



Title	Sogdians and the Royal House of Ch'ü in the Kao-ch'ang Kingdam
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Citation	Acta Asiatica : bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. 2008, 94, p. 67-93
Version Type	VoR
URL	<a href="https://hdl.handle.net/11094/88460">https://hdl.handle.net/11094/88460</a>
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# Sogdians and the Royal House of Ch'ü in the Kao-ch'ang Kingdom

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## INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui 隋, and T'ang 唐 a group of people known as Sogdians were actively engaged in trading activities in eastern Eurasia. Needless to say, their activities can be seen in earlier periods too, and evidence of this can be found already in the Later Han 後漢 in the areas of "China" and Mongolia.<sup>1)</sup> But it is only in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters," dating from the fourth century and discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, that a clear picture of their trading activities can be gained.<sup>2)</sup> In the following fifth and sixth centuries, the Sogdians made active inroads eastwards,<sup>3)</sup> resulting in the establishment of a succession of Sogdian colonies in centers along caravan routes and at other places where they traded, and using these as bases, they endeavored to create their own trade network.

It was only natural that, in order to maintain and develop these trading activities, the Sogdians made every effort to gain the protection of the rulers of the places where they settled and established their colonies. At the same time, for the rulers of the various localities where they were received, the Sogdians would no doubt have been a source of not only material goods, but also the very latest culture and technology, as well as a wealth of information. It can therefore be readily supposed that partnerships were formed between the Sogdians and political power in various localities, and it is in fact possible to detect the existence of such

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1) Haneda 1971: 424 (repr. 1982: 337); Mori 1976: 169, 202-203.

2) Among the Sogdian "Ancient Letters," AL I (Or. 8212/95, 99) and AL V (Or. 8212/94, 100) are frequently quoted. For transcriptions and interpretations of the former, see Harmatta 1979: 160-163; Enoki 1980: 267-271; Sims-Williams 2001: 268-273. For the latter, see Enoki 1980: 273-275; Grenet *et al.* 2001: 91-98.

3) Cf. Arakawa 1990: 151-152; Arakawa 1999: 88. In a more general work, Haneda (1969: 234) also identifies the heyday of Sogdian commercial activities with the period from the mid-fifth century to the eighth and ninth centuries.

relationships not only with successive Chinese dynasties and nomadic states, but also with the oasis states of Central Asia. In the following, I shall focus on Kao-ch'ang 高昌, a kingdom founded by the royal house of Ch'ü 麴 in Turfan at the start of the sixth century, and examine aspects of these relationships as they manifested in an oasis state.

#### I. THE APPOINTMENT OF SOGDIA NS TO OFFICIAL POSITIONS IN KAO-CH'ANG

It has already been pointed out by others that many Sogdians lived permanently in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü.<sup>4)</sup> It is also evident that many of them had taken Chinese-style names and, as citizens of Kao-ch'ang, were liable to the same taxes and labor services as "Han Chinese" residents of Kao-ch'ang.<sup>5)</sup> This further suggests that they not only lived in their own settlements, but may have already been living amongst the Han Chinese of Kao-ch'ang.

However, in the past few attempts would seem to have been made to examine the types of relationships that these Sogdians formed with the administration of Kao-ch'ang or the royal house of Ch'ü. One reason for this has been the severe limitations on available historical sources, and here I wish to approach this question by first ascertaining on the basis of unearthed source materials the official posts held by Sogdians in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü. An examination of documents and tomb tablets or epitaphs discovered in Turfan reveals the following examples of Sogdians with Chinese-style family names and official posts.<sup>6)</sup>

4) Yoshida *et al.* 1989: 28-29; Chiang 1994: 155-162; Jung 1999 (repr. 2001: 44-48).

5) Chiang 1994: 155-161.

6) As is noted below, whether or not people bearing the family name Shih 史 were Sogdians requires further examination (cf. Fukushima 2000: 147, 151-152). In addition, the official posts *chiang* 將 and *li* 吏 have been excluded from the table because their character is still unclear. On *chiang*, see Sekio 1993: 52 & 68, n. 46. The Sogdian sale contract for a female slave studied by Yoshida and Moriyasu (Yoshida *et al.* 1989: 7-8, 28-29) refers to a Sogdian chief scribe of Kao-ch'ang who acted as guarantor for the contract between a Sogdian and a Han Chinese (cf. Yoshida 1997: 232; Arakawa 1999: 90). Ch'en (2002: 198-199, 202-204), and Ch'en and Liu (2005: 120-121) also provide lists of Sogdians in the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü, but their lists are not exhaustive.

	Name	Official Post	Source
1	Shih Huan 史患	<i>t'ung-shih ling-shih</i> 通事令史	高昌都官殘奏 (67TAM84: 22; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 2: 212; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 4)
2	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>t'ung-shih ling-shih</i> 通事令史	高昌諸臣條列得破被氈, 破褐囊, 絕便索, 絕胡麻索頭數奏 (72TAM155: 29; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 288; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 429)
3	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>t'ung-shih ling-shih</i> 通事令史	高昌民部殘奏 (67TAM78: 24 (a); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 4: 65; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 40)
4	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>t'ung-shih ling-shih</i> 通事令史	高昌延昌西歲屯田條列得橫截等城葡萄園頃畝數奏行文書 (64TAM24: 35, 32; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 5: 3; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 169)
5	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>t'ung-shih (ling-shih)</i> 通事(令史)	高昌高乾秀等按畝入供帳 (67TAM88: 1; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 2: 183; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 199)
6	Shih Yang-sheng 史養生	<i>shih-lang</i> 侍郎	高昌延昌二七(587)年四月兵部條列買馬用錢頭數奏行文書 (66TAM48: 25 (a), 31 (a); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 73; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 338), etc.
7	Shih Huan-lung 史歡隆	<i>shih-lang</i> 侍郎	高昌兵部殘文書附記馬匹帳 (67TAM142: 1; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 238; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 407) 高昌延壽二(625)年正月張憲兒入租酒條記 (72TAM155: 55; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 275; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 424), etc.

8	Shih Huan-t'ai 史歡太	<i>shih-lang</i> 侍郎	高昌某年傳始昌等縣車牛子名及給價文書 (72TAM155: 37 (a); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 291; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 428)
9	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>tien-chung</i> 殿中	高昌重光三(622)年條列虎牙汜某等傳供食帳 (66TAM50: 9 (b); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 170; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 377)
10	Shih Yüan-shan 史元善	<i>hu-ya</i> ( <i>chiang-chün</i> [general]) 虎牙(將軍)	高昌諸臣條列得破被氈, 破褐囊, 絕便索, 絕胡麻索頭數奏 (72TAM155: 36, 38; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 289; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 430)
11	Shih Hung-hsin 史洪信 <sup>7)</sup>	<i>Ling-chiang chiang-chün</i> and ( <i>ssu-ma</i> of) <i>tu-kuan</i> [Section for Justice] 凌江將軍兼都官(司馬)事	高昌義和二(615)年都官下始昌縣司馬主者符 (72TAM151: 15; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 4: 172; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 98)
12	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>ssu-ma</i> of <i>tung-kung</i> [Eastern Palace] 東宮司馬	高昌重光某年條列得部麥田, □丁頭數文書 (69TAM140: 18/3; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 5: 51; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 194)
13	Shih So-and-so 史某	<i>ssu-ma</i> 司馬	高昌作人善憲等名籍 (72TAM154: 24 (a), 30 (a), 31 (a); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 138; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 365)

7) The name Shih Ling-chiang 史凌江 appears in another document unearthed from the same tomb (高昌義和二 [615] 年七月馬帳 [text—*Wen-shu* 4: 161; photograph—*T'u-wen* 2: 92]), and there is a strong possibility that both names refer to the same person.

14	Shih Yu-hsiao 史祐孝	<i>ssu-ma</i> of <i>t'ien-ts'ao</i> [Section for Land Control] (in Chiao-ho commandery) (交河郡) 田曹司馬 (posthumously) <i>ssu-ma</i> of Kao-ch'ang 高昌司馬	Tomb tablet (Yen-ch'ang 延昌 5 [565]) from Yärkhoto ancient tombs; text— <i>Tseng-chi</i> : 4-5; photograph— <i>Tseng-chi</i> : 101
15	K'ang Shih-erh 康師兒	<i>hu-ya</i> ( <i>chiang-chün</i> ) 虎牙(將軍)	高昌義和二(615)年七月馬帳 (72TAM151: 58; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 4: 160; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 91), etc.
16	K'ang P'o-chü-lo 康婆居羅	<i>hu-ya</i> ( <i>chiang-chün</i> ) 虎牙(將軍)	高昌付官, 將, 兵人糧食帳 (73TAM520: 6/1-2(a), 4(a); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 27-28; photo- graph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 314-315)
17	K'ang Hsiang-yu 康相祐	<i>hu-ya</i> ( <i>chiang-chün</i> ) 虎牙(將軍)	高昌義和二(615)年七月馬帳 (72TAM151: 58; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 4: 160; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 91)
18	K'ang ?-po 康□鉢	<i>ling-ping hu-chiang</i> 領兵胡將	Tomb tablet from Yärkhoto ancient tombs (04TGXM4: 1) <sup>8)</sup>
19	K'ang Chung- seng 康衆僧	<i>chang-hsia tso-yu</i> 帳下左右	Tomb tablet from Yärkhoto ancient tombs (04TGXM6: 1) <sup>9)</sup>
20	K'ang Fu-t'u 康浮圖	<i>tso ch'in-shih tso-yu</i> 左親侍左右	Tomb tablet from Pa-ta-mu 巴達 木 ancient tombs <sup>10)</sup>
21	Ho Chu-tzu 何梭子	<i>kuan-jen</i> [official] 官人	高昌將顯守等田畝得銀錢帳 (67TAM78: 17(a), 18(a), 19(a), 28(a); text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 4: 69; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 42)

8) Jung 2006: 9.

9) Jung 2006: 9.

10) Jung 2005: 11; Jung 2006: 10.

22	An Chü 安居	<i>ch'ang-shih</i> [attendant-in-ordinary] 常侍	高昌義和二(615)年七月馬帳 (72TAM151: 58; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 4: 159; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 2: 91)
23	An Chu 安住	<i>ts'an-chün</i> [adjutant] 參軍	高昌高寧馬帳 (69TAM142: 4; text— <i>Wen-shu</i> 3: 241; photograph— <i>T'u-wen</i> 1: 409)

The first thing that can be ascertained from the above table is that, among the family names used by Sogdians, people with official posts were more or less limited to the family names Shih 史, K'ang 康, and An 安, and apart from those with the family name K'ang (15-20), who held military posts, they all had Chinese-style given names.<sup>11)</sup>

It is also evident from this table that people with the family name Shih held especially important posts. Unlike those with other family names, they not only held high-ranking posts (i.e., *ssu-ma* 司馬) in the central government associated with the Department of State Affairs (*shang-shu sheng* 尚書省), but they were also conspicuous for their appointment to posts such as clerical receptionist (*t'ung-shih ling-shih* 通事令史) and attendant gentleman (*shih-lang* 侍郎) in the Chancellery (*men-hsia sheng* 門下省), responsible for forwarding documents to the king and delivering his orders.<sup>12)</sup> Worthy of special note in this regard are (7) Shih Huan-lung and (8) Shih Huan-t'ai, who both held the post of *shih-lang*. The documents in which their names appear were both composed during the Yen-shou 延壽 era (624-640),<sup>13)</sup> and a passage in the *Ta Tz'u-en san-tsang fa-shih chuan* 大慈恩三藏法師傳 (hereafter: *Tz'u-en chuan* 慈恩傳) refers to the "*tien-chung yü-shih* Shih Huan-hsin" (殿中侍御史歡信) who escorted Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 as far as the court of the *qayan* of the Western Turks (T'u-chüeh 突厥). Hsüan-tsang is thought to have visited Kao-ch'ang

11) The given name "Huan-t'ai" (Karlgren 1972: 62, 95) of (6) Shih Huan-t'ai does not seem like a Chinese name, and it may possibly correspond to Sogdian *kwnt* (Sims-Williams 1992: 54), but here I have provisionally treated it as a Chinese-style name.

12) On *shih-lang*, see Sekio 1991. On the organization of the central government of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü, see Shimazaki 1977: 261-266, 292-294 (Table of Organization of the Government of the Kao-ch'ang Kingdom under the Royal House of Ch'ü); Meng 2004: 93-132.

13) On the document in which (8) appears, see Section II of this article.

around Chen-kuan 貞觀 2 (628),<sup>14)</sup> and so Shih Huan-hsin may be considered to have been a contemporary of (7) Shih Huan-lung and (8) Shih Huan-t'ai.

Up until now, however, the phrase 殿中侍御史歡信 in the *Tz'u-en chuan* has without exception been read "*tien-chung shih yü-shih* Huan-hsin." But as far as one can tell from unearthed source materials, there was no official post called *tien-chung shih yü-shih* 殿中侍御史 in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü. In contrast, the post *shih-yü* 侍御 appears in an official document dating from the time of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü (高昌令狐等傳供食帳 [60TAM307: 5/3 (b); text—*Wen-shu* 3: 261; photograph—*T'u-wen* 1: 419]), and later, during the T'ang dynasty, the posts *tien-chung shih yü-shih* and *chien-ch'a yü-shih* 監察御史 (investigating censor) were sometimes referred to collectively as *shih-yü* 侍御.<sup>15)</sup> In light of these facts, the phrase 殿中侍御史歡信 in the *Tz'u-en chuan* should be interpreted as "*tien-chung shih-yü* Shih Huan-hsin." It is to be surmised that the *tien-chung shih-yü* was an official who attended on the king in the palace, that is, an official who was in Kao-ch'ang similar in character to a *shih-lang*. In this regard, it may be noted that in the biography of Hsüan-tsang in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* 續高僧傳 4 ("I-ching" 譯經 4) the corresponding phrase is rendered *tien-chung shih-lang* 殿中侍郎.

In view of the fact that the three aforementioned contemporaries bearing the family name Shih all held the post of *shih-lang*, associated with the Chancellery, and shared the character "歡" in their given names, it would be safe to assume that they were kinsmen belonging to the same clan of Shihs. Furthermore, judging from the fact that they had acquired the custom of using the same Chinese character in their given names, there can be little doubt that this clan of Shihs had for some time been firmly established in Han society and become "assimilated." Moreover, the fact that several of the other people with the family name Shih in the above table similarly held posts affiliated to the Chancellery would suggest that these people with the family name Shih all belonged to the same clan.

Among the family names used by Sogdians, Shih was of course also

14) There has been much discussion about the year in which Hsüan-tsang set out for India, but today it is generally accepted that he departed in either Chen-kuan 1 or early Chen-kuan 2 (Kuwayama and Hakamaya 1981: 58-82).

15) This is pointed out in Chao Lin 趙璘 (T'ang dynasty), *Yin-hua lu* 因話錄 5: "Cheng-pu" 徵部.



used by Han Chinese,<sup>16)</sup> and in the case of people bearing Chinese-style names there is a need to consider whether they were Sogdians (or their descendants) from Sogdiana or Han Chinese. There is a dearth of material suitable for examining this question, but I wish to approach it by considering the origins of this clan of Shihs.

While there is little material available for pursuing this question directly, reference can be made to the case of the Shih clan in Chiao-ho 交河 commandery (Yārkhoto). As I have already pointed out elsewhere,<sup>17)</sup> there resided in Chiao-ho a clan of Shihs who, though a provincial family, were, along with the Chang 張 clan, related by marriage to a branch of the distinguished Ch'ü family, which was in turn linked to the royal family of Kao-ch'ang.

It is a well-known fact that the Chang clan enjoyed a dominant position in the royal capital of Qarakhōja as in-laws of the royal house of Ch'ü, and these ties between the Ch'ü and Chang clans were strongly reflected in Chiao-ho commandery as well. In contrast, the Shih clan had not become matrimonial relations of the royal house of Ch'ü in the capital, but it is evident that they had managed to achieve this in Chiao-ho commandery. This elevated the Shih clan to the position of a leading clan in Chiao-ho commandery, on a par with the Chang clan. These leading clans came to monopolize the post of *chu-ts'ao ssu-ma* 諸曹司馬, the highest-ranking commandery official, and members of the Chang clan went on to be promoted directly to the post of *chu-pu ssu-ma* 諸部司馬 in the central government.<sup>18)</sup> As can be seen in the case of (14) in the above table, a member of the Shih clan in Chiao-ho was also promoted, albeit posthumously, to the post of *ssu-ma* in the central government.

It is also known from a tomb tablet that this Shih clan of Chiao-ho referred to itself as the "Shih clan of Chien-k'ang 建康 (Kan-chou 甘州)." <sup>19)</sup> This tells us that the Shih clan of Chiao-ho regarded Kan-chou as the clan's original home. That a Sogdian Shih clan was based in Kan-chou has already been shown by Jung Hsin-chiang, who has also pointed out that the Shih clan of Chiao-ho had its origins in this Shih clan of Kan-chou.<sup>20)</sup> Meanwhile, a sixth-century Shih clan of Ku-yüan 固原 also

16) Moribe 2002: 22-23.

17) Arakawa 1986: 52-53.

18) See the list of Chiao-ho *chu-ts'ao ssu-ma* in Arakawa 1986: 51.

19) The tomb tablet of Shih Yu-hsiao ends with the words "tomb tablet of Shih Yu-hsiao of Chien-k'ang" (建康史祐孝之墓表 [text—Huang 1951: 45; photograph—*ibid.*: 101, pl. 13]).

originated in Chang-yeh 張掖 (Kan-chou), and Jung, recognizing a link between the two, considers their migration from Chang-yeh to Ku-yüan to have been triggered by the fall of the Northern Liang 北涼 in the fifth century.<sup>21)</sup> When one takes into account the fact that it was the Chü-ch'ü 沮渠 clan, who had fled to Turfan with the fall of the Northern Liang, that seized Chiao-ho from Ch'e-shih 車師 and incorporated it into the territory of Kao-ch'ang, there is a strong possibility that the Shih clan, a dominant force in Chiao-ho, had also moved from Ho-hsi 河西 at this time together with the Chü-ch'ü clan. It is conceivable that the Shih clan of Kan-chou similarly migrated not only to Ku-yüan but also to Turfan with the fall of the Northern Liang. It would seem, in other words, that the Shih clan of Chiao-ho, which had close links with the royal house of Ch'ü, had its origins in a group of Sogdians from Kan-chou in Ho-hsi. These Shihs would, moreover, have settled not only in Chiao-ho, but would naturally have also established themselves in the capital. The members of the Shih clan listed in the above table who held the post of *ssu-ma*, affiliated to the Department of State Affairs, or the posts of *t'ung-shih ling-shih* and *shih-lang*, attending on the king, presumably belonged to this Shih clan that had settled in the capital.

In addition, is clear from the above table that the K'ang clan held the second largest number of official posts after the Shih clan, but it is also evident that their posts did not extend to the Chancellery or Department of State Affairs and were limited to military posts such as *hu-ya Chiang-chün* 虎牙將軍 and *ling-ping hu-chiang* 領兵胡將.<sup>22)</sup> Furthermore, unlike

20) Jung 1999 (repr. 2001: 66-68).

21) Jung 1999 (repr. 2001: 67).

22) The *ling-ping hu-chiang* of (18) and the *chang-hsia tso-yu* of (19) appear only in tomb tablets from the Yärkhoto ancient tombs in Chiao-ho commandery, while the *tso ch'in-shih tso-yu* of (20) appears only in tomb tablets from the Pa-ta-mu ancient tombs lying to the northeast of the town of Kao-ch'ang, and little is known of their character. It is obvious, however, that the *ling-ping hu-chiang* is closely connected to the military commander known as the *ling-ping Chiang* 領兵將, and he may have been a military commander in charge of Sogdian troops. Meanwhile, judging from their names, the *chang-hsia tso-yu* and *tso ch'in-shih tso-yu* may have been connected to the guards attached to the headquarters (*mu-fu* 幕府) of the governor of Chiao-ho commandery in Yärkhoto (i.e., the headquarters of the General for Pacifying the West [*chen-hsi Chiang-chün* 鎮西將軍]) or the guards attached to the king's government; cf. Meng 2004: 139. With regard to the *ling-ping hu-chiang* in particular, one needs to reconsider the significance of the fact that K'ang ?-po held this post with reference to the recent observations of Yamashita (2004, 2005) that there were Sogdians other than Sogdian-Turks possessing a military character.

members of the Shih clan, Sogdian-style names predominate among their given names.<sup>23)</sup> This would suggest that there were clear-cut differences in the official roles fulfilled by Sogdians in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü, depending on their degree of "assimilation" with the Han Chinese of Kao-ch'ang. In particular, it is worth noting that the less "assimilated" Sogdians played a part in the military power of Kao-ch'ang.

## II. THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE SHIH CLAN AND THE CH'Ü KING TO BE SEEN IN A "PAYMENT DOCUMENT"

Among the people listed in the table given in the previous section, (8) Shih Huan-t'ai appears in a document recording payments made for the use of long-distance carts and oxen (高昌某年傳始昌等縣車牛子名及給價文書 [72TAM155: 37(a); text—*Wen-shu* 3: 290-292; photograph—*T'u-wen* 1: 428; Wang 2000: 505-506]). This is a valuable document (referred to hereafter as the "Payment Document") in that it enables us to examine the actual operation of "long-distance carts and oxen" (*yüan-hsing ch'e-niu* 遠行車牛), which were a means of transport for traveling long distances in the kingdom of Kao-ch'ang.

That a great variety of post horses for official use were stationed throughout the kingdom of Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü is evident from the use of terms such as *i-ma* 驛馬, *t'ing-ma* 亭馬, *jen-hsing-ma* 任行馬, and *chin-hsing-ma* 近行馬 in Turfan documents, even though their exact meanings are not clear,<sup>24)</sup> and one mode of transport for crossing the deserts, indispensable for an oasis state, was the long-distance cart and ox.

23) The given names of (16) K'ang P'o-chü-lo, (18) K'ang ?-po, and (20) K'ang Fu-t'u (Pwt[y]) may be regarded as Sogdian names. Jung (2006b: 10) has K'ang Fu-mien 康浮面 for (20) K'ang Fu-t'u, but it has been pointed out that the summary handed out at the time of his lecture (3 March 2006, Niigata University) has K'ang Fu-t'u. This has bearings on questions pertaining to the Buddhist beliefs of Sogdians, and I have provisionally left it as K'ang Fu-t'u. It is to be hoped that photographs of the document in question will be published.

24) The terms *i-ma*, *t'ing-ma*, and *jen-hsing-ma* all appear in documents included in *Wen-shu*—*i-ma*: 64TAM15 (text—*Wen-shu* 4: 34-36); *t'ing-ma*: 72TAM171 (text—*Wen-shu* 4: 136); *jen-hsing-ma*: 72TAM151 (text—*Wen-shu* 4: 162, 168); see Sekio 1993; Wang 2000: 526-539. The term *chin-hsing-ma* appears in 高昌延昌年間兵部質近行馬驢殘奏 (86TAM286: 21-3; text: *Hsin-ch'u*, 54; photograph: *Hsin-ch'u*, 421); see Wang 2000: 510-511; Sekio 2002: 422. It is worth noting that these terms continued to be used later in Uighuristan during the period of Mongol rule (Matsui 1998: 405 (44)).

### 1. The Text and Date of the “Payment Document”

(foregoing section missing)

【a】

2 <sup>(合車)</sup>   牛貳具。次始昌孫   生，得銀錢拾 <sup>(文)</sup> 壹 ，

3 安足牛，得銀錢壹人。[ ] (合車牛)

(b)

4 拾具，乘牛壹頭，得近道價，□□□□往河畔中取悵木。次田□ [

5 傳，始昌遠行車牛子名，董安伯牛，得銀錢貳拾陸文。〔

6 參文。參軍師祐牛，得銀錢貳拾陸文。劉延明<sup>(得銀錢拾參文)</sup>車□□□□□□。□□延車  
牛

7 壹具，得銀錢參拾究文。<sup>[玖]</sup>張延敍牛，得銀錢貳拾<sup>(陸文。)</sup>□□。□□□□，<sup>得銀</sup>□□錢拾參文。

8 羅寺道明車牛壹具，得銀錢參拾〔玖〕文。張伯兒車牛壹具，得銀錢參拾〔玖〕文。

25) Arakawa 1989.

26) Palaeographic details of this document are as follows. It currently bears the single number 72TAM155: 37 (a), but it actually consists of four fragments: (A) —lines 1-12 (28×24 cm); (B) —lines 1-2 (bottom section; 1×3 cm); (C) —lines 1-2 (bottom section; 6×3 cm); (D) —lines 13-21 (28×19 cm). Its overall size is 28×43 cm. Paper has been pasted on between lines 8 and 9 (joined at upper right). The quality of the paper appears to be that of the standard paper used in the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü, but because this document is currently pasted on backing paper, this cannot be accurately verified. See Arakawa 1993: 82–83; Wang 2000: 506, n. 1. My earlier comments on line 18 (Arakawa 1993: 83) were in error, and the transcription given in *Wen-shu* is correct.

- 9 文。張伯臭牛，得銀錢貳拾陸文。<sup>(銀錢拾參)</sup>唐懷願車，得銀錢貳拾陸文。<sup>(陸文)</sup>田來得牛，得銀錢貳拾陸文。
- 10 □海熹車，得銀錢拾參文。合車牛捌具，供侍郎史歡太馱，往塢耆，得遠道價。
- 【c】
- 11 □□國二月廿二日，酒泉令陰世校宣，門下校郎司空明塋・通事令史辛孟護貳人傳，高(昌)
- 12 □ [ ] 官車牛伍具，單車壹具乘，合得銀錢究拾壹文。次東宮車牛
- 13 □□，<sup>(參具，得銀)</sup>□□國伍拾壹文。<sup>單車壹乘</sup>車，壹脚破塋付主，得銀錢拾伍<sup>(文)</sup>。[ ]
- 14 □□軸壹，得銀錢貳文。合得銀錢陸拾捌文，并合車牛□□，<sup>(捌具，單車壹乘?)</sup>□□□□ [ ]
- 15 □□□付麴顯伯・虎牙張海瑚貳人，往天公蘭<sup>取木</sup>中去。次 [ ]
- 16 □□<sup>(門下)</sup>國郎司空明塋・通事令史辛<sup>人</sup>國國貳傳，西頭遠行<sup>人</sup>國，<sup>人</sup>安樂□□
- 17 □□<sup>(牛)</sup>，得銀錢拾壹文。<sup>(牛，得銀錢拾)</sup>永安東寺□，□□□□壹文。次洿林主簿康虎皮，牛死生
- 18 [ ] 價，得銀錢壹佰貳拾壹文，買肉去，得銀錢拾肆文。□□
- 19 銀錢肆文，破□□□付主，[ ] <sup>(牛拾參)</sup>□□□頭，付<sup>(貳)</sup>國□□□□人乘往天
- 【e】
- 公蘭中去。次□
- 20 月廿九日，酒泉令陰世校宣，門下<sup>(校郎司空明塋・通事)</sup>□□□□□□・<sup>(孟)</sup>□□<sup>(貳人)</sup>史辛□護□□
- 21 頭遠行車<sup>(牛)</sup>國子國，□□<sup>(孟)</sup>國國國 [ ]
- (rest missing)

### Translation of Section [b]

Next, on the [?] day of the twelfth month, So-and-so delivered [a royal directive]: “[There follow] the names of the owners of long-distance carts and oxen in Shih-ch’ang 始昌 [district]. Chin An-po 董安伯 received 26 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] an ox. [?] received 13 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a cart. The adjutant Shih Yu 師祐 received 26 *wen* in silver coins for [having

provided] an ox. Liu Yen-ming 劉延明 received 13 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a cart. [? ?-] yen (□□延) received 39 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a set of cart and ox. Chang Yen-hsü 張延敘 received 26 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] an ox. [? ??] received 13 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a cart. Tao-ming 道明, who was a monk of Lo-ssu 羅寺 temple, received 39 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a set of cart and ox. Chang Po-erh 張伯兒 received 39 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a set of cart and ox. Chang Po-ch'ou 張伯臭 received 26 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] an ox. T'ang Huai-yüan 唐懷願 received 13 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a cart. T'ien Lai-te 田來得 received 26 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] an ox. [?] Hai-hsi (□海熹) received 13 *wen* in silver coins for [having provided] a cart. There are altogether eight sets of cart and ox. These were provided for [transporting] the baggage (*t'uo* 馱) of the attendant gentleman Shih Huan-t'ai, and having gone to Wu-ch'i 塢耆 (Qarashahr), they received long-distance fees (*yüan-tao chia* 遠道價).

Tomb no. 155 at the Astana cemetery, where the above document was discovered, has not yielded any tomb tablet or list of items buried together with the deceased persons that might help determine the tomb's date, but it is evident from the use of the terms *men-hsia chiao-lang* 門下校郎 and *t'ung-shih ling-shih*, both names of official posts distinctive of Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü and associated with the "announcement" (*hsüan* 宣) and "delivery" (*ch'uan* 傳) of royal directives, that this document dates from the time of Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü. Furthermore, at the end of the other side of this document (72TAM155: 37 (b); text—*Wen-shu* 3: 290-292; photograph—*T'u-wen* 1: 427) there has been inscribed, albeit in a form close to a random jotting, the date "Yen-shou 10" 延壽十年 (633), with Yen-shou being an era-name from the time of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü. Judging from its content, the side bearing this date is thought to have been written later than the opposite side, and therefore there is a strong possibility that the document with which we are here concerned was written prior to this date.

The same tomb has also yielded other dated documents with dates ranging from Ch'ung-kuang 重光 2 (621) to Yen-shou 10 (633), and it may be supposed that the present document also dates from around the

period indicated by these dated documents. This is corroborated by the fact that “*t’ung-shih ling-shih Hsin Meng-hu*” 通事令史辛孟護 referred to in this document is likely to be the same person as “*t’ung-shih ling-shih Hsin Meng*” 通事令史辛孟 appearing in a document dated Yen-shou 1 (624), which orders the payment of the tax for long-distance post horses (Ōtani 1311).<sup>27)</sup>

A married couple was buried in tomb no. 155, and this document was taken from the paper shoe of the corpse of the husband, who was buried first. His paper hat, which would have been made at the same time, has yielded official and private documents bearing the dates Yen-shou 6 (629; 31), Yen-shou 9 (632; 30 (a)), and Yen-shou 10 (633; 30 (b)).<sup>28)</sup> There is a strong likelihood that official and private documents dating from Yen-shou 6–10 were used to make the paper shoes and hat buried together with the male corpse.

In light of the above, it would seem reasonable to assume that the document in question dates from the period between Ch’ung-kuang 2 (621) and Yen-shou 10 (633), in particular from the last four years of this period.

## 2. The Format and Functions of the “Payment Document”

The first point to be noticed on perusing this document is that it is arranged according to the objectives for which the carts and oxen were used and that each section follows the same format. Each section begins with the date and the name(s) of the person(s) responsible for its announcement (*hsüan*) and delivery (*ch’uan*) or just its delivery, and this is followed by the names of the owners of the carts and oxen, details of what they provided, and the amount due to them, as well as the purpose for which they were used. In the case of 【c】, however, instead of the owners’ names, etc., mention is made of carts and oxen belonging to the government and the Eastern Palace (*tung-kung* 東宮). Therefore, this document must be considered to deal not only with the operation of long-distance carts and oxen, but also with the use of government-owned carts and oxen.

These sections have been arranged in the order of their dates, and if the reading “次十” in line 4, based on the remaining character strokes, is correct, then “□□歲二月廿二日” in line 11 presumably refers to the first

27) Kaihō, 13.

28) Arakawa 2003: 134.

date of the following year. The document's content may be divided by objective into five sections.

*Management of Long-distance Carts and Oxen*

	Month and Day	Number of Carts	Number of Oxen	Objective
【a】		10	11	往河畔中, 取悵木 (近道價) To transport wood from a "river bank" (short-distance fee)
【b】	12 月	8	8	供侍郎馱, 往鳩耆 (遠道價) To transport the baggage of a <i>shih-lang</i> to Qarashahr (long-distance fee)
【c】	2 月 22 日	9	8	往天公蘭中, 取木去 (近道價) To transport wood from the T'ien-kung-yüan (short-distance fee)
【d】			13	往天公蘭中去 (近道價) To transport (wood) from the T'ien-kung-yüan (short-distance fee)
【e】	□月 29 日			

For each instance of the use of carts and oxen, this document also gives the names of those responsible for the "delivery" (*ch'uan*) or the "announcement" (*hsüan*) and delivery of the directive, and these are summarized in the following table.

	<i>hsüan</i> 宣	<i>ch'uan</i> 傳	
【a】	not known	not known	近道價
【b】	none	illegible (approx. 6 characters)	遠道價
【c】	酒泉(縣)令・陰世皎	門下校郎・司空明犖／通事令史・辛孟護	近道價
【d】	(酒泉(縣)令・陰世皎)	門下校郎・司空明犖／通事令史・辛孟護	近道價
【e】	酒泉(縣)令・陰世皎	門下校郎・司空明犖／通事令史・辛孟護	近道價

In the case of 【c】 and 【e】, it is stated that Yin Shih-chiao 陰世皎, district magistrate (*hsien-ling* 縣令) of Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉,<sup>29)</sup> "announced"

29) There was a town called Chiu-ch'üan not only in Ho-hsi, but also in Turfan. It was located 20-30 *li* 里 east of the town of Kao-ch'ang. Cf. Arakawa 1986: 40 & 60, n.



(*hsüan*) the directive, while the *men-hsia chiao-lang* Ssu-k'ung Ming-lo 司空曄 and the *t'ung-shih ling-shih* Hsin Meng-hu “delivered” it. Likewise, in the case of the intervening [d] the name of the “announcer” is missing, but the *men-hsia chiao-lang* and *t'ung-shih ling-shih* who “delivered” the directive are the same as in [c] and [e]. Judging from the number of missing characters, it is likely that in this case too it was Yin Shih-chiao, district magistrate of Chiu-ch'üan, who “announced” the directive.

In contrast, while the opening section of [b] is also missing, the character “傳” appears at the start of line 5. But judging from the space available for the missing characters, the name of the “deliverer” could have had only about six characters, and it is evident that he differed from those in the case of [c]–[e] and that there could not have been any reference to an “announcer.” It is thus to be inferred from this document that in cases of long-distance transportation involving the payment of a “long-distance fee” (*yüan-tao chia* 遠道價) mention was made only of the “deliverer” of the directive, while in the case of transportation involving the payment of a “short-distance fee” (*chin-tao chia* 近道價) mention was made of both the “announcer” and the “deliverer” of the directive.

It has already been shown that the word *ch'uan* appearing in memorials of Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü refers to the act of conveying or delivering a royal directive,<sup>30)</sup> and there is no problem with adopting this interpretation in the present case. That being so, what sort of situation should one posit when *hsüan*<sup>31)</sup> has been added to this *ch'uan*? The answer to this question must await further investigations, including connections with royal directives, but at the very least there can be little doubt that the *hsüan* was “delivered.” In other words, in the case of [b] a royal directive was “delivered,” while in the case of [c]–[e] a *hsüan* was “delivered,” and this means that in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü, at least during the Yen-chou era, there existed two methods of conveying the wishes of the central government.<sup>32)</sup>

16 ①.

30) Chu Tsung-pin (1983: 467) considers the word *ch'uan* appearing in connection with matters referred to in memorials to convey the oral orders of the king of Kao-ch'ang.

31) For a detailed discussion of *hsüan* during the T'ang, see Nakamura 1996: 574–582.

32) Unlike *ch'uan*, *hsüan* has not so far been found in documents predating the Yen-shou era (624–640). If it turns out that *hsüan* began to appear in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü during the Yen-shou era, then it may have been a change linked to

One could possibly speculate that, even supposing that this indicates two ways of delivering a royal directive, in the case of a small oasis state such as Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü, the two ways of delivering a royal directive would have been purely formal and in actual practice the person who "announced" the directive was the person who actually made the decision. The title of "district magistrate" held by Yin Shih-chiao, who "announced" the directive, had by this time already become a supplementary nominal title held by high-ranking officials in the central government, and it is clear that, though a district magistrate, he was stationed in the town of Kao-ch'ang.<sup>33)</sup> In contrast, the fact that [b] makes mention of only a "deliverer" probably means that in this case it was a directive from the king himself that was delivered both in name and in reality.

If this was indeed so, what then was actually "delivered" in these two cases? One must assume that, as was the case in other official documents of Kao-ch'ang, it corresponded to the content of what followed the word *ch'uan*.<sup>34)</sup> In the case of the document with which we are here concerned, it was a notification to make a disbursement of a standard fee for the use of a certain number of long-distance and government-owned carts and oxen. In other words, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the government office in charge of the management of carts and oxen was notified by a royal directive or a *hsüan* of the use of long-distance and government-owned carts and oxen and of the payment to be made to their owners.<sup>35)</sup>

Assuming that there are no major errors in the above reasoning, this document may be considered to have formed part of a ledger kept by the competent government office on being notified by *hsüan* and *ch'uan* or just *ch'uan* of various instances of the use of long-distance and government-owned carts and oxen.<sup>36)</sup> The government office in question is,

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the use of the title *ch'en* 臣 in memorials, which was introduced around the same time (Shirasu 1984: 32-38).

33) There was a Yin family related by marriage to the royal house of Ch'ü, and there is a strong possibility that this Yin Shih-chiao was a member of this family.

34) See, e.g., Chu Tsung-pin 1983: 465-467; Shirasu 1997: 149-152.

35) Examples of similar royal directives include 高昌延昌二七(587)年四月兵部條列買馬用錢頭數奏行文書 (66TAM48: 25 (a), 31 (a)); text—*Wen-shu* 3: 73; photograph—*T'u-wen* 1: 338); cf. Chu Tsung-pin 1983: 465-467.

36) The style of handwriting used in this document may be considered to resemble that used in memorials in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü (small characters in the standard, noncursive style), but numerous characters have been deleted or rewritten,

moreover, considered to have been the State Farms Bureau (*t'un-t'ien pu* 屯田部), which was also responsible for the management of carts and oxen in Kao-ch'ang.<sup>37)</sup> It might also be noted that tomb no. 155, where this document was discovered, has yielded other official documents relating to the State Farms Bureau, including memorials that it had submitted to the throne.

### 3. *The Character of Long-distance Carts and Oxen*

When considered in light of the interpretation presented in the above, it may be concluded that in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü the use of long-distance carts and oxen was, along with that of government-owned oxen, restricted to use sanctioned by instructions from the king himself or from high-ranking officials. This is because very few instances of their use are recorded in this document, and if they had been allowed to be used more widely, a greater variety of instances would have been recorded even in a fragmentary document. The fact that the date of the first instance of their use after the start of the new year was the 22nd day of the second month clearly reflects this restricted use.

As regards the actual operation of long-distance carts and oxen, the above table illustrating the "Management of Long-distance Carts and Oxen" shows that, as has already been noted, there was a distinction in the provision of carts and oxen between "long-distance fees" ([b]) and "short-distance fees" ([a], [c], [d], [e]), depending on the distance traveled.

First, in regard to [a], [c], [d] and [e], whereas in the case of [a] the carts and oxen were dispatched to a "river bank" (*ho-p'an* 河畔), in the other three cases carts and oxen belonging to the government and the Eastern Palace ([c]) and to owners of long-distance carts and oxen in Hsi-t'ou 西頭 ([d], [e]) were dispatched to the T'ien-kung-yüan 天公園. It is not clear to which places this "river bank" and T'ien-kung-yüan actually refer, but because the standard short-distance fee was paid to the owners of the carts and oxen, there is a high probability that they were located within the Turfan Depression.

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and it is unlikely that this document would have been submitted in this state. Cf. Arakawa & Sekio 2000: 66.

37) I have touched on this matter in a paper entitled "Taxes and Labor Services in Turfan under Chinese Rule (6th to 8th Centuries)" presented to Symposium II ("Taxes and Labor Services in Pre-modern Central Asia") at the 50th International Conference of Eastern Studies (Tōhō Gakkai 東方學會, 20 May 2005).

Meanwhile, the owners of the long-distance carts and oxen from Hsi-t'ou appearing in [d] and [e] came from several different oases, such as An-le 安樂 (Turfan), Yung-an 永安 (whereabouts unknown, but possibly in the vicinity of Yārkhoto), and Wu-lin 務林 (Bulayuq).<sup>38)</sup> But when considered in relation to the capital Kao-ch'ang, these localities all lie to the west of the capital, in which case these owners of long-distance carts and oxen from Hsi-t'ou may be considered to have been engaged in transportation in the area to the west of the town of Kao-ch'ang within the kingdom of Kao-ch'ang. The designation Hsi-t'ou ("West End") presumably indicates the range of these long-distance carts and oxen within the kingdom.

In contrast, in the case of [b], owners of long-distance carts and oxen from Shih-ch'ang (district) were dispatched to Wu-ch'i and paid the standard long-distance fee. There can be little doubt that this Wu-ch'i refers to Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Qarashahr).<sup>39)</sup> It is thus evident that the long-distance fee was paid for long-distance transportation to, for example, neighboring oasis states. Judging from the amounts paid, the long-distance fee was set at 13 *wen* for a cart, 26 *wen* for an ox, and 39 *wen* for a cart and ox, while the short-distance fee was set at 6 *wen* for a cart, 11 *wen* for an ox, and 17 *wen* for an ox and cart, which was less than half the long-distance fee.<sup>40)</sup>

According to a document from Turfan dating from the T'ang dynasty (唐顯慶三(658)年趙知德上車牛道價抄 [67TAM74: 1/3; text—*Wen-shu* 6: 156; photograph—*T'u-wen* 3: 79]), 3 *wen* in silver was paid for exemption from labor service involving being sent with a cart and ox to I-chou 伊州. This gives an indication of the high level at which the long-distance fee was set in the present case.

As for Shih-ch'ang district mentioned in [b], it has tentatively been identified with the ruins of Oi-tam,<sup>41)</sup> and there can at any rate be little

38) On the identification of these place-names, see Arakawa 1986: 40-41 & 67-68, n. 16; Wang 2000: 57-84. An-le is discussed in detail in Li 1986.

39) Qarashahr is also represented by the characters Wu-yi 夷犂 (*Fa-hsien chuan* 法顯傳 1), A-ch'i-ni 阿耆尼 (*Ta T'ang hsi-yü chi* 大唐西域記 1), etc.

40) That the short-distance and long-distance fees were paid in silver shows that this document dates from the final years of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü, since this system was not in place from the very outset, and it was only in the final years of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom that the heavy labor service of long-distance transport was commuted to cash payments and turned into a form of employment. I hope to deal with this point on another occasion.

41) Shimazaki 1977: 133-135; Arakawa 1986: 40; Wang 2000: 82-83. However, the

doubt that it was situated near the present-day oasis of Toksun in the westernmost part of the Turfan Depression. There was presumably a group of cart- and ox-drivers based in the district headquarters of Shih-ch'ang. If one takes into account the geographical location of Shih-ch'ang district, the fact that the destination given in 【b】 was the oasis of Yen-ch'i (Qarashahr), Turfan's western neighbor, and the fact that drivers from Shih-ch'ang (district) were used would not have been unrelated. It is to be surmised that the role and function of long-distance carts and oxen stationed in Shih-ch'ang district would have lain primarily in providing a link between Turfan and Yen-ch'i.

It can thus be ascertained that long-distance carts and oxen were used not only for domestic transport, but also for transport to neighboring oasis states.<sup>42)</sup> Further, as was noted above, these carts and oxen were used in quite limited circumstances by the king and high-ranking officials, and in the case of 【b】 in particular their use was sanctioned by a directive from the king himself. It would appear, in other words, that the dispatch of a team of carts and oxen to a neighboring oasis—"long-distance" both in name and in reality—was undertaken at the behest of the king himself.

Following this interpretation, this would mean that when the *shih-lang* Shih Huan-t'ai mentioned in 【b】 transported the "baggage" (*t'uo*) to Qarashahr, eight sets of carts and oxen (costing 312 *wen*) stationed in Shih-ch'ang district were dispatched by order of the king. What, then, was the "baggage" transported on this occasion? When one takes into account the character of long-distance carts and oxen as a mode of transport, rather than only the private baggage of Shih Huan-t'ai having been transported, it is more likely that Shih Huan-t'ai's main task in his capacity as an attendant of the king was to transport the king's own baggage to Qarashahr by means of long-distance carts and oxen.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

To sum up, the Shih clan, which among the Sogdians in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü had become particularly assimilated to the Han Chinese in Kao-ch'ang, had formed close ties with local political power by becoming attendants of the king. One would naturally expect

identification of the location of the town of Shih-ch'ang requires further investigation.

42) Wang (2000: 509) equates the "two wagonloads of fruits and edibles" (*kuo-wei liang-ch'e* 果味兩車) that were, according to *Tz'u-en chuan* 1, presented to T'ung Yabyu *qayan* (T'ung Yeh-hu *k'o-han* 統葉護可汗) with this long-distance cart and ox.

there to have been some sort of partnership between the two parties, and one aspect of this can be seen in the "Payment Document." What needs to be borne in mind in this regard is that almost all international trade in the markets in the town of Kao-ch'ang was conducted by Sogdians and that a tax called *ch'eng-chia-ch'ien* 稱價錢 was levied on all sales and paid into the *nei-tsang* 內藏.<sup>43)</sup> This *nei-tsang* is thought to have corresponded to the palace treasury, which provided for the finances of the royal household, and it is contrasted with the *kuan-tsang* 官藏, or government treasury, which covered public finances.<sup>44)</sup> It is possible that the management of the finances of the royal household was entrusted through commerce to a particular group of Sogdians such as the Shih clan who attended on the king.

As we have seen, it was also a member of the Shih clan who escorted Hsüan-tsang to the court of the *qayan* of the Western Turks, and it can be readily surmised that, as aides to the king, members of the Shih clan frequently acted as his envoys. It could be supposed that, as well as visiting various localities in the role of envoys of the king, members of the Shih clan were also engaged in trading activities on behalf of the king whilst carrying out their own trade at the same time.

During the Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui, and T'ang, and especially from the fifth and sixth centuries afterwards, Sogdians could be found in most of the important towns scattered throughout eastern Eurasia, and, as was noted at the outset, there can be little doubt that they formed close relationships with local rulers. The example of the Kao-ch'ang kingdom under the royal house of Ch'ü considered in this article provides a concrete illustration of certain aspects of this relationship.

### Abbreviations

*Hsin-ch'u* 新出: Liu Hung-liang 柳洪亮, *Hsin-ch'u T'u-lu-fan wen-shu chi ch'i yen-chiu* 新出吐魯番文書及其研究 (Newly discovered Turfan documents together with a study), Hsin-chiang Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she 新疆人民出版社, 1977.

*Kaihō* 會報: Turufan Shutsudo Bunbutsu Kenkyūkai 吐魯番出土文物研究會 (Turfan Cultural Relics Study Group), ed., *Turufan Shutsudo Bunbutsu Kenkyūkai Kaihō*

43) This has been pointed out in Chu Lei 1982: 23 and numerous other studies.

44) The positing of state finances and palace finances in Kao-ch'ang under the royal house of Ch'ü, including the limitations of clearly differentiating the two, has been discussed by Sekio (1994: 3-19).

吐魯番出土文物研究會會報, Turufan Shutsudo Bunbutsu Kenkyūkai, 1988~. (Nos. 1-50 were published in 1991 as a single volume: Turufan Shutsudo Bunbutsu Kenkyūkai, ed., *Turufan shutsudo bunbutsu kenkyū jōhō shūroku* 吐魯番出土文物研究情報集錄 [Collected information on research on Turfan cultural relics] [Report no. 2 of “International Joint Study of the History and Cultures of Central Eurasian Peoples”].)

*Tseng-chi* 增集: Huang Wen-pi 黃文弼, *Tseng-ting-pen Kao-ch'ang chuan-chi* 增訂本高昌磚集 (Collection of inscriptions on sepulchral bricks from Kao-ch'ang [enl. ed.]), *K'ao-ku-hsüeh T'e-k'an* 考古學特刊 2, Chung-kuo K'o-hsüeh-yüan 中國科學院, 1951.

*T'u-wen* 圖文: T'ang Ch'ang-ju 唐長孺, ed.-in-chief, and Chung-kuo Wen-wu Yen-chiu-so 中國文物研究所 (China Institute of Cultural Relics), Hsin-chiang Wei-wu-erh Tzu-chih-ch'ü Po-wu-kuan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館 (Museum of Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region) and Wu-han Ta-hsüeh Li-shih-hsi 武漢大學歷史系 (History Department, Wuhan University), eds., *T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan documents) 1-4, Wen-wu Ch'u-pan-she 文物出版社, 1992-1996.

*Wen-shu* 文書: Kuo-chia Wen-wu-chü Ku-wen-hsien Yen-chiu-shih 國家文物局古文獻研究室 (Research Office for Ancient Texts, State Cultural Relics Bureau), Hsin-chiang Wei-wu-erh Tzu-chih-ch'ü Po-wu-kuan and Wu-han Ta-hsüeh Li-shih-hsi, eds., *T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u wen-shu* 1-10, Wen-wu Ch'u-pan-she, 1981-1991.

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