恩兰·达扎禄恭职官考*

张旭 郑红翔

内容摘要: 恩兰·达扎禄恭主导和参与了唐蕃和战互动的一系列事件,是唐中后期影响唐蕃关系的重要人物。据《雪碑》记载,禄恭因检举叛乱,升任囊论平章事,后又晋升至大囊论、大喻寒波平章事。因禄恭并非尚系贵族出身,并且笃信苯教,其晋升之路充满坎坷。禄恭率军陷落长安凯旋之后,其官职不仅没有得到晋升,反而被长期雪藏。十余年后,禄恭再次出现在公众的视野。禄恭复出就任大囊论、大喻寒波平章事,其职位的排次,仅次于大论,这也是他担任的最高官职。纵观禄恭的一生,他并没有担任过吐蕃大论。

恩兰·达扎禄恭(5萬·四萬·寶河·黃河·河河河河)是正史典籍中提及的马重英、论悉诺罗,多次率军袭击唐境,长期左右唐蕃关系,亦是广德元年(763年)攻破长安城的主要将领。位于布达拉宫山脚下的雪村现立有一石碑,一般称之为"雪碑"(南西·美·克西·曾·西),又称《恩兰·达扎禄恭纪功碑》,碑铭为藏文。碑文记载禄恭检举叛逆大臣,率军攻克唐都长安;透露出禄恭于吐蕃官场中职官变迁的历程。国内外学者已对碑文、碑刻性质、立碑

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位置和碑主的身份等问题,进行了专题研究¹。然而,对立碑时间及碑主职官等问题的研究相对较少。本文以汉藏史料的相关记载为基础,对禄恭的职场生涯进行探讨。

一、禄恭的职官

禄恭一生仕宦沉浮,其职场生涯可谓精彩纷呈。《雪碑》碑文追述了禄恭的功绩,包含禄恭检举叛逆大臣和率军攻克唐都长安的事件;记载着禄恭与赞普的盟誓文,及其家族后裔受恩荫所获得的特权。禄恭身份转化的拐点是检举朗氏(巫云)和末氏(巫云)的政变,并协助新任赞普清除叛逆,稳定局势。禄恭以此为契机,升至囊论平章事(丙云·蜀南·四河南南南·云),步入权力中枢。最终,禄恭晋升为大囊论(南云·南南·龙南·云)、大喻寒波平章事(赵·河南·西南东·东·高南·龙南·东·西河南·梁四方),位列权力核心决策层。

禄恭早年在吐蕃担任中下级官吏,默默无闻,名不见经传。墀德祖赞执政时期(705-754年),禄恭仅是政绩平平的普通官员。禄恭在墀松德赞执政时期(754-797年),借机上位,成为左右吐蕃朝政的实力派大臣。《雪碑》背面和左侧碑文,简要描述了禄恭的主要功绩及升迁历程;正面碑文是禄恭与赞普的共同盟誓辞。

背面碑文:

(第 1-2 行) । प्रवंद र्ष प्रिः वे पार्ड्य प्रतः वि रिः पार्ड्य प्रतः वि रिः प्रतः प

(第 21-28 行) ब्ला प्रविद्ध प्राप्त प्रविद्ध प्रविद्य प्रविद्ध प्रविद्य प्रविद्ध प्रविद्य प्रविद्ध प्रविद्ध प्रविद्ध प्रविद्य प्रविद्ध प्रविद्ध प्रविद्ध प्

¹ 学术界基于《雪碑》碑文的记载,对禄恭及其相关问题已有较多研究。其中熊文彬和林冠群等先生著文指出,禄恭的任职履历出现断层。王尧:《恩兰·达扎禄恭纪功碑》,《社会科学战线》1981(4):223-229。王尧:《吐蕃金石录》,北京:文物出版社,1982:88,90-91。李方桂著,龙达瑞译:《马重英考》,《西藏研究》1987(3):129-131。熊文彬:《吐蕃著名宰相恩兰·达札路恭生平考》,《西藏民族学院学报》1988(1):45-51。李方桂、柯蔚南著,王启龙译:《唐蕃会盟碑研究——李方桂、柯蔚南〈古代西藏碑文研究〉摘译之五》,《西藏民族学院学报》2006(2):15-22+105。李方桂、柯蔚南者,王启龙译:《唐蕃会盟碑研究——李方桂、柯蔚南〈古代西藏碑文研究〉摘译之五》,《西藏民族学院学报》2006(3):25-30+106。林冠群:《唐代吐蕃史论集》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2006:316-336。江琼·索朗次仁:《雪碑最初立碑位置考》,《西藏研究》2015(3):37-42。任小波:《公元763年吐蕃陷长安之役——吐蕃王朝军政体制探例》,《历史地理》2016(1):108-117。

रे.चूंट्य.च्या। \$ 24-59 行) यूट्-च्या.संट.

赞普墀德祖赞之世·····禄恭揭发末氏和朗氏的叛逆事实·····末、朗氏叛乱 属实。其获罪遭遣。禄恭忠诚如此。

赞普墀松德赞之世。恩兰·达扎禄恭足智多谋、英勇沉毅。[赞普]任命他担任囊论平章事。其侦知唐地内情。[赞普]任命其为姑臧道先锋元帅……后,唐王父皇孝感皇帝崩。汉(唐)帝子广平王继位……商讨蕃之军队总管大首领,京师道行军大元帅,由尚琛·野息书通和论达扎禄恭担任。直趋[唐朝]京师。

左面碑文:

(第 1-5 行) । । व्रॅंब ह्रेंब ख्रुंब ख्रुंब ख्रुंब ख्रुंब ख्रेंब ख्रुंब ख्रुंच

论达扎禄恭担任大囊论、大喻寒波平章事。2

正面碑文:

तस्रवः स्थानः रादेः क्रूं रः द्रां वः गस्र रः तुरः तुरः तुरः तुरः तुरः वि

敕授达扎禄恭盟誓诏书, 并篆刻于石碑上。

赞普墀松德赞陛下诏誓盟书如下: 恩兰氏之子孙后代, 无论何时, 地久天长, 皆赐以大银牌章饰, 永作盟证, 固若雍仲……彭域护卫千户长, 永不授予他人。达扎禄恭之祖, 悉列之子孙, 才干杰出者, 皆委以护卫千户长之职位。3

禄恭初次显露身手,便是扳倒当权势力朗氏和末氏家族集团。禄恭协助新赞普墀松德赞,清除叛逆。禄恭凭借此功绩,晋升为囊论平章事。背面碑文提及的唐广平王继位,是指762年肃宗即皇帝位;出兵唐朝京师,是指广德元年(763年),蕃军攻陷长安,致使代宗出逃的事件。左面碑文显示,禄恭右迁大囊论、大喻寒波平章事。正面碑文的内容是禄恭与新任赞普的盟誓辞。盟誓诏书显示,恩兰氏子孙后代获得大银牌章饰的恩赏;彭域千户长的职位,永久由恩兰氏家族成员世袭罔替;禄恭宗族亲属有才望者,也被委任以千户长的职务。

《雪碑》中所提及的揭发朗、末二氏的事件,与敦煌本《吐蕃大事纪年》(下文简称《大事纪年》)的记载,可相互补充。遗憾的是,禄恭揭发这两大家族的详细经过,两处材料均无记载。大事纪年羊年(755年)记事:

 $\vec{\beta}_{1} \vec{b}_{1} | \vec{a}_{1} \vec{c}_{2} \cdot \vec{a}_{1} \cdot \vec{c}_{2} \vec{c}_{3} \cdot \vec{c$

士兵捕杀谋害[赞普]父王的凶手。任命东撒尔三个千户区的千户长。他 们迁移朗、末氏之奴户;将其放逐到东索……清查[没收]朗、末氏的财产。⁴

朗、末二氏因参与政变,受到严惩,封邑被瓜分,奴户被迁移,家族成员被流放,财产被没收。

朗、末二氏是谋害前赞普墀德祖赞(705-754年)的主要推手,被禄恭揭发,受到赞普制裁。禄恭不仅揭发了叛逆,也直接参与了抓捕凶手。文中带领士兵捕杀凶手的官员,应是禄恭。禄恭敢于挑战当权大臣朗、末二氏,向新任赞普墀松德赞表忠。禄恭检举有功,忠心于王室,受到赞普的青睐,晋升至囊论平章事。囊论是内侍机构的官员,

³ 王尧:《吐蕃金石录》, 1982: 63-70, 83。

⁴ 王尧、陈践:《敦煌本吐蕃历史文书》(增订本),北京:民族出版社,1992:155。

禄恭自晋升囊论平章事以来,便具有了论(箭南)的头衔。在吐蕃职官体系中,"论"具有两方面的含义:一方面,"论"可以泛指吐蕃官员,例如"膏箭南"的含义是"王臣";另一方面,"论"是吐蕃高层官员才能拥有的头衔。王尧先生早已指出,"论"的含义是"臣""相",是高层官员的头衔。极少数的地方官员也可以称为论,如德伦(南南南南);其他地方官和级别低的官员,并不能有论的衔称。敦煌本吐蕃历史文书和《唐蕃会盟碑》等文献资料,记载了吐蕃具有论衔称的高层职官。

吐蕃大论(黃南、黃南、花),毫无疑问具有论衔称。另外,大囊论(南东、黃南、黃南、花)、囊论(南东、黃南、太南、大贡论(贾东·黃南、花)、政事之大论(西京、南京、近、黄南、花)、紕论(总·盖南)、给事中(马河、南京、黄南、南)、大审计官(景南、东。南京、花)、大法官(南京、南京、花)等官员,全部具有论的头衔。这些职衔的官员,能够参与唐蕃会盟,并在盟约中署名,说明这些官职名称是蕃廷高层职官。禄恭担任的囊论平章事,应是蕃廷高层内侍职官。

禄恭在担任囊论平章事之前,所任官职应是彭域千户长(农村、火村、南、大大南)⁷。《雪碑》记载的禄恭与赞普盟誓辞提及,赞普恩赏恩兰氏家族,永久保留彭域护卫千户长之职,并且此官职永不授予他人。毫无疑问,这些恩赏是禄恭立功所得。禄恭晋升囊论平章事之前的官职为彭域护卫千户长。禄恭晋升囊论平章事之后,空下的彭域千户长之职,由其子孙世代承袭。彭域千户长,既是彭域千户区的首领,也是赞普卫队长之一。赞普驻地周围有专职负责赞普安全的卫队,长庆二年(822年),唐使刘元鼎入蕃会盟,对赞普驻地周围的护卫有描述:

⁵ 林冠群:《唐代吐蕃众相制度研究》,《中国藏学》2012(1): 48-67。黄辛建、多杰扎西:《 བགན་ལ་གནོགས་བ 与同平章事: 唐代多相制对吐蕃宰相制度的影响》,《西藏民族学院学报》2014(3): 14-19。

⁶ 王尧:《吐蕃金石录》, 1982: 84。

⁷ 任小波:《公元 763 年吐蕃陷长安之役——吐蕃王朝军政体制探例》,《历史地理》2016(1): 109-110。

臧河之北川,赞普之夏牙也。周以枪累,率十步植百长槊,中剚大帜为三门,相距皆百步。甲士持门,巫祝鸟冠虎带击鼓,凡入者搜索乃进。⁸

此处对唐使搜索检查者,便是赞普卫队长属下的卫兵。这些卫兵应即出自护卫千户区,其长官为千户长。据杜晓峰(B. Dotson)考证,吐蕃四翼共有四十个千户区,其中有四个置于首位的是"王室护卫千户区";千护区内所有储备兵丁的任务是护卫赞普,以赞普卫队的身份,驻扎于吐蕃驻地的四周。彭域护卫千户长作为宫廷卫队长,协助新赞普抓捕凶手,平息先赞普遇害的政变案。禄恭也因而由护卫系统的官员晋升为内侍系统的官员。

^{8 《}新唐书》卷 216《吐蕃传下》,北京:中华书局,1975:6103。

⁹ Brandon Dotson, The Old Tibetan Annals: An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009: 39.

¹⁰ 王乃昂、蔡为民:《凉都姑臧城址及茂区变适初探》,《西北史地》1997 (4): 7-12; 任小波:《公元 763 年吐蕃陷长安之役——吐蕃王朝军政体制探例》,《历史地理》2016 (1): 115; Fang Kuei Li & W. South Coblin, *A Study of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions*, Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1987: 162-163; Géza Uray, "The Location of Khar-can and Leń-ču of the Old Tibetan sources." In *Varia Eurasiatica: Festschrift für Professor A Róna-Tas*, 1991: 195-227. 李方桂和柯蔚南两位先生指出,khartsan 对应灵州。乌瑞指出 khartsan 是凉州,即甘肃武威,任小波采用此观点。凉州武威古称姑臧,khartsan 是姑臧的藏文对译。

養元: 麦克: 可吸流: 迎: 河: 愛や: う: [)。" 「大论被授予特级白宝石章饰,尚野息为大瑟瑟章饰,而东赞为瑟瑟章饰。此处位阶章饰的等级叙述,仅写到瑟瑟一级,并没有记载瑟瑟以下的位阶等级。而立功将领中,也只有禄恭的位阶受封没有记载。由此可推测,禄恭的位阶应为瑟瑟之下的金牌章饰,或金镶银(即颇罗弥)牌章饰。

吐蕃职官章饰是显示官员地位的标记,正史典籍对吐蕃职官章饰略有描述。

又云: 大略其官章饰有五等: 一谓瑟瑟, 二谓金, 三谓金饰银上, 四谓银, 五谓熟铜。各以方圆三寸褐上装之, 安膊前以别贵贱。

自号吐蕃为宝髻。爵位则以宝珠、大瑟瑟、小瑟瑟、大银、小银、大瑜 石、小瑜石、大铜、小铜等为告身,以别高下。¹²

其官之章饰,最上瑟瑟,金次之,金涂银又次之,银次之,最下至铜止。13

尽管史料对吐蕃章饰的记载不尽相同,但也描述出吐蕃章饰等级的基本框架。从禄 恭与赞普的盟誓诏书可知,禄恭子孙以恩荫获得大银牌章饰。大银牌章饰之上,还有宝 珠、瑟瑟、金、金镶银四个等级。

¹¹ Brandon Dotson, *The Old Tibetan Annals: An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History*, 2009: 133-134. 王尧、陈践:《敦煌本吐蕃历史文书》(增订本), 1992: 111, 156。此条记事抄写混乱,可能是抄写员的漫不经心所致。写卷中连续出现任命为大论(高河南河南)的记载,确实令人困惑。文献中的记载的真实含义可能是,囊热卸任,支桑晋升为大论。此条记事的内容,应是包括了两年的记事。杜晓峰认为此条为藏历龙年(764年)记事,而王尧、陈践等指出此条为兔年(763年)记事。依据正史记载,吐蕃占领长安为763年(广德元年),此条记事的内容占领长安之后。依据大事纪年的记事习惯,此条记事开头为赞普驻地的记载。因此,此条为764年记事。

^{12 《}册府元龟》卷 961 《外臣部·土风三》,北京:中华书局,1960:11308-11309。

^{13《}新唐书》卷 216《吐蕃传上》, 1975: 6072。

₹5/)¹⁴。因此禄恭本人所具有的位阶章饰,应比大银牌章饰高一个等级,即金镶银牌(颇罗弥)章饰。换句话说,禄恭获得金镶银章饰,其子嗣受恩荫获得低于金镶银章饰的大银牌章饰及其附属特权。

据《雪碑》所示,禄恭后又升任大囊论、大喻寒波平章事。大囊论是吐蕃内侍机构的长官,为赞普陪侍官员,充任赞普幕僚的角色,正史称之为内大相。大喻寒波是司法系统的长官,掌整顿风纪纠察百官之职,正史称之为整事大相¹⁵。《新唐书》载:

其官有大相曰论苣,副相曰论苣扈莽,各一人,亦号大论、小论;都护一人,曰悉编掣逋;又有内大相曰曩论掣逋,亦曰论莽热,副相曰曩论觅零逋,小相曰曩论充,各一人;又有整事大相曰喻寒波掣逋,副整事曰喻寒觅零逋,小整事曰喻寒波充:皆任国事,总号曰尚论掣逋突瞿。16

二、雪藏与复出

广德元年(763年)吐蕃攻陷长安之际,禄恭是前线指挥官,其本人也进入了长安城。永泰元年(765年),禄恭再次率军袭击唐境。随后,禄恭便在吐蕃失去了踪迹。直至多年以后,禄恭才又出现在唐蕃前线。《贤者喜宴》收录的墀松德赞兴佛第一诏书显示,禄恭位列第三,头衔为论,位居大论尚琛·野息书通之下。这也说明,永泰元年之后,禄恭的仕途履历,出现了断层。桑耶寺兴佛盟誓诏书名单显示出,禄恭官职和政治地位得到了大幅度提升。禄恭的仕宦生涯,经历了晋升、雪藏和复出三个阶段。

据史载,达扎禄恭在吐蕃攻陷唐都长安的活动中起着重要作用。《资治通鉴》载: "戊寅,吐蕃入长安,高晖与吐蕃大将马重英等立邠王守礼之孙(子)承宏为帝,改元,

¹⁴ 王尧、陈践:《敦煌古藏文文献探索集》,上海古籍出版社,2008:329-330,344-345。

¹⁵ 林冠群:《吐蕃"尚论掣逋突瞿"考释——〈新唐书·吐蕃传〉误载举隅》,《中国藏学》2008 (3): 10-11。

^{16《}新唐书》卷 216《吐蕃传上》, 1975: 6071-6072。

永泰元年的唐蕃边境冲突中,禄恭也随军参与战事。《旧唐书》载,永泰元年,"吐蕃大将尚结息赞磨、尚息东赞、尚野息及马重英率二十万众至奉天界,邠州节度使白孝德不能御,京城戒严"¹⁹。此次边境冲突之后的十余年间,不见有禄恭的相关记载。直至大历十三年(778年)二月,"已亥(二月),吐蕃遣其将马重英帅众四万寇灵州,夺填汉、御史、尚书三渠水口以弊屯田·····辛未(六月),吐蕃将马重英二万众寇盐、庆二州,郭子仪遣朔方都虞候李怀光击却之。"²⁰ 永泰元年唐蕃边境冲突中,禄恭的官职依然是囊论平章事。倘若禄恭此时的官职是大囊论、大喻寒波平章事,独掌内侍和司法两大系统,那么禄恭的职官排位,不应在尚野息等尚系官员之后。同时也说明,蕃军陷落长安之役,并没有为禄恭带来升职的机遇,甚至,禄恭所获得的金镶银牌位阶章饰,远低于共同参与陷落长安之役的尚野息和尚东赞所获的瑟瑟级位阶章饰。而长安之役时,禄恭的地位高于尚东赞。由此说明,永泰元年之后,禄恭的政治地位进一步下降,在率军将领中排在末位;直至十余年后的778年才得以复出。

禄恭被王室雪藏的原因,来自宗教和派系之争两个方面。禄恭最初笃信苯教,反对佛教。桑耶寺兴建前后,赞普墀松德赞压制苯教,扶植佛教²¹,禄恭被逐出蕃廷的权力中枢。此外,禄恭在王室中的起起伏伏,实际上也是尚系家族与传统贵族之间派系之争的缩影。吐蕃王朝中后期,尚系外戚家族势力把持着王室的要害部门,占据着主导地位。禄恭的传统贵族身份,影响了他的仕途,甚至受到排挤。这或许也是禄恭于长安之役凯旋后封赏低于尚系家族的尚野息和尚东赞的原因;两年后的765年,蕃军寇唐边关时,

^{17《}资治通鉴》卷 223, 广德元年九月条, 北京: 中华书局, 1956: 7152。

¹⁸ 王尧、陈践:《敦煌本吐蕃大事纪年》(增订本), 1992: 156。

^{19《}旧唐书》卷 196《吐蕃传上》,北京:中华书局,1975:5240。

^{20 《}资治通鉴》卷 225, 大历十三年二月条, 1956: 7251。

²¹ 巴卧·祖拉陈哇著、黄颢泽:《〈贤者喜宴〉摘译九》,《西藏民族学院学报》1982(4): 48-49。

其在蕃将中的排位,依然在尚野息等尚系家族成员之下。禄恭的权势,明显受到尚系家 族的压制。

禄恭后来改变信仰,并同赞普盟誓,是其复出晋升的节点。改信佛教,是禄恭复出晋升的阶梯。雪碑上铭刻的赞普与禄恭的共同盟誓文,显示出禄恭获得"大银牌雍仲章饰(万5㎡望记司帝承元可以元元5万)"22。此章饰是超越职官赏赐体系的特殊恩赏,只有佛教高僧和对佛教有突出贡献者才能获得²³。禄恭获得大银牌雍仲章饰,说明其已改崇佛教。也只有禄恭改崇佛教之后,才能同赞普共同盟誓,确立自己的权势与地位。禄恭与赞普举行盟誓的时间,也应在其复出前后,即 778 年 2 月率军进犯灵州之前。

赞普与禄恭的盟誓辞显示,禄恭家族子孙获得大银牌章饰。按照敦煌本《狩猎伤人赔偿律》的记载,立功者本人才能获赏位阶章饰,包括子孙在内的直系亲属,享有相应特权。但禄恭的家族子孙恩授大银牌章饰,不仅如此,其家族子孙也世袭彭域千户长,甚至远房宗族亲属也被授以千户长的职务。恩兰氏家族所受到的恩赏规格,高于普通的赏赐,与其说是蕃廷给予超规格恩赏,倒不如说这是禄恭改信佛教复出致仕的条件,或是禄恭与蕃廷的政治交易。这些补偿性赏赐,只能是在禄恭复出之后。

桑耶寺兴佛盟誓之后,禄恭主导了唐蕃清水会盟初期谈判。建中二年(781年) "十二月,入蕃史判官常鲁与吐蕃使论悉诺罗等至自蕃中" ²⁵。此处的论悉诺罗,便是达 扎禄恭。有韦氏大论名为悉诺逻恭禄者,其藏文名 5只尽的说话,与禄恭的藏文名

²² 王尧:《吐蕃金石录》, 1982:66、83。

²³ 张云:《上古西藏与波斯文明》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2017:141-143。

²⁴ 巴卧·祖拉陈哇著、黄颢译:《〈贤者喜宴〉摘译九》,《西藏民族学院学报》1982(4):36。

^{25《}旧唐书》卷 196《吐蕃传下》, 1975: 5246。

下氧 '內國' 왕의' 원' 권' 권' 近似。《旧唐书》将此韦氏大臣的姓名,译作悉诺逻恭禄;正史中提及的论悉诺罗或论悉诺逻,则是 葡萄' 왕의' 到 的音译。然而,清水会盟初期谈判,是禄恭最后一次出现在吐蕃朝堂之上。此后,吐蕃政坛中便再无禄恭的踪迹。

三、禄恭是否曾担任大论的疑问

据《吐蕃大事纪年》兔年(763年)记事显示,论管·支桑雅卜拉接替囊热,担任大论。此时禄恭的头衔是论,所任官职是囊论平章事。765年之后,禄恭因宗教信仰和派系矛盾的原因,被长期雪藏。779年墀松德赞于桑耶寺兴佛盟誓之际,尚野息的头衔是大尚论,说明他已接替支桑担任吐蕃大论。禄恭被雪藏的一段时期内,论支桑和尚野息相继担任大论。桑耶寺兴佛盟誓后,尚野息依然担任着大论。《旧唐书》载:

(建中)三年(782年)四月……九月……时吐蕃大相尚结息(尚野息)忍而好杀……其次相尚结赞(尚野赞)有才略……赞普然之,竟以结赞代结息为大相,终约和好,期以十月十五日会盟于境上。以崔汉衡为鸿胪卿,以都官员

²⁶ 王尧、陈践:《敦煌本吐蕃历史文书》(增订本), 1992: 160。

²⁷ 有关禄恭职位的记载见塔波本《声明要领二卷》,然文中出现明显的错误,如文中记载的猪年记事为 783 年,尚野息为大尚论,同时将禄恭的头衔也写作大尚论。禄恭是传统贵族成员,其家族没有同吐蕃王室联姻,因此他不能享有尚的衔称。蕃廷之中,也不可能出现两位大论或大尚论。事实上,尚野息于建中三年(782 年)四月已被尚野赞代替。杜晓峰认为禄恭在尚野息与尚野赞之间短暂担任过吐蕃大论。参见 Géza Uray, "L'annalistique et la pratique bureaucratique au Tibet ancient." *Journal Asiatique* 263, 1975: 157-170. Cristina A. Scherrer-Schaub, "Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (bkas bcad) and their Application in the sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa tradition." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25 (1-2) 2002: 263-340. Brandon Dotson, *The Old Tibetan Annals: An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History*, 2009: 154.

外郎樊泽兼御史中丞、充入蕃计会使。初,汉衡与吐蕃约定月日盟誓,汉衡到,商量未决,已过其期,遂命泽诣结赞复定会盟期,且告遣陇右节度使张镒与之同盟。泽至故原州,与结赞相见,以来年正月十五日会盟于清水西……四年正月(783年),诏张镒与尚结赞蒙于清水。28

据此可知,782年,地位低于禄恭的尚野赞,以次相(副大论)的身份晋升为大论²⁹。尚野赞接任尚野息登上大论位之后,马上致力于唐蕃和谈。尚野息和尚野赞之间衔接紧密,没有为禄恭留下担任大论的时间空档。

781年清水会盟初期会谈之后,禄恭再次失势,原因依然是派系之争。吐蕃王室中的派系之争,不仅表现在传统贵族和尚系家族之间的此消彼长,政见的异同也会形成不同的派系。禄恭自步入决策层以来,便屡屡参与对唐战事。据雪碑碑文,禄恭熟知唐朝各事宜,与大论尚野息共同承担对唐战事,主张强硬解决唐蕃争端。唐蕃清水会盟初期,禄恭主要负责唐蕃和谈之事,但他为和谈设置了诸多障碍,例如唐蕃双方就书函中的用词反复磋商,将"贡献"改为"进","赐"改为"寄"等,皆是禄恭的暗中操纵 30。随着唐蕃和谈继续开展,主张和谈的尚野赞执掌中枢,尚野息被尚野赞取代,禄恭也失去了赞普的信任和重用。782年2月,唐蕃清水会盟的第二阶段和谈,蕃方会谈代表改为区颊赞 31。此后,禄恭便消失在历史长河之中。

尚野赞担任大论以来,主导了唐蕃之间的一系列事件。尚野赞最初继续推动唐蕃和谈,促成清水会盟;建中四年(783年)二月,答应于頔提出的"疆场既定,请归其使"的请求;兴元元年(784年),蕃廷助唐平定朱泚之乱。之后,尚野赞一手筹划了贞元三年(787年)的平凉劫盟事件,令唐朝方面损失惨重。尚野赞长期把持大论位,直至贞元十二年(796年)卒于任所³²。尚野赞的履职经历说明,尚野息之后,尚野赞长期担任大论,禄恭再无晋升大论的机会。

综上所述,那囊·尚野赞拉囊接替尚琛·野息书通担任吐蕃大论,并没有留给恩 兰·达扎禄恭担任大论的时间空档。在此时段内,禄恭没有担任大论的时机,吐蕃王室

^{28《}旧唐书》卷 196《吐蕃传下》, 1975: 5246-5247。

^{29 《}册府元龟》卷 980 《外臣部·通好》, 1960: 11513-11514。文中记载: "吐蕃大相尚结息忍而好杀, 以当 覆败于剑南, 思刷其耻不肯约和, 其次相尚结赞有才略, 固言于赞普请定界盟约, 以息边民。"

^{30《}旧唐书》卷196《吐蕃传下》,1975:5246。

^{31《}旧唐书》卷 196《吐蕃传下》, 1975: 5248。

^{32《}新唐书》卷 216《吐蕃传下》, 1975: 6099。

中亦不会同时出现两位大论³³。《吐蕃赞普传记》第二章"大论世系"部分,将禄恭归为 大论之列,可能是文书抄写员疏忽,所导致的抄写错误。禄恭所担任的最高官职,应是 大囊论、大喻寒波平章事。

结语

目前学界公认的《雪碑》立碑时间是吐蕃军队自长安凯旋之后,为纪念达扎禄恭征战功绩所立。因为全部碑文中,仅有两个断代依据,即禄恭检举朗、末二氏的反叛,和吐蕃军队陷落长安。禄恭检举朗、末二氏的时间,并不能完全明确,仅能根据《吐蕃大事纪年》的残缺记事,推断出大概在754年到755年之间。吐蕃攻陷长安的时间点很明确,即广德元年(763年)。于是学术界将碑文中能够确定的时间下限,定为立碑时间的依据³⁴。然而,禄恭官职和信仰的变迁,也可以作为探讨《雪碑》立碑问题的线索。

赞普同禄恭共同盟誓,显示出他已得到赞普的认可。盟誓文的创作时间,也是《雪碑》的立碑时间下限。778年2月,禄恭重掌兵权,进犯唐境,说明其已经复出。碑文的撰刻时间,也在此时期。从碑文内容来看,亦非禄恭的纪功碑。其三面碑文,可分为三部分:背面碑文主要记载禄恭的主要功绩,包括检举叛逆和陷落长安;正面碑文则透露出此部分内容为赞普与禄恭的盟誓辞;左面碑文,记载禄恭的最高官职。碑文追述了禄恭的主要功绩与职官,其主旨应是宣扬蕃廷恩赏禄恭及其家族的荣耀特权。

经过梳理藏汉史料的记载,对达扎禄恭在吐蕃的宦海沉浮之路,有了更明晰的理解。755年之前,禄恭担任彭域护卫千户长;755年,凭借检举政变、抓捕叛逆之功,晋升为囊论平章事;长安凯旋之后,因功配享金镶银牌位阶章饰;765年之后,被排挤出权力中枢;778年,复出晋升为大囊论、大喻寒波平章事;779年,以此身份参与桑耶寺兴佛盟誓,地位仅次于坌吐谷浑小王和大论;781年,参与清水会盟的初期谈判。

³³ 林冠群:《唐代吐蕃史论集》,2006:349。林冠群:《吐蕃大论恩兰达札路恭(云河·བష་སྡག་སྡག་ལྡ་ཁང)研究》,《敦煌学辑刊》2019(4):7-42。两文中均提及,禄恭在尚野赞出镇边关、专职负责唐蕃和谈之时,短暂担任了吐蕃大相(论)。

³⁴ 王尧:《吐蕃金石录》,1982:82;熊文彬:《吐蕃著名宰相恩兰·达札路恭生平考》,《西藏民族学院学报》1988(1):45-51。王尧先生著文指出,立碑时间在占领京师之后不久的一段时期。熊文彬先生著文指出,雪碑立碑时间在763至797年之间,是为纪念禄恭的功劳而建。

782年,随着尚野赞代替尚野息担任大论,禄恭也退出权力中枢。终禄恭一生,其所担任的最高官职,为大囊论、大喻寒波平章事,并未曾担任过吐蕃大论。

◆ 张旭 河北大学历史学院教授 郑红翔 西北大学丝绸之路研究院讲师

ABSTRACTS

Notes on the Transmission of the *Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra* and Related Texts

Saerji

(School of Foreign Languages, Peking University)

Based on the various narratives and related works on the Buddha's first discourse on turning the wheel of the Dharma, this paper surveys cognate descriptions in different Buddhist traditions. It especially focuses on two Tibetan texts entitled the *Dharmacakra* (pravartana) sūtra that are preserved in the Kanjur. The essay points out that one work, the *Dharmacakrasūtra, is not an independent translation, but an extract from the Samghabhedavastu of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. Yet another work, the *Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra, reflects the influence of Theravāda Buddhism. The paper aims to provide deep understanding of the history of the redaction, transmission, and translation of the Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra and related works.

A Glimpse of the Battle between Tang and Tubo in the Middle Kaiyuan Period: Details from the Excavated Epitaphs

Wei Yingchun and Ma Zhenying
(Institute of Dunhuang Studies of Lanzhou University)

西 in Tang Dynasty, while making references to historical records, Dunhuang manuscripts, Tibetan literature and other records, it aims to reproduce several details of the battle between the Tang and Tubo in the middle Kaiyuan period. The Battle of Yumen 玉门 between the Tang and Tubo was recorded in the "epitaph of Li Li" 李礼墓志,which has not been attested elsewhere. The "epitaph of Yu She" 鱼涉墓志,records the tragic battle between the Tang and Tubo in Qilian City 祁连城,and that the tomb owner Yu She died on the day of victory, which can be supplemented with the official historical record. Research on the historical facts contained in epitaphs may be helpful to the future study of the relationship between the Tang and Tubo as well as the history and geography of Helong 河陇 in the Tang Dynasty.

The Epitaph of Zhao Hong'an and Tang Jiuzheng's Southern Expedition ——On the Tang-Tubo Relations during the Reign of Tang Zhongzong

Yuan Enda and Lu Li
(Department of History, Nanjing Normal University)

Tang Jiuzheng's 唐九征 southern expedition was a military campaign in the southwest of the Tang Dynasty during the period of Tang Zhongzong (r.705-710). The historical records pertaining to these events are relatively brief and often contradictory, leaving gaps in our understanding. But the epitaph of Zhao Hong'an 召弘安 housed at the Tang West Market Museum offers valuable insights for addressing these issues. Through an examination of this epitaph, it becomes apparent that the primary target of Tang Jiuzheng's southern military campaigns was the tribal groups in the Yaozhou 姚州 region, roughly corresponding to present-day Yao'an County in Yunnan Province. These expeditions had limited, direct involvement with Tubo. Furthermore, during the southern expedition of Tang Jiuzheng, both the Tang and Tubo made concessions to maintain their relationship, but the Tibetan side made larger concessions than the Tang. This suggests that, despite the restoration of peace between the Tang and Tubo during the reign of Emperor Zhongzong, Tubo was still in a relatively disadvantageous position in their practical interactions.

An Exploration of Reasons of Geshu Han's Recapture of Shibaocheng

Li Xuedong

(School of History, Beijing Normal University)

In the twenty-ninth year of Emperor Xuanzong's reign during the Tang Dynasty (741), Tubo launched an attack on Shibaocheng 石堡城. Recognizing its crucial strategic importance, starting from the fourth year of the Tianbao era (745), the Tang court successively appointed Huangfu Weiming 皇甫惟明, Wang Zhongsi 王忠嗣, and Geshu Han 哥舒翰 to lead military campaigns to manage Shibaocheng. Ultimately, Geshu Han defeated the Tibetan forces and brought Shibaocheng back under Tang control. During Tianbao period of the Tang Dynasty, there was an increasingly intense power struggle between Prime Minister Li Linfu 李林甫 and Crown Prince Li Heng 李亨. Although Huangfu Weiming and Wang Zhongsi were loyal to the Crown Prince and were stationed in the borderlands, they could not stay aloof from the political turmoil. The successive military campaigns launched to recover Shibaocheng were affected by the power struggle at the imperial court, resulting in Tang forces returning without success. Geshu Han, as an outsider of the court politics, due to his background as a minority leader, was able to avoid the detrimental influence of the central power struggle on frontline military operations. Additionally, the personal relationship between the participating general Abusi 阿布思 and Li Linfu shielded this campaign from the effects of political rivalries. Furthermore, Geshu Han had a relatively strong military force when he attacked Shibaocheng. The Tang army had already launched an offensive against Momi Cheng in Jiannan which distracted Tibetan forces and provided support for Geshu Han's campaign to retake Shibaocheng. This strategy ultimately led to the successful recovery of Shibaocheng. After the battle, Geshu Han gradually built a defensive system centered around Shibaocheng, thereby strengthening its defenses.

A Study of the Official Position of Ngan lam Stag sgra Klu khong

Zhang Xu and Zheng Hongxiang

(School of History, Hebei University; Institute of Silk Road Studies, Northwest University)

Ngan lam Stag sgra Klu khong played a significant role in a series of interactions between the Tang Dynasty and Tibet, making him an influential figure during the later period of Tang-Tibetan relations. According to the *Zhol* Pillar, Klu khong's rise in government positions was marked by a series of promotions due to his role in reporting and suppressing rebellions. He was initially appointed as *nang blon* and later promoted to the positions of *nang blon chen po* and *yo gal 'chos pa chen po*. But Klu khong faced a challenging path to his advancement, as he did not come from a noble background and adhered to the Bon religion, which created obstacles for his career. Despite the triumph of the capture of Chang'an, Klu khong did not receive further promotions and, in fact, experienced a prolonged period of stagnation in

his official career. Over a decade later, he reemerged in the public eye and assumed the positions of *nang blon and yo gal 'chos pa*, holding one of the highest-ranking positions in the Tubo court, second only to the *Blon chen*. This was the highest office he held throughout his career, as he never served as the *Blon chen*.

A Brief Discussion of the Classification of Madhyamaka Tenets in the Treasure Text Titled *Gsang sngags lung gi bang mdzod*

Yang Jie

(Remin University of China)

Being crucial for the study of the early period of treasure tradition, Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer and his famous treasure cycle *Bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* have drawn considerable attention from quite a few scholars. Following in the steps of earlier research that has illuminated the origins of some of the tantric texts in this cycle, the author focuses on the classification of Madhyamaka tenets within the *Gsang sngags lung gi bang mdzod*— a doxographical work that also belongs to this cycle. Through comparative studies, what becomes clear is that this classification has its Indian precedent and is deeply rooted in the doxographical background of Nyang ral's time. In the author's view, this nominally revealed treasure text obviously absorbs the doxographical framework prevalent during the early *phyi dar* period, and is quite important for our further study of the development of doxography of that period.

Gri gum btsan po and the Bon Treasure Historical Narrative: An Analysis of Sga ston's (14th C.) *History of Bon Treasure*

Naljor Tsering

(Doctoral Student, Southwest Minzu University; École Pratique des Hautes Études, PSL, CRCAO)

The treasure text or *gter ma* is a cultural phenomenon that is mainly popular in the Buddhist Nyingma school and the Bon tradition in Tibet. Bon *gter ma*-s began to emerge in the 11th century, and a special historical narrative regarding their burial, discovery, and transmission already took shape in the 14th century. The origin of a given *gter ma* and the reason for its transmission usually constitute the very first topics to be explained in these narratives. Regarding these topics, Nyingma scholars usually provide the story of Padmasambhava as the historical background for the formation of Tibetan Buddhist *gter ma*-s whereas the Bon tradition connects its origin to the two transition periods of religion and politics during

the Tubo period (also known as the two "extinction periods" in the history of Bon). This article focuses on the first extinction period in the history of the Bon, that is, the story of the eighth king *Gri gum btsan po*, as a case study and explores how the later generations of Bon scholars use legends and stories regarding the period of the Tibetan Empire to construct *gter ma*-origin stories for their own tradition. Furthermore, through the analysis of this story, we can understand how the narrative tradition of the Bon *gter ma* is the result of the interaction between the historical process of the continuous improvement of the Bon doctrinal knowledge system and the inspiration it received from the Buddhist narrative (on the "extinction of dharma"), while inheriting many unique indigenous elements and cultural contexts.

凯西·坎特维尔 (英国牛津大学、德国波鸿鲁尔大学)

娘热·尼玛沃色在十二世纪所掘出的《八教善逝集》(bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa) 成为了宁玛派以八密教尊神为核心修行的范本。在此前发表的一篇论文中,我提出《八教善逝集》中关于"事业普巴"('phrin las phur pa) 的部分可能形成于娘氏之前的时代,并保留了古时的修习传统。本文结合远传法(bka' ma)文献中属于娘氏传承的教法,进一步对这些与《四普巴》或《四普巴续》(phur pa'i rgyu bzhi)相关的普巴文献进行探讨。《四普巴续》教法在这些文献中的中心地位很可能影响了此后的金刚普巴传承,因为它们也强调这些教法的重要性。本文主要探讨远传法和娘氏法中的《四普巴续》教法的关系,以及它们与早期四普巴教法之间的联系。《堡岩》(rdzong 'phrang)中只有《八教善逝集》是很早期的,而四普巴中的一篇简短教言很有可能是源自历史上的莲花生大师。此外,《四普巴续》中引用的同一主题也被收录进了《八教善逝集》中的权威文献。娘氏将《八教善逝集》称为伏藏,使得藏王墀松德赞被重新纳入该传承体系之中。墀松德赞原本并未在此传承序列之内,而是作为《堡岩》的主要授记对象而被新加入的。因为娘热是墀松德赞的转世,《八教善逝集》伏藏中的关键文献据称是来自墀松德赞的写本。

以药为经:医药伏藏中的炼金术与藏地的佛教医学

麦伟哲 (美国纽约大学)

伏藏师在伏藏文献中能够以叙事的方式建构宇宙观层面的教说。如藏地的医师与仪轨师多将服石法(bcud len)认为是莲花生大师的伏藏法,是佛陀原初的教法,或是藏地医学的经典。本文旨在对藏地的医药伏藏进行简要介绍,尤其是以相传为衮邦达沃(Kun spangs zla 'od,又名Kusasmanpa或 Sku sa zla 'od)所传之《因陀罗手服石》(Dbang po lag pa'i bcud len)、《阿育吠陀》及《医学四续》等文献中的相关教法为中心来解读,将这些医药文献构建为佛教经典的叙事框架。总的来讲,本文提出医药经典不一定总是指向一个真实存在的过去,而是以叙事来规范其所期许的起源。与此类似,在佛教医学中,医学理论与实践指导也成为了诸佛的教诲,疗愈与菩萨戒相融合,医药也成为了成佛之道。将药书作为佛典来解读,便可以将医学实践根植于一个叙事所创造的世界中。本文探究了佛教医药伏藏的叙事世界,并讨论了其在后弘期(约950-1250年)兴起的历史背景。

U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal's Speech as a Source of the Blon po bka' thang

Sun Penghao

(Doctoral Student, Harvard University)

Inquiries into the textual sources for O rgyan gling pa's influential treasure cycle, the *Bka' thang sde lnga*, have long fascinated scholars. It is now widely accepted that it contains authentic ancient materials. This paper identifies a passage in the twenty-ninth chapter of the *Blon po bka' thang* as being an adaptation of a speech preserved in a fourteenth-century biography of U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309). The intertextual relationship lies hidden, as O rgyan gling pa transfers U rgyan pa's diction and metaphors from its original context into the mouth of the legendary eighth-century figure Padmasambhava. Furthermore, the speech was modified from a general defense of the traditions of Rnying ma, *gter ma*, and Zhi byed traditions to a specific defense of the *gter ma*. This identification not only adds a fourteenth-century material to the current pool of the known textual sources of the *Bka' thang sde lnga*, but it also gives us an example of creative textual reuse and the microscopic manner of in which this treasure-revealer compiled his work. Furthermore, the inter-textuality offers us a rare opportunity to reflect on the readership and reception of U rgyan pa's biography, as well as on the transmission of polemical rhetoric in general.

The Impact of Lha btsun Nam mkha' 'jigs med's (1597-1652) *Gter ma* lineage on the Religious Pattern during the Early Period of the Rnam rgyal Dynasty of 'Bras mo ljongs

Xu Yuangin

(Center for Tibetan Studies of Sichuan University)

Three great masters belonging to the Rnying ma school, Lha btsun Nam mkha' 'jigs med (1597-1652), Mnga' bdag Sems dpa' chen po (1591-1656), and Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Chen po (17th C.) empowered Phun tshogs rnam rgyal (1604-?) as he was enthroned in 1642 to become the first religious king (*chos rgyal*), also Rnam rgyal, of 'Bras mo ljongs or 'Bras mo gshongs, that is, Sikkim. This opened the path for the dissemination and development of the Rnying ma pa gter ma-revelatory tradition, from the central region of Ü-Tsang to the southern region (*lho phyogs*), Sikkim. Lha btsun Nam mkha' 'jigs med was the main representative of the initial transmissions of this tradition, which he had received from the great *gter ma* master 'Ja 'tshon snying po (1585-1656). Upon his enthronement as religious king, Phun tshogs rnam rgyal supported the propagation of Lha btsun's tradition throughout 'Bras mo ljongs and promoted the construction of monasteries that would be affiliated with it.

In the process of religious development in 'Bras mo ljongs, there was a continuous and interactive relationship between the central religious authority of Ü-Tsang and Lha btsun's tradition. This gradually formed a pattern of institutionalized development involving the succession of the lineages of transmission, sectarian affiliation, and hierarchical relationships among the main monasteries and branches. The influence of this *gter ma* tradition had a profound impact on the religious landscape of the early Rnam rgyal dynasty in 'Bras mo ljongs.

Prohibition and Recognition: Dissemination of the *Gter-ma* Literature of the Nying ma School in Mongolia (1607-1738)

Giigch Borjigin

(Doctoral Student, School of Chinese Classics, Renmin University of China)

Since the late sixteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism has been widely accepted in Mongolia through the spread of the Gelugpa School, which continues to the present day. Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia undoubtedly has a strong Gelugpa presence, the relevant historical classics and literature are mostly written after the Gelugpa school began to dominate Mongolia, and the historical records of other schools are very rare. However, there is no doubt that before and after the Gelugpa School was introduced to Mongolia, other schools also spread in Mongolia. In this article, I will survey the literature of the Nyingma School that was translated from Tibetan to Mongolian from 1607 to 1738, and explore three

types of non-canonical texts dealing history, ritual and commentary, and thus provide an outline of an enhanced picture of the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia.

叙事生活世界:《格萨尔王传·地狱救母》与伏藏的社会功能

娜塔莎·麦克斯 (美国德州州立大学)

本文以《格萨尔王传·地狱救母》篇为例,探讨伏藏在创造一个"叙事生活世界"(这一理论是本文作者专门在此提出并使用的)中起到的社会功能。正如霍莉·盖利(Holly Gayley)、戴维·杰玛诺(David Germano)及其他人所指出,伏藏并非单独存在的现象,而是由复杂的社交互动连接过去与未来而形成的、具有丰富意义的网络。伏藏师通常被认为是文化英雄:他们以过去的意义来涵盖当下的时代,并通过他们与过去的联系建构出一个充满意义的符号宇宙。格萨尔史诗传统尽管在藏地解读中很少被认为是伏藏,但是其传承与伏藏传承多有相似之处,其中最显著的即是经启示而被发现并创制出的新文献范式,这一范式有着超越原初讲述的社会影响。

尽管有这些相似之处,但只有一份格萨尔文本自我认同为伏藏,即由丹喇嘛·却吉旺秋('Dan bla ma Chos kyi dbang phyug)所著、格萨尔伏藏师扎册多吉(Drag rtsal rdo rje)掘出的《地狱救母》篇。通过对比阅读这一格萨尔传承与伏藏传承所重叠之处,学者们可以通过格萨尔传承来更清晰地解读伏藏的社会功用。在介绍这一重要文本之上,本文更提出通过伏藏基于一个持续有意义并有效的过去而建构出的叙事生活世界,这让个人得以与这一叙事创造出来的过去产生联系,并能在其中构建出自己当下有意义的世界。叙事生活世界因此便成为了伏藏在当代西藏取得社会关切和关联的驱动力。

A Review of the Symposium on the Eastern Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and the Cultural Heritage of Yushu

Zhu Ming

(Doctoral Student, School of History and Culture, Sichuan University)

To celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, the People's Government of Yushu prefecture and the school of history and culture of Sichuan University jointly held the "Symposium on the Eastern Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and the Culture Heritage of Yushu" in Chengdu from October 18 to 19, 2021. This symposium received a total of forty papers and nearly one hundred representatives from Beijing, Qinghai, Sichuan, Hebei, Gansu and Shaanxi attended the conference. There were twenty-seven scholars who delivered presentations during eight sessions, focusing on topics such as "New archaeological discoveries and early human activities in the Eastern Qinghai-Tibet Plateau", "Discovery and research of rock art in the Eastern Qinghai-Tibet Plateau", "Cultural exchange and interaction between the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and its surrounding areas", "Grottoes, images and texts in Buddhist art", "Transportation and routes in the Eastern Qinghai-Tibet Plateau" and "Environmental governance and conservation in the origin region of the Three Rivers", etc. This symposium provided a levelplatform for academic exchange and greatly promoted interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary academic communication and dialogue, playing a significant role in strengthening communication, exchange, and integration among various ethnic groups.