

# A Study of a Fragmentary Tun-huang District 敦煌縣 Land Allotment Record 受田簿 from the T'ien-pao Period of the T'ang Dynasty with Regard to the Problem of Land Reallotment

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## I. Introduction

In order properly to evaluate the T'ang Dynasty's statutory governing structure, it is vital to establish, in concrete terms, just how the *chün-t'ien* 均田 (the equal land allocation) system was actually executed, and yet it is safe to say that we in Japan have, up to this point, failed to achieve a common understanding either of the essential actualities of *chün-t'ien* implementation or of its significance. Ever since excavations in Tun-huang 敦煌 and Turfan 吐魯番 introduced to the world their T'ang Period census registers (T'ang-tai hu-chang 唐代籍帳) and Hsi-chou 西州 Documents, two opposing theses have continued to retain particular prominence. The so-called "pro-land reallotment theory" would actively attempt to evaluate how the *chün-t'ien* system 均田制 was carried out, while the "anti-reallotment (*i.e.* '*chün-t'ien* system "fabrication"') theory" would find the primary purpose of the *chün-t'ien* system to lie in its land-limiting character and would maintain that the land reallotment prescribed by *chün-t'ien* ordinance was never implemented.

With regard to the "pro-reallotment" theory on the basis of a detailed examination of 西州 Documents brought back by the Ōtani Expedition and covering the final years of the 開元 Period (713-741) Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生 and Nshimura Gen'yū 西村元祐 confirmed in 1959 the actual strict implementation in 西州 of a characteristic *chün-t'ien* system (for land reallotment) feature regarding the fractional portions of adult-male 丁男 land entitlements specifically provided for by *chün-t'ien* statute. (For convenience' sake these documents, including 退田簿 (returned land records), 欠田簿 (shortfall land records), 給田簿 (endowed land records) and 田籍簿 (land registers records), etc., will hereafter be referred to as the Ōtani 西州 Documents). With the confirmation of such implementation, Japanese research into the *chün-*

*t'ien* system would enter a new stage. This would not to be limited to 西州 either, for arguments attempting to demonstrate the actual strict implementation of the *chün-t'ien* system in the Tun-huang region, as well, have subsequently been published by Yamamoto Tatsurō 山本達郎, Hori Toshikazu 堀 敏一, Sugiyama Yoshio 杉山佳男, and Nishimura Gen'yū.<sup>1)</sup> The present author has given a certain amount of thought to the problem himself.<sup>2)</sup>

Directly upon publication of the Nishijima and Nishimura studies, however, Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 submitted a dissenting opinion, claiming that the Ōtani 西州 Documents the two had assessed to be concrete historical evidence of the actual conditions (land reallocation) of *chün-t'ien* system enforcement in 西州, rather than indicating implementation of the *chün-t'ien* system, were in fact a series of documents indicating land reallocation under *t'un-t'ien* 屯田 (the colonial militia land) system put into operation in T'ang times.<sup>3)</sup> Suzuki Shun 鈴木 俊 objected to the notion of imagining a thoroughgoing land reallocation operation in the Tun-huang region or, even further, in the Chinese interior simply on the basis of such having been the case in 西州, for the Turfan area in which the 西州 Documents were discovered was under military administration, Emperor 太宗 having made it a Direct Control Territory (直轄領土; 西州) in 貞觀 14 (640) as the forward military outpost of the northwest T'ang frontier.<sup>4)</sup> Hino Kaizaburō 日野開三郎, while not addressing the question of land reallocation directly, analyzed domiciliary registers and registers of graded forced labor 差科簿 discovered in Tun-huang and representing the 開元, 天寶, and 大曆 Periods and took the position that, to the degree that he was able to clarify the burden of levied labor on Tun-huang farmers and the social level and form of land management, the *chün-t'ien* system had never been put into actual force.<sup>5)</sup>

Looking at these anti-reallocation theories, it is difficult to claim that Miyazaki, first of all, has persuasively refuted the arguments of Nishijima and Nishimura for, while he does deal directly with Ōtani 西州 Documents, he does not offer a detailed listing of the particulars of his investigation of these documents as they relate to the *t'un-t'ien* system. Support for his outlook, consequently, would seem to await a concrete and corroborative study of the T'ang Era *t'un-t'ien* system using the 西州 Document series as its raw material.

In regard to the Suzuki theory, while he gives limited recognition to "*chün-t'ien-like*" land reallocation in 西州 as that occurring in a unique region, he denies the existence of land reallocation in Tun-huang and in the interior, and thus his theory would appear to require reworking should such existence ever be verified.

If one would wish to clarify the realities of the T'ang Era *chün-t'ien* system, then, it would seem to become essential to investigate whether or not land reallocation was implemented in Tun-huang and in the interior. Wishing to develop the points made by Nishijima and Nishimura, I attempted to clarify the actual conditions of *chün-t'ien* statutory land reallocation in

西州 through an analysis of extant T'ang Era 西州 Documents (戶籍 (household registers) · 手實 (household reclarations for census registration) · 退田 · 畝田 · 給田 · 田籍簿, 牒狀 etc.). As a result of this study I was able to demonstrate in concrete terms that in the 西州 districts of 高昌 and 柳中, as a general rule and within the limits of the semi-permanent land grant regulations provided in the Land Statutes (田令), a realistic land grant standard was established with various provisions in consideration of 西州's regional uniqueness, and that it was actually applied to the impoverished *chün-t'ien* farmers (not to the colonial militia grantees 屯田民).<sup>6)</sup> Later, in my 1980 survey of the fragments (approximately 5-6,000 items) of ancient Chinese documents and copied manuscripts housed in a still mostly unordered condition in the British Library, I discovered a Record of Tun-huang District Land Allotment from the T'ien-pao Period of the T'ang Dynasty (唐天寶年代 燉煌縣受田簿, my tentative designation) affixed to two severed sections of thicker paper. Although they are only the merest of scraps, we have nothing else of their like left to us today among Tun-huang documents, and further, they promise to provide us with issues vital to our consideration of the realities of land granting in Tun-huang. I would like, therefore, to introduce the fragments here with a few of my thoughts about them.<sup>7)</sup>

## II. The Fragments of a Record of Tun-huang District Land Allotment and the Sections of Paper to Which They Are Affixed

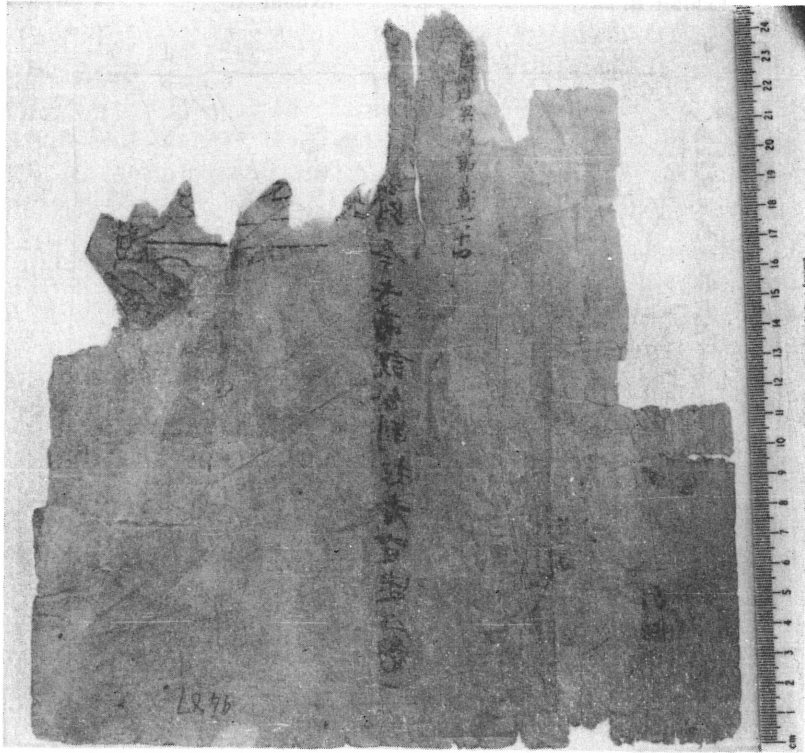
To begin with, I shall attempt to explain the condition in which the Tun-huang District Land Allotment Records were discovered. One of the sections of thick paper to which a record has been affixed bears the designation S. 8387 (*i.e.* the Stein Collection Chinese manuscript serial number), and the other is marked S. 9487. I came upon the first fragment on November 24, 1980 and the second on December 11 of that year. The superficial configuration of the two paper sections to which the records are now affixed is as follows (see Plates A and B as well as Exhibits A and B): The thick paper of Exhibit A (S. 8387, Plate A) has a height of 25.0 cm, a width at the top of 16.5 cm, and a width at the bottom of 21.6 cm. Qualitatively, it is paper of such thickness that the straining grain (*i.e.* with a strainer grain at 1.5 mm + 1.0 mm) becomes barely discernible only when held up to the room light, and in all probability it was manufactured in the Tun-huang region in about the 8th or 9th century. The separate piece of paper affixed to this thick section bears a Tun-huang district land allotment recording on one of its faces and a portion of 曇曠's 大乘起信論略述卷下 (see 大正新修大藏經 Vol. 85, p. 1111, middle and lower columns; hereafter referred to as the 略述) on the reverse side (see Plate A).<sup>8)</sup> The land recording is on the side affixed to the thick paper. Because this affixed leaf is very high quality paper, the land recording lines can at present be quite clearly deciphered through the leaf from



Plate A. S. 8387 Fragmentary record of Tun-huang District land allotment (reverse side of leaf, mirror image characters) with remnant of 大乘起信論略述卷下 affixed to thick paper. (Author's photograph)

the reverse side of the 略述 copy and in mirror image. The 略述 was copied out, making use of the blank side of the cast off land record, in the latter half of the 8th century (q.v. text to follow). The portion in question here, as may be seen in Plate A, has remaining its right hand half of just some five lines (*i.e.* lines 1–6 with, however, only the upper 4 characters of line 6 left) as well as just the slight remains of the very lowest portions of lines 9 and 10. The left hand half of the affixed sheet has peeled away, but there remain on the thick paper traces in mirror image of the land recording documentation that had been written in ink on that lost section (Plate A; Exhibit A lines a, b, and the lower three characters of line c).

In addition to this we have, as seen in Exhibit B (cf. Plate B, S. 9487), a thin sheet of high quality paper ( $6.2 \times 23.6$  cm) affixed to a section of thicker,



**Plate B.** S.9487 Remnant of (two line) fragmentary Tun-huang District land allotment record with reverse side 大乘起信論略述卷下 (mirror image characters), affixed to thick paper. (Author's photograph)

ordinary paper of the 8th to 9th centuries (ash-brown; strainer grain 1.5 + 0.4–1.0 mm). On this thin paper there remains in normal image what is seen in mirror image in line b and the lower portion of line c of Plate A (cf. Exhibit A). Further discernible are the continuation of the upper 5-character line 6 of the 略述 seen in Plate A (分別今此所說分別起者皆迷正教一而), as well as two characters (別釋) from among the lower four of line 9, these being seen in mirror image as in Plate B. From this it is clear that the thin paper in question here had been sandwiched between the thick paper of Exhibit A and the ordinary paper of Exhibit B. The fact that we find them now separate and entirely unconnected is no doubt attributable to some inconsiderate person's having thoughtlessly peeled them apart sometime after the Tun-huang documents arrived at the British Museum.

Additionally, as may be seen in Figure 1, affixed to the reverse side of the 8th to 9th century ordinary paper of Exhibit B there is a piece of wood-block ink print bearing the images of single-crossed-leg Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattvas 觀世音菩薩半跏趺坐像.<sup>9)</sup> The paper of this print appears to be, like the thin paper of Exhibit A, a thin paper of high quality, for despite the fact that

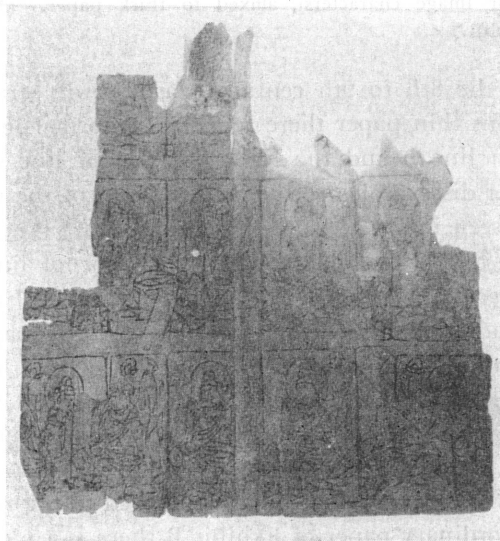
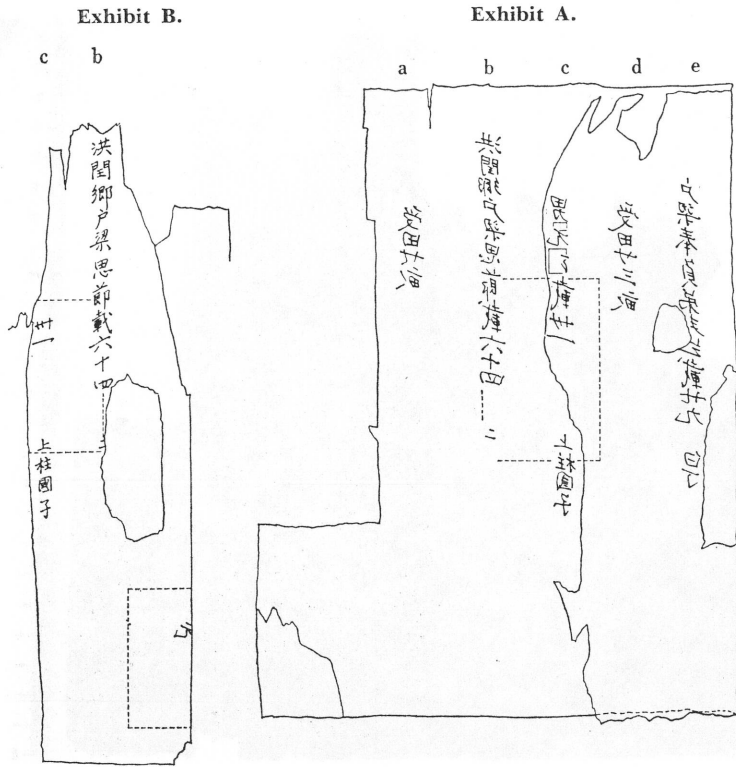


Figure 1. S.9487 Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Icon. (Author's photograph)

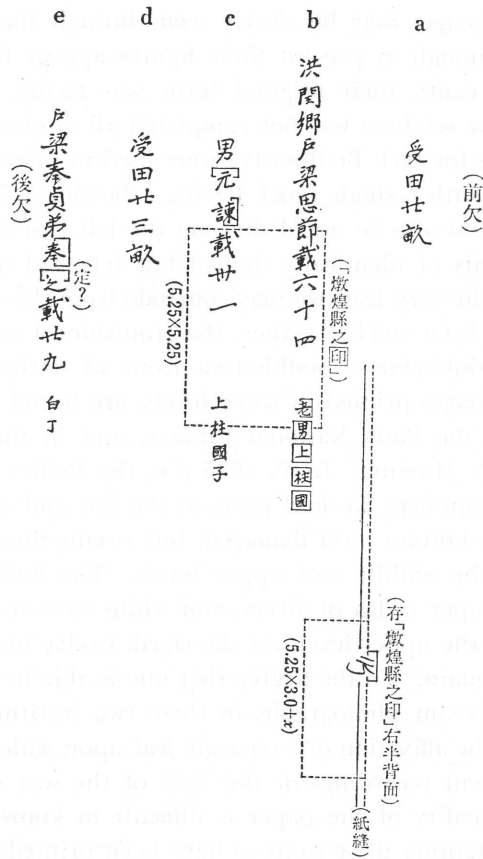
the side of the paper on which the Bodhisattva images are printed has been pasted down, the images may be clearly seen through the paper in reverse. That is to say, although at present these figures appear facing right (three-quarter rightward cant), their original form was facing left. Further, the wood-block print we see here was not completed all at once in a single pressing; separate blocks for each Bodhisattva were used to print them individually along three levels (with a single block having a height of 7.7 cm and a width of 4.85 cm). It should also be noted that, on the left and right of the bottom two levels, fragments of identically shaped but leftward facing Bodhisattvas are affixed, and at the very least we may conclude from this that paper printed in two pieces had been stuck together, the frontside of one to the backside of the other. Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva icons of entirely identical form, single-crossed-leg images printed in three levels, are found in the Pelliot Collection, housed in the Paris National Library, and in the Stein Collection, held by the British Museum. In P. 4076 (*i.e.* the Pelliot Collection chinese manuscript serial number), we find parts to the left and right as well as the greater part of the bottom level damaged, but twenty-three figures each may be seen on both the middle and upper levels. The Stein Tun-huang icon (ch. 00418) has a paper width of 59 cm, and while areas to the left and right, along with half of the upper level, are damaged, twelve images in each of the other two levels remain. To the degree that one is able to determine from an examination of relevant photographs in these two institutions, there appear to be no traces of the affixation of a separate leaf upon which had been written either land allotment recordings or the 略述 of the sort seen in Exhibits A and B, and the quality of the paper is difficult to know, but I believe we may be safe in imagining these icons to have been printed in the same period as were those in Exhibit B.

The nature of the affixed sections seen in Plates A and B may be summarized as follows: on top of ordinary paper produced in the 8th–9th centuries, cast off paper printed with Bodhisattva icons has been affixed in at least two layers, and on the reverse side of that ordinary paper has been affixed a separate sheet of discarded paper bearing land allotment recordings and the 略述, while the sandwich is finally there completed with the affixation of a piece of thick paper upon which nothing is recorded.

### III. External Characteristics of the Tun-huang District Land Allotment Record and the Era of its Production

Let us now employ Exhibits A and B in an attempt to reconstruct the Tun-huang land recordings and at the same time, let us examine the peculiarities of those recording external form as well as the age which produced them.

With regard to the size of characters used in the land record, we may refer to Exhibit C. The four characters of line a have a length of 33 mm,



**Exhibit C.** Tun-huang District land allotment records from the T'ien-pao Period (S. 8397; S. 9487).

[(前缺) (previous material missing), (後缺) (subsequent material missing)] (Note: Characters and graphs enclosed by  $\square$ ,  $\square$ , and  $\square$  are the author's inferences. Characters and numbers enclosed in parentheses have been added for convenience' sake.)

Traces of right half of the stamp 「燉煌縣之印」 are visible on paper seam.

the 11 characters of line b have a length of 74 mm, the upper six characters of line c 52 mm, the lower four 22 mm, the five characters of line d 37 mm, the upper ten characters of line e 70 mm, and the lower two 10 mm—all in all, a tinely rendered lot. With the exception of the particularly diminutive 上柱國子 (son of an Honorary Official, the Supreme Pillar of State) of line c and the 白丁 (adult commoner) of line e, single characters have an approximate height of 5–7 mm and an approximate width of 6–7 mm. While a paper seam between lines a and b results in a slightly widened spacing of 30 mm,



the spacing of lines b-c, c-d, and d-e is maintained for each at 25 mm.

Among inferred characters, we may recognize ink traces significant enough to suggest the left tips of the first and third strokes of the character “老” and the first stroke upper tip and third stroke left tip of the character “上” in the position in line b where we ought to have a title for the person 梁思節. Furthermore, as his 男 (son) has the title of 上柱國子, we may surely assume the characters following the entry of 梁思節’s age to be 老男上柱國. As for the two characters of the name of 梁思節’s son, the first may be recognized as the lower, 兀, portion of 元, and though the second cannot be determined, we can recognize the left-hand 言-radical abbreviation and something appearing to be the lower portion of a right-hand complement of 東, as is seen in Exhibit A. In other words, it appears that we may have here a section of the character 諫 (諫). In line e, we find that the first character of the name of 梁奉貞’s younger brother is 奉, and the second seems to be the remaining lower portion of the abbreviated form 定 of the character 定.

Additionally, governmental (cinnabar) seal impressions may be recognized in two separate locations. Just as the land recordings in Exhibit A were seen in mirror image, these seal characters appear in reverse. As is indicated in Exhibit C, one of these impressions, occurring between the ages and designations of office for lines b and c, may at present be confirmed as 燉煌縣之印 (official Seal of Tun-huang District), with the left half of “燉”, the greater part of 縣, and a portion of “之” recognizable. A close examination of the condition of damage to Exhibit B, as well, confirms the existence of a grafting (paper seam) as well as the fact that in the lower region of the back of this seam there occurs a “元” signature, above which an official seal has been impressed. At present, however, this “元” and the right-hand portion of the “燉煌” seal characters survive in mirror image. This seal appears to be composed of the same characters as in the previous seal, “燉煌縣之印”.

Exhibit C has been drawn here to indicate the state in which two sections of paper had been patched together, and we see a patching in which the left-hand section had been pasted face-down while the right-hand side had been pasted face-up. In its present condition, however, the entire right-hand section, including the pasted overlap, has peeled away and is lost. As a consequence, the leftward extremity of “元” signed to the right-hand section is now wholly missing. We may also note that this “元” signed to the seam back, with a height of 6 mm and a width of 8 mm, is further distinctive in being a smaller-size character written in the lower area.

At this point we may take up the question of the characteristics of the time in which these land allotment recordings were produced (transcribed) and of the substance of their entries. First of all, we should note that one important clue to the era of their production lies in the unanimous transcription in these records of the character 年 as 載. As is widely known, the regulation replacing 年 with 載 was promulgated in the first month of T’ien-pao 3 (744),

and the law requiring use of 載 existed for a 15-year period, until 年 was restored by regulation in the amnesterial era-change or the 5th day of the 2nd month of 至德 3 (*i.e.* 乾元 1, (758)).<sup>10)</sup> This law was observed straightaway even in the Tun-huang region, for we note the use of 載 in all official Tun-huang documents from T'ien-pao 3 (燉煌郡燉煌縣神沙鄉戶籍, P. Tibetan 163) through the second month of 至德 3 (里正李奉牒, S. 5856). It would seem that on the basis of the above examples of 載 entries in Tun-huang, we are justified in limiting the period for the transcription of the Tun-huang District land allotment record to the 15-year span from the first month of T'ien-pao 3 to the second month of 至德 3.

Let us next consider the format we have here—a 元 signature over the back of a paper seam, upon which has been impressed a District Seal 縣印. A search for that same format among official documents of T'ang Dynasty Tun-huang and Turfan (see document listings, Ikeda On 池田 溫, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū* 中國古代籍帳研究, Tokyo Univeristy Press, 1979; hereafter abbreviated as "Ikeda *Sekichō*") yields the following:

A) from the 武周 Period, one example [ca. 聖曆 2 (699), Tun-huang District land allotment recording: Ōtani 2834 (*i.e.* the Ōtani Collection document serial number); Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 338; Naitō Kenkichi 內藤乾吉, *Chūgoku hōseishi kōshō* 中國法制史考證 p. 247.]

B) from the 開元 Period, three examples [1. 開元 19 (731), T'ien-shan District 天山縣·到來符帖目, Ōtani 3471 (1), Ōtani 3481; Ikeda *Sekichō* p. 360. // 2. 開元 21 (733) 西州蒲昌 District, ranking assignment recording (九等定簿): TAM 509 Grave Excavation; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 368. // 3. T'ang (開元 Period) 西州交河 District 名山 region, sub-district registers of graded forced labor (差科簿), Tokyo National Museum, Shodō Hakubutsu kan. Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 263–281.]

C) from the T'ien-pao Period, three examples [1. T'ien-pao 2 (743) 交河 commandery (郡) market price draft (市估案): Ōtani document; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 447. // 2. T'ien-pao 4 (745) 豆盧 Army rice purchase accounting memo (豆盧軍和糴會計牒) P. 3348; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 463–466. // 3. T'ien-pao Period Tun-huang District registers of graded forced labor (差科簿) P. 3559, P. 2657, P. 3018; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 263–281.]

D) from the 吐蕃 Occupation Period, one example [巳年沙州倉曹會計牒 accounting records: P. 2763, P. 2654, P. 3446; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 507–511.]

Among the above, the T'ien-pao Period Tun-huang District registers of graded forced labor exhibit a number of points in common with the Tun-huang District land allotment record—use of the 載 character, the “元” signature over each paper seam, the impression thereupon of the local seal “燉煌縣之印”, and the transcription on the reverse side of the paper of a Buddhism-related 論疏文献 (texts of annotated interpretation) frequently copied for study purposes after the latter half of the eighth century. The registers of graded forced labor here extant represent only a part of the 13 鄉 (sub-

districts) of the Tun-huang District (洪池・玉關・效穀・洪閩・懸泉・慈惠・從化・燉煌・莫高・龍勒・神沙・平康・壽昌の各郷. q.v. P. 3803), indicating that for the transcription of Buddhist Dhyāna text related documents at that time, paper was patched together from the discarded registers of graded forced labor of a number of sub-districts.<sup>11)</sup> Following the research of Naba Toshisada in the area of registers of graded forced labor from the various sub-districts of Tun-huang, work has progressed at the hands of numerous scholars, and in recent years the meticulous and highly inclusive research of Nishimura Gen'yū and Ikeda has borne increasingly rich fruit.<sup>12)</sup> Scholars in this area are agreed on the time period for the production of these ledgers (hereafter referred to as “諸郷 the few extant, sub-district registers of graded forced labor 諸郷差科簿”), placing it between T'ien-pao 6 and 10 (747-751). We would seem, therefore, justified in assigning the production of our land allotment recordings here to roughly the same period.

In addition to the 諸郷差科簿 above, we might note the existence of another Tun-huang District registers of graded forced labor 燉煌縣差科簿 (extant in two sections of paper and 28 lines; P. 2803; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 282-283) which also employs the character 載. Ikeda On's view of this register may be summarized as follows: there are four points of divergence between it and the 諸郷差科簿—1) there are no recognizable traces (at least on microfilm) of the impression of the Tun-huang District Seal on the back of the paper seam; 2) there are slight variances in the positions of entries and in character distribution; 3) use of the expressions “中男” and “次男” are limited to this register alone; and 4) although all of the “jailer 典獄” and “servant 執衣” related expressions found in the 諸郷差科簿 registers (19 instances in total, including six “郡典獄”, five “縣典獄”, five “太守執衣”, one “縣令執衣”, one “主簿執衣”, and one “朱參軍執衣”) are the result of subsequent entry by a different hand, the expression “太守執衣” recorded in this other register has not been entered by a different hand. This would apparently indicate an extremely low probability of the register's (P. 2803) having been part of the same series of documents as the 諸郷差科簿 registers of graded forced labor, while there would seem to be a real probability that it belonged to a different year's effort.<sup>13)</sup>

However, my own examination of this ledger confirms the presence, in the region of the paper seam between the two sections (lines 14-15) on the reverse side and in nearly the same position as we have seen before, of the “元” signature,<sup>14)</sup> as well as traces of an official seal impression—just as with the land allotment record and the 諸郷 registers. Furthermore, in having 14 lines per section of paper, this register (P. 2803) is identical to ④ of the 諸郷 registers (see Note (11) and Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 274-276; P. 2657), and in having a single District Seal impression per piece, located between the entries for name and age, it exhibits the same format as the 諸郷 registers.<sup>15)</sup> Additionally, even with regard to the question of entries by a different hand,

we will see (in the discussion to come) the possibility of potential interpretations differing from the one offered by Ikeda. It would seem, therefore, from the standpoint of entry format, that regardless of whether these registers were of the very same year or not, they were without a doubt produced by the same administrative office and in the general vicinity of T'ien-pao 10 (751), if not in that exact year.<sup>16)</sup> Another fact is that we find on the reverse side of the ledger in question, as we had on the reverse side of the 諸鄉 registers of graded forced labor traces of writing. Here it is a transcription of the Buddhist Dhyāna text related 深密解脫要略. This indicates that the backs of both were employed for re-use at about the same time (the late eighth century). Calling for our strict attention here is the fact that if we look at the form of the characters and the style of penmanship in the 略述 that is transcribed on the back of the Tun-huang land allotment record, we sense no great difference in person or era with the Dhyāna text related writings described above. Also, the postscript to another of 曇曠's 略述卷上 (S. 2436) tells us that “寶應貳載玖月初於沙州龍興寺寫訖”. The fact that the 略述 had been copied at 龍興寺, the largest temple in 沙州 (Tun-huang), in Pao-ying 2 (763) allows us to suppose that sometime after that year the 略述卷下 may have been copied on the back of a land allotment record and employed for study purposes.<sup>17)</sup>

Next, let us consider the official post of the signator of the 元 we find written on the land allotment record and on both types of registers of graded forced labor. Naitō Kenkichi, in his *Saiiki hakken tōdai kanmonsho no kenkyū* 西域發見唐代官文書の研究 (Studies of T'ang Bureaucratic Documents Discovered in the Western Marche) has already attempted a minutely detailed explication of how responsibility for the administration of documents was signified in the signing of one's name on the seam of bureaucratic papers. In this study (included in *Chūgoku hōseishi kōshō*, cited above), he cites the following as concrete examples of officials recording their own judgement on the main text and signing the paper seams: 縣令 (Naitō pp. 232, 333); 縣尉攝主簿 (Naitō pp. 234, 236, 243); the 都督 of the 都督府 (or 長史, 別駕 (?), 司馬) (Naitō pp. 277, 283, 297–298); 錄事參軍 (Naitō pp. 253–256, 259, 266–269, 671); 倉曹參軍 (Naitō pp. 276–279, 281, 283–287, 291–295). If we limit the discussion to incidents of signings on seams alone, we may add the examples of seam signatures by 戶曹參軍 and 司法參軍,<sup>18)</sup> as well as the 方 of 將仕郎守丞杜方演 (as given above, 蒲昌縣九等定簿), the 械 of 宣德郎行尉程鹽械 (天寶九載燉煌郡倉納穀牒 P. 2803),<sup>19)</sup> the 汪 of 主簿攝司倉蘓汪 (*ibid.* 郡倉納穀牒; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 473–477); the 言 of 宣德郎行尉馬脊言 (天寶十二載天山縣申新生犢牒; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 478); the 祐 of 史孫元祐 (*ibid.*); the 惟 of (市) 丞上柱國汜惟表 (as given above, 交河郡市估案). Basing our judgement on the above examples, we may conclude that the individuals who signed the seams of official documents produced by the District government were, with the exception of 典 and 史, who were simply in charge of the copying of documents,

those officials who acted as the managers with direct administrative control over those documents—from 縣令 down through 縣丞, 縣主簿 and 縣尉. We may further assume that the impression of the District Seal over and above this indicated an even more severe strictness to the formalities of these documents' production and to their administration.

We may note, incidentally, the clause in the 唐六典, 卷三十州縣條 regarding the official duties of the District Governor 縣令, 及差科簿, 皆親自注定, 務均齋焉. I take this as a clear statement that, with regard to the register of graded forced labor 差科簿 for requisitioning workers, from the *chün-t'ien* farming community in his District, the Governor was obliged to exercise his personal sanction so as to see that the corvée burden on the people was not applied unfairly. This indicates a heightened probability that it was the District Governor who signed “元” to the seam of the register and stamped it there with the Tun-huang District Seal, and it would allow us, as well, to explain something we have seen earlier in the 諸鄉 registers, the writing in of the duties “jailer 典獄” and “servant 執衣” by a different hand, which might be understood as the Governor's personal addenda after the production of the original document. In the same 唐六典 clause we find 若應收授之田, 皆起十月, 里正勘造簿曆, 十一月縣令親自給授, 十二月內畢 indicating that in the case of land reallocation as well, the District Governor exercised his personal sanction over endowments. It is possible, therefore, for us to imagine that the individual who signed on the back of the seams of the two types of registers of graded forced labor seen above, as well as signing the 元 to the back of the seams of those land allotment recordings which note one by one the entitlement of each recipient household, was this same District Governor. However, since I cannot here produce evidence that this individual was not either a 縣主簿 or 縣尉, I wish to postpone firm judgement of this matter pending further consideration.

#### IV. Distinctive Features of the Tun-huang District Land Allotment Records

Here, using the reconstruction seen in Exhibit C, I would like to examine the Tun-huang land allotment recordings with an eye toward the characteristics of their content. Pursuant to the Governor's endowment of land to certain allotment recipients, these recordings contain entries for the following: name of head of household followed by familial relationship of recipient to head of household, recipient's name and age. These are followed by items related to corvée status, public service (就役, if any), and meritorious service title (勲官, if any). The final entry indicates the land entitlement for the endowment to such persons by the Tun-huang District during the year in question. As may be seen in Exhibit C, line b begins with the main heading of 洪閭鄉, which is in turn followed by the remainder of line b and the subsequent lines c through e recording the land allotments to recipients from

洪閩鄉, while lines a and those preceding it may be presumed to record land allotments from different sub-districts 鄉. What suggests itself here is the probability that, like the 諸鄉 registers of graded forced labor previously noted, land allotments for the 13 sub-districts of Tun-huang District were recorded in the entry format seen in Exhibit C, with entries recorded by sub-district.

As a next step, I would like to take a closer look at the expression “受田” used in these recordings by making a comparison with actual incidents of usage in other writings. It is commonly understood that as an element of the institutionalized Western Chou 周 concept of the Imperial Domain, from Ch'in 秦 and Han 漢 times through the fifth to eighth century *chün-t'ien* system era, and down to late T'ang, 五代十國, and Sung 宋 times, this expression “受田” was used to indicate possession (or private ownership) of land by farmers.<sup>20)</sup> In other words, “受田” was an expression used officially to indicate the acquisition of private land by farmers, even in those case where the land was not actually an endowment to them from the governing authorities. Also, under the *chün-t'ien* legal system, when the subject of the expression is a farmer receiving land, “受田” is used (see 魏書, 卷一百十食貨志, 太和九年均給天下民田條), while when the subject of the expression is the authority issuing the grant of land, the employed term is “授田” (see above-mentioned 唐六典, 卷三十 and 疏議 of 故唐律疏議卷十三, 戶婚律里正授田課農桑條). However, since the *chün-t'ien* system prescribed the allotment to farmers of land of given proportions, to the degree that its laws are in operation, it is only natural to assume that within the entries for farmer “受田” there was included land actually endowed by the government. In fact, as was noted earlier, the documents brought back by the Ōtani Expedition helped establish that the expression 受田 was in essence used to indicate 給田. However, in the absence of actual proof of governmental reallocation in the Tun-huang region under the T'ang era *chün-t'ien* system, still being accepted is the interpretation that the allotted land entitlements 已受田額 recorded in Tun-huang household registers all represented the private land holdings of farmers.<sup>21)</sup> With this point in mind, I would like to present here some examples relevant to 受田 from among documents excavated in Tun-huang and Turfan to examine just how the expression 受田 was actually employed—in particular, to examine whether or not the usage for the Tun-huang region included governmental land endowments, and, further, whether or not, in Tun-huang under the T'ang era *chün-t'ien* system, land reallocation was actually implemented.

#### Exhibit D.

Land allotment citations from the period of *chün-t'ien* land system implementation

- 1) (西州) 合授常田三畝部田五畝 (開元二五年 <737> 高昌縣里正牒; Ōtani 3487; Ikeda *Seikichō*, p. 416).
- 2) (西州) 合受常部田 (二畝常田, 一畝部田, 一畝部田, 一畝部田, 冊步居住園宅) (載初元年 <690> 高昌縣手實, TAM35墓; Ikeda *Seikichō*, p. 237).

- 3) (西州) 合已受田<sup>(畝)</sup>一十四冊步 (神龍三年 <707> 高昌縣點籍樣, TAM 35-47~53; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 242).
- 4) (西州) 應受田 (已受·未受) (開元四年 <716> 柳中縣戶籍, 東京國博, etc.; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 243-246).
- 5) (西州) 合受田八十畝 (六畝半已受……未受) (貞觀十四年 <640> 西州手實, TAM78墓; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 234).
- 6) (燉煌) 合應受田 (已受·未受) (大足元年 <701> 燉煌縣戶籍~大曆四年 <769> 燉煌縣手實; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 167-233).
- 7) (燉煌) 都合應受田(戶) (應受田·已受·未受) (大統十三年 <547> 瓜州計帳 樣戶籍 (?); S. 613; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 153).
- 8) (燉煌) 受田廿畝 (天寶載間 <744-751> 燉煌縣受田簿; S. 8387, S. 9487; see Exhibit C).
- 9) (燉煌) 合受田九十畝 (八世紀後半頃沙州戶別受田簿; S. 10593).
- 10) (燉煌) 見受田七十四畝 (聖曆二年頃 <ca. 699> 燉煌縣見受田簿; Ōtani 2834; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 338).

Land allotment citations from Tun-huang subsequent to the collapse of the *chün-t'ien* system.

- 11) (戶唐君盈) 受田肆拾柒畝 (大中六年 <852> 沙州百姓戶口受田上申狀 (手實), 第五行; S. 6235V; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 570).
- 12) (戶傳興子) 受田柒拾畝 請潤渠地老段肆畦共老拾貳畝, …… (九世紀後半沙州戶口受田簿, 第一三行; P. 4989; Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 588).
- 13) (戶翟明々) 都受田肆拾畝半 請南沙陽開南支渠地老段兩畦共陸畝, …… (大順二年 <891> 正月沙州百姓戶口受田上申簿, 第三行, P. 3384 及び羅振玉舊藏; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 589-590).
- 14) (戶鄧守存) 都受田貳畝 請□ (宋端拱三年 <990> 沙州百姓戶口受田上申簿, 第四行; DA, THY 46 a~c; Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 665-666).

Normally, in order to explain the land allotment entries seen above (Numbers 1-14), one ought to introduce the full texts for each of them, but with the exception of Numbers 8 and 9, they are fortunately recorded in full by Ikeda On in the *Sekichō*, and I take the opportunity to save space by presenting them in abbreviated form here.

Now, items 1) through 5) above are extracted from various types of documents which indicate the actual conditions whereby *chün-t'ien* regulatory land reallocation was implemented in 西州, a region under direct T'ang administration since the destruction of the Kingdom of 高昌 (in the eighth month of 貞觀 14, (640)). The allotted land 已受田 (受田) recorded in these documents, then, would therefore naturally be that very land which was actually endowed under the standards for endowment unique to the 西州 region. The actual standards for 西州 were: a total of 10 畝, as a combination of from 1-4 畝 of 常田 and from 1-8 畝 of 部田 for each adult male 丁男 (or 中男 age 18 and under) head of household; a combination of 常田 and 部田 totalling 4-5 畝 where the head of the household is not an adult male (or 中男), and a total of 4-5 畝 for each widow. Actual endowments for are further inferred for elderly men 老男, the seriously ill 篤疾, and the disabled 廢疾, and it appears that each household received the additional grant of 40 步 or 70 步 as a residential plot 居住園宅.<sup>22)</sup> Doubt remains, however, as to whether the 已受 (田) of “六畝半”, recorded as an item within

the 合受田八十畝 of 5), was a grant from 西州 or not.<sup>23)</sup>

Item 1) above is the official document recording the claim of village headman (里正) 孫鼠居 for due land allotment. In it he claims due allotment for the two widows in a household of eight 畝—three 畝 of 常田 and five 畝 of 部田 (perhaps in the ratio of one widow at two 畝 of 常田, one 畝 of 部田, and the other widow at one 畝 of 常田 and four 畝 of 部田).<sup>24)</sup> Item 2) is written as a so-called “Household Declaration for Census Registration” 手實 in which its head, 寧和才, gives a detailed accounting to the 高昌 District of the composition of his family and its movements, as well as of the content of his land endowment. Although this household contains only two eligible recipients (the young male head of household, 戶主小男寧和才, age 14, and his widowed mother, age 52), under the special endowment standards for its land grant entitlement would be calculated to be ten 畝 of 常田 and 部田 combined, plus a 40 步 residential plot. Beside the 40 步 residential plot, however, the land entitlement actually recorded here is five 畝, two of 常田 and three of 部田 (though since two 畝 of 常田 would convert roughly into four 畝 of 部田, the actual total amounts to approximately seven 畝). This may indicate that the term 合受田 recorded in Household Declarations for Census Registration is synonymous with the 已受田 of household registers 戶籍. It would also seem possible to imagine that we have indicated in the Household Declaration as the 合受常田部田 entry for the actual endowment, the District’s officially sanctioned grant, this being in contrast to the 合授常田部田 petition.

The 應受田 of items 4)–7), like the 合應受田 of item 6), represents the grand total of all the entitlements a given household ought properly to receive as computed under the *chün-t'ien* system land endowment regulations, but this term is always used as part of a three term combination together with two others, 已受 and 未受. It is possible to interpret this phenomenon in the following way: 應受田 was an expression effective in conveying to farmers the principle of the *chün-t'ien* system, while the two terms 已受 and 未受田 were entered into the household registers 戶籍 in an attempt to demonstrate to the farmers a governmental posture of careful scrutiny over the gap between the principle and the reality. Furthermore, the 合 of 合應受田 is used in the same way as is 都合, employed to total the 應受田 of item 7), and the 合 of 合受田 in item 9) (to be discussed later)—it is used in the sense of “adding together” (totalling). I would wish to call attention to the fact that the 合受田 recorded in the Household Declaration 5), however, differs from all the other examples in being used with the same meaning as 應受田.

Item 9)’s 合受田 is just a small fragment (3 lines extant) and not listed in Giles catalogue, but as it contains entries relevant to our discussion here, I would like to introduce it in full.



S. 10593 (19.8×8.2 cm)

(previous material missing)

戶主索思賓<sup>?</sup>□合受田九十畝 廿畝在東支渠 卅五畝在<sup>??</sup>北府渠 廿畝在<sup>????????</sup>无窮渠 一十五畝在□□渠

(subsequent material missing)

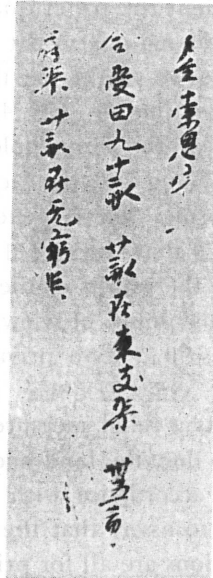


Figure 2. S. 10593  
(Original negative  
housed in the Toyo  
Bunko)

Because the writing of these lines was done in quick strokes with a brush fully soaked in India ink, the characters appear, in comparison to extant T'ang era registers, large (single characters of approximately 1.2 cm square) and cursive. Also, if we assume the 合受田九十畝 to have been an implementation of the *chün-t'ien* system, then it would not represent a 應受田 entitlement computed in accordance with the endowment regulations of the land law as in items 4), 5), and 6) of Exhibit D. Rather, it would constitute a 已受田 entitlement as in items 2) and 3). In other words, the household head 索思賓 would be in possession of a total of 90 畝 dispersed in four separate locations (東支渠 · <sup>?</sup>北府渠 · 无窮渠 · 某渠) within the District of Tun-huang. It is all but impossible to determine, however, whether all or a part of this land was an endowment from the government, or whether it was, from the first, under the farmer's private ownership. I would, however, wish to point out here, as evidence which might help us estimate the time when this document was produced, the fact that among the boundary entries in the 大曆 4 (769). Tun-huang District Household Declarations 戶主索仁亮戶, we find the name 索賓 (Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 226), and further, that the older brother of this 索仁亮 (兄思楚, age 69) appears to be the 索楚 found among the boundary entries of 戶主索思禮 (age 65) 戶. This would appear to admit the speculation that there was a blood relationship between the 索思賓 of the document in question here and the 索仁亮 · 索思楚 · 索思禮 of the 大曆 4 Household Declarations. The paper itself is ash-brown in color, thin, and

of a resilient rice-paper quality, and in terms of the quality of paper produced in Tun-huang, one might date it roughly to eighth century manufacture. In this sense we might see this document as having been transcribed near or about the time of 大曆 4. However, it has long been clear that when the contents of the Household Declarations from 大曆 4 are examined in the light of T'ang law, the fact of the system's having decayed to a mere skeleton of its former self is generally conspicuous,<sup>25)</sup> and the commonly accepted opinion is that the 已受田 entitlements can by no means be considered indicators of the results of the government's implementation of land reallocation. From this point of view, there appears a heightened likelihood that the 索思賓戶's 90 畝 were privately owned. According to 新唐書, 卷五一食貨志, however, “至大曆元年詔, 流民還者給復二年, 田園盡則授以逃田”. Even if this represents a relief measure for displaced persons, there is still no doubt that the lines describe land endowment 給授 being carried out in the first year of 大曆 in accordance with *chün-t'ien* statute, and it would appear less than possible to assert that the 已受田 entitlements recorded in 大曆 4 Household Declarations are all for privately owned land and that they include no government endowed reallocation land.

I would next like to consider the nature of another expression, “見受田七十四畝”, this one found recorded in the “武周聖曆二年前後 (ca. 699) 燉煌縣見受田簿” of Exhibit D, item 10). Although the first and last parts of this document are missing and the remainder consists of only eight lines, “燉煌縣之印” has been stamped over lines 4 and 5, an extremely small character, “匚”, has been written on the lower seam back, toward the left edge, and over that can be recognized traces of the impression of an official (District?) seal. On the reverse side of this document, 武周長安四年前後 (ca. 704) 燉煌縣狀上 has been written in quick strokes (Ikeda *Seichō*, p. 336, preceding and subsequent material missing, seven lines extant). In terms of content, this document indicates, by household head, the total entitlement of 見受田 for each household, and it further records the number of 畝 in use for the cultivation of “grains” (穀) (e.g. 麥田, 粟田, 床田), and the boundary definitions of the plots in their various locations. In what appears here in the case of 戶主石海達戶 (lines 2-8), among the 74 畝 of “見受田”, 20 畝 are clearly recorded as being under 麥 cultivation, 29 畝 under 粟 cultivation, and entries for the remaining 25 畝 are missing, though they probably relate to the cultivation of other “grains” (e.g. 床, 豆, 麻, etc.).

Now, as to the meaning of the term 見受田, if we take it literally, it would seem to indicate the land presently possessed 受田 by 石海達戶, but if this were the case, would not this classification be somewhat different in content from the 已受(田) we have seen in Exhibit D 4), 5), 6), and 7); the 合受田 of 9); and the 合已受田 of 3) (to be discussed later)? What must be borne in mind when viewing this document is that, with regard to the land possessed by separate households, the Governor of Tun-huang District has a

detailed knowledge of precisely what is presently being cultivated. In a matter related to this document, it has been demonstrated that during the 開元 era (ca. 730) in the 西州 region, the district produced a 青苗文簿 (Ōtani 3473),<sup>26)</sup> and according to the 唐六典, 卷三倉部郎中, “凡王公已下, 每年戶別據已受田及借荒等, 具所種苗頃畝, 造青苗簿, 諸州以七月已前, 申尚書省, 至徵收時, 畝別納粟二升 以爲義倉 [寬鄉據見營田, 狹鄉據籍徵, (subsequent material omitted)]”. In other words, this is saying that the number of 青苗畝 (*i.e.* in a planted condition) under 見種 (present cultivation) were surveyed, and a 青苗簿 was produced for the 已受田 and 借荒地 (waste land on loan) of each household below the rank of nobility. We would certainly seem justified in viewing the Tun-huang District recordings above as a ledger bearing the general nature of the 青苗簿 mentioned in the 青苗文簿 of 西州 and in the 唐六典.

In addition, according to the 唐六典 provision seen above, 寬鄉據見營田. It seems possible, therefore, to take it that in a 寬鄉 (*i.e.* an area where there was much land in proportion to population) like Tun-huang, the 青苗簿 would be produced on the basis of the 見營田. In other words, in a 寬鄉 the 青苗簿 for each household would be drawn up according to the number of 畝 under present cultivation, from among the combined lands of 已受田 recorded in the household registers and the unrecorded 借荒地.<sup>27),28)</sup> If this interpretation is correct, the term 見受田 we see here would be an instance of something close in meaning to the 見營田 mentioned in the 唐六典.

I would next like to consider land declarations of farmers in Tun-huang following the collapse of the *chün-t'ien* system. As is seen in lines 11–14 of Exhibit D, when we come to the 9th and 10th centuries, we find in use the terms 受田 and 都受田, whereas the term 已受田 goes out of use. 都受田 is slightly later a term (end of the 9th–10th century), and with the exception of the situation where 官田 are involved, both of these terms lose their meaning of actual 受田 (*i.e.* 給田) and come into use as the proforma term for the declaration in land registers of total land entitlement. If we compare what there is in lines 11–14 related to 受田 (受田簿), in respect to entry format, we see a slight variation (simplification) with time. In the process of producing these 受田簿, the most basic register was probably the Household and Landholding Declaration (戶口·受田上申狀), which was of the format of item 11). This document is a detailed notification concerning family members and lands as reported by a farmer, 唐君盈, himself, in the eleventh month of 大中 6 (852), and corresponds to the “Household Declaration 手實” of items 2) and 5). This document also deserves attention as the first written declaration concerning land and household members that the Military Governor (節度使) 張議潮 required of farmers after he had in 大中 5 destroyed 吐蕃 influence and established a new administration over the lands of Tun-huang. Ikeda has already introduced this document in full in *Sekichō*, but as, in 1980, I came to a new understanding of a few characters in places that had theretofore been unidentified, I take the liberty of reproduc-

ing the entire text here for our examination and so that I may say a word or two about a document 都營田李安定牒 written on the back and bearing an extremely important relationship to this petition (上申狀).

## Exhibit E.

a S. 6235 Bv (29.7×39.8 cm)

(section cut)

1 百姓唐君盈 狀上  
 2 戶唐君盈年卅七 妻阿素年廿□□  
 3 弟僧君亦年卅<sup>五歲</sup>五 弟<sup>?</sup>□□□不受□□  
 4 父唐平子年六十三 妻阿沅年□□  
 5 受田肆拾柒畝  
 6 都鄉背和渠地壹段兩畦并菌舍共壹拾貳畝東  
 7 至唐鋤奴西至官道南至子渠北至道及寺家  
 8 又都鄉雙樹渠地壹段壹畦參畝東至渠西至索義賢  
 9 南至子渠北至子渠  
 10 又都鄉背和渠地壹段壹畦貳畝東至□子西至大渠  
 11 南至道北至子渠  
 12 又都鄉雙樹洞底渠地壹畦貳畝東至福員西至渠南至道北至渠  
 13 又平渠地壹段兩畦共壹拾伍畝東至王狼苟西至趙□子南  
 14 至王狼苟北至子渠  
 15 又宜秋渠都渠地壹段壹畦壹畝東至道西至狼□圍至唐  
 16 佛奴北至子渠  
 17 又以底長幼渠開<sup>(開)</sup>生地壹段陸畦共壹拾貳畝東至澤通頰地切崖  
 18 西至官南至澤北至磧  
 19 匠通人戶及田地具實如前辟件狀如前謹辟  
 20 大中六年十一月 日百姓唐君盈牒

(section cut)

b S. 6235 Br (29.7×39.8 cm)

(section cut)

1 □壹段參拾伍畝東至澤通頰地切崖西至官道  
 2 南至澤北至石磧  
 3 □□今責檢狀過者謹依就檢  
 4 □□生荒空閑見無主是實伏望  
 5 尙書請乞處分  
 6 牒件狀如前謹牒  
 7 大中六年四月 日都營田李安定 謹牒  
 8 副營  
 9 lines with an instrument other than a writing brush  
 10 [寫罷] is written in the margin and the space between the

(section cut)

In the tenth month of 大中 6, one month before the production of the 戶主唐君盈 petition above, a farmer 令狐安子 produced a holding declaration household members and lands (see Ikeda *Seichō*, p. 569). In 令狐安子's petition (P. 3254v) we find “右通人戶及田地，一具□如前。請處分” (Household

members and landhold are as above. Each particular is as therein described. Please approve).<sup>29)</sup> The format of line 16 of 唐君盈's notification above looks very nearly the same. What I wish to call attention to here is that there appears a notice (Exhibit E, b, 大中六年四月都營田李安定牒, S. 6235Br) with the same boundary entries as are listed in lines 14 and 15 of 唐君盈's petition (Exhibit E, a). The 都營田李安定 petition was produced seven months earlier than 唐君盈's, and Exhibit E, a was recorded on its reverse side. In this Exhibit E, a, 李安定, the 都營田官 seeks approval of a petition for disposal of a certain piece of land, that 35 畝 piece defined in the main heading which has fallen into a ruined condition (生荒), has been abandoned, and is at present in an unowned condition. The petition is made to “檢校吏部尚書兼歸義軍節度使張議潮”. (See 唐會要, 卷七一州縣改置下). It is interesting to speculate on just how such ruined and abandoned land in the public domain was disposed of at this time—was it loaned out as 借荒地, or was it transferred into the hands of the ordinary farmer for hereditary private ownership?<sup>30)</sup> In any case, the boundary entries for the 35 畝 ownerless waste tract (Exhibit E, b, line 1) are almost identical to those of the 12 畝 section in the “以底長幼渠” (東至澤通頰地切崖地, 西至官, 南至澤, 北至積). This indicates that the land described by the two sets of boundary entries exists on the same spot, and further suggests that 12 of the 35 abandoned 畝 were ceded to the farmer 君盈's household between the 4th and 11th months of 大中 6. In other words, 唐君盈's 受田 entitlement of 47 畝 (Exhibit E, a, line 5) was reached in the following way: prior to the 4th month of 大中 6, when the 都營田官 drew up his petition, 唐君盈 possessed a total of 35 畝 of residential and farming property located on six sites—residential property of 12 畝 and farming property of 2 畝 on the two 都鄉皆和渠, sites; 3 畝 at 都鄉雙樹渠; and 3 sites within the same irrigation canal (渠) area—2 畝 at 洞底渠, 15 畝 at 平渠, and 1 畝 at 宜秋 (渠) 都渠. Later, 12 of the 35 畝 at 以底長幼渠 were either ceded or leased to him, so that in the 11th month of that year he reported a grand total of 47 畝 under the heading of 受田. This seems to tell us, then, what was signified by the term 受田 when farmers sent reports of their landhold 田土 into the government. And it would seem as well that we may take this format to be the form of expression used when individual farmers reported their personal holdings to the government that same format seen in the 9th–10th century Household and Landholding Records 受田簿 of Exhibit D's 12), 13), and 14) as “受田何畝請……” or “都受田何畝請……”—that used by 唐君盈 in his 受田 petition.

Finally, I would like to examine the make-up of the land allotment recordings of Exhibit D, items 8) and 3), which were produced when the *chün-t'ien* system was under force.

We have already had a brief look at the land allotment recording in item 8) (Exhibit C). It possesses a few special characteristics—eligible land

recipients are selected from among household heads arranged by sub-districts, after noting the age and special status of these persons, there is a final note made of the land (grant?) entitlement for the year in question, and this is put under the heading 受田. For example, in the 梁思節 household of Exhibit C, line b, we immediately notice that the 老男, 上柱國 is listed in a separate line from his son, 丁男上柱國子元諫. This signifies that they are together the recipients of 23 畝. (See discussion to follow.) On the other hand, in the case of 梁奉貞戶 in line e, the younger brother 奉定 follows immediately upon the head of the household 梁奉貞—this is a point of divergence from the previous example. It is possible to accept the suggestion that this latter format with 梁奉貞 does not signify that the endowment has been for both, but rather that the endowment is for the younger brother alone. And with regard to 梁奉貞 himself, perhaps endowment standard regulations were actually put into practice in Tun-huang just as they were in 西州, and because he already possessed the full measure of land by his entitlement standard, he was not treated as an endowee.<sup>31</sup> There would then, consequently, be no need to list his age, and so he appeared simply as head of household plus name.

Stated briefly, I believe we may say that the land allotment records of the T'ien-pao years were not instruments for clarifying either family membership or the total entitlement of land already under the possession (*i.e.* 已受田額) of each household, but rather that their main purpose was to clarify, by sub-district, who from among eligible recipients in each household actually were granted land by the Tun-huang District in a given year, and what that actual grant was. This allows us to imagine that when land allotment records of such content were integrated at the District government level into aggregate totals by household, the result would be Exhibit D item 3) “西州高昌縣崇化鄉點籍樣”. From the standpoint of entry content, this 點籍樣 might surely be seen as an account of the total land each given household has received to date, *i.e.* 合已受田簿. Although the 點籍樣 was evidently discovered as part of a longer work, it is known to us now only as 24 lines in extract (Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 241–242). In order to present the text below in the most practical fashion, I have limited myself to only those parts essential to the discussion. (Line numbers for the quoted portions are those used by Ikeda in his treatment.)

**Exhibit F.**

神龍三年 (七〇七) 西州高昌縣崇化鄉點籍樣

a

- 2 戶主曹伏食年六十七 (老男脫)
- 3 口大小惣八 老男二 丁妻一 (中男一脫) 小女二 中女一  
(老男) (老男)
- 4 丁第戶羅年六十 白丁
- 5 中男僧師年廿 中男
- 6 合已受田一十二畝冊步

- 7 戶主曹英益年冊 衛士  
 8 口大小惣七 丁男(以下漏記)  
 9 合已受田一十三畝冊步  
 10 戶主康壽感年七 小男
- 
- 11 口大小惣七 小男一 丁寡二 小女三 中女一  
 12 合已受田八畝冊步
- b
- 2 戶主安義師年冊 衛士  
 3 口大小惣八 丁男一 丁寡一 丁□一 小男二 丁女一 小女二  
 (畝)  
 4 合已受田一十四冊步  
 5 戶主蕭望仙年三 小男  
 6 口大小惣三 小男一 丁寡一 丁女一  
 7 合已受田五畝七十步  
 8 戶主安善才年五十 黥官  
 9 口大小惣八 丁男三 丁妻二 丁女一 中男一 黃女一  
 10 丁男郭及年冊 衛士  
 (subsequent items omitted.)

Two types of entry format are seen in the below. The first is that of the following four examples: 戶主曹英益戶 and 戶主康壽感戶, of Section a, along with 戶主安義師戶 and 戶主蕭望仙戶 of Section b. Here we get the household head's name, age, and status, followed by the total number of family members, number of family members of elderly / adult / semi-adult / minor / child etc. status, and finally the total household entitlement of 已受田. The other format type is that seen in the examples of 戶主曹伏食戶 of Section a and 戶主安善才戶 of Section b. Here in addition to entries in the first type, we have, as can be seen in lines 4 and 5 of Section a and line 10 of Section b, certain specific allotment eligible recipients singled out of the general eligible recipient group by name, and we are given further information as to their majority / minority / elderly / adult / semi-adult, age, etc., and in this point the two types of format differ.

First of all, let us look at the entry content for the four households listed in the first type format. The 康壽感 household of Section a, line 10 has 3 eligible land recipients—a boy head of household and two adult widows. If the actual endowment standards for 西州 were applied here, this household could expect an endowment of 12–15 畝 40 步. The actual entitlement held by this household, however, is 8 畝 40 步, which would mean it fell short some 4–7 畝. In another example, the 蕭望仙 household of Section b, line 5, with one boy head of household and one adult widow, might expect to receive 8–10 畝 70 步, but the entitlement they hold is 5 畝 70 步, and thus falls 3 畝 short. The 安義師 household of Section b, line 2, on the other hand, has an adult male head and an adult widow as its two members, and as such it might foresee an endowment of 14–15 畝 40 步. What it actually has, in fact, is just about *that*—a total held entitlement of 14 畝 40

步, essentially the full measure of the standard for their household. In the case of the 曹英盆 household of Section a, line 7, entries giving family member of elderly / adult / semi-adult / child etc. status are missing, and thus we cannot expect accuracy in our estimates, but of the households held entitlement of 13 畝 40 步, the 40 步 would appear to be for a residential plot, 10 畝 for the land entitlement of the adult male head of household, and the other three for a widow, or thereabouts.

Let us next examine entry contents for two of the households—曹伏食 of Section a, line 2, and 安善才 of Section b, line 8. The 曹伏食 household has three eligible recipients: two elderly men and one minor male of 20 (中男). If the endowment standard regulations for 西州 were to be applied here we might calculate an expected endowment of 18–20 畝 40 步. Since their actual held entitlement is only 12 畝 40 步, however, they are running 6–8 畝 short. When we look more closely at this family we notice that of the three members, the younger brother of the head, 老男尸羅 and the 中男僧師 are singled out by 丁中 status and given a separate line each. The eligible recipients of the 安善才 household in Section b are an adult male head (age 50) and two other adult males, for a total of 3. In this family, we should not lose sight of the fact that again have someone singled out for special treatment—here it is the 丁男衛士郭及 (age 40).

Of the two format types, I imagine that in the first (four-household) type, because no land reallocation was carried out for that particular year (707), there was no necessity to make special mention of any of the participants. In other words, since there were no changes in any of these four households as would concern actual holdings or member status, the register might be copied as is from the previous year. Further, with the 點籍樣, in households like 戶主丁男安義師 and 戶主丁男曹英盆, where we have an adult male household head in the pivotal role and a full complement of held entitlement, and in households where the head is a small boy or widow and there is no corvée burden—in these cases alone there appears to be no change in endowment. What we must remember here is that in the two households that were different from the four-household pattern (曹伏食戶 and 安善才戶), special mention is made of individuals like 中男 and 丁男衛士, who would have a labor-tax or public service burden, and this is followed by the recording of 合已受田額. We may imagine here that this format is being used for the sake of handling those, among eligible recipients for the year, who have a specially mentioned public service burden,<sup>32)</sup> and that their entitlement for an endowment is included within the 合已受田.<sup>33)</sup>

If the above ideas concerning the 點籍樣 of Exhibit F are correct, there must also have been a 給田簿 listing those who had actually received land and specifically what they received, a reference from which the 點籍樣 could be produced (every year?). With regard to land endowment records for 西州, the research and introductory role played by Nishijima Sadao is surely



well known, and following in this direction, toward land endowment records organized by district and arranged according to households, it happened that during my recent work at the British Library, the 天寶載間燉煌縣受田簿 (Exhibit C) I came across seemed to me to be just that sort of thing. The land entitlements “受田廿畝” and “受田廿三畝” recorded here for in these Tun-huang District land allotment records may be equivalent to the endowment entitlements for those recipients (尸羅·僧師·郭及) specially mentioned in the 點籍樣. And certainly Tun-huang land must indeed have been granted by the District to its *chün-t'ien* farmers.

### V. Conclusion

In attempting to delve into the nature of the Tun-huang District land allotment recordings, we have made special inquiry into the usage of this 受田, which has been recorded in documents from Turfan and Tun-huang across T'ang and Sung times. As a result, and aided by the appearance of the Tun-huang record fragments, it has been possible to determine with near certainty that in Tun-huang in the T'ien-pao period, in which the *chün-t'ien* system begun its process of collapse, the endowment of land to *chün-t'ien* farmers at the District level continued to be carried out as before. Assuming this determination to be correct, when in the future we attempt to analyze and evaluate the land endowment entries in T'ang era Tun-huang household registers, it may be wise to consider the possibility that included in the 已受田 entitlements for each household there might be land that had been granted

S. 9460 Ar (14.0×5.4 cm) (See Figure 3)

(Previous material missing)

□ □ ?

七渠，永業地一段一頃六畝匣

縣司。元暎，無福不幸，早□

(Subsequent material missing)



Figure 3. S. 9460 (Author's photograph)

by the government.

It may seem superfluous, but I would like here at the end to introduce a tiny written fragment which in a supporting manner allows us to infer the actual implementation of land granting in the Tun-huang District. This fragment, like others from Tun-huang we have looked at, came to my attention in December, 1980 by pure discovery among the unarranged Tun-huang documents in the Stein Collection. The writing I will introduce here was done on one piece of two that had been pasted together, and at present it consists merely of the ink traces of just twenty characters in two lines.<sup>34)</sup>

This fragment may be tiny, but as we study the format of its entries, we see that it resembles the composition form of the “唐大智辭” (唐大智給田申請狀)<sup>35)</sup> in the well-known “開元二九年西州高昌縣給田關係牒一七件”, and we may imagine it, too, to be a kind of claim for land endowment. That is to say we may not infer from these lines, that a certain 元曠 household, less than prosperously blessed, crossed seven ditches to get to 永業地一段一頃六畝, for which land it is petitioning the government.

According to 唐田令 (仁井田陞; 唐令拾遺, p. 637), when land endowment was carried out, “諸授田, 先課役, 後不課役, 先無後少, 先貧後富”. In other words, priority was given in land granting to those households bearing a corvée burden and to those impoverished families that owned no land at all. The fact that this regulation was in actuality enforced in 西州 has previously been established with documents brought back by the Ōtani Expedition.<sup>36)</sup> In previous work I have cited 唐大智給田申請辭 in pointing out that in the implementation of the *chün-t'ien* system, preference for land endowment was given to farmers in distressed circumstances.<sup>37)</sup> Moreover, the recipients of land seen in the Tun-huang fragments we have looked at in this study were those burdened with a public service requirement, and as we have been able to surmise that a poverty-stricken 元曠 petitioned for a land endowment, it is possible to conclude that just as was the case in 西州, land endowment priority regulations were implemented even in Tun-huang. We may also say that the land endowment petitions submitted by farmers must surely have been used as reference aids in the production of the land allotment records. And certainly we may conclude the 元曠 fragment to be such a land endowment petition and evaluate it as such.

#### NOTES

Following the completion of this manuscript in 1984, I became aware of the existence of three fragments of land allotment recordings which are identifiably part of the same single original record of land allotment which has been the subject of our discussion here. These fragments are found among Л. И. ЧУГУЕВСКИЙ's КИТАЙСКИЕ ДОКУМЕНТЫ ИЗ ДУНЬХУАНА, Издательство «Наука» 1983, and I wish to discuss them at the next opportunity.

- 1) Yamamoto Tatsurō 山本達郎: 敦煌地方における均田制末期の四至記載に関する考察(一) “Tonkō chihō ni okeru kinden sei makki no shishikisai ni kansuru kōsatsu (I)”, in 東方學會創立二十五周年記念東方學論集 *Tōhō gakkai sōritsu nijūgo shūnen kinen tōhō gaku-ronshū*, 1972; title as above, “Part II”, in 東方學 *Tōhōgaku*, 46, 1973; title as above, “Part III”, in *Tōhōgaku*, 48, 1974; 敦煌發見の籍帳にみえる“自田” “Tonkō hakken no sekichō ni mieru jiden”, in *Tōhōgaku*, 53, 1977; title as above, continuation, *Tōhōgaku*, 56, 1978; 敦煌發見大曆四年手實に見える地段記載 “Tonkō hakken Taireki yonen shujitsu ni mieru chidan kisai”, in *Tōhōgaku*, 60, 1980; 敦煌地方における均田制枠外の田土の存在 “Tonkō chihō ni okeru kinden sei wakugai no dendo no sonzai”, in *Tōhōgaku*, 65, 1983. Hori Toshikazu 堀 敏一: 均田制の研究 *Kinden sei no kenkyū*, Iwanami shoten, 1975, pp. 185-217. Sugiyama Yoshio 杉山佳男: 實施狀況からみた均田制 “Jisshi jōkyō kara mita kinden sei”, in 駿臺史學 *Sundaishigaku*, 44, 1978; 敦煌の土地制度—均田制施行を中心として— “Tonkō no tochi seido—kinden sei shikō o chūshin to shite—”, in 講座敦煌 3 敦煌の社會 *Kōza Tonkō III Tonkō no shakai*, Daitō Shuppansha, 1980. Nishimura Gen'yū 西村元佑: 唐天寶年間の戸等と受田・墾田について—杜佑通典食貨賦稅の戸稅・地稅記事とその自註にもとづいて— “Tō Tenpō nenkan no kotō to juden, kondan ni tsuite—Toyū tsūten shokka fuzei no kozei-chizei kiji to sono jichū ni motozuite”, in 龍谷史壇 *Ryūkoku shidan*, 79, 1981.
- 2) Dohi Yoshikazu: 唐代均田制の給田基準攷—とくに吐魯番盆地の實例を中心として— “Tōdai kinden sei no kyūden kijun kō—toku ni Torufan bonchi no jitsurei o chūshin ni—”, in 隋唐帝國と東アジア世界 *Zuitōteikoku to hīgashi ajia sekai*, Kyūko Shoin, 1979.
- 3) Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定: トルファン發見田土文書の性質について—敦煌吐魯番社會經濟資料(上)を読む— “Torufan hakken dendo monjo no seishitsu ni tsuite—Tonkō Torufan shakai keizai shiryō (jō) o yomu—”, in 史林 *Shirin*, 43-3, 1980 (afterward included in his 宮崎市定アジア史論考(中卷) *Miyazaki Ichisada ajia shi ronkō (chūkan)*, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1976. Ikeda On 池田 温 had previously voiced fundamental doubts about Miyazaki's factual understanding of the 西州 Documents (史學雜誌 *Shigaku zasshi*, 69-8, 1980) when, in an oral presentation to the Autumn, 1982 史學會大會東洋史部會 Shigakkai taikai tōyōshibukai, he pointed out anew the relationship between the various special characteristics of land allotment implementation in T'ang era 西州 and land controls in the kingdom of 高昌 beginning with the Han era 屯田 (史學雜誌 *Shigaku-zasshi*, 91-12, 1982, *Taikaihōkoku kiji*, p. 81), and we look forward with interest to his further discussion of these matters.
- 4) Suzuki Shun 鈴木 俊: 均田, 租庸調制度の研究 *Kinden, soyō chō seido no kenkyū*, Tōsui Shobo, 1980, pp. 125-126.
- 5) Hino Kaizaburō 日野開三郎: 玄宗時代を中心として見たる唐代北支禾田地域の八・九等戸に就いて—主として土地關係を中心として— “Gensō jidai o chūshin to shite mitaru tōdai hoku shi kaden chiiki no hachi, kyū tō ko ni tsuite—shu to shite tochi kankei o chūshin to shite—”, in 社會經濟史學 *Shakai keizai shigaku*, 21-5, 6 combined issue, 1955.
- 6) Dohi: *ibid.* Note 2 above.
- 7) I introduced the subject of this fragment in 八-九世紀敦煌出土漢文文書數種について “Hachi, kyū seiki Tonkō shutsudo kanbun monjo sūshu ni tsuite”, an oral presentation to the Summer Symposium of the *Tōdaishi Kenkyūkai*, held in Hakone on July 10, 1982. The current study here is an outgrowth of that report.
- 8) I must express my gratitude here to Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻 for his very valuable advice in helping to identify this Buddhist sūtra treatise as “大乘起信論略述” by 曇贖, the leader of the Buddhist world in 河西 in the latter half of the eighth century.
- 9) Briefly, the Bodhisattva figures are facing three-quarters to the left, the right hand is placed to the side of the knee, palm down with finger pointed toward the earth, the left palm is opened and the left arm is bent at the elbow. The left foot is placed upon the lotus-petal cushion, and the figures are seated in the single-crossed-leg position.
- 10) In 新唐書, 卷五玄宗紀, we have (天寶) 三載正月丙申, 改年爲載 (However, 舊唐書, 卷九玄宗紀下 has 正月 丙辰朔. The 新唐書's 丙申 represents the first day of the month).

- Additionally, in 舊唐書, 卷十肅宗紀, 至德三載(乾元元年)二月丁未(五日) there appears 大赦改元, 改至德三載爲乾元元年.
- 11) 諸鄉 registers consists of scroll segment registers ㉑ (P. 3559<sup>(2)</sup>), ㉒ (P. 3559<sup>(3)</sup>), ㉓ (P. 3559<sup>(3)</sup>), ㉔ (P. 2657) and ㉕ (P. 3559<sup>(1)</sup>, P. 3018).  
Regarding the condition of the joinings, see Ikeda On: *Sekichō*, p. 281; also his 八世紀中葉における敦煌のソグド人聚落 “Hasseiki chūyō ni okeru Tonkō no Sogudo jin shūraku” p. 54; Nishimura Gen'yū: 唐代敦煌差科簿の研究 “*Tōdai Tonkō Sakabo no kenkyū*” in 西域文化研究第三, 敦煌・吐魯番社會經濟資料(下) *Seiki bunka kenkyū daisan Tonkō, Torufan shakai keizai shiryō (ge)*, 1960, and later included in his 中國經濟史研究 *Chūgoku keizaishi kenkyū*, Kyōto daigaku Bungaku-bu Tōyōshi Kenkyū-kai, 1976. See that work, pp. 470, 474–527. With regard to the Dhyāna-related copy book transcription on the reverse side of the paper, see Tanaka Yoshiaki 田中良昭: 敦煌禪宗資料分類目録初稿 I 傳燈・嗣承論, “Tonkō zenshū shiryō bunrui mokuroku shokō” I dentō, shishōron, in 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要 *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō*, No. 27, 1969, pp. 8–10; also “初稿” II 禪法・修道論, (1), title as above “Shokō” II, zenhō, shūdōron (1), in journal as above, No. 29, p. 14; again “Shokō” II, zenhō, shūdōron (2), in *Kiyō*, No. 32, 1974, pp. 33–34, 45, 47–48. Ueyama Daishun: 敦煌における禪の諸層 “Tonkō ni okeru zen no shosō”, in 龍谷大學論集 *Ryūgoku Daigaku ronshū*, No. 421, 1982, pp. 90–92.
- 12) Nishimura Gen'yū: in above-cited study, included in *Chūgoku Keizaishi Kenkyū*; also his べリオ第二六五七號文書に關する所見 一舊稿總表の補訂をかねて— “Perio dai nisen roppyaku gojū shichi gō monjo ni kansuru shoken—kyūkō sōhyō no hotei o kanete—”, in 龍谷史壇 *Ryūgoku shidan*, No. 68, 69, 1974; Ikeda On: 八世紀中葉における敦煌のソグド人聚落 “Hasseiki chūyō ni okeru Tonkō no Sogudo jin shūraku”, in ユーラシア文化研究 *Yūrasha bunka kenkyū*, 1, 1965; also his *Sekichō*, Outline and Chapters 3–5, change in the Tun-huang Registers of Graded Forced Labor (敦煌差科簿の推移), 1979. Additionally, 王永興 has published 敦煌唐代差科簿考釋, in 歷史研究, 一九五三年十二月期, as well as the extremely detailed study 唐天寶敦煌差科簿研究—兼論唐代色役制和其他問題—, in 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集, 中華書局, pp. 63–166.
- 13) Ikeda On: *Yūrasha bunka* I, cited above, Ikeda pp. 53–54; and his *Sekichō*, Outline, p. 101. However, Ikeda supposes that among the *Sekichō*, the register P. 2803 is roughly of the same period as the 諸鄉 registers of graded forced labor, i.e. ca. 750 A.D.
- 14) There is a black spot indicating an obliteration over the character 元 signed on the seam back between lines 14 and 15 of this register of graded forced labor (P. 2803). This was an effacement made complete with a check mark so that the 元 would not be read as part of the text transcribed on the reverse side of the paper, 深密解脫要略. An identical example may be recognized in the 元 on the seam back of “諸鄉 registers of graded forced labor” P. 3559. Because the 元 on the seam backs of P. 2659 and P. 3018 are each just in the place of a line of a Buddhist Dhyāna text the sūtra lines written over them in heavy “tracing strokes”, obliterated the 元’s.
- 15) The total number of sheets of “諸鄉 registers of graded forced labor” (Ikeda *Sekichō*, pp. 263–281) is 51. (See *Sekichō*, pp. 100–101. This is excluding register P. 2803 however). Among the 51, 49 of them (the two exceptions being the second and sixteenth sheets of the ㉒ register) bear the single impression of a district seal. Two impressions may be discerned on the second sheet, but here the District Seal was stamped to acknowledge the correction of the 卅 in line eighteen’s “弟忠臣卅九” to a 卅. One of the two impressions on the sixteenth sheet, also, would seem to have been because of the addition of a single stroke in its 卅二 in line eighteen’s 張楚林載卅二 i.e. that a District official stamped his confirmation to a correction from 卅二 to 卅二. The third sheet of the *Sekichō*’s ㉓ register (lines 18–35) also bears the marks of two official seals, but the seam between the second and third sheets has been confirmed to lie not between lines 17 and 18 but between lines 24 and 25, so that 12 lines of the second sheet (lines 13–24) and 11 lines of the third sheet (lines 25–35) were each impressed with the District Seal.

In other words, the principle of one impression per sheet was maintained in these registers. One might further add that the joint between the second and third sheets of the *Sekichō's* register is between lines 12 and 13—not, as he mistakenly has it, between lines 13 and 14.

- 16) Moreover, as Nishimura Gen'yū has already pointed out (in his previously cited *中國經濟史研究*, p. 603), *唐會要*, 卷七二軍雜錄 (通典, 卷二九折衝府) has (天寶) 十一載八月十一日, 改諸衛士, 爲武士, the title 衛士 being revised to 武士 in the eighth month of T'ien-pao 11, but as the register in question here employs the 衛士 denomination, it would seem to follow that it was transcribed prior to the eighth or ninth month of T'ien-pao 11. It is not clear, however, whether or not the term 武士 was used in Tun-huang after the eighth month of T'ien-pao. If it were not, there arises the possibility that this document was transcribed after T'ien-pao 11. Now, lines 11–12 of this register of graded forced labor (Ikeda *Sekichō*, p. 282) appear as:

- 11 梁元諫載五十一 上柱國子士鎮  
 12 弟守訥載卅九 上柱國子逃走  
 13 (lines 13 and 14 omitted)  
 14  
 15 ..... (seam back signed 元)  
       (subsequent material omitted)

There would seem to be a degree of probability here that the 上柱國子梁元諫 of line 11 and the 柱國子梁元諫<sup>?</sup> seen in the Tun-huang District land allotment record are one and the same person. The reason that there is no listing in the land allotment record of the younger brother 弟守訥 seen here could be that at the time of the production of that record he had already deserted (逃走) and was not included among the land endowees. The problem we have here is that the age spread seen for the two 梁元諫 is too great. That is to say, since the character 載 is employed, it follows that there can be no greater gap between their ages than fifteen years, for reasons previously noted.

In actuality, however, the 梁元諫 of the land allotment record is given the age of 31, while his corvée namesake is listed as 51, giving us a gap of twenty years. If we assume there to have been no error in the entry, we would presumably be dealing with two separate individuals having the same name. On the other hand, as we have seen (in Note 15 above) with the age of 張楚林, 梁元諫's age entry happened to be 41 instead of 31, the age difference in question would be ten years, and the two could easily be the same individual. Should this supposition be correct, the transcription of the land allotment record here would be in a time period close to T'ien-pao 3, and that of the register of graded forced labor would be T'ien-pao 13 or sometime shortly thereafter.

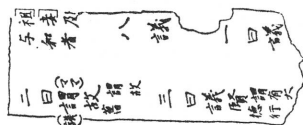
- 17) With regard to the copying of the 略述卷下, there exists another transcription of the 略述卷下 in quick strokes for practice purposes on the reverse side of “天寶九·十載春冬衣服支給簿” (see S. 964; extant in 2 sections; 39 lines in total; one section has 1 line + 14 lines + 15 lines, for a total of 30 lines—the other section has 9 lines; single impression of official seal on upper portion of paper seam; seam back signed with character 宗<sup>?</sup>, and the another transcription has 11 lines on the opening section and 12 lines + 12 lines + 2 lines, for a total of 46 lines on the second; the writing format is for a 22-line page.) The two 略述 copies are written in a different style hand, but it is no mistake to say they are both the work of copyists of the same era (late eighth century) and like the Dhyāna text related documents seen earlier, they use the backs of official documents from around T'ien-pao 10 (i.e. ca. 751) and appear to be transcriptions done after—and at a time not too far removed from—763 (Pao-ying 2).
- 18) See Ikeda On *Sekichō*, pp. 364–365, 468–472.
- 19) Ikeda (*Sekichō*, p. 472) shows no listing of a signing on the seam back, but the signing of the character 械 on the upper seam is confirmed.

- 20) Hori Toshikazu: 中國初期の土地國有主義と土地取引の起源 “Chūgoku shoki no tochi kokuyū shugi to tochi torihiki no kigen”, in 書齋の窓 *Shosai no mado*, 322, Yūhikaku, March, 1983, pp. 60–64. Hiranaka Reiji 平中芥次: 中國古代の田制と税法—秦漢經濟史研究— *Chūgoku kodai no densei to zehō—shin kan keizaishi kenkyū*, 東洋史研究叢刊之十六 Kyōdai Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai, 1967, pp. 3–18.
- 21) Kikuchi Hideo 菊池英夫: 唐代敦煌社會の外貌 “Tōdai Tonkō shakai no gaibō”, in Ikeda On Ed. 講座敦煌 3 敦煌の社會 *Kōza Tonkō III Tonkō no shakai*, Daitō Shuppansha, 1980, p. 124.
- 22) Dohi: in study cited Note 2 above, pp. 216, 226–239.
- 23) 唐長孺: 新出吐魯番文書發掘整理經過及文書簡介, in 東方學報(京都) *Tōhō gakuhō*, 54, 1982, p. 96. Ikeda On: 中國における吐魯番文書整理研究の進展—唐長孺教授講演の紹介を中心に— “Chūgoku niokeru Torufan bunsho seiri kenkyū no shinten—Tō Chōju kyōju kōen no shōkai o chūshin ni—”, in 史學雜誌 *Shigaku zasshi*, 91–3, 1982, pp. 74–75. Dohi Yoshikazu: 貞觀一四年九月西州安苦啣延手實について—その特徴と歴史的背景— “Teikan jūyōnen kugatsu seishū an kuchien shujitsu ni tsuite—sono tokūchō to rekishiteki haikai—”, in 鈴木俊先生古稀記念東洋史論叢 *Suzuki Shun Sensei koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō*, 1975, pp. 295–300.
- 24) Dohi: in study cited Note 2 above, pp. 225–226, 228; see also Ikeda On: 中國古代の租佃契(上) “Chūgoku kodai no sodenkei (jō)”, in 東洋文化研究所紀要 *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, 60, 1973, pp. 94–96, Note 27. Further, according to the 請地簿 of the 阿斯塔那一〇五號 grave excavation, with regard to an elderly widow's claimed land, 人得常田貳畝, 部田壹畝. (See 唐長孺, study cited above, p. 97; Ikeda On: report cited above, p. 76, as well as Note 23.)
- 25) Ikeda On: 敦煌發見唐大曆四年手實殘卷について “Tonkō hakken Tō Taireki yo nen shujitsu zankan ni tsuite”, in 東洋學報 *Tōyō gakuhō*, 40–2, 3, 1957; *Sekichō*, pp. 115–123.
- 26) Sutō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之: 個人文書の研究—唐代前期の個人制— “Tenjin bunsho no kenkyū—Tōdai zenki no tenjin sei—”, in 西域文化研究第二 *Tōyō bunka kenkyū II Tonkō Torufan shakai keizai shiryō (jō)*, Hōzōkan, 1959, pp. 105–107.
- 27) Yamamoto Tatsurō: Study cited above, *Tōhōgaku*, 65, p. 49.
- 28) Dohi Yoshikazu: 一九七二年の歴史學界—回顧と展望(中國, 隋唐)— “1972 nen no rekishi gakkai—kaiko to tenbō (chūgoku, zuitō)”, in *Shigaku zasshi*, 82–5, 1973, pp. 189–190.
- 29) The remains of this notification (P. 3254V) tell us that it represents the closing five lines of a notification transcribed on the reverse side of the first page of what was originally written on this paper, 論語, 先進篇第十一卷第六何晏集解 (opening paragraph extant, ending missing; mid-seventh century?). Further, considering the fact that in the second to last line, where we should have “牒, 件狀如前, ……”, the opening character 牒 (report) is omitted; that, moreover, the first half of the text of the document was not transcribed from the very first; and that the entry format is irregular, we ought to judge this notice to be neither an original nor a duplicate but a capriciously done copy.
- 30) Regarding the interpretation and administration of 荒田 in T'ang and Sung times, Hori Toshikazu offers a coherent study (see his 均田制の研究 *Kinden sei no kenkyū*, 1975, pp. 430–436).
- 31) According to the 開元二九年頃西州給田申請牒 (tentative title), brought back by the Ōtani Expedition and housed in the former Port Arthur Museum, we may take it that in the case of 戶主(?) 上柱國子張嘉盛, he is claiming the shortfall entitlement for what should have been endowed to his younger brother (see Dohi: study cited above in Note 2, pp. 223–225). When we contrast this with the Tun-hunag District land allotment record, we see a situation in which 戶主梁奉貞 corresponds to 張嘉盛, and the younger brother 奉貞 to 嘉秀. This suggests that in Tun-huang, as well, there was an endowment for this younger brother.
- 32) In the 曹伏食戶, however, special notation is made of a 60-year-old 老男戶羅, but in his case special mention seems to be being made of the fact that reallocation will be carried

out to adjust his last year's entitlement, as an adult male (丁男, age 59) to that for this year at an elderly male's (老男, which status he has just attained) rate.

- 33) Let us take an example. Despite the fact that standard endowment entitlement for 戶主老男 of 曹伏食戶 would be estimated at 5 畝, the 已受田 entitlement with which this household was endowed is 12 畝 40 步. This amounts to a contradiction in the endowment standard regulations for 西州. However, the specially mentioned 老男尸羅 and the 20-year-old 中男僧師 combine for a projected entitlement of 15 畝 (中男 10畝, 老男 5 畝) which, when added, allows for a possible 20畝 40步 for this household, and with respect to this total, the actual endowment is 12畝 40步.
- 34) At this point I would like to consider the time period for the production of this document. Six lines of approximately 29 characters of a Buddhist sūtra are seen on the separate paper fragment to which it is attached. The paper itself is extremely thin rice paper, and judging from the style of writing and from the characters appearing to have been written in slightly quick strokes with a brush having a worn down tip, we may guess this to have been a late eighth century copy exercise. Also the 元陳 document, unlike something done in the official style, is written in an especially free, quick hand and is of the rough draft, copybook variety. Because the paper is so very thin, characters written on its other side can be seen in mirror image through it. When restored to normal image, they appear as below:

S. 9460Av (14.0×5.4 cm)



These lines are surely the end of 唐律, 十二卷名例律十惡條 and a part of the opening of the 八議條. (I am indebted here to Okano Makoto, for whose guidance in the identification of the appropriate sections of the 唐律. I wish to express my sincere gratitude.) I believe we may guess this fragment of legal writing to be, judging from character type and style of writing, as well as from the degree of character visibility as seen through the paper, of the same piece of writing as is the first half of the 名例律十惡條 housed in the Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Oriental Research Institute (1916, Дх. 3155). Supposing this assumption to be correct, there would have been extant between the two fragments some six more lines from the latter half of the 十惡條.

Further, written on the back of this Leningrad Collection 十惡條 is a report (牒文),  
 (業?) (前?) ? (辭?) ??  
 “□人戶□□請檢須衙/□米勿多公驗即知虛實謹以 陳請法處分謹謹” (a blank equivalent to four lines follows; the mark / denotes the start of a new line), which represents a point in common with S.9460 Av of the Stein Collection, which piece has a 元陳 report written on its reverse side. Although we cannot directly conclude the two reports to be part of the same document, it is clear that both were transcribed on the back of a T'ang 名例律 copybook. Okano, in dating the transcription of the Leningrad Collection 唐律, employs the “9th–11th century” theory found in the Catalog compiled by Menshikov, et al., (Vol. 2, p. 487), (Ikeda On, Okano Makoto 岡野 誠: 敦煌·吐魯番發見唐代法制文獻 “Tonkō, Torufan hakken, Tōdai hōsei bunken”, in 法制史研究 *Hōseishi kenkyū*, 27, 1978, p. 202), but since the contents of the 元陳 document recorded on the back prevent us from considering a date after the late 8th century (780's), it would seem reasonable to date the transcription of the 唐名例律 prior to the second half of the 8th century, at the latest.

35) Dohi: in study cited above, Note 2, pp. 221–222. Ikeda *Sehichō*, p. 434.

36) Nishimura Gen'yū: in paper cited above, Note 11, p. 349.

37) Dohi: in study cited above, Note 2, pp. 221–222.

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