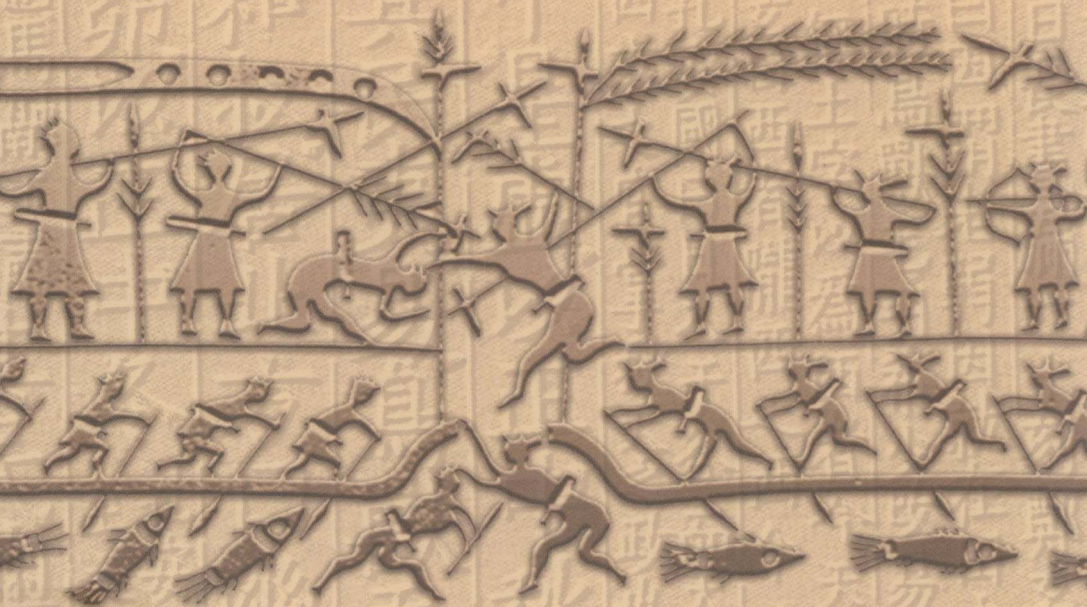


第三屆國際漢學會議論文集

軍事組織與戰爭

黃克武 主編

歷史組



中央研究院近代史研究所

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國家圖書館出版品預行編目資料

第三屆國際漢學會議論文集：軍事組織與戰爭／
黃克武主編。 -- 初版。 -- 臺北市：中研院近
史所，民91
面；公分

ISBN 957-671-898-8(精裝)。 -- ISBN 957-
671-899-6(平裝)

1. 戰爭 — 中國 — 歷史 — 論文, 講詞等 2.
軍事 — 中國 — 歷史 — 論文, 講詞等

592.9207

91020823

中央研究院第三屆國際漢學會議論文集歷史組 軍事組織與戰爭

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出版者：中央研究院近代史研究所
發行者：中央研究院近代史研究所
臺北市南港區研究院路二段 130 號
印刷者：天翼電腦排版印刷股份有限公司
臺北市敦化南路 1 段 294 號 11 樓之 5
展售處：中央研究院近代史研究所
T: 886-2-2789-8208 F: 886-2-2786-1675
樂學書局有限公司
臺北市金山南路二段 138 號 10 樓之 1
T: 886-2-2321-9033 F: 886-2-2356-8068
Email: Lexis@ms6.hinet.net
四分溪書坊
臺北市南港區中央研究院活動中心地下室
T: 886-2-2783-9605 F: 886-2-2783-9620
Email: kk1133@saturn.seed.net.tw
香港中文大學出版社
香港新界沙田
T: 852-2609-6508 F: 852-2603-7355
<http://www.chineseupress.com>
定 價：平裝新臺幣 300 元 精裝新臺幣 350 元
初 版：中華民國九十一年十月

GPN: 1009103883 ISBN 957-671-898-8(精裝)
GPN: 1009103882 ISBN 957-671-899-6(平裝)

《第三屆國際漢學會議論文集》

總序

中央研究院第三屆國際漢學會議於公元二〇〇〇年六月廿九日在臺北南港院區學術活動中心揭幕，會期前後三天至七月一日閉幕。這一次漢學會議的舉行距離於一九八六年召開的上屆大會已有十四年之久，而與第一屆大會的舉行則已相隔廿年的時間。在這樣一段長久的時間內，國內外漢學界已有相當的成長與變化，正如本院李遠哲院長在開幕致詞中所說的：「在多元觀點、多元材料與利用新科技工具的研究趨向下，近年來國際漢學研究的視野更趨於寬廣，出現許多新主題、新理論與跨學科的研究成果。」因此本院「漢學研究推動委員會」乃結合人文學科各研究所，經兩年時間的籌備而召開本屆大會，其目的即是希望藉這一擴大的學術聚會，讓國內外漢學界研究同仁再有一次廣泛討論及交換意見的機會，以便共同探討籌劃「漢學研究在廿一世紀的新方向」。

第一、二兩屆國際漢學會議是由本院的三個人文學科研究所：歷史語言研究所、近代史研究所與民族學研究所共同參與舉辦。第三屆國際漢學會議參加籌備的單位除去上述三個研究所之外，又增加了中國文哲研究所與語言學研究所，而在「漢學研究推動委員會」的委員中亦邀請多位國內大學相關學門的教授參與。在會議內容的分組上也有變動，第一屆會議共分為六組，第二屆會議則改為五組，本次會議則增加為歷史、文學、思想、文字學、語言學、族群關係（人類學組

一)、信仰與生活(人類學組二)等七組之外,並有「漢籍數位典藏研討會」合併在會議中舉行,以展示本院推動現代資訊科技在漢籍典藏與搜集上的應用成果。在會議節目程序的安排上,本屆會議也略有創新,除去有兩次大會特別演講外,並有十四次「主題演講」以配合各組之下再分出的研討主題,分別邀請與主題相關的資深學者作演講,以突出並導引各研討主題的意義與研討。最後各組並各有一場綜合討論,以整合各領域研討的意見。

本屆大會共有國內外漢學研究者三百餘人與會,提出論文二百一十一篇。前兩屆漢學會議均將會議論文分組編印成冊出版。本屆會議各主題下之論文都具相當專業性與系統性,籌備會與各組主持人均希望早日刊出。茲為編輯會議論文出版事務,特由「漢學研究推動委員會」邀請其副秘書長,現任歷史語言研究所所長黃寬重教授及執行秘書、史語所副所長王明珂教授,分別擔任召集人與副召集人,與各所代表何大安、何翠萍、黃克武、李豐楙、邱澎生等教授共同組成編輯小組主持編輯出版事務。邱澎生兼任此編輯小組秘書,與助理李雅玲小姐共同襄理協調聯繫事宜。各分冊之主編則由劉翠溶、石守謙、邢義田、劉增貴、臧振華、陳國棟、黃克武、鍾柏生、何大安、何翠萍、蔣斌、林美容、李豐楙、劉述先等教授分別擔任。本屆大會論文集在經費困難與出版形式之議定極費精神的情況下得以陸續出版問世,都是編輯小組同仁與各分冊主編共同努力的成果,在此本人特代表「漢學研究推動委員會」向他們表示至深謝忱。

本屆國際漢學會議得以順利召開與圓滿達成,首先要感謝本院李遠哲院長與楊前副院長國樞的大力支持與鼓勵,同仁們均十分感激。「漢學研究推動委員會」的委員,包括石守謙、李壬癸、呂芳上、徐正光、張玉法、黃俊傑、黃啓方、黃應貴、劉述先、劉翠溶、鍾彩鈞、戴璉璋、龔煌城諸教授,在籌備期間極備辛勞,而大會秘書處在黃寬重與王明珂兩位教授的領導下,在開會期間更是日夜不休地工作,更

是令人欽佩，本人與大會籌備會副主席杜正勝院士謹代表「漢學研究推動委員會」及與會漢學界同仁也向他們敬謹表示衷心感謝之意。

第三屆國際漢學會議籌備會主席

李亦園 謹誌

民國90年12月

編者序

本書收錄中央研究院第三屆國際漢學會議歷史組中兩個分組的論文，一為「軍事組織演變」，一為「戰爭對社會的衝擊」。全書共有論文六篇，兩篇屬前者，四篇屬後者。這些新的研究成果可以讓讀者們對這兩個領域的進展，有較充分的認識。

「軍事組織演變」一分組有 Robin Yates 與黃清連的兩篇文章。Robin Yates 的文章研究中國早期歷史上的馬。他指出馬在軍事、經濟與政治上發揮巨大的作用已經有四千多年的歷史。本文的主旨是將馬放置在文化脈絡之中，來檢驗在傳統時期的中國人如何看待與運用此一動物。接著作者再從軍事的觀點，探索戰車與騎兵隊的發展，並回顧最近有關「馬鐙」(stirrup) 之發明所找到的新證據。據此，馬鐙可能是在漢代中葉的發明物，然它卻經歷了好幾個世紀的演化，才變成騎馬時的必要配件。

黃清連的文章討論唐末五代的黥卒。中國古代的黥面，一向被認為與刑罰有關。唐代以前有關黥面的記載，多半是在罪犯或逃奴面部黥刺，其部位以額頭、臉頰或眼下為多。至唐末五代，或許由於防止兵士逃亡、標記軍號、厭詛、誇示、辱敵等目的，士卒黥面成為軍鎮間私軍化過程中普遍的現象。這種在士卒臉上或身上其他部位刺字的情形，在五代時又和法律上的刑罰規定結合，成為懲處罪犯或軍人的「刺配制」，並為宋、元、明、清各代所承襲。一直到二十世紀初，才被廢除。本文以唐末五代的黥卒為重點，分析它的歷史淵源和時代背景。作者蒐集了 25 則、45 條唐末五代黥卒的記載，經過討論後，可以發現一般認為朱溫為了防止士卒逃亡，首先在他們的臉上刺字的說法，

並不正確。比較可信的出現年代和地區，當在公元 870 年代初，西川翦頭刺面的健兒，或 880 年代初，黃巢占據長安時期的部卒。士卒黥面有時是以文字雕刻，有的則黥刺圖像表達，其內容極為多樣，表現出各軍事將領對部卒的人身控制，以及本身的自主權。

「戰爭對社會的衝擊」一分組的四篇文章則主要以中國近代史為範疇，討論戰爭對社會各方面的影響。

Diana Lary 教授的文章屬於通論性質，名為〈戰爭的創痕：戰爭對中國社會的衝擊〉。她指出在中國現代史上，無論是國外侵略戰爭或內戰，都對社會造成重大的衝擊，並對個人的生命、財產造成無可磨滅的影響。在本文中，作者綜述 1840 年之後，中國的戰爭在人們精神與物質上所留下的傷痕。例如親人喪身、家庭離散、失落與悔恨、對婦女身心的創傷（如慰安婦）、建物殘破等。此外，不容忽略的是有些戰爭的傷痕具有正面的意義，而受到人們儀式性的紀念。

另外的三篇論文則是較具體地處理抗日戰爭對中國社會的影響。陳存恭的文章探討抗戰期間中共在山西的戰爭目標與戰爭動員。山西形勢雄固，清代以前為邊防重鎮，清廷則據為拱衛京師、控馭蒙新的戰略基地。民初督軍閻錫山對上切斷中央對山西的管轄權，對下將政治權力伸展到鄉村，以保境安民政策使人民休養生息。在抗戰前夕，山西擁有豐富的戰略資源。嗣因捲入內戰，角逐國家權力，閻氏失敗下野。九一八事變次年再起，推動十年政經建設，發展工、商、農業，修築同蒲鐵路，擴大兵工建設，培植反共抗日的軍經力量。他倡導「土地村有制度」以對抗共產主義，以官僚、士紳為核心組織「主張公道團」、「反共保衛團」動員民眾抵抗中共，但在民國 25 年紅軍入侵時未見功效。同年日本支持偽蒙軍進逼晉綏，閻氏利用左派青年組織「犧牲同盟」動員青年抗日，同時接受民族統戰號召，密通中共，使中共地下黨人順利掌握山西的民眾動員組織。中共原以工農兵運發動共產革命，因工運挫敗，遂以農運為重心，但在號稱有農會組織的長江中

游發動土地革命遭挫，輾轉流竄到戰略資源極端貧乏的陝北，受到數十萬國軍圍剿，危在旦夕。民國 24 年 8 月，以民族統一戰線取代蘇維埃運動，中共因此起死回生，隨即全力經營山西。民國 26 年七七事變後，中共紅軍得以服從國民政府軍令參加抗日戰爭，進入山西，受第二戰區司令長官閻錫山指揮，而其黨工、政工隨即滲入山西，接收「犧牲同盟」、「抗日戰爭動員委員會」等動員組織，爭奪「山西新軍」領導權，民國 28 年冬遂與閻錫山決裂，此後傾全力建立晉冀察、晉綏、晉冀魯豫三大軍事根據地，運用「抗日抗戰」口號，推動「土地改革」，藉以控制華北及內蒙邊區及農村，紅軍由三萬迅速擴至九十餘萬，奠定戰後中共以農村包圍城市的戰略形勢。

閻錫山憑藉親手編練的軍隊宣揚傳統儒家思想建立個人政權，對知識青年吸引力不夠，但他致力發展教育、交通、經濟，改革社會陋習，已超越傳統。抗日前夕，他廣納各黨各派組織動員團體，讓中共得以滲入，他的失敗反而是「開明」之咎。與中共決裂後，閻氏以社會主義的策略來反共，模仿中共嚴密控制轄下軍民，然效果不彰。至於中共在山西的民眾動員，由委曲偽裝效忠國家到陰謀奪權；由減租減息，保障地富商人權利到清算鬥爭，多次轉折，在山西獲得重要的戰略資源。但中共的勝利並沒有讓貧雇農翻身，山西傳統「小農經濟」制度變動不大，山西商人反而消失，人民普遍貧窮，共產主義天堂並未出現。

張瑞德檢討抗戰時期大後方的工人運動，作者指出此期之工運較戰前不發達，因此一直未受到史家的重視。傳統的看法，認為抗戰時期國難當頭，勞資雙方因此均能放棄成見，團結抗日，民族主義超過了階級矛盾，因此勞資糾紛甚少。晚近西方的一些研究，則強調工人內部的一些區分，認為這些區分阻礙了階級意識的出現。作者以為，以上兩種論點，均有所不足。第一種論點假設工人之間普遍存在著有民族主義情緒，此點仍有待驗證。第二種論點則將工人內部的各種區

分視爲一成不變，並且忽略了工人的階級意識可能由外在灌輸，因此難以解釋何以工運在戰後又突然興起。職是之故，抗戰時期工人的政治心理，尤其是階級認同和國家認同，成爲亟待探討的問題。本文根據戰時報刊、社會調查、回憶錄等史料，對戰時大後方工人階級認同與國家認同問題，作一探討，並以《新華日報》爲例，說明中共如何利用此一報紙，灌輸工人的階級意識和反日情緒。

本文主要發現如下：第一，戰時大後方工人確實存在有反日情緒，但是具有近代意義的民族主義（nationalism）則似乎尚未普及。影響民族主義存在與否與反日情緒強度的變數，除了技術水準外，尚包括年齡、個人際遇與所從事的產業。第二，大後方工人的階級認同則受到地域觀念、職工界限、技術界限、性別界限、宗教與政治信仰差異，以及工人本身特質等限制。其中戰爭對於工人地域觀念的影響，尤其值得注意。抗戰期間，反日情緒和國家觀念的增強，加上地理上流動的增強、擴大，固然均使得地域觀念淡化，但是工人變換工作的頻繁，每多仰賴血緣、地緣的人際關係網絡，又強化了原有的地域觀念。第三，工人的階級認同，固然受到上述各項因素的限制，但是也並非不能突破。中共在戰時雖不鼓勵工運，但是其《新華日報》除了灌輸大後方工人的反日、反國民黨情緒外，也強化了他們的階級意識，使得大後方的工運在戰後能夠在外在環境配合之下，再度迅速興起。

林美莉以檔案史料爲基礎，討論抗戰後期國府當局對日軍佔領的淪陷區進行物資搶購活動，並進而說明國府透過搶購物資，努力維持戰力。抗戰時期，中國與日本爲爭取軍需民用的物資，雙方進行長期的經濟作戰。退居大後方的國民政府，由於戰局延滯發展，逐漸放鬆其物資戰策略，由最初的全面查禁日貨，轉爲向淪陷區進行物資搶購活動。其間的轉變動力，乃緣於蔣委員長務實地提出戰時物資搶購政策的構想，交由行政部門執行，利用戰時走私的商民與運輸路線，主動辦理特種運輸與貿易工作。

國府原先只以核發執照來管理貿易，並未設立專責機關以統籌搶購活動，但在太平洋戰爭之後，擴大搶運規模及妥善管理成爲後方官民的一致共識，1943年4月財政部貨運管理局的成立，在各地設立貨運管理處，在各運輸路線點設置貨運管理站，全權負責爭取物資及管制物資向淪陷區輸出及輸入事宜，即是國府試圖管理物資的具體表現。同時，藉由著名的戰時搶運活動個案，通濟公司販運棉紗案的陳述中，可清楚看到淪陷區與大後方的政府軍政人員介入搶運與走私活動的現象，顯示戰時中國並未因軍事對立與封鎖而完全阻礙物資的流通管道。

國府透過官督商營的許可證制度之運作模式，主導戰時物資搶購活動的進行。論其運作，官方機構或是民間公司均向政府申請運商執照，從事搶運工作。論其成效，則有提供大後方部分民生必需品，進而紓緩物資缺乏與物價高漲的壓力，並有增加稅收的作用。同時，大後方的輿論也贊同搶運物資，發揮提供物資及平抑物價之效，以經濟力量作爲協助對日抗戰的後盾。在此情境下，物資搶購活動實對抗戰後期的淪陷區與大後方的人民生計與經濟發展產生深刻的影響，成爲戰時統制經濟的重要環節。

本論文集的各篇論文均環繞著中國社會之中戰爭、軍事組織及其與社會變遷的關連。這些文章所觸及的關鍵議題，有助於我們瞭解以往的歷史研究中所較忽略的面向，值得仔細閱讀。

最後在本論集的編輯過程之中承蒙本所沙培德先生、出版小組召集人魏秀梅小姐，以及林桂如、李育憲、程景琦等人的多方協助，在此特地向他們表示感謝之意。

黃克武 謹誌

民國91年9月1日

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The Horse in Early Chinese Military History

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Introduction¹

The history of the horse in China dates back to palaeolithic times,² although it was domesticated only about six to four thousand years ago.³ From that time until the arrival of western

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¹ I am grateful to the Killam Foundation and the Canada Council for the Arts, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the FCAR, Quebec, for financial support in the preparation of this essay, to the two anonymous reviewers who made useful suggestions for improvement, and to Professor Kristin Stapleton of the University of Kentucky, who invited me to speak on this topic at a colloquium she organized.

² Bones of the native East Asian horse, *Equus przewalskyi*, were found among the remains of other wild animals at the Shiyu site in northern Shanxi (K.C. Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 4th edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 58. The horses were probably wild and their meat would have been consumed. For further information on eating horsemeat, see Marsha A. Levine, "Eating Horses: The Evolutionary Significance of Hippophagy," *Antiquity* 72 (1998), pp. 90-100.

³ Herrlee G. Creel, "The Role of the Horse in Chinese History," in *What is Taoism? and Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 160-86. For a review of the most recent of the evidence concerning the domestication of the horse in Asia, see Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 24-27.

colonialist powers in the nineteenth century with their new military technology based on advanced firepower, elites used the horse to seize power and maintain military dominance. In addition, for most parts of China except for the southeast, where water transport predominated, the horse was the main means of transportation and communication. It thus was of enormous economic, political, and military importance. Even today, there are eleven million horses in China, more than in any other nation in the world. The claim, therefore, that Chinese culture was primarily, or exclusively, based on sedentary agriculture in which horses played a minimal role, thus obscures the historical complexity of, and the regional variations in China's economic and political development. Given that the horse played a major role in many different aspects of China's history, and yet remains comparatively understudied, this paper seeks to examine certain salient aspects of the history of the horse in China.

It is quite likely, as Herrlee Creel and Edward Erkes claim,⁴ that horses were domesticated in China in neolithic times. The native wild breed of horses in Central Asia, Przewalsky's horse, stands on average 13 hands (52 inches),⁵ and certainly existed in China in prehistoric times, as Barbara Banks has shown,⁶ since early remains of specimens are found among the bones of other wild animals in various habitation sites. The earliest finds of domesticated horses have been located in sites of the Hongshan culture in the northeast and the Qijia culture in Gansu in the northwest, roughly

⁴ "The Role of the Horse in Chinese History," p. 161; Edward Erkes, "Das Pferd im Alten China," *T'oung Pao* 36(1940), p. 29.

⁵ Creel, p. 161.

⁶ Barbara Cha Banks, *The Magical Powers of the Horse as Revealed in the Archaeological Explorations of Early China* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989), p. 18.

four thousand to two thousand B.C.E.⁷

However, recent scholarship has shown that the first peoples to harness and ride horses lived in the steppes far to the west. Antony and Brown have used a scanning electron microscope to identify bit wear on equid teeth. Using comparative examples from four countries and 25,000 years of prehistory, they have claimed that one of the earliest bitted and ridden animals so far discovered is a seven to eight year old stallion sacrificed in a cult ritual belonging to the Sredni Stog culture at the site of Dereivka, on the south bank of the Dneiper river, south of Kiev in the Ukraine, approximately 4000 B.C.E. Their analysis shows that horses were ridden before they were harnessed to chariots, a conclusion that challenges the previously accepted belief that riding followed the harnessing of equids to wheeled chariots.⁸ Their results have, however, have been received with some skepticism and the dating of their finds and their methodology is still a matter of debate.

The ancient Chinese came to employ the horse rather later than comparable cultures in the west and having horses pull wheeled vehicles was not an indigenous Chinese development despite the fact that Chinese legends ascribe the invention of the chariot to various of the culture heroes at the beginning of time, including the Yellow Emperor (traditional reign ca. 2697 B.C.E.) and Yu, the founder of the

⁷ For the latter, see K.C. Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China* 4th ed. p. 282.

⁸ David W. Antony and Dorcas R. Brown, "The Origins of Horseback Riding," *Antiquity* 65 (1991), pp. 22-38. Horses' teeth grow back, so if they are not bitted for a while, no damage will show microscopically. In addition, bit wear can be determined on the metal bits where the horses have chewed down on them. It would be of great interest if Chinese archaeologists were to use the same techniques to analyze the teeth and bits of horses discovered in excavations. It would then be possible to know whether the horses sacrificed on the death of a lord had actually been used to pull the chariots, or whether they were special animals that been allowed to run free and were only killed and hitched to the chariots for the specific purpose of the funeral ritual.

Xia dynasty (ca. 2000 B.C.E.).⁹ Nevertheless, once the Chinese realized the advantage of the tractive power of the horse when attached to a chariot or cart, they quickly adapted their military and cultural practices to make full use of it.

Horses were used in a great variety of contexts and seem to have been constant companions to ancient Chinese in pre-imperial and early imperial times both in life and death. Members of the Shang and Western Zhou elites frequently had their horses buried with their chariots and their riders to accompany them in death, a symbol, no doubt, of their social status, but also because they expected to ride in the chariots in the afterlife.

Later on, life-like figurines of horses were manufactured in great numbers as part of the famous terracotta statues buried in the pits to the east of the First Emperor's tomb, representing, perhaps, elements of the Qin armies that conquered and unified China and intended as part of his underworld guard. In the Han dynasty, there are many representations of entertainers performing music or acrobatic feats on horseback or on chariots pulled by horses at full gallop on tiles decorating the tombs of members of the aristocratic elite and of the gentry and officials. These representations were presumably intended to provide enjoyment for the spirits of the departed and to give some indication of what joys awaited the living after death. Similarly, people of the Six Dynasties through the Tang often placed

⁹ The most recent study of the development of chariots in China is Liu Yonghua's *Zhongguo gudai cheyu maju* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2002). See also the essays by Sun Ji gathered in his *Zhongguo guyufu luncong* (Essays on Ancient Chinese Vehicles and Garments) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001). For studies on Eastern Han chariots and wheeled vehicles, see the late Wang Zhenduo, edited and supplemented by Li Qiang, *Dong Han chezhi fuyuan yanjiu* (Reconstruction and Study of the Eastern Han Vehicle) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1997).

in their tombs figurines of horses or camels and their foreign grooms, musicians on horseback, attendants to serve them in the afterlife and images of guardians to ward off evil spirits. They also represented the playing of polo on horseback in both figurines and murals decorating the walls of their tombs.¹⁰ From Tang times, the horse was represented in painting as symbolic of moral virtues, a metaphor of the scholar, and of the way the emperor treated his officials. This tradition was passed down through the centuries to Giuseppe Castiglione, the Jesuit court artist of the Qianlong emperor in the eighteenth century who introduced western perspective to Chinese artists.¹¹ From the numerous iconographic and textual examples, as well as material remains of horses, that have been recovered through archaeological excavation, it is now possible to determine how the Chinese horse changed through the centuries and to gain a much

¹⁰ Polo was probably used as training for cavalymen, as well as entertainment, and both men and women from different classes played the sport. See Virginia L. Bower, "Polo in Tang China: Sport and Art," *Asian Art* 4.1 (Winter, 1991), pp. 23-45; Li Jisu, Zhou Xiguan and Xu Youzhang eds., *Zhongguo gudai tiyu shi jianbian* (Beijing: People's Sports Publishing House, 1984), who argue, most likely incorrectly, that the Chinese invented polo—it was probably introduced to the Tang court by Peroz (or Firruz, ca. 638-677), the son of the last Sasanian emperor; and James T.C. Liu, "Polo and Cultural Change: From T'ang to Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45 (1985), pp. 203-224. For the unusual troop of performing horses popular with the Tang court, see Paul W. Kroll, "The Dancing Horses of T'ang," *T'oung Pao* 68.3-5 (1981), pp. 240-269.

¹¹ For discussions of the horse as represented in Chinese art, see, inter alia, Madeline K. Spring, "Fabulous Horses and Worthy Scholars in Ninth-Century China," *T'oung Pao* 46 (1988); Chu-tsing Li, "Grooms and Horses by the Chao Family," in Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong ed., *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 199-219; Jonathan Hay, "Khubilai's Groom," *RES* 17/18 (1989), pp. 117-39; Jerome Silbergeld, "In Praise of Government: Chao Yung's Painting, *Noble Steeds*, and Late Yuan Politics," *Artibus Asiae* 46.3 (1985), pp. 159-202; Robert E. Harrist Jr., *Power and Virtue: The Horse in Chinese Art* (New York: China Institute Gallery, 1997); Suzanne Cahill, "Night-Shining White: Traces of a T'ang Dynasty Horse in Two Media," *T'ang Studies* 4 (1986), pp. 91-94.