


西域历史语言研究丛书

中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所主办
主编 沈卫荣

摩尼教与古代西域史研究

马小鹤 著

 中国人民大学出版社

西域历史语言研究丛书

中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所主办
主编 沈卫荣

摩尼教与古代西域史研究

马小鹤 著

中国人民大学出版社
· 北京 ·

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

摩尼教与古代西域史研究/马小鹤著.
北京:中国人民大学出版社,2008
(西域历史语言研究丛书/沈卫荣主编)
ISBN 978-7-300-09807-4

I. 摩…

II. 马…

III. ①摩尼教-文集②西域-地方史-文集

IV. B989.1-53 K294.5-53

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2008) 第 155550 号

西域历史语言研究丛书

中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所主办

主编 沈卫荣

摩尼教与古代西域史研究

马小鹤 著

出版发行	中国人民大学出版社				
社 址	北京中关村大街 31 号	邮政编码	100080		
电 话	010-62511242 (总编室)		010-62511398 (质管部)		
	010-82501766 (邮购部)		010-62514148 (门市部)		
	010-62515195 (发行公司)		010-62515275 (盗版举报)		
网 址	http://www.crup.com.cn http://www.ttrnet.com (人大教研网)				
经 销	新华书店				
印 刷	河北三河市新世纪印务有限公司				
规 格	160 mm×230 mm 16 开本	版 次	2008 年 10 月第 1 版		
印 张	41.25 插页 3	印 次	2008 年 10 月第 1 次印刷		
字 数	648 000	定 价	128.00 元		

版权所有 侵权必究

印装差错 负责调换

The Monograph Series of Historical and Philological Studies of China's
Western Regions

Research Institute of Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western
Regions, School of China Studies, Renmin University of China, Beijing
Editor-in-Chief: Shen Weirong

Manichaeian Studies and Ancient Western Regions Studies

Ma Xiaohe

Renmin University of China Press

·Beijing·

西域历史语言研究丛书编委会

主办：中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所

主编：沈卫荣（中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所）

编辑委员会委员：

王炳华（中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所）

乌云毕力格（中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所）

沈卫荣（中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所）

毕波（中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所）

黄朴民（中国人民大学国学院）

孟宪实（中国人民大学国学院）

孙家洲（中国人民大学历史学院）

魏坚（中国人民大学历史学院）

成崇德（中国人民大学历史学院）

罗丰（宁夏回族自治区文物考古所）

荣新江（北京大学历史系）

段晴（北京大学外国语学院）

齐东方（北京大学考古系）

刘迎胜（南京大学历史系）

达力札布（中央民族大学历史系）

宝音德力根（内蒙古大学蒙古学学院）
齐木德道尔吉（内蒙古大学蒙古学研究中心）
朱玉麒（新疆师范大学文学院）
吴玉贵（中国社会科学院历史研究所）
李 肖（新疆维吾尔自治区吐鲁番文物局）
张德芳（甘肃省文物考古所）
卓鸿泽（马来西亚自由学者）
中尾正义（日本综合地球环境学研究所）
松川节（日本大谷大学文学部）
杉山正明（日本京都大学文学部）
荒川慎太郎（日本东京外国语大学亚非研究所）
Max Deeg（英国 Cardiff 大学宗教系）
Kirill Solonin（俄罗斯圣彼得堡大学东方研究系）
Ruth Dunnell（美国 Kenyon 学院历史系）
Peter Schwieger（德国波恩大学中亚语言文化学系）
Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz（瑞士伯尔尼大学宗教系）

执行编辑组

组长：毕 波

组员：江晓辉 徐华兰 侯浩然 曾汉辰 安海燕 高 亮

英文编辑：Jennifer Dai

Editorial Board of the Monograph Series of Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions

Research Institute of Historical and Philological Studies of China's
Western Regions(RIHPCWR)

School of China Studies, Renmin University of China, Beijing

Editor-in-Chief: Shen Weirong (RIHPCWR, Renmin University of China)

Editorial Board:

Wang Binghua (RIHPCWR, Renmin University of China)

B. Oyunbilig (RIHPCWR, Renmin University of China)

Shen Weirong (RIHPCWR, Renmin University of China)

Bi Bo (RIHPCWR, Renmin University of China)

Huang Pumin (School of China Studies, Renmin University of
China)

Meng Xianshi (School of China Studies, Renmin University of
China)

Sun Jiazhou (School of Historical Studies, Renmin University of
China)

Wei Jian (School of Historical Studies, Renmin University of China)

Cheng Chongde (School of Historical Studies, Renmin Universi-
ty of China)

Luo Feng (Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics of
Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region)

- Rong Xinjiang (History Department, Peking University)
Duan Qing (School of Foreign Languages, Peking University)
Qi Dongfang (Archaeology Department, Peking University)
Liu Yingsheng (History Department, Nanjing University)
Darijab (History Department, Central University of National Minorities)
J. Buyandelger (School of Mongolian Studies, Inner Mongolia University)
Chimeddorji (Center of Mongolian Studies, Inner Mongolia University)
Zhu Yuqi (Faculty of Letters, Xinjiang Normal University)
Wu Yugui (Institute of Historical Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science)
Li Xiao (Bureau of Cultural Relics in Turfan, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region)
Zhang Defang (Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics of Gansu Province)
Hoong Teik Toh (Independent Scholar, Malaysia)
Masayoshi Nakawo (Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, Kyoto)
Shintao Arakawa (Institute of Asian and African Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
Takashi Matsukawa (Faculty of Letters, Otani University)
Sugiyama Masaaki (Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University)
Max Deeg (Department of Religious Studies, Cardiff University, England)
Kirill Solonin (Department of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg University, Russia)
Ruth Dunnell (History Department, Kenyon College, USA)
Peter Schwieger (Seminar fuer Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, Bonn University, Germany)
Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz (Institute of Religious Studies, Bern)

University, Switzerland)

Editorial Assistants:

Bi Bo, Jiang Xiaohui, Xu Hualan, Hou Haoran, Zeng Hanchen,
An Haiyan, Gao Liang, Jennifer Dai

编辑缘起

中国是一个多民族、多元文化的国家，中国的国学应该包括对汉族和汉族文化以外诸民族及其文化的研究。本着这样的一个理念和共识，中国人民大学国学院成立伊始就积极倡导和组织对中国边疆民族地区各少数民族的语言、历史、地理和宗教文化的研究，并着手筹建西域历史语言研究所。在中国人民大学校方和社会各界的大力支持和推动下，经过一年多的筹备，中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究现已初具规模，兹谨推出《西域历史语言研究丛书》，以展示本所同人及其师友们的学术成果、学术主张和学术追求，同时亦期望其能够成为西域研究的一个国际性的学术平台，以此来联络国内、外从事西域研究的专家学者，共同推动西域历史语言研究的进步和繁荣。

中国人民大学国学院选择西域历史语言研究作为一个重点学科来建设，主要基于以下三点考虑：

第一，西域研究在中国的开展曾与作为一个民族国家的近代中国的形成具有不可分割的关联。清末中国受西方殖民主义势力的侵略，出现了前所未有的边疆危机。当时相当数量的爱国学者积极投身于“西北舆地之学”的研究，其成果对于中国领土不受瓜分和中国作为一个民族国家的地位的确立和边疆疆域的界定发挥了积极的作用。西域研究既然对中国的国家认同和疆域界定有如此重大的意义，它当然应当作为国学研究的一个组成部分而得到重视。特别是今天，在现代化和

全球化的进程中，我们有必要通过对国学研究的倡导来深化对中国和中国传统文化的认识和理解，并对其做出更合乎时代的定义，此时对西域和西域文化的研究自然应该继续成为国学研究的一项重要内容。

第二，西域研究，特别是西域历史语言研究是一门关涉多种学科的非常国际化的学问，重视西域历史语言研究有利于促进我国国学研究的国际化。西域历史语言研究在西方的中国研究中是一个既具有悠久传统，又享有崇高学术威望的领域。中国的“西北輿地之学”自清嘉、道以后，就因缺乏新数据、新方法而渐趋衰落，而西方的西域历史语言研究却因另辟蹊径而成绩斐然。以法国学者伯希和为代表的一批在西方学术界享有盛誉的汉学、西域研究学者在中国的西北地区，特别是敦煌和吐鲁番劫走了大量珍贵的西域古文献，他们利用历史语言学的方法，用汉语古音和民族、异国语言互相勘同、比对等方法来处理、解释这些多种语言的古文献数据，其成就不但远远超出了中国传统的“西北輿地之学”，而且亦曾在西方中国研究史上写下了辉煌的篇章。尽管今日世界的中国研究从方法到内容均已日趋多样化，但西域历史语言研究依然具有相当大的影响力，是能够凝聚世界各国学者的一个跨学科的学术领域。国学研究的对象虽然是中国，但国学研究的方法、水平、影响应该具有世界性。要使中国的国学研究与世界的中国研究进行有益的对话和交流，真正实现中国学术与国际学术的接轨，我们必须重视和加强中国的西域历史语言研究。

第三，从事西域历史语言研究对于中国学者来说具有西方学者不可企及的天然优势，不但数量庞大的有关西域的汉文古文献是西域历史、文化研究的坚实基础，而且西域语言中的大多数是中国国内诸多少数民族同胞依然在使用的活语言。中国学者本应在这个领域大有作为。令人遗憾的是，中国的西域历史语言研究虽然于上个世纪前半叶在陈寅恪、王国维、陈垣等一代杰出学者的倡导下有过短期的辉煌，但这个传统并没有得到很好的继承和发展。当王国维、陈寅恪被今天的国人推为数一数二的国学大师时，中国的西域历史语言研究远远没有走在世界的最前列。相反，在这个领域的各个子学科中，中国学者拥有话语权者寥寥可数，不少子学科的研究在中国学术界已成或即将成绝学。这样的局面将阻碍中国学术赶超世界一流水平的进程，更不利于多元文化在中国的同存共荣与和谐发展。有鉴于此，我们积极倡

导西域历史语言研究，激励中国学者在这个特殊的领域内充分发挥我们潜在的优势，扬长避短，冀在较短的时间内，缩短与国际一流学术水平间的距离；并以中国人民大学国学院为基地，培养下一代西域历史语言研究人才，重兴绝学！

需要说明的是，西域是一个历史的概念，在不同的历史时期，西域这一名称的指域常常发生或大或小的变化。通常说来，西域有广义和狭义之分，狭义西域一般指的是天山以南、昆仑山以北、葱岭以东、玉门关以西的地区。而广义的西域则指中原王朝西部边疆以西的所有地区，除包括狭义西域地区，还包括南亚、西亚，甚至北非和欧洲地区。古代西域地区是一个民族迁徙、融合十分频繁的地带，亦是东西文化交流的一个中心枢纽，因此在西域地区出现过的众多民族，他们的历史、语言、宗教和文化之间有着千丝万缕的联系。正因如此，西域研究必须是一个有机的整体，无法将这个整体依照民族、语言和疆域等任何范畴做人为的割裂。但鉴于中国人民大学国学院西域历史语言研究所的指导方针和总体建构，我们借用“西域”这个历史词汇，更多的是出于对中国学术传统的尊敬和继承，而“西域”这个名称于此所指的范围主要是地处中国境内的广大西部地区，与历史上所说的西域不同。与此对应，西域历史语言研究的对象主要是历史上曾在中国境内西部地区生活、活动过的众多民族的历史、语言和文化。限于国学院西域历史语言研究所现有研究人员的组成和学术条件，我们目前的研究重点主要放在几个与西方中亚学研究相对应的学科上，即突厥（回鹘）学、蒙古学、满学、西藏学和西夏学等等。

我们采用“西域历史语言研究”这个名称，并不表明我们仅仅重视对西域的历史和语言的研究。我们主张将西域研究建设作为对西域地区各民族、文化的一种跨学科的综合性研究，因此各人文学科，乃至自然科学学科的合理方法都应该被运用和整合到西域研究这一学科之中。我们之所以强调西域历史语言研究，是因为我们比较推崇用传统的历史语言学方法来研究西域这一地区的历史和文化。我们鼓励采用实证的语言学、文献学，亦即西方所说的 philology 的方法来处理、解读西域地区出土的各种不同语言文字的文献和实物资料，并以此为基础对西域各民族的历史、语言、宗教、文化作出合乎历史事实的描述和解释。我们决不排斥对西域研究作宏观的理论建构，也不反对将

学术研究的新方法、新范式引进我们从事的西域研究之中，但我们坚持的是：任何宏大叙事必须以扎实、科学的实证研究为基础，特别强调西域历史语言研究的基础建设，推崇朴实、精细的学术风格。

欢迎海内外从事与关心西域历史语言研究的专家、学者、朋友们来和我们一起推动中国西域历史语言研究，祝中国西域历史语言研究进步、繁荣！

沈卫荣

2007年3月22日

Editor's Preface

China has long been a country with many ethnic groups and multiple cultural traditions, therefore, China studies must include researches on non-Han ethnic groups and their cultures. It is based on such a common understanding that the School of China Studies of Renmin University of China has been actively promoting and organizing researches on the language, history, geography, religion and culture of ethnic minority groups of China's frontier regions ever since its inception. The school has also made the decision to establish the Institute for Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions. With strong support from the university as well as the society, the Institute has now been established after a year of preparation. We are now launching the "Monograph Series of Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions". These publications present academic approaches, pursuits and achievements of the Institute's members and their colleagues and friends all over the world. We hope the Monograph Series will serve the scholarly community as an academic platform for rallying scholars both within and outside China to improve and ensure the flourishing of historical and philological studies of China's western regions.

Three main considerations prompted the School of China Studies at Renmin University of China to choose the historical and philologi-

cal study of China's western regions as one of its core research fields to be especially promoted.

First, the development of research on China's western regions was inseparable from the formation of China as a nation state. During the late Qing, the aggression of Western colonialist and imperialist powers brought about unprecedented and severe crisis in China with the insecurity of its frontier regions. It was during such a time many Chinese scholars devoted their time and energy in "the geographic and historic studies of the northwest regions." Their work made significant contributions to preventing Chinese territory from being taken away by western colonialists, to the establishment of China as modern nation state, and to defining the national borders of China. Since such research was vital to the formation of China's identity as a nation state and the definition of its national boundary, it should be sincerely viewed as an integral part of China studies. It is particularly necessary for us to deepen our own understanding of China and its cultural traditions and give it a new definition befitting contemporary circumstance by means of promoting China studies in the time of modernization and globalization. It goes without saying that studies of China's western regions should be continuously promoted as an important component of China studies in this particular time period for facing the new challenge of modernization and globalization.

Secondly, the study of China's western regions, specially the historical and philological study of the region, is a highly internationalized scholarship that involves many different academic disciplines. Putting emphasis on historical and philological studies of China's western regions will advance the goal of promoting China studies into an internationalized discipline of high scholarly standard. In the West, historical and philological study of China's western regions is a field with both a long tradition and great prestige. In China, due to the lack of new materials and methodological innovation, the "geographic and historic studies of the northwest regions" began to decline

after the Jiaqing and Daoguang reign of the Qing dynasty. Meanwhile, study of China's western regions in the West made great progress along new paths. As represented by the French scholar Paul Pelliot, a generation of well-known European, Russian, Japanese and American Sinologists and others of Central Asian studies took possession of large numbers of precious ancient manuscripts and artifacts from China's western regions, especially from Dunhuang and Turfan. Not only that, they also implemented new historico-philological approaches to deal with these newly acquired manuscripts in various languages and scripts. By comparing the phonetics of Classical Chinese with that of ethnic minorities and foreign languages they were highly successful in deciphering and interpreting these multi-lingual documents and manuscripts. Their accomplishments not only surpassed that of traditional Chinese "scholarship on the northwestern regions" of the Qing dynasty but have also left a magnificent chapter in the history of China studies in western academia. Despite the fact that Chinese studies in the world has now been highly diversified in terms of methodology and content, historical and philological study of China's western regions remains an interdisciplinary field that is very influential and capable of attracting and rallying scholars from various countries all over the world. Although the object of China studies is China, the methodology and academic standard of China studies should be internationalized. In order to foster dialogue among scholars of China studies within and outside China, and to truly connect Chinese scholarship with the rest of the world, we must emphasize and strengthen the historical and philological study of China's western regions.

Thirdly, Chinese scholars have certain advantage over western scholars when entering the field of historical and philological studies of China's western regions-not only do the large number of ancient Chinese documents about China's western region provide an irreplaceable foundation for researches on history and culture of the region, in

addition many of the languages of the region are still in use by minority ethnic groups within the borders of China today. Chinese scholars should have played an important role in this field. Indeed, the study of China's western region in China did experience a brief period of glory with the leadership of outstanding scholars such as Chen Yinke, Wang Guowei and Chen Yuan and etc. during the 1930 and 1940s. Regrettably, this tradition has not been sustained and developed. While today Wang Guowei and Chen Yinke are praised as the greatest scholars of Chinese studies, Chinese scholarship on China's western regions is far from advanced in comparison with that of the West and Japan. Instead, few Chinese scholars are capable of participating in discourses of the field, and quite a number of subfields are on the brink of extinction. Such a serious situation is an obstacle for Chinese scholars to raising the quality of academic research to the highest international standard, and it will also hamper the harmonious co-existence and prosperity of various cultures within China. In light of this, we are eager to promote historical and philological studies of China's western regions, to encourage Chinese scholars to play up our strength in this special field, and to close the gap between Chinese scholarship and the best scholarship of the world in this field. We also plan to use the School of China Studies at Renmin University of China as the base for training the next generation of scholars in the field of historical and philological studies of China's western regions and revive the endangered subfields.

It must be noted that *Xiyu, or Western Region* is a historical concept, with the actual geographic area indicated by this term often expanding or contracting in different time periods. There is a difference between a broadly and narrowly defined Western Region: the latter includes the area south of the Tianshan Mountain, north of the Kunlun Mountain, and east of Cungling and west of the Yumen Pass. Broadly defined, the Western Region includes all the areas beyond the western frontier of the dynasties centered on China proper. In other