
Yúnnán in the *'History of the Hàn Dynasty'*

A New Annotated Translation of Selected Parts of the 《汉书》

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/hanshu.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/hanshu.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
	第六卷 Records of Hàn Emperor Wǔ 《武帝纪》	5
	第六卷 Records of Hàn Emperor Zhāo 《武昭纪》	7
	第十卷 Records of Hàn Emperor Chéng 《武成纪》	7
	第二十四卷 Treatise on Food and Commodities 《食货志》	8
	第二十八卷 Treatise on Geography 《地理志》	9
	第九十五卷 Records of the Southern and Western Yí, the Yuè and Cháoxiǎn 《西南夷两粤朝鲜传》	11
4	Glossary	20
5	References	27
	Index	29

1 Introduction

In his introduction to his translation of parts of the *'History of the Hàn Dynasty'* 《汉书》, the eminent translator of ancient Chinese texts Watson writes:

The Han Shu or History of the Former Han by Pan Ku (A.D. 32–92), which deals with the period from 206 B.C. to A.D. 23, is one of the most renowned and influential of all Chinese historical works. Admired for the rich detail of its narrative and the purity and economy of its style, it served as a model for the official histories that were compiled in later centuries to cover all the dynasties of Chinese imperial history. (Watson (1974))

The 《汉书》 is the historic continuation of Sīmǎ Qiān 司马迁's *'Records of the Historian'* 《史记》, which was completed around 94 BCE. For the early history of China's south-west, Bān Gù 班固 copied the text of the earlier *'Records of the Historian'* 《史记》 almost verbatim, turning it into the first part of the 95th *juàn*. However, other sections contain scattered references to the lands and the people in what is now Yúnnán, enhancing our understanding of the Chinese periphery during the Hàn dynasty.

2 About this Translation

The text of the 95th *juàn* titled *'Records of the Southern and Western Yì, the Yuè and Cháoxiǎn'* 《西南夷两粤朝鲜传》 is, for the early history, an almost verbatim copy of the text in the *'Records of the Historian'* 《史记》. For this part I have chosen to compare the texts and to highlight those fragments where differences exist.

At least two previous English translations of this part have been published. The first by Alexander Wylie in 1880,⁽¹⁾ the second by Alex Amies more than a century later.⁽²⁾ However, for this part two translations of the 《史记》 must also be mentioned, namely by Burton Watson⁽³⁾ and in Nienhauser (2010). A translation into French, with copious annotations, can be found in Chavannes (1895).

The multi-volume collection of historic material about Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》 provides, in addition to the text of the 95th *juàn*, selected parts of the 《汉书》. Of these, those parts with most significance for Yúnnán have been selected for translation here. I am not aware of any translation of these parts.

The full text of the 《汉书》 is available online at <https://ctext.org/han-shu>.

3 Annotated Translation

第六卷 Records of Hàn Emperor Wǔ 《武帝纪》

This *juàn* covers the reign of Hàn emperor Wǔ 汉武帝 (ruled 140–87 BC), who initiated the Chinese conquest of the south-west. The earliest records of the period show the difficulties of this undertaking, which yielded only modest results.

⁽¹⁾ Wylie (1880).

⁽²⁾ Amies (2020).

⁽³⁾ Watson (1961).

	元光 ... 五年 ... 夏，发巴蜀治南夷道。	In summer of the 5th year of Yuánguāng, [troops] were sent to Bā and Shǔ to administer the road to the southern Yí.

	元朔 ... 三年 ... 秋，罢西南夷	In autumn of the 3rd year of Yuánshuò, [the undertaking against] the western and southern Yí was abandoned.

汉书 5	元狩 ... 三年 ... 秋 ... 发谪吏穿昆明池。	In autumn of the 3rd year of Yuánshòu, a demoted official was sent out to push through to Kūnmíng lake.

The following describes events in Nányuè, they are told in much more detail in the 113th *juàn* of the 《史记》.⁽⁴⁾

	元鼎 ... 五年 ... 夏四月，南越王相吕嘉反，杀汉使者及其王、王太后。	In summer, in the 4th month of the 5th year of Yuándǐng, the prime minister of the king of the southern Yuè, Lǚ Jiā, rebelled and killed the Hàn envoy, his king and the empress.

汉书 10	秋 ... 遣 ... 越驰义侯遗别将巴蜀罪人，发夜郎兵，下牂柯江，咸会番禺。	In autumn, Yuè's marquis of Chíyì Hé Yí led Bā and Shǔ troops made up from convicts and mobilised soldiers from Yèláng, to go down the Zāngkē river to meet up at Pānyú.
	[...]	[...]
汉书 15	六年 ... 春 ... 驰义侯遗兵未及下，上便令征西南夷，平之。	In spring of the 6th year, when marquis of Chíyì Hé Yí's troops had not yet descended the river, the emperor ordered a campaign against the western and southern Yí and pacified them.
	遂 ... 定西南夷，以为武都、牂柯、越巂、沈黎、文山郡。	Then the western and southern Yí were subdued and the prefectures Wǔ Dū, Zāngkē, Yuèxī, Shěnlí, and Wénshān were set up.

汉书 20	元封 ... 二年 ... 秋 ... 遣将军郭昌、中郎将卫广发巴蜀兵平西南夷未服者，以为益州郡。	In autumn of the 2nd year of Yuánfēng, the general Guō Chāng and the commandant Wèi Guǎng sent out troops to Bā and Shǔ to pacify those western and southern Yí who had not yet submitted and set up Yìzhōu prefecture.

	六年 ... 三月 ... 益州、昆明反，赦京师亡命令从军，遣拔胡将军郭昌将以击	In the 3rd month of the 6th year, Yìzhōu and Kūnmíng rebelled, they made an amnesty for those condemned to death and ordered them

r1: In summer of the 5th year of Yuánguāng] 129 BCE.

r3: In autumn of the 3rd year of Yuánshuò] 125 BCE.

r5: In autumn of the 3rd year of Yuánshòu] 120 BCE.

r6: Kūnmíng lake] this is likely to be present-day Lake Dian 滇池, but it could also be a reference to lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 as geographical knowledge was very limited.

r7: In summer, in the 4th month of the 5th year of Yuándǐng] 112 BCE.

r10: In autumn] 112 BCE.

r14: In spring of the 6th year] 111 BCE.

r19: In autumn of the 2nd year of Yuánfēng] 109 BCE.

r23: In the 3rd month of the 6th year] 105 BCE.

⁽⁴⁾ For a translation of those parts, see Nienhauser (2016), pp. 16–19.

之。 | to join the army, and sent out the *báhu* general Guō Chāng to lead troops to attack them. 汉书 25

第六卷 *Records of Hàn Emperor Zhāo* 《武昭纪》

This *juàn* covers the reign of Hàn emperor Zhāo 汉昭帝 (ruled 86–74 BC).

始元元年 ... 夏, ... 益州廉头、姑缯、牂柯谈指、同并二十四邑皆反。遣水衡都尉吕破胡募吏民及发犍为、蜀郡奔命击益州, 大破之。 | In summer of the 1st year of Shǐyuán, Yìzhōu's Liántóu, Gūzēng and Zāngkē's Tánzhǐ, all together twenty-four fiefdoms revolted. The Shuǐhéng commandant Lǚ Pòhú was sent to recruit men and send them to Jiānwèi, Shǔ prefecture rushed to attack Yìzhōu, defeating it decisively. 汉书 30

... | ...
四年 ... 冬, 遣大鸿胪田广明击益州。 | In winter of the 4th year, the senior ceremonial minister Tián Guǎngmíng attacked Yìzhōu.

... | ...
五年 ... 秋, 大鸿胪广明、军正王平击益州, 斩首捕虏三万余人, 获畜产五万馀头。 | In autumn of the 5th year, the senior ceremonial minister Guǎngmíng, military judge Wáng Píng attacked Yìzhōu, executed their leaders and captured more than thirty-thousand men, and seized more than fifty thousand heads of cattle. 汉书 35

... | ...
六年 ... 秋七月, ... 诏曰: “钩町侯毋波率其君长人民击反者, 斩首捕虏有功。其立毋波为钩町王。大鸿胪广明将率有功, 赐爵关内侯, 食邑。” | In autumn, in the 7th month of the 6th year, an edict was issued, which read: “The marquis of Gōutǐng Wúbō led his ruler and the people to attack the rebels, and succeeded in beheading their leaders and making captives, so Wúbō was made king of Gōutǐng. The senior ceremonial minister Guǎngmíng was successful leading the troops and so was bestowed the title marquis “within the passes” and granted a fiefdom.’ 汉书 40

... | ...
元凤 ... 五年 ... 秋, 罢象郡, 分属郁林、牂柯。 | In autumn of the 5th year of Yuánfèng, Xiàngjùn was abandoned, divided and subordinated to Yùlín and Zāngkē. 汉书 45

第十卷 *Records of Hàn Emperor Chéng* 《武成纪》

During the reign of Hàn emperor Chéng 汉成帝, ruled 32–7 BC, only two natural disasters are recorded for the south-western regions, implying that no military campaigns were fought.

建始 ... 三年 ... 冬十二月 ... 越嶲山崩。 | In winter, in the 12th month of the 3rd year of Jiànshǐ, a landslide

r 27: In summer of the 1st year of Shǐyuán] 86 BCE.

r 32: In winter of the 4th year] 83 BCE.

r 34: In autumn of the 5th year] 82 BCE.

r 38: In autumn, in the 7th month of the 6th year] 81 BCE.

r 45: In autumn of the 5th year of Yuánfèng] 76 BCE.

r 47: In winter, in the 12th month of the 3rd year of Jiànshǐ] 30 BCE.

<p>...</p> <p>汉书 50 河平 ... 三年春二月丙戌，犍为地震山崩，雍江水，水逆流。</p>	<p>happened in Yuèxī.</p> <p>...</p> <p>In spring, on the <i>bǐngxū</i> day in the 2nd month of the 3rd year of Héping, in Jiānwèi a landslide happened after an earthquake, blocking the river's waters, the water flowed upstream.</p>
--	--

第二十四卷 Treatise on Food and Commodities 《食貨志》

This section contains information on the events during the short-lived reign of Wáng Mǎng 王莽 of the Xīn dynasty 新朝: while the earlier Hàn dynasty emperors had granted the Xiōngnú 匈奴 a seal bestowing a position similar to the emperor, Wáng Mǎng 王莽 replaced the seal with one indicating a vassal position, angering the Xiōngnú 匈奴.

<p>宣帝始赐单于印玺，与天子同，而西南夷钩町称王。莽乃遣使易单于印，贬钩町王为侯。二方始怨，侵犯边境。</p> <p>...</p> <p>武帝因文、景之畜，忿胡、粤之害，即位数年，严助、朱买臣等招徕东瓯，事两粤，江淮之间萧然烦费矣。</p> <p>唐蒙、司马相如始开西南夷，凿山通道千馀里，以广巴蜀，巴蜀之民罢焉。</p> <p>...</p> <p>时又通西南夷道，作者数万人，千里负担馈饷，率十馀钟致一石，散币于邛樊以辑之。数岁而道不通，蛮夷因以数攻吏，吏发兵诛之。悉巴蜀租赋不足以更之，乃募豪民田南夷，入粟县官，而内受钱于都内。</p> <p>汉书 70</p>	<p>Hàn emperor Xuān had earlier bestowed the Chányú an imperial seal, similar to the son of heaven, and western and southern Yí's Gōutǐng was named king. Wáng Mǎng then dispatched an envoy to replace Chányú's seal, demoted king Gōutǐng to marquis. Both sides became angry, and invaded the borderland.</p> <p>...</p> <p>Hàn emperor Wǔ, based on the reserves from the Wén and Jǐng periods, begrudged the harm done by the Hú and the Yuè. When he had been on the throne for several years, Yán Zhù and Zhū Mǎichén then recruited the Dōnggōu to deal with the two Yuè, between the Yangzi and Huai rivers the land was desolate, causing trouble and expense. Táng Méng and Sīmǎ Xiāngrú began to open the western and southern Yí, building roads through the mountains for more than one thousand <i>lǐ</i>, to expand Bā and Shǔ, the people of Bā and Shǔ were exhausted.</p> <p>...</p> <p>At the time the road to the western and southern Yí was also being constructed, several ten thousand men were employed, carrying the burden of food supplies over a thousand <i>lǐ</i>, of ten <i>zhōng</i> just one <i>dàn</i> arrived, gifts were given to the Bó of Qióng to placate them. After several years, the road was still not completed, the Mányí took advantage of it to attack the officials many times, troops were sent out</p>
--	---

r 49–50: In spring, on the *bǐngxū* day in the 2nd month of the 3rd year of Héping] 26 BCE.

r 57: reserves] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998b), p. 39 notes that this should be read as 蓄.

r 57–58: the Wén and Jǐng periods] The two emperors Hàn emperor Wén 汉文帝 and Hàn Jǐngdì who preceded Hàn emperor Wǔ 汉武帝.

r 64–65: were exhausted] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998b), p. 39.

r 68: of ten *zhōng* just one *dàn*] A *zhōng* 钟 is a rare measurement equal to sixty-four *dǒu* 斗, one *dàn* 石 is equal to ten *dǒu* 斗, so this would be about one to two percent, see Chavannes (1895), p. 551. Needham (1971), p. 25 notes about the losses: 'The information that only 2% of the supplies reached their their destination is interesting, but may not mean that all the loss was due to corruption *en route*, for the carriers and road guards had themselves to be supplied.' – For this translation, see also Swann (1950) and Chavannes (1895), vol. 3, p. 549.

<p>...</p> <p>于是除千夫、五大夫为吏，不欲者出马；故吏皆适令伐棘上林，作昆明池。</p> <p>...</p> <p>是时粤欲与汉用船战逐，乃大修昆明池，列馆环之。治楼船，高十馀丈</p> <p>...</p> <p>汉连出兵三岁，诛羌，灭两粤，番禺以西至蜀南者置初郡十七，且以其故俗治，无赋税。</p> <p>...</p> <p>而初郡又时时小反，杀吏，汉发南方吏卒往诛之，间岁万余人，费皆仰大农。大农以均输调盐铁助赋，故能澹之。然兵所过县，县以为警给毋乏而已，不敢言轻赋法矣。</p>	<p>to punish them. Since all of the taxes and levies in Bā and Shǔ were not sufficient to pay for this, they recruited noblemen for the fields of the southern Yì, who provided millet for the county officials and received money to spend in the interior.</p> <p>...</p> <p>At that time the Qiānfū and Wǔdàfū were appointed as envoys, they were unwilling to sell their horse, so the officials were all ordered to go into the mountains and cut the forest to construct Kūnmíng lake.</p> <p>...</p> <p>At the time the Yuè wanted to fight war with the Hàn using boats, so Kūnmíng lake was enlarged, with a number of buildings around it. They constructed multi-storied boats, more than ten <i>zhàng</i> high.</p> <p>...</p> <p>The Hàn sent out troops for three consecutive years, punished the Qiāng and eliminated the two Yuè, and from Pānyú west to the south of Shǔ set up seventeen prefectures, administering them according to the old customs, without taxes nor levies.</p> <p>...</p> <p>At first, from time to time there were repeated small rebellions in the new prefecture, killing the envoys, the Hàn sent troops from the south to punish them, more than ten thousand men over the course of a year, relying on big landlords for the expenses. The big landlords were taxed on the base of the tribute equalisation and the administration of salt and iron, so it was possible to sustain it. Later, when the soldiers passed through counties, the counties simply did not lack resources for support, and did not dare to argue for a reduction in the tax regulations.</p>	<p>汉书 75</p> <p>汉书 80</p> <p>汉书 85</p> <p>汉书 90</p>
--	---	---

Then follows an interesting passage on a dual silver currency system apparently in place, with Shūshí silver, i.e. a type of silver from the Shūshí region, considered more valuable than other silver. So, at this time the precious metal resources of present-day north-eastern Yúnnán had not only been discovered, but were being exploited.

<p>朱提银重八两为一流，直一千五百八十。它银一流直千。是为银货二品。</p>	<p>Shūshí silver is considered eight <i>liǎng</i> equal one <i>liú</i>, its price is one thousand five hundred and eighty. The price of other silver is one thousand for one <i>liú</i>, so there are two types of silver money.</p>	<p>汉书 95</p>
---	--	--------------

第二十八卷 *Treatise on Geography* 《地理志》

The treatise on geography gives some information about the knowledge of the Hàn court about the lands then south-west of China.

Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998b), pp. 48–49 contains a number of notes on this section.

r95: Shūshí silver | Zhūtíyín 朱提银

In a list of administrative regions, the section on geography covers Yìzhōu 益州.

益州郡，户八万一千九百四十六，口五十八万四百六十三。	In Yìzhōu are eighty-one thousand nine hundred and forty-six households, with five hundred eighty thousand four hundred and sixty-three inhabitants.
----------------------------	--

Francis Allard comments on the above section:

The administrative reorganization and the recording of precise population numbers in the census, both of whose success depended on the participation of the native leadership, suggest an interest in taxing the native population, who were required to pay their taxes in grain, salt, or a range of other products, depending on the natural resources available in each person's respective region. (Allard (2006), p. 246)

县二十四：滇池，双柏，同劳，铜 濞，连然，俞元，收靡，谷昌，秦 臧，邪龙，味，昆泽，叶榆，律高， 不韦，云南，嵩唐，弄栋，比苏，贲 古，毋掇，胜休，健伶，来唯。	There are twenty-four counties: Diānchí, Shuāngbǎi, Tóngláo, Tónglài, Liánrán, Yúyuán, Shōumǐ, Gǔchāng, Qínzāng, Xiélóng, Wèi, Kūnzé, Yèyú, Lùgāo, Bùwéi, Yúnnán, Xītáng, Nòngdòng, Bìsū, Bìgǔ, Wúzhúo, Shèngxiū, Jiànlíng, Láiwéi.
--	---

汉书 105

The lands of Qín, i.e. the lands of the dynasty preceding the Hàn dynasty, are introduced through their correspondence with celestial phenomena under the concept of *Fēnyě* 分野, a term generally translated as 'field allocation'.

秦地，于天官东井、舆鬼之分野也。	The lands of Qín are under the <i>Fēnyě</i> of Dōngjǐng and Yúguǐ of the heavenly officers.
------------------	---

Then the ancient borders are mapped out.

其界自弘农故关以西，京兆、扶风、冯	Its borders: since the magnificent Hóngnóng there are gates in the
-------------------	--

r101: Diānchí] present-day Kūnmíng City 昆明市 region.

r101: Shuāngbǎi] present-day Chǔxióng 楚雄 region.

r101: Tóngláo] unknown location.

r102: Tónglài] on the border to present-day Guìzhōu.

r102: Liánrán] present-day Ānníng Shì 安宁市 region.

r102: Yúyuán] Yúyuán 俞元.

r103: Yèyú] present-day Xìzhōu.

r103: Bùwéi] present-day Bǎoshān.

r103: Yúnnán] present-day Yúnnányì 云南驿.

r103: Xītáng] in southern Sìchuān.

r103: Nòngdòng] present-day Yáoān 姚安 region.

r103: Bìsū] one of the counties of Yǒngchāng 永昌.

r104: Jiànlíng] present-day Jìnníng 晋宁.

r106: Dōngjǐng and Yúguǐ] both Dōngjǐng 东井 and Yúguǐ 舆鬼 are constellations.

<p>翊、北地、上郡、西河、安定、天水、陇西，南有巴、蜀、广汉、犍为、武都，西有金城、武威、张掖、酒泉、敦煌，又西南有牂柯、越巂、益州，皆宜属焉。</p>	<p>west in Jīngzhào, Fúfēng, Féngyì, Běidì, Shàngjùn, Xīhé, Āndìng, Tiānshuǐ, Lǒngxī; in the south are Bā, Shǔ, Guǎnghàn, Jiānwèi, Wǔ Dū, in the west are Jīnchéng, Wúwēi, Zhāngyè, Jiǔquán, Dūnhuáng, further in the south-west are Zāngkē, Yuèxī, and Yìzhōu, they are all suitable for subordination.</p>	<p>汉书 110</p>
<p>巴、蜀、广汉本南夷，秦并以为郡，土地肥美，有江水沃野，山林竹木疏食果实之饶。</p>	<p>In Bā, Shǔ and Guǎnghàn orginially are the southern Yí, during the Qín they were incorporated as prefectures, their soil is fertile, there are rivers and water, the fertile lands, the mountain forests, and bamboo groves provide ample food and fruit.</p>	<p>汉书 115</p>
<p>南贾滇、犍僮，西近邛、笮马旄牛。</p>	<p>In the south they trade Diān and Bó slaves, in the west near Qióng, they export horses and raise cattle.</p>	<p>汉书 120</p>
<p>民食稻鱼，亡凶年忧，俗不愁苦，而轻易淫泆，柔弱褊厄。</p>	<p>The people eat rice and fish, don't worry about famine, their customs are unhurried, so they are easygoing, licentious, feeble and narrow-minded.</p>	<p>汉书 120</p>
<p>景、武间，文翁为蜀守，教民读书法令，未能笃信道德，反以好文刺讥，贵慕权势。</p>	<p>During the time of Hàn emperor Jǐng and Hàn emperor Wǔ, Wén Wēng guarded Shǔ, he taught the people to read books and follow the law, but was unable to make them believe in virtue, contrary, they liked to disregard Wén, their noblemen craved power.</p>	<p>汉书 125</p>
<p>武都地杂氐、羌，及犍为、牂柯、越巂，皆西南外夷，武帝初开置。</p>	<p>In the lands of the Wǔ area command are various clans and Qiāng, and south-west of Jiānwèi, Zāngkē, and Yuèxī are Yí, they were established at the beginning of Hàn emperor Wǔ.</p>	<p>汉书 130</p>
<p>民俗略与巴、蜀同，而武都近天水，俗颇似焉。👁️</p>	<p>The customs are largely the same as in Bā and Shǔ, as Wǔ Dū is close to Tiānshuǐ, the customs resemble each other. 👁️</p>	<p>汉书 130</p>

第九十五卷 *Records of the Southern and Western Yí, the Yuè and Cháoxiǎn* 《西南夷两粤朝鲜传》

The following part of the 《汉书》 was almost verbatim copied from the earlier 《史记》. The notes to the text highlight the differences.

The following is the most important source of information about the indigenous people of the southwest. For a historical introduction, see Herman (2009).

<p>南夷君长以十数，夜郎最大。其西，靡莫之属以十数，滇最大；自滇以北</p>	<p>The southern Yí have dozens of leaders, Yèláng is the greatest. West of them dozens belong to the Mímò, Diān is the greatest. North of</p>
---	---

/131: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/han-shu/di-li-zhi/zhs>

/131: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/han-shu/di-li-zhi/zhs>

/132: 南夷] In the 《史记》: 西南夷 - missing 西.

/132: 十数] In the 《史记》: 什数 - 别字.

/133: 十数] In the 《史记》: 什数 - 别字.

r119: export] see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998b), note 41, p.49.

汉书 135

君长以十数，邛都最大。此皆椎结，耕田，有邑聚。

其外，西自桐师以东，北至叶榆，名为嵩、昆明，编发，随畜迁徙，亡常处，亡君长，地方可数千里。

自嵩以东北，君长以十数，徙、菴都最大。自菴以东北，君长以十数，冉駹最大。

其俗，或土著，或迁徙。在蜀之西。

自駹以东北，君长以十数，白马最大，皆氏类也。

此皆巴蜀西南外蛮夷也。👁️

Diān are dozens of leaders, Qióng Dū is the greatest. They all wear their hair in bun, plough fields and have villages.

Further from them to the west, east of Tóngshī north until Yèyú, they are called Xī and Kūnmíng. They all braid their hair, follow their livestock moving around, do not have permanent settlements, have no leaders, their lands extend perhaps several thousand *lǐ* in one direction.

North-east of the Xī are dozens of leaders, Xǐ and Jí are the greatest. North-east of Jí are dozens of leaders, Rǎn and Máng are the greatest.

Their custom is that some are settled and others move about, west of Shǔ.

North-east of the Máng are dozens of leaders, Báimǎ the greatest, they are all of the Dǐ kind.

These are all the Mányí in the outer areas west and south of Bā and Shǔ.

Then follows an important section on the Chǔ 楚 general Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻 who led an expedition into the region and, as he could not return, turned 'native' and became king of Diān 滇王. Almost as in passing, the text mentions the five-foot road 五尺道, a military road stretching into Yúnnán.⁽⁵⁾

汉书 150

始楚威王时，使将军庄蹻将兵循江上，略巴、黔中以西。

In the beginning, at the times of king Wēi of Chǔ, general Zhuāng Qiāo was dispatched to lead an army following the river upstream

l134: 十数] In the 《史记》: 什数 - 别字.

l134: 椎结] In the 《史记》: 魁结 - 别字.

l136: 桐师] In the 《史记》: 同师 - 别字.

l136: 叶榆] In the 《史记》: 樸榆 - 别字.

l137:] In the 《史记》: 皆 - missing character.

l137: 迁徙] In the 《史记》: 迁徙 - 别字.

l137: 亡] In the 《史记》: 毋 - 别字.

l138: 亡] In the 《史记》: 毋 - 别字.

l141: 嵩] In the 《史记》: 毋 - different names.

l141: 十数] In the 《史记》: 什数 - 别字.

l141: 菴] In the 《史记》: 菴 - 别字.

l142: 菴] In the 《史记》: 菴 - 别字.

l142: 十数] In the 《史记》: 什数 - 别字.

l143: 冉] In the 《史记》: 毋 - different names.

l144: 土著] In the 《史记》: 土箸 - 别字.

l146: 駹] In the 《史记》: 毋駹 - missing 毋.

l146: 十数] In the 《史记》: 什数 - 别字.

l148: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=2&>

r134: Qióng Dū] dū 都 seems to signify the main settlement or city, see Nienhauser (2016), p. 66.

r144: Their custom is that some are settled and others move about] Watson (1961), p. 253 translated this as some being settled, some moving about. I interpret it as a description of seasonal transhumance, similar to what Fürer-Haimendorf (1975) described as a life form in Nepal.

(5) For technical background of road construction during this time, see Needham (1971), pp. 15–16.

<p>庄躄者，楚庄王苗裔也。 躄至滇池，方三百里，旁平地，肥饶数千里，以兵威定属楚。</p> <p>欲归报，会秦击夺楚巴、黔中郡，道塞不通，因乃以其众王滇，变服，从其俗，以长之。</p> <p>秦时常破略通五尺道，诸此国颇置吏焉。 十馀岁，秦灭。 及汉兴，皆弃此国而关蜀故徼。</p> <p>巴属民或窃出商贾，取其苻马、僂僮、麋牛，以此巴蜀殷富。👁</p>	<p>to invade Bā, Qiánzhōng, and further west. Zhuāng Qiāo was a descendant of king Zhuāng of Chǔ. Qiāo reached Lake Dian, three hundred <i>lǐ</i> in one direction, next to flat lands, fertile for several thousand <i>lǐ</i>, he used his military might to pacify and bring it under the rule of Chǔ.</p> <p>He intended to return and report, then Qín attacked Chǔ's prefectures of Bā and Qiánzhōng, the road was blocked and impassable, so he turned back and used his men to become king of Diān, changed his dress, followed their customs and served as their leader.</p> <p>At the time of the Qín Cháng È planned and constructed the five-foot road, all their states were inclined to establish officials. Some ten years later, the Qín came to an end. Then the Hàn prospered, it abandoned all these states and blocked the old Shǔ border posts.</p> <p>The people of Bā and Shǔ furtively went out for trade, obtained horses from Zuó, child-servants from Bó, yaks, making Bā and Shǔ prosperous.</p>	<p>汉书 155</p> <p>汉书 160</p> <p>汉书 165</p>
--	---	---

Then events east of Yúnnán are reported.

<p>建元六年，大行王恢击东粤，东粤杀王郢以报。 恢因兵威使番禺令唐蒙风晓南粤。 南粤食蒙蜀枸酱，蒙问所从来，曰</p>	<p>In the 6th year of Jiànyuán, the senior messenger Wáng Huī attacked the eastern Yuè, the eastern Yuè killed Wáng Yǐng in revenge. Huī used his military might to send out the administrator of Póyáng Táng Méng with the intention to enlighten the southern Yuè. The southern Yuè gave Méng betel juice from Shǔ to eat, Méng in-</p>	<p>汉书 170</p>
--	---	---------------

[153:] In the 《史记》: 故 - missing character.

[154:] In the 《史记》: 地 - missing character.

[158: 乃] In the 《史记》: 还, - ??.

[159: turned back] unclear

[161: 常破] In the 《史记》: 常頰 - different name.

[164: 关] In the 《史记》: 开 - different character with opposite meaning, but I think the meaning of the sentence does not change.

[166: 属] In the 《史记》: 蜀 - a copying error.

[166: 苻] In the 《史记》: 符 - 别字.

[167: 麋] In the 《史记》: 髦 - 别字.

[167: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=3&>

[169: 东粤] In the 《史记》: 东越 - 别字.

[169: 东粤] In the 《史记》: 东越 - 别字.

[171: 番禺] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998a), vol. 1, p. 7 notes that this is written as Póyáng in other texts.

[171: 风晓] In the 《史记》: 风指晓 - ??.

[171: 南粤] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

[173: 南粤] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

r161: planned] Watson (1974) translates it as 'invaded the region', this translation follows Needham (1971), p. 15.]

r162: were inclined to establish officials.]

r169: In the 6th year of Jiànyuán] 135 BCE.

r170: in revenge] unclear – see Nienhauser (2016), p. 70 for a very different translation.

r171: Póyáng] another writing for Póyáng 番禺.

汉书 175	“道西北牂柯江，江广数里，出番禺城下”。	quired where it came from, it was said: ‘A road north-west to Zāngkē, the Zāngkē river is several <i>lǐ</i> wide, flowing out to the walled town of Pānyú.’
	蒙归至长安，问蜀贾人，独蜀出枸酱，多持窃出市夜郎。	After Méng had returned to Cháng’ān, he asked traders from Shǔ, the traders said: Only from Shǔ comes betel juice, they often secretly bring it to market in Yèláng.
汉书 180	夜郎者，临牂柯江，江广百馀步，足以行船。 南粤以财物役属夜郎，西至桐师，然亦不能臣使也。	With regards to Yèláng, it is near the Zāngkē river, the river is more than one hundred paces wide, sufficient for boat travel. The southern Yuè used money and goods to subdue Yèláng, west to Tóngshī, however they could not govern it.
汉书 185	蒙乃上书说上曰：“南粤王黄屋左纛，地东西万馀里，名为外臣，实一州主。 今以长沙、豫章往，水道多绝，难行。	Méng then sent a letter to the court, saying: the king of southern Yuè has a yellow canopy with tassels on the left, his territory from east to west measures over ten thousand <i>lǐ</i> . Sending [soldiers] towards Chángshā and Yùzhāng, the river road is often blocked, it is difficult to go.
汉书 190	窃闻夜郎所有精兵，可得十万，浮船牂柯，出不意，此制粤一奇也。	I have secretly heard Yèláng has excellent soldiers, it is possible to obtain one hundred thousand men, floating boats on the Zāngkē river river to take them by surprise, that way to control Yuè is an excellent plan.
汉书 195	诚以汉之强，巴蜀之饶，通夜郎道，为置吏，甚易。 上许之。 乃拜蒙以郎中，将千人，食重万馀人，从巴苻关入，遂见夜郎侯多同。	Indeed, using the strength of the Hàn, and the riches of Bā and Shǔ to connect a road to Yèláng to govern them, that is easy. The emperor approved. He then appointed Méng as commandant, commanding thousand men and over ten thousand men to carry provisions, and entered from the narrow passes of Bā and Shǔ, progressing to see the marquis of Yèláng Duō Tóng.

[174:] In the 《史记》: 牂柯, - ??.

[174: 江,] In the 《史记》: - ??.

[177:] In the 《史记》: 贾人曰: - missing sentence part.

[181: 船] In the 《史记》: 船 - 别字.

[182: 南粤] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

[182: 桐师] In the 《史记》: 同师 - 别字.

[184: 南粤] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

[186:] In the 《史记》: 也 - meaningless sentence terminator omitted.

[189:] In the 《史记》: 馀 - modifier missing.

[190: 船] In the 《史记》: 船 - 别字.

[190:] In the 《史记》: 江 - character missing.

[190:] In the 《史记》: 其 - character missing.

[190: 粤] In the 《史记》: 越 - 别字.

[190: 奇] In the 《史记》: 奇 - 别字.

[194: 甚易] In the 《史记》: 易甚 - characters transposed.

[196: 以] In the 《史记》: 为 - ??.

[196: 郎中] There is some debate as to whether this should be commandant 中郎将, see Nienhauser (2016), p. 71.

[197:] In the 《史记》: 蜀 - character missing.

[197: 苻] In the 《史记》: 苻 - 别字??.

r196: commandant] I have chosen 中郎将 as the probably correct title for translation, but there is no way of knowing.

<p>厚赐，谕以威德，约为置吏，使其子为令。</p> <p>夜郎旁小邑皆贪汉缯帛，以为汉道险，终不能有也，乃且听蒙约。</p> <p>还报，乃以为犍为郡。</p> <p>发巴蜀卒治道，自犍道指牂柯江。</p> <p>蜀人司马相如亦言西夷邛、笮可置郡。</p> <p>使相如以郎中将军往谕，皆如南夷，为置一都尉，十馀县，属蜀。👁</p>	<p>[He] gave ample gifts, explaining the power and the virtue and agreed to establish officials, with the envoy's son as administrator.</p> <p>The small places next to Yèláng were all eager for silk from the Hàn, but thought the road to the Hàn was dangerous and in the end had not obtained it, so they listened to Méng's pact.</p> <p>He returned to report and then Jiānwèi was established as prefecture.</p> <p>Soldiers were dispatched from Bā and Shǔ to establish the road, from the Bó road reaching the Zāngkē river.</p> <p>Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, a man from Shǔ, added it was possible to establish prefectures in the western Yí's Qióng and Zuó.</p> <p>The envoy Xiāngrú as was appointed commandant to go and instruct them, like the southern Yí, to establish one regional commander, more than ten counties, subordinate to Shǔ.</p>	<p>汉书 200</p> <p>汉书 205</p> <p>汉书 210</p>
<p>当是时，巴蜀四郡通西南夷道，载转相饷。</p> <p>数岁，道不通，士罢饿透离暑湿，死者甚众；西南夷又数反，发兵兴击，耗费亡功。</p> <p>上患之，使公孙弘往视问焉。还报，言其不便。</p> <p>及弘为御史大夫，时方筑朔方据河逐胡，弘等因言西南夷为害，可且罢，</p>	<p>At that time, the four prefectures of Bā and Shǔ were connected by road to the western and southern Yí, and took turns to provide themselves across the borders.</p> <p>After many years, the road was blocked. The soldiers were exhausted, many died of hunger or damp. The western and southern Yí rebelled many times, forces were sent to fight them at great expense without success.</p> <p>The emperor worried about this, and sent out Gōngsūn Hóng to investigate. When he returned, he said that it was not easy.</p> <p>Gōngsūn Hóng was appointed censor-in-chief, at the time he was fortifying Shuòfāng to occupy the Hé and expel the Hú, Hóng men-</p>	<p>汉书 215</p> <p>汉书 220</p>

/200:] In the 《史记》: 蒙 - missing name.

/200: 谕] In the 《史记》: 喻 - 别字.

/209: 笮] In the 《史记》: 笮 - 别字.

/211: 谕] In the 《史记》: 喻 - 别字.

/212: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=4&>

/214: 载] In the 《史记》: 戍 - ??.

/217: 透] In the 《史记》: - missing character.

/217: 暑] In the 《史记》: - missing character.

/219: 耗] In the 《史记》: 耗 - 别字.

/219: 亡] In the 《史记》: 无 - 别字.

/221: 报] In the 《史记》: 对 - different character.

/223:] In the 《史记》: 是 - missing character.

/223:] In the 《史记》: 以 - missing character.

/224: 等] In the 《史记》: - additional character.

/224:] In the 《史记》: 数 - missing character.

/224: 为] In the 《史记》: - additional character.

r 214: At that time] This event here is not dated. It is mentioned earlier, but the dates given might not be accurate, see Nienhauser (2010), p. 367.

r 215-216: and took turns to provide themselves across the borders] Alternate translations possible, see Nienhauser (2016), pp. 72-73.

汉书 225 专力事匈奴。

上许之，罢西夷，独置南夷两县一都尉，稍令犍为自保就。

tioned many times because of the dangers of the western and southern Yí, it was acceptable to abandon it and to turn the forces to the affairs with the Xiōngnú.

The emperor abandoned the western Yí, and only established the two counties of Nán Yí and Yèláng with one regional commander, somewhat ordering that Jiānwèi fend for itself.

The following passage provides 'us with invaluable as well as rather obscure information on the South-west Silk Road'.⁽⁶⁾

及元狩元年，博望侯张骞言使大夏时见蜀布、邛竹杖，问所从来，曰“从东南身毒国，可数千里，得蜀贾人市”。

或闻邛西可二千里有身毒国。

汉书 240 骞因盛言大夏在汉西南，慕中国，患匈奴隔其道，诚通蜀，身毒国道便近，又亡害。

于是天子乃令王然于、柏始昌、吕越人等十馀辈闲出西南夷，指求身毒国。

至滇，滇王当羌乃留，为求道。

In the 1st year of Yuánshòu, the marquis of Bówàng Zhāng Qiān returned from his mission to Bactria and said when he resided in Bactria he saw cloth from Shǔ and bamboo canes from Qióng, he inquired where they came from and it was said from the south-eastern state of Shēndú, perhaps several thousand *lǐ*, obtained at a market of traders from Shǔ.

He also heard that two thousand *lǐ* west of Qióng was the state of Shēndú.

Qiān extolled that Bactria was south-west of the Hàn, admired China and suffered that the Xiōngnú had blocked their road, so indeed opening a road from Shǔ to the state of Shēndú was easy and short, had benefits and no harm.

So the emperor then ordered Wáng Rányú, Bǎi Shǐchāng, Lǚ Yuè and others, to go furtively west of the western Yí in search for the state of Shēndú.

When they reached Diān, the king of Diān Chángqiāng detained

/228: 许之，] In the 《史记》: - additional characters.

/228:] In the 《史记》: 夜郎 - missing county name.

/229: 保] In the 《史记》: 葆 - 别字.

/229:] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=6&>

/231:] In the 《史记》: 使大夏来， - missing part.

/231: 使] In the 《史记》: 居 - ??.

/232:] In the 《史记》: 使 - missing character.

/241: 又亡] In the 《史记》: 有利无 - similar expression with different characters.

/244: 十馀辈] In the 《史记》: ，使 - ??.

/244: 西南夷] In the 《史记》: 西夷西 - miswriting in the shiji?.

/246: 当羌] In the 《史记》: 尝羌 - name difference.

/246:] In the 《史记》: 西十馀辈 - missing part.

r 230: somewhat ordering that Jiānwèi fend for itself] See Nienhauser (2016), p. 73.

r 231: In the 1st year of Yuánshòu] 122 BCE.

r 244: furtively] 闲?

⁽⁶⁾ Yang (2004), p. 29. He also includes a translation with rather a lot of poetic license of this passage, but he points out that 身毒 should be pronounced 'Yandu' as a phonetic translation of Indus or Hindus. Schuessler (2006), p. 457 gives 'sin' as a phonetic writing of 身 as pronounced during the later Hàn dynasty period, while Nienhauser (2016), p. 74 transliterates it as 'Chüan-tu'.

四岁馀，皆闭昆明，莫能通。👁

them, as they were in search for a western road.

After four years, all had been blocked by the Kūnmíng, they could not reach state of Shēndú.

The following passage about the ignorance of the local rulers regarding the Chinese empire is so famous that a phrase as become a fixed expression for arrogance: 夜郎自大.

滇王与汉使言：“汉孰与我大？”

The king of Diān and the Hàn envoy talked and said: Who is greater - the Hàn or I? 汉书 250

及夜郎侯亦然。

The marquis of Yèláng also asked this.

各自以一州王，不知汉广大。

Each considered himself master of the state, not knowing about the great extent of the Hàn.

使者还，因盛言滇大国，足事亲附。

The envoy returned and extolled the great state of Diān, sufficient to be closely attached. 汉书 255

天子注意焉。👁

The emperor took note of it.

及至南粤反，上使驰义侯因犍为发南夷兵。

When the southern Yuè rebelled, the emperor sent the marquis of Chíyì to make Jiānwèi to send soldiers against the southern Yí.

且兰君恐远行，旁国虏其老弱，乃与其众反，杀使者及犍为太守。

The ruler of Jūlán was afraid to march far away, as the neighbouring country would take the old and weak captive, so he rebelled with his people and killed the envoy and the grand protector of Jiānwèi. 汉书 260

汉乃发巴蜀罪人当击南粤者八校尉击之。

The Hàn then sent criminals from Bā and Shǔ to attack southern Yuè and eight officers to attack and destroy it.

会越已破，汉八校尉不下，中郎将郭昌、卫广引兵还，行诛隔滇道者且兰。

When the southern Yuè were already defeated, the eight Hàn officers were not stood down, the commandant Guō Chāng and Wèi Guǎng returned with the soldiers, marching to punish Tóulán which had cut the road to Diān. 汉书 265

斩首数万，遂平南夷为牂柯郡。

Tens of thousands were beheaded, then the southern Yí were paci-

/248: 四] In the 《史记》: - missing time.

/248:] In the 《史记》: 身毒国 - missing name.

/248: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=7&>

/250:] In the 《史记》: 者 - missing character.

/250:] In the 《史记》: 曰 - missing character.

/253:] In the 《史记》: 以道不通故， - missing sentence.

/253:] In the 《史记》: 为 - missing character.

/253: 王] In the 《史记》: 主 - different character, similar meaning.

/257: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=8&>

/258: 南粤] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

/263: 当] In the 《史记》: 尝 - ??.

/263: 南粤] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

/264:] In the 《史记》: 破 - missing character.

/266: 中郎将郭昌、卫广] In the 《史记》: 即 - missing part.

/267: 隔滇道者] In the 《史记》: - ??.

/267: 且兰] In the 《史记》: 头兰 - ??.

/269:] In the 《史记》: 头兰，常隔滇道者也。 - partly different position.

/269: 斩首数万] In the 《史记》: 已平头兰 - different text.

	夜郎侯始倚南粵，南粵已灭，还诛反者，夜郎遂入朝，上以为夜郎王。	fied as Zāngkē prefecture. The marquis of Yèláng in the beginning had sided with the southern Yuè, but with the southern Yuè already eliminated, he returned to punish the rebels, Yèláng then sent tributes. The emperor appointed him as king of Yèláng.
汉书 275	南粵破后，及汉诛且兰、邛君，并杀笮侯，冉駹皆振恐，请臣置吏。	After the southern Yuè were defeated, the Hàn executed the rulers of Jūlán and Qióng and killed the marquis of Zuó, the Rǎn and Máng were all shaking with fear and petitioned to become vassals and officials be established.
汉书 280	以邛都为粵徼郡，笮都为沈黎郡，冉駹为文山郡，广汉西白马为武都郡。👁	Then Qióng Dū was made Yuèxī prefecture, Zuódū was made Shěnlí prefecture, Rǎnmáng was made Wěnsān prefecture, Báimǎ west of Guǎnghàn was made Wǔ Dū prefecture.

The story of the Seal of the King of Diān 滇滇王之印 is one of the famous passages of the 《史记》 that found a direct corroboration in the archeological record as the seal was discovered in a tomb on the eastern shore of Lake Dian 滇池.

	使王然于以粵破及诛南夷兵威风谕滇王入朝。	[The emperor] sent Wáng Rányú who used the defeat of the southern Yuè and the military elimination of southern Yí to make the king of Diān come to court.
汉书 285	滇王者，其众数万人，其旁东北劳深、靡莫，皆同姓相杖，未肯听。	The king of Diān had many tens of thousands of men, and adjacent to the north-east were the Láojìn and the Mímò, all of the same name assisting each other, so he was unwilling to listen.
	劳、莫数侵犯使者吏卒。	The Láojìn and the Mímò assaulted the envoy's forces many times.
	元封二年，天子发巴蜀兵击灭劳深、	In the 2nd year of Yuánfēng, the emperor sent soldiers from Bā and

[271: 南粵] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

[271: 南粵] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

[271:] In the 《史记》: 会 - missing character.

[275: 南粵] In the 《史记》: 南越 - 别字.

[279:] In the 《史记》: 乃 - missing character.

[279: 粵] In the 《史记》: 越 - 别字.

[279: 笮] In the 《史记》: 笮 - 别字.

[279: 黎] In the 《史记》: 犁 - 别字.

[280: 冉] In the 《史记》: 冉 - ?.

[280: 文] In the 《史记》: 汶 - 别字.

[281: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=9&>

[282:] In the 《史记》: 上 - missing character.

[282: 粵] In the 《史记》: 越 - 别字.

[282: 谕] In the 《史记》: 喻 - 别字.

[286:] In the 《史记》: 有 - missing character.

[286: 劳深] In the 《史记》: 劳寢 - different characters for same name.

[286: 杖] In the 《史记》: 扶 - 别字.

[288: 劳] In the 《史记》: 劳寢 - name shortened.

[288: 莫] In the 《史记》: 靡莫 - name shortened.

[289: 劳深] In the 《史记》: 劳寢 - different characters for same name.

r 289: In the 2nd year of Yuánfēng] 109 BCE.

靡莫，以兵临滇。	Shǔ to attack and eliminate the Láo jìn and Mǐ mò, the soldiers getting close to Diān.	汉书 290
滇王始首善，以故弗诛。	The king of Diān was then the first to submit and so was not executed.	
滇王离西夷，滇举国降，请置吏入朝。	The king of Diān abandoned the western and southern Yí, the entire state surrendered, petitioned to establish officials and made a tribute mission.	汉书 295
于是以为益州郡，赐滇王王印，复长其民。	Afterwards [the region] became Yìzhōu prefecture, the king of Diān was conferred a seal as king, and restored as leader of his people.	
西南夷君长以百数，独夜郎、滇受王印。	The rulers of western and southern Yí were hundreds, only Yè láng and Diān were given seals as kings.	汉书 300
滇小邑也，最宠焉。👁	Diān is a small region, but most favoured.	

The 《汉书》 continues, but does not touch upon Yúnnán.

[294: 离] In the 《史记》: 离难 - one character missing, but this passage is unclear.

[294: 西夷] In the 《史记》: 西南夷 - ??.

[294: 滇] In the 《史记》: - additional character.

[301: 也] In the 《史记》: - missing sentence delimiter.

[301: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=79553&page=9&>

r294: abandoned] Watson (1961), p. 258 points out that the text here appears corrupt, he translates 离难 as the name of the king. Nienhauser (2016), p. 76 documents more discussion about this passage and notes that it is problematic.

4 Glossary

- Āndìng** 安定: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴 – see page 11
- Ānníng** 安宁: in the region of present-day Ānníng Shì 安宁市 ㊦. In the vicinity of Ānníng 安宁 the relics of a Nánzhào era temple, called Fǎhuásì 法华寺, have been discovered, see Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999), pp. 126–133 ㊦. –
- Ānníng Shì** 安宁市: Ānníng city, present-day city in central Yúnnán – see page 10, 20
- Bā** 巴: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the eastern part of present-day Sichuan – see pages 6, 8, 9, 11–15, 17, 18
- Báimǎ** 白马: state mentioned in the 《史记》 – see page 12, 18
- Bǎi Shǐchāng** 柏始昌: general during the Hàn dynasty – see page 16
- Bān Gù** 班固: historian who compiled the 《汉书》 – see page 5
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page 10, see 永昌
- Běidì** 北地: – see page 11
- Bǐsū** 比苏: Hàn dynasty administrative districe, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Bìgǔ** 贛古: ancient county, in the region of present-day Jiànshuǐ 建水 – see page 10
- Bó** 夔: ancient tribal group – see pages 8, 11, 13, 15
- Bówàng Hóu** 博望侯: marquis of Bówàng, – see page 16, 20
- Bùwéi** 不韦: county in Yǒngchāng 永昌, named after Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦 – see page 10
- Cháng'ān** 长安: historic city, present-day Xiān – see page 14
- Cháng È** 常頰: official during the Qín dynasty – see page 13
- Chángqiāng** 尝羌: name of the king of Diān 滇 – see page 16
- Chángshā** 长沙: historic state, in present-day Húnán – see page 14
- Chányú** 单于: title Xiōngnú 匈奴 leader – see page 8
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 –
- Chíyì Hóu** 驰义侯: marquis of Chíyì, general of Nányuè 南越, later named marquis of Chíyì by the Hàn, honorific for Hé Yì 何遗 – see page see 何遗
- Chǔ** 楚: –
- Chǔ Guó** 楚国: kingdom of Chǔ, ancient Chinese state before the Qin dynasty, 704–223BCE – see pages 12, 13, 20
- Chǔ Wēi Wáng** 楚威王: king Wēi of Chǔ, king of Chǔ – see page 12, 20
- Chǔxióng** 楚雄: present-day town west of Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 10
- Dàlǐ** 大理: –
- Dàxī** 大厘: earlier name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page see 史城
- Dàxià** 大夏: Bactria, – see page 16, 20
- Dàxíng** 大行: senior messenger, ‘members of the Ministry of Justice (ch’iu-kuan) who

- made arrangements for the visits and receptions of Feudal Lords (chu-hou) at the royal court', see Hucker (1985), 5957 – see pages 13, 20, 21
- Dǐ 氏**: – see page 12
- Diān 滇**: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page 11, see 滇国
- Diān Wáng Zhī Yìn 《滇王之印》**: Seal of the King of Diān 滇, important relic from the kingdom of Diān, mentioned in the 《史记》 – see page 18, 21
- Diānchí 滇池**: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see pages 6, 10, 13, 18, 21
- Diān Guó 滇国**: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see pages 11, 12, 16–19, 21
- Diān Wáng 滇王**: king of Diān, – see pages 12, 13, 21
- Dōngjǐng 东井**: one of the twenty-eight *xù* 宿 – see page 10
- Dōngōu 东瓯**: – see page 8
- Dōng Yuè 东越**: eastern Yuè, non-Chinese group in southern China – see page 13, 21
- Dū 都**: area command, name of an administrative area – see page 21
- Dūwèi 都尉**: commandant, 'Commandant or Commander-in-chief: throughout history a common military title, in later dynasties used mostly for merit titles', see Hucker (1985), 7326 – see page 7, 21
- Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴**: –
- Dūnhuáng 敦煌**: one of the most important sites of early Buddhism – see page 11
- Duō Tóng 多同**: – see page 14
- Ērhǎi 洱海**: lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xiěr 西洱, Xiěrhé 西洱河 – see page 6, 21
- Fēnyě 分野**: field allocation, ancient Chinese astrological concept that sees a correspondence between stars and earth, see Pankenier (1999) – see page 10, 21
- Féngyì 冯翊**: – see page 11
- Fúfēng 扶风**: – see page 11
- Gōngsūn Hóng 公孙弘**: – see page 15
- Gōutǐng 钩町**: – see page 7, 8
- Gōutǐng Hóu Wúbō 钩町侯毋波**: marquis of Gōutǐng Wúbō, – see page 7, 21
- Gǒujiàng 枸酱**: betel juice, – see pages 13, 14, 21
- Gūzēng 姑缯**: – see page 7
- Gǔchāng 谷昌**: – see page 10
- Guānnèihóu 关内侯**: marquis 'within the passes', honorific granted to Zhāng Yì 张翼 – see page 7, 21
- Guǎnghàn 广汉**: – see page 11, 18
- Guǎngzhōu 广州**: south-eastern region of China –
- Guìzhōu 贵州**: today a province in south-west China – see page 10
- Guō Chāng 郭昌**: Hàn dynasty general – see pages 6, 7, 17
- Hàn Cháo 汉朝**: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see pages 5, 8, 10, 21
- Hàn 汉**: Hàn, main ethnic group of China – see pages 6, 9, 13–18, 21

- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: ‘History of the Hàn Dynasty’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty – see pages 5, 11, 19, 22
- Hàn Chéngdì** 汉成帝: Hàn emperor Chéng, Hàn dynasty emperor Chéng, 32–7BCE – see page 7, 22
- Hàn Jǐngdì** 汉景帝: Hàn emperor Jǐng, Hàn dynasty emperor Jǐng, 156–141BCE – see pages 8, 11, 22
- Hàn Wéndì** 汉文帝: Hàn emperor Wén, Hàn dynasty emperor Wén, 179–157 BCE – see page 8, 22
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see pages 5, 8, 11, 22
- Hàn Xuāndì** 汉宣帝: Hàn emperor Xuān, Hàn dynasty emperor Xuān, 73–49BCE – see page 8, 22
- Hànzhāodì** 汉昭帝: Hàn emperor Zhāo, Hàn dynasty emperor Zhāo, 86–74BCE – see page 7, 22
- Hé** 河: – see page 15
- Héping** 河平: reign period of Hàn Chéngdì 汉成帝, 28–25 – see page 8
- Hé Yí** 何遗: – see pages 6, 17, 20
- Hónglú** 鸿胪: ceremonial minister, ‘honorary designation granted to a southwestern aboriginal chief, Hucker (1985), p. 2905 – see page 7, 22
- Hóngnóng** 弘农: magnificent Hóngnóng, – see page see 神农
- Hóu** 侯: marquis, ‘Marquis, a title of nobility, usually next in prestige only after Prince (wang) and Duke (kung), sometimes hereditary, sometimes conferred for special merit; usually prefixed with a geographic name designating the noble’s real or hypothetical fief.’, see Hucker (1985), 2205 – see pages 8, 14, 17, 18, 22
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty – see page 16, 22
- Hú** 胡: – see page 8, 15
- Jiānwèi** 犍为: – see pages 7, 8, 11, 15–17
- Jiànlíng** 健伶: Hàn dynasty administrative district, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān –
- Jiànshǐ** 建始: reign period of Hàn Chéngdì 汉成帝, 32–28 – see page 7
- Jiànshuǐ** 建水: present-day town south of Tōnghǎi 通海 –
- Jiànyuán** 建元: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 140–135 – see page 13
- Jiānghuái** 江淮: Yangzi and Huai rivers, land between the Yangzi and the Huai River – see page 8, 22
- Jiāngjūn** 将军: general, ‘throughout history the most common term for the commander of a substantial body of troops, whether a regular officer of the standing army or the ad hoc commander of a special force organized for a campaign; occurs with many kinds of prefixes’, see Hucker (1985), 694 – see pages 6, 7, 12, 22
- Jīnchéng** 金城: – see page 11
- Jìnníng** 晋宁: present-day town south of Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 10
- Jīngzhào** 京兆: – see page 11
- Jiǔquán** 酒泉: – see page 11
- Jūlán** 且兰: – see page 17, 18

- Jūnshū** 均输: tribute equalisation, ‘one of the most important fiscal measures to be introduced in the Western Han’, Li Chaomin (2019) – see page 9, 23
- Jūnzhèng** 军正: military judge, – see page 7, 23
- Jùn** 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng – see pages 6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 23
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 – see pages 6, 12, 17
- Kūnmíngchí** 昆明池: Kūnmíng lake, artificial lake dug during the reign of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 for military training – see page 9, 23
- Kūnmíng Shì** 昆明市: Kūnmíng City, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 10, 23, *see* 拓东
- Kūnzé** 昆泽: Hàn dynasty administrative district, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Láiwéi** 来唯: Hàn dynasty administrative district, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Láojìn** 劳寢: – see page 18, 19
- Liánrán** 连然: ancient name for Ānníng 安宁 – see page 10
- Liántóu** 廉头: – see page 7
- Lìng** 令: administrator, check with hucker – see page 13, 23
- Lǒngxī** 陇西: – see page 11
- Lǚ Bùwéi** 吕不韦: Zhànguó 战国 period scholar and politician –
- Lǚ Jiā** 吕嘉: – see page 6
- Lǚ Pòhú** 吕破胡: commandant – see page 7
- Lǚ Yuè** 吕越: Lǚ Jiā from Nányuè, – see page 16, 23
- Lǜgāo** 律高: Hàn dynasty administrative district, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest –
- Mányí** 蛮夷: Mányí, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China – see pages 8, 12, 23
- Máng** 駟: – see page 12, 18
- Mímò** 靡莫: non-Chinese group in southern China – see pages 11, 18, 19
- Nán Yí** 南夷: southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China – see pages 6, 9, 11, 15–18, 23
- Nányuè** 南越: southern Yuè, non-Chinese people in southern China – see pages 6, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see page 23
- Nòngdòng** 弄栋: present-day Yáoān 姚安 – see page 10
- Pānyú** 番禺: capital of ??, in the region of present-day Guǎngzhōu 广州 – see pages 6, 9, 14
- Póyáng** 番禺: – see page 13, *see* 番禺
- Póyáng** 鄱阳: – see page 13
- Qiānfū** 千夫: title? – see page 9
- Qiánzhōng** 黔中: ancient Chinese district, in present-day eastern Guìzhōu and western Húnán – see page 13
- Qiāng** 羌: ethnic group in western Sichuan – see page 9, 11
- Qín** 秦: – see pages 10, 11, 13
- Qín Cháo** 秦朝: Qín dynasty, – see page 23, 26

- Qín Guó** 秦国: state of Qín, early Chinese kingdom, united China for the first time as the Qín Cháo 秦朝 – see page 13, 24
- Qínzāng** 秦臧: county – see page 10
- Qióng** 邛: – see pages 8, 11, 16, 18
- Qióng Dū** 邛都: Qióng district, tribal region in present-day southern Sichuān – see pages 12, 15, 18, 24
- Rǎn** 冉: – see page 18
- Rǎn** 冉: – see page 12
- Rǎnmáng** 冉駝: – see page 18
- Shàngjùn** 上郡: – see page 11
- Shēndú Guó** 身毒国: state of Shēndú, an ancient reference to India – see pages 16, 17, 24
- Shénnóng** 神农: Holy Farmer, legendary founder of Chinese agriculture – see pages 10, 22, 24
- Shěnlí** 沈犁: – see page 18
- Shěnlí** 沈黎: – see page 6
- Shèngxiū** 胜休: Hàn dynasty administrative districe, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Shǐchéng** 史城: ancient name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page 大厘
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘*Records of the Historian*’, – see pages 5, 6, 11–19, 24
- Shǐyuán** 始元: reign period of Hànzǎodì 汉昭帝, 86–80 – see page 7
- Shōumǐ** 收靡: Hàn dynasty administrative districe, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see pages 6, 8, 9, 11–17, 19
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu – see page 7, 24
- Shuāngbǎi** 双柏: county name – see page 10
- Shuǐhéng** 水衡: – see page 7
- Shuǐjīng** 《水经》: ‘*Water Classic*’, early, now lost, geographical work – see page 24
- Shuǐjīngzhù** 《水经注》: ‘*Commentary on the Water Classic*’, classic text, commentary to the lost 《水经》 – see page 24
- Shuòfāng** 朔方: – see page 15
- Shūshí** 朱提: historic place name for what is now the north-east of Yúnnán, pronounced Shūshí, see 《古代汉语词典》 (2002), p. 2043 – see page 9
- Sīmǎ Qiān** 司马迁: Hàn dynasty historian, author of the 《史记》 – see page 5
- Sīmǎ Xiāngrú** 司马相如: Xihàn 西汉 poet and politician, his biography and some of his works are included in the 《史记》 – see page 8, 15
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province – see page 10
- Tàishǒu** 太守: grand protector, ‘a title commonly awarded chieftains of southern and southwestern aboriginal tribes’. Herman (2009) translates it as ‘governor’, noting that it was a title given to members of the indigenous local elite, see Hucker (1985), 1985 – see page 17, 24
- Tánzhǐ** 谈指: – see page 7
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see page 24
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see page 24

- Táng Méng** 唐蒙: – see pages 8, 13–15
- Tiānshuǐ** 天水: – see page 11
- Tián Guǎngmíng** 田广明: – see page 7
- Tōnghǎi** 通海: present-day 通海, an important town on the route to the coast –
- Tónglài** 铜濑: Hàn dynasty administrative unit, part of Yìzhōu, on the border between Yúnnán and Guìzhōu 贵州 – see page 10
- Tóngláo** 同劳: ancient administrative unit, location unknown – see page 10
- Tóngshī** 同师: – see page 12, 14
- Tóulán** 头兰: – see page 17
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire –
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- wáng** 王: king, ‘King, title commonly used in reference to rulers of foreign states and alien peoples’. It is important to note that this does not have the meaning of a ruler equal to the Chinese emperor, it is a designation of a ruler below him, when used in titles conferred by China, the ruler of a vassal state, see Hucker (1985), 7634 – see pages 6–8, 25
- Wáng Huī** 王恢: Xihàn 西汉 official – see page 13
- Wáng Mǎng** 王莽: only ruler of the Xīncháo 新朝, 9–23 – see page 8
- Wáng Píng** 王平: Jūnzhèng 军正 – see page 7
- Wáng Rányú** 王然于: – see page 16, 18
- Wáng Yǐng** 王郢: – see page 13
- Wèi Guǎng** 卫广: general during the Xihàn 西汉, honoray title 中郎将 – see page 6, 17
- Wèi county** 味县: Hàn dynasty administrative districte, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Wénshān** 文山: – see page 6
- Wén Wēng** 文翁: Hàn dynasty official, 187–110BCE – see page 11
- Wènshān** 汶山: mount Wèn, – see page 18, 25
- Wúzhūó** 毋掇: Hàn dynasty administrative districte, below Yìzhōu – see page 10
- Wǔchǐdào** 五尺道: five-foot road, – see pages 12, 13, 25
- Wǔdàfū** 五大夫: title? – see page 9
- Wǔ Dū** 武都: Wǔ area command, region in present-day ?? – see pages 6, 11, 18, 25
- Wǔwēi** 武威: – see page 11
- Xī** 奚: – see page 12
- Xīhàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE – see page 24, 25
- Xīhé** 西河: – see page 11
- Xīnán Yí** 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the 《史记》 denoting non-Chinese people in present-day Sìchuān, Guìzhōu 贵州 and Yúnnán. It is often translated as ‘southwestern barbarians’, but it seems to be a short form referring to both Xī Yí 西夷 and Nán Yí 南夷, see Yang (2004), pp. 5–6 – see pages 6, 8, 15, 16, 19, 25
- Xīnányíliǎngyuècháo xiānchuán** 《西南夷两粤朝鲜传》: Records of the Southern and Western Yí, the Yuè and Cháo xiǎn, – see pages 5, 11, 25
- Xītáng** 徯唐: Hàn dynasty administrative unit, part of Yìzhōu, in southern Sìchuān – see page 10

- Xī Yí** 西夷: western Yí, – see pages 15, 16, 26
- Xǐ 徙**: – see page 12
- Xǐzhōu** 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ērhǎi, about modern location of Dàxī 大厘 – see page 10, *see* 大厘
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see page 10, 26
- Xiàngjùn** 象郡: administrative region established during the Qín dynasty, abolished 76BCE – see page 7
- Xiélóng** 邪龙: county mentioned in the 《水经注》 – see page 10
- Xīncháo** 新朝: Xīn dynasty, short-lived dynasty, 9–23 – see page 8, 26
- Xiōngnú** 匈奴: Xiōngnú, tribal group in north China – see pages 8, 16, 26
- xiù** 宿: constellation, ancient astrological concept, often translated as '[lunar] mansions' – see page 26
- Yán Zhù** 严助: – see page 8
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán –
- Yèláng** 夜郎: ancient powerful political entity in the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see pages 6, 11, 14–19
- Yèyú** 叶榆: – see page 10
- Yèyú** 楛榆: – see page 12
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see page 11, *see* 蛮
- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106BCE, covering the region of present-day Sìchuān with its center at 成都. In 742 it became Shǔjùn 蜀郡, but the name remained in use to refer to 成都 – see pages 6, 7, 10, 11, 19, 26
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, *see* Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see page 10
- Yúguǐ** 舆鬼: one of the twenty-eight *xiù* 宿 – see page 10
- Yúyuán** 俞元: Hàn dynasty county, present-day ?? region – see page 10
- Yùlín** 郁林: administrative district – see page 7
- Yùshǐ Dàfū** 御史大夫: censor-in-chief, 'head of the Censorate (yü-shih t'ai) and one of the most eminent officials of the central government, in administrative charge of Censors (yü-shih) of many sorts who maintained disciplinary surveillance over the officialdom, freely impeaching any official for public or private misconduct,' *see* Hucker (1985), 8181 – see page 15, 26
- Yùzhāng** 豫章: – see page 14
- Yuándǐng** 元鼎: reign period of Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔdì 武帝, yebci116–111 – see page 6
- Yuánfēng** 元封: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104BC – see page 6, 18
- Yuánfèng** 元凤: reign period of Hànzhāodì 汉昭帝, 80–75 – see page 7
- Yuánguāng** 元光: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 134–129 – see page 6
- Yuánshòu** 元狩: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 122–117 – see page 6, 16
- Yuánshuò** 元朔: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 128–123 – see page 6
- Yuè** 粤: – see page 8, 9
- Yuèxī** 越巂: – see page 6, 8

- Yuèxī** 越巂: Prefecture belonging to Jiànnán. Called Xizhōu 618-742 then Yuèxī 742-756, in 757 invaded and captured by Nánzhào and 吐蕃, later reestablished as 越巂 789-865 – see page 11, 18
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19
- Yúnnányì** 云南驿: important caravan station, three stages before Dàlǐ 大理 – see page 10
- Zānggē** 牂牁: the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see page 14, 18
- Zāngkē** 牂柯: variant writing of Zānggē 牂牁 – see pages 6, 7, 11, see 牂牁
- Zāngkē river** 牂柯江: Zāngkē river, – see pages 6, 14, 15, 27
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475-221 BCE – see page 27
- Zhāng Qiān** 张骞: – see page 16
- Zhāngyè** 张掖: – see page 11
- Zhāng Yì** 张翼: –
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 27
- Zhōnglángjiāng** 中郎将: commandant, earlier: ‘leader of court gentlemen’, during the Táng dynasty: commandant, see Hucker (1985), 1581 – see pages 6, 14, 15, 17, 27
- Zhū Mǎichén** 朱买臣: – see page 8
- Zhūtiyín** 朱提银: Shūshí silver, a prized type of silver from the Shūshí 朱提 region, i.e. north-western Yúnnán – see page 9, 27
- Zhuāng Qiāo** 庄蹻: Chǔ 楚 general who became king of Diān[napi] during the Warring States period – see page 12, 13
- Zhuāng Wáng** 庄王: king Zhuāng, – see page 13, 27
- Zuó** 笮: non-Chinese group, thought to have lived in present-day southern Sìchuān, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 13–14 – see pages 12, 13, 15, 18

5 References

- Allard, Francis (2006). ‘Frontiers and Boundaries: The Han Empire from its Southern Periphery’. In: Stark, Miriam T. (2006). ‘Archeology of Asia’. Blackwell (cit. on p. 10).
- Amies, Alex (2020). ‘Hanshu Volume 95 The Southwest Peoples, Two Yues, and Chaoxian: Translation with Commentary’. Gutenberg Self Publishing Press (cit. on p. 5).
- Chavannes, Edouard (1895). ‘Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts’ien’. Paris: Ernest Leroux (cit. on pp. 5, 8).
- Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953). 《两汉经略西南: 郡县设置与行政同志》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994). 《方国瑜文集》. 云南教育出版社 (cit. on p. 26).
- (1987). 《中国西南历史地理考释》. 中国北京: 中华书局 (cit. on p. 27).
- (1998a). 《云南史料丛刊》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 5, 13).
- (1998b). 《云南史料丛刊》. In: Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998). 《云南史料丛刊》. 云南大学出版社 (cit. on pp. 8, 9, 11).
- Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von (1975). ‘Himalayan Traders’. London: John Murray (cit. on p. 12).

- 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 pp. 11, 24).
- Hucker, Charles (1985). 'A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China'. Stanford: Stanford University Press (cit. on pp. 21, 22, 24–27).
- Li Chaomin (2019). 'The System of Tribute Equalisation in the Han'. In: Lin, Cheng, Peach, Terry and Fang, Wang (2019). 'Political Economy of the Han Dynasty and Its Legacy' (cit. on p. 23).
- Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆声 (1999). 《南诏大理国雕刻绘画艺术》. Kunming: 云南人民出版社 (cit. on p. 20).
- Needham, Joseph (1971). 'Science and Civilisation in China: Physics and Physical Technology – Civil Engineering and Nautics'. Vol. 4-3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (cit. on pp. 8, 12, 13).
- Nienhauser, William H. Jr. (2010). 'The Grand Scribe's Records: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II'. In: Nienhauser, William H. Jr. (2006). 'The Grand Scribe's Records'. Indiana University Press (cit. on pp. 5, 15).
- (2016). 'The Grand Scribe's Records: The Memoirs of Han China, Part III'. Vol. X. Indiana University Press (cit. on pp. 6, 12–16, 19).
- Pankenier, David W. (1999). 'Applied Field-Allocation Astrology in Zhou China: : Duke Wen of Jin and the Battle of Chengpu (632 B. C.)' In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, pp. 261–279 (cit. on p. 21).
- Schuessler, Alex (2006). 'ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese'. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (cit. on p. 16).
- Swann, Nancy Lee (1950). 'Food and Money in Ancient China'. Princeton: Princeton University Press (cit. on p. 8).
- Watson, Burton (1961). 'Records of the Grand Historian of China. Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien'. Vol. 2. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on pp. 5, 12, 19).
- (1974). 'Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han by Pan Ku'. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on pp. 5, 13).
- Wylie, Alexander (1880). 'History of the South-Western Barbarians and Chaou-Seen'. In: *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 9, pp. 53–96 (cit. on p. 5).
- Yang, Bin (2004). 'Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)'. New York: Columbia University Press (cit. on pp. 16, 25).
- 《古代汉语词典》(2002). 商务印书馆 (cit. on p. 24).

Index

- 公元前 26 年, 8-49–8-50*n*
公元前 30 年, 7-47*n*
公元前 76 年, 7-45*n*
公元前 81 年, 7-38*n*
公元前 82 年, 7-34*n*
公元前 83 年, 7-32*n*
公元前 86 年, 7-27*n*
公元前 94 年, 5
公元前 105 年, 6-23*n*
公元前 109 年, 6-19*n*, 18-289*n*
公元前 111 年, 6-14*n*
公元前 112 年, 6-7*n*, 6-10*n*
公元前 120 年, 6-5*n*
公元前 122 年, 16-231*n*
公元前 125 年, 6-3*n*
公元前 129 年, 6-1*n*
公元前 135 年, 13-169*n*
-135 [建元六年], 13-169*R*
-122 [元狩元年], 16-231*R*
-109 [元封二年], 18-289*R*
- Āndìng 安定, 11-109*R*
Ānníng Shì 安宁市, 10-102*n*
- Bā 巴, 6-1*R*, 6-10*R*, 6-20*R*, 8-64*R*, 8-64*R*, 9-72*R*,
11-110*R*, 11-114*R*, 11-130*R*, 12-148*R*,
13-152*R*, 13-158*R*, 13-166*R*, 13-167*R*,
14-193*R*, 14-198*R*, 15-207*R*, 15-214*R*,
17-263*R*, 18-289*R*
- Báimǎ 白马, 12-146*R*, 18-280*R*
Bǎi Shǐchāng 柏始昌, 16-243*R*
Bān Gù 班固, 5
Bǎoshān 保山, 10-103*n*
Běidì 北地, 11-109*R*
Bìgǔ 贲古, 10-103*R*
Bǐsū 比苏, 10-103*R*
Bó 夔, 8-69*R*, 11-118*R*, 13-167*R*, 15-208*R*
Bówàngūhóu 博望侯, 16-231*R*
Bùwéi 不韦, 10-103*R*
- Chángān 长安, 14-177*R*
Cháng È 常頰, 13-161*R*
- Chángqiāng 尝羌, 16-246*R*
Chángshā 长沙, 14-187*R*
Chányú 单于, 8-52*R*, 8-55*R*
Chíyì Hóu 驰义侯, 6-10*R*, 6-14*R*, 17-258*R*
Chǔ Guó 楚国, 12-149, 13-153*R*, 13-156*R*, 13-157*R*
Chǔ Wēi Wáng 楚威王, 12-150*R*
Chǔxióng 楚雄, 10-101*n*
- Dàxià 大夏, 16-232*R*, 16-233*R*, 16-239*R*
Dàxíng 大行, 13-169*R*
Dǐ 氏, 12-147*R*
Diān 滇, 11-118*R*
Diānchí 滇池, 6-6*R*, 6-6*n*, 10-101*R*, 13-154*R*,
18-281
Diānguó 滇国, 11-133*R*, 12-134*R*, 16-246*R*,
16-246*R*, 17-250*R*, 17-255*R*, 17-268*R*,
18-284*R*, 18-285*R*, 19-291*R*, 19-292*R*,
19-294*R*, 19-297*R*, 19-300*R*, 19-301*R*
Diān Wáng 滇王, 12-149, 13-159*R*
Diān Wáng Zhī Yìn 滇王之印, 18-246
Dōngjǐng 东井, 10-106*R*, 10-106*n*
Dōngōu 东瓯, 8-60*R*
Dōng Yuè 东越, 13-170*R*, 13-170*R*
Dūwèi 都尉, 7-29*R*
Dūnhuáng 敦煌, 11-111*R*
Duō Tóng 多同, 14-199*R*
- Ěrhǎi 洱海, 6-6*n*
- Fǎhuási 法华寺, 20
Fēnyě 分野, 10-105, 10-105, 10-106*R*
Féngyì 冯翊, 11-109*R*
Fúfēng 扶风, 11-109*R*
- Gōngsūn Hóng 公孙弘, 15-221*R*, 15-223*R*,
15-224*R*
Gǒujiàng 枸酱, 13-173*R*, 14-178*R*
Gōutǐng 钩町, 7-41*R*, 8-54*R*, 8-55*R*
Gōutǐng Hóu Wúbō 钩町侯毋波, 7-39*R*, 7-41*R*
Gǔchāng 谷昌, 10-102*R*
Gūzēng 姑缯, 7-27*R*
Guānnèihóu 关内侯, 7-43*R*

- Guǎnghàn 广汉, 11-110R, 11-114R, 18-281R
 Guìzhōu 贵州, 10-102n
 Guō Chāng 郭昌, 6-19R, 7-25R, 17-266R
- Hàn 汉, 6-9R, 9-79R, 9-82R, 9-87R, 9-97,
 13-164R, 14-193R, 15-202R, 15-203R,
 16-239R, 17-250R, 17-251R, 17-254R,
 17-263R, 17-265R, 18-275R
 Hàn Cháo 汉朝, 5, 8-51, 10-105
 Hàn Chéngdì 汉成帝, 7-46
 Hàn Jǐngdì 汉景帝, 8-57R, 8-57-8-58n, 11-123R
 Hàn Shū 汉书, 5, 11-131, 19
 Hàn Wéndì 汉文帝, 8-57R, 8-57-8-58n
 Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 5, 8-57R, 8-57-8-58n,
 11-123R, 11-129R
 Hàn Xuāndì 汉宣帝, 8-52R
 Hànzhaodì 汉昭帝, 7-26
 Hé 河, 15-224R
 Héping 河平, 8-50R
 Hé Yí 何遗, 6-10R, 6-14R
 Hónglú 鸿胪, 7-32R, 7-34R, 7-42R
 Hóngnóng 弘农, 10-108R
 Hóu 侯, 8-55R, 14-199R, 17-252R, 18-271R,
 18-276R
 Hòu Hàn 后汉, 16-000
 Hú 胡, 8-58R, 15-224R
- Jiànlíng 健伶, 10-104R
 Jiànshǐ 建始, 7-47R
 Jiānwèi 犍为, 7-30R, 8-50R, 11-110R, 11-128R,
 15-205R, 16-230R, 17-259R, 17-262R
 Jiànyuán 建元, 13-169R
 Jiānghuái 江淮, 8-60R
 Jīnchéng 金城, 11-111R
 Jìnníng 晋宁, 10-104n
 Jīngzhào 京兆, 11-109R
 Jiǔquán 酒泉, 11-111R
 Jūlán 且兰, 17-260R, 18-276R
 Jùn 郡, 6-17R, 6-22R, 9-84R, 9-87R, 11-115R,
 13-158R, 15-206R, 15-210R, 15-214R,
 18-270R, 18-279R, 18-280R, 18-280R,
 18-281R, 19-297R
 Jūnshū 均输, 9-90R
 Jūnzhèng 军正, 7-35R
- Kūnmíng 昆明, 6-23R, 12-137R, 17-248R
 Kūnmíngchí 昆明池, 9-78R, 9-80R
 Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市, 10-101n
 Kūnzé 昆泽, 10-103R
- Láiwéi 来唯, 10-104R
 Láojìn 劳浸, 18-286R, 18-288R, 19-290R
 Liánrán 连然, 10-102R
 Liántóu 廉头, 7-27R
 Lìng 令, 13-171R
 Lǒngxī 陇西, 11-110R
 Lùgāo 律高, 10-103R
 Lǚ Jiā 吕嘉, 6-8R
 Lǚ Pòhú 吕破胡, 7-29R
 Lǚ Yuè 吕越, 16-243R
- Mányí 蛮夷, 8-70R, 12-148R
 Máng 駟, 12-142R, 12-146R, 18-276R
 Mǐmò 靡莫, 11-133R, 18-286R, 18-288R, 19-290R
- Nányí 南夷, 6-2R, 9-74R, 11-114R, 11-132R,
 15-212R, 16-229R, 17-259R, 17-269R,
 18-283R
 Nányuè 南越, 6-6, 6-8R, 6-10R, 13-172R, 13-173R,
 14-182R, 14-184R, 14-191R, 17-258R,
 17-263R, 17-265R, 18-271R, 18-272R,
 18-275R, 18-283R
 Nòngdòng 弄栋, 10-103R
- Pānyú 番禺, 6-12R, 9-83R, 14-176R
 Póyáng 番禺, 13-171R
 Póyáng 鄱阳, 13-171n
- Qiānfū 千夫, 9-76R
 Qiánzhōng 黔中, 13-152R, 13-158R
 Qiāng 羌, 9-83R, 11-127R
 Qín 秦, 10-105, 10-106R, 11-115R, 13-163R
 Qín Cháo 秦朝, 26
 Qín Guó 秦国, 13-157R, 13-161R
 Qínzāng 秦臧, 10-102R
 Qióng 邛, 8-69R, 11-118R, 16-233R, 16-237R,
 18-276R
 Qióng Dū 邛都, 12-134R, 15-210R, 18-279R
- Rǎn 冉, 18-276R

- Rǎn 冉, 12-142R
 Rǎnmáng 冉駘, 18-280R
- Shàngjùn 上郡, 11-109R
 Shēndú Guó 身毒国, 16-235R, 16-237R, 16-241R,
 16-244R, 17-249R
 Shěnlí 沈犁, 18-279R
 Shěnlí 沈黎, 6-18R
 Shèngxiū 胜休, 10-104R
 Shǐjì 史记, 5, 6-6, 11-131, 11-132n, 11-132n, 11-133n,
 12-134n, 12-134n, 12-136n, 12-136n,
 12-137n, 12-137n, 12-137n, 12-138n,
 12-141n, 12-141n, 12-141n, 12-142n,
 12-142n, 12-143n, 12-144n, 12-146n,
 12-146n, 13-153n, 13-154n, 13-158n,
 13-161n, 13-164n, 13-166n, 13-166n,
 13-167n, 13-169n, 13-169n, 13-171n,
 13-171n, 13-173n, 14-174n, 14-174n,
 14-177n, 14-181n, 14-182n, 14-182n,
 14-184n, 14-186n, 14-189n, 14-190n,
 14-190n, 14-190n, 14-190n, 14-190n,
 14-194n, 14-196n, 14-197n, 14-197n,
 15-200n, 15-200n, 15-209n, 15-211n,
 15-214n, 15-217n, 15-217n, 15-219n,
 15-219n, 15-221n, 15-223n, 15-223n,
 15-224n, 15-224n, 15-224n, 16-228n,
 16-228n, 16-229n, 16-231n, 16-231n,
 16-232n, 16-241n, 16-244n, 16-244n,
 16-246n, 16-246n, 17-248n, 17-248n,
 17-250n, 17-250n, 17-253n, 17-253n,
 17-253n, 17-258n, 17-263n, 17-263n,
 17-264n, 17-266n, 17-267n, 17-267n,
 17-269n, 17-269n, 18-271n, 18-271n,
 18-271n, 18-275n, 18-279n, 18-279n,
 18-279n, 18-279n, 18-280n, 18-280n,
 18-281, 18-282n, 18-282n, 18-282n,
 18-286n, 18-286n, 18-286n, 18-288n,
 18-288n, 18-289n, 19-294n, 19-294n,
 19-294n, 19-301n
- Shǐyuán 始元, 7-27R
 Shōumǐ 收靡, 10-102R
 Shǔ 蜀, 6-2R, 6-10R, 6-20R, 8-64R, 8-64R,
 9-72R, 9-84R, 11-110R, 11-114R, 11-124R,
 12-145R, 12-149R, 13-165R, 13-166R,
 13-167R, 13-173R, 14-177R, 14-178R,
 14-193R, 14-198R, 15-207R, 15-209R,
 15-213R, 15-214R, 16-233R, 16-236R,
 17-263R, 19-290R
- Shǔjùn 蜀郡, 7-30R
 Shūshí 朱提, 9-94
 Shuāngbǎi 双柏, 10-101R
 Shuǐhéng 水衡, 7-29R
 Shuòfāng 朔方, 15-224R
 Sīmǎ Qiān 司马迁, 5
 Sīmǎ Xiāngrú 司马相如, 8-62R, 15-209R,
 15-211R
- Tàishǒu 太守, 17-262R
 Tánzhǐ 谈指, 7-28R
 Táng Méng 唐蒙, 8-62R, 13-172R, 13-173R,
 13-173R, 14-177R, 14-184R, 14-196R,
 15-204R
- Tián Guǎngmíng 田广明, 7-32R, 7-35R, 7-42R
 Tiānshuǐ 天水, 11-110R, 11-131R
 Tónglài 铜濊, 10-102R
 Tóngláo 同劳, 10-101R
 Tóngshī 同师, 12-136R, 14-183R
 Tóulán 头兰, 17-267R
- Wáng Huī 王恢, 13-169R, 13-171R
 Wáng Mǎng 王莽, 8-51, 8-51, 8-54R
 Wáng Píng 王平, 7-35R
 Wáng Rányú 王然于, 16-243R, 18-282R
 Wáng Yǐng 王郢, 13-170R
 Wèi Guǎng 卫广, 6-20R, 17-266R
 Wèixiàn 味县, 10-102R
 Wènshān 汶山, 18-280R
 Wénshān 文山, 6-18R
 Wén Wēng 文翁, 11-123R, 11-126R
 Wǔchǐdào 五尺道, 12-149, 13-161R
 Wǔdàfū 五大夫, 9-76R
 Wǔdū 武都, 6-18R, 11-110R, 11-127R, 11-130R,
 18-281R
 Wǔwēi 武威, 11-111R
 Wúzhúo 毋掇, 10-104R
- Xī 霁, 12-137R, 12-141R
 Xī 徙, 12-141R
 Xihé 西河, 11-109R

- Xīnán Yí 西南夷, 6-4R, 6-16R, 6-17R, 6-21R,
8-53R, 8-62R, 8-66R, 15-215R, 15-218R,
16-225R, 19-294R, 19-299R
- Xīnányīliǎngyuècháoxiānchuán 西南夷两粤
朝鲜传, 5
- Xītáng 嵎唐, 10-103R
- Xī Yí 西夷, 15-210R, 16-228R, 16-244R
- Xǐzhōu 喜洲, 10-103*n*
- Xiàngjùn 象郡, 7-45R
- Xiélóng 邪龙, 10-102R
- Xīncháo 新朝, 8-51
- Xiōngnú 匈奴, 8-51, 8-51, 16-227R, 16-240R
- Yán Zhù 严助, 8-59R
- Yèláng 夜郎, 6-11R, 11-132R, 14-179R, 14-180R,
14-182R, 14-189R, 14-194R, 14-199R,
15-202R, 16-229R, 17-252R, 18-271R,
18-273R, 18-274R, 19-299R
- Yèyú 叶榆, 10-103R
- Yèyú 楛榆, 12-136R
- Yí 夷, 11-128R
- Yìzhōu 益州, 6-22R, 6-23R, 7-27R, 7-30R, 7-33R,
7-35R, 10-97, 10-98R, 11-112R, 19-297R
- Yǒngchāng 永昌, 10-103*n*
- Yúguǐ 舆鬼, 10-106R, 10-106*n*
- Yùlín 郁林, 7-46R
- Yùshǐ Dàfū 御史大夫, 15-223R
- Yúyuán 俞元, 10-102R
- Yùzhāng 豫章, 14-187R
- Yuándǐng 元鼎, 6-7R
- Yuánfēng 元凤, 7-45R
- Yuánfēng 元封, 6-19R, 18-289R
- Yuánguāng 元光, 6-1R
- Yuánshòu 元狩, 6-5R, 16-231R
- Yuánshuò 元朔, 6-3R
- Yuè 粤, 8-58R, 8-60R, 9-79R, 9-83R
- Yuèxī 越巂, 6-18R, 8-48R
- Yuèxī 越巂, 11-112R, 11-128R, 18-279R
- Yúnnán 云南, 5, 9-94, 10-103R, 12-149, 13-168, 19
- Yúnnányì 云南驿, 10-103*n*
- Zānggē 牂牁, 14-174R, 18-270R
- Zāngkē 牂柯, 6-12R, 6-18R, 7-28R, 7-46R,
11-112R, 11-128R, 14-175R, 14-180R,
14-190R, 15-208R
- Zhāng Qiān 张騫, 16-231R, 16-239R
- Zhāngyè 张掖, 11-111R
- Zhōnglángjiāng 中郎将, 6-20R, 14-196R,
14-196*n*, 15-211R, 17-266R
- Zhū Mǎichén 朱买臣, 8-59R
- Zhūtíyín 朱提银, 9-94, 9-95R
- Zhuāng Qiāo 庄蹻, 12-149, 12-150R, 13-153R,
13-154R
- Zhuāng Wáng 庄王, 13-153R
- Zuó 筰, 12-141R, 12-142R, 13-167R, 15-210R,
18-276R, 18-279R