Yúnnán in the 'Commentary on the Water Classic'

Annotated Translations of Selections from the 《水经注》

LUDWIG M BRINCKMANN

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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

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

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1 Introduction

The 'Commentary on the Water Classic'《水经注》is a commentary on a – now lost – early Chinese geographical work, the 'Water Classic'《水经》. The original text was compiled during the Three Kingdoms 三国, 220–280 CE, by Sāng Qīn 桑钦 and during the Jìn dynasty 晋朝, 266–420 CE, revised by Guō Pú 郭璞. During the northern Wèi 北魏, 386–535 CE, the geographer Lì Dàoyuán 郦道元, †527, expanded the work to cover more than one thousand rivers – and this work became known as the 'Commentary on the Water Classic'.

'The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature' summarizes the work:

[The] Commentary to the Classic of Waterways by Li Tao-yüan 郦道元 (d. 527) is the major work of geographical writing from the Six Dynasties. Its forty chapters trace the various river courses of China, providing a wealth of anecdotal and historical material concerning cities and areas through which the rivers pass. As the title indicates, it is actually a commentary on a Three Kingdoms work not independently extant that is known as the *Shui-ching*. Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276-324) is also credited with having composed a commentary to the *Shui-ching*, but it has not survived. Li Tao-yüan's work is much longer and broader in scope than the original *Shui-ching*, which simply indicated the physical courses of the waterways. (Nienhauser (1986), p. 710)

While China developed the waterways of its heartland early, at the time of the 《水经注》 geographical knowledge of Yúnnán was scant and more often wrong than correct. Not only was Yúnnán outside the realm of the empire, its rivers – running often in deep canyons with steep cliffs and strong currents – were not suitable for navigation – and without river navigation it is difficult to understand tributary water systems. And as the river valleys were often afflicted by tropical diseases, caravan traffic was mostly perpendicular to the rivers with only few river crossings. In short: in Yúnnán rivers were obstacles, not facilitators of travel and transport. While some local details were well known, ⁽¹⁾ knowledge of the river *systems* of Yúnnán did not develop until much later: even the 1655 map of Yúnnán in the geographical work '*Novus Atlas Sinensis*' prepared by the Jesuit Martini Martini⁽²⁾ still contained major flaws, ⁽³⁾ that were mostly corrected only in the Jesuit maps produced during the Kāngxī 康熙 period.⁽⁴⁾

So it comes as no surprise that, when it comes to Yúnnán, the 《水经注》 is full of flaws. But the work's value does not lie in the accuracy of its descriptions of the river systems, but in the recording of names of the rivers then in use as well as local legends and myths, some not known from earlier texts.

For the purpose of the study of the Dàlǐ region in historic Chinese literature, the most interesting part of the 《水经注》 contains a description of the lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 region under the term Yèyú river 叶榆河. This part also contains its own version of the Āiláo 哀牢 origin myth, which – in some later works – is connected to the genealogy of Nánzhào 南诏.

⁽¹⁾ e.g. the map contained in the '*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*'《南诏图传》 shows lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 with its tributary rivers and outflow correctly.

 $^{^{(2)}\,}$ Martini (1655), see illustration 1 and illustration 2.

⁽³⁾ such as lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 draining both into the Mekong and Red River systems, something the Jesuits should have known is physically impossible.

⁽⁴⁾ see illustration 3.



Illustration 1: Martino Martini's 1655 Map of Yúnnán

Source: Martini (1655), https://fedora.phaidra.univie.ac.at/fedora/objects/0:524231/methods/bdef:Book/view#.

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 《水经注》.⁽⁵⁾

Only the part of the 《水经注》 describing the Yèyú river 叶榆河 in the 37th *juàn* is translated here.

The full text of the 《水经注》 is available at https://ctext.org/shui-jing-zhu/ens.

Various scanned copies are available, e.g. a reprint of the 'Complete Library of the Four Treasuries' 《四 库全书》 edition at https://archive.org/embed/o6042797.cn, see illustration 4, and a print from 1929 at https://taiwanebook.ncl.edu.tw/zh-tw/book/NCL-004759319, see illustration 5.

As the text consists of the text of the 《水经》 interspersed with annotations, I have typeset the 《水 经》 part in **bold face**, while the commentary is set in normal type. The parts of the 《水经》 form consecutive sentences with the commentary interspersed.

⁽⁵⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1998), vol. 1, pp. 282–324.



Illustration 2: The Ěrhǎi Region in Martino Martini's 1655 Map

 $Source: Martini\ (1655), https://fedora.phaidra.univie.ac.at/fedora/objects/0:524231/methods/bdef: Book/view \#.$

3 Annotated Translation

第三十七卷 The Yèyú River 叶榆河

The 37th *juàn* contains the description of the Yèyú river 叶榆河, generally seen to be a reference to the lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 region, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), pp. 91–92.

My interpretation of this geographical description is that this first describes the northern tributaries flowing into the Yèyú 叶榆 lake, i.e. lake Ěrhǎi 洱海. However, the continuation that the water then flows out towards the north-east is incorrect, as the outflow from lake Ěrhǎi is in the south-west, the lake being a tributary to the the Láncāng river 澜沧江. But if the much later Jesuit map is an indicator, there was the idea that the lake drains towards the north-east, see illustration 2.

益州叶榆河,出其县北界,屈从县东 北流,	Yìzhōu's Yèyú river springs from its county's northern border, and bends from [Yèyú] county towards the north-east.	
县,故滇池叶榆之国也。 汉武帝元封二年,使唐蒙开之,以为 益州郡。	The county was formerly the state of Diānchí's Yèyú. In the 2nd year of Hàn emperor Wǔ's Yuánfēng reign, the envoy Táng Méng opened it, and established Yìzhōu prefecture.	水经注5

r 4: In the 2nd year of Hàn emperor Wǔ's Yuánfēng reign] 109 BCE.

r4-5: the envoy Táng Méng] Táng Méng 唐蒙 is mentioned in the 'Records of the Historian' 《史记》.



Illustration 3: Yúnnán in the Kāngxī Map Source: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7820m.gct00265.

After this historical note comes a magic story about birds. This could be a story about a district now called Fèngyǔ $\overline{\mathbb{AP}}$. Fèngyǔ lies about forty kilometer, i.e. eighty $l\tilde{l}$, north of Ěrhǎi, the water from its small plain drain into the lake.

郡有叶榆县,县西北八十里,有吊鸟 山,衆鸟千百为羣,其会呜呼啁哳, 每岁七八月至,十六七日则止。一岁 六至,雉雀来吊,夜燃火伺取之。其 无嗉不食,似特悲者,以为义,则不 取也。俗言凤凰死于此山,故衆鸟来 吊,因名吊鸟。 In the prefecture there is Yèyú county, eighty li north of the county there is **Diàoniǎo mountain**, many thousands of birds gather there, they chirp *wūhū*, each year they arrive in the 7th or 8th month, after sixteen or seventeen days it is finished. One June, pheasants and finches came, at night a fire was lit to trap them. They had no crop and could not eat and appeared especially mourning, this was considered meaningful and they were not caught. A popular saying is that on this mountain a phoenix died, so many birds come to mourn, so it is called 'mourning birds' [mountain].

Then comes a description of Ěrhǎi itself, with the lake being east of Yèyú county, thought to have been set up near present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲. lake Ěrhǎi is deeper on the eastern side, with an alluvial plain

*r*₇: Diàoniǎo mountain] i.e. literally meaning 'mourning birds mountain', see below for the explanation of the name. *r*₈: $w\bar{u}h\bar{u}$] This is a mourning sound.

▲其理或有考 ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	NDBALLAN 、 、 、 、 、 、 、 、 、 、 、 、 、	為在近人有一個人 高、後進過人和 和小商人 素、 一般 一般 一般 一般 一般 一般 一般 一般 一般 一般	(JUND WIND WIND WIND WIND WIND WIND WIND WI
入罪柯郡西隨縣北為四嶺水又東出追奈周 戶州平根,請軍馬援三百姓,與州 使盖承將最為了自動,將軍馬援三百姓,與州 使盖承將,除人債智戰,開二百姓,原於出賣吉卑並州 使盖承將,我有又口越有抗柳盤,水式,又禁 或罰申與已卯恃非衛又口越有抗,將盤,以行兵此道最 有以將規,起為人,有以自給 輸水將屬是入南中戰,於監束是也 一,一,一,一,一,一,一,一,一,一,一, 一,一,一,一,一,一,一,一	十大甚有麋氣未永之人子派這至直江者也此武 南中也既了是水之尚若衛水人還有勝南水人還修要的 「加縣南大東巡梁水御北賞古縣南水人還自古縣北東與 「加梁南之東巡同並縣南文東遇商水人還清古縣北東與 「一」一」「一」一」一」一」一」一」一」一」一」一一」一一」一一」一一」一一」一	東南北道州界 一天本始皇快已不幸于孩子,此人以之所是不許不自那記録東南送太州是都近天主,此之者庭会禁水斗案物大百里案執行不遇其張,此人之北去者都六百里案執行不遇其張,此人之北去者都六百里案執行不遇其縣, 察東京北注者庭会禁水斗案物不可里案執行不遇其縣 東南出道州界 東南出道州界	NUDAINE 4 1411 又UDAINE 4 1411 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無残天明 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無残天 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無戒天 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無戒天 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無戒天 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無戒天 其小王曰哀字犯殺自古有之今此攻虎多無子 其心

Illustration 4: The Yèyú River in the 《四库全书》 edition

Source: https://archive.org/embed/06042797.cn.

formed by runoff from the Cāngshān 苍山 on the western side. Historically, there was almost certainly a swamp or marsh area on that side, which was drained and turned into farmland much later. To the north, the marshes or swamps covered most of what is now the region north of Dèngchuān 邓川.

县之东有叶榆泽,叶榆水所锺而为此 川薮也。 In the east of the county there is Yèyú lake, the waters of Yèyú stag- $x \times 2 \pm 15$ nate there and form a marsh along the river.

The Yèyú river then flows through Bùwéi county, called so after Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦 who during the Warring States 战国 period was transferred into the Yǒngchāng 永昌 region to serve as hereditary administrator.

过不韦县,

It passes through Bùwéi county,

The following origin legend of Āiláo 哀牢 was probably copied from the '*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*'《后汉书》.

 r_{15} : lake] the term zé 泽 signifies a larger expanse of water or a marsh.

★1 本 業 業績 水 經 法 六 業績 水 經 法 六 業績 一次 1 本 2 素減 1 本 1 + 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2	 马忱曰:或水,一曰復水也. 马忱曰:或水,一曰復水也. 東南董者蛤縣梁崎延岡城, 東南董者蛤縣梁崎延, 市卒是不果焉王張碧難鎖曰章移金精神馬線總費難故左太沖蜀都賦曰金陽池、 流水巡縣之臨池澤面東九荒素倫忽民多見之漢宣帝遣陳大夫王張然之欲致其難馬褒道 常始忽而耀儀。 又求過姑復縣南東入於若水. 没求過姑復縣南東人於若水. 完心 慶常史局由葉島山裡有金馬碧難光景倫忽思多見之漢宣帝遣陳大夫王張然之欲致其難馬褒道 常小菜 輸入除 真北美居道地演武者感到二年使唐蒙儒式出入自王,二次名明光,而絕影器 帮赦 九隆 哀牢之國也有宰山其先有婦人名沙壹寧醯國國總維那麵居於宰山捕魚水中觸沈木若有 進水, 「一百倉、蒙其會經(中近嗎)」。 小 經 注 六 後本 紫崎河 五十九 五十九
流然然 韋 南 不 保 應 理 百 等 2 復 唑醛 而 十 中 2 復 唑醛 三 2 億 從 2 元 麗 2 元 2 元 麗 2 元 史 2 麗 麗 2 元 史 2 麗 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 2 元 史 史 史 史 史 史 史 史 史 史 史 史 史	於 於

Illustration 5: The Yèyú River in a 1929 edition of the 《水经注》

Source: https://taiwanebook.ncl.edu.tw/zh-tw/book/NCL-004759319.

水经注 20	县,故九隆哀牢之国也。 有牢山,其先有妇人名沙壹,居于牢 山,捕鱼水中,触沈木若有感,因怀 孕,产十子。 后沈木化为龙,出水,九子惊走,小 子不能去,背龙而坐,龙因舐之。	The county was formerly the state of Jiǔlóng's Āiláo. There is Láo mountain, where in the beginning there was a woman called Shāyī, she lived on Láo mountain, she went fishing on the wa- ters, there was a submerged log floating that was as if it was alive, and she became pregnant and gave birth to ten boys. Later the submerged log turned into a dragon, emerged from the waters, nine of the boys ran way frightened, only the youngest could not run, he sat on the back of the dragon and so the dragon licked him.
水经注 30	其母鸟语,谓背为九,谓坐为隆,因 名为九隆。 及长,诸兄遂相共推九隆为王。 后牢山下有一夫一妇,生十女,九 隆皆以为妻,遂因孳育,皆画身像龙 文,衣皆著尾。 九隆死,世世不与中国通。	His mother spoke the bird language, it says <i>jiŭ</i> for back and <i>lóng</i> for sit, so he was called Jiŭlóng. When he grew up, all his brothers agreed to choose Jiŭlóng as king. Later below Láo mountain there were a husband and a wife, they gave birth to ten daughters, Jiŭlóng and the others took them as wives, and they multiplied, on their body they all had a mark resem- bling a dragon, and their clothes all had a tail. Jiŭlóng passed away and over many generations there was no con- tact with China.

It follows a section copied from the '*Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá*'《华阳国志》, where the text is more extensive and clearer.

汉建武二十三年,王遣兵来,乘革船 南下,攻汉鹿茤民,鹿芗民弱小,将 为所擒。于是天大震雷,疾雨,南风 漂起,水为逆流,波涌二百馀里,革 船沈没,溺死数千人。 后数年,复遣六王,将万许人攻鹿 茤,鹿茤王与战,杀六王,哀牢耆老 共埋之。其夜,虎掘而食之。明旦但 见骸骨。惊怖引去,乃惧,谓其耆老 小王曰:哀牢犯徼,自古有之,今此 攻鹿茤,辄被天诛,中国有受命之王 乎?何天佑之明也?	In the 23rd year of Hàn Jiànwǔ, king [Xiánlì] sent soldiers, they went down south riding on boats made from animal skin, attacked the Hàn's Lùjì people, the Lùjì were weak and small and were cap- tured. Thenupon there was a great thunderstorm, torrential rain, and a great wind from the south began to blow, the water flowed up- wards, billowing over two hundred <i>lĭ</i> , the leather boats sank, drown- ing over one thousand men. Several years later, he sent six kings, they took more than ten thou- sand men to attack Lùjì, the king of Lùjì fought with them in battle and killed the six kings, the old men of Āiláo buried them together. That night, tigers dug them up and ate them, the next morning only their bones could be seen. Alarmed and frightened they ran away, and frightened he said to his old men and young: the border of the Āiláo is there since time immemorial, today we attacked Lùjì, and were immediately punished by heaven, China's king has received the mandate? How can it be that heaven protects them? Then he sent an envoy to Yuèxī with tribute, asking to submit, and	水经注 40 水经注 45 水经注 50
塞徼。	increased the fortifications on the border.	
汉明帝永平十二年,置为永昌郡,郡 治不韦县。盖秦始皇徙吕不韦子孙于 此,故以不韦名县。	In the 12th year of Eastern Hàn emperor Míng's Yǒngpíng reign, Yǒngchāng prefecture was established, the seat of government in Bùwéi county. Then Qín Shǐhuáng sent Lǚ Bùwéi's descendants there, so it was called Bùwéi county.	水经注 55
北去叶榆六百馀里,叶榆水不迳其 县,自不韦北注者,卢仓禁水耳。叶 榆水自县南迳遂久县东,又迳姑复县 西,与淹水合。	It stretches north of Yèyú more than six hundred <i>lǐ</i> , the waters of Yèyú do not pass through its county, it pours north from Bùwéi, the Lúcāng cannot be crossed . The waters of Yèyú from that county flow south, east of Suìjiǔ county, then pass west of Gūfù county and flow into the Yān Shuǐ. In the south-east it passes Yǒngchāng Xiélóng	水经注 6o
又东南迳永昌邪龙县,县以建兴三年 刘禅分隶云南,于不韦县为东北。	county. The county was in the 3rd year of Jiànxīng Liú Shàn divided into Yúnnán and the north-east as Bùwéi county.	水经注65

 l_{37} : 汉] This is a copying error that crept in early, the '*History of the Later Hàn Dynasty*' 《后汉书》 has the character Hàn 汉 here as a river name.

 r_{59} –60: the Lúcāng cannot be crossed] unclear.

r 64: in the 3rd year of Jiànxīng] 225 CE.

r 36: In the 23rd year of Hàn Jiànwú] 47 CE.

r 36: [Xiánlì]] It appears that the name of the king, noted in other sources, such as the '*Chronicles of the States South of Mt.* Huá'《华阳国志》, is missing here.

r 54: In the 12th year of Eastern Hàn emperor Míng's Yǒngpíng reign] 69 CE.

	东南出益州界,	In the south-east it flows out of the boundaries of Yìzhōu,
水经注 70	叶榆水自邪龙县东南迳秦臧县,南与 濮水同注滇池泽于连然、双柏县也。 叶榆水自泽又东北迳滇池县南,又东 迳同竝县南,又东迳漏江县,伏流山 下,复出蝮口,谓之漏江。	The waters of Yèyú pass south-east from Xiélóng county through Qínzāng county, south they join the waters of Pú flowing into Diānchí lake in Liánrán, which is also called Shuāngbǎi county. The waters of Yèyú flow from that lake to the north-east passing south of Diānchí county, then east passing south of Tóngbìng county, then east passing through Lòu river county, flow under the mountains, emerging again at a snakes mouth, that is called the Lòu river.
		<i>Rhapsody</i> '《蜀都赋》 by Zuǒ Sī 左思, *250-†305, is quoted. om Knechtges (1982), p. 343, which also presents a short biography
水经注 75	左思《蜀都赋》曰: 漏江洑流溃其阿, 汨若汤谷之扬涛, 沛若蒙汜之涌波。	Zuǒ Sī's ' <i>Shǔ Capital Rhapsody</i> ' says: Seeping River, flowing underground, gushes from their foothills, The water rushes like the surging swells of Dawn Valley, Swiftly flows like the foamy waves of Murky Shore
	诸葛亮之平南中也,战于是水之南。	When Zhūgé Liàng pacified Nánzhōng, the war was south of the river.
水经注 8o	叶榆水又迳贲古县北,东与盘江合。	The waters of Yèyú then pass north of Bìgǔ county, east they flow together with the Pán river.
水经注 85	盘水出律高县东南盢町山,东迳梁水 郡北、贲古县南,水广百馀步,深处 十丈,甚有瘴气,朱褒之反,李恢追 至盘江者也。	The waters of the Pán spring from south-east of Lùgāo county's Xùtǐng mountain, in the east they pass north of Liángshuǐ prefecture, south of Bìgǔ county, the river is more than one hundred $bù$ wide, and in place ten <i>zhàng</i> , there are miasmas, during Zhū Bāo's rebellion, Lǐ Huī chased him and reached the Pán river.
	建武十九年,伏波将军马援上言:	In the 19th year of Jiànwǔ, the 'Subduer of the Waves' general Mǎ
水经注 90	从港泠同贲古,击益州,臣所将骆越 万馀人,便习战鬭者二千兵以上,弦 毒矢利,以数发,矢注如雨,所中辄 死。愚以行兵此道最便,盖承藉水利, 用为神捷也。	Yuán wrote to the emperor: Starting from Mínglíng and Bìgǔ Yìzhōu was attacked, your servant led more than ten thousand Luòyuè men, of which more that two thousand were well trained in battle, their bows poisonous, their arrows sharp, when they shot them arrows fell like rain, those who were hit died on the spot. I say that it is most convenient to pass this road as infantry, utilizing the power of water it is incredibly fast.
水经注 95	盘水又东迳汉兴县。山溪之中,多生 邛竹、桄榔树,树出麪,而夷人资以	The Pán river then in the east passes through Hànxīng county. In the mountains and streams they grow Qióng bamboo, sugar palm trees,
	r 87. In the 10th year of Jiànuti] yeadu 49	

r87: In the 19th year of Jiànwǔ] yeadw
43.

⁽⁶⁾ Knechtges (1982), pp. 483–484.

自给。

from the trees comes flour, the people sustain themselves with it.

Then another passage from the 'Shǔ Capital Rhapsody' 《蜀都赋》 by Zuǒ Sī 左思 is quoted, translation again by Knechtges (1982), pp. 343, 359.

故《蜀都赋》曰: 邛竹缘岭。 又曰: 麵有桄榔。	So the ' <i>Shǔ Capital Rhapsody</i> ' says: Qiong bamboo blankets the peaks. It also says: For starch, there is the sugar palm.	水经注 100
盘水北入叶榆水,诸葛亮入南,战于 盘东是也。	The Pán river in the north flows into the waters of Yèyú, when Zhūgé Liàng entered the south, the war was fought east of the Pán river.	

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 Líruì 王黎锐 and Yáng Fān 杨 帆 (2016), Hú Chángchéng 胡长城 (2014) – see pages 5, 9–11
- Āiláo Yí 哀牢夷: Āiláo Yí, mythological tribe hailing from the Āiláo Shān 哀牢山, in present-day Bǎoshān 保山 – see page 14, see 哀牢
- **Āiláo Shān** 哀牢山: Āiláo mountains, see page 14
- 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 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 14
- **Bǎoshān** 保山: present-day important city, the historic Yǒngchāng 永昌 see page *see* 永 昌
- Běi Wèi 北魏: northern Wèi, Chinese dynasty, 386-535 - see page 5, 14
- **Bìgǔ** 贲古: ancient county, in the region of present-day Jiànshuǐ 建水 see page 12
- **Bùwéi** 不韦: county in Yǒngchāng 永昌, named after Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦 see page 9, 11

- **Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi – see page 9, 14
- **Chāngníng** 昌宁: present-day a county belonging to Bǎoshān 保山 –
- **Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 –
- Dàlǐ 大理: see page 5
- Dàxī 大厘: earlier name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page *see* 史城
- **Dèngchuān** 邓川: see page 9
- **Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市 – see pages 7, 12, 14
- **Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25-220 - see page 14
- Donghànmíngdì 东汉明帝: Eastern Hàn emperor Míng, Dong Hàn 东汉 emperor, 58-75 - see page 11, 14
- **Ěrhǎi** 洱海: lake Ěrhǎi, 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 pages 5, 7, 8, 14
- **Ěryuán** 洱源: present-day county north of Ěrhǎi, formerly known as 浪穹 –
- Fèngyǔ 凤羽: township in present-day Ěryuán - see page 8
- **Fúbō** 伏波: 'Subduer of the Waves', honorary title of Mǎ Yuán 马援 – see page 12, 14, see 马援
- Guàngláng 桄榔: sugar palm, see page 12, 14
- Guìzhōu 贵州: today a province in south-west China –

- Guō Pú 郭璞: scholar, wrote a commentary to the 《水经》 see page 5
- Hàn Cháo 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE-220 - see page 15
- Hàn 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China see pages 11, 14, 15
- Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉光武: later Hàn dynasty emperor Guāngwǔ, 后汉 emperor, ruled 25-57 - see page 15
- Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140-87 BCE - see page 7,15
- Hànxīng 汉兴: ancient county see page 12
- Hòu Hàn 后汉: later Hàn dynasty, second period of the Hàn dynasty see page 15
- Hòuhàn Shū 《后汉书》: 'History of the Later Hàn Dynasty', classic historical text, one of the twenty-four official histories of China – see pages 9, 11, 15
- Huáyáng Guó Zhì 《华阳国志》: 'Chronicles of the States South of Mt. Huá', - see page 11, 15
- Jiànnán 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān –
- Jiànshuǐ 建水: present-day town south of Tōnghǎi 通海 –
- Jiànwǔ 建武: reign period of Hàn Guāngwǔ 汉 光武, 25-56 – see page 11, 12
- Jiànxīng 建兴: first reign period of Shǔ Hàn 蜀 汉 emperor Liú Shàn 刘禅, 223-237 - see page 11, 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 12, 15

- **Jìn Cháo** 晋朝: Jìn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 266-420 see page 5, 15
- Jiǔlóng 九隆: mytholical son of a dragon and Shāyī沙壹 in the 《哀牢传》 – see page 10
- Jùn 郡: prefecture, historic administrative area, term in use before the Táng – see pages 7, 8, 11, 12, 15
- Kāngxī 康熙: second emperor of the Qīng, 1661–1722 – see page 5
- Kūnmíng Shì 昆明市: Kūnmíng City, presentday capital of Yúnnán, founded as second capital of Nánzhào – see page 15, see 拓东
- Láncāng river 澜沧江: Láncāng river, major river in Yunnan, the Mekong – see page 7, 15
- Làngqióng 浪穹: one of the five Zhào -
- Láoshān 牢山: Láo mountain, variant of writing Āiláo Shān 哀牢山 used in some texts – see page 10, 15, see 哀牢山
- Lǐ Huī 李恢: general who joined Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮's southern campaign – see page 12
- Lì Dàoyuán 郦道元: scholar, wrote the 《水经 注》- see page 5
- Lìjiāng 丽江: present-day city in north-western Yunnan-
- Liánrán 连然: ancient name for Ānníng 安宁 see page 12
- Liángshuǐ 梁水: see page 12
- Liú Shàn 刘禅: second ruler of Shù Hàn 蜀汉, 207-271 - see page 11
- Lòu river 漏江: Lòu river, river in Guìzhōu 贵州 see page 12, 15

- Lǚ Bùwéi 吕不韦: Zhànguó 战国 period scholar and politician see page 9, 11
- Lùjì 鹿茤: tribal group see page 11
- Luòyuè 骆越: see page 12
- Mǎ Yuán 马援: general during the later Hàn dynasty see page 12
- *Mán* 蛮: historically a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest –
- Mínglíng 港泠: ancient county, in the region of present-day Vietnam see page 12
- Nánzhào 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see page 5, 16
- Nánzhào Túzhuān 《南诏图传》: 'Illustrated History of Nánzhào', important picture scroll dating back to 898, telling the story of the arrival of Buddhism and the divine appointment of the rulers of Nánzhào – see page 5, 16
- Nánzhōng 南中: 'most common name for the southwest region (Yunnan, Guizhou, and southern Sichuan) prior to the Tang dynasty', Herman (2009) – see page 12
- Pánjiāng 盘江: Pán river, river in Yúnnán see pages 12, 13, 16
- Qiánshǔ 前蜀: Former Shǔ, one of the ??, 907-925 - see page 16
- Qín Cháo 秦朝: Qín dynasty, see page 16
- Qín Shǐhuáng 秦始皇: Qín Shǐhuáng, first emperor of the Qín Cháo 秦朝 – see page 11, 16
- Qínzāng 秦臧: county see page 12
- **Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see page 16, 17

- Qióngzhōu 邛州: region in Sìchuān 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, 16
- Sāng Qīn 桑钦: compiler of the 《水经》- see page 5
- Shāyī 沙壹: legendary ancestor in Āiláo see page 10
- Shǐchéng 史城: ancient name of present-day Xǐzhōu 喜洲 – see page see 大厘
- Shǐjì 《史记》: 'Records of the Historian', see page 7, 16
- Shǔ 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān –
- 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 16
- Shǔ Hàn 蜀汉: Shǔ Hàn, westernmost of the three kingdoms during the Sānguó 三国 period, 221–263 – see page 16
- Shǔdū Fù 《蜀都赋》: 'Shǔ Capital Rhapsody', poetry collection by Zuǒ Sī 左思, translation in Knechtges (1982), pp. 341–371 – see pages 12, 13, 16
- Shǔjùn 蜀郡: Shǔ prefecture, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu – see page 16
- Shuāngbǎi 双柏: county name see page 12
- Shuǐjīng 《水经》: 'Water Classic', early, now lost, geographical work see pages 5, 6, 16
- Shuǐjīngzhù 《水经注》: 'Commentary on the Water Classic', classic text, commentary to the lost 《水经》 see pages 5, 6, 16

Sìchuān 四川: Chinese province –

- Sìkù Quánshū《四库全书》: 'Complete Library of the Four Treasuries', Qīng dynasty library collection – see page 6, 17
- Suìjiǔ 遂久: ancient county, thought to have been established in the present-day Lìjiāng 丽江 region – see page 11
- Táng Cháo 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618-907 - see page 17
- Táng 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see page 17
- Táng Méng 唐蒙: see page 7
- **Tōnghǎi** 通海: present-day 通海, an important town on the route to the coast –
- Tóngbìng 同竝: county name see page 12
- Tǔbō 吐蕃: Tibetan empire –
- Tuòdōng 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào –
- **wáng** \pm : 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 confered by China, the ruler of a vassal state, see Hucker (1985), 7634 – see pages 10, 11, 17
- Wáng Jiàn 王建: founder of the Qiánshǔ 前蜀, see Wang (2011) -
- Xǐzhōu 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ěrhǎi, about mondern location of Dàxī 大厘 – see page 8, *see* 大厘
- Xiánlì 贤栗: king of the 哀牢夷 see page 11
- Xiàn 县: county, administrative unit see pages 7–9, 11, 12, 17

- Xiélóng 邪龙: county mentioned in the 《水经 注》- see page 12
- Yān Shuǐ 淹水: Yān Shuǐ, river mentioned in the 《水经注》, today's, see Fāng Guóyú 方 国瑜 (1987), p. 148 – see page 11, 17
- Yèyú 叶榆: see pages 7-9, 11-13
- Yèyú Hé 叶榆河: Yèyú river, ancient name for Ěrhǎi used in the 《水经注》 – see pages 5–7, 9, 17
- Yí 夷: one of teh collective terms for non-Chinese people in the south-west – see page 13, *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 7, 12, 17
- Yǒngchāng 永昌: present-day Bǎoshān, a Chinese outpost founded in 69, see Fāng Guóyú方国瑜 (1953) – see page 9, 11
- **Yǒngpíng** 永平: reign period of Wáng Jiàn 王 建, 910-915 - see page 11
- Yuánfēng 元封: reign period of Hàn Wùdì 汉武帝, 110-104BC see page 7
- 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 越巂 789-865 – see page 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, 6, 11
- **Zhànguó** 战国: Warring States, Warring States period, the time before the Qin dynasty, 475-221 BCE – see page 9, 17

zhào 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his realm	Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮: historic and legendary
– see page 18	official of Shǔ 蜀, see Crespigny (2007),

Zhū Bāo 朱褒: local leader during the Sānguó 三国 – see page 12

Zuǒ Sī 左思: Jìn Cháo 晋朝 poet – see page 12, 13

p. 1172 - see page 12, 13

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