Aspects of Sogdian Trading Activities under the Western Turkic State and the Tang Empire

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The question of trade has become one of the main topics of research in the study of the history of Central Asia. In Japan, attention has been directed in particular towards the so-called Silk Road trade, and there has been discussion about its significance for Central Asian society. The course taken by this discussion has been described in detail by Moriyasu Takao,[1] and there can be no denying that trade was indispensable for the prosperity of Central Asia.

Among the peoples who played a leading role in the Silk Road trade, the Sogdians are of particular importance. Their presence was especially conspicuous from the fifth to the tenth centuries, and recent research has revealed that in China and the nomadic states of eastern Eurasia, where the Sogdians initially entered as traders, they came with the passage of time to occupy more important positions, not only in the economy but also in areas such as politics, diplomacy, military affairs, culture, and religion. Moreover, it can be seen that in this period, during which the Sogdians demonstrated remarkable energy in their activities, the loose unification of eastern Eurasia took place.

In this paper, I aim to give a clear picture of Sogdian trading activities within the Western Turkic state (the Western Tujue 突厥) and the Tang (唐)

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Journal of Central Eurasian Studies, Volume 2 (May 2011): 25–40

Empire, in order to deepen our understanding of historical trends in eastern Eurasia during that period.

I. THE SPREAD OF SOGDIAN COMMERCE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR COLONIES IN THE EAST

It was probably during the Eastern Han (漢) Dynasty that Sogdian merchants began to visit China, and the Northern Wei (北魏) Dynasty of the fifth century saw an upsurge in their activities. They established colonies in the centers along the Silk Road where they conducted trade; these colonies sustained their caravan-based trading activities and provided bases around which they built up their own commercial network (fig. 1).[2]

These colonies were distributed over a wide area along the oasis routes, extending from Central Asia to the Hexi 河西 region and also as far as China proper. At present it is possible to posit the establishment of Sogdian colonies in oasis states only in Turfan (Gaochang 高昌) and Khotan, but it is thought that Sogdians had probably settled in groups in each oasis state. It is also evident that in China proper, colonies were established in the capital cities (Chang-an 長安 and Luo-yang 洛陽) and also in many provincial prefectures. In the era before the appearance of the Tang Empire, these colonies were supervised by leaders called *sabao* 薩宝, who ensured the autonomy of the

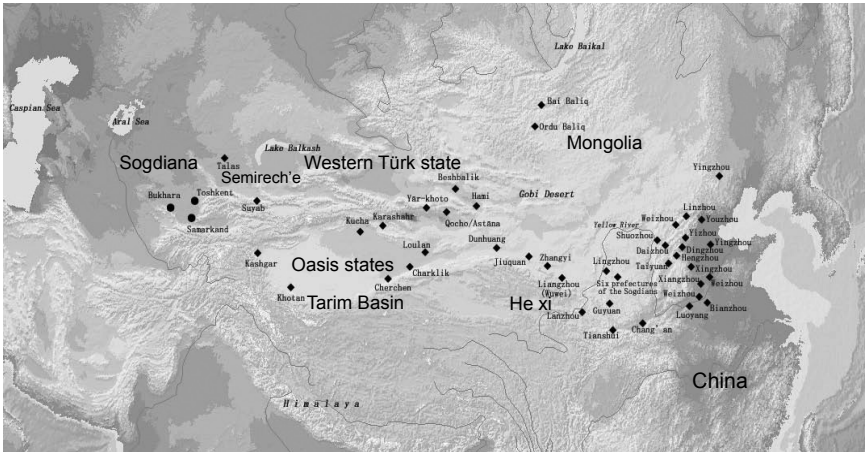

Figure 1. The Sogdian commercial network in the sixth to eighth centuries (based on T. Moriyasu, *Shirukurōdo to Tōteikoku* シルクロードと唐帝国 (Kōdansha 講談社, 2007), 110–11).

colonies.[3] The Chinese characters 薩宝 were a transcription of the Sogdian word *sartpau*, meaning "chief of merchants, caravan leader."[4] In recent years it has also become clear that the Sogdian inhabitants of these colonies, who were engaged in horse breeding and trade, also served as military officers and officials in charge of horse pasturages and went on to form their own armed groups.[5]

Sogdian colonies were also to be found along the steppe route in regions such as Semireche in the west, and extending to the north of the western Tianshan 天山 Mountains beyond the Syr Darya. In the east the Sogdians advanced into Mongolia, and groups of Sogdians are known to have existed under the rule of the nomadic state of the Turkic Tujue 突厥, who rose to prominence in the sixth century. Here, just as in the Sogdian colonies in the oasis states and China, they established their own settlements headed by Sogdians who had been granted the Tujue post of iltäbär.[6] As well as travelling in search of profits, among the Tujue they also became political advisors who influenced decision-making at the highest level. Recently, fresh light has been shed on the character of the Sogdian groups in Mongolia, and it has been found that some of them were also warriors who had, like the nomads, acquired the skills of horseback archery.[7] It was these Sogdians who entered China and played an important role militarily. An Lushan 安禄山, renowned as a Sogdian military officer, incorporated these Sogdians into his own armed groups.[8]

Immigrant Sogdians were proactive in seeking to strengthen their ties with the established powers, that is, the nomadic states, oasis states, and Chinese dynasties; and for these established powers, winning over the Sogdians became an important issue that could determine their economic and political fortunes.

II. THE WESTERN TURKIC STATE AND THE SOGDIANS

The rise of the Turkic nomadic state of the Tujue was an important event in the history of eastern Eurasia, and it is a well-known fact that the Tujue cooperated with the Sogdians from the outset. In particular, the Western Turkic state (the Western Tujue), which ruled over Central Asia, incorporated under their rule not only the area around the Tarim Basin but also the oasis states of Sogdiana, and they sent Sogdians as envoys to the Eastern Roman Empire in order to sell silk fabrics.[9]

As well as sending embassies to distant lands, the Western Turkic state

also sent frequent embassies to the oasis states within their own sphere of rule, and on these occasions too they made use of Sogdians.[10]

Inevitably, the establishment of powerful nomadic states such as the Western Turkic state led to the creation in Central Asia of a symbiotic relationship based on a political relationship of control and subordination between the nomadic state and the oasis states; and the core of this symbiosis was a mutually beneficial exchange in which the diverse nomadic groups comprising the nomadic state organized and dispatched embassies, and oasis states accepted them. In other words, the supreme nomadic leader (Qaghan), as well as various other leaders appointed to the Tujue post in the Western Turkic state, sent embassies to the oasis states; and Sogdians who attended on the Qaghan or other nomadic leaders served as either representatives or attendants in these embassies. And while securing the provision of lodgings and food, the Sogdians made use of these opportunities to purchase various luxury goods amassed in the oases, and in addition sold their own products or transit trade goods. Thus, to send such an embassy meant in effect to organize a caravan for the purposes of trade. Since these embassies also provided an opportunity for safe long-distance travel, they attracted large numbers of individual Sogdian traders who had no real connections with these embassies.

Meanwhile, for the oasis states the dispatch of embassies by the nomadic powers and their reception did not represent mere plundering on the part of the nomad state. As well as preventing arbitrary pillage by the nomads, the embassies brought prosperity to the oasis states through the vitalization of trading activities owing to the inflow of many Sogdian traders, for whom the caravans provided protection and guidance. For the oasis states, the reception of the various embassies from the nomad state was an important undertaking that affected these states' fortunes.

Furthermore, Sogdians attended not only on the rulers of the nomad state, but also on the kings of the oasis states, and under the order created by the rule of the nomads the oasis states also sent Sogdians as envoys to various regions. This meant that embassies (i.e., caravans) in which Sogdians had been appointed as representatives or attendants by the nomad and oasis states were deployed in the long-distance trade that took place in Central Asia, attracting and absorbing various individual Sogdian traders as well.

While a far-flung order extending across steppe and desert regions existed under the aegis of the powerful nomad state, it became quite normal for the nomad and oasis states to dispatch a variety of embassies. These routine embassies brought mutual benefits and fortunes on both sides;

Sogdians played a central role in them, and their trading activities became brisk. It was under such circumstances that the trade that thrived under the rule of the Western Turkic state evolved.

III. THE TANG EMPIRE AND SOGDIANS

When the Tang Empire arose in eastern Eurasia in the early seventh century, it took over from the Turkic nomad state of the Tujue and incorporated the world of Central Asia and Mongolia under its rule. Although it was not long before the nomadic powers escaped the control of the Tang, Central Asia, Mongolia, and China were unified under the rule of the Tang Emperor (Heavenly Qaghan 天可汗).[11] Inevitably, the emergence of the empire altered the Sogdians' trading practices in the east.

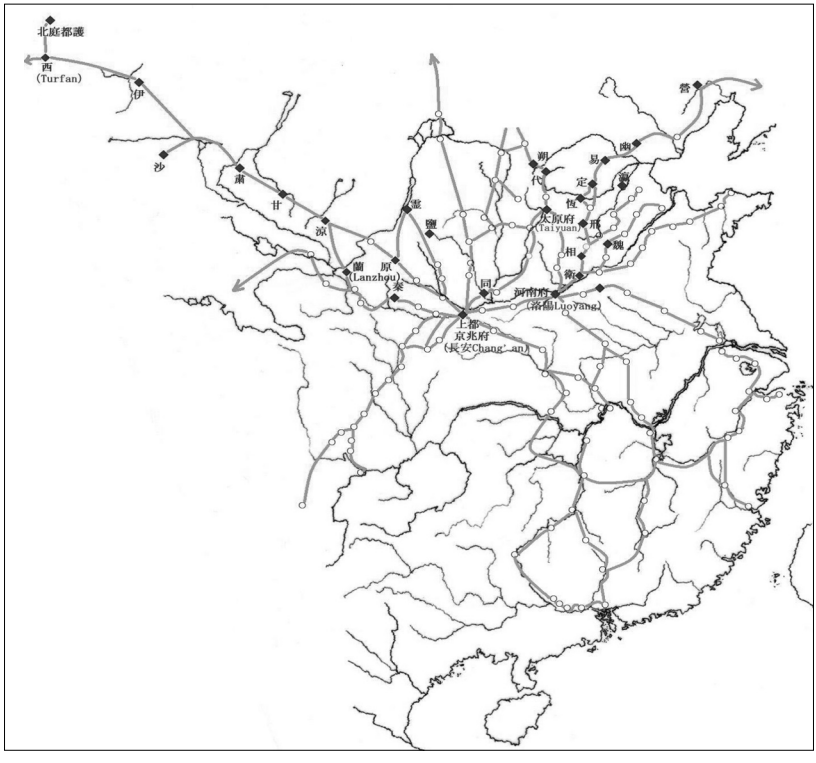

Figure 2. Overlap of Sogdian trade network and post roads during the Tang period. (Arakawa Masaharu)

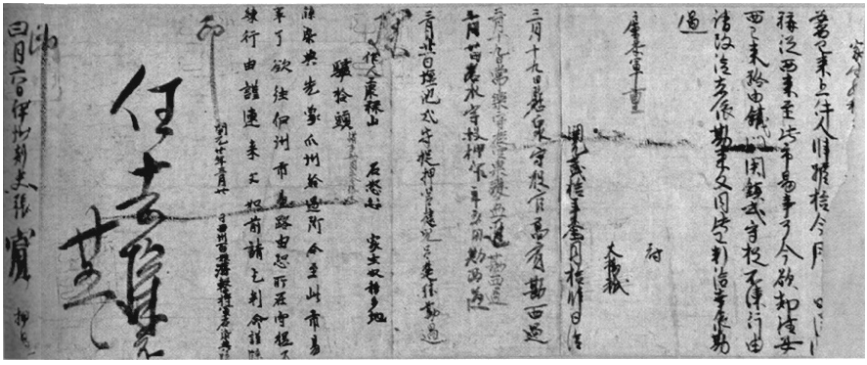

Figure 3. *A guo-suo* (passport) issued by the Tang government to a Sogdian merchant. (From Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆維吾尔自治区博物館 [Xinjiang Uighur autonomous district museum], *Xinjiang Chutu Wenwu* 新疆出土文物 [Excavated artifacts from Xinjiang] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1975), p. 61, plate 93.)

First, the traffic situation was changed drastically, as the Tang Empire established its own traffic system within its sphere of rule. As a basis for implementing its rule, the Tang developed a system of main roads, known as post roads (*yi-dao* 駅道), which were centered on Chang-an and Luo-yang and extended in all directions (fig. 2). Central Asia was connected with inner China through the post roads, which supported personal movement and the circulation of material goods.

In particular, the movement of merchants such as the Sogdians was also guaranteed through the issuing of passports (*guo-suo* 過所) by the prefectural authorities. Figure 3 shows a real guo-suo issued by the government-general (*du-du-fu* 都督府) to a Sogdian merchant. A translation of the beginning of the document, which gives us an insight into the traffic system established by the Tang, is provided below.

> [Issued by] the government-general of Gua-zhou 瓜州.
> Permanent resident of Xi-zhou, Shi Ran-dian 石染典; servants, Kang Lu-shan 康禄山 and Shi Nu-fen 石怒忿; male slave born within Tang territory, Yi-duo-di 移多地; ten donkeys.
> [Addressed to those responsible for customs barriers, prefectures, and garrison] as far as [the protectorate-general *du-hu-hu* 都護府 of] An-xi 安西.
> [The company of men and animals in transit is] the aforementioned four men and ten donkeys. On the (blank) day of this month, a memo has been received [from Shi Ran-dian] to the effect that: "I came here (to Guo-zhou) from the west, but I have finished trading, so now I intend, retracing my steps, to go to An-xi via the

> Iron Gate Pass (*Tian-men guan* 鐵門關). As I am concerned lest the garrisons (*zhen* 鎮), forts (*shu* 戍), and defense detachments (*shou-zhuo* 守捉) on the way should not understand the purport of my travels, I request the reissue [of a passport]." Having examined the [appended used] passport and found it to correspond with the contents of this memo, we have already determined to issue [the passport]. Upon examination, kindly allow the bearer to pass.

Sogdians were guaranteed safe passage from Central Asia to inner China along the post road by obtaining a passport.[12] Furthermore, the transit tax levied at traffic checkpoints and the commercial tax levied in the market were both abolished; the restrictive factors previously seen to accompany the wide-ranging movements of Sogdian merchants were thus swept away under the rule of the Tang Empire.[13]

As mentioned above, prior to the Tang, Sogdians had already established colonies in various cities and had created a trade network linking these colonies. During the Tang period the greater part of this network came to overlap with the post roads (fig. 2),[14] and the connections between their colonies were reinforced owing to this official traffic system of post road and passport.[15] Needless to say, the Tang Empire did not issue a passport to ordinary foreigners; Sogdian merchants, however, were treated not as foreign but as internal merchants of the empire.

With the foundation of the Tang Empire, the authorities began to promote a policy of maintaining a grip on the population under their rule by having all commoners (*baixing* 百姓) registered at their place of permanent residence; accordingly, Sogdians who were already living in China also became "commoners" of the Tang, just like Han Chinese.

During the reign of Gaozong 高宗, Sogdiana, the original homeland of the Sogdians, came under the indirect rule of the Tang, whereupon Sogdians newly entering Tang China were granted the title of *xinghu* 興胡[16] and their activities were given official sanction. In concrete terms, this meant that they were entered in the register of a Chinese county or prefecture as *xinghu*, and once they had met their tax liabilities in the form of a household levy they could apply for a passport, with a Sogdian who had already become a permanent resident acting as guarantor; whereupon it became possible for them to use public roads and travel as far as the Tang capital. As a result, even though the oasis states of Sogdiana were in reality foreign countries, the Sogdian inhabitants gained a position whereby they were able to enter inner China without restriction.[17]

In other words, the Tang Empire clearly incorporated the Sogdian

lands into its own order of rule, and consequently it became possible for Sogdian traders (*xinghu*) from Sogdiana itself to engage in commercial activities entailing movement over long distances under the same conditions as Chinese itinerant traders. Although the Sogdian colonies predating the founding of the Tang now lost their former autonomy, they retained the functions underpinning the trading activities of their compatriots. One can discern in this Tang policy a stance going back to the Northern Dynasties, one that sought to encourage the influx into central China of not only goods, but also of culture and information through Sogdian traders.

With the establishment of the Tang Empire, an official traffic system was set up over a vast area encompassing Central Asia and safe passage was guaranteed. These measures, along with Tang policies for attracting Sogdian traders, meant that the Sogdians' dynamic trading activities now enabled them to travel back and forth directly between the Chinese interior and Central Asia.[18]

Meanwhile, a major issue for the Tang Empire concerned how to wrest the Sogdians—with their extensive trading network—away from the nomadic states. Depending on who was able to win them over, this must have had a great impact on the maintenance and expansion of the power of both the nomadic states and the Tang Empire. Although the Tang was not a nomadic state, like the nomadic states it was compelled to assume a state structure that was inseparable from Central Asia.

IV. THE SILK TRADE AND SOGDIAN TRADERS UNDER THE TANG EMPIRE

As is generally known, silk was one of the main commodities with which the traders of the Silk Road—such as the Sogdians—dealt. Tang rule changed the circumstances of the silk trade dramatically, and had a major impact on the economic environment of the Silk Road. However, "silk" was a generic term which applied to a wide variety of products: in fact, many different sorts of silk appeared in the markets. It is important, then, to arrive at a correct understanding of "silk" under the Tang Empire.

1. Was brocade sold at local provincial markets?

Each province within the Tang territory established and administered a market as a place for trading goods. Each market was further separated into

hang 行 (associations of merchants) based on a type of goods—that is to say, traders handling the same type of goods were gathered at the same *hang* to sell such goods there. However, the specific names of the *hang* in provincial markets in the Tang Empire are unknown, except for the market in the province of Xizhou (now Turfan) and those in the area around the province of Youzhou (now the precincts of Beijing).

With reference to the silk-related *hang* of the markets in these two provinces, a document from Turfan says that there was a *hang* called 帛練行 *bo lian hang* in the market of Xizhou (Turfan), where silk fabrics including "大練 *da lian*" and "小練 *xiao lian*" were traded, as well as "絁 *shi*" (silk fabric woven with coarse thread), "生絹 *sheng juan*" (raw silk fabric), and "縵 *man*" (unpatterned silk).[19] Accordingly, it is presumed that "帛練" is a word that generically means such types of silk fabrics as 大練, 小練, 絁, 生絹, and 縵. The name 帛練 also implies that the main merchandise was 練 (degummed silk fabric). At the same time, independent of this "帛練行," there was another *hang* called 綵帛行 *cai bo hang*, where high-class silk fabrics such as "綾 *ling*" (damask), "沙 *sha*," and "綺 *qi*" were sold—in other words, products of different classes were traded at separate *hang*. This means that "帛練" were not such high-class products, but ordinary widespread types of goods. Furthermore, floss silk and raw silk were sold in other *hang*.[20] The same seems to be true of the other area, i.e., the area around the province of Youzhou, where there were definitely different *hang*—綵帛行, (小) 絹行, and 絲綿行 *xi mian hang*, according to "房山雲居寺石経題記 fang-shan yun-ju-si shi-jing-ti-ji."[21] In this case, the "絹" of "絹行," which is differentiated from "綵帛行," is supposed to have been a category composed of 大練, 小練, 生絹, and 縵 (絁 was not included), as I have discussed elsewhere.[22] That is to say, 絹行 consisted of ordinary types of silk fabrics, as with 帛練行.

In consideration of the above, it is suggested that the *hang* in the markets where silk was handled can be divided into three categories as follows:

(1) "綵帛行": for high-class silk fabrics such as 綾, 沙, and 綺.
(2) "帛練行" or "絹行": for ordinary-type silk fabrics such as 大練, 小練, 生絹, 絁, and 縵.
(3) "絲綿行" and others: for floss silk and raw silk.

From these descriptions of silk it is notable that 錦 (brocade, or polychrome patterned silk), a most representative type of silk fabric, cannot be found among them. Even though high-class silk fabrics were handled in (1), "綵帛行," there is no evidence of brocade. Thus, in the first place, it can be concluded

that "brocade" and "綵帛" refer to different things.

It can therefore be surmised that the brocade produced in the Tang Empire was rarely offered at local provincial markets in general. To be specific, brocade was the highest-class silk fabric, which was only available in the capital (with the exception of a very few provinces).

2. Four categories of silk

Conventionally, there has been very little consideration of the categorization of silk appearing in a fringe area such as Xizhou where the silk was not produced.[23] However, based on the discussion in the preceding section, the silk should be categorized into the following four groups: (1) the brocade group; (2) the 綵帛 group (綾, 沙, 綺, etc.); (3) the 帛練/絹 group (練, 生絹, 絁, and 縵); and (4) the 絲 · 綿 group.

Group (1), as mentioned above, consisted of silk fabrics that had to be acquired in the capital, and it can be gathered that brocade was extremely rare in local provinces—basically, it was only available from the capital via long-distance merchants such as Sogdians. This means that brocade in local provinces would represent special gifts or high-class merchandise which could not be acquired readily in the provincial market. Accordingly, special contracts were drawn up for the trading of brocade, as is evident from a Turfan document. Such a situation can be deemed quite natural, in view of the fact that brocade was an exceptional silk fabric which would be granted by the emperor.

In contrast, groups (2), (3), and (4) consisted of silks that would normally have been available in provincial markets. However, the silk fabrics of group (2) at Xizhou market were sold in units of approximately thirty centimeters, and the raw silk of group (4) was sold in units of approximately thirty-seven grams (両 *liang*), quite tiny for textiles. It is thought that they were mainly used for ornamentation rather than for clothing.

On the other hand, the silk fabrics of group (3) at Xizhou market were sold in units of 疋 *ya* (approximately twelve meters). They were clearly provided in rolls of cloth for making clothes. Also, the floss silk of group (4) was sold in units of 屯 *tun* (approximately 220 grams); this was probably provided for making wadded clothes and the like.

3. The 帛練/絹 *group as a form of commodity money under the Tang Empire*

With the appointment of military commissioners (節度使 *jiedushi*) along

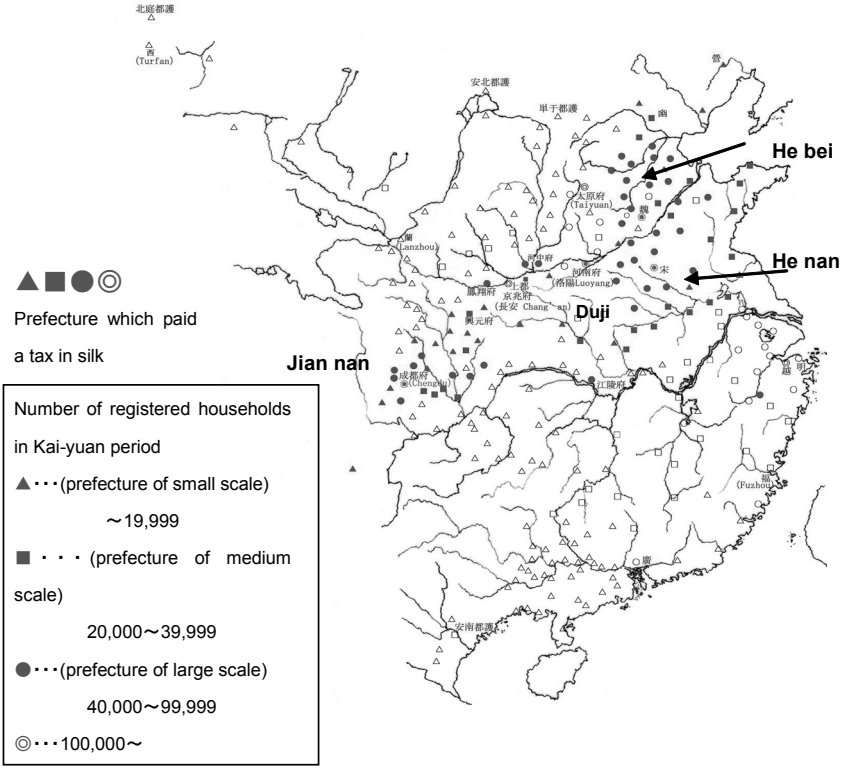

Figure 4. Silk-producing prefectures of the Tang in the mid-eighth century. The symbols ▲■●◎ show the difference in population size of the prefectures. Each mark indicates the number of registered households in the 開元 Kai-yuan period. (Arakawa Masaharu)

China's northwestern and northern frontiers in the eighth century, the Tang Empire began to send vast quantities of military supplies to Central Asia for the troops stationed there under the command of the military commissioners. And the greater part of the military supplies sent there consisted of silk (the 帛練/絹 group) collected throughout China proper. As the amount of this silk being transported increased, transport teams made up of Sogdian and Chinese itinerant traders came to be formed for the long-distance transportation along the post roads to Central Asia.[24]

Most of this silk (the 帛練/絹 group) was produced in the prefectures of the 河北 Hebei, 河南 Henan, and 都畿 Duji circuits, followed by the prefectures of 劍南 Jiannan circuit in the first half of the reign of the Tang (see fig. 4). This silk, produced predominantly in the northern half of "China"

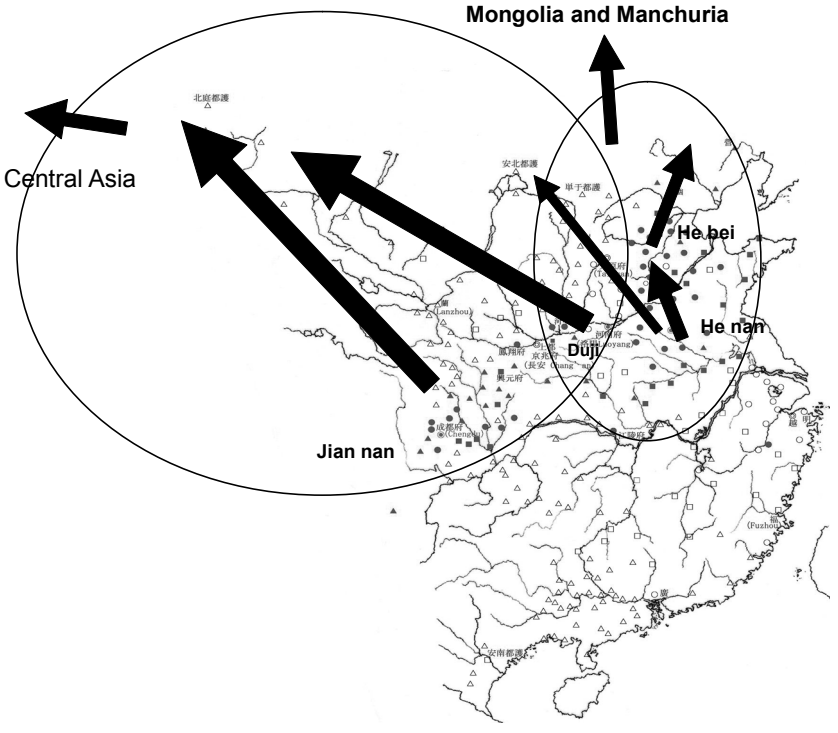

Figure 5. Movement of silk collected as tax in Hebei and Henan circuits. (Arakawa Masaharu)

and in the southwest, was annually collected as a tax and flowed into far-off Central Asia especially from Duji and Jiannan circuits.

Degummed silk called 練 *lian*[25] in particular was used as a form of currency and also functioned as a medium of payment in both intraregional transactions and foreign (or interregional) trade. As a result, degummed silk came to replace silver coins as the main form of currency in contemporary Central Asia, being used primarily in transactions involving large sums.

Furthermore, the silk collected as tax in Hebei and Henan circuits mostly entered the north and northeastern frontiers of the Tang (as it were, the southern fringes of Mongolia and Manchuria; see fig. 5). Thus, a single vast economic zone evolved, centering on China proper (primarily Hebei, Henan, Duji, and Jiannan circuits) where the silk was collected as tax, but which extended widely over adjacent regions, all of which shared the use of silk as a form of circulating money.[26]

Under the military rule of the Tang Empire, this regular flow of large quantities of silk functioning as a form of commodity money not only stimulated the economy of Central Asia and the southern fringes of Mongolia and Manchuria,[27] but also economically assimilated or linked them to China proper. A kind of munitions-led prosperity was sweeping across these regions, and the Sogdians' trading activities were also flourishing with this munitions boom.

It is reasonable to surmise that these large quantities of silk were also sent to the nomadic regions in exchange for horses and livestock. As well as vitalizing the commercial activities of the nomads (actually, the Sogdian merchants' activities), this also led to the nomad states (the second Tujue khanate, the Uighur khanate, etc.) carrying out a policy of emphasizing trade.[28]

The regular flow of large quantities of silk as military supplies continued in the northern frontier during the Northern Song era. It was in such circumstances that there occurred the subsequent expansion of the nomadic forces (Kitans and Jurchens) and their advance into China, but this was by no means limited to this period. The widely known boom in frontier trade under the flow of large quantities of silver in the late Ming 明 and the subsequent advance of the Manchus into China was another example of this.

The Sogdians' activity within their trade network extending over eastern Eurasia became brisk under the rule of the Turkic nomad state and the Tang Empire, both of which sought to win them over. The Tang Empire in particular incorporated the world of Central Asia and Mongolia under its rule, at least for a short time. It was under such circumstances that Central Asia, Mongolia, and China were gradually linked together, and the Sogdians showed remarkable energy in their activities across the region—not only in the economy but also in areas such as politics, diplomacy, and culture—under their tie-up with the Tang authorities. It was during this period that the foundations were laid for the unification of the regions of eastern Eurasia prior to Mongol globalism, and it seems reasonable to conclude that Sodgians played a significant role in this process.

NOTES

[1] Moriyasu Takao (森安孝夫), "Jobun—shirukurōdo shikan ronsō no kaiko to tenbō—序文—シルクロード史観論争の回顧と展望—" [Preface: Retrospect and prospect of the dispute over the Silk Road historical concept], in *Chūō Ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō* 中央アジア出土文物論叢 [Papers

on the pre-Islamic documents and other materials unearthed from Central Asia], ed. Moriyasu Takao (Kyoto: Hōyū Shoten 朋友書店, 2004), 1–40.

[2] Arakawa Masaharu (荒川正晴), "Sogudojin no ijū shūraku to tōhō kōeki katsudō ソグド人の移住聚落と東方交易活動" [Sogdian migrational colonies and their commercial activities in the East], in *Shōnin to shijō* 商人と市場 [Merchants and markets], *Iwanami kōza sekai rekishi* 岩波講座世界歴史 [Iwanami lecture series on world history], new ed., vol. 15 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1999), 84; Xinjiang Rong (栄新江), "The migrations and settlements of the Sogdians in Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang," in *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4, no. 1 (2000): 117–63; Étienne de la Vaissière, *Histoire des Marchands Sogdiens* (Paris: Collège de France, 2002), see esp. 128–53. Translated by James Ward as *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), see esp. 122–47.

[3] Haneda Akira (羽田明), "Sogudojin no tōhō katsudō ソグド人の東方活動" [Sogdian activities in the East], in *Iwanami Lecture Series on World History*, old ed., vol. 6: *The Ancient Period, 6* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1971): 409–34, repr. in *Chūō Ajia shi kenkyū* 中央アジア史研究 [Studies in the history of Central Asia] (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1982): 322–48; Arakawa Masaharu, "Hokucho Zui Toudai ni okeru 'Sappou' no seikaku wo megutte 北朝隋・唐代における「薩寶」の性格をめぐって" [On the character of the 'sabao' (s'rtp'w) during the Northern dynasties, Sui and Tang periods], *Toyoshien* 東洋史苑 50–1 (1998): 164–86; Rong, "Migrations and settlements."

[4] Yoshida Yutaka (吉田豊), "Sogudogo zatsuroku II ソグド語雑録 II" [Sogdian miscellany II], *Orient* オリエント 3, nos. 1–2 (1988): 168–71.

[5] Yamashita Shōji (山下将司), "Zui, Tōsho no Kasai Sogudojin gundan—Tenri Toshokan zō Bunkan shirin 'An Shūjin bohimei' zankan o megutte—隋・唐初の河西ソグド人軍団 — 天理図書館蔵『文館詞林』「安修仁墓碑銘」残巻をめぐって—" [The Sogdian army corps in Ho-hsi during the Sui and early T'ang: A section of the epitaph of An Hsiu-jen in the Wen-kuan tz'u-lin held by Tenri Central Library], *Tōhōgaku* 東方学 110 (2005): 65–78; "Tō no kanbokusei to Chūgoku zaizhū sogudojin no bokuba 唐の監牧制と中国在住ソグド人の牧馬" [The Tang pasturage overseer system and the pasturage of the Sogdians in Tang], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 66, no. 4 (2008): 1–31.

[6] Mori Masao (護雅夫), *Kodai Toruko minzoku shi kenkyū I* 古代トルコ民族史研究 1 [Historical studies of the ancient Turkic peoples I] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 1967): 61–93.

[7] Moribe Yutaka (森部豊), *Sogudojin no tōhōkatsudō to higashi yūrashia sekai no rekishiteki tenkai* ソグド人の東方活動と東ユーラシア世界の歴史的展開 [The spread of Sogdian activities eastward and a new perspective on the history of eastern Eurasia] (Osaka 大阪: Kansai University Press 関西大学出版, 2010), 123–209.

[8] Ibid., 59–121.

[9] Naitō Midori (内藤みどり), "Higashi Rōma to Tokketsu to no kōshō ni kansuru shiryō: Menandri Protectoris Fragmenta yakuchū 東ローマと突厥との交渉に関する史料: Menandri Protectoris Fragmenta 訳注" [Historical source materials concerning negotiations between the Byzantine empire and the T'u-chüeh: An annotated Japanese translation of Menandri Protectoris Fragmenta], in 西突厥史の研究 [A study of the history of the western Turks] (Tokyo 東京: Waseda University Press 早稲田大学出版, 1988), 374–95.

[10] Arakawa Masaharu, "Yūboku kokka to oasisu kokka no kyōsei kankei—Nishi tokketu to kikushi kōshōkoku no kēsu kara 遊牧國家とオアシス國家の共生關係—西突厥と麹氏高昌國のケースから" [The symbiotic relationship between nomadic and oasis-centered states: As seen in the case of the Western Türk and Gao-chang Kingdom under the royal house of Qu], in *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 67, no. 2 (2008): 34–68.

[11] The Tang Emperor was also referred to as the Heavenly Qaghan. Needless to say, "Qaghan" was the highest leader's title of the nomadic people in eastern Eurasia, and it is clear that the Tang Emperor ruled Central Asia and Mongolia as Qaghan. Cf. Luo xin (羅新), "従可汗号到皇帝尊号" [From the appellation of Khan to the appellation of Emperor], *Journal of Tang Studies* 唐研究

(Beijing 北京) 10: 283–95.

[12] With a passport, Sogdian merchants were permitted to travel everywhere in the territory of the Tang. An official document has been unearthed from Turfan showing that the Tang issued a passport permitting a merchant to go from Turfan to a far-off coastal city, Fu-zhou 福州.

[13] Arakawa, "Sogdian migrational colonies"; "The transit permit system of the Tang Empire and the passage of merchants," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 59 (2001): 1–21; "Gi Shin Nanbokuchō Zui Tō-ki no tsūka kōshō seido to shōnin no idō 魏晋南北朝隋唐期の通過公證制度と商人の移動" [The official assurance system of passage and movements by merchants in the Wei, Chin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui, and Tang] in 中国の歴史世界—統合のシステムと多元的発展 [The historical world of China: The system of integration and pluralistic growth] (Tokyo 東京: Tokyo Metropolitan University Press 東京都立大学出版会, 2002), 337–49.

[14] It is worth noting in particular that the Sogdian colonies in the eastern part of North China were located in one of the main areas for collecting silk levied as a corvée exemption tax (庸 *yong*) and a tax in kind (調 *diao*), which underpinned the state finances of the Tang. Relay stations were built along the post roads and other main roads, as well as private buildings (店 *dian* or 肆 *si*) which served as inns, eateries, shops, storehouses, and banks, and they were utilized not only by Chinese but also by Sogdian traders.

[15] Arakawa Masaharu, "Sogdian merchants and Chinese Han merchants during the Tang Dynasty," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, ed. Étienne de la Vaissière and Eric Trombert (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), 231–42.

[16] It is necessary to distinguish *xing-hu* from the Sogdians who were listed in the regular population register of the Tang Empire as *bai-xing*. *Xing-hu* was a kind of title for a foreign Sogdian merchant whom the Tang permitted to enter inner China and compelled to accept control and taxation by county or prefecture in return. It could be said that for foreign Sogdian merchants, to get the title of *xing-hu* meant to have a right to engage in commercial activities under the same conditions as Chinese itinerant traders in the territory of the Tang Empire.

[17] Arakawa Masaharu, "Tō teikoku to Sogudojin no kōeki katsudō 唐帝国とソグド人の交易活動" [The Tang empire and the commercial activities of Sogdians], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 56, no. 3 (1997): 171–204.

[18] Arakawa Masaharu, "Sogdian migrational colonies"; "Tō teikoku to Sogudojin no kōeki katsudō 唐帝国とソグド人の交易活動" [The Tang empire and the commercial activities of Sogdians], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2003).

[19] Ikeda On, *Chugoku kodai sekichō kenkyū—gaikan, rokubun—* 中国古代籍帳研究— 概観・録文 — [Ancient Chinese household registers and related documents] (Tokyo東京: University of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会, 1979), 447–62.

[20] Ibid., 449, 459.

[21] Cf. Moribe, *The Spread of Sogdian Activities*, 46–56.

[22] This is examined in detail in my *Yūrashia no kōtsu・kōeki to tōteikoku* ユーラシアの交通・交易と唐帝国 [The Tang Empire and communications and trade in Eurasia] (University of Nagoya Press 名古屋大学出版会, 2010).

[23] As I point out in my review of *A Collection of Uighur Contract Documents*, there is a high probability that production of silk was declining in the era of Xizhou. See Arakawa Masaharu, review of *Uiguru bun keiyaku monjo syūsei I, II, III* ウイグル文契約文書集成 I, II, III [A collection of Uighur contract documents I, II, III] by Yamada Nobuo 山田信夫, ed. Oda Juten 小田壽典, P. Zieme, Umemura Hiroshi 梅村坦, and Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫 (Osaka 大阪, 1993), in *Shigaku Zasshi* 史学雑誌 103, no. 8 (1994): 115. Cf. Ikeda On (池田温), "Chugoku kodai bukka no ichi kousatsu—Tenpō gannen kōgagun shikoan danpen o chūsin toshite—中国古代物価の一考察 —— 天宝元年交河郡市估案断片を中心として ——（一）・（二）" [Price levels in ancient China: Fragments of market price documents in the Jiaohe district dated the 22 1st year of the Tianbao

era], *Shigaku Zasshi* 史学雑誌 77, nos. 1/2 (1968): 54 n. 5.

[24] Arakawa Masaharu, "Tō no tai-Saiiki fuhaku yusō to kyakushō no katsudō ni tsuite 唐の対西域布帛輸送と客商の活動について" [The Tang transport system for military commodities to Western Regions and the role of itinerant traders], *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋学報 73, nos. 3/4 (1992): 31–63.

[25] Lian 練 is a silk fabric from which the gum sericin (the gummy substance deposited on the outside of the silk filament) has been removed. This is generally called soft silk in English for its smooth touch.

[26] Arakawa Masaharu, "Tōdai zenhan no Ko-Kan shōnin to hakuren no ryūtsū 唐代前半の胡漢商人と帛練の流通" [Commercial activities of Sogdian and Chinese merchants and the circulation of silk in the first half of the Tang], *Tōdaishi kenkyū* 唐代史研究 7 (2004): 17–59.

[27] A regulation concerning exchange markets in the *Liudian* 六典 3, in the section "Shangshu Hubu: Jinbu langzhong, yuanwai lang" 尚書戸部 金部郎中 員外郎 (p. 82), contains the following passage:「諸官私互市唯得用帛練・蕃綵，自外並不得交易．其官市者，兩分帛練，一分蕃綵．若蕃人須糴粮食者，監司斟酌須數，與州司相知，聽百姓将物就互市所交易.」(At government-sanctioned and private exchange markets only treated silk and foreign dyed silk can be used, and nothing else can be used for business transactions. At government-sanctioned markets two pieces of treated silk [used as a means of payment] are equivalent to one piece of foreign dyed silk. If a foreigner wishes to purchase food, the Supervisory Office should consider the amount he desires, contact the prefectural office, and grant permission for him to trade [the silk] for commoners' goods at a trading post.)

[28] Hayashi Toshio (林俊雄), "Ryakudatsu nōkō kōeki kara mita yūboku kokka no hatten 掠奪・農耕・交易から観た遊牧国家の発展－突厥の場合" [The development of a nomadic state seen from the perspectives of pillage, agriculture, and trade], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 44, no. 1 (1985): 110–36.