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历史军事地理研究

Historical Military Geography of Tibetan Regime

朱悦梅 著

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总 序

在胡绳同志倡导和主持下，中国社会科学院组成编委会，从全国每年毕业并通过答辩的社会科学博士论文中遴选优秀者纳入《中国社会科学博士论文文库》，由中国社会科学出版社正式出版，这项工作已持续了12年。这12年所出版的论文，代表了这一时期中国社会科学各学科博士学位论文水平，较好地实现了本文库编辑出版的初衷。

编辑出版博士文库，既是培养社会科学各学科学术带头人的有效举措，又是一种重要的文化积累，很有意义。在到中国社科院之前，我就曾饶有兴趣地看过文库中的部分论文，到社科院以后，也一直关注和支持文库的出版。新旧世纪之交，原编委会主任胡绳同志仙逝，社科院希望我主持文库编委会的工作，我同意了。社会科学博士都是青年社会科学研究人员，青年是国家的未来，青年社科学者是我们社会科学的未来，我们有责任支持他们更快地成长。

每一个时代总有属于它们自己的问题，“问题就是时代的声音”（马克思语）。坚持理论联系实际，注意研究带全局性的战略问题，是我们党的优良传统。我希望包括博士在内的青年社会科学工作者继承和发扬这一优良传统，密切关注、深入研究21世纪初中国面临的重大时代问题。离开了时代性，脱离了社会潮流，社会科学研究的价值就要受到影响。我是鼓励青年人成名成家的，这是党的需要，国家的需要，人民的需要。但问题在于，什么是名呢？名，就是他的价值得到了社会的承认。如果没有得到社会、人民的承认，他的价值又表现在哪里呢？所以说，价值就在于对社会重大问题的回答和解决。一旦回答了时代性的重大问题，就必然会对社会产生巨大而深刻的影响，你

也因此而实现了你的价值。在这方面年轻的博士有很大的优势：精力旺盛，思维敏捷，勤于学习，勇于创新。但青年学者要多向老一辈学者学习，博士尤其要很好地向导师学习，在导师的指导下，发挥自己的优势，研究重大问题，就有可能出好的成果，实现自己的价值。过去12年入选文库的论文，也说明了这一点。

什么是当前时代的重大问题呢？纵观当今世界，无外乎两种社会制度，一种是资本主义制度，一种是社会主义制度。所有的世界观问题、政治问题、理论问题都离不开对这两大制度的基本看法。对于社会主义，马克思主义者和资本主义世界的学者都有很多的研究和论述；对于资本主义，马克思主义者和资本主义世界的学者也有过很多研究和论述。面对这些众说纷纭的思潮和学说，我们应该如何认识？从基本倾向看，资本主义国家的学者、政治家论证的是资本主义的合理性和长期存在的“必然性”；中国的马克思主义者，中国的社会科学工作者，当然要向世界、向社会讲清楚，中国坚持走自己的路一定能实现现代化，中华民族一定能通过社会主义来实现全面的振兴。中国的问题只能由中国人用自己的理论来解决，让外国人来解决中国的问题，是行不通的。也许有的同志会说，马克思主义也是外来的。但是，要知道，马克思主义只是在中国化了以后才解决中国的问题的。如果没有马克思主义的普遍原理与中国革命和建设的实际相结合而形成的毛泽东思想、邓小平理论，马克思主义同样不能解决中国的问题。教条主义是不行的，东教条不行，西教条也不行，什么教条都不行。把学问、理论当教条，本身就是反科学的。

在21世纪，人类所面对的最重大的问题仍然是两大制度问题：这两大制度的前途、命运如何？资本主义会如何变化？社会主义怎么发展？中国特色的社会主义怎么发展？中国学者无论是研究资本主义，还是研究社会主义，最终总是要落脚到解决中国的现实与未来问题。我看中国的未来就是如何保持长期的稳定和发展。只要能长期稳定，就能长期发展；只要能长期发展，中国的社会主义现代化就能实现。

什么是21世纪的重大理论问题？我看还是马克思主义的发展问

题。我们的理论是为中国的发展服务的，绝不是相反。解决中国问题的关键，取决于我们能否更好地坚持和发展马克思主义，特别是发展马克思主义。不能发展马克思主义也就不能坚持马克思主义。一切不发展的、僵化的东西都是坚持不住的，也不可能坚持住。坚持马克思主义，就是要随着实践，随着社会、经济各方面的发展，不断地发展马克思主义。马克思主义没有穷尽真理，也没有包揽一切答案。它所提供给我们的，更多的是认识世界、改造世界的世界观、方法论、价值观，是立场，是方法。我们必须学会运用科学的世界观来认识社会的发展，在实践中不断地丰富和发展马克思主义，只有发展马克思主义才能真正坚持马克思主义。我们年轻的社会科学博士们要以坚持和发展马克思主义为己任，在这方面多出精品力作。我们将优先出版这种成果。

李锐性

2001年8月8日于北戴河

序 言

辛德勇

研究中国古代的军事地理问题，从大的研究着眼点来说，我觉得可以划分为如下两个类别：第一种，是对某一特定区域的静态形势研究；第二种，是对某一特定战役的动态分析，或是对某一特定时期军事战略的探讨。二者各有侧重而又互相联系，后者往往要以前者为背景，而前者又是对后者的归纳和概括，需要根据后者的深入研究，随时做出调整，深化对静态形势的认识。研究者有时可以择取其中一类，只做静态分析，或是只做动态的研治，但有时又很难将二者清楚区分开来，甚至要想展开一项研究，就要同时、同等地从这两个方面着眼入手，左顾右盼，东探西究，一并向前推进。在目前情况下，研究吐蕃的军事地理问题，就需要投入这样的眼光，施展这样的身手。

在对某一特定区域的历史军事地理进行静态形势分析这方面，明末清初顾祖禹撰著的名著《读史方舆纪要》，是最有代表性的著述，也可以说是一部划时代的巨著。顾祖禹从反清复明的政治目的出发，对全国各个地区及其名山、大川和以关隘为主的“重险”等，都做出了相当全面、系统的考察，总结出这各种地理形势在攻守利害上的优劣，同时也深入论述了各个历史时期利用这些地理形势的成败得失。

在当代历史地理学者当中，业师史念海先生研究中国历史军事地理，不仅时间较早，同时成果也最为丰富。先师早年探索诸葛亮的攻守策略，是研究特定的军事战略。史念海先生这项研究，放眼整个三国时期的政治、军事局势，视野开阔，气势宏大，展示出大手笔的功力。不过，业师更多的历史军事地理研究，是在顾祖禹已有研究的基础上，研治今陕西省这一区域内在历史时期所发生的军事活动，论证各个重要地点对这些军事

活动的影响。这些研究，更主要地是属于对某一特定区域的静态形势分析。史念海先生在这方面做出的大量研究，比顾祖禹当年更为具体，论证也更为透彻，是从这一角度研究历史军事地理问题的典范性成果。最近二十多年来，有很多学者，继续从这一角度来研究中国历史军事地理问题，对很多山川险要形势的认识，都取得了进展。

至于对特定战役或是对特定时期军事战略的研究，成果更为丰富多样，因互不相同的战役形势和战略特点而展现出丰富多样的治学特色，可谓成就斐然。我个人认为，从整体上来说，这也是今后中国历史军事地理研究应予致力的主要方向。

不过，对于一些比较特别的地区和比较特别的问题来说，情况或略有差别，吐蕃军事地理的研究，就是如此。

与其他地区或是时代相比，研究吐蕃王朝军事地理问题的困难，首先就是它所涉及的地区，不像中国其他很多地区那样，已经有顾祖禹总结的静态地理形势的基础，对此，大多需要从头做起。从头研究这些最一般的基础性问题，困难当然很多，其中一项困难因素，是吐蕃及其周边地区，地形地势的变化，非常复杂，对历史时期军事活动的影响和制约也往往比较严重，需要花费较大功夫，也需要具备较为丰富的知识。

朱悦梅这部《吐蕃王朝历史军事地理研究》，就是在这种情况下展开的。她迎难而上，同时兼顾静态的地理形势和动态的地理过程这两方面因素，还努力克服在研究资料上的诸多局限，对吐蕃王朝的军事地理问题，做出了比较全面的研究，取得了一系列重要认识，写出了这部著作，实在可喜可贺。现在，这部书出版在即，我对朱悦梅的努力，表示衷心祝贺，同时也期望她能够再接再厉，取得更大的成就。

2016年6月24日

摘 要

《吐蕃王朝历史军事地理研究》以唐代吐蕃王朝（629—841年）的军事地理为主体研究对象，以吐蕃军事扩张的时间和空间过程为线索，探讨吐蕃王朝与周边区域的军事地理关系及其特征。从吐蕃王朝时期对外军事进程和军事地理方略、吐蕃军事力量的地理配置、军事界限的演变、给养方式在不同地理区域的变化、军事设施的地域性特点和分布等内容入手，对战争的进程给予空间上和时间上的统合，从军事发展进程的角度对历史复原提供进一步的支持。从微观上，涉及一些历史地理学中有关地望、军镇移置变迁等有争议的或尚未清楚的军事地点问题。从宏观上，则涉及吐蕃军事区域的划分与演变，不同区域自然地理地貌上吐蕃军事制度、军事设施、军事攻略的不同特征以及不同地理地貌条件对战争进程的影响。

研究吐蕃历史军事地理，以传统的文献考据为主要方法，同时，结合人文地理学的研究方法，借鉴民族学、文献学、语言学、宗教学、考古学、社会学的研究方法与成果，结合田野考察，尽可能全面地揭橥历史真相，解析历史上地理与军事制度、军事机构的设置、军事攻防体系等之间的关系，为架构历史军事进程的发展脉络提供基础性研究成果。

吐蕃王朝是一个真正意义上的军事帝国，其军事制度的合理性（指其与吐蕃社会政治经济相适应的合理性）和军事扩张的成功性，开创了藏族历史上一段空前绝后的辉煌阶段。吐蕃王朝的历史发展脉络与大唐帝国相仿佛，彼此时战时和，势力与实力的消长相伴而行，政治、军事关系几与二者的存亡相始终。在唐与外族的战争进程中，唐朝方面往往能够占据明显的优势，只有对吐蕃是个例外。吐蕃与唐争夺对西域的控制权对唐朝构成极大威胁，为患最甚，甚至在陇右、河湟地区等局部战场比唐军更

占上风。这除了有军事战术及其实施步骤等主导因素在起作用外，还有唐蕃双方政治、军事战略布局等因素的影响；整个西域、河西、陇右、剑南、西洱河大战线千变万化的局势所产生的牵制因素的影响；以及地理环境因素、双方军事制度及武备状况等因素的影响。

本书将吐蕃王朝时期的对外战场，按照地理单元的自然地理特征和唐行政区划对吐蕃军事部署的影响，特别是吐蕃军事进程的地域性特征和军事区划特征，划分为河湟、西域、河西、关陇、剑南西川、西洱河、吐蕃南部疆域七大区域，分别进行专题性研究，明晰了吐蕃作战区域的划分及其演变。吐蕃军事设置由初期的三大勇部的三勇部、下勇部、中勇部分别对应西域战场、河湟战场和西洱河战场，之后逐渐演变为所谓“四方戍边元帅”统帅的“四方”之军区——吐蕃的节度。安史之乱后，吐蕃对唐战场的战线空前扩大，又在原东境五道节度的基础上发展出“吐蕃北道节度”、“吐蕃东方节度”，分别辖河西战场和关陇战场；同时，“吐蕃松州五道节度”亦随战场的南铺，演变为“吐蕃南道元帅”统领的独立作战区域。在所谓的“四方”军区下，又有军分区，即各“道”节度或节度。本文通过对吐蕃全部战线的总体把握，澄清了以往对吐蕃节度使问题含混不清的认识。

吐蕃在本土实行部落军事联盟制度，外出征战常是以部落为单位。在吐蕃所辖的不同自然地理单元中，由于受不同地理条件的制约，不论是部落制的军队给养、征兵等制度，还是军事建置及其体系，吐蕃统治者都因地制宜进行调整。地理条件对吐蕃军事的纵深发展更是发挥着关键的作用。具体表现如下：

1. 河湟地区，属于青藏高原的一部分。同一区域地理地貌表征的一致性，有利于吐蕃军队的机动灵活性和部落集结的迅速有效性得到充分发挥；

2. 西域绿洲地区，地理特征表现为沙漠环境的恶劣、绿洲邦国的分散与地狭人多。在这里，吐蕃军队不得不将部落群居制改变为化整为零的征兵制，给养和镇戍方式也作了较大调整；

3. 河西走廊为一独立的自然地理单元。安史之乱是吐蕃对河西走廊军事经略的战略转折点。在安史之乱前，吐蕃军队以祁连山纵谷为主要通道，采取点对点的攻击方式；而安史之乱后，则采取了从走廊东部突入，而后向西逐步蚕食的方式；

4. 在关陇地区,原唐廷经营的牧苑被吐蕃占领后成为吐蕃军事部落的新牧场,吐蕃军队每年移牧冬季与夏季牧场之间,使得在关陇战场上的军事行为呈间歇性。这也使得吐蕃不可能向北方和东北方方向走得更远,尽管他们曾向鄂尔多斯草原试探性地深入过;

5. 在剑南西川战场,特殊的地理地貌和艰险的交通条件迫使吐蕃军队放弃旧有的快速游动作战战术而改行城防攻守的作战战术。雅安康定一带,交通相对方便,反而成了吐蕃军事戍守的薄弱地区,因为“束马之路”方便了唐军的进攻,却对吐蕃军队的退防带来不便。因此,吐蕃的攻击点选择在以维州城、台登城为中心的居险难攻的北、南两地,甚至不惜为此开山造路;

6. 西洱河地区是吐蕃军事力量较早介入的区域,吐蕃三大勇部之一的“中勇部”曾专攻这一区域。这里地形复杂,诸蛮部落众多且互不统属,惟南诏因得到唐朝扶持而势力较为雄厚。吐蕃在这里仿效唐朝边区行政体制而设立都督府,以统治神川铁桥两岸的诸蛮部落,而纯粹的军事行动则主要在磨些江以北。

7. 吐蕃在南部疆域的军事受山地交通条件的限制,发展空间较小。

关键词:吐蕃王朝 历史地理 军事地理 吐蕃节度

Abstract

The dissertation is a study on the military geography in the Tibetan regime (A. D. 581 ~ 841), which takes the temporal and spacial process of Tibetan military expansion as the clue, and discusses Tibet's military geographical relations with its peripheral areas and the characteristics of such relations in the Tibetan period. Starting with issues in the Tibetan regime such as external military process and military geographical strategy, geographical deployment of Tibetan military forces, evolution of military boundary, changes in the mode of provisions supply for the purpose of conforming to different regional features, combines the process of war in terms of space and time, and provides related supplementary evidence to help restore the history from the perspective of military development process. The dissertation involves some micro issues related to the military location, such as the location of historical placename, migration of military towns, which are still controversial or unclear in the research of historical geography, and some macro issues such as partition and development of Tibetan military regions, different characteristics of Tibetan military regime, military establishment and military strategy in different regions of different Physical geographical features, as well as impacts of different geographical features on the war process.

Traditional document textual criticism is the primary method adopted in the research on Tibetan historical military geography. In addition, combining the research method employed in the research on humanitarian geography and resorting to the research methods and results in the fields of ethnology, philology, linguistics, religion, archaeology, sociology, as well as combining field re-

search, the dissertation attempts to present, as comprehensively as possible, the original picture of the history, and explores the relationship between geography and military regime, establishment of military institutes, military system of attack and defense, and so on in the historical context, which provides a research result fundamental to revealing the development rules of historical military process.

The Tibetan regime has been a military empire, the rationality of whose military regime and the success of whose military expansion, help create a splendid stage unparalleled in the Tibetan history. The Tibetan regime experienced a historical development process, i. e., prosperity and decline, concurrent with that of Tang Empire. They were alternately at war and in peace, and the political and military relations nearly. Accompanied the existence of the two regimes in the war between Tang Dynasty and other regimes, Tang Dynasty was always in a significantly advantageous position, while its war with the Tibet was an exception. Tibet posed a big threat to Tang Dynasty regarding competing for the control of the frontier area as well as the Western region. In the partial battlefields in the areas of Longyou, the Huangshui River and the upper reach of the Yellow River, the Tibetan military even had an advantage. Besides the military strategy and the implementation steps, many other factors contribute to this situation, including the deployment of political and military strategies of Tang and Tibet, limitations as a result of the everchanging situation of the entire battle line covering the whole Western region, Hexi corridor, Southeast of Gansu to Jiannan (the west of Sichuan), region of Xierhe, as well as the geographical environment, military regimes and the armament conditions of the two sides.

Based on the physical geographical features of each geographical unit and impacts of the administrative division of Tang on the military deployment of Tibet, the dissertation divides the external battlefields in the period of Tibetan regime into 7 regions, including the Huangshui River and the upper reach of the Yellow River, the Western region, Hexi corridor, Southeast of Gansu to Jiannan (the west of Sichuan), region of Xierhe and the southern region of Tibet, and conducts research particularly on each of the 7 regions which clarifies the division of Tibetan military areas and its evolution. The three big military tribes in

the early period of Tibetan regime, dpav - bvi - dmar - gsum, bar - gyi - dpav - sde, smad - gyi - dpav - sde, which corresponded to the battlefields of western region, the Huangshui River and the upper reach of the Yellow River and Xierhe respectively, gradually evolved into the whole military regions under the control of the so - called "so - mthav - dmag - dpon". After the Insurrection Waged by An Lu - shan and Shi Si - ming, with the extension of the battle line in the war against Tang Dynasty, Tibet developed the "Tibetan northern military government" and "Tibetan eastern military government" from the former "Tibetan eastern military goverment", which governed the battlefields of Hexi and Guanneia and Longyou. In the meantime, with the extension of battlefield to the south, "Tibetan Songzhou five dao military government" evolved into an individual fighting area governed by "Tibetan southern governor". Sub - military areas were established under the military government. By means of the overall grasp of the entire battle line of Tibet, the dissertation clarifies the understanding of Tibetan military government which has been ambiguous among the scholars up to now. Based on the overall understanding of the whole Tibetan battle lines, this dissertation clarifies the ambiguity previously existing in people's knowledge of the Tibetan military government, and reproduces the process of the emergence, development, evolution and maturity of Tibetan military regime.

Expansion of Tibetan military forces towards the periphery of Qinghai - Tibet Plateau is constrained by distinct geographical conditions in different Physical geographical units, resulting in the different processes and characteristics of military geography, which indicates that geographical conditions play a crucial role on the depth of Tibetan military development, evidenced by the following aspects:

1. In the western region, oasis states are separate and are not subordinates to each other, and Tibet selected the southern of the Pamirs, the most complicated area in terms of geopolitics, as the penetration point. However, the most important strategy to control the western region should be dominating the life line of communication of and between the oases. Since the military geography is featured by large area for defense and denseness of defense points, small - scaled military units of Tibet were at an advantage in the military activities in this re-

gion.

2. Many military communication lines by which Tibet implemented the external expansion and plunder are centered in the Huangshui River and the upper reach of the Yellow River. Besides the traditional lines of the road between the Central area to Tibet and the area of Qinghai Lake, there were still the military lines of the Daxia River and Bailong River, and particularly the Hezhou on the military line of the Daxia River is the significant base for Tibetan military to pierce through the Tang's line of defense.

3. The Hexi Corridor is an independent Physical geographical unit. The Insurrection Waged by An Lu - shan and Shi Si - ming is a strategic turning point to the Tibetan military strategy regarding the Hexi Corridor. Before The Insurrection Waged by An Lu - shan and Shi Si - ming, Tibetan troops took the valleys in the Mont. Qilian as the primary routeway and adopted point - by - point attack pattern, especially the attack and defense system between Tang and Tibet formed surrounding the valleys in the Mont. Qilian can be acclaimed the classic of military attack and defense system; while after The Insurrection Waged by An Lu - shan and Shi Si - ming, they employed the method of penetrating from the Hexi corridor and encroaching westwards little by little.

4. In the battle field of Guannei Dao and Longyou Dao, except the military space process for some historically significant military communication centers and several main communication lines was clear for Tibetan troops, their activities were featured more by attacks at random and focus on plunder, which is the combination of the combating method of attacking for plunder as a result of military tribe alliance system and the Physical geographical conditions of Loess Plateau. The escalation of attack and plunder by Tibet and the defense by Tang led to the continuous change of the attack and defense system of the two troops, resulting in the formation of military defense pattern of the eight northwestern towns around the capital of Tang Dynasty, which is the outcome of Tibetan military strategy.

5. In the battlefield of western Sichuan, the peculiar geographical feature and the dangerous traffic conditions forced the Tibetan troops to give up their fighting strategy of rapid moving about and adopted the strategy of setting up mil-

itary forts for stationing and defending. The area of Ya'an and Kangding, where the traffic was relatively convenient, became a weak area in terms of military defense, for the "Binding Horse" road facilitated the attack by Tang's troops, and inconvenienced the Tibetan troops' retreat and defense. Therefore, Tibetan troops selected two points in the north and south areas, which centered around Weizhou town and Taideng town and were difficult to attack due to their dangerous geographical conditions, as their attacking points, and even built ghat for this purpose.

6. Xierhe area is a region having a comparatively early presence of Tibetan military, and *smad - gyi - dpav - sde*, one of the three military tribes of Tibet, once focused on attacking this area. Topographical conditions of this area were complex, many tribes settled here and these tribes were not subordinate to each other, and only Nanzhao was relatively strong owing to the support from Tang Dynasty. Administrative system adopted by Tang Dynasty for its border areas was modeled after by Tibet in this area, which established Dudufu to govern the various tribes located on both sides of Shenchuan Iron Bridge, while pure military actions primarily took place in the area to the north of Moxie River.

7. Tibetan military in the south area of Tibetan territory is constrained by the communication conditions of the area which is characterized by mountains, resulting in a comparatively limited development space.

Keywords: Tibetan Regime, Historical Geography, Military Organization, Tibetan Military Government