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# The Nánzhào Déhuà Stele

*An Annotated Translation of the 《德化碑》*

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## The Yúnnán Papers

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

The goal of this series is not to present any new research, but to allow an English speaking audience to 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.

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## 1 Introduction

The *Déhuà Stele* 《德化碑》 is the only long-form historical document left directly by Nánzhào 南诏, the powerful polity centered on lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 that controlled part of south-western China during the Táng dynasty in the 8th and 9th century CE.

It is a large stone stele, about 3m high and 2.2m wide, with originally some 3800 characters. It was erected in or just after 766 CE at Tàihé 太和,<sup>(1)</sup> the first capital of the unified Nánzhào, on the slopes of the Cāngshān 苍山 mountains, west of lake Ěrhǎi.

The text on its frontside describes the events leading to the unification of six separate polities, called Zhào 诏, to form Nánzhào with its capital at Tàihé; the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng in 752; its alignment with Tǔbō 吐蕃, the Tibetan empire expanding from the north; the failed Táng punishment expeditions; and the subsequent expansion of Nánzhào into present-day Burma and eastern Yúnnán. Surrounding this record of historic events is effusive praise for the leader of Nánzhào, Géluōfèng 阁罗凤, the eldest son of its founder, Píluōgé 皮罗阁.

In his comprehensive review of historic literature about Yúnnán, the eminent local historian Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 called it the ‘for historical material most abundant stele’.<sup>(2)</sup>

### The Text of the *Déhuà Stele*

Of the original 3800 characters only about 800 remain today, but the text on the front was recorded in the Míng dynasty gazetteer 《万历云南通志》, the earliest version of which has been dated to 1574.<sup>(3)</sup> As Blackmore states, nothing is known about the transmission of the text from Géluōfèng onwards. But as the stele was buried underground for a time and only rediscovered in 1788,<sup>(4)</sup> the recorded text must have been a copy of a previous, now lost, document.

Even though on the stele itself its author calls himself Mán Shèng 蛮盛,<sup>(5)</sup> it is generally assumed that its text was written by Zhèng Huí 郑回, a Táng official captured in a raid on Chinese areas in 756 or 757 CE and brought back to Nánzhào. There he served as teacher to several generations of the ruling clan, rising to the position of Qīngpíngguān 清平官, the highest administrative role in Nánzhào.<sup>(6)</sup> Whoever the author was, the form of the text reveals that he was without doubt a Táng educated scholar.

The text of *Déhuà Stele* contains many implicit references to the Chinese classics, such as the 《诗经》, the 《易经》 and the 《礼记》, many of which are pointed out in Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006). For the sake of a better translation, I have referred to Legge’s translation of these works and included his translation in the footnotes.<sup>(7)</sup>

The text contains more than one hundred geographical terms that help understand the topography and the extension of Nánzhào at the time of writing.<sup>(8)</sup>

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(1) at 25.63N 100.2E.

(2) ‘为历史资料最富之碑’ in Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1984), p. 864.

(3) Blackmore (1960).

(4) Zhōu Hù 周祐 (2002), p. 3.

(5) see line 561 on page 32.

(6) For the controversy in Chinese circles about the author’s identity, see Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1978), Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1985a), Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1985b), Wáng Shūwǔ 王叔武 (1986), Wáng Hóngdào 王宏道 (1987).

(7) see Legge (1865), Legge (1871), Legge (1872).

(8) For a comparative analysis of the geographical terms mentioned on the stele, see Lǐ Chénglóng 李成龙 (2016).

The text on the back records the names and titles of Nánzhào officials, only part remains readable, the full text is unknown. An attempt to reconstruct the full text from other historical sources was published in Liáng Xiǎoqiáng 梁晓强 (2002),<sup>(9)</sup> the reconstructed text is also published in Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006).

Further research can be found in Jīn Shí 金石 (1985) and Zhōu Hù 周祐 (1988).

## 2 About this Translation

The text of the *Déhuà Stele* is available in a number of publications, such as Li Yuányáng 李元阳 (n.d.), pp. 1417–1426.

In 1978 an annotated version of the *Déhuà Stele* was published by Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校.<sup>(10)</sup>

The text for this translation is sourced from the CText project at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=753467>. This text was found to have omitted several characters, which has been silently corrected. For better readability this document reproduces the text in simplified Chinese.

The text on the stele itself contains, apart from a number of characters that indicate verse ends, no punctuation or division marks, but as the text for large parts follows a verse pattern, the division of lines seems obvious. The verse form, as matching lines of several characters each, is generally followed but for expressions that indicate a new section, for time expressions (which also serve the purpose of indicating a new part), and the titles and names of officials, place names etc.

While the verse form imposes a certain rigidity as expressions needed to be adjusted to fit the verse pattern, it also makes the text sometimes easier to understand as the form and content of corresponding lines must match. I have typeset the Chinese text, where appropriate, in verse form.

The *Déhuà Stele* with its many implicit references to the classics is not an easy text to understand, not even for Chinese. In order to facilitate its understanding, a number of historians have made attempts of translating its text into a form of Chinese that is understandable to contemporary readers. Zhōu Hù 周祐 authored translation as part of Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978).<sup>(11)</sup>

Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006) made a number of changes to Zhōu Hù 周祐's work for a new translation into Chinese.

Chavannes translated the text into French, but I have only a partial copy.<sup>(12)</sup>

Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 published a translation of the first part of the front side in Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2011).

Bryson (2015) and Daniels (2021) contain a number of translated passages.

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<sup>(9)</sup> I have not been able to find a copy of this.

<sup>(10)</sup> This document was published for a wider audience in Zhōu Hù 周祐 (1979) and republished in the collection Xuē Wěimín 薛伟民 (2017). This collection also contains a number of other historical articles on the *Déhuà Stele*.

<sup>(11)</sup> This translation has been republished many times, it is also contained in Zhōu Hù 周祐 (2002) and Xuē Wěimín 薛伟民 (2017).

<sup>(12)</sup> Chavannes (1900).





Figure 1:  
The *Déhuà Stele* 《德化碑》 in 2021

## 3 Annotated Translation

## 碑面 Frontside

The first part introduces the cosmological world view of Nánzhào, with its leader, the Zhào 诏, as a supreme being part of and conforming with the Dào, from which he derives supreme power and unique responsibilities.

This reflects the ancient Chinese astrological world view of a ‘correspondence between the heavenly phenomena and temporal events’<sup>(13)</sup> as stated in the 《史记》: ‘天则有日月，地则有阴阳。天有五  
星，地有五行。天则有列宿，地则有州域’ which Pankenier (1995), p. 144 translates as ‘Therefore, in  
heaven there are sun and moon, on earth there are yin and yang. In heaven there are the Five Planets,  
on earth there are the Five Elements. In heaven are arrayed the lunar mansions, and on earth there  
are the terrestrial regions.’

恭闻 清浊初分，运阴阳而生万物。  川岳既列，树元首而定八方。  故知 悬象著明，莫大于日月。 崇高辨位，莫大于君臣。  德化碑 <sup>10</sup> 道治则中外宁， 政乖必风雅变。  岂世情而致抑天理之常。  德化碑 <sup>15</sup> 我赞普鍾，	Respectfully Listen In the beginning the pure and the turbid separated, Yin and Yang churned and gave birth to All Things. Mountains and rivers arrayed, establishing the Monarch to order the Eight Directions. So we know Of all the shining phenomena, none are brighter than sun or moon. Of all the distinguished positions, none are higher than the Monarch and his ministers. When the Dào rules, home and abroad are at peace, When government goes against reason, the rhymes must also change. How is it possible that worldly matters press upon the constancy of the Heavenly Principles? I, the Zànpǔ Zhōng,
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<sup>2</sup> 清浊] Chavannes (1900), p. 396 points out that this is a reference to the *Master of Huainan* 《淮南子》: ‘清阳者薄靡而为天，重浊者凝滞而为地’; which Major (1993), p. 62 translates as ‘That which was pure and bright spread out to form Heaven; The heavy and turbid congealed to form Earth.’; see also Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 1.

<sup>2</sup> the pure and the turbid] meaning heaven and earth.

<sup>4</sup> establishing the Monarch] Chavannes (1900), p. 397 points out that this is to emphasize that the ruler is a constituent member of the universe.

<sup>11</sup> the rhymes] The Chinese terms Fēng 风 and Yǎ 雅 refer to styles of poetry in the *Book of Odes* 《诗经》. Legge (1871), *Prolegomena*, 35 points out that the work makes a distinction of ‘Pieces of an age of good government’ and ‘Pieces of a degenerate age’.

<sup>7</sup> 悬象著明] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 2:

<sup>11</sup> 政乖必风雅变] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 3:

<sup>15</sup> 赞普鍾] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 4:

<sup>15</sup> Zànpǔ Zhōng] Zànpǔ Zhōng 赞普鍾 was the title given to the ruler of Nánzhào by the Zànpǔ of Tǔbō, the Tibetan empire that had risen in the 8th century, see Beckwith (1987). Zànpǔ Zhōng means ‘Younger Brother of the King’.

<sup>(13)</sup> Pankenier (1995), p. 144.




蒙国大诏， 性业合道， 智睹未萌。 随世运机， 观宜抚众。 退不负德， 进不惭容者也。	the great Zhào of the state of Méng, my nature conforms with the Dào, the wise sees what is yet to sprout, facing the world I must make plans, observing events, comforting the people. In retreat I do not go against virtue, to advance I am not unworthy.	德化碑 20
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The following section introduces Gélúōfèng 阁罗凤, \*712 †779, the leader of Nánzhào, and lists the titles he had inherited from his father Píluōgé 皮罗阁, \*697 †748, who with support of the Táng had unified the tribes of the region and founded Nánzhào.

王姓蒙，字阁罗凤， 大唐特进云南王越国公开府仪同三司之 长子也。 应灵杰秀， 含章挺生。 日角标奇， 龙文表贵。 始乎王之在储府， 道隆三善，	The surname of the king is Méng, his name is Gélúōfèng, he is the eldest son of the lord specially advanced of the Great Táng, king of Yúnnán, Duke of the State of Yuè and . He responded to the spirits in outstanding fashion, embodies fine qualities and outstanding grace. The bulge on his forehead shows his uniqueness, the dragon patterns show his nobility. In the beginning, when the king still resided in the prince's quarters, on the glorious path of the three excellent things	德化碑 25          德化碑 30
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18 智睹未萌] Chavannes (1900), p. 398 points out that this refers to a work by Sīmǎ Xiāngrú 司马相如: '明者逮见于未蕴', see <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&remap=gb&file=94263&page=50&>

28 日角标奇] The 《后汉书·光武帝纪上》 notes '身長七尺三寸，美须眉，大口，隆准，日角' as signs of nobility.  <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=71483>. The 《梁书·元帝纪》 has '陛下日角龙颜之姿', again the use of facial traits as sign of nobility.

31 三善] Zhōu Hù 周祐 (2002), p. 17: 事父事君事长.

31 the three excellent things] This is a reference to the 《礼记文王世子》，which states on the education of a ruler: '君之于世子也，亲则父也，尊则君也。有父之亲，有君之尊，然后兼天下而有之。是故，养世子不可不慎也。行一物而三善皆得者，唯世子而已。其齿于学之谓也。故世子齿于学，国人观之曰：“将君我而与我齿让何也？”曰：“有父在则礼然，然而众知父子之道矣。”其二曰：“将君我而与我齿让何也？”曰：“有君在则礼然，然而众著于君臣之义也。”其三曰：“将君我而与我齿让何也？”曰：“长长也，然而众知长幼之节矣。”故父在斯为子，君在斯谓之臣，居子与臣之节，所以尊君亲亲也。故学之为父子焉，学之为君臣焉，学之为长幼焉，父子、君臣、长幼之道得，而国治。' Legge (1885a), p. 352 translates this as 'Take the case of the sovereign and his son and heir. Looked at from the standpoint of affection, the former is father; from that of honour, he is ruler. If the son can give the affection due to the father, and the honour due to the ruler, hereafter he will (be fit to) be the lord of all under the sky. On this account the training of crown princes ought to be most carefully attended to. It is only in the case of the crown prince that by the doing of one thing three excellent things are realised; and it is with reference to his taking his place in the schools according to his age that this is spoken. Thus it is that when he takes his place in them in this way, the people observing it, one will say, 'He is to be our ruler, how is it that he gives place to us in the matter of years?' and it will be replied, 'While his father is alive, it is the rule that he should do

24 大唐特进云南王越国公开府仪同三司] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 5:

26 应灵杰秀] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 6: The records regarding investing Gélúōfèng 阁罗凤 with the title of king of Yúnnán 云南王 contain the sentence: '挺秀西南是为酋杰'. While it is difficult to render this in English, this sentence picks up official Táng praise. But the phrase could also come from the 《周上柱国齐王宪神道碑》，which has '公含章天挺，命世诞生', 'The Duke embodies exceptional qualities, emerging as command of the world.'

位即重离。 不读非圣之书 崇学字人之术。 德化碑 35 抚军屡闻成绩 监国每著家声。 唐朝授右领军卫大将军兼阳瓜州刺 史。	established a strong <i>Lí</i> . He read nothing but the scriptures, studied the art to govern his people. As leader of the troops achieved much, As inspector of the state he increased the reputation of his family. The Táng court awarded him the title of right commander and general-in-chief and regional inspector of Yángguā Zhōu.
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The following outlines the events leading to the unification of the region around Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海: with the support of the Táng the Méng 蒙 clan attacked and eliminated five other principalities north of it, unified the region and established its capital at Tàihé 太和 on the western side of Lake Ěrhǎi 洱海.

so.' Thus all will understand the right course as between father and son. A second will make the same remark, and put the same question; and it will be replied, 'While the ruler is alive, it is the rule that he should do so;' and thus all will understand the righteousness that should obtain between ruler and minister. To a third putting the same question it will be said, 'He is giving to his elders what is due to their age;' and thus all will understand the observances that should rule between young and old. Therefore, while his father is alive, he is but a son; and, while his ruler is alive, he may be called merely a minister. Occupying aright the position of son and Minister is the way in which he shows the honour due to a ruler and the affection due to a father. He is thus taught the duties between father and son, between ruler and minister, between old and young; and when he has become master of all these, the state will be well governed.' The 'three excellent things', as Legge translates the term, are the duties between father and son, ruler and minister, and old and young.

32 位即重离] Zhōu Hù 周祐 (2002), p. 17 argues that 离 here means 篱, meaning 'fence' or 'barrier' [against Tübō]. But Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2006), p. 68 notes that this refers to the 30th trigram in the 《易经》, which has the annotation: '明两作离, 大人以继明照于四方', which Legge (1899), p. 304 translates as '(The trigram for) brightness, repeated, forms Li. The great man, in accordance with this, cultivates more and more his brilliant (virtue), and diffuses its brightness over the four quarters (of the land)'. Since the term 离 is difficult to translate, I have left this as *Lí*.

38 general-in-chief] Hucker (1985), 5897: 'a designation of military officers in command of armies'.

34 崇学字人之术] For the meaning of '字人' Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2006), p. 61 points to the 《左传·昭公·三十年》, which explains the relationship between large and small countries: '诸侯所以归晋君, 礼也, 礼也者, 小事大, 大字小之谓, 事大在共其时命, 字小在恤其所无, 以敝邑居大国之间, 共其职责, 与其备御, 不虞之患, 岂忘共命'. Legge (1872), p. 734 translates this as 'The reason why the States acknowledge the supremacy of the ruler of Tsin lies in the rules of propriety, by which are [here] to be understood the service of a great State by a small one, and the cherishing of the small State by the great one. The service appears in obedience to the commands which are given from time to time; the cherishing, in the great State's compassion for the others wants or inabilities. In consequence of the situation of our poor State between great States, we perform our duties and render our contributions.' So the meaning of the character '字' is 'to cherish', 'compassion for the other's wants and inabilities', i.e. '字人' expresses the sentiment that the ruler has to benefit his people as they are weaker than him.

35 抚军屡闻成绩] For the meaning of '抚军' and '监国' Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2006), p. 61 points to the 《左传·闵公·二年》, which explains these titles: '晋侯使大子申生伐东山皋落氏, 里克谏曰, 大子奉冢祀社稷之粢盛, 以朝夕视君膳者也, 故曰冢子, 君行则守, 有守则从, 从曰抚军, 守曰监国, 古之制也'. Legge (1872), p. 130 translates this as 'The marquis of Tsin proposed sending his eldest son Shin-sang to invade the Kaou-loh tribe of the eastern hills [in Shan-se], when Le K'ih remonstrated saying, it is the business of the eldest son to bear the vessels of millet for the great sacrifices, and for those at the altars of the land and the grain, and also to inspect the provisions cooked for the ruler every morning and evening. On this account he is styled the "great son." When the ruler goes abroad, he guards the capital; and if another be appointed to guard it, he attends upon *his father*. When he attends upon him, he is called "Soother of the host"; when he stays behing on guard, he called "Inspector of the State:" – this is the ancient rule.'

38 Yángguā Zhōu] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshifānzhuānkēxuèxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 11: Yángguā Zhōu 阳瓜州 was a subordinated prefecture 羈縻州 of Yáozhōu 姚州, the administrative region the Táng had established in 622 in present-day southern Sichuān. It was in the northern part of present-day Weishān 巍山 or maybe Yàngbì 漾濞, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 318.

In this text Nánzhào presents itself as a regional force loyal to the Táng, able to pacify the region. The many titles conferred by the Táng express that the unification of the region happened with support of China, the section ending with the note that the Táng invested the ruler of Nánzhào as *supreme pillar of the state*.

泊先诏与御史严正海静边寇，  先王统军打石桥城，  差诏与严正海攻石和子。 父子分师， 两殄凶丑。 加左领军卫大将军。	When the former Zhào and the censor Yán Zhènghuì eliminated bandits from our borders,  The former king led the troops to attack on the walled town of Shíqiáo, sent out the Zhào and Yán Zhènghuì to attack Shíhézi. Father and son shared the leadership, the two eliminated the enemies.	德化碑 40      德化碑 45
无何，又与中使王承君 同破剑川， 忠绩载扬， 赏延于嗣。 迁左金吾卫大将军。 而官以材迁， 功由乾立。 朝廷照鉴， 委任兵权。 寻拜特进、 知兵马大将。 二河既宅， 五诏已平。 南国止戈，	He was additionally awarded the title of left commander and general-in-chief. Shortly after, he and the imperial commissioner Wáng Chéngjūn together attacked Jiànchuān, His loyal achievements recorded and praised to last for posteriority, He was promoted to general of the left imperial insignia guard. He was promoted because of his ability, his achievements made him heir to the throne, The court made a clear judgement, awarded him military powers. He was appointed lord specially advanced, and general-in-chief knowledgeable of men and horses. He then moved to Èrhé, the five Zhào already pacified.	德化碑 50      德化碑 55      德化碑 60

39 the former Zhào ] referring to Píluōgé 皮罗阁。

42 Shíqiáo ] The name means stone bridge. At the southern end of Cāngshān 苍山 it probably is at present-day Tiānshēngqiáo 天生桥, a natural crossing over the outflow of Ěrhǎi 洱海, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406.

43 Zhào ] Géluōfēng 阁罗凤

46–47 left commander and general-in-chief ] Complementing the title of 右领军卫大将军 he had already received, see line 37 on page 10.

49 Jiànchuān ] Present-day Jiànchuān 剑川 county, a large basin north of the Ěrhǎi 洱海 region, 26.53N 99.91E

54 his achievements made him heir to the throne ] Not sure if that is an appropriate translation, but this section recalls the honours that the Táng court granted to him

59 Èrhé ] 二河 here is another writing for Xiè Hé 西洱河, meaning lake Ěrhǎi 洱海. This sentence refers to the establishment of Tàihé 太和 (25.63N 100.2E) as the first capital of the unified Nánzhào in 739 on the western side of Ěrhǎi.

48 无何 ] For ‘无何’ Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006), p. 62 points to the 《左传·昭公·元年》: ‘神怒民叛，何以能久，赵孟不复年矣，神怒不歆其祀，民叛不即其事，祀事不从，又何以年’ Legge (1872), p. 578 translates this as ‘The Spirits must be angry with him, and the people revolt from him: – how can he continue long? Chaou-mang will not see another year. The Spirits, angry with him, will not accept his sacrifices; the people, revolting from him, will not repair to execute his affairs. His sacrifices and affairs both unattended to, what should he do with more years?’

58 知兵马大将 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 15: the highest local military rank.

	北朝分政。	the Northern Court shared the rule.
	而越析诏馱孽于贖，	But the remaining villain of Yuèxī Zhào Yúzhèng,
	恃铎鞘，	clutching his Duóqiào,
德化碑 65	骗泸江，	lept over the Lújiāng,
	结彼凶渠，	linked up with the ruffians,
	扰我边鄙。	harrassing our border districts.
	飞书遣将，	We sent out letters and envoys,
	皆辄拒违。	but were all rejected.
德化碑 70	诏弱冠之年，	The Zhào was a young man,
	已负英断，	already made brilliant decisions.
	恨兹残丑，	He hated the ruffians,
	敢逆大队。	courageously faced the enemy.
	固请自征，	He requested to lead the troops himself,
德化碑 75	志在夷扫。	wanting to wipe out the Yí.
	梟于贖之头，	He hung up the head of Yúzhèng,
	倾伏藏之穴。	emptied their hideouts.
	铎鞘尽获，	At last the Duóqiào was captured,
	宝物并归。	all treasures returned to the court.
德化碑 80	解君父之忧，	His father's worries solved,
	静边隅之侵。	the borderlands pacified.
	制使奏闻，	When an envoy reported this to the court,
	酬上柱国。	he was awarded <i>supreme pillar of the state</i> .

The following section begins to introduce the conflict between Nánzhào and the Táng, starting with the death of Píluōgé 皮罗阁 in 748, who, with the aid of the Táng, had unified the tribes in the Ěrhǎi 洱海 region. The text points out that Fèngjiāyì 凤迦异, Píluōgé 皮罗阁's eldest son, had interited his father's titles, thus conforming to the Chinese inheritance customs, and was a loyal servant to the Táng emperor.

德化碑 85	天宝七载，	In the 7 <sup>th</sup> year of Tiānbǎo
	先王即世，	the former king passed away.
	皇上	His Majesty
	念功旌孝，	remembered his deeds, commended his obedience,

62 the Northern Court shared the rule ] In my view 北朝 refers to the Táng, Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2011), Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 17 etc. all think this means Tǔbō. However, the situation described here is one of unity with the Táng, so praising harmony with Tǔbō does not make sense. Furthermore, at page 21 Tǔbō is referred to as 西朝, i.e. the 'Western Court'.

63 Yuèxī Zhào ] The region of present-day Bīnchuān 宾川, east of Ěrhǎi 洱海.

64 clutching his Duóqiào ] The Duóqiào 铎鞘 was a highly prized halberd-like weapon.

65 Lújiāng ] This is the Jīnshājiāng 金沙江, which flows not far north of Yuèxī 越析, i.e. present-day Bīnchuān 宾川.

83 *supreme pillar of the state* ] Hucker (1985), 4990: 'honorific designation of great prestige from high antiquity'.

84 In the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Tiānbǎo ] 748

85 the former king ] i.e. Píluōgé 皮罗阁, \*697 †748

70 弱冠之年 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 21: A man in his twenties.

<p>悼往抚存。 遣中使黎敬义持节册袭云南王。</p>	<p>lamented the deceased, comforted the living. He dispatched Lí Jìngyì as envoy carrying the imperial patents that he interited the title 'King of Yúnnán'.</p>	<p>德化碑 90</p>
<p>长男风迺异时年十岁，以 天宝入朝，授鸿胪少卿，</p>	<p>The eldest son Fèngjiāyì had, at the age of ten, joined the court of Tiānbǎo and received the title of junior chief ceremonial minister.</p>	
<p>因册袭次，又加授上卿， 兼阳瓜州刺史、知兵马大将。</p>	<p>Since he was appointed as heir, he was awarded the title of senior, also regional inspector of Yángguā Zhōu and general-in-chief knowledgeable of men and horses.</p>	<p>德化碑 95</p>
<p>既御厚眷， 思竭忠诚。 子弟朝不绝书， 进献府无馀月。</p>	<p>As he received the emperor's favours and benevolence, his mind was entirely loyal. His juniors incessantly made reports to the emperor, gave tribute at least once a month.</p>	<p>德化碑 100</p>
<p>将谓 君臣一德， 内外无欺。 岂期 奸佞乱常， 抚虐生变。</p>	<p>To say with one word: The Monarch and his ministers: united in virtue. At home and abroad: nowhere is deceit. Who would have thought that crafty sycophants would create disorder, that from harmony would arise tyranny?</p>	<p>德化碑 105</p>

The next part introduces one of the points of contention: a road between Ānníng and Ānnán that the Táng wanted to build to connect its domains north and south of Yúnnán, obviously to increase their power over eastern Yúnnán, which was ruled by the Cuàn 爨 clan. This road was also known as the Bùtóu 步头 road, after its termination point on the Red River.<sup>(14)</sup> This project caused the Cuàn 爨 leaders to band together to assassinate the supervisor of Yuèxī 越巂, the Táng administrative region north of Yúnnán, Zhú Língqiàn 竹灵倩 and to attack Ānníng 安宁.<sup>(15)</sup>

<p>初， 节度章仇兼琼 不量成败， 妄奏是非 遣 越巂都督竹灵倩</p>	<p>In the beginning, The military commissioner Zhāngchóu Jiānqióng not weighing success or defeat, preposterously caused quarrel, sent out the commander-in-chief of Yuèxī Zhú Língqiàn</p>	<p>德化碑 110</p>
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91 长男] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 34 points out that this means 'eldest son', i.e. that Nánzhào thus followed Chinese practice of inheriting titles along the male line.

92 天宝入朝] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 35 points out that in 746 Fèngjiāyì went to the court in Chángān.

94 senior] this must mean senior ceremonial minister, a promotion from the title of junior ceremonial minister 鸿胪 that he had already received.

100 进献府无馀月。] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 35 points out that these were common form of currying favour with the emperor at the time. The 《新唐书·志第四十二·食货二》 notes: '剑南西川节度使韦皋有「日进」，江西观察使李兼有「月进」' <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&remap=gb&file=4497&page=21>.

(14) Or an intermediate point, some have placed Bùtóu 步头 at present-day Jiànshuǐ 建水.

(15) The text here gives no specific date, Zhào Hóngchāng 赵鸿昌 (1994), p. 93 places these events in 745.

	置府东爨， 通路安南。	to establish a government in eastern Cuàn, to connect a road to Ānnán.
德化碑 115	赋重役繁， 政苛人弊。	Taxes were heavy, forced labour common, Government was harsh, the people were harmed.
	被 南宁州都督爨归王、 昆州刺史爨日进、	By the commander-in-chief of Nánning prefecture Guīwáng, the regional inspector of Kūnzhōu Cuànrìjìn,
德化碑 120	梨州刺史爨祺、 求州爨守懿、 螺山大鬼主爨彦昌、 南宁州大鬼主爨崇道等	the regional inspector of Lí Zhōu Cuànqí, Qíúzhōu's Cuànshǒuyì, the great spirit lord of Luó Shān Cuàn Yàncāng, The great spirit lord for Nánning prefecture Cuànchóngdào and others
德化碑 125	陷煞竹灵倩， 兼破安宁。	Zhú Língqiàn was captured and killed, and Ānníng was attacked.
	天恩降 中使孙希庄、 御史韩洽、	The Emperor sent the imperial commissioner Sūn Xīzhuāng, the censor Hán Qià,
德化碑 130	都督李宓等， 委先诏招讨， 诸爨畏威怀德， 再置安宁。	the commander-in-chief Lǐ Mì and others to entrust the old Zhào to quell the rebellion, to let the Cuàn fear the power, embrace virtue, to reestablish the government in Ānníng.

But this did not lead to a pacification of the area as Lǐ Mì 李宓, a Táng official, tried to sow unrest between the groups, instigating internecine killings within the Cuàn 爨 clan.

	其李宓 忘国家大计， 蹶章仇诡踪， 务求进官荣。	But Lǐ Mì disregarding the country's interest, followed in the crafty footsteps of Zhāngchóu, in search for promotion and honours.
德化碑 135	宓阻扇东爨， 遂激崇道， 令煞归王。	Mì blocked and instigated the Eastern Cuàn, and incited Chóngdào to kill Guīwáng.
德化碑 140	议者纷纭， 人各有志。 王务遏乱萌， 思绍先绩。	Disagreement followed, as each man had his own ambition. The king suppressed the rebellion, hoping to continue the old achievements.
德化碑 145	乃命 大军将段忠国等 与中使黎敬义、 都督李宓， 又赴安宁，	He then ordered the great commander Duàn Zhōngguó and others together with imperial commissioner Lí Jìngyì, the commander-in-chief Lǐ Mì to march anew against Ānníng
德化碑 150	再和诸爨。	to again pacify the Cuàn.

131 old Zhào ] i.e. Píluōgé 皮罗阁

138 Mì ] The character 宓 could also be a misspelling of 密, meaning 'secretly'.



<p>而李宓          矫伪居心，          尚行反间。          更令崇道          谋煞日进，          东爨诸酋，          并皆惊恐。          曰：「归王，          崇道叔也，          日进弟也，          信彼谗构，          煞戮至亲。          骨肉既自相屠，          天地之所不佑。」          乃各兴师，          召我同讨。          李宓          外形中正，佯假我郡兵，          内蕴奸欺，妄陈我违背。</p> <p>赖节度郭虚己仁鉴，</p> <p>方表我无辜。          李宓寻被贬流，          崇道因而亡溃。</p>	<p>But Lǐ Mì          harboured false intentions,          desired to create unrest.          So he ordered Chóngdào          to assassinate Rìjìn.          The chiefs of eastern Cuàn          were all seized with terror,          saying Guīwáng          Was the uncle of Chóngdào,          Rìjìn his younger brother.          He believed his slander and          killed his relative.          Close kin killing each other          is not blessed by Heaven nor Earth!          As a result, each side sent troops,          I was called to join the punishment expedition.</p> <p>Lǐ Mì          outwards appeared neutral, to avail himself to our forces,          in his heart he was a traitor, callously declaring that it was me who          was the traitor.</p> <p>According to military commissioner Guō Xūjǐ's benevolent assess-          ment,          I was innocent in this affair.          Lǐ Mì was banished,          Chóngdào fled away.</p>	<p>德化碑 155</p> <p>德化碑 160</p> <p>德化碑 165</p> <p>德化碑 170</p> <p>德化碑 175</p>
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The following introduces Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀,<sup>(16)</sup> the 'villain' in the breakup between Nánzhào and the Táng. After he was appointed administrator of Yuèxī 越巂, i.e. the Táng controlled region north of Yúnnán,<sup>(17)</sup> he began to mistreat Nánzhào.

The text here displays the viewpoint of Nánzhào, but in the Táng work 《云南志》 the misbehaviour of Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀 is acknowledged as key reason for the rift between the two powers. Backus notes:

It is true of course that the Te-hua inscription was written specifically as an *apologia* for Nan-chao's actions during these years [LMB: from 750–751 CE leading to the outbreak of hostilities.]. We should thus regard its righteous claims of innocence and good intentions with some skepticism. However, Chinese sources too indicate that it was T'ang officials in Szechwan, not the Nan-chao leaders, who subsequently precipitated full-scale war. Backus (1981), pp. 70–71.

The text first makes a list of Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀's misdeeds.

<sup>(16)</sup> Throughout the 《云南志》 Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀 is written as Zhāng Qiántuō 张乾拖.

<sup>(17)</sup> near present-day Xīchāng 西昌.

	又越嵩都督张虔陀， 尝任云南别驾， 以其旧识风宜， 表奏请为都督。	There was the commander-in-chief of Yuèxī Zhāng Qiántuó, the former administrative aide of Yúnnán. As he was familiar with local customs, a petition was submitted to the emperor to appointed him as commander-in-chief.
	而反 诬惑中禁， 职起乱阶。 吐蕃是汉积讎， 遂与阴谋， 拟共灭我。 一也。	But he was deceiving the court, responsible for creating turmoil. Tǔbō is a longstanding enemy of the Hàn. He colluded with them to eliminate me. Number one.
德化碑 185	诚节王之庶弟， 以其不忠不孝， 贬在长沙。 而彼奏归， 拟令间我。 二也。	Chéngjié, the brother by a concubine of the king, a disloyal and infilial man, was demoted to a post in Chángshā, but ordered back with the intention to spy on me. Number two.
德化碑 190	崇道 蔑盟构逆， 罪合诛夷， 而却收录与宿， 欲令讎我。 三也。	Chóngdào broke the alliance and created unrest, violated the unity, murdered his kin, conspired with others to become my enemies. Number three.
德化碑 195	应与我恶者， 并授官荣， 与我好者， 咸遭抑屈， 务在下我。 四也。	Arranged that those hostile to me received positions and honours, but my allies all encountered suppression in order to undermine me. Number four.
德化碑 200	筑城收质， 缮甲练兵，	He fortified cities, received material support, repaired the armours and trained the troops,
德化碑 205		

177 Yúnnán ] Backus (1981), p. 70 points out that during the Tiānbǎo period Yúnnán 云南 was the name for Yáozhōu 姚州. Backus (1981), p. 70 speculates that Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀 was not Chinese, but a native chieftain. Zhào Hóngchāng 赵鸿昌 (1994), p. 91 notes that the renaming of Yáozhōu 姚州 to Yúnnán 云南 took place in 742.

179 都督 ] Yún Nánshèngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 46: The annotation points out that this means the Dūdū 都督 for Yáozhōu 姚州.

183 乱阶 ] Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2006), p. 54 points to the 《诗经》，which has ‘哲夫成城、哲妇倾城。懿哲妇、为巢为鸱。妇有长舌、维厉之阶。’; Legge (1871), p. 561 translates this as ‘A wise man builds up the wall [of a city], But a wise woman overthrows it. Admirable may be the wise woman, But she is [no better than] an owl. A woman with a long tongue, Is [like] a stepping-stone to disorder.’; see <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/decade-of-dang/ens#n16685>. Xu (1993), pp. 670–671 translates this as ‘A wise man builds a city wall; A fair woman brings its downfall; Alas! Such a woman young Is no better than an owl; Such a woman with a long tongue Will turn everything afoul.’

196 his kin ] The text has Yí 夷, which is a term for tribal people, but in the section before Chóngdào was introduced as someone who killed a close relative.



	安得知难不防，坐招倾败。』	How could we knowing all this not act, sitting down awaiting defeat?
德化碑 245	于此差 大军将王毗双、罗时、牟苴等 扬兵送檄， 问罪府城。	With this he sent out the great commander Wáng Píshuāng, Luō Shí, Móu Jū and others to assemble the troops and call them to arms to send an expedition against the prefectural seat.
德化碑 250	自秋毕冬， 故延时序， 尚仁王命， 冀雪事由。	From autumn to winter, the campaign was delayed, respectfully waiting for the Emperor's decrees, in the hope of exoneration.
德化碑 255	岂意 节度使鲜于仲通已统大军，取南溪路 下； 大将军李暉从会同路进； 安南都督王知进自步头路入。	How could we expect that the military commissioner Xiānyú Zhòngtōng was already gathering a large army, marching down the Nánxī road. The general-in-chief Lǐ Huī was invading from the Huitóng road, the commander-in-chief of Ānnán Wáng Zhījìn were invading from the Bùtóu road.
德化碑 260	既数道合势， 不可守株。	As on many roads the forces were gathering, we could not wait defend ourselves.
德化碑 265	乃 宣号令， 诫师徒， 四面攻围， 三军齐奋。	So, we issued battle orders, alerting officers and soldiers, for encirclement on four sides three armies were all prepared.
德化碑 270	先灵冥佑， 炬助威。 天人协心， 军群全拔。 虔陀饮酖 寮庶出走，。	May the spirits of our ancestors protect us from evil, firing up our morale. With Heaven and men of one heart, the troops were uprooted. [Zhāng] Qiántuó drank the poison, his officials all fled.
德化碑 275	王以为 恶止虔陀， 罪岂加众， 举城移置， 犹为后图。	The king thought that the evil stopped with Qiántuó, how could he blame the people, raising the towns and relocating them still was the future plan.

But Nánzhào's hopes of renormalization were dashed as the Táng led a punishment expedition against it, resulting in utter defeat for the Táng in the region of lake Ērhǎi 洱海 in 751.<sup>(19)</sup>

260 不可守株 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 54: A short form of '守株待兔', literally meaning 'waiting by a stump for a hare', i.e. deferring action.

270 虔陀饮酖 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 55: Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀 committed suicide by drinking wine in which the feather of a poisonous bird was steeped.

271 寮庶出走 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 55: liáo 寮 is a variant of liáo 僚, i.e. officials, shù 庶 is a plural indicator, so liáoshù 寮庶 means 'all the officials under him'.

(19) The event is mentioned in the 《新唐书》



	仲通拂谏， 弃亲阻兵， 安忍吐发， 唯言屠戮。 行使皆被诋呵。 仍前差将军王天运帅领骁雄， 自点苍山西， 欲腹背交袭。	Zhòngtōng[ np] refused our petitions, abandoned us relatives, blocked the troops, calmly uttering, only speaking of massacre, saying nothing but denouncing us. He sent out general Wáng Tiānyùn to lead a mighty force, from the west of Diǎncāngshān, wanting to attack from front and rear.
德化碑 310		
德化碑 315	于是具牲牢， 设坛墀， 叩首流血曰： 「我自古及今， 为汉不侵不叛之臣。	So we prepared animals, set up an altar, we kowtowed until our heads bled, saying: From ancient times until now, I have been a servant who never invaded the Hàn nor betrayed them.
德化碑 320	今节度背好贪功，  欲致无上无君之讨。  敢昭告于皇天后土。」	Today, the military commissioner betrays the good and covets success,  desires to make an expedition against us who have no support or officers,  we dare to make this known to Heaven and Earth.
德化碑 325	史祝尽词， 东北稽首。 举国痛切， 山川黯然。 至诚感，风雨震霏。	The envoy finished the edict, kowtowed to the north-east. The whole country grieved, the mountains and rivers were gloomy. The feeling of sincerity was shaken by trials and tribulations.
德化碑 330	遂宣言曰： 「彼若纳我， 犹吾君也。 今不我纳， 即吾讎也。	He declared: If they had received me I would still be their servant. Today I was rejected, so I cannot but be their enemy.
德化碑 335	断，军之机； 疑，事之贼。」 乃召卒伍， 擗然登陴。	A break in relations will be to the advantage of the military; indecisiveness is the thief of things. So I called the troops to valiantly guard the towns.

313 from the west of Diǎncāngshān ] Backus (1981), p. 71 notes that the 'sheer topographical difficulties of such a maneuver make it seem almost impossible', which is true, were it not for a path from present-day Fèngyǔ via the high-altitude depression of Huādiànbà down to present-day Xízhōu, south of the fortifications at Shàngguān 上关.

308 弃亲阻兵 ] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006), p. 63 points to the 《左传·隐公·四年》: '臣闻以德和民，不闻以乱，以乱，犹治丝而棼之也，夫州吁阻兵而安忍，阻兵无众，安忍无亲，众叛亲离，难以济矣。夫兵，犹火也。弗戢，将自焚也，夫州吁弑其君，而虐用其民，于是乎不务令德，而欲以乱成，必不免矣。'. Legge (1872), p. 16 translates this as "Your servant has heard," said the officer, "that the people may be made well affected by virtue; I have not heard that they can be made so by violence. To use violence with that view is like trying to put silk in order and only ravelling it. Chow-yu relies on his military force, and can do cruel things. For his military likings the multitude will not cleave to him; and for his cruelty his relatives will not. With the multitude rebellious, and his friends leaving him, it will be difficult for him to be successful. Military weapons are like fire; if you don't lay the fire aside, it will burn yourself. Chow-yu murdered his prince, and he uses his people oppressively, thus not making excellent virtue his pursuit, but wishing to succeed by violence; — he will certainly not escape calamity."



<p>谓左右曰：「夫 至忠不可以无主， 至孝不可以无家。」 即差 首领杨利等于浪穹参吐蕃御史论若 赞。 御史通变察情， 分师入救。 时中丞大军出陈江口。</p>	<p>I said to my assistants: Loyalty cannot be without ruler, Filiality cannot be without a family. And with that he sent the chief ??MS 杨利 MS and others to Làngqióng to meet the Tǔbō's censor ??MS 论若赞 MS. The censor was adept at assessing the situation, and sent troops to our assistance. At that time the ??MS 御史中丞 MS's big army went into battle at Jiāngkǒu. The king consulted the omens, weighing up friend and foe, sent out troops to personally lead the attack, dealing a defeat to the other side. He ordered his eldest son Fèngjiāyì, the great commander ??MS 段全葛 MS at ??MS 丘迁和 MS behind the mountain to resist the army. Wáng Tiānyùn's severed head was displayed at our yamen, the ??MS 御史中丞 MS abandoned the troops and escaped at night. Some officers wanted to pursuit them, but the Zhào said: Stop. The nobleman does not desire to be too much above others. How can we dare to insult the son of Heaven? Only if he can extricate himself, the empire will not suffer too much. After deliberating he added: When a small country defeats a large, it is the root of disaster. Maintaining amicable relations is the treasure of a nation.</p>	<p>德化碑 340</p>
<p>王审孤虚， 观向背， 纵兵亲击， 大败彼师。 因命长男凤迦异、 大军将段全葛等， 于丘迁和拒山后赞军。 王天运悬首辕门， 中丞逃师夜遁。 军吏欲追之。 诏曰：「止。 君子不欲多上人， 况敢凌天子乎。 苟自救也，社稷无殒多矣。」 既而合谋曰： 「小能胜大祸之胎， 亲仁善邻国之宝。」 遂遣男铎传旧、 大首望赵佺邓、 杨传磨侔及子弟六十人， 赍重帛珍宝等物， 西朝献凯。 属赞普仁明， 重酬我勋效。</p>	<p>The king consulted the omens, weighing up friend and foe, sent out troops to personally lead the attack, dealing a defeat to the other side. He ordered his eldest son Fèngjiāyì, the great commander ??MS 段全葛 MS at ??MS 丘迁和 MS behind the mountain to resist the army. Wáng Tiānyùn's severed head was displayed at our yamen, the ??MS 御史中丞 MS abandoned the troops and escaped at night. Some officers wanted to pursuit them, but the Zhào said: Stop. The nobleman does not desire to be too much above others. How can we dare to insult the son of Heaven? Only if he can extricate himself, the empire will not suffer too much. After deliberating he added: When a small country defeats a large, it is the root of disaster. Maintaining amicable relations is the treasure of a nation. He then sent out his son ??MS 铎传旧 MS, the leading chief ??MS 赵佺邓 MS, ??MS 杨传磨侔 MS and sixty other men, carrying heavy silk, jewellery and other goods to the western court to celebrate the victory. Under the benevolence of the Zànpǔ, he was amply rewarded for his meritorious achievements.</p>	<p>德化碑 345</p> <p>德化碑 350</p> <p>德化碑 355</p> <p>德化碑 360</p> <p>德化碑 365</p> <p>德化碑 370</p>

362 社稷 ] means the altars to the gods of earth and grain, as a metaphor for the empire.

347 中丞 ] Yún Nánshěngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 66: This title refers to Xiányú Zhòngtōng 鲜于仲通.

355 丘迁和 ] Yún Nánshěngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 67: A placename, behind Cāngshān 苍山,

367 大首望 ] Yún Nánshěngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 69: A rank equal to general-in-chief, only below prime minister 清平官. This title is mentioned in the 《新唐书》: ‘曰首望、曰正首望、曰员外首望、曰大军将、曰员外，犹试官也。’ LMB: I think this was not an official title in Nánzhào, but a honorific for a tribal leader, as this term is used together with other titles, such as prime minister 清平官, e.g. ‘清平官首望赵宗政’.

370 to the western court ] i.e. Tǔbō

德化碑 375	遂命宰相倚叶乐 持金冠、 锦袍、金宝带、金帐状床、 安扛伞、鞍银兽及器皿、 珂贝、珠球、 衣服、駝马、牛缕等， 赐为兄弟之国。	He immediately ordered the prime minister ??MS 倚相叶乐 MS to give a golden crown, brocade robes, golden precious belts, golden curtain beds, umbrellas from ??MS 安扛 MS, saddels, silver animals and utensils, jade and cowrie shells, pearls, garments, pack-animals, leather boots, and granted us the status of brother country.
德化碑 380	天宝十一载正月一日， 于邓川册诏为赞普鍾南国大诏，	On the first day of the first month of the 11 <sup>th</sup> year of Tiānbǎo he conferred in Dèngchuān upon the Zhào the title of Zànpǔ Zhōng and great Zhào of the Southern Land,
德化碑 385	授长男凤迦异大瑟瑟告身、知兵马大 将。 凡在官僚， 宠幸咸被。 山河约誓， 永固维城。 改年为赞普鍾元年。	gave his eldest son Fèngjiāyì the large turquoise insignia and the title general-in-chief ??MS 知兵马 MS. All the officials received significant honors. Our land made the pledge forever to serve as a fortified wall. This year was designated the first year of Zànpǔ Zhōng.

From now on, the time reference are not the Táng reign years, but the Nánzhào reign period called Zànpǔ Zhōng 赞普鍾, after the title Tǔbō had conferred onto Gélúōfèng 阁罗凤.

The following sections describe the Táng punishment expeditions against Nánzhào, that became known as the Tiānbǎo Wars 天宝战争. The expeditions all ended in catastrophic defeats for the Táng, even before the outbreak of the Ān Lùshān rebellion 安禄山之乱 in 755 forced it to retreat from the region.

德化碑 390	二年， 汉帝又命 汉中郡太守司空袭礼、 内使贾奇俊 帅师再置姚府， 以将军贾瓘为都督。 金曰：	In the second year, the Hàn emperor again ordered the governor of ??MS 汉中郡 MS ??MS 司空袭礼 MS, the administrator ??MS 贾奇俊 MS to lead forces to reestablish a government in Yáo [Zhōu], appointed general ??MS 贾瓘 MS as commander-in-chief. Everyone said:
德化碑 395		

380 On the first day of the first month of the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Tiānbǎo ] 752nd January 21

383 the large turquoise insignia ] Gàoshēn 告身 is a ranking system, with the ??MS 大瑟瑟告身 MS obviously the highest, since it was conferred to Fèngjiāyì 凤迦异. The backside of the stele records the Gàoshēn 告身 of many of Nánzhào's highest ranking officials together with their Gàoshēn 告身.

389 This year was designated the first year of Zànpǔ Zhōng. ] 752

390 In the second year ] 753

378 牛缕 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 70: Tibetan style boots

383 告身 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. ??: Backus (1981), p. 80 translates the term Gàoshēn 告身 as 'badge'.

387 山河约誓 ] Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006), p. 54 points to the 《诗经》, which has '价人维藩、大师维垣、大邦维屏、大宗维翰、怀德维宁、宗子维城。'; Legge (1871), p. 501 translates this as 'Good men are a fence; The multitudes of the people are a wall; Great States are screens; Great Families are buttresses; The cherishing of virtue secures repose; The circle of [the king's] Relatives is a fortified wall.'; see <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/decade-of-sheng-min/ens#m6495>



	潜军袭造船之师， 伏尸遍毗舍之野。 李宓 犹不量力， 进逼遑川。 时 神州都知兵马使论绮里 徐来救已至巴躡山。 我命	to lead secret troops to attack the shipbuilders, their corpses were strewn all over the wilderness. Lǐ Mì still overestimated his might advanced on <u>Téngchuān</u> . At this time the of commander ??MS 神州 MS ??MS 使论绮里 MS came to the rescue advancing on ??MS 巴躡山 MS. I ordered
德化碑 430	大军将段附克等 内外相应， 竟角竟冲。 彼	the great commander ??MS 段附克 MS and others to react <u>from the inside and outside</u> to fight a pincer battle. The other side
德化碑 440	弓不暇张， 刃不及发。 白日晦景， 红尘翳天。 流血成川， 积尸壅水。	<u>had no time to tense their bows,</u> no time to draw their daggers. Day turned to night, red dust obscured the sky. Blood flowed like a river, corpses blocking the waters.
德化碑 445	三军溃衄， 元帅沉江。 诏曰： 「生虽祸之始， 死乃怨之终。 岂顾	Three armies were defeated, the <u>marshal</u> drowned in the river. The Zhào said: Birth is the beginning of misfortune, but death is the end of enmity. How is it possible
德化碑 450	前非而亡大礼。」 遂收亡将等尸， 祭而葬之， 以存恩旧。	because of his past misconduct we ignore the rites? So, he recovered the remains of the fallen general and others, held a ceremony to bury them to maintain the old friendship.

Then the outbreak of the ??MS 安祿山 MS Rebellion 安祿山之乱 in 755 forced the Táng emperor Xuánzōng 玄宗 to flee to present-day Sìchuān 四川. The Táng forces in disarray, Tǔbō and Nánzhào took the opportunity to mount a concerted attack on the Táng regions.

433 ??MS 巴躡山 MS ] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), pp. 551–552 places this north of present-day Ěryuán 洱源, it is obviously a place north of Ěrhǎi 洱海.

439 had no time to tense their bows ] Backus (1981), p. 76 translates this as ‘They had no time to draw their bows. They could not wield their swords fast enough. Though it was daylight, shadows were obscured; red dust dimmed the sky. Blood flowed, forming rivers; corpses piled up, blocking the stream. The entire T’ang army was annihilated, and its generals were drowned.’

430 Téngchuān ] Present-day Dèngchuān 邓川, i.e. the Táng troops moved northwards on the eastern side of Ěrhǎi 洱海, hoping to attack from the north.

436 from the inside and outside ] the inside likely means from the south, the outside from the north, i.e. the area outside of the Nánzhào heartland

446 marshal ] i.e. Lǐ Mì 李宓

<p>五年， 范阳节度使安禄山 窃据河洛， 开元帝 出居江剑。 赞普差 御史赞郎罗于恙结赍敕书曰： 「树德务滋长， 去恶务除本。 越嵩、会同谋多在我， 图之此为美也。」 诏恭承上命，即遣 大军将洪光乘、 杜罗盛、 段附克、 赵附于望、 罗迁、 王迁、 罗奉、 清平官赵佺邓等， 统细于藩 从昆明路， 及宰相倚祥叶乐、  节度尚检赞同伐越嵩。 诏亲帅大子藩 围逼会同。 越嵩固拒被僇， 会同请降无害。 子女玉帛， 百里塞途， 牛羊积储， 一月馆谷。</p>	<p>In the 5<sup>th</sup> year, the military commissioner of Fànyáng ??MS 安禄山 MS occupied ??MS 河洛 MS, the Kāiyuán emperor fled to ??MS 江剑 MS. The Zànpǔ sent the censor ??MS 赞郎罗于恙结 MS carrying an edict that read: To establish virtue it must proliferate, to expel evil it must be uprooted. Yuèxī and Huìtóng have often conspired against us, we intent to rectify this. The Zhào respectfully obeyed the order and sent the great commander ??MS 洪光乘 MS, ??MS 杜罗盛 MS, ??MS 段附克 MS, ??MS 赵附于望 MS, ??MS 罗迁 MS, ??MS 王迁 MS, ??MS 罗奉 MS, the prime minister ??MS 赵佺邓 MS and others to join forces with the ??MS 细于藩 MS from the Kūnmíng road with the grand councilor ??MS 倚祥叶乐 MS and the military commis- sioner ??MS 尚检赞 MS together to mount an expedition against Yuèxī. The Zhào personally led the ??MS 大子藩 MS to encircle and attack Huìtóng. Yuèxī firmly resisted and was razed, Huìtóng begged to surrender and was spared. Women and children, jade and silk blocked the road for one hundred <i>lǐ</i>. Lifestock and grains piled up high, provisions enough for a month.</p>	<p>德化碑 455</p> <p>德化碑 460</p> <p>德化碑 465</p> <p>德化碑 470</p> <p>德化碑 475</p> <p>德化碑 480</p> <p>德化碑 485</p>
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The next year the Táng tried to reestablish its presence in modern-day southern Sichuān 四川, but failed again.

455 In the 5<sup>th</sup> year ] 756

457 河洛 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 81: The region south of the ??MS 黄河 MS, the basin of the ??MS 洛水 MS.

459 江剑 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 82: the upper reaches of the Chángjiāng 长江, administered as Jiànnán 剑南, meaning present-day Sichuān 四川

475 细于藩 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 83: This term is unclear, it can perhaps be understood as juxtaposed to the ??MS 大子藩 MS below, the term seems to indicate a name of special troops, the ??MS 大子藩 MS being led directly by the Nánzhào.

	六年，	In the sixth year
	汉复置越嶲，	the Hàn reestablished Yuèxī,
德化碑 490	以杨庭璉为都督，	appointed ??MS 杨庭璉 MS as commander-in-chief,
	兼固台登。	at the same time reinforcing Táidēng.
	赞普使来曰：	The envoy of the Zànpǔ said:
	「汉今更置越嶲，	The Hàn have reestablished Yuèxī,
	作援昆明。	support Kūnmíng.
德化碑 495	若不再除，	Unless they are uprooted,
	恐成滋蔓。」	I fear it will proliferate.
	既举奉明旨，	As he received the order,
	乃遣长男凤迦异	he sent out his eldest son Fèngjiāyì
	驻军泸水，	to occupy Lúshuǐ
德化碑 500	权事制宜。	as an interim measure given the circumstances.
	令	He ordered the
	大军将杨传磨侔等	senior general ??MS 杨传磨侔 MS
	与	and
	军将欺急历如	the military commander ??MS 欺急历如 MS
德化碑 505	数道齐入。	to attack from multiple roads at once.
	越嶲再扫，	Yuèxī was wiped out again,
	台登涤除。	Táidēng destroyed.
	都督见擒，	The commander-in-chief was captured alive,
	兵士尽掳。	the soldiers all taken prisoner.
德化碑 510	于是	After that
	扬兵邛部，	troops were dispatched to Qióngbù,
	而汉将大奔，	the Hàn general fled,
	回旆昆明，	retreating the banners to Kūnmíng,
	倾城稽顙。	the whole city paid their respects.
德化碑 515	可谓	It can be said
	绍家继业，	continuing the family, carrying on the accomplishments,
	世不乏贤。	in many generations never lacked noble people.
	昔十万横行，	Who in the past led one hundred thousand people,
	七擒纵略，	seven times capturing and releasing,
德化碑 520	未足多也。	could not have done much better.

The next paragraph describes Nánzhào's conquest of the lowlands of south-western Yúnnán, stretching into what is now Burma, a region they called Xúnchuán 寻传。

488 In the sixth year ] 757

518 Who in the past led one hundred thousand people, ] This is a reference to ??MS 诸葛亮 MS who on his southern expedition captured and released ??MS 孟获 MS seven times.

491 Táidēng ] a location south of present-day Xīchāng 西昌

494 Kūnmíng ] Kūnmíng 昆明 refers to the salt-producing areas of present-day Yányuán 盐源, west of Yuèxī 越嶲, it has no relation to Kūnmíng as the later capital of Yúnnán.

495 Unless they are uprooted, ] This is a repetition of the sentiment voiced above.



It describes a region attractive for its natural resources and abundant people, but lacking in culture, seemingly waiting to be conquered and civilized by Nánzhào.

<p>爰有寻传。 畴壤沃饶， 人物殷湊， 南通渤海， 西近大秦。 开辟以来，声教所不及，  羲皇之后，兵甲所不加。</p>	<p>Then there is Xúnchuán. Its fields and soils are fertile, Its people and goods abundant; In the south it touches the surging sea, In the west it nears ??MS 大秦 MS. Since the beginning of history, the renowned teachings have never reached it; Since emperor ??MS 羲 MS, armour and weapons have never been raised.</p>	<p>德化碑 525</p>
<p>诏欲 革之以衣冠， 化之以义礼。 十一年冬，亲与寮佐兼总师徒，</p>	<p>The Zhào sought To reform them through government officials, To uplift them through righteousness and rituals. In the winter of the 11<sup>th</sup> year he himself together with his assistants and the commander-in-chief</p>	<p>德化碑 530</p>
<p>刊木通道， 造舟为梁。 耀以威武， 喻以文辞。 欵降者抚慰安居，</p>	<p>Cut trees to connect a road, Built boats to serve as bridges. Displaying formidable might, Instructing with words and phrases. Those who sincerely submitted were comforted and settled peacefully,</p>	<p>德化碑 535</p>
<p>抵捍者系颈盈贯。 矜愚解缚， 择胜置城。 裸形不讨自来， 祁鲜望风而至。</p>	<p>Those resisting were strung up by the neck and pulled hard. Pitying the untaught, he untied their shackles, Selected good land and established walled towns. The ??MS 裸形 MS surrendered without a fight, The Qíxiān arrived observing our customs.</p>	<p>德化碑 540</p> <p>德化碑 545</p>

The last part about the conquests of Nánzhào narrates its expansion eastwards, into the Lake Diānchí 滇池 area, which was previously the realm of the Cuàn 爨 clan.

As the text points out Ānníng 安宁,<sup>(21)</sup>

525 大秦] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2011) translated this as 'India', but as there was little geographic understanding of the world, I leave this term untranslated, maybe something as vague as 'The Occident' would be most appropriate.

526 renowned teachings] i.e. Chinese culture

528 Since emperor ??MS 羲 MS] legendary emperor ??MS 伏羲 MS, so this means 'since time immemorial', echoing the start of the sentence.

533 In the winter of the 11<sup>th</sup> year] 762

544 ??MS 裸形 MS] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 96: ??MS 裸形 MS means 'the naked' and is a term for a tribal group.

545 Qíxiān] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 97: Qíxiān 祁鲜 is a mountain region, but here, because of the parallelism with the verse above, it must mean a tribal group.

<sup>(21)</sup> at ④ 24.92N 102.48E, west of Diānchí 滇池 and near important salt wells, was a strategically important town, long contested between China and indigenous groups. At the time Tuòdōng 拓东, which later became Kūnmíng 昆明, had just been established and was not yet an important place.

	且	Furthermore,
	安宁雄镇，	the imposing town of Ānníng,
	诸爨要冲。	strategic point of the Cuàn.
德化碑 550	山对碧鸡，	A mountain faces Bìjī,
	波环碣石。	waves circle its cliffs.
	盐池鞅掌，	Its salt ponds are bustling,
	利及群欢。	its benefits reach ??MS 群欢 MS.
	城邑绵延，	Towns and villages stretch unbroken,
	势连戎楚。	their power reaching Róng and Bó.
德化碑 555	乃置城监，	They established a city to control,
	用辑携离。	to bring those together who had rebelled.
	远近因依，	Far and near because of trust
	阊阎栉比。	neighbourhoods lined up close.

In the following come the last historic events mentioned on the stele, the first an inspection tour by the Zhào in 764, the second the founding of Tuòdōng 拓东, which would later become Kūnmíng 昆明, the capital of Yúnnán, in 766. This last date has been used to argue that the stele was erected in that year.

德化碑 560	十二年冬，诏	In the winter of the 12 <sup>th</sup> year, the Zhào
	候隙省方。	used the slack season to inspect his realm,
	观俗恤隐。	to observe the customs, to comfort those in difficulties.
	次昆川，	He rested at Kūn valley
	审形势，	assessing the territory,
德化碑 565	言山河以作藩屏，	he stated that mountains and rivers can serve as a shield,
	川陆可以养人民。	and fields and rivers can nourish the people.
	十四年春，	In spring of the 14 <sup>th</sup> year,

550 its cliffs ] ??MS 碣石 MS literally means 'stone tablet', I assume that is a reference to the cliffs of what is today called Xīshān 西山, which drop steeply into Diānchí 滇池.

552 群欢 ] Bù Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2011), p. 6 points out that this is the area around present-day ??MS 贵州遵义 MS.

558 栉比 ] 'like a comb', i.e. everything close together

559 In the winter of the 12<sup>th</sup> year ] 764

560 省方 ] The 《隋书·卷四·炀帝纪下》 has the expression '省俗观风，爰届幽朔，吊人问罪，无俟再驾'.

562 Kūn valley ] The Diānchí 滇池 area.

566 In spring of the 14<sup>th</sup> year ] 766

549 A mountain faces Bìjī ] Yún Nánshèngxiàguānshifānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 98: Bìjī 碧鸡 is one of the mountains east of Ānníng 安宁.

551 盐池鞅掌 ] Yún Nánshèngxiàguānshifānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 99: Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006), p. 56 points to the 《诗经》, which has '或不知叫号、或惨惨劬劳。或栖迟偃仰、或王事鞅掌。'; Legge (1871), p. 361 translates this as 'Some never hear a sound, And some are cruelly toiled; Some lazily roost, on their backs looking up, And some are all-bustled in the service of the king,'; see <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/bei-shan/ens#n15886>.

552 its benefits reach ??MS 群欢 MS ] Yún Nánshèngxiàguānshifānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 100: ??MS 群欢 MS is a place name in present-day Guìzhōu 贵州. I think this means that salt was carried all the way there, as there were no other salt-producing places in between, this emphasises the importance of the salt producing towns.

554 Róng and Bó ] Yún Nánshèngxiàguānshifānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 101: This refers to ??MS 戎州 MS ??MS 爨道县 MS, then a Chinese administrative region in the region of present-day Yíbin 宜宾, north of Yúnnán.

命长男夙迺异于昆川置拓东城， 居二诏佐镇抚。 于是 威慑步头， 恩收曲靖。 颁诰所及， 翕然俯从。	he ordered his eldest son Fèngjiāyì to establish ??MS 拓东城 MS in ??MS 昆川 MS, as seat of a deputy Zhào to assist in pacification. Meanwhile military force subdued Bùtóu, mercy captured Qūjìng. Wherever our edicts reached, they were followed in unison.	德化碑 570
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In the following comes a lengthy eulogy to the Zhào that contains little specific, but has been carefully analysed by historians for the use of individual phrases.

我王 气受中和， 德含覆育。 才出人右， 辩称世雄。 高视则卓尔万寻， 运筹则决胜千里。 观衅而动， 因利兴功。 事协神衷， 有如天启。 故能 拔城挫敌， 取胜如神。 以危易安， 转祸为福。 绍开祖业， 宏覃王猷。	Our king's vital spirit has absorbed <u>equilibrium and harmony</u> , his virtue protects and nourishes, His talents protect the people, His judgement holds supreme, Looking up he sees clearly for ten thousand <i>xún</i> ; Making plans he secures victory from a thousand <i>lǐ</i> . Observing trouble he springs to action, because he desires to make merit, His deeds are all divine, As if sporned on by heaven. As he can take the towns and defeat the enemy, he achieves success like the immortals. He turns danger into safety, turns disaster into fortune. He continues the work of his ancestors, extends the merits of the kings.	德化碑 575  德化碑 580  德化碑 585  德化碑 590
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567 拓东城] The first character 拓东 is sometimes written as 拓, there is no difference in meaning, so this document uses Tuòdōng 拓东.

567–568 ??MS 拓东城 MS in ??MS 昆川 MS] This would become Kūnmíng 昆明, the capital of Yúnnán.

569 as seat of a deputy Zhào to assist in pacification] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2011) translates this as ‘and garrison it as deputy king’.

576 equilibrium and harmony] The expression Zhōnghé 中和 is explained in the 《礼记·中庸》as ‘喜怒哀乐之未发，谓之中；发而皆中节，谓之和；中也者，天下之大本也；和也者，天下之达道也。致中和，天地位焉，万物育焉。’ which Legge (1885b), pp. 300–301 translates as ‘When there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, we call it the State of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and they all in their due measure and degree, we call it the State of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root (from which grow all the human actings) in the world, and this Harmony is the universal path (in which they all should proceed). Let the State of Equilibrium and Harmony exist in perfection, and heaven and earth would have their (right) places, (and do their proper work), and all things would be nourished (and flourish).’

581 运筹则决胜千里] Bryson (2015), pp. 67–68 points out that this is a reference to the *Records of the Historian* 《史记》: ‘高帝曰：“运筹策帷帐中，决胜千里外，子房功也”’; which Watson (1993), p. 107 translates as ‘the emperor said to him, “Your merit was won by sitting within the tents of command and plotting strategies that assured us victories a thousand miles away.”’. The emperor mentioned is Hàn Gāozǔ 汉高祖, Zifáng 子房 refers to Zhāng Liáng 张良.

	坐南面以称孤， 统东偏而作主。	Sitting southwards he is called <u>??MS 孤 MS</u> , Governing the east he acts as <u>??MS 主 MS</u> .
德化碑 595	然后 修文习武， 官设百司。 列尊叙卑， 位分九等。	After that He reformed the administration, drilled the troops, Established departments for the officials, He arranged the titles starting from low, Divided into nine ranks.
德化碑 600	阐三教， 宾四门。 阴阳序而日月不替， 赏罚明而奸邪屏迹。	He expounds the three teachings, Welcomes guests at four gates. Yīn and Yáng are lined up, so sun and moon do not derail; Reward and punishment are clear, so evil stays away.
德化碑 605	通三才而制礼， 用六府以经邦。 信及豚鱼， 恩沾草木。	<u>The three talents</u> regulate the rites, <u>The six ministries</u> govern the land. <u>Faith reaches pigs and fish</u> ; Grace moistens grass and trees.
德化碑 610	遏塞流潦，高原为稻黍之田。 疏决陂池，下隰树园林之业。	The floodwaters blocked, the high plateau turn fields for <u>rice and millet</u> . Ponds and lakes dredged, in the low lands the works of gardens and groves are established.
德化碑 615	易贫成富， 徙有之无， 家饶五亩之桑， 国贮九年之廩。 荡秽之恩，屡沾蠢动。 珍帛之惠，遍及耆年。 设险防非，凭隘起坚城之固；	Changing poverty into prosperity; Moving people to where are none. Each family is given five <i>mú</i> of mulberries; The country has nine years of grain. Clearing the foul through grace, repeatedly stirring the people. The favour of precious cloth covers all the elderly. Establishing strategic points, to block the wrong, at narrow points raising the foundations of fortified towns.
德化碑 620	灵津蠲疾，重岩涌汤沐之泉。 越睽天马生郊， 大利流波濯锦。	Magical springs cure illness, from lofty cliffs gush springs of hot water. The heavenly steeds of Yuè Dàn are born on the open fields; The billowing waves of the <u>??MS 大利 MS</u> wash the brocades.

593 ??MS 孤 MS] ??MS 孤 MS literally means orphan, but is also used as a (self-)appellative for a prince, see 《礼记·玉藻》 notes ‘小国之君曰孤’, which Legge (1885b), p. 27 translates as ‘The ruler of a small state calls himself “The Orphan.”’ Taking the parallelism with the following verse into account, this must reflect a honorific used in the southern areas of his realm.

594 ??MS 主 MS] The leaders of the Cuàn 鬲 were known as Guǐzhǔ 鬼主 (see ‘Frontside’), meaning ‘spirit lord’.

604 The three talents] Bǔ Shàoxiān 卜绍先 (2011): the heaven, earth and man

605 The six ministries] The Liùcáo 六曹, i.e. the six ministries of Nánzhào.

606 豚鱼] This is, as Liào Déguǎng 廖德广 (2006), p. 68 notes, another reference to the 《易经》, which notes ‘中孚：豚鱼吉’. Legge (1899), p. 199 translates this as ‘Kung Fu (moves even) pigs and fish’.

606 Faith reaches pigs and fish] i.e. faith permeates everything.

608–609 rice and millet] ??MS 稻 MS is wet rice, ??MS 黍 MS is millet.

616 蠢动] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshīfānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 115: here meaning the people

西开寻传， <u>禄鄆出丽水之金</u> ；	In the west he opened Xúnchuán, in ??MS <u>禄鄆 MS gold comes out of the Lishuǐ</u> ;	德化碑 625
北接阳山， <u>会川收瑟瑟之宝</u> ；	In the north we approach ??MS <u>阳山 MS</u> , from Huìchuān we harvest Sèsè treasures;	
南荒滂湊，覆诏愿为外臣；	In the southern wilderness the people flow together, answering the Zhào's call to become his foreign servants;	
东爨悉归，步头已成内境。	The eastern Cuàn have all surrendered, Bùtóu is already inside our borders.	德化碑 630
建都镇塞，银生于黑嘴之乡；	Setting up a military town to block, Jīnshēng is the home of the ??MS <u>黑嘴 MS</u> ,	
候隙省方，驾憩于洞庭之野。	Watching through the cracks, surveilling the realm, <u>our carriage rests in the wilderness of the Dòngtíng [trees]</u> .	德化碑 635
盖由人杰地灵， 物华气秀者也。	As greatness of man lends glory to a place, Magnificent lands makes outstanding men.	
于是	So	
犀象珍奇，	precious <u>rhino horns and ivory</u> .	
贡献毕至，	as tribute all arrive.	德化碑 640
东西南北，	East, west, south, north,	
烟尘不飞。	<u>nowhere billows smoke or dust</u> .	
遐迩无剽掠之虞，	Near and far there is no fear of plunder,	
黔首有鼓击之泰。	The common people beat their drums in peace.	
乃能	So they can	德化碑 645
骧首邛南，	raise their heads from Qióng to the south,	
平眸海表。	gazing at level to the sea.	
岂惟	Can it be	
我 <u>锤王</u> 之自致？	only my, the king's younger brother, administration?	
实赖我圣神天帝赞普	Relying on the holy Emperor the Zànpǔ,	德化碑 650
德被无垠，	covered by boundless virtue,	
威加有截。	only with his power can it be.	
春云布而	Spring's clouds spread,	

624–625 in ??MS 禄鄆 MS gold comes out of the Lishuǐ ] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 562 takes ??MS 禄鄆 MS as the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, the Lishuǐ 丽水 as its lower part.

626 ??MS 阳山 MS ] Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 555 places this at the northern border of ??MS 会川 MS, i.e. north of present-day Huìlǐ 会理

634–635 our carriage rests in the wilderness of the Dòngtíng [trees] ] Dòngtíng 洞庭 refers to a sort of tree in the Diānchí 滇池 region. This term is mentioned in the 《云南志》. However, Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2016a), p. 77 posits that Dòng 洞 is Bái language 白语 meaning 'copper' and 'iron', and argues that control of the copper mines in Ānníng 安宁 was one of the reasons for the outbreak of hostilities between Nánzhào and the Táng.

639 rhino horns and ivory ] The text says 'rhinoceros and elephants', I take that as a reference to their horns and tusks.

642 nowhere billows smoke or dust ] i.e. everywhere is peaceful

649 锤王 ] 锤 here refers to his title as 'younger brother' to the ruler of Tǔbō, ??MS 赞普锤 MS.

624 禄鄆出丽水之金 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 119: ??MS 禄鄆 MS is the area west of the Nùjiāng 怒江, the Lishuǐ 丽水 is the Irrawaddy.

626 北接阳山，会川收瑟瑟之宝 ] Yún Nánshěngxiàguānshifānzhuānkèxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 120: ??MS 会川 MS is present-day Huìlǐ 会理, ??MS 阳山 MS present-day Liángshān 凉山.

德化碑 655	万物普润， 霜风下而 四海飒秋。 故能 取乱攻昧， 定京邑以息民，	all things get moistened, frosty winds fall, everywhere blows the wind of autumn. So it was possible to rein in unrest, attack the dark, establish towns and villages so people could rest,
德化碑 660	兼弱侮亡， 册汉帝而继好。	join weak countries and humiliate the separatist, issue an edict to the Hàn emperor to resume good relations.

Concluding the first part is a section stating the reasons for setting up the stele and revealing the background of its author.

德化碑 665	时 清平官段忠国、 段寻铨等 咸曰： 有国而致理， 君主之美也。 有美而无扬， 臣子之过也。	At that time the prime ministers ??MS 段忠国 MS, ??MS 段寻铨 MS and others all said: If a country is administered well, it is because of the king's virtue. If there is virtue, yet it is not praised, it is the failure of the officials.
德化碑 670	夫德以立功， 功以建业， 业成不纪， 后嗣何观。	Virtue is to do good deeds, good deeds are there to establish achievements, if achievements are not recorded, how can posteriority know them?
德化碑 675	可以 刊石勒碑， 志功颂德， 用传不朽， 俾达将来。	It is worth to cut a stone and carve a tablet to record his merits and praise his virtue, to pass it on so it will never wane to reach the future.

The following then introduces the author of the text.

德化碑 680	蛮盛家世汉臣， 八王称乎晋业，  锺铭代袭， 百世定于当朝。 生遇不天， 再罹衰败。	Mánshèng's family has over generations been a servant of the Hàn, eight generations of Wáng have been reknown since the Jìn for their work casting bells and making inscriptions for countless generations serving until the present court. From birth on encountered misfortune and again met disaster.
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658 取乱攻昧] This is a reference to 《抱朴子内篇论仙》‘而人君兼弱攻昧，取乱推亡’；👁️ <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=277851>.

671 建业] 《孔子·家语·入官》 makes the following note about a good official: ‘故南面临官，贵而不骄，富而能供，有本而能图末，修事而能建业，久居而不滞，情近而畅乎远，察一物而贯乎多，治一物而万物不能乱者，以身本者也。’；see <https://ctext.org/kongzi-jia-yu/ru-guan/zhs>.



赖先君之遗德， 沐求旧之鸿恩。 改委清平， 用兼耳目。 心怀吉甫，愧无赞于周诗，  志效奚斯，愿齐声于鲁颂。  纪功述绩，寔曰鸿徽。  自顾不才，敢题风烈 其词曰：	Relying on the kindness of the former king, Receiving the old official's blessings. Appointed prime minister serving as his ears and eyes. I cherish ??MS 吉甫 MS, but shamefully cannot praise like his poems from Zhōu, I intent to imitate ??MS 奚斯 MS, desiring to be in tune with the <u>the</u> <u>Odes of ??MS 鲁 MS.</u> To record his accomplishments, to narrate his achievements, to sin- cerely express great praise I know I lack talent, but I dare to compose this ardent wind. My verses read:	德化碑 690    德化碑 695
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In the following comes the eulogy of the Zhào in verse form. Its content is the same as before, but in stanzas of two times four characters, with often lines that complement each other, like in the Hymn to the Marquis of Lu in the 《诗经》. While the text contains no new information, it helps in understanding of otherwise unclear passages.

The first part mirrors the first part of the prose text above in being an eulogy to the ruler, mentioning that he had continued the line from his late father Píluōgé 皮罗阁.

降祉自天，福流后胤。  瑞应匪虚，祯祥必信。  圣主分忧，遐夷声振。  袭久传封，受符兼印。	Blessings are granted by Heaven, good fortune flows towards our des- cendants. The portents cannot be false nor vain, auspicious omens must be trusted. The holy emperor shares our burdens, as distant tribes shake the world. He continued the old, carried the titles, received the mark and the seal.	德化碑 700    德化碑 705
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The second part then recalls the events surrounding the Táng plan of building a road to Ānnán 安南, leading to conflict with the eastern Cuàn, the leading clan in eastern Yúnnán, and Nánzhào intervening on behalf of the Táng.

兼琼秉节，贪荣构乱。 开路安南，政残东爨。 竹倩见屠，官师溃散。 赖我先王，怀柔伏叛。	Jiānqióng served as envoy, coveting glory and causing unrest, opening the road to Ānnán, mistreating the eastern Cuàn. Zhúqiàn was murdered, his officials defeated and dispersed, Relying on the former king, conciliation tamed the unrest.
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This section than mentions the succession on the throne of Nánzhào, juxtaposing it with the fall of Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀, the Táng administrator who was killed.

692–693 the Odes of ??MS 鲁 MS ] The 《鲁颂》 are part of the 《诗经》，this might suggest that the patterns for the following verses are taken from that text. I am not qualified to judge this, but the original text and a translation can be found in Legge (1871), pp. 611–630 and also in Xu (1993), pp. 732–743.

696 风烈 ] The *Records of the Three Kingdoms* 《三国志》《魏书·十六》 praises an official: ‘苏则威以平乱，既政事之良，又矫矫刚直，风烈足称。’; see <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=351931#p47>.

德化碑 710	祚不乏贤，先猷是继。 郡守诡随，贬身遐裔。  祸连虔陀，乱深竖嬖。	Our throne does not lack noble men, our family line continues, The commander is cunning and wily, disgracing himself and his descendants, Calamity continues to befall Qiántuó, the upheaval is deep, a lower official corrupt,
德化碑 715	殃咎匪他，途豕自殪。	Misfortune's reason is no other than the road of beasts naturally is death.

Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀's successor Xiānyú Zhòngtōng 鲜于仲通 continues the campaigns against Nánzhào, but also fails.

德化碑 720	仲通制节，不询长久。 徵兵海隅，顿营江口。 矢心不纳，白刃相守。 谋用不臧，逃师夜走。	The rule of Zhòngtōng must not last. Conscripting the coastlands, setting up camp at Jiāngkǒu. Our pledge was not accepted, alone the sword defended us. The conspiracy is not successful, its leaders flee at night.
德化碑 725	汉不务德，而以力争。 兴师命将，置不层城。  三军往讨，一举而平。 面缚群吏，驰献天庭。	The Hàn do not display virtue, but strive by force, Sending out troops and ordering generals, yet cannot reestablish the towns. Three armies set out, defeated in one strike. Their troops and leaders shackeled, brought before the court.

At last comes Lǐ Mì 李宓, but his expedition also fails. The last line remembers the compassionate act of Nánzhào to bury the dead with rites.

	李宓总戎，犹寻覆辙。 水战陆攻，援孤粮绝。  势屈谋穷，军残身灭。 祭而葬之，情由故设。	Lǐ Mì leads the Róng, persuing the old failed plan. Fighting on water, and battling on land, without help and lacking provisions. His power reduced, his plans failed, his army diminished, he himself killed. A ritual to bury them, wishing for the old order.
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With the Táng comprehensively defeated and, because of the Ān Lùshān rebellion 安祿山之乱 in 755, forced to retreat, Nánzhào in alliance with Tǔbō make inroads into previously Táng-held territory.

赞普仁明，审知机变。	The Zànpǔ is compassionate and clear, his judgement flexible.
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711 The commander ] i.e. Zhāng Qiántuó 张虔陀.

715 殃咎 ] This term is used in the 《春秋左傳·莊公·莊公二十年》，see <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=17575>. Legge (1872), p. 100 translates it as 'calamity'.

715 途豕 ] Liào Déguāng 廖德广 (2006), p. 68 notes this as a reference to the Yǐjīng 易经 睽睽: '上九：睽孤，见豕负涂'. Legge (1899), p. 140 translates this as 'The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (In the subject of the third line, he seems to) see a pig bearing on its back a load of mud'.

726 戎 ] i.e. yegpc 戎州 at present-day Yíbin 宜宾, meaning that Lǐ Mì led troops from that area.

726 寻覆辙 ] ??MS 覆辙 MS describes the tracks of an overturned cart, i.e. Lǐ Mì follows on a path that has already led to disaster.

汉德方衰，边城绝援。  
挥我兵戎，攻彼郡县。  
越巂有征，会同无战。

The Hàn's virtue in decline, the bordertowns are cut off from help.  
Commanding soldiers and weapons, attacking their towns and prefectures,  
Yuèxī sees battle, Huitóng falls without.

德化碑 735

The subject of the following is Géluōfèng 阁罗凤, heir of Nánzhào.

雄雄嫡嗣，高名英烈。  
惟孝惟忠，乃明乃哲。  
性惟温良，才称人杰。  
邛泸一扫，军郡双灭。

The mighty heir, known for brilliant achievements,  
Both filial and loyal, being clear and wise,  
kindhearted by nature, his ability praised as outstanding,  
Qióng and ??MS 泸 MS were cleaned, two armies wiped out.

德化碑 740

Nánzhào then expands south-west, into what they called Xúnchuán, and east into the areas of the eastern Cuàn, bringing about a period of stability and prosperity.

观兵寻传，举国来宾。  
巡幸东爨，怀德归仁。  
碧海效祉，金穴荐珍。  
人无常主，惟贤是亲。

Showing strength in Xúnchuán, the whole country came as guests.  
Inspecting the eastern Cuàn, embracing virtue, submitting to benevolence.  
The emerald seas bring good fortune, silver caves provide treasures,  
Human affairs have no permanent master, so the worthy must be kept close.

德化碑 745

土于克开，烟尘载寝。  
鞞击犁坑，辑熙群品。  
出入连城，光扬衣锦。  
业留万代之基，仓贮九年之廩。

The soil can be opened, smoke and dust mean death.  
The drums strike, ploughs turn the fields, the people are harmonious and happy.  
Coming and going from one town to another, high officials carrying forward.  
My achievements left a base for ten thousand generations, the storehouses have nine years of grain.

德化碑 750

明明赞普，扬干之光。  
赫赫我王，实赖之昌。  
化及有土，业著无疆。  
河带山砺，地久天长。

The illustrious Zànpǔ, spreading the light.  
I, the illustrious king, rely on his prosperity,  
if edification reaches the soil, the achievements will be boundless,  
like rivers grinding the mountains, everlasting and unchanging.

德化碑 755

The closing part once again is a eulogy to the ruler and the country that mirrors the last part of the prose text above.

740 Qióng ] i.e. southern Sichuān 四川

740 ??MS 泸 MS ] i.e. the Jinshājiāng

745 惟贤是亲 ] Zhūgé Liàng 诸葛亮 said in his 《前出师表》: ‘亲贤臣，远小人，此先汉所以兴隆也；亲小人，远贤臣，此后汉所以倾颓也。’

754 扬干之光 ] While the recorded text has 干, it should be 干. Yún Nánshěngxiànguānshífānzhuānkēxuéxiào 云南省下关师范专科学校 (1978), Ann. 133 points to the reference to the 《诗经·生民之什·公刘》，which has the following praise ‘笃公刘，匪居匪康，乃场乃疆、乃积乃仓。乃裹糗粮、于橐于囊、思辑用光。弓矢斯张、干戈戚扬、爰方启行。’ If this is a borrowing, it is not direct. For a translation, see Legge (1871), pp. 483–484.

德化碑 760

辩称世雄，才出人右。  
信及豚鱼，润深琼玖。  
德以建功，是谓不朽。  
石以刊铭，可长可久。

Defending imposing times, deploying skill to benefit the people.  
Faith reaches pigs and fish, deeply moisting fine jade.  
Virtue leads to accomplishments that will never wane.  
Stone is used to carve this inscription, for all eternity.

### 碑阴 Backside

The back side of the 《德化碑》 records the names and titles of important officers of Nánzhào. The text of the back side of the 《德化碑》 was not recorded in the 《万历云南通志》，so it is much more fragmentary.

But the structure of the text is clear and uniformly made up from three parts:<sup>(22)</sup>

**Official Title:** The beginning of each entry is the person's official title, such as:

**Qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, the highest office of Nánzhào.

**Dà Jūnjiāng** 大军将: great commander, the highest military rank.

**Cáo cháng** 曹长: head of one of the Liùcáo 六曹, the ministries of Nánzhào.

**Honours and Insignia:** This is then followed by the type of ceremonial robes and insignia:

**Gàoshēn** 告身 is differentiation of rank according to merit, apparently imitating ranks in Tǔbō, which had conferred the highest rank to the son of Géluōfèng 阁罗凤. The 《新唐书·列传第一百四十一上·吐蕃上》 notes: ‘其官之章饰，最上瑟瑟，金次之，金涂银又次之，银次之，最下至铜止，差大小，缀臂前以辨贵贱。’ The text here mentions six major ranks, divided into large and small:<sup>(23)</sup>

瑟瑟告身 the highest rank, as it was given to Fèngjiāyì 凤迦异. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994), p. 600 thinks Sèsè 瑟瑟 is a precious stone.

??MS 金告身 MS: golden level.

**Pǒmígàoshēn** 颇弥告身 [cn :] it is unclear what ??MS 颇弥 MS means, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994), p. 600 thinks ??MS 颇弥 MS it is a sort of crystal.

??MS 银告身 MS: silver level

**Tōushígàoshēn** 铜石告身: again unclear.

??MS 铜告身 MS: bronze level, the lowest level.

**Ceremonial robes:** the officers are distinguished by the type of robes they are allowed to wear, either brocate robes or two-coloured robes, with the latter the lower rank.

**Ceremonial belt:** a golden belt Jīndài 金带 seems to be part of the ceremonial robes of all.

**Tiger skin:** some distinguished officers are additionally allowed to wear a large or very large tiger skin.

<sup>(22)</sup> Liáng Xiǎoqiáng 梁晓强 (2010).

<sup>(23)</sup> For more background on the Gàoshēn 告身 system, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1994), pp. 599–601 and Zhào Xīnyú 赵心愚 (2002).

**Name:** At the end of each entry is then the name.

This gives a clear structure of the text, allowing to guess some of the missing parts. As the text in the middle of the stele is better preserved, the titles at the beginning and the names at the end of most lines have been lost.

1... 带段忠国清平官大军将大金告身赏锦袍金带...	1 [title missing], [insignia missing] Duàn Zhōngguó; prime minister and great commander, large ??MS 金告身 MS wearing ??MS 锦袍 MS and [name missing];	
2... 皮衣杨傍佺清平官小颇弥告身赏锦袍金带...	2 [title missing], [insignia missing] tiger skin ??MS 杨傍佺 MS; prime minister, small wearing brocate robes and golden belt [name missing];	德化碑 765
3... 颇弥告身赏二色绫袍金带鬯守口清平官大金告...	3 [title missing], wearing two-coloured silk robes and golden belt ??MS 鬯守 *MS; prime minister, large golden insignia [insignia missing], [name missing];	德化碑 770
4... 李买口大军将开南城大军将大口告身...	4 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 李买 *MS; great commander, great commander of ??MS 开南城 MS, large [word missing] insignia wearing [word missing] [name missing];	
5... 大大皮衣赵眉丘大军将士曹长大颇弥口口赏紫袍金...	5 [title missing], [insignia missing] very large tiger skin ??MS 赵眉丘 MS; great commander, leader of the recruitment ministry, large wearing purple robes and [name missing];	德化碑 775
6... 口衣扬细口大军将赏二色绫袍金带玉琮罗铎大军口口口口口口身赏...	6 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 衣扬细 *MS; senior general, wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 玉琮罗铎 MS;	
7... 袍金带兼大大皮衣张骠罗于大军将前户曹长拓东城大军将口身赏二色绫...	7 senior general, [insignia missing] wearing [word missing] robes and golden belt and very large tiger skin ??MS 张骠罗于 MS; great commander, former leader of the revenue ministry, senior general of ??MS 拓东城 MS, wearing two-coloured robes, [word missing] and [name missing];	德化碑 780
8... 绫袍金带王波铎大军将前法曹长大颇弥告身赏二色绫袍金带杨口口口口口口口口赏二...	8 [title missing], [insignia missing], wearing two-coloured robes, [word missing] and ??MS 王波铎 MS; [word missing] great commander, former leader of the justice ministry, large pomi insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 杨***MS; [title missing], [insignia missing] wearing two-coloured robes [name missing];	德化碑 785
9... 军将小金告身赏二色绫袍金带杨罗望大军将小金告身赏锦袍金带...	9 great commander, small golden insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 杨罗望 MS; great commander small golden insignia wearing brocate robes and [name missing];	德化碑 790
10 大军将赏二色绫袍金带尹嵯迁大军将小金告身赏紫袍金带杨龙栋口口口口口口口口二色口口口口附...	10 great commander, wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 尹嵯迁 MS; great commander, small golden insignia wearing purple robes and ??MS 杨龙栋 MS; [title missing], [insignia missing], wearing two-coloured robes ??MS 附 MS;	德化碑 795
11... 身赏二色绫袍金带尹附首大	11 [title missing], [insignia missing] wearing two-coloured robes and	

780 袍金带] Only recognizable is: 袍金带 – maybe 二色绫袍金带

785 绫袍金带] Only recognizable is: 绫袍金带 – maybe 二色绫袍金带

	军将赏紫袍金带赵瑳□坚 大军将兵曹□□□□□紫袍金带赵逸罗□	??MS 尹附首 MS; great commander, wearing purple robes and ??MS 赵瑳 * 坚 MS; great commander leader of the military ministry; [insignia missing] wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 赵逸罗 *MS;
德化碑 800	··· 12 ··· 色绶袍金带兼大大皮衣孟绰望军将士曹长小银告身赏紫袍金带杨邓佺 □□□法曹长小颇弥告身赏□□绶袍···	12 [title missing], [insignia missing] wearing two-coloured robes and and very large tiger skin ??MS 孟绰望 MS; great commander and leader of the recruitment ministry, silver insignia wearing purple robes and ??MS 杨邓佺 MS; leader of the justice ministry, small wearing two-coloured robes [name missing];
	13 大军将小银告身赏二色绶袍金带杨各酋 大军将赏二色绶袍金带赵龙细利 客曹□□□弥告身赏二□绶袍杨利成···	13 great commander, small silver insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 杨各酋 MS; great commander, wearing two-coloured robes ??MS 赵龙细利 MS; leader of the reception ministry, wearing two-coloured robes ??MS 杨利成 MS;
德化碑 810	14 ··· 赏二色绶袍金带□□罗匹 大军将兵曹长小颇弥告身赏紫袍金带段君利 大军将□□□小银告身赏···	14 [title missing], [insignia missing] wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 罗匹 MS; great commander and leader of the military ministry, small wearing purple robes ??MS 段君利 MS; great commander, small silver insignia [name missing];
德化碑 815	15 ··· 大军将小银告身赏二色绶袍金带尹□□□ 大军将小铜□□□□□绶袍金带周···	15 great commander, small silver insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 尹 ***MS; great commander, small bronze insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 周 ***MS;
	16 ··· 赏二色绶袍金带唐酋统大军将赏紫袍金带喻酋苴大军将赏二色···	16 [title missing], wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 唐酋统 MS; great commander, wearing purple robes and ??MS 喻酋苴 MS; great commander wearing two-coloured robes [name missing]
德化碑 820	17 ··· 仓曹长小银告身赏二色绶袍金带兼大大皮衣□盛顛 大军将赏紫袍金带···	17 leader of the grain ministry small silver insignia wearing two-coloured robes and and very large tiger skin ??MS* 盛顛 MS; great commander wearing two-coloured robes and [name missing];
	18 ··· 安定大惣管小银告身赏二色绶袍金带兼大皮衣□□□ □军将□法曹···	18 [title missing], [insignia missing] Āndìng; senior official small silver insignia wearing two-coloured robes and large tiger skin [name missing]; great commander, ??MS 军将 MS leader of the justice ministry [name missing];
德化碑 825	19 ··· 绶袍金带洪罗栋大惣管小铜告身赏二色绶袍金带□□□□军将兼···	19 two-coloured robes and ??MS 洪罗栋 MS; senior official small bronze insignia wearing two-coloured robes [name missing], great commander and [title missing], [insignia missing] [name missing];
德化碑 830	20 ··· 色绶袍金带段旋湊军将户曹长小铜告身赏紫袍金带 □□□坚大惣管···	20 [title missing], [insignia missing] two-coloured robes and ??MS 段旋湊 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, leader of the revenue ministry, small bronze insignia wearing purple robes ??MS* ** 坚 MS; senior official [insignia missing], [name missing];
	21 ··· 湊 军将群牧大使小银告身赏紫袍金带扬瑳白奇 □军谋兼知表诰小银告身□□□□□□□ □□□□□□铜···	21 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 湊 MS; ??MS 军将 MS 群牧大使 small silver insignia wearing purple robes and ??MS 扬瑳白奇 MS; 军谋 wearing 知表诰 small silver insignia; [title missing], [insignia missing] bronze insignia [name missing];
德化碑 835	22 ··· 和大惣管兼押衙小鍤石告身赏二色绶袍金带石覆苴 大军将小银告	22 [title missing], [insignia missing] Hé; senior official and lackey small brass insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 石覆苴

801 色绶袍金带] Only recognizable is: 色绶袍金带 – maybe 二色绶袍金带

身□□□□□段[琮]□遯…	MS; great commander, small silver insignia [insignia missing] ??MS 段琮 * 遯 MS;	德化碑 840
23 … 带李奴邓客曹长赏紫袍金带王□□□大军将小颇弥告身赏□□□带□诺地…	23 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 李奴邓 MS; leader of the reception ministry wearing purple robes and ??MS 王 ***MS; great commander small wearing ??MS* 诺地 *MS;	
24 … 弥告身赏紫袍金带阿忍 大军将赏紫袍金带遁□本 大军将小颇弥□□□紫…	24 [title missing], wearing purple robes and ??MS 阿忍 MS; great commander, [insignia missing] wearing purple robes and ??MS 遁 * 本 MS; great commander, small purple robes [name missing];	德化碑 845
25 大军将赏二色绫袍金带黑髯罗眉大军将赏紫袍金带…	25 great commander, wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 黑髯罗眉 MS; great commander, wearing purple robes and [name missing];	德化碑 850
26 … 大口编赏紫袍金带孙白伽 军将小鑰石告身赏紫[袍]…	26 [title missing], large □ wearing woven purple robes and ??MS 孙白伽 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, small brass insignia wearing purple robes [name missing];	
27 军将赏紫袍金带兼大皮刘望□喻军将赏□袍金带兼…	27 ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes and and large tiger skin ??MS 刘望 * 喻 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, wearing □ [insignia missing] and [name missing];	德化碑 855
28 … 军将前兵曹[副]官小铜告身赏紫袍金带杜顛伽 □□□□□□带兼□□□□□□□□□赏…	28 ??MS 军将 MS and former deputy officer of the military ministry, small bronze insignia wearing purple robes and ??MS 杜顛伽 MS; [title missing], [insignia missing] [name missing];	
29 … 赵充□苴 军将兵曹副小银告身赏紫袍金带…	29 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 赵 * 充苴 MS; ??MS 军将 MS and deputy officer of the ??MS 兵曹 MS small silver insignia wearing purple robes and [name missing];	德化碑 860
30 … 盛 军将士曹副赏紫袍金带杨邓四罗 □□□□□[袍金带]…	30 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 盛 MS; ??MS 军将 MS and deputy of the recruitment ministry, wearing purple robes and ??MS 杨邓四罗 MS; [title missing], [insignia missing], wearing two-coloured robes and [name missing];	德化碑 865
31 … 军将大鑰石告身赏紫袍金带段□□□□□□□金带□□□ □□□□金带□罗 □将…	31 ??MS 军将 MS, large ?? Gàoshēn wearing purple robes and ??MS 段 **MS; [title missing], [insignia missing] and [name missing]; [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 罗 * 将 MS;	
32 … 伽磋 军将赏紫袍金带杨浔波罗□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□身赏…	32 [title missing], [insignia missing] ??MS 伽磋 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes and ??MS 杨浔波罗 MS; [name missing], [title missing], [insignia missing];	德化碑 870
33 … 军将廉人佐杨罗敛 军将赏紫…	33 ??MS 军将 MS and assistant ??MS 杨罗敛 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes [name missing];	
34 … 紫袍金带尹求宽 军将□□□金带□杨 □□□□□□□□赏紫…	34 purple robes and ??MS 尹求宽 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, [insignia missing] and Yáng; [title missing], [insignia missing] wearing purple robes [name missing];	德化碑 875
35 … 将赏紫袍金带张赵遯 军将赏紫袍金带□□□ □□□□金带…	35 ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes and ??MS 张赵遯 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes and [name missing]; [title missing], [insignia missing] and [name missing];	德化碑 880
36 … 军将赏紫袍金带□□利 军将□紫袍金带□□□□□□小铜…	36 ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes and ??MS 利 MS; ??MS 军将 MS, wearing purple robes and [name missing]; [title missing], [insignia missing] small bronze insignia [name missing];	

德化碑 885	37 ··· 斂 诏亲大军将大金告身赏 二色绫袍金带李外成苴 □□□□锦袍 ···	37 [title missing], [insignia missing]??MS 斂 MS; relative of the Zhào great commander large golden insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 李外成苴 MS; [title missing], [insignia missing] wearing brocate robes [name missing];
德化碑 890	38 ··· 军将兼白崖城大军将大金告身 赏二色绫袍金带李··· 39 ··· 诏亲大军将小银告身赏二色绫 袍金带李些丰浔··· 40 ··· 诏亲大军将赏二色绫袍金带放 苴 诏亲··· 41 ··· 金告身赏锦袍金带独磨···	38 ??MS 军将 MS and great commander of ??MS 白崖城 MS, large golden insignia wearing two-coloured robes ??MS 李 MS; 39 relative of the Zhào and great commander, small silver insignia wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 李些丰浔 MS; 40 relative of the Zhào great commander wearing two-coloured robes and ??MS 放苴 MS; relative of the Zhào ; 41 [title missing], [insignia missing] golden insignia wearing brocate robes and ??MS 独磨 MS;



## 4 Glossary

- Āndìng** 安定: reign period of Duàn Zhìxīng 段智兴, – see page 39
- Ān Lùshān Zhī Luàn** 安祿山之亂: Ān Lùshān rebellion, rebellion during the Táng dynasty period, – see page 23, 35
- Ānnán** 安南: a Táng dynasty protectorate in the area of present-day northern Vietnam. During the Táng dynasty Ānnán was subordinated to Língnándào 嶺南道, the Jīmí 羈縻 region governing the southern coastal areas. Its official name changed frequently: before 681 it was called Jiāozhōu 交州, then until 757 Ānnán 安南, then until 863 Zhènnán 鎮南, then Xíngānnán 行安南 before reverting to Ānnán 安南 in 866. Zhōu Zhènghè 周振鶴 (2012), pp. 1205–1217, – see pages 13, 14, 18, 24, 34
- Ānníng** 安宁: in the region of present-day Ānníngshì 安寧市 ㊦. In the vicinity of Ānníng 安宁 the relics of a Nánzhào era temple, called Fǎhuásì 法華寺, have been discovered, see Lǐ Kūnshēng 李昆聲 (1999), pp. 126–133 ㊦., – see pages 13–15, 19, 20, 28, 31
- Ānníngshì** 安寧市: Ānníng city, present-day city in central Yúnnán, –
- Báiyǔ** 白語: Bái language, , – see page 31
- Bìjī** 碧雞: jade chicken, mythological animal in Yúnnán, – see page 28
- Biéjià** 別駕: administrative aide, literally means someone who ‘rides apart’, it means a sort of assistant to a regional head, see Hucker (1985), 4623 – see page 16
- Bīnchuān** 賓川: present-day county east of Ěrhǎi 洱海, – see page 12
- Bó** 爨: ancient tribal group, – see page 28
- Bùtóu** 步頭: Tán Qíxiāng 譚其驥 (1985), vol 5, pp. 80–81 places this at present-day Yuányáng 元陽 on the Red River. Liào Déguǎng 廖德廣 (2016b), p. 55 suggests this is a variant writing of Bùtóu 埠頭, meaning pier, – see pages 13, 18, 29, 31
- Cāngshān** 蒼山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Erhai, – see page 5, 21
- Cáo** 曹: ministry, Nánzhào term unit of government, akin to a department, apparently modelled on the Táng dynasty administrative system, –
- Cáocháng** 曹長: ministry leader, head of a Cáocáo, – see page 37, see 曹
- Chángān** 長安: historic city, present-day Xiān, – see page 13
- Chángjiāng** 長江: Yangzi, major Chinese river, – see page 25
- Chángshā** 長沙: historic state, in present-day Húnán, – see page 16
- Chéngjié** 誠節: , – see page 16
- Chóngdào** 崇道: tribal leader, – see pages 14–16
- Cìshǐ** 刺史: regional inspector, regional chief, a title commonly awarded to important heads of aboriginal tribes in South and Southwest China, – see pages 10, 13, 14
- Cuàn** 爨: , – see pages 13–15, 28, 30
- Cuàn Guīwáng** 爨歸王: tribal leader, – see page 14, 15
- Cuànrǎ** 爨耒: , – see page 14
- Cuànshǒuyì** 爨守懿: , – see page 14
- Cuàn Yànchāng** 爨彥昌: , – see page 14

- Dàguǐzhǔ** 大鬼主: great spirit lord, appellation of a tribal leader, – see page 14, *see* 鬼主
- Dà Jiāngjūn** 大將軍: general-in-chief, ‘throughout history a designation of military officers in command of armies; more prestigious than General (chiang, Chiang-chiin) alone, less prestigious than Generalissimo (shang Chiang-chün)’, *see* Hucker (1985), p. 5897, – see pages 10, 11, 13, 18, 22
- Dà Jūnjiāng** 大軍將: great commander, Jūnjiāng 軍將 is ‘an ad hoc designation for a military commander’, *see* Hucker (1985), 1745 – see pages 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 37–41
- Dàlǐ Guó** 大理國: Dàlǐ kingdom, successor state to Nánzhào, ruled by the Duàn 段 clan, 937–1253, –
- Dàxī** 大厘: , –
- Dào** 道: circuit, Táng dynasty administrative division, akin to a province, first created 627, – see page 8, 9
- 《德化碑》德化碑: *Déhuà Stele*, most important Nánzhào stele, detailing the early history, – see pages 5, 6, 36
- Dèngchūān** 邓川: , – see page 22, 24
- Diānchí** 滇池: Lake Dian, large lake in the center of Yúnnán, south of present-day Kūnmíng 昆明, – see pages 28, 29, 31
- Diǎncāngshān** 点苍山: Cāng mountains, , – see page 20
- Dōng Cuàn** 东爨: eastern Cuàn, , – see pages 14, 15, 31, 34, 35
- Dòngtíng** 洞庭: , – see page 31
- Dūdū** 都督: commander-in-chief, ‘chief of military forces in a prefecture’, *see* Hucker (1985), 7311 – see pages 14–16, 18
- Duàn Zhìxīng** 段智兴: , –
- Duàn Zhōngguó** 段忠国: , – see page 15, 37
- Dūnhuáng** 敦煌: one of the most important sites of early Buddhism, –
- Duóqiào** 铎鞘: highly-prized, mythological ceremonial weapon of Nánzhào. 鞘 is often translated as a ‘scabbard’, – see page 12
- 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 pages 5, 10–12, 19, 20, 24
- Ēryuán** 洱源: present-day county north of Ērhǎi 洱海, – see page 24
- Èrsèlǐngpáo** 二色綾袍: two-coloured robes, Nánzhào ceremonial attire, – see pages 37–41
- Fànyáng** 范阳: region around present-day Beijing and 保定, – see page 25
- Fēng** 风: , – see page 8
- Fèngjiāyì** 凤迦异: Son of Nánzhào ruler 阁罗凤, died before his father, – see pages 12, 13, 21, 22, 26, 29, 37
- Fèngyǔ** 凤羽: , – see page 20
- Gàoshēn** 告身: insignia, a type of insignia in the shape of a badge or medal, in different ranks. In the records discussed here it appears to be a rank granted by 吐蕃, but the system might have been modelled on Táng 唐 practices, *see* Demiéville (1952), 284–286, note 2. In Hao (2016), p. 107, which summarizes the significance of rare documents found at Dūnhuáng 敦煌, the term is translated as ‘certificate of appointment’, – see page 22, 37
- Géluōfèng** 阁罗凤: Ruler of Nánzhào, – see pages 5, 9, 11, 23, 35, 37, *see* 阁罗凤
- Géluófèng** 阁逻凤: , –

- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province, –
- Guǐzhǔ** 鬼主: spirit lord, – see page 30
- Guìzhōu** 贵州: today a province in south-west China, – see page 28
- Guō Xūjǐ** 郭虚己: , – see page 15
- Hán Qià** 韩洽: , – see page 14
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, – see pages 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 32–35
- Hàn Gāozǔ** 汉高祖: founder of the Hàn dynasty, 202–195BCE, – see page 30
- Hé** 和: clan name, – see page 39
- Hónglú** 鸿胪: ceremonial minister, ‘honorary designation granted to a southwestern aboriginal chief, Hucker (1985), p. 2905, – see page 13
- Huādiànà** 花甸坝: valley in the northern part of Cāngshān 苍山, – see page 20
- Huáinánzǐ** 淮南子: *Master of Huainan*, ‘The Huainanzi (The Master of Huainan) is a compendium of knowledge dating from early in China’s Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. – 220 C.E.). It was compiled under the auspices of, and probably with the active participation of, Liu An (179?–122 B.E.E.), the king of Huainan.’ 2, – see page 8
- Huìchuān** 会川: , – see page 31
- Huìlǐ** 会理: , – see page 31
- Huìtóng** 会同: region of present-day Huili, southern Sichuan, – see pages 18, 25, 26, 35
- Jīmízhōu** 羁縻州: subordinated prefecture, form of administration of border areas, using local officials, not direct rule, – see page 10
- Jiǎ Qíjùn** 贾奇俊: , – see page 17
- Jiànchuān** 剑川: , – see page 11
- Jiànnán** 剑南: Táng dynasty commandery in present-day Sìchuān, – see page 25
- Jiànshuǐ** 建水: present-day town south of Tōnghǎi 通海, – see page 13
- 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 17, 20
- Jiāngkǒu** 江口: literally ‘the river’s mouth’, a reference to the outflow of Ěrhǎi 洱海 at Lóngwěi 龙尾, – see pages 20, 21, 34
- Jiédù Shǐ** 节度使: military commissioner, ‘a military title of great historical importance’ ‘during much of the late T’ang period they were virtually autonomous regional governors’, see Hucker (1985), 777 – see pages 14, 15, 18, 20
- Jīndài** 金带: Nánzhào ceremonial attire, – see pages 37–41
- Jīnshājiāng** 金沙江: Jīnshā river, major river separating Yunnan and Sichuan, – see page 12, 35
- Jīnshēng** 金生: , – see page 31
- Jīnwúwèi** 金吾卫: imperial insignia guard, , see Hucker (1985), 1166 – see page 11
- Jìn** 晋: , – see page 33
- Kāifǔyítóngsānsī** 开府仪同三司: a honorific title, literally meaning an official who has his own staff and being equal to the three dignitaries, signifying a ‘relatively autonomous regional warlord’, see Hucker (1985), p. 3103, – see page 9

- Kāiyuán** 开元: 713–741 BCE, second reign period of Táng dynasty emperor 玄宗, – see page 25
- Kūn valley** 昆川: another name for Diānchí 滇池, – see page 29
- Kūnmíng** 昆明: Salt producing area of present-day 盐源, – see pages 26–29
- Kūnzhōu** 昆州: , – see page 14
- Làngqióng** 浪穹: one of the five Zhào, – see page 19, 21
- Lí Jìngyì** 黎敬义: , – see page 13, 15
- Lí Zhōu** 黎州: , – see page 14
- Lǐ Huī** 李暉: Táng official, – see page 18
- Lǐjì** 礼记: , – see page 5
- Lǐ Mì** 李宓: Táng dynasty general, – see pages 14, 15, 23–25, 35
- Lìshuǐ** 丽水: Irrawaddy, the Irrawaddy, also called the Lùbēijiāng 禄卑江, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 562, – see page 31
- Liángshān** 凉山: , – see page 31
- Liùcáo** 六曹: six ministries, Nánzhào term for the six units of government, akin to a department, apparently modelled on the Táng dynasty administrative system, – see page 30, 37, *see* 曹
- Lúshuǐ** 泸水: the 金沙江, – see page 12, 26
- Lǔsòng** 鲁颂: , – see page 33
- Luō Shí** 罗时: , – see page 18
- Luó Shān** 螺山: Conch Mountain, mountain in the north-east of present-day Kūnmíng, exact location unclear, – see page 14
- Mán** 蛮: a generic term for non-Chinese people in the southwest, –
- Méng** 蒙: , – see page 9, 10
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644, – see page 5
- Móu Jū** 牟苴: , – see page 18
- Nánníng** 南宁: city in present-day Guǎngxī 广西, – see page 14
- Nánxī** 南溪: Táng dynasty administrative region, also called , – see page 18
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern Zhào, regional power with its center on Ěrhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries, – see pages 5, 6, 8, 9, 11–13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22–28, 30, 31, 34–37
- Nùjiāng** 怒江: Nù river, major river in western Yunnan, the Salween, – see page 31
- Pílūōgé** 皮罗阁: Ruler of Nánzhào, – see pages 5, 9, 11–14, 33
- Pǒmígàoshēn** 颇弥告身: , – see pages 37–40
- Qíxiān** 祁鲜: , – see page 28
- Qín** 秦: , – see page 24
- Qīngpíngguān** 清平官: prime minister, Nánzhào highest government official, akin to prime minister, – see pages 5, 22, 25, 33, 36, 37
- Qióng** 邛: , – see page 32, 35
- Qióngbù** 邛部: , – see page 27
- Qiúzhōu** 求州: region in eastern Yúnnán, but impossible to locate exactly, see Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1987), p. 295, – see page 14
- Qūjìng** 曲靖: , – see page 19, 29
- Rìjìn** 日进: tribal leader, – see page 14, 15
- Róng** 戎: , – see page 28
- Róngzhōu** 戎州: historic administrative district, present-day Yībīn 宜宾, – see page 35

- Sānguó Zhì** 三国志: *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, official history of Wèi 魏, Shǔ and Wú 吴, – see page 33
- Sèsè** 瑟瑟: Sèsè, , – see page 31
- Shàngguān** 上关: present-day town at northern end of Ěrhǎi 洱海, – see page 20
- Shàngzhùguó** 上柱国: *supreme pillar of the state*, title given to rulers of Nánzhào and Dàlǐ kingdom (in 1117), see Hucker (1985), 4990 – see page 11, 12
- Shījīng** 诗经: *Book of Odes*, oldest collection of Chinese poetry, one of the five classics, – see pages 5, 8, 16, 22, 33
- Shíhézi** 石和子: , – see page 11
- Shíqiáo** 石桥: locality at the southern end of Cāngshān 苍山, probably at present-day Tiānshēngqiáo 天生桥, a natural crossing over the outflow of Ěrhǎi 洱海 ④, see also Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1982), p. 406. The name means ‘stone bridge’, see ④ 25.58N 100.2E, – see page 11
- Shǐjì** 史记: *Records of the Historian*, , – see page 8, 30
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sichuān, –
- Sīmǎ Xiāngrú** 司马相如: Xihàn 西汉 poet and politician, his biography and some of his works are included in the 《史记》, – see page 9
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province, – see pages 10, 25, 26, 35
- Sūn Xīzhūāng** 孙希庄: , – see page 14
- Táidēng** 台登: , – see page 26, 27
- Tàihé** 太和: first capital of Nánzhào, – see pages 5, 11, 12
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907, – see page 5
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907, – see pages 5, 9–15, 17, 19, 20, 23–26, 31, 34, 35
- Táng Xīzōng** 唐僖宗: Táng emperor Xīzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 873–888, –
- Tèjìn** 特进: lord specially advanced, Hucker (1985), p. 6335: ‘a supplementary title, in early use apparently only as an honorific’, – see page 9, 11
- Téngchuān** 潼川: , – see page 24
- Tiānbǎo** 天宝: 742–756 BCE, last reign period of Táng dynasty emperor Xuánzōng, – see pages 13, 16, 22
- Tiānbǎo Zhànzhēng** 天宝战争: Tiānbǎo Wars, sequence of wars between the Táng and Nánzhào, 751–754, – see page 23
- Tōnghǎi** 通海: present-day 通海, an important town on the route to the coast, –
- Tōushígàoshēn** 铦石告身: ?? Gàoshēn, , – see page 37, 40
- Tǔbō** 吐蕃: Tibetan empire, – see pages 5, 8, 10, 12, 16, 19, 21–23, 25, 32, 35, 37
- Tuòdōng** 拓东: eastern capital of Nánzhào, – see page 28, 29
- 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 33
- Wáng Chéngjūn** 王承君: , – see page 11

- Wáng Kèzhāo** 王克昭: official mentioned on the 《德化碑》, – see page 19
- Wáng Píshuāng** 王毗双: , – see page 18
- Wáng Tiānyùn** 王天运: , – see page 20, 21
- Wáng Zhījìn** 王知进: Táng official, – see page 18
- Wēibǎoshān** 魏宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today's Wēishān, –
- Wēishān** 魏山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 魏宝山, – see page 10
- Wèi** 魏: one of the states of the Sānguó, –
- Wú** 吳: one of the states of the Sānguó, –
- Xīchāng** 西昌: , – see page 15, 26
- Xīěr Hé** 西洱河: Xīěr river, historic name for Ěrhǎi 洱海, – see page 11
- Xīhàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE, –
- Xīshān** 西山: , – see page 28
- Xǐzhōu** 喜洲: present-day town on western side of Ěrhǎi 洱海, about modern location of Dàxī 大厘, – see page 20, *see* 大厘
- Xiàguān** 下关: present-day administrative center of Dàlǐ, literally meaning 'lower gate' as this was the southern fortification of the Dàlǐ plain, – see page 20
- Xiānyú Zhòngtōng** 鲜于仲通: Táng dynasty Jiédùshǐ of Jiànnán, – see pages 18–21, 34
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit, – see page 11
- Xīntángshū** 新唐书: *New History Book of the Táng*, major Chinese history work about the Táng dynasty, – see pages 17, 19, 22, 23
- Xuánzōng** 玄宗: Táng dynasty emperor, 712–756, – see page 25
- Xúnchuán** 寻传: region of present-day Dehong, northern Burma, – see pages 27, 31, 35
- Yǎ** 雅: , – see page 8
- Yányuán** 盐源: , – see page 26
- Yán Zhèng huì** 严正诲: , – see page 11
- Yáng** 杨: , – see page 40
- Yáng** 阳: , – see page 8
- Yángguā Zhōu** 阳瓜州: Yángguā prefecture, a region in present-day northern Weishan, essentially the homeland of the Nánzhào ruling clan, – see page 10, 13
- Yáng Luōdiān** 杨罗颠: , – see page 17
- Yáng Zǐfēn** 杨子芬: , – see page 19
- Yàngbì** 漾濞: present-day county west of Cāngshān 苍山, – see page 10
- Yáozhōu** 姚州: Yáo prefecture, prefecture established by the Táng dynasty in 622, present-day Yáoān, – see pages 10, 16, 17, 20
- Yìjīng** 易经: ䷆ Kuí 易经: ䷆ 睽: , – see page 34
- Yí** 夷: collective term for non-Chinese people in the south-west, – see page 12, 16, *see* 蛮
- Yíbin** 宜宾: city in southern Sìchuān, – see page 28, 35
- Yìjīng** 易经: Book of Changes, one of the oldest Chinese classics, – see pages 5, 10, 30
- Yīn** 阴: , – see page 8
- Yúzhèng** 于贍: ruler of Yuèxī, defeated by Nánzhào, – see page 12
- Yùshǐ** 御史: censor, title, – see pages 11, 14, 21
- Yuè Dàn** 越啖: , – see page 31

- Yuèguó** 越国: State of Yuè, , – see page 9
- Yuèxī** 越稽: 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 越稽 789-865, – see pages 13–16, 25, 26, 35
- Yuèxī** 越析: one of the five Zhào, – see page 12
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district, – see pages 5, 13, 15, 16, 19, 24, 26–29, 34
- king of Yúnnán** 云南王: king of Yúnnán, Táng dynasty title for some of the rulers of Nánzhào, first conferred upon Píluōgé in 738, – see page 9
- Yúnnán Zhì** 云南志: *Gazetteer of Yúnnán*, , – see page 15, 31
- Zǎixiāng** 宰相: prime minister, , – see page 22
- Zànpǔ** 赞普: title of the ruler of Tǔbō, – see pages 8, 19, 22, 25, 26, 32, 35, 36
- Zànpǔ Zhōng** 赞普钟: title given to the rulers of Nánzhào 南诏 by Tǔbō 吐蕃, meaning ‘younger brother’ of the Zànpǔ 赞普, also written as 赞普钟, – see pages 8, 22, 23, see 赞普
- Zhǎng** 长: head, ‘lit., senior. ... Common suffix indicating the chief official of whatever is designated by what precedes: Head, Chief, Director, Magistrate, etc.’, see Hucker (1985), 84 – see page 37
- Zhāngchóu Jiānqióng** 章仇兼琼: Jiédù Shǐ of Jiànnán, – see page 14, 34
- Zhāng Qiántuō** 张乾拖: , – see page 15
- Zhāng Liáng** 张良: politician during the Hàn dynasty, 250–186BCE, – see page 30
- Zhāng Qiántuó** 张虔陀: ruler of Yáozhōu who played an important role in the break of relations between Nánzhào and the Táng dynasty in 751. Killed by Nánzhào in 751., – see pages 15–19, 34
- Zhào** 诏: term for a local ruler or his realm, – see pages 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 21, 22, 25–27, 29, 31, 33
- Zhàoqīn** 诏亲: relative of the Zhào, , – see page 41
- Zhèng Huí** 郑回: Han administrator captured by Nánzhào, serving as teacher to the royal family and as prime minister, – see page 5, 33
- Zhōnghé** 中和: reign period of Táng Xīzōng 唐僖宗, 881–885, – see page 29
- Zhōngshǐ** 中使: imperial commissioner, , – see pages 11, 14, 15, 17
- Zhōu** 周: Zhōu, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty, – see page 33
- Zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit, – see page 14
- Zhūgé Liàng** 诸葛亮: , – see page 36
- Zhú Língqiàn** 竹灵倩: , – see pages 13, 14, 34
- Zǐpào** 紫袍: purple robes, Nánzhào ceremonial attire, – see pages 38–41

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