onwards, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 520 places it near present-day Ānshùn 安顺, – see page 8
- Luōshìguǒ** 罗氏鬼国: State of Luōshìguǒ, tribal polity in Sìchuān and Guìzhōu 贵州 during the Sòng, see Yóu Zhōng 尤中 (1996), – see page 8, 16
- Mǎimǎsī** 买马司: horse procurement office, offices to purchase horses for the Chinese cavalry, – see page 8, 16

- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest, – see page 8
- Mányí** 蛮夷: *Mányí*, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China, – see pages 5, 13, 17
- Mèngshì** 孟氏: Mèng clan, referring to the ruling Mèng family of Hòushǔ 后蜀, Mèng Zhīxiáng 孟知祥 was its founder, – see page 10, 17
- Mèng Yuánlǎo** 孟元老: author of the 《东京梦华录》, – see page 12
- Mèng Zhīxiáng** 孟知祥: founder of the Hòushǔ 后蜀, ruled 934, –
- Mínjiāng** 岷江: Mín River, most important tributary to the Chángjiāng 长江, west of 成都, – see page 17
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644, – see page 17
- Nánníng** 南宁: city in present-day Guǎngxī 广西, –
- Nánsòng** 南宋: Southern Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 1127–1279, – see page 17
- Nánsòng Gāozōng** 南宋高宗: Southern Sòng emperor Gāozōng, Southern Sòng emperor, 1127–1162, – see page 17
- Nánsòng Lǐzōng** 南宋理宗: Southern Sòng emperor Lǐzōng, Southern Sòng emperor Lǐzōng, 1224–1264, – see page 8, 17
- Nánsòng Xiàozōng** 南宋孝宗: Southern Sòng emperor Xiàozōng, Southern Sòng emperor, 1162–1189, – see page 17
- Nán Yí** 南夷: Southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China, – see page 17
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, – see pages 9–11, 17
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: ‘Unofficial History of Nánzhào’, import Míng 明 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào, – see pages 10, 11, 17
- Niúhuáng** 牛黄: bezoar, ox gallstones, *calculus bovis*, a precious Chinese medicine, – see page 11, 17
- Ōuyáng Xiū** 欧阳修: Sòng dynasty historian, *1007–†1072 – see page 17
- Qiándào** 乾道: reign period of Nánsòng Xiàozōng 南宋孝宗, 1165–1173, – see page 9
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE, – see page 17, 18
- Qīngbō Zázhi** 《清波杂志》: work by Sòng dynasty official 周輝, – see pages 11, 12, 17
- Sānshǐ** 三史: ‘Three Histories’, referring to the 《史记》, 《汉书》 and 《后汉书》, – see page 9, 17
- Sānyá** 三衙: three commands, collective reference to the Palace Command (liench’ien shih-wei ssu), the Metropolitan Cavalry Command (shih-wei ma-chün ssu), and the Metropolitan Infantry Command (shih-wei pu-chün ssu), , see Hucker (1985), 4931 – see page 9, 17
- Shàngzhùguó** 上柱国: supreme pillar of the state, title given to rulers of Nánzhào and Dàlǐ kingdom (in 1117), , see Hucker (1985), 4990 – see page 11, 17
- Shàoxīng** 绍兴: reign period of Nánsòng Gāozōng 南宋高宗, 1131–1162, 1131–1162 – see pages 7, 8, 12, 13, 17

- Shī** 絁: rough silk, lower class of woven silk products, – see page 9, 18
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘*Records of the Historian*’, – see page 18
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān, – see page 10
- Shuàichén** 帅臣: military commissioner, Sòng title, ‘military commissioner’, see Hucker (1985), 5477 – see pages 9, 13, 18
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province, –
- Sìkù Quánshū** 《四库全书》: ‘*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*’, Qīng dynasty library collection, – see pages 5, 13, 18
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279, 960–1279 CE – see page 18
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty, – see pages 5, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20
- Sòng Shénzōng** 宋神宗: Sòng emperor Shénzōng, Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1067–1085, ruled 1067–1085 CE – see page 7, 18
- Sòng Gāozōng** 宋高宗: Sòng emperor Gāozōng, Sòng dynasty emperor, ruling 1127–1162, – see pages 7, 8, 18
- Sòng Huīzōng** 宋徽宗: Sòng emperor Huīzōng, Sòng emperor, 1100–1125, ruled 1100–1125 CE – see pages 7, 10, 11, 18
- Sòng Shǐ** 《宋史》: ‘*Sòng History*’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 history of the Sòng dynasty, – see pages 5–7, 12, 18
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, – see pages 10, 16, 18
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907, – see page 18
- Tíjǔ** 提举: supervisorate, ‘lit., to take up and undertake, i.e., to be responsible for: Supervisor or Supervisorate, a common title or agency name, normally of middling rank; usually occurs prefixed to function-descriptive terms, sometimes followed by ssu (Office), when used as an agency name’, see Hucker (1985), 6395 – see pages 8, 13, 18
- Tiándōng** 田东: present-day county in Guǎngxī 广西, (⊕ 23.6N 107.13E) –
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire, –
- wáng** 王: king, ‘King, title commonly used in reference to rulers of foreign states and alien peoples’. It is important to note that this does not have the meaning of a ruler equal to the Chinese emperor, it is a designation of a ruler below him, when used in titles conferred by China, the ruler of a vassal state, see Hucker (1985), 7634 – see pages 5, 11, 18
- Wáng Yīnglín** 王应麟: Southern Sòng scholar, 1223–1296, –
- Wénxuǎn** 《文选》: ‘*Selections of Literature*’, literary anthology compiled during the Liángcháo 梁朝, – see page 9, 18
- Wǔdài Shíguó** 五代十国: ‘Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms’, period after the collapse of the Táng when China disintegrated in multiple states, 907–960, a term coined by Ōuyáng Xiū 欧阳修, – see page 18
- Wǔjīng** 五经: ‘*Five Classics*’, Confucian classic works, – see page 9, 18
- Xǐěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xiě Hé, a reference to Ērhǎi, –

- Xĭěr Hé** 西洱河: Xĭěr River, historic name for Ērhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake, – see page 19
- Xīnán Yí** 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the 《史记》 denoting non-Chinese people in present-day Sichuān, 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 10, 19
- Xīníng** 熙宁: reign period of Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1068–1077, – see page 7, 10
- Xīróng** 西戎: Xīróng, name for western nomadic groups, – see page 9, 19
- Xī Yí** 西夷: western Yí, , – see page 19
- Xīngyì** 兴义: town in south-western Guìzhōu 贵州, (⊕ 25.09N 104.89E) –
- Xuānzànshèrén** 宣赞舍人: audience attendant, , , see Hucker (1985), 2681 – see page 12, 19
- Xúnjiǎn** 巡检: military inspector, ‘Military Inspectorate, headed by a delegate from the dynastic capital called Military Inspector (hsün-chien, hsün-chien shih), or in very important areas Chief Military Inspector (ru hsiin-chien); primarily located in frontier areas but eventually in most units of territorial administration; responsible for local militia training, suppression of banditry, etc.; subordinate to the regular military hierarchy’, , see Hucker (1985), 2724 – see page 13, 19
- Yáng Yìzhēn** 杨义贞: short-lived ruler of Dàlǐ 大理, who deposed Duàn Liányì 段廉义 in 1080, only to be deposed himself a few months later, ruled 1080 – see page 10, 19
- Yáo Kèshèng** 姚恪盛: Sòng official, – see page 9
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west, – see page see 蛮
- Yōngzhōu** 邕州: historic administrative region, first set up in the Táng dynasty, around present-day Nán níng 南宁, (⊕ 22.82N 108.36E) – see pages 8, 9, 13
- Yòujiāng** 右江: Yòu River, river in Guǎngxī 广西, literally meaning ‘Right River’, – see page 13, 19
- Yǔ Wénchānglíng** 宇文昌龄: Sòng dynasty official, also called Yǔ Wéncháng 宇文常, – see page 10
- Yǔ Wéncháng** 宇文常: honorific name for Yǔ Wénchānglíng 宇文昌龄, – see page 10
- Yùhǎi** 《玉海》: ‘Jade Sea’, Southern Sòng work by Wáng Yìnglín 王应麟, – see page 11, 19
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368, – see page 5, 19
- Yúnnán** 云南: since the Yuán Cháo 元朝 a southwestern Chinese province, at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiànnán district, – see pages 5–7, 10, 11, 13
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qín dynasty, 475–221 BCE, 472–221 – see page 19
- zhào** 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his realm, – see page 19
- Zhēnlà** 真腊: , – see page 12
- Zhèng hé** 政和: reign period of Sòng Huīzōng 宋徽宗, 1111–1118, – see pages 7, 10, 11

- Zhī** 知: administrator, general title, ‘normally designated the official principally in charge of an agency’, , see Hucker (1985), 934 – see page 9, 20
- Zhīfǔ** 知府: prefect, ‘prefect of a superior prefecture’, , see Hucker (1985), 983 – see page 13, 20
- Zhōu Huī** 周輝: administrator of 桂州, also written as 周種, – see page 11, 12
- Zhū Shèngfēi** 朱胜非: high-ranking Sòng official, *1082–†1144 – see page 12, 20
- Zhū Zhèn** 朱震: Sòng scholar, †1138 – see page 13, 20
- Zìqǐ** 自杞: a state in southern Yúnnán or Guìzhōu 贵州 during the Sòng dynasty, destroyed in 1259 by Hūbìliè 忽必烈. For speculation about its exact location, see Hargett (2010), p. 73. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 680 thinks it is in the region of present-day Xīngyì 兴义, (地球 25.09N 104.89E) – see page 8, 9
- Zuǒjiāng** 左江: Zuǒ River, river in Guǎngxī 广西, literally meaning ‘Left River’, – see page 13, 20

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