
Yúnnán in the ‘*Records of the Three Kingdoms*’

An Annotated Translation of Selected Parts of the 《三国志》

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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

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1 Introduction

The ‘*Records of the Three Kingdoms*’ 《三国志》 is the official history of the three states of Wèi 魏, Shǔ 蜀 and Wú 吳, commonly called the Three Kingdoms 三国. It is, after the ‘*Records of the Historian*’ 《史记》 and the ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’ 《汉书》, the third of the official twenty-four Chinese histories.

The text was compiled by Chén Shòu 陈寿 sometime after 280 CE and before his death in 297 CE. The work was later, before 429 CE, extensively annotated by Péi Sōngzhī 裴松之. The work much later became the source material for the famous Míng dynasty novel ‘*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*’ 《三国演义》, which immortalized some of its characters.

For Yúnnán the work is important as it covers Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s southern campaign and the complicated power structure of competing strongmen in the region.

For a historic background, particularly, see Yang (2004), pp. 77–78. For an investigation of the road that Zhūgé Liàng took on his campaign, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1980).

2 About this Translation

The 《云南史料丛刊》 contains selected parts of the 《三国志》.⁽¹⁾

The complete source text of the 《三国志》 is available online,⁽²⁾ the text there has been used as the base for this translation.

Fang (1952) and Fang (1965) contain translations of relevant parts.⁽³⁾ Part translations are mentioned in the corresponding sections.

Crespigny (1967) has proved very useful for understanding the official titles, their responsibilities and functions during this time.

3 Annotated Translation

魏志·第三十卷 Records of Wèi XXX

The Biography of the Wēi People 《倭人传》

The records of the Wēi people 倭人, a seafaring group in the waters east of China, contain sections on the southern coast. Going inland from there the text mentions a place called state of Pányuè 盘越国 or king of Hànyuè 汉越王, which seems to be a reference to the regions of western Yúnnán.

盘越国一名汉越王，在天竺东南数 | The state of Pányuè, also called Hànyuè Wáng, lies several thou-

r1: state of Pányuè] There is some debate over whether the writing of this in the ancient text is a miswriting of another name, see e.g. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, p. 128.

⁽¹⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, pp. 103–129, the material is ordered differently to the arrangement in the 《三国志》.

⁽²⁾ <https://ctext.org/sanguozhi>.

⁽³⁾ I have not been able to find a copy of either book.

千里，与益部相近，其人小与中国
人等，蜀人贾似至焉。南道而西极转
东南尽矣。👁️

sand *lǐ* to the south-east of India, close to the Yì region, its people
are shorter than the Chinese, people from Shǔ go there for trade.
On the southern road then going west one reaches the extreme
south-east.

蜀志·第三卷 **Records of Shǔ III**

The Biography of the Latter Lord 《后主传》

This section contains the biography of Liú Shàn 刘禅, the son of Liú Bèi 刘备. The latter is as found-
ing emperor of the Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 often referred to as First Lord 先主, so his son, as the second and
last emperor, is referred to as Latter Lord 后主.

Rafe de Crespigny notes:

though Liu Shan was already seventeen *sui*, Liu Bei had given Zhuge Liang full regency
powers and Zhuge Liang controlled the government until his death in 234. (Crespigny
(2007), p. 541)

Consequently, the entries in the section on the Latter Lord are of interest only as they touch upon
Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮's policies, in this section particularly the changes he made to the administration
of the south-western border regions in the aftermath of his southern campaign.

A translation of this part by Sun Bofu is archived online.⁽⁴⁾

The first passage here presents the history of a rebellion in the southern regions, for detailed back-
ground see Herman (2009), pp. 260–264. The rebel called Gāo Dìng 高定 in this text is called Gāo
Dìngyuán 高定元 in other texts.

建兴元年夏，牂牁太守朱褒拥郡反。

In the summer of the 1st year of Jiànxīng, the grand protector of
Zānggē Zhū Bāo supported rebellion.

魏氏春秋曰：初，益州从事常房行
部，闻褒将有异志，收其主簿案问，
杀之。褒怒，攻杀房，诬以谋反。诸
葛亮诛房诸子，徙其四弟于越嶲，
欲以安之。褒犹不悛改，遂以郡叛
应雍闓。

The '*Annals of the Wèi Clan*' notes: Initially, when the Yìzhōu
retainer Cháng Fáng made an inspection, he heard that Bāo had
rebellious plans, the captured his recorder, interrogated and killed
him. Bāo was furious, attacked and killed Fáng, falsely accusing
him of plotting a rebellion. Zhūgé Liàng executed Fáng's son,
moved his four younger brothers to Yuèxī with the intention to pa-
cify them. Bāo still made no amends, and his prefecture rebelled
together with Yōng Kǎi.

先是，益州郡有大姓雍闓反，流太

Before that, in Yìzhōu prefecture the clan leader Yōng Kǎi rebelled,

l4: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603384>

r6: In the summer of the 1st year of Jiànxīng] 223 CE.

⁽⁴⁾ at <https://archive.vn/20070616093715/http://www.empiredividedtk.net/rtk/sgz/liushan.htm>, the original translation
was available at <http://www.empiredividedtk.net/rtk/sgz/liushan.htm>

守张裔于吴，据郡不兵，越雋夷王高定亦背叛。

是岁，主皇后张氏。遣尚书郎邓芝固好于吴，吴王孙权与蜀和亲使聘，是岁通好。

...

三年春三月，丞相亮南征四郡，四郡皆平。

改益州郡为建宁郡，分建宁、永昌郡为云南郡，又分建宁、牂牁为兴古郡。

十二月，亮还成都。👁

the current grand protector Zhāng Yì was in Wú, he occupied the prefecture, the Yuèxī Yí king Gāodìng also rebelled.

That year the ruling empress Zhāng sent the secretarial court gentleman Dèng Zhī to establish good relations with Wú, the king of Wú Sūn Quán exchanged envoys with Shǔ for a marital alliance, that same year it was concluded.

...

In the 3rd month of the 3rd year [of Jiànxīng], prime minister Liàng made his southern campaign to the four commanderies, the four commanderies were all pacified.

He changed Yìzhōu prefecture into Jiànníng commandery, divided Jiànníng and Yǒngchāng prefecture into Yúnnán prefecture, and also divided Jiànníng and Zānggē into Xīnggǔ commandery.

In the 12th month [of the 3rd year of Jiànxīng] Liàng returned to Chéngdū.

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三国志 25

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蜀志·第五卷 *Records of Shǔ V*

The Biography of Zhūgé Liàng 《诸葛亮传》

Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 (*181 †234) was a Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 official and, after the death of its first ruler Liú Bèi 刘备 in 223 CE, its de-facto regent. He lead a military campaign into what was then called Nánzhōng 南中.

While the ‘*Records of the Three Kingdoms*’ 《三国志》 was not entirely favourable of him,⁽⁵⁾ the Míng dynasty novel ‘*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*’ 《三国演义》 turned Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 into one of China’s history most well-known and most admired characters, at the price of historic accuracy: the feats attributed to him in the novel ‘appear to be almost completely fictitious, with no support from any near-contemporary historical record’,⁽⁶⁾ and sometimes in direct contradiction to the historical source.⁽⁷⁾

Sawyer (2014)⁽⁸⁾ gives a full translation of this biography, and another translation can be found online.⁽⁹⁾

l29: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603430>

r23: In the 3rd month of the 3rd year [of Jiànxīng]] 225 CE.

r29: In the 12th month [of the 3rd year of Jiànxīng]] 226 CE.

⁽⁵⁾ ‘Although Liu Shan’s eulogy and Zhuge’s posthumous titles emphasized excellence in both civil administration and military affairs, Chen Shou’s evaluations highlighted Zhuge’s strength in the former, but weakness in the latter’ (Tillman (2002), p. 62).

⁽⁶⁾ Crespigny (1990), p. 273, for biographical notes see Crespigny (2007), p. 1172.

⁽⁷⁾ Tillman (2007), p. 55 notes on Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 southern campaign that ‘the novel produced a far different hero than the one whose military talents and results Chen Shou criticized.’

⁽⁸⁾ I have not read this book, it appears to be privately published.

⁽⁹⁾ <http://kongming.net/novel/sgz/zhugeliang.php>

The beginning of Zhūgé Liàng's biography introduces introduces his courtesy name Kǒng Míng, which frequently appears in records mentioning him.

诸葛亮字孔明，琅邪阳都人也。

Zhūgé Liàng, also known as Kǒng Míng, was a man from Lángyá's Yáng area command.

The for China's south-west relevant part continues with Zhūgé Liàng's appointment as governor of Yìzhōu 益州 and a revolt in Nánzhōng, i.e. the region of present-day Yúnnán, Guìzhōu and southern Sìchuān.

建兴元年，封亮武乡侯，开府治事。顷之，又领益州牧。政事无巨细，咸决于亮。

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In 1st year of Jiànxīng, Liàng was given the title marquis of Wǔxiāng, and an office was established to administer state affairs. A short while later, he was also given Yìzhōu to administer. State affairs, large or small, were all decided by Liàng.

南中诸郡，并皆叛乱，亮以新遭大丧，故未便加兵。

All the prefectures in Nánzhōng revolted together. Liàng thought, as there had recently been an **important funeral**, it was not appropriate to mobilize additional troops.

The following then records Zhūgé Liàng's famous southern campaign in 225 CE, which was 'exaggerated'⁽¹⁰⁾ in chapters 87 to 90 of the 《三国演义》.⁽¹¹⁾

Crespigny summarizes the southern campaign:

Following the death of Liu Bei in 223, Yong Kai made a serious attempt to establish a separatist regime involving his own commandery of Yizhou and also Yongchang, Yuexi and Zangke. He was supported by local non-Chinese people, notably the chieftain Meng Huo, but he met considerable resistance from other groups loyal to the government at Chengdu, and he could not gain a permanent position. In 225, Zhuge Liang attacked and conquered the south, Yong Kai was killed, and Meng Huo, after repeated defeats, was compelled to surrender. Zhuge Liang appointed non-Chinese chieftains as local officials, confirming their authority under his hegemony, and this region of present-day southern Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan remained reasonably quiet under the government of Shu for the next several years. (Crespigny (1990), p. 447)

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三年春，亮率衆南征。其秋悉平。

军资所出，国以富饶。

In spring of the 3rd year [of Jiànxīng], Liàng led a campaign in the south. In autumn, all was pacified.

Soldiers and resources were extracted, making the state prosperous.

r 33: In 1st year of Jiànxīng] 223 CE.

r 38: important funeral] The term *dàsāng* 大丧 refers to the death of Liú Bèi 刘备 in 223 CE.

r 40: In spring of the 3rd year [of Jiànxīng]] 225 CE.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Crespigny (1990), p. 447.

⁽¹¹⁾ For a detailed comparison of the versions, see Tillman (2007), p. 56. A translation of these chapters can be found in Iverson (2014), vol. 3.

Péi Sōngzhī 裴松之 added a note to this passage from the later ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jin*’ 《汉晋春秋》.⁽¹²⁾

亮至南中，所在战捷。闻孟获者，为夷、汉并所服，募生致之。

既得，使观于营阵之间，问曰：「此军何如？」

获对曰：「向者不知虚实，故败。今蒙赐观看营陈，若只如此，既定易胜耳。」

亮笑，纵使更战，七纵七擒，而亮犹遣获。

获止不去，曰：「公，天威也，南人不复反矣。」

Liàng went to Nánzhōng, fighting victorious battles. When he heard that Mènghuò was admired by both the Yí and the Hàn, he recruited men to capture him alive.

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

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

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

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

三国志 55

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

遂至滇池。南中平，皆即其渠率而用之。

或以谏亮，亮曰：「若留外人，则当留兵，兵留则无所食，一不易也；加夷新伤破，父兄死丧，留外人而无兵者，必成祸患，二不易也；又吏累有废杀之罪，自嫌衅重，若留外人，终不相信，三不易也；今吾欲使不留兵，不运粮，而纲纪粗定，夷汉粗安，故耳。」

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

Some admonished Liàng, Liàng said: ‘If we station men from outside, then we need to station soldiers, but the stationed soldiers will have nothing to eat, this is not feasible. If we are causing the Yí new injury and defeat, death and burial of fathers and sons, stationing men from outside but no soldiers will for sure cause calamity, so this is also not feasible. The officials are already burdened by the killing and maiming of their ancestors, and they harbour significant distrust, if we leave men from outside they will never be trusted, so this is also not feasible. Now I desire to rule without stationing soldiers and without bringing provisions. So for law and order to be roughly established, the Yí and the Hàn must be roughly at peace. That is the reason.’

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三国志 70

With the south pacified, the state of Shǔ was then free to pay full attention to the threats from the north.

五年，率诸军北驻汉中，临发，上疏曰：

In the 5th year [of Jiànxiāng], he led the army north to be stationed at Hànzōng. As he was setting out, he submitted a memorial to

r 44: Liàng] i.e. Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮, the prime minister of the state of Shǔ 蜀国.

r 44: Nánzhōng] contemporary reference to the regions south of the state of Shǔ.

r 71: In the 5th year [of Jiànxiāng]] 227 CE.

⁽¹²⁾ see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, p. 110.

三国志 75 先帝创业未半，而中道崩殂，今天下三分，益州疲弊，此诚危急存亡之秋也。

...

三国志 80 受命以来，夙夜忧叹，恐托付不效，以伤先帝之明，故五月渡泸，深入不毛。[汉书地理志曰：泸惟水出牂牁郡句町县。]

今南方已定，兵甲已足，当奖率三军，北定中原。

the emperor, saying:

The late emperor was not yet halfway in his works when he was cut down in the middle of the road, and today the country is divided into three parts, Yìzhōu is exhausted and its survival is in danger.

...

Since I received my order, I have been concerned from early to late that I will not be able to carry out what I have been entrusted to do and harm the late emperor's reputation, so in the 5th month I crossed the Lú and entered deep into the barren lands. [The 'History of the Hàn Dynasty' states: The Lú springs from Zānggē prefecture's Jùtǐng county.]

Now that the southern lands are pacified and armoury is sufficient, it is appropriate to lead three armies north to pacify the central plains.

蜀志·第十三卷 Records of Shǔ XIII

The Biography of Lǐ Huī 《李恢传》

Lǐ Huī 李恢, †231, made his name pacifying parts of Yúnnán as a 'trusted lieutenant'⁽¹³⁾ of Zhūgē Liàng. For his biography see also Crespigny (2007), p. 416.

The beginning of his biography contains the first mention of the Cuàn clan 爨氏, the clan that controlled eastern Yúnnán until the Táng dynasty, in Chinese records.⁽¹⁴⁾

李恢字德昂，建宁俞元人也。仕郡督邮，姑夫爨习为建伶令，有违犯之事，恢坐习免官。👁️

Lǐ Huī, courtesy name Déáng, was a man from Jiànníng's Yúyuán. He was local inspector prefecture, his uncle Cuàn Xí was appointed as administrator of Jiànlíng, there was an irregular affair, Huī was implicated with Xí and dismissed from office.

The 《云南史料丛刊》 contains the complete biography, which gives historical background unrelated to Yúnnán, which I have omitted here.

The remainder then covers Lǐ Huī making his name against rebels in the south.

三国志 90 先主薨，高定恣睢于越嶲，雍闓跋扈于建宁，朱褒反叛于牂柯。丞相亮南征，先由越嶲，而恢案道向建宁。

After the First Lord died, Gāodìng acted recklessly in Yuèxī, Yōng Kǎi domineered Jiànníng, Zhū Bāo rebelled in Zāngkē. The prime minister Liàng went on the southern campaign, first passing

/188: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603768>

r74: late emperor] i.e. Liú Bèi 刘备.

r87: his uncle] the term *gūfū* indicates that his aunt married Cuàn Xí 爨习, so there was no blood relationship.

r90: After the First Lord died] a reference to Liú Bèi 刘备, i.e. after 223 CE.

⁽¹³⁾ Herman (2009), p. 261.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Xīn Kuí péng 辛魁鹏 (2008).

诸县大相纠合，围恢军于昆明。时恢众少敌倍，又未得亮声息，给谓南人曰：官军粮尽，欲规退还，吾中间久斥乡里，乃今得旋，不能复北，欲还与汝等同计谋，故以诚相告。

南人信之，故围守愈缓。于是恢出击，大破之，追犇逐北，南至盘江，东接牂柯，与亮声势相连。南土平定，恢军功居多，封汉兴亭侯，加安汉将军。后军还，南夷复叛，杀害守将。

恢身往扑讨，锄尽恶类，徙其豪帅于成都，赋出叟、濮耕牛战马金银犀革，充继军资，于时费用不乏。👁️

through Yuèxī, then Huī made a plan to go towards Jiànníng.

The leaders of all counties joined together, and encircled Huī's army in Kūnmíng. At that time Huī had few soldiers and the enemies outnumbered him two to one, and he had not received any news from Liàng, so to deceive he spoke to the people in the south: the government supplies are exhausted and plan to return, we have been away from home for a long time, now we should return, but we cannot return north, we desire to make a plan with you, so he sincerely told them.

The people in the south believed him, so their defense was lax. So Huī launched an attack and dealt them a great defeat and chased the defeated enemies south to the Pán river, east to Zāngkē, and connected with Liàng's great power. The southern lands were pacified, Huī's military exploits were many, so he was made marquis of Hànxīngtíng, and also Ānhàn general. After that the army retreated, the Nán Yí rebelled again, and killed the defending generals.

Huī personally lead an army to suppress them, uprooted the evildoers with all means, moved their nobles to Chéngdū, extracted the old soldiers, cattle and war horses, gold and silver, rhino belts, replenished military supplies, at that time there was no lack of funds.

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三国志 110

The Biography of Lǚ Kǎi 《吕凯传》

Lǚ Kǎi 吕凯 served as hereditary administrator in Yǒngchāng 永昌, where his Lǚ clan 吕氏 had been stationed since the Warring States 战国 period.⁽¹⁵⁾

The letter written by Lǚ Kǎi has a translation by an unknown author online.⁽¹⁶⁾

吕凯字季平、永昌不韦人也。

孙盛蜀世谱曰：初，秦徙吕不韦子弟宗族于蜀汉。汉武帝时，开西南夷，置郡县，徙吕氏以充之，因曰不韦县。

仕郡五官掾功曹。时雍闾等闻先主薨于永安，骄黠滋甚。

Lǚ Kǎi, courtesy Jìpíng, a man from Yǒngchāng's Bùwéi.

Sūn Shèng's '*Chronicle of the Clans of Shǔ*' says: In the beginning, the Qín moved the descendants of Lǚ Bùwéi to Shǔ Hàn. At the time of Hàn emperor Wǔ, he made contact with the western and southern Yí, established prefectures and counties, and moved the Lǚ clan to administer them, so he called it Bùwéi county.

He served as prefecture general clerk in the merit *cáo*. At the time, Yōng Kǎi and others heard that the First Lord passed away

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[112: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603768>

[111: 叟、濮] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, p. 105 annotates that this refers to old soldiers.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Biographical entry in Crespigny (2007), p. 627.

⁽¹⁶⁾ at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%BC_Kai.

三国志 125 都护李严与闾书六纸，解喻利害，闾但荅一纸曰：盖闻天无二日，土无二王，今天下鼎立，正朔有三，是以远人惶惑，不知所归也。其桀慢如此。

三国志 130 闾又降于吴，吴遥署闾为永昌太守。

三国志 135 永昌既在益州郡之西，道路壅塞，与蜀隔绝，而郡太守改易，凯与府丞蜀郡王伉厉吏民，闭境拒闾。闾数移檄永昌，称说云云。👁️

三国志 140 凯荅檄曰：天降丧乱，奸雄乘衅，天下切齿，万国悲悼，臣妾大小，莫不思竭筋力，肝脑涂地，以除国难。

三国志 145 伏惟将军世受汉恩，以为当躬聚党众，率先启行，上以报国家，下不负先人，书功竹帛，遗名千载。

何期臣仆吴越，背本就末乎？

三国志 150 昔舜勤民事，陨于苍梧，书籍嘉之，流声无穷。崩于江浦，何足可悲！

文、武受命，成王乃平。

三国志 155 先帝龙兴，海内望风，宰臣聪睿，自天降康。而将军不覩盛衰之纪，成败之符，譬如野火在原，蹈履河冰，火

in Yǒngān, so they became ever more arrogant.

The protector general Lǐ Yán wrote six letters to Yǒng Kǎi, **threatening and cajoling him**, but Kǎi only wrote one letter in response: I have heard just as there cannot be two suns in the sky, there cannot be two kings on earth, today under heavens are three parties, there are three calendars, the people in faraway places are confused and do not known to submit to whom. His arrogance was like this.

Kǎi fell to Wú, Wú gave him a **farway title appointing Kǎi as grand protector of Yǒngchāng**.

Yǒngchāng lay to the west of Yìzhōu prefecture, the road to there was blocked and the connection with Shǔ was interrupted, so the prefecture grand protector changed easily, Kǎi and the government assistant for Shǔ prefecture Wáng Kàng commanded officials and people to close the border and blocked Kǎi. Kǎi wrote letters denouncing Yǒngchāng explaining this.

Kǎi replied denouncing him:

From heaven has fallen unrest and death, with despicable strongmen taking advantage. The whole world is **in anguish**, the states are in mourning. All subjects, low and high, are prepared to make the utmost efforts and sacrifice their lives to prevent national disaster.

I implore the general, who has over generations having enjoyed the generosity of the Hàn, to gather his followers and take the lead serving the country and not betray his ancestors so that his merits be recorded on bamboo and silk for thousands of years.

How can it be that the servants of Wú and Yuè turned their backs on their roots in pursuit of trifles?

In the past Shùn diligently served the people, he perished in Cāngwú. The books lauded him, leaving endless praise. He died in Jiāngpǔ, how lamentable.

The kings Wén and Wǔ received the mandate, under king Chéng there was peace.

The **previous emperor** ascended, the whole country was in awe, prime minister and officials were clever and farsighted, heaven granted well-being. But the general did not heed the records of

l135: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603773>

r124-125: threatening and cajoling him] literally, 'informing him of losses and benefits'.

r130-131: a farway title appointing Kǎi as grand protector of Yǒngchāng] Wú did not control Yǒngchāng, so this was preposterous.

r140: in anguish] literally, 'gnashing their teeth'.

r150: Shùn] i.e. 虞舜.

r155: previous emperor] i.e. Liú Bèi 刘备.

灭冰泮，将何所依附？

rise and fall, the symbols of success and defeat, like a wildfire on the plain or treading on the ice of a river, the fire extinguished and the ice melted, then who can one rely on?

三国志 160

曩者将军先君雍侯，造怨而封，窦融知兴，归志世祖，皆流名后叶，世歌其美。

In former times, the general's ancestor was the marquis of Yōng, he created resentment, but was enfeoffed, Dòu Róng understood the rise, so he submitted to the ancestors, all has been recorded for posteriority and generations have sung his praise.

今诸葛丞相英才挺出，深覩未萌，受遗托孤，翊赞季兴，与衆无忌，录功忘瑕。

Now, prime minister Zhūgé has emerged as a person of outstanding talent, profoundly seeing what has yet to come, he has been entrusted **the orphan**, assisting the restoration, with the people fearing nothing, recording merits and forgiving faults.

三国志 165

将军若能翻然改图，易迹更步，古人不难追，鄙土何足宰哉！盖闻楚国不恭，齐桓是责，夫差僭号，晋人不长，况臣于非主，谁肯归之邪？窃惟古义，臣无越境之交，是以前后有来无往。

General, if you can quickly change your intentions and mend your ways, then it will not be difficult to follow the ancient men and your homeland will be worthy of your rule!

三国志 170

重承告示，发愤忘食，故略陈所怀，惟将军察焉。👁️

I have heard that when kingdom of Chǔ was disrespectful, and Qí of Huán criticized them, and Fūchà usurped the throne, the people Jin did not honour this, even more you are an illegitimate ruler, who is willing to submit to you?

三国志 175

I ponder the old rules that officials must not have relations with traitors, so when your letters arrived I did not reply. Considering the burden of official announcements, I am dedicated to briefly state my mind, may the general consider this.

三国志 180

凯感恩内著，为郡中所信，故能全其节。

Kǎi exerted power and respect over his servants, he was trusted by those in the prefecture, so he was able to keep his district intact.

及丞相亮南征讨闒，既发在道，而闒已为高定部曲所杀。亮至南，上表曰：

Then the prime minister Liàng made his southern campaign to punish Kǎi, after the troops had already been sent out, Kǎi was killed by Gāodìng's troops. When Liàng arrived in the south, the wrote a memorial saying:

三国志 185

永昌郡吏吕凯、府丞王伉等，执忠绝域，十有馀年，雍闒、高定逼其东北，而凯等守义不与交通。臣不意永昌风俗敦直乃尔！

The Yǒngchāng prefecture envoy Lǚ Kǎi, the government assistant Wáng Kàng and the others were loyal in these remote lands for more than ten years, Yōng Kǎi and Gāodìng attacked them in the north-east, but Lǚ Kǎi and the others maintained their honour and did not collude with them. I, your loyal servant, never imagined that in Yǒngchāng the customs were so loyal.

三国志 190

以凯为云南太守，封阳迁亭侯。会为叛夷所害，子祥嗣。而王伉亦封亭侯，为永昌太守。

He appointed Kǎi as Yúnnán grand protector, made him marquis of Yángqiān Tíng. Then he was killed by rebelling Yí, his son Xiáng succeeded him. But Wáng Kàng was made Tíng marquis, and was

三国志 195

[178: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603773>

r167: the orphan] i.e. the son of the emperor, here Liú Shàn 刘禅.

r173-174: Qí of Huán] i.e. duke Qí of Huán 齐桓公.

蜀世谱曰：吕祥后为晋南夷校尉，祥子及孙世为永昌太守。李雄破宁州，诸吕不肯附，举郡固守。王伉等亦守正节。👁

三国志 200

appointed as Yǒngchāng grand protector.

The 'Chronicle of the Clans of Shǔ' says: Lǚ Xiáng served during the Jin as military officer for the southern Yǐ, Xiáng's son and grandsons served over generations as Yǒngchāng grand protector. When Lǚ Xióng destroyed Níngzhōu, not one of the Lǚ clan were willing to submit to him, they upheld region and defended it tenaciously. Wáng Kàng and the others defended righteousness.

4 Glossary

Bīngmǎ Dūjiān 兵马都监: military director-in-chief, 'SUNG: Military Director-in-chief, a duty assignment, or a nominally concurrent (chien) appointment, for officials of units of territorial administration from District Magistrates (hsienling, chih-hsien) up to Circuit Supervisors (chien-ssu), giving them authority over military forces in their jurisdictions for the suppression of banditry or other pacification activities', see Hucker (1985), 4687 –

Bù 部: region, a very generic term, 'principally suggests a part, section, or division of a whole', see Hucker (1985), 4764 – see page 6

Bùwéi 不韦: county in Yǒngchāng 永昌, named after Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦 – see page 12

Cāngwú 苍梧: region – see page 13

cáo 曹: *cáo*, Nánzhào term unit of government, akin to a department, apparently modelled on the Táng dynasty administrative system –

Cháng Fáng 常房: official of Yìzhōu, killed by Zhū Bào 朱褒 – see page 6

Chén Shòu 陈寿: compiler of the 《三国志》 – see page 5

[200: 👁] Source text: <https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=603773>

Chéngdū 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 – see page 7, 11

Chéngxiāng 丞相: prime minister, also translated as 'counselor-in-chief': 'A title of great significance in Chinese history, normally indicating the most esteemed and influential member(s) of the officialdom, who was leader of and spokesman for the officialdom vis-a-vis the ruler and at the same time the principal agent for implementing the ruler's wishes in all spheres, civil and military', see Hucker (1985), 483 – see pages 7, 9, 11, 13, 14

Chǔ Guó 楚国: kingdom of Chǔ, ancient Chinese state before the Qin dynasty, 704-223BCE – see page 13

Chūnqiū 春秋: spring and autumn period, 770-475BCE –

Cóngshì 从事: retainer, 'unranked subofficial', see Hucker (1985), 7176 – see page 6

Cuàn Lóngyán Bēi 《爨龙颜碑》: 'Cuàn Lóngyán Stele', one of the oldest steles found in Yúnnán –

Cuànshì 爨氏: Cuàn clan, powerful clan that ruled eastern Yúnnán 云南 prior to Nánzhào – see page 10, see 爨龙颜碑

Cuàn Xí 爨习: – see page 10, 11

- Dèng Zhī** 邓芝: – see page 7
- Dì Shùn** 帝舜: emperor Shùn, legendary early ruler of China – see page 13
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see page 9
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 –
- Dōngjìn** 东晋: eastern Jìn, Chinese dynasty, 266–420 –
- Dòu Róng** 窦融: Dōng Hàn 东汉 official – see page 13
- Dū** 都: area command, name of an administrative area – see page 8
- Dūhù** 都护: protector general, title – see page 12
- Dūyóu** 督邮: local inspector, ‘lowly staff members of commanderies’, see Hucker (1985), 7332 – see page 10
- 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 –
- Fūchà** 夫差: king during the Chūnqiū 春秋 – see page 13
- Fǔchéng** 府丞: government assistant, assistant to a grand protector – see page 12, 14
- Gāo Dìng** 高定: clan leader during Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s time – see page 6
- Gāo Dìngyuán** 高定元: clan leader during Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s time – see pages 6, 7, 11, 14
- Gōng** 公: duke, ‘(1) Duke, from high antiquity the highest title of nobility after wang, normally reserved for members of the ruling family; ... Commonly prefixed with territorial names, ... (2) The Honorable or His Honor, polite term of indirect address applied to someone considered deserving of respect’, see Hucker (1985), 3388 –
- Gōng Cáo** 功曹: merit *cáo*, ‘designation of staff agencies in Regions (chou), Commanderies (chūn), and Districts (hsien) in charge of assembling and overseeing labor gangs as needed’, see Hucker (1985), 3489 – see page 12
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: today a province in south-west China – see page 8
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 –
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China – see pages 9, 10, 13
- Hàn Shū** 《汉书》: ‘*History of the Hàn Dynasty*’, one of the twenty-four Chinese histories, covering the Hàn dynasty – see page 5, 10
- Hànjìnchūnqiū** 《汉晋春秋》: ‘*Annals of the Hàn and Jìn*’, work by Xí Záochǐ 习凿齿 – see page 9
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see page 12
- Hànyuè Wáng** 汉越王: king of Hànyuè, name of an ancient state mentioned in the 《三国志》, see glspt 盘越国 – see page 5
- Hànzhōng** 汉中: – see page 10
- 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 11, 13, 14
- Hòushǔ** 后蜀: Later Shǔ, short-lived empire in Sìchuān, one of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 934–965 –
- Hòuzhǔ** 后主: Latter Lord, moniker for Liúchán – see page 6, see 刘禅
- Huánghòu** 皇后: empress, ‘throughout imperial history the standard official title of the Emperor’s principal wife’, see Hucker (1985), 2836 – see page 7
- Jiànníng** 建宁: an early administrative district in present-day eastern Yúnnán – see pages 7, 10, 11
- Jiànníng commandery** 建宁郡: Jiànníng commandery, commandery established by Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 7
- Jiànxīng** 建兴: first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223–237 – see pages 6–10, see 刘禅
- 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 page 11, 13
- Jiāngpǔ** 江浦: region – see page 13
- Jīnshā river** 金沙江: Jīnshā river, major river separating Yunnan and Sichuan –
- Jìn** 晋: Chinese dynasty – see page 13, 14
- Jùtǐng** 句町: part of ancient Yèláng 夜郎, thought to be in south-eastern Yúnnán, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 383 – see page 10
- Jùn** 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng – see pages 6–8, 10, 12, 14
- Kǒng Míng** 孔明: Zǐ (courtesy name) of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 8, see 诸葛亮
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源 – see page 11
- Kūnmíng Shì** 昆明市: Kūnmíng City, present-day capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page see 拓东
- Lángyá** 琅邪: – see page 8
- Lǐ Huī** 李恢: general who joined Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮的 southern campaign – see page 10, 11
- Lǐ Xióng** 李雄: – see page 14
- Lǐ Yán** 李严: Bīngmǎ Dūjiān 兵马都监, killed 927 by Mèng Zhīxiáng 孟知祥 – see page 12
- Lìng** 令: administrator, check with hucker – see page 10
- Liú Bèi** 刘备: founder of the Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉 dynasty, 161–223 – see pages 6–8, 10, 13
- Liú Shàn** 刘禅: second ruler of Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉, 207–271 – see page 6, 13
- Lúshuǐ** 泸水: Lú river, the Jīnshā 金沙 river – see page 10
- Lǚ Bùwéi** 吕不韦: Zhànguó 战国 period scholar and politician – see page 12
- Lǚ Kǎi** 吕凯: – see pages 11, 12, 14

- Lǚshì** 吕氏: Lǚ clan, clan name, Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦 and Lǚ Kǎi 吕凯 played a role in Yúnnán – see pages 11, 12, 14
- Lǚ Xiáng** 吕祥: son of Lǚ Kǎi 吕凯 – see page 14
- Mán** 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest –
- Mèngguò** 孟获: tribal leader during the Sānguó 三国 period – see page 9
- Mèng Zhīxiáng** 孟知祥: founder of the Hòushǔ 后蜀, ruled 934 –
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see page 5, 7
- Nán Yí** 南夷: southern Yí, general term for non-Chinese people south of China – see page 11
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries –
- Nánzhōng** 南中: ‘most common name for the southwest region (Yunnan, Guizhou, and southern Sichuan) prior to the Tang dynasty’, Herman (2009) – see pages 7–9
- Níngzhōu** 宁州: Níng prefecture, – see page 14
- Ōuyáng Xiū** 欧阳修: Sòng dynasty historian –
- Pánjiāng** 盘江: Pán river, river in Yúnnán – see page 11
- Pányuèguó** 盘越国: state of Pányuè, name of an ancient state mentioned in the 《三国志》, see Hànyuè Wáng 汉越王 – see page 5
- Péi Sōngzhī** 裴松之: annotator of the 《三国志》 – see page 5, 9
- Qí Huán Gōng** 齐桓公: duke Qí of Huán, Chūnqiū official – see page 13
- Qín** 秦: – see page 12
- Sānguó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 5
- Sānguó Yǎnyì** 《三国演义》: ‘Romance of the Three Kingdoms’, famous Míng dynasty novel – see pages 5, 7, 8
- Sānguó Zhì** 《三国志》: ‘Records of the Three Kingdoms’, official history of Wèi 魏, Shǔ and Wú 吴 – see page 5, 7
- Shàngshūláng** 尚书郎: secretarial court gentleman, ‘men of the court retinue generically called Court Gentlemen (lang) assigned for duty in the Imperial Secretariat’, see Hucker (1985), 5047 – see page 7
- Shǐjì** 《史记》: ‘Records of the Historian’, – see page 5
- 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 5–7, 9, 12
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sānguó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 9, 10
- Shǔ Hàn** 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sānguó 三国 period, 221–263 – see pages 6, 7, 12
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu –
- Shǔshìpǔ** 《蜀世谱》: ‘Chronicle of the Clans of Shǔ’, text by Sūn Shèng 孙盛 – see page 12, 14

- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province – see page 8
- Sìjùn** 四郡: four commanderies, – see page 7
- Sòng Cháo** 宋朝: Sòng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 960–1279 –
- Sūn Quán** 孙权: emperor of Dōngwú, 222–252 – see page 7
- Sūn Shèng** 孙盛: scholar during the Dōngjìn 东晋, composed the 《蜀世谱》 – see page 12
- 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 6, 7, 12, 14
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see page 10
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 –
- Tiānzhú** 天竺: India, A commonly used name for India – see page 5
- 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 page 7, 12
- Wáng Kàng** 王伉: administrator of?? during the Sānguó 三国 period – see page 12, 14
- Wèi** 魏: one of the states of the Sānguó 三国 – see page 5
- Wèishìchūnqiū** 《魏氏春秋》: ‘Annals of the Wèi Clan’, – see page 6
- Wénwǔ** 文武: kings Wén and Wǔ, a short form of referring to the Zhōu dynasty kings Wén and Wǔ – see page 13
- Wēi Rén** 倭人: Wēi people, ancient seafaring group in the seas off China’s eastern coast – see page 5
- Wú** 吴: one of the states of the Sānguó 三国 – see page 5
- Wú** 吴: state during the Zhànguó 战国 period – see pages 7, 12, 13
- Wǔdài Shíguó** 五代十国: ‘Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms’, period after the collapse of the Táng when China disintegrated in multiple states, 907–960, a term coined by Ōuyáng Xiū 欧阳修 –
- Wǔguānyuàn** 五官掾: general clerk, ‘unranked official’. Crespigny (1967) describes ‘the office Department of All Purposes 五官曹 wu-kuan ts’ao, which, as the name implies, could be required to take part in any aspect of the commandery administration’, see Hucker (1985), 7797 – see page 12
- Wǔxiāng Hóu** 武乡侯: marquis of Wǔxiāng, one of the titles of Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 8
- 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 page 12
- Xī Yí** 西夷: western Yí, –

- Xí Záochǐ** 习凿齿: author of the 《汉晋春秋》
–
- Xiān Zhǔ** 先主: First Lord, often a reference to Liú Bèi 刘备 – see pages 6, 11, 12
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see page 10, 12
- Xīnggǔ commandery** 兴古郡: Xīnggǔ commandery, commandery established by Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 7
- Yèláng** 夜郎: ancient powerful political entity in the region of present-day Guìzhōu –
- Yí** 夷: one of the collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see pages 7, 9, 10, 14, *see* 蛮
- Yíyìzhìyí** 以夷制夷: ‘Use barbarians to rule barbarians’, practice of employing native rulers to rule non-Chinese people, established by Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 – see page 9
- Yì** 益: – see page 5
- 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 6–8, 10, 12
- Yōng Kǎi** 雍闾: clan leader during Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s time, *see* Crespigny (2007), p. 989 – see pages 6, 11, 12, 14
- Yǒngān** 永安: – see page 12
- Yǒngchāng** 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, *see* Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1953) – see pages 7, 11, 12, 14
- Yúshùn** 虞舜: – see page 13
- Yuèguó** 越国: State of Yuè, early state in the east of present-day China, mentioned in ?? records – see page 13
- Yuèxī** 越巂: – see pages 6, 7, 11
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14
- Zānggē** 牂牁: the region of present-day Guìzhōu – see pages 6, 7, 10
- Zāngkē** 牂柯: variant writing of Zānggē 牂牁 – see page 11, *see* 牂牁
- Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475–221 BCE – see page 11
- Zhāng** 张: common family or clan name – see page 7
- Zhāng Yì** 张裔: grand protector of Yìzhōu – see page 7
- zhào** 诏: *zhào*, term for a local ruler or his realm –
- Zhōngyuán** 中原: central plains, term for the Chinese heartlands, the middle and lower regions of the Huánghé 黄河 – see page 10
- Zhōu Cháo** 周朝: Zhōu dynasty, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty –
- Zhōuchéngwáng** 周成王: king Chéng of Zhōu, second king of the Zhōu dynasty – see page 13
- Zhū Bāo** 朱褒: clan leader during Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮’s time – see page 6, 11
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: historic and legendary official of Shǔ 蜀, *see* Crespigny (2007), p. 1172 – see pages 5–11, 13, 14

Zhǔbù 主簿: recorder, literally, ‘to be in charge of records’, see Hucker (1985), 1413 – see page 6

Zǐ 子: courtesy name, a courtesy name traditionally given to Chinese people upon reaching adulthood –

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