
The ‘*Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan*’

An Annotated Translation of the Sòng dynasty 《云南买马记》

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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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1 Introduction

The 《云南买马记》 or ‘*Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan*’ is a unique account of a private merchant travelling into Yúnnán 云南 to purchase horses for military use during the Sòng dynasty (960–1279 CE).

At the time of the Sòng, Yúnnán already had a long history of breeding military horses. The earliest evidence of horse domestication in Yúnnán has been found in neolithic sites⁽¹⁾ and depictions of horses in warfare began to appear on bronze drums during the Kingdom of Diān 滇国.⁽²⁾ From the 3rd century onwards, horses from Yúnnán were mentioned in Chinese documents.⁽³⁾ However, the trade only began to flourish in the 11th century, when the supply of horses to the Sòng cavalry from other regions had ceased. To make up for the shortfall, the Chinese government set up horse procurement offices along Yúnnán’s border to encourage private trade missions into its tribal regions.

The 《云南买马记》 or ‘*Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan*’ narrates just such a trade mission from southern Sichuān to the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国 in 1074 CE.

Spurred on by China’s need for military horses, the private merchant Yáng Zuǒ 杨佐 invested his private assets to hire a dozen landless peasants to accompany him into the lands of the Dàlǐ Kingdom to arrange horses to be brought to a marketplace on the Dàdù River 大渡河, the de-facto border between Sòng China and the people the Chinese called *Mán* 蛮.

Yáng Zuǒ’s record describes an arduous two-week journey through uninhabited land along abandoned trails. The expedition encountered human presence, including Chinese settlers, only after it reached regions near Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海. At Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, the capital of the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国, Yáng Zuǒ received a most friendly welcome and it was agreed that horses would be brought to the border market the following year. The *Mán* complied with the agreement, only to be deceived at the border, returning grudgingly.

Even though in the end nothing was achieved through Yáng Zuǒ’s journey, his fascinating account gives rare insight into the perils of such a journey and into life in Yúnnán during the Sòng dynasty, including the living conditions of peasants, the role of local chieftains, and the court of the Dàlǐ Kingdom, about which little is known otherwise.

2 About this Translation

The original text of the 《云南买马记》 is lost, only a – possibly twice⁽⁴⁾ – edited copy survives in the 1183 CE completed Sòng dynasty history work called ‘*Extended Continuation to the “Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government”*’ 《续资治通鉴长编》.⁽⁵⁾ Of this work, the earliest surviving copy is

⁽¹⁾ Zhāng Xīngyǒng 张兴永 (1987).

⁽²⁾ Féng Hànjì 冯汉骥 (1961).

⁽³⁾ For an overview, see Yang (2004) and Wāng Níngshēng 汪宁生 (1980).

⁽⁴⁾ Yáng Zuǒ 杨佐 must have written a report of his journey, which was then used by Sòng Rúyú 宋如愚 to include it in his 《剑南须知》, which was then included in the ‘*Extended Continuation to the “Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government”*’ 《续资治通鉴长编》, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 245.

⁽⁵⁾ In the 267th *juàn* of the 《续资治通鉴长编》.

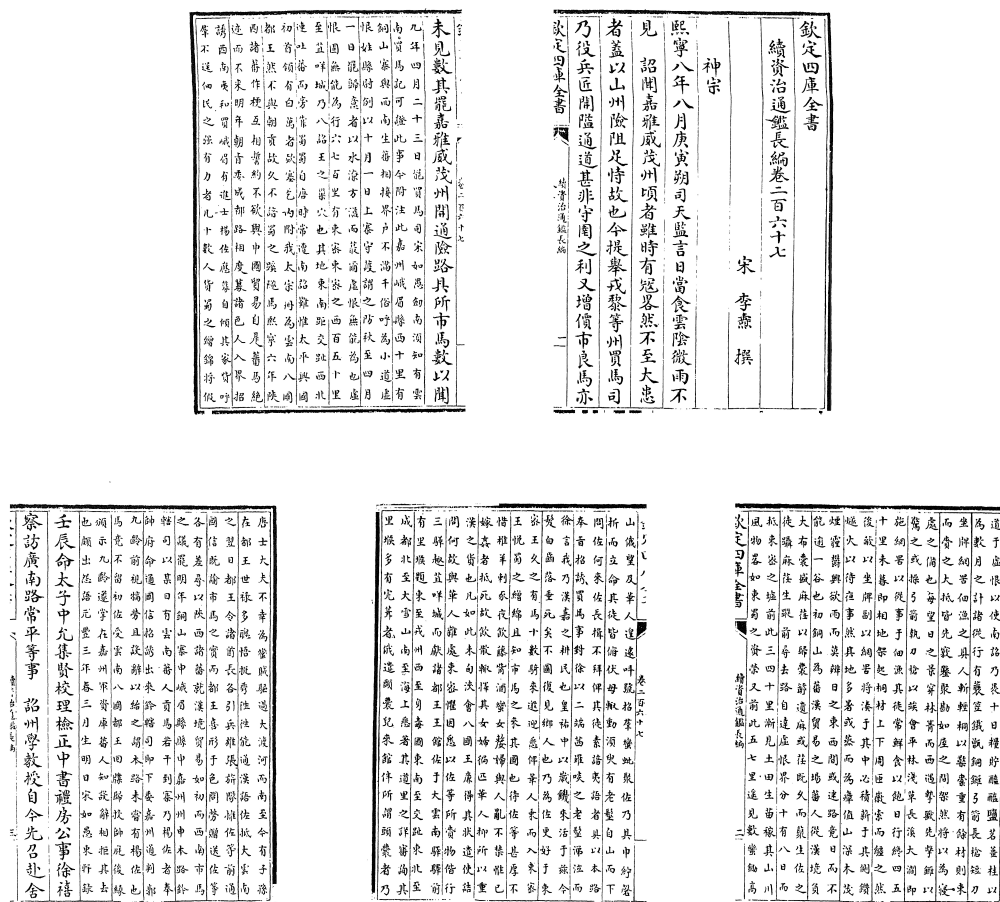


Illustration 1:

The 《云南买马记》 as recorded in the 《续资治通鉴长编》

Source: 《四库全书》 copy of the 267th *juàn* of the 《续资治通鉴长编》.

in the Qīng dynasty library collection 'Complete Library of the Four Treasuries' 《四库全书》, see illustration 1.⁽⁶⁾

A modern edition, with critical marks identifying proper names, was published in 1986 by 中华书局.⁽⁷⁾ The text is also included in the multi-volume critical edition of historic material related to Yúnnán, the 《云南史料丛刊》.⁽⁸⁾ There are some differences between the editions, these are pointed out in the notes.

The source text of the 《云南买马记》 is also available online.⁽⁹⁾

I am not aware of an English translation.

⁽⁶⁾ A scan of a copy of the work, held at Zhèjiāng University 浙江大学, is available online at <https://archive.org/detail/s/o6o65668.cn>.

⁽⁷⁾ Lǐ Tào 李燾 (1986), vol. 19, pp. 6539–6541.

⁽⁸⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, pp. 244–247, with an introduction by Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜, a few annotations, and

3 Annotated Translation

As noted above, the text survives as an annotation in the multi-volume history work called ‘*Extended Continuation to the “Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government”*’ 《续资治通鉴长编》. The text recorded in the 267th *juàn* begins with the palace record of an edict issued in 1075 CE to set up horse procurement offices 买马司 to deal with the shortage of horses suitable for the Chinese cavalry.

诏：

「闻嘉、雅、威、茂州顷者虽时有寇略，然不至大患者，盖以山川险阻足恃故也。今提举戎、黎等州买马司，乃役兵匠开隘通道，甚非守圉之利，又增价市良马，亦未见数。其罢嘉、雅、威、茂州开通险路，具所市马数以闻。」

An edict was issued:

It has been reported that recently the prefectures of Jiā, Yǎ, Wēi and Mào have been plundered several times. However, the damage suffered was not significant as mountains and rivers provided sufficient defense. Horse procurement offices have been set up in the prefectures Róng and Lí, and soldiers and craftsmen have been conscripted to open the passes and connect roads, even though this is not in the interests of defense. The price of fine horses in the market has risen, but their number has not increased. So we order to pause the construction of hazardous routes to the prefectures of Jiā, Yǎ, Wēi, and Mào; and to report on the number of horses traded in their markets.

买马记 5

买马记 10

But shortly after this decision was taken, the immediate crisis came to an end as ‘gradually the horse traders returned to sell their animals; by 1075 CE a new system of seven horse markets had been created,’⁽¹⁰⁾ so the just established horse procurement offices were abolished merely a year later:

九年四月二十三日，罢买马司。

On the 23rd day of the 4th month of the 9th year, the horse procurement offices were abolished.

While the reasons for this were not given here, the 274th *juàn* of the 《续资治通鉴长编》 records a court debate regarding the suitability of the southwestern horses for warfare:⁽¹¹⁾

[13: 九年四月二十三日，罢买马司。] From this passage onwards, the text is written in smaller characters, meaning it is an annotation to the main text.

r2: Jiā] Jiāzhōu 嘉州, around 29.6N 103.78E, see map 1.

r2: Yǎ] Yǎzhōu 雅州, around 29.99N 103.01E.

r2: Wēi] Wēizhōu 威州, around 31.44N 103.17E.

r3: Mào] Mào Zhōu 茂州, 31.68N 103.85E.

r6: Róng] Róngzhōu 戎州, around 28.77N 104.63E.

r6: Lí] Lízhōu 黎州, around 29.35N 102.64E.

r13: 23rd day of the 4th month of the 9th year] 28th May 1076.

an afterword by Wáng Yànpíng 王艳萍.

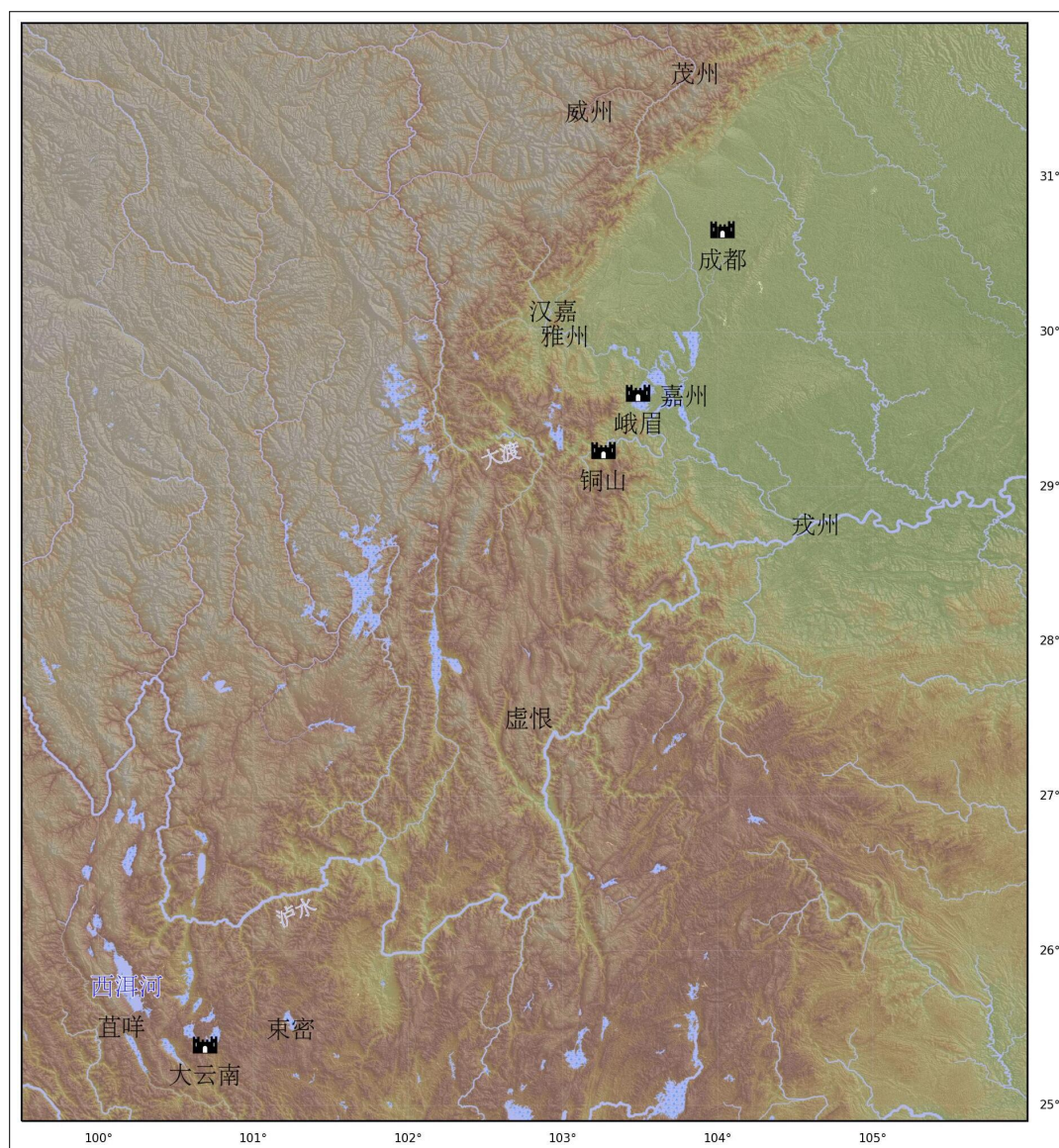
⁽⁹⁾ at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?chapter=576740>. There is also a transcription of the text at <https://toyoshi.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/maruha/siryo/maimaji.html>.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Smith (1991), p. 44.

⁽¹¹⁾ Text online at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?chapter=549800>. That *juàn* contains additional interesting information on the horse trade, such as the trading of tea for horses.

中书言：「川路买马既少且弱，兼据诸路官司言，榷茶、修路等事，于边计蛮情皆不便，欲罢提举买马官，其累降买马、榷茶指挥更不行。」从之。

The palace secretary said: ‘The horses for sale in the **Chuān route** are few and weak, furthermore – according to reports by local officials – affairs like the tea monopoly and road construction are detrimental to the relations with the *Mán* in the border regions. I propose the abolition of the horse procurement offices as well as the cessation of the purchase of horses and administration of the tea monopoly.’ This was approved.



Map 1:
Localities mentioned in the 《云南买马记》

r14: Chuān route] i.e. Sichuan 四川.

The 267th *juàn* of the 《续资治通鉴长编》 then continues to provide the text of the 《云南买马记》 as an illustration of this affair. It first notes that its provenance was a private history compilation by Sòng Rúyú 宋如愚 called ‘Notes on Jiànnán’ 《剑南须知》, i.e. not an official government record.

宋如愚剑南须知有云南买马记可证此事, 今附注批

Sòng Rúyú’s ‘Notes on Jiànnán’ contains the ‘Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan’ which confirms this affair, attached here in the annotation.

买马记 15

To assess the veracity and reliability of the 《云南买马记》, it must be noted that Sòng Rúyú was mentioned disparagingly in the 205th *juàn* of the Yuán dynasty encyclopedia of literature ‘Comprehensive Examination of Literature’ 《文献通考》:

《剑南须知》十卷

巽岩李氏曰：宋如愚撰。第一、第二卷，但編集旧史，拚取或不伦。第三、第四、第五、第六，凡四卷，尽出唐樊綽《蛮书》。第七卷以下乃如愚自为之文及所画计策耳，如熙宁买马事，诚西南要害，异时可补国史之阙云。如愚，眉山人，游乐场有俊声，不第以死，亦可哀者。

‘Notes on Jiànnán’ – ten *juàn*

Xùnyán Lǐ writes: written by Sòng Rúyú. The 1st and 2nd *juàn* are merely a collection of old histories, often incoherently strung together. The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th, in total four, *juàn* are entirely taken from the Táng dynasty’s Mán Shū by Fán Chuò. From the 7th *juàn* onwards are Rúyú’s own words and what he had heard, such as the Xīníng [period] affair of buying horses, a crucial point about the south-west, which can maybe fill some gaps in the past. Rúyú was from Méishān, he roamed the examination halls with a good reputation, but never achieved a grade before his death, a pitiable man.

The report begins with an outline of the geographical area through which the private merchant Yáng Zuǒ 杨佐 made his journey, see map 1.

Historically, two main roads connected what is now Sìchuān with Yúnnán. These roads were described in some detail in the Táng dynasty ‘Gazetteer of Yúnnán’ 《云南志》. However, the route that Yáng Zuǒ took was neither of them, maybe because the two roads had fallen into disrepair, but maybe simply because of his starting point in Éméi 峨眉, a Chinese town just north of the deep gorge of the Dàdù River 大渡河.

The report notes that Yáng Zuǒ first travelled to a place on the border with the Bō 蕃 called Tóngshān 铜山. Tóngshān must have been on the Chinese, i.e. northern, side of the Dàdù River as the report records that during the winter soldiers were stationed there. From the description, it appears to have been in the region of present-day Ébiān 峨边.⁽¹²⁾

The term Bō 蕃 mentioned here refers to non-Chinese people, most likely of Tibetan stock,⁽¹³⁾ and clearly a different group from the Mán 蛮, which is the term used for the native inhabitants of Yúnnán.⁽¹⁴⁾

r17: Xùnyán Lǐ] This refers to Lǐ Tāo 李焘, the compiler of the 《续资治通鉴长编》.

⁽¹²⁾ around 29.23N 103.26E. The main part of Ébiān is today south of the river.

⁽¹³⁾ Tǔbō 吐蕃, the name of a Tibetan kingdom during the Táng dynasty, shares the character bō 蕃.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Lǐ Zōngfàng 李宗放 (1996) has an analysis of the inhabitants of this region from early on, he considers them the ancestors of the present-day Yí 彝族.

The text then mentions a second place called Xūhèn 虚恨, which appears in various documents as a name of a tribal group, e.g. in the 121st *juàn* of the 《资治通鉴》:⁽¹⁵⁾

虚恨, 乃乌蛮之别种, 所居高山之后, 夷人以高为虚, 以后为恨, 故名焉。

The Xūhèn are a sort of *Wū Mán*, they live behind the high mountains, the *Yí* call high *xū* and behind *hèn*, hence the name.

The term *Wū Mán* 乌蛮 was generally used in documents from that time to describe non-Chinese groups less sinicized than others in the region, who were referred to as *Bái Mán* 白蛮.

However, a distinct place called Xūhèn 虚恨 cannot be identified today. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987)'s investigation of this term only came to the conclusion that as Tóngshān was clearly on the northern side of the Dàdù River, Xūhèn must have been on the southern, i.e. tribal, side of the river.⁽¹⁶⁾ From the geographic description it is in the region of present-day Dà Liángshān 大凉山.

Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 however has a totally different interpretation of this term, he argues that it is a term in the *Bái* language 白语 meaning 'in the water' and signifies a small path that is only passable once a year.⁽¹⁷⁾

The next named place, at a considerable distance, is Shùmì 束密. From the description that follows, it appears it was the old Yáozhōu 姚州, i.e. the early Táng dynasty Hàn outpost later occupied by Nánzhào. From there the group travelled onwards to a place called Jūmiē 苴咩, the seat of the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国.⁽¹⁸⁾

买马记 20

嘉州峨眉山西十里有铜山寨, 与西南生蕃相接界, 户不满千, 俗呼为小道虚恨。姓县尉例以十月一日上寨守护, 谓之防秋, 至四月一日罢归。

Forty *lǐ* from Jiāzhōu's Éméi county is Tóngshān stockade, it forms the border with the wild south-western *Bō*, there are not even one thousand households, it is customarily called *Xiǎodào Xūhèn*.

The county officials have a regulation to go up to the stockade on the 1st day of the 11th month for defense, this is called the autumn defense, on the 1st day of the 4th month this is completed and they return.

买马记 25

意者以水潦方溢, 而最尔虚恨无能为也。虚恨固无能为, 仅六七百里有束密, 束密之西百五十里至苴咩城, 乃八诏王之巢穴也。

It is mostly submerged by water, but it does not reach the small area of Xūhèn.

As a result there is nothing in Xūhèn, it is only six or seven hundred *lǐ* to Shùmì, and one hundred and fifty *lǐ* west of Shùmì one reaches the walled town of Jūmiē, which is the lair of the king of the eight zhào.

其地东南距交趾, 西北连吐蕃而旁靠

South-east of it is, at a long distance, Jiāozhǐ, north-west it is adja-

[21: 姓县] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, pp. 244–247 does not quite know what to make of the character *xìng* 姓 and suspects it superfluous. The critical edition in Lǐ Tāo 李燾 (1986), vol. 19, p. 6539 has a different segmentation of the text and identifies the whole of *Xiǎodào Xūhèn Xìng* 小道虚恨姓 as one single proper name without further meaning.

⁽¹⁵⁾ see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 753–754.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 753–754.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 234.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Jūmiē 苴咩 is clearly a variant writing of Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, the last capital of Nánzhào and afterwards also the capital of the Dàlǐ Kingdom.

From this description of the geography and route it can be seen that much of the knowledge about the region that China had during and prior to the Táng had been lost.

It follows a brief passage describing the relation between Shǔ, i.e. Sìchuān, and Yúnnán during the Táng and Sòng, which has received some scholarly attention for the title purportedly given to the local chief by the Chinese emperor: Yúnnán Bāguó Dūwáng 云南八国都王.

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 638⁽¹⁹⁾ speculated that the term Yúnnán Bāguó 云南八国 referred to the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国, as there was a record of eight administrative districts under Nánzhào,⁽²⁰⁾ and considered the name Bái wàn 白万 a miswriting of *bái wáng* 白王, referring to the ruler of Dàlǐ, this is also the opinion in Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2016), p. 232. Liú Fùshēng 刘复生 (2002) disputes Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜's findings, pointing out that the term Bāguó 八国 was never used to refer to Nánzhào, the term Bái wáng 白王 was never used at all, and that until Sòng emperor Huǐzōng 宋徽宗, ruled 1100–1125 CE, there was no formal relationship between the Dàlǐ Kingdom and the Sòng court. He argues instead that term Bāguó 八国 was a reference to the tribal regions in southern Sìchuān, for which the designation as 'eight states of the western mountains' 西山八国 had been in use since the Táng dynasty.⁽²¹⁾

Hongjie Wang writes about the relationship of the Former Shǔ 前蜀, one of the ten successor states to the Táng dynasty situated in present-day Sìchuān, with the regions south of it during the 10th century:

[...] the submission of the 'barbarians' was used as a symbol of the legitimate rule of the new regime. In the inaugural edict issued in 907 after the Shu empire was founded, Wang Jian called upon the non-Chinese tribes living around the Min and Qionglai Mountains, known to the Tang people as the 'Eight States of the Western Mountains' (Xishan baguo 西山八國), who had long been under the dominance of the West Chuan governors on behalf of the Tang government, to show solidarity with the new Shu regime. Wang Jian inherited the traditional Tang policy of applying 'loose control' over

r20: Xiǎodào Xūhèn] unclear, apparently Xiǎodào 小道 also denotes a tribe.

r21–24: The county officials have a regulation to go up to the stockade on the 1st day of the 11th month for defense, this is called the autumn defense, on the 1st day of the 4th month this is completed and they return.] This is quite possible, as during the snow-melt and rainy season, the Dàdù River 大渡河 would have been impassable by rafts, so there was no need to defend the place. In the winter months, the water would have been lower and calmer, allowing passage.

r25–26: It is mostly submerged by water, but it does not reach the small area of Xūhèn] From this it is clear, that Xūhèn must lie on a river, i.e. the Dàdù River 大渡河. This is also the opinion of Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 503.

r28: Shùmì] Shùmì 束密.

r29: Jūmiē] this is clearly a different writing form for Yángjūmiē 阳苴咩, the capital of the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国 on the western side of Lake Ērhǎi 洱海.

r31: Jiāozhǐ] i.e. present-day northern Vietnam.

r32: Tǔbō] the then vanished Tibetan empire.

r32: Shǔ] i.e. present-day Sìchuān.

⁽¹⁹⁾ see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 611.

⁽²⁰⁾ However, the closest term was *bāzhào* 八诏, used in the 《云南志》.

⁽²¹⁾ Liú Fùshēng 刘复生 (2001) claims that the title *yúnbāguó zhèngguó dàshī* 云八国镇国大师 appears literally in the Qīng dynasty 《十国春秋》, but I have not been able to find this.

the submissive tribes, bestowing both official titles and authorizations for self-rule on tribal leaders. But when non-Chinese peoples challenged his rule, Wang Jian immediately resorted to military solutions and showed no mercy. [...] Yet, as for those ‘barbarians’ in the far southwest who had little influence on the borders, the Former Shu regime seemed to have no interest in contact. (Wang (2011), pp. 145–146)

But as these historical notes in the 《云南买马记》 were certainly not based on first-hand knowledge this passage should maybe simply be disregarded.⁽²²⁾

蜀自唐时常遭南诏难，惟太平兴国初，
首领有白万者款塞，乞内附。

From the Táng dynasty onwards, Shǔ frequently suffered difficulties caused by Nánzhào, only at the beginning of the Tàipíng Xīngguó was the chief Báiwàn, who knocked on our door, willing to submit.

我太宗册为云南八国都王，然不与朝
贡，故久不谙蜀之蹊隧焉。

Our Tàizōng conferred him the title of king of the eight countries of Yúnnán, but afterwards there were no tribute missions, as for a long time the trails from Shǔ were not clear.

The text then continues mentioning the problems of procuring horses from Shǎnxī and the edict to recruit men to purchase horses on the courts behalf:

买马记 40

熙宁六年，陕西诸蕃作梗，互相誓约不
欲与中国贸易，自是蕃马绝迹而不来。

In the 6th year of Xīníng, the Bō of Shǎnxī created difficulties, and made a mutual pact not to trade with China anymore. From that moment on the horses of the Bō vanished and did not arrive any more.

买马记 45

明年，朝旨委成都路相度，募诸色人
入诏，招诱西南夷和买。

The following year, an edict was issued to survey the Chéngdū road and to recruit various men to go to Nánzhào, to invite the south-western Yǐ to peaceful trade.

Yáng Zuǒ 杨佐, an educated man from Éméi, responded to this recruitment call,⁽²³⁾ used his private assets to hire a number of landless men, and struck out west, passing through forests seemingly void of human habitation.

峩眉有进士杨佐应募，自倾其家赀，呼

In Éméi, the Jìnshì Yáng Zuǒ responded to the call for recruitment,

[34: 白万] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, pp. 244–247 suggests that it should read Báiwáng 白王.

[45: 诏] The introduction by Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 suggests this should read Nánzhào 南诏, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 244.

r34–35: Tàipíng Xīngguó] reign period of Sòng emperor Tàizōng, 976–983.

r37–38: Our Tàizōng conferred him the title of king of the eight countries of Yúnnán] This is an unclear passage.

r40: In the 6th year of Xīníng] 1073.

r44: The following year] i.e. 1074.

(22) Sòng Rúyú's writings were generally considered not of high quality, see page 9.

(23) Yáng Zuǒ is noted to have passed the imperial examination for Jìnshì 进士 but as the text does not mention any official title for him, it seems clear that he held no office and embarked on this journey for private gain. While Jìnshì was the highest level of imperial exam, during the Sòng dynasty it was not rare.

群不逞佃民之强有力者，凡十数人，货蜀之缯锦，将假道于虚恨，以使南诏，乃裹十日粮，贮醢、醢、盐、茗、姜、桂，以为数月之计。

诸从行有蓑笠、铁甌、铜锣、弓箭、长枪、短刀、坐牌、网罟佃渔之具，人轩轻桐以繁橐重，有馀材则束而赍之。

大抵皆先穹凿聚勘，如屋之间架，然将以为寝处之备也。

每望日之景，穿林箐而西，遇孽兽，先击锣以警之，或操弓箭、执刀枪以俟。

会平林、浅草、长溪、大涧，即施网罟，以从事于佃渔，其徒常鲜食以饱。

日行才四五十里，未暮即相地架起桐材，上下周匝徽索而缠之。

然后蔽以坐牌，副以网罟，将凑于其中，必积薪于其侧，钻燧火以待夜事。

然其地多暑，或蒸而为瘴。

he used his own family's resources to recruit a group of strong men who had failed to rent land, in total about ten men, their commodity was Shǔ brocade. They travelled via Xūhèn to Nánzhào, **carrying grains for ten days**, setting aside vinegar, pickled meat, salt, tea, ginger, and cinnamon considered sufficient for several months.

All those who joined had bamboo hats, iron pots, **copper gongs**, bows and arrows, long spears and short daggers, **fire boards**, as well as nets for fishing and hunting. The men cut supple trees to carry the heavy sacks, if there was a surplus they bundled it up and used it to trade.

Generally, they first dug holes and gathered material, just like the framework for a **house**, which they considered good enough to sleep in.

Every morning after sunrise, they went through forests and thickets westwards, when they encountered wild animals, they first struck their gongs to scare them, or they took bow and arrow or dagger and spear to ambush them.

They set up nets on level ground in the forests, in shallow grass, in larger streams and big gullies, for hunting and fishing. His men regularly filled themselves with fresh food.

A day's journey was only forty or fifty *lǐ*, before dusk they surveyed the land and erected wooden frames, tying them up with ropes above, below and all around.

Afterwards they shielded the fire boards, split open the nets, gathered everything in the center, ensured that firewood was piled up on the side, and made fire by drilling to spend the night.

When it was very warm, **they used bamboo torches against miasma**.

买马记 50

买马记 55

买马记 60

买马记 65

买马记 70

买马记 75

The old trails had all but disappeared, so that they often got lost. To find their way, they followed clusters of cultivated plants growing in the wild as a result of tribal people losing seeds from their bags as they were they were travelling back from the Chinese regions. The two plants growing in the abandoned areas mentioned are hemp *má* 麻 and *rěn* 荏. *Rěn* was perhaps *Perilla frutescens*, a plant 'probably first introduced into cultivation in China in ancient times [...] and [...] grown as an oil crop, potherb, and for its medicinal properties'.⁽²⁴⁾

After more than two weeks, they arrived in Shùmì 束密, a place that Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 646, 733 identified as the Táng dynasty's Yáozhōu 姚州, i.e. once a Chinese commandery, but during the Sòng dynasty the place was in ruins and abandoned.

r50–51: carrying grains for ten days] The implication is that they expected to be able to buy grains along the way.

r53: copper gongs] The purpose of the gongs is explained below: to scare away wild animals.

r54: fire boards] Below follows a description how the *zuòpái* 坐牌 are being used to make fire.

r59: house] the characters *jiānjià* 间架 refer to the wooden frame of a traditional Chinese house.

r74–75: they used bamboo torches against miasma] i.e. they used smoke to keep mosquitos away.

(24) Renfrew and Sanderson (2005), pp. 109–110. The plant is nowadays known as Zīsū 紫蘇, meaning purple perilla.

值山深木茂，烟霾郁兴欲雨，而莫辨日之东西，间或迷路，竟日而不能逾一谷也。

买马记 80 初，铜山为蕃汉贸易之场，蕃人从汉境负大布囊，盛麻苳以归，囊罅遗麻，或苳既久而蓂生。

买马记 85 佐之徒蹊麻苳生踪，前寻去路，自达虚恨界分，十有八日而抵束密之墟。

In the deep mountains with thick forests, mist rose suddenly almost like rain, so they could not see the sun to distinguish east and west, so sometimes they got lost, not passing more than one valley the whole day.

In earlier times, Tóngshān had served as trading point of the *Bō* with the *Hàn*, the *Bō* people carrying large cloth bags from the border with the *Hàn*, bringing back hemp and *rěn*, when their bags ripped, they dropped hemp or *rěn* which for a long time after sprouted in clusters.

Zuǒ's men followed the traces of growing hemp and *rěn* in search of the trail. **Eighteen days from the border with Xūhèn they reached the ruins of Shùmì.**

Only further on they found signs of human habitation. It turned out that some of the settlers had come from China and gave the group a very friendly welcome.

前此三四十里，渐见土田生苗稼，其山川风物略如东蜀之资、荣。

又前此五七里，遥见数蛮锄高山，俄望及华人，遑遽叫号、招群蛮蚩聚。

买马记 95 佐乃具巾紵磬折而立，命其徒皆俯伏，毋辄动。

须臾，有老髻自山而下，问佐何来？佐长揖不拜，俾其徒素谙夷语者，具以本路奉旨招诱买马事对，徐以二端茜罗啖之。

买马记 100

老髻涕泣而徐言：

『我乃汉嘉之耕民也。皇佑中以岁饥来活于兹，今发白齿落，垂死矣，不图复见乡人也。』

买马记 105

乃为佐通好于束密王。

久之，有马十数骑来邀迎，悉俾华人乘而入。

买马记 110

束密王悦蜀之缯锦，且知市马之来其国也，待佐等甚厚，不惜椎羊刺豕，夜饮藤觥酒。

Another thirty or forty *lǐ* on, they gradually began to see crops growing in fields, the scenery of the mountains and valleys was about as prosperous as in eastern Shǔ.

After another five or seven *lǐ*, they saw in the distance several *Mán* hoeing high on the mountains, and suddenly also saw Chinese people, who shouted frightened. They beckoned a group of *Mán* ants to gather.

Zuǒ used a piece of sack-cloth, bent over and stood up, ordering his men to lie down and not to stir.

A moment later an **old topknot** came down from the mountain and asked Zuǒ where he was from. Zuǒ **made a deep bow but did not kneel down**, then sent one of his men familiar with the *Yi* language to state that he acted on orders of this *lù* to buy horses, gently offering two pieces of safflower silk to entice him.

The old topknot wept and said slowly:

‘We are farmers from *Hànjiā*. **During the Huángyòu reign we were hungry for many years** so we came here to make a living, now we **have grown old and are near the end of our lives**, we never expected to see fellow countrymen again.’

So then Zuǒ established good relations with the king of Shùmì.

After a while, more than ten horses were brought to welcome them, so that all the Chinese could ride for the rest of the journey.

The king of Shùmì [not only] appreciated Shǔ's silk and brocades, but also knew about markets where horses were brought to his state, he treated Zuǒ with utmost respect, they did not stint to

r 82: *rěn*] Rěn 苳.

r 86–87: Eighteen days from the border with Xūhèn they reached the ruins of Shùmì] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 2, p. 245 points out that this is too short to cover the distance.

蛮女嫠妇与人乱不禁，惟已嫁，奸者抵死，故饮散辄择其女妇，徧匹华人，抑所以重汉之贵也。

slaughter goats and pigs, at night they drank *téngzī* wine.

The *Mán* maiden and widows were promiscuous without restraint, only after marriage they were condemned to death for illicit relations. So whenever they dispersed after drinking they selected a woman, only with the Chinese people they were restraint as they considered the Hàn aristocracy.

买马记 115

This went on for some time before they were able to travel on to the capital of the Dàlǐ Kingdom, Jūmiē.

凡如此未旬浹，会八国王廉得其状，遣使诘问，何故与华人杂处？束密惧，因悉以佐等所贡物偕行，三驿趣苴咩城，而献诸都王。

It went on like this for not quite ten days, until the **king of the eight countries** heard of their presence and dispatched a messenger to ask the reason why **a group** of Chinese was there. [The king of] Shùmì was afraid, so they packed all of Zuǒ's provisions and goods together, and traveled **three stages** to the walled town of Jūmiē to present everything to the king.

买马记 120

王馆佐于大云南驿，驿前有里候，题东至戎州，西至身毒国，东南至交趾，东北至成都，北至大雪山，南至海上，悉著其道里之详，审询其里候多有完葺者。

The king's guesthouse: Zuǒ stayed in **Dà Yúnnán station**, in front of the post station was **a way marker**, it said to the east leads to Róngzhōu, **to the west to the state of Yuāndú**, to the south-east to Jiāozhǐ, to the north-east to Chéngdū, to the north to the big snow mountains, to the south to the sea, all given with the details of the road and distances, upon enquiry he learned that the road markers were often restored.

买马记 125

俄遣头囊儿来馆伴，所谓头囊者，乃唐士大夫不幸为蛮贼驱过大渡河而南，至今有子孙在都王世禄，多聪悟挺秀，往往能通汉语。

After a short while, **a young man with a turban** was sent to accompany them, **the so-called head bags were unlucky Táng who were abducted by Mán thieves and brought south of the Dàdù River, up to now their descendants serve as officials for the king, they are extremely clever and graceful, and often can speak the Hàn language.**

买马记 130

买马记 135

佐抵大云南之翌日，都王令诸酋长各引兵，雄张旗队，拥佐等前，通国信，即谕市马之实，而都王喜形于色，问劳，赠送佐等各有差。

The day after Zuǒ arrived at Dà Yúnnán, the king ordered all the chiefs and all the military leaders to embrace Zuǒ and all the others, to express his country's trust, and ordered them to arrange horse markets. The king was overjoyed and expressed his good wishes, and in addition gave everything to Zuǒ without fail.

买马记 140

寻以陝西诸蕃就汉境贸易如初，而西

He inquired about the earlier trade on the Hàn border with Shǎnxī

l143: 陝西] common miswriting of Shǎnxī 陝西.

r94: ants] The term *bǐ* 蚍 is clearly a pejorative.

r97: old topknot] *zhuā* 髻 denotes a female hairstyle with a topknot, this is a derogative term for the people they encountered.

r98–99: made a deep bow but did not kneel down] so he acted in a courteous, but not in a submissive way.

r103: Hànjiā] historic name for a region in western Sichuān, around 30.15N 102.93E.

r103: During the Huángyòu reign] reign period of Sònggrénzōng 宋仁宗, 1049–1054.

r103–104: we were hungry for many years] during that period many epidemics were recorded, see Goldschmidt (2007).

r105: have grown old and are near the end of our lives] literally: turned white, lost out teeth and are near death

南市马之议罢。

and discussed the markets for horses in the south-west.

With all this discussed, Yáng Zuǒ and his counterparts in Yúnnán must have come to an agreement to supply horses as the next year horses were brought to the border.

买马记 145

明年，铜山寨申峩眉县，县申嘉州，州申本路钤辖司，以某日有云南蕃人贡马若干到寨，乃杨佐者奉帅府命，通国信招诱出来。

The following year, Tóngshān stockade notified Éméi county, the county notified Jiāzhōu, and the prefecture notified its route's military administrator that on a certain day the Yúnnán people would bring a certain number of horses as tribute to the stockade, then Yáng Zuǒ received an order from the administration, notifying him by a national letter to leave.

钤辖司即下委嘉州通判郭九龄前视犒劳，且设辞以给之，谓本路未尝有阳佐也，马竟不留。

The military administrator then issued the order entrusting the Jiāzhōu controller-general Guō Jiǔlíng to first inspect and reward them with food and wine, then to make excuses to cheat them, saying that in this route **there was no one called Yáng Zuǒ**, and that the horses could not stay at the border.

初，佐受云南八国都王回牒，归投帅庭，后缘颁示九龄，遂掌在嘉州军资库。

Earlier, Zuǒ had received an official reply from the king of the eight countries of Yúnnán, pledging allegiance to the commander, afterwards because of an announcement by Jiǔlíng he was in charge of Jiāzhōu's military storehouse.

买马记 160

蕃人知设辞相拒，其去也颇出怨语。

The Bō people learned that pretexts were being made and left, when they left they expressed a certain disappointment.

元丰三年春三月生明日，宋如愚东轩录。

On the *shēngmíng* day of the 3rd month of spring in the 3rd year of Yuánfēng, recorded by Sòng Rúyú at Dōngxuān.

r119–120: king of the eight countries] This suggests that the term *bāguó* 八国 actually referred to the Dàlǐ Kingdom 大理国, but as the text has gone through several revisions, this might be an editing error.

r121: a group] the measure word used here is *yú* 舆, literally meaning 'a sedan-chair of

r123: three stages] The term used here is *yì*, suggesting an inn, but it used as a measure word for the duration of a trip, a stage.

r125: Dà Yúnnán station] this likely refers to what is today called Yúnnányì 云南驿, on the Xiángýún 祥云 plain.

r126: a way marker] see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 613.

r127: to the west to the state of *Yuāndú*] i.e. India.

r132: a young man with a turban] literally a Tóunáng 头囊 means 'head bag', it refers to the traditional Nánzhào head-dress.

r133–137: the so-called head bags were unlucky Táng who were abducted by *Mán* thieves and brought south of the Dàdù River, up to now their descendants serve as officials for the king, they are extremely clever and graceful, and often can speak the Hàn language] Nánzhào conducted various raids on Shǔ, abducting people. The most famous was Zhèng Huí 郑回, who became prime minister 清平官 under the Nánzhào rulers and whose descendant Zhèng Mǎisì 郑买嗣 founded one of the Nánzhào successor states.

r154: there was no one called Yáng Zuǒ] They pretended to misread the name as written with a different surname.

r162–163: On the *shēngmíng* day of the 3rd month of spring in the 3rd year of Yuánfēng] Around April 1180 CE, but the expression *shēngmíng* is unclear, maybe *qīngmíng* 清明?

4 Glossary

- Bāguó Dūwáng** 八国都王: king of the eight countries, title, – see page 16
- Bái Mán** 白蛮: Bái 蛮??, tribal classification during the Táng dynasty, the Bái 蛮?? were the considered closer to Chinese culture than the Wū 乌蛮??, – see page 10
- Báiwàn** 白万: tribal leader mentioned in the 《云南买马记》, – see page 11, 12
- Báiyǔ** 白语: Bái language, , – see page 10
- Bō** 蕃: general term for Tibetan nomadic groups, the character is the same as used in 吐蕃, – see pages 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17
- Chángjiāng** 长江: Yangzi, major Chinese river, –
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南, – see page 12, 15
- Dàchánghéguó** 大长和国: Great State of Chánghé, , –
- 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 pages 5, 9–11, 15, 16
- Dàlǐ** 大理: , – see page 11
- 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, 10, 11, 15, 16
- Dà Liángshān** 大凉山: region in present-day southern Sichuān, – see page 10
- Dà Yúnnán** 大云南: a station three stages from the capital of the Dàlǐ kingdom, most likely Yúnnányì 云南驿, – see page 15, 16
- Diān Guó** 滇国: Kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty, – see page 5
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220, –
- Dūwáng** 都王: king, title, – see pages 12, 15, 16
- Dù Yòu** 杜佑: Táng dynasty scholar and politician, 735–812, compiler of the 《通典》, –
- Ébiān** 峨边: town on the Dàdù Hé 大渡河, (⊕ 29.23N 103.26E) – see page 9
- Éméi** 峨眉: historic city near Éméi Shān 峨眉山, –
- Éméi** 峨眉: locality in southern Sichuān, – see pages 9, 10, 12, 13, 16
- Éméi Shān** 峨眉山: Mt. Éméi, Buddhist temple mountain in southern Sichuān, near Éméi 峨眉, (⊕ 29.55N 103.36E) –
- 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, Xiě Hé, – see page 5, 11
- Fán Chuò** 樊绰: assistant to cai xi ttx = , author of the 《蛮书》, – see page 9
- Fāng Guóyú** 方国瑜: eminent Yúnnán historian, 1903–1983, – see page 6, 12
- Guō Jiǔlíng** 郭九龄: Chinese official mentioned in the 《云南买马记》, – see page 16, 17

- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220, –
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty, – see pages 10, 14–16
- Hànjiā** 汉嘉: ancient Chinese district, established during the Dōng Hàn 东汉 in 123, about present-day Lúshān 庐山, (⊕ 30.15N 102.93E) – see page 14, 15
- Hànyǔ** 汉语: Hàn language, Hàn language, i.e. Chinese, – see page 16
- Hànyuán** 汉源: , –
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty, –
- Hòuhàn Shū** 《后汉书》: ‘*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*’, classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China, –
- Huángyòu** 皇祐: reign period of Sòngréngzōng 宋仁宗, 1049–1054, – see page 14, 15
- Jiāzhōu** 嘉州: a district in present-day southern Sìchuān, east of Lèshān 乐山, (⊕ 29.6N 103.78E) – see pages 7, 10, 16, 17
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān, –
- Jiànnánxūzhī** 《剑南须知》: ‘*Notes on Jiànnán*’, text compiled by Sòng Rúyú 宋如愚, a Sòng dynasty scholar. This work is lost, but one of the texts contained is the 《云南买马记》, – see page 5, 9
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam, (⊕ 21.03N 105.85E) – see page 11, 15
- jìnshì** 进士: *jìnshì*, ‘a degree or status often compared to the academic doctorate in the modern West, conferred on successful candidates in the highest-level regular civil service recruitment examinations, qualifying them for appointment to government office.’, , see Hucker (1985), 1148 – see page 12, 13
- Lèshān** 乐山: district in southern Sìchuān, –
- 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 7
- Lǐ Tāo** 李焘: compiler of the Xù Zīzhìtōngjiàn Chángbiān 续资治通鉴长编, – see page 9
- Lǐxiàn** 理县: county in south-western Sìchuān, (⊕ 31.44N 103.17E) –
- Lúshān** 庐山: county in Sìchuān, (⊕ 30.15N 102.93E) –
- Lù** 路: route, ‘YÜAN: a stably defined territory administered by a Route Command ... Each Route Command was headed by an Overseer (ta-lu-hua-ch’ih) and a Commander (tsung-kuan). The Route was an all-purpose civil administration branch, in effect, of the central government.’, , see Hucker (1985), 3839 – see pages 8, 14, 16
- Mǎ Duānlín** 马端临: Yuán Cháo 元朝 historical writer, 1245–1322 –
- Mǎimǎsī** 买马司: horse procurement office, offices to purchase horses for the Chinese cavalry, – see page 5, 7
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest, – see pages 5, 8, 9, 14–16
- Mán Shū** 《蛮书》: Mán Shū, another name for the 《云南志》 by 樊绰, – see page 9

- Màoxiàn** 茂县: county in Sìchuān, (🌐 31.68N 103.85E) –
- Mào Zhōu** 茂州: Táng dynasty established district, present day Sìchuān Màoxiàn 茂县, (🌐 31.68N 103.85E) – see page 7
- Méishān** 眉山: town in Sìchuān, – see page 9
- Mínjiāng** 岷江: Mín River, most important tributary to the Chángjiāng 长江, west of 成都, –
- Nánxī** 南溪: Táng dynasty administrative region, also called, –
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ērhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, – see pages 10–13, 16
- Ōuyáng Xiū** 欧阳修: Sòng dynasty historian, *1007–†1072 –
- Qiánshǔ** 前蜀: Former Shǔ, one of the Shíguó 十国, 907–925, – see page 11
- Qiánxiásī** 钤辖司: military administrator, ‘Military Adminisirator of a Circuit (lu), an army on campaign, etc.; not a combat commander, but apparently something like an adminismtive aide to a commander’, , see Hucker (1985), 898 – see page 16
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE, – see page 6, 11
- qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister, – see page 16
- rěn** 荏: rěn, a plant, ‘probably first introduced into cultivation in China in ancient times [...] and [...] grown as an oil crop, potherb, and for its medicinal properties’, see Renfrew and Sanderson (2005), pp. 109–110. The plant is nowadays known as Zīsū 紫蘇, – see page 13, 14, see 紫蘇
- Róngzhōu** 戎州: historic administrative district, present-day Yíbīn 宜宾, prefecture in north-eastern Yúnnán, established in 649 as ??, in 652 it became 戎州, in 742 it became 南溪, then in 758 it became 戎州 again before being disbanded in 907, (🌐 28.77N 104.63E) – see page 7, 15
- Shǎnxī** 陕西: north-western region and province, – see page 12, 16
- Yuāndú Guó** 身毒国: state of Yuāndú, an ancient reference to India, – see page 15, 16, see 身毒
- Shíguó** 十国: ‘Ten Kingdoms’, number of states established after the fall of the Táng, which in Chinese eyes were lacking legitimacy, –
- Shíguó Chūnqiū** 《十国春秋》: Qīng dynasty history work on the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, – see page 11
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘Records of the Historian’, , –
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān, – see pages 11–16
- Shùmì** 束密: place name, probably 姚州, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 646, – see pages 10, 11, 14, 15
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province, – see pages 5, 8, 9, 11, 15
- Sìkù Quánshū** 《四库全书》: ‘Complete Library of the Four Treasuries’, Qīng dynasty library collection, – see page 6

Sòng Cháo 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279, 960–1279 CE – see pages 5, 11, 12, 14

Sòng 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty, – see page 5, 11

Sòng Shénzōng 宋神宗: Sòng emperor Shénzōng, Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1067–1085, ruled 1067–1085 CE –

Sòng Huīzōng 宋徽宗: Sòng emperor Huīzōng, Sòng emperor, 1100–1125, ruled 1100–1125 CE – see page 11

Sòng rénzōng 宋仁宗: Sòng emperor Rénzōng, Sòng emperor, 1022–1063, –

Sòng Rúyú 宋如愚: Sòng dynasty scholar, – see pages 5, 9, 12, 17

Sòng Tàizōng 宋太宗: Sòng emperor Tàizōng, Sòng emperor, 976–997, – see page 12

Tàipíng Xīngguó 太平兴国: reign period of Sòng emperor Tàizōng, 976–983, – see page 12

Táng Cháo 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, – see pages 9–12, 14

Táng 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907, – see pages 11, 15, 16

téngzī 藤觥: seemingly a plant to make wine from, – see page 15

Tiānzhu 天竺: India, Ancient name for India, – see page see 身毒

Tōngdiǎn 《通典》: ‘Comprehensive Statues’, 801 work by Dù Yòu 杜佑, –

Tōngpàn 通判: controller-general, ‘in early Sung decades a central government official delegated to serve as resident overseer

of the work of a Prefect (chih-chou), with the right to submit memorials concerning prefectural affairs without the knowledge of the Prefect; no document issued by the prefect was considered valid without being countersigned by the Controller-general’, , see Hucker (1985), 7497 – see page 16

Tóngshān 铜山: Tóngshān, place name, around present-day Sìchuān Ébiān 峨边, Lǐ Zōngfàng 李宗放 (1996) thinks it is close to Éméi Shān 峨眉山, but this makes no sense as during the Sòng dynasty the Dàdù Hé 大渡河 was the border to the tribal areas., (⊕ 29.23N 103.26E) – see pages 9, 10, 14, 16

Tǔbō 吐蕃: Tibetan empire, – see page 9, 11

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 page 15, 16

Wēizhōu 威州: present-day Sìchuān Lǐxiàn 理县, (⊕ 31.44N 103.17E) – see page 7

Wénxiàntōngkǎo 《文献通考》: ‘Comprehensive Examination of Literature’, Yuán Cháo 元朝 encyclopedia of books, compiled by Mǎ Duānlín 马端临 in 1317, – see page 9

Wū Mán 乌蛮: Wū Mán, , – see page 10

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, –

- Xiěr** 西洱: shorter form of Xiěr Hé, a reference to Ērhǎi, –
- Xiěr Hé** 西洱河: Xiěr River, historic name for Ērhǎi, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake, –
- Xīníng** 熙宁: reign period of Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1068–1077, – see page 12
- Xīníng** 熙宁: reign period of Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1068–1077, – see page 9
- Xīshān Bāguó** 西山八国: ‘eight states of the western mountains’, designation for tribal regions in western Sìchuān, Wang (2011), p. 145, – see page 11
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit, – see page 10, 16
- Xiángyún** 祥云: , – see page 16
- Xiǎodào** 小道: unclear, maybe a tribal name, – see page 10, 11
- Xūhèn** 虚恨: , – see pages 10, 11, 13, 14
- Xù Zīzhìtōngjiàn Chángbiān** 《续资治通鉴长编》: ‘*Extended Continuation to the “Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government”*’, Sòng history work, a continuation of the 《资治通鉴》, completed in 1183, – see pages 5, 7, 9
- Yǎān** 雅安: region in Sìchuān, –
- Yǎzhōu** 雅州: present-day Sìchuān Yǎān 雅安, (⊕ 29.99N 103.01E) – see page 7
- Yán Shīgǔ** 颜师古: Táng dynasty historian and linguist, *581–†645 –
- Yángjūmiē** 阳苴咩: historic capital of Nánzhào, near present-day Dali, – see pages 5, 10, 11, 15
- Yáng Zuǒ** 杨佐: author of the 《云南买马记》, – see pages 5, 9, 12–16
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán, –
- Yáozhōu** 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān 姚安, (⊕ 25.51N 101.24E) – see page 10, 14
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west, – see pages 10, 12, 14, see 蛮
- Yíbīn** 宜宾: city in southern Sìchuān, –
- Yízú** 彝族: Yí, one of the officially recognized ethnic groups in the PRC, – see page 9
- Yuánfēng** 元丰: reign period of Sòng emperor Shénzōng, 1078–1085, – see page 17
- Yuán Cháo** 元朝: Yuán dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368, – see page 9
- Yuāndú** 身毒: ancient reference to India, first appearing in the 《史记》. The term is pronounced *Yuāndú*, see 《古代汉语词典》(2002), p. 1385, not *Shēndú*, as in the 《通典》 it states (in the chapter on India): ‘颜师古云: 捐毒即身毒, 身毒则天竺也。塞种即释种也, 盖语音有轻重也。’ – Yán Shīgǔ noted: *Juāndú* is *Yuāndú*, *Yuāndú* is *Tiānzhú*. Just like *Sāizhōng* is *Shìzhōng*, they are variations in the intensity of the pronunciation.’ However, this is not entirely uncontested as it can also be argued that this annotation mistakes a small state called *Juāndú* 捐毒 mentioned in the 《后汉书》(第八十六卷 for *Yuāndú*, see Wilkinson (2013), p. 358. The term is synonymous with 天竺, – see page see 天竺
- Yúnnán** 云南: 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, 6, 9, 11, 12, 16

- Yúnnán Mǎimǎ Jì** 《云南买马记》: ‘*Record of Buying Horses in Yunnan*’, Sòng dynasty text by Yáng Zuǒ 杨佐, – see pages 5, 6, 9, 12
- Yúnnányì** 云南驿: important caravan station, three stages before Dàlǐ 大理, (⊗ 25.39N 100.69E) – see page 16
- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: ‘*Gazetteer of Yunnan*’, Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán, – see page 9, 11
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm, – see page 10
- Zhèjiāng Dàxué** 浙江大学: Zhèjiāng University, – see page 6
- Zhèng Huí** 郑回: Han administrator captured by Nánzhào, serving as teacher to the royal family and as prime minister, – see page 16
- Zhèng Mǎisì** 郑买嗣: first ruler of Dàchánghéguó 大长和国, ruled 902–909 CE, ruled 902–909 CE – see page 16
- Zhōngshū** 中书: palace secretary, title, , see Hucker (1985), 1606 – see page 8
- zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit, – see page 7, 16
- Zīzhì Tōngjiàn** 《资治通鉴》: ‘*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*’, , – see page 10
- Zǐsū** 紫蘇: purple perilla, a plant, ‘probably first introduced into cultivation in China in ancient times [...] and [...] grown as an oil crop, potherb, and for its medicinal properties’, see Renfrew and Sanderson (2005), pp. 109–110, – see page 13

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