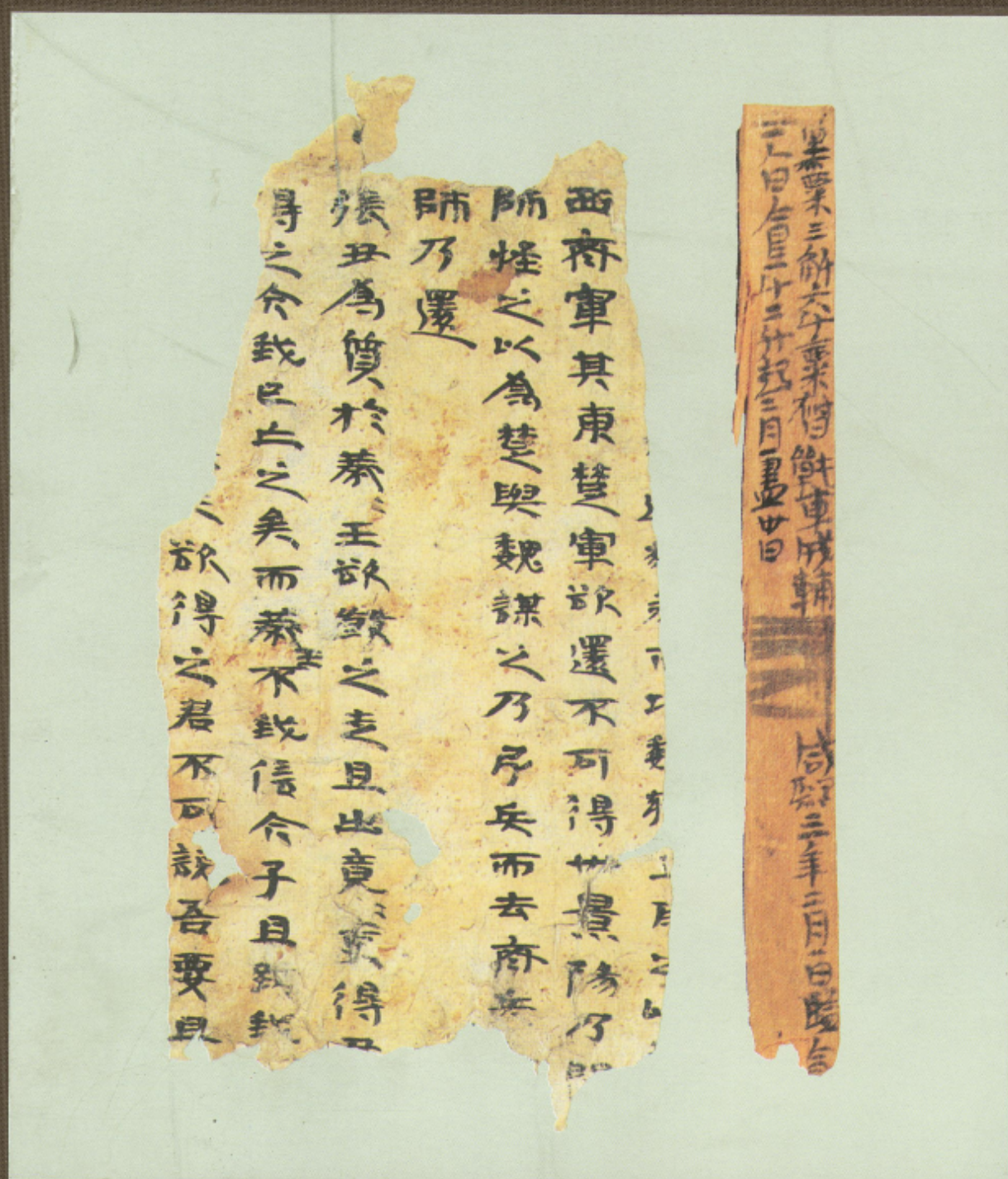


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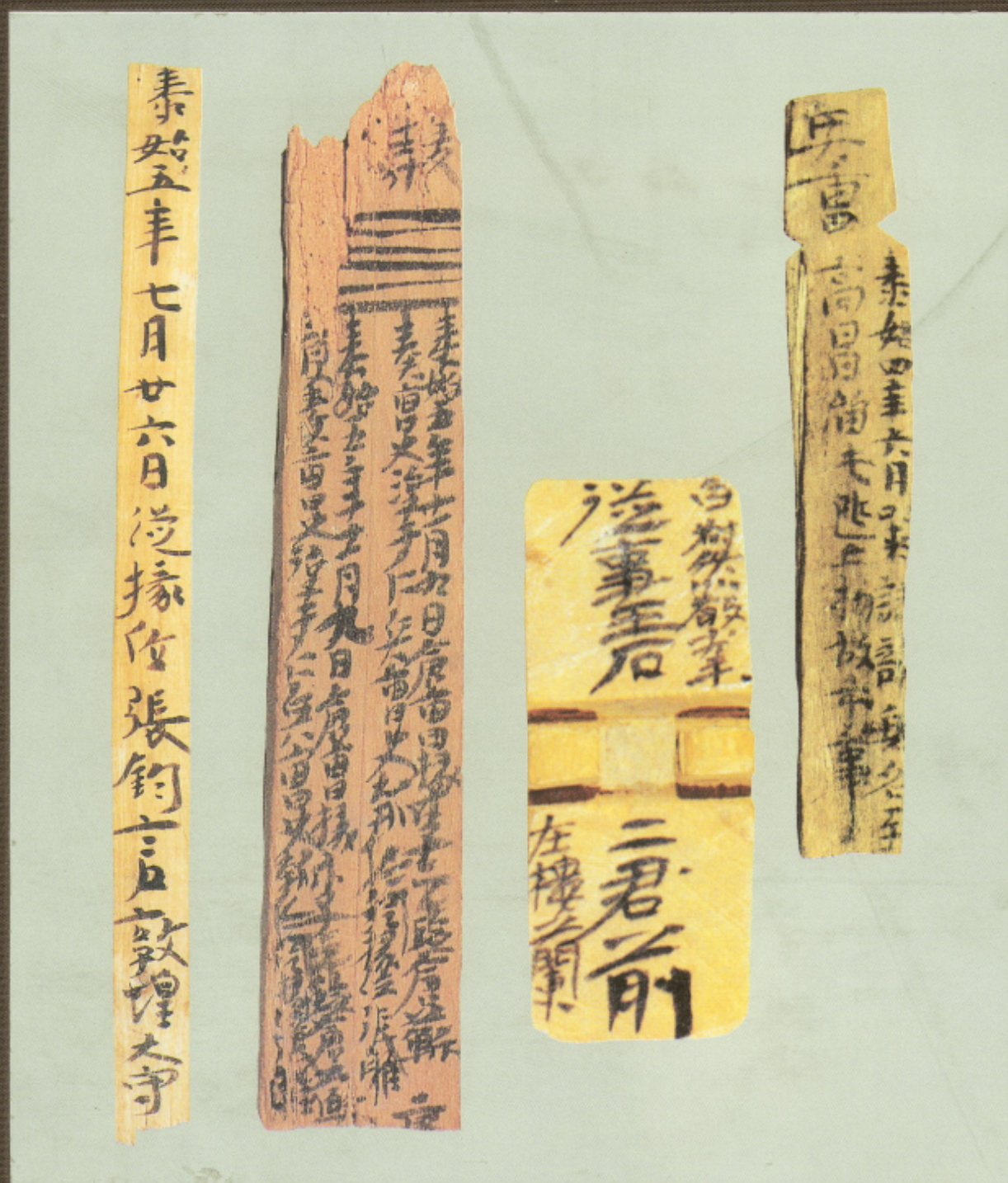
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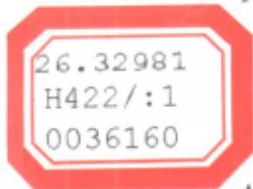


# 蘭 樓

## 漢文簡紙文書集成







侯 灿 杨代欣 编著

# 楼兰三汉文简纸文书集成

一册

天地出版社

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# 前言

楼兰之名，非常响亮。“不破楼兰终不还”的诗句扣人心扉，令人悬思神往。但是，楼兰遗迹长期以来被禁锢在荒漠之中，给世人留下了无数之谜。本世纪初的楼兰探险发现，使之成为中外学界瞩目的热土。国际国内的研究者，围绕着楼兰的历史、文化、人种、地理、生态、环境等诸问题的讨论，此起彼伏；潜心研究的论著，连篇累牍。如今楼兰学已与敦煌学、吐鲁番学一样，跻身于世界学坛，成为新兴学科中的一门热学、显学。楼兰还激起了众多人的科学考察和探险兴趣，有的人还为此献出了宝贵生命。目前楼兰热正方兴未艾。

楼兰地处中西交通的要冲，丝绸之路的咽喉，又是我国封建王朝经营西域的门户。楼兰出土的简纸文书，不但是研究中国中古史、中西交通史、丝绸之路文化史必备的最直接的第一手基础资料，而且也是研究西域史、楼兰鄯善史、魏晋前凉断代史最真实最具体的历史资料。楼兰汉文文书又正值我国书写载体由简牍向纸质过渡的交替期，也是今体正、行、草书体形成时期，这一时期内地的有关考古资料正有缺环，因此，这些资料又是研究中国书法史、简牍学和文书学方面的不可多得的最佳资料和宝贵财富。不仅如此，楼兰的兴衰、生态的发展变化、环境的变迁，还是一面历史的镜子。当今人类面对着环境、资源、发展的现实，如何使历史的悲剧不再重演，如何保护环境、保护生态、发展绿洲经济，正是人们亟待解决的严

峻问题，而楼兰出土汉文简纸文书又为研究这些问题提供了最珍贵的文字记录资料。

楼兰出土汉文简纸文书经历一个世纪，发掘情况与文字考释先后有6个国家学者经手，著录陆续刊布，如今旧著在国内已很难寻觅，资料又极其分散，搜集齐备确非易事。加之搜集资料进行系统整理，考释研究，费时费力，没有相当专业知识准备不能为之。面对这项难度很大的工作，我们力争在本书中做到资料搜集齐全，采摭总结成果权威，编排科学实用。本书主笔侯灿曾两次率队对楼兰古城及其附近遗址进行考古调查和发掘，并且亲自发掘简纸文书65枚。侯氏自从事楼兰考古工作以来，积二十多年之心血，尽力搜求国内外有关楼兰出土文书，为本书的编著打下了坚实基础。凡国际国内公开发表所能搜集到的楼兰汉文简纸文书，经过我们一一审订，细心校勘，择其最佳者收入本书。因此此书是本世纪搜集楼兰简纸文书最齐全最精审的汉文文书资料。

学术乃天下之公器，是科学家辛勤劳动的结晶。本书在释读文字和考释史实上，充分注意到吸收前人和现在研究者刊布的重要成果。凡是在释读文字上的主张，无论是国外汉学家或者是国内研究者，只要能给人启迪思考的，我们均予录入，对于他们存在的分歧意见，也酌予注出。当然也有我们自己的观点和意见。学术研究总是继往开来，不断发展的。在史实考证与阐释上我们本着持之有故，言之成理的要求，尽力采摭反映最新最高水平之成果。不主一家之言，不搞门户之见，择其善者而从之，有疑者存之，不同意见者商榷或说明之，力求客观展示一百年来楼兰汉文简纸文书的出土情况和中外学者的研究成果。

楼兰汉文简纸文书编号极其复杂，每批发掘人有自己的编号，考释人有自己的编号，后来的资料汇集人又有自己的编号，甚至有的引用人还有自己的编号，由于编号纷繁杂乱，给这些简纸文书的释读和研究带来了诸多不便，有的甚至出现了不应该有的错误。为此我们着意在不出示自己编号的前提下，使本书的编排尽可能符合考古学的要求，尽可能反映出这些文书出土时的真实情况。经过反复研究我们选用了斯坦因的分级编号法，根据文书出土地点按组点和文书出土时间先后编入，这样既解决了各组点出土文书的内涵，又明确了各组点出土文书的外延，从而为楼兰简纸文书的深入研讨和利用提供了前提条件。我们认为这种编排方法是科学的。同时为了方便读者省时省力地检索查阅有关资料，在正文之前还特地编排了“楼兰汉文简纸文书编号检索表”以供使用。在附录中又编制了“沙畹、王



国维考释楼兰汉文文书与斯坦因编号对照表”和“马斯伯乐、张凤考释楼兰汉文文书与斯坦因编号对照表”，以供检索。

在此世纪之交，对一个世纪期间各国公开刊布的楼兰出土汉文简纸文书，进行系统汇集整理、文字释读和史实考释研究，是非常必要的；编撰并出版这部集成式阶段性成果的著作，我们认为无论对学术界还是出版界，都是一件值得庆幸的事。



## PREFACE

Loulan is a very famous place; the verse "I'll not go home until Loulan is conquered" is still lingering in many persons' minds and stimulating them to probe it. However, there are still many unknowns about Loulan because it is located at the innermost of a vast desert. At the beginning of this century, the discovery of Loulan made a big stir in the international academic circles. Many scholars from different countries studied the race, history, culture, geography, ecology and environment etc. in Loulan and published many excellent works. Nowadays, like the Tun Huang Study and the Turpan Study, the research of Loulan has become a new focus in the academic circles. Some scholars have devoted their lifetime to the investigation, exploration and study of Loulan.

Loulan is a strategic place on the Silk Road. And it became a very important district when the Western Region was controlled by the Chinese feudal dynasties. The Chinese manuscript documents on paper and wood unearthed in Loulan (simplified as Loulan Chinese documents) are not only the first-hand, basic materials for the research of Chinese medieval history, transportation history between the West and the East, and the Silk Road cultural history, but also the most direct and actual data for the study of the Western Region history, the history of Loulan and Shanshan, the dynastic histories of Wei (220---265A.D), Western Jin dynasty (265---316A.D), and Former Liang Dynasty (316---376A.D). The period saw the change in writing materials from wood to paper, and the gradual formation of the regular script, running script and cursive in present writing system. There is a lack of materials to show this point clearly in the interior of our country, so these Chinese



documents are very valuable in studying Chinese calligraphy history, tablets study and the study of piecing manuscript papers. On the other hand, the rise and decline of Loulan, the development and changes of ecology of this area and the vicissitudes of environment have given some warnings to us. Nowadays, we are confronted with the issue of "environment, resources and development" and the problems of how to avoid the repeat of history, how to protect environment and ecology, and how to develop the economy of oases. Through studying the Loulan Chinese documents, we can draw valuable lessons in addressing these problems.

It is a very hard task to collect and sort systematically all the Chinese documents from Loulan because of the facts that it took about one century to unearth all the documents; that the documents were excavated and explained by researchers from six countries and some of their studies which were published at different times are hardly found in our country now; and that without excellent professional knowledge, no one has the qualifications to do this work. In this book, we do our best to collect all the data about Loulan Chinese documents and adopt the authoritative research results, and lay out the text scientifically. The chief author Hou Can has led archaeological teams to the Loulan site and its vicinity twice, and he has excavated 65 Chinese documents in person. Since then he has spent 20 years to collect all the copies and study results about Loulan Chinese documents from home and abroad. All above efforts have prepared the way for compiling and writing this book. We have examined and revised all the materials collected by us one by one, collated them carefully, and then chosen the best preserved of them to group into this book. So it almost contains all the important materials and is the most revised and up-to-date in terms of Loulan Chinese documents collected in this century.

Learning is the fruits of scientists' labor and public property. So when we explain the meanings of the characters on the pieces of paper and wood and note the historical facts the documents record, we adopt most of the important research results which have been published by former or present scholars. Meanwhile we take in the study results that can enlighten researchers no matter they are done by foreign Sinologists or Chinese researchers, and we note some divergences of views properly. Of course, we express our opinions at the same time. According to the requirement of adoption with proper grounds and exposition with logical deduction, we group the latest and the highest-level research results into our book when we ascertain and explain the historical facts recorded in the documents. In this book, we adopt some original views of former researchers, write down some opinions which can be studied further, and argue, and note at the divergent points. We hold the opinion that the academic research always carries forward the cause and forge ahead into the future, and develop constantly.

When we arranged this book, we paid special attention to the complicated serial numbers of all the Loulan Chinese documents: each excavator has his own serial numbers, so does each interpreter, each collector, each quoter and so on. Now, the different serial numbers have become the greatest stumbling block on the way of study and explanation of these documents. Besides, there are many wrong numbers that should have been avoided. As a result of careful consideration, we use Stein's method of numbering. We have arranged the documents in our book according to the order of the places and times of their excavation. This arrangement not only makes the lay-out of this book correspond to the basic archaeological requirements, but also shows vividly



the situation when the documents were brought to light. This method is very scientific because the arrangement can help researchers learn all the unearthed documents in each group of sites and the relationship between different groups. So this book provides the most basic materials for deep study and use of the Chinese documents from Loulan. Additionally, in order to help researchers to find out the materials they need quickly from this book, we have compiled "A Contrast List of the Serial Numbers of the Chinese Documents between the Chavanne's, the Wang Guowei's (which were given when they did the textual researches and explanations respectively) and the Stein's (made by him when he unearthed them)" and "A Contrast List of the Serial Numbers of the Chinese Documents between the Maspero's, Zhang Feng's (given by them when they researched them) and the Stein's".

At the turning point of the century, it is necessary to collect, sort and explain all the materials about the Loulan Chinese documents which were published throughout the world in different language in the whole 20th century. It is a matter for rejoicing in the academic circles and the publishing circles that the conclusive and comprehensive book at the present phrase of Loulan study is coming out.

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# 楼兰发现·遗存· 汉文简纸文书研究综述

楼兰，西汉西域 36 国之一。《史记·大宛列传》记载：“楼兰，姑师邑有城廓，临盐泽。”盐泽，即今位于新疆维吾尔自治区东部的罗布泊。楼兰是城廓之国，地处中西交通之孔道，早期“丝绸之路”的咽喉，“常主发导，负水担粮，送迎汉使”。当时，由于受匈奴贵族势力控制，多次劫掠汉使，阻断交通。公元前 77 年汉大将军霍光派平乐监傅介子往刺其王，另立尉屠耆为王，更其国名为鄯善，王都南迁扞泥城，楼兰都城便成为两汉政权戍守屯垦的重地。我国史籍在东汉以后，不再见楼兰的活动记载，楼兰从此湮没于历史之中。公元 400 年，高僧法显西行，途经此地，他在《佛国记》里记载，此地已是“上无飞鸟，下无走兽，遍望极目，欲求度处，则莫知所拟。唯以死人枯骨为标帜耳。”楼兰遗址和楼兰古城的发现，应追溯到 19 世纪的后期，在西方探险热潮的激励下，外国探险家纷纷进入新疆地区进行探险考察的活动。

—

19 世纪是欧洲地理大发现的高潮时期，西方的地理学界，向地图中的空白点宣战，征服极地的船队一支一支驶出港湾；单枪匹马的无名之辈，因为测绘了一条热带雨林中的河流或标明某处女峰的海拔高度，可以在一



夜之间名扬天下。生长于瑞典的斯文赫定 (Sven Hedin) 在这样的氛围下, 立志献身于追求未知的探险事业。他曾师从德国著名的地理学家, 世界上第一个提出“丝绸之路”的学者, 也是研究中国问题的专家李希霍芬(F·V·Richthofen)。在老师的启示下, 他于 1896 年 4 月来到罗布地区, 在罗布乡民的引导下, 对塔里木河、孔雀河下游的河湖作了调查。他认为俄国普尔热瓦爾斯基(Prjevalski)考察过的喀拉库顺, 即所谓的罗布泊, 是近期内形成的新湖泊;《大清一统舆图》上所绘的罗布泊, 是根据清乾隆时测绘的资料绘制的, 位置没有错, 那时的喀拉库顺正在积水形成之中。喀拉库顺之北的罗布泊, 才是《史记》记载的“盐水”, 《汉书》中记载的蒲昌海。因此, 他认为错误的是普氏没有搞清楚塔里木河下游变迁的水系。斯文赫定的考察成果, 当然受到了以李希霍芬为代表的德国学者的高度肯定, 但却遭到了俄国学界以科兹洛夫(Kozlov)为首的人的反对。此时普氏已经逝世。1897 年 10 月 15 日斯文赫定(以下或简称“赫定”)应邀在俄国皇家地理学会进行了讲演, 受到俄国学者的质问。赫定意识到俄国学者是以多次考察成果作为质问的依据, 而自己仅凭二十多天的考察, 是不足以折服对方的。于是他决意在即将开始的新的一次中亚探险考察中, 再次到罗布荒原去, 为提出的每一个疑问寻求答案。

1899 年 12 月 7 日斯文赫定把他探险大本营的帐篷, 架设到了塔里木河下游的英吉库爾 (yangikol), 在这里他正寻思着如何进到位于孔雀河北岸, 为罗布泊探险提供水源和草料的后勤基地阿尔特米希布拉克(Altmish-bulak, 汉语意即“六十泉子”)犯愁。正巧, 他遇上了世居库鲁克塔格山麓辛格尔地方的阿不都瑞黑和他的弟弟马勒克阿訇, 经打听他们是帕万家的儿子。帕万一家是以获取野骆驼为生计的猎户, 他们知晓阿尔特米希布拉克这个地方。阿尔特米希布拉克和帕万, 正是科兹洛夫在记述他进入孔雀河流域探险的旅行记中所提到的。斯文赫定经过一番紧张的准备, 于 1900 年 3 月 23 日在阿不都瑞黑的引导下, 到达了阿尔特米希布拉克的小绿洲。在小绿洲中休息了 3 天, 装满了羊皮袋冰水, 让 4 只骆驼满载芦苇, 便开始了向南贯穿罗布荒漠的艰险行程。3 月 28 日哥萨克兵齐诺夫和罗布地方乡民艾尔迪克在奇异的地沟中为骆驼寻找最佳路线时, 在一座小土岗上发现了几间木屋废墟, 经赫定测量, 3 所房屋的木梁还保存着原来的位置, 但不知是什么年代的房屋, 风已把周围的泥土刮蚀了。在这里他们搜集到汉代钱币, 两把铁斧和几块木雕, 木雕有刻着手持三戟叉头戴花冠的人像, 有刻着莲花的形态。3 月 29 日由于阿不都瑞黑坚持要回家去, 赫定给了他一笔钱让他走了。赫定一行继续向南穿行, 他们在走了一程约 20 公里之后, 来到了

一块洼地，洼地里生长着几株活着的怪柳，赫定心想这里的潜水一定不会很深，于是决定在此掘井取水，这时才发现所带的唯一的一把铁铲不见了。艾尔迪克爽直地承认是他忘记在昨日的破房子里了。他请求回去寻找，赫定知道他这样做是很危险的，但铁铲却是与他们性命攸关的工具，因为他们所带的冰水所剩不多了。艾尔迪克在休息了一两个小时之后，半夜动身时骑着斯文赫定的坐骑，人和马都饮了个够出发了。在艾尔迪克出发后的两个小时，突然一阵暴烈的东北风刮了起来，天昏地暗，赫定等到第二天早上也不见艾尔迪克的身影。因为缺水的原故他们不能久等，于是继续向西南方向前行。当他们跨过一条矮沙丘后，在一块荒脊的地方准备驻营时，大家意外地看见了艾尔迪克牵着马带着铁铲站在他们面前，讲述起刮暴风时的经过。他说：刮暴风时，赫定一行人的足迹他看不见了，因此迷了路，最后才走到一座土台旁边发现了许多房屋废墟，废墟里有装饰得很美丽的半埋在沙土中的板壁和其他物品，他装上了几枚他偶然发现的钱币，也带走了两块雕刻的木板，经过他多方搜寻，最后才找到了旧驻地和铁铲。当斯文赫定看到这些雕刻物，并听到艾尔迪克讲述还有许多的东西后，按捺不住他的激情，他在《亚洲腹地旅行记》中这样写道：“我那时简直有点头晕了。我十分情愿回到那里去。不，这是愚蠢的行动！我们只有一两天的水了。这样做我的整个旅行计划是要被推翻的。但是无论如何，我在明年的冬天一定要回到沙漠里来，艾尔迪克答应把我引到他发现木刻板的地方。他之忘掉了铁铲，这只是一种运气，不然我将永远回不到古城，永不能做到这样大规模的发现，给中亚的上古史投下新的意想不到的光辉。”（上海开明书店版，第315页，1949年）

可是斯文赫定并没有等到第二年冬天，他在藏北高原漫游了几个月后，由阿斯丁山（Asting-tag）向东再转而向北穿过戈壁沙漠，于1901年2月24日在暴风沙的袭击下，好不容易地到达了阿尔特米希布拉克。赫定在这里稍作休整，留了一人牧养疲乏的牲口，而他自己则率领其他队员向南行进。据赫定的记述艾尔迪克并没有参加这次考察。赫定在《中亚与西藏》一书中记叙说：3月3日，“我的地图显示我们已经非常接近要找的（去年3月29日艾尔迪克发现的房屋）废墟了，于是我停了下来，打发所有的人到临近的地区进行考察，只留下发苏拉赫在后面照顾骆驼。他们出去了几个小时，太阳快要落山的时候，我决定在距离此东约1小时的路程的一座泥塔下宿营。……直到黄昏的时候，我在泥塔上点燃了一堆篝火，以便让那些外出的人找到回来的路。他们陆续地返回了，其中有两个人发现了另一座高塔（泥塔），在其周围有几座房屋废墟。他们还从那里带回来了一些谷物，