

## 宋代軍人紋身初探

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軍人紋身是十世紀中國軍務的一個創新之舉，對宋代百姓生活有著深遠影響。它是宋王朝創立時期，對軍隊的改組而造成的社會轉型過程中的一個面向。這是一個大主題下的小研究，揉合社會史及軍事史，強調軍隊是平民和菁英階級矛盾之地也是下層階級匯聚的場所。

紋身在中國歷史悠久，既是政府刑罰的手段，亦是邊疆民族的日常儀式。儘管漢代廢止黥面之刑，但它仍三不五時在大分裂十代及唐代被統治者所採用。紋身也出現在一般人家中，被主人用以標記其奴僕。

九世紀時由段成式撰寫的筆記小說《酉陽雜俎》，描述了紋身在晚唐的角色變異。其中最重要的是紋身在九世紀日漸成型的都市地景中，扮演一種帶有反抗意識的尚武次文化。在唐末及五代十國軍閥混戰的背景下，黥面又成為軍閥們強制士兵為其賣命的工具，並持續至宋代。總體來說，它的用法被擴大了，也更習俗化。

宋代軍隊多由試圖避免餓死的貧苦農民，受酷刑的罪犯，以及心不甘情不願的受徵召百姓組成。士卒們臉上、臂上有紋身者的比例奇高，不計其數。紋身被視為防範逃兵的權宜之計，但史料顯示常造成反效果，引起百姓的不滿與動亂。事實上，紋身在宋代是目的而非手段，是制約人的肉體，使之與國家緊密連接並服從的工具。

宋代以它跟周遭異族軍事強權，如遼、金、元、西夏等的緊張關係名流後世。遺留下來的文本讓今日中國、臺灣的研究者們將它定位為國難之秋。宋代同時開創中國史的新頁：一個溫和文雅，由非世家大族所管理的政府。

上面這個國族論述，一旦碰到一般軍人的歷史，便出現了問題。當宋代少數菁英慶幸一個仁治國家出現之際，他們同時把捍衛這個國家的任務交付在未蒙這個變化之利，反受其害的人們手中。在上層階級中，出現了新的以及更頻繁的社會流動，而在軍人所在的下層社會卻更加凝滯。

受徵召入伍百姓身上的紋身，把他們的人生導入困苦與受虐中，在軍隊文化和反抗傳統下孕育成一種獨一無二的群體認同。對於宋代政府而言，最畏懼的並非外敵而是自己的軍隊——貧窮、挨餓、形貌兇惡且總是看來滿腹怨懟。

我們對宋代軍人歷史的材料仍有其局限且支離破碎，但我們已證明他們在宋代社會地景的重要性。缺少了軍人，宋代的國家與社會的全貌將難以呈現。

### **Military Tattoos in Song China: A Preliminary Investigation**

The tattooing of soldiers was a military innovation of tenth century China that had far reaching consequences for the lives of commoners in Song China. Military tattoos were a major aspect of a social transformation that took place as a result of a restructuring of the military during the founding of the Song. This is part of a bigger study, bringing together social history and military history, and focusing on the army as a meeting place between commoners and elites and as a space where the identity of a new lower class was molded and negotiated in a constant struggle between common soldiers and their superiors.

Tattoos have a long history going back to the ancient past of the Chinese world. Tattooing was both a punishment practiced by the Chinese state and a practice of non Chinese people living within and on the boundaries of the Chinese world. Although the punishment of tattooing was abolished during the Han, it was occasionally used by rulers in the period of division and the Tang. It also came to be practiced within private households, with masters tattooing their servants and slaves.

The *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎, a ninth century *biji* by Duan Chengshi 段成式, demonstrates the diverse roles tattoos came to have in the late Tang. Most importantly, tattoos came to be a component of a martial subculture of resistance in the growing urban landscape of the ninth century. During the last few years of the Tang and the Five Dynasties period (907-960) the practice of tattooing took another turn as the warlords fighting each other began to forcefully conscript and tattoo men in order to fill the ranks of their armies. The founding of the Song did not end this practice. On the contrary, it was expanded and institutionalized.

The Song army brought together destitute peasants attempting to escape starvation, convicts, and commoners who were pressed into service against their will. The tattooing of soldiers in the face and/or arms often performed on a large scale, sometimes tens of thousands at a time. While military tattoos are often regarded as an expedient measure meant to prevent

soldiers from escaping from their assigned units, evidence shows that it often had the opposite effect, being a cause for much resistance and unrest among commoners. Actually, for the Song state tattooing became a purpose in itself, a tool for controlling the bodies of its subjects and tying them to the state.

The Song is remembered as a time of monumental struggle between the Chinese empire and militarily superior non-Chinese empires on its borders, the Liao, the Xi Xia, the Jurchen Jin dynasty, and the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Song period writings inspired present day scholars in mainland China and Taiwan to cast this period as a time of national struggle. At the same time, the Song is also remembered as a new epoch in Chinese history: a benevolent government dominated by a new non-hereditary elite.

A history of the common soldiers problematizes the national narrative that represents the interests of the Song small elite. While the new Song elite celebrated the rise of a benevolent Chinese state, it placed the protection of that state in the hands of those who had no share in this new age of prosperity but were rather its victims. New opportunities and increased social mobility for the upper stratum of Chinese society were mirrored by a reverse process in the bottom of society.

The marking of the bodies of commoners in the army, initiating them into a life of hardship and abuse, was conducive to the formation of their own unique group identity, with a military culture, and a tradition of resistance. As for the officials who were placed in charge of military forces, it was not the enemy that they feared most, but their own soldiers, poor, starving, fearsome to look at, and constantly seething with resentment.

While the sources we have about common soldiers during the Song are limited and fragmented, what we do have demonstrates the important role they had in the Song social landscape. The story of the Song state and society cannot be complete without them.

## 主講人介紹：

樂永天，以色列籍，美國加州大學戴維斯分校歷史學系博士候選人。樂永天先生本次獲漢學研究中心獎助，來臺研究主題為「宋代之兵：宋軍的社會歷史」。