THE HISTORY OF EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND TIBET

DON Y. LEE
The History of Early Relations between China and Tibet

From Chiu t'ang-shu, a documentary survey

Don Y. Lee

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The aim of this translation work is to present a mirror of Sino-Tibetan relations during the period of T'ang, the imperial period in Tibet. Subsequent to my translation work, it is also hoped that this book will be useful to the study of languages and literatures.

It is generally known among scholars that the best literary work for the history of the relations between the two countries is the T'ufan-ch'uan in T'ang-shu, but I found that difficult to complete because the corresponding Tibetan sources and other Chinese sources are not easily accessible; besides there are Chinese transcriptions for the Tibetan words, also some of the Chinese characters are no longer used in modern days, so I had to use Kuang yün, T'ang yün as well as foreign loan words in the neighboring countries. There are also, as is understandable in Chinese syntax, many redundant or deleted words, which are not always redundant or deleted words in English syntax. However, I tried to stay along with the original meaning of the text; consequently the English syntax is not quite normal—in other words, if it were normal English, the translation would get further away from the...
In conclusion, it has been very interesting work for me. However, I realize it would hardly have been successful had it not been for the support given me by the eminent scholars, whom I shall one day miss.

Don Y. Lee

June, 1978
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T'ufan (吐蕃)\(^1\) is situated in 8,000 Li (里)\(^2\) to the west of Ch'angan (長安). Formerly, it was the territory of Ch'ang in the west (西 兖) during the Han dynasty. As for the origin of the clan, nobody knows where they came from, but some say that they are the descendants of T'ufa liliku (秃髮利鹿俯) of Nanliang (南涼). Liliku had a son who was called Fanni (樊尼). When Liliku died, Fanni was still a boy, so Liliku's brother Jut'an (儀陛下)\(^3\) succeeded to the throne, and took Fanni as the general of Anshi (安西大軍). In the first year of the late Wei (後魏/414), Jut'an was totally defeated by Ch'ifu chihp'an (乞伏鐵盤).\(^4\) Fanni then collected the remaining people and submitted to Chuchu mengsun

\(^1\) T'ufan is Tibet. In my opinion, it is originally the transliteration of "thub-phod" in Tibetan, from which T'ufa also originated.

\(^2\) One Li is about 600 meters.

\(^3\) In the text, Jut'an was brother of Liliku, but in Shin T'ang-shu, Jut'an appears as one of two sons.

\(^4\) 西秦第三代太祖
When Mengsun became defeated, Fanni, leading the people of Linsung, fled towards the west. He crossed the Yellow river and passed Chishih and there he founded a country within the Ch'ang tribes, and extended the territory of the country to 1,000 Li. Fanni's dignity and grace were already known, consequently all the Ch'ang people admired him, while Fanni administered them with benevolence and sincerity. Thus, the people came to him in the way they crowded into a market. As a result of such circumstances, he changed his name into Supoyeh, and then took his surname T'ufa as the name of his country. The pronunciation of the word T'ufa gradually changed and finally became to be called T'ufan. Afterwards, the descendants were prosperous, yet they never stopped their activity of invasion, and the territory gradually became very large. However, beginning with the Chou dynasty (northern Chou) through the Sui dynasty, China was still separated from the Ch'iang tribes, thus they never communicated with China.

1 In Shin T'ang-shu, it is written as "鴕埋武髪野", which is a mistake for "悉敘野", because it refers to the transcription of "ho-lde spu-rgyal".
The people of that country call (style) their king as bTsan-po (賭鲁), and the ministers as bLon-chen (大 諭), bLon-chün (小 諭),¹ and by means of such system they administer their national affairs. There are no written characters, but carving on pieces of wood or knotting strings are the signs of their promise (oath). Though there are officials, they are not permanently in the official position but temporarily administer the national affairs. When enlisting warriors, gold arrows are used, and when confronting an invasion from outside, beacon fires are raised, and in every 100 Li, a station is set up. Their punishments are very severe; even for a minor crime, the eyes or the nose are scooped out, or the person is beaten with a leather whip simply according to the feeling of those administering the penalty, as there is no uniform code. The prisoners are put into a ground cave, which is several feet deep, and after two or three years they may be released. When celebrating foreign envoys, they always let a yak run and command the foreign envoy to shoot the running yak. The meat from that yak is to be served afterwards at the celebration.

As for the government officials, the bTsan-po puts them upon a minor oath once a year. At this meeting

¹ bLon-chen and bLon-chün mean great minister and deputy minister, respectively. In the text, this word consists of both phonetic and semantic components. 大 is semantic in terms of "great" in Chinese; 諭 is phonetic for the Tibetan word "minister."
of the oath, sheep, dogs, and monkeys are sacrificed. When they sacrifice these animals, they first cut off the legs of the animals to kill them, then expose the intestines and cut them off, and then command the shaman to tell the Gods of heaven and earth, mountain and river, sun and moon, and stars and planets as follows: Should you change your mind and keep in your bosom disloyalty and opposition to the oath, then the Gods will clearly know you, and you will be like these sheep and dogs.

Once in every three years, a great ceremonial oath is carried out, that is, at night, on the ground altar, officials and other people display table delicacies, and kill dogs, horses, cows, and donkeys in order to make the sacrificial meats. And in swearing the oath they say: "You all unite your minds together and protect our country. I think the God of heaven and the spirit of earth all know your thoughts. Should there be one opponent to this oath, that will cause you to be killed and your body displayed as in this sacrifice."

The climate of the country is extremely cold. No ordinary rice is grown, but they have black oats, red pulse, barley, and buckwheat. Their domestic animals are mostly yak, pig, sheep, and horse; there is also a bat,\(^1\) its shape like that of a sparrow or rat but its size more like a cat. Its skin can become a garment. There is a lot of gold, silver, copper, and

\(^1\) 天鼠 is bat.
tin. Some people follow their flocks to pasture, so there is no fixed place in living; nevertheless, there are some walled cities. The capital of their country is called Lha-sa,¹ and the houses in the city are all flat-roofed and those houses that are high reach up several 10s feet. The nobles live in big felt tents called Fulu (>Description removed). Their living and sleeping places are filthy, and they do not comb their hair and do not wash themselves. They use two hands to receive and drink wine. And with felt (coarse fabrics) they make plates, while by nipping dough they make cups, which they fill with broth and cream together and drink from them.

Many people serve the God of the goat and ram, and believe in Shamanism. The people do not know how to discern the seasons, but reckon the barley-harvest season as the beginning of the year. Chess gambling, trumpet blowing as well as beating drums are their chief games. Bow and sword are never far from the body. The people honour the young and neglect the old: in this mothers bow to their sons, and sons are overbearing to their fathers. Whenever going out or coming in, the young ones are first, and then the old are behind them.

The military order is severe, and in every battle, when the vanguards are killed, then the rear troops

¹ The original meaning of Lha-sa (Description removed) is walled city.
advance. The people regard death in battle as an honour, while they dislike death from sickness. The families of those who died in battle for generations are regarded as the best class. And those who are defeated in battle hang fox-tails around their necks in order to show at crowd gatherings that they resemble the fox's cowardice, and the people gathered together, seeing that, are intent on having to die for their country (when engaged in battle). From the standpoint of their general custom, they are ashamed of such things, thus they had rather die in battle next time. As for paying homage, both hands must touch the ground while the individual makes the sort of sound of a dog barking, and then again the body bows; then homage ends.

When they mourn their parents, they cut off their hair, painting their faces black, and put on black clothes. As soon as the burial is over, then mourning is put off. When their bTsan-po dies, the people who are close to him also commit suicide, and the bTsan-po's clothes, jewels, horse, bow, sword, and what not are all buried with him. And on the grave they erect a big building and mound up a tumulus with dirt, then they plant different trees around it, thus making it a place of ancestral worship.

In the 8th year of Chenkuan (7634), their bTsan-po, Khri-sron-brtsan, for the first time sent
their envoy to China with tribute.\(^1\) Khri-sron-brtsan was throned young. His nature was brave, and he possessed elegant strategy. The neighboring country Yang-t'ung (羊同)\(^2\) and various Ch'iang tribes altogether submitted to him. T'ai-tsung (太宗) sent his envoy; Feng te-hsi (馮德遂) to please him, and the bTsan-po was very pleased to see Te-hsi. The bTsan-po then heard that T'uchueh (突厥) and T'ukuhun (吐谷渾) had married Chinese princesses; he then sent his envoy after Te-hsi to the T'ang court with rich gold and treasure, expressing that he was seeking matrimony, but T'ai-tsung refused. When the envoy returned, he said to Sron-btsan bgam-po that "when I entered the great country (China), they treated me very warmly, and the Emperor permitted matrimony, but in a little while the King of T'ukuhun came to court and interfered with the negotiation. Because of that, the complimentary agreement turned to a somewhat scant (vague) arrangement, and finally the Emperor did not permit the marriage to go through." Sron-btsan bgam-po consequently allied with Yang-t'ung's army and attacked T'ukuhun. T'ukuhun was unable to withstand the allied army, and fled to the north of Ch'inghai (青海) in order to escape the sword. The inhabitants of T'ukuhun and their domestic animals all were

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\(^1\) Khri-sron-brtsan is also known as Sron-btsan sgam-po (accession c. 620, died 649 A.D.)

captured by T'ufan. Thereupon, the T'ufan troops advanced and defeated the various Ch'iang tribes of Tanghsiang (党項) and P'ailan (白蘭). Then the bTsan-po, leading more than 200,000 warriors, stationed his army at the western border of Sungchou (松州). From there, Sron-btsan bgam-po sent his envoy to the T'ang court with a tribute of gold and silk, and a message that his envoy was coming to the court to receive the princess. In the meanwhile, he called his soldiers and said that "if the great country does not let their princess marry me, then we will invade the country right away." Consequently, he advanced his army and attacked Sungchou (松州). The governor of Sungchou, Han wei (韓威), tried to defend against the enemy with light cavalry, but on the contrary he was defeated, and the people of the border area were greatly frightened at them (the attackers). Emperor T'ai tsung then dispatched a minister of the government employee (吏部尚書), Hou chun-chi (侯君集), as general commander of the army for the route of Tangmi (唐邏); the right-wing general-in-chief (右鎮軍大將軍), Chihshih ssuli (執大思力), as the general commander of the army for the route of P'ailan; the left-wing general of the martial guard (左武衛將軍), Niu chinta (牛進達), as the general commander of the army for the route of

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1 Tanghsiang was the clan living in the bedding area of Yellow River in the Ch'inghai province. They founded during 古代. They are not Tibetan-language people. P'ailan belongs to a Turkey tribe.
K'uosui (*右翼将#, Liu lan (*刘蔺*), as the commander of the army for the route of T'ao ho (*洮河*); thus the Emperor let them lead (the total number of) 50,000 soldiers consisting of infantry and cavalry to attack the T'ufan. Chinta (*道带*) led the van troops from Sungchou against the T'ufan army camp at night, and cut off more than 1,000 heads. Sron-btsan bgam-po was quite frightened at this. Consequently he, leading his army, withdrew, but sent another envoy to the court to apologize, and again requested approval for his marriage. Emperor T'ai-tsung (gave up his refusal and) granted the marriage. Sron-btsan bgam-po then sent one of his ministers, Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zun (*禄带赞*), to pay his decorum with a present of 5,000 Liang (*两*) of gold, besides other treasures of several hundreds.

In the 15th year of Chenkuan (*貞覲*/641), the Emperor T'ai-tsung let the princess Wench'eng (*文成公主*) be the consort of Sron-btsan bgam-po. Emperor T'ai-tsung appointed the president of rituals (*礼部尚書*), Taotsung (*道宗*), who was king of the Chiang-hsia province (*江夏郡*), to preside over the wedding ceremony. Taotsung, upon obtaining the credential

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1 The transcription of 禄 in 禄带赞 is not clear, but it is certainly Mgar ston-btsan yul-zun. However, this text mentions that his surname was 購. It is unusual character in modern days, but it must correspond with Mga. And lu (禄) may be the phonetic sound of /r/ in Mgar, or it may be a Chinesesemantic character to mean an official salaried man.
tag, escorted the princess to T'ufan. Sron-btsan bgam-po was then leading his army stationed at Paihai (栅 海), but he himself came to Hoyüan (河 源) to meet the princess, and upon seeing Taotsung, he behaved very respectfully as is proverbially due from a son-in-law. And he was quite astonished at the adornment of the clothes and at the belongings, sighing as he admired them, sometimes looking down and sometimes looking up, and he appeared to be somewhat ashamed. Having returned to his country with the princess, he called his intimate people and said, "Our ancestors never entered marriage with the superior country (上 國), but now I got married with the princess of the great T'ang (大 唐), which is really my happiness. We should build a castle for the princess, and should proudly proclaim this to our generations." Consequently, they built a walled city, and erected a palace for her residence.

The princess did not like the people's faces painted with red,1 thereupon Sron-btsan bgam-po ordered his countrymen to stop this custom temporarily, and he himself released the felt and leather clothes, and put on white silk or other beautiful silk clothes. Thus, he gradually became to admire the Chinese way of life. And he sent away his younger brothers and the sons of his staff chiefs and rich people, with the request that they be admitted to the National Academy, and at

1 The Tibetan people in those days usually painted their faces with red.
the same time he requested that Chinese intellectuals from China come to make official reports to the Emperor T'aitsung.

When T'aitsung returned from his expedition to Liaotung (遼東), Sron-btsan bgam-po sent Mgar ston-btsan yul-zuh on a mission of congratulations, and issued a statement saying that "the holy son of heaven pacified the four corners of the world. Those countries shone by sun and moon became your obedient servants, but Korea (高麗), which relied upon the far-away distance, broke off the tributary propriety. The son of heaven himself led 1,000,000 soldiers and crossed the (river) Liao (遼) to overthrow their castles, and broke through the enemy's line. And shortly after that victory was achieved. This humble one just heard that Your Highness had started your chariot, and while we were marching a little toward there, we heard quite soon that Your Highness had already returned: the goose flies swiftly, but not in comparison to Your Highness's speed. And the joy that this humble one has, having entered into the son-in-law relation (with you), is a hundred times greater than the ordinary barbarians' joy in this country. Well, (in that sense) the domestic goose (鴨) is still like a wild goose. ¹ In this regard, a good

¹ The domestic goose (鴨) is normally less happy than the wild goose because of being bound to man. But here it means that a domestic goose is as happy as a wild goose. The domestic goose refers to Sron-btsan bgam-po himself.
domestic goose is made, and this humble one presents it to Your Highness". The domestic goose is made of bronze, 7 feet tall, and it can hold 3 Tu (斛) of wine.

In the 22nd year of Chenkuan (貞觀 /648), the right-wing chief administrator (in charge of) guarding the heir of the throne (右衛率府長史), Wang hsuant'se (王玄策), was sent on a mission to the western country (西域), but he was plundered at Chungt'ienchu (中天竺). T'ufan then sent their good warriors, who attacked T'ienchu (天竺) together with Hsuant'se, thus they defeated them. And then an envoy was sent to the court to report their victory.

Kaotsung (高宗) succeeded to the throne, and he gave Sron-btsan bgam-po the official title of Fuma-tuwei (廵馬都御) and appointed him as king of the Shihai province (西海郡); at the same time the Emperor gave him a present of 2,000 pieces of silk. Sron-btsan bgam-po consequently sent a letter to the Emperor by way of the chief of the Ministry of Education, Chung-sung wuchi (長孫無忌) and others, saying that "the son of heaven (Your Highness) (I) have just been crowned. If there are any people who

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1 The western country (西域) refers to Magadha in this context.

2 Fuma in Fuma-tuwei refers to an imperial son-in-law, therefore the official title Fuma-tuwei must mean "Imperial son-in-law general", a general who is the imperial son-in-law.
intend to be disloyal, then I will be ready with my army to run out to subjugate them." At the same time, he presented 15 kinds of gold, silver, pearl, and other precious things, and asked that they be put in front of the spirit of T'ai tsung (太宗). Kaotsung praised him (Sron-btsan bgam-po) and promoted him to king of Tsung (王), and gave him 3,000 pieces of various silks. In the meantime, Sron-btsan bgam-po also requested technicians for silk-worms, wine-makers, millstones, paper, and ink. All the requests were granted. Sron-btsan bgam-po also carved a figure of himself on stone, and erected it below the entrance to the T'ai tsung graveyard.

In the first year of Yunghui (650), 1 Sron-btsan bgam-po died. Kaotsung performed the mourning ceremony for his death, and sent the right-wing general of police (右武侯将军). Hsienyu ch'enchi (鮮于臣澤) as the envoy with the imperial credentials along with an imperial letter of mourning and condolence over him. The son of Sron-btsan bgam-po died early, so the grandson succeeded to the throne with the title of bTsan-po. 2 But he was very young at that time, so all the national affairs befell to Mgar-stoṅ-brtsan yul-zun, whose family name was

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1 The 1st year of Yunghui (650) was the year that the T'ang court sent envoys to T'ufan to offer condolences on the death of bTsan-po. bTsan-po actually died in 649.

2 In Tibetan sources, Maṅ-sron maṅ-btsan. In 王統記, Khri-maṅ slon-maṅ-rtsan.
Though he was ignorant of (the art of) written characters, he was naturally bright, resolute, and strict. He studied military strategy and trained his army, and always he was skillful. It was mainly due to his plan that T'ufan absorbed the Ch'iiang tribes and became preeminent in their native lands.

Formerly, when T'ai tsung granted the marriage of princess Wench'eng to the bTsan-po, the bTsan-po had sent Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zuñ to receive her. When he was in front of the audience, the Emperor (T'ai tsung) called him and gave him some advice. And the way that he was advancing to and retiring from the Emperor was quite harmonious. Thus, T'ai tsung treated him differently from other Ch'iiang people. The emperor conferred upon him (the title of) chief general of guards (右衛大將軍), and considered Tuan (段), who was the maternal grand-daughter of princess Lang-jya-chang (琅邪長), to be his wife. Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zuñ refused and said, "I have my wife in my native country, my parents found her for me, so I regret not being able to yield to the intention of Your Highness. However, our bTsan-po has not seen the princess yet, so how can his subject suddenly dare to marry?"

T'ai tsung praised what he said, and wanted to comfort him with deep benevolence. Thus, T'ai tsung admitted

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1 It is an unusual character, so the phonetic sound is not definable, but must be something like ga/ka/gu/ku in Mgar. It is his family name, which is also the tribal name.
his elegancy, but did not admit his refusal.

Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zuṅ had five sons; the eldest one was called Tsanhsijo (賀思若), 1 who died young; his second son was Ch'inling (欽陵), 2 the third son was Tsanp'o (贊婆), 3 the fourth one was Hsitokan (惠安), 4 and the fifth one was Polun (敬贊). 5 After Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zuṅ died, Ch'inlin (欽陵) and his brothers successively controlled the country.

Afterwards, T'ufan became unpeaceful with T'ukuhun (吐谷渾), and during this unpeaceful time, the two countries presented their statements respectively to Lun-shuo (遼朔) and Lin techung (鄰德中), and discussed who was right and who was wrong. But the court could not pass judgment because their claims were different. T'ufan got angry, and finally they led their army and attacked T'ukuhun. T'ukuhun was totally defeated, and the King of Hoyuan (河源王), Mu-yung no-ho-po (慕容護邕) and his consort,

1 Tsanhsijo is Mgar btsan-sña hdom-bu. Tun-huang documents, chronology.
2 Ch'inlin is Khri-ḥbriṅ btsan-lod.
3 Tsanp'o is bTsan-ba. (Later he submitted himself to T'ang.)
4 Hsitokan is Sta-gu. The character kan (ㄈ) in this text (chiu t'ang-shu) is a mistake for yü (ㄈ).
5 Polun is Mgar brtsan-ñen guñ-rton.
princess Hunghna (弘化公主), fled to Liangchou (涼州). There, he sent his messenger to the T'ang court to report the emergency.

In the first year of Hsienheng (咸亨 /670), in the 4th month, an imperial decree appointed right-wing general-in-chief (右威衛大將軍), Hsieh jenkuei (薛仁貴), to the post of general commander-in-chief for the route to Lha-sa, and gave him command over left-wing assistant general of guard (左衛僉大將軍), A-hsih-na-tao-chen (阿史那道真), and right-wing general of guard (右衛將軍), Kuo tai (郭待), (who were) attached to him as his assistants to chastise T'ufan with 100,000 soldiers. But when the army advanced up to the river Tafei (大非), it was totally defeated by the T'ufan general Khri-ḥbrin btsan-lod (論欽隆). Jenkuei (仁貴, the chief commander of T'ang) and his colleagues were all accused and discharged from their official positions. The whole country of T'ukuhun submitted to T'ufan. Only Mu-yung no-ho-po (慕容諾曷鉞), his relatives, and his adherents of some several thousand tents came to offer their allegiance to T'ang. These people were moved to Lingchou (涼州), where they were allowed to live.

From this time on, T'ufan successively invaded the

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1 潛州 is in 甘肅省, 武威縣.

2 Khri-ḥbrin btsan-lod is the second son of Mgar ston-ḥbrtsan yul-zuṅ.
border area every year, and the Ch'iang tribes of Tangchou (堂州) and Hsichou (恆州) and so forth, all came to submit to T'ufan.

In the 3rd year of Shangyuan (上元/674), T'ufan invaded Shangchou (鄯州) and K'uocho (卻州) and so forth, killing and carrying off the people, including government officials.

Kaotsung (高宗) ordered the left-wing acting minister of the department of administration (尚書左僕射), Liu Jenkuei (劉仁軌), to go to T'aohochun (洮河軍) to garrison, thus he defended the cities against T'ufan.

In the 3rd year of Yifeng (儀鳳/678), a decree appointed the president of the department of imperial secretaries (中書令), Li Chingshien (李敬玄), to serve also as governor of Shangchou (鄯州), and to defend T'aoho (洮河). Chingshien then enlisted the brave ones in the Kuannei (關內), Ho-tung (河東), and the other provinces (諸州) without regard for their occupations, and considered them just brave soldiers. And those who had ever been in the civil or military services were invited to a

1 In the text, it is written as 堂州 基州.

2 鄯州 is in 青海省 西寧市

3 却州 is in 青海省 西寧市南

4 尚書 is one of the three departments in the highest level of the government organization.
palace banquet, and then they were sent on to attack the T'ufan. There was also another decree which com-
manded the master administrator of Ichou (華州長史),
Li hsiaoai (李孝'ai), and the governor of Suichou
(蜀 州), Chih wangfeng (拓王奉) and others to
issue their soldiers to defend them. In the autumn of
that year (Yifeng 3rd year/678), Chinghsuan (敬 元),
together with the minister of the department of public
work (工部尚書), Liu shienli (劉 聲 鐵), led
the troops to fight against them in Chinghai (青海).
But the imperial army was hopelessly defeated; besides
Shienli was killed in that battle. Chinghsuan then
stopped his army from fighting, and did not dare go to
the rescue of other soldiers on his side; instead he
speedily collected his army and withdrew, and encamped
at Ch'engfengling (水風嶺), where he was
obstructed by muddy swamps and unable to move, while
the enemy positioned themselves on high hills and
pressed them down. The left-wing assistant general
(左領軍突將軍), Heichihch'angchih (黑 點
掌之), who was one of Chinghsuan's generals, led
500 special, fearless soldiers and stormed the enemy
camp during night. Consequently, the enemy was de-
moralized and thrown into confusion, and trod upon
each other, killing more than 3,000 of their own.
Chinghsuan then led his army to Shanchou (鄜州),
but he was accused and demoted to governor of Hengchou

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1 水風嶺 is in 鄴州広威県西南
Formerly, the soldiers in Chiennan (劍南) gathered in the south-west of Maochou (茂州), and there they built the fortress of Anjung (安戎城) to defend the frontier. But shortly after that, a strange Ch'iang tribal man showed the way to T'ufan, and they (T'ufan) captured the fortress and garrisoned it with their troops. At that time, T'ufan obtained Yangt'ung (羊同), Tanghsiang (党項) as well as other Ch'iang tribal territories. To the east it extended to Liangchou (涼州), Sungchou (松州), Maochou (茂州), Suichou (蜀州), and so forth, and to the south it extended to India. On the west they attacked and took over four military governments such as Kueitzu (龜茻), Sulo (疏勒), and so forth, while to the north they extended as far as over 10,000 li to the T'uchüeh (突厥) area. Since the Han and Wei (漢 魏) dynasties, the western barbarians had seen no prosperity comparable to these days' prosperity.

When Emperor Kaotsung heard about Shienli (筍禮) and others all being killed, he summoned the cabinet people and asked them about a policy of defense. Kuo chengyi (郭正一), who was an officer of the imperial secretary, said "the length of time for which T'ufan has disturbed our country has already been long. And (for defense) the issuance of orders to our generals and the sending off of our army are still continuing. Soldiers and horses are needlessly tired
out, also wasting food. Suppose Your Highness ordered (our army) to force the enemy to submission in our territory. This will merely harm the dignity of our army, as none of our expeditions to their country is able to reach as far as their den. It is my hope that Your Highness will dispatch a small army to the border, and let them prepare beacon fire towers for the purpose of not being invaded by the enemies. When our country becomes rich, the people's minds will also come to be unique. Thus in several years our country will be able to defeat the enemy at once."

But the advisors to censors (給事中), Liu chihsien (劉幸賢), Huangfu wenliang (皇甫文亮), and others all spoke of a severe defense against them.

Heichi chiangchih (黑齒常之) defeated the T'ufan general bTsang-ba (贊婆) and Suhokuei (素和黃) at the Liangfei River (良非川), killing and capturing over 2,000 of them. T'ufan, after all, withdrew. An imperial decree appointed Chiangchih (常之) to the post of military commander of Hoyüan (河源軍使) to defend the area.

In the 4th year of Yifeng (義鳳 /679), the bTsang-po (贊婆) died,¹ and his son Khri-ḥdus-sron

¹ According to Tibetan sources, this is Man-sron man-btsan, and in 王統記, Khri maṅ-slon maṅ-ṛtsan.
succeeded him to the throne; thus he came to be called ḏTsan-po. At this time, he was eight years old, so the state affairs all befell to Khri-ḥbriṅ ḏtsan-lod (鉦陵). T'ufan sent their minister Han-t'iao-p'ang (論寒調僉) to the T'ang court to report the death of their ḏTsan-po, and requested peaceful relations. Kaotsung then sent the colonel of militia (即將), Sung lingwen (宋令文) to T'ufan to (participate in) the mourning ceremonies and offer condolences over the death of their ḏTsan-po.

In the first year of Yungling (永隆 /680), the princess Wench'eng (文 成 ) passed away. Kaotsung again sent an envoy to mourn over her death.

The Empress Wu came to participate in the policy of the court. She appointed the president of the department of imperial literature (文 品右相), Wei taichia (韋侍威), to the post of general commander for the route of Anhsi (安西道大總官),

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1 The 4th year of Yifeng/679 was the year that Sung, lingwen was sent to T'ufan to offer condolences over the death of their ḏTsan-po, Mań-sron mań-stsan. Practically, he succeeded to the throne in the first year of Yifeng/676.

2 Khri-ḥbriṅ ḏtsan-lod (鉦陵) was the second son of Mgar stoh-brtsan yul-zuñ. At this time, he was not the great minister yet; his older brother, Mgar ḏtsan-sña ḏdom-bu (貢悉玄) was the great minister, who was holding the authority. However, Khri-ḥbriṅ ḏtsan-lod became great minister after his older brother Mgar ḏtsan-sña ḏdom-bu died in the first year of Ch'uikung/685.
and also to the post of grand governor of Anshi (安西大都護), and appointed Yen wenku (閻溫古) his assistant. In the first year of Yungchiang (永昌 /689), they led the army to the invasion of T'ufan; still the army was slowed down and hardly advanced. Consequently, Taichia (行陏) was accused and sent to Pochou (甌州), while Wenku (溫古) received capital punishment. Taichia, by nature, did not have the ability to control the army, and in fright ran into confusion and lost the commandership. His officers and soldiers were hungry, and they all went to the lake or valley, where they died.

The next year (the first year of T'ienshou/690), a decree appointed the president of the department of imperial literature (文昌右相), Chen ch'angch'ien (岑長倩), to the post of general commander for the route of Wuwei (武威道), (with instructions) to invade T'ufan, but they returned in the mid of the way. Thus, the army actually did not advance.

In the first year of Juyi (如意 /692), the T'ufan general-in-chief (大首領), Ho-su (何蘇), leading those belonging to him along with those from the villages in Kueichou (貴州) offered his allegiance (to the T'ang court). The Empress Wu then ordered the right-wing grand general of the guard (右玉麟衛大將軍), Chang Hsuanyü (張玄遇), to lead 200,000 soldiers to receive them (the Ho-su contingent) as the imperial commissioner of pacifying (安撫使). The imperial army advanced to the
river of Tatu ( 天 河 ) to receive them, but Hsusu's plan was leaked out, and he was carried back to T'ufan. Also, there was another T'ufan general-in-chief, called Ts'an-ts'u'ui ( 曹 捧 ), who also led over 8,000 Ch'iang people to offer his submission to Hsuanyü. Hsuanyü then established the prefecture of Yehch'uan ( 性 川 平 ) for the villagers, and took Tsanch'ui as governor of that prefecture. Furthermore, Hsuanyü erected a tower at the west of the river Tatu ( 天 河 ) and engraved his praises on it, and then returned.

In the first year of Changshou ( 長 寿 /692), the commander-in-chief of the martial guard ( 武 威 省 總 管), Wang, hsiaochieh ( 王 孝 傑 ), inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan army, and recovered the four military posts of Kueitzu ( 鬲 虫 ), Yütien ( 于 閘 ), Sule ( 玉 勒 ), and Suiyeh ( 碎 菘 ), and so forth. Therefore, the T'ang court established the metropolis government of Anhsi ( 安 西 部 護 府 ) in Kueitzu, and troops were dispatched in order to protect the city.

In the first year of Wansui T'engfeng ( 万 武 閏 靈 / 696), Hsiaochieh ( 孝 傑 ) again became the commander-in-chief for the route of Shupien ( 蘭 氏 大 總 管). And he, along with his assistant general commander, Lou shihte ( 廖 静 德 ), fought against the T'ufan generals, such as Khri-ḥbri'n btsan-lod
and bTsan-ba (貢婆) as the Sulahan-shan (素羅汗山). But the imperial army was totally defeated. And Hsiao-chieh (孝傑), owing to his responsibility, was stripped of his rank. In the first year of Wansui tung't'ien (万歲通天 / 696), a T'ufan army of 40,000 soldiers suddenly appeared along the wall of Liangchou (涼州). The governor, Shu chinming (許欽明), at the outset did not realize anything (of the sort), and he stepped out with a light armor to command his troops, but unexpectedly he encountered the enemy, and fought against them for a while, but the strength of his troops was exhausted and they were all killed by the enemy. At that time, T'ufan sent an envoy asking for peace. The Empress Wu was just going to accept his request, but Khri-hbriṅ btsan-lod (論欽陵) also requested that the troops be withdrawn from the four military posts in Anhsi (安西四鎮), demanding, at the same time, that the territory of the ten hordes be divided (as a gift). Finally Empress Wu did not grant his request. In T'ufan, ever since the minister Khri-hbriṅ btsan-lod (論欽陵) and his brothers came to control the army, Khri-hbriṅ btsan-lod (欽陵)

1 Lun (論) in Lunch'inling (論欽陵) is not part of his name; it is the official title corresponding to blon in Tibetan—the minister. The minister Ch'inling (Khri-hbriṅ btsan-lod).

2 Sulahan-shan is in 汶巖 . In Tibetan, it is known as sTag-la rgya-dur.
always stayed in the center of T'ufan and administered the national affairs. His young brothers were dispatched to the outlying areas. bTs'an-ba was steadily in the eastern frontier facing China over thirty years, and made trouble on the border. His older as well as younger brothers all had superior ability, and the various Ch'iang tribes were afraid of them.

In the 2nd year of Shengli (699), bTs'an-po (Khri-hbri; btsan-lod (bTsan-po) was somewhere in the countryside. Then, the bTs'an-po purposely said that he was going hunting, and so he collected soldiers, with whom he caught a party of over 2,000 people who were associated with Khri-hbri; btsan-lod (bTsan-po) and his followers of their power. At this time, Khri-hbri; bTsan-po was somewhere in the countryside. Then, the bTs'an-po purposely said that he was going hunting, and so he collected soldiers, with whom he caught a party of over 2,000 people who were associated with Khri-hbri; btsan-lod (bTsan-po) and put them to death. And then the bTs'an-po summoned Khri-hbri; btsan-lod, bTs'an-ba, and others, but Khri-hbri; btsan-ba was at the time collecting his troops and refused to obey the summons. Then the bTs'an-po himself led an army to chastise him. Khri-hbri; btsan-lod did not fight against the bTs'an-po, but deserted from his troops before fighting erupted, and killed himself. Also more than 100 people who were close to him, or relatives of his, killed themselves on the very same day. bTs'an-ba (bTsan-ba) led over 1,000 of his people, including his older brother's son
Shoupuchih (莫布支), came to offer his allegiance to T'ang.

Empress Wu sent out some swift horsemen from the imperial guard to the suburb to meet and receive them (the bTsan-ba contingent). And the Empress conferred upon bTsan-ba the official title of general of assistant administration (輔國大將軍), along with that of right-wing general of the guards, and at the same time she also appointed him to the post of general of virtue (婦德將軍). Thus, the Empress treated him very warmly. She also ordered him to lead his troops to the station at Hungyüanku (洪源谷), and to chastise the enemy. But soon he died, and he was especially canonized to the degree of governor-general of the metropolis government of Anhsì (安西大都護).

In the first year of Chiushih (久視 /700), T'ufan again dispatched their general Ch'umangpuchih (超布支)² to invade Liangchou (涼州) and to enclose Chiangsunghsieng (昌松界).³ The governor-general of the armies and cities of Lungyü (隴右諸軍州大使), T'ang shiuching (唐休璟), fought against Mangpuchih at

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¹ In Hsin T'ang-shu, it is written as 元士戈布支, which is probably right.
² Ch'umangpuchih is Khu mañ-po-rje lha-zung.
³ 世面上古浪泉東羌 中国西南永登男西（漢）
Hungyuanku (洪源), and cut off their two lieutenant generals and 2,500 soldiers.

In the 2nd year of Chiangan (長安 /702), the bTsan-po (賈普) led over 10,000 soldiers and invaded Hsichou (悉多). The governor, Ch'en tatz'u (陳人慈), fought against the enemy four times altogether, and broke them off and cut off over 1,000 heads. Thereupon, T'ufan sent their envoy Lunmisa (論璃薩) and others on a mission to the imperial court to request a peace. The Empress Wu entertained them in the hall of Linte (麟德殿), and put on an exhibition of a hundred games in the courtyard. Lunmisa said "this humble one was born in the border waste(land), thus I have never known Chinese music. I beg Your Majesty to let me observe more closely." The Empress granted his request; thereupon, Lunmisa and his colleagues saw the music together, and they all laughed and enjoyed (themselves). He bowed (to express) his thanks, and said that "Since this humble subject came to kneel before Your Majesty, I have received excellent treatment time and time again; I have also been allowed to see wonderful music, which I had never seen before in my life. Thinking of someone as lowly as myself, how can I respond to Your Majesty's favour? I, who am small and narrow-minded, only wish that Your Majesty's great house will endure a myriad years".

注：四川省松潘县西南
The next year (3rd year of Changan/703), T'ufan sent another mission with 1,000 horses and 2,000 ounces of gold, seeking a matrimonial alliance. Empress Wu granted it. At this time, the subject countries in the south, such as Nepal (尼泊羅門) and others, all revolted. The bTsan-po himself led an army to chastise them, but he died in the campaign. Then his sons struggled a long time for the throne, but finally the people of the country elected the son of Khri-ḥdus-sron (墀第悉宗), Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan (棄躲贊), as their bTsan-po. However, at this time the bTsan-po was only seven years old.

In the first year of Shengling (神景德/705), in the region of Chungtsung (中宗), the T'ufan envoy arrived to report the death of their ruler. Emperor Chungtsung carried out the mourning ceremony for the death of the bTsan-po; the Emperor closed the court for one day. Soon afterwards, the grandmother of the bTsan-po sent their chief minister, Hsitungjang (毘塘然), with presents (made) of their native products for the Emperor, and asked that a matrimonial alliance be entered with her grandson. Emperor Chungtsung then granted the request by taking his adopted

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1墀第悉宗 is Khri-ḥdus-sron.
2棄躲贊 is Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan.
3毘塘然 is sToḥ-bsher.
daughter, who was the real daughter of the king of Yung, Tsungli (宗禮), as princess Chinch’eng (金成公主). From this time on, every year their tribute was offered. In the 11th month of the 3rd year of Chinglung (乾隆 709), T'ufan sent another mission headed by the chief minister Shan-btsan to-re lhas-byin (尚贊 吐) to receive the bride. Emperor Chungtsung entertained them at the courtyard for ball-playing in the palace park, and let general Yang Shenchiao (楊 慶佐), who was the imperial son-in-law (駙馬都尉), play a ball game with the T'ufan envoy, while Chungtsung and his court people watched.

In the 1st month of the 4th year (710), the Emperor expressed in writing that "When sages spread civilization, they take the welfare of the people at heart. Likewise, when the Kings govern benevolently, they extend their ideas to the border areas in eight directions without considering anyone foreigner, so that their benevolence and virtue reflect upon near and far places. In (doing) this, everything can be in order. In accordance with this principle, the glorious Chou ( ) dynasty made the calendar, with which they could plan to treat kindly the barbarians in the far places. And the powerful Han, taking a good chance, could establish a peaceful plan with the barbarian tribes. Thinking about such things, it is a

1 尚贊 吐 is Shan-btsan to-re lhas-byin.
standard way to administer the country with (the aid of) a long plan. I received the heavenly order from the spirit of heaven, and I am anxious to follow our predecessors, and anxious to raise such excellent deeds as before; likewise (I am anxious to attain) everlasting peace. As for T'ufan, it is on the western side of the border, and at the time of the beginnings of our imperial dynasty, they already repeatedly paid high tribute to our court. The holy Emperor of civil and military affairs, T'aitung (太宗文武聖皇帝), possessed virtue as wide as heaven and earth (覆載)\(^1\) and his compassion penetrated the myriads of people. He was thinking about putting away weapons and armours, and then finally he made up his mind to announce the marriage (of princess Wench'eng). Consequently, for several decades the world (一方) was peaceful.\(^2\) But since princess Wench'eng passed away, many changes have happened, that is, troops have constantly gathered on our border, and in the villages of T'ufan there have been disasters quite often. Recently, the bTsan-po, his grandmother K'otun (可敦), and other chiefs showed true submission, and they have been doing this constantly for several years. And, relying upon the good relations of olden days, they ask for a peaceful relationship (now). Princess Chinch'eng is my little

\(^{1}\) Heaven and earth. "天之所覆，地之所載" Li-chi (禮記).

\(^{2}\) 一方 means everywhere.
daughter; how could I not think of her deeply? But I am parent to the people, (and) my intention rests in the happiness of the people. Thus, my granting (her in) marriage refers to the hope that if we more deeply consummate a peaceful relationship, then the border will be peaceful, and military duty will cease. Finally, I made up my mind in favor of deeply consenting to my daughter's marriage for the sake of the great nation's plan. Thereby, an outside building was built (外館), ¹ and in the way of happy mode, I let her marry the T'ufan bTsan-po. (Later) this month, ² I will let her leave here and will send her off to the suburb."

Emperor Chungtsung summoned the president of the imperial servants (待中), Chi ch'una (紀處諷) and said that "In olden days, when the marriage of princess Wench'eng was performed, the King of Chiangshia (江夏王) escorted her. You know the T'ufan situation well, and you have the ability to pacify the border. You may be the envoy (to escort her)." Ch'una (處紳) bowed, but firmly declined by mentioning that he was not familiar with the border area. The Emperor then appointed Chiao yinshao (趙彦昭), who was

¹ 外館 is a building at the outside of the palace where the princess lived for a while in order to train herself for married life.

² In 警令集，卷四十二，it is said "on the 27th of this month".

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the vice-president of the imperial secretaries (中書侍郎). Yinshao had already been envoy to a foreign country, and he was reluctant (to accept) because he might lose his authority in the palace as well as the Emperor's liking, so he just did not like to go to the foreign country. In the meantime, Chiao liwen (趙履溫), who was president of the department of agriculture (司農卿), told Yinchiao secretly: "You are a minister of the country; to become (now) simply an envoy is not really acceptable." Yinchiao then said: "What is the way (out), then?" Liwen then secretly relied on princess Anlo (安樂公主), and predisposed the Emperor to let Chiao yinshao stay. Thereupon, the Emperor appointed the left-wing general (左衛大將軍), Yang chu (楊矩), as the escorting envoy.

In that month (the first moon of the fourth year of 黃鶴/710), the Emperor proceeded to Shihip'inghsien (始平縣) to escort her; there an imperial tent was pitched beside the Paich'ingp'o (百項泊), where the Emperor entertained his local kings, members of the royal family, and the high ministers as well as the T'ufan envoys. And close to the time when they were about to finish their drinks, the Emperor called the T'ufan envoy to the front, and mentioned how the princess was young, yet the Emperor had decided (to let) her marriage (take her) to a far distant place. The Emperor became so sad that he wept and sobbed for a long time.
Because of his sorrow, the Emperor suggested to his officials that they compose poetry and farewell verses. On the other hand, the Emperor pardoned the criminals of Shihp'inghsien (始平县) who had been sentenced to capital punishment, he also exempted the people of the whole country from the remittance of tax for one year. The Emperor then changed the name of that place to Fengchihsiang-changpiehli (鳳池鄉 懷別里).  

After the princess arrived to T'ufan, they built a house where the princess lived.

After Juitsung (喻宗) was enthroned, Li chihku (李知古), who was the censor (攝監察御史), persuaded the Emperor that various barbarians in T'iaochou (姚 南) had formerly belonged to T'ufan. For that, Chihku requested that troops be dispatched to chastise them. The Emperor consequently appointed Chihku to collect soldiers in Chiennann (劍 南) to subdue them. The chief of the barbarians, Fang-ning (樊名), then got the T'ufan troops and attacked Chihku, and killed him, and dismembered the body in sacrifice to heaven. At that time, Chang hsuanpiao (張玄表) became governor general of Anhsi (安 西), on the border with T'ufan, and both sides were attacking and plundering each other.

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1 凤池鄉 懷別里 means the district of the lake of phoenix and the sad departing village.

2 T'iaochou is 縣 南省 姚 南.
T'ufan was inwardly very angry at this development, while outwardly they appeared still peaceful. At this time, Yangchu (楊 矩) became governor-general of Shenchou (鄯 州), and T'ufan sent him their envoy with a rich contribution. Then they asked for the territory of Chiuch'u (九 曲) on the west side of the Yellow river (河西九曲之地) to be the place for the production of toilette materials for princess Chinch'eng (金成 公主). Chu (矩) persuaded the Emperor (to grant this), and the Emperor granted giving the territory to T'ufan. Thus, T'ufan got a territory which was fertile and rich, where they could encamp their troops and pasture their herds. This territory was close to the border with T'ang.

From here, T'ufan again began to revolt against us and led their troops to invade our country. In the autumn of the 2nd year of Kaiyuan (開元 /714), the T'ufan generals, Fentayen (鳩連 燕), Ch'ilihsu (乞力 廉), and others led over 10,000 soldiers, and invaded Lint'aochun (臨洮 車), they further invaded Lanchou and Weichou (蘭 潞 西州), and so forth, and carried off the official sheep and horses. Yangchü (楊 矩) was repentant and afraid of them,

1 Fentayen is Hbon-da rgyal-btsan-zuṅ, and Ch'i-lihsu is Khri-gzu.
2 Lanchou is 甘肅省 金昌市, and Weichou is 甘肅省 陇西縣.
and finally killed himself by drinking poison. Emperor Hsuantung (玄宗) appointed Hsiehna (薛訥), who was the left-wing general of the imperial bodyguard (左翊林將軍), and Wangchun (王晙), who was the vice-president of government records (太僕少卿), to lead the troops to attack them. On the other hand, the Emperor was planning an order to collect troops to chastise them under his own command in large scale, and was going to depart on a fixed day. But suddenly Chun (俊) and others encountered the enemy at Wuchiehyi (武陵驛) in Weiyuan (渭源), and the vanguard, Wang haiping (王海寛), who was bravely fighting, was killed. But Chun and others, leading the troops, advanced and broke down the T'ufen (army) and killed several 10,000 men, and got back the sheep and horses previously captured by the T'ufen. The remnants of the enemy fled, but they all died pillaging one another. Because of this scene, the water of the river T'iao (洮) appeared to stop from flowing.

The Emperor then gave up his own plans to proceed, and ordered Ni joshui (倪若水) to go there to investigate the military situation. Ni joshui mourned over the death of Wang haiping (王海寛), and returned. T'ufen sent their chief minister Tsunngoyintzu (宗俄因子) to the T'ao river (洮河) to mourn over their casualties and lost soldiers, and then they came to the border to ask for peace, but the Emperor refused.
From this date on, the T'ufan successfully invaded the border every year, and Kuo chi hyun (郭知運) and Wang chun p'i (王君璧) were consecutively appointed governor-general of Hohsi (河西節度使) to defend them (the area). T'ufan was relying upon their own strength, and whenever their dispatches were sent to us, they asked for equal rites as in enemy's country; in addition to that, their language was very elegant. To this, the Emperor was very angry. When the imperial ceremony of the sacrifice to the mount (of T'aishan)\(^2\) finished, Chang shou (張說), who was president of the imperial secretaries, persuaded the Emperor that "T'ufan is hostile and rebellious, thus they deserve to be destroyed ten thousand times; however, to do expedition (against them) will practically result in distress and defeat. Up to this day, over 10 years, soldiers have been continually enlisted from various places such as Kan, Liang, Ho, and Shan, and even though there were victories from time to time, it (our army) was still unable to recover what had been lost. I have heard that T'ufan is now repentant for their mistakes and that, in turn, they now ask for peace. I wish Your Majesty would

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1 In the text, it is written "敵國之禮", which refers to equal ceremony between the two countries as between two teams in a game.

2 It must be T'aishan (泰山), which was worshipped as God. Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary, p. 862.
send an envoy to accept their vows of submission so as to pacify the border; then the people's lives will be very prosperous." The Emperor then said to him to wait until the Emperor had consulted with Wang chunp'i (王君璧). Shou (説), as he stepped out, said to Yuan kanyao (源乾曜): "Chunp'i is brave, but he has no plan, he always thinks of encountering lucky chances. How can peace between the two countries succeed? As soon as Chunp'i comes in the court and states his plan, then my advice will be disregarded." Soon Chunp'i came to the court and reported the situation, and requested to lead troops to penetrate the enemy's territory and chastise them.

In the first month of the 15th year (1727), Chunp'i led the troops and defeated T'ufan to the west of Ch'ing-hai (青海), and seized their baggage wagons, sheep as well as horses, and then he returned. The fact is that before this, the T'ufan general Hsinolu (悉諾邏), at the head of their army, had invaded Tatouku (大斗谷); he also attacked Kan-chou (甘州), and burned towns and villages. But Chunp'i was afraid of the enemy's prowess, and dared not go out and fight. At that time, there was a great snow fall; consequently a large number of the T'ufan

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1 Ch'inghai is Kokonor.
2 The T'ufan general Hsinolu is sTag-sgra.
3 Tatouku may also be written as 大斗楓谷 or 大斗楓谷.
troops froze to death, and finally the T'ufan troops, taking the route west of the Chishinchün (積雪等), withdrew. Chunp'i had previously ordered some of his men to go secretly to the enemy's territory and burn all the grass along the road through which the enemy was withdrawing. The retiring army of sTag-sgra (悉諾邏) reached up to the mountain of Tafei (大非山) and the warriors put off their armours and released the horses, but the grass was all exhausted, thus more than half of the horses died.

Chunp'i, along with Chang chingshun (張景順), who was governor of Chinchou (疊州), led the troops as far as the west of Chinghai (Kokonor) to attack them by the rear. At that time, the water was frozen, so the warriors marched upon the ice and crossed the lake. Meanwhile, sTag-sgra had already crossed the river Tafei (大非河), but his baggage wagon-troops as well as the disabled soldiers had been left behind, at the shore of the Kokonor. Chunp'i let his troops capture them, and then the troops returned.

In the 9th month of that year (Kaiyüan 15), the T'ufan generals, Hsinolo kunglu (悉諾邏泰祿) and Chulung mangpuchih (媚龍莽布支) attacked and invaded the city of Kuachou

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1 Chishinchün is the area of 青海省黃德等東方.
2 The mountain Tafei must be near the Tafei river.
3 Hsinolu kunglu is sTag-sgra khon-lod, and Chulung mangpuchih is Tsog-ro maň-po-rje.
capturing the governor, T'ien yuansien, the father of Wang chunp'i, Shou, and all the military supplies as well as the food; furthermore they destroyed the city, and then they left. But they successively invaded Yümengchün and Ch'anglohsien. The governor of Ch'anglohsien defended the city unusually (hard) for 80 days until the enemy retired. However, it came all the sudden that Wang chunp'i was killed by one of the Huiho contingent (contingent who had remained in the area). The Emperor then appointed the president of the board of war, Hsiao Sung, to the post of governor-general of Hohsi, and took Chang shoukuei, who was commander of the Chienkang army as well as left-wing general of palace and capital police, (to serve) as governor of Kuachou, to rebuild the city and to call on the people to go back to their original occupations.

At that time, sTag-sgra Khon-lod became famous. Hsiao sung let one of those

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1 Kuachou is 立柱省玉門縣東方.
2 Yümengchün is 甘肅省安西縣.
3 Ch'anglohsien is just about the same area as Kuachou.
4 異 續 is Uiguor.
opposing $\text{Tag-sgra kho$n-lod}$ go to the bTsan-po (賀衛) to report that $\text{Tag-sgra kho$n-lod}$ was secretly communicating with the T'ang court; thereby the bTsan-po summoned $\text{Tag-sgra kho$n-lod}$ and dealt him capital punishment.

In the autumn of the next year (Kaiyüan 16/728), the T'ufan general Hsimolang (呉末郎) led his army and attacked Kuachou, but the governor, Shou kuei (史珪) (also) dispatched an army, and the T'ufan ran away. Chang chungliang (張忠亮), who was governor-general of Lungyü (樓右都虞使) as well as governor of Shanchou (鄯州), led an army to K'opoku (渴波谷), to the south-west of Kokonor, fighting against T'ufan and totally defeating them. Soon after that, both the infantry and cavalry of the T'ang army from Chihshih (積石) and Momen (莫門) arrived there and joined Chungliang's army in pursuing them, and broke down their city of Tamemen (大莫門城), and took over 1,000 people, capturing 1,000 horses, 500 yaks, a large quantity of weapons, and clothes; furthermore they burned their camel bridge, and then the troops came back.

In the 8th month of the same year, Hsiao sung (萇蕃) sent his lieutenant-general, Tu p'ink'o

1 Hsimolang is Sbran, which is the tribal name; his personal name is unknown.

2 The western area of 青海省西宁市.
(杜贇) with 4,000 bowmen to fight against T'ufan near the city wall of Ch'ilien (柴連城下), and fought from morning to sunset in the way of dispersing and uniting repeatedly; to this the T'ufan troops were confused to a great extent. In this battle, one of the T'ufan lieutenant-generals was cut off, and the remaining T'ufan troops ran away to the mountain, and their crying as lamentation was resounded from the four quarters.

When the Emperor first heard of T'ufan's repeated invasion, the Emperor addressed his ministers of the court thus: "T'ufan is overbearing and blood-thirsty, and they invade our territory depending upon their strength. I have just investigated the strong and weak strategical points in the light of the map, and I would like to point out those essentials to the generals, so that it will be certain that the generals will defeat them." In a few days, a message of victory arrived.

In the 17th year (閼元/729), the commander-in-chief of Sofang (朔方大總管), Shinan wangyi (信安王禕), led an army to Lungyü (隆右)¹ and seized the city of Shihp'u (石堡城)², cutting off more than 400 heads,

¹ Lungyü may be the area of the west of the Lungshan (隆山).

² The city of Shihp'u is located in the south-east of Kokonor. It is called mKhar-lcags-rtse in Tibetan.
and capturing over 200 people. Afterwards, Wangyi established a garrison with the Chenwu army in the city of Shihp'u, and the captives were presented to the ancestral temple. Thereupon, T'ufan successively sent their envoys to ask for peace. Accordingly, Huangfu weiming, who was a friend of King Chung, posited to the Emperor that it was useful to maintain a peaceful relation (with T'ufan). The Emperor then told him: "T'ufan bTsán-po formerly sent me a letter, which was disrespectful and written in improper terms, so I resolved to punish him. How can I (now) attain peace with them?" Weiming then said that "at the beginning of Kaiyuan, the bTsán-po was a young boy. How could he do such things by himself? It certainly is the case that the generals on the border forged the letter in order to get temporary merits, and it just happened that the letter made Your Majesty angry. Both countries are already fighting, organizing troops, and mobilizing their people. Consequently, the soldiers, taking advantage of the situation, openly engage in stealing and forging merit credentials, thus seeking the high rank to be conferred upon them for their merits. Thus, this is harmful to an immensurable degree. How can there be any gain to the country? Now, the people of Hohsi (河西) and Lungyü (陇右) are worn out and exhausted due to such facts. May Your Majesty send a mission to see princess Chinch'eng
(金成公主), subsequently to talk with the bTsan-po directly, and if the bTsan-po yields to be Your Majesty's subject, the border area will be peaceful for long. May I express (my conviction) that this is the way of pacifying the people forever?" The Emperor accepted his words, and sent Weiming (唯明) and the eunuch, Chang yüanfang (張元方) on a mission of inquiry to T'ufan. Weiming, Yüanfang, and others arrived to T'ufan, and they met the bTsan-po as well as the princess (金成公主). They expressed the Emperor's opinion in detail to the bTsan-po, the bTsan-po and others rejoiced at the prospect of peace, and the bTsan-po brought out all the imperial written documents since the time of Chenkuan (貞觀) to show them to Weiming and the rest. The bTsan-po appointed his high minister Ming-hsi-lieh (名喜徳) to follow Weiming and his colleagues to the T'ang court and present the bTsan-po's statement saying: "I, who am your son-in-law, was on intimate terms with the former Emperor (中宗), who was my maternal uncle. Furthermore, our marriage with princess Chinch'eng peacefully made both countries one family, and the people under heaven became peaceful. But Chang hsüanpiao (張玄表) and Li chihku (李知古)

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1 Ming-hsi-lieh is mYe-slebs.

2 Since the marriage of Sron-btsan sgam-po with princess Wench'eng, it has been handed down in Tibet that the relation between the two countries is uncle-nephew.
and others began to mobilize armies and horses both in the east and the west, and attacked T'ufan. Consequently, the border armies were attacking each other, and finally the relation became sour up to now. I, who am your nephew, deeply realize the relation between the superior and the inferior, because of the marriages of former princess Wench'eng (文成公主) and the present princess Chinch'eng (金成公主). Thus, how could I lose my propriety? However, I was young, and I merely accepted the misrepresentations and the struggles of the border generals. And such was the cause that made my uncle become estranged about it. I humbly wish you to investigate the circumstances, and if the circumstances are clearly understood to you, I will be satisfied even if I should be put to death. Formerly, I sent (you) my envoys several times, but they were not allowed to go through by the border generals. Therefore, I could not deliver my message. Last winter, Princess Chinch'eng sent envoy Lou-chung-shih-jo (呂中紇) with a message, and at that time you (uncle) turned to the envoy and asked him how the princess was. I, your nephew, was extremely glad at this. Now, I am sending Yü-ming-hsi-lieh (論名悉徳) \(^1\) and assistant envoy Lang-hsieh-ho-yeh-hsi-lien (琅邪懷恩), who is general of the

\(^1\) 論 in 論名悉徳 must be 論. 論 means minister in this text.
guard, to escort my message to your court and present it respectfully, and to negotiate both countries' problems. mYe-slebs (名悉髙) knows everything about my ideas. Meanwhile, I, your nephew, have already ordered the border generals not to attack. If there is a man of T'ang who comes to submit himself, I will order him back. I sincerely wish you, my uncle, to examine my sincere heart from a far distant place, and relying upon the good olden days, let the people be peaceful for long. Should I receive the Holy Emperor's favour, this nephew will not dare oppose the alliance for 1,000 or 10,000 years (to come). Now, I respectfully contribute one golden bottle, one golden plate, one golden bowl, one agate cup, and one map weaved by the feather of sheep¹ as the tribute due from the inferior country. Princess Chinch'eng also presents (you with) a gold duck-shaped plate, a gold cup, and various other articles separately."

In the 18th year (開元 /730), on the 10th month, mYe-slebs (名悉髙) and the rest arrived to the capital. The Emperor proceeded to the Hsuancheng palace-hall and received the comitiva in plain view of the fact that the Emperor was surrounded by his armed guards. mYe-slebs knew Chinese characters quite well; formerly, when he had come to Ch'angan (長安) to receive princess Chinch'eng, all the people in the

¹ In the text, it is "*$", but it is not clear what kind of sheep that was.
court had praised his ability and expression. The Emperor invited him inside to a banquet and conversed with him, and treated him very graciously. The Emperor then offered a purple robe, a gold girdle, a fish-shaped tally with seasonal clothes, silk, and coloured fabrics, a silver plate, and a wine vase, and afterwards, he (mYe-slebs) was also very warmly treated at another palace building. mYe-slebs (名 慕 斯) received the robe and the vessels, but refused to accept the fish-shaped tally with the excuse that "In my native country, there is no such metal to put on. I dare not keep such a holy rare gift."\(^1\) The Emperor praised him and consented. The Emperor appointed Ts’ui lin (崔 林), who was censor, to proceed on a mission to T’ufan to escort the gifts. And at the Chiling (赤 鎮),\(^2\) the envoys together built a tower of demarcation and promised each other not to encroach beyond the demarcation line.

Around this time, the T’ufan envoy persuaded the Emperor that the princess wants the **book of poetry** (毛 詩), the **book of propriety** (禮 記), Cho-ch’uan (左 傳), and Wen-shüan (文 選), one of each. The Emperor was going to issue a decree to the bureau of secretaries to make a copy of them

\(^1\) This is a credential consisting of two pieces: one is kept in the palace, and another piece is carried by the envoy.

\(^2\) Chiling may be located at the south of Kokonor.
to give to the princess. But Yü hsiulieh (于休烈), who was the official document writer, posited to the Emperor that "your servant heard that the barbarians are plunderers of our country. These books are the classics of our country. The inborn nature of the barbarians cannot be left alone without being checked. The classics contain ever-lasting systems, they should not be given to others. It is said in the classics that 'the border people should not plot against the central government, and the barbarians should not trouble T'ang.' Therefore, the way to correct their mind is that, if there is readiness within our country, then they will not trouble us. In the olden days, when King Tungping (東平王) came to court to ask for Shih-chi (史記) and other classics, the Emperor of the Han dynasty refused to give them (to him). This was because there are many descriptions of war strategy in Shih-chi, and in other classics there are descriptions of techniques on how to trick the enemy. Thus, even though King Tungping (東平王) was a relative of the Han dynasty court, the court did not want to show him classics containing war affairs. At

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1 In the text, "尚不謀夏, 虢不亂華", which is in 孔子表語, 祑魯, 第一.

2 King Tungping was son of 皇帝 (73 B.C.-49 B.C.) during the Han dynasty. During the reign of Emperor 成帝 (32 B.C.-7 B.C.), King Tungping asked for the classics, but was rebuked because 雙風, who was the grand general, and others disliked giving the classics to him.
present, the western barbarians are the plunderers of our country; how would it be possible to offer them the classics? Furthermore, as far as I have heard, the inborn nature of T'ufan is endowed with energetic, resolute, keen, and sharp (powers), yet their academic works have not been eagerly carried out. Therefore, if they should familiarize themselves with Shih-chi, they will surely become skillful for war. If they acquire deep knowledge of the book of poetry (詩 ), then it will be known (by them) that if a military man has an army, then he will be able to defend (his own). If they acquire deep knowledge of the book of propriety (禮 ), then they will know that in "Yüeh-ling" (月令) there is a description concerning the time to discharge and enlist soldiers. If they acquire deep knowledge of Cho-ch'uan (左傳 ), then they will know that there are many cheating devices in tactics. If they acquire deep knowledge of Wen-shūan (文選 ), then they will know that there are letters and dispatches in (martial) communication. How much difference will there be between relying on the enemy and supporting those who are stealing our food? What I have heard is that Lu (魯 ) upheld the propriety of Chou (周 ), therefore Chi (齊 ) did not attack them.

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1 Yüeh-ling (月令), Li-chi.

2 In the original text, it is "喜權之制". 制 must be a mistake for 帝 (regulation).

3 Cho-ch'uan (左傳), 資政二十六年條, 資十八.
And Wu (呉) attacked Ch'u (楚) with war carriages, therefore Ch'u got tired of running from them.  

One thing is that by means of keeping the classics (to ourselves), we protect the country, and another thing is that by not being able to modify the law, the country becomes endangered. Such things should be carefully considered. However, with princess Chinch'eng (金成公主) married, her status is that of dependence to her husband. She should, in that far distant place, familiarize herself with the barbarian customs, even if she should want the classics. Your humble subject thinks that this is not her own opinion, but probably that of those who fled to T'ufan from T'ang and told their central government (about the classics). Your Highness, if you worry about hurting their ideas, and for the sake of our country's faith, Your Highness cannot but help, (but) I beg you to leave out the Spring-autumn ( 春秋 ). When the virtue of Chou (周) became weak, the feudal lords became strong, and when the rite as well as the music were adopted, they began fighting each other. Under these circumstances, falsehood prevailed and deceitful messages sprang out, that is to say, there is a story according to which a subject summoned the Emperor, or one had the power to seize his ruler. If these valuable books are given (out), this country will be endangered. It is said in Cho-ch'uan (左傳) 

1 Cho-ch'uan, 齊桓公年本,卷四
that Yü hsi ( 書 郡 ) asked for Chiuhsien ( 書 郡 ) and P'angyin ( 魚 賞 ), but Confucius said: 'It is better to give lots of towns rather than those things. The official title and the carriage clothes should not be given to anybody.' The barbarians are covetous and avaricious, they value properties while they disregard land very easily. Therefore, suppose they are presented with silk, fabrics, and treated gracefully with jades and jewels; should it be still necessary to have to follow their request in terms of increasing their knowledge? Your servant is an unworthy one, nevertheless holds the important duty of taking care of the records. But your humble servant regrets that the classics should be given to the barbarians. At the risk of his life, your humble subject presents this memorandum for the careful consideration of Your Majesty." The memorandum was presented to the Emperor, but there was no reply.

In the 21st year of Kaiyüan (開元 /733), there was another decree issued to the president of the board of the works (工部尚書), Li hao (李 耀), (ordering him) to go to T'ufan on a friendly mission. In those days, whenever T'ang envoys entered into the

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1 Chiuhsien (曲 郡 ) is an official title, and P'angyin ( 魚 賞 ) are the official clothes or uniform in ancient times.

2 Yühsı ( 書 郡 ) was a good person, but did not possess the ability to be an official, so Confucius said it is better to give him towns or land than an official title.
border, T'ufan used to dispatch a powerful armed force with horses. Thus, they were proud of showing off their military power. In the 22nd year of Kaiyüan (開元 /734), General Li ch'uan (李 俠) was sent to erect a stone monument at Chihling (赤 琳) to mark the frontier demarcation line with T'ufan. In the 24th year of Kaiyüan (開元 /736), in the 1st month, T'ufan sent their mission and contributed their native products,¹ gold and silver as well as several hundreds of precious ornaments. The forms of all the ornaments changed, then the Emperor exhibited the things outside the gate T'ihsian (提 豪門), and showed them to his officials. In this same year, T'ufan attacked the west of Polü (勃 兒),² and Polü sent their envoy to the T'ang court to report on the emergency. The Emperor sent his envoy to T'ufan to put down their arms, but T'ufan did not listen to the suggestion, and finally they conquered the Polü country. The Emperor was very angry.

At that time, Ts'ui hsiih (崔 師), who was the head of the guard (散騎常侍), became governor-general of Hohsi (河西), and garrisoned with troops at Liangchou (涼 州). In the meantime, T'ufan built a tree-palisade as the frontier mark on T'ang and stationed their guards along the palisade. Hsiih

¹ 方物 refers to a given native product.
² Polü in Tibetan is bRu-ça. It is Gilgit.
(希逸) told T'ufan general Khri-gzu (乞力plist) that "the two countries are (now) at peace, why should we have to guard and hinder the people seeding? I would like to request that we all give up defending (against) each other and become one family. How could it be bad?" Khri-gzu replied: "I suppose you, the governor, are sincere and certainly your word is truthful, but I am afraid that both of the central governments do not trust each other. If there is someone on your side preparing armed forces and attacks us unprepared, then we will repent for (having done) nothing." Nevertheless, Hsiiih (希逸) firmly urged this, and finally sent an envoy and concluded a treaty with Khri-gzu (乞力plist) by sacrificing a white dog (白犬). Consequently, both sides withdrew their troops. After this, domestic animals raised by T'ufan came to cover the fields. Soon after, Sun hui (孫謙), who was working for Hsiiih (希逸), went to the court and reported the circumstances. Hui (論), wishing to praise himself, reported to the Emperor that T'ufan was unprepared, so if the troops were sent to attack them, there would certainly be victory. The Emperor then sent Chao huitsung (趙惠琮), who was the interior servant, hastily to return with Sun hui (孫謙) to investigate the situation. When Huitsung and his group arrived in Liangchou (涼州), they feigned a decree and ordered Hsiiih (希逸) to attack T'ufan. Hsiiih could not help but obeyed them, and he inflicted a great
defeat on the T'ufan (army) around the Ch'inghai (青 海). As a consequence, there was a great deal of killing and much capturing of T'ufan. Khri-gzu ran away without even weapons. Huitsung and Sun hui were both rewarded with valuable presents. Since then, T'ufan stopped sending their tributes. Hsiih was discontent with the fighting because he had broken his faith (word), and he was saddened at the army. Soon he was transferred to be the governor of Honan. Having arrived to the capital, Hsiih and Chao huitsung saw the specter of a white dog. And one after another they died. Sun hui was also a criminal, and he was punished by execution.

A decree was issued appointing Hsiao lin ( 萧 震), who was the governor of Chichou ( 岐 州), as vice-president of revenue and population (户 部侍郎) to govern Liangchou ( 漣 州), in place of Hsi ( 希), and also (to serve) as governor-general of Hohsi ( 河 西); the military governor of Shanchou ( 鄉 州), T'u hsiwang ( 杜 望), (was appointed) governor-general of Lungyü ( 龍 楮); the eunuch Wang hao ( 王 豪) (was appointed to serve) as the senior official ( 長 史) as well as governor-general of Chiennan ( 剑 南). Thus, in dividing the political divisions of the provinces, the Emperor let them govern the divisions to attack T'ufan. In this, the stone-tower of the demarcation was broken down.

In the year of 26th (開 元 /738), on the 4th month, T'u hsiwang, leading his troops, attacked a new
fortress of T'ufan and obtained it. It was called the fortress of Weiwu-chun,\(^1\) and he stationed (there) with 1,000 soldiers. In that year, on the 7th month, Hsiwang again dispatched troops from Shanchou and captured the T'ufan bridge\(^2\) and built a fortress Yench'uan\(^3\) at the left side of the river.

About 30,000 T'ufan troops faced the imperial troops, but Hsiwang, leading his troops, defeated them. Then, he stationed his troops in Chenhsi at the fortress of Yench'uan. Just at this time, Wang hao, on the one hand, led his Chinese troops and attacked the T'ufan Anjung fortress, and built up two fortresses at both sides of the Anjung fortress as bases for attacking as well as defending. He also stationed his troops at the valley of the P'enpo-ling,\(^3\) and by gathering army supplies and food in the province of Chennan, he defended the two fortresses.

On the 9th month of the same year, T'ufan trained their troops well, and regained the fortress of Anjung. The imperial army was defeated, and both fortresses fell to the enemy. Hao ran

\(^{1}\) In shin T'ang-shu, it is 威戎軍.

\(^{2}\) A bridge at the upper Yellow River.

\(^{3}\) The P'enpo-ling is in 四川省.
away by himself, while several 10,000 soldiers, food, and other army supplies were all lost to the enemy. Hao was punished by law, and demoted to governor of K'uochoh (括州)\(^1\). Formerly, when Hao had been in the army, he mistakenly squandered on his son money and silks immensurably. Furthermore, without authority, he gave his son purple robes, and so forth. Thus, he wasted a great amount of valuables. Hao was punished on this matter by the law, and again demoted to (the post of) lieutenant of Tuanchou-kaoyao (鎮州),\(^2\) and there he died.

In the 27th year (739), on the 7th month, the T'ufan again attacked the garrisons of Paihsao (白草) and Anjen (安人).\(^3\) To this, a decree was issued to the armies of Lingt'ao and Sofang (臨洮 等方) to support them each separately. Just at that time, T'ufan put their soldiers on the midway and blocked off the road of the Lingt'ao army (臨洮軍). Kao chienyu (高秉于), who was the commander of the Paisui army (白水軍), defended against the T'ufan for some twenty days. And finally the enemy began to withdraw. Shu huo (屛光) let one of his generals pursue and defeat them.

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\(^1\) K'uochoh is 浙江省衢州衢南.

\(^2\) Tuanchou-kaoyao is 应州應州.

\(^3\) 白草 may be a mistake for 白水. 白水軍 was located to the north-west of 御州.
After Wang hao (王晧) was defeated, a decree ordered Chang yu (張 省), who was the governor of Huachou (華州), (to serve) as governor of Ichou (義州) and also as commander-in-chief of Chiennan (劍南防禦使); (the decree also ordered) Changchieu-chienching (章仇兼瓊), who was the auxiliary secretary to the board of foreigners (主客兼外部), (to serve) as deputy commander of the bureau of war in Ichou. But Yu was a civilian, and had never had war plans; consequently Chien ch'ing (錢 璋) took over the role of commanding the army, just as he wished. Soon, Chien ch'ing (錢 璋) made a report eagerly stating the strategy to take over the Anjung fortress (安戎城). The Emperor was very delighted, and promoted Chang yu (張 省) to the post of president of the imperial banquet (光祿卿), and then appointed Chien ch'ing (錢 璋) to act as governor-general of Ichou (義州), and also to command the army in place of Chang yu (張 省). Thus, the Emperor himself planned to take over the fortress.

In the 28th year (開元 / 740), in the spring, Chien ch'ing (錢 璋) entered into a secret relation with Ti-tu-chü (羅都局) of T'ufan in the T'ufan fortress along with Tung ch'engyen (董承胤), who was at Piehchia (別 賢) in Weichou (維州), and others. Finally, Tu-chü (都 局) and others turned over their fortress and submitted themselves, and let the imperial army go into the fortress and
kill the T'ufan officers and the warriors. Hsu yuan (舒遠), who was a censor, was let to lead the troops to garrison the fortress. The Emperor, when he heard about it, was very pleased. Li linfu (李林甫), who was the prime minister (中書令) and others, stated in memorandum that "in our humble opinion, this fortress of T'ufan is placed on an important route. It is at a high and dangerous place, so it has to be naturally strong. The T'ufan, relying upon the fortress, watched the border, and for years they gathered like ants and made trouble. Even if there were one million soldiers (at our disposal), it would still seem hard to bring about good results. Your Majesty devised a secret plan, and, without using military force, sent envoy Li ssuching (李思敬) to proclaim (Your authority to) the Ch'iang tribes (蠻族). And there was not one of the tribes who was not grateful for Your Majesty's favour. Thus, they changed their mind, and they themselves planned to make the fortress fall. Your Majesty's divine policy is incommensurable, and it reflects upon the future. Those who escaped punishment for years were now swept in one morning. Again, speaking of the problems today, Your Majesty was as usual in appearance, and plainly said: 'You, all the officers, will see the barbarians from the four directions gradually

1 中書令 may be translated as the president of the imperial secretaries.
destroyed.' As soon as Your Majesty's virtuous words were pronounced, your humble servants knew that Your Majesty and Heaven are united together. It resembles to resounding. From ancient times to this day, no such thing has ever happened. Your humble servants beg you to proclaim this thing to all the officers, and to record it in the annals." The imperial pen replied that "this fortress has been firmly garrisoned by T'ufan, who were led by the Ch'iang tribes during the period of Ifeng (儀風 /676-678). Since then considerable time has passed, and there were also many fightings, but that area was so impenetrable that all our efforts were futile. In court, all the officials talked about it, but they concurred that it (the fortress) was impossible to siege. However, I, relying upon the ignorance of the small Fan (小番), resolved that the problem could be solved, and devised a skillful plan, which was carried out. We got the trust of the barbarians, thus we came to garrison the fortress. It really is sufficient for us to rejoice."

On the 10th month of that year, T'ufan again assaulted the fortress of Anjung (安戎城) and Weichou (維州). Changch'iu chiench'iung (章仇兼瓊) sent his adjutant-general, who led the army to defend them against the enemy, and also dispatched the cavalry of Kuanchung (關中) to support the army. At this time, it was really cold; finally the enemy, after a long time, withdrew. A decree was issued to change the name of the fortress of Anjung (安戎城)
into fortress of P'ingjung (平戎城).

In the 29th year (開元 /741), in spring, princess Chinch'eng (金成公主) passed away. T'ufan sent their envoy to deliver the message. And they (also) asked for peaceful relations, but the Emperor did not consent. It was not until a few months had elapsed since the envoy came that the mourning ceremony for the princess was performed outside the gate of Kuanshun (光順門), and the court was closed for three days.

On the 6th month, the T'ufan army of 400,000 assaulted the Ch'engfengpao (承風堡), and then advanced to Changningchiao (長寧橋), on the west of Hoyüanchün (河源津), and still further to the Yunhaifen of Anjenchün (安仁澤崖峽). The cavalry general, Ch'eng hsiyeh (盛希烈), with an army of 5,000 men, defeated them. In the 12th month, T'ufan again invaded the fortified city of Shihpao (石堡城). The governor-general, Kai chiayun (蓋嘉遜), was unable to defend it, so the Emperor (玄宗) was very angry about it. At the beginning of Tienpao (天寶), Huangpu weiming (皇甫維明) and Wang chungssu (王忠嗣)

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1 In the text, 吐蕃派遣便告哀. This must be a mistake for 吐蕃遣便告哀.

2 安仁崖 must be the same as 安人崖, which was located to the west of 郃州. In the text, it already appeared. See the description of 739 A.D.
were appointed governor-general of Lunyū (隴右) one after the other, but both of them were unable to conquer. In the 7th year (天官、748), Ko shukan (哥舒翰) was appointed governor-general of Lunyū. He attacked and gained the fortified city of Shihp'ū (石堡城), and he changed the name of the city to Shinwuchūn (神武軍).

In the 14th year of tienpao (天官、755), the bTsan-po (賀普), Khri-sron lde-brtsan (乞禿蘇範贊), died. Then the ministers elected his son P'o-sron lde-brtsan (婆悉蘇範贊) to be their leader as well as their bTsan-po (賀普) 1. Emperor Hsientsung (玄宗) appointed Ts'ui kūang-yūan (崔光遠), who was lieutenant-mayor of the capital (京城少尹), to the post of censor, and the Emperor dispatched him with a special credential (節) along with an imperial letter to offer condolences and mourn over the death of the bTsan-po. When Kūanyūan (光遠) returned, An lushan (安祿山) already occupied Loyang (洛陽), and the court appointed Ko shuhan (哥舒翰) (to serve) as commander of the armies of Hoshi (河西) and Lungyū (隴右).

1 The text must be mistaken. The transcription of "乞禿蘇範贊" is Khri-sron lde-brtsan, but "返悉蘇範贊" is undefinable in the Tibetan source. The fact is that Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan (乞禿蘇範) died, and his son Khri-sron lde-brtsan inherited. See 西藏王統記.
And the armies were stationed at T'ungkuan (潼 关 ).

In the olden days, Chin ( 秦 ) took the west of Lungshan ( 龙 山 ) as the prefecture of Lungshi ( 龙 西 郡 ), and Han ( 漢 ) kindly treated the northern Hsiungnu ( 匈 奴 ), leading them to the south of the Yellow river, and founded the prefectures such as Kutsang ( 呼 嘉 ), Changyeh ( 张 掖 ), Chiuch'uan ( 酒 泉 ), Iwu ( 伊 吐 ), and so forth for them. And beyond the Taklamakan desert ( 砜 畔 ), a western viceroy was founded to control the western people. Furthermore, Lungshi ( 龙 西 ) was divided into the provinces of Chinch'eng ( 金 成 ) and Hsip'ing ( 西 平 ), and so forth. And in these provinces the mixed tribe of T'i and Chang ( 襄 ) were let to live. During the historical turmoil, there were always learned people and heroes living there, but now due to the acute barbarians' invasion, it became a wasteland, and it has been so already for some thousand years.

In the beginning of Wute ( 武 德, 618-626), Hsien jenkao ( 薛 仁 焦 ) acquired the territory of

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1 潼 关 was located about 40 Li to the east of 陕西省 虢 城.

2 In the text, it is " 河 在 ". It can be translated as the south of the Yellow river.

3 薛 仁 焦 ( 薛 焦 ) was a hero in 西 朝 during the time of the late 唐 dynasty. Later he fought with 李 世 民 ( 唐 太 宗 ), and he was killed.
of Lungshang (隆上), further he went as far as the Yellow river, and there he captured Li fu (李敷) and possessed all the fortresses of Liangchou (凉州), furthermore he advanced through the Taklamakan desert. During the time of Chenkuan (貞覲 /627-649), Li ching (李靖) defeated the T'ukuhun (吐谷渾), and Hou chünchi (侯君集) subdued Kao ch'ang (高昌), also Ashina shersh (阿史那社爾) opened up the western territory. Then four military posts (四鎮) were founded. And the people whom the former Emperor could not subdue, now became the subjects of the empire. Thus, even one discusses the border problems of Ch'in and Han (秦漢), there is nothing really to talk about it.

In this year (14th year of 天竺), all the active men in Shangtung (山東) were trained as soldiers, and taking the silks as the army fund, farming fields were also made in order to support the army supplies, and by herding the animals, increased the number of sheep and horses. The large army consisted of 10,000 men, while the small army consisted of 1,000 men. The guards for the beacon-fires and the patrolmen joined one after another in 10,000 Li (里)¹ to keep away the hostile enemy.

As for the province of Lungyü (隆右), the governor-general was stationed at Shanchou (鄯州); for the province of Anshi (安西), the governor-
general was stationed at P'eit'ing; and for the Kuan nei area, there was the governor-general for the northern region at Lingchou.\footnote{Lingchou is 宁夏省灵武县.} Thus, they were defending against the Fan. But the defense of Tung-kuan was lost, consequently the military operations at the Yellow river and Losuei were hindered. Therefore, the generals and the soldiers of Hohsi, Lungyü, Hsifang were gathered to return to the Kuan nei region to clear up the domestic difficulties. This was called Shing-ing.\footnote{At this time, there was no preparation of the army in the border areas. In this, after Kanyüan, T'ufan, taking the chance out of us, seized the fortresses of the borders daily. There were people who were captured, wounded, killed, or who died at the valleys. Several years later, the western region of Fengshang,\footnote{Fengshang is 陕西省凤翔县.} and the northern region of Fengchou\footnote{Fengchou is 陕西省邠县.} were all become to belong to the barbarians, and those which were fallen into their control were several 10s of prefectures.}\footnote{In the first year of Sutsung, on the first month, T'ufan sent their envoy}
to our court and requested peace. There, a decree was issued to the ministers, Kuo ssui (郭子儀), Su hua (蘇 篤), Chang tsungching (張逢慶), and others to entertain them at the imperial hall of Chungshu, and to go to the Dept. Kuangtse (光宅寺)\(^1\) to conclude the alliance with smearing the blood of the three animals.\(^2\) But they did not go to the department as the T'ufan wanted to go to the Dept. of Hunglu (鴻臚寺) on the next day to do it with the blood. Therefore, the court followed the barbarians' propriety.

In the 1st year of Paoying (寶應 /762), on the 6th month, two Tibetan envoys, Chufan (咄 番) and Mangerh (莽 耳),\(^3\) and others came to court and contributed valuable things. The Emperor then invited them to the hall of Yenying (延英殿) and expressed a complimentary word along with presents to each of them according to their ranks. The western mountain of Chiennan province (劍南道) are bordering with T'ufan, T'i, and Ch'iang tribes (吐蕃 , 氐 , 先族). Ever since Wute (武德 ), political prefecture was established, consequently

\(^1\) 光宅寺 is one of the nine departments in the government.

\(^2\) 三牲血 refers to the blood of ox, horse, and sheep.

\(^3\) Chufan is undefinable in the Tibetan source, Mangerh is Mañ-rje, which is Mañ-po-rje.
garrisons were stationed there. That is to say, it was Tsolu (管路)\(^1\) during the period of the Han dynasty, but since Kanyūan (乾元), it fell into the hands of T'ufan. In the 2nd year of Paoying (宝应 / 763), on the 3rd month, Li chihfang (李之芳), who was the left-wing cavalry commander concurrently the censor (左散騎常侍兼御史大夫), and Ts'ui lung (崔倫), who was the auxiliary official concurrently the censor (左衞子兼御史中丞) were sent to T'ufan as envoys, but when they arrived to the border, they were held by the T'ufan.

In the 1st year of Kuangte (康德, /763), on the 9th month, T'ufan encroached and the city Chingchou (絳州) was fallen into their hands. On the 10th month, T'ufan encroached upon Fenchou (鄜州), and Fengtienshien (奉天縣) was fallen into them. In this, Kuo tzui (郭子儀) was dispatched to defend the western region from T'ufan. But T'ufan with more than 200,000 troops of T'ukuhun (吐谷渾), Tanghsiang (唐項), and Ch'iang (羌) was marching toward east from Lungkiiantu (龍光度). Consequently, Kuo tzui (郭子儀) returned with his troops, and the Emperor went to Shanchou (陝州).\(^2\) The capital

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1 The character Tso in Tsolu is not a modern character. However, Tsolu may be a name of location during the period of the Han dynasty.

2 Shanchou is 河南省陝東.
division of the army lost their defense and General Kao hsi (高輝), who submitted himself to the enemy, led the T'ufan into the capital, and together with the T'ufan General Ma-chung-ing (馬重英), erected Ch'enghung (承宏), who was the King Kuang-wu (黃武王) and the son of the former King Pin (祭王) as the Emperor. Then, they established the style of the Emperor's reign, carrying out the general pardon, and appointed the government officials. Among them the inferior official (司封), Tsui huan (崔環) and others were appointed as the ministers. Kuo tzui (郭子儀) retreated with his imperial army to the south, and there he maintained Shangchou (南州), while T'ufan stayed in the capital (長安) fifteen days until they withdrew. The imperial army recovered the capital, and Kuo tzui (郭子儀) became as the keeper of the capital (留守).

In the beginning, when the Emperor went to the

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1 高輝 may be written as 高輝. He was the governor of Chingchou (涇州刺史) at that time. He submitted himself to T'ufan. Later, he was killed by a General of the imperial army.

2 Ma-chung is a Tibetan general. It is undefinable why he used the Chinese name. Kao hsi helped Ma-chung-ing to enter the capital Changan, and erected Ch'enghung who was the King Kuangwu as their Emperor. The King Kuangwu was the son of the former King Pin (祭王), and the Princess Chinch'eng was the real daughter of King Pin.
east, the nobles and the imperial relatives all escaped to the area of Chinghsiang (荆襄) in the south, or hid themselves in mountain valleys. And the generals and the soldiers of the six imperial armies (六军), keeping their weapons, began to plunder and their communications were finally cut off. Kuo tzui, leading his soldiers of several hundreds, his wife and children, servants, and other followers, went into the valley of Niushen (牛身). Even though Kuo tzui was still possessing several hundreds of riding horses, oxes for the carriages and so forth, he did not know where he should go. There, Wang yenchang (王延昌), who was the judge of the marching army concurrently the deputy secretary (行军判官中书舍人), and Li ngo (李萼), who was the censor, told Tzui (子仪) that "you are the general commander-in-chief, and our Emperor took refuge to outside. The national affairs are entirely dependent upon you. Now, the strength of T'ufan persecutes us day by day. What are you thinking of the safety in such a valley for? Why are you not going to Shangchou (商州) in the south, to the Emperor's residence?" Tzui (子仪) immediately agreed with them. And Yenchang (延昌) told him that "if T'ufan knows you are going to the south, then they will certainly dispatch their troops and pursue us. If you are going

1 The six imperial armies are 左右翼武, 左右神武, and 左右神策.
through the big way, it will be dangerous. I suppose it is better to take Yūshān way (  玉山路 ), and to go out to their unexpected place." Tzui ( 川 ) also followed the idea, and in turn, Yenchang ( 亜昌 ) and Li ong ( 量 ) followed Tzui. Tzui's troops consisted of more than 1,000 people, and the mountain path which was over 1,000 Li, was narrow and dangerous. Consequently, people could not run. Yenchang ( 亜昌 ) and Ong ( 量 ) were afraid of that if they were pursued by the T'ufan in a narrow path, then they could not help each other in front and back. So when they arrived in Tao huikuo ( 临河口 ), they decided to proceed separately from Tzui ( 川 ). They passed the sharp mountain torrents and climbed up the bent mountain paths, however, they finally arrived to Shangchou ( 南 ). But in advance, Chang chinchieh ( 长 知 節 ), who was the general of the six armies, led several hundreds of his followers, and left Changan ( 長安 ) to Shangchou ( 南 ). (Thus, they arrived there earlier and) by seizing the properties and horses of the officials, intellectuals, and commoners, he and his followers already spent a few days. When Yenchang ( 亜昌 ) and Ong ( 量 ) arrived there, they told Chihchieh ( 知 節 ) that "You are commanding the imperial army, nevertheless, when the imperial troops were defeated, you did not go to the imperial residence (  行 在 ), but you were stuck with your soldiers, and wandering about where to go. Now, the excellency Kuo is the commander-in-chief, and he is
about going to Lonan (漢南). If you restore your officers and soldiers, and instruct them with reward and punishment, and then ask the excellency to come to command them to recover Changan (長安), it will be your merit." Chihchieh (知節) was very glad to hear this. And at this time other generals, such as Tsang hsiliang (臧希謙), Kuo Ch'eng (郭晟), Peng tiying (彭庭盈), Li weishien (李唯銳), and other several people had their own soldiers, and leading several tens of their cavalry in winding paths, they arrived one after another. And then according to the plan, each of them, leading their own soldiers, united into an army and promised not to do plunder. Yenchang (延昌) stayed in the army, but promised with Ong (董) that Ong would take several cavalry to go to meet Tzui (子儀). Ong (董) could meet Tzui (子儀) at a place of over 10 Li from Lonan (漢南), and together with Tzui came back to Shang-chou (商州). All the generals were very glad to meet him, and there they promised to obey Tzui.

Previously, when T'ufan was about going to enter into the capital, the high ex-official, Ing chunch'ing (耿仲卿), took refuge to outside. His saddle horse and clothes were all stolen to the robbers. When Chungch'ing (仲卿) arrived to Lant'ien (藍田),¹ he gathered the scattered troops and other

¹ Lant'ien is 陝西省西安市.
brave warriors, and he found that there were more than 100 people wishing to follow him. Consequently, he could maintain the south of Lant'ien (藍田) and defend there against the T'ufan. However, his army was gradually becoming bigger, and soon it became an army of 1,000 people.

Tzui (子儀) already reached Shangchou, but he was not aware of Chungch'ing's (仲卿) activity. Tzui enlisted men to investigate the strength of the rebels (T'ufan). Ch'uan hsu (全緒), who was the first grandson of the general of the imperial bodyguard (羽林將軍), wanted to go to investigate, so he was sent with 200 cavalry. Also Ti wuch'i (第五琦), who was the guest of the prince, was simultaneously appointed to the post of temporary mayor of the capital, to recover Changan (長安).

When Ch'uan hsu (全緒) reached Hankungwei (韓公唯), he beat the drums in the daytime, and spread out many flags and banners, while he put many fires at nighttime. Thus, he made the T'ufan doubt about it. Meanwhile, Chungch'ing (仲卿) investigated and knew that there was the imperial army around him, so that his strength was becoming stronger and stronger, and finally they came to communicate to each other,\(^1\) and let Tzui (子儀) know

\(^1\) In the text, it is written as 遂相為表裏, which refers to communicate with each other finally.
about the situation. Chungch'ing (中興), with over 200 cavalry, took a detour and crossed the river San (漵 水) right away. The T'ufan were consequently alarmed at it, and they asked the people about it. All the people, deceiving them, replied that "The excellence Kuo (郭) is leading his troops from Shangchou in order to recover Changan. It is a large army, the number of which we do not know." The rebels thought it truthful and withdrew their troops, but there were still some remnants left in the city.

The general Wang fu (王撫) and the general Wang chungsheng (王仲昇), having collected their troops, entered into the city from a park with beating drums and shouting loudly. The army led by Chungching (中興) also entered into the city, and all the T'ufan fled away. Thus, they recovered the imperial capital. Kuo tzui (郭子儀), who was taking the opportunity, was marching and beating drums, and entered into the capital. Consequently, people's minds were at rest.

T'ufan retreated to the far distant Fenghsiang (鳳翔), where the governor-general shut the gates against them. The T'ufan besieged the city for several days. Just at this time, Ma lin (馬璘), who was the governor-general of Chinhsi (鎮西節度使), concurrently the deputy censor, led over 1,000 valiant

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1 Chinhsi is in 甘肃省 隆德县.
cavalry and returning from Hoshi (河西), where he relieved Yang chihlieh (楊志烈), and entered into the city.

At late dawn the next morning, he rode on a fully armed horse and struggled straight forward against the rebels by himself, however, there were some hundreds of his horsemen on both sides to the right and left who followed him. Lin (林) fought desperately with loud shouts. The rebels just became negative and did not dare to withstand him. The rebels were tired and they just retired. On the next day, the rebels, who were boasting of their bravery, came up again to the wall to provoke to fight. Lin (林) then put on his armour and opened up the gate, whereupon the rebels drew back. All of the rebels said, "This general is not afraid of death, unable to withstand, let us withdraw from him," and returned to their original ground of Yüan (原),¹ Hui (會),² Ch'eng (成),³ and Wei (渭),⁴ where they stationed.

On the 12th month, the Emperor returned to the capital. In the 2nd year of Kuangte (康德 1764), on the 5th month, T'ufan sent back Li chihfan (李之芳).

1 Yüan refers to 甘肃省 陇原是西方.
2 Hui refers to 甘肃省 秦遼東.
3 Ch'eng refers to 甘肃省 成果.
4 Wei refers to 甘肃省 陇西果 萬南方面.
On the 9th month, the rebel general Pu-she (僱射) and the prince of Taning prefecture (太子), Puku-huanen (僱固懐恩), dispatched their party members, Fan chih (范 志), Jeng shih (任 敷), and others, from Lingwu (霊 武) to lead the troops of both T'ufan and T'ukuhun to enter into the capital area (Changan). On the 10th month, Huaen's army reached Pinchou (鄜 川) and wanted to fight. The governor-general Pai hsiaote (白 豪德) and the deputy commander-in-chief of the vanguard Kuo feng (郭 鋒), relying upon the walled city, defended the city against them, and blunted the vanguards of the rebels. The rebels, after all, stationed at a place of 20 Li west to Fengt'ienshien (奉天嶽). Kuo tzui (郭子儀) encamped at Fengt'ien (奉天), but kept his army repressed, and did not fight. Kuo feng (郭 鋒) let 250 valiant cavalry and 50 infantry men from the place of 30 Li to the west of Fengchou go into Huaen's camp to destroy. In the consequence, they defeated an army of 5,000 men, cutting off more than 1,000 heads, capturing 85 of them including 4 of their chief generals subdued, and gained 500 horses. On the 11th month, Puku-huaen (僱固懷恩) withdrew with his T'ufan army. In the 2nd year of Kuangte (廣 德, /764), the governor-general of Hohsi (河西), Yang chih-olieh (楊 志烈), was besieged by the T'ufan, nevertheless, he defended the city for several years. The city was finally isolated without getting the relief troops. There, he had a chance to jump out of the
city and fled westwards to Kanchou (甘州), \(^1\) and Liangchou (涼州) consequently fell into the hands of the enemy.

In the 1st year of Yingtai (永泰 /765), on the 3rd month, T'ufan asked for peace. The ministers, Yuan tsai (元載), Tu hungchien (杜鴻渐), and others were let to conclude the alliance at the temple of Hsingt'ang (慶唐寺), but it was stopped.

In the autumn, on the 9th month, P'uku-huaen (僕固懷恩) enticed the armies of T'ufan and Huiho (吐蕃遠征之眾) to attack the south side of the imperial residence area. The T'ufan generals Shang-chiehhsii tsanmo (尚結息賀魔), \(^2\) Shang-hsi tung-tsant (尚悉東贊), \(^3\) Shang-yehhsii (尚野應), \(^4\) and Ma-chunging (馬重英) \(^5\) were leading an army of 200,000 men and came to the border of Fengt'ien (奉天). The governor-general of Pinchou (邠州), Po shiaote ( bols德), was unable

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1 In Shin T'ang-shu, 千州 is written as 頭州, which may be correct.

2 尚結息賀魔 may be two persons; one is 費結息 (Shaṅ rgyal-gzigs), and another person may be 尚賀魔 (Shaṅ btsan-ba). See Demievil le, P., Le concile de Lhasa (Paris, 1952), p. 290.

3 尚悉東贊 may be Shaṅ stön-brtsan.

4 尚野應 may be Shaṅ rgyal-gzigs. This may be the person 尚結息 or 尚賀魔.

5 馬重英 is Stag-sgra klu-khon.
to withstand them, and the capital city was alarmed. Previously, the vanguard-cavalry generals in the northern area, Hun jihchin (渾日進) and Sung shuliang (孫守亮) encamped at Fengt'ien (奉天), and resisted them. Then a decree was issued to send the deputy commander-in-chief, Kuo tzui (郭子儀) to lead his troops from Hochungfu (河中府) to support them. Tzui (子儀) stationed at Ching-yang (絳陽), while his generals garrisoned the vital posts. At the outset, the T'ufan lined up their tents at Fengt'ien (奉天). And Hun jihching (渾日進), alone with his horse, attacked them, however, about 200 swift cavalry of his troops followed him, attacking the enemy's camp by shooting and spearing right and left. The rebels frightened, and none of them could escape from the arrows of the bows, thus every one of them was killed. Jihching (日進) captured a T'ufan general, whom he carried with him, and hastily ran his horse and returned to his camp. Because the T'ufan general vigorously struggled with Jihching (日進), Jihching even lost one of his quivers, but none of Jihching's men was wounded by the spear or the arrows. The imperial army, on seeing such circumstances, became more and more excited.

The next day, the T'ufan with their entire force

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1 Hochungfu refers to 河中 in 山西省 永濟里.
enclosed the army. Jihchin then ordered to carry stones secretly with carriages, and throw them against the T'ufan troops in mixing with arrows. In this, the enemy deaths and wounded increased. After a few days, T'ufan collected their troops and returned to their camp. Soon after that, Jihching again attached the rebels at night below Langmushen (梁瀑神), and killed over 1,000 people, captured 500 men, and obtained camels, horses, and weapons. The Emperor decided to take the command by himself, and then he collected the horses of the court officials, and established militia in the capital.

The governor-general of Chinhshiku (鎮西), Ma lin (馬璘), ran into some 400 T'ufan scouts in the eastern plain of Wukung (武功). Ma lin (馬璘) attacked them with 50 men, but killed all of them, not even one was left.

From the 17th (of the 9th month) to the 25th, there was continuous rain. In the evening of the 25th, the rain began to stop, and whoever talked about the rain, they all said that "it is the heaven's help". The T'ufan moved their camp to the north of the Chiutsung mountain (九華山), in Lich'uan prefecture.\footnote{Lich'uan prefecture refers to陝西省華縣.}

\footnote{Wukung is 陝西省武功縣.}

\footnote{In the text, the word "大雨" is missing, but according to 新唐書 and 通鑑, it is clear that there was raining.}

\footnote{From 陝西省武功縣.}
there, they attacked Lich'uan and finally obtained it. In the capital, the people were frightened and all the people left their houses empty.¹ In some big houses, holes were made in the walls, through which the people escaped. The rebel Jen-shih (任 敦 ), who was leading over 5,000 men, invaded Posheishien (白水县 ).²

Hun jihching (晉 日 迅 ), proclaiming his victory, arrived and encamped at Makueitien in Fengtien (奉天馬 書店 ). From the 19th of this month to the 25th, he fought more than 200 times, and he broke down over 10,000 men of the T'ufan, cutting off 5,000 heads, capturing 160 men, 1,242 horses, 115 camels, and over 30,000 weapons and banner flags. However, the court officials were afraid of the T'ufan, and the number of escapees were 8 or 9 out of 10 families. The court stopped the escape, but it was not ceased.

Since T'ufan's invasion to the imperial residence in the previous year, a fortress was built by the encamped troops at Fufeng (郿 豐 ) of Chungweichiao (中 渭 橋 ). Just at this time, the construction was completed, consequently the T'ufan withdrew to the north of Ingshu ( 永 寿 ), where they met the army of Huiho ( 奮 斌 ), and heard the news of

¹ The capital probably refers to Ch'angan, because Chiutsung mountain is in the north of Ch'angan across the river Wei (渭水 ).

² Posheishien refers to 陕西省白水县.
Huanen's death. However, both sides, relying upon their own troops, were advising each other for reinvasion, and finally reached Fengt'ien (奉天). But soon both sides began to suspect each other, and struggling for the leadership, in this consequence, they made separate camps.

The T'ufan scouting troops were at Yaoti (燕店), while their main troops were at Maweitien (馬嵬店), where they put fire on the people's houses, then they withdrew.

The Huiho's (回纥) cavalry of 3,000 arrived to Chingyang (絳陽), and they surrendered to the imperial army. They wished to destroy the T'ufan, and to establish their merit for it. There, Tzui (子儀) granted them. In this, Po yüanküan (白元光), who was the northern vanguard cavalry leader, concurrently the king of the provincial government of Nanyang (朔方先鋒使開府南陽郡王) and the Huiho (回纥) were united together. And they attacked the T'ufan and finally defeated them at the place of 50 Li to the east of Lingtaishien of Chingyang (涇陽靈臺縣). There were many heads cut off, many people were captured, and many camels, horses, cows, and sheep were obtained. The Emperor stopped his own campaign, and the capital was released from

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1 The word 燕店 may be a mistake for 燕店, which is to the west of 陝西省長武縣.
the alarm. The ministers manifested to the Emperor their congratulations.
PART II
(766-849)

On the 2nd month of the 2nd year of Ingt'ai (永泰 / 766), the vice-president of the supreme court of justice concurrently the vice-president of the court of the censors (大理少卿兼御史中丞), Yang chi (楊 法), was appointed as the envoy for a friendly mission to T'ufan. On the 4th month, T'ufan sent the chief Lun-si-tsang (論泣藏)¹ accompanied by over one hundred people to our court, who came along with Chi ( 法 ), and expressed their thanks and intention to maintain a good relationship. On the 10th month of the 2nd year of Tali (大曆 /767), the imperial army in Lingchou (靈州) defeated over 20,000 T'ufan; captured 500 men and obtained 1,500 horses. On the 11th month, the envoy Hsieh chingsien (薛景仙), who was the president of the revenue and population concurrently the censor (檢校戶部尚書兼御史大夫) returned from the mission to T'ufan, and the T'ufan chief Lung-hsi-ling (論泣陵)² came to the court along with

¹ Lun-hsi-tsang may be bLon-khri-bZan.
² Lun-hsi-ling may be bLon-khri-ḥbriṅ.
Chingsien reported to the Emperor that the BhTs-an-po (魯) asked for the Feng-linkuan (鳳林關) as the demarcation between the two countries. Shortly after that, Lu-hsi (路悉) and other 15 people came to the court as their mission. In the 3rd year (大曆 768), on the 3rd month, 10,000 T'ufan troops invaded Lingwu (靈武). And the T'ufan general Shang-hsu-ma (尚喜摩) invaded Pinchou (邠州). The governor-general of Pinning (邠寧), Ma lin (馬璘), defeated over 20,000 men of the T'ufan, and he presented the war prisoners to the court. On the 9th month, the T'ufan invaded Lingchou (靈州), but the cavalry general of the northern region Po yünkuang (白元光) defeated them. Thereafter, Yünkuang (元光) again defeated an army of 20,000 at Lingwu (靈武) and obtained several thousands of sheep and horses. Kuo tzui (郭子儀), who was the deputy commander-in-chief of the Kuannei province, defeated over 60,000 troops of the T'ufan at Lingchou. On the 12th month, because of the T'ufan invasion and their plunder of the western borders, the garrisons were increased and reinforced. Ma lin (馬璘) was transferred to Chingchou (泾州) to defend the city, at the same time he was appointed governor-general of Ching-yüan (涇原). At Hsich'uan (西州), in Chiennan

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1 Fenglinkuan is 由肅省臨翼果西方.
(劍南)，over 10,000 T'ufan were also defeated.
In the 5th year (大曆/770), on the 5th month, the five military posts, An (安), ¹ Hsi (西), ² T'o (拓), ³ Ching (靜), ⁴ and Kung (恭) ⁵ were moved to the vital positions in the mountains to defend against the T'ufan.

In the 8th year (大曆/773), during the autumn, 60,000 T'ufan cavalry invaded Lingwu (靈武), and trampled down our crops, then went away. On the 10th month, they invaded Chingchou (涇州), P'ingchou (邠州), and other places. Kuo tzui (郭子儀) sent the vanguard general Hun hsien (渾盛典) to engage in battle with the rebels at Ilu (宜禄). ⁶ But our army was not successful. Three people, including the lieutenant general Shih chi (史籍), were killed, and more than a thousand inhabitants in the village were driven off. In the same night, Hien (暉) collected the scattered soldiers together and invaded the enemy's camp. Just at this time, Ma lin (馬璘) also attacked the T'ufan and killed

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¹ An refers to 四川省劍閣縣
² 西 refers to 四川省攀枝花西南方
³ 拓 refers to 四川省松潘縣東方
⁴ 靜 refers to 四川省松潘縣西南方
⁵ 恭 refers to 四川省茂縣西南方
⁶ Ilu is 陝西省靈武縣東南方
several thousands, consequently the rebels were dispersed. Tzui (子儀) totally defeated over 100,000 T'ufan army. When the T'ufan first attacked our P'ing-chou (平州) area, Ma lin (馬璘), with over 2,000 valiant soldiers, made a secret night foray on the rebels' camp, and shot the eye of the rebels' general who put on leopard-skin clothes. The rebels, supporting him and crying loud, ran away from the camp. Because of this, Lin (璘) recovered over 200 northern soldiers, over 700 commoners, and several thousands of camels and horses.

In the 9th year (大曆/774), on the 4th month, on account of the T'ufan invasions and disturbance, a decree was issued to prepare the border defense (as follows): "Tzui (子儀), collect precisely 50,000 infantry-cavalry which are mixed with the tribes of Shangchün (上郡), Peiti (平地), Ssuse (四塞), Wuyüan (五原), Ich'u (義渠), Chihu (稽胡), and Hsienpi (鮮卑), at Hsün (枸邑), and reinforce the current troops; Paoyü (袍父), with approximately

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1 Shangchün is a prefecture during the Han dynasty. It is the area of 陝西省綏德県. Peiti is also the name of a prefecture during the Han dynasty, the area is 陝西省平利縣. Ssuse refers to the interior area. Wuyüan is the name of a prefecture also during the Han dynasty, the area is 陝西省榆林県. Ich'u refers to a western tribe known as Tibeto-Turkeyish during the 先秦 dynasty. Chihu is unidentifiable, however, they might be a northwestern tribe. Hsienpi refers to a Mongolian tribe.

2 Hsün was in the area of 陝西省三水縣.
30,000 men of Kaotu (高都) in Chin (晋), of Shangtang (上党) in Han (韓), of the royal natives of Hohuang (河里義徒) and of the young men of Ch'enlung (河陽), cut across the lined enemy's camp on the slope of the mountain Kaop'i (高壁); Ma lin (馬璘), with 30,000 men of the frontal area of the western region (西域前庭), of Ch'eshih hopu (車師後部), including the warriors of Kuangwu (廣武), station in Ssuchung (泗中) and support the main troops; Chung ch'eng (忠誠), with approximately 20,000 men of the especially trained ones in Wulo (武落), and with the brave army in Yuti (右地), depart from Ch'iyang (岐陽) and unite together in the north; Hsijang (希鸞) take the officials of the capital and the children of the good commoners of the six prefectures (六郡) and go up along the Wei river (渭水), then toward the west, and unite approximately 40,000 people of Piensung (汴宋), Tzuch'ing (滎青), Hoyang (河陽), and Yuchi (砪荔), and divide these people into

1 Ch'enlung refers to 河山 and 河陽山; it is the present 山西省 河陰山 and 河陽山.
2 Kaop'i refers to the peak of Kaop'i (高壁), located to the south-east of 山西省 霍石山.
3 Ch'iyang is 陝西省 河陰山
4 Piensung is 河南省 沛阴地方, Tzuch'ing is 河南省 靜城西, Hoyang is 河南省 沛陽西, and Yuchi is 河南省 砪藜地方.
front and rear troops. And the 60,000 people of Wei (魏 ), Chengte (成 德 ), Shiaoi (昭 興 ), and Ingti (永 地 ) are to be grouped into left and right troops."

We (the Emperor) will be in the palace and reinforce the guards, and we swear to the generals that we will support with the expenses of thousands of gold, and will offer the palace horses ( 六 牧 之 馬 ). As for the army uniforms, weapons, and the army supply stores at the borders, each of you control to maintain them. Such problems have been already dealt with in detail as usual. Oh, you all, the generals, ministers, and the capable civil and military subjects, what is called victory of an army rests on harmonious coordinations, and the best tactics is the one achieved without a fighting operation. Each of you well defend your own border line, and station in the vital places to watch out and maintain communications back and forth with each other. If the T'ufan already regret their mistakes, why should we have to trouble our people? If they still do not respect themselves, we ought to punish them. Afterwards, we will seek the unity of the world, thus to be able to control all the armies. As for the tactics, it will be issued

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1 Probably it means the horses in the six-horse stables of the palace ( 六 牧 之 馬 ).

2 This passage may mean that each army wanted to attack the T'ufan, but the Emperor could not just allow them to do so immediately, he could adjust the desire of each army only afterwards.
In the 11th year (大曆 776), on the 1st month, the governor-general of Chiennan (劍南), Ts'ui ning (崔寧), inflicted a great defeat on the four T'ufan governor-generals such as the governor-general of Hung (洪) and others, also inflicted upon the 20,000 men of T'uchueh (突厥), T'uhun (吐渾), Hu (互), Man (蠻), Ch'iang (羌), and Tanghsiang (黨項), cut off over 10,000 heads and captured 1,350 people, including the commoners of Lach'eng (蠻城). These were presented to the court, besides these there were so many oxen, sheep, army supplies as well as other weapons that one could not count.

In the 12th year (大曆 777), on the 9th month, T'ufan invaded Fangchou (坊州) and plundered sheep and horses of Tanghsiang, then they retired. On the 10th month, Ts'ui ning (崔寧) took over the fortress of Wanghan (望漢城) of T'ufan. In the 14th year (大曆 779), on the 8th month, the Emperor appointed Wei lun (韋論), the vice-president of the imperial sacrifice, (to serve) as the envoy to T'ufan in leading the 500 prisoners of war back to them. On

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1 Hung refers to 甘肅省永登縣法門
2 T'uhun refers to 吐谷渾
3 Hu (互) may be a mistake for 氾.
4 Fangchou is 陝西省中部縣.
5 The fortress of Wanghan was in 四川省故縣西南.
the 10th month, T'ufan invaded our territory at the head of 200,000 southern troops. One party of them entered into Mangchou (滿州) and passed through Wench'uan (汶川) and Kuank'ou (淮口), another party entered into Fuwen (扶文) and passed through Fangwei (方偉) and Popa (白坡), and the third party was from Li and Yu (黎雅), and went through Ch'iuunghsiakuan (印峽關), and successively destroyed the towns of the area. There, 4,000 imperial troops and 5,000 troops of Yuchou (幽州) were mobilized, who allied together and totally defeated them.

In the 1st year of Chienchung (建中/780), on the 4th month, Wei lun (韋論) came back. Beginning from the middle part of Tali (大蕃), there were several T'ufan missions to the T'ang court, but the court retained them, and did not send them back, then the retainers moved them to Chianglin (江陵) under the escort of the eunuches. Consequently the captives always inquired the reason and demanded money to the eunuches in addition to the expenses used for maintaining them, so that the eunuches could not overcome the

1 Fuwen is to the north-west of 甘肅省文慶.

2 Wei lun was the envoy who took 500 prisoners of war to T'ufan in 779.

3 Chianglin is located between 楊子江 and 五嶺. And the 五嶺 are the mountains of 大庾, 始安, 臨賀, 桂陽, and 揚陽, to the south of 衡山.
distress. Last year, in the winter, T'ufan levied a
great army and invaded in three ways. Just at this
time, the Emperor Tetsung (ęb⁵) was enthroned
and intended to pacify the four directions. In this,
he called the 500 prisoners of war, and gave each of
them a unit of clothes, and let them return to their
own country under the lead of Lun (ęb⁴), and con-
cluded a peace treaty with T'ufan, and ordered to the
border generals not to invade or attack. When the
T'ufan first heard of the prisoners to be returned,
you did not believe it, but as soon as the prisoners
entered into their border territory, they were all
awed with the authority of the Emperor and obtained
the gratefulness.

The bTsan-po (督办), Ch'ilitsan (乞立赞),¹
told Lun (ęb⁴) that "I did not know these people are
coming, but I have three sorrows, what do you think
about them?" Lun replied: "I do not understand what
Your Highness mean." Ch'ilitsan said: "I was ignorant
of the loss of the empire (Emperor), thus I was unable
to condole and mourn over the loss; this is the first.
I did not know the date of the imperial funeral service,
thus I was unable to present the offerings and fulfill
the proper rites; this is the second. I did not know
the holy and wise Emperor, my father-in-law, had suc-
ceeded to the throne. In this, I dispatched our armies

¹ Ch'ilitsan is Khri-sron Ide-brtsan.
by three parallel routes. The army of Lingwu (令武), having heard of my order, stopped their march, but the army of Shannan (南) already entered into the Fuwen (扶文), and the army of Shu (蜀) area are already running to Kuank'ou (灌口). Thus, even if I pursue, it is unable to reach them; this is the third sorrow."

Then the bTsan-po dispatched an envoy to the T'ang court to present a gift, and the envoy returned within twenty days. The imperial army of Shu (蜀) was treating the prisoners of war gently, however, there were officials who made a petition that the prisoners be divided and treated as slaves, according to the traditional practice. The Emperor replied "Our wish for the treaty is on the record, our words should not be two different things." Then, the Emperor bestowed on each two pieces of silk and a unit of clothes, and let them return.

On the 5th month, Wei lun (韋倫) was promoted to the president of imperial sacrifice (太常卿) and he was again sent on a mission to T'ufan. In that winter, T'ufan sent their minister Lunch'in-mingssu (論欽明思) along with other fifty people who came with Lun (倫), and presented the productions of their country. When T'ufan saw Lun (倫), who came second time, they were very glad, and as soon as he reached to a hotel, he was entertained with music. After nine days' stay, Lun returned, and at that time T'ufan sent (the above mentioned) their chief as their
responding envoy to the Emperor.

In the second year of Chienchung (建中 /781), on the 12th month, the secretary of the mission to T'ufan, Ch'ang lu (常魯), returned with the T'ufan envoy Lun Hsinolo (論思諾) and others. At the beginning, when Lu (魯 ) arrived to T'ufan, he and the envoy Ts'ui hanheng (崔滄衡) went to a hotel, but the bTsan-po (善普) ordered them to stop going to the hotel, but asked his messenger to take the imperial dispatch from them first. Then, the messenger said to Hanheng (滄衡) that "the official dispatch you bring says that all the things offered as tribute have been accepted, therefore what you are delivering to the son-in-law now is less significant messages and presents. Speaking of the term Lingch'u (領輔), our great T'ufan and T'ang are in the relation of uncle and nephew, nevertheless, how come you treat us in terms of subject relation? Also, you wish to set the boundary with the west of Yünchou (雲州), but we, T'ufan, propose the boundary with Holanshan (霍蘭山). In regard to the way of concluding the treaty ceremony, we propose to follow the imperial credential-description of the 2nd year of Chinglung (建中 /708). In the imperial credential description, it is said that when the T'ang envoy arrives here, the son-in-law shall first coordinate to conclude the treaty, and on the other hand, when T'ufan

1 Lun Hsinolo may be bLon-stag-sgra.
envoy arrives there, then the father-in-law himself shall take the procedure to conclude the treaty." And they asked Hanheng (漢衡) to send a messenger to the court to report it to the Emperor, so that the Emperor could decide.

Lu (魯) was sent back as the messenger, and he reported it to the Emperor. There, the descriptions in the imperial record were changed as follows: "to contribute into to present" (貢獻為進); "to bestow into to send" (賜為寄); and "to lead and to take hold up into to instruct one" (領取為領之). And additionally, it was mentioned that the former Minister Yang yen (楊炎), who was not familiar with the old practice, made such mistakes. Let us follow this (new provision) for setting the boundary.

In the 3rd year of Chienchung (建中 /782), on the 4th month, T'ufan released 800 people consisting of the officers, soldiers, and the clergy who had formerly fallen into the hands of T'ufan. It was on account of the response that the T'ufan captives were returned. On the 9th month, the envoy to T'ufan Ts'ui hanheng (崔漢衡), who was the vice-president of the palace concurrently assistant censor, came back with the T'ufan envoy Ch'üleitsan (區類贊). At

1 In the text, it is written as 區類贊. The character must be a mistake for 賜 . Ch'üleitsan may be Khu-rgya-btsan.
this time, the T'ufan minister Shangchiehhsi (尚結息),¹ who was bearing resentment, liked to kill the people. He was formerly defeated in Chiennan (劍南), and thinking about removing the shame. In this, he was not willing to conclude the treaty. The Vice-Minister Shangchiehtsan (尚結賢)² was a capable person; he asked the bTsan-po (譜書) to set the boundary and to conclude a clear treaty in order to make the border people in peace. The bTsan-po agreed with him, and made Chiehtsan (結賢) as the minister in place of Chiehhsi (結息). Finally a promise was made to keep peace, and set up the date of the 15th day of the 10th month to have a meeting at the border to conclude the treaty. Consequently, the Emperor selected Ts'ui hangheng (崔清衡) as the president of the board of ceremony for foreigners (鴻慶卿), also the Emperor selected Fan che (樊澤), who was the auxiliary secretary of the bureau of forbidding (都官員外郎), as the vice-president of the court of censor concurrently, at the same time filled him into the position of the commissioner of planning for the envoy to T'ufan. At the outset, Hangheng (清衡) set up the arrangement with T'ufan about the date and the performance of the ceremony. Hangheng came to T'ufan and negotiated

¹ Shangchiehhsi is Shaṅ rgyal gzigs çu ten
² Shaṅ rgyal btsan lha snaṅ.
with them, but the content was not agreed upon, and in the meantime the promised date was passed. Therefore, the Emperor ordered Che (澤) to go to Chieh-ts' an (結 賓) to make another date to conclude the treaty, also the Emperor ordered Chang i (張 鐵), who was the governor-general of Lunyu (隆右節度使), additionally to conclude the treaty with him. Che (澤) went to the former Houchou (冒 倉) and met Chiehtsan (結 賓), and they set up the date of the 15th day of the 1st month in the coming year to carry out the treaty ceremony at a place to the west of Ch'ingshui (清 水).

In the 4th year (建 中 /783), on the 1st month, an imperial decree was issued to Chang i (張 鐵) to conclude the treaty with Shangch'iehtsan (尚 結 賓) at Ch'ingshui (清 水). When they were about concluding the treaty, I (鈕) and Chiehtsan (結 賓) promised each other to take 2,000 people each to the altar, of whom about half were armed, and they lined up at 200 paces outside the altar, and the remaining people were attendants lined up below the altar. I (鈕), together with his 7 people such as the masters of the ceremony Ch'i ing (希 艮), Ch'i k'ang

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1 In the text, it is written as Houchou (冒 倉), it is probably a mistake for Yuanchou (原 倉).

2 Ch'ingshui is 甘肅省 清水縣.

3 As noted earlier, this is Shan-rgyal btsan-lhasnañ.
(奉抗), and the treaty officials Ts'ui hangheng (崔漢衡), Fan che (樊澤), Chang lu (常魯), and Yu yu (于頔), put on the court uniform, while Chiehtsan (結贊) was with his 7 people (selected from) their ministers and generals, such as Lunhsichiats'ang (論悉頌藏), Lunts'angje (論咸熱), Lunlit'ossu (論利地斯), and the official Lunlihsu (論少術) and others.  

And then both sides' groups stepped up to the altar and performed the ceremony. Initially, it was promised to conclude the treaty with the sacrifice of an ox for Han (漢) and a horse for T'ufan, but I (myself) felt ashamed of concluding the treaty with the sacrifice of ox and horse. In this, he wished to simplify the ceremony.  

Then he said to Chiehtsan (結贊) that "Han (漢) cannot cultivate the ground without oxen, and T'ufan cannot travel without horses. Therefore, I would like to propose to substitute three animals, that is, sheep, pig, and dog, for the ox and horse." Chiehtsan agreed, but there were no pigs outside the barrier, so

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1 Lunhsichiats'ang is bLon skyes-bzang stag-snan. Lunts'angje is bLon btsan bsher mdo Lod. Lunlit'ossu is written as Z114;11 in Q. Vol. 981, 外臣都盟誓. Considering both sources, it may be bLon-khri-gdas. Lunlihsu is probably bLon-khri-gzu.

2 I (myself) felt ashamed of concluding the treaty in the formal way because he did not have much regard for T'ufan in general, so he wanted to simplify matters.

3 It is written as Han (漢) in the text, not T'ang.
Chiehtsan (竭贍) wanted to present a ram, while I (鐵) presented a big white sheep. Then both animals were sacrificed at the north side of the altar, and the bloods were mingled in two vessels and smeared on the lips for the oath. The written record for the treaty is as follows: T'ang possesses everything under heaven, and the great authority remains in wherever Yu (禹) went, and wherever the Emperor's boat and chariot arrived, there was no one who did not obey. And with the successive holy virtue, the years have been prolonged, and the great empire of its sovereign extended. Thus, the ruler's name and his influence were known in the four seas. With T'ufan bTsang-po (贍普), the matrimonial alliance was made to strengthen the bond of neighbouring good relationship. Thus, both became one body for peaceful or dangerous things of the two countries. And as the countries of father-in-law and son-in-law, it has been already 200 years. However, there were minor disagreements, consequently the good relation was often broken off and became enemy. In this, both countries were troubled

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1 The written record of the treaty is in 唐大詔令集, 卷一二九“贍吐蕃合清水盟文.”

2 Yu (禹) is the founder of the Shia (夏) dynasty, but in this text it may refer to the founder of the T'ang dynasty.

3 In the text, it is written as 莫不率俾, but in 詔令集 it is 莫不率從.
without having peaceful years. The Emperor recently succeeded to the throne, and had true passion for the welfare of the people, and now (also) for the mass of the captives. Finally, the Emperor released the captives to return to their T'ufan villages. T'ufan then showed their good feeling, and agreed to a mutual peace. Consequently, envoys carrying the orders of their sovereigns were successively exchanged, and no more deceit occurred, and the armies no longer acted. T'ufan furthermore requested to maintain things as agreed on by both countries forever, thus they wanted to observe the olden days' treaty. In resolving to give peace to the border settlers, the government gave up the border territory as well as the benefits, but practiced righteousness and firmly concluded the treaty and obeyed the provisions. Now, "the boundaries that the government keeps are (as follows): on the west of Chingchou (經州), it extends to the western mouth of the T'ancheng strait (感水峽); on the west of Lungchou (龍州), it is up to Chingsuihsien (清水堰); and on the west of Fengchou (鳳州), it is up to T'ungkuhsien (同各界), while in the western mountains of Chiennan (劍南), the east bank of Tatu river (大渡河) is the boundary of Han (漢界). The watching posts of T'ufan are in the

1 This is the Emperor 德宗.

2 T'ungkuhsien is 臨水界.
provinces of Lan (南), Wei (渭), Yuan (原), and Hui (會), and on the west, it is up to Lint'iao (臨洮), while on the east it is up to Ch'engchou (成州), and on the west of Chiennan (劍南), the south-west of Tatu river, including the Mo and Hsieh (磨些) barbarians, it is the T'ufan boundary.

The people living in the places garrisoned by the troops or living in the political prefectures and the various barbarian tribes on the border of the two countries that belong to Han (漢) may stay as they have been. On the north of the Yellow river, from the old Shinch'uan chün (故新泉軍) to the north as far as the Lot'o peak (駱駝嶺) of the Holan mountain (賀蘭山) is the border, and the inter-space territory should not be cultivated. In regard to the places not included in the covenant where T'ufan has their garrisons, T'ufan keeps them, and wherever Han has Han's own garrisons, Han keeps them. Everything is the same at the present garrisons as they are, not encroaching on one another. In regard to the places where no garrisons were formerly dispatched, each side should not dispatch a new garrison or build fortresses or cultivate the land. Now, the generals and the ministers of the two countries have been commissioned to meet, and they have purified themselves.

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1 Ch'engchou is 甘肃省成县西方.

2 The old Shinch'uan chün is 甘肃省靖遠縣西邊.
in preparation for the ceremony in proclaiming the Gods of heaven and earth, of mountains and rivers. And may the Gods witness that our oath shall not be wrong. The text of this covenant shall be preserved in the ancestral temple, and the copy shall be kept in an official building, and the officers of both countries shall keep it forever." Chiehtsan also presented a sworn covenant which he did not put into the pit where only the victims are buried. After the conclusion of the ceremony, Chiehtsan proposed to go to the south-west corner of the altar in a Buddhist tent to burn incense and make the oath. When it was done, they again ascended the altar and drank wine, and while they were drinking wine, they helped each other by exchanging their tokens, thus they were obtaining warm feelings (for one another); then, finally, they returned.

On the 2nd month, the Emperor appointed Ts'ui hanheng to go to T'ufan with the imperial credential as a responding envoy accompanied by the T'ufan minister Ch'u-chiatsan. The Emperor initially planned to let the prime minister conclude the treaty with the T'ufan minister Ch'u-chiatsan at Fengili, but

1 In the text "不加於坎", which refers to that in normal treaty, the covenant together with whatever sacrificed animals were buried behind the altar, but in this ceremony the covenant was not buried.

2 Fengili is the name of a place in the capital, Ch'angan.
it was not done because of the meeting at Ch'ingshui (清水), and finally the plan was stopped for the time being, and the Emperor still did not send Chia-ts'an (贊 贊) back, but retained, while Hanheng was again sent on a mission to the bTsan-po (贊 贊).

On the 6th month, the secretary of the responding mission to T'ufan ( 答蕃使者官), Yü yu (于頔), came back accompanied by the T'ufan envoy Lunchiamutsang (論願没藏) and others. On the 7th month, the president of the board of rites Li k'uei (李撝) was appointed besides his own official title as the envoy to T'ufan for the conclusion of the treaty. The Emperor also ordered the prime ministers (宰相) Li chungch'en (李忠臣), Lu ch'i (盧杞), Kuan po (關播), and the acting minister of the department of administration (右僕射), Ts'ui ning (崔寧), the minister of the department of public works, Chiao ling (喬林), the censor, Yü ch'e (于頴), the censor official (御史大夫), Chang shienkung (張獻恭), the agricultural official Tuan shushih (段秀實), the administrator of the imperial workshop (少府監), Li changching (李昌徵), the mayor of the capital (京兆尹), Wang yü (王翃), the general of the left-wing guards of palace and capital (左金吾衛將軍), Hun hsien (滿斌), and others to make the swearing covenant with

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1 Lunchiamutsang may be blon-rgyal-bzan.
Ch'ü-chiatsan (区 祭 賛) and his members on the altar. When Yü yu (于 禱) came back from T'ufan, first he promised with Shangchchiehtsan (尚結 賛) about the treaty place, but it had been already set, therefore, it was requested to let the T'ufan envoy, who came with Yü yu (于 禱), return. The court agreed upon the request.

The altar at Fengifang (豐世坊) was in the capital city, therefore it was inconvenient. The officials asked to do divination to set the altar at the westside of the capital, and the rites should be the same as employed at the ceremony of Ch'inshui (清 水). Two days before the treaty, the Emperor ordered an official to announce it in the ancestral temple, so the official announced it to the ancestral temple. After three days passed, the official put on the court uniform and ascended the altar, and Kuan po (國 播) read the covenant. When the ceremony was over, the Emperor entertained them at the banquet, and bestowed presents and then sent them back.

In the 1st year of Hsingyüan (聖 元 /784), on the 2nd month, Yü ch'i (于 傾), who was the commander of the right-wing cavalry concurrently the censor (右 翰 騎 常 侍 竊 御 史 大 夫), went to Chingchou (涇川) to comfort the T'ufan, and he consulted with the governors of provinces and cities about the
marching troops' snack and delivery of messages.  At this time, T'ufan came to the barrier and wanted to help with their troops to settle down the domestic difficulties.  This was the reason why the envoy was sent.  On the 4th month, Shen fang (沈房), the vice-president of the imperial sacrifice concurrently the vice-president of the court of censor (太常少卿 藪御史中丞), was appointed as the imperial commissioner for devising a plan to send an envoy to T'ufan and for pacifying Anhsi (安西) and P'eiting (并庭). In this month, Hun hsien (渾瑊), with Lunmanglo (論章羅) of T'ufan, led armies and totally defeated the generals of Chu tz'u (朱泚) such as Han ming (韓旻), Chang t'ingchih (張廷之), Sung kueichiao (宋耿朝), and others at the Wuk'ing river of Wukung (武功武功), and cut off over 10,000 heads.

In the 2nd year of Chengyuan (貞元 /786), Ch'ao yü (趙聿), who was the superior secretary of the bureau of granary concurrently the censor of the

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1 In the text, it is written as 饅頭. 饅 refers to snacks for the marching army, and 頭 refers to delivery of messages.

2 朱泚之亂 (783).

3 This means that Yü ch'i (于頔) went to Ching-chou to comfort the T'ufan.

4 Lunmanglo may be bLon-man-bla.
court of general affairs (塞卸郎中侍御史), was appointed as envoy to T'ufan. On the 8th month, T'ufan invaded several provinces such as Ching (涇), Lung (龍), Feng (鄧), and Ning (寧), and plundered away cattle as well as grain. Thus, the western border became disturbed, nevertheless governors and generals of the various provinces closed the gates of their cities and defended themselves and nothing else. The capital was already alarmed, and the Emperor dispatched Chang hsienfu (張獻南), who was the left-wing general of the palace police and the capital (左金吾將軍), to lead the army in cooperation with the generals of Shents'e's army (神策軍), Li shengt'an (李晟曇), Su chingmien (蘇清溪), and others to station at Hsienyang (咸陽). The Emperor also summoned Lo yuankuang (駱元光), who was the governor-general of Hochung (河中), in order to order him to lead an army to Hsienyang (咸陽) to support them. On the 9th month, a light cavalry penetrated as far as Haossu (好畤), the Emperor then again dispatched Chang hsienfu (張獻南) to lead an army to station at Hsienyang (咸陽). A decree was also issued to Kang ch'eng (康成), the general of Tsokanmen (左堅門將軍), as the envoy to T'ufan. The T'ufan chief minister

1 Hsienyang is 陕西省咸陽市.

2 Haossu is 陕西省乾縣東南方.
Shangchiethtsan (尚結贊) had previously sent his messengers repeatedly to ask for a meeting to fix the boundary. Because of this, a decree was issued to Ch'eng (成) to be the envoy. Ch'eng came to Loyüan (呂原) and met Chiehtsan (結贊). Chiehtsan then sent his messenger Lunch'ito (論元陀) accompanied by Ch'eng (成) when Ch'eng took his way back. On the same month, Li ch'eng (李晟), who was the governor-general of Fenghsiang (鳳翔), sent his general Wang pi (王弼) to make a night attack on the enemy's camp on account of the invasion of T'ufan. Pi (弼) then led 3,000 brave warriors into Chi enyang (汧陽). Li ch'eng then advised Pi (弼) that "the main army of the enemy will pass under the city wall, but do not attack the front or rear army. Even if the front and rear armies are defeated, the strength of the central army will be unimpaired, therefore if you are attacked by the united force, you will certainly meet disaster. If you wait till the front army has passed, and then you will see the five square banners and tiger-leopard robes. This will be the main central force. Then, you jump out and take them by surprise, as a consequence there will be rare fame to you." Pi (弼) liked the advice, then he rallied out and attacked them, there the enemy was

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1 In 玉山元헥, 契石 employing the place, but it is not clear where the place was.
totally defeated. However, our lieutenant-general Shih t'ingyu (史廷玉) was killed during his brave fighting. The T'ufan again invaded Fenghsiang (鳳翔) up to the wall of the city, and Li ch'eng (李澄) led out his troops against them, consequently the enemy retreated in the same night.

On the 10th month, Li ch'eng (李澄) sent troops to attack the T'ufan city of Tuishap'u (雉 spécialisé) and desperately defeated them, burning the military stores and cutting off 7 T'ufan chiefs, including Huch'ülüşhetsan (扈鹿律脫赞) and sent their heads to the capital. On the 11th month, the T'ufan occupied Yenchou (延秋). When the enemy reached to the city, the governor Yu yengküang (於應光) offered oxen and wine to feast them. The T'ufan said to him that "we merely want to occupy the city, if you lead your troops and go away, it will be all right with us." Yenküang (應光), leading his troops, fled away, so the T'ufan possessed the city. They also invaded Yinchou (銀州), which was an unwalled city, therefore the people were scattered and fled away.

On the 3rd year (貞元 787), in spring, Ts'uihan (崔瀚), who was the tutor to the heir apparent

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1 Huch'ülüşhetsan may be Khu-khri-brtsan.

2 Yenchou is 宁夏省靈武県.

3 The unwalled city Yinchou is 陝西省銀州.

4 The heir apparent in this text may refer to the son of a concubine.
concurrently the vice-president of the court of censor (檢校左虞門書御史中丞) was appointed envoy to T'ufan, and soon another envoy, Li hsien (李鍇), who was also heir apparent, was sent. At this time, the governor-general of Hotung, Paoning (河東保寧) and other regions, Ma suí (馬燧), came to the court.

When Shangchiehtsan (尚稽贇) occupied Yenchou (登州) and Hsiachou (夏州), at the outset he placed garrison of about 1,000 men in each of the cities, while he himself stationed with his main troops at Mingsha (鳴沙), where he remained from last winter to this spring, and during this time many of his sheep and horses died, consequently his provisions were exhausted. The Emperor now ordered the governor-general of Huachou (華州) and T'ungkuan (潼關), Lo yüanküan (駱元光), and the governor-general of Pinning (邠寧), Han yuhuai (韓游懷), to lead their troops, and together with the defenders of Fenghsiang (鳳翔), of Li (鄜), of Pin (邠), and of other prefectures to encamp in the frontier. The Emperor also ordered Sui (遂) to lead his troops to station at Shihchou (石州) and let them attack the T'ufan in the way of dividing the troops to the river on both sides, and in cooperation with Yüan küang (元光) and others. Chiehtsan (結贇) heard of this news and he was very afraid of it, then he

1 Mingsha is 福建省中衛県, 黃河南.
sent his envoy again and again to ask for peace, and tried to make a peace treaty. But the Emperor refused everything. There, again T'ufan general Lunchiaje (論煬熱) was sent with a deep propriety and humble words to beg Sui (熈) for a treaty. Sui then wrote a memorandum, but the Emperor again refused, ordering him to attack the T'ufan with the united force, and drive them away. Sui (熈) was fond of bribes, and he was easily deceived. He came to the court with Lunchiaje (論煬熱), and affirmed positively that their words were trustworthy. Finally, the Emperor agreed with him. In the meantime, while Sui (熈) went to the court, the armies simply closed their gates, that was all. Meanwhile, Chiehtsan (結質) suddenly led all of his troops back, and gave up Hsiachou (夏州).

Many horses already died, so there were many who were on foot. Such circumstances became the reason that the treaty process was broken at the meeting of P'ingliang (平凉) during this summer, also Sui (熈) was deprived of his commandership of the army as a consequence, and had to beg the court's indulgence for himself.

On the 4th month, Ts'ui huan (崔淵) returned from Mingsha (鳴沙). At the beginning, when Huan (淵) arrived in Mingsha, he had a meeting with Shangchiehtsan (尚結質), he asked the reason why T'ufan broke the treaty agreement, and took over Yenchou and Hsiachou (翼夏州). Shangchiehtsan
replied that "originally, there was a tower of demarcation, but it fell down, so I was afraid that both countries may ignore the convention, and invade each other. This is why I came to the frontier to ask for the old peaceful relationship, also in recent year T'ufan army defeated the army of Chu tzu (朱泚) at Wukung (武功), nevertheless, we have not received the reward. This is another reason why I came here. Furthermore, when we went to Chingchou (涇州), the governor shut the gate of the city and protected himself; we questioned (his reasons), but no answer was given. Then, we marched to Fengshiang (鳳翔) and there, I sent my messenger to the Excellency Li (李令公)⁠¹ but he did not accept my messenger. After all, Kang ch'eng (康成) and Wang chenchih (王真之) were sent to us, but neither of them could deliver the Emperor's decree. Everyday, I expected to see a minister to come from the T'ang court as the envoy who will explain the sincere feeling, and thus have some decency toward us, but nobody appeared. Finally, I led my troops back. As for the two cities of Yenchou and Shiachou (安夏二州), the governors were afraid of our troops, and asked to offer us the cities, and wanted to return without hurting themselves. Thus, we did not attack (in order)

¹ The Excellency Li is 李晟, 令公 is an honorific-style name for an official.
to take them. Now, Your Excellency is a relative to the Emperor, I wish to convey my message to the Emperor that if both sides can conclude the peaceful relationship, and recover the treaty agreement, it is the one that T'ufan wishes. Regarding the time of the treaty as well as the place, we merely will accept what your side should want. After Your Excellency returns and reports this to the Emperor, and has settled on a decision, we will then return Yen and Hsia to your country." He also said that "at the meeting at Ch'ingshui, only few people participated in the ceremony, therefore the peaceful relation has not been deep enough, and finally it was not really successful. Now, we T'ufan will send our ministers, commander-in-chief and other officers, altogether twenty-one people, to Lingchou. And the governor-general of Lingchou, Tu hsich'uan, whose nature is warm and gentle, and he is well known even to foreigners, I propose that he be the chairman of the ceremony. I also propose the governor-general of Chingchou, Li kuang, at the same time officiate as chairman of the ceremony." Then both together presented the memorandum to the Emperor.

Huan attracted some of the old-timers of T'ufan by bribing them, and then asked them about the number of the people as well as the number of horses of T'ufan. There were 59,000 people and 86,000 horses, and those who were able to fight were only
30,000 or more, the rest of them were children, they were merely swelling the number to the total, that was all. The same day, Ts'ui huan (崔瀚) was appointed as the president of the board of ceremony (鴻臚卿), and he was also ordered to enter into T'ufan to reply to Shangchiehtsan (尚結計), to whom he said: "Tu hsich'uan (杜希全) is on duty at Lingchou (靈州), and cannot leave the area of the prefecture, while Li kuan (李覲) has been already transferred to another post. Therefore, we appointed the imperial official (侍中), Hun hsien (渾信), as our envoy to conclude the treaty." And it was promised to meet again in order to make the sworn treaty at Ch'ingsui (清水) on the 24th of the 5th month. He also informed that Yen and Hsia (偃夏) must be returned to T'ang before the treaty ceremony. The Emperor was auspicious of the trusworthiness of the Fan (蕃情), consequently the Emperor believed that it was trustful if the cities were returned.

On the 5th month, Hun hsien (渾信) was appointed envoy; however, he came to the court for showing his propriety and for receiving the decree. The president of the board of war (兵部尚書), Ts'ui hanheng (崔漢衡), was appointed assistant envoy, and the auxiliary secretary of the bureau of honorific titles (司勲夏外郎), Cheng shuchu (鄭叔矩), was named secretary. When Hun hsien (渾信) proceeded to the place of the meeting, the Emperor ordered him to take an army of 20,000 men with him, and
dispatched the governor-general of Huachou and T'ung-kuan (趙時濤關), Lo yüankuan (羅元光), to accompany him. The Emperor also ordered his ministers to invite the T'ufan envoy, Lunhsitsan (論泣贊) and his colleagues to talk about the place of the treaty meeting at the bureau of the imperial secretaries (中書). At the outset, Ts'ui huan (崔瀚) intended to make a promise with Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊) to have a sworn treaty again at Ch'ingshui (清水), also intended to make a promise that T'ufan should return us the two cities of Yenchou (金陵) and Hsiachou (夏州) before the treaty. Chiehtsan (結贊) said: "Ch'ingshui (清水) is not a good place, therefore, I wish to have the meeting at T'ulishu (土梨樹) of Yüanchou (元州). I also promise to return the two cities after the treaty." Huan (瀚), Hsitsan (泣贊), and others jointly sent an envoy to report this fact to the Emperor. The Emperor, who was anxious to show his kindness to foreigners, granted everything, and was going to fix the 15th of the 5th month to swear the treaty at T'ulishu (土梨樹), and the Emperor called his ministers to plan about it. But previously, Ma yulin (馬有麟), the general of the left wing of the Shents'e army (左神策軍), reported that "there are many dangerous placed in T'ulishu (土梨樹) area. I am afraid of a secret ambush by the T'ufan troops that might give us trouble, whereas P'ingliang (平涼) is a plain in the four directions, besides
it is close to Chingchou (経洲), therefore it is convenient to take it here." Thereupon, they determined that the place for the ceremony should be the valley of P'ingliang (平涼). At that time, the T'ufan envoy Lunhsitsan (論泣贇) had already started to go to report it to his bTsan-po, so he was pursued and brought back, and he was told about the (new) decision, then he was again sent away.

Hun hsien (澤環) and Shangchiehtsan (尚格贇) met at P'ingliang (平涼). They agreed to draw up 3,000 men on the east and west sides of the altar, and 400 unarmed men to come forward to below the altar. Just before the ceremony they also agreed to increase scouts to watch each other. Chiehtsan (結贇) massed several tens of thousands picked horsemen on the west of the altar. Now, the T'ufan horsemen went through the T'ang army, while Hsien's (城) general, Liang fengchen (梁奉貞), who was leading only 60 horsemen, went into the T'ufan army intending to pass through, but all of them were immediately captured. In spite of that, Hsien (城), however, provided nothing. Chiehtsan (結贇) then sent his messenger to Hsien and said that "I propose you and others put on the official robes and hats as well as swords and jewels, and await instructions." This was said to induce them to dismount from their horses, so that they may be captured (more easily). Hsien (城), Ts'ui hanheng (崔漢衡), Sung fengchiao (宋鳳朝), who was the head of the guards
(士卒特进), and others, all entered into the tent together, calm and unsuspecting. Chiehtsan (結壁) finally ordered to beat the drum three times, and his army came on shouting wildly. Hsien (城) rushed out from the back of the tent, and it just happened that he found someone's horse, on which he mounted and galloped away. At that time, the horse had no bit in the mouth, so Hsien (城) had to lean over its mane to direct the horse with his hands. And after about more than 10 Li (里) running, he got the bit in the horse's mouth. It was because of the speed that the arrows thrown by men pursuing him just passed him by without wounding him. However, there was only one of the Hsien's generals, Hsing jung (辛棠), who collected several hundreds of men, who occupied a hillock on the north side, and was fighting with the enemy. But immediately the enemies came from the four directions and surrounded Jung's army. Jung (棠) was exhausted and finally surrendered. Fengch'iao (鳳朝) and Hsien's secretary Han yen (韓命), both were killed during the tumult. Hang heng (漢衡) and the eunuchs Liu yenyung (劉延芐), Chu wenchen (傅文珍), and Li ch'ingchao (李清朝); in addition Hanheng's secretaries Cheng shuku

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1 Beating the drum was the sign of the commander's order to attack.

2 In the text, "追騎之不遇." "遇" must be a mistake for "倉."
(鄭叔矩), Lu pi (路泌); and the clerk Yuan tungchih (袁同直); and the generals Fu yuchun (扶余準), Ma ning (馬寧); also the generals of the armies of Shents'e (神策), Fengshang (鳳翔), and of Hotung (河東), Meng jihhua (孟日華), Li chihyen (李至言), Lo yenming (樂演明), Fan teng (范澄), Ma yen (馬昚), and others, altogether over 60 people, all fell into the enemy's hands. There were four or five hundreds of other casualties among the generals, soldiers, and commoners. And those who were taken captives were over 1,000, all of whom had their clothes stripped off. At the beginning, Han heng was attacked by the warriors, but his officer Lu wen (呂温) threw himself in between, and the sword hit wen (溫), thus Hanheng could escape the sword. Hanheng (漢衡) told the capturers in the barbarian words (夷言) that "I am the envoy of Han, that is, Ts'ui minister. Chiehtsan (結贊) and I are in good terms. If you kill me, then Chiehtsan will also kill you." Therefore, they gave up killing him. The captives were all driven off to the west with each of their bodies bound with a piece of wood reaching from neck to feet, and tied up three places around the body with hair rope, also joined the captives' hairs with hair rope during the night, then they were all thrown on the ground with the ropes fastened to one, and covered with pieces of felt, on which the guard lay down to prevent their escape. When T'ufan came back to their
original place Yuanchou (余州), Chiehtsan (结赞) was in a tent, and called the captives in front of him, and from time to time he mentioned that it was caused by T'ang, and he was also angry about Hun hsien (浑城), and saying that "the victory at Wukung (武功之捷)" was due entirely to our strength. In this, it was permitted to offer us Chingchou (经州) and Lingchou (灵州), but you have eaten all of the words, and opposed us deeply. For this reason, our whole nation became enraged. Originally the reason that I broke this treaty was in order to capture Hun hsien (浑城). I was going to send golden fetters and handcuffs with Hsien ( 珠 ) to our bTsang-po, but he already escaped, and I vainly took you here. Now, I intend to send back three of you." Lu wen (吕温), still suffering from his wound, was also brought in front of him. Chiehtsan praised his devotion and gave him valuable presents. Chiehtsan then led his army to Shihmen (石门), there he sent the eunuch Chu wenchen (楚文珍), Hun hsien's general Ma sui (马遂), and Ma sui's general Ma yen (马弈) back to T'ang, and Hangheng (潢衡), Shu chü (叔矩), and others were sent to Hochou (河州) to be imprisoned, while Tsai ying (蔡荣), Fu yuchun (付余 zun), and others were sent separately to

1 The T'ufan army helped the T'ang imperial army in the revolt of Chu tz'u (朱泚之乱), in 783. The T'ufan army defeated the Chu tz'u army.
the original K'uochou (酈州) and Shanchou (讬州) to be secluded.

Chiehtsan (結贊) originally invited T'u hsich'üan (杜希全) and Li kuan (李觀) to participate in the sworn treaty ceremony. This was because he planned to capture the two general-governors in order to break down the strong army, and to lead his own army to assault the capital. But Hsich'üan (布全) and the other did not participate in the ceremony. Then, he planned to capture Hun hsien (濵城) to urge him in the long run to help about Chiehtsan's plan to invade. His plot was like the one just mentioned. The Emperor sent the eunuch Wang tzuheng (王子騰) to Chiehtsan with dispatch, but they did not admit him to the T'ufan border, and the eunuch was returned. At the outset, when Hsien (郯), together with Lo yüangkuang (羅元光) were going to leave Chingchou (延州), Yüangkuang told Hsien that "I hold up the imperial order to encamp at P'an yüanp'u (潘原堡)¹ to be ready to support you, but I think Yüanp'u (原堡) is 67 Lin distant from the place of the treaty ceremony, and there are many treacherous things in the circumstances of T'ufan. In case there is an emergency involving you, how would I be able to know about it? Therefore, I propose to pitch my camp closer to you in order to prepare for an emergency, which may

¹ P'an-yuanp'u is in the eastern side of Shensi (flanking).
happen." But Hsien (aría) did not want to oppose the Emperor's order, and he firmly stopped the plan. Nevertheless, Yüankuang (元光) encamped his troops near to Hsien. And the trenches made were deep and strong enough, while Hsien's trenches and palisade were to the extent of being able to be jumped over. When Hsien ( ara) came flying back on the horseback, the general in guard, Li chiaots'ai (李朝彩) was unable to command his troops, and many of them already fled away. When Hsien ( ara) actually arrived there, there was only an empty camp and their weapons, other supplies and provisions were all thrown away. But relying upon Yüankuang's troops, he could make a defending array within the camp. As soon as Hsien rode up to the camp, the rebel horsemen pursuing Hsien retired. Yüankuang first let his baggage wagons leave and then, in cooperation with Hsien ( ara), ordered his troops to follow them. Thus, he redisciplined his troops and returned. Hsien again stationed at Fengt'ien (奉天).

On the 6th month, in the two cities of Yenchou (監州) and Hsiachou (夏州), the T'ufan burned the gates of the cities, the residences, and demolished the city walls, then they turned back. On the 7th month, the Emperor decreed that "recently, T'ufan has harassed the borders and harmed our people, and they have disturbed Lungtung (龍東) and encroached upon Hoch'u (河曲). We think, the fighting has just been put down, nevertheless, our injury has not healed, but we tried to stop planning to fight, and wished a
peaceful relationship. In spite of that the villainous barbarians are intending to gain and they are covetous. I knew they were against such terms as good relationship. However, I allowed to conclude the treaty, but the result was that they cheated us, and the incident happened at the ceremonial altar. They let their troops resemble wicked and lying herd of sheep or dogs running to catch our faithful civil and military officers. Thus, our officers immediately fell into their hands. Indeed, I deeply grieved about it, it is entirely due to my misunderstanding. This means that I failed in my virtue already, and I am ashamed of it before our people in the four directions of the world, devoted as I am to the governmental affairs, but I have left such a misery (behind). Regret never presides. The president of the board of war, Ts'ui hanheng (崔 清衡), and others are all good scholars of the nation as well as the royal ministers of our dynasty, but they are all bound and lying in the poor tents, and being separated far (from us) into the foreign border. Thinking of their families, they are not probably helped from (knowing) their daily want. If I give official posts ( 録 ) to them, it may be helpful for their insufficient substinence. As for Hanheng (漢 衡), let his son be promoted to official of the 7th grade; as for the sons of the auxiliary secretary of the bureau of honorific titles (司 熱 員 外 部 ), Cheng shuchū (鄭叔矩), the superior secretary (in charge) of inspecting finances
(檢校戶部郎), Chung lupi (中路丞), the censor of the general affairs in the palace (殿中侍御史), Han yen (韓㦄), the generals Meng jihhua (孟日華), Hsin yung (辛榮), Li chihyen (李臣言), Fan ch'eng (范澄), Wang liangpen (王良貺), Lo yenming (樂演明), Yang hsi (楊喜), and Ch'üan chiaoch'ang (權交成), let each of them be promoted to 8th grade officials; as for the sons of the inspector of the palace police (試左金吾兵曹參軍), Yüan t'ungchih (袁同直), the deputy planning officer (榆次尉) P'ei t'ing (裴廷), and the sons of those who are inferior than adjutant commander, let each of them be promoted to 9th grade officers. Thus, regular official posts are given to all of them, and as for the sons of other officers and soldiers, let each of their sons be offered with an official position. And let the governors of each region present to the court the official documents listing the names and the official titles of them."

(The court) sent the commander of Chüehsheng army (決勝軍), T'ang liangch'en (唐良臣), with 600 men to garrison Yangch'en p'anyuanp' u (陽成潘原堡), and the lieutenant-general

1 In the text, it is said "副兵馬便已下", but in 詔令集 it is"---已上", also the year is 貞元元年 (785), while the text says 貞元三年 (787). V. 65, 詔令集, 錄降蕃官王孫詵。
of Shents'e's army (神策軍), Su taiping (蘇太平), was ordered to lead 500 men to garrison Lungchou (隆州). On the 8th month, Ts'ui hanheng (崔漢衡) arrived from T'ufan. At first, Hanheng and other captives of the same time were all taken to Hochou (河州), but soon Shangchhtssan (尚皓贊) ordered Hanheng, who was the general of the Shents'e army (神策軍), Meng jihhua (孟日華), and Liu yenyung (劉延英), who was the eunuch, to be sent to Shihmen (石門), and from there they were sent back to T'ang. Chiehtsan (皓贊) ordered his envoy to take 50 horsemen to escort them up to the frontier, and he was also asked to present a written statement to the Emperor. As soon as they arrived to P'anyüan (潘原), Li kuan (李覲) was sent to stop their admission, saying that "according to our decree, no more T'ufan envoys are allowed admittance," then Li kuan only accepted the statement and let the people back. From this time on, T'ufan led the army, consisting of the Ch'iang and Hun tribes (先澤) to attack the border, and encamped both at P'ank'ou (潘口) and at Chingshihling (青石嶺). Previously, the T'ufan army marched into three ways toward the east; one was to Lungchou (隆州), the second one was to the east of Ch'lenyang (潿陽之東) and the third one was to T'aokanyüan (釣竿原).

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1 P'ank'ou may mean the entrance of P'anyüan (潘原).
But at this time, they all encamped one after another. Their tents stretched out several tens of Li（里）, and the enemies' camps at Ch' ianyang (渋陽) were only 40 Li far from Fengshang (鳳翔), therefore the people of the capital trembled with fears, the scholars and the citizens were also frightened. The T'ufan dispatched the army consisting of Chiang and Hun (光澤之象) dressed with Chinese army uniform, and pretended to be the army of Hsingchunya (形居年), then they immediately appeared in Wushan (呉山) and in the northern border of Paochi (_pkt鴉_) and burned their residences, and carried off the inhabitants as well as their flocks, then they cut off the net of the image of the Wushan God (呉山神), and among the people the young ones were taken along with them, while the sick and old ones were all killed or their hands were cut off or their eyes were cut out and thrown away. At first, Li ch'eng (李程) stationed at Fenghsiang (鳳翔), where he cut the big trees down to block the Anhua valley pass (安化峡), but this time the enemy burned all of them. On the 9th month, a decree was ordered to Shih chichang (石秀章), who was the general of the Shents'e army (神策軍), to garrison at Wukung (武官)

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1 Wushan is in 陝西省臨沬 东南.  
2 Paochi is 陝西省武功縣.  
3 The Anhua valley pass is in 甘肃省清水縣東方.
with 3,000 men, and T'ang liangch'en (唐良臣) was summoned from P'anyuan (潘原) to garrison the city of Poli (百里城).\footnote{The city of Poli might be in Chingchou (澄州).} In this month, T'ufan ravaged over 10,000 people of men and women in the area of Ch'ienyang (汧陽), Wushan (呉山), and Haut'ing (華亭),\footnote{Huat'ing is in 甘肅省華亭縣.} and all of them were sent to the west of the Anhua valley (安化峽) to be given to the Chiang and the Hun tribes as their slaves. And the T'ufan said that "all of you, face the east and weep for the last farewell of your native country." Consequently, all broke out with a deep loud lamentation and several hundreds died at the very same spot, and there were over 1,000 people who died by throwing themselves over precipices. Among those who head this news, there was nobody who did not mourn.

Hunhsien (澤誠) dispatched his general Jen mengchu (任蒙主) with 3,000 men to defend Haossu (好畤). On this month, the T'ufan army came again, and separately encamped at Fengyu (豐義)\footnote{Fengyi is in 甘肅省鎮原縣.} and at Huat'ing (華亭). The T'ang officials deliberately met together to plan to break the enclosure of the T'ufan. The governor of Lungchou, Han ch'ingmien (韓清浹), together with Su T'aip'ing (蘇太平), led out their troops at
night, and hid them at T'ahsiangk'an (大像鑫), and at midnight they ordered both of their troops in the city and at K'an (鑫)\(^1\) to have fire lighted up to respond to one another. The rebels were frightfully alarmed, and when their camp was attacked, they withdrew in disorder. Around those days, the T'ufan attacked and took Huat'ing, they cut off the water supply first, and the general-in-guard, Wang sheng-chieh (王仙鹤) and his troops as well as the civilians by more than 3,000 people were all enclosed. The general, somehow, sent a messenger through a by-pass to Lungchou (龍州) to ask for help. Then, the governor-general of Lungchou, Han ch'ingmien (韓清秀), ordered Su t'ai ping (蘇太平) to lead 1,500 men to march there. But in the midway, some hundreds of struggling horsemen were destroyed by the enemy. T'ai ping (太平) was by nature timorous, and had no aptitude for war. Thus, he immediately led his army back. From this time on, the enemy sent some 1,000 light horsemen to Lungchou (龍州) every day, but the city troops dared not to step out again. About in four days, there was no water-supply anymore in the city enclosed by the enemy, and no troops were coming to support them. The enemy also piled up wood under the city gate and they were going to burn them down. Shenchieh

\(^1\) K'an here refers to大像鑫.
(仙鹤), after all, surrendered to the enemy. The enemy burned all the houses and destroyed the city walls, and carried off three or four out of ten people, that is, taking the young and ignoring the old ones, then they took off. The enemy marched to the north and attacked Lienyün (連雲) and took over the city. The three sides of the city were surrounded by lofty hills, only north side was connected to the field, where trenches were made to strengthen the defense. The enemy built seven throwing-stone posts (投石樓) to the north of it, and attacked the inside of the city. There was only one well in the city, and it was buried by the throw stones and suddenly floated over, and then they built a high bridge over the trench and crossed it, then attacked the city severely. The general of the city, Chang mingsui (章明遂), finally with his troops of over 1,000 people both men and women wept toward the east and surrendered to the T'ufan. Up to this date, in the west of Chingchou (經口), there remained only Liényun (連雲), and the troops were always watching the enemy's activities, but at this time the city had fallen to the enemy. From this time on, nobody dared to open the west gate of Chingchou (不啟啓西門), thus the outside of the west gate all became the enemy's territory.

That is to say, the gathering sticks and the grass for fuel were almost exhausted, and for the harvest, the people had to place their battle array in the
field, only then they harvested. If the harvest season passed, what the people got were mostly vain ears of grain. Thus, the people came to experience grief due to starvation.

The T'ufan pursued and caught the troops of Lienyun-pao (連雲堡), they also caught the commoners of Pinchou and Chingchou (邳絳), who escaped to mountain valleys together with as many heads of cattle as 10,000. They were all sent to the T'anch'eng valley (潭城險). From this time on, in the regions of Chingchou, Lungchou, Pinchou, and so forth (涇陽等 ), wherever the enemies reached, almost everything was usurped. And in the autumn of this year the people could not obtain so much grain to pass over the year.

The generals in the borders merely reported to the Emperor with words of congratulation for the enemy's withdrawal. On the 10th month, the T'ufan again invaded Changwuch'eng (長武城), with several thousands of horsemen. Han ch'uangyi (韓全義) led troops to defend against them, and the general under Han yuhuai (韓遊瓊) asked Yuhuai to help Ch'uangyi (全義) with their troops, but Yuhuai did not allow him to help. At sunset, the enemy withdrew, and Ch'uangyi also retired. From this time on, the rebels always patrolled back and forth between

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1 In the text, it is written "鄉編戶". 編戶 literally means registered citizen, but here it implies the farmers.
Chingchou and Pinchou (經卿之間), and in other cities the people did not dare to open the west gates. The enemy also rebuilt the ancient fortress of Yüanchou (原州城), and stationed there with a large armed contingent.

In the 4th year (788) of Chengyüan (貞元), on the 5th month, more than 30,000 horsemen of T'ufan invaded the borders. They entered in separate units to Chingchou, Pinchou, Ningchou, Ch'ingchou, Lingchou, and so forth (浹卿寧慶麟革州). 1 They burned the city hall of P'engyüanhsien (彭原縣), 2 and wherever they went they set fire upon the dwellings, and carried off some 20,000 to 30,000 heads of cattle. Finally, they retired in about twenty days.

The general of the Chin-hsieu army (韓許行營), Han chuanyi (韓全義), led a unit of the army from the fortress of Ch'angwu (長武城) against them, but returned without victory. Yuhuai (遊懷) was by nature not capable for military affairs, moreover, he was sick, so he was unable to rise. Consequently, he closed the city gate, keeping himself in and dared not to come out to defend against them. In former times, whenever T'ufan invaded our territory, it was always autumn or winter. In spring, many of

1 Ningchou (寧州) is in 甘肅省寧縣.
2 P'engyüanhsien is 甘肅省彭原縣東方.
them became sick, and they used to retire. But the invasion of this time took place in midsummer, and, surprisingly, there was no one sick. It was probably because of that the Chinese who fell into their hands were given with properties, and their wives and children were retained for the purpose of using them. The T'ufan was using those people and invaded our territory.

On the 9th month (788), the T'ufan generals Shanghsitunghsing (尚督星星), Lungmanglo (論 Mã 蛇), and others invaded Ningchou (寧州). The governor-general of Ningchou, Chang shienpu (張獻甫), led his troops to defend against them, and cut off over a hundred heads. The rebels changed their course, this time they invaded Lingchou (麟州), Fangchou (房州), and so forth. Then they retired after their booty.

In the 5th year (貞元 /789), on the 10th month, the governor-general of Chiennan (劍南節度使), Wei Kao, dispatched the general Wang yutao (王有道) and others to lead the troops in uniting with the eastern barbarians; Chunashih ( Chun 邑), of the western forest, Meng ch'ung (夢衝) of Wut'eng (勿野) and so forth. And at the north valley of T'aiteng (太登), in the former Suichou (蜀州), they

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1 Shanghsitunghsing may be Shan-ston-sen.
2 Suichou is 四川省 西昌州.
totally defeated the army of the two T'ufan governors of Ch'inghai (青海) and Liehch'eng (麗城), and killed their cavalry commander Ch'itsang-cheche-hsito-yangchu (乞藏遮遜悉多楊朱), and cut off over 2,000 heads. And those who killed themselves by throwing themselves from the cliff to the flowing river were countless, capturing 45 T'ufan officers of horsemen, over 10,000 weapons and obtained over 10,000 heads of horses, cows, and sheep. Cheche (遮遮) was a brave warrior of T'ufan; however, some said he was the son of Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊). He often disturbed the border, but at this time he killed himself. At the gates of the cities (城柵), where the imperial army was attacking, there was no one who did not surrender, and the T'ufan troops withdrew day by day. Finally, in several years, the area of Suichou (壽州) was entirely recovered.

In the 6th year (貞元/790), the T'ufan took our capital of Peit'ing (汴). Formerly, Peit'ing and Anhsi (汴) borrowed the pass from Ouigour, and by using the pass they served for the central government.¹ For this reason, they seemed to belong to Ouigour. However, the nature of T'ufan tribes was to covet wildly, and there was no limit for levy. Furthermore, Peit'ing was near to the Ch'iang

¹ The two cities borrowed the route from Ouigour because the route in Hohsi (河西) was occupied by T'ufan.
tribes (先 稿 )1 so that most of the food and other materials were compulsorily taken without exception, and after all the people could not live peacefully. There were also 6,000 tents of Shat'o (沙 陀 )2 next to Peit'ing (业 庭 ), and they were also belong- ing to Ouigour (燃 统 ). The Ouigours never ceased from plundering them, thus the people were very di- stressed.

The Kolopu (葛 纔 )3 people and the white-robed T'uchüeh (白 服 續 爵 )4 used to maintain a good relation with Ouigours, but at this time they also came to complain about their robbery. In this regard, when T'ufan sent them valuable presents, they were attracted by the presents, and finally paid allegiance to T'ufan. Thus, T'ufan ruled the Kolu (葛 續 ) and the white-robed Turk tribes. Last year, each of them invaded Peit'ing.

The prime minister of Ouigour, Chiehkanchiassu ( 頭 可 軽 斯 ),5 who led his troops and supported Peit'ing, fought vigorously, nevertheless, he was defeated. The T'ufan attack was very severe, and the

1 "先 稿 " may be a mistake for "燃 續 ".
2 Shat'o is a separated tribe of the Turks.
3 This is Quarlug in the north-west of Peit'ing (业 庭 ).
4 The white-robed T'uchüeh is a Turk tribe.
5 "千 " in 頭 可 軽 斯 may be a mistake for (yü).
people of Peit'ing had been already suffered from Ouigours. Finally, in this year the whole city surrendered to T'ufan. Shat'o (沙陀) villages also surrendered to T'ufan. The governor-general of Peiting, Yang hsiku (楊襲古), having collected over 2,000 people, fled to Hsichou (西州),¹ and Chiehkanchiassu (贊千迦斯), who was unsuccessful in the fighting, also returned.

In the autumn of the 7th year (貞元 /791), the entire physically able men of 50,000 to 60,000 of Ouigour were going to recover Peit'ing (西庭). For this reason, Hsiku (襲古) was called and they marched together, but suddenly they were attacked by T'ufan, Kolu, and others, and they were totally defeated, thus more than half were killed. Chiehkanchiassu (贊千迦斯) then fooled Hsiku (襲古) and said to him: "Let us go to our sovereign's tent together, I will send you back to your own court."

Hsiku consented, but as soon as he arrived, he was detained instead of being sent back, and afterwards he was put to death. Consequently, Anhsi (安西) was blocked off from the communication, thus no one knew whether the city had been taken or not, while the people of Hsichou were still defending their city.

Chiehkanchiassu (贊千迦斯) had been already defeated. In the meantime, Kolu (郝祿), who was

¹ Hsichou is 高昌.
taking the opportunity of their victory, took Fut'ouch'uan ( 漢 栾 川 )\(^1\) of Ougour. The Ougours were frightened, and moved all the villagers of Hsichou ( 西 村 ), the sheep and the horses to the south of their sovereign's encampment. Thus, they escaped from the attack of Kolu ( 葛 禄 ).

On the 4th month of the 8th year ( 壬 元 /792), T'ufan invaded Lingchou ( 嫩 壇 ), and drove off men and animals. Then they attacked and took the city of Shuik'ou ( 水口 城 ), and then they advanced and enclosed Chouch'eng ( 城 城 ), blocking off the entrance of water as well as the water ditch in order to damage the official farming fields. An imperial decree was issued to the armies of Hotung ( 河 東 ) and Chenwu ( 墜 武 ) to support the city separately. Also over 3,000 men of the imperial army were divided in order to garrison the two cities of Tingyüan ( 吴 逸 ) and Huaiyüan ( 塱 逸 ). The Emperor himself appeared in Shenwu pavillion ( 神 武 棋 ) and sent them off, consequently the T'ufan withdrew.

On the 6th month, several thousands of T'ufan horsemen came from Ch'ingshihling ( 青 之 墾 )\(^2\) and invaded Chingchou ( 經 壇 ), and carried off over 1,000 local militia. As they were returning by the way of

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\(^1\) According to 迪 鑫, ( 胡 汶 ), Fut'ouch'uan was to the north-west of Utukan ( 鳥 持 堤 山 ).

\(^2\) Ch'ingshihling is located in 甘肃省 深川 東西部.
Lienyün-p'u (逆雲堡), the commandant of the city T'ang ch'aochien (唐朝臣) sent out his troops to fight against them, but the chief general Wang chingyun (王進均) was killed. On the 9th month, the governor-general of Hsichuan (西川), Wei kao (韋皋), attacked Weichou (雄州) occupied by the T'ufan, and captured their general Lun tsanjo (論贊熱),¹ and other chiefs. They were sent to the capital. On the 11th month, the governor-general of Shannan hsitao (山南西道), Yen chen (殷震), attacked and defeated the T'ufan at Fangchou (芳州), and at Heiship'u (黑水堡), burned the enemy's supplies stored there, then presented the chief and other captives to the Emperor.

In the 9th year (貞元 /793), on the 2nd month, the Emperor ordered to wall Yenchou (鹽州). This city had formerly been damaged by T'ufan. Since then there had been no walled city outside the border. Thus, the communication of the armed force of Lingwu (靈武) became disturbed. On the western side, T'ufan bordered on Luchou and Fangchou (盧州)² and made extreme disturbances on the border. This was the reason that the Emperor ordered to wall the city, and it was completed in twenty days. The

¹ Lun tsanjo may be bLon-brtsan-bsher.
² In the text, "西逼盧?坊", 鬧? refers to 鬧州, and 坊 refers to 坊州.
Emperor also ordered Ho kansui (好兼遂), who was the president of the court of censor in double duties (都御史大夫), to lead 5,000 warriors in cooperation with the army of Tu yenkuang (杜參光), who was the vice-president of the court of censor in double duties (都御史大夫) to garrison the city. In regard to this duty, the Emperor was thinking of the heavy duty of the officers and warriors, thereby finally ordered the treasury to prepare a liberal provision for them. The Emperor also ordered the armies of Chingyüan (經原), Hunan (湖南), and Shannan (山南) to invade the T'ufan deeply so as to divorce their forces. Consequently, during the process of building the wall, there was no plunderer of T'ufan who attacked the barrier. When the work was completed, both officials and commoners unanimously praised the completion. On this month, the governor-general of Hsich'uan, Wei kao (四川章皋), presented the captured T'ufan chiefs, warriors, weapons, oxen, and horses to the Emperor. Initially, when the Emperor was resolving to wall Yenchou (堅州城), the Emperor ordered Kao (皋) to lead an army to separate the T'ufan troops. Kao (皋) sent his generals Tung mien (董敏) and Chang fen (張芬) to Hsishan (西山) and to Nantao (南道), and they broke down the city of Ngooho (俄和城) and

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1 In the text, it is "四川章皋", which means 四川節度使章皋.
the city of Tunghouchün (通 鴨軍).¹ The T'ufan commander-in-chief for the southern route, Lunmangje (論 袍烈),² came to relieve them, but he too was defeated. Thus, killing and injuring several thousands, burning the ancient city of T'inglien (冬 鹑), nearly fifty places of border-gates and the walled cities were pacified.

In the 10th year (貞元 /794), Mengyimouhsin (蒙密卑尋) of Nanchao barbarians (南 越 竣) totally defeated the T'ufan at Shenming (神 明).³ He sent his envoy with the news of his victory. The words are described in Nanchao-ch'uan (南 越 伝).⁴ In the 13th year (貞元 /797), the 8th month, Huang shaoch'ing (黃 少卿) attacked and took the four cities of Ch'in (鈴 ), Hung (樑 ), Hsin (譙 ), and Fei (費 ).⁶ And the chief general of the

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¹ The city of Ngoho is in 四 川 省 棕 番 西南東, and the city of Tunghouchün is in 四 川 省 保 城 西 方.
² Lunmangje may be bLon-man-bsher.
³ In 新 廬 音 also in 通 鐘, it is 神 明. 神 明 refers to the upper region of 金沙江.
⁴ 旧 廬 音, 東一九七 "南 要, 西南 通 題." 南 越 伝.
⁵ In the text, it is " 十三年八月 ", it is probably a mistake for the 11th year. See note 3, p. 135.
⁶ Huang shaoch'ing was commandant of 鈴 . He revolted and took the four cities, but these four cities were in 云 西 省 , and had nothing to do with T'ufan.
T'ufan, Lunch'ijan-t'angmutsang-hsinolu (論之選漢沒藏於翰律)¹ with his family and his followers came to offer allegiance. In the following year, he was appointed as the general of virtue (撫德弼事). In the 12th year (貞元 /796), on the 9th month, T'ufan invaded Ch'ingchou (慶州) and Huach'ihhsien (華池縣),² and killed many people.

In the 13th year (貞元 /797),³ on the 1st month, Hsing chunya (邢君牙) reported to the Emperor about a fortification located at a place some 70 Li (里) to the west of Lungchou (龍州), and he defended it against the western barbarians. The fortification was named the fortress of Yunghhsin (永信城).

(Incidentally, the T'ufan bTsan-po (贊普) sent his envoy, who was called Nungsohsi (龐索喜), with dispatches, and asked for a renewal of the good relationship. When the frontier generals reported it

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¹ Lunch'ijant'angmutsang may be blon-khri-btsaṅ than-bzahn stag-bsher.

² In 新唐書, it is described as 幸池. It is probably 王池縣, which was located to the north-east of 甘肅省.

³ Compare with note 5 on the preceding page and the whole sentence of note 2 above. The order of year appears in the text as follows: 797, 796, 797.
to the Emperor, the Emperor declined to receive the dispatches, and ordered to send back the envoy because of their wolfish nature, besides they had repeatedly shown ingratitude and willingness to break off the treaty agreements.

On the 17th day of the 5th month, T'ufan opened up routes at three places in Shanmaling (山馬鎧) in Chiennan (劍南), and their troops encamped separately. Only after one month, the T'ufan troops advanced near to the city of T'ai t'eng (臺登城). The governor of Suichou (曹 高任), Ts'ao kaojen (曹高任), led out the officers and the warriors of various units of the army, in addition, he also led out the young people of the eastern barbarians, and with this united force he fought against them from morning to noon. The T'ufan barbarians were absolutely defeated. That is, capturing seven chief officers, the killed and the captured ones in the fighting were over 300, while those who were hit with swords and spears were countless, the captured horses and other domestic animals were over 500 heads and some 2,000 war materials and weapons were obtained.

In the 14th year (貞元 /798), on the 10th month, the governor-general of Hsiachou (夏州), Han ch'üanyi (韓全義) defeated the T'ufan at the northwest of Yenchou (陰州). In the 16th year (貞元/800), on the 6th month, the Yenchou army defeated the
T'ufan troops at the Wulan bridge (烏蘭橋). In the 17th year (貞元/801), on the 7th month, the T'ufan invaded Yenchou (延州), also took Linchou (靈州), and killed the governor of the city, Kuo feng (郭鋒) and dismantled the city walls as well as the dry ditches, then they plundered the inhabitants, also driving off the T'anghsiang (光項) tribes; finally they went away.

Following this, they encamped at the peak of the Hengts'ao (橫梢峯); there, they summoned the seven colleagues of the Buddhist monk Yen su (延素). It is said that the T'ufan leader Hsu (徐舍人) called them to be their cooks. However, the T'ufans, without even ordering themselves, drew Yen su (延素) and others to the front of their tents so speedily, and then they tied up their hands with horse-leather ropes, and bound their necks with hair ropes. There appeared a young T'ufan, who was about six feet tall, with red beard and big eyes. This man was the leader Hsu (徐舍人). Hsu ordered to release them from their bonds, and he, sitting in a tent, said: "My dear sirs, do not be afraid, I am originally Chinese, I am the grandson of the 5th generation of the president of the board of works, the Duke of Yingkuo

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1 In 新唐書, 卷三七, 地理志, there is "今州為蘭州", it describes that there was 烏蘭橋 at the north-west, so the Wulang bridge must have been around there.
As a consequence of the massacre of the imperial house by the Empress Wu (武后), our great ancestor Kaotsu (高祖) was trying to establish his royalty, but he died in the midst. His descendants were spread out to foreign countries, and it is now third generation. Though each generation has held official position and the commanding military posts, there is no end to (our) thinking about the mother country. And I cannot simply get rid of myself from thinking of my blood relation, that is all. Here, it is the border of T'ufan and Han. If one goes 90 Li (里) further from here, it will be Anlochou (安乐州). If you go there, I suppose you will not have a chance to return to the east." Yen su (延寿) then said, "I am single and my father is old, I have been praying in my heart for his health, but I cannot overcome my sadness." Then, the retainer Hsu (徐) replied: "I received the order to lead the army to defend this border, and in seeking provisions of both material and food, I entered into Han territory. I advanced towards the east by moving from one place to another, and I finally came to this city of Linchou (麟城). And there was no defense, also the supporting troops of Han were cut

1 The Duke of Yingkuo is 李勣.
2 This is 李敬業.
3 Anlochou is in 宁夏省中衛県.
off, therefore, I occupied this city. I know the Excellency Kuo is the descendant of the royal family, therefore, I was not going to harm his life, but unfortunately he was killed by the rebels."

Just at that time, an emergent messenger arrived. The "emergent" means "to send by courier" (騮驛) in China. The messenger reported that "a fortune-teller said there will be an event, so it is better to summon the troops and return." After all, they returned.

At this time, a decree was issued to Wei kao to dispatch his generals with a force of 20,000 troops of infantry and horsemen to advance in parallel on the nine routes in the south and north of the western mountain (西山) of Ch'engtu (城都), and let them approach to the various cities such as Hsichi (輝), Laoweng (老翁), the old Weichou (故雍州), Paochou (保州), and Sungchou (松州).

1 This was 郭綜, who was the son of 郭讎. 郭讎 was the son of 郭子儀. That is, 郭綜 was the grandson of 郭子儀.

2 In the text, it is "飛鳥傳", which literally means "flying-bird messenger."

3 This is a government post, where couriers rest or are changed. Here, it means T'ufan messenger.

4 城都 must be a mistake for 成都.

5 楚之郡 is in 四川省茂県. 老翁 is in 四川省茂県西界. 故雍州 and 保州 are in 四川省保州西界. 松州 must be around here.
It was the purpose of moderating the tension of the northern borders. On the 9th month, Wei kao (韋考) totally defeated the T'ufan at Weichou (維州). In the 18th year (貞元/802), on the 1st month, Wei kao captured the great T'ufan chief Chungmangje (衆桑熱),¹ and sent him to the Emperor. The Emperor gave him a house at Ts'ungjenli to live. Mangje (本熱) was the great minister of interior of T'ufan.

Previous, in the 16th year (貞元/800), Wei kao successively defeated over 20,000 T'ufan troops at Lichou (離州) and Suichou (思州).² As a consequence, T'ufan on a large scale investigated our fortifications and boats, thus, they secretly planned to invade the border. Nevertheless, Kao (皋) pushed them down entirely. In this, Yingying (婴婴), who was the T'ufan chief concurrently the leader of the nine governor-generals of the area of Nangkung (囊貢), Liehch'eng (揚城), and so forth, and Ma tingte (馬廷德), who was the superior officer, both came to surrender together with their 87 chief generals and the people of their villages.

Tingte (廷德) was the one who had ability to plan, while Yingying (婴婴) knew the tactics as well as the geography of the mountains and the rivers.

¹ Chungmangje (衆桑熱) is 論桑熱, who is bLon-mań-bsher.

² Lichou is in 四川省清漢県, and Suichou is 四川省西昌県.
Whenever T'ufan raised their troops, Tingte (廷德) always rode on the post-horse to consult with the generals, and the generals also accepted his successful plans. But at this time, he could not establish the merit for the border. And it seemed that he was afraid of being punished, so that he made up his mind to offer his allegiance to T'ang. The following year (19th year of 貞元/803), over 1,000 families of Mo and Hsieh (摩些) barbarian tribes who were ruled by the city of K'unming (昆明),¹ also came to offer allegiance. The T'ufan found themselves defeated and dispersed in the outside of the border (to the south), then they invaded Lingchou and Shuochou (靈朔)² in the north and took Linchou (麟州). A decree was issued to Wei kao (魏皋) to send out troops to the western mountain of Ch'engtu (成都) for the purpose of moderating the tension of the northern border. Kao (皋) consequently ordered the commander of the Chenching army (鎮靜軍), Ts'ui yaoch'en (崔堯臣), to lead 1,000 soldiers to the route of Lunghan shihmen (臨済石門). And for the south, Kao (皋) allowed the commander of Wei-chou and Paochou (維州保州), Ch'ou wanch'i (仇萬齋), and the governor of Paochou and Pachou

¹ The city of Hungming was the capital of 南詔. In this text it refers to T'ufan provincial government.

² Ling and So refer, respectively, to Lingchou and Sochou.
Tung chen (董振) and others to lead 2,000 soldiers to oppress the T'ufan. And the commander of the northern route in the city of Weichou (維州城), Hsing tz'u (邢思), and the governors of the various cities (諸州) such as Tung Hsüanngo (董懷愷) and others were let to lead 4,000 soldiers to attack the cities of Hsichi (棗鶴) and Laoweng (老翁), and so forth. And the city generals such as Kao t'i (高倜), Wang yingchün (王英俊), and others were let to lead 2,000 soldiers to attack the old Sungchou (松州). And the commander of the route Lungtung (龍東), Yüan ying (元鷹) and other generals such as Ho tsung (郝宗) and others were let to lead 8,000 soldiers separately to the south routes such as Ya (雅), Ch'iueng (邱), Li (黎), and Sui (嵂). Kao (皋) also ordered the commander of the Chennan army in Ch'iuengchou (邱州) concurrently the censor, Wei liangchin (韋良金), to raise 1,300 soldiers to advance. The director of strategy in Weichou (維州經畧使), Lu weiming (路惟名), and the chief of the three villages Chao jihchin (趙日進) and others were let to lead 3,000 soldiers to attack and invade the cities such as P'utsu (逋租), Piensung (僑松), and so forth. The director of the strategy in Lichou (黎州經畧使) Wang yutao (王有道) was let to lead 2,000 soldiers including Ho chinhsin (郝金信) and others in the three villages to cross the river Tatu (大渡河), and to advance deeply to the T'ufan territory. The
director of strategy in Suichou (蘇州經略使), Ch'en hsiaoyang (陳孝陽) and the commanders of the camp for the marching troops (行營兵马使), Ho tahai (河大海), Wei yi (韋義), and others as well as the chief of the three villages of the Mo and Hsieh barbarian tribes (樂些蠻), Chu nashih (苴那時), were let to lead 4,000 soldiers to advance to the various cities of K'unming (昆明). And from the 8th month to the 12th month, they successively defeated the troops of 160,000 men, occupying enemy's seven cities, five fortified camps, receiving over 3,000 families in submission, capturing over 6,000 people, and cut off over 6,000 heads. And, finally, the imperial army enclosed Weichou (維州). There, the T'ufan relief troops again arrived, so fighting as moving over 1,000 Li (里); however, the T'ufan was successively defeated. The invaders of Lingchou (靈州) and Shouchou (朔州), leading their troops, went down to the south. In this, bTsan-po (菩提) dispatched Mangje (莽熱) with the appointment as interior minister, concurrently the general envoy to the governor-general of the five eastern borders (五大都護東境五道節度兵马使都統大使) to lead 100,000 various barbarian tribes to release the enclosure of Weichou (維州之圍). The imperial army consisted of 10,000 men or more, and depending upon the dangerous and difficult places, the soldiers were put in ambush to wait for them, while only 1,000 men were sent out to provoke a battle.
initially. Mangje (莽 熱), seeing the small number of our army, came with his entire force to pursuit and fell into the ambush. Our generals from four sides attacked them with full speed, and finally captured Mangje (莽 熱). Thus, the barbarian force was totally dispersed.

In the 19th year (貳 元 /803), on the 5th month, the T'ufan envoy Lunchinje (論 嫚 熱) arrived. On the 6th month, the chief general of the right-wing Lungwu army (右 鼎 武 大 將 單), Sieh p'i (薛 佐) was concurrently appointed to the post of envoy and sent to T'ufan.

In the 20th year (貳 元 /804), the early part of the 3rd month, the bTsan-po (贊 善) passed away. The imperial court was closed for three days, and the vice-president of the board of works (工部侍郎), Chang chien (張 賢), was appointed to go to condole. The bTsan-po died on the 4th month of the 13th year (貳 元 /797), and his eldest son succeeded, but he also died in one year, so the second son succeeded to the throne. 3

1 Lunchinje may be bLon-rgyal-bsher.

2 This is Khri-sron lde-brtsan, who already died in the 13th year/797. See note 3, below.

3 Khri-sron lde-brtsan died in the 13th year/797, and his eldest son Mu-ne btsan-po succeeded, but he also died in a year, so the second son Khri-lde sron-brtsan succeeded to the throne. But the news arrived at T'ang court in the 20th year/804.

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The Emperor ordered all the military and civil officers above the third grade to go to the T'ufan envoy to condole. On the 4th month, the T'ufan envoy Lunch'ijan (論之舟), who was the superior observer of Honan (論河南觀察使) and the Buddhist monk Nanpot'echip'o (南婆提吉波)\(^1\) and others, altogether 54 persons, came to the court. On the 12th month, T'ufan envoys Lunhsije (論襲烈) and Kuochit's'ung (郭志崇)\(^2\) came to the court. In the 21st year (貞元 /805), on the 2nd month, Shungtsung (順宗) appointed the left-wing general of palace-police and capital (左金吾衛), concurrently the vice censor (御史中丞), T'ien chingtu (田景度), to go to T'ufan with the special credentials to report the death of the Emperor,\(^3\) and the auxiliary secretary of the treasury (庫部丞副) concurrently the vice censor (御史中丞), Hsü chihiyi (熊執易), as the assistant envoy to him. On the 7th month, the T'ufan envoy Lunhsino and others came to the court. In the 1st year of Yungchen (永貞 /805),\(^4\) on the 10th month, the envoy of the bTsan-po (贊普),

\(^1\) Nanpot'echip'o may be Rnam-bar Ide-ba.

\(^2\) This is the Chinese name; it is unidentifiable who he was.

\(^3\) This was the Emperor 德宗.

\(^4\) The 21st year of 貞元 /805 and the 1st year of 永貞 /805 are actually the same year.
Lunch'i-lüpets'ang (論丘逝世藏) came and contributed gold, silver, clothes, oxen, horses, and so forth to the tumulus of Tetsung (德宗). On the 11th month, the deputy officer of the guards (衛尉少御) concurrently the deputy censor (御史中丞), Hou yu'ping (候幼平), was appointed as the informing envoy of the succession of the Emperor and other things to T'ufan.

In the first year of Yüanho (元和/806), on the 1st month, a decree was issued to send the 17 T'ufan slaves who were sent to Fuchientao (福建道) back to T'ufan with post-horses. On the 6th month, the T'ufan envoy Lunpets'ang (論丘逝世藏) came to the court. In the 5th year (元和/810), on the 5th month, the T'ufan envoy Lunssuhsiehje (論思邪熱) came to the court, and brought the coffins of Cheng shuchü (鄭叔矩) and Lu pi (路泌), also brought the sons of Shuchü (叔矩), Wen yen (文延) and others, altogether 13 people. Shuchu and Pi had fallen into their hands at the sworn ceremony at P'ingliang (平涼), and about for twenty years they never changed their loyalty (to their mother country), and after all they passed away in T'ufan. Recently, T'ufan asked for peace, therefore they returned them. On the 6th month, the minister Tu yu (杜佑) was appointed along with others to consult

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1 Lunssuhsiehje may be bLon-klu-bzañ.
with the T'ufan envoy about the state affairs in the office of Chungshuling (中書令), and at that time the T'ufan told us to return the area of the cities of Ch'in (秦), Yuan (原), and Anlo (安樂) to us. On the 7th month, the vice president of the court of the ceremony concurrently the temporary deputy censor Li ming (李銘) was appointed as envoy to T'ufan, and Wu yün (吳暉), who was the master administrator of the house of prince (王府長史) concurrently the censor of the court for general affairs (侍御史) as the assistant envoy. From the 6th year to the 10th year (元和 /811-815), it was not ceased to send us their envoy to contribute. In the 12th year (元和 /817), on the 4th month, the T'ufan came to report their rTsang-po's death. The right-wing general of the martial guard, Wu chungsu (吳重祀), was concurrently appointed as the deputy censor as well as the envoy on the mission of condolences, and Tuan tiao (段鈞), who was the censor of the general affairs in the palace (殿中侍御史) as the assistant envoy to him.

In the 13th year (元和 /818), on the 10th month, T'ufan besieged our Yuchou (宜州) and Fenghsiang

1 Chungshuling is the minister of the imperial secretaries.

2 It was the 10th year of 元和 that Khri-lde sron-brtsan died, and his son Khri-gtsug Ide-brtsan succeeded. The 12th year is that the death news arrived to the T'ang court.
(鳳翔), then they sent their messenger saying that they were going to send a mission for the peaceful relationship. On the same month, the army in Lingwu (靈武) defeated 20,000 T'ufan troops at the city of Chengyuan (成都), killing 2,000, capturing one deputy governor-general and 39 other officers, also capturing sheep and horses innumerable. The commander of P'ingliang garrison (平涼鎮遏使), Ho tz'u (郝埡), defeated over 20,000 T'ufan troops, and recovered the city of Yüanchou (原州城), and captured uncountable number of sheep and horses. The governor-general of Hsiachou (夏州), Tien ch'in (田進), also defeated over 30,000 troops at Lingwu (靈武). On the 11th month, a report from Yenchou (鹽州) said that T'ufan invaded Hoch'ü (河曲), but our Shiachou (夏州) army defeated over 50,000 T'ufan troops, and Lingwu (靈武) army destroyed the enemy's outskirt fortress of the city of Changlo (長樂), and burned their houses, stores, and weapons. The governor-general of Hsich'uan (西州), Wang po (王播), attacked and took the cities Ngoho (成和) and Hsichi (樓槿) and so forth. In the 14th year, on the 1st month, the decree said that "we are neighbored by many countries, and we intend to promote and broaden our sincerity. Since the western warriors agreed upon the peaceful relationship, it has been many years. However, during that period, though there were some mistakes occasionally, we overlooked them. If we have a manifold victory, should
they still not think of it? In this regard, those who contributed to us with their repeating interpretations have been on the roads constantly. Thus, they thanked for our grace and showed their propriety, and there was no case that they did not fulfill. The other day, the T'ufan envoys, holding the dispatches, came again to our capital. And they stated about their sincerity to maintain the peaceful relation in obedience to the order of their sovereign. We received them in the pavilion and entertained them with a good hotel and food, and offered them a written statement as well as the special present, and instructed them with a simple written explanation. However, soon they were talking about returning. When they just reached the suburbs, we heard that a swarm of ants invaded our border, and carrying out slaughter and confusion in the Hoch'u area. Thus, they are against our benevolence, and it is the violation of the treaty. This means that there is no justification, we had an official discussion in the court, and all the officials asked us to exterminate them, but we grieve deeply that our virtue has not been sufficient enough. However, how can we have in our mind that we do not submit themselves to us? Though the T'ufan country lost their faith, what has to do with these envoys? Let us release them and let us show our grand attitude to make them think of us. If we are faithful, then it will make them remember us. The T'ufan envoy Lunchülits'ang
and his colleagues as well as those envoys who came afterwards are all to be sent back to their country. And let the governor-general of Feng-hsiang (鳳翔節度使) proclaim this idea clearly."

On the 8th month, the T'ufan encamped at Fangch'ü (方渠) of Ch'ingchou (慶州), and there came a large army to the border area of Hochou (河州). On the 10th month, the T'ufan governor-general Lunsammo (論三摩), the minister of the state Shant'ats'ang (尚達藏), and the president of the council (甲書令) Shangch'ihsinerh (尚緝心兒) led about 150,000 troops and enclosed our Yenchou (益州) repeatedly. The chief of Tanghsiang (党項) also led their troops and drove sheep and horses to help them, and in this way thirty days passed. The enemies with tall ladders, goose carts, and wooden mules (飛梯 鵝車 木騾) and so forth, attacked from the four sides. The city was going to fall into their hands four times, but the governor Li wenyüeh (李文悅), leading his troops, fought bravely in relying upon the city wall. The city wall was holed, so that it was unable to protect from the enemy. Then

1 譚令集，卷一二八，放吐蕃使編國動。In the 譚令集，it is the 1st month of the 14th year of 元和 (819).

2 Shant'ats'ang is Shân-lha-bzan and Shangch'ihsiehhsinerh is Shân-khri sum-rje.

3 These are attacking tools shaped like goose and mule.
they pulled down the roof bricks from the roofs, with which they fixed the hole and fought. Days and nights they defended and fought or let the soldiers enter secretly to the enemy's camp or opened up the gates of the city wall to jump out to fight. Thus, killing over 10,000 rebels, but there were no troops coming to relieve them from other provinces. In about twenty-seven days, however, the enemy withdrew.

In the 15th year (元和 /820), on the 2nd month, Tien chi (田紹), who was the deputy chief of the secretaries (秘書少監) concurrently the deputy censor (御史中丞) went to T'ufan to inform them of the death of the Emperor (憲宗) as well as to inform of the Emperor's successor accession to the throne. On the 3rd month, T'ufan attacked and plundered our Ch'ingsepaö (青塞堡). On the 7th month, they sent their mission to our court to condole upon the death of the Emperor. On the 10th month, they secretly invaded Chingchou (經州). The Emperor appointed Liang shouch'ien (梁守謙), who was the deputy officer of the right-wing army (右翼中尉) as the commander-in-chief of the right and left-wing imperial armies, also of the marching west and north of capital armies (左右神策京西京北行營都監), and let him lead 4,000 men of the Shents'e (神策兵) army together with all the soldiers of the eight garrisons to release the city.

Shao t'ung (邵同), who was the vice president of the imperial treasure, concurrently the deputy
censor was let to hold the special credentials and went to T'ufan as the envoy of response to the request of T'ufan concerning the peaceful relationship. The former envoy to T'ufan, Tien chi (田池), who was the deputy chief of the secretaries (秘書少監), was degraded to a revenue post (司户) in Liuchou (柳州).

Initially, Chi (池) went to T'ufan as the envoy of condolences. However, T'ufan proposed to have a meeting of a sworn ceremony at the city of Changwu (长武城). Chi (池) was feeble-minded, and afraid of not being able to return, and simply agreed upon their proposal. Now, the western warriors invaded our territory, and saying that "Tien chi (田池) agreed with us to lead troops to the sworn treaty, but after all he was degraded." In reality, T'ufan was angry for being troubled by the frontier generals, they merely used Chi (池) apparently as their excuse for their invasion.

The Chingchou (循州) governor reported that the T'ufan generals all retired. For this reason, the operational plan of the Shents' e army to march was stopped.

Since T'ien chin (天津) ruled Shiachou (夏州), he covetously and tyrannically oppressed the people, thus Tanghsiang (党頡) suffered from him. He often led the western warriors to invade the T'ufan frontier fortifications. At this time, a large T'ufan army invaded. The frontier general Ho tz'u (郝泚)
attacked the T'ufan fortification several times, and killed lots of them. Li kūanyen (李光願) in Pinchou (興州) also arrived to support with his entire troops. Consequently, the enemy was frightened and retreated. Now, reminding that T'ien chi (田池) initially produced the national trouble, but by the fighting of Kuangyen (光願) and Ho tz'u (郝址), the problem was solved.

On the 11th month, the governor-general of Shiachou (夏州), Li yu (李祐), led his troops by himself to Ch'angtsechen (長澤鎮), also the governor-general of Lingwu (靈武), Li ting (李聽.), himself led his troops to Ch'anglochou (長蘆州). At the same time, they received the Emperor's order to attack the T'ufan. On the 12th month, over 1,000 T'ufan troops besieged Wupaich'ih (烏白池). In the 1st year of Ch'angch'ing (長慶 /821), on the 6th month, T'ufan invaded Ch'ingsepaoo (青塞堡), it was the reason that we made a friendly alliance with Huiho (回紇). The governor of Yenchou (靈州), Li wenyüeh (李文悅), dispatched troops and attacked them in advancing. On the 9th month, the T'ufan sent their envoy asking for a meeting of treaty. The Emperor granted it. The ministers who wanted to put weight to the affair proposed to proclaim it in the ancestral temple. The president of

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1 遼遼,大曆十二年九月九日,“常川有長澤監.” Ch'angtsechen might be around here.
the ceremonial court (太常礼院) reported that "this humble subject respectfully refer to the old affairs during the period of the Emperors of Sutsung and Taitsung (肃宗代宗), there was no record to the ancestral temple about the treaties with T'ufan. But at the end of Chienchung (建中) period, during the time of Tetsung (德中), there was a treaty with T'ufan at the Yenp'ingmen (延平門). And in wishing to make the oath more deep and sincere, there was a special order to proclaim it to the ancestral temple. When there was the treaty in the 3rd year of Chengyüan (貞元) at P'ingliang (平涼), there was no record of it to the ancestral temple. I humbly submit that such thing is a temporary affair, not regular system. If one seeks it in the ancestral ritual statutes, there will not be any record for it. Now, I respectfully think that it should not be proper to proclaim it to the ancestral temple." The Emperor consented to this memorandum.

The Emperor appointed Liu yüanting (劉元鼎), who was the president of the supreme court of justice concurrently the president of the censor (大理卿兼御史中丞) as the envoy to conclude the treaty with T'ufan, and to whom Liu shihlao (劉師老), who was the superior secretary of the department of the army concurrently the vice president of the court of censors (兵部郎中兼御史中丞) as the assistant envoy. And Li wu (李武), who was the chief of the service for the Emperor's house concurrently the
censor (尚書郎御史監察御史), and Li kungtu (李公度), who was the assistant for the capital and the prefecture of Fenghsien concurrently the censor (京兆府參光弼御史) both were appointed (to serve) as judges. On the 10th month, the 10th day, they were allowed to conclude the treaty with the T'ufan envoy. The ministers of the state, that is, the right-wing acting minister of the department of administration (右侍射), the ministers of the six boards (六曹尚書), the director of the treaty ceremony (中執法), the president of the imperial sacrifice for agriculture (太常司農卿), the prefect of the metropolis (京兆尹), and the general-in-chief of the palace-police and capital (金吾大將軍) all attended.

The statement was that "T'ang (唐) received heavenly order to rule the eight directions, and wherever the imperial instruction reaches, all come to yield to the court. With cautions and attention, we have been anxious about failing to it. With inheriting the tradition of the literary and military arts, we have cumulated our joyful and happy things. With clarifying our deeper wisdom, there has been no failure with us in the glorious succession of the twelve reigns during the two hundred and four years. And our oldest ancestor T'aitz'u (太祖) was given the designation of the Emperor. Then, the Emperor established a firm foundation. His Highness's
fame was extended under heaven, and remaining eternally. Thinking of the Emperor, one responds with joy, and worshipping the spirit of the Emperor, thus one returns his thanks. How should we be disrespectful and passing it over? The time was Kueich'ou (冬正)¹ winter, on the 10th month, the 10th day (Kueiyu/冬西), the Emperor ordered the ministers of his subject, Chih (植), Po (壟), and Yüanying (元頴) and so forth to conclude the treaty in the capital together with Nalolun (訛羅論),² who was the T'ufan general concurrently the envoy as well as the minister of the rituals (大將和蕃使禮部尚書訛羅論) and with others. The altar should be made in the west of the capital, and to make a hole at the ground of the north side of the altar, in which the oath and the sacrificed animal should be buried after having read the oath, and then to add up a writing, then to cover up with dirt. The manner of going up and down should not be different each other. That is to say, to cease fighting and to maintain peace for the people, and to respect the marriage relation. Thus, to continue the good relation is due to the long-run plan to spread out our benefits for

¹ According to the content of the text, this should be the 1st year of Ch'angch'ing (長慶/821). The 1st year of Ch'angch'ing is冬正.

² Nalolun must be a mistake for Lunnalo. See note 1, page 159 below.
long time. Originally, the heaven is in the above air and the yellow earth is laid below and spread out without end. The wriggling people certainly seek their needs in the officials, and become their subjects. In this, suppose there is no official system, then they will altogether perish away. The one who rules the Chung-hsia ( 中夏 )\(^1\) is the present ruler of T'ang ( 唐 ), and as for the part of the western border, the bTsan-po of T'ufan is the ruler. From now on, stopping war, forgetting the anger and hatefulness, but recalling the olden days' uncle-nephew relation and the mutual help. And ceasing watching the borders, putting away the beacon fires, sympathizing with each other's difficulties, stopping plundering and the invasion of the military posts as well as the space between the two countries. But to watch respectfully the essential military strategic posts as usual. There will be no deceit to your side and there will be nothing to worry for this side about your side. Oh, in loving people, to do Jen ( 恆 );\(^2\) in maintaining the border, to cumulate sincerity; in awing heaven one makes good wisdom; and in serving God, one does propriety. If there is one insufficient thing, then calamities will

\(^1\) Chung-hsia refers to China proper.

\(^2\) Jen ( 恆 ), which is the Confucius term, may be understood in terms of the highest internal perfection of love.
come to us. The frontier mountains appear high, and the rivers are rolling. The sun is joyful and the view of the stars is also good. In settling the border of both sides here, the west is the great T'ufan and the east is the great T'ang. Our ministers make written statement and advertise it broadly to the west.¹ The bTsan-po (赞普) of the great T'ufan and his ministers Poch'anpu (錡闍布),² Shang-chihsienerh (尚绮心兒) and others sent us a written treaty statement formerly. The content is as follows:

T'ufan and Han (蕃漢), the two countries, watch the present borders, and should neither take over, nor attack each other. Also neither regarding as enemy, nor invading the border. If there is something doubtful and if a man is caught, the man will be let to return to his own country with food and clothes after question is done. Now, we all agree upon this, and do not recognize anything else to add up. Therefore, those of seventeen people of the treaty officials should list their names in the treaty statement. Among them Li yüanting (劉元鼎) and others go to T'ufan with Lunnalo

¹ In the text, it is "秋分", which must be a mistake for "西分."

² Poch'anpu was a monk, but participated in politics. His Tibetan name was dPal-chen-po yon-tan.
(論館羅) to conclude the treaty. In this, a decree was issued to Yüanting to go to T'ufan to write the names of the ministers and others at the back of the treaty statement.

(In the meantime), the governor-general of Lingwu (靈武), Li chingch'eng (李進成), defeated 3,000 T'ufan troops at the foot of the mountain T'aiku (太吾山).²

In the 2nd year (長慶 /822), on the 2nd month, T'ufan sent their envoy requesting to settle the border line. On the 6th month, again a T'ufan envoy came to our court. The governor of Yenchou (邠州) reported that over 1,000 T'ufan troops invaded the outskirts of Lingwu (靈武), thereby an army was sent out, and expelled them, also interrupted. Furthermore, the report said that 150 T'ufan men who were sending letters to Tangshiang (唐翔) were captured. On this month, Liu yuanting (劉元鼎) came back from his being in T'ufan as envoy, and he reported to the Emperor that "on the 24th day of the

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¹ His name already appeared in this text as Nalolun, but here it is Lunnalo, which must be correct in the light of 新唐書. See note 2, page 156.

² According to 新唐書, 鄉善傳, this mountain is described as 大石山. This 大石山, according to 遼冊, 湖注, is in the area of 河西 in the west of 雙夏.
last month, I arrived to the ruler's tent (牙帐), and on the 6th day of the 5th month, the meeting was ended. In the beginning, when Yüanting (元鼎) was going to T'ufan, he went through Hochou (河州). There, he met the marshal of the city, and the minister of the state Shangchishenerh (尚綿心兒). He said to Yüanting (元鼎) that "Huiho (姫紱) is a small country. In the year of Pingshen (丙申) I went through the desert and oppressed them, and I passed their capital and further marched a couple of days. I planned to go there to defeat them, but I just heard of the death of our bTsan-po, so that I returned. Huiho (姫紱) is weak like this, but T'ang (唐) treats them warmer than us. I wonder what happened with it?" Yüanting (元鼎) replied: "Huiho has merit of helping our country about the domestic revolt, and they have never invaded even one inch of our territory. How should we not treat them warmly?"

At that time when Yüanting was on the way to T'ufan, he crossed the upper Yellow river. There is

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1 牙帳 refers to the leader's tent. Here, it is the bTsan-po's tent.

2 丙申 is the 11th year of 元和 /816.

3 In the text, it is "二百里", which must be a mistake. In 新唐書, it is 二百 .

4 安祿山 revolted in 755.
a bridge called Hungchich'iao (洪泽桥),\(^1\) and from there in over 2,000 Li to the southwest, the river is very shallow and narrow, so that during spring one can go through, and during autumn and summer one can cross it by boat. To the south of it, in over 300 Li, there are three mountains, the shape of the mountains are like an iron-cooking plate, and the head of the Yellow river is in those mountains. The water is very clean and cold, and while the water is flowing, its colour becomes red, to which other streams flow in, and gradually it becomes a yellowish muddy water. To the west of the head of the river, there are T'ufan lodgers (station) in series,\(^2\) there are about four stations in series, and each of the stations has about 200 Li (里 ) to the next station. To the north-east from the head of the river, it is the desert of Mohoyench'iwei (莫贺延碛尾). This is as wide as 50 Li, and it gradually becomes narrow toward the south. It starts from the west of Shachou (沙州)\(^3\) to the south, and enters into T'uhunkuo (吐浑国). To the north, it becomes also small, therefore it is called Ch'iwei (碛尾).\(^4\)

\(^1\) The bridge was or is located in 建康之西南.

\(^2\) It is like post-courier station connected one after another.

\(^3\) Shachou is 甘肃省敦煌市.

\(^4\) Which means the tail of ch'i. Ch'i is the abbreviation of the desert Mohoyench'i.
From the standpoint of figuring the geography of it, it is the real west of Chiennan (劍南).\(^1\)

Yüanting (元鼎) met the bTsan-po (贊普) at the riverside of the river Menchülü (呉耀盧川)\(^2\) for the first time. This must be the summer official residence of the bTsan-po. And the river is in the place where the Tsang river (藏河) flows, which is 100 Li south to the Lha-sa river (澤波).\(^3\)

At that time, T'ufan dispatched their mission Lunhsinohsi (論堅諾思) and others accompanied by Yüanting, and they expressed their thanks. The Emperor appointed Tu tsai (杜載), who was the vice president of the government documents (副僕少卿), as the envoy to respond to T'ufan. In the 3rd year (長慶 / 823), on the 1st month, the T'ufan envoy Luntaje (論答熱)\(^3\) came to our court for the congratulations due on the new year. In the 4th year (長慶 / 824), on the 9th month, a T'ufan envoy came and requested the map of the mountain Wut'ai (五臺山圖). On the 10th month, T'ufan contributed yak, silver-cast rhinoceros, ox, sheep, and deer, one of each. In the 1st year of Paoli (宝曆 / 825), on the 3rd month, the T'ufan envoy Shangchilije

\^1 The text description does not seem to be correct.
\^2 This is the Mal-gro river.
\^3 Luntaje may be bLon-stag-gzigs.
was sent to the court and requested a peaceful relation. On the 9th month, Li jui (李锐), who was the president of the imperial banquet (光禄卿), became the envoy to respond to them. From the 5th year of T'aiho (太和) to the 8th year (831-834), their missions to contribute to our court did not stop, we also sent our envoys of time to time to respond to them. In the 1st year and the 2nd year of K'aich'eng (開城 /836-837), their missions came to the court. In the 2nd year of Huich'ang (會昌 /842), the bTs'an-po (贊普) passed away. On the 12th month, Luntsan (論贊) and others were sent to the court to inform the death of their bTs'an-po. The Emperor appointed Li ching (李璟), who was the deputy director of the administration (將作少監) was the envoy to condole upon the death. In the 3rd year of Tachung (大中 /849), the spring, the minister Shangk'ungje (尚恐熱) became the governor-general of the eastern route. And with the intention of returning the cities of Ch'in (秦), Yuan (堯), Anlo (安樂) as well as the seven frontier gates such as Shihmen (石門), Muhsia (大石), and so forth, he came to the frontier fortification and asked for a peaceful relation. Kang chiying (康季梁)

1 Shangch'ilije may be Shan-khri-bsher.

2 尚恐熱 may be 諸恐熱, who is bLon-khon-bsher.
who was the governor-general of Chingyüan (經緯度使), reported this to the Emperor. Then the Emperor appointed Lu ch'ien (陸飄), who was the president of the government documents (太僕卿), to go to welcome him. On the 7th month of that year (849), the senior people of the Ho (河) and Lung (驄) led over 1,000 people of young and old to the palace. The Emperor came out to the pavilion of Yenhsi (延喜樓) and viewed the crowd. And there was no one who was not shouting and dancing around for joy, furthermore they loosened their hair each other and competitively put on their hats and sashes, then they walked on the main streets. Afterwards, the Emperor ordered to provide a good land for them to live in. And those who looked upon the Emperor, all shouted with "Wan sui" (Long live our Emperor).

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1 Ho and Lung refer, respectively, to 河曲 and 驄右.
In regard to the barbarians making disturbances, it has been so long. Ever since the time of Ch'in and Han (秦 漢), such things have been well written in the books, so that one can know about it in detail. However, it is strange enough that there is not even short periods of peace in the world. The rulers are not always sages. When our side was weak, the other side became strong, and when our side became strong, then the other side became weak. When the other side became strong, then they invaded our borders; when they were weak, they submitted themselves to our instruction. In regard to the way of treating them kindly, the Confucian scholars mostly talk about maintaining the peaceful relation, while the military generals expect to fight off. This is the general summary to talk about it. Since T'ufan founded their country in the western frontier, it has been years. They stealthily encroached upon their neighboring barbarians, thus they expanded their territory. During the reign-period of Kao tsung (高宗), the territory was expanded as far as 10,000 Li (里), and competed with us. Today, they are in the most flourishing time, thus they came to oppress our borders. Sometimes they restrain their army activity,
sometimes they go forth and fight. One time is for them, and another time is for us, or they win or they lose. It can be said that it is suffering thing. When the rebels of Yuchou (安禄山) revolted, the Emperor moved to some place, and all the border troops returned to the metropolitan area, consequently the Hohuang (霍黃) border areas lost their garrisons. This was also the chance that heaven gave them. From this time on, they came to be very close to the capital, and depending upon time they invaded and plundered. Very often their envoys were sent to us in order to reform the old good relationship. But when their jewels and silks were just about reaching our court, their beacon fires already reach to the suburban area of the capital. Opposing to our grace, and eating up the words of promise, and they do not think propriety and righteousness. Well, it is essential to hold in honour of sincerity and trust with God. At the meeting of Pingliang (平涼), they stored up their artful scheme. This is also the one that cannot be controlled by loyalty and trust.

Confucius said:

Though the barbarians have their ruler, it is still not like the different areas

1 安禄山 revolted in 755.
2 Hohuang area is the eastern area of Kokonor.
of the Hsia\textsuperscript{1} having no ruler. Oh, sincere, this word be.

\textsuperscript{1} Hsia (夏) refers to China.
AN ADDITIONAL COMMENT

In the territory of the western barbarians, the T'ufan is the strong one. They stealthily encroached upon their neighbouring countries. They flew on the Han (漢) territory like eagle. Unexpectedly, they revolt; and unexpectedly, they submit themselves, or relaxing or tensing. Even though they take the instructions of propriety and righteousness, their minds are like wolf.
THE CHINESE TEXT
皮鞭鞭之但随喜怒而无常科囚人于地牢深数丈，二三年方出之。
宴宾客客必驱犢牛令客自射牲以供饭，其臣下一年一小盟，刑羊狗獭猴先折其足而杀之，然后其膳而屠宰，之令巫者告于天地。
山川日月星辰之神云若心虔敬，神明鉴之同于羊狗之年一盟，大盟夜于壝壝之上，有众陈设肴饲杀犢牛，以祭以祀。
尔等成须同心协力共保我家惟天神地祇，共知尔志有负此盟使。
尔等身体须裂同于此牲其地气候大寒不生稻麦有青稞豌豆，麦赛赛多，多是牛猪犬羊马又有天鼠状如雀鼠其大如猫皮可为覆之，多金银铜锡其人或随畜牧而不常厥居然颇有城郭，其国皆平头高者至数十尺贵人处之大拱帐名曰拂，而食之多事者之神人信巫观不知知候麦熟为岁首国基，便知麦熟为五月，上者在前老者居其后，军令严整每战前陈皆死，后陈方进重兵。
大校大宗遣吏部尚書侯君集為當道行營大摯管右領軍大將
宣撫失思力為白蘭道行軍摯管左武衛將軍牛進達為開水道行
宣撫管右領軍將軍劉蘭為兆河道行軍摯管步騎五萬以擊之
進達先鋒自松州夜襲其營斬千餘級弄讚大懼引兵而退遣使謝
罪因復譴導大宗許之弄讚乃遣其相祿東賞致禮獻金五千兩自
餘寶玩數百事貞觀十五年太宗以文成公主妻之令禮部尚書江
夏郡王道宗主婚持節送公主千吐蕃弄讚率其部兵次相海親迎
于河原見道宗執手相拜之禮甚恭既而歎大國服飾禮儀之美仰
有愧沮之色及與公主歸國謂所親曰我父祖未有通婚上國者今
我得尚大唐公主為幸實多當為公主築一城以誇示後代遂築城
邑立栎宇以居處焉公主亦因其處西面弄讚令國中權且罷之自
釋攬裘紡緇紉華冠風仍遣酋豪子弟請入國學以習詩書又請
中國詠文之人在其表疏大宗伐遼東遂造禮器來賀奉表曰聖
天子平定四方日月所照之國並為臣妾而高麗恃遠關於臣禮天
進之間已聞歸國鷹飛迅不及陛下速疾奴先預千帳喜百當夷
夫鶴酒歌也故作鶴鳴獻其鶴黃金鑄成其高七尺中可容酒三
斛二十二年右衛率府長史王玄策使往西域為中天竺所掠吐蕃
發情兵與玄策擊大破之遣使來獻其金銀珠寶十五段
馬都尉封西海郡王賜物千段並請紀故
云天子初即位若臣下有不忠之心者當勤兵以赴
國除討並獻金銀珠寶十五段請置太宗聖座之前高宗嘉之進封為燕王賜雜錦
絛三千段因請養種及造酒碾硙紙墨之匠並許馬乃列石像其形列
昭陵玄闕之下末數年弄諸坐高宗為之舉哀追石武侯將軍鮮
子臣濟持節賢書召祭弄諸坐其死其孫繼立復號賢平時年幼
師雅有節制吐蕃之併諸羌雄霸本土其謀也初太宗既許降文
成公主賢普使與阿史那來迎召見顧問進對合適太宗令之有異諸
諸
番乃拜禄东赞为右卫大将军，又以琅邪长公主外孙女段氏女之
守仍召募閩內河東及諸州騷勇以為猛士不簡色役亦有志任文
拓王奉等發飭南山南兵募以防禦之其冬秋敬玄與工部尚書劉
審禮率兵與吐蕃戰于青海官軍敗績審禮沒于陣敬玄按軍不敢
救俄而吐軍卻出頓于承風嶺阻泥溝不能動賊屯于高岡以據之
偏將左領軍員外將軍黑闕常之率敢死之士五百人夜斫賊營賊
遂潰亂自相蹂躪死者三百餘人敬玄遂擁衆鄯州坐改為衛州刺
史行節度南兵募於茂州之西南安戎城以護其境俄有生羌為吐
蕃禪導攻陷其城遂引兵千之時吐蕃盡收羊同完項及諸羌之地
東與涼松茂等州相接南至婆羅門西攻陷龔茲陖勒等四鎮
此抵突厥地方萬餘里自漢魏已來西戎之盛未之有也高宗聞
禮等敗沒召侍臣問綏復之策中書令人郭正一日吐蕃作梗年嵗
已深命將興師相繫不絶空動士馬虚費積本討則徒損兵威深
入則未竄巢究望少發兵募且遣使別明烽堠勿令侵抄使國用豐

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足人心叶间之数年可一彼而多为事中，尉邓贤、韩文亮等皆
言。”

有大将军格交之便求，而增数之破吐蕃大将格交之便

言，”

段谋二千余，吐蕃遂引退，有常之为河源军使，以镇守之宜，

四年，幕交之为朵释克亦号，赞普时年八岁，国政委於

临道，其大臣留寒地傍来，告求且请和，高宗遣将宋令文入

会受降，元年，成公主携高宗又遣使告以会之，则天临朝，命文

右相常待，为左常道大将安西大都护，温古为副将。其年，

率兵征吐蕃。留置不进，待溃，坐流南川温古，将待，希无缚，

之才送，现在大将安西大都护，温古为副将。其年，

将督，玄遇率精卒二万，安西都督，以纳之师次，大渡水旁，

大军张，玄遇，有大首领，督率羌蛮部落八千余，人昭玄遇，

为本国所擒，又有大首领，督率羌蛮部落八千余。人昭玄遇

玄遇以其部落，置于川州，以督为刺史，仍於大度，西山石，

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而選長元年武威軍總管王孝傑大破吐蕃之眾克俊蘭茲于聞
蹂勤碎葉等四鎮乃於圍攻置安西都護府發兵以鎮守之萬歲登
封元年孝傑復為壽陽道大總管率副總管等與吐蕃將論欽
陵勒事於素羅汗山官軍敗績孝傑坐免官萬歲通天元年吐蕃
四萬眾奄至涼州城下督許欽明初不之覺輕出按部遂遇賊
與之力戰為賊所殺時吐蕃又遣使請和則天將許之論欽陵
請去安西四鎮兵馬欽陵每居中用事諸弟分據方面諸軍分有
兄弟專統兵馬欽陵每居中用事諸弟分據方面諸軍分有
與中國為隣三十餘年常為邊患其兄弟皆有才略諸蕃之聖
二年其弟普習者等悉弄年漸長乃與其大臣論雍等密圖之時欽陵
在外悉普習者等欽陵舉兵不受召普習者自帥衆討之欽陵未戰而潰遂自
殺其親信左右同日自殺者百餘人普習者所部千餘人及其兄子
授布支等來降則天遣羽林飛騁尉外迎之普習者輔國大將軍行

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右衛大將軍封歸德郡王優賢，甚厚仍令其部兵於洪源討擊。其副將二人，獲首二千五百級長安二年，賀普率衆萬餘人犯秦州。眾望，陳大慈與賊凡四戰皆破之，斬首千餘級。於是吐蕃遣使論語，詐稱入朝求和。則天大怒。於麟德殿宴百寮，宴於殿庭，論語彭薩曰：臣等相視笑道，齊王曾來不識中國音樂，乞放臣親覲則天許之。於是彭薩等相視笑，拜謝曰：臣等歸投聖朝前後禮數優渥，又得親觀音樂，義又遣使獻馬千匹，金二千兩，以求婚則天許之。吐蕃南犯，彭薩等於散卒寄，棄之子穢，為羿篡時，年七歲，中宗神龍元年，吐蕃使器顎，弄之子穢，敷謨於軍中諸子爭立久之。國人立然來獻方物為其孫婿。中宗以所養琉璃王宗禮女，為金城公主許。
嫁之自是顔戚貢獻景龍三年十一月又遣其大臣尚賛吐蕃來迎
女中宗宴之於兆內硃塲命駟馬都尉楊慎交與蕃吐蕃使打毬中宗
率侍臣觀之四年正月制曰聖人布化用百姓為心王者垂仁以八
荒無外故能光宅遐邇咸載成，品物由是隋周理勵恢，柔遠之圖強漢
乘時建和親之義斯蓋寓長策經邦茂範朕受命上靈克基神歷
幾前後永致和平溝彼吐蕃布在西服皇運之始早申朝貢大字文
武聖皇帝德侔覆載情深億兆思偃兵甲遂通姻好數十年間一方
清净自文成公主化徃其國因多變革我之邊疆興師旅彼之蕃
落頗間彂整者賛普及祖母可敦因長等屬披誠績積有歲時思
託舊親請崇親好金城公主朕之少女豈不鍾念但為父母志悉
元黎若允乃誠祈更敦好則遺土寧晏兵役息遂割深慈為國
大計篤茲外館聿膺嘉禮降彼吐蕃賛普即以今月進貢朕親自送
于郊外中宗召侍中紀慶訶謂曰昔文成公主出降則江夏王送之
卿雅識蕃情有安邊之略可為朕克吐蕃使也處訶拜謝既而以不
緋邇事固辭上又今中書侍郎趙彦昭為右記侍郎公卿之言郭名之日高宗之名而為一介之使不亦鄙
不以春草短鶴出以秋草長於外使吾笑其舊鍾

平玄昭日然計將安出履温因去安樂公主密奏留之於是以左

側引王公宰相及吐蕃使入宴中坐酒間命吐蕃使進前餉以公主

孫大將軍楊矩使焉其月被幸始平縣以送公主於設帳殿於百頃泊

賢孤則送之言上惡近歡歡故之因命從臣賦詩獻別曲救始

平縣大辟罪已下百姓給復一年改始平縣為明城縣冊其地為

鳳池尚善別里公主既至獻別策一城以居之賞宗即位攝監察御

史李知古上言某州諸蠻先屬吐蕃請發兵擊之遂令知古徵蠻南

時張玄表為安西都護又與吐蕃比境互相攻掠吐蕃攻知右殺之仍断其壁以祭天

丘大明自言之蠻匿名乃引吐蕃攻知右殺之仍斷其壁以祭天

以為明城公主湯沐之所久遂奏與之吐蕃既得九曲之地肥良堪

頗兵畜牧又與唐境接近自是復叛始率兵入寇開元四年秋吐蕃
大將軍率兵赴夷方，率軍平定萬卷。臨洮軍又進圍蘭山，州城陷。監牧羊馬而去，教卒悔飲樂，而死玄宗。擁左羽林將軍薛訥及太僕少卿王晙率兵討擊。於下詔將大舉親征，召募將士。克期進發。俄而晙等與賊相遇于渭源。武階驛前軍王海濱力戰死之，晙等率兵而進，大破吐蕃之眾。殺數萬人，盡收得所掠羊馬。賊餘黨驚恐，相枕藉而死者，必之水為之不流，上遂復親征命將軍駱演於西帳度使以捍之。吐蕃奸詐，文詐已，事征討，為之勞弊，且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢。又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。且十年，甘涼河鄯微發，不息。連年大旱，郭知運王君義相次為河西節度使。是時，吐蕃既自恃兵強，每通表，求敵國之禮，言詞懸慢，又在兩國之間，討伐之計，為之勞弊。
君奐入朝奏事，遂请率兵深入，以討之。十五年正月，君奐率兵破吐蕃於青海之西，而先之。其後入賊境，賊東死者甚衆，遂取積石軍西路而還。君奐先令人潛入賊營，過半君奐與秦州督張景順等率衆襲之，遂渡河，至大非山，將士皆喜，而野草皆盡，馬死。楚龍，布文攻破瓜州，執刺史田元獻及王君奐之父，盡取城中軍資及倉糧，遂毁其城而去。又進攻王門軍及常樂縣，今賈師。遂敗，兵部尚書蕭嵩為河西節度使以建康軍使左金吾將軍張守珪為瓜州刺史，修纖川城。招輯百姓，令其復業。時恐諾邏恭等，威名甚振。蕭嵩乃縛反間，於吐蕃云其與中國通，遂召而誅之。明年秋，
吐蕃大将悉末朗率兵攻瓜州。守将张忠亮率兵接战，失败。

余众复至默门，与吐蕃接战。八月，盐官砦守将杜思谦又至于莫门城生擒石人，然其军复至，又使众军大败。

今按地图，知七师，亲指授将帅破之必矣。数日而直布至十七年，以大获信安，方大抵众口，遂于石堡城置振武军，仍献其传。因四君而上之。
爵所措钜万何益国家今河西隴右百姓疲弊事皆由此若陛下遭
使往視。城公主因與賛普面約通和令其稽颡稱臣末息邊境此
來代安人之道上然其言因令唯明及內侍張元方文使往問吐
蕃惟明詔至吐蕃既見賛普及公主具宣上意賛普等欣然請和
盡出貳觀已來前後勅書以示惟明等今其重臣名僧獲隨惟明等
入朝上表曰外甥是先皇帝舅宿親又蒙降金城公主遂和同為一
家天下百姓普皆安樂中間為張玄表李知古等東西兩處先動兵
馬侵抄吐蕃邊將所以互相征討迄至今日遂成鼎會大小外甥以先代
文成公主今金城公主之故深識尊卑豈敢失禮又縉年小枉被邊
將詎據闇令舅致怪伏乞當您遠喜進定侯及舊名悉領及副使押衙將
往蒙降使看公主來外甥不勝喜荷德遂謹於名悉屬及副使押衙將
軍退次經夜悉備入朝奏取進止兩國事意悉畫所知外揮番中已
處分邊將不許抄掠若有漢人來便令報送伏望皇帝早達寧東
臣聞蕃蒼之性，慚恠果激，使敏情持繩，善學不偽，雖於書必能知戰。

深於詩則知武夫有師干之精，深於禮則知月令有慶賀之制，何異借寇宿典存國，以衰法危邦。臣聞之，非公，本意也。易有卦比之類，教於中若陛下慮失蕃情，以備國信，必不得已，非去春秋當周德，即聚諸侯強盛，禮樂自出，戰伐交興。情為於是乎生，誠詐於是乎起，則有以臣召君之事起，威定，霸王之名，自與此書國之患也。傳曰：千災，曲呂，難，正可錦之錦緞厚以王帛，何率從其求，以資其智。臣忝叨列位職，刑籍實痛，經典棄在田，則未嘗上聞。陛下下察，諸事不省。二十一年，又制工部尚書，李景在，聘吐蕃每唐使入境所在盛。

陳甲兵及駕馬以稟其精銳，二十年遣將軍至全於赤嶺與吐蕃。
制音異上令列於提象門外以示百官其年吐蕃西擊勃律遣使來告，使報吐蕃令其罷兵，不報，時散騎常侍崔希逸為河西節度使於涼州鎮守時吐蕃與漢相戰，為是置守捉使希逸諷吐蕃將乞力徐曰兩國和好何須守捉坊覆之，言但恐朝廷未必皆信任萬一有人交撫，吾不備，後悔無益也，希逸固請之遂發使與乞力徐殺白駱為盟，各去守備於是吐蕃兵牧被野俄而希逸僣史孫誼入朝，奏事，欲自邀其功，因奏言吐蕃於青海之上，殺獲甚眾乞力徐身還逸，孫誼，為朝廷觀察事宜，惠瓊等至涼州遂嘉詔今希逸親繫之，何求不得已而從之大破吐蕃且是復絕朝貢，希逸以失信怏怏在軍不得志俄遷為河南尹，行至京師與趙惠瓊俱見，自何為奈相次而死，孫誼亦以罪被戮詔。
以岐州刺史萧显为户部侍郎、同判凉州事，代希逸为河西节度使。州都督杜希 שו为隣右节度使。大僕卿王昊为益州长史、南川节度使、武川郡王。州刺史杜希暹为岐州刺史。

使分道经略，以讨吐蕃。行军前分道，以分其兵力。使各出奇兵，以分其兵力。使各出奇兵，以分其兵力。使各出奇兵，以分其兵力。使各出奇兵，以分其兵力。使各出奇兵，以分其兵力。
議不合取之朕以小補無知事須處置授以奇計所以行之獲彼戊
心歸我城守有足為慰也其年十月吐蕃又引眾寇安戎城及維州
章仇惠清遣裨將率衆先之仍發閩中馳騁以救京東時屬寒賊
久之自引退詔改安戎城為平戎城二十九年春金城公主薨吐蕃
來遣使告哀仍請和上不許之使到數月後始為公主舉哀於光順
門外輦朝三日六月吐蕃四十萬衆承風堡至河源軍西長寧橋至
安仁軍澤州軍騎將盛希菽以衆五千攻而破之十二月吐蕃又襲
石堡城節度使崔嘉運不能守玄宗懼之天寶初令侯惟明王忠
祠為邊右節度皆不能克七載以哥舒翰為隴右節度使攻而授之
千姿悉龍犢賢為主復為贊普玄宗遣京兆少尹崔光遠以私史中
丞持節資國信冊命甲冑之及還而安祿山已窺據洛陽以河隴兵
委今哥舒翰為將屯潼關昔秦以隴山已西為隴西郡漢懷匈奴於
河右置姑臧張掖酒泉伊吾等郡又於磧外置西城都護控引胡國

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又分隴西為金城、西平等郡，隴以氏羌居之，歷代來亂常為賢豪所
據則為達夷侵犯，近千年矣。武德初，薛仁果奄有隴上之地，至於河
臘，李勣盡有涼州之城，遂於積石亭觀中，李靖破吐谷渾侯君集平
高昌。阿史那社爾開西域，置四鎮，前王之所未伏盡為臣妾。秦漢之
封域約為其土。境地於是遂調山東丁男為戍卒，縞帛為軍資，有屯
田以資糧糧牧，使以嫩羊馬大軍萬人小軍千人烽戍絶等，置相繼
以郭於強敵巖右都州為節度河西涼州為節度安西北庭亦置節
度開內則於靈州置朔方節度又有受降城單于都護府為之藩衛
及塞閼失守河洛，阻兵於是盡為河隴朔方之將，鎮兵入靖國難謂
之行營業時軍營邊州無備，乾元之後吐蕃乘隙而至，日擊邊
城或為廣，掠修改為轉死，滿數年之後，鳳翔之西邠州之北塞，
戎之境，雖數十年州，穆宗元年建軍，月甲辰，吐蕃遣使來，朝請和
執宰相郭子儀、肅華張遵慶等於中書設宴，將詣光宅寺為盟誓取
三牲血歃之無同佛寺之事，請明日須於鴻臚寺以血，以申誓之。
禮從之寶。應元年六月，吐蕃使柳番、莽耳等二十一方物入朝，乃於延英殿引見勞賜。各入有差，而勸南、西山又與吐蕃兵養接武德元年，三月遣左散騎常侍兼御史大夫李之芳左虞子兼御史中丞崔倫使于吐蕃。至其境而留之。廣德元年九月，吐蕃寇陷涇州十月，邠州二十余萬自龍光度而東。郭子儀退軍，車駕幸陕州，賜州南征使。高宗引吐蕃入上都城。郭子儀大將軍車駕幸陜州。車駕東幸，衣冠咸至。南投荊襄及隱冀山谷，於是六軍將士持兵。駕在所阻，郭子儀領部曲數百人，及其妻子儀從南入牛心谷。監察御史李彝謂子儀曰：今公身為元帥，上蒙塵，外家國之事，
一於此今吐蕃之勢已逼近不可懷安干谷中何不南趨商州單追
行在千儀遣從之延昌曰吐蕃掠今公南行必分兵來逼若當大路
事急矣不如取玉山路而去出其不意千儀又從之延昌與李萼
皆從千儀千儀之隊千餘人山路狭隘連延百餘里人不得馳延昌
與華恐狹徑被追前後不相救至倒壘口遂與千儀別行踰絕洞登
大掠避難朝官士庶及居人資財鞍馬已有日矣延昌與華既至說
知節曰將軍宜身掌禁兵軍敗而不敢行在又恐奇下屬掠何所歸
今郭令員內約已恐至洛南將軍若刺頭士卒以禍福請令公
来撫之以圖安此則將軍非常之功也知節大悦其時諸軍將
伐其約束千儀將入京師也前光祿卿殷仲卿逃難而出鞍馬衣膚
其後至玉山矣北走而南赴干谷中商州乃將大喜皆還
延昌留于軍中至約略有數千騎而
為上澤所掠，仲卿之族被抄，散兵及諸駟勇願從者百餘人，南保藍田以拒吐蕃其眾漸振，至千餘人。子儀再至，遂舉

詔入往探，眾勢未合。將軍長孫全緒請行，以二百騎隨之。又令太子

先至，慎行以二百騎，同收長安。全緒至韓公堆，召之，殺之。張廣

則驗夜則多縚火以疑吐蕃。仲卿探知，令軍其勢益壯，遂相為表裏，

詔聞之，由郭令公自商州領衆，却收長安大軍，不知其數，以郵然遂

抽軍而還。仲卿之師又入城。吐蕃皆奔走，乃收上都郭子儀乘之

鼓行入長。人心乃安。吐蕃遠至鳳翔，節度使御史中丞馬璘領精騎

千餘自河北救楊。 texte

志烈，引兵入城，遲明單騎，渡渭直衝賊衆。左右顧，從者百餘騎，璘

奮擊，大呼，賊徒披靡，無敢當者。賊疲而歸， selon 賊恃其驕勇，翌日又逼

城請戰，璘被甲開門。賊乃後退，皆曰此將不懼死，不可當，避之。
九月，叛將僕僕射大軍，郭子儀、白孝德先討之，以挫其鋒。賊衆遂退，奉天又按軍不戰。郭子儀於邠州西三十里，擒八十五人，降其大將四人，馬五百匹。十一月，僕僕射退，郭子儀於邠州西三十里，擒二百五十人，步卒五十人，斫懷恩營，破五千衆，斬百餘級。

又復原會成渭之地，十二月，進軍還上都。}

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營奉天軍日進，軍數百人繼進。衝突其營，左右擊刺賊營。徒步驚駭無不應弦而殪。日進，挾一蕃將躍馬而歸，蕃將奮身，失其轡。
飯一日進之衆，無中鋒轡者，軍中望而益振。明日，蕃軍無營尋又日進。
進命廂軍，列石投之，難以弓弩，賊死傷，衆數日飲軍，日衙，蕃營之日
夜斫賊營，於梁者神下，殺千餘人，賊朵馬器械，又下
詔親征，詣京城置團練鎮西節度。馬璘遇吐蕃遊奕四百餘人於武功，東原使五十人，擊而盡殺之。無噍類，自十七日至二十五日，晝際始止。議者以為，明日吐蕃移營於醴泉縣九泉山，按兵五千餘人犯
醴泉京城大駭，人驚走。天戶繫會以出，遣黨任敷，以兵五千餘人犯
白水縣，軍日進，露布而至。於奉天馬嵬，今月十九日已後，至二
十五日已前，戰二百餘陣破，吐蕃一萬餘衆，斬首五千級，生擒一
百六十人，馬一十二百四十二匹，駮一十二百，頭器械幡幟共三
萬餘事。朝官表懺家口，避者十室。八九禁之。不，自前年，蕃犯
王畿後，於中渭橋，鄜縣城，以營兵，至是功畢，吐蕃退，末壽之，遇

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唐書列傳卷第一百四十六上

陝之衆雖聞懷恩死皆悖其衆相誘而奔後至奉天兩蕃稍貶

解嚴辛臣上表稱賀。
唐書列傳卷第一百四十六

吐蕃下

永泰二年二月命大理少卿兼御史中丞楊濟修好于吐蕃。四月吐蕃遣首領論泣葳等百餘人隨齊來朝。且謝申奐大曆二年十月，州破吐蕃二萬餘衆。生擒五百人，獲馬一千五百匹。十一月和蕃使椶校戶部尚書兼御史大夫薛景仙自吐蕃還。首領論泣葳隨景仙來朝。景仙奏云，蕃人請以鳳林關為界。俄又遣使路悉等十五人，來朝。三年八月，吐蕃十萬衆。靈武大將尚書摩克那州都督，路悉等十五人。馬達破於萬餘衆。橋其俘以獻之，九月延州，朝方騎將白元光，破六萬餘衆。十二月以蕃至，罪犯西疆，增修鎮守。乃移馬延州，仍為涇源節度使。韋南西川亦破吐蕃，萬餘衆。五月，
徙置安息谷静恭五州于山陵要害之地以备吐蕃八年秋吐蕃六
萬騎圍靈武蹋踐我木禾而去十月寇涇邠等州郭子儀遣先鋒將
軍城與賊戰于宜穀我率不利將史籍等三人死之村墅居人為
驅掠者凡千餘人是夜城收合散卒襲賊營會馬璘亦襲其轍重凡
殺數千人賊遂潰子儀大破吐蕃十餘萬衆初吐蕃犯我邠郊馬璘
以精卒二千餘人潛夜掩賊營射賊騎皮將中目賊衆扶之號立逐
舉等遂去璘因收獲明方兵健二百餘人百姓七百餘人馳馬數百
匹九年九月以吐蕃侵擾預為邊備乃降勑宜令子儀以上郡北地
四塞五原義渠稽胡鮮卑種種馬五萬衆會韓休六年乃三萬毘流絕高壁
王以晉之高都韓之上賊河湟義徒汗隴少年凡三萬毘流絕高壁
今界連營馬璘以西域前庭車師後部魚蘭武之戍下蒸之行凡三
萬衆屯于汧中張大軍之援忠誠以武落別授右地奇鋒凡二萬衆
出岐陽而北會希讓以二軍大常之徒六郡良家之子自渭上而西
合赤宋滻青河陽幽剝撫四萬衆分列前後魏成德昭義宋地撫六
萬衆大舒左右朕內整齊簇立諸將賞以千金之賞追以六牧之馬其戎裝戰器軍用盃儲各有司仔素皆精辨咨爾將相文武宣力
之臣䍊師克在和善戰不陣各宜保協疆界屯據要衝斥堠惟明首尾相應若既悔過何必勞人如或不恭自當伐罪然後眷求統一以制諸軍進取之宜侯於後命十一年正月南節度使崔軍大破吐蕃故洪等四節度兼突厥吐渾互變羌克項等二十餘萬衆數千
餘級生擒黠城兵馬使一千三百五十人獻干闔下牛羊及軍資器械不可勝紀十二年九月入寇坊州掠項羊馬而去十月崔軍破吐蕃望漢城十四年八月命少卿南倫持節使吐蕃統蕃偽五
百人歸之十月吐蕃率南蠻衆二十萬來寇入蕃州過漢川及灌口一扶文遇方維白堰一自黎雅過邛峡関連郡邑乃發禁兵四千人及幽州兵五千人同討大破之建中元年四月南倫至自大
屬中聘使前後數輩皆晉之不遣俘獲其人必遣中官部統従江嶺因緣來財及給養之費不勝其弊去年冬吐蕃大興師以三道來侵
會德宗初即位以德綏四方徵其伐因五百餘人各給衣一襲使倫
統其國與之約和勸邊將無得侵伐吐蕃始聞歸其人不之信及
番俘入境部落皆畏威懷惠其部酋請乞主為倫曰未知是來也而
有三恨柰何倫曰未達所謂乞立贊曰不知大國之喪而吊不及衰
一也不知山陵之期而聘不成禮二也不知皇帝舅聖明繼立已發
眾軍三道連衡今驅武之師聞命轍己而山南之師已入扶風蜀師
已趨瞿口追不及是三恨也及發使奉冊不二顧而復命蜀師尋
獲其戎俘有司請準舊事頒為徒隸上曰要約著之言庸二乎乃各
紛紛二匹衣一襲而歸之五月以常倫為太常卿復使吐蕃其來遣
字相送欽明思等五十五人隨倫至且獻方物吐蕃見倫再至甚歡
倫使判官常魯與吐蕃使論悉諾羅等至自蕃中初魯與其使崔漢
衡至列謁贊普令止之先命取國信勳既而使謂漢衡曰來勳云所
貢獻物並領訖令賜外甥少信物至領取我大蕃與吐蕃甥國耳何
得以臣禮見處又所欲定界雲州之西請以賀蘭山為界其盟約請
依景德二年續書云唐使到彼外甥先與盟誓番使到此阿舅亦親
與盟乃邀漢衡使奏定魯使還奏馬為改紱書以貢獻高進以賜
盟並從之三年四月陜先沒蕃將士僧尼等八百人歸還報歸蕃俘
也九月和蕃使殿中少監兼御史中丞崔漢衡與蕃使兼任郎時
吐蕃大相尚結息恩而好殺以當覆敗於銳南思制其敗不肯約和
其次相尚結蕃有材畧因言於蕃主請定界明約以息邊人營
之竟以結蕃大相終約和好期以十月十五日會盟於境
上以崔漢衡為鴻臚卿以都官員外郎樊澤兼任御史中丞充入蕃計
會使初漢衡與吐蕃約定月日盟誓漢衡到商量未決已過期遂
命澤詣結蕃復定盟會期且告遣復左副度使張鎭與之同盟遷至
故漢州與結蕃相見以來年正月十五日會盟于清水西四年正月
詣張鎭與尚結蕃盟於清水將盟鎭與結蕃約各以二千人赴境所
執政者十二列於壇外，百步散從者半之分立壇下，並與宣佐齊映齊抗及會盟官崔黜漢、衛臻、崔齊、鄭年等七人皆朝服結貫而其
本國將相論悉願載論載經論利施斯官者論力徐等亦七人俱升
壇為盟主約漢以牛畜以馬錦恥與之盟將殺其禮乃謂結貫曰漢
非牛不田畜非馬不行今請以羊豕大豆物代之，結貫許諾塞外無
系結貫請出羶羊錦出大白羊乃於壇北刑之，鮮血二兩而歃盟文
唐有天下恢葢禹跡舟車所至，莫不率俾以累聖重光歷年惟未彰
王者之王業被四海之聲教與吐蕃替昔代為婚姻固結隆好安危
同體輝揚之國將二百年其間或因小忿棄重為雙封疆騷然靡有
寧歲皇帝撲征懸茲黎元俾釋俘歸於原省國展禮同茲叶和
行人人往後布成命是必詐謀不起兵車不用矣彼猶以兩國之要
求之未久古有結盟今請用之國家務息邊人外其故地棄利昭義
盟從約今國家所守界涇州西至彈箏、巖西口隴州西至清水縣
鳳州西至同谷縣暨鉅南西山大渡河東為漢界番國守鎮在蘭溪

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頃至自番中，及尚結贊約疆場，既定請歸。其後使從之，以蕃丐坊盟境。在京城之内，非便請卜壇。於京城之西，其禮如清水之儀。先盟二日，而遣之興。元年二月，自散騎常侍兼御史大夫于庭往涇州已來宣慰。吐蕃仍與州府計會，詎時吐蕃款塞請以兵助平國難。

遣使於月，清城與吐蕃論茅羅依衆大破朱此將韓旻張廷芝宋歸朝等於武功之武亭川，斬首萬餘級。貞元二年，命倉部郎中兼侍御史趙聿爲入蕃使。八月，吐蕃冠以不遵，命nes數道掠人畜取禾稼，西境騷然，諸道節度及軍鎮咸閉壁自守，而已京師戒嚴上遣左右。

吾將軍張獻甫，與神策將李昇星，蘇清沔等総兵屯於咸陽召河中，節度駱元光率衆戍咸陽以援之。九月，以吐蕃還騎及於好畤上，後
遣張獻甫等統兵屯於咸陽又詔遣左監門將軍康成使於吐蕃初
相見令其使論乞陝與成同來是月鳳翔節度使李晟以吐蕃侵軼
過城下甚無益其首尾首尾雖敗中軍力全若合勢攻之必受其
擊但候其前軍已過見五六方旗虎豹衣則其中軍也出其不意乃
奇功必如其言出擊之則衆果敗副將史廷王方戰死之又寇鳳翔
城下李晟出兵禦之夕而退十月李晟遣兵襲吐蕃之堆沙堡大
破之焚其歸積斬蕃酋扈屈律設贊等七人傳首京師十一月吐蕃
居之聽爾率其人而去彦光乃悉衆奔鄜州十二月陷夏州刺史托
拯乾暉率衆而去復據其城又寇銀州素無城壁人皆奔散三年春
命檢校左庶子兼御史中丞崔幹爲入吐蕃使相次又遣左統千李
錫使之河東保寧等道節度使馬燧來朝初尚結贊既陷益夏等州
各留千餘人守之。結讜大眾，屯於鳴沙自去冬及春羊馬多死糧飢
不給。時詔遣華州潼關節度使元光知寧節度韓游瓊統兵與麟
鄜邠及諸道戍卒屯於塞上。又命燧率師次於石州分兵隔河與元
光等掎角之。結讜聞而大懼，遣使請和。會元光卒，結讜為盟
書請盟燧。燧以奏薦上，又不許。遂遣大將論頌前皇厚禮
令書來。結讜聞而大懼，遣使請和。結讜為盟書來。燧
於是從之。燧既赴朝，諸軍但閉壁而已。結讜遣使者來言，
其可保信。盟書約上歸馬，既多死。有徒行者，乃是羊馬
之眾。結讜亦由此失兵
侵故造境，請修舊好。又蕃軍頃年破朱泚，之眾於武功未獲
酬賞，使於李公亦不見納。因遣狀文。王之來來皆不能達，…
州結贊云清。水非。巴地請。於。原州之士。梨樹又。請。盟。軍。歸。二州。幹
遣。士。梨樹。上。召。宰。臣。謀。之。先是。左。束。策。將。馬。有。麟。士。梨樹。地。多。陰。
恐。貳。軍。隱。伏。不。利。于。我。平。涼。川。四。隅。坦。平。且。近。涇。州。就。之。為。便。由。是。
乃。定。盟。所。於。平。涼。川。時。赴。使。論。結。贊。已。復。命。追。還。結。詔。之。懇。城。與
尚。結。贊。會。於。平。涼。初。城。與。結。贊。約。以。兵。三千。人。列。於。壇。之。東。西。散。手
四。百。人。至。壇。下。及。將。盟。又。約。各。益。遊。軍。相。鼠。結。贊。擁。精。騎。教。萬。於
壇。西。番。之。遊。軍。貫。穿。我。師。城。之。將。出。真。率。六十。騎。為。遊。軍。繞。至。番
城。皆。被。執。城。不。廣。也。結。贊。又。遣。人。請。城。曰。請。中。已。下。服。衣。冠。劍
以。俟。命。蓋。誘。其。下。馬。將。可。待。之。城。與。崔。漢。呼。監。軍。特。進。宋。鳳。朝。導
入。幕。次。然。無。他。應。結。贊。命。伐。鼓。三。聲。其。眾。呼。諫。而。至。城。遷。之。自。暮
後。得。他。馬。浮。而。奔。歸。時。馬。不。加。敵。城。伏。於。壇。而。千。加。之。必。駝。十。餘
里。驗。方。及。口。故。追。騎。之。矢。遇。而不。傷。焉。惟。城。之。死。將。辛。榮。招。合。數。百
人。據。此。旱。與。賊。接。戰。須。賊。眾。四。合。力。屈。而。降。鳳。朝。及。結。軍。歡。
矜並為亂兵所殺，漢衡及中官劉延、郎固、文珍、李清，朝漢衡判官鄭

叔矩路泌掌書記袁同直大將扶餘隼馬，守及神策軍飛揚河東大將

秋日華李至言樂演明范澄馬令等六十餘人皆降馬餘將士及夫

攜其從吏呂温以身蔽之刃中溫而漢衡獲免漢衡乃言謂執者

曰我漢使崔尚書也緝賀與我善如若殺我緝賀亦殺汝乃捨之盡

驅而西既已面縛各以一木自領至趾約於地以髪絆各縛一楔又以毛繩三束之又以

毛絆連其髮而約之夜皆踣於地以髪絆，各縛一楔又以毛繩三束之又以

之守衛者臥其上以防其亡逸也，至故原州緝賀坐於帳中召與相

見數讓國家因怒緝賀曰武功之捷皆我之力許以涇州靈州相報

皆食其言負我深矣，舉國所念本朝是盟在擒緝賀也，吾遣以金錘

桔待璃將獻賀普既以失之虛致君等耳當遣君輩三人歸也，呂溫

帶瘡亦至緝賀嘉其義厚給賀之緝賀率其衆於石門遣中官俱文

珍緝賀之將馬燧，馬燧之將馬弇歸丁我遂至漢衡叔矩等囚於河
之群乘文武信誼之重，黃淵陷深用，惻然此皆由朕之不明致其
崔漢衡等皆國之良士朝之蓋臣眾議寓業，然殊域其家室或
周於晏客，以息男度或資於薄俸漢衡宜與，一子七品官司勳
貞外郎鄭叔矩校戶部郎中路泌殿中侍御史韓愈及大將孟日
華辛榮李至言范登玉良資樂演明陽昔權交成等各各一子八品
官試左金吾兵曹參軍安同直榆次尉裴頊及副兵馬使已下各與
一子九品官仍並與正員官餘將士各與一子或委本使即具名
衝聞奏於是遣決勝軍使唐良臣以眾六百人自陝陽成原堡神
策副將蘇太平率其衆五百余陝州八月崔漢衡至自吐蕃初漢
衡與同陪者並至河州尚結甲令召漢衡與神策將孟日華中官劉
延邑俱至石門而遣之結甲令五十騎送至境上且書表請進及潘
原李觀使止曰有詔不許更納蕃使受其表而遂其人自是吐蕃幸
羌渾之衆犯塞分屯於番口及青海原先是吐蕃之衆自番口東
分
為三道其一趨襄州其一趨沔陽之東其一趨郢州是日相次屯於所趨之地運營數十里其開陽賊營距鳳翔四十里京師震恐士庶奔駭賊遣羌渾之衆衣漢戎服僞稱邢君牙之衆奄至吳山神之首佰姓丁壯者驅之以歸馬老者咸殺之或斷手爨自棄之而去初李晟在鳳翔今伐大木塞化岐及是賊並焚之九月詔神策軍將石季章以衆三千戍武官召唐良臣自蕃原戍百里城是月吐蕃大掠沔陽吳山華亭等界人聞者為之痛心焉渾岌遣其將任蒙主以衆三千戍奸時是月吐蕃之首至分屯於豐義及華亭百六十人夜入計殺吐蕃圍臨洮州刺史韓清河興平太平夜出兵伏於大象龍及夜半令城中及賊各舉火相應賊大驚因襲其營賊乃退散時吐蕃攻陷華亭初賊之圍華亭也先絕其水道其守將王仙鶴及鎮兵百姓凡三千人皆在圍中使
還自是駕之駕常往來涇州之間諸城西門莫敢啟者賊又修故原州城其大衆屯馬四年五月吐蕃三萬餘騎犯塞分入涇邠寧慶麟等州焚彭原縣廨舍所至燒廬舍人畜沒殺約二三萬計凡二旬方退陳許行營將韓全義自長武城率衆抗之無功而還遊環素無軍政且疾不能興閉城自守莫敢禦也先是吐蕃入寇恥以秋冬及春則多遇疾疫而退是來也方盛暑而無患蓋華人陷者厚其資產質其妻子為戎虜所將而侵轉馬九月吐蕃將尚悉董星論拔羅等寇寧州節度使張獻簡率衆禦之斬首百餘級賊轉寇麟坊等州縱掠而云五年十月朔南節度使常暉遣將王有道等與東畿兩川兵討之時乃冬月不韋及見賊馬數甚眾獻簡率兵拒而無利獻簡退至鄜州邊便各郡兵亦皆退獻簡歎曰天未欲爾也 donors不可勝數生擒築官四十五人收穫器械一萬餘斤左右百廷軍不戰而退獻者吐蕃驃勇者也或云尚結賻之子頻為邊患自一萬餘頭匹驃賊悉多楊朱斬首二千餘級其敗滅虜於赴水死者不可勝數生擒築官四十五人收穫器械一萬餘斤左右百廷軍不戰而退獻者吐蕃驃勇者也或云尚結�恤之子頻為邊患自一萬餘頭匹驃賊悉多楊朱斬首二千餘級其敗滅虜於赴水死者不可勝數生擒築官四十五人收穫器械一萬餘斤左右百廷軍不戰而退獻者吐蕃驃勇者也或云尚結�恤之子頻為邊患自
六年吐蕃陷我北庭都護府，初北庭安西既废，道於迴纥朝奉因附
不聊生矣，又有🛽骅部一千餘帳與北庭相依，亦属于迴纥，迴纥
拔去之，於是吐蕃率其部屬，與吐蕃相爭，不相得，北庭
庭之人既苦迴纥是歲。乃舉城降於吐蕃，沙陀部落亦降，焉北庭
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異牟尋大破吐蕃於神明使來獻捷語在南詔傳十三年八月黃少

鄉攻陷欽橫遠贊四州吐蕃渠帥論乙鬍跋沒未悉諸律以其家屬
來降明年並以為歸德將軍十二年九月吐蕃寇慶州及晉池縣殺
傷甚十三年正月邢君牙奏請於隰州西七十里築城以偽西戎

征信城吐蕃勢萱德使孫桑应未受表狀任其使却轉五月十七日吐蕃於

南山馬領三慶開路分軍下嶽經一日進軍進軍過築城隰州刺

史曹高任率領諸軍將士井東覘千第十合蘇接戰自朝至午妖勝生

橋大零官七人陣上殺獲二百人餘被刀箭者不可勝紀收獲馬首

五百餘頭匹器械二千餘事十四年十月隰州破吐蕃於烏蘭橋下十七年七月

吐蕃冠隰州又踐隰州殺刺史郭鋒等城隍大掠居民驅築項部族

而去次隰州西九十里橫槽烽烽軍呼延州僧延素等七人稱徐會

人召其火隊吐蕃沒動邊引延素等疾趨至帳前皆馬革手毛繩
將八十七人舉部落來降定德有計畫要等知兵法及山川地形吐
番每用兵定德常乘驛計議將來其成算至是自以邊功不立懼得
罪而歸心焉其明年吐蕃昆明城管領處燄千餘戶又來降吐蕃
以其眾外湊遂北寇靈州陷麟州詔常隴出兵成都西山以紓北邊
保州兵馬使佷冕棄保霸兩州刺史董檀等率兵一千進逼成都
州城中北路兵馬邢琠等諸州刺史鄭懷愕等率兵二千進逼吐蕃
老翁等城都將高倜王呂俊等率兵一千進逼故松州隴東路兵馬
州鎮南軍使御史大夫常良金發鎮兵一千三百進軍維州經畧使
路惟明等三部落主趙日進等率兵三千進攻通祖偏松等城黎州
州經畧使陳孝陽與行營兵馬使何大海常義等及磨些燄三部
落主酋那時率兵四千進攻昆明諸澄城自八月至十二月纔破

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余阅诸道救兵无至者凡二十七日贼乃退十五年二月以秘书少

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重其事，请告太庙太常。礼院奏曰：谨按肃宗故事，告庙必先告于太庙，然后告久。今于告庙之后，又告太庙，恐不合。今从之，则告久，复于太庙。

始，高宗建中元三年，诏书之文，有“至德之文”、“至德之文”等语。盖告久之文，必于太庙，然后告久。今于告久之后，又告太庙，恐不合。今从之，则告久，复于太庙。
使音奏云去四月二十四日到吐蕃牙帳以五月六日會盟訖初元

雲也我以丙中年論凜討其城郭二百日程計到即破滅其會

我聞本國有喪而還送諧之動義而內不至難之風又不曾侵奪分寸土地豈得不至乎

是時元鼎來渡黃河上流在洪齊橋西南二千餘里其水極為淺

在中問水甚清歷流歷水色遂赤續為諸水所注漸生黃濁又其

於西去蕃之列館約四驛每驛約二百餘里東北大莫賀延晝

五千里向南款小比自沙州之西乃南入吐瀚國至比轉微故號

夏衛之所其川在邊呂川南北百里藏河之所流也時吐蕃遣使論悉

諾息等隨元鼎來謝命太宗少卿杜載使以今之三年正月遣使論
古來朝賀，四年九月，遣使求五雛山圖，十月貢犢牛及銀鑄成犁。牛羊鹿各一。是年三月，遣使尚綺立熱來朝，且請和好。九月，遣使報之開成元年。二年，皆遣使來會，三鹿賦詩二，十二月，夏祭論賜等來告哀，詔以將作少監李輝等。三月，石門使，木蘭等七閭，安樂等三州，井，石門使，木蘭等。是年七月，河隴等，老率。書白，拜授，小山君無常聖，我親則，彼盛，我衰，則彼衰，盛則侵我，衰則侵我，約，約，約。書白，拜授，小山君無常聖，我親則，彼盛，我衰，則彼衰，盛則侵我，衰則侵我，約，約，約。
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3. The chronicle table of the Emperors and bTsan pos.

4. Genealogy of T'ang Emperors and Tibetan bTsan pos.

5. A selected bibliography.

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Khri-srong lde-brtsan  
Mu-ne btsan-po  
Sad-na-legs  
Ral-pa-čan  
gLan-darma
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<td>(627-50)</td>
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<td>(713-56)</td>
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Genealogy of the Tibetan bTsan-pos

1. Srong btsan sgam po (620-49)
   Gung srong gung btsan (before 649)

2. Khri mang srong mang btsan (649-676)

3. hDu srong mang po rje (676-704)

4. Khri lde gtsug brtsan/ mes ag tshoms (704-755)

5. Khri srong lde brtsan (755-797)

6. Mu ne btsan po (797-799)

7. Khri lde sring brtsan/ sad na legs (799-815)

8. Khri gtsug lde brtsan (815-838)

9. gLang darma (838-841)
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The primary purpose of the index is based upon matching up a given part of the text and its corresponding part in the translation. If a certain part in the translation is searched for its corresponding part in the text, then look the page number and go to the index to find that page or any page close to that page. This will lead where the matching words are either from text to translation or from translation to text. The index is arranged by first letter sound, not by word.
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