
Yúnnán in the ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jìn*’

An Annotated Translation of Part of the 《汉晋春秋》

LUDWIG M BRINCKMANN

2023

The Yúnnán Papers

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

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

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

<https://www.yunnanexplorer.com/translations/>

This document was compiled on 18th October 2023.

The latest version of this document is available at
<https://yunnanexplorer.com/download/nanzhao/hanjinchunqiu.pdf>

© 2021–2023 Ludwig M Brinckmann

All rights reserved.

This work is licensed under a Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) and may be only be distributed in unmodified form and with this copyright notice included, see <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.



This document is work in progress, this copy was compiled on 18th October 2023.

The latest version of this document is available at
<https://yunnanexplorer.com/download/nanzhao/hanjinchunqiu.pdf>

Because of the many links provided, this document works best as an electronic copy.

To contact the copyright holder for any queries or comments, please write to:
ludwigbrinckmann@gmail.com.

Contents

| | | |
|---|----------------------------------|----|
| 1 | Introduction | 5 |
| 2 | About this Translation | 5 |
| 3 | Annotated Translation | 5 |
| | 第二卷 后主 The Latter Lord | 5 |
| 4 | Glossary | 7 |
| 5 | References | 9 |
| | Index | 10 |

1 Introduction

The ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jin*’ 《汉晋春秋》 was an alternate history work by the eastern Jin 东晋 historian Xí Záochǐ 习凿齿, †384, covering the period of the Hàn dynasty 汉朝 and Jin dynasty 晋朝. The text consisted originally of many volumes, but most of it was lost during the Sòng dynasty 宋朝. During the Qīng dynasty 清朝, Tāng Qiú 汤球 collected the extant fragments into three *juàn*.

The part of the ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jin*’ 《汉晋春秋》 translated here contains one of the earliest references⁽¹⁾ to Mènghuò 孟获, the tribal leader in Yúnnán against whom the prime minister of state of Shǔ 蜀国 Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 fought a military campaign in 225 CE. The story of Mènghuò being captured and released seven times before he finally submitted was later dramatised in the ‘*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*’ 《三国演义》 and appears in various forms in many ethnic folk tales.⁽²⁾ This text thus seems to confirm Mènghuò as a historical figure, even though the events narrated here might already be folklore.⁽³⁾

2 About this Translation

The source text of the 《汉晋春秋》 for this translation has been taken from <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=665690>.

I am not aware of any English translation of the text.

3 Annotated Translation

第二卷 后主 The Latter Lord

The first passage in the biography of Latter Lord 后主, i.e. Liú Shàn 刘禅, the second ruler of the Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, notes the inauspicious proclamation of a new reign period immediately after the death of the first ruler.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 先主卒，刘禅即位。未葬，亦未逾月而改元为建兴，此言之不从也。 | After the First Lord passed away , Liú Shàn ascended the throne. Before the burial, when not even a month had passed, the Jiànxīng |
|--------------------------------|---|

r1: First Lord passed away] i.e. Liú Bèi 刘备, the founder of the MS 蜀汉 MS dynasty, *161–†223.

r1: Liú Shàn] he is also referred to as the Latter Lord 后主.

r2–3: Jiànxīng reign era] the first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237.

⁽¹⁾ The earliest mention appears to be in the ‘*Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá*’ 《华阳国志》, compiled a few decades earlier between 348 and 354 CE by the Jin dynasty 晋朝 historian Cháng Qú 常璩.

⁽²⁾ see Peng (2011).

⁽³⁾ This also seems the opinion of Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1980), p. 43, which dismisses the story of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 capturing and releasing Mènghuò seven times as ‘against human nature’. Lǐ Fúqīng 李福清 and Bái Sihóng 白嗣宏 (1992) takes the narrative form of the text in the ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jin*’ as indicator that it is based on a folk story. Lǐ Fúqīng 李福清 is the Chinese name of the Russian sinologist Boris Riftin who extensively researched the folklore associated with the Three Kingdoms 三国.

汉晋春秋 5 习凿齿曰：「礼，国君即位逾年而后改元者，缘臣子之心不忍一年而有二君也。今可谓亟而不知礼矣！君子是以知蜀之不能东迁也。」

reign era was begun. This proclamation was not according [to customs].

Xí Záochǐ notes: 'For propriety, a ruler of a state may begin a new reign only one year after he ascended the throne as an official's conscience cannot tolerate two rulers in one year. This can be called hasty without respecting propriety! The nobleman thus knows that Shǔ cannot move east.'

The second passage is the earliest extant mention of Mènghuò 孟获, a native leader in Nánzhōng 南中, i.e. the area south of Shǔ. It notes that Zhūgé Liàng captures him seven times only to set him free again until he voluntarily submits to his rule. This appears to be the earliest mention of the phrase *qīzòng qīqín* 七纵七擒 that came to define Zhūgé Liàng's strategy to use forbearance to win over his enemies.

汉晋春秋 10 建兴三年，亮在南中，所在战捷。闻孟获者，为夷、汉并所服，募生致之。

In the 3rd year of Jiànxīng, Liàng was in Nánzhōng, fighting victorious battles. When he heard that Mènghuò was admired by both the Yǐ and the Hàn, he recruited men to capture him alive.

既得，使观于营阵之间，问曰：「此军何如？」

After he was captured, he was brought to inspect the military formations and was asked: 'What do you think about my army?'

汉晋春秋 15 获对曰：「向者不知虚实，故败。今蒙赐观看营陈，若只如此，既定易胜耳。」

Huò answered: 'In the past I did not know the facts, so I was defeated. But today my unworthiness was granted view of the military formations. I now understand how it is. Certainly victory will be easy.'

汉晋春秋 20 亮笑，纵使更战，七纵七擒，而亮犹遣获。

Liàng laughed, set him free for another battle, he captured and released him seven times with Liàng, always setting Huò free again.

获止不去，曰：「公，天威也，南人不复反矣。」

When Huò could not go on any more he said: 'Your honour has the might of heaven, the people in the south will not rebel again.'

Continuing, Zhūgé Liàng explains his reasoning for using native rulers to administer the lands south of Shǔ, which established a long practice of 'Use barbarians to rule barbarians' 以夷制夷.

遂至滇池。南中平，皆即其渠率而用之。

Then he went to Diānchí. Nánzhōng was pacified and all its leaders were retained.

汉晋春秋 25 或以谏亮，亮曰：「若留外人，则当留兵，兵留则无所食，一不易也；加夷新伤破，父兄死丧，留外人而无兵者，必成祸患，二不易也；又吏累

Some admonished Liàng, Liàng said: 'If we station men from outside, then we need to station soldiers, but the stationed soldiers will have nothing to eat, this is not feasible. If we are causing the Yǐ new injury and defeat, death and burial of fathers and sons, station-

r3-4: This proclamation was not according [to customs]] As Xí Záochǐ 习凿齿 explains in the passage immediately below, the proclamation of a new reign period violated etiquette laid down in the classic scriptures and was thus inauspicious.

r9: that Shǔ cannot move east] I think this is to imply because of this lack of propriety the state of Shǔ 蜀国 had no chance of becoming the ruling state of all of China.

r10: In the 3rd year of Jiànxīng] 225 CE.

r10: Liàng] i.e. Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, the prime minister of the state of Shǔ 蜀国.

r10: Nánzhōng] contemporary reference to the regions south of the state of Shǔ.

有废杀之罪，自嫌衅重，若留外人，终不相信，三不易也；今吾欲使不留兵，不运粮，而纲纪粗定，夷汉粗安，故耳。

ing men from outside but no soldiers will for sure cause calamity, so this is also not feasible. The officials are already burdened by the killing and maiming of their ancestors, and they harbour significant distrust, if we leave men from outside they will never be trusted, so this is also not feasible. Now I desire to rule without stationing soldiers and without bringing provisions. So for law and order to be roughly established, the *Yí* and the *Hàn* must be roughly at peace. That is the reason.'

汉晋春秋 30

汉晋春秋 35

4 Glossary

- Cháng Qú** 常璩: Chinese historian, compiled the 《华阳国志》 – see page 5
- Chéngxiāng** 丞相: prime minister, also translated as ‘counselor-in-chief’: ‘A title of great significance in Chinese history, normally indicating the most esteemed and influential member(s) of the officialdom, who was leader of and spokesman for the officialdom vis-a-vis the ruler and at the same time the principal agent for implementing the ruler’s wishes in all spheres, civil and military’, see Hucker (1985), 483 – see pages 5–7
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 6, 7
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 7
- Dōngjìn** 东晋: eastern Jìn, Chinese dynasty, 266–420 – see page 5, 7
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xīěrhé 西洱河 – see page 7
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: today a province in south-west China –
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see page 5, 7
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China – see page 6, 7
- Hànjìnchūnqiū** 《汉晋春秋》: ‘Annals of the Hàn and Jìn’, work by Xí Záo 习凿齿 – see page 5, 7
- Hòuzhǔ** 后主: Latter Lord, moniker for Liúchán – see page 5, 7, see 刘禅
- Huáyáng Guó Zhì** 《华阳国志》: ‘Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá’, – see page 5, 7
- Jiànxīng** 建兴: first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237 – see page 5, 6, see 刘禅
- Jìn** 晋: Chinese dynasty –
- Jìn Cháo** 晋朝: Jìn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 266–420 – see page 5, 7
- Kūnmíng Shì** 昆明市: Kūnmíng City, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 7, see 拓东
- Liú Bèi** 刘备: founder of the Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 dynasty, 161–223 – see page 5

- Liú Shàn** 刘禅: second ruler of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 207–271 – see page 5
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest –
- Mèng huò** 孟获: tribal leader during the Sānguó 三国 period – see page 5, 6
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see page 8
- Nánzhōng** 南中: ‘most common name for the southwest region (Yunnan, Guizhou, and southern Sichuan) prior to the Tang dynasty’, Herman (2009) – see page 6
- qīzòng qīqín** 七纵七擒: ‘seven times captured, seven times released’, a phrase from the 《汉晋春秋》 describing Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s actions against the rebel Mèng huò 孟获 – see page 6, 8
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see page 5, 8
- Sānguó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 5, 8
- Sānguó Yǎnyì** 《三国演义》: ‘Romance of the Three Kingdoms’, famous Míng dynasty novel – see page 5, 8
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see page 6
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sānguó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see pages 5, 6, 8
- Shǔ Hàn** 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sānguó 三国 period, 221–263 – see page 5, 8
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province –
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see page 5, 8
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see page 8
- Tāng Qiú** 湯球: Qīng dynasty historian, compiled the 《汉晋春秋》 – see page 5
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- Xí Zāochǐ** 习凿齿: author of the 《汉晋春秋》 – see page 5, 6
- Xiān Zhǔ** 先主: First Lord, often a reference to Liú Bèi 刘备 – see page 5, 8
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see page 6, 7, see 蛮
- Yǐyízhìyí** 以夷制夷: ‘Use barbarians to rule barbarians’, practice of employing native rulers to rule non-Chinese people, established by Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 6, 8
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiānnán district – see page 5
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 8
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see page 5, 6

5 References

- Crespigny, Rafe de (2007). *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23-220 AD)*. Leiden: Brill (cit. on p. 8).
- Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1980). 《诸葛亮南征的路线考说》. In: 思想战线 2, pp. 44–50 (cit. on p. 5).
- Herman, John E. (2009). 'The Kingdoms of Nanzhong China's Southwest Border Region Prior to the Eighth Century'. In: *T'oung Pao* 9.4 (cit. on p. 8).
- Hucker, Charles (1985). *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (cit. on p. 7).
- Lǐ Fúqīng 李福清 and Bái Sìhóng 白嗣宏 (1992). 《汉族及西南少数民族传说中的诸葛亮南征》. In: 民族文学研究 2, pp. 85–94 (cit. on p. 5).
- Peng, Wenbin (2011). 'Ethnic Memory and Space: Legends of Zhuge Liang in Southwest China'. In: *Inner Asia* 13.1, pp. 141–159 (cit. on p. 5).

Index

225 年, 5, 6-10*n*

348 年, 5

354 年, 5

Cháng Qú 常璩, 5

Chéngxiāng 丞相, 5, 6-10*n*

Diānchí 滇池, 6-23R

Dōngjìn 东晋, 5

Hàn 汉, 6-12R, 7-35R

Hàn Cháo 汉朝, 5

Hànjìnchūnqiū 汉晋春秋, 5

Hòuzhǔ 后主, 5, 5-1*n*

Huáyáng Guó Zhì 华阳国志, 5

Jiànxīng 建兴, 5-2R, 6-10R

Jìn Cháo 晋朝, 5

Liú Bèi 刘备, 5-1*n*

Liú Shàn 刘禅, 5, 5-1R

Mèngguò 孟获, 5, 6-9, 6-11R, 6-15R, 6-20R,
6-21R

Nánzhōng 南中, 6-9, 6-10R, 6-23R

Qīzòng Qīqín 七纵七擒, 6-9

Qīng Cháo 清朝, 5

Sānguó 三国, 5

Sānguóyǎnyì 三国演义, 5

Shǔ 蜀, 6-9R, 6-9, 6-22

Shǔ Guó 蜀国, 5, 6-9*n*, 6-10*n*, 6-10*n*

Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 5

Sòng Cháo 宋朝, 5

Tāng Qiú 汤球, 5

Xí Záochǐ 刁凿齿, 5, 6-3-6-4*n*, 6-5R

Xiān Zhǔ 先主, 5-1R

Yí 夷, 6-12R, 6-27R, 7-35R

Yǐyízhìyí 以夷制夷, 6-22

Yúnnán 云南, 5

Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, 5, 6-9, 6-9, 6-10R, 6-10*n*,
6-19R, 6-20R, 6-22, 6-25R, 6-25R