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

Annotated Translations of Selected Text from the 《后汉书》

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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/>

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1 Introduction

The ‘*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*’ 《后汉书》 is one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, compiled during the Liú Sòng 刘宋 period, 420–479 CE, by Fàn Yē 范曄. It covers the history of the Eastern Hàn 东汉 period from 25–189 CE, continuing the work of the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》.

Of its in total one hundred and twenty *juàn*, the 86th covers the western and southern *Yí* 西南夷, i.e. non-Chinese groups in China’s south-west, including the region that is now Yúnnán.

2 About this Translation

The multi-volume collection of historic material relating to Yúnnán 《云南史料丛刊》 contains relevant excerpts from the 《后汉书》.⁽¹⁾ However, I have decided just to translate the relevant sections from the 86th *juàn*.

The full text of the 《后汉书》 is available at <https://ctext.org/hou-han-shu/ens>. Various scanned copies are available, e.g. a print from 1655 CE printing blocks at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00063251> and <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00063252>.⁽²⁾

The 86th *juàn* of the 《后汉书》 is translated in Wylie (1882).

3 Annotated Translation

第八十六卷 The Western and Southern *Yí* 西南夷

The 86th *juàn* begins with a section on the southern *Mán* 南蛮, which does not cover regions of interest here, and then continues with the western and southern *Yí* 西南夷 in the regions to the south of Shǔ 蜀.

This section is translated in Wylie (1882), pp. 225–248.

西南夷者，在蜀郡徼外。

有夜郎国，东接交址，西有滇国，北有邛都国，各立君长。其人皆椎结左衽，邑聚而居，能耕田。

其外又有嵩、昆明诸落，西极同师，东北至叶榆，地方数千里。无君长，辫发，随畜迁徙无常。

自嵩东北有葑都国，东北有冉駹国，

The western and southern *Yí* live outside the borders of Shǔ prefecture.

There is the state of Yèláng: in its east it borders Jiāozhǐ, in its west is the kingdom of Diān, in its north is the state of Qióng district, each with its own ruler. Their people bind their hair in a knot and **fasten their clothes on the left**, they live in villages and know how to till.

Outside of these regions are the tribes of Xī and Kūnmíng, at its western-most point is Tóngshī, in the north-east it reaches Yèyú, its territory is several thousand *lǐ* square. They do not have leaders, they braid their hair, and follow their livestock around without fixed abode.

North-east of Xī is the state of Zuó, in its north-east is the state of

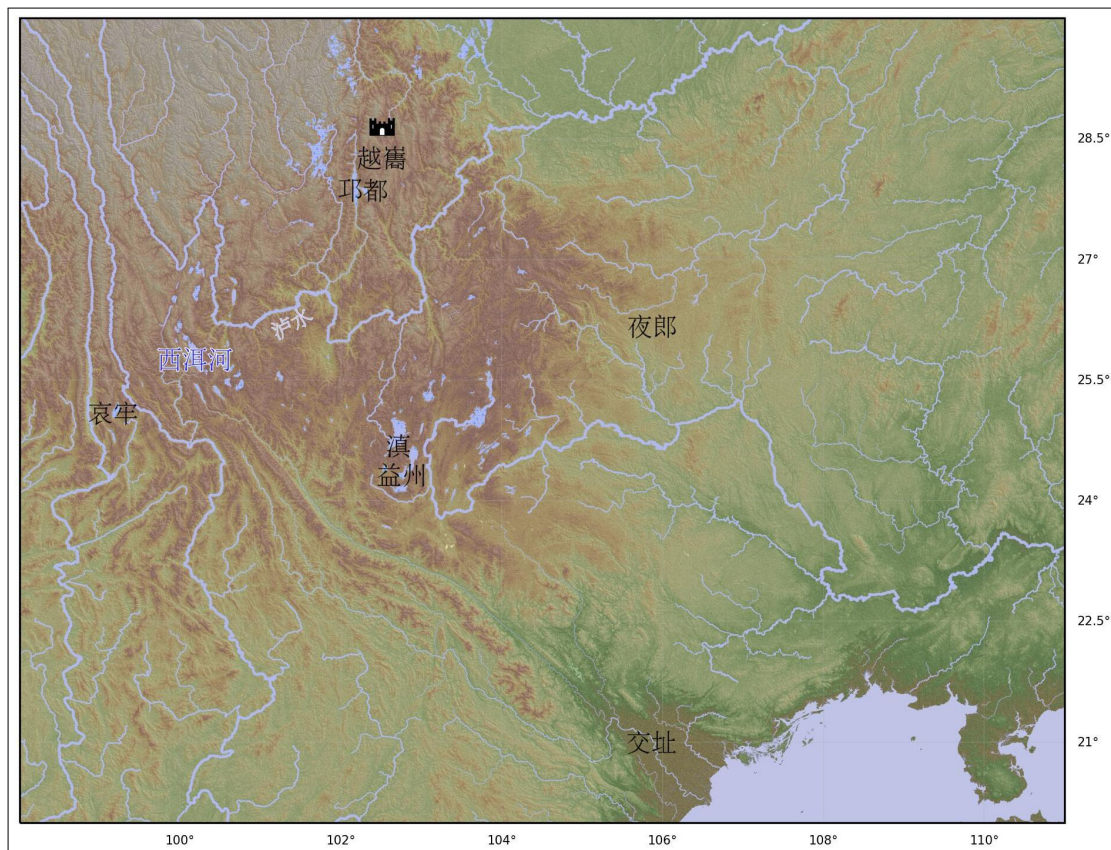
后汉书 5

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r5-6: fasten their clothes on the left] a marker for non-Chinese people

⁽¹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, pp. 54–74.

⁽²⁾ In this particular scan the 86th *juàn* ranges from page 1472 to 1506 in the second part.



Map 1:
Regions mentioned in the 《后汉书》

或土著，或随畜迁徙。自冉駝东北有白马国，氐种是也。此三国亦有君长。

Rǎnmáng, some are settled, some follow their animals. North-east of the state of Rǎnmáng is state of Báimǎ, they are also called Dī. These three kingdoms have leaders.

Yèláng 夜郎

夜郎者，初有女子浣于遯水，有三节大竹流入足闲，闻其中有号声，剖竹视之，得一男儿，归而养之。

Yèláng: in the beginning was a woman who bathed in a hidden stream, there were three segments of bamboo floating by, she played them with her feet and heard a voice inside, she cut the bamboo to look inside, and she took out a young boy and raised him.

后汉书 20 及长，有才武，自立为夜郎侯，以竹为姓。

When he grew up, he was skilled in the art of war, established himself as marquis of Yèláng, and took Zhú as name.

武帝元鼎六年，平南夷，为牂柯郡，

In the 6th year of the Yuándǐng of Hàn emperor Wǔ, the southern

r 21: Zhú] Zhú 竹 of means bamboo.

r 22: In the 6th year of the Yuándǐng of Hàn emperor Wǔ] 111 CE.

夜郎侯迎降，天子赐其王印绶。后遂杀之。	Yí were pacified and became Zāngkē prefecture, the marquis of Yèláng submitted, the emperor conferred him the seal of a king. Later he was killed.	后汉书 25
夷獠咸以竹王非血气所生，甚重之，求为立后。	The <i>Yíláo</i> were weak, born without the vitality of king Zhú, they held him in high esteem and wanted him to become their leader.	
牂柯太守霸以闻，天子乃封其三子为侯。死，配食其父。今夜郎县有竹王三郎神是也。	When he heard that the grand protector of Zāngkē acted as tyrant, the emperor then appointed his three sons as marquis. When he died, his fiefdom was divided among them. Today, in Yèláng county the three immortal officials of king Zhú are them.	后汉书 30
初，楚顷襄王时，遣将庄豪从沅水伐夜郎，军至且兰，檣船于岸而步战。	Earlier, at the time of Chǔ's king Qǐngxiāng, the commander Zhuāng Qiāo made an expedition from the Yuán river against Yèláng, the army reached Jūlán, they tied up the boats on the river bank and fought a battle on foot.	后汉书 35
既灭夜郎，因留王滇池。以且兰檣船牂柯处，乃改其名为牂柯。	He wiped out Yèláng and stayed behind as king of Lake Dian. As where they tied the boats in Jūlán was a mooring place, they changed its name to Zāngkē.	
牂柯地多雨潦，俗好巫鬼禁忌，寡畜生，又无蚕桑，故其郡最贫。	In Zāngkē heavy rains cause floods, customarily they are good at sorcery and magic, they herd animals for a living, do not raise silk-worms, so their lands are very poor.	后汉书 40
句町县有桃粮木，可以为面，百姓资之。	In Jùtǐng county they have sugar palm wood, which can be used as flour and people trade it.	
公孙述时，大姓龙、傅、尹、董氏，与郡功曹谢暹保境为汉，乃遣使从番禺江奉贡。光武嘉之，并加褒赏。	At the time of Gōngsūn Shù, there were the powerful families of the Lóng, Fù, Yǐn and Dǒng clan, the meritorious official Xiè Xiān protected the border for the Hàn, and sent an envoy to make a tribute mission from the Pānyú river. Emperor Guāngwǔ praised him, and awarded him a precious robe.	后汉书 45
桓帝时，郡人尹珍自以生于荒裔，不知礼义，乃从汝南许慎、应奉受经书图纬，学成，还乡里教授，于是南域始有学焉。珍官至荆州刺史。	At the time of Hàn emperor Huán, the nobleman Yǐn Zhēn was a descendant born in the wild lands, unfamiliar with the rites, he followed Rǔnán's Xǔ Shèn to learn and study the classics, after he had studied, he spread the teachings in his homeland, from then on there was enlightenment in the southern lands. Zhēn was later promoted to regional inspector of Jīngzhōu.	后汉书 50

Kingdom of Diān 滇国

r 32: at the time of Chǔ's king Qǐngxiāng] ruled 298–263.

r 33: Zhuāng Qiāo] Zhuāng Háo 庄豪 refers to Zhuāng Qiāo who made military expeditions against Yèláng 夜郎.

r 37–38: a mooring place, they changed its name to Zāngkē] Zāngkē 牂柯 signifies a place, where boats can be tied to a post.

r 44: At the time of Gōngsūn Shù] i.e. around 24–36 CE.

r 45–46: the meritorious official Xiè Xiān protected the border for the Hàn] Xiè Xiān 谢暹, *22 BCE–†3636 CE, was a Chinese official and rebel in the southern borderlands.

r 49: At the time of Hàn emperor Huán] ruled 146–168.



Illustration 1:
滇国 and 哀牢 in the 《后汉书》

Source: 1655 CE print held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Germany,
<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00063252>.

滇王者，庄躋之后也。

元封二年，武帝平之，以其地为益州郡，割牂柯、越嵩各数县配之。

后数年，复并昆明地，皆以属之此郡。

有池，周回二百馀里，水源深广，而未更浅狭，有似倒流，故谓之滇池。河土平敞，多出鸚鵡、孔雀，有盐池田渔之饶，金银畜产之富。人俗豪伙。居官者皆富及累世。

及王莽政乱，益州郡夷栋蚕、若豆等起兵杀郡守，越嵩姑复夷人大牟亦皆叛，杀略吏人。莽遣宁始将军廉丹，发巴蜀吏人及转兵谷卒徒十馀万击之。吏士饥疫，连年不能克而还。以广汉文齐为太守，造起陂池，开通溉灌，垦田二千馀顷。率厉兵马，修障塞，降集群夷，甚得其和。及公孙述据益土，齐固守拒险，述拘其妻子，许以封侯，齐遂不降。闻光武即位，乃闲道遣使自闻。蜀平，徵为镇远将军，封成义侯。于道卒，诏为起祠堂，郡人立庙祀之。

建武十八年，夷渠帅栋蚕与姑复、牒榆、桄栋、连然、滇池、建伶、昆明诸种反叛，杀长吏。益州太守繁胜与战而败，退保朱提。十九年，遣武威将

The king of Diān is a descendant of Zhuāng Qiāo.

In the 2nd year of Yuánfēng, Hàn emperor Wǔ pacified [the kingdom], and desclared its lands Yìzhōu prefecture, and divided from Zāngkē and Yuèxī several counties to join it.

Several years later, he joined the lands of Kūnmíng and all was below this prefecture.

There is a lake, more than two hundred *lǐ* around, at its source it is deep and wide, but narrow at its end, sometimes it flows backwards, so it is called Lake Dian. The land along the river is flat and wide, there are many parrots, peacocks, there are salt ponds and many fields and fish, and abundance of gold, silver, and livestock. **Their customs are unrestrained and wasteful.** The local officials are all rich and inherited their titles.

Then under Wáng Mǎng the state was in chaos, in Yìzhōu prefecture the *Yí* Dòngcán and Ruòdòu raised troops to kill the officials, Yuèxī's Gūfū *Yí* Dà Móu also and rebelled, killed and robbed the officials. Wáng Mǎng sent as envoy the Níngshǐ general Lián Dān, dispatched officials from Bā and Shǔ and transported arms and grains for more than hundred thousand soldiers to attack them. The officials and soldiers were hungry and ill, could not conquer them for several years and retreated. Guǎnghàn's Wén Qí was appointed grand protector, he raised dikes and initiated irrigation, opening up two thousand *qǐng* of farmland. He led and supervised cavalry and infantry, improved barriers and stockades, subdued and concentrated many *Yí*, pacifying them. Then Gōngsūn Shù relied on the fertile lands, Qí defended the dangerous places, Shù detained their wives and children, betrothed them to the marquis, Qí did not capitulate. When he heard that later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ had taken power, he send an envoy along the small roads to find out himself. Shǔ was pacified, he was summoned to be appointed Zhènyuǎn general and appointed as marquis of Chéngyì. He died on the road, an edict was issued to erect an ancestral hall, and the people established a temple to honour him.

In the 18th year of Jiànwǔ, the *Yí*qú leaders Dòng Cán and various groups from Gūfū, Yèyú, Lóngdòng, Liánrán, Diānchí, Jiànlián, and Kūnmíng rebelled, killing the higher officials. Yìzhōu grand protector Fán Shèng fought a battled with them and was defeated, and

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[56: In the 2nd year of Yuánfēng] 109 CE.

[64: 豪伙] 伙 Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1 notes an Táng dynasty annotation by Lǐ Xián that this means *háochǐ* 豪侈. This particular character combination is apparently not used elsewhere.

r 65–66: Their customs are unrestrained and wasteful] It is unclear how the term *háo* 伙豪伙 should be translated. Wylie (1882), p. 228 translates it as 'The men were usually heroic and daring.'

r 88: In the 18th year of Jiànwǔ] 42 CE.

后汉书 95 军刘尚等发广汉、犍为、蜀郡人及朱提夷，合万三千人击之。尚军遂度泸水，入益州界。群夷闻大兵至，皆弃垒奔走，尚获其羸弱、谷畜。二十年，进兵与栋蚕等连战数月，皆破之。明年正月，追至不韦，斩栋蚕帅，凡首虏七千余人，得生口五千七百人，马三千疋，牛羊三万馀头，诸夷悉平。

后汉书 105 肃宗元和中，蜀郡王追为太守，政化尤异，有神马四匹出滇池河中，甘露降，白鸟见，始兴起学校，渐迁其俗。灵帝熹平五年，诸夷反叛，执太守雍陟。遣御史中丞朱龟讨之，不能克。朝

后汉书 110 议以为郡在边外，蛮夷喜叛，劳师远役，不如弃之。太尉掾巴郡李颺建策讨伐，乃拜颺益州太守，与刺史庞芝发板楯蛮击破平之，还得雍陟。颺卒后，夷人复叛，以广汉景毅为太守，讨定之。毅初到郡，米斛万钱，渐以仁恩，少年闲，米至数十云。

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retreated to Shūshí. **In the 19th year**, the Wūwēi general Liú Shàng dispatched in total thirteen thousand men from Guǎnghàn, Jiānwèi, Shǔ prefecture Shūshí Yí, in total thirteen thousand men to attack them. Shàng's army succeeded in crossing the Lú river, entering the borders of Yìzhōu. When the Yí heard that a large army arrived, they abandoned their fortresses and ran away, Shàng caught their weak and frail, their valley and livestock. **In the 20th year**, soldiers marched to fight several battles over the months with Dòng Cán, they were all defeated. **In the 1st month of the following year**, they chased them until Bùwéi executed Dòng Cán, captured in total more than seven thousand leaders and men, captured alive five thousand seven hundred men, three thousand horses, more than three thousand cattle and goats, the Yí were all pacified.

During the reign Yuánhé of Hàn emperor Sùzōng, in Shǔ prefecture Wáng Zhuī was appointed as grand protector, government and enlightenment were outstanding, four magic horses emerged from Lake Dian, sweet dew fell, a white bird was seen, schools were established, gradually improving their customs. **In the 5th year of Hàn emperor Líng's Xìpíng reign**, the Yí rebelled again and captured the grand protector Yōng Zhì. The vice censor-in-chief Zhū Guī was sent out to punish them, but could not subdue them. The court opined that the district should be outside the borders, the Mányí liked to rebelled, to raise troops for the faraway regions was not as good as giving them up. The defender-in-chief subordinate for Bā prefecture Lǐ Yóng argued for a punishment expedition, Yóng was appointed as Yìzhōu grand protector, and the regional inspector Páng Zhī sent out Bǎn Shǔn Mán to attack and pacify them, and brought back Yōng Zhì. After Yóng died, the Yí rebelled again, the Guǎnghàn Jǐng Yì was appointed grand protector, he made an expedition and pacified them. When Yì first arrived in the prefecture, one hú of rice was ten thousand cash, through benevolence this was within a few years reduced to several tens.

The Āiláo Yí 哀牢夷

The section on the Āiláo Yí records one of the earliest Yúnnán myths: a woman called Shāyī 沙壹 conceiving ten sons by a dragon who were to become the ancestors of the old kingdoms.

哀牢夷者，其先有妇人名沙壹，居于 | The ancestor of the Yí of Āiláo was a woman called Shāyī, she lived

r 92: In the 19th year] 43 CE.

r 98: In the 20th year] 44 CE.

r 100: In the 1st month of the following year] 45 CE.

r 105: During the reign Yuánhé of Hàn emperor Sùzōng] 84–86 CE.

r 109–110: In the 5th year of Hàn emperor Líng's Xìpíng reign] 176 CE.

<p>牢山。 尝捕鱼水中，触沈木若有感，因怀妊，十月，产子男十人。</p>	<p>in the Āiláo mountains. She frequently went fishing in the waters, she touched a submerged log that seemed to be alive, she became pregnant, after ten months gave birth to ten sons.</p>	后汉书 125
<p>后沈木化为龙，出水上。</p>	<p>Later, the submerged log turned into a dragon and emerged from the waters.</p>	后汉书 130
<p>沙壹忽闻龙语曰：若为我生子，今悉何在？ 九子见龙惊走，独小子不能去，背龙而坐，龙因舐之。</p>	<p>Shāyī suddenly heard the voice of the dragon saying: You gave birth to my sons, where are they now? Nine sons, seeing the dragon, were frightened and ran away, only the youngest could not run away, he sat with his back to the dragon, so the dragon licked his back.</p>	后汉书 135
<p>其母鸟语，谓背为九，谓坐为隆，因名子曰九隆。 及后长大，诸兄以九隆能为父所舐而黠，遂共推以为王。 后牢山下有一夫一妇，复生十女子，九隆兄弟皆娶以为妻，后渐相滋长。</p>	<p>In his mother's bird language, the back is called <i>jiǔ</i>, sitting is called <i>lóng</i>, so his name became Jiǔlóng. And after he grew up, his brothers considered Jiǔlóng as smart as he had been licked by his father, so they all nominated him as king. Later, below the Āiláo Shān lived a man with his wife who had ten daughters, Jiǔlóng and his brothers took them as wives, they prospered and multiplied.</p>	后汉书 140
<p>种人皆刻画其身，象龙文，衣皆著尾。 九隆死，世世相继。</p>	<p>They all had marks drawn on their bodies, resembling a dragon, and their clothes all had a tail. Jiǔlóng passed away, his descendants continued over the generations.</p>	后汉书 145
<p>乃分置小王，往往邑居，散在溪谷。</p>	<p>They divided and established small kingdoms, often living in villages dispersed over the streams and valleys.</p>	
<p>绝域荒外，山川阻深，生人以来，未尝交通中国。</p>	<p>Their faraway lands in the desolate exterior, with mountains high and rivers deep, from the earliest people on they were not in contact with China.</p>	后汉书 150
<p>建武二十三年，其王贤栗遣兵乘箬船，南下江、汉，击附塞夷鹿芟。鹿芟人弱，为所禽获。于是震雷疾雨，南风飘起，水为逆流，奔涌二百馀里，箬船沈没，哀牢之众，溺死数千人。贤栗复遣其六王将万人以攻鹿芟，鹿芟王与战，杀其六王。哀牢耆老共埋六王，夜虎复出其尸而食之，余众惊怖引去。贤栗惶恐，谓其耆老曰：“我曹入边塞，自古有之，今攻鹿芟，辄被天诛，中国其有圣帝乎？天佑助之，何其明也！”</p>	<p>In the 23rd year of Jiànwǔ, their king Xiánli sent out troops on bamboo rafts down southwards on the Jiāng and Hàn, to attack the border stockades of the Lùjì Yí. The Lùjì were weak and were captured. Then torrential rain struck, a wind rose from the south, the waters flowed backwards, rushing forth more than two hundred <i>lǐ</i>, the rafts sank, several thousand Āiláo people drowned. Xiánli again sent six kings leading ten thousand men to attack Lùjì, the king of Lùjì battled with them and killed the six kings. The Āiláo elders buried the six kings together, at night tigers dug out their corpses and ate them, the survivors were frightened and ran away. Xiánli was stricken with terror, and said to his elders: ‘We entered their borders, from time immemorial it belongs to us, and now we attacked Lùjì and we were punished by heaven. Has China holy emperors?’</p>	后汉书 155
		后汉书 160

r152: In the 23rd year of Jiànwǔ] 47 CE.

- 二十七年，贤栗等遂率种人户二千七百七十，口万七千六百五十九，诣越巂太守郑鸿降，求内属。光武封贤栗等为君长。自是岁来朝贡。
- 永平十二年，哀牢王柳貌遣子率种人内属，其称邑王者七十七人，户五千八百九十，口五十五万三千七百一十一。西南去洛阳七千里，显宗以其地置哀牢、博南二县，割益州郡西部都尉所领六县，合为永昌郡。始通博南山，度兰仓水，行者苦之。
- 后汉书 175
- 歌曰：“汉德广，开不宾。度博南，越兰津。度兰仓，为它人。”
- 哀牢人皆穿鼻儋耳，其渠帅自谓王者，耳皆下肩三寸，庶人则至肩而已。土地沃美，宜五谷、蚕桑。知染采文绣，鬲毳帛叠，兰干细布，织成文章如绫锦。有梧桐木华，绩以为布，幅广五尺，洁白不受垢污。先以覆亡人，然后服之。其竹节相去一丈，名曰濮竹。出铜、铁、铅、锡、金、银、光珠、虎魄、水精、琉璃、轲虫、蚌珠、孔雀、翡翠、犀、象、猩猩、貂兽。云南县有神鹿两头，能食毒草。
- 后汉书 185
- 后汉书 190
- 先是，西部都尉广汉郑纯为政清洁，化行夷貊，君长感慕，皆献土珍，颂德美。天子嘉之，即以为永昌太守。纯与哀牢夷人约，邑豪岁输布贯头衣二领，盐一斛，以为常赋，夷俗安之。纯自为都尉、太守，十年卒官。建初元年，哀牢王类牢与守令忿争，遂杀守令而反叛，攻越巂唐城。太守王寻奔
- Heaven protects and assists them, this is clear!
- In the 27th year, Xiánlì and others led the people of two thousand seven hundred seventy households, seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine people, to the Yuèxī grand protector Zhèng Hóng, asking to submit. Guāngwǔ appointed Xiánlì and the others as chiefs. From then on they made yearly tribute missions.
- In the 12th year of Yǒngpíng, the king of Āiláo Liǔmào sent his son to lead his people to submit, seventyseven so-called Yì kings, fifty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety households, five hundred fifty-three thousand seven hundred and eleven people. Seventy lí south-west of Luòyáng, Xiǎnzōng established on their lands the two counties of Āiláo and Bónán, cutting it off Yìzhōu. The western district commandant administered the six counties, together they were Yǒngchāng prefecture. When they opened a road to the Bónán mountains, passing the Lāncāng river, the journey was very arduous. A song goes like this: ‘The virtue of the Hàn is vast, opening those who had not submitted, passing through Bónán, going over the Lánjīn crossing the Lāncāng for the benefit of the other people.’
- The people of Āiláo pierce their noses and wear earrings, their chiefs call themselves kings, their ears hang three cùn over their shoulders, those of the commoners reach their shoulders, no more. Their land is fertile and beautiful, suitable for all crops and mulberries. They know how to dye and embroider patterns, make felt cloth, and cotton cloth, fine cloth, the weaving their patterns like brocade. They have the flowers of the Wútóng tree which they weave into cloth, five chǐ in width, pure white that does not get dirty. Earlier, it was used to cover the dead, later they used it to clothes themselves. The segments of their bamboo are one zhàng, it is called pú bamboo. They extract copper, iron, lead, tin, gold, silver, shiny pearls, amber, mercury, beads, cowries, pearls, peacocks, jade, rhino-horn, ivory, monkeys and tapirs. In Yúnnán county they have a sacred stag with two heads, which can eat poisonous grass.
- In the beginning, the western regions commandant Zhèng Chún from Guǎnghàn governed clean, enlightenment reached the Yí and Mò, their leaders felt gratitude and admiration, they all offered their local treasures and eulogized virtue and beauty. The emperor praised him and appointed him as Yǒngchāng grand protector. Chún and the Āiláo Yí made the agreement that the settlement chiefs were to present yearly two sets of two garments and one hú of salt as a fixed tribute, the Yí were at peace. Chún served himself as

r166: In the 27th year] 51 CE.

r171: In the 12th year of Yǒngpíng] 69 CE.

r175: Xiǎnzōng] i.e. Eastern Hàn emperor Míng 东汉明帝, ruled 58–75.

r193: shiny pearls] dictionaries take this as another name for amber, taken from rivers.

櫟榆。哀牢三千余人攻博南，燔烧民舍。肃宗募发越嵩、益州、永昌夷汉九千人讨之。明年春，邪龙县昆明夷卤承等应募，率种人与诸郡兵击类牢于博南，大破斩之。传首洛阳，赐卤承帛万匹，封为破虏傍邑侯。

永元六年，郡徼外敦忍乙王莫延慕义，遣使译献犀牛、大象。九年，徼外蛮及掸国王雍由调遣重译奉国珍宝，和帝赐金印紫绶，小君长皆加印绶、钱帛。

永初元年，徼外僬侥种夷陆类等三千馀口举种内附，献象牙、水牛、封牛。永宁元年，掸国王雍由调遣使者诣阙朝贺，献乐及幻人，能变化吐火，自支解，易牛马头。又善跳丸，数乃至千。自言我海西人。海西即大秦也，掸国西南通大秦。明年元会，安帝作乐于庭，封雍由调为汉大都尉，赐印绶、金银、彩缯各有差也。

commandant and grand protector for ten years before passing away. 后汉书 205

In the 1st year of Jiànchū, the king of Āiláo Lèiláo had an angry fight with the magistrate, he killed the magistrate and rebelled, and attacked Yuèxī's Táng town. The grand protector Wáng Xún fled to Yèyú. More than three thousand Āiláo men attacked Bónán, burning down the houses of the people. Hàn emperor Sùzōng recruited nine thousand Yí and Hàn men from Yuèxī, Yìzhōu, and Yǒngchāng for an expedition against them. **In spring of the next year**, the Xiélóng county Kūnmíng Yí Lǚ Chéng and others were recruited to lead their people with the soldiers of all districts to attack Lèiláo at Bónán, defeating him heavily and killing them, they brought his head to Luòyáng, Lǚ was awarded ten thousand rolls of silk and appointed marquis of Pòlǔbàng. 后汉书 210

In the 6th year of Yǒngyuán, the king beyond the frontier, Dūn Rěnyǐ, who previously did not cherish righteousness, sent an envoy bringing rhinos and elephants as tribute. **In the 9th year**, the Mán beyond the frontier and Dǎn state king Yōngyóudiào dispatched interpreters presenting the country's precious goods, Hàn emperor Hé granted him a golden seal with purple ribbon, the lesser chiefs received seals with ribbons, money and silk. 后汉书 220

In the 1st year of Yǒngchū, the dwarf Yí Lù Lèi and others led more than three thousand people to submit, bringing ivory, water buffalo and humped cows. **In the 1st year of Yǒngníng**, the Dǎnguó king Yōngyóudiào came again to the court to pay respect, presenting musicians and magicians, who were able to transform and spit fire, cut their limbs, change the head of a cow to a horse. They were also good at juggling, up to a thousand times. They said they were from the western sea, the western sea being Dàqín, Dǎn state borders in the south-west onto Dàqín. The following year at the time of the new year assembly, Hàn emperor Ān presented music in the hall, and appointed Yōngyóudiào as Hàn senior commandant, and granted seals with ribbon, gold and silver, coloured silk fabric, according to rank. 后汉书 225

后汉书 230

后汉书 235

The Qióng District Yí 邛都夷

邛都夷者，武帝所开，以为邛都县。

The Qióng district Yí: contact with them was established by Hàn em-

r 206: In the 1st year of Jiànchū] 76 CE.

r 212: In spring of the next year] 77 CE.

r 218: In the 6th year of Yǒngyuán] 94 CE.

r 220: In the 9th year] 97 CE.

r 225: In the 1st year of Yǒngchū] 107 CE.

r 227: In the 1st year of Yǒngníng] 120 CE.

后汉书 240 无几而地陷为污泽，因名为邛池，南人以为邛河。后复反叛。元鼎六年，汉兵自越巂水伐之，以为越巂郡。其土地平原，有稻田。青蛉县禺同山有碧鸡金马，光景时时出见。俗多游荡，而喜讴歌，略与牂柯相类。豪帅放纵，难得制御。

后汉书 250 王莽时，郡守枚根调邛人长贵，以为军候。更始二年，长贵率种人攻杀枚根，自立为邛谷王，领太守事又降于公孙述。述败，光武封长贵为邛谷王。建武十四年，长贵遣使上三年计，天子即授越巂太守印绶。十九年，武威将军刘尚击益州夷，路由越巂。长贵闻之，疑尚既定南边，威法必行，己不得自放纵，即聚兵起营台，招呼诸君长，多酿毒酒，欲先以劳军，因袭击尚。尚知其谋，即分兵先据邛都，遂掩长贵诛之，徙其家属于成都。

后汉书 270 永平元年，姑复夷复叛，益州刺史发兵讨破之，斩其渠帅，传首京师。后太守巴郡张翕，政化清平，得夷人和。在郡十七年，卒，夷人爱慕，如丧父母。苏祈叟二百余人，赍牛羊送丧，至翕本县安汉，起坟祭祀。诏书嘉美，为立祠堂。

peror Wǔ, so it established as Qióng district county. Not much later their land turning into marshes and swamps, so it became known as Qióng marsh, the southerners called it Qióng river. Later they rebelled constantly. **In the 6th year of Yuándǐng**, the Hàn sent an military expedition along the Yuèxī river against them, then it became known as Yuèxī prefecture. Their land is flat with rice fields. In Qīnglíng county's Yútóngshān are jade chicken and golden horses, they appear from time to time. Their custom is to wander about and they are fond of singing, roughly similar to Zāngkē. Their leaders are undisciplined and difficult to tame.

During the time of Wáng Mǎng, the local ruler Méi Gēn selected the Qióng native Cháng Guì as general. **In the 2nd year of Gèngshǐ**, Cháng Guì led his people to attack and kill Méi Gēn and installed himself as king of the Qióng valleys, the grand protector affairs fell on Gōngsūn Shù. After Shù was defeated, later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ appointed Cháng Guì as king of the Qióng valleys. **In the 14th year of Jiànwǔ**, Cháng Guì sent out envoys to court after three years of campaign, the emperor then granted him the Yútóngshān of the Yuèxī grand protector. **In the 19th year**, the Wǔwēi general Liú Shàng attacked the Yìzhōu Yí, taking the road through Yuèxī. When Cháng Guì heard this, he suspected that Shàng was about to capture the southern borderlands, mighty laws must be implemented, he could not be self-indulgent, so he raised soldiers and set up camps, he sent greetings to the chiefs, brewed poisonous liquor, first to entertain the troops, before striking against Shàng. When Shàng got to know about this plot, he divided his soldiers to first occupy Qióng district, then suddenly attacked Cháng Guì, executed him and moved his family to Chéngdū.

In the 1st year of Yǒngpíng, the Gǔfǔ Yí rebelled again, the Yìzhōu regional inspector sent out troupes to suppress them, executed their leader and sent his head to the capital. Later, the grand protector of Bā prefecture Zhāng Xì, the administration and education was tranquil, and he obtained peace with the Yí. After 17th years in the prefecture he died, the Yí regarded him fondly and buried him like their parents. More than two hundred elders from Sūqí gave cattle and goats for the funeral and went to his county Ānhàn, raised a tomb and conducted rites. And edict eulogized him and he was granted an ancestral hall.

r 242: In the 6th year of Yuándǐng] 111 CE.

r 250: In the 2nd year of Gèngshǐ] 24 CE.

r 254–255: In the 14th year of Jiànwǔ] 38 CE.

r 257: In the 19th year] 43 CE.

r 267: In the 1st year of Yǒngpíng] 58 CE.

安帝元初三年，郡徼外夷大羊等八种，户三万一千，口十六万七千六百二十，慕义内属。时郡县赋敛烦数，五年，卷夷大牛种封离等反畔，杀遂久令。明年，永昌、益州及蜀郡夷皆叛应之，众遂十馀万，破坏二十馀县，杀长吏，燔烧邑郭，剽略百姓，骸骨委积，千里无人。诏益州刺史张乔选堪能从事讨之。乔乃遣从事杨竦将兵至牂榆击之，贼盛未敢进，先以诏书告示三郡，密徵求武士，重其购赏。乃进军与封离等战，大破之，斩首三万馀级，获生口千五百人，资财四千馀万，悉以赏军士。封离等惶怖，斩其同谋渠帅，诣竦乞降，竦厚加慰纳。其余三十六种皆来降附。竦因奏长吏奸猾侵犯蛮夷者九十人，皆减死州中。论功未及上，会竦病创卒，张乔深痛惜之，乃刻石勒铭，图画其像。天子以张翕有遗爱，乃拜其子湍为太守。夷人欢喜，奉迎道路。曰：“郎君仪貌类我府君。”后湍颇失其心，有欲叛者，诸夷耆老相晓语曰：“当为先府君故。”遂以得安。后顺桓闲，广汉冯颙为太守，政化尤多异迹云。

In the 3rd year of Hàn emperor Ān's Yuánchū reign, eight groups of *Yi* from beyond the borders submitted to the empire, in total thirty-one thousand households with one hundred sixty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty heads. At the time the taxes and levies on the prefecture and counties were frequent, in the 5th year, the Juàn *Yi* of the Dàniú group Fēng Lí and others rebelled and killed the old commander. The following year, Yǒngchāng, Yìzhōu and the *Yi* of Shǔ all rebelled, their men more than one hundred thousand, they destroyed more than twenty counties, killed the senior envoy, burned the settlements, plundered the people, the bones piled up and over a thousand *lǐ* was void of people. An edict was issued that the Yìzhōu regional inspector Zhāng Qiáo to select someone able to punish them. Qiáo then sent Yáng Sǒng to lead troops to Yèyú to attack them, tthe bandits were ascending and he did not dare to advance, and first made the edict known to the three prefectures, secretly asking for soldiers, heavily bribing them. Then he advanced the army and engaged with Fēng Lí and others in battle, dealing them a severe defeat, decapitated more than thirty thousand troops, captured one thousand five hundred men alive, more than four million were all given as reward to the soldiers. Fēng Lí and the others were all terrified, decapitated their leaders who had conspired, and all respectfully surrendered. Sǒng comforted them amply. The remaining thirty-six groups all came to surrender. Sǒng then sent a memorial with a senior envoy that the ninety-nine Mányí envoys who had committed acts of treachery had all been killed the death within the district. Before the discussion of his merit reached the emperor Sǒng fell ill and died, Zhāng Qiáo in deep grief lamented him, and carved a stone with his epigraph and his image. As Zhāng Xì was beloved, the emperor appointed his son Tuān as grand protector. The *Yi* were pleased and welcomed him on the road. He said: 'The gentleman's appearance is just like his ancestor.' Later, Tuān lost their trust, and some wanted to rebel, the *Yi* elders exhorted them: 'Treat him like our late magistrate.' Then peace was achieved. Later, in the period between Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor Míng and Hàn emperor Huán, Guǎnghàn's Féng Hào was appointed as grand protector, and government and education was exceptionally good.

后汉书 280

后汉书 285

后汉书 290

后汉书 295

后汉书 300

后汉书 305

后汉书 310

After this follow a number of sections on other tribal groups, apparently in the west and north-west of present-day Sichuān, including a number of poems ostensibly composed by the tribal leaders in praise of China, and a conclusion and commentary.

r 277: In the 3rd year of Hàn emperor Ān's Yuánchū reign] 116 CE.

r 281: in the 5th year] 118 CE.

r 283: The following year] 119 CE.

r 310–311: in the period between Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor Míng and Hàn emperor Huán] 144–146 CE.

4 Glossary

- Āiláo** 哀牢: legendary state in western Yúnnán during the Hàn dynasty. It is thought that a graveside discovered in 2012 in Chāngníng 昌宁 is related to it, see Hú Chángchéng 胡长城, Wáng Lírui 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨帆 (2016), Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014) – see pages 10–13
- Āiláo Yí** 哀牢夷: Āiláo Yí, mythological tribe hailing from the Āiláo Shān 哀牢山, in present-day Bǎoshān 保山 – see pages 10, 12, 16, see 哀牢
- Āiláo Shān** 哀牢山: Āiláo mountains, – see page 11, 16
- Āilāo Zhuān** 《哀牢传》: *Biographies of Āiláo*, one of the oldest texts about Yúnnán, describing the mythology of the ancient land of Āiláo – see page 16
- Ānhàn** 安汉: region – see page 14
- 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 16
- 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 9, 10, 14
- Báimǎguó** 白马国: state of Báimǎ, – see page 6, 16
- Bǎn Shǔn** 板楯: – see page 10
- Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 – see page see 永昌
- Bìjī** 碧鸡: jade chicken, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 14, 16
- Bónán** 博南: – see page 12, 13
- Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山 –
- Cháng Guì** 长贵: – see page 14
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 – see page 14
- Chéngjiā** 成家: short-lived state in present-day Sìchuān –
- Chǔ** 楚: – see page 7
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China – see pages 7, 10, 14–16
- Dà Móu** 大牟: tribal leader of the Gūfù Yí 姑复夷 – see page 9
- Dàqín Guó** 大秦国: great state of Qín, state in the far west, assumed to be a reference to the Roman empire – see page 13, 16
- Dǎnguó** 掸国: Dǎn state, – see page 13, 16
- Dǐ** 氐: – see page 6
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page see 滇国
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明 – see pages 7, 9, 10, 16

- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 5, 17
- Diān Wáng** 滇王: king of Diān, – see page 9, 17
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 5, 17
- Dōnghànmíngdì** 东汉明帝: Eastern Hàn emperor Míng, Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor, 58–75 – see page 12, 17
- Dōnghànshùndì** 东汉顺帝: Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor Míng, Dōng Hàn 东汉 emperor, 125–144 – see page 15
- Dǒng** 董: clan name – see page 7
- Dòng Cán** 栋蚕: tribal leader – see page 9, 10
- 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 pages 12, 13, 17
- Dūn Rěnyǐ** 敦忍乙: – see page 13
- 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 17
- Fán Shèng** 繁胜: – see page 9
- Fàn Yē** 范晔: historian during the Liú Sòng 刘宋, compiled the 《后汉书》 – see page 5
- Fēng Lí** 封离: – see page 15
- Féng Hào** 冯颢: – see page 15
- Gèngshǐ** 更始: – see page 14
- Gōngsūn Shù** 公孙述: ruler of the short-lived Chéngjiā 成家 state in present-day Sìchuān – see pages 7, 9, 14
- Gūfù** 姑复: tribal group and county, in the ?? region of Yúnnán – see page 9, 14
- Gūfù Yí** 姑复夷: tribal group –
- Guāngwǔ** 光武: emperor Guāngwǔ, 后汉 emperor, ruled 25–57 – see pages 7, 12, 17
- Guǎngdōng** 广东: Chinese province –
- Guǎnghàn** 广汉: – see pages 9, 10, 12, 15
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province –
- Guànglángmù** 桃粮木: sugar palm wood, economically important palm tree, known for its durability, arrenca pinata – see page 7, 17
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: today a province in south-west China –
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see page 17
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China – see pages 5, 7, 12–14, 17
- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: ‘History of the Hàn Dynasty’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty – see page 5, 17
- Hànāndì** 汉安帝: Hàn emperor Ān, Hàn emperor Ān, 106–125 – see pages 13, 15, 17
- Hàn Guāngwǔ** 汉光武: later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ, 后汉 emperor, ruled 25–57 – see pages 9, 14, 17
- Hànhédì** 汉和帝: Hàn emperor Hé, Hàn emperor Hé, 88–106 – see page 13, 17
- Hàn Huándì** 汉桓帝: Hàn emperor Huán, Hàn emperor Huán, 146–168 – see pages 7, 15, 17
- Hànlíngdì** 汉灵帝: Hàn emperor Líng, Hàn emperor Líng, 168–189 – see page 10, 17

- Hànsùzōng** 汉肃宗: Hàn emperor Sùzōng, Hàn emperor Sùzōng, 75–88 – see pages 10, 13, 17
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see pages 6, 9, 13, 18
- Hànzhāngdì** 汉章帝: Hàn emperor Zhāng, Hàn emperor Zhāng, 75–88 – see page 18
- 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 6, 7, 9, 13, 18
- Hòu Hàn** 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty – see page 18
- Hòuhàn Shū** 《后汉书》: ‘*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*’, classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China – see page 5, 18
- Húnán** 湖南: –
- Jiānwèi** 犍为: – see page 10
- Jiànchū** 建初: reign period of Hàn emperor Zhāng, 76–84 – see page 13
- Jiànlián** 建怜: – see page 9
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān –
- Jiànwǔ** 建武: reign period of Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉光武, 25–56 – see pages 9, 11, 14
- Jiāng** 将: commander, a generic term for some in charge – see page 7, 18
- 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 9, 10, 14, 18
- Jiāozhǐ** 交趾: region of the south-western coast of China, stretching into present-day Vietnam – see page 5
- Jīnmǎ** 金马: golden horse, mythological animal in Yúnnán – see page 14, 18
- Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā river, major river separating Yunnan and Sichuan – see page 18
- Jǐng Yì** 景毅: – see page 10
- Jiǔlóng** 九隆: mythological son of a dragon and Shāyī 沙壹 in the 《哀牢传》 – see page 11
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- Jùn** 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng – see pages 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 – see pages 5, 9, 13
- Láncāng river** 澜沧江: Láncāng river, major river in Yunnan, the Mekong – see page 12, 18
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- Mányí** 蛮夷: Mányí, collective term for non-Chinese groups in south-west China – see pages 10, 15, 19
- Méi Gēn** 枚根: – see page 14
- Mò** 貊: tribal groups in the north-east of China – see page 12
- Nánmán** 南蛮: southern *Mán*, – see page 5, 19
- Nán Yí** 南夷: southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China – see page 6, 19
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern *zhào*, regional power with its center on Ērhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see page 19
- Nòngdòng** 弄栋: present-day Yáoān 姚安 – see page 9
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- Pānyú river** 番禺江: Pānyú river, river in present-day Guǎngdōng 广东 – see page 7, 19
- Qiánshǔ** 前蜀: Former Shǔ, one of the ??, 907–925 – see page 19
- Qīnglíng** 青蛉: west of 弄栋 – see page 14
- Qǐngxiāngwáng** 顷襄王: king Qǐngxiāng, king of Chǔ 楚, 298–263 – see page 7, 19
- Qióng** 邛: – see page 14
- Qióng Dū** 邛都: Qióng district, tribal region in present-day southern Sìchuān – see pages 13, 14, 19
- Qióngdūguó** 邛都国: state of Qióng district, ancient tribal polity – see page 5, 19
- Qiónggǔwáng** 邛谷王: king of the Qióng valleys, title given by Cháng Guì 长贵 to himself – see page 14, 19
- Rǎnmáng Guó** 冉駝国: state of Rǎnmáng, – see pages 5, 6, 19
- Shāyī** 沙壹: legendary ancestor in Āiláo – see page 10, 11
- Shǒulìng** 守令: magistrate, ‘a combined, archaic, generic reference’, see Hucker (1985), 5385 – see page 13, 19
- 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 5, 9, 15
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu – see pages 5, 10, 19

- Shuǐjīng** 《水经》: 'Water Classic', early, now lost, geographical work – see page 19
- Shuǐjīngzhù** 《水经注》: 'Commentary on the Water Classic', classic text, commentary to the lost 《水经》 – see page 20
- 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 10
- Sìchūān** 四川: Chinese province – see page 15
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 – see page 20
- Sūqí** 苏祈: – see page 14
- 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 pages 7, 9, 10, 12–15, 20
- Tàiwèi** 太尉: defender-in-chief, 'commander of the empire's armed forces, one of the Three Dukes (san kung) among whom major responsibilities in the central government were divided', see Hucker (1985), 6260 – see page 10, 20
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see page 9, 20
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see page 13, 20
- Táng Xiànzōng** 唐宪宗: Táng emperor Xiànzōng, Táng emperor, ruled 806–820 – see page 20
- Tóngshī** 同师: – see page 5
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire –
- 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 7, 11–13, 20
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- Xī** 崑: – see page 5
- Xīhàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE – see page 20
- Xīnán Yí** 西南夷: western and southern Yí, a term first appearing in the 《史记》 denoting non-Chinese people in present-day Sìchūān, Guìzhōu and Yúnnán. It is often translated as 'southwestern barbarians', but it seems to be a short form referring to both 西夷 and 南夷, see Yang (2004), pp. 5–6 – see page 5, 20
- Xīpíng** 熹平: reign period of Hàn emperor Líng, 172–178 – see page 10
- Xiánli** 贤栗: king of the 哀牢夷 – see page 11, 12
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see pages 7, 9, 13–15, 20
- Xiélóng** 邪龙: county mentioned in the 《水经注》 – see page 13

- Xiè Xiān** 谢暹: Chinese official and rebel during the Xihàn 西汉 period – see page 7
- Xīncháo** 新朝: Xīn dynasty, short-lived dynasty, 9–23 – see page 20
- Xǔ Shèn** 许慎: preeminent scholar of the Dōng Hàn 东汉 – see page 7
- Yáng Sǒng** 杨竦: – see page 15
- Yáoān** 姚安: present-day county in Yúnnán –
- Yèláng** 夜郎: ancient powerful political entity in the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see page 6, 7
- Yèlángguó** 夜郎国: state of Yèláng, ancient state in the region of present-day Guìzhōu 贵州 – see page 5, 21, *see* 夜郎
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- Yíqú** 夷渠: – see page 9
- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106 BCE, 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 9, 10, 12–15, 21
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- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, *see* Fāng Guóyú 万国瑜 (1953) – see pages 12, 13, 15
- Yǒngchū** 永初: reign period of Hànāndì 汉安帝, 107–113 – see page 13
- Yǒngníng** 永宁: reign period of Hàn emperor Ān, 120–121 – see page 13
- Yǒngpíng** 永平: reign period of Wáng Jiàn 王建, 910–915 – see page 12, 14
- Yǒngyuán** 永元: – see page 13
- Yútóngshān** 禺同山: Yútóng mountains, – see page 14, 21
- Yùshǐ Zhōngchéng** 御史中丞: vice censor-in-chief, ‘2nd executive official of the Censorate (yü-shih rhi), no longer having any special relationship with the palace but occasionally in T’ang and commonly in Sung serving as actual head of the Censorate when the post of Censor-in-chief was left vacant’, *see* Hucker (1985), 8174 – see page 10, 21
- Yuánchū** 元初: reign period of Hàn emperor Ān, 114–120 – see page 15
- Yuándǐng** 元鼎: reign period of Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔdì 武帝, yebc116–111 – see page 6, 14
- Yuánfēng** 元封: reign period of Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝, 110–104 BC – see page 9
- Yuánhé** 元和: sole reign period of Táng Xiànzōng 唐宪宗, 806–820 – see page 10
- Yuánshuǐ** 沅水: Yuán river, Yuán river, in Guìzhōu 贵州 and Húnán 湖南 – see page 7, 21
- Yuèxī** 越巂: Prefecture belonging to Jiànnán. Called Xīzhōu 618–742 then Yuèxī 742–756, in 757 invaded and captured by Nánzhào

- and 吐蕃, later reestablished as 越嵩 789-865 – see pages 9, 12–14
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- Yúnnán county** 云南县: Yúnnán county, – see page 12, 22
- Zānggē** 牂牁: the region of present-day Guìzhōu –
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- Zhāng Xì** 张翥: official during 魏晉 – see page 14, 15
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 22
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- Zhū Guī** 朱龟: – see page 10
- Zhúwáng** 竹王: king Zhú, mythological king of Yèláng 夜郎 – see page 7, 22
- Zhuāng Qiāo** 庄躄: Chǔ 楚 general who became king of Diān[ncpi] during the Warring States period – see page 7, 9
- Zuó** 笮: non-Chinese group, thought to have lived in present-day southern Sìchuān, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 13–14 –
- Zuódūguó** 笮都国: state of Zuó, tribal polity – see page 5, 22

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