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VALERIE HANSEN

The Path of Buddhism into China: The View from Turfan

It is easy to envision the spread of Buddhism from India to China as a stone dropped into a pond. When Buddhist religious institutions first took shape during the Buddha's lifetime (ca. 563-483 BC), the stone landed in the water. As the succeeding centuries passed, the ripples in the water formed larger and larger concentric circles. First the people of the Central Asian oasis kingdoms (many of which are located in modern Sinkiang in northwest China) embraced Buddhism sometime in the first and second centuries AD, and, then, as the ripples extended to China proper, China became a largely Buddhist empire by the tenth century AD.

Yet, as Erik Zürcher has suggested, this picture has gone largely untested. The unique combination of documents, epitaphs, and artifacts from two graveyards at Turfan makes it possible to examine the history of Buddhism there with far greater precision than is possible for any other Silk Road site or any site within greater China. The history of Turfan shows that Buddhists came to Central Asia sometimes from one direction, sometimes from another, and that the route of Buddhism was not a simple one, as the stone-in-the-pond analogy suggests. In almost every instance at Turfan in which the introduction of Buddhism can be linked with specific individuals, the original patrons of the early Buddhist church turn out to have been either Chinese settlers from the region east of Turfan or local rulers consciously emulating the example of Chinese kings to the east. Only one early text mentions a foreign monk (perhaps from India or from Kizil), who was active in 382.

PROBLEMS WITH THE STONE-IN-THE-WATER SCENARIO

As intuitively appealing as the stone-in-the-water scenario is, it does not accord with either written evidence from historical sources or the archeologi-

I WOULD like to thank the project participants who commented on earlier versions, especially Jonathan Skaff and Nobuyoshi Yamabe 山部能宜. Rong Xinjiang provided many helpful research leads, as did Zhang Guangda, who also aided in the reading of the most difficult texts. See a forthcoming shorter Chinese version of this paper, including the passages from original documents: Han Sen [Valerie Hansen] 韓森, "Chung-kuo jen shih ju-ho kwei-i Fo-chiao te Tu-lu-fan mu-tsang chieh-shih te hsin-yang kai-pien" 中國人是如何皈依佛教的吐魯番墓葬揭示的信仰改變, *Tun-huang Tu-lu-fan yen-chiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 4 (1999).

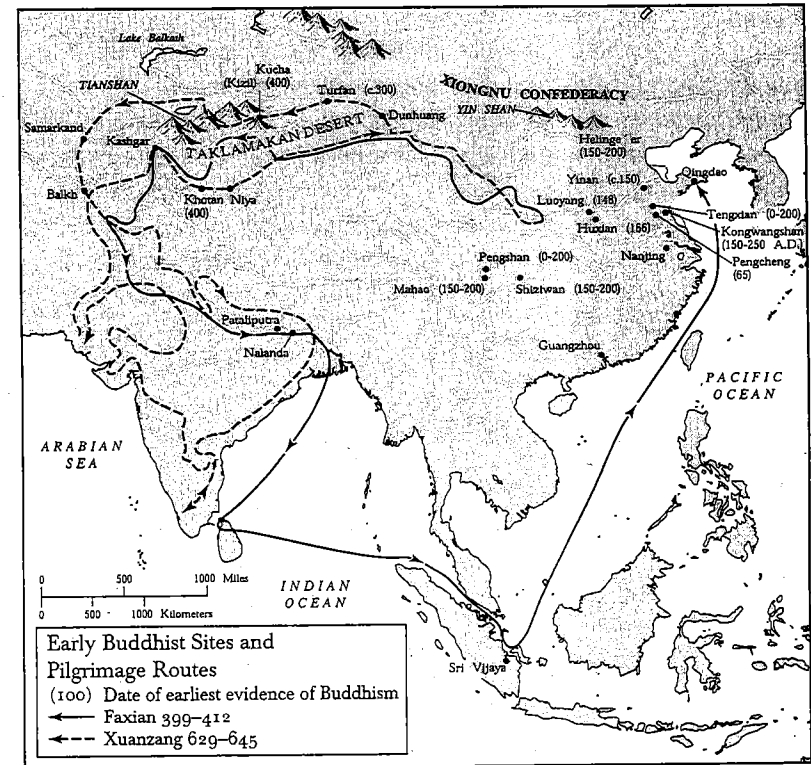
cal evidence from Central Asian and Chinese sites before the fourth century AD. As Erik Zürcher has so trenchantly pointed out, the surviving archeological and historical evidence suggests Buddhism did not spread from India via Central Asia to China:

In fact, the picture of such a gradual geographical expansion agrees to common sense to such an extent that it never has really been tested in the light of available data. Once we do so, we have to face the paradoxical situation that so far there actually is no reliable evidence for the existence of monastic Buddhism in present-day Sinkiang before ca. 250 AD – almost 200 years after emperor Ming's edict [resulting from the emperor Ming's dream of 65 AD, according to a legend], and a century after the establishment of the first monastery at Lo-yang.¹

The first translator-missionaries, Zürcher explains, had arrived in the Chinese capitals of Lo-yang (Hopei), and Ch'ang-an (now Sian, Shensi) as early as the first century AD, and the emperor himself worshipped the Buddha (alongside Huang-Lao 黃老) in 166, suggesting that a small community of teachers and devotees took shape in the two capitals before AD 200. Monasticism seemingly leaped across an underdeveloped Central Asia to the wealthy cities of China, only filtering back to Central Asia when economic conditions allowed it. In contrast, the earliest evidence of Buddhist practice in Central Asia comes from the third century AD, and truly convincing evidence dates only to the fourth century, the period to which the earliest caves at Kizil have been carbon-dated.² One might be forgiven for thinking the first Buddhist missionaries flew from the Kushan empire to Ch'ang-an, so little trace do they leave of their voyages, and I, for one, think it quite possible that they traveled by sea rather than overland.

¹ Erik Zürcher, "Han Buddhism and the Western Region," in W. L. Idema and E. Zürcher, eds., *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), pp. 158–82, citation on pp. 168–69. As persuasive as Zürcher's overall argument is, one does not have to accept his hypothesis that the introduction of Chinese agricultural techniques by military colonists facilitated the establishment of Buddhist monasteries in the oases of Central Asia. The resulting increase in agricultural production, he argues, supported the new monasteries. His explanation rests on figures given in the *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*, which record dramatic increases in agricultural production following Chinese settlement of the region. But because the borders of many of these Central Asian kingdoms were redrawn drastically between the compilation of the two histories, all numerical comparisons between the figures they give are skewed.

² Su Pai [Su Bai] 宿白, "K'o-tzu-erh pu-fen tung-k'u chieh-tuan hua-fen yü nien-tai teng wen-t'i te ch'u-pu t'an-suo tai hsu" 克孜兒不分洞窟階段劃分與年代等問題的初步探索代序, in *Chung-kuo shih-k'u K'o-tzu-er shih-k'u i* 中國石窟克孜兒石窟一 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1989). The chart on p. 19 gives 310 (±80) as the carbon-14 date of the earliest cave, number 38. Most researchers on this topic think that a date of 400 is plausible.



Widespread archeological excavations since the 1970s have made it possible for scholars to trace the first sites of Buddhist devotion with new accuracy (see the map, below). In 65 AD a local king in P'eng-ch'eng 彭城, Kiangsu, worshipped the Buddha alongside Huang-Lao. During the second century, artists in Mongolia painted a white elephant in a tomb, perhaps an allusion to the story of the Buddha's conception, which took place when his mother dreamt of a white elephant. Elsewhere artists made a lintel with a Buddhist carving in Szechwan, stone carvings with Buddhist scenes in Shantung, and, most impressively, the temple complex at Mount K'ung-wang 孔望 (near the port of Lien-yun-kang 連雲港, Kiangsu).³

Mapping these sites makes it possible to trace isolated acts of piety throughout the empire, but such an approach does not reveal when or how – or even whether – larger communities adopted the new religious practices. The materials from Turfan make it possible to observe how the people of one communi-

³ Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1986), pp. 263–316.

ty adopted Buddhist practices between the fourth and eighth centuries. Because only Turfan has such a rich base of sources, it is frustratingly difficult to compare the history of Buddhism in Turfan with that of central China. This paper examines one rare surviving document and suggests that simultaneous worship in Shantung (and possibly elsewhere in China proper) of Buddhist and non-Buddhist deities was, in ways, very similar to that occurring in Turfan. Other than this one document, though, a researcher has little material from central China to work with.⁴ The evidence from Turfan suggests that Buddhism came to Central Asia from two directions: from the east, from China, and from the west, from India. Buddhist teachings did not come into China at a constant pace and nor did they come from only one direction.

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE CONCERNING TURFAN BUDDHISM

The first evidence of Buddhism at Turfan consists of sūtras with dated colophons. According to Rong Xinjiang's research, the earliest text is a Chinese translation of the *Chu-Fo yao chi-ching* 諸佛要集經 made by the famous translator Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu 竺法護), which bears the date 296. We cannot know, of course, whether the text reached Turfan at such an early date, but the presence of other early sūtras (dated 360, 393, 429, 430, and 434) suggests that this was not an isolated example.⁵ Because Dharmarakṣa was active in Ch'ang-an, and some of his students were based in Tun-huang, the direction of influence was from Ch'ang-an to Turfan, or from east to west.

The earliest mention of a Buddhist missionary from India, or somewhere to the west of Turfan, appears in Seng-yu's *Collection of Records concerning the Tripitaka*, written early in the sixth century and quoting from the preface that Tao-an 道安 (312-385) wrote to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (*Mo-ho po-lo-jo po-lo-mi ching* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經). Tao-an records that, in 382, the Chū-shih ruler accompanied the Buddhist teacher Kumārabodhi to Ch'ang-an.⁶ Kumārabodhi, he tells us, brought the larger version of the text and could recite 20,000 verses in a non-Chinese (*hu* 胡) language. Kumārabodhi's name

⁴ I am now beginning work on a book about the five Silk Road sites in China that have produced documentation (Ni-ya, Khotan, Kizil, Turfan, and Tun-huang), and I hope careful study of these materials will allow us to make more meaningful comparisons between Central Asia and China proper.

⁵ Jung Hsin-chiang [Rong Xinjiang] 榮新江, "T'u-lu-fan li-shih yü wen-hua" 吐魯番曆史與文化, in Hu Chi 胡戟, ed., *T'u-lu-fan* 吐魯番 (Sian: San-ch'in ch'u-pan-she, 1987), p. 32.

⁶ Seng-yu 僧祐 (435-518), *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集 (T'edn., no. 2145), vol. 55, p. 52b. Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972) p. 10 (Seng-yu's notes), p. 202 (Kumārabodhi).

resembles that of his contemporary, the famous translator from Kizil, Kumārajīva, who was born to an Indian father and a Kuchean mother; he may have had a similarly mixed cultural background. Because Tao-an uses the measure word *shih-lu* 失廬 (corresponding to the Sanskrit word for "verse," *śloka*), it is likely that the text Kumārabodhi recited was in Sanskrit or Prakrit.

By the end of the fourth century, the indigenous local rulers at Turfan, the Chū-shih 車師, a nomadic non-Chinese people, patronized Buddhism and supported the spread of Sanskrit learning.⁷ Although Seng-yu's record documents royal patronage for the Buddhist establishment, he does not provide any information about the extent of support for Buddhism among Turfan's residents. For that, we will need to examine the evidence underground.

A BRIEF COMPARISON WITH CHRISTIANITY

The catacombs of Rome occupy an important place in the history of Christian archeology because they offer a continuous series of tombs, and so the opportunity to glimpse religious change in one locality over time. Early analysts assumed all the paintings in the catacombs to be Christian, and all the dead to be Christian converts. Recent studies have shown that, in contrast, although some of the paintings depict clearly pre-Christian themes (funeral meals that had been misinterpreted as masses for the dead),⁸ some who were buried in the catacombs were not converts. Tombs with pagan motifs appear even after the first Christian tombs of the mid-second century AD, showing that pagan beliefs coexisted with Christian beliefs. Christianity, officially banned until 313, during the reign of Constantine, came in quietly – at first with just a picture of a fish drawn on an otherwise pagan tomb and only later with tombs whose paintings all show clearly identifiable scenes from the Bible.

Of course, Christianity differed from Buddhism in many ways, and while early Christian monks required converts to give up their own deities and to swear to a creed, Buddhists did not. Buddhist teachers often included local deities in their pantheons and named them as guardian deities in monasteries. In adopting Buddhism, then, a devotee did not renounce his earlier beliefs with the vehemence that was expected of a convert to Christianity.

Although converts to Christianity changed the design of their tombs to incorporate new Christian motifs, Buddhist devotees often did not. Those fa-

⁷ Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "A Concise History of the Turfan Oasis and Its Exploration," in this volume.

⁸ William H. C. Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity: A History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), p. 248.

miliar with Chinese archeology will already realize how few Buddhist motifs appear in central Chinese tombs – even after the fourth century AD, when textual sources show that both rulers and ordinary people were drawn to the new faith. As Wu Hung has noted, although in Han tombs a few Buddha images appear in the company of deities that grant immortality, no iconic images of the Buddha have been found from the Six Dynasties period (220–589). A single Sui-dynasty (589–618) tomb contains figurines of two Buddhist monks.⁹ Pottery vessels have lotus motifs, and some tombs show flying divinities, but the use of these motifs does not necessarily indicate belief in Buddhism. In short, the archeological evidence from China suggests that using tombs to trace the course of Buddhism may produce very different results than using the catacombs of Rome to trace the history of Christianity.

A LOCAL APPROACH:

THE ASTANA GRAVEYARD AT TURFAN

So far no equivalent of the catacombs has been found in either Chinese capital. The only rough analog – a graveyard whose burials span the centuries before and after contact with Buddhist missionaries – lies in the oasis of Turfan, an important city lying on the main northern trade route between China and India (see maps 1 and 2, above, in the Introduction to this volume). Although the oasis came under direct Chinese rule only in 640, its rulers enthusiastically embraced Chinese ways starting in about 500. The city of Kao-ch'ang, to use its ancient name, was built on the classic Chinese model of a planned square city on a north-south grid with evenly spaced gates. On its northern border, the residents built a large graveyard, covering some ten square kilometers, now called Astana and Karakhoja, after two nearby villages.¹⁰ These two sites produced the vast bulk of documents found at Turfan, but, because they were already severely disturbed by the end of the nineteenth century, and because they have been excavated by different teams at different times in the twentieth century, it is impossible to reconstruct the original contents – both documentary and artifactual – of any given tomb.¹¹

⁹ These were found in a tomb at An-yang (KK [1959.1], pl. 10, figures 10 and 11); Albert Dien, June 10, 1998, personal communication.

¹⁰ These are the Uighur names; see the table in the Introduction to this volume for Chinese renderings of Turfan places and peoples, and for a map of Kao-ch'ang.

¹¹ The documents excavated by the Chinese from Turfan are in a preliminary ten-volume set, and in a revised set of four volumes with photographic plates, all of which are now available. Unfortunately, both sets are called *T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* 吐魯番出土文書 [Excavated Documents from Turfan]. The 10-volume set (hereafter, "*T'u-lu-fan* [texts]") is edited by Kuo-chia wen-wu-

In spite of the considerable obstacles to research, the materials spanning the fourth to eighth centuries from the Astana and Karakhoja graveyards make it possible to examine the history of Buddhism in surprising detail. Several hundred tombs have been excavated at the site. Although many had already been opened, the tombs all follow the contemporaneous Chinese pattern of a stairway leading down to a one- or two-chambered tomb. Excavated documents indicate that the Astana graveyard included people from a range of social levels. The poorest had enough money to have a grave and a simple tablet with only their names, while the more wealthy could afford to commission long epitaphs and include more lavish grave goods. The occupants of the graveyard seem to have been predominantly Chinese; all the documents found in Astana (with the exception of one Sogdian contract studied by Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊) were written in Chinese characters.¹² If any non-Chinese peoples were buried in the Astana graveyard, they had adopted Chinese funerary customs including the use of the Chinese language for grave documents.

This article examines the funerary documents and grave goods the people of Turfan placed in their graves in order to trace the history of Buddhism from the fourth to eighth centuries. Because many of the same document types have been found in central China as well, comparison with these finds will

chü ku wen-hsien yen-chiu-shih 國家文物局古文獻研究室 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1981–1996), and the 4-volume set (hereafter, "*T'u-lu-fan* [photos]") by T'ang Chang-ju [frequently romanized as "Ch'ang"] 唐長孺 et al.

The epitaphs have been published by Hou Ts'an [Hou Can] 侯燦, "Chieh-fang hou hsien-ch'u T'u-lu-fan mu-chih lu" 解放後新出吐魯番墓誌錄, in Pei-ching ta-hsieh Chung-kuo chung-kü-shih yen-chiu chung-hsin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan wen-hsien yan-chiu lun-chi* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (Peking: Pei-ching ta-hsieh ch'u-pan-she, 1990), vol. 5. The most striking artifacts found at Turfan have been published in two books: Hsin-chiang tzu-chih-ch'ü po-wu-kuan 新疆自治區博物館, ed., *Hsin-chiang ch'u-t'u wen-wu* 新疆出土文物 [Excavated Artifacts from Sinkiang] (Shanghai: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1975); Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous District Museum, ed., *Shinkō Uiguru jijiku hakubutsukan* 新疆ウイグル自治區博物館 [Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous District Museum] (Tokyo: Kodansha-Bunbutsu shuppansha, 1987).

Since 1976, the Turfan Museum has excavated ten tombs; the documents have been published recently, and the artifacts have already been published in two brief reports: "1986 nien Hsin-chiang T'u-lu-fan A-ssu-t'a-na ku-mu-ch'ün fa-chüeh chien-pao" 1986年新出吐魯番阿斯塔那古墓群發掘簡報 KK (1992.2), pp. 143–56; "T'u-lu-fan Pei Liang Wu Hsüan Wang Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsin fu-jeu P'eng-shih mu" 吐魯番北涼武宣王沮渠蒙遜夫人彭氏墓 WW (1994.9), pp. 75–81; see a study containing the documents by Liu Hung-liang [Liu Hongliang] 柳洪亮, *Hsin-ch'u T'u-lu-fan wen-shu chi ch'i yen-chiu* 新出吐魯番文書及其研究 (Urumchi: Hsin-chiang jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1997). Ch'en Kuo-ts'an [Chen Guocan] 陳國燦 has reedited the Chinese documents brought back to England by Stein and that were originally published by Henri Maspero: *Ssu-t'an-yin suo-huo T'u-lu-fan wen-shu yen-chiu* 斯坦因所獲吐魯番文書研究 (Wu-han: Wu-han ta-hsieh ch'u-pan-she, n.d.).

¹² Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊 et al., "Kikusei Kōshōkoku jidai Sogudobun jo dorei baibai monjo" 麹氏高昌國家時代ソグド文女奴隷買文書, in *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 內陸アジア言語の研究 4 (1988), pp. 1–50.

help to illuminate the situation at Turfan, where the primary funerary document in the centuries before Buddhism was the tomb inventory, or *i-wu-shu* 衣物疏.¹³

PRE-BUDDHIST GRAVE DOCUMENTS: TOMB INVENTORIES

The earliest tomb inventories from the Turfan graveyards date to 384, and they continued to be used through the seventh century. The persistent use of grave inventories, even after they had fallen into disuse in central China, may reflect how long it took for the people of Turfan to be exposed to central Chinese customs. The Turfan inventories take up a single sheet of paper, or, rarely, a piece of silk. They list the goods the deceased took with them after death: items of clothing, money (both cash and cloth), and different ornaments. Some are also followed by a short statement giving the name and native place of the deceased, the date of death, or the names of witnesses (who often include the same four directional animals appearing on tomb contracts).

The most famous example of a tomb inventory from central China is, of course, that from lady Tai's tomb at Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆 in Ch'ang-sha, Hunan. Her tomb, dating to sometime after 168 BC, contained 410 bamboo slips detailing its contents by name and giving the quantity of each.¹⁴ The slips list the number of attendants and servants, her clothing, and the food. One slip gives the date of the transfer; an official in the Tai household gives the list to the assistant in charge of funeral goods and asks that he transmit it to the lord-administrator of funeral goods.

Although lady Tai wrote her inventory on bamboo slips, which survived thanks to unusual conditions, other residents of central China buried in their tombs a combination of tomb contracts 買地券, documents to ward off evil from the tomb 鎮墓文, and talismans 符.¹⁵ Surviving examples of these different types of document are on stone and brick. By the fourth century, the date of the earliest Turfan inventories, most of the residents in central China were using tomb contracts, and one finds few examples of other tomb docu-

ments. The tomb contracts, which usually give the names of the purchaser, witnesses, and guarantor, follow the format of a real-world land contract; some add a proviso warning the spirits of the dead not to bother the living.

Different as the grave inventories and tomb contracts are, both often close with the same phrase: "Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the laws and edicts" 急急如律令. As Anna Seidel explains,¹⁶ this exhortation appears on many Han-dynasty government documents. Its appearance in funerary documents presupposes the existence of a law code governing the behavior of the spirits that parallels the code governing bureaucrats. We cannot, however, know whether all the scribes who used this phrase understood its implications.

The Turfan tomb inventories vary in length, but all contain many items of clearly enumerated clothing giving both the color and the type of cloth. Tomb 305 from Astana contains two inventories, one for the deceased husband, the other for his wife, dating to sometime around 384.¹⁷ Both husband and wife bury a hair-tie, trousers, shirt, stomach-covers, and shoes. The wife's list also includes two gender-specific items: a skirt and a hairpin. Household items include bedding and pillows. They list several types of bag: to go in the sleeve and for holding fingernail and toenail clippings. (The deceased would need the clippings to form a whole person in the underworld). Both the husband's and the wife's inventories mention two types of currency circulating at the time: coins and cloth. The husband's inventory specifically says "two copper coins to be held in the hand," where the wife's simply lists two copper coins without explaining where they are to be placed. She also carries two ounces (*liang* 兩) of yellow silk. Her husband carries six bolts of hanging silk 帛絰, to be used as currency or perhaps for bedding.

Because many inventories survive, yet very few tombs remain undisturbed, our analysis must depend on lists that cannot be cross-checked against the contents of the tombs in which they were found. In the case of the couple from tomb 305, it seems likely that the items mentioned in the inventory were actually placed in their tomb, but that was probably not true of the next inventory, which is dated 418, from the tomb of the wife of a man identified simply by his village.¹⁸ Her list contains a crossbow 機郭. As Albert Dien explains,¹⁹ by the time of the Six Dynasties crossbows had received a symbolic value: they were thought to repel intruders from the tomb. Because a woman could hardly be

¹³ Albert E. Dien, "Instructions for the Grave: The Case of Yan Zhitui," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995), pp. 41-58.

¹⁴ *WW* (1974-7), p. 43, pl. 12.

¹⁵ Anna Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion in Funerary Texts Found in Tombs," in Akitsuki Kan'ei 秋月觀暎, ed., *Dōkyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化 (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1987), pp. 21-57, esp. 24-27; Terry Kleeman, "Land Contracts and Related Documents," in *Chūgoku no shūkyō shisō to hagaku: Makio Ryōkai hakushi shōju kinen ronshū. Religion, Thought, and Science in China: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Ryōkai Makio on His Seventieth Birthday* 中國の宗教思想と科學牧尾良海博士頌壽記念論集 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1984), pp. 1-34; Valerie Hansen, *Negotiating Daily Life in Traditional China: How Ordinary People Used Contracts, 600-1400* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1995), pp. 231-32.

¹⁶ Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion," p. 42.

¹⁷ *Tu-lu-fan* [texts] 1, pp. 8-10; *Tu-lu-fan* [photos] 1, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Tu-lu-fan* [texts] 1, pp. 14-15; *Tu-lu-fan* [photos] 1, p. 5.

¹⁹ Albert E. Dien, "Instructions for the Grave: The Case of Yan Zhitui," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995), pp. 41-58, esp. 49-51.

expected to use one in her own defense, it is most likely that this tomb, like many in central China, contained a model of a crossbow rather than the actual weapon itself. Her list goes on to specify obviously fictitious quantities of silk, rabbit hair, and gold. The characters giving the amount of silk to be held in the hand are missing, but her inventory lists 10,000 bundles of rabbit hair, 1,000 ounces of gold, and 100 bolts of pure silk.

Netherworld inflation continued unchecked in the fifth century. While some inventories list small quantities that could be placed in a tomb, a 425 tomb inventory calls for 1,000 ounces of gold,²⁰ and a 437 text for 1,000 pounds of gold, 1,000 bundles of rabbit hair, and 1,000 bolts of colored silk.²¹ The trend reaches its peak in 458, when the wife of a local ruler, lady P'eng 彭, lists 99,999 bolts of multi-colored silk 雜彩絹 and 99,999 pounds of cotton (reading 綿 as 棉).²² A familiar number from central Chinese tomb contracts, 99,999, is often the price of a tomb site. Since three was a *yang* (bright, powerful) number, nine was especially powerful, and 99,999 became the largest number to appear on tomb contracts.

LADY P'ENG'S TOMB

Lady P'eng was the wife of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün 沮渠蒙遜, the ruler who had established the Northern Liang in 401. Based in Liang-chou 涼州, Kansu, the Northern Liang was a non-Chinese dynasty, most famous perhaps for holding the famous Buddhist translator Kumārajīva captive for thirteen years against his will. Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün died in 433. When the Northern Wei defeated the Northern Liang in 439, the Chü-ch'ü family moved west and eventually took control of Turfan in 442, where they stayed until their defeat in 460 by the Avars.

The Chü-ch'ü ruling family patronized Buddhism. Chü-ch'ü An-chou 沮渠安周 (r. 444-460) in particular financed the building of a monastery in the city of Kao-ch'ang and sponsored the copying of four Buddhist sūtras (three translated by Kumārajīva).²³ In doing so, they were following the same policies they had pursued while in Kansu. Interestingly, they were also pursuing the same pro-Buddhist policies of the earlier indigenous rulers of Turfan, the Chü-shih kings.

²⁰ *Tu-lu-fan* [texts] 1, p. 59; *Tu-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* [photos] 1, p. 28.

²¹ *Tu-lu-fan* [texts] 1, pp. 176-77; *Tu-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* [photos] 1, p. 85.

²² *Tu-lu-fan Pei Liang Wu Hsüan Wang Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün fu-jen P'eng-shih mu* 吐魯番北涼武宣王沮渠蒙遜夫人彭氏墓, *WW* (1994.9), pp. 75-81.

²³ Ikeda On 池田溫, "Kōshō sanbi ryakkō" 高昌三碑略考, in *Mikami Tsugio Hakushi kiju kinen ronbunshū rekishihihen* 三上次男博士喜壽記年論文集歴史編 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), pp. 102-20.

Although lady P'eng was the wife of a deceased ruler, her tomb is not lavish. Like almost all the tombs at Astana, hers consisted of a single underground chamber less than nine square meters in area and a little over one meter high reached by a descending passageway.²⁴ When the Turfan Museum opened the tomb in 1979, the excavators found that the tomb, like so many others at Astana, had been severely disturbed, with all goods of any monetary value removed.

Even so, the opportunity to compare the remaining physical contents of the tomb with the accompanying inventory is a rare one.²⁵ The lengthy tomb inventory, written on silk, has suffered damage and is missing a number of characters, especially in the first five lines. Of the many items of clothing listed on the inventory, only a cotton vest remnant (62 cm long) and a padded cape remnant (90 x 60 cm) remain, both once having been large enough to be worn by the deceased. Lady P'eng also took two bronze items used in grooming: a small knife in the shape of a fish, possibly used in the care of her feet, and an ear-wax remover. Other items also appear to have been real-world items placed in the tomb for the use of the deceased: a pillow of "crowing-cock" design (length of remnant 45 cm),²⁶ a wooden comb (7.5 x 5.5 cm), and a foot rest (30 x 13 x 9 cm). Although it is not certain which of the clothing names on the inventory refer to the vest and the cape (or if those sections are missing), the pillow, foot rest, and comb are all listed (lines 14, 15, 32).

The inventory also lists one figurine (line 20), which corresponds to an item 7.5 cm tall made out of small sheets of lead. Although lady P'eng's inventory does not specify the lead figurine's duties, Han-dynasty funeral vases found in central China suggest that they were intended to stand in for the deceased should they be sentenced to any punishments upon arrival in the netherworld. A text dated 147 AD even indicates that such lead figures could perform the underworld corvée assignments of the deceased.²⁷ Many of the Turfan tombs contain wooden slips with the term "substitute people 代人" on them. Although the original context and function of the item are not certain, it seems likely that the living believed that these figurines, and by extension the lead figurine from lady P'eng's tomb, could come to life in the underworld in order to serve, or stand in for, the deceased.

²⁴ See figure 2, *WW* (1994.9), p. 76, for a scale drawing of lady Peng's tomb.

²⁵ I thank Liu Hongliang, current vice-director of the Museum, for giving the members of the Silk Road Project a chance to view both the inventory and the grave goods on May 10, 1996.

²⁶ This is a rounded pillow whose two ends have been sewn to a point, with one end looking like a chicken's head, the other a chicken's tail (*WW* [1994.9], p. 77, pl. 8).

²⁷ Dien, "Instructions for the Grave," pp. 54-56.

The tomb's most surprising contents are miniature facsimiles made for the use of the dead. The tomb holds a miniature lead knife (7 cm), a miniature lead ruler (5.3 cm), a miniature clothes iron (11 cm), and miniature lead pair of scissors (11 cm). Although the inventory lists the scissors and the iron (lines 16, 19), it gives no hint that miniature facsimiles made of lead were buried instead of real-world implements.

The inventory also lists the obviously symbolic number of 99,999 bolts of multi-colored silk. How did the living arrange the grave goods to show such a large number? Lady P'eng's ingenious solution was to place a large number of miniature bolts of cloth in her tomb. Archeologists recovered 69 mini-bolts of silk of different colors, ranging in width from 2 to 5.5 cm, and sewn up with silk thread so they would retain their form. The largest mini-bolt, of red silk with white dots, stretched 13.5 cm long. These mini-bolts of silk assumed the same function that spirit-money played in funerals. So small as to have no intrinsic value in this world, they were placed in the tomb so that they could provide the deceased with money, in the form of textiles, in the next world. The real-world economy of Turfan used a mixed currency system of both coins and textiles (and rugs in this early period), and lady P'eng's kin prepared sufficient cloth to support her anticipated needs in the next world.

THE FEARS OF THE LIVING: KEEPING THE DEAD AWAY

Although lady P'eng's kin tried to provide her with what she would need in the next life, and although her in-laws numbered among the early important patrons of Buddhism at Turfan, they were also concerned about the threat that she, as a dead spirit, might pose to them should she be trapped somehow in this world. At the end of the inventory they added four lines giving the date of burial and her name. "Respectfully we append this list of clothing, quilts, and various other items. It is not permitted to detain or trouble her at the places she should stop or pass. Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the laws and edicts."

The concerns of those drafting these funeral documents at Turfan echo those expressed in the first-century texts on funeral vases from central China that emphatically underline the division between the living and the dead:

The dead belong to the realm of Yin,
The living belong to the realm of Yang.
[The living have] their village home,
The dead have their hamlets.²⁸

²⁸ Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion," p. 31.

Because the living kin sought to keep the dead away, they informed the gods of the underworld of the name of the deceased. If the underworld registrar had the correct name of the dead, it was believed, then he would not seize any of the deceased's living kin by mistake.

Still, several centuries later in Central Asia, the people of Turfan were of two minds about naming the dead, possibly because if they named the dead then the living might suffer the consequences. The earliest grave inventories, those of the married couple who were buried ca. 384, do not mention their names. One tomb contains funeral inventories for two women, one who died in 425, and one soon thereafter. Both give the name of the deceased yet warn, "People are not permitted to know their names." The text from 425 adds, echoing the concerns of those who drafted lady P'eng's inventory, "We hope that, as the deceased moves through passes, fords, rivers, and bridges, it is not permitted to detain or trouble her."²⁹ Going one step farther, one text from 436 gives a short list of goods and specifies "and this is one who has no name."³⁰

One inventory dated 551 can only be understood when compared to similar texts from central China. Like the early inventories, it gives the figurative quantity of 2,000 silver coins, and gives the witness's name as Chang Ting-tu 張定杜 (usually 張定度), and the scribe's as Li Chien-ku 李堅固. Chang and Li, who often appear on tomb contracts as scribes or witnesses, appear to be made-up names. Chang and Li, of course, are common last names, while their given names ("fixing the extent" and "clutching the unchanging") emphasize their reliability. This tomb also contained a paper talisman found inside a silk bag, to be worn against the body. Below a figure who holds a pitchfork in one hand and an enormous dagger in the other appears a short text, which has been translated by Anna Seidel as:

The Divine [Envoy of the] Yellow Celestial Thearch severely represses and executes the hundred species of wraiths and demons. Once decapitated, they must obey! The demons must not come near! May this order for protection be presented on high, according to my wish. Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances!³¹

Several Han-dynasty funerary texts indicate that the Yellow Celestial Thearch (the Yellow Emperor) presided over the pre-Taoist underworld. He frequently sent instructions to the spirits of the dead via his divine envoy. Although recorded in Chinese, these grave inventories show the mixing of dif-

²⁹ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 1, pp. 59-62; *T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* [photos] 1, pp. 28-30.

³⁰ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 1, p. 98; *T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* [photos] 1, p. 47.

³¹ Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion," p. 39.

ferent beliefs, both Chinese and other, about the afterlife at Turfan.

Turfan lies both on the western edge of China and on the eastern edge of Iranian civilization. The people of Turfan believed that the dead traveled to an underworld via passes, fords, rivers, and bridges. If they did not reach their destination, the living would suffer the depredations of the wandering spirits of the deceased. The earliest Zoroastrian teachings also depicted the dead as traveling on a bridge: followers of truth could pass over it to proceed to paradise, while those who had violated religious teachings fell into a place of torment below. The ancient teacher Zarathustra predicted that everyone would be judged at the same time on a judgment day that would occur during his lifetime. After his death, Zoroastrians no longer anticipated a common judgment day. Instead, they came to believe that each person crossed the bridge after dying.³² While the notion of the bridge could have come from Persia (and not from India, where it did not exist), the structure of these tombs was the characteristically Chinese stairway leading down to one or two chambers. No Astana tombs contain the ossuaries that are so characteristic of Zoroastrian burials.

EARLY SIGNS OF BUDDHISM

Buddhist teachings make their first appearance at the Turfan graves in the form of fragmentary undated sūtras, which the editors of the Turfan documents assign to the fourth and fifth century. A canonical text, *The Sūtra of the Seven Daughters* (*Ch'i-nü ching* 七女經) addresses the subject of death and its consequences.³³ The seven girls visit a graveyard where they see death in all its gruesomeness: beheaded bodies, corpses with hands, feet, noses, or ears cut off, dead bodies, and half-dead bodies. Some have catalpa wood coffins, whereas others are wrapped in mats and tied with rope, which was the more common practice at Astana. The girls watch the kin approach and note vermin feeding on the dead, blood pouring out of the corpses, and maggots coming from their chests. Each girl then states a metaphor about the dead designed to illustrate the Buddhist teaching that, because life has already left the body a dead corpse has no importance. For example, the third daughter contends that, because a corpse is like a cart whose driver has stepped down, it can go no further.

After encounters with several heavenly kings and bodhisattvas, the girls finally meet the Buddha, who explains:

³² Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 12-14, 27-28, 90-92; I am indebted to Stanley Insler and Oktor Skjaervo for pointing this out.

³³ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 1, pp. 218-21; *T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* [photos] 1, pp. 113-14; *Fo-shuo ch'i-nü ching* 佛說七女經 (T'edn., no. 556), vol. 14, pp. 907c-909b; quotation on p. 909b.

Bones and appendages will all disappear as ash. Even those who remain concerned with their own bodies will be like this. One should not value the beauty of the body. One should study what is not the norm. Those who carry out good deeds and avoid the profane will ascend to heaven after death, while those who do evil will enter the mud of the fields.

The Buddha then takes special pains to warn the women against jealousy, which is one of the main reasons women do not rise to the heavens.

Although this text cannot be dated with certainty, it reflects the concerns of the residents of Turfan. While advising its readers to reform their behavior, and while cautioning them that their funeral observances can do nothing to lessen the effects of death, the text does not actually condemn those funeral practices or advocate cremation, which few Chinese practiced.³⁴

BUDDHIST TOMB INVENTORIES

The first inventory to use explicitly Buddhist language dates to 543 and is from a grave holding two women and a man whose epitaph identifies him as Chang Hung 張洪.³⁵ He was buried in 562, while one of the women, woman Chiao, died in 543 and the other in 548. The lengthy, and unusually complete, grave inventory for woman Chiao dated 543 lists a great variety of clothing, jewelry, and bolts of cloth from China and Persia, and concludes with "ten thousand ten thousands nine thousand decafeet (*chang* 丈) of rope to climb to heaven."³⁶

The heaven-climbing cloth or rope suggests a Buddhist-influenced change in ideas about the location of the netherworld. The people burying woman Chiao seem to have thought of heaven as above them, a possible indication of the absorption of Buddhist beliefs. In contrast, the traditional Chinese netherworld lay under the earth.

After stating the date (thirteenth day of the first lunar month, 543), the final section of woman Chiao's inventory reads as follows:

Monk Kuo-yüan 比丘果願 respectfully reports to the Great Deities of the Five Paths: Buddha's disciple Hsiao-tzu 孝資 adhered to the five precepts of the Buddha [not to kill, steal, commit adultery, lie, or drink alcohol] and devoted herself completely to performing the ten good deeds. She died on the sixth day of last month and has passed the Five Paths, scrupu-

³⁴ Anna Seidel, "Dabi," in *Höbögirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de Bouddhisme d'après les sources Chinoises et Japonaises* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1983), pp. 575-85; Patricia Ebrey, "Cremation in Sung China," *American Historical Review* 95.2 (1990), pp. 406-28.

³⁵ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 2, pp. 60-61; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 1, p. 143; Hou, "T'u-lu-fan mu-chih," p. 568.

³⁶ Ten Chinese feet at this time were approximately equal to three meters.

lously respecting their borders.

The items listed to the right were all things she used in her life.

Witnesses Chang Chien-ku, Li Ting-tu.

If you seek her, go to the eastern end of the sea. If you look for her, go to the eastern wall of the sea. It is not permitted to cause her to tarry or to stop.

Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the laws and edicts.

With this document, the phrasing of the tomb inventory has assumed a Buddhist cast. A monk makes the report to the god(s) of the underworld, the Great Deities of the Five Paths (*wu-tao ta-shen* 五道大神), that Hsiao-tzu has died.

As Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久 has explained, *wu-tao ta-shen* is understood sometimes to mean one god who presides over five paths, or sometimes as five different gods, each with his own path. The five paths can be understood in Buddhist terms as denoting the five possibilities for rebirth: in hell, as a hungry ghost, as an animal, as a person, or as a heavenly being. Traditionally, of course, some Buddhists would list six possible avenues for rebirth; the additional category – *asura* (“titan”) – has been dropped. This omission conformed with the teachings of the Sarvāstivādin school, whose members objected to the inclusion of asuras and who were active in Central Asia, and it coincided as well with the indigenous Chinese concept of the generals of the five directions: north, south, east, west, and up.³⁷ The Great Deities of the Five Paths were deities with Buddhist associations, who, in a Chinese context, took on an identity of their own that is often distinct from Buddhist concerns.³⁸

After vouching for the good behavior of the deceased, the concluding section duplicates much of the language of earlier non-Buddhist inventories. The witnesses are the same Chang Chien-ku and Li Ting-tu as on tomb contracts from central China, and their names are written with the standard characters.

Because the living have the same recurrent fear that the dead will not actually go to the realm of the dead, the text warns unnamed spirits not to delay or detain the dead Woman Chiao's spirit, whose destination is mysteriously given as the eastern end or the eastern wall of the sea (other texts usually say the western wall of the sea). Exactly which sea the residents of landlocked Turfan had in mind is not clear, but their general intent is: they want the de-

³⁷ Oda Yoshihisa, “Godō daishin kō” 五道大神考, *TS* 48 (1976), pp. 14–29; Glen Dudbridge, “The General of the Five Paths in Tang and pre-Tang China,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996–97), pp. 85–94.

³⁸ Even in modern times, as evidenced in the Manchurian railway surveys and Grootaers' survey of Hsüan-hua, each street has a small shrine to the Deities of the Five Paths, to whom residents report all births, marriages, and deaths. See Dudbridge, “General of the Five Paths,” pp. 96–98, for specific references.

ceased to go far, far away where she will not be able to come back and bother the living. They refer to the code governing the behavior of the spirits just as the authors of earlier inventories do.

The arrangements for Chang Hung's wife, woman Chiao, were made at the beginning of a time of great change in funerary documents. Some thirty documents like this Buddhist model appear in the Turfan graves for slightly more than a century. Starting with hers in 543 and continuing until 655, one sees frequent examples of the same form: a monk (whose name is often given as Kuo-yüan 果願) informs the Great Deities of the Five Paths that Buddha's disciple so-and-so has died, should not be detained, and can be found at the eastern end or the western wall of the sea.

A STARTLING PARALLEL FROM SHANTUNG

Almost all of the evidence, discussed above, about popular beliefs in Turfan appears in excavated documents, often on paper, having no counterparts in central China. Because the unique climate of Turfan preserved materials that did not survive in China, the only materials from Turfan that have central Chinese equivalents are those on durable materials like stone, such as the steles recording the donations of the Chu-ch'ü kings to Buddhist monasteries. The varying nature of the sources makes it almost impossible to compare the well-documented experience of lay people in Turfan with the undocumented experience of lay people in central China.

A rare example of a tomb inventory on a wood tablet dated to 573 from Lin-ch'ü 臨胸 county, Shantung, serves as the sole reminder that funerary documents like the tomb inventories from Turfan may have been used in central China as well. Because the wording occasionally differs from that used in the Turfan materials, and because it contains a number of unusual variants, this inventory is not always completely understandable. Like the tomb inventories from Turfan, it was placed in the grave of Wang Chiang-fei 王江妃, the deceased wife of Kao Ch'iao 高僑, in 573. After giving the date, the text reads:³⁹

Kao Ch'iao, disciple of the Sakyamuni Buddha, dares to report to the earth deity of Sheng-wan 澗灣 hamlet and the land deity:⁴⁰ Kao Ch'iao was originally from Po-hai 勃海 commandery in Chi-chou 冀州 prefec-

³⁹ I am indebted to the discussion in Glen Dudbridge, “General of the Five Paths,” p. 93 (n. 25), for alerting me to its existence. (The text was first published by Tuan Fang 端方, *T'ao-chai ts'ang-shih-chi* 陶齋臧石記 (in *Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-pien* 石刻史料叢編 [chia-pien 12]; facs. reproduction of 1909 edn.) 13, pp. 6a-8a; photograph in *WW* (1965.10), p. 8, pl. 8.

⁴⁰ The character *tu* 土 (written with a dot on the lower right-hand corner as at Tun-huang) is preceded by three characters (two of them non-standard) whose meaning is not clear.

ture, but because of his official posting resides in Sheng-wan hamlet, I-tu 益都 subprefecture, Ch'i 齊 commandery, Ch'ing-chou 青州 prefecture. His wife Wang Chiang-fei at the age of 77 became ill for several years, and medicine brought about no lessening of her symptoms. On the sixth day of this month she suddenly died. She took leave of the Three Brightnesses [the sun, the moon, and the stars] above as she approached the realm of Hao-li 蒿里 below.

During her lifetime Chiang-fei assiduously performed the ten good deeds and steadfastly adhered to the five precepts. During the three months and six festivals each year she observed a vegetarian fast without fail.

Now she has been dispatched by two Masters of the Precepts, the Lord of the Hill (Shan-kung 山公) and the Lord of the Treasury (Tsang-kung 藏公)⁴¹ and others to take flowers from the Buddha. She has departed, and we know she will not return.

At the time the life of Chiang-fei ended, the Celestial Emperor held flowers and waited to welcome her spirit; the Great Power ... received her soul.

An imperial edict was given to the underworld Nü-ch'ing 女青⁴² emissary, who then told the Great Deities of the Five Paths and the Officer of the Slope: "You are not permitted to scold Chiang-fei or to obstruct the transport to any place of the clothes, money, other goods, and things Chiang-fei takes with her. If you do detain or interrogate her, *Sha-ho-lou-t'o* 沙訶樓陀 will smash your body and head like the branches of the arjakamañjarī tree."⁴³

She came in such a hurry that she does not know who wrote this edict and who read it. The one who wrote it is Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-shih-yin 觀世音). The one who read it is Vimalakīrti (Wei-mo ta-shih 維摩大士).

The document then ends with four illegible characters, quite possibly a talismanic charm, followed by an inventory of goods very similar to those from Turfan listing clothing, hair ornaments, a crowing-cock style (see above) pillow, and bolts of cloth.

The deities appearing in Wang Chiang-fei's inventory come from each of China's indigenous traditions: from Buddhism we see the Buddha, the Great Deities of the Five Paths, Kuan-shih-yin, and Vimalakīrti; from pre-Taoist and

Taoist beliefs, the Celestial Emperor and Nü-ch'ing; and from indigenous religions, the Lord of the Hill, who is here given the Buddhist title Master of the Precepts. Some of the deities are not well known: the Lord of the Treasury, the Great Power, the Officer of the Slope, and the mysterious Sha-ho-lou-t'o. While the text shows a characteristically eclectic approach to China's religious traditions, the author takes pains to depict lady Chiang-fei as a devout Buddhist who upheld Buddhist teachings. The last line of the Shantung text is unique because it mentions Avalokiteśvara and Vimalakīrti, in contrast to the much more common Chang Chien-ku and Li Ting-tu. The author of the text clearly has a strong familiarity with Sanskrit words: who else would mention the arjakamañjarī tree?

All the Buddhist references notwithstanding, lady Chiang-fei still travels to an underworld. The text explicitly states that she is going under the earth. It adds details not mentioned by the Turfan texts: she will take flowers from the Buddha and be received by the Celestial Emperor, who also carries flowers. Like the residents of Turfan, she is thought to be able to take the goods placed in her tomb to the realm of the dead, and like them, she risks being detained by various spirits.

So the residents of Turfan were not the only people burying tomb inventories in their graves during the sixth century. Tuan-fang 端方, the Manchu epigrapher who published this text, marveled that the characters written on wood could still be made out after 1,300 years. We must share his delight. The inventories from Turfan were done on the even more perishable materials of silk and paper. Like so many other extraordinary materials they survive only because of the unique conditions at Turfan.

FILL-IN-THE-BLANK BUDDHISM

The sudden appearance of Buddhist terms in Woman Chiao's 543 inventory earlier prompted such scholars as Oda to posit a change from tomb inventory to Buddhist document. One cannot, however, assume that all the residents of Kao-ch'ang city who used inventory forms also fully embraced all the tenets of Buddhism. Some of the inventory forms using Buddhist terms had blanks to be filled in. Once such forms began to circulate in Turfan, families trying to ensure a better rebirth for their deceased kin might have adopted them without necessarily understanding all the implications of Buddhist teachings. Rather than see, as Oda does, the appearance of these new inventories as evidence of conversion to Buddhism, one may also argue that they simply represent a slight modification of the traditional funerary practices of Turfan. The residents

⁴¹ This perhaps is another name for Ti-tsang 地藏 (Kṣitigarbha).

⁴² Nü-ch'ing appears in many tomb contracts as the emissary of the Five Directional Emperors (Hansen, *Negotiating Daily Life*, p. 173).

⁴³ This tree splits into seven pieces when it is cut down; Dudbridge, "General of the Five Paths," p. 93, n. 26.

of Turfan continued to believe in a realm for the dead, but their understanding of that realm expanded to include Buddhist concepts and deities.

Monk Kuo-yüan makes his first appearance in 543 and his last in 628, eighty-five years later. It was unusual that a practicing monk could live so long; more likely, those filling in the forms on behalf of the deceased copied Kuo-yüan's name from earlier examples even if no monk named Kuo-yüan presided over the funeral. They could have consulted a small crib sheet like those for contracts found at Tun-huang, or they could have memorized a model text.⁴⁴ The use of forms with blanks to be filled in later was not limited to Buddhism; model contracts and wills often were of the same type.

One inventory dated 576, also buried in a Chang family tomb, is obviously a form.⁴⁵ It refers to the reporting monk as "monk of Great Virtue name-to-be-filled-in 大德比丘△甲 and the deceased is "Buddha's disciple lay sister (*upāsikā*) name-to-be-filled-in 佛弟子清信女某甲."⁴⁶ One cannot be sure whether the scribe failed to realize that he should have filled in the names of the reporting monk and the deceased. Or perhaps leaving the two names blank was a deliberate omission, the legacy of the earlier reluctance to provide the spirits of the underworld with the name of the dead in writing. The scribe does not identify himself: he may have been the monk who presided over the funeral.

An inventory dated 605 documents even more clearly the struggle to master the appropriate forms.⁴⁷ It also names the monk reporting the death as "Monk of Great Virtue name-to-be-filled-in," but then places two dots next to the characters *mou-chia* to show they should be deleted and gives the name of the monk as Nan-kuang 南光. Whoever supplied the monk's name does not give the deceased's name. Indeed the scribe dropped a character or two before "five precepts," so there is no verb "to observe" (usually 持) or mention of the Buddha's name.⁴⁸ The dropped characters and an error (律 for 李 in the name

⁴⁴ In the spring of 1996 I met a geomancer in Wen-shui 文水, Shansi (empress Wu's native place), who wrote down from memory several texts of tomb contracts for me.

⁴⁵ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 2, pp. 217-18; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 1, p. 208. The scribe's grasp of Chinese characters is uncertain: he writes "天" for "張," as the family name of the mythical scribe Chang Chien-ku.

⁴⁶ Two characters are missing; it thus reads 佛弟□□信女某甲. Assuming that this follows the same format as others of the same type, it should read 佛弟子清信女某甲.

Nobuyoshi Yamabe (personal communication, July 2, 1997) informs me that "in the present Sōtō tradition in Japan, we say 'ti-tzu mou-chia' when chanting some texts of dedication/confession in unison. Theoretically 'mou-chia' should be replaced by one's real name when one chants the text by oneself, but I'm not sure how often people do that in practice. Since we are accustomed to the phrase 'ti-tzu mou-chia,' this expression doesn't sound too odd to us. Perhaps a similar thing was happening in China?"

⁴⁷ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 3, p. 9; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 1, p. 306.

⁴⁸ The usual phrase is *ch'ih-fo wu-chieh* 持佛五戒.

of the mythical witness Li Ting-tu) suggest that the scribe had not yet mastered Chinese characters.

These two examples provide clear evidence that the residents of Turfan were filling in blanks of a form whose contents they did not quite understand. The use of such forms hardly constitutes evidence of mass conversion.

THE CHANG FAMILY

Many of these Buddhist inventories were buried in the tombs of the men of the Chang family, of their wives, and of their concubines. The only Buddhist statue found in the Turfan graves, a statue of the Heavenly King P'i-shamen (Skt.: Vaiśravaṇa), was also found in a Chang-family grave.⁴⁹ The Changs were a prominent local family who supplied the ruling Ch'ü 麴 family with wives. Because of their high social position, they may have been more influenced by Chinese example than their contemporaries.

Sometime around the year 500, the Ch'ü family gained control of Kao-ch'ang, which they ruled until defeated by the T'ang in 640. The Ch'ü family engaged in a precarious form of diplomacy. Just as they cultivated the rulers of the Sui and T'ang dynasties, they also maintained strong ties to the Turkic peoples to the west. The Ch'ü rulers paid tribute to and personally visited both the Sui and T'ang emperors, but they remitted to the Turks all the revenues from the caravan tax they collected. (See the list of Ch'ü rulers; Introduction.)

The third Ch'ü ruler, Ch'ü Po-ya 伯雅, was particularly drawn to Chinese ways. He ordered his people to adopt Chinese clothing, and he received titles from the Chinese as a result. He also forged marriage alliances with the Western Turks, marrying a daughter to the eldest son of Ton-yabghu, the leader of the Western Turks. Ch'ü Po-ya's wife, the mother of the fourth Kao-ch'ang king, Ch'ü Wen-t'ai 文泰 (r. 619-640), was born into the Chang family (her father is buried in the Astana tomb numbered TAM114), and we know her to have been an observant Buddhist from a mention in the hagiography of Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 written by his disciple Hui-li 慧立 (and subsequently revised by another disciple Yen-ts'ung 彦綜).⁵⁰ Hui-li's description of the charged encounter with king Ch'ü Wen-t'ai bristles with life, and could certainly have

⁴⁹ Janet Baker, "Sui and Early Tang Period Images of the Heavenly King in Tombs and Temples," *Orientalism* 30.4 (April 1999), pp. 53-57.

⁵⁰ *Ta T'ang Ta Ts'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih chuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (T'edn., no. 2053), vol. 50, pp. 220-80; the encounter with the Kao-ch'ang king appears on pp. 224-25, and the passage translated here on 225A. See Samuel Beal, trans., *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1973; originally published in 1911); and Li Rongxi, trans., *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995).

been embellished, but it at least provides an alternative perspective on the extent of Buddhism in the Kao-ch'ang kingdom.

Hsüan-tsang's Stopover in Kao-ch'ang

According to Hui-li's account, the monk Hsüan-tsang originally had not wanted to stop in Kao-ch'ang but was obliged to do so when king Ch'ü Wen-t'ai sent an entourage to meet him in 629.⁵¹ The king, who stayed up to wait, greeted the monk enthusiastically, and on the first night of the visit kept the exhausted monk up until dawn. He gave the monk a room in the palace, arranged food for him, and assigned eunuchs to wait on him. He then began his campaign to persuade him to remain in Kao-ch'ang, explaining that in his travels to China he had never met a monk who impressed him so much. He continues:

But from the time I heard the name of the Master of the Law my body and soul have been filled with joy, my hands and my feet have danced.

I propose that you stay here, where I will provide for your wants to the end of your life. I will order the people of my realm to become your disciples. I hope you will instruct the clerics here, who, although not numerous, number several thousand.

Although the king hoped to persuade the monk to stay in his kingdom, he had no reason to exaggerate the number of Buddhists. Furthermore, he had no way of knowing whether Hsüan-tsang would prefer a kingdom with few Buddhists, where he could work to convert them, or many, whom he could help to advance to a higher understanding. Chinese sources give the population of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom in 640 as 8,000 households with 37,700 residents,⁵² so, if the king's estimate was correct, one in ten may be classified as Buddhist clergy. (Contrast ten percent with Jacques Gernet's estimate of a monastic population of .35 percent for all of China in 624.)⁵³ Kao-ch'ang was well-known for the size of its Buddhist community, and the Kao-ch'ang state, unlike central Chinese governments, taxed the Buddhist religious community, presumably because it was so large.

⁵¹ Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, "How Xuanzang Learned about Nālandā," in Antonino Forte, ed., *Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century* (Kyoto: Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1988). Kuwayama understands this change in plans as the product of the Kao-ch'ang king's being better informed than the monk Hsüan-tsang about the political situation among the Turks to the west.

⁵² *Chiu Tang-shu* 舊唐書 (Chung-hua edn.) 198, p. 5295.

⁵³ Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, Franciscus Verellen, trans. (New York: Columbia U.P., 1995), p. 12.

Hui-li's account continues: when the king's offer of hospitality failed to persuade the monk to abandon his journey, he opted for coercion, and kept the monk as a prisoner. He threatened to send him back to China, where he could have been arrested for violating the ban on leaving the empire without imperial permission. At this point, the monk started a hunger strike, and the two men remained at loggerheads for three days until the king finally gave in and promised to provide the monk with the supplies for his journey. The king's mother, empress-dowager Chang, may have played an undocumented role in the compromise. Hsüan-tsang remained suspicious of the king and asked him to take an oath facing the sun. The king did so, paying obeisance to the Buddha, and then pledged brotherhood to the monk in the presence of the empress Chang. Only then, Hui-li explains, did the monk agree to resume eating. During the following month the king's men prepared the monk's supplies, the monk taught the *Scripture of the Benevolent Kings* (*Jen-wang ching* 仁王經), and the empress Chang took a vow of spiritual kinship with him.

The king's munificent provisions for Hsüan-tsang included four novices, twenty-five servants, and thirty horses. He also provided them with appropriate clothing for the journey: thirty monks' habits, face-covers, boots, and gloves. The funds were also generous: 100 ounces of gold, 30,000 silver coins, and 500 bolts of satin and taffeta. Even more important, because of his ties to the Western Turks, the Kao-ch'ang ruler provided the monk with twenty-four diplomatic letters, each with a bolt of silk, that requested safe passage through the Turks' territory on his way to India.

This may have been the high point of the king's reign. Because he supported different Turkish initiatives against the Chinese, including an attack on Hami, the Chinese sent a force that speedily attacked and conquered his kingdom in 640. Chinese sources maintain the king died of fright when he saw the Chinese forces, and his son Ch'ü Chih-sheng 麴智盛 surrendered to the Chinese when they bombarded his capital at Chiao-ho with stones. As part of their punishment, the ruling Ch'ü house, and the Chang family who had supplied so many consorts, were sentenced to internal exile within China. While resident in Lo-yang, the Chang family dedicated a cave at Lung-men. The daughter of the last Kao-ch'ang king outlived her father, joined a nunnery in the outskirts of Ch'ang-an, where she died, and so continued her family's tradition of Buddhist devotion.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Chu Lei [Zhu Lei] 朱雷, "Lung-men shih-k'u Kao-ch'ang Chang An t'i-chi yü T'ang T'ai-tung tui Ch'ü-ch'ao ta-tsu chih cheng-ts'e" 龍門石窟高昌張安題記與唐太宗對麴朝大族之政策, in Joseph Wong and Lau Kin-ming, eds., *Studies on the Sui and Tang Dynasties* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, 1993), pp. 49-53.

The funerary documents from Astana show few signs of the T'ang conquest of 640. Unlike contracts, which changed format before and after 640, funerary documents stayed the same. In the early years of Chinese rule, one sees the continuing use of grave inventories along with new types of documentation, some of which reflect Taoist teachings, some Buddhist.

RECORDS OF MERIT-PRODUCING DEEDS

Only in the 660s and 670s do the first explicitly Buddhist documents appear in the Astana graveyard: these are records of merit-producing deeds (*kung-te-shu* 功德疏). Five such texts, from ten to fifteen lines long, recount the main activities of the deceased during his or her lifetime, with the primary emphasis on Buddhist activities. The earliest is dated 667 and lists the different Buddhist texts whose recitation or copying the deceased sponsored. Mon-eylender Tso, who buried fifteen intact contracts in his tomb, listed the images he had commissioned and the sūtra whose readings he had sponsored before his death in 674, but he included a short list of goods he hoped to take to the underworld as well.⁵⁵ A second record of merit-producing deeds, this time from a woman, also dates to 667.⁵⁶ A woman who died in 674 listed all the sūtras whose readings she had sponsored and claimed to have donated 300 coins to a group of monks on her death.⁵⁷ One official who had been transferred from Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Karashahr) to Tun-huang listed the three sūtras whose readings he sponsored on the sixth hour and the six feasts of every month (on the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th days) but chose not to mention other texts.⁵⁸

These texts suggest that at least these four occupants of Astana graves envisioned an underworld in which they would be judged according to a Buddhist standard of good works. Accordingly, they listed the texts they had sponsored and the donations given to the Buddhist community over the course of their lifetimes. These records remain catalogues of religious activity that convey little emotion. One record of merit-producing deeds, written by a woman whose father-in-law had died recently, runs a full ninety-four lines long and provides an extraordinarily vivid record of lay Buddhist belief in Turfan in the years after the T'ang conquest.⁵⁹ Without giving personal names, the record

⁵⁵ Hansen, *Negotiating Daily Life*, pp. 33–39; *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 6, p. 402; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, p. 208.

⁵⁶ Chen, *Ssu-t'an-yin suo-huo T'u-lu-fan wen-shu yen-chiu*, p. 346–47.

⁵⁷ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 6, p. 500; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, p. 259; Hou, "T'u-lu-fan mu-chih," p. 603.

⁵⁸ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 7, p. 524; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, p. 567.

⁵⁹ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 7, pp. 66–74; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, pp. 334–40. Wang Su 王素 has reedit-

refers to her as the new wife 新婦, and her late father-in-law as *a-kung* 阿公 (an appellation reserved for older male kin including one's paternal grandfather, father-in-law, or husband's older brother). The text is dated 672, when a cave was dedicated to the deceased, but one cannot be sure how much time elapsed between the death of the father-in-law and the building of the cave.

The first seventy-four lines of this text detail the deceased's activities for forty-odd days between the father-in-law's falling ill and his death, when the text says he abandoned the teaching activities of this world (understanding 捨化 as 遷化).⁶⁰ The long list specifies A-kung's daily activities before his death, concluding with the donation of clothes to the sangha about two weeks after his death. The final section of the document, separated from the rest by two blank lines, describes the subterranean cave among the tombs dedicated by the daughter-in-law to the memory of A-kung.

As Wang Su has pointed out, A-kung's many activities include three different types of reading and recitation of sūtras.⁶¹ A-kung sponsored five sūtra recitations 誦經, but the text does not specify which sūtras the monks recited. In two cases, he sponsored readings 讀經 of *The Diamond Sūtra* and *The Nirvana Sūtra*, and seven "turnings 轉經" of different texts in which monks read several lines from the beginning, middle, and end sections of each text. He also financed two copyings of different texts including *The Nirvana Sūtra* and paid for ritual observances including circumambulation, incense burning, recitation of the Buddha's name, and the commissioning of paintings (with details of subject matter), flags, and statues. Finally, he and his daughter-in-law contributed goods to the Buddhist community, starting with the donation of a horse, grain, and clothing. The list of clothing she gave after his death, divided into twenty-four items from him and three from her, bears a curious resemblance to a grave inventory in that it includes shirts, trousers, skirts, quilts, shoes, and socks – but none of the figurative quantities so characteristic of the earlier genre.

The extensive ritual activities, coupled with the direct gifts, convey an impression of a wealthy man whose source of income is unclear. Unusually, the list mentions no activities before the day A-kung fell ill, although it may refer to them very broadly in the two missing characters in the first line. The first two lines read "All the merit-producing deeds of A-kung, when he was alive and on this earth, *should be recorded*. But only those merit-producing deeds

ed the text and discussed its implications for the study of Pure Land Buddhism in his "T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u 'Kung-te-shu' suo-chien Hsi-chou shu-min te ching-t'u hsing-yang" 吐魯番出土功德疏所見西州庶民的淨土信仰, *Tang yen-chiu* 唐研究 1 (1995), pp. 11–35.

⁶⁰ Nobuyoshi Yamabe suggested this reading; personal communication, July 2, 1997.

⁶¹ Wang, "Kung-te-shu," pp. 17–18.

dating from the time he fell ill last year are listed as follows to the right" (lines 1-2; reconstruction of a missing section is underlined here). The list divides all his activities by the day on which they occurred to create thirteen different sections, of which nine mention the reason: to repent for and erase past wrongdoings (the text gives *ch'an-hui ch'u-tsui* 懺悔出罪, or *ch'u-tsui ch'an-hui*, or just *ch'an-hui* or *ch'u-tsui*).⁶² The frequent use of this phrase distinguishes this record from the other four, which do not use the term. The father-in-law is the only one of the five people burying records of good deeds in their tombs to take the bodhisattva precepts (as he nears death). The others simply take the usual five precepts for lay people.

Most striking is the inclusion of a section in which the daughter-in-law writes to the unnamed gods of the underworld about her father-in-law A-kung's future:

Permit me to address you directly.

I firmly believe that all the merits my father-in-law accrued during his life-time should be recorded, but those merits he accrued after his fate slipped away are recorded one-by-one as listed above. I wish to submit this account so that the past can be debated and resolved in the hopes that my father-in-law can attain rebirth in the pure land 淨佛國土 – not to seek any compensation in this world.

All possessions, fields, houses, wives, children, slaves, and other things are empty flowers, and all are unreal. Every time sūtras were read, you must know that A-kung deeply considered the sense of the sūtra.

The only factor to take into account is that the paths of the living and the dead have always been different. I am afraid that my father-in-law did not reason in the right way [because he was alive and could not understand the ways of the dead]. Since he took the precepts before dying, his merits are manifold.

If he is in the intermediate state between rebirths 中蔭 (*antara-bhava*), I hope he will express his deepest wishes to look for a good place to be reborn. I hope he will not long for what is past and so fall into the lowest path of reincarnation.

I respectfully record this account in order to make the case for his strong points in the hope that when he leaves the three realms of the world of transmigration [namely the realm of desire, the realm of form, and the realm of non-form] he can attain the uppermost realm.

If he is reborn among the living, I ask you to send a dream to inform me.

⁶² The entry for the seventh day of the second month repeats the phrase.

This section affords an extraordinary glimpse of lay understanding of the Buddhist afterlife. A-kung's daughter-in-law believes he will go to an intermediate realm, from which he will be assigned to rebirth in a different realm. She hopes he will be assigned to the pure land, but she believes a negative decision could send him to a lower realm. She admits that he performed many good deeds, and took the bodhisattva precepts in the hope that these acts will influence his future.

While much here shows a good knowledge of Buddhist teachings about the afterlife, remnants of earlier belief linger. The daughter-in-law's insistence that the paths of the living and the dead differ harks back to earlier inventories, as do her urgings that her father-in-law not return to the realm of the living. But she has a very different, and very new, sense of what happens to the dead after they die – a sense that one has to label "Buddhist." Her record of her father-in-law's merits reveals an active Buddhist community in Turfan replete with monks, monasteries, lay people, and activities aimed at the generation of merit.

But we must remember that A-kung's daughter-in-law did not typify the residents of Turfan. The four other records of good deeds show much less understanding of Buddhist teachings than she does, and the residents of Turfan buried other types of non-Buddhist burial documents in their tombs during the century of Chinese rule there.

ALTERNATIVES TO BUDDHISM

A couple who died nameless, and whose tomb contains documents dating from 661 to 665, chose to include several geomantic texts bearing the title *Wu-t'u-chieh* 五土解 ("undoing the influence of the Five Directional Generals"), which list the attributes of those deities.⁶³ The tomb also includes fragments of prayers addressed to the Deities of the Five Directions (Wu-fang shen 五方神) and to the Earl of the Earth (T'u-po 土伯), a familiar figure from tomb contracts. Although missing many characters, both prayers include lines identical to those appearing in a prayer from a different tomb, datable sometime between 666 and 706.

The beginning of the prayer is missing the name of the deity to whom it is addressed:

We hope that you will strictly watch over this soul so that it cannot transgress the living. The paths of the living and the dead are separate and it is not permitted for them to meet. Today we write the name of the deceased

⁶³ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 6, pp. 285-87; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, pp. 152-53.

to transmit to the Deity of the Upper Left. Quickly bind the deceased.

The master again bows to offer wine to others and dares to address the Upper Direction, according to the honored (?) deity 垂神.⁶⁴

On the back of this prayer are written two large characters for heaven and earth 天地, which has prompted the editors of the Turfan documents to label it an "offering prayer 醮辭," but it seems to be a more general funerary document whose ties to organized Taoism cannot be established. Much in this prayer – especially the names of the deities – is familiar, but comparison with two similar texts addressed to the Deities of the Five Directions and the Earl of the Earth shows that it is clearly the product of the ancient concern that the spirits of the dead will mistake the living for the dead.⁶⁵ As in the case of the Han-dynasty vases, the funeral ceremony aims to underline the distinction between the two by reminding the gods of their obligation to supervise the travel of the dead and to prevent them from interfering with the living.

One document found in the small village Wu-erh-t'ang 烏爾塘, some twelve kilometers from the city of Kao-ch'ang, resembles the funerary contracts buried in central China much more closely than do any of the funerary documents so far discovered in the Astana and Karakhoja cemeteries. After giving the date, 757, it reads:

Lord Chang 張公 of Nan-yang 南陽 respectfully offers a libation of clear wine, for the carefully considered reason that this time of this day is auspicious for good work. Taking fifty thousand strings of cash and fifty bolts of silk, respectfully we buy one section of tomb land from the Generals of the Five Earths that stretches twenty paces to the east, west, south and north. The tomb reaches up to the heavens and down to the Yellow Springs. Once it is sold neither side is permitted to encroach. This contract is handed to the Generals of the Five Earths to retain.⁶⁶

This funerary document takes the form of a contract between the deceased and the Generals of the Five Earths. Like tomb contracts from central China, it gives a fictitious price – like the abstract entities in the tomb inventories – and fictive dimensions up to the heavens and down to the netherworld of the Yellow Springs. It is dated 757, making it one of the latest extant documents preserved at Turfan. We do not know whether or not this type of funerary document became widespread in Turfan in subsequent centuries. The only

⁶⁴ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 7, p. 352; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, p. 467.

⁶⁵ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 6, pp. 288, 293-94; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 3, pp. 154-55.

⁶⁶ *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 9, p. 255; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 4, p. 601.

other example of a tomb contract, that of general Chang Wu-chia 張無價, whose paper coffin contained over 200 documents, is the earliest extant tomb contract to follow the model laid down by the Sung-dynasty burial manual, *The New Book of Earth Patterns*. This model was used throughout China, and examples have been found spanning the tenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶⁷

In the absence of further evidence from the years after 769 it is impossible to decide whether records of merit or tomb contracts were used more frequently. We can merely note that tomb contracts far outnumbered Buddhist burial documents in tombs from central China.

THE PARADOX OF TURFAN

Writing in 1986, Ma Yong posed an important question: why, if above the ground Turfan was such a Buddhist community, is there so little evidence of Buddhist belief below the ground?

We know from historical records and other excavated documents that Buddhism in the Kao-ch'ang of the time [Sixteen Dynasties] was already relatively predominant, with monks, monasteries, and even translation activities. During the period of the Northern Liang, the support of the Chü-ch'ü family was especially great. Among this group of excavated documents are occasional materials reflecting Buddhism, but they are not obvious, and there is no Buddhist influence in the superstitious documents of the buried tomb inventories. One can conceive of a situation in which Buddhism circulated only among the highest aristocrats and did not penetrate the populace...⁶⁸

Professor Ma goes on to note the presence of Buddhist terms in the tomb inventories of the period of Ch'ü-family rule in Kao-ch'ang and explains how different these documents are from those of the earlier period. Although it is an exaggeration to say that only the highest born at Turfan took to Buddhism while ordinary people did not, his suggestion that people from different social strata absorbed Buddhist teachings at different rates has much value. We have already seen that many of the earliest Buddhist documents are linked with one powerful Turfan family, the Changs.

Only after the Chinese conquest of 640 do we see documents like A-

⁶⁷ Hansen, *Negotiating Daily Life*, pp. 160-64, 166; *T'u-lu-fan* [texts] 10, pp. 6-7; *T'u-lu-fan* [photos] 4, p. 395.

⁶⁸ Ma Yung [Ma Yong] 馬雍, "T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u Kao-ch'ang chün shih-ch'i wen-shu kai-shu" 吐魯番出土高昌郡時期文書概述, in idem, *Hsi-yü shih ti wen-wu ts'ung-k'ao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1990), p. 120.

kung's record of merit, but they coexist with both Taoist documents and tomb contracts. Although some scholars, such as Oda Yoshihisa, have described the Turfan tombs as shifting from indigenous practices to Buddhist, few analysts have pointed out that some of the deceased continued to use non-Buddhist burial rituals even in the last century the graveyard was in use, the eighth century. At the highest end of the social spectrum, we see one general who received a burial using a contract to purchase his tomb land from the gods of the netherworld, and, at the opposite end, we see a poor man who also does so. These examples remind us that the adoption of Buddhist burial practices was partial.

We should not be surprised to find the people of Turfan, with their mixed cultural background, adding Buddhist and Taoist elements to their preexisting funeral practices. This article has shown that, when the rulers of Turfan adopted Buddhist practices or patronized Buddhist institutions, they looked eastward to China. The period of greatest Buddhist activity – as shown in records of good deeds – came after the Chinese conquest of 640.

This picture of Chinese influence still allows for the possibility of an Indian presence at Turfan. We have seen that an early mention of Buddhism in Turfan concerned a monk alive in 382, during the reign of the Chü-shih kings, who knew Sanskrit or a language related to Sanskrit. German archeologists found libraries of Sanskrit materials in the above-ground ruins of monasteries (for they almost never excavated graves), but they consisted almost entirely of Buddhist sūtras (and a handful of medical prescriptions).⁶⁹ These texts cannot be dated with certainty, but judging from the types of script used we can estimate that the texts were written after about 400. Are these texts evidence of a resident Indian community who consulted these libraries? Or could they simply point to the existence of a devout Buddhist community consisting largely of Chinese who used Sanskrit as a church language and who read texts in Sanskrit? The current state of our knowledge does not permit an answer.

The findings from Turfan prompt a reformulation of the stone-in-the-water model. Intuitively appealing as it is to say that Buddhism spread from India across Central Asia to China, such a description does not explain either the timing or the nature of religious change in the Silk Road oasis of Turfan. Buddhism came to Turfan from at least two directions: from China and from India.

⁶⁹ Zhang Guangda (personal communication October 3, 1997) states that of the 648 Sanskrit texts in Germany whose provenance is still known since the removal of their identifying labels, 116 came from Turfan. For the materials held in Germany, see volumes 1, 5, and 7 of *Sanskrit-handschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965-). For the medical texts, see Heinrich Lüders, "Medizinische Sanskrit-Texte aus Turkestan," in *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1940), pp. 579-91.

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中國人是如何皈依佛教的？

——吐魯番墓葬揭示的信仰改變

韓 森

學者們常常認為，佛教的傳入中國是在公元第一世紀。當佛教組織最先在釋迦牟尼（約公元前563—483）生前形成時，就好像一塊石頭被拋擲入水池。經過以後幾個世紀，水中呈圓心狀的漣漪越來越向外擴散：首先及於中亞綠洲王國（許多位於當今的新疆），該地人民在公元一至二世紀左右信仰了佛教，而後漣漪擴散至中國本部，至十世紀時中國基本上已變成佛教大帝國。

然而，正如許理和（Erik Zürcher）所說，上述的狀況大體上並未得到證實。本文的主題在於探討吐魯番的證據，而吐魯番證據提示佛教是既經由印度又經由中國傳至中亞的。綜合考察吐魯番兩處墓地出土的文書、墓誌銘和文物，使我們能對該地做出遠比對絲路其他地區更確切的佛教史研究。

證明吐魯番佛教的最早的一件史料提到一位活躍於公元382年的外國僧侶，他可能來自印度，也可能來自龜茲。然而在此之後所有能夠與佛教傳人相連繫的史料中，涉及的特別人物和早期興建佛教寺廟的施捨者，不是居住在吐魯番東邊的中原人，就是在吐魯番地區仰慕中原君王楷模的當地統治者。

“佛教傳播如投石入水”說的問題

首先，憑直觀感覺認為，佛教傳播有如投石入水並呈同心圓狀向外擴散一說存在的問題在於，它與史料中的文獻記載不符，也與四世紀以前中亞、中國的出土資料不相符合。許理和韋辟人裏地指出，現存考古及歷史資料顯示佛教不是從印度經由中亞傳至中國的：

事實上，佛教由印度經中亞傳至中國這種漸進式的地理擴散就好像至爲合乎常識，以至乎這一說法從來沒有根據現有資料進行過核對。一旦我們真的進行資料核實，我們必然面臨一個自相矛盾的難題，那就是直至目前爲止，並無可靠的資料證明在今天稱作新疆的地方在公元250年以前有任何佛教寺廟的存在——這與漢明帝的佛法詔相差了兩百年，也與洛陽第一座佛寺建立的時間相差了約一百年⁽¹⁾。

許理和解釋，第一批譯經僧早在公元一世紀左右就到了中國洛陽及長安，皇帝本人在公元166年就禮拜浮屠（同時也信黃老）。這顯示公元200年之前，在中國已有由佛僧及信徒組成的小型教團，活動在兩京。相反地，中亞地區最早見於史料的佛教活動則晚在公元三世紀，那些真正可以憑信的佛教資料，如以碳14測試檢驗的早期克孜爾石窟，則要晚到公元四世紀⁽²⁾。也許有人會將此現象解釋爲這是由於最早的佛教傳教者是從貴霜逃難至長安的，故沿途所留遺迹鮮少。我就是——一個，我認爲很可能他們經海路而不是陸路進入中國。

從70年代起的大規模考古發掘使學者們得以更精確地追溯早期的佛教遺迹。公元65年，東漢彭城（在今江蘇）楚王劉英同時祭祀浮屠及黃老。公元二世紀間的藝術遺迹則有內蒙古墓葬的佛教白象壁畫、四川出土的佛像橫木、山東的佛教題材石雕，及最可觀的連雲港孔望山寺廟遺址⁽³⁾。

標出這些遺迹能夠探索散布在帝國境內不同地方孤立的信仰現象，但是這種考察並不能告訴我們“何時”、“如何”或甚至“是否”有較大的群體接受此新的宗教活動。

佛教出現於吐魯番的最早證據包括一組帶有紀年題記的佛經。根據樂新江的研究，最初的文本是一件由著名翻譯家竺法護譯成漢文的《諸佛要集經》，該文本抄寫於公元296年。當然，我們無法知道，這件文本是否早在三世紀末就到達了吐魯番，但是，從其它早期佛經的出現來看，這不應該是孤立的例證。由於竺法護活動於長安，而他的一些學生以敦煌爲基地，佛教影響的傳播方向應當是從長安至吐魯番，或者說，是從東向西。

最早提到吐魯番佛教的文獻見於六世紀初期的僧祐撰《出三藏記集》引道安（312—385）《摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄》序：

會建元十八年，正車師前部王名彌策來朝，其國師，字鳩摩羅提提，

獻胡大品一部，四百二牒，言二十千失盧。失盧三十二字，胡人數經法也。即審數之。凡七千二百六十首（失）盧。殘二十七字，都并五十五萬二千四百七十五字。

道安在此經抄序中提到，公元 382 年時車師前部王隨着其國師鳩摩羅跋提來朝中國長安⁽⁴⁾。鳩摩羅跋提的名字與同時來自龜茲著名的佛經翻譯者名字鳩摩羅什相似。鳩摩羅什的父親是印度人，母親是龜茲人；那麼，鳩摩羅跋提可能也有類似的混血背景。由於道安在文中提到“失盧”一詞（梵文中表示“頌”：soka），很可能鳩摩羅跋提所誦經是用梵文或與梵文相近的吐火羅語寫成的。

這項記載為我們的研究提供了一個資料的起點。在四世紀結束之前，吐魯番車師地區非漢人的統治者贊助梵學的傳佈。雖然僧祐記載了統治階級如何支持佛教的興起，但他並未提供任何反映吐魯番居民信仰佛教的資料。為此，我們必須看看地下的資料。

與基督教的比較

羅馬的地下墓穴在基督教考古學上佔有很重要的地位，因為它們可提供連續性的不同時代的墓群，使得學者們得以一窺在一固定地區內所發生的信仰改變。雖然早期學者認為所有地下墓穴的繪畫都是基督教的、所有的墓主都是基督徒，近年來的研究者證明，有些墓葬繪畫明顯地是基督教以前的題材（早期學者把葬禮餐饗圖誤解為基督教的最後晚餐）⁽⁵⁾，因此有些墓主應不是基督徒。基督教在康士坦丁大帝時期被禁，一直到公元 325 年後又悄悄地復蘇——先是在一個像是異教徒的墓中出現的一幅魚圖，然後墓室壁畫裏纔都是清晰可辨的聖經題材。

雖然皈依基督教的信徒改變墓室的設計加入基督教新題材，皈依佛教的信徒卻通常不然。熟悉中國考古的人早就知道，在中原墓葬所發現的佛教繪畫題材多麼稀少——即使在公元二世紀之後、文獻記載顯示統治階級及一般民衆都漸漸皈依佛教。簡言之，中國考古資料表明使用墓葬資料以追溯佛教遺迹的結果可能與使用羅馬墓穴以追溯基督教史非常不同。

一個地區性的考察：吐魯番的重要性（及其難點）

目前為止並沒有甚麼大型地下穴墓群在中原王朝的首都被發現。唯一相仿的類例是一個位於吐魯番綠洲上、在佛教傳入中國之前及之後的墓葬群。吐魯番是位於印度與中國北邊貿易路線上的重要都市。雖然此地在公元640年後纔被中原王朝直接統治，但在公元500年左右當地的統治者便很崇尚中原禮俗。吐魯番古名高昌國，就是模仿中國城市設計南北向軸心、城門等距的方形都市。該地居民在城北建造了大約十平方公里大的墓園，現在採用鄰近的兩個村落名字而被稱為阿斯塔那及哈拉和卓墓群。

吐魯番世紀大發掘

雖然吐魯番墓葬可以提供一個有趣的研究案例，供我們追溯一個族群信仰佛教的起源，可惜的是它們已遭到盜墓者嚴重的破壞。當斯坦因於1915年1月18日抵達當地時，其被盜掠之規模甚至令這位頗有經驗的發掘專家感到震驚。斯坦因記錄了被當地古董商及大谷探險隊員橘瑞超所挖掘的墓葬。即使當地人責怪說漢回盜竊墳墓，斯坦因在雇傭馬什克（Mashik）來指導他的發掘時發現那些當地人也對盜墓經驗豐富。

吐魯番阿斯塔那墓群

即使有這些阻擾研究的因素，然而綜合在阿斯塔那及哈拉和卓地區從四至八世紀的墓群出土的文書、墓誌、文物卻使我們能夠精確地探究佛教史的演變。幾百座墓葬在當地被發掘。雖然很多已被擾動過，但這些墓穴結構都遵循中國式的墓葬結構，有斜坡墓道通往單間式或雙間式的墓室。出土文書證明阿斯塔那墓群包含了多層社會階級：最窮的祇有足夠的錢造墓，並祇有一個寫上名字的簡單的墓磚；有錢的則令人造長篇的墓誌銘及隨葬大量的墓葬品。至於阿斯塔那的墓主，看來大多數是漢人；所有當地出土的文書（除了一件經吉田

豐研究的粟特契約以外)，幾乎都以漢字書寫^[6]。如果有胡人在阿斯塔那下葬，他們也比照漢式墓葬習俗——包括在墓葬文書中使用漢文。

本論文將檢驗吐魯番的墓葬出土文書及陪葬文物以追溯四至八世紀的佛教史。由於其中許多相同類型的文書——也就是在佛教未進入吐魯番之前的墓葬清單，或稱衣物疏——也在中原地區發現^[7]，藉此兩相比較有助於我們瞭解吐魯番當地的情形。

佛教進入吐魯番前的墓葬文書：衣物疏

吐魯番衣物疏最早一件的年代為公元384年，一直沿用到七世紀。即使在中原地區已不再使用了，這麼長的一段年代裏吐魯番衣物疏還持續出現在墓葬中，反映了吐魯番居民接受中原習俗影響多麼久遠。吐魯番衣物疏祇有一張薄紙，極少情況下是用一片絲絹。衣物疏上列出死者死後將帶到陰間的物品：各種衣服、錢（現金和紡織品）和不同的裝飾。有些衣物疏附以簡短記錄，註明死者姓名、籍貫、死日、見人姓名。

吐魯番墓葬衣物疏行文長短不一，但都包含多項衣服，舉凡顏色及布料種類，皆仔細列舉。阿斯塔那305號墓有兩件衣物疏，一件為亡夫所有，一件則是亡夫之妻，年代大約在公元384年。夫妻皆有結髮、褲、衫、鞋。妻子的陪葬物中還包括兩項女性用品：裙和釵。家居用品包括床褥及枕頭。疏中列各種囊：油囊、踰窰囊、手腳爪囊。夫妻倆的衣物疏中皆提及當時流行的兩種貨幣——銅錢及帛。亡夫的衣物疏特別說明“手中銅錢二枚”，亡妻的衣物疏則言及“銅錢二枚”。亡妻亦帶有“黃手絲二兩”。亡夫帶了六匹帛絰，可能用以作為貨幣或床褥^[8]。

因為即使有許多衣物疏被保存下來，但大部分的墓皆遭盜竊，而致隨葬品不全，我們的分析祇能倚賴這些清單。要把清單和實際陪葬品——對比是不可能的。以上所提的這對夫妻在305號墓，可能衣物疏上所載物品就是實際陪葬的物品名，但下一例子就不見得是如此。該墓年代為公元418年，為一個婦女的墓^[9]，她的衣物疏包含了機郭及石弓。據丁愛博（Albert Dien）解釋，機郭在六朝時有其象徵價值：它們被認為是鎮墓之物。由於一名女子即使要防衛，

也很難使用機郭，很可能像在中原的情況一樣，這祇是一個樣品而非真正的武器。該婦女手中握絲數量已殘，但疏中稱“兔豪（毫）萬束，黃金千兩，正帛絲絹百匹”。

這種可稱之為“陰間通貨膨脹”的情形一直持續到五世紀。425號墓葬的衣物疏宣稱其陪葬品包括“黃金千兩”；一件公元437年的文書則言有金一千斤，“銅錢白副”^[10]，“兔毛千束”、“色帛千疋”。此趨勢到公元458年到達一頂點，那就是一位當地統治者的亡妻彭夫人之墓，其衣物疏中竟列了九萬九千九百九十九疋雜彩絹，及九萬九千九百九十九斤的棉^[11]。在中原的墓葬契約書中，三是一陽數，九特別有力，所以九九九九就成了墓契的最大數字。它是一個極熟悉的數目，常被當作墓地的買價。

彭氏墓

彭氏乃公元401年創建北涼的沮渠蒙遜之妻。沮渠蒙遜死於433年，439年北魏滅北涼，沮渠家族被迫西遷，並在422年佔據吐魯番，直至460年柔然人進攻吐魯番^[12]。沮渠家族支持佛教。沮渠安周（444—460年在位）贊助高昌城中一寺廟的興建，並出資抄四部佛經（其中三部為鳩摩羅什所譯）^[13]。這些供養行為延續着他們在甘肅建國時的傳統政策。有趣的是，在此同時，他們也追隨原統治吐魯番的車師國王提倡佛教的政策。

雖然彭氏是君王之妻，她的墓葬卻一點也不奢華。就像其他阿斯塔那大批墓葬一樣，彭氏墓祇有一間不到九平方公尺的地下墓室，高一公尺餘，有斜坡墓道相通^[14]。墓葬中最令人驚訝的是些微型模擬用品：一件小鉛刀（7公分長），一件小鉛尺（5.3公分），一件熨斗（11公分），一把鉛製剪刀（11公分）。雖然剪刀和熨斗也出現在衣物疏上，但卻沒有指明這些陪葬品祇是日常用品的縮小模擬品。衣物疏上也列出了九千九百九十九這麼多象徵性數目的雜色絹。試問生者或死者怎麼表達這個龐大的數目？彭氏墓的解決辦法是放置了大量小型的布匹，考古發現有六十九疋小樣彩絹，寬約2至5.5公分，並有線串縫起來以不致脫落。最大的一匹絹為紅色，絹上有小白點，長約13.5公分。這些布匹小樣的功能和紙錢在墓葬中的功能一樣。它們並沒有真正的價值，它

們被放置在墓中，以提供死者在來世的財富需求。吐魯番當地的經濟採銅帛兼行的貨幣系統，彭氏的親人處心積慮地準備充足的布足以供來生之用。

生者的恐懼：迴避死人

雖然彭氏的親屬想為她準備來生的用品，她的姻親們也都是吐魯番當地數一數二的佛教贊助者，這些親人仍擔心彭氏的靈魂死後若遭任何困難，會把災害降臨於生者。於是，在衣物疏的末尾，他們補上四行字，確切地記錄彭氏下葬的日子及她的姓名：“謹條隨身衣被、雜物疏。所止經過，不得留難。急急如律令！”這與公元一世紀中原地區魂瓶上的文字相似，都在刻意強調死人与活人世界的區分：“死人歸陰，生人歸陽。生人有里，死人有鄉。”或者，更確切地：“生人得九，死人得五”^[15]。因為生者想將死人驅走，他們在銘文上告知冥間的神們死者的姓名。一般相信，如果陰間的登錄者有死者的正確姓名，他就不會誤抓死者的親人們。

數世紀之後的中亞，吐魯番居民對於言明死者姓名仍存有兩種不同的心態。也許因為他們害怕如果死者的姓名被知道以後，他們也會跟着遭殃。最早的衣物疏——前文所提到，出土於約在公元384年入葬的一對夫妻的墓中，並沒有提及死者姓名。另一墓葬中有兩份給兩位女死者的衣物疏，其中一位死於公元425年，另一位死於其後不久。兩份衣物疏上都提到死者的姓名，但卻警告說：“所有衣物，人不得認名。”另一份文書附和彭氏墓衣物疏的文字：“辛（幸）關津河不得留難，如律令”^[16]。尤有過之，公元436年的文書列了簡短的物件名，並特別指明這位死者沒有姓名：“僅條衣物在右，而無名者，急如律令。”^[17]

公元551年的一件衣物疏祇有與中原的類似文書對照纔能瞭解。像早期的衣物疏一樣，它也用了象徵性的數目字“銀錢二千”，並指明時見為張定杜（通常為張定度），請（倩）書為李堅固。張、李二姓經常出現在墓葬契書裏作為時見或倩書的代稱，它們都是些捏造的假名。張和李都是普通姓氏，而他們的名字“定度”及“堅固”則在強調他們的可信度及堅定不變的特質。該墓也包含了一紙符咒，放在一絹袋裏，是用來佩在身上避邪的。在一手握長又一手

持短劍的人形下面，有一段短文如下：“黃天帝神前苛治煞百子死鬼。（斬）後必道。鬼不得來。近護令（進）。若（願）上。急急如律令也”^[18]。一些漢代的墓葬文書指明黃帝是道教興起之前的冥間之神。他常將其旨意通由他的神將傳達給死者。

吐魯番的墓葬文書皆由中文書寫，即使如此，它們體現了一些混合中國本土及非本土的來世信仰。吐魯番人相信，人死後將通關、涉水、渡河、過橋，魂遊冥界。如果他們沒法到達目的地，活着的親屬將遭受死者遊魂的劫掠。

在一方面看來，這些文書確實呼應了傳統中國的觀點，相信亡魂將遊至泰山那裏的冥府，如果地獄之旅遭到阻礙，生者將受到亡魂的侵擾。而另一方面，這些文書也透露了一些非中國的看法。吐魯番位於中國西緣，與伊朗文明圈的東端。早期祆教也認為人死後要過橋：唯有遵循真理的人纔能以過橋，違逆宗教信條的人將落入橋下。古老的祆教教主瑣羅亞斯德（Zarathustra）預言所有人將在生前一個審判日的某個時刻同時接受審判。瑣羅亞斯德死後，祆教徒不再相信甚麼共同審判日，取而代之的是，他們開始預言每個人死後都要過橋^[19]。雖然死人過橋的觀念可能來自波斯（而非印度：印度信仰裏並沒有過橋之說），吐魯番的墓室結構卻明顯的是中國式的墓道向下通向一或二間墓室。阿斯塔那墓群並沒有發現象典型祆教墓葬裏的骨罐。

佛教的早期迹象

佛教最早出現在吐魯番墓葬的，是一件四到五世紀的佛經殘片——《七女經》。《七女經》是一部佛教經典，其中以論述死亡及其相關的後果為主題。七女們參觀一座墓園，目睹死亡的種種令人毛骨悚然的情形：屍體斷首、斷手斷腳、斷鼻耳者，有半生半死者，有的有棺木，而大部分的屍體則以墊褥包裹，或捆以繩子。這也是阿斯塔那較普遍的情況。七女們目睹死者的親屬接近它們，並以腐肉餵食屍體。鮮血從屍體噴注而出，蠕蟲從它們胸膛竄出。七女們於是一一提出有關死亡的佛教譬喻，以闡釋佛教所言生命既已離開身體，死軀猶如空殼一般毫無意義。舉例而言，第三個女兒認為，身體就像一輛車，驅車人一旦下車了，車便不能再前行了。

在遇到一些天王及菩薩後，七女們終於得以見佛。佛曰：

骨節支解消為灰土。還自念我身死亦當如是。不當恃身作綺

女子。當念非常。若人施行善，不自貢高綺語者，死後皆生天上。若施行惡者，當入泥犁中⁽²⁰⁾。

佛於是苦心警告女人不要忌妒——忌妒正是女人無法昇天的主因之一！

雖然《七女經》年代不詳，它很可能反映吐魯番居民的關懷。《七女經》勸誡改過向善，送葬的儀軌不能減輕死者的罪孽。誠然，但文中並沒有真正地責難葬喪的習俗。後來的衣物疏借用了佛教語彙，證實了早期吐魯番佛僧基本上是容忍埋葬禮俗的。佛教傳教者並沒有力勸佛教徒對葬俗全面的改革以鼓吹佛教火葬；相反地，他們力圖適應當地流行的葬俗。確實，吐魯番當地的俗人從未實行過火葬。

佛徒的衣物疏

最早明顯使用佛教語言的衣物疏，年代是在公元 543 年，該墓葬有兩名女子與一名男子，據墓誌銘顯示，男子名為張洪⁽²¹⁾。張洪葬於 562 年，兩名女子則一名死於 543 年，另一名死於 548 年。死於 543 年的焦姓女子，其衣物疏冗長而完整，羅列了來自中國及波斯的多種衣物、飾品及布匹，同時還有一條“攀天絲萬萬九千丈”⁽²²⁾。這條登天索，證明了在佛教影響下，民間對冥界位置觀念的改變。屬於墓中男子的衣物疏（年代為 535 年）列出了登天布（或索）一萬丈。顯然，當時的吐魯番人認為天堂在他們的上方，——這個概念恰與佛教宇宙觀相符，至於傳統中國的冥界則位於地表的下方。

焦氏女子的衣物疏除了詳載日期（543 年一月十三日）以外，最後一部分寫道：

比丘果願敬移五道大神。佛弟子孝姿持佛五戒，專修十善。以此月六日物故。逕涉五道，任意所適。右上所件，悉是平生所用之物。時人張堅固、季（李）定度。若欲求海東頭，若欲覓海東壁，不得奄遏（歇）停留，急急如律令。

由這份文書可看出，該衣物疏的措辭用句已充滿佛教意象：一比丘向掌管

冥界的五道大神報告孝姿已經死亡。

根據日本學者小田義久的解釋，“五道大神”有時被視為一神，統管五道，有時則被視為五個不同的神，各自掌理一道。至於五道，以佛教語言解釋，則是五種輪迴的可能：下冥界、成惡鬼、成畜生、成人或成仙。當然，在傳統上，佛教共有六種輪迴的路徑，在這裏有一項阿修羅被刪去了，很可能是爲了配合中國本土的五個方向概念：北、南、東、西、上^[23]。五道大神是與佛教有關連的神祇，但在中國的文化脈絡中，已逐漸自成一格^[24]。

在保證完死者生前的善行之後，此墓葬文書的結語部分沿用了早期非佛教衣物疏的語言。時見是和中原墓葬契約上一樣的“張堅固”與“李定度”，而且他們的名字是以標準漢字寫成的。

由於生者經常會恐懼死去的人無法真正抵達冥界，因此該衣物疏中也提醒孤魂野鬼切勿延誤焦氏女子歸返她的目的地，亦即天涯的東端或稱海的東端（其他類似的衣物疏通常會說海的西岸）。吐魯番並不靠海，因此這裏人的心目中的海究竟是那裏，並不清楚，但大體上當地人的用意是希望死者走得愈遠愈好，永遠也別回來打擾生者。而這裏用的控制鬼魂行爲的術語，和早期的衣物疏的撰寫者使用的相同。

張洪之妻焦氏的墓葬文書似乎開始了墓葬文書上重大的改變。在吐魯番，大約在一百多年內，類似這樣有佛教色彩的墓葬文書就出現了三十餘件。從543年焦氏的墓葬文書起到655年爲止，我們可以看到許多相似的形式：一名比丘（其名常爲果願）知會五道大神，佛祖弟子某某已死，不應被耽延，且已往海的東岸或西岸歸去。

吐魯番與山東地區令人驚訝的類似

在山東臨朐縣發現一年代爲公元573年的木牌，提供了一個珍貴的範例，這是唯一的一件實物，提示此類的墓葬文書在中原也曾通行。但由於這個山東木牌的措辭用字有別於吐魯番的墓葬文字，因此並不容易理解。和吐魯番的衣物疏一樣，這塊木牌是放在高僑死去的妻子王江妃的墓中，其卒年爲573年。在列出日期之後，這件文書寫道：

釋迦文佛弟子高僞啟告：□灣里地，振胡因土高僞元出冀州渤海郡，因宦仍居青州齊郡益都無損，忽以今月六日命過壽終。上辭三光，下弔蒿里。江妃生時十善持（持）心，五戒堅志，歲三月六，齋戒不闕。今爲戒師藏公、山公等所使，與佛取花，往知（之）不返。江妃命終之時，天帝抱花，候迎精神；大權□往，接待靈魂。勅（勅）汝地下女青，詔書五道大神、司坡之官，江妃所賫衣資雜物隨身之具，所逕（經）之處，不得訶留。若有留詰，沙訶樓陀碎汝身首如阿梨樹枝。來時忿忿，不知書讀是誰。書者觀世音，讀者維摩大士。故福□□^[25]

這件文書最後有兩個無法辨識的文字，很可能是個符咒，緊接著列舉一系列的器物，與列出鷄鳴枕、衣服、髮飾、布匹等的吐魯番衣物疏非常類似。

王江妃的衣物疏裏出現的衆神源於中國本土的各類傳統，計有：出於佛教的佛、五道大神、觀世音、維摩詰；出於道教起源之前及道教信仰的天帝、女青；出於當地信仰的山神——在此被冠上一個佛教的頭銜“戒師”。有些神並不那麼爲人熟知，如“大權”、“司坡之官”、“沙訶樓陀”等。該文書雖然表現了對中國不同宗教傳統的典型折衷，但文中盡力描述王江妃身爲一名虔誠的佛教徒如何支持佛教義理。山東的文書最後一行特別地提到觀音和維摩詰，而不像一般墓葬契約及衣物疏末尾常出現的“張堅固”、“李定度”這些時見及書畫的名字。很清楚地，此文書的作者對梵文借詞非常熟悉：不熟悉的話，誰會提到阿梨樹？

這些佛教的意味再怎麼不明顯，這位江妃夫人也要魂歸冥界了。文中指明她將前往地表之下。但文中卻有其他吐魯番文書未有的有趣細節：她將“與佛取花”，前往晉見天帝，“天帝抱花候迎”。正如其他吐魯番居民，一般相信她死後也能享用親人在她墓前爲她準備的食物，而她也有被其他精靈污染的危險。

由此可見，吐魯番墓葬的衣物疏在六世紀絕不是孤例。清代金石學家端方，在刊佈此文書時曾驚訝於當時木簡上的文字竟經過一千三百年後仍能被辨識。我們也該跟端方一樣感到慶幸。吐魯番衣物疏的質材是比木頭還要脆弱易損的絹或紙，這些珍貴的文物之所以能存留至今正是因爲當地特殊的自然環境使然。

佛教填空表

佛教語匯突然在公元 543 年出現在焦氏衣物疏，引起早期學者如小田義久的注意。小田認為此正顯示了衣物疏由原本的樣式轉變為佛教文書的歷史現象。我們必須謹慎，並不一定所有高昌居民一使用類似佛教的衣物疏就表示他們已信奉佛教。有些佛教的衣物疏是一些有待填滿的表格。一旦這種表格在吐魯番流行，想為去世的親屬確保一個更好的來生的人，可想而知會願意接納這種流行的佛教式衣物疏，但不一定就表示他們了解其中隱含的佛教義理。因此，與其把這些新樣式的衣物疏的出現視為人們改信佛教的證據，不如將此現象視為對傳統墓葬習俗稍微的修正：吐魯番人繼續保留原來對死人世界的觀念，但祇不過將佛教思想及其諸神也納入其中罷了。

比丘果願的名字最早出現在公元 543 年的文書，最晚則在 628 年，前後相差 85 年之久。即使他真的能活這麼久，他活躍的時間也不可能長至 85 年。較可能的解釋是，後來為死者填這種衣物疏表格的人也照抄舊表格裏果願的名字，即使根本沒有此人的存在，他們可能祇是參考了像敦煌發現的斷章殘紙，或僅憑記憶所及模仿範本而已^[26]。

紀年 576 年的一件衣物疏很明顯地是這樣的表格^[27]。這件衣物疏也屬於張氏墓葬的東西，文書中的比丘寫作“大德比丘△甲”，死者部分則為有待填寫具體名字的“佛弟子清信女△甲”^[28]。我們不能確定文中主持葬禮的比丘及死者的名字空出是因為抄寫者的忽略，還是空出兩個名字的空格是像前文提到的例子乃刻意地省略，因為傳統上不願向冥間的鬼魅透露死者的姓名。

紀年 605 年的一件衣物疏更清楚地反映了這種掌握適當格式的矛盾的心態^[29]。此衣物疏也稱主持的為“大德比丘△甲”，但在“△甲”兩字旁加了兩點，表示兩字應當抹去，另添改為“南光”二字。不管是誰寫了比丘的名字，他沒有寫死者名字。原本可能是“持佛五戒”一語祇寫成“五戒”。留下一兩字的空格，結果五戒之前沒了動詞，“持”也沒了佛名。另一些名字的書寫錯誤（比如“李定度”的“李”寫成“律”）顯示抄寫者的中文水平不高。

以上兩個例子告訴我們，吐魯番居民在填寫佛教式衣物疏表格時對內容並

不十分瞭解。光憑使用這種表格一例，實在難以證明他們就皈依佛教了。

吐魯番張氏

很多衣物疏都出自張家的男丁、妻妾。在吐魯番墓葬發現唯一一座毘沙門天王雕像也是出自張氏墓^[30]。張氏在吐魯番是一望族，他們與統治者麴家進行通婚。由於具有當地望族的社會地位，他們可能比其他一般人更容易受到中原方面的影響。令人驚訝的是，雖然他們使用佛教辭匯，描述各種積功德的行爲，卻從沒有接受火葬。他們都繼續埋葬死人的習俗，也許是爲了這樣纔能再以父母所賜的身體髮膚，重生在佛國的天堂。

大約在 500 年左右，麴家在高昌取得統治權，直到 640 年唐朝征服高昌。麴氏政權在外交上並不穩定。一方面他們與隋、唐王室交好，另一方面又與西邊的突厥人保持密切的關係。麴氏王室曾進貢中原王朝，也親自朝見過隋、唐的皇帝；然而他們從商隊貿易徵得的稅錢收入全繳給了突厥人。

麴家統治者伯雅，尤其醉心於中國典範。他下令人民著漢服，並接受中國的封號。但他也鼓吹高昌與西突厥通婚，將其女（文泰之妹）嫁給西突厥當時的首領統葉護的長子。麴伯雅之妻，即高昌王麴文泰（619—640）之母，就出生自張家（她的父親葬在阿斯塔那墓群編號 TAN114），從玄奘的弟子慧立、彥棕相繼完成的玄奘傳中，我們知道她是位虔誠的佛教徒^[31]。慧立對玄奘與高昌國王麴文泰的會面給予極生動的描述，縱使這有可能是潤飾的結果，也不失爲一個可貴的觀點，爲了解高昌的佛教提供了另一個側面。

玄奘在高昌的逗留

根據慧立所言，玄奘原本並不計劃到高昌，但因高昌國王麴文泰派大批侍從來迎，故不得不繞道前往^[32]。爲了等候玄奘的來臨，高昌國王連夜等候，熱情接待，以至玄奘到高昌的第一晚上國王徹夜未眠。他爲玄奘準備了在宮中的房間及美食，並指派宦官在旁伺候。更進一步地，他游說玄奘就此留在高昌。高昌國王表示，當他訪問中原時，從未遇到過像玄奘一樣的高僧：

自承法師名，身心歡喜，手舞足蹈。擬師至止，受弟子供養，以終一身。令一國人皆為師弟子，望師講授。僧徒雖少，亦有數千，並使執經充師聽眾。伏願察納微心，不以西遊為念^[33]。

即使高昌國王希望玄奘能留在高昌，他也没理由誇張佛教徒的數目。他並無從瞭解玄奘的想法，他是比較喜歡一個佛教徒很少的國度呢——他可以因此獻身傳教，還是更喜歡一個佛教徒很多的國度——他因此可以致力於幫助他們瞭解更深奧的佛理。據中國資料記載，在公元640年左右，高昌地區的居民有37700人，佛教徒占了8000人^[34]。如果高昌王的估計正確的話，每十人中就有一人是佛教徒（與這個10%的百分比相反，謝和耐估計中國624年佛教徒占全國人口的0.35%）^[35]。高昌以其龐大的佛教人口著稱。不像中原王朝，高昌向佛寺徵稅，也許就因為其人口佔比例之大的緣故吧。

唐代統治下的宗教生活

阿斯塔那的墓葬文書沒有怎麼顯示唐朝於640年人主高昌的跡象。墓葬文書並不像契約書一樣，在640年之後就整個改換形式；隨葬文書並沒怎麼變。在唐朝征服高昌的早期，我們可以看到舊式的衣物疏與新式的衣物疏並行通用；有些衣物疏反映了道教，有些反映佛教的義理。

功德疏

阿斯塔那墓葬群第一次出現明顯佛教的文書約在公元七世紀六十年代和七十年代。這些就是所謂的“功德疏”。共有五件這樣的功德疏，文長約十到十五行，記敘死者生前種種功德事迹，尤其強調與佛教有關的行爲。最早一件功德疏的紀年是667年，其中列出死者贊助抄經、誦經的品名。高利貸者在墓中有陪葬的十五件契約原件，列出他在674年死前曾贊助的造像名及誦經品名。其中也列出一些他想帶到來生的物品名^[36]。第二件功德疏出自一位女性死者，紀年為667年。這位女性死於674年，她也列出其所贊助的誦經品名，並言其在死時捐給一群僧侶三百文錢^[37]。一位從焉耆(Karashahr)被調職到敦煌的

官員在功德疏上記載了他在每月六次齋會（每月的第八、十四、十五、二十三、二十九、三十天）兼六時所贊助的三部誦經品名，但除此之外，他没再列任何别的佛經^[38]。

這些功德疏的內容說明，至少阿斯塔那這四座墓葬的墓主相信他們會以其生前所作的佛教善行作為在陰間被審判的標準。因此，他們皆列出了生前所出資贊助的讀經品名及捐給佛寺的香火錢。這些記載還都祇是列舉宗教活動的名目，沒有太多宗教感情的表露。以下這件功德疏是一名女子為她剛過世的阿公所撰寫的，全文長達九十四行，為唐朝統治吐魯番後的民間佛教思想提供了一項極生動的記錄^[39]。

王素指出，阿公的功德包括三種誦讀佛經的善行。他贊助五部佛經的誦經，但文中並沒有指明比丘們所誦的是哪五部，或許他們只憑記憶來誦，並沒有真正讀任何佛經。阿公曾兩次贊助誦讀《金剛經》及《涅槃經》，並有六次贊助比丘轉經，即祇誦讀各經的開頭、中間及結尾的部分。他也曾兩次出資抄寫包括《涅槃經》在內的諸經，並做包括繞旋、燃香、高唱佛名等法事，並出資令人造幡造像。最後，他與兒媳還捐贈佛寺，包括馬、穀（盛在大白師的容器中）、衣物等。他媳婦在他死後捐給佛寺的衣物中，有二十四件是他的衣物，三件是此媳婦的衣物。這些在阿公死後獻納的衣物名稱與早期吐魯番的衣物疏中所見頗為相似——但這裏已不再用以前那些特有的龐大數目了。

最令人驚訝的是這位媳婦在文中某一段為她的公公向一位不知名的冥間之神請求：

諒阿公生存在日功德，審思量記錄，但（命）過已後功德具件如前，願將此文（簿）前頭分雪，須覓生天淨佛國土，不得求人間果報。在生產業、田園、宅舍、妻子、男女、婢奴等物，並是虛花，皆無真實。阿公每讀經思義，應審知之。直為生死道殊，恐阿公心有顛倒，既臨終（受）戒，功德復多，假使在中蔭中，須發上心覓好生處，不得心有戀看，致落下道。僅錄此簿，分強分束。出離三界，求勝（昇）上界。若得生路，託夢令知。

由此文讀者可一窺庶民對佛教來生觀的理解。阿公的兒媳相信，他死後將先到達一個中間站“中蔭”，或煉獄，從那裏他可能會被指定到另一不同的境

界，而她希望最好是能到上界，或佛的淨土。但她也同時警覺另一種不好的結果可能是“致落下道”。她向天神請訴，阿公生前多行善事，臨終受苦薩戒，希望阿公生前的種種善行能影響他來生的轉世。

文中雖反映了對佛教來生觀較深的理解，但一些早期對生死的信仰仍然存在：這位媳婦一再強調生死殊途，並督促亡魂不得對今生心存眷戀、魂返陽界。這些說法皆可溯源至早期的衣物疏傳統。縱使如此，這位媳婦對死後世界有一種很新、很不同的看法——而這顯然是佛教的。她在功德疏上所載其阿公生前的種種功德，正反映了吐魯番當時已有了一個僧侶、寺院、庶民佛教徒、積善功德的佛教社會。

但我們必須記住，阿公的兒媳並不能代表吐魯番居民的典型。另外四件功德疏顯示他們對佛教的瞭解並不像前例死者的媳婦那麼深，在唐朝統治高昌之後，他們還使用另外一些類型的非佛教的墓葬文書。

佛教以外的選擇

一對無名夫妻的墓中的文書記年約 661 至 665 年，其中包括幾件以“五土解”為標題、加上一些幾何圖文的堪輿文書。五土解應與五方位神有關⁽⁴⁰⁾，此墓也出土其他殘片文書，指名是祈求五方神及常出現在墓葬契約的土伯。雖然有很多字已不全，這兩份醮辭有部分文字與 666 年至 706 年間的另一墓葬禱文全文同。

禱文最開始的部分已殘，故不知所言之神為誰。錄文如下：

[] 神，願為禁攝，莫使祀（犯）人，生死路別，不得相因。今書名字付上左神，速攝囚！主人再拜，酌酒行觴。敢告上方，照垂神本件反面有“天”、“地”二字，吐魯番文書的編者因此推測或為醮辭。但

這也許是更一般性的墓葬文書，與道教的關連無法成立。此禱文內容——尤其是所提到的神名，都是為人熟悉的。然而比較兩件指名給五方神及土伯的文書，顯示此禱文很清楚地是古代關懷的產物，仍害怕冥間鬼魅會將活人誤辨為死者。這就像是漢代魂瓶的例子一樣，藉著提醒祭祀的神祇們監督死者的冥遊以不至於擾亂活人，喪禮的目的還在於釐清活人與死者的界線。

中國人是如何皈依佛教的？

一件出土於距高昌城十二公里的小村落烏爾塘的文書，比其他任何目前為止在阿斯塔那或哈拉和卓墓園群發現的契約都更類似中原的墓葬文書。紀年757年，此文書內容如下：

南陽張公謹以清酌之奠，謹因今日金時良功吉日，用錢五十千貫文，帛練五十疋。謹於五土將軍買宅地一段，東西南北，各廿步。其宅上至黃（皇）天，下至黃泉。一賣已後，不得更相忤擾。其契付五土將軍收領^[41]。

我們並不知道這類墓葬文書是否已廣為流行。現存唯有的另一例子，是張無價將軍的買地券，其紙棺裏出土兩百多件文書，與宋代一書《地理新書》所列出最早的墓葬契約格式相符。此規格從十世紀至十八世紀適用於中國各地^[42]。

由於769年以後並沒有進一步的資料，我們無法判斷到底功德疏或買地券那一者更為普遍流行。祇能說，從中原墓葬的例子看來，墓葬契約遠遠多於佛教功德疏。

吐魯番的自相矛盾

馬雍在《吐魯番出土高昌郡時期文書概述》一文中提出了一個重要的問題：如果吐魯番地面上有這麼可觀的佛教群體，為甚麼墓葬資料中卻證據鮮少呢？

我們從文獻記載和其他出土文物得知，當時高昌郡的佛教已經相當盛行，有僧侶，有佛寺，還有譯經活動，特別是在北涼時期，且渠氏對佛教崇拜尤深。在這批出土文書中也有零星反映佛教的資料，但並不顯著，而隨葬衣物疏這種迷信文字中竟完全沒有佛教術語，可以想見，當時此地的佛教可能僅流行於上層貴族之間，並未深入到民間去^[43]。

馬教授進而指出，佛教語彙見於那些在麴氏統治高昌後纔出現的吐魯番衣物疏中，並指出這些衣物疏與早期的文書多麼地不同。他對於不同社會在吸收消化佛教的信仰上速度不等的見解很有價值。從以上許多衣物疏的分析中，我們也明顯地看到早期與佛教有關的文書幾乎都與當地一個望族張家有關。

但是，本文要論證的是，即使在後期的吐魯番，學者也應質疑民間社會對佛教義理의接受到底有多深。如前文所示，那些廣爲流傳的表格常被填錯，實在難以說明人們對佛教有多深的把握。一直要等到唐朝640年征服高昌後，我們纔看到像“阿公”那樣的佛教功德疏，但是它又與道教文書及買地券同時存在。在過去有些學者曾指出，吐魯番的葬俗是由早期本土的習俗轉變爲佛教的，但很少人指出即使在阿斯塔那墓園最晚的年代，即公元八世紀，仍有一些死者繼續沿用非佛教的葬俗。代表社會上層的例子，有一位將軍用買地券向冥間之神買墓地；代表社會下層的，有一位窮人也這樣買地。這些例子都提醒我們吐魯番改用佛教葬俗祇是局部的，也許祇限於統治階級。

面臨吐魯番這個多種文化的交匯區，我們實在不必驚訝他們會將佛教與道教因素納入原本當地的習俗裏。在這方面，他們與中原的漢人相似。本文已指出，當吐魯番統治者試圖皈依佛教、贊助佛教時，他們其實以東邊的中原爲榜樣。佛教活動最興盛的時期——如功德疏所示——應在唐朝640年征服高昌之後。

吐魯番的佛教雖受中原影響，但也有些來自印度。上引第一件提到在吐魯番的佛教資料中，便言及382年車師王國時期的一位吐魯番僧侶，通梵文或與梵文相關的語言。德國考察隊員在地面上的寺廟遺址發現梵文資料儲存（因爲他們從來沒有發掘過墓葬），幾乎都是些佛經（以及少量醫方）^[44]。這些文書沒有確切紀年，但從書寫文字判斷，應爲公元五世紀或之後。這些資料是否能證明當時在吐魯番當地有印度群體曾使用過這個梵文資料庫？或祇是當地虔誠的佛教徒（以漢人爲多）熟知梵文、並以梵文爲佛寺的教義語言？從目前研究狀況無法得出答案。

吐魯番的文物促使我們不得不重新考慮原來對佛教傳播有如投石入水、由中心向外圍擴散的模式之理解。雖然直覺上認爲佛教傳播應從印度向中亞、而後中國好像沒錯，但此說法卻解釋不了絲路綠洲吐魯番宗教變遷的時間與性質。佛教到達吐魯番至少源自兩個不同的方向：中原及印度。

注 釋

[1] Erik Zürcher (許理和), "Han Buddhism and the Western Region" (漢代佛教和西域), in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulstér on the Occasion of His*

中國人是如何皈依佛教的？

Eighth Birthday (《秦漢思想與法律·慶賀胡四維八十誕辰論文集》) (ed. W. L. Idema and Erik Zürcher) (New York: E. J. Brill, 1990), 158—182 頁；上引文見 168—169 頁。許理和的整體論述雖然其言甚辯，但我們不一定要接受他對於漢朝農業技術經屯田西傳、而後便利佛教寺廟在中亞綠洲地區之興起的假說。他論證，農產品的增加支持了新興佛寺。他的這番解釋基於《漢書》及《後漢書》的數據；二書皆對漢人定居吐魯番之後的農產品的增長作了戲劇性的記錄。但是因為漢人進入吐魯番之後，許多當地王國的邊界在《漢書》、《後漢書》編纂期間劇烈變動，故筆者認為二書所提供的數據會有所偏差。

[2] 宿白《克孜爾部分洞窟階段劃分與年代等問題的初步探索——代序》，《中國石窟·克孜爾石窟》（北京：文物出版社，1989），第一冊，19 頁的圖表所顯示的碳 14 測試結果認為第 38 窟應是最早的窟，年代在公元 230 至 390 年。大部分的研究者認為將其定為公元 400 年是最可信的。

[3] Wu Hung (巫鴻), "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art" (早期中國藝術中的佛教因素), *Artibus Asiae*, 47, 1986, 263—316.

[4] 僧祐《出三藏記集》，《大正藏》，第 2145 號，第 55 冊，52 頁中欄。Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: the Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (佛教之征服中國：中世紀早期佛教在中國的傳播與變化) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 10 頁，202. 筆者在此感謝榮新江及張廣達二位先生對解讀原文的協助。

[5] William H. C. Frend (弗倫德), *The Archaeology of Early Christianity: A History* (早期基督教考古學史) (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 248 頁.

[6] 吉田豐，《劉氏高昌國時代ゾグド文女奴隸売買文書》，內陸アジア言語研究，1988 年，第 4 期，1—50 頁。

[7] 有關衣物疏資料介紹，參見 Albert E. Dien (丁愛博), "Instructions for the Grave: The Case of Yan Zhilui" (墓葬文書：以顏之推為例), *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, 8, 1995, 41—58.

[8] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本 1: 8—10 頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹: 3 頁。

[9] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本 1: 14 頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹: 5 頁。

[10] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本 1: 59, 176—177 頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹: 28, 85 頁。“自副”的意思可能是“相配”、“配套”。請參見方一新著《東漢魏晉南北朝史書辭語箋釋》（安徽：黃山書社，1997），188 頁。

[11] 《吐魯番北涼武宣王沮渠蒙遜夫人彭氏墓》，《文物》1994 年，75—81 頁。

[12] 張廣達、榮新江，“Turfan Documents and Artifacts (吐魯番文書及文物)”，4 頁。

[13] 池田溫《高昌三碑略考》，《三上次男博士喜壽記念論文集——歷史編》（東京：平凡社，1975），102—107 頁。

- [14] 關於此墓的描圖，見圖二，《文物》1994年，第9期，76頁。
- [15] 此文引自 Anna Seidel (索安士)，“Traces of Han Religion”（漢代宗教的蹤迹），《道教七宗教文化史》（東京：平川出版社，1987），31頁；池田溫《中國歷代墓券略考》，《東洋文化研究所紀要》，1981年，第86期，270、273頁。
- [16] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本1：59—62頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹：28頁。
- [17] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本1：98頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹：47頁。
- [18] Anna Seidel, “Traces of Han Religion”, 39頁；《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本2：33頁；圖版本壹：129頁。
- [19] Mary Boyce (博伊斯), *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (扶教宗教信仰及活動) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) 12—14, 27—28, 90—92頁。在此感謝 Stanley Insler 及 Oktor Skjaervo 爲我提供這方面的資訊。
- [20] 支謙譯《佛說七女經》，《大正藏》，第556號，第14冊，909頁。
- [21] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本2：60—61頁；圖版本壹：143頁。
- [22] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本2：62頁；圖版本壹：143頁。
- [23] 小田義久《五道大神考》，《東方宗教》，1976年，第48期，14—29頁；Glen Dudbridge (杜德橋)，“The General of the Five Paths in Tang and pre-Tang China”（中國唐代其唐之前的五道大神），*Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*，9，1996—1997，85—94頁。
- [24] 二十世紀在滿洲鐵路線及宣化地區，幾乎每一街道都有一五道大神的祠堂；居民向此神報告生死，婚葬等。參見 Dudbridge, “The General of the Five Paths”，96—98頁。
- [25] 端方《陶齋藏石記》卷十三，葉6a—8a；照片載龍潛《揭開〈蘭亭序帖〉迷信的外衣》，《文物》1965年第10期，圖8。
- [26] 1996年春季筆者在山西文水訪問一位算命者，他憑記憶所及爲我寫下了幾份墓葬買地券。
- [27] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本2：217—218頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹：208頁。
- [28] 其中有二字殘缺，全句讀作：“佛弟□信女某甲”。我們假設此文與其他絕大部分完整者一樣，即：“佛弟子清信女某甲”。
- [29] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本3：9頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本壹：306頁。
- [30] Janet Baker (白倩)，“The Image of the Heavenly King in Chinese Tombs and Temples: Sui and Early Tang Examples（中國隋唐墓葬及寺廟中的天王形象）”，此文發表在耶魯大學第三次絲路討論會。
- [31] 《大慈恩寺三藏法師傳》，《大正藏》，第2053號，第50冊，220—280頁。
- [32] 桑山正進，“How Xuanzang Learned About Nalanda（玄奘如何知道印度的那爛陀）”，In

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Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century (唐代中國及外
界：七至十世紀的東亞研究), ed. Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Scuola di Studi sull' Asia Orientale,
1988).

[33] 《大慈恩寺三藏法師傳》，《大正藏》，第2053號，第50冊，225頁上欄。

[34] 《舊唐書》，卷198，5295頁。

[35] Jacques Gernet (謝和耐), *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the
Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (中國社會的佛教：五至十世紀經濟史), trans. Franciscus Verellen
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 12.

[36] Valerie Hansen (韓森), *Negotiating Daily Life* (日常生活裏的契約), 33—39頁。《吐魯
番出土文書》錄文本6: 402頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本叁: 208頁。

[37] 陳國燦, 《斯坦因所獲吐魯番文書研究》(武漢: 武漢大學出版社, 1995), 346—347
頁。

[38] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本7: 524頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本叁: 567頁。

[39] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本7: 66—74頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本叁: 334—340頁。

王素將原文重新編輯，並在他的研究中討論此功德疏如何反映當地的淨土思想；請參見王素《吐
魯番出土“功德疏”所見庶民的淨土信仰》，《唐研究》，1995年，第1期，11—35頁。

[40] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本6: 285—287頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本叁: 152—153
頁。

[41] 《吐魯番出土文書》錄文本9: 255頁；《吐魯番出土文書》圖版本肆: 601頁。

[42] Hansen, *Negotiating Daily Life*, 160—164頁。

[43] 馬雍, 《吐魯番出土高昌郡時期文書概述》，收入《西域史地文物叢考》(北京: 文物出
版社, 1990), 120頁。

[44] 據張廣達先生所說，現藏德國的648件梵文文書中，有116件來自吐魯番。有關德國
所藏吐魯番資料，見 *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (吐魯番出土的梵文文書) (Stut-
tugart: Franz Steiner Verlag), 第1, 5, 7冊；有關醫藥方面文書，見 Heinrich Luders (亨利須·魯
德), “Medizinische Sanskrit-Texte aus Turkestan (吐魯番的梵文醫藥文書)”, *Philologica Indica* (印
度語言學) (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1940), 579—591頁。

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