

消失了66年的神秘小河

新疆古尸

THE ANCIENT CORPSES
OF XINJIANG

王炳华 主编

古代新疆居民

及其文化 THE PEOPLES OF
ANCIENT XINJIANG AND
THEIR CVLTURE

新疆人民出版社

新疆有白种人，一点可怪之处都没有，炳华这一部新著，为这个历史事实增添了新证。

——季羨林

新疆大地，种族多源，民族复杂，文化独具特色，全世界关注的新疆古尸及其随身文物，可以为此提供具体而生动的说明，通过本书将可以触摸到古代文献里难以觅求的又一页新疆历史。

——王炳华

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王炳华 主编

摄影: 刘三生

责任编辑: 王淑梅

封面设计: 李晓瑜

封面摄影: 李学亮

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李晓瑜

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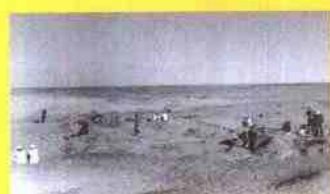
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目 录

3	《新疆古尸》序	季羨林
6	自序	王炳华
10	关于新疆古尸及其研究现状	王炳华
28	罗布淖尔古尸	王炳华
50	哈密五堡古尸	王炳华
70	扎洪鲁克古尸	阿合买提·热西提 何德修
94	苏贝希古尸	吕恩国
114	尼雅古尸	王炳华
144	营盘古尸	李文瑛
166	吐鲁番古尸	王炳华
	附录:	
195	20世纪前期有关新疆古尸的报导	王路力
201	从汉文古籍看古代西域(新疆)的人种问题	虞万里 徐文堪
213	新疆古代居民种族人类学研究	韩康信
	后记	



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	Ji Xianlin
Author's Preface	Wang Binghua
Translator's Preface	Victor H.Mair
On the Ancient Desiccated Corpses of Xinjiang and the Present Condition of Research Concerning Them - an Introduction	Wang Binghua
The Desiccated Corpses of Lopnur	Wang Binghua
Ancient Corpses at Wupu (Qaradöwä) in Hami (Qumul)	Wang Binghua
Ancient Corpses of Zaghunluq.	Ahmat Rashid, Hes Duxiu
Ancient Corpses of Subeshi	Lü Enguo
Ancient Corpses from Niyä	Wang Binghua
Ancient Corpses from Yingpän	Li Wenying
Ancient Corpses from Turpan (Tulufan)	Wang Binghua
Looking at the Racial Question of the Ancient Western Regions (Xinjiang) from Chinese Ancient Documents	Yu Wanli, Xu Wenkan
Physical Anthropological Studies on the Racial Affinities of the Inhabitants of Ancient Xinjiang	Han Kangxin
Postscript	Wang Binghua



《新疆古尸》序

季羨林

老友新疆文物考古研究所所长王炳华，不远数千里，从遥远的乌鲁木齐来信，为他的新著《新疆古尸》征序于我。我真是大喜过望。我早就期望有这样一部书了，国内外有关学者也早就期望有这样一部书了。杜诗云：“好雨知时节，当春乃发生。”这一部书无疑是一场沁人心脾的“及时雨”。

在世界上，我目睹古尸的地方只有两处：一处是埃及，一处就是我们的新疆。二者虽同为古尸，但是实际上是有差别的。埃及的木乃伊大都保存在金字塔中，很多是古代法老的尸体，加上了一些防腐剂，外面裹上了一些棉布一类的纺织品，要放在金字塔中特辟的小室中。时代很古老，古老到公元前几千年前。到了今天，被人收集起来，停放在开罗博物馆一间特辟的房间中，成排地排列在那里，高价出售门票，供好奇者的观赏，主要着眼于经济效益。有的科学家也对防腐剂进行了研究，结果是使人惊叹古代埃及人智慧之高超。此外，这一批木乃伊就同今天的社会没有什么直接的关系了。

中国新疆的古尸则完全不同了。这种古尸在新疆多处出土，埋藏于地下者数量极大，出土者仅占极小一部分。我自己曾在吐鲁番地区高昌城郊的阿斯塔那、喀拉和卓墓地中走进了一座新发掘的古墓中。墓穴并不太深，我估量至多不过两米，一个上洞，靠墙是一个土炕，洞壁上还画着一些粗糙的壁画。死尸就摆在炕上，没有什么防腐剂。这一带的古墓属于晋—唐时代，至今已有1 000多年的历史，然而尸体却不腐不烂，简直是人间奇迹。大概新疆的气候条件和土质起了作用。有的古尸有姓名、籍贯、生死年月可查，他们很多都是来自中原地区的汉人。随这些古尸而出土的一些不同形式的文献，对研究这一历史时期的民族迁移、社会情况等很有助益。

最引起东西学术界轰动的是，在新疆一些地方挖出了“白种人”的古尸。美国有个别学者十分热衷于对于这个问题的探讨，仿佛这一个发现有非凡重要的意义。这种对学术探讨的热情，我们是赞成的，我们是钦佩的。可是，我们国内的一小撮民族分裂主义分子，也乘机上蹿下跳，成了跳梁的小丑。

有的竟自称是“白种人”的后裔，企图分裂祖国。他们这种倒行逆施是决不会得逞的。我们伟大祖国的56个民族是决不容许的。

其实，新疆有“白种人”，也并不是什么新事儿。我研究了多年的吐火罗文，A方言亦称“焉耆文”，B方言亦称“龟兹文”，都在新疆境内。虽然民族与语言不一定完全合一，但是绝大部分是合一的。吐火罗文是印欧语系西支centum语言。印欧语系是白种人的语言，因此可以推断，吐火罗人很可能是白种人。此外，还有一些别的现象，说明古代新疆有白种人。

新疆有白种人，一点可怪之处都没有。反之，如果没有的话，那可倒是一件怪事。我曾在许多地方都讲过，世界上四大文化都汇流在一起的地方，只有新疆一处，此外没有任何地方。新疆是一个文化多元、民族多种的地区，这是一件极好的事情，非常可以珍贵的事情。丝绸之路横亘其间，东西文化不远万里千里来此交流，为东西各国文化的发展以及社会的进步，做出了巨大的贡献，起了巨大的推动作用。这是全世界都必须公认的事实。

炳华的这一部新著，为这个历史事实增添了新证。他是一个谨严的考古学家，长时间地领导新疆的考古发掘工作。关于古尸的发掘，有一些就是在他领导下进行的。科学家的责任是惟真理是务，不能因为政治原因、宗教原因，或任何其他原因而歪曲事实。炳华是一个真正的科学家。对于古尸，是黄种人就说他是黄种人，是白种人就说他是白种人，决不含糊，决不迟疑。我们都应当学习他这种优秀的科学家的品质。

新疆是中国不可分割的一个组成部分，我们全国56个民族都以有新疆这样一块融合世界文化的宝地而感到光荣。炳华这一部新著照亮新疆古史的一部分真相，使我们国人和外国人民对新疆有了更多的了解，我们都要向炳华表示诚挚的感谢。我怀着十分愉快的心情写了这一篇短序。

1998年12月9日

Preface

JI Xianlin

My old friend, Wang Binghua, former director of the Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archeology, sent me a letter from far-off Ürümchi requesting that I write a preface for his new book entitled *The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang*. This made me extremely happy. I had long hoped that there would be such a book, and scholars from China and abroad who are concerned with this subject had also long hoped that there would be such a book. There are two lines of Du Fu's poetry that read thus:

A good rain knows the right season,
Causing eternal spring to come to life.

Without a doubt, this book is seasonable rain that gladdens the heart.

The only two places in the world where I have seen ancient corpses are in Egypt and in Xinjiang. Although both places have ancient corpses, in fact there is a difference between them. The mummies of Egypt were preserved inside of pyramids and many of them are the bodies of pharaohs from antiquity that have been treated with preservatives and wrapped with textiles such as cotton cloth. They were placed inside of chambers within the pyramids that were set aside for that purpose and they are from a very early period, as long ago as several thousand years BCE. Today, they have been collected and displayed in row upon row of a room that has been set aside for them in the Cairo Museum. Expensive tickets are sold to the curious who wish to gaze upon them. The attention is focused mainly on the economic advantages of the mummies, although some scientists have carried out research on the chemicals used to preserve them. As a result, people are caused to marvel at the surpassing wisdom of the ancient Egyptians. Aside from this, these mummies have no direct relationship to today's society.

The ancient corpses of Xinjiang are completely different. This type of ancient corpse has been found at many different

places in Xinjiang. The number of such corpses still buried in the ground is extremely large, while those which have been exhumed constitute merely a small fraction of the total. I myself have entered a recently excavated ancient tomb at Astana cemetery of Qarakhoja in the suburbs of the ruins of Gaochang which lie within the district of Turpan. The tomb itself was actually not very deep. I would estimate that it was at most only about two meters. It was an earthen cave and next to one of the walls was an earthen platform. On the wall were painted some crude murals and the corpse was lying on the platform. No preservatives had been used to treat it. The ancient tombs in this area date to the period from the Jin to the Tang (roughly 4th-9th centuries), making them well over a thousand years old. Yet the bodies had not putrefied or disintegrated, a truly miraculous state of preservation. This is probably due to the climatic conditions and soil quality of Xinjiang. Some of the corpses at Astana are known by name, while their place of origin, date of birth, and date of death may be determined. Many of them were Han individuals who had come from the Central Plains. Also recovered along with these ancient corpses were some documents in various formats. These are very helpful in studying the movements of peoples and the social conditions, etc. during this period of history.

What has stirred up the most excitement in academic circles, both in the East and in the West, is the fact that the ancient corpses of "white (Caucasoid / Europoid) people" have been excavated at several places in Xinjiang. Certain scholars in America have enthusiastically devoted themselves to investigations of problems surrounding these ancient peoples and their cultures. It would seem as though their discovery is of extraordinary importance. We support and admire such enthusiasm toward scientific investigations. However, within China a small group of ethnic separatists have taken advantage of this opportunity to stir up trouble and are acting like buffoons. Some of them have even styled themselves the descendants of these ancient "white people" with

the aim of dividing the motherland. But these perverse acts will not succeed; the more than 56 nationalities of our great motherland will definitely not permit this to happen.

As a matter of fact, there is really nothing new about Xinjiang having "white people." I have been doing research on Tocharian for many years. The A topolect is also called "Qarashäharian" and the B topolect is also called "Kuchean"; both of them are found within the borders of Xinjiang. Although ethnicity and language are not necessarily completely equivalent, they do correspond in the great majority of cases. Tocharian is a centum language of the Indo-European language family (i.e., it belongs to the western branch of that family) and Indo-European languages fundamentally belong to white people. Therefore, we can infer that the Tocharians were quite likely white people. Furthermore, there is additional evidence (visual and otherwise) which indicates that there were white people in ancient Xinjiang.

It is not the slightest bit strange that there would be white people in Xinjiang. To the contrary, it would be strange if there were no white people in ancient Xinjiang. I have often said there is only one place where the four main cultures of the world have congregated, and that is Xinjiang. Aside from Xinjiang, there is no other place on earth where this confluence of cultures occurred. Xinjiang is a region of many cultures and many peoples. This is something extremely good and wonderful about Xinjiang. The Silk Roads pass through this region, enabling the cultures of East and West to engage in mutual exchange despite the vast distances which separate them. This has made a huge contribution to and had an enormous effect upon the development of the cultures of the various countries to the east and to the west as well as to the progress of their societies. This is a fact that the entire world must recognize.

This new book of Wang Binghua provides additional evidence for the study of these historical realities. He is a serious archeologist who has guided archeological excavations in Xinjiang for a long period of time. As for the excavations of the ancient corpses, some of them were carried out under his leadership. The sole responsibility of the scientist is to truth. A scientist may not distort facts for political reasons, for religious reasons, or for any other

reasons. Wang Binghua is a true scientist. When it comes to the ancient corpses, if they are people of the yellow race, then he says that they are people of the yellow race; if they are people of the white race, then he says that they are people of the white race. He is never the least bit vague or hesitant in this respect. We should all emulate these outstanding scientific attributes of his.

Xinjiang is an inalienable component of China. The whole of China with its 56 ethnic groups is proud that Xinjiang, a treasure site where the cultures of the world are combined, belongs to our country. This new book of Wang Binghua illuminates part of the true features of the ancient history of Xinjiang, allowing our own citizens and the citizens of other countries to have a better understanding of Xinjiang. For this, Wang Binghua deserves our gratitude. Consequently, it is with great joy that I have written this brief preface.

December 9, 1998

自序

希望《新疆古尸》，有助于增进人们对古代新疆居民及其文化的认识。

关于新疆古尸，已经产生并还在继续产生着种种神话、议论、假说……还新疆古尸以历史的真实，是曾经负责发掘、参与分析研究的科学工作者们责无旁贷、应该去做，并力争做好的一件事。这不仅相关学术界的要求，也是广大社会的需要。

新疆古尸，当然不是近20年才被人发现的存在。清朝末年，王树楠在《新疆访古录》中就介绍过吐鲁番地区唐代张怀寂墓葬中所见古尸栩栩如生的情况，引发人们无尽的遐想。本世纪初，在新疆出现的西方探险热潮中，斯文·赫定、F. 贝格曼、A. 斯坦因、黄文弼等都曾先后发现并报导过他们在罗布荒原上所见古代尸体，配发了照片、素描。数千年前古代罗布淖尔居民的形象生动呈现在了今人的眼前！他们对所见古尸也提出过自己的分析，如说其人种“近于阿尔卑斯种型”、与古代文献中的“塞人”相关，等等。

20世纪50年代末，新疆博物馆李遇春等在昆仑山下民丰县尼雅遗址发掘得一座保存完好的东汉夫妇合葬墓。随后，相当长时间就在新疆博物馆展陈，说其人种是“本地民族”。

20世纪六七十年代，配合农田生产，在吐鲁番地区进行了大量考古工作。高昌城郊的阿斯塔那、哈拉和卓墓地中发现过多量保存完好的晋—唐时代古尸，通过共出墓志、衣物疏，不少古尸之姓名、祖籍、社会身份、生卒年月均可得明确结论。他们多为来自中原大地的汉族。这些古尸，在相关陈列展览中也占有一席之地。

20世纪70年代末至80年代，笔者在罗布淖尔、哈密五堡发掘青铜时代墓地，发现多具保存完好的古尸。这些人体标本，曾与有关学术机构合作进行分析、研究。赠送给上海自然博物馆的哈密五堡古尸，他们于20世纪80年代初进行过公开展览，为此在黄浦江畔轰动一时。

凡此足见，新疆存在数千年前、保存完好的古尸，从来就不是什么“秘密”。

新疆文物考古工作者，在工作中接触这些古尸后，除力争做好保护工作外，还十分注意相关研究。只是限于主、客观条件，研究难说十分深入。但新疆文物考古界，一直以认真、科学的态度，面对这一历史文化事实，并与相关学科学者们通力合作，使保护、研究工作不断深入，确实是有目共睹的。

古代新疆，居民种族多元，民族复杂，这是大家都了解的常识。但要把这一居民成分复杂的事实，通过古尸作简单阐明，并不是一件容易事。认为通过一具古尸，可以很方便地认识其族别、祖居地、历史文化背景，实际是相当困难的；通过古尸求得上述结论，须要进行相当艰苦的工作，如通过DNA作遗传基因分析，判定其种族等，难度不小。而在另一方面，如观察、分析古尸随身衣物、埋葬习俗、随殉器物等，把握其中蕴含的历史文化信息，并借此判定死者生存、活动的年代、所在自然地理环境、物质资料生产水平及相关的宗教、伦理观念、艺术追求等，倒是有充分可能的。考虑及此，本书在介绍各地古尸时，对古尸随身文物也力求进行比较充分的展示，目的就在于此。

地球上的古代居民，我们的祖先，从来就不是在孤立状态下生存、发展的。自从他们出现在这个世界，就不断努力开拓自己更理想的生活空间。地处亚欧大陆腹地地带的中国“西域”，因着自身的特殊地理位置，加之气候干燥，较好保存下来了古代亚欧大陆居民彼此迁徙往来、交融发展的点滴史迹。不少资料说明，在遥远的过去，这里既曾有过高加索人种的活动，也曾是蒙古人种居住、生活的乐园。当然，不论高加索人种，还是蒙古人种，内部又存在许多差异的支系。这些不同的居民集团，他们在广袤的新疆大地上，或匆匆来去，作为历史的过客，多少留下点自己的印痕；或择地长居，并彼此联系、交融、发展，成为新疆大地不可轻忽的主人。新疆大地的历史，因此而展现篇篇新页。这种历史的格局，在国家出现前，早就已经存在；在步入文明、有了国家后，同样继续发展。公元前1世纪中叶，新疆在政治上进入西汉王朝版图。自此，我国官私文

档著述中，关于新疆古代居民形貌各别、语言文字殊异、彼此迁徙变动的记录，不绝于书，也说明着这一历史发展的轨迹。今天的新疆，众多民族杂居，彼此团结共处，共同开发、建设自己在天山南北美好家园的生动画卷，可以说正是上述历史格局长期发展、变化到今天的结果。

人们常说，新疆地区是全世界惟一的中国文化与印度文化、波斯文化、希腊罗马文化交相混融的所在；不言自明，这当然与文化的载体——人的具体活动密切相关。文化的交流，是通过人进行、展开的，是人类彼此交流的结果。不同的人类种族、民族群体，在历史的长河中彼此联系、混融，不仅产生过新的别具特色的居民族体，而且出现了异彩纷呈的各式文化。这是不以人的意志为转移的历史过程。我们同样希望，通过“新疆古尸”，人们可以从中觅求到上述历史的印迹。

历史，是长流的河。今天，根植于过去，影响着未来。正确认识过去，会使今天的我们更聪明，更强大有力，因而可以更坚定地迈向明天。

● 王炳华

1998年6月20日于乌鲁木齐

PREFACE

The writer hopes that this book, *The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang*, will help to increase people's understanding of the inhabitants of ancient Xinjiang and their cultures.

Various myths, discussions, hypotheses, etc. have already been produced, and are still being produced, concerning the ancient desiccated corpses of Xinjiang. To recover the historical truth of the ancient desiccated corpses of Xinjiang is a task which the scientific workers, who have been responsible for the excavation of the desiccated corpses and who participated in the analytical research on them, should dutifully undertake and also make efforts to do well. This is not only required by the related academic circles but is also needed by society at large.

Of course, the Xinjiang ancient desiccated corpses have existed beyond the discoveries of the last twenty years. Around the end of the Qing Dynasty, in his *Visiting the Ancient Sites in Xinjiang*, Wang Shunan had already introduced the lifelike ancient corpse of Zhang Huaiji which he had seen in a Tang dynasty tomb at Turpan, leading people to endless reveries. At the beginning of this (the twentieth) century, during the heyday of Western adven-

tures in Xinjiang, Sven Hedin, F. Bergman, A. Stein, Huang Wenbi, etc., one after another, discovered and reported on the corpses they had seen scattered in the vast wilderness around Lopnur, and their reports are accompanied by photographs and sketches. The images of the ancient inhabitants who lived around Lopnur several thousand years ago had reappeared vividly in front of the eyes of modern people! Modern people also put forward their own analyses concerning these ancient inhabitants, such as that they 'are close to the Alpine racial type', that they are related to the 'Saka' people who are recorded in ancient documents, and so forth.

In the later years of the 1950s, Li Yuchun of the Xinjiang (Archeological) Museum and others unearthed the well preserved tomb of an Eastern Han Dynasty couple at the Niya site in Minfeng County, beyond the foothills of the Qurum (Kunlun) Mountains. Later, the ancient couple were exhibited in the Archeological Museum for quite a long period, and they were considered as "people of local ethnicity".

During the 1960s and 70s, in tandem with the policy of expanded agricultural production, a great deal of archeological work was carried out in the Turpan region. A huge quantity of well preserved ancient desiccated corpses dating to the Jin-Tang dynasties were discovered in the Tombs of Astana in the suburbs of Idikut (Gaochang), i.e., Qarakhojc. Through examination of unearthed memorial tablets and lists of clothing and other mortuary goods, we can obtain a clear conclusion regarding the surnames, native places, social status, as well as the birth and death dates of quite a number of the ancient desiccated corpses from the Jin to Tang periods. They are mostly Han people from the vast Central Plains of China and have been appropriately displayed in exhibitions.

Toward the end of the 1970s and 1980s, the writer discovered many well preserved ancient desiccated corpses of the Bronze Age at sites near Lopnur and at Qaradöwä (Wupu) in Qumul (Hami). Cooperating with related academic units, the writer has conducted research on these human specimens. Five of these desiccated corpses from Qaradöwä (Wupu) in Qumul (Hami) were loaned to the Shanghai Museum of Natural Science. At the beginning of the 1980s, the Museum held an exhibition open to the public which caused a sensation at the side of the Whampoa (Huangpu) River.

All of this shows that it has never been a secret that there have existed in Xinjiang well preserved, ancient desiccated corpses several thousand years old.

After the archeologists and cultural historians in Xinjiang encountered these ancient desiccated corpses, besides endeavoring to do a good job of protection, they

also paid great attention to related researches. However, limited by subjective as well as objective conditions it is difficult to say that their studies have been profound. Nevertheless, Xinjiang archeological and cultural circles have always faced the reality of history and culture with a serious and scientific attitude. It is indeed obvious to all that, with concerted efforts, they have cooperated with scientists from related fields to ensure that the job of conservation and research be continuously strengthened.

It is common knowledge that the racial affiliations of the ancient inhabitants of Xinjiang were varied and their ethnicity was complicated. Therefore, it is not an easy matter to rely on the ancient desiccated corpses by themselves to make a simple explanation of the complexity of these inhabitants' racial and ethnic affinities. It is almost impossible to tell the ethnological differentiation, ancestral place, and historical and cultural background by conveniently relying on one corpse. As a matter of fact, it requires quite arduous work to obtain the above mentioned conclusions through these ancient desiccated corpses. For example, it is no mean task to conduct genetic analysis using the weak DNA of the ancient corpses. On the other hand, it is quite possible to grasp firmly the historical and cultural information contained in the clothes worn by the corpses, the burial customs, the funerary articles, and so forth by observing and analyzing them, and then, relying on this information, to determine the time when the dead person was alive and active, the natural geographical environment in which he/she was located, the material resources available, the level of production, and the related religious and ethical concepts, artistic pursuits, etc. Taking these aspects into consideration, it is the aim of this book to introduce adequately the historical and cultural items accompanying the ancient desiccated corpses as we discuss each site where corpses were found.

There was never a time when our ancestors, the ancient inhabitants of the globe, survived and developed in complete isolation. Ever since they appeared in this world, they continuously endeavored to seek out ever more ideal living space for themselves. The Chinese "Western Regions [Xiyu]" are located in the heartland of Eurasia. Due to this special geographical location, plus the dry weather, the fragmentary historical traces of the ancient European and Asian inhabitants' mutual migration and communication, as well as their mixing and development, are preserved here in comparatively good condition. A great deal of materials indicates that, in the distant past, not only was this a region where Caucasoid peoples moved about, it was also a paradise where Mongoloid peoples dwelled and made a living. Of course, whether we are talking about Caucasoids or Mongoloids, there were many different

branches among them. In this vast land of Xinjiang, these different groups of inhabitants either came and went in a rush, becoming transitory guests and leaving only slight traces of themselves, or they chose to settle down on the land, mutually contacting and mingling with each other, and developed into the indigenes of Xinjiang who cannot be ignored. Thus, new pages of history have been written on this broad land of Xinjiang. Long before a country appeared, this kind of historical structure had existed. Similarly, it continued to develop after the various groups of people had achieved civilization and nations were formed. In the middle of the first century BC, politically Xinjiang became the territory of the imperial Western Han Dynasty. Since then, there have been continuous official and private written documents and records concerning the different appearances of the ancient inhabitants of Xinjiang, their different languages and scripts, and the transformations among themselves. This too explains the same historical fact. Today, there is a vivid picture in Xinjiang: numerous different ethnic groups mingle together, unite, and develop with a common effort to build the best possible homeland north and south of the Celestial Mountains (Tian Shan). We may say that the present situation is merely the result of the long-term development of the above described historical pattern.

People often say that, in the whole world, Xinjiang is the only region where Chinese, Indian, Persian, Greek, and Roman cultures intermingle. It goes without saying, of course, that this phenomenon is closely related with the actualities which convey culture -- concrete human activities. Cultural exchange is initiated and developed by human beings; it is the result of human beings' mutual contact. Different human races and ethnic groups have interacted with each other in the long river of history. Consequently, not only have various ethnicities emerged, each with their own unique characteristics, a variety of colorful cultures has also appeared. This is a historical process which is beyond the manipulation of human will. Likewise, we hope that, through *The Ancient Corpses of Xinjiang*, people can seek and find the above-mentioned traces of history.

History is a river flowing forever. Today is rooted in the past and influences the future. To recognize the past accurately will make us wiser and stronger, enabling us to stride toward the future with even more steadfast steps.

Wang Binghua

June, 20, 1998 Ürümchi

Translator's Preface

I am delighted that this collection of scholarly papers on the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age peoples of Eastern Central Asia by a group of the most highly qualified Chinese scholars to write on the subject is being sponsored by the Foundation for Exploration and Research on Cultural Origins (FERCO). It is a privilege to have been associated with the making of this book. I would, however, like to take advantage of this opportunity to discuss a couple of aspects of the translation that readers should be aware of.

The first is that I have tried to stay as close as possible to the original wording in Chinese, without becoming unidiomatic in English. The reason I have adopted this approach is so that the authors can speak for themselves with as little distortion as possible. I am very eager for Western readers to know what Chinese scholars think about the Europoid peoples of the region and their role in history and prehistory. Consequently, there are only a few places where I have interjected my own clarifying or amplifying remarks, and these are always marked as "Translator's notes."

This relatively literal approach leads to two problems. The first is the simple fact of more or less frequent unfelicitousness. The second is more serious, namely, this approach has obliged me to present in unadulterated fashion certain topics that are seldom, if ever, discussed so openly in America. In some senses, American academic life is more sheltered and restricted than it is in China.

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, it has become increasingly possible for Chinese scholars to say what is on their minds, particularly in the sciences.

Be that as it may, I believe that the overwhelming need for me to remain faithful to the original Chinese text outweighs considerations of transitory ideological rectitude. Consequently, I have not adulterated the language or the conclusions of the authors to protect American intellectual sensitivities.

There are many references to ancient non-Chinese names, peoples, and places in these papers. Since they are written syllabically in Chinese characters, however, it is often virtually impossible to determine their original phonological shape. In such cases, I have been forced to give the transcribed pronunciation in Modern Standard Mandarin, for which I beg the reader's indulgence.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Li-Ching Chang in preparing the first draft of the entire translation.

Victor H. Mair

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

January 25, 1999

关于新疆古尸及其研究现状

中国幅员辽阔，各地自然地理条件差异很大。古代中国人深信人死灵魂不灭，对亲人死后遗体保存特别重视，企求遗体之不朽。在埋葬制度上不仅因此形成厚葬、玉殓、深埋等习惯，而且遗体处理也有一套办法，十分注意密封，上层人物还使用水银及其他药物处理。湖北江陵、湖南马王堆汉代古尸及长江流域多量明代湿尸，都在这些方面给人以清楚的历史文化信息。

新疆地区，尤其是天山以南的广大地区，气候特别干燥。在古代墓葬中，往往发现干尸。这种干尸，与人工制成的木乃伊及经人工特殊处理与特定自然环境结合面形成的湿尸不同，主要是在特别干旱的环境中自然形成的人体标本。它们出土时，除了没有水分外，基本是人土当年的情况。衣冠服饰以至人体的细部特征，大都似人葬当年，因而可以为千百年后的人们提供十分丰富的、多方面的未经学者取舍、修饰过的历史文化信息。举凡居民的种族特征、民族民俗特点、衣食住行状况、宗教信仰形态、审美艺术观念，以致人体本身的营养状况、致病原因、寄生虫情况以至自然生态环境及其变迁等等，均可由此获取难得的科学资料。在新疆这样一个以少数民族为主体，而且历史上迁徙频繁、变化巨大，但古代文献记录严重缺失的地区，其意义确实非比寻常。许多相关学科的研究者们，从医学、遗传学、环境科学到历史、艺术、宗教甚至纺织史研究等彼此差异巨大的学科，都可以从这些人体标本及相关考古材料中寻求到可贵的营养。从这一角度分析，可以看到，不论是学术界，还是广大公众对新疆出土的多批古尸一直有浓厚兴趣，是不无道理的。作为最先接触、处理有关资料的考古学者，把它们完整地、条理清楚地介绍给学术界，既是义务，也是责任。思虑及此，多年前，即注意收集材料，准备编集《新疆干尸》，但诸多因素，使这一计划未能顺利展开，现在资料基本齐备，可以了却这一夙愿。

自20世纪初至30年代，西方学者对新疆探险考察的热潮迭起，考古学领域，做了不少工作，在罗布淖尔、吐鲁番等地区发现的古尸，曾引起人们相当强烈的关注。

20世纪初，A.斯坦因在罗布淖尔荒原曾发现早期墓葬，古尸保存完好。古墓居于高土台上，“地位既高，加之自古以来气候之绝对干燥，所以露在外面的坟墓中男女尸体保存的状态极可惊异。有些

尸体保存得很好，此外还有殉葬的东西。从饰有羽毛和其他猎获物件的毡帽，旁边的箭杆，粗韧的毛衣，盛食品的小篮之类看，这是一个半游牧的种族”。“俯视这些尸体，除去皮肤干枯以外，简直像熟睡了的人一般”。“这些人头的特点，很近乎阿尔卑斯种型”。（向达译《斯坦因西域考古记》，第109-110页，中华书局，1936年版）在《亚洲腹地》一书中，斯坦因对此有更具体的描述，死者“头戴棕色毡帽，帽有护耳翼作尖角状，帽左边装饰羽毛五枝，有啮齿动物之皮围绕于帽上。周身以毛织物包裹，衣襟交合处，系一小口袋为球状，中盛碎细枝；腰际围一羊毛织裙带，露体不着裳，足穿红色鹿皮靴。死者之面貌：双颊不宽，鼻高而鹰钩，目直，显然为一长头种型。头发卷曲如波，发短而黑”。又称“如其面貌，暗示在兴都库什和帕米尔，阿尔卑斯人种型相似”（转引自黄文弼《罗布淖尔考古记》第55页，国立北京大学出版部，1948年版）。

1930年，黄文弼先生在罗布淖尔湖畔LH发现古冢，死者保存不朽，埋葬习俗、服饰与上述斯坦因报导相同，死者女性，额窄颧高，眉际画绿线三道，帽具璆珞。

20世纪30年代，瑞典学者斯文·赫定、P.贝格曼、中国学者陈宗器在罗布沙漠阿德克地点发现不少古冢，多有干尸，死者服饰形貌与埋葬方式，与上引情况类同。但在干尸腰际发现不少木箭。

吐鲁番盆地，这阶段中也发现过不少古尸。日本学者橘瑞超等还将这里出土的古尸标本带回了日本。目前，部分保存在韩国汉城，一部分放在了旅顺博物馆。

新疆文物考古界发掘到古尸并注意这一问题的研究，则是在距今30多年前的50年代后期，尤其是在近20年内。列其大要，主要发现有：

1959~1975年，新疆博物馆、新疆考古所在吐鲁番阿斯塔那、哈拉和卓先后11次共发掘晋—南北朝至隋—唐时期古代墓葬456座，据对其中的265座墓葬统计，共出土古尸305具，惟其中相当古尸标本均曾经扰乱，并不完整，部分稍好的古尸标本，目前陈列在新疆博物馆、吐鲁番博物馆，也有部分古尸封存在了当地的墓穴中。

1959年10月，新疆博物馆在和田地区民丰县尼雅遗址西北约3公里的古代墓地发掘夫妇合葬木棺1具，人体保存完好。

1978年、1986年、1991年新疆文物考古研究所先后三次在哈密地区哈密县五堡村西戈壁上，清

理发掘古代墓葬114座，出土古尸较完整者11具，如果部分完好的肢体标本亦计算在内，则总数可达70多具，较好的标本，目前分存在哈密博物馆、新疆博物馆、上海自然博物馆。

1970年2月，在乌鲁木齐南郊盐湖南岸天山峡谷中，出土元代古尸1具，保存完好；后遭破坏。

1979年10月，新疆考古所在孔雀河下游古墓沟墓地发掘古代墓葬42座，出土年轻女尸1具，幼儿干尸1具；分存新疆博物馆及考古研究所。

1980年4月，新疆考古所在罗布淖尔湖西北，铁板河入湖三角洲地带，发掘出土女尸1具，保存十分完好，曾对其进行了多学科的分析、研究，标本现收藏在新疆博物馆。

1985年9月，在且末县扎洪鲁克乡古代墓地，新疆博物馆发掘墓葬5座，其中3座已遭程度不等的破坏，在保存较好的两座墓葬中，出土保存良好的古尸3具，成年男女、婴儿干尸各一，现收存在新疆博物馆；巴音郭楞蒙古自治州文管所也曾在这里先后发掘出土古尸5具，现收存在库尔勒博物馆。1997年，新疆博物馆考古队继续在扎洪鲁克发掘，又出土古尸14具，保存在古墓现场，成为简单的“遗址博物馆”，供人观览。

1986年，在奇台县北塔山一处废弃的矿井中，奇台县文管所发现清代淘金工人干尸两具。死者全身捆绑严实，随身衣物完好，允许淘金的执照、工具也在身边。似为淘金过程中因财富纠纷而被害致死。洞穴中含盐量大，尸体保存完好。

1989年10月，新疆文物考古所在鄯善县鲁克沁乡洋赫古墓地，发掘古代墓葬82座，在一地势稍高、浅埋的土穴中，得婴幼儿干尸1具，现收存新疆文物考古所。

1991年4月，新疆文物考古所在吐鲁番地区鄯善县火焰山中的苏贝希沟畔，清理古代遗址、墓地各一，34座战国时期墓葬中，共见古尸11具，其中6具保存相当完好，肢体完整，服饰齐全，5具保存稍差。

1991-1997年，中、日联合尼雅考古，在尼雅遗址发掘清理古墓葬五区，先后出土古尸25具，大多保存良好，现收存在新疆考古研究所。

1996年，在巴音郭楞蒙古自治州尉犁县营盘古墓地，发现古尸5具，部分古尸服装完好，头部覆盖面具。

1998年初，在罗布淖尔湖东北，LE遗址附近，发现一处墓地，墓穴多经盗扰，文物大多散失，但

部分古尸保存完好。其中1具婴儿干尸、1具成人干尸，被运抵乌鲁木齐，收存在新疆考古所。

除上述考古发掘的古尸外，在和田、巴楚、鄯善、连木沁、哈密绿洲以东戈壁，也曾有过出土古尸的消息。

综观这些古尸出土的地点，可以看到，它们基本都处在天山山脉以南，塔里木盆地周缘或塔克拉玛干沙漠深处，吐鲁番盆地、罗布淖尔荒漠或哈密绿洲，这些地区，都是气候特别干燥，土壤中含盐分稍多的地带。与之相对的天山以北地区，虽也进行过相当多的考古发掘，出土过不少人类骨骼标本，却基本不见古尸存在。奇台文管所在北塔山所见古代淘金者干尸，与尸体所在土层中含盐量极高有关，不能算作一般情况。

二

人体死亡后，体内细胞会开始其自溶过程，细胞中的溶酶体释放出各种蛋白水解酶和酸水解酶，使生物大分子逐步降解成小分子。除这一自溶过程外，还自然受到各种腐败细菌的侵袭，从而导致尸体很快腐败分解。这是一个自然过程，但新疆不少地区古代入葬的人体，却背逆了这一自然过程，没有腐烂，相反却以干尸的形式呈现在今人的面前，其具体原因值得我们探究。全面分析新疆古尸出土地点的气候地理环境、古尸出土情况，可以肯定，形成新疆古尸的条件，至少可有下列各点：气候十分干燥，上层中含盐，人体埋葬较浅或墓穴封闭不严、冬季入葬等自然环境条件方面的因素。下面稍作阐述。

1. 气候干燥

如前所述，新疆干尸多见于塔里木盆地及傍近的气候干燥地区，如与之相毗连的罗布荒漠、吐鲁番盆地、哈密绿洲等。从大的地理气候形势分析，具有同一特点：十分封闭的地形，距海洋极远，气候环境十分干燥，几乎得不到水汽补给。具体看，在它们的南边是阿尔金山、昆仑山、喀喇昆仑山；西边，是世界屋脊帕米尔高原；北面，是纵深达数百公里、高耸入云的天山。这种高山耸峙极度封闭的地形使印度洋、大西洋、北冰洋的水汽无法进入。东部与甘肃邻接处，虽然有一个不大的缺口，形成天然的交通孔道，但也终因距太平洋2000多公里以上，东南风不能深入，水汽同样难以补给到这片地区。这一自然地理形势，导致上述地区降水十分稀少。哈密五堡，年降水量只31.1毫米，吐鲁番盆地

年降水量16.6毫米,罗布淖尔荒漠,年降水只有22毫米,塔克拉玛干沙漠南缘年降水量亦多在30毫米上下,而湿度平均为35%,最小相对湿度7%;吐鲁番盆地甚至多次出现零的记录。属暖温带极端干旱荒漠。从中新世,特别是早更新世以来,这一地区已处于干旱及极端干旱的荒漠生物气候带,对第四纪沉积物的分析证明,从末次冰期(距今7000年),特别是近4500年来,这一地区持续干旱,延续至今,而这一时期正是人类在这一地区生殖繁衍的时期。这种极端干旱的环境,使土壤微生物类群和数量极其稀少,活动能力也比较弱。

2. 土壤高度积盐

干旱区一般都是积盐区,积盐强度与干旱程度存在正比关系。在盆地形成过程中,河流将周边山体的盐类运移沉积在盆地内,而在土壤干旱过程中,因蒸发作用使盐类集聚土壤表层,加上植物沁盐作用,脱落枝叶等,更加强了土壤浅层的积盐。塔里木、吐鲁番、哈密盆地,皆为封闭的水文地质单元,盆地内的潜水排泄途径为地面蒸发和植物蒸腾,潜水矿化度一般10克/升左右,高者达数10克/升。墓葬区多选择在人类活动区外围的高地,积盐作用强烈,多为盐土。盐类以氯化物为主。对微生物来说,除少数嗜盐菌外,其他类群在盐环境中多不能存活,或受到极大抑制。人类日常生活中应用盐类对食物进行防腐保护,正是基于这一原因。具体看有关古尸出土地点,且末扎洪鲁克墓地,沙丘中大量含盐块,墓坑四周有1米厚的盐层;哈密五堡、吐鲁番地层中含盐。这些高度盐化的土壤,会明显抑制一些致腐微生物的生长、活动,对尸体的保存是有利的。

3. 浅埋、不密封

全面分析前述新疆古尸出土情况,一个十分显著的特点是出土这类古尸的墓穴都不密封,且埋葬甚浅。

尼雅古尸,是棺浅置于沙上中。铁板河女尸,出土于铁板河谷一处高台地顶端,墓穴深只1米,其上覆盖干树枝、芦苇、细沙上,透气性好。古墓沟墓地,共发掘古墓42座,所见女尸及幼儿干尸,均见于浅埋的沙穴中,墓深不到1米,其上盖木、皮,覆沙土,不密实;而较深埋葬的墓穴中,均只见骨架。且末扎洪鲁克婴儿古尸,浅埋在深只30厘米的沙穴中。出土成人干尸的第二号墓,墓穴虽深达2.4米,但覆盖不严;墓穴上口盖木,盖木上压盐块、芦苇、兽皮、红柳、草席;墓葬顶部有 0.3×0.6 米的孔穴,其上覆盖毛织大衣、兽皮口袋等物,这样的封盖很不严实,墓穴中的人体保存得十分完好。吐鲁番阿斯塔那、喀拉和卓晋一唐墓地,是新疆古尸出土最多的地点,墓穴是有斜坡墓道的洞室墓;人体人葬于土洞墓室内的土台上,人体下大都铺置草席;墓穴所在的砾石层透气性能很好。哈密古尸所在墓地,是哈密地区最为干热的五堡绿洲,一处

含盐荒漠,墓穴不深,其上盖木覆土,封盖只数十厘米,并不密实。水汽极易蒸发。

综观这些出土古尸的墓地,可以看到,不密封、浅葬,使墓穴环境直接受外界极端干旱的大气、土壤环境影响,尸体可迅速脱水干燥,使微生物失去生存条件,不能展开有效的分解作用。

4. 寒冷季节入土

有一个现象大家都是注意到的,这就是同一墓地,众多墓葬,甚至同一墓穴中入葬多人,但有的人体化成了森森白骨,有的遗体却衣帽不朽、肌肤完好,对比显明。同样的气候、土壤,同样方法营造的墓穴,部分遗体无存,部分遗体不朽,导致这一差异的因素是什么?

大量现象表明:导致这一差异的主要因素之一是入葬的季节。从现有的资料可以结论:形成干尸的人体,均寒冷季节入土。证明是:哈密五堡、罗布荒漠、铁板河、孔雀河下游古墓沟、都善苏贝希、且末扎洪鲁克等古尸出土时,死者大都穿着皮毛外衣,皮裤,双腿裹毡,戴皮帽,毡帽。穿著一般毛布衣袍的古尸,身上也都盖皮张(铁板河),棺盖木上覆毛布、皮张。这种御寒的装备,清楚表明他们入土的季节,是较为寒冷的冬季。

人体内存在的霉菌、酵母菌、细菌、放线菌等微生物,在人体死亡后,在人类机体内仍然可以存活。而导制遗体分解这一过程的终止,必须是这类微生物的迅即死亡。在严寒的环境中,微生物一般停止代谢作用,处于休眠状态。而严寒的环境,大气、土壤与尸体的水分交换仍在进行之中。在严寒过去后,尸体已大量失水,随地温升高,迅速完全干燥,微生物再次失去活动环境,难能对尸体进行有效分解作用。

综上所述,古尸的保存,根本原因是致使有机体分解的微生物活动的极大削弱,甚至终止。而极端干旱的气候、高盐的土壤、松散浅葬方式、冬季入葬等,则是导致这一原因的条件。

三

新疆所见多量不同时代的干尸,是珍贵的古代人体标本,有多方面的科学研究价值。目前,我们的研究工作开展得还不够充分、不够深入。许多可以进行的研究项目还没有组织实施。哈密、楼兰古尸出土后,新疆考古所曾与上海自然博物馆、新疆医学院、上海医科大学、中国科学院上海生物化学研究所、上海有机化学研究所、上海生理研究所、上海劳动卫生职业病研究所等单位合作进行了多方面的分析、研究,在人类学、形态观察,肌肉组织状况,肌肉组织磷脂、胆固醇及神经氨基酸的含量测定,中性脂肪观察,血型、肺组织化学成分,头发中的微量元素、杂多糖保存情况等许多方面取得了珍贵的科学资料。

楼兰古尸:

这里说的楼兰古尸，包括铁板河及孔雀河下游古墓沟墓地出土的古尸。

孔雀河古尸，出土时戴帽、著鞋，全身包覆在毛毯中，头面部皮肤保存完整，但在分析、检查过程中，发现其他部分软组织已基本碳化，主要由骨骼系统构成支架，保持了人体轮廓，进一步的解剖分析并未能进行。

铁板河女尸，尸体自然仰卧，四肢伸直、神态安详。尸长152厘米，则生前身长当为155.8厘米，发育良好，干尸重10.7公斤，根据骨骼系统X射线摄片分析，死于40~45岁之间。头颈、躯干、四肢保存完好，五官端正，前额较窄微突，两眼闭合，颧部较突出，眉毛、睫毛清晰，鼻梁高、窄，鼻尖上翘。头发淡黄细密，直发型，发长20~25厘米，自正中向两侧分开，自然披散至肩部。全身皮肤光滑、干硬、呈红棕色，手指皮肤纹理清晰，十个指甲完整。皮肤的表皮、真皮均保存较好，层次分明。解剖观察各内脏器官，位置都基本正常。只是有关脏器都不同程度的缩小、变薄。呼吸系统中的肺泡腔内，沉积大量黑色颗粒状粉尘，血管周围尤其密集。偏光镜检查，在粉尘密集处，除炭尘外还可见混杂有显示双折光的结晶颗粒。进一步分析粉尘性质，主要为硅酸盐和炭尘，炭尘占总尘量41%，硅尘占总粉尘量的38%，表明当年自然环境中的风沙危害及燃料烟尘对古代楼兰人的生活产生过重大影响，同时，肺内铁、铝、镁、钛含量均较高，但铜含量偏低。

通过电子显微镜对古尸保存的蛋白质、脂类及糖类也进行了分析，各种肌肉组织结构大部分均已同质化，但胶原纤维保存较好。磷脂仍存，胆固醇和神经氨基酸含量仍高。脂肪组织已大部氧化和水解成游离脂肪酸和饱和脂肪酸。

通过古尸肌肉、肋骨、头发分析测定，死者为“O”型血。对头发进行形态学观察测量、拉力试验，表明毛小皮纹完整、清晰，毛小皮、皮质、髓质三层微曲结构保持良好。头发机械强度较现代人明显下降。通过X射线衍射，表明头发硬角蛋白空间构型不变，而且微纤维构成大纤维的六角陈列排布也保持完整。用质子X荧光分析(PIXE)法测定古尸头发，发现含有硫、钙、钛、锰、铁、铜、锌、镉、铅等微量元素，光谱分析表明：铬含量明显偏高。

古尸头发近根部发现大量头虱和虱卵，保存较好。而且转移到眉毛、睫毛、阴部，其种群密度之高，非常人所能忍受。此外还发现一只温带臭虫(*Cimex lectularius*)。但未见体虱和耻阴虱。

尤其值得注意，通过电子显微镜观察，死者皮肤、软骨、横纹肌、肾、肠等组织中可见大量细菌或细菌芽胞结构，说明死亡后体内曾同样发生过细菌繁殖过程，而且这些细菌与肌体组织自溶分解相互作用，也使部分组织器官遭受到一定程度的破坏。但因外界环境因素的作用，尸体水分大量、迅速减

少，细菌生长和组织腐蚀作用很快受到抑制，开始腐败的组织也逐渐减缓其腐败过程，并很快达到静止平稳状态，使干尸得以形成。

哈密古尸：

先后三次发掘，哈密五堡墓地出土基本完好或部分肢体保存完整的人体标本数量不少，但科学分析工作做得很不够，1978年第24号墓葬中出土的青年女尸，新疆考古所曾经与上海自然博物馆、上海医科大学及中国科学院上海生化所、生理研究所等单位合作进行了较深入的分析。

女尸长156.2厘米，皮下组织丰满，发育营养良好，膝关节以下的下肢明显人为撕裂而缺损，其余部分保存完好。

古尸狭面，面部较扁平，颧部较突，鼻根高，鼻梁硬骨部直。头发棕黄色，直发梳辮，固着较牢。眉、睫、鼻毛、汗毛存在，牙齿黄白色，齿列整齐，心、肺、腹腔各脏器如肝、脾、肾及胃肠等保持正常位置，均变干、变薄，萎缩。细胞组织中见细菌芽胞，表明尸体的自溶现象及细菌的繁殖、腐败过程曾经存在，只是因环境干燥，未得可能继续发展。

通过X线片检查，骨骼保存良好，骨质密度基本正常，根据冠状缝及矢状缝已愈合，第一肋骨已钙化，骨干小梁丧失穹窿状排列，已呈柱状、无中断排列，死亡年龄在35岁左右，“O”型血。

组织学观察，干尸表皮层脱落，真皮层网状纤维、弹力纤维及皮肤附件消失，但其主要成分胶原纤维基本保存。分析古尸肺脏部的胰蛋白酶抑制剂及心脏中血红素类物质，表明胰蛋白酶抑制剂已丧失活力，血红素一类物质已遭破坏。

X射线检查头发角蛋白结构，表明头发皮质中的 α 角蛋白的 α 构型及 α 角蛋白在微丝结构中的空间构形基本保持不变。但头发中微丝排列的陈列已变化，通过光谱分析头发中的微量元素，含铝、镍、钛、镁，而铬增加尤为显著。

四

上述新疆不同地区，不同时代，不同民族、不同社会身份的干尸标本，出土时都还完整保留着当年人土时的情况，通过这些实物资料，我们不仅可以对不同地区、不同时代新疆地区土著居民的形体特点得到直观的认识，而且对其民俗状况、伦理观念、社会文化心态得到比较具体的概念，显示了丰富的、多方面的历史文化信息。这里条列一些主要内容，以增进人们的了解。

1、为认识古代新疆居民种族、民族成分，提供了可靠的形象的素材

新疆地区，古代居民种族成分不一，民族成分复杂，从很早的历史时期起，就是一个多民族杂居的地区。这一概念均一般了解，但比较具体、比较准确的情况，却有待考古资料充实。这方面人类学家一般均依靠大量人骨标本，进行体质人类学分析，