

西漢河西田官的組織與行政： 以居延、肩水地區的田官為中心*

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引言

漢武帝(前141–87在位)奉行積極開邊的軍事政策，邊事屢興。鑑於自內郡運輸糧食至邊郡的成本高昂，漢廷乃在北邊郡廣設田官，就地屯田，以節省龐大的運輸費用。而河西地區，更是在約元鼎六年(前111)起，便設置了組織嚴密的田官系統，專職督導兵卒屯田。¹關於河西田官的設置背景，以至其具體組織，一直為學界所關注。特別是上世紀初居延舊簡的發現，為漢代在河西的屯田活動，以及當地田官的設置和組織，帶來大量前所未見的材料，更使學界對邊郡田官制度的討論日益熱烈。自勞榦作出重要的嘗試後，²陳直、陳夢家、張春樹、管東貴、宋治民、楊劍虹、徐樂堯和余賢杰、柳春藩、李古寅、劉光華、吉村昌之、張俊民、裘錫圭等學

* 本文根據筆者的碩士論文〈秦漢地方都官研究〉第三、四、七章的部分內容增訂而成。在論文寫作和修改過程中，承黎明劍師悉心指導，謹致謝忱。文稿寫就，復蒙馬增榮、郭文德兩位學長以及四位匿名審查人惠示寶貴意見，修正錯誤，在此一併致謝。

¹ 《史記·匈奴列傳》云：「是後匈奴遠遁，而幕南無王庭。漢度河自朔方以西至令居，往往通渠，置田官吏卒五六萬人，稍蠶食，地接匈奴以北。」見司馬遷：《史記》(北京：中華書局，1959年)，頁2911。此段記載描述元狩四年(前119)漠北之戰後的情況，可知田官之設應在其後不久。同書〈平準書〉載武帝元鼎六年時「初置張掖、酒泉郡，而上郡、朔方、西河、河西開田官，斥塞卒六十萬人戍田之」(頁1439)。由此可知河西田官的設置始於元鼎六年。對於這段時間朝廷在邊郡屯田的詳細情況，劉光華述之甚詳，見劉光華：《漢代西北屯田研究》(蘭州：蘭州大學出版社，1988年)，頁64–83。

² 勞榦根據居延漢簡，指出「漢代屯田之組織不詳，今據諸簡有守農令，有長官。守農令者或農令之守護者，長官當為其別稱也。都尉之下有候官，農令或長官當亦屬於都尉，若候官之比矣」。見勞榦：《居延漢簡·考釋之部》(臺北：中央研究院歷史語言研究所，1960年)，頁52下。

者，³相繼對田官的組織，以及這種機構和地方行政的聯繫作出研究，解決了田官制度的諸多疑難，取得了可觀的成績。

然而，田官組織的一些細節和前後沿革，還有很多地方有待深入研究；至於邊郡田官與所在地方軍事機關如部都尉、候官的行政聯繫，現行大部分的研究皆未觸及。幸運的是，我們現在處於新史料不斷出現的時代。資料的不斷豐富，使修正前人研究的不足成為可能。本文試圖以河西田官資料最多的居延、肩水地區的田官為軸心，以一動態的視角重新思考當地田官的性質，考察它們內部組織的演變，並探討田官與地方軍事單位在行政上的互動。

The Organization and Administration of *Tianguan* in Hexi during the Western Han Dynasty

(Abstract)

Tong Chun Fung

The present paper attempts to reinterpret the organization and administration of the *tianguan* 田官 institutions situated in Hexi 河西, which were established by the Han government during the reign of Emperor Wu as one of the regional administrations *duguan* 都官, and served as important units in military farming 軍屯. The paper argues that *nongzhang* 農長, instead of being merely a district 鄉 level official subordinate to *nongling* 農令, should be classified as the magistrate in the bureaucracy of *tianguan*; and *nongsefu* 農嗇夫 should be considered as the real district-level official of *tianguan*. The paper further examines the changes within the bureaucratic framework of *tianguan* in Juyan 居延, showing that there were two radical reformations in its framework: the first one occurred between the reign of Emperor Zhao and Emperor Xuan, which led to the establishment of a more organized structure and uniform boundary; the second happened in Wang Mang's reign as part of his land reforms, which involved not only a renaming of the bureau from *tianguan* to *xiantian* 閒田, but also a restructuring from a bureau which was not committed to civilian administration, to a quasi-county organization that processed direct control over people within its jurisdiction. The remaining parts of the paper primarily use *xingma* 駢馬 *tianguan* in Jianshui 肩水 as an example, demonstrating the communications between *tianguan* and regional military units, i.e. commandants 都尉 and companies 候官, where the *tianguan* was located, and revealing that although *tianguan* was theoretically a regional branch office directly controlled by the Superintendent of Agriculture 大司農, it was supervised by regional military units in most administrative aspects.

關鍵詞：西漢 田官 河西 閒田 都官

Keywords: Western Han *tianguan* Hexi *xiantian* *duguan*