

Qing China's View of the Sipsongpanna in the 1720s

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Sipsongpanna was a Tai pre-modern state which was located at the southernmost part of the present-day Yunnan Province of China. In the 1720s, Qing China began annexing the southern part of Yunnan, and many native rulers, including those who governed the northern area adjacent to Sipsongpanna, were replaced with regular imperial officials, under a policy known as *gaituguilu* 改土歸流. As for Sipsongpanna, the Qing established Pu'er Fu 普洱府 in the northern region in 1729. However, the Qing did not replace any Tai rulers of Sipsongpanna with regular imperial officials, and Sipsongpanna as a Tai pre-modern state continued to exist until the 1950s.

This paper revealed how the Qing's view of Sipsongpanna had changed in the process of trying to annex it in the 1720s and the reason why the Qing did not replace any local Tai rulers in Sipsongpanna.

The Qing tried to annex the east bank of the Mekong River in Sipsongpanna. However, the Qing found this to be a difficult task. If the Qing placed the region under the control of regular imperial officials, most of the Tai people would flee to other Tai principalities adjacent to Sipsongpanna, which were beyond the Qing's control. In addition, even if the Qing dispatched officials and workers there, they would face the threat of deadly diseases such as malaria.

On the other hand, the Qing planned to profit from the tea cultivated in the Tea Hills of Sipsongpanna. The Qing also needed to prevent conflicts between the native people of the Tea Hills and the Han tea traders. Therefore, the Qing established Zongchadian 總茶店 at Simao 思茅 to monopolize the tea trade and establish Pu'er Fu as a relay point in the transportation of tea from Sipsongpanna to the north.

Keywords: Sipsongpanna, Cheli, Qing, *gaituguilu*, Pu'er

1 Introduction

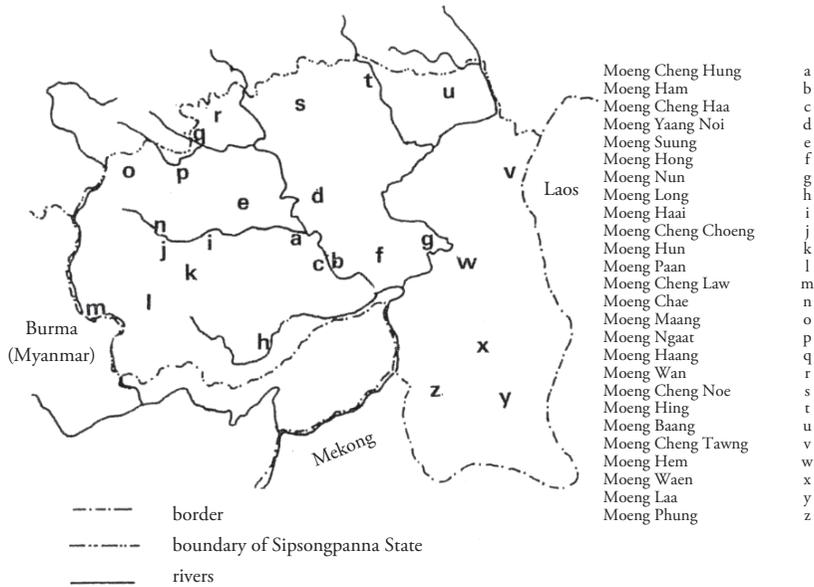
Sipsongpanna was a Tai pre-modern state that was located at the southernmost part of the present-day Yunnan Province of the People's Republic of China¹ (Map 1 and Map 2). It consisted of twenty-odd principalities or autonomous political units called 'moeng (muang)'², and was governed by its own lord called 'Chao Moeng (Chao Muang)'.

Sipsongpanna had paid tribute to both the Chinese and Burmese dynasties since the latter half of the sixteenth century and the lord of Moeng Cheng Hung (Muang Chiang Rung)³, who also held the position of supreme ruler of all of Sipsongpanna, was given official titles by both the Chinese and Burmese dynasties. The Chinese title was Cheli Xuanwei Shi (車里宣慰使). He was the head of a Chinese office named Cheli Xuanwei Si (車里宣慰司), which was usually located at Moeng Cheng Hung⁴.

In the 1720s, Qing China began annexing the southern part of Yunnan, and many native



Map 1 Location of Sipsongpanna



Map 2 Map of Sipsongpanna

rulers, including those who governed the northern area adjacent to Sipsongpanna, were replaced with regular imperial officials, under a policy known as *gaituguiliu* 改土歸流.⁵ As for Sipsongpanna, the Qing established Pu'er Fu 普洱府 in the northern region in 1729, as well as Simao Ting 思茅庁 under Pu'er Fu in 1735, to which most of the moengs of Sipsongpanna belonged. However, the Qing did not replace any Tai rulers of Sipsongpanna with regular imperial officials, and Sipsongpanna as a Tai pre-modern state continued to exist until the 1950s.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss Qing China's view of the Sipsongpanna region in the 1720s. This paper will reveal how the Qing's view of Sipsongpanna changed in the process of trying to annex it in the 1720s and the reason why the Qing did not replace any local Tai rulers in Sipsongpanna.

Most discussion on the Qing's annexation of Yunnan claims that it was based on the *gaituguiliu* policy of E'ertai 鄂爾泰, the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou at that time⁶. The Qing adapted their policy in response to the circumstances. I will thus focus on how the Qing expanded their understanding of Sipsongpanna and how their policies concerning the region changed as a result.

Some studies have discussed the establishment of Pu'er Fu not in the context of annexation but in the history of 'Pu'er tea'⁷, which was tea gathered from the Tea Hills (Chashan 茶山) of Sipsongpanna, carried to Pu'er, and distributed from there. Increasing numbers of Han traders advanced into the Tea Hills of Sipsongpanna to obtain tea in the 1720s and Pu'er Fu was established in 1729. This fact is important in understanding the establishment of Pu'er Fu.

We should note a study by Christian Daniels [Daniels 2004] as a remarkable argument representing both points of view. While most previous studies only focus on the 1720s when *gaituguiliu* was being conducted in southern Yunnan, Daniels 'put the events of the 1720s', including the establishment of Pu'er Fu, 'in the long-term perspective of violence by ethnic hill peoples living in the area to the north of Sipsong Panna that had continued since the 17th century.' In addition, he showed that 'inter-ethnic strife between hill peoples and Han traders in the Tea Hills, an area under the jurisdiction of paramount leader of Sipsong Panna, precipitated the rebellion which ultimately led to the annexation'.⁸

Regarding Daniels' argument, first I will discuss how the Qing regarded the southern part of Yunnan, including Sipsongpanna, in the 1680s. Second, I will examine how the Qing treated the powerful, non-Han natives of the Xinping 新平 and Xinhua 新化 areas at the end of the 17th century. Third, I will move on to the area south of Xinping and Xinhua and will discuss how the Qing treated the powerful, non-Han natives there in the 1720s. Finally, I will consider how the Qing expanded their understanding of the physical and social environments of Sipsongpanna in the 1720s and how, by this expansion of understanding, their behaviour toward Sipsongpanna changed.

2 The Qing's view of the southern part of Yunnan in the 1680s

Before examining how the Qing regarded the southern part of Yunnan in the 1680s, I will first explain Lukuishan's 'bandits' 魯魁山野賊. Lukuishan was a part of the Ailao 哀牢 Mountains, which extend from south of Dali 大理 to Honghe 紅河.⁹ (Map 3) After the Ming established



The inside of the Lukuishan ○

Xinping 新平, Xinhua 新化, Yuanjiang 元江, Yimen 易門, E'jia 碣嘉, Nan'an 南安, Jingdong 景東

The outside of the Lukuishan □

Cheli 車里 = Sipsongpanna, Pu'er 普洱, Menggen 孟艮 = Kengtung or Chiang Tung, Zhenyuan 鎮沅, Mengmian 猛緬 = Burma, Jiaozhi 交趾 = Vietnam

Map 3 The inside and outside of the Lukuishan

Xinping Xian 新平縣 in 1591, Lukuishan's bandits revolted five times over the course of 30 years. Another revolt by Lukuishan's bandits broke out in 1623–1624. [Daniels 2004: 106–110]

Cai Yurong 蔡毓榮, who was the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou from 1681 until 1686, wrote that the bandits came 'inside' of Lukuishan, namely, Xinping, Xinhua, Yuanjiang 元江, Yimen 易門, E'jia 碣嘉, Nan'an 南安, and Jingdong 景東, and that they escaped to 'outside' of the Lukuishan, namely Cheli 車里, Pu'er 普洱, Menggen 孟艮, Zhenyuan 鎮沅, Mengmian 猛緬, and Jiaozhi 交趾. [Cai Yurong: 36] What is worthy of attention here is that Cai Yurong divided the area into two: the area inside of Lukuishan and the area outside of Lukuishan.

The towns referred to as being inside Lukuishan were governed by Chinese regular imperial officials. Map 3 shows their locations with ellipses, which indicates that they were located near the central area of Yunnan.

On the other hand, the towns referred to as being outside Lukuishan were governed by non-Han, native leaders, who refused to arrest the Lukuishan bandits fleeing into their domains, even providing them with protection. Map 3 indicates that the towns, which are shown with rectangles,

were widely distributed. While the northernmost town, Zhenyuan, was near the centre of Yunnan, Mengmian (Burma)¹⁰ and Jiaozhi (Vietnam) were also cited as being outside. In other words, Lukuishan was a kind of boundary, and Zhenyuan was considered to be outside, as well as Burma and Vietnam. This was the Qing's view of the southern part of Yunnan in the 1680s.

Cheli 車里, which was the Moeng Cheng Hung of Sipsongpanna, as well as Pu'er, were also mentioned as being outside Lukuishan. This shows that at that time, the Qing regarded Sipsongpanna as a place that the bandits could escape to and the Qing could not pursue them.

3 The Qing's treatment of the Xinping and Xinhua areas

Next, I will discuss how the Qing treated the Xinping and Xinhua areas, where Lukuishan's bandits were.

Cai Yurong wrote about the situations in 1672, when Wu Sangui 吳三桂 ruled Yunnan, that Wu gave the titles of shoubei 守備¹¹ and then Zhongshun Ying Fujiang 忠順營副將¹² of Xinping and Xinhua to one of the bandits, Le Ang or Yang Zongzhou 楊宗周.¹³ Wu Sangui also gave the title of dushi 都司 to Le Ang's three subordinates, namely Pu Weishan 普為善, Fang Conghoa 方從化, and Li Shangyi 李尚義¹⁴. [Cai Yurong: 37]

In 1681 (Kanki 20), when the Qing's military force reached Yunnan, all of the four persons mentioned above swore allegiance to the Qing. The Qing, according to precedent, appointed Yang Zongzhou as Liang Xin¹⁵ Tu Fujiang 兩新土副將 and the others as tu dushi 土都司. [Cai Yurong: 37–38] Fujiang and dushi were the titles of military officers. Tu means 'native' and 'non-Han'. Therefore, tu fujiang and tu dushi were military titles given to non-Han people.

In 1687 (Kanki 26), the four were given other Chinese titles. Yang Zongzhou was appointed to tu xiancheng 土峴丞 and Pu Weishan, Fang Conghoa, and Li Shangyi to tu xunjian 土巡檢. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 11: 12] Both xiancheng and xunjian were civilian titles. The Qing gave them the civilian titles in addition to the military titles. We can confirm that Li Shangyi was appointed to Yangwuba Tu Xunjian 陽武壩土巡檢 as the chief of Yangwuba of Xinping Xian. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 11: 21] This shows that the other two who were given the titles of tu xunjian and Yang Zongzhou, who had more prestigious titles than the other three¹⁶, would be chiefs of each place.

Li Shangyi, however, killed himself in 1691 after being seized by the Qing because he had encouraged thousands of people to plunder. Since then, regular imperial officials were sent to Yangwuba as its governors (xunjian 巡檢). In other words, gaituguiliu was conducted in Yangwuba. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 11: 21, Daniels 2004: 109] It may be the first case of gaituguiliu as a response to Lukuishan's bandits¹⁷.

We can summarize how the Qing treated the Xinping and Xinhua areas at the end of the 17th century as follows. At first, in the 1680s, the Qing appointed powerful local people to military and civilian posts, but before long, in 1691, the Qing replaced one of them with a regular imperial official. In other words, gaituguiliu had already been conducted with a Lukuishan bandit in 1691. The removal of a native person who led people to plunder was the reason for this instance of gaituguiliu.

4 Gaituguiiu in Weiyuan and Zhenyuan

4-1 Gaituguiiu in Weiyuan

After the gaituguiiu in Yangwuba, there was an interval of about 30 years. In 1723 (Yongzhong 1), Pu Youcai 普有才 and Fang Jingming 方景明, who were also Lukuishan bandits (魯魁賊種)¹⁸, surrounded and attacked the city of Yuanjiang, where their enemy, Shi Heshang 施和尚 had fled to. The Qing's regular imperial officials who governed Yuanjiang gave up protecting Shi Heshang and drove Shi and his family out of the city. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 4-5, Daniels 2004: 109] After this event, Fang Jingming swore allegiance to the Qing, but Pu Youcai did not. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 5, 9]

In the next year, 1724 (Yongzhong 2), Pu Youcai plundered the Tea Hills of Sipsongpanna. The Qing tried to catch Pu Youcai, but the Tai ruler of Moeng Wo or Weiyuan 威遠¹⁹ (Map 3), who was given the title of Weiyuan Tu Zhizhou 威遠土知州, sheltered Pu Youcai and the Qing could not capture him. [Daniels 2004: 109, 112, Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 7] The Tai ruler of Moeng Wo sheltered Pu Youcai because they had established a fictitious father-son relationship. [Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 2: 499, Daniels 2004: 112]

The Qing replaced the Tai ruler of Moeng Wo with a regular imperial official because he had sheltered Pu Youcai [Daniels 2004: 106, 112]²⁰. This may be the first case of gaituguiiu outside of the Lukuishan.

Gaituguiiu was conducted when a native, non-Han ruler sheltered another native person who had attacked a city governed by the Qing. We can see that the removal of hiding places for native bandits who did not swear allegiance to the Qing was one of the justifications for gaituguiiu.

4-2 Gaituguiiu in Zhenyuan

Two years later, in the sixth month of 1726 (Yongzhong 4), the Qing also replaced the native ruler of Zhenyuan²¹ with a regular imperial official. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 19, Daoguang Pu'er Fu Zhi vol. 3: 15, Daniels 2004: 106] We cannot find any documents explaining the reason for this gaituguiiu. Before long, at the beginning of 1727, the native people of Zhenyuan attacked the city of Zhenyuan and killed the imperial officials there. This revolt was soon suppressed and the native government was not restored. [Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe 7: 453, 598-602, Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 24-26, Daniels 2004: 106]

This gaituguiiu might have been based on E'ertai's policy. E'ertai was appointed as the governor of Yunnan 雲南巡撫 and moved there in the second month of 1726. He was then appointed as the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou 雲貴總督 in the tenth month of 1726. E'ertai took responsibility for implementing gaituguiiu in Yunnan starting in 1726.²² Zhenyuan was closer to the 'inside' area than Weiyuan (Map 3). This situation might have made E'ertai think that Zhenyuan should be governed by regular imperial officials instead of native, non-Han leaders.

5 Qing's behaviour toward Sipsongpanna in the 1720s

5-1 Qing's trial of gaituguiliu in Moeng Ham

In the 1720s, increasing numbers of Han tea traders came to the Tea Hills of Sipsongpanna, which Pu Youcai had plundered in 1724 (Yongzhong 2) as mentioned above. By loaning money at high interest rates, the Han tea traders caused trouble with native people. In the fourth month of 1727 (Yongzhong 5), the native Woni (Hani) people killed 38 Han people in the Tea Hills. The Qing ordered the Tai ruler of Moeng Ham or Ganlanba 橄欖壩, Dao Zhengyan 刀正彦, to suppress the riot, but he instead chose to defend the Woni people and thus disobey the order. Dao Zhengyan was captured in the third month of 1728 (Yongzhong 6) and killed by the Qing. [Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 9: 286–288, Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 10: 174, Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 28–29, Daniels 2004: 104, 112–113]

Just before capturing Dao Zhengyan, E'ertai sent several letters to the Yongzhong Emperor explaining his ideas regarding the treatment of Sipsongpanna. In a letter written during the first month of 1728 (Yongzhong 6), E'ertai presented his plan that the area outside (west) of the Mekong River would be governed by Cheli Xuanweishi, as had been the way until then, and that on the inside (east) of the Mekong River, which included areas under the control of Dao Zhengyan, military camps should be established. [Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 9: 580–584] In the second month of 1728, E'ertai sent a letter again to say that both the outside and inside of the Mekong River belonged to Cheli. Then, a few months after capturing Dao Zhengyan, in the sixth month of 1728, E'ertai wrote in a letter to the emperor that the six panna on the inside of the Mekong River should be transferred to the control of imperial officials. [Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 10: 607] The six panna consisted of Simao 思茅 or Moeng Laa, Puteng 普藤 or Moeng Hing, Zhengdong 整薰 or Moeng Cheng Tawng, Moeng Wu 猛烏, the six big Tea Hills 六大茶山, and Ganlanba or Moeng Ham. [Daniels 2004: 103] (Map 4) These were all Tai principalities, except for the Tea Hills.

However, the execution of Dao Zhengyan made some people of Moeng Ham rebel. The Yi people of Yiwu 易武 also rebelled. In addition, people from Moeng Chae and Moeng Long prepared for rebellion. [Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 9: 286–288, Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 10: 174, Gongzhongdang Yongzhongchao Zouzhe vol. 11: 246–247, Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 28–29, 32–33, Daniels 2004: 104–105, 112–113] (see Map 4)

During the rebellions, most of the Tai people of Moeng Ham fled into Lang Sang or other outer areas. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 33, Daniels 2004: 105] The Tai inhabitants of Sipsongpanna were familiar with the areas located south of Sipsongpanna, which were also inhabited by Tai or Lao people who spoke the same or similar languages. Even if the Tai people of Moeng Ham left Sipsongpanna and fled into the southern area, they could live in a similar environment. However, for the Qing, the areas were beyond its control and this emigration meant a loss of population. The Qing had to implement an appeasement policy to bring the refugees back²³.

On the other hand, the Qing tried to send regular imperial officials to govern Moeng Ham as well as Youle 攸樂, which was a place in the Tea Hills. However, the trial ended in failure. E'ertai sent a letter to the emperor to report that they had tried to construct new cities there, but many

Qing replaced the native non-Han leaders of Pu'er Fu. Pu'er Fu might have been established as a town where Han migrants could live, and would be used as a relay point in the transportation of tea from Sipsongpanna to the north.

Almost at the same time, the Qing established Zongchadian 總茶店, which means general tea shop, at Simao to monopolize the tea trade. The tea farmers carried and sold all their tea to this official shop directly. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 35, Daniels 2004: 113–114] The Qing profited from this monopoly system and prevented conflicts between the native people of the Tea Hills and the Han tea traders, because the traders were not allowed to obtain tea from the Tea Hills themselves.²⁵

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, I will summarize the major points of this paper.

First, Lukuishan formed a kind of boundary that divided the 'inside' from the 'outside' of the Qing until the 1680s. In 1724, the Qing began to annex the 'outside' of Lukuishan: Weiyuan was annexed in 1724 and Zhenyuan in 1726.

Next, the Qing tried to annex the east bank of the Mekong River in Sipsongpanna. However, the Qing found this to be a difficult task. If the Qing placed the region under the control of regular imperial officials, most of the Tai people would flee to other Tai principalities adjacent to Sipsongpanna, which were beyond the Qing's control. In addition, even if the Qing dispatched officials and workers there, they would face the threat of deadly diseases such as malaria.

Finally, the Qing planned to profit from the tea cultivated in the Tea Hills of Sipsongpanna. The Qing also needed to prevent conflicts between the native people of the Tea Hills and the Han tea traders. Therefore, the Qing established Zongchadian at Simao to monopolize the tea trade and establish Pu'er Fu as a relay point in the transportation of tea from Sipsongpanna to the north.

Notes

- 1 Most of Sipsongpanna belongs to the present-day Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture of Day Nationality (西双版纳傣族自治州). It borders on Myanmar and Laos.
- 2 I have written Tai words from Sipsongpanna in a form as close as possible to the pronunciations of Tai in Sipsongpanna. For some words, spellings showing Thai pronunciation are added in parentheses when they first appear so that they can be related to Thai words used in previous studies. On the other hand, Tai place names outside Sipsongpanna are spelled showing Thai pronunciation.
- 3 The names of moeng were called 'Moeng' plus the proper name following that. If the proper name had more than one word or syllable, it was sometimes called only by the proper name without 'Moeng'. I also sometimes follow this system to indicate a moeng's name, such as Cheng Hung, Chiang Tung, and Chiang Khaeng.
- 4 When the one appointed as Cheli Xuannei Shi was forced by another having a claim to the throne to leave Moeng Cheng Hung, Cheli Xuanwei Si also moved to the place where the Cheli Xuannei Shi was.
- 5 Gai means to 'change' or 'transform', tu means 'native rulers', gui means 'in charge of', and liu or liuguan means 'imperial officials sent to the area that had belonged to native rulers before'. Thus, gaituguiiu means 'replacing native rulers with regular imperial officials'.
- 6 For example, Liu and Morinaga discuss this in context of gaituguiiu by E'ertai. [Liu 2001, Morinaga 2007]
- 7 Masuda's article is one of the examples. [Masuda 2011]
- 8 Daniels also argued that 'the Qing intervened in order to enforce Chinese style law and order on local society rather than territorial aggrandisement as some scholars have claimed'.
- 9 Cai Yurong wrote that Lukuishan ranged through the territories of Xin 新, Xi 嵴, Meng 蒙, Yuan 元, Jing 景, and Chu 楚. [Cai Yurong: 36] These names may refer to Xinping 新平 and Xinhua 新化, Xi'e 嵴峨, Menghoa 蒙化,

- Yuanjiang 元江, Jingdong 景東, and Chuxiong 楚雄.
- 10 Menggen, which means Kengtung or Chiang Tung, is now located in the Shan State of Myanmar.
 - 11 Shoubei was one of the titles given to a military officer.
 - 12 Zhongshun Ying Fujiang refers to the vice commander of the Zhongshun encampment.
 - 13 After being appointed to Shoubei, he changed his name to Yang Zongzhou.
 - 14 They were Yi people. [Daniels 2004: 110]
 - 15 Liang Xin 兩新 could mean Xinping and Xinhua.
 - 16 Fujiang is higher in rank than dusi and xiancheng is higher in rank than xunjian.
 - 17 The area was not outside of Lukuishan, as Cai Yurong had stated.
 - 18 When they were formulating a plot against Shi Heshang, they stayed in Yangwuba, where Li Shangyi had governed until 1691 and regular imperial officials were sent as governors. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 5]
 - 19 Moeng Wo was called Weiyuan in Chinese.
 - 20 The Qing placed Weiyuan Zhiliting 威遠直隸庁 there. Zhili means 'directly controlled'.
 - 21 He was given the title of Zhenyuan Tu Zhifu 鎮沅土知府.
 - 22 E'ertai was in Yunnan until the tenth month of 1731.
 - 23 In 1729 (Yongzhong 7), the Qing recovered the honor of Tao Jinbao 刀金寶, the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna or Cheli Xuanwei Shi, and declared that he was not to blame for the rebellion. [Dianyunlinianchuan vol. 12: 33, Daniels 2004: 105]
 - 24 We can find this in the records of 1729 in *Dianyunlinianchuan*. [Dianyunlinianchuan 12: 34]
 - 25 This tea monopoly continued until the end of the Yongzhong Period.

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