



Read all of these information dumps and not just this page.

Part 1 of this dump

<https://justpaste.it/4ats9>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_1](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_1)

Part 2

<https://justpaste.it/1wr8o>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_2](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_2)

Part 3

<https://justpaste.it/9ocat>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_3](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_3)

Part 4

<https://justpaste.it/6vewk>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_4](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_4)

Part 5

<https://justpaste.it/9peuc>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_5](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_5)

Part 6

<https://justpaste.it/7ykeh>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_6](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_6)

Part 7

<https://justpaste.it/2yccg>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_7](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_7)

this dump is Part 8

<https://justpaste.it/8ppgs>

[https://justpaste.it/Korean\\_History\\_8](https://justpaste.it/Korean_History_8)

<https://www.facebook.com/21480672132/posts/persian-ties-with-chinairanian-people-like-persians-and-sogdians-have-lived-in-c/10155559409717133/>

<https://www.facebook.com/21480672132/posts/persian-ties-with-chinairanian-people-like-persians-and-sogdians-have-lived-in-c/10155559409717133/>

[https://www.worddisk.com/wiki/Iranians\\_in\\_China/](https://www.worddisk.com/wiki/Iranians_in_China/)

## Sogdians



Sogdians, depicted on a Chinese [Northern Qi](#) stele, circa 567/573



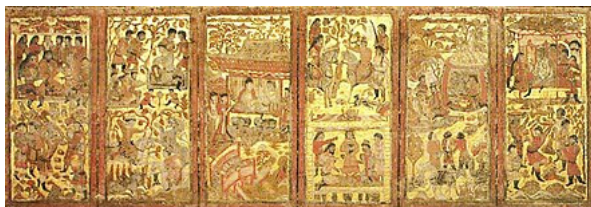
Sogdians on the [Tomb of Wirkak](#), 580 CE. <sup>[56]</sup>

## TANG DYNASTY

[Sogdians](#) in China used 9 Chinese surnames after the Chinese name of the states they came from. <sup>[57][58][59][60][61][62][63][64]</sup> *[excessive citations]*

Xizhou had a Han and Sogdian population. <sup>[65]</sup> A record from the [Astana Cemetery](#) dating to 639 preserves the transaction where a Sogdian slave girl was being sold in Xizhou. The Han Zhang family also owned Chunxiang, a Turk slave woman in Xizhou. He Deli, a Sogdian who knew how to speak Turkic and Chinese and translated. <sup>[66][67][68][69][70][71][72][73][74][75][76][77][78]</sup> *[excessive citations]* 120 coins of silver were paid for the slave girl <sup>[79][80]</sup> from Samarkand. <sup>[81]</sup> The contract was written in Sogdian. <sup>[82]</sup> Translated by Yoshida Yutaka. <sup>[83][84][85]</sup> The slave girl was from the Chuyakk family and born in Central Asia. Upach was her name and the buyer's name was written as Yansyan in Sogdian from the Chan family. The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called Wakhushuvirt and his father was Tudhakk. The contract said they could do anything they wanted to Upach, give her away, sell her, abuse her, beat her and she belonged to Yansyan's family forever. <sup>[86]</sup> Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, whose name is found in Chinese language documents in Turfan, is believed to be Chan Yansyan. <sup>[87][88][89][90][91][92][93][94][95][96][97]</sup> *[excessive citations]* Kuchean girls were sold as slaves in the Jin and Wei dynasties. On the Silk Road, slave girls were a major item and much more expensive than silk. Silk was up to five times less than the value of a slave girl. *[vague]* Central Asian slave girls were exported from Central Asian Iranian areas to China. It is believed that the wealthy merchants and aristocratic noblemen of the Chinese capital of Chang'an were the consumers for the huge number of Central Asian slave women brought by the Sogdians to China to sell to the Chinese. The Central Asian foreign women in the Sogdian owned wineshops in the Chinese capital are also believed to have been slaves since Chinese poets depicted them as homesick, sad and melancholy and they would service travelers by keeping them company overnight. Merchants and literati would frequent

the wineshops.<sup>[98]</sup> The Sogdians reaped massive profits from selling slave girls and so did the Chinese government by taxing the sale of the slaves. Slave girls were one of the major products Chinese bought from Sogdians. Persian poets often wrote about wine and women since the wineservers were often girls and this wine culture with girl servers seems to have spread to China. There were many Sogdian wineshops and Persian shops in Chang'an along with a large slave market. The wineshops were staffed with young girls who served wine to customers and danced for them. Most of the slave girls were 14 or 15 years old. They provided services like sex, dancing, singing, and served wine to their customers in Chang'an as ordered their masters who ran the wineshops. A Sogdian merchant, Kang Weiyi had Indian, Central Asian, and Bactrians among the 15 slave girls he was bringing to sell in the Chinese capital of Chang'an.<sup>[99][100][101][102][103][104][105][106][107][108][109][110][80][111]</sup><sup>[excessive citations]</sup> Khotan and Kucha both sold women for sexual services.<sup>[112][113]</sup> Shi Randian was a Xizhou Sogdian merchant who had a Chinese military title.<sup>[114][115]</sup> He went to Guazhou to trade from Kucha.<sup>[82]</sup> He went to Shazhou and Yizhou.<sup>[116]</sup> A local acted as Shi Randian's guarantor.<sup>[117]</sup>



Sogdian figures on the "Tomb

of An Jia", Xi'an, China. Dated 579 CE. [Shaanxi History Museum](#).<sup>[118]</sup>

In 731 a Han Chinese called Tang Rong 唐榮 from the capital district bought an 11 year old slave girl Shimaner 失滿兒 from Mi Lushan 米祿山, a Sogdian recorded in a contract written in Chinese.<sup>[115][119]</sup> There was a translator in Xizhou, Di Nanipan who had a Sogdian name but a non-Sogdian surname. Either he was not a Sogdian and was given the name because Sogdian language was prevalent or only his mother was Sogdian was his father was Han. The [Goguryeo](#) general Gao Juren ordered a mass slaughter of West Asians (Hu) identifying them through their big noses and lances were used to impale tossed children when he stormed Beijing from [An Lushan's](#) rebels.<sup>[120]</sup>

[Sogdians](#) opened shops which sold wine and had dance performances by Sogdian women called 胡姬酒肆. The poet [Li Bai](#) in his poem Shao Nian Xing wrote about a young man who entered one of these Hujia Jiusi shops.<sup>[121][122]</sup>

Lady Caoyena 曹野那 was a concubine of the Chinese [Emperor Xuanzong of Tang](#) and gave birth to the Princess of Shou'an Li Chongniang 李蟲娘. The historian Ge Chengji identified Caoyena as a Sogdian from the [Principality of Ushrusana](#) 曹國 (昭武九姓) as indicated by the surname Cao which was adopted by Sogdians from Ushrusana who came to China since China called Ushrusana "Cao kingdom" and while Yena is a foreign name to Chinese, it is a unisex Sogdian name which means "most favorite person" in Sogdian.<sup>[123]</sup>

<sup>[124]</sup> She may have been one of the Sogdian Hu women "胡人女子" or Sogdian whirling dancing girls "胡旋女" who were given as tribute by Sogdians to China. Names like Cao Yena and Cao Yanna were used by Sogdians which appears on historical texts from Turfan. Chinese frequently bought Hu (Sogdian) slave girls in the Gaochang (Turfan) markets.<sup>[125]</sup><sup>[126][127][128][129][130]</sup> Yena means favorite one in Sogdian.<sup>[131][132]</sup>

Acrobats and dancers



Sogdian *Huteng* dancer, [Xiuding temple](#)

[pagoda](#), [Anyang](#), [Hunan](#), [China](#), [Tang dynasty](#), 7th century.



Pilgrim

flask with Central Asian dancers, China, 6th century CE. [Metropolitan Museum of Art](#)

Li Bai wrote a poem about a boy riding a white horse "gently walking in the spring breeze. Where can he be going, after having trodden upon so many fallen flowers? Behold! How he smiles as he enters a tavern attended by a Persian girl!" The dancing girls jumped and whirled with silk gauze clothing. Western caucasian girls ran these wine stores as Li Bai wrote: "... how he smiles as he enters a bar tended by a Persian girl." These blue eyed girls were frequented by playboys in Chang'an. <sup>[133]</sup> The northeastern Iranian Sogdians in Khumdeh, Maimargh, Samarkand, and Kesh in 718, 719, 727, and 729 sent dancing whirling girls as tribute to the Chinese Imperial court. [Yuan Chen](#) and [Bo Juyi](#) wrote poems on these Sogdian girls. <sup>[134][135][136][137][138]</sup> The poem by Bo Juyi says the Iranian girl from Sogdia whirled while drums and strings were played and bowed to the Emperor when it was over. It mentioned people already in China learned how to do the whirl like An Lushan and Yang Guifei. <sup>[139][140][141][142][143][144][145][146][147][148][149][150][151][152][153][154][155][156][157]</sup>

<sup>[excessive citations]</sup> Yuan Chen mentioned that a whirling girl was given to the Emperor by the Iranians at the time of An Lushan's rebellion and that the Emperor was enchanted by her dance. The song mentions sashes around her body twirling as she danced.

<sup>[158]</sup> Xuangzang's flight to Sichuan is mentioned at the end of the song. <sup>[159]</sup> Chinese cities saw high demand for dancers from Central Asia and in the wineshops of the cities the Iranian waitresses were admired over by young Chinese poets. <sup>[160]</sup> China and India had major appetite for Iranian dancers. <sup>[161]</sup> Blue eyed waitresses in the pleasure quarters poured wine. Giant balls were used to dance on by the Sogdian whirling girls and dancers from Tashkent. <sup>[162]</sup> Tashkent dancing girls, according to [Bai Juyi](#), bared their shoulders by pulling their blouses and came out of lotuses when starting their dance. The twirling girls from Sogdia danced on rolling balls and wore boots made of deerskin which were colored red, green pants, and crimson robes and they were sent to the Emperor Xuanzong. Western singing and dancing girls filled Chang'an taverns. <sup>[163][164][165]</sup> Samarkand and Tashkent dancing girls who came to China were called "hu" which was used by Chinese to refer to Iranian countries. <sup>[166]</sup> Dancing girls were among the gifts sent in 10 diplomatic embassies from "Persia" to China in the reigns of Kaiyuan (Emperor Ruizong) and Tianbao (Emperor Xuanzong). <sup>[167][168]</sup> Emperor Yan-si ([Emperor Yang of Sui](#)) received from Persia 10 young girl dancers. <sup>[169][170][171][172]</sup> Central Asian Iranian girls who performed as acrobats, dancers, musicians, and waitresses were referred to by Chinese poets as Hu ji 胡姬. Tokharestan and Sogdiana style dances like boti, huteng 柘枝, and huxuan 胡旋.

<sup>[173]</sup> The Shi kingdom (Tashkent) brought the Huteng dance to China which involved back flips, leaps and spinning. The Kang kingdom brought the "whirling barbarian" huxuan dance to China. It involved spinning while dressed in shoes of red leather and white pants by a woman. The Jumi, Shi, Wei, and Kang kingdoms in Central Asia sent dance girls to perform

the huxuan dance for the Xuanzong Emperor in the Tianbao and Kaiyuan eras. Bai Juyi wrote the "Huxuan Dance Girl" poem. The "thorn branch" zhezhi dance was another one introduced to China.<sup>[174]</sup> The Sogdian Kang kingdom is where huxuan dance came from according to the Tong Dian by Du Yu. In Luoyang and Chang'an these [Serindian](#) dances were extremely popular.<sup>[175][176]</sup> Huxian and Huteng dances had connections to the Zoroastrian beliefs practiced in Sogdiana.<sup>[177]</sup> Huxian and Huteng were practiced by Central Asians in the North Qi dynasty in China.<sup>[178]</sup> Huxuan dance was introduced to China through long journeys over thousands of kilometers by girls from Kang in Sogdia.<sup>[179][180][181][182][183]</sup> In the T'ang Annals we read that in the beginning of the period K'ai-yuan (a.d. 713-741) the country of K'an (Sogdiana), an Iranian region, sent as tribute to the Chinese Court coats-of-mail, cups of rock-crystal, bottles of agate, ostrich-eggs, textiles styled yüe no, dwarfs, and dancing-girls of Hu-suan 胡旋 (Xwārisim).<sup>1</sup> In the Ts'e fu yüan kwei the date of this event is more accurately fixed in the year 718.<sup>2</sup><sup>[184][185]</sup> The Dunhuang ruler received from the [Ganzhou](#) Kaghan 40 Sogdian slaves as tribute.<sup>[186]</sup>

<https://rugcurator.com/blogs/news/iran-and-china-generits>

Sogdians

Tang dynasty

Sogdians in China used 9 Chinese surnames after the Chinese name of the states they came from.

Xizhou had a Han and Sogdian population. A record from the Astana Cemetery dating to 639 preserves the transaction where a Sogdian slave girl was being sold in Xizhou. The Han Zhang family also owned Chunxiang, a Turk slave woman in Xizhou. He Deli, a Sogdian who knew how to speak Turkic and Chinese .120 coins of silver were paid for the slave girl from Samarkand. The contract was written in Sogdian. Translated by Yoshida Yutaka. The slave girl was from the Chuyakk family and born in Central Asia. Upach was her name and the buyer's name was written as Yansyan in Sogdian from the Chan family. The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called Wakhushuvirt and his father was Tudhakk. The contract said they could they anything they wanted to Upach, give her away, sell her, abuse her, beat her and she belonged to Yansyan's family forever. Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, whose name is found in Chinese language documents in Turfan, is believed to be Chan Yansyan. Kuchean girls were sold as slaves in the Jin and Wei dynasties. On the silk road slave girls was a major item and much more expensive than silk. Silk was up to five times less than the value of a slave girl. Central Asian slave girls were exported from Central Asia Iranian areas to China. It is believed that the wealthy merchants and aristocratic noblemen of the Chinese capital of Chang'an were the consumers for the huge amount of Central Asian slave women brought by the Sogdians to China to sell to the Chinese. The Central Asian foreign women in the Sogdian owned wineshops in the Chinese capital are also believe to have been slaves since Chinese poets depicted them as homesick, sad and melancholy and they would service travelers by keeping them company overnight. Merchants and literati would frequent the wineshops. The Sogdians reaped massive profits from selling slave girls and so did the Chinese government by taxing the sale of the slaves. Slave girls were one of the major products Chinese bought from Sogdians. Persian poets often wrote about wine and women since the wineservers were often girls and this wine culture with girl servers seems to have spread to China. There were many Sogdian wineshops and Persian shops in Chang'an along with a large slave market. The wineshops were staffed with young girls who served wine to customers and danced for them. Most of the slave girls were 14 or 15 years old. They provided services like sex, dancing, singing, and served wine to their customers in Chang'an as ordered their masters who ran the wineshops. A Sogdian merchant, Kang Weiyi had Indian, Central Asian, and Bactrians among the 15 slave girls he was bringing to sell in the Chinese capital of Chang'an. Khotan and Kucha both sold women for sexual services.

Shi Randian was a Xizhou Sogdian merchant who had a Chinese military title. He went to Guazhou to trade from Kucha. He went to Shazhou and Yizhou. A local acted as Shi Randian's guarantor.

In 731 a Han Chinese called Tang Rong 唐榮 from the capital district bought an 11 year old slave girl Shimaner 失滿兒 from Mi Lushan 米祿山, a Sogdian recorded in a contract written in Chinese. There was a translator in Xizhou, Di Nanipan who had a Sogdian name but a non-Sogdian surname. Either he was not a Sogdian and was given the name because Sogdian language was prevalent or only his mother was Sogdian was his father was Han.

The Goguryeo general Gao Juren ordered a mass slaughter of West Asians (Hu) identifying them through their big noses and lances were used to impale tossed children when he stormed Beijing from An Lushan's rebels.

Sogdians opened shops which sold wine and had dance performances by Sogdian women called 胡姬酒肆. The poet Li Bai in his poem Shao Nian Xing wrote about a young man who entered one of these Huji

Jiushi shops.

Lady Caoyena 曹野那 was a concubine of the Chinese Emperor Xuanzong of Tang and gave birth to the Princess of Shou'an Li Chongniang 李蟲娘. The historian Ge Chengji identified Caoyena as a Sogdian from the Principality of Ushrusana 曹國 (昭武九姓) as indicated by the surname Cao which was adopted by Sogdians from Ushrusana who came to China since China called Ushrusana "Cao kingdom" and while Yena is a foreign name to Chinese, it is a unisex Sogdian name which means "most favorite person" in Sogdian. She may have been one of the Sogdian Hu women "胡人女子" or Sogdian whirling dancing girls "胡旋女" who were given as tribute by Sogdians to China. Names like Cao Yena and Cao Yanna were used by Sogdians which appears on historical texts from Turfan. Chinese frequently bought Hu (Sogdian) slave girls in the Gaochang (Turfan) market. Yena means favorite one in Sogdian.

Li Bai wrote a poem about a boy riding a white horse "gently walking in the spring breeze. Where can he be going, after having trodden upon so many fallen flowers? Behold! How he smiles as he enters a tavern attended by a Persian girl!" The dancing girls jumped and whirled with silk gauze clothing. Western caucasian girls ran these wine stores as Li Bai wrote: "... how he smiles as he enters a bar tended by a Persian girl." These blue eyed girls were frequented by playboys in Chang'an. The northeastern Iranian Sogdians in Khumdeh, Maimargh, Samarkand, and Kesh in 718, 719, 727, and 729 sent dancing whirling girls as tribute to the Chinese Imperial court. Yuan Chen and Bo Juyi wrote poems on these Sogdian girls. The poem by Bo Juyi says the Iranian girl from Sogdia whirled while drums and strings were played and bowed to the Emperor when it was over. It mentioned people already in China learned how to do the whirl like An Lushan. Yuan Chen mentioned that a whirling girl was given to the Emperor by the Iranians at the time of An Lushan's rebellion and that the Emperor was enchanted by her dance. The song mentions sashes around her body twirling as she danced. [186] Xuangzang's flight to Sichuan is mentioned at the end of the song. Chinese cities saw high demand for dancers from Central Asia and in the wineshops of the cities the Iranian waitresses were admired over by young Chinese poets. China and India had major appetite for Iranian dancers. Blue eyed waitresses in the pleasure quarters poured wine. Giant balls were used to dance on by the Sogdian whirling girls and dancers from Tashkent. Tashkent dancing girls, according to Bai Juyi, bared their shoulders by pulling their blouses and came out of lotuses when starting their dance. The twirling girls from Sogdia danced on rolling balls and wore boots made out of deerskin which were colored red, green pants, and crimson robes and they were sent to the Emperor Xuanzong. Western singing and dancing girls filled Chang'an taverns. Samarkand and Tashkent dancing girls who came to China were called "hu" which was used by Chinese to refer to Iranian countries. Dancing girls were among the gifts sent in 10 diplomatic embassies from "Persia" to China in the reigns of Kaiyuan (Emperor Ruizong) and Tianbao (Emperor Xuanzong). [195][196] Emperor Yan-si (Emperor Yang of Sui) received from Persia 10 young girl dancers. Central Asian Iranian girls who performed as acrobats, dancers, musicians, and waitresses were referred to by Chinese poets as Hu ji 胡姬. Tokharestan and Sogdiana style dances like boti, huteng 柘枝, and huxuan 胡旋. The Shi kingdom (Tashkent) brought the Huteng dance to China which involved back flips, leaps and spinning. The Kang kingdom brought the "whirling barbarian" huxuan dance to China. It involved spinning while dressed in shoes of red leather and white pants by a woman. The Jumi, Shi, Wei, and Kang kingdoms in Central Asia sent dance girls to perform the huxuan dance for the Xuanzong Emperor in the Tianbao and Kaiyuan eras. Bai Juyi wrote the "Huxuan Dance Girl" poem. The "thorn branch" zhezhi dance was another one introduced to China. The Sogdian Kang kingdom is where huxuan dance came from according to the Tong Dian by Du Yu. In Luoyang and Chang'an these Serindian dances were extremely popular. Huxian and Huteng dances had connections to the Zoroastrian beliefs practiced in Sogdiana. Huxian and Huteng were practiced by Central Asians in the North Qi dynasty in China. Huxuan dance was introduced to China through long journeys over thousands of kilometers by girls from Kang in Sogdia. In the Tang Annals we read that in the beginning of the period K'ai-yuan (a.d. 713-741) the country of K'an (Sogdiana), an Iranian region, sent as tribute to the Chinese Court coats-of-mail, cups of rock-crystal, bottles of agate, ostrich-eggs, textiles styled yue no, dwarfs, and dancing-girls of Hu-suan 胡

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=TPESAQAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

7  
Arab general Qutaiba ibn Muslim marched east from Khorasan into Central Asia and in the next 10 years, in a series of brilliant campaigns, conquered Tukharistan, Bukhara, Khwarizm, Samarkand, and besieging Fergana, another Arab embassy arrived at Chang'an:  
In 713 an envoy appeared from Tashkent bringing as presents beautiful horses  
singing girls from Khuttal and whirling dancing girls from Chach. All these things found a welcome at Chang'an and profoundly affected Chinese taste.

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

of three groups: the wood-winds, (flutes, oboes and a kind of mouth-organ), percussions, (a gong, a little drum on a stand, and a great drum hung from a frame), strings (lutes and a zither). Most of these dance pantomimes are known to have had their origin in India, but the theme of one connects rather a "Western Prancing Dance" performed by boys from Tashkent wearing tight-sleeved shirts in the Iranian style and high-peaked hats decorated with sequins; they crouched, spun and leapt to the fast rhythmic accompaniment of lutes and transverse flutes. Another dance from the Tashkent region was "The Dance of Chach" i. The

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=TPESAQAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

Chunxiang, a Turk slave woman in Xizhou. He Deli, a Sogdian who knew how to speak Turkic and Chinese and translated 120 coins of silver were paid for the slave girl from Samarkand. The contract was written in Sogdian. Translated by Yoshida Yutaka. The slave girl was from the Chuyakk family and born in Central Asia. Upach was her name and the buyer's name was written as Yansyan in Sogdian from the Chan family. The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called

in India, but the theme of one suggests rather a Central Asian origin. It is recorded that in 714 the complaints of scandalized citizens forced Hsüan Tsung to forbid performances of the pantomime "Sprinkling the Barbarian with Water as He Begs in the Cold" because, in this winter solstice dance, naked youth leapt about

the Tashkent region was "The Dance of Chaeh" performed by two girls dressed in diaphanous embroidered caftans belted with silver girdles, red shoes, and peaked hats sewn with little gold bells. This was an amorous and erotic dance. The favorite female dancers were the "Western Twirling Girls", many of whom were

ing they  
,  
age

<https://books.google.ca/books?>

[newbks=1&id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22sent+as+gifts+to+the+court+of+Hs%C3%BCan+Tsung+in+the+first+half+of+the+eight%22](https://books.google.ca/books?newbks=1&id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22sent+as+gifts+to+the+court+of+Hs%C3%BCan+Tsung+in+the+first+half+of+the+eight%22)

in grotesque masks to the music of drums, lutes and harps, while they sprinkled each other, and also passers-by, with cold water.

sent as gifts to the court of Hsüan Tsung in the first half of the eight century by the rulers of Kumadh, Kish, Maimargh and Samarkand. These Sogdian girls wore crimson robes, green damask pantaloons and red deerskin boots. As well as dancing they twirled on the tops of

The most respected of the slave musicians sent to China as tribute were those who were

<https://books.google.ca/books?>

[newbks=1&id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22king+of+Khuttal+%2C+a+country+on+the+upper+Oxus+%2C+sent+a+troupe+of+female+musicians%22](https://books.google.ca/books?newbks=1&id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22king+of+Khuttal+%2C+a+country+on+the+upper+Oxus+%2C+sent+a+troupe+of+female+musicians%22)

instructors as well as performers, and Chinese musicians of the eight century did not disdain to acknowledge that they had studied under a Kuchean master of the instrument. Among the tribute musicians there were also players of the cross-flute. And in 733 the king of Khuttal, a country on the upper Oxus, sent a troupe of

rolling balls.

Another scholar gives the following information on the subject: the dances accompanied with songs imported from Central Asia were very much in vogue during the T'ang period. The dance *Hou-siuan wou* was imported

<https://books.google.ca/books?>

[newbks=1&id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22female+musicians%22](https://books.google.ca/books?newbks=1&id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22female+musicians%22)

country on the upper Oxus, sent a troupe of female musicians.

The dance *Hou-siuan wou* was imported before the T'ang period and must have come from Samarkand, Maimargh, Khumdeh or from the Sogdian region. Although *Housiuan-niu*, *Hou-siuan-niu-tseu*, *Hou-sivan-wou-niu* designated the girls specialized in the dance of *Hou-siuan wou*, it was probably not reserved

Not all foreign musicians were court slaves. There were a great number of free musicians from Kucha, from Samarkand, and from Kabudhan below the Pamirs. All these

of three groups: the wood-winds, (flutes, oboes and a kind of mouth-organ), percussions, (a gong, a little drum on a stand, and a great drum hung from a frame), strings (lutes and a zither). Most of these dance pantomimes are known to have had their origin in India, but the theme of one suggests rather a Central Asian origin. It is recorded that in 714 the complaints of scandalized citizens forced Hsüan Tsung to forbid performances of the pantomime "Sprinkling the Barbarian with Water as He Begs in the Cold" because, in this winter solstice dance, naked youth leapt about in grotesque masks to the music of drums, lutes and harps, while they sprinkled each other, and also passers-by, with cold water.

"Western Prancing Dance" performed by boys from Tashkent wearing tight-sleeved shirts in the Iranian style and high-peaked hats decorated with sequins; they crouched, spun and leapt to the fast rhythmic accompaniment of lutes and transverse flutes. Another dance from the Tashkent region was "The Dance of Chaeh" performed by two girls dressed in diaphanous embroidered caftans belted with silver girdles, red shoes, and peaked hats sewn with little gold bells. This was an amorous and erotic dance. The favorite female dancers were the "Western Twirling Girls", many of whom were sent as gifts to the court of Hsüan Tsung in the first half of the eight century by the rulers of Kumadh, Kish, Maimargh and Samarkand. These Sogdian girls wore crimson robes, green damask pantaloons and red deerskin boots. As well as dancing they twirled on the tops of rolling balls.

The most respected of the slave musicians sent to China as tribute were those who were instructors as well as performers, and Chinese musicians of the eight century did not disdain to acknowledge that they had studied under a Kuchean master of the instrument. Among the tribute musicians there were also players of the cross-flute. And in 733 the king of Khuttal, a country on the upper Oxus, sent a troupe of female musicians.

Another scholar gives the following information on the subject: the dances accompanied with songs imported from Central Asia were very much in vogue during the T'ang period. The dance *Hou-siuan wou* was imported before the T'ang period and must have come from Samarkand, Maimargh, Khumdeh or from the Sogdian region. Although *Housiuan-niu*, *Hou-siuan-niu-tseu*, *Hou-sivan-wou-niu* designated the girls specialized in the dance of *Hou-siuan wou*, it was probably not reserved

Not all foreign musicians were court slaves. There were a great number of free musicians from Kucha, from Samarkand, and from Kabudhan below the Pamirs. All these

<https://books.google.ca/books?>

[id=9Z7cZ77SqEQC&pg=PA55&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q=khuttal%20chach%20girls&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=9Z7cZ77SqEQC&pg=PA55&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q=khuttal%20chach%20girls&f=false)

## Men

tected a foreign quality in his interpretation, "Is that not the mode of Kucha?" To this the gratified player replied, "My master was indeed a man of Kucha."<sup>135</sup> One such eminent master was the Kuchean Po Ming-ta (though it is not known if he was slave or free).<sup>136</sup> This man composed the popular ballet "Trill of the Spring Warbler," which was strongly colored by Kuchean music, was celebrated in the poetry of Yüan Chen, and is still performed in Japan.<sup>137</sup>

Beautiful girls trained as musicians, dancers, singers, and instrumentalists had been sent as presents from one lord to another since ancient times in China, though conventional morality of the "Confucian" sort regarded them as the most frivolous and corrupting of gifts. Nonetheless many T'ang rulers accepted them from lesser princes, and particularly from the Indianized nations of Turkestan. Such were the "female musicians" sent in 733 by the king of Khuttal, a country in the mountains of the upper Oxus, rich in horses, red leopards, and mines of black salt.<sup>138</sup>

Most admired of all the performers imported from Central Asia were the dancers, young boys and girls. Their shows were conventionally classified in two groups, the "pliant" dances and the "vigorous" dances.<sup>139</sup> Po Ming-ta's "Trill of the Spring Warbler" was typical of the former class, of poetic, graceful, and refined dances. But it was the group of "vigorous" dances which had the greatest popular following, and were therefore most frequently mentioned by the T'ang poets. Three of these are quite well known. One was the "Western Prancing Dance,"<sup>140</sup> usually performed by boys from Tashkent wearing tight-sleeved Iranian shirts and high peaked hats sewn with sparkling beads. They were girded with long belts whose ends floated high and free, as they crouched, whirled, and leaped to the rapid accompaniment of lutes and transverse flutes.<sup>141</sup> The "Dance of Chäch,"<sup>142</sup> named for its place of origin near modern Tashkent,<sup>143</sup> was done by two young girls, dressed in gauze caftans embroidered in many colors, with silver girdles. They wore the typical tight-sleeved blouses of the Far West, had peaked hats decorated with golden bells on their heads, and red brocaded shoes on their feet. They appeared first to the audience emerging from the opening petals of two artificial lotuses, and danced to the rapid beating of drums. It was an amorous dance: the maidens ogled the spectators and, at the end, pulled down their blouses to reveal their bare shoulders:<sup>144</sup>

Matched pair spread flat—the brocaded mats unroll;  
Linked beats of triple sounds—the painted drums drive on.  
Red wax candles are taken away, peach petals rise;  
Purple net shirts are set in motion—the Chäch (dancers) come!  
Girdles droop from gilded thighs, flowered waists are heavy,  
Hats revolve with golden bells, snowy faces turn.  
I watch—too soon the tune is done, they will not be detained;  
Whirling in clouds, escorted by rain, they are off to the Terrace of the Sun.<sup>145</sup>

This poem on the "Geisha of Chäch,"<sup>146</sup> by Po Chü-i, a good example of the exotic in early ninth-century poetry, reveals its erotic theme in the last verse, where the

## Men

old symbols of "clouds and rain" and "Terrace of the Sun" connect these fairy-like creatures with the myth of a fertility goddess, and hint at the conjunction of the sexes. The strangely rising peach petals appear to have been a display of fireworks.<sup>147</sup>

Most loved of all these young dancers from the Far West were the "Western Twirling Girls,"<sup>148</sup> many of whom were sent as gifts from the rulers of Kumādh, Kish, Māimargh, and especially Samarkand, during the reign of Hsüan Tsung, that is, during the first half of the eighth century.<sup>149</sup> These Sogdian girls, clad in crimson robes with brocaded sleeves, green damask pantaloons, and boots of red deerskin, skipped, tripped, and twirled on the tops of balls rolling about on the dance platform, to the delight of the surfeited hearts of the rich and noble. Hsüan Tsung was very fond of this dance, and both the Lady Yang and Rokhsan learned to perform it.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, the rage for watching such whirling dervishes was regarded in some quarters as an ominous aberration of manners.<sup>151</sup>

Fewer musicians and dancers came from other parts of Asia. Nonetheless, among the nations of Indochina and Indonesia, Nan-chao on the southwestern frontier sent a band to perform for the Chinese emperor in 800;<sup>152</sup> this exotic orchestra

may already have had a hybrid character, since a Chinese emissary to Nan-chao a few years earlier had observed performers of Kuchean music, sent to Nan-chao long before by Hsüan Tsung, still playing in the orchestra.<sup>153</sup> After the way to T'ang was opened at the end of the eighth century by the Chinese conquest of Nan-chao,<sup>154</sup> Pyü of Burma presented an orchestra of thirty-five performers in 802, which played compositions based on the Buddhist scriptures, marking time by clenching their fists, and accompanied by conch shells and beautifully engraved bronze drums, like those owned by well-to-do "barbarians" of south China;<sup>155</sup> Sumatran Śrībhoja sent a company of musicians to Hsüan Tsung's court in 724;<sup>156</sup> and a company of Javanese female musicians came from Kalinga in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>157</sup> Eleven Japanese dancing girls were forwarded to the Chinese court in 777 by the representatives of the kingdom of P'o-hai;<sup>158</sup> on another occasion a Japanese embassy brought sacred conch horns as gifts.<sup>159</sup>

When Koguryō and Paekche were vanquished in the seventh century, the music of these Korean nations was made captive, and whole bands, with their instruments and texts, were taken to China in triumph.<sup>160</sup> The performers from Koguryō and their descendants continued to play faithfully for the Chinese court for over a century, but of the twenty-five compositions they knew at the end of the seventh century, only one was still remembered at the end of the eighth, and the native costumes of the musicians' captive ancestors had all been lost. The performers from Paekche, on the other hand, were all dead or dispersed by the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>161</sup> The greater durability of the northern Koreans (those of Koguryō) may be attributed to the fact that two groups of their fellow countrymen, now subject to Silla, were transmitted with their instruments to the Chinese court in 818, invigorating the feeble expatriates.<sup>162</sup> Silla, the rising state on the peninsula

### *Men*

and the good friend of T'ang, sent a pair of desirable girls, distinguished as much for their beautiful hair as for their musical talent, to T'ai Tsung in 631. The monarch uttered some sententious remarks, such as "We have heard that the pleasures of sound and color are not to be compared with the love of virtue,"<sup>163</sup> and went on to tell the patient ambassadors how he had sent back to Champa the royal gift of a white Moluccan cockatoo, and concluded his speech by declaring that these lovely maidens were more to be pitied than an exotic parrot, and so back they must go to Silla.<sup>164</sup>

khuttal chach girls

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=TPESAQAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=YOhkAAAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

<https://books.google.ca/books?>

[id=9Z7cZ77SqEQC&pg=PA55&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q=khuttal%20chach%20girls&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=9Z7cZ77SqEQC&pg=PA55&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q=khuttal%20chach%20girls&f=false)

[https://books.google.ca/books?id=p\\_9tAAAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1](https://books.google.ca/books?id=p_9tAAAAMAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1)

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=cqWODwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

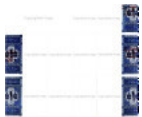
<https://books.google.ca/books?id=3ZZ8T8tZc4YC&printsec=frontcover&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=E17HQgAACAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=SAX5ohFkcVgC&printsec=frontcover&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=-scKAQAIAAJ&q=khuttal+chach+girls&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=hHmRAAAACAAJ&dq=khuttal+chach+girls&hl=en&newbks=1>



### Aramco World Magazine - Volumes 36-37 - Page 15

books.google.ca › books

1985 · Snippet view

#### FOUND INSIDE – PAGE 15

Arab general Qutaiba ibn Muslim mar - besieging Fergana , another Arab embassy singing **girls** from **Khuttal** and whirling ched east from Khorasan into Central Asia arrived at Ch ' ang - an : dancing **girls** from **Chach** . All these things and in the ...

More editions



### Drama at the Crossroads: Turkish Performing Arts Link Past ... - Page 18

books.google.ca › books

Metin And · 1991 · Snippet view

#### FOUND INSIDE – PAGE 18

Another dance from the Tahskent region was " The Dance of **Chach** " performed by two **girls** dressed in diaphanous embroidered caftans belted ... And in 733 the king of **Khuttal** , a country on the upper Oxus , sent a troupe of **female** musicians .



books.google.ca› books

Edward H. Schafer · 1963

#### FOUND INSIDE – PAGE 55

Such were the " **female** musicians " sent in 733 by the king of **Khuttal** , a country in the mountains of the upper Oxus , rich in ... The " Dance of **Chach** , " 142 named for its place of origin near modern Tashkent , 143 was done by two young **girls** ...

Preview

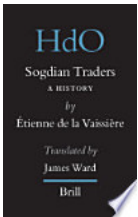
Swat: An Afghan Society in Pakistan : Urbanisation and ...

books.google.ca› books

Inam-ur-Rahim, Alain M. Viaro · 2002 · Snippet view

#### FOUND INSIDE

This book chronicles the process of urbanisation and change in the broader context, embracing the history, geography, agriculture and economics, demography and migration, culture and politics of the Swat valley.



## Sogdian Traders: A History

books.google.ca› books

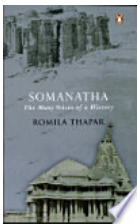
Étienne de la Vaissière · 2005

The Sogdian were the main traders of Central Asia from the fifth to the eighth century. Their diaspora is attested in India, China, Iran, the Turkish Steppe, but also Byzantium.

This is the first attempt to describe their trade.

Preview

More editions



## Somanatha: The Many Voices of a History

books.google.ca› books

Romila Thapar · 2008

This Book Is An Attempt To Draw Together These Numerous Voices, To View The Sources Comparatively, But Above All To Place Each Narrative In A Historical Context.

Preview

More editions

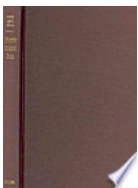
No image available

## The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay : the Dynasty in ...

books.google.ca› books

Clifford Edmund Bosworth · 1977 · No preview

More editions



## Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources

books.google.ca› books

Scott Cameron Levi, Ron Sela · 2010

An anthology of primary documents for the study of Central Asian history. It illustrates important aspects of the social, political, and economic history of Islamic Central Asia.

Preview

More editions

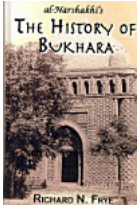
THE VĀKĀTAKA-GUPTA AGE  
(circa 200-550 A. D.)

## The Vākātaka-Gupta Age, Circa 200-550 A. D.

books.google.ca › books

Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Anant Sadashiv Altekar · 1967 · Snippet view

More editions



## The History of Bukhara

books.google.ca › books

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ja'far Narshakhī, Richard Nelson Frye · 2007 · No preview

This is a primary source for life in eastern Iran and Central Asia during a period of

change in the Islamic world.

More editions

<http://self.gutenberg.org/article/WHEBN0000093965/Sogdia>

## OMMERCE AND SEX TRADE



Turpan under Tang dynasty rule was a center of major commercial activity between Chinese and Sogdian merchants. There were many inns in Turpan. Some provided sex workers with an opportunity to service the Silk Road merchants, since the official histories report that there were markets in women at Kucha and Khotan.<sup>[20]</sup> The Sogdian-language contract buried at the Astana graveyard demonstrates that at least one Chinese man bought a Sogdian girl in 639 AD. One of the archaeologists who excavated the Astana site, Wu Zhen, contends that, although many households along the Silk Road bought individual slaves, as we can see in the earlier documents from Niya, the Turpan documents point to a

massive escalation in the volume of the slave trade.<sup>[21]</sup>

The few documented pairings of Chinese male owners with Sogdian girls raise the question how often Sogdian and Chinese families intermarried. The historical record is largely silent on this topic, but Rong Xinjiang has found 21 recorded marriages in the 7th century in which one partner was Sogdian and in 18 cases the spouse is also Sogdian. The only exceptions are very high ranking Sogdian officials who married Chinese wives.<sup>[22]</sup> He concludes that most Sogdian men took Sogdian wives, and we may surmise that the pairings between Chinese men and Sogdian women were usually between a male master and a female slave.

Several commercial interactions were recorded. In 673 a company commander (Duizheng) bought a camel for fourteen bolts of silk from Kang Wupoyan,<sup>[23]</sup> a non-resident merchant from Samarkand (Kangzhou).<sup>[24]</sup> In 731 a Sogdian merchant sold an eleven-year-old girl to a resident of Chang'an, Tang Rong, for forty bolts of silk.<sup>[25]</sup> Five men served as guarantors, vouching that she was not a free person who been enslaved.<sup>[26]</sup> (The Tang Code banned the enslavement of commoners.)

<https://alexander-the-great.org/satrapies/satrapy-of-sogdia.php>

Commerce and sex trade[edit]Further information: History of slavery in ChinaA Sogdian gilded silver dish with the image of a tiger, with clear influence from Persian Sasanian art and silverwares, 7th to 8th centuries ADSilk road figure head, probably Sogdian, Chinese Sui Dynasty (581–618), Musée Cernuschi, ParisSlavery existed in China since ancient

times, although during the Han dynasty the proportion of slaves to the overall population was roughly 1%,<sup>[116]</sup> far lower than the estimate for the contemporary Greco-Roman world (estimated at about 15% of the entire population).<sup>[117]</sup><sup>[118]</sup> During the Tang period slaves were not allowed to marry a commoner's daughter, were not allowed to have sexual relations with any female member of their master's family, and although fornication with female slaves was forbidden in the Tang code of law it was widely practiced.<sup>[119]</sup> Manumission was also permitted when a slave woman gave birth to her master's son, which allowed for her elevation to the legal status of a commoner, yet she could only live as a concubine and not as the wife of her former master.<sup>[120]</sup> Sogdian and Chinese merchants regularly traded in slaves in and around Turpan during the Tang dynasty. In 639 a female Sogdian slave was sold to a Chinese man as recorded in an Astana cemetery legal document written in Sogdian.<sup>[121]</sup> Khotan and Kucha were places where women were commonly sold, with ample evidence of the slave trade in Turfan thanks to contemporary textual sources that have survived.<sup>[122]</sup><sup>[123]</sup> In Tang poetry Sogdian girls also frequently appear as serving maids in the taverns and inns of the capital Chang'an.<sup>[124]</sup> Sogdian slave girls and their Chinese male owners made up the majority of Sogdian female-Chinese male pairings, while free Sogdian women were the most common spouse of Sogdian men. A smaller number of Chinese women were paired with elite Sogdian men. Sogdian man-and-woman pairings made up eighteen out of twenty-one marriages according to existing documents.<sup>[123]</sup><sup>[125]</sup> A document dated 731 AD reveals that precisely forty bolts of silk were paid to a certain Mi Lushan, a slave dealing Sogdian, by a Chinese man named Tang Rong (唐榮) of Chang'an, for the purchase of an eleven-year-old girl. A person from Xizhou, a Tokharistani (i.e. Bactrian), and three Sogdians verified the sale of the girl.<sup>[123]</sup><sup>[126]</sup>

<https://history.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/hansen-silk-road-trade.pdf>

maintain their identity as a group even in the first years they moved to a new site.<sup>58</sup>

The existence of a full-time Manichean priesthood at Turfan during the seventh and eighth centuries seems much less likely. The Chinese-language texts from Astana say little about Manichean beliefs among the non-Chinese population, but the four German expeditions to Turfan found several Manichean libraries at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>59</sup> The many manuscripts are not dated, but some use archaic liturgical languages like Parthian and Middle Persian.<sup>60</sup> If these manuscripts were created and then stored in Turfan, a Manichean community existed there as early as the seventh and eighth centuries. But in recent years the scholarly consensus has shifted to suggest that Manicheism became firmly established at Turfan only after 803, when the Uighur kingdom took control of the oasis. Carbon-14 dating has been done on the paper of some of the illustrated manuscripts, and produced dates consonant with early tenth to mid-eleventh centuries. The few cave paintings with undeniably Manichean subject matter also date to this late period.<sup>61</sup>

In sum, the people who lived in Turfan but worked full-time with Silk Road merchants included the officials who regulated the trade, either by issuing market certificates or travel passes, their interpreters, the inn-keepers, and Mazdean priests. One cannot help wondering whether the inns at Turfan provided sex workers with an opportunity to service the Silk Road merchants since the official histories report that there were markets in women at both Kucha and Khotan.<sup>62</sup> The Sogdian-language contract buried at the Astana graveyard (discussed above) demonstrates that at least one Chinese man bought a young Sogdian girl in 639. One of the archeologists who excavated the Astana site, Wu Zhen, contends that, although many households along the Silk Road bought individual slaves, as we can see in the earlier documents from Niya, the Turfan documents point to a massive escalation in the volume of the slave trade.<sup>63</sup>

A name register from Emperor Wu's reign (690-705) lists seventy-nine people who had been omitted from earlier registers for two households.<sup>64</sup> The seventy-nine names include 1 musician of inferior status (*yueshi* 樂事), 9 male and female personal retainers, also of inferior status (*buqu, kentū* 部曲, 客女), and 68 female and male slaves (*nubi* 奴婢). Musicians and personal retainers belonged to the lowest legal category of *The Tang Code*, the inferior classes (*jianmin* 賤民), and unlike slaves, could not be bought and sold.<sup>65</sup>

One of the two households contained 61 people, with twenty individuals under the age of fifteen. The slaves have no surnames, but the personal retainers do, and several

<sup>58</sup> See Hansen, 2003.

<sup>59</sup> Zhang and Rong, 1998, pp. 24-28.

<sup>60</sup> They have been translated in Klimkeit, 1993.

<sup>61</sup> Moriyasu Takao, 1991; Gulacsi, 2001, pp. 9-10.

<sup>62</sup> *Xin Tangshu* 221a:6230. In addition, Susan Whitfield offers a fictionalized account of a Kuchean courtesan's experiences in the ninth century without providing any sources, although she has clearly drawn on the description of the prostitutes' quarter in Chang'an in Beilizhi; Whitfield, 1999, pp. 138-154.

<sup>63</sup> Wu Zhen, 2000 (p. 154 is a Chinese-language rendering based on Yoshida's Japanese translation of the Sogdian contract of 639).

<sup>64</sup> TWCS-photos, 3: 525-529.

<sup>65</sup> Johnson, 1997, I, pp. 28-29.

are Central Asian; the slaves, names look as though they were transliterated into Chinese from another language, quite possibly Sogdian. The list is intriguing: what were all these people doing in a single household? Wu Zhen offers a daring reading: "of course the male and female slaves could have undergone training of various types – like listening and speaking basic Chinese, becoming familiar with Chinese manners and customs, and even learning some types of tasks – at the hands of the musicians and personal retainers. The goal was to increase the sale price of these slaves".<sup>66</sup> It is also possible that the members of the inferior classes were also for sale (contrary to the provisions of *The Tang Code*) and not there simply to train the slaves. Still the large size of the household strongly supports Wu Zhen's hunch that this was a slave-producing establishment.

The few documented pairings of Chinese male owners with young Sogdian girls raise the question how often Sogdian and Chinese families intermarried. The historical record is largely silent on this topic, but Rong Xinjiang has found throughout Tang-dynasty China a total of twenty-one recorded marriages in the seventh century in which one partner was Sogdian, and in eighteen cases, the spouse is also Sogdian. The only exceptions are very high-ranking Sogdian officials who married Chinese wives.<sup>67</sup> He concludes that most Sogdian men took Sogdian wives, and we may surmise that the pairings between Chinese men and Sogdian women were usually between a Chinese male master and a Sogdian female slave.

#### *The Outermost Orbital: Those Least Affected by the Silk Road Trade*

Of the 212 Turfan contracts listed by Yamamoto Tatsuro and Ikeda On, only a handful can be linked to the long-distance exchanges of the Silk Road. Three of these were included with travel passes because Tang law stipulated that a caravan owner had to have documentary proof that he owned the slaves and animals traveling with him. These are not the actual market certificates required by law because they bear no official seals. These contracts expressly identify one of the parties to the contract as a

official seals. These contracts expressly identify one of the parties to the contract as a non-Chinese merchant (*xingsheng hu*, see above discussion). Let us look at the three examples in chronological order.

(1.) In 673 a company commander (*duizheng* 隊正) bought a camel for fourteen bolts of silk from Kang Wupoyan 康烏破延,<sup>66</sup> a non-resident merchant from Samarkand (Kangzhou 康州).<sup>67</sup>

(2.) In 731 the Sogdian merchant Mi Lushan sold an eleven-year-old girl to a

<sup>66</sup> Wu Zhen, 2000, p. 139.

<sup>67</sup> Rong Xinjiang, 2001, pp. 132-135. Of the twenty-one epitaphs, twelve are from *Quan Tangwen buyi* 全唐文補遺 (*Supplement to the complete writings of the Tang*), five from *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓志匯編 (*Collected epitaphs of the Tang*), three were excavated at Guyuan, Ningxia, and one is from another site.

<sup>68</sup> Yan 延 is a common ending for Sogdian first names meaning 'for the benefit of' a certain deity. For other examples, see Cai Hongsheng, 1998, p. 40.

<sup>69</sup> Ikeda contract 29.

resident of Chang'an, Tang Rong 唐榮, for forty bolts of silk.<sup>70</sup> Five men served as guarantors, vouching that she was not a free person who been enslaved (*The Tang Code* banned the enslavement of commoners.) Of the four with household registration in Xizhou (Tang-dynasty Turfan), three had Sogdian last names (Shi, Cao, and Kang) and the one with the surname Luo 羅 was probably a member of the Tuhuoluo tribe, whose primary home was Tokharistan. The fifth guarantor, also with the surname Kang, was designated a temporary resident (*jizhu* 寄住) of Xizhou, an indication that he had not yet become a commoner and that his name was not yet entered on the household registers.

(3.) In 733 a Sogdian commoner resident in Xizhou, Shi Randian 史染典 bought a horse for eighteen bolts of silk from a Sogdian named Kang. Skaff has pieced together information from different documents to follow Shi Randian's route from Hami to Dunhuang, and concluded that he may have traveled the entire route specified by his travel permit from Guazhou, Gansu, to Kucha.<sup>71</sup> When Shi Randian purchased the horse, three guarantors vouched that the horse was not stolen: one Tuhuoluo non-resident merchant, one non-resident merchant from Bukhara (surnamed An), and one commoner resident in Xizhou, a Sogdian named Shi.<sup>72</sup> Although no document says so explicitly, it seems likely that the seller paid the guarantors a small fee to vouch for the legality of the goods being sold, since the guarantors were financially liable should the slave or animal in question turn out to be stolen. The presence of resident and non-resident Sogdian guarantors indicates that Sogdian trade networks included both non-resident merchants (*xingsheng hu*) as well as those entered on the household registers of Xizhou and other localities as commoners (*baixing*).

If it were not for the explicit labeling of the seller or guarantors as non-resident merchants, we would have no reason to class these three transactions as part of the long-distance overland trade. After all, they simply record the sale of a single camel, slave, or horse. Evidence of the Silk Road trade is equally difficult to detect in the twenty-one labor contracts surviving from Turfan.<sup>73</sup> Most specify the terms for hiring someone to perform someone else's corvée labor obligations to perform a watch on the beacon towers of the Tang, but two – unfortunately quite fragmentary – seventh-century contracts hire someone to transport *lian* 練 silk to an unnamed destination.<sup>74</sup> This type of silk, sometimes called "cooked silk" or "degummed silk" was ready to be dyed.<sup>75</sup> Like service on the beacon towers, the delivery of silk was probably a form of corvée labor – not a task performed for the benefit of private merchants active on the Silk Road.

Two interest-free loans, made in 665, from a moneylender who usually exacted high interest hints – perhaps! – at a long-distance transaction.<sup>76</sup> The contract was buried

<sup>70</sup> Ikeda contract 31. Yoshida Yutaka and Arakawa Masaharu saw this document, which was clearly a copy of the original with space left for the places where the seals appeared.

<sup>71</sup> Skaff, 1998, p. 97.

<sup>72</sup> Ikeda contract 32.

<sup>73</sup> Ikeda contracts 190-211.

<sup>74</sup> Ikeda contracts 209, 210.

<sup>75</sup> Angela Sheng, email dated March 29, 2002.

<sup>76</sup> Ikeda contract 74.

in the tomb of the moneylender, Zuo Chongxi 左憧憲 (d. 673), whose tomb contains fourteen other intact contracts, one of our best sources for understanding the Turfan economy.<sup>77</sup> One loan, to a military guard named Zhang Haihuan 張海歡, was for forty-eight silver coins; the other, to Bai Huailuo 白懷洛, was for twenty-four silver coins. If the two men failed to pay the money back within ten days, the contract authorizes the moneylender to confiscate Zhang Haihuan's house, possessions, or land

as compensation.

It seems likely that the three men formed a partnership with Zhang having twice as many shares as Bai (the moneylender's share is not revealed). If the deal was successfully completed, then the moneylender earned nothing from his partners. But if it was not, they had to pay him back at the prevailing interest rate in Turfan of 10% per month, four points higher than the maximum of six percent each month stipulated by *The Tang Code*.<sup>78</sup> Since Moneylender Zuo retained his copy of the contract, we can conclude that Zhang Haihuan and Bai Huailuo never paid back the money they had borrowed.

The contract includes an extra line holding Zhang Haihuan's mother, a female household head, responsible for his debt. It calls her a 'big woman' (*danü* 大女), a term that does not appear in the official histories. Big women appear as the household head on government household registers because they bore responsibility for paying their family's taxes when the male household heads were absent. A survey of seventy census documents from the period of Chinese occupation showed that between 16 and 30 percent of all Turfan households were headed by such women. Several scholars have argued that households concealed the presence of men and gave the name of a woman as head because women paid lower taxes than men. It is equally likely that women managed these households because their husbands were genuinely away from home either to perform military service or to go on business trips.<sup>79</sup>

Even though they occurred at the peak of the Silk Road trade, the overwhelming majority of Turfan contracts document the day-to-day transactions of an agricultural community in which people buy, sell, and rent individual animals, slaves, or small plots of agricultural land or orchards. Many loans are for a small amount. Perhaps we should not be surprised. Even in today's age of high finance, most contracts are for the purchase of individual houses or cars.<sup>80</sup>

Even so, the Turfan contracts reflect the high degree of commercialization of the Turfan economy in the seventh and eighth centuries. I use the term commercialization to indicate that these transactions all involved money – actually Sasanian silver coins – and were not barter. In addition, the penalty for failure to fulfill the contract was 10% for each month, the same interest rate charged on commercial loans.

In the third month of 668, a season when many who worked the land were short of money, the cultivator Zhang Shanxi 張善喜 signed a contract to borrow twenty silver coins from Zuo Chongxi. In 670 he went back to him again, this time to borrow forty

<sup>77</sup> I have discussed this tomb in Hansen, 1995a, pp. 33-39, and 1995b, pp. 59-66.

<sup>78</sup> Hansen, 1995a, p. 35.

<sup>79</sup> Like the term *xingsheng hu*, the term for female household heads (*danü* 大女) occurs in many Turfan documents, but not in the official histories. See Deng Xiaonan, 1999: 85-103.

<sup>80</sup> Personal communication from James Stepanek, March, 2002.

silver coins. This was the same moneylender who lent Zhang Haihuan money for his ten-day business trip.<sup>81</sup> Both men – one a long-distance trader, the other a farmer – borrowed silver coins at the same interest rate of 10% per month. Moneylenders like Zuo Chongxi served as a bridge between the long-distance trade economy and the local agricultural economy, and they charged the same high rate of interest to everyone, effectively pulling the local cultivators into the larger economy. If farmers like Zhang Haihuan wanted to borrow money, they had to do so at the same rate as Silk Road traders did.

The Turfan contracts clearly document the shifts in the medium of exchange at Turfan.<sup>82</sup> The earliest Turfan contract testify to the existence of a barter economy: in 273 a female household head (*danü*) bought a coffin for twenty bolts of degummed *lian* silk.<sup>83</sup> Similar exchanges continue in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first mention of Sasanian silver coins in a real-life rental contract occurs in 584, when someone rented one sixth-acre (*mu*) for five silver coins.<sup>84</sup> The use of Sasanian coins peaks in the century from 550 to 650, but people continue to use both grain and silk along with silver coins throughout the seventh century, in the years leading up to and following the Tang conquest of 640. Suddenly – just at the turn of the eighth century – Turfan residents stop using Sasanian silver coins and adopt the use of Chinese bronze coins (that the contracts call copper coins and whose main constituent was indeed copper).<sup>85</sup>

Skaff suggests that several factors – the Tibetan occupation of the Tarim basin between 686 and 692, the Chinese infusion of monetary silk and bronze coins, and the growing Chinese preference for silver in ingot form – may account for the change.<sup>86</sup>

Although the reasons for the sudden shift continue to be debated, no one debates the immediacy of the change. All the residents of Turfan – both rich and poor – switched from silver to bronze coins over night, sure evidence of how embedded they are in the larger economy. Here, too, we can see the undocumented role of moneylenders as instrumental in introducing these changes. In the 670s people borrowed silver coins, ten or twenty at a time, but in 703 two different people borrow 320 bronze coins each, the equivalent of ten silver coins.<sup>87</sup> (A tax receipt gives the exchange rate as 32 bronze

<sup>81</sup> Hansen, 1995a, p. 36.

<sup>82</sup> This topic is thoroughly covered in several fine articles: Skaff, 1998; Thierry, 1995 and 2000; Zeymal, 1992.

<sup>83</sup> Ikeda contract 1.

<sup>84</sup> Ikeda 98; see Skaff, "Table of Dated Turfan Documents That Mention Silver Coins" in Skaff, 1998, pp. 108-109. François Thierry ingeniously draws on grave inventories excavated from Turfan to document the appearance of silver coins – he cites a grave inventory dated 543 TCWS-texts, 2:60; TCWS-photos, I: 143. But the grave inventory lists both gold and silver coins. It may in fact describe fictive currency – not actual coins in circulation at Turfan at the time – the living intended to send to the world of the dead. With the exception of a few forged Byzantine gold coins, only silver coins have been found at Turfan.

<sup>85</sup> Peng Xinwei, 1994 explains: "The alloy used for [early Tang-dynasty] coins was then 83.32 percent copper, 14.56 percent pewter and 2.12 percent black tin", volume 1, 257.

<sup>86</sup> Skaff, 1998, 99-104.

<sup>87</sup>

coins to 1 silver.<sup>88</sup>) And where cultivators had paid their rent in silver coins in the 670s, they paid bronze coins in 703.<sup>89</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The stunning archeological finds of beautiful silks from Niya and the man with the gold mask from Yingpan (west of Lop Nor) in recent years have reinforced the conventional view that many rich merchants plied their wares along the Silk Road of the first millennium of the Christian Era. But the excavated documents give an entirely different impression. The Kharoṣṭhī contracts from Niya<sup>90</sup> and the loan contracts from Dunhuang (studied so thoroughly by Éric Trombert<sup>91</sup>) very clearly document the existence of a large subsistence economy in which cultivators bartered for simple goods. Like the Turfan documents, the Niya and Dunhuang documents provide hardly any evidence of the fabled long-distance Silk Road trade in silk, gold, silver, jewels, and pearls.

Turfan's economy of the sixth to eighth centuries differed in important ways from Niya's in the third and fourth century and Dunhuang's in the ninth and tenth centuries. It was much more commercialized – even in the subsistence transactions documented in surviving contracts. Éric Trombert has argued that the central government of the Tang played an enormous role in the rise of the Silk Road trade.<sup>92</sup> Rather than see many low-level entrepreneurs crisscrossing the Tarim Basin, he suggests instead that we focus on government finance. When the Tang state decided to send large quantities of silk to central Asia to pay its troops and occupying officials, the Silk Road trade boomed. And when the state withdrew from Central Asia, as it did so suddenly after 755, it ended its massive subsidies (usually in the form of silk) to the region. While the Chinese government continued to buy horses in the northwest at a high price,<sup>93</sup> the Silk Road trade dwindled to a small trickle.

The Silk Road trade in the century of Tang rule had clearly visible spill-over effects on the Turfan economy, which was highly monetized and in which all transactions were subject to high interest rates. But even between 640 and 755, the Golden Age of the Tang on the Silk Road, more people earned their livelihood working the land than did trading on the Silk Road. These cultivators had little to do with the Silk Road trade except when they borrowed silver coins from moneylenders or purchased animals and slaves from long-distance traders. Could it be that the Silk Road trade played a small role in Turfan's overall economy? That is certainly what the limited numbers of surviving documents from Turfan suggest.

<sup>88</sup> TCWS-texts, 7: 441; TCWS-photos, III:517.

<sup>89</sup> Ikeda contracts 151-160, 175

<sup>90</sup> Burrow, 1940.

<sup>91</sup> Trombert, 1995.

<sup>92</sup> Trombert, 2000.

<sup>93</sup> Trombert, 2000, p. 112.



silks occupied a middle range: the monk could use silver coins for smaller purchases, silks for medium purchases such as an animal or a slave, and gold for major expenditures.

Also from a higher social level is the sole surviving Sogdian-language contract from Astana, documenting the sale in 639 of a female slave for 120 “very pure” silver coins.<sup>47</sup> Very limited information about the use of textiles as money survives from the homeland of the Sogdians, the immediate area around Samarkand. Multiple artworks depict Chinese-style silks, but these textiles did not necessarily function as money.<sup>48</sup> When the city of Samarkand surrendered in 712 to the caliphate armies, the residents agreed to pay 2,000,000 silver *dirhams* on the spot and an additional 200,000 *dirhams* each year. They gave the value in *dirhams* of slaves (200), large garments, most likely of brocaded silk (100), small garments (60), and strips of silk (28).<sup>49</sup> The scarce data suggest that silver coins, not textiles, were the primary currency in the Sogdian world in the seventh and eighth centuries when coins, grain and textiles all circulated in Turfan and China.

While the Turfan contracts indicate that before 640 the local people used grain and silver coins far more frequently than textiles in their daily spending, textiles did function as money but not among the lowest reaches of society, who used coins and whose transactions the Astana materials capture. Since no document from before 640 gives the exchange rate between coins and textiles, we must piece together the surviving evidence to form a hierarchy of currencies. Xuanzang’s travel expenses indicate that the wealthiest people used gold, silver coins and silks, whether *juan*-silk or *ling*-twill. During these same centuries, ordinary people used grain and silver coins for most of their daily transactions, reserving textiles for only a few real-world exchanges and continuing to list them in inflated quantities in their grave inventories.

#### Turfan’s Economy under Tang-dynasty Rule

In 640, the Tang armies defeated the Gaochang kingdom and brought the oasis under direct rule, along with Beiting (Jimsar) and Hami. After 658, the Tang dynasty created the Anxi Protectorate to exercise military and administrative authority in the Western Regions. Recognising grain, coins and textiles, the Tang authorities used an aggregate unit — silk bolt—hemp bolt—hank—string of coins—picul (*pi-duan-tun-guan-shi* 匹端屯貫石, as explained in Arakawa Masaharu’s article) — to calculate the government’s total revenue and expenditures. Over the course of the dynasty, there were never enough coins, and one regulation, which survives from 734 in *The Collected Statutes of the Tang Dynasty* (*Tang Huiyao*) but probably echoed earlier, now lost regulations, specified that all purchases of houses, slaves

<sup>47</sup>Yoshida Yutaka, “Appendix: Translation of the Contract for the Purchase of a Slave Girl Found at Turfan and Dated 639”, *T’ung Pao* (2003) No. 89, pp. 159–161.

<sup>48</sup>Kageyama Etsuko, “Use and Production of Silks in Sogdiana”, in Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta, Gianroberto Scarcia (eds), *Eran ud Anrāin: Studies presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (Venice, 2006). Available on-line at: <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/> (accessed 23/11/10).

<sup>49</sup>Étienne de la Vaisière, *Sogdian Traders*, pp. 268–271; Trombert and de la Vaisière, “Le Marché de Turfan”, pp. 29–32 offer a tentative analysis of prices for certain commodities in Turfan, Dunhuang and Sogdiana in the eighth century.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-institutional-economics/article/socialleverage-mechanism-on-the-silk-road-the-private-emergence-of-institutions-in-central-asia-from-the-7th-to-the-9th-century/F4831CEC446542CB9709829A1E061A0D>

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-institutional-economics/article/abs/socialleverage-mechanism-on-the-silk-road-the-private-emergence-of-institutions-in-central-asia-from-the-7th-to-the-9th-century/F4831CEC446542CB9709829A1E061A0D>

[https://www.academia.edu/1837301/The\\_Sogdian\\_Trade\\_Diaspora\\_in\\_East\\_Turkestan\\_during\\_the\\_Seventh\\_and\\_Eighth\\_Centuries](https://www.academia.edu/1837301/The_Sogdian_Trade_Diaspora_in_East_Turkestan_during_the_Seventh_and_Eighth_Centuries)

themselves even drew up contracts with Chinese characteristics (Vaissière 2002: 165-66). Out of thirty-four extant Chinese language contracts—ranging in date from 273 to 741, but mostly from the seventh and eighth centuries—seven or about one-fifth involve Sogdians as buyers or sellers.<sup>69</sup> The earliest contract mentioning a Sogdian is dated 509 and the other six are split evenly between the seventh and eighth centuries. This demonstrates that despite Sogdians' dominance of long-distance trade, they probably were only an important minority in terms of local high-value business transactions involving the Han majority at Turfan. However, as stated in the introduction, this evidence probably does not fully reflect transactions that took place within the Sogdian diaspora community at Turfan.

#### ORGANIZATION OF TRADE

Aside from advancing our knowledge about the degree of involvement of Sogdians in long distance trade, documents found in Turfan provide a rare opportunity to learn about merchant activities and organization. One item of information spelled out in the documents that hints at the trade patterns of merchants is their residence status according to the Tang government. Some merchants were considered to be itinerant traders without any sort of stable residence in the Tang Empire. An example is the "merchant western barbarian" (*xing-sheng hu* 興生胡) Kang Wupoyan 康烏破延. His home is specifically spelled out as Samarqand (Kanguo 康國). He is mentioned in a contract selling a camel to a Tang soldier at Turfan (Xizhou 西州), which was more than 1,000 kilometers from home.<sup>70</sup> Other Sogdians are considered to be foreigners, but they are recognized to have taken up temporary residence in a Tang empire city. An example is the previously mentioned brothers surnamed Cao, who were considered western barbarians (*hu*) and did not speak Chinese, but resided in the capital of Chang'an. Another unrelated pair of traders, Cao Bisuo 曹畢娑 and Cao Guoyi 曹果毅, are described as "Western Barbarians, temporarily residing in the capital. They have family members there."<sup>71</sup> Finally, some of the Sogdian merchants were considered Tang subjects with permanent residency, like those in Turfan's Chonghua Township. An example of this is Shi Randian, who was a Tang subject living at Turfan (Xizhou *baixing* 西州百姓). He

<sup>69</sup> Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 1-34. Sogdians appear as buyers or sellers in contracts no. 3 (509 C.E.), no. 9 (637 C.E.), no. 13 (638 C.E.), no. 29 (673 C.E.), no. 31 (731 C.E.), no. 32 (733 C.E.), and no. 33 (741 C.E.).

<sup>70</sup> 64TAM35:21 in TCWS 7:389-90; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 29.

<sup>71</sup> 66TAM61: 17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9. For the Cao brothers, refer to pt. 3, ln 7; Huang 1983: 353. For the latter pair of traders, see pt. 2, ln 10-1 of the document.

was entitled to use a high-ranking Tang military prestige title, which probably indicates that he had performed meritorious military service and provides further evidence of his integration into Tang society.<sup>72</sup> Another document mentions that he had a house and a wife, children, and other relatives who resided there permanently.<sup>73</sup> The differences in status of these traders probably point to variations in their assimilation into Tang society. Some merchants put down permanent roots in an adopted land, but others remained itinerant and never learned the Chinese language. The latter relied on translators who are also mentioned in the documents.<sup>74</sup>

Despite differences in residence status, the merchant caravans depicted in Tang travel documents exhibited some similar characteristics. In all cases merchants are noted to be travelling with pack animals, which normally were donkeys, horses, or camels. It is not clear whether they hired the animals or owned them. The previously mentioned merchant, Shi Randian, may have owned his pack animals because separate documents from 732 and 733 mention the same numbers of donkeys. We might expect the number to vary if he had been hiring them based upon the amount of merchandise on hand at a particular time. The document from 733 notes the addition of a horse and mule. He appears to have recently bought the horse because there also is an extant contract for the purchase of one in 733.<sup>75</sup> The merchants are noted as being accompanied by male and female slaves, male laborers (*zuoren* 作人), who probably were pack animal drivers, and in one case a retainer (*biezou* 別奏).<sup>76</sup> Slavery was accepted in Sogdian and Chinese society.<sup>77</sup> It is not always clear whether the slaves in

<sup>72</sup> Appendix I, T7, ln 20. The prestige title was Mobile Corps Commander (*youji jiangjun* 游擊將軍), which indicates a rank of 5b2. See Rotours 1974: 101.

<sup>73</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

<sup>74</sup> See for example the merchants T1-T5 in Appendix I who relied on the translator Di Nanipan 薩那你潘 (pt. 1, ln 2, the name was pronounced Na'-ni'-p'an in Early Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1991a). Although the surname usually is attributed to the original

inhabitants of Turfan (see Table 6), Hansen (2002) points out that his given name may be a transliteration of Sogdian meaning “glory of the female deity Nana”. Could Di be the son of a Han father and Sogdian mother? If Di was not of Sogdian descent, is this evidence for Pelliot’s hypothesis that Sogdian was a *lingua franca* on the Silk Road (see note 1 above)?

<sup>75</sup> The horse was purchased in a contract dated 733 (73TAM509:8/10 in TCWS 9:48-9). Shi Randian is noted as traveling with the horse and mule in 733 (73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7), but not in 732 (Appendix I: T7).

<sup>76</sup> Laborers and a retainer can be seen in Appendix I: T15, In. 172. For laborers and slaves see Appendix I, T1-5.

<sup>77</sup> On slavery in Sogdia, see Frye 1996, 195. For Tang China, see Johnson 1979, 28-9. Chinese and Sogdian language contracts from Turfan demonstrate that Han and Sogdians were involved in transactions involving slaves. An example of a Chinese contract is the “merchant western barbarian” (*xinghu* 賁胡) Mi Lushan 米禄山 who sold the slave girl Shimaner 失滿兒, age 11, to Tang Rong 唐榮 from the capital district (Jingzhao Superior

the travel parties were meant to be sold, which as we will see below was common, or served the labor or sexual needs of merchants while on the road. The wealthy Han travellers in Appendix I normally journeyed with slaves who presumably were domestic servants. Some merchants may have done the same. The term *zuoren* is peculiar to the Turfan documents, and people with this designation are known to have done a number of menial jobs besides working for merchants. *Zuoren*, as used in the documents, could simply mean “laborers,” as translated above. However, the possibility exists that the term was used to designate Sogdians belonging to the lowest free social stratum of their homeland, which was divided into noble, merchant and worker classes.<sup>78</sup> This problem requires further study.

The travel itineraries of these merchants can be divided into long, medium, and short haul routes. Some traders appear to have travelled the entire distance between Sogdia and central China, or extensive portions of it. A travel permit from Turfan issued to a group of merchants who needed the aid of an interpreter mentions that they came from the “west,” possibly indicating Sogdia, and planned to go to the capital, Chang’an.<sup>79</sup> This would indicate a distance of over 3,500 kilometers. The previously mentioned Cao Bisuo and Cao Guoyi, who were temporary residents of the Tang capital, are described as going from Kucha to Gongyue 弓月—near the Yili River on the frontier between East and West Turkestan—and then heading further west, possibly to Sogdia.<sup>80</sup> However, two others in their travel party who also were residents of the capital, Cao Yanyan and Li Shaojin, headed back to Kucha.<sup>81</sup> Their circuit appears to have been limited to trade between Chang’an and East Turkestan, but this was still a distance of about 2,500 kilometers.

A medium haul merchant seems to be Shi Randian of Turfan. Like Cao Yanyan and Li Shaojin, he apparently operated along circumscribed travel itineraries. His travel permit mentions that he came from Kucha (Anxi 安西) in the Tarim Basin to carry out trade in Gua Prefecture (Guazhou 瓜州) in north-western Gansu, a distance of more than 1,000 kilometers. The permit allowed him to journey from Guazhou returning west to Kucha via the Iron Pass near

Prefecture Jingzhaofu 京兆府) in 731 (73TAM509:8/12-1(a), 8/12-2(a) in TCWS 9:26-8; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987, no. 31). For the Sogdian language contract for the sale of a slave dated 639, see Yoshida and Moriyasu 1988; Vaissière 2002: 165-6.

<sup>78</sup> On Sogdian social classes, see Frye 1996: 195. On the term *zuoren* and its usage in the Turfan documents, see Sheng 1998: 140.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix I: T1-5.

<sup>80</sup> On the location of Gongyue, see Yan 1985, 2:602-5.

<sup>81</sup> 66TAM61: 17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9; Huang 1983.

Karashahr. We do not know whether he reached Kucha on this occasion, but official notations on the permit indicate that he traveled at least as far as Hami (Yizhou 伊州) and engaged in trade at Dunhuang (Shazhou 沙州) and Hami.<sup>82</sup> Another government document, testimony of guarantors on a certificate of ownership prepared for a business trip from Turfan to Hami, demonstrates that Shi planned to return to the latter city in the first lunar month of 733.<sup>83</sup>

Other merchants were involved in even shorter distance travel of around 200 kilometers. Two of them are mentioned as travelling between Turfan and Luntai 輪臺 (near modern Urumchi), which was in the grasslands on the southern rim of the Jungarian Basin. Shih Jisi was driving 200 sheep and six cows south from Luntai, presumably to sell in Turfan, which was too hot and lacked grasslands for livestock breeding. The other, Kang Dazhi, was going north to Luntai to collect debts. A third short haul merchant, Mi Xunzhi 米巡職, was going to Turfan from Ting Prefecture (Tingzhou 庭州 or Beshbaliq), also on the southern rim of the Jungarian Basin. Like Shih Jisi, his goods all appear to be “products” of pastoral nomads: fifteen sheep, one camel, a male slave, age fifteen, and a female slave, age twelve. The latter two had foreign names, and might have recently been purchased from pastoral nomadic tribes.<sup>84</sup> Sims-Williams has proposed that Sogdian trade was limited to shorter routes by the eighth century. However, the data are too limited to draw firm conclusions about chronology.<sup>85</sup>

Although these travel documents give us some information about Sogdian trade patterns, they do not provide direct evidence on how merchants were orga-

nized—whether as independent peddlers, members of trade guilds, or partners in commercial associations—because this kind of information was not required by the officials who composed the documents.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, some clues about organization can be gleaned from the Tang documents and the earlier fourth century Sogdian Ancient Letters. Ancient Letter II, composed in Gansu and sent

<sup>82</sup> Appendix I: T7.

<sup>83</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

<sup>84</sup> For short-haul merchants Kang Dazhi and Shih Jisi, see Appendix I: T10, T15. For Mi Xunzhi, see 73TAM221:5 in TCWS 7:8-9. On the locations of Ting Prefecture and Luntai, see Yan 1985, 2:602-5. For the climate and ecology of Turfan and the Jungarian Basin, see Lattimore 1951: 153; 1975: 36-7, 199.

<sup>85</sup> Sims-Williams 1996: 60. Most of the surviving travel permits and certificates of ownership involving merchant trips are clustered around the 680s and 730s, and it is not possible to detect any strong chronological trends in this data. For example, the earliest and latest journeys, Mi Xunzhi in 648 (73TAM221:5 in TCWS 7:8-9) and Shih Jisi in 733 (Appendix I: T15), were along short haul routes.

<sup>86</sup> All three types of merchant organizations are known in later periods. For peddlers, see Steensgaard 1973: 22-59. On associations, see Rossabi 1990: 354-5. On guilds, see Mauro 1990.

to Samarqand, appears to describe a situation in which a wealthy merchant in Sogdia directed the activities of his agent and sub-agents in East Turkestan and China.<sup>87</sup> Presumably the wealthy merchant in Sogdia supplied capital, decided upon general trade strategy, retained the bulk of profits, and was responsible for losses. On the other hand, Ancient Letter V depicts the activities of a person called a *sārtpāw* operating in northwestern China. Grenet and de la Vaissière argue, based on the small quantities of goods involved, that the *sārtpāw* was a small-time caravan leader (Grenet, Sims-Williams and Vaissière 1998: 98, 101).

In seventh and eighth century Tang Chinese documents from Turfan the activities of a number of Sogdian merchants are visible, but there is no way to determine the extent to which control of trade may have remained in Sogdia. In cases where there is some evidence, traders appear to be itinerant peddlers who worked for themselves. An example of this are merchants who traveled in small caravans made up only of their laborers and/or slaves, such as the previously mentioned short and medium haul traders. They all worked on routes in Tang controlled territory and did not deal in luxury goods that would have required financing or supply from Sogdia. Their failure to travel with other merchants highlights their self-reliance and demonstrates the relative safety of routes in Tang territory in some periods, such as the early 730s when Shi Randian was operating in Gansu and East Turkestan.<sup>88</sup>

At least one larger caravan appears to have been made up of independent merchants brought together for self-protection. The late seventh century travel party of Li Shaojin, Cao Yanyan, Cao Bisuo, and Cao Guoyi went from Kucha to Gongyue. They apparently were independent peddlers because Cao Yanyan loaned silk to Li Shaojin, which shows that they did not have a joint operation. Also, the former two merchants headed back to Kucha while the latter two continued to the west, demonstrating that the common journey to Gongyue was born out of a desire for mutual protection rather than some sort of joint venture.<sup>89</sup> What may have brought independent peddlers into larger caravans was political instability in East Turkestan during the 670s and 680s when the Tang and Tibet fought over this territory. The one large caravan noted in the travel permit documents also dates from this period.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> See Harmatta 1979; Sims-Williams 1985; 2001: 47-49; Grenet and Sims-Williams, 1987; Vaissière 2002: 53-5.

<sup>88</sup> In the 730s major attacks against Tang territory occurred to the north of the Tianshan mountains and to the far west in the Pamir Mountains (Beckwith 1987: 108-21).

<sup>89</sup> For the citation to the document, see note 68.

<sup>90</sup> For the other large caravan, a group of merchants traveling together from the “west” to the “capital” (Chang’an), see Appendix I, T1-5. Although it is not stated directly that they

The testimony of a guarantor on the certificate of ownership for Shi Randian’s business trip to Hami provides some information about the relationship between the settlers and the itinerant merchants in the Sogdian trade diaspora. In this document Tang authorities required Shi Randian to have a compatriot guarantee that he had a house and family and had not gained the use of his employees, slave and pack animals under false pretenses. *The guarantor also had to pledge to be responsible for Shi’s taxes if he did not return.*<sup>91</sup> In a travel permit dating to 685, a group of Sogdians and Bactrians coming from the west who needed the assistance of a translator, had five guarantors who were Tang subjects (*baixing*) from various Tang cities in East Turkestan. Four of the five guarantors have Sogdian names.<sup>92</sup> Most likely the guarantors were merchants who knew one another through business activity and happened to be congregating in the city where the permit was drafted. This demonstrates that long distance merchants (those requesting travel permit) had contacts with those who had

local residences (the guarantors), and that settlers in the trade diaspora assisted their brethren from abroad in dealing with local authorities. We also can suppose that Sogdian settlers provided lodging and supplies to travelling merchants.<sup>93</sup> Contacts with Sogdian settlers in the diaspora would have been invaluable to merchants as they negotiated trade circuits between East and West Asia.

#### GOODS TRADED

It has long been recognized that goods were exchanged between eastern and western Eurasia. The typical approach to this problem among modern scholars has been to rely upon the writings of premodern authors to identify the imports and their origins, but this method has limitations because the traditional authors were as ignorant about how goods were transported as the typical modern consumer.<sup>94</sup> Archaeological excavations also can provide information about imports, but not their modes of transmission. The documents found at Turfan help to advance research by identifying some of the goods that Sogdians traded along the Silk

are traveling together, they appear to be doing so because they have the same destination and also the same guarantors to prove that their story is true. On fighting in the Tarim Basin in the 670s and 680s, see note 49 above.

<sup>91</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7. The first part of this document has been lost, so we do not know the surname of the guarantor. However, he may have been a Sogdian because we know that his given name was Ranwu 鞞勿 (pronounced Niam-mut in Early Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1991a). This name definitely is non-Han and its closeness to Shi Randian's leads me to surmise that it also is Sogdian, but this requires further study.

<sup>92</sup> Appendix I, T1-5.

<sup>93</sup> For evidence of a Sogdian innkeeper, see note 41.

<sup>94</sup> The most comprehensive study of western goods that arrived in China is Schafer 1963.

300

[https://books.google.ca/books?](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22In+731+the+Sogdian+merchant+Mi+Lushan+sold+an+eleven-year-old+girl+to+a%22)

[id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22In+731+the+Sogdian+merchant+Mi+Lushan+sold+an+eleven-year-old+girl+to+a%22](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22In+731+the+Sogdian+merchant+Mi+Lushan+sold+an+eleven-year-old+girl+to+a%22)

(1.) In 673 a company commander (*duizheng* 隊正) bought a camel for fourteen bolts of silk from Kang Wupoyan 康烏破延,<sup>98</sup> a non-resident merchant from Samarkand (Kangzhou 康州).<sup>99</sup>

(2.) In 731 the Sogdian merchant Mi Lushan sold an eleven-year-old girl to a

299

[https://books.google.ca/books?](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22demonstrates+that+at+least+one+Chinese+man+bought+a+yong+Sogdian+girl+in+639%22)

[id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22demonstrates+that+at+least+one+Chinese+man+bought+a+yong+Sogdian+girl+in+639%22](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22demonstrates+that+at+least+one+Chinese+man+bought+a+yong+Sogdian+girl+in+639%22)

maintain their identity as a group even in the first years they moved to a new site.<sup>98</sup>

The existence of a full-time Manichean priesthood at Turfan during the seventh and eighth centuries seems much less likely. The Chinese-language texts from Astana say little about Manichean beliefs among the non-Chinese population, but the four German expeditions to Turfan found several Manichean libraries at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>99</sup> The many manuscripts are not dated, but some use archaic liturgical

300

[https://books.google.ca/books?](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22female+slaves+could+have+undergone+training%22)

[id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22female+slaves+could+have+undergone+training%22](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=%22female+slaves+could+have+undergone+training%22)

are Central Asian; the slaves, names look as though they were transliterated into Chinese from another language, quite possibly Sogdian. The list is intriguing: what were all these people doing in a single household? Wu Zhen offers a daring reading: "of course the male and female slaves could have undergone training of various types – like listening and speaking basic Chinese, becoming familiar with Chinese manners and customs, and even learning some types of tasks – at the hands of the musicians and

## Bibliographic information

Title	Les sogdiens en Chine <i>Volume 17 of Études thématiques</i> , ISSN 1269-8067 <i>Volume 17 of Études thématiques: École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
Authors	Eric Trombert, Étienne de La Vaissière
Publisher	École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005

Original from the University of Michigan  
Digitized Jul 13, 2010  
ISBN 2855396530, 9782855396538  
Length 444 pages



Export  
Citation

BiBTeX EndNote RefMan

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=5QpoAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA70>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=qTm6Yka5GigC&pg=PA70>

widows. Recruitment of Turko-Mongol soldiers will be discussed in chapter 8, but here it is pertinent to discuss demand for other types of labor. One merchant driving livestock from the Jungarian Basin also was bringing two young slaves with foreign names (Skaff 2003, 492–9, n. 49, 508). Definitive evidence of a Turkic slave in Xizhou comes from a legal deposition in a case from 665 in which a female “Türk slave” with a Chinese name meaning Spring Fragrance (Chunxiang) testified concerning the robbery of her Han master’s household. Apparently she had not learned to speak Chinese because the court employed a translator (66TAM61:22(a) and 66TAM61:23(a), 27/1 (a), 27/2(a) in TCWS 6:462–3, 465; TCWS—plates 3:238–9). Turkic peoples, like Spring Fragrance, were not the only slaves in Xizhou. For example, the sale of a Sogdian girl is documented in 639 on the eve of the Tang conquest (Yoshida 2003). Though the prevalence of slaves imported from Sogdia or the steppe is unknown, law and custom in China and Inner Asia condoned slavery (Golden 2001; Johnson 1979, 28–9). In the Tang realm Inner Asian slaves are known to have worked as herders, guards, translators, and dancers, and probably performed other tasks too (Hansen 1995, 41–2; Schafer 1963, 42–7).

Wage laborers also might come to Xizhou from the nearby steppe. In 762 a temporary resident (*xingke*) of unknown foreign origin hired a “commoner of the Chumi tribe” named Kang Shifen. Kang was driving an ox-cart for his employer when he injured two eight-year-old Sogdian children who had been playing outside of an inn, and as a result he ended up in a Tang court. He testified that the mishap was the result of his inexperience with the ox-cart (73 TAM509:8/1(a), 8/2(a) in TCWS 9:130; TCWS—plates 329–33; Hansen 2005, 297; Wu 2002, 12). Kang’s status as commoner indicates that he was considered a subject of the empire under the direct jurisdiction of his tribe. The Chumi were Turkic pastoral nomads, inhabiting the Tianshan Mountains and Jungarian basin to the north of Turfan, who had given allegiance to the Tang as a bridle tribe in the mid-seventh century.<sup>20</sup> Kang Shifen evidently took advantage of his inclusion in the Tang polity to pursue employment in the city of Xizhou.

Kang’s deposition does not mention a translator, so perhaps he was bilingual in Chinese and Turkic languages. Turfan documents provide direct indications of multilingualism in the population of Xizhou. Di Fuzhi[...] and a Sogdian, He Deli, translated between Turkic and Chinese (72TAM188:85 in TCWS 8:87; TCWS—plates 4:41). Another person, Di Na’nifan, translated for Sogdian traders (Hansen 2005, 296). Di Fuzhi[...] and Di Na’nifan have curious names. The surname Di is associated with the indigenous pre-Han inhabitants of Turfan, but their given names appear to be transliterations from Sogdian. Fuzhi corresponds to “Buti-” a Sogdian prefix to names meaning “Buddha.” Na’nifan is equivalent to Nanai-farn, literally, “glory to the goddess Nanai” (Yoshida and Kageyama 2005, 305–6). All of the translators appear to be at least partially Sogdian and trilingual in Chinese, Turkic, and Sogdian.

There also are signs that others in Xizhou and the surrounding region had full or partial mastery of two languages. The case of the Türk slave, Spring Fragrance, who

## Bibliographic information

Title Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580-800  
*Oxford Studies in Early Empires*

Author Jonathan Karam Skaff  
Edition illustrated  
Publisher OUP USA, 2012  
ISBN 0199734135, 9780199734139  
Length 400 pages  
History  
>  
Ancient  
>  
General



#### Subjects

History / Ancient / General  
History / Asia / China  
History / Asia / General  
History / Europe / Medieval  
Literary Collections / Ancient & Classical  
Social Science / Anthropology / General

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=5OpoAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA383>

#### Bibliography

383

- Yancheva, Gergana, et al. 2007. Influence of the Intertropical Convergence Zone on the East Asian Monsoon. *Nature* 445 (7123):74–8.
- . 2007b. Yancheva et al. Reply to De'er Zhang & Longhua Lu. *Nature* 450 (7168):E8.
- Yang, Bao, et al. 2002. General Characteristics of Temperature Variation in China during the Last Two Millennia. *Geophysical Research Letters* 29 (9):38.1–38.4.
- Yang, C. K. 1957. The Functional Relationship between Confucian Thought and Chinese Religion. In *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, edited by J. K. Fairbank. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Yang, Jianping, et al. 2005. Fluctuations of the Semi-Arid Zone in China, and Consequences for Society. *Climatic Change* 72:171–88.
- Yang, Lien-sheng. 1952. Hostages in Chinese History. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15 (3/4):507–21.
- Yang, Xiaoping, et al. 2004. The Evolution of Dry Lands in Northern China and the Republic of Mongolia Since the Last Glacial Maximum. *Quaternary International* 118–9:69–85.
- Yarshater, Ehsan, et al. 1985–1999. Clothing. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. 2003. Appendix: Translation of the Contract for the Purchase of a Slave Girl Found at Turfan and Dated 639. *T'oung Pao* 89 (1–3):159–61.
- Yoshida, Yutaka, and Etsuko Kageyama. 2005. Appendix I: Sogdian Names in Chinese Characters, Pinyin, Reconstructed Pronunciation, and English Meanings. In *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by É. de la Vaissière and É. Trombert. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊 and Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫. 1999. Buguto hibun ブグト碑文 (Bugut inscription). In Moriyasu and Ochir, eds. 1999.
- Yoshiro, Imaeda. 2000. Rituel des traités de paix sino-tibétains du VIIIe au IXe siècle. In *La Sérinde, terre d'échanges: Art, religion, commerce du Ier au Xe siècle*, edited by J.-P. Drège. Paris: Documentation française.
- Yu, F., et al. 2004. Interannual Variations of the Grassland Boundaries Bordering the Eastern Edges of the Gobi Desert in Central Asia. *International Journal of Remote Sensing* 25 (2):327–46.
- Yü, Ying-shih. 1967. *Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Yuan, Jinyin 袁進京. 1998. Tang Shi Siming yuce shishi 唐史思明玉冊試釋 (Examination of the jade slips of Shi Siming of the Tang). In *Bashe ji: Beijing daxue lishi xue lishi kaogu zhuan ye qiyu jie bi-yesheng lunwenji 跋涉集: 北京大学历史系考古专业七五届毕业生论文集*, edited by Yu Bingwen 于炳文. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe.
- Zhang, David D., et al. 2006. Climatic Change, Wars and Dynastic Cycles in China over the Last Millennium. *Climatic Change* 76:459–77.
- Zhang, De 'er, and Longhua Lu. 2007. Anti-Correlation of Summer/Winter Monsoons? *Nature* 450 (7168):E7.
- Zhang, Guangda. 2001. Epitaph Stone and Cover. In Juliano and Lerner, eds. 2001b.
- Zhang, Guangda, and Xinjiang Rong. 1998. A Concise History of the Turfan Oasis and Its Exploration. *Asia Major* 3rd Series, 11:13–36.
- Zhang Guogang 張國剛. 1994. *Tangdai zhengzhi zhidu yanjiu lunji 唐代政治制度研究論集* (Collected studies on Tang Dynasty governmental organization). Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe.
- Zhang Hongxiu 張鴻修. 1995. *Zhongguo Tangmu bishua ji 中國唐墓壁畫集* (A collection of China's Tang Dynasty frescoes). Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe.
- Zhang, Pingzhong, et al. 2008. A Test of Climate, Sun, and Culture Relationships from an 1810-Year Chinese Cave Record. *Science* 322 (5903):940–2.
- Zhang Qun 章群. 1986. *Tangdai fanjiang yanjiu 唐代蕃將研究* (A study of Tang Dynasty foreign generals). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi.
- . 1990. *Tangdai fanjiang yanjiu xubian 唐代蕃將研究續編* (Study of Tang Dynasty foreign generals—continued). Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi.
- Zhao, Feng. 2004. The Evolution of Textiles along the Silk Road. In Watt and Harper, eds. 2004.
- Zhao, Songqiao, and Jiaming Xing. 1984. Origin and Development of the Shamo (Sandy Deserts) and the Gobi (Stony Deserts) of China. In *The Evolution of the East Asian Environment, Volume 1 Geol-*

## 酒肆论文摘要,唐代“胡姬”诗与现代日本的西域想象

唐代“胡姬”诗与现代日本的西域想象 是一篇关于酒肆和历史地理和文学创作的论文摘要, 免费供广大学者参考。

《长安学刊》2012003期作者/郭雪妮本文总字数:7949

郭雪妮

(北京师范大学文学院 北京100875)

摘要: 日本文学中的胡姬形象无疑来源于唐诗, 但其创作的触发点则始于20世纪初日本对“西域”的发现与研究. 日本作家渴望突破岛国文化的狭隘视角, 以胡姬形象为媒介传达日本人对广袤西域风土的憧憬与想象, 并通过虚构胡姬与日本遣唐使的恋情, 来证明正是长安这个“文化之道”, 沟通了古代日本与“西域”乃至整个世界.

关键词: 胡姬; 长安; 唐诗; 日本文学; 西域

文章编号: 978-7-80736-771-0(2012)03-001-05

引言

“胡姬”作为一种独立的文学形象出现在日本文学中, 还只是晚近的事. 尽管唐诗的影响显而易见, 几乎每一部涉及胡姬的日本小说, 都会引用李白、岑参等人吟咏胡姬的诗句. 但问题是, 唐诗早在平安时代已传入日本, 江户时代服部南郭校注的《唐诗选》更是风靡一时, 司马辽太郎到访长安时曾说: “我狂热地想唱《唐诗选》中的胡姬诗! 那时候从日本来的遣唐使也一定去过长安城里的酒吧一条街, 也进出过胡姬的酒肆, 恐怕他们也喝下了红头发蓝眼睛的胡姬用玻璃杯盛满的葡萄酒吧! 然而, 为何直到战后的日本文学中才开始出现“胡姬”形象? 另外, 在唐诗影响的延长线上, 日本作家笔下的“胡姬”有怎样的继承与变异? 通过考释唐诗中“胡姬”的种族、身份及来源, 或许可以接近上述诸问题的本质.

### 一、关于唐诗中“胡姬”种族、身份和来源的疑问

中国大陆及港台学者关于唐诗中“胡姬”形象的研究, 已经颇为深入. 无论是就“胡姬”诗所作的文本内部分析, 还是就其周边所进行的考古学、社会学、文化学阐释, 成果都不能不说丰富. 但综观既往研究成果, “胡姬”一词所指大有走向泛化之嫌, 甚至有用其统称“胡人女性”的倾向. 据笔者统计分类, 《全唐诗》中明显出现“胡姬”一词的诗歌实有16首, 其中有12首写“酒肆胡姬”, 分别是李白的《白鼻騮》、《前有一樽酒行二首》其二、《少年行二首》其二、《醉后赠王历阳》、《送裴十八南归嵩山二首》其一; 岑参的《送宇文南金放后归太原寓居因呈太原郝主簿》、《青门歌送东台张判官》; 以及张祜《白鼻騮》、贺朝《赠酒店胡姬》、施肩吾《戏郑中府》、章孝标《少年行》、韩偓《北齐二首》其一. 另外4首除岑参的《江行遇梅花之作》, “此鸟衔花胡姬前, 胡姬见花知我怜”中的胡姬, “恐怕只是寄托之辞”之外, 其余3首是温庭筠的《勅勒歌塞北》、《赠袁司录》, 杨凝的《从军行》, 从“羌儿吹玉管, 胡姬踏锦花”, “金钗醉就胡姬书, 玉管闲留洛客吹”, “汉卒悲箫鼓, 胡姬湿采旃”等诗句中不难看出, 这些胡姬可能生活在塞外, 与长安酒肆侍酒的胡姬并不同.

另外, 目前国内许多研究者将白居易、元稹《胡旋女》诗歌中的胡旋舞女也称为“胡姬”, 笔者认为不甚恰当, 试析如下.

其一, 从时间上看, 有“胡姬”一词在先, 早在汉代辛延年的《羽林郎》中已有“胡姬年十五, 春日自当垆”的诗句. 南北朝宫体文学核心人物之一的徐陵也有《乌栖曲》: “卓女红妆期此夜, 胡姬沽酒谁论价. 风流荀令好儿郎, 偏能傅粉复熏香.” 可见, 汉代长安已有胡姬酒肆, 至唐一代, 胡风盛行, 长安平安坊、西市、东门一带皆有胡姬酒肆, 而“胡姬”一词也就专指酒肆中侍酒的胡人女性. 相较之下, “胡旋舞女”的出现则要晚得多. 据向达先生考证, 胡旋舞之人中国, 当在唐开元、天宝年间. “案胡旋舞出自康国, 唐玄宗开元、天宝时, 西域康、米、史、俱密诸国屡献胡旋女子, 胡旋舞之人中国, 当始于斯时.” 法国汉学家谢弗也曾说过: “许多胡旋女都是作为礼物, 由俱密、史国、米国, 特别是由康国的统治者在唐玄宗在位时期, 也就是在公元八世纪前半叶被送到唐朝来的.” 另外, 唐诗中也并未见用“胡姬”指称“胡旋女”者.

其二, 胡旋舞是一种很专业的特技舞蹈, 胡旋舞女是作为特殊贡品被进献到长安的, 因此在正史中有多处记载. 如《旧唐书·志第九》载有: “舞急转如风, 俗谓之胡旋.” 《新唐书·志第二十五》载: “又有《胡旋舞》, 本出康居, 以旋转便捷为巧, 时尚之.” 《新唐书·西域传》言康国: “开元初贡锁子铠……侏儒、胡旋女子.” 言米国: “开元时献壁、舞筵、师子、胡旋女.” 言俱密: “开元中献胡旋舞女.” 另外, 在出土的钱币、石雕、金银器、陶俑、绘画和壁画等文物中所见胡人女性, 也可以看到伎乐、舞者的形象. 如敦煌莫高窟初唐第220窟北壁药师净土变中, 绘有两组双人舞画面, 其中一组颇似胡旋舞. 相较之下, 关于“胡姬”的记载, 除唐诗之外, 正史之中极少提到. 偶尔发现些零星, 却大多都与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易有关, 如《新唐书·西域传》载: “葱岭以东俗喜淫, 龟兹、于阗置女肆, 征其钱.” 目前国内已有诸多学者通

过考古发现、文书解读等方式证明，唐代长安酒肆中的胡姬，大都是来自中亚、西亚一带被贩卖的女奴。

石田幹之助曾说过：“作为进献贡品的胡旋女一般会被直接送入太常寺隶属的教坊，普通庶民大概没有多少机会容易接触到。

1 2 3 4 下一页

[思想政治教育emba论文致谢](#), [思想政治教育信任理论初探](#)

[艺术作品研究生如何发表论文](#), [中国当代电影中的另类镜像——论贾樟柯电影](#)

[婚姻家庭文献综述与论文](#), [“五四”女作家小说创作婚恋主题的多重奏](#)

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623032910/http://dushu.qq.com/read.html?bid=650540&cid=6>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20200606220006/https://m.douban.com/book/review/6942122/>

## 《唐朝定居指南》中的参考资料



小纪

2014-09-09 看过

一年之计在于吃

用美味糕点征服他的心吧，穿越女go on！[特色点心]

(宋)陶谷撰，李益民等注释，清异录：饮食部分，北京，中国商业出版社，1985

王赛时，唐代饮食，济南，齐鲁书社，2003

快看那个村夫，上好的雪梨居然生啃！[水果]

王赛时，唐代饮食，济南，齐鲁书社，2003

马波，唐代长安瓜果蔬菜的消费与生产初探，古今农业，1992（2）

行个令都不会，还想吃酒席？快打出去！[酒令]

王昆吾，唐代酒令艺术——关于敦煌舞谱、早期文人词及其文化背景的研究，上海，东方出版中心，1995

季国平，从“论语玉烛”说到唐人酒令，扬州师院学报（社会科学版），1984（4）

女冒险家玛珂珂萝蜜的东方奇幻漂流[西域女奴贸易]

关也维，唐代音乐史，北京，中央民族大学出版社，2006

温翠芳，唐代长安西市中的胡姬与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易，西域研究，2006（2）

五谷轮回，人有三急

欢迎使用纯天然绿色循环模式洗手间，可爱的猪仔陪您一起方便！[厕所]

(韩)，金光彦，东亚的厕所，南京，译林出版社，2008

(日)，光藤俊夫，中山繁信，居所中的水与火：厨房、浴室、厕所的历史，北京，清华大学出版社，

2010

每个月都有那么几天特殊日子，怎么办呢？用来制药？[妇女卫生]

李贞德，女人的中国医疗史——汉唐之间的健康照顾与性别，台北，三民书局，2008

用栉篦去除头垢虱蚤，不但环保省水还能够占卜运势呢！[洗头]

孟晖，贵妃的红汗，南京，南京大学出版社，2011

皇帝带头正风气，澡堂子里谈工作[洗澡]

(无?)

社会救济与公共文化生活

绝不滥用抗生素，怀里抱只鸡来治传染病[医疗]

于赓哲，唐代疾病、医疗史初探，北京，中国社会科学出版社，2011

范家伟，中古时期的医者与病者，上海，复旦大学出版社，2010

赵芳军，唐代社会医疗体系研究（学位论文），兰州，西北师范大学，2009

刘兴云，唐代中州乡村社会，兰州，甘肃人民出版社，2007

师太，请您出示剃度许可证和尼姑职业资格证书[佛教]

郝春文, 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 1998  
王景琳, 中国古代寺院生活, 西安, 陕西人民出版社, 1991  
李富华, 中国古代僧人生活, 北京, 商务印书馆国际有限公司, 1996

医院学校旅店殡仪馆, 多功能寺庙欢迎您[社会救济]

郝春文, 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 1998  
王景琳, 中国古代寺院生活, 西安, 陕西人民出版社, 1991  
李富华, 中国古代僧人生活, 北京, 商务印书馆国际有限公司, 1996  
李艳茹, 唐代小说呈现的佛教寺院社会生活图景, 香港, 香港大学饶宗颐学术馆, 2011

想听书看戏, 茶馆剧院不侍候, 请去庙里拜佛[公众娱乐]

郝春文, 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 1998  
王景琳, 中国古代寺院生活, 西安, 陕西人民出版社, 1991  
李富华, 中国古代僧人生活, 北京, 商务印书馆国际有限公司, 1996  
李艳茹, 唐代小说呈现的佛教寺院社会生活图景, 香港, 香港大学饶宗颐学术馆, 2011

当个有文化的唐朝人

郎君, 您这一口标准长安音实在是……土得掉渣了! [中古普通话]

此篇说明: 语言学是一门非常专业和艰深的学科, 古代汉语语音与现代差异很大, 多数字音无法用现代汉字或汉语拼音准确标注, 如果使用国际音标, 又将给非专业读者造成阅读障碍。因本文是科普随笔性质, 所以使用现代汉字“近略模拟”了古字读音, 让读者略微感受一下古今异同, 不可视为准确古音。本文中所涉及的语音知识和《切韵》流变种种, 均由语言学专业人士吾友水支作技术支持。中古南北语音的特点和切韵系发音, 主要取潘悟云教授观点, 可参考网站: 东方语言学 (<http://www.eastling.org>)。关中秦音参考资料为黄淬伯《唐代关中方言音系》。

小学老师不教《三字经》《百家姓》, 体罚必不可少[幼童启蒙教育]

郑阿财, 朱凤玉, 敦煌蒙书研究, 兰州, 甘肃教育出版社, 2002  
唐群, 唐代教育研究, 西安, 西安出版社, 2009

您有自己的书房了! 不过房里没有线装书! [中古书籍]

肖占鹏编, 李广欣译, 唐代编辑出版史, 南京, 南开大学出版社, 2009 (应该是天津吧?)  
李明君, 历代书籍装帧艺术, 北京, 文物出版社, 2009

来认识一下唐朝的文房八宝……粥? [笔墨纸砚等]

罗平章, 唐代书艺与长沙窑文具说略, 文化生活 (艺术中国), 2011 (5)  
朱国伟, 唐代器用赋研究 (学位论文), 南京, 南京师范大学, 2008  
扬之水, 古诗文名物新证 (二), 北京, 紫禁城出版社, 2010  
扬之水, 终朝采蓝: 古名物寻微, 北京, 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2008

学而优则仕, 当官上朝啦

八抬大轿太娘炮, 骑马才是高官范儿[交通工具]

孙机, 中国古舆服论丛, 北京, 文物出版社, 2001  
(美) 谢弗著, 吴玉贵译, 唐代的外来文明, 西安, 陕西师范大学出版社, 2005

皇帝上朝不戴冕, 宫廷劲吹休闲风[朝会服装]

李怡, 唐代文官服饰文化研究, 北京, 知识产权出版社, 2008

上朝不必“三跪九叩”, 要表忠心请原地跳舞[朝会礼仪]

余云华, 拱手·鞠躬·跪拜——中国传统交际礼仪, 成都, 四川人民出版社, 1993  
李斌城, 唐文化研究·唐代上朝礼仪初探, 上海, 上海人民出版社, 1994

对不住, 本朝不供应“奉天承运皇帝诏曰”[圣旨]

刘后滨, 唐代中书门下体制研究: 公文形态·政务运行与制度变迁, 济南, 齐鲁书社, 2004

历史是任人打扮的小姑娘? 您倒是来打扮个看看呀! [史官制度]

牛润珍, 汉至唐初史官制度的演变, 石家庄, 河北教育出版社, 1999  
岳纯之, 唐代官方史学研究, 天津, 天津人民出版社, 2003  
何锡光, 唐代史馆的史料来源的常例和别例, 重庆三峡学院学报, 2007 (2)

秣马厉兵, 横扫天下

名将还是军阀? 这是一个问题[武官仕途]

刘琴丽, 唐代武官选任制度初探, 北京, 社会科学文献出版社, 2006  
许友根, 唐代武举初探, 盐城师专学报 (社会科学版), 1990 (1)

这直不笼统的东西是刀不是剑, 请先学会认兵器[兵器]

杨泓, 古代兵器史话, 上海, 上海科学技术出版社, 1988  
杨泓, 中国古兵器论丛 (增订本), 北京, 文物出版社, 1985  
刘秋霖等编, 中国古代兵器图说, 天津, 天津古籍出版社, 2003

钟少异, 金戈铁戟——中国古兵器的历史与传统, 北京, 解放军出版社, 1999

严禁白衣飘飘上阵单挑, 烧了武侠小说去买甲吧[盔甲装备]

杨泓, 古代兵器史话, 上海, 上海科学技术出版社, 1988

杨泓, 中国古兵器论丛(增订本), 北京, 文物出版社, 1985

枪杆子里出政权, 跟李卫公学打仗[练兵出战]

邓泽宗, 李靖兵法辑本注释, 北京, 解放军出版社, 1990

那些渐渐消失的唐代节日

鸡、狗、猪、羊、牛、马, 今天终于生人了[人日]

李健中, 论唐代“人日诗”, 湖南人文科技学院学报, 2010 (4)

张宏梅, 唐代的节日与风俗, 太原, 山西人民出版社, 2010

从不开放的长安夜市, 一年仅此一次, 速来抢购![上元]

张靖华, 从《全唐诗》中元宵诗看唐代元宵节日风俗, 语文学刊, 2010 (16)

程蔷, 董乃斌, 唐帝国的精神文明——民俗与文学, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 1996

张宏梅, 唐代的节日与风俗, 太原, 山西人民出版社, 2010

三月三日天气新, 长安水边多丽人[上巳]

张勃, 唐代节日研究, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 2013

张宏梅, 唐代的节日与风俗, 太原, 山西人民出版社, 2010

黄新亚, 消逝的太阳: 唐代城市生活长卷, 长沙, 湖南人民出版社, 2006

断炊了, 大家欢欢喜喜上坟去吧[寒食清明]

程蔷, 董乃斌, 唐帝国的精神文明——民俗与文学, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 1996

张宏梅, 唐代的节日与风俗, 太原, 山西人民出版社, 2010

张勃, 唐代节日研究, 北京, 中国社会科学出版社, 2013

公款不吃白不吃, 家家扶得醉人归[社日]

张勃, 春秋二社: 唐代乡村社会的盛大节日——兼论社日与唐代私社的发展, 华中师范大学学报(人文社会科学版), 2011 (3)

萧放, 社日与中国古代乡村社会, 北京师范大学学报(社会科学版), 1998 (6)

孟宪实, 敦煌民间结社研究, 北京, 北京大学出版社, 2009

张宏梅, 唐代的节日与风俗, 太原, 山西人民出版社, 2010

遍插茱萸少一人, 此人正在射菊花[重阳]

王相涛, 唐代重阳诗研究(学位论文), 南京, 南京师范大学, 2006

陈戍国, 中国礼制史——隋唐五代卷, 长沙, 湖南教育出版社, 1998

王永平, 游戏、竞技与娱乐: 中古社会生活透视, 北京, 中华书局, 2010

张宏梅, 唐代的节日与风俗, 太原, 山西人民出版社, 2010

29 有用

1 没用

 [唐朝定居指南](#) 7.7分

查看更多豆瓣高分好书

历史

民俗

文化

中国历史

中国

科普

社会史

随笔

评论 0条

# 唐代長安城中販賣給漢人的胡姬與絲綢之路上的女奴貿易

2018-03-31 由 吾必成 發表于歷史

很多人不知道，女奴是絲綢之路上非常重要的商品。女奴貿易的利潤非常之高，從伊朗和中亞、南亞地區販賣到唐長安城的女奴，利潤要比絲綢高出三倍到五倍左右。

## 中亞美女

在唐代，長安城中的西市便是女奴交易的最大市場。根據史書記載，長安西市中佐酒的胡姬非常多，並且她們的歌舞技藝精湛、充滿了濃厚的異域風情，吸引無數文人墨客流連駐足、花天酒地。李白便有首詩：五陵年少金市東，銀鞍白馬度春風。落花踏盡游何處？笑入胡姬酒肆中。

## 唐代地圖

在長安西市，有很多波斯邸店和胡姬酒肆，這些酒肆旅店集中在一起，占地有十餘畝。在西市經營酒業的多為胡人，有波斯人和粟特人等。波斯人非常愛好飲酒，在波斯的文化中，美酒與美色常常並提。而在長安西市中，侍酒者也大都是年輕貌美的姑娘，被稱為「薩吉」。酒館集美酒與美色於一處，異域甘甜的美酒和絕妙的歌舞讓無數的唐人樂不思蜀。

## 唐長安城

根據唐代史料記載的這些胡姬的面貌特徵來看，她們大多是來自中亞、西亞的女子。並且這些胡姬並不是經營酒店的胡商的眷屬。更不是舉家內遷的胡女，而是絲綢之路上被粟特商人販賣到中國來的女奴。唐代，絲綢之路上的國際貿易盛極一時，絲路捎客粟特人的足跡遍布西起東羅馬東至長安的絲路沿線。而女奴買賣作為貿易中的大宗，不僅市場廣闊，而且價格高昂，成為粟特人販往唐代中國的主要商品之一。

## 中亞女性

由於長安匯集著大量的達官貴族、富商豪賈，因此也是絲綢之路女奴貿易最大的消費市場。在吐魯番出土的唐垂拱元年(公元685年)的案卷中，記載著昭武九姓康國中一個叫做康尾義的商人，攜帶著十五名吐火羅、中亞、印度的女奴，途經吐魯番去往長安貿易。而這些女奴顯然都是中亞南亞地區的女奴。

## 唐人宴會圖

而針對胡人女奴貿易，唐朝廷對其交易的限制也特別嚴格。出入關口必須申請過所，而且必須提供附券。進行交易時，必須由市令發給市券。唐朝廷這樣做的目的主要是為了防止壓良為賤，同時也是為了能夠進行徵稅。由於女奴第單價非常高，對奴婢所征的稅是朝廷的一大收入。

由於奴隸在法律地位上跟牛馬等畜產相等，主人有權任意拷打、虐待、捆綁、買賣、抵押、作為禮物贈人，故經營酒業的胡商出資購買這些來自粟特本土甚至更遠地方的女奴。可以肆意地剝削她們的勞動，讓她們當壚賣酒，並強迫她們提供各種服務，如陪酒、表演歌舞甚至包括性服務、與娼妓無大差別。

橫貫歐亞大陸的絲綢之路上的利潤大都被中間商中亞的粟特人賺取。他們不僅將中亞的女奴販賣到中國，也將她們販賣到阿拉伯甚至東羅馬帝國。

## 絲綢之路路線圖

而從出土的文書來看，這些被販賣的女奴只有十四五歲，還未成年就已經就遠離了故土與親人，在為大唐子民獻上異域風情的歌舞的同時，不知流了多少思鄉的眼淚。

[點我分享到Facebook](#)

## 相關文章

### 唐代長安販賣給漢人的胡姬最後都什麼下場？絲綢之路是她們的噩夢

2018-08-22

女奴貿易的利潤非常之高，從伊朗和中亞、南亞地區販賣到唐長安城的女奴，利潤要比絲綢高出三倍到五倍左右。

### 絲綢之路上女奴貿易泛濫，如同交易商品一般，開放程度讓人咂舌！

2018-08-22

是指西漢時，由張騫出使西域開闢的以長安為起點，經甘肅、新疆，到中亞、西亞，並聯結地中海各國的陸上通道。

## 相關文章

### 唐代長安販賣給漢人的胡姬最後都什麼下場？絲綢之路是她們的噩夢

2018-08-22

女奴貿易的利潤非常之高，從伊朗和中亞、南亞地區販賣到唐長安城的女奴，利潤要比絲綢高出三倍到五倍左右。

<https://kknews.cc/culture/apnemkn.html>

### 絲綢之路上女奴貿易泛濫，如同交易商品一般，開放程度讓人咂舌！

2018-08-22

是指西漢時，由張騫出使西域開闢的以長安為起點，經甘肅、新疆，到中亞、西亞，並聯結地中海各國的陸上通道。

<https://kknews.cc/history/nbq9ma2.html>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20200606220003/http://ylyjzx.swu.edu.cn/s/ylyjzx/yjdw/20171227/2183647.html>

欢迎访问本站！今天是2020年6月6日 星期六 晚上 22:01:28 农历庚子鼠年 四月十五

当前位置 [首页](#)> [研究队伍](#)>

#### 温翠芳特聘研究员

发布时间：2017-12-27 16:47:13 作者：本站编辑 来源：本站原创 浏览次数：229

温翠芳，女，1975年生，山西平遥人。2000年9月考入山西大学历史系，师从孙益力副教授进行隋唐五代史的研究与学习，2003年7月获历史学硕士学位。2003年9月考入陕西师范大学历史文化学院，师从胡戟教授攻读隋唐史，2007年获历史学博士学位。现为西南大学历史文化学院副教授。主要从事隋唐五代史、唐代中西交通史研究。曾在《西域研究》、《中国文化研究》、《文史知识》、《云南社会科学》等刊物上发表论文多篇。

(1)主要发表论文：《从乳香到沉香—唐宋两代朝贡贸易中进出口的主要香药之变迁研究》，《西南大学学报》，2015年第3期。

《汉唐时代南海诸国香药入华史研究》，《贵州社会科学》，2013年第2期。

《唐代长安西市中的胡姬与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易》，《西域研究》，2006年第2期。

《唐宋两代沉香朝贡贸易变迁研究》，《中国社会经济史研究》，2015年第5期。

《波斯珠宝商在唐土贸易试探》，《云南社会科学》，2009年第一期。

《唐太宗治气痢方与印度史学之关系》，《中国文化研究》，2006年第4期。

《“支那”为“齐”考述》，《云南社会科学》，2006年第3期。

《檀香对中国中古佛教的影响研究》，《兰台世界》，2014年第6期。

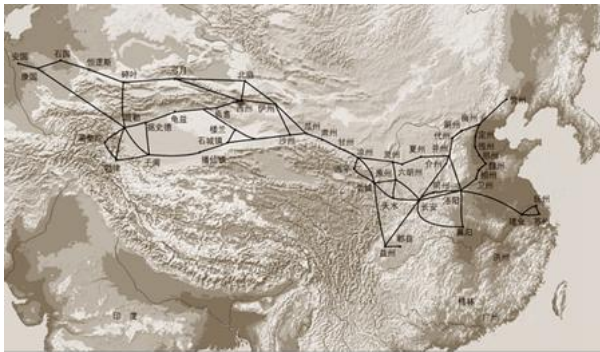
(2)主持项目：教育部人文社会科学研究青年基金项目“唐宋香药进口贸易比较研究”。

国家社会科学基金青年项目“外来香药对中国中古社会影响研究”。

<http://web.archive.org/web/20200606221511/http://www.kaogu.cn/html/cn/xueshuyanjie/yanjiuxinlun/qita/2014/0909/47471.html>

## 从撒马尔干到长安——中古时期粟特人的迁徙与入居 《中古中国与粟特文明》代序言

发布时间：2014-09-09 文章出处：三联学术通讯 作者：荣新江 点击率：7382



粟特移民迁徙路线图



粟特本土发现的壁画—粟特商队

### 1. 粟特人和他们的原产地

粟特人，在中国史籍中又被称为昭武九姓、九姓胡、杂种胡、粟特胡等等。从人种上来说，他们是属于伊朗系统的中亚古族；从语言上来说，他们操印欧语系伊朗语族中的东伊朗语的一支，即粟特语（Sogdian），文字则使用阿拉美文的一种变体，现通称粟特文。粟特人的本土位于中亚阿姆河和锡尔河之间的泽拉夫珊河流域，即西方古典文献所说的粟特地区（Sogdiana，音译作“索格底亚那”），其主要范围在今乌兹别克斯坦，还有部分在塔吉克斯坦和吉尔吉斯斯坦。在粟特地区的大大小小的绿洲上，分布着一个个大小不同的城邦国家，其中以撒马尔干（Samarkand）为中心的康国最大，它常常是粟特各城邦国家的代表。此外，以布哈拉（Bukhara）为中心的安国，也是相对较大的粟特王国。还有，位于苏对沙那（Sutrushana/Ushrusana）的东曹国、劫布坦那（Kaputana）的曹国、瑟底痕（Ishiti Khan）的西曹国、弭秣贺（Maimurgh）的米国、屈霜你迦（Kushanika）的何国、羯霜那（Kashana）的史国、赭时（Chach）的石国等，不同时期，或有分合，中国史籍称他们为“昭武九姓”，其实有时候不止九个国家【1】。历史上的粟特人从未形成一个统一的帝国，因此长期受周边强大的外族势力控制，先后臣属于波斯、阿契美尼德王朝、希腊的亚历山大帝国、塞琉古王朝、康居国、大月氏部、贵霜帝国、嚙哒国等。粟特人在各异族统治下，非但没有灭绝，反而更增强了自己的应变能力，不仅保存了独立的王统世系，而且成为中古时代控制陆上丝绸之路的一个独具特色的商业民族。

### 2. 粟特人的东迁与聚落



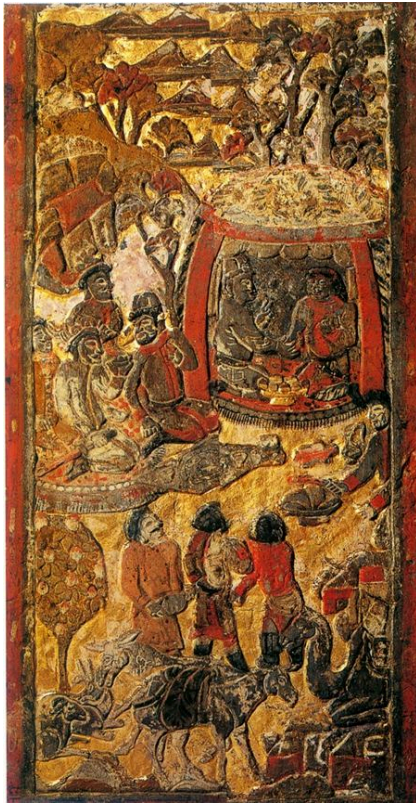
萨保率众外出经商（安伽墓围屏石榻）

在公元3至8世纪之间，大体上相当于中国的汉唐之间，由于商业利益的驱使，以及粟特地区的动乱和战争等原因，粟特人沿传统意义上的陆上丝绸之路大批东行，经商贸易，有许多人就此移居中国，一去不复返。

粟特人东来贩易，往往是以商队（caravan）的形式，由商队首领（caravan-leader）率领，结伙而行，他们少者数十人，多者数百人，并且拥有武装以自保。我们在敦煌莫高窟第420窟窟顶东坡上部的隋代绘制的一幅《观世音菩萨普门品》，就可以看到这样的商队在丝绸之路上行进的情形，虽然画家绘制的是产生于印度的佛经故事，但人物形象却是以敦煌画家常见的中亚粟特商队为原型的【2】。

粟特商人在丝绸之路上的一些便于贸易和居住的地点留居下来，建立自己的殖民聚落，一部分人留下来，另一部分人继续东行，去开拓新的经商地点，建立新的聚落。久而久之，这些粟特聚落由少到多，由弱变强，少者几十人，多者达数百人。在中原农耕地区，被称为聚落；在草原游牧地区，则形成自己的部落。因为粟特商队在行进中也吸纳许多其他的中亚民族，如吐火罗人、西域（塔克拉玛干周边绿洲王国）人、突厥人等，因此不论是粟特商队还是粟特聚落中，都有多少不等的粟特系统之外的西方或北方的部众，所以，我们把粟特聚落有时也称为胡人聚落，可能更符合一些地方的聚落实际的种族构成情况。

### 3. 萨保：粟特商队首领和聚落首领



萨保造访突厥部落在毡帐宴饮（安伽墓围屏石榻）

这种有组织的粟特商队的首领，粟特文叫做's'rt'p'w，汉文音译做“萨保”、“萨甫”、“萨宝”等，意译就是“首领”。萨保的粟特文原语，是吉田丰教授从写于公元4世纪初叶的粟特文古信札中找到的【3】，最近，这一比定得到了新发现的史君墓粟特文和汉文双语对照书写的铭文的确证。结合汉文文献中大量的有关萨保的记载，我们知道萨保不仅是粟特商队行进中的领袖，而且也是粟特人建立的聚落统治者，由于大多数早期东来的粟特人信奉的是粟特传统的琐罗亚斯德教（中国称之为祆教、拜火教），所以聚落中往往立有祆祠，萨保也就成为粟特聚落中的政教大首领。

从十六国到北朝时期，这样的胡人聚落在塔里木盆地、河西走廊、中原北方、蒙古高原等地区都有存在，散布十分广泛。通过学者历年对粟特文古信札、敦煌吐鲁番发现的汉文和粟特文文书、中原各地出土的汉文墓志材料的研究，我们可以清晰地勾勒出一条粟特人东行所走的迁徙之路，这条道路从西域北道的据史德（今新疆巴楚东）、龟兹（库车）、焉耆、高昌（吐鲁番）、伊州（哈密），或是从南道的于阗（和田）、且末、石城镇（鄯善）进入河西走廊，经敦煌、酒泉、张掖、武威，再东南经原州（固原），入长安（西安）、洛阳，或东北向灵州（灵武西南）、并州（太原）、云州（大同东）乃至幽州（北京）、营州（朝阳），或者从洛阳经卫州（汲县）、相州（安阳）、魏州（大名北）、邢州（邢台）、定州（定县）、幽州（北京）可以到营州。在这条道路上的各个主要城镇，几乎都留下了粟特人的足迹，有的甚至形成了聚落【4】。

北朝、隋、唐时期的中央和地方政府为了控制这些胡人聚落，把萨保纳入中国传统的官僚体制当中，以萨保为一级职官，作为视流外官，专门授予胡人首领，并设立萨保（萨宝）府，其中设有萨宝府祆正、萨宝府祆祝、萨宝府长史、萨宝府果毅、萨宝府率、萨宝府史等官吏，来控制胡人聚落，管理聚落行政和宗教事务。就史籍和墓志辑录的材料来看，从北魏开始，中原王朝就在都城洛阳设京师萨保，而在各地设州一级的萨保。我们见到有雍州、凉州、甘州等地萨保的称号。以后西魏北周、东魏北齐都继承了此制度。北齐有京邑萨甫、诸州萨甫。《康元敬墓志》里还有“九州摩诃大萨宝”的称号，可能是北齐管理全国萨保府事务的官职，也可能是京邑萨甫——北齐都城邺城的胡人聚落首领【5】。北周有京师萨保，墓志材料还有凉州、酒泉、同州、并州、代州、介州等州一级的萨保，如新发现的史君墓主人是凉州萨保，安伽是同州萨保，还有中央政府派出的检校萨保府的官员，即虞弘。隋代有雍州（京师）萨保和诸州萨保。唐朝建立后，把正式州县中的胡人聚落改作乡里，如西州的胡人聚落设为崇化乡安乐里，敦煌则以粟特聚落建立从化乡，两京地区城镇中的胡人同样不再以聚落形式存在，但边境地区如六胡州、营州柳城等地的胡人聚落，应当继续存在，因此萨保府制度并未终结，所以《通典》卷四〇《职官典》以及其他史料仍有萨宝府职官的记录，事实上，北朝隋唐的中央政府对粟特聚落的控制是一个漫长的过程。

#### 4. 粟特的商业活动

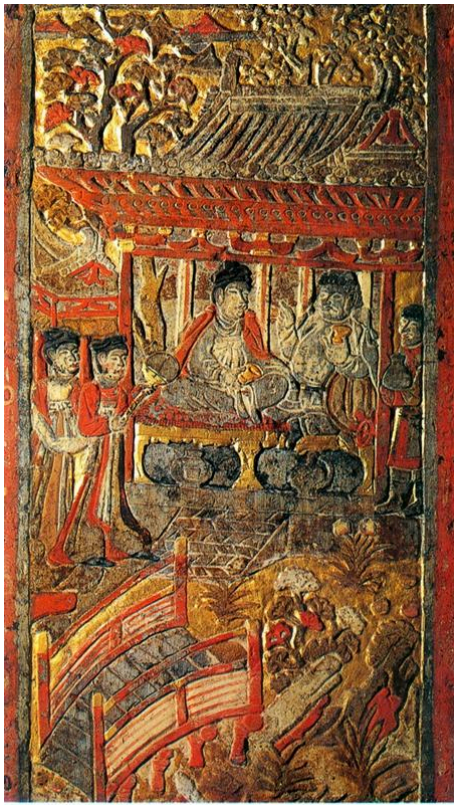


壁画中的商队首领（莫高窟第103窟初盛唐《法华经变》）

目前所见最早的有关粟特商人在中国活动的记录，是斯坦因（A. Stein）在敦煌西北长城烽隧下面发现的粟特文古信札。这是一组住在武威、敦煌的粟特商人写给家乡撒马尔干或西域楼兰等地的粟特商人的信件，不知何故被送信的使者遗失在那里。经过学者的解读，我们得知这是公元4世纪初叶写成的，主要内容是报告粟特商人以凉州武威为大本营，派出商人前往洛阳、邺城、金城（兰州）、敦煌等地从事贸易活动，因为晋末中原的动乱，致使经商的粟特人也蒙受打击这一情况，通过信札所述内容我们还了解到他们行踪之远，以及经营的货物品种——香料、布匹等【6】。

粟特人经过长时间的经营，在撒马尔干和长安之间，甚至远到中国东北边境地带，逐渐形成了自己的贸易网络，在这个贸易网络的交汇点上，建立起殖民聚落，作为他们东西贸易的中转站。吐鲁番出土有高昌国时期的《高昌内藏奏得称价钱帐》，就反映了在高昌地区进行贵金属、香料等贸易的双方，基本都是粟特人【7】，也就是说，从西方来的粟特商人把大宗货物运载到高昌，由高昌的粟特商人买下来，再分散或整批运至河西或中原地区兴贩。辛姆斯—威廉姆斯（N. Sims-Williams）教授曾据印度河上游中巴友好公路巴基斯坦一侧发现的粟特文岩刻题记指出，粟特人不仅仅是粟特与中国之间贸易的担当者，也是中国与印度之间的贸易担当者【8】。结合吐鲁番阿斯塔那古墓发现的粟特文买卖突厥地区奴婢的契约【9】，我们也可以说，粟特人还是中国与北方游牧民族之间贸易的担当者，即如姜伯勤教授所强调的那样，粟特人实际上是中古时期丝绸之路贸易的担当者【10】。大概正是因为从北朝到隋唐，陆上丝绸之路的贸易几乎被粟特人垄断，所以我们在史籍中很少看到波斯商人的足迹，现代舞剧《丝路花雨》所描写的丝绸之路上的波斯商人，在唐朝时期更多是活跃在东南沿海地区，而非敦煌、吐鲁番等地，在北方丝路沿线发现的大量波斯银币和少量罗马金币，应当是粟特人贸易的印证，而不是钱币源出国的波斯人和拜占廷人的【11】。

## 5. 由聚落到乡里



萨保夫妇在中国式庭院内宴饮（安伽墓围屏石榻）

粟特人建立的殖民聚落，可以举蒲昌海（罗布泊）地区的聚落作为典型。据敦煌文书《沙州伊州地志》和《沙州图经》记载，这是“贞观中（627—649），康国大首领康艳典东来，居此城（鄯善城），胡人随之，因成聚落”，这也正是我们称这类胡人殖民地为“聚落”的根据【12】。在鄯善（后称石城镇）一带，还有随康艳典而来的粟特移民建筑的新城、蒲桃城、萨毗城，反映了粟特人城居生活形态和善于种植葡萄的本性，而且，这里还有维系胡人精神生活的祆教寺院——祆舍一座【13】。像这样还没有被唐朝中央政府和地方政府控制的粟特聚落，有其自身的文化生活，过去因为汉文史料对这种粟特聚落的内部生活记载绝少，因此不甚了了。近年来一系列粟特石棺床图像的发现，特别是安伽墓的图像，使我们了解到粟特聚落内宴饮、狩猎、会客、出访等日常生活场景，也获得了他们婚姻、丧葬、信仰等方面的信息【14】。

至于被中原王朝或地方政府改造成乡里的粟特聚落，由于敦煌藏经洞发现了大量的汉文文书，使我们今天对于敦煌地区从聚落到乡里的情形有比较透彻的了解。池田温先生《8世纪中叶敦煌的粟特人聚落》一文，根据敦煌文书《天宝十载（751）敦煌县差科簿》和相关敦煌写本，指出唐朝沙州敦煌县十三乡之一的从化乡，就是在粟特聚落的基础上形成的，其位置恰好就在敦煌城东一里的祆舍所在地，这里又称安城，是当地粟特民众精神信仰的中心。从化乡居民种族构成以粟特人为主，也有吐火罗人、汉人等，其公务负担有不少是从事非农业劳动，敦煌市场的管理者则出自该乡粟特百姓，表明他们的商业特性。8世纪中叶开始，由于粟特地区的动荡、唐朝的内乱、吐蕃对河西的占领，从化乡居民渐渐减少，到8世纪末吐蕃占领敦煌后最终消亡【15】。

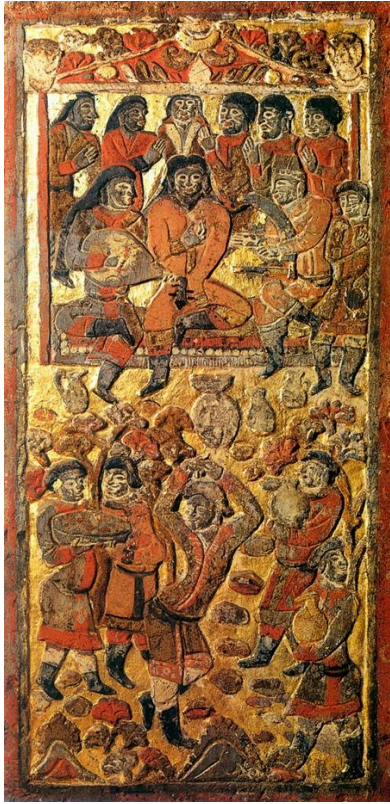
中古时期大批入华的粟特人并非都居住在以粟特人为主的胡人聚落里，他们有的进入漠北突厥汗国，有的入仕北魏、北齐、北周、隋、唐不同时代的各级军政机构，其中尤以从军者居多。固原南郊发现的两个史姓墓地的家族成员，基本上就是以军功彰显于世的。史射勿从北周保定四年（564）就跟从晋荡公东讨北齐。天和元年（566），又从平高公于河东作镇。二年正月，蒙授都督。同年二月，从郑国公征玉壁城。建德五年（576），又从申国公击破轺关，大蒙优赏。宣政元年（578），从齐王宪掩讨稽胡。隋开皇二年（582），从上开府、岐章公李轨出凉州，与突厥战于城北。三年，随上开府姚辩北征。十年正月，从驾辇往并州。十四年，转帅都督。十七年，迁大都督。十九年，又随越国公杨素绝大漠，大歼凶党，即蒙授开府仪同三司，以旌殊绩。同年十一月，敕授骠骑将军。二十年，又从齐王入碛【16】。仅此一例，即可看出粟特人随中原王朝将领南征北战的艰难历程。史射勿的子孙辈后来任唐朝监牧官，管理马匹，有的任中书省译语人，虽然都表现了粟特人见长的技能，但他们都已经脱离粟特聚落的主体，逐渐融合到中原汉文化当中去了。

唐朝统一帝国建立后，大多数在唐朝直辖区县区域内的粟特聚落基本变成乡里，聚落的粟特民众必然分散开来，这些粟特人虽然汉化，但他们的粟特人特征还是非常明显的，我们可以根据他们的姓名、婚姻、出身郡望、封爵地点、本人的技能等方面，来判断他们是否是粟特后裔。目前，已经出土的大量唐朝墓志都被刊布出来，与其他外来民族比较，粟特人或粟特后裔的人数要远远多于波斯人、印度人、吐火罗人，甚至多于比粟特诸国还近的西域诸国人，这不能不说是数百年来大批粟特人入华，并且入仕中原王朝的结果。

安史之乱以后，由于发动叛乱的安禄山、史思明都是粟特人，因此在中原地区形成了一种排斥胡化，憎恨胡人的社会风潮，影响到一些粟特胡人的生存，他们有的用改变姓氏、郡望的方法极力抹掉自己的胡人特征，有的则迁徙到安史旧将所建的河北三镇，在那里没有对胡人的排斥，有的粟特人，如史宪诚、何进滔，在进入河北魏博节镇后得以发展，最后坐到了节度使的宝座上。在中原地区已经看不到的祆教祭祀活动，在中唐的河北地区，却仍然有新的祆祠被建立起来【17】。晚唐时，河北以及原六胡州的粟特胡人，加入到强劲的北方民族沙陀部当中，在沙陀三

部落里，有两部的主体都是粟特人。这些粟特人又成为五代王朝的中坚力量，甚至像石敬瑭那样，当上了皇帝。

## 6. 粟特人与东西文化交流



萨保招待突厥首领一起赏乐舞（安伽墓围屏石槨）

作为丝绸之路上的商业民族，粟特人把东西方物质文化中的精粹，转运到相互需要的一方，中古中国许多舶来品，大到皇家狩猎队伍中的猎豹、长安当垆的胡姬，小到宫廷贵妇人玩耍的波斯犬、绘制壁画使用的胡粉香料【18】，其实都是粟特人从西方各国转运而来的，薛爱华（E. Schafer）教授用“撒马尔干来的金桃”涵盖唐朝所有的外来物品【19】，是极有见地的看法。粟特人用他们擅长的语言能力，在丝绸之路沿线传播着各种精神文化，包括其民族信仰祆教和后来皈依的佛教，安伽、史君、虞弘墓的祆教祭司形象和敦煌出土的一批粟特文佛典是最好的证明；而且，还有一些粟特人成为从波斯向中国传播摩尼教、景教的传教士，吐鲁番发现的粟特文摩尼教和景教文献，应当出自他们之手。此外，能歌善舞的粟特人以及他们翻领窄袖的衣着，也深深影响着唐朝的社会，引导着时代的风尚，成为繁荣昌盛的大唐文化的一个形象标志。

2004年3月28日

\* 本文原载拙编《从撒马尔干到长安—粟特人在中国的文化遗迹》，北京图书馆出版社，2004年，3—8页，文中谈到的有关粟特人东徙诸问题，正是本书各篇讨论的对象，所以置于卷首，作为本书的“代前言”。

### 注释

【1】关于粟特王国的古地今名，参考张广达为《大唐西域记校注》（北京：中华书局，1985年）所写的相关条目。粟特历史，则请参考《中亚文明史》1—3卷汉译本相关章节，北京：中国对外翻译出版公司、联合国教科文组织，2002—2003年。

【2】荣新江《萨保与萨簿：佛教石窟壁画中的粟特商队首领》，提交“粟特人在中国”国际学术研讨会论文，中国国家图书馆，北京，2004年4月23—25日；收入《粟特人在中国—历史、考古、语言的新探索》，北京：中华书局，2005年12月，49—71页。

【3】吉田丰《ソグド语杂录（II）》，《オリエント》第31卷第2号，1989年，168—171页。

【4】荣新江《北朝隋唐粟特人之迁徙及其聚落》，《国学研究》第6卷，北京大学出版社，1999年，27—85页；收入《中古中国与外来文明》，北京：生活·读书·新知三联书店，2001年，37—110页。

【5】洛阳市文物工作队编《洛阳出土历代墓志辑录》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1991年，330页；周绍良编《唐代墓志汇编》，上海古籍出版社，1992年，572页；荣新江等编《从撒马尔干到长安—粟特人在中国的文化遗迹》，图版34及荣新江解说。

【6】N. Sims - Williams, "The Sogdian Ancient Letter II", *Philologica et Linguistica: Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001*, ed., M. G. Schmidt and W. Bisang, Trier 2001, pp.267-280; F. Grenet, N. Sims-Williams, and E. de la Vaissière, "The Sogdian Ancient Letter V", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, XII, 1998, pp.91-104.

【7】朱雷《麹氏高昌王国的“称价钱”》，《魏晋南北朝隋唐史资料》第4期，1982年，17—24页。

【8】 N. Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Merchants in China and India", *Cinae Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang*, ed. A. Cadonnae L. Lanciotti, Firenze 1996, pp.45-67.

【9】 吉田丰、森安孝夫、新疆博物馆《麹氏高昌国时代ソグド文女奴隶买卖文书》，《内陆アジア言語の研究》IV，1988年，1—50页+图版一。

【10】 姜伯勤《敦煌吐鲁番文书与丝绸之路》，北京：文物出版社，1994年，150—226页。

【11】 荣新江《波斯与中国：两种文化在唐朝的交融》，刘东编《中国学术》2002年第4辑，北京：商务印书馆，2002年，61—64页。

【12】 P. Pelliot, "Le Chat cheou tou tou fout'ouking'et la colonie sogdienne de la region du Lobnor", *Journal Asiatique*, 11 serie 7, 1916, pp. 111-123; 冯承钧译《沙州都督府图经及蒲昌海之康居聚落》，《西域南海史地考证译丛七编》，北京：商务印书馆，1957年，25—29页。

【13】 荣新江等编《从撒马尔干到长安—粟特人在中国的文化遗迹》，图版82—83并林世田解说。

【14】 荣新江《北朝隋唐粟特聚落的内部形态》，《中古中国与外来文明》，111—168页。

【15】 池田温《8世纪中叶における敦煌のソグド人聚落》，《ユーラシア文化研究》第1号，1965年，49—92页。

【16】 罗丰《固原南郊隋唐墓地》，北京：文物出版社，1996年，7—30、185—196页；荣新江等编《从撒马尔干到长安—粟特人在中国的文化遗迹》，图版19及毕波解说。

【17】 荣新江《安史乱后粟特胡人的动向》，纪宗安、汤开建主编《暨南史学》第2 2003年，102—123页。

【18】 张广达《唐代的豹猫—文化传播的一个实例》，《唐研究》第7卷，北京大学出版社，2001年，177—204页；林梅村《粟特文买婢契与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易》，《文物》1992年第9期，49—54页；收入《西域文明》，北京：东方出版社，1995年，68—79页；芮传明《唐代“酒家胡”述考》，《上海社会科学院学术季刊》1993年第2期，159—166页；蔡鸿生《唐代九姓胡与突厥文化》，北京：中华书局，1998年；郑炳林《〈康秀华写经施入疏〉与〈炫和尚货卖胡粉历〉研究》，《敦煌吐鲁番研究》第3卷，1998年，191—208页。

【19】 E.H.Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: a study of Tang exotics*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963; 吴玉贵汉译本题谢弗《唐代的外来文明》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1995年。

《中古中国与粟特文明》，荣新江著，生活·读书·新知三联书店，2014年8月出版。详情请点击：<http://www.kaogu.cn/html/cn/xueshuziliao/shuzitushuguan/zuijinxinshu/2014/0909/47472.html>

版权所有：中国社会科学院考古研究所

地址：北京王府井大街27号 (100710) E-mail:[kaogu@cass.org.cn](mailto:kaogu@cass.org.cn)

备案号：京ICP备05027606

您是第 187726 位访问者

[http://web.archive.org/web/20200606220009/http://www.sxlib.org.cn/dfzy/sxdwljgbtddl/yjwx\\_5659/yjlx\\_5660/qwhyyw/201704/t20170426\\_698266.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20200606220009/http://www.sxlib.org.cn/dfzy/sxdwljgbtddl/yjwx_5659/yjlx_5660/qwhyyw/201704/t20170426_698266.html)

位置：首页 > 研究论著 > 乾陵文化研究 (五)

[\[上一记录\]](#) [\[下一记录\]](#)

## 从出土文物看唐代的胡人女性形象[1]

杨瑾

代的开放与富足、丝绸之路的空前繁荣吸引着无数异域人士。据史料统计，唐王朝曾与300多个国家和交往，每年入唐的外国人络绎不绝。主要有肩负外交与朝贡使命的使臣、传教的僧侣、追求知识的学者、经商谋利的商人、谋生的奴仆或艺人。他们多来自突厥、回鹘、吐火罗、粟特、大食、波斯、天竺等西方地区，其中包括一些女性[2]。因此，唐朝人对相貌和服饰奇特的胡人女子并不陌生，“胡姬压酒劝客言长安街头常见的景观和史料(史书、绘画、诗歌和小说)反复描写的情节，但目前考古资料发现的胡人多形象，女性很少[3]。据不完全统计，隋唐墓葬出土的胡俑约700件，而女胡俑不到20件(不到3%)。葛承认为“我们今天所能见到的唐代胡人女性俑非常罕见，当时的胡姬、胡旋女等外来女性在史书文字和出土都记录不少，但遗憾的是考古文物中却很难找到‘胡女’，似乎只有西安出土金乡县主墓里的一个‘胡女’特别她脸部面容模糊不清，也绝不是唐诗中描写的胡姬，而是一个伺候女墓主的家人或女仆。”[4]孙机先生也用俑及相关之美术作品中出现的舞者皆为舞胡腾的胡人男子，而舞胡旋、柘枝之胡人女子则不见。其实子中之酒家胡姬，在唐代风头正健。李白诗‘胡姬貌如花，当垆笑春风’；‘胡姬招素手，延客醉金樽’(《李》)卷三，卷十八)；均反映出借胡姬置酒饮饯之状[5]。孙福喜、王自力也持同样观点[6]。目前国内学术界对胡人女性的研究比较零散，多集中在唐诗和文学作品，对于考古资料的胡人女性形象很少涉及[7]。本文以料和文献记载为基础，通过分析西域妇女在华生活情况，探讨史料的丰富记载与考古很少发现背后的社化等深层次原因。

## ·考古发现的胡人女性形象

胡人妇女形象主要出现在历史、诗歌和小说等文献资料以及各种材质的器物上，如钱币、石雕、金银器、绘画和壁画等，主要有女神(娜娜或阿娜希塔)、皇后、贵族妇女及一些身份不明者[8]。陶俑中的胡人女像包括永泰公主墓、金乡县主墓等唐墓出土的胡人女骑俑和胡姬俑等(图1)；金银器和钱币上外国女性多为女和希腊罗马神话故事人物，如宁夏固原北周李贤墓出土的鎏金银胡瓶上的外国女性(图2)，陕西西安、原、新疆阿斯塔纳、河南洛阳等地唐墓出土的一些东罗马金币的仿制品背面饰胜利女神图案。祇教女神塔等[9]；壁画上的外国女性则以歌舞女、宗教人物为主，如昭陵陪葬墓长乐公主墓甬道东壁壁画的胡女新疆库车克孜尔第38窟主室窟顶4世纪壁画上的供养人；古代绘画中的胡人女性形象多样，如周昉的《天图》、张萱的《日本女骑图》和《印度裸女像》、尉迟乙僧的《龟兹舞女》等。此外，还有碑林石刻上的女像、墓葬石刻上的祇教女神、墓志记载的安娘和史索巖夫人等、新疆和田博拉庄(Borazan, Khotan)和喀鲁克(Yaviliq, Kashgar)出土的5—7世纪三提手陶瓶联珠内所饰异域女子[11]。

考古发现胡人女性形象很少的原因是多方面的。孙机先生认为主因在于胡女本身。“红粉浮浪，诗句轻薄；其祇教之恶俗的背景，则胡姬在当事人眼中一般不被视作良家妇女。……因此在唐代上层人士用于葬礼中没有她们的位置，出土文物中迄今尚未发现可以被确认的女胡俑。唐代男胡俑的面目黠悍，有的接近胡女的面型大约也不尽符合唐人的审美习惯。这时如对时人说‘子貌类胡’，绝不是一句恭维话。‘如花’云不过是吟咏时即兴遣辞而已。更由于在社会心理上把她们定格为风尘冶艳之尤，遂使之难以在正式场合抛头露面[12]。很多唐代传奇文学作品也将胡女妖魔化。《云溪友议》卷七载路岩戏谑地夸大胡女的外貌特征。陆龟蒙《桂州筵上赠胡女子》描述了辗转至唐桂林寄居的胡人女子相貌不堪，“自道风流不可攀，却堪蹙额更颓颜。睛深似湘江水，鼻孔高于华岳山。舞态固难居掌上，歌声应不绕梁间。孟阳死后欲千载，犹有佳人觅往还”。

孙机先生“胡女的面型大约也不尽符合唐人的审美习惯”的观点还可以适当补充。因为唐代早中期胡风盛行，人们纷纷效仿胡人服饰，尤以女性为甚。唐人女子肯定是因穿奇装异饰的胡人女性特别美丽才去模仿，而不会对胡风也是肯定的、追逐的，以致于胡风泛滥，否则不会引起元稹和白居易等人的极力反对，但反对无效，胡风仍不可阻挡地进入唐人的审美习惯中。其次，考古发现女性形象少的现象并不是中国独有的。Rose研究中亚古代妇女时也有同样发现。她指出女性(祇教、基督教)形象仅出现在钱币、金银器、石雕上，数量也很少，而在较少的女性形象中，大部分是女神和贵族妇女，前者如史前时代著名的“母亲女神(如契美尼德时期的阿娜希塔、中亚希腊文化时期巴克特利亚钱币上的希腊女神与印度的财富女神和音乐女神asvatii)及伊朗女神、萨迦钱币上的希腊女神尼克和帕拉斯与雅典娜、贵霜钱币上的伊朗女神Nanaia和Sho、希腊和印度女神等[14]。她认为原因是祇教中妇女整体地位低下。她们不是被看做独立人格的人，属于男人，女童和少女常常被当做奴隶卖掉。Richard N. Frye认为中亚前伊斯兰很多遗址壁画上男女形象地说明中亚妇女总体地位比男人低下，因为男人衣服用料精致，而上层妇女衣服非常简单，如撒马尔罕阿夫拉西卜粟特壁画所表现的那样[15]。葛乐耐发现“厥人通常会表现他们的妻子，在中国墓葬艺术中，妇女的形象是必不可少的，但在粟特本土，夫人形象只出现在家庭内部的礼拜仪式场景中。同时粟特女子服饰与男子相似，但在中国社会中，常被与下层社会的胡、汉舞姬(汉人也效仿这一时尚)联系在一起，女子胡服不再受到人们的尊敬。于是对于定居中国的胡人显贵来说，惟一的方法是在图像中展现他们的妻子，或者让胡族夫人着汉服”[16]。粟特妇女地位低下还表现在墓志上。如史君墓志包括汉语和粟特文，汉语部分多记载史君生平，对于他妻子的描述很少，仅“妻康氏其□□日薨，以其二年岁次庚子正月丁三日己酉，合葬于永□县”[17]。

有的学者认为唐代虽然繁盛开放，但仍有狭隘性和封闭性。天朝大国的优越产生对周围弱小民族的轻蔑，又限制了本国人的视野，使其对异域事物的认识想象大于事实，或多来自道听途说，把怪异面貌更多地与怪异之术或邪恶联系起来，不屑于表现[18]。但作为一个普遍的社会现象，应该还有进一步探讨的缘由需要进一步探讨。

## ·胡人女性的主要来源

上述器物表现的为数不多的胡人女性多为有一技之长的中下层妇女，上层妇女较少(不知道是否与体质或饮食习惯有关)。很多属于唐代官私奴婢，官奴来源于罪犯，俘虏、贡赋等；私奴包括赏赐、掳掠(官家仗势掠平民)、买卖、投靠等。此外，还有跟随部族或家族迁入或自由流入者。

1) 俘虏。奴婢的重要来源之一。按唐律规定，战俘一般充做奴婢，已婚者多半被送到奴隶市场。唐代早期，奴婢多为少数民族俘虏，中后期则主要来源于奴婢贸易。李天石认为“唐朝前期奴婢主要来源于罪隶配俘，俘虏中以突厥人居多，如贞观十五年‘李世绩败薛延陀于于诺真，捕获五万余。’薛仁贵率兵击突厥……大破之，斩首万级，获生口三万’，以致于突厥人哀叹其‘贵族子弟陷为唐奴，……女子降作唐婢。’唐太宗‘前后虏获，数十万计，分配诸州，无处不满。’而唐后期随着社会经济繁荣，上层以财产和奴仆成群显赫与财富的奢靡之风盛行，财色出众的胡人女性成为市场抢手货，特别是‘越婢脂肉净，奚童眉目明’，以致价格昂贵，奴隶主掠夺卖地少数民族成风，主要集中于岭南道、黔中道、剑南道、新罗、吐蕃、回鹘等地。《新唐书》卷222《南蛮传》也载，女‘贫者无以嫁，则卖为奴’，唐朝富豪之家都希望得到高丽、新罗绝色少女作贴身女婢、姬妾和演艺者，以致于“遍中国以新罗人为奴婢”。后来在唐朝政府一再禁止下，‘海上无鬻新罗人者’。武则天也曾下令不准西边州郡蓄突厥奴隶。尽管奴婢只能‘同类婚姻’，所生子女不变，奴隶的自然繁殖使唐朝能维持较大数量的奴婢阶层。

2) 奴隶贸易，造成异域女奴大量出现在唐朝。当时还出现专门贩卖奴隶的集团和培训奴隶的家庭与机构。震认为“由乐事、部曲、客女(唐朝法律规定中地位最低下的贱民阶层，与奴婢不同的是，他们不可以被买卖)这些奴婢分别进行调习，如听、说日常汉语，熟悉礼仪、习俗，乃至学会某些劳动技术等，目的在于提高奴婢的售价”[20]。

3) 人质与贡人。前者使“清白少女成了女婢”。后者作为贡品献给唐朝皇帝。“因为这些人提供特殊服务，以就人身自由而言，他们甚至比不上人质。而且我们也几乎无法将他们与奴隶区别开来。……以中亚舞女最多，突厥女人、吐蕃女。……在唐代，许多统治者仍然从他们下属的王公，特别是突厥斯坦的印度化的王公那里接受这些女乐人”[21]。唐代皇帝和上层对异域文化的喜好直接导致进贡异域女子，尤其才艺俱佳者成为记载唐朝周边国家纷纷以礼物形式将有奇异才能的女子贡献给唐王朝，尤以8世纪前半叶昭武九姓国居多，回鹘、日本国、高丽国等其他国家较少。下文选取一些有代表性的记载：

贞元初，康国贡锁子铠、水精杯、玛瑙瓶、鸵鸟卵及越诺、侏儒、胡旋舞女。

开元、天宝年间，昭武诸国将“胡旋舞女”和中美其他珍宝一起作为贡品献给唐王朝。开元七年(719)五国遣使献胡旋女子及方物。

元十五年(727)五月，康国献胡旋女子及豹。史国、米国、何国、俱密国等数次向唐朝献胡旋女子。

士阳杂编》记载：“宝历二年，东国贡舞女二人。一曰飞鸾，二曰轻风。”

然，在所有这些来自西域的年轻舞妓中，胡旋女最受唐人喜爱，激发了很多当代诗人的创作灵感。最著白居易的《胡旋女》“胡旋女，戒近习也。天宝末，康居国献之。”中亚的女童柘枝舞也让诗人激情四射，若天仙的舞妓与巫山神女联系起来。“平铺一台锦筵开，连击三声画鼓催。红蜡烛移桃叶起，紫罗衫动柘带垂钿钿花腰重，帽转金铃雪面回。看即曲终留不住，云飘雨送向阳台。”

唐朝胡人奴婢盛行的原因在于：首先，经济发展对更多家庭劳动力的需要刺激了奴隶贸易的繁荣与发展，动物和奴婢贸易成为丝绸之路上最频繁的贸易，其中昆仑奴、新罗奴、波斯奴、突厥奴、吐蕃奴、回鹘奴多见。史料记载龟兹和于阗都有女市，吐鲁番文书也证实了奴婢贸易数量的大幅度增加[22]。韩森证实：时期一份名籍记载一户家庭61口人中有来自中亚的奴婢，“名字很像从另一种语言(很可能是粟特语)音译的。……由乐事、部曲、客女对这些奴婢分别进行调习，如听、说日常汉语，熟悉礼仪、习俗，乃至学劳动技术，目的在于提高这些奴婢的价格。……这是一个出产奴婢的家庭”[23]。唐律规定所有动物和奴婢必须在市场官员签发的市券上登记，证明他们被合法购买，就像被打上标记的动物一样。阿斯塔那墓的一份粟特文契约记载了公元639年一个张姓汉人沙门以120个银币购买了一个从萨马尔罕来的女孩，主对她做任何事情，鞭打她，虐待她，捆绑她，将她作为商品出售或作为抵押品，或作为礼物赠送他人。31年，粟特商人米禄山以四十四匹绢的价格将一个十一岁的女孩卖给长安人唐荣。杜荀鹤的《赠友人罢趾辟命》中“船载海奴环垂耳，象驮蛮女彩缠身”和杜甫诗“示獠奴阿段”即反映了海上奴隶贸易的盛行。诗》卷692，题注云：獠乃南蛮别种，无名字，男称阿蕃、阿段，女称阿夷、阿等之类。）

次，唐代上层社会生活的需要。唐朝商品货币经济发展，显贵阶级生活日趋腐化，不断追求声色犬马的生活，形成对异域伎女的商业需要，带动了国内各市场和民间交易的活跃。唐律保护公开的奴隶交易(中原边远地区社会、经济发展不平衡所致)，奴隶贩子奔赴边远地区猎取年轻美貌的女奴，养在家中，使之接受、伎艺教育，然后让她们献身、卖艺，成为巨大的财富来源。敦煌文献中即有被京兆府金城县人唐荣转的胡婢以及有名有姓的突厥女婢春香。吐鲁番文献中也出现很多异族女奴婢。可见，西北地区曾长期蓄民族奴婢，一度发展到很严重地步，以致武则天下令禁止。《唐会要》卷86《奴婢》载“(大中)九年闰四三日敕，边上诸镇，送到投来吐蕃、回鹘奴婢等，今后所司勘问了，宜并配岭外。不得隶内地。”《唐集》卷71《宝历元年正月南郊赦》载“诸军先擒获吐蕃生口，配在诸处者，宜委本道资给返还本国，……后，边上不得受纳投降人，并擒捉生口等”。由于新罗女奴特别受欢迎，导致东北沿海地区掠夺新罗人的开成初年，新罗人张保皋回国后禀告新罗皇帝说“遍中国以新罗人为奴婢”(《新唐书》卷220《新罗传》)。载唐太宗谢绝高丽美女的事迹。《唐会要》卷八十六《奴婢》载长庆元年三月朝廷颁令禁断掠卖新罗人为“已在中国者，即放归其国”(《旧唐书》卷16《穆宗本纪》)。8世纪末，德宗的诏令“……使其离父母之乡，之恋，非仁也，罢之”。从而结束了由官府主持的买卖土著人奴隶的活动，但私人买卖奴隶却未绝止，尤轻女奴。公元817年广州都督颁令禁绝从本地村子买来的女口。张籍描写一位女奴“铜柱南边毒草春，行到金麟?玉环穿耳谁家女，自抱琵琶迎海神”[24]。

次，唐朝帝国传统的征服观念及由此产生的对周边弱小国家高高在上的优越感。谢弗认为奴婢数量和质上层社会攀比或争夺权势和声望的手段之一，因此，经营异族奴隶的买卖是相当保险的，不会受良心谴责为异族奴隶并不完全是人。乌尔沁认为上层和民间对胡旋舞的需要和玩习之风，吸引着胡旋舞者便远道。加上丝路畅通，也有人出于经济利益而选择到长安创业[25]。最后，唐朝社会新等级观念的形成和民的变化，以及因此带来的国内外人口的流动。

#### 胡人女性生活管窥

由于史料缺乏，异域女性形象和在唐朝的生活状况总体上是模糊的，但仍可以找出一些零散线索。郑炳林《唐五代敦煌地区的胡姓居民与聚落》中指出晚唐五代敦煌莫高窟供养人题记中记载了很多胡姓妇女，“她敦煌社会生活的各个方面，敦煌文书中保留着很多她们的活动遗迹”。“女性会更快接受汉文化和风俗习惯憾的是他没有提供更多细节材料[26]。在都城长安，西市则是活跃在长安的外国人聚居区，其中不乏女[27]。胡人女性在唐朝的地域分布大概与经济、文化、贸易发展有关。这个问题值得进一步探讨。

者认为，胡人女性在唐朝的身份地位和生存状况因国别、宗教信仰和文化修养差异而不同。阿巴斯王朝里发马利克认为“柏柏尔人的姑娘可供享乐，波斯姑娘适于生儿育女，罗马姑娘善于操持家务”[28]。同入唐朝的胡人女性因各有所长而大致划归三个阶层：上层(皇帝妃子与贵胄妻妾等)、中层(中层为商贾家祿教徒苏諒妻马氏)和下层(生活在社会底层的奴婢，及从事百戏杂技表演的艺人)。居于上层的胡人女性(母亲、女儿、姐妹与妻妾的身份成为男性的政治工具、伙伴或财产保存者。随波斯王子卑路斯到长安的或后裔中应该包括上层女性，如唐神策军将领苏諒妻马氏。她按照祆教风俗生活在祆教文化中，与唐朝乎联系不多，在内婚制度安排下嫁于父亲或兄弟。入唐的一些外籍高官也相互通婚，如波斯人李素娶突裔卑失氏为妻。天竺大野迷地和罗梵摩、突厥移力可汗也如此。太原王含的母亲金氏本是胡人女，善弓以犷悍闻。唐僖宗时(875—888年)波斯人李珣、李珣和李舜弦兄妹成为唐代有名诗人。米国人米继芬的骑施则是作为质子“全家进入长安的”，他的母亲与妻子米氏也都是胡人。而蕃胡女子嫁作唐人妇者甚人视娶蕃胡女子为妻乃为常事。如玄宗妃子曹野那姬、敦煌王妃毗伽公主、裴行俭妻库狄氏、李如暹吐蜀主王衍昭仪李舜弦、南汉后主刘佺婢波斯女。唐人范虑撰《云溪友议》中记载桂林有胡人女子踪迹。性还有人充当间谍者，如吐蕃曾派“有心”妇女为维州守卒之妻，作为内应，帮助吐蕃夺取维州。“蕃妇为国任命，弃二十载夫妻之情，狼子野心，令人握腕”[29]。

外，一些身份高贵或才艺俱佳的胡人女子被收置于深宫充当侍女或被达官贵人纳为妾或充当奴婢、歌姬；有些美貌的女奴常沦为主人的性工具。“诸夷乐初成立时，伎人必为外籍，且其延续，又必以蕃胡为主无可疑”[30]。“教坊里那些天才的乐工、歌伎，以及舞伎的社会地位与‘官伎’，即最高的一种艺伎社会地位，她们被训练来演唱非正式的音乐，供那些得到天子宠信的人享乐的”[31]。龟兹、天竺、高丽、疏昌、康国等歌舞女较多。“美貌奴隶娱琴酒，细腰奴隶舞且唱”。胡旋女让“天子为之微启齿”，也“旋得明迷，妖胡奄到长生殿。美貌或身怀绝技的女奴常被王公贵族作为上等礼物相互赠送，也有的沦为街头巷乐歌姬，如长安城东市与皇城之间、春明门南的道政坊、平康坊很多酒馆和妓院蓄养着很多娴熟音乐、善解人意的妓女。

为地位最低的贱民阶层的胡人女性被迫从事各种家务劳动，任凭主人随意驱使与买卖。唐墓出土的胡人为下层，职业和身份多元，有变幻百戏的卖艺者、卖酒的酒家胡、伺候主人的奴婢。服务于娱乐业和服务；如乐舞、杂技和优伶等被称做胡姬[32]。包括胡旋舞女、柘枝舞女、杂技演员及演奏各种乐器的乐弗指出“歌舞之业有胡人女子参与其间，则为事实。……八世纪中亚的琴师和舞女在唐朝大都市受到热情[33]。乐器演奏者也多以胡人居多，如不知名的琵琶女师曹供奉。无名氏《柘枝》介绍的柘枝舞女童，“帽，并转有声。其来也，于二莲花中藏，花坼而后见。对舞相占，实舞中雅妙者也”(《全唐诗》卷22，刘禹

柘枝舞》其二和沈亚之《柘枝舞赋》，都对风情万种的柘枝舞女痴迷不已。而大都市酒肆中那些娇媚的年轻诗人和富家子弟趋之若鹜，神魂颠倒。长安城东春明门南有很多酒馆，“精明的老板娘会雇佣带有异的、面目娇好的胡姬(如吐火罗姑娘或粟特姑娘)用琥珀杯或玛瑙杯为客人斟满名贵的美酒。而这些姑娘生意更加兴隆”[34]。胡姬酒肆演绎成唐代长安享乐之类消费场所的代名词，因此才有了王绩“惭愧酒家胡姬”[酒家五首]》的感慨，才有了杨巨源的《胡姬词》(妍艳照江头，春风好留客。当垆知妾慢，送酒为郎渡传蕉扇，妆成上竹楼，数钱怜皓腕，非是不能留、贺朝的《赠酒店胡姬》(胡姬春酒店，弦管夜锵铺新月，貂裘坐薄霜。玉盘初鲤，金鼎正烹羊。上客无劳散，听歌乐世娘。)[35]开元天宝后，国势渐弱，疆屡屡为患，长安穷于困对，绿眼黄发的胡姬便成了李白国愁家恨转向的意念。“胡姬绿眼吹玉笛，吴歌梁尘”(《猛虎行》，《全唐诗》卷二十四)。陕西合阳县甘井乡出土的三彩乐舞人物扁壶腹饰一胡旋舞女子即生活的一个缩影。

戏演出者也有很多外国女子。如《教坊记》“筋斗裴承恩妹大娘，善歌，兄以配竿木喉氏”。“范汉女大娘是竿木家”。“当与其同类为婚姻，亦杂有西胡血统”。还有百戏伎女石火胡、康国女优伶等。李白《幽州歌》赞扬胡女马上技艺：“幽州胡马客，绿眼虎皮冠。笑拂两只箭，万人不可干。……妇女马上笑，颜如。翻飞射鸟兽，花月醉离鞍。”[36]

管唐人具有开放的民族意识，尽管胡人女性丰富着唐人的生活与知识，但她们总体上地位地下，附属于界，女童和少女常常被当做奴隶卖掉。她们被所谓维护传统伦理的士人所抨击、贬损为“淫乱”、“诱惑”，会秩序，腐蚀王朝大业的有害因素。对于大多数胡人女子而言，漂泊异国他乡的生活是艰辛的，如7世纪36岁的丁寡史女辈，在丈夫、儿子和一个女儿去世后，与另一女儿谷施独自生活。从她们的困境来看，女经常历经磨难，努力在没有丈夫依靠的情况下支撑门户[37]。有的幸运地回到故乡，有的则永远地留向往或憎恨的地方，浓浓乡愁伴随着她们一生。李贺《龙夜吟》描述的就是这种思乡情。“卷发胡儿眼睛楼夜静吹横竹。一声似向天上来，月下美人望乡哭。直排七点星藏指，暗含清风调宫徵。蜀道秋深云满江半夜龙惊起。玉堂美人边塞情，碧窗皓月愁中听。寒砧能捣百尺练，粉泪凝珠滴红残。胡儿莫作陇头窗暗结愁人心。”白居易《听歌六绝句·何满子》和元稹《何满子歌》“一曲四词歌八叠，从头便是断肠的还以乐曲表达心中的怨恨，如罗隐的《琵琶》。

## 结语

元9世纪，随着社会动荡，外来物品及外国人来华者减少，胡人女性也逐渐淡出人们的视线。但她们对唐产生了深远影响：能歌善舞者则在王宫和贵胄之家中笙歌曼舞，对上层社会有着不可忽视的影响，如乐饰和饮食，乃至社会进程、民族心态和人口构成等。而多精通诗文、伎艺者，对唐朝文化作出贡献，诗舞的结合成为深受诗人喜爱的作品社会化形式。在中外文化交流方面，她们为沟通东西、传播西域文进商品货币经济发展、丰富权贵的奢华生活需要都产生较大影响[38]。

管唐朝人以复杂的、模棱两可的、含混不清的态度对待胡女，或褒扬或丑化或鄙视或鞭挞，但她们最后磨合过程中最终融入当地社会。这些胡人女性尽管多为奴婢，但被塑造得轻松活泼，面带桃花，说明工人稳态性文化模式与生活习俗为参照，按唐人的情感指向和伦理关怀塑造胡人女性，有意淡化奴婢身时也强调胡女外貌与习性(能歌善舞)的独特。王立认为“不论唐人对胡人多么抱有好奇，还是免不了有一种本土主人意识的流露”[39]。乌尔沁认为这是唐与胡文明从相拒到交融过程的必然产物。看似弱质的胡姬潮文人雅士吸引到石榴裙下，“赢得文人雅士对她们社会地位的基本认同，逐渐融于华夏中原乃至中华文活方式中了”。“盛唐时期胡姬不仅是酒色才艺、侠、纵横家的楷模，更有一种昂扬向上、积极进取、自的宏伟气象。……至后期中唐逐渐接受汉民族和其他地域的风土人情，已被汉化，……由高昂明朗、激的盛唐气象变得低靡颓废晚唐情结。同时也逐渐失掉她们的个性，由重才艺、学识、修养、谈吐、交舞的才貌俱佳的文艺使者而变成低级趣味的色妓，成了单纯追求身体享受和金钱利欲的平庸浪妓，所以艺更高的吴姬(汉文化代表)所取代，同时也完成汉化过程”[40]。

## 释

古代“胡”泛指民族或地理属性，用法因时代而异。汉代指中原王朝北方边境地区的邻人，如匈奴，后引代北方和西方少数民族及西域诸国总称。唐代的“胡”有广义和狭义之分，广义指外来的人和货物；狭义指西方的人或物，特别是中亚昭武九姓、波斯、天竺、大食、罗马等。现代学者多指我国古代西部、北部各族人，也指所有外国人。“胡”有多种英译法，如中性的“Non-Chinese”(“非中国人”，见罗丰的《胡汉之:515页)、地域性的“Western”或“Westerner”(“西方的”或“西方人”，见 Jane Gaston Mahler和谢弗《唐代文明》第8页)或“Foreigners”(外国人)、音译的“Hu Man”或“Hu People”(胡人)等。因本文还涉及到东北亚、东南亚和非洲等地，故用其广义用法。

目前学术界对胡人女性称呼不一。有的将汉唐时期的非汉族妇女称胡姬。姬，原意“周的贵妇人”、在唐“高级妓女”。大致分三种类型：北方游牧民族妇女；西方或北方(很可能属于伊朗系)，专门以乐舞愉悦统的歌舞伎；在胡人酒店卖酒、陪酒的年轻西域胡女。唐代胡姬多指第三种。《全唐诗》关于胡姬的诗篇共胡妇13首。如李白的《少年行》(落花踏尽游何处，笑入胡姬酒肆中。)和《送裴八十图南归嵩山》(“胡姬，延客醉金樽”。“胡姬貌如花，当垆笑春风。笑春风，舞罗衣。君今不醉将安归?”)及《白鼻騮》(“细雨春时，挥鞭直就胡姬饮”)、杨巨源的《胡姬词》、贺朝的《赠酒家胡姬》(胡姬春酒店，弦管梦锵锵)、岑参《门歌送东台张判官》(胡姬酒楼日未午，丝绳玉缸酒如乳)、《送宇文南金放后归太原寓居因呈太原郝主君系马青门口，胡姬当垆劝君酒)、温庭筠《赠袁司录》、张祜《白鼻騮》(为底胡姬酒，长来白鼻騮。)[中亚考古发现的胡人也多为男子形象，妇女形象比较少，多为浮雕、钱币、陶器和金银器等。而在较少形象中，大部分为女神和贵族妇女，前者如史前时代著名的“母亲女神”、阿契美尼德时期的阿娜希塔、腊文化时期巴克特利亚钱币上同时出现的希腊女神与印度财富女神和音乐女神(Sarasvatii)及伊朗女神、而上的希腊女神尼克和帕拉斯、雅典娜、贵霜钱币上的伊朗女神娜娜(Nanaia)和Ardoxsho、希腊和印度。

葛承雍：《丝绸之路与唐代胡俑》，《丝路胡人外来风—唐代胡俑展》，文物出版社2008年版，第22—23

[12]孙机：《序言》，《丝路胡人外来风—唐代胡俑展》，文物出版社2008年版，第10页。

西安市文物保护考古所王自力、孙福喜编著：《金乡县主墓》，文物出版社，2002年版，第18—23，112

[艾荫范：《甚解当求，拔高不宜—还<羽林郎>中胡姬以优美本相》，《辽宁教育学院学报》，1987年第1立峰：《唐代诗歌中胡姬形象的文化意义》，《学习与探索》1993年第2期；丘继业：《唐朝诗人笔下的“胡《历史教学》，1997年第1期；张兵：《胡姬貌如花，当垆笑春风—胡姬与西域乐舞的传播》，《丝绸之.997年第2期；乌尔沁：《外来民间文化的使者：西域胡姬—唐诗胡姬形象解析》，《民族文学研究》，2001

胡；王建军：《透过“胡姬”诗看唐代的民族融合》，《柳州师专学报》2002年第3期；王立：《唐诗中的胡人——兼谈中国文学中的胡人描写》，《内蒙古大学学报》2002年第1期。

]阿契美尼德时期祆教重神，主司生殖、财富、婚姻和庇佑国家，经帕提亚和萨珊不断提升，影响一直持续伊斯兰时代。为纪念和仰慕女神，当时很多女性仿效她的名字，如沙普尔一世的大皇后名“火之阿娜希拉姆二世(276—293在位)硬币刻有“阿娜希塔之火”。库斯老二世银币上的阿娜希塔成为皇室火坛的守护

]罗丰：《北周李贤墓中亚风格的鎏金银瓶》，《胡汉之间——“丝绸之路”与西北历史考古》，文物出版社2004年第91—92页。目前，学术界对外国女性身份众说纷纭，主要有吴焯的送情人出征女子说、马尔萨克的爱罗狄蒂或美女海伦说、内季摩洛夫的女神厄里费勒说等。

0]陈志谦：《昭陵唐墓壁画》，陕西历史博物馆馆刊第1辑，第116页。

1]影山悦子：《粟特人在龟兹》，《粟特人在中国历史、考古、语言的新探索》，《法国汉学第十辑》，中华书局2005年版，第195页。

3]《全唐诗》卷870。

4]伊朗和中亚考古资料表现的多为帝王将相的英雄业绩和神祇世界，女性形象很少，多为女神、皇后、女王及一些身份不明的女性形象，如钱币、石雕、金银器、陶俑、壁画上的阿娜希塔(为纪念和仰慕女神，女性仿效她的名字，如沙普尔一世的大皇后名“火之阿娜希塔”)，巴拉姆二世(276—293年在位)银币、库斯老二世银币、Naqsh-e Rostam石雕、Kirmanshah的Taq-e Bostan浮雕都有阿娜希塔。除了女神外，雕塑和出现的女性还包括多位皇后，如沙普尔一世的皇后、阿尔达希尔一世的妻子(他妹妹)、沙普尔二世妻子L. Barm-e Dilak浮雕表现的女性是巴哈拉姆一世(273—276)的女儿、巴拉姆二世的妻子阿尔达希尔一世。巴拉姆二世银币上的女性是他的姑姑兼大皇后Shapurdukhtak，以及布兰女王银币。此外，美国大都会博物馆和伊朗巴斯塔姆博物馆收藏的萨珊早期银碗外壁都饰阿娜希塔。木鹿出土的6—7世纪的彩绘持镜女像是阿娜希塔。萨珊王朝还有很多传奇女性——萨珊家族女儿、敌人的女儿、皇后和妃子，有时和阿娜希塔，都在萨珊历史中留下了自己的名字，并凝固在岩石、陶土和金属器中。见Jenny Rose. Three Queens, Two Wives, and a Goddess: Roles and Images of Women in Sasanian Iran. Women in the Pre-Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety. Edited by Gavin R. G. Hambly. New York: Routledge, 1997.

5]Richard N. Frye, Women in Pre-Islamic Central Asia: The Khatun of Bukhara, Women in the Pre-Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety, Edited by Gavin R. G. Hambly. New York: Routledge, 1997.

6]葛乐耐：《粟特人的自画像》，《粟特人在中国历史、考古、语言的新探索》，《法国汉学第十辑》，中华书局2005年，第313—314页。

7]吉田丰：《西安新出土史君墓志的粟特文部分考释》，《粟特人在中国历史、考古、语言的新探索》，《法国汉学第十辑》，中华书局2005年，第29页。

8]张剑：《胡商 胡马 胡香——唐文学中的外来文明和唐人精神品格》，《河南教育学院学报》2001年第1期，第1页。

9]李天石：《唐代中后期奴婢贩卖之风的盛行及其原因》，《历史教学问题》2001年第4期，第10页。

0]吴震：《唐代丝绸之路与胡奴婢买卖》，敦煌研究院主编《1994年敦煌学国际研讨会论文集·宗教艺术卷》，甘肃民族出版社2000年，第128—154页。

1][24][30][31][32][33][34]谢弗：《唐代的外来文明》，中国社会科学出版社，1995年版。

2]《新唐书》卷221上。苏珊·怀特菲尔德在《丝绸之路沿线的生活》(伦敦1999年)中记叙了一个9世纪龟兹生活，可能源自《北里志》描述的长安妓女故事。

3]韩森：《丝绸之路贸易对吐鲁番地方社会的影响：公元500-800年》，《粟特人在中国历史、考古、语言的新探索》，《法国汉学第十辑》，中华书局2005年。

5][40]乌尔沁：《外来民间文化的使者：西域胡姬——唐诗胡姬形象解析》，《民族文学研究》，2001年第4期。

6]郑炳林：《晚唐五代敦煌地区的胡姓居民与聚落》，《粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索》，《法国汉学第十辑》，中华书局2005年，第174页。

7]中国的粟特人有七种姓氏：康(Samarqand)、安(Bukhara)、石(Shash)、史(kish)、米(Mainargh)、曹(Jhanjakath)、何(Kushaniyah)。敦煌、姑臧、金城、酒泉、洛阳和长安都有粟特人居住，形成保持自身文化习俗(婚俗、葬俗和教俗)较为封闭的聚落。

8][古代阿拉伯]马苏第著，耿昇译：《黄金草原》，青海人民出版社1998年版，第307页。

9]谢海平：《唐代来华蕃胡考》，台湾商务印书馆，中国民国六十年，第277页。

5]辛延年《羽林郎》：“依倚将军势，调笑酒家胡。胡姬年十五，春日独当垆。”徐陵《乌栖曲》：“卓女红妆，胡姬沽酒谁论价。”杜甫描绘的则是“羌女”，唇涂黑膏的西域女子。施肩吾《戏赠郑少府》：“胡姬若拟邀，挂却金鞭系紫骝。”孝标《少年行》：“落日胡姬酒楼饮，风吹箫管满楼风。”元稹《莺莺传》(写于804年)可实故事为背景。崔莺莺真名为曹九九，可能是在胡人酒肆唱歌的胡姬之一。陈寅恪和葛承雍曾表达过类似观点。

6]成书于萨珊王朝末期的宗教梦幻故事集《阿尔塔伊·维拉夫书》描绘了很多对妇女犯罪的惩罚，如涂脂梳妆打扮，用他人头发作头饰；说话尖酸刻薄，用语言伤害丈夫和邻居；把丈夫买回来的肉食给外人，于吝啬或肉欲，不让孩子吃饱或不给孩子喂奶等，不难设想当时妇女地位的低下和卑微，第203页。

7]斯加夫：《公元7—8世纪高昌粟特社会的文献记录：唐朝户籍所见文化的差异和演变》，《粟特人在中国考古、语言的新探索》，《法国汉学第十辑》，中华书局2005年，第156页。

8]突厥和伊朗妇女服饰对唐朝影响甚大，胡帽、幘帽、罽(上罽下離)、配百褶裙和绕颈长披巾的窄袖紧两色相间的竖条状曳地长裙，俗称“波斯裙”、“波斯披帛”，非汉族式的头发式样和化妆，如回鹘髻等。虽然胡服、胡食、胡乐只是在八世纪才特别流行，但实际上整个唐代都没有从崇尚外来物品的社会风气中出来，以致于元稹等人对“女为胡妇学胡妆，伎进胡音务胡乐”的胡风感到痛心疾首。《唐代外来文明》第

9]王立：《唐诗中的胡人形象——兼谈中国文学中的胡人描写》，《内蒙古大学学报》2002年第1期。

刘瑾，陕西历史博物馆 研究员)

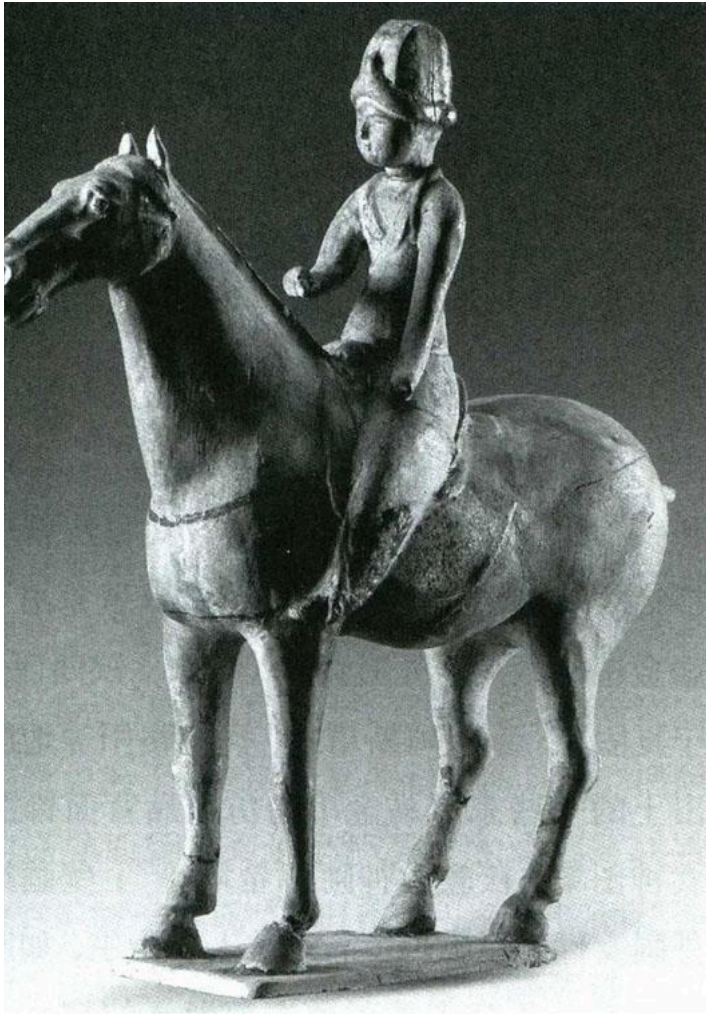


图1 胡人女骑俑——陕西省考古所藏

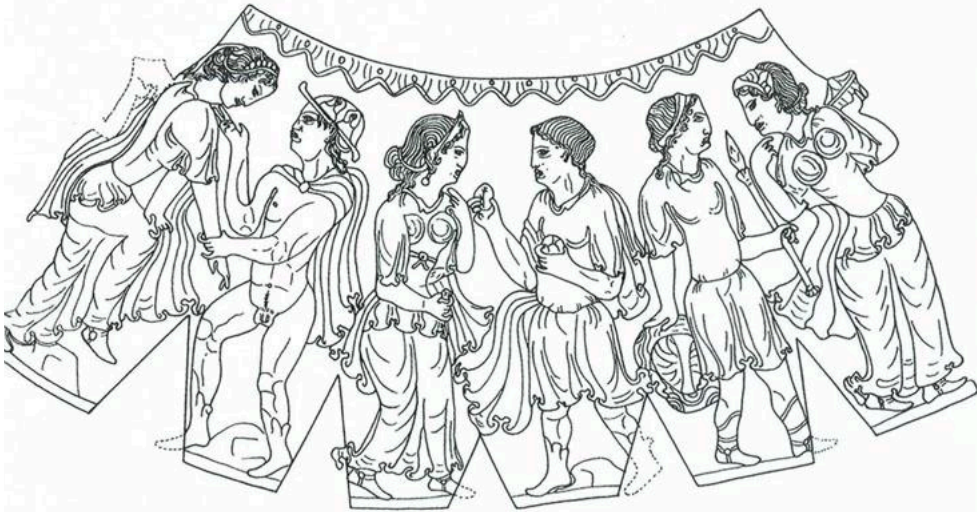


图2 北周李贤墓出土银胡瓶上外国女性形象



绘胡人女俑—陕西省考古藏



绘胡人女俑—陕西省  
古所藏



绘胡姬俑—西安博物院

名称	数量	尺寸	出土时间与地点	时代	资料出处
髻女俑	1	通高26厘米	1991年8月陕西西安于隐及金乡县主墓	武周永昌元年 至天授元年 (689-690)	西安市文物保护考古所王自力、孙福喜编著《唐金乡县主墓》，文物出版社2002年
女俑	1	高28.5厘米	1977年6月江苏吴县张子文夫妇合葬墓	唐玄宗天宝二载(743)	江苏省吴县文管会《江苏吴县姚桥头唐墓》，《文物》1987年第8期
铜俑头	2	高9、宽5.5厘米	1976年宁夏银川	唐代	宁夏回族自治区博物馆《银川附近的汉墓和唐墓》，《文物》1978年第8期
女俑	1	通高102厘米	1993年7月辽宁朝阳	8世纪中叶	辽宁省文物考古研究所、朝阳市博物馆《辽宁朝阳市黄河路唐墓的清理》，《考古》2001年第8期
绘釉陶髻女俑	1	高36厘米	陕西礼泉县唐郑仁泰墓出土		
绘釉陶胡媚女俑	1	高42厘米	同上		
绘双垂男装女人俑	2	分别高30厘米	陕西省考古研究所		
绘盘发装女胡俑	2	分别高31厘米	陕西省考古研究所		
垂髻陶胡人俑	1	高30.5厘米	陕西省考古研究所		
姬俑	1		永泰公主墓出土		

隋唐墓出土胡人女俑一览表

化研究(五)/樊英峰主编.--西安:三秦出版社,2010.9

## 研究文献

<b>研究论著</b>
<a href="#">唐代帝王陵墓</a>
<a href="#">风水与唐陵</a>
<a href="#">线条艺术的遗产唐乾陵陪葬墓石线刻画</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文物史迹丛</a>
<a href="#">唐陵的布局与空间</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(一)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(二)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(三)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(四)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(五)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(六)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(七)</a>
<a href="#">乾陵文化研究(八)</a>
<a href="#">唐墓壁画国际学术研讨会论文集</a>
<a href="#">唐墓壁画研究文集</a>
<a href="#">书目索引</a>
<a href="#">论文索引</a>

您是第1418164位访客!

陕西省图书馆 版权所有 陕ICP备10200749号-2

地址: 西安市长安北路18号 邮编: 710061

Copyright©2014 www.sxlib.org.cn. All Rights Reserved

## BRONZE AGE LANGUAGES OF THE TARIM BASIN

BY J. P. MALLORY

**T**he earliest account of the Tarim Basin depicts a society where linguistic and ethnic diversity took the form of competing, even though ethnic enclaves in a modern transportation hub. The desert oasis that did so much to preserve the manuscripts, their dishes, and other grave goods also preserved an enormous collection of documents, written in Chinese, Sogdian, Khotanese, and other languages. We can get some appreciation of the linguistic complexity of the region in the shape of a traveling merchant working the Silk Road in the 8th century C.E. A typical trader from the West may have spoken Sogdian at home. He may have visited Buddhist monasteries where the language of prayer would have been Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, but the day-to-day language was

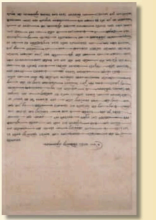
Turkic. If the trader took his route to Khotan, he would have to deal in Khotanese Saka. Here, if he had been carried by rickshaws from the south, he would have had to talk to one of the excavated 10,000 or so people for miles from an oasis that speak Chinese. It could even have happened that a fourth step merchant who spoke Modern Persian. And if he knew which way the wind was blowing, he would have been

speaking their own in learning Uyghur, the language of a major Turkic tribe who would descend on the Tarim Basin in the 9th century to form its next major ethnic-linguistic group.


The major languages of the Tarim Basin can be approached in various ways. Naturally, linguists would first examine them in terms of their genetic relationship to language groups that form, when we are attempting to relate them to the manuscripts and artifacts of the Bronze and Iron Ages, another approach may be more efficient. Some of the languages were clearly intrusive, derived from outside of the Tarim Basin, and that one may probably find in certain contexts others may have been "native" to the region. The main focus of the Tarim Basin since the Bronze Age and, consequently, may have been the spoken languages of the people whose manuscripts contain have appeared on such documents.

This discussion of languages begins with those that are linguistic, the languages for which we find ancient texts or the accounts of people, religious commentators. For example, followers of the Iranian prophet Zoroastrian entered the Tarim Basin in the 7th century C.E. to establish their headquarters in Khotan; they conducted their services in the ancient Iranian language of Sogdian. Buddhist missionaries possessed knowledge of Sanskrit, a language originating in northern India, Sogdian, whose homeland is now Central Asia, was employed not only by merchants but also for the religious education of Buddhists, Manichaeans, and Nestorian Christians. Whether from India or Greece, few of these languages were carried into the Tarim Basin by religious missionaries or merchants from outside the region during the first millennium C.E.

A second group of languages are associated with documents that were not exclusively religious, but also administrative. This may include that the languages were spoken by commercial members of the local population. Buddhists in the region of Khotan (Chinese: Loulan), for example, employed an Indo-European language, in a literary tradition. Tocharian was used both to translate Buddhist texts into an administrative language, which suggests that it was spoken by a wider range of people than exclusively monks. Another major language was Khotanese Saka, the language spoken in the south of the Tarim Basin at the site



**Figure 1. A page of an ancient manuscript, possibly Sogdian, with dense handwritten text in an ancient script.**



**Figure 2. A photograph of a desert landscape, likely the Tarim Basin, showing a few people walking in the distance.**

44 VOL 10, NUMBER 3, SPRING 2011

WWW.PENN.MUSEUM/ISSUU/ISSUE03

<http://m.aisixiang.com/data/77843-4.html>

### 文章阅读登录

荣新江：丝绸之路上的粟特商人与贸易网络

更新时间：2014-09-14 11:26:09

作者：荣新江

但是玄奘必须把他的名字汉化，就把什么盘陀给省了，就变成了一个石盘陀，如果都叫史盘陀、米盘陀，那粟特人个个都是盘陀了。

粟特人倒来的东西，其中一类就是人口，粟特人是在贩卖黑奴之前的人口贩子。这个就是阿斯塔纳墓葬里发现的一个粟特文契约，契约一般两份，汉人拿着一份粟特文的，粟特人拿走那份汉文的。但是这个汉人死了他也怕有人来追他，所以契约都是跟着入葬的，这是完完整整入葬的一份粟特文契约。

这个上面就是说，粟特人把一个突厥斯坦生长的女奴卖给这个高昌的汉人。丝绸之路上买卖奴隶的时候，如果是买来的要附着原契，说明不是坑蒙拐骗来的；如果没有原契，就必须五个人来担保，就是证明这个人是你家的家奴，就是你家里的奴隶生的人，叫家生奴，这是唐朝的语言。所以在长安李白这些人的诗里面，为什么有那些站在小毯子上跳舞的胡姬，都是小孩子，在文件里面也记录了这些小孩。吐鲁番甚至有一个人家里面窝藏了上百个小孩，而且他们为了卖胡姬，都把她们起成中国最漂亮的女孩子的名字，绿珠、绿叶之类的，一旦卖出去，我们在汉文史料里面就找不到了。所以粟特文的文献留下来，是特别真实的反映。

另一类就是带来贵族用的这些金银器，这是何家村窖藏里面出的粟特器血，有仿的，但是这一件是原汁原味的。上面是一个胡人的头，这种杯子在粟特本土也出土过。

还有唐朝的贵族要寻求刺激，要打猎。他们打猎的时候要带着一种猎豹，就是驮在马上上的猎豹，产在阿拉伯和北非的沙漠里面，其实是猫科动物。就是在短距离内它跑得最快，可以随着猎人在那里匍匐前进，在距离猎物最短的时候把它放出去，用最快速度把那个猎物扑上来。这个猎人再追过去，把那个猎物的心脏血给它喝。阿拉伯文献里面有记载，张广达先生曾经写过文章，这个猎豹是必须捕捉的人一直训练它，然后再带着它，如果换做别人它会伤人的。其实就是粟特人带来的，我们在《新唐书》里面康国、安国进贡的那些，经常有进文豹，因为它身上有花纹，就是这种豹，是专门供贵族打猎的。在武则天杀掉的唐朝那几个李唐子嗣的墓里面就有发现，那都是按皇帝规格，所以是最高等级的贵族玩的游戏，有的时候是他们胡人领着这些猎豹。

粟特人进了中亚，进了中国之后必定受强大的佛教文化影响，所以慢慢的他们就变成了佛教徒。特别是龙门石窟，他们也造像，造的是佛像，不是祆神像。他们转换很快，所以敦煌文献里面，基本上粟特文文献都是佛经，而这些佛经都是从汉文佛典翻译过去的，不是从印度文献或者中亚的语言。龙门石窟造像题记里面列了很多人名，不全是粟特人，但是主要是粟特人，他们是一个香行社，是一个行会，专门卖香的，他们结社一起到龙门开窟造像。

粟特人也是把葡萄酒倒到中国来的人，这就是虞弘墓上的一个画，大家看不懂，有几个小人在那里跳舞，马尔沙克说这是踩葡萄酿酒图。

后来在土耳其拜占廷的一个马赛克的画上找到了一个跟它相像的图。另外一个胡人就抱着一个大酒罐子，在天水出的粟特石屏上就刻画台子上流下酒来，胡人在那里接酒。把这些图像组合到一起就可以看

出，粟特人也是把葡萄酒带来的。可惜中国葡萄酒大部分被贵族享用了，我们今天老百姓才喝到纯正的葡萄酒。

我们不能光强调一个单向的影响，文化应该是互动的。其实粟特也往西传播中国的文化，他们 also 把丝绸传到西方。这幅画是撒马尔干旧城发现的，今天我们看到的是伊斯兰化的新城，翻过一个山头就是一个旧城。发现有一个宫殿，这个宫殿是康国王在651年即位，在接待各国大使的场景，在最中间画的唐朝使者。

这个图可以看到，康国王坐在前面的护卫队都是编着披发的突厥，所以突厥对粟特地区的影响是非常大的。但是他特别把唐朝的使者放到最中间，而这个使者手里拿的东西很有意义，最最后的人拿的蚕茧，然后是生丝，再上面两个人就是一捆捆的造好的丝绸。所以像《胡商遇盗图》里，跟放在地上一捆捆的是不一样的。那不是卷轴，玄奘身上背的卷轴是28厘米高的，这个要长得多。

因为我也不知道在座的各位是念书人还是一般的读者。我这里罗列的一些近些年来研究粟特最重要的著作，还有一些最近研究丝绸之路的书。我列到这里的书实际上是两类观点，学术界关于丝绸之路的两种观点。一种观点认为丝绸之路非常重要，对于欧亚大陆的政治、经济、文化都有很大的影响，特别是贸易的方面。但是另一类学者就是否定丝绸之路，就是觉得丝绸之路没有那么重要。我觉得后一种观点忽略了一些典型性的史料，比如乌恰的一袋子钱就可以看出后面有一个很大的商队，根据他们的商品可以推算出商队的规模。我觉得历史学者不能仅仅靠现存的史料来说话，而且还要在这些史料的基础上推。所以在这样的基础上，我们理解丝绸之路，应该把丝绸之路看成是一个活生生的，粟特人在丝绸之路上承担了活生生贸易的角色。其实这种观点是日本学者的，主要是研究伊斯兰时代中亚的，跟佛教时代不一样。其实伊斯兰时代，并不比前伊斯兰时代的贸易情形要差。粟特人的商业血液实际上是流在汉人的血液里，流在回族的血液里，流在维吾尔族的血液里面，都有的。维吾尔文就是用的粟特文，他们继承的关系更多。回族里面有那么多姓安的、姓康的，这是表面研究，如果仔细研究，一定有相同的地方。

所以我对丝绸之路的观点，它是一个连接欧亚大陆的经济往来、贸易往来，特别是在我们史料里面记载的官方贸易之外的民间贸易上面起了非常重要作用的一条道路。这条道路是求法之路，是书籍传播之路，也是思想传播之路，这是另外的话题了。

谢谢大家！

本文责编：lizhenyu

发信站：爱思想 (<http://m.aisixiang.com>)

本文链接：<http://m.aisixiang.com/data/77843.html>

文章来源：三联书情微信

[http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/srjournal\\_v1n2.pdf](http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/srjournal_v1n2.pdf)

names, such as Kang, getting involved in all the fields of Tang social life.

Obviously many of them were merchants: around the main markets of the capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, Sogdian temples, Sogdian taverns, and Sogdian shops flourished. They sold to the Tang elite the Western goods that were then à la mode [Schafer 1963]. Many young nobles or drunken poets celebrated the charms of the Sogdian girls, and the most famous of them, Li Bo, wrote:

*That Western hour with features like a flower  
She stands by the wine-warmer, and  
laughs with the breath of spring  
Laughs with the breath of spring,  
Dances in a dress of gauze!  
Will you be going some where, milord,  
now, before you are drunk?*  
[transl. Schafer 1963, p. 21]

It was not just merchants, but soldiers, monks, and high or low officials who were of Sogdian descent. We have seen that the sons and grandsons of Shi Shewu served in the army. To quote another example, the New History of the Tang describes the family of An Chongzhang, Minister of War from 767 to 777. His ancestors were sabao in Wuwei (Gansu) during three generations. At the fourth generation, a member of the family An Xinggui became "Wude-era meritorious servant" and from then on the family belonged to the administration: the sixth-generation An Zhongjing was military Vice-commissary-in-chief of Hexi, and An Chongzhang was the leading member of the seventh generation.

Research on such materials is just beginning. Many funerary epitaphs of the Tang period should be used to understand the rapid pace of the sinicization of the Sogdians that took place under the Tang. It is already clear though that the rebellion of An Lushan is a major stage in this process. An Lushan was the main military governor of north-eastern China on the frontier with Korea and the Kitans. His father was a Sogdian installed in the Turk Empire and his mother was Turk; his first name is a straight transcription of the Sogdian Rokhsan, "luminous" (the same as Roxane, Alexander's wife). He established himself as a young boy in north-eastern China, acted as a translator

there in the markets, became a soldier and climbed from the rank and file to the top of the army. His rebellion in 755 nearly destroyed the Tang dynasty and put an end to one of China's Golden Ages. The rebellion was quelled only in 763 with the help of the Uighur nomads.

The rebellion has been described as if it was only a military coup by autonomous and very powerful armies [Pulleyblank, 1955]. The Sogdian identity of the rebels has never been investigated as such. Yet many texts described it as a Sogdian rebellion and described how many Sogdian traders supported An Lushan. Furthermore, some new discoveries prove that this idea was not due to a xenophobic bias in the Chinese descriptions of the revolt but in a way was something claimed by the rebels themselves: Shi Seming, the second successor of An Lushan, himself a Sogdian, put the Sogdian royal title of Jamiuk (Jewel, transcribed Zhaowu in Chinese) on par with Huangdi on his recently discovered ceremonial jades. The troops of the rebels bore the Sogdian name of Zhejie, a fair transcription of the Sogdian Châkar "professional soldier" [de la Vaissière 2004, forthcoming].

The Sogdian milieu was torn apart by the rebellion, many Sogdians in China siding with the Tang. But from then on the Sogdians in China began to conceal their foreign origins. Maybe the clearest example is An Chongzhang, the Minister of War. In 756 he asked for the authorization to change his family name, "being ashamed to bear the same name" as An Lushan. He became Li Baoyu and the exchange was retroactive: his ancestors' family name changed also [Forte 1995, pp. 24-7]. There are many other examples of this kind of social hiding. To the degree that we can follow the destiny of some Sogdian families in Northern China up to the ninth century, we see that their great days are already by then gone. The pace of sinicization grew faster for security reasons, while the international trade with its new waves of immigrants was totally disrupted in the second half of the eighth century and reborn only on a very low level, if at all, during the ninth century. The Persian traders, arriving by sea in the main harbors of Southern China, became the main traders of the age. This was the

end of one millennium of a Sogdian presence in China.

#### About the Author

Étienne de la Vaissière is Assistant Professor at the Ecole pratique des hautes études, in Paris, where he teaches Medieval History of Central Asia. His dissertation on the Sogdian trade, a comprehensive analysis of the trading network from its creation to its end based on all the available sources, archaeological and textual, has been published (see below; it can be ordered on [www.deboccard.com](http://www.deboccard.com)). He is currently working on Central Asian medieval sociology, on the Chinese as well as the Iranian side.

#### References

- Vaissière 2002  
Étienne de la Vaissière. *Histoire des marchands sogdiens*. Paris: Collège de France et Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, Bibliothèque de l'I.H.E.C., n° XXXII, 2002.
- Vaissière 2004  
\_\_\_\_\_. "Châkars et Ghulâms. À propos de plusieurs travaux récents." *Studia Iranica* (forthcoming in 2004).
- Vaissière and Trombert 2004  
Étienne de la Vaissière and Eric Trombert. "Des Chinois et des Hu. Migration et Intégration des des Iraniens orientaux en milieu chinois durant le Haut Moyen-Âge." *Annales. Histoire et Civilisations* (forthcoming in 2004).
- Enoki 1955  
Kazuo Enoki. "Sogdiana and the Hsiung-nu." *Central Asiatic Journal*, I/1 (1955), 43-62
- Forte 1995  
Antonino Forte. *The Hostage An Shigao and his Offspring. An Iranian Family in China*. Kyoto, 1995.
- Hulsewé 1979  
Anthony F. P. Hulsewé. *China in Central Asia : the Early Stage : 125 B.C. - A.D. 23*. An annotated translation of chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty, with an introduction by Michael A.N. Loewe. Leiden: Brill, 1979.

- London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1990.
- Yakubovich, Ilya. "Mugh 1.1. revisited." *Studia Iranica*, 31 (2002), 231-253.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. "Translation of the contract for the purchase of a slave girl found at Turfan and dated 639." Appendix to V. Hansen, review of de la Vaissière, Etienne, *Histoire des marchands sogdiens*, and Rong, Xinjiang, *Zhongguo Zhongguo yu wailai wenming. Toung Pao* (forthcoming).
- The two main collections of primary historical sources in Sogdian are:
- the *five Ancient Letters* (written in 313-314 by Sogdian merchants in Kansu, discovered in 1907 by Sir Aurel Stein near Dunhuang, kept in the British Library);
  - the *Mugh documents* (the archive of Dewashitich, last king of Panjikent, hidden in 722 in a mountain castle on the Upper Zeravshan, discovered in 1932, kept in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Saint-Petersburg). For the latter the documents are accessible in facsimile (*Documents from Mt. Mugh*, Moscow: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1963) and in a complete Russian edition which retains most of its value: *Sogdskie dokumenty s Gory Mug. Chtenie, perevod, kommentarii* [Sogdian documents from Mount Mugh. Reading, translation, commentaries]. Moscow, 3 vols., 1962-63 (A.A. Freiman, V.A. Livshits, M.N. Bogolubov, O.I. Smirnova). Several documents have been recently re-edited (see above Grenet & de la Vaissière, "The last days of Panjikent"; Yakubovich), others are in the process of re-edition.
- For the *Ancient Letters* the pioneering edition by H. Reichelt (*Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 11: *Die nicht-buddhistischen Texte*, Heidelberg, 1931), accompanied with facsimiles, is obsolete and will eventually be replaced by a new edition by N. Sims-Williams, who has already published articles alone or with collaborators who have written the historical commentaries (see above). Sogdian epigraphy is covered by Moriyasu and Ochir (the Sogdian inscriptions commissioned by the first Turkish empire) and by Sims-Williams (in particular for the Upper Indus inscriptions discovered since 1979; his publication also provides the main reference to date on Sogdian onomastics). For recently discovered documents of a day-to-day character concerning Sogdian communities in China (merchants, peasants, monks), see below, the section "Archaeological and textual testimonies of Sogdians in China" (de la Vaissière & Trombert, Sims-Williams). Taken all together, these written records in the Sogdian language provide no more than glimpses on specific places and periods. The bulk of information on Sogdiana itself comes from Chinese records from the sixth to eighth centuries (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1903) and from Arabic chronicles concerning the conquest (mainly *The History of al-Tabari*, 38 vols., Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987-97).
- ### 5. Toponymy, historical geography
- Grenet, Frantz & Rapin, Claude. "Alexander, Ai Khanum, Termez: remarks on the spring campaign of 328." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 12 (1998 [2001]), 79-89.
- Lurje, Pavel B. "Arabosogdica: place-names in Transoxiana as written in Arabic script." *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 7/4 (2001), 22-29.
- . "The element -KAQ / -KAND in Transoxanian place-names." *Studia Iranica*, 32/2 (2003) (in press).
- Tremblay, Xavier. "La toponymie de la Sogdiane et le traitement de \*xθ et \*fθ en iranien." *Studia Iranica*, 32/2 (2003) (in press).
- The historical geography of metropolitan Sogdiana is for the most part the domain of philologists (the ultimate reference being W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 3rd ed. London, 1968, chap. I: *Geographical survey of Transoxiana*). Archaeologists in Soviet Central Asia, and now in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, undertook various regional surveys, but they were (and still are) not in a position to back them with a proper apparatus of large-scale maps, air photographs, and satellite photographs, which are not accessible to them or, when they are, cannot be published. Consequently, the results of these surveys often take the form of bare lists of sites which are not precisely located. At the moment the best map of the Sogdian principalities (but with a limited choice of sites) is in la Vaissière 2002 (see below, section "The Sogdians in the international trade"). An issue presently under discussion concerns where the exact border of the historical regions of Bactria and Sogdiana was in Antiquity. The present author's opinion, shared with Claude Rapin (see joint article quoted), but not with all specialists, is that the area called Sogdiana initially extended southward to the Oxus river (the Amudarya) and shrank subsequently, the limit being established on the Hisar and Baysun ranges only from the Kushan period (first to third centuries CE). Taken in this perspective, the Hellenistic temple of the Oxus excavated at Takht-i Sangin on the northern bank was originally on Sogdian territory. On these excavations, the main references in Western languages are now: Litvinskii, B.A. & Pichikian, I.R., "The Hellenistic architecture and art of the temple of the Oxus," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 8 (1994 [1996]), 47-66; Litvinskij, Boris A. & Pichikjan, Igor R., *Takht-i Sangin, Der Oxus-Tempel*, Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2002 (Archäologie in Iran und Turan, Bd. 4); Bernard, Paul, "Le temple du dieu Oxus à Takht-i Sangin en Bactriane: temple du feu ou pas?" *Studia Iranica*, 23 (1994), 81-121 (a critical assessment of some interpretations of the excavators).
- ### 6. Coins
- Rtveladze, E.V. "Pre-Muslim coins of Chach." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 5 (1997/98), 307-328.
- \* Smirnova, O.I. *Svodnyi katalog sogdskikh monet. Bronza*. [General catalogue of Sogdian coins. Bronze]. Moscow, 1981.
- Zeimal, E.V. "The political history of Transoxiana." In E. Yarshater, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran*, III.1. Cambridge, 1983, 232-262, Pl. 19-24.
- . "The circulation of coins in Cen-

[http://cnqzu.com/library/To Organize/Books/Brill Ebooks/Brill\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies/Brill\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental](http://cnqzu.com/library/To%20Organize/Books/Brill%20Ebooks/Brill_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies/Brill_Handbook_of_Oriental)

[Studies/Sogdian\\_Traders\\_A\\_History\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies.pdf](http://cnqzu.com/library/To%20Organize/Books/Brill%20Ebooks/Brill_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies/Brill_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies/Sogdian_Traders_A_History_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies.pdf)

[http://cnqzu.com/library/To%20Organize/Books/Brill%20Ebooks/Brill\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies/Brill\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies/Sogdian\\_Traders\\_A\\_History\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies\\_Handbook\\_of\\_Oriental\\_Studies.pdf](http://cnqzu.com/library/To%20Organize/Books/Brill%20Ebooks/Brill_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies/Brill_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies/Sogdian_Traders_A_History_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies_Handbook_of_Oriental_Studies.pdf)

the buyer. And lest the people should not be of good faith, a private contract has been concluded; the two parties being in accord, the fingers have been drawn in witness thereof.

the proprietor of the silk  
 the proprietor of the horse, assistant to the head of militia Kang Sili,  
 34 years old  
 the guarantor authorized *hu* Luoyena 羅也那, 40 years old  
 the guarantor authorized *hu* An Dahan 安達漢, 45 years old  
 the guarantor ordinary citizen of Turfan Shi Zaohan 石早寒, 50 years old<sup>58</sup>

All of the persons mentioned in this contract have Sogdian names, but some are more integrated than others: two Sogdians are considered to belong to the “one hundred families” (百姓 *baixing*, rendered here by “ordinary citizen”) of Turfan, two are authorized, and the status of the seller, head of the militia, leads one to think that he too is authorized. For these nationals of the Middle Kingdom, the contract was composed in Chinese. These differences in status are met with again in the only Sogdian commercial contract known at present, dated to 639. It specifies that:

And this slave contract will be presentable with effect to whomsoever of the people, itinerant or resident,<sup>59</sup> to the king and to his officers, and this, by whomsoever shall take or have this girl's contract.

The travelling *hu* were foreigners in the eyes of the Chinese. They had to request an authorization in order to circulate and paid commercial taxes on transactions, without owing corvées. Sogdian residents were often employed to guarantee or witness their contracts in Chinese. Numerous documents attest to their commercial activities. Thus, among the texts found in the tombs of Astana, fragments of a lawsuit were extracted from the paper sandals that contained them.<sup>60</sup> The litigation was brought by Cao Lushan 曹祿山 and Cao Bisuo 曹畢娑, two Sogdian merchants, against Li Shaojin 李紹謹, a Chinese merchant from the capital, and concerned 275 rolls (疋 *pi*)

<sup>58</sup> Text edited in Yamamoto and Ikeda, 1987, text 32, p. 14.

<sup>59</sup> The parallel with the Chinese formula is exact (興朝/百姓), and it is not certain that the similar (but not identical) formula found in the document from Mount Mugh Nov. 3, verso, lines 9–10 (Livšic, 1962, pp. 23 and 25–6)—which now possesses a Bactrian parallel (Sims-Williams, 2000, p. 216)—covers exactly the same content. I thank Ilya Yakubovich for his observations on this subject.

<sup>60</sup> O. Ikeda (1981, p. 79) and E. Lubo-Lesničenko (1994, p. 259) give the contents. The document is published in *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, VI, pp. 470–478.

*Range of Activity and Social Hierarchy among the Merchants*

The majority of Sogdian merchants were probably small merchants, completing a circuit between three or four towns over some hundreds of kilometers. In 648, Mi Xunzhi 米巡誓, of Beshbalik, requested a trading permit: 31 years old, he wished to go to the market at Turfan with two slaves (a boy of 15 years and a girl of 12), an 8-year-old Türk camel and 15 sheep.<sup>21</sup> In 732–3, the Sogdian Shi Randian 石染典, a resident of Turfan, asked the Chinese administration for a passport in order to be able to travel from town to town: he travelled between Turfan, Hami and Dunhuang.<sup>22</sup> Already at the time of the *Ancient Letters* certain merchants specialized in travelling the Gansu-Loulan route.

But others planned journeys of much greater distance. Without mentioning the case of Maniak, who mounted an expedition from the Altai to Byzantium, and to whom I will return at greater length below,<sup>23</sup> it is enough to recall the case of Nanai-vandak, who wrote to Samarkand from Guzang/Wuwei, and to compare it with the lawsuit of the Cao family against the Chinese merchant Li of Chang'an: the range of activity in this instance was from Almalig, in the Ili valley north of the Tianshan, to Chang'an, which is not exactly local! Moreover, the transaction concerned 275 rolls of silk, or about the equivalent of 15 kg of pure silver, a significant sum.<sup>24</sup> The documents from Turfan occasionally show the involvement in transactions of Sogdians who had come directly from Sogdiana:

The fourth year *Xianheng*, the twelfth month, the twelfth day, in the prefecture of Xi 西 the commander Du 杜 of the government of Qianting 前庭府, [...] has bought, in paying 14 rolls of finished silk to Kang Wupoyan 康烏破延 *xing sheng hu* 興生胡 of the country of Kang 康, a good yellow camel 10 years of age...<sup>25</sup>

Certain merchants, moreover, signed Chinese documents in Sogdian.<sup>26</sup> Lastly, the Arabic texts which mention Sogdian merchants show them

<sup>20</sup> Sims-Williams, 1992b, p. 53, and Grenet, 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Jiang Boqin, 1994, p. 187.

<sup>22</sup> Ikeda, 1981, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> See chapter VIII, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See below, p. 271, for the calculation of the price of a roll of silk in silver.

<sup>25</sup> Yamamoto and Ikeda, 1987, text 29, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> See Grenet, 1957, pp. 357–60, and Yamamoto and Ikeda, 1987, no. 33, p. 207, and pl. 27.

to the Chinese. All of these products were rare and precious, even brass, produced in Persia.<sup>59</sup> The Sogdians had an important silver mine in Čāc.<sup>60</sup> Saffron could have come from neighboring Tukharistan, which produced it in abundance.<sup>61</sup>

To this list must be added musk, which the Sogdians traded from the time of the *Ancient Letters*, and which is mentioned again as the commodity carried by a Sogdian merchant in China in a text by Abū Zayd written at the beginning of the 10th century.

We must also include slaves. The only Sogdian sales contract from Turfan is concerned with the sale of a young girl from Turkestan. Sogdian slaves are mentioned on several occasions in the documents from Turfan. Above all, in the Chinese capitals the Sogdians specialized in the importation of young female servers, musicians, singers and dancers who pleased the fashionable quarters of Chang'an.

To the west, a Byzantine text notes that the silk trade occupied the primary position among the enterprises conducted by Sogdian merchants. Archaeological excavations also indicate the role played in Sogdian commerce by the export of Sogdian and Sassanid silver tableware. On the edge of the forests of the Upper Volga, these objects were exchanged for Baltic amber, furs and slaves.<sup>62</sup> Such dishes are also found in China.

What emerges from these lists is that Sogdian commerce was not specialized—rather, the Sogdians traded everything that could have value in Inner Asia. It is a fact that at certain times these very diverse products were principally exchanged for silk.

#### *The Status of Silk in Sogdian Trade*

The distinctive role of silk in Sogdian commerce is connected to its function as money in China. In fact, monetary circulation in China acted according to a very different model from that which prevailed in the West. Together with a metallic currency without intrinsic value

<sup>59</sup> For each of these products, see Laufer, 1919, and Schafer, 1963.

<sup>60</sup> Burjakov, 1974, pp. 102–7, points out that production at the mine in Čāc began well before the Muslim period and grew strongly in the 7th century.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Hawqal, trans. Kramers and Wiet, p. 459: "Saffron in abundance is found from Washjird and Shuman as far as Quwadhiyan, and is exported to a great number of regions and countries."

<sup>62</sup> See below, chap. VIII, pp. 249–253.

- d'archéologie islamique, IFAO, Le Caire, 37 février 1993*, Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1998, pp. 387–402.
- , Rapin, Cl., “Alexander, At Khanum, Termez: remarks on the spring campaign of 328,” in *Alexander's Legacy in the East: Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 12, 2001, pp. 79–89.
- , Sims-Williams, N., “The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters,” in *Transition Periods in Iranian History. Actes du Colloque de Fribourg-en-Brigau (22–24 mai 1985)*, (Cahier de *Studia Iranica*, 5), Louvain, 1987, pp. 101–122.
- , Zhang Guangda, “The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries,” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 10, 1996, pp. 175–186.
- Grošev, V. A., *Irrigacija južnogo Kazaxstana v Srednje Veka* (Irrigation of southern Kazakhstan in the Middle Ages), Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1985, 148 p. + 8 ill.
- Gyllensvärd, B., “Recent finds of Chinese ceramics at Fostat. I,” *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 45, 1973, pp. 91–119.
- Gyselen, R., “Ateliers monétaires et cachets officiels sassanides,” *Studia Iranica* 8, 1979, pp. 189–212.
- , *La géographie administrative de l'empire sassanide. Les témoignages sigillographiques*, (Res Orientales I), Bures-sur-Yvette, 1989, 166 p.
- Hall, K. R., “Economic History of Early Southeast Asia,” in Tarling, N. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Volume One, From Early Times to c.1800*, Cambridge: University Press, 1992, pp. 183–275.
- Haloun, G., “Zur Üe-tsi-Frage,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XCI, 1937, pp. 243–318.
- Hamilton, J., “Autour du manuscrit Staël-Holstein,” *T'oung Pao*, XLVI, 1958, pp. 115–153.
- , “Le pays des Tchong-Yun, Čungul, ou Cumuđa au X<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Journal Asiatique*, CCLXV, 1977, pp. 351–379.
- Hannestad, J., “Les relations de Byzance avec la Transcaucasie et l'Asie Centrale aux 5<sup>e</sup> et 6<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Byzantion*, XXV–XXVII (1955–1957), pp. 421–56.
- Hansen, V., *Negotiating Daily Life in Traditional China. How Ordinary People Used Contracts 600–1400*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, 285 p.
- , “New Works on the Sogdians, the Most Important Traders on the Silk Road, A.D. 500–1000” with an Appendix by Y. Yoshida “Translation of the Contract for the Purchase of a Slave-Girl found at Turfan and Dated 639,” *T'oung Pao*, LXXXIX, 2003, pp. 149–161.
- Hansen, V., “The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 500–800” in É. de la Vaissière, É. Trombert (eds.), *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, (Études thématiques, 14), Paris: EFEO, 2005, forthcoming.
- Harmatta, J., “Sogdian Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia,” in Harmatta, J. (ed.), *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979a, pp. 153–165.
- , “The Archaeological Evidence for the Date of the Sogdian ‘Ancient

- Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, *Xinjiang kaogu fajue baogao (1957-1958) 新疆考古發掘報告* (An Archaeological Tour of Xinjiang), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983.
- Hulsewé, A. F. P., "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," in Beasley, W. G., Pulleyblank, E. G. (eds.), *Historians of China and Japan*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 31-43.
- , "The Problem of the Authenticity of *Shih-chi* Chap. 123, the Memoir on Ta Yüan," *T'oung Pao*, LXI, 1975, pp. 83-147.
- Ierusalimskaja, A. A., "O severokavkazskom 'Šelkovom puti' v rannem srednevekov'e" (Concerning the "Silk Road" of the northern Caucasus in the early Middle Ages), *Sovetskaja Arxeologia*, 2, 1967a, pp. 59-78.
- , "K voprosu o Svjazjax Sogda s Vizantiej i Egiptom (ob odnoj unikal'noj tkani iz severokavkazskogo mogil'nika Moščevaja Balka)" (On the question of connections between Sogdiana, Byzantium and Egypt [concerning a unique fabric from the northern Caucasian sepulchre of Moščevaja Balka]), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 3, 1967b, pp. 119-126.
- , *Die Gräber der Moščevaja Balka. Frühmittelalterliche Funde an der Nordkaukasischen Seidenstrasse*, Munich: Editio Maris, 1996, 370 p. + 88 pl.
- Ikedo On, "Le canton sogdien à Dunhuang au milieu du huitième siècle," *Yūrasia bunka kenkyū*, 1965, no. 1, pp. 49-92 (in Japanese).
- Ikedo On, "Les marchands sogdiens dans les documents de Dunhuang et de Turfan," *Journal Asiatique*, CCLXXXIX, 1981, pp. 77-9.
- Institute of Archaeology of Shaanxi 陝西省考古研究所, "Xi'an de Bei Zhou An Jia mu" 西安的北周安伽墓 (Excavation of An Jia's Tomb of the Northern Zhou in Xi'an), *Wenwu* 文物, 2001, no. 1, pp. 4-26.
- *et alii*, "Taiyuan Sui dai Yu Hong mu qingli jianbao" 太原隋代虞弘墓清理簡報 (Excavation of Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan, Shanxi), *Wenwu* 文物, 2001, no. 1, pp. 27-52.
- Ishida, M., "Études sino-iraniennes. I. A propos du *Hou-siuan-ivou*," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 6, 1932, pp. 61-76.
- , "The *Huchi* 胡姬, mainly Iranian Girls, found in China during the T'ang Period," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 20, 1961, pp. 35-40.
- Jakubov, Ju., "O strukture sel'skix poselenij gornogo Sogda v rannem srednevekov'e," (Concerning the structure of rural settlements in the mountainous regions of Sogdiana in the early Middle Ages), in Gafurov, B. G. and Litvinskij, B. A. (eds.), *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov Srednej Azii v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, Moscow, 1979, pp. 73-78.
- , *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija gornogo Sogda*, Dušanbe, 1988, 289 p.
- Jansson, I., "Wikingerzeitlicher orientalischer Import in Skandinavien," *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission*, 69, Mainz: Römisch-germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts P. von Zabern, 1988, pp. 564-647.
- Jaouiche, H., *The Histories of Nishapur. 'Abdalqāfir al-Farisi. Siyāq Ta'rikh Naisābūr. Register Personen- und Ortsnamen*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert Verlag, 1984, 102 p.
- Jetmar, K., "Hebrew inscriptions in the Western Himalayas," in Gnoli,

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/3632829?seq=32#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3632829?seq=32#metadata_info_tab_contents)

was entitled to use a high-ranking Tang military prestige title, which probably indicates that he had performed meritorious military service and provides further evidence of his integration into Tang society.<sup>72</sup> Another document mentions that he had a house and a wife, children, and other relatives who resided there permanently.<sup>73</sup> The differences in status of these traders probably point to variations in their assimilation into Tang society. Some merchants put down permanent roots in an adopted land, but others remained itinerant and never learned the Chinese language. The latter relied on translators who are also mentioned in the documents.<sup>74</sup>

Despite differences in residence status, the merchant caravans depicted in Tang travel documents exhibited some similar characteristics. In all cases merchants are noted to be travelling with pack animals, which normally were donkeys, horses, or camels. It is not clear whether they hired the animals or owned them. The previously mentioned merchant, Shi Randian, may have owned his pack animals because separate documents from 732 and 733 mention the same numbers of donkeys. We might expect the number to vary if he had been hiring them based upon the amount of merchandise on hand at a particular time. The document from 733 notes the addition of a horse and mule. He appears to have recently bought the horse because there also is an extant contract for the purchase of one in 733.<sup>75</sup> The merchants are noted as being accompanied by male and female slaves, male laborers (*zuoren* 作人), who probably were pack animal drivers, and in one case a retainer (*biezou* 别奏).<sup>76</sup> Slavery was accepted in Sogdian and Chinese society.<sup>77</sup> It is not always clear whether the slaves in

<sup>72</sup> Appendix I, T7, ln 20. The prestige title was Mobile Corps Commander (*youji jiangjun* 游擊將軍), which indicates a rank of 5b2. See Rotours 1974: 101.

<sup>73</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

<sup>74</sup> See for example the merchants T1-T5 in Appendix I who relied on the translator Di Nanipan 翟那你潘 (pt. 1, ln 2, the name was pronounced Na<sup>h</sup>-ni<sup>l</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>an in Early Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1991a). Although the surname usually is attributed to the original inhabitants of Turfan (see Table 6), Hansen (2002) points out that his given name may be a transliteration of Sogdian meaning “glory of the female deity Nana”. Could Di be the son of a Han father and Sogdian mother? If Di was not of Sogdian descent, is this evidence for Pelliot’s hypothesis that Sogdian was a *lingua franca* on the Silk Road (see note 1 above)?

<sup>75</sup> The horse was purchased in a contract dated 733 (73TAM509:8/10 in TCWS 9:48-9). Shi Randian is noted as traveling with the horse and mule in 733 (73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7), but not in 732 (Appendix I: T7).

<sup>76</sup> Laborers and a retainer can be seen in Appendix I: T15, ln. 172. For laborers and slaves see Appendix I, T1-5.

<sup>77</sup> On slavery in Sogdia, see Frye 1996, 195. For Tang China, see Johnson 1979, 28-9. Chinese and Sogdian language contracts from Turfan demonstrate that Han and Sogdians were involved in transactions involving slaves. An example of a Chinese contract is the “merchant western barbarian” (*xinghu* 興胡) Mi Lushan 米祿山 who sold the slave girl Shimaner 失滿兒, age 11, to Tang Rong 唐榮 from the capital district (Jingzhao Superior

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/3632829?seq=33#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3632829?seq=33#metadata_info_tab_contents)

the travel parties were meant to be sold, which as we will see below was common, or served the labor or sexual needs of merchants while on the road. The wealthy Han travellers in Appendix I normally journeyed with slaves who presumably were domestic servants. Some merchants may have done the same. The term *zuoren* is peculiar to the Turfan documents, and people with this designation are known to have done a number of menial jobs besides working for merchants. *Zuoren*, as used in the documents, could simply mean “laborers,” as translated above. However, the possibility exists that the term was used to designate Sogdians belonging to the lowest free social stratum of their homeland, which was divided into noble, merchant and worker classes.<sup>78</sup> This problem requires further study.

The travel itineraries of these merchants can be divided into long, medium, and short haul routes. Some traders appear to have travelled the entire distance between Sogdia and central China, or extensive portions of it. A travel permit from Turfan issued to a group of merchants who needed the aid of an interpreter mentions that they came from the “west,” possibly indicating Sogdia, and planned to go to the capital, Chang’an.<sup>79</sup> This would indicate a distance of over 3,500 kilometers. The previously mentioned Cao Bisuo and Cao Guoyi, who were temporary residents of the Tang capital, are described as going from Kucha to Gongyue 弓月—near the Yili River on the frontier between East and West Turkestan—and then heading further west, possibly to Sogdia.<sup>80</sup> However, two others in their travel party who also were residents of the capital, Cao Yanyan and Li Shaojin, headed back to Kucha.<sup>81</sup> Their circuit appears to have been limited to trade between Chang’an and East Turkestan, but this was still a distance of about 2,500 kilometers.

A medium haul merchant seems to be Shi Randian of Turfan. Like Cao Yanyan and Li Shaojin, he apparently operated along circumscribed travel itineraries. His travel permit mentions that he came from Kucha (Anxi 安西) in the Tarim Basin to carry out trade in Gua Prefecture (Guazhou 瓜州) in north-western Gansu, a distance of more than 1,000 kilometers. The permit allowed him to journey from Guazhou returning west to Kucha via the Iron Pass near

Prefecture Jingzhaofu 京兆府) in 731 (73TAM509:8/12-1(a), 8/12-2(a) in TCWS 9:26-8; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987, no. 31). For the Sogdian language contract for the sale of a slave dated 639, see Yoshida and Moriyasu 1988; Vaissière 2002: 165-6.

<sup>78</sup> On Sogdian social classes, see Frye 1996: 195. On the term *zuoren* and its usage in the Turfan documents, see Sheng 1998: 140.

<sup>79</sup> Appendix I: T1-5.

<sup>80</sup> On the location of Gongyue, see Yan 1985, 2:602-5.

<sup>81</sup> 66TAM61: 17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9; Huang 1983.

Karashahr. We do not know whether he reached Kucha on this occasion, but official notations on the permit indicate that he traveled at least as far as Hami (Yizhou 伊州) and engaged in trade at Dunhuang (Shazhou 沙州) and Hami.<sup>82</sup> Another government document, testimony of guarantors on a certificate of ownership prepared for a business trip from Turfan to Hami, demonstrates that Shi planned to return to the latter city in the first lunar month of 733.<sup>83</sup>

Other merchants were involved in even shorter distance travel of around 200 kilometers. Two of them are mentioned as travelling between Turfan and Luntai 輪臺 (near modern Urumchi), which was in the grasslands on the southern rim of the Jungarian Basin. Shih Jisi was driving 200 sheep and six cows south from Luntai, presumably to sell in Turfan, which was too hot and lacked grasslands for livestock breeding. The other, Kang Dazhi, was going north to Luntai to collect debts. A third short haul merchant, Mi Xunzhi 米巡職, was going to Turfan from Ting Prefecture (Tingzhou 庭州 or Beshbalıq), also on the southern rim of the Jungarian Basin. Like Shih Jisi, his goods all appear to be “products” of pastoral nomads: fifteen sheep, one camel, a male slave, age fifteen, and a female slave, age twelve. The latter two had foreign names, and might have recently been purchased from pastoral nomadic tribes.<sup>84</sup> Sims-Williams has proposed that Sogdian trade was limited to shorter routes by the eighth century. However, the data are too limited to draw firm conclusions about chronology.<sup>85</sup>

Although these travel documents give us some information about Sogdian trade patterns, they do not provide direct evidence on how merchants were organized—whether as independent peddlers, members of trade guilds, or partners in commercial associations—because this kind of information was not required by the officials who composed the documents.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, some clues about organization can be gleaned from the Tang documents and the earlier fourth century Sogdian Ancient Letters. Ancient Letter II, composed in Gansu and sent

<sup>82</sup> Appendix I: T7.

<sup>83</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

<sup>84</sup> For short-haul merchants Kang Dazhi and Shih Jisi, see Appendix I: T10, T15. For Mi Xunzhi, see 73TAM221:5 in TCWS 7:8-9. On the locations of Ting Prefecture and Luntai, see Yan 1985, 2:602-5. For the climate and ecology of Turfan and the Jungarian Basin, see Lattimore 1951: 153; 1975: 36-7, 199.

<sup>85</sup> Sims-Williams 1996: 60. Most of the surviving travel permits and certificates of ownership involving merchant trips are clustered around the 680s and 730s, and it is not possible to detect any strong chronological trends in this data. For example, the earliest and latest journeys, Mi Xunzhi in 648 (73TAM221:5 in TCWS 7:8-9) and Shih Jisi in 733 (Appendix I: T15), were along short haul routes.

<sup>86</sup> All three types of merchant organizations are known in later periods. For peddlers, see Steensgaard 1973: 22-59. On associations, see Rossabi 1990: 354-5. On guilds, see Mauro 1990.

The testimony of a guarantor on the certificate of ownership for Shi Randian's business trip to Hami provides some information about the relationship between the settlers and the itinerant merchants in the Sogdian trade diaspora. In this document Tang authorities required Shi Randian to have a compatriot guarantee that he had a house and family and had not gained the use of his employees, slave and pack animals under false pretenses. The guarantor also had to pledge to be responsible for Shi's taxes if he did not return.<sup>91</sup> In a travel permit dating to 685, a group of Sogdians and Bactrians coming from the west who needed the assistance of a translator, had five guarantors who were Tang subjects (*baixing*) from various Tang cities in East Turkestan. Four of the five guarantors have Sogdian names.<sup>92</sup> Most likely the guarantors were merchants who knew one another through business activity and happened to be congregating in the city where the permit was drafted. This demonstrates that long distance merchants (those requesting travel permit) had contacts with those who had local residences (the guarantors), and that settlers in the trade diaspora assisted their brethren from abroad in dealing with local authorities. We also can suppose that Sogdian settlers provided lodging and supplies to travelling merchants.<sup>93</sup> Contacts with Sogdian settlers in the diaspora would have been invaluable to merchants as they negotiated trade circuits between East and West Asia.

#### GOODS TRADED

It has long been recognized that goods were exchanged between eastern and western Eurasia. The typical approach to this problem among modern scholars has been to rely upon the writings of premodern authors to identify the imports and their origins, but this method has limitations because the traditional authors were as ignorant about how goods were transported as the typical modern consumer.<sup>94</sup> Archaeological excavations also can provide information about imports, but not their modes of transmission. The documents found at Turfan help to advance research by identifying some of the goods that Sogdians traded along the Silk

are traveling together, they appear to be doing so because they have the same destination and also the same guarantors to prove that their story is true. On fighting in the Tarim Basin in the 670s and 680s, see note 49 above.

<sup>91</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7. The first part of this document has been lost, so we do not know the surname of the guarantor. However, he may have been a Sogdian because we know that his given name was Ranwu 染勿 (pronounced Niam-mut in Early Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1991a). This name definitely is non-Han and its closeness to Shi Randian's leads me to surmise that it also is Sogdian, but this requires further study.

<sup>92</sup> Appendix I, T1-5.

<sup>93</sup> For evidence of a Sogdian innkeeper, see note 41.

<sup>94</sup> The most comprehensive study of western goods that arrived in China is Schafer 1963.

- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2001. Sogdian Ancient Letter II. In *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China*, eds. A. L. Juliano and J. A. Lerner. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- . 1996. The Sogdian Merchants in China and India. In *Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang*, eds. A. Cadonna and L. Lanciotti. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore.
- . 1985. Ancient Letters. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2: 7-9.
- Skaff, Jonathan Karam. forthcoming. Loyalties Divided: The Question of Ethnicity in the Tang-Türgish Conflict of 708-9. In *Battlefronts Real and Imagined: War, Border, and Identity in the Chinese Middle Period*. New York: Palgrave at St. Martin's Press.
- . 1998. The Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins from Turfan: Their Relationship to International Trade and the Local Economy. *Asia Major* 3rd Series, 11: 67-116.
- . 1998a. Straddling Steppe and Sown: Tang China's Relations with the Nomads of Inner Asia (640-756). Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan.
- Steensgaard, Niels. 1973. *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tang Zhangru. 1990. Tulufan wenshu suo jian de Xizhou fubing [The Xi Prefecture fubing militia as seen in the Turfan documents]. In *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu chutan erbian*, ed. Tang Zhangru. Wuhan: Wuhan Daxue chubanshe.
- . 1982. Xinchu Tulufan wenshu fajue zhengli jingguo ji wenshu jianjie [The experience of excavating and arranging the documents newly unearthed at Turfan and a brief introduction to them]. *Tōhō gaku* 54: 83-100.
- Tonami Mamoru. 1993. Tōdai no kasho to kōken [Tang dynasty travel permits and certificates of ownership]. In *Chūgoku chūsei no bunbutsu*, ed. Tonami Mamoru. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo.
- Twitchett, Denis. 1970. *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty*. 2nd ed. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Vaissière, Étienne de la. 2002. *Histoire des marchands sogdiens*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises.
- Wink, André. 1991. *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*. Leiden: Brill.
- Wu Zhen. 2002. "Hu" Non-Chinese as they Appear in the Materials from the Astana Graveyard at Turfan. Translated by V. Hansen and Zhang Guangda, Sino-Platonic Papers, no. 119. Philadelphia: Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Pennsylvania.
- . 1999. Asitana—Halahezhuo muqun kaogu ziliao zhong suo jian de huren [Western barbarians as seen in archaeological materials from the Astana—Karakhoja graveyard]. *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 4: 245-64.
- Xie Chongguang. 1989. Qu shi Gaochang fuyi zhidu kaobian [An analysis of Qu Dynasty Gaochang's tax system]. *Beijing Shifan Daxue xuebao* 1: 80-8.
- Xiong, Victor Cunrui. 1999. The Land-Tenure System of Tang China—A Study of the Equal-Field System and the Turfan Documents. *T'oung Pao* 85: 328-90.
- Yakubovich, Ilya. 2002. Marriage Sogdian Style. Paper presented at the conference Iranistik in Europa at Graz, Austria.
- Yan Gengwang. 1985. *Tangdai jiaotong tu kao* [An examination of Tang dynasty transportation maps]. 5 vols, Zongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo zhuankan 83. Taipei: Zongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo.
- Yao Weiyuan. 1962. *Beichao huxing kao*. [An examination of foreign names during the Northern Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Yoshida Yutaka. 1989. Sogudogo no jinmei o saikō suru [A reconstruction of Sogdian names]. *Sanseido bukkureto* 78: 66-71.
- Yoshida Yutaka, Moriyasu Takao, and Xinjiang hakubutsukan. 1988. Kikushi Kōshōkoku

- jidai Sogudobun jodorei baibai bunsho [A Sogdian language contract for the sale of a female slave during the Qu dynasty Gaochang Kingdom]. *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 4: 1-50.
- Zhang Guangda, and Rong Xinjiang. 1998. A Concise History of the Turfan Oasis and Its Exploration. *Asia Major* 3rd Series, 11: 13-36.
- Zheng Xuemeng. 1986. Shiliuguo zhi Qu shi wangchao shiqi Gaochang shiyong yinqian de qingkuang yanjiu [The use of silver coins at Gaochang from the sixteen kingdoms to the Qu dynasty]. In *Dunhuang Tulufan chutu jingji wenshu yanjiu*, ed. Han Guopan. Xiamen: Xiamen Daxue chuban she.
- Zhu Lei. 1982. Qu shi Gaochang wangguo de 'cheng jia qian'—Quchao shuizhi lingshi [The 'scale fee money' of the Qu family's Gaochang Kingdom—collected fragments of the Qu dynasty's tax system]. *Wei, Jin, Nan-Beichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao* 4: 17-24.

SKAFF, JONATHAN KARAM. "Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins from Turfan: Their Relationship to International Trade and the Local Economy." *Asia Major*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1998, pp. 67–115. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/41645542](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41645542). Accessed 23 Apr. 2021.

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/41645542?seq=23#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/41645542?seq=23#metadata_info_tab_contents)

that apparently would have bypassed Kao-ch'ang. This angered Ch'ü Wen-t'ai. He and his ally, I-p'i Shad (I-p'i *shē* 乙毗設) of the Western Turks, attacked Karashahr and sacked its three cities.<sup>66</sup> This seems to have preserved Kao-ch'ang's monopoly. The incident also demonstrates how closely this trade was tied to the cooperation of the Western Turks. By 640 Kao-ch'ang was dealing with Yü-ku Shad 欲谷設 also of the Western Turks. The sources tell us that Yü-ku established a garrison north of the T'ien-shan Mountains that was meant to monitor Turfan. Ch'ü Wen-t'ai gave Yü-ku money and silk, and the two parties had a mutual assistance pact. The Turkish garrison and the Kao-ch'ang kingdom are said to have communicated regularly.<sup>67</sup> The above evidence demonstrates that the Western Turks monitored the trade going through Kao-ch'ang and carried out coercive actions against parties that endangered their profits. This seems to have been a key factor in enhancing the supply of coins in Turfan up to the T'ang conquest in 640.

#### THE NATURE OF TURFAN'S TRANSIT TRADE AND ITS RELATION TO SILVER-COIN CIRCULATION

Having established why international trade flourished in Turfan early in the seventh century, we still need to understand how it was carried out and how silver coins came to circulate in Turfan. Remarkable fragments of documents that have survived in Turfan's tombs help us to solve some of these problems. An undated Sogdian language contract for the sale of a female slave from Samarqand mentions that the woman was purchased for "120 very pure struck Persian [silver] dirhems."<sup>68</sup> This contract establishes that Sogdian merchants were involved in transactions at Turfan using Sasanian coins and Sogdian slaves were one item that they traded. More extensive information about the situation in the Kao-ch'ang kingdom can be gleaned from a Chinese language record of "scale fees" 稱價錢, which traders involved in a transaction paid when merchandise was weighed on official scales.<sup>69</sup> Chinese scholars ar-

<sup>66</sup> *CTS* 198, pp. 5294, 5301; *HTS* 221A, p. 6221; 221B, p. 6229; Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 104, 111.

<sup>67</sup> *CTS* 198, p. 5296; *HTS* 221B, p. 6223; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 109. The garrison was at Qaghan Stupa City (*A'o-han fu-t'u ch'eng* 可汗浮圖城), which, these sources tell us, became T'ing prefecture (T'ing-chou 庭州) and then Pei-t'ing 北庭 after the T'ang conquest of the northwest. It was located north of the T'ien-shan Mountains at an oasis in the grasslands of the southern Jungarian Basin. Later during Uighur rule, it was known as Beshbaliq. Today the ruined city is about 125 kilometers east of Ürümchi in Chi-mu-sa-erh county.

<sup>68</sup> The relevant part of the document is translated in Richard N. Frye, "Sasanian-Central Asian Connections," in Amir Harrack, ed., *Contacts between Cultures, Volume 1, West Asia and North Africa* (Lanham, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), p. 272.

<sup>69</sup> 73TAM 514:2/1 to 2/11 in *TCWS* 3, pp. 318-25.

dian trader, Shih Jan-tien 石染典. A T'ang government travel permit dated 732 gives some idea about his standing in T'ang society and the circuit he traversed.<sup>93</sup> The document refers to him as a T'ang subject residing at Turfan (Hsi-chou 西州). He was entitled to use a high-ranking T'ang military prestige title, which probably indicates that he had performed meritorious military service and provides further evidence that the Turfan Sogdians were well integrated into T'ang society.<sup>94</sup> Shih Jan-tien was traveling with two Sogdian assistants, a slave, and ten donkeys. The pack animals must have carried his goods. The travel permit allowed him to journey west from Kua prefecture (Kua-chou 瓜州) in northwestern Kansu to Kucha (An-hsi 安西) in the Tarim Basin via the Iron Pass near Karashahr, a distance of more than 1,000 kilometers. We do not know whether he reached Kucha on this occasion, but official notations on the permit indicate that he traveled at least as far as Hami (I chou 伊州) and engaged in trade at Tun-huang (Sha-chou 沙州) and Hami. Another government document allowing him to travel to Hami for trade demonstrates that he planned to return to that city in the first lunar month of 733. Business must have been going well for him because he now had a horse and mule in addition to his ten donkeys.<sup>95</sup> A private contract shows that he had just purchased the horse in Turfan for eighteen rolls of silk on the fifth day of the same month.<sup>96</sup> Since the contract was drawn up in Turfan and he planned to travel to Hami, on this occasion he was heading east. His travels to the east and west demonstrate circuitous trading patterns.

Shih Jan-tien's permit to travel to Hami provides some information about the relationship between the settlers and the itinerant merchants in the Sogdian trade diaspora. To obtain the permit, Shih Jan-tien needed to have a compatriot guarantee that he had a house and family and had not gained the use of his employees, slave and pack animals under false pretenses. The guarantor also had to pledge to be responsible for Shih's taxes if he did not return.<sup>97</sup> This demonstrates that settled people in the trade diaspora assisted their mobile brethren in dealing with local authorities. We also can suppose that they pro-

<sup>93</sup> 73TAM509:8/13 in *TCWS* 9, pp. 40–43. I thank Professor Ch'en Kuo-ts'an for pointing out to me this and other documents relating to Shih Jan-tien.

<sup>94</sup> The prestige title was mobile corps commander (*yu-chi Chiang-chün* 游擊將軍), which indicates a rank of 5b2. See Robert des Rotours, *Le traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée: Traduit de la nouvelle histoire des Tang (Chap. XLVI-L)*, 2d edn. (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), p. 101.

<sup>95</sup> 73TAM509:8/9(a) in *TCWS* 9, pp. 44–47. <sup>96</sup> 73TAM509:8/10 in *TCWS* 9, pp. 48–49.

<sup>97</sup> The first part of this document has been lost, so we do not know the surname of the guarantor. However, he probably was a Sogdian because we know that his given name was Jan-wu 染勿. This name definitely is non-Chinese and its closeness to Shih Jan-tien's leads me to believe that it also is Sogdian.

HANSEN, VALERIE. "The Tribute Trade with Khotan in Light of Materials Found at the Dunhuang Library Cave." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 19, 2005, pp. 37–46. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24049203. Accessed 23 Apr. 2021.

changes in grain and cloth. It is possible that some Chinese coins, perhaps those minted before 755, continued to circulate in the ninth and tenth centuries, but the region's economy had become essentially demonetized.<sup>20</sup>

When Yamamoto and Ikeda say "money," they mean coins. Yet if we adopt a broader, and more commonly accepted, definition of money as a store of wealth, fixed measures of grain and fixed lengths of cloth sometimes served as "money" at Dunhuang.<sup>21</sup> Contracts from Dunhuang often give the dimensions of each piece of cloth, and in the tenth century parties to a transaction occasionally sketched the piece of cloth in question on the back of the contract. They would not have done this at the height of the Tang when the size of cloth had been standardized. At least some of the time, cloth served as a bartered item that had to be measured each time it changed hands.

In such an economy, what products did the Khotanese present as tribute? Jade was the one unique local product whose chunks and pebbles residents could gather from the riverbeds of Khotan. Since 1200 B.C., if not before, the Chinese had imported Khotanese jade. The lavish tomb of the Shang king's consort Fu Hao (ca. 1200 B.C.) contained over one thousand jade implements, some carved from the distinctive jade of Khotan.<sup>22</sup> Demand never flagged in subsequent centuries.

The princes and their entourage carried 600 *jīn* of Khotanese jade with them. A single *jīn* weighed about 600 grams,<sup>23</sup> so their load totaled some 360 kilos of jade. We do not know the meaning of the terms *nūca* and *paśamjsana* for the other commodities carried by the Khotanese. Hiroshi Kumamoto rightly suggests that we consider the goods mentioned in the Chinese-language sources as we ponder the definitions of these words. Both seem to be made from leather, he notes, making it likely that they were saddles, harnesses, or some other equipment for animals.<sup>24</sup> Horses and jade were the most common tribute items from Khotan, and other recorded gifts included camels, falcons, yak tails, textiles, furs, medicines, minerals, herbs, some types of fragrances, amber, and coral.<sup>25</sup>

This list overlaps extensively with the goods mentioned in monastic inventories studied by Rong Xinjiang<sup>26</sup> as well as in other Dunhuang documents studied by Zheng Binglin.<sup>27</sup> These goods fall into broad categories: textiles (silk, of course, but increasingly cotton and linen as well),

metal, incense and other aromatics, furs, animals, ceramics, and precious stones. Some, like the furs, are obviously of local manufacture, but the origin of others is more difficult to determine because no physical specimens survive.

We might call this the French fry problem.<sup>28</sup> Was the Iranian powder [*hufen* 胡粉, a pigment used for make-up and painting] that appears in so many Dunhuang documents actually from Iran? Or did the people living in Dunhuang call it "Iranian" because the item had once originated from Iran? Travelers could conceivably have carried powder overland from Iran, because it was light, but "Iranian locks" [*husuo* 胡鎖] were heavy and, accordingly, almost certainly made locally.

One commodity at Dunhuang definitely traveled overland: precious jewels including lapis lazuli (from Badakshan, Afghanistan), agate (from India) coral (from the ocean shore in India and overland from Tibet), and pearls (from Sri Lanka, again most likely via Tibet). Tang-dynasty short stories often speak of wealthy Iranian jewel merchants living in Chang'an.<sup>29</sup> Still, these gems, we must note, do not appear in the documents about the seven princes.

As was fitting in a subsistence economy, people also appear as tribute items. The forty Sogdian slaves presented by the kaghan of Ganzhou to the ruler of Dunhuang had, we can assume, no freedom of movement.<sup>30</sup> The second group of envoys to report to the court, Tathāgatha Śrībhadrā and Ana Saṃgai, explain how someone who was traveling with them was enslaved: "As for Darakau Pada-tcaina, Hvām' Tsaihsiang captured him. He is thus our slave." After the Khotanese delegation supported him for three months, they explained, he returned to China in the hope of regaining his freedom.<sup>31</sup> It is possible that the 40 Sogdians were enslaved under similar circumstances.

The seven princes and their companions set off for Chang'an carrying 360 kilograms of jade and some leather goods, most likely harnesses. Stranded in Dunhuang, they did not reach their destination. But what if they had? What were they hoping to get in exchange for their gifts to the Tang emperor? An undated Chinese-language document (also from cave 17 and dating to the late ninth or tenth century) is particularly revealing because it records what a delegation from Dunhuang presented and, most unusually, exactly what the court gave them in return.<sup>32</sup>

Hansen, Valerie. "New Work on the Sogdians, the Most Important Traders on the Silk Road, A.D. 500-1000." *T'oung Pao*, vol. 89, no. 1/3, 2003, pp. 149–161. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4528925. Accessed 23 Apr. 2021.

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/4528925?seq=10#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/4528925?seq=10#metadata_info_tab_contents)

best be understood as the “nine jeweled surnames,” a general term for the Sogdian community (p. 216).

Given that at the beginning of the eighth century the Sogdians commanded the most influence of any non-Chinese group in Tang society, what contributed to their almost total disappearance by the Song dynasty? Here, the analyses of de la Vaissière and Rong vary slightly. De la Vaissière sees the suppression of the An Lushan rebellion as leading directly to the decline of the Sogdians. He cites a chilling ninth-century description of the orders a Tang general (himself originally Korean) gave to his men who had recovered the city of Beijing from the rebel armies:

Gao Juren ordered that those who killed *hu* 胡 (Western Asians) would be richly rewarded. As a result, the *jiehu* 羯胡 were completely exterminated. Small children were tossed in the air and caught on lances. Those who had big noses like the Western Asians and those who were killed by mistake for this reason were extremely numerous (p. 217).<sup>8</sup>

If similar pogrom-like attacks on Sogdians occurred in other Chinese cities, we can easily understand why Sogdians might have fled to Uighur-ruled areas like Turfan or simply gone underground within China.

Rong, in contrast, sees the Sogdians as more resilient and taking action to distance themselves from the rebels. Even after the fall of the Tang in 910, the Sogdians remained influential, he notes, particularly in Hebei. It is possible, of course, that both de la Vaissière and Rong are correct: Sogdians in Beijing and other places may have been persecuted while those in other regions managed to evade harm.

One might expect that, following the An Lushan rebellion, Sogdian merchants would have retreated to their homeland around Samarkand and continued much as before, but de la Vaissière draws on Arabic geographies to trace the decline of the Sogdians. He suggests that Samarkand was not as dynamic as earlier, and that the number of goods the Sogdians traded shrank; but the reader cannot help wondering if Arab sources offer sufficient evidence to support his views. True, people from Samarkand do seem to play a smaller

<sup>8</sup> Des Rotours, *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan* (Ngan Lou-chan che tsi), Paris, Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. XVIII, p. 346. The exact meaning of *jie* is not clear, although it clearly denotes a sub-group within the larger category of *hu*, and it was sometimes used to indicate those claiming descent from the Xiongnu.

role in the Abbasid empire, perhaps because many adopted Muslim names, thus obscuring their background. The people of Sogdiana put up prolonged opposition to the caliphate's armies in the eighth century and resisted Islamicization for a long time even after the fall of Samarkand in 712. Several tenth-century rosters of pious Muslims resident in or simply passing through Nishapur list almost no Sogdians (p. 285).

Whether or not one accepts this depiction of the economic decline of Samarkand, it is undeniable that, by the tenth and eleventh centuries, Sogdian had almost entirely ceased to be spoken. In the second half of the eleventh century Maḥmūd of Kashgar noticed widespread bilingualism in the Semirech'e region: Sogdian was spoken only as a second language by families who also spoke Turkish (p. 329). At this point, with the death of their language, the history of the Sogdians comes to end.

Like any summary, this review cannot convey the full richness of the two books examined. Both deserve to be read in their entirety because they are lucidly written and completely accessible to someone new to Central Asian history. Each is copiously annotated; simply following up on the exhaustive footnotes provides a genuinely pleasurable education. In short, these books by de la Vaissière and Rong Xinjiang have elevated the study of the Sogdians to a higher plateau, and those of us in Chinese, Central Asian, and European history are all the richer for it.

## APPENDIX

TRANSLATION OF THE CONTRACT FOR THE PURCHASE OF A SLAVE  
GIRL FOUND AT TURFAN AND DATED 639

BY

YOSHIDA YUTAKA  
(Kobe City University of Foreign Studies)

*Recto*

[l. 1] As to the year, it was the year 16 of divine and great Ilteberking [by the name] of Yanchyu, [the ruler] of Gaochang, in the fifth [l. 2] month [of the] Chinese [calendar], [while] it is called the Khshumsafich month in Sogdian, in the year of pig, on the twenty-seventh [day].

[l. 3] Thus, before the people in the bazaar of Gaochang, a monk [by the name of] Yansyan, [l. 4] the son of Uta, who is from the family of Chan, bought a female slave by the name of Upach, who is from the family of Chuyakk and was born in Turkestan, from Wakhshuvirt, son of Tudhakk originating from Samarqand, [l. 6] for [the price of] 120 drachms [coins which are] very pure [and were] minted in [Sasanian] Persia.

Monk Yansyan is to buy [l. 7] the female slave Upach thus as an unredeemable [slave who is] without debt and without possessions (?), [and who is] an unpersecutable and [l. 8] unapproachable permanent possession [of] his sons, grandsons, family, and descendants [as well]. Accordingly, [l. 9] the monk Yansyan himself and his sons, grandsons, family, and [l. 10] descendants may at will hit her, abuse her, bind her, sell her off, pledge her, [l. 11] give and offer her as a gift, and do whatsoever they may wish to [do to her]. [They are entitled to treat her] just as a female slave [l. 12] inherited from their father or grandfather, or a female slave [who was] born in their house, born on their side (?), or born at home, [l. 13] or as permanent property purchased with drachm.

[Accordingly,] as regards this female slave [named] [l. 14] Upach, Wakhshuvirt no longer has any concern with her, renounces all the old [claims to her], [l. 15] and has no power to coerce her. This female-slave contract takes effect and is persuasive (?), and effective and authorized for all the people, [l. 16] both for a king and a minister. Whoever may bring and hold this female-slave contract, [l. 17] may receive and take this female slave [named] Upach, and may hold her as his female slave on this [l. 18] condition, [i.e.] such condition as is written in this female-slave contract.

[These people] were present there [as witnesses]: [l. 19] Tishrat, the son of Chuzakk originating from Maymargh, Namdhar, the son of Khwatawch, [l. 20] originating from Samarqand, Pesak, the son of Karzh originating from Nuchkanth, Nizat, the son of Nanaikuch, [l. 21] originating from Kushaniya.

This female-slave contract was written by Ukhwan, the son of Pator [l. 22] by the authority of Pator, the chief scribe, by the order of Wakhshuvirt, and with [l. 23] the consent of Upach.

[l. 24] Signature (?) of Pator, the chief scribe of Gaochang.

*Verso*

F[emale-slave contract] for monk Yansyan.

## Commentary

I have slightly modified my original translation because of subsequent studies and discoveries. For a photograph of the contract, the Sogdian transcription, and a fully annotated translation into Japanese, see Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Museum, “Kikushi Kōshōkoku jidai Sogudobun onna dorei baibai monjo” 龜氏高昌國時代ソグド文女奴隷買賣文書 (A Sogdian contract of a female slave from the period of the Gaochang kingdom under the rule of the Qu clan), *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* (Studies on the Inner Asian Languages) 4 (1988): 1-50. The line-numbering below refers to the original document.

line 1: Chinanchkanth (Cyn'ncknδ), which literally means “Chinese-town,” is rendered here as “Gaochang,” which denotes both the kingdom and the city of Gaochang. Ilteber is a title given by the Western Turks to kings under their rule.

line 2: The Chinese luni-solar month did not correspond one to one with that of the Sogdian solar calendar.

line 2: Yansyan of the Chan family is now to be tentatively identified with Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, encountered in *Tulufan chutu wenshu* vol. 3, p. 163 and *Tulufan chutu wenshu* vol. 4, p. 130.

line 5: Samarqandch, an adjective denoting the originating oasis should refer to Wakhshuvirt. Cf. also similar adjectives found in lines 19-21.

line 8: -šn consists of an enclitic pronoun -š and a hypothetic particle -n. Cf. also -šn in line 11.

line 14: The text uses a third-person singular form although one would expect the third-person plural.

line 15: šwyrk “effective,” prmn “having authority.”

line 16: These adjectives seem to describe the legitimate or full possession on the part of the purchaser, and “born on one’s side” is to be taken in such a context; partial possession is known to have existed in Sasanian Persia.

line 17: The meaning of some words remains uncertain, but the context seems to be clear in that we have a statement that Wakhshuvirt no longer has any right to the female slave.

## Verso

One finds the letter δ which is almost certainly short for δypwsty, “female slave contract”.

<http://www.pacilution.com/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=5528>

## 佛教中国化的一个制度层面的分析

发布时间: 2015/2/5日 【字体: 大 中 小】

内容提示：正如宗教学的二律悖反原理所指出，佛教作为一种宗教，从哲学、思想的角度上来看是一种强调出世的宗教，佛教讲究通过自身的修行来摆脱六道轮回的束缚以实现涅槃。但作为一种社会组织，佛教又必须与其所存在的社会基础相适应、相配合。中国自秦朝建立了封建主义中央集权的政治制度，以中央集权、君主专制为其核心内容，这种以王权为核心的政治制度必然要求一切社会权力都处于王权的统摄之下而存在。佛教教权意指佛教僧人对其内部日常事务及人员的管理权。在中国封建时期语境下的佛教教权根本无法与强大的政权相对抗，这就意味其必须在一定程度上进行调整，以适应政权的统摄。佛教作为一种外来宗教自汉代传入中国，起初佛教势力相对薄弱，这种权力并没有过多的实际意义，佛教僧人通过调整戒律等手段试图以自治的方式存在，但是随着佛教势力的日益膨胀，佛教教权的扩充必然会对封建王权产生一定的威胁，统治者们也逐步地认识到了对佛教进行宏观调控的必要性。但是这种政权对教权的管控并不是一蹴而就的，而是经历了一个漫长的调适过程，这就经历了一个王权从容忍教权、利用教权到控制教权的历史进程。文章以汉唐时期佛教僧官僧籍制度为着眼点，以从汉到六朝时期佛教僧团的教权自治、南北朝时期国家政权下僧官僧籍制度的建立到隋唐时期僧官职责的道德化

## 推荐文章

> 宗教治理怎样法治化——以供需关系理论为视角 \ 马斯

摘要：对宗教治理法治化进行法理阐释就是在寻找其正当性。然而正当性并不能从法治本身...

作者：段知壮

> 日本宗教法人制度与民法渊源 \ 罗敏

摘要：日本宗教法人问题可以追溯至明治政府起草民法时期。虽然明治政府最终决定设立特...

> 久米地区至圣庙公有地使用金免除居民诉讼案——基于政教分离原则的日本违宪审查新案 \ 洪儒非摘译

摘要：2021年2月24日，日本最高法院宣判了一起关于政府免除孔子庙（名为至圣庙）的...

与佛教事务管理的行政化和严格化三个历史阶段为线索，试图动态地展现在这一历史时期中佛教教权的一步地缩小。文章以具体的问题为中心列举该时期内僧官僧籍制度的重大改革进程，在此期间佛教僧团虽然也做出了一些抗争性的努力，但终究完全成为了王权政治的附属品。

关键词：佛教 僧团 王权 教权

早期对于唐以前佛教僧官僧籍制度的研究大多在老一辈学者的通论性著作中有所体现。如任继愈先生的《中国佛教史》、方立天先生的《中国佛教与传统文化》等等。日本学者在这种通论性的研究当中也著作颇丰，如冢本善隆的《中国中世纪佛教史论》、镰田茂雄的《中国佛教史》等等。但遗憾的是，在这些著作中对佛教僧官僧籍制度大多只是一带而过，并没有展开进行论述。值得注意的是，对唐代以及唐以后的僧官僧籍制度的研究要深入的多，如李锦绣先生的《唐代僧官制度研究的回顾与展望》就对唐代僧官制度方面的研究进行了系统的整理，湛如法师的《敦煌佛教律仪制度研究》对敦煌地区的僧官僧籍也有较为深入的介绍。此外近几年的一些硕博学位论文也对此有深入的探讨，如周奇的《唐代宗教管理研究》、张径真的《法律视角下的隋唐佛教管理研究》、张海峰的《唐代佛教与法律》、聂顺新的《唐代佛教官寺制度研究》、石小英的《8至10世纪敦煌尼僧研究》等等。

对佛教的中国化，尤其是戒律的中国化相关领域有具体论述的著作主要有台湾学者劳政武的《佛教戒律学》，该书以现代法学的规范分析方法详细地阐释了佛教戒律与僧制的内在逻辑与内涵，劳政武先生虽然把关注点主要放在了佛教戒律之上，但是他明确指出，僧制（即包括僧官与僧籍）也同样隶属于广义的戒律，从而在其著作之中也多有提及。劳先生在书中主要关注佛教戒律的法理分析，对僧制只是主要列举了历朝历代的一些政策性规定，并没有展开论述，但对这些材料提纲挈领的介绍也为后来僧官僧籍的研究提供了极大的便利。同样认为僧制属于广义的戒律从而对戒律展开研究的还有严耀中先生的《佛教戒律与中国社会》，严先生的著作中运用了大量的史料，旁征博引，以佛教戒律为视角针对佛教对中国社会产生的巨大影响进行了鞭辟入里的分析论证。严先生的研究更多的是关注佛教戒律对中国社会的巨大影响，而不是佛教僧制的历史转变。尽管如此，严耀中先生的这一著作，可以说对佛教僧制与佛教的中国化有了较为明确的解释性分析。

除此之外，对佛教与法律之间关系的诸多研究当中对佛教僧官僧籍制度也略有提及，如张光杰的《谈谈佛教的政治法律观》等，这些研究大多都是从佛教对中国传统法律的影响这一切切入点入手。一些围绕此领域正在展开中的课题也非常值得关注，如中国人民大学佛教与宗教学理论研究所重大项目“佛道教与唐宋法律”、台湾中央研究院历史语言研究所柳立言所主持的“恶僧：僧人的犯罪与刑法”研究等等。

笔者要尤为强调的还有两部重要著作，即谢重光先生的《中古佛教僧官制度和社会生活》、白文固与赵春娥合著的《中国古代僧尼名籍制度》。谢重光先生的著作主要可以分为三个部分，包括僧官制度、寺院经济、佛教与世俗社会的关系。在僧官制度当中，谢先生对僧官制度的产生、中央僧官与地方僧官以及基层僧官、僧官的选拔与任免、僧官的待遇等问题都进行了细致的分析论证。与此类似，白文固先生的书中围绕僧尼公贵问题、僧尼公度问题、卖度问题、僧尼身份证件管理问题、寺院管理制度以及寺院僧尼的赋役问题六个方面论述了中国古代僧尼名籍制度。笔者对本文的许多想法都来源于对这两部著作的仔细阅读之中，两部著作对中古时期佛教的僧制进行了详细的考证，这些考证与佛教中国化理论存在着诸多的关联。虽然在其他学科，尤其是文化学领域，佛教中国化的理论模型已经广为人知，但制度角度的分析却鲜有所见。与这两部著作不同的是，本文中笔者选用了佛教僧官僧籍这样一个视角，但真正的目的是为了审视佛教中国化这一理论在宗教管理制度方面是否存在，佛教中国化是一个动态的进程，笔者在本文中并不是为了单独具体地考证某一朝代僧官僧籍制度，而是希望能够在汉唐这一大的历史时期内寻找僧官僧籍制度的动态变迁规律，以期与佛教的中国化进行对照与印证。在佛教文化的研究领域对佛教文化中国化的研究已经非常深入，如许抗生先生的《佛教的中国化》，但这种文化层面的融合与当时的政治法律制度是否相一致的讨论却略显单薄。在笔者看来，在汉唐时期僧官僧籍制度的不断发展变化当中，我们能明显看到佛教教权一步步地沦为封建王权的附庸品。唐代佛教事务管理的政治化与法律化已经成为了学界的通识，但这种完善的佛教事务管理体制是如何一步步地建立起来的，国家政权对外来宗教的管理究竟经历了怎样的摸索与探寻，却没有得到足够的关注。在宗教学研究当中有宗教哲学与宗教社会学二律悖反的基本理论，宗教哲学往往是出世的、超凡的；而宗教组织作为社会组织的一个重要组成部分，其往往无法逃脱社会框架的局限，而必须在一定程度上与社会现状相融合。笔者看来，佛教中国化这一概念不仅仅体现在佛教哲学方面，在国家对佛教组织的管理控制方面也表现的极为明显。在本文中，笔者就试图从佛教僧制这一角度，在以往研究的基础上，对佛教僧官僧籍在汉唐时期不断的变化曲线进行动态的分析，进而论证佛教中国化在国家制度上是如何实现的、佛教组织在中国君主专制中央集权政治体制下是如何成为不可分割的一部分的。

在进入具体的内容之前，这里首先要对僧官僧籍制度进行简要的介绍。僧官的内涵应该包括五个方面：第一，僧官是仅仅存在于封建时期的宗教、历史现象。第二，僧人才有资格担任僧官，世俗之人不能。（梁武帝时期的白衣僧正为特例）第三，僧官的任职必须经过封建王朝的认可。第四，一般来说，僧官的管理范围是佛教事务，于世俗事务无涉。第五，僧官管理的是一定行政区域内的佛教事务。杨健曾对僧官进行了这样的定义：僧官是封建王朝任命的管理一定行政区域内佛教事务的僧人。这一概念可以说是比较全面地概括了僧官的内涵。与僧官相对应的僧籍就要显得复杂一些，因为与僧籍相关的还有度牒制度，但这两者并不能简单地混为一谈。度牒是封建王朝颁发给僧、尼剃度的批准书和身份证明。想出家的人首先要向封建政府提出申请，呈明自己的基本情况。封建政府如果认可，就为申请人登记、造册并汇总，这就是僧籍，由国家管理。当然，佛教作为一种外来文化，无论是僧官还是僧籍都不是自古就有的，本文所要介绍的就是僧官僧籍制度从无到有以及之后的发展脉络，以期证明在制度层面的佛教中国化。

## 一、汉到六朝的僧官僧籍制度——佛教僧团的教权自治

佛教最初传入中土是在西汉末年。裴松之在《三国志·魏书·乌丸鲜卑东夷传》注中引鱼豢《魏略·西戎传》说：“昔汉哀帝元寿元年，博士弟子景卢受大月氏使伊存口受《浮屠经》”。可见，西汉哀帝元寿元年（公元前2年），佛教即已传入中国内地，但当时未能得以传布。《魏志·释老志》：“及开西域，遣张骞使大夏还，传其旁有身毒国，一名天竺，始闻有浮屠之教，但这也只是听过浮屠教的记载，并非佛教传入中国。直至东汉明帝时，由于皇家的推崇，西域佛教学者又相继来到中国，翻译了大量佛经，极大地促进了佛教在中国的传播。东汉桓帝延熹九年（公元166年）襄楷上书：“又闻官中立黄老、浮屠之祠。此道清虚，贵尚无为，好生恶杀，省欲去奢。”楚王英始信其术，中国因此颇有传其道者。后桓帝好神数，祀浮屠、老子，百姓稍有奉者，后遂转盛。”楚王英“诵黄老之微言，尚浮屠之仁祠”，在当时可以被称为佛教传入中国之后第一批信徒的代表人物，从楚王英身上我们也可以看出，当时佛教在上层统治阶层中已经被传播开来，但也仅

> 我国宗教立法面临的问题探讨 | 王懿

摘要：在中国新时代发展的背景下，全面推进宗教立法工作，保护宗教界合法权益，坚持宗...

> 试析美国“国际宗教自由法”的起源、机制与影响 | 董江阳

摘要：“国际宗教自由法”(IRFA)构成近年来美国对外关系中有关宗教问题的政治与法律...

## 近期文章

普陀山观音文化园开园 | 凤凰网华人佛教

百年来中国教会受损争议 | 雷立柏  
新媒体时代的民俗形态——以“鲤鲤”文化为例 | 王润苗 徐翰丽

匈牙利科苏特广播电台举办“信仰与科学”座谈会 | 梵蒂冈新闻网

张秀润与泉州泉南基督教堂相邻关系纠纷一审民事判决书 | 泉州市鲤城区人民法院

后自由主义神学作为一种可能的生活方式——评曾庆豹《上帝、关系与言说》 | 王志成

太虚大师的佛教慈善观研究 | 董群  
佛教世俗化与宋代职业伦理建构 | 韦兵

从《唐语林》看唐代佛教的世俗化 | 兰翠

斋戒的内涵与现实意义 | 马有斌  
具有民族特色的基督教堂建筑文化——以云南为例 | 王殿文

道教全真派的“传戒”和正一派的“授箓”有什么区别？ | 名山名寺景观文化

儒家宪政辨：传统“普适化”思维与当今宪政设计的可能性和限度 | 张薇薇

日本牛郎织女传说的在地化分析——以大阪交野牛郎织女传说为个案的探讨 | 毕雪飞

路德的改革——“这就是我的立场！” | 埃米尔·路德维希

在上层人士中传播，下层民众应该对佛教还不是很信奉。在这一初传时期，佛教在中国尚未奠定其社会基础，寺院数量很少，中国本土出身的僧尼也并不多，虽然有一些佛教活动的出现，但并不是佛教僧人自发组织而成的，而多依赖于当时的官僚贵族，如《后汉书·陶谦传》载“竺融”聚众数百，往依于谦，谦使督广陵、下邳、彭城运粮。遂断三部委输，大起浮屠寺，上累金盘，下为重楼，又堂阁周回，可容三千许人，作黄金涂像，衣以锦采。每浴佛，辄多设饭饮，布席于路，其有就食及观者且万余人。”竺融事佛虽然形成了相当的规模，但是这明显还不能算作僧团的形成，陶谦作为官员协助竺融进行佛教活动自然也不能算作僧官的雏形，只不过其借助官方政治力量而组织佛事活动的色彩是非常浓烈的。

但进入晋代以后，这种情况出现了转折。由于当时战乱频繁，人民面临着沉重的兵役、徭役和赋税，再加之一些统治者的推崇，佛教势力急剧增长，僧尼人数也随之激增，如何管理佛教僧众的问题也就随之出现在统治者面前。一方面，僧团自身希望通过完善戒律来实现自治，如《高僧传·释道安传》：“安既德为物宗，学兼三藏，所制《僧尼轨范》、《佛法宪章》，条为三例：一曰行香定座上经上讲之法；二曰常日六时行道饮食唱时法；三曰布萨差使悔过等法。天下寺舍，遂则而从之。”此处道安所作的《僧尼轨范》与《佛法宪章》，应该就是他针对中国僧侣具体情况所制定的行为规章，具有僧团自治的开创性意义。并且一些统治者也以授命的形式给予一些享有声誉的高僧以自行管理僧团的权力，如《高僧传·竺僧朗传》中前秦苻坚对高僧法朗下诏：“朗法师戒德冰霜，学徒清秀，昆仑一山，不在搜例。”这里提出的《僧尼规范》等制度规定是属于具有强制力的准行政命令，但在具体执行阶段更多是形式意义上的，如《高僧传·释法遇传》：“安公遥闻之，以竹筒盛一荆子，手自封缄，以寄遇，遇开封见杖，即曰：‘此由饮酒僧也。我训领不勤，远贻忧赐。’即命维那鸣槌集众……伏地，命维那行杖三下，内杖筒中，垂泪自责。”与《僧尼规范》类似的还有慧远所制的《社寺节度》、《外寺僧节度》、《比丘尼节度》等等。于此同时，在这一阶段出现了一些高僧或主动或半主动地参与到政治活动中来的现象，如西域高僧康僧会就与吴主孙皓建立政治往来；十六国时期的印度僧人佛图澄，被后赵石勒尊为“大和尚”，参与军事政治活动；后秦主姚兴远迎鸠摩罗什，并将其奉为国师等等。这些现象的原因就在于这些僧人是代表其背后的僧团而出现的，也就是说，此时僧团还保持着一种自治的形态。但这种佛教僧团的自治力量或多或少还是略显薄弱，如法遇在“垂泪自责”的同时还修书慧远道：“吾人微暗短，不能率众，和上虽隔在异域，犹远垂忧念，吾罪深矣！”这一方面表明了佛教僧团内部在尽最大努力保持其自治，但同时也也在一定程度上说明了当时的佛教僧人无法建立强有力组织化僧团的无奈。

这里有一个定义需要进行界定与说明，“僧团自治”或者“教权自治”是一个现代术语，在中国古代并不存在。按照朱寰先生的观点，“教权”实际有两层含义，一是作为教会首领的个人权力；二是首领所代表的教会团体的组织的权力。而本文中所使用的“教权自治”就是说作为佛教首领或其所代表的团体是否能够独立地行使这样一种对宗教内部人和物的拥有、控制、支配和处分的权力。上文的分析基本上可以说明，在这一时间段内的佛教僧团是能够相对独立的行使“教权”的，虽然也受到国家政治权利的干涉，但这并不妨碍佛教僧团对内部事务进行具体的管理和控制，这也就是本文所说的佛教教权在一定范围内的“教权自治”。举例来说，在印度佛教时期，僧团实行的是完全的教权自治，虽然佛教内部也存在关于出家受戒人数的规定，但僧尼名籍是不报官府的。“如来出家，和僧剃发，名字不干王籍，众僧自有部书”。“众僧名字不贵王籍，其有犯者，众自治罚，为此僧徒咸相敬慎。”但中国与印度的情况不同，南北朝以前虽然佛教僧团保持一定的自治，但这并不意味着国家政权就对佛教没有任何的干涉。官府对僧人进行行政权力的管理最早应该是南北朝时期“度”制度的建立，而在此之前，官府对佛教僧人的干涉是以淘汰沙门的形式出现的，根据白文国教授的研究，历史上最早的淘汰沙门事件可追溯到东晋成帝时期，《比丘尼传》载时有“太守杜霸，笃信黄老，憎嫉释种，符下诸寺，克日简汰，制格峻峻，非凡所行”，弄得僧尼人心惶恐，四处奔逃。这是历史上最早的一次淘汰沙门的事件。随后，陆陆续续又出现了东晋桓玄、前秦苻坚、北魏太武帝、北齐文宣帝淘汰沙门的事件。

## 二、南北朝以来政府对佛教管理的渗透——国家政权下僧官僧籍制度的建立

对于僧官制度的最早记载是在晋代，《续高僧传·释僧迁传》：“释僧迁……中兴荆郢，正为僧端。职任期月，道风飙举，恂恂七众，不肃而成。昔晋氏始置僧司，迄兹四代，求之备矣，罕有斯焉。”此外，北魏和姚秦时期也有关于僧官制度的记载，不过都带有初创阶段简陋、朴素的性质。值得注意的是，官方决定开始正式地以政府力量管控佛教僧团在某种程度上正是因为看到了佛教僧团自治所带来的组织化力量的好处，如《高僧传·道安传》中就记载，由道安领导的僧团“师徒数百，斋讲不倦。无变化伎术，可以惑常人之耳目；无忠威大势，可以整群小之参差。而师徒肃肃，自相尊敬。”后秦弘始三年（公元401年）姚兴在设立僧官的诏书中将慧远僧团的规制作为整顿僧尼的楷模，也就是说，如果没有良好的僧团自治所带来佛教力量的增强，可能也就不会发生官方设立僧官制度。如上文所说，佛教内部虽然竭尽全力地维护僧团的自律性，但一些挟佛教之力而发生的叛乱事件时有发生，如延兴三年（公元473年）沙门慧隐之乱，太和五年（公元481年）沙门沙秀之乱，太和十四年（公元490年）沙门司马惠汪之乱，永平三年（公元510年）沙门刘光秀之乱，延昌三年（公元514年）沙门刘僧绍之乱等等，如果说佛教僧团因自治而带来的发展是统治者决定管控僧团的根本原因的话，那么这些以佛教之名而发生的叛乱即是直接原因，正因为这些事件的发生，凸显了佛教自治与官方统治之间的矛盾，也就成为了官方试图用政治力量管理佛教势力的导火索。

完整的僧官制度是在南朝时期形成的，中央僧官是统领全国佛教事务的最高一级僧官，中央僧署的主官为僧正或僧主，僧署备有一定数量的吏杂。地方僧官层次较多，有的按照世俗行政区划分别设立州、郡僧官，也有根据佛教传播的特点设立跨州、郡的区域性僧官。至于俗家人士担任佛教教务管理人员，在梁武帝时期曾出现过，《续高僧传·释智藏传》：“帝曰：比见僧尼多未调习，白衣僧正，不解律科，以俗法治之，伤于过重。弟子暇日欲自任白衣僧正，亦依律立法。”“白衣”就是指未出家的世俗人士，时梁武帝嫌原有的白衣僧正不称职，希望亲自担任白衣僧正。但白衣僧正的出现当时遭到了一些佛教高僧的抵制，当时智藏法师同梁武帝之间便展开过一场辩论，智藏说：“陛下诚欲降重从轻，但未代众僧难皆如律，故敢乞矜恕”，“夫示迹正欲显教，若不可不治，圣人何容示此。若一向治之，则众僧不立，一向不治，亦复不立。”虽然梁武帝笃信佛教，但俗家人士担任僧官一职无疑是世俗权力对佛教教权的干涉，对此从佛教僧团的角度肯定是要极力抵制，梁武帝时期“白衣僧正”的出现我们可以把它看作是世俗王权与佛教教权的激烈争夺的产物。从关于“白衣僧正”的争辩中我们还可以看到一个现象，那就是当时的佛教僧团权力非常惊人，虽然还不能说与王权相抗衡，但却也有了相当独立的地位，不过这也与梁武帝作为最高统治者的个人原因有关。此一时期的政权已经开始意识到，仅仅通过僧团自治不足以保证佛教势力完全按照统治者所预期的行为模式而运行，佛教僧团内部出现的一些违背统治利益的事件开始越发的频繁，但统治阶级却不能及时有效地进行应对，政权与教权的矛盾开始逐步显现的强烈起来。但也必须注意到，这一时期教权的蓬勃发展在很大程度上是因为王权的推波助澜才得以形成的。也就是说，此时的王权与教权明显地处在一种利益博弈的状态，一方面，佛教在一定程度上安抚了因频繁战乱所带来的社会创伤，另一方面，佛教的过度发展反过来对王权权威的树立造成了一定潜在的威胁。面对这样一种情况，一些佛教领袖也开始积极地进行斡旋，

希望调和两者之间的矛盾与冲突，如《高僧传·释道盛传》载南齐高帝时“丹阳尹沈文季奉黄、老，排嫉能仁，乃建义符僧局，责僧属籍，欲沙简僧尼，由盛纲领有功，事得宁寝。”说的便是当时一位僧主道盛，他针对当时沈文季想要消减僧尼的情况，积极与官府周旋，比较妥当地处理政教矛盾。

与个人僧官相对应，北魏北齐时期则出现了专门的僧务机构昭玄寺。根据《魏书·释老志》载，北魏最早的中央僧官机构为监福曹，但没有过多的记载，后在孝文帝时改为昭玄寺，《隋书·百官中》：“昭玄寺，掌诸佛教。置大统一人，统一人，都维那三人。亦置功曹、主簿员，以管诸州郡县沙门曹。”此条具体介绍了昭玄寺的相关人员机构设置，州县各级之间应该是一种直线的隶属关系，这就建立起了一个比较完整的僧官系统。昭玄寺的权力是非常大的，《魏书·释老志》中有这样的记载：“淄素既殊，法律亦异。故道教彰于互显，禁劝各有所宜。自今已后，众僧犯杀人已上罪者，仍依俗断，余犯悉付昭玄，以内律僧制治之。”从该记载中我们可以看到，昭玄寺享有了相当大的正式司法权力，可以依照戒律、僧制而对僧尼进行治理惩罚。不仅如此，昭玄寺甚至还具有了审批建寺的权力，“自今外州若欲造寺，僧满五十已上，先令本州表列，昭玄量申，奏听乃立。”南北朝时期的僧官在职名上虽然有一定的差异，但基本的设置却是相同的。最高僧官在北朝时称沙门统、大统或道人统等，如法果、师贤曾任道人统、昙曜曾任沙门统、僧显曾任沙门都统等。南朝最高僧官则一般称为大僧正，如慧超、法云、法颖等均担任过此职。此时的僧务机构虽然属于国家的行政管理单位，但身为最高僧官的佛教僧人掌握着如此大的管理权力，可以说佛教僧团的教权是非常强大的，想必这也是“白衣僧正”会遭致那般抵制的原因之一。再如北魏宣武帝永平二年（公元509年），沙门统惠深上书：“僧尼浩旷，清浊混流。不遵禁典，精粗莫别。辄与经律法师群议立制：诸州镇郡都维那、上座、寺主，各令律戒自修，咸依内禁。”作为僧官的佛教僧人一方面承认僧团自身存在“清浊混流”的弊端，但是其极力强调要通过“律戒自修”的方式进行内部调整与修正，从而排斥国家行政权力对佛教事务的干涉。在这条材料中还可以得知，此时的三纲已经被纳入到了基层僧官的体系，但基层三纲的选拔却主要还是依照僧团内部的推选，冢本善隆先生曾整理了北京郝氏私人所藏的敦煌写本《教团规制》，其中记载“凡置上座、寺主、维那之法，必集及檀越议论，和同推举律师、禅师、法师，堪辩僧众，众所乐者，立为三纲。”

僧籍方面，关于僧人出家的公度制度最早的记载是宋末齐初的释道儒，《高僧传·释道儒传》：“少怀清信，慕乐出家……遇宋临川王义庆镇南兖……为启度出家。”北朝魏文帝时期也有相关的记载，《魏书·释老志》：“今制诸州郡县……其好乐佛法，欲为沙门，不问长幼，出于良家，性行素笃，无诸嫌秽，乡里所明者，听其出家。率大州五十，小州四十人，其郡遥远台者十人”，并且在孝文帝时期，出现了对“无籍之僧”的管理。僧人名籍制度的完整记载，则见于北魏初期，设立官职“道人统”，就是通过僧官掌握僧人名册而统管僧众。而到了北魏孝文帝时期，名籍制度就已经比较完善了，“比丘不在寺舍，游涉村落，交通奸滑，经历年岁。令民间五五相保，不得容止，无籍之僧，精加隐括，有者送付州镇，其在畿群，送付本曹。若为三宝巡民法化者，在外宾州镇维那文移，在台者赏都维那等印牒，然后听行。违者加罪。”灵太后掌权时期更是下令：“私度之僧，皆由三长罪不及已，容多隐滥，自今有一人私度，皆以违旨论。”不过根据刘淑芬教授的研究，此时由于完整的僧尼管理制度还未形成，所以无籍之僧还是大量存在，尤其是乡野地区，官府更是无力进行严格的规制约束。

### 三、隋唐政府控制下的僧官僧籍制度

#### （一）、僧官职责的道德化与佛教事务管理的行政化

随着隋朝的建立，隋文帝除了继承南北朝时期的旧制之外，还在僧官制度上新设立了“二十五众主”和“五众主”等。二十五众主应该是一种教化僧徒学习的学官制度，《续高僧传·义解篇十一》：“隋高荷负在躬，专弘佛教。开皇伊始，广树仁祠，有僧行处，皆为立寺。召诸学徒，普会京华，其中高第，自为等级。故二十五众，峙列帝城，随慕学方，任其披化。”当时隋文帝把有志学习的僧徒们集中到京城，让他们“随慕学方，任其披化”，所以二十五众主应该是主要负责佛教教化方面的一种僧官，更倾向是一种教学类的官职，而不参与具体的行政事务。同样，“五众主”也是主要负责教育教学方面，不过要比二十五众主更加专业。《续高僧传·慧迁传》：“开皇十七年，勅立五众，请迁为十地众主，处宝光寺，相续讲说，声类攸陈。”《大唐内典录·隋朝传译佛经录第十七》“《众经法式十卷》”曾记载，“开皇十五年（公元595年）……每日临朝，于御床前置列高座二所，一置经师，令转大乘，二置大德三人，通三藏者，帝目览万机，耳聆声教”，这一方面反映了隋文帝对佛教的浓厚兴趣，另一方面却也反映了此时的“大德”在某种意义上已经成为了皇帝的“贴身侍从”。到了隋炀帝时期，又新创立了监护寺院的官职，《隋书·百官下》：“炀帝即位，多所改革”，“郡县佛寺，改为道场，道观改为玄坛，各置监、丞。”到了唐朝，首先出现的是唐高祖时的僧官十大德，《续高僧传·释恭恭传》：“武德二年，下敕召还……及举十德统摄僧尼，京拏诸僧偃蹇威严，遂不登及。高祖闻之，曰：“恭禅师志行清澄，可为纲纪，朕独举之。既位斯任，诸无与对，遂居大德之右。专当剖断，平恕衷旨，众无怨焉。”这里除了对僧官十德的介绍，我们还能看出，皇帝的独断完全在僧官正常的选举程序之上，即便是基层僧官也存在同类现象。上文曾介绍过，北魏时期作为基层僧官的三纲主要是僧团内部推举而成，唐代也有类似的规定。《唐六典》卷十八“鸿胪寺条”载：“凡天下寺观三纲……皆取其道德高妙，为众所推者补充，上尚书祠部。”从这条材料来看，基层僧官的选任似乎是按照“为众所推”的标准，但在多处引用了自称是来自唐代《道僧格》法律条文的日本《养老令》的注释书《令集解·僧尼令》中，却在类似的条文后还说明，“所举徒众，联署牒官，上尚书祠部。若有阿党朋扇、浪举无德者，百日苦役。若取非人，刺吏为首，以违旨论。县令、纲维，节级连坐。”相关的官员要承担如此严苛的连带责任，那基层僧官的选任恐怕不仅仅是“为众所推”那样简单。张径真博士也指出，僧官的任免有一定行政审批程序，需要“联署牒官，上尚书祠部”，这些都充分证明，此时的僧官任免早已不再是僧团内部事务了。也就是说，此时僧团的权力已经几乎完全在政治权力的统摄之下，就算是僧团中的最高僧官，也只不过享有一些教化类的职权，再也不如南北朝时期那样能够手握实权了。中唐时期还出现了新的掌管僧尼名籍的官员，即“功德使”。根据冢本善隆先生的研究，唐代的功德使一职大多数都是由典章禁军要职的宦官担任。在佛教典籍中，“黄门”也就是阉割过的男性是因为前世中犯了恶业，所以才产生的“业报”，但是佛教在中国传播期间，出现了很多阉人因为信奉佛教而恢复男儿身的灵验故事，如《续高僧传·释明隐》：“所将内侍刘谦之，于此寺中七日行道，祈请文殊，既遇圣者，奄复丈夫，晓悟花严经义，乃造花严论六百卷。”这对宦官来说，无疑具有很大的鼓舞作用，所以担任“功德使”的宦官们都大多笃信佛教，这就对当时佛教的发展起到了巨大的推动作用。如首任功德使李元琮是密宗僧人不空的弟子，对于不空极为尊敬，不空在遗书中说他“依吾受法三十余年，勤劳精诚，孝心深厚。”因为李元琮对不空和佛教的虔诚，故由他出任功德使一职，能对佛教——特别的密宗的发展有相当大的助益。但有学者也提出，功德使的职权主要集中在造像、建寺、译经、举办法会等功德事业上，僧尼的剃度、名籍管理仍然由祠部负责。如果这一情况属实，那么也恰恰表明，佛教僧团教权已经在某种程度上成为了王权政治的依附，连道德教化方面的权力都已经变成了皇帝个人能力范围内的附属，佛教仅能从依靠、献媚于王权才能得到一定的发展，而再也无法与王权相抗衡了。此外，在唐太宗时期，隋炀帝以来的监寺以及唐高祖时期的僧官十大德都被废除，并逐渐形成了完善的僧尼管理制度，究其原因与意图，更多的是为了加强朝廷对于宗教的直接控制，消除教团的权力，而扩大其社会道德教化方面的思想统治作用。从此开始，佛教僧团的统治管理职能开始转归于世俗官府的手中，并为唐代后世所遵循。

在唐代，世俗官府管辖僧尼的机构，中央主要有崇玄署和礼部的祠部，根据《唐六典》所载，崇玄寺“以管诸州、县沙门……置诸寺、观监，隶鸿胪寺，每寺……监一人……掌法门之政”。武则天延载元年（公元694年）五月，“天下僧尼隶祠部，不须属司宾”，由祠部掌“道佛之事……每寺上座一人，寺主一人，都维那一人，共统领众事”。在玄宗时期还曾短暂归由鸿胪寺掌管，《唐会要》载：“开元二十四年七月二十八日，中书门下奏：‘臣等商量，缘老子至流沙，化胡成佛。本西方兴教，使同客礼，割属鸿胪。’”地方有州县的有关曹属。此时期佛教管理机构的权责划分出现了一些反复的变动，学界对此也有较多的分析与论述，但该问题过于庞大，且并不关涉本文的主旨，所以不再展开。值得注意的是，总体来说这一时期的佛教事务管理应当是多个部门分工协作的，而非单一部门的绝对管控，如果非要找到一个最终的决策者的话，那么无疑是国家的最高统治者——皇帝。以敦煌文书P2481号写本《唐前期尚书省礼部报部省批复下行公文程序》为例，根据赵和平先生的考证，这一写本大概产生于贞观十一年（公元637年）至天授二年（公元691年）之间，颁布的机构为“礼部尚书所属的礼部司和祠部司”，祠部“上承君相之制令，而总其政令”，拟定了僧人的行为规范。也就是说，无论具体是哪个机构负责管理佛教事务，最终的政策性指示仍然牢牢地掌握在最高统治者手中。此一时期国家行政机构管理僧尼的内容主要包括寺额、僧籍、僧官的选任、僧尼的剃度、僧尼在寺院外的活动，以及外国客僧的管理。自此我们可以看出，国家已经将佛教完全置于在王权一元化的统治之下了。

从僧官制度的产生、发展的过程当中我们不难看出，有两种趋势是非常明显的，一就是僧官的权力，在一定程度上也可以说成是教团的权力在逐步地缩小，世俗统治权力机关逐步取代了僧团内部自治管理的权力，在僧团内部相关职位的设置则更多的倾向于道德教化方面的作用与意义；其二就是僧官制度对于王权政治的依附程度越来越强，如果说在佛教中国化的进程当中，僧人对佛教教义教理与儒家伦理道德之间的冲突采取的是主动调和与化解的态度，那么在僧团管理的政治权力方面，则完全是处于被剥夺的状况，中国本土行政权独大的传统是不可能容忍教权的滋生与膨胀的，所以佛教想要在中国流传，就必须接受并承认教权在王权之下，僧官依附俗官这一现实。

## （二）、僧官僧籍制度的日趋严格化——试经制度以及寺院赐额制度

在隋朝的文献中，很多地方出现了“公贵”。“公”指官方，“贵”即乡贵，指名籍，“公贵”就是系僧人名籍于官府。如隋文帝对高僧昙迁说：“弟子行幸至此，承大有私度山僧，欲求公贵，意愿度之，如何？”昙迁说：“比虽屡蒙招引度脱，而来有先后，致差际会。且自天地覆载，莫匪王民。至尊汲引，万方宁止，一郭蒙庆。”说明当时已经有了比较完整的僧籍制度。时至唐代，相关记载更为明确，《新唐书》：“新罗、日本僧人入朝学问，九年不还者，编诸籍。”“每三岁州县为籍，一以留县，一以留州。僧、尼一以上祠部；道士、女官，一以上宗正，一以上司封。”这里从对外籍僧人的规定就可以看出，唐代对僧尼名籍制度的管理已经发展的非常完善。若僧尼死亡或者还俗，也有相关的具体规定，“僧尼身死及还俗者，其告牒勒本寺纲维当日封送祠部；其余诸州府，勒本州申送，以凭注毁。”从以上材料中不难发现，唐时期对僧尼名籍的管理制度已经非常严格，唐代各朝皇帝都有相关僧籍制度管理的诏令，“玄宗开元十七年诏天下僧尼三岁一造籍……天宝六载敕僧尼属两街功德使，始令祠部给牒用绦素。德宗建中三年敕僧尼事故三纲申州纳符告，注毁在京于祠部纳告。宪宗元和二年诏僧尼隶左街功德使。文宗太和五年敕州郡造僧尼籍。”至于唐朝对僧籍管理之所以如此严格，大抵是出于“洞耗物力”的原因。“淄黄之众，蚕食生人，规避王徭，洞耗物力，应诸州府度僧尼道士。及创造寺观，累有禁令……自今以后，非别教处分，妄有奏请者，委宪司弹奏，量加贬责。于百姓中，苟避徭役，冒为僧道，所在长吏，重为科禁者。”随着官府对僧尼私度行为的日益严控，度牒制度也就随之出现了。度牒，是一种流行于中国古代、由官方颁发给出家僧尼的身份证明文件。通常上面载有僧尼的籍贯、俗名、年龄、所属寺院、得戒师等内容。关于度牒的初授年代，学界现存有较大争议，根据赞宁的《大宋僧史略》记载，度牒始于玄宗时期，志磐的《佛祖统记》、念常的《佛祖历代通载》也都采用此说。但日本学者山崎宏、诸户立雄等对此提出异议，认为其时迟至贞观十一年（公元637年）以前。度牒作为僧人的“身份证明”，表明是否被政府承认，并且此时已不像北魏时期那样，没有完整的管理制度而只是象征性的规范告示，此时如果是没有度牒的“无籍之僧”，就要面临非常严苛的制裁，圆仁《入唐求法巡礼行记》载会昌年间“后有敕云，天下僧尼五十已上，无祠部牒者，尽勒还俗，递归本贯。有祠部牒者，委当州磨勘，差殊者尽勒还俗，递归本贯。”“外国僧未入条流之例……有敕云，外国等，若无祠部牒者，亦勒还俗，递归本国者。”度牒制度到了唐末宋初以后，发展的越来越完善，其已经不仅仅代表僧尼的身份证明而已，还包含资本、赈灾、表彰甚至货币等多种功能，而且国家在遭遇财政危机时，屡屡采取公卖度牒的行为，不过不在本文的叙述范围内，不再赘述。

此处再举一例说明僧籍制度的严格化，由戴建国先生发现的《天圣令》所附唐令中就存有有关僧籍的记载，“诸道士、女冠、僧尼，州县三年一造籍，具言出家年月、夏腊、学业、随处印署。按留州县，帐申尚书祠部。其身死及数有增减者，每年录名及增减因由，状申祠部，具入帐。”由此可见僧籍所要记载的范围之广。值得注意的是，孟宪实先生在唐代僧籍的研究当中发现了一份名为《唐龙朔二年西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍》的吐鲁番文书，在这份材料当中，对僧人情况的记载不仅与上述令文的规定一致，甚至还包含了一些令文没有规定的内容。“僧崇道，年三拾伍岁，十五夏，高昌县宁昌乡正道里，户主张延相男，伪延寿十四年四月十五日度，计至今廿五年。诵《法华》五卷”。该僧籍详细记录了僧人的法号、年龄、夏腊、俗家关系、出生年月、出家年限以及学业状况，可以说是囊括了僧人的全部个人情况。此外这条僧籍中所记载的所谓的“学业”，就是唐代为了检验僧人对经业的专攻程度，而出现的试经制度，“开元十二年（公元724年）六月二十六日敕有司，试天下僧尼年六十已下者，限诵二百纸经，每一年限诵七十三纸，三年一试，落者还俗。”试经制度不仅仅体现在对僧人课业的审查方面，是否能够完成公度有时也需要考查僧人对佛教教理的掌握，如“显庆三年（公元658年）……敕先委所司简大德五十人、各一人，后更令试业行童子一百五十人拟度。至其月十三日，于寺建高僧，命法师看度。”试经制度的出现，从积极意义上讲，对甄别精良僧尼，防止、清理僧尼队伍中的滥竽充数现象产生了一定的积极作用，不过于此同时我们也能看出，唐时期，国家对僧团的管理已经达到了无以复加的程度，并且自此以后，各朝各代均沿袭了相关的规定，这也是本文所阐述的一个重要的观点，佛教自东汉传入，至唐朝初步完成其中国化的进程，无论是从佛教内部对经典教义的阐释还是从国家权力对僧团教务的干涉，佛教都已经被纳入了国家统治管理的正当范围之内。也就是说，佛教，在一定意义上说已经不再是古印度的外来文化，而成为中国传统政治文化思想中不可分割的组成部分。

与试经制度相类似，石小英博士曾在研究中指出，在唐末归义军统治的敦煌地区，沙弥尼连什么时候才能受具足戒、如何受具足戒从而成为尼僧之类的佛教仪轨问题都受到了严格的管控，如敦煌文书S2575号《后唐天成四年（公元929年）三月六日应管内外都僧统置方等戒坛榜》中就有“右奉处分，令置方等戒坛”，即此次戒坛是设置是按照归义军节度使的“处分”而进行的。更为严重的是，归义军节度使甚至就是受戒仪式的主办者，如P2704号《后唐长兴四至五年（公元933-934年）曹议金回向疏四件》中：“请大众转经一七日，设斋一千五百人供，度僧尼一七人……长兴四年十月九日弟子河西归义等军节度使校令大王曹议金谨疏。”不仅如此，作为主办者的节度使还在在受戒仪式上宣读文书，P3781号《度僧尼文范》

就是节度使在受戒仪式上所要宣读的文本。唐代僧人法照所撰的《净土五会念佛略法事仪赞》中有一段佛教斋供仪式上的唱导内容，“今之念佛意在兹焉。惟愿释梵护世卫国卫人，八部天龙，调风调雨，伏愿皇帝轮宝飞来，韬戈偃铍，舜泽遐霏于万国，尧风远备于八荒”，同样也说明了国家符号已经渗透到了佛教的方方面面，甚至包括佛教仪式上的言辞。需要提及的是，此时官方政治力量能够将佛教教务控制的如此严密，很大程度上是财政上的原因，唐代高僧不空在《谢恩赐大兴善寺施戒方等并粮料表一首》说：“中使李宪诚奉宣圣旨，特赐大兴善寺施戒方等道场粳糯粟、米、油、柴诸物等，无不备足，以充斋供……并许其道场，为幸已甚，更赐僧供，雨露实深……冀无边功德，上资圣躬。不胜惭载之至”。受戒的地点、物品等等均由官方提供，那么仪式由官员主持也就不足为奇了。

唐朝僧尼制度管理中，还有一项活动非常值得关注，那就是寺院赐额制度。由统治者敕赐寺院名额的现象在晋代就有出现，不过在唐代之前，其往往都只是统治者表示崇佛奉教的意思。唐代时期，赐额在一定程度上也成为了官府对佛教的一种管理办法，并且与君王的政治生活紧密联系在一起。这里值得注意的是，唐代寺院赐额，多由皇室精忠尽孝、兴国安邦的儒家文化底蕴，首先，取尽孝祈福字义的寺额，如贞观八年（公元634年），太子李治在隋无漏废寺旧址建慈恩寺，为文德皇后荐福。文明元年（公元684年），睿宗敕以萧锐旧宅建献福寺，为高宗荐冥福。神龙二年（公元706年），中宗为武太后追福，立圣善寺，寺内建报恩阁。同时别立崇恩寺。以上都是皇室子孙为父母立寺取额，以示尽孝祈福的事例。其次，取兴国安邦字义的寺额，如景云元年（公元710年），睿宗敕舍龙潜旧宅为安国寺。开元二十年（公元732年），敕改无极寺额为兴唐寺。由以上叙述看出，唐代寺院赐额中多有献忠尽孝、兴国安邦的儒家文化特色，这标志着儒、佛、道趋于融合的时代特征在寺院赐名中反映了出来，亦标志着延至唐代，佛教文化已日趋变成了王者的附庸，自身的东西越来越少了。

### （三）、唐代关于佛教僧人的法律规定

如上所述，关于佛教僧团方面的管理制度时至唐代已日臻完善，而唐代，作为中国古代封建法律体系的成熟期，以《贞观律》为基础修订的《永徽律》及其《律疏》，即《唐律疏议》，是我国封建社会最具代表性的法典之一，以《唐律疏议》为代表的唐代的律、令、格、式体系也标志着中国古代法文化的发展达到了一个高峰。谈及僧制，我们就无法忽视统治阶级针对佛教所制定的相关法律规范。《唐律疏议》中关于佛教的相关规定主要是分布在《名例律》、《户婚律》和《贼盗律》三篇之中。《唐律疏议·名例》：“疏议曰：‘私入道’，谓道士、女官、僧、尼同，不因官度者，是名私入度”这里对“私度”进行了明确的法律规范，《唐律疏议·户婚》：“诸私入道及度之者，杖一百；若由家长，家长当罪。已除贯者，徒一年。本贯主司及观寺三纲知情者，与同罪……私辄度人者，一人杖一百；二人加一等”，该条中更是规定明确，针对未经官府批准私自出家、未经官府批准但经家长允许出家、私自出家已经注销原户籍等不同情形的处理，以及“为之剃度者”的处罚等等。如果所属州县长官、寺观三纲知情，亦同罪。此外，针对僧尼的特殊身份，也有一些不同于普通人的特殊规定，如《唐律疏议·杂律》：“诸监临主守，于所监守内奸者，谓犯良人，加奸罪一等。即居父母及夫丧，若道士、女官奸者，各又加一等。妇女以凡奸论。”即僧道犯奸乃加普通奸罪二等，《唐律疏议·名例》：“疏议曰：道士、女官、僧、尼犯奸盗，于法最重。”后世宋明各朝对此类规定也均有所继承。自道安统一佛教僧人姓氏为“释”之后，僧团内部逐渐发展为“拟血亲”制，这在《唐律疏议》中也有明确规定，《唐律疏议·名例》：“诸称‘道士’、‘女官’者，僧、尼同。若于其师，与伯叔父母同。其于弟子，与兄弟之子同。观寺部曲、奴婢于三纲，与主之期亲同；余道士，与主之缌麻同。”对于拟制血亲，《唐律疏议·贼盗》中还有一条非常值得我们注意：“诸缘坐非同居者，资财、田宅不在没限。虽同居，非缘坐及缘坐人子孙免流者，各准分法留还……若女许嫁已定，归其夫。出养、入道及聘妻未成者，不追坐。出养者，从所养坐。道士及妇人，若部曲、奴婢，犯反逆者，止坐其身。”凡道士、僧尼等出家，如其原来家族内有谋反、谋大逆等重罪，出家人不在其原家族的株连之列。反之，若道士、僧尼等犯反逆重罪，也止坐其身，不株连家属。虽然唐律中没有规定僧人犯此类大罪是否会株连其师或其弟子，但我们可以从一些事件中来观察，《旧唐书·德宗本纪》载“神策将魏循上言：‘射生将韩钦绪等十余人与资敬寺妖僧李广弘同谋不轨，广弘自言当为主，约十月十日大举，已署置将相明目。’诏捕劾之，连坐死者百余人；钦绪，游环之子，特赦之。”贞元三年（公元787年），资敬寺沙门李广弘自云当为主，与射生将韩钦绪等同谋作乱，谋杀，连坐死者百余人。从“十余人”和“连坐死者百人”我们应该可以推测，这百人中应该不乏资敬寺李广弘的师门僧人，也就是说僧人的师徒也是可能要受到类似于亲属之间的株连的，这也是佛教中国化在法律制度层面上的又一大表征。值得注意的是，虽然法律上对于僧人建立了这样一种拟制血亲，但现实生活中出家僧人与俗世父母仍有着理不清的牵绊，这也是佛教中国化在制度层面的表现与在文化层面的表现之间所出现的一种矛盾，如“夫人姓王，字玉儿，太原晋阳人也……终于时邕里私第……孝子沙门惠政、行威等居丧逾礼，毁将灭性。”再如“夫人讳尼子，字尼子，广平人也……以天授二年（公元691年）闰五月廿一日卒于利仁坊之私第……子承福、僧玄嗣等，或休任至性，或法显因心，临厚夜而长号，瞻彼苍而永诉。”

此外还有一处我们须特别说明的地方，那就是唐代《道僧格》，在正史《旧唐书》、《新唐书》中，并未有相关《道僧格》的记载，不过在日本的《养老令》的注释书《令集解·僧尼令》中却多次出现了唐《道僧格》的名字，而现在通过学者们的研究考证，也普遍认为唐代确有《道僧格》的存在。“《道僧格》是中国古代第一部由国家制定的具有强制约束力的宗教法典，是唐代国家法律与佛、道戒律相结合的产物。”郑显文教授认为唐代《道僧格》的形成是一个漫长的历史过程，“它最早源于北魏的《僧制》，后屡加增修，到唐太宗贞观十年形成了‘条制’，上升为‘格’，成为祠部管理宗教事务最重要的法规档。”近几年来《道僧格》引起了学术界的广泛关注，周奇、张径真等人纷纷在其博士论文当中对《道僧格》进行了条文的复原与讨论，赵晶的《唐代“道僧格”再探》一文更是对《道僧格》产生的年代、与《祠部格》的关系等等进行了非常细致的分析。这些研究也恰恰从一个侧面证明了时至唐代，佛教事务管理已经成为国家政治法律所统摄的重要组成部分，佛教事务再也不是宗教内部所能自行处理的了。

### 四、结语

佛教在传入中国的过程中，慢慢的从一种纯粹的宗教逐步演变成了既有宗教性质、又有政治性质的社会组织，那么为了统治和管理好这样一种社会组织，同时也是为了处理好世俗政权与宗教信仰之间的关系，就必须建立一套有效的管理机制。在本文中，笔者主要以佛教僧官僧籍制度，也就是佛教教权与王权政治之间的关系为出发点来观察佛教在中国的传播过程中在制度层面的对抗与妥协。中国自秦以来建立了封建主义中央集权的政治制度，以中央集权、君主专制为其核心内容，这种以王权为核心的政治制度必然要求一切社会权力都处于王权的统摄之下而存在。印度佛教原本着重于个人修行，并没有僧人团体的出现，也就无所谓僧人团体的管理问题。但佛教传入中国，为适应中国传统的“家本位”文化制度，高僧道安开创性地统一僧团，提出天下僧人皆为“释氏”一家，并制定了一些基本的僧团管理制度。佛教教权便是意指这些佛教僧人对其内部日常事务及人员的管理权。起初僧人团体的规模并不是很大，佛教教权的力量也并没有引起统治阶级的重视，佛教僧团能够通过戒律自律等手段基本地实现自治，但随着佛教的迅猛壮大，佛教教权必然对王权政治产生一定的冲击。这种冲击主要体现在两个方面，一是在思想层面，佛教认为僧人出家便脱离了世俗的羁绊，自然也就不必受到世俗政权的统治与管辖，僧人是方外之人，没有对君主叩拜的义务；二是制度层面，佛教认为僧人聚居而成的僧人团体独立存在，拥有一定的自治权，但这种自治权却在

一定程度上成为了封建王权的潜在威胁。无论是哪个层面，佛教都与“大一统”的王权政治观念形成鲜明的对立。而本文中试图阐述的就是在制度层面佛教教权与王权之间的动态抗争过程，这一过程基本上可以分为三个阶段，第一阶段即佛教僧团基本能够以戒律等手段基本实现自治；第二个阶段即国家设置了有较大实权的专门管理机构，但这些机构的最高职位仍是佛教僧人所担任的，并且此阶段佛教僧团极力排斥俗家人士对佛教事物的干涉；到了第三个阶段，佛教僧人仅能担任一些教化类的职务，对僧团的统治实权已经完全属于行政管理范畴，并且从僧人的籍贯到具体活动，均已形成了一整套详实的法律规制。如果说从佛教哲学的角度来看，佛教哲学的中国化直到禅宗的出现与定型才最终与中国传统文化完成结合，那么从佛教社会学的角度，早在唐朝之初，佛教的管理权与组织权几乎就已经完全被官方所掌控了。这一个完整的动态过程鲜明地展现了统治者从利用佛教势力维护政权，到从宏观角度对佛教予以限制，再到事无巨细地对佛教事务进行规定的动态过程，可以清晰地看出，佛教势力在与王权政治的斗争中的逐步溃败，最终，佛教事务与佛教教务一并被纳入国家统治之中。

作者单位：南开大学法学院、爱知大学中国研究科。

载于韩国《亚洲研究》第20辑。

本网首发，注释略去，引用可参考原文。感谢作者赐稿！转载请注明来源。

【把文章分享到    推荐到抽屉  网易微博  腾讯微博  新浪微博  搜狐微博  微信】

上一篇文章：北京东岳庙与明清国家祭祀关系探研

下一篇文章：论宋代中央和地方僧官体系及其特征

<http://xuewen.cnki.net/CJFD-SXZX198706010.html>

<https://xuewen.cnki.net/CJFD-SXZX198706010.html>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623044817/http://xuewen.cnki.net/CJFD-SXZX198706010.html>

[SXZX198706010.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20180623044817/http://xuewen.cnki.net/CJFD-SXZX198706010.html)

## “元”乎?“充”乎?“讫”乎?——吐鲁番出土的唐朝高昌县给田文书中■字作何解释的问题

### 相关推荐

·《思想战线》1987年06期 ·《新疆大学学报(哲学社会科学)》2010年03期 ·《吐鲁番学研究》2015年0 ·《敦煌研究》2003年05期

日本史学家西岛定生氏所著《中国经济史研究》①是一部研究中国古代经济史的著作。它特别着重对吐鲁番出土文书的研究,以几占全书三分之一的篇幅细绎唐朝高昌县给田退田文书,并据以论述均田制实施的情况。著者对文书中的每一个字都给以高度重视,作出许多颇有创见的解释。如大谷2604号文书的单数行中有以朱笔或墨笔记的“昌”、“大”、“戎”等字,其他文书中有“西”、“尚”、“归”、“城”、“顺”、“化”、“平”、“戎”、“昌”、“大”等字,西岛氏称之为“加笔字”,释为高昌县安西乡、归德乡、顺义乡、尚贤乡、崇化乡、太平乡、宁戎乡、宁昌乡、宁大乡、武城乡、归义乡之省②,可谓不易之说。当然,那许多“加笔字”要一一作出正确无误的解释并非易事,因此,深知其中艰苦的西岛氏于解释“昌”、“大”诸字之后接着说:“不过,关于加笔字还有不少问题,在这里只能提出我的不成熟的看法,至于这些看法是否正确,还有待于进一步研究。”这番话,不仅仅是学者应有的谦逊美德,而事实也确实... (本文共5页) [阅读全文>>](#)

权威出处：《思想战线》1987年06期

### 新疆出土唐代高昌县档案中符文一则疏考

高昌,地名,在今新疆吐鲁番市东哈拉和卓堡西南。汉代于此筑城,称高昌壁(亦称高昌垒)。南北朝时,前凉于此置郡。公元460年,高昌国立,阚氏、张氏、麴氏先后据此称王。贞观十四年(公元640年),唐灭麴氏高昌国,以其地置西州,以其都城置高昌县,作为州治所在。《新疆出土文物》图版八八著录有唐代档案《高昌县为百姓按户等贮粮事下太平乡符》文一件。说明新疆地区,自古以来就处于我国中央政府的有效管理之下。并具体体现了唐代多项制度。一、《高昌县为百姓按户等贮粮事下太平乡符》今译 首先著录原文:高昌县上上户,户别贮一十五石;上中户,户别贮一十二石;上下户,户别贮一十石;中上户,户别贮七石;中中户,户别贮五石;中下户,户别贮四石;下上户,户别贮三石;下中户,户别贮一石五斗;下下户,户别贮一石。太平乡主者:得里正杜定护等牒称:“奉处分:令百姓各贮一二年粮,并令乡司检量封署,然后官府亲自检行下乡。令准数速贮,封署讫,上。仍遣玄政巡检者。”令判:“... (本文共3页) [阅读全文>>](#)





## 敦煌写本《西州图经》中的“高昌县”问题

敦煌写本《西州图经》,编号P.2009,现存法国国家图书馆。P.2009《西州图经》首尾残缺,依次记载了出蒲昌县的赤亭道、新开道、花谷道、移摩道、萨捍道、突波道,出柳中县的大海道,出高昌县的乌骨道,出交河县的他地道、白水涧道,出天山县的银山道,柳中县丁谷窟寺,柳中县丁谷窟禅院,前庭县宁戎窟寺,州子城外圣人塔。P.2009《西州图经》,分量虽不大,史料价值颇高,常为治唐史者引用。已有学者,利用P.2009《西州图经》,对相关问题,提出了重要看法(1)。但是,仍存在一些问题,还需要进一步探索,P.2009《西州图经》中的“高昌县”名问题,即是其中之一。

一、P.2009《西州图经》留给我们的一个难题《旧唐书·地理志》记载西州领五县,高昌、柳中、交河、蒲昌、天山[1]卷40,1645。《通典·州郡四》记载略同[2]卷174,4558。《新唐书·地理志》记载西州领五县,前庭、柳中、交河、蒲昌、天山,于前庭下自注:“本高昌,宝应元年更名。”... (本文共5页) [阅读全文>>](#)

权威出处：《新疆大学学报(哲学·人文社会科学版)》2018年01期

## 唐前期西州高昌县水利管理

水利与中国的社会有莫大之联系。这一点,西方学者很早就已经注意到,卡尔·马克思很早将水利与东方的专制政体联系起来考察,而魏特夫的“东方专制主义”也源于“水利文明”的理论。②旅美学者冀朝鼎对于中国的水利建设与基本经济区转移的关系的论述,受到了很高评价。③日本学者继西方之后,对中国的水利进行了大量的研究。④而中国学者直到最近,才开始真正关注水利之于中国社会的重要意义。⑤然而学者们的视野多关注清代丰富的地方文献,而无暇顾及时代更早的资料。在西北边疆的吐鲁番出土了大量的唐代社会文书,虽然在数量上无法与清代文献相比,但是却幸运地保存下了一些关于西州高昌县水利事务的资料。透过这些文书,我们看到了这个大唐帝国西隅边州的水利状况。⑥本文的研究,即是要从这些文书入手,探寻唐代地方水利管理的面貌,尤其是官府与百姓参与水利管理的时代特点。一、修渠吐鲁番地区气候十分干燥,降雨量很小,水利灌溉对于盆地的农业具有非同寻常的意义。在唐代,对于管辖今吐鲁番地... (本文共13页) [阅读全文>>](#)



权威出处：《西域研究》2010年03期

### 吐鲁番学研究

## 唐代的更簿与直簿——以吐鲁番所出《唐某年二月西州高昌县更簿》为中心

2004年考古工作者从吐鲁番阿斯塔那三九五号墓和三九八号墓出土一批唐代文书残片,其中一组文书内容是关于唐代西州高昌县直更的名籍。该组文书出土后,引起学界的重视。2007年,张雨《吐鲁番文书所见唐代里正的上直》一文首先向学界公布了文书的录文,并讨论了其中的里正上直问题1。2008年缀合后的文书图版及录文正式刊布于《新获吐鲁番出土文献》,整理者定名为《唐某年二月西州高昌县更簿(簿)》2。尽管整理者已经作了卓有成效的工作,在文书的缀合和识读上仍有进一步商讨的余地。此外,学界对更簿的讨论,主要集中于更簿与里正相关的内容,对更簿的制作年代、背景、性质等缺乏整体上的认识。有鉴于此,本文拟在前人已有的基础上,对高昌县更簿进行重新整理,并加以考释,以期能对唐代西州官吏更簿(簿)的研究有所裨益。一、相关文书的重新拼合更簿文书残片从墓主所穿纸鞋中拆出,整理者对其做了细致的拼合整理工作。《新获吐鲁番\*12张雨:《吐鲁番文书所见唐代里正的上直》,《西域... (本文共19页) [阅读全文>>](#)

权威出处：《吐鲁番学研究》2015年01期

## 《宝应元年六月高昌县勘问康失芬行车伤人案》若干法律问题探析

### 敦煌研究

敦煌吐鲁番两地发现的有关民事诉讼、行政管理、兵事、科罪定罪等法制档案资料,内容非常丰富,涉及分家析产、田宅、婚娶、民间贸易、土地产权继承、侵权伤害、军旅等民间社会经济生活等,唐、五代最为集中。这些诉讼法制文书如实地记载了中古时期西部地区的官府司法实践,反映了民间百姓通过司法解决民间纠纷。敦煌、吐鲁番出土的诉讼法制文书可分为两大类:一为拟判案例,二为真实判例。拟判案例,是未发生而虚构,揭示封建法制所遵循的办案原则、立法目的,真实判例是真实案件的内容,是官府司法审判的真实记录。刘俊文等对部分诉讼法制文书进行了研究探讨,汪世荣《中国古代判例研究》对《文明判集残卷》中的拟判案例从法学角度进行了研究。本文在此基础上,从法学角度对《宝应元年六月高昌县勘问康失芬行车伤人案》所涉及的未成年人监护制度、民事诉讼代理制度、共同诉讼制度和保辜制度等进行初步探讨。《宝应元年六月高昌县勘问康失芬行车伤人案》,兹录案文如下: ... (本文共5页) [阅读全文>>](#)

扩展阅读：

·高昌县 ·吐鲁番 ·西岛 ·田文 ·中国经济史研究 ·宁戎 ·宁昌 ·尚贤乡 ·大谷 ·均田制

分享到：

<https://wenku.baidu.com/view/2ae28513866fb84ae45c8d9e.html>

经营销销 专业资料

## 孟宪实：论唐朝的佛教管理\_以僧籍的编造为中心

3.4分（超过34%的文档）503阅读53下载2011-11-10上传8页2.4MB 展开

VIP专享下载

收藏

分享

转存

工具箱

举报

认领

APP

客户端打开

VIP





加入VIP免费下载

VIP文档免费下 付费文档8折购 文档格式随意转

剩余5页未读, [继续阅读](#)

版权说明：本文档由用户提供并上传，收益归属内容提供方，若内容存在侵权，请进行举报或认领

经管营销专业资料

孟宪实：论唐朝的佛教管理\_以僧籍的编造为中心

3.4分 (超过34%的文档) 504阅读 53下载 2011-11-10上传 8页 2.4MB 展开

VIP

孟宪实：论唐朝的佛教管理\_以僧籍的编造为中心

1

/ 8

论唐朝的佛教管理□□□以僧籍的编造为中心孟宪实(中国人民大学国学院,北京□100872)

摘□要:佛教、道教在唐代十分发达,国家如何对它们实施管理,史载有文,但并不清晰。本文通过新近发现的吐鲁番出土文书,论证唐朝政府管理佛教、道教的具体措施,使得这个问题终于明晰起来。把原有编户齐民的方法运用到佛教、道教的管理,厉行人身管理,从而完成了对佛教的全面控制。佛教作为外来文化,中国化问题学界研究已久,在思想中国化的同时,也有管理的中国化问题。这对于佛教历史研究亦有启发。关键词:佛教;管理;僧籍;寺院手实;吐鲁番出土文书中图分类号:K242□□文献标识码:A□□文章编号:1000□5919(2009)03□0136□

08收稿日期:2008□12□16作者简介:孟宪实,男,黑龙江省讷河市人,中国人民大学国学院副教授。基金项目:中国人民大学科学研究基金资助项目成果,项目编号06XNA007。□□义净:□南海寄归内法传校注□卷二,王邦维校注,北京:中华书局1995年版,第87页。义净:□大唐西域求法高僧传校注□,王邦维校注,北京:中华书局1988年版,第114页。

□□

唐会要□卷四十九,上海:上海古籍出版社1991年版,第1011页。魏晋南北朝时期,佛教和道教在中国崛起,国家如何管理这一新兴的社会力量,成为一个重要问题。对此,我们从□魏书□释老志□中可以很清晰地看到。到了隋唐时代,政府如何管理佛教和道教呢?历史文献留下一些很不清楚的记载。结合近年新发现的传世文献和考古资料,我们对于这个问题的

认识有了很大提升。论述如下,敬请方家指正。一、僧尼等籍对于佛教和道教的管理,从中央到地方,设立专门的机构来负责管理,这使得两个宗教的管理有了组织保障。相关机构是如何管理佛教和道教呢?依照现在掌握的情况,那就是通过籍帐。因为不论佛教还是道教,僧尼是分别立寺的,道士和女道士(或称女冠)也是分别立观的,所以他(她)们的籍帐也是分立的。所谓籍帐,其实就是国家管理民众的一套文书档案体制。不作特别说明,本文以□僧籍□概括尼籍、道士籍和女道士籍等。把僧道进行籍帐管理,其实就是把他们纳入编户齐民体制,而这正是中国政府控制和管理社会的悠久而强大的传统。道教是本土产物,而佛教属于外来事物,对于佛教而言,政府的这个管理办法,充分地体现了中国特色。到过印度的唐代僧人义净就记载过印度的情况:□如来出家,和僧剃发,名字不干王籍,众僧自有部书。□□众僧名字不贯王籍,其有犯者,众自治罚。□□这就是说在印度,佛教徒是不归政府管辖的,如果说有管辖,也不是中国式的通过人口登记等籍帐方式管辖的。中国从南北朝以来,政府的努力推行和僧众的挣扎拒绝,终于是政府方面获得胜利,到唐朝相关制度十分成熟,文献记录也丰富起来。唐朝政府的僧籍编造,与一般民户一样,也是三年一造。□唐会要□卷四十九有□僧籍□条:□每三岁,州县为籍,一以留州县,一以上祠部。□□这个记载没有明第46卷第3期2009年5月北京大学学报(哲学社会科学

版)Journal of Peking University(Philosophy and Social Sciences) Vol. 46, No. 3 May 2009 确切时间标志,但是应该属于祠部主管佛教事务的时期。□与此相关,□唐六典□也有同样的记载:□凡道士、女道士、僧、尼之簿籍亦三年一造(其籍一本送祠部,一本送鸿胪,一本留于州县)。□□新唐书□的记载是:□每三年,州县为籍,一以留县,一以留州。僧尼,一以上祠部。道士、女官,一以上宗正,一以上司封。□□唐朝管理佛教、道教的机构,时有变化,所以各种典籍的记录往往参差。但是,三年一编造僧籍,确是各种记载中非常一致的。因为一般民众的户籍编造正是三年一次,僧籍编造正与其合拍。□唐六典□卷三户部郎中员外郎条记录为:□每定户以仲年(子、卯、午、酉),造籍以季年(丑、辰、未、戌)。州县之籍恒留五比,省籍留九比□。□同是□六典□的记录文字,我们可以分析其中的关联。僧籍的编造,□六典□用一□亦□字。因为在□六典□的系统中,民户户籍的制度说明在户部郎中、员外郎条下,属于第三卷。而僧籍的编造在礼部祠部郎中、员外郎条下,属于第四卷。其亦字具有承前接续含义。宗正寺长官宗正卿,他的执掌最重要的部分是□掌皇九族、六亲之属籍□,□唐六典□在介绍他的执掌的时候,除了介绍皇九族、六亲的概念以外,最后一句是□其籍如州县之法□□。对此,□通典□的说法是□掌皇族、外戚簿籍及邑司名帐□□。那么,如州县之法,是什么意思呢?宋家钰先生曾经对比过皇族外戚的簿籍、僧尼簿籍与民户户籍的不同,认为□只有民户户籍,才是唐户令规定的州县每三年一造的籍书□□。这里,一定存在误解,□唐六典□卷二司封郎中、员外郎条最后一句:□凡皇家五等亲及诸亲三等存亡、升降,皆立簿籍,每三年一造。除附之制,并载于宗正寺焉□□。皇家外戚的簿籍与民户一定有很多内容不同,但是所谓同州县之法,根据司封郎中、员外郎条,至少三年一造是相同的。僧籍三年一造,□唐会要□、□唐六典□和□新唐书□文献记载十分一致,不存在争议。但是,僧籍的具体内容有哪些,却是史载缺乏的。仁井田先生复原唐令,只能利用□唐六典□的记载复原,同时提供日本养老令的一条内容作为参考,而这条养老令提供了关于僧籍内容的信息。□养老令□杂令的第38条,内容如下:凡僧尼,京国官司每六年造籍三通,各显出家年月、夏腊及德业,依式印之。一通留职国,以外申送太政官,一通送中务,一通送治部。所须调度,并令寺准人数出物。□因为日本官职与唐朝大有不同,该令的程序执行可以不予考虑,但是□出家年月、夏腊及德业□等,应该就是僧籍的重要内容。之所以敢于如此肯定,不是因为这条□养老令□,而是因为近来发现不久的北宋□天圣令□。□天圣令□杂令□中,正有僧尼造籍等内容,其中宋令第40条为:□□诸道士、女冠、僧尼,州县三年一造籍,具言出家年月、夏腊、学业,随处印署。按留州县,帐申尚书祠部。其身死及数有增减者,每年录名及增减因由,状申祠部,具入帐。□□

□□□□□□□□□□戴建国:□天一阁藏明抄□官品令□考□,□历史研究□1999年3期。天一阁博物馆、中国社会科学院历史研究所天圣令整理课题组□天一阁藏明抄本天圣令校证□附唐令复原研究□,北京:中华书局2006年版,第431页。仁井田:□唐令拾遗□,栗劲、霍存福、王占通、郭延德编译,长春:长春出版社1989年版,第795页。□养老令□条文见□令义解□卷十,吉川弘文馆(日本东京)1972年版,第341页。□唐六典□卷二,第40页。宋家钰:□唐代的手实、户籍与计帐□,□历史研究□1981年6期,第21页。此文收入作者□唐朝户籍法与均田制研究□的时候,有所丰富,但观点未变。郑州:中州古籍出版社1988年版,第73页。□通典□卷二十五,中华书局点校本,北京:中华书局1988年版,第703□704页。□唐六典□卷十六,第466页。□唐六典□卷三,第74页。关于户籍保留的时间,史书记载又有所不同,参见王永兴先生的整理,见王永兴:□隋唐五代经济史料汇编校注□第一编下,北京:中华书局1987年版,第1024□1025页。□新唐书□卷四十八崇玄署条,北京:中华书局1975年版,第1252页。□唐六典□卷四,陈仲夫点校本,祠部郎中、员外郎条,北京:中华书局1992年版,第126页。关于唐代僧尼管理制度,参照谢重

光、白文固:《中国僧官制度史》第四章第四节,西宁:青海人民出版社1990年版,第

101-111页。《第3期孟宪实:论唐朝的佛教管理》以僧籍的编造为中心137

由此,我们可以确知,三年一造僧籍,与传世文献记载相同,可以信任。而出家年月、夏腊、学业这些僧籍的具体内容,与养老令一致,证明不论养老令还是天圣令都来自唐令。但是,传世文献虽然证明有僧籍的存在,新出的天圣令也能提供僧籍主要内容的证明,因为没有见过具体的僧籍,我们对于僧籍的认识仍然是模糊的,最多是概念化的。正在这时,考古为我们提供了珍贵的实物标本。2004年,新疆吐鲁番文物局在一个叫做巴达木的地方发现一件文书,这就是唐龙朔二年西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍。僧籍是一个残件,首尾俱残,十分不完整,正面有多达九方的高昌县之印均匀地钤在文书上。文书拆自纸鞋,一面整齐,三面呈圆形。所在三个僧人数据,各自分行书写,每条记录钤印三方。背面纸缝存半行文字,上倒书思恩寺、龙朔二年正月,文字上也钤高昌县之印。原来文书是竖行书写,现在改为横行,录文如下:1(前缺)岁,廿一夏,高昌县顺义乡敦孝里,户主张延伯弟,伪延和十三年四月十五日度(后缺)2诵法华五卷药师一卷佛名一卷3

僧崇道,年拾伍岁,十五夏,高昌县宁昌乡正道里,户主张延相男,伪延寿十四年四月十五日度,计至今廿五年。4诵法华五卷5僧显觉,年柒拾壹岁,五十一夏,高昌县宁泰乡仁义里,户绝,俗姓张,伪延昌一年正月十五日度,计至今六十二年。(后缺)这件残僧籍,再一次证明天圣令记载属于唐令,出家年月、夏腊、学业等不仅是唐令规定的僧籍内容,实际上也是如此执行的。但是,就一位僧人的具体信息,这件僧籍还是超过了唐令的规定范围。比如这件僧籍,每位僧人先记录他的法号,然后是年龄,然后小字注明夏腊,俗家关系(县乡里名称与亲人关系),出家年月日,并且还有一条出家至今的年限,最后是学业状况即所诵佛经名数。显然,实用的僧籍要比唐令的规定更具体丰富。同时,令文规定是先写出家年月,而实用僧籍后写出家时间,并且不仅是年月,而是年月日。由此可以说明,唐令的令文是择要而书,并不是把僧籍中的每一项内容都写入令文。高昌县属于西州,而西州原来是氏高昌国(今新疆吐鲁番盆地)。唐太宗贞观十四年(640)派出军队平定高昌国,建立西州。西州虽然属于边州,但是执行内地同样的法律制度,所以我们通过吐鲁番出土文书,可以了解许多唐代的文物制度。这件僧籍的背面,因为写着思恩寺和龙朔二年正月字样,我们因此知道这是思恩寺的僧籍。龙朔是唐高宗年号,二年是公元662年,干支是壬戌。根据唐六典造籍以季年记载和注释,这一年正是唐朝的造籍之年。这再一次证明僧籍的编造与一般户籍的编造不仅都是三年一造的节奏,而且是同时编造。因为这个僧籍的发现,以前学者搜集整理的唐朝户籍文书所显示的造籍年份又可以增加一个确实的实证。

二、寺院手实僧籍既为传世文献所记载,又为出土文物所证实,但是,我们依然不能确认僧籍是如何编造的。比较僧籍与一般民户的户籍,当然是我们了解这个问题的必要途径。通过传世文献,我们会发现,户籍的编造通常与手实是联系在一起的。根据唐会要的记载,开元十八年(730)十一月唐玄宗有敕文对于造籍之事规定最为全面:诸户籍三年一造,起正月上旬,县司责手实、计帐,赴州依式堪造。乡别为卷,总写三通,其缝皆注某县某年籍,州名用州印,县名用县印。三月三十日纳讫,并装潢一通,送尚书省,州县参见荣新江:唐开元二十九年西州天山县南平乡籍残卷研究,西域研究1995年1期。论文所附已刊敦

煌吐鲁番发现唐代户籍文书简目收集很全。荣新江、李肖、孟宪实主编:新获吐鲁番出土文献,北京:中华书局2008年版,第60-61页。参见孟宪实:吐鲁番新发现的唐龙朔二年西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍,文物2007年第2期。138北京大学学报(哲学社会科学版)2009年

各留一通。所须纸笔装潢,并皆出当户内口,户别一钱。唐六典的记载与此大同小异:每一岁一造计帐,三年一造户籍。县以籍成于州,州成于省,户部总而领焉。原注曰:诸造籍起正月,毕三月,所须纸笔、装潢、轴帙皆出当户内,口别一钱。计帐所须,户别一钱。两者的一致很明显,小异之处似乎是会要有问题。很大的可能,六典所记就是来源于开元十八年的敕。但是,六典没有提到如何利用手实问题。武德六年(623)的令文中规定:每岁一造帐,三年一造籍,州县留五比,尚书省留三比。到唐中宗景龙二年闰九月,皇帝下曰:诸州县籍、手实、计帐当留五比,省籍留九比,其远年依次除。新唐书的食货志明确记载凡里有手实,岁终具民之年与地之阔狭为乡帐。乡成于县,县成于州,州成于户部。又有计帐,具来岁课役以报度支。这里,存在三个基本概念,户籍、手实和计帐。以上文献,有的重视三者之间的关系,开元十八年敕特别说明户籍在编造的时候要参考手实和计帐。新唐书的记录,也在说明手实与户籍的关系,逐级上升而成的户籍,就这点而言很明显与六典的记载是一致的。不论户籍、手实还是计帐,都是政府的重要文件,所以从唐高祖武德时期就有相关的保存规定,中宗时期,又有了进一步的规定。同时,因为不是所有文献都指明手实与户籍的密切关系,手实与户籍毕竟是两种文件,所以在学者理解的时候也会存在差异。新唐书的乡帐说法,很容易与计帐

混淆。其实考虑上下文的关系,计帐在□又有□之下介绍,跟上文的乡帐成并行序列,而从手实到乡帐,然后表现的是发展序列,从乡到县到州到户部是有所区别的。但是,手实究竟是编制户籍的基础,还是编造计帐的基础呢?对此学界存在巨大的分歧。日本学者根据日本令如□养老令□等,再结合唐朝的史料,一般认为手实是编造计帐的基础。仁井田复原唐令□诸每岁一造计帐。里正责所部手实,具注家口年纪□。□其实,一年一造计帐,唐代文献有记载,但是利用手实造计帐,是日本□养老令□中才有的。池田温先生对于景龙二年九月敕□诸州县籍、手实、计帐当留五比□等文字,把□手实计帐□当作一个概念来使用,手实与计帐之间不点断。于是,他再讨论□手实与手实计帐□的关系,得出手实是手实计帐的基础。□这样,池田先生与仁井田的观点就变得大同小异了。宋家钰先生撰写□唐代的手实、户籍与计帐□,详细辨析其中的问题,指出日本学者倾向于用日本令解释唐代的这个制度,虽然日本令有来自唐朝制度的部分,但是已经发生了很大改变,尤其是两个国家编制户籍的时间很不相同,唐朝是三年一造户籍,而日本是六年一造。于是在日本古代,手实成为计帐的基础,但唐朝手实其实是户籍编造的基础。□如果手实是造籍的基础,应该跟户籍一样,采取三年一造的频率。如果手实一年一造,就应该跟计帐同调。而在唐代的文献记载中,计帐因为具有第二年赋税等预算性质,所以当然是一年一造的。一方面,□新唐书□的□食货志□明确记载□凡里有手实,岁终具民之年与地之阔狭为乡帐□,而□岁终□如果理解为每岁终,就说明手实是一年一造的,与计帐同调,与户籍的三年一造不同。另一方面,吐鲁番出土的一组武周载初元年(690)一月西州高昌县手实中,在载初元年一月的手实上,竟然发现了一个叫做□女尚保□三字下有□如意元年九月上旬新生附□的脚注。□如意元年是公元692年,正在载初元年三年之后

,□□□□□□□□

□唐长孺主编

:□吐鲁番出土文书□叁,北京:文物出版社1996年版,第510页。□历史研究□1981年第6期。池田温:□中国古代籍帐研究□,日本东京大学,1979年。龚泽铎译,北京:中华书局2007年版,第90页。仁井田:□唐令拾遗□,栗劲、霍存福、王占通、郭延德编译,长春:长春出版社1989年版,第148□149页。□新唐书□卷四十一,北京:中华书局1975年版,第1343页。□唐会要□卷八十五□籍帐□,第1848页。□册府元龟□卷四六八,北京:中华书局1960年版,第5810页。□唐会要□卷八十五,第1848页。□唐六典□卷三,陈仲夫点校,北京:中华书局1992年版,第74页。□唐会要□卷八十五□籍帐□,上海:上海古籍出版社1991年版,第1848页。□第3期孟宪实:论唐朝的佛教管理□□□以僧籍的编造为中心139□

为什么不在新的手实上写明而要注释到三年前的手实上呢?另外,载初元年的干支是庚寅,并不是籍年,为什么这一年反而有了手实呢?所有这些问题都指向宋家钰先生的观点,而这些资料的搜集和问题的提出,正是朱雷先生的大作□唐代手实制度杂识□□□唐代籍帐制度考察□。□让我们先了解下载初元年手实的情况,再看宋家钰先生的回应。载初元年(690)的西州高昌县手实出自阿斯塔那三十四号墓,保存相对完整。它们是一组多个手实粘在一起,应该是官府的保存方式。以宁和才手实为例,我们可以看到手实的基本情况:1户主宁和才年拾肆岁2母赵年伍拾贰岁3妹和忍年拾叁岁4右件人见有籍5姊和贞年贰拾贰岁6姊罗胜年拾伍岁7右件人籍后死8合受常部田9一段二亩常田城北廿里新兴东渠西道南道北曹君定10一段一亩部田三易城西七里沙堰渠东渠西常田南张运守北善亮11一段一亩部田三易城南五里马渠东张沙弥子西张阿仲南北渠12一段一亩部田三易城西五里胡麻井渠东渠西文济南渠北曹粟13一段步居住园

宅14牒件通当户新旧口田段亩数、四至,具状如前。如后有人15告,隐漏一口,求受违之罪。谨牒。16载初元年壹月日户主宁和才牒□宋家钰先生在□唐朝户籍法与均田制研究□一书中对朱雷先生的论文作了回答。唐初以来,其实都是年底编造手实,而武则天时期的载初元年一月,应该是□正月□的误写,其实就是永昌元年十一月。因为载初改元就是在永昌元年十一月发布的。载初元年的正月,干支不是庚寅而是己丑,己丑当然正是籍年。□女尚保□之下的脚注,正好证明手实不是一年一编造,她九月出生,还没有到达编手实的十一月,所以有了这个脚注,否则没有必要跨越两年手实去在两年前的手实上加注脚。□关于□新唐书□食货志□的记载,宋先生同意其年终编造的说法,但是不同意是每年编造的理解。□新唐书□关于手实编写是从年终开始进行的记载,是有文物根据的。□唐贞观年间(公元六四□□六四九年)西州高昌县手实□就写着□当户来年手实□□,意味着当然就是年终完成的手实。但是从□唐龙朔二年(662)西州高昌县恩恩寺僧籍□提供的证据来看,唐朝在高宗时期已经改作正月造籍了。不仅如此,最新发现的□唐神龙三年(707)正月高昌县开觉等寺手实□,给出了更多的珍贵信息,而这件寺院手实,也是写作正月。神龙政变以后,一切制度改回到高宗时期,这件寺院手实与龙朔二年的僧籍,正可以看做同期文物。而它们都写作□正月□,正是一种难得的相互印证。所以,□新唐书□的年终修手实说,只应该是唐初高宗之前的情况反映。□唐神龙三年(707)正月高昌县开觉等寺手实□的文书,属于最新发现的史料。唐朝的寺院手实,

是□□□

□唐长孺主编

:□吐鲁番出土文书□叁,第55□56页。□唐朝户籍法与均田制研究□第三章第五节□载初元年手实文书与手实、户籍编造的时间□,第93□102页。唐长孺主编:□吐鲁番出土文书□叁,北京:文物出版社1996年版,第498□499页。朱雷先生大作首先发表在武汉大学历史系□魏晋南北朝隋唐史资料□第五辑,第26□34页。收入作者□敦煌吐鲁番文书论丛□,兰州:甘肃人民出版社2000年版,第97□112页。140□北京大学学报(哲学社会科学版)2009年□加入VIP免费下载

VIP文档免费下载 付费文档8折购 文档格式随意转

剩余5页未读, 继续阅读

贵金属来智选投资平台\_10元就可以投资

贵金属来智选, 正规能投资平台, 开户就有红包领, 10元即可操作, 操作方便简单, 广告查看详情

版权说明: 本文由用户提供并上传, 收益归属内容提供方, 若内容存在侵权, 请进行举报或认领

VIP专享下载

<http://www.china2551.org/12572.html>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180621093157/http://www.china2551.org/12572.html>

现在位置: [首页](#) > [唐密文化](#) > [唐密研究](#) > [正文](#)

## 敦煌出度文书所见唐代度牒的申领与发放

本文作者: [xibufoxue](#) 5年前 (2013-08-17)

(北京师范大学) 度牒是僧尼取...

(北京师范大学)

度牒是僧尼取得合法地位的凭证, 也是僧尼免除赋役和远行游历的身份证明。对于度牒的研究, 国内外学者从僧尼的出度、僧尼籍的编造与管理以及公文中“牒”的程式等角度, 对度牒的颁授、形制及相关问题作了深入探讨<sup>〔1〕</sup>。在此基础上, 本文结合敦煌石室所出的僧尼出度文书, 拟对唐代度牒的申领与发放问题进行论述。

度牒出现的时间, 《大宋僧史略》卷中《祠部牒附》说: “若夫稽其乡贯, 则南朝有之(见高僧传), 唯为搜扬, 便生名籍。系之限局, 必有凭由, 凭由之来即祠部牒也。”<sup>〔2〕</sup>赞宁所说的“凭由”因依托于“名籍”(即僧尼籍帐), 寓有身份凭证的意义, 故就性质而言, 这种体现身份属性的“凭由”与唐宋时期的祠部牒(度牒)具有先后因袭和继承关系, 因而宋人高承直言“度牒自南北朝有之”。

唐代僧尼的管理机构屡有变化, 但总体来说, 尚书祠部在相当长的时间里掌握着僧尼出度与名籍的管理。对于合法出度的僧尼, 祠部依例颁发牒文, 即为度牒, 又称祠部牒。《大宋僧史略》卷中《祠部牒附》<sup>〔3〕</sup>载:

天宝六年(载)五月, 制僧尼依前两街功德使收管, 不要更隶主客, 其所度僧尼仍令祠部给牒(唐祠部牒皆绫素锦素细轴盖纶诰也。非官何谓), 给牒自玄宗朝始也。

赞宁认为祠部给牒始于唐玄宗。但考诸史实, 武后延载元年(694)敕令“天下僧尼隶祠部”, 开元二十五年诏“僧尼令祠部检校”, 天宝二载(743)玄宗又令“僧尼隶祠部”<sup>〔4〕</sup>, 祠部给牒的初始时间其实并不明确。不过, 从度僧“仍令祠部给牒”来看, 祠部给牒显然要早于天宝六载(747)。至于度牒的形制, 由于是尚书祠部所出, 故用“绫素锦素细轴”制作而成, 大致与朝廷的诏令文告相类似。

度牒既为度僧的凭证, 故遵照官方公认的度僧方式, 依例即可获得祠部颁发的牒文。按唐朝, 朝廷认可的“公度”方式大体有试经度僧(策试经业)<sup>〔5〕</sup>、特恩度僧(皇帝诏敕恩度)、进纳度僧(缴纳钱物)三种<sup>〔6〕</sup>。需要说明的是, 特恩度僧尽管是皇帝在特定时期诏告天下、布施恩泽的度僧方式, 但在操作的过程中亦非常注重经业的策试。《不空表状集》卷2《请降诞日度僧五人制一首》<sup>〔7〕</sup>略云:

行者毕数延年五十五 无州贯，诵梵本贤护三昧经一部，并诵诸陀罗尼，请法名惠达，住庄严寺。

行者康守忠年四十三 无州贯，诵经一百二十纸，并诵诸陀罗尼，请法名惠观，住东京广福寺大弘教三藏毘卢舍那院。

行者毕越延年四十三 无州贯，诵梵本楞伽经一部，诵金刚般若经并诸陀罗尼，请法名惠日，住庄严寺。

童子石惠璨年十三 无州贯，诵梵本大孔雀王经一部，诵随求陀罗尼并经，请法名惠光，住西明寺。

童子罗途年十五 无州贯，诵梵本出生无边门经，诵随求陀罗尼咒并经，请法名惠俊，住西明寺。

以上五人<sup>[9]</sup>定于代宗皇帝的生日（“降诞日”）受度，显然属于特恩度僧之列。尽管如此，五人研习、诵读的佛经（如陀罗尼经等）均一一标注出来，正说明特恩度僧亦十分注重对受度者“经业”的考察。又《请降诞日度三僧制一首》中，罗文成、罗伏磨、童子曹摩诃三人亦在“降诞日”受度，其中罗文成诵《金刚般若经》、《起信论》、《菩萨戒经》，童子曹摩诃诵《法华经》一部，唯罗伏磨以“宝应功臣武校尉守右羽林军大将军员试大常卿上柱国赐紫金鱼袋”<sup>[9]</sup>的身份受度，或许真正享受到了皇帝降诞日“特恩”度僧的好处。

进纳度僧是为解决经济困境和财政危机而实行的一种以交纳钱财为前提条件的出度方式。《大宋僧史略》卷下《度僧规利》载：“唐肃宗在灵武新立，百度惟艰，最阙军须，因成诡计。时宰臣裴冕随驾至扶风，奏下令卖官鬻度。僧尼道士以军储为务，人有不愿，科令就之。其价益贱，事转成弊。鬻度僧道，自冕始也。”<sup>[10]</sup>赞宁所说的“鬻度僧道”，其中就包括了进纳度僧。P.4072(3)《乾元二年（759？）新度僧道张嘉礼等纳钱告牒》<sup>[11]</sup>云：

（前缺）

1. 合管内六军州新度未得祠部告牒僧尼道士女道士，已奏未
2. 陆伯陆拾陆人，计率得写告牒钱，共当壹阡肆伯陆拾伍贯伍
3. 叁伯贰拾柒人僧，壹伯陆拾玖人尼，壹伯叁拾柒人道士，叁拾叁人女道士，
4. 张嘉礼年拾伍 法名□□ 沙州 敦煌县 神沙乡 灵□里 兄庆为户

（后缺）

此件第4行钤有“尚书祠部之印”多方，可知为祠部所属官文书之一。牒文中管内六军州内新度僧、尼、道士、女道士666人，共交纳“写告牒钱”1465.5贯，大致平均每人交纳2.2贯（2200文）钱即可领到祠部颁发的度牒。比照乾元三年（760）年“米斗至一千五百文”<sup>[12]</sup>的物价，僧尼道士交纳的“告牒钱”并不算高。与此相关的文书还见于P.3952《乾元二年（759？）新度僧道罗法光等纳钱告牒》<sup>[13]</sup>中：

（前缺）

1. 率得写告牒钱共当壹阡
2. 柒人僧，壹伯陆拾玖人尼，壹伯叁拾柒人道士
3. 罗法光年拾玖 法名明严，沙州 敦煌县 从化乡慕道里 □□为户。
4. 以前侍御史判凉州长史杨休明奏，奉乾元元年□
5. 月六日敕，委臣勾当前件道僧告牒，各勒纳钱□
6. □并令所度人自写，差使送付所司，其了限，各听
7. 本司勾当使审自商量奏闻者。臣准以今年正月□
8. 一日奏请，限三月卅日奏毕。天书焕然，特蒙允许。□
9. □道应度人等，或先未经奏，或敕以颁行，祠部告牒。
10. 请授，臣以准敕勘责，各具乡里户贯姓名、法号
11. 配寺观，谨件如前。其钱各令军州长官征纳，别
12. 贮讫。其告牒续勒自写，差使送付所司
13. 所司勘会，准充元敕处分。

（后缺）

此件第1、2行残存“写告牒钱”及新度僧尼道士人数与上件P.4072号完全相同，第3行亦钤“尚书祠部之印”多方<sup>[14]</sup>，罗法光所属年龄、法名、乡贯、户主等事项，格式上与P.4072所见张嘉礼的信息相同。且从书法笔迹来看，此件与P.4072甚为相似。由此看来，上述两件纳钱告牒是内容上密切相关的同类文书，甚至很有可能，此二件原本就是一卷文书<sup>[15]</sup>。据牒文可知，罗法光是沙州从化乡人，从化乡的居民主体为安、康、曹等昭武九姓及西域诸胡为。从化乡中的罗氏，“应出自粟特地区南面相邻接的吐火罗”<sup>[16]</sup>。前引



7. □觉 俗名侯苟子，宰相论勃颊藏印，末年十月对肃州僧统行，申年正月一日至次。

8. 法高 俗名张太平，上乞心儿印，末年十月对肃州教授度下，申年二月一日至沙州。

(后缺)

此件所存8名僧尼信息中，其出度及入籍格式完全相同，大体包括法名、僧名、尚论印、出度地、出度僧及入籍时间等事项。尽管8名僧尼在不同的地方（沙州、甘州、廓州、肃州）受度，但均由当地的名僧大德（如僧统、教授）主持剃度，此后分批来到沙州。文书中提到的上（尚）乞心儿印、论勃颊藏、上（尚）纒结罗印，当为度牒之印。

P.3774《吐蕃丑年（821）十二月僧龙藏牒》“一大兄度女平娘，于安都督处买度印，用驴一头，犍牛一头”<sup>[25]</sup>，可知吐蕃时期的度僧权控制在官府手中。作为吐蕃的王公贵族<sup>[26]</sup>，宰相尚乞心儿等三人又见于P.2583《吐蕃申年（823？）沙州诸人施舍疏》中，如第2行“二月五日宰相上乞心儿福田入僧金拾伍两”。第5行“日宰相上讷（？）结罗福田施僧[金]拾伍两”。第7-8行“十月九日宰相上乞心儿及论勃颊藏福田八头牛，价折得麴麈绢两疋，緋绢叁疋，紫绫壹疋（折绢叁疋，每牛一头得绢一疋）”<sup>[27]</sup>。尚乞心儿等人播种“福田”的施舍活动，某种意义上正是吐蕃尊崇佛教的反映。但即便如此，法惠、智秀等人受度，其过程始终有吐蕃王公贵族予以监督，由此可见吐蕃对于僧尼出度的百般重视。

归义军时期，沙州的佛教势力尽管已深入到社会生活的许多领域，但在政治上已逐渐依附于世俗政权。特别是僧官的任免、升迁通常来说多由归义军长官决定，因而在政治与社会文化生活中往往要对归义军政权负责，最后实际已成为归义军的下属官吏。在这种情势下，僧尼的出度及度牒的发放，亦由归义军长官决定或控制。S.515v1《敕归义军节度使牒稿》、S.1563《西汉敦煌国圣文神武王敕》和S.4291《后唐清泰伍年（938）敕归义军节度使牒》是反映归义军度僧流程及度牒样式的三件文书，因属同类性质，故综合起来予以讨论（参见表1）。

以上三件文书，郝春文先生指出“应该就是证明出家者身份的凭证——度牒”<sup>[28]</sup>。其中S.515v1是度牒草稿或样式<sup>[29]</sup>，其年代大致在天复元年（901）<sup>[30]</sup>，是时归义军节度使为张承奉。S.1563和S.4291是正式的实用度牒文书，前者是甲戌年（914）西汉敦煌国圣文神武王张承奉以“敕”的形式颁发给邓自意的出家凭证，后者则是后唐清泰伍年（938）归义军节度使曹元德颁发给张胜莲的度牒。从官文书的形制来看，这三件文书基本一致，故可据之复原归义军时期度牒的一般内容与程式。具体来说，包括以下部分：①**敕牒**。即在首行款书“敕归义军节度使牒”，字体稍大，浓墨书写；②**出度者名籍**。通常小字书写出家人的姓名、年龄、乡贯、户主等信息；③**出度原因**。如“在小慕道”、“思慕空门”、“长慕幽宗”等；④**道场剃度**。即选择合适的道场法会，“许令出度”；⑤**签署押印**。末尾有归义军节度使签署，亦大字书写，笔墨较浓。S.1563虽然没有题名，但钤有“敦煌国天王印”三方，故亦符合此例。

表1 归义军时期度牒程式对照表

S.515v1<sup>[31]</sup>

S.1563<sup>[32]</sup>

S.4291<sup>[33]</sup>

敕牒

敕归义军节度牒。

西汉敦煌国圣文神武王敕。

敕归义军节度牒。

出度者名籍

敦煌郡百姓某乙男某乙年多少下。

押衙知随军参谋邓传嗣女自意，年十一岁。

洪润乡百姓张留子 女胜莲，年十一。

出度原因

牒，得前件人状称，其男在小慕道，不乐嚣尘。

敕：随军参谋邓传嗣女自意，姿容顺丽，窈窕柔仪。思慕空门，如蜂食蜜。

牒，得前件人状称，有女胜莲，生之乐善，闻佛声而五体俱欢；长慕幽宗，听梵向而六情顿喜

道场剃度

今因为国荐福，大会之次，许令出度者，故牒。

今因大会斋次，准奏，宜许出家，可依前件。

今为父王忌日，广会斋筵，既愿出家，任从剃削者，故牒。

签署押印

节度判官兼御史中丞。使检校右散骑常侍兼御史大夫张。

甲戌年五月十四日。

清泰伍年二月拾日牒。

使检校司空兼御史大夫曹元[德]。

度牒包含的这些内容中，出度者的名籍尤为为重要，这是归义军政权加强僧尼人口管理中不可或缺的一环。S.2669《唐年次未详[九世纪后半期]（865-875）沙州诸寺尼籍》第26-27行云：“大乘寺尼应管总二伯玖人。坚法，沙州敦煌县洪池乡，姓张，俗名太娘，年七十二。”又236-237行：“圣光寺应管尼总柒拾玖人。正忍，沙州敦煌县慈惠乡，姓王，俗名胜如，年五十一。”[34]可见僧尼姓名、法号、年龄、乡贯等信息是僧尼籍帐中的重要作用。上述三件文书中有关“某乙男某乙”、“邓传嗣女自意”和“张留子女胜莲”等信息的说明，形式上与前述张嘉礼(P.4072)、罗法光(P.3952)的情况相同，因而具有普遍意义。吐鲁番新发现的《龙朔二年(622)正月西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍》第3行曰：“僧崇道，年叁拾伍岁，十五夏，高昌县宁昌乡正道里，户主张延相男，伪延寿十四年四月十五日度，计至今廿五年。”[35]亦详细记载僧人的年龄、乡贯、户主等信息，这在《不空表状集》所收《降诞日请度七僧祠部敕牒》、《请降诞日度僧五人制》、《请降诞日度三僧制》中均有反映。当然，这种控制人口的名籍管理，并非仅限于僧尼，从72TAM225:36(b)《唐军府卫士名籍》所见“永平府卫士胡外生，贯坊口中部县安平乡神安里，父口通”[36]的信息来看，“乡贯户主”的标注显然是名籍中的核心内容。

不唯如此，上述三件文书还提供了归义军度僧流程的若干信息。郝春文《从俗人道僧尼》指出，敦煌地区的出家程序是：由欲出家者向官府上状提出申请，官府批准后发给度牒，并将其分配到某所寺院[37]。S.515v1、S.1563和S.4291中“得前件人状称”、“准奏”、“可依前件”表明，受度者此前似曾通过“状”、“奏”等文体向归义军官府提出申请[38]。但从“其男在小慕道”、“有女胜莲”来看，申请出度的“奏”、“状”其实是由他们的父亲完成的，这很可能由于三位受度者年龄偏小的缘故。S.1563和S.4291所见邓自意和张胜莲均为11岁，S.515v1中“某乙男某乙”的年龄不详，参照《请降诞日度僧五人制》“童子石惠璨年十三”、“童子罗途年十五”而得度为僧的现象，上述三件文书亦是归义军时期童子受度情况的反映，对于理解唐代度僧中的童行制度无疑具有借鉴意义。

### 三

讨论至此，还有一个问题值得注意：唐代尚书祠部颁发的度僧告牒是何形制，究竟包含哪些要素？日本学者中村裕一依据《唐公式令》中的“牒式”，结合《不空表状集》中收录的尚书祠部牒不空三藏的公文，对度牒的形制作了初步探讨[39]。张弓认为《降诞日请度七僧祠部敕牒》是一件完整地显示了请度与审批程序的度牒[40]，现移录如下：降诞日请度七僧祠部 敕牒一首[41]

- 1.无名僧慧通年五十五 绛州 曲沃县，俗姓王， 无籍，请住千福寺。
- 2.慧云年二十三 京兆府 长安县，俗姓段， 无籍，请住大兴善寺。
- 3.僧慧琳年三十 虢州 阌乡县 方祥乡 阌乡里，俗姓 何，名光王，兄咄为户，请住兴善寺。
- 4.僧慧珍年卅三 京兆府 万年县 洪洞乡 福润里，俗姓王，名庭现，伯高为户，请大兴住善寺。
- 5.僧法雄年廿八 京兆府 富平县 赤阳乡 毘 山里，无籍，请住静法寺。
- 6.僧法满年十八 京兆府 万年县 崇德乡 文 圆里，俗姓胡，祖宾为户。
- 7.僧慧璿年四十。

8. 右兴善寺三藏沙门不空奏，上件僧等，自出家来，常寻法教，
9. 不阙师资。戒行精修，实堪为器。比虽离俗，迹昌私名。今因
10. 陛下开降诞之辰，朝贺欢欣之日，伏请官名以为正度，用资
11. 皇祚，以福无疆。如 天恩允许，请宣付所司。

12.中书门下 牒祠部。

13.牒，奉 敕宜依。牒至，准敕。故牒。

14. 广德二年十月十九日。

15.中书侍郎平章事杜鸿渐

16.中书侍郎平章事元载

17.黄门侍郎平章事王使

18.检校侍中李使

19.检校右仆射平章事使

20.大尉兼中书令使

21.尚书祠部 牒三藏不空。

22.牒，奉中书门下 敕牒，如右。牒至，准 敕。故牒。

23. 广德二年十月十九日， 令史 牒。

24. 主事

这件《祠部敕牒》分三部分：第1-11行为不空“请度七僧”奏，奏文中详列七僧名籍，内含姓名、年龄、俗名、乡贯、户主、请主寺等信息，这与乾元二年（759）凉州长史杨休明奏请告牒亦相类似。从不空所言“自出家来”，“迹昌私名”来看，慧通、慧云等7位僧人当为私度出家，鉴于他们“戒行精修，实堪为器”，故陈请于降诞日为慧通等7僧恩赐正度。第12-20行为中书门下颁示祠部的敕牒，内附三省长官（宰相）签署。第21-24行为尚书祠部颁示三藏不空的敕牒，内中传达中书门下的批示，即准许七僧接受官方正度。

综合上述内容，此件《祠部敕牒》似可定名为《降诞日不空请度七僧奏并批答》，其最核心的内容应是不空陈请七僧正度的奏文。考虑到度牒是颁发给僧尼个人的身份凭证及衍生的免除赋役、远行游历的功用，上述《祠部敕牒》显然不是度牒。但是，它对唐代度牒格式的复原仍有积极意义。

首先，《祠部敕牒》第1-7行的僧尼名籍，应是度牒中必不可少的内容。前引太和四年祠部奏文中，明确提到诸州府僧尼得度者，要求本州府“具法名俗姓，乡贯户头，所习经业，及配住寺人数”，如实报送祠部，“以明真伪”[42]。这是僧尼籍帐制度中的重要一环，在归义军时期的度牒中亦有体现。

其次，《祠部敕牒》第23-24行的尾部签署“广德二年十月十九日，令史牒”、“主事”所见的年月日、“令史”、“主事”等信息，同样适用于度牒尾部的官员签署。尽管从功用来说，度牒起着身份凭证的意义，但论其实则为唐代的“牒式”公文。P.2819《唐开元公式令》[43]第21-27行云：

21.牒式

22.尚书都省 为某事。

23.某司云云。案主姓名，故牒。

24. 年月日。

25. 主事姓名。

26.左右司郎中一人具官封名。令史姓名。

27. 书令史姓名。

两相对照，《公式令》第24-27行的内容，大体与《祠部敕牒》中的尾部签署（第23-24行）对应。度牒由于是祠部颁发，故《公式令》第22行、第26行中的“尚书都省”、“左右司郎中”可相应地替换为“尚书祠部”、“祠部郎中（员外郎）”。按唐制，尚书省祠部司设有祠部郎中、员外郎各一员，“掌祠祀、享祭、天文、漏刻、国忌、庙讳、卜筮、医药、僧尼之事”[44]，另有主事2人，令史5人，书令史11人。这些官员由于通常在祠部颁示、宣付的释门僧尼牒文中都能看到(参见表2)，因而祠部郎中、员外郎、主事、令史的连署，在尚书祠部的“牒式”文书中具有普遍意义。故可推知，祠部颁发的度牒，其尾部官员签署亦应如此。

## 表2 唐尚书祠部牒签署表

公文

尚书祠部牒

祠部牒签署（郎中/员外郎/主事/令史）

材料出处

制许搜访梵夹祠部告牒

尚书祠部 [牒]大兴善寺三藏沙门不空

乾元元年三月十七日，令史门贵牒/主事唐国兴/员外郎韦少游

大正藏/828

制许翻译经论祠部告牒

尚书祠部 [牒]大兴善寺三藏沙门不空

乾元元年六月十八日，令史门贵牒/主事唐国兴/员外郎韦少游

大正藏/829

请置大兴善寺大德四十九员敕

尚书祠部 牒三藏不空

广德二年二月六日，令史简趾牒/主事何漪/员外郎（郎）岑参

大正藏/831

请再译仁王经制书

尚书祠部……兴善寺三藏沙门不空牒

永泰元年四月四日,令史(史)张济牒/主事杨献/郎中崔漪

大正藏/831

请广智三藏登坛祠部告牒

祠部 牒兴善寺

大历六年四月九日令史遐 牒/主事钊意/郎中董晋

大正藏/838

请超悟法师于化度寺修六菩萨讲制

祠部 牒大广智不空

大历七年八月四日,令史尚秀牒/主事刘义(即(郎)中褚长孺

大正藏/841

祠部 牒上都章敬寺新罗僧法清

元和二年二月日,令史潘伦牒/主事赵参/员外郎周仲孙

入唐求法巡礼行记校注[45]/184-185

这样一来,唐代度牒形制的基本轮廓似可大致勾勒出来。结合前面的讨论,祠部颁发的度牒样式或可复原如下:

1.尚书祠部 牒

2. 僧××年××俗名××贯××州(府)××县××乡××里××为户,

请住××寺

3. 为某事云云。故牒。

4. ××年××月××日 令史××牒

5. 主事××

6. [祠][部]郎中(员外郎)××

需要说明的是,“为某事云云”是依据《公式令》第22行“为某事”而复原出来的,其意当是牒文事由的简要说明。参照《不空请度七僧奏》和归义军时期的度牒程式,大致应有佛法旨趣和受度事宜的描述。反过来说,这样的复原是否准确,尚需有关史料和实物的进一步佐证。

[①] [日]道端良秀:《唐代佛教史の研究》,法藏馆,1957年,第29-94页;[日]竺沙雅章:《中国佛教社会史研究》,同朋社,1982年,第19-82页;曹旅宁:《唐代度牒考略》,《陕西师大学报》(哲学社会科学版)1990年第2期,第74-77页;曹旅宁:《试论宋代的度牒制度》,《青海师范大学学报》1990年第2期,第52-56页转61页;[日]中存裕一:《唐代官文书研究》,中文出版社,1991年,第420-437页;[日]竺沙雅章:《寺院文书·度牒》,池田温主编《讲座敦煌·5·敦煌汉文文献卷》,大东出版社,1992年,第589-594页;曹旅宁:《南北朝隋唐五代僧籍制度探究》,《长沙水电师院学报》1992年第1期,第115-118转127页;曹旅宁:《宋元明清僧籍制度概说》,《长沙水电师院学报》1992年第4期,第73-77页;张弓:《汉唐佛寺文化史》,中国社会科学出版社,1997年,第378-387页;郝春文:《唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活》,中国社会科学出版社,1998年,第7-20页;白文固:《元代的僧籍管理》,《佛学研究》1999年,第327-330页;白文固:《宋代僧籍管理制度管见》,《世界宗教研究》2002年第2期,第120-127页;周奇:《唐代国家对僧尼的管理——以僧尼籍帐与人口控制为中心》,《中国经济史研究》2008年第3期,第8-19页;孟宪实:《论唐朝的佛教管理——以僧籍的编造为中心》,《北京大学学报》(哲学社会科学版)2009年第3期,第136-143页。

[②] No.2126《大宋僧史略》,《大正藏》第54册,第246页。

[③] No.2126《大宋僧史略》,《大正藏》第54册,第246页。

[④]《唐会要》卷49《僧尼所隶》,中华书局,1955年,第859-860页。

[⑤] 关于试经度僧,白文固《唐宋试经剃度制度探究》(《史学月刊》2008年第8期,第31-36页)一文论述甚详,可参看。

[⑥] [日]道端良秀:《唐代佛教史の研究》,法藏馆,1957年,第29-59页。

[7] No.2120 《代宗朝赠司空大辨正广智三藏和上表制集》，《大正藏》52册，第835-836页。

[8] 日本学者池田温指出，以上五人均无籍贯，从其姓氏来看，“可以视为胡姓而系从中亚西亚来的迁居者”，其中43岁而以汉语命名的康守忠亦注为“无州贯”，由此“便可窥见理应附籍者却被忽视过去的情形”。考虑到此牒是中书门下发往祠部的实用文本，“以这种中枢的公文书看，通用无籍的注记，这事实雄辩地说明，当时从籍帐中的脱漏是如何的普遍化，以及对此所施加的制度上的抑制，又是怎样的无效”。参见[日]池田温《中国古代籍帐研究》，龚泽铎译，中华书局，2007年，第191-192页。

[9] No.2120 《代宗朝赠司空大辨正广智三藏和上表制集》卷2，《大正藏》52册，第836-837页。

[10] No.2126 《大宋僧史略》，《大正藏》第54册，第252页。

[11] 图版参见《法藏敦煌西域文献》第31册，上海古籍出版社，2005年，第84页；此件文书，唐耕耦、陆宏基定为乾元元年（758），日本学者池田温定为乾元二年（759），此从之。参见《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第四辑，全国图书馆文献缩微复制中心，1990年，第60页；池田温《中国古代籍帐研究》，第347页。

[12] 《旧唐书》卷10《肃宗纪》，中华书局，1975年，第258页。

[13] 此件文书，竺沙雅章定为乾元元年（758）；唐耕耦、陆宏基定名为《请准乾元元年（758）敕假授新度僧道罗法光等度牒状》；池田温定名为《乾元二年（759？）沙州罗法光纳钱尼告牒》；《敦煌遗书总目索引新编》、《法藏敦煌西域文献》分为两件，前者定名为《关于道僧告牒及“各勒纳钱”之事送付祠部会勘残牒》和《乾元元年（758）杨休明奏》；后者定名为《罗法光受度告牒》和《乾元元年侍御史判凉州长史杨休明奏》。参见《中国佛教社会史研究》，同朋社，1982年，第20-21页；《敦煌遗书总目索引新编》，中华书局，2000年，第307页；《法藏敦煌西域文献》第30册，上海古籍出版社，2003年，第278页；《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第四辑，第61-62页；池田温《中国古代籍帐研究》，第346页。

[14] 施萍婷《敦煌遗书总目索引新编》（中华书局，2002年，第307页）指出，“全件有朱文印七方，陈祚龙释文为‘中书门下之印’，而法国目录则释文为‘尚书祠部告身之印’”。

[15] 唐耕耦、陆宏基指出，这两件文书笔迹相同，内容又相似，很可能是一件，或者是两件密切相关的文书。如果两者原是一件，则此件（P.4072）在前，下件（P.3952）在后。参见《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第四辑，第60页。

[16] [日]池田温：《八世纪中叶敦煌的粟特人聚落》，载《唐研究论文集》，中国社会科学出版社，1999年，第15页、第60页（注56）。

[17] No.2120 《代宗朝赠司空大辨正广智三藏和上表制集》卷2，《大正藏》52册，第836页。

[18] 乾元年间，河西节度使为杜鸿渐（参见吴廷燮《唐方镇年表》，中华书局，1980年，第1224页），杨休明既为凉州长史，当在河西使主杜鸿渐帐下驱使。《新唐书》卷67《方镇四》载：“景云元年，置河西诸军州节度支度营田督察九姓部落、赤水军兵马大使，领凉、甘、肃、伊、瓜、沙、西七州，治凉州。副使治甘州，领都知河西兵马使。”（中华书局，1975年，第1861-1862页）故P.4072(3)“合管内六军州”当不出以上七州。按唐制，凉州为中州，置有长史一人，正六品上，品级似不高，但却是上佐三官之一。《通典》卷33《总论郡佐》称：“凡别驾、长史、司马，通谓之上佐。”（中华书局，1988年，第910页）盖在州府僚佐中品位最尊，故有“上佐”之称。上佐之职司，《唐六典》卷30《三府都护州县官吏》谓“掌贰府州之事，以纪纲众务，通判列曹，岁终则更入奏计”（中华书局，1992年，第747页），可知其权责甚重。如果府州长官阙人，或亲王为都督、刺史时，上佐通常代行府州事务（参见严耕望《唐代府州僚佐考》，氏著《唐史研究丛稿》，新亚研究所，1970年，第105-115页）。以此来看，杨休明以“侍御史判凉州长史”，权责其实不低，故钦奉王命，主持管内六州僧道告牒之事。广德二年（764）年，吐蕃攻陷凉州，河西节度使杨志烈逃至甘州，永泰元年（765）为沙陀所杀，杨休明继任为河西副元帅。P.2942《唐永泰元年至大历二年（765-766）河西巡抚使判集》所收判文云：“瓜州既许相资，计亦即令付了。休明。肃州少物，今请回易皮裘。”这里“休明”是判文署名，即杨休明。永泰二年（766），吐蕃攻陷甘州。夏五月，“河西节度使杨休明徙镇沙州”，是时已为河西节度使。大历二年（767），周鼎接替杨休明为河西节度使，可能杨休明已卒。《全唐文》卷50《赠杨休明等官诏》“故河西兼伊西北庭节度观察使检校工部尚书兼御史大夫赠太子太保杨休明”云云。此次赠官，《旧唐书·德宗纪》系于建中三年（782），当是德宗对杨休明执掌河西以来抗击吐蕃、拱卫唐西陲边境的褒奖。

[19] 《新唐书》卷51《食货一》，中华书局，1975年，第1347页。

[20] 《全唐文》卷966《请申禁僧尼奏》，中华书局，1983年，第10032页。

[21] 《唐会要》卷48《议释教下》，中华书局，1955年，第843-844页。

[22] [英]崔瑞德主编：《剑桥中国隋唐史》，中国社会科学出版社，1990年，第20页。

[23] No.2126 《大宋僧史略》，《大正藏》第54册，第252页。

[24] 图版参见《法藏敦煌西域文献》第34册，上海古籍出版社，2005年，第274页；录文参照池田温主编《讲座敦煌·5·敦煌汉文文献卷》，大东出版社，1992年，第610页；唐耕耦、陆宏基编《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第四辑，第207页，唐耕耦定名为《吐蕃占领时期具僧法惠等状残片》，施萍婷定名为《僧尼名簿残片》，中华书局，2000年，第336页。

[25] 池田温：《中国古代籍帐研究》，第397页。

[26] 吐蕃高级官员名号中，往往以“尚”、“论”形式出现，即在名前冠以“论”或“尚”字。论，一般指与王室有直接亲属关系的大臣；尚，是和王室通婚的各大贵族出身的官员。其中尚乞心儿亦名尚乞律心儿，是吐蕃攻占沙州的军事统帅，历任吐蕃瓜州节度使、宰相兼东道节度使、中书令等职，他曾在敦煌城内建圣光寺，P.2765(P.t.1070)《圣光寺功德颂》即为他而写，官号“大蕃敕尚书令赐大瑟瑟告身”。参见邵文实《尚乞心儿事迹考》，《敦煌学辑刊》1993年第2期，第16-23页；季羨林主编《敦煌学大辞典》，上海辞书出版社，1998年，第348页。

[27] 图版参见《法藏敦煌西域文献》第16册，上海古籍出版社，2001年，第117页；录文参见唐耕耦、陆宏基编《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第三辑，全国图书馆文献缩微复制中心，1990年，第64页；池田温《中国古代籍帐研究》，第400页。

[28] 郝春文：《唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活》，中国社会科学出版社，1998年，第9页。

[29] 唐耕耦、陆宏基指出是度牒样式，郝春文认为是度牒草稿。参见《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第四辑，第63页；《英藏敦煌社会历史文献释录》第二卷，社会科学文献出版社，2003年，第463页。

[30] 荣新江：《归义军史研究》，上海古籍出版社，1996年，第93页。

[31] 录文参见郝春文编著《英藏敦煌社会历史文献释录》第二卷，社会科学文献出版社，2003年，第463页。

[32] 录文参见郝春文编著《英藏敦煌社会历史文献释录》第七卷，社会科学文献出版社，2010年，第258-260页。

[33] 录文参见唐耕耦、陆宏基编《敦煌社会经济文献真迹释录》第四辑，第65页。

[34] 池田温：《中国古代籍帐研究》，第430页、第434页。

[35] 荣新江、李肖、孟宪实主编：《新获吐鲁番出土文献》，中华书局，2008年，第60-61页。

[36] 《吐鲁番出土文书》第7册，文物出版社，1986年，第259页；《吐鲁番出土文书》

[叁]，图文本，文物出版社，1996年，第422页。

[37] 郝春文：《唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活》，第20页。

[38] 俗人出度为僧，首先要向归义军官府上状提出申请，这在S.5953《奉唐寺依愿上令公阿郎状》中亦有反映：“伏缘依愿先有志愿，为报父母深恩，募求出家。期时忧惶怖惧，虑恐苦果难周，遂于窟窟诸佛御前重发鸿誓。若得披于法服，剃度为僧，并严戒品，心愿周圆，许燃一指，酬诸佛之加威，答谢令公阿郎之大造。伏蒙恩煦，怜念容情，特赐剃度，兼惠三衣，处分令于奉唐寺勾当。”这里“令公阿郎”即归义军长官。状文中依愿的出家，得到了令公阿郎“特赐剃度”的答复，并分配到奉唐寺为僧。参见《英藏敦煌文献》第9卷，四川人民出版社，1994年，第229页；郝春文《唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活》，第11页。

[39] [日]中存裕一：《唐代官文书研究》，中文出版社，1991年，第420-437页；

[40] 张弓：《汉唐佛寺文化史》，中国社会科学出版社，1997年，第380-381页。

[41] No.2120 《代宗朝赠司空大辨正广智三藏和上表制集》卷1，《大正藏》52册，第831页；池田温《中国古代籍帐研究》，第349页。

[42] 《全唐文》卷966《请申禁僧尼奏》，中华书局，1983年，第10032页。

[43] 图版参见《法藏敦煌西域文献》第18册，上海古籍出版社，2001年，第363页；录文参见刘俊文《敦煌吐鲁番唐代法制文书考释》，中华书局，1989年，第222-223页。

[44] 《旧唐书》卷43《职官二》，第1831页。

[45] 白化文、李鼎霞、许德楠校注：《入唐求法巡礼行记校注》，花山文艺出版社，1992年。

分享到：

[出度度牒申领](#)

下一篇: [佛教的宗教思想小议](#)

上一篇: [《大灌顶经》是密教经典吗？](#)

<http://ntcuir.ntcu.edu.tw/bitstream/987654321/7623/1/094NTCTC461022-001.pdf>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623032945/http://www.myeducs.cn/mianfeilunwen/lis>  
[hixue/120074059/index2.htm](http://hixue/120074059/index2.htm)

## 唐代国家对僧尼的管理——以僧尼籍帐与人口控制为中心

文化 2014-5-19 下载论文 发表评论 复制论文网址 上传用户：ncongihui

很多，这与隋文帝要检括人口，加强户籍管理是矛盾的。在县迁的劝说下，最终将私度僧尼纳入公贯。这实际上是对前代僧籍政策的修正，与隋文帝崇佛有一定的关系。

### 二、唐代僧尼籍帐管理

唐代继承前朝做法，通过对僧道籍帐管理来强化对教团的控制。白文固认为这一做法始于唐玄宗时期(15)。他依据释氏文献的说法，即开元十七年(729年)，“敕天下僧尼三岁一造籍(供帐始此)”(16)。日本的养老杂令中有造僧尼籍条，表明僧尼造籍在永徽令中就有同条的蓝本。仁井田陞著、池田温编的《唐令拾遗补》依据养老令和《唐六典》复原了这条杂令，即“诸道士、女道士、僧、尼之簿籍，亦三年一造。(其籍一本送祠部，一本送鸿胪，一本留州县。)(17)《新唐书》的记载与此有差异，但是提供了一些更多的信息，其云：凡僧尼“每三岁州县为籍，一以留县，一以留州。僧尼，一以上祠部；道士、女冠，一以上宗正，一以上司封”。若“新罗、日本僧入朝学问，九年不还者，编诸籍”(18)。在中国留学的新罗、日本僧人，若侨居中国长达九年不归者，要编入僧尼籍帐。从这个规定中，可以看出唐代就连方外之士中的外侨，也要按国家的法令登录于籍(19)。太和四年(830)祠部奏文可以知道唐代僧尼籍帐的编造程序：

诸州府僧尼已得度者，勒本州府具法名、俗姓、乡贯、户头、所习经业及配住寺人数，开顶分析籍帐。送本司以明真伪，又将诸州府及京城置方丈受戒，僧尼身死及还俗者，其告牒勒本寺纲维，当日封送祠部，其余诸州府勒本州申送，以凭注毁。(20)僧尼籍帐要写清楚其法名、俗姓、乡贯、户头、所习经业及配住寺人数等。若遇僧尼身死或还俗，须申报祠部办理“注毁”手续。其具体做法是：京师寺院“僧尼身死及还俗者，其告牒勒本寺纲维当日封送祠部；其余诸州府，勒本州申送，以凭注毁”。就是说，京师寺院三纲或州府功曹，将僧尼死亡，还俗的事牒(或符)要及时上报祠部，祠部以牒符为凭，从僧尼籍帐中注销其名。还俗僧尼在“注毁”僧籍的同时，还要办理“附籍”手续。所谓“附籍”，就是还俗僧尼由寺院返乡里，要重新附入户部管理的户籍。既然有附籍就必然有“除籍”。若僧尼还俗，未及时按规定办理“注毁”僧籍和“附籍”民籍的手续，寺院三纲及经业师主要受到处罚(21)。

其实，僧尼籍早在太和四年(830)祠部奏之前就已广泛实行。吐鲁番、敦煌出土文书中就保存了僧尼籍的实物。兹引录吐鲁番新发现的《唐龙朔二年(662)西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍》如下：

- 1 三岁，廿一夏，高昌县顺义乡敦孝里户主张延伯弟，为延和十三年四月十五日度[计至今卅八年]
- 2 诵《法华》五卷《药师》一卷《佛名》一卷
- 3 崇道，年三十五岁，十五夏，高昌县宁昌乡正道里户主张延相男，为延寿十四年四月十五日度，计今廿五年。

#### 4 诵《法华》五卷

- 5 僧显觉，年七十一岁，五十一夏，高昌县宁泰乡仁义里户绝，俗姓张，为延昌州一年正月十五日度，计至今六十二年。(22)

(后缺)从这个原件抄来的僧籍来看，不同于上面概述的是没有关于其他寺院总人数记载，只是一一列出具体的僧侣法号、俗龄、僧腊、乡贯、剃度时间、诵经名数等详情，孟宪实认为这是单个寺院的僧籍，而不是那种上报的总体僧尼籍帐。又依据上述记载，可以知道僧尼总体籍帐编造有如下两个方面的基本信息：第一，僧尼名籍册，每三年编订一次，以州县为基层编制单位编订。第二，僧尼籍册一式数份，一份留县，一份留州，僧尼一份上报祠部。(23)关于僧尼总体籍帐在敦煌文书里面有很多的原件。举例言之，如：P2879号文书《河西归义军沙州十七寺僧尼籍》载：

应管一十七寺僧尼籍

龙兴寺

河西应管内外都僧录普济大师海藏

河西应管内外都僧统辩正大师钢慧

(后缺)这件僧尼籍残卷造于九世纪下半叶，只剩一个卷头，后文缺失。另件S2669号文书《沙州诸寺尼籍》，则卷头缺失，后文尚存，可相互弥补，兹录于下：

大乘寺尼应管总贰佰玖人

竖法，沙州敦煌县洪池乡，姓张，俗名太娘，年七十二。

□□，沙州敦煌县神沙乡，姓孔，俗名纵横，年七十一。

(中略)

圣光寺尼应管总柒拾玖人

正忍，沙州敦煌县慈惠乡，姓王，俗名胜如，年五十一。

遍施花，沙州敦煌县慈惠乡，姓索，俗名開開，年五十一。

(下略) 此僧尼籍帐亦造于九世纪下半叶, 前后均缺, 共保留二百七十行, 入籍尼二百六十八人。分别隶属三个寺院。名籍含七项内容: 配住寺及总管人数、法名、州县、乡贯、姓、俗名、年龄, 与祠部所规定编制僧尼籍帐的要求大体吻合。可据唐代僧尼籍帐一式三份的规定, 推断这一件就是那种留在州县的那一份。并由上录两件文书看出, 各州县编制僧尼籍帐, 须首先具明辖境所管寺院总数, 然后分寺开列名籍, 在各寺名籍之前又要具清本寺应管僧尼人数, 分总有序, 环环相扣。又见S5893号《沙州净土寺僧籍》, 这份文书下部割裂, 所以僧尼的年龄和俗名不见记载:

前缺

- 1 □□ 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 2 唯进 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 3 福爱 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 4 □秘 沙州敦煌县 洪润乡
- 5 惠灯 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 6 神建 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 7 宝积 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 8 道林 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 9 厅智 沙州敦煌县 平康乡
- 10 龙威 沙州敦煌县 龙勒乡
- 11 胜灯 沙州敦煌县 玉关乡
- 12 法灯 沙州敦煌县 敦乡
- 13 法惠 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 14 智乘 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 15 义周 沙州敦煌县 平康乡
- 16 道建 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 17 法照 沙州敦煌县 赤心乡
- 18 慈光 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 19 藏胜 沙州敦煌县 洪润乡
- 20 法向 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 21 道晏 沙州敦煌县 玉关乡
- 22 神会 沙州敦煌县 □□乡
- 23 惠林 沙州敦煌县 □□乡
- 24 淡卓 沙州敦煌县 玉关乡
- 25 □□ 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡

后缺但是下面的释门名籍却与上述的有很大的不同, 如S2614v (G. 6684) 号背: (24)

- 1 谈辩 庆恩 庆福 法信 慈力 圆满
- 2 旧沙弥 潜智 绍智 新沙弥 愿德
- 3 绍隆 善成 宗定 绍建 愿会 绍进
- 4 智通 愿通 绍净 绍圆 绍忍 定光
- 5 绍戒 绍性 福住 绍满 计僧壹拾陆
- 6 人旧沙弥贰人计新沙弥壹拾柒
- 7 人 都计僧及沙弥叁拾伍人

.....

- 201 尼陆百玖拾
- 202 叁人
- 203 都计肆拾玖人
- 204 僧尼都计壹□□

205 百肆□□人与上报国家管理机构的那份相比, 此件僧尼籍要简单些, 省略了年龄、乡贯、俗姓。笔者认为可能是释门登录的僧尼籍帐不是为了上报用, 是自己留存, 因而可能省略了年龄、乡贯、俗姓、学业、出家时间等。此外, 在吐鲁番文书中还能见到寺院的依附人口和僧尼合在一起的情况。如《唐西州高昌县弘宝寺僧及奴婢名籍》之一: (25)

弘宝寺僧及奴婢等, 上□惠寂 寺主法绍 都维那幢海  
僧昙隆 僧昙会 僧定寂 僧惠隆 僧宣珍 僧怀哲 僧延轨  
僧太儒 僧义相 僧永庆 僧道贯 僧法忍 僧僧住  
僧深应 僧峻觉 僧道佑 僧宝达 僧弘贯 僧延明 僧守愿  
僧法崇 僧佛佑 僧善愿 僧宣 僧相住 僧弘哲 僧庆悦  
僧真衡 僧相怀 僧意光 僧灵智 僧戒嵩 僧海达 僧智通  
僧海惠 僧惠润 僧胜悦 僧道房 僧法辩 僧定衡 僧幢太  
僧真□□□□□□ 僧善信 □□□ 僧□□ 僧明进  
僧□□□□□□□□ 僧

# 【周奇】唐代国家对僧尼的管理——以僧尼籍帐与人口控制为中心

中国古代的籍帐制度溯源于商周，形成于秦汉，发展于魏晋南北朝，成熟和完备在隋唐。在古代中国，僧道作为特殊身份的居民也不能排除在籍帐制度之外。对僧尼贯之以籍帐，将普通百姓的户籍管理办法使用于僧尼，将僧道名籍簿册编订呈送官府的做法，是中国古代户籍管理中的一个特殊内容，是中国僧道管理制度中特有的做法。唐僧义净在《南海寄归内法传》说：“印度的情况是‘如来出家，和僧剃发，名字不干王籍，众僧自有部书。’<sup>①</sup>又说：印度‘众僧名字不贯王籍，其有犯者，众自治罚，为此僧徒咸相敬惧’。<sup>②</sup>而古代中国的情况，则与印度不同，国家为了控制这个特殊的群体，自南北朝以来的历代王朝对寺院僧尼一直是‘设僧局（僧官机构）以统之，立名籍以纪之’。<sup>③</sup>国家控制僧尼也就是为了控制人口，目的是防止国家的赋税和徭役流失。僧道籍帐是控制僧道数额必要措施，是宗教事务管理的关键，所以国家必须控制僧尼籍。关于唐代僧道籍帐管理最早的研究是藤枝晃。<sup>④</sup>池田温《中国古代籍帐研究》一书中也对僧道的籍帐作过研究。<sup>⑤</sup>白文固发表了《唐代僧籍管理制度》一文，<sup>⑥</sup>对僧道籍帐管理的一些相关问题进行考证。鉴于相关研究尚有一些未发之义，本文就唐代僧尼的籍帐和数量控制进行研究，就一些问题求教方家。

## 一、僧尼籍帐溯源

至于中国僧尼籍帐制度创立的时间，宋僧赞宁认为：“周隋之世，无得而知；唐来主张，方闻附丽。”<sup>⑦</sup>其实，这是指唐开元时期令天下供僧尼籍帐一事而言的。实际上对僧尼贯之以籍帐的做法，并不始于唐代。历史上自魏晋以降僧团组织出现以后，就多次试图纳僧籍于官府之手。如东晋隆安三年（399年），《支道林法师与桓玄论州符求沙门名籍书》说：

然沙门之于世也，犹虚舟之寄大壑耳。其来不以事，退亦乘闲，四海之内竟自无宅，邦乱则振锡孤游，道洽则欣然俱萃。所以自远而至，良有以也。将振宏纲于季世，展诚心于百代，而顷频被州符求抄名籍，煎切甚急，未悟高旨。野人易惧，抱忧实深，遂使禅人失静，勤士废行。丧精绝气达旦不寐，索然不知何以自安。此时沙门“犹虚舟之寄大壑耳。其来不以事退亦乘闲，四海之内竟自无宅，邦乱则振锡孤游，道洽则欣然俱萃。”说明在此之前国家尚未将僧尼名籍进行有效的登录。所以桓玄在境内沙汰沙门，令各地“州符求沙门名籍”，且“煎切甚急”。自然引起僧团的抗议，才有支道林与桓玄的上书。所谓“州符求沙门名籍”者，就是由地方官员行文四方，索求僧籍名册纳于官府。由此看出，在桓玄令天下求沙门名籍之前，各寺院已有僧人名籍。依据释门规矩，僧籍不付官府，这才出现了以政权力求抄沙门名籍的举动。南朝刘宋统治末期，丹阳尹沈文季也曾“建义符僧局，责僧属籍”<sup>⑧</sup>。责僧属籍，就是要以行政手段将僧尼名籍纳于国家户籍管理的机制内。至于这次“责僧属籍”的结果如何，因文献无载，不得而知。

北朝的僧尼簿籍大致在相同的时间出现，北魏皇始年间（396—398年）征赵郡沙门法果，“为道人统，掇摄僧徒”<sup>⑨</sup>。既然任命僧官，僧尼的簿籍可能就归其掌握。后秦弘始三年（401年），任命法钦、慧斌为僧官，“共掌僧录”即掌管僧尼的各种帐簿，估计也包括了僧尼的名籍。如后秦鸠摩罗什翻译的《仁王般若波罗蜜经》卷下《嘱累品》云：若我弟子比丘、比丘尼，立籍为官所使，都非我弟子，是兵奴法。立统官摄僧，典主僧籍，大小僧统共相摄缚，如狱囚法，当尔之时，佛法不久。<sup>⑩</sup>引文所说的印度情况与中国不同，印度僧尼“名字不干王籍，众僧自有部书”。此经被学者认为是疑伪经<sup>(11)</sup>，但是经文中的这段话却从另一个方面反映了姚秦之后的时代存在僧籍的情况。再据《魏书》卷一四《释老志》记载：

延兴二年夏四月，诏曰：“比丘不在寺舍，游涉村落，交通奸猾，经历年岁。令民间五五相保，不得容止。无籍之僧，精加隐括，有者送付州镇，其在畿郡，送付本曹。若为三宝巡民教化者，在外賚州镇维那文移，在台者賚都维那等印牒，然后听行。违者加罪。”<sup>(12)</sup>延兴二年（472年）孝文帝下诏书对“无籍之僧，精加隐括”，说明国家对僧尼簿籍制度的严格。稍后在太和十年（486年）与三长制实行相配套又进行了僧尼籍帐的整顿。其年冬，有司又奏：

前被敕以勒籍之初，愚民侥幸，假称入道，以避输课，其无籍僧尼罢遣还俗。重被旨，所检僧尼，寺主、维那当寺隐审。其有道行精勤者，听仍在道；为行凡粗者，有籍无籍，悉罢归齐民。今依旨简遣，其诸州还俗者，僧尼合一千三百二十七人。（奏可）<sup>(13)</sup>北魏孝文帝整顿僧团组织，规定要淘汰那些“假称入道，以避输课”的“无籍僧尼罢遣还俗”。特别要求对那些行为粗俗的僧尼，无论“有籍无籍，悉罢归齐民”。由此看出，当时已有了严格的僧籍管理制度。同时，由太和十年（486年）有司奏称“前（僧尼）被敕以勒籍”一句看出，当时对僧尼“敕以勒籍”的政策并不是很严格。当北魏孝文帝实行三长制时，对国家户籍管理进行了整顿，僧尼籍帐也是其中的一个重要环节。

东晋、萧齐及北魏的僧尼籍册是如何编订的，文献缺载，有待进一步研究。延至隋开皇间，官府对僧尼实行了所谓的“公贯”政策。隋代文献中多次出现的“公贯”，应该这样诠释：“公”指官方，“贯”即乡贯，指名籍，“公贯”就是系僧人于官府名籍(14)。《续高僧传》卷一八《昙迁传》载：

十年春，帝幸晋阳，敕迁随驾。既达并部，又诏令僧御殿行道，至夜追迁，入内与御同榻。帝曰：“弟子行幸至此，承大有私度山僧，于求公贯，意愿度之，如何？”迁曰：“昔周武御图，殄灭三宝……陛下统临，大运更阐，法门无不歌咏，有归来投圣德……至尊汲引万方，宁止一郭蒙庆。”帝沈虑少时，方乃允焉。因下敕曰：自十年四月已前，诸有僧尼私度者，并听出家。故率土蒙度数十万人，迁之力矣。私度僧尼是没有入僧尼名籍的，这样的僧尼数量在隋文帝时期很多，这与隋文帝要检括人口，加强户籍管理是矛盾的。在昙迁的劝说下，最终将私度僧尼纳入公贯。这实际上是对前代僧籍政策的修正，与隋文帝崇佛有一定的关系。

## 二、唐代僧尼籍帐管理

唐代继承前朝做法，通过对僧道籍帐管理来强化对教团的控制。白文固认为这一做法始于唐玄宗时期(15)。他依据释氏文献的说法，即开元十七年(729年)，“敕天下僧尼三岁一造籍(供帐始此)”(16)。日本的养老杂令中有造僧尼籍条，表明僧尼造籍在永徽令中就有同条的蓝本。仁井田陞著、池田温编的《唐令拾遗补》依据养老令和《唐六典》复原了这条杂令，即“诸道士、女道士、僧、尼之簿籍，亦三年一造。(其籍一本送祠部，一本送鸿胪，一本留州县。)(17)《新唐书》的记载与此有差异，但是提供了一些更多的信息，其云：凡僧尼“每三岁州县为籍，一以留县，一以留州。僧尼，一以上祠部；道士、女冠，一以上宗正，一以上司封”。若“新罗、日本僧入朝学问，九年不还者，编诸籍”(18)。在中国留学的新罗、日本僧人，若侨居中国长达九年不归者，要编入僧尼籍帐。从这个规定中，可以看出唐代就连方外之士中的外侨，也要按国家的法令登录于籍(19)。太和四年(830)祠部奏文可以知道唐代僧尼籍帐的编造程序：

诸州府僧尼已得度者，勒本州府具法名、俗姓、乡贯、户头、所习经业及配住寺人数，开顶分析籍帐。送本司以明真伪，又将诸州府及京城应置方丈受戒，僧尼身死及还俗者，其告牒勒本寺纲维，当日封送祠部，其余诸州府勒本州申送，以凭注毁。(20)僧尼籍帐要写清楚其法名、俗姓、乡贯、户头、所习经业及配住寺人数等。若遇僧尼身死或还俗，须申报祠部办理“注毁”手续。其具体做法是：京师寺院“僧尼身死及还俗者，其告牒勒本寺纲维当日封送祠部；其余诸州府，勒本州申送，以凭注毁”。就是说，京师寺院三纲或州府功曹，将僧尼死亡，还俗的事牒(或符)要及时上报祠部，祠部以牒符为凭，从僧尼籍帐中注销其名。还俗僧尼在“注毁”僧籍的同时，还要办理“附籍”手续。所谓“附籍”，就是还俗僧尼由寺院返乡里，要重新附入户籍管理的户籍。既然有附籍就必然有“除籍”。若僧尼还俗，未及时按规定办理“注毁”僧籍和“附籍”民籍的手续，寺院三纲及经业师主要受到处罚(21)。

其实，僧尼籍早在太和四年(830)祠部奏之前就已广泛实行。吐鲁番、敦煌出土文书中就保存了僧尼籍的实物。兹引录吐鲁番新发现的《唐龙朔二年(662)西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍》如下：

- 1 三岁，廿一夏，高昌县顺义乡敦孝里户主张延伯弟，为延和十三年四月十五日度 [计至今卅八年]
- 2 诵《法华》五卷《药师》一卷《佛名》一卷
- 3 崇道，年三十五岁，十五夏，高昌县宁昌乡正道里户主张延相男，为延寿十四年四月十五日度，计今廿五年。
- 4 诵《法华》五卷
- 5 僧显觉，年七十一岁，五十一夏，高昌县宁泰乡仁义里户绝，俗姓张，为延昌卅一年正月十五日度，计至今六十二年。(22)

(后缺)从这个原件抄来的僧籍来看，不同于上面概述的是没有关于其他寺院总人数记载，只是一一列出具体的僧侣法号、俗龄、僧腊、乡贯、剃度时间、诵经名数等详情，孟宪实认为这是单个寺院的僧籍，而不是那种上报的总体僧尼籍帐。又依据上述记载，可以知道僧尼总体籍帐编造有如下两个方面的基本信息：第一，僧尼名籍册，每三年编订一次，以州县为基层编制单位编订。第二，僧尼帐籍册一式数份，一份留县，一份留州，僧尼一份上报祠部。(23)关于僧尼总体籍帐在敦煌文书里面有很多的原件。举例言之，如：P2879号文书《河西归义军沙州十七寺僧尼籍》载：

应管一十七寺僧尼籍

龙兴寺

河西应管内外都僧录普济大师海藏

河西应管内外部僧统辩正大师钢慧

(后缺)这件僧尼籍残卷造于九世纪下半叶,只剩一个卷头,后文缺失。另件S2669号文书《沙州诸寺尼籍》,则卷头缺失,后文尚存,可相互弥补,兹录于下:

大乘寺尼应管总贰佰玖人

坚法,沙州敦煌县洪池乡,姓张,俗名太娘,年七十二。

□□,沙州敦煌县神沙乡,姓孔,俗名纵纵,年七十一。

(中略)

圣光寺尼应管总柒拾玖人

正忍,沙州敦煌县慈惠乡,姓王,俗名胜如,年五十一。

遍施花,沙州敦煌县慈惠乡,姓索,俗名開開,年五十一。

(下略)此僧尼籍帐亦造于九世纪下半叶,前后均缺,共保留二百七十行,入籍尼二百六十八人。分别隶属三个寺院。名籍含七项内容:配住寺及总管人数、法名、州县、乡贯、姓、俗名、年龄,与祠部所规定编制僧尼籍帐的要求大体吻合。可据唐代僧尼籍帐一式三份的规定,推断这一件就是那种留在州县的那一份。并由上录两件文书看出,各州县编制僧尼籍帐,须首先具明辖境所管寺院总数,然后分寺开列名籍,在各寺名籍之前又要具清本寺应管僧尼人数,分总有序,环环相扣。又见S5893号《沙州净土寺僧籍》,这份文书下部割裂,所以僧尼的年龄和俗名不见记载:

前缺

- 1 □□ 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 2 唯进 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 3 福爱 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 4 □秘 沙州敦煌县 洪润乡
- 5 惠灯 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 6 神建 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 7 宝积 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 8 道林 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 9 厅智 沙州敦煌县 平康乡
- 10 龙威 沙州敦煌县 龙勒乡
- 11 胜灯 沙州敦煌县 玉关乡
- 12 法灯 沙州敦煌县 敕乡
- 13 法惠 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 14 智乘 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡
- 15 义周 沙州敦煌县 平康乡
- 16 道建 沙州敦煌县 洪池乡
- 17 法照 沙州敦煌县 赤心乡
- 18 慈光 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 19 藏胜 沙州敦煌县 洪润乡
- 20 法向 沙州敦煌县 敦煌乡
- 21 道晏 沙州敦煌县 玉关乡
- 22 神会 沙州敦煌县 □□乡
- 23 惠林 沙州敦煌县 □□乡
- 24 淡卓 沙州敦煌县 玉关乡
- 25 □□ 沙州敦煌县 慈惠乡

后缺但是下面的释门名籍却与上述的有很大的不同,如S2614v(G.6684)号背:(24)

- 1 谈辩 庆恩 庆福 法信 慈力 圆满
- 2 旧沙弥 潜智 绍智 新沙弥 愿德
- 3 绍隆 善成 宗定 绍建 愿会 绍进
- 4 智通 愿通 绍净 绍圆 绍忍 定光
- 5 绍戒 绍性 福住 绍满 计僧壹拾陆
- 6 人旧沙弥贰人计新沙弥壹拾柒
- 7 人 都计僧及沙弥叁拾伍人

……

201 尼陆百玖拾

202 叁人

203 都计肆拾玖人

204 僧尼都计壹□□

205 百肆□□人与上报国家管理机构的那份相比,此件僧尼籍要简单些,省略了年龄、乡贯、俗姓。笔者认为可能是释门登录的僧尼籍帐不是为了上报用,是自己留存,因而可能省略了年龄、乡贯、俗姓、学业、出家时间等。此外,在吐鲁番文书中还能见到寺

院的依附人口和僧尼合在一起的情况。如《唐西州高昌县弘宝寺僧及奴婢名籍》之一：

(25)

弘宝寺僧及奴婢等，上□惠寂 寺主法绍 都维那幢海  
僧昙隆 僧昙会 僧定寂 僧惠隆 僧宣珍 僧怀哲 僧延轨  
僧太儒 僧义相 僧永庆 僧道贯 僧法忍 僧僧住  
僧深应 僧峻觉 僧道佑 僧宝达 僧弘贯 僧延明 僧守愿  
僧法崇 僧佛佑 僧善愿 僧宣 僧相住 僧弘哲 僧庆悦  
僧真衡 僧相怀 僧意光 僧灵智 僧戒嵩 僧海达 僧智通  
僧海惠 僧惠润 僧胜悦 僧道房 僧法辩 僧定衡 僧幢太  
僧真□□□□□□ 僧善信 □□□ 僧□□ 僧明进  
僧□□□□□□ 僧□□□□□□□海相

后缺之二：(26)

前缺

□□□□□僧意□ 僧□□□□□□□  
□□□□□□惠润 僧胜□□□□□□□  
□□□□□□真匠 僧智太 僧惠儒□□□  
□□□□□□明进 僧惠益 僧太觉□□□  
□□□□□□僧昙进 僧海相 僧善觉□□□  
□□□十五人□□大奴买得□□奴祀得□□□  
□□□□□□奴绍子 合大小奴六人□□大婢□□□  
□□□□□□婢虎女□□婢致是□□婢□□□□

后缺

此外，归义军时期的户口簿中还有僧俗合籍的情况，如《唐大中四年十月沙州令狐进达申报户口牒》文曰：

令狐进达

应管口妻男女兄弟姊妹新妇僧尼奴婢等共叁拾肆人：

妻阿张、男宁宁、男盈盈、男再盈、女子、女娇娇、  
弟嘉兴、妻阿苏、弟华奴、女福子、  
弟僧恒、婢要娘、  
弟僧福集、婢来娘、  
弟福成、妹尼胜福、  
兄兴晟、妻阿张、母韩、男含奴、男佛奴、妹尼胜□、  
妹尼照惠、婢宜宜、  
侄男清清、妻阿李、母阿高、弟胜奴、弟胜君、妹尼渊□、  
妹银银、奴进子。

右具通如前，请处分。

牒，件状如前，谨牒。

大中四年十月日，户令狐

进达牒。(27)再如S4710号文书《沙州阴长长等户丁簿》是一件编造于归义军时期（九世纪后期）的户籍簿，其也是僧口与民口合于一籍的实例：

（前缺）

妻男女兄弟侄僧尼孙妹等壹拾贰人：

妻阿李、男清奴、男安屯、女尼丑婢、兄英奴、侄男晟晟、  
侄僧专专、侄男满奴、孙男和和、妹尼小娘。

户阴屯屯

妻男女兄弟新妇僧尼孙侄等贰拾壹人：

妻阿常、男君达、新妇阿吕、孙男加晟、孙男昌晟、男像奴、  
男僧福藏、女尼定严、女定娘、女堆堆、兄弟弟、侄女玲珑、弟纯陀、  
新妇阿新、侄男宁宁、侄男鸽子、侄女端端、弟僧胜顶、侄僧皈顺、  
侄女宜娘。

户张猪子

母妻男妹等陆人：

母阿马、妻阿康、男骨骨、男骨仑、妹尼纒纒。

户王鹰子

母妻女兄嫂侄等捌人：

母阿宋、妻阿荆、女逍遥、兄宜子、嫂阿张、侄女消愁、兄僧龙安。

户刘再荣

妻男女兄弟新妇僧尼孙侄等贰拾捌人：

妻阿令狐、男海盈、新妇阿王、孙男友友、孙女福惠、男胡儿、女尼钵钵、

女纵娘、女称心、妹尼觉意花、妹胜娇、女尼口娘、女吴娘、弟再安、  
新妇阿樊、侄男文显、侄男文集、侄男善子、侄尼金吾、侄尼鹰鹰、  
侄女富娘、侄尼瘦瘦、女伴娘、侄男伯丑、侄僧明明、侄男升升、  
侄男力力、侄男千千、新妇阿记。(28)

(后缺)

类似的文书还有P4989《沙州安善进等户口田地状》。为什么在归义军的户口簿中会出现僧俗合籍的情况呢？郝春文先生认为，因为官府免除或征发僧人徭役和兵役的依据是其户内有无兄弟或侄男眷属，而僧尼籍又不记载这方面的情况，所以，只有将僧人编入户籍，才能清楚地了解每个人应否免役和可免役的程度。也就是说，官府征发僧人兵役和徭役依据的是户籍而不是僧尼籍，这才是僧尼被编入户籍的最重要原因，当然，为了便于僧团、寺院对僧尼进行管理和役使，单独的僧尼籍也是必不可少的。透露出这一时期的僧尼既是承担世俗政权税役的臣民，又是寺院的廉价劳力(29)。这种吐蕃占领敦煌时期的僧俗合帐的僧尼籍帐与普通的籍帐相比，僧尼籍帐简略点，没有授田和赋税等录在籍帐上。这或许是吐蕃占领敦煌吐鲁番地区后，对僧尼籍有所变通，因此，有其特殊情况，中原地区是否如此，没有资料，不得而知。

上述敦煌文书中多件为唐五代的僧尼籍帐，从中可以窥出唐代僧尼籍帐的编造情况。唐朝前期官府规定三年一造僧籍，管理十分严格。到开元十七年(729年)，“勅天下僧尼三岁一造籍。”(30)后来对僧道籍帐的管理也越来越松弛。天宝八载十一月，“敕道士女冠籍每十载一造，永为例程”(31)。后来连十年一造都没有坚持，“其诸州府近日因循，都不申报，省司无凭收造帐籍”，太和四年祠部上书，结果是“又诸州府僧尼籍帐准元勅十年一造，今五年一造”。(32)随着普通百姓籍帐管理的松弛，僧尼籍帐管理逐渐松弛，如宋僧赞宁在《大宋僧史略》卷中云：

勘造僧帐，体度不同。或逐寺总知，或随州别录，或单名转数，或纳牒改添，故不同也。然则出时君之好恶，乃入籍之解张。(33)这里说的是籍帐编造方式的多种多样，同时也反映了僧尼籍帐的编造混乱，有的僧尼籍帐就形同虚设。

关于僧尼籍的情况，还有两种相反的情形：未出家而“虚挂名籍”与已出家而无僧尼籍。唐代对僧尼有免赋役的待遇，王公贵族为了为了免赋役，将自己的依附人口当作僧尼“虚挂名籍”，就出现第一种情况。开元十三年(725年)，玄宗下令对于“虚挂名籍”或侍养私门者，亦下诏予以禁断。(34)宪宗元和二年，颁布禁令：“天下百姓不得冒为僧尼道士，以避徭役。(35)安史之乱后，唐王朝由盛转衰。经济因战祸遭受破坏，朝廷所能直接控制的区域日益见蹙，国家财政发生了严重困难。战乱期间，朝廷曾用鬻卖度牒的办法来筹措军费。天宝十四年(726年)，杨国忠“以为正库物不可以给士，遣侍御史崔众至太原纳钱度僧尼道士，旬月得百万缗(36)。肃宗即位灵武，军费不足，采用右仆射裴冕的权宜之计：大府各置戒坛度僧，鬻度牒。愿度者纳钱百缗，谓之香水钱(37)。由于鬻卖度牒，很多想出家的无力支付这笔款项，便出现私自出家，因而也就没有僧籍了。如此一来，在唐代很多无籍出家的僧人应不在少数，关于出家无籍的例子，在《代宗朝赠司空大辨正广智三藏和上表制集》中特别多见，如广德二年(764年)十月十九日《降诞日请度七僧祠部敕牒》(38)就记载了不空为很多无籍的出家僧人请求正式剃度并获得僧籍。当然这些要求都得到了皇帝许可，但是更多的无籍出家僧人就未必如此幸运了。对于无籍私度出家，唐王朝向来打击严厉的，从唐代的律令格式都有明文规定禁止私度僧尼，唐代统治者曾经多次颁布诏令制敕严禁私度。即使如此，私度依然不止，因而唐王朝对僧籍的管理也就要大打折扣了。

### 三、僧尼的数量及其控制

李唐建国之初，由于隋末动荡，境内僧尼锐减，佛寺被毁甚多。贞观时期，国家多立寺院，如贞观三年(629年)，敕令“于建义以来交兵之处，为义士凶徒陨身戎阵者，各建寺刹”(39)。皇室、贵族、朝中大员、地方官员电建很多佛寺。到贞观后期，海内有额寺院计三千七百一十六所(40)。武后佞佛，广建寺院，“一国寺有四千余所。”(41)中宗君临天下依然建寺度僧不休。到玄宗开元后期，天下共有敕额寺院达五千三百五十八所(42)，这个数字被认为是唐代佛寺“定数”。从唐玄宗朝伊始，各代君王一直注意抑制寺院的过分增加，海内有额佛寺大体保持在五千余所的限额内。

隋朝末年，天下战乱不休，寺院隳废，僧众失散。唐朝建立，承隋末寺院之衰，僧道人数较隋代全盛时期要少很多的。关于隋代的僧尼数字，文献记载也较为混乱。有度僧二十三万(43)，度僧三十万(44)，度僧十万(45)，度僧五十万等说法(46)。对于唐代僧尼数字，依据文献资料制成下表。

唐代的僧尼数字，如表所见，依次反映了初唐，盛唐及晚唐时期的僧尼人数情况。

一、唐初的僧尼人数。据唐明估计“大唐寺籍佛道二众不满七万”(48)，道世所记仅为六万余。(49)与隋代僧团势力最盛的开皇时相比，唐初僧尼人数锐减。造成当时僧尼人数大幅度下降的主要原因是隋末的战乱。“计海内寺三千七百一十六所，计度僧尼一万八千五百余人。此已前，天下寺庙遭隋季凋残，缙侣将绝。”(50)各地的寺院皆受到打击，如邺城相州大慈寺曾被起义军攻占，成为驻军的大本营；少林寺也遭“山贼（起义军）所劫”，寺中屋宇全被焚毁(51)；长安近郊的司竹园起义军，“张旗十里”，“鼓行郊野”，把不少寺庄打得“通庄并溃”(52)；吴地不少寺院为饥饉所迫，和尚逃了，庙也空了(53)。从这些零碎的文献记载中不难看出，社会僧团势力在隋末的大动乱中遭到严重冲击，唐初僧尼人数降到隋唐时期的最低谷。但是，傅奕却认为成年僧尼的总数为二十万人(54)，明和尚作出了反驳，抨击他的估计：“大唐寺籍佛道二众不满七万，如何面欺上帝二十万众乎？”(55)谢和耐估计当时僧尼数可能是五万。(56)官方数字仅仅强调具有合法地位和居住在国家寺院中的僧侣。在这些出家人的行列中还必须再加入一些游方和尚以及兰若佛堂中的私度僧尼。以至于为了掌握真实的僧侣总数，统计时还必须考虑非在籍的和尚总数，这样僧尼数目就可能增加很多甚至加倍。

二、盛唐的僧尼人数。《新唐书》卷四八《百官志》“崇玄署”条记载了一条有关唐代僧尼的数据：道士七百七十六，女官九百八十八。僧七万五千五百二十四，尼五万五百七十六(57)。《新唐书》中将这段资料系于“崇玄署”条下，而有唐一代，以崇玄署管理僧道事只有两段时期，一次是唐初，另一次是开元二十四至开元二十五年间（736—737年）(58)。可推断《新唐书》的这条资料反映的是开元二十四年左右的情况。苏环在上皇帝的奏疏中写道：“天下僧尼滥伪相半”(59)，时间是八世纪初叶。僧尼名籍常常都经伪造篡改，玄宗皇帝在开元十年（722年）的一道诏令在此问题所指出的情况肯定适用于所有时代：

“如闻道士僧尼多有虚挂名籍，或权隶他寺，或侍养私门。托以为词，避其所管。互相掩匿，共成奸诈，甚非清净之意也。”(60)因此，应该考虑到一些奸诈作弊的情况。居住在寺院中居民的实际数目始终要比普查登录在籍的数目多一些或少一些。更何况，史料中仅仅注重已在官方名籍中登记的僧人，从原则上来说是指那些正式剃度者。

如前所述，僧尼数字并不象普查统计中所指出的那样是十二万六千一百人，而可能多达二十五万到三十万人。

三、晚唐的僧尼数。文宗太和四年（830年），“祠部请令天下僧尼非正度者，许具名申省给牒。时入申者七十万人。”(61)对于僧尼人数达到七十万，谢和耐认为是因为将花钱买了一纸官方度牒的农民也统计在内。僧尼的实际人数（包括全部真正以出家人为职业而生活的人），从来也只占中国人口中的一小部分，其人数始终低于（包括某些不太显著的变化）1%。这种现象与中国经济的疲惫有关。(62)会昌时期毁佛，驱逐二十六万余僧尼还为编户。这一数字是出于官府汇报毁佛成果的统计中，《旧唐书》、《唐会要》、《会昌一品集》、《白氏长庆集》的记载均无歧异，一般是可信的。但从有关文献看出，当时藩镇割据情况严重，唐中央下令毁佛，藩镇割据区不可能奉命执行，实际上还出现过僧徒逃遁藩镇势力区以求庇护的情况。另外，会昌毁佛，并不是将全部僧尼驱出寺院，而是“敕两都左右街留寺四所，僧各三十人；天下州郡各留一寺，上寺二十人，中寺十人，下寺五人”(63)。也就是说，有一小部分僧尼仍旧保留了僧籍。依此而论，唐后期天下僧徒约在三十多万人。说明在唐王朝的控制下，僧尼数量呈现的是一种良性态势的发展趋势。

关于每个寺院和兰若的僧尼数字，相对于寺院总数而言，文献中涉及到某个寺院的人数就不是很清楚了，好在有敦煌吐鲁番的出土文书可以帮助我们克服这个困难。

我们可以大体地知道9—10世纪敦煌寺院中的比丘、比丘尼和沙弥的数字。敦煌全城当时共有十七座大佛寺。巴黎所收藏的一卷伯希和煌敦汉文写本提供了其中五寺的下列数字。(64)

龙兴寺	40僧	20沙弥	共60名
开元寺	24僧	14沙弥	共38名
乾元寺	26僧	16沙弥	共42名
永安寺	24僧	14沙弥	共38名
金光明寺	39僧	23沙弥	共62名

另外一些是尼寺，敦煌寺院比丘尼的人数要多于和尚。

大乘寺	60名比丘尼
安国寺	42名比丘尼
普光寺	127名比丘尼

其它寺 49名比丘尼如果仅仅考虑本处所记载到的寺庙中的情况，那末每一寺内的平均人数为四十五人。当举行一次似乎是基本包括了敦煌全部宗教居民的大会时，一共有一千零八十六人出席，其中有八百五十二名俗尼与二百三十四名沙弥。这样算来，每寺内

的平均人数最多不超过五十人。日僧圆仁指出：除了那些几乎没有人居住的建筑之外，还有许多佛教团体可以容纳三百多名僧侣。在天台山的国清寺中，共有一百五十名常住僧侣；每当夏季避暑时，总有三百多名僧侣前往那里居住。但以上是特殊情况。在一般情况下，每座寺中仅有二十到五十名出家人。

对于兰若等小的道场的人数，我们可以通过统计得出结果来。在会昌废佛年间所作的统计发现在四万多个兰若中有十万余名出家人。因此，在各个小道场和佛刹只有二名或三名僧侣，这几乎就是《魏书》中《释老志》所记载的洛阳小佛教建筑中的平均数字。因此，这就说明两种相距三个多世纪的资料是互相吻合一致的。

寺院僧尼的管理，特别在控制寺院僧尼的伪滥和膨胀方面，除了控制寺院数量和僧尼籍帐常规措施外，还对僧尼施行沙汰。沙汰只是清其流，而未塞其源。如果度僧权未收归官府，沙汰只能收效一时，不能从根本上控制户口流向寺院。早在东晋桓玄、刘宋武帝、陈宣帝都做过沙汰伪滥的工作，对于现有僧尼，定出几条标准，合格的可继续为僧尼，余者“皆悉罢道，所在地在领其户籍，严为之制”(65)。北朝也多次进行沙汰僧尼，与控制度僧权相辅而行。记载中最早进行沙汰工作的是太武帝，其法以年龄划线，年五十以下者一律还俗。坚持时间最长、办法最周密，收效最大的则是孝文帝。延兴二年（472年），诏令“无籍之僧，精加隐括，有者送付州镇，其在畿郡，送付本曹”(66)。太和十年（486年），再度检括，对象扩大到部分有籍僧尼。“为行凡粗者，有籍无籍，悉罢归齐民”(67)。从这两次诏书可以看出，孝文帝时期朝廷已完全控制了度僧权，并专门设立了僧籍，其检括、沙汰工作与僧籍管理相配合，故收效较大。仅太和十年这一次沙汰，就括出一千三百二十七人还俗，沙汰作为临时性措施对于控制教团规模起到一定的作用。

唐高祖时，出现“有猥贱之侣，规自尊高，浮坠之人，苟避徭役，妄为剃落，托号出家，嗜欲无厌，营求不息，出入闾里，周旋鬪鬪，驱策畜产，聚积货财，耕织为生，估贩成业，事同编户，迹等齐人”的现象(68)。可见唐前期伪滥僧之多。虽然高祖的沙汰诏未果行，但贞观元年（627年）唐太宗命杜正伦检校佛法，清肃非滥，“沙门明导至陈州遇敕简僧，唯留三十……”(69)。到武则天时期，由于武则天本人信佛，对僧尼出家的限制松弛，僧侣队伍十分庞杂。这种现象一直延续到唐玄宗开元年间。

唐玄宗继位第三年，曾对僧尼进行了沙汰。开元二年（714年），中书令姚崇即上疏妄度奸人之事。唐玄宗采纳了他的建议，命令有司精加铨择，天下僧尼伪滥还俗者，多达三万余人(70)。此后不久，唐玄宗再下括检僧尼诏：“僧尼数多，踰滥不少，先经磨勘，欲令真伪区分，仍虑犹有非违，都遣括检闻奏。凭此造籍，以为准绳，如闻所系，条例非愜，致奸妄转更滋生，因即举推，罪者斯众，宜依开元十六年旧籍为三，更不须造写。”(71)之后，再也没有对佛教僧尼行过沙汰之举。

唐代国家对寺院人口的控制主要采取控制度僧权和僧尼籍，加上临时性的沙汰。唐前期统治者采取的这些措施，确实收到了限制僧侣势力发展的效果。这从唐前期僧尼出家的人数上即可看出。《大唐六典》卷四“祠部郎中”条载：“凡天下寺应有定数，诸州寺总五千三百五十八所，三千二百四十五所僧，二千一百一十三所尼。”这里是开元时期的僧尼人数，当然仅仅是官方的统计。据上文的统计，唐代前期僧尼的人数远远低于后期，这不能不说是唐王朝对僧尼限制的结果。唐代后期对寺院人口的控制措施依然存在，然而寺院的人口却较前期大为膨胀，与国家发生利益冲突，导致灭佛事件发生。

自唐朝实行僧尼籍帐制度后，这种基本政策为以后各朝所因袭。对僧尼使用编户管理办法，贯之以籍帐，这是中国宗教发展史上的一件大事。唐代僧尼不仅要系籍于官，宗教活动还要受到各级官府的的限制。对此，宋代僧人释志磐曾愤懑地批评，但也只好无可奈何地感叹。(72)但在唐代后期，无论是僧尼数量还是僧道籍帐的管理，都存在管理控制松弛的问题。唐代僧尼籍帐管理前后的反差很大，除了宗教管理体制自身问题，更大的问题在于唐代后期整个社会政治形势发生了变化。中央集权的削弱，宦官的专权等一系列因素都导致了宗教管理的松弛，直到武宗上台才得以改变。不久，武宗灭佛。直到大中反正之后，唐代宗教管理又回归到常态。

总之，国家控制僧尼须依靠制度作为保证。但是要有制度实施的环境，才能保证制度的成功实施。

#### 【注释】

① 义净著、王邦维校注：《南海寄归内法传校注》卷2《衣食所需》，中华书局，1995年，第87页。

② 义净著、王邦维校注：《大唐西域求法高僧传校注》卷上，中华书局，1988年，第114页。

③ 赞宁：《大宋僧史略》卷中，“管属僧尼”条，《大正藏》第54册，“僧籍弛张”条，第247页下。

④ [日]藤枝晃：《敦煌的僧尼籍》，载《东方学报》，第31期。

- ⑤ [日] 池田温：《中国古代籍帐研究》，中华书局，1984年。
- ⑥ 白文固：《唐代僧籍管理制度》，《普门学报》，第15期。
- ⑦ 同上注
- ⑧ 慧皎：《高僧传》卷8《齐京师天保寺释道盛传》，中华书局，1992年，第307页。
- ⑨ [北齐] 魏收《魏书》卷114《释老志》，中华书局，1974年，第3030页。
- ⑩《大正藏》第8册，第833页。
- (11) [日] 牧田谛亮：《疑经研究》，京都大学人文科学研究所，1976年。
- (12) 第3038页。
- (13) 《魏书》卷114《释老志》，第3039页。
- (14) 张弓：《汉唐佛寺文化史》，中国社会科学出版社，1997年，第379页。
- (15) 白文固：《唐代僧籍管理制度》，《普门学报》，第15期。
- (16) 志磐：《佛祖统纪》卷40“唐玄宗开元十七年”条，《大正藏》49册，第374页。
- (17) 《唐令拾遗补》，东京大学出版会，1997年，第1483页。
- (18) [宋] 欧阳修等《新唐书》卷48《百官志·崇玄署》，中华书局，1975年，第1252页。
- (19) [日] 池田温：《中国古代籍帐研究》，第193页。
- (20) 《全唐文》卷966阙名《祠部奏文》，第4449页。
- (21) 《僧尼令》自还俗条：“凡僧尼，自还俗者，三纲录其贯属，京经僧纲目，自余经国司，并申省除附。若三纲及师主，隐而不申，卅日以上，五十日苦使；六十日以上，百日苦使。”据此可知唐代《唐令》和《道僧格》也应有之相关条文。戴建国依据《天圣令》复原的《唐令·杂令》就有：“诸道士、女冠、僧、尼……其身死及数有增减者，每年录名及增减因由，状申祠部，具入账。”相关的《道僧格》条文复原参见我的博士论文《唐代国家的宗教管理研究》，复旦大学，2005。
- (22) 孟宪实：《吐鲁番新发现的〈唐龙朔二年西州高昌县思恩寺僧籍〉》，载《文物》2007年第2期，第50页。按：僧显觉，在“延昌卅一年正月十五日度，计至今六十二年”，本件文书的时间也有可能是在永徽四年（653），孟文没说明原因。
- (23) 依据《养老令》对《唐令·杂令》条文进行复原为：“诸道士、女冠、僧、尼，州县三年一造籍，各显出家年月、夏腊及德业。依式印之。其籍一本送祠部、一本送鸿胪，一本留州县。”见天一阁博物馆、中国社会科学院历史研究所：《天一阁藏明抄本天圣令校正（附唐令复原）研究》，中华书局，2006年，746页。
- (24) 转引 [日] 藤枝晃：《敦煌的僧尼籍》。
- (25) 国家文物局古文献研究室、新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆、武汉大学历史系，《吐鲁番出土文书》第4册，文物出版社，1983年4月第1版，第48页。
- (26) 《吐鲁番出土文书》第4册，第50页。
- (27) 京都有邻馆敦煌文书五十一号，转引自 [日] 池田温：《中国古代籍帐研究》，东京大学东洋文化研究所报告，1979年，第566页。
- (28) 黄永武：《敦煌宝藏》第37册，台北，新文丰出版公司，1986年，第389页。
- (29) 郝春文：《唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活》，中国社会科学出版社，1998年，第109页。郝先生对这种情况的解释，目前我们还不能确定是一时之制呢，还是通例。
- (30) 《唐令拾遗》将其定为开元七年令，新发现的《天圣令》卷三十《杂令》第39条规定（开元二十五年）与此基本相同。
- (31) 《通典》卷23《职官典五》“祠部郎中”条，第640页。
- (32) 《全唐文》卷966阙名《祠部奏文》，第4449页。
- (33) 《大正藏》第54册，第248页a。
- (34) 《全唐文》卷28《禁僧道掩匿诏》
- (35) 《唐大诏令集》卷70
- (36) 《新唐书》卷51《食货志》。
- (37) 《宋高僧传》卷8《神会传》。
- (38) 僧慧通，年五十五（绛州曲沃县，俗姓王，无籍，请住千福寺）。  
（僧）慧云，年二十三（京兆府长安县，俗姓段，无籍，请住大兴善寺）。  
僧慧琳，年三十（虢州阌乡县方祥乡阌乡里，俗姓何名光王，兄咄为户，请住 [大] 兴善寺）。  
僧慧珍，年三十三（京兆府万年县洪洞乡福润里，俗姓王名庭现，伯高为户，请住大兴善寺）。  
僧法雄，年二十八（京兆府富平县赤阳乡昆山里，无籍，请住静法寺）。  
僧法满，年十八（京兆府万年县崇德乡文圆里，俗姓胡，祖宾为户）。  
僧慧璘，年四十。

右兴善寺三藏沙门不空奏：上件僧等自出家来，常寻法教，不阙师资，戒行精修，实堪为器，比虽离俗，迹昌私名。

今因陛下开降诞之辰，朝贺欢欣之日，伏请官名以为正度，用资皇祚以福无疆。如天恩允许，请宣付所司。

(39) 《唐会要》卷48《议释教下》，第849页。

(40) 慧立本、彦惊笺，《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法师传》卷7，《大正藏》50册，第259页a。

(41) 《法苑珠林》卷100，第53册，第1027页。

(42) [后晋]刘昫等《旧唐书》卷43《职官志·祠部郎中》，中华书局，1975年，第1831页。

(43) 法琳《辩正论》卷3说：“自开皇之初，终于仁寿之末，所度僧尼二十三万人。较《辩正论》成书稍晚的《法苑珠林》卷100云：隋文帝朝度僧尼二十三万，炀帝朝度僧尼六千二百人，“隋代二君四（三）十七年，寺有三千九百八十五所，度僧尼二十三万六千二百人”。《释迦方志》卷下的记载完全同于《法苑珠林》。可能上列三书使用了同一数据。

(44) 道宣《大唐内典录》卷5说：开皇、仁寿间，“四海静浪，九服无尘，大度僧尼将三十万。”元代僧人念常在《佛祖历代通载》卷10中，取《内典录》的提法。

(45) 道宣《续高僧传》卷18《释昙迁传》云：开皇十年，隋文帝敕令“自十年四月已前，诸有僧尼私度者并听出家，故率土蒙度数十万人”。明代僧人本觉在《释氏通鉴》卷六中，摭取此说。

(46) 道宣《续高僧传》卷10《释靖崇传》云：隋文帝于开皇十年（590年），听许以前私度的僧尼志愿出家，又“敕僚庶等有乐出家者并听，时新度之僧乃有五十余万”。宋僧志磐所著《佛祖统纪》卷三十九因袭此说。由此看来，要对隋代出家僧尼人数，作出一个比较准确的数字，是不大容易的。不过，从法琳《辩正论》所列的比较具体的数字看，在隋代广度僧尼政策影响下，当时出家僧尼有二十多万，当是近乎史实的。并可以认为，开皇时度僧五十万的说法似不可信。此除有《辩正论》等释氏文献记载可作比较外，还可依文献所见隋唐全国僧尼人数情况推测，隋唐时期，在社会安定的环境中，全国僧尼数一般波动在十多万至三十多万间，故认为开皇间度僧五十万之说似太离谱。

(47) 谢和耐认为大小佛教建筑的总数在各个不同时代基本是一样的：在六世纪中叶为三千一四座。而大寺庙的数目一般又经常维持在四千左右，这种局面一直维持了三个多世纪：在隋代是三千七百九十二座或三千九百八十五座；在648年为三千七百一十六座；当在650—683年进行统计时，则又为四千座；在713—755年时则为五千三百五十八座。在845年则为四千六百座。

(48) 《广弘明集》卷7，《大正藏》第52册，第134页c。

(49) 《法苑珠林》卷100《传记篇·兴福部》，第1027页。

(50) 《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法师传》卷7，《大正藏》50册，第259页a。

(51) 《金石萃编》卷77《少林寺碑》，陕西人民美术出版社，1987年。

(52) 《续高僧传》卷22《释慧璉传》，《大正藏》50册，第615页b。

(53) 《续高僧传》卷22《唐苏州通玄寺释慧旻传》云：“隋末崩离，吴中饥谨。道俗逃难，避地东西。”

(54) 《旧唐书》卷79《傅奕传》，第2716页。

(55) 《广弘明集》卷7，《大正藏》第52册，134页。

(56) [法]谢和耐著、耿昇译《中国五——十世纪的寺院经济》，甘肃人民出版社，1987年，18页。

(57) 《新唐书》卷53《百官志》，第1252页。

(58) 《唐会要》49《僧尼所隶》，859页。

(59) 《新唐书》卷125《苏瓌传》，第4398页。

(60) 《全唐文》卷28《禁僧道掩匿诏》，第137页。

(61) 《佛祖统纪》卷42，《大正藏》第49册，第385页。《大宋僧史略》卷中《僧籍弛张》也将这一时间定为太和四年。

(62) [法]谢和耐著、耿昇译《中国五——十世纪的寺院经济》，第27页。

(63) 《佛祖统纪》卷42，《大正藏》49册，第386页a。

(64) 转引自[法]谢和耐、耿昇译《中国五——十世纪的寺院经济》，第23页。

(65) 《弘明集》卷12《桓玄与僚属沙汰僧众教》，《大正藏》52册，第85页a。

(66) 《魏书》卷114《释老志》，第3038页。

(67) 《魏书》卷114《释老志》，第3039页。

(68) 《全唐文》卷2《沙汰佛道诏》，第10页。

(69) 《续高僧传》卷24，《大正藏》50册，第635页a。

(70) 《唐会要》卷47，837页。

(71) 《全唐文》卷30玄宗《括检僧尼诏》，第143页。

(72) 志磐：《佛祖统纪》卷40，《法运通塞志》，“唐玄宗开元十七年”条：“嘻！律言非我所制，余方为清净者不得不行，岂如来以佛眼观末世。为吾徒者，当勉顺国法乎。”《大正藏》第49册，第1675页。

(原载《中国社会经济史研究》2008年3期。录入编辑：乾乾)

[关于我们](#) | [联系我们](#) | [版权声明](#) | [工作团队](#) | [留言便条](#) | [在线投稿](#) | [在线调查](#)

中国社会科学院哲学研究所 版权所有 京ICP备20004808号 建议使用IE8以上版本浏览

[http://www.sino-platonic.org/complete/spp119\\_hu\\_people\\_turfan.pdf](http://www.sino-platonic.org/complete/spp119_hu_people_turfan.pdf)

<https://wenku.baidu.com/view/ac8ea42c7375a417866f8fbc.html>

丝绸之路哲学/历史人文社科

唐代长安西市中的胡姬与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易

4.4分 (超过78%的文档) 3416阅读 100下载 2010-12-01上传 4页 337KB 展开

VIP

唐代长安西市中的胡姬与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易

2

/ 4

加入VIP免费下载

VIP文档免费下 付费文档8折购 文档格式随意转

剩余1页未读，继续阅读

版权说明：本文档由用户提供并上传，收益归属内容提供方，若内容存在侵权，请进行举报或认领

VIP专享下载

19 20 21

<https://rsipe.wordpress.com/2017/06/12/%E7%B2%9F%E7%89%B9%E4%BA%BA%E4%B8%8E%E4%B8%9D%E7%BB%B8%E4%B9%8B%E8%B7%AF%E4%B8%AD%E6%96%87%E8%AE%BA%E6%96%87%E7%9B%AE%E5%BD%95/>

<https://rsipe.wordpress.com/2017/06/12/粟特人与丝绸之路中文论文目录/>

## 日攀科技 (机器海岸线)

日攀科技 (机器海岸线)——关注人工智能最前沿

### 粟特人与丝绸之路中文期刊论文目录

leave a comment »

根据中国知网整理：方建勇(Fang Jianyong)/2006-2008年就读于浙江大学中国古代史研究生班

- 1 丝绸之路陇右段粟特人踪迹钩沉 冯培红 浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)
- 2 隋唐宁夏粟特人与丝绸之路 优先出版 薛正昌 石河子大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 3 丝绸之路与粟特人 王燕 黑龙江史志
- 4 商贾精英 文化使者——“丝绸之路”上的粟特人 苏银梅; 马晴 今日民族
- 5 唐代丝绸之路上中亚地区粟特人城市遗址壁画研究 王美艳 设计艺术研究
- 6 浅析丝绸之路上粟特人与粟特文钱币 吴树实 长春金融高等专科学校学报
- 7 中古时期入华粟特人墓葬的发现与研究 马晓玲 中国史研究动态
- 8 粟特人与青海道 霍巍 四川大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 9 甘肃各民族与丝绸之路 崔星; 史淑琴 甘肃高师学报

- 10 宁夏固原史姓粟特人墓葬壁画研究 马彩虹 民族艺林
- 11 论入华粟特人流向的完整线索及最终归宿——基于粟特人“回鹘化”所作的考察 邵明杰 青海民族研究
- 12 《敦煌吐鲁番文书与丝绸之路》读后 许序雅 历史研究
- 13 西域粟特移民聚落补考 荣新江 西域研究
- 14 从粟特美术图像看宗教的世俗化发展 郭萍 美术大观
- 15 丝绸之路上唐与中亚粟特的文明交流 卞蓉荣; 韩海梅 西安文理学院学报(社会科学版)
- 16 丝绸之路的昨天、今天、明天(上) 张信刚 书城
- 17 麹氏高昌国流通银钱辨正 裴成国 北京大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 18 消失了的后裔 秦正纯; 钱惠军 文化译丛
- 19 古代丝绸之路商队的活动特点分析 李瑞哲 兰州大学学报(社会科学版)
- 20 汉唐间中亚胡人来华探因 陆庆夫 开发研究
- 21 略论五代以来陆上丝绸之路的几点变化 杨蕤; 王润虎 宁夏社会科学
- 22 北朝丝绸之路货币概述 康柳硕 中国钱币
- 23 唐代丝绸之路中段西州与龟兹的商贸研究 张安福 中国农史
- 24 丝绸之路沿线的语言与文化交流 丹尼斯·西诺尔; 黄长著 第欧根尼
- 25 出土文献所见丝绸之路概说 荣新江 北京大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 26 北朝隋唐入华粟特人死亡观研究——以葬具图像的解读为主 孙武军 考古与文物
- 27 恒逻斯城与唐代丝绸之路 优先出版 林梅村 浙江大学学报(人文社会科学版)
- 28 唐代丝绸之路上的胡商商队 冯敏 西夏研究
- 29 “丝绸之路”的考古认知 刘庆柱 经济社会史评论
- 30 从粟特文书看入华粟特人的货币问题 杨洁 史林
- 31 论西安北周粟特人墓和尉迟氏墓的葬制和葬俗 王维坤 考古
- 32 汉代海上丝绸之路的西段(一)——印度西南海岸古港穆吉里斯 优先出版 罗帅 新疆师范大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 33 评《丝绸之路贸易史》兼论丝绸之路研究的几个问题 梁国华 敦煌研究
- 34 中古时期入华粟特人与祇教的在华传播——以固原史姓人墓地为中心 冯敏 西北民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 35 三条鱼的故事——印度佛教故事在丝绸之路的传播例证 陈明 西域研究
- 36 古代丝绸之路商队运营面临的危险以及应对措施 李瑞哲 敦煌学辑刊
- 37 语言视域下的丝路文化变迁 赵江民; 符冬梅 中央民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 38 敦煌所出粟特语古信札与两晋之际敦煌姑藏的粟特人 刘波 敦煌研究
- 39 艾尔米塔什博物馆举办千佛洞——俄罗斯丝绸之路探险文物展 张惠明 敦煌研究
- 40 重新认识丝绸之路 芮乐伟; 韩森 国资报告
- 41 粟特文买婢契与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易 林梅村 文物
- 42 粟特艺术及粟特人在中国的汉化 杨静 民族艺林
- 43 “黑貂之路”质疑——古代东北亚与世界文化联系之我见 王小甫 历史研究
- 44 隋唐官制下的萨宝与粟特人的管理 朱琳 法制与社会
- 45 粟特:雾里看花——评姜伯勤《中国祇教艺术史研究》 李明伟 敦煌研究
- 46 京都“丝绸之路古文字巡礼——俄国探险队收集文物”展走笔 高启安 敦煌学辑刊
- 47 安西都护府与唐代龟兹商贸的发展 张安福; 卞亚男 中国农史
- 48 花角鹿图案在丝绸之路上的传播 郭萍 昌吉学院学报
- 49 中古来华粟特人墓葬中的祇教祭祀图像述略 丁杰 学理论
- 50 小窥中西交流中的胡汉交融——以唐代长安粟特人的部分活动为例 黄丹阳 群文天地
- 51 敦煌粟特人的丝路贸易 苏惠萍 寻根
- 52 浅析唐代河西粟特人的社会地位 刘延清 兰台世界
- 53 拜火教在中国的文化印记(上)——粟特人的丧葬文化 余光仁; 余明涇 东方收藏
- 54 粟特研究的最新创获——读《粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索》 徐文堪 社会科学
- 55 中亚美术的奇葩——粟特壁画艺术 宋永忠 美术
- 56 龟兹石窟:丝路古道上的文明交汇地 谢倩倩 新疆艺术学院学报
- 57 魏晋南北朝时期西域贾胡在丝路沿线的活动 韩香 西域研究
- 58 凤翔发现的唐代祇教石棺床及构件相关问题浅析 孙宗贤 文博
- 59 甘肃境内出土的丝路外国和西域钱币综述 康柳硕 内蒙古金融研究
- 60 塔吉克古典文学述略 塔比勒迪·乌守尔; 郝关中 新疆社会科学
- 61 昭武九姓与景教信仰 徐晓鸿 天风
- 62 中亚发现的唐镜 冈崎敬; 姚义田 文博
- 63 罗布泊雅丹壁画墓考察 李青 艺术探索
- 64 碎叶川裴罗将军城出土唐碑考 林梅村 中原文物
- 65 从敦煌文物看中西文化交流 王进玉 西域研究
- 66 敦煌壁画中的联珠纹 解梅 社科纵横
- 67 古代茶马贸易的启示 优先出版 梁子 农业考古
- 68 固原隋唐时期文物考古的发现与研究 马建军; 周佩妮 宁夏大学学报(人文社会科学版)
- 69 文明的地图:回顾与前瞻(下) 张信刚 书城
- 70 丝绸之路上的吐鲁番 阴秀文; 李玉鸿 走向世界
- 71 归去来兮:昭武九姓与河西郡望 冯培红 读者欣赏(理论版)
- 72 中国历代外流的雕塑及其艺术(中) 林树中 收藏
- 73 “胡人”的变迁及其对东西方文化交流的促进 侯世新 文博
- 74 中国画法的西渐与伊朗细画 孙培良 西南师范大学学报(人文社会科学版)
- 75 明朝与瓦剌“贡赐”贸易中的回回——回回民族研究之五 和□ 内蒙古社会科学(文史哲版)
- 76 1994年中亚史研究综述 贾依肯 中国史研究动态
- 77 2016年我校喜获3项国家社科基金项目、10项宁夏社科规划项目 宁夏师范学院学报
- 78 河西走廊关乎国家经略——《河西走廊》纪录片引发的思考 沙武田 河西学院学报
- 79 吐鲁番高昌故城申报世界文化遗产简介 吐鲁番学研究
- 80 塔吉克共和国片治肯特古城址出土的仿汉制铜钱 路远 文博
- 81 从青海出土文物浅析隋唐时期联珠纹饰的盛行及衰微 阿朝东 文博
- 82 唐代长安西市中的胡姬与丝绸之路上的女奴贸易 温翠芳 西域研究
- 83 论青海都兰吐蕃时期墓地考古发掘的文化史意义——兼评阿米·海勒《青海都兰的吐蕃时期墓葬》 霍巍 青海民族学院学报
- 84 建国以来西方古器物在我国的发现与研究 孙机 文物

- 85 新疆地产绵线织锦研究 赵丰 西域研究
- 86 唐代金银器中的外来影响 谭前学 荣宝斋
- 87 朝贡·贸易·战争·礼物——何家村唐代金银器再解读 程旭 文博
- 88 魏晋隋唐时期“绶带鸟”图案寓意的东渐 郭萍 装饰
- 89 吐鲁番基督教文本的书写实践 马克·迪更斯; 刘慧 西域研究
- 90 新疆考古三十年 穆舜英 新疆社会科学
- 91 新征集唐《罗州玳墓志》志主的胡人身份浅析 呼啸 文博
- 92 吐鲁番:欧亚大陆种族、语言交流的十字路口 李肖 石河子大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 93 敖汉旗李家营子金银器与唐代营州西域移民 张松柏 北方文物
- 94 北齐徐显秀墓出土的嵌蓝宝石金戒指 张庆捷; 常一民 文物
- 95 罽入华考 考古与文物
- 96 商贸是东西方艺术交流的首要因素 郭沐洁 新疆艺术学院学报
- 97 从东罗马金币等文物看古代中西交流 阿迪力·阿布力孜 东方收藏
- 98 丝路胡俑外来风 梁桂林; 张鑫 收藏家
- 99 敦煌吐鲁番摩尼教文献研究述评 杨富学; 盖佳择 吐鲁番学研究
- 100 中亚奄蔡——阿速族考 苏北海 新疆大学学报(社会科学版)
- 101 丝绸之路上的两位高僧 高峰 文史春秋
- 102 丝路明珠话敦煌 李军 寻根
- 103 汉唐西域织物纹样的艺术特色 吴妍春 上海工艺美术
- 104 髹面习俗小议 孙永刚 赤峰学院学报(汉文哲学社会科学版)
- 105 大漠隐士 吴国荣 品牌
- 106 喀什“城隍庙” 庞晓刚 中国民族
- 107 麦积山石窟北朝晚期胡人图像及相关问题研究 孙晓峰 形象史学研究
- 108 粟特文在丝绸之路沿线的传播与影响 杨富学; 赵天英 河西学院学报
- 109 敦煌石窟粟特美术研究学术史 李国; 沙武田 敦煌学辑刊
- 110 古代民族政权与绿洲丝绸之路 李方 中央民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 111 丝路古国粟特的文献研究及其利用 齐小艳 山西档案
- 112 维吾尔族民居及伊斯兰教建筑中多元文化的交融荟萃 李云 新疆艺术学院学报
- 113 多向探索北朝中外文化艺术的互动与交融——《4~6世纪的北中国与欧亚大陆》评介 张建丽 晋阳学刊
- 114 西安市北周史君石椁墓 杨军凯; 孙福喜 考古
- 115 隋代虞弘墓中的《胡腾舞》 冷焱 舞蹈
- 116 新疆地毯纹样探究——兼谈《维吾尔族美术史略》注释中的几点误解 李云 南京艺术学院学报(美术与设计版)
- 117 浅谈西域回鹘人摩尼教发展历程 阿布都外力·克力木 西北民族学院学报(哲学社会科学版)
- 118 唐帝国和粟特人的交易活动 荒川正晴; 陈海涛 敦煌研究
- 119 “丝绸之路——艺术与生活”论坛综述 武琼芳 敦煌研究
- 120 《胡汉之间“丝绸之路”与西北历史考古》简介 考古与文物
- 121 一批流散海外的吐蕃文物的初步考察 霍巍 故宫博物院院刊
- 122 西域风格与唐风染化——中古时期吐蕃与粟特人的棺板装饰传统试析 霍巍 敦煌学辑刊
- 123 丝绸之路上的粟特人对唐代长安体育文化的影响 曾玉华; 许万林 体育文化导刊

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=Gzp9BgAAQBAJ&pg=PA90>

[https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%B0%91%E5%B9%B4%E8%A1%8C\\_\(%E4%BA%94%E9%99%B5%E5%B9%B4%E5%B0%91%E9%87%91%E5%B8%82%E6%9D%B1\)](https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%B0%91%E5%B9%B4%E8%A1%8C_(%E4%BA%94%E9%99%B5%E5%B9%B4%E5%B0%91%E9%87%91%E5%B8%82%E6%9D%B1))

李, 白. 少年行 (五陵年少金市东) . “五陵年少金市东, 银鞍白马度春风。落花踏尽游何处, 笑入胡姬酒肆中。”

[“https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E8%A5%84%E9%99%BD%E6%AD%8C”](https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E8%A5%84%E9%99%BD%E6%AD%8C)

“李, 白. 襄陽歌 .”

<http://m.qulishi.com/news/201706/224995.html>

传说中的曹野那：唐玄宗竟有来自中亚的洋贵妃

2017-06-24 11:31:55 首页

著名文史专家葛承雍先生经过研究发现，唐玄宗的姬妾中，还有一个来自中亚的“洋贵妃”。

唐玄宗有29个女儿、30个儿子，记录在案的皇后嫔妃有刘华妃、赵丽妃、钱妃、皇甫德仪、武惠妃、柳婕妤等20人，还有一些嫔妃失传，其中最令人蹊跷的是“曹野那姬”。《新唐书》的《诸帝公主传》记载：“寿安公主，曹野那姬所生。”

曹野那姬的名字是汉文转写。曹是以曹国为姓氏的粟特人通例称呼，‘野那’二字是一个粟特人常见的名字，其粟特语原意是‘最喜欢的人’，俊男靓女都可用此名，是男的长相精神，女的长相漂亮的意思。

粟特 (Sogdiana) 是中国古书中记载的西域古国之一，亦为民族名称，活动范围在今中亚阿姆河与锡尔河之间的泽拉夫尚河流域，首都“马拉坎达”位于今撒马尔罕。

3.jpg

网络配图

曹野那姬是怎么来到开元盛世并走进后宫的？

根据《册府元龟》统计，唐代九姓胡从高祖武德七年(624年)到代宗大历七年(722年)计100年间，共入贡94次，其中曹国8次。特别是八世纪上半期阿拉伯帝国向东不断军事进攻，对中亚诸国步步进逼，迫使他们向中国求救，唐玄宗时代就占了一半以上，天宝四载(745年)曹国国王哥罗仆禄呈贡表，明确希望从阿拉伯人威胁下挣脱出来，愿做一个唐朝的小州。如此一来，进贡胡旋女也是自然的。

史载，开元期间俱密国进献胡旋女子，康国进贡胡旋女子，史国多次进献胡旋女子，米国曾经一次进献胡旋女子3人。作为传统惯例，曹国进贡胡旋女等自是应有之意。

另外，曹野那也极有可能是外国来唐贩卖的女奴，因其能歌善舞，很合宫中“胡风”时宜，故为唐玄宗宠幸一时。

胡旋舞是唐代最盛行的舞蹈之一。

《通典》卷146云：“舞急转如风，俗谓之胡旋。”

唐玄宗李隆基对于胡旋舞十分偏爱，他的宠妃杨玉环和宠臣安禄山，为了取悦于玄宗，也常常在宫廷上眉飞色舞地跳胡旋舞。

《旧唐书·安禄山传》云：“(安禄山)晚年益肥壮，腹垂过膝，重三百三十斤，每行以肩膊左右抬挽其身，方能移步。至玄宗前，作胡旋舞疾如风焉。”朝代更迭之际，总少不了叛国投敌的人。投降，这个词汇很让人不齿，但为形势所迫，为苟且偷生，很多人还是冒天下之大不韪，走上了这条苍凉之路。李永芳，这个名字优美的明朝将领，就是第一个投降满清（当时称后金）的变节之人。

李永芳，生年不详，明朝辽东铁岭卫（今辽宁铁岭）人，万历年间就成为抚顺的最高军事长官，手下六百余人。抚顺虽然地方不大，却紧邻后金老巢赫图哈拉（今辽宁新宾），是大明国防御努尔哈赤的第一道战线。努尔哈赤统一女真叶赫部时，曾与李永芳有过接触，且有书信来往，故二人彼此比较熟悉。

1.jpg

网络配图

万历四十六年（1618年）四月，努尔哈赤以所谓的“七大恨”为由，秘密起兵伐明，其需要闯的第一关就是抚顺。努尔哈赤所部以请求入市贸易为借口，赚开关门，随即以大军包围了抚顺城，李永芳成了瓮中之鳖。努尔哈赤派人给李永芳送去了劝降书，一方面以许婚、升官来劝诱，一方面则以屠城相威胁。面对窘境，李永芳嘴上答应投降，但仍排兵布阵准备守城作战，最终寡不敌众，城墙被敌军攻占。迫于无奈，缺乏军人血性的李永芳率余部近六百人“冠带乘马出降”，成为明朝第一个投降满清（后金）的将领。

当时，努尔哈赤的实力并不雄厚，有这么一支明军归附，无论从政治还是军事意义上看，都具有非常大的影响力。尽管李永芳曾做过抵抗，但努尔哈赤仍大喜过望，以不失前言的姿态对其极力加以笼络，“授永芳三等副将辖其众”，并把亲孙女（第七子阿巴泰之女）许配给李永芳为妻。从此，李永芳改头换面，成为满清（后金）的一员，并竭力为努尔哈赤效力。对于李永芳投降变节一事，史书称“伐明取边城，自抚顺始；明边将降太祖，亦自永芳始。”

李永芳投降后，鉴于其特殊身份，努尔哈赤交给他的主要任务是窥探消息、收买明将，也就是现在常说的间谍、策反活动。你别说，李永芳守城懈怠，但这个还行，每天一百两的银子没白花，其派出的谍探遍布辽东，腐朽的明将一个个被打动，愿为内应的有之，开门投降的有之，甚至连远在关内京师的情况，也被探听出来。辽阳之战、沈阳之战、四平堡之战，努尔哈赤接连大捷。李永芳也因功被提拔为总兵一职。

5.jpg

网络配图

李永芳有光鲜的一面，也有羞愧、窝囊的一面。后金天命四年（1619年），萨尔浒大战结束时，李永芳曾进入被俘的朝鲜元帅帐中，用箸在地上划字，写了一句“如俺不孝不忠之人，足下必丑看矣”，表露了他作为叛臣的羞愧心态。天命八年（1623年）五月，李永芳担心消息不确实，贸然出兵不利，故劝努尔哈赤暂不兴兵镇压复州军民反抗，结果遭致努尔哈赤的严厉斥责，几个儿子也被捆绑囚禁。不久，李永芳又因刘兴祚投奔明朝一事受到牵连，被革掉总兵之职。

努尔哈赤死后，皇太极即位。天聪元年（1627年），李永芳随阿敏（努尔哈赤侄子）征朝鲜期间，不过遵循皇太极的意思提了几句中肯建议，就被阿敏大骂“蛮奴”，还要杀了他。事后，一向赏罚分明的皇太极听说了这件事，没有给李永芳任何安慰。在皇太极看来，他只是一个变节的奴才，为他犯不着得罪同宗兄弟。由此，自以为对满清忠心耿耿的李永芳受到严重刺激，自此之后不再发一言。天聪八年（1634年）五月，皇太极论功行赏，“分别诸臣功次，以永芳归诚最久，予三等子爵，世袭罔替”。但这个爵位和殊荣，丝毫不能挽救李永芳受到道义和屈辱双重折磨的心灵。不久，李永芳就悒悒而终，

带着无尽的憋屈离开人世。

李永芳的子孙深得满清历代皇帝信任和器重，其四世孙李侍尧就被破格提拔为满洲都统。当时，有很多人提出异议，但乾隆皇帝驳斥吏部“满官不授汉军”的理由之一就是“李永芳孙，安可与他汉军比也”？可见李永芳在清朝的影响。对李永芳降清一事，乾隆皇帝曾说“律有死无贰之义，不能为之讳”，最终还是被列为“贰臣”，不过是在甲等。

免责声明：以上内容源自网络，版权归原作者所有，如有侵犯您的原创版权请告知，我们将尽快删除相关内容。

[返回顶部](#)

[http://news.ifeng.com/history/1/renwu/200802/0218\\_2665\\_403038.shtml](http://news.ifeng.com/history/1/renwu/200802/0218_2665_403038.shtml)

凤凰资讯 > 历史 > 历史纪事 > 人物 > 正文

唐玄宗有一位来自中亚的洋贵妃：曹野那(图)

2008年02月18日 12:29深圳新闻网【大 中 小】 【打印】

相关标签：[\[唐朝\]](#)

“寥落古行宫，宫花寂寞红。白头宫女在，闲坐说玄宗。”一首唐诗常常激起先贤后人对唐玄宗李隆基一世风流的遐想。“天生丽质难自弃”的杨贵妃——杨玉环，让大诗人白居易挥就了流传千古的《长恨歌》。

如今，著名文史专家、文物杂志总编辑葛承雍先生经过研究发现，杨贵妃外，唐玄宗的姬妾中，还有一个“弦鼓一声双袖举，回雪飘飘转蓬舞”的胡旋女，一个来自中亚的“洋贵妃”！

野那：“最喜欢的人”

唐玄宗有29个女儿、30个儿子，记录在案的皇后嫔妃有刘华妃、赵丽妃、钱妃、皇甫德仪、武惠妃、柳婕妤等20人，还有一些嫔妃失传，其中最令人蹊跷的是“曹野那姬”。《新唐书》的《诸帝公主传》记载：“寿安公主，曹野那姬所生。”

葛承雍说：“对于寿安公主的生母‘曹野那’，学界长期无疑无考。但是，随着丝绸之路东西方文化交流史研究的逐渐深入，中亚的粟特人与古代中国的密切关系日益重要。”

在魏晋隋唐时代，“姬”是人们用来称呼年轻貌美女性的，是代表女性身份的一种称谓。

“野那”是外来语，而“曹”姓是出身中亚曹国的粟特人入华后改用汉姓时常用的姓氏。“曹野那”是不是来自中亚曹国的人？

据记者了解，曹国是中亚粟特地区的一个国家，地跨今日的塔吉克斯坦和乌兹别克斯坦。隋唐时期，中国一般对来自粟特地区的人以国命名，著名者如“昭武九姓”。与米氏、史氏、康氏、安氏等以国为氏一样，来自曹国的曹氏是进入或居住在中国境内最常见的粟特姓氏之一。

[<< 前一页123后一页 >>](#)

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623033347/http://www.confucianism.com.cn/html/lishi/24617268.html>

当前类别：[首页](#) >> [新版国学](#) >> [历史](#) >> [隋唐五代](#) >> [唐](#) >> [人物](#)

## 曹野那:唐玄宗曾经最喜欢的"洋贵妃"(1)

发布时间：2016/11/15 0:16:18 被阅览数：165 次 来源：[新华网](#)

[文字](#) 【大 中 小】)

核心提示：著名文史专家承雍先生经过研究发现，杨贵妃外，唐玄宗的姬妾中，还有一个来自中亚的“洋贵妃”。怀疑是中亚粟特人进贡的“胡人女子”或“胡旋女”。

“寥落古行宫，宫花寂寞红。白头宫女在，闲坐说玄宗。”一首唐诗常常激起先贤后人对唐玄宗李隆基一世风流的遐想。“天生丽质难自弃”的杨贵妃——杨玉环，让大诗人白居易挥就了流传千古的《长恨歌》。

如今，著名文史专家、文物杂志总编辑葛承雍先生经过研究发现，杨贵妃外，唐玄宗的姬妾中，还有一个“弦鼓一声双袖举，回雪飘飘转蓬舞”的胡旋女，一个来自中亚的“洋贵妃”！

野那：“最喜欢的人”

唐玄宗有29个女儿、30个儿子，记录在案的皇后嫔妃有刘华妃、赵丽妃、钱妃、皇甫德仪、武惠妃、柳婕妤等20人，还有一些嫔妃失传，其中最令人蹊跷的是“曹野那姬”。《新唐书》的《诸帝公主传》仅载：“寿安公主，曹野那姬所生。”

葛承雍说：“对于寿安公主的生母‘曹野那’，学界长期无疑无考。但是，随着丝绸之路东西方文化交流史研究的逐渐深入，中亚的粟特人与古代中国的密切关系日显重要。”

在魏晋隋唐时代，“姬”是人们用来称呼年轻貌美女性的，是代表女性身份的一种称谓。“野那”是外来语，而“曹”姓是出身中亚曹国的粟特人入华后改用汉姓时常用的姓氏。“曹野那”是不是来自中亚曹国的人？

据记者了解，曹国是中亚粟特地区的一个国家，地跨今日的塔吉克斯坦和乌兹别克斯坦。隋唐时期，中国一般对来自粟特地区的人以国命名，著名者如“昭武九姓”。与米氏、史氏、康氏、安氏等以国为氏一样，来自曹国的曹氏是进入或居住在中国境内最常见的粟特姓氏之一。

葛承雍说，敦煌吐鲁番文书透露出丰富的姓名信息，大大扩展了后人对“曹”姓的研究。吐鲁番出土的文书记载有曹延那、曹野那等粟特人名，桂林西山石室有唐代景龙三年(709年)安野那题名。

“曹野那姬的名字无疑是汉文转写，曹是以曹国为姓氏的粟特人通例称呼，‘野那’二字明显是一个粟特人常见的名字，其粟特语原意是‘最喜欢的人’，俊男靓女都可用此名，无非是男的长相精神，女的长相漂亮。”葛承雍说。

葛承雍说：“曹野那的名字没有改变胡音，说明她汉化尚不深。一般说来，如果外来粟特人在取名习俗上多用汉名，则说明汉化已经很长很深，那就很难判断她是不是粟特人。

曹野那：中亚的胡旋女？

作为“开元盛世”的缔造者，唐玄宗拥有“后宫佳丽三千人”，其中一名名叫“曹野那”的女人，曾经是唐玄宗一度迷恋的姬妾。那么，作为一名外国女子，她是如何来到中国，且有机会接近唐明皇的呢？

根据历史文献的线索和近些年来国内外学者对入华粟特文化的深入研究，入华中亚女性的来源主要有三种可能：

首先，来源于丝绸之路上的胡婢贩卖。唐代龟兹和于阗都置有女肆，西州继承高昌遗留下来的奴婢交易市场兴盛，尤其是买卖胡人奴婢特盛。葛承雍说，当时京城长安奴婢价格相当高，每人合绢250匹，而西州才40匹，长安是西州的6倍，刺激来往中原的行客和兴生胡人购买胡婢带往关中、江淮地区。

编辑：秋痕

---

卢仝:茶仙的不幸与非命(3)

曹野那:唐玄宗曾经最喜欢的“洋贵妃”(2)

---

分享：QQ空间新浪微博腾讯微博微信

<https://www.chinatimes.com/hottopic/20160809005870-260812?chdtv>

網推

你知道嗎？這些皇帝也愛洋人 曾談異國戀

13:142016/08/09 網推 張致鎂、綜合

複製連結

複製連結

字級設定：小中大特

在民國時期，國人對外國美女統一賦予美稱「大洋馬」。首先，歷史上以風流著名的唐玄宗李隆基，就曾有洋人妃子。說到唐玄宗，大家總會聯想到楊貴妃，但事實上他當時還找了個「洋貴妃」。

關於唐玄宗記錄在案的后宮嬪妃，大約有劉華妃、趙麗妃、錢妃、皇甫德儀、武惠妃、柳婕妤等二十人，還有一些嬪妃的檔案因為遺失，沒有記錄在案。不過在其他史書中，還能找到些線索，從而證明唐玄宗確實有過洋妃子。

在《新唐書》的《諸帝公主傳》中記載：「壽安公主，曹野那姬所生。」這裡「姬」是對年輕貌美女性的稱呼，而所謂的「野那」就是外來的意思，曹作為昭武九姓之一，是出身中亞曹國的粟特人進入唐朝後改用的漢姓。

曹野那姬是否來自中亞曹國呢，學界長期無考，只能根據當時的情況進行推斷。當時，隨著絲綢之路的開通，東西方文化的交流日漸平常，粟特人作為絲綢之路上的重要商旅，經常來往於長安和中亞兩地。

唐玄宗作為一代風流帝王，善歌舞，曉音律，曹野那姬的能歌善舞和神秘的異國風韻，使他有很大機會得到唐玄宗的喜愛。其次，在歷史上可以查證的就是明成祖朱棣，也喜歡「大洋馬」。

朱棣是明朝第三位皇帝，是明太祖朱元璋第四子，也與一位朝鮮女子有過那麼一段戀情。這個跨國的女主角就是來自朝鮮的女子權妃，她是朝鮮國家工曹典書權永鈞的女兒，她的家族在朝鮮是名門望族，書香傳世，這樣的家族培養出來的女兒自然是大家閨秀，是難得一見的完美女子。

從元朝開始，朝鮮就被迫向中國進行進獻美女，明初也依舊如此。朱元璋的后宮裡有不少的朝鮮妃嬪。據史料記載，朱棣本人就是朝鮮人碩妃所生的朱門之後，身上有一半朝鮮血統，有一派說法是，他從這位朝鮮美女的身上，找到自己年幼時死去母親的影子。朱棣第一次見到權妃，便被她的清麗婉約所吸引。而皇帝不缺美人。權妃她要在宮廷鬥爭中活下去，就要有她的手段，權妃的簫吹得是悠揚深遠，讓朱棣聽得是如痴如醉，被其深深折服，從此獲得朱棣的寵愛，還掌管了后宮之事，手中也有了權力。

後來朱棣北征，他帶著權妃隨行軍中，路途上，權妃不幸得了重病，不治身亡。朱棣十分悲痛，甚至聽信謠言，認為權妃死於毒害，一怒之下殺了后宮幾千人，釀成一大冤案，但也可以看出，朱棣對權妃的喜愛有多深。

【本篇文章非正式史實觀點，如有不同觀點，歡迎留言指正】

文章來源：權非仲謀

說台語的法國人 做伙來開講

對立的敵人 如何溝通說服？

#唐玄宗 #曹野那姬 #大洋馬 #朱棣 #朝鮮

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623033305/https://www.zuitt.com/chuanshuozhongdecaoyenatangxuanzongjingyoulaizhongyadeyangguifei/>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623033305/http://www.zuitt.com/chuanshuozhongdecaoyenatangxuanzongjingyoulaizhongyadeyangguifei/>

当前位置：风云人物

## 传说中的曹野那 唐玄宗竟有来自中亚的洋贵妃

导语：著名文史专家葛承雍先生经过研究发现，唐玄宗的姬妾中，还有一个来自中亚的“洋贵妃”。唐玄宗有29个女儿、30个儿子，记录在案的皇后嫔妃有...

著名文史专家葛承雍先生经过研究发现，唐玄宗的姬妾中，还有一个来自中亚的“洋贵妃”。唐玄宗有29个女儿、30个儿子，记录在案的皇后嫔妃有刘华妃、赵丽妃、钱妃、皇甫德仪、武惠妃、柳婕妤等20人，还有一些嫔妃失传，其中最令人蹊跷的是“曹野那姬”。《新唐书》的《诸帝公主传》仅载：“寿安公主，曹野那姬所生。”曹野那姬的名字是汉文转写。曹是以曹国为姓氏的粟特人通例称呼，‘野那’二字是一个粟特人常见的名字，其粟特语原意是‘最喜欢的人’，俊男靓女都可用此名，是男的长相精神，女的长相漂亮的意思。粟特（Sogdiana）是中国古书中记载的西域古国之一，亦为民族名称，活动范围在今中亚阿姆河与锡尔河之间的泽拉夫尚河流域，首都“马拉坎达”位于今撒马尔罕。

曹野那姬是怎么来到开元盛世并走进后宫的？根据《册府元龟》统计，唐代九姓胡从高祖武德七年(624年)到代宗大历七年(722年)计100年间，共入贡94次，其中曹国8次。特别是八世纪上半期阿拉伯帝国向东不断军事进攻，对中亚诸国步步进逼，迫使他们向中国求救，唐玄宗时代就占了一半以上，天宝四载(745年)曹国国王哥罗仆禄呈贡表，明确希望从阿拉伯人威胁下挣脱出来，愿做一个唐朝的小州。如此一来，进贡胡旋女也是自然的。史载，开元期间俱密国进献胡旋女子，康国进贡胡旋女子，史国多次进献胡旋女子，米国曾经一次进献胡旋女子3人。作为传统惯例，曹国进贡胡旋女等自是应有之意。另外，曹野那也极有可能是外国来唐贩卖的女奴，因其能歌善舞，很合宫中“胡风”时宜，故为唐玄宗宠幸一时。胡旋舞是唐代最盛行的舞蹈之一。《通典》卷146云：“舞急转如风，俗谓之胡旋。”唐玄宗李隆基对于胡旋舞十分偏爱，他的宠妃杨玉环和宠臣安禄山，为了取悦于玄宗，也常常在宫廷上眉飞色舞地跳胡旋舞。《旧唐书·安禄山传》云：“(安禄山)晚年益肥壮，腹垂过膝，重三百三十斤，每行以肩膊左右抬挽其身，方能移步。至玄宗前，作胡旋舞疾如风焉。”朝代更迭之际，总少不了叛国投敌的人。投降，这个词很让人不齿，但为形势所迫，为苟且偷生，很多人还是冒天下之大不韪，走上了这条苍凉之路。李永芳，这个名字优美的明朝将领，就是第一个投降满清（当时称后金）的变节之人。李永芳，生年不详，明朝辽东铁岭卫（今辽宁铁岭）人，万历年间就成为抚顺的最高军事长官，手下六百余人。抚顺虽然地方不大，却紧邻后金老巢赫图哈拉（今辽宁新宾），是大明帝国防御努尔哈赤的第一道战线。努尔哈赤统一女真叶赫部时，曾与李永芳有过接触，且有书信来往，故二人彼此比较熟悉。

万历四十六年（1618年）四月，努尔哈赤以所谓的“七大恨”为由，秘密起兵伐明，其需要闯的第一关就是抚顺。努尔哈赤所部以请求入市贸易为借口，赚开关门，随即以大军包围了抚顺城，李永芳成了瓮中之鳖。努尔哈赤派人给李永芳送去了劝降书，一方面以许婚、升官来劝诱，一方面则以屠城相威胁。面对窘境，李永芳嘴上答应投降，但仍排兵布阵准备守城作战，最终寡不敌众，城墙被敌军攻占。迫于无奈，缺乏军人血性的李永芳率余部近六百人“冠带乘马出降”，成为明朝第一个投降满清（后金）的将领。当时，努尔哈赤的实力并不雄厚，有这么一支明军归附，无论从政治还是军事意义上看，都具有非常大的影响力。尽管李永芳曾做过抵抗，但努尔哈赤仍大喜过望，以不失前言的姿态对其极力加以笼络，“授永芳三等副将辖其众”，并把亲孙女（第七子阿巴泰之女）许配给李永芳为妻。从此，李永芳改头换面，成为满清（后金）的一员，并竭力为努尔哈赤效力。对于李永芳投降变节一事，史书称“伐明取边城，自抚顺始；明边将降太祖，亦自永芳始。”李永芳投降后，鉴于其特殊身份，努尔哈赤交给他的主要任务是窥探消息、收买明将，也就是现在常说的间谍、策反活动。你别说，李永芳守城懈怠，但这个还行，每天一百两的银子没白花，其派出的谍探遍布辽东，腐朽的明将一个被个被触动，愿为内应的有之，开门投降的有之，甚至连远在关内京师的情况，也被探听出来。辽阳之战、沈阳之战、四平堡之战，努尔哈赤接连大捷。李永芳也因功被提拔为总兵一职。

李永芳有光鲜的一面，也有羞愧、窝囊的一面。后金天命四年（1619年），萨尔浒大战结束时，李永芳曾进入被俘的朝鲜元帅帐中，用箸在地上划字，写了一句“如俺不孝不忠之人，足下必丑看矣”，表露了他作为叛臣的羞愧心态。天命八年（1623年）五月，李永芳担心消息不确实，贸然出兵不利，故劝努尔哈赤暂不兴兵镇压复州军民反抗，结果遭致努尔哈赤的严厉斥责，几个儿子也被捆绑囚禁。不久，李永芳又因刘兴祚投奔明朝一事受到牵连，被革掉总兵之职。努尔哈赤死后，皇太极即位。天聪元年（1627年），李永芳随阿敏（努尔哈赤侄子）征朝鲜期间，不过遵循皇太极的意思提了几句中肯建议，就被阿敏大骂“蛮奴”，还要杀了他。事后，一向赏罚分明的皇太极听说了这件事，没有给李永芳任何安慰。在皇太极看来，他只是一个变节的奴才，为他犯不着得罪同宗兄弟。由此，自以为对满清忠心耿耿的李永芳受到严重刺激，自此之后不再发一言。天聪八年（1634年）五月，皇太极论功行赏，“分别诸臣功次，以永芳归诚最久，予三等子爵，世袭罔替”。但这个爵位和殊荣，丝毫不能挽救李永芳受到道义和屈辱双重折磨的心灵。不久，李永芳就悒悒而终，带着无尽的憋屈离开人世。李永芳的子孙深得满清历代皇帝信任和器重，其四世孙李侍尧就被破格提拔为满洲都统。当时，有很多人提出异议，但乾隆皇帝驳斥吏部“满官不授汉军”的理由之一就是“李永芳孙，安可与他汉军比也”？可见李永芳在清朝的影响。对李永芳降清一事，乾隆皇帝曾说“律有死无贰之义，不能为之讳”，最终还是被列为“贰臣”，不过是在甲等。

关键词: **唐玄宗**

## 相关文章

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623064257/http://books.sina.com/bg/sinablog/famous-diary/20140327/213049425.html>

唐玄宗有位来自中亚的洋贵妃

新浪博客

轉寄 列印

著名文史專家葛承雍先生經過研究發現，唐玄宗的姬妾中，還有一個來自中亞的“洋貴妃”。

唐玄宗有29個女兒、30個兒子，記錄在案的皇后嬪妃有劉華妃、趙麗妃、錢妃、皇甫德儀、武惠妃、柳婕妤等20人，還有一些嬪妃失傳，其中最令人蹊蹺的是“曹野那姬”。《新唐書》的《諸帝公主傳》僅載：“壽安公主，曹野那姬所生。”

曹野那姬的名字是漢文轉寫。曹是以曹國為姓氏的粟特人通例稱呼，‘野那’二字是一個粟特人常見的名字，其粟特語原意是‘最喜歡的人’，俊男靚女都可用此名，是男的長相精神，女的長相漂亮的意思。

曹野那姬是怎麼來到開元盛世並走進后宮的？

根據《冊府元龜》統計，唐代九姓胡從高祖武德七年(624年)到代宗大曆七年(722年)計100年間，共入貢94次，其中曹國8次。特別是八世紀上半期阿拉伯帝國向東不斷軍事進攻，對中亞諸國步步進逼，迫使他們向中國求救，唐玄宗時代就占了一半以上，天寶四載(745年)曹國國王哥羅卜祿呈貢表，明確希望從阿拉伯人威脅下掙脫出來，願做一個唐朝的小州。如此一來，進貢胡旋女也是自然的。

史載，開元期間俱密國進獻胡旋女子，康國進貢胡旋女子，史國多次進獻胡旋女子，米國曾經一次進獻胡旋女子3人。作為傳統慣例，曹國進貢胡旋女等自是應有之意。

另外，曹野那也極有可能是外國來唐販賣的女奴，因其能歌善舞，很合宮中“胡風”時宜，故為唐玄宗寵幸一時。

胡旋舞是唐代最盛行的舞蹈之一。

《通典》卷146雲：“舞急轉如風，俗謂之胡旋。”

唐玄宗李隆基對於胡旋舞十分偏愛，他的寵妃楊玉環和寵臣安祿山，為了取悅於玄宗，也常常在宮廷上眉飛色舞地跳胡旋舞。

《舊唐書·安祿山傳》雲：“(安祿山)晚年益肥壯，腹垂過膝，重三百三十斤，每行以肩膊左右抬輓其身，方能移步。至玄宗前，作胡旋舞疾如風焉。”

< 上篇文章 | 本期目錄 | 下篇文章 >

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180623033012/http://dailynews.sina.com/bg/chn/chnlocal/chinapress/20100127/01011148971.html>

## 唐玄宗有位洋貴妃？

<http://news.sina.com> 2010年01月27日 01:01 僑報

▲西安發現的唐代石刻“胡旋舞”。資料圖片

在開元天寶時期，唐玄宗的“後宮佳麗三千人”中，有一位來自中亞曹國的女子，名叫“曹野那姬”，她曾經成為讓皇帝一度迷戀的姬妾。經過歷史文物學者的長期考證，她被懷疑是中亞粟特人進貢的“胡人女子”或“胡旋女”。

“寥落古行宮，宮花寂寞紅。白頭宮女在，閑坐說玄宗。”一首唐詩常常激起後人對唐玄宗李隆基一世風流的遐想。

“天生麗質難自棄”的楊貴妃——楊玉環，讓大詩人白居易揮就了流傳千古的《長恨歌》。

如今，知名文史專家、文物雜誌總編輯葛承雍經過研究發現，除楊貴妃外，唐玄宗的姬妾中，還有一位“弦鼓一聲雙袖舉，回雪飄飄轉蓬舞”的胡旋女，一位來自中亞的“洋貴妃”！

曹野那姬生有“龍女”

唐玄宗有29個女兒、30個兒子，記錄在案的皇后嬪妃有劉華妃、趙麗妃、錢妃、皇甫德儀、武惠妃、柳婕妤等20人，還有一些嬪妃失傳，其中最令人蹊蹺的是“曹野那姬”。

《新唐書》的《諸帝公主傳》僅載：“壽安公主，曹野那姬所生。”葛承雍說：“對於壽安公主的生母曹野那，學界長期無疑無考。但是，隨着絲綢之路東西方文化交流史研究的逐漸深入，中亞的粟特人與古代中國的密切關係日顯重要。”

在魏晉隋唐時代，“姬”是人們用來稱呼年輕貌美女性的，是代表女性身份的一種稱謂。“野那”是外來語，而“曹”姓是出身中亞曹國的粟特人入華後改用漢姓時常用的姓氏。

“曹野那”來自中亞曹國

據了解，曹國是中亞粟特地區的一個國家，地跨今日的塔吉克和烏茲別克斯坦。隋唐時期，中國一般對來自粟特地區的人以國命名，著名者如“昭武九姓”。與米氏、史氏、康氏、安氏等以國為氏一樣，來自曹國的曹氏是進入或居住在中國境內最常見的粟特姓氏之一。

葛承雍說，敦煌吐魯番文書透露出豐富的姓名信息，大大擴展了後人對“曹”姓的研究。吐魯番出土的文書記載有曹延那、曹野那等粟特人名，桂林西山石室有唐代景龍三年（709年）安野那題名。

“曹野那姬的名字無疑是漢文轉寫，曹是以曹國為姓氏的粟特人通例稱呼，‘野那’二字明顯是一個粟特人常見的名字，其粟特語原意是‘最喜歡的人’，俊男靚女都可用此名，無非是男的長相精神，女的長相漂亮。”葛承雍說。

儘管粟特人的起名細節如今無法考證，但“最喜歡的人”或“最美麗的人”的“野那”稱謂，無疑是來華粟特人起名的現象之一。

葛承雍說：“曹野那的名字沒有改變胡音，說明她漢化尚不深。一般說來，如果外來粟特人在取名時多用漢名，則說明漢化已經很長很深，那就很難判斷她是不是粟特人。”

或為粟特人“貢品”

作為“開元盛世”的締造者，唐玄宗擁有“後宮佳麗三千人”，其中一位名叫“曹野那”的女人，曾經是唐玄宗一度迷戀的姬妾。那麼，作為一名外國女子，她是如何來到中國，且有機會接近唐明皇的呢

根據歷史文獻的線索和近些年來海內外學者對入華粟特文化的深入研究，入華中亞女性的來源主要有三種可能：

首先，來源於絲綢之路上的胡婢販賣。唐代龜茲和于闐都置有女肆，西州繼承高昌遺留下來的奴婢買賣市場興盛，尤其是買賣胡人奴婢特盛。在吐魯番文書中有買婢市券，譬如《唐開元十九年唐榮買婢失滿兒市券》：“得與胡米祿山辭，今將婢失滿兒，年拾壹，於西州市出賣與京兆府金城縣（今陝西興平縣）人唐榮，得練肆拾匹。”

葛承雍說，當時京城長安奴婢價格相當高，每人合絹250匹，而西州才40匹，長安是西州的6倍，刺激來往中原的行客和興生胡們購買胡婢帶往關中、江淮地區。販賣者和經營者為了市易取利，是不管什麼民族情結的，往往將本民族的同胞女子轉手倒賣。

其次，是長安粟特胡人聚落的粟特女子。中亞九姓胡流寓遷居長安的人員較多，特別是來往於絲綢之路上的胡人，常常以到長安為貿易中轉樞紐或目的地，後來，他們多客居長安。

史載，長安市西作為唐長安最大的消費市場和商品集散地，其主力軍就是胡商，他們開設鋪肆，坐商經營牟利，行商奔波供貨，一般皆有家口寓居長安，娶妻生有子女，出現有許多“土生胡”，即胡人血統二代或三代的移民後裔。長安酒肆中美貌如花的“胡姬”中可能有曹姓胡人女子。

此外，皇家梨園中有不少胡人藝術家，尤其是傳承三代的琵琶世家如曹保保、曹善才、曹綱等，曾經享譽樂壇，胡姓曹家的女子作為樂戶身份入宮有可能被選為皇帝姬妾。但曹野那姬如果是出生於長安胡人樂戶家庭，一般不會再使用“野那”這樣的粟特名。

第三，是來源於中亞粟特人進貢的“胡人女子”或“胡旋女”。中亞昭武九姓胡與唐王朝正式交往經常通過“貢”與“賜”作為手段，而且次數可觀，種類繁多。

“洋貴妃”因色藝獲恩寵

長期致力於中西交流史研究的蔡鴻生教授根據《冊府元龜》統計，唐代九姓胡從高祖武德七年（624年）到代宗大曆七年（722年）計100年間，共入貢94次，其中曹國8次。特別是八世紀上半期阿拉伯帝國向東不斷軍事進攻，對中亞諸國步步進逼，迫使他們向中國求救，唐玄宗時代就占了一半以上。

天寶四載（745年）曹國國王哥羅卜祿呈貢表稱：“祖宗以來向天可汗忠赤，嘗受征發，望乞慈恩，將奴國土同為唐國小州，所須驅遣，奴身一心忠赤，為國征討。”明確希望從阿拉伯人威脅下掙脫出來，願做一個唐朝的小州。如此一來，進貢胡旋女也是自然的。

葛承雍說：“在阿拉伯帝國長期壓力的背景下，曹國除了進獻名寶、珠玩、異品、馬豹等外，有可能進獻胡人女子或胡旋女。史載，開元期間俱密國進獻胡旋女子，康國進貢胡旋女子，史國多次進獻胡旋女子，米國曾經一次進獻胡旋女子3人。作為傳統慣例，曹國進貢胡旋女等自是應有之意。”

“作為能歌善舞、儀態萬方的漂亮女子，胡旋女是外國女性中最容易接近皇帝的。曹野那應該是開元年間曹國進貢的胡旋女，因色藝贏得玄宗喜愛進入後宮。這和靠‘善歌舞，曉音律’迎合玄宗大悅的楊貴妃是一樣的。”葛承雍說。

來源：新華社 馮國文

[【去論壇發表評論】](#) [【轉寄】](#) [【列印】](#) [【關閉】](#)

<https://books.google.ca/books?>

[id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&dq=yena+sogdian+name&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=yena+favorite+one](https://books.google.ca/books?id=O44MAQAAMAAJ&dq=yena+sogdian+name&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=yena+favorite+one)

Title Les sogdiens en Chine  
*Volume 17 of Études thématiques*, ISSN 1269-8067  
*Volume 17 of Études thématiques: École Française d'Extrême-Orient*

Authors Eric Trombert, Étienne de La Vaissière

Publisher École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005

Original from the University of Michigan

Digitized Jul 13, 2010

ISBN 2855396530, 9782855396538

Length 444 pages

### [Iranians in China – Persian Heritage](#)

<https://persian-heritage.com> > archives

Jan 16, 2021 — ... Yansyan's family forever. Zhang Yanxiang, whose name is found in Chinese language documents in Turfan, is believed to be Chan Yansyan.

### [Iran and China blood ties – RUG Curator](#)

<https://rugcurator.com> > news > iran-and-china-generits

Oct 8, 2018 — Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, whose name is found in Chinese language documents in Turfan, is believed to be Chan Yansyan. Kuchean girls were ...

### [Download PDF - Brill](#)

<https://brill.com> > journals > tpao > article-p149\_5

in the second century B.C., before Zhang Qian's famed journey to Central Asia, Samarkand's economy was ... line 2: Yansyan of the Chan family is now to be tentatively identified with Zhang Yanxiang, encountered in Tulufan chutu wenshu.

### [U 24 Signature of Pator the chief scribe of Gaochang Verso Female ...](#)

<https://www.coursehero.com> > file > U-24-Signature-of-P...

... solar calendar. line 2: Yansyan of the Chan family is now to be tentatively identified with Zhang Yanxiang ff e t\*U, encountered in Tulufan chutu wenshu vol.

### [Iranies en China - Iranians in China - qaz.wiki](#)

<https://es.qaz.wiki> > wiki > Iranians\_i...

- [Translate this page](#)

Apr 9, 2021 — Se cree que Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, cuyo nombre se encuentra en documentos en chino en Turfan, es Chan Yansyan. Las niñas kucheanas ...

### [Iraniens en Chine - Iranians in China - qaz.wiki](#)

<https://fr.qaz.wiki> > wiki > Iranians\_i...

- [Translate this page](#)

Jan 1, 2021 — On pense que Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, dont le nom se trouve dans les documents en chinois à Turfan, est Chan Yansyan. Les filles ...

[Iranians in China - WikiVisually](#)

[https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Iranians\\_in\\_China](https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Iranians_in_China)

Zhang Yanxiang 張延相, whose name is found in Chinese language documents in Turfan, is believed to be Chan Yansyan. Kuchean girls were sold as slaves in ...

[중국의이란인 - Iraklio B.C. - Wikipedia](#)

<https://ko.nipponkaigi.net/wiki/Ir...>

- [Translate this page](#)

T'ao Ku의 "Ch'ing-i-lu" 송나라 책에서 Liu Chang과 페르시아 여성 사이의 ... Turfan의 중국어 문서에 이름이있는 Zhang Yanxiang 張延相은 Chan Yansyan으로 ...

[The Impact of the Silk Road trade on a local ... - Yale History](#)

<https://history.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files>

PDF

by V HANSEN · Cited by 22 — understanding the Silk Road trade of the Tang dynasty, the Turfan oasis offers the ... Fujian, from Turfan in 733 in the company of one male slave and two female slaves ... resident of Chang'an, Tang Rong 唐榮, for forty bolts of silk.70 Five men ...

[A social-leverage mechanism on the Silk Road: the private ...](#)

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/article/so...>

by Y ZHANG · 2017 · Cited by 8 — For instance, in 731 C.E., the Sogdian merchant Li Lushan sold an 11-year-old girl to a Chinese resident of Chang'an, Tang Rong, for 40 bolts ...

[\(PDF\) The Sogdian Trade Diaspora in East Turkestan during ...](#)

[https://www.academia.edu/The\\_Sogdian\\_Trade\\_Diasp...](https://www.academia.edu/The_Sogdian_Trade_Diasp...)

Keywords: Sogdians, Trade, Diaspora, Silk Road, Turkestan Since the early ... sold the slave girl Shimaner , age 11, to Tang Rong from the capital district (Jingzhao ... he borrowed 200 bolts of silk tabby (juan) from Cao Yanyan in Gongyue.

[Sogdia | Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing - eBooks | Read eBooks ...](#)

<http://self.gutenberg.org> > article > WHEBN0000093965

Most merchants did not travel the entire Silk Road but would trade goods ... men and Sogdian women were usually between a male master and a female slave. ... girl to a resident of Chang'an, Tang Rong, for forty bolts of silk. ... "The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 500–800" (PDF).

[Turpan : definition of Turpan and synonyms of Turpan \(English\)](#)

<http://dictionary.sensagent.com> > Turpan > en-en

A Chang'an native called Tang Rong bought a girl aged 11 for 40 silk bolts in ... enslavement, since The Tang Code forbade commoners to be sold as slaves.

[Sogdia - WikiVisually](#)

<https://wikivisually.com> > wiki > Sogdia

Silk Road II - Episode 11: The Soghdian Merchants ... records the purchase of a 15-year-old slave for six bolts of plain silk and five Chinese coins, ... Tang Rong (唐榮) of Chang'an, for the purchase of an eleven-year-old girl. ... "The Sogdian Descendants in Mongol and post-Mongol Central Asia: The Tajiks and Sarts" (PDF).

[Commerce and Society in Sogdiana and Beyond](#)

<http://webspace.ship.edu> > jkskaf

Female Slave, unknown age. Upach, "from the family of Chuyakk and was born in Turkestan, from Wakhshuvirt, son of Tudhakk originating from Samarqand."

[Download PDF - Brill](#)

<https://brill.com> > journals > tpao > article-p149\_5

Wakhshuvirt, son of Tudhakk originating from Samarqand, [l. 6] for [the price of] 120 drachms [coins which are] very pure [and were] minted in [Sasanian] Persia ...

[Iranians in China – Persian Heritage](#)

<https://persian-heritage.com> > archives

Jan 16, 2021 — The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called Wakhshuvirt and his father was Tudhakk. The contract said they could they anything they ...

[China Eastern Flights from Barcelona](#)

<https://age.wiggmanatorzo.tk>

The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called Wakhshuvirt and his father was Tudhakk The contract said they could they anything they wanted to Upach, ...

[Sogdian Traders: A History - Page 169 - Google Books Result](#)

<https://books.google.ca> > books

[Étienne de la Vaissière](#) · 2005 · Social Science

... slave by the name of Upach, who is from the family of Chuyakk and was born in Turkestan, from Wakhshuvirt, son of Tudhakk originating from Samarqand, [I.

[Iran and China blood ties – RUG Curator](#)

<https://rugcurator.com> > news > iran-and-china-generits

Oct 8, 2018 — The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called Wakhshuvirt and his father was Tudhakk The contract said they could they anything they ...

[粟特商人史 - Page 152 - Google Books Result](#)

<https://books.google.ca> > books

- [Translate this page](#)

[魏義天](#) · 2015 · Business & Economics

在高昌市場眾人面前,張姓 Uta 的兒子沙門 Yansyan 用波斯鑄純度很高的銀錢一百二十文,向 Tudhakk 的兒子 Wakhshuvirt,買了來自 Chuyakk 家族的女人在突厥生 ...

[Hotel Diana, Gwangmyeong, South Korea - Gyeonggi-do](#)

<https://violence.erpesmeviwet.tk>

The seller of the slave was from Samarqand called Wakhshuvirt and his father was Tudhakk The contract said they could they anything they wanted to Upach, ...

[The Impact of the Silk Road trade on a local ... - Yale History](#)

<https://history.yale.edu> > sites > default > files > files

PDF

by V HANSEN · Cited by 22 — The Chinese translation of this article, done by Huang Shih-shan, appeared in ... In 733 a Sogdian commoner resident in Xizhou, Shi Randian 史染典 bought a.

[Iran and China blood ties – RUG Curator](#)

<https://rugcurator.com> > news > iran-and-china-generits

Oct 8, 2018 — The Parthian Iranians, An Shigao and An Xuan, introduced ... Shi Randian was a Xizhou Sogdian merchant who had a Chinese military title.

[The Sogdian Trade Diaspora in East Turkestan ... - JSTOR](#)

<https://www.jstor.org> > stable

by JK Skaff · 2003 · Cited by 37 — certificate of ownership, listing goods that the merchant Shi Randian ;34, ... camel to a Tang soldier at Turfan (Xizhou i 'J4'), which was more than 1,000.

[Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, ...](#)

<https://books.google.ca> > books

[Jonathan Karam Skaff](#) · 2012 · History

... in Xizhou Market involved one Sogdian, Kang Sili, who was classified as a Tang military officer, selling a “frontier” horse to a Sogdian merchant, Shi Randian ...

[The History of the Contractual Thoughts in Ancient China](#)

<https://books.google.ca> > books

[Yunsheng Liu](#) · 2020 · Law

... of Shi Randian in the 21st Year of Kai Yuan Period (733 A.D.)<sup>84</sup>: “He Dao Shi ... Xizhou citizen Shi Randian bought a horse from Kang Sili with eighteen Pi (a ...

[the Political and economic history of the sui, tang and ... - Brill](#)

<https://brill.com> > downloadpdf > book

t Passport of shi randian 石染典, dated 7329. 5 tang changru 唐長孺, Tulufan ... t Guan by the granaries section of the Xizhou. Protectorate 西州都督府, dated ...

[The Sogdian Trade Diaspora in East Turkestan During the ... - Brill](#)

<https://brill.com> > journals > jesh > article-p475\_3

certification of ownership, listing goods that the merchant Shi Randian ... example of this is Shi Randian, who was a Tang subject living at Turfan (Xizhou baixing.) ...

[A social-leverage mechanism on the Silk Road: the private ...](#)

<https://www.cambridge.org> > core > journals > article

by Y ZHANG · 2017 · Cited by 8 — ... of Turfan), Xizhou area, offered 14 bolts of silk to buy a yellow camel, ... As another instance, in 733 C.E., Shi Randian, a Sogdian, swapped a ...

[Trade and Exchanges along the Silk and Steppe Routes in ...](#)

<https://www.cambridge.org> > core > books > core-reader

Apr 13, 2018 — In 732, Shi Randian, Sogdian resident of Xizhou, relied on a Tang guosuo to travel from the Iron Gates to Kucha, one of “Four Garrisons” of Anxi ...

[http://webpace.ship.edu/jkskaf/Silk%20Road/a14\)%20Sogdians.html](http://webpace.ship.edu/jkskaf/Silk%20Road/a14)%20Sogdians.html)

[https://brill.com/view/journals/tpao/89/1/article-p149\\_5.xml](https://brill.com/view/journals/tpao/89/1/article-p149_5.xml)

[https://books.google.ca/books?id=cqWODwAAQBAJ&pg=PA169&lpg=PA169&dq=Wakhushuvirt+Tudhakk&source=bl&ots=WJNRV-nyhO&sig=ACfU3U04F\\_ActVglAo5SMxw\\_X8EVCr91\\_g&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1prOH2pjwAhWCLc0KHTLCD4gQ6AEwD3oECBAQAw#v=onepage&q=Wakhushuvirt%20Tudhakk&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=cqWODwAAQBAJ&pg=PA169&lpg=PA169&dq=Wakhushuvirt+Tudhakk&source=bl&ots=WJNRV-nyhO&sig=ACfU3U04F_ActVglAo5SMxw_X8EVCr91_g&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1prOH2pjwAhWCLc0KHTLCD4gQ6AEwD3oECBAQAw#v=onepage&q=Wakhushuvirt%20Tudhakk&f=false)

[https://books.google.ca/books?id=QNDIDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA152&lpg=PA152&dq=Wakhushuvirt+Tudhakk&source=bl&ots=pf1Osc9jNa&sig=ACfU3U2j\\_mFYPzT2-Xw4O5cl3IFaslOevQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1prOH2pjwAhWCLc0KHTLCD4gQ6AEwEXoECBEQAw#v=onepage&q=Wakhushuvirt%20Tudhakk&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=QNDIDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA152&lpg=PA152&dq=Wakhushuvirt+Tudhakk&source=bl&ots=pf1Osc9jNa&sig=ACfU3U2j_mFYPzT2-Xw4O5cl3IFaslOevQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1prOH2pjwAhWCLc0KHTLCD4gQ6AEwEXoECBEQAw#v=onepage&q=Wakhushuvirt%20Tudhakk&f=false)

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=5OpoAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA68&lpg=PA68&dq=Shi+Randian+xizhou&source=bl&ots=JG7T5xouDT&sig=ACfU3U04QpTxVn3c5X5uWH9Q229d6JODNg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiN7efJ2pjwAhXJW80KHac2AxsQ6AEwBHoECACQAw#v=onepage&q=Shi%20Randian%20xizhou&f=false>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=JeLuDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA130&lpg=PA130&dq=Shi+Randian+xizhou&source=bl&ots=hUylzVMLXw&sig=ACfU3U3pKG3IDvaOgTF4wnK6SvdhkiVNw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiN7efJ2pjwAhXJW80KHac2AxsQ6AEwBXoECAYQAw#v=onepage&q=Shi%20Randian%20xizhou&f=false>

[https://brill.com/view/book/9789004252332/B9789004252332\\_011.xml](https://brill.com/view/book/9789004252332/B9789004252332_011.xml)  
[https://brill.com/view/journals/jesh/46/4/article-p475\\_3.xml](https://brill.com/view/journals/jesh/46/4/article-p475_3.xml)

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-institutional-economics/article/abs/socialleverage-mechanism-on-the-silk-road-the-private-emergence-of-institutions-in-central-asia-from-the-7th-to-the-9th-century/F4831CEC446542CB9709829A1E061A0D>  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-institutional-economics/article/socialleverage-mechanism-on-the-silk-road-the-private-emergence-of-institutions-in-central-asia-from-the-7th-to-the-9th-century/F4831CEC446542CB9709829A1E061A0D>

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/empires-and-exchanges-in-eurasian-late-antiquity/trade-and-exchanges-along-the-silk-and-steppe-routes-in-late-antique-eurasia/8C3C0B8960612E24D8C8F36ED4F09DC7>  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/empires-and-exchanges-in-eurasian-late-antiquity/trade-and-exchanges-along-the-silk-and-steppe-routes-in-late-antique-eurasia/8C3C0B8960612E24D8C8F36ED4F09DC7/core-reader>

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=1QZ-FNbV-NUC&pg=PA50>

<https://archive.is/3ACd8#selection-1033.0-1091.4>  
<https://archive.is/3ACd8#selection-1275.0-1305.4>  
<https://archive.is/3ACd8#selection-1471.0-1713.4>  
<http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030905/https://worddisk.com/wiki/Semu/>

<https://archive.is/ROB19#selection-644.1-730.1>  
<https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1312-36/www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Semu>  
<http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Semu>

<https://archive.is/TTV3x#selection-479.0-585.1>  
<https://archive.is/TTV3x#selection-715.0-761.4>  
<https://archive.is/TTV3x#selection-765.0-835.244>  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030608/http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache%3AtxUVu0\\_LQScJ%3Akiwix.demo.ideascube.org%2Fwikipedia.en%2FA%2FSemu.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030608/http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache%3AtxUVu0_LQScJ%3Akiwix.demo.ideascube.org%2Fwikipedia.en%2FA%2FSemu.html)

<https://archive.is/JaASf#selection-7277.0-7391.1>  
<https://archive.is/JaASf#selection-7435.437-7471.205>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1306-03/https://www.wikizero.com:443/en/Yuan\\_dynasty](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1306-03/https://www.wikizero.com:443/en/Yuan_dynasty)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030812/https://www.wikizero.com/en/Yuan\\_dynasty](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030812/https://www.wikizero.com/en/Yuan_dynasty)

<https://archive.is/8NVhB#selection-8103.0-8599.5>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1304-39/https://library.answerthepublic.net:443/en/A/Yuan\\_dynasty](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1304-39/https://library.answerthepublic.net:443/en/A/Yuan_dynasty)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030734/https://library.answerthepublic.net/en/A/Yuan\\_dynasty](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030734/https://library.answerthepublic.net/en/A/Yuan_dynasty)

<https://archive.is/aTfiZ#selection-7311.0-7363.108>  
<https://archive.is/aTfiZ#selection-7567.0-7901.5>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1300-10/https://pipiwiki.com:443/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1300-10/https://pipiwiki.com:443/wiki/Yuan_dynasty)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030701/https://pipiwiki.com/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030701/https://pipiwiki.com/wiki/Yuan_dynasty)

<https://archive.is/3hS9M#selection-7799.0-7853.108>  
<https://archive.is/3hS9M#selection-8057.0-8445.5>  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030833/https://worddisk.com/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty/](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030833/https://worddisk.com/wiki/Yuan_dynasty/)

<https://archive.is/f6yms#selection-5483.0-5535.107>  
<https://archive.is/f6yms#selection-5745.0-6061.4>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1251-55/https://the-singapore-lgbt-encyclopaedia.wikia.org:443/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1251-55/https://the-singapore-lgbt-encyclopaedia.wikia.org:443/wiki/Yuan_dynasty)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030811/https://the-singapore-lgbt-encyclopaedia.wikia.org/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030811/https://the-singapore-lgbt-encyclopaedia.wikia.org/wiki/Yuan_dynasty)

<https://archive.is/4kyat#selection-5873.0-5925.108>  
<https://archive.is/4kyat#selection-6103.0-6409.5>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1251-07/https://en.linkfang.org:443/wiki/Yuan\\_period](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1251-07/https://en.linkfang.org:443/wiki/Yuan_period)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030635/https://en.linkfang.org/wiki/Yuan\\_period](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030635/https://en.linkfang.org/wiki/Yuan_period)

<https://archive.is/g9dm9#selection-5863.0-5915.108>  
<https://archive.is/g9dm9#selection-6093.0-6399.5>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1250-12/https://en.linkfang.org:443/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1250-12/https://en.linkfang.org:443/wiki/Yuan_dynasty)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030828/https://en.linkfang.org/wiki/Yuan\\_dynasty](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030828/https://en.linkfang.org/wiki/Yuan_dynasty)

<https://archive.is/SyxYu#selection-2331.1452-2347.195>  
<https://archive.is/SyxYu#selection-2391.1-2443.206>  
<https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1249-05/https://amp.blog.shops-net.com:443/19606306/1/yuan-dynasty.html>  
<http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030839/https://amp.blog.shops-net.com/19606306/1/yuan-dynasty.html>

<https://archive.is/PqyWp#selection-1289.0-1305.194>  
<https://archive.is/PqyWp#selection-1347.0-1397.205>  
[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1245-11/www.owlapps.net/owlapps\\_apps/article?id=19606306&lang=en](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1245-11/www.owlapps.net/owlapps_apps/article?id=19606306&lang=en)  
[http://www.owlapps.net/owlapps\\_apps/article?id=19606306&lang=en](http://www.owlapps.net/owlapps_apps/article?id=19606306&lang=en)

<https://archive.is/QtdW6#selection-7697.0-7749.107>  
<https://archive.is/QtdW6#selection-7959.0-8315.5>

[https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1242-24/www.wikiwand.com/en/Yuan\\_dynasty](https://megalodon.jp/2021-0429-1242-24/www.wikiwand.com/en/Yuan_dynasty)  
[http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030701/https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Yuan\\_dynasty](http://web.archive.org/web/20210429030701/https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Yuan_dynasty)

<https://archive.is/hX6aV#selection-6173.0-6219.107>

<https://archive.is/hX6aV#selection-6423.0-6765.5>

<http://web.archive.org/web/20210429033836/https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache%3Ahttps%3A%2F%2Fen.ddbrite.appspot.com%2Fu%3Fpurl%3DeXRzYW55RF9uYXVZL2lraXcvZ3JvLmFpZGVwaWtpdy5tLm5lLy86c3B0dGg%253D%250A>

<https://en.ddbrite.appspot.com/u?>

[purl=eXRzYW55RF9uYXVZL2lraXcvZ3JvLmFpZGVwaWtpdy5tLm5lLy86c3B0dGg%3D%0A](https://en.ddbrite.appspot.com/u?3Fpurl=eXRzYW55RF9uYXVZL2lraXcvZ3JvLmFpZGVwaWtpdy5tLm5lLy86c3B0dGg%3D%0A)

<https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?>

[q=cache:https://en.ddbrite.appspot.com/u%3Fpurl=eXRzYW55RF9uYXVZL2lraXcvZ3JvLmFpZGVwaWtpdy5tLm5lLy86c3B0dGg%253D%250A](https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:https://en.ddbrite.appspot.com/u%3Fpurl=eXRzYW55RF9uYXVZL2lraXcvZ3JvLmFpZGVwaWtpdy5tLm5lLy86c3B0dGg%253D%250A)

