

Re-Writing Dali: the Construction of an Imperial Locality in the Borderlands, 1253-1679

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the interactions of two late imperial Chinese regimes of understanding, experiencing, and moving through space through a local study of Dali, a district in the south-western borderlands of Mongol Yuan and Chinese Ming states. The city of Dali had been the capital of independent Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms until it was conquered by Mongol armies in 1253 and subsequently incorporated into the Yuan empire. Over the next four centuries, the former nobility of the Dali kingdom transformed themselves into imperial scholar-gentry, educating their sons in literary Chinese, taking the civil service examinations, and establishing themselves as members of the literati elite. As a result, their social relationships and their place in the world, that is, their identities, were reconstructed in dialogue with the institutional, political, and discursive practices that now shaped their daily lives.

Through examination of writings produced in Dali during the Yuan and Ming, I argue that Dali elite families used their proximity to and facility in the written word to maintain their position within the status hierarchies of local society. At the same time, the concept of the “locality” provided a framework within which local elites were able to express a sense of difference both comprehensible and acceptable to the state. As a result, Dali’s position in the world as it emerged over the first four centuries of colonisation was neither a differentiated periphery nor a homogenised locality but a praxis of the native place as the legitimated form of spatialised identity for civilised men.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED:

A note on pagination: block printed books in late imperial China were constructed by printing a double-leaf page, folding it in half with the printed side outwards, and stitching the open ends together into a volume (*juan* 卷); page numbers and bibliographical information were printed down the centrefold. Each number page consists of two folios, termed a and b. As a result, classical citations consist of the *juan* number followed by the page number and folio letter, eg [title] 3.5a. Many facsimile editions are made from unbound pages, so each facsimile page will include two or four classical folios — in these circumstances I have given the classical pagination because it is more precise. Otherwise, I have preferred the more accessible edition; I have also listed online editions where I know of them. Finally, where English translations are available I have included those page numbers with the citation.

BCZZ: Zhou Yue 周鉞 (ed.), (*Yongzheng*) *Binchuan zhouzhi* (雍正)賓川州志 [(Yongzheng-era) Binchuan subprefecture gazetteer]. 1727 block-printed edition; manuscript copy of printed edition facsimile in DLCS FZP vol 5, 517-599; transcribed edition Dali: Dali Baizu zizhizhou wenhuaju fanyin, 1984; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations use transcribed pagination.

BGTJQS: Zhao Shun (attr.), *Bogu tongji qianshu*. Late 17th century manuscript edition (substantially revised and updated from earlier editions) held in Yunnan provincial library; facsimile in DLCS SJP vol 2, 41-129; 1979 bound mimeograph edition of transcribed manuscript. Citations use classical pagination.

CXDCZZ: Ai Zixiu 艾自修 (ed.), (*Chongzhen*) *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi* (崇禎)重修鄧川州志 [(Chongzhen-era) Revised Dengchuan subprefecture gazetteer]. 1646 block-printed edition (text dated 1644); partial facsimile in DLCS FZP ; transcribed edition Dali: Dali Baizu zizhizhou wenhuaju fanyin, 1983. Citations use transcribed and classical pagination.

DL: Xie Zhaozhi 謝肇淛, *Dianlie* 滇略 [Record of Dian]. 1621 block-printed edition extant imprints include National Library of China (Beijing) rare books items #16004 and #A01373 and Shanghai Library rare book #756615-18; standard block-printed edition in *Siku quanshu* vol 494, 97-250; digital edition. Citations use classical pagination from the *Siku quanshu* edition.

DLCS FZP: Yang Shiyu 楊世鈺 (ed.), *Dali congshu — fangzhi pian* 大理叢書—方志篇 [Collected works on Dali — gazetteers], Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2007. 10 vols.

DLCS JSP: Yang Shiyu 楊世鈺 (ed.), *Dali congshu — jinshi pian* 大理叢書—金石篇 [Collected works on Dali — inscriptions], Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993. 10 vols. Citations include both page number of image (vols 1-9) and page number of transcription (vol 10).

DLCS SJP: He Shengdi 和生弟 and Wang Shuiqiao 王水橋 (eds.), *Dali congshu — shiji pian* 大理叢書—史籍篇 [Collected works on Dali — historical materials], Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2012. 13 vols.

DLCS ZPP: Yang Shiyu 楊世鈺 and Zhao Yinsong 趙寅松 (eds.), *Dali congshu — zupu pian* 大理叢書—族譜篇 [Collected works on Dali — genealogies], Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2009. 5 vols.

DLFZ: Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (ed.), (*Jiajing*) *Dali fuzhi* (嘉靖)大理府志 [(Jiajing-era) Dali prefecture gazetteer]. 1564 block-printed edition in National Library (Taipei) rare books #000512004; facsimile in DLCS FZP vol 4, 3-33; transcribed edition. Citations use transcribed and classical pagination.

DZ: Liu Wenzheng 劉文征 (ed), (*Tianqi*) *Dianzhi* (天啓)滇志 [(Tianqi-era) Dian gazetteer]. 1610 block-printed edition; digitised in Hathitrust collection; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection; facsimile in DLCS FZP vols 2 and 3; transcribed edition Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991. Citations use transcribed pagination.

HQFZ: Tong Zhen 佟鎮 (*Kangxi*) *Heqing fuzhi* (康熙)鶴慶府志 [(Kangxi-era) Heqing prefecture gazetteer]. 1714 block-printed edition; facsimile in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 [Collected rare editions of ancient books from the Beijing library] no.45 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), 415-645; manuscript copy of print edition facsimile in DLCS FZP vol 8, 173-356; transcribed edition Dali: Dali Baizu zizhizhou wenhuaju fanyin, 1983. Citations use transcribed pagination.

JCZZ: Wang Shigui 王世貴 (ed.), (*Kangxi*) *Jianchuan zhouzhi* (康熙)劍川州志 [(Kangxi) Jianchuan zhouhi]. 1714 block-printed edition; facsimile in DLCS FZP vol 9, 563-668; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations use classical pagination.

(JJ) JGDSJ: Zhang Daozong 張道宗, (*Jiajing*) *Jigu dianshuo ji* (嘉靖)紀古滇說集 [(Jiajing-era) Collected stories of ancient Dian], edited and annotated by Yang Shen 楊慎. Text dated 1265. 1549 block-printed edition at National Library of China (Beijing); undated manuscript copy of this edition (including upper margin annotations but without pagination or punctuation) reproduced in facsimile in DLCS SJP vol 2, 1-40. Citations use classical pagination.

(WL) JGDSJ: Zhang Daozong 張道宗, (*Wanli*) *Jigu dianshuo ji* (萬曆)紀古滇說集 [(Wanli-era) Collected stories of ancient Dian], edited by Yang Shen 楊慎, corrected by Ruan Yuansheng 阮元聲. Text dated 1265, postface by Yang Shen dated 1549. Block-printed edition included in *Xuanlan tang congshu* 玄覽堂叢書 [Collected works from the Hall of Profound Vision], Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan chuban, 1981, vol 7, 331-372; transcribed edition in *Yunnan shiliao congkan* vol 2, 652-663; digital edition transcribed by Professor Hayashi Kenichiro 林謙一郎 <<https://toyoshi.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/maruha/siryu/jigudianshuo.html>> (accessed 6 May 2019). Citations use classical pagination.

LQXZ: Zhao Hong (ed), (*Kangxi*) *Langqiong xianzhi* [(Kangxi-era) Langqiong county gazetteer]. 1690 manuscript edition; facsimile in DLCS FZP vol 7, 321-414. Citations use classical pagination.

KXDLFZ: Huang Yuanzhi 黃元治 (ed), (*Kangxi*) *Dali fuzhi* (康熙)大理府志 [(Kangxi-era) Dali prefecture gazetteer]. 1694 block-printed edition; facsimile in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 [Collected rare editions of ancient books from the Beijing library] no.45 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), 1-413; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection; 1940 block-printed reprint; facsimile of reprint in DLCS FZP vol 4, 35-276. Citations use classical pagination.

MHFZ: Jiang Xu 蔣旭, (*Kangxi*) *Menghua fuzhi* (康熙)蒙化府志 [(Kangxi-era) Menghua prefecture gazetteer]. 1698 block-printed edition; facsimile edition in DLCS FZP vol 6, 3-217 and *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊 [Collected rare books from the Palace Museum], no. 231 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), 169-380; transcribed edition Dali: Dali Baizu zizhizhou wenhuaju fanyin, 1983; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations use transcribed pagination.

MS: Fan Chuo 樊綽, *Man shu* 蠻書 [Book of the Barbarians], also known as *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 [Treatise on Yunnan]. Text dated [905]; standard block-printed edition in *Siku quanshu*, vol

464, 1-41; transcribed edition in *Yunnan shiliao congkan* vol 2, 1-108; digital edition transcribed by Professor Hayashi Kenichiro 林謙一郎 <<https://toyoshi.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/maruha/siryō/manshu1-5.html>> (accessed 6 May 2019); tr. into English by Gordon H. Luce, ed. by G.P. Oey, *Book of the Barbarians*, Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Dept. of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1961. Citations use classical pagination.

NZMDYS: Ni He 倪輅, *Nanzhao Meng-Duan yeshi* 南詔蒙段野史 [Unofficial history of the Meng and Duan clans of the Nanzhao Kingdom]. 1875 unpaginated manuscript copy; facsimile in DLCS SJP vol 2, 495-536. Citations use modern pagination.

NZYS (JB): Ni He 倪輅, *Nanzhao yeshi (jiuben chao)* 南詔野史(舊本鈔) [Unofficial history of the Nanzhao Kingdom (manuscript of the old edition)], edited by Yang Shen 楊慎. 1954 unpaginated manuscript copy; facsimile in DLCS SJP vol 2, 411-492. Citations use modern pagination.

NZYS (QYM): Ni He 倪輅, *Nanzhao yeshi (qing yiming jiaobu zhuanchaoben)* 南詔野史(清佚名校補傳抄本) [Unofficial history of the Nanzhao Kingdom (Qing-era anonymous corrected and supplemented manuscript)], edited by Yang Shen 楊慎. Undated unpaginated manuscript copy; facsimile in DLCS SJP vol 2, 305-407. Citations use modern pagination.

NZYS (TST): Ni He 倪輅, *Nanzhao yeshi (tansheng tang chaoben)* [Unofficial history of the Nanzhao kingdom (Tansheng Hall manuscript)], edited by Yang Shen. 1550 manuscript held in Shanghai library rare books #756275; facsimile edition in DLCS SJP vol 2, 171-304. Citations use classical pagination.

NZYS (HW): Hu Wei 胡蔚 (ed), *Nanzhao yeshi* 南詔野史 [Unofficial history of the Nanzhao kingdom]. 1880 block-printed edition (substantially revised and expanded from the Ming editions). Citations use classical pagination.

NZYLJY: Jiang Bin 蔣彬 *Nanzhao yuanliu jiyao* 南詔源流集要 [Summary of the origin and course of the Nanzhao Kingdom]. 1532 paginated manuscript; facsimile in DLCS SJP vol 2, 133-170. Citations using classical pagination.

YLZZ: Chen Xifang 陳希芳 (ed), *(Yongzheng) Yunlong zhouzhi* [(Yongzheng-era) Yunlong subprefecture gazetteer]. 1728 manuscript edition; facsimile in DLCS FZP, vol 7, 201-317; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations using classical pagination.

YNTJZ: Chen Wen 陳文 (ed.), *(Jingtai) Yunnan tujing zhi* (景泰)雲南圖經志 [(Jingtai-era) Illustrated Yunnan gazetteer]. 1455 block-printed edition; facsimile in DLCS FZP, vol 1, 3-188; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations use classical pagination.

YNTZ: Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (ed.), *(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi* (萬曆)雲南通志 [(Wanli-era) Comprehensive Yunnan gazetteer]. 1574 block-printed edition; 1934 block-printed reprint; facsimile in DLCS FZP, vol. 1, 189-596; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations use classical pagination.

YNXZ: Wu Qinglian 伍青蓮 (ed.), *(Kangxi) Yunnan xianzhi* (康熙)雲南縣志 [(Kangxi-era) Yunnan county gazetteer]. 1716 manuscript edition; facsimile in DLCS FZP vol 5, 237-271; digital facsimile and transcribed edition in Erudition gazetteers collection. Citations use classical pagination.

YNZ: *(Zhengde) Yunnan zhi* (正德)雲南志 [(Zhengde-era) Yunnan gazetteer]. 1510 block-printed edition; facsimile in *Tianyige cang fangzhi xuankan xubian* 天一閣藏明代方志選刊續編 [Continued collection of selected Ming dynasty gazetteers from the Tianyige collection] vols 70-

71; manuscript copy of this edition held in National Library of China. Citations use classical pagination.

YNZL: Li Jing 李京, *Yunnan zhiliue* 雲南志略 [A brief history of Yunnan]. 1330 edition is no longer extant; prefaces have been preserved in YNTZ and excerpts preserved in *Shuofu*; reconstructed in Wang Shuwu (ed), *Yunnan zhiliue jijiao* [A brief history of Yunnan, collated and annotated] Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986; see also *Yunnan shiliao congkan* vol 3, 120-132; digital edition transcribed by Professor Hayashi Kenichiro 林謙一郎 <<https://toyoshi.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/maruha/siryo/yunnanzhilue.html>> (accessed 6 May 2019); tr. into English by Jacqueline M. Armijo, “‘The customs of various barbarians’ by Li Jing (1251-?)” in *Under Confucian Eyes*, edited by Susan Mann and Yu-yin Cheng, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 85-102.

ZZZ: Zhuang Cheng 莊成 (ed), (*Wanli*) *Zhaozhou zhi* (萬曆)趙州志 [(Wanli-era) Zhaozhou subprefecture gazetteer]. Manuscript edition held in National Library of China; transcribed edition Dali: Dali Baizu zizhizhou wenhuaju fanyin, 1983. Citations use transcribed pagination.

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INTRODUCTION:

How have local communities responded when forcibly incorporated – by invasion or socio-economic integration – into a centralised empire? Why do certain social relationships or identities become salient in the process of adaptation to a new sociopolitical situation while others remain latent? What does it mean to define one’s community as “local,” and who gets to participate in the process of re-definition? In this dissertation, I approach these questions through a study of a small city, and its surrounding districts, within a mountainous region on the southwest periphery of two non-European empires based in eastern Eurasia. In 1253, Mongol armies led by Qubilai Qan invaded the Dali Kingdom, a small state in the foothills of the Himalayas. For five hundred years before the Mongol conquest, kingdoms based in its capital, Dali city, had ruled much of the region stretching from the Tibetan plateau to the Mekong basin. By the end of the thirteenth century, this region, renamed Yunnan province, had been so effectively incorporated into the newly-established Yuan empire that it remained part of its successor, the Ming empire, and remains part of China to this day. For the residents of Yunnan, and of Dali in particular, this sudden transformation of their home into a remote, peripheral district on the south-western borderlands of a large and powerful empire demanded a wholesale reorientation of their understanding of their region and its place in the world. Dali is a particularly interesting place to explore the reconstruction of social identities because not only the indigenous society but also the society of the larger empire were incongruent with the narratives and categories of European empire. In addition, since members of Dali’s elite read and wrote in literary Sinitic throughout the whole period of colonisation, they have left a substantial and varied body of sources for the historian.

The spatial dynamics that structured the production of these sources have also shaped their study. Chinese academics trained in the new domestic universities, or overseas, began writing about the city of Dali in the 1940s; a time when much of northern and eastern China was under Japanese occupation, and the most famous Chinese universities, with their faculty and student bodies, had shifted to Yunnan for the duration of the war. For linguists, ethnographers, and historical scholars, their new surroundings became objects of study as much from necessity as from intellectual interest.¹ At the same time, foreign scholars were arriving in Yunnan through their connections to Chinese universities or on diplomatic or military missions, among them two students of Bronislaw Malinowski who found themselves conducting extended fieldwork in Dali. Francis L.K. Hsu 徐煒光 (1909-1999), having received his PhD in 1940, had been appointed to the faculty of Central China College in Beijing, and evacuated to Yunnan from there.² C.P. Fitzgerald (1902-1992), already the author of a best-selling history of China, conducted research in Dali as a Leverhulme Fellow in 1937-38.³ Of course, imperial interest in the rich agriculture

¹ For example, linguist Luo Xintian 羅莘田 published an account of Dali’s history under the name Luo Changpei 羅常培: *Cang-Er zhi jian* 蒼洱之間 [Between Mt Cang and Lake Er] (Nanjing: Duli chubanshe, 1947). Other parts of Yunnan, particularly around Kunming, were famously studied by sociologists affiliated with universities including Qinghua and the University of Chicago, such as Fei Xiaotong, *Earth-bound China: a Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); Chow Yung-teh, *Social Mobility in China: Status Careers among the Gentry in a Chinese Community* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966). For an account of the influence of these scholars on the development of social science disciplines in China, see Wang Zhengang 王振剛, *Minguo xueren xinan bianjiang wenti yanjiu* 民國學人西南邊疆問題研究 [Research of the Problem of the Southwestern Borders by Republican-era Scholars] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2013).

² Hendrick Serrie, “Obituary: Francis L.K. Hsu” *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 168-171.

³ Apart from a diploma in Chinese from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,

and untapped markets of China's "great inland markets" had produced dozens of customs reports, exploration narratives, and travel accounts in French and English since the 1860s.⁴ Fitzgerald and Hsu, however, broke new ground in both their methodology — scientific ethnographic observation — and their monograph-length focus on the Dali plain.⁵ Though they shared a commitment to understanding the worldview of their subjects in their own terms, they came to diametrically opposed conclusions about whether Dali's inhabitants understood themselves as Chinese or not. For Fitzgerald, distinct language and customs marked the *Bertser* (his transcription of their own ethnonym) as distinctly non-Chinese, while for Hsu, claims to Nanjing migrant ancestry along with value for filial relationships were sufficiently similar to the central plains that Dali's inhabitants should be considered Chinese.⁶

In those days, Dali was remote from political and economic centres; it took two weeks to travel on foot from the provincial capital, Kunming.⁷ At the same time, trade routes to Haiphong and Bhamo remained active, manned by Hui muleteers based in the Weishan basin and thoroughly enriching the merchant houses of Xizhou, a town north of Dali, who had turned to trade in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.⁸ It was this town and these families that Hsu pseudonymised as "West Town"; choosing this small urban area as his unit of analysis, he discovered two distinct, though related, societies: wealthy families competing for status and poor families competing for survival, bound together by a shared ideology of reciprocal filiality exemplified by the father-son relationship. Seeking comparisons with other parts of China to explain the historical rise and fall of families and kingdoms alike, he understood the inhabitants of West Town as Chinese by habit and by self-understanding, regardless of their racial origin or language.⁹ Fitzgerald, by contrast, chose Dali as a site of research because it offered an

awarded in 1930, his only formal degree was an honorary doctorate of letters awarded in 1968 by the Australian National University, where he had taught since 1950. Rafe de Crespigny, "Fitzgerald, Charles Patrick (1902–1992)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fitzgerald-charles-patrick-382/text28307>>, published online 2016, accessed online 1 June 2019; Wang Gungwu, "In Memoriam: Professor C. P. Fitzgerald 1902–1992," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 29 (January 1993): 161–3. His 1935 history of China was called *China: A Short Cultural History* and is available in many editions.

⁴ Among others: Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué par une commission française présidée par le capitaine de frégate, Doudart de Lagrée; relation empruntée au journal Le tour du monde*. Revised and annotated by Léon Garnier, (Paris: Hachette, 1885) (the English translation includes additional material written by other members of the expedition not included in the Hachette edition: Francis Garnier, *The Mekong Exploration Commission Report, 1866–1868*, translated and with an introduction by Walter E.J. Tips. (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1996–2001)); Peter Goullart, *Forgotten Kingdom* (London: John Murray, 1955); Gabrielle M. Vassal, *In and round Yunnan Fou* (London: W. Heinemann, 1922). The most famous report in English was H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan: the Link between India and the Yangtze*. (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1970[1909]), in which he attempted a complete ethno-linguistic categorisation of the peoples of Yunnan. His analysis of Dali (Min-chia) — which placed their language in the Mon-Khmer family — was and remained controversial. Cf Thomas Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 61–84. The "great inland markets" formulation is reasonably frequent in the literature, see for example J. Coryton "Trade Routes between British Burmah and Western China" *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* vol 45 (1875): 235.

⁵ The two monographs are: C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Tower of Five Glories: a Study of the Min Chia of Ta Li, Yunnan* (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1973[1941]); Francis L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Kinship, Personality, and Social Mobility in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971[1947]).

⁶ Fitzgerald, *Tower of Five Glories*, 12–15; Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow*, 16–19.

⁷ C. P. Fitzgerald, *Why China?: Recollections of China 1923–1950* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 166.

⁸ C. Patterson Giersch, "Yunnanese Transactional Business Firms in the Early Twentieth Century: Xizhou's Yongchangxiang as a Case Study," in *Southwest China in a Regional and Global Perspective (c. 1600–1911): Metals, Transport, Trade and Society*, edited by Ulrich Theobald and Cao Jin (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 441.

⁹ He quotes Davies on the race question but differs from him in this importance of language, Hsu, *Under the Ancestors'*

opportunity to study an ethnic group that occupied a coherent and limited territory, unlike the Miao and Yi he had encountered spread over the uplands of Guizhou.¹⁰ In order to understand Dali's people on their own terms, he produced detailed descriptions of their language, religion, and social customs, paying particular attention to both the ways their culture differed from that of "the Chinese" and the ways they perceived themselves to be different. For Hsu, West Town was one of many similar villages within a large, basically undifferentiated political-cultural territory; for Fitzgerald, Dali was a place constituted by a distinctive bond between people and territory and by its peripheral position in relation to a Chinese centre. In other words, the fundamental difference between their approaches to this field site lay in how they situated it in relation to the larger space of the Republic of China (as it then was).

This tension between two ways of locating Dali as a space in relation to the empire resonates not only through the secondary literature but also in Dali inhabitants' writings about their home town. Over the four centuries following the Mongol conquest, the political and economic incorporation of Yunnan into the Mongol Yuan and Chinese Ming empires fundamentally re-oriented the social and cultural lives of its inhabitants toward the imperial centre. As a result, Dali could — and can — be read either as a periphery (in contrast to the central plains) or as a typical sub-unit of the administrative whole. Since, unlike much of the southwest, Dali was integrated into the civilian administrative structures that governed the central plains, its tax structures, state-sponsored ritual, and regular circulating officials created and reinforced its role as an unexceptional imperial locality. Moreover, the existing elite had the resources to give their sons a classical education, enabling them to take the civil service examinations and participate in bureaucratic networks on their own behalf. On the other hand, the sheer distance between Yunnan and the capital — at least three weeks journey — combined with Yunnan's reputation as a remote and uncivilised wilderness to frame Dali in peripheral opposition to the imperial centre. In addition, Dali elite families traced their lineage to the great clans who had served the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms before the Mongol conquest, producing a discourse of difference that placed Dali at the civilised centre.

It is these readings, mapped onto ideas of ethnicity or common Chinese heritage, that were taken up by Fitzgerald and Hsu; they have continued to structure scholarly understandings of Dali and of localities across what is now southern China. Megan Bryson provides a particularly clear formulation in the introduction to her longitudinal study of the worship of female deities in Dali: to trace changes in the meanings associated with these figures across more than a thousand years, she establishes a binary distinction between structures of meaning which located Dali in the "hybridity and fluidity" of the frontier zone or, conversely, in and through connection with successive Chinese states.¹¹ Local identity, for her, was produced by the strategic choices of Dali people to invoke elements of each discourse in representing themselves.¹² In other words, the discursive significance and affective weight of "local identity" developed through local agents' negotiation between an assimilating core and a heterogeneous periphery. While I agree that neither a framing of differentiation or a framing of assimilation/incorporation on its own can adequately describe the complexity of Dali's positioning in relation to imperial space, if the framing distinction exists in the representations themselves (rather than purely as a heuristic device), we need to better understand the spatial worlds of the sources. To do this, we need to

Shadow, 17-18.

¹⁰ Fitzgerald, *Why China?*, 164.

¹¹ Megan Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier: Religion, Ethnicity, and Gender in Southwest China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 12-17. She cites classical Saussurean structuralism as her hermeneutical framework.

¹² Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 9, 20.

examine the making of representations as part of an array of quotidian practices, and understand the ways spatialised ways that Dali people positioned themselves in local and translocal societies were embedded in discourses and practices of class, history, family, and Buddhist piety, among others.

This dissertation explores local engagement with spatialised discourses and practices through writing in literary Sinitic in Dali during the four centuries following the Mongol invasion. In so doing, it builds on historical research within the fields of both borderlands and local histories, which examine questions of place and identity from different angles. In this remainder of this introduction, I will also consider problems in the study of difference in late imperial China through a survey of selected work in history, literary studies, and linguistic anthropology. I will then discuss the linguistic ecology of Yuan-Ming Yunnan and the sources used in this dissertation, and conclude with a short discussion of the two axes of difference around which the processes analysed in the body of the dissertation were organised.

Periphery and Locality in Historical Literature:

In general, the deeply embedded discourses of centre-periphery and locality-state interaction have emerged in the scholarly literature as two distinct sub-fields. Among historians of middle and late imperial China, questions of the relationship between state and society, popular and elite culture, have been treated as the provenance of local histories, histories about places in north and south China that, even though many were newly-incorporated into Chinese empires at that time, have since come to be regarded as fundamentally Chinese both territorially and culturally. On the other hand, writings about identity, ethnicity, and empire have been under the purview of historians studying populations categorised as non-Han and not part of the historical territory of “China proper.” While a not insubstantial proportion of these, especially Qing and Yuan period, focus on non-Han people who became emperors of China, both they and more traditional borderlands studies are fundamentally concerned with the centre-periphery dynamic, and how movement of individuals and groups along that axis has ramifications for how they govern the empire as whole. In the following section, I will first discuss the centre-periphery dynamic as it has appeared in borderlands-oriented histories of the southwest. I will then survey the concerns of literature focused on the state-locality dynamic, before discussing selected literature that has examined the intersections of the two spatial frameworks.

Southwest as a Borderlands:

The point of departure for the revitalisation of the study of late imperial China’s southwestern frontiers around the turn of the twenty-first century was a narrative of Chinese civilisational and political expansion that was largely congruent with the language of official dynastic histories but had remained the standard account in much post-imperial scholarship. Developments in our own and in other fields in the late twentieth century, in particular New Qing History, North American frontier history and postcolonial studies, had rendered this narrative increasingly uncomfortable to scholars with non-sinological training. That narrative, based on the contrasts between the northern and southern frontier drawn by Owen Lattimore, and elaborated by Herold J. Wiens in his 1954 book *China’s March toward the Tropics*, argues that the distinctive characteristic of the south and southwestern peripheries of Chinese empires was

the ease with which they were politically and culturally incorporated into the empire.¹³ Unlike the northern frontiers, along which settled Chinese and nomadic Central Asian communities battled constantly for supremacy, on the southwest Chinese technological and military superiority ensured a relatively straightforward expansion of territory, one seen as a natural outgrowth of the Chinese state. From the imperial point of view, this expansion was carried out largely by local agents: settlers, traders, officials — whose military support was indirect rather than a matter of centrally-mandated policy. Nevertheless, the perspective of this narrative, which strove to draw a pattern out of the multifarious activities of smaller agents, was firmly grounded in a metropole which was understood as ethnically Han and culturally Chinese. The major directions of (sometimes implicit) critique carried out in field of southwest studies as it has developed since the first dissertations appeared in the late 1990s followed three main lines.

First, reacting to Wiens' casual assumption that the inherent superiority of Chinese civilisation was a primary cause for the expansion of Chinese states on their southwest border, historians have reassessed the role of violence in expanding Chinese influence on the frontier. Most explicitly, John Herman argued that the conquest of western Guizhou province in the early-mid Ming was carried out through state-sponsored military action against a state whose sovereignty the Ming empire chose not to recognise.¹⁴ A second intense period of violence followed in the eighteenth century, as indirect imperial control implemented through sponsorship of existing indigenous rulers was replaced by forms of administration that impinged directly on the lives of ordinary residents. This violence primarily appears in the records as local rebellions, characterised by the state agents through whose perspectives all extant accounts are filtered. Although much of the theoretical inspiration for studies like Herman's drew from postcolonial and subaltern studies, with the aim of centring actors not recognised by the narratives of the nation state, in practice the combination of violent rebellion and twentieth-century ethnic politics meant that narratives of violent revolt against an imperial power found resonances with narratives of nation-making through anti-colonial rebellion, with the "ethnic group" or "national minority" standing as a kind of unfulfilled nation-state.¹⁵ Some studies, particularly on later rebellions, noted that many rebel groups were "ethnic coalitions" acting on primarily economic motives, but the primary site of violence was still seen as the result of expansion of imperial rule — rather than economic or cultural friction — on the frontier.¹⁶ As a result, the fundamental encounter is now framed negatively, as a process of violent indigenous dispossession rather than essentially beneficial expansion.

Second, not only is imperial expansion seen as inherently violent, military action is understood to be one of a suite of policies and administrative practices through which the Ming and Qing states imposed their rule on the mountainous areas to their southwest. Under the influence of New Qing History, which frames Qing empire as consciously taking on a multi-ethnic ideology in its interactions with its central Asian subjects, historians of the southwest

¹³ Herold J. Wiens, *China's March toward the Tropics*, (Hamden: Shoestring Press, 1954); Owen Lattimore, "The Frontier in History," in *Studies In Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928-1958*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

¹⁴ John Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

¹⁵ Ranajit Guha, "The Prose of Counter Insurgency." In *Subaltern Studies II*, 1-43. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983; Dru C. Gladney, *Dislocating China: Reflections on Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹⁶ Robert D. Jenks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: the "Miao" Rebellion, 1854-1873* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994); David Atwill, *The Chinese Sultanate: Islam, Ethnicity, and the Panthay Rebellion in Southwest China, 1856-1873* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); An exception is Jodi Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: local resistance to Qing expansion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

traced the development of imperial policies both from a central perspective and on the ground. Studies of frontier law, in particular, emphasised the distance between imperial policies on the page and the negotiations and adaptations to local requirements that took place within the borderlands themselves.¹⁷ Beyond central policy documents, much of the agency in the development of these practices is located with local officials motivated by ideological perspectives and concerned about the progress of their careers.¹⁸ Considerable attention has also been devoted to the representational practices of officials and other gentry travellers to the southwest, particularly in the context of gazetteers, ethnographic albums, maps, and travel literature.¹⁹ The calculated, or at least clearly intentional, nature of these practices presents a picture of imperial expansion that is much more intentional than the narrative of inevitable sinicisation implies.

The third transformation of our understanding of these histories involved a shift of the perspective of the historian from that of the expanding state apparatus to the indigenous inhabitants of the lands into which the state expanded. This approach is generally referred to collectively as “borderlands history” because it has drawn substantially on literature reframing colonial expansion in North America from the closing of a frontier to a zone of interaction. In borderlands zones, particularly those in which more than one imperial power is active, scholars see negotiations among state agents, migrants, and indigenous actors as creating a distinct society. While power relationships may not be equal, particularly access to coercive violence, the limited knowledge of all participants of the language, norms, and agenda of the others means that interactions in these spaces were shaped by the cross-section of ignorance, and, therefore, that indigenous aims, though unknown to the state, need to be accounted for historically. Historiographically, however, the significance of borderlands studies has continued to lie in based on their potential to reframe understandings of the centre.²⁰ Despite these limitations, borderlands approaches to imperial Chinese frontiers (not limited to the southwest) have successfully reoriented the field to centre local views on state expansion.

As a result, we have a much richer understanding of the negotiations between local and state actors that shaped the southwestern borderlands, the lives of its inhabitants, and its representations in literary Chinese texts throughout the empire. The cumulative picture presented by these studies reframes the history of late imperial southwestern borderlands as zones of interaction.²¹ Identities were fluid, in that individuals or families could change their affiliation to and from Han/Chinese and barbarian/non-Chinese, but the structuring binary remained fixed along lines of cultural difference. In fact, divisions between Han civilians (*min* 民) and

¹⁷ Donald S. Sutton, “Violence and Ethnicity on a Qing Colonial Frontier: Customary and Statutory Law in the Eighteenth-Century Miao Pale” *Modern Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2003): 41-80; Daniel McMahon, *Rethinking the Decline of China’s Qing Dynasty: Imperial Activism and Borderland Management at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2014).

¹⁸ Kathlene Baldanza, “A State Agent at Odds with the State: Lin Xiyuan and the Recovery of the Four Dong,” in *China’s Encounters on the South and Southwest: Reforging the Fiery Frontier over Two Millennia*, edited by James A. Anderson and John K. Whitmore (Amsterdam: Brill, 2014), 183; William T. Rowe, “Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch’ên Hung-mou in Yunnan, 1733-38,” in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

¹⁹ Leo K. Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State: Ethnicity and Expansion on the Ming Borderlands* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007); in Guizhou, Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).

²⁰ I owe this point to Hannah Theaker.

²¹ Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*; James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: an Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou*; Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*.

barbaric indigenous peoples (*man* 蠻), and among indigenous and foreign peoples (*manyi* 蠻夷) more generally, were reinforced and multiplied through increasingly intense interactions between locals and the state. The household-based taxation system implemented by the Ming meant that the most important way of classifying the population, for the purposes of the state, turned on whether or not a household or village was registered in the census and therefore taxable, or whether its inhabitants lived beyond the state's capacity to extract tax (perhaps even in violent conflict with it). Within the registered population, households were classified according to the kind of corvée they performed: on the frontier, the two major categories were military families (*junjia* 軍家), usually the descendants of troops posted to frontier garrisons early in the dynasty, and ordinary subjects (*minjia* 民家), who might be migrants or indigenous people engaged in taxable grain agricultural production. The decay of the tax system (and its associated categories) in the sixteenth century coincided with a sudden increase around 1600 in the number of categories employed to classify unregistered populations across the southwest.²² By the early eighteenth century, when changes in Qing policies spread direct administration to a much larger area of the southwest and encouraged a new wave of civilian migration, increased availability of sources, and diversification of economic activity, scholarly understandings of the borderlands as a region where peoples of many ways of life participated in a fluid, hybrid society have become increasingly prevalent.²³

On the other hand, the conception of a peripheral frontier zone defined by its relationship to the centre has remained an overarching category, obscuring the substantial differences among localities within the southwestern borderlands.²⁴ Within the arc stretching from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Tibetan Plateau, the topography ranges from tropical rainforest, through lowland river valleys, temperate and fertile basins, and precipitous mountains to highland plateaus. The livelihoods and political organisations of the region's inhabitants were similarly diverse both before and after political incorporation into Chinese empires, making a living from various combinations of slash and burn agriculture, trade, nomadic herding, and "ordinary" rice farming.²⁵ Political and social organisations ranged from expansion-minded empires based in Tibet, Dali, and the Red River Delta through smaller Tai and Nasu states, and others still unknown.²⁶ In a rare comparative study, Siu-woo Cheung argues that the uptake of Christianity among early twentieth-century Miao was much greater in north-western Guizhou than in the southeastern part of the province because of the existing levels of social inequality: in the southeast the Miao were independent peasant farmers, while in the northwest, they were indentured tenants of Yi rulers.²⁷ Chinese states took appropriately diverse approaches to direct and indirect rule, whether registering indigenous inhabitants as subjects (*min*), as in Dali;

²² In Guangxi, Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State*; in Guizhou, Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*.

²³ Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*; Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou*.

²⁴ The northern frontier has been considered fundamentally distinct by historians since at least Lattimore, "The Frontier in History."

²⁵ Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou*; Kang Xiaofei and Donald S. Sutton, *Contesting the Yellow Dragon: Ethnicity, Religion, and the State in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

²⁶ Tai Lue states are discussed in Shih-Chung Hsieh, "Ethnic-Political Adaptation and Ethnic Change of the Sipsong Panna Dai: an Ethno-historical Analysis," PhD dissertation. University of Washington, 1995; Nasu is discussed in John Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007.

²⁷ Siu-woo Cheung, "Millenarianism, Christian Movements, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China," in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, edited by Stevan Harrell, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 217-247.

appointing an indigenous ruler as a representative (*tusi*); or engaging in hostile military action. This variety is tacitly acknowledged in the literature by the prevalence of local studies: no-one has attempted a general formulation of the characteristics of the southwestern border zone, either from the point of view of state policy or the local conditions.²⁸ Such a general formulation is beyond the scope of this study, but the particularities of Dali's situation contribute a case study distinct from much of the existing literature. This forms the necessary groundwork for a re-consideration of the works written in literary Chinese by members of Dali's literate elite.

State-Society Relationships and the Locality:

While borderlands scholarship, and scholarship on Ming-Qing empire more generally, has taken as its point of departure the kind of centre-periphery spatial framework invoked by Fitzgerald's study of Dali, the locality paradigm used by Hsu forms the basis of a distinct subfield: local history. From on one end, this subfield fundamentally treats the relationship of the state to the society, in particular how it may effectively rule. From the other end, the field is underlain by an almost phenomenological question of the experience of everyday life on the scale of the village or county town. These concerns converge on the question of the intermediaries existing at the interface of state power and the power structures of local society. How did the state employ local people to supplement its agents in implementing its rule outside the capital? How did the people it employed in both their own localities and in others understand their relationship to the state and to the places they came from? What institutions structured the power relationships of local society below the state's gaze, and how did they, in turn, influence the state's methods of governance?

The foundational question structuring the histories of imperial China that were local in scope was the relationship between a bureaucratic state and local society. Many early local historians aimed at characterising the nature and strength Chinese imperial states by reference to the typologies of Fei Xiaotong etc (purdue), deriving from Weber, and in conversation with institutional histories of the 1960s.²⁹ The essays collected in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, with the ultimate collapse of the late imperial social order in mind, emphasise the difficulties of governing such a large and varied empire. At the same time, however, they are careful to characterise Qing governance as "rule by norm" or "bureaucratic unity" despite an observable diversity of procedures.³⁰ Peter Purdue's book about rural Hunan, on the other hand, frames his findings on the economic and social structures operative on the local level as a test of the ability of the relevant imperial regimes to extract value through taxation and to implement the policies enunciated at court. At the same time, historians were hampered by the fact that source material was not evenly spatially distributed across the empire. As a result, while they were able to make arguments bearing on the theoretical problems of the state's reach into local society, these scholars were unable to argue empirically that the state effectively ruled the whole

²⁸ Jiang Yonglin's article on representations of the frontier in court records comes the closest, but it does not explicitly engage with the question of variation within the border zone; Jiang Yonglin, "Thinking about 'Ming China' Anew: the Ethnocultural Space in a Diverse Empire, with Special Reference to the 'Miao Territory'" *Journal of Chinese History* 2 (2018): 27-78.

²⁹ John R. Watt, *The District Magistrate in Late Imperial China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1972; Charles O. Hucker, *The Censorial System of Ming China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).

³⁰ Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Introduction: the Evolution of Local Control in Late Imperial China," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, edited by Frederic Wakeman Jr and Carolyn Grant, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 16.

of its territory.³¹

From the 1980s, the emphasis of local historians shifted from the goals and effectiveness of state policy and institutions to the local adaptations, negotiations, and transformations of both society and the state's order itself. In this view, the state is defined by its ritual order, and its desire to bring the ruled population in conformity with it. Driven by anthropological work on the ritual structures of local societies in twentieth-century China local historians explored the varying implementations of not only state policy but state ritual, lineage institutions, and the ideal ordering of rural society.³² Drawing substantially on Chinese scholarship on Fujian, these local studies argued that a significant change took place in the Jiajing era, when the reorientation of the Ming taxation system towards silver produced an incentive for consolidation of landholding at the level of the village or incorporated lineage. The gentry class, as a local elite, developed its common ideologies and ritual practices out of its role as the mediator between the state and the rural non-elite for which it took responsibility.³³ In some of these places, peripheral areas in the Pearl River Delta or on the Fujian coast, a non-registered population remained even after the development of corporate lineage and village structures; the local elite claimed descent from migrants and the majority of the population associated with it became absorbed into imperial structures of difference. As a result, these studies de-emphasise the development of an exotic, ethnicised other as the avatar for the indigenous population in favour of processes by which the locality was politically and socially incorporated into the state. They treat local societies as the site of negotiation between a state which aimed to impose its ritual and cultural order on its subjects and a local society which used a variety of ritual, cultural, and economic strategies to manage their relationship with the state.

Crucial to both these interpretations of the state-society relationship is a local elite whose role was to mediate between imperial state and local society, representing each to the other and forming a conduit for the transmission of ideas, customs, and culture. In the earlier tradition, local gentry were defined by the scope of their field of action, in opposition to provincial or national gentry.³⁴ Scholar-officials who passed the provincial or metropolitan examinations, held office in the capital or in locales far from their hometown, and engaged with the intellectual and political concerns of the — were considered qualitatively different from those whose sphere of action lay in the province, or, more especially, in the county or prefecture. For those men,

³¹ The immense literature taking up these questions since then have focused more on the concept of a public sphere: Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004). The only spatially oriented studies have been specifically urban areas, not rural administration: William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989) Man Bun Kwan, *The Salt Merchants of Tianjin: State-Making and Civil Society in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

³² For the anthropological work, see in particular: James L. Watson, "Standardising the Gods: the Promotion of T'ien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') along the South China Coast, 960-1960," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 292-324; James L. Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, edited by James L. Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3-19.

³³ David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Joseph P. McDermott, *The Making of a New Rural Order in South China: I. Village, Land, and Lineage in Huizhou, 900-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

³⁴ Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarisation and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); John W. Dardess, *A Ming Society: Tai-ho County, Kiangsi, Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

sources of power derived not only from state-sponsorship but from the institutions of local society, control of material resources, and relationships of loyalty or domination among themselves and with non-elite locals. As a result, their relationship with the state had the potential to turn antagonistic. According to the later tradition of local history, the integration of county or village level institutions of power with state taxation structures, combined with an emphasis on the shared norms and rituals associated with those institutions, enabled the development of a local elite that was highly integrated with the state and to some degree independent of it. Ultimately, both traditions are attempting to address questions about the composition of the elite, and, more importantly, its sources of ongoing power.

Answering the question “who were the local elite?” requires an analysis of the sources of power by which they established themselves, and more importantly, reproduced their dominance of local society from generation to generation. In studies of the Song elite, in many ways the centre of gravity of the field, this has largely been considered a subordinate question the analysis of changes in literati spheres of action.³⁵ Hymes, for example, argues in an influential study that the local elite can be defined as men whose education gave them the capacity to orient themselves towards central or translocal concerns, if they so chose.³⁶ On the other hand, his analysis of the means by which they maintained their social position integrated the Weberian typology of wealth, power, and prestige within the context of Chinese social resources.³⁷ Later studies have argued that the rise of an elite deriving its authority mainly from lineage institutions, particularly in south China, can be traced through a shift from temple to lineage school or academy as the primary locus of elite activism within the locality.³⁸ Unlike the relatively clear transformation in the behaviour of Song elites, late imperial gentry, either because of their greater numbers (in proportion to official posts) post-1500 or simply the greater variety of available sources, seem to have pursued strategies that varied widely in the orientation to both state norms and other regional or local institutions over time.

The second important development of the late Ming, beyond the scholasticisation of the rural gentry, is the rise of an elite that circulated beyond the officially-generated movements of examination candidates and circulating officials. Commercialisation of the economy not only opened up sources of wealth beyond landowning, it also produced a class of people engaged with that economy. As the lifestyles of merchant families changed, their relationship to sources of status also transformed. Native place institutions arose among sojourner communities, particularly merchants from Huizhou, who used them to support access to influence in the place of new residence.³⁹ In this way, the role of the locality as a framework for supporting the reproduction of the elite was rhetorically reinforced even as it was weakened.⁴⁰ In the interior, the movement of elites upriver in search of wealth and status meant that their social reproduction intersected with state institutions in quite different ways at different points in their diasporic

³⁵ Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, political and social transformations of China, 750-1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 42 (1982): 365-442; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: the Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). The absence of this group of people in the twentieth century historical-anthropological studies means they have focused primarily on the below-county level eg Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

³⁶ Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, 6.

³⁷ Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, 7.

³⁸ Anne Gerritsen, *Ji'an Literati and the Local in Song-Yuan-Ming China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 178-82.

³⁹ Du Yongtao, *The Order of Places: Translocal Practices of the Huizhou Merchants in Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁴⁰ Du, *The Order of Places*, 21-25.

journeys.⁴¹ As a result, the sources of power and the allegiances of any given local elite must be taken as an object of study and cannot be assumed.

Intersections of Borderlands and Localities:

Although these two sub-fields treat distinct empirical cases, orient themselves towards different larger questions, and are generally conceived of as distinct areas of interest, their concerns do intersect at a number of places. Juxtaposing their distinct approaches to the analysis of relationships between local interaction and translocal structures can illuminate each other's methods and suggest different questions. Both of these bodies of scholarship attempt to account for, trace state responses to, and understand the consequences of spatialised forms of difference in late imperial society. In general, while studies of southwestern borderworlds have framed interactions between the state and local societies as instances of colonial incursion (in which the society as a whole is characterised by the rupture of the moment of conquest), studies of peripheral areas of the far south and southeast have framed interactions between the state and local societies as variations within a culturally and politically coherent Chinese society. Studies of the borderlands start from an assumption of difference from other parts of the empire, whereas local histories start from an assumption of comparability — at least of potential similarity — with other localities. These studies, by engaging with a “local history” framework common to earlier and later periods, aim to show by close study of a chosen locality some of the changes typical of or particularly marked in the late imperial state. As a result, one of the questions that structures other historians' readings of their work is: how typical was this locality compared to other parts of the empire? This question relies on the proposition that making statements about the state assumes a certain level of uniformity in the spatial distribution of socio-political or cultural phenomena across the space of China proper. Borderlands history, on the other hand, reflects the assumption that this uniformity not only cannot be presumed from the perspective of peripheral localities, but also that it was not assumed by the state. As a consequence of this, the construction of difference has taken centre stage in many historical analyses (including this one).

Nevertheless, despite their incompatible assumptions, studies of both borderlands and local histories frequently treat similar phenomena. As a result one can draw out some general observations about the kinds of difference historians perceive in differently spatialised empirical studies. In the political realm, for example, the normative civilian administration characteristic of local histories finds a counterpart in many studies of Yuan and Ming borderlands in the structures of indirect rule, whether the *tusi* system or tributary relationships with more distant political entities. Studies in both realms, however, emphasise the “janus-faced” role of the elite, whether literati-officials or hereditary indigenous leaders, in showing the state what it wants to see and manipulating its symbols and ritual to enhance their own power locally. The primary difference is that in directly ruled areas the role of official appointee is distinct from local scholar-gentry lineage representatives, whereas the *tusi* combines both roles in one person. The role of violence in imposing and in resisting state rule occupies a central place in historiography of the frontier.⁴² By contrast, violence in the interior has been associated more frequently with divides within local society based around access to resources and status than with larger

⁴¹ Steven B. Miles, *Upriver Journeys: Diaspora and Empire in Southern China, 1570-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), 11-12.

⁴² Herman takes it as constitutive of the colonial process, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*, 10-12.

geopolitical concerns.⁴³ As late imperial frontiers received increased numbers of migrants from the interior, however, the composition of violent uprisings became more complicated, and cannot be reduced to a conflict between the state and indigenes.⁴⁴ The questions raised by the necessary re-assessment of the role of violence in imposing and maintaining state rule on the frontier may also be applied to the role of violence in state rule of the interior.

Both sub-fields have additionally been disrupted by scholarship questioning the applicability of sinic models of state and space to dynasties ruled by central Asian peoples. In this body of work, territorial control via the *junxian* system is contrasted with nomadic systems of rule which depended on loyalty and patron-client relationships between ruler and ruled. In conversation with research which takes the Mongol empire as whole as its unit of analysis, historians of the Yuan have shown that Yuan rulers frequently exercised power in ways that derived from the norms of nomad rule. Close analysis of literary Chinese sources in combination with Mongol texts shows, for example, that the Mongols flexibly implemented practices of political representation based in “a Mongolian vision of a universal empire.”⁴⁵ The ramifications of kind of research for studies of local societies have also been explored, particularly in north China, which was ruled by the Jurchen Jin for about a century (1127-1216) before the Mongol conquest. In Shanxi, for example, the relative weakness of educational and official institutions under the Jin and Yuan meant that the local elite reproduced themselves primarily through local Buddhist and Daoist institutions instead.⁴⁶ Likewise, in borderland studies, the fluid and sometimes contradictory understandings of territory, people, and governance that can be identified in both Mongol and Manchu rule have been identified variously as an origin of the *tusi* system, a transnationally-adapted technology of rule, and a repertoire of social capital available to residents of the frontier region.⁴⁷ In these studies, the state’s relationship to the locality is re-examined in the light of our better appreciation of the state’s understanding of itself.

Much more scholarly attention has been focused on frameworks of ethnic difference as an underlying phenomenon which distinguished state approaches to rule in localities in the interior from those in the borderlands. Recognisable precursors of modern “minority nationality” (*shaoshu minzu* 少数民族) policies and particular ethnic identities have posed questions to the historical record about the origins and uses of such identities. Here, again, the emphasis has been on state-(or state agent-)driven processes of demarcation among the ruled population. Until around 1600, labels differentiating among different communities (linguistic, political, cultural, or otherwise) were not reflective of an existing, universalistic taxonomy but were applied *ad hoc* to the situation

⁴³ William T. Rowe, *Crimson Rain: Seven Centuries of Violence in a Chinese County* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

⁴⁴ David Atwill, *The Chinese Sultanate: Islam, Ethnicity, and the Panthay Rebellion in Southwest China, 1856-1873* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Robert D. Jenks *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: the “Miao” Rebellion, 1854-1873* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1994); Jodi L. Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: local resistance to Qing expansion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

⁴⁵ Francesca Fiaschetti, “The Borders of Rebellion,” in *Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China*, edited by Francesca Fiaschetti and Julia Schneider (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 129. See also

⁴⁶ Wang Jinping, *In the Wake of the Mongols: the Making of a New Social Order in North China, 1200-1600* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018), 13-21. See also Iiyama Tomoyasu, “Steles and Status: Evidence for the Emergence of a New Elite in Yuan North China,” *Journal of Chinese History* 1 (2017): 3-26; Chen Song, “The State, the Gentry, and the Local Institutions: the Song Dynasty and Long-Term Trends from Tang to Qing,” *Journal of Chinese History* 1 (2017): 141-182.

⁴⁷ Respectively, Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*; Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*; Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guozhou*.

confronting an official or officer.⁴⁸ In practice, the primary administrative distinction drawn among the ruled population of both the periphery and the interior were those registered as imperial subjects and therefore within the ritual and administrative reach of the state (*min*) and the unregistered population outside it (*man*).⁴⁹ This focus on the construction of ethnic difference contrasts with the tendency of local histories of the interior to discuss ethnic difference primarily as something being abandoned in the civilising process, as elite lineages claimed descent from migrants from the central states.⁵⁰ A more complex problem concerns the extent to which the ruled population identified themselves as members of distinct, even ethnic, groups in opposition to the majority people within the state. The major difficulty is the availability of sources reflecting (or reflecting on) local self-conceptions before the nineteenth century. In general the consensus seems to be that such identities did exist on the frontier but were relatively fluid until the early twentieth century.⁵¹

A final point of intersection reflects an understanding of difference that emphasises cultural rather than ethnic differentiation. On the frontier, the consensus has been that selective acculturation of indigenous peoples to customs that their observers understood as representative of Chinese civilisation was a tactic employed strategically to preserve existing ways of life.⁵² Work on the interior, however, has come to understand representations of strange customs as a way for elite writers to distinguish themselves from the populations they ruled. In this framework, the fundamental form of difference within Chinese society (and against which literary culture defined itself) was the variety of local customs and religion among the peasantry. As a result, local-level social relationships are viewed through a framework in which a translocal elite attempts to impose its shared culture on a population of much greater linguistic and cultural variety. In general, this approach has not been applied to the borderlands in the southwest or elsewhere. However, in the introduction to their edited volume *Chieftains into Ancestors: Imperial Expansion and Indigenous Society in Southwest China*, David Faure and Ho Ts'ui-p'ing lay out a premise shared by its authors: that the methods for researching the myths and rituals of popular religion in imperial sources can fruitfully be applied to uncover the historical perspectives of indigenous peoples in the late imperial southwest.⁵³ This methodology rests on the assumption that the relationship between the state and local society was a colonial one (that is the word they use) regardless of distance from the metropole or present-day ethnic status of the descendants of those identified as indigenous peoples.

Tools for Thinking: Language, Difference, Identity:

To summarise: although both borderlands history and local history discuss the manifestations of power in social relationships, and the identities that derive from them, on a relatively small scale in a specific context, historians' analyses have been constrained (and often determined) by the assumptions we make about local social relations based the spatial relationship of the local

⁴⁸ Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State*; Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*; Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*.

⁴⁹ Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State*.

⁵⁰ Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

⁵¹ Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*; Gladney, *Dislocating China*.

⁵² A particularly clear explication of this argument can be found in Jennifer Took, *A Native Chieftaincy in Southwest China: Franchising a Tai Chieftaincy Under the Tusi System of Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

⁵³ David Faure, "Introduction," in *Chieftains into Ancestors: Imperial Expansion and Indigenous Society in Southwest China*, edited by David Faure and Ho Ts'ui-p'ing (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 1-21.

context in question to the larger state. In other words, when a local context is understood to be in a centre-periphery relationship with the state, our analyses prioritise questions of ethnicised difference, resistance, and acculturation. On the other hand, when a local context is understood to be in a vertical locality-state relationship, our analyses prioritise questions of governance, popular culture, and the role of the local elite. It is my contention that our analyses should not pre-suppose the spatial relationship of the state and then make the analysis of local society, but rather proceed from local analysis and only on that basis characterise the locality's spatial relationship with the state. In this section I lay out some of the approaches that scholars have taken to this question, some of the slippage points identified. Then I propose some applications of ways of thinking from linguistic anthropology to these questions, and highlight their utility in the study of spatial, ethnic, and status identities in late imperial China.

Thinking about Difference in Early Modern China:

Scholars attempting to discuss forms of difference in Chinese borderlands inevitably find themselves conscious of a gulf between the ways that we, modern scholars, conceptualise difference and the ways that the sources did. As a result, much ink has been spilled over questions of the applicability of concepts of ethnicity and race — both derived from nineteenth-century European national and imperial projects — to Chinese societies. Perhaps the most influential formulation of the problems was Pamela Kyle Crossley's article "Thinking about Ethnicity in Early Modern China" published in 1990.⁵⁴ Drawing primarily on debates about the ethnic-ness or otherwise of the Manchus, she decried the imprecision and sinocentrism that frequently characterised use of the term "ethnicity" in sinological scholarship.⁵⁵ Instead, she called for studies that took ethnicity as a explanandum rather than an explanation, and explored alternative "modes of taxonomy" based on categories endogenous to pre-modern Chinese society and therefore more accurately representing the ways people in the past understood themselves to relate to each other and society as a whole.⁵⁶ Notable borderlands studies have responded to this call, not only in studies of minority peoples but of the Han majority: drawing on research from critical race studies, the critical Han studies conference and volume traces the development of ethnicised categories of difference through interaction.⁵⁷ In the same way, Shin argues that the depictions of ruled others in Ming dynasty Guangxi province became increasingly detailed and forcefully demarcated as the self-perception of officials and settlers was threatened by events on the northern border.⁵⁸ Cumulatively these studies explore regimes of identification and differentiation operative in the construction of ethnic categories across a long trajectory of Chinese history.⁵⁹

An alternative direction of research, one congruent with Crossley's call to prioritise emic understandings of identity, sought to interpret forms of difference within Chinese societies

⁵⁴ Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Thinking about Ethnicity in Early Modern China," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 1 (1990): 1-35.

⁵⁵ Imprecision because of the elision with race; sinocentrism because ethnicity is a term applied generally to the non-majorities only.

⁵⁶ Crossley, "Thinking About Ethnicity", 25.

⁵⁷ Thomas S. Mullaney, James Leibold, Stéphane Gros, and Eric Vanden Bussche (eds), *Critical Han Studies: the History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

⁵⁸ Shin, *Making of the Chinese State*.

⁵⁹ Most are explicitly or implicitly inspired by Frederik Barth's framework of the construction of ethnic difference, Frederik Barth, *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organisation of culture difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1959).

through structures of identity built around “native place” as an analogous form to ethnicity in western societies and discourses. Ancestral hometown and place of registration had been long recognised as important foci of gentry loyalty and sojourning or merchant behaviour. However, some scholars have argued for a concretisation of these patterns of identity in the context of nineteenth and twentieth-century transitions to the nation-state and to modernity. Building on field research among women factory workers in Shanghai, Emily Honig argued that the existing socially constructed category of the locality “acquired ethnic meaning” in the context of widely shared social prejudice against workers from the parts of Jiangsu province north of the Yangtze river.⁶⁰ An increase in intensive interactions between people from all parts of the province in Shanghai’s period of urbanisation produced boundary-drawing practices among them. Antonia Finnane’s article on the same group provides a clearer explication of a mechanism relating social context to developing ethnicised native place identities.⁶¹ She attributes processes of boundary-drawing to a division of labour characteristic of new urbanisation, as prejudice against Subei people developed in conjunction their integration into the urban economy doing jobs that were not desired by people from Jiangnan. This understanding of the concept of ethnicity as a precipitate of “internal colonialism” explicitly characterises it as a phenomenon that applies to marginalised populations, answering Crossley’s call for a more rigorous understanding of the concept and studies of ethnogenesis but refusing her concern with the Manchu ruling elite.⁶² At the same time, framing this form of differentiation as a kind of ethnicity emphasised its relevance as a form of identity partaken of by all social classes.

A third framing draws on the body of research on late imperial “popular” religion to measure difference in terms of the ability of distinct parts of the population to communicate with each other. In a 1985 paper, David Johnson lays out a schema which divides Chinese society horizontally into two cultural spheres, elite and popular, based on facility in the literary language.⁶³ These simultaneously intersect with vertical divisions between people from different regions, based on their ability to communicate in topolectal spoken language. Strata of local society, he suggests, can be further differentiated by their position in hierarchies of dominance, that is, by their ability to exercise power. As a result, differences in culture are pegged not only to language but to particular social groups, whose “collective mentalities” can be more efficiently studied.⁶⁴ Later scholars have tended to engage directly with Watson’s articles, in particular a 2007 special issue of *Modern China* devoted to a reconsideration of Watson’s thesis on cultural standardisation clarifies some of these problems. In his introduction to this issue, Donald Sutton identifies three problems with Watson’s argument, points of slippage in the model of elite engagement.⁶⁵ First, there is a mismatch between changes in culture, understood as an externally observable repertoire of ideas (and maybe practices), and changes in identity, understood as internal and subjective affiliation with a group. Second, it is impossible, using this model, to determine analytically whether local diversity or imperial coherence is the “real” underlying structure of Chinese society (and hence individual identities) and which is a “façade.” Finally, to

⁶⁰ Honig, *Creating Chinese Ethnicity*.

⁶¹ Finnane, “The Origins of Préjudice: the Malintegration of Subei” *comparative studies in Society and History* 1993

⁶² “Clearer explication” is from Finnane, “Origins of Prejudice,” 230-32.

⁶³ David Johnson, “Communication, Class, and Consciousness in Late Imperial China,” on *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 34-72.

⁶⁴ Johnson, “Communication, Class, and Consciousness,” 70-72.

⁶⁵ Donald S. Sutton, “Ritual, Cultural Standardisation, and Orthopraxy in China: Reconsidering James L. Watson’s Ideas,” *Modern China* 33, no. 1 (2007): 3-21.

the point of elite, the model requires a kind of compartmentalisation within the identity and practice of elites who seem sometimes “Chinese” state representatives and sometimes participants in local oral cultures. Given the described variation in ritual, social structures, legal status — he resolves these contradictions by emphasising the role of the common written tradition, which was shared by those scholar-officials that participated in state institutions at a translocal level and shaped the common culture of the larger group of gentry who aspired to it.⁶⁶

Practices of Identity in Status and Place:

Each of these ways to talk about the construction of difference relies on a congruence between language, whether spoken or written, and identity. The idea that language and ethnic identity, specifically, are more or less homologous is deeply embedded in twentieth and twenty-first century ways of thinking about difference, but this idea is also historically contingent and, when discussing late imperial Chinese contexts, was probably not held by the people in question.⁶⁷ A more productive way to think about language and ethnicity, engaging with the same drive to reanalyse categories traditionally understood as objects as the outcome of processes that drove Crossley *et al* above, can be derived from scholars of language usage. In this framework, occasions of language usage are understood as sites where the construction of identities, ethnic or otherwise, can be observed. An influential summation of these approaches can be found in Bucholtz and Hall.⁶⁸ In this article, the authors take a broad understanding of identity as “social positioning of self and other,” incorporating phenomena from brief interpersonal interaction through group identification to society-wide structures.⁶⁹ Like Crossley, Shin, Finnane, Honig etc, these authors aim to study processes by which (ethnic and other) identities are constructed and are continually being reconstructed as they are reproduced and passed through generations. They draw together research on use of language to present a framework which goes beyond the identification of a language (or certain linguistic features) as a straightforward marker of a given identity or group, and as a result make available a broader array of tools for finding identities in the historical record.

Most fundamental of the directions they suggest is their framing of identity as external and observable rather than individual and psychological. The historical literature shares several of Bucholtz and Hall’s presuppositions: that identity is constructed; that construction occurs through processes of comparison with others; and that identities (being partial) can and do shift. However, in general, historians’ basic assumption is that what is being described are factors and processes that have changed the ways people thought about themselves. For example, the development of Hui identity is the process by which Chinese-speaking Muslims come to name themselves as Hui and behave with, or even feel solidarity with, other people who use that label.⁷⁰ Similarly, the importance of local identity among literati can be measured by their sense

⁶⁶ Sutton, “Ritual, Cultural Standardisation, and Orthopraxy in China,” 10-11, citing Judith Berling, “Religion and Popular Culture: the Management of Moral Capital in *The Romance of the Three Teachings*,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 188-218.

⁶⁷ The standard work is Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁶⁸ Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, “Identity and Interaction: a Sociocultural Linguistic Approach,” *Discourse Studies* 7, no. 4-5 (2005): 585-614.

⁶⁹ Bucholtz and Hall, “Identity and Interaction,” 586.

⁷⁰ Dru C. Gladney, *Dislocating China: Reflections on Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

of attachment to their home locale.⁷¹ The clearest difficulty with this approach, from a historical perspective, is that neither individual psychology nor “collective mentalities” are easily accessible by historians. Struggling with similar difficulties in contemporary studies, Bucholtz and Hall instead propose an understanding of identity that is located in linguistic behaviour: identity is not where someone feels or believes that they fit in society, but how they in practice position themselves in relation to others and the spaces of “fit” that emerge through that process.

A second intervention that we can apply from Bucholtz and Hall’s synthesis to the study of identity in late imperial China is the complex process by which social positions taken in individual interactions reproduce and construct shared forms of identity. Having identified linguistic practices as the key site of articulation of difference, Bucholtz and Hall argue first that in the process of an interaction, interlocutors select and highlight social positionings that they consider salient to establish relationships both between the self and the interlocutor and in relation to third parties. For example, two literati from Ji’an meeting for the first time in the capital may discuss matters relating to a temple in their hometown with which both have familial connections: in this interaction, salient identities would include not only shared locality but also shared devotional practice, and shared or perhaps differentiated access to the material resources which could be used to sponsor the temple. The same conversation taking place in Ji’an, by contrast, would highlight only the latter two forms of identity: shared locality is more salient to that interaction in a context where that local identity is *not* shared with nearby third parties. “Locality” as a generalisable facet of identity important to literati in the capital would then derive from repetition of this kind of interaction among literati from many different localities. Over time, the accumulation of interactions in which “locality” was a salient form of identification would construct “local identity” as a salient category.

Finally, identities invoked in interactions are often indicated obliquely, or via mediating characteristics. Any identity, as socially understood, is not merely a label but also a complex of behaviours, characteristics, and roles associated with the social position occupied by people with that identity. In day-to-day interactions, a literatus was identified not merely by his ability to read and write (which may not be used in a spoken interaction) or by his access to wealth or influence. More likely, his choice of clothing or his use of classical references in spoken language might indicate his position in relation to his interlocutors. Conformity to correct behaviour in ritual contexts as well as in his personal relationships was also seen as an important indicator of status. Taken as a whole, these behaviours indicated membership of an elite status group, a commonality with similarly high-status men in other localities, but also difference from lower-status people in the same locality. At the same time, the same conformity to orthodox customs in clothing, language, and personal behaviour could, in an interaction with a Jesuit or a member of a *tusi* family, indicate membership not of a status group but of a kind of ethnic or cultural identity. In both cases, “civilisation” forms a mediating identity which could be understood in association with identity based on status or on ethnicity.

This way of analysing identity can therefore allow us to better examine the processes by which spatially constrained linguistic interactions (whether spoken or written) enabled the construction of identities, including those we now understand as ethnic or cultural. Literary and film scholars seeking to explicate some of the complexities of ethnic and cultural identity among speakers of Sinitic languages have developed the “sinophone” as a framework which can incorporate interactions that highlight similarity as well as difference within the language community. This framework aims to imbricate notions of ethnic or cultural Chinese identity with

⁷¹ Gerritsen, *Ji’an Literati and the Local*.

other national, regional, and personal forms of identity. Since, as discussed above, multiple vectors of difference may be reinforced in any given interaction, our analysis needs to take into account both their multiplicity and any interference with each other. In the sinophone studies framework, “Chineseness” — as an ethnic or national identity that attaches to the use of sinitic languages — is complicated by not only the familial, gender, and sexual identities of their speakers but also by the plurality of their national and ethnic identities both within the People’s Republic of China and around the world. The spatialised character of “politicised mobil[e]” identities such as migrant, settler, native place, etc requires rethinking our assumptions about centre (home) and periphery (diaspora).⁷² By applying to late imperial China elements of the sinophone studies framework and conceptualisations of identity explored by Bucholtz and Hall, I hope to discuss forms of identity that arose on the borderlands without being beholden to anachronistic discourses of the ethno-linguistic nation-state and its minority nationalities.

Sources in Dali:

When, as in late imperial Chinese borderlands, access to literacy was restricted, accessing the perspectives of local indigenous actors brings questions of sources to the fore.

Sources and Language on the Southwestern Borderlands:

Written sources from late imperial Chinese borderlands were produced in a complex multilingual environment which varied considerably throughout the southwest. Then, as now, the mountainous interior of peninsular southeast Asia, to which much of the region belongs was populated by speakers of languages from the Tai-Kedai, Mon-Khmer, and Tibeto-Burman language families. Speakers of sinitic languages had entered this environment as traders, captives, and emissaries for centuries before the establishment of state institutions under the Mongols in the 1870s. When the Ming armies invaded at the end of the fourteenth century, they brought the first substantial, long-term sinitic speaking population. Present-day Yunnan topolect derives from the Nanjing Mandarin variety spoken as a lingua franca among the soldiers and workers who were posted to military colonies in Yunnan, particularly around the provincial capital, Yunnan Prefecture (now Kunming).⁷³ In the nineteenth, travellers to southern Yunnan observed that in the marketplace, speakers of indigenous languages used a form of sinitic to conduct their business.⁷⁴ While no observers from Ming Dali have left accounts of everyday language usage, the difficulty of disentangling Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman influences in late twentieth-century Bai, the major indigenous language of the Dali region, led linguist Grace Wiersma to characterise it as the result of sustained bilingualism among its speakers throughout the late imperial period.⁷⁵ It seems inevitable, in this context, that writers of literary Chinese were also speakers of some variety of Sinitic and probably at least one other language.

The central problem in the development of studies of imperial Chinese borderlands remains the language of the bulk of the written source material. The field developed primarily through

⁷² Shu-mei Shih, “Against Diaspora” in *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, edited by Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 37-39.

⁷³ Zeng Zhaoyu 曾昭渝 and Chen Xi 陳希. “Yunnan guanhua de lai yuan ji lishi cengci 雲南官話的來源及歷史層次 [Ideas about the Origin and History of Yunnan Official Speech].” *Zhongguo huawen* 2017, no. 2: 182-194.

⁷⁴ Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*,

⁷⁵ Grace Wiersma, “A Study of the Bai (Minjia) Language along Historical Lines,” PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1990.

research in officially-produced sources in classical Chinese, read using methodologies which drew to the fore the strengths and limitations of these sources. Historians interested in state violence and coercive processes of colonisation have found much to use in both bureaucratic documents and personal writings of officials. Alternatively, these sources have also been read “against the grain” to attempt to recapture the goals and perspectives of non-Chinese actors in the processes of colonisation, most successfully at points of violent resistance or rebellion but occasionally in more everyday contexts, too.⁷⁶ Finally, the representations of the ruled population produced by travellers and state agents have been used as evidence of the day to day technologies of rule, and changing perceptions of identity both of the indigene and the state itself.⁷⁷

Indigenous language sources have largely been used to emblematically represent an authentic indigenous perspective in a narrative with a broader source base. Given that most written sources in indigenous languages, as well as oral histories collected from the 1940s onwards, date no earlier than 1800, historians of earlier periods have tended to use them as sources of stories the peoples studied told about their prehistory, to supplement readings of literary Chinese sources.⁷⁸ Jacob Whittaker’s comprehensive study of Yi-language historiography highlights the problems with this approach.⁷⁹ He argues that the structure and framing of Yi histories produced in eastern Yunnan developed new characteristics because the writers, members of the Yi ruling lineage, also read and wrote literary Chinese and adopted certain features of that historiographical tradition in their Yi writings. Given the complex linguistic ecology in which all sources from late imperial indigenous language sources stand in as authentic representations of the un-colonised consciousness of the communities to which their authors belonged.

The largest body of sources as yet relatively lightly researched are sinophone writings produced by literate members of the indigenous elite. Located at the crossroads of trade routes connecting Yunnan to Tibet, Burma, the Red River Delta, and eventually the Indian Ocean trading world, as well as to the central states, Dali had long been a place where ritual and luxury goods from all corners of the Eurasian continent could be found. By the time of the Mongol conquest, these included printed books, scrolls, and talismans of all kinds. A Song official’s account of his appointment in Guangxi province mentions men from Dali who came to the annual market in Guilin to purchase printed copies of the Chinese classics.⁸⁰ An equivalent market in Dali, held every March in honour of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara/Guanyin, was recorded as flourishing throughout the late imperial period: a seventeenth-century source describes it as a source of news and goods from the four corners of the earth.⁸¹ Some sources written in Chinese in Dali have also survived, mainly stele inscriptions and Buddhist ritual texts.⁸² In the Yuan and Ming, however, after Dali’s political incorporation into Chinese empire, its gentry began to compose, compile, copy, and circulate their own texts in literary Chinese in increasing volume. It is these sources that form the basis of this dissertation.

⁷⁶ For the former: Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*; McMahon, *Rethinking the Decline of China’s Qing Dynasty*. For the latter: Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*; Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou*.

⁷⁷ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*; Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State*; Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geographies*.

⁷⁸ Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*; various articles in Faure and Ho, *Emperor and Ancestor*.

⁷⁹ Jacob Whittaker, “Yi Identity and Confucian Empire: Indigenous Local Elites, Cultural Brokerage, and the Colonization of the Lu-ho Tribal Polity of Yunnan, 1174-1745,” PhD dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2008.

⁸⁰ Fan Chengda, *Treatises of the Supervisor and Guardian of the Cinnamon Sea: the Natural World and Material Culture of Twelfth Century South China*, translated by James M. Hargett (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 225-26.

⁸¹ DL 4.8a

⁸² Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*.

Sources in this Thesis:

This thesis deals with a body of texts produced in Dali between the Mongol conquest in 1253 and the final fall of post-Ming states to the Manchu armies in 1675. The word “produced” here indicates a variety of actions which contributed to the survival of an extant piece of writing. In many cases, particularly stone stele inscriptions, every part of the process from initial composition of the text to be inscribed, through copying a clean or beautiful text, to the carving of the sinic characters in Dali marble took place within a fairly narrow radius, perhaps the same village. In others, part of the process took place elsewhere, or is not known. The seventeenth-century unofficial history *Dianlue* could have been composed anywhere but the earliest extant edition was printed in Dali. Other manuscript histories were as likely composed in Kunming as Dali (by a Kunming citizen) but were circulated in the Dali area and preserved only in copies kept by local families. On the other hand, Li Yuanyang’s 李元陽 provincial gazetteer was composed while he was living in Dali and transcribed and edited by Taihe school affiliates but may well have been printed in Kunming. Yet other sources have been preserved in extracts copied into collectanea, gazetteers, etc.

The first major category of sources are stone monuments, known as steles, inscribed with texts in literary Sinitic. Stele inscriptions were carved on to large vertical rectangular blocks of stone (often locally-produced marble) and either built into a temple wall or erected free-standing. In addition to an artisan who carved the stone itself, men involved in producing the artefact (and named as such in the text of the inscription itself) included the composer of the body of the text, a calligrapher who produced a clean copy, and the designer of the decorative head of the stele. Steles were composed to mark occasions of personal or communal significance, whether the burial of a family elder, the construction, reconstruction, or improvement of a temple (significant both for the community in general and the sponsors of the reconstruction in particular), the reorganisation of community resources, or an external event (like a proclamation). Steles from Dali, preserved in a collection of rubbings and transcriptions sponsored by the Dali Historical Society, as well as in the Dali City Museum, in gazetteers, and *in situ*, come from all these categories.

Unofficial histories, that is, narrative or chronicle accounts that follow some conventions of the court-sponsored dynastic histories but were compiled privately and about non-recognised dynasties, have primarily survived in manuscript form, and appear to have circulated widely among literati in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Dali and Yunnan Fu (the provincial capital, now Kunming). These texts, structured largely as chronicles of Dali’s ruling families, give narrative accounts of the independent kingdoms that ruled Yunnan before the Mongol Conquest, the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms. Relatively few of these texts were printed: the earliest, said to have been compiled in the late thirteenth century, exists in an early sixteenth century print edition; a narratively simplified (if stylistically elaborated) version universally attributed to exiled literatus Yang Shen 楊慎 was printed in multiple collections; in the early seventeenth century the locally-printed *Dianlue* 滇略 was widely circulated throughout the empire and eventually included in the court compilation *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Apart from these, five or six other extant unofficial histories circulated in manuscript form among sixteenth century Dali literati but have been frequently conflated into a single text called *Nanzhao yeshi* 南詔野史 and also attributed to Yang Shen. In fact, one version was written by a circulating official, Jiang Bin 將彬; another three are all attributed to a Ni He 倪輅, (registered in Kunming as a provincial) and share enough common material to have a single source; another

does not actually appear until the late seventeenth century. Most of these have been reproduced in facsimile by the Dali Historical Society.

My third main body of sources are gazetteers, a particularly rich source for local histories throughout late imperial China. Gazetteers were a genre of local history usually compiled collectively by groups of literati including both local gentry and officials (often magistrates or schoolteachers), printed from blocks kept in a local school and circulated both locally and nationally. Copies of county and prefecture gazetteers were submitted to provincial and metropolitan officials, while new visitors to a region, whether on private or official business, made use of the information they contained. Three gazetteers from late Ming Dali are fully or partially extant, including one edited by a centrally-appointed magistrate and two compiled under the direction of indigenous scholar-officials. The latter two, both block printed, have been published in facsimile as part of the *Dali congshu* 大理叢書 collection, while the third is available in manuscript at the National Library in Beijing. All three were also transcribed and reprinted in the 1980s. I also use provincial gazetteers of published during the Yuan and Ming: one, *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志, was compiled by the Dali literatus who compiled one of the local gazetteers; all contain information about the Dali region alongside other prefectures and counties. Three are available in facsimile in the *Dali congshu* series, published by the Dali Historical Society; another was published in facsimile by the *Yitiange* 一天閣 private library. In chapter two, I additionally discuss gazetteers produced in other parts of Yunnan, and to a lesser extent other provinces, during the Yuan and Ming in order to provide context for the development of this genre in southwest China.

Genealogies constitute an interesting but difficult body of sources. Almost all of the extant lineage genealogies from the Dali region date from the Qing or later, preserved by the families that produced them and published in 2009 as a five volume set by the Dali Historical Society.⁸³ Some of these texts include material from earlier editions of the genealogy, most often dated prefaces or transcribed inscriptions from ancestral temples. I have occasionally used poetry and miscellaneous writings by local literati. Li Yuanyang and Yang Shen both have collected works which on occasion refer to their lives in Dali, in particular their travels around the region.

I have supplemented these texts, on occasion, using sources from the Qing and later, particularly those which included material attributed to the Yuan and Ming.⁸⁴ In the late seventeenth century, the Kangxi emperor requested newly compiled gazetteers from all administrative units of the empire, using a standardised format. As a result, extant gazetteers from Menghua, Heqing, and Dali Prefectures contain some material from the seventeenth century that is not available elsewhere. I have also consulted eighteenth century gazetteers from the two last-established counties, Binchuan and Yunlong. These gazetteers were the first compiled for their respective locations, and so include material that had not been included in gazetteers of superordinate units. Unofficial histories of the Nanzhao also continued to be compiled during the Qing, but I have made less use of them; they largely consist of smoother presentations of material circulated in Ming texts.⁸⁵

How I Read the Sources:

⁸³ Yang Shiyu 楊世鈺 and Zhao Yinsong 趙寅松 (eds.), *Dali congshu — zupu pian* 大理叢書—族譜篇 [Collected works on Dali — genealogies], Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2009. 5 vols.; two Ming manuscripts are available in the Shanghai library collection

⁸⁴ See the list of abbreviations above for details on all of these texts.

⁸⁵ I refer to the 1880 edition of *Nanzhao yeshi* discussed in the list of abbreviations above.

This dissertation has three chapters, each of which analyses the same body of sources using a different method for approaching how identity was produced in Dali society. This structure achieves three effects. First, it recognises that identities are produced across multiple dimensions of social life, from shared ideas to institutional structures, state-mandated categories to precisely situated interactions. While these sources do not provide evidence of all possible layers, the three incorporated in this study enable a richer discussion of the forms of identity in Dali than any one on its own.⁸⁶ Second, it enables me to treat identity categories in proximity with each other, within a single chapter. Within a framework that takes as a given the multiple identities that adhere to each individual, it follows that a particular form of identity cannot be studied in isolation from related categories that belong to various social roles held by an individual throughout their life. In each chapter, multiple categories of locale, ethnicity, class, gender, and religion are invoked in relation to one another. Finally, my chapter organisation engages with problems of structure and agency that are implicit in both the continuity and transformation of group identities over time. Each layer of social construction discussed here involves more or less deliberate action within stronger or weaker constraints. This study juxtaposes conscious (and explicit) editorial decisions, for example, with the ritual networks that shaped those editors' engagement with family and community in order to present an account of identity construction that incorporates both interventions by historical actors and the structural continuities under which they acted.

Chapter one analyses representations of spatialised identities in texts produced in Dali during the Yuan and Ming. In it, I argue that the idea of "Dali" was central to the sense of communal identity represented in literary Sinitic sources. From the point of view of method, this requires reading texts on the level of their denotational meaning, tracing the key terms, themes, narratives, and imagery deployed by Dali-based authors to develop a picture of the understanding of Dali that they shared. At the same time, this picture was by no means internally consistent: like the foci of other identities, concepts of Dali existed in and through relationships with other identities held by Dali people: inhabitants of a particular village; devotees or sponsors of a particular temple; successors of Dali's former rulers; subjects of the Yuan or Ming state; appreciators of aesthetically-considered landscapes. As a result, my analysis of representations of place in this chapter draws on theorists of place that understand places as nodes [of intersection?] within networks of spatialised meanings (rather than as places of rooted particularity that contrast with an abstracted concept of de-particularised spatial relation referred to as space).⁸⁷ Dali as represented in these sources draws together spatialised representations of history, state administration, topography, and human life within a configuration of the locality.

Chapter two focuses on one particular genre of text from Dali, the gazetteer, to examine identity through analysis of one of practices through which Dali gentry constructed their collective identity, that is, the writing of local histories. In this chapter, I use an approach to the analysis of genres that combines attention to the formal features of a text with an emphasis on the intertextual relationships that the author or compiler uses to situate the text within its discursive world. Fundamentally, I understand written texts to be the material remains of a kind of

⁸⁶ Bucholtz and Hall, "Identity and Interaction."

⁸⁷ Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996). Tuan Yi-fu, *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977) is the most famous exemplar of the opposite view. Catherine Stuer "Dimensions of Place: Map, Itinerary, and Trace in Images of Nanjing" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012) argues convincingly that space/place binary should not be applied in studies of representations of place in early modern China.

communicative action undertaken by literate people to achieve direct and indirect goals.⁸⁸ Communities of readers and writers develop, over the course of repeated written interactions, conventionalised forms which they then make use of to achieve effects associated with that textual format, that is, a genre. As these genres are put into use, however, writers adapt and subvert it to achieve communicative goals in their particular situation, meaning that not only is there always a gap between the conventionalised form and the realised texts, there is also the possibility of the conventional form changing over time.⁸⁹ In the case of gazetteers, the reading-and-writing community combined currently-serving government officials and literati from both the local area and beyond, as noted by Hargett: that is, the governing elite of the empire.⁹⁰ Thus, while gazetteers are most basically a genre of writing about place, in this chapter I argue that literati from Dali not only used it to produce representations of the specificity of place described in chapter one but also to index their membership of the scholar-gentry elite.

Chapter three investigates some of the patterns of social interaction and reproduction that constrained the relationships through which identities were constructed. The parts of identities that are forged through the ways people position themselves in relation to each other in day-to-day interactions are difficult for historians to access. In contrast to the positions taken by writers examined in chapter two, chapter three deals with positionings taken in face-to-face encounters, specifically the institutions and patterns of ritual life that structured rural society. Ritual life is a uniquely accessible way to access these kinds of interactional contexts because they often produced, or precipitated, written records: if not prescriptive instructions or ritual handbooks, then occasional texts commemorating the important events in the life of an individual (death, examination success) and their community (construction of temples, official buildings, and lineage shrines).⁹¹ These ritual contexts formed the DNA of the institutions that were fundamental to local society: the temple, the school, the village graveyard or lineage shrine. Individuals participating in them took on identities in relation to other family members, the local community, sacred spaces, and the state. This chapter argues that the institutions that produced family, Buddhist, and scholarly social positions at the same time shaped identities of class and place through the spatialised and status-based relationships that were enacted in their ritual texts.

Argument — ethnicity, class, place:

This dissertation argues that the two most salient axes of difference around which practices of reading and writing reconstructed the identities of literate men in Yuan and Ming Dali after coming into relationship with Chinese empires were elite status and local native place. Though often invisible in historical narratives (due to the relative absence of a clearly differentiated non-elite in the written record), competency in the literary language was an adequate marker of an author's status within the ruling class.⁹² Writing in literary Chinese indexed *wen* 文

⁸⁸ M. M. Bakhtin, "The Problem of Speech Genres," in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, translated by Vern W. McGee and edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 60-102.

⁸⁹ Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1992): 131-172; William F. Hanks, "Discourse Genres in a Theory of Practice," *American Ethnologist* 14.4 (1987): 64-88.

⁹⁰ James M. Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of Difangzhi Writing" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.2 (1996): 405-42

⁹¹ Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Christian de Pee, *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).

⁹² Adequacy in the sense used by Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Identity and Interaction: a Sociocultural

(cultivatedness, civilisedness) which can accumulate to either *hua* 化 (civilised in contrast to barbarians) or *shi* 士 (civilised in contrast to peasants), among other things.⁹³ Studies of everyday writing in remote localities in southeast China have demonstrated that even for people who were not fully classically literate, textual objects signified (indexed) these ideas of cultivation.⁹⁴ For men who were classically literate, I argue, cultivation further indexed their status as members of the scholar gentry. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when examination quotas were limited and official service was not available to many who might in an earlier period have qualified, classical literacy marked a person (and his lineage's) proximity to these jobs. As a result, Dali elite families used their proximity to and facility in the written word to maintain their position within the status hierarchies of local society.

While people writing in and about Dali framed their literary practice as membership of an empire-wide governing class, they also positioned themselves in relation to translocal society through the lens of place. The most salient framework of spatialised difference was not an understanding grounded in a centre-periphery binary but the modular “locality” itself. By writing about Dali's geography, its people, and its history in highly particular and meaning-laden terms, its literati came to experience their hometown as a place distinguishable from all the other places in the empire. At the same time, this form of identity enabled their participation in a polity in which this form of differentiation was the hegemonic understanding of space. If the financial and ritual framework of the corporate lineage was as an institution through which local elites regularised and controlled their interactions with the state, the locality itself, as a spatial category, operated in a similar manner. While the lineage drew on existing kinship ties in negotiation with changing systems of taxation (specifically *lijia*), the locality drew on the geography and sense of place to frame interactions with systems of governance, namely *junxian*. Or, to take a more distant comparison, if the nation-state can be construed as an ideological and political framework within which emergent nationalist elites were able to express anti-colonial sentiment in form comprehensible to the metropole (as argued by Partha Chatterjee, among others), the locality provided a framework within which local elites were able to express a sense of difference both comprehensible and acceptable to the state.⁹⁵ As a result, the sense of Dali's position in the world that emerged over the first four centuries of colonisation was neither a differentiated periphery nor a homogenised locality but a praxis of the native place as the legitimated form of spatialised identity for civilised men.

Linguistic Approach,” *Discourse Studies* 7, no. 4-5 (2005): 585-614.

⁹³ For example, “cultural attainment” as a marker of a particular kind of masculinity, see Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁹⁴ Li Ren-Yuan, “Making Texts in Villages: Textual Production in Rural China during the Ming-Qing Period,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2014.

⁹⁵ Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: a Derivative Discourse* (London: Zed, 1986); Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harischandra and Nineteenth-Century Banaras* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

CHAPTER ONE: PLACE, PEOPLE, HISTORY — REPRESENTATIONS OF DALI

Roughly 80 km north of Dali 大理 stands Jianchuan 劍川, a bustling trading town by the Heihui river 黑惠江 at the junction of the salt route and the horse routes travelling north to Tibet. Several late imperial collections include copies of a stone stele dating to the late fourteenth century, inscribed with a record of the movement of Jianchuan's administrative centre to its current location. According to this account, in 1390, not long after the Ming armies had finally conquered the last hold-outs of Yuan partisans in Yunnan, one Zhao Yanliang 趙顏良 (fl. c14th) had been sent to serve as magistrate of Jianchuan. The town had been ruled since the late Yuan by members of the Yang 楊 family under the suzerainty of Mongol Prince Liang 梁王, and had only been constituted as a Ming sub-prefecture after their defeat a few years before. Jianchuan's sub-prefectural government was still operating out of an old government office set up ad hoc in an abandoned Buddhist temple high in the mountains, Guangming temple 光明寺. The next year, during the farmers' low season, Magistrate Zhao organised corvée labourers to move Jianchuan's offices to Liulongchong 柳龍充, an old village by the river, where the town stands even today. According to the stele which records the move, the new location's benefits were manifold. The former seat, a rebel base, had been "narrow and difficult-to-access" 險僻湫隘 with "its back to the mountain and obstructing the river" 背山阻水 but the new location was "spacious, with the mountains and rivers encircling it" 爽塏山水環抱.⁹⁶ Because of its good topographical location, it was less a "den of rebels" 叛逆之窟 than a place "crowded with rowdy travelling merchants" (商旅雜遝). Moreover, though long abandoned, it had been the location of pre-Mongol political centres, as Liulongchong 柳龍充 under the Dali Kingdom 大理國 (937-1253), and before that as Jianchuan military commission 劍川節度使 (c.8th-9th century) and the Jiangong kingdom 劍共詔 (c. 6th century). Magistrate Zhao said, "ancient people ruled its counties and towns by establishing city walls, successive dynasties maintained them for good reason" (古人置郡邑立城郭, 歷世因之, 良有以也). After the movement, therefore, Jianchuan's former buildings were restored to their former appearance and enriched by the addition of buildings associated with successful Ming governance, offices, storehouses, and state temples. The stele justified Magistrate Zhao's decision not only by reference to his authority as an imperial official but also by constructing a narrative that framed the new site as the return of a local political centre to its ideal location, considered geographically and economically as well as historically. This plurality of discursive frameworks for attributing meanings to places invoked as justification for the move enabled the rhetorical construction of Jianchuan as a locality (*difang* 地方) within the imperial spatial order.

A critical reading of the extant body of such sources from or about a given place yields a complex representation of the idea of that place as it was understood by the scholar-gentry associated with it. Since the locality was the prevalent framework for thinking about place in late imperial China, many counties and prefectures throughout the empire had well-developed images of this kind, but in Yunnan only the Dali region, stretching from Heqing 鶴慶 and Jianchuan in the north to Yunnan county 雲南縣 and Menghua 蒙化 in the south, produced a substantial volume of textual material in this framework before 1700. Rather than resisting the imperial spatial order by writing in opposition to the classicising literary tradition in which they

⁹⁶ "Record of Jianchuan subprefecture office" 劍川州治記, in *Yunnan tongzhi* [Comprehensive Gazetteer of Yunnan 雲南通志] 5.42a-b. All quotations in this paragraph are from this text.

had been trained, these writers emphasised Dali's particularity by writing texts that would enhance its reputation as a locality. In these narratives, we can observe a locality, Dali, under construction. Although some contents of these categories were specific to the geography of northwestern Yunnan, to Dali's position as the former capital of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms, or to the particular forms of Buddhism practiced there, the categories themselves were drawn from a common discourse of locality-ism throughout the empire. As a result, the specifically local identity of Dali's gentry interacted with identities through which they engaged with other local actors: as imperial subjects; as heirs of the Nanzhao kingdom; as cultivators of the land. By analysing their understanding of Dali at a representational level, we begin to see some of the vectors along which social interaction was conducted and identities shaped.

Among men of elite status in late imperial China, one of the primary means by which an individual scholar was identified (in addition to family name and personal names) was his family's native place. As a result, a county or prefecture with a notable reputation, whether for natural beauty, historical significance, or literary excellence, increased the reputation of men who claimed it as their native place. Writers promoted their native places in conventional genres of local history, such as the gazetteer, in less orthodox historical writings, including chronicles and anecdotes, and in texts that were inscribed in stone on the landscape itself. Studies of the locality in late imperial China have identified the middle of the sixteenth century as the beginning of a revival in localist strategies and local identity which paralleled the "localist turn" that transformed elite identity during the Southern Song (1127-1279). The increase of extant gazetteers and other texts on county or prefectural geography and history in this period is seen primarily as the result of gentry families turning away from the centre due to the oversupply of examination graduates.⁹⁷ In this formulation, actions and networks developed on a local rather than national level, producing a community of interests among the elite lineages of a certain county or prefecture. These common interests, translated into textual representations, coagulated into a psychological sense of solidarity or local identity. At the same time, engagement with the locality as a way of locating oneself in society through attachment to a spatial category also indexed membership of the imperial governing class. In this chapter, I present an alternative reading of local histories in which the locality was not constructed as an alternative or oppositional field from the state but rather as a spatial category that was foundational to late imperial society — regardless of whether one approached it as a transferable official or a member of the local gentry (many of my authors were both, at different times). As a result, I argue that the local identity that can be derived from these texts is better understood as an array of social positionings that could be invoked by scholar-gentry when interacting with their fellows at home or abroad.

The sources used in this chapter were all written or printed in Dali, or are copies of works by Dali literati that have survived in copies produced elsewhere.⁹⁸ They include inscriptions on steles or other structures that were erected in Dali, some of which are still extant and others which were copied and recorded in gazetteers. Dali did not have a commercial print industry, but literati did fund their own printing projects, and some gazetteers were printed through government or private sponsorship. Other texts were never printed, but have survived in one or more manuscript copies. All the texts used here are in Chinese, because very few Bai texts from

⁹⁷ Peter Bol, The "Localist Turn" and "Local Identity" in Later Imperial China, *Late Imperial China*, 24 (2003), 2: 1-50.

⁹⁸ The extent of the region considered "Dali" is one of the questions discussed below; for reasons that will become apparent, I included steles erected in Menghua and Heqing prefectures as well as Dali prefecture in my body of source material.

the period are extant, and those are mainly copies of sutras and other Buddhist material. Some texts claim to include material from “Ancient Bai Records” (*baiguji* 白古記), or similar, which I have noted. I have not included texts where the only extant copy is from after the Qing conquest of Yunnan (1675), even in cases where they claim to have been written earlier, because of the difficulty of verifying that claim. I have not restricted my material to texts attributed to people said to have been born in Dali: not only is this difficult to verify in most cases, it is not feasible when so many of these texts were collaboratively produced. In fact, most of the plausible texts meet all these criteria or none, there are few borderline cases.

In this chapter, I integrate the narratives of Dali in this varied body of sources to develop a multi-layered and complex portrait of the ways its people situated their home and themselves in space and in time. In the first part of the chapter, I juxtapose the multilayered and inconsistent representations of physiography and political geography that circulated within Dali after about 1550. I argue that these ways of talking about Dali constituted a repertoire of spatial representations available to and actively used by Dali’s scholar-gentry. The most commonly repeated motif is the pair of topographical features either side of Dali city: Mt Diancang and Lake Er. Separately and together they dominated the daily lives of Dali residents, and were thus imbued with spiritual and historical significance. For most scholar-gentry, however, the spatial imaginary of the state, the prefectures-and-counties system, was equally an integral part of their ways of talking about the places they lived and visited. While this system was most frequently employed in relation to the towns that were administrative centres, it also had implications for the portrayal of the countryside, topography, and irrigation works, particularly where state and elite interests interacted. While I have separated these representations out analytically, in the texts themselves they were frequently intertwined, paralleled, or subordinated to one another (as will be discussed in chapters following).

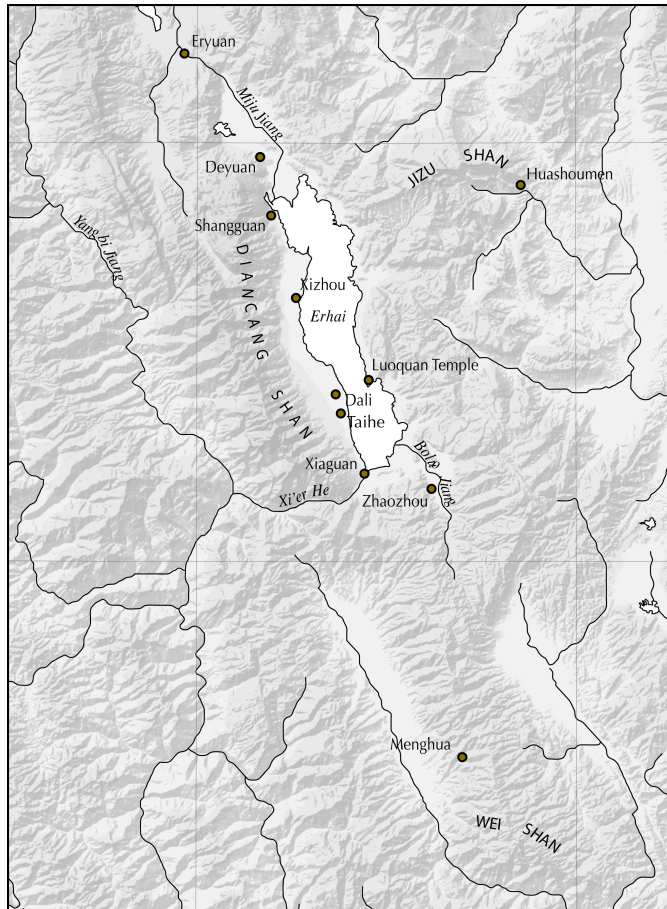
In the second part of the chapter, I analyse representations of the people who lived in Dali, both contemporaries of the writers and in their past. I argue that these texts created meaning for Dali’s people and history through narratives which placed them in relation to the region’s villages, towns, mountains, and waterways. State interests in taxation and effective governance also inflected the ways Dali’s inhabitants appeared in these texts, intertwined with discourses of civilisation and barbarity, with status markers, and with identities based on attachment to place and its history. Narratives of Dali history were inscribed in landscapes around Dali as “traces of the past” (*guji* 古迹 or 古蹟), presenting a similarly complex imbrication of sinocentric narratives, describing only the interactions between Dali and historical Chinese empires, with accounts that use Sinitic language to tell the stories of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms. The spatialised representations of people were substantially internally differentiated between the basins where agriculture flourished and along which trade routes passed, and the mountainous areas which surrounded them. Representations of Dali’s people and their histories on a local level show a repertoire of ways of talking about identity whose significance will be investigated in later chapters.

Dali’s Fulcrum of Meaning: Mt Diancang and Lake Er

Dali’s image was grounded in representations of its geology and climate, forces not amenable to human action but with which all human activity had to contend. As a result, the particular topography of northwestern Yunnan, its mountains, rivers, earthquakes and floods, was regularly placed at the centre of Dali literati depictions of their home. The most striking feature of all accounts of Dali’s physical environment is the balance between the twin poles of Mt Diancang

(*diancang shan* 點蒼山 or *cangshan* 蒼山) and Lake Er (*erhai* 洱海 or *ershui* 洱水, occasionally *xi'erhe* 西洱河 “Er River”). In the map below (fig 1.1), the light area, the lake, is shown as a long, irregular ellipse shape running roughly north-south. The line of mountains to its left are the peaks of the Diancang mountain range, which parallels the lake for its entire length.

Figure 1.1 Map of Dali:⁹⁹



Dali fuzhi begins its description as follows:

點蒼山在縣治西五里。凡十九峰連春屏列內抱如弛弓。然峰各夾澗、自山椒懸瀑，注為十八溪。翠巒條分青嶂並峙、如大鳥之連翼將翔也。山色翠黛殷潤，歷秋冬不枯，高六十里接連雲氣，摸西山川聯絡拱揭，若將翼之。

Mt Diancang is located five li west of the [Taihe] county seat. In all there are nineteen linked peaks as a spring screen, inside it [the ranked valley] is enclosed like a slackened bow-string. Each peak is pressed between gullies on each side, from the mountain-tops waterfalls flow into eighteen streams. The emerald peaks branch out into hills like folding screens, standing tall, resembling the outstretched wings of a great bird about to soar. The mountain is coloured black and green, abundant and moist, in autumn and winter it does not wither. Its height is 60 li, reaching up into the mist and clouds, on the west it touches mountains and rivers, joining and intertwining they surround it and raise it high, like a bird with outstretched wings.¹⁰⁰

This passage uses two extended metaphors, the encircling wings of a great bird and a folding household screen to emphasise the mountain's role in protecting Dali. The river, into which the 18 streams flow,

completed the enclosure of the Dali plain:

葉榆水[一名]西洱河，出浪穹縣罷谷山下，數處湧起如珠樹，世傳黑水伏流別派也。[XXXX]自太和縣西北來匯，於縣東為巨津，形如月生[五]日，遶縣西南，由石穴中出。(石穴名天橋，或曰觀音大士鑿)盤回點蒼山後，是為潯水，與漾水合。(今地名漾濞)又會瀾滄江而入南海，瀾滄即黑水也。(黑水者辨詳瀾滄水)

Yeyu River, [also called] West Er river, flows out of Mt Bagu in Langqiong county, it bubbles up in a number of places like trees through snow. It is said that it is an ancient branch of the underground draining system of the Hei river [Jinsha river]. From Taihe county it converges and at the east of the county becomes a great water, shaped like a five-day waxing moon. It encircles the county to the southwest, where it comes out at a stone cave (the stone cave is called “Heavenly Bridge” or “Lord Guanyin's mirror”). It coils around the back of Mt Diancang, and there becomes the Bi river, which joins with the Yang River

⁹⁹ Map made by me; a previous version appeared in Eloise Wright, “Bai gu tong ji: an Ancient General History of the Bai,” Honours Thesis, Australian National University, 2009.

¹⁰⁰ DLFZ 56. This text later appeared in the Geography (*dili* 地理) chapter of the 1607 encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 12.29a-b, accompanying a picture of Mt Diancang.

(now the place is called Yangbi). Then it joins the Lancang River [jiang] and flows into Nanhai (Lancang is also the Hei river; “Hei river” distinguishes in detail Lancang river [shui]).¹⁰¹

This description of Lake Er has less information on what it looks like than the passage on Mt Diancang, but this is balanced by the use of the river’s source and mouth to link the region to the upper reaches of the Yangtze and the South China Sea. The strip of land between the mountain and the lake — *cang er zhi jian* — was home the majority of Dali’s population, enclosed in the protective embrace of Mt Diancang and Lake Er.¹⁰²

Besides giving the city a sense of security, Lake Er and Mt Diancang were represented as the fundamental sources of the city’s livelihood and prosperity. References to the initial settlement and cultivation of the region say that humans began to live in the region when the area around the lake was made habitable, when Guanyin drained the swamplands:

白古通：時觀音大士開疆，水退林黯，人不敢入，有二鶴，自河尾日行其中，人始尾鶴而入，刊斬漸開，呆得平土以居。

Baigutong: At that time Guanyin made the waters recede, opened up the land and hid the forest from view, so that people did not dare enter it. There were two cranes who travelled daily from the river mouth to the centre of the forest. People tracked the cranes and gradually made their way in, cutting and chopping it open, and so they got flat land to live on.¹⁰³

Once the water and the forest receded, human settlement could establish itself on the fertile plains left behind.

按白古通遼古之初，蒼洱舊為澤國，水居陸之半，為羅刹所據。羅刹猶言邪龍。漢書稱邪龍雲南即今郡地也。羅刹好食人目，晴故其地居人。鮮少有張敬者為巫祝羅刹愚之。有一老人主張敬家，託言欲求片地以藏修居。數日敬見其德容以告羅刹。羅刹乃見老人問所欲。老人身披袈裟手牽一犬。指曰他無所求但欲吾袈裟一展、犬一跳之地以為栖息之所。羅刹喏。老人曰既承許喏合立符[X]以示信。羅刹又喏。遂就洱水畚上書[X]石問于是老人展袈裟[x]犬一跳已盡羅刹之地。羅刹彷徨失措意欲背盟，以老人神力制之自不敢背。但問何以處我？老人曰別有殊勝之居。因神化金屋寶所。刹喜過望盡移其屬入焉。而山遂閉。今蒼山之上，羊溪是其地也。于是老人鑿何尾洩水之半人得平土以居此其事甚怪！

According to Baigutong, in the distant past, Cang-Er was formerly a floodplain, more than half covered with water, and a rakshasa occupied it. The rakshasa was also called “evil dragon.” The Han Shu calls Xielong the territory that is today’s Yunnan. The rakshasa loved to eat human eyeballs, and cleared the land where people lived. Among the few was Zhang Jing, who used magic to deceive the Rakshasa. There was an old man who lived in Zhang Jing’s house, who asked him, “I want a piece of land on which to build a place to live.” After several days Jing saw that he appeared to have attained the *dao*, so he told the rakshasa. The rakshasa then saw the old man and asked what he desired. The old man was wearing a cloak and pulling a dog on a lead. The monk said to him: “I only want a place to spread out my cloak; as much land as my dog can cover two jumps will be enough.” The rakshasa agreed. The monk said, “let us sign a land contract, and set up a tally to show trust.” The rakshasa again agreed. Then the whole of Lake Er was covered by the old man’s cloak, and his dog jumped across the whole of the rakshasa’s land. The rakshasa

¹⁰¹ DLCS 59-60; *Sancai tuhui*. Characters in square brackets are from *Sancai tuhui*; the four missing/blank ones are interpreted there as blank space. This could mean that that version was copied from a similarly damaged version as the extant copy (or even the same one), or it could mean that it was actually a blank.

¹⁰² The phrase *cang’er zhi jian* is used regularly in Ming and Qing texts, for example NZYS (HW); DL 9.2b.

¹⁰³ ZZZ 4. *Zhaozhou zhi* includes this in the commentary to explain the name “Heta (鶴拓 “Crane-opening up”) period,” as used to refer to the Nanzhao Kingdom (Heta is one of its alternative titles listed in the Xin Tang shu among other places). The *Nanzhao lishi* links this event to Shuanghe qiao south of Dali city: Mark Elvin, Shen Ji, Darren Crook, Richard Jones, and John Dearing, “The Impact of Clearance and Irrigation on the Environment in the Lake Erhai Catchment from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century” *East Asian History* 23 (2002): 1-60.

walked back and forth in distress, not wanting to go back on his agreement. The old man's numinous power controlled him and he did not dare to go back on it. But where was he to live?" The old man said, "there is a special scenic place for you to live." So he transformed a magnificent house to contain him. The rakshasa was happy, and proceeded to move in and live there. Once he had gone inside it closed up. Now it is on the top of today's Mt Cang, the place where Sheep Spring is. Then the old man dug the mouth of the river and reduced the water flow by half, so the people had level ground to live on. This affair is extremely strange!¹⁰⁴

The story of Guanyin's defeat of the rakshasa appears, like Guanyin, to have arrived in Dali from the west; it is a version of a story from the Ramayana, in which the god Vishnu defeats the rakshasa king Mahabali by the same tricks Guanyin uses here.¹⁰⁵ In texts about Dali, it reinforced the sentiment that the Dali region was in some way both protected and made productive by Avalokitsvara's care and intervention.

Rivers were also important routes of connection for Dali literati travelling away from their hometown. In addition to its maps of administrative centres, *Dali fuzhi* contains a map solely of rivers, which locates Lake Er in the context of the upper reaches of the both the Mekong and the Yangtze. Many families were represented as having supplemented their livelihoods from the resources of the lake or the mountains. Fishing, in particular, was so deeply embedded in daily life that a pool which was not available for usage was worth its own entry in the provincial gazetteer:

普河魚池：在趙州東北五里、池中多魚、人不敢捕、雲龍王兵也。

Pu River Fish Pond: 5 li north-east of Zhaozhou; in this pool there are many fish, but people do not dare to catch them, as they are said to be the foot-soldiers of the Dragon King.¹⁰⁶

This warning hints at the insecurity of Dali people's subsistence on the fruit of the land: though it is fertile and generous, the natural world was also fickle, and needed to be respected or even appeased. The lake, as well as the streams flowing into it, also provided a source for extensive irrigation works to support the growth of crops.¹⁰⁷ One stele, for example, from the Xuande reign period (1426-35), provides a village by village prescription for the division of the water from each of the 18 Mt Diancang streams between civilian and military households across the Dali plain (table 1.1).¹⁰⁸ The fact that the whole plain was covered by this inscription suggests that

¹⁰⁴ YNTZ 17.4b; according to DZ 560 Guanyin pavilion north of the city was built on the place where the rakshasa was captured. Another version of this story is recorded in Yang Shen, "Dian cheng ji 滇程記 [Record of a Journey to Dian]" . For an English translation see Ihor Pidhainy, "A Mid-Ming Account of the Road into Exile," *Ming Studies* 58 (2008): 25-27.

¹⁰⁵ R. K. Narayan, *The Ramayana: a shortened modern prose version of the Indian epic*, (London: Penguin Books, 2006 [1972]), 13-15.

¹⁰⁶ YNTZ 2.29a. This pool is not referred to in any other Ming gazetteers covering Zhaozhou. This pool was located near Huanlong mountain (occupied by a dragon), but Dragon Kings appear attached to mountains and water features throughout the region, including Lake Er — of which more below.

¹⁰⁷ Irrigation works in western Yunnan were described by outsiders in both the Tang-era *Manshu* (MS) and the Yuan travelogue *Dali xingji*: Guo Songnian 郭松年 *Dali xingji* 大理行記 [Record of Travels through Dali], ed. Wang Shuwu (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986), 14. English translations of the relevant passages can be found in Mark Elvin, Shen Ji, Darren Crook, Richard Jones and John Dearing, "The impact of Clearing and Irrigation on the Environment in the Lake Erhai Catchment from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century," *East Asian History* 23 (2002): 19-21.

¹⁰⁸ Anon., "*Hongwu xuande nianjian Dali fuwei guanli shiba xi gong sanshiwu chu junmin fending shuili beiben* 洪武宣德年間大理府衛關裏十八溪共三十五處軍民分定水例碑文 [Stele text on the division of water (from the 18 streams within the passes of Dali prefecture and guard) between military and civilian uses in 45 places total between the Hongwu and Xuande reign periods], n.d., DLCS JSP 1.137/10. 39.

disputes requiring official intervention were widespread, and that a long-lasting, public record was expected to be necessary.

Table 1.1: Stele text on the division of water 軍民分定水例碑文, 1430s

Water Source	Location	Military Allocation	Civilian Allocation
Cave spring	河尾西 West of Xiaguan	3 days, 3 nights	2 days, 2 nights
Ditch water	楊南村 Yangnan village	7 parts	3 parts
Cave spring	楊皮村西 Yangpi village (west)	3 parts	7 parts
Deep pool	馬蜂溝 Mafeng ditch	7 parts	3 parts
Pool	大龍潭 Dalong pool	3 parts	1 part
Tide water	感通寺 Gantong temple	4 parts	3 parts
Pool	十里橋 Ten li bridge	1 parts	1 part
Cave spring	七里橋 Seven li bridge	4 parts	6 parts
Cave spring	五里橋 Five li bridge [south of the city]	2 parts	8 parts
Cave spring	城南廂蒼山 South of the city gate near Mt Cang	6 parts	4 parts
Cave spring	古城 Old city wall	10 parts	1 part
Cave spring	五里橋 Five li bridge [north of the city]	5 parts	5 parts
Deep pool	江心莊 Jiangxin stockade	5 parts	5 parts
Cave spring	黑橋 Hei bridge	5 parts	5 parts
Cave spring	塔橋 Ta bridge	4 parts	2 parts
Deep pool	古城外摩用 Waimoyong	4 parts	4 parts
Deep pool	上洋溪 Shangyang stream	5 parts	5 parts
Cave spring	作揖舖 Zuoji courier station	4 parts	6 parts
Springwater	小邑莊 Xiaoyi stockade	5 parts	5 parts
Deep pool	西山觀音寺 Guanyin temple (west)	3 parts	7 parts
Springwater	靈會寺 Linghui temple	5 parts	5 parts
	大院坊村 Dayuanfang village	5 parts	5 parts
Tidewater	峨炭潮 Etan tidewater	4 parts	6 parts
Deep pool	三舍邑 Sanshe town	5 parts	5 parts
Deep pool	沙坪村 Shaping village	3 parts	7 parts
Cave spring	白石 White Stone	2 parts	7 parts
	牧馬邑 Muma town	0 parts	7 parts
	蛾庭里 Eting li	3 parts	7 parts
Deep pool	周城 Zhou wall	6 parts	4 parts
Springwater	周城 Zhou wall (2)	4 parts	6 parts
Deep pool in a cave	神摩 Shenma	4 parts	6 parts
Deep pool	白花 White Flower	6 parts	4 parts
Springwater	草腳屯西山下 Caojiao village (below the western mountain)	6 parts	4 parts
Springwater	法羅坊大路下 Faluo late (below the great road)	6 parts	4 parts

Mt Diancang, on the other hand, was less a source of daily food than of potentially tradable, even luxury, goods. In addition to the usual accounts of grains, fruits, animals, and medicinal plants, accounts of local products in gazetteers include tea (“on the first flush it is as good as Yangxian tea, after storing it for a year it is better” 性味不減陽羨，藏之年久，味愈勝也), paper, ink, and brushes, red cane (from Burma), cowries (from the south seas), and dyed cloth (red cotton or black silk).¹⁰⁹ One particularly well-known resource was Dali stone:

山本青石，山腰多白石，穴之膩如切肪，白質墨章，片琢為屏，有山川雲物之狀，世傳點蒼山石，好事者並爭致之。唐李德裕平泉莊醒灑石即此產也。

At the base of the mountain there is black stone, on the mountainside there is more white stone, in its crevices the grime is just like sliced animal fat. The white material is that of ink seals, its face is carved into a screen. As for the situation of the scenery of mountains and rivers, the stone of Mt Diancang handed down through generations, and those who love it contend that it should be sent everywhere. In the Tang, at Li Deyu's Pingquan villa, the special stone was produced here.¹¹⁰

In this passage, which comes from the passage describing Mt Diancang in Dali fuzhi quoted earlier, the stone of the mountain itself was precious, both for its appearance in the landscape and its potential for other uses. A later passage clarifies that although the stone was “valued by connoisseurs” 細玩尔 when carved by skilled workmen, the process of mining it was so treacherous it was better for the local people to restrict its sale entirely.¹¹¹

Although Mt Diancang and Lake Er were primarily sources of sustenance for the human population, they were also understood as sources of danger. Located in the foothills of the Himalayas, much of south-western China is highly vulnerable to seismic activity. Ming Dali experienced numerous earthquakes, and associated landslides and flooding. In their lists of disasters and omens, gazetteers present a world in which human life was vulnerable to a range of large-scale calamities, from drought to flood, earthquake, famine, and epidemic disease (see appendix 1 for full list). The seismic activity around the turn of the sixteenth century seems to have been especially destructive, based on the number of commemorative inscriptions surviving from the extended period of gradual rebuilding that followed, including schools in Jianchuan and Dali, and the iconic three pagodas of Chongzhen Temple.¹¹² In this environment, it is not surprising that stories about earlier disasters, and human responses to them, regularly appeared in Ming texts. One of the most important commemorates a great flood attributed to an evil snake, named Bojie, who had taken up residence in Lake Er:

按：『白古記』：唐時洱河有妖蛇，名薄劫，興大水淹城。蒙國王出示：有能滅之者，賞半官庫，子孫世免差徭。部民有段赤城者願滅蛇，縛刃入水，蛇吞之，人與蛇皆死，水患息。王令人剖蛇腹，取赤城骨葬之，建塔其上，燬蛇骨灰塔，名為靈塔。在今大理府城南龍尾關內點蒼山馬耳峯下羊皮村。每年有蛇黨起風來剝塔灰。時有謠曰：赤城賣硬土。今『龍王廟碑』云：洱河龍王段赤城。

¹⁰⁹ DLFZ 70-80 (tea is on page 76).

¹¹⁰ DLFZ 57.

¹¹¹ DLFZ 80. This particular comment is attributed to Yang Shiyun 楊士雲 (1477-1544, js. 1517), from Xizhou.

¹¹² DZ 294, 323-4; YNTZ 8.56a-b. Relevant inscriptions include: Wang Jin 汪錦, “Chongxiu wenmiao su zhu xianxiang ji 重修文廟塑諸賢像記 [Record of moulding all the figures of worthies in repairing the Temple of Literature,” 1519, DLCS JSP 2.123/10.75; Ma Xiang 馬卿, “Chongjian Taihe xianxue wenmiao ji 創建太和縣學文廟記 [Record of rebuilding Taihe county school and Temple of Literature,” 1527, DLCS JSP 3.10/10.79; Li Yuanyang 李元陽, “Chongxiu Chongsheng si beiji 重修崇聖寺碑記 [Stele record of the repair of Chongsheng temple” 1555, DLCS JSP 3.43/10.90.

According to the Baiguji: In Tang times there was a snake goblin called Bojie in the Er River. He blocked the river and the mouth of the gorge, and could produce a great wave to flood the town. The ruler of the Meng kingdom put up a notice saying, “I will reward the person who can destroy it by giving them a whole storehouse, and their son and grandson’s generations will avoid corvée.” One of the common people, Duan Chicheng, vowed to destroy the snake, so he tied his knife onto himself and entered the water. The snake swallowed him, so he and the snake both died. The peril of the waters ceased. The king ordered the people to cut open the snake’s belly and retrieve Chicheng’s bones, and buried them. He built a stupa over them, using the snake bone ashes in the stupa, and called it “Spirit Pagoda.” Every year the snake group again raise the wind, and it strips off the stupa ash. At that time there was a saying, “Chicheng sells hard work.” Now the Dragon King Temple Stele says, “Er river Dragon King, Duan Chicheng.”¹¹³

While the snake was in control of Lake Er, it caused both water shortages downstream and floods in more populated areas, and so the person who was able to defeat it was both rewarded at the time and venerated long after his death. Another version of the story says that the stupa dedicated to Duan Chicheng had originally been built as part of a defensive line of stupas.

The identification of Duan Chicheng with the worship of the Dragon King of Lake Er draws a connection between legends of floods in the Nanzhao world and the practice of water control rituals during the Ming, carried out at the Dragon King temple (*longwang miao* 龍王廟).¹¹⁴ These temples, associated throughout late imperial China with water gods of particular places, existed in multiple locations around Lake are, and their records frequently incorporated stories associated with local weather phenomena.¹¹⁵ The *Yunnan tongzhi* entry on the Xizhou Dragon King temple contains the following passage:

喜洲龍王廟：在府城北五十里。何矣城村與府東洱水神祠同出。按白古通謂點蒼山腳插入洱河最深長者唯城東一支與喜洲一支。南支之神其形金魚戴金錢，北支之神其形玉螺。二物見則為祥。Xizhou Dragon King Temple: 50 li north of the city. It comes out from the town in the same way that the Erhai water spirit shrine is east of the prefecture city. According to the Baigutong: The foot of Mt Diancang dips into the Er River at its deepest and longest place. There is only one branch east of the city and one branch near Xizhou. The spirit of the southern branch has the form of a golden fish wearing a gold coin on its head; the spirit of the northern branch has the form of a jade snake. If you see the two animals it is auspicious.¹¹⁶

Here, the places where the mountain and the lake are linked have particular significance. Not only are the temples themselves located at the meeting points of land and sea closest to human settlement, the two branches of the mountain near those liminal places were also occupied by auspicious spirits. Among the people who lived around them, Mt Diancang and Lake Er were both venerated and feared for the dangers that they presented to human life, and the ability to control them was equally revered.

¹¹³ *Nanzhao yeshi* dates this to the reign of Quanli (early 820s). Although Duan Chicheng shares a family name with the later rulers of the Dali kingdom, none of the accounts directly link the two.

¹¹⁴ Other gazetteers do not confirm this, although they do mention a Dragon King temple at the mouth of Erhai, roughly the right area (DZ 544). The pagoda, at least as it was known in the Ming, still stands, but its 1575 inscription by local scholar Zhao Chunyi 趙純一 gives no details, only commenting that one of the accounts describing its original construction mentions an evil snake, see chapter three below. For Dragon King worship in the context of flooding in Wuhan see Chris Courtney, “The Dragon King and the 1931 Wuhan Flood: Religious Rumors and Environmental Disasters in Republican China,” *Twentieth-Century China* 40, no. 2 (2015): 83-104.

¹¹⁵ For example, a dragon king temple in Jianchuan was integrated with the worship of Baijie shengfei 白姐聖妃, a local goddess with dragon iconography. Both were understood to be efficacious in preventing flooding. Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 97-8.

¹¹⁶ YNTZ 12.11b

In fact, for these writers, Cang-Er was a highly meaningful landscape, layered over with events of historical and religious significance. When Dali literati invoked the Cang-Er scenery to lend authority to their accounts of the region's history, they effectively reinforced the rhetorical power of that landscape as a repository of meaning. Other layers of meaning were accumulated by textual representations of the Mt Diancang and Lake Er as numinous landscapes. The story of Guanyin defeating the rakshasa, for example, places the protection of Avalokitesvara at the source of Dali's peace and prosperity. Guanyin is not the only Buddhist figure said to have visited Dali. *Dali fuzhi* and *Jizu shan zhi* record Sakyamuni and his disciples Ananda and Kasyapa visiting a number of locations around the lake:

白古通載：釋迦佛在西洱河證如來位。即梵經謂：靈鷲山爲釋迦說法華經。其說相合靈鷲梵名耆闍崛山、西洱各伽毘黎河文名恒河。在梵時已易名矣。

Baigutong records that Sakyamuni substantiated his tathagata status on the west side of Lake Er. And Sanskrit sutras say that Spiritual Vulture Peak is the place where Sakyamuni spoke the Lotus Sutra. It is said that Spiritual Vulture is the same as what is called in Sanskrit Mt Qishejue [Gṛdhrakūṭa]. West of the Er is the written name of the Ganges, the river at Kapilavastu. In ancient Indian times it had already changed its name.¹¹⁷

蒼洱之間，妙香城也。

The city of marvellous fragrance is between Mt Cang and Lake Er.¹¹⁸

白古通載：迦葉尊者繇大理點蒼山入雞足。今洱海之東蓮花曲有大石一X上存尊者足跡其深蓋數寸許。

The venerable Kasyapa entered Mt Jizu from Dali's Mt Diancang. Even now, there is a great stone at the lotus flower river-bend east of Erhai where there is a foot print where the venerable one stepped. It is a full several inches deep.¹¹⁹

The “city of marvellous fragrance” (*miaoxiang cheng* 妙香城) identifies Dali city with Gandhara, the country of marvellous fragrance (*miaoxiang guo* 妙香國) and the home of the historical Buddha. Monks feature frequently in stories like this, such as the account of Luoquan temple on the east bank:

通記曰：邪龍（一名羅刹）既為大士所除，其種類尚潛於東山海窟，惡風白浪，時覆舟航，有神僧就東崖創羅筌寺厭之。誦經其中，一夜忽聞大震動聲。僧視之，見百十童子造曰：師在此壞我屋宅，吾屬不安，請師別遷。僧厲聲曰：是法住法位，有何不可。遂失童子所在。明日寺下漂死鱗百餘。自是安流以濟。僧道遷化，榆水西岸各有水神，狀牛首人身，或虎頭雞喙，皆大石自地湧出，實非人工也。

The complete record says: since the wicked dragon (also called the rakshasa) had been expelled by the mahasattva [ie. Guanyin], others of his kind stayed hidden in a cave on the east hill near the lake. A rough wind stirred up the waves, and at times they overturned the boats. A wonder-working monk went to the east cliff and established Luoquan temple there. He was satisfied with the temple, and recited sutras there. One night, he suddenly heard a great clap of thunder. The monk shouted out, and he saw a thousand children speaking wildly, “the teacher is here, he is ruining the house that we live in! This place, where we are, is not peaceful. Please, teacher, go away.” The monk said in a loud voice, “the dharma lives where the dharma has been established. How can it be otherwise?” Then he lost sight of the place where the children

¹¹⁷ DLFZ 2.6a-b

¹¹⁸ DLFZ 88. A parallel passage in CXDCZZ 15 (3.1a-b) says 府志載：葉榆在天竺為妙香國。The prefecture gazetteer records: Yeyu is the Miaoxiang Kingdom in India.

¹¹⁹ *Jizu shan zhi* 雞足山志 [Gazetteer of Mt Jizu], 1691, 7.5a. Lotus Flower Bend is on the east bank of Lake Er, just south of Shuanglang.

were. The next day, more than a hundred dead snakes were floating below the temple, and flowed calmly down to a ford. The monk then transformed. On each of the northern cliffs west of the Elm River there was the ancestral temple of a water spirit. The spirits had the appearance of a cow's head and human body, or a tiger head and chicken beak. They were all made of great rocks which had come up out of the land, and were definitely not made by humans.¹²⁰

In this passage, a great thunderstorm on the lake is attributed to the workings of wicked rakshasas, and so can only be defeated by a holy monk. To defeat them, he claims the land as a place where “the dharma has been established,” and thus where evil dragons cannot live. The coda locates the Buddhist monk’s actions within an existing numinous landscape, inhabited by spirits that had emerged from the land itself.

Many Yuan and Ming texts produced in Dali pictured the city as the centre of a local sphere of influence and connected to distant places in all directions. The Yunnan tongzhi section on strange events in Dali contains an account of seven miraculous appearances of Guanyin that begins:

觀音七化：皆近蒼洱，南止蒙舍，北止施浪，東止雞足，西止雲龍

The seven transformations of Guanyin: all took place around Cang and Er, south to Mengshe, north to Shilang, east to Mt Jizu, west to Yunlong.¹²¹

These landmarks roughly mark out the boundaries of Dali’s cultural influence during the Ming dynasty. Mengshe, the former name of Menghua city, was the ancestral home of the Nanzhao kings and the first stop on the trade routes south of Dali. Shilang was one of three kingdoms north of Lake Er that eventually formed part of the Nanzhao kingdom. Its location is not certain, but its armies were finally defeated at Jianchuan, the equivalent distance from Dali on the northern trade route.¹²² Mt Jizu, as discussed above, was a sacred mountain and monastic complex on the eastern shore of Lake Er, while Yunlong was a town on the western side of the Diancang mountain range. Both Jianchuan and Mengshe were located near sacred mountains, and were incorporated into Dali’s pilgrimage as well as trading networks. The image of the monk arriving from India inscribed on the cliff-face at Mt Shibao also appears in texts produced in Dali.

神僧贊陀崛多以蒙氏保和十六年自西域摩伽國來。

In the 16th year of the Baohe reign period in the Meng clan calendar [839], the marvellous monk Zantuojueduo came across the peaks and mountain-tops from Magadha in India.¹²³

Despite these occasional exceptions, Dali literati primarily represented the spatial dimensions of their world as solidly centred on the Cang-Er axis. For the people who lived there, the mountain and lake were the sources of their history and the legitimate site of their territory. Many gained or supplemented their livelihood by fishing or selling products from the mountain. They were also liminal places and potential sources of disaster that needed to be controlled, and even links to the outside world.

The *guji* section of the 1641 Dengchuan gazetteer was unusually short, but provides a clear demonstration of the ways this discourse could be used to imbue the landscape with historical

¹²⁰ DLFZ 60

¹²¹ YNTZ 17.4b-5a

¹²² MS juan 3

¹²³ *Daming tongyi mingsheng zhi* 大明統一名勝志 [Unified Ming gazetteer of famous places] 119.3a

meaning. In this section, three stories linked by their location on Mt Jizu, a monastic centre and pilgrimage destination of increasing importance during the Ming¹²⁴, draw together past traces and present practices as mutually reinforcing ways to locate Dali. In the first story, Mt Jizu is identified as a place where Sakyamuni's cloth of gold awaits the arrival of Maitreya, the anticipated future buddha:

周昭王時釋迦佛下生，謂入滅之後當有彌勒下生以補佛位，聚五百大眾拈花以示付託之意，大弟子迦葉拈得花微笑默婆佛旨，遂以金縷衣付之。佛入滅時即捧衣自賓鉢羅窟入雞足山石門內守衣以待慈氏降生。今元旦朝山者以億萬計，自漢至今無異。

In the time of King Shao of Zhou, Sakyamuni entered the world. It is said that after he had entered into nirvana until Maitreya [will] enter the world to enter the state of Buddhahood, he assembled 500 people and picked up a flower to show that he entrusted his ideas to them. His great disciple Kasyapa picked a flower, smiled silently [at an old woman] buddhist doctrine, and gradually he was apparelled in cloth of gold. When the Buddha entered into nirvana he at once carried the cloth from the bodhi tree cave and entered Mt Jizu's stone gate, preserving the clothing to await the birth of the benevolent one [Maitreya]. Now on new years' day pilgrims number in their hundreds of millions, from the Han until today this has not changed.¹²⁵

Here, the devotional practices of Dali's people are traced back to the Han dynasty, while the historical figures invoked, both in India and in the Yellow River valley, refer back even further, as far back as one can go in the current age. Its time-scale is expansive, but the New Years' pilgrimage forms a fixed point recurring until the millennium. The second story narrows the scope to the era of attested historical materials:

府志載：葉榆在天竺為妙香國。唐永徽間觀音大士變作凡人教人念佛，有一欺心事則舉手加額曰：“何不畏天？”又大士濡雨保苗，俗人塑像敬曰：“觀音老爹。”

The prefecture gazetteer records: Yeyu is the Miaoxiang Kingdom in India. In the Yongwei era of the Tang dynasty [650-655] Avalokitesvara Boddhisattva turned into a mortal to instruct people to pray to the Buddha, and there was a person of bad conscience who even so lifted hands in joy and said: “why don't you venerate heaven?” And the boddhisattva delayed the rain to protect the sprouts, so laypeople moulded a figure and respectfully called it “Old man Avalokitesvara.”¹²⁶

In this story, the boddhisattva Guanyin comes to instruct the people of Dali in proper veneration, just around the time the Nanzhao kingdom was established. Guanyin's role is not only in teaching, but in protecting the crops in the cycle of the agricultural year: a little closer to the necessities of daily life than the New Year's pilgrimage. The third story follows this trend to identify the origins of the year-round ritual practices of Dali's Buddhists:

滇志載：葉榆西接竺國，自唐宋以來崇奉佛教，每朔望入寺禮佛、飯僧。俗云：信三寶，家永為和合。是以富翁、義官不惜財貲勝建梵宇。若土官桀驁一遇緇流，無不俯拜。志稱：俗民曰白兒子，是白飯王佛所生之子孫。今存。

Dianzhi records: Yeyu presses against India on its west, and since Tang and Song times they have followed Buddhist teachings. Every first and fifteenth of the month they enter the temple to pray to the Buddha and give food to the monks. It is commonly said: believe in the triratna [buddha, dharma, sangha], and your family will always be harmonious. Therefore rich local elders and upright officials did not hold back in

¹²⁴ Lian Ruizhi 連瑞枝, “Dali shanxiang yu tuguan zhengzhi — Jizu shan fojiao shengshan de xingcheng” 大理山鄉與土官政治—雞足山佛教聖山的形成 [Dali village and indigenous governance — the formation of the Buddhist sacred mountain Mt Jizu], *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 [Sinological Research] 33.3 (2015):131-68.

¹²⁵ CXDCZZ 3.14a

¹²⁶ CXDCZZ 3.14a

expending enough money to build [a place for] Buddhist scriptures. If indigenous officials [who are rough and proud] once encounter Buddhist monks, they will all bow in obeisance. The gazetteer says: the people are customarily called “sons of the white” because they are the descendants born of the White Rice King Buddha. So it remains today.¹²⁷

This extract from the 1611 provincial gazetteer does not in fact mention any specific past traces. The evidence of the Buddhist past in this passage is in the customs of Dali’s people, whether monthly temple visits, financial expenditure, or habits of polite respect towards monks. Dali’s inhabitants themselves, as descendants of the “White Rice King Buddha” embody the past trace of visiting bodhisattvas. By expanding the concept of *guji* in this way, the compiler of the Dengchuan gazetteer found a way to represent Dali Buddhism using a conventional literati discourse about locality, tying together the sacred and the profane in his explication of significant landscapes.

The layers of significance attributed by Ming literati to Mt Diancang and Lake Er resonated throughout the concerns of daily life and the threat of disaster, forming a rich well of meaning that could be applied in other contexts. Many stories of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms, for example, invoked the rulers’ control over the mountain and the lake as sources of legitimacy. Not only did they reward heroes, as in the story of Duan Chicheng, above, they also undertook irrigation works and flood control:

武宗乙丑會昌元年，佑遣軍將晟君築橫渠道自磨用江至於鶴拓，灌東皋及城陽田，與龍佉江合流入於河，謂之錦浪江。又濬點蒼山玉局峯頂之南為池，謂之高河，又名為馮河。更導山泉共洩流為川，灌田數萬頃，民得耕種之利。

In the *yichou* year [845] of Emperor Wu [of Tang], the first year of the *Huichang* reign period, You sent General Sheng to build the Transverse Channel. It ran from Moyong River to Hetuo. This irrigated the fields of Donggao and Chengyang. It then joined with the Longka River and flowed into the Erhai. It was called the Jinlag River. He also stored up water south of the summit of Yuju Peak in Mt Diancang, making a reservoir. He called it the “Gaohe” or “Feng River.” He further directed the mountain springs so that they drained off in the fashion of a river, irrigating several tens of thousands of qing. The people obtained the profits of ploughing and planting.¹²⁸

Here, Nanzhao emperor Feng you is said to have implemented irrigation systems which diverted some of the water from the streams running between Mt Diancang and Lake Er into agricultural uses. Another important event in the history of the Nanzhao kingdom as it was told in later periods was the movement of the capital from Mengshe, in the valley south of Lake Er, to the Dali plain:

子異牟尋立……徙都苴咩城。封點蒼山為中嶽。

His son Yimouxun took the throne, ...he moved the capital to Juyang city, and enfeoffed Mt Diancang as the central mountain.¹²⁹

The focus on Dali as capital city is repeated in the *Jigu dianshuo ji* summation of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms:

段思平得之，更國號曰大理，始稱先帝，蒙、段同四十一主，共歷六百有一年，皆都於善闡、大理也。善闡金碧為城，昆水為池。大理西倚點蒼，東挾洱水，點蒼之險，洱水之阨，龍首關於鄧川之

¹²⁷ CXDCZZ 3.14b

¹²⁸ NZYS, Fengyi section; Elvin et al, “Clearance and Irrigation,” 11.

¹²⁹ YNZL; Dianzaiji

南，龍尾關於趙臉之北。

Duan Siping obtained it, changed the name of the country to Dali, and began to call himself the first emperor. The Meng and Duan clans together were 41 rulers, altogether passing through 600 years, both capitals, Shanchan and Dali. Shanchan is the city of Jinma and Biji, and Kushui is its lake. Dali clings to Diancang on the west, and on the east it is wedged up against Erhai. Diancang is perilous and Erhai imposes limits, the head-of-the-dragon pass is south of Dengchuan, the tail-of-the-dragon pass is north of Zhaozhou.¹³⁰

In this telling, one of the major features that ties the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms together as a continuous polity (despite the change in rule) is their foundation in between Mt Diancang and Lake Er. For Yuan and Ming writers, the physical environment of Lake Er and Mt Diancang were necessary elements in establishing the legitimacy of the historical Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms. On one hand, the ability to control the environment showed that these kings were true and effective rulers. On the other, using the setting of Mt Diancang and Lake Er as an important part of the state-centric narrative allowed these writers to draw on the symbolic resources of the landscape to incorporate these layers of meaning into their histories.

The following story from *Nanzhao yeshi* ties together the motifs of the monk, the king, and the use of the land:

宣宗丁卯大（宗）[中] 元年，佑妃卒，佑鬱鬱不樂，臣下請選妃女備後宮。得羅部今雲南府羅次縣。一美女進之，有寵。女好佛，建羅次寺，至今靈異。六月大旱，佑令僧壽海祈雨。僧曰：「昔湯旱七年，六事自責，天雨七日。今王酒色妄殺，天怒不雨。王如改悔，天雨自至，何以祈為？」佑如僧言，自責自改，數日果雨。佑女至崇聖寺進香，回至城西，為一乘白馬人攝去，尋之不得。佑告於西僧贊陀囉哆，哆曰此山神也。乃設燈照之，果在蒼山下。哆怒欲行法，移山於河。山神懼，獻寶珠供佛，佑乃已。

In 847, Fengyou's wife died. You was depressed and could find no pleasure in anything, so his ministers invited him to choose a wife from the women that filled the rear palace. Those they had got were displayed in part of what is now Luoci county of Yunnan prefecture [Kunming]. A beautiful woman entered, and received his favour. The woman loved the Buddha, and established Luoci Temple, which until now is a numinous place. In the sixth month there was a great drought, and You ordered a monk to pray to the sea for rain. The monk said, "in the past the waters were dry for seven years, the senior councillors reproved themselves, and a great rain fell for seven days. Now the king is indulging in wine and women, and indiscriminate murder, heaven is angry and it will not rain. If the king repents, then heaven's rain will arrive, what can praying do?" You did according to the monk's words, he reproved himself and changed his ways, and after several days rain accordingly arrived. You's daughter went to Chongsheng Temple and offered incense. She returned to the west of the city and took a ride on a white horse and was received, when sought for she could not be found. You told this to Zantuojueduo, a monk from the west, and Duo said that this was the work of a mountain spirit. So he set up a lamp and illuminated it, and sure enough she was in the foothills of Mt Cang. Duo was angry and wanted to handle things according to the law, so he shifted the mountain towards the river. The mountain spirit was afraid, and presented a precious pearl as a flower offering to the Buddha. You was thus finished.¹³¹

In this story, the Buddhist monk Zantuojueduo, said to have arrived from India in the early ninth century, is consulted by the Nanzhao king Fengyou (or Fengyi, r.817-859) to help him find his wife. The queen's disappearance turns out to have been the result of royal interference in the balance between mountain and river, in an attempt to avert a drought. While the actions of the rulers are efficacious in removing the drought, they lack discernment of its spirits. When the spirits of the land submit to the Buddha, order is restored. Dali was situated within a numinous

¹³⁰ (WL)JGDSJ 1.16a-b

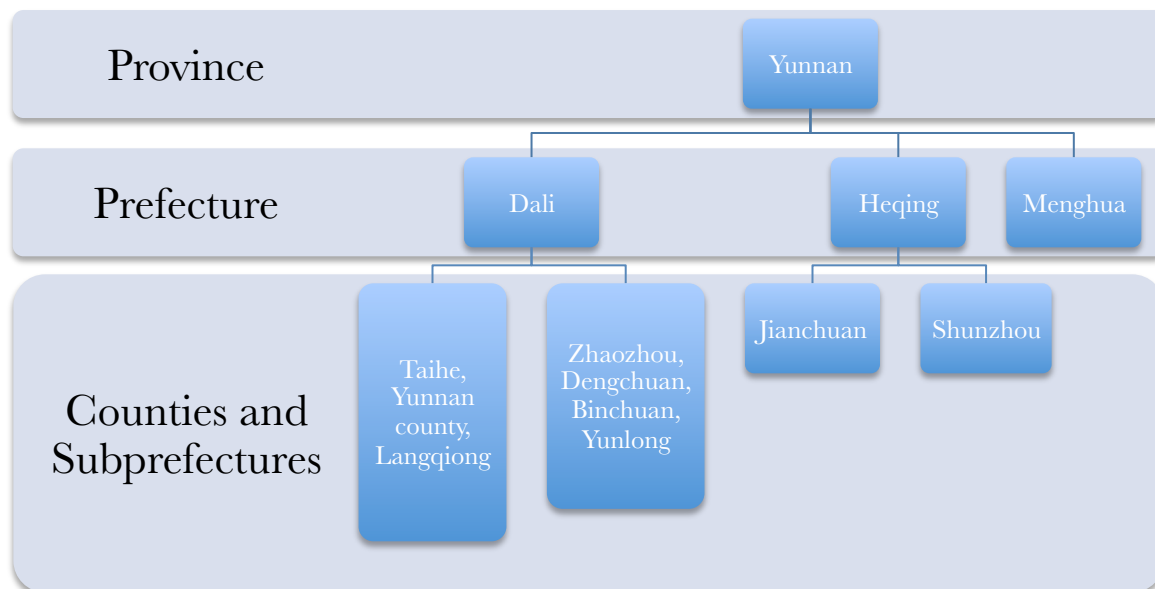
¹³¹ NZYS

landscape rich in historical and religious significance, both controlled by the monks and kings who occupied positions of power in local society, and lending them legitimacy.

The Scaffolding of Gentry Life: Prefectures, Counties, and Towns

While Mt Diancang and Lake Er were unmatched in their symbolic importance for writers in Yuan and Ming Dali, the concerns of their everyday lives, at least as represented in these texts, were structured by other forms of spatial knowledge, the walled city and the administrative centre. As a result, their depiction of the region were overlaid with an urban geography based around the hierarchy of administrative divisions used by the state. Although the administrative structures established on paper did not necessarily translate into effective governance for much of this period, they were an important part of the basic framework by which literate men in Dali experienced and portrayed the world around them. According to 1571 *Yunnan tongzhi*, Dali prefecture had three sub-prefectures and four counties subordinate to it, shown on both its map and my chart, with captions from the account of “administrative changes” in the texts of the gazetteer (see appendix 2 for full translation). Although I am using this passage to introduce the internal spatial structures of Dali’s prefectural administration, there are in fact no passages in the gazetteer with that function; this, as others, merely replicates the organising structures familiar to both writers and readers from their daily lives. The framework used here presents the sub-prefectures and counties in order of their distance from the Dali city, which was the prefecture seat. The distance ranged from Taihe county, which surrounded the walled city, to Twelve Passes Chieftaincy in the south-east, on the road to Kunming.

Figure 1.2 Hierarchy of Dali Civilian Units, *Yunnan tongzhi*



They were also organised by their hierarchical relationships to each other. Yunnan province governed Dali prefecture, which in turn governed a variety of smaller units, the sub-prefecture, county, and chieftaincy. The sub-prefecture, *zhou*, was the larger unit, with a taxable population typically above 30 li and a magistrate at rank 5b (of nine) in the civil service. The county, *xian*, had a taxable population around 20 li, and a magistrate at a lower rank, usually between 6a and

7b.¹³² However, the hierarchal relationships among these units were not rigid: although Taihe county was directly subordinate to the prefecture seat, Zhaozhou and Dengchuan prefectures each had one subordinate county, and Yunlong and Binchuan sub-prefectures have none. Moreover, Taihe had a much larger taxable population than any of the sub-prefectures (more than 45,000 *ding* — men eligible to be conscripted for corvée — than any other unit, including the sub-prefectures).¹³³

Dali's neighbouring prefectures had smaller taxable populations and much simpler internal structures:

蒙化沿革：戰國時屬楚為滇國地。漢為益州郡地。東漢屬永昌郡。唐屬姚州都督府。初天竺張仁果據此號白子、傳至樂進求遜位於、蒙氏細奴邏號蒙捨詔改稱南詔。後徙太和城蒙捨為舊都永泰初改陽瓜州。宋時段氏改開南縣。元憲宗七年置蒙捨千戶所、至元十一年改蒙化府、十四年陞為路、二十年復降為州屬大理路。皇明洪武初仍為州屬大理府、正統間復陞為府。

Menghua: in the Warring States it belonged to Chu, as territory of the Dian Kingdom. In the Han it was Yizhou commandery territory. In the Eastern Han it belonged to Yongchang Commandery. In Tang it belonged to Yaozhou Area Command. At the beginning of the Tianzhu period Zhang Renguo occupied it and called it Baizi, and passed it to Lejinqu who succeeded him in the position. Xinuluo of the Meng clan called it Mengshe zhao and changed the name to Nanzhao. Afterwards they went to Taihe city and Mengshe became the old capital. At the beginning of the Yongtai period it changed to Yanggua prefecture. In Song times the Duan clan changed it to Kainan county. In 1257 the Yuan established Mengshe battalion, in 1274 they changed it to Menghua prefecture, in 1277 it was raised to a route, and in 1283 it was again lowered to a sub-prefecture belonging to Dali route. In the early Hongwu period the Ming still made it a sub-prefecture belonging to Dali prefecture, and in the Zhengtong period it was again raised to a prefecture.¹³⁴

鶴慶沿革：漢屬益州郡。東漢分屬永昌郡。唐初為越析詔之地、夷名漾工一名鶴川、開元末屬南詔置謀統郡。段氏改謀統府。元初內附置鶴州尋置二千戶、仍稱謀統隸大理上萬戶、至元中復為鶴州。後陞鶴慶府尋改為鶴慶路。皇明洪武十五年改路為府、後又改為鶴慶軍民府隸雲南布政使司。領州二。

Heqing: in the Han it belonged to Yizhou commandery. In the Eastern Han it was separated and belonged to Yongchang commandery. At the beginning of the Tang it was in the territory of Yuexi zhao, called in the barbarian language Yanggong, also called Hechuan. At the end of the Kaiyuan period it belonged to Nanzhao ruled it as Moutong commandery. The Duan clan changed it to Moutong prefecture. At the beginning of the Yuan Neifu period it was ruled as Hezhou, sought to control two battalions. It was still called Moutong under Dali brigade. In the Zhiyuan period it again became Hezhou. Later it rose to be Heqing prefecture and following that it was changed to Heqing route. In 1382 the Ming changed the route to a prefecture, and later it was again changed to Heqing Tribal Office under Yunnan Provincial Administration Commission. It has two sub-prefectures.¹³⁵

These passages show that although both Menghua and Heqing had historical connections to Dali, as part of the Six Kingdoms united by the Nanzhao, their Ming administrations were not officially connected to Dali.

However, although Yunnan's military and civilian networks operated in parallel, they had different spatial structures, including in the Dali region. *Yunnan tongzhi* lists four walled garrisons (*wei* 衛) and one encampment (*yu* 禦) across these three prefectures established during the same period that the Ming administrative centres were being re-organised (see figure 1.2):

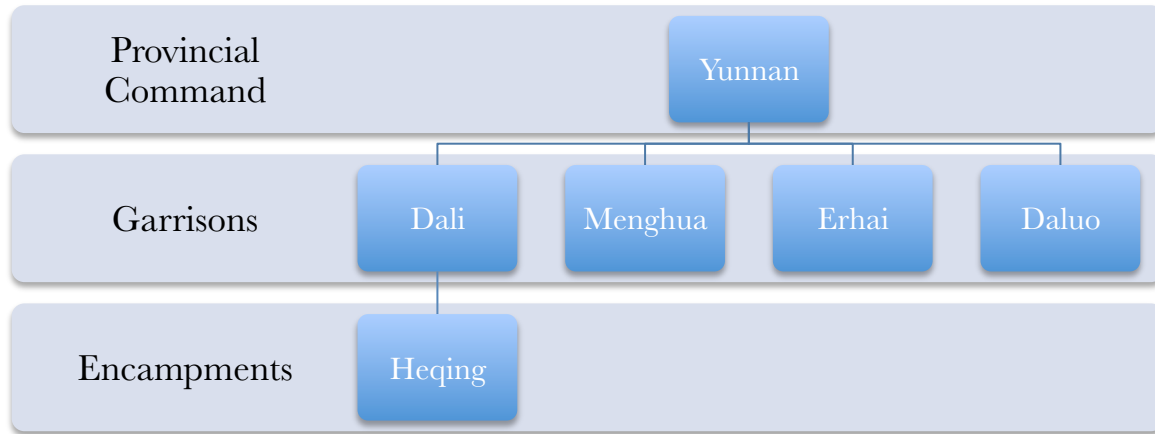
¹³² According to Hucker, the magistrate of a Ming *zhou* held rank 5b, while a *xian* magistrate held rank 6a-7b. Daming huidian 4.95a-b has the info about population, and describes *xian* explicitly as subordinate to (*shu*) *zhou*.

¹³³ YNTZ 6.9b-10a

¹³⁴ YNTZ 3.24b-25a

¹³⁵ YNTZ 3.29a-b

Figure 1.3: Hierarchy of Dali Military Units, *Yunnan tongzhi*



The first garrison established was Dali *wei* in 1382, followed five years later by Heqing encampment, under the command of Dali garrison. In 1390 a garrison was established in Menghua, followed by Erhai garrison (early fifteenth century), east of Yunnan county seat, and Daluo garrison, north of Binchuan. Although the civilian governments of Yunnan and Binchuan were subordinate to Dali, the military structure was not.¹³⁶ Heqing, on the other hand, was subordinate militarily; its civilian government was not under Dali administration but it was not a full civilian government, either. As a Tribal Office (*junmin fu* 軍民府, lit. military-civilian prefecture) it was designated for regions with a strong *tusi* (土司 “indigenous chieftain”) who took an active role in negotiations with the state. Thus the patterns of administrative geography mirrored each other: districts which had effectively been incorporated into the regular civilian administration had relatively independent military garrisons (*weisuo* 衛所), while in regions with strong indigenous populations the military presence was allowed much less discretion. While the civilian structures were not the only government structures, they were used to organise the outline of all parts of the gazetteers, regardless of the actual content or the scope of the text.

The accounts of administrative geography in gazetteers are typically comprised of an account of the changes over time (*yange* 沿革) and an account of the astronomical correspondences (*xingye* 星野 or *fentye* 分野). Few gazetteers discuss the astronomical correspondences beyond citations from standard texts: the *Tribute of Yu*, the *Han History*, and the writings of Tang astronomer the monk Yixing.¹³⁷ Like compilers in other parts of the empire, however, Dali literati understood the proper disposition of the spatial resources of the empire — that is, drawing and re-drawing administrative boundaries according to the demands of the time — as an essential part of the governing toolbox of the state. The compilers of *Dali fuzhi*, for example, began their account of Dali’s *yange* with a justification of its strategic importance:

大理據全省之上游，為滇西扼塞之地。國家有事諸夷，其道路必出焉。自昔大理能制諸夷，諸夷莫敢窺大理。

Dali occupies a favourable geographical position within [lit. the upper reaches of] the whole province, it is the fortress stronghold of western Yunnan. In the country [guojia] there the matter of various barbarians,

¹³⁶ YNTZ 7.12a-14b, 23b-24a

¹³⁷ CXDCZZ 1.6b; DLFZ 1.53b-55a. ZZZ 17-18 is the exception, with a much expanded version.

their roads surely come out of it [Dali]. From ancient times Dali could control the various barbarians. The various barbarians did not dare to spy on Dali.¹³⁸

In the section on the provincial *yange* during the Yuan, the compilers of *Yunnan tongzhi* describe the administrative reorganisation that followed the Ming conquest:

十四年秋七月命額川侯傅友德爲徵南、將軍永昌侯藍玉、西平侯沐英爲副總兵徵雲南。平之、擒大理段寶二孫、賜名歸仁、歸義。仁授武昌衛鎮撫、義鴈門衛鎮撫。十五年春城雲南建諸衙門及儒學。改行省爲雲南等處承宣佈政使司領諸府州縣司。置都指揮使司領諸衛所、置提刑按察司分巡安普臨元金滄洱海四道。兼察諸府州縣司衛所並稱爲三司雲

In the autumn of 1381, in the seventh month, Fu Youde, the Duke of Yingchuan, made a military expedition to the south. His generals Lan Yu, the Duke of Yongchang, and Mu Ying, the Duke of Xiping, helped command forces on this expedition to Yunnan. They pacified it and defeated the two grandsons of Duan Bao of Dali, given the names Guiren and Guiyi. Ren received Wuchang garrison to appease him, Yi received Yanmen garrison for the same reason. In the spring of 1382, in the Spring City [Kunming] and in Yunnan prefecture yamens and government schools were built. They changed the branch secretariat to be Yunnan and other places provincial administration commission, leading the various prefecture, sub-prefecture, and county offices. It [the provincial administration commission] controlled the regional military commissioner, leading the various garrisons and camps, and the Provincial Surveillance Commission, with four surveillance circuits: An-Pu, Lin-Yuan, Jin-Cang, and Erhai. Along with the censors in the various prefectures, sub prefectures, counties, offices, garrisons, and camps, these were called the Three Offices.¹³⁹

This process of removing enfeoffed local power-holders (later called *tusi*) and establishing in their place a standardised administrative structure staffed by regular members of the bureaucracy was known as “administrative incorporation” (*gaitu guiliu* 改土歸流), and was gradually implemented throughout the south-west until the reign of the Qing emperor Yongzheng. By the end of the Ming, most central population centres had undergone the process foreshadowed here by the removal of the descendants of the Duan clan, rulers of the Dali Kingdom, in favour of a provincial bureaucracy based in Kunming.

By contrast, the accounts of county and sub prefecture *yange* quoted above (also from *Yunnan tongzhi*) emphasise continuity between Yuan and Ming administrative divisions on a local level, with the major change having occurred in the late thirteenth century (the Zhiyuan reign period). This kind of juxtaposition of different accounts of historical administrative geography can also be observed in gazetteer accounts of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms within the same *yange* sections — should their administrative divisions be included (as in *Yunnan tongzhi*), or is the goal only to account for Chinese imperial administration, as the Ming understood it? In *Zhaozhou zhi*, the compiler, Zhuang Qiao, deals with this question by contrasting the accounts of three distinct written sources. The first two versions, an investigation by Ma Duanlin, and the prefecture gazetteer by Li Yuanyang, present contrasting versions of pre-Tang Yunnan, but agree that the Dali Kingdom’s administration, in particular, should not be included:

趙州隸大理，其沿革之述宜無不同者。然或攬於永昌，附於雲南，此何以稱焉。按馬端臨考曰：禹貢：華陽黑水為梁州：自漢川不以皆其封域。舜置十二州，梁州其一也。以西方金剛，其氣強，故曰梁州。周禮合梁於雍。即殷夏之間，所謂已寶彭濮人也。秦惠王使司馬錯伐蜀有其地，始皇兼天下，置郡為漢中。漢武帝置十三郡為益州。益州之名蓋自此始也。王莽末公孫述據之。蜀漢昭烈復其地，武侯平西南，置四郡。晉分益州南境置寧州。南北朝因之。唐分此為山南西道，兼分入京

¹³⁸ DLFZ 1.1a-b

¹³⁹ YNTZ 1.19b

幾隴右道及黔中道。唐末為王建孟知祥所據，宋棄而不郡。端臨此論，蓋合屬與滇言之也。非趙州之專考也。

Zhaozhou is subordinate to Dali, the account of its transformations ought not to differ. But sometimes it was thrown in with Yongchang or appended to Yunnan, what shall we say about this? According to Ma Duanlin's investigations: in the *Tribute of Yu* and *Huayang* the Black River [the Mekong] is in Liangzhou. From the Han river it was not all part of the fiefdom. Shun controlled 12 prefectures, and Liangzhou was one of them. In the western lands was a *vajra*, and its *qi* was powerful, so it was called Liangzhou. In the Book of Rites, it says that Liang is the same as Yong. Thus in between the Yin [Shang] and Xia dynasties, it was called *Baopangji* people. In Qin the King of Hui sent Sima Cuo to annex Shu, and when the first emperor ruled all under heaven it was part of Hanzhong. Emperor Wu of Han ruled Yizhou as one of the thirteen commandaries. The name Yizhou began to be used from that time. Wang Mang had Gongsun write an account of it. Under Shuhan there was a celebrated return to this land, when the Martial Duke pacified the southwest and established four commandaries. In the Jin it was divided into Yizhou, bordered by Ningzhou on the south. To the northwest it was the court. The Tang divided it so that south of the mountain was the southwest circuit, from Jingfen into the capital was Longyou circuit, and Qian [Guizhou] was the central circuit. In the Tang it was not the case that Wang Jianmeng knew the place in detail and lived there. In the Song it was abandoned and became not-a-prefecture. Duanlin discusses this, holding that it belongs in a category with Dian and says so. It is not the case that he examines the transformations of Zhaozhou.¹⁴⁰

又按郡志，李元陽考曰：梁雍亦曰雍州。楚莊躋王滇，是為滇楚。漢武封天空王之裔仁果為自王。土人盛覽從司馬相如受學，始開文敬。……宋王全斌欲乘伐蜀之威襲大理，太祖以玉斧畫大渡河曰：此外非吾有也。以故三百年間，遂與中國絕。……元陽此論蓋合全都言之也。亦非趙州專考也。And according to the prefecture gazetteer, Li Yuanyang examined it and says: Liang and Yong both are called Yongzhou. Zhuang Qiao from Chu was King of Dian, and he made Dian part of Chu. Han Wudi enfeoffed the descendants of the Tiankong king, Renguo. A local person by the name of Sheng Lan studied with Sima Xiangru. Thereafter this place became cultured.…… In the Song Wang Quanbin wanted to attack Dali on the momentum of his campaign against Sichuan. But Taizu wielded his jade axe on the Dadu River and said: beyond this river it is not ours. So for three hundred years Dali was cut off from the Central States.…… Yuanyang's remarks most likely refer to the entirety of this region. They do not refer specifically to Zhaozhou.¹⁴¹

When discussing the period before the rise of the Nanzhao Kingdom, Ma Duanlin is interested only in how Yunnan fits within the administrative spaces represented in the official histories, while Li Yuanyang prefers to situate local figures, such as Zhuang Qiao and Renguo, within imperial structures. Zhuang Cheng, however, points out that both of these accounts are based on units larger than the sub prefecture and are thus little help for the *yange* of Zhaozhou itself (非趙州專考也).¹⁴² For that, he brings in the “former gazetteer of Zhaozhou” (*Zhaozhou jiu zhi*, no longer extant, nor referenced elsewhere):

按趙州舊志云：漢武帝元封二年屬葉榆，明帝永平二年，割益州西部都尉所領六縣，合為永昌郡，六縣屬葉榆。蜀漢後主建興三年，武侯平四郡，分葉榆隸雲南，州乃屬之。時葉榆蓋稱益州地也。隋以前並郡為益州，唐時蒙氏據大理，始號趙州險。後段氏又以天水為趙，改為天水郡。州之名趙始此。原置趙險千戶所，屬萬戶府。至元間，並白崖險勃弄川，立建寧縣領之，屬大理大路。……此其大略也。其諸沿革州同，夫趙州為大理咽喉，區奧壤X漢唐羈而弗子，趙宋絕而不收，天啓，皇明，統一神甸，然後風山增色，麟麓呈姿，苟撫宇得人，萬世之一世也。

According to the former gazetteer of Zhaozhou, in the second year of the Yuanfeng reign period of Emperor Wu of Han [109BCE], it belonged to Yeyu, and in the second year of the Yongping reign period of Emperor Ming, the six counties of western Yizhou under the leadership of the military assistant governor

¹⁴⁰ ZZZ 10

¹⁴¹ ZZZ 10-11

¹⁴² On two occasions, ZZZ 10 and 11.

were cut off and combined with Yongchang commandary, the six counties belonging to Yeyu. In the third year of the Jianxing reign of the last emperor of Shuhan, the Martial Duke [Zhuge Liang] pacified the four prefectures and cut off Yeyu to be subordinate to Yunnan, to which Zhaozhou then belonged. At that time Yeyu was generally called Yizhou country. In the Sui it was again added to the commandary as Yizhou, and in the Tang the Meng clan occupied Dali and began to call it Zhaozhou xian. Afterwards the Duan clan replaced “Zhao” with “Tianshui” so it was called “Tianshui commandary.” The name of the sub-prefecture as Zhao began from this time. Originally Zhaoxian was a Battalion, belonging to a Brigade. In the Zhiyuan period, it merged with Baiya county and Bonong river and was established in command of Jianning county, belonging to Dali circuit.This is the broad outline.¹⁴³

This intricate narrative of changes in names and hierarchical affiliations demonstrates the importance of historical administrative geography in representations of localities. By identifying an account which centres the below-prefecture level of administration, Zhuang Cheng implicitly argues that Zhaozhou occupies an important position within the Dali region. Similar interactions between representation and practice can be observed in the account of the changes in Dengchuan’s administration in *Chongxiu Dengchuan Zhouzhi*, which is followed by an explanation of the changes in its names based on the languages spoken by its Nanzhao and Chinese rulers:

夷語稱州爲賧，與賧，稱王爲詔。有鄧詔、浪詔、劍詔、蒙詔、嵩詔，大理爲南詔，故曰六詔。In the barbarian language they call “zhou” [prefecture] “tan,” also “tan,” and they say “zhao” for “kingdom.”¹⁴⁴ There was the kingdom of Deng [Dengchuan], the kingdom of Lang [Langqiong], the kingdom of Jian [Jianchuan], the kingdom of Meng [Mengshe/Menghua], the kingdom of Gui [most likely Yongchang], and Dali was Nanzhao, so they were called the six kingdoms (*liu zhao*).¹⁴⁵

This list of the six kingdoms does not reflect the geography of either the six zhao or the Nanzhao prefectures as attested by contemporary sources (such as the *Man shu*) or the major Yuan and Ming sources. Instead, the places identified were cultural centres and sites of historical significance for literati of Ming Dali, with an emphasis on the northern part of the region, around Dengchuan itself. The multivocal record may reflect the co-existence of diverse views among Dali literati on whether the Meng and Duan clans could be considered valid rulers, historically: but at the same time it shows the unanimous acceptance of the importance of administrative division for understanding both space and the state.

Physical manifestations of the state’s power in Dali — both buildings and stele inscriptions — tended to cluster around the county seat, replicating the hierarchical spatial organisation found in gazetteers and official texts. In the gazetteers, they are frequently one of the early chapters (*jianshe* 建設), and they also often came with inscriptions commemorating their construction or re-construction. After the 1527 reconstruction of the Taihe county school and Temple of Literature, for example, Dali prefecture vice-magistrate Zhou Ru erected a stele in honour of the event.¹⁴⁶ In 1490, the Zhaozhou city wall was rebuilt, and an inscription ordered by sub-prefecture magistrate Zhang Yanxu 張延需 (fl. fifteenth century) was composed by Zhang Zhichun 張志淳 (1457-1538), a metropolitan graduate from a military family settled in

¹⁴³ ZZZ 11

¹⁴⁴ The former is attested in the *Xintangshu* 新唐書 *Nanman zhuan (shang)* 南蠻傳 (上) -- *Nanzhao (shang)* 南詔 (上) ; the latter in *Man shu* . Guitang county is listed as part of Yizhou (Yongchang) in the Han histories and in *Huayang guozhi*.

¹⁴⁵ CXDCZZ 1.6a-b

¹⁴⁶ Ma Qing 馬卿, a metropolitan graduate from Hebei, served in Heqing 1525-8. According to KXHQFZ, when he left that post Li Yuanyang (of Dali) composed a *hui Zheng bei* in his honour.

Yongchang, and the calligraphy copied by a Dali local under the sobriquet 奚頊.¹⁴⁷ In Binchuan, meanwhile, a stele commemorating the suppression of bandits in 1555 stood side by side with an inscription commemorating repairs to Daluo Fort, the military garrison adjacent to the city wall, in the same year.¹⁴⁸ Together, these embedded and re-embedded texts articulated the core goals of state engagement with local spaces, resource extraction and moral transformation. Most obvious are the yamens, the offices of administration, which typically formed the centre of a building complex including a temple of literature, a school, the population registration office and the prison, storehouses and granaries (full details in appendix 3). In addition to textual representations as steles, these official complexes were represented in gazetteers as expressions of the work and concern of local officials, the state's human representatives.

趙州預備倉：在州治內在遞年收貯稅糧本色舊存八間，卑隘米穀易腐。嘉靖庚戌建五間，知州潘大武建。至萬曆四十年因西事議廣貯，前倉窄狹，知州莊誠捐俸增置倉二間，平房三間，又貯便也。義倉：在州治左，貯本州糧穀。

Zhaozhou preparation granary: inside the sub-prefecture yamen. When the unprocessed grain tax is annually collected and stored, it was formerly held in eight rooms, but they were small and cramped, and the grain easily became rotten. In 1550 five rooms were constructed by Magistrate Pan Dawu. Until the fortieth year of the Wanli era [err. fourteenth, 1586], because of affairs to the west it was thought to be an extensive store, the former storehouse was narrow, Magistrate Zhuang Cheng gave up part of his salary to increase the storehouse by two rooms, three flat rooms, more convenient for storage.

Public relief granary: to the west of the sub-prefecture yamen. It stores the grain tax of this sub-prefecture that is generally used in years where the harvest happens to fail. It is sent out with raw meat for sacrifices to relieve the people. In the autumn, what is then received is stored again. It was built in 1582 by Magistrate Shen Kuican.¹⁴⁹

The administrative centre could also move, in response to problems of access or access to water — or in response to the whims of officials:

州治：元，段氏在中所作州。洪武初改為寺寨鋪，遷州於玉寨鄉。成化間圯於流潦，遷於象山之坪。知州周文化築城後，與民舍盡沒。知州鐘大章遷於來風孤崗，無城；徐保泰遷於德源古城，無水；士民仍自遷回舊基澗深。崇禎十四年，知州敖滋貞遷於鄧川驛前，城之。

Sub-prefecture office: in the Yuan, the Duan clan made a sub-prefecture at Zhongsuo [middle camp, a village]. At the beginning of the Hongwu period that place changed to Sizhai pu [courier station], and the sub-prefecture moved to Yuzhai village. In the Chenghua period the bridge was submerged, and it moved to the level ground on Mt Xiang. After the sub-prefect Zhou Wenhua [Longqing era] built the city wall, it was not filled with people's dwellings. Sub-prefect Zhong Dazhang [Wanli era] moved it to come to Fenggu ridge, where there was no wall; Xu Baoqin [Tianqi era] moved it to Deyuan old city, where there was no water; the literati then moved it themselves to return to the old position deep in the ravine. In 1641, the sub-prefect Ao Hongzhen moved it in front of Dengchuan post-station, and walled the city.¹⁵⁰

These changes illustrate one point of slippage between the administrative geography represented in the *yange* and that represented through buildings and steles. While the *yange* emphasise

¹⁴⁷ Zhang Zhichun 張志淳 “Zhaozhou cheng ji 趙州城記 [Zhaozhou city wall record],” 1490, DLCS JSP 2.67/10.67

¹⁴⁸ Li Yuanyang 李元陽, “*Binchuan pingdao ji* 賓川平盜記 [Record of Pacifying Bandits in Binchuan],” 1555, DLCS JSP 3.48/10.91-92; Xiao Jin 蕭繹, “*Chongxiu Daluowei ji* 重修大羅衛記 [Record of Repairing Daluo Garrison],” 1555, DLCS JSP 3.52/10.93-94.

¹⁴⁹ ZZZ 38

¹⁵⁰ CXDCZZ 1.7b

continuity in the idea of a settlement called Dengchuan from before the Nanzhao kingdom, regardless of changing names and empires, this account of movement of the town shows that even the location was not fixed. All that holds this historical geography together is the narrative. Representations of the administrative geography of the Dali region in the extant texts are centred on the urban centres where state activity congregated.

Not only were they important for explicit textual representation of space, the towns that had become administrative centres appear, in these texts, as important loci of negotiation between local elite and state actors, particularly over the construction of temples and civic buildings. An inscription commemorating the reconstruction of the sub-prefecture office in Jianchuan illustrates the complexity of the situation:

在府之西九十里。洪武二十三年建。有衛炳記：昔雲南八詔、劍川爲劍共詔。後併六爲一。遂置劍川節度使。元初段氏世衰、高氏迭興、因請鶴川爲路、而劍川改縣屬焉。今柳龍克即其治也。元季天下大亂、豪傑蜂起、土酋楊慶檀有其地、要於雲南梁王以縣爲州、授慶參政兼知州事。皇明奄有區宇、外籊四海、罔不率服。洪武十四年王師勘定雲南置府州縣。劍川沿舊爲縣。

90 li west of the prefecture [i.e. Heqing]. Built in 1390. There is a record by Wei Bing: Once Yunnan had eight kingdoms, and Jianchuan was the Jiangong Kingdom. Later it became one of six. Then it controlled Jianchuan Military Commission. At the beginning of the Yuan, the Duan family wore royal dress, while the Gao family superseded them. They carried on treating the Hechuan as a circuit/route, and Jianchuan was changed to a county subordinate to it. Its administrative site was today's Liulongke. At the end of the Yuan, the whole world was in turmoil, and outstanding people rose in swarms. Indigenous chieftain Yang Qing had this land, and asked Prince Liang of Yunnan to take the county as the prefecture, and to make Qing an assistant grand secretary with the simultaneous assignment of prefect. The Great Ming occupied the whole world, its power reached beyond the four seas. There were none who did not submit. In 1381, the king's troops stabilised Yunnan and set up prefectures and counties. Jianchuan continued as before, as a county.¹⁵¹

The inscription begins with an informal account of the *yange* of Jianchuan from before the rise of the Nanzhao. It differs from the gazetteer accounts in two respects: first, Jianchuan is not counted as one of the six or eight zhao in any of the other texts, or indeed the Tang sources. Second, this version includes the administrative units of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms as part of Jianchuan's history, Jianchuan Military Commission under the Nanzhao, and Jianchuan county under Hechuan circuit under the Dali Kingdom. In the chaos of the late Yuan, a indigenous leader, Yang Qing, requests and receives the endorsement of the Mongol representative in Yunnan, Prince Liang (*Mg. Basalawarmi*) and does his best to retain his independence through the period of Ming conquest. The regularisation of the spatial administration into counties and prefectures marks the end of indirect rule, and the Yang family:

未幾普顏都等聚逋逃之虜、據佛光山以拒官軍、慶弟楊奴潛詣軍門款附、因命知州事、而劍川遣復爲州。厥後奴意不軌、乃廢舊制[治]、即上登之廣明寺爲治、以便私事。未三載、復創治於下登羅魯城、背山阻水、險僻湫隘、蓋欲負固以起妄圖。明年夏四月舉兵叛、官僚士庶、悉罹其害。克平後使司遣浪渠守李崇仁來攝州事、仍於廣明寺設州、逾三載廢墜不舉、惟示姑息。

Before long everywhere faces all waited to gather the prisoners who had absconded, and they occupied Mt Foguang to resist the government troops. Qing's younger brother Yang Nu secretly went to the military commander and sincerely submitted to his authority, and so he made him the sub-prefect, and Jianchuan was again a sub-prefecture. After this Nu wanted to not follow the path, so he abandoned the old government office, and climbed up to make the office at Guangming temple, so that he could do things in secret. It was not three years until the office again descended to Luolu city, with its back to the mountain and obstructing the river, difficult and remote, in a narrow low-lying area. Because he wanted the difficulty of access in order to vainly raise a rebellion. In the summer of the next year, in the fourth month, he called

¹⁵¹ YNTZ 5.42a-b; KXHQBZ 226-7.

out the troops to rebel. The officials and functionaries, the scholars and the ordinary people, all fell victims to his hand. After the rebellion was subdued, the official sent to manage things was Li Chongren, from Langqu command, he came to take over the affairs of the sub prefecture. The sub-prefecture was still established at Guangming temple, for more than three years it had been in decline and not cared for, it was only to show leniency [that he kept it there].¹⁵²

Although Yang Qing is, presumably, dead, his younger brother submits to imperial authority for a time, and Jianchuan is made a sub-prefecture with Yang Nu, the brother, as magistrate. When Yang Nu wants to resist Ming rule, he first moves the office to a high temple, then to a yet more remote location and then raises a rebellion, using his authority as both an official and a son of an important local lineage. After the rebellion, the military governor Li Chongren does not move the office from the place where Yang had established it, which the inscription contrasts with the more active official who succeeded him:

洪武二十三年春吳興趙彥良來判是州、下車訪民之急、捕叛孽以奠井邑、釐故弊以革姑息、公余從容謂幕賓熊朝宗曰：州治民之瞻仰，政令所自出，且廣明非政事之堂。羅魯實叛逆之窟。吾嘗游柳龍充，觀其土地爽塏，山水環抱，閭閻輻揆，商旅雜遝，古人置郡邑立城郭，歷世因之，良有以也。盍乘農隙以移於舊乎？熊君曰：善。乃白於郡守楊公，二守高公，深然舊治之宜。於是舉州之人，皆鼓舞而樂趨事焉。

In the spring of 1390, Zhao Yanliang from Wuxing came to be magistrate of this sub-prefecture. When he arrived he was anxious to call upon the people, he caught and punished evildoers in order to stabilise the towns and villages. He rectified intentional malpractices in order to/by reforming the overly-indulgent. After he had completed his work he stayed and called on his private secretary Xiong Chaozong, and said: the sub-prefecture office is a thing the people look up to, policies and decrees are sent out from it, moreover Guangming is not a government office. Luolu is surely a den of rebels, but I once toured it with Liulongchong, and I saw that its land was arid and high in altitude, the mountains and rivers encircle it, its inner courts are arranged like spokes, it is overcrowded with rowdy travelling merchants. Ancient people ruled its counties and towns by establishing city walls and for generations, therefore, it was good there. Why don't we take advantage of the agricultural low season and move it to the old location? Mr Xiong said: Good idea. So he explained to the Prefect Mr Yang and the deputy Mr Gao the profound benefits of the old office. Thus the people who moved the sub-prefecture were all inspired and hurried the matter along.¹⁵³

Magistrate Zhao Yanliang, in co-operation with his private secretary Xiong Chaozong, found the temple location inconvenient, and so, as part of his efforts to reform the governance of Jianchuan, he canvassed other locations for the county seat. The two sites contrasted here are Guangming temple, high up in the mountains, and Luolu city, a more remote location identified as both the capital of the pre-Nanzhao state based in Jianchuan, and the stronghold of Yang Nuqian's rebellion. Zhao suggests moving the capital back to Luolu city, which he says he visited with Liu Longke back before the rise of the Ming. Xiong, on the other hand, advocates for the plan on his behalf with the prefectural administration, and ensures that it goes ahead.

不數月視政之堂，典幕之司，儀門廊庭，公廊吏捨，翼落成而民居相為羅列，街衢闐闐，不改舊觀，視昔有加焉。視文學之宮，祭祀之壇，與夫城隍祀典之祠，溝洫道路農利之類，凡所以禮神惠民興利除害之事，巨細畢舉，君之用心可謂至矣。孔子曰：因民之所利而利之，擇可勞而勞之。予於趙君見之矣。劍川士民請記於石，予直書其梗概如此，趙君吳興望族也。舉賢良，熊君海舉秀才，臨邛人云。

Before the month was out the hall where policies were seen to, the office of the canon and its covers, the gates and corridors, the public halls and officials' rooms, had been assisted to completion, and the people's

¹⁵² YNTZ 5.42a-b; KXHQPZ 226-7.

¹⁵³ YNTZ 5.42a-b; KXHQPZ 226-7.

dwellings had been set out by each other. Markets and offices, streets and shops, did not change their former appearance. There were enhancements to the old. Looking at the palace of literature, the altar of sacrifices, along with the temple for the rites of sacrifice to the god of this town, and the categories of field irrigation, roads, and agricultural profits, all of these were matters of sacrificing to spirits to benefit the people, promoting what is beneficial and abolishing what is harmful. Large and small things were completed, and the intentions of the gentleman could be said to be complete. Confucius said: 'the person in authority makes more beneficial to the people the things from which they naturally derive benefit; he chooses the labours which are proper, and makes them labour on them,' — I see this in Mr Zhao. The people of Jianchuan requested that a record be made in stone, so I recorded faithfully the main idea like this, about Mr Zhao of an influential clan in Wuxing. I raise up this able and virtuous man, Mr Xiong Hai I raise up as a talent, Linqiong people say.¹⁵⁴

The remainder of the inscription comprises a narrative of the move of the temple and an eulogium to Zhao's virtues as an administrator. At this early stage of Ming rule — within a decade of the conquest of Yunnan — it is not surprising that the establishment of direct rule was not a smooth process, and encountered military resistance from the locals. This account shows that the indigenous elite responded not only through outright rebellion, but also through engaging with imperial structures as active participants (sincerely or not, we can't tell) and acting through them to achieve their own goals. Both officials from elsewhere and local people were aware of the historical resonances of the potential sites for the county town, and deployed them to bolster their own authority. By including this account in their *Yunnan tongzhi*, Li Yuanyang and Yang Shiyun, writing two centuries after the stele was erected, ensured that it would become part of the imperial geography of the area.

Control of the Landscape:

Both the Cang-Er axis and the prefectures-and-counties system tended to produce representations that privileged an experience of place with a strong centripetal force. However, although ritual activity and the projects of the state were largely clustered around Dali city, its hinterland formed an inescapable field of action for local gentry and official instruments. From an administrative point of view, the extant representations clearly portray the administrative unit as covering an extent of territory surrounding the urban political centres. In theory, the administrative unit extended from the seat to the border (*jie*) of the neighbouring unit, measured by distance to the border, as recorded in the "borders" section of most gazetteers, including *Yunnan tongzhi*:

大理：
東：一百四十里至姚安府姚州界
南：七十二里至蒙化府界
西：一百八十里至永昌府永平縣界
北：一百二十里至鶴慶府界
太和縣附郭（編里五十）
東：一百里爲賓川州（編里十）
東南：一百四十里爲雲南縣（編里十二）
三百里爲十二關長官司
南：六十里爲趙州（編里十五）
西：五百里爲雲龍州（編里二）
北：九十里爲鄧川州（編里十五）
一百一十里爲浪穹縣（編里十二）

¹⁵⁴ YNTZ 5.42a-b; KXHQFZ 226-7.

自府治東八百九十里至布政司

東北八千里至應天府

一萬一千里至順天府

Dali:

East, 140 li to the border of Yaozhou, Yao'an prefecture

South, 72 li to the border of Menghua prefecture

West, 180 li to the border of Yongping county, Yongchang prefecture

North, 120 li to the border of Heqing prefecture

Taihe county surrounds the city (50 taxable units/villages)

Binchuan sub-prefecture is 100 li to the east (ten villages)

Yunnan county is 140 li to the south-east (12 villages)

Twelve Passes chieftaincy is 300 li to the south-east

Zhaozhou is 60 li to the south (15 villages)

Yunlong sub-prefecture is 500 li to the west (two villages)

Dengchuan sub-prefecture is 90 li to the north (15 villages)

Langqiong county is 110 li to the north (12 villages)

From the prefecture seat it is 890 li east to the provincial administration commission; 8000 li north-east to

Yingtian prefecture [Nanjing], and 11000 li north-east to Shuntian prefecture [Beijing].¹⁵⁵

These passages oriented the prefectural administrative centre in relation to surrounding territories, in relation to its subordinate administrative units, and in relation to its superior capitals of the province and the empire.

This passage also included information on the below-county units of taxation, the “administrative village” *li*. This was the lowest administrative unit used by the state, and, since it was based on the amount of tax remitted, was disproportionately grouped within the tillable agricultural land near the county seat. The account in the 1641 *Chongxiu Dengchuan Zhouzhi* gives some indication of the relationship between these tax units and the “organic” villages not visible in administrative geography:

坊里：十二里四鄉X四所

玉泉鄉：在治西，領大邑里、新生里、小邑里、上登和山里

源保鄉：在治東，領源保里、市坪里、羊塘里

遵政鄉：在治北，領崑崙里、西庄里

迴化鄉：在治北，領寺寨里、梅和里

中所：在州北，寺寨、梅和二里之間

中前所：在州北，小邑、寺寨二里之間

左所：在州中，小邑里之間

右所：在州中，崑崙里之間

Tax villages: twelve tax villages in four organic villages, and four camps

Yuquan village: west of the sub-prefecture town, in charge of Dayi, Xinsheng, Xiaoyi, and Shangdengheshan.

Yuanbao village: east of the sub-prefecture town, in charge of Yuanbao, Shiping, and Yangtang.

Zunzheng village: north of the sub-prefecture town, in charge of Kunlun and Xizhuang.

Huihua village: north of the sub-prefecture town, in charge of Sizhai and Meihe.

Central camp: at the north of the sub-prefecture, in between Sizhai and Meihe.

Front-central camp: at the north of the sub-prefecture, in between Xiaoyi and Sizhai.

Left camp: in the middle of the sub-prefecture, within Xiaoyi.

Right camp: in the middle of the sub-prefecture, within Kunlun.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ YNTZ 2.21a-b

¹⁵⁶ CXDCZZ 7a-b

Judging by the names, the last four of these villages had originally been home to military migrants attached to the garrison; perhaps during the seventeenth century they were still occupied by the descendants of the garrison men. Of the villages I have been able to locate, all were located within the north-south river valley, on the trade route that connected the sub-prefecture to Dali and Jianchuan. Although these units do not appear in most texts from Yunnan, in this gazetteer they are referenced extensively, in passages like the description of the movement of the sub-prefecture seat, above, and in identifying the home *li* of the dozen or so local government students who compiled the text.¹⁵⁷

In addition to these tax villages, the state administrative apparatus extended into the countryside via postal routes, sentry routes, and rural police stations (table 1.4).

Table 1.2: Postal Routes, Sentry Routes, and Police Stations in *Yunnan tongzhi*:

	Police stations	Post routes	Forts	Passes and sentries	Waystations
Dali	0	West Er post station (city south gate)			
Dali garrison			Yangbei fort (west of Xiaguan fort)		
Zhaozhou	3	Dingxi peak post station (60 li south of subprefecture town)		12 sentries	13
Erhai garrison			Pupeng fort (SE of Yunnan county town)		
Yunnan county	3	Yunnan post station (45 li SE of county town)	White Cliffs fort (west of county town); Yunnan fort (south of county town)	11 sentries	9
Taihe	0	Desheng pass post station (30 li south of Dali city)	Xiaguan fort (next to Desheng pass post station)	Longshou pass, Longwei pass; 6 sentries	7
Langqiong	9			Luoping pass; 15 sentries	11 (incl. Nuodeng)
Dengchuan	1	Dengchuan post station (8 li south of town)		Haoqing pass; 7 sentries	4
Yunlong	1			1 sentry	1
Binchuan	5			25 sentries	4
Daluo garrison					

¹⁵⁷ ZZZ 42-43 has a list of tax villages but includes no information about them beyond their names and the standard tax rate; ZZZ has a separate list of military camps, with slightly more location information.

Heqing	2	City wall post station (south of city); Mt Guanyin post station (120 li SW of city)	Xuanhua pass, Mt Guanyin pass; 6 sentries	10
Heqing camp			3 sentries	2
Jianchuan	2		10 sentries	8
Shunzhou	0			
Menghua	5	Kaimen post (outside city north gate); Yangbei post (120 li NW of city)	16 sentries, named after geog features	9
Menghua garrison				

In *Zhaozhou zhi*, the accounts of the these postal and sentry stations are important because they are sites of tax “collection” via conscript labour:

趙州德勝關驛：庫夫司門子共貳名，照舊著役，馬頭貳拾壹（21）戶，站戶壹百叁拾捌（138）名，共柒百伍拾玖（759）丁，除免馬頭並站丁外，實認站錢陸百捌拾壹（681）丁折銀壹千貳佰壹拾伍（1,215）兩伍錢叁分俱在趙州收貯，因設居衝繁，難於應答，難民告奉明文議於鄧川、賓川、趙州、浪穹諸州縣，於均徭內加編銀捌拾兩協濟，驛因稱甦。

Zhaozhou Desheng pass post-station: there are two conscripted doormen at the warehouse, doing corvée as in the past. There are 21 households looking after horses, and 138 households stationed at the post-station as their labour requirement, altogether 759 conscript-labourers. Apart from those recused from taking care of the horses or at the station, actually the station money is 681 conscript-labourers (equivalent to 1215 taels, two cash, three fen) at Zhaozhou received and stored. Because it was established at a strategic place with heavy traffic, it was difficult to make it answer, and it was difficult for the people to send tribute and orders in writing to the sub-prefectures and counties Dengchuan, Binchuan, Zhaozhou, and Langqiong. So among those doing *junyao* corvée (the miscellaneous category) they added strings of silver totalling 80 taels to relieve them, and so the post-station could be said to be revived.¹⁵⁸

These stations projected state power both through their physical presence and the ability to extract resources not only in the administrative seat but along trade-routes and throughout agricultural districts. Their appearance in these texts reinforces the idea that imperial administrative geography extended beyond the administrative centre.

The state's presence in north-western Yunnan was not merely a matter of civilian administration, as garrisons and military colonies were established around the region in the early and mid-Ming. Topography was a determining factor in the location of military installations throughout the prefecture. The “topography” (*xingshi* 形勢) sections of gazetteers in fact consisted of lists of the strategic points within the administrative unit, which were, according to the gazetteer compilers, significant for the defence of the territory.

大理蒼山以為險，榆河以為池阻之，以迴岭緣之。以漾濞此郡治要害也。其領轄州縣東有若水九股，南有昆彌(即定西嶺)，鐵柱黑水雲龍扼其西極，鐵橋石門為之北關，鐵冶制劍，稱自古始組桑為弓，不筋膠而利，此所以北控吐蕃，西威驃國、南馭緬甸、百夷也。按全濱幅員萬有餘里，其間都

¹⁵⁸ ZZZ 44-45.

縣雖皆有險可憑，然都不如大理山河四塞，所謂據全省之上游，一夫當關，萬夫莫窺之形勢也。In Dali, Mt Cang is considered perilous/difficult to access, and Elm River is considered a moat blocking the way to it, by curving around the peak along its length. Yangbi is a strategic point controlled by this prefecture. The sub-prefectures and counties it has jurisdiction over are: to the east, the Rue river [now Yalong Jiang] and its nine branches; to the south, Kunmi (including Dingxi peak); the iron pillar, the black river, Yunlong clings to its western extreme, and the iron bridge at stone gate is on the northern pass. X rules Jianchuan, and it is called from ancient times a bow made from silk mulberry ribbon, there's no control and benefit, and from here to the north it controlled Tibet, to the west was the might of the Pyu Kingdom, to the south it commanded Miandian and the hundred barbarians. The area of territory it controlled securely to its borders exceeded 10,000 li. Within it all the counties have places that are difficult to access and can be relied on, but none of them approach the natural barriers of Dali's landscape. Therefore it is relied on as the upper reaches of the whole province, a strategic position that can be held by one man against ten thousand prying eyes.¹⁵⁹

In this passage, Dali's past power and ongoing political significance is attributed in part to its highly defensible position, again, in between the impassable Mt Cang and the moat-like Lake Er. Military installations were established at strategic points, often mountain passes, such as the crucial southern pass between Mt Cang and Lake Er, Xiaguan/Longwei. Beyond the official military infrastructure, local officials occasionally built fortifications in places they had identified as strategically important. The White Cliffs domain in Zhaozhou, recorded in many texts as the site of a pre-Nanzhao capital but by the Ming merely a remote location far from trade routes or towns, was selected in the mid-fifteenth century for an earthen city wall.¹⁶⁰ Later, however, it was occupied by refugees from Ming military campaigns in the south and west.

While flatlands were largely accessible to state actors, mountain passes could be locations of intense state involvement, through military sites, or they could be marginal locations where the reach of the state became barely nominal. Borders were often mountainous areas controlled by unregistered populations.¹⁶¹ In Dengchuan, for example, bandits active in mountainous areas could only be influenced indirectly, via indigenous populations who had come to terms with the state. These two passages, from different parts of the gazetteer, show first that this group of people lived in mountainous areas, and secondly that they were not easily susceptible to state control:

爨人，名羅羅。住山箐間，佩刀，好獵，服阿土官管。山糧納州，近亦就馴守法。與各處悍夷不同。

Cuan people, also called Luoluo. They live in the bamboo forests in the mountains, wear swords at their waist, like to hunt, and obey the management of the indigenous officials of the A clan. They pay tax to the sub-prefecture in the grain from the mountains, and are approaching, too, the accomplishment of domestication and obeying the law. They are not the same as the fierce barbarians that are found everywhere.¹⁶²

地方有盜，責在阿知州戡捕。但管下羅羅得能各鄉村顧之，晝夜巡守以保田宅，若有窮失伊愿賠償。但朝夕派與飲食。到成熟時派與谷麥，名曰：看窩。

There are bandits in the region, whose punishment under the A magistracy [indirect rule] was to have their weapons stripped when captured. But the Luoluo under official administration caught them and were able

¹⁵⁹ DLFZ 53-4

¹⁶⁰ In the late 14th century refugees had settled there: Geoff Wade, translator, *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource*, Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore, <http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/hong-wu/year-20-month-1-day-25>, accessed November 02, 2017

¹⁶¹ James Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*.

¹⁶² CXDCZZ 9

to send them back each to their own village, day and night they make tours of inspection in order to protect their fields and homes, and if there was a poor person who lost something, then they were willing to compensate them. Still morning and evening they distributed food and drink. In the fullness of time, they distributed grain and wheat, and this was called “looking to the nest.”¹⁶³

As this example shows, topography exerted a limiting or shaping influence on human action just as much as human action attempted to control the land. The fengshui of a particular location was one way in which ideas about land mediated these reciprocal actions, for example in choosing the location of the Zhaozhou school:

或曰：州学所辛卯向物华而科甲多，成化間改为东向，科名稍不逮昔。非人文之衰，盖地脉为之也。曾有堪輿家言：水破天罡，不可以巒。乃指凤山之麓土主祠，曰山精地辨，成毓于此，銳凿数策，而言莫大焉，可迁于此云。

It is also said: when the sub-prefecture school was in this location facing towards xinmao, things flourished and there were many successful degree candidates. In the Chenghua period it changed to face east, and the fame of its students did not quite reach that of the past. It was not the case that this was a decline in the people's level of culture/civilisation, rather the veins of the land made it so. Once they had a fengshui expert [take a look] and he said: “the river breaks up the big dipper [??], you can't have a school here.” Then he pointed at the shrine to the indigenous lords in the foothills of Mt Feng, and said “the mountains [have spirit] and the fields [have knowledge], it can become nurtured here; a sharpened chisel numbers examination essays, and words are not great to it. You can move the school here.”¹⁶⁴

In this passage, an expert in geomancy is brought in to find out the cause of a decline in the performance of local students, and to propose a solution. Although it is not clear whether appointed officials or local literati were responsible for engaging the geomancer to solve this problem, the fact that the school was in fact moved as a result suggests that there was agreement that the physical landscape actively affected the affairs of the local community.¹⁶⁵

The imbrication of the numinous or geomantically significant landscape and the affairs of local governance was reciprocal and ever-changing, operating on as many scales as the state itself. Earthquakes, violent storms, and other natural phenomena were recorded both for their practical impact and their importance as omens. Appendix 1 shows the record of omens and disasters in the Dali region as recorded in Ming provincial-level gazetteers, along with the date and effects as recorded. Many of these events are described in terms of the problems they created in feeding and housing the population. Droughts caused price to rise, widespread hunger, and in extreme cases many deaths. A plague of rats depleted the grain storage in Yunlong prefecture. Floods and earthquakes destroyed homes and temples, and killed hundreds. Some entries record the measures taken by the local officials, such as the remission of taxes for Yunnan county during the 1559 drought. On the other hand, some events, like the 1518 hailstorm in Binchuan, or the coloured clouds repeatedly observed in Yunnan county, are not recorded with any particular significance. Omens like the appearance of a dragon in 1531 are also presented without comment. Other sources, however, provide more detail. In the *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi*, the

¹⁶³ CXDCZZ 21

¹⁶⁴ ZZZ 48-50

¹⁶⁵ The fact that the solution involved removing it to a site significant in pre-Mongol local society could suggest that the feng shui expert was acting as a proxy for indigenous elites, but it could also indicate that some kind of geomantic way of thinking about landscape was used in earlier periods — in either case, it is clear that feng shui discourse was a universally agreed on method of communication. See Lian Ruizhi, “Surviving Conquest in Dali: Chiefs, Deities, and Ancestors,” in *Chieftains into Ancestors: Imperial Expansion and Indigenous Society in Southwest China*, edited by David Faure, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 86-110.

accounts of disasters are framed as the operation of good and bad luck (*jixiong* 吉凶) in human lives. These stories give a personal face to the suffering of the hundreds dead described in the provincial records. On the other hand, the *Nanzhao yeshi* represented these local events as the means of connecting Yunnan to a much larger state:

弘治十三年滇三十六處同日地震。差刑部侍郎樊瑩祭。滇境內山川考察文武去官，一千二百五十八員。

In 1500 there was an earthquake in 36 places in Yunnan on the same day. Then the vice minister in the Department of Justice, Fan Ying [1434-1508], offered sacrifices. Within the borders of Yunnan, mountains and rivers were inspected and military and civilian officers were lost at their posts. 1258 were lost.¹⁶⁶

This passage, in a section entitled “earthquake,” is corroborated by a passage in the *Veritable Records of the Ming* which records a 1501 memorial on “earthquakes in Yunnan.”¹⁶⁷ These passages highlight the fact that representations of Dali’s landscape cannot be easily sorted into disenchanted spatial regimes of control produced by state representatives and numinous enchanted landscapes produced by spiritually-aware indigenous people: the state also viewed the physical environment with an eye to its cosmological significance, while the local people experienced natural disasters first as crises of sustenance, and only then as meaningful events.

The Inhabitants of Dali: Class and Civilisation

Like Dali’s physical environment, its inhabitants were represented through intersections of a number of salient frameworks, including the exercise of civilian government, military conquest and garrison-based migration, continuity of historical and religious communities, and transformative ideals of educated civility. The central image of the people who lived between Mt Cang and Lake Er in locally-produced texts of this period is of a community of devoutly Buddhist, cultivated scholars with strong historical ties to the city of Dali. In *Dianlüe*, printed in Dali in 1610, the key characteristics of Dali’s customs are as follows:

大理有觀音市，設於點蒼山下閱武場中。以三月十五日集二十日散。至期則天下之商賈皆來貿易，若長安燈市。然官恐其喧爭為亂，調衛卒以守護之。昉于唐永徽間，迄今不改。相口觀音大士以是日入大理，後人如其期焚香頂禮。四方聞風各以貨來至今不改。

In Dali, there is a Guanyin market established in the drill yard below Mt Diancang. They gather here on the 15th day of the 3rd month and disperse on the 20th day. In this period merchants from all over the world come to trade, like the lantern market in Chang’an. So officials fear that its noise and rows will turn into disorder, and maintain troops in order to guard it. It began in the Yonghui period of the Tang dynasty, and until now it has not changed. [it is said that] Guanyin entered Dali on this day, so later generations during this period [of the market] light incense in worship. News from the four directions comes with goods from each place to this day without change.¹⁶⁸

大理之俗以九日登崇聖寺塔。闔城士女以及縉紳，盡攜餽釘。以往列坐松陰，入夜乃返。In Dali it is the custom to celebrate the nine days festival by climbing the tower of Chongsheng temple. The whole city, men and women, all go up along with government officials. They all carry food to set out. Afterwards they sit in ranks in the shade of the pine trees, and then at nightfall they return.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ NZYS (TST), 1.33b

¹⁶⁷ Geoff Wade, translator, *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource*, Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore, <http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/hong-zhi/year-13-month-5-day-14>, accessed October 31, 2017

¹⁶⁸ DL 4.8a

¹⁶⁹ DL 4.10a

大理五六月間，鬻雪者滿市，家家以蜜和而咽之。曰蜜雪云去心腹熱疾。
In the fifth and sixth months, those who sell snow fill the market, and everyone mixes it with honey and swallows it. The call it honey-snow and say that it removes heat from the heart and belly.¹⁷⁰

惟雲南大理臨安鶴慶永昌諸郡四民樂業守法。度子弟穎秀，士大夫多材能尚節義。
Only in Yunnan, Dali, Lin'an, Heqing, and Yongchang prefectures do the four classes work in contentment and abide by the law. I consider their sons and young men outstanding talents. Among the literati are many men of ability who value morality and uprightness.¹⁷¹

桂海虞衡志云：大理國間有文書至南邊，及商人持其國佛經，題識猶有用囿字。「囿」武后所作國字也。唐書稱大禮國，今其國只用理字。
Treatises of the Supervisor and Guardian of the Cinnamon Sea says “Dali Kingdom written records came to the southern border, and merchants carried with them their country’s Buddhist sutras with commentaries. They still used the character “guo,” which is how Empress Wu wrote “guo” [country, nation]. The Tang History calls it “Kingdom of Great Ritual” [Dali] but now for that country we only use the character “principles” [li].¹⁷²

Here, a socially stratified community is nevertheless united by locally-inflected and historically-grounded Buddhist devotion, rites of pilgrimage within the local landscape, and heterodox medical practices that are nevertheless comprehensible in Chinese terms. Dali’s elite are distinguished by their facility in literature and the length of their connection to the greater sinosphere, variant characters and all. Though locally-inflected, none of these practices would read as barbaric: neither incompatible with education nor insufficiently educated.

In gazetteers, too, the most common tropes associated with the people of Dali prefecture were their commitment to Buddhism and their aptitude for literature. In *Yunnan tongzhi*, the Dali customs section begins with brief extracts from earlier texts that highlight the scholarly achievement of its people:

高山大川鐘靈統秀代有人物 《樊綽雲南志》
俗本於漢、民多士類 《郭松年大理行記》
書、有晉人筆意 《元李景山志》
科第顯盛、士尚氣節。

High mountains and great rivers, [Buddhist] bells and [local] spirits unite in a blooming age, there are people and things [Fan Chuo]
The customs are basically like Han customs, and the people are mainly scholars [Guo Songnian]
In calligraphy, they follow the style of the Jin period. [Li Jingshan]
In the examination rolls there are many illustrious men, the scholars value moral integrity.¹⁷³

The quotation from the *Yunnan zhilue*, the only one of the three that is preserved in the extant versions of these texts, is not an obvious choice to summarise the description of Dali’s people in that work. In its original context, it appears two-thirds of the way through the section on “Bai people,” in a passage noting the civilising effects of Buddhism on the Bai. Despite this good influence, and the calligraphy they learned by chance, they don’t know any better than to

¹⁷⁰ DL 4.11a

¹⁷¹ DL 4.13a-b. Yunnan prefecture was the provincial capital, the city now called Kunming.

¹⁷² DL 4.18b. This translation draws on Hargett, *Treatises*, 137, 251, which suggests some possible referents for the alternative characters for guo. The difference in Kingdom names referred to here was actually a change in titles than a problem of variant characters. The Kingdom of Great Ritual referred to in the *Tang history* was a name used by Nanzhao king Shilong (r.859-877), it was renamed Kingdom of Great Principle by Duan Siping, Backus, *Nan-chao Kingdom*, 135.

¹⁷³ YNTZ 2.32b

“regard Confucius and Mencius as Buddhas of the Han Chinese.”¹⁷⁴ In *Yunnan tongzhi*, by contrast, the contribution of this quotation is to give precision to the claim that Dali was populated by refined and well-educated literati. The next section of customs highlights the Buddhist devotion of Dali people, for example:

觀音市：三月十五日在蒼山下貿易各省之貨、自唐永徽間至今朝代累更此市不變、知是觀音入大理、後人至日燒香四方聞風各以貨來也。家無貧富皆有佛堂。
Guanyin market: on the 15th day of the 3rd month people trade goods from every province below Mt Cang. This market has been held continuously, without change, from the Yongwei reign period of the Tang dynasty [650-655] until the present dynasty. It commemorates and praises Guanyin's entry into Dali. Later generations until to day light incense in the four directions. All households have a shrine to the Buddha, no matter whether they are rich or poor.¹⁷⁵

The two most prominent characteristics here: scholarly aptitude, sometimes but not always expressed in the context of affinity for Han customs, and Buddhist devotion, invokes the authority of earlier gazetteers, as represented by the quotations, which not only tells of Dali literati literariness but demonstrates it (by quoting from standard sources). Moreover, current practices are explicitly said to be the continuation of customs that began in Dali during the Nanzhao period: whether or not the people involved were biologically descended from those people, the continuity of custom and location meant that, for the authors of this gazetteer, they shared an identity.

The unofficial histories themselves contain little material on the culture or traditions of the Nanzhao or Dali kingdoms beyond royal chronicle; such as there is suggests that Ming writers considered their Nanzhao predecessors to have attained a remarkable level of civilisation despite their ignorance of the classical tradition. Several of the Nanzhao histories include the Temple of Confucius (孔廟 *kong miao*), built in 1274 by Provincial Governor Sayyid 'Ajall, as a trace of the past:

孔廟：南詔不知孔子，以王逸少為聖人。元有文廟在城外魚課司，至賽典赤移入城。賽公又開東西河，東名金汁河西名銀汁河，教養有功。封咸陽王，春秋廟祀。
Temple of Confucius: the Nanzhao did not know Confucius, but took Wang Yishao [Wang Xizhi] for a sage. In the Yuan the Temple of Literature was outside the city wall, near the Fish Tax Bureau, until Sayyid 'Ajall moved it inside the city wall. Sayyid also opened up the east and west rivers; the east he called Golden Needle river and the west Silver Needle River. He performed great services in transformation by education. He was enfeoffed as King of Xianyang [posthumously], and his sacrifices are carried out in Spring and Autumn.¹⁷⁶

Bogotongji qianshu, a manuscript from the late seventeenth century, locates the source of Dali people's civilised customs in the decrees of a Nanzhao emperor, Xinuluo:

施五事：
一、勸民、每家供養佛像一堂、誦念經典、手拈素珠、口念佛號。
二、勸民、每歲正五九月持齋、禁殺牲口。
三、勸民、間讀漢儒書、行孝弟忠信禮義廉恥之事。
四、諭民、生子三朝、賜名衣衣、先覆於犬以厭其光、以保其命。
五、諭民、戊日祭祖、以其日、麒麟鳳凰金雞玉犬、四獸、供帝釋水、不守地嶽門戶、亡魂得出故

¹⁷⁴ Armijo-Hussein, "Sayyid 'Ajall," 90.

¹⁷⁵ YNTZ 2.32b-33a

¹⁷⁶ NZYS TST 4b-5a.

也。

愚謂奇王即位之時、孔子之教未聞、而諭民以戊日祭祖、與孝經春秋之義同、此不教而善、上品之人也。今言犬以為樊祖、是以祭之、其謬甚矣。樊人之始自九隆、而九隆之祖是驃信苴底自西域來、阿育王之三子也。豈羅武之祖以妻犬、而生三子之可比哉。

Five actions to be carried out:

1. Advise every house to worship Buddha together in one hall, memorise the sutras, carry rosary beads, repeat Amitabha's name.
2. Advise the people to keep a vegetarian diet in the first, fifth, and ninth months every year. Don't slaughter livestock then.
3. Advise the people to read the books of Han scholars (*ru*) in the interim. Behave with filiality, loyalty, ritual and integrity.
4. Command the people to observe third day rites for newborns, giving them a name, dress them, to first reply to the dog, in order to satisfy its light, in order to protect their fate.
5. Command the people to make sacrifices to their ancestors on the fifth day. On this day the unicorns, phoenixes, golden chickens, jade dogs – the four guardians – supply the *dishi* with water. They do not guard the land, peaks, households, and gates, and souls of the dead obtain release.

I comment: When the King of Qi [Xinuluo] took the throne, the teachings of Kongzi had not yet been heard [there], but he commanded the people to sacrifice to their ancestors on the fifth day, which is the same as the right behaviour from the Spring and Autumn period according to the Classic of Filial Piety. This was not taught and yet was good, to the highest quality of people. Now it is said that the ancestor of the Bo people is a dog, and that they make sacrifices to it. This is completely wrong. The first ancestors of the Bo are the nine grandees, and the ancestor of the nine grandees is Piaojudi, from India, one of King Ashoka's three sons. Surely the martial ancestors laid out here cannot be compared to one who takes a dog as his wife and has three sons by her?¹⁷⁷

In this passage, Xinuluo's moral rectitude was proven by his having instituted correct rites according to the classical tradition without being familiar with the tradition itself. As Dali literati, their self-image drew on existing texts and emphasised characteristics that showed their *wen* in contradistinction to both others' ideas about them and their own past.

The civilised behaviour of Dali's elites was, like their literary aptitude, framed as part of their membership of the ruling class. According to Yang Yiyan, the stipendiary student responsible for the *fengsu* section of the 1641 Dengchuan gazetteer, the course of the Ming dynasty in Dengchuan had been characterised by the transformation of customs.

國初俗雖雜夷，後科甲繼起，文行可比中州。且正直之氣根與性生一淑一[X]，月旦難欺。是以婚喪相（助）疾病相扶，錢糧相助、教學相資。舊俗有服毒、吊頸、圖賴之事，並將遠年田契妄來加添者，今具權息。

Even though at the beginning of the dynasty the customs were those of the various *yi*, latterly the number of examination graduates has continually increased, and the literary works and virtuous deeds can be compared with those in the central provinces. Moreover the air of justice and honesty originate with a virtuous woman and [illegible], judgement of human quality is difficult to deceive.¹⁷⁸ This happened by means of: assisting each other in marriages and burials, supporting each other in sickness and ill-fortune, helping each other with money and grain, and supplying each other with instruction and learning. In former customs, there were affairs of swallowing poison, hanging oneself, and false accusation. There were even those who wantonly changed old land deeds in order to claim more land-holdings. These bad practices have now all been stopped.¹⁷⁹

In this passage, the evidence of Dengchuan's transformation is that the gentry have become scholar-gentry or literati: not only have more and more of them passed the civil examinations,

¹⁷⁷ BGTZQS 6b-7a. Punctuation in the original. Xinuluo was the founder of the Nanzhao royal lineage.

¹⁷⁸ I understand the virtuous woman to be a reference to Cishan, see Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 120-132.

¹⁷⁹ CXDCZZ 20

they are writing and acting in ways that resemble their counterparts in the central provinces.¹⁸⁰ This equation between elite education and civilised (as opposed to foreign/barbaric) behaviour is given more detail throughout the passage that this sentence opens, often through negative examples. Two passages quoted from previous gazetteers describe the past behaviour of Dengchuan's literati both generally immoral and specifically against official regulations on appointment procedures:

府志曰：士大夫無勾棘之行，人前恥談宦囊。士人不修邊幅，即敝縕頗自欣如。若中所士人，人里門常自下馬。

The prefecture gazetteer says: the *shidaifu* have no barbs or thorns in their way, they were ashamed to discuss money matters in public. Literati were careless about their appearance and, even though they wore shabby hemp they were rather self-satisfied. In the same way, among the literati of Zhongsuo men often voluntarily dismount.¹⁸¹

楊御史曰：士大夫為風俗之表。如我滇，安寧楊文襄公化淫士，不入酒館；昆明嚴恭肅公禁浮（華），儒勿著紬褲；又嚴禁妖僧、卡母、神子、並賭博、姦淫、訟師等輩。

Censor Yang says: The *shidaifu* set the standard for customs. For example here in Yunnan, in Anning Mr Yang Wenxiang transformed licentious *shi*, so that they did not enter the wine shops. In Kunming Mr Yan Gongsu forbade ostentation, so the *ru* did not wear fine silks.¹⁸² Moreover I strictly forbid magical monks, cardsharpers, spirit images, and gamblers, fornicators, lawyers and suchlike people.¹⁸³

In the first of these passages, *Dali fuzhi* is quoted as criticising the local gentry for ignoring the sumptuary regulations and rules of official appointment that defined their social status, reinforcing the idea that it was their behaviour that should be considered normative for the locality. In the second, Yang Nanjin is quoted as stating this principle explicitly, but his examples from throughout Yunnan emphasise the role of local officials in encouraging correct behaviour among the scholar-gentry. On the other hand, Dengchuan's seventeenth-century literati are represented as having achieved both examination success and literary capability:

中所一區，七學生員居焉。每遇元旦，集衣冠在會真寺內朝賀慶祝。午即釘餽宴會，即議課文，（並）講鄉約。又耆英數人，每朔望詩酒相譚，做洛社（故）事。曰：“九老會”。

In Zhongsuo district, seven stipendiary students live. Every new year's day, they gather the scholar-gentry at the Huizhen temple, to have a celebration. At noon, they promptly lay out the feast and have a banquet, and then discuss texts and read out the village compact. Every new moon and fifteenth day of the month, a number of virtuous elders write poems and drink wine, and converse together. This made a kind of “Luoyang society” called “The Society of Nine Old Men.”¹⁸⁴

The transformation of Dengchuan's elite into civilised literati is here completed by the establishment of literary societies in imitation of those of the Jiangnan delta. Regardless of the behaviour of the majority of the population, the fact that Dengchuan's elite have become cultivated in morality and *wen* shows that *jiaohua* has been achieved in the region.

While the transformational narrative of elite *jiaohua* makes claims about literati cultivation by contrasting their current behaviour with their past, these texts also juxtaposed it with the

¹⁸⁰ Of course, the lists of examination graduates in gazetteers, as well as their predominance in biographies sections, suggests the extent to which examination success was constitutive of elite identity.

¹⁸¹ CXDCZZ 20

¹⁸² For Yan Gongsu see entry on his tomb in *Dianzhi* tombs section, DZ.

¹⁸³ CXDCZZ 20

¹⁸⁴ CXDCZZ, 21. The Luoyang society refers to the eleventh-century Society for Eminent Elderly Men (*Luoyang qiyang hui* 洛陽耆英會).

behaviour of other sectors of the local population. Depictions of the peasantry, though much less detailed, tend to reflect the key characteristics of the elite but in a less refined variation. Their religious practices, for example, were characterised by excessive devotion as well as ancient custom:

府志謂：正法〔非〕左道。而宓僧叱龍救旱；道士驅雷逐疫；皆有天功。若二月八日迎佛；四月八日俗佛；九月朔至九日拜斗；皆自唐代以來。儀文尚奢，而敬念可取。

The Prefectural Gazetteer says: correct methods are not “magical practices.” But a[n esoteric] monk called out to a dragon to relieve the drought; a Daoist priest urged thunder to expel demons [at the twelfth month sacrifice]; this are both merits of heaven. So, on the eighth day of the second month they “welcome the Buddha”; on the eighth day of the fourth month they have “the common Buddha”; from the new moon to the ninth day of the ninth month they “bai dou”; all of this they have done since the Tang dynasty.¹⁸⁵ The ceremonies are really excessive, still their devotion is admirable.¹⁸⁶

In this passage, local commemorations of supernatural events associated with the Buddhist and Daoist traditions are both praised as evidence of devoutness (*jingnian* 敬念) and deprecated as being insufficiently restrained. In the context of the characterisation of Dali’s elite as devout Buddhists, the critiques of the population in general partake of the same basic concerns but flavoured with a different kind of status-based stereotype. In Zhaozhou, Magistrate Zhuang Cheng’s *fengsu* section describes his attempts to induce a transformational change in the behaviour of the local peasantry:

講鄉約：趙州鄉約，原有定制。一向缺講，知州莊誠每月于初二十六集士民詣城隍廟，講明聖諭，其鄉遠不便赴州者即于本地僉置約長，照列〔例〕奉行。有犯義者，諄切宣諭，全其悔悟，乃著訓民俚語，刊刷頒示，各敦禮讓，風俗〔俗〕丕變。滇土貿易有婦女，趙亦踵之。知州莊誠目擊其弊〔弊〕，條呈〔陳〕禁革。至今市井貿易，間有山鄉老婦，而年幼者〔絕〕迹矣。

Reading out the community contract: The Zhaozhou community contract was originally a regulation. It had never been read out until Magistrate Zhuang Cheng, every month from the beginning of [year] 26 [1598] gathered the people at the town gods’ temple and explained clearly the imperial edict. As for the villages which were so distant that it was inconvenient to get to Zhaozhou, at once these localities all established compact officials, and they usually followed the policy [of making the speeches]. When they would not be brought into order, he sincerely read out the imperial edict and commanded them to repent. Therefore he instructed the people using the simple language, and had it printed and put on display, but each revered ritual was ignored and customs did not change. Among Yunnan’s indigenous people women engage in trade, and in Zhaozhou they also follow this custom. Magistrate Zhuang Cheng witnessed this malpractice with his own eyes and wrote a memorandum forbidding it. Until now, among the traders of the marketplace there are old women from the mountain villages, but the young ones have been stopped.¹⁸⁷

Unlike the account of Dengchuan elite *jiaohua* compiled by one of their number, this account by a gentry outsider ends in failure. Despite Magistrate Zhuang’s best efforts to implement the tools of governance and education, such as the community contract, the people he governed were not interested in listening to him or obeying the order set out therein.¹⁸⁸ He had more success in eliminating the practice of women trading in the marketplace, but only among the younger generations. The old women of the mountains stubbornly would not be civilised.

¹⁸⁵ Baidou is “pray to the big dipper” a Daoist prayer.

¹⁸⁶ CXDCZZ, 20-21

¹⁸⁷ ZZZ 24-25

¹⁸⁸ Kandice Hauf, “The Community Covenant in Sixteenth Century Ji’an Prefecture, Jiangxi,” *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 2 (1996): 1-50.

Indeed, the inverse correlation between distance from the urban centre and degree of civilisation held remarkably consistently throughout these texts. In *Yunnan tongzhi* accounts of *fengsu*, typically each administrative unit (of prefecture level or equivalent) entry begins with description of the unique customs of that area's registered population, including quotations from earlier sources where available, followed by a sentence referring the reader to the provincial level description of *fengsu* for all the areas in which their customs are the same as those in other parts of Yunnan. Each section then concludes with a description of customs of the unregistered population of that area, as in Dali prefecture:

部屬之夷、鄧浪有獠獯性悍、趙州夷儒弱嗜土而耕：能知土味，辨其可種何穀，果如其料。民間欲效之，不得其妙

約信不爽：貧多借貸如斯酬償毫釐不欺故江西人居之以爲奇貨皆致大富今在賓川州雲南縣雲龍州：三崇山後有野蠻距郡五百里一言不合白刃相向

As for the *yi* belonging to the territory: Dengchuan and Langqiong have the fierce-natured Luoluo; in Zhaozhou the *yi* are weak, once they ploughed the soil they were able to know its basic flavour, and distinguish which grains would grow there. The results were often as predicted. Other commoners aspired to emulate their ways yet were rarely able to succeed.

An accurate compact: the poor are many, they borrow money in such a way and repay the smallest amount without cheating. So Jiangxi people lived there believed that precious articles made them all very rich. Now they are in Binchuan and Yunnan county.

Yunlong county: behind Mt Sanchong there are wild barbarians. The distance from the prefectural seat is 500 li, one sentence is not enough, warfare is face to face.¹⁸⁹

None of the people mentioned here live on the Dali plain, in fact they are arranged in order of increasing remoteness from it. Dengchuan, Langqiong, and Zhaozhou were both close in distance and home to flourishing literati communities (though smaller than Taihe's), while Binchuan and Yunnan county were further away. Yunlong county, the most remote in distance, has not *yi* (with its connotations of foreignness) but "wild barbarians" (*ye man*), the connotations of un-civilised-ness in the purely derogatory *man* intensified by the adjective "wild" (*ye*). The state's lack of cultural influence and political control in Yunlong is explicitly attributed to its distance from Dali, since its distance of more than 500 li makes regular in-person intercourse impossible, and people cannot be civilised by the written word alone. The parallel account for Heqing also carefully notes the location within the prefecture:

近郡之夷名麼步蠻，依江阻險喜[X]好殺。劍川山後有烏蠻獠獯尤爲獷悍。附郡四十八村爲盜賊者，皆由烏蠻勾引之說者，謂此種獠獯，與霑益州同俗。

The *yi* near the prefecture seat are called Moxie barbarians. They rely on the river in remote locations, enjoy [illegible] and are good at killing. In the mountains behind Jianchuan there are *wuman* and *luoluo*, who are especially fierce. Near the prefecture there are 48 villages occupied by bandits. All of those who were enticed by the words of the *wuman* are called *luoluo* and their customs are the same as Zhanyi sub-prefecture.¹⁹⁰

In addition to specified locations occupied by the unregistered population, this passage differentiates *wuman* "black barbarians" and *luoluo* within the unregistered population in the mountains west of Jianchuan. A clue to the history of these people may be found in the inscription about Jianchuan sub-prefecture yamen discussed earlier: the yamen was temporarily moved to the mountains behind Jianchuan by an indigenous prefect allied with the Yuan vassals,

¹⁸⁹ YNTZ 2.33a

¹⁹⁰ YNTZ 3.36a

the Duan clan, and was the base of his resistance to the Ming conquest. The designation *wuman* also hearkened back to Jianchuan's days as a Nanzhao outpost: it was used (in opposition to *bai man*) in Tang texts, most notably in Fan Chuo's 936 account of Nanzhao population *Man shu*, but had fallen out of favour by the Yuan. *Luoluo*, by contrast, were described as villagers similar in customs to people from Qujing 曲靖 who had "been enticed" (*gouyin* 勾引) by the rebels and chosen to join the unregistered population.¹⁹¹ While the Dali section implies a natural connection between remoteness and lack of civilisation, here their distance from the structures of government is framed as a deliberate choice.

The rhetoric of civilisation and barbarity that undergirds these representations of Dali's people was interleaved in many sources with discourses that the state used to manage its population. In the late fourteenth century, the Hongwu emperor, as part of his reform of taxation, instituted a policy of household registration. Under this system, a household's corvée obligations and grain tax were calculated based on the occupational category (military, civilian, artisan, salt-producing) to which it was assigned. The assessment of these tax obligations was carried out at the level of the county or sub-prefecture, thus each household was also assigned a spatial administrative unit. *Yunnan tongzhi* does not list the tax-villages into which households were typically grouped, but the fact that they were still in use in the late sixteenth century is evidenced by the list of tax-village level payments in *Zhaozhou zhi*.¹⁹² Individual registration information is visible primarily for the scholar-gentry class, in the context of official postings and examination registration, as students were required to take the examinations in their county of registration, and officials were unable to serve there. Unlike official examination rolls, lists in gazetteers do not note the ancestral places of candidates descended from military colonists. Such information was occasionally provided in the biographies section, which used a similar format of identifying the subject of the biography by their administrative hometown. In the biography of Yang Shiyun, the co-editor of this gazetteer, he is identified as a man from Taihe county, which covered the entirety of the Dali plain outside the prefecture seat.¹⁹³ In fact, he was born in Xizhou, 15 km north of Taihe county town, where, according to their genealogy, his family was based. Although this information was certainly known to the compilers, in the context of this kind of text it was the school where Yang had first enrolled for the examination that was most salient.

Like other parts of the southwest, Dali had a higher than average proportion of population in military colonists among its registered population, and a higher than average population of residents who were neither registered nor taxed. Both of these groups were in some sense apart from or opposed to the prototypical civilian rural population, and their marginality is reflected in how they are represented in the texts. In the *Yunnan tongzhi* account of Menghua customs, the people of the garrison were contrasted with the scholars and the *min*:

衛人自西方來，各從其俗。惟士人冠婚皆用家禮。民間相尚樸質，不事奢華飲食服用，視列郡儉一郡志

The people of the garrison come from the western region. Each came with their own customs, only the scholars use [Zhu Xi's] *Family Rituals* for comings-of-age and for weddings. Commoners exceed each other in simplicity. They do not make use of luxurious food and drinks, or clothes and possessions. They are more frugal than all other districts - *Prefectural Gazetteer*¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Many scholars have noted that borderlands populations regularly crossed demarcation lines drawn by state actors, in both directions. For examples see Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*, ; Kang and Sutton, *Contesting the Yellow Dragon*.

¹⁹² ZZZ 42-43

¹⁹³ YNTZ 11.8b-9a

¹⁹⁴ YNTZ 3.27b

The gazetteer of Zhaozhou sub-prefecture, by magistrate Zhuang Cheng, uses its local customs section to present a more fine-grained discussion of local customs below the level of the lowest administrative unit:

趙州治南：曰多人稀，皆知勤生力本。

治北：土旧少，生齒繁，其人多遠營。

治中：力水与逐末兼事，其人多淳樸，好施有禮，十會有捨棺會。

白崖川：平衍，人多樸野。

迷渡市：各省游民借居，其人好誣訟。

德勝驛：衝要，人多浮滑。

South of Zhaozhou yamen: fields are plentiful but people are few; they are all familiar with hard work and are very strong.

North of the yamen: there is little land but the population is numerous; its people mostly keep a distance from the military camp.

Around the yamen: they control the water and at the same time engage in commerce; its people are honest and hardworking, they like to give alms and engage in rituals, every ten assemblies there is a “give alms to the dead” assembly.

White Cliffs River: open and flat, there are many people to hunt/work in the open space.

Midu market: sojourners from every province take the opportunity to live there; its people love to make up stories.

Desheng staging-post: strategically important; its people are mainly flippant and insincere.¹⁹⁵

In Zhuang Cheng’s account, the characteristics of the local people are one aspect of the characteristics of the land. The location of *fengsu* in the geography treatise is a standard gazetteer format, yet even more than the gazetteers discussed above, *Zhaozhou zhi* integrates its accounts of human qualities with the relative fertility of the land and its distance from larger settlements. Farmers and traders are described in accordance with standard Ming stereotypes.

The unregistered population, on the other hand, provided the barbarian other from whom the civilised people of Dali were distinguished. As unregistered people, they were invisible to state administration on a personal level, but to some extent they show up by proxy through their *tusi* rulers, the representatives with which the state interacted instead of directly with the citizenry. In general, they were not so common in the Dali area, but the Dengchuan gazetteer contains accounts of the A clan’s *tusi* and its transformation during the Ming. In the *fengsu* section, the gazetteer contributor, stipendiary student Yang Yiyan 楊以言 expounded on the relationship between the *tusi* and the indigenous population:

地方有盜，責在阿知州戡捕。但管下羅羅得能各鄉村顧之，晝夜巡守以保田宅，若有窮失伊愿賠償。但朝夕派與飲食。到成熟時派與谷麥，名曰：看窩。

There are bandits in the area, whose punishment under the A magistracy was to have their weapons stripped when captured. But under official administration the Luoluo caught them and were able to send them back each to their own village, day and night they make tours of inspection in order to protect their fields and homes, and if there was a poor person who lost something, then they were willing to compensate them. Still morning and evening they distributed food and drink. At harvest, they distributed grain and wheat, and this was called “looking to the nest.”¹⁹⁶

This passage presents a case for direct civil administration as the most effective way to govern even the indigenous population. Under the A clan *tusi*, Luoluo bandits were stripped of their weapons, but it was not until the transferable officials dealt with the root causes of banditry – lack

¹⁹⁵ ZZZ 24

¹⁹⁶ CXDCZZ 21-22

of food – that the Luoluo ceased to pursue it. The Luoluo discussed here seem to be a consistent part of the population regardless of whether they were governed directly or indirectly.

For readers familiar with the twentieth-century ethnographic classifications of Yunnan’s people, these Ming texts raise questions about the use of the word “Bai” (白 “white” or “plain”) — formally established in the 1950s as the name of the ethnic group based in Dali — and its changing meaning over time. Although “Bai” was not in common use as an ethnonym in extant texts, reference to a historical Bai or Baizi kingdom was an integral factor in Dali’s people’s comprehension of themselves.¹⁹⁷ Many texts refer to a Baizi Kingdom (*baizi guo* 白子國) pre-dating the Nanzhao, usually said to have been founded by Ashoka, or one of his sons. The account in *Yunnan tongzhi* says that the name of the kingdom was derived from Ashoka’s second son’s habit of eating white (or plain) rice 食白飯.¹⁹⁸ A complex of word usages said to be traceable to Dali people’s identification with this kingdom included references to “Bai script” (*baiwen* 百文), as well as the titles of many of the no longer extant historical texts about Dali, for example *baishi*, *baigu tongji*.¹⁹⁹ Some texts also used compounds such as “Bai people” (*bairén* 白人) in reference to people descended from or associated with Dali’s past. In *Yunnan tongzhi*, an entry in the biographies chapter for two descendants of the Duan clan, Duan Fu 段福 and Duan Ri 段日, who lived during the period of Mongol rule, begins by introducing them as *bairén*.²⁰⁰ However, the Dengchuan gazetteer is the only locally-produced text to use “bai” to describe people who were the author’s contemporaries, and it does not make a strong insider/outsider distinction.

In most versions of *Nanzhao yeshi*, by contrast, Ashoka was said to have sent only his third son, Piaojudi, to Dian. He, or his son Dimengju, had nine sons, the nine grandees, whose descendants became most of the peoples who would have passed through Yunnan as traders:

Table 1.3 Nine Sons and their Descendants:²⁰¹

Birth order	Name	Descendants
1	阿輔羅 Afuluo	十六國 Sixteen kingdoms
2	蒙苴兼 Mengjujian	土番 Tibet
3	蒙苴諾 Mengjunuo	漢人 Han people
4	蒙苴酌 Mengjuchou	東蠻 Eastern barbarians (<i>man</i>)
5	蒙苴篤 Mengjudu	十三子五賢七聖蒙氏 the Meng lineage: thirteen sons, five eminent men, seven sages
6	蒙苴託 Mengjutuo	獅子國 Sri Lanka

¹⁹⁷ The question is complicated by the word “Bo” which may have been pronounced the same and thus used in free variation with Bai (see Fang Guoyu). Bo was used in Yuan official histories and Ming gazetteers to describe the more civilised of the unregistered population in Yunnan, in contrast to Cuan 爨. Neither of these populations were restricted in territory. Yang Shen’s *Dianzaiji* mentions Bo script 爨文 (DZJ, *postface*), while *Yunnan zhilue* says that the Bai were the Bo people described in the *Man shu*. *Yunnan zhilue* is clearly the textual origin of the modern scholarly consensus that pre-Ming references to Bo mean “Bai,” but it does not appear to be representative of usage throughout a wider body of Ming texts (although they had certainly read it).

¹⁹⁸ YNTZ 16.9a

¹⁹⁹ The many meanings of *bai*, particularly in relation to writing, make the reading of these phrases particularly treacherous. *Baiwen*, for example, can also mean “plain language” (as opposed to literary language) or merely “the reverse side of the stele.”

²⁰⁰ YNTZ 11.9b

²⁰¹ NZYS (TST) 7a-b

7	蒙苴林 Mengjulin	交趾 Jiaozhi (Red River Delta)
8	蒙苴頌 Mengjusong	白崖張樂進求 Zhanglejinqiu of White Cliffs
9	蒙苴闕 Mengju'e	白夷 White barbarians (<i>yi</i>)

The 8th, Mengjusong, became the ancestor of Zhanglejinqiu, king at White Cliffs. These stories locate Dali in a historical familial relationship with the peoples with whom they would have regularly interacted in the present. However, rather than replicating Zhu Yuanzhang's favourite metaphor of the son of heaven as the father of all his subjects, the father figure was Ashoka and the *Hanren* merely another of his sons. Despite this, *Nanzhao yeshi* versions of the nine grandees provide the clearest evidence that Dali's late imperial elite saw themselves as descendants of the Nanzhao rulers: here, another Ailao woman, Nuboxi is said to have borne the ten women whose descendants carried the surnames of Dali's ruling families:

又雲哀牢有一婦名奴波息，生十女。九隆兄弟各娶之立為十姓曰董、洪、段、施、何、王、張、楊、李、趙。九隆死子孫繁衍。各居一方而南詔出。

It is also said that there was a woman among the Ailao called Nuboxi, who gave birth to ten daughters. The nine grandees each married one and established one of the ten surnames: Dong, Hong, Duan, Shi, He, Wang, Zhang, Yang, Li and Zhao. The nine grandees died, and their descendants increased. Each of them lived in their own place, and out of them came the Nanzhao.²⁰²

In the seventeenth century, *Bogu tongji qianshu* gave a version in which the word I have translated “grandees” (*long* 隆) was substituted by its homonym meaning “dragon” (*long* 龍):

雲南按大理舊志、僰人之初、有驃苴低者、其子牟低苴、居永昌哀牢山麓、其婦曰沙[壺]、浣絮水中、觸一沉木、若有感焉、因娘、生九男、後沉木化為龍、眾子皆驚定、季子背龍而坐、龍舐其背。故號九龍族。一曰牟苴羅、二曰牟苴兼、三曰牟苴譜、四曰牟苴酌、五曰牟苴篤、六曰牟苴托、七曰牟苴林、八曰牟苴頌、九曰牟苴閃。當是時、鄰有一夫婦、生九女。九龍各娶之、於是種類滋長、支苗繁衍、各據土地、散居淺谷、分為九十九部、其酋有六、號曰六詔焉。

蠻語稱王為詔、謂背為九、謂坐為隆。

In Yunnan, according to the former record of Dali, the Bo people began with Piaojudi, and his son Moudiju, who lived at the base of Mt Ailao in Yongchang. His wife was called Shayi, she was washing cotton wadding in the river when she ran into a submerged tree, it was as though it could be felt, and she became pregnant and gave birth to nine sons. Later the submerged tree became a dragon, and her crowd of sons were all transfixed with surprise. The youngest son sat down on the dragon's back, the dragon licked his back. Therefore they were called the “nine dragon races”: the first was Moujuluo, the second Moujujian, the third Moujupu, the fourth Moujuchou, the fifth Moujudu, the sixth Moujutuo, the seventh Moujulin, the eighth Moujusong, the ninth Moujushan. At this time, a couple lived nearby who had given birth to nine daughters. The nine dragons each married one, and so the race grew, its sprouts and branches multiplied. Each occupied territory and spread out along the valleys. They were divided into 99 [tribes], of which there were six chieftains, called the six zhao.

Note: in the barbarian language king is called “zhao;” “bei” [back] is called “jiu” [nine]; sit [zuo] is called long [flourish].²⁰³

The twin themes of populating Yunnan and situating it within a wider geo-political landscape recur in the two main versions of the story of Shayi and her nine sons.²⁰⁴ While “Jiulong” used as

²⁰² NZYS TST 7b

²⁰³ BGTJQS 1.1a

²⁰⁴ One text, *Nanzhao yuanliu jiyao*, a rationalised version of Dali history according to strict historiographical principles by Jiang Bin, combines the two, NZYLJY 1a-2b

the name of Shayi's youngest son links this story to that version of the ancestry of the Nanzhao kingdom, some texts diverge, or additionally include a lineage of kingdoms in between Shayi and the Nanzhao. At the same time, these versions heighten the exoticisation of Yunnan's people through accompanying descriptions of their language or names as bird language and dragon language, and the identification of Shayi as “moli qiang” (*moli qiang* 摩梨羌).²⁰⁵

Only one Dali-produced text engages in the kind of quasi-ethnographic demarcation of ethnic groups identified by scholars in other parts of the southwest from around 1600.²⁰⁶ *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi*, was gazetteer of Dengchuan sub-prefecture compiled by Ai Zixiu, a retired official originally from Dengchuan, in collaboration with the sub-prefecture magistrate and a number of local salaried *xiucai*. The final section of the Treatise on Geography is as follows:

土人，即白兒子。漢阿育王（隋志言能上天）。在大理以白米飯齋僧，號白飯王。所生子孫稱為白[兒]子，越今千餘年無異。
漢人，漢武帝開滇，諸葛武侯[征]南，遺下官軍，及載我明平南遺留官軍皆是。及後陸續[X][X]者亦同。
客人，江、浙、川、湖、山、陝、並回、藏等處，各族不同，或遊學經商來此，嘗住入籍。今子孫甲科，彬彬繼盛。
舍人，即指揮、千百戶、總旗之族人，差[役]，服衛，納糧服[征]，以住鄧土而食鄧田，故自萬曆間悉聽州令。
軍人，有四所三分軍、聽操七分軍、約糧餘丁、納銀差、太和土軍、扛台、皆住州境，皆聽州令，亦自萬曆間始。
爨人，名羅羅。住山箐間，佩刀、好獵，服阿土官管。山糧納州，近亦就馴守法。與各處悍夷不同。
僂人，名擺夷。住羅川，性柔怕事。洪武初阿土官自威遠州帶來者俱服[官]管，近亦有讀書進取之人。

The indigenous/local people (*turen*), also called *bai'erzi* “sons of the White.” In the Han dynasty, King Ashoka (the following treatise says that he had the ability to ascend to heaven), in Dali used white rice to give alms to a monk, and was called “White Rice King.” His descendants are called “sons of the white,” for more than a thousand years until today this has not changed.

Han people, Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty divided Yunnan; Martial Duke Zhuge [Liang] went on an expedition to the south, and left behind some of his troops. Even to us in the Ming the left-behind troops from pacifying the south are all here. And later those on the road who continued to come are the same.

Sojourners (*keren*). From Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Huguang, Shandong, Shaanxi, and Muslims and Tibetans, all different lineages *zu*. Whether they came for study or business, once they were living here they entered the population register. Now their descendants take the examinations, refined in appearance they continue to flourish.

Hereditary military officers (*sheren*), also called commanding officers, centurion households, or banner-assembling clans. Their corvée is serving in the fort and they pay taxes in kind through the draft. But they live on Dengchuan land and eat from Dengchuan fields. Still during the Wanli period they entirely took commands from the sub-prefecture administration.

Military people (*junren*). Three parts of the army live in four camps, and seven parts are drill troops. They pay grain tax and are not on military payroll, and pay silver to make up the difference. There is harmony between the local people and the military, and they shoulder the burden [together]. They all live on the

²⁰⁵ (WL)JGDSJ 2b

²⁰⁶ Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State*, 141-143; Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 136-141.

border of the sub-prefecture, and they all take commands from the sub-prefecture administration. This began in the Wanli period.

Cuan people, also called Luoluo. They live in the bamboo forests in the mountains, wear swords at their waist, like to hunt, and obey the management of the indigenous officials of the A clan. They pay tax to the sub-prefecture in the grain from the mountains, and are approaching, too, the accomplishment of domestication and obeying the law. They are not the same as the fierce barbarians that are found everywhere.

Bo people, also called Baiyi. They live scattered along the river. Their character is gentle and they are afraid of getting into trouble. In the Hongwu era the indigenous officials of the A clan first brought them from Weiyuan prefecture [in Sichuan] to serve as officials, now they also have learned to read and are people who work hard to make progress.

In this passage, Ai distinguishes seven groups of people among the inhabitants of Dengchuan: two indigenous, five from elsewhere; two military, five civilian; four that would be categorised as *Hanzu* in post-1949 classification systems, three that would not. These categories do not appear in other texts, let alone official documents, as a system or individually, and indeed Ai explicitly distances the people he calls Cuan or Luoluo from the people who go by those names elsewhere. The first underlying set of categories is the Ming registration system, according to which tax-paying households were registered as “civilians” *min* 民, “military” *jun* 軍, or “craftsmen” *jiang* 匠 or, like much of Yunnan’s indigenous population, they were not registered at all. Although, as is well-known, the system had largely disintegrated by the end of the dynasty, Ai Zixiu’s categories are loosely ordered according to where they fit in that system. *Turen*, Han, and sojourners were all registered as *min*, the two military categories were registered as *jun*, while Cuan and Bo people were unregistered. Second, Ai identifies groups based on where in Dengchuan they live. The Cuan live in the mountains, while the Bo live along the river; the *she* military category live “on Dengchuan land” while the *jun* category live in military camps. The remaining *min* population live primarily in towns or lowlands, and in fact later in the gazetteer will be identified by village. This spatial thread sometimes reinforces the categorisation based on registration status and sometimes cuts across or within it. Third, each group has a unique narrative of when and how their ancestors came to Dali. Both the *turen* and the *hanren* are said to have arrived during the Han dynasty, one group from Han territory itself and the other from India. The *boren* were brought involuntarily from Sichuan in the early Ming, followed by both categories of military settlers. The sojourners came from all over, both within Ming territory and outside, perhaps since the conquest or perhaps before. Ai Zixiu’s categories suggest that he understood the people of Dengchuan through their relationships to the land, to the official registration system, and to historical changes in the local area, in a more complicated manner than an insider-outsider or civilised-uncivilised binary.

Traces of the Past – History and Dali’s Landscape:

Beyond the places and people that occupied their present-day world, Dali scholar-gentry understood the landscape in which they lived as a repository of accumulated historical meaning. Re-telling stories of Dali’s history in literary Chinese was one of the major preoccupations of these writers throughout the Yuan and Ming.²⁰⁷ In addition to the chronicles and anecdotes found in the unofficial histories of the Nanzhao kingdom that circulated in manuscript and in print, Dali literati engaged with the discourse of past traces (*guji* 古跡) which reproduced

²⁰⁷ For a list of texts with full bibliographical information, see the List of Abbreviations in the prefatory material.

historical narratives through physical manifestations on the landscape. In late imperial China, the selection and arrangement of scenes (or, more precisely, location-based aesthetic experiences) was a conventional way to promote a particular vision of a city or district.²⁰⁸ The historical, political, or even economic associations of the sites themselves provided the raw material for compilers to craft into a narrative; the addition of historical introductions or poems to the lyric titles underlined the image of the place the compiler aimed to promote. Lists of *guji* sites were regularly included in gazetteers at every level, although the range and specific content was at the compiler's discretion. When marked visibly on the landscape, these traces were often accompanied by inscriptions that showed the accumulation of meaning to that place over time, as they were visited by festival-goers or tourists. Re-telling their past was crucial to locating themselves within their present social and ritual worlds: the elites of the Dali and Nanzhao kingdoms they claimed as ancestors; the sources of their Buddhist religious life; and their historical relationships with Chinese empires. In the section that follows, I have arranged *guji* sites in the chronological narrative used in unofficial histories, and selected portions from these texts to supplement and link together the sites of memory represented by *guji*.

Both unofficial histories and traces of the past emphasised Dali's history of hereditary, Buddhist kingdoms tracing their descent from the epitome of Buddhist kingship, Ashoka. Ashoka was said to have been the first king to convert to Buddhism and make it the state religion, and was revered throughout south and southeast Asia as the *cakravartin*, the model Buddhist ruler. In the extant unofficial histories, Ashoka, identified as “king of Magadha in India” (西天摩竭國阿育王), is sometimes said to have granted his three sons land in Yunnan, two based near Kunming, and the middle son, Hongde, in the “wilds north of Lake Dian” (滇之北野) “between Mt Cang and Lake Er” (蒼洱之間).²⁰⁹ One version identifies the locations settled by the two elder sons as “golden horse” and “jade chicken” 金馬碧雞.²¹⁰ In downtown Kunming, in the early twenty-first century, there are two archways facing each other across a busy square, bearing the inscriptions “golden horse” (金馬 *jīnma*) and “jade chicken” (碧雞 *bījī*). Each archway frames a mountain by the same name outside Kunming. It is not clear from the text whether the *guji* referred to in *Nanzhao yeshi* was the two mountains themselves, a site in Kunming, or perhaps both. Only one text, *Jigu dianshuo ji*, offers a reason for Ashoka's sons to have arrived in Yunnan.²¹¹ It says that they were chasing a spirited horse that their father had released as a way for him to decide who should be his successor. Although the youngest son caught the horse, they were unable to return to India because the Ailao King blocked their path. In any case, although not in Dali, the site was appropriated by historical discourse through Nanzhao ancestry, and rhetorically subordinated to Dali in the process.

In the Dali area, stories of Ashoka and his sons were tied to the site said to have been their capital, White Cliffs 白崖. White Cliffs, a town in the Midu valley, was so named because of the

²⁰⁸ These frameworks for talking about place have been researched most intensively in the context of Nanjing, see for example Siyen Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space: Urbanization and Late Ming Nanjing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009); Catherine Stuer, “Dimensions of Place: Map, Itinerary, and Trace in Images of Nanjing,” PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012. For an application in eastern Yunnan in the 18th century see Fei Huang, “Landscape Practices and Representations in Eighteenth-Century Dongchuan, Southwest China,” PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2012.

²⁰⁹ NZMDYS 496; NZYS (JB) 418.

²¹⁰ (JJ)JGDSJ 2a-b

²¹¹ (WL)JGDSJ 1.4a

cliffs which rose dramatically behind the city.²¹² In Ming texts, however, its use of the character *bai* (“white,” “plain”) placed it an intersection of meaning that evoked both descent from Ashoka, the ideal Buddhist king, and the much later Bai or Baizi Kingdom, whose authority passed directly to the Nanzhao. Because of his devotion to Buddhism, Hongde ate only plain rice and vegetables and came to be called “Plain Rice King.” Many generations later, Hongde’s descendant, Renguo, ruled the whole of Yunnan as the Bai[zi] Kingdom, with its capital at White Cliffs. Its most outstanding ruler, [Zhang] Renguo, was characterised by his concern for his people, whom he ruled “with kindness and confidence” (以慈信治國) and in return “the people of that country honoured him for generation after generation” (國人世世戴之).²¹³ Moreover, the kingdom he ruled is presented as balanced between Buddhist India and the Zhou-Xia classics:

其阿育王三子并神明四甥舅之遺衆與驕兵同諸夷雜處。驕爲滇王，崇信佛教，不忍殺生，遷居白崖、鶴拓、浪穹。后衆推仁果者爲張姓新君之滇王，驕傳世卒矣。仁果肇基白崖，尚勦業之祥於茲，遂以地號國曰白，操存五常之固有，不昧一眞之虛靈，堅守三綱，修明六藝，本戒法於天竺，枝姓文於漢唐，言從善聞於諸語，服隨世俗於時宜，號年法古，正朔從夏，採摭諸家之善，自集成於一枝，而爲白氏國也。

The third son of King Ashoka with his four affinal relatives departed from the crowd and left Qiao’s soldiers to live intermixed with the various *yi*. Qiao became king of Dian and followed Buddhism. He could not bear to kill living creatures and moved his home to White Cliffs, Heta [Nanzhao], and Langqiong. Later the crowds elected Renguo, one of the Zhang family, to ascend the throne as King of Dian, and the line of Qiao was broken. Renguo built his base at White Cliffs, still an auspicious creation of an estate, and eventually this territory was called the Kingdom named White. He did not lose heart in the essence of the five virtues, and did not forget the sincerity of his heart. He held fast to the three bonds and expounded the six classics. His rules were modelled on those of India, his branch-surname was written by Han and Tang, and his speech expressed virtue in many languages, his clothes followed common customs suitable to the times, his reign periods followed those of the ancients, and his first-day practices were those of Xia. He selected good things from various origins, and himself gathered them to make one branch, and this was called the Baishi Kingdom.²¹⁴

This text, written under the Yuan, emphasises to a greater extent than any of its successors a narrative of Buddhist Dali ruled by a Bai lineage in accordance with the virtues of India and the norms of classical sinophone civilisation. The Bai Kingdom, and its capital, White Cliffs, held the central position in these narratives as a locus of ideal kingship embodied in Ashoka and Renguo.

Although no dates are given, the Bai Kingdom is typically represented as roughly contemporary with the Han dynasty, based in Chang’an, and the Dian Kingdom, based next to Lake Dian, now Kunming. These two political entities appeared in all the extant Ming *guji* lists through the sites of their former administrative centres, “the Dian capital” and the Han “abandoned counties” 廢縣 Fengyu, at the northern end of Erhai, and Suijiu 遂久縣, a Jinsha river crossing in the far northeast of Binchuan.²¹⁵ In narrative accounts, the Dian Kingdom, whose rulers, the Zhuang clan, were said to have come to Yunnan from the state of Chu,

²¹² Ma Jianxiong, “The Zhaozhou Bazi Society in Yunnan: Historical Process in the Bazi Basin Environmental System during the Ming Period (1368-1643),” in *Environmental History in East Asia: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Ts’ui-jung Liu, (London: Routledge), 2014, 131-155.

²¹³ YNTZ 16.9a

²¹⁴ (WL)JGDSJ 1.4b

²¹⁵ As a rule, movements of *junxian* seats during the Ming were not recorded as *guji*. An exception is *Zhaozhou zhi*, which lists one previous subprefecture site ZZZ 33.

functioned primarily as the Bai kingdom's foil.²¹⁶ The Han dynasty, on the other hand, played the role of the outside major power which responds to the actions of the two Yunnan kingdoms with favour or destruction. Chang Qiang, the king of Dian at that time and a descendant of Zhuang Hao, encountered emissaries of the Han who were travelling to India, but sent them home in a huff, querying "which is bigger, me or Han?" (漢我孰為大). Angered by his impertinence, Emperor Wu enfeoffed Renguo as King of Dian as well as of Baizi. The two kingdoms were consolidated in the Bai Kingdom, which now includes all of northern and central Yunnan.²¹⁷ Another version, which traced the line of Ashoka as rulers of Yunnan, attributed Emperor Wu's favour solely to Renguo's merciful and just rule. However, after Renguo had become King of the united Bai Kingdom, Emperor Wu became concerned for the Han subjects left behind, and decided to invade. Renguo surrendered, and Yizhou prefecture was established in Yongchang (now Baoshan). In both of these stories, Emperor Wu's intervention in a local dispute between Renguo and Chang Qiang produces unexpected side effects that end badly for the party that attracted the attention of the Han empire: Chang Qiang loses his kingdom to Renguo because of the emperor's pique, or Renguo loses his to the Han because of the emperor's fickle favour.²¹⁸ The risk of invasion was then memorialised in *guji* located at key strategic points north of Dali, the crossing of the upper Yangtze and the northern pass at Lake Er.

In most Ming texts, the predominant northern invasion marked in *guji* sites was Zhuge Liang's southern campaign (225 CE), in which he crossed the Jinsha river to pacify Shu's southern border regions. Multiple locations in the Dali region were identified as traces of his passing: campsites, watercourses, and ruins. A number of sites were clustered around the ruins of Jianning county, said to have been established in the White Cliffs basin in the first century CE. Historians working on other parts of Yunnan have demonstrated that this wave of commemoration of Zhuge Liang was directed by central policy in the early Ming, as part of a program to incorporate Yunnan into the central narrative of Chinese history, and to promote Chinese "culture heroes" like Zhuge Liang into Yunnan's social and ritual life.²¹⁹ Despite this, some Ming texts offer interpretations of such sites that portray Zhuge Liang's campaign in a more ambivalent manner. For example, *Zhaozhou zhi* lists "the Martial Duke's broken earth veins" 武侯斷地脈 (two locations as a single *guji*).²²⁰ The breaking of "earth veins" (*dimai* 地脈) a geomantic term for the flows of qi through the ground, was an omen or physical sign of human bad behaviour, and so embodied the destructive impact of the invasion on the earth of Yunnan. It is also notable that while there are numerous *guji* associated with Zhuge Liang in Ming gazetteers, none of the narrative accounts of Dali's history mention him.

²¹⁶ YNTZ 16.8b says that General Zhuang Hao [or Qiao] had been sent to Yunnan by King Qingxiang (r.298-263 BCE), but was unable to return home because Qin had occupied Qian (now Guizhou) and blocked the road. Thwarted, he remained in Yunnan and took up the title King of Dian, after Lake Dian, near Kunming.

²¹⁷ YNTZ 16.8b

²¹⁸ In NZMDYS 504, Zhuge Liang plays a similar role enfeoffing Longyouna, a descendent of Renguo, as ruler of the Jianning kingdom. In this version, that is when the family acquires the surname Zhang.

²¹⁹ Jiang Yingliang 江应樑, "Zhuge Wuhou yu Nanman 诸葛武侯与南蛮 [Zhuge, Marquis Wu, and the Southern Barbarians]," in *Xinan Bianjiang Minzuzhi* 西南边疆民族志 [Studies on the Nationalities of the Southwest Borderlands], edited by Jiang Yingliang (Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1985 [1948]), 253-76; B. Riftin 李福清, "Hanzu ji xinan shaoshu minzu de Zhuge nanzheng chuanshuo 汉族及西南少数民族的诸葛亮南征传说 [Legends of Zhuge Liang's Southern Expeditions told among Han and Minorities in Southwest China]," tr. Bai Sihong 白嗣宏, *Minzu wenxue yanjiu* 民族文学研究 [Ethnic Culture Studies] 1992, no. 2: 85-94; Peng Wenbin, "Ethnic Memory and Space: Legends of Zhuge Liang in Southwest China," *Inner Asia* 13 (2011): 141-159.

²²⁰ ZZZ 35

In narratives, Dali was said to have been ruled during the three or four centuries immediately preceding the establishment of the Nanzhao Kingdom by the Dian, Baizi, or Jianning Kingdoms. The Midu basin was consistently represented as the administrative centre of Dali in this period, whether the rulers were local or an occupying force. Two “abandoned counties” (*feijun* 廢郡) were Bonong county 勃弄縣, dated to the early Tang; and Tangzhou 湯州, better known as White Cliffs (*baiya* 白崖) the capital of the Baizi Kingdom ruled by Zhanglejinqiu. A fortress known variously as Wen’an cave fortress 文案洞城 or Caiyun fortress 彩雲城 was said to have been built by either Zhanglejinqiu or his descendant Zhang Longyouna 張龍佑那.²²¹ These two men were the last rulers of the Baizi Kingdom and descendants of Renguo; they handed legitimate rule of Yunnan over to Xinuluo of the Meng clan, founder of the Nanzhao Kingdom. The 1563 Dali prefecture gazetteer actually lists “Coloured Clouds county” 彩雲縣 as an alternative name for a Han-era administrative unit based in the Midu valley, and cites it as one of the origins of the name “Yunnan.”²²² This capital was the last important political centre to be based at White Cliffs; trade routes continued to pass by and its memory remained.

The rise of the Meng clan — their ancestry, divine affirmation, and inheritance of power — forms a central thread of both *guji* and narrative histories in Dali. The earliest Nanzhao capitals, also in Menghua, were marked as Longhantu 龍岷圖, said to have been built by Xinuluo 細奴羅 in the mid seventh century, and Mengshe fortress 蒙舍城, just north of the Menghua county seat.²²³ Some texts identify the founding ancestor as Mengjiadu, an Ailao man, and sometimes Shayi’s husband, who had migrated east from Mt Ailao to the foot of Mt Wei (now Mt Weibao), south of Dali.²²⁴ In these cases, it is implied that his descendants carried the first syllable of his name as their family name. When Mengjiadu does not appear, similar stories are often attributed to the man sometimes identified as his son, Xinuluo. Xinuluo’s ancestry is then traced to the family line of Ashoka and/or the rulers of White Cliffs in addition to the Ailao via his mother, Shayi, or wife, Nuboxi. In these cases, the text derives the name of the family from the name of the town where they lived in the foothills of Mt Wei, Menghua, or the kingdom they founded there, Mengshe.²²⁵ Before unification Piluoge’s father and grandfather, as rulers of the Mengshe zhao, built a city wall in Menghua, and are sometimes said to have established a system of counties and prefectures.²²⁶ By the Ming, although Mengshe had not been central to Dali political institutions for centuries, its location on the southward trade route meant that it remained part of the historical geography of Dali literati.

Two sites commemorate the acknowledgement of Xinuluo’s supremacy by the then hegemon, Zhanglejinqiu 張樂進球 of the Baizi kingdom.²²⁷ Unlike accounts found in Tang official histories, in Dali’s unofficial histories, Xinuluo’s military campaigns are ignored in favour of their culmination, the formal acknowledgement of military supremacy by his predecessor. In

²²¹ DLFZ 90; YNTZ 2.31b. *Caiyun cheng* is recorded in *Ming shi* 明史 46.1184 as an alternative name for the (1564) rebuilt White Cliffs fort, but within Zhaozhou rather than Midu.

²²² DLFZ 1.1.a-b

²²³ YNTZ 3:27a-b; YNTZ 3:27a. Three of the extant provincial gazetteers identify these two cities as the same place; varyingly located in either place or (in Dianzhi) south of the prefecture seat (YNTJZ; YNZ; DZ), but the texts produced by Dali people differentiate.

²²⁴ (WL)JGDSJ 1.2b.

²²⁵ According to NZYS (JB) 423, the family name of the Meng clan was derived from the place where they lived (Mengshe).

²²⁶ NZYS TST 10a-b

²²⁷ For example, NZYS TST 8b.

some versions of the story, the transfer of power was confirmed with a “treaty rock” (*mengshi* 盟石) in the Mengshe valley, near the Meng capital.

在府城北三十五里平川中。昔張樂進求與細奴羅以位相讓。細奴羅曰如我當為南劍入此石，拔劍聽之果入三寸。至今形如鋸焉。

In the flatlands 35 li north of the prefecture seat. In former times, Zhanglejinqiu and Xinuluo set it up while making concessions to each other. Xinuluo said, “if I put my sword into the rock facing south, withdrawing the sword will result in a three inch hole.” Until today it’s shape is like it’s been sawed at.²²⁸

In others, the transfer of power is said to have occurred at White Cliffs, Zhanglejinqiu’s capital, and been marked by an Iron Pillar (*tiezhu* 鐵柱).²²⁹ Both sites were marked by temples, suggesting that these *guji* were among those that were active sites of pilgrimage during the Ming.

Guji discourses also engaged with the narratives of Meng clan ancestry that traced their descent from rulers based near the Ming Yongchang prefecture (now Baoshan), in western Yunnan. One of the most popular stories is associated with Xinuluo’s mother or grandmother, a woman named Shayi.²³⁰ One day, while washing cotton wadding in the river, Shayi felt a floating (or submerged) log touch her. In some versions of the story, the log has the appearance of the body of her recently-deceased husband, whom she has come to the river to mourn. She became pregnant, and gives birth to nine sons.²³¹ When, after their birth, she returns to the river, she discovers that the father of her children is in fact a dragon king. The older sons are all afraid, but the youngest sits unconcerned on the dragon’s back (or behind the dragon), and is thus singled out as the favoured descendant. In some versions, he is called “Jiulong” 九隆 (a transliteration of an Ailao word meaning “sitting behind the back”) and becomes ancestor of the Nanzhao and (implicitly) the writers of the text.²³² *Nanzhao yeshi*’s past traces include Mt Jiulong 九隆山 in Yongchang prefecture; most likely this mountain can be identified with Mt Ailao, since versions of this story in canonical texts describe Shayi as the ancestor of the Ailao people.²³³ In versions connected to Dali, however, Jiulong is said to have moved east to the foothills of Mt Wei, and become the ancestor of the Meng clan.

The Meng clan’s rise to power was retold not only through stories of their miraculous forebears, but also through stories of specific blessing bestowed by mendicant monks from the west (sometimes identified as incarnations of Avalokitesvara). In some texts, after Shayi’s son

²²⁸ YNTZ 3.27a

²²⁹ (WL)JGDSJ 3a-b. Some Ming works say that the iron pillar had previously been set up by Zhuge Liang, before its use as a treaty marker, eg ZZZ 34. In pre-Mongol works like the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* 南詔圖轉, a bird is said to have alighted on Xinuluo’s head at this pillar; strangely this version is not common in the Ming; for further discussion see Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 31-35. There is also a version with a bronze pillar, involving the rivalry between the Tang and Tibet playing out in this region: YNTZ 2.29b.

²³⁰ Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 94-101; Dali Baizu zizhizhou wenhuaju 大理白族自治州文化局 [Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture Cultural Bureau], *Baizu minjian gushi xuan* 白族民間故事選 [Selected Popular Stories from the Bai Nationality] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1982), 15-18; Yang Yuqing, “The Role of Nanzhao History in the Formation of Bai Identity,” MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2008, 84-5.

²³¹ All the NZYS versions coincide here (eg TST 7b), but (WL)JGDSJ 3a has ten sons.

²³² Some Ming texts read Jiulong as a reference to nine sons rather than a transliteration, see chapter three for the ramifications of this reading.

²³³ NZYS (TST) 5b-6a. Unlike many of the stories in these texts, Shayi’s legend could be traced to a reference within the classical literary tradition, in the “Southwestern Yi” section of the *Later Han History*, where she is described as the ancestor of the Ailao people of Yongchang prefecture (now Baoshan). “*Nanman xinyi liezhuan* 南蠻西南夷列傳 [Biographies of southern Man and southwestern Yi], Houhanshu 後漢書 86.

Xinongle moves from Yongchang to the Menghua valley, south of Dali, he marries a local woman, Nuboxi, and an Indian monk arrives to bless their union. The arrival of a monk from India (or Magadha, Ashoka's kingdom), at a critical juncture is a common motif in the historical narratives of Ming Dali. Another story, found in the pre-conquest *Nanzhao tuzhuan* illustrated scroll as well as Yuan and Ming texts, relates a miraculous visit to Xinuluo by Avalokitesvara. In this story, Xinuluo had no prior claim to kingship, but was merely a farmer below Mt Wei until visited by the bodhisattva.²³⁴ Mt Wei, now Mt Weibao, was associated particularly with the Buddhist legitimation of Xinuluo's ascent to power, while the political sites were located in the valleys.

The Nanzhao proper began when Piluoge 皮羅閣 of the Meng clan, ruler of the southern-most of six small kingdoms (*zhao*) in the Dali area, conquered the other five kingdoms and united north-western Yunnan under his rule. Piluoge, great-grandson of the Meng patriarch Xinuluo, came to the throne in 728, aged fourteen sui. Two years later, fearing that the other rulers would not accept his primacy, he bribed Tang official Wang Yu 王昱 to command them to carry out ancestral sacrifices at midsummer. Piluoge then invited the other rulers to join him at Songming Tower 松明樓 to carry out the sacrifices together. Four of the rulers arrived on the 24th day of the 6th month, but the ruler of Dengdan was delayed by his concubine, who worried that the invitation was a trick. When her husband refused to stay behind, she made him a bronze armlet to wear, and sent him on his way. On the 25th day, all six rulers made the sacrifices on the top of Songming Tower, and then adjourned to a banquet. Late that night, when everyone was drunk, Piluoge descended from the tower alone, and set it on fire. All five zhao died in the conflagration, but only the body of the Dengdan ruler could be recovered, identified by his bronze armlet.²³⁵ The Songming Tower story's prevalence in Ming sources from Dali may be attributed to its association with the "light festival" celebrated around the region in the 6th month. Accounts of the festival emphasise the virtue and wisdom of the concubine, often called Cishan, who had foreseen the danger from Piluoge but had been unable to save her husband. Piluoge is sometimes said to have determined to marry her because of her wisdom and good advice. She refused, and, when he laid siege to Dengdan to get her, she starved herself to death.²³⁶ The celebration of this festival ensured that stories of the Nanzhao unification remained an active part of life in Dali throughout the Yuan and Ming. In a similar way, the entry for Zhanwen peak, on Mt Diancang, describes a current practice in which literati examination culture has become entwined with the "star returning festival" (commemorating Cishan):

即玉局峰之別名。世傳六月二十五日星回節，各寺皆燃炬，惟此峰有神火與凡炬散列山曲濱海漁家得見其全，鄉試之年，炬有多寡，其年中式者如其數。若見火炬參其中，明年春榜中式亦如數，往往[X]知不爽。

²³⁴ (WL)JGDSJ 3b-4a; BGTJQS 4a-b; for *Nanzhao tuzhuan* see Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 32-35.

²³⁵ Backus points out that, unlike many of the later events of the Nanzhao chronicles, this account is not corroborated by contemporary sources (whether in Chinese or Tibetan), which instead describe a ten-year period of piecemeal military campaigns against the five northern zhao, concluding with the flight of the ruler of Shilang to take refuge in Tibet. Backus, *Nan-chao Kingdom*, 52-63. The version of the story that appears in *Jigu dianshuo ji* is included in the account of post-unification Nanzhao expansion under the reign of Piluoge's son Geluofeng, rather than as a unification story. There, the unification is stated as an appendix to religious conversion which Piluoge is said to have undergone (WL)JGDSJ 10a-11a; see further below.

²³⁶ YNTZ 2.31b-32a. In the Zhaozhou gazetteer, the story is recorded in the customs section along with an account of the festival, ZZZ 24. Bryson discusses this story (though not *Zhaozhou zhi* version) at length and notes the resonances between Cishan's virtue in the story and increasingly prevalent norms of female chastity among elite women.

Another name for Yuju peak. At Returning Star festival (24th day of 6 month) all the temples light torches, but only the one on the peak has the numinous fire, which passes in lines down the winding mountainside to the fishing households by the shore, until all can see it. In provincial examination years, the number of torches was the same as the number of mid-year examinees. If they see the torches, those joining the following spring examinations will pass at that rank. It often occurred and was never wrong.²³⁷

Fishermen and scholars equally participated in the festival that gave this place its meaning, though the meanings to each may not have been the same.

Numerous *guji* commemorated Nanzhao's rise and the Meng clan's expansion of their rule from the Dali region to much of present-day Yunnan, beginning with the conquest of the Meng clan's northern neighbours, the five zhao. Deyuan fortress in Dengchuan marked the location where Cishan was besieged by Piluoge after the Songming tower incident remembered in the "light festival." In Langqiong, just east of Dengchuan, could be found a well and platform said to have been set up by Shilangqian. As the five zhao fled Piluoge's armies, some were said to have gone north, stopping in Jianchuan or Heqing before ultimately seeking refuge in the Tibetan empire, pursued by Nanzhao forces. In the eastern part of Heqing prefecture, "one bowl stream" (*yiwanshui* 一碗水) marks a place where a Nanzhao general (name unrecorded) grew thirsty, plunged his sword into the ground and opened up a water source in a hollow, now never full but never empty.²³⁸ Piluoge's military conquest culminated in the movement of his capital from Mengshe, near Mt Wei, to the Dali plain, the economic and ritual centre of the region. He called the capital Taihe (great harmony), and began to build fortified towns across the plain, including the northern and southern passes, Xizhou, and (Yang)Jumie (now Dali).²³⁹ While Dali and provincial gazetteers primarily referenced Nanzhao in relation to *guji* near Dali itself, the unofficial histories of Nanzhao that included lists of *guji* covered sites across Yunnan, whether or not they had a direct connection to a Nanzhao personage or event.²⁴⁰ In this way, Ming texts represented Nanzhao political power as comprehending the whole of Yunnan province.

Although many *guji* can be traced to events found elsewhere in the written record, whether in earlier sources or in Ming texts, some recount portions of the oral tradition that have not survived in any other context.²⁴¹ Turning Horn stockade, an otherwise unremarkable village at the southern end of the Dali plain, was considered a *guji* associated with the Meng royal family:

轆角莊：在城南二十里，南詔神武王有女，欲為擇配，女曰：父王擇配非天婚也，我欲倒坐牛背，任牛所之，不問貧富貴賤，牛入之家則嫁之，王從其請，牛至一委巷，左右側其角而入，其家老嫗走避，強之乃出，問有子否？曰：子往樵薪。王女即拜老嫗為姑。頃之，其子負炭回，見巷有驕從

²³⁷ DLCS 89

²³⁸ *Yunnan tongzhi* 3:35b.

²³⁹ NZYS (TST) 12a

²⁴⁰ Yunnan Prefecture was nearly as well represented as Dali, while cities and towns like Yongchang 永昌, Qujing 曲靖, Ami 阿迷, Zhaotong 昭通, Chuxiong 楚雄, Yao'an 姚安 etc were each allocated a single site. Many of these were not explicitly related to the Nanzhao — some were attributed to later rulers, others were landscape features without clear political implications — but their inclusion as *Nanzhao guji* "traces of the Nanzhao past" suggests that Dali literati retained some sense of meaning to a unit covering much of the better-established Nanzhao territory. Some of these towns also had one or two inscriptions by Dali literati; but none maintained the sort of integration with Dali literati life found in Heqing and Menghua, and even in Yunnan prefecture Nanzhao sites were rarely included in locally-produced gazetteers. *Yunnan tongzhi* juan 1-5, various; *Dianzhi*, 139-152. The compiler of *Dianzhi*, Li Wenzheng, was from a Kunming military family.

²⁴¹ One later version is traceable to this *Dali fuzhi* account: Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 (1581-1636, js 1622) included a version in his collectaneum *Qianqueju leishu* 潛確居類書 47.15b, attributed to an unknown woman of Meng times, rather than a princess.

，亦走避，使招之入，女曰：此吾婿也。令報王，王大怒，遂絕其女。一日，婿問女：首飾是何物？曰：金也。婿曰：吾樵處此物甚多。明日載回，皆金磚也。頃之，王怒解，女請讞王，王難之，曰：汝能作金橋銀路，吾當來。果作以宴王。王嘆曰：信天婚也。後人名其地曰轆角莊。言方牛入時角如轆轤轉詣陋巷也。

Lujiao stockade: 20 li south of the city wall. The Shenwu King of Nanzhao [Geluofeng] had a daughter, and he wanted her to choose a spouse. His daughter said: royal father, if I choose a spouse it will not be a destined marriage. I want to sit facing backwards on the back of a cow and give it free rein. If the cow enters a house then I will marry into it without asking whether it is poor or rich, noble or lowly, The king granted her request. The cow reached a twisted alley, turned its horns left and right, and then entered. An old woman of that house fled to escape it, and compelled it to go back out. She asked, do you have a son? The old woman said: he's gone out to gather firewood. The princess gave place to the old woman as her mother-in-law. Shortly after, her son returned, carrying charcoal on his shoulders. He saw that there were mounted guards in the alley, also one who was selected carefully was sent out to beckon him to enter, and the princess said, this is my husband. He sent a report to the king and the king was in a great rage, and he cut his daughter off. One day, the husband asked her, what is the ornament on your head made of? She said, gold. Her husband said, the place where I cut wood has a great deal of this thing. The next day they carried it back and all was gold bricks. Shortly after, the king's anger came to an end, and the daughter invited her father to a feast. The king scolded her saying, if you can make a gold bridge and silver road then I will come. So they made one in order to entertain the king. The king sighed and said, I believe this marriage was destined. Later people called the place cow-horn village. It is said that when the cow entered the horn was like a winch turning directly at the narrow alley.²⁴²

From the point of view of the place of the historical consciousness of Ming writers, this story suggests that the Nanzhao Kingdom remained the most salient political entity in common discourse: if a story needed a king, the appropriate king was a Nanzhao ruler. Moreover, the assumed audience familiarity was such that king was referred to by his posthumous temple name. The fact that this story takes place in a small village at the southern end of the Dali plain reinforces the impression that for at least some inhabitants of the Dali plain during the Ming, tales of the Nanzhao kingdom were not remote history but the ordinary background of everyday life.

As Dali scholar-gentry positioned themselves in relation to central power of the Yuan and Ming, they remembered in *guiji* the vicissitudes of the Nanzhao relationship with its neighbouring powers, the Tang and Tibet. During the early eighth century, Geluofeng sent an ambassador to Lhasa, and was granted the title “King of the Eastern Sun” 日東王 or “Eastern Emperor” 東帝 along with a gold seal.²⁴³ While at first these closer ties with Tibet occurred at the same time as missions to the Tang, without contradiction, increased tension with the Tang in eastern Yunnan, and resulted in the dispatch of two successive invasion forces, led by Sichuan commanders Xianyu Zhongtong and Li Mi. Both suffered historic defeats, having been enticed into battle deep in Nanzhao territory. Among Ming *guiji*, two abandoned fortresses in Zhaozhou, 安東城 and 唐城 were associated with Nanzhao general Li Zhuanzhu (titled Andong by the Nanzhao) and Tang general Li Mi respectively.²⁴⁴ Moreover, in the northern part of Zhaozhou sub-prefecture a hill called 唐師塚 Tangshi tomb marked the massacre of the Tang army:

唐師塚：在州北，有二所，唐天寶十二載南詔喪師，詔曰：生雖禍之始，死乃怨之終，豈顧前非而忘大禮。遂收將卒骸筋，祭而葬之，名唐師塚。嘉靖二十九年府同知王璋知州潘大武歲祭焉。

Tang master grave: North of the sub-prefecture, there are two camps. In Tang Tianbao 12 [753], Nanzhao

²⁴² DLFZ 85; YNTZ 2.29b

²⁴³ Backus, *Nan-Chao Kingdom*, 58, 69-78.

²⁴⁴ ZZZ 33

suffered a great loss, so the king [Geluofeng] said “although the disasters begin with birth, death will be the end of resentment, without any need for a ceremony to forget former wrongs.”²⁴⁵ He received the bones of the officers and common soldiers, held sacrifices and interred them. In Jiajing 29 [1550] the Magistrate Pan Dawu with Assistant Magistrate Wang Zhang made new year sacrifices there.²⁴⁶

While most Dali histories attribute these Nanzhao victories to the military skill of Geluofeng’s troops, and their ability to entice the Tang into unfamiliar territory, one variant of *Nanzhao yeshi* suggests that Geluofeng had supernatural help:

乃清鳳弟閣羅皮和尚結好上蕃。其人有神術人。馬十八騎往來不過朝夕。唐兵三至三敗乃其術也。So pure Feng’s younger brother, Geluopi, a monk, made a close connection and went up to Tibet. Among his people there was one skilled in the numinous arts. He rode there and back on 18 horses in only a single day. The Tang soldiers lost three times because of his magic arts.²⁴⁷

Here, the source of the help is conceptualised as resulting from the Buddhist devotion of the Nanzhao, through Nanzhao’s own religious experts, through the concomitant relationship with the Buddhist wisdom of Tibet, and through Geluofeng’s otherwise unknown younger brother.

The complex of texts relating to the Dehua stele, a monument of the Nanzhao kingdom that has stood near Taihe county seat since 766, embodies the multi-layered accumulation of spatial and narrative meanings attached to *guji*, particularly those relating to the Nanzhao kingdom. The Dehua stele was originally erected to mark the break of relations between the Tang and Nanzhao, and justifies, through an account of the preceding two decades of war and diplomacy, Geluofeng’s reasons for breaking with the Tang. The stele was carved by Zheng Hui, an official from Sichuan captured in a 730s border raid. *Nanzhao yuanliu jiyao* contains the most extensive summary of the event, including its contents and purpose as well as the date and circumstances of composition.²⁴⁸

羅鳳遂北臣于吐蕃號日東帝號大蒙國，命鄭回作碑記刻於國門。言已不得已而叛唐，且後世容復歸唐。當指碑以示唐使知吾判非本心也。

Luofeng then became “northern minister” to Tibet, he was called Emperor of the Eastern Sun, of the Great Meng kingdom. He ordered Zheng Hui to compose a record for a stele and carved it at the gate of the country. It says, “it was not from my wish that I rebelled against the Tang, and later generations will perhaps return again to the Tang, they can point to this stele to show the Tang emissaries that they may know my rebellion was not my true intention.”²⁴⁹

This account, emphasising Geluofeng’s goodwill towards the Tang, highlights the long connections between the Dali region and the central states. It is worth mentioning that the author of this text, Jiang Bin, was a metropolitan graduate from Hunan, in Yunnan as a provincial-level official; most unofficial histories by Yunnan locals just mention the date it was established and the fact that Zheng Hui wrote it.²⁵⁰ Perhaps for a local audience, the text was too familiar to require summarising.

²⁴⁵ I cannot find any other record of a Nanzhao defeat at this date; in this period there were a number of inconclusive skirmishes before the Nanzhao’s decisive victory over the Tang armies in 754. Backus, *Nan-chao Kingdom*, 72-3.

²⁴⁶ DLFZ 89-90

²⁴⁷ NZMDYS 510

²⁴⁸ This accords with the *Man Shu* account; the stele itself is not mentioned in the Tang histories.

²⁴⁹ NZYLJY 1.3a-b

²⁵⁰ NZYLJY Xu.3a

As imperial scholar-gentry, Dali elites identified both with the people who lived in Dali before them (including the Nanzhao) and with the people who maintained the sinophone literary tradition in the past (including the Tang). Since the Dehua stele commemorated outright conflict between these two aspects of Dali literati identity, it was occasionally used as site to explore ways to navigate this tension. In *Jigu dianshuo ji*, the stele's construction signified Nanzhao adoption of Chinese elite ritual and linguistic norms, and thus the degree to which civilisation flourished in Dali:

十三年六月，再遣前雲南郡都督李宓，廣南節度使何履光統雄兵二十萬再伐大蒙，又戰於龍尾關東，唐兵敗績，將士卒多死之。覺羅鳳曰：「天子致討，兵士何辜！」遂斂屍葬之，爲萬人冢，其冢如山之高也。王遂得唐西瀘令，姓鄭名回，回者巨儒也。蒙王請回以師禮之，賜爵國賢大丞相宰輔清平官，文風始大振矣。立蒙國大詔德政之碑在太和城。

In the sixth month of the thirteenth year, Yunnan commandery Commander-in-Chief Li Mi was again send ahead to Yunnan, and with Guangnan Provincial Governor He Luguan 何履光 gathered a mighty force of 200,000 and again attacked the Great Meng. They fought at the east of Longwei pass [Xiaguan]. The Tang army was utterly routed, and its officers and soldiers all died. Geluofeng said, "The son of heaven sent a military force against us, but the guilt was visited on ordinary soldiers!" Then he collected the corpses and buried them, making a mound of ten thousand men. The mound looked like a tall mountain. The king happened to capture a Tang official from the western Lu river, surname Zheng, given name Hui. This Hui was a great scholar. The Meng king asked Hui to teach him ritual, and bestowed on him the rank of noble of the kingdom, grand councillor, counsellor-in-chief, and arbiter of clarity. His style of writing became more vigorous. He set up the stele of the good government of the Great King [zhao] of the Meng Kingdom at Taihe city.²⁵¹

Here, although the account refers to the preceding Nanzhao military victory, the contents of the text on the stele are less important than what it signified about the ability of the Nanzhao rulers to use the rhetoric of moral argument characteristic of the literary Chinese historical tradition. Although the context is the Nanzhao's military victory, the historian describes the stele as a testament to Geluofeng's righteous governance, evidenced both by his ability to identify talented and cultivated officials such as Zheng Hui, and by his concern for the lives of common soldiers, contrasted with that of the Tang "son of heaven" who allowed so many of his men to die. In this case, the story is used to position Dali's rulers as moral and just within the terms of Chinese historiography, with the important exception that they derived this virtue not from their submission to or recognition of the true holder of the mandate of heaven, but through their adherence to the moral codes through which he himself also derived his authority. This framing of tensions between local and metropolitan allegiances in terms of a contrast between the formal ritual centrality of the emperor and the moral legitimacy held by his scholar officials enables the peripheral author to reconcile his role as an imperial scholar with his identification with the Nanzhao ruler, who existed beyond the empire's margins.

The text of the Dehua stele was also excerpted in a number of gazetteers, usually in the "records" section of the literature treatise, among other extant steles, arranged in chronological order. In the Zhaozhou gazetteer, however, the compiler included a historical note after the text:

李元陽評曰此碑雖出鄭回，卒之說南詔歸唐者因之力也。讀此碑則有唐之處置失宜，邊帥之誅求無厭，可以為鑒。楊國忠李宓負X君誤國，其罪不專在夷也。

²⁵¹ (WL) JGDSJ 1.12a. Jiang Bin gets the sequence of events wrong (he dates the stele to before the encounter with Li Mi) but broadly agrees with this reading; though he does not link Geluofeng's justification of his actions to a facility in Chinese culture, NZYLJY 143-145.

Li Yuanyang criticised it, saying that even though Zheng Hui produced this stele, in the end it says that the Nanzhao submitted to the Tang because of their might. But reading this stele it seems that the Tang handled it improperly, and the commander of the frontier troops was insatiably greedy: it can act as a mirror. Yang Guozhong and Li Mi bear the responsibility for endangering the realm, The blame should not be laid solely on the *yi*.²⁵²

The compiler here quotes one of the most prominent Dali literati of the previous generation, Li Yuanyang. Li uses the text of the stele to argue that the conventional interpretation of the conflict should be re-evaluated. Rather than a case of a foreign state causing trouble for the son of heaven, Li identifies the Tang's own officials as the source of the problem, and thus the moral lesson ("mirror") for the reader. This was by no means an original suggestion, in that greedy officials were frequently blamed for both border disturbances (especially those who served in frontier regions) as well as imperial downfall. However, the explicit contrast that Li draws between the high ministers Yang Guozhong and Li Mi, who bore real responsibility, and the Nanzhao —the *yi*— who had been unjustly blamed, is unusually sympathetic towards the less-civilised foreigners. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that Li makes his argument within an epistemological frame of reference that he shares with other writers of imperial history.

While Ming historical texts enmeshed the Dehua stele, a geographically specific trace, in a web of historical meanings, they also attributed geographic meaning to the historical phenomenon of the Nanzhao, by crediting its rulers with the institution of a Yunnan-centred sacred geography. Geluofeng's grandson and successor, Yimouxun, is in most texts credited for grounding the military expansion of his predecessors in a solid ritual framework, the four-marchmounts/five-rivers sacrificial system enumerated in the Fengshan shu 封禪書 chapter of the *Shiji*.²⁵³ According to Sima Qian, the prerogative of sacrificing to the four great mountains and five great rivers belongs to the son of heaven, while lords of smaller domains only sacrifice to those mountains within their own territory. In place of the canonical list of mountains in east and north China, these texts say that Yimouxun conducted sacrifices on five mountains and four rivers within Nanzhao territory: at Mt Jiangyunlu in the east, Mt Wuliang in the south, Mt Gaolu in the west, Mt Songwailong in the north, and Mt Diancang, in the centre. The four rivers were Jinsha river, a branch of the Yangtze, Lancang, that is, the Mekong, Heihui, and Lu/Nu (the Salween). In addition to this formal system of sacrifices appropriate to the ruler, Yimouxun was credited with establishing sacrifices and temples among his people, including a Temple of Literature, a temple to the three emperors, temples to "local lords" near Dali and in the newly-conquered Shanchuan (Kunming), instituting widespread sacrifices to ancestors, and, in some texts, sponsoring the construction of the most recognisable Dali Temple, Chongsheng Temple and the three pagodas. Through this alternative system, but using a model from the Qin-Han empires, Nanzhao was recognisable to classically educated writers of the Yuan and Ming as an authentic ritual lord of the earth, in its part of the world.

While unofficial histories emphasised the orthodox spatial regime of the Nanzhao, Ming *guji* instead framed the Nanzhao as a recipient of Indian influences and so reinforced the Buddhist character of Nanzhao rule. Ming texts often attributed the arrival of Buddhism in Dali to an Indian monk, Zantuoquduo 贊陀崛多 or Candragupta who is said to have served as chief councillor to Quanfengyou, Yimouxun's grandson.²⁵⁴ Candragupta's journey was said to have

²⁵² ZZZ 110

²⁵³ NZYLJY 145; compare Terry F. Kleeman, "Mountain Deities in China: The Domestication of the Mountain God and the Subjugation of the Margins," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 2 (1994): 226-238.

²⁵⁴ Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 47-49.

brought him into Dali along the trade route from the north, that is, through Heqing and Jianchuan. Two sites in Heqing memorialised him, a well where he was said to have planted a bodhi tree, and a cave which he dredged with his staff, draining land for agriculture.²⁵⁵ According to most texts, his arrival precipitated a sharp intensification of Buddhist sacred architecture construction, many of which were known in the Ming as recognised *guji*. Zhushao temple 竹掃寺, in the far south of Menghua, is recorded as abandoned, but a stone Buddha erected by the Nanzhao remained to mark the site. A similar site, at Chongzhen temple in Yiliang (near Kunming), was a Stone Buddha (石佛) said to have been a state-sponsored construction under the Nanzhao. Among the temples and grottoes on Mt Shibao, in Jianchuan sub-prefecture, were caves with images of Nanzhao kings, and a cliff painting of an anonymous monk. Three similar sites some editions of *Nanzhao yeshi* reinforce the Ming image of Buddhism having entered Nanzhao from the north. At a crossing of Jinsha river (a branch of the Yangtze) a *guji* commemorates the time when a numinous Buddha image (*lingfo* 靈佛) was carried across the river into Yunnan. A second site, at an unnamed location, was a sole surviving tree of a grove planted by a monk identified as Master Dayang (*dayang fashi* 大業法師). The location of the trees, in the courtyard of a temple called “local lord temple” (*tuzhu miao* 土主廟) creates a narrative in which a foreign religion arrives in Yunnan and becomes rooted in its indigenous traditions.²⁵⁶

The spatial extent of the Nanzhao as represented in *guji* and unofficial histories incorporated much of the Ming province of Yunnan beyond Dali’s immediate surroundings. A more significant (and widely accepted) change in Nanzhao political geography by the early ninth century was the establishment of Shanchan 善闡 (now Kunming) as a secondary capital. The remainder of the Nanzhao period was characterised by a constantly shifting balance between the eastern and western capitals, as Xungequan and his successors built temples and stupas, met with Tang emissaries, launched military expeditions to the south, and at last, moved the imperial residence and ritual to Shanchan entirely. As a result, Shanchan (often under the name Yunnan prefecture) featured prominently in lists of *guji* in unofficial histories. Although Yunnan fu was nearly as well represented as Dali, cities and towns like Yongchang 永昌, Qujing 曲靖, Ami 阿迷, Zhaotong 昭通, Chuxiong 楚雄, Yao’an 姚安 were each allocated a single site. Many of these were not explicitly related to the Nanzhao — some were attributed to later rulers, others were landscape features without clear political implications — but their inclusion as *Nanzhao guji* “traces of the Nanzhao past” suggests that Dali literati retained some sense of meaning to a unit covering much of the better-established Nanzhao territory.²⁵⁷ By the end of the ninth century, these currents had converged to produce a kingdom that barely resembled the earliest stories of the Meng clan as farmers and warlords in Weishan. Longshun, the last emperor, ruled from Shanchan, where he received envoys from the conquered kingdoms to the south as well as Tang emissaries, who, since the closure of the Sichuan border, now travelled to Nanzhao via Guangxi. The fall of the Nanzhao is not recorded in *guji*, but unofficial histories said that it was the result of treachery committed by grand counsellor Zheng Maisi, descendent of Zheng Hui, who, while

²⁵⁵ YNTZ 3:35b. An elaborated version of the second legend, attributed to *Baigu tongji*, appears in 清一統志.

²⁵⁶ NZYS (TST) 5a.

²⁵⁷ Some of these towns also had one or two inscriptions by Dali literati; but none maintained the sort of integration with Dali literati life found in Heqing and Menghua, and even in Yunnan prefecture Nanzhao sites were rarely included in locally-produced gazetteers. YNTZ juan 1-5, various; DZ, 139-152. The compiler of *Dian zhi*, Li Wenzheng, was from a Kunming military family.

regent, assassinated the Meng heir and set himself up as emperor in his place. After three generations, his kingdom was usurped in turn. At last Duan Siping defeated the usurper and established the Dali Kingdom.

Although the Dali Kingdom was more recent than the Nanzhao, and ruled for slightly longer, far fewer *guji* commemorated it; throughout the Ming texts it was overshadowed by the image of the Nanzhao. Only one site, Horseriding Road (*zouma lu* 走馬路) in Zhaozhou, was specifically associated with the Dali Kingdom, via its rulers, the Duan clan.²⁵⁸ Moreover, some sites that were associated with figures from the Dali Kingdom were recorded in Ming texts as being associated with the Nanzhao. The Tower of Five Glories (*wuhua lou* 五華樓), in the centre of Dali city, was recorded as a trace of the Nanzhao:

在城中南詔建。方廣五里。高百尺。元世祖賜金重修前。國初兵燹廢。

Within the city. Built by the Nanzhao. It covered five li in area, and is 100 feet tall. The founding Yuan emperor granted money to restore it to its former appearance. At the beginning of this dynasty it was destroyed in war and abandoned.²⁵⁹

In this narrative of Dali's history, the Dali Kingdom is skipped entirely between the Nanzhao, the originators, and the Yuan restorer. On Mt Diancang, there was a mystical rock formation called Shiru cliff 石乳崖 shaped, as the name implies, like a woman's breast. According to the *guji* sections of *Dali fuzhi* and *Nanzhao tongzhi*, it is a site of miraculous infancy of Nanzhao personage Gao Zhisheng:

在蒼山芒湧溪上有滴乳石。南詔高智昇初生棄，其下石乳滴入口中。數日不死，始收養之。

Above Mangyou stream on Mt Cang there is a stone that drips milk. Under the Nanzhao, Gao Zhisheng was abandoned beneath it at birth, and the stone breast dripped into his mouth. After several days he did not die and began to receive nourishment.²⁶⁰

In fact, General Gao served under the Dali Kingdom. The association of these places with the Nanzhao demonstrates the overwhelming prominence of the that kingdom in Dali historical memory and suggests that in fact “Nanzhao” was used as a shorthand/default for any historical Yunnan-based state.

The end of the Dali Kingdom's rule came about through conquest in 1253 led by the armies of Mongol prince Qubilai. The list of *guji* commemorating Qubilai's campaign through northwestern Yunnan includes campsites and water sources, like those that referenced Zhuge Liang, but instead of broken earth veins, the long term results are portrayed as neutral-to-beneficial population movements. In Zhaozhou, a site known as “Imperial Well” or “Imperial Well Pavilion” had an anecdote attached:

御井清泉：在州治西北官道傍，元世祖癸丑南徵駐蹕其所，時軍士渴甚，上以寶劍插地，清泉湧出。

Imperial well of clear spring water: at the northwest of the sub-prefecture seat, next to the public road, Qubilai in [1253] came south to recruit troops and made an overnight stay at this place. At that time his soldiers were very thirsty, so their superior plunged his sword into the ground and clear spring water gushed out.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ ZZZ 35. It is also included in the YNTZ list, but without any mention of Nanzhao or Dali Kingdoms (2.31b).

²⁵⁹ YNTZ 2.30b

²⁶⁰ DLFZ 88; YNTZ 2.30a-31b.

²⁶¹ ZZZ 33. Since this site was considered a scenic spot as well as a *guji* it has a little more information than usual - the entry in the *guji* section of this gazetteer is cross-referenced to this *shenglan* entry.

御井：在州北一十五里。元楊庭御井亭記曰：世祖南徵，駐路其所，時旱，軍士渴甚，上憫之，禱神以寶劍插地，清流湧出，因井之，亭廢碑存，志說以御為玉。

Imperial well: 15 li north of the sub-prefecture seat. In the Yuan, Yang Ting recorded on “Imperial Well Pavilion”: When [Qubilai] campaigned towards the south, he made an overnight stay at this place. At that time there was a drought, and his soldiers were very thirsty. The emperor took pity on them. He prayed to the gods and plunged his sword into the ground, and clear spring water gushed out. So it became a well. The pavilion has been abandoned but the stele remains. The gazetteer records “imperial” (yu) as “jade” (yu).²⁶²

In this anecdote, Qubilai’s ability to find water for his troops demonstrates his ability to provide for them and his fitness as emperor. There were eight sites around Dali where Qubilai’s troops were said to have been quartered, including one which resulted in a permanent settlement, a town in Langqiong county called Three Camps (*sanying* 三營):

三營：在縣東南三十里蓮花山下，元世祖自石門送入取大理，見蒙羨和為吐蕃喉嚨之地，留達軍三百戶以鎮之，故名。

Three camps: 30 li south-east of the county seat, below Mt Lianhua. When [Qubilai], the first Yuan emperor, entered here from Shimen and took Dali, he saw that Mengxianhe was a critical pass and cite for intelligence of Tibet, he left 300 households there as a town, hence the name.²⁶³

Using Three Camps town as a past trace shows in immediate terms how the past campaigns commemorated by *guji* left their mark on the region. After the conquest, few events of Yuan rule appeared in *guji*. One exception is the entry for the Dali Temple of Confucius, which was built by Sai Dianchi, appointed provincial governor by Qubilai in 1274, which begins “the Nanzhao did not know about Confucius” 南詔不知孔子).²⁶⁴ Overall, *guji* commemorating Mongol conquest and rule portrayed it as a largely beneficial influence on Dali landscape and society.

The relatively benign representations contrasts with the image of Ming state interaction with Dali’s landscape. The Ming conquest is depicted in only one site, by Yita Temple, west of Dali city wall. Here, “Pile of Troops of the Great Army” (*dajun fengbing* 大軍封丘) is revealed as a mound made of the bones of defeated soldiers:

在一塔寺后。傅友德取大理時，斂亡卒骸骨為京觀，近寺欲其冥資。

Behind Yita Temple. When Fu Youde captured Dali, he collected the bones of soldiers killed in action against him to make a burial mound. One has to burn paper burial goods near the temple.²⁶⁵

Burying the corpses of one’s opposing army in a mass grave heaped up into a low mound was a recognised demonstration of military conquest in Chinese military culture.²⁶⁶ Since the army defeated by Fu Youde contained men from Dali whose families wished to carry out appropriate memorial rites at the graveside, the gazetteer notes that they had to use a nearby temple as a proxy. This passage both memorialises the violence of the Ming conquest led by General Fu Youde and ties it to current ritual practice. This may be one of the compilers’ personal position, or it may be a consensus among Dali literati by the mid-sixteenth century. For later Ming literati,

²⁶² DLFZ 90; YNTZ 2.31b

²⁶³ DLFZ 92; YNTZ 2.32a

²⁶⁴ NZYS (TST) 4b; NZMDYS 501.

²⁶⁵ DLFZ 87.

²⁶⁶ Jichuan Huili 吉川繪梨, “*Jingguan—gudai Zhongguo de yuantan zhishi* 京觀—古代中國的怨嘆之屍 [Death mounds — lamentations over corpses in ancient China],” translated into Chinese by Fan Yinan 範一楠, *Zhongguo gudai falü wenxian yanjiu* 中國古代法律文獻研究 11 (2017): 488-509.

however, traces of the recent past tended to position local elites and civil officials as preservers of Dali's history, in comparison to destructive military conquest.

Beyond the integration of historical events with the present landscape, the discourse of past-traces was likewise used to integrate the daily religious practices of Dali gentry with numinous Buddhist sites. A 1431 inscription for a Mahakala temple on the Dali plain begins with the statement “temples are the numinous borders of traces of the past” 夫廟者乃古蹟之聖境.²⁶⁷ The inscription does not refer to any particular past event of which this is a trace, only that the shrine itself was one of the “Eighteen Halls of Mengzhou” 孟州十八堂神 that had fallen into ruins until its early fifteenth century reconstruction. In one sense, the temple is a trace of past devotional practice, and, in the reconstruction and provision of land to supply future needs, it will be a trace in the future of current practice. The approximately 30 Buddhist sites included in Dali gazetteers were often, though not always, sites of temples, although in most cases the temple was construed as secondary to the trace itself. In Dali city, for example, Daci temple 大慈寺 was listed as a *guji* under the name “the board that floated upstream” (*nishui fu ban* 逆水浮板).²⁶⁸ A wooden board with an image of Guanyin on it had been found floating against the current towards the temple in the late fifteenth century, and had proven reliable in responding to prayers during a particularly bad winter. A notable temple on Mt Diancang, “four Japanese monks stupa” was built to commemorate a pilgrimage:

日本四僧塔 在龍泉峰比澗之上，遼光古、鬥南，其二人失其名，皆日本國人，元末遷謫大理，皆能詩善書，卒學佛化去，郡人憐而葬之。

Stupa of the four Japanese monks: On Longyuan peak near the stream. Wanlu Guangji and Dounan and two whose names are lost, all from Japan, in the late Yuan travelled to Dali. They all were able to write poetry and loved books, studied Buddhism and finally transcended, the local people took pity and buried them.²⁶⁹

Less miraculous sites include the “daily teaching rock” (*rike yan* 日課岩) where an anonymous monk taught, and then entered samadhi, and the sunny slope (*shaijing po* 晒經坡) where a copy of the tripitaka was dried out in preparation for assembly.²⁷⁰ Buddhist traces were represented as part of the daily lives of literati around the Dali region.

Many of the most narratively-developed *guji* are those tied to historical persons or events, but *guji* discourse also included sites with no specific past referent. In addition to the naturally-occurring stone Buddhas discussed above, curiously-shaped rock formations of other types also appeared in *guji* lists. Behind the yamen in Dali city, for example, there was a well with a horse-shaped stone inside: known as Stone Horse Well (石馬井 *shima jing*).²⁷¹ Other locations did have a story associated, but located the stories within the lifetime of the writer or as part of an ongoing relationship between the land and the people. A certain cave in Langqiong was called

²⁶⁷ Teacher Yang 楊教學, “Chongxiu bai[X]tang shenmiao jibei 重修白[X]堂神廟記碑 [Stele with inscription on repair of the White [X] Hall temple,” 1431, DLCS 1.125-126/10.36. Although veneration of Mahakala as a martial god is one of the distinctive features of Dali Kingdom-era Buddhism (Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 62-3), this temple was sponsored by military officers who were most likely not from Dali.

²⁶⁸ DLFZ 86-7; YNTZ 2.30b

²⁶⁹ DLFZ 88; YNTZ 2.31a

²⁷⁰ DLFZ 87; DLFZ 86.

²⁷¹ DLFZ 87; YNTZ 2.30b. Not to be confused with Stone Horse spring 石馬泉 (YNTZ 2.30b), which was a little further west, is said to have its origin underground in India, and was commemorated by poems by Yang Shen and Jiang Long 姜龍.

“Divining Agriculture Rock” (占農石 *zhannong shi*) because of its use in determining when would be the best time to plant each year:

占農石：在風羽鄉，有石疲中藏一蛇，見頭則插秧早，見腹則插秧及時，見尾則旱，人以占農。
Zhannong shi: at Fengyu village there is a rock [cave] in which a snake hides. If you see its head, plant early; if you see the belly, plant on time; if you see the tail, there will be drought. People use it to make agricultural divinations (*zhan nong*).²⁷²

The divinations described here are, by necessity, an annually recurring event rather than a past event that had left its traces on the landscape. In the same vein, the *Dali fuzhi* compiler describes an experience in Mt Diancang:

風孔：一名風輪孔，在三陽峰蔑原之上。風從地孔出。予嘗夏月游此谷，忽經風孔，飢骨如冰，令替力人探視之。風力之勁，卒莫能斯須立也，郡之多風以此耶？
Wind-in-the-hole: also called Wind-turning hole, at Sanyang peak above Mieyun. Wind comes out of a hole in the ground with no apparent origin. One summer I roamed in this valley when suddenly a wind blew through a hole, chilling me to the bone. I sent some strong men to take a look at it, but the strength of the wind force was such that they could not stand against it even for a second. Is this where the lands many winds come from?²⁷³

Unusually for *guji*, this account is given in the first person, perhaps the compiler/editor of the gazetteer, Li Yuanyang. On one hand, the *guji* itself exists independently of human perception, it has no known source or time of origin, and continues after the observer goes away. On the other hand, the *guji* entry is framed in a narrative of a human encounter with the wind, with a specified temporal location (one summer in the recent past) and progression (the author finds it and later sends soldiers to investigate). Moreover, by beginning with a comment on its origin and ending with a comparison with other winds, the author embeds it in a framework in which origin and comparison are necessary interpretive methods. In so doing, the *guji* framework itself was expanded to incorporate phenomena which were marginal to its prototypical image of past traces.

Conclusion:

The picture of Dali presented by its literati in the extant Yuan and Ming texts is suffused with their deep attachment to their home region and the role of its landscape and history in shaping their identities. In terms of the spatial metaphor with which I began this chapter, these writers located Dali at the centre of their semantic world. Mt Diancang and Lake Er “framed” the city of Dali both physically and symbolically, from their striking scenery and abundant resources to the proliferation of temples and historical sites. Between the two, the urban settlements of the Dali plain acted as centres of governance and trade not only for northwestern Yunnan but also for merchants and travellers from further afield. Among the many inhabitants of Yunnan, both indigenous and immigrant, Dali’s literati saw themselves as the pinnacle of cultivation in both literature and morality. These characteristics not only validated their status as heirs of the rulers of the Nanzhao Kingdom, they qualified Dali’s noble families to occupy a similarly elite position in contemporary Yunnan. The devout and deeply-rooted Buddhist practices reflected both moral excellence and descent from the Buddhist king Ashoka; their devotion to learning and talent for literature showed them to be suitable for imperial office. By marking historical sites and erecting

²⁷² DLFZ 91; YNTZ 2.32a

²⁷³ DLFZ 87

temples along Mt Diancang and throughout the region, Dali's elite families made the symbolic sources of their social position permanent parts of their physical world.

At the same time, this body of texts describes a world that is inarguably that of Yuan and Ming Chinese scholar-gentry. In this framework, Dali was situated at the far periphery of a much larger empire whose political and ritual centre was far to the north-east. Rather than a regional capital, Dali city was the seat of a remote prefecture; its surrounding towns were dependent on it through the imperial administrative structures of counties and sub-prefectures. The texts written by Dali's literati record local gentry negotiations with state agents, whether military commanders, local or provincial officials, over the distribution of local resources and the location of state infrastructure. They categorised Dali's people according to their tax registration categories, both spatial and occupational. In this scheme, the sons of Dali's gentry families, as members of the official class themselves, described their neighbours as the foils to their scholarly rectitude, that is, as peasants, as military men, or as the unregistered population, who did not recognise imperial rule nor allow themselves to be transformed through education. In this scheme, while their ancestors served the Nanzhao and Dali kings, they may have migrated from the central plains to do so, and in any case, their participation in government continued whether under the son of heaven or some less legitimate ruler. In the next chapter, I will explore these tensions in the context of the gazetteer genre, to analyse the ways Dali literati writers navigated these conflicting identities through the intertextual and material processes of textual production.

CHAPTER TWO: READING LIKE A STATE? APPROPRIATING THE GAZETTEER GENRE

In the preface to his 1563 *Dali fuzhi* 大理府志 [Dali Prefecture gazetteer], the earliest extant gazetteer of Dali 大理, indigenous literatus Li Yuanyang 李元陽 (1497-1580, *jìnshì* 進士 degree 1526) recounts how he and his team of compilers gathered and organised material for this version of the prefecture gazetteer.²⁷⁴ Twenty years earlier, he says, the provincial governor had consulted another indigenous literatus Yang Shiyun 楊士雲 (1477-1554, js. 1517), as well as the famous writer Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559, js. 1511), originally from Sichuan but at this time living in exile in Yunnan 雲南, in order to correct the missing gazetteer. Now, a new effort had been undertaken to update the contents and fine-tune the organisation. All the scholars of Dali were called together to collect and write up examples and submit them to the scholar compiling the outline. Finally, one Zhou Zhen 周震, otherwise unknown, supervised the corvée labourers making the final copies, and a provincial official, Jiang Yingmao 江應昂 (fl. sixteenth century), ordered military colonists who knew the trade to carve the blocks for printing. Li concludes that, as a result of these efforts, this gazetteer is “the history of the region – it gathers various historical anecdotes, evidences various human affairs, supports the execution of government – not something done in vain” 夫志者郡史也; 採諸故實, 徵諸人事, 將施有政, 非徒作也. In the *xuli* 敘例 “guidelines” of his provincial gazetteer, finally printed in 1574 as the *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志 [Comprehensive Yunnan Gazetteer], Li similarly concludes “the whole life of a *junzi* 君子 (literatus or Confucian gentleman) establishes for those who come after him the things that had not been recorded” 蓋君子畢世而是定行, 身後而始彰弗錄者俟也.²⁷⁵ For Li Yuanyang, writing a gazetteer was something best done both by and for the community of literati in a given locale, both in his own time and for future generations.

The production of gazetteers on the frontier highlights the interplay between centre-periphery and equivalent locality ways of thinking about imperial space that framed the depictions of Dali discussed in chapter one. In this chapter, I examine the extant Yuan (1271-1368; 1247-1381 in Yunnan) and Ming (1368-1644; 1381-1675 in Yunnan) gazetteers whose scope included Dali prefecture in order to show how Li and his contemporaries engaged with this tradition of literati gazetteer production in their locality. Before the second half of the sixteenth century, all the extant gazetteers from Yunnan are provincial-level gazetteers compiled by officials from other parts of the empire, typically appointed by the governor with the responsibility for updating Yunnan’s gazetteer. These officials, as representatives of a colonial government stationed on the heavily militarised frontier, approached the writing of gazetteers primarily as a tool for further making the peoples and places of the frontier legible to the state, and thereby incorporating them into a correctly ordered empire. However, this use of the gazetteer genre ran counter to the norms of these texts as they had developed in south-eastern China during the Song dynasty (960-1279) and had become standard throughout the empire by the Ming. Typical gazetteers in other parts of the empire represented the interests of the local literati, who produced gazetteers often in collaboration with or under the sponsorship of local officials, but who used the genre to promote both a sense of local identity and the importance of their own lineages within their locality. In this context, frontier gazetteers that emphasised the marginality of the places they governed were an oddity, introducing a centre-periphery spatial understanding to a genre founded on the structural similarity of localities throughout the empire.

²⁷⁴ DLFZ *Qianshu* 1a-3.b

²⁷⁵ YNTZ *Lixu* 1a-b

As Dali elites adopted the educational and social practices of imperial literati, they began to write in the full range of genres available to them, including the local gazetteer (table 2.1). In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Li Yuanyang led the compilation of gazetteers both of Yunnan province and Dali prefecture. These gazetteers departed from earlier Yunnan gazetteers by conforming instead to the model of the gazetteer practiced by local literati in the interior. As works written by classically-educated authors in a standard genre, these gazetteers embodied and endorsed the imperially-sanctioned ordering of space and people, what Dennis calls “membership in the imperial order.”²⁷⁶ However, instead of representing the perspective of state officials imposing civilisation from outside local society, such texts used the locality, a unit of imperial space, as a focus of meaning. In practice, they represented Dali as a civilised centre, with a long history of spiritual and moral cultivation, set not against the imperial centre but against the wild mountains surrounding it. Moreover, the very fact that Yunnan elites were able to produce these texts constituted a claim, on their part, to be members of the empire-wide class of literati, and implied that Dali should be understood not as a colonial frontier but as an imperial locality.

Background to the Gazetteer Genre:

Difangzhi 地方志, variously “local histories,” “treatises on regions,” or most conventionally “gazetteers,” are a typical genre of Chinese literary writing and one of the richest sources for late imperial history. The role of the gazetteer within the imperial textual order is aptly summarised by one of the commonly-used formulaic openings to gazetteer prefaces, which affirms that “states have histories, localities have gazetteers” 國有史地有志. Gazetteers as a genre reproduced a relationship of subordination to the official dynastic histories which mirrored that between the locality and the empire. While the length and precise organisation of each gazetteer depended on the interests of the people who compiled it and the resources available to them, these works conventionally followed a structure based around thematic treatises (*zhi* 志). The topics of these treatises were highly standardised, beginning with the history of the official administrative boundaries of the area, continuing with notable people and places with any kind of local association, and ending with poems, transcribed steles, and other literary works related to the district. Periodically, guidelines for compilation were issued by the central government to encourage wider and more regular coverage, since gazetteers provided valuable information for imperial archivists as well as the officials who rotated through new posts every three years. Extant guidelines from the Ming were issued by the Yongle 永樂 emperor, in 1412 and 1418, and included categories such as: changes in administrative units (*jianzhi yange* 建置沿革); walls and moats (*chengchi* 城池); mountains and rivers (*shanchuan* 山川); urban neighbourhoods (*fangguo* 坊郭); local products (*tuchan* 土產); customs (*fengsu* 風俗); population (*hukou* 戶口); schools (*xuexiao* 學校); military units (*junwei* 軍衛); offices (*xieshe* 廨舍); temples and abbeys (*siguan* 寺觀); accomplishments of officials (*huanji* 宦蹟); biographies (*renwu* 人物); transcendent beings and monks (*xianshi* 仙釋); and literature (*shiwen* 詩文).²⁷⁷ According to Joseph Dennis, the 1418 categories continued to be standard reference point for gazetteer compilers until the end of the

²⁷⁶ Joseph Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100-1700* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 58.

²⁷⁷ Both sets of guidelines have been translated in full in Joseph Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100-1700* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 38-46. The categories given here are not exhaustive, nor, in practice, were the labels always consistent.

Qing dynasty (1644-1911). These categories show that not only was the structure of the text grounded in the norms of official historiography, the selection of information was responsive to the concerns of the scholar-gentry as representatives of the state and embodiments of good governance.

Although in many ways the gazetteer genre responded to the concerns of the imperial state, in most localities this perspective was intertwined with the immediate concerns of local literati responsible for gazetteer compilation. While particular editions of gazetteers are generally attributed to a lead editor or sponsor, compiling a gazetteer was in most cases a collective enterprise. Both currently serving officials and literati from local lineages (often students or retired officials themselves) took part in the processes of information collection, organisation, compilation, and copying that went into the production of a gazetteer manuscript. The literati community represented in gazetteer production thus reflected both direct state concerns, represented by serving officials, as well as the hegemonic ideologies of imperial rule shared by all classically-educated literati, and the issues pertaining to the specific locality. Gazetteers of peripheral parts of the empire, for example, grew out of a particular set of social conditions and literati concerns. In many frontier regions, the literati presence was dominated by currently-serving officials, as local power holders, often *tusi* 土司 “indigenous rulers,” pursued strategies for maintaining their social position that did not include Chinese education. In these places, the first gazetteers were most often compiled by local officials as a means of supplementing the “empty” history of these places that had no history or literature legible to the Chinese state or its literati.²⁷⁸ In other places, local elites, like those in the centre, used gazetteer production to promote their lineage. The An 安 lineage of southern Sichuan, for example, sponsored the compilation of the 1555 Mahu Prefecture Gazetteer (*Mahu fuzhi* 馬湖府志) to strengthen their lineage claim to hereditary offices as *tusi* or *tuguan* 土官 “indigenous officials.”²⁷⁹ In all cases, the act of compiling a gazetteer can be understood as a form of engagement in the political life of both the local community and empire-wide literati discourse.²⁸⁰

Gazetteer compilation not only arose out of the connections between contemporary literati attached to a particular locality, it constructed and reinforced community among literati attached to that locality across time. When a new edition was commissioned, compilers typically began by determining which parts of the previous edition of their local gazetteer they would reproduce in their own edition before beginning to gather additional, up-to-date information. Once the materials had been gathered, responsible editors produced drafts and submitted them to copyists. Some gazetteer editions remained in manuscript, but many were printed using blocks kept at the local government school, office, or *wenmiao* 文廟 (“temple of literature” or “Confucian temple”). Copies could then be printed on demand, sometimes annotated by hand as they circulated among the local community, until the compilation of a new edition began in earnest. Dennis describes this process as the “life-cycle” of a gazetteer.²⁸¹ The production cycle of gazetteers thus

²⁷⁸ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 54; compare Jacob Whittaker, “Yi Identity and Confucian Empire: Indigenous Local Elites, Cultural Brokerage, and the Colonization of the Lu-ho Tribal Polity of Yunnan, 1174-1745,” PhD dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2008; and Erik Mueggler, *The Paper Road: Archive and Experience in the Botanical Exploration of West China and Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 64-72.

²⁷⁹ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing and Reading*, 58-61.

²⁸⁰ For further discussion of the theoretical grounding of this kind of analysis, see Charles Bazerman, *A Theory of Literate Action: Literate Action volume 2*, (Fort Collins: the WAC Clearinghouse, 2013).

²⁸¹ Joseph Dennis, “Early Printing in China Viewed from the Perspective of Local Gazetteers,” In Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerd (eds), *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400*. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 105-134.

inserts the compilers of a new gazetteer in an ongoing discourse with compilers of past gazetteers in that locality.²⁸² Gazetteer prefaces, postfaces, and compilation guidelines (*fanli* 凡例) frequently contain references to previous gazetteers or express the expectation that their edition will be read and re-compiled by future generations. In one of the prefaces written for the 1510 *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 discussed below, for example, the preface writer says of the compiler, Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳 (1464-1528, js. 1493), “Mr Zhou examines in detail and records things completely in order to suit the continuing perception of later generations.”²⁸³ In this way, gazetteer production and circulation became a crucial part of the reproduction of a literati community in any place in the empire and was essential to the development of an identity attached to that locale.

Table 2.1: Extant Ming gazetteers that include Dali

Title	Date	Chief compiler(s)	Compiler's hometown	Extant?
Yunnan zhilüe 雲南志略	1331	Li Jing 李京	Hejian 河間, Hebei 河北	Prefaces, extracts
(Hongwu) Yunnan zhi (洪武) 雲南志	late c14th	Wang Jingcheng 王景常	Songyang 松陽, Zhejiang 浙江	Preface
(Jingtai) Yunnan tujing zhi (景泰) 雲南圖經志	1445	Chen Wen 陳文	Ji'an 吉安, Jiangxi 江西	Complete
(Hongzhi) Yunnan zongzhi (弘治) 雲南總志	1503			Preface
(Zhengde) Yunnan zhi (正德) 雲南志	1510	Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳		Complete
(Jiajing) Dali fuzhi (嘉靖) 大理府志	1564	Li Yuanyang 李元陽	Dali 大理, Yunnan 雲南	Preface, first two chapters
(Wanli) Yunnan tongzhi (萬曆) 雲南通志	1574	Li Yuanyang, Yang Shiyun 楊士雲	Dali, Yunnan	Complete
(Wanli) Zhaozhou zhi (萬曆) 趙州志	1587	Zhuang Cheng 莊誠	Chengdu 成都, Sichuan 四川	Complete
(Chongzhen) Dian zhi (崇禎) 滇志	1610	Liu Wenzheng 劉文正	Kunming 昆明, Yunnan	Complete
(Tianqi) Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi (天啓) 重修鄧川州志	1646	Ai Zixiu 艾自修	Dengchuan 鄧川, Yunnan	Complete

²⁸² On the subject of genres as patterns which allow for the exchange of utterances across time, see M. M. Bakhtin, “The Problem of Speech Genres,” in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, translated by Vern W. McGee and edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 70-73.

²⁸³ Chao Bideng 晁必登 *xu* [preface], Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳 (ed). *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 [Yunnan gazetteer], 1510, National Library of China Rare Books Collection no. 952123; facsimile edition vols. 70-71, *Selected Gazetteers from the Tianyige Collection*, (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian), 1990.

Imagining the Locality in Yunnan — County and Prefecture Gazetteers:

The first extant work describing north-western Yunnan after the Mongol conquest – to which all later gazetteers refer as a precedent – is the early 14th century *Yunnan zhilüe* 雲南志略 [Preliminary Outline of a Yunnan Gazetteer] by Li Jing 李京 (1251-?, *zi* Jingshan 景山, *hao* 鵝巢).²⁸⁴ An otherwise obscure official from Hejian 河間, in Hebei 河北 province, in 1301 Li was appointed Deputy Pacification Commissioner (宣慰副使 *xuanwei fushi*) for Wusa 烏撒 and Wumeng 烏蒙 Circuits, under the Yunnan Branch Secretariat.²⁸⁵ In his preface, Yu Ji 虞集 describes Li's service as follows:

河間李侯京樞庭奉使宣慰烏蠻。烏蠻，雲南一部也。始下車，未及有所施，會群蠻不靖，巡行調發餽給鎮撫，周履雲南，悉其見聞為『志』四卷，因報政上之。

Mr Li Jing of Hejian was sent from court to pacify the *wuman* [lit. “black barbarians”]. The *wuman* are one of the tribes in Yunnan. At first, when he took up his position, he did not yet implement all that he could, and the assembled groups of barbarians were not pacified. He went on patrol, made requisitions and dispatches, presented gifts and comforted the afflicted, he walked the circumference of Yunnan, and, comprehending what he had seen and heard, he made it into a “treatise” in four *juan*, so that he could announce the governance to those above.²⁸⁶

As this indicates, Li Jing originally compiled his gazetteer in 1303 as a report for his superiors on his ongoing struggles to establish imperial governance in Yunnan. In 1331, after retiring from official duties due to illness, he revised his own work and added an author's note. Most of *Yunnan zhilüe* is no longer extant, however its three prefaces were preserved in subsequent Yunnan gazetteers and a few other passages were excerpted in a variety of other Yuan and Ming works. The most fully preserved section deals with the customs of local inhabitants of Yunnan, while shorter excerpts include parts of treatises on pre-conquest history, geography, local products, and poetry. There are three extant prefaces, a relatively brief note by Li Jing, and two longer, more formal, *xu* composed by Chinese literati who served under the Yuan, Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348, *zi* 伯生, *hao* 道園) and Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269-1322, *zi* 復初).

According to its paratexts, the goal of *Yunnan zhilüe* was to provide both good and bad moral examples of frontier governance, as well as practical information for officials on the ground. Li Jing's author's note explains this as a consequence of his own experiences:

²⁸⁴ Li Jing 李京, *Yunnan zhilüe* 雲南志略 [Preliminary Outline of a Yunnan Gazetteer], 1331, surviving extracts recompiled in Wang Shuwu 王叔武 (ed), *Dali xingji jiaozhu/Yunnan zhilüe jijiao* 大理行記校注/雲南志略輯校 (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986). Two other works with the title “[placename] *zhilue*” were published in the 1330s and remained popular throughout the Ming: *Annan zhilue* 安南志略 “Brief history of Vietnam,” by Le Tac (c. 1260s-1340s), an official of the recently defeated Tran dynasty living in exile in Yuan China; and *Daoyi zhilue* 島夷志略 “Brief account of the island barbarians,” an account by Quanzhou-based traveler Wang Dayuan 王大淵 of his travels through island southeast Asia. Comparison with these works raises the possibility that *Yunnan zhilue* was understood, at the time it was written, as part of a genre other than that of the gazetteer. However, later writers of Yunnan gazetteers treat it consistently as the primary antecedent to their work, so I thought it necessary to discuss it here. It also differs from the other *zhilue* in its emphasis on governance of the region under discussion (the others were not under Yuan rule).

²⁸⁵ In the Ming this was one of the titles given to leaders of indigenous polities that submitted to the empire, but in the Yuan it was used for commanders of circuits (*dao* 道) throughout the eastern empire. These officials were typically of a different ethnic origin to the people they governed. Wusa is now Weining 威寧 in southern Guizhou; Wumeng is now Zhaotong 昭通 in northeastern Yunnan.

²⁸⁶ Yu Ji 虞集, “*Yunnan zhilue xu* 雲南志略序 [Preface to the Preliminary Outline of a Yunnan Gazetteer],” YNTZ 15.2b-3a.

大德五年春，奉命宣慰烏蠻。比到任，值緬事無成，諸蠻拒命，屢被省檄措辦軍儲事，烏蠻、六詔、金齒、白夷，二年之間奔走幾遍。於是山川地理、土產、風俗，頗得其詳。

In the spring of the fifth year of the Dade reign period [1302], I was ordered to become the pacification commissioner of the *wuman*. As I approached to take up the post, I had responsibility for distant affairs, but lacked success. The various barbarians resisted our orders, I frequently was issued calls to arms by the province to raise funds and conduct army business from stored reserves. Within two years the *wuman*, the six kingdoms, the gold-teeth, and the white Yi had run amok. Therefore the sections on mountains and rivers and geography, local products, and customs, are very detailed.²⁸⁷

According to Li Jing's preface, the sections on geography, customs, and local products were particularly detailed because the work arose out of his difficulties controlling the barbarians in this area. Li describes his time in Yunnan as "without success," at least in his first two years there. Yuan Mingshan and Yu Ji's prefaces indicate that they, like Li Jing, understood this gazetteer as a work designed to aid officials in governance of this unruly (chaotic) province.²⁸⁸ Yuan Mingshan frames *Yunnan zhilue* as a necessary sequel to military conquest, through which Qubilai's work was completed:

我朝曾出平章政事賽典赤都護諸部，今沒去三十餘年，其民慕之如父母，畏之如神明。居嘗考其設施，是不過順其性俗，利而道之，底於安耳。

Our dynasty has already produced Manager of Governmental Affairs Sayyid 'Ajall, Protector-General of the Tribes. It has not been more than thirty years since then, and his people yearn for him as for a father or mother, and revere him like a god. I once examined the things he established and bestowed: not only did they follow his character and habits, if it was beneficial he said it, at bottom what he did was for peace, no other reason.²⁸⁹

This description of benighted natives desirous of a virtuous paternalistic ruler resonated with later descriptions of non-Han people in the southwest. Both Yuan and Yu saw Yunnan as a place which had not experienced good governance since Sayyid 'Ajall, and mourn the resulting chaos. Gazetteers were to help rectify this by giving an account of previous failures in governance in Yunnan, to be used as cautionary examples for later officials:

其『志』曰，張喬斬奸猾長吏九十餘人，而三十六部盡降；諸葛孔明用其豪傑，而財賦足以給軍國；史萬歲貪賂，隨服隨叛；梁毗一金不取，酋長感悅；李知古以重賦僇屍，張虔陀以淫虐致亂，死者至二十餘萬，中國卒不能有之。此於事至較著明白者也，其術不甚簡易乎？有志之士尚有所鑑觀焉。

[Li Jing's] "treatise" says: "Zhang Qiao beheaded more than 90 treacherous officials, but the 36 tribes were exhausted and surrendered; Zhuge Liang used local strongmen and extracted wealth sufficient to arm the whole country; historically the kings were greedy for bribes, whether in obedience or in rebellion; Liang Pi did not take one piece of gold and the heads of the tribes were pleased." Li Zhigu emphasised taxes and defiled corpses; Zhang Qiantuo was unrestrained and tyrannical, causing chaos. The dead exceeded 200,000, the soldiers of the Central State could not have this. This makes the state of affairs clear and

²⁸⁷ Li Jing 李京, "*Yunnan zhilue xu* 雲南志略序 [Preface to the Preliminary Outline of a Yunnan Gazetteer]," YNTZ 15.3b.

²⁸⁸ For these officials, Yunnan is a region which is sorely in need of such good governance, which it had not received since the death of Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din (Sai Dianchi in Chinese), the renowned Yuan official from Bukhara. He was appointed governor of Yunnan in 1275 and presided over the most peaceful period of Yuan rule in the region, where he became the epitome of benevolent imperial rule. See Jacqueline Armijo-Hussein, "Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing 'Civilisation' to Yunnan," PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1997.

²⁸⁹ Yuan Mingshan 元明善, "*Yunnan zhilue xu* 雲南志略序 [Preface to the Preliminary Outline of a Yunnan Gazetteer]," YNTZ 15.3a-b.

obvious, surely his method is not so very simple and easy? Officials who have a gazetteer still have a mirror they can look into.²⁹⁰

Yu Ji drew an implicit parallel with the role of histories in imperial governance by means of the metaphor of the mirror, most famously used in the title of the Song dynasty history, *Zhizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Governance). Despite all this, Li's descriptions of his failure to control the various non-Han peoples of Yunnan reinforced his authority as one who had a genuine understanding of the difficulties of implementing Yuan governance there.

Beyond the purposive implementation of imperial governance in Yunnan, the extant prefaces and excerpts of *Yunnan zhilue* took care to situate Yunnan within the temporal and spatial frames of the Mongol empire. Both prefaces began by rehearsing the conquest of Yunnan by the first Yuan emperor, Qubilai Qan, before his accession:

京師西南行萬里為雲南。雲南之地，方廣蓋萬里。在憲宗時，世祖帥師伐而取之，守者弗能定。既卽位，奠海內，使省臣賽典赤往，撫以威惠，沿其俗，而道之以善利，鎮以親王貴人者四十年。Yunnan is a long way off in the southwest, far from the capital, and it is very large. In Emperor Xian's time, Yuan Shizu [Qubilai] led the army, attacked Yunnan and took it, but those guarding it were not able to consolidate his gains. After he had ascended the throne and established himself throughout the land, he commissioned as Sayyid 'Ajall to go as provincial governor. He pacified it with gentleness, by following its local customs. He led them using goodness and benefits. This was rule by princes and nobles for forty years.²⁹¹

While Yunnan was thus firmly established, rhetorically, as part of the Yuan empire, it was equally positioned as a place far on the edge. Moreover, Yu Ji included explanatory comments on Yunnan's size and population throughout his preface, which emphasised the conceptual distance between this subject of the work and his readers, assumed to have no prior knowledge of Yunnan. The extant contents of the Poetry section of the gazetteer reinforced this theme, as they largely follow the journey of an official, presumably Li Jing, to Yunnan, marked by the rivers he crosses as he goes farther from the capital. Yuan Mingshan, in the parallel passage of his preface, frames his narrative to draw attention the Mongol character of Qubilai's path to the throne:

昔在世祖以帝之貴介弟，帥偏師入西南夷，而伐取之。既踐大位，猶曰：「朕固樂其風土，曩非歷數在躬，當於彼請分器焉。」由是言之，似亦善也。及讀李君『雲南志略』，乃復如此。In former times, when Shizu [Qubilai Qan], as the emperors noble younger brother, dispatched his auxiliary force to enter the region of the south-western Yi, he attacked and occupied it. Soon he attained the throne, and said: "I really enjoy its customs and lands. Previously, when it was not the case that I was fated to be the ruler, I asked for an appanage in this place." Because of these words he was considered good-hearted. And reading Mr Li's *Yunnan zhilue*, I recall this.²⁹²

Locating Yunnan within either Mongol or Chinese imperial historiography is also a preoccupation of parts of the extant text. The extracts that have survived, such as "the beginning of the fame of the Cuan people" (爨人之名始此) and "the history of Yunnan's interactions with

²⁹⁰ Yu, "Preface," YNTZ 15.3a. Zhang Qiao was governor of Yizhou commandery in the Han dynasty (*Hou Han Shu* *juan* 86); Liang Pi was governor under the Sui (*Sui Shu* biography, *juan* 62); Li Zhigu was a Tang official posted to Yunnan whose harsh policies were given as justification for a revolt (see Charles Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and Tang China's Southwestern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 36-40); Zhang Qiantuo was a Tang representative in the mid-eighth century who offended Nanzhao ruler Geluofeng (see Backus, *Nan-chao Kingdom*, 70-71).

²⁹¹ Yu, "Preface," YNTZ 15.3a. Emperor Xian of the Yuan, otherwise Möngke (r.1251-1259).

²⁹² Yuan, "Preface," YNTZ 15.3a.

the Central Country” (雲南通中國史), give accounts of Yunnan’s rulers based on Chinese sources. *Yunnan zhilue* rhetorically creates a shared imperial space of which Yunnan forms a part, through a narrative in which Yunnan is established as a remote but comprehensible part of both Mongol and Chinese empires.

Early Ming Provincial Gazetteers – Deepening Ming Rule in Yunnan:

Although the prototypical gazetteer was compiled and circulated by the literati community of a smaller administrative unit, such as a county or a sub-prefecture, most extant gazetteers from Ming dynasty Yunnan are provincial-level gazetteers. The relatively weak literati communities in peripheral regions meant that during the Yuan and Ming provincial gazetteers occupied a different place in the textual ecology of gazetteer production than in the central plains. In provinces like Yunnan, Guizhou, and Guangxi, provincial gazetteers were compiled before local gazetteers became widespread. As a result, a disproportionately large number of Ming provincial gazetteers were compiled in these provinces (table 2.2). According to the data gathered by Ba Zhaoxiang, while the three recently-colonised southwestern provinces produced the lowest total number of gazetteers in the Ming dynasty, they produced more provincial gazetteers than any other province. In fact, provincial gazetteers formed between 11% and 16% of total gazetteer production in these provinces, compared to the 1-3% proportion typical of provinces closer to the centre.²⁹³

Table 2.2: Ba Zhaoxiang’s gazetteer data

Province	All gazetteers			Provincial-level			Provincial gazetteers as % of total gazetteers
	Total	Extant	Lost	Total	Extant	Lost	
Nanzhili	491	194	297	1	1	0	0.2
Huguang	370	68	302	4	2	2	1.1
Zhejiang	348	118	230	1	1	0	0.3
Beizhili	342	97	245	0	0	0	0
Shandong	281	80	201	5	1	4	1.8
Henan	271	99	172	6	2	4	2.2
Shaanxi	229	67	162	7	3	4	3.1
Jiangxi	229	51	178	4	3	1	1.7
Shanxi	217	56	161	4	3	1	1.8
Fujian	200	84	116	3	3	0	1.5
Guangdong	194	50	144	4	4	0	2.1
Sichuan	86	23	63	5	4	1	5.8
Yunnan	81	9	72	9	5	4	11.1

²⁹³ Ba Zhaoxiang 巴兆祥, “Lun Mingdai fangzhi de shuliang yu xiuzhi zhidu,” [論明代方志的數量與修志制度 On the number of Ming dynasty gazetteers and the system of re-compilation], *Zhongguo difangzhi* 2004, no. 4, 45-51. It is worth noting that the metropolitan provinces (Nanzhili and Beizhili) have even lower proportions of provincial gazetteers; and the next highest proportion, 5.6%, is held by Sichuan, a longer-established southwestern border province.

Guangxi	67	10	57	10	2	8	14.9
Guizhou	64	8	56	10	5	5	15.6
Total:	3470	1014	2456	73	39	34	2.1

These numbers can be explained by the lack of readily available information from prefecture and county gazetteers, particularly in the early Ming, when fewer civilian counties had been established in the southwest. Peripheral provincial gazetteers were also different in quality, as well as quantity, from the “comprehensive gazetteers” (*tongzhi* 通志) increasingly being compiled in the centre. While those gazetteers were intended to present a rounded picture of the province, on the periphery gazetteers were mainly the result of provincial officials taking the initiative to improve their own knowledge. In Guizhou, for example, existing (textual) sources of information were scattered and partial:

貴州地理自遷史而下皆載之，然自唐及元為詳。元志凡四，建置互有不同，蓋各據一時書之也。貴州志表國朝亦兩有作，皆以典籍未備。故考究採掇掛漏可笑。

Guizhou's geography has been recorded in all histories from [Sima] Qian's *Shi [ji]* onwards, but the records from the Tang to the Yuan are the most detailed. There are four Yuan gazetteers in total, all constructed for different units, because each was written according to its time. Already two volumes of treatises and tables about Guizhou have been written in our dynasty, neither exhausted ancient books and records. In investigating and gathering information they are laughably incomplete.²⁹⁴

Rather than gathering together existing materials produced in the province's subordinate political units, as in the central provinces, provincial officials responsible for compiling gazetteers in the southwest list their sources as empire wide Yuan and Ming gazetteers (*Yuan yitong zhi*, *Ming yitong zhi*) and official histories, along with standard texts and, if available, earlier provincial gazetteers.²⁹⁵ The compilers of the Yunnan gazetteers examined below supplemented this kind of textual research with material culled from current documents and requests for information from serving local officials, depending on the resources and inclination of the official in charge of directing the compilation.

Four gazetteers from the first century and a half of Ming control of Yunnan have been preserved in whole or in part. All four are provincial-level gazetteers compiled by officials from China proper posted or exiled to Yunnan. Of these, two are still extant, while prefaces of two others have been preserved in the 1574 *Yunnan tongzhi*. The first, entitled *Yunnan zhi*, was compiled shortly after the Ming captured Yunnan from the Mongol holdouts. Its two *xu*, a preface by compiler Wang Jingchang 王景常 (fl. 14th century) and a postface by exiled literatus Ping Xian 平顯 (fl. late 14th century), describe a process of compilation initiated by the Hongwu emperor in 1396.²⁹⁶ According to various Ming catalogues, this *Yunnan zhi* comprised 61 *juan* (卷, “chapters”), bound into one, two, or four fascicles (*ce* 冊), suggesting that though thoroughly organised and comprehensive in aim, it was not very detailed. The second gazetteer, the Jingtai *Yunnan tujing zhi* 景泰雲南圖景志 [Illustrated gazetteer of Yunnan], dates to 1454. The extant copies include two prefaces entitled “preface to the recompiled gazetteer of Yunnan,” and a third preface entitled “preface to the illustrated gazetteer of Yunnan” is preserved in a later

²⁹⁴ Hongzhi *Guizhou tujingzhi* 貴州圖經志, *fanli*.

²⁹⁵ On provincial gazetteers in other parts of the empire, see Lin Ting'an and Zhou Guang (eds). *Jiangxi tongzhi* 1525, *zong mulu* and *mulu*; Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 130 discusses these lists in general.

²⁹⁶ YNTZ 15.3b-4a; YNTZ 15.6a-6b.

gazetteer.²⁹⁷ The Hongzhi era *Yunnan zongzhi* 弘治雲南總志 [Comprehensive gazetteer of Yunnan] was compiled in 1503, but only its preface has been preserved.²⁹⁸ Finally, the Zhengde era *Yunnan zhi* was compiled by Zhou Jifeng in 1510, and has been preserved in print copies in the National Library of China and the Tianyige private library in Ningbo. In addition to a preface and compilation guidelines by Zhou himself, *Yunnan zhi* includes a preface by one of Zhou's colleagues at the Provincial Surveillance Commission, Chao Bideng 晁必登 (1462-1521, js. 1490).²⁹⁹ These gazetteers all combined an interest in practical information for better government with a concern for the transformation of Yunnan into a more civilised part of the empire.

In their prefaces and other paratextual material, gazetteer compilers and their sponsors explicitly positioned these works within a reading-and-writing community whose textual world was framed by the Chinese classics and the imperial historiographical tradition. They often locate gazetteers within the tradition of “treatises on geography” inaugurated by the *Yugong* 禹貢 “Tribute of Yu” chapter of the Book of Documents *Shangshu* 尚書. Chen Wen, for example, presents a kind of genealogy of geographical knowledge in which the Emperor Yu of the Xia dynasty passes his knowledge to officials of the Zhou, who move it to the bibliographical classification *shi* “history” and pass it to the Han.

曰地理有志肇於夏之《禹貢》，掌於周之職方，著於漢之遷《史》而班固廣之。曰志凡河嶽之流峙、原隰之肥磽、物產之登耗、風俗之美惡、人才之豐嗇，悉志為以任土作貢分田制採授。

The writing of geographical treatises began with the Xia dynasty *Tribute of Yu*, was taken on by Director of the Bureau of Operations of the Zhou dynasty, written about in Sima Qian's *Book of History* in the Han, and Ban Gu broadened it. Treatises, all those about the courses and heights of rivers and peaks, the abundance and barrenness of plains and marshes, the increase and decrease of local products, the beauty and wickedness of local customs, the abundance and miserliness of talents, should all be used by appointed officials to make tax estimations, divide up fields, and administer grain.³⁰⁰

The role of the gazetteer in supporting good governance is intimately linked to its genealogy as a form of knowledge: the people Chen identifies as his textual ancestors served the emperors who functioned as political antecedents for the Ming state. While for structure, these writers reference mainly the Song dynasty geography *Fangyu shenglan*, for information about Yunnan the *Xinan yi* chapters of the early official histories *Shiji* and *Hanshu* were the most consistent reference points. Although different in many ways, official histories belonged to the same bibliographical category as gazetteers and would have been familiar reference points within the literary canon for the gazetteer's readership. Zhou Jifeng's *Yunnan zhi* general guidelines not only explicitly notes sources like Zhu Xi's historical commentary *Tongjian gangmu*, which provided basic information for his chapter on “essentials,” he expects that his readers will be able to check this source for themselves.

事要元以前俱通鑒綱目本文。書法具備觀者自考。在我朝者惟撮其要以備眾考，別無意義。

In the essentials chapter, the Yuan and before are just like the original text of the *Outline and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror* in writing and methods, it can prepare the reader to examine it themselves. For our

²⁹⁷ YNTZ 15.6b-7a.

²⁹⁸ YNTZ 15.9a-9b.

²⁹⁹ Biographical information drawn from *Mingren chuanji ziliao suoyin* 明人傳記資料索引, where available, as well as internal evidence from these gazetteers.

³⁰⁰ Chen Wen 陳文, “*Chongxiu Yunnan zhi xu* 重修雲南志序 [Preface to the Revised Yunnan Gazetteer],” YNTJZ xu.4b.

dynasty, I only extracted those that are necessary in order to prepare many to investigate, it has no other significance.³⁰¹

Chao Bideng uses this genealogy as the basis of his argument that the gazetteer should produce moral judgement in addition to collecting information.

有司馬遷之筆而後成史記之書。有班范之筆而後成兩漢之書。陳壽、宋子京、司馬光、歐陽修諸賢皆一代冠冕，未可多得其他史志。無慮千百家不之論也。周君雄才博辯，言簡而古，識高而正，誠於史才無愧，士林當歛衽矣。雖然觀斯志者盍亦於文字之外求之。昔為不毛之地而今建郡作邑張官置吏也。昔為旃毳干戈而今衣冠絃誦也。

Sima Qian wrote, and afterwards his work became the Book of History. Ban Gu and Fan Zhu wrote, and afterwards their work became the book of the two Han dynasties. Chen Shou, Song Zijing, Sima Guang, Ouyang Xiu: these dignitaries were all leaders of their age, but they were not yet able to multiply other histories and treatises. It was not the case that they considered many schools of thought and did not discuss them. Mr Zhou was talented and eloquent, his speech was simple and sincere, his knowledge was lofty and correct, he sincerely wrote history with a clear conscience. Thus it was little wonder that the literati bowed their heads in admiration. Even if he read their treatises, why not also seek things that were not written down? In the past it was a barren land, but now it is an established commandary with towns and all kinds of officials. In the past they made banners and weapons of war, but now they make clothes and musical instruments.³⁰²

His argument relies not only on comparing the work to standards in the past, but also on the assumed audience he constructs, that is, future officials who can benefit from the lessons on ethical governance drawn by the gazetteer editor. Chao Bideng summarises the enterprise of gazetteer compilation as follows: “Mr Zhou examines in detail and records things completely, surely it is suitable to continue to be perceived by later generations” 周君詳考而備錄之，固宜永聞於後也。³⁰³ Zhou himself finishes his preface with the comment that “the compiler who inherits this will still add more significance!” 嗣是修者尚加意哉！³⁰⁴ These explicit statements, combined with the common reference points called on by the preface-writers, effectively reproduce the interactional order shared by readers and writers literate in the Chinese classical tradition.

The prefaces provide appropriate context for their readers by engaging in critique of earlier gazetteers, the antecedents of their own work. In so doing, they both locate the work to follow specifically within the gazetteer genre and reinforce what they consider the appropriate generic norms of coverage, accuracy, and organisation. Often, a preface-writer complains of the inadequacies of the previous gazetteer in order to justify their own compilation project. Chen Wen’s 陳文 (1405-1468, j.s. 1436) authorial preface to the *Yunnan tujing zhi* describes the unnamed former gazetteer as inaccurate, and elaborates on its problems in his *fanli*.

郡名，舊志有所畧則增之。形勝，舊志有所闕則補之。至到則循其實，土產則書其所特出而剛其所同有……祠廟則削其淫。祀祠墓則錄其先賢。曰公廨、曰學校、曰館驛、曰橋梁其建置皆舊志所未備今詳之。

³⁰¹ Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳, “*Yunnan zhi yili* 雲南志義例 [Guidelines to Yunnan Gazetteer],” YNZ *yili*.3a. The reference is to Zhu Xi’s 1219 Commentary on the northern Song history *Outline of a Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*.

³⁰² Chao Bideng 晁必登, “*Yunnan zhi xu* 雲南志序 [Preface to Yunnan Gazetteer],” YNZ *Xu*.4b

³⁰³ Chao, “*Yunnan zhi xu*” YNZ *Xu*.4b.

³⁰⁴ Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳, “*Yunnan zhi xu* 雲南志序 [Preface to Yunnan Gazetteer],” YNZ *Xu*.IVb.

As for the names of administrative units, the former gazetteer had omissions, so I have increased the coverage. As for topography, the former gazetteer had omissions but I have supplemented it. In each case, I have followed what is accurate: as for local products I have written about those which were specially produced, but barely addressed those which are common. ...As for shrines and temples, I cut out those which were licentious. As for tombs and sacrificial halls, I recorded those of the most worthy. As for government buildings, schools, post stations, and bridges, the old gazetteer did not describe their construction, so in the present one I now describe them in detail.³⁰⁵

According to these, the former gazetteer did not have complete geographical coverage, and moreover lacked records of the poetic connotations of Yunnan's landscape and information about state-sponsored infrastructure (schools, bridges, post stations, etc.), while it contained "excessive" accounts of temples. The Zhengde era *Yunnan zhi* guidelines, by contrast, emphasize the up-to-date nature of its information, particularly on administrative boundaries. Chao Bideng, in his preface, praises the compiler, Zhou Jifeng, as a model editor, having gone beyond copying and updating to supplementing and organising the available material:

周君公儀復加編次，考於羣史，參以前志，益以今日見聞，網以統紀，類以分事。晷月而始成卷凡四十有五。視舊志不止於倍之也。嗚呼！天下之志多矣。求其義例精當、紀載詳明者，何其少也。Mr Zhou Gongyi added material and arranged it in order, he examined the histories, joined them with the previous gazetteer, improved it with what he saw and heard today, outlined the main threads, and classified the remaining items. After a month he began; it became 45 *juan* in all. In comparison with the old gazetteer he did not just double its volume. Alas, the world's gazetteers are many. But as for those who seek to write in a precise style and record fully and clearly, how few there are!³⁰⁶

These debates about what kinds of information should be included in a gazetteer, and in what proportion, and how it should be arranged, show that the gazetteer compilers considered themselves to be writing in a common generic form, however contested the contents might be.

Provincial gazetteers in early and mid-Ming Yunnan are framed by their paratexts as an ordinary part of the infrastructure of government through rhetorical devices that connect each work to others in the same genre and to the example of the emperor himself. Compared to the *xu* written to accompany the Yuan-era *Yunnan zhilue*, the writers of prefaces for early Ming gazetteers see themselves as contributing to an established genre in a region that was an accepted part of the empire. While Li Jing positions himself as an intrepid pioneer chronicler of outlying regions, acting on his own initiative for the common good, these early Ming editorial personae consistently represent themselves as following the instructions and even the personal example of the emperor. Both prefaces for the 1550 *Yunnan tujing zhi*, for example, begin with an account of the Jingtai emperor's efforts to better understand his territory, and then present this gazetteer as one of many produced in response to his conscientious requests for reports, in order to improve the palace record-keeping.

皇上續承大統撫御萬方。夙夜孜孜圖惟寧永。迺於景泰五年秋七月八日詔禮部重修天下地理志。將悉閱而周知之。

When the emperor succeeded to the throne, he pacified and governed the whole realm. Early in the morning and late at night he industriously planned to maintain peace in perpetuity. Then on the 8th day of the 7th month of the autumn of the 5th year of the Jingtai reign period [1454] he ordered that the

³⁰⁵ Chen Wen 陳文, "*Yunnan tujingzhi fanli* 雲南圖經志凡例 [Guidelines to the Illustrated Yunnan Gazetteer]," YNTJZ *fanli*.1b.

³⁰⁶ Chao, "Preface," YNZ *xu*.2b-3a.

department of rites should repair the geographical treatises of the whole empire. He desired that they would be read thoroughly and be well-known everywhere.³⁰⁷

The prefaces to the Hongwu-era *Yunnan zhi* also frame it as a response to the first Ming emperor's order to repair and make extracts from documents in all administrative regions, conveyed by Mu Chun 沐春 (fl. 1390s), hereditary “Duke of Pacifying the West” (*xiping hou* 西平侯).³⁰⁸ Dennis has shown that while waves of gazetteer compilation tended to follow dynastic founding, the goal was as much updating administrative boundaries as simple obedience to imperial decree.³⁰⁹ However, the prefaces' use of imperial precept or precedent had the rhetorical effect of legitimating the gazetteer project in this remote, undocumented region.

Since their main use was in governance, both of the extant early Ming gazetteers organized their material according to prefecture, prioritizing ease of reference for government officials. Like prefecture and county gazetteers, most gazetteers at provincial level were organized in thematic treatises, particularly those which claimed to be comprehensive (*tongzhi*). Each treatise typically contained information on a particular aspect of the administrative unit for the whole region covered by the gazetteer. For example, the 1491 Fujian (*Bamin tongzhi* 八閩通志) and 1533 Shandong (*Shandong tongzhi* 山東通志) provincial gazetteers generally accorded with the centrally-issued guidelines in their use of a thematic organization. None of the Yunnan gazetteers before 1550 described themselves as comprehensive, nor did they follow that method of organization. Instead, both the *Yunnan tujing zhi* and the Zhengde *Yunnan zhi* were organized primarily by administrative unit. That is, the first layer of organization, the one that appears in the table of contents (*mulu* 目錄), arranges the material according to the prefecture, county, garrison, or native-administered jurisdiction to which it applies, while thematic categories are demoted to the secondary level of organization, under each administrative unit (table 2.3):

Table 2.3: Shandong and Zhejiang comprehensive gazetteer contents

Shandong				Zhejiang	
圖考	Maps	科目	Examination Candidates	目錄并小敘	Contents and Short Introduction
建置沿革	Changes in administrative units	祠祀	Shrines and Sacrifices	例義	Regulations and Significance
星野	Celestial and terrestrial correspondences	陵墓	Tombs	全浙地理圖	Maps of the Whole Province
疆域	Territory	寺觀	Temples and Abbeys	地理志	Geography
山川	Mountains and Rivers	宮室	Houses and Buildings	建置志	Establishments
形勢	Topography	古蹟	Antiquities	貢賦志	Tribute and Taxes
風俗	Customs	帝王	Kings	祠祀志	Shrines and Sacrifices
物產	Local Products	聖賢	Sages	官師志	Officials

³⁰⁷ Chen, “Preface,” YNTJZ xu.4a.

³⁰⁸ Wang Jingchang 王景常 “*Yunnan tujingzhi shuxu* 雲南圖經志書序 [Preface to the Illustrated Gazetteer of Yunnan],” YNTZ 15.3b-4a.

³⁰⁹ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 48-51.

田賦	Fields and taxes	名宦	Achievements of Officials	人物志	Biographies
戶口	Population	人物	Biographies	選舉志	Selected Personnel
封建	Enfeoffments	流寓	Sojourners	藝文志	Literature
職官	Officials	仙釋	Transcendent Beings and Monks	經武志	Repairs and Preparations
兵防	Soldiers and Garrisons	孝義	Filial and Upright Men	都會志	Cities
城池	Walls and Moats	列女	Chaste Women	雜志	Miscellaneous
漕河	Canals and Waterways	藝文	Literature		
橋梁	Bridges	遺文	Lost Writings		
公署	Public Offices	災祥	Disasters and Strange Events		
學校	Schools	雜志	Miscellaneous		

These prefecture-level divisions contain further divisions into sub-prefectures, counties, or other administrative categories. For example, in the *Yunnan tujing zhi*, the section on Dali prefecture in *juan* 4 contains three sub-prefectures (Zhaozhou 趙州, Dengchuan 鄧川, and Yunlong 雲龍), three counties (Taihe 太和, Yunnan 雲南 [now Fengyi], and Langqiong 浪穹 [now Eryuan 洱源]), and one indirectly administered department (Twelve Gates 十二門). Not all prefecture chapters have such an elaborated structure underneath them. For example Menghua prefecture 蒙化府, immediately to the south of Dali and the ancestral home of the Meng 蒙 lineage of Nanzhao 南詔 rulers, has no subordinate administrative units. Military prefectures can have subordinate units, for example Heqing military prefecture, just north of Dali, incorporates Jianchuan 劍川 and Shunzhou 順州 sub-prefectures. Heqing 鶴慶 and Menghua 蒙化, though in other periods incorporated into Dali prefecture, are in this period independent. The *Yunnan tujing zhi* draws a distinction between those administrative units considered “external” and those considered more ordinary, both military and civilian. The “units for the control of the outer barbarians” are gathered into a single category at the end of the regular administrative units, and the various units included here are not organized according to the standard hierarchy for those units. The effect of this organization is that the user of the gazetteer is assumed to be looking for information on a specific place within Yunnan, perhaps as a visitor or newly appointed official, rather than to develop a coherent picture of Yunnan as a province.

The *fanli* of the *Yunnan zhi* make this explicit. The compiler of this gazetteer says that he arranged administrative units according to the degree of control exercised by the state. After the regularly administered districts,

次之視常行下一字州，又次之與常行平隸州縣。各府州下居州倚郭則先之長官司殿後與倚郭縣平。Next are sub-prefectures that have long followed the rules, then next are the pacified areas. Appended to each sub-prefecture is its surrounding counties; first the ones that are ruled by indigenous officials, and after them the counties that surround the city wall and are being pacified.³¹⁰

This distinction is replicated in the visual representations of space included via maps at the beginning of the text: maps of regularly administered districts are followed by irregular but

³¹⁰ Zhou, “Guidelines,” YNZ *Tili*. 1b.

directly controlled civilian administrative areas, followed by military areas. This kind of organisation is not unknown in provincial-level gazetteers in other parts of the empire: the 1522 *Huguang tujing zhi* uses a similar geographical structure, but this can be in part attributed to the compilers' use of existing prefecture and county gazetteers as the basis of their compilation process,³¹¹ something impossible for compilers of gazetteers in Yunnan. In fact, the compiler of the *Yunnan zhi* emphasizes that the process of mapping the outer areas is still ongoing. Although he has examined and confirmed the names of many barbarian areas omitted from the previous gazetteer, there are still many that he ignores because he is not confident of the accuracy of his information or other reasons:

風俗皆各府州縣據實造報，畧加刪削。而義惡不同，然義者多漢，惡者多土俗。

As for local customs, I created a report for each administrative division according to the facts, and deleted a few things. But the good and evil parts were not the same: the good ones were mainly Han customs and the wicked ones mainly native customs.

外夷衙門舊志遺畧者，今考訂其名，于后其建置之。由則缺之不敢強為之說。

In the former gazetteer, the garrisons opening on the outer barbarians were omitted from the outline. Now, I've examined and confirmed their names for those established later, but some are missing because I don't dare make a strong statement on them."³¹²

Yunnan is presented throughout these gazetteers as space that is opened — or opening — to the imposition of order through imperial governance, and these gazetteers represent tools to assist officials in making this so.

The selection and arrangement of materials within the gazetteers also reflect Yunnan's peripheral character, as the compilers prioritized practical information but had to contend with gaps and limitations in their sources. In both biographies and local customs, the gazetteer compilers reproduce the contents of existing literary sources rather than local gazetteers or other sources, and restrict themselves to pre-Mongol figures and sojourners from other provinces. The *fanli* of *Yunnan tujing zhi* comments:

名宦人物，凡設世而功德節義之名行。有聞者無間久近皆書之，以公論定於蓋棺之後也。其存者雖才賢高爵，而不書者冀善其終而將有待也。科甲則詳其出於某科某甲，而鄉貢不列者慮其多也。

As for famous officials and personages, in general I arranged them by era and arranged in ranks the names of those with success, virtue, integrity, or uprightness. Among those I had heard of, I did not distinguish between long ago or recent but wrote about them all, using the public opinion fixed at their death. As for those among them that are still alive, even though they were talented and virtuous men of high rank, I did not write about them. I hope they will improve throughout their lives and await their future biographies. Examination graduates I described in detail with their class and rank, but I considered the stipendiary students too numerous to list and don't include them.³¹³

However, the compilers were unable to improve the coverage significantly, including only nine biographies for Kunming (five literati, four chaste women), five for Dali (all pre-Ming historical figures), and only one or two for most other prefectures. The *Yunnan zhi* does a little better, although it has four *juan* on officials and one on sojourners, compared with only one on local worthies and one on chaste women. The *fengsu* category, which was conceived of as a way to compare the variety of practices and customs in the present with “that which was taught by the

³¹¹ *Huguang tujing zhi* 湖光圖經志 [Illustrated Gazetteer of Huguang], *fanli* 2b.

³¹² Zhou, “Guidelines,” YNZ *Yili*.3b.

³¹³ Chen, “Guidelines,” YNTJZ *yili*.2a

ancients,” is used on the frontier as an opportunity to describe the unregistered or indigenous population.³¹⁴ The descriptions are brief, rarely more than half a folio, and often include quotations from literary sources as commentary on standard aphorisms such as:

Yunnan zhi:

蒙化：民善射獵；俗變故習

Menghua: The registered civilians are good at hunting; their customs changed because of study.

景東：民多百夷皆種秫；不通漢書惟用緬字

Jingdong: The registered civilians are mainly the hundred *yi*, they all grow sorghum; they don't understand Han writing and only use Burmese script.³¹⁵

Yunnan tujing zhi:

蒙化：其民善射獵；俗變故習

Menghua: The registered civilians are good at hunting; their customs changed because of study.

景東：田皆種秫；字用緬書

Jingdong: The fields all grow sorghum; the script they use is Burmese writing.³¹⁶

The inadequacy of the information available to administrators on the frontier again limits the content and extent of the administrative data included in these gazetteers. Although one might expect that works primarily intended for fellow administrators would include extensive records on the most practical matters of governance, population and taxation, in fact Ming governance structures were not functioning well enough in Yunnan to provide this kind of information. The *Yunnan tujing zhi*, for instance, omits these categories entirely, although it does include descriptions of the local products through which Yunnan was integrated in the imperial economy through trade and tribute. The *Yunnan zhi*, 70 years later, does include brief statistics for most administrative units. These changes over the course of the dynasty show the progressively greater information available to gazetteer compilers on the frontier, and at the same time the consistent priorities of state agents in areas not under complete control.

As a consequence of their engagement in an empire-wide generic conversation from a strictly peripheral location, these gazetteers perform a “local elite” viewpoint, and relationship to the locality, in ways that differ from the deeply-rooted local literati community prototypically represented in gazetteers. In the structure of the text, Yunnan is consistently presented through its relation to the bureaucratic infrastructure of the empire, rather than a place with its own landmarks, made significant by local, rather than exclusively imperial, relationships and history. In the *Yunnan zhi*, for example, a typical listing of a geographical or administrative feature is as follows:

洱西驛：在府治南、洪武三十五年建。

West Er Relay Station: Located south of the prefecture office, established 1402.³¹⁷

Each entry has three components, the name of the feature, its location in relation to the county seat, and, if applicable, the year it was built. This structure appears over and over again in the extant gazetteers, without the leavening of detailed anecdotes or quoted inscriptions. The

³¹⁴ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 40, quoting the Yongle guidelines for gazetteer compilation.

³¹⁵ YNZ 6.16b-17a, 7.2b-3a

³¹⁶ YNTJZ 5.22b, 4.21b

³¹⁷ YNZ 3.11b. *Juan* three is the Dali prefecture section. Actually, the reign of the Hongwu emperor lasted only 31 years and ended in 1398. The 35th year would have been 1402; although it is more likely that this is a transcription error I cannot conjecture as to the date originally intended.

repetitive listing of places both removes color from the landscape described, and reinforces the perspective of the text as a view from the *yamen*. When the formula is varied or elaborated, it is frequently in ways that highlight the practical utility of orienting the visitor through official buildings. For example, places that have moved in the recent past often have the original location noted first, as follows:

鄧川州學：舊在州治西洪武十七年建成化二十一年御史郭紳遷於縣治西南

Dengchuan sub-prefecture school: formerly west of the sub-prefecture office; established in 1384; moved to the southwest of the by censor Guo Shenqian in 1485.³¹⁸

For an official who may only visit irregularly, or who may be attempting to find his way based on hearsay, highlighting such recent changes would be particularly useful. The literati community represented by these gazetteers, then, is a Yunnan community only insofar as the province forms their common concern. These elites understand their relationship to the places they are writing about through the prism of their responsibility for its governance.

At the same time, these texts show evidence of a literate elite which contained a variety of other viewpoints. One of the features of the gazetteer genre is its highly integrated use of texts or utterances set within the primary text, whether as speech, quotation, or in the form of extracts, and serve to complicate the homogeneity of the gazetteer's goals and perspectives. Both sets of Ming imperial guidelines for gazetteers instruct compilers to extract appropriate steles, poems, or other literary works in sections on mountains and rivers, customs, landscape, schools, all kinds of official and religious buildings, bridges, walls and moats, military units, traces of the past, and biographies, in addition to prescribing a separate section dedicated to literature.³¹⁹ However, both the *Yunnan zhi* and the *Yunnan tujing zhi* limit their excerpts to sections on customs, landscape, and traces of the past, confining nearly all the secondary genres to the designated literature and outer treatise chapters. With regard to their relationship with the places described, these texts sometimes show Yunnan from perspectives that run counter (or at least orthogonal) to the administrative concerns that structure the major part of the gazetteers.

Non-official travellers from elsewhere in East Asia present one kind of alternative voice that appears regularly in these gazetteers. The most frequently extracted in early Ming gazetteers is Guo Songnian's 郭松年 thirteenth-century travel narrative of a journey to Yunnan, *Dali xingji* 大理行記 "Record of Travels in Dali."³²⁰ It is the first item included in the *Yunnan tujing zhi*'s literary prose chapters and is also reproduced in full in the Zhengde *Yunnan zhi*. Unlike his contemporary Li Jing, Guo Songnian is not interested in promoting well-ordered rule of Dali, nor does he restrict himself to the normative spatial and temporal scales of Mongol or Chinese empires. He refers to Dali as *Dali cheng*, that is, the walled city of Dali, rather than *Dali fu*, the Dali prefectural seat. He is primarily interested in historical sites, rather than up-to-date information, and gives the dates of construction of certain buildings according to the Nanzhao or Dali Kingdom reign periods rather than the equivalent Tang or Song denominations. Both extant gazetteers also quote at length from the *Dali xingji* in their "landscape" and "mountains and rivers" sections on Mt Diancang, in which Guo Songnian describes not only the mountain's physical beauty but also the religious and educational significance of the Buddhist temples

³¹⁸ YNTJZ 3.10b

³¹⁹ Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 38-42.

³²⁰ Guo Songnian 郭松年, *Dali xingji* 大理行記 [Record of Travels in Dali], in Wang Shuwu 王叔武 (ed), *Dali xingji jiaozhu/Yunnan zhilue jijiao* 大理行記校注/雲南志略輯校, Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986.

situated on it.³²¹ Collections of poetry, whether written by locals or by visitors, similarly locate Dali within wider networks. These gazetteers preserve the poems of Japanese monks who visited temples in the Dali area, which not only provide evidence of Dali's interactions with the world beyond Chinese empire, moreover, like Vietnamese envoy poetry, these works by locals and visitors constructed Yunnan as a place of civilisation through the practice of writing poetry about it.³²²

While the primary orientation of the gazetteers is towards governance, and both literati and masses are represented therein primarily insofar as they interact with those structures, other facets of life in Dali do also appear on occasion. The *Yunnan tujing zhi* references includes an “*azhali* monastic registry” 阿吒力僧綱司 in the list of religious institutions registered with the prefectural office.³²³ *Azhali* or *acuoye* were Ming-era designations for the particular form of Buddhism that is believed to have been established as the state religion under the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms.³²⁴ The sections on temples and monasteries certainly touch on these religious practices, but in these gazetteers that information is limited to the location and date of founding of the temples: it is left for extracted texts in other sections to suggest their importance to Dali society or differences from Buddhism in the central plains. These steles frequently reflected the sponsorship of such temples by local elites, whether literati or not, and as such gesture toward the existence of a local power base that, unlike in native-administered jurisdictions such as Lijiang 麗江 to the north, were not visible to the state through the *tusi* or native official administrative structures. The *Yunnan zhi* section on Mt Diancang is illustrative in another way: following a description of the physical features, and local people's use of the mountain, the compiler concludes with the repetition of an earlier comment about the location of the Nanzhao capital, followed immediately by a note stating that when the Ming armies had conquered Yunnan they had “planted a flag on Mt Diancang within view of the city, in order to make it known to doubters who had fled to this mountain following the defeat.”³²⁵ This consciousness of military concerns and relatively recent conquest runs through both the *Yunnan zhi* and the *Yunnan tujing zhi*, which lists at the end of the “changes in administrative units” for each civil administrative unit the military unit currently garrisoned there. These texts, as a result of the incorporation of other genres within early Ming gazetteers of Yunnan, do not simply represent the perspective of imperial agents, but reflect, at least to a limited degree, the multi-vocality of Yunnan elite society.

Early Ming provincial gazetteers thus combine a desire to situate Yunnan historically and geographically within Chinese empire with a desire to maintain a degree of differentiation between the exotic peripheral regions and the interior. To reconcile these often-contradictory goals, the authors of their prefaces frame the act of writing a gazetteer within a narrative in which the gazetteer is presented as a successor to historical and geographical works from within the Chinese canon. While the gazetteer itself is a tool for imperial government, the gazetteer's formerly-barbarian subjects are by these means incorporated into this tradition at the same time as they are being incorporated into the empire. According to Chen Wen,

³²¹ Ihor Pidhainey, “Yang Shen and the Nature of Travel Writing,” PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2005.

³²² YNZ 11.?. Compare Liam C. Kelley, *Beyond the Bronze Pillars: Envoy Poetry and the Sino-Vietnamese Relationship*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

³²³ Megan Bryson, “The Transformations of Baijie Shengfei: Gender and Ethnicity in Chinese Religion,” PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2010; Hou Chong 侯冲, *Baizu xinshi: “Baigu tongji” yanjiu* 白族心史：白古通記研究 [The Bai Soul: Research on the “Baigu tongji”]. Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2002.

³²⁴ These are understood to be representations of (possibly Bai language pronunciations of) Sanskrit, either *acarya* (teacher), or *ajaya* (invincible). See Bryson, “The Transformations of Baijie Shengfei,” 79.

³²⁵ YNZ 3.3b

雲南古四夷，靡莫之屬遠在荒外，而禹貢職方之所不及者也。漢武時始通中國，繼以晉隋唐。雖曰郡縣其地，不過遙制以為羈縻而已。況蒙段二氏假號承強歷數百年。屢為邊患。宋則置之度外。豈惟力之不贍哉？至于有元僅能一而撫之。然治教晦塞，氣習猶自異於內地。視前代之遙制以為羈縻者又豈能大相遠哉？

In ancient times the four *yi* of Yunnan belonged to the *mimo*, far off in the borderlands, and the territory in the Tribute of Yu did not reach there. In Han Wudi's time they began to connect with the central states, and continued through the Jin, Sui and Tang. Even though they were said to be under regular administration, they could not be controlled except using halter-and-bridle [indirect administration]. Furthermore the two Meng and Duan families are falsely called inheritors of a vigorous chronicle numbering hundreds of years. They frequently worried at the borders. But the Song did not control beyond the [Da]Du river. Surely it is not the case that only force can be enough? It was only the Yuan who were able to unite and pacify them. Despite governance and education, the atmosphere and customs of border areas still differ from those of the interior. When we consider how former generations turned remote territories into halter and bridle lands, surely our capabilities are not greatly different?³²⁶

For Chen, the turning point in Yunnan's history is the Yuan conquest, and in particular the subsequent efforts to bestow government on the frontiers that enable Yunnan to become comparable in beauty to "places in the interior that have been famous for ten thousand generations."³²⁷ Zheng Yong 鄭顥 (fl. 15th century), in his preface to the same gazetteer, emphasizes the role of seventy years of Ming rule in the "education and raising up of the people" of Yunnan and its contribution to the glory of the dynasty by spreading its unity as broadly as possible.³²⁸ Chen Bidao's preface to the Zhengde *Yunnan zhi* presents a similar narrative of incorporation during the Yuan and Ming, but emphasizes Yunnan's appearance in Chinese texts.³²⁹ Although they do not always agree on the specifics, these narratives consistently present Yunnan as a place in the process of becoming visible in Chinese texts at the same time as it is becoming more susceptible to sinic imperial rule. While this is often depicted as a multi-stage process, they all identify the Yuan conquest as the turning point in making imperial benevolence and social order available to the peoples of Yunnan. Writing from the perspective of officials entrusted with making that order a reality, these authors identify Yunnan as a region that is necessarily peripheral, because of its history outside of the historic boundaries of Chinese civilization, but that is now firmly incorporated in the empire politically and as a result being transformed in its society and culture.

Imagining the Locality in Yunnan — County and Prefecture Gazetteers:

While for the first two hundred years of Ming administration, gazetteers produced for Yunnan were largely on a provincial level, by the 16th century gazetteers were increasingly compiled for smaller administrative units. This change reflected the transformations taking place in Yunnan society, and the more complex relationship between state and locality in the borderlands. Just as Provincial gazetteers in Yunnan hewed closely to their purpose of guiding imperial officials appointed to govern a remote and unfamiliar territory, most local gazetteers were written by centrally appointed officials as a guide for their successors, and treated the territory as a conquered land. The compilers of the 1550 Xundian prefecture gazetteer, for example, emphasized the difficulty of their role in practically creating a literati community out of

³²⁶ Chen, "Preface," YNTJZ xu.5a.

³²⁷ Chen, "Preface," YNTJZ xu.6b.

³²⁸ Zheng Yong 鄭顥, "Chongxiu Yunnan zhi xu 重修雲南志序 [Preface to the Revised Yunnan Gazetteer]," YNTJZ xu.2a.

³²⁹ Chao, "Preface," YNZ xu.1a-b.

whole cloth. By their account, Xundian's residents were "only familiar with barbarian/foreign customs, they have confused ideas about the laws of the state" 惟諳夷俗，罔知國法. Not only was the onus on the officials to produce a suitable gazetteer, the local community could not even furnish sufficient sources:

尋無宿典、無老成人、無文籍、簽名公鉅卿將，曷志之能。

Xundian has no permanent copies of the classics, no elders, no documents; even when guided by renowned officials, how can we write a gazetteer for it?

Nevertheless, they, like fellow officials in other parts of Yunnan, persisted. Table 2.4 gives an indication of local gazetteers currently in circulation at two points during the Ming: nineteen gazetteers referenced in the 1510 *Yunnan zhi* and twenty gazetteers recorded in the 1610 *Dian zhi*.³³⁰

Table 2.4: Local gazetteers mentioned in provincial gazetteers (1510 Yunnan zhi and 1610 Dian zhi):

<i>Yunnan zhi</i> 1510		<i>Dian zhi</i> 1610			
Title		Title		Length	Extant?
阿迷州志	Ami Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	安寧州志	Anning Sub-Prefecture Gazetteer	4 juan	No
安寧州志	Anning Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	澄江府志	Chengjiang Prefecture Gazetteer	2 juan	No
澂江府志	Chengjiang Prefecture Gazetteer	楚雄府志	Chuxiong Prefecture Gazetteer	2 juan	Yes
定邊縣志	Dingbian County Gazetteer	大理府志	Dali Prefecture Gazetteer	4 juan	Prefaces, 1 juan
定遠縣志	Dingyuan County Gazetteer	鄧川州志	Dengchuan Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	2 juan	No
富州志	Fuzhou Gazetteer	廣西府志	Guangxi Prefecture Gazetteer	4 juan	No
鶴慶府志	Heqing Prefecture Gazetteer	鶴慶府志	Heqing Prefecture Gazetteer	3 juan	No
劍川州志	Jianchuan Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	昆明縣志	Kunming County Gazetteer	2 juan	No
江川縣志	Jiangchuan County Gazetteer	浪穹縣志	Langqiong County Gazetteer	1 juan	No
景東府志	Jingdong Prefecture Gazetteer	臨安府志	Lin'an Prefecture Gazetteer	4 juan	No
臨安府志	Lin'an Prefecture Gazetteer	祿豐縣志	Lufeng County Gazetteer		No
祿勸州志	Lumian Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	蒙化府志	Menghua Prefecture Gazetteer	3 juan	Preface
寧州志	Ningzhou Gazetteer	曲靖府志	Qujing Prefecture Gazetteer	4 juan	No

³³⁰ None of the gazetteer editions referred to in the Fang Guoyu has found references in other texts to an additional thirty gazetteers, mostly county or sub-prefecture gazetteers. None of them are extant.

仁德府州志(尋甸)	Rende Prefecture Gazetteer	騰越州志	Tengyue Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	3 juan	No
石屏州志	Shiping Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	武定府志	Wuding Prefecture Gazetteer	3 juan	No
武定府志	Wuding Prefecture Gazetteer	尋甸府志	Xundian Prefecture Gazetteer	2 juan	Yes
新興州志	Xinxing Sub-prefecture Gazetteer	續武志	Xuwu Gazetteer	1 juan	No
陽宗縣志	Yangzong County Gazetteer	姚安府志	Yao'an Prefecture Gazetteer	2 juan	No
姚安府志	Yao'an Prefecture Gazetteer	永昌府志	Yongchang Prefecture Gazetteer	4 juan	No
		趙州志	Zhaozhou Gazetteer	1 juan	Yes

In the textual ecology Ming Yunnan, the Dali region had an exceptionally rich record of gazetteers compiled by local-affiliated literati, rather than centrally-appointed officials. The first two gazetteers are extant only in part or in quotations, Yang Nanjin's *Dengchuan zhoushi* and Li Yuanyang's *Dali fuzhi*. Both men were imperial officials who had served in the censorate and returned to their hometowns in old age. In 1587, a Sichuanese magistrate, Zhuang Cheng, compiled a Zhaozhou gazetteer that drew heavily on local sources (including Li's prefectural gazetteer). Finally, a new 1646 edition of Dengchuan gazetteer was compiled by Ai Zixiu as a successor to Yang Nanjin's, establishing a temporal continuity in the cycle of gazetteer compilation. These gazetteers were much more closely aligned to the generic norms than Yunnan's provincial gazetteers, so let us examine them a little more closely.

Unlike provincial gazetteers, which covered geographical units too large for day-to-day interactions among the whole group of literati involved in their compilation and described therein, the local — prefecture or county level — gazetteer was deeply entwined at all levels with the community of literati families in that place. The local gazetteer represented a locality through the literati community who participated in the compilation, had the gazetteer printed, circulated, read, and annotated it, and whose descendants eventually compiled a new edition. This deep connection between the text and the local literati community is reflected in the standard western accounts of the origins of the genre, which argue that it developed either in parallel with or as a result of the reorientation of literati power bases and concerns from the imperial centre to the locality in the Song dynasty.³³¹ As suggested by the spatially differentiated frequency of compilation of provincial gazetteers discussed in the previous section, the strong association of the gazetteer genre with local perspectives and interests did not hold consistently in relatively recently colonized regions like Yunnan. In a discussion of local gazetteers throughout the southwest, Dennis argues that compilers of gazetteers in these regions “focused on the ways in which locales were Chinese” as part of a colonial project directed at remaking the borderlands into civilized societies.³³² By his account, borderlands gazetteers were produced at the initiative of centrally-appointed officials, often with the stated goal to support the development of a local literati community in that district. Although local scholars were involved in these compilation

³³¹ James Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and their Place in the History of Difangzhi Writing,” *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 56, no. 2 (1996): 405-442; Peter Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou,” *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (2001): 37-76.

³³² Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 57.

projects – the Xundian gazetteer, for example, lists a local stipendiary student as one of three editors – they were usually in a subordinate position to the official who held primary responsibility for the compilation initiative.³³³ While these gazetteers by outsiders were perhaps the most common type of gazetteer produced in the southwest during the Ming, the uneven patterns of military migration, commercial interests, and local resistance meant that the generic forms were of necessity adapted to describing local societies that differed from the normative modal in a variety of ways. Scholars have noted the increase of passages describing and demarcating the indigenous peoples of the southwest in late Ming gazetteers, but they have not usually appreciated the creativity of the compilers in making room for these descriptions within sections on local customs or newly created sections.³³⁴ Dali's role as a cultural and educational centre – as distinct from Kunming's role as a centre of government and of military migration – meant that it was uniquely placed to produce gazetteers with a much greater degree of local initiative and involvement.

The three extant gazetteers from Dali exemplify the ways in which the generic form and the social structures associated with it reciprocally constitute each other throughout the life-cycle of the text. Gazetteers from smaller administrative units can provide much more detail about the people and the process by which they were compiled and printed, both in paratexts and in the content, than provincial gazetteers. *Zhaozhou zhi* included a note explaining the process by which the gazetteer was compiled, mentioning by name not only editors, proof-readers, and printers, but also more than a dozen local partisans in a dispute among local elites over the gazetteer draft. By the same token, the intimate relationship between the gazetteer and the imperial elite in that place gave the text an avenue for impacting the social life of those literati. As the gazetteers became part of the textual world available to local literati, they continued to shape their view of their own locality. Since gazetteers were only compiled for officially-recognized administrative units, these units became an essential part of literati self-conception. The selection of places and people to legitimate by inclusion in the gazetteer allowed the compiler to promote his lineage and institutional connections, but it also raised those lineages and institutions in the eyes of his successors. If, as one of the preface-writers of *Zhaozhou zhi* claimed, “the gazetteer was finished and carved, and placed in the place of honour, where it was daily borrowed to refer to, and checked for pros and cons” 志成且刻而置之座右，日按其藉，稽其利害, it comes to have a structuring influence — though not the only one — on the ways students, local *xiucai*, and officials see the area they live in.³³⁵ Whatever the motivation of later readers in referring to earlier texts, whether respect for their authority, curiosity, or simply the line of least resistance, the habit of consulting the local gazetteer ensured its continuing importance.

The exact number of gazetteers produced in Dali and its surrounding areas through the Ming dynasty is difficult to determine, since the majority are no longer extant. I have found references to at least eight, of which two are fully and one partially extant. The earliest surviving gazetteer from the Dali area is the 1563 gazetteer for Dali prefecture, *Dali fuzhi*, compiled by retired literatus Li Yuanyang ten years before he completed his *Yunnan tongzhi*. In addition to the

³³³ The editorial team comprised Prefect Wang Shangyong 王尚用, of Anfu 安福, who prepared the materials, local stipendiary student Zhang Teng 張騰, who arranged them in order, and Kunming stipendiary student Zhu Cheng 祝誠, who revised and checked the draft. Between the three of them they also provided most of the content of the *yiwu zhi* section.

³³⁴ Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State*, 141-143, although it is worth noting that the most detailed classifications were in texts directed at audiences concerned with military rather than civilian governance; Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 136-141.

³³⁵ Jiang Qin *xu*, ZZZ 1.

prefaces and contents, only the first two of the original ten *juan* have survived.³³⁶ This gazetteer in many ways embodies the ideal form of the local gazetteer as produced by an active group of local literati, as its compiler, born and raised in Dali to a Dali family, took on this project on his return to the area after retiring from his official career. The two other extant gazetteers were both compiled at the level of the sub-prefecture *zhou* 州. The 1587 *Zhaozhou zhi* was compiled under the supervision of an externally appointed official, Zhuang Cheng of Chengdu, but he presents himself less as the initiator of a civilizing project and more as a mediator between several groups of competing local interests. Finally, the 1646 *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi*, as a 15 *juan* revision of an earlier, 2 *juan*, edition, positions itself as the culmination of a centuries-long civilizing process in Dengchuan. These three examples show different facets of a literati community in Dali which was not merely an object of study by outsiders wishing to increase the local level of civilization but was able to produce, and to affirm its own identity through, this genre of texts.

Dali fuzhi – Literati Activity Centred on Mt Diancang and Lake Er:

Despite its status as probably the most famous, certainly the most frequently cited, gazetteer from the Dali area, less than a tenth of the printed text of the 1563 *Dali fuzhi* has survived. As the product of Yunnan's most vibrant literati community, this gazetteer unsurprisingly shows a closely intertwined relationship between the lives of the local elite and their textual representation. Dali's literati, particularly those with national connections, appear continually throughout the extant text, both in their own voices and in reference, and the surviving paratexts make it clear that they played an important role in its compilation. Later texts generally credit Li Yuanyang as compiler of both *Dali fuzhi* and the 1574 *Yunnan tongzhi*. According to his tomb inscription, Li was born in 1497 to a family with *min* 民 “civilian” registration status, and registered as a government student at the Taihe 太和 county government school.³³⁷ He achieved the provincial degree in 1522, taking second place in the provincial exam, and the *jìnshì* in 1526. He served in official positions in Jiangyin 江陰, in the southern metropolitan region 南直隸 (present-day Jiangsu 江蘇), and Jingzhou 荊州 in Huguang 湖廣 (present-day Hubei 湖北), as well as at the Hanlin academy and the censorate bureau in the capital. On the death of his father in 1541, he retired, returned to Dali, and immersed himself in local elite concerns. As a nationally-connected scholar-official Li was a figure of influence throughout the Dali area, actively involved in teaching, travelling, sponsorship of temples, and the writing of inscriptions for basically any construction. While he certainly did not carry sole responsibility for the compilation of the 1563 *Dali fuzhi*, it seems likely that its strong association with him in the minds of later gazetteer compilers contributed to both his and its reputation.

Li Yuanyang's involvement with the compilation of *Dali fuzhi* was, in actuality, considerably more complex. In his preface dated 1563, Li gives the following account:

壬戌攸縣江君應昂來為郡丞，謂圖籍有關郡之大務，遂重加編輯。陽以承命有宿，義不容辭，會台院檄纂雲南通志，令所部各以志送官。於是召集生儒，開局從事，乃別為例，作志凡十卷，梓刻初

³³⁶ The prefatory material and a partial version of the first treatise are reproduced in facsimile in the *Dali congshu – fangzhi pian* 大理叢書方志篇 [Collected works on Dali – Gazetteer Section], volume 4, pp2-33. The complete first treatise can be found in the microform collection of the National Central Library, Taipei, Special Collections no. 000512004; or in a much later manuscript copy held by Shanghai Library.

³³⁷ *Ming Li wenjin gong muzhiming* 明李文肅公墓誌銘 [Tomb inscription of Mr Li, Ming dynasty], Dali City Museum.

就，江君以兵務在行，乃郡司馬廣信周君震，身率屬邑分俸易楮，董摹傳之役，而後志事始備。In 1562, Mr Jiang Yingyan of Youxian came to be an assistant prefect and said that there were great deficiencies in the maps and records of great works in this locality, so they must be re-compiled and re-edited. In late spring I received an order, and since I had a unfulfilled obligation with regard to this work, I couldn't refuse. It happened that the Censorate had issued an order to compile a comprehensive gazetteer of Yunnan at that time, and ordered each administrative unit to hand over its own records, and send the records to the government offices. Consequently, I assembled scholars to open a composition bureau and offices to deal with this business. So I created separate outlines and composed treatises in ten *juan*. When the carving was just completed Mr Jiang had to leave on a military mission and so Assistant Prefect Zhou Zhen of Guangxin personally led his local officials in exchanging salary for paper, and himself took charge of copying and distribution. Only then was the gazetteer finally complete.

According to this preface, the initiative – and the funding – for the project came from a combination of government sources: on the one hand, the Yunnan provincial censorate had received instructions from the central government to compile a “comprehensive gazetteer” (*tongzhi*); on the other hand, a new administrator in the governor's office prompted a local order to recompile the Dali gazetteer specifically. Li Yuanyang, who had been personally directed to handle the prefecture gazetteer, was thus able to make use of the resources of the provincial gazetteer (in the compilation of which he was also heavily involved) for this smaller project. Moreover, while the provincial gazetteer was the work of a “bureau,” the compilation principles of the Dali gazetteer were Li's alone. The nine treatises of his outline were as follows (table 2.5).

Table 2.5: *Dali fuzhi* contents:

<i>Juan</i>		
1-2	地理志	1 - Treatise on Geography
3	建設志	2 - Treatise on Buildings
4	賦役志	3 - Treatise on Taxation
5	兵食志	4 - Treatise on Military Provisioning
6	祠祀志	5 - Treatise on Shrines and
7	官師志	6 - Treatise on Officials
8	人物志	7 - Treatise on Biographies
9	選舉志	8 - Treatise on Selected Graduates
10	雜志	9 - Miscellaneous Treatises

The final third of Li's preface outlines point by point the improvements made by this restructure.

夫志者郡史也，採諸故實，微諸人事，將施有政，非徒作也。夫五方地各有宜，民各有俗，善為政者成其務，不易其宜；明其教不易其俗；故地理為之首。行政教在乎設職官，審官材在乎備庶位，故建設次之。易稱聚人曰財，洪範八政，一曰食，二曰貨，語曰悅以使民，故賦役又次之。居安慮危，有文事者必有武備，故兵食又次之。夫致力於民者盡，則致力於神者詳，故祠祀又次之。政教之澤施於百世，故官師又次之。先民者國之儀刑，故人物又次之。取士實致用之本，故選舉又次之。府地在唐之中葉為南詔都會，故列其本末以存鑒戒，名曰雜誌以終之。此篇第之旨也。

Thus the gazetteer is the history of the local areas, it gathers historical anecdotes to illuminate human affairs, and if it manages to influence those in power it is not done in vain. In all directions each territory has its own requirements and its people have their own customs. One who is skilled at governance has success in his affairs without changing what is appropriate. He causes people to understand the teachings without changing their local customs. Thus the geography comes first. The implementation of governance and education people depends on establishing duties and offices, and the evaluation of people with the talents for each office depends having set out the whole of the official hierarchy. Thus official constructions is next.

It is easy to call people together to talk about wealth, about fundamental laws and the eight methods of governance. First one talks of food, secondly of goods. One talks of taxation in order to make use of the people's resources, so tax and corvée is next. One must think of danger in times of safety, and those responsible for civilian affairs must prepare for defence, so military provisioning is next. Those who devote themselves to the people pass away, but those who devote themselves become known, so shrines and sacrifices are next. The lustre of government and education was bestowed by past generations, so officials and teachers are next. Former people are the model for the state, so biographies are next. Selecting officials is the basis of practical administration, so selected graduates is next. During the Tang the prefectural region was the Nanzhao capital, so I laid out its basis and its ending, to remain as a warning, so I called them "miscellaneous" and placed them at the end. This the purpose of the way the text is ordered.³³⁸

To Li's mind, the structure of the gazetteer arises naturally from the priorities of a skilled official. This organization is undoubtedly elegant, but why is it so important to Li Yuanyang? In fact, Li's 1563 edition of *Dali fuzhi* was largely a re-organization of an earlier edition to which he had also contributed – the "unfulfilled obligation" mentioned in the preface.

According to the two preface (fragments) attached to the extant text, the 1563 edition was the second Dali prefecture gazetteer to be compiled in twenty years. Li Yuanyang's preface describes the process by which a group of Dali literati, including himself, compiled a gazetteer commissioned by Governor Cai in 1542, by way of justifying the need for a new, better organized, compilation:

大理舊志，蕪蔓不可讀。嘉靖壬寅以後，太守黃巖蔡君紹科，召陽與給舍弘山楊君士雲同修。時則成都修撰楊君慎謫居永昌，相與往來商訂，因據諸史傳，而以常璩、李景山諸所為華陽南中志參之，亦既成帙。鳳翔君鸞繼守，始梓行焉。今已二十年。直近事無紀，而於凡例綱目亦多出入。

The former Dali gazetteer is disorganized and one cannot read it. In the *renying* year of the Jiajing reign [1542], Prefect Cai Shaoke from Huangyan called together me and Yang Shiyun (called Hongshan) to compile the gazetteer together. At that time the court editor from Chengdu Yang Shen came to Yongchang and struck up a relationship with us, we came and went in close contact, having discussions and making corrections. And so according to the various histories and traditions, and having consulted what Chang Qu and Li Jingshan wrote in the *Nanzhong* and the *Huayang [guozhi]*, we finished it and made it into a book. Mr Feng Lun became the prefect, and had the blocks cut and printed. That was twenty years ago. It's not only current events that have not been recorded, but also from the notes on use and general guidelines there have already been many discrepancies from the outline and the *fanli*.³³⁹

In this account, the compilation of the former gazetteer was also prompted by official concern: the recently arrived Dali prefect, Cai Shaoke, took the initiative to gather together leading scholar-gentry of the region and entrusted them with the compilation of their own prefectural gazetteer.³⁴⁰ Yang Shiyun 楊士雲 (1477-1554) was the leading scholar in the Yang clan of Xizhou, a market town located about 8km north of Dali city on the banks of Lake Er. He achieved the *jìnshi* degree in 1517, at age forty, and was appointed to the censorate as a supervising secretary (給事中 *jishizhong*). Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559), a literatus from Chengdu who had taken first place in the metropolitan examination of 1511, had met Li Yuanyang during Li's stay in the capital to take the examinations, 1521-22.³⁴¹ Li became part of Yang Shen's circle, and when, in 1524, Yang opposed the Jiajing emperor's plan to posthumously elevate his biological parents, Li was demoted and Yang was exiled to Yunnan as a soldier attached to Yongchang garrison. Yang became a prominent member of the local literati

³³⁸ DLFZ 2

³³⁹ DLFZ 1

³⁴⁰ For similar initiatives in other locations, see Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading*, 50-51.

³⁴¹ DZ 471-73

community in Dali, and one of his most famous pieces commemorates a journey he and Li Yuanyang took around Mt Diancang.³⁴² Yang's sponsorship of the gazetteer compilation project adds another layer to their existing relationships, and ties their coterie to both the locality and to the larger community of Dali literati.

Unlike other Yunnan local gazetteers, the *Dali fuzhi*'s representation of the local literati community particularly emphasizes its connection to translocal gentry networks, and most especially holders of metropolitan office.³⁴³ The only remaining part of the first preface is its final page, but the date and author information indicate that it was written for a gazetteer completed in the early 1550s. Zhao Rulian, a *jinsi* of the cohort of 1532, was registered as a commoner through the Taihe county school, and was a connection of Li Yuanyang's through his son Zhao Song 趙松, who married Li Yuanyang's daughter.³⁴⁴ In 1552, when he wrote the preface, he was serving in Nanjing as a Director of the Board of Rites, having previously served in the Censorate and the Hanlin Academy. According to the surviving fragment, the compilation of this edition was initiated by the prefect, Cai Shaoke, and completed by an otherwise unknown Mr Dong.

...凡此則疑以傳疑，必有能辨之者是舉也。黃巖蔡守寶肇之，而克成於湖東公。其嘉惠文獻功亦愁哉！

...in all cases doubtful means of transmission makes for doubts. We must have a way to distinguish them, so I am laying it out: Prefect Cai from Huangyan started it officially, and it was brought to realisation by the man from Hudong. How much merit and encouragement the favour of this work confers on us!³⁴⁵

It seems that this account also refers to the work begun by Li Yuanyang, Yang Shiyun, and Yang Shen, at the request of Cai Shaoke, in 1542 – printed ten years later. If these two accounts refer to the same work, the Dali gazetteer was not only worked on by local literati, and exile Yang Shen, it was commissioned by a diligent Prefect. And yet, despite all this, Li describes the work as disorganized, messy, and in need of both updated information and a more rigorous editing process. In either case, these accounts show that this gazetteer was the product of indigenous Dali literati who had reached the highest levels in the imperial examinations and retained strong connections to their hometown.

A further complication is introduced by a preface by Yang Shen entitled “Preface to Dali Prefecture Gazetteer” (*Dali fuzhi xu*), collected in the *Dian zhi* Treatise on Literature.³⁴⁶ By this account, one Censor Hao had begun work on a Dali gazetteer when, in 1542, Prefect Cai formally commissioned a gazetteer in response to an imperial edict.

柱史溫泉郝公繙舊志而病之，乃徵議於督學憲使默泉吳公、參伯龍山沈公、金憲膠峰安公，板令於太守黃岩蔡公。蔡公奉楮及幣，禮謁給諫弘山楊公、荊守侍御中溪李公。二公家本郡人，官舊史氏，多識前代之載，且諳土著之詳，於是抒懷舊之蓄念，發思古之幽情，立創新例，大增舊文，閱數月而新志成，集二美而卷帙合。

Censor Mr Hao from Wenquan read the former gazetteer and criticized it, so he sought advice from Mr Wu Peng 吳鵬, called Moquan [of Xiuyong], a censorate official in the Provincial Education Office, Mr

³⁴² Ihor Pidhainy, “Lives and Legends of Yang Shen — Creating a Man for All Seasons,” *Ming Studies* 64 (2011): 7-32.

³⁴³ Philip Kuhn calls this the “national elite,” *Rebellion and its Enemies*, 4.

³⁴⁴ *Taihe Longguan Zhao shi zupu* 太和龍關趙氏族譜 [Genealogy of the Zhao clan from Longguan, Taihe], DLCS SJP 4.2083-2153.

³⁴⁵ DLFZ 1

³⁴⁶ Yang Shen 楊慎, “Dali fuzhi xu 大理府志序 [Preface to Dali Prefecture Gazetteer],” DZ 24.?

Shen Jimei 沈繼美, called Longshan [of Baoning js. 1526], a senior administrator in the Provincial office, Mr An , called Jiaofeng 杲, a censorate official in the treasury. The carving of the blocks was commissioned by Governor Cai, from Huangyan . Mr Cai donated paper and money, and respectfully called on Mr Yang Shiyun, called Hongshan, and Prefect of Jingzhou, Censor Mr Li Yuanyang, called Zhongxi. These two gentlemen are from families originally from this prefecture, they hold positions as historiographers, and know a great deal about the records of former dynasties, and moreover they know the particulars of the original inhabitants. Therefore they circulated nostalgic thoughts, expressed their pent up nostalgic thoughts gave vent to musing over things in the remote past and they went on for a bit; we set up new content and greatly expanded the content from the earlier gazetteers, after months passed we completed a new gazetteer, gathering together the work of the two fine men and uniting it in a single volume cloth-covered books.³⁴⁷

So far, the story is consistent with the other prefaces. Yang Shen adds some detail about the consultation process undertaken within the officials serving in the provincial offices before the compilation was commissioned, and the benefits of Yang Shiyun and Li Yuanyang's involvement. However, unlike his colleagues who were natives of the Dali region, Yang Shen brings the perspective of a literatus from a more established part of the empire who longs for the landscape of his adopted home to be not only beautiful but civilised, inhabited, and full of literary and historical meaning. To this end, he praises Prefect Cai for his efforts to improve the cultural life of Yunnan in his spare time:

时则黄岩公政成化流之暇、宅生居方之余也、而古迹英躔，琳宫宝地，表昔贤之遗爱，供骚人之景物者，一一鼎新之，賁飭之，轮之，奂之，咏之，榜之，不翅柳吴兴之蘋洲、谢宜城之叠嶂矣。其为新志之助，不亦多乎？

But at that time the gentleman from Huangyan had finished his official duties and was at leisure, and had time out from his daily life, he renovated one by one the traces of the past and vestiges of heroes, the sacred places of Daoists and Buddhists, and places that expressed the heritage of former notables, the scenic places of the poets, polished them up, made them grand, made catalogues, sang their praises until they were not inferior to Liu Wuxing's weedy islet or Xie Yicheng's layered peaks.³⁴⁸ His contribution to the new gazetteer was substantial.³⁴⁹

For Yang Shen, a crucial contribution to any gazetteer was the provision of material for chapters on sacred places, historically significant places, and scenic places. Cai's name is not associated with nearly as many extant significant sites around Dali as Li Yuanyang or Yang Shen himself, but it seems they all agreed on the role of local literati activism and gazetteer compilation in promoting the locality.³⁵⁰ By the time Li Yuanyang determined to revise the prefectural gazetteer, in 1562, both Yang Shen and Yang Shiyun had recently died (in 1559 and 1560). In this context, Li Yuanyang's 1563 *Dali fuzhi* can be understood as the conclusion of a project carried out by two generations of an increasingly prominent Dali literati community.

Since the *Dali fuzhi* was sponsored by officials and local literati with strong connections to translocal networks, it shows some signs of being directed to an audience beyond the locality. Li Yuanyang's goal of spreading awareness of Dali's historical importance appears from the very beginning of the first treatise, in which the compiler explains that when Chinese texts have, in the past, mentioned Yunnan, what they actually meant was Dali:

³⁴⁷ Yang, "Preface," DZ 801

³⁴⁸ Liu Wuxing is the poet Liu Yun 柳惲 (465-517)

³⁴⁹ Yang, "Preface," DZ 801

³⁵⁰ Cai Shaoke wrote a short travelogue about Dali that has been preserved, see "*Dali shanchuan ji* 大理山川記 [Records of the Mountains and Streams of Dali]" in *Zhongguoyouji sanwen daxi*, 419-420 for the text, and Pidhainey, "Yang Shen and the Art of Travel Writing," 204-5 for an English translation.

大理據全省之上游，為滇西阨塞之地。國家有事諸夷，其道路必出焉。自昔大理能制諸夷，諸夷莫敢窺大理。周為梁州域、西漢置益州，因彩雲見於南方亦名彩雲州、置雲南郡。漢唐之雲南即今府地。元始移其名為路，國朝以其名為省。諸史中凡曰雲南者，皆指大理而言。

Dali occupies the whole of the upper reaches of the province, and its land is the defensible fortress of western Yunnan. Its capital has business with people from various places, roads and routes surely go out from it. From ancient times Dali has been able to control the people from various places, and they did not dare to rebel against Dali. The Zhou made it Liangzhou city, the western Han established Yizhou. Because colored clouds were seen in the south it also had the name Colored Cloud County (*Caiyun zhou*), and was established as South of the Clouds commandary (*Yunnan jun*). The Yunnan of the Han and Tang is the land of today's prefecture. Beginning in the Yuan its name was changed to a "circuit" and in the current dynasty it became a province. The place that is called "Yunnan" in the official histories always refers to Dali.³⁵¹

This passage is followed by a detailed chronicle of Yunnan's history from the time of the emperor Yao until the early Ming, drawn from both standard sources (the official histories, *Huayang guozhi*, *Zizhi tongjian*) and from local records and traditions (*benji*, *benchuan*). Much of this material reappeared in the later *Yunnan tongzhi* (though some details are omitted) as a chronicle of the province as a whole, since Li and his fellow compilers understood the history of Dali to be the history of Yunnan. The descriptions of significant places around Dali, in addition to highlighting Dali's physical beauty and religious significance, are often presented in terms that would be meaningful for literati from other parts of the empire. The entry on Wuhua lou 五華樓 "Tower of Five Glories" in the antiquities section of the *Dali fuzhi* begins:

五華樓：廢址在今郡城中央。唐大中十年，南詔豐券祐所建，以會西南夷十六國。

Wuhua tower: the ruins are in the center of what is now the prefecture town. In the tenth year of the *dazhong* reign period of the Tang [857] it was built by Fengquanyou of the Nanzhao as a meeting place of the sixteen kingdoms of the southwest *yi*.³⁵²

This passage uses a famous historical site to epitomize the power of the Nanzhao state in terms that are oriented towards literary Chinese historical discourse. This is evident both in the details of the language and calendrical system — the date of construction is given in terms of Tang, not Nanzhao, reign periods; the Nanzhao ruler is referred to by his name transliterated in Chinese — and in the reference "southwest *yi*," which alludes to the grouping of the population of Yunnan in the *Shiji* 史記 and *Han shu* 漢書.³⁵³ For local literati who were already familiar with these places and stories, the presentation of this information in an authoritative imperial genre, the gazetteer may have contributed to the legitimation of Dali as a locality. At the same time, however, the compilers' insistence on explaining Dali's historical importance at every opportunity suggests that they had a broader audience in mind.

Despite the absence of the treatises in which the Dali literati community would have appeared most directly, their presence pervades the two extant *juan*, which together comprise the treatise on geography. The section on local customs largely echoes the impression given by the parallel section of the *Yunnan tongzhi* (although they share very little text), that the residents of Dali are a civilized people surrounded by barbarians living in the mountains and outlying counties. For Dengchuan and Langqiong, at the north end of Lake Er, the gazetteer emphasizes the military camps located there, while for Yunlong and Binchuan (in the mountains west and east of

³⁵¹ DLFZ 1.1a-b

³⁵² Unlike the *Yunnan tujing zhi* entry, here Wuhua lou's location is described by its relationship to the city as a whole (central) rather than its distance from the government offices. The Nanzhao emperor referred to here is surely Quanfengyou 券豐祐, sometimes given as Shengfengyou 勝豐祐, r.823-859. *Dali fuzhi* 2.44b.

³⁵³ In fact, this sentence is a direct quotation from JGDSJ.

Dali respectively) the compilers focus on the local barbarian (*yi*) populations. For Dali itself, by contrast, the majority of the text is devoted to the rituals surrounding death and ancestral sacrifices. Unlike the *Yunnan tongzhi*, in these passages quotations from earlier sources appear primarily in a commentary format, where the received texts supplement and enrich the narrative of the compiler. As a result, the Dali literati community is presented as highly literate and part of both the landscape described here and the classical textual world to which the gazetteer contributes.

Similarly, throughout the section on *shenglan* “Pleasant Views,” the compilers note associations between particular buildings and Dali *jinshi*.³⁵⁴ Some buildings were sponsored by individuals, such as Wuyue lou 五岳樓 “Mansion of the Five Sacred Mountains” built by Li Yuanyang behind the Three Pagodas temple, or Qingying Hall 青熒堂, south of Gantong temple, built by his relative Li Yuanhe 李元和. Another entry describes Xieyun lou 寫韻樓, the building where Yang Shen lived and practiced calligraphy, following his exile:

寫韻樓：在城西南蕩山，成都楊慎流寓，著六書轉注，一時問字者名其所居樓曰寫韻。
Xieyun Mansion: At the southwest of the city, at Dangshan. Yang Shen of Chengdu lived in exile here, studying ancient characters using the *zhuanzhu* method. During that time those who asked him philological questions called the building where he lived “Xieyun.”³⁵⁵

Many more entries record poems written by local or visiting literati while spending time at these locations, from Li Jingshan on Tianjing ge 天鏡閣, which still stands on the eastern bank of Lake Er, to early 16th century official Chen Yuan’s 陳淵 poetic record of his visit to the “ten views of Dali” (*yeyu shiguan* 葉榆十觀). These extend beyond the immediate environs of the city, including, for example, the Jade Spring Pavilion (*Fuquan ting* 玉泉亭) sponsored by Yang Nanjin (j.s. 1499) in Dengchuan.

Zhaozhou zhi – A Well-Governed County:

The second example of an extant local gazetteer from the Dali area during the Ming is the manuscript Wanli-era Zhaozhou gazetteer (1587).³⁵⁶ Unlike most Dali-region gazetteers (both extant and not), which were compiled by locals, *Zhaozhou zhi* was compiled by the sub-prefecture magistrate Zhuang Cheng. Despite this, it resembles the normative gazetteers of the center much more strongly than the frontier-style gazetteers. As a result, the compilation process and the contents position the sub-prefecture as a “mature” locality within the paradigm of late Ming spatial ideology. Zhaozhou, now Fengyi, was a sub-prefecture just southeast of Lake Er, the last town on the trade route between Dali and Kunming. This gazetteer, its first, was compiled by sub-prefecture magistrate Zhuang Cheng, a *ju ren* from Chengdu who had spent most of his career in the southwest. The descendant of a 1451 metropolitan graduate from a military background, Censor Zhuang Sheng, Cheng achieved the provincial degree in 1567 and was posted to Gong’an county, Hubei, as an instructor at the county school. Gong’an county was part of Jingzhou prefecture, where Li Yuanyang had served as prefect half a century earlier, and was at that time the home of the three brothers Yuan 袁, and the center of their Gong’an literary

³⁵⁴ All from DLFZ 93-96

³⁵⁵ DLFZ 94. The name is a reference to a story about Tang calligrapher Wu Cailuan 吳彩鸞, said to be an immortal who was banished for revealing secrets of the immortals to her husband. *Zhuanzhu* is one of the six methods identified for creating Chinese characters by the Han etymological dictionary *Shuowen jiezi*.

³⁵⁶ ZZZ 2

school. He was next posted to Zhaozhou, and from there went to Chaozhou, in Guangdong, where he worked primarily on administrative matters relating to foreign visitors, before retiring to Chengdu. According to his biography in Kangxi *Chengdu fuzhi*, he had the reputation of being generous to a fault, forgiving debts and supplementing tax payments out of his own pocket to the point where he was frequently short of money on his own account. Since he did not leave a preface of his own, it is difficult to determine why he chose to sponsor the compilation of a gazetteer in Zhaozhou. However, his editorial policies and his account of the compilation process suggest that his primary goal was to demonstrate and publicize his own success as an upright and moral official.

Zhuang Cheng's account of the compilation process, included in the prefatory material as a "Summary of the Reasons for Editing the Zhaozhou Gazetteer" (纂修趙志由略 *Zuanxiu Zhaozhi youlie*), . This gazetteer contains a much more detailed description than any so far examined of who precisely was involved in the compilation, what their responsibilities were, and how they carried them out. According to this account, both local people and officials were active participants in the production of this gazetteer, although it was officials who were responsible for directing and overseeing the work, while local people provided materials and undertook relatively menial tasks such as copying and printing.

一、趙原無志。修茲志也，其大聚祖於郡志。其細目訪於民間。覓之本州蘇氏，得家傳三世遺稿，覓之雲南常氏，得家藏草簡二冊。其略而未備者，則移文各屬，又親問諸譽民士大夫，博稽而補闕者也。

一、委用纂刊者，本州儒學學正任試、訓導王利賓、吏目李待升也。至於專纂茸者則利賓也。其捐傷衙字而時檢匠工者，本州同知劉一棟也。

一、選用譽錄者省祭熊臻元，州吏楊柯，州民楊載德、徐本忠、陳正印、焉應義，而編閱繕真者，則載德也。至於刊刻匠都棟用，商文語等十陸人，而專督檢點勘磨改正者亦文話也。

一、會計、查檢、出納、籌畫者，工吏白錦本，裝訂者洪氏等諸人也。

- Zhaozhou originally did not have a gazetteer. When I composed this gazetteer, for its general outline I followed the model of the prefectural gazetteer, and for its specific items we investigated among the people. We asked the Su clan of this sub-prefecture, and obtained an unpublished manuscript handed down through the family for three generations; we sought among the Chang clan of Yunnan county, and obtained two volumes of rough, simple family records. While the draft was not yet perfected, we altered the script and the various categories and inquired in person among many old people and literati, and erudite men examined it and repaired it.

- The people who were appointed to edit and print it were the *ruxue* of this sub-prefecture, teachers and examination officials, instructor Wang Libing, and clerk Li Daisheng. Libing was the one in charge of the compilation. The sub-prefecture magistrate Liu Yilian issued orders for the official text, and in time selected the workmen.

- Provincial [inspector] Xiong Zhenyuan, sub-prefecture clerk Yang He, and people from the sub-prefecture Yang Zaide, Xu Bencheng, Chen Zhengyin, and Yan Yingyi were selected to copy out the manuscript; and Zaide read it through and checked everything. Craftsmen Xi Lianyong, Shang Wengao, and sixteen of their men were appointed to carve and print it. Wengao supervised each drop of ink and corrected the errors.

- Work-official Bai Jinben did the accounts, made examinations, did the receipts and payments, and made preparations; the various men of the Hong clan assembled the cloth covers.³⁵⁷

The responsibility was initially assigned to local officials, who examined official documents, observed the countryside and people, systematically questioned local elders, and collected

³⁵⁷ ZZZ 4

documents from two local families, an unpublished manuscript handed down through the Su 蘇 clan, and rough family records of the Chang 常 clan. However, after the initial draft was produced by a stipendiary student from Dali, it became a subject of heated dispute among local elites:

一、延用其事者，大理生員沈珊，本州生員趙良臣、鄒維賢、鄒有賢、楊於朝、王業、時仲芳、韓汝嘉、張學銘、陸如義、李進、張文移、林絡美、鄒世昌。而創稿略者沈珊，專仇者鄒維賢、王業、時仲芳、林紹美。秉公論者趙良臣等諸人也。

一、刪繁補潤，載定祀典，上下人物，不私於親眩，不畏乎豪勢，矢於天日，不敢不公者，知州莊誠也。

一、區盡林工，處議供鎖，上不敢冒破公幫之盒，下不忍沾泡窮民之潤，赤誠之貢也。

• The process was prolonged by Dali *xiucai* Shen Shan, Zhaozhou *xiucai* Zhao Liangchen, Zheng Weixian, Zheng Youxian, Yang Yuchao, Wang Ye, Shi Zhongfang, Han Rujia, Zhang Xueming, Lu Ruyi, Li Jin, Zhang Wenzhen, Lin Luomei, and Zheng Shichang. Shen Shan created the rough draft, and Zheng Weixian, Wang Ye, Shi Zhongfang, and Lin Shaomei stubbornly opposed it. Zhao Liangchen and the others discussed it fairly.

• Sub-prefectural magistrate Zhuang Cheng trimmed it down and polished it, so the record was settled according to the recorded rites, to personages ancient and modern. He did not keep it private to his intimates, and did not fear the powerful and influential. Having vowed to have it all out in the open he did not dare to not make it public.

• The region is filled up by two forests, I made a strategic decision on supply. Those above do not dare to [call it] damage [to] the funds from the public treasury; those below cannot bear to soak in the profit derived from the poor; this is utterly sincere responsibility.³⁵⁸

Even Zheng Weixian and Zheng Youxian, likely brothers or cousins, were lined up on opposite sides of the dispute. Although we cannot determine what the dispute was about, it is clear that local literati had some influence over the direction of the compilation, instead of merely working at the direction of the sub-prefecture magistrate. However, they, like the workmen and the lower-ranking officials (whether from Zhaozhou or elsewhere), remained subordinate to the magistrate who, in this telling, stands at the centre of the local power network. Moreover, none of the men mentioned here appear elsewhere in the text, even in lists of stipendiary students or graduates.³⁵⁹ Zhuang positions himself as the honest broker dealing fairly with local power-holders, eliding interactions between the local elite families and the workmen they lived alongside and perhaps themselves employed in other contexts. The importance of a gazetteer, for him, lies in its ability to stand above private interests as a form of public good.

Throughout the gazetteer, Zhuang Cheng selected and arranged his materials to maintain his posture as a knowledgeable, impartial external official. He is listed as the editor of each of the four *juan*, throughout which he alternately refers to his own achievements in the third person and inserts direct editorial comments. In the account of Zhaozhou's granaries, for example, he praises his own generosity in voluntarily undergoing financial hardship to repair the relief granary, which stored food in case of famine or natural disaster:

趙州預備倉：在州治內在遞年收貯稅糧本色舊存八間，卑隘米穀易腐。嘉靖庚戌建五間，知州潘大武建。至萬曆四十年因西事議廣貯，前倉窄狹，知州莊誠捐俸增置倉二間，平房三間，又貯便也。
Zhaozhou preparation granary: inside the sub-prefecture yamen, where the unprocessed grain tax is

³⁵⁸ ZZZ 4-5

³⁵⁹ It was not uncommon for these lists to exclude people currently living; however the lists of officials in the gazetteer does include current data (such as Zhuang Cheng himself).

annually collected and stored. It was formerly held in eight rooms, but they were small and cramped, and the grain easily became rotten. In 1550 five rooms were constructed by Magistrate Pan Dawu. In the 40th year of the Wanli period [1612], because matters to the west led to discussion of increasing the store, and the former storehouse was narrow, Magistrate Zhuang Cheng gave up part of his salary to increase the storehouse by two rooms, three flat rooms, more convenient for storage.³⁶⁰

Similar comments recur throughout the treatises on buildings and shrines. On the other hand, throughout the history of administrative units he strategically balances discordant accounts through lengthy citations to produce a harmonious overall picture. First, he compares the standard accounts of the classical sources (*Tribute of Yu*), the prefectural gazetteer (Li Yuanyang's *Dali fuzhi*), and Guo Songnian's traveller's narrative. Then, he summarizes the material in table form. Finally, he includes several pages of selections from other sources under the heading "Historical Testimony on Changes in Administrative Units" (沿革史證). By presenting such an unusually thorough account of Zhaozhou's institutional history, including both his own analysis and substantial ranked selections from primary sources, Zhuang establishes his authority as a well-informed editor. At the other end of the work, Zhuang begins the last treatise, entitled "Miscellaneous" 雜誌 by directly addressing the reader:

雜誌者，雜採諸家之說，以備志所不及載者也。不幾於繁沓乎？曰：孔有雜卦，莊有雜篇，韓有雜說，唐人自武德以下有雜體，雜之不可廢其來尚矣，撰雜誌。

As for the "miscellaneous" treatise, when gathering the words of various authors, in order to prepare a treatise, some fell short of those that were recorded. Could I not hope for such a great pile of paper? It is said: Confucius wrote the "Miscellaneous Hexagrams" [commentary on the Yijing]; Zhuangzi wrote the "Miscellaneous Chapters" [section of the *Zhuangzi*]; Han Yu wrote "Miscellaneous Opinions" [Zashuo sice]. From the Wude era onward the Tang people had all kinds of variant [miscellaneous] forms: irregular things thus should not be abandoned, since we may come to value them. So I have written a "miscellaneous" treatise.³⁶¹

Here, Zhuang speaks to his perception that the reader will find his final treatise somewhat inelegant. His choice to tackle this directly, playing with the unrelated classical works that also use this character in their titles to justify his own practice, shows his confidence in the authority of the editorial persona he has established throughout the gazetteer. There may also be some implied criticism of Li Yuanyang's 1563 prefectural gazetteer and the 1574 Yunnan provincial gazetteer, both of which also included a "miscellaneous" treatise.

Zhuang's depiction of Zhaozhou society presents a picture of a fully civilized locality, so refined that it might as well be in "the suburbs of the capital" 彬彬焉與魯克甸園風 and, more importantly, was a credit to himself as magistrate. In the section of the geography treatise devoted to local customs (風俗 *fengsu*), he ignores entirely the tropes employed by officials introducing governance in exotic frontier locations. He does not discuss any strange customs of dress, food, or family life (only the kinds of heterodox rituals commonly ascribed to non-elite populations throughout the empire) or employ any of the typical tropes other gazetteer use to describe conquered peoples. He does list briefly the distribution of population, but does not identify them as in any way different from ordinary registered commoners (民 *min*):

趙州治南：曰多人稀，皆知勤生力本。

³⁶⁰ ZZZ 38. 1612 is obviously incorrect here, since the text was written in 1587, and there was no guarantee the Wanli emperor would have such a long reign. I suspect the intended date was the 15th year of that period, 1587.

³⁶¹ ZZZ 88

治北：土旧少，生齒繁，其人多遠營。

治中：力水与逐末兼事，其人多淳樸，好施有禮，十會有捨棺會。

白崖川：平衍，人多樸野。

迷渡市：各省游民借居，其人好誣訟。

德胜驛：衝要，人多浮滑。

South of Zhaozhou yamen: fields are plentiful but people are few; they are all familiar with hard work and are very strong.

North of the yamen: there is little land but the population is numerous; its people mostly keep a distance from the military camp.

Around the yamen: they control the water and at the same time engage in commerce; its people are honest and hardworking, they like to give alms and engage in rituals, every ten assemblies there is a “give alms to the dead” assembly.

White Cliffs River: open and flat, there are many people to hunt/work in the open space.

Midu market: sojourners from every province take the opportunity to live their; its people love to make up stories.

Desheng staging-post: strategically important; its people are mainly flippant and insincere.³⁶²

The discussion of customs also contains an account of the “Returning Star Festival” which is here said to commemorate Lady A’nan, the widow of a local ruler who committed suicide rather than marry the Chinese general who had killed him.³⁶³ Much of the text is taken from her entry in the “Biographies of Virtuous Women” chapter in the *Yunnan tongzhi* 11.14b, but Zhuang Cheng does add notes on alternative dates for the festival in neighboring areas. The section finishes with an account of Zhuang’s attempts to implement proper dissemination of the community contract *xiangyue* (鄉約) to improve the moral education of villagers:

講鄉約：趙州鄉約，原有定制。一向缺講，知州莊誠每月於初二十六集士民詣城隍廟，講明聖諭，其鄉遠不便趙州者即於本地僉置約長，照例奉行。有犯義者，諄切宣諭，全其悔悟，乃著訓民俚語，刊刷頒示，各敦禮讓，風俗丕變。滇土貿易有婦女，趙亦踵之。知州莊誠目擊其弊，條呈[陳]禁革。至今市井貿易，間有山鄉老婦，而年幼者迸[絕]跡矣。

Reading out the community contract: The Zhaozhou community contract was originally a regulation. It had never been read out until Magistrate Zhuang Cheng, every month from the beginning of [year?] 26 [1598] gathered the people at the town gods’ temple and explained clearly the imperial edict. As for the villages which were so distant that it was inconvenient to get to Zhaozhou, at once these localities all established compact officials, and they usually followed the policy [of making the speeches]. When they would not be brought into order, he sincerely read out the imperial edict and commanded them to repent. Therefore he instructed the people using the simple language, and had it printed and put on display, but each revered ritual was ignored and customs did not change. Among Yunnan’s indigenous people women engage in trade, and in Zhaozhou they also follow this custom. Magistrate Zhuang Cheng witnessed this malpractice with his own eyes and wrote a memorandum forbidding it. Until now, among the traders in the marketplace there are old women from the mountain villages, but the young ones have been stopped.³⁶⁴

Read in the context of his problems controlling the production of the gazetteer, this passage shows Zhuang’s anxiety to reinforce his moral standing above that of the population. Not only does he report the regular, ritualized performance of reading aloud through which he enacts the role of bringing civilization to Zhaozhou, he records the (relative) successes he has had in bringing about actual change in the behavior of the local people. This is the only mention of the indigenous people of Yunnan in the gazetteer, and even here they are placed at one remove from

³⁶² ZZZ 24

³⁶³ See Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 118-120 for translation and further discussion of other legends associated with this festival.

³⁶⁴ ZZZ 24-5

local society: Zhuang says that they follow a particular custom, not that they belong to a particular group. Zhuang also downplays the military presence of the state in Yunnan, particularly compared to the role of the civilian administration. In the excerpt from the customs section above, the existence of a camp — in fact Erhai Fort 洱海衛 — is noted, but its people are outside the remit of Zhuang's discussion.³⁶⁵ The picture of harmonious local society developed through the content of the *Zhaozhou zhi* reinforces the idea that Dali has been successfully civilized and emphasizes Zhuang's role in the process.

It is not clear from the text how Zhuang Cheng or his co-compilers would have fit their representations of Zhaozhou into a broader image of Yunnan, but the two prefaces, both by officials attached to the Provincial Surveillance Bureau, suggest one way the broader official community may have attempted it. In this texts, Jiang Xin and Hu Weixin highlight how much more tractable Zhaozhou seemed in comparison with the parts of Yunnan they governed. These prefaces frame the compilation of this gazetteer as the result of centuries of labor to impose the governance of “the interior” 內地 in the southwestern borderlands. Like earlier prefaces, they praise the author and situate the work within traditions of geographical writing, and they particularly emphasize both the author's contribution to effective rule in Yunnan and the utility of geographical writing for governance and moral transformation. In the second preface, Hu Weixin, an official responsible for schools in Jin-Cang military prefecture, situates Zhuang Cheng's achievement as the culmination of the political and social transformations in Yunnan since the beginning of the dynasty:

國朝洪武初平定滇雲，始以州治隸大理，官吏之所張置？典章之所頒布，一視內地。化椎結為冠裳，易保倍以控誦，且二百二十年。而治之有志則自主守誠始輯之。幾為志者有一，都為四卷。蓋二百二十年來人情土俗之異同，舊貫新條之因革，彬彬為備史。予秉憲金滄，采風多暇，嘗恨茲州紀載之缺，而文獻之不足徵，驟得茲志閱之，何其快也。

The Hongwu emperor of our dynasty first pacified Yunnan, and began to make the sub-prefecture government subordinate to Dali. Its officials were sent out and established, its decrees and regulations were promulgated, just like in the interior. Coiled hair was transformed into official dress, its protections were transformed manifold by means of control and recitation, over just 220 years. And in governing them one makes use of gazetteers, rather from the time of Official Zhuang Cheng who began to collect one. Several made treatises but we have one, in all it makes four *juan*. It covers the last 220 years of differences and similarities in human feeling and local customs, continuities and change in old rules and new decrees, it has become perfectly refined in appearance. I am in charge of the law in Jin-Cang, I collect local materials, many worth praise, and already regret the lack of records in this sub-prefecture. And documents are not sufficient for evidence, but we suddenly have this gazetteer to review, how quick!³⁶⁶

As an official in another part of Yunnan, struggling to govern and educate the strange local people, Hu emphasizes the practical utility of a gazetteer, which he himself is lacking. Jiang Xin 姜忻 (j.s. 1565), an official from Nanchang serving in the Yunnan Surveillance Bureau, views writing about distant regions as an important part of imperial expansion from the Zhou onwards, carried on in Zhaozhou by Zhuang Chang.

禹貢別九州疆域，底慎中邦之賦，即菜之深絲淮之珠魚，與島夷皮卉之服，悉數其物。州職方氏掌天下之圖，以掌天下之地辯其邦國，都鄙之人民，與其財用，九谷六畜之數，要而夷蠻閩絡

³⁶⁵ Compare to Dengchuan, where only 70 years later the military camps have settled in and become equivalent to the *min* villages, while relatively uncivilised indigenous people are depicted as on the outskirts of the sub-prefecture, in the mountains.

³⁶⁶ Hu, *xu*, ZZZ 2-3

，多男少女，多女少男，亦附載之。犬殊域異類，織細瑣屑，固宜其不足登記者，而且猶然志焉。非以政俗故系司化柄者固不得而略之欽？趙州故昆彌國地，自漢元獵中，封濱王，賜玉印，治白崖，其後稍置州郡，隸屬不一，非獨其疆域山川為敷莫之所未及，雖其牧守所置，耳只貢所制，視中猶闊略甚，蓋用夏蠻夷有待而然也。

The Tribute of Yu distinguished nine provinces in our territory, to preserve the land tax of the central plains, even the mulberry silk from Lai and the pearls and fish from Huai, and the leather-and-grass clothes of the *yi* from the eastern islands, are described in great detail. So as for distant lands and foreign peoples, small things and trivial details ought to be not enough for the one making the record, but also it should be recorded as before. If it is not the case that officials responsible for moral transformation exercise control by means of governance and customs, indeed surely they must not be omitted? So Zhaozhou is in the land of Kunmi, from the Han to the Yuan it was a place ruled via devolved power, conferred upon the King of Dian, who had received the jade seal and controlled the White Cliffs, and afterwards administrative units were to some extent established, although what they were subordinate to varied, it was not merely that their territory and mountains and rivers had not yet been spread out and settled, although the local officials were established and the tribute was regulated, they regarded the centre just as extremely vaguely, so I make use of the Xia *manyi* and treat them like that.³⁶⁷

After invoking the canonical reference point of all writing about geography in the Chinese literary tradition, the *Tribute of Yu*, Jiang locates Ming Yunnan within a political context which is heir to the Zhou states.

明興華元，命改大理路為府，趙州隸之。分盡張設，一視中州。幅員之長而規制之備，無論超越漢代，即夏後氏聲教之所暨，周官圖籍之所載，方斯蔑矣。自設州治迄今二百餘年，聲名文物，彬彬焉與魯克甸園風。乃州志缺焉不講，一方之政俗曠焉不載，雖其事問於郡乘，然略而不備者上多。莊守誠治州之暇，取掌故之搭廣謠網羅乎放失，走開ⁱⁱ乎，下乎二百今年之窮其因革衍失之故鄉開^ω四叢

When the Ming rose and flourished over the Yuan, the ordered that Dali Circuit be made into a prefecture, and Zhaozhou was subordinate to it. The place was divided up and established, so it looked just like in the central provinces. The territory was long and the regulations were provided, regardless of whether they exceeded the Han dynasty, even to the limits of the renown and enlightenment of Emperor Yu of the Xia dynasty, what is recorded in the maps and census records of the *Zhou Guan* (Chapter of the Book of Rites) put this in a disregarded place. Since the establishment of the sub-prefectural office until now it has been more than two hundred years, [civilization has been proclaimed], it has been refined to be like the suburbs around the capital in atmosphere.³⁶⁸

Like Hu Weixin, Jiang sees the *Zhaozhou zhi* as the instrument of a process of moral transformation which is aimed at converting borderlands regions like Yunnan into imperial localities. Although this gazetteer is evidence of some degree of success, for them, the people of Zhaozhou remain the objects of state rule and therefore moral transformation, and the only civilized literati of the area are the officials sent to govern them. For us, the contrast between the representation of Zhaozhou in the prefaces and in the gazetteer itself highlights the complexities of late Ming Yunnan, and Dali's place within it, at once the civilized locality and the being-civilized frontier.

Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi – a Mature Gentry Community:

While the Zhaozhou gazetteer legitimates the local literati community by describing a frontier locality in essentially the same terms as one in the interior, the 1646 *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi* “Revised gazetteer of Dengchuan sub-prefecture” by Ai Zixiu 艾自修 (c.1564-?, *juren*

³⁶⁷ Jiang, *xu*, ZZZ 1-2

³⁶⁸ Jiang, *xu*, ZZZ 1-2

1597) explicitly frames its local literati community as the successors of the hereditary indigenous officials who had governed the area for most of the Ming. According to the narrative presented in this text, until 1569 Dengchuan had been governed by members of the A 阿 clan serving as magistrates appointed on a hereditary basis. This did not require success in the examinations, although the second generation official, A Zixian 阿資賢 (fl. early 15th century) is said to have travelled to the provincial capital to study, and the Zhengtong-era magistrate, A Zhao 阿昭, is described as “valuing scholarly elegance” *yi ruyi zhong zhi* 以儒雅重之.³⁶⁹ After the sub-prefecture government was regularized, hereditary leaders of the A clan continued to hold official positions as indigenous magistrates, but their role is described as primarily limited to negotiating with and bringing under governance five indigenous leaders who had retreated to the mountains in the late 16th century “in order to avoid having to go and pay respects to the emperor” *yi mian chaojin* 以免朝覲.³⁷⁰ This narrative of the A family’s flourishing in the early part of the dynasty but decline into irrelevance overlaps with the rise of the local literati group to which Ai belongs, and with whom the gazetteer is primarily concerned.

The compilation of a gazetteer was understood as a natural outgrowth of Dengchuan’s closer connection to the empire through the process of administrative incorporation. As the title indicates, the 1646 edition was the second gazetteer compiled for this sub-prefecture. The first, no longer extant, gazetteer, had been compiled by local literatus and former censor Yang Nanjin 楊南金 (j.s. 1499), probably sometime before 1550. Yang was a Dengchuan native, from Xinsheng village 新生, who spent his retirement writing about and improving the moral education of his hometown. Yang’s gazetteer was compiled at the point when the A clan’s indirect rule was about to be replaced by a regular administrative unit, and the 1646 gazetteer indeed frames it as part of that process. Li Ruhe describes its composition as an expression of fealty to the emperor:

夫郡之設志，凡以宣民清，尊國是，勵官箴耳。舊誌楊御史曰：“志以誅亂討賊，如一事不遵法即亂臣，一念不順親即賊子”。旨哉言乎！纂志者意更如是也。

The purpose of establishing an administrative unit is in all cases to proclaim that the people are in order, to honour state actions, and stimulate official virtue, that’s all. The former gazetteer by Imperial Censor Yang said: “the purpose of sending punitive expeditions is to suppress rebellions, in the same way affairs that do not follow discipline are treacherous ministers, and intentions that are not filial are rebellious subjects.”

How to the point his words! One who compiles a gazetteer must have his intentions even more like this.³⁷¹

Here, Li plays on the two meanings of the character *zhi* 志 – gazetteer and will/intention – to draw a parallel between establishing regular administration and producing the typical record of an administrative unit. While Yang Nanjin’s gazetteer is discussed as part of the process of administrative incorporation, Ai Zixiu framed his own work as its culmination:

以州治四遷之後，既有定局。宜造郡乘。

So after the sub-prefectural seat moved four times, only then was it fixed in occupation. It was then appropriate to write a gazetteer for this admin unit.³⁷²

³⁶⁹ Yang Nanjin, “Record of Indigenous Official A signing with the Dali Prefecture Seal” (*A tuguan shu Dali fu zhuan jilue* 阿土官署大理府篆記略, CXDCZZ 114

³⁷⁰ CXDCZZ 8

³⁷¹ CXDCZZ 1

³⁷² CXDCZZ 132

Between 1567 and 1641, officials had had difficulty finding a location for the sub-prefectural seat that was both well-supplied with water and acceptable to the local community.³⁷³ At last, Ao Hongzhen 敖泓貞, the magistrate in residence when Ai began to compile this gazetteer, had found a suitable site and had a wall built around it. This second gazetteer was compiled not only as an endpoint of a transformation in Dengchuan local society, it was at the very end of the dynasty; by the time it was completed the Manchu armies had taken the capital, although they did not reach Yunnan for another twenty years. As a result, its point of view on much of the period is firmly retrospective; rather than seeing its time in a continuing process of civilization, it makes relatively little reference to future readers or an educational level that they hope to achieve.

The shift in power from an indirect to direct form of administration in Dengchuan did not mean that power shifted away from the local community. Instead, it shifted from the A clan – as hereditary officeholders – to a group of local elite families whose orientation and self-image operated within the framework of imperial scholar-gentry. Though some, like Yang Nanjin, were descended from historically powerful clans of the Dali area, others, like Ai Zixiu, were descended from Ming-era migrants.³⁷⁴ As a result, Yang Nanjin figures in this gazetteer as both the ancestor of the text's precursor and as the effective founder of the local literati community. Before he achieved the *jìnshì* degree in 1499, the only local worthy biography before him were also surnamed Yang. From the sixteenth century onward, however, the education and biographies chapters are populated by men surnamed Zhang, Zhao, Tao, and Ai, as well as Yang. The change in the centre of local power from the A clan to this network of literati lineages is most clearly illustrated by the collection of memorials (table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Enfeoffment proclamations in *Chongxiu Dengchuan Zhouzhi*

Title		Date
誥封土官知州阿這	Imperial Enfeoffment of A Zhe as Indigenous Magistrate	1384
誥封土官知州阿子賢	Imperial Enfeoffment of A Zixian as Indigenous Magistrate	1412
誥封土官知州阿昭	Imperial Enfeoffment of A Zhao as Indigenous Magistrate	1469
誥封土官知州阿旻	Imperial Enfeoffment of A Min as Indigenous Magistrate	1504
誥封土官知州阿驥	Imperial Enfeoffment of A Ji as Indigenous Magistrate	1504
敕封御史楊南金父母並己身	Imperial Conferment of Titles on Censor Yang Nanjin and his Parents	1526
敕封通判劉起龍父母並己身	Imperial Conferment of Titles on Assistant Prefect Liu Qilong and his Parents	1606
敕封知縣楊州雁父母並己身	Imperial Conferment of Titles on Magistrate Yang Zhouyan and his Parents	1612
誥封知府阿天麒父母並己身	Imperial Enfeoffment of Prefect A Tianqi and his Parents	1616
敕封知縣艾自修父母並己身	Imperial Conferment of Titles on Magistrate Ai Zixiu and his Parents	1618
敕封李肅父母並己身	Imperial Conferment of Titles on Li Su and his Parents	1624

While the first five and the seventh are enfeoffments of successive generations of A *tuguan*, the sixth ennobles Yang Nanjin and his parents, and the remaining four similarly elevate the families

³⁷³ For details, see chapter one.

³⁷⁴ Ai's father migrated as a civilian in the sixteenth century, CXDCZZ 94.

Li, Liu, Yang, and Ai, as rewards for long years of official service. Geographically, the Dengchuan literati community was based in a collection of villages around the county seat. Some villages, like Zhongsuo (“central camp” 中所) seem, from the name, to have originated as military encampments, while others, like Yangtang (“sheep embankment” 羊塘), suggest local landmarks. Throughout the gazetteer, when identifying the person responsible for a particular treatise, in lists of examination graduates, or in collections of literature, the compilers identify examination graduates and local identities by their village. This usage suggests that the compilers expected village of origin to be salient information for their readers: this gazetteer was written not just by but for a local literati audience.

The 1646 gazetteer thus departs from the earlier gazetteer by being more thoroughly grounded in a flourishing community of local scholars. In his preface, former magistrate Li Ruhe situates the composition of this gazetteer as the culmination of years of writings by assorted local luminaries about their own local elite community:

然地以人童，楊御史直節載滇南人物志。後有艾道學雲蒼先生載今代賢儒錄，而救民之雅念，歷歷可會，則是錄也。雪蒼君奉旨講學，憤激時變而為是編，則末世可升太平，寧獨福鄧賡已哉。第鄧之受國，每因滑吏濫用里甲。所望剛正君子堅〔守〕固持，貝海內之變故可勿問而知也！

Thus for [adults and children], Imperial Censor Yang recorded with integrity a treatise of biographies of southern Yunnan. Later, *daoxue* scholar Mr Ai Yuncang [Ai Zixin] wrote a record of the current generation's worthy scholars and with the correct thought of saving the people he was able to assemble them in a clear manner, and single-mindedly copied them out. Mr Xuecang taught learning by order of the emperor, and when roused to action by the vicissitudes of time [ie the death of his brother] he thus organized them, and when at the end of life he rose to peace and security, he paid a visit alone to fortunate Dengdan. He resided in Deng[chuan] and withdrew from national affairs, every time because corrupt officials misused the tax system. I expected that the upright gentleman would hold fast and stubbornly persist, but in all things unforeseen events can stop inquiry and understanding.³⁷⁵

According to this passage, Ai Zixiu took up compilation of the gazetteer to continue the work of his older brother, Ai Zixin 艾自新. This family connection sits at the centre of the local literati community Ai Zixiu had in mind in compiling his gazetteer; as a filial son and younger brother, he uses this medium to promote the status of his lineage within his local community, both in his own time and into the future. Moreover, Li describes the works of Ai Zixin and Yang Nanjin as biographical records of each one's generation, downplaying the historical or geographical aspects that other gazetteers emphasized. The scholarly community was not only a synchronic one, it also traced its history into the past. Ai Zixiu began his personal note with a reference to his predecessor:

惟昔楊御史直筆凜凜，但越今一百五十餘年。為此，精心採錄敬授諸梓。

Nevertheless in former times Imperial Censor Yang wrote without prejudice and inspired awe, but that was more than 150 years ago. To do this he painstakingly collected and recorded, and with respect for imparting knowledge he had wood-blocks carved.³⁷⁶

Here, Ai Zixiu accounts for his own work by noting the amount of time that had passed since Yang Nanjin's gazetteer, and expresses his respect for his predecessor's work. He also suggests

³⁷⁵ CXDCZZ 1-2

³⁷⁶ CXDCZZ 1. Li Ruhe was Dengchuan magistrate preceding Ao Hongzhen. The preface by Yang Nanjin that Li Ruhe quotes is not included in this gazetteer; there is a version in the 19th century *Dengchuan Zhouzhi yiwén zhi* 13.22b-23b. Since that gazetteer's copies of the 1646 paratexts differ substantially from earlier editions, I have not felt that the text of the earlier preface could be relied on.

that Yang, like Ai himself, may have personally financed the production of his gazetteer.

則是編自崇禎十四年至隆武二年方纂造刻完。鏤心鏤骨，抱病沉沉，幾乎不起。茲者，剝削之價，刷印之需，敖公不給一文錢。每募公私諸公，亦些微無濟。余賣田四十畝方能成之。第今烟、楮俱貴，敢丐諸公稍助，以廣是編何如？
This was compiled from the 14th year of the reign of the Chongzhen emperor [1641] to the second year of the reign of the Longwu emperor [1646; Ming reckoning] when the edition was fixed and carving into printing blocks was finished. It was inscribed on my heart and engraved on my bones, my health was so greatly affected that I could barely stand up. As for now, the price of opening up and engraving, and the necessity of printing, Mr Ao did not supply a single string of cash. Public and private funds from various gentlemen each contributed, but it was too small an amount to be of help. I sold a field of 40 mu and thus was able to successfully fund it. Just now ink and paper are both expensive, I dared to ask various gentlemen for a little help, by this means we can publish this widely, how about it?³⁷⁷

According to this passage, the 1646 gazetteer was financed by private means: Ai sold a field he owned in order to have blocks carved, and solicited funds from local scholars to print and distribute copies widely. The community of literati who are depicted throughout the gazetteer were responsible for both initiating and funding the project, and saw themselves as part of a community that had done this for over a century.
The editorial process through which this gazetteer was compiled further demonstrates its deep roots in Dengchuan scholar-gentry life. Unlike the Zhaozhou gazetteer, in which magistrate Zhuang Cheng was listed as compiler on each section, two men are listed as overall compilers of the Dengchuan gazetteer, along with many more who had responsibility for smaller subsections. In most catalogues Ai Zixin is listed as the editor-compiler (*cuan* 纂), who gathered and selected materials, while Ao Hongzhen is listed as the writer-compiler (*xiu* 修).³⁷⁸ That is, Magistrate Ao worked under the direction of local elder Ai, then eighty years old, to turn the materials available into a book. Ai and Ao additionally delegated the work of preparing much of the text of the gazetteer to 25 local literati and one other sojourning official (table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Chongxiu Dengchuan Zhouzhi contributors:

Name	Treatises responsible for	Sections responsible for (treatise)	Title	Hometown
艾自修 Ai Zixiu	地理志、山川志、 風境志、建設志、 官師志、學校志 Geography, Mountains and Rivers, Scenery, Public Buildings, Officials and	循良政略（德政志） Law-Abiding Policies (Good Governance)	儒史、儒師、理 學、郡人 Historian, scholar, neo-Confucian, local man	寺寨 Sizhai

³⁷⁷ CXDCZZ 133-34

³⁷⁸ Ao Hongzhen, a provincial graduate from Jintang 金堂, in Sichuan province, had previously served as sub-prefect of Nanning, in southern Guangxi, and magistrate of Lingtai county 靈台縣, in Pingliang prefecture 平涼府, Gansu, before being posted to Yunnan. Ai Zixiu belonged to a literati family from Sizhai village 寺寨, just north of Dengchuan town, and by 1640 was an elderly man returned to his hometown after an official career. In the Kangxi-era Dali fuzhi, he is the last of three magistrates listed for the Chongzhen era in the section on officials and does not appear in the Biographies of Famous Officials section (although Yunnan did not become part of the Qing empire until 1681 the Kangxi-era gazetteer uses standard Qing dates throughout).

	Teachers, Schools			
倪[X] Mr Ni		堤防（山川志） Levees and dykes	庠生 Student	
饒琛 Nao Chen		勝覽（風境志） Pleasant Views (Scenery)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
楊以言 Yang Yiyan		風俗（風境志） Customs (Scenery)	庠生 Student	
宋希賢 Song Xixian		城池（建設志） Walls and Moats (Public Buildings)	鄉官 Rural Official (retired)	寺寨 Sizhai
高翔鳳 Gao Xiangfeng		公署（建設志） Government Offices (Public Buildings)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
趙翰念 Zhao Hannian		名宦（官師志） Famous Officials (Officials)	庠生 Student	
李光緒 Li Guangjin		職官（官師志） Official List (Officials)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
吏都等 Li Budeng	德政志 Good Governance		紳衿 Member of Official Class	
段高選 Duan Gaoxuan	服役志、軍糧志 Tax and Corvee, Military Supplies	X良X	小邑 Xiaoyi	
王景雲 Wang Jingyun		市肆（軍糧志） Markets (Military Supplies)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
趙天錫 Zhao Tianxi		學租（學校志） Study Societies (Schools)	庠生 Student	
王漢 Wang Mei	人物志 Biographies		舉人 Provincial Degree Holder	寺寨 Sizhai
李宗[X] Li Zong[X]		恩選（人物志） Favoured Elect (Biographies)	庠生 Student	
李雲階 Li Yunji		封贈（人物志） Recipients of Titles (Biographies)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
蘇善 Su Shan		耆德（人物志） Aged and Virtuous (Biographies)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
毛國璋 Mao Guozhang		尚義（人物志） Advocates of Morality (Biographies)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
楊龍藻 Yang Longzao		寺觀（祠祀志） Temples and Abbeys (Shrines and Sacrifices)	庠生 Student	
[X]天胤 [X] Tianyin		里社（祠祀志） Village Shrines (Shrines and Sacrifices)	廩生 Stipendiary Student	
王家賓 Wang Jiabin		災祥（祠祀志） Disasters (Shrines and Sacrifices)	貢生 Tribute student	源保 Yuanbao

劉一經 Liu Yijing	綸恩志 Imperial Edicts		太學生 Student at the Imperial College	寺寨 Sizhai
楊為楨 Yang Weizhen	藝文志上 Literature (A)		鄉官 Rural Official (retired)	
徐進卿 Xu Jinqing	藝文志下 Literature (B)		舉人 Provincial Degree Holder	和山 Heshan

The person responsible for compilation of each treatise is noted at the beginning of the treatise, under the title, and if a different person was responsible for a particular subsection this is noted at the head of that subsection. Each compiler was also identified by their status with regard to the civil service or examination system: what degree they hold, where they have studied, and if they have held official position. Ai Zixiu is the most common name to appear in this context, listed as the compiler of seven treatises, while none of his subordinates appear more than twice and most only once. While Ai is identified most commonly as a *rushi* 儒史 “Confucian scholar,” he is also occasionally listed as a “Confucian teacher” (*rushi* 儒師), “neo-Confucian” (*lixue* 理學) or “local man” (*junren* 郡人). Of the others, the most common designations are *xiangsheng* 庠生, denoting an unsalaried holder of the lowest degree, and *linsheng* 廩生, a salaried holder of the same degree. What information can be gleaned about this men from this or later gazetteers shows that they were local men, mainly from the civilian, rather than military, villages, and belonged to a class of educated men not currently employed as officials.³⁷⁹ By drawing them into the compilation process of this revised local gazetteer, chief editor Ai Zixiu ensured that this gazetteer would be a reflection of a flourishing literati community in Dengchuan.

In many ways, *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhouzhi* is the closest of the extant Yunnan or Dali gazetteers to the ideal generic exemplar of a local gentry community expressing itself through gazetteer compilation. The thematic organization of the treatises conforms to established norms, the compilation process engaged a large proportion of the literati community, the co-sponsors represented both currently-serving officials and local elites, and the paratexts and quoted works locate this gazetteer in a tradition of history-writing about Dengchuan as a locality. Even the fact that Ai Zixiu has a lineage claim to prosecute through this official genre, not to mention his financial support of the enterprise, was not uncommon for gazetteers in all parts of the Ming empire. However, the rhetorical force of this particular gazetteer is derived less from the fact that it conforms to the authoritative norms of an established genre but from the story it tells about its compilation by local literati as the culmination of three hundred years of moral transformation in the region. Here is an account of changes in Dengchuan customs from the *fengsu* section:

國初，俗雖雜夷，後科甲繼起，文行可比中州。且正直之氣根與性生一淑一[X]，月旦難欺。是以婚喪相（助）疾病相扶，錢糧相助、教學相資。舊俗有服毒、吊頸、圖賴之事，並將遠年田契妄來加添者，今具權息。

Even though, at the beginning of the dynasty, the customs were those of the various barbarians, latterly the number of examination graduates has continually increased, and the literary works and virtuous deeds can be compared with those in the central provinces. Moreover, the air of justice and honesty is rooted in the

³⁷⁹ Although there is little evidence that any of them may have taken up official appointments later in life, having contributed to the gazetteer in their youth, the timing of this gazetteer in the last days of the Ming, but 25 years before the Qing successfully conquered Yunnan, means that their career paths may have been interrupted by the political situation. It is not necessarily the case that such a large group of educated young men were not employed or did not seek employment throughout the late Ming period.

character of clarity and [illegible], judgment of human quality is difficult to deceive. Here people assist each other in marriages and burials, support each other in sickness and ill-fortune, help each other with money and grain, and supply each other with instruction and learning. In former customs, there were affairs of swallowing poison, hanging oneself, and false accusation, and for many years land deeds increased rashly. All have now ceased to be authorised.³⁸⁰

In this passage, Dengchuan is described as a place that has been transformed from a place of misery and barbarism to a locality whose citizens practice mutual aid, and have access to both virtue and literary merit. While some Yunnan gazetteers, such as the *Xundian fuzhi* discussed above, represented themselves as the beginning of the moral transformation that should accompany the establishment of civilian administration, *Chongxiu Dengchuan zhoushi* derives its effect from the repudiation of structures of indirect rule by already-civilized indigenous officials in favor of regular administrative status. In this story, the local literati are the effective agents of transformation, responsible for incorporating Dengchuan into the imperial spatial imaginary via the homology of gazetteer-literati community-locality.

Re-configuring the Provincial Gazetteer in *Yunnan tongzhi* and *Dian zhi*:

The use of gazetteer compilation to represent Dali as an imperial locality resonated throughout the gazetteer genre in Yunnan. Yang Shen's *Dali fuzhi* preface critiques earlier texts for their surface-level understanding of Yunnan:

山河若柯戒而以一經行盡之，幅員數千里而以二卷X約之，原本山川，有惡其能說，極命草木，無裨於多識矣。

They treat the mountains and rivers like a three-foot rule, and with a couple of lines they get through the whole, the area is several thousand li but they run through them all in two *juan*. When they attempt to trace to the origin mountains and rivers, there are bits that are embarrassing for people who can talk well, and their information about grasses and trees is no help to men of superior erudition.³⁸¹

The growth of a Yunnanese scholar-gentry, based in Dali, comprising both Chinese-educated indigenous literati and the descendants of migrants, created both a source and a market for more detailed and accurate depictions of the province. From the middle of the sixteenth century, as the men involved in compiling local gazetteers also participated in the provincial gazetteer process, Yunnan's provincial gazetteers lost their tinge of exoticism and ignorance, instead taking on the characteristics of local gazetteers produced by those familiar with their subject. The 1574 *Yunnan tongzhi*, compiled by indigenous *jinshi* degree holder and retired official Li Yuanyang, was the first Yunnan provincial gazetteer to resemble in both form and content the gazetteers produced by local literati in other areas of the empire. In the preface to the edition of *Dali fuzhi* he compiled ten years earlier, quoted above, Li Yuanyang described the beginning of the compilation project in 1562. According to this account, compilation of the *Yunnan tongzhi* was undertaken by the provincial government on the instructions of the censorate, as part of an empire-wide wave of provincial gazetteers. The process took more than ten years, and made extensive use of the infrastructure of the provincial government, both in collecting information from administrative units and in providing institutional support for the compilers. The fact that Li Yuanyang was asked to have oversight of the compilation team is testament to his status as a "national-level" scholar-official, that is a holder of the metropolitan degree with a long record of service and connections throughout the empire. As a scholar with both deep local knowledge and a

³⁸⁰ CXDCZZ 20-21

³⁸¹ Yang, "Preface," DZ 801

distinguished career in the metropole, he was in an ideal position to produce a Yunnan gazetteer that was in accordance with the required standards of comprehensiveness and style.

While earlier provincial gazetteers established the authority of their compilers by making use of atypical formal features and foregrounding the lack of a civilized local elite in the region they ruled, the *Yunnan tongzhi* closely adheres to generic conventions in order to reinforce its claim to represent exactly that civilized elite in Yunnan. Although the impetus for the project came from provincial officials, Li Yuanyang was determined to produce a gazetteer of high quality, in comparison both to earlier Yunnan gazetteers and those of other provinces. In his preface, he criticizes the 1510 *Yunnan zhi* – the most recent edition – for its poor coverage:

英皇命儒臣用禹貢職方之遺意為輿地一統志，而雲南之建置至為明備。正德間前輩括圖經為雲南志，尚多闕略。

[Ying emperor] ordered the scholar-officials to use the projected territory from the Tribute of Yu to make a unified gazetteer of the whole land, and so the establishment of Yunnan was clarified and completed. In the Zhengde period our forebears included maps to make a gazetteer of Yunnan, but it was still greatly lacking.³⁸²

Li sees his work as the successor to earlier Yunnan provincial gazetteers, but also as a parallel to the comprehensive gazetteers of other provinces:

各省通志張立題部犁為十有二類而以事目繫之治道。莫先於域民故以地理為之首庶政必遵乎？

The comprehensive gazetteer of each province spreads out and sets up its categories, carving out twelve classifications in order to summarize the numerous affairs of state. Nothing precedes the land and people, so surely we must abide by the convention of placing geography first of the many matters of governance?³⁸³

Li explicitly justifies his organization of material into thematic categories by linking it to instantiations of the genre in other provinces, of which, as a retired official, he would have had plenty of experience. However, *Yunnan tongzhi* was also tied particularly to Li's experience as a member of Dali's scholar-gentry. *Yunnan tongzhi* was a larger production than the earlier gazetteers: according to the preface more than 80 men were involved in its compilation, many of the most active of whom were Dali literati. The responsible editors and copyists listed at the end of each *juan* are Dali prefecture magistrate Li Kehua 李可華 and Taihe school student Dong Xueshu 董學舒. Moreover the annotations frequently quote Li Yuanyang or Yang Shiyun's own notes, perhaps collected for the production of the 1553 Dali gazetteer, with detailed information and stories of local history. As a result, this gazetteer represents the perspective of the literati community based in Dali, who were developing increasingly strong provincial and imperial level connections and had begun to engage with imperial textual culture without the mediation of centrally-appointed officials.

Yunnan tongzhi differs from earlier Yunnan gazetteers most obviously in its organization of information. While earlier gazetteers prioritized the spatial units of imperial administration as the basis of their structure, *Yunnan tongzhi* is organized primarily using thematic categories and sub-categories, using umbrella categories like "geography" and "buildings" as the link between the thematic categories and the quasi-material structure of the book, based on *juan*. Li places the prescribed categories at the second level of analysis and relegates the administrative unit to the third layer of organization (table 2.8). Relying on thematic categories for the fundamental

³⁸² Li, YNTZ, xu.1b, DZ 800

³⁸³ Li, YNTZ, xu.2a, DZ 800

organization of the gazetteer follows both the imperial guidelines discussed above and the more typical structure of gazetteers compiled by local literati in the interior.

Table 2.8 *Yunnan tongzhi* contents

<i>juan</i>		
1	地理志	Treatise on Geography
2	建設志	Treatise on Buildings
3	賦役志	Treatise on Taxation
4	兵食志	Treatise on Military Provisions
5	學校志	Treatise on Schools
6	官師志	Treatise on Officials
7	人物志	Treatise on Biographies
8	祠祀志	Treatise on Shrines and Sacrifices
9	廟觀志	Treatise on Temples and Abbeys
10	藝文志	Treatise on Literature
11	羈縻志	Treatise on <i>jimi</i>
12	雜志	Miscellaneous Treatises

Li Yuanyang himself would have been familiar with the gazetteers of the regions where he held official posts. Two editions of a *Jiangyin xian zhi* 江陰縣志 were produced in 1520 and 1547. In addition, Changzhou prefecture 常州府, to which Jiangyang belonged, had a particularly rich history of gazetteer production. In addition to the famous (and still extant) 1177 Piling gazetteer, reprinted in 1315, and again in 1484, new Changzhou gazetteers were compiled in 1377 and 1469.³⁸⁴ Although gazetteer compilation in Huguang did not have quite such a long history, a Jingzhou 荊州 county gazetteer was compiled 1532, while two provincial and many county level gazetteers had also been produced in and around Jingzhou in the century before Li served as magistrate.³⁸⁵ The available extant gazetteers from these areas all use the same kind of thematic structure described in the Yongle guidelines, which Li also applied to his Yunnan gazetteer. His reasoning for this change can be found in the *xuli* 敘例:

通志者會列郡之志而出於一也。夫雲南二十府夷居三之一。徼外羈縻控扼之夷，又半之括不一。以為畫一之法必製合軌，而言有物斯不為徒作矣。舊志不立類例，失其綱領。今約為十二類以提其綱，而以本事係目於其下。

Comprehensive gazetteers can put in order the treatises of administrative units and out of them make one gazetteer. Of Yunnan's 24 *fu*, barbarians live in one third. Outside the frontier the halter-and-bridle areas are the centers controlling the barbarians, moreover the half-controlled ones vary. It was thought that the daylight of one law must create a joint path, but as for that there are things here that do not follow it. The former gazetteer did not establish its categories and methods, and so neglected the order of its outline. Now there are twelve categories in order to improve its order, and in that way the source material is bound together with the table of contents.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ This information is from 中國地方志聯合目錄.

³⁸⁵ The two provincial gazetteers are the 1522 *Huguang tujing zhi* 湖廣圖經志 and the no-longer extant *Huguang tongzhi* 湖廣通志 that preceded it. Extant lower-level examples include the 1480 Gong'an county gazetteer 公安縣志, which has survived in a 1547 reprint, an undated Jiajing era gazetteer from Chengtian prefecture 承天府志, and a 1531 Mianyang county gazetteer 沔陽縣志. the 1532 Jingzhou gazetteer is still extant.

³⁸⁶ Li, YNTZ, *xuli*. 1a

To Li's way of thinking, the purpose of a comprehensive provincial gazetteer was to bring order out of the irregular materials available. If the compiler did not use his ability to bring order through the structure of the gazetteer, he would effectively be abandoning the areas beyond the frontier to barbarism. The table of contents should not so much list pre-existing material but re-form it according to a more appropriate model. In relying on thematic categories for the fundamental organization of the gazetteer, moreover, he followed both the imperial guidelines discussed above and the more typical structure of gazetteers compiled by local literati in the interior, especially those gazetteers labeled "comprehensive." This structure highlights the generic continuity between the *Yunnan tongzhi* and provincial and local gazetteers from other parts of the empire while at the same time differentiating it from earlier gazetteers of Yunnan province.

The coverage of the geographical features and important buildings throughout the province is both more extensive and more detailed than comparable passages in the extant early Ming gazetteers. Take, for example, the section on Mountains and Rivers 山川 in Lin'an prefecture 臨安府.³⁸⁷ The *Yunnan tujing zhi* lists four mountains, *Panshan* 判山, *Dangling* 址嶺, *Xiushan* 秀山, and *Xianren po* 仙人坡, along with two water features, the Lu River *Lu jiang* 瀘江 and Lotus Pond *Lianhua chi* 蓮花池.³⁸⁸ In addition to the section on Mt Pan quoted above, the other five features are described at comparable length and to a similar level of detail, so that the Mountains and Rivers section occupies one folio in total. The *Yunnan zhi* entry is somewhat longer, four folios, as its coverage is substantially broader.³⁸⁹ In total, it lists 33 mountains and 26 water features, but only five get more than a column's worth of description, many much less. While there is a clear distinction between the *Yunnan tujing zhi*'s approach of only including features about which something interesting is known, and the *Yunnan zhi*'s preference for breadth, if at a relatively shallow level, the *Yunnan tongzhi* distinguishes itself from both of them in both the quantity and quality of its entries. The *Yunnan tongzhi* Mountains and Rivers section for Lin'an prefecture takes up nearly seven full folios.³⁹⁰ It is divided into four subsections: "famous mountains" (*mingshan* 名山), containing Mt Pan and Mt Xiu; "various mountains" (*zhongshan* 眾山), which covers 55 more mountains and related features; "great rivers" (*dachuan* 大川), with only one entry, the Zangge river 牂牁江; and "various rivers" (*zhongchuan* 眾川), including an additional 54 rivers and watercourses. These entries vary in length from half a column's worth of basic information to several columns with quotations from poetry or inscriptions, as for Mt Pan. Both the depth and breadth of coverage in the *Yunnan tongzhi* far outstrip that of earlier gazetteers, not only in this section but throughout the treatises dealing with geography, institutions, and notable people. While this may in part be due to increased availability of data across the century which produced these three gazetteers, the sharpness of the increase and the fact that it applies consistently across all kinds of topics suggests that the editorial approach taken by the compilation team was a more important factor. This attention to the detail of historical geography not only demonstrates the compilers' familiarity with the region, it constructs Yunnan as a meaningful landscape inhabited and understood by civilized people.

It is worth noting, however, the coverage throughout the province was by no means standardized. While earlier gazetteers followed the same format throughout, the *Yunnan tongzhi* varies noticeably within a standard set of categories, showing the involvement of a variety of local

³⁸⁷ Now Jianshui 建水, south of Kunming.

³⁸⁸ YNTJZ 3.2b-3b

³⁸⁹ YNZ 4.4b-8a

³⁹⁰ YNTZ 2.45b-52b

elites and officials across the province. Some sections show a strong preference for the use of administrative units and precise distances, while other sections give more general directions or omit locations altogether. In the chapter on geography, for example, the section for Qujing military prefecture includes detailed historical and geographical annotations on significant bridges (particularly one Chengqing bridge), while the equivalent section on Weijiang prefecture is limited to a statement on the location and date of construction of the bridges, and the main feature of the provincial capital, Lake Dian, is highlighted primarily through its appearances in poetry.³⁹¹ In the treatise on geography, the Dali portion has separate sections for each administrative division within the prefecture, while the section for the capital, Yunnan prefecture (now Kunming) does not include any such distinctions. This variation reflects the uneven implementation of imperial rule throughout the southwest frontier, as well as the patchy engagement with literati ideology and practices among Yunnan's local elite communities. Although Li Yuanyang and his compilers came out of a community where membership of the literati class overlapped substantially with the group of highest-status lineages in the indigenous community, in places like Lijiang (just to the north), and Wuding (in eastern Yunnan), indigenous elites pursued a strategy of more limited engagement with the state system and literati culture.³⁹² As a result, while the *Yunnan tongzhi*'s presents a more substantial Yunnan literati community than earlier gazetteers, in reality this community was attached to Dali (and Kunming) rather than to Yunnan as a whole.

The Dali literati who compiled this gazetteer were not oblivious to the contradictions between their status as indigenous elites and the sino-centric ideology which undergirded both their literati status and the textual world in which the gazetteer participated. One feature of this gazetteer is the use of short introductory paragraphs at the beginning of each treatise to explain the editorial choices made therein.³⁹³ In these unsigned accounts, an editorial persona locates the treatise both within its appropriate textual genealogy (that is, the Chinese classical tradition) and in relation to the Yunnan physical and social world represented by the gazetteer. In the biographies treatise, the compilers confront the difficulty of integrating the independent history of their forebears in Dali with the orthodox imperial narrative to which, as literati, they adhered:

雲南當兩漢之世、其人能以節義文辭自表見者，代不絕書。晉散騎侍中常璩作華陽志於南中、侏離之民、井臼之婦、苟有行誼合於名德、一一彙列，若不勝書。唐之中葉，中原多故，邊吏誅求，遂使夷怨四興，因而割據。宋書大渡葉而外之，嗚呼，士生斯時，其泯滅無聞者可勝道哉。即野史有載，不敢遽謂信然。孔子曰：多聞厥疑，慎言其餘。故今作人物志，但據史志所傳，不敢自貽傳會之誚也。

Since the time of the two Han dynasties, those who saw the people of Yunnan able to distinguish themselves by their acting with integrity and by their writings wrote about it continuously. In the Jin the Cavalier Attendant Chang Qu wrote the Gazetteer of Huayang (*Huayang zhi*) for Nanzhong. In it there are people whose speech sounds like birds, women who draw water and grind meal, they are indifferent to having moral conduct but go along with benevolent men of reputation. One by one he collected and arranged these things, it's as if he couldn't refrain from writing. In the Middle Tang the central plains were in great turmoil and officials on the border made exorbitant demands [of the populace there], thus causing the barbarians on all four fronts to hate them and to set up independent states by force. As for those born

³⁹¹ Chengqing bridge YNTZ 3.15a-16a; Weijiang prefecture YNTZ 2.23b; Lake Dian, YNTZ 2.8a.

³⁹² For Lijiang, see chapter one of Mueggler, *Paper Road*; for Wuding, see Jacob Whittaker, "Yi Identity and Confucian Empire: Indigenous Local Elites, Cultural Brokerage, and the Colonization of the Lu-fio Tribal Polity of Yunnan, 1174-1745." PhD Dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2008.

³⁹³ The geographical treatise *dili zhi* takes a slightly different approach: it has summary comments on the maps, astronomical charts, and administrative boundaries, but does not have general comments on the sections included under the geographical unit, such as customs, mountains and river, etc.

outside of the Dadu River in the books of the Song, alas, the local people of that period have vanished unknown to anyone, how can one bear to say it? Even though unofficial histories were recorded I do not dare to call them reliable in the same way. Confucius says, “Listen widely to remove your doubts and be careful when speaking about the rest.” So now when making the Treatise on Biographies, I only used what is recorded in the histories and gazetteers and did not dare to pass on biographies myself, since surely they would be ridiculed.³⁹⁴

Here, the compiler frames the question as one of sources. The problem is not that local people during the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms couldn’t be considered moral examples, rather that there are no written records through which the compiler can trace them. For this treatise, the compiler decides that the overriding criterion for inclusion is that the subject of the biography have already appeared within the classical textual tradition. Although the compilers had available to them a wider range of potential biographical subjects discussed in other sources, such as the unofficial histories he mentions, positioning the gazetteer in the lineage of the *Huayang guozhi* and the associated gazetteer genres required limiting the subjects to those attested in Chinese sources. When compared with the rhetoric of earlier Yunnan gazetteers, however, the fact that Li Yuanyang and his fellow compilers decided not to include biographies of people from outside the orthodox written tradition is less interesting than the fact that they raised the question in the first place. The compiler mourns the lack of records from the Song dynasty not because it shows that Yunnan was devoid of civilization or morality but because, as a result, those whose names are unknown must remain so. Moreover, the reason given for not writing new biographies derives from concerns about the reception of the work by its literati audience: the compiler fears that writing biographies on his own initiative would result in ridicule and censure, undermining the larger project of representing Yunnan as a civilized part of the empire. Thus, the *Treatise on Biographies* presents a Yunnan elite community that is only visible to the extent that its members participate in the Chinese literati world and the state that it serves because that is what is acceptable in the generic tradition in which this gazetteer participates.

On the other hand, when it comes to literati descriptions of local customs of Yunnan’s indigenous people the compilers of the *Yunnan tongzhi* take an approach that diverges sharply from earlier texts. Earlier provincial gazetteers relied heavily on the accounts of the customs of Yunnan’s indigenous people in the *Yunnan zhilue*, Guo Songnian’s *Dali xingji*, and the *Man shu* 蠻書 [Book of Barbarians] of Tang author Fan Chuo 樊綽 (fl. 9th century). The *Yunnan tongzhi* accounts of local customs combine citations from these standard literary sources with material that is substantially more detailed. The sections on local customs in Yongchang and Chuxiong exemplify the typical format. First, there are citations from standard sources, and comparisons to the rest of the province:

永昌：衣冠禮儀悉效中土《一統志》士知向學科第祖仍男事，耕藝女務識紡《郡志》騰越州雖遠閩兩江，衣冠文物不異中土。冠婚喪祭皆遵禮制。節令服食貨貝等俗與列郡同，語具全省土風下。
Yongchang: In dress and ceremonies they all imitate the central lands — *Unified Gazetteer*. The literati of this district think that learning is men’s duty, while ploughing and planting are women’s business — *Commandery Gazetteer*. In Tengyue sub-prefecture, even though it is remote and cut off from the region between the two rivers, with regard to clothing and material artefacts it does not differ from the central lands. Coming-of-age, marriage, death, and sacrifices all observe the system of rites. Their customs of festivals, food and clothing, goods and money are all the same as the various commanderies, told in full under “customs of the province.”³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ YNTZ 7.1a

³⁹⁵ YNTZ 2.66b

楚雄：土壤肥饒，士人務學，鹽井之利瞻乎。列郡故其人裕而畏法《樊綽志》崇釋樂善《元志》節令祭葬服食貨貝等俗與列郡同，語具全省土風下。

Chuxiong: The soil is fertile, the literati devote themselves to learning, and look at the profit from the salt wells! Among the various commanderies therefore its people are well-to-do and fear breaking the law — Fan Chuo's *Gazetteer*. They esteem Sakyamuni and love doing charitable deeds — *Yuan Gazetteer*. Their customs of festivals, sacrifices and burials, food and clothing, goods and money are all the same as the various commandaries, told in full under “customs of the province.”³⁹⁶

By arranging the brief literary citations at the beginning of the section, and concluding with referral to other parts of the gazetteer, the compilers frame the statements of earlier authorities as background information to the detailed accounts that follow. This does not indicate a lack of respect for earlier literati, rather, they quotes these authors at lengths on subjects that emphasize their literary ability, for example, on descriptions of scenery, such as Guo Songnian's passage on Mt Diancang.³⁹⁷ As authorities on local customs, however, the received sources merely supplement the commentary to follow:

永昌：近郡之夷數種：以金裹兩齒曰金齒蠻；漆其齒曰漆齒蠻；文其面曰繡面蠻；刺其足曰花腳蠻。

Many types of barbarians live near the prefecture: those who use gold to wrap two of their teeth are called Gold Teeth barbarians; those who lacquer their teeth are called Lacquer Teeth barbarians; those who write on their cloth are called embroidered cloth barbarians; those who tattoo their feet are called Patterned Feet barbarians.³⁹⁸

By including descriptions of non-Han people in the local customs section alongside customs of the registered population, and in the same format as non-elite customs in gazetteers from other parts of the empire, Li Yuanyang and his colleagues begin to reposition Yunnan's indigenous people as potentially civilized peasants rather than exotic barbarians.

The section on local customs in Dali further allows the compilers, as Dali literati, to present a nuanced picture of their own local population. While the citations from Guo Songnian and Li Jing characterize Dali people as being very similar to Chinese (*hua* 華), Li and the other compilers enact a more complicated positioning of Dali's people.

大理：高山大川，鐘靈毓秀，代有人物。《樊綽雲南志》俗本於漢，民多士類。《郭松年大理行記》書有晉人筆意《元李景山志》科第顯盛，士尚氣節。

觀音市：三月十五日在蒼山下貿易。各省之貨，自唐永徽間至今，朝代累更，此市不變，知是觀音入大理。後人至日燒香。四方聞風，各以貨來也。家無貧富，皆有佛堂。

少長手念珠：一歲之中，齋戒居半。田四畝曰一雙。白子國南詔皆治於此，俗多豪華。

阿闍黎僧：有室家、能誦咒制龍。大理原有羅刹邪龍為患，觀音以神力閉之於上陽溪洞中。傳留咒術以厭之。今有阿叱力僧綱司云節令祭葬服食貨貝等俗與列郡同語具全省土風下部屬之夷。

鄧浪，有獼猴，性悍。

趙州夷懦弱，嗜土而耕：能知土味，辨其可種何穀，果如其料，民間欲效之，不得其妙。

約信不爽：貧多借貸如斯酬償毫釐不欺。故江西人居之以為奇貨，皆致大富。今在賓川州雲南縣雲龍州三崇山後，有野蠻距郡五百里。一言不合白刃相向。

Dali: tall mountains and great rivers, a beautiful place that nurtures talented people, represented in the biographies section— Fan Chuo, *Yunnan zhi*. The customs are basically like the Han, and many of the people

³⁹⁶ YNTZ 3.7a

³⁹⁷ YNTZ 2.22a-26b; DLFZ 2.3b-7a.

³⁹⁸ YNTZ 2.66b

are scholars – Guo Songnian, *Travels in Dali*. Their calligraphy follows the style of the Jin period – Li Jingshan *Gazetteer*. Their performance in the imperial examinations is outstanding, and the literati value moral integrity.

Guanyin market: on the 15th day of the third month at the foot of Mt Cang one trades for goods from every province. This market has operated continuously without change from the Yonghui era of the Tang until the current dynasty. It is known that Guanyin arrived at Dali, and later generations burn incense at the summer solstice. News from the four directions can be heard at this market. All households, whether rich or poor, have a Buddhist altar.

Young and old carry prayer beads: they spend half of every year fasting. A field of 4 mu is called a shuang. The Baizi Kingdom and the Nanzhao both ruled here; their customs were overly luxurious.

Azheli monks: there are some schools who can use words-of-power to control the dragon. In Dali there was originally a *rakshasa* that caused harm as a wicked dragon. Guanyin used his numinous power to shut it up in a cave at Shangyang stream. He passed down the magical arts he used. Now there is an Achili monks registration bureau.

In Dengchuan and Langqiong there are Luoluo, fierce in personality. In Zhaozhou the Yi are weak and frail. They taste the land before ploughing it. Understanding the flavour of the earth, they determine which grain can be planted. Just as expected, those who desire to imitate this cannot reach its cleverness.³⁹⁹

As in other sections, this chapter preface begins with the citation of standard sources. These citations are followed by substantial paragraphs headed “City of Guanyin,” and “Azheli monks.” While these paragraphs primarily as well as mentions of the wealth of local families, their dedication to supporting local temples, and the illustrious heritage of the Nanzhao and Baizi kingdoms. He also notes the presence of *man* 蠻 and *yi* 夷 in the prefecture, particularly *yeman* 野蠻 “wild barbarians” in Yunlong sub-prefecture and *yi* “barbarians” in Zhaozhou and Dengchuan. By implicitly contrasting the people of Dali city with the *yi* on the outskirts of the Dali plain, and the even more uncivilized *yeman* over the mountain, the compilers reinforce the statements of earlier writers that Dali people are indeed more civilized than most of the indigenous people of Yunnan. They also emphasize the strength of local religious customs, particularly those associated with the former rulers of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms. Bryson argues that in the Ming dynasty that participation in the legends associated with Dali elite Buddhism often signified lineage claims to descent from the Nanzhao and Dali royal families, who were noted for their adherence to Buddhism as a state religion and for their devotion to Guanyin 觀音 in particular.⁴⁰⁰ This passage is susceptible to very different readings by the multiple audiences of the gazetteer. On one hand, the emphasis on the civilized history of Dali, especially in relation to the people living around it, shows Dali literati in a good light to readers from other parts of the empire. At the same time, however, the representations of Nanzhao and Dali history show local readers that these narratives can be integrated with their imperial literati identity and build cohesion among the local literati community.

The compilers deal explicitly with the problem of where to situate Yunnan’s history later in the literary treatises toward the end of the *Yunnan tongzhi*. The “literature” treatise *yiwen zhi* contains ninety folios (in two *juan*) of works divided by genre, including prefaces, inscriptions, edicts and memorials, and a variety of standard forms of poetry. This typical compilation of literati documents is followed by a treatise entitled *jimi zhi* 羈縻志 “treatise on halter-and-bridle,” a collection of narrative accounts and lists of administrative units of Yunnan’s history before the Mongol conquest.⁴⁰¹ In the body of this section, Li presents extracts from the

³⁹⁹ YNTZ 2.32b-33a

⁴⁰⁰ Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, chapter 3.

⁴⁰¹ YNTZ 16.1a-34b. Halter-and-bridle was the Song term for the form of indirect rule that the Ming typically

official dynastic histories of the Han and Tang side by side with accounts of the Nanzhao, Baizi 白子國, and Dian 滇國 Kingdoms (table 2.9).

Table 2.9: *Yunnan tongzhi - jimi zhi* contents:

Title	
羈縻差發	Tax and corvée obligations of Halter-and-Bridle areas
貢象道路	Tribute Routes
分制吐蕃	Tibetan Administration
僂夷風俗	Customs of the Bo Yi
爨蠻風俗	Customs of the Cuan Man
滇國始末	Rise and Decline of the Dian Kingdom
白國始末	Rise and Decline of the Bai Kingdom
南詔始末	Rise and Decline of the Nanzhao
史傳摘語	Selected sayings from histories and traditions

Thus, while writing within the literary tradition and genres of the imperial state, Li introduces perspectives that could be read as undermining the historical narratives of imperial rule. In this treatise's introductory paragraph, the compiler explains why he does not think this is a contradiction:

漢唐，西南郡縣止於黑水之內，而黑水之外其他輪廣萬里。君長以百數不相統攝。國朝編置宣慰宣撫長官安撫等司，正其疆界，明其爵級。於今二百年來，酋長安其位，夷民保其生。儼然唐虞三代萬國朝王之氣象海隅蒼生何其幸歟。元儒李京景山傳夷方風俗之陋以今，觀之絕不相類。乃知秉彝恆性無間華夷，顧王化遠邇何如也。故作羈縻志，而以其風俗之大概係之，以見國家四履之盛云。 In Han and Tang, the south-west commandaries and counties stopped inside the Black River, and outside the black river it belonged to others, to the length and breadth of 10,000 li.⁴⁰² Rulers in their hundreds were not in any way brought under governance. In the current dynasty, exiled officials, pacification officials, pacification commissioners, “chief’s officers,” pacification commanders, and other officials straighten out its borders and enlighten its ranks and nobility. In the last two hundred years, indigenous leaders pacify their own areas, barbarians and citizens protect their lives. In just the same way under Yao and Shun and the Three Dynasties the character of all countries and kings was imitated by the common people in the seas and borderlands, and how fortunate [they were]! Yuan scholar Li Jing (Jingshan) transmitted the poverty of barbarian customs, so that now we look at it and it is in no way similar. So knowing the spirit of the people is persistence,⁴⁰³ there is no difference between *hua* and *yi*, on the contrary the beneficial influence of the sovereign acts on those far and near, isn’t that better? Therefore I have made a treatise on the *jimi*, and by means of it the general idea of their customs is recorded in order that we see prosperity in the four corners of the land.”⁴⁰⁴

called the *tusi zhidu* 土司制度 “the system of native rule.” In both cases, the state sponsored existing local rulers to continue in their position and maintain order on behalf of the empire to which they were required to declare allegiance.

⁴⁰² The Black River is another name for the section of the upper Yangtze also known as Golden Sand River (*jīnshā jiāng* 金沙江). All of Yunnan is south of (“outside”) this river.

⁴⁰³ This is a reference to *Shijing* 260.

⁴⁰⁴ YNTZ 16.1a

In order to reconcile the inclusion of non-imperial histories with the universalizing claims of the imperial state, the compiler emphasizes the location of the emperor's power in his moral influence. Since political control is not required, the beneficence of the emperor can be argued to have benefited Yunnan even when its political rulers were at war with, for example, the Tang. In this way, the emperor's influence is constructed as even more pervasive. By divorcing political from moral power, Dali literati can combine an attachment to the past status of their lineages while acknowledging and promoting the hegemonic ideology of the state they serve and the literati culture in which they participate.

Two further provincial gazetteers were produced in Ming Yunnan after Li Yuanyang's *Yunnan tongzhi*. The first, entitled *Yunnan tongzhi cao* "Draft of a Comprehensive Yunnan Gazetteer" is no longer extant, apart from a preface included in its successor, the *Dian zhi* "Gazetteer of Dian."⁴⁰⁵ The *Dian zhi* was compiled by Liu Wenzheng 劉文征 (1555-1626, js. 1583), a seventh-generation member of a military family who had migrated to Yunnan from Datong 大同 in Shanxi 山西 province.⁴⁰⁶ Liu's ancestor, born in Datong, had served with Zhu Yuanzhang's army in Jiangsu and had been sent to Yunnan as part of the original Ming pacification force. He and his family had been assigned to the "Right-hand Fortress" near the provincial capital, where they were registered as a military family until the end of the dynasty. Liu Wenzheng's father was a provincial graduate (*juren* 1540) and served in various local official posts in Sichuan, where his fondness for gathering vegetables for himself earned him the nickname "Green vegetables Liu" 劉青菜. Of his seven sons, two achieved the *jìnshi* degree, and four others attained local or provincial degrees. Liu Wenzheng was the second of his brothers to receive the *jìnshi* degree and had a long official career, rising from local magistrate of Xindu county, Sichuan, to Shaanxi Provincial Administration Commissioner, having also served in Guangxi and Zhejiang as well as in provincial-level posts in Sichuan. He compiled this gazetteer after he retired to Yunnan. Liu Wenzheng's gazetteer thus reflects his ambiguous position as a Yunnan literatus from a military migrant, rather than indigenous elite, background. Like Li Yuanyang, he is invested in constructing an idea of Yunnan that supports a local elite identity, but he does not share Li's identification with Yunnan's non-Chinese rulers as a source of that elite's heritage and identity.

The *Dian zhi* continued and extended the process of repositioning Yunnan within the empire, its literati, and its typical genres that *Yunnan tongzhi* had begun. Like *Yunnan tongzhi*, but in contrast to early Ming provincial gazetteers written by officials, *Dian zhi* conforms to the norms of the gazetteer genre in its structure and use of imperial spatial units as an organizing principle. The gazetteer is organized primarily thematically, using similar categories to *Yunnan tongzhi*.⁴⁰⁷ However, about half the treatises are further subdivided (or partly so) into sections based on

⁴⁰⁵ *Yunnan tongzhi cao* 雲南通志操. Dian here is an alternative name for Yunnan province as a whole. Probably derived from the name of Lake Dian (*dian chi* 滇池), near Kunming, and then extended in Han dynasty texts to refer also to the people who lived near it, by the Ming Dian had come to refer to a much broader area of the southwest congruent with the administrative unit, Yunnan province. Dianguo "Dian Kingdom" was also used as a name for sparsely documented political units said, in earlier Chinese texts, to have been based in the area before the rise of the Nanzhao Kingdom. While the name Yunnan was said to have derived from a conversation between a Tang emperor and a Nanzhao official, and thus has connotations only of the region's relationship to Chinese imperial power, the name Dian had stronger geographical, cultural, and political connections to the local area.

⁴⁰⁶ DZ 1-2

⁴⁰⁷ Unusually, an entire treatise is devoted to transport routes (*lütu zhi* 旅途志), and the final treatise is devoted to recompiled bits and pieces of other, no-longer-extant, treatises.

administrative units, or a parallel military structure. In addition to the “history of administrative divisions” *yange* 沿革 section of the geography treatise, administrative divisions are the primary sub-sections of the chapters on buildings, taxation, military supply, schools, and officials. This shows that the use of administrative division as an organizational principle is not random: it is employed when that form of organization is most salient, that is, when dealing with the interactions between the state and local society. These strategies position *Dian zhi* within the imperial gazetteer genre, with particular reference to *Yunnan tongzhi* as its immediate predecessor in Yunnan.

On the other hand, Liu Wenzheng’s conception of Yunnan’s literati community diverges significantly from that implied by Li Yuanyang in the *Yunnan tongzhi*. As the product of a late-Ming elite which incorporated, in addition to indigenous elites and imperial officials, the descendants of military families sent to Yunnan early in the dynasty, the *Dian zhi* differs from the *Yunnan tongzhi* in its positioning of Yunnan’s indigenous peoples within the context of Yunnan elite identity. While for the *Yunnan tongzhi* compilers the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms form part of the historical heritage of the elite to which they themselves belong, in the *Dian zhi* those kingdoms barely appear. Both gazetteers also include extended descriptions of the customs of the *cuan man* and *bo man* (indigenous peoples of northern and southern Yunnan respectively), but these passages are embedded in quite different frameworks. In the *Yunnan tongzhi* they are preceded by an account of Yunnan’s relationship with Tibet and followed by short histories of the Nanzhao, Baizi, and Dian Kingdoms. By contrast, in the *Dian zhi* the descriptions of the *Cuanman* and *Boman* are the first two entries in a category *zhongren* “types of people,” which is a collection of descriptions of Yunnan’s indigenous people similar to those in the Yuan *Yunnan zhiliu*.⁴⁰⁸ The preface to this section sets out Liu Wenzheng’s genealogy of these descriptions:

史稱西南夷數十種，不著其名號。《唐書》南詔及兩爨蠻傳，所載頗詳。李氏舊志取而附益之，作爨、僰《風俗》，謂二種盡滇南夷類。

The *Shiji* says there are ten types of southwestern barbarian, but it does not record their names. In the *Tang shu*, there are chapters on the Nanzhao and on the two [types of] Cuan barbarians, in which there are quite detailed records. Mr Li’s old gazetteer took this and improved it, he wrote about the Bo and the Cuan in the “customs” section, and called them two types of barbarian from southern Yunnan.⁴⁰⁹

Where Li Yuanyang understands units like the Cuan and Bai polities, as well as the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms, as legitimate former rulers of Yunnan and the precursors of the provincial elites of his own time, Liu Wenzheng frames these groups of people as “other,” unrelated to the Yunnan literati community to which he belongs. Moreover, he does not see any of these states as legitimate political entities: they do not enter into his history of Yunnan at all. This picture of Yunnan history and literati society is focused exclusively on its incorporation within the historical narratives and political norms of Chinese empire.

Conclusion:

Gazetteers are an essential part of studies of any imperial locality in the Ming because they contain richly detailed material not available in any other sources, but their significance is not limited to the information collected in their pages. As one of the most distinctive imperial genres, the decision to compile a gazetteer for a locality on the frontier, particularly one which did not previously have a gazetteer, indicates deliberate intention to represent that locality as part of the

⁴⁰⁸ YNZL 86-96

⁴⁰⁹ DZ 30.1a. This is within the Treatise on Jimi.

Ming empire. Moreover, the highly standardized format means that divergence from the norms of the genre communicates something further about the goals and point of view of the compilers. While provincial gazetteers compiled by officials posted to Yunnan as representatives of the imperial government primarily represented Yunnan as a frontier province in need of administration and moral transformation, when Yunnan literati took over the task of compilation the gazetteers aligned more closely with the norms of the genre as practiced in other parts of the empire. The *Yunnan tongzhi* and *Dian zhi* began to use the gazetteer as a tool to represent the literati of Yunnan as a civilized elite community, after the manner of local literati communities throughout the Ming realm. The extant gazetteers from Ming Dali, though compiled by local magistrates as often as by indigenous literati, and pursuing a variety of locally-oriented agendas, similarly demonstrate the existence of a politically and culturally active literate elite in the area. Although gazetteers were compiled and printed locally, copies were typically sent to the provincial and metropolitan capitals, and the familiar genre was easily circulated to a relatively large audience. The texts discussed in the next chapter, on the other hand, circulated primarily in manuscript and were restricted in audience to a small section of the local elite.

CHAPTER THREE: ELITE STATUS AND LOCAL IDENTITY INTERTWINED:

Deep in the winter of the thirty-third year of the Jiajing reign period (late 1554 or early 1555), nineteen men gathered outside Xizhou village to make sacrifices to their recently deceased friend, Yang Shiyun. Of the fifteen men whose personal names are legible, eight were provincial graduates, and one, Li Yuanyang, a metropolitan graduate. Describing themselves as “junior students” of the same hometown (*xiang wansheng* 鄉晚生), about half of these men also shared a family name with Yang. There were three with the family name Zhao and three named Zhang. Following Yang Shiyun’s example of examination success, the provincial graduates had passed their examinations between 1504 and 1540. A stele erected to commemorate this gathering described the attendees, the sacrifice, and recorded the tributes they had offered Yang’s spirit.⁴¹⁰ The eulogy turned on the following question:

黃扉法從，遭際文明。春坊點額，益彰其貞。累疏乞休，孰如其榮？累薦不起，孰如其亨？
As a high official he followed the emperor’s chariot, the path of his life lay in the light of literary cultivation. In the prince’s quarters he transcribed omens, displaying his loyalty all the more. He wore himself out writing memorials and retired, in what was his glory? He wore himself out making recommendations and no longer took up office, in what did he have success?⁴¹¹

This passage concludes an effusive account of Yang’s performance in a number of official positions, particularly those in the capital. Having established that Yang was not only a member of the governing class, the inscription then eulogises the humility and simplicity of his life that set him apart from his peers. After several more sentences praising Yang’s conscientious service at court and his scholarly virtue in retirement, the inscription ends:

點蒼千仞兮吾組斯擎，洱海連漪兮爰洗我餓觥。椒桂芬兮白粲盛酌，此碩人兮悲吾道之孤梵。尚享
The towering heights of Diancang prop up our circle, the rippling waves of Lake Er constantly wash our empty eating vessels. Men of virtue smell fragrant white rice and wine prepared for the sacrifice, here virtuous men sorrowfully raise our voices in chanting sutras. Let us partake.⁴¹²

As the text moves from eulogy to the sacrificial ritual, the unidentified composer of the text places the group of mourners between Dali’s twin protectors, Mt Diancang and Lake Er, and elaborates on the sensory experience of the ritual occasion. The smells of rice and wine and the sound of chanted sutras recall the animals listed for sacrifice at the beginning of the inscription, and exhort the reader to partake. In having this textual record made, a group of scholars identified themselves for posterity as members of a community constituted by their location, by the bonds of education and official service, and by shared ritual life.

This rather unusual inscription, the only one of its type extant from the Dali area, suggests an additional way to use available written sources to investigate the social organisation which produced them, and illustrates some of their strengths and limitations. Previous chapters have talked about representation and practices of writing; that is to say, the contents of discourse and the production of discourse. However, discourse also points outside of itself to the spatial and social relations through which it is produced and reproduced. At the most basic level, words and phrases like “here” or “you” or “our dynasty” (我國), which can only be understood in relation to

⁴¹⁰ For a parallel group of men of diverse status gathering to perform burial rites for a friend, see the sacrificial essay discussed in Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, 49-53.

⁴¹¹ Anonymous, “Ji Yang Hongshan wen 祭楊弘山文 [Essay for the Sacrifice for Yang Hongshan [Shiyun]],” 1554, DLCS JSP 3.45/10.90-91.

⁴¹² Anonymous, “Ji Yang Hongshan wen,” DLCS JSP 3.45/10.90-91.

the speakers' position in time and space ("indices" in linguistics), directly indicate the location of the speaker in relation to space, in relation to their hearers, or in imperial time.⁴¹³ To indicate positions in more complex social interactions, however, more complex forms of indexicality become necessary. As speakers and writers engage with each other in words, they use language to position themselves and their interlocutors in relation to each other and to the social world around them.⁴¹⁴ In addition to description and explicit naming of identities, as discussed in part one, or by choice of genre, as in part two, the social roles temporarily inhabited within small-scale, everyday interactions accumulate into more durable social identities.⁴¹⁵ The tactics used to do this, as discussed by Bucholtz and Hall, include not only direct indications of similarity or difference (between the speaker and the hearer, or between those two and third parties), but also invocation of discourses of authenticity (such as appeals to a valorised past) or legitimate authority (such as appeals to a mutually recognised political or institutional standard), and their opposites.⁴¹⁶

One way to more directly analyse the accrual of identity positions over long periods of time is to concentrate on certain formal interactions which reproduce socially-salient identities in clarified terms, that is, ritual texts. In these contexts, the "here" and "now" of the ritual are designed to stand in for larger social structures.⁴¹⁷ Having said that, since rituals themselves are no more accessible to historians than everyday interactions, we are reliant on the interactions that appear in, or rather, are enacted by, the written records precipitated through ritual contexts. The inscribed account of Yang Shiyun's memorial, for example, although it must have been carved some time after the sacrifice was made, was a direct result of that ritual and situates itself to some extent within the time and space of the ritual. The salient place was between Mt Diancang and Lake Er; the salient time was deep winter, after Yang's death; the social relationships were the bonds of teacher/student and junior/senior connecting the men to Yang Shiyun and to each other. The texts used in this chapter point towards ritualised practices associated with death, burial, and veneration of ancestors; civil service recruitment and appointment; construction and repair of Buddhist and Daoist temple spaces; and appreciation of scenery. As a result, the identities produced through the production and reproduction of these texts appeared in such roles as filial descendent, devout lay Buddhist, community elder, examination candidate, wealthy patron, newly-appointed official, among many others. In this chapter, I argue that performance of these social roles by members of the Dali gentry coalesced into stable identities along axes of social status and spatial (locality) affiliation.

⁴¹³ Michael Silverstein, "Shifters, Linguistic Categories, and Cultural Description," in *Meaning in Anthropology*, edited by Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), 24-27; William F. Hanks, "The Indexical Ground of Deictic Reference," in *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, edited by Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 45-71;

⁴¹⁴ Janet Morford, "Social Indexicality in French Pronominal Address," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1997): 3-37; Michael Silverstein, "Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life," *Language and Communication* 23 (2003): 193-229; Penelope Eckert, "Variation and the Indexical Field," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12, no. 4 (2008): 453-476.

⁴¹⁵ Elinor Ochs, "Indexing Gender," In *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, edited by Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 337-255; Mary Bucholtz, and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

⁴¹⁶ Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 380-389.

⁴¹⁷ Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), .

The two primary identities to which these social roles accrued were a function of the two distinct, though interrelated, scales at which these texts primarily operated. On the one hand, funerary and temple inscriptions carved on steles were viewed and read by inhabitants of the village, county, or prefecture, of various classes and degrees of literacy. The identities constructed by these texts can be best understood in terms of how they situate authors and readers within local society.⁴¹⁸ On the other hand, government schools and the steles constructed within their walls, examination rolls, and travel narratives (both inscribed on stone and printed on paper) were produced by and for a mobile, translocal, literate elite, in the context of the institutions which reproduced that group. The concept of translocality derives from scholarship on the mobile spatial worlds of late modernity, particularly migration and circulation of material goods, which aimed to embed transnational movements within local, regional, and continental scales of life rather than singularly in opposition to “the global.”⁴¹⁹ I follow Du Yongtao’s appropriation of the term in the late imperial Chinese context to describe the social space where literate elite men interacted across their (singular or plural) native place affiliations.⁴²⁰ While he focuses on movement of people (migrant merchants and their descendants), however, I understand local/translocal as, additionally, properties of texts, and the spaces in which the texts circulated.⁴²¹ Following Giersch, I emphasise the interpenetration of scale: writers and readers of these texts participated in both local and translocal modes of interaction throughout their day-to-day lives.⁴²²

If, instead of analysing the changing uses of identity terms as integrated categories, we pay attention to analytically disaggregated markers of identities, it becomes easier to trace changes in the production of identity over time. This chapter is divided in two sections in each of which I trace changes in the production of identities over the course of the Yuan and Ming. In the first section, I examine the social positions taken in local texts to situate writers, viewers, and readers within village and county life. I argue that by the middle of the sixteenth century, the elite families of the Dali region produced their social position by enacting the role of imperial local gentry but had taken on a narrative of primordial origin that applied to the elite of Dali alone, differentiating themselves from a growing migrant population.⁴²³ At the same time, established

⁴¹⁸ In some cases, these genres of texts were circulated more widely via transcriptions included in collections (see, for example, Song collections used in Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen* and de Pee, *The Writing of Weddings*, as well as temple inscriptions recorded in some gazetteers). However, this almost always occurred when the people involved were literati with empire-wide profiles; few of the extant texts in Dali were of this nature.

⁴¹⁹ Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, “‘Translocality’: An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies (Introduction),” in *Translocality: the Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, edited by Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2-5; Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta, “Introduction: Translocal Geographies,” in *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, edited by Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 3-5. In Sinophone contexts, see: Carolyn Cartier, *Globalising South China*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2001; Eric Kit-wai Ma, “Translocal Spatiality,” *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 133-135; Timothy Oakes and Louisa Schein, *Translocal China: Linkages, Identities, and the Re-imagining of Space* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁴²⁰ Du Yongtao, *The Order of Places: Translocal Practices of the Huizhou Merchants in Late Imperial China*, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 5-6.

⁴²¹ In gathering the many scales of social life in Dali into two categories, I am eliding distinctions within these two categories.

⁴²² C. Patterson Giersch, “Afterword: Why Kham? Why Borderlands? Coordinating New Research Programs for Asia,” *Cross-currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 19 (2016), 202-213.

⁴²³ Lian Ruizhi’s study of the Zhao family of Zhaozhou also identifies this period as the key era of change, although her narrower focus on a single family produces a narrative of stronger rupture rather than the more gradual process of change I find here. Lian Ruizhi, “Surviving Conquest in Dali: Chiefs, Deities, and Ancestors,” in *Chieftains into*

indicators of social status, such as the ability to invest resources in local temples, and to claim authentic connections with Dali's most famous rulers, Nanzhao, remained potent ways to position oneself as a member of Dali's elite. In the second section, I examine the social positions taken in translocal texts to situate writers and readers as Dali-affiliated men within a world of mobile, literate gentry. Where Nanzhao ancestry, when cited in tomb inscriptions positioned a family as authentically grounded in Dali's historical nobility, references to that past were of little use in the context of imperial institutions like schools, examinations, and offices. These contexts engaged officials from other parts of the empire posted to Yunnan for only a few years, who may have known nothing of even the existence of the Nanzhao, let alone shared Dali locals' understanding of their significance. In the same way, Cang-Er could not be invoked as a shorthand for Dali's space and history; the geographical frame of reference relevant in these contexts was dominated by *junxian*, on the administrative side, and aesthetic appreciation in leisure time. I argue that in these translocal contexts differentiation among literate men based on the locality took on a particular salience, producing Dali local identity.

Local Texts about Status:

When Yang Hu was buried on the eastern shore of Lake Er in 1361, his eldest son, Nu, commissioned an inscription (erected the following year) to attest to his father's position in the community. In the short text of 300 characters, Hu paints a picture of a family on the rise:

[X][X][X]八代祖曰傅，曰阿仲師，嘗以道業名於故里。曾祖存實，實生與，與生賢，賢生福，福生生，生生海。世為河東郡長，皆有實德，郡人甚美之。

[Illegible] the eighth generation ancestor was called [Yang] Zhuan, known as teacher of Azhong, because he once had the karma that leads to buddhahood. Great grandfather was Shi, Shi begat Yu, Yu begat Xian, Xian begat Fu, Fu begat Sheng, Sheng begat Hai. This generation was the first to move to Haidong. They all brought material advantages, so the people of the district praised them.⁴²⁴

This family could not only trace their ancestry back eight generations, they were descended from a founder with some claim to personal notability. Moreover, their arrival in the village, the space which provided the immediate physical context for this inscription, was marked by their wealth, another signifier of social status.

海有三子，長曰祐，次曰護，護即揚士也。幼孤而志學，頗通書數，宗族鄉黨皆以言行稱。敏齋大參段通奉夙知其能，辟為本處巡防千戶，賴其勤幹，邊寇弭跡，庶民獲安。

Hai had three sons, the eldest called Gu, the second called Hu. Hu is the Scholar Yang buried here. When he was young he set his mind to study, was rather knowledgeable on the six arts and nine calculations. All his relations and fellow villagers talked about the things he said and did. Qi and Min, and Assistant Grand Councillor Duan Tong, recognising his talent, granted him a position as patrol brigade commander in that place. Duan relied on his intelligence and capability in suppressing the vestiges of rebellion on the border and winning security for the common people.⁴²⁵

As the focus of the account moves to the tomb occupant himself, his scholastic talents and widely-recognised wisdom take centre stage. The study described here as the chief pursuit of Yang Hu's early life does not rise to the level of the full classical literacy characteristic of the

Ancestors: Imperial Expansion and Indigenous Society in Southwest China, edited by David Faure (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 105-8.

⁴²⁴ Yang Nu 楊奴, "Hongnong shi gu qianhu Hu bei 弘農氏故千戶護碑 [Stele for Battalion Commander Hu from the Hongnong lineage]" DLCS JSP 1.81/10.23

⁴²⁵ Yang, "Hongnong shi gu qianhu Hu bei," DLCS 1.81/10.23.

governing elite, however it achieves the same goal, to have his talents recognised by an official, in this case the Duan governor-general (descendent of the royal lineage of the Dali Kingdom), and to be granted a position.

性素好善，嘗於羅筌山之東建一精舍，割田供僧，以崇福地。又築盛第，開軒接士，禮無虛日，誠所謂一鄉之善士也。

His tastes were simple, and he loved doing good. Once he built a temple building east of Mt Luoquan, and he set aside some fields to supply the monks as “meritorious gift” lands. And the building flourished, with windows open wide to receive scholars, there was no day empty of rituals, he was truly called a good scholar by the whole village.⁴²⁶

Having acquired a military appointment which gave him the opportunity to participate in local governance on behalf of the state, Yang Hu’s good use of the position demonstrated both his exemplary character and his influence in village institutions. His charitable works in Buddhist and scholastic affairs led to public acclaim, that is, recognition of his achieved status.

娶楊氏，迺穹卜州知州曰璉之妹，男有二：長曰奴，次曰光，各長而成家。女有七：曰圓、曰善、曰實、曰珠、曰魯、曰鳳、曰滿，比適於右族。

He married a Ms Yang, the younger sister of Lian, the magistrate in Langbu sub-prefecture. They had two sons, the eldest called Nu, the second called Guang. Each grew to adulthood and started families. They had seven daughters: Yuan, Shan, Shi, Zhu, Lu, Feng, and Man. All married into powerful families.⁴²⁷

Finally, his personal status rhetorically fed back into the ongoing position of his family through strategic choice of marriage. His own wife was the younger sister of a civilian official, while his daughters are said to have married into “powerful families.” Almost every indicator of gentry status is mentioned here; an exceptionally dense passage of signifiers. The clue to the over-attestation of status may lie in the family’s insecure position as recent arrivals in Dali and in the upper class; they did not have a base of power already and so needed to continually reference the trappings that could verify their position. By performing gentry status in this way, an inscription like this increased the probability that claims to status on the part of Yang’s descendants would be accepted.

Writings in literary Chinese so effectively functioned as a marker of elite status that historians of China often explicitly reference literacy itself as the defining characteristic of elite status.⁴²⁸ As a result, writers rarely named this aspect of their identity explicitly. In part, this is because the social relationships in which it was most salient would have occurred in spoken language.⁴²⁹ Another reason (or result) is that elite status was, in the context of written language, the unmarked status identity.⁴³⁰ In most late imperial written sources, directed as they were to communication with other literate men, elite status, that is, access to the economic resources that

⁴²⁶ Yang, “Hongnong shi gu qianhu Hu bei,” DLCS 1.81/10.23.

⁴²⁷ Yang, “Hongnong shi gu qianhu Hu bei,” DLCS 1.81/10.23.

⁴²⁸ Beattie, “The Alternative to Resistance,” 4 (education in combination with landholding); Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*; Johnson, “Communication, Class, and Consciousness.” Literacy or education is distinct from degree-holding.

⁴²⁹ David Johnson, “Communication, Class, and Consciousness,”; James L. Watson, “Standardising the Gods.”

⁴³⁰ On markedness, see: Jakobsen, “On Language,” 134–40; Bucholtz and Hall, “Language and Identity,” 372–373; Mary Bucholtz, “The whiteness of nerds: Superstandard English and racial markedness,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11 (2001): 84–100.

enabled the acquisition of full classical literacy, functioned as an “unmarked” norm.⁴³¹ That is, the default writing subject was elite and male; any divergence from those norms would have to be specified; in the absence of such specification, one can assume no such divergence existed. As a result, elite status is marked in texts indirectly, by invoking positions like wealth, education, government service, cultivation, philanthropy, and lineage, as in the inscription above. One way to approach this is to examine explicit depiction of variation: the regional variation in lower classes, the adherents of Buddhist or Daoist religious traditions, and the uncivilised native (some of these were discussed in chapter one). An alternative approach is to examine the ways that elite status is indexically signalled by invoking characteristics associated with it: civilisation, ancestry, wealth, power.

In this section, I argue that the characteristics and stances through which Dali’s elite families differentiated themselves from their neighbours became increasingly aligned with the characteristics associated with prototypical imperial literati. In funerary and temple inscriptions, the lineages of the deceased and of the temple building or community were frequently authenticated through claims of prominence in the realm of the Nanzhao Kingdom, Dali’s most famous indigenous historical rulers; while this tactic was pursued until at least the seventeenth century, from around 1500 some families additionally claimed descent from the *jiulong* clans described in unofficial histories as the nine founding ancestors of the Nanzhao or sons of Ashoka. At the same time, legitimation by invoking military service under the Yuan or Ming gave way to references to civilian service and examination culture, reflecting the increasing availability of this career to the educated sons of Dali’s gentry. Finally, records of gentry involvement in temple construction and other matters of local importance enabled writers to differentiate donors’ status from that of village elders, notable monks, and common people, as well as from temporarily appointed officials.

Sources for Local Interactions:

The sources I will discuss in this section, primarily stele inscriptions located in temples or at tombs, had highly localised physical locations, audiences, and frames of meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify what exactly the physical location was, and the process by which the words inscribed on these stone steles arrived in this thesis. The majority of these texts are transcribed in *Dali congshu — Jinshi pian* [Collected works on Dali — Inscriptions], along with photographic reproductions of either the original stone or, more frequently, a rubbing made of it. Many, although not all, of those are held by the Dali City Museum; others at the Yunnan Provincial Museum, where they were taken at various points from the 1940s to the 1990s. The originals had been erected both on the Dali plain, especially the two larger centres of Dali city and Xizhou, and the surrounding region. Smaller groups of inscriptions were collected from Wase township, on the eastern back of Lake Er, Dengchuan sub-prefecture, and Jianchuan county. This spatial distribution is reflected in the emphasis on Dali city, the Nanzhao, and the Cang-Er geography found in inscriptions and other texts.

Almost all of the extant tomb inscriptions from Yuan Dali (1379 at latest) were among seventy whole or partial steles recovered from the walls of Wuhua tower when it was destroyed

⁴³¹ For the resources required for literacy, see Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 239-247.

during the Cultural Revolution, and are now held in Dali City Museum.⁴³² As a result, our knowledge about the wealthy families of Dali region during this period is, to a disproportionate extent, knowledge of those who lived in or nearby Dali city. Three of the tomb inscriptions give some indication of where they were originally erected. The 1337 tomb of Dong Yucheng Fu 董逾城福 says that he was cremated and buried north of the city wall.⁴³³ The 1349 tomb of Zhang Yi 張義 lists the place of burial as just south of the same city wall.⁴³⁴ Finally, the 1363 inscription of the tomb of Yang Xiaoxian 楊孝先 says that it was set up “in the foothills of Mt Cang” 蒼山之麓, to the city’s west.⁴³⁵ Nevertheless, these inscriptions are the only evidence we have for the population of Yuan Dali, and provide a necessary link between the families of the pre-conquest nobility and the Ming elite.

Since the majority of the extant Ming tomb inscriptions, or rubbings taken from them, were removed to local or provincial museums during the twentieth century, we have relatively little information about the sites themselves. The remainder of the 250 or so extant literary sinicized tomb inscriptions from Yuan and Ming Dali have been preserved in places largely divorced from the physical space of their ritual context. The largest group, around 45%, came from sites or caches in or nearby Dali city itself, while another 30% come from a single graveyard at Honggui village, in the foothills of Mt Diancang west of Xizhou, on the north Dali plain. The remainder were scattered around Dali, Heqing, and Menghua prefectures, usually in mountain foothills not too far from a lowland settlement. One archaeological report, on a graveyard excavated north of Jianchuan in 2006, gives some indication of the associated ritual: 68 of the 73 people interred there during the Yuan and Ming periods were cremated first, a practice that was strongly associated with Buddhism and which was at that time in sharp decline throughout the the Ming empire.⁴³⁶ Excavations have recovered four stone inscriptions as well as brief texts on a number of urns, in both Chinese characters and Sanskrit *siddham* script.⁴³⁷ Sometimes co-located inscriptions were tombs of family members of different generations, however, more often lineage seems to have been a secondary consideration in the location. In the Jianchuan graveyard, for example, inscriptions identified the occupants as members of Duan, Zhao, Chen, Zhang, and Li

⁴³² Fang Linggui 芳齡貴, “Dali Wuhualou yuanbei de faxian ji qi shiliao jiazhi 大理五華樓元碑的發現及其史料價值 [The Discovery and Historical Value of the Yuan Steles in Wuhua Tower in Dali],” *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 1984 no. 2 (1984): 127-139.

⁴³³ Anon., “Gu Dali cha kudashi Dong Yucheng Fu muzhi 故大理差庫大使董踰城福墓誌 [Tomb inscription of Dong Yucheng Fu, Dali Storehouse Commissioner-in-Chief,” DLCS JSP 1.60/10.20.

⁴³⁴ Kong Youdao 孔有道, “Zhang zhaomo muzhi 張照磨墓誌 [Tomb inscription of Record-Keeper Zhang” DLCS JSP 1.75/10.21-22.

⁴³⁵ Zhi Weixing 支渭興, “Gu Yang gong Xiaoxian muzhiming 故楊公孝先墓誌銘 [Tomb inscription for Mr Yang Xiaoxian],” DLCS 1.82/10.23.

⁴³⁶ Sun Jian 孫健, “Jianchuan zhongkeshan mudi tanjue baogao 劍川中科山墓地探掘報告 [Report of the excavation of the burial ground at Mt Zhongke, Jianchuan]” *Dali minzu wenhua yanjiu luncong* 4 (2006): 211-262. The excavation was carried out by the Dali Prefecture Antiquities Bureau in conjunction with the Jianchuan County Museum. On cremation: Patricia Ebrey, “Cremation in Sung China,” *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 2 (1990): 426, especially note 108.

⁴³⁷ Sun, “Report,” . Tomb inscriptions with this mix of scripts are not uncommon in the Dali area, see: Victor Liebenthal, “Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan I (and Dates of the Foundation of the Main Pagodas in That Province),” *Monumenta Serica* 12 (1947): 1-40; Victor Liebenthal, “Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan II,” *Sino-Indian Studies* 5, no. 1 (1955): 46-68; Oskar von Hinüber, “Two Dhāraṇī Inscriptions from Tombs at Dali (Yunnan),” *Journal of the Siam Society* 77, no. 1 (1989): 55-59; Angela F. Howard, “The Dhāraṇī Pillar of Kunming, Yunnan. A Legacy of Esoteric Buddhism and Burial Rites of the Bai People in the Kingdom of Dali (937-1253),” *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 1-2 (1997): 47.

families. Inscriptions from temples are relatively rare; less than ten such steles have survived.⁴³⁸ This may reflect the weakness of corporate lineage institutions in Dali (still developing at this time in south China although relatively well established in the north). Although patrilineal clan relationships were symbolically highly visible the degree of ritual and, especially, financial entanglement seems to have been (and to have remained) fairly limited.⁴³⁹ At the same time, it required substantial financial resources required to erect a marble stele, commission literati to compose inscriptions and provide calligraphy, and hire craftsmen to make the carving. This and the evidence of the inscriptions themselves suggests that the people whose deaths were recorded in this way belonged to, and certainly presented themselves as, the upper strata of Dali society.

Nanzhao Associations Reach into the Past to Authenticate Elite Status:

Connections to the Nanzhao Kingdom were used to signify status and access to power in Dali throughout the Yuan and Ming. Whether an individual or lineage claiming descent from a named Nanzhao official or a temple locating its founding in those days, writers that drew on Dali's Nanzhao for their own narrative positioned themselves as heirs of their elite status. For Yuan and Ming writers, the Nanzhao represented the high point of Dali's history: the numerous manuscripts of *Nanzhao yeshi* and other unofficial histories produced in Dali in the sixteenth century attest both to the active interest taken in Dali's history by local literati at that time and to the salience of "Nanzhao" as a metonym for all of Dali's pre-conquest history. While few claimed direct connection with the Nanzhao royal family, the Meng clan, descent from the Nanzhao nobility was indicated by the holding of official position under the Meng, or, later, by descent from a small group of lineages mentioned in historical texts. During the late fifteenth-century, moreover, deep-rooted membership of Dali's elite was explicitly indicated by reference to nine famous family names, the nine grandees (*jiulong* 九隆). While instances of this practice of citing Nanzhao can be identified into the seventeenth century, by that time they were much less frequent than in the earlier period. By invoking connections to the Nanzhao, writers located their subjects within an authentic narrative of Dali's history.

Among the Yuan-era funerary inscriptions excavated from Wuhua tower, most families demonstrated their status by referencing their ancestors' position under the Nanzhao or Dali kingdoms. Generally, these inscriptions do not claim that the tomb occupant was him- or her-self descended from the royal family or a named personage from the stories told about that time, rather a named or unnamed ancestor is said to have served with them in a civilian or military capacity. Dong Fu's funerary inscription, for example, says that he is the 27th generation descendent of an "assistant *zhuangpi*" of the Meng Kingdom (蒙詔僚佐壯匹 *Meng zhao liaozuo zhuangpi*).⁴⁴⁰ In the same way, Zhang Yi is identified as the descendant of a drill sergeant (*yanxi*

⁴³⁸ Lian Ruizhi identifies the *benzhu* or *tuzhu* (local lord) temples as foci of lineage devotion for the Zhao clan of Zhaozhou until around 1500. Similar temples in different localities may have served the same function, however few inscriptions have survived. Lian, "Surviving Conquest in Dali," 88-90.

⁴³⁹ Giersch found that Xizhou merchant corporations in the 19th/20th centuries had not developed out of lineage corporations as in Zelin's study of Zigong salt merchants. Fitzgerald and Hsu agreed that lineage institutions were primarily of symbolic importance. C. Patterson Giersch, "Yunnanese Transactional Business Firms in the Early Twentieth Century: Xizhou's Yongchangxiang as a Case Study," in *Southwest China in a Regional and Global Perspective (c. 1600-1911): Metals, Transport, Trade and Society*, edited by Ulrich Theobald and Cao Jin (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 424-444; Madeline Zelin, *The Merchants of Zigong: Industrial Entrepreneurship in Early Modern China*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Fitzgerald, *The Tower of Five Glories*; Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow*.

⁴⁴⁰ Anon., "Gu Dali cha kudashi Dong Yucheng Fu muzhi," DLCJSJP 1.60/10.20. I cannot find any reference to this title in pre-Yuan texts.

yuanzuo 演習元佐) under the Meng Court (*meng chao*).⁴⁴¹ A monk by the name of Duan Zhang (not related to the Dali kingdom rulers) is described as the descendent of a long line of Nanzhao hereditary officials holding the title “cishuang.”⁴⁴² After tracing the genealogy from its founding ancestor, Duan Yi, the inscription provides its own explanation of the title “cishuang”:

長老性段，諱長，蒙時慈爽官員義之後也。義生君，敕號經白撰官，寫萬德寺鐘記。君生保，保生世，世生忠，其宗族世世獲爵，為國耳目，作慈爽之事。慈爽者，蒙時禮部之司也，凡有爵秩班列位次，進退百官。

The elder master's family name was Duan, called Zhang, a descendent of Yi, a cishuang minister in Meng times. Yi gave birth to Jun, who was granted the name Jingbai Secretary [by the king], he wrote the inscription for the bell at Wande temple. Jun begat Bao, Bao begat Shi, Shi begat Zhong. Generation after generation this patriline achieved nobility, they took all they saw and heard in the country and made it into “cishuang.” “Cishuang” was an official in the Meng-era department of rites, in all cases of rank and emoluments of various degrees, precedents and placement, improvement or decrease of station concerning the masses of officials.⁴⁴³

By including these details, the composer of the inscription, Dali circuit school instruction Wang Zilian 王子廉, not only demonstrates the family's prominent ancestry but also his own historical knowledge and participation in the Nanzhao-prestige economy. By way of verifying their historical claims, eight of these texts cited a genealogy in corroboration, however none are still extant.⁴⁴⁴ A long history of the family in Dali, particularly a substantiated history of holding official positions, was a source of status for Yuan-era Dali elite families.

The royal family of the Nanzhao Kingdom, the Meng clan, is conspicuously absent, although two of the three brief dynasties between Nanzhao and Dali are represented (Yang and Zhao), as is the (less well attested) pre-Nanzhao Zhang clan. The 1312 tomb stele of Zhang Ming 張明 claims that this Zhang clan is descended from Zhanglejinqiu, the Yunnanese ruler who, in many of the more popular stories, is said to have abdicated in favour of the first Meng king, Xinuluo.⁴⁴⁵ The royal family of the Dali Kingdom, the Duan clan, had submitted to the Mongols as a way to regain their status from the Gao clan, who had effectively dominated Dali Kingdom politics as hereditary prime ministers. Ming-era members of their lineage, now based in Kunming, are well attested in various versions of *Nanzhao yeshi*, in which the post-conquest history of Yunnan is recorded as chronicles of Duan governors in the manner of a court chronicle. Only minor branches of the family remained in Dali — both Duan tombs describe their ancestors as having been otherwise occupied during that period. The Gao clan, meanwhile, were disgraced and/or dead; apart from the possible-name-change to Bai, the only Gao tomb occupant is a woman, from a branch of the family based in Tengchong.⁴⁴⁶ It seems that the marriage strategies of the Gao survived after the male line had effectively disappeared. By the end of the Yuan, the Duan

⁴⁴¹ Kong, “Zhang zhaomo muzhi” DLCS JSP 1.75/10.21-22.

⁴⁴² Wang Zilian 王子廉, “Duanshi zhanglao mubeiming bing xu 段氏長老墓碑銘並序 [Tomb stele inscription and preface of Elder Duan],” DLCS JSP 1.88/10.25. Unlike *zhuangpi*, *cishuang* is attested in the Nanzhao chapter of *Xin Tang Shu*.

⁴⁴³ Wang, “Duanshi zhanglao mubeiming,” DLCS JSP 1.88/10.25.

⁴⁴⁴ DLCS JSP 1.43, 54, 76, 77, 91, 116. It is not clear how these genealogies might relate to the late Ming flourishing of the genre in Dali and elsewhere, see Lian, “Surviving Conquest in Dali.”

⁴⁴⁵ Anonymous, “Zhang zhanglao mubei 張長老墓碑 [Tomb stele of elder Zhang],” DLCS JSP 1.54/10.16. For Zhanglejinqiu, see chapter one.

⁴⁴⁶ Nian Anyuan Hu 念菴圓護, “Jingzhao jun furen muzhiming 京兆君夫人墓誌銘 [Funerary inscription of a noble wife from the capital],” 1333, DLCS JSP 1.79/10.23.

and Gao were fading, but the *juzu* — and people who could claim connection with them — remained at the top of the local pyramid.

For temples, on the other hand, Nanzhao royal patronage itself had continuing relevance. The inscription recording the 1391 reconstruction of Chong'en Temple 崇恩寺, south of Dali city, attributed its founding the Nanzhao and its name to an incident when a Duan clan king took refuge there:

南詔為西南之極郡，其俗頗尚佛教。自蒙氏以來，於蒼山一派，創立梵刹，其麗不千。厥後，高段二家酋長承之，或廣袤其舍宇，或增益其田莊，或置造其法器，使其愈流而愈隆不乏者，造今二百餘年。

Nanzhao was a state located in the far south-west, and it was generally inclined towards Buddhist teaching by custom. Since the time of the Meng clan, the Mt Cang branch has established temples, among which they added nearly a thousand. Thereafter, the Gao and Duan families took hold of the chieftaincy. Some gave alms to houses the length and breadth of the land, some increased their land holdings, some crafted ritual implements. There was no lack in those making it so that the greater the flow the greater the prosperity, for the two hundred years until now.⁴⁴⁷

In these stories, the prosperity of the temples, whether measured in alms received, ritual implements donated, or lands endowed, is tied to the patronage of successive royal dynasties. In return, the temple community protected these clans in times of trouble:

粵若佛頂峰麓藥師佛寺者，其壯麗尤倍蓰於諸寺。田莊繁廣，殿宇崇阿，卉木蔥蒨為何如耶。昔段氏酋長曾逃難於本寺，感得門羅蛛網，庭雜鳥巢，追者見之，允無人逃而旋鐘，由是竟得存焉。特以深厚其恩而倍隆之，表名為崇恩聖寺。

So as for the temples to Bhaiṣajya in the peaks and foothills, this one's magnificence exceeded the other temples more than fivefold. Its lands were rich and broad, its halls were lofty, its vegetation was green and luxuriant — why was this so? Once, the chief of the Duan clan had fled to this temple in calamity, closed the doors, scattered cobwebs, and set up birds nests around. When those seeking him saw it, they permitted no-one to flee and encircled the temple bell. Therefore the boundary was established. Because of this unique favour and exceptional splendour, it was named in the register as "Holy temple of great favour."⁴⁴⁸

The prosperity of the temple then increased even more, as a result of the favour of the Duan ruler. When the temple was reconstructed, in the wake of the Ming invasion, emphasising the temple's ability to maintain its access to resources and both earthly and heavenly favour despite political turmoil both stated and, in the reconstruction itself, demonstrated and enacted the continuing high status of the temple and its associates.

The core of Dali's post-conquest elite, as it developed during the period of Mongol rule, seems to have been a small number of common-family-named lineages (though not necessarily closely related) claiming descent from the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdom period nobility. The majority of Yuan tombs, particularly those from the middle decades of the fourteenth century, referred to themselves variously as *guizu* 貴族, *juzu* 巨族, *dazu* 大族, *shijia* 世家. *Nanzhao yeshi*, in its mid-sixteenth-century manuscripts, names ten families which it identifies as the basis of the local nobility out of which the Nanzhao arose.

又雲哀牢有一婦名奴波息，生十女。九隆兄弟各娶之立為十姓曰董、洪、段、施、何、王、張、楊、李、趙。九隆死子孫繁衍。各居一方而南詔出。

⁴⁴⁷ Anonymous, "Chong'en si changzhu beiji 崇恩寺常住碑記 [Stele Record of the Chong'en Temple endowment]," DLCSP 1.102/10.29.

⁴⁴⁸ Anonymous, "Chong'en si changzhu beiji," DLCSP 1.102/10.29.

It is also said that there was a woman among the Ailao called Nuboxi, who gave birth to ten daughters. The nine grandees each married one and established one of the ten surnames: Dong, Hong, Duan, Shi, He, Wang, Zhang, Yang, Li and Zhao. The nine grandees died, and their descendants increased. Each of them lived in their own place, and out of them came the Nanzhao.⁴⁴⁹

The late seventeenth-century *Bogu tongji qianshu* identifies the major clans as to the “Nanzhao surnames” as, in addition to the pre-Nanzhao royal Zhang clan, Yang, Li, and Zhao.

武侯冊封仁果九代孫龍佑那為米地主賜姓張氏、又賜酋長楊、李、趙等姓始於此、
Zhuge Liang enfeoffed Renguo's ninth generation descendent Longyouna as Lord of the Rice Land and granted him the surname Zhang. He also granted to the chieftains the surnames Yang, Li and Zhao from this time on.⁴⁵⁰

These four names accounted for 17 out of 25 Yuan tomb-occupants, Yang accounting for nine alone; among the family names of their affinal connections these four names account for 11 out of 18 instances, including four Ms Yangs and five Ms Zhaos. These families continued to dominate successful examination candidates throughout the Ming. Despite these clans' dominance, not all people with these names could use descent from Nanzhao-era nobility to authenticate their status within Dali society.

Since the source of prestige for these families was having held high position legitimated by the Nanzhao — not so much an autochthonous connection to the land as having lived there for some time — it is perhaps not surprising service with the former rulers of Dali was not incompatible, as a source of familial prestige, with the prestige associated with central states ancestry. Having said that, such claims were relatively rare (only three among the extant texts) and usually associated with a well-known historical personality. Duan Lian 段璉, who served the Mongols as Secretary of the Chieftain of Liyang Stockade in southern Yunnan, claims descent from an officer from the state of Chu, in the warring states period, who arrived in Yunnan with the army of Chu General Zhuang Qiao.⁴⁵¹ Yang Xiaoxian's familial founding ancestor is said to have arrived from Shanxi in the eighth century, as a soldier in the army of Xianyu Zhongtong.⁴⁵² One Dali family with no listed genealogical ties to the central states, that of Chen Mingzheng, boasted of their early adoption of orthodox marriage customs.⁴⁵³ From their perspective, conforming to orthodox customs was more important than whether their ancestors were from China or Nanzhao/Dali. Of course, it is entirely possible that these family histories were fictive: one at least probably is. The tomb of Bai Mingshan 白明善 attributes to him descent from Bai Heyuan 白和原, a migrant from Guangxi who arrived after the fall of the Northern Song; moreover this family is said have been descended from an uncle of Bai Juyi 白居易.⁴⁵⁴ While the latter sounds like family legend, the former is perhaps more likely to be accurate. However, Zhang Xilu argues that in fact this man was a descendent of the disgraced Gao clan, who adopted the family name

⁴⁴⁹ NZYS TST 7b

⁴⁵⁰ BGTJQS 1b-2a; punctuation in the original.

⁴⁵¹ There is no suggestion that this Duan clan is related to the royal family of the Dali Kingdom, although some activities of (possibly fictitious) seventh generation ancestors during that period are mentioned.

⁴⁵² Zhi, “Gu Yang gong Xiaoxian muzhiming,” DLCS 1.82/10.23.

⁴⁵³ Zhao Zigao 趙子高 “Chen shi mubeiming bing xu 陳氏墓碑銘並敘 [Tomb stele inscription and preface for the Chen family],” 1292, DLCS JSP 1.43/10.12.

⁴⁵⁴ Zhao Junsheng 趙俊昇, “Gu dashi Bai shi mubeiming bing xu 故大師白氏墓碑銘並序 [Tomb stele inscription and preface for Great Master Bai],” 1299, DLCS JSP 1.46/10.13.

Bai in the mid-thirteenth century.⁴⁵⁵ In either case, the reference to notable historical figures to legitimate these claims of central states descent suggests that

The relatively small number of family names used by Dali's wealthy families does not necessarily indicate that they understood themselves to be related. Families of the same surname were often differentiated by their place of origin, a practice of reinforcing distinctions within literati groups. Like Yang Nu, who began this chapter, a number of fourteenth and fifteenth century tomb inscriptions refer to their inhabitants as being from Hongnong 弘農. Hongnong was a Han-era commandary about halfway between its eastern and western capitals, Luoyang 洛陽 and Chang'an 長安. By the Ming, the only remaining administrative unit was a military one, Hongnong Garrison 弘農衛 in Henan. Two famous Yang lineages had historically been identified as Hongnong Yangs: one of the Tang great clans from the capital region, and tenth-century rulers of the state of Wu who had held the title Prince of Hongnong.⁴⁵⁶ It is difficult to determine what the Hongnong Yangs of Dali may have understood as the referent, partly because the identifier "Hongnong" was often used in the title of the inscription but not in the body. Since early examples of this phenomenon, like the inscription that began this section, did not trace a genealogy to specific people located in Hongnong, it seems likely that the label was primarily significant as a way to distinguish each Yang clan from the others. This Yang clan, the one from Hongnong, did not belong to the Nanzhao-descended great clans, and at the same time did not use a narrative of descent from Yuan-era migrants, however illustrious, as a marker of status. Although local power was available to descendants of post-conquest migrants, only descent from someone connected to the Nanzhao was a prestigious enough ancestry to effectively mark status on its own.

While many burial inscriptions, particularly those from the fourteenth century, cite only a founding ancestor, an early Ming tomb of the Li clan takes a broader approach, citing anyone of their same surname as a source of family prestige.

按湯州《天尊柱記》八姓，有李氏。

The Li clan is one of the eight surnames mentioned on the Tianzunzhu inscription in Tangzhou.⁴⁵⁷

太和蒙贊普鐘碑有李克澤，公祖也。

In Taihe, the stele of the bell from the Meng [Tsan-pu] has a Li Keze, an ancestor of this man.

歷鄭、趙、楊、段，代不乏人。

In history the Zheng, Zhao, Yang and Duan generations do not lack for people [of the Li surname].⁴⁵⁸

The tomb occupant, Li Rende, was a man from a Taihe family that had, according to this inscription, surrendered immediately after the Ming conquest. By this account, the Li clan were able to access local historical sources, such as a historic bell and inscription, as well as textual records from the post-Nanzhao kingdoms. In the context of their recent change of allegiance, being able to cite a more distant ancestor (but one unimpeachable from the point of view of Dali society) downplayed the importance of current allegiance to the status of the family. A Xizhou Yang clan member, Yang Sheng 楊勝, who was identified as a "lay Buddhist" (*jushi* 居士) was

⁴⁵⁵ Zhang Xilu 張錫祿, *Yuandai Dali Duanshi zongguan shi* 元代大理段氏總管史 [History of the Governors-General of the Duan clan in Yuan dynasty Dali] (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2004), 106-109.

⁴⁵⁶ Nicolas Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Aristocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014), 35-6.

⁴⁵⁷ Guo Songnian notes this alternative name for the bronze pillar in White Cliffs.

⁴⁵⁸ Chan Master Wuji 無極禪師, "Rende muzhi 仁德墓誌 [Tomb inscription of [li] Rende]," 1389, DLCS JSP 1.101/10.28-29.

described in his 1420 tomb inscription as being from “Taihe, Meng clan territory” (*Taihe Meng jun ren* 太和蒙郡人). His inscription, composed by Yang Sen, and emphasised the Nanzhao ancestry⁴⁵⁹

Alliances between great family surnames reinforced status, and may have coalesced, at least temporarily, into a corporate identity in the late fifteenth century.⁴⁶⁰ Mr Zhang’s tomb inscription from the Xizhou Honggui cemetery not only mentioned his own marriage, to a Ms Yang (of the Zhaomo Yangs 照磨楊), and his children’s marriages, but also commented that marriage between the Zhang and Yang clans had occurred for centuries.⁴⁶¹ The Hongnong Yangs also married into Dali’s existing great families. A 1413 funerary inscription of a Hongnong Yang, Yang Wen 楊溫, describes his marriage to a Ms Feng, a daughter of one of Dali’s great clans (*qi nai yucheng juzu zi Feng* 妻乃榆城巨族自鳳).⁴⁶² Another emphasised the marriage strategies of his children and grandchildren.⁴⁶³ Some scholars have argued that lineage connections, either among people from Xizhou surnamed Yang, or among Dali’s elite more broadly, may have formed the basis of a proto-ethnic identity as “nine grandees.”

Membership of this group was explicitly indicated in funerary inscriptions from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century by claims to *jiulong* ancestry. The term *jiulong* 九隆, meaning “nine grandees,” appeared in *Jigu dianshuo ji* and *Nanzhao yeshi* stories about the inhabitants of the Dali region before the Nanzhao Kingdom. The first example of this I have found in a tomb inscription is from 1449. Another inscription from 1487, identified *jushi* Yang Ping 楊平 as a descendent of the *jiulong*.⁴⁶⁴ A 1490 inscription of a Mr Yin not only claims *jiulong* ancestry but also to have been attached to Dali garrison.⁴⁶⁵ Hou Chong, who traces a developing Bai ethnic identity over the course of the Ming and Qing, argues that the *jiulong* looks more like a proto-ethnicity than any other category available in the early Ming; Bryson argues instead that it demonstrates the association between clan and ethnicity (she says that all the examples refer to a single Yang clan from Xizhou, although there are also half a dozen extant texts in which *jiulong* is used for people with Zhao, Yin, and Duan family names).⁴⁶⁶ In either case, since the term seems to have referred only to members the very top stratum of Dali society, I think it is better understood as a way in which the elite differentiated themselves from their neighbours, whether migrant or local.

Li Yuanyang’s varying accounts of the Nanzhao origins of Chongsheng temple and its three pagodas in his inscriptions demonstrate both the continuing relevance of the Nanzhao to

⁴⁵⁹ Yang Sen 楊森, “*Gu jushi Yang gong muzhiming* 故居士楊公墓誌銘 [Funerary inscription for lay Buddhist Mr Yang],” 1420, DLCS JSP 1.110/10.31-32.

⁴⁶⁰ In the twentieth century, both Hsu and Fitzgerald noted that Dali people did not consider marriage between people of the same surname to be incestuous: Hsu, *Under the Ancestors’ Shadow*; Fitzgerald, *The Tower of Five Glories*.

⁴⁶¹ Xu Yuan 徐源, “*Zhang gong kuozhi* 張公擴誌 [Expanded inscription for Mr Zhang],” 1414, DLCS JSP 1.108/10.31.

⁴⁶² Su Ji 蘇揖, “*Dali fu Taihe xian Honggui xiang Xiayangxi Hongnong min Yang gong muzhiming* 大理府太和縣弘圭鄉下陽溪弘農民楊公墓誌銘 [Tomb inscription for Mr Yang, a civilian from Hongnong, at Xiayang stream, Honggui township, Taihe county, Dali Prefecture],” 1413, DLCS JSP 1.107/10.30-31. Dali here is “Elm City” (*yucheng* 榆城).

⁴⁶³ Yang Sen 楊森, “*Yang Zhongying tong sai Dushi cao fen ming* 楊仲英同賽杜氏曹墳銘 [Tomb inscription of Yang Zhongying together with Ms Du],” 1423, DLCS JSP 1.116/10.33.

⁴⁶⁴ Yang Ding 楊鼎, “*Jushi Yang gong muzhiming* 居士楊公墓誌銘 [Tomb Inscription of Lay Buddhist Mr Yang],” 1483, DLCS JSP 2.87/10.63.

⁴⁶⁵ Yang Ben 楊本, “*Yin gong huiwen muzhiming* 尹公諱文墓誌銘 [Funerary inscription of Mr Yin taboo character],” 1490, DLCS JSP 2.101/10.67.

⁴⁶⁶ Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*, 93.

institution. In the first, a 1553 record of some repairs he undertook, he says straightforwardly that the pagodas were built by the Nanzhao:

大理郡城之北有崇聖寺，舊號千廈，創自唐貞觀間。寺前三浮屠，高侵雲表。世傳開元癸丑南詔所建，閱四十八年工乃成。

Chongsheng temple is north of the city wall of Dali prefecture. It used to be called Qiansha (“thousand storeys”) and was built during the Zhenguan reign period of the Tang dynasty (627-49). In front of the temple are three stupas, tall enough in form to scrape the clouds. It has been passed down that they were built by the Nanzhao in the *guichou* year of the Kaiyuan period (713), brought to completion after a period of 48 years.⁴⁶⁷

In the second, he says that their exact origin is unclear but emphasises references to Dali in classical Chinese canonical texts, as a way of placing this temple in the narrative of legitimate history:

崇聖為寺，其來久遠，不可追記。蓋口口口口口口口口口口蒼洱之國，是時已建伽藍，崇聖是已。以史記考之，葉輪為東天竺，蒼洱其地也。然則時未入漢，而先有伽藍，不足怪也。

Chongsheng is a temple which has an origin so distant that it cannot be recalled. [illegible] the country of Mt Cang and Lake Er, at that time a Buddhist temple had already been built there — that’s Chongsheng. If you examine the Records of the Grand Archivist, Yeyu is there as “East India” — that’s the land of Cang and Er. At that time the people were not yet of Han, so if former people had a Buddhist temple [skr. *samgharama*], it’s nothing to be wondered at.⁴⁶⁸

In the third, which is about a particular building within the temple compound, he takes an even less firm position:

讓公庵在三塔崇聖寺，為諸院之一。其曰讓公，不知何所指。或曰南詔臣高氏所創，以其有讓德，故名。或曰高僧名讓者所居。其來以遠，不可詳矣。

Ranggong hermitage is one of the courtyards of the three stupas at Chongsheng temple. I don’t know why it is called Ranggong. Some say it was built by Mr Gao, a minister of the Nanzhao, and because he modestly disclaimed virtue, it was given this name. Others say that an eminent monk called Mr Rang lived there. It’s so long ago we can’t know the details.⁴⁶⁹

Such varied accounts of the same place by the same author enjoin caution in interpreting attribution as an expression of naive belief, however they emphasise the rhetorical importance of historical groundings in the structures of Buddhist worship in Dali.⁴⁷⁰

Despite this growing use of a more restricted locus of Nanzhao status in a restricted group of surnames, Nanzhao service was still used in the late sixteenth century by some families who did not or could not claim membership of the *jiulong*. In 1576, a man by the name of Dong Qing was commissioned by his grandfather to write a tomb inscription for Qing’s great-grandfather, Commander Dong, buried at Honggui cemetery. Dong was a Platoon Commander (*zongqi* 總旗), a hereditary corvée post in the Taihe Battalion of Dali garrison. However, his grandson, based

⁴⁶⁷ Li Yuanyang, “Chongxiu Chongsheng si beiji 重修崇聖寺碑記 [Stele record of the repair of Chongsheng Temple],” DLCS JSP 3.43/10.90.

⁴⁶⁸ Li Yuanyang, “Chongsheng si zhongqi kebao zhe ji 崇聖寺重器可寶者記 [Record of the valuable treasures of Chongsheng temple],” 1560, DLCS JSP 3.63/10.98.

⁴⁶⁹ Li Yuanyang, “Ranggong an ji 讓公庵記 [Record of Ranggong Hermitage],” 1577, DLCS JSP 3.94/10.107-108.

⁴⁷⁰ Bryson and Lian both discuss this integration at the level of belief/mythology at some length. Bryson, *Goddess on the Frontier*; Lian, *Yincang de zuxian*.

on their family genealogy and the stories of his father and uncles, located the family as hereditary official of the Nanzhao, Dali Kingdom, and Yuan, as well as Ming:

始祖諱成，仕蒙氏為布變，承襲者九世。至祖誠，仕段氏亦為布變，承襲者三世，不顯者一世。元末仕鶴慶路，為知事者一世。至祖惠，幸逢我明一統，遂棄舊習，報效從征，以武功授太和所總旗，許子孫世其役。

His first ancestor was called Cheng ["Success"], and served the Meng clan as Bubian, in a hereditary post for nine generations. When they reached ancestor Cheng ["Sincere"], he served the Duan clan as Bubian, passed down for three generations. Then for one generation no-one appeared. At the end of the Yuan they were posted to Heqing circuit for one generation, as an administrative clerk. When they reached ancestor Hui, he was fortunate to encounter the unification of the country by our Ming. Thereupon he abandoned old habits, rendered service in a punitive expedition, and because of his military successes received an appointment to Taihe Battalion as Platoon Commander, promising his descendants' corvée.⁴⁷¹

This family may or may not be from Dali, what is interesting is that the Nanzhao remained a source of status. Even though, by the late Ming, funerary inscriptions of Dali's scholar-gentry more often indicated status by markers like success in the civil service examinations, ancestry derived from Nanzhao officials was still an effective (if old fashioned) way to position oneself as a member of Dali's elite.⁴⁷²

Civilian Officials, Military Service, and Elite Status in Times of Political Change:

While connection to Dali's pre-conquest nobility demonstrated elite status by invoking a kind of authenticity, many wealthy and influential families were unable to do so. Some, like the Hongnong Yang clan, were known to be migrants, while others, though they may have lived in Dali for generations, had no claim to have belonged to the pre-conquest nobility. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries, many major changes in Dali society were driven by military conquest, whether by Mongol or Ming armies. In addition to the people killed, many public (and no doubt private) structures were burnt.⁴⁷³ Both the moment of conquest and later embedded military colonies facilitated migration of people from central Asia and eastern Eurasia to Yunnan. Moreover, violent rupture in the transmission of political power meant that opportunities for advancement were open to local families who may otherwise have found it difficult to gain access to secure elite status within Dali society. Not all the families who had the resources to carve a tomb inscription necessarily remained within arm's reach of these kinds of resources in later years, but during the Yuan and in the period of upheaval following the Ming conquest military service was frequently claimed as a source of status. By the sixteenth century, references to civilian official service far outstripped the military as sources of familial status; moreover, even before Dali itself had a large population of indigenous degree-holders (that is, imperial officials), the norms of elite behaviour had become aligned with the ideal of the learned and virtuous civil official.

The first group of people whose service to a state not based in Dali formed the basis of their social position there arrived with the Mongols. Among the body of Yuan-era tomb inscriptions

⁴⁷¹ Dong Qing 董卿, "Zongqi fujun Dong gong mubiao 總旗府君董公墓表 [Tomb record of Mr Dong, Platoon Commander of this prefecture]," 1576, DLCS JSP 3.93/10.107.

⁴⁷² Lian Ruizhi states that genealogies from 1600 onward were more likely to identify their ancestors as having migrated from Nanjing, even though, as in her case study, their ancestry can be traced to one of Dali's pre-conquest clans (Lian, "Surviving Conquest in Dali"). That these change does not appear to occur (certainly not uniformly) in tomb inscriptions is suggestive in the light of Gerritsen's argument about the changing roles of temple and genealogy texts in the same era in Ji'an. I hope to examine these question of genre and audience in lineage texts in future work.

⁴⁷³ On the Ming conquest, see *Ming Shilu* (Beijing: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan), vol. 5, 2246/47.

found in Dali city wall, most appear to have resided in the region for generations. Only one, Buluhan 布魯罕, wife of Mongolian officer Wulu, is identified as belonging to the Mongol occupying forces; the brief inscription gives no indication of whether her husband stayed in the region after her death.⁴⁷⁴ Zhang Yi, mentioned above, is another descendent of a patriline which arrived in Dali in the armies of Qubilai Qan.⁴⁷⁵ His ancestral native place is identified as Qingke commandary, a Western Han name for the region known in the Yuan as Hebei province. Less detailed information is available about two other tomb occupants whose ancestors were said to have arrived with the Mongol armies, primarily because the texts of these steles has been substantially eroded. An undated inscription for another Zhang clan mentions the place of origin as Taiyuan, also in the Jin territory (conquered before Dali); another for a Chen clan may not even be from this period.⁴⁷⁶ Relatively few, it seems, of the people who arrived in Yunnan with the Mongols settled in Dali or had their lives commemorated in tomb inscriptions.

On the other hand, service with the Mongols could be a means of upward mobility for families who were already in the Dali region but perhaps not well-established. A late thirteenth century inscription commemorating the life of Yang Gong emphasised that his ancestors on both his father's and mother's side, had been well thought of by the rulers of the Dali Kingdom, but describes his key achievement as holding office under the Yuan.⁴⁷⁷ Chen Mingzheng (d.1292), although descended from a minister who had served the Nanzhao, was noted as having gained favour with Mongol princes through his musical ability.⁴⁷⁸ The father of Duan Lian had worked with Sayyid 'Ajall.⁴⁷⁹ A 1314 inscription from Fengyou village, in the mountains west of Dengchuan, commemorates Zhao Shengzhong, who served as *bubian* 布變, a Mongol official.⁴⁸⁰ Several other tombs from this period also served as *bubian*, though none in so remote a location. For these families, even if they had lived in Dali before the Mongol invasion, their relationship with the Yuan government was a source of prestige.

Often, military families were migrants, appointed to the local garrisons by the Ming. Early in the dynasty, these families seem to have largely married among themselves. Wu Weili was a member of the first generation born in Yunnan to military families posted to Ming garrisons on the frontier:

大明國明威將軍僉金齒軍民指揮使司事吳公諱理，字廷義，泗州在城人。考吳憲，字憲中，洪武間由軍功授指揮僉事。母張氏，封恭人。將軍元丙申六月十七日子時生，洪武庚申代父任。
Mr Wu Weili, a clerk in the office of Jinchi civilian-military administration in the armies of the great Ming,

⁴⁷⁴ Anonymous, "Wuluhan bei 布魯罕碑 [Buluhan stele]," nd., Wang and Fang, "*Dali Wuhualou xinchu yuanbei xianlu (xia)*", 219.

⁴⁷⁵ Kong, "Zhang zhaomo muzhi" DLCS JSP 1.75/10.21-22.

⁴⁷⁶ Anonymous, "Zhang shi can bei 張氏殘碑 [Fragment of Zhang clan stele]," DLCS JSP 1.80/10.25. Yang Xiaoyuan 楊曉元, "Gu Dali Chen shi muzhi bing xu 故大理陳氏墓誌並敘 [Tomb inscription and Preface for the Chen family of Dali]," DLCS JSP 1.91/10.25.

⁴⁷⁷ Zhao Ziyuan 趙子元, "Gu Dali lu Yang shi gongjie renyi daoji dashi mubeiming bing xu 故大理路楊氏躬節仁義道濟大師墓碑銘並序 [Tomb stele inscription with preface of Master [] Yang clan of Dali circuit]," DLCS 1.87/10.24-25.

⁴⁷⁸ Zhao Zigao 趙子高, "Chen shi mubeiming bing xu 陳氏墓碑銘并敘 [Tomb stele inscription and Preface of Chen clan]," 1292, DLCS 1.43/10.12.

⁴⁷⁹ Wang Fusheng 王福昇, Gu li yangzhai zhangguansi andu Duan Lian muming bing xu 故理陽寨長官司案牘段璉墓銘並序 [Tomb inscription and preface for Duan Lian,], c.1350, DLCS 1.76/10.22.

⁴⁸⁰ Huangfu Gui 皇甫圭 "Zhao Shengzhong mubei 趙生忠墓碑 [Tomb stele of Zhao Shengzhong]," 1314, DLCS 1.56/10.16.

courtesy name Yanyi, a man from the city in Sizhou. His late father Wu Xian, courtesy name Xianzhong, was awarded a post as a clerk as a result of military merit. His mother was Ms Zhang, who had been awarded the title “revered lady.” He [the general] was born on the 17th day of the sixth month of the *bingshen* year of the Yuan [1356], and assumed his father’s post in the *gengshen* year of the Hongwu era [1380].⁴⁸¹

Both Wu and his wife are praised for their good service, both before and after his death. Finally, the children’s marriages are discussed.

恭人既生三子二女。長子雄，襲任父職，以孝護聞於時。娶楚雄衛鎮撫范氏女。次子能，娶大理衛鎮撫錢氏女。季子俊，娶同司指揮使車氏女。長女適同司指揮僉事馮，次女適同司中右所千戶耿男。

The revered lady had given birth to three sons and two daughters. The older son was called Xiong. He inherited his father’s position and was known in his time as a filial protector. He married a Ms Fan of Chuxiong Garrison Judge. The second son was called Neng. He married a Ms Qian of the Dali Garrison Judge. The youngest son was called Jun. He married a Ms Che, daughter of a commander of the same garrison. The oldest daughter married Assistant Commander Feng of the same garrison. The second daughter married Battalion Commander Geng of the Central-Right battalion of the same garrison.⁴⁸²

Each of his sons married the daughter of an officer posted in a neighbouring garrison, while his daughters married officers posted in the same garrison as Wu himself.

Some Dali locals also took up military service with the Ming: a more contentious topic. Among the inscriptions at the Xizhou cemetery, some families resisted, others capitulated immediately, like the Li clan above, who were so concerned to emphasise their Nanzhao heritage. Another who submitted early was Li Nu, perhaps a relation, although only one son is mentioned by name and in fact the inscription itself was composed by a ritual specialist (*azanli* 阿拶哩) rather than the more typical younger relation.

李公字思敬，名奴，大理弘圭河矣城人也。幼質聰敏，篤志好學，輔世敬業。聖朝天兵南下，洪武十六年八月內，跟隨總兵官郭都督為隨榮(營)通事。

Mr Li’s courtesy name was Sijjing, given name Nu. He was from that city on Honggui river.⁴⁸³ When a child he was naturally clever, he worked single-mindedly at his studies, with the goal of helping the ruler govern the people. When the armies of the present dynasty came south, in the eighth month of the sixteenth year of the Hongwu reign period, he entered into the retinue of commander-in-chief general Guo as an interpreter.⁴⁸⁴

After a lengthy account of his experiences working as a military interpreter throughout Yunnan province, Li returned home with rewards in silk.⁴⁸⁵ He then tried to turn his service into a more durable form of social capital:

撥與本府洞泊所通事，管得漁戶五百二十五名。後充太和千戶所土官識字。永樂十六年，編充里長

⁴⁸¹ Wu Xiongxiu 吳雄需 “Wu Li jiangjun muzhiming 吳理將軍墓誌銘 [Tomb inscription of General Wu Li],” 1430, DLCS 1.124/10.36.

⁴⁸² Wu, “Wu Li jiangjun muzhiming,” DLCS 1.124/10.36.

⁴⁸³ That is, Xizhou.

⁴⁸⁴ Hongzong 洪宗, “Li gong Nu muzhi, 李公奴墓誌 [Tomb inscription of Mr Li Nu],” 1422, DLCS 1.115/10.33.

⁴⁸⁵ For an analysis of the role of interpreting in the early Ming state, see Johannes S. Lotze, “Translation of Empire: Mongol Legacy, Language Policy, and the Early Ming World Order, 1368-1453,” PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2016

。奉本縣帖文，辦弘圭保和二鄉，為都里長，催辦賦稅徵收。

He was assigned to Dongbo Battalion as an interpreter, in charge of 525 people in fishing households. Later he served as indigenous official in the Battalion at Taihe, and learned to read and write. In the sixteenth year of the Yongle reign period [1418], his books filled one li [of shelving]. He bestowed on this county his books of calligraphic models, he took care of the two villages Honggui and Baohe, as his own village headman, he hastened to take care of taxes.⁴⁸⁶

In this passage, he behaves like a member of the village-level gentry, responsible for administration of taxes in his home village. The remainder of the inscription commends Li's loyalty and filiality, but is particularly interesting in the way it relates these virtues to changes in status.

忠孝之心明於上，禮義之德臨於下。上下相親，而生民之本盡矣。詳其德義，無間此哉。及子名海字，圭山之賢秀，仕宦案牘，輔翼公門，永清四海，而聲名遠者，豈可卷而不敘者乎，求予記之。 A loyal and filial heart illuminates those above [it], the virtues of correct ritual face those below. Above and below are closely related to each other, and the base of all is the common people. In the details of their virtues there is nothing separating them. Moreover his son named Haizi was one of the worthies of Guishan, he served as an official clerk, and assisted the emperor through official service. It is perpetually clear to the whole world, and his reputation reaches far — how can he not be described in the rolls? I was begged to record it.⁴⁸⁷

In this inscription, the author acknowledges that military service was not a sustainable source of status, but claims that virtue, self-education and participation in the work of governance entitle someone to be recorded in the ranks of the elite nevertheless.

The status gained from examination success and participation in civilian government became more and more frequently referenced in texts about Dali locals. The text cited in the introduction shows that ideals of civilian service were already available to Dali gentry families during the Yuan: though Yang Hu was appointed as a military official, his son described him as a learned scholar respected by the community.⁴⁸⁸ Likewise, in the early Ming, civilian service could be under the Mongols or the Ming, and was not necessarily accompanied by examination success. The Zhao clan from Zhaozhou (whose lineage temple has been discussed extensively by Lian Ruizhi) had a branch in Dali, one member of which was buried in Xizhou. In addition to the marriages of his children, Yang Wenqing 楊文慶's tomb inscription (composed by a metropolitan graduate from Ji'an) discussed his ancestors' service in various civilian positions under the Yuan.⁴⁸⁹

One of Dali's first provincial graduates, Yang Sen 楊森 (*jr.* 1411), was among the first to be recognised primarily for civilian service. The funerary inscription for his father, composed by Sen's junior Du Heng 杜亨 (*js.* 1460), positions Sen's examination success as an inheritance from his scholarly father, Yang Maochun:

弘農郡公茂春，字盛時，大理太和鉅族人也。公幼年讀孔聖書，暨長，事蕭曹業，案牘清，名公巨卿多有欽者。

Mr Maochun from Hongong commandary, courtesy name Shengshi, was a man of a great family of Taihe,

⁴⁸⁶ Hongzong, "Li gong Nu muzhi," DLCS 1.115/10.33.

⁴⁸⁷ Hongzong, "Li gong Nu muzhi," DLCS 1.115/10.33.

⁴⁸⁸ Yang, "Hongnong shi gu qianhu Hu bei," DLCS 1.81/10.23.

⁴⁸⁹ Zeng Qi 曾榮, "Gu Yuan Yunnan Dali lu Zhaozhou tongzhi Yang gong muzhiming 故元雲南大理路趙州同知楊公墓誌銘 [Tomb inscription of Mr Yang, Prefect of Zhaozhou in Dali circuit in Yunnan under the Yuan]," 1417, DLCS 1.109/10.31.

Dali. When he was young he read aloud from the books of Confucius and the sages. When he grew up, he was engaged in the affairs of Xiao and Cao, he made official documents clear, many great officials admired him.⁴⁹⁰

After listing Maochun's wife and children, the second half of the inscription concentrates on the virtues of his only son, Sen:

而森繩其祖武，亦惟其事業之是繼是述。嘗從事於藩府臬司令掾，而人亦靡不敬仰之，誠可謂達孝者矣。

Moreover Sen continued his ancestor's traces, and only in conducting business this continued and was described. He dealt with foreign kings and provincial officials, and gave orders to subordinates. There were none who did not respect him, he was sincerely called exceptionally filial.⁴⁹¹

Although he had no children himself, Sen "took on the responsibility of educating his younger relatives" (森又荷天寵而保艾其後矣), including Yang Shiyun and his cousins. Moreover, he used his official status for the benefit of the whole community, not just his own family.

今盛時歸遠矣，森則不忘罔極，不昧掬育，立石勒名，以彰其德，俾承繼者嗣述者知所處。其或東風薦食，寒食飛錢，寧不知萬物本乎天，人本於祖乎？

Now in the fulness of his life he returned home from afar, but Sen had not forgotten the buzzing bluebottles (local gossip). He did not forget to hold education in both hands. He set up stones and engraved names, in order that their virtue might be displayed. He adopted his nephew as his heir so that someone would inherit his place. Otherwise maybe the east wind would swallow him up, and there would be cold food as a remittance. Is it not the case that at the base of the ten thousand things is heaven, and at the base of people are their ancestors?⁴⁹²

As suggested here, Sen did indeed compose funerary inscriptions for many families buried in Honggui cemetery, including a dozen extant steles. Official service and the skills associated with it (including the ability to write literary Chinese) was an effective source of position for Yang Sen's family, at least in the eyes of his fellow graduates.

Sponsorship of Local Resources/Institutions in Times of Rebuilding:

After the Ming conquest, substantial rebuilding projects took place throughout the region. By sponsoring these projects, individuals and families demonstrated their willingness and ability to take a leading role in the life of the community; that is, their access to resources to fund temples, and their persuasive clout to take a decision making role. At the same time, by making their desired outcomes reality they enacted the power they claimed to have in local society. Moreover, by endowing temples, wealthy families perpetuated their social standing into future generations, at least for as long as the temple lasted. As a result, temple inscriptions commemorating elite sponsors, both new establishments and additions, expansions, or reconstructions of existing institutions, bridged the period of disruption into later imperial society.

Dali's elite families were the primary financial supporters of Buddhist temples in the region, both in ongoing support via donation of land, and specific construction projects. In Heqing, the construction of the Qiyun hermitage in 1459 was sponsored by members of Li and Yang

⁴⁹⁰ Du Heng 杜亨, "Yang gong tongshi Zhang shi muzhiming 楊公同室張氏墓誌銘 [Tomb inscription for Mr Yang and Ms Zhang buried together]," DLCS JSP 2.102/10.67-68. Xiao He and Cao Shen were Han dynasty officials.

⁴⁹¹ Du, "Yang gong tongshi Zhang shi muzhiming," DLCS JSP 2.102/10.67-68.

⁴⁹² Du, "Yang gong tongshi Zhang shi muzhiming," DLCS JSP 2.102/10.67-68.

lineages, with both military and civilian registrations, reflecting the high population of military migrants near the county seat.⁴⁹³ Dali Buddhism was also attractive to people who had migrated there, and formed a site of interaction between indigenous Dali civilian gentry and the descendants of military men who had settled in the area and were also taking the examinations and transforming themselves into gentry. Under the Yuan, troops from Central Asia who settled in Dali included devoutly Buddhist men who sponsored the construction in 1378 of Daguangming temple.⁴⁹⁴ In 1398, Dali garrison sponsored the construction of Baolian Hall at Linghui temple in Xizhou.⁴⁹⁵ Many extant Buddhist texts from Dali demonstrate a desire to embed religious practices within the local physical environment and stories from local history. The Vulture Peak temple (*Lingjiu si* 靈鷲寺) in Eryuan was named after a mountain in India where the Buddha is said to have frequently retreated with his disciples, the site where he spoke the Lotus and other famous sutras.⁴⁹⁶ Its sponsorship by the non-literati local power-holders demonstrates that Buddhist temple sponsorship was a way for multiple layers of the elite social stratum reinforced their elite status.

Temples were also a way for military migrants to consolidate their power in local society. Another group of officers and men built their reputation on reviving a Mahakala temple and endowing it into the future:

昔自毀廢八百餘歲，維遠維久，無一人而弗飭修。至永樂庚子十人年夏，有檀越總旗武士趙公諱濃，奴其名也。

It was once destroyed and abandoned for more than 800 years, through years and distance there was no-one, it was not put in order or repaired. In the summer of the *gengzi* year of the Yongle era [1420] it found a charitable patron [skr. *dana-pati*], Platoon Commander Mr Zhao from Huinong, Nu was his name.⁴⁹⁷

Zhao had discovered this abandoned temple while spending a day “roaming at leisure” 一日遊暇, and by his singleminded efforts, the temple was rebuilt with Mahakala 摩訶迦羅大黑天神 at the centre.⁴⁹⁸ but his sponsorship of the reconstruction seems to have stimulated his subordinates to contribute to the project:

為萬世子孫之計，亦為斯村之土地。又有善人小旗楊禾，因公之廟貌昭感，亦塑悉咩迦羅，並喜施田畝，以求福澤，願除罪業之根。

In order to plan for future generations, he [Zhao] also made over land in this village. And there was a philanthropist Squad Commander Yang He, because Zhao had clearly been moved by the appearance of the temple, also set up statues to Mokala and happily granted farmland so that seeking [good luck] and

⁴⁹³ Monk Jingtian 沙門鏡天, “Qiyun yan bei ji ming 棲雲淹碑記銘 [Record on a stele at Hermitage Amid Clouds and Mist],” 1459, DLCS 2.40-41/10.53-54.

⁴⁹⁴ Duan Xinju Bao 段信苴寶, “Daguangming si zhuchi duanyan zhanglao zhizhao lingta bing ming xu 大光明寺住持端嚴長老智照靈塔銘並序 [Tomb inscription and preface for the pagoda [marking the tomb of the abbot] at Great Enlightenment Temple],” 1378, DLCS 1.96/10.27-28.

⁴⁹⁵ Wuji of Gantong Temple 感通寺無極, “Baolian dian ji 寶蓮殿記 [Record of Baolian Hall],” 1398, DLCS 1.104/10.29-30.

⁴⁹⁶ Zhang Zhicai 張志材, “Linghu si bei ji 靈鷲寺碑記 [Record on a stele at Vulture Peak Temple],” 1491, DLCS 2.104/10.68.

⁴⁹⁷ Teacher Yang 楊教學, “Chongxiu bai[X]tang shenmiao jibei 重修白[X]堂神廟記碑 [Stele with inscription on repair of the White [X] Hall temple],” 1431, DLCS 1.125-126/10.36.

⁴⁹⁸ Bryson argues that Mahakala was particularly associated with Dali Buddhism, *Goddess on the Frontier*, .

hoping for reducing karmic debt.⁴⁹⁹

The main attributed motive was their own spiritual welfare, however the contribution to the local community, by endowing for the future, did not go unnoted. On the reverse of this inscription, the donors listed indicate that not all the military men involved in this temple were necessarily migrants:

今將所有喜捨本廟田地開坐：

計婦女貴長女姁娥陶那一段，小旗楊禾同男法

華堅、蒼山虎、洱海龍、洱河敕、五葱山等共喜捨秋

田壹分，計田壹坵，東至趙成，南至李成，西至小溝，

北至王福。四至明白，坐落梨登甸內山神前。

Here is a list of all the land given as alms in the present dynasty:

Respected elder lady Ji gave one Heng'e vase.

Squad commander Yang He, together with the men of Fahua stronghold, Cangshan tigers, Erhai dragons, Er River Orders, and Five Onion Mountain,⁵⁰⁰ donated one part of the harvest fields, calculating the field from the east to Zhao field-division, south to the Li fields, west to the little ditch, north to Wang Fu. The four boundaries are clear, located in the domain of Li Deng, in front of the mountain god.⁵⁰¹

Elder lady Ji is not otherwise known, but the squad of Yang He appears to be highly integrated into local society, if not comprised of local men. A second inscription, also found in Wase village, attributes to them the repair of a temple, which (according to Lian Ruizhi) had been built by Geluofeng.⁵⁰²

An inscription found in Gantong temple 感通寺, on the Dali plain, describes the temple lands on Mt Ban (more commonly Mt Xueban), a twelve-peaked mountain range in between Jianchuan and Eryuan. This inscription was erected in 1566 by a certain Dong Yongwei, to clarify for posterity which of his family's land had been donated to an unnamed Buddhist temple, the names of the tenants who farmed it, and the annual rent in grain. Since the foundation of the temple five generations previously, the lands had been encroached on by public tax collectors until Dong's father and uncles had taken it upon themselves to restore the family's meritorious deeds via charitable giving.

古云，積善之家必有余慶。口口口口董門子孫蕃衍，繩繩繼繼，謂非先祖積善之功，吾不信也。先祖土官巡檢董公祿，捐資建寺，喜捨常住大功，德其有量乎。迄今已數代矣，常住被人侵占，寺院幾至傾廢。四代孫曰儀、曰佐、曰俸者，不忍見其傾廢，特為修理，俾祖之善功不致泯滅。今將見在田畝、坐落、佃戶姓名、租穀數目及冬枝子孫世系併刻於石，以垂永久云。

嘉靖丙寅冬吉旦。

五代玄孫竹南董用威拜手直言。

It has been said of old that to accumulate merit for one's family one must go above and beyond in charitable works. [Illegible] Dong Men's descendants multiplied, more and more all the time. It is said that our ancestor did not do anything to accumulate merit but I do not believe it. Founding ancestor indigenous official police chief Dong Lu donated funds to build the temple. To joyfully give alms is a great merit, should we not appraise it as virtue? In the several generations since then, the donated lands have been invaded and occupied by people, and the temple courtyards have been almost abandoned. His fourth

⁴⁹⁹ Yang, "Chongxiu bai[X]tang shenmiao jibei," DLCS 1.125-126/10.36. *Mokala* is perhaps a non-standard transliteration of Mahakala.

⁵⁰⁰ See *Man shu* 囊葱山

⁵⁰¹ Yang, "Chongxiu bai[X]tang shenmiao jibei," DLCS 1.125-126/10.36.

⁵⁰² Yang Lu 楊祿, "Yingguo anbang shenmiao ji 應國安邦神廟記 [Record of the temple of answering the kingdom with stability]" DLCS 1.128-129/10.37; Lian article

generation descendants Yi, Zuo, and Feng could not bear to see the place abandoned, and a made a point of fixing the place up, so that their ancestor's merit might not vanish from the earth. Now I will review the current farmland, its location, the names of each tenant, the amount of rent (in grain), and the winter (Dong?) branch genealogy, and carve it in stone so that it may be recorded for posterity for ever.

An auspicious day in the winter of the *bingyin* year of the Jiajing era [1566]

Fifth generation great-great-grandson Dong Yongwei of Zhunan bows his head and speaks plainly.⁵⁰³

Through sponsorship of this temple, its repairs and ongoing maintenance, the Dong family not only reinforced its authority to control the disposition of land that its members did not till, it also positioned itself as a moral authority.

Networks among donors were another way for status to be demonstrated that overlapped with temple sponsorship itself. In Hedong village, near Xizhou, a 1450 inscription at the Shengyuan temple 聖元寺 was composed by one of Dali's first metropolitan graduates, Yang Sen.⁵⁰⁴ The association between literati status and sponsorship of temples extended even to the upper echelons. The Three Pagodas of Chongsheng temple, still the most famous image of Dali, were damaged in an earthquake in 1515, and so we have three inscriptions written by Li Yuanyang in the mid-sixteenth century commemorating repairs. Repairs to the central tower, the subject of the 1553 inscription, were sponsored by Li himself, in conjunction with his three younger brother-cousins and fellow townsmen (*tongyi* 同邑):

又三年癸丑，始克重葺左右二塔，秋初經始，首尾歷五日。其助貲貳工則同邑蘇鵬程、韓斗、洪鉦、余弟、元春、元期、元和。

Three years later, in the *guichou* year [1553], I began to be able to repeat the repairs for the left and right stupas. We began construction at the beginning of autumn and spent five days from beginning to end. I was aided financially and in overseeing workers by others from our village: Su Pengcheng, Han Dou, Hong Yu, and my younger cousins Yuanchun, Yuanqi, and Yuanhe.⁵⁰⁵

None of these men are recorded as degree holders, but their association with Li Yuanyang and Chongsheng temple attests to their position, and demonstrates that literati were part of a deeper, internally differentiated, elite status group within local society.

One of the most substantial integrations of Buddhist practices and local legends is also one of Dali's older temples. Pagoda temple, also known as "snake bone pagoda" (*shegu ta* 蛇骨塔), stands at the southern end of the Dali plain in the hills overlooking Lake Er's southern outlet. This last name refers to the story of Duan Chicheng, who defeated a giant snake which had been living in Lake Er and wreaking havoc on the weather. Its bones were either buried underneath or ground into powder and used to whitewash the outer layer of the pagoda. A 1575 inscription was composed by Zhao Chunyi 趙純一, a 1534 provincial graduate from Dali, and records the repair of the pagoda after an earthquake:

又云：我蒼山有十人峰，峰皆有谿，谿皆有龍。禹未治時妖龍為害，沒濫無時。故各峰各麓，皆建寺造塔以鎮之。蓋以龍之性畏塔，而以此勝彼，使不得以放恣也。其迹咸有可徵，茲佛圖塔中著有修建碑記，冀永久者。

It is also said, "our Mt Cang has 18 peaks, and the peaks all have streams, and the streams all have dragons." When Yu had not yet governed, the dragon demon did harm, it was constantly flooding. So in

⁵⁰³ Dong Yongwei 董用威, "Banshan changzhu tian ji 班山常住田記 [Record of Temple Fields on Mt Ban]," 1566, 3.71/10.100-101.

⁵⁰⁴ Yang Sen 楊森, "Chongli Shengyuan xishan bei ji 重理聖元西山碑記 [Record of the Stele at the Mountain west of Shengyuan Temple], 1450, 2.25/10.48.

⁵⁰⁵ Li, "Chongxiu Chongsheng si bei ji," 3.43/10.90.

each peak and foothills a temple was built and a stupa constructed to guard it. The purpose was that the dragon's nature might fear the pagoda, and by this means defeat it, and to make it not able to do whatever it wanted. Its traces were all signs, here in the temple pagoda there are several stele records of past repairs, expressing the hope it will last forever.⁵⁰⁶

Both this account and the version in chapter one, about Duan Chicheng, situate the building of the pagoda in narratives of Dali's geography and local history. The continuing value of these stories is reflected in its use to explain the contemporary reconstruction:

或妖龍作怪，欲塔之危，以消鎮壓之故。未知孰是。夫觀一塔如此，不能不慨嘆天下之事，期於有成者易，而必於無敗者實難。是塔也，將有必毀之狀矣。明年春，揮使周君名之冕，號香石者，視衛篆，聞而異之。遂募緣僚友王君思齋，願捐俸貨，求教於中谿善長者，得其背紫。委戶侯李應文，鄉老蘇[X]、蘇相、[X]宗賓、蒲正越，相與共成焉。復得住持僧廣忍、宗巒，勸勉贊襄，以完其美。

Perhaps the dragon demon was messing around, wanting the pagoda to be in danger, so that it would no longer be suppressed; no-one knows what it was. Looking at the pagoda like this, one cannot but regret its fate. It is easy to aspire to have success, but it is really difficult to necessarily never suffer loss. As for this pagoda, it will be necessary to destroy its shape. In the spring of the next year, the Military Commissioner Mr Zhou, whose name was Mian, also called Xiangshi, inspected the seal of the fortress, and hearing of this attached great importance to it. Thereupon he begged funding from his colleague Mr Wang Siji, and was willing to give up his salary. He asked advice from the virtuous elder Zhongxi [Li Yuanyang], and gained his backing. He appointed revenue official Li Yingwen, village elders Su [x], Su Xiang, X Zongbao, and Pu Zhengyue to work together with each other. Moreover he got the abbot and monk Guang Ren and Zong Mi, to encourage and assist, in order that it might be completed perfectly.⁵⁰⁷

Thus the text was the product of the relationships among these men: familial, educational, social, religious. By showing local negotiations, these texts indicate more complex forms of stratification within local society were important parts of the status identities of Dali's literati.

Under the Ming, Buddhist registry offices were established at the yamen along with the other accoutrements of local government. Beyond their formal establishment, some evidence survives that the Buddhist registry in Dali was active in local temples. Wuwei temple, a large monastic complex in the foothills of Mt Diancang just north of Dali city, was donated a bell by the prefectural Buddhist registry in 1445.⁵⁰⁸ On occasion, Buddhist temples were integrated into networks of state influence through the sponsorship of local officials, whether indigenous or centrally-appointed. In Menghua, the Dengjue Temple, which still contains inscriptions from the fifteenth, and seventeenth centuries, was paid for by local officials. A 1465 inscription commemorating the building of Shuangbao Pagoda says that it was funded by Zuo (Hou)lin, the indigenous prefect, at the instigation of his mother, a Ms Zhang, as was the refurbishing of the temple itself a few years later.⁵⁰⁹ Over the next two and a half centuries, the Zuo clan's involvement in local government had become more or less a formality, and by the 1607 reconstruction responsibility for the temple had passed to the Menghua Buddhist registry.⁵¹⁰ As

⁵⁰⁶ Zhao Chunyi 趙純一, "Chongxiu Fotu ta ji 重修佛圖塔記 [Record of Rebuilding Pagoda Temple]," 1575, DLCS JSP 3.90-31/10.106.

⁵⁰⁷ Zhao, "Chongxiu Fotu ta ji, DLCS JSP 3.90-31/10.106.

⁵⁰⁸ Anonymous, "Wuwei si dongzhong mingwen 無為寺銅鐘銘文 [Inscription on Bronze Bell at Wuwei Temple], 1445, DLCS JSP 2.17/10.46.

⁵⁰⁹ Chen Qing 陳清, Xinzhao Dengjue si shuangbao ta ji 新造等覺寺雙寶塔記 [Record of the reconstruction of Shuangbao Pagoda at Dengjue temple], 1465, DLCS JSP 2.55-56/10.57-58.

⁵¹⁰ Wang Zhizhong 王執中 "Chongxiu Dengjue si beiji 重修等覺寺碑記 [Stele record of the repair of Dengjue temple]," 1607, DLCS JSP 3.129/10.119-120.

a result, the spatial organisation of Dali Buddhism in the Ming was imbricated with the *junxian* system as well as other understandings of place.

Two sixteenth-century inscriptions concerning water management in Zhaozhou subprefecture demonstrate the range of elite status positions that emerged through interactions between state and locals on matters of communal importance. The first, a stele in Qingliu Puji Shrine 清流普濟祠 composed in 1548 by Li Yuanyang, places local community representatives as a kind of chorus with which the hero of the story, Magistrate Pan, interacts:

堯峰潘侯守趙州之三年為歲丁未，旱暵方千里，其鄰郡之長，接邑之令，咸躬親祈禱。或以春秋繁露致蜥蜴，作土龍。或以巫覡致蛇，境以無雨，侯曰：陰陽失節，咎在長吏。民之無辜，罹此荼毒。

In 1547, the third year of Mr Pan of Yaofeng's tenure,⁵¹¹ there was drought across the region. The leaders of the neighbouring districts and next-door towns were all saying prayers in person. Some used the *Chunqiu fanlu* (by Dong Zhongshu) on a lizard, to make an artificial dragon. Some had a magician do magic on a snake, and still they were completely without rain. Mr Pan said: Yin and Yang have lost their balance, and it is the fault of the senior sub-prefecture functionaries. The people are without guilt but they suffer torment because of it.⁵¹²

Although the attempts of the local leaders to conjure rain provided the impetus for the magistrate's actions, in this account they remain anonymous. This indicates first that there were groups within local society that were considered to be able to speak for the population, and also that Li Yuanyang, metropolitan graduate and retired official, considered these men as background for a narrative praising a centrally-appointed officeholder. Moreover, the mention of their attempts at gaining rain suggests that they were relatively uncivilised and credulous enough to be taken in by unscrupulous magicians — local adherence to magicians and similar medical practitioners was considered a sign of needing to be educated in gazetteers.

However, local knowledge was able to direct Magistrate Pan to the correct dragon god, who had appeared in the region in the past. When he went with the crowd of elders to the pool where the dragon had appeared, they encountered a golden snake along the road, and “the crowd” immediately identified it as an incarnation of the dragon god. Magistrate Pan, showing his distinction from the credulous masses, tested it to prove it was a dragon before making sacrifices to it. In the end, the rains appeared shortly after the sacrifice at the pool had been concluded:

行未數里，一衆霑溼。是夕，大雨如注農人歌曰：致蛇得龍，惟侯之衷。雨既三日，田事用興。起視鄰境，焦土如故。農人又歌曰：雨我而止，惟侯之似。是歲大稔，其人三倍。侯乃謝雨。龍迎如故。嗣是

They had not walked a li before everyone was soaked. That night, it rained in torrents and the farmers sang, “to send a snake and get a dragon is only Mr Pan's good heart.” The rain lasted three days, and the farmwork flourished because of it; but when he went out to look at neighbouring counties, they were all bone-dry as before. The farmers sang another song, “It rains on us alone, just like Mr Pan.” That year there was a bumper harvest, and Mr Pan made sacrifices in gratitude. The dragon received them as before. So it has continued.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ ZZZ says Pan Dawu was appointed in 1549, which does not fit the timeline; possibly the magistrate here was Pan Simian of Lingzhou (Guangxi), who the *Dian zhi* lists as the magistrate immediately preceding Pan Dawu.

⁵¹² Li Yuanyang, “Zhaozhou ganyu ci ji 趙州甘雨祠記 [Record of the Drought-breaking shrine at Zhaozhou],” 1548, DLCS JSP 3.35/10.86-87.

⁵¹³ Li, “Zhaozhou ganyu ci ji,” DLCS JSP 3.35/10.86-87.

The overall impact of this account is to praise the governance of Magistrate Pan, in an inscription that would remain at the temple. Though some kind of local stratification is identified, its elite are identified more with the farmers than with the office-holding gentry to which Mr Pan and the makers of the inscription belonged. The ability to represent the community does indicate a degree of status differentiation, but compared to earlier texts the inscription serves to distinguish those men from scholar-gentry and their translocal networks.

On the other hand, a similar inscription erected the same year at another temple in Zhaozhou gives an account of a negotiation over water that attributes agency to the Dong family rather than Magistrate Pan. While Li Yuanyang was based in Taihe county, this inscription was composed by a metropolitan graduate from Zhaozhou itself, Zou Yaochen 鄒堯臣. His version of the breaking of the 1540s drought emphatically rejects Magistrate Pan as an agent of change:

清流普濟祠之建，所以為民也。龍泉之溪清而不濁，故曰清流。祠之維何？曰：昭龍德也。曷言乎為民也？曰：嘉靖丁未歲大旱，郡侯堯峰潘公為民祈禱，靡神不周。

The shrine at Qingliupu qiao was built by the common people. The stream coming out of the fountain is clear and not turbid, so it is called “clear-flowing”. Why is there a temple there? Because it manifests the virtue of heaven. Why is it said to be made by the common people? Because in the great drought of 1547 the Magistrate, Mr Pan of Yaofeng, said prayers on behalf of the people, but they were blown away by the wind and the spirit did not answer.⁵¹⁴

This account is also more explicit about what groups of people comprised the local elders who spoke with the Magistrate on their behalf:

比夏將至，早愈太甚，人心皇皇。乃督僧氏求雨於龍，僉曰：董氏有龍，祈雨輒驗，但其出不易，其家難之。公曰：有是哉。迺躬親往禱

Summer was about to arrive, far too early, and the people were anxious. So the [military] officers, monks, and clan leaders asked the Dragon for rain, saying together: the Dong clan has a dragon that always responds efficaciously to prayers for rain, but it is not easy to produce this effect, and its family is in turmoil. The magistrate said, is that so! So he went personally to pray.⁵¹⁵

The leaders of the people included military men, religious personnel, and people whose status derived from their lineage. More importantly, the dragon god was identified with a named lineage, the Dong clan. Having taken their advice, Magistrate Pan is able to make the correct prayers to placate the Dragon God and obtain rain for the people.

From this point, the narrative turns to Pan's quest to appropriately honour the Dragon God through building temples. First, he goes down to the bank of Lake Er and really looks at the land, apparently for the first time:

迺即江頭，相度地靈。則見龍山之脈，蜿蜒蜓蜓，伏於平田。左據湯顛，右臨曲別，溪流內邊，風嶺外峙。公曰：鬱乎佳哉，其龍宮也。迺遍謀建祠罵。基未闢，江頭殷民協然丕應，有梁棟者以其梁棟至，有枋木者以其枋木至，有橡棧者以其橡棧至。

So he went down to the riverbank to observe the spirit of the land. He saw the veins of the dragon mountain, twisting like worms and dragonflies, coming to rest on the level fields. To the left it occupied the mountaintops, to the right the turns of the river, the streams spiralled down, wind blew through the peaks. The magistrate said: how luxuriant! How fine! This is the palace of the dragon king! So he built shrines everywhere. He did not open up land for the foundation, but the wealthy families by the riverbank assisted

⁵¹⁴ Zou Yaochen 鄒堯臣, “Xinjian Qingliu Puji ci ji 新建清流普濟祠記 [Record of the Construction of the Shrine of Clear water for universal aid],” 1548, DLCS JSP 3.36/10.87.

⁵¹⁵ Zou, “Xinjian Qingliu Puji ci ji,” DLCS JSP 3.36/10.87.

him and they worked well together, using those who had ridgepoles for its ridgepoles, those who had crossbeams for crossbeams, those who had panelling for panelling.⁵¹⁶

Pan's newly-awakened appreciation for the exceptional nature of the physiography and scenery of north-western Yunnan enables him to properly engage with the existing local elite. He responds appropriately by initiating construction of temples throughout the region, and more importantly by calling on existing power-holders to contribute what they could. After an extensive discussion of the form and decoration of the temple, Magistrate Pan attempts to put it to use and again finds himself unable to proceed without expertise from the Dong clan:

迺遂議舉祀焉。公欲祀以木主，詢之董氏，則曰：吾龍派出海東，本號青龍女神。鄉人以其泉流之清，故俗稱為清流女。廟貌以女，神斯有歸或者。又曰：龍魚身而蚊足者，澤以女像，何居？
The lord said: “the landscape is splendid, its spirit must be numinous. The shrine is lofty, its pool must be clear. From now on, our people will certainly not know the worries of drought.” Then he suggested making a sacrifice. The magistrate wanted to make the sacrifice to a wooden tablet, and asked the Dong clan, but they said “our dragon sends out waters and controls it, its dwelling is the black dragon goddess. The villagers use this stream for clear water, so they are accustomed to call her “Lady Clear Water”. If you make the image in the shrine in the form of a woman, perhaps the spirit will return to it.”⁵¹⁷

This consultation results in a compromise, in which Magistrate Pan persists in dedicating the shrine to a dragon, but recognises that, for the local community, the deity was in fact a goddess, “Lady Clear Water.”

公曰：龍之為靈，昭昭如此，澤物有清泉，救早有甘雨，則有龍之功德矣。既有功德於民，則其祠而祀之也固宜，而況有人心之神昭昭也，何形之求而跡之泥。迺遂因民心之神而神之，故曰清流普濟。

The magistrate said, “the dragon makes it numinous, bright and shining like this, the favour it bestows is a clear spring, right sought after a long drought. These were the dragon's meritorious deeds.” Not only were there meritorious deeds for the common people, on account of which the shrine and the sacrifices made there were well-founded and sufficient, moreover in the hearts of the people the spirits were bright and shining, which took the form of requests but whose traces were mud. Still, since the spirit of the hearts of the common people gave it spirit, so it was called “Clear waters of universal aid.”⁵¹⁸

Correct worship (according to the responsibility afforded to dragon gods for matters involving water) had been instituted, but the Magistrate made this argument in terms of the demonstrated effect of his own prayers. The “clear water” for which the common people use the spring is recognised as its ultimate value, and gives the temple its name. The source of the temple's power is after all the sincerity and purity of the local people.

At last, the inscription returns to the point with which it opened: the temple is fundamentally the work of the local people, and its construction promotes a harmonious relationship between them and the officials who governed them:

祠之建，所以為民也。祀禮肇舉，公適陞任，同寅右潭徐公洪溪，蘇公廣文，南屏劉公樂成其美，謂予曾偕公往復睹其盛，不可無述。余謂：昔人苦旱，或求之於蜥蜴，或求之於蛇醫，皆足以致雨。然未有若是其神且異者，天下事故有出諸常理之外，使人始而疑，中而信，終而欽且崇者，類若此。是舉也，龍有救旱之功焉，公有愛民之政焉，民有好義之忠焉，是則可書也。遂記之。
The construction of the temple was done by the common people. The sacrificial rituals began to be held,

⁵¹⁶ Zou, “Xinjian Qingliu Puji ci ji,” DLCS JSP 3.36/10.87.

⁵¹⁷ Zou, “Xinjian Qingliu Puji ci ji,” DLCS JSP 3.36/10.87.

⁵¹⁸ Zou, “Xinjian Qingliu Puji ci ji,” DLCS JSP 3.36/10.87.

and the official was in due course transferred elsewhere. His colleagues Mr Xu Hongxi from Youtan, Mr Su Guangwen, Mr Liu Yue from Nanping, brought the work to completion. They said to me, “once, it was unheard of for public affairs to flourish with all this going back and forth.” I said, “in the past, when there was a drought, people asked a lizard, or asked a snake doctor, and it was enough to get rain. Thus it has never been the case that this spirit was sufficient. In all the world there are accidents which are exceptions to the general rule. At first everyone doubts, then during they believe, and at last they admire and worship it. This comes under that category.” Now that this has been set up, asking the dragon brings early success, the love of public affairs brings good governance to the people, and the desire of the people brings loyalty to uprightness. So I have written this, and made the record.⁵¹⁹

While Magistrate Pan began the temple, in order to ensure continuity across administrative personnel, permanent residents of the locality had to be invested in it. This continuity was a source and indicator of their claim to importance in relation to centrally-appointed officials. Even though the representatives did not wield state-sponsored power, their ability to carry a long-term project to completion using their own material resources and persuasive ability enabled them to take a position of influence in relation to the representatives of the state as well as within their own community.

Trans-local Texts about Place:

In 1555, a provincial official visited Dali to conduct civil service examinations. On discovering that the only public record of local examination success was an out-of-date stele carved several decades before, he galvanised local man Gao Feng 高封 (jr. 1535) and *tuiguan* Wang Shaoxin 王紹新 to catalogue the details of Dali’s metropolitan graduates and have a new stele carved. On one side, the list of metropolitan graduates from the earlier stele was re-inscribed and updated, and a space left for future *jinshi* to be added (the latest entry is 1592). For the other, Dali prefecture magistrate Ma Lin 馬麟 (1511-70, military registration, from Chongqing) composed a brief account of the history of classical education in the Dali area and the careers of its outstanding graduates. In his praise of Dali’s graduates, and of the superlative efforts of the Ming to produce them, Ma invoked both peripherality and spatial ordinariness:

大理雖在僻遠，士之登進者，皆遭逢泰運，砥礪樹立，與天下同也。豈風壤所能拘乎哉。Although Dali is a remote place, those of its scholars who are selected all encounter opportunities, spurring each other on to achievements, alongside all under heaven. Surely their environment did not limit their capabilities?⁵²⁰

While acknowledging Dali’s distance from the centre and the perception that this was a disadvantage, he argued that its location in the empire in fact put it on a level with other localities. Contrary to expectations, Dali’s remoteness did not make it qualitatively different from other imperial territories. On the other hand, he had little patience for attempts to promote Dali as an outstanding locality even within the *junxian* framework:

大理進士，自永樂壬辰，迄今嘉靖庚戌，楊榮而下，凡三十有三人。比諸列藩名郡之盛為不足，較諸滇省各郡之第，亦庶乎其不乏。皆由我聖朝教化以先之，經術以造之也。豈特蒼洱之靈傑乎哉。As for Dali’s metropolitan graduates, since Yang Rong there have been 33 men altogether, from the *renchen* year of the Yongle period (1412) up until today, the *genxu* year of the Jiajing period (1550). It is hardly comparable to the riches found in the ranks of vassals and famous prefectures, but in the ranks of various

⁵¹⁹ Zou, “Xinjian Qingliu Puji ci ji,” DLCS JSP 3.36/10.87.

⁵²⁰ Ma Lin, “Dali fuwei zhouxian like jinshi timing ji 大理府衛州縣歷科進士提名記 [Record of the roll of metropolitan graduates from Dali’s prefecture, garrison, subprefectures and counties],” DLFZ JSP 3.51/10.92-93.

prefectures in Yunnan, it's really not bad at all. All this is due to the transformation by education our dynasty initiated, and the study of the classics it instituted — far more than to Cang-Er's outstandingness of spirit!⁵²¹

Ma's reference here to Cang-Er, that is, the metonymical use of local geography to refer to the community, suggests that he was both aware of and in conversation with local elite discourses which used Mt Cang and Lake Er as foci of their understanding of Dali's uniquely cultivated character (discussed in chapter one). To his way of thinking, however, while Dali should not be considered outside the realm of civilisation, neither was it particularly endowed or inspired. Dali's examination success, in Ma's conception, demonstrated the efficacy of the Ming state's educational agenda, which Dali's literati were misusing to promote a conception of their exceptional local identity that derived from the inherent gifts of the locale.

Any reader of literary Chinese texts, particularly texts of the later imperial period, will be familiar with the convention of introducing other literate men not only with their job titles, degrees, family and given (or courtesy) names but also with their native place affiliation. Ma Lin, for example, is credited on the stele above as:

賜進士出身中憲大夫大理府知府前戶部郎中重慶馬麟撰
[degree] [background] [current position] [former position] - Chongqing - Ma - Lin - compose[vb]
Composed by metropolitan graduate Ma Lin of Chongqing, Grand Master Exemplar by birth, Prefect of Dali Prefecture, formerly Director in the Ministry of Revenue.⁵²²

In the Chinese, his names are given at the end, immediately preceded by native place, indicating the closeness of that information to a person's individuality. In more informal contexts, native place takes precedence over nearly all other identifying information; Ma would be introduced as Mr Ma Lin from Chongqing (*Chongqing Ma gong Lin*) or simply Mr Ma from Chongqing (*Chongqing Ma gong*). Interactions with the state, whether as taxpayer, examination candidate, or official, similarly required identification by one's place of population registration, sometimes the same as ancestral native place, but increasingly not so (as the result of migration). Much of the historical scholarship on local identity in late imperial China has located the development of native place identity in the interactions of and relationship between the locality and the state.⁵²³ On the other hand, the growing body of work on migration in late imperial China, with particular strengths in merchants and other non-state-driven travellers from Huizhou and Guangzhou, has demonstrated the role of sustained interaction between groups of different native place registrations in the development of a kind of native-place consciousness.⁵²⁴ What both of these loci of identity formation have in common is the increased salience of the local as a source of socially important differentiation (that is, as an identity) in contexts where shared gentry status could be assumed. In this section, I argue that native place identity was emergent in (that is, was

⁵²¹ Ma, "Dali jinshi timing ji," DLFZ JSP 3.51/10.92-93.

⁵²² Ma, "Dali jinshi timing ji" DLFZ JSP 3.51/10.92-93.

⁵²³ Peter K. Bol, "The 'Localist Turn' and 'Local Identity' in Later Imperial China," *Late Imperial China* 24, no. 2 (2003): 1-50; Hymes, etc. Du, Yongtao, "Locality, Literati, and the Imagined Spatial Order: A Case of Huizhou, 1200-1550," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 42 (2012): 407-444. Useful reviews of the literature include Chen Wenyi, "Networks, Communities, and Identities: On the Discursive Practices of Yuan Literati," PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007, 7-23; and Chen Song, "The State, the Gentry, and the Local Institutions: the Song Dynasty and Long-Term Trends from Tang to Qing," *Journal of Chinese History* 1 (2017): 141-182.

⁵²⁴ Antonia Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1994); ; Du, *The Order of Places*; ; Steven B. Miles, *Upriver Journeys: Diaspora and Empire in Southern China, 1570-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017).

produced and reproduced during) interactions that took place in institutional contexts where shared literati status was built into the groundwork: the translocal educational institutions and rituals of sociability that reproduced the literati itself.

Unlike the texts in the previous chapters, whose audience was primarily local, Ma Lin's inscription engages with translocal discourses and institutions. Although inscriptions in government schools and associated temples were as geographically bound as the funerary and Buddhist temple inscriptions in the previous section, their location in spaces defined by their association with institutions where the translocal elite reproduced itself gave them a translocal character that the others lack. The presumed audience of these steles would have been the people who used the *wenmiao*, for education or ritual purposes: centrally-appointed officials, prospective examination candidates, and established members of literati families. These were people who circulated between localities as part of joining the scholar-official status group: provincial and metropolitan examination candidates travelled to capitals to take the examinations, maybe more than once each; officials from elsewhere were appointed to Dali for three year terms, or passed through on a circuit of inspection. At the same time, texts themselves circulated beyond the locality, like the gazetteers in chapter two, and the travel and landscape narratives discussed below.

Although many Dali literati wrote for both audiences, they employed different strategies, and highlighted different identities, in translocal than in local texts. The tactics of differentiation employed in translocal interactions focussed on engaging the discourses of space and place that were most relevant to a translocal literati audience: core-periphery, locality-state, and landscape. Texts composed in interactions where the translocal was more salient than the local more frequently invoked distinctions conceived of in spatial terms. The core-periphery and *junxian* (locality-state) models of understanding imperial space appear in tension with each other. Until the late fifteenth century, most writers highlighted the peripheral location of Dali, its distance from established institutions of civilisation. As Dali writers increasingly participated in these discussions as members of the translocal elite, they used tactics of denaturalisation to disrupt the equivalence of peripheral location with barbarity. Finally, as late Ming texts in a wider variety of genres allowed for more pluralistic representations, they discussed Dali in terms equivalent to localities throughout the empire, employing tactics of adequation and authentication to assert their local identity.

Sources:

Engagement with local educational institutions and the examination system they supported drew the examination candidates and their families into the spatial logic of the *junxian* system, even as it gave them the tools to promote their hometown within that framework. Over the course of the Yuan and Ming, Dali's gentry lineages increasingly participated in the civil service examinations and official service as a source of status. In the course of their participation in examinations and the civil service, candidates and officials travelled regularly to county and prefectural seats, provincial and local capitals. This habitus of travel along the *junxian* network construed Dali and its surrounding towns as nodes in a translocal network. The most important institutions for the conduct of examinations in a local area were the government schools of each prefecture, county, and garrison. Staffed by transferable officials, the schools (or education offices) performed limited teaching functions, examination registration, and, like the administrative offices, ensured the performance of orthodox ritual at the Temple of Literature (*wenmiao* 文廟). Each school was allotted a certain number of paid student positions for men who had passed the licentiate examination, and these "stipendiary students" formed a core part of the

local scholarly community. Both as nodes in the network of official recruitment and through their ritual functions, government school complexes ensured that Dali's elite families participated in the empire-wide orientation of social institutions towards the metropole.

The role of schools in the secondary literature on frontier regions has generally been focussed on a civilising project. It is certainly the case that this was the goal of many of the officials who initiated school-building campaigns on both a local and national level.⁵²⁵ On one hand, this can reflect the same centre-periphery framing that Ma Lin was arguing against. In the Yuan and early Ming, in particular, or anywhere when the schools were first being established, the prior absence of such institutions is the rhetorical focus. On the other hand, schools were typically established as part of the regularisation of administration, that is, in the process of making the administration of the periphery a *junxian* rather than indirect rule project. Later discourse around schools therefore frames civilising processes as a project directed by scholar officials (local or on postings) toward the registered population; this is a framing that reflects the kind of state-locality relationship that obtained throughout the empire. However, both of these reflect central aspirations rather than comprehending the participation of local elites. I argue that the effect of school establishment was to give local elite the tools with which to engage with the state more effectively, drawing them into the habitus of the civil service, reconstructing their identity in relation to both other places (with which the system connected them) and their own population.

The geography of schools, based around the *junxian* system, was replicated in the examination rituals through which educated men gained access to the privileges of official service for themselves and their families. The sources I am using in this section include central lists and gazetteers, both of which arrange the graduates of that year according to their achievement in the exam, highest to lowest, in three ranks.⁵²⁶ In addition to the graduate's family and given names, they record the category of registration — civilian (*min* 民), military (*jun* 軍), official (*guan* 官), scholar (*ru* 儒), bannerman (*qi* 旗), etc — the administrative unit in which he was registered, his ancestral administrative unit, if that differed (as it usually did for the military registration categories), and sometimes the category of student (stipendiary/non-stipendiary/tribute/etc) under which they had been enrolled in the county or prefectural school. An entry in the summarised rolls therefore looked like this:

杜亨雲南大理府太和縣民籍

Du Heng Registered as a civilian in Taihe county, Dali prefecture, Yunnan⁵²⁷

In the full version, each entry also lists up to five generations of the graduate's paternal ancestors, including their degrees and official positions if any, his brothers, the clan of his mother, his choice of texts in the examination, and his place in the provincial exam. The full version of the entry above, number 153 in the third grade of the metropolitan exam of 1460, looks like this:

杜亨

⁵²⁵ Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London: Routledge, 2004); Sarah Schneewind, *Community Schools and the State in Ming China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Rowe, "Education and Empire in Southwest China."

⁵²⁶ They corroborate each other very well, to the point where I suspect that the gazetteer compilers had access to provincial and national data in some form and copied from there. I have been able to access metropolitan data both through copies of the full, original rolls, for the years that they have survived, and through the summary versions produced for the Qianlong emperor and currently held in the National Library in Beijing.

⁵²⁷ 提名錄初集, 10 juan,

貫雲南大理府太和縣民籍·國子生
治易經字時泰行三年三十五八月二十九日生
曾祖成昇·祖賜·父英·母蘇氏
具慶下·兄經·倫·弟貞 忠 清 娶尹氏
雲南鄉試第一名·會試第四十一名

Du Heng

Registered as a civilian in Taihe county, Dali prefecture, Yunnan • Palace student

Studied *Book of Changes* • Courtesy name Shitai • Birth order: number three • Age 35 • Born 29th day 8th month.

Great Grandfather Shou; grandfather Ci; father Ying; mother Ms Su;

[no surviving parents] Older brothers Jing; Lun; Younger brothers Zhan; Zhong; Qing; married to Ms Yin.

First in the Yunnan provincial exam; forty-fourth in the palace exam.⁵²⁸

Fewer provincial rolls have survived, only four for Yunnan, and one from 1531, at which time Yunnan and Guizhou were still combined for their provincial-level examination. Like the metropolitan rolls, they were organised according to rank. Entries included the same information as the summarised rolls, with the addition of which text the candidate had chosen to write on in the examination. These rolls also included more extensive information about the conduct of the examinations themselves than the metropolitan documents. Besides lists of the officials who administered the examination, they appended copies of the examination paper and highest ranked essays in each category.

Compared to the examination rolls, lists in local gazetteers contain sparse information on each student, but they include all examination years until the gazetteer's publication, and provide more information on local and provincial graduates who did not progress to higher levels of the examination system. While the provincial gazetteers offered standardised coverage, some local gazetteers also included biographical information on selected local graduates. Gazetteers have a reputation for inflating the numbers and prestige of their local graduates as a way to promote their local community, but the gazetteers examined here are corroborated by the provincial and metropolitan rolls in almost all available instances. As a result, we can be reasonably confident in the other provincial and metropolitan graduate data. The number of licentiates is not corroborated anywhere, so that may be overstated. Alternatively it may be understated, if there were local graduates remaining on the rolls longer than they should have. Since the gazetteer lists of local licentiates that I have for Dali do not give the years each man attained or renewed their licence, many of these problems are difficult to unpick; we do not know how long any of the men were on the rolls.

Incoming Imperial Institutions: Dali as Periphery

The development of these local identities first required the construction of translocal spaces in north-western Yunnan, in the form of government schools and temples of literature. In this period, framings of Dali as a remote, uncivilised periphery of the Chinese imperial/cultural core predominated; though relatively few Dali writers participated in translocal discourse, even those who were literate in Chinese and composing tomb and other inscriptions locally, they must have been reading the steles erected in their schools and *wenmiao* and were the object of positionings that identified them with Dali's frontier status. During the Yuan and early Ming, China-based empires established for the first time the institutions of governance and cultural-economic cultivation in Yunnan. As a result, texts about Dali institutions often

⁵²⁸ *Tianshun sinian jinshi dengkelu* 天順四年進士登科錄 [Roll of graduates in the metropolitan examination of the 4th year of the Tianshun era], 1.47a

positioned themselves as the first to represent the region; their authors, whether local or migrant, legitimated themselves first through tactics of distinction, expressing Yunnan's social and cultural, as well as physical, distance from the civilised norm represented by the central states. Having established distance, they authorised themselves as the people to bridge that distance, not by representing each to the other but by imposing civilisation on the wild periphery. The institutions which conveyed this authority, and through which this transformation was to be accomplished, were the instruments of civilian administration, the *yamen*, the school, temples of the city god, and the *wenmiao*. The *yamen* and the city god temple were sites of official engagement with, largely, the non-elite sectors of the population, but the school and the *wenmiao* were crucial institutions in reproducing the network of translocal literati in Dali.

The first educational offices in Dali connected to a central states system of schools and examinations were set up in the late thirteenth century, shortly after the establishment of Yunnan province. In 1274, Governor Sayyid 'Ajall had moved the capital to Kunming, and had attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish schools in Dali and Kunming. Ten years later, instructor Zhao Chuanbi (趙傳弼, no dates) was sent to Dali to re-establish its school and *wenmiao*. Four Yuan inscriptions about this school have survived: two via copies in the Complete Yuan Texts and two more in situ.⁵²⁹ One inscription from the school (1288) framed the establishment of these schools as bringing the frontier into alignment with the norms of Confucian civilisation.

雲南西陲，俗通天竺，徒事釋氏之書，雖有設科取士，未得其正。歲在癸丑，今皇帝居潛邸，爰興弔伐之師，旬時雲南率定。聖上遠鑒三代之盛，永惟盤石之固，詔立皇子為雲南王，啟封建也。至元甲戌，命平章政事賽典亦雲南行省，作新於民者多矣。首於大理、中慶各設提學教養之實，未果而卒。

Yunnan is on the western frontier and is accustomed to being connected with India. They follow the books of Sakyamuni, although they have established schools to select officials, none have been regularised. In the next *guichou* year [1253], now that our emperor ascended to the throne, from there flourished masters of archery, and one was sent to Yunnan. His majesty considered the flourishing of the three dynasties, he pondered the solidity of great rocks, and ordered that his son be established as King of Yunnan, he removed the seal and was established there. In 1274, he ordered it pacified and sent Sayyid 'Ajall to the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan, he made it so that there were many new citizens. The first were in Dali and Zhongqing [Kunming], where each were established by the Intendent to realise transformation by education. But they did not come to fruition and closed.⁵³⁰

At the same time, the instigators were not from central China, they were the Mongol emperor and a Muslim Bukharan official Sayyid 'Ajall; the inscription also recognised the existing literary culture in Dali, which was Buddhist, and conceived of itself as deriving from north India. An inscription from the provincial-level school in Kunming forms an illustrative comparison. He Hongzuo 何弘佐's "Record of the Rites and Music at the Zhongqing circuit school" (*Zhongqing luxue liyue ji* 中慶路學禮樂記) framed the establishment of the school solely as a spatial expansion of imperial ritual order. In this framing, the Yuan governor Sayyid 'Ajall is understood as having restored Yunnan to its position within the Zhou world, from which it had been cut off:

猶之以汭漑遐邇而立一王之法。故箕子東而三韓，化秦伯吳而南風，更文翁勸而蜀士茂，常袞出而

⁵²⁹ QYW Juan 746 contains two by Zhao Chuanbi, 大理府學三門記 and 大理新修文廟記 *Quan yuan wen* [Complete Yuan dynasty prose], (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2001), vol 24, 62-65. The two in situ have been published in DLCS JSP, and also collected in local gazetteers.

⁵³⁰ Anonymous, "Dali lu xingju xuexiao ji 大理路興舉學校記 [Record of the proposed Dali circuit school,] 1288, DLCS JSP 1.42/10.12. Guo Songnian said to have composed this although it is not recorded on the stele itself.

閩俗易。維時雲南號為絕域其初附也。重譯不通，嗜欲不同，未嘗以周孔之道化也。

They [Han and Tang emperors] continued to irrigate far away places and establish the laws of the court. Therefore Jizi's east became the three Hans, it transformed Taibo's Wu into the southern style, moreover Wen Weng encouraged the scholars of Shu to flourish, Chang Gun was sent out and the customs of Min changed. At that time Yunnan was called a cut-off territory. Its wild landscapes were impassable, its licentious customs were unfamiliar, and they had no experience of the transforming ways of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius.⁵³¹

Sayyid 'Ajall thus joined a tradition of virtuous officials who were responsible for civilising far flung corners of the empire, from Korea to Sichuan, Fujian, and the lower Yangtze. Unlike Dali, which already had a kind of civilisation, but only needed to be made orthodox (正), the Yunnan described in the Kunming inscription has “no experience” of cultivated society. Dali was framed in these texts as both of the frontier and unique within it.

At the same time, the three schools established in the region were embedded in the developing administrative geography of *junxian* that would persist throughout the late imperial period, as the three prefectural seats. The first and largest, Dali's school and *wenmiao*, were set up in the late thirteenth century. The *wenmiao* inscription, from 1294, emphasised the ordinariness of the space that it was entering:

孔子之道，XX萬世，有國家者，所當崇奉。曲阜林廟上都大都諸路府州縣邑廟學書院，照依世祖皇帝聖旨，禁約諸官員使臣軍馬，

The way of Confucius [illegible] for many generations, was a thing of the state, that which they venerated. The forest of temples in Qufu [Confucius' ancestral hometown], temples, schools and academies in Shangde [Summer Capital], Dadu [now Beijing], the various circuits, prefectures, subprefectures, counties, and towns, all following the commands of our imperial ancestor, prohibited officials and ambassadors from taking up arms.⁵³²

Two early fourteenth century inscriptions, both of which reproduce imperial land grants, consist of formulaic praise of Confucius with little reference to their location.⁵³³ In fact, the edicts reproduced on them do not make specific references to Dali; these inscriptions functioned to reinforce Mongol claims to authority but had no particular frontier application. Based on gazetteer accounts, Heqing and Menghua schools are the only other two in the region said to have been established during the Yuan, though no specific dates are given and no contemporary inscriptions have survived.

The first two decades of Ming rule in Yunnan, 1381-1401, involved a concentrated attempt to extend the institutions of governance from the prefecture level to the counties and sub-prefectures of north-western Yunnan. As with the establishment of prefecture schools under the Yuan, texts commemorating the establishment of schools at lower-level prefectures invoked narratives of civilisation of the periphery by education at the same time as strengthening local integration with the civilian system of government, which did not differentiate between the hinterland and the border (table 3.1).⁵³⁴

⁵³¹ YNTJZ 8.9b-11a

⁵³² Han Jing 韓敬, “Dali Kongmiao shengzhi bei 大理孔廟聖旨碑” DLCS JSP 1.44/10.12-13.

⁵³³ Anon., “*Jiafeng shengzhao bei* 加封聖詔碑 [Stele with an Edict Conferring Titles],” 1307/1307, DLCS 1.46/10.14; Anon., “*Chongsheng shengzhi bei* 崇奉聖旨碑 [Chongsheng Temple Edict Stele],” 1326, in *Yunnan gubei jingxuan* 雲南古碑精選 [Selected Ancient Steles from Yunnan], edited by Zhou Wenlin 周文林 and Niu Lin 牛霖 (Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 2006), 21.

⁵³⁴ This is notably different from schemes such as Chen Hongmou's establishment of charity schools, which were not as well integrated with the civilian administration (and civil service recruitment) as government schools. William

Table 3.1 Dali region government schools

School Name	Location	Date Founded	Notes
大理府學 Dali Prefecture School	在府治之南 South of the Prefecture seat	1287/1285	Founded by Sayyid ‘Ajall; moved immediately west in c14th; destroyed in 1513 earthquake .
太和縣學 Taihe County School	在縣治之左 East of the county seat	1394	Repaired in Jingtai 6 by magistrate Gan Fan; again in 1572 by Chen Yingchun and magistrate Shi
趙州學 Zhaozhou Sub-prefecture School	在州治之右/之南 West, then south, of the seat	1385	Repaired 1435 by Magistrate Wang Jian; enlarged in 1515 by Magistrate Wang Zongqi
雲南縣學/洱海衛學 Yunnan County School/ Erhai Garrison School	在縣治之南 South of the county seat	1385	Moved 1492 to Erhai Fort (left); repaired 1596 by magistrate Liu Yanqing (and extended)
鄧川州學 Dengchuan Sub-prefecture School	在州之右 West of the sub-prefecture seat	1384	Moved 1486 to 州治後百武 by Pacification Censor Guo Shen
狼窮縣學 Langqiong County School	在縣治之東 East of the county seat	1384	Founded by Magistrate Jin Wenju
賓川州儒學 Binchuan Sub-prefecture School	在州治前 In front of the sub-prefecture seat	1494	Repaired 1524 by magistrate Wu Zhongshan
雲龍州學 Yunlong Sub-prefecture School		1550	Founded by Police inspector Zhao Cezou; Built up 1614 by Pacification something Zhou Jiaomou; wenmiao built 1624 by Magistrate Zhou Xianzhang.
鶴慶府學 Heqing Prefecture School	在府治之南 South of the prefecture seat	Yuan dynasty	Destroyed 1382 by war; rebuilt on the same site [2 li SE of office] 1384 by teacher Ma Zhuangfu; moved 1396 to the present position by native vice-magistrate Gao Zhong; 1447 repaired by magistrate Lin Zunjie; an earthquake in the 5th month of 1515 caused it to collapse; 1516 Deputy Commissioner Zhu Gun changed Xuanhua temple into the [various things] repaired one by one; 1531 built Qisheng Ci; continuously repaired in 1583 by Magistrate Sang Jian, 1600 by Magistrate Qi Rudong, 1624 by Pacification censor Luo Ruyuan.

T. Rowe, “Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch’en Hung-mou in Yunnan, 1733-38,” in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 418-458.

劍川州學 Jianchuan Sub-prefecture School	在州治之右 West of the sub-prefecture seat	1380/90	Founded by Deputy Assist. Magistrate Zhao Yanlang. Destroyed by earthquake 1501; repaired 1503 by Vice-magistrate Hu Shang'an; repaired 1522 by asst magistrate Peng Lan, magistrate Hu Zhaoshun, Li Bimao, Fang Qinian, Yue Minmu.
蒙化府學 Menghua Prefecture School	在府治之東/東 南 South, the south-east of the prefecture seat		1450 changed to fuxue from zhouxue; repaired in Chenghua period; repaired 1600; destroyed by fire 1619 and then repaired.

In addition, the Heqing prefecture school, destroyed in the Ming invasion in 1382, was rebuilt two years later on the same location (2 li southeast of the yamen) before being moved in 1396; in both cases the move was instigated by existing local officials.⁵³⁵ The only government schools in Dali established after this period were Binchuan (1494) and Yunlong (1550), both concurrent with the establishment of those sub-prefectures. In Yunlong, the initial attempt to set up a school, led by Zhao Cezou 趙策奏, a local clerk, was unsuccessful; it was not until a provincial official, Pacification Commissioner Zhou Jiaomou, sponsored construction in 1614 that the school was permanently established, and the Temple of Literature followed ten years after that.⁵³⁶ The timing of school establishment and the effort put into it by officials demonstrates that the establishment of government schools was understood as an integral technique of governance, with the goal of integrating Dali with the existing territorial extent of the empire.

According to a 1507 stele marking its reconstruction, Heqing prefecture school had been constructed 130 years earlier, around 1380:

故今滇南雖僻在荒徼，百叁拾餘年間，道德之一，政事之平，風俗之厚，人才之出，可與中州伍。蓋崇重學校，經明道化之功，實不可誣者。鶴慶為郡，又在滇之西南陬。學舍肇於往昔，歲久傾陋，漫無可觀。而尊經一閣，比之內地，尤為缺典。

Although from ancient times until now southern Dian has been a remote and out of the way place, during the last 130 years it has been a place of virtue and morality, pacified by governance, thick with local customs, producing men of talent, which can be ranked with the central provinces. Because of the importance of schools, and the success of the classics in illuminating the way, it is not wrong to call them “treasures.” Heqing is a prefecture at the southwestern corner of Dian. The school building was begun long ago, but for some time it has been plain and disreputable, full of nothing-worth-looking-at. And a pavilion for the classics, comparable to those in the interior, was a particular lack.⁵³⁷

The establishment of government schools in north-western Yunnan followed the pre-colonisation centrality of Dali in the region; it was not until the Ming that schools were established in its surroundings sub-prefectures and counties. The writer of this stele accepts that Yunnan was a remote, peripheral region prior to the Ming, however, he argued that Yunnan in general was

⁵³⁵ YNTJZ 5.27b; YNTZ 8.54b-55b; DZ 323; KXHQFZ 212-4.

⁵³⁶ YNTZ 8.19a, 8.20a; DZ 295; BCZZ 89-90. For Yunlong, see also Shu Yu 舒瑜, *Wei “yan” dayi: Yunnan Nuodeng yanye de lishi renleixue kaocha* 微“鹽”大義：雲南諾登鹽業的歷史人類學考察 [The Great Significance of Little “Salt”: an Anthropological Investigation into the History of the Salt Industry in Nuodeng, Yunnan] (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2010).

⁵³⁷ Ma Shao 馬韶, “Heqing junmin fu chuangjian Zunjing ge ji 鶴慶軍民府創建尊經閣記 [Record of the founding of the Respecting the Classics Pavilion of Heqing Military-Civilian Préfecture,” 1507, DLCS JSP 2.112/10.70-71.

comparable to the central provinces in the literati it produced; it was only the peripheral status of Heqing within the province (indeed, it bordered on *tusi*-ruled Lijiang) that made its school buildings unprepossessing and under-resourced.

The spatial organisation of government schools reflected their associations with imperial ritual, the Confucian canon, and the mechanisms of governance. Located next to the yamen, the standard floor plan of a school complex, as recorded in gazetteer accounts, involved a central teaching chamber or “Hall of Understanding Order” (*minglun tang* 明倫堂), flanked by two smaller rooms used for study, called respectively “Broad Literature” (*bowen* 博文) and “Arranging Rites” (*yueli* 約禮).⁵³⁸ Some additionally had notable gates or walls, a library, or an archery training ground. Many schools were also located in the same complex as a Temple of Literature (*wenmiao*, also called Temple of Confucius *Kongmiao*). The Temple of Confucius constructed in Dali at the same time as the government school is recorded in the *Unofficial History of Nanzhao* as a *guji*. Its entry highlights the role of school construction in transforming the space around it:

孔廟：南詔不知孔子，以王逸少為聖人。元有文廟在城外魚課司，至賽典赤移入城。賽公又開東西河，東名金汁河西名銀汁河，教養有功。封咸陽王，春秋廟祀。

Temple of Confucius: the Nanzhao did not know Confucius, but took Wang Yishao [Wang Xizhi] for a sage. In the Yuan the Temple of Literature was outside the city wall, near the Fish Tax Bureau, until Sayyid ‘Ajall moved it inside the city wall. Sayyid also opened up the east and west rivers; the east he called Golden Needle river and the west Silver Needle River. He performed great services in transformation by education. He was enfeoffed as King of Xianyang [posthumously], and his sacrifices are carried out in Spring and Autumn.⁵³⁹

In this passage, the correct location of the temple complex is as important as its existence in the first place; moreover apparently unrelated changes to the city’s water supply is presented as part of the same transformative process as cultural transformation and correct ritual. In this context, it makes sense that government school grounds included many prescribed elements in key locations. As part of the administrative apparatus of the state, the school played a central role in transforming conquered territory into governed space. As a result, local literati who educated their sons to participate in the civil service recruitment system were increasingly able to reposition themselves as members of the translocal elite rather than simply objects of its transformative action.

Local Adaptation of Institutions: Reframing Distance as Locality:

Dali’s schools, though in many ways less teaching spaces than examination registration centres, did achieve part of their stated transformative purpose through providing a means for local gentry to become part of the translocal scholar-official elite. The compiler of the Zhaozhou gazetteer, a centrally-appointed magistrate from Sichuan, quoted a provincial official describing the local school’s importance in these terms:

提學何倣記，天下之治，資於賢才，賢才之出，由於學校。學校建則講習討論有定居，修游有所止，斯賢才於焉出矣。賢才出則羽翼贊襄有其人，天下於焉治矣。自唐虞三代以迄漢唐宋之治，天下無不由於是為。

Intendant He Jiao recorded: in governance of the empire, one’s resources are men of ability and talent; and the appearance/development of men of ability depends on the schools. Once schools are established then

⁵³⁸ YNTJZ 5.5.a-b, 15a, 19a, 23b-24a, 27b, 30b.

⁵³⁹ NZYS TST 4b-5a

teaching and discussion have a settled home, and wandering scholars have a place where they can stop, men of ability can come out of there. [when men of ability come out then their [wings of home] raise others up, and the empire is brought into order [governed]. From the earliest times (Tang Yu and the three dynasties) although through the governance of Han Tang and song, the empire has always operated in this way.⁵⁴⁰

This passage, written in the late sixteenth century, demonstrates a shift in framing Dali's counties and prefectures from places without schools and therefore without governance to localities represented by its men of talent, embodied in examination graduates. This narrative legitimised the political project of the Ming state both by pointing to its predecessors, Han, Tang, and Song, and by pointing to its effects. At the same time, the emergence of men of ability from Zhaozhou society meant that the place itself could be brought into the regular governance of the *junxian*. In this section, I argue that the development of educational institutions in Dali created spaces for Dali's scholars to claim locality identities for the first time.

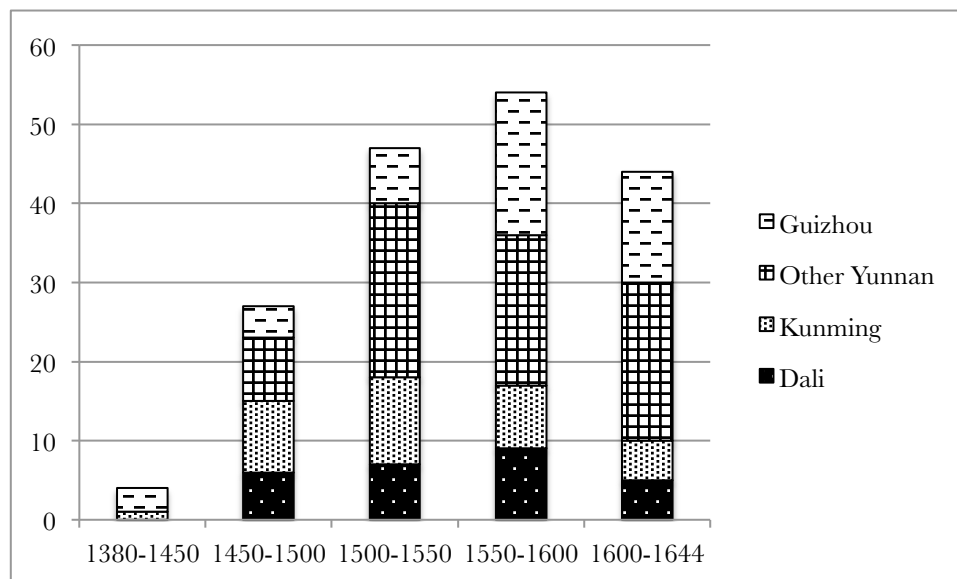
Sources:

From the early Ming, graduates from Yunnan increased steadily. The following graph shows the increase of provincial and metropolitan degree graduates in Yunnan in 50 year increments. On a metropolitan level, Yunnan and Guizhou together were allocated a quota of 10 percent of graduates (compared to 45% each for the southern and northern provinces); Yunnan's share of these, though not fixed, remained steady. The increase in absolute numbers of graduates therefore shows as much an increase in the quota as in the increase in production of local educated men. Within Yunnan, Dali had an exceptionally high participation rate of civilian graduates throughout the Ming. The following charts show the numbers of metropolitan graduates from Yunnan and Guizhou provinces who held civilian and military registrations, respectively. While Dali's military graduates never occupied more than 20% of the total military *jinshi*, for much of the same period more than half the Yun-Gui metropolitan graduates with civilian registrations were from Dali (table and graph 3.2; table and graph 3.3). The explosion of civilian graduates from other parts of Yunnan and Guizhou after 1600 can probably be attributed to the breakdown of the registration system, and in particular to the trend for members of military families to register in civilian registration categories.⁵⁴¹ These data highlight the unusually strong tradition of classical education and participation in civil service recruitment among Dali's civilian elite. Not only did the system require them to register in *junxian* categories, the prefectures and counties to which they belonged clearly stood out from the surrounding districts in their value for Chinese education and literary achievement.

⁵⁴⁰ ZZZ 48.

⁵⁴¹ Dardess, *Tai-ho County*, .

Figure 3.1 Number of Yun-Gui civilian *jins* during the Ming dynasty



	1380-1450	1450-1500	1500-1550	1550-1600	1600-1644
Dali	3	7	12	14	12
Kunming	4	2	2	0	7
Other Yunnan	2	4	4	7	32
Guizhou	0	2	4	6	14

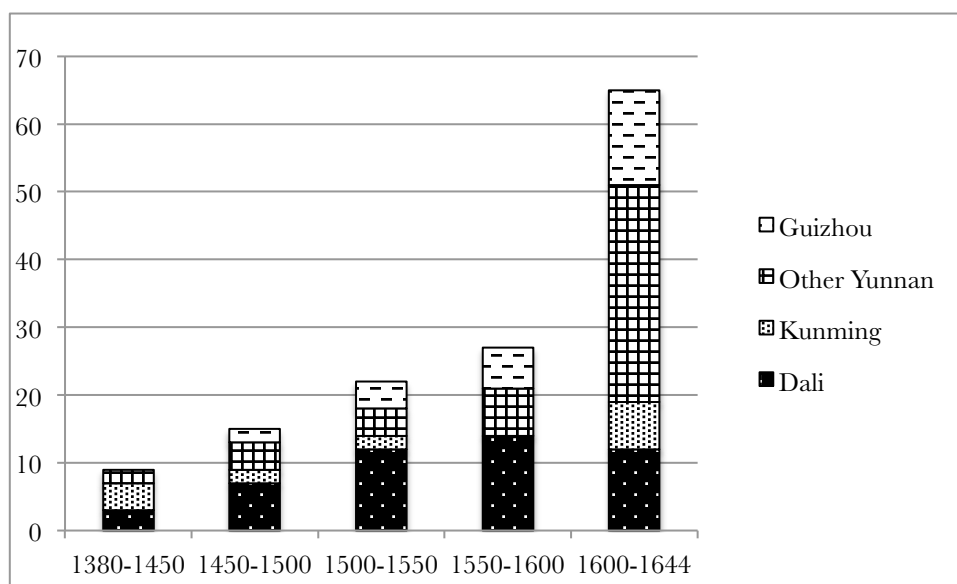


Figure 3.2 Number of Yun-Gui military *jins* during the Ming dynasty

	1380-1450	1450-1500	1500-1550	1550-1600	1600-1644
Dali	0	6	7	9	5
Kunming	1	9	11	8	5
Other Yunnan	0	8	22	19	20
Guizhou	3	4	7	18	14

This pattern was maintained in Dali's provincial-level graduates, although the data is a little less accessible. Since the provincial examination results list nearly everyone under Dali prefecture, it appears that Dali garrison was recorded under Dali prefecture by the gazetteer compilers, and possibly Taihe was too (although it was certainly a different town).

Table 3.2 Spatial distribution of graduates within the Dali region:

School of Registration	Date founded	Date first <i>jinshi</i>	Total Ming <i>jinshi</i>	Date first <i>juren</i>	Total Ming <i>juren</i>
Dali	1287			1411	275
Taihe	1394	1412	27	1411	22
Dali Fort		1466	11		
Zhaozhou	1385	1511	2	1417	32
Yunnan County	1385			1414	44
Erhai Fort		1517	1		
Dengchuan	1384	1475	3	1417	46
Langqiong	1384	1574	2	1414	31
Menghua	[Yuan]	1478	8	1417	
Heqing	[Yuan]	1574	11	1417	
Jianchuan	1390	1547	8	1423	33
Binchuan	1550	1640	1	1501	16

These men seem to have had roughly the same relative distribution as *jinshi*, suggesting that there was an organic increase at all levels rather than, for example, people registering in the wrong place. The fact that the trend was proportionate both over time and relative to the rest of Yunnan again suggests that the increase in metropolitan graduates was part of a broad-based development rather than a few exceptional people.

The geography of schools, based around the *junxian* system, was replicated in the examination rituals through which educated men gained access to the privileges of official service for themselves and their families. Government schools were embedded in the local community, but they also provided an infrastructure through which men from neighbouring areas might interact with the Dali's literati, whether they moved of their own initiative or were posted as schoolteachers. The backbone of any government school was the licentiates (*xiucai* 秀才), men who had passed a preliminary examination, administered at the county or prefecture level, which had given them the right (licence) to sit provincial or metropolitan examinations.⁵⁴² So long as their licence was valid (it could be renewed until age sixty or so), these men were eligible to receive stipends from the local school. The number of stipendiary students for each administrative unit was capped, but by the late Ming an additional allocation of non-stipendiary students had been added to each government school. Although individual stipendiary students are much more difficult to learn about in detail, compared to provincial and metropolitan graduates, they existed much higher numbers, and as a group were more important for local community. This population of classically educated men formed the core of a local elite that were

⁵⁴² For an overview of the system see Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late imperial China* 134ff.

intimately connected to the translocal official recruitment system but, since they had not risen sufficiently within its ranks, were unlikely to leave for postings elsewhere.

Another form of translocal mobility connected with late imperial schools was the migration of sons of literati to register in regions where they believed they had a higher likelihood of progressing through the system. On the other hand, most of these places are within the same province, while Yunnan was a prohibitive distance and the travel was dangerous. Moreover, local connections were enormously helpful in gaining registration at a school, and the relative lack of migrant communities early on may have made this difficult. To the extent that they did come, they may have been connections of Dali's military families. We know that garrison migrants maintained native place network connections and sometimes received migrants.⁵⁴³ Certainly the proportion of metropolitan graduates registered in military categories was the major source of increase in Yunnan's graduates across the Ming, as shown in the graphs above.

As Dali's scholar-official class grew, they reshaped the translocal spaces of education in their home counties. The process by which decisions to move schools were made was a focus of local elite activity, and their construction or repair frequently involved negotiations between the local literati, centrally-appointed officials in the locality, and provincial level officials. In Zhaozhou, the initial teaching hall had been built, in 1385, as an adjunct to the yamen, and when the temple of literature was added fifty years later it was not well-oriented in relation to the existing buildings. Although the provincial education intendant raised this problem with the local officials, nothing was done until the winter of 1486, when cooperation between the salaried *xiuca*i and the school-teacher finally caused reconstruction to get underway.⁵⁴⁴ The Yunnan county school illustrates one of the reasons so many people had to be involved:

雲南縣固有學，距城之南幾三里。許縣與洱海衛皆居城內，而學獨宅於郊。風飄雨擢曠不可居。Thus Yunnan county had a school, at a distance of three li south of the city wall. The location of the county and of Erhai fort were all within the city wall, but the school alone was outside in the suburbs. The wind blew to and fro over a vast area, and no-one could stay there.⁵⁴⁵

In this case, the problem was that the school building was three li south of the city wall, even though both civilian administration and the Erhai Garrison military office were located within the wall.⁵⁴⁶ In 1492, a provincial official Zhou Mingqi 周鳴岐 visited Yunnan county on his tour of inspection, and selected a better site to the east of the wall. However, before the men he had entrusted with the task, Censor Zhang and [Clerk] Liu, were able to complete the work, they were assigned to new postings and left Yunnan. Censor Liu, who succeeded Zhang, was "eager but wasteful" 急而費 and as a result management of the project was largely delegated to leaders within the garrison and civilian communities:

擇指揮周璧縣令陳輔俾司工用出納。惟明千戶張璽楊佐百戶陳璽李寶俾領工。督率惟勤時分守左參政餘姚毛君應魁守備都指揮李經亦皆協贊罔異。He selected Commander Zhou Bi and County magistrate Chen Fu to take charge of the books. But the impartial heads-of-1000 Zhang Xi and Yang Zuo and heads-of-100 Chen Xi and Li Bao were made leaders of the workmen. As for the directors of troops, they alone advised the Branch Administration Vice

⁵⁴³ Michael Szonyi, *The Art of Being Governed: Everyday Politics in Late Imperial China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2017).

⁵⁴⁴ ZZZ 48-50

⁵⁴⁵ Ouyang Dan, "Yunnan xian qian miaoxue ji 雲南縣遷廟學記 [Record of moving the school and temple of Yunnan county]," c.1490, YNTZ 8.17b-18a; DZ 680-1.

⁵⁴⁶ Ouyang, "Yunnan xian qian miaoxue ji," YNTZ 8.17b-18a; DZ 680-1.

Commissioner (Left), Mr Mao Yingkui of Yuyao [near Ningbo] and Grand Commandant in the capital directorate Li Jingyi both assisted with praise and extortion separately.⁵⁴⁷

In this account, we can see the necessary integration of military and civilian administrative structures, as well as the role of relatively stable locals in forcing the completion of substantial projects, when centrally-appointed officials would have moved on.

The project of reframing the Dali region within the *junxian* system was instantiated in successive accounts of the construction and repair of school buildings. As later members of the community slotted past construction efforts into prehistories of their own projects, they replaced civilising the frontier with promoting local students. The first government school in Jianchuan, established in 1392, was located in an abandoned Buddhist temple in the hills behind the town. According to the stele that commemorated it, the official responsible was not the magistrate but a Mr Xiong Hai, a secretary to the magistrate whose status in relation to the state is unclear.⁵⁴⁸ He is said to have settled on the temple site in order to save costs and thus spare the local population the expense of constructing a new building. In fact, in this period the tax reforms carried out by the first Ming emperor had taken the responsibility for collecting taxes away from the magistrate and put it in the hands of designated village heads, so it is likely that the magistrate would not have had access to the ready cash needed to construct a school.⁵⁴⁹ Nevertheless, in Mr Xiong's view, building a school was a necessary part of the transformation of the conquered periphery:

方今文明盛治，一统华彝，任民社之寄，又能宣布教化以变其左衽侏X之俗，将见陶斯民于诗书礼乐之中，而使人才彬彬辈出，无异乎中夏者，又安得不于是而徼之也。传曰：言忠信，行笃敬，虽蛮貊之邦行矣，詎不信哉！是学经始于洪武壬辰年三月二十一日壬寅，落成于是岁八月三日壬子云。 In the current situation of culture and good governance, unity between *hua* and *yi* [non-standard character], depending on those who are appointed to the the people and the land, and can propagate moral transformation into order to change their customs of hair and clothing and appearance. They will see the contented common people among the four classics; but as for those who are commissioned – talented and refined men who appear in large numbers, not different from in the central states – surely they are not inferior. Tradition says, “speak with loyalty and good faith, act with dedication and deference, even among barbarians [*man* and *mo*] your conduct will be irreproachable.”⁵⁵⁰ How can I not have been in good faith?! This school passed through its beginning on the twenty-first day of the third month of the *renchen* year of the Hongwu era [error, perhaps 1392], and it was completed on the third day of the eighth month of the following year.⁵⁵¹

In this passage, Xiong expresses both a sense of the difference and inferiority of local customs compared to those of the centre, but he also believes they can be transformed by education, and takes responsibility for the civilisation of the remote area entrusted to him. In this context, the purpose of a school is to bring about the transformation of the common people via the education of an officeholding elite.

The later account both disagrees on the purpose of the school and on whether it had achieved its purpose. Li's account of the initial construction of Jianchuan's government school

⁵⁴⁷ Ouyang, “Yunnan xian qian miaoxue ji,” YNTZ 8.17b-18a; DZ 680-1.

⁵⁴⁸ Xu Mingshan 许铭善, “Xinjian jianchuan ruxue ji 新建劍川儒學記 [Record of the Reconstruction of the Jianchuan Confucian School], KXHQFZ 228

⁵⁴⁹ Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies*, .

⁵⁵⁰ Analects 15.6. Translation from Michael Nylan, trans., *The Analects (Norton Critical Edition)* (London: Norton, 2014).

⁵⁵¹ Ouyang, “Yunnan xian qian miaoxue ji,” YNTZ 8.17b-18a; DZ 680-1

says that it had previously been established in an abandoned Buddhist temple.⁵⁵² Although the magistrate at the time had put up shrines for the sages there and turned it into a school, because it had been done in a make-shift kind of way the school was not successful.

州僻在滇之西郵、創建之初易學左廢寺、爲先聖廟百爲草率、惟務苟完繼、而葺者因陋、就簡而已、且位置乖宜堪興家以爲不利仕進。雖術者之言不足深信、然以二百年內事驗之、無不符合者。The district is remote, in Yunnan's western postal route. When it was first built, an *yixue* was west of an abandoned temple, they made temples for former sages but many were done sloppily, only the ones that were roughly complete were continued. But the repairs, because it was ugly, were just done roughly. Yet the place where it was set up was not appropriate, and it could promote family status by doing harm in pursuing an official career. Although the diviner's words were not enough to be convincing, still within 200 years they were proved true, there were no cases that did not bear them out.⁵⁵³

It was not until a later magistrate, Yue Minmu, began the process of getting a dedicated building constructed that students from Jianchuan passed the examinations.

自世之學者以功。利浸漬其腹心，不知道爲何物，其於六經孔孟之說X衍。湊積而爲文以要場屋之利。

From that time scholars had success. They profited from soaking their hearts and minds, without knowing what kind of thing the way was, it spread out from the six classics and the sayings of Confucius and Mencius. When they gathered it up in writing it profited them in the examination hall.⁵⁵⁴

While for Xiong Hai the school was a burden on the recently-conquered populace, for Li Yuanyang the school represented a conduit for local men to achieve official rank, and therefore was an investment in the community. As a result, the failure of the school to produce examination candidates from its former location was a failure of the officials who had established it. The contrast between these two texts highlights the shifting social relations in which accounts of construction were embedded.

Interactions around government schools foreground the interface between the state-sponsored educational system and local society through the spatial network of *junxian* administrative centres, but imperial education was increasingly embedded in the spaces of the village, temple, and garrison. Community and charity schools (*shexue* and *yixue*) were established in the villages around county and prefecture seats (table 3.5). While county and prefecture schools were associated with temples of literature and the yamen, village schools were associated with the sites of village level ritual orthopraxy and governance. By far the majority were sponsored by local officials, although their continuing relevance as institutions could not have lasted long without some degree of investment by the local gentry. A sixteenth century stele commemorating the donation of fields to the Dali government school says that local schools were established around Taihe county because there were too many county students [*diziyuan*] for the government school to support.⁵⁵⁵ In this case village schools functioned as an extension of the scholar-gentry community that was focused on the government school and the associated potential for examination success.

⁵⁵² Li Yuanyang, “Jianchuan zhou ruxue Taihe Li Yimin ji 劍川州儒學太和李逸民記 [Jianchuan subprefecture school — Record by Li Yimin [Yuanyang] of Taihe],” 1562, YNTZ 8.56a-b

⁵⁵³ Li, “Jianchuan zhou ruxue Taihe Li Yimin ji,” YNTZ 8.56a-b

⁵⁵⁴ Li, “Jianchuan zhou ruxue Taihe Li Yimin ji,” YNTZ 8.56a-b.

⁵⁵⁵ Li Yuanyang 李元陽, “*Dali fu ruxuetian ji* 大理府儒學田記 [Record of the Dali Prefecture School Fields],” DZ.

Table 3.3 Charity schools

School Name	Location	Date Founded	Notes
鳳山社學	趙州治前	1514	Magistrate Wang Zongqi
雲南縣社學	在五雲書院左		Armoury deputy comissioner Shen Qiao
鄧川社學	在州治北大邑村	弘治	Imperial inspector Wang Maozhong
浪穹社學	在縣治西護明寺		
鶴慶社學	all around town		Vice-magistrate Zhang Tingjun
劍川社學	在州治東		
順州社學	在州治南		
大理社學	城內外皆有		
雲龍社學			Clerk Zhao Ce
蒙化社學		1596	Assistant magistrate Yuan Kuan

Local communities were also invested in government schools because many of the expenses were directly supported by taxation. Levies recorded for Zhaozhou sub-prefecture give some indication of the material requirements of day to day running of a school: candles, paper and inkstones, hats and tassels, talismans, repairs, and a nightwatchman.⁵⁵⁶ Moreover, the expenses of sending candidates to take the provincial or metropolitan examinations were included in the supplementary taxes levied on the *lijia* taxation unit. The Zhaozhou gazetteer of the 1590s includes in its list of payments:

岁考童生入学花红酒礼银：壹两柒钱。

Fee for annual county examination registration, for students to enter the school, for marriage bonus and ceremonies: one tael seven cash.

学人会试银：伍拾柒两叁钱叁分叁厘柒毫。

Fee for students taking the provincial examination: fifty-seven taels three cash three fen three li seven hao.

新举人进士锦标银：肆两柒钱叁分肆厘。

Money prize for new juren and jinshi: four taels seven cash three fen four li.⁵⁵⁷

These payments were assessed on the *lijia*, the “hundreds and tithings,” the basic tax unit of the Ming — although by this period a tax rationalisation program known as the single whip reform was supposed to have consolidated them into a single payment, this evidently was not fully implemented in Yunnan. In Dengchuan, a system implemented in 1636 drew school funds directly from the local community (table 3.6).⁵⁵⁸

Table 3.4: Dengchuan school lands (1644), CXDCZZ 67-8:

Name	Land location (if any)	Amount
段龍 Duan Long	城西甸Domain west of the city	1 taels 6 copper cash 4 <i>fen</i> 6 <i>li</i>
楊夢甲等 Yang Mengjia and		5 taels 1 cash 8 <i>fen</i>

⁵⁵⁶ ZZZ 43-44

⁵⁵⁷ ZZZ 43

⁵⁵⁸ CXDCZZ 3.24a-b

others		
	馬甲邑甸Domain at Majia village	2 taels 4 cash
	大場頭甸Domain at Dacitou	1 tael
Total silver revenue:		10 taels 3 cash 3 <i>fen</i> 3 <i>li</i>
	南天神甸Domain at south Tianshen	320 strings (of cowries)
	[illegible]	
	西莊甸Domain at west stockade	140 strings
	海湖[XXX] Sea lake [illegible]	93 strings
	XX村甸 [illegible] village domain	110 strings
	梅底坪甸 Domain at Haidi plain	65 strings
	波羅 Boluo	220 strings
	雲溪甸 Domain at Yunxi	60 strings
	粟谷村甸 Domain at Jiagu village	56 strings
	鳳儀鄉甸 Domain at Fengyi township	65 strings
Total cowrie revenue:		1,352 strings

Here, eleven domains (*dian* 甸) were responsible for remitting annual amounts of currency for the government school. Five submitted silver, while seven sent their contributions in strings of cowries.⁵⁵⁹ Two domains are listed by owner, but the rest are only identified by their location. In the late Ming, at least, financial support from the local community was necessary for the institutions to function, whether supplied directly through donations of land or via formal taxation.

Military schools are attested in other sources, and indirectly in Dali, but their institutional histories are harder to recover. Entries in the metropolitan examination rolls record that examination candidates from a family of military registration registered at a garrison school, while civilians would register at a prefecture or county school. In the provincial rolls, on the other hand, garrison schools appear much more rarely: candidates registered for both Dali garrison and Taihe county for the metropolitan exam are listed as Dali prefecture school students in the Yunnan provincial examination. Moreover, unlike civilian government schools, or even academies, details like dates of establishment, exact location, and official sponsors do not appear in gazetteers. Studies of Ming education in other places, for example, in Duyun, in south-eastern Guizhou, do give details of garrison schools, but in that case the garrison was founded before the civilian administrative structure, and the school dates from the time in between.⁵⁶⁰ It may be the case that the same institution doubled as a registration place for civilian students (under the civilian county name) and for military students (under the garrison name). The Yunnan county school inscription discussed above seems to confirm that, in that area, at least, the county school and the garrison school shared space and resources, registering students in one or the other based on their family's registration category. Like other educational institutions that appear in these

⁵⁵⁹ According to Li Jing (and Marco Polo), in the fourteenth century one string of cowries (80 shells) could be exchanged for one silver tael. Later Ming authors quote the same rate of exchange but this may have been copied from Li Jing.

⁵⁶⁰ Huang, Mingguang 黃明光, "Mingdai Nanfang wusheng shaoshu minzu diqu jiaoyu zhuangkuang shulun 明代南方五省少數民族地區教育狀況述論 [On the Educational Situation in Minority Nationality Regions of the Five Southern Provinces during the Ming Dynasty]," *Xueshu Luntan* 5 (2000): 94-97.

sources, garrison schools oriented their students towards the normative civilian system and advancement through the civil service examination.

The longer a school was established, of course, the more buildings, gardens, steles, and other traces of its history appeared within its compound. Both Menghua and Heqing schools added additional buildings in the early to mid-Ming, particularly “Respecting the Classics towers” (尊經閣), the buildings where the schools’ book collections (including those distributed by the state as well as gazetteers etc) were housed. The Menghua library, described as containing “three rooms, including one bookcase, multicoloured and shining, a resplendent sight” 三間，貯書櫃一座，五彩絢耀，金碧輝煌 was part of a project initiated by indigenous prefect Zuo Ying 左瑛 in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶¹ In addition to the buildings themselves, steles were erected to record repairs, donations, etc. In Binchuan, for example, the formal establishment of the school was overshadowed by the suite of repairs carried out thirty years later, which generated two inscriptions as well as substantial refurbishment involving both the magistrate and the school’s new provincial graduates.⁵⁶² Even schools that were moved acquired stele records of their former location and the process that had produced it. As a result, local men who entered government school compounds in the course of their study or other activities were reminded not only of the power of the state and its orthodoxy but also of the strength and literary talent of their local community.

An Established Locality: Late Ming Literati in Dali

Local identity was centred more explicitly in a variety of genres of translocal texts produced through practices of literati sociality in late Ming Dali. While many of the extant texts were composed and circulated as a byproduct of socio-political institutions, through government incentives (gazetteers) or situational necessity (building inscriptions and tomb inscriptions), in other cases the production of texts formed the basis of a social network in itself. Copying and circulation of manuscripts, editing and annotation, “coterie publishing,” along with writing prefaces and exchanging letters and occasional poems formed the groundwork of literati relationships within and beyond the locality.⁵⁶³ Moreover, recording afterwards experiences undertaken with one’s friends, relations, and colleagues attested to the relationship and gave the event significance.⁵⁶⁴ Writings like these transcended their immediate circumstances by inclusion in collectanea, gazetteers, encyclopaedia, and albums. During the Yuan and much of the Ming, practices of touring and social writing are infrequently attested to in Dali sources, until the population of literate elite men with translocal connections reached the levels discussed in the previous section. The dramatic increase in extant texts from the middle of the sixteenth century also correlates with an increase in the kinds of social activities that had written production at the centre. The texts that were precipitated by these social activities disproportionately highlighted

⁵⁶¹ He Jun 何俊, “Dingjian Zunjing ge ji 鼎建尊經閣記 [Record of Constructing the Respecting the Classics Pavilion] in KXMHFZ 219-220. Ma Shao 馬韶, “*Heqing junminfu chuangjian zunjingge bei* 鶴慶軍民府創建尊經閣碑 [Stele on Construction of Respecting the Classics Pavilion in Heqing Military-Civilian Prefecture],” 1507, DLCS JSP 2.112/10.70-71.

⁵⁶² Wang Zhizhong 王致中, “Xiu xue ji 修學記 [Record of Repairing the School],” BCZZ 88-89; Ye Song 葉松, “Binchuanzhou chongxiu miaoxue ji 賓川州重修廟學記 [Record of repairing the Temple of Literature in Binchuan Subprefecture],” BCZZ 89-90. Ye Song is the local graduate

⁵⁶³ Suyoung Son, *Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018).

⁵⁶⁴ Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*.

the particularities of the physical environment in which they took place. As they engaged in practices of producing texts together, therefore, writers from Dali increasingly made use of identities as literati from Dali, Zhaozhou, Xizhou, Jianchuan, or Dengchuan to distinguish themselves from other members of their translocal literati community.

Yunnan, the southwest, and Dali were still positioned in much elite discourse as both geographically and culturally remote from the imperial centre. Perhaps the most popular way in which it appeared was in the increasingly popular genres of travel literature.⁵⁶⁵ Like other literati leisure practices, travels for the purpose of sightseeing became increasingly popular from the middle of the sixteenth century. James Hargett draws a distinction between the most common form of literati travel — short trips to sites of interest in and around the city where one resided — and the long-distance journeys for which writers like Xu Xiake later became famous. Accounts of the former took the form of short “vignettes” which emphasised the beauty of the landscape or its historical significance.⁵⁶⁶ The latter category, among which the best-known accounts of travel to Dali are counted, spent more time on the journey itself.⁵⁶⁷ Their writings reflected the centrality of their long period of travel from the metropole to their experience and reinforced the core-periphery framing of Dali’s spatial relationship to the empire.

Though they travelled to Yunnan for different purposes, writers of long-distance travel accounts all made rhetorical use of its remote character in ways that reinforced distance as its most notable spatial characteristic. Dali’s first appearance in a travel account was in a Yuan text entitled “Record of a Journey to Dali” (*Dali xingji* 大理行記).⁵⁶⁸ The use of *xing* rather than *you* in the title indicates that Guo travelled to Yunnan on an official posting; as a result, the governability of the places he visits are central to his concerns.⁵⁶⁹ Contrary to the author’s expectations, and despite their landscape being “home of spirits,” the customs of Dali’s residents approached his standards of civilisation.⁵⁷⁰ Leisure travellers who wrote in the “geographical-investigative” mode, like Xu Xiake, expanded substantially on the strange and, often, exotic, character of the scenes and people described.⁵⁷¹ On the other hand, accounts written by men who had travelled to Yunnan for purposes other than pleasure emphasised the region’s physical remoteness. The rhetorical force of Yang Shen’s account of his journey into exile derived from the emotional context of his journey from the rejection of the supposedly-civilised centre to the unspoiled periphery.⁵⁷² In the same way, a sense of uncertainty and danger suffused Huang Xiangjian’s visual and textual records of his travels to re-unite with

⁵⁶⁵ Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*; Julian Ward, *Xu Xiake (1587-1641): the Art of Travel Writing* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001); Li Chi, *The Travel Diaries of Hsü Hsia-k'o* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1974); Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Ihor Pidhainy, “Yang Shen and the Nature of Travel Writing,” PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2004; Sean Marsh, “Simple Natives and Cunning Merchants: Song Representations of Frontier Trade in Guangxi” *Asia Major 3rd series* 27, no. 2 (2014): 5-28; Elizabeth Kindall, *Geo-Narratives of a Filial Son: the Paintings and Travel Diaries of Huang Xiangjian (1609-1673)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016).

⁵⁶⁶ Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*, 145-151.

⁵⁶⁷ Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Seas*, 151-

⁵⁶⁸ Guo Songnian 郭松年, “*Dali xingji* 大理行記 [Record of Travel to Dali],” edited by Wang Shuwu 王叔武 (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986), 6; Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*, 5-6.

⁵⁶⁹ Guo, “*Dali xingji*,” 20. On travel terminology: Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*, 5-6.

⁵⁷⁰ Pidhainy, “Yang Shen and the Nature of Travel Writing,” 201-204 for English translations.

⁵⁷¹ This mode seems to have become more dominant, see Ward, *Xu Xiake*; and, for Taiwan, Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography*,

⁵⁷² Pidhainy, “Road Into Exile,” 15-16, 27-29.

his parents during the Ming-Qing transition.⁵⁷³ Apart from Yang Shen, these travellers spent relatively short periods of time on the periphery, in proportion to the time spent on the journey. As a result Yang was the only one of these authors who also wrote vignettes of travel around Dali.

Short distance literati travel and scenic writing were practices undertaken wherever sinograph elites found themselves. A typical trip, as Hargett describes it, would take place over a half or full day. This kind of sightseeing was facilitated by construction of pavilions, etc at scenic sites, where visitors could have a location-based aesthetic experience while drinking tea or wine, engage in conversation, and compose poetry to suit the occasion. Genres of writing that translated these journeys into text had a substantial history in Jiangnan and were embedded in practices of literati sociality that were essential to reproduction of scholar gentry as a class despite shrinking official positions.⁵⁷⁴ As a result, when Dali's literati engaged in these practices, the texts they produced denaturalised the framing of Dali as a peripheral region in favour of a standard locality-state position. While the spaces of the education system were embedded in institutions that required the translocal movement of literati as part of their functioning, places for viewing were embedded in leisure practices that were themselves transferable, enabling literati to make sense of the landscape they viewed no matter where they went.⁵⁷⁵

When writing about Dali in these genres, references to the central states were used to frame Dali as an equal or even superior example of landscapes and historical sites that are comparable to other localities throughout the empire. Perhaps the best known is a longer trip that Yang Shen took with Li Yuanyang in 1530, the basis of Yang's "Record of Roaming on Mt Diancang" (*Diancang shan you ji* 點蒼山遊記).⁵⁷⁶ In this text, Li acts as local guide on a slow but meticulous journey of forty days around various locations on Mt Diancang (although half were spent at Gantong Temple alone). The two men tour *guji*, meet friends, and visit temples, including buildings sponsored by Li, as well as viewing and discussing the scenic sights of Mt Diancang and Lake Er. In a similar way, the textual component of Yang Shiyun's "Essay on Maps of Mt Cang and Lake Er" (*Cang-Er tushuo* 蒼洱圖說) discusses aesthetics of Cang-Er in historical and seasonal rhythms.⁵⁷⁷ Even though these trips were taken locally, by participating in this popular genre of place-bound writing Dali's literati identified themselves with Dali, within the broader group of scholar-gentry leisure travellers.

Table 3.7 *Dali fuzhi* shenglan table and map (Taihe county only)⁵⁷⁸

Name	Location	Historical association	Date
勝槩樓 Shenggai tower	In the foothills of Mt Diancang, 3 <i>li</i> northwest of the city wall	Built in Nanzhao, repaired early Ming	Tang, c14th

⁵⁷³ Huang Xiangjian, "A Record of the Journey in Search of my Parents," in Kindall, *Geo-Narratives of a Filial Son* 344-365; see also Kindall, *Geo-Narratives of a Filial Son* 172-201.

⁵⁷⁴ Hargett, *Jade Mountains and Cinnabar Pools*, .

⁵⁷⁵ Stuer, "Dimensions of Place," . Huang Fei, "Landscape Practices and Representations in Eighteenth-Century Dongchuan, Southwest China," PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2012.

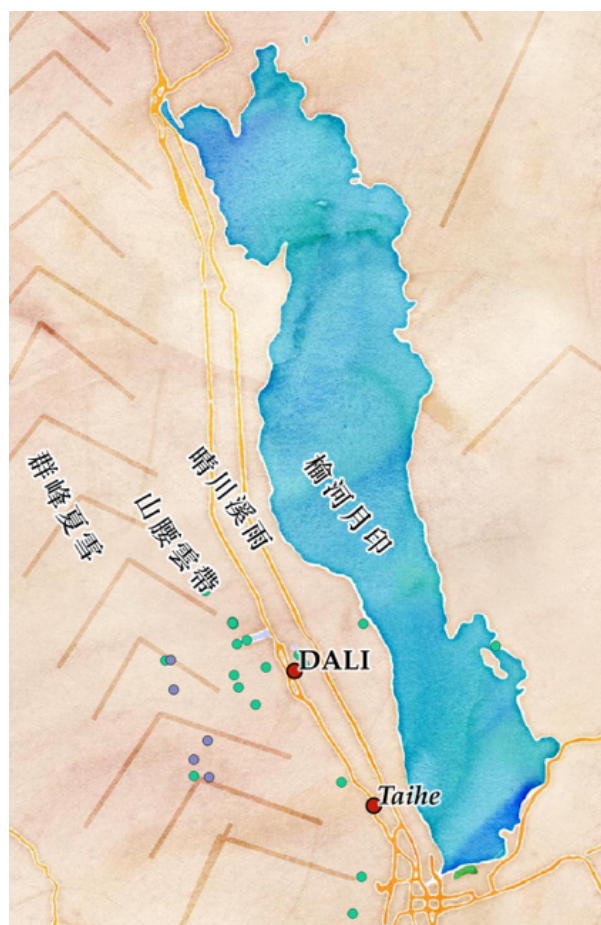
⁵⁷⁶ Yang Shen, "You Diancang shan ji," in Yang Sheng'an congshu, v. 4, 65-68. For translated excerpts and an extended discussion of this piece, see Pidhainey, "Yang Shen and the Nature of Travel Writing," 206-13. Pidhainey calculates that Yang, travelling between the provincial capital and the garrison in western Yunnan where he was officially stationed, made extended stays in the Dali area on four occasions, 200.

⁵⁷⁷ DZ 861-2

⁵⁷⁸ This map was made using QGIS2 on a base map from Open Street Maps (openstreetmap.org; opendatacommons.org) © OpenStreetMap contributors, CC BY-SA License (creativecommons.org).

般若台 Banruo platform	North of Shenggai tower	Li Yangbing's calligraphy inscribed on it	c8th
積翠台 Jicui platform	South of Banruo platform	Two poems by Cui Guan (1512-1571, js 1535, branch inspector)	c16th
翠虛台 Cuihu platform	Wuwei temple, Lan peak, north of the city	Duan Fu wrote a poem when Qubilai was there	c13th
仙樂台 Xianyue platform	Mt Dingyi, west of the city	Poem by Meng Shan	
寫韻樓 Xieyun mansion	Tangshan, southwest of the city	Built by Yang Shen	c16th
襟山帶海樓 Jinshan daihai mansion	Jingshan, in the centre of the city	Where people go for Star returning festival	c7th
天風海濤樓／浩然閣 Tianfeng Haitao mansion/Haoran tower	In front of Lake Spirit shrine, 8 li east of the city wall, on the banks of the Lake	Built by magistrate Yang Zhongnuan; many poems that have not been recorded	1538
大觀樓 Daguan mansion	1 li west of the city wall	Built by magistrate Cai Shaoke; poems by 郭鳳儀 Guo Fengyi (js 1526) and 崔李二公 Cui and Li	1546
定鳳樓 Dingfeng mansion	At Santa Fengbo shrine	Built by Peng Jin (provincial official, js 1541)	c16th
五岳樓 Wuyue Mansion	Behind Three Pagodas temple	Built by Li Yuanyang; refers to five sacred mountains	c16th
凌虛閣 Junhu tower	At Xiaguan, in the foothills	Built by Zhou and Liang	
問俗亭 Wensu pavilion	West of the city, in the foothills of Zhong Peak	Built by magistrate Yang Zhongqiong [1486-1545, js.1521]; anonymous poem	around 1540
覽勝亭 Lansheng pavilion	North of Wensu Pavilion	Built by Vice Director of Sacrifices Xu Mianren (js. 1529); one poem	c16th
混混亭 Hunhun pavilion	Below Feng cave at Xiaguan	Built by Surveillance vice commissioner Jiang Long; said to be site of a Nanzhao general Li Mi's temple; one poem	1523
海山一覽堂 Hall of sea and mountain in one view	At Guixiang academy in the city	Built by Surveillance vice commissioner Guo Chunzhen [js. 1529]; poem by Cui Li	1550
天鏡閣 Tianjing tower	East bank of Erhai	A poem by Li Jingshan	
青熒堂 Qing	At Gantong temple, 10 li south of the city wall	Built by Li Yuanhe (Li Yuanyang's brother or cousin)	c16th
占文閣	17 li SW of the city, in the		

Zhanwen tower	foothills of Yuju peak		
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Infrastructure that supported occasions of writing took the form of privately sponsored pavilions and scenic viewing sites. *Dali fuzhi* contains a section entitled “famous views” (*shenglan*) which lists 36 buildings or scenic locations (table 3.7). About two thirds of these were scattered around Taihe county, among the southern slopes of Mt Diancang and within easy access from the city. All the Taihe county sites have built features, while about half the sites in surrounding counties and sub-prefectures were identified as just a stream or a cave. Only one site had both, Jade Stream Pavilion in Dengchuan, which was built by fifteenth-century literatus (and compiler of a no longer extant Dengchuan gazetteer), Retired Censor Yang Nanjin. Of those that are dated, only five were said to pre-date 1500: Qubilai was said to have stopped Cuihu platform, one of three sites at Wuwei temple, and Duan Fu wrote a poem about it. Shenggai lou 勝槩樓, said to have been built during the Nanzhao period, was repaired in the early Ming.⁵⁷⁹ The vast majority, however, were built by officials or wealthy local literati in the sixteenth century, such as

Magistrates Yong Qiong and Cai Shaoke. Others were constructed by members of Li’s own family: he and his brother Li Yuanhe built two and contributed poems for two others.

Occasional poetry was an important part of literati life from an early period, and the inclusion of such texts from Dali occurred from a relatively early period. Throughout the Yuan and Ming, compilations of poetry in gazetteers and other contexts frequently included poetry from writers acquainted with Dali emphasising the beauty of its landscapes. While much of this poetry was written by men from other provinces serving in Yunnan as officials, an increasing proportion was written by Dali locals. Yuan scion of the former ruling clan of the Dali Kingdom, Duan Fu 段福 (d. 1444) wrote a poem in seven-syllable regulated verse on “Spring Sun on the Road to White Cliffs” 春日白崖道中.⁵⁸⁰ In this poem, the tropes of travelling were combined with a location of historical significance; White Cliffs, in Yunnan county, was known locally as the site of a pre-Nanzhao capital. The collections of poetry in Dali-region gazetteers tends to follow a similar pattern: a mix of poems by visiting or local authors celebrating the scenery or commemorating journeys through it.

⁵⁷⁹ DLFZ 93-4.

⁵⁸⁰ YNTJZ 7.7b. See also Zhang Xilu 張錫祿, *Yuandai Dali Duanshi zongguan shi* 元代大理段氏總管史 [A History of the Governors-General of the Duan clan in Yuan dynasty Dali] (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2015), 41-4.

The results of these practices' popularity from the sixteenth century can be seen in the efforts to compile lists of "eight views," a standard genre of late imperial scenery-writing.⁵⁸¹ A set of ten views illustrating Dali's famous scenery was first referenced by Yang Shen in "Record of Roaming on Mt Diancang."⁵⁸² A complete list first appears as a sub-section of *shenglan* in Dali fuzhi, under the title *Yeyu shiguan* "ten views of Elm River" (table 3.8).

3.8 *Yeyu shiguan* table and map⁵⁸³

Name	Description	Location	Poets cited
山腰雲帶 Cloud-Belt around the Mountain	In high summer, Mt Diancang often has a belt of cloud stretching the length of its nineteen peaks at mid-height.	Halfway up Mt Diancang	A former person; Yang Shen
晴川溪雨 Clear rivers and streams in the rain	Every year in the 5th month we desire clear weather to mow the wheat, in planting time we desire rain. In all cases the flat river is clear when it ceases raining, and when it rains on Mt Diancang we call it "rain that protects the streams."	On the flat land between Mt Diancang and Lake Er	A ceremonial poem (<i>fushi</i> 黼詩)
群峰夏雪 Summer snow on assembled peaks	Mt Diancang's 19 peaks still have snow on them in the sixth month.	The top of Mt Diancang	Three anonymous former poets.
榆河月印 Moon reflection in Elm River	On Yeyu waters myriad waves tremble, shaped like a crescent moon, a wall of heavy rain, the mountain villages are bright and new, entering their borders is like travelling to the mysterious land Penghu, it makes people want to be pure and tranquil.	Lake Er	Su Dongpo 蘇東坡
靈峰天樂 Celestial music on numinous peaks	On the celestial music platform there is a temple.	應樂峰 <i>Yingle feng</i> (tenth peak)	Chen Yuan 陳淵
翠盆疊嶂 / 青碧溪 Lotus leaf cliffs/ Green jade stream	In a gully there are three basins, in the ravine the river turns three times, in the basins the water is clear and the rocks are beautiful, and there is also green jade.	South of Malong peak 馬龍峰 (fifth peak)	Anonymous former poet.
龍湫石壁/黑龍潭 Tall waterfall cliff/ Black dragon pool	The cliffs are peculiar, ancient trees twist and wind, the peaceful seclusion cannot be expressed in words.	South of Yuju peak 玉局峰 (sixth peak)	
瀑泉丸石 Cascading stream crashing into a boulder	In summer and autumn the cascades flow down into a whirling basin. In the basin there is a stone obstruction as big as a horse. The water splashes and jumps over the rock, the	Plum Brook 梅溪 (ninth stream),	

⁵⁸¹ Stuer, "Dimensions of Place." ZZZ also contains a selection of "eight views," concerned primarily with the water supply (this is suggestively similar to the later Eight Views of Dongchuan, also composed by centrally-appointed magistrates, discussed in Huang, "Landscape Practices and Representations,"

⁵⁸² Yang, "You Diancang shan ji," in *Yang Sheng'an congshu*, v. 4, 65-68. Pidhainey, "Yang Shen."

⁵⁸³ This map was made using QGIS2 on a base map from Open Street Maps (openstreetmap.org; opendatacommons.org) © OpenStreetMap contributors, CC BY-SA License (creativecommons.org).

	sound resonates like thunder amid the towering cliffs.	south of Mt Dishidi釋山	
嵌岩綠玉 Cliffs at Luyu stream	The cliff walls are malachite, smooth like jade, one on the upper cliff, one on the lower.	Luyu stream 綠玉溪 (sixth stream)	Yang Qikun 楊奇鯤
天橋啣月 Heavenly bridge with the linking moon	When the moon sinks in the west, it is as though it was placed in between two mountains. In the middle it links the two with a full disc, the heavenly bridge props it up, it is singular and intriguing.	Xiaguan 下關	Anonymous Tang poet; anonymous.

The ten scenes selected here describe the most beautiful and unique places on Mt Diancang and Lake Er, the best times of year or day to see them, and the poets of the past who had immortalised them. In summer, one can see Mt Diancang's belt of clouds, and the snow on the peaks even in the sixth month, while the rivers and streams (cited by Yang Shen) are associated with the seasons of the agricultural year. When the moon sets over Xiaguan pass, it forms a mysterious bridge between the two mountains; when it is reflected in Lake Er it is "like travelling to Penghu" 入其境如遊玄國蓬壺.⁵⁸⁴ The remaining locations are more precisely located views of temples, cliffs, or streams within the mountains, identified by their proximity to one of Mt Diancang's famous nineteen peaks or eighteen streams. In some cases, the scene was the peak or stream itself, such as the jade cliffs of Luyu peak. Others were human additions. The final selection is moon-set at Xiaguan, the southernmost pass of Yeyu, where Diancang and Erhai meet. Most, though not all, of these places are accompanied by quotations of poems attesting to their aesthetic value. Most are attributed to "former people" (*xiren* 昔人), and once "one whose family name has not been passed down." The only poets who are named

are those whose reputation was already established. Yang Shen and Su Shi need no introduction, though it is worth noting that the editor corrects Su Shi's confusion of Erhai with a river in Guizhou. Yang Qikun was a minister in the service of the last Nanzhao emperor, Longshun, who in 881 sent him and two of his fellows to the Tang court (then in Chengdu) to retrieve a Tang princess promised in marriage. However, they were treacherously murdered. *Xin tang shi*



⁵⁸⁴ DLFZ 97.

comments that Yang was very good at poetry (unlike his peers), and has preserved two other of his poems than the one excerpted here. The selective choice of poems and the pure aesthetic value of the descriptions demonstrates that Dali's aesthetic value was recognised not only by its residents but also by well-known poets throughout history.

In addition to gatherings and day-trips to relatively accessible places, members of literary societies sometimes travelled for several days or went on pilgrimages together. As a devout Buddhist, many of Li Yuanyang's sightseeing journeys had a devotional component, like the trip to a Jin-era temple north of Beijing that he recorded in "Informal discussion of silver mountain and iron fortress" (*yinshan tiebi mantan* 銀山鐵壁漫談).⁵⁸⁵ Mt Shibao was known for the temples situated there, such as Shizhong temple, for the healing water of its streams, and for its Nanzhao-era stone grottoes.⁵⁸⁶ Li Yuanyang's writings record two journeys he made to Mt Shibao, the first in 1530 with Yang Shen, the second in 1562 accompanied by his younger brother, Li Yuanhe, their brother-in-law Zhang Dou, and their friend, Yang He.⁵⁸⁷ On both trips, they enjoyed the mountain scenery, visited many stone carvings, and stayed overnight at a temple.

Unlike most of the sites visited for sightseeing, Dali's Buddhist temples had described themselves as embedded in translocal networks since their founding.⁵⁸⁸ From the middle of the sixteenth century, one mountain in particular was associated with Dali as a centre of Buddhist activity, Mt Jizu (雞足山 "Mt Chicken Foot"). Mt Jizu is located on the eastern bank of Lake Er, and is particularly associated with Kasyapa, a disciple of Sakymuni who is said to have accompanied him to Dali and whose traces are found around the mountain. In 1571, a small hermitage on Mt Jizu was destroyed by bandits, and in the rebuilding acquired sponsorship from Su family, with name-plate calligraphy by a provincial official and a commemorative inscription composed by Li Yuanyang.⁵⁸⁹ From that point on, the wealth of Jiguang temple increased (attested by inscriptions from 1622, 1633, and 1641); and its regional fame was enhanced by connections to monasteries in Guizhou and to Mt Emei, in Sichuan. Huang Jianqian's account of his visit to Mt Jizu with his father in the seventeenth century continued a tradition of not only writing but painting the region's scenery into the literati record.⁵⁹⁰ Into the Qing, the temples on Mt Jizu remained centres of both translocal pilgrimage and writing about the locality.⁵⁹¹

Other institutions that structured the spatial representations of literati sociality also connected it with translocal educational institutions. Private academies, which flourished in Dali during the

⁵⁸⁵ Destroyed in the Manchu conquest, the site is now known as Mt Silver Pagoda Forest (*yinshan talin* 銀山塔林).

⁵⁸⁶ YNTZ 3.35a-b

⁵⁸⁷ Li Yuanyang, "You Shibaoshan ji 遊石寶山記 [Record of Travelling on Mt Shibao]," "Chong you Shibao shan ji 重遊石寶山記 [Record of Travelling Again on Mt Shibao]," *Dianzhi* 19.?

⁵⁸⁸ See, for example, the famous visits by Japanese monks, DLFZ 88; YNTZ 2.31a.

⁵⁸⁹ Li Yuanyang 李元陽, "Jiguang si bei 寂光寺碑 [Jiguang Temple stele]," 1571, DLCS JSP 3.81/10.103.

⁵⁹⁰ Kindall, *Geo-Narrative of a Filial Son*, 202-256.

⁵⁹¹ Kindall, *Geo-Narrative of a Filial Son*, 10-15; Tateishi, Kenji 立石謙次. "清初雲南大理地方における白人の歴史認識について——『白国因由』の研究 [On the Historical Consciousness of the Bai People of Early Qing Dali, Yunnan — Research on *Baiguo yinyou*]" *Shigaku zasshi* 15, no. 6 (2006): 39-64; Lian, Ruizhi 連瑞枝. "Dali shanxiang yu tuguan zhengzhi: Jizu shan fojiao shengshan de xingcheng 大理山鄉與土官政治：雞足山佛教聖山的形成 [Dali's Hill Country and Governance by Indigenous Officials: the Formation of Mt Jizu as a Buddhist Sacred Mountain]." *Hanxue yanjiu* 33, no. 3 (2015): 131-168.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were a relatively small part of Dali society in the Ming (table 3.9).⁵⁹²

Table 3.9 Academies in the Dali region:

Name	<i>Junxian</i>	Location	Date Founded	Notes
玉泉書院 Yuquan academy	趙州 Zhaozhou	在州治東北 NE of yamen	1523	Founded by Military preparations vice commissioner Jiang Long
青華書院 Qinghua academy	雲南縣 Yunnan county	在城外西南 SW of city wall	1520	Armourer Lin Kui
五雲書院 Wuyun academy	雲南縣 Yunnan county		1562	Armoury deputy commissioner Shen Qiao
象山書院 Mt Xiang academy	鄧川 Dengchuan	在州治西 W of yamen		
玉泉書院 Yuquan academy	鄧川 Dengchuan	在州治北一里 1 li N of yamen		May have become an 義學 in the Qing
寧川書院 Ningchuan academy	浪穹 Langqiong	在縣治西 W of yamen	1509	Founded by Magistrate Cai Gao; Repaired 1533 by magistrate Chen Ru
龍華書院 Longhua academy	浪穹 Langqiong	在縣治北 N of yamen	1498	Founded by Magistrate Cai Ji
秀峯書院 Xiufeng academ	賓川 Binchuan	在學西南 SW of govt school	1544	Founded by Magistrate Zhu Guan
明志書院 Mengzhi academy	蒙化 Menghua	在西城外 W of city wall	弘治 1488-1505	Founded by Qujing vice-magistrate Hu Guang; 1529 by Assistant Prefect Wu Shaozhou and Native Magistrate Zuo Zhushi;
復性書院 Fuxing academy	鶴慶 Heqing	在府治東南 SE of yamen	隆慶 1567-1572	Founded by Magistrate Zhou Zan
金華書院 Jinhua academy	劍川 Jianchuan		隆慶 1567-1572	Founded by Magistrate Xu Xuan
蒼山書院 Mt Cang academy	大理 Dali	在府城西南 SW of city wall	1499	Founded by Censor Xie Zhaoxuan; repaired by assistant magistrate Fan Heng in 1600
源泉書院	大理	在府學西	1566	Founded by Assistant magistrate Jiang

⁵⁹² Most scholarship on this subject relates to academies in Jiangnan, which had a much larger literati population. John Meskill, *Academies in Ming China: a Historical Essay* (Tuscon, University of Arizona Press, 1982); Linda Walton, *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

Yuanquan academy	Dali	W of govt school		Ying'ang
桂林書院 Guilin academy	大理 Dali	在府治北四十里 40 li N of yamen	嘉靖 1522-1566	Founded by local man Zhang Gongwen
龍關書院 Longguan academy	大理 Dali	在府治南三十里 30 li S of yamen		Founded by Assistant magistrate Jiang Ying'ang
鳳儀書院 Fengyi academy	趙州 Zhaozhou	在州治左 E of yamen	1609	Founded by Magistrate Duan Cai; Continuously improved by Magistrate Song Guozhu and Wang Zuoqing
崇正書院 Chongzheng academy	蒙化 Menghua			

In late imperial China, these institutions catered to potential or former examination candidates and provided networks for literati socialisation and community-building. Although a number of academies are listed in gazetteers, few inscriptions survive to provide a better sense of their aims and integration with local society. Moreover, the institutions seem to have been quite ephemeral, as many listed in sixteenth century texts were shortly abandoned, according to gazetteers compiled less than a century later. The first private academy built in Jianchuan, for example, was built in 1570 under the sponsorship of Magistrate Xu on Jinhua mountain, just outside the city. The location is described as remote and peaceful, but in fact Mt Jinhua was a well-known scenic site and object of pilgrimage for the Buddhist temples there. Although most gazetteers record it as having been founded in the sixteenth century, Li Yuanyang commented that this was actually the reconstruction of an earlier academy at the same place, which had fallen into disrepair for lack of funds.⁵⁹³ Xiufeng Academy in Binchuan, which was adjacent to and even shared a roof-pole with the sub-prefectural school, was similarly abandoned by the time the next gazetteer was compiled, despite its connection with government institutions.⁵⁹⁴ The student-teacher relationship facilitated by these kinds of institutions attest to literati networks that crossed the county or even prefecture boundaries of the government school system: three examination candidates registered in Heqing prefecture were identified in the Kangxi gazetteer as having been students of Li Yuanyang and Yang Shen.⁵⁹⁵

The scholar-gentry community in mid-seventeenth Dengchuan has left an unusually detailed record in its gazetteer, discussed in the previous chapter. Because they collectively wrote the gazetteer there is more detail than usual about their personal involvement. Institutionally, the translocal literati spaces in Dengchuan included schools, literary societies, and scenic sites. After its refurbishment in 1629, the Dengchuan Temple of Literature contained not only its central hall and front gate but three additional shrines (including notable officials and local worthies), a platform, and a temple to Kuixing, a Daoist god of literature, which incorporated the old library.⁵⁹⁶

The selection of views in the 1641 Dengchuan gazetteer seems primarily to have served as an exercise in promoting communal interaction among the scholar-gentry of Dengchuan at that

⁵⁹³ YNTZ 8.56b-57a

⁵⁹⁴ YNTZ 8.19a-20a; BCZZ

⁵⁹⁵ KXHQFZ 159-166

⁵⁹⁶ CXDCZZ 64-5

time. The sixteen views form a subsection within the treatise on scenery (*fengjing zhi* 風境志), and was compiled by separate editor from the rest of the treatise, stipendiary student Shao Shen. Sixteen sites were selected, covering all directions of the sub-prefecture, and occasionally outside (such as Mt Jizu). The sites primarily seem to have been chosen for their aesthetic significance, although a few also have historical associations. For half of them, human-built structures such as temples or villages are represented as forming a central part of the site's atmosphere. None of the sites were used in any of the earlier extant gazetteers. In Shao's collection, each site is accompanied by a short description and an eight line/seven character poem. The sixteen poems were composed by sixteen different members of Dengchuan's literati community then alive (table 3.10), including all Dengchuan-registered members of the provincial graduate classes of 1633, 1636 and 1639 (the three examination years prior to the compilation of the gazetteer).

Table 3.10: Sixteen views of Dengchuan and their poets

Name of site	Poet	Poet's place of origin	Poet's status
雪峰背岱	楊芳盛 Yang Fangsheng	鶴郡 Heqing prefecture	戶部侍郎 Dept of revenue, vice minister [j.s. 1616]
玉案面環	李大受 Li Dashou	浪穹 Langqiong	吏部郎中 Dept of personnel, section director [j.s. 1622]
庠臨蛟海	艾自修 Ai Zixiu	鄧陽 Dengyang	理學賢儒 Lixue scholar
險據龍關	徐進卿 Xu Jinqing	榆陽 Yuyang	舉人 [1636] Provincial graduate
羅坪鳳羽	戴應昌 Dai Yingchang	浪穹 Langqiong	舉人 [1639] Provincial graduate
蒲峽龍門	李可棟 Li Kedong	劍川 Jianchuan	進士 [1634] Metropolitan graduate
象山仙奕	楊邦英 Yang Bangying	鄧川 Dengchuan	舉人 [1612] Provincial graduate
烟諸漁歌	楊承淳 Yang Chengchun	鄧川 Dengchuan	舉人 [1636] Provincial graduate
彌江百里	馬一豸 Ma Yizhi	鄧川 Dengchuan	舉人 [1639] Provincial graduate
佛頂千尋	王美 Wang Mei	鄧川 Dengchuan	舉人 [1639] Provincial graduate
碧潭星鯉	李甲魁 Li Jiakui	鄧川 Dengchuan	舉人 [1639] Provincial graduate
玄洞金龍	劉一經 Liu Yijing	鄧川 Dengchuan	本學生 Stipendiary student
海月明樓	楊為楨 Yang Weidian	永和 Yonghe	同知 Assistant magistrate
江烟籠寺	陶文彥 Tao Wenyan	浪穹 Langqiong	進士 [1634] Metropolitan graduate
諸葛塞	宋希賢 Song Xixian	鄧川 Dengchuan	舉人 [1633] Provincial graduate

一塔寺	艾逢午 Ai Fengwu	彌水 Mi River	太學生 Daoist school student
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The uniformity of format and the choice of poets suggests that this collection of poems were written specifically for this gazetteer, and perhaps the unusually large number of sites was intended to allow for maximum participation. Other (perhaps better) poems by more famous writers on the same locations are included in the treatise on literature, so the choice to make the compilation of these poems an event must have been driven by concerns other than pure necessity. The curation of sixteen views in this gazetteer promoted a local literati community of students and degree-holders that was both locally visible and translocally recognised.

Conclusion:

The embodied ritual practices of their daily lives were a foundational part of Dali literati identities through the opportunities they provided for structured, meaningful interaction with their neighbours and agents of the state. At the same time, the spatial character of these practices, the nodes at which intense concentrations of interaction gathered, and the routes scholars traced around and beyond the locality, shaped literati understandings of the places where they lived and worked. When they buried their dead, sponsored or visited village gravesites, they took on identities as members of wealthy and prestigious families, descended from men who had served Dali's rulers for hundreds of years. When they visited Buddhist temples and monasteries, they interacted with members of other great local lineages in the spaces of Dali Kingdom state Buddhism, but also with devout men and women from the military colonies or elsewhere. When they sponsored construction at temples or schools, they presented themselves as powerful actors in local society, with or without the involvement of centrally-appointed officials. When they sat for examinations or registered at the local school, they were treated as potential or actual members of the scholar-gentry, the imperial governing class. In all of these interactions, the identities they enacted in compiling gazetteers and in their written representations of Dali were refined and reinforced. They re-created the region in which they lived as an imperial locality and themselves as literati within it.

The processes of identity emergence I identify here are not dissimilar to those that appear in the secondary literature for other parts of the late imperial Chinese world, although some forms are distinct to Dali's history and location. Since writers in literary Chinese were often trying to indicate membership in Yuan or Ming socio-political institutions and the literary-cosmopolitan ecumene that supported them, even in Dali, this is not surprising. On the other hand, some factors are different. Unlike new imperial literati in Fujian and Guangdong frontiers, for example, who more often claimed descent from migrants as a source of prestige for their lineage, Dali literati used former local rulers as their source of authentic identity. At the same time, some regional differentiation existed within central status: official service, sponsorship of temples, and representing the locality to the state had been used by gentry in a variety of regions, but the relative balance between state-sponsored and other institutions in north China particularly is still a matter of dispute.⁵⁹⁷ On the southwest, indeed, the use of state backing as a source of legitimacy for a local audience by a *tusi* lineage is much better studied than the use of civilian, or even military, official service. In this context, literati framing of Dali as a locality, using landscape narratives as well as their own educational achievement, appears a deliberate strategy rather than an inevitable assimilation to the values of the imperial elite. Distinction based on place arose out

⁵⁹⁷ Wang, *In the Wake of the Mongols*; Chen, "Networks, Communities, and Identities."

of adequation tactics based on status, evolving out of a complex set of tactics for dealing with the illegitimation of their own civilisation.

CONCLUSION:

In and around Dali during the Yuan and Ming period, social relationships were reconfigured in ways that enabled members of the existing elite to maintain their access to power in local society, and to gain membership of translocal networks of status and influence which both enhanced their position at home and enabled advancement when abroad. The primary locus of this process of reconfiguration was writing in literary Chinese, whether texts like steles which remained fixed in space, printed books and manuscripts that were reproduced and circulated, or shorter poems and essays that were compiled in gazetteers and collections far beyond their place of origin. By writing about Dali and about themselves in these genres, members of Dali's elite authenticated their connection to their locality but also demonstrated their facility in the literary norms of the translocal scholar-gentry elite. As a result, the representations of Dali that have survived present a complex repertoire of narratives about Dali's people, history, and place in relation to the wider world. In their texts, Dali literati alternately situated Dali at the margins of a distant empire, as one locality among a modular paradigm of *junxian*, and at centre of its own civilisation.

I have presented above a narrative of transformation centred on the sixteenth century. During that period, a number of changes that had been underway since the Mongol and even more since the Ming conquest became visible as changes in the ways that Dali's elite writers positioned themselves in relation to both their local society and the translocal world in which they lived. Lian Ruizhi's paper on the Zhao lineage of Zhaozhou identifies a similarly timed change (though more abrupt) in the genres and narratives used to construct a lineage identity.⁵⁹⁸ At the same time, this transformation coincided with broader changes throughout the empire. In fields as diverse as publishing, travel, trade, and connoisseurship, late Ming literati worlds were opening up, became more mobile, and consequently reforming both patterns of spatial interaction and patterns of identity. If Bol's Wuzhou was returning to a Song pattern after the statebuilding of the early Ming, Dali built themselves anew on a pattern that had not previously existed there.⁵⁹⁹ If Gerritsen's Ji'an literati, "returned from the capital" after the early Ming disruption to a landscape they saw now as familiar and comprehensible, Dali's scholar-gentry merely added literati ways of experiencing landscape to its existing meanings.⁶⁰⁰ If Du's Huizhou merchants were disrupting seemingly stable *junxian* paradigms, Dali's literati were appropriating them.⁶⁰¹ Given such diverse mechanisms for transformation (commerce, state-building, print culture as well as colonisation) it is not surprising that the narratives seem unconnected. Yet, they are all describing related changes in the ways local identity presented at the same time — further research is needed to understand how these processes were related.

The transformations in Dali literati's understanding of space further suggest some directions of research in the growing field of Chinese spatial history. Megan Bryson observed in a recent roundtable that one of the characteristics of the periphery is an inherent heterogeneity compared to the internally consistent centre.⁶⁰² At the same time, the heterogeneity of the peripheral location presented in this study is of a kind less often noted by historians who do not specialise in borderlands regions: the frontier presented here is not only a space full of heterogeneous

⁵⁹⁸ Lian, "Surviving Conquest in Dali."

⁵⁹⁹ Bol, "The 'Localist Turn' and 'Local Identity'," 4.

⁶⁰⁰ Gerritsen, *Ji'an Literati and the Local*, 156.

⁶⁰¹ Du, *The Order of Places*, 26-27.

⁶⁰² Megan Bryson, Andrew Chittick, James Anderson, Catherine Churchman, and Erica Fox Brindley, "Premodern History and the Frontiers of the South China Sea," *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 4, no. 1 (2018): 3.

populations that are to be assimilated with a homogeneous central region but a space which turns the homogeneity of the centre back on itself by aligning the forms of heterogeneity of the periphery with those observed, in different scholarly contexts, in the centre. Furthermore, this study returns to questions of scale in the study of late imperial China. By analysing the representations of space used by late imperial writers themselves, this dissertation shows that interactions that occurred on both local and translocal scales were indeed crucial to bringing about changes in understandings of both Dali's local character and its place in the wider world.⁶⁰³ In the work of Fitzgerald and Hsu, with which this thesis begins, while each of their studies was locally focused, the trajectory of their analysis was determined by the way in which they saw the locality as connected beyond itself. In the same way, the different ways that Yuan-Ming writers saw Dali as connected to the world beyond continue to enable divergent readings of the southwest.

⁶⁰³ As suggested by Carolyn Cartier, "Origins and Evolution of a Geographical Idea: The Macroregion in China," *Modern China* 28, no. 2 (2002): 79-142 and C. Patterson Giersch, "Afterword: Why Kham? Why Borderlands? Coordinating New Research Programs for Asia," *Cross-currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 19 (2016), 202-213.

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APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Disasters and Omens, all Dali gazetteers

Year	Event	Results
1454, summer	A lucky stalk of corn was produced in Fengme village, Heqing	Magistrate Wang Min did something that is not legible
1480, 6th month	A great thunderstorm in Jianchuan subprefecture	Water gushed from the cliffs and plains and flooded the roads and more than 200 mu of fields
1492, 5th month	The Liangxi floodgates on Mt Diancang broke	The city was flooded through the west gate
1498, 10th month	An earthquake in Langqiong county	A sound like thunder
1499	An earthquake in Yunnan county	
1499, summer, 6th month, 10th night	A great earthquake in Menghua prefecture	Many houses collapsed, and people fainted and went grey [sth about the wenmiao?]
1501, 5th month, 16th day	An earthquake in Jianchuan subprefecture	A sound like thunder and many buildings collapsed
1501, 6th month, at the new moon	A great storm on Mt Diancang	Two of the streams from the mountain flooded the villages nearby 300 dead, 570 homes lost
1501	Excessive rain in Langqiong county	Landslides and floods caused the collapse of dwellings, more than 100 deaths, and the loss of all government documents.
1504, 2nd month	A severe frost in Yunnan county	Things became frozen
1506	An earthquake in Yunnan county	Everyone went grey.
1514	The source of the salinity of the land of Shundang Salt well office broke apart	1170-odd ke of salt was lost
1514	An epidemic in Heqing	Countless dead
1515	A great earthquake in Menghua prefecture	A pool with standing water was set up.
1515, 5th month	A great earthquake in Dengchuan subprefecture	Aftershocks in the 6th month and the 8th month
1515, 5th month, 6th day	A great earthquake in Heqing	Many buildings collapsed, and the area remained dangerous
1515, 9th month	An earthquake in Taihe county	Buildings all collapsed [including Chongzhen temple], hundreds died, small aftershocks every day for more than a month
1516, 6th month	A great lightning strike in Dengchuan subprefecture	Killed nine 3m long snakes, all around the water rose and flooded out;
		a black sparrow and tens of thousands of dead plants and shoots
1516, 11th	Coloured clouds south-east of	

month, 5th-6th day	Dengchuan	
1517, 2nd month, 24th day	Coloured clouds directly south of Dengchuan	
1518	A rain and hail storm at Binchuan	
1522, 5th-6th month	A swarm of insects with small fires on their backs at Dengchuan	
1523, 6th month	Without clouds or rain a great flood in Menghua	Water from all the nearby rivers swept wood over houses and fields and buried them.
1528	An earthquake in Yunnan county	
1531, 6th month, 2nd day	A dragon was seen between Dengchuan and Dali	It was seen again on the 4th day, and the 4th and 8th days of the 6th month
1539	An earthquake in Yunnan county	The price of rice increased sharply.
1545-1547	Streams in Shangyang village, Taihe county, had white stuff like wool in them	
1550	A "scholar-tree" in Taihe did not flower and the frogs made no noise.	
1558, 7th month	Excessive rain in Heqing, for more than 58 days	Prices for rice and millet increased
1559	A great drought in Yunnan county	Their taxes were reduced that year.
1559, 6th month, 15th night	A thunderstorm at Yudi village in Heqing	Landslides and floods destroyed more than 200 dwellings, countless people died, Magistrate Lin Yanggao helped them
1562, 1st month	Two or three-eared corn stalks were found by the superintendent of the Five Wells	
	A fire at Luoma salt well	A noise like thunder
1562, 11th month	A fire at Nuodeng salt well	More than 100 homes destroyed.
1567	Drought in Yunnan county	Rice and beans were more than 20 strings of cowries [?]
1572	Excessive rain in Yunnan county	Landslides
1573	Coloured clouds in the north-west of Yunnan county	
1575, 4th month, at the new moon	The light dimmed [an eclipse?]	[not sure] it stopped.
1584	A light west of Dali	
1584, 7th month	A falling star in Binchuan	A sound like thunder
1586	Sweet dew in Zhaozhou	
1586, 2nd	A great earthquake in Menghua	The city wall and many houses

month	prefecture	collapsed, more than 200 people dead or injured
1590, 1st month, 25th day	Coloured clouds in Menghua, at Xishan	
1592	An earthquake in Dali	
1596	A plague of huge rats in Yunlong subprefecture	All the grain was eaten.
1596	A great flood in Binchuan	The people were so hungry they ate bamboo.
1597	An epidemic in Dali	
1597	A drought in Menghua	Many people died of hunger.
1597, autumn	A great storm in Heqing	Hail destroyed the harvest.
1598, summer	Drought and a locust plague in Heqing	
1599, summer	Floods in Heqing	Without grain, the people starved.
1600	Floods in Menghua	
1600	Famine in Binchuan	
1606, 9th month	Rain and hail in Zhaozhou and Yunnan county.	Crops destroyed and an epidemic in the aftermath.
1611, 3rd month	Earthquakes in Dali and Binchuan.	
1614	A great famine in Yunnan county.	
1620	Earthquakes in Erhai area	
1620	Sweet dew fell in Yunlong.	
1623, 2nd month	Sweet dew fell in Dali	Round stones like pearls.
1623, 4th month, 6th-7th days	76 earthquakes in Yunnan county	On the 8th day, there were six earthquakes and more than 500 people were killed.
1623, 4th month	Earthquake in Dali	There was a howling noise and the ground broke in five parts.
1624	An epidemic in Dali	

Appendix Two: Dali *junxian* from *Yunnan tongzhi*:

太和縣（附郡）：漢－葉榆地；唐－開元末皮羅閣逐河蠻取太和城即此後閣邏鳳據其地；元－憲宗時於城內立上中下三千戶所、至元二十六年罷中千戶所、立錄事司、上下二千戶立縣復升理州、二十一年罷州復立錄事司、尋改縣曰太和及何東路屬大理路；皇明：仍為太和縣屬大理府。

Taihe county (on the outskirts of the city): Han - the land of Yeyu; Tang - at the end of the Kaiyuan period Piluoge chased and caught the River *man* and took Taihe city, and after that Geluofeng took possession of its land; Yuan - in Xianzong's time three battalions — upper, lower, and middle — were set up within the city, in 1289⁶⁰⁴ the middle battalion was shut down, an Administration Office was set up, and the upper and lower battalions were set up as counties under Lizhou [Dali], in 1284 the subprefecture was abandoned and the Administration office was again set up, before long it was changed to a county called Taihe, and Hedong circuit belonging to Dali circuit; Ming - it is still Taihe county under Dali prefecture.

趙州：漢－屬永昌郡；唐－為姚州之境、蒙氏為趙臉、皮羅閣置趙郡、閣邏鳳改趙州；晉段氏改天水郡；元憲宗時立趙臉千戶所隸大理下萬戶府、至元十一年改為州、又於白崖臉立建甯縣、即古勃弄地三十五年革縣入州；皇明－仍為趙州領雲南縣。

Zhaozhou: Han- subordinate to Yongchang ?commandery; Tang - on/made the border of Yaozhou, the Meng clan made it Zhao market-town, Piluoge established Zhaojun [prefecture], Geluofeng changed it to Zhaozhou; Jin- the Duan clan changed it to Tianshui prefecture; Yuan- in Xianzong's time Zhao market battalion was subordinate to Dali brigade, in 1274 it was changed to a sub-prefecture, and White Cliffs market was established as Jianning county, and land which for 35 years had been Bonong was changed into a county and entered the sub-prefecture; Ming - it is still Zhaozhou sub-prefecture, over Yunnan county.

雲南縣：漢－置雲南縣隸益州郡、東漢屬永昌郡、蜀漢改屬雲南縣；唐－初置雲南郡貞觀中改匡川二縣、後張仁果據之、號白子國、蒙氏為雲南州改品甸縣；晉－亦為雲南州；元－立品甸千戶所、至元中復為雲南州、後降為縣隸大理路；皇明－仍為雲南縣隸趙州。

Yunnan county: Han - the Han controlled Yunnan county under Yizhou prefecture, in the Eastern Han it belonged to Yongchang prefecture, in Shuhan it changed to belong to Yunnan county; the Tang at first controlled Yunnan commandery, but in the Zhenguan reign period it changed to Kuangchuan'er county [?]. Later Zhang Renguo occupied it and called it Baizi Kingdom. The Meng clan made Yunnan sub-prefecture into Pindian county; Jin - it also stayed as Yunnan sub-prefecture; Yuan - established Pindian battalion, and the mid-Zhiyuan period they again made it Yunnan sub-prefecture. Later it was made a county under Dali circuit; Ming - it is still Yunnan county under Zhaozhou sub-prefecture.

鄧川州：漢－為葉榆縣地；唐－為澄備州治大X城隸姚州都督府、後為澄賧詔所據南詔併之置鄧川臉、後改德源城；宋－時大理段氏因之；元－初立德源千戶所隸大理上萬戶、至元十一年改為鄧川州；皇明－因之領浪穹一縣。

Dengchuan sub-prefecture: the Han made it Yeyu county territory; the Tang made it Dengbei sub-prefecture controlled by Dali city under Yaozhou Area Command, later it was Dengdan Zhao, occupied by the Nanzhao and made into Dengchuan market-town, later changed to

⁶⁰⁴ This date is probably wrong, should be 1275.

Deyuan city; in Song times the Duan clan of Dali held it; the Yuan at first established Deyuan battalion under Dali brigade, until 1274 when it changed to Dengchuan subprefecture; in the Ming it carried on, and controlled one county, Langqiong.

浪穹縣：漢－為牂牁地蠻名彌莧、乃浪穹詔所居之地也；唐－初為南詔所侵其下鐸羅望戰敗移保劍川更稱浪劍、貞元中南詔併之立浪穹縣；元－立浪穹千戶所隸大理上萬戶、至元中改浪穹縣與鳳羽縣俱屬鄧川州；皇明－併鳳羽入浪穹縣隸鄧川州。

Langqiong county: the Han made it Yeyu territory, and the barbarian name was Miyi, and then Langqiong zhao lived on its land; in the early Tang it was conquered by Nanzhao, [under it Duo Luowant] was vanquished it moved to the protection of Jianchuan and was further called Langjian, during the Zhenyuan period the Nanzhao merged with it and established Langqiong county; the Yuan established Langqiong battalion under Dali brigade, until the Zhiyuan period when it changed to Langqiong county and Fengyi county, under the rule of Dengchuan sub-prefecture; in the Ming Fengyi was merged into Langqiong county under Dengchuan sub-prefecture.

賓川州：漢－為業餘地；唐－姚州地、蒙氏太和楚場地；元－為太和趙州雲南縣之境；皇明－弘治七年割太和九里趙州一里雲南縣二里建設賓川州隸大理府。

Binchuan subprefecture: in the Han it was Yeyu territory; in the Tang it was Yaozhou land, and the Meng clan made it Chuchang land under Taihe; in the Yuan it was the border area of Taihe, Zhaozhou, and Yunnan county; in the Ming, in 1494 9 li were cut off from Taihe, one li from Zhaozhou, and two li from Yunnan county, to create Binchuan subprefecture under Dali prefecture.

雲龍州：元－舊雲龍甸、至元末立雲龍甸軍民總管府、并防送千戶所隸金齒宣慰司；皇明－置雲龍州隸大理府。

Yunlong subprefecture: in the Yuan, formerly it was Yunlong domain, at the end of the Zhiyuan period Yunlong domain Tribal Command was established, and they sent a battalion under Jinchi Pacification Commission; Ming - it is governed as Yunlong subprefecture under Dali prefecture.

十二關長官司：元－本雲南楚雄地至元間因僻險、始置十二關防送千戶所；皇明－改置長官司隸大理府。

Twelve Passes Chieftaincy: Yuan - originally it was in the territory of Yunnan and Chuxiong, in the Zhiyuan period, because it was secluded and hard to access, they began to establish the Twelve Passes by sending a battalion; Ming - it was changed to a chieftaincy under Dali Prefecture.

Appendix 3: Government buildings in Administrative Centres:

	Yamen	Other Bureaux	Walls and Moats	Granaries
Dali	Centre of the city; built 1384; additions during Shuntian, Chenghua, Jiajing; in Longqing reoriented from south to east.	Registry, records office, prison, commercial tax office, fishing tax office, military storehouse, outlying prison	Prefecture city wall (v old, Hongwu rebuilt, stats); Shangguan walled town (4 li, 4 gates); Xiaguan walled town (2 li, 3 gates) - at least one poem each	Chongying granary
Dali wei	Built 1382	Registry, prison		Liyang granary
Zhaozhou			Subprefecture city wall (built 1507; 840 steps, 4 gates); White Cliffs Earthen Walled city (built 1564)	Relief granary
Erhai wei	Est. Yongle period	Registry, prison	Erhai Walled city (built 1387, 4 zhang, 4 gates)	Erhai garrison granary
Yunnan xian				Tai'an granary
Taihe				Relief granary
Langqiong				Relief granary
Dengchuan				Relief granary
Yunlong				
Binchuan				Relief granary
Daluo wei	Est 1494	Registry, prison	Daluo city wall (built 1494; four gates; old/unknown inscription)	Daluo garrison granary
Heqing	Built 1385; expanded/repared 1443, 1514; inscription of the last one	Registry, records office, Chong storehouse, prison, taxes	City wall built during Dali Kingdom period, rebuilt 1382	Zhifu granary, relief granary
Heqing yu	Est 1387			Heqing garrison granary

Jianchuan		Fishing tax office; salt tax office [near one of the police stations, at Misha salt well]		Relief granary
Shunzhou				
Menghua	Built 1449, NW of city wall	Registry, commercial tax office, new storehouse, [two outlying prisons]	Prefecture city wall (4 li, 242 steps circumference; four gates with names; built 1390); Midu walled town (four gates; 100 zhang; repaired early 1520s by Jiang Long); Qingkou new wall (earth wall, four gates; repaired along with Midu)	Relief grain granary, inside the yamen compound gate
Menghua wei	Est 1390	Registry, prison		Granary

