

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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PREFACE

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 accesible; 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

original text.

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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PART I
(Pre 634-765)

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 (西羌) 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'ufo liliku (秃髮利鹿孤) 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 (苻檀)³ succeeded to the throne, and took Fanni as the general of Anshi (安西將軍). In the first year of the late Wei (後魏/414), Jut'an was totally defeated by Ch'ifu chihp'an (乞乞娥盤).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'ufo 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

(沮渠蒙遜).¹ When Mengsun became defeated, Fanni, leading the people of Linsung,² fled towards the west. He crossed the Yellow river and passed Chishih (積石)³ 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 (傘勁野)⁴, and then took his surname T'ufo as the name of his country. The pronunciation of the word T'ufo gradually changed and finally became to be called T'ufan (吐蕃). 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 北涼第二代武宣王

² Linsung is in 甘肅省張掖縣

³ Chishih is in 青海省西寧縣, it is the place of 鄯州.

⁴ In Shin T'ang-shu, it is written as "骨烏提教悉野" which is a mistake for "悉教野", because it refers to the transcription of "ho-lde spu-rgyal".

The people of that country call (style) their king as bTsan-po (贊普), and the ministers as bLon-chen (大論), bLon-chün (小論),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; 論 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 (拂 廬). 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 (邏 些) 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 (夏觀 /634), 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'aitsung (太宗) sent his envoy; Feng te-hsi (馮德選) 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'aitsung 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

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

² Yang-t'ung is described as Zhang-zhung. Helmut Hoffmann, Tibet, A Handbook (Indiana Univ., 1975), p.22.

captured by T'ufan. Thereupon, the T'ufan troops advanced and defeated the various Ch'iang tribes of Tanghsiang (党项) and P'ailan (白兰).¹ 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 (韩威), 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'aitzung then dispatched a minister of the government employee (兵部尚书), Hou chun-chi (侯君集), as general commander of the army for the route of Tangmi (党项); the right-wing general-in-chief (右领军大將軍), Chihshih ssuli (執失思力), 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

¹ Tanghsiang was the clan living in the beding area of Yellow River in the Ch'inghai province. They founded 西夏國 during 宋代. They are not Tibetan-language people. P'ailan belongs to a Turkey tribe.

K'uoshui (關水); the right-wing general (右領軍將軍), Liu lan (劉蘭), as the commander of the army for the route of T'aoho (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 (進達) 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'aitsung (gave up his refusal and) granted the marriage. Sron-btsan bgam-po then sent one of his ministers, Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zun (祿東贊)¹, to pay his decorum with a present of 5,000 Liang (兩) of gold, besides other treasures of several hundreds.

In the 15th year of Chenkuan (貞觀 /641), the Emperor T'aitsung let the princess Wench'eng (文成公主) be the consort of Sron-btsan bgam-po. Emperor T'ait-sung appointed the president of rituals (禮部尚書), 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

¹ The transcription of 祿 in 祿東贊 is not clear, but it is certainly Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zun. However, this text mentions that his surname was 進. It is unusual character in modern days, but it must correspond with Mga. And lu (祿) may be the phonetic sound of /r/ in Mgar, or it may be a Chinese semantic character to mean an official salaried man.

tag, escorted the princess to T'ufan. Sron-btsan bgampo was then leading his army stationed at Paihai (柘 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 bgampo 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 stoñ-btsan yul-zuñ 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 (我 鶩) is still like a wild goose.¹ In this regard, a good

¹ The domestic goose (我 鶩) 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),¹ 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 (驛馬都尉)², 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

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'aitsung (太宗). Kaotsung praised him (Sron-btsan bgam-po) and promoted him to king of Tsung (贊王), 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'aitsung graveyard.

In the first year of Yunghui (永徽 /650),¹ Sron-btsan bgam-po died. Kaotsung performed the mourning ceremony for his death, and sent the right-wing general of police (右武候將軍). Hsienyu ch'enchi (鮮于臣濟) 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-stoñ-brtsan yul-zuñ, whose family name was

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, Mañ-sron mañ-btsan. In 王統記, Khri-mañ slon-mañ-rtsan.

玩 .¹ 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'iang tribes and became preeminent in their native lands.

Formerly, when T'aitsung granted the marriage of princess Wench'eng to the bTsan-po, the bTsan-po had sent Mgar stoñ-brtsan yul-zuñ to receive her. When he was in front of the audience, the Emperor (T'aitsung) 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'aitsung treated him differently from other Ch'iang 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 stoñ-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'aitsung praised what he said, and wanted to comfort him with deep benevolence. Thus, T'aitsung admitted

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 elegance, but did not admit his refusal.

Mgar stoñ-brtsan yul-zuñ had five sons; the eldest one was called Tsanhsijo (贊悉若),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 (悉多干),⁴ and the fifth one was Polun (教論).⁵ After Mgar stoñ-brtsan yul-zuñ 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 (崑朔) and Lin techung (郾德中), 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 Hoyüan (河源王), Mu-yung no-ho-po (慕容諾曷) and his consort,

¹ Tsanhsijo is Mgar btsan-sña hdom-bu. Tun-huang documents, chronology.

² Ch'inlin is Khri-ḥbriñ btsan-lod.

³ Tsanp'o is bTsan-ba. (Later he submitted himself to T'ang.)

⁴ Hsitokan is Sta-gu. The character kan (干) in this text (chiu t'ang-shu) is a mistake for yü (于).

⁵ Polun is Mgar brtsan-ñen guñ-rton.

princess Hunghna (弘化公主), fled to Liangchou (涼州).¹ 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 (左衛員外大將軍), 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 (論欽陵).² 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 (慕容諾曷鉢), his relatives, and his adherents of some several thousand tents came to offer their allegiance to T'ang. These people were moved to Lingchou (靈州), where they were allowed to live.

From this time on, T'ufan successively invaded the

¹ 涼州 is in 甘肅省, 武威縣.

² Khri-ḥbrin btsan-lod is the second son of Mgar ston-brtsan yul-zun.

border area every year, and the Ch'iang tribes of Tangchou (營 州) and Hsichou (悉 州)¹ and so forth, all came to submit to T'ufan.

In the 3rd year of Shangyuan (上 元 /674), T'ufan invaded Shangchou (善 州)² and K'uocho (鄯 州)³ 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),⁴ 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 chingsien (李 敬 玄), to serve also as governor of Shangchou (善 州), and to defend T'aoho (洮 河). Chingsien then enlisted the brave ones in the Kuannei (關 外), Hontung (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 營悉善州.

² 善州 is in 青海省. 西寧市

³ 鄯州 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 commanded the master administrator of Ichou (益州長史), Li hsiao (李孝遠), and the governor of Suichou (遂州), Chih wangfeng (拓王奉) and others to issue their soldiers to defend them. In the autumn of that year (Yifeng 3rd year/678), Chingsuan (敬玄), together with the minister of the department of public work (工部尚書), Liu shienli (劉審禮), 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. Chingsuan 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 (承風嶺),¹ 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 (左領軍員外將軍), Heichihch'angchih (黑齒常之), who was one of Chingsuan's generals, led 500 special, fearless soldiers and stormed the enemy camp during night. Consequently, the enemy was demoralized and thrown into confusion, and trod upon each other, killing more than 3,000 of their own. Chingsuan then led his army to Shanchou (善州), but he was accused and demoted to governor of Hengchou

¹ 承風嶺 is in 鄜州成武縣西南

(衡 州).

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 (雋 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 茲), 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 (審 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 chih sien (劉齊賢), 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 bTsan-ba (贊婆) and Suhokuei (素和貴) 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 (儀鳳 /679), the bTsan-po (贊普) 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 mañ-slon mañ-rtsan.

(贊 悉 弄)¹ succeeded him to the throne; thus he came to be called bTsan-po. At this time, he was eight years old, so the state affairs all befell to Khri-ḥbriñ btsan-lod (欽 陵).² T'ufan sent their minister Han-t'iao-p'ang (論 寒 調 傍) to the T'ang court to report the death of their bTsan-po, and requested peaceful relations. Kaotsung then sent the colonel of militia (節 將), Sung lingwen (宋 令 文) to T'ufan to (participate in) the mourning ceremonies and offer condolences over the death of their bTsan-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 昌 右 相), Wei taichia (韋 待 價), to the post of general commander for the route of Anhsi (安 西 道 大 總 官),

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 bTsan-po, Mañ-sron mañ-stsan. Practically, he succeeded to the throne in the first year of Yifeng/676.

² Khri-ḥbriñ btsan-lod (欽 陵) was the second son of Mgar stoñ-brtsan yul-zuñ. At this time, he was not the great minister yet; his older brother, Mgar btsan-sña ḥdom-bu (贊 悉 若) was the great minister, who was holding the authority. However, Khri-ḥbriñ btsan-lod became great minister after his older brother Mgar btsan-sña ḥdom-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 (侍西) was accused and sent to Pochou (蒲州), 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'ienhou/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 (曷蘇), 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 (右玉鈐衛大將軍), Chang Hsuanyü (張玄謨), 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 (大渡川) to receive them, but Hosu'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'ui (贊鍾), who also led over 8,000 Ch'iang people to offer his submission to Hsuanyü. Hsuanyü then established the prefecture of Yehch'uan (葉川州) for the villagers, and took Tsanch'ui as governor of that prefecture. Furthermore, Hsuanyü erected a tower at the west of the river Tatu (大渡川) and engraved his praises on it, and then returned.

In the first year of Changshou (長壽 /692), the commander-in-chief of the martial guard (武威軍總官), Wang, hsiaochieh (王孝傑), inflicted a great defeat on the T'ufan army, and recovered the four military posts of Kueitzu (龜茲), Yütien (于闐), Sule (疏勒), and Suiyeh (碎葉), and so forth. Therefore, the T'ang court established the metropolis government of Anhsi (安西都護府) in Kueitzu, and troops were dispatched in order to protect the city.

In the first year of Wansui T'engfeng (萬歲登封 / 696), Hsiaoehieh (孝傑) again became the commander-in-chief for the route of Shupien (肅邊道總官). And he, along with his assistant general commander, Lou shihte (婁師德), fought against the T'ufan generals, such as Khri-hbrin btsan-lod

(論 欽 陵)¹ and bTsan-ba (贊 婆) as the Sulahan-shan (素 羅 汗 山).² But the imperial army was totally defeated. And Hsiaochieh (孝 傑), owing to his responsibility, was stripped of his rank.

In the first year of Wansui tungt'ien (萬 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-ḥbriñ 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-ḥbriñ btsan-lod (論 欽 陵) and his brothers came to control the army, Khri-ḥbriñ 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-ḥbriñ btsan-lod).

² Sulahan-shan is in 冰 山 . 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. bTsan-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 (聖 歷 /699), bTsan-po (贊 普) Khri-ḥdus-sron (器 弩 悉 弄), who had grown up, secretly planned with his minister Lun-yen (論 巖) and others to strip minister Khri-ḥbrinḥ btsan-lod (欽 陵) and his followers of their power. At this time, Khri-ḥbrinḥ bTsan-po was somewhere in the countryside. Then, the bTsan-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-ḥbrinḥ btsan-lod (欽 陵), and put them to death. And then the bTsan-po summoned Khri-ḥbrinḥ btsan-lod, bTsan-ba, and others, but Khri-ḥbrinḥ btsan-ba was at the time collecting his troops and refused to obey the summons. Then the bTsan-po himself led an army to chastise him. Khri-ḥbrinḥ btsan-lod did not fight against the bTsan-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. bTsan-ba (贊 婆) led over 1,000 of his people, including his older brother's son

Shoupuchih (授布支)¹, 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 Anhsi (安西大都護).

In the first year of Chiushih (久視 1700), T'ufan again dispatched their general Ch'umangpuchih (趨莽布支)² to invade Liangchou (涼州) and to enclose Chiangsunghsieng (昌松縣).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

¹ In Hsin T'ang-shu, it is written as 元子莽布支, which is probably right. is Mañ-po-rje.

² Ch'umangpuchih is Khu mañ-po-rje lha-zuñ.

³ 甘肅省古浪縣東 中蘭省永登縣西(漢)

Hungyuanku (洪源谷), and cut off their two lieutenant generals and 2,500 soldiers.

In the 2nd year of Chiangan (長安 /702), the bTsan-po (贊普) led over 10,000 soldiers and invaded Hsichou (悉申).¹ The governor, Ch'en tatz'u (陳大慈), 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 (論彌薩) 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".

¹ 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 (泥婆羅門) 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-sroñ (器弩悉弄),¹ Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan (棄隸跖質)², as their bTsan-po. However, at this time the bTsan-po was only seven years old.

In the first year of Shengling (神龍 /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 (悉薰然)³, 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

¹ 器 弩 悉 弄 is Khri-ḥdus-sroñ.

² 棄 隸 跖 質 is Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan.

³ 悉 薰 然 is sToñ-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 (景龍 /709), T'ufan sent another mission headed by the chief minister Shañ-btsan to-re lhas-byin (尚贊吐)¹ to receive the bride. Emperor Chungtsung entertained them at the courtyard for ball-playing in the palace park, and let general Yang Shenchiao (楊慎交), 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 Shañ-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'aitsung (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 (侍中), Chi ch'una (紀處訥) 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 (處訥) bowed, but firmly declined by mentioning that he was not familiar with the border area. The Emperor then appointed Chiao yinshao (趙彥昭), 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 詔令集, 卷四十二, it is said "on the 27th of this month".

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 景龍 /710), the Emperor proceeded to Shihp'inghsien (始平縣) to escort her; there an imperial tent was pitched beside the Paich'ingp'o (白項泊), 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'ingsien (始平縣) 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 (鳳池鄉倉別里).¹ After the princess arrived to T'ufan, they built a house where the princess lived.

After Juitsung (睿宗) 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 (姚州)² 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-ming (房名), 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.

¹ 鳳池鄉倉別里 means the district of the lake of phoenix and the sad departing village.

² T'iaochou is 雲南省姚安縣.

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 (佉 達 焉), Ch'ilihsu (乞 力 徐),¹ and others led over 10,000 soldiers, and invaded Lint'aochün (臨 洮 軍); they further invaded Lanchou and Weichou (蘭 渭 等 州), and so forth,² and carried off the official sheep and horses. Yangchü (楊 矩) was repentant and afraid of them,

¹ Fentayen is Hbon-da rgyal-btsan-zuñ, and Ch'i-lihsu is Khri-gzu.

² Lanchou is 甘肅省 皋蘭 縣, and Weichou is 甘肅省 階 西 縣.

and finally killed himself by drinking poison. Emperor Hsuantsung (玄 宗) appointed Hsiehna (薛 誦), who was the left-wing general of the imperial bodyguard (攝 左 羽 林 將 軍), and Wangchun (王 駿), 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 (駿) and others encountered the enemy at Wuchiehyi (武 階 驛) in Weiyuan (渭 源), and the vanguard, Wang haiping (王 海 養), who was bravely fighting, was killed. But Chun and others, leading the troops, advanced and broke down the T'ufan (army) and killed several 10,000 men, and got back the sheep and horses previously captured by the T'ufan. 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 養), and returned. T'ufan sent their chief minister Tsunggo-yintzu (宗 俄 因 子) to the T'iao 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 chihyun (鄒 知 運) and Wang chung'p'i (王 君 彥) 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;¹ 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 詭), 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

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 chung'i (王君奭). Shou (說), as he stepped out, said to Yüan kanyao (源乾耀): "Chung'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 Chung'i comes in the court and states his plan, then my advice will be disregarded." Soon Chung'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 (開元 1727), Chung'i led the troops and defeated T'ufan to the west of Ch'ing-hai (青海),¹ 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),² at the head of their army, had invaded Tatouku (大斗谷);³ he also attacked Kan-chou (甘肅), and burned towns and villages. But Chung'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

¹ Ch'inghai is Kokonor.

² The T'ufan general Hsinolu is sTag-sgra.

³ Tatouku may also be written as 大斗拔谷 or 大斗枝谷.

troops froze to death, and finally the T'ufan troops, taking the route west of the Chishinchün (積石軍),¹ 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)² 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 (秦州), 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 (大非川), 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 (悉諾邏悉祿) and Chulung mangpuchih (燭龍莽布支)³ attacked and invaded the city of Kuachou

¹ Chishinchün is the area of 青海省黃德果東方。

² The mountain Tafei must be near the Tafei river.

³ Hsinolu kunglu is sTag-sgra khon-lod, and Chulung mangpuchih is Tsog-ro mañ-po-rje.

(瓜 州 城),¹ capturing the governor, T'ien yuanhsien (田 元 獻), the father of Wang chung'p'i, Shou (壽), and all the military supplies as well as the food; furthermore they destroyed the city, and then they left. But they successively invaded Yümengchün (玉 門 軍)² and Ch'anglohsien (常 樂 縣).³ 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 chung'p'i (王 君 奭) was killed by one of the Huiho (迴 紇) (contingent who had remained in the area).⁴ The Emperor then appointed the president of the board of war (兵 部 尚 書), Hsiao Sung (蕭 嵩), to the post of governor-general of Hohsi (河 西 節 度 使), and took Chang shoukuei (張 守 珪), who was commander of the Chienkang army (建 康 軍) as well as left-wing general of palace and capital police (左 金 吾 將 軍), (to serve) as governor of Kuachou (瓜 州), to rebuild the city and to call on the people to go back to their original occupations.

At that time, sTag-sgra Khon-lod (悉 諾 邏 悉 祿) became famous. Hsiao sung (蕭 嵩) let one of those

¹ Kuachou is 甘肅省玉門縣東方。

² Yümengchün is 甘肅省安西縣。

³ Ch'anglohsien is just about the same area as Kuachou.

⁴ 迴 紇 is Uiguor.

opposing sTag-sgra khoñ-lod go to the bTsan-po (贊普) to report that sTag-sgra khoñ-lod was secretly communicating with the T'ang court; thereby the bTsan-po summoned sTag-sgra khoñ-lod and dealt him capital punishment.

In the autumn of the next year (Kaiyüan 16/728), the T'ufan general Hsimolang (悉末朗)¹ led his army and attacked Kuachou, but the governor, Shou kuei (守珪) (also) dispatched an army, and the T'ufan ran away. Chang chungliang (張忠亮), who was governor-general of Lungyü (龍右節度使) as well as governor of Shanchou (善州), 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),² 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 (蕭嵩) sent his lieutenant-general, Tu p'ink'o

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

² The western area of 青海省西寧市.

(杜賓 春) with 4,000 bowmen to fight against T'ufan near the city wall of Ch'ilien (祁連城下), 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 (開元 /729), the commander-in-chief of Sofang (朔方大總管), Shinan wangyi (信安王禕), led an army to Lungyü (隴右)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 (隴山).

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 (振武軍) in the city of Shihp'u (石堡城), and the captives were presented to the ancestral temple (太廟). Thereupon, T'ufan successively sent their envoys to ask for peace. Accordingly, Huangfu weiming (皇甫惟明), who was a friend of King Chung (忠王友), posited to the Emperor that it was useful to maintain a peaceful relation (with T'ufan). The Emperor then told him: "T'ufan bTsan-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 (開元), the bTsan-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 (隴右) 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 (惟明) 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 (名悉獵)¹ 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."² 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)

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 (婁衆失若) 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 (諭名悉璘)¹ and assistant envoy Lang-hsieh-ho-yeh-hsi-lien (浪些紇夜悉璘), who is general of the

¹ 諭 in 諭名悉璘 must be 諭. 諭 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 (曷 悉 彌) 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 (曷 悉 彌) and the rest arrived to the capital. The Emperor proceeded to the Hsuancheng palace-hall and received the comitive 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 " 羴 羊 ", 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 悉 徧) 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 領),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.'¹ 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).² 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

¹ In the text, " 商不謀夏, 夏不乱華", which is in 孔子表語, 相魯, 第一。

² King Tungping was son of 宣帝 (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 王鳳, 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)¹ 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-shüan (文選), then they will know that there are letters and dispatches in (martial) communication.² 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.³

¹ Yüeh-ling (月令), Li-chi.

² In the original text, it is " 書 檄文之制 ". 制 must be a mistake for 制 (regulation).

³ Cho-ch'uan (左傳), 襄公二十六年條, 卷十八.

And Wu (吳) attacked Ch'u (楚) with war carriages, therefore Ch'u got tired of running from them.¹ 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, 閔公元年條, 卷四.

that Yü hsi (于 美) asked for Chiuhsien (曲 果) and P'angyin (鞶 纁),¹ 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.'² 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 暹), (ordering him) to go to T'ufan on a friendly mission. In those days, whenever T'ang envoys entered into the

¹ Chiuhsien (曲 果) is an official title, and P'angyin (鞶 纁) are the official clothes or uniform in ancient times.

² Yühsi (于 美) 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 (李愬) was sent to erect a stone monument at Chihling (赤嶺) 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'ihhsian (提象門), and showed them to his officials. In this same year, T'ufan attacked the west of Polü (勃律),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 (崔希逸), who was the head of the guard (散馬騎常侍), 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 遜) told T'ufan general Khri-gzu (乞 力 徐) 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, Hsiah (希 遜) firmly urged this, and finally sent an envoy and concluded a treaty with Khri-gzu (乞 力 徐) 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 誨), who was working for Hsiah (希 遜), went to the court and reported the circumstances. Hui (誨), 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 宗), who was the interior servant, hastily to return with Sun hui (孫 誨) to investigate the situation. When Huitsung and his group arrived in Liangchou (涼 州), they feigned a decree and ordered Hsiah (希 遜) to attack T'ufan. Hsiah 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 (蕭 良), who was the governor of Chichou (岷州), as vice-president of revenue and population (戶部侍郎) to govern Liangchou (涼州), in place of Hsi (希建), and also (to serve) as governor-general of Hohsi (河西); the military governor of Shanchou (善州), T'u hsiwang (杜希望), (was appointed) governor-general of Lungyü (隴右); the eunuch Wang hao (王昊) (was appointed to serve) as the senior official (長史) as well as governor-general of Chiennan (劍南). 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 Weiwuchun (威戎軍),¹ and he stationed (there) with 1,000 soldiers. In that year, on the 7th month, Hsiwang again dispatched troops from Shanchou (鄭州) and captured the T'ufan bridge (河橋)² and built a fortress Yench'uan (鹽泉城) at the left side of the river.

About 30,000 T'ufan troops faced the imperial troops, but Hsiwang (希望), leading his troops, defeated them. Then, he stationed his troops in Chenhsi (鎮西軍) at the fortress of Yench'uan (鹽泉城). Just at this time, Wang hao (王昊), on the one hand, led his Chinese troops (劍南兵) and attacked the T'ufan Anjung fortress (安戎城), 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'empo-ling (蓬婆嶺),³ and by gathering army supplies and food in the province of Chennan (劍南), 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 (安戎城). The imperial army was defeated, and both fortresses fell to the enemy. Hao (昊) ran

¹ In shin T'ang-shu, it is 威戎軍.

² A bridge at the upper Yellow River.

³ The P'empo-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'uo-chou (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 (端州高要),² and there he died.

In the 27th year (739), on the 7th month, the T'ufan again attacked the garrisons of Paitso (白草) and Anjen (安人).³ To this, a decree was issued to the armies of Lingt'ao and Sofang (臨洮朔方) 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 (高僊于), 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 (蕭晃) let one of his generals pursue and defeat them.

¹ K'uo-chou is 浙江省麗水縣東南.

² Tuanchou-kaoyao is 廣東省高要縣.

³ 白草 may be a mistake for 白水. 白水軍 was located to the north-west of 鞏州.

After Wang hao (王昊) was defeated, a decree ordered Chang yu (張翥), who was the governor of Huachou (華州), (to serve) as governor of Ichou (荊州) 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 (主客員外郎), (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 (兼瓊) took over the role of commanding the army, just as he wished. Soon, Chien ch'ing (兼瓊) 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 (張翥) to the post of president of the imperial banquet (光祿卿), and then appointed Chien ch'ing (兼瓊) to act as governor-general of Ichou (荊州), and also to command the army in place of Chang yu (張翥). Thus, the Emperor himself planned to take over the fortress.

In the 28th year (開元 /740), in the spring, Chien ch'ing (兼瓊) entered into a secret relation with Ti-tu-chü (翟都局) of T'ufan in the T'ufan fortress along with Tung ch'engyen (董承宴), who was at Piehchia (別賀) 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 (許遠), 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)¹ 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 (羌族). 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 (儀鳳 /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 (小蕃), 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'ung (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.¹ 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 (河源軍), and still further to the Yunhaifen of Anjenchün (安仁軍渾崖峯).² The cavalry general, Ch'eng hsiyeh (盛希液), 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 (蓋嘉運), was unable to defend it, so the Emperor (玄宗) was very angry about it. At the beginning of Tienpao (天寶), Huangpu weiming (皇甫惟明) and Wang chungssu (王忠嗣)

¹ In the text, 吐蕃來遣使告哀. This must be a mistake for 吐蕃遣使來告哀.

² 安仁軍 must be the same as 安人軍, which was located to the west of 鄯州. In the text, it already appeared. See the description of 739 A.D.

were appointed governor-general of Lunyü (隴 右) one after the other, but both of them were unable to conquer. In the 7th year (天 寶 /748), Ko shukan (哥 舒 翰) was appointed governor-general of Lunyü. He attacked and gained the fortified city of Shihp'u (石 堡 城), and he changed the name of the city to Shinwuchün (神 武 軍).

In the 14th year of tienpao (天 寶 /755), the bTsan-po (贊 普), Khri-sron lde-brtsan (乞 黎 蘇 籙 彌 贊), died. Then the ministers elected his son P'o-sron lde-brtsan (婆 悉 籙 彌 贊) to be their leader as well as their bTsan-po (贊 普).¹ Emperor Hsientsung (玄 宗) appointed Ts'ui küang-yüan (崔 光 遠), who was lieutenant-mayor of the capital (京 兆 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 Küanyüan (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 Lungyü (隴 右).

¹ The text must be mistaken. The transcription of "乞 黎 蘇 籙 彌 贊" is Khri-sron lde-brtsan, but "婆 悉 籙 彌 贊" is undefinable in the Tibetan source. The fact is that Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan (棄 隸 跖 贊) died, and his son Khri-sron lde-brtsan inherited. See 西 藏 正 統 記。

And the armies were stationed at T'ungkuan (潼關).¹ In the olden days, Chin (秦) took the west of Lungshan (隴山) as the prefecture of Lungshi (隴西郡), and Han (漢) kindly treated the northern Hsiungnu (匈奴), leading them to the south of the Yellow river,² and founded the prefectures such as Kutsang (姑臧), Changyeh (張掖), Chiuch'uan (酒泉), Iwu (伊吾), and so forth for them. And beyond the Taklamakan desert (碣外), a western viceroy was founded to control the western people. Furthermore, Lungshi (隴西) was divided into the provinces of Chinch'eng (金城) and Hsip'ing (西平), and so forth. And in these provinces the mixed tribe of T'i and Chang (氐羌) 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 (薛仁果)³ acquired the territory of

¹ 潼關 was located about 40 Li to the east of 陝西省華陰里.

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

³ 薛仁果 (果?) was a hero in 蘭州 during the time of the late 隋 dynasty. Later he fought with 李世民 (唐太宗), and he was killed.

of Lungshang (隴 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 (涼 州), furthermore he advanced through the Taklamakan desert. During the time of Chenkuan (貞 觀 /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 sherh (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 寶), 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 (隴 右), the governor-general was stationed at Shanchou (鄯 州); for the province of Anshi (安 西), the governor-

¹ One Li (里) is approximately 600 meters today.

general was stationed at P'eit'ing (业 庭); and for the Kuan nei area (關 內), there was the governor-general for the northern region (朔 方 節 度 使) at Lingchou (靈 州).¹ Thus, they were defending against the Fan (蕃). But the defense of Tungkuan (潼 關) was lost, consequently the military operations at the Yellow river and Losuei (洛 水) were hindered. Therefore, the generals and the soldiers of Hohsi (河 西), Lungyü (隴 右), Hsifang (朔 方) were gathered to return to the Kuan nei region to clear up the domestic difficulties. This was called Shing-ing (行 營). At this time, there was no preparation of the army in the border areas. In this, after Kanyüan (乾 元), 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 (鳳 翔),² and the northern region of Fengchou (邠 州)³ were all become to belong to the barbarians, and those which were fallen into their control were several 10s of prefectures (數十州).

In the first year of Sutsung (肅 宗), on the first month (建 寅 月), T'ufan sent their envoy

¹ Lingchou is 寧夏省靈武縣.

² Fengshang is 陝西省鳳翔縣.

³ Fengchou is 陝西省邠縣.

to our court and requested peace. There, a decree was issued to the ministers, Kuo ssui (郭子儀), Su hua (肅 華), Chang tsungching (張 遵 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 (曷 蕃) 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, 氏, 羌 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 (笮 路)¹ during the period of the Han dynasty, but since Kanyüan (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 虞 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 (廣 德 . / 763), on the 9th month, T'ufan encroached and the city Chingchou (經 州) was fallen into their hands. On the 10th month, T'ufan encroached upon Fenchou (邠 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 (党 項), and Ch'iang (羌) was marching toward east from Lungküantu (龍 光 度). Consequently, Kuo tzui (郭 子 儀) returned with his troops, and the Emperor went to Shanchou (陝 州).² The capital

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 縣.

division of the army lost their defense and General Kao hsi (高 暉),¹ 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 Kuangwu (廣 武 王) and the son of the former King Pin (邠 王) as the Emperor.² 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 (商 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 (鎮 守).

In the beginning, when the Emperor went to the

¹ 高 光 暉 may be written as 高 暉. 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 (邠 王 / 雍 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 (六軍),¹ 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 (牛心谷). 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 (行軍判官中書舍人), and Li ngo (李萼), who was the censor, told Tzui (子儀) 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 (子儀) 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 左右屯武, 左右神武, and 左右神策.

through the big way, it will be dangerous. I suppose it is better to take Yüshan way (玉山路), and to go out to their unexpected place." Tzui (子儀) also followed the idea, and in turn, Yenchang (延昌) and Li ong (李萼) 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 (延昌) and Ong (萼) 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 (倒迴口), they decided to proceed separately from Tzui (子儀). They passed the sharp mountain torrents and climbed up the bent mountain paths, however, they finally arrived to Shangchou (商州). But in advance, Chang chinchieh (張知節), who was the general of the six armies, led several hundreds of his followers, and left Changan (長安) to Shangchou (商州). (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 (延昌) and Ong (萼) 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 (洛南). 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 (臧希讓), Kuo Ch'eng (高昇), Peng tiying (彭休盈), Li weishien (李惟詭), 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 (萇) that Ong would take several cavalry to go to meet Tzui (子儀). Ong (萇) could meet Tzui (子儀) at a place of over 10 Li from Lonan (洛南), 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 (殷仲卿), 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 陝西省藍田縣.

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 body-guard (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 (韓公堆), 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 (仲卿), with over 200 cavalry, took a detour and crossed the river San (灤水) 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 excellency 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 Chungch'ing (仲卿) 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 (馬瑋), who was the governor-general of Chihhsi (鎮西節度使),¹ concurrently the deputy censor, led over 1,000 valiant

¹ Chihhsi is in 甘肅省臨夏縣.

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 (璘) 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 (璘) 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 (廣 德 /764), on the 5th month, T'ufan sent back Li chihfan (李 之 芳).

¹ Yüan refers to 甘肅省 鎮原縣 西方.

² Hui refers to 甘肅省 靖遠縣.

³ Ch'eng refers to 甘肅省 成縣.

⁴ Wei refers to 甘肅省 隴西縣 東南方面.

On the 9th month, the rebel general Pu-she (僕射) and the prince of Taning prefecture (大寧郡王), Puku-huanen (僕固懷恩), dispatched their party members, Fan chih (范志), Jeng shih (任敷), and others, from Lingwu (靈武) 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 (平州) and wanted to fight. The governor-general Pai hsiaote (白孝德) 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 (奉天縣). 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 (僕固懷恩) withdrew with his T'ufan army. In the 2nd year of Kuangte (廣德, 764), the governor-general of Hohsi (河西), Yang chih-lieh (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 (于 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 漸), and others were let to conclude the alliance at the temple of Hsingt'ang (興 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 迎 紇 之 衆) to attack the south side of the imperial residence area. The T'ufan generals Shang-chiehhsi tsanmo (尚 結 息 贊 磨),² Shang-hsi tung-tsan (尚 悉 東 贊),³ Shang-yehhsi (尚 野 息),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 (白 孝 德), was unable

¹ In Shin T'ang-shu, 于 州 is written as 甘 州, which may be correct.

² 尚 結 息 贊 磨 may be two persons; one is 尚 結 息 (Shañ rgyal-gzigs), and another person may be 尚 贊 磨 (Shañ btsan-ba). See Demieville, P., Le concile de Lhasa (Paris, 1952), p. 290.

³ 尚 悉 東 贊 may be Shañ stoñ-brtsan.

⁴ 尚 野 息 may be Shañ rgyal-gzigs. This may be the person 尚 結 息 or 尚 贊 磨.

⁵ 馬 重 英 is Stag-sgra klu-khoñ.

to withstand them, and the capital city was alarmed. Previously, the vanguard-cavalry generals in the northern area, Hun jihchin (譚日進) 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.¹ Tzui (子儀) stationed at Chingyang (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 (譚日進), 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

¹ Hochungfu refers to 蒲州 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 (梁母神), 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 Chihhsi (鎮西), Ma lin (馬麟), ran into some 400 T'ufan scouts in the eastern plain of Wukung (武功).¹ Ma lin (馬麟) 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.² 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 (九鬘山), in Lich'uan prefecture.³ From

¹ Wukung is 陝西省武功縣

² 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.

³ Lich'uan prefecture refers to 陝西省西縣縣.

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 (白水果).²

Hun jihching (韓 日 進), proclaiming his victory, arrived and encamped at Makueitien in Fengtien (奉天馬 葱 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 (鞏 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 壽), where they met the army of Huiho (迴 紇), 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 陝西省白水果.

Huanen's death. However, both sides, relying upon their own troops, were advising each other for reinvansion, 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 (窠店),¹ while their main troops were at Maweitien (馬鬼店), where they put fire on the people's houses, then they withdrew.

The Huiho's (迴紇) 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 (朔方先鋒兵馬使開府南陽郡王) and the Huiho (迴紇) 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 (絳陽鹽臺果). 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

¹ The word 窠店 may be a mistake for 窠店, 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 (楊濟), 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 (濟), and expressed their thanks and intention to maintain a good relationship. On the 10th month of the 2nd year of Tali (天曆 / 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 envou 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-bZañ.

² Lun-hsi-ling may be bLon-khri-ḥbrin.

Chingsien (景仙). Chingsien reported to the Emperor that the bTsan-po (贊普) asked for the Fenglinkuan (鳳林關)¹ 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 (尚書摩) invaded Pinchou (平州). The governor-general of Pining (平寧), Ma lin (馬麟), 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 yüankuang (白元光) defeated them. Thereafter, Yüankuang (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 (馬麟) was transferred to Chingchou (涇州) to defend the city, at the same time he was appointed governor-general of Ching-yüan (涇原). At Hsich'uan (西川), in Chiennan

¹ Fenglinkuan is 甘肅省臨夏縣西方。

(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 (悉),² T'o (柘),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 (鄧 子 儀) sent the vanguard general Hun hsien (渾 瑊) to engage in battle with the rebels at Ilu (宜 祿).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 (瑛) 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

¹ 安 refers to 四川省 劍 閣 縣

² 悉 refers to 四川省 潘 縣 西南方

³ 柘 refers to 四川省 恭 州 東方

⁴ 靜 refers to 四川省 松 潘 縣 西南方

⁵ 恭 refers to 四川省 茂 縣 西北方

⁶ Ilu is 陝 西 省 長 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 (馬麟), 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 (麟) 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 (業地), Ssuse (四塞), Wuyüan (五原), Ich'u (義渠), Chihu (稽胡), and Hsienpi (鮮卑),¹ at Hsüni (柯邑),² and reinforce the current troops; Paoyü (抱玉), with approximately

¹ Shangchün is a prefecture during the Han dynasty. It is the area of 陝西省綏德縣. Peiti is also the name of a prefecture during the Han dynasty, the area is 甘肅省環縣. Ssuse refers to the interior area. Wuyüan is the name of a prefecture also during the Han dynasty, the area is 陝西省榆林縣. Ich'u refers to a western tribe known as Tibeto-Turkeyish during the 先秦 dynasty. Chihu is unidentifiable, however, they might be a north-western tribe. Hsienpi refers to a Mongolian tribe.

² Hsüni was in the area of 陝西省三原縣

30,000 men of Kaotu (高都) in Chin (晉), of Shangtang (上党) in Han (韓), of the royal natives of Hohuang (河壘義徒) and of the young men of Ch'enlung (沂陽),¹ cut across the lined enemy's camp on the slope of the mountain Kaop'i (高壁);² Ma lin (馬珣), 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)³ and unite together in the north; Hsijang (希讓) 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 Pien-sung (汧宋), Tzuch'ing (淄青), Hoyang (河陽), and Yuchi (幽燕),⁴ and divide these people into

¹ Ch'enlung refers to 沂山 and 陽山; it is the present 山西省陽城縣 and 沂陽縣.

² Kaopi refers to the peak of Kaopi (高壁嶺), located to the south-east of 山西省靈石縣.

³ Ch'iyang is 陝西省岐山縣

⁴ Pien-sung is 河南省開封地方, Tzuch'ing is 山東省鄆城縣, Hoyang is 河南省沁陽縣 and Yuchi is 河北省 北京地方.

front and rear troops. And the 60,000 people of Wei (魏), Chengte (成德), Shiao (昭義), 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).¹ 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.² As for the tactics, it will be issued

¹ Probably it means the horses in the six-horse stables of the palace (六廐舍).

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.

later."

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)¹ and others, also inflicted upon the 20,000 men of T'uchueh (安歡), T'uhun (吐渾),² Hu (互),³ Man (蠻), Ch'iang (羌), and Tanghsiang (党項), cut off over 10,000 heads and captured 1,350 people, including the commoners of Lach'eng (螻城). 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)⁴ 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)⁵ 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

¹ Hung refers to 甘肅省永登縣 洪州

² T'uhun refers to 吐谷渾

³ Hu (互) may be a mistake for 氏.

⁴ Fangchou is 陝西省中部縣.

⁵ The fortress of Wanghan was in 四川省故威州西方

the 10th month, T'ufan invaded our territory at the head of 200,000 southern troops. One party of them entered into Mangchou (莽州) and passed through Wench'uan (汶川) and Kuank'ou (漣口), another party entered into Fuwen (扶文)¹ and passed through Fangwei (方維) and Popa (白塔), and the third party was from Li and Yu (黎雅), and went through Ch'iunghsiakuan (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.² Beginning from the middle part of Tali (大曆), 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 (江嶺)³ 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 甘肅省文縣.

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

³ Chianglin is located between 揚子江 and 五嶺. And the 五嶺 are the mountains of 大庾, 始安, 臨賀, 桂陽, and 揭陽, 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 (德宗) 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 (倫), and concluded 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, they 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 (贊普), Ch'ilitsan (乞立贊),¹ told Lun (倫) 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 succeeded to the throne. In this, I dispatched our armies

¹ Ch'ilitsan is Khri-sroñ lde-brtsan.

by three parallel routes. The army of Lingwu (靈武), having heard of my order, stopped their march, but the army of Shannan (山南) 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 (論悉諾羅) and others.¹ At the beginning, when Lu (魯) arrived to T'ufan, he and the envoy Ts'ui hanheng (崔漢衡) went to a hotel, but the bTsan-po (贊普) 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 (漢衡) 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 (領取), 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 (賀蘭山). In regard to the way of concluding the treaty ceremony, we propose to follow the imperial credential-description of the 2nd year of Chinglung (景龍 /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).¹ At

¹ In the text, it is written as 區 類 贊. The character must be a mistake for 夾 頁. 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 (尚結贊)² was a capable person; he asked the bTsan-po (贊普) 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 (結贊) 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 (崔漢衡) as the president of the board of ceremony for foreigners (鴻臚卿), 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 (漢衡) 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 Shañ rgyal gzigs çu ten

² Shañ rgyal btsan lha snañ.

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 Chiehtsan (結贊) to make another date to conclude the treaty, also the Emperor ordered Chang i (張鎰), who was the governor-general of Lunyu (隴右節度使), additionally to conclude the treaty with him. Che (澤) went to the former Houchou (厚州)¹ and met Chiehtsan (結贊), 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).²

In the 4th year (建中 /783), on the 1st month, an imperial decree was issued to Chang i (張鎰) to conclude the treaty with Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊)³ at Ch'ingshui (清水). When they were about concluding the treaty, I (鎰) and Chiehtsan (結贊) 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 (鎰), together with his 7 people such as the masters of the ceremony Ch'i ing (齊映), Ch'i k'ang

¹ In the text, it is written as Houchou (厚州), it is probably a mistake for Yüanchou (原州).

² Ch'ingshui is 甘肅省清水縣.

³ As noted earlier, this is Shañ-rgyal btsan-lha-snañ.

(奉 抗), and the treaty officials Ts'ui hangheng (崔 漢 衡), Fan che (樊 澤), Chang lu (常 魯), and Yu yu (于 頤), 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 頤 藏), Lunts'angje (論 藏 熱), Lunlit'ossu (論 利 陀 斯), and the official Lunlihsu (論 力 徐) and others.¹ 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 (鎰) felt ashamed of concluding the treaty with the sacrifice of ox and horse. In this, he wished to simplify the ceremony.² Then he said to Chiehtsan (結 贊) that "Han (漢)³ 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

¹ Lunhsichiats'ang is bLon skyes-bzan stag-snan. Lunts'angje is bLon btsan bsher mdo Lod. Lunlit'ossu is written as 乞利陀斯 in 冊府元龜. Vol. 981, 外臣部盟誓. Considering both sources, it may be bLon-khri-gdas.

Lunlihsu is probably bLon-khri-gzu.

² I (鎰) 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 (結贊) wanted to present a ram, while I (鎧) 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:¹ T'ang possesses everything under heaven, and the great authority remains in wherever Yu (禹) went,² and wherever the Emperor's boat and chariot arrived, there was no one who did not obey.³ 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 bTsan-po (贊普), 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

¹ The written record of the treaty is in 唐尺詔令集, 卷一二九 "興吐蕃會清水盟文."

² Yü (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 Emperor¹ 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 (彈箏峽); on the west of Lungchou (隴州), it is up to Chingsuihsien (清水縣); and on the west of Fengchou (鳳州), it is up to T'ungkuhsien (同谷縣),² 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 甘肅省成縣.

provinces of Lan (蘭), 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),¹ 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'uanchün (故新衆軍)² to the north as far as the Lot'o peak (馬各馬它嶺) 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

¹ Ch'engchou is 甘肅省成縣西方。

² The old Shinch'uanchün is 甘肅省靖遠縣西方。

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 (結贊) also presented a sworn covenant which he did not put into the pit where only the victims are buried.¹ After the conclusion of the ceremony, Chiehtsan (結贊) proposed I (鎰) 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 (崔漢衡) to go to T'ufan with the imperial credential as a responding envoy accompanied by the T'ufan minister Ch'ü-chiatsan (區頌贊). The Emperor initially planned to let the prime minister conclude the treaty with the T'ufan minister Ch'ü-chiatsan (區頌贊) at Fengili (豐邑里),² 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-tsan (頰贊) back, but retained, while Hanheng was again sent on a mission to the bTsan-po (贊普). On the 6th month, the secretary of the responding mission to T'ufan (答蕃使判官), Yü yü (于頔), came back accompanied by the T'ufan envoy Lunchiamutsang (論頔沒藏)¹ and others. On the 7th month, the president of the board of rites Li k'uei (李燾) 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 (于頔), 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 (李昌巖), the mayor of the capital (京兆尹), Wang yü (王珣), the general of the left-wing guards of palace and capital (左金吾衛將軍), Hun hsien (渾瑊), and others to make the swearing covenant with

¹ Lunchiamutsang may be bLon-rgyal-bzañ.

Ch'ü-chiatsan (區頰贊) and his members on the altar. When Yü yü (于頄) came back from T'ufan, first he promised with Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊) about the treaty place, but it had been already set, therefore, it was requested to let the T'ufan envoy, who came with Yü yü (于頄), return. The court agreed upon the request.

The altar at Fengifang (豐邑坊) 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 (關播) 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 (興元 /784), on the 2nd month, Yü ch'i (于頄), who was the commander of the right-wing cavalry concurrently the censor (右散騎常侍兼御史大夫), went to Chingchou (涇州) to comfort the T'ufan, and he consulted with the governors of provinces and cities about the

marching troops' snack and delivery of messages.¹ At this time, T'ufan came to the barrier and wanted to help with their troops to settle down the domestic difficulties.² This was the reason why the envoy was sent.³ On the 4th month, Shen fang (沈房), the vice-president of the imperial sacrifice concurrently the vice-president of the court of censor (太常少卿兼御史中丞), 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 (娑庭). In this month, Hun hsien (渾瑊), with Lunmanglo (論莽羅)⁴ of T'ufan, led armies and totally defeated the generals of Chu tz'u (朱訛) such as Han ming (韓旻), Chang t'ingchih (張廷之), Sung kueichiao (宋晁朝), and others at the Wuk'ing river of Wukung (武功武亭川), 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

¹ In the text, it is written as 頓遞. 頓 refers to snacks for the marching army, and 遞 refers to delivery of messages.

² 朱訛之亂 (783).

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

⁴ Lunmanglo may be bLon-mañ-bla.

court of general affairs (倉部郎中兼侍御史), was appointed as envoy to T'ufan. On the 8th month, T'ufan invaded several provinces such as Ching (涇), Lung (隴), Feng (邠), 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 (張獻甫), 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 (李昇晏), Su chingmien (蘇清灣), and others to station at Hsienyang (咸陽).¹ The Emperor also summoned Lo yuankuang (馬元光), 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),² the Emperor then again dispatched Chang hsienfu (張獻甫) 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 (左監門將軍), as the envoy to T'ufan. The T'ufan chief minister

¹ Hsienyang is 陝西省咸陽縣.

² Haossu is 陝西省乾縣東南方.

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 (若原)¹ and met Chiehtsan (結贊). Chiehtsan then sent his messenger Lunch'ito (論乞陀) 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 (王玘) to make a night attack on the enemy's camp on account of the invasion of T'ufan. Pi (玘) then led 3,000 brave warriors into Chienyang (咸陽). Li ch'eng then advised Pi (玘) 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 (玘) liked the advice, then he rallied out and attacked them, there the enemy was

¹ In 冊府元龜, 卷九八〇, 外臣部通好, it is said "上若原", 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 (李晟) led out his troops against them, consequently the enemy retreated in the same night.

On the 10th month, Li ch'eng (李晟) sent troops to attack the T'ufan city of Tuishap'u (推沙堡) and desperately defeated them, burning the military stores and cutting off 7 T'ufan chiefs, including Huch'ülüshetsan (扈屈律說贊)¹ and sent their heads to the capital. On the 11th month, the T'ufan occupied Yenchou (鹽州).² When the enemy reached to the city, the governor Yu yengküang (杜彥光) 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 (彥光), leading his troops, fled away, so the T'ufan possessed the city. They also invaded Yinchou (銀州), which was an unwalled city,³ therefore the people were scattered and fled away.

On the 3rd year (貞元 /787), in spring, Ts'ui han (崔瀚), who was the tutor to the heir apparent⁴

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

² Yenchou is 寧夏省靈武縣.

³ The unwalled city Yinchou is 陝西省米脂西峽.

⁴ The heir apparent in this text may refer to the son of a concubine.

concurrently the vice-president of the court of censor (檢校左虞子蕙御史中丞) was appointed envoy to T'ufan, and soon another envoy, Li hsien (李銜), who was also heir apparent, was sent. At this time, the governor-general of Hotung, Paoning (河東保寧) and other regions, Ma sui (馬燧), came to the court.

When Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊) occupied Yenchou (鹽州) 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)¹, 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 (馬各元光), and the governor-general of Pinning (邠寧), Han yuhuai (韓游瓌), to lead their troops, and together with the defenders of Fenghsiang (鳳翔), of Li (鹿耳), of Pin (邠), and of other prefectures to encamp in the frontier. The Emperor also ordered Sui (燧) 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 (結贊) heard of this news and he was very afraid of it, then he

¹ Mingsha is 寧夏省中衛縣, 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 頰 熱) was sent with a deep propriety and humble words to beg Sui (燧) 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 (燧) was fond of bribes, and he was easily deceived. He came to the court with Lunchiaje (論 頰 熱), and affirmed positively that their words were trustworthy. Finally, the Emperor agreed with him. In the meantime, while Sui (燧) went to the court, the armies simply closed their gates, that was all. Meanwhile, Chiehtsan (結 贊) 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 涼) during this summer, also Sui (燧) 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 濟 翰) returned from Mingsha (鳴 沙). At the beginning, when Huan (濟 翰) arrived in Mingsha, he had a meeting with Shangchiehtsan (尚 結 贊), he asked the reason why T'ufan broke the treaty agreement, and took over Yenchou and Hsiachou (鹽 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 (鹽夏二州), 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 (堃 夏) to your country." He also said that "at the meeting at Ch'ingshui (清 水), 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 (靈 州). And the governor-general of Lingchou, Tu hsich'uan (杜 希 全), 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 (經 州), Li kuang (李 觀), at the same time officiate as chairman of the ceremony." Then both together presented the memorandum to the Emperor.

Huan (渾 兪) 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 Shangchiehsan (尚 結實), 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 觀) has been already transferred to another post. Therefore, we appointed the imperial official (侍中), Hun hsien (渾 瑊), 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 (鹽 夏) must be returned to T'ang before the treaty ceremony. The Emperor was auspicious of the trustworthiness 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 瑊) 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 (司勳員外郎), Cheng shuchu (鄭 叔 矩), was named secretary. When Hun hsien (渾 瑊) 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'ungkuan (常州 潼關), Lo yüankuan (馬各 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 濟 翰) 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 (鹽 州) 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 (原 州). I also promise to return the two cities after the treaty." Huan (濟 翰), 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 虞 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 (經州), therefore it is convenient to take it here." Thereupon, they determined that the place for the ceremony should be the valley of P'ingliang (平涼川). At that time, the T'ufan envoy Lunhsitsan (論泣贊) 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 (渾瑊) and Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊) 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 (結贊) 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 (瑊) 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 (瑊), however, provided nothing. Chiehtsan (結贊) 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 (瑊), Ts'ui hanheng (崔漢衡), Sung fengchiao (宋鳳朝), who was the head of the guards

(整 軍 特 進), and others, all entered into the tent together, calm and unsuspecting. Chiehtsan (結 贊) finally ordered to beat the drum three times,¹ and his army came on shouting wildly. Hsien (瑛) 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 (瑛) 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.² However, there was only one of the Hsien's generals, Hsing jung (幸 榮), 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 (榮) was exhausted and finally surrendered. Fengch'iao (鳳 朝) and Hsien's secretary Han yen (韓 彥), both were killed during the tumult. Hang heng (漢 衡) and the eunuchs Liu yenyung (劉 延 筮), Chü wenchen (俱 文 珍), and Li ch'ingchao (李 清 朝); in addition Hanheng's secretaries Cheng shuku

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

² In the text, " 追 騎 之 矢 過 。 " " 過 " must be a mistake for " 過 。 "

(鄭叔矩), Lu pi (路泌); and the clerk Yuan tungchih (袁同直); and the generals Fu yuchun (馮余準), 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 (樂彥明), Fan teng (范澄), Ma yen (馬奔), 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 (呂溫) 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 (原州), Chiehtsan (結贊) 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 (渾瑊), and saying that "the victory at Wukung (武功之捷)¹ was due entirely to our strength. In this, it was permitted to offer us Chingchou (經州) and Lingchou (靈州), 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 (渾瑊). I was going to send golden fetters and handcuffs with Hsien (瑊) to our bTsan-po, but he already escaped, and I vainly took you here. Now, I intend to send back three of you." Lu wen (呂溫), 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 (石門), there he sent the eunuch Chu wenchen (具文珍), Hun hsien's general Ma sui (馬燧), and Ma sui's general Ma yen (馬弁) back to T'ang, and Hangheng (潰衡), Shu chü (叔矩), and others were sent to Hochou (河州) to be imprisoned, while Tsai ying (宰榮), Fu yuchun (扶余準), and others were sent separately to

¹ The T'ufan army helped the T'ang imperial army in the revolt of Chu tz'u (朱泚之亂), in 783. The T'ufan army defeated the Chu tz'u army.

the original K'uo-chou (鄜 州) and Shanchou (善 州) to be secluded.

Chiehsan (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 (希 全) and the other did not participate in the ceremony. Then, he planned to capture Hun hsien (渾 瑊) to urge him in the long run to help about Chiehsan's plan to invade. His plot was like the one just mentioned. The Emperor sent the eunuch Wang tzuheng (王 子 暄) to Chiehsan with dispatch, but they did not admit him to the T'ufan border, and the eunuch was returned. At the outset, when Hsien (瑊), together with Lo yüangkuang (駱 元 光) were going to leave Chingchou (涇 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 甘肅省平涼縣.

happen." But Hsien (珽) 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 (珽) 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 (珽) 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 (珽), 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 (鹽 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 (隴 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 (崔漢衡), 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 (錄) 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 (司勳員外郎), Cheng shuchü (鄭叔矩), the superior secretary (in charge) of inspecting finances

(檢 校 戶 部 郎), Chung lupi (中 路 少),
the censor of the general affairs in the palace
(殿 中 侍 御 史), Han yen (韓 弇), the generals
Meng jihhua (孟 日 華), Hsin yung (辛 榮), Li
chihyen (李 至 言), Fan ch'eng (范 澄), Wang liang-
pen (王 良 贛), Lo yenming (樂 演 明), Yang hsi
(陽 昔), and Ch'üan chiaoch'ang (權 充 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 迺), and the sons of those who are
inferior than adjutant commander,¹ let each of them
be promoted to 9th grade officers. Thus, regular of-
ficial 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 of-
ficial 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 吳 馬 使 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 陷 蕃 官 子 孫 詔.

of Shents'e 's army (神策軍), Su taiping (蘇太平), was ordered to lead 500 men to garrison Lungchou (隴州). 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 Shangchiehtsan (尚結贊) ordered Hanheng, who was the general of the Shents'e army (神策軍), Meng jihhua (孟日華), and Liu yenyung (劉延苞), who was the eunuch, to be sent to Shihmen (石門), and from there they were sent back to T'ang. Chiehtsan (結贊) 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 (李觀) 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 (羌羣) to attack the border, and encamped both at P'ank'ou (潘口)¹ and at Chingshihling (青石嶺). Previously, the T'ufan army marched into three ways toward the east; one was to Lungchou (隴州), the second one was to the east of Ch'ienyang (汧陽之東) and the third one was to T'aokanyüan (鈞鞏原).

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 (汧 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 (羌 氐 之 衆) dressed with Chinese army uniform, and pretended to be the army of Hsingchünya (邢 君 牙), then they immediately appeared in Wushan (吳 山)¹ and in the northern border of Paochi (寶 鷄)² 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 (吳 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 晟) stationed at Fenghsiang (鳳 翔), where he cut the big trees down to block the Anhua valley pass (安 化 峽),³ but this time the enemy burned all of them. On the 9th month, a decree was ordered to Shih chichang (石 季 章), who was the general of the Shents' e army (神 策 軍), to garrison at Wukung (武 官)

¹ Wushan is in 陝西省 隴 縣 東南.

² Paochi is 陝西省 寶 鷄 縣.

³ The Anhua valley pass is in 甘肅省 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).¹ In this month, T'ufan ravaged over 10,000 people of men and women in the area of Ch'ienyang (汧 陽), Wushan (吳 山), and Haut'ing (華 亭),² 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 heard this news, there was nobody who did not mourn.

Hunhsien (渾 瑊) 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)³ 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 沔), together with Su T'aip'ing (蘇 太 平), led out their troops at

¹ The city of Poli might be in Chingchou (涇 州).

² Huat'ing is in 甘肅省華亭縣.

³ Fengyi is in 甘肅省鎮原縣.

night, and hid them at T'ahsiangk'an (大 像 龕), and at midnight they ordered both of their troops in the city and at K'an (龕)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 鶴) 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 (隴 州) to ask for help. Then, the governor-general of Lungchou, Han ch'ingmien (韓 清 澗), 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 (隴 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 龕.

(仙 臺), 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 Lienyünpao (蓮 雲 堡) 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 (拋 擲) 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 (張 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 州), there remained only Lienyunpao (蓮 雲 堡), 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 敢 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 Lienyunpao (連雲堡), they also caught the commoners of Pinchou and Chingchou (郟經),¹ 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 (彈亭峽). From this time on, in the regions of Chingchou, Lungchou, Pinchou, and so forth (涇隴郟等), 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 (韓遊瓌) 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

¹ In the text, it is written "郟經編戶".
編戶 literally means registered citizen, but here it implies the farmers.

Chingchou and Pinchou (經 卯 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 (涇 卯 寧 慶 靈 華 州).¹ They burned the city hall of P'engyüanh sien (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 (陳 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 瓌) 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 甘肅省寧果.

² P'engyüanh sien is 甘肅省固原果東方.

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 (尚悉董星),¹ Lungmanglo (論莽羅), 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 (靈州), Fangchou (坊州), 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 (荊那時), of the western forest, Meng ch'ung (蒙衝) of Wut'eng (勿鄧) and so forth. And at the north valley of T'aiteng (臺登), in the former Suichou (雋州),² they

¹ Shanghsitunghsing may be Shan-ston-sen.

² Suichou is 四川省西昌縣.

totally defeated the army of the two T'ufan governors of Ch'inghai (青海) and Liehch'eng (徼城), and killed their cavalry commander Ch'itsang-cheche-hsito-yangchu (乞臧遮遮悉多楊朱), 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 (業庭). Formerly, Peit'ing and Anhsi (業庭安西) 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 (羌族),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 belonging to Ouigour (迴紇). The Ouigours never ceased from plundering them, thus the people were very distressed.

The Kolopu (葛祿部)³ people and the white-robed T'uchüeh (白服突厥)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 (葛祿) and the white-robed Turk tribes. Last year, each of them invaded Peit'ing.

The prime minister of Ouigour, Chiehkanchiassu (頡干迦斯),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 "羌族" may be a mistake for "迴紇".

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 "干" in 頡干迦斯 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 Peit'ing, Yang hsiku (楊襲古), having collected over 2,000 people, fled to Hsichou (西州),¹ and Chieh-kanchiassu (頡干迦斯), 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 (業庭). 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. Chieh-kanchiassu (頡干迦斯) 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.

Chieh-kanchiassu (頡干迦斯) had been already defeated. In the meantime, Kolu (葛祿), who was

¹ Hsichou is 高昌.

taking the opportunity of their victory, took Fut'ouch'uan (浮 圖 川)¹ of Ouigour. The Ouigours were frightened, and moved all the villagers of Hsichou (西 州), the sheep and the horses to the south of their sovereign's encampment. Thus, they escaped from the attack of Kolu (葛 祿).

On the 4th month of the 8th year (貞 元 /792), T'ufan invaded Lingchou (靈 州), 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 (州 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 (振 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 (定 遠) and Huaiyüan (懷 遠). The Emperor himself appeared in Shenwu pavillion (神 武 樓) and sent them off, consequently the T'ufan withdrew.

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

¹ According to 通鑑, (胡 注), Fut'ouch'uan was to the north-west of Utukan (烏 特 提 山).

² Ch'ingshihling is located in 甘肅省涇川果西业方.

Lienyünp'u (蓮雲堡), 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 (王進用) was killed. On the 9th month, the governor-general of Hsichuan (西川), Wei kao (韋皋), attacked Weichou (維州) occupied by the T'ufan, and captured their general Luntsanjo (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 (嚴震), attacked and defeated the T'ufan at Fangchou (方州), 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 (鹿州 坊)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 Luntsanjo may be bLon-brtsan-bsher.

² In the text, "西逼鹿州坊", 鹿州 refers to 鹿州, and 坊 refers to 坊州.

Emperor also ordered Ho kansui (劔 干 遂), who was the president of the court of censor in double duties (蕭, 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 (蕭, 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 韋 皋),¹ presented the captured T'ufan chiefs, warriors, weapons, oxen, and horses to the Emperor. Initially, when the Emperor was resolving to wall Yenchou (鹽 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 勳) and Chang fen (張 芬) to Hsishan (西 山) and to Nantao (南 道), and they broke down the city of Ngoaho (俄 和 城) and

¹ In the text, it is " 四 川 韋 皋 ", which means 四 川 節 度 使 韋 皋.

the city of Tunghouchün (通 鶴 軍).¹ The T'ufan commander-in-chief for the southern route, Lunmangje (論 莽 熱),² came to relieve them, but he too was defeated. Thus, killing and injuring several thousands, burning the ancient city of T'inglien (定 廉), nearly fifty places of border-gates and the walled cities were pacified.

In the 10th year (貞 元 /794), Mengyimouhsin (蒙 異 牟 尋) of Nanchao barbarians (南 詔 蠻) 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 詔 傳).⁴ In the 13th year (貞 元 /797),⁵ the 8th month, Huang shaoch'ing (黃 少 卿) attacked and took the four cities of Ch'in (欽), Hung (橫), Hsin (濤), and Fei (費).⁶ And the chief general of the

¹ The city of Ngoho is in 四川省松潘果西南方 and the city of Tunghouchün is in 四川省保果西方.

² Lunmangje may be bLon-man-bsher.

³ In 新唐書 also in 通鑑, it is 神川. 神川 refers to the upper region of 金沙江.

⁴ 旧唐書, 卷一九七 "南蠻, 西南蠻傳." 南詔蠻.

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 金之州. He revolted and took the four cities, but these four cities were in 右西省, and had nothing to do with T'ufan.

T'ufan, Lunch'ijan-t'angmutsang-hsinolu (論之 醫
 蕩沒厥卷諾律)¹ with his family and his follow-
ers came to offer allegiance. In the following year,
he was appointed as the general of virtue (煥德將軍).
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 chünya (邢君牙) reported to the Emperor a-
bout a fortification located at a place some
70 Li (里) to the west of Lungchou (隴州), and
he defended it against the western barbarians. The
fortification was named the fortress of Yunghsin
(永信城).

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

¹ Lunch'ijant'angmutsang may be bLon-khri-btsaṅ
thaṅ-bzaṅ stag-bsher.

² In 新唐書, it is described as 華池. It
is probably 華池城, 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 (山馬嶺) in Chiennan (劍南), and their troops encamped separately. Only after one month, the T'ufan troops advanced near to the city of T'ait'eng (臺登城). The governor of Suichou (壽州), 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 (鹽州). 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).¹ In the 17th year (貞元 /801), on the 7th month, the T'ufan invaded Yenchou (望州), 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 (党項) tribes; finally they went away.

Following this, they encamped at the peak of the Hengts'ao (橫槽峯); 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

¹ In 新唐書, 卷三七, 地理志, there is "今州烏南渠", it describes that there was 烏南渠 at the north-west, so the Wulang bridge must have been around there.

(司空圖分).¹ As a consequence of the massacre of the imperial house by the Empress Wu (武后), our great ancestor Kaotsu (高祖)² 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 (安樂州).³ If you go there, I suppose you will not have a chance to return to the east." Yen su (延素) 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 (徐舍人) 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 (臨州城). 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 寧夏省中衛縣。

off, therefore, I occupied this city. I know the Excellency Kuo (郭侯君)¹ 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 (飛鳥使)² arrived. The "emergent" means "to send by courier" (馬天馬奇) in China.³ 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 (韋皋) 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'engt'u (成都),⁴ and let them approach to the various cities such as Hsichi (榑維), Laoweng (老翁), the old Weichou (故維州), Paochou (保州), and Sungchou (松州).⁵

¹ This was 郭鋒, who was the son of 郭耀. 郭耀 was the son of 郭子儀. That is, 郭鋒 was the grandson of 郭子儀.

² In the text, it is "飛鳥使", 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 榑維 is in 四川省茂縣. 老翁 is in 四川省茂縣西. 故維州 and 保州 are in 四川省茂縣西. 松州 must be around here.

It was the purpose of moderating the tension of the northern borders. On the 9th month, Wei kao (韋皋) 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 (衆莽熱),¹ and sent him to the Emperor. The Emperor gave him a house at Ts'ungjenli to live. Mangje (莽熱) was the great minister of interior of T'ufan.

Previously, in the 16th year (貞元 /800), Wei kao successively defeated over 20,000 T'ufan troops at Lichou (黎州) and Suichou (雋州).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 (嬰嬰), who was the T'ufan chief concurrently the leader of the nine governor-generals of the area of Nangkung (囊貢), Liehch'eng (獵城), and so forth, and Ma tingte (馬定德), who was the superior officer, both came to surrender together with their 87 chief generals and the people of their villages.

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

¹ Chungmangje (衆莽熱) is 論莽熱, who is bLon-mañ-bsher.

² Lichou is in 四川省清溪縣, and Suichou is 四川省西昌縣.

Whenever T'ufan raised their troops, Tingte (定德) 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 (磨些) barbarian tribes who were ruled by the city of K'unming (昆明城),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 (臨州). A decree was issued to Wei kao (韋皋) 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 (崔瑯臣), to lead 1,000 soldiers to the route of Lunghan shihmen (隴巖石門). And for the south, Kao (皋) allowed the commander of Weichou and Paochou (維州保州), Ch'ou wanch'i (仇冕), 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.

(保 霸), 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 玘), and the governors of the various cities (諸 州) such as Tung Hsüanngo (董 懷 學) and others were let to lead 4,000 soldiers to attack the cities of Hsichi (棲 鷲) and Laoweng (老 翁), and so forth. And the city generals such as Kao t'i (高 佃), Wang yingchün (王 英俊), and others were let to lead 2,000 soldiers to oppress the old Sungchou (松 州). And the commander of the route Lungtung (隴 東), Yüan ying (元 應) 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 (邢), Ch'üung (邛), Li (黎), and Sui (雋). Kao (皋) also ordered the commander of the Chennan army in Ch'üungchou (邛 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 (逯 租), Piensung (偏 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 Hochinhsin (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 (萬州經畧使), Ch'en hsiaoyang (陳孝陽) and the commanders of the camp for the marching troops (行營兵馬使), 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 (磨些蠻), 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, bTsanpo (贊普) dispatched Mangje (莽熱) with the appointment as interior minister, concurrently the general envoy to the governor-general of the five eastern borders (內大相兼東境五道節度兵馬使都統大使) 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 (貞 元 /803), on the 5th month, the T'ufan envoy Lunchinje (論 頌 熱) arrived.¹ On the 6th month, the chief general of the right-wing Lungwu army (右 龍 武 大 將 軍), Sieh p'i (薛 佐) was concurrently appointed to the post of envoy and sent to T'ufan.

In the 20th year (貞 元 /804), the early part of the 3rd month, the bTsan-po (贊 普) passed away.² The imperial court was closed for three days, and the vice-president of the board of works (工 部 侍 郎), Chang chien (張 薦), was appointed to go to condole. The bTsan-po died on the 4th month of the 13th year (貞 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.

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 (論云丹), who was the superior observer of Honan (臧河南觀察使) and the Buddhist monk Nanpot'echip'o (南塊持計波)¹ and others, altogether 54 persons, came to the court. On the 12th month, T'ufan envoys Lunhsije (論襲熱) and Kuochi-ts'ung (郭志崇)² came to the court. In the 21st year (貞元 /805), on the 2nd month, Shungtsung (川復宗) 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 (庫部員外郎) concurrently the vice censor (御史中丞), Hsü chihyi (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 lde-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 (論乞纒欽藏)¹ 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 (衛尉少卿) concurrently the deputy censor (御史中丞), Hou yup'ing (侯幼平), 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 (論欽藏) 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

¹ Lunssuhsiehje may be bLon-klu-bzañ.

with the T'ufan envoy about the state affairs in the office of Chungshuling (中書令),¹ 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 bTsan-po's death.² The right-wing general of the martial guard, Wu chungsu (烏重珪), 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 (宥州) 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 lde-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 (定 遠 城), 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 總 兵), Ho tz'u (郝 玘), 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 chin (田 經), also defeated over 30,000 troops at Lingwu (靈 武). On the 11th month, a report from Yen-chou (鹽 州) said that T'ufan invaded Hoch'ü (河 曲), but our Shichou (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 川), Wang po (王 播), attacked and took the cities Ngoho (岷 和) and Hsichi (榑 鷄) 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 pavillion 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

(論矩立藏) 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 Fenghsiang (鳳翔節度使) proclaim this idea clearly."¹

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 Lunsamo (論三摩), the minister of the state Shant'ats'ang (尚塔藏), and the president of the council (中書令) Shangch'ih-sinerh (尚綺心兒)² led about 150,000 troops and enclosed our Yenchou (鹽州) 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 鵞車 木馬壘)³ 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 詔令集，卷一二十八，放吐蕃使歸國勅。In the 詔令集, it is the 1st month of the 14th year of 元和 (819).

² Shant'ats'ang is Shañ-lha-bzañ and Shangch'ih-sie hsienerh is Shañ-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 琦), 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'ingsepao (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 (右軍中尉) as the commander-in-chief of the right and left-wing imperial armies, also of the marching west and north of capital armies (左右神策京西京業行營都監), 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

the 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 洎), who was the deputy chief of the secretaries (秘書少監), was degraded to a revenue post (司 戶) in Liuchou (柳 州).

Initially, Chi (洎) 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 (長 武 城). Chi (洎) 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 洎) 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 (洎) apparently as their excuse for their invasion.

The Chingchou (經 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 (田 頌) ruled Shiachou (夏 州), he covetously and tyrannically oppressed the people, thus Tanghsiang (党 頊) 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 玘)

attacked the T'ufan fortification several times, and killed lots of them. Li küanyen (李光顏) in Pin-chou (邠州) also arrived to support with his entire troops. Consequently, the enemy was frightened and retreated. Now, reminding that T'ien chi (田濟) initially produced the national trouble, but by the fighting of Kuangyen (光顏) and Ho tz'u (郝玘), the problem was solved.

On the 11th month, the governor-general of Shiachou (夏州), Li yu (李佑), led his troops by himself to Ch'angtsechen (長沢鎮),¹ also the governor-general of Lingwu (靈武), Li ting (李聽), himself led his troops to Ch'anglochow (長樂州). 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'ingsepao (青塞堡), it was the reason that we made a friendly alliance with Huiho (迴紇). The governor of Yenchou (鹽州), 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

¹ 迴紇，大曆十二年九月辛酉，" 原州亦有長沢鎮。" Ch'angtsechen might be around here.

the ceremonial court (太常禮院) reported that "this humble subject respectfully refer to the old affairs during the period of the Emperors of Sutsung and Taitung (肅宗代宗), 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 (德宗), there was a treaty with T'ufan at the Yen'pingmen (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

the censor (尚書奉御第, 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 (京兆府奉先丞第, 監察御史) 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 (右僕射), 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 (癸丑)¹ winter, on the 10th month, the 10th day (Kueiyu/癸酉), the Emperor ordered the ministers of his subject, Chih (植), Po (播), and Yüanying (元穎) and so forth to conclude the treaty in the capital together with Nalolun (訶羅論),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訶羅論) 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 辛丑.

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 (仁);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 (仁), 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 (贊普) of the great T'ufan and his ministers Poch'anpu (鉢闍布),² Shang-chihsienrh (尚綺心兒) 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 "秋方", which must be a mistake for "西方."

² Poch'anpu was a monk, but participated in politics. His Tibetan name was dPal-chen-po yon-tan.

(論 訛 羅)¹ 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 迥 成), defeated 3,000 T'ufan troops at the foot of the mountain T'aiku (太 谷 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 (靈 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 (党 項) were captured. On this month, Liu yüanting (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

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, 通鑑. See note 2, page 156.

² According to 新唐書, 吐蕃傳, this mountain is described as 大石山. This 大石山, according to 通鑑, 湖注, is in the area of 河曲 in the west of 靈夏.

last month, I arrived to the ruler's tent (牙帳),¹ 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 (尚綺心兒). He said to Yüanting (元鼎) that "Huiho (迴紇) is a small country. In the year of Pingshen (丙申)² I went through the desert and oppressed them, and I passed their capital and further marched a couple of days.³ I planned to go there to defeat them, but I just heard of the death of our bTsan-po, so that I returned. Huiho (迴紇) 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,⁴ 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

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 三日.

⁴ 安祿山 revolted in 755.

a bridge called Hungchich'iao (洪濟橋),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 (莫賀延磧尾). 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 (吐渾國). To the north, it becomes also small, therefore it is called Ch'iwei (磧尾).⁴

¹ The bridge was or is located in 鄜州之西南.

² It is like post-courier station connected one after another.

³ Shachou is 甘肅省敦煌縣.

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 Menchülu (悶懼盧川)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 (邏娑川).

At that time, T'ufan dispatched their mission Lunhsinohsi (論悉諾息) 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 (不僕少卿), 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 (寶曆 / 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.

(尚 恐 熱)¹ was sent to the court and requested a peaceful relation. On the 9th month, Li jui (李 銳), who was the president of the imperial banquet (光祿卿), 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 bTsan-po (質 普) passed away. On the 12th month, Luntsan (論 贊) and others were sent to the court to inform the death of their bTsan-po. The Emperor appointed Li ching (李 鼎), who was the deputy director of the administration (樞 密 少 監) was the envoy to condole upon the death. In the 3rd year of Tachung (大 中 / 849), the spring, the minister Shangkungje (尚 恐 熱)² became the governor-general of the eastern route. And with the intention of returning the cities of Ch'in (秦), Yuan (原), Anlo (安 樂) as well as the seven frontier gates such as Shihmen (石 門), Muhsia (木 峽), and so forth, he came to the frontier fortification and asked for a peaceful relation. Kang chiying (康 季 榮)

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

² 尚 恐 熱 may be 論 恐 熱, who is bLon-khon-bsher.

who was the governor-general of Chingyüan (經 原, 節 度 使), reported this to the Emperor. Then the Emperor appointed Lu ch'ien (陸 軺), 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 (隴)¹ led over 1,000 people of young and old to the palace. The Emperor came out to the pavillion 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).

¹ Ho and Lung refer, respectively, to 河 曲 and 隴 右.

COMMENT BY THE HISTORIAN

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 (纒 州) revolted,¹ the Emperor moved to some place, and all the border troops returned to the metropolitan area, consequently the Hohuang (河 湟)² 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 之 會), 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 祿 山 revolted in 755.

² Hohuang area is the eastern area of Kokonor.

of the Hsia¹ having no ruler.
Oh, sincere, this word be.

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

劉 响 等修

聞人銓校刻沈桐同校

吐蕃上

吐蕃在長安之西八千里本漢西羌之地也其種落莫知所出也或云南涼禿髮利鹿孤之後也利鹿孤有子曰樊尼及利鹿孤卒樊尼尚幼弟儻嗣位以樊尼為安西將軍後魏神瑞元年儻為西秦乞佛熾盤所滅樊尼招集餘衆以投沮渠蒙遜蒙遜以為臨松太守及蒙遜滅樊尼乃率衆西奔濟黃河逾積石於羌中建國開地千里樊尼威惠夙著為群羌所懷皆撫以恩信歸之如市遂改姓為罕敦野以禿髮為國號語訛謂之吐蕃其後子孫繁昌又侵伐不息土宇漸廣歷周及隋猶隔諸羌未通於中國其國人號其王為替普相為大論小論以統理國事無文字刻木結繩為約雖有官不常厥職臨時統領徵兵用金箭寇至舉烽燧百里一亭用刑嚴峻小罪剋眼鼻或

唐書卷一百四十六上

皮鞭鞭之但隨喜怒而無常科囚人於地牢深數丈二三年方出之
宴異國賓客必驅犛牛令客自射牲以供饌與其臣下一年一小盟
刑羊狗獼猴先折其足而殺之其其腸而屠之令巫者告于天地
山川日月星辰之神云若心遷變懷奸反覆神明鑒之同於羊狗三
年一大盟夜於壇墀之上與衆陳設肴饌殺犬馬牛驢以為牲呪曰
爾等成湏同心勦力共保我家惟天神地祇共知爾志有負此盟使
爾身體屠裂同於此牲其地氣候大寒不生秔稻有青壹麥壹豆小
麥喬麥畜多犛牛猪犬羊馬又有天鼠狀如雀鼠其大如猫皮可為
裘又多金銀銅錫其人或隨畜牧而不常厥居然頗有城郭其國都
城號為邏些城屋皆平頭高者至數十尺貴人處於大氊帳名為拂
廬寢處汗穢絕不櫛沐接手飲酒以氊為盤捻麩為椀實以羨酪并
而食之多事獯羶之神人信巫覡不知節候麥熟為歲首圍碁陸博
吹蠡鳴鼓為戲弓劍不離身重壯賤老母拜於子子倨於父出入皆
少者在前者居其後軍令嚴肅每戰前隊皆死後隊方進重兵死

惡病終累代戰沒以爲甲門臨陣敗北者懸狐尾於其首表其似孤之怯稠人廣衆必以狗馬其俗耻之以爲次死拜必兩手據地作狗吠之聲以身再揖而止居父母喪截髮青黛塗面衣服皆黑旣葬即吉其贊普死以人殉葬衣服珍玩及嘗所乘馬弓劍之類皆悉埋之仍於墓上起大宰立土堆插雜木爲祠祭之所貞觀八年其贊普棄宗弄讚始遣使朝貢弄讚弱冠嗣位性驍武多英略其鄰國羊同及諸羗並賓伏之太宗遣行人馮德遐往撫慰之見德遐大悅聞突厥及吐谷渾皆尚公主乃遣使隨德遐入朝多賚金寶奉表求婚太宗未之許使者旣反言於弄讚曰初至大國待我甚厚許嫁公主會吐谷渾王入朝有相離間由是禮薄遂不許嫁弄讚遂與羊同連發兵以擊吐谷渾吐谷渾不能支遁於青海之上以避其鋒其國人畜並爲吐蕃所掠於是進兵攻破党項及白蘭諸羗率其衆二十餘萬頓於松州西境遣使貢金帛云來迎公主又謂其屬曰若大國不嫁公主與我即當入寇遂進攻松州都督韓威輕騎覘賊反爲所敗邊人

大擾太宗遣吏部尚書侯君集為當彌道行營大揔管右領軍大將
竄執失思力為白蘭道行軍揔管左武衛將軍牛進達為閬水道行
軍揔管右領軍將軍劉蘭為洮河道行軍揔管率步騎五萬以擊之
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
罪因復請婚太宗許之弄讚乃遣其相祿東贊致禮獻金五千兩自
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于吐蕃弄讚率其部兵次柘海親迎
于河源見道宗執子壻之禮甚恭既而歎大國服飾禮儀之美俯仰
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
邑立揔宇以居處焉公主亞其人楮面弄讚令國中權且罷之自亦
釋氍毹襲綺綺新慕華風仍遣酋豪子弟請入國學以習詩書又請
中國識文之人與其表疏太宗伐遼東還遣祿東贊來賀奉表曰聖
天子平定四方日月所照之國並為臣妾而高麗恃遠闕於臣禮天

子自領百萬度遼致討魏城陷陣指日凱旋夷狄絕聞陛下發駕少
進之間已聞歸國鴈飛迅越不及陛下速疾奴忝預子墻喜百常
夫鵝猶鴈也故作金鵝奉獻其鵝黃金鑄成其高七尺中可實酒三
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
發精兵與玄策擊天竺大破之遣使來獻捷高宗嗣位授弄讚為駙
馬都尉封西海郡王賜物二千段弄讚因致書十司徒長孫無忌等
云天子初即位若臣下有不忠之心者當勒兵以赴國除討并獻金
銀珠寶十五種請置太宗靈座之前高宗嘉之進封為賓王賜雜綵
三千段因請蠶種及造酒碾磑紙墨之匠並許焉乃刊石像其形列
昭陵玄闕之下永徽元年弄讚卒高宗為之舉哀遣右武侯將軍鮮
于臣濟持節賞璽書弔祭弄讚子早死其孫繼立復號贊普時年幼
國事皆委祿東贊祿東姓婆氏雖不識文記而性明毅嚴重講兵訓
師雅有節制吐蕃之并諸羗雄霸本土多其謀也初太宗既許降文
成公主贊普使祿東贊來迎召見顧問進對合旨太宗禮之有異諸

蕃乃拜祿東贊為右衛大將軍又以琅琊長公主外孫女段氏妻之
祿東贊辭曰臣本國有婦父母所聘情不忍乖且替普未謁公主陪
臣安敢輒娶太宗嘉之欲撫以厚恩雖奇其答而不遂其請祿東贊
有子五人長曰贊悉若早死次欽陵次替婆次悉多干次教論及東
贊死欽陵兄弟復專其國後與吐谷渾不和隋朔麟德中遞相表奏
各論曲直國家依違未為與奪吐蕃怨怒遂率兵以擊吐谷渾吐谷
渾大敗河源王慕容諾曷鉢及弘化公主脫身走投涼州遣使告急
咸亨元年四月詔以右威衛大將軍薛仁貴為邏婆道行軍大總管
左衛負外大將軍阿史那道真右衛將軍郭待封為副率衆十餘萬
以討之軍至大非川為吐蕃大將論欽陵所敗仁貴等並坐除名吐
谷渾全國盡沒唯慕容諾曷鉢及其親信數千帳來內屬仍徙於靈
州自是吐蕃連歲寇邊當悉等州諸羗盡降之上元三年進寇鄯廓
等州殺掠人吏高宗命尚書左僕射劉仁軌往洮河軍鎮守以禦之
儀鳳三年又命中書令李敬玄兼鄯州都督往代仁軌於洮河鎮

守仍召募關內河東及諸州驍勇以為猛士不簡色役亦有嘗任文武官者召入殿庭賜宴遣往擊之又令益州長史李孝逸雋州都督拓王奉等發劔南山南兵募以防禦之其年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没于陣敬玄按軍不敢救俄而收軍却出頓於承風嶺阻泥溝不能動賊屯於高岡以壓之偏將左領軍員外將軍黑齒常之率敢死之士五百人夜斫賊營賊遂潰亂自相蹂踐死者三百餘人敬玄遂擁衆鄯州坐改為衡州刺史徃劔南兵募於茂州之西南築安戎城以壓其境俄有生羌為吐蕃鄉導攻陷其城遂引兵守之時吐蕃盡收羊同克項及諸羌之地東與涼松茂鶴等州相接南至婆羅門西又攻陷龜茲踈勒等四鎮北抵突厥地方萬餘里自漢魏已來西戎之盛未有也高宗聞審禮等敗没召侍臣問綏禦之策中書舍人郭正一曰吐蕃作梗年歲已深命將興師相繼不絕空勞士馬虛費糧儲近討則徒損兵威深入則未窮巢穴望少發兵募且遣備邊明烽堠勿令侵抄使國用豐

足人心叶同寬之數年可一舉而滅給事中劉齊賢皇甫文亮等皆
言嚴守之便尋而黑齒常之破吐蕃大將贊婆及素和貴於良非川
殺獲二千餘級吐蕃遂引退詔以常之為河源軍使以鎮禦之儀鳳
四年贊普卒其子器弩悉弄嗣位復號贊普時年八歲國政復委於
欽陵遣其大臣論寒調傍來告喪且請和高宗遣郎將宋令文入蕃
會葬永隆元年文成公主薨高宗又遣使弔祭之則天臨朝命文昌
右相常待價為安息道大摠管安西大都護閻溫古為副永昌元年
率兵往征吐蕃遲留不進待價坐流浦州溫古處斬待價素無統禦
之才遂狼狽失據士卒飢饉皆轉死溝壑明年又命文昌右相岑長
倩為武威道行軍大摠管以討吐蕃中路退還軍竟不行如意元年
吐蕃大首領曷蘇率其所屬并貴州部落請降則天令右玉鈐衛大
將軍張玄遇率精卒二萬充安撫使以納之師次大渡水曷蘇事洩
為本國所擒又有大首領骨捶率羌蠻部落八千餘人詣玄遇內附
玄遇以其部落置葉川州以骨捶為刺史仍於大度西山勒石紀功

而還長壽元年武威軍總管王孝傑大破吐蕃之衆克復龜茲于闐
疎勒碎葉等四鎮乃於龜茲置安西都護府發兵以鎮守之高麗登
封元年孝傑復爲肅邊道大總管率副總管安師德與吐蕃將論欽
陵贊婆戰于素羅汗山官軍敗績孝傑坐免官萬歲通天元年吐蕃
四萬衆奄至涼州城下都督許欽明初不之覺輕出按部遂遇賊拒
戰又之力屈爲賊所殺時吐蕃又遣使請和則天將許之論欽陵乃
請去安西四鎮兵仍索分十姓之地則天竟不許之吐蕃自論欽陵
兄弟專統兵馬欽陵每居中用事諸弟分據方面贊婆則專在東境
與中國爲隣三十餘年常爲邊患其兄弟皆有才略諸蕃憚之聖曆
二年其贊普器弩悉弄年漸長乃與其大臣論展等密圖之時欽陵
在外贊普乃佯言將獵召兵執欽陵親黨二千餘人殺之發使召欽
陵贊婆等欽陵舉兵不受召替普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替婆率所部千餘人及其兄子
授布支等來降則天遣羽林飛騎郊外迎之授贊婆輔國大將軍行

右衛大將軍封歸德郡王優賜甚厚仍令領其部兵於洪源谷討擊
尋卒贈特進安西大都護又視元年吐蕃又遣其將趙莽布支寇涼
州圍逼昌松縣隴右諸軍州大使唐休璟與莽布支戰于洪源谷斬
其副將二人獲首二千五百級長安二年贊普率衆萬餘人寇悉州
都督陳大慈與賊凡四戰皆破之斬首千餘級於是吐蕃遣使論彌
薩等入朝請求和則天宴之於麟德殿奏百戲於殿庭論彌薩曰臣
生於邊荒由來不識中國音樂乞放臣親觀則天許之於是論彌薩
等相視笑忤拜謝曰臣自歸投聖朝前後禮數優渥又得親觀音樂
一生所未見自顧微瑣何以仰答天恩區區福心唯愿大家萬歲明
年又遣使獻馬千匹金二千兩以求婚則天許之時吐蕃南境屬國
泥婆羅門等皆叛贊普自往討之卒於軍中諸子爭立久之國人立
器弩悉弄之子棄隸踏贊爲贊普時年七歲中宗神龍元年吐蕃使
來告喪中宗爲之舉哀廢朝一日俄而贊普之祖母遣其大臣悉弄
然來獻方物爲其孫請婚中宗以所養雍王宗禮女爲金城公主許

嫁之自是頻歲貢獻景龍三年十一月又遣其大臣尚贊吐等來迎
女中宗宴之於死內毬場命駙馬都尉楊慎交與蕃吐使打毬中宗
率侍臣觀之四年正月制曰聖人布化用百姓爲心王者垂仁以八
荒無外故能光宅遐邇裁成品物由是隆周理曆恢柔遠之圖強漢
乘時建和親之議斯蓋寓長策經邦茂範朕受命上靈克纂洪業庶
幾前烈永致和平朕彼吐蕃僻在西服皇運之始早申朝貢太宗文
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
清淨自文成公主化往其國因多變革我之邊隅亟興師旅彼之蕃
落頗間彫弊頃者贊普及祖母可敦酋長等屢披誠款積有歲時思
託舊親請崇親好金城公主朕之少女豈不鍾念但爲人父母志悉
元黎若允乃誠祈更敦和好則邊土寧晏兵後服息遂割深慈爲國
大計築茲外館聿膺嘉禮降彼吐蕃贊普即以今月進發朕親自送
于郊外中宗召侍中紀處訥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爲朕充吐蕃使也處訥拜謝旣而以不

練邊事固辭上又令中書侍郎趙彥昭充使彥昭以既充外使恐失其權龔殊不悅司農卿趙履溫私謂之曰公國之宰輔而爲一介之使不亦鄙乎彥昭曰然計將安出履溫因陰託安樂公主密奏留之於是以左衛大將軍楊矩使焉其月帝幸始平縣以送公主設帳殿於百頃泊側引王公宰相及吐蕃使入宴中坐酒闌命吐蕃使進前諭以公主孩幼割慈遠嫁之旨上悲泣歎欷久之因命從臣賦詩餞別曲赦始平縣大辟罪已下百姓給復一年改始平縣爲金城縣又改其地爲鳳池鄉愴別里公主旣至鄴別築一城以居之睿宗即位攝監察御史李知古上言姚州諸蠻先厲吐蕃請發兵擊之遂令知古徵劔南兵募往經略之蠻酋傍名乃引吐蕃攻知古殺之仍斷其屍以祭天時張玄表爲安西都護又與吐蕃比境互相攻掠吐蕃內雖然怒外敦和好時楊矩爲鄯州都督吐蕃遣使厚遺之因請河西九曲之地以爲金城公主湯沐之所矩遂奏與之吐蕃旣得九曲其地肥良堪類兵畜牧又與唐境接近自是復叛始率兵入寇開元二年秋吐蕃

大將金達馬乞力徐等率衆十餘萬寇臨洮軍又進寇蘭渭等州掠
監牧羊馬而去楊矩悔懼飲藥而死玄宗令攝左羽林將軍薛訥及
太僕少卿王晙率兵邀擊之仍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之武階驛前軍王海濱力戰死之晙
等率兵而進大破吐蕃之衆殺數萬人盡收得所掠羊馬賊餘黨奔
北相枕藉而死洮水爲之不流上遂復親征命紫微舍人倪若水往
按軍實仍弔祭王海濱而還吐蕃遣其大臣宗俄因于至洮河祭其
死之之士仍款塞請和上不許之自是連年犯邊郭知運王君奭相
次爲河西節度使以捍之吐蕃旣自恃兵強每通表疏求敵國之禮
言詞悖慢上甚怒之及封禪禮畢中書令張說奏言吐蕃醜逆誠負
萬誅然又事征討實爲勞弊且十數年甘涼河鄯徵發不息縱令屢
勝亦不能補聞其悔過請和惟陛下遣使許其稽顙內屬以息邊境
則蒼生幸甚上曰待吾與王君奭籌之說出謂源乾曜曰君奭勇而
無謀常思僥倖兩國和好何以為功若入陳謀則吾計不遂矣尋而

君奭入朝奏事遂請率兵深入以討之十五年正月君奭率兵破吐蕃於青海之西虜其輜重及羊馬而還先是吐蕃大將悉諾邏率衆入攻大斗谷又移攻甘州焚燒市里君奭畏其鋒不敢出戰會大雪賊凍死者甚衆遂取積石軍西路而還君奭先令人潛入賊境於其歸路燒草悉諾邏軍還至大非山將士息甲牧馬而野草皆盡馬死過半君奭與秦州都督張景順等率衆襲其後入至青海之西時海水冰合將士並乘冰而渡會悉諾邏已渡大非川輜重及疲兵尚在青海之側君奭縱兵俘之而還其年九月吐蕃大將悉諾邏恭祿及燭龍莽布支攻陷瓜州城執刺史田元猷及王君奭之父壽盡取城中軍資及倉糧仍毀其城而去又進攻王門軍及常樂縣縣令賈師順嬰城固守凡八叶賊遂引退俄而王君奭為迴紇餘黨所殺乃命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築州城招輯百姓令其復業時悉諾邏恭祿威名甚振蕭嵩乃縱反間於吐蕃云其與中國潛通贊普遂召而誅之明年秋

吐蕃大將悉末朗復率衆攻瓜州守珪出兵擊走之隴右節度使鄯州都督張忠亮引兵至青海西南渴波谷與吐蕃接戰大破之俄而積石莫門兩軍兵馬懋至與忠亮合勢追計破其大莫門城生擒千餘人獲馬一千匹犍牛五百頭器仗衣資其衆又焚其駱駝橋而還八月蕭嵩又遣副將杜賓客率弩手四千人與吐蕃戰于祁連城下自辰至暮散而復合賊徒大潰臨陣斬其副將一人賊敗散走投山哭聲四合初上聞吐蕃重來入寇謂侍臣曰吐蕃驕暴恃力而來朕今按地圖審利害親指授將帥破之必矣數日而露布至十七年朔方大撫管信安王禕又率兵赴隴右拔其石堡城斬首四百餘級生擒二百餘口遂於石堡城置振武軍仍獻其俘囚于太廟於是吐蕃頻遣使請和忠王友皇甫惟明因奏事面陳通和之便上曰吐蕃贊普往年嘗與朕書悖慢無禮朕意欲討之何得和也惟明日開元之初贊普幼稚豈能如此必是在邊軍將務邀一時之功偽作此書激怒陛下兩國旣闕與師動衆因利乘便公行隱盜偽作功狀以希勳

爵所損鉅萬何益國家今河西隴右百姓疲竭事皆由此若陛下遣使往視金城公主因與贊普面約通和令其稽顙稱臣未息邊境此永代安人之道也上然其言因令惟明及內侍張元方充使往問吐蕃惟明旣等至吐蕃旣見贊普及公主具宣上意贊普等欣然請和盡出貞觀已來前後勅書以示惟明等令其重臣名悉獵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豐隙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緣年小枉被邊將詭構亂令舅致怪伏乞垂察追番死將萬足前數度使人入朝皆被邊將不許所以不敢自奏去冬公主遣使人婁衆失若將狀專往蒙降使看公主來外甥不勝喜荷護遣諭名悉獵及副使押衙將軍浪些紇夜悉獵入朝奏取進止兩國事意悉獵所知外甥蕃中已處分邊將不許抄掠若有漢人來投便令却送伏望皇帝異遠察赤

心許依舊好長令百姓快樂如蒙聖恩千年萬歲外甥終不敢先違
盟誓謹奉金胡瓶一金盤一金碗一馬腦盃一零衫段一謹克微
國之禮金城公主又別進金鴨盤金雞器物等十八年十月名悉獵
等至京師上御宣政殿列羽林仗以見之悉獵頗曉書記先曾迎金
城公主至長安當時朝廷皆稱其才辯及是上引入內宴與語甚禮
之賜紫袍金帶及魚袋并時服緇絲銀盤胡瓶仍於別館供擬甚厚
悉獵受袍帶器物而却進魚袋辭曰本國無此章服不敢當殊異之
賞上嘉而許之詔御史大夫崔琳充使兼聘仍於赤嶺各豎分界之
碑約以更不相侵時吐蕃使奏云公主請毛詩禮記左傳文選各一
部制令秘書省寫與之正字于休烈上疏請曰臣聞戎狄國之寇也
經籍國之典也戎之生心不可以無備典有恒制不可以假人傳曰
裔不謀夏夷不亂華所以格其非心在乎有備無患昔東平王入朝
求史記諸子漢帝不與蓋以史記多兵謀諸子雜詭術夫以東平漢
之懿戚尚不許示征戰之書今西戎國之寇讐豈可貽經典之事且

臣聞吐蕃之性慄悍果使敵情持銳善學不迥若達於書必能知戰
深於詩則知武夫有師干之試深於禮則知日令有廢興之兵深於
傳則知用師多詭詐之計深於文則知往來有書檄之刺何異借寇
兵而資盜糧也臣聞魯東周禮齊不加兵吳獲乘車楚疲奔命一以
守典存國一以喪法危邦可取鑒也且公主下嫁從人遠適異國合
慕夷禮返求良書愚臣料之恐非公主本意也慮有奔北之類勸教
於中若陛下慮失蕃情以備國信必不得已請去春秋當周德既衰
諸侯強盛禮樂自出戰伐交興情偽於是乎生變詐於是乎起則有
以臣召君之事取威定霸之名若與此書國之患也傳曰干矣請曲
縣鑿纓仲尼云惜也不如多與之邑惟名與器不可假人狄固貪婪
貴貨易土正可錫之錦綺厚以玉帛何必率從其求以資其智臣忝
叨列位職刑祕籍實痛經典棄在戎夷昧死上聞惟陛下深察疏奏
不省二十一年又制工部尚書李暉往聘吐蕃每唐使入境所在盛
陳甲兵及騎馬以矜其精銳二十二年遣將軍李佺於赤嶺與吐蕃

分界立碑二十四年正月吐蕃遣使貢方物金銀器玩數百事皆形制奇異上令列於提象門外以示百寮其年吐蕃西擊勃律遣使來告急上使報吐蕃令其罷兵吐蕃不受詔遂攻破勃律國上甚怒之時散騎常侍崔希逸爲河西節度使於涼州鎮守時吐蕃與漢樹柵爲界置守捉使希逸謂吐蕃將乞力徐曰兩國和好何須守捉妨人耕種請皆罷之以成一家豈不善也乞力徐報曰常侍忠厚必是誠言但恐朝廷未必皆相信任萬一有人交搆掩吾不備後悔無益也希逸固請之遂發使與乞力徐殺白狗爲盟各去守備於是吐蕃畜牧被野俄而希逸廉史孫誨入朝奏事誨欲自邀其功因奏言吐蕃無備若發兵掩之必剋捷上使內給事趙惠琮與孫誨馳往觀察事宜惠琮等至涼州遂矯詔令希逸掩襲之希逸不得已而從之大破吐蕃於青海之上殺獲甚衆乞力徐輕身遁逸惠琮孫誨皆加厚賞吐蕃自是復絕朝貢希逸以失信怏怏在軍不得志俄遷爲河南尹行至京師與趙惠琮俱見白狗爲祟相次而死孫誨亦以罪被戮詔

以岐州刺史蕭昊為戶部侍郎判涼州事代希逸為河西節度使鄯州都督杜希望為隴右節度使太僕卿王昊為益州長史劔南節度使分道經略以討吐蕃仍令毀其分界之碑二十六年四月杜希望率眾攻吐蕃新城拔之以其城為威武軍發兵一千以鎮之其年七月希望又從鄯州發兵奪吐蕃河橋於河左築鹽泉城吐蕃將兵三萬人以拒官軍希望引眾擊破之因於鹽泉城置鎮西軍時王昊又率劔南兵募攻其安戎城先於安戎城左右築兩城以為攻拒之所頓兵於蓬婆嶺下運劔南道資糧以守之其年九月吐蕃悉銳以救安戎城官軍大敗兩城並為賊所陷昊脫身走免將士已下數萬人及軍糧資仗等並沒于賊昊坐左遷括州刺史初昊之在軍謬賞其子錢帛萬計并擅與紫袍等所費鉅萬坐是尋又重貶為端州高要尉而死二十七年七月吐蕃又寇白草安人等軍勅臨兆朔方等軍分兵救援時吐蕃於中路屯兵斷臨兆軍之路白水軍守捉使高東于拒守連旬俄而賊退蕭昊遣偏將掩其後擊破之王昊既敗之後

詔以華州刺史張宥為益州長史劍南防禦使主客員外郎章仇兼瓊為益州司馬防禦副使宥既文吏素無攻戰之策兼瓊遂專其戎事俄而兼瓊入奏盛陳攻取安戎之策上甚悅徙張宥為光祿卿拔兼瓊令知益州長史事代張宥節度仍為之親畫取城之計二十八年春兼瓊密與安戎城中吐蕃程都局及維州別駕董承宴等通謀都局等遂翻城歸款因引官軍入城盡殺吐蕃將士使監察御史許遠率兵鎮守上聞之甚悅中書令李林甫等上表曰伏以吐蕃此城正當衝要憑險自固恃以窺邊積年已來蟻聚為患縱有百萬之衆難以施功陛下親紆祕策不興師旅頃令中使李思敬曉諭羗族莫不懷恩翻然改圖自相謀陷神筭運於不測睿略通於未然累載誅一朝蕩滅又臣等今日秦事陛下從容問臣等曰卿等但看四夷不久當漸摧喪德音絕降遽聞戎捷則知聖與天合應如響至前古已來所未有也請宣示百寮編諸史策手制荅曰此城儀鳳年中羗引吐蕃遂被固守歲月既久攻伐亦多其地險阻非力所制朝廷群

議不合取之朕以小蕃無知事須處置授以奇計所以行之獲彼戎
心歸我城守有足爲慰也其年十月吐蕃又引衆寇安戎城及維州
章仇蕙瓊遣裨將率衆禦之仍發關中驍騎以救援焉時屬凝寒賊
久之自引退詔改安戎城爲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爲公主舉哀於光順
門外輟朝三日六月吐蕃四十萬衆承風堡至河源軍西長寧橋至
安仁軍渾崖峯騎將盛希寂以衆五千攻而破之十二月吐蕃又襲
石堡城節度使蓋嘉運不能守玄宗憤之天寶初令皇甫惟明王忠
嗣爲隴右節度皆不能克七載以哥舒翰爲隴右節度使攻而拔之
改石堡城爲神武軍天寶十四載贊普乙黎蘇籠獵贊死大臣立其
子婆悉籠獵贊爲主復爲贊普玄宗遣京兆少尹崔光遠兼御史中
丞持節賫國信冊命弔祭之及還而安祿山已竊據洛陽以河隴兵
募令哥舒翰爲將屯潼關昔秦以隴山已西爲隴西郡漢懷匈奴於
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

又分隴西爲金城西平等郡襍以氐羗居之歷代喪亂常爲賢豪所據則爲達夷侵廢迨千年矣武德初薛仁果奄有隴上之地至於河虜李敷盡有涼州之城通於磧外貞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爲臣妾秦漢之封域得議其土境耶於是歲調山東丁男爲戍卒緇帛爲軍資有屯田以資糗糧牧使以嬾羊馬大軍萬人小軍千人烽戍邏卒萬里相繼以却於強敵隴右鄯州爲節度河西涼州爲節度安西北庭亦置節度關內則於靈州置朔方節度又有受降城單于都護庭爲之藩衛及潼關失守河洛阻兵於是盡徵河隴朔方之將鎮兵入靖國難謂之行營曩時軍營邊州無備預矣乾元之後吐蕃乘我間隙日就邊城或爲虜掠傷殺或轉死溝壑數年之後鳳翔之西邠州之北盡蕃戎之境堙沒者數十州肅宗元年建寅月甲辰吐蕃遣使來朝請和勅宰相郭子儀肅華張遵慶等於中書設宴將詣光宅寺爲盟誓取三牲血歃之無向佛寺之事請明日須於鴻臚寺以血以申蕃戎之

禮從之寶應元年六月吐蕃使燭番莽耳等二人貢方物入朝乃於
延英殿引見勞賜各有差而劔南西山又與吐蕃氏羗隣接武德已
來開置州縣立軍防即漢之笮路乾元之後亦陷於吐蕃寶應二年
三月遣左散騎常侍兼御史大夫李之芳左庶子兼御史中丞崔倫
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
又陷奉天縣遣中書令郭子儀西禦吐蕃以吐谷渾党項羗之衆
二十餘萬自龍光度而東郭子儀退軍車駕幸陝州京師失守將
高輝引吐蕃入上都城與吐蕃大將馬重英等立故邠王男廣武王
承宏爲帝立年號大赦署置官員尋以司封崔瓌等爲相郭子儀退
軍南保商州吐蕃居城十五日退官軍收上都以郭子儀爲留守初
車駕東幸衣冠戚里盡南投荆襄及隱窟山谷於是六軍將士持兵
剽劫所在阻絕郭子儀領部曲數百人及其妻子僕從南入牛心谷
馳馬車牛數百兩子儀遲留未知所適行軍判官中書舍人王延昌
監察御史李萼謂子儀曰今公身爲元帥主上蒙塵于外家國之事

一至於此今吐蕃之勢日逼豈可懷安于谷中何不南趨商州斬赴行在子儀遽從之延昌曰吐蕃知令公南行必分兵來逼若當大路事即危矣不如取玉山路而去出其不意子儀又從之延昌與李萼皆從子儀子儀之隊千餘人山路狹隘連延百餘里人不得馳延昌與萼恐狹徑被追前後不相救至倒迴口遂與子儀別行踰絕澗登七盤趨于商州先是六軍將張知節與麾下數百人自城奔于商州大掠避難朝官士庶及居人資財鞍馬已有日矣延昌與萼既至說知節曰將軍身掌禁兵軍敗而不赴行在又恣其下虜掠何所歸乎今郭令公元帥也已欲至洛南將軍若整頓士卒喻以禍福請令公來撫之以圖收長安此則將軍非常之功也知節大悅其時諸軍將臧希讓高昇彭體盈李惟詵等數人各有部曲率其數十騎相次而至又從其計皆相率為軍約不侵暴延昌留于軍中至約萼以數騎往迎子儀去洛南十餘里及之遂與子儀迴至商州諸將大喜皆遵其約束吐蕃將入京師也前光祿卿殷仲卿逃難而出鞍馬衣服盡

爲土賊所掠仲卿至藍田糾合散兵及諸驍勇願從者百餘人南保藍田以拒吐蕃其衆漸振至于千人子儀既至商州未知仲卿之舉募人往探賊勢羽林將軍長孫全緒請行以二百騎隸之又令太子賓客第五琦攝京兆尹同收長安全緒至韓公堆晝則擊鼓廣張旗幟夜則多燃火以疑吐蕃仲卿探知官軍其勢益壯遂相爲表裏以狀聞于子儀仲卿二百餘騎遊奕直渡漣水吐蕃懼問百姓百姓皆給之曰郭令公自商州領衆却收長安大軍不知其數賊以爲然遂抽軍而還餘衆尚在城軍將王撫及御史大夫王仲昇頓兵自苑中入椎鼓大呼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安人心乃安吐蕃遠至鳳翔節度孫志直閉門拒之吐蕃圍守數日會鎮西節度兼御史中丞馬璘領精騎千餘自河西救楊志烈迴引兵入城遲明單騎持滿直衝賊衆左右願從者百餘騎璘奮擊大呼賊徒披靡無敢當者賊疲而歸賊衆恃其驍勇翌日又逼城請戰璘被甲開懸門賊乃抽退皆曰此將不惜死不可當且避之

又復居原會成渭之地十二月乘輿還上都二年五月放李之芳還
九月叛將僕射大寧郡王僕固懷恩自靈武遣其黨范志任敷等引
吐蕃吐谷渾之衆來犯王畿十月懷恩之衆至邠州挑戰節度白孝
德及副元帥先鋒郭鋒因城拒之以挫其鋒賊衆遂逼奉天縣西二
十里爲營郭子儀屯於奉天又按軍不戰郭鋒於邠州西三十里令
精騎二百五十人步卒五十人斫懷恩營破五千衆斬百十餘級生
擒八十五人降其大將四人馬五百匹十一月僕固懷恩引吐蕃之
衆退廣德二年河西節度楊志烈被圍守數年以孤城無援乃跳身
西投干州涼州又陷於寇永泰元年三月吐蕃請和遣宰相元載杜
鴻勳等於興唐寺與之盟而罷秋九月僕固懷恩誘吐蕃迴紇之衆
南犯王畿吐蕃大將尚結息贊磨尚悉東贊尚野息及馬重英率二
十萬衆至奉天界邠州節度使白孝德不能禦京城戒嚴先是朔方
先鋒兵馬使渾日進孫守亮屯軍於奉天以拒之於是詔追副元帥
郭子儀於河中府領衆赴援屯於涇陽諸將各屯守要害初吐蕃列

營奉天渾日進單騎衝之驍騎二百人繼進衝突其營左右擊刺賊徒驚駭無不應弦而斃日進挾一番將躍馬而歸蕃將奮身失其撒飯一日進之衆無中鋒鏑者軍中望而益振明日吐蕃悉衆圍之日進命拋車夾石投之雜以弓弩賊死傷衆數日斂軍回營尋又日進夜斫賊營於梁毋神下殺千餘人生擒五百人獲駝馬器械上又下詔親征括朝官馬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唯類自十七日至二十五日晚際始止議者以爲天助吐蕃移營於醴泉縣九畷山北因攻掠醴泉京城大駭人冀幸天戶擊竇以出逆黨任敷以兵五千餘人犯白水縣渾日進露布而至屯於奉天馬嵬店今月十九日已後至二十五日已前交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一千二百四十二匹馳一百一十五頭器械幡旗共三萬餘事朝官震懼家口迴避者十室八九禁之不止自前年吐蕃犯王畿後於中渭橋鄠郿京城以營兵至是功畢吐蕃退至末壽北遇迴

紇之衆雖聞懷恩死皆悼其衆相誘而奔復來寇至奉天兩蕃猜貳
爭長別爲營壘吐蕃遊奕至黑底吐蕃又至馬嵬店因縱火焚居人
廬舍而退迴紇二千騎詣涇陽降款請擊吐蕃爲効子儀許之於是
朔方先鋒兵馬使開府南陽郡王白元光與廻紇合於涇陽靈臺縣
東五十里攻破吐蕃斬首及生擒獲駝馬牛羊甚衆上停親征京師
解嚴宰臣上表稱賀

唐書列傳卷第一百四十六上

唐書列傳卷第一百四十六下

劉昫等修

聞人詮校刻沈桐同校

吐蕃下

永泰二年二月命大理少卿兼御史中丞楊濟修好干吐蕃四月吐蕃遣首領論泣戡等百餘人隨濟來朝且謝申好大曆二年十月靈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檢校戶部尚書燕御史大夫薛景仙自吐蕃使還首領論泣陵隨景仙來朝景仙奏云贊普請以鳳林關爲界俄又遣使路悉等十五人來朝三年八月吐蕃十萬寇靈武大將尚書摩寇邠州邠寧節度使馬璘破二萬餘衆擒其俘以獻之九月寇靈州朔方騎將白元光破之俄又復破二萬衆於靈武獲羊馬數千計關內副元帥郭子儀於靈州破吐蕃六萬餘衆十二月以蕃寇歲犯西疆增修鎮守乃移馬璘鎮涇州仍爲涇原節度使劔南西川亦破吐蕃萬餘衆五年五月

徙置安悉拓靜恭五州于山陵要害之地以備吐蕃八年秋吐蕃六萬騎寇靈武蹂踐我禾稼而去十月寇涇邠等州郭子儀遣先鋒將渾瑊與賊戰于宜祿我師不利副將史籍等三人死之村墅居人爲驅掠者凡千餘人是夜瑊收合散卒襲賊營會馬璘亦襲其輜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邠馬璘以精卒二千餘人潛夜掩賊營射賊豹皮將中目賊衆扶之號泣遂舉營遁去璘因收獲朔方兵健二百餘人百姓七百餘人馳馬數百匹九年四月以吐蕃侵擾預爲邊備乃降勅宜令子儀以上郡北地四塞五原義渠稽胡鮮卑雜種步馬五萬衆嚴會柁邑克壯舊軍抱王以晉之高都韓之上黨河湟義徒汧隴少年凡三萬衆橫絕高壁斜界連營馬璘以西域前庭車師後部蕪廣武之戍下恭之徭凡三萬衆屯于泗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三輔太常之徒六郡良家之子自渭上而西合汴宋淄青河陽幽薊撫四萬衆分列前後魏成德昭義求地撫六

萬衆大舒左右朕內整禁旅親誓諸將資以千金之費錫以六牧之馬其戎裝戰器軍用邊儲各有司存素皆精辦咨爾將相文武宣力之臣夫師克在和善戰不陣各宜保據疆界屯據要衝斥埃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俟於後命十一年正月劔南節度使崔寧大破吐蕃故洪等四節度兼突厥吐渾互蠻羗党項等二十餘萬衆斬首萬餘級生擒蠓城兵馬使一千三百五十人獻于闐下牛羊及軍資器械不可勝紀十二年九月入寇坊州掠党項羊馬而去十月崔寧破吐蕃望漢城十四年八月命太常少卿肅倫持節使吐蕃統蕃俘五百人歸之十月吐蕃率南蠻衆二十萬來寇一入莽州過汶川及灌口一入扶文遇方維白坦一自黎雅過邛峽關連陷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肅倫至自大曆中聘使前後數輩皆留之不遣俘獲其人必遣中官部統徙江嶺因緣求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俘囚五百餘人各給衣一襲使倫
統還其國與之約和勅邊將無得侵伐吐蕃始聞歸其人不之信及
蕃俘入境部落皆畏威懷惠其替普乞立贊謂倫曰不知是來也而
有三恨奈何倫曰未達所謂乞立贊曰不知大國之喪而吊不及哀
一也不知山陵之期而賻不成禮二也不知皇帝舅聖明繼立已發
衆軍三道連衡今靈武之師聞命輟已而山南之師已入扶文蜀師
已趨灌口追且不及是三恨也及發使奉贄不二旬而復命蜀師尊
獲其戎俘有司請準舊事頒爲徒隸上曰要約著矣言庸二乎乃各
給縑二匹衣一襲而歸之五月以常倫爲太常卿復使吐蕃其冬遣
宰相論欽明思等五十五人隨倫至且獻方物吐蕃見倫再至甚歡
旣就館聲樂以娛之留九日而還兼遣其渠帥報命二年十二月入
蕃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
衡至列館贊普令止之先命取國信勅旣而使謂漢衡曰來勅云所
貢獻物並領訖今賜外甥少信物至領取我大蕃與唐舅甥國耳何

得以臣禮見處又所欲定界雲州之西請以賀蘭山爲界其盟約請
依景龍二年勅書云唐使到彼外甥先與盟誓蕃使到此阿舅亦親
與盟乃謝漢衡遣使奏定魯使還奏焉爲改勅書以貢獻爲進以賜
爲寄以領取爲領之且謂曰前相楊炎不循故事致此誤爾其定界
盟並從之三年四月放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區頰贊至時
吐蕃大相尚結息忍而好殺以嘗覆敗於劔南思刷其耻不肯約和
其次相尚結贊有材畧因言於贊普請定界明約以息遣人贊普然
之竟以結贊代結息爲大相終約和好期以十月十五日會盟於境
上以崔漢衡爲鴻臚卿以都官員外郎樊澤兼御史中丞充入蕃計
會使初漢衡與吐蕃約定月日盟誓漢衡到商量未決已過其期遂
命澤詣結贊復定盟會期且告遣隴右節度使張鎰與之同盟澤至
故厚州與結贊相見以來年正月十五日會盟于清水西四年正月
詔張鎰與尚結贊盟於清水將盟鎰與結贊約各以二千人赴壇所

執兵者半之列於壇外。百步散從者半之分立壇下。鑊與賓佐齊
映齊抗及會盟官崔漢衡樊澤常魯千頓等七人皆朝服結贊與其
本國將相論悉頰藏論臧執論利陀斯官者論力徐等亦七人俱升
壇爲盟初約漢以牛蕃以馬鑊趾與之盟將殺其禮乃謂結贊曰漢
非牛不田蕃非馬不行今請以羊豕犬三物代之結贊許諾塞外無
豕結贊請出抵羊鑊出大白羊乃於壇北刑之雜血二器而歆盟文
唐有天下恢奄禹跡舟車所至莫不率俾以累聖重光歷年惟永彰
王者之丕業被四海之聲教與吐蕃替普代爲婚姻固結隣好安危
同體甥舅之國將二百年其間或因小忿棄惠爲讐封疆騷然靡有
寧歲皇帝踐祚愍茲黎元俾釋俘隸以歸蕃落蕃國展禮同茲叶和
行人往復累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蹈義
堅盟從約今國家所守界涇州西至彈箏峽西口隴州西至清水縣
鳳州西至同谷縣暨劔南西山大渡河東爲漢界蕃國守鎮在蘭渭

原會西至臨洮又東至成州抵劔南西界磨些諸蠻大渡水西南
爲蕃界其兵馬鎮守之處州縣見有居人彼此兩邊見屬漢諸蠻以
今所分見住處依前爲定其黃河以北從故新泉軍直北至大磧直
南至賀蘭山駱駝嶺爲界中間悉爲閑田盟文有所不載者蕃有兵
馬處蕃守漢有兵馬處漢守並依見守不得侵越其先未有兵馬處
不得新置并築城堡耕種今二國將相受辭而會齋戒將事告天地
山川之神惟神照臨無得愆墜其盟文載於宗廟副在有司二國之
成其求保之結贊亦出盟文不加於坎但埋牲而已盟畢結贊請鑑
就壇之西南隅佛幄中焚香爲誓誓之畢復升壇飲酒獻酬之禮各
用其物以將厚意而歸二月命崔漢衡持節荅蕃遣區頰贊等歸上
初令宰相尚書與蕃相區頰贊盟於豐邑里壇所盟以清水之會不
定遂罷因畱頰贊未遣復令漢衡使於贊普六月荅蕃使判官千頤
與蕃使論頰沒藏等至自青海七月以禮部尚書李揆加御史大夫
爲入蕃會盟使又命宰相李忠臣盧杞開播右僕射崔寧工部尚書

喬琳御史大夫于頔太府卿張獻恭司農卿段秀實少府監李昌夔
京兆尹王栩左金吾衛將軍渾瑊等與區頰贊等會盟於壇所初于
頔至自蕃中與尚結贊約疆場既定請歸其使從之以豐邑坊盟壇
在京城之內非便請卜壇於京城之西其禮如清水之儀先盟二日
命有司告太廟監官致齋三日朝服陞壇闕播跪讀盟文盟畢宴賜
而遣之興元元年二月以右散騎常侍兼御史大夫于頔往涇州已
來宣慰吐蕃仍與州府計會頔迺時吐蕃款塞請以兵助平國難故
遣使焉四月命太常少卿兼御史中丞沈房入蕃計會及安西北庭
宣慰使是月渾瑊與吐蕃論莽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
御史趙聿爲入吐蕃使八月吐蕃寇涇隴邠寧數道掠人畜取禾稼
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金
吾將軍張獻甫與神策將李昇曇蘇清沔等統兵屯於咸陽召河中
節度駱元光率衆戍咸陽以援之九月以吐蕃遊騎及於好畤上復

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吐蕃大相尚結贊累遣使請盟會定界乃命成使之至若原與結贊相見令其使論乞施與成同來是月鳳翔節度使李晟以吐蕃侵軼遣其將王佖夜襲賊營率驍勇三千人入汧陽誡之曰賊之大衆當過城下甚無擊其首尾首尾雖敗中軍力全若合勢攻之汝必受其弊但候其前軍已過見五方旗虎豹衣則其中軍也出其不意乃是奇功必如其言出擊之則衆果敗副將史廷王力戰死之又寇鳳翔城下李晟出兵禦之一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屈律設贊等七人傳首京師十一月吐蕃陷鹽州初賊來也刺史杜彥光使以牛酒犒之吐蕃謂曰我欲州城居之聽爾率其人而去彥光乃悉衆奔鄜州十二月陷夏州刺史托拔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瀚爲入吐蕃使相次又遣左庶子李鈺使之河東保寧等道節度使馬燧來朝初尚結贊旣陷鹽夏等州

各留千餘人守之結贊大衆屯於鳴沙自去冬及春羊馬多死糧餉不給時詔遣華州潼關節度駱元光邠寧節度韓遊瓌統衆與鳳翔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犄角討之結贊聞而大懼累遣使請和仍約盟會上皆不許又遣其大將論頰執厚禮卑詞求燧請盟燧以奏焉上又不許惟促其合勢討逐燧喜賂信詐乃與頰執俱入朝盛言其可保信許盟約上於是從之燧既赴朝也諸軍但閉壁而已結贊遽悉其衆棄夏州而歸馬旣多死有徒行者乃是夏平涼之會竟渝盟馬燧亦由此失兵柄而奉朝請矣四月崔澣至自鳴沙初澣至鳴沙與尚結贊相見詢問其違約陷鹽夏州之故對曰本以定界碑被牽倒恐二國背盟相侵故造境上請修舊好又蕃軍頃年破朱泚之衆於武功未獲酬償所以來耳及徙涇州其節度使閉城自守音問莫達又徙鳳翔請通使於李令公亦不見納及遣康成王真之來皆不能達大國之命日望大臣克使蕪展情禮實無至者乃引軍還及鹽夏二州之師二州

懼我之衆請以城與我求全而歸非我所攻陷也今君以國親將命若結好復盟蕃之願也盟會之期及定界之所唯命是聽君歸奏決定當以鹽夏相還也又云清水之會同盟者少是以和好輕慢不成今蕃相及元帥已下凡二十一人赴靈州節度使杜希全稟性和善外境所知請令主盟會涇州節度李觀亦請同主之又同章表上聞幹誘賂蕃中給役者求其人馬真數凡五萬九千餘人馬八萬六千餘匹可戰者僅二萬人餘悉童幼備數而已是日改崔幹爲鴻臚卿再入吐蕃令幹報尚結贊曰杜希全職在靈州不可出境李觀今已改官以侍中渾瑊充盟會使約以五月二十四日復盟於清水又令告以鹽夏二州歸于我纔就盟會上疑蕃情不實以得州爲信焉五月渾瑊以充盟會使來辭且受命以兵部尚書崔漢衡爲盟會副使司動真外郎鄭叔矩爲判官渾瑊赴會盟所上令瑊統衆二萬餘人遣華州潼關節度駱元光赴之上令宰臣召吐蕃使論訶贊等於中書議會盟之所初崔幹與尚結贊約復會於清水且先歸我鹽夏二

州結贊云清水非吉地請會於原州之土梨樹又請盟畢歸二州幹
遣使與泣贊等同奏上將務懷柔遠皆從之約以五月十五日盟于
土梨樹上召宰臣謀之先是左神策將馬有麟奏土梨樹地多險隘
恐蕃軍隱伏不利于我平涼川四隅坦平且近涇州就之爲便由是
乃定盟所於平涼川時蕃使論泣贊已復命遽追還碣遣之渾瑊與
尚結贊會於平涼初瑊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覘伺結贊擁精騎數萬於
壇西蕃之遊軍貫穿我師瑊之將梁奉貞率六十騎爲遊軍繞至蕃
中皆被執留瑊不虞也結贊又遣人請瑊曰請侍中已下服衣冠劍
珮以俟命蓋誘其下馬將劫持之瑊與崔漢衡監軍特進宋鳳朝等
皆入幕次坦無他慮結贊命伐鼓三聲其衆呼譟而至瑊遽出自幕
後偶得他馬跨而奔歸時馬不加銜瑊伏於鬣而手加之凡馳十餘
里銜方及口故追騎之矢遇而不傷焉唯瑊之裨將辛榮招合數百
人據北阜與賊接戰須臾賊衆四合榮力屈而降鳳朝及瑊判官韓

奔並爲亂兵所殺漢衡及中官劉延邕俱文珍李清朝漢衡判官鄭
叔矩路泌掌書記袁同直大將扶餘華馬寧及神策鳳翔河東大將
孟日華李至言樂演明范澄馬弁等六十餘人皆陷焉餘將士及夫
役死者四五百人驅掠者千餘人咸被解奪其衣初漢衡爲亂兵所
擊其從吏呂溫以身蔽之刃中溫而漢衡獲免漢衡乃夷言謂執者
曰我漢使崔尚書也結贊與我善如若殺我結贊亦殺汝乃捨之盡
驅而西旣已面縛各以一木自領至趾約於身以毛繩三束之又以
毛繩連其髮而約之夜皆踏於地以髮繩各繫一椽又以毛繩都覆
之守衛者卧其上以防其亡逸也至故原州結贊坐於帳中召與相
見數讓國家因怒渾瑊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忿本劫是盟在擒瑊也吾遣以金飾桎
梏待瑊將敵贊普旣以失之虛致君等耳當遣君輩三人歸也呂溫
帶瘡亦至結贊嘉其義厚給賚之結贊率其衆於石門遣中官俱文
珍渾瑊之將馬燧馬燧之將馬弁歸于我遂送漢衡叔矩等囚於河

州辛榮扶餘華等於故廓州鄯州分囚之結贊本請杜希全李觀同
盟將執二節將挫其銳師來犯京師希全等既不行又欲執渾瑊長
驅入寇其謀也如此上遣中官王子恒賚詔書以遺結贊蕃界不納
而還初瑊與駱元光將發涇州元光謂瑊曰本奉詔令營於潘原堡
以應援侍中竊以潘原去盟所六十七里蕃情多詐侍中儻有急何
由知之請次侍中為營以虞其變瑊以非詔旨固止之元光與同進
瑊之營西去盟所二十餘里元光之營次之其濠柵頗深固瑊之濠
柵可踰越焉及瑊單騎奔歸未及其營守將李朝彩不能整衆多已
奔散瑊之至空營而已器械資糧悉棄之賴元光之衆陣於營中瑊
既入賊追騎方退元光乃先遣輜重次與瑊俱申其號令嚴其部伍
而還瑊復鎮于奉天六月益夏二州吐蕃焚城門及廬舍毀城壁而
歸七月詔曰乃者吐蕃犯塞毒我生靈俶擾隴東深入河曲朕以兵
戈粗定傷夷未瘳務息戰伐之謀遂從通和之請亦知戎醜志在貪
婪重違修睦之辭乃允尋盟之會果為隱匿變發墟官縱犬羊兇狡

之群乘文武信誠之衆蒼黃淪陷深用惻然此皆由朕之不明致其至此既無德於萬衆亦有愧四方宵旰貽憂何嗟而及今兵部尚書崔漢衡等皆國之良士朝之蓋臣嬰紼窮廬眊然殊域念其家室或未周於晏空錄以息男庶或資於薄俸漢衡宜與一子七品官司勳貢外郎鄭叔矩檢校戶部郎中路泌殿中侍御史韓弁及大將孟日華辛榮李至言范澄王良貴樂演明陽昔推交成等各與一子八品官試左金吾兵曹參軍袁同直榆次尉裴頴及副兵馬使已下各與一子九品官仍並與正貢官餘將士各與一子官仍委本使即具名銜聞奏於是遣決勝軍使唐良臣以衆六百人自戍陽成潘原堡神策副將蘇太平率其衆五百人戍隴州八月崔漢衡至自吐蕃初漢衡與同階者並至河州尚結贊令召漢衡與神策將孟日華中官劉延邕俱至石門而遣之結贊令五十騎送至境上且賫表請進及潘原李觀使止曰有詔不許更納蕃使受其表而返其人自是吐蕃率羗渾之衆犯塞分屯於潘口及青石嶺先是吐蕃之衆自潘口東分

爲三道其一趨隴州其一趨沂陽之東其一趨鈞竿原是日相次屯於所趨之地連營數十里其沂陽賊營距鳳翔四十里京師震恐士庶奔駭賊遣羗渾之衆衣漢戎服僞稱邢君牙之衆奄至吳山及寶鷄北界焚燒廬舍驅掠人畜斷吳山神之首百姓丁壯者驅之以歸羸老者咸殺之或斷手鑿目棄之而去初李晟在鳳翔令伐大木塞安化峽及是賊並焚之九月詔神策軍將石季章以衆三千戍武宮召唐良臣自潘原戍百里城是月吐蕃大掠沂陽吳山華亭等界人庶男女萬餘口悉送至安化峽西將分隸羗渾等乃曰從爾輩東向哭辭鄉國衆遂大哭其時一慟而絕者數百人投崖谷死傷者千餘人聞者爲之痛心焉渾瑊遣其將任蒙王以衆三千戍好時是月吐蕃之衆復至分屯於豐義及華亭百寮入計嘔吐蕃圍隴州刺史韓清沔與蘇太平夜出兵伏於大像龕及夜半令城中及龕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汲水道其守將王仙鶴及鎮兵百姓凡三千人皆在圍中使

人間道請救於隴州刺史韓清沔令蘇太平率一千五百人赴之及中路其遊騎百餘沒於賊太平素懦怯寡謀遽引衆退歸賊自是每日令遊騎千餘至隴州州兵不敢復出凡四日圍中絕水援軍不至賊又積柴城下將焚之仙鶴遂降於賊賊並焚廬舍毀城壁虜士衆十三四收丁壯棄老而去北攻連雲堡又陷堡之二面頗峭峻唯北面連原以濠爲固賊自其北建拋樓七具擊堡中堡中唯一井投石俄而滿焉又飛梁架濠而過苦攻之堡將張明遂與其衆男女千餘口東向慟哭而降涇州之西唯有連雲堡每偵候賊之進退及是堡陷涇州不敢啓西門西門外皆爲賊境樵蘇殆絕收刈禾稼必布陣於野而收獲之穫旣失時所得多空穗於是涇人有飢憂焉吐蕃驅掠連雲堡之衆及邠涇編戶逃竄山谷者并牛畜萬計悉其衆迭至彈箏峽自是涇隴邠等賊之所至俘掠殆盡是秋數州人無積聚者邊將唯遣使表賀賊退而已十月吐蕃數千騎復至長武城韓全義率衆禦之韓瑋瑒之將請以衆助之遊瑒不許及暮賊退全義亦引

還自是賊之駟常往來涇州之間諸城西門莫敢啓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解舍所至燒廬舍人畜沒者約二二萬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瓌素無軍政且疾不能興閉城自守莫敢禦也先是吐蕃入寇恒以秋冬及春則多遇疾疫而退是來也方盛夏而無患蓋華人陷者厚其資產質其妻子爲戎虜所將而侵軼焉九月吐蕃將尚悉董星論莽羅等寇寧州節度使張獻甫率衆禦之斬首百餘級賊轉寇麟坊等州縱掠而去五年十月劔南節度使常臯遣將王有道等與東蠻兩林直那時勿鄧夢衝等帥兵於故嶺州臺登北谷大破吐蕃青海獵城二節度殺其大兵馬使乞臧遮遮悉多楊朱斬首二千餘級其投崖谷赴水死者不可勝數生擒籠官四十五人收獲器械一萬餘事馬牛羊一萬餘頭匹遮遮者吐蕃驍勇者也或云尚結贊之子頗爲邊患自其死也官軍所攻城柵無不降下蕃無日却數年間盡復舊州之境

六年吐蕃陷我北庭都護府初北庭安西既假道於迴紇朝奏因附庸焉蕃性貪狠徵求無度北庭近羗凡服用食物所資必強取之人不聊生矣又有沙陀部六千餘帳與北庭相依亦屬於迴紇迴紇肆其抄奪尤所厭苦其葛祿部及白服突厥素與迴紇通和亦憾其奪掠因吐蕃厚賂見誘遂附之於是吐蕃率葛祿白服之衆去歲各來寇北庭迴紇大相頡干迦斯率衆援之頗戰敗績吐蕃攻圍頗急北庭之人既苦迴紇是歲乃舉城降於吐蕃沙陀部落亦降焉北庭節度使楊襲古與麾下二千餘人出奔西州頡干迦斯不利而還七年秋又悉其丁壯五六萬人將復北庭仍召襲古偕行俄為吐蕃葛祿等所擊大敗死者大半頡干迦斯給之曰且與我同至牙帳當送君歸本朝也襲古從之及牙帳留而不遣竟殺之自是安西阻絕莫知存否唯西州之人猶固守焉頡干迦斯既敗衄葛祿之衆乘勝取迴紇之浮圖川迴紇震恐悉遷西州部落羊馬於牙帳之南以避之八年四月吐蕃寇靈州掠人畜攻陷水口城進圖州城塞水口及支渠

以營田詔河東振武分兵爲援又分神策六軍之卒三千餘人戍於定遠懷遠二城上御神武樓勞遣之吐蕃引去六月吐蕃數千騎由青石嶺寇涇州掠田軍千餘人還及連雲堡守捉使唐朝臣遣兵出戰大將王進用死之九月西川節度使韋皋攻吐蕃之維州獲大將論贊熱及首領獻于京師十一月山南西道節度嚴震擊破吐蕃於芳州及黑水堡焚其積聚并獻首虜九年二月詔城鹽州是州先爲吐蕃所毀自此塞外無堡障靈武勢隔西邊鄜坊甚爲邊患故命城之二旬而畢又詔兼御史大夫趙季遠統兵五千與兼御史中丞杜彥光之衆戍之是役也上念將士之勞厚令度支供給又詔涇原朔南山南諸軍深討吐蕃以分其力由是板築之際虜無犯塞者及畢中外咸稱賀焉是月西川韋皋獻獲吐蕃首虜器械旗幟牛馬於關下初將城鹽州上命皋出師以分吐蕃之兵皋遣大將董勳張芬出西山及南道破俄和城通鶴軍吐蕃南道元帥論莽熱率衆來援又破之殺傷數千人焚定康故城凡平柵堡五十餘所十年南詔蠻衆

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
卿攻陷欽橫淳贛四州吐蕃渠帥論乞髻蕩沒蕞悉諾律以其家屬
來降明年並以為歸德將軍十二年九月吐蕃寇慶州及華池縣殺
傷頗甚十三年正月邢君牙奏請於隴州西七十里築城以備西戎
名求信城吐蕃贊普遣使農桑昔實表請修和好邊將以聞上以其
豺狼之性數負恩背約不受表狀任其使却歸五月十七日吐蕃於
劍南山馬嶺三慶開路分軍下營僅經一月進軍逼葶登城嶺州刺
史曹高任率領諸軍將士并東蠻子弟合勢接戰自朝至午炊烟生
擒大籠官七人陣上殺獲三百人餘被刀箭者不可勝紀收獲馬畜
五百餘頭匹器械二千餘事十四年十月夏州節度使韓全義破吐
蕃於鹽州西北十六年六月鹽州破吐蕃於烏蘭橋下十七年七月
吐蕃寇鹽州又陷麟州殺刺史郭鋒毀城隍大掠居人驅党項部落
而去次鹽州西九十里橫槽烽頓軍呼延州僧延素輩七人稱徐舍
人召其火隊吐蕃沒勒遽引延素等疾趨至帳前皆馬革枯手毛繩

縲頸見一吐蕃年少身長六尺餘赤髭大目乃徐舍人也命解縛坐
帳中曰師勿懼余本漢人司空英國公五代孫也屬武后斷喪王室
高祖建義中泯子孫流播絕域今三代矣雖代居職位世掌兵要恩
本之心無涯顧血族無由自拔耳此蕃漢交境也復九十里至安樂
州師無由歸東矣延素曰僧身孤親老殷祈全活悲不自勝又曰余
奉命率師備邊因求資食遂涉漠疆展轉東進至麟州城既無備援
兵又絕是以拔之知郭使君是勳臣子孫必將活矣不幸為亂兵所
害適有飛鳥使至飛鳥猶中國驛騎也云術者上變召軍或還遂歸
之時詔常舉分遣偏將勒步騎合二萬出城都西山南北九道並進
逼樓雞老翁故維州保州松州諸城以紆北邊故也九月常舉大破
吐蕃於維州十八年正月常舉擒吐蕃大首領衆莽執來獻賜崇仁
里宅以居之莽執吐蕃內大相也先貞元十六年常舉累破吐蕃二
萬餘衆於黎州嵩州吐蕃遂大搜閱築壘造舟潛謀寇邊羣悉性之
於是吐蕃酋師兼監統羣首橫城等九節度驟龍官馬定德與其大

將八十七人舉部落來降定德有計畫娶妻知兵法及山川地形吐蕃每用兵定德常乘驛計議將稟其成筭至是自以邊功不立懼得罪而歸心焉其明年吐蕃昆明城管磨此一蠻千餘戶又來降吐蕃以其衆外潰遠北寇靈朔陷麟州詔常臯出兵成都西山以紓北邊臯遂命鎮靜軍兵馬使崔堯臣率兵一千出龍漢石門路南由維州保州兵馬使仇冕棄保霸兩州刺史董振等率兵二千進逼吐蕃維州城中北路兵馬邢玘并諸州刺史董懷愕等率兵四千進攻樓鷄老翁等城都將高個王英俊等率兵二千進逼故松州隴東路兵馬使元膺并諸將郝宗等復分兵八千出南道邪邛黎雋等路又令邛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與三部落主趙日進等率兵三千進攻通租偏松等城黎州經畧使王有道率三部落郝金信等二千過大渡河深入吐蕃界雋州經畧使陳孝陽與行營兵馬使何大海常義等及磨此一蠻三部落主苴那時率兵四千進攻昆明諸濟城自八月至于十二月累破

十六萬衆拔其七城五軍鎮受降三千餘戶生擒六千餘人斬首一
萬餘級遂圍維州救軍再至轉戰千餘里吐蕃連敗靈朔之寇引衆
南下於贊普遣莽執以內大相兼東境五道節度兵馬使都統群牧
大使率雜虜十萬衆來解維州之圍王師萬餘衆據險設伏以待之
先以千人挑戰莽執見我師之少也悉衆來追入于伏中諸將四面
疾擊遂擒莽執虜衆大潰十九年五月吐蕃使論頗熱至六月以右
龍武大將軍薛伾兼御史大夫使于吐蕃二十年三月上旬贊普卒
廢朝三日命工部侍郎張薦弔祭之贊普以貞元十三年四月卒長
子立一歲卒次子嗣立命文武三品已上官弔其使四月吐蕃使臧
河南觀察使論乞母及僧南撥特計波等五十四人來朝十二月遣
使論罷執郭志崇來朝二十一年二月順帝命左金吾衛將軍兼御
史中丞田景度持節告哀于吐蕃以庫部員外郎兼御史中丞熊執
易為副使七月吐蕃使論悉諾等來朝永貞元年十月贊普使論乞
縷敦藏來貢助德宗山陵金銀衣服牛馬等十一月以衛尉少卿兼

御史中丞侯幼平充入蕃告冊立等使元和元年正月福建道送到吐蕃生口十七人詔給遞乘放還蕃六月遣使論敦藏來朝五年五月遣使論思耶熱來朝并歸鄭叔矩路泌之柩及叔矩男文延等一十三人叔矩必平涼之盟陷焉凡二十餘年竟不屈節因沒於蕃中至是請和故歸之六月命宰相杜佑等與吐蕃使議事中書令廳且言歸我秦原安樂州地七月遣鴻臚少卿攝御史中丞李銘爲入蕃使冊王府長史兼侍御史吳暉副之六年至十年遣使朝貢不絕十二年四月吐蕃以贊普卒來告以右衛將軍烏重珣兼御史中丞充弔祭使殿中侍御史段鈞副之十三年十月吐蕃圍我宥州鳳翔上言遣使修好是月靈武於定遠城破吐蕃二萬人殺戮二千人生擒節度副使一人判官長行三十九人獲羊馬甚衆平涼鎮遏使郝玘破二萬餘衆收復原州城獲羊馬不知其數夏州節度田緡於靈武亦破三千餘人十一月鹽州上言吐蕃入河曲夏破五萬餘人靈武破長樂州州羅城焚其屋宇器械西川節度使王播攻拔峨和棲雞

等城十四年正月初日朕臨御萬邦推布誠信西戎納款積有歲時
中或虧違亦嘗苟貸我有殊德寧不是思重譯貢珍道途相繼申恩
示禮曾無闕焉昨者番使奉章又至京輦將君長之命陳和好之誠
臨軒召見館餼加厚復以信幣諭之簡書亦既言旋綽及近甸遽聞
蟻聚來犯封陞河曲之間頗爲暴擾背惠棄約斯謂無名公議物情
咸請誅絕朕深惟德化之未被豈慮夷倍之不賓其國失信其使何
罪釋其維繫以遂性示之弘覆以忘懷予衷苟孚庶使知感其蕃使
論矩立藏等并後般來使並宜放歸本國仍委鳳翔節度使以此意
曉諭八月吐蕃營於慶州方渠大軍至河州界十月吐蕃節度論三
摩及宰相尚塔藏中書令尚綺心兒共領軍約十五萬環圍我鹽州
數重党項首領亦發兵驅羊馬以助閱歷三旬賊以飛梯鵝車木驢
等四百齊攻城欲陷者數四刺史李文悅率兵士乘城力戰城穿壞
不可守撤屋版以禦之晝夜防拒或潛兵斫營開城出戰約殺賊萬
餘衆諸道救兵無至者凡二十七日賊乃退十五年二月以秘書少

監兼御史中丞田洎入吐蕃告哀并告冊立三月攻掠我青塞堡七月遣使來弔祭十月侵逼涇州命右軍中尉梁守謙充左右神策京西京北行營都監統神策兵四千人并發八鎮全軍往救援以太府少卿兼御史中丞邵同持節入吐蕃充答請和好使貶前入吐蕃使秘書少監田洎柳州司戶初洎入蕃為弔祭使蕃請於長武城下會盟洎懦怯不得還唯唯而已至是西戎入寇且曰田洎許我統兵馬赴盟誓遂貶之戎人實以邊將擾之致分徒假洎為辭也涇州上言吐蕃大將並退於是罷神策行營兵自田縉統夏州以貪狼侵擾党項苦之屢引西戎犯塞及是大兵入寇邊將郝玘數襲擊蕃壘殺戮甚衆邠州李光顏復以全師而至戎人懼而退蓋田縉始生國患而賴光顏郝玘之驅戮也十一月夏州節度使李佑自領兵赴長澤鎮靈武節度使李聽自領兵赴長樂州並奉詔討吐蕃也十二月吐蕃千餘人圍烏白池長慶元年六月犯青塞堡以我與迴紇和親故也益州刺史李文悅發兵進擊之九月吐蕃遣使請盟上許之宰相欽

重其事請告太廟太常禮院奏曰謹按肅宗代宗故事與吐蕃會盟並不告廟唯德宗建中末與吐蕃會盟於延平門欲重其誠信特令告廟至貞元三年會於平涼亦無告廟之文伏以事出一時又非經制求之典禮亦無其文今謹參恐不合告從之乃命大理卿兼御史大夫劉元鼎充西蕃盟會使以兵部郎中兼御史中丞劉師老為副尚舍奉御兼監察御史李武京兆府奉先縣丞兼監察御史李公度為判官十月十日與吐蕃使盟宰臣及右僕射六曹尚書中執法太常司農卿京兆尹金吾大將軍皆預焉其詞曰維唐承天撫有八紘聲教所臻靡不來廷兢業齊栗懼其隕顛續武紹文疊慶重光克彰濬哲罔忝洪緒十有二葉二百有四載則我太祖權明號而建不拔鋪鴻名而垂永久類上帝以答嘉應享皇靈以酬景福曷有怠已越歲在癸丑冬十月癸酉文武孝德皇帝詔丞相臣植臣播臣元穎等與大將和蕃使禮部尚書訥羅論等會盟于京師壇干城之西郊坎于壇北凡讀誓刑牲加書復壞陟降周旋之禮動無違者蓋所以

偃兵息人崇姻繼好樹建遠畧規恢長利故也原夫吳穹上臨黃祗
下載茫茫蠢蠢之類必資官司為厥宰臣苟無統紀則相滅絕中夏
見管維唐是君西裔一方大蕃為主自今而後屏去兵革宿忿舊惡
廓焉消除追崇舅甥曩昔結援邊戾撤警戍烽韶煙患難相恤暴掠
不作亭障旣脫絕其交侵襟帶要害謹守如故彼無此詐此無彼虞
嗚呼愛人爲仁保境為信畏天爲智事神為禮有一不至構災于躬
塞山崇崇河水湯湯日吉辰良奠其兩疆西為大蕃東實巨唐大臣
執簡播告秋方大蕃贊普及宰相鉢闡布尚綺心兒等先寄盟文要
節云蕃漢二邦各守見管本界彼此不得征不得討不得相為寇讐
不得侵謀境土若有所疑或要促生問事便給衣糧放還今並依從
更無添改預盟之官十七人皆列名焉其劉元鼎等與論訥羅同赴
吐蕃本國就盟仍勅元鼎到彼令宰相已下各於盟文後自書名靈
武節度使李進誠於太谷山下破吐蕃三千騎二年二月遣使來請
定界六月復遣使來朝益州奏吐蕃千餘人入靈武界遣兵逐便邀

載又言擒得與党項送書信吐蕃一百五十人是月劉元鼎自吐蕃使迴奏云去四月二十四日到吐蕃牙帳以五月六日會盟訖初元鼎往來蕃中並路經河州見其都元帥尚書令尚綺心兒云迴紇小國也我以丙申年踰磧討逐去其城郭二百日程計到即破滅矣會我聞本國有喪而還迴紇之弱如此而唐國待之厚於我何哉元鼎云迴紇於國家有救難之勲而又不曾侵奪分寸土地豈得不厚乎是時元鼎往來渡黃河上流在洪齊橋西南二千餘里其水極為淺狹春可揭涉秋夏則以船渡其南三百餘里有三山山形如鰲河源在其間水甚清冷流經歷水色遂赤續為諸水所注漸既黃濁又其源西去蕃之列館約四驛每驛約二百餘里東北去莫賀延磧尾闕五十里向南漸狹小北自沙州之西乃南入吐渾國至北轉微故號磧尾計其地理當劔南之直西元鼎初見贊普於悶懼盧川蓋贊普夏衙之所其川在邏娑川南百里減河之所流也時吐蕃遣使論悉諾息等隨元鼎來謝命太僕少卿杜載使以谷之三年正月遣使論

答熱來朝賀四年九月遣使求五臺山圖十月貢犖牛及銀鑄成犀
牛羊鹿各一寶曆元年三月遣使尚綺立熱來朝且請和好九月遣
光祿卿李銳為使以答之大和五年至八年遣使朝貢不絕我亦時
遣使報之開成元年二年皆遣使來會昌二年替普卒十二月遣論
贊等來告哀詔以將作少監李璟弔祭之大中三年春宰相尚恐熱
東道節度使以秦原安樂等三州并石門木峽等七關款塞涇原節
度使康季榮以聞命太僕卿陸航往勞焉其年七月河隴耆老率長
幼千餘人赴闕上御延喜樓觀之莫不歡呼抃舞更相解辯爭冠帶
干康衢然後命善地以虜之觀者咸稱萬歲

史臣曰戎狄之爲患也久矣自秦漢已還載籍大備可得而詳也但
世罕小康君無常聖我衰則彼盛我盛則彼衰盛則侵我郊圻衰則
服我聲教懷柔之道備預之方儒臣多議於親和武將唯期於戰勝
此其大較也彼吐蕃者西陲開國積有歲年蠶食隣蕃以恢土宇高
宗朝地方萬里與我抗衡近代已來莫之與盛至如式遏邊境命制

出師一彼一此或勝或負可謂勞矣迨至幽陵盜起乘輿播遷戍卒咸歸河湟失守此又天假之也自茲密邇京邑時縱寇掠雖每遣行人來修舊好玉帛絕至於上國烽燧已及於近郊背惠忘言不顧禮義即可知也夫要以神明貴其誠信平涼之會畜其詐謀此又不可以忠信而御也孔子曰夷狄之有君不如諸夏之亡也誠哉是言贊曰西戎之地吐蕃是強獫狁食隣國鷹揚漢疆乍叛乍服或弛或張禮義雖攝其心豺狼

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Chronology and title of reigns
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	三師 三公	太子 三師
六省	三省 尚書省	左右僕射
	門下省	侍中
	中書省	中書令
	秘書省	監
	殿中省	監
	內侍省	內侍
	御史台	大夫
九寺	太常寺	卿
	光祿寺	卿
	衛尉寺	卿
	宗正寺	卿
	太僕寺	卿
	大理寺	卿
	鴻臚寺	卿
	司農寺	卿
	太府寺	卿
五監	少府監	監
	樞密監	大匠
	國子監	祭酒
	軍器監	監
	都水監	使者
武官	十六衛	諸衛大將軍
	左右羽林軍	大將軍
	諸州衛府	上府州衛都尉
	京兆河南太原三府	牧
	都督(大中下都督府)	大中下都督
	都護(大上都護府)	大都護·都護
	諸州(上中下州·諸果)	刺史·京都諸果令

	太子三少	太子養容
六省	六部(吏戶禮兵刑工)尚書	左右丞·六部侍郎
	左散騎常侍	黃門侍郎
	右散騎常侍	中書侍郎
	少監	丞·太史局令·著作郎
	少監	尚食奉御·尚藥奉御
	內常侍	內給事
	中丞	侍御史
九寺	少卿	丞
	少卿	丞
	少卿	武庫署令
	少卿	太廟諸陵令
	少卿	上牧監
	少卿	正
	少卿	丞
	少卿	苑總監
五監	少監	丞·兩京市令
	少監	中尚署令
	少監	丞
武官	司業	國子博士
	丞	主簿·弩甲坊署令
	丞	舟楫·河渠署令
	諸衛將軍	監門千牛衛·親衛·勳衛
	將軍	中郎將
	中府折衝都尉	下府折衝都尉
	尹	少尹
	長史·司馬	司馬·錄事參軍·錄事諸參軍
	副都尉	長史·司馬
	副駕·京兆·河南·諸果令	長史·司馬·諸州上果令

六 省	左右司·二十四司 郎中	諸司員外郎
	諫議大夫·給事中	起居·城門·符寶郎
	中書舍人	起居通事舍人
	秘書郎·著作佐郎	太史局丞
	丞·尚衣·尚舍·尚乘·尚筆	匡侍御
	內 詢 者 監	內侍伯
	殿中侍御史·主簿	監察御史
九 寺	太 公 廟 令	博士·主簿·郊社太樂·鼓吹·大匠
	主簿·太官署令	珍羞·良醞·常醞署令
	丞	主簿
	丞	主簿
	中牧監·上牧副監	丞·下牧監·中牧副監
	丞·司直	主簿
	主簿·典客署令	司儀署令
	丞·苑總·副監·諸園苑監	諸會監·司竹監·溫湯監
	主簿·右藏·平準·常平署令	左藏署令
五 監	丞	主簿·左右尚書令
	主簿	左校·右校·甄官·中校署令
	大 學 博 士	丞·國子助教
武 官	親衛·勳衛·翊衛·郎將	諸衛左右司階·中備身·備身
	郎 將	長 史
	上府果毅都尉	中府果毅都尉
	司錄諸曹參軍	參 軍
	錄事諸曹參軍·諸曹·參軍博士	參 軍· 博 士
	錄事諸參軍·錄事參軍	參 軍· 諸 曹 參 軍
	錄事諸司參軍·司馬·諸州中果令	參 軍· 博 士· 錄 事 諸 司 參 軍

六 省	都 事	
	左補闕·錄事	左拾遺
	右補闕·主書	右拾遺
	靈台郎	保障正·掣壺正
	六尚局直長	司 匠
	掖庭·官聞局令	奚官·內僕·內府局令
九 寺	協律郎·醫博士·太卜署令·樂機	針 博 士
	守官武器署令	
	崇玄署令	
	下牧副監	主簿·乘黃·典廐·典牧署令
	評 事	獄 丞
		諸官農園監·鈎貨簿官署令
	主簿·諸屯監·上林·太倉署令	
五 監	織染·掌冶署令	
	四門博士	主簿·大學助教
武 官	諸衛長史	中中衛長史·親衛·左右中候
	錄事諸曹參軍	
	下府果毅都尉	上府別將長史
	博 士	
	博 士	
	參軍·博士·三府諸果丞	參軍·上·中果丞

The chronicle table of
the Emperors and bTsan pos

Title of reign	A.D.	T'ang Emperors	Tibetan bTsan pos
武 德	618	高 祖	gNam-ri srong-stsan
武 德	620		Srong-btsan sgam-po (cir. accession)
貞 觀	627	太 宗	
貞 觀	649		Mang-srong mang- stsan
永 徽	650	高 宗	
顯 慶	661		
龍 朔	664		
麟 德	666		
總 章	668		
咸 亨	670		
上 元	674		
儀 鳳	676		hDu-srong mang po rje
調 露	679		
永 隆	680		
開 耀	681		
永 淳	682		
弘 道	683		
嗣 聖	684	中 宗	
文 明	684	睿 宗	

光宅 684
 垂拱 685
 永昌 689
 載初 689
 天授 690
 如意 692
 長壽 692
 延載 694
 證聖 695
 天冊萬歲 695
 萬歲通天 696
 神功 697
 聖歷 698
 久視 700
 天足 701
 長安 701
 長安 704
 神龍 705
 景龍 707
 景雲 710
 太極 712
 延和 712

武后

Empress Wu
in power

Mes-ag-tshoms

中宗
(resumed)

睿宗

開元	713	玄宗	
天寶	742		
天寶	755		Khri-srong lde- brtsan
至德	756	肅宗	
乾元	758		
上元	760		
寶應	762		
廣德	763	代宗	
永泰	765		
大曆	766		
建中	780	德宗	
興元	784		
貞元	785		
貞元	797		Mu-ne btsan-po
貞元	799		Sad-na-legs
永貞	805	順宗	
元和	806	憲宗	
元和	815		Ral-pa-čan
長慶	821	穆宗	
宝曆	825	敬宗	
永和	827	文宗	
開成	836		
元和	838		gLan-darma

會昌	841	武宗	
會昌	842		gLan-darma died
大中	847	宣宗	
咸通	860	懿宗	
乾符	874	僖宗	
廣明	880		
中和	881		
光啟	885		
文德	888		
龍紀	889	昭宗	
大順	890		
景福	892		
乾寧	894		
光化	898		
天復	901		
天祐	904		
天祐	905	昭宣帝(哀宗)	

Genealogy of T'ang Emperors

1. 高祖. 李淵 (618-27) —
2. — 太宗. 李世民 (627-50) —
3. — 高宗. 李治 (650-84) —
4. — 中宗. 李顯 (684) (705-10)
5. — 睿宗. 李旦 (684-90) (710-13) —
6. — 玄宗. 李隆基 (713-56) —
7. — 肅宗. 李亨 (756-63) —
8. — 代宗. 李豫 (763-80) —
9. — 德宗. 李适 (780-805) —
10. — 順宗. 李誦 (805) —
11. — 憲宗. 李純 (806-21) —
12. — 穆宗. 李恒 (821-25) —
13. — 敬宗. 李湛 (825-26)
14. — 文宗. 李昂 (827-41)
15. — 武宗. 李炎 (841-47)
16. — 宣宗. 李忱 (847-60) —
17. — 懿宗. 李漼 (860-74) —
18. — 僖宗. 李儂 (874-89)
19. — 昭宗. 李晔 (888-905) —
20. — 哀帝. 李祝 / 昭宣帝 (905-07)

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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