

The Silk Road Trade and Traders

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I. Why “Silk Road”?

The regions of Eurasia and North Africa were from early times linked by trade routes that were centred on the arid regions spanning Central Eurasia and extended from the world of East Asia to the world of West Asia and the Mediterranean. The overland routes consisted of the “steppe route,” which traversed the steppes, and the “oasis route,” which linked oases in the desert and oasis regions, and in addition to people, silk and various other goods, as well as culture, were conveyed in both directions along these routes. The region traversed by the former route in particular was where horse-riding nomads emerged, and once they established their nomad states, they not only formed a symbiotic relationship with oasis dwellers, but also brought the latter route under their sway and gained control of international trade. The Silk Road was so named because raw silk and woven silk produced in China were representative goods transported westwards along these steppe and oasis routes. However, “Silk Road” is also used to refer to the entire trade and exchange network that extended in all directions from Central Eurasia. In the following I shall examine trade and merchant activities along this Silk Road.

Since it would be impossible to cover all of the Silk Road both diachronically and spatially, here I shall confine myself in terms of time to the period prior to the spread of Islamic forces into Central Asia, that is, prior to the eighth century. This was, in other words, the period before trade by Muslim merchants began in earnest. It should be noted that Central Asia here refers to the especially arid regions of Central Eurasia and, more specifically, corresponds roughly to the regions today known as eastern and western Turkistan.

Furthermore, apart from the route across the steppes, the main overland trade routes along the Silk Road during this period did not simply extend in a straight line from China in the east to Iran proper in the west. Prior to the seventh century in particular, when the Tang dynasty rose to power, the main trade route, as will be explained below, turned south

in the region corresponding to Afghanistan and continued down to the western shores of the Indian Ocean, where it linked up with maritime trade routes. This means that the actual geographical area dealt with here extends from eastern and western Turkistan in Central Asia to northern China and the Mongolian Plateau (i.e., eastern Central Eurasia).

During the period with which we are here concerned, Eurasia underwent enormous changes from the second to third centuries, both politically and socially, prompted by the movements of nomads, but in the fifth century there began a gradual move towards realignment of these nomadic forces. Then in the sixth to eighth centuries, described as the golden age of the Silk Road, there was established the Türk (Tujue 突厥) Empire by Türk nomads, and this was followed by the rise of the Tang Empire in the east, founded by descendants of the Xianbei 鮮卑 tribes, and the rise of the Islamic Empire in the west, founded by Arabs and so on. In response to these historical changes, the nature of the Silk Road trade also underwent changes, and here I shall focus in particular on the situation during the sixth to eighth centuries.

I have deliberately chosen to use the term “Silk Road” in the title of this article, and this is in part closely related to a debate about this term that has been unfolding in Japan. In view of the fact that the Silk Road has enjoyed wide general appeal in Japan, there have been published many books for the general reader that use this term in their titles, and the above debate had its beginnings in questions that were raised about the fact that these books often give the impression that Central Asia, which ought to be regarded as the main arena of the Silk Road, was no more than a mere transit point.¹⁾ This view of Central Asia was criticized as a view of Central Asian history centred on the Silk Road theory. I do not believe that there are any researchers specializing in Central Asian history who regard Central Asia as no more than a mere transit point, but as far as books on the Silk Road published for a general readership were concerned, this was a fairly reasonable objection. However, this argument was accompanied by suggestions that the Silk Road trade was of no great interest to the oases in Central Asia that provided the trade centres, for whom the presence of nomadic peoples to the north was far more important, and that oasis society was more deeply dependent on industries centred on agriculture than on trade. This immediately gave rise to major counterarguments,²⁾ and the debate about this issue has continued since then.³⁾ There is no space to go into details here, but regrettably, while dealing with important issues pertaining to Central Asian history, the de-

bate has continued down to the present day without any real advances being made in the discussion.

It goes without saying that at the present stage there is a need to take to another level views that would simplistically equate the Silk Road trade with East-West trade or discussions that treat agriculture and trade independently and simplistically compare their importance while ignoring the correlation and interaction between the two, each with its own character. However, the fact that there has in the first place been almost no examination of what the Silk Road trade was actually like has also been a factor in the lack of progress in this debate. There is no denying that there is a paucity of reliable historical sources, but if one were to give up just because of this, no further progress would be made. It is incumbent on us to strive as best as we can to inquire into the Silk Road trade while taking due cognizance of limitations in the source materials.

In the following, taking into account the above circumstances of research on the subject, I wish to draw as close as possible to a true picture of the Silk Road trade. This is why I have deliberately chosen to use the term "Silk Road," and I hope that the following discussion will add some depth to past views on the Silk Road trade.

II. The Caravan Trade along the Silk Road

(1) The Silk Road and Sogdian Traders

Whenever Silk Road traders are mentioned, Sogdians immediately spring to mind. Of course Jewish, Armenian, and other merchants are also well known, but in premodern Central Asia, which encompassed the main part of the overland Silk Road, the sense of presence of the Sogdians as international traders eclipsed all others.

Sogdians came from the oasis states scattered across Sogdiana, which lay between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya, and their ethnonym can be ascertained already during the reign of Darius the Great of the Persian Achaemenids.⁴⁾ However, they began to engage seriously in international trade only in the first century C.E. when the Kushan Empire rose to power. It is thought that at the dawn of this new age, as will be further discussed below, the Sogdians, along with Indians and Bactrians, moved eastwards in pursuit of trade. This also coincided with a time when the new Buddhist school of Mahāyāna Buddhism was emerging in Gandhāra, and its teachings spread together with these traders via Central Asia to

East Asia.⁵⁾

Why, then, did the Sogdians head eastwards? There are, of course, signs in the Caucasus region and elsewhere that they were engaged in trade in the west too,⁶⁾ but these are in no way comparable with their activities in the east. This is probably related in part to the way in which the main routes of the Silk Road trade extended at the time. On the subject of contemporary trading routes, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§ 64), an account written around the latter part of the first century C.E. by a Greek merchant living in Egypt, informs us that *Seres* wool, yarn, and cloth from *Thīnai* were brought through Bactra to Barygaza.⁷⁾ But it also states that the land of *This* was not easy of access, and few men came from there, and seldom.

“*Thīnai*” and “*This*” mentioned in this account are most likely cognates of the same word from which the present-day word “China” derives and come from Qin, the name of the state that unified China in 221 B.C.E. Further, “*Seres* yarn and cloth” refers to silk yarn and silk cloth from China.⁸⁾ It is thus known from this account that the main trade route from China at the time passed through Bactra, the capital of Bactria (modern Balkh in Afghanistan) and reached the port of Barygaza on the west coast of India (modern Bharuch in southeastern Gujarat in west India). Around this time the Kushan Empire was coming to prominence in the vicinity of Bactra and was advancing into India, while the entrepôt trade with the Roman and Han Empires was also thriving, and the above account tallies well with these facts. In addition, this trade route was connected from the west coast of India to the Roman Empire by maritime trade via the Indian Ocean, and evidence of this trade route is present already in the third millennium B.C.E. during the era of the four great civilizations.⁹⁾ In fact, the overland trade route traversing eastern and western Eurasia via Iran proper began to operate fully in the Common Era only after the second half of the eighth century when Baghdad, the capital of the Islamic Abbasid caliphate, was linked with Sogdiana via the Khorasan highway. Therefore, it was only natural that the Sogdians should have advanced eastwards along the main route of the overland Silk Road.

In this connection it may be noted that although the Sogdians spoke an Iranian language, they did not use the word *kārvān*, of Iranian origin, to refer to a “caravan,” and instead they used the word *sart* for “caravan” and the word *sartpaw* for “caravan leader.” These are not native Sogdian terms, but loanwords that entered Sogdian via Bactrian from Indic *sārtha* and *sārthavāha*. This indicates that at the time Sogdians and Bactrians were

being guided or accompanied by Indians when they set out for regions in the east.¹⁰⁾

During the period in the Common Era up until the eighth century, the primary focus of this article, the main route of the overland Silk Road from the east did not extend all the way to Iran proper. Of course, this does not mean to say that no transportation routes extended eastwards from Iran proper or that traders did not travel back and forth along these routes. However, when considering the Sogdians' trade, it should be clearly recognized that the regions east of Iran proper were their principal sphere of activity.

(2) What Was the Caravan Trade?

The eastward advance of Sogdian traders continued until the Tang period, and during this time they established colonies in the main cities in each region and used these as bases from which to engage in trade. It would be no exaggeration to say that by about the eighth century colonies where they had settled were to be found in the main cities dotted throughout eastern Central Eurasia east of Sogdiana (see Map).

However, once nomadic peoples began a large-scale migration towards agricultural and settled regions across all of Eurasia from around the second to third centuries, China proper was shaken in a major way, and the Sogdians' trading activities also suffered huge obstacles. A picture of Sogdian trade around this time can be gained to some extent from some of their letters composed at the start of the fourth century.

These letters are generally known as the *Ancient Letters* and were discovered in a ruined watch tower guarding the western approaches to the oasis of Dunhuang 敦煌, located at the western end of the Hexi 河西 Corridor, which linked China with Central Asia. Eight letters in all have been identified, and one of them was sent by the Sogdian Nanai-vandak to Nanai-thvār and his son Varzakk in Samarkand.¹¹⁾

The letter itself is surmised to have been written at Guzang 姑臧 (a.k.a. Wuwei 武威 or Liangzhou 涼州), an oasis at the eastern end of the Hexi Corridor, and it is thought that the person who was carrying this letter together with the other letters was subjected to an inspection at a military outpost in the vicinity of Dunhuang to which the watch tower was attached, and the letters were unfortunately confiscated.

In the first half of the letter in question it is stated that Luoyang 洛陽 had fallen to the Huns (Xiongnu 匈奴). This has been the subject of much

debate, and currently it is considered to refer to the Yongjia 永嘉 uprising, which occurred in 311, and the letter was probably written soon after this incident. It is also evident from this letter that Sogdians had established colonies in oases dotted throughout Hexi, which they used as bases from which to pursue trade by sending people to central China, especially northern China. However, the letter stresses that it is impossible to know what has become of those operating in China, and it also describes in earnest terms just how difficult it is to maintain trade with central China. This letter could be taken as a business report about trade with China that was sent by Nanai-vandak, who had established a trading base in Hexi, to Nanai-thvār and his son Varzakk in Samarkand.

In the second half of the letter Nanai-vandak asks the father and son back in Samarkand in Sogdiana to manage some funds for him, and he also writes in concrete detail about a consignment of musk, probably purchased locally, to be sent to Samarkand and how it is to be divided among several colleagues in the homeland. This suggests that people back in the homeland and traders residing in Hexi were acting in concert with regard to the management of funds, the procurement of goods, and the division of profits.

As for the basic character of the caravan trade, reference may be made to the views of the Islamic scholar al-Dimashqī of the Abbasid period, who defined long-distance trade as “an operation by a corporate organization managed by traders who directly engage in commercial activities and by financiers (the state [=king], royal family, bureaucrats, military men, money brokers, wealthy landowners, etc.) who participate for the purpose of speculative profit.”¹²⁾ In other words, in the most basic form of long-distance trade merchants would collect capital from various people which they then used to purchase goods, and upon their return after having completed their trade they would return the principal to the financiers and divide the profits. This basic character is probably also applicable to the trading activities of Sogdians.

The above letter was written not by a merchant who had arrived from the Sogdian homeland but by a Sogdian living in a Sogdian settlement where he had migrated. But even so it can be inferred from the letter that such settlers did not live cut off from their homeland but acted in close concert with people back in Sogdiana. It is evident from their letters that Sogdians living in these settlements did not merely support the activities of Sogdian merchants who had come all the way from their homeland but partnered directly with high personages and merchants in their home-

land, and one gains a picture of Sogdians in Hexi who purchased goods locally for people in their homeland who were partners in their economic activities. It is quite conceivable that large merchants in Sogdiana established local bases for trade, and Nanai-vandak too may have been a merchant who ran a type of agency that had been established in Hexi to act as a foothold for developing trade with China.

(3) The Basic Composition and Size of Caravans

It has been pointed out in connection with the composition of caravans that they varied in size, ranging from those sent by the state to those formed by individual merchants.¹³⁾ Starting from the smallest in size, there were instances in which merchants covered short distances by themselves. But when it came to travelling longer distances, the basic unit was usually the family, to which were added a number of retainers, resulting in caravans ranging in size from three or four people to about ten people.¹⁴⁾ Details of some caravans formed by individual Sogdian merchants who were active in the eighth century in the Tarim Basin, lying between the Tianshan 天山 Mountains and the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains (southeastern Turkistan, or Nanjiang 南疆, in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China), are given in the following table.

Caravan Leader	Caravan Members	Slaves	Livestock	reference
1. Shi Randian 石染典	2 labourers (Sogdians)	1 male	10 mules	<i>Tuwen4</i> , pp. 275–276.
2. Mi Xunzhi 米巡職 (aged 30)		1 boy (aged 15) 1 girl (aged 12)	1 camel, 15 sheep	<i>Tuwen3</i> , p. 306.
3. Kang Weiyiluoshi 康尾義羅施 (aged 30)	1 labourer (Sogdian)	1 female	3 mules, 1 horse	<i>Tuwen3</i> , pp. 346, 349.
4. Tuhuoluo Fuyan 吐火羅拂延 (aged 30)		2 males	3 mules	<i>Tuwen3</i> , p. 349.
5. Tuhuoluo Moseduo 吐火羅磨色多		1 male, 2 females	2 camels, 5 mules	<i>Tuwen3</i> , p. 349.
6. He Hushuci 何胡數刺	1 labourer (Sogdian)		3 mules	<i>Tuwen3</i> , p. 350.
7. Kang Gecha 康紇槎	2 sons, 3 labourers (Sogdians)	1 female	12 mules	<i>Tuwen3</i> , pp. 347, 350.

This table shows that while in the case of larger caravans the head of the caravan would take with him as many as five other people, consisting of his sons and labourers, in most cases he took only one or two people with him. In the case of (3) Kang Weiyuoshi through to (7) Kang Gecha, they moved as a single party, but even so there were only about twelve of them in all. It is also evident that they took with them male and female slaves to sell and livestock such as horses, mules, camels, and sheep. In places such as Turfan on the northern perimeter of the Tarim Basin it was chiefly mules that were used for carrying goods and so on. However, when travelling long distances, it was extremely dangerous to cross the desert regions of Central Asia in such small parties, a fact that is clearly conveyed by Xuanzang's 玄奘 account of his travels in Central Asia quoted below.

What method of travel, then, was usually chosen as the safest option? I wish to consider this in the next section.

III. Control of the Silk Road by Nomad States and the Caravan Trade

(1) Nomad States and Sogdians

As was noted above, from the second to third century onwards Eurasia underwent major changes, and in the fifth century there emerged fresh moves towards realignment. In western Turkistan the Hephthalites stepped up their activities, as did the Rouran 柔然 on the Mongolian Plateau, Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 in Qinghai, and the Northern Wei, founded by the Xianbei, in northern China. At the same time, the activities of Sogdians once again gathered momentum, and during this period their colonies were not restricted to China proper, but also spread to the steppe region in the north (see Map). A background factor in this was the establishment of a powerful nomad state by the Hephthalites in Sogdiana and Afghanistan. The Northern Wei, which rose to power around the same time, exchanged envoys with the Hephthalites, and in this new state of affairs the activities of the Sogdians were revitalized.

In the following sixth century there arose a Türk nomad state (Tujue), and once it had defeated the Hephthalites with a pincer attack in conjunction with the Persian Sassanids, its power expanded from Mongolia in the east to Sogdiana and beyond to Afghanistan in the west. The emergence of these nomadic forces from the fifth century onwards drew the Sogdians towards the steppe region in the north.

(2) The Travel and Transport System of the Türk Nomad State

It may be supposed that the establishment of a powerful nomad state would have been welcomed by Sogdian traders in that it would guarantee safety when travelling and maintain law and order, which were indispensable for pursuing trade. In particular, written orders from top leaders to provide relays would have afforded them the greatest convenience when travelling long distances. For example, although not written for a merchant, in a letter written for Xuanzang to the *qayan* of the Türks by the king of Gaochang 高昌 we read as follows:

[The king of the kingdom of Gaochang] composed a letter in which he said [to the *qayan*], “The Master (Xuanzang) is [like] my younger brother and wishes to seek the Dharma in the countries of India. May the *Qayan* treat him with kindness, as he would treat me. I would also request that you issue orders to the countries west [of your court] to send the Master out of their domains from stage to stage by relay horses.” (*Da Ci’ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 1)

The word *wuluo* 鄔落 appearing here in the term *wuluo ma* 鄔落馬 (“relay horse”) corresponds to Turkic *ulay* and signifies a beast of burden used in the post-station system. Whenever an oasis state, etc., under the suzerainty of the Türk *qayan* received an order to supply *ulay*, it had to ensure that it was provided. This did not simply entail the provision of horses as a means of transport, and the provision of *ulay* also included food and lodgings. With the establishment of nomad states, a system of travel and transport in the form of the *ulay* system was put in place, and there was established a system whereby travel and transport were guaranteed by the *qayan* of a nomad state, that is, a relay system that provided means of transport, food supplies, and so on in oasis states, etc., that served as transport centres when travelling.¹⁵⁾ It is considered that, as far as traders were concerned, forming a relationship with the *qayan* and those able to make requests of the *qayan* for the provision of *ulay* (i.e., members of the ruling class of a nomad state) would have been advantageous for their trading activities.

(3) The Establishment of Travel and Transport Systems by Oasis States

Nomad states were not composed only of nomads, and they also ruled over the sedentary population in oases and permanent settlers in agricultural regions. In the case of the Tarim Basin, numerous oases were scattered around its perimeter, and in the larger oases a large town was built at their centre. These included the oasis towns of Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan to be seen in the accompanying map, and oasis states were founded with these towns as their capitals.

When viewed as a whole, it is clear that the oasis states were established at certain intervals, and these served as important trading centres along the Silk Road. Furthermore, although they submitted to the *qayan*'s suzerainty, they each established their own travel and transport systems within their borders. It may therefore be readily imagined that the majority of Sogdian traders, who were not afforded the conveniences of the *ulay* system, were subjected to inspections by each of the oasis states along the Silk Road where they stopped or passed through for the purposes of trade.

How, then, did they actually enter and leave an oasis state? To answer this question, reference may be made to a transit permit inscribed on a wooden tablet that was issued by the kingdom of Guizi 龜茲, which was founded in the oasis of Kucha during the period of Türk rule. This transit permit is written in Tocharian, the language of Kucha, and reads as follows:¹⁶⁾

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Inside: main text

Ywārttaś wrote [this] and gives it to Kṣematewe-orśa (a barrier station official) of Yanshui district. Act in accordance with my orders. [So-and-so] is going. Let him pass through together with ten men, five horses, and one cow. Do not let any more than these pass through. On the 14th day, 7th month, 20th year of the reign [of King Suvarṇadeva this wooden tablet was issued].

It is clear that this transit permit was a permit authorizing passage through a barrier station, or checkpoint, located in Yanshui 鹽水 district within the jurisdiction of Guizi,¹⁷⁾ and it is also evident that it was a permit for going 'out' through the checkpoint. It was probably a permit for

leaving the kingdom. It is thus clear that Guizi supervised the passage of caravans by means of checkpoints. But there is no evidence that there were any strict restrictions or controls when entering Guizi to reside and engage in trade, and it would seem that basically people were checked at a barrier station only when leaving the country. When one considers that at the time there were armed clashes between oasis states over caravan routes, which affected the flow of caravans, enticing caravans to visit oasis states had direct bearings on their prosperity. In this respect too it may be assumed that basically oasis states welcomed caravans without blocking their entry in any way, and so far as travel checks went, it is to be surmised that the system was one in which oasis states checked the passage of people at checkpoints chiefly when they left their territory. These checks, moreover, did not involve detailed inspections of goods and products, and only the number of people and livestock and their origins were checked. This would indicate that for oasis states it was above all people and livestock that constituted the basic assets that sustained them, and they kept a close eye on the illegitimate outflow of these assets.

Further, as was the case in nomad states, oasis states too established official travel and transport systems within their own territory, and if the king ordered them to do so, the oases under his jurisdiction had to bear the burden of providing relays.¹⁸⁾ As well, oasis states requested various forms of support from each other in the name of their respective kings. There can be no doubt that joining a state-sponsored embassy was advantageous for merchants in their trading activities. In this respect, it was important also in oasis states for merchants to form relationships with members of the ruling class.

(4) Oasis States and Embassies from Nomad States

As was seen above, in the middle of the sixth century there arose in the northern steppes a nomad state usually known as the Türk khanate, and it wielded enormous power across Central Asia and the Mongolian Plateau. Soon after they rose to power, the Türks brought under their control the Gaochang kingdom ruled by the royal house of Qu 麴 that had been established in Turfan. The Türks themselves split into the Eastern Türks and Western Türks in 583, and it is known from some of the Turfan documents that the Gaochang kingdom was receiving embassies sent by the Western Türks. These documents are a group of documents that could be described as ledgers recording the provision of supplies

(many of which record the provision of grains during “one and a half months” sometime between 584 and 587¹⁹⁾). An analysis of these documents reveals that during this period of one and a half months more than forty embassies were received from the Western Türks.²⁰⁾ If we provisionally calculate the total annual number of embassies on the basis of these figures, we find that during this period Gaochang was receiving more than 320 embassies annually.²¹⁾

Furthermore, these fragmentary documents record that during a half-month more than 138 *shi* 石 of barley flour, 2 *shi* of foxtail millet, 15 *shi* of common millet, and 2 *shi* of parched barley flour were disbursed, and that when supplying provisions to embassies, barley flour and common millet or parched barley flour and foxtail millet were often provided together. Although the figures are merely indicative, a simple calculation based on the above figures gives annual quantities of approximately 3,330 *shi* of barley flour, 50 *shi* of foxtail millet, 370 *shi* of common millet, and 50 *shi* of parched barley millet. Of course, it was not only these grains that were supplied, and wine, dates, bread, meat, oil, and fuel in the form of grass and brushwood were also provided. In addition, embassies were given travel provisions and gifts of cotton, brocade, and silk. Within the span of a mere one and a half months more than forty embassies, each requiring such a large outlay, arrived from nomad states.²²⁾

Who among the Western Türks was sending all these embassies? As is shown below, the above-mentioned documents show that they were being sent by diverse people, starting with the great *qayan* of the Western Türks.²³⁾

- A. *da kehan* 大可汗 (great *qayan*)
- B. *kedun* 可敦 (*qatun*) (or *gongzhu* 公主 [*quncuy*])
- C. *tiqin* 提勳 (*tegin*)
- D. *daguan* 大官 (officers closely associated with *qayans*) (*tarqan*)
- E. *xiao kehan* 小可汗 (minor *qayans*) (*tanhan kehan* 貪淖珂寒, *beixiang kehan* 北廂珂寒 [northern *qayan*], *nanxiang kehan* 南廂珂寒 [southern *qayan*])
- F. *yifugu* 移浮孤 (*yehu* 葉護) (*yabyu*)
- G. *she* 拙 (設) (*šad*)
- H. *xijin* 希瑾 (*irkin*)

Among the above, the actual identity of (A) great *qayan* is unclear, but he may be provisionally regarded as the top leader of the Western Türks,

and at the time Apa *qayan* (Abo *kehan* 阿博珂寒) held this position. (B) *qatun* was the *qayan*'s wife, while (C) *tegin* corresponded to his sons. In the above-mentioned ledgers, it is recorded that the son (referred to as *wai-sheng teqin* 外甥提勳) of the daughter (Gaochang *gongzhu* 高昌公主 ["princess of Gaochang"]) of Qu Baomao 麴寶茂 (sixth king of the Qu dynasty), who had married into the Western Türks, was sent to Gaochang as an envoy. (D) *tarqan* is thought to have basically referred to aides of the *qayan*. Under the Western Türks, *tarqan* was also a post to which men were temporarily appointed when they were dispatched as envoys of the *qayan*. Especially well known are Maniakh, a Sogdian who was sent to Persia by the Türk Dizaboulos (Silzabul, possibly the younger brother of Ili *qayan* [Yili *kehan* 伊利可汗]), and an envoy who, after Maniakh's death, was sent to Rome together with Maniakh's son, and these were all given the post of *tarqan* when they were sent on their missions. It would, however, be best to assume that *tarqan* were not necessarily attached only to the great *qayan*.²⁴⁾

In contrast, (E)-(H) were all important constituent groups of a nomad state. While the Türk state was centred on the great *qayan*, these groups possessed their own "territory" with its inhabitants, and together they formed a loose confederation. (E)-(G) were all high-ranking positions held by members of the *qayan*'s family, while (H) *irkin* was a position held by leaders of tribes ruled by the Türks, and the *irkin* mentioned in the above documents belonged to Türk nomadic tribes living in the Tianshan Mountains and in their northern foothills to the north of Turfan. This shows that the nomadic groups from whom the Gaochang kingdom received embassies were not limited to large groups, and also extended to groups with whom they were in close contact.

In short, the embassies sent from the Türk state were sent by many diverse groups ranging from (A) to (H), who each formed their own embassies and sent them to the Gaochang kingdom. Embassies were sent with the greatest frequency by (A) the great *qayan* and (E) minor *qayans*, and during a half-month they were sending a total of six embassies.

(5) Embassies and Sogdian Trading Activities

What sorts of people participated in these embassies? When viewed as a whole, it is found that many of their members were Sogdians with Sogdian names. These include some thought to have been Sogdians with names suggestive of Türk nomads, such as Cao Touliu Tanhan 曹頭六

貪旱 and Cao Qiena Tanhan 曹伽那貪旱.²⁵⁾ In addition, there are also a small number of craftsman's Sogdian names such as “*tieshi* 鐵師 (ironsmith) Ju[zhi] 居[織] ([’kwcyk])”²⁶⁾ and “*jinshi* 金師 (goldsmith) Mopantuo 莫畔陀 (Makh Vandak [m’x βntk]).”²⁷⁾ It is to be surmised that these were ironsmiths and goldsmiths working under the direct orders of the *qayan*.²⁸⁾

In other words, the leaders of various groups existing within a nomad state dispatched embassies in which Sogdians in their service were appointed as either envoys or their retainers, and in the oasis states to which these embassies were sent they coerced the rulers into providing lodgings, provisions, and gifts. At the same time, it is to be surmised that they took the opportunity to purchase the various luxury goods that accumulated in oases (gold, silver, musk, etc.) and also sold their own products or transit trade goods. In point of fact, it has been ascertained that at least one member of an embassy sent to the Gaochang kingdom did business at the market.²⁹⁾ It may thus be assumed that nomad states sent embassies to oasis states primarily for the purpose of trade.

At the same time, the embassies that brought with them large numbers of caravan traders were actively encouraged by the oasis states, too, because they brought economic prosperity, even if they did entail the burden of lodging and feeding them. It could be said that nomad states and oasis states built up a truly symbiotic relationship.

Nor should one overlook the fact that Sogdians were serving not only nomadic powers but also those wielding power in oasis states. It is known that in the Gaochang kingdom under the Qu royal house in Turfan Sogdians with the family name Shi 史 held posts that involved their close attendance on the king.³⁰⁾ Especially famous was the attendant (*shilang* 侍郎) Shi Huanxin 史歡信, who accompanied Xuanzang by royal command when Xuanzang left the Gaochang kingdom for the court of the Türk *qayan* to the north of the Tianshan Mountains. Thus Sogdians would often have been sent as the king's envoys, but it is thought that, as was the case with the embassies sent by various groups making up a nomad state, they would have been sent primarily for the purpose of trade. It may also be assumed that their destinations were other oasis states and various groups forming a nomad state, starting with the *qayan*.

Also worth noting is that in the Gaochang kingdom under the Qu royal house a tax called *chengjiaqian* 稱價錢 was levied on transactions at the market where foreigners did business, and the majority of those who paid this tax were Sogdians, with the tax monies being all deposited in the “inner treasury” (*neizang* 內藏). This “inner treasury” is thought to have

contrasted with the “government treasury” (*guan-zang* 官藏), and there is a strong possibility that it was an office in charge of the royal household’s finances. It would also seem to have been administered by officials in close attendance on the king. It is considered that in oasis states too the dispatch of Sogdian envoys would have been for the purpose of money-making by the royal household.

It is thought that when they travelled long distances, the small caravans formed by individual merchants would in fact have often travelled together with official embassies. For example, in the *Da Ci’ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* (vol. 2) it is recorded that after Xuanzang, having received the warm patronage of the king of Gaochang, set out for the court of the *qayan* of the Western Türks with a state-sponsored caravan, there occurred the following incident before their arrival in Karashahr, Gaochang’s western neighbour.

At that time several tens of Sogdian merchants who were fellow travellers, being eager to [enter the city of Karashahr and] do business before [others], secretly set out in the middle of the night, but after having gone 10 *li* 里 (approx. 5 kilometres), they encountered robbers who killed them after having robbed them, and no one escaped the disaster.

The Sogdian “fellow travellers” mentioned here would have been individual Sogdian merchants who were travelling together with the caravan that the king of Gaochang had organized for Xuanzang, and we are told that there were several dozen of them. Judging from their behaviour—leaving the caravan in order to reach Karashahr before everyone else for the sake of some small immediate profit—it is highly likely that they were mainly short-distance merchants trading between Turfan and Karashahr, and this incident clearly illustrates how travelling together with long-distance caravans reduced for them too the risks of robbery and so on. There can be no doubt that even in the case of such localized trading activities by individual merchants the sending of large-scale caravans organized by the state or some other group provided valuable opportunities for travel that reduced the risks of robbery and so on, which were unavoidable when crossing the desert. It could in fact be said that it was the embassies sent by nomad states and other states and groups that underpinned the caravan trade in Central Asia.

Once powerful nomadic political authority arose in the steppe region,

a symbiotic relationship was formed with the oasis states dotted about the oasis region on the basis of a ruler-ruled relationship between the *qaγan* and the kings of the oasis states. Further, while oasis states would sometimes become fiercely pitted against each other regarding changes to trading routes, which affected visits by caravans, they often built cooperative relationships aimed at their mutual profit. In the midst of these interstate relationships, the embassies that were frequently organized at a state or group level provided on a regular basis a means for travelling across the desert and steppe in comparative safety. As well as bringing an end to the hitherto unstable and dangerous travelling environment, it is thought that it became routine for individual merchants to join and accompany such embassies as the need arose. In this fashion, the movement of various kinds of embassies encouraged trading activities at the level of individual merchants while also developing in a multistratified manner long-distance trade and intraregional small- to medium-scale trade.

As we have seen in the above, the flourishing state of the caravan trade along the Silk Road could be said to have been underpinned by the exchange of the many embassies that were sent not only between nomad states and neighbouring countries or between nomad groups and oasis states but also between oasis states.³¹⁾

IV. The Caravan Trade under the Tang Empire's Rule over Central Asia

(1) The System for Administering the Population

In the first half of the seventh century the Tang militarily invaded and occupied Central Asia, and for a time it also incorporated the Mongolian Plateau into its domains. As a result, the Türks' system of rule that had been in place until then collapsed, and the Tang gained almost complete control of eastern Central Eurasia. It goes without saying that under these circumstances it was inevitable that the trading activities of Sogdian traders who had been active along the Silk Road should also have undergone major changes.

What is worth noting above all else is that the regions of Central Asia became an advance zone where troops of the Tang Empire were stationed, and Tang rule strongly extended to this region. This was especially noticeable in Turfan and other parts of the eastern Tianshan region, which came under direct Tang rule, and the implementation of the *lüling*

律令 system, which constituted the basis of Chinese rule, was not merely nominal and was in some respects quite thoroughgoing.

For example, in areas that came under direct rule prefectures (*zhou* 州) and counties (*xian* 縣) were established, and the inhabitants were basically entered in household registers as “commoners” (*baixing* 百姓) for the purposes of administrative management. The Sogdian settlements too, which are thought to have until then been only under indirect Chinese rule, were at this time fully incorporated as townships (*xiang* 鄉) under the jurisdiction of prefectures and counties. In the case of Turfan, five counties were established under the prefecture of Xizhou 西州, and the Sogdian settlement became the township of Chonghua 崇化 under the jurisdiction of Gaochang county, Xizhou. Again, in the case of Dunhuang, the prefecture of Shazhou 沙州 was established in this oasis under the aegis of Tang rule, and the local Sogdian settlement similarly became the township of Conghua 從化 under the jurisdiction of Dunhuang county, Shazhou.³²⁾

Other oasis states such as Karashahr, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan came under indirect Chinese rule, and here too pseudo-prefectures were established under area commands (*dudufu* 都督府), known as “loose-rein” (*jimi* 羈縻) area commands and prefectures, and their inhabitants were also entered in household registers as “commoners.” Unlike areas under direct rule, no counties were established under “loose-rein” prefectures, and townships and villages (*cun* 村) were placed directly under the jurisdiction of prefectures. For example, in the case of Khotan natural settlements known as *au* or *bisa* were merely given Chinese names with the Chinese equivalents of “township” or “village.” In the oasis of Khotan the existence of a “Sogdian village” (*sūli bisa*) has also been confirmed.³³⁾

In order to ensure the collection of taxes, the principle of permanent residence was applied to “commoners,” and there were severe restrictions on movement from the prefecture or county of permanent residence. But it was also clear that it was unrealistic to enter all inhabitants in household registers as commoners, and from the outset the authorities recognized the existence of people who were authorized to travel outside their place of permanent residence. To distinguish them from commoners, they were given the designation “temporary resident” (*xingke* 行客). These were not limited to just merchants, and they also included people such as soldiers who had settled where they had been stationed. These temporary residents were also entered in a household register, separate from that for commoners, and were liable for taxes.³⁴⁾

As for Sogdians who entered the Tang Empire from regions outside the Empire, those who arrived individually and were active as traders were administered as “foreign Sogdian traders” (*xinghu* 興胡), an official designation given to Sogdians who had newly arrived from outside the Tang Empire. Like temporary residents, these “foreign Sogdian traders” were also entered in registers separate from the household registers for commoners of prefectures and counties and were levied the same taxes as temporary residents.³⁵⁾ However, they also seem to have travelled outside Tang territory, and on such occasions they were sometimes referred to as “foreign Sogdian traders from Chinese territory.” In addition, there were also immigrants who arrived in groups, such as for example Sogdians who came to submit to Chinese rule from among the Eastern Türks on the Mongolian Plateau, where they had acquired the traits of nomadic culture. In order to distinguish them from other Sogdians, they are known as “Sogdian-Türks,” and in a broad sense they include nomads who came under Sogdian influence and consequently assumed Sogdian family names.³⁶⁾ There were also some who professed to be of Uighur or Xi 奚 origin. It is thought that under the system of “loose-rein” prefectures all these people were entered in household registers as commoners of the “six prefectures for Sogdians who submitted to the Tang (*liu hu-zhou* 六胡州).”³⁷⁾

In this manner Central Asia was covered by a system of rule whereby in principle all people living in territories of the Tang Empire were managed and administered by means of household registers. What also had an enormous impact on traders was the dramatic changes in travel and transport and the trading environment that were introduced by the Tang.

(2) The Establishment of Public Roads

A major change in travel and transport that occurred when Central Asia was placed under Tang rule was the establishment of post roads (*yidao* 驛道), which were public roads built to facilitate Tang rule. At the same time, these post roads also linked the provinces to the capital at Chang’an 長安 and served as tribute roads along which tribute goods to be presented to the emperor were transported. Some of these roads traversed Central Asia, where they were known as “Chinese roads” (*handao* 漢道) and distinguished from other roads. Post roads were administered and maintained by troops stationed in the regions through which they passed, and priority was given to official business when it came to travelling along

these roads and making use of the travel facilities and means of transport available along them. Private travel along these roads was in principle restricted to officials, but in actual practice many Sogdians and other traders also travelled along these public roads. It was in this way that there evolved under Tang rule trade routes for caravans that were protected by Tang troops.³⁸⁾

(3) Control of Travel by Means of Transit Permits

Once these post roads had been established as the main routes through desert regions and came to be administered and maintained by the authorities, travel and trade also came to be subjected to various strict controls in conjunction with the administration of the population by means of household registers. First, as regards travel, all movement was in principle placed under state control through officially issued transit permits, and any movement without a transit permit was deemed to be illegal. Transit permits were, moreover, as a rule issued only to government officials, soldiers, and official envoys, but, as was noted above, private travel was also recognized.

Further, trade too underwent enormous changes as a result of Tang rule. In terms of qualitative changes, a major change concerned the nature of the caravan trade. Up until then there had basically been no restrictions whatsoever on forming caravans, but because travel and trade came to be strictly controlled under Tang rule, when forming and travelling in caravans people were compelled to follow the system for controlling travel that had been instituted by the Tang, and permission from the Tang authorities was necessary for private travel too. In other words, it became possible to form a caravan only after having received transit permits from the Tang.³⁹⁾

Tang travel permits can be broadly divided into two main types, which researchers have until now referred to as *guosuo* 過所 (passport) and *gongyan* 公驗 (official validation). *Gongyan* signifies certificates in general, but here it is used in a restricted meaning as a transit permit, in which meaning it is used in both a broad sense and a narrow sense.⁴⁰⁾

First, the *guosuo* was basically issued for long-distance travel that entailed passing through barrier stations (*guanjin* 關津). The destination was specified and the barrier stations to be passed through en route were also fixed, but so long as these restrictions were observed, the traveller was able to choose his own route to his destination. Another striking char-

acteristic of the *guosuo* was that it was not impossible to reside for long periods at places en route to one's destination, and there is no evidence whatsoever of any time restrictions having been imposed.

As was noted above, the basic policy of the Tang regarding travel was to give priority to travel by officials and in principle not to permit movement by those who were entered as "commoners" in household registers. Of course, it is hardly likely that commoners would not have moved about, but even so it would presumably have been exceedingly difficult for mere "commoners" to acquire a *guosuo*. In order to deal with this situation, Sogdian merchants are thought to have acquired honorary official titles with money, etc., and to have then applied for a *guosuo*. Actual examples of *guosuo* obtained by Sogdian merchants have survived among the Turfan documents.⁴¹⁾

However, in the case of short journeys from one prefecture to a neighbouring prefecture, even mere "commoners" were able to obtain transit permits from the Tang authorities. These were what have until now been generally known as *gongyan*. But there were in fact two types of *gongyan*. One was called *zhou die* 州牒 (or *xing die* 行牒) and was issued on the authority of the prefecture, and it took the format of an official communication (*die* 牒), which was adapted for use as a transit permit. Unlike the *guosuo*, strict time restrictions were imposed, and it is known that between Xizhou (Turfan) or Shazhou (Dunhuang) and a neighbouring prefecture one month was the limit for the return journey. This transit permit was, however, treated as the equivalent of a permit issued to an official envoy, and in this respect it is to be surmised that, like the *guosuo*, it was basically not something that was issued to mere "commoners."⁴²⁾

The second type of *gongyan*, on the other hand, was readily issued to "commoners" in a simple format, and it corresponds to *gongyan* in a narrow sense of the term. It is considered to have been a transit permit for travelling between counties and took a quite simple form: a commoner submitted an application called a *ci* 辭, to which an official added a few words authorizing the holder's passage. Officials were obliged to submit applications to a government office in the format of a *die*, but commoners were not permitted to use the *die* and were instead required to submit applications in a special format called *ci*. There are very few actual examples of such permits issued by a prefecture, but one has been discovered among the documents from Turfan.⁴³⁾

It was thus difficult for ordinary commoners with no special rank or position to form a long-distance caravan, but it is evident that they were

permitted to travel short distances and so engage in trade. If they wished to travel longer distances, there was available a system whereby they could be employed as retainers by the caravan of a trader able to acquire a *guosuo* or by a government-operated caravan and so engage in trading activities.

(4) Tang Officialdom and Sogdians

During the period of Tang rule large numbers of government-run caravans were in fact travelling along the Silk Road. This was because, having stationed troops in the oasis region, the Tang authorities had to transport military supplies annually in the form of vast volumes of silk fabric. The silk fabrics were mainly allocated to paying for the soldiers' wages and purchasing food supplies in order to manage the troops in a stable manner. This imposed an enormous annual outlay on the Tang government, and it relied on long-distance traders such as Sogdians for the transport of these supplies.

For example, in the case of silk fabric, it was collected as a corvée exemption tax or tax in kind (mainly in the form of degummed silk cloth or raw silk) and was then sent all the way to Central Asia. Initially the relay system was used, but as the volumes increased, the transportation of this silk fabric was in effect contracted out to Sogdian and other long-distance traders. On such occasions the traders would employ commoners as porters, and even such commoners, when they took part in this long-distance transportation of silk fabric and dispersed at their final destination, were issued with a *guosuo* for the return journey. The transportation of these vast volumes of silk fabric was on such a scale that it turned Central Asia from a region where silver coins from West Asia had been circulating into a part of China's economic sphere, where silk fabric circulated as a type of commodity currency.⁴⁴⁾

Further, in the case of grain for military provisions, the authorities purchased it in order to encourage the flow of grain from granary oases to oases where grain was in short supply, and it was traders travelling between these oases who responded to the government's buying of grain. As incentives to encourage them to take on the transportation of grain, the authorities not only bought it at high prices but also promised to make advance payments of silk fabric prior to the delivery of the grain and to issue *guosuo*. In addition, it is thought that use of these traders was made also in the transportation of goods required by troops stationed in the region.⁴⁵⁾

As was noted earlier, during the period of Tang rule it was mandatory to acquire a *guosuo* in order to form one's own caravan, and consequently traders needed to inveigle themselves somehow into the world of Tang officialdom. That the commoner Shi Randian from Xizhou bore, albeit nominally, the title of general (*jiangjun* 將軍) was simply because it was advantageous when applying for a *guosuo*.

One notices too that, in addition to such traders, there were in Xizhou (Turfan), apart from Sogdians with honorary official posts, many Sogdians in the position of *dian* 典. Many of these *dian* worked as clerks in government offices, and they were assigned not only to prefectures under direct Tang rule, but also to surrounding "loose-rein" prefectures inhabited by Türk tribes, with Sogdians being appointed to these posts. Further, these *dian* were often sent to other localities together with commissioners (*shi* 使), who were in charge of official business, or were themselves dispatched as messengers. For instance, among Chinese documents discovered in recent years there are some dealing with the repatriation of members of the Qarluq tribe during the Longshuo 龍朔 era (661–663), and it was a Sogdian *dian* who was sent to the area in question, to the north of the Tianshan Mountains, in order to gather information for dealing with this matter. This could be regarded as a prime example in which use was made of the presence of Sogdians, who had access to a transregional network for gathering information.⁴⁶⁾

Some Sogdians also served as soldiers and *biezou* 別奏. This latter was a retainer serving a high-ranking officer in an army garrison, and he was personally taken on by the officer. It is known that these retainers were employed by their masters as messengers, and it can also be confirmed that they operated together with *xinghu*, who were Sogdians from outside China.

Thus there were Sogdians who, although not traders, worked their way into the lower echelons of the world of officialdom and the military, where they seized various opportunities to move about. It is highly likely that, when doing so, they would have made efforts to accumulate wealth for themselves in cooperation with traders.

As we have seen in the above, there were aspects of the Silk Road trade that changed dramatically as a result of the fact that Central Asia was placed under direct Tang rule. It could be said, in other words, that the caravan trade changed in a major way so that officialdom came to play a leading role. In particular, Tang rule of Central Asia, including Turfan, necessitated the transportation of vast volumes of military sup-

plies in the form of silk fabric and grain in order to maintain the troops stationed in the main oases, and for this reason government-operated transport teams or caravans formed by private long-distance traders and so on acting in lieu of the government were frequently travelling across Central Asia. Prior to Tang rule, embassies sent by nomad groups of the Western Türks and by oasis states had been travelling back and forth with great frequency, and individual traders had accompanied these embassies, but after the imposition of Tang rule these embassies were replaced in certain respects by official and private transport teams carrying military supplies. Sogdians worked their way into Chinese officialdom, albeit into its lower ranks, and developed their trading activities to their own advantage. During the Tang, the Silk Road trade was vitalized as a result of eminently political and military factors.

V. The Shape of the Silk Road Trade: From the Perspective of Eurasian History

There is much about the Silk Road trade that remains unclear, but its basic shape can be delineated in the following way.

- (1) Many states and groups along the Silk Road, both within and without Central Asia, exchanged embassies for the purposes of trade and so on and built reciprocal relationships that benefited both parties.
- (2) The many embassies sent by these states and groups exerted a strong attraction for small caravans formed by individual traders insofar that they ensured safety of movement, and there were aspects in which the Silk Road caravan trade was driven forward by the exchange of embassies between states and other groups.

If we take into account our above investigations, it could be said that, especially during the period when powerful nomad states were established, this basic character became stronger, chiefly through the activities of the various groups making up nomad states.

There have, however, been times when Central Asia has been subjected to direct rule not by nomad states but by states based in neighbouring settled regions. If one excludes the period from the Qing dynasty down to the present day, this was in the case of especially eastern Central Asia the time of the Tang Empire. As a result of being placed under its direct rule, economic and social activities in Central Asia changed dramati-

cally, and the caravan trade in particular could be said to have undergone enormous change. Prior to Tang rule, embassies sent by nomad groups of the Western Türks and by oasis states had been travelling back and forth with great frequency, and individual traders accompanied these embassies, but after the imposition of Tang rule these embassies were replaced in certain respects by official and private transport teams carrying military supplies. Sogdians worked their way into Chinese officialdom, albeit into its lower ranks, and endeavoured to develop their trading activities to their own advantage.

If we take a macroscopic Eurasian view of these changes that took place from the time of the Türks to the Tang Empire, from the perspective of connections between the state on the one hand and transport and trade on the other, they can be explained in one respect in terms of the three lineages of Eurasian empires. That is to say, when considered from the vantage point of ways of linking the capital with the provinces, which constituted the cornerstone of imperial rule, the empires of Eurasia can be broadly divided into eastern, central, and western Eurasia.

- (1) eastern Eurasia: Chinese post-road system (*yichuan* 驛傳 system)
- (2) central Eurasia: *ulay* system
- (3) western Eurasia: *barīd* system

In eastern Eurasia the post-road system had been adopted since the Qin-Han Empire, while in the arid regions of central Eurasia there existed the tradition of the *ulay* system, which went back to the Xiongnu and Türks. *Ulay* is a Turkic word referring to relay horses, and there was created a relay system for sending messengers by the ruler's orders. Western Eurasia, on the other hand, had inherited the *barīd* system, which went back to the Assyrian, Persian, and Roman Empires. *Barīd* is an Arabic word borrowed from a Persian word meaning "courier," and its origins are said to go back as far as Assyrian. As in the Chinese system of post roads, relay stations were located along the main routes, and these underpinned the movement of people and goods, but importance was also attached to surveillance of the provinces and the gathering of information.

When considered in this light, the Tang Empire adopted a transportation system that was based on the post-road system of eastern Eurasia and also incorporated parts of the *ulay* system of central Eurasia, whereas the Islamic Empire took over the *barīd* system of western Eurasia. Under their respective travel and transport systems, the basic difference in state

integration under these two imperial realms lay in their stance towards the movement of people.

First, apart from the initial reign of Taizong 太宗, the Tang Empire basically implemented a thoroughgoing system for controlling travel and transport that relied on transit permits. It created a system in which all movement was in principle placed under state control through officially issued transit permits, and all movement without a transit permit was deemed to be illegal. This was because transit permits were only for government officials, military officers, and diplomatic envoys. In contrast, under the travel and transport system in the Islamic Empire, if we look at the policies of the Abbasid dynasty, unlike the Tang Empire, there was no issuing of transit permits by the authorities. On the contrary, the authorities guaranteed the free movement of merchants, and the state actively provided them with public transportation services. As can be inferred from this, the social status of traders and commerce clearly differed in these two imperial realms, and their high position in the Islamic world in particular is worth noting. This difference was rooted in the traditional values that had evolved in their respective societies, and their respective stances were basically carried over in subsequent periods too.

When considered in this light, it could be said that the flourishing state of the Silk Road trade during the Tang period, which involved the provision and operation of transport routes and a travel and transport system premised on use by officialdom and the development of the caravan trade under these conditions, was a phenomenon that occurred under special circumstances that were brought about by the placing of eastern Central Eurasia under Tang rule.

Notes

- 1) Mano 1977, 1978.
- 2) Mori 1978a, 1978b; Naitō 1978.
- 3) Moriyasu 1995, pp. 11–12; 2004, pp. 5–7; 2007, pp. 72–86; Mano 2008.
- 4) de la Vaissière 2002, p. 22 (2005, p. 18).
- 5) In recent years, it has been confirmed that Sogdians was not only engaged in the land trade, but also in the maritime trade. (cf. Rong 2007; Yoshida 2011, p. 61).
- 6) Ierusalimskaja 1985.
- 7) Murakawa 1993, p. 142.
- 8) Murakawa 1993, pp. 219–222, 276.
- 9) Kondō 2007.
- 10) Yoshida 1997, pp. 229–230.

- 11) For the full or partial text, see Harmatta 1979, pp. 160–163; Grenet, Sims-Williams, and de la Vaissière 2001, pp. 268–273; de la Vaissière 2002, pp. 56–57 (2005, pp. 43–45); Yoshida and Arakawa 2009.
- 12) Yajima 1991, p. 259.
- 13) Enoki 1979, p. 37.
- 14) Yoshida 2011, p. 67.
- 15) Arakawa 2010, pp. 23–32.
- 16) Qing 2013, p. 121; cf. Chao, Gaulier, and Pinault 1987, p. 86.
- 17) Qing 2013, p. 120.
- 18) Arakawa 2010, pp. 33–42.
- 19) Arakawa 2010, p. 6.
- 20) Arakawa 2010, pp. 79–86.
- 21) Arakawa 2010, p. 86; cf. Wu 1990, p. 80.
- 22) Arakawa 2010, pp. 90–91.
- 23) Arakawa 2010, pp. 79–86.
- 24) Arakawa 2010, pp. 98–100.
- 25) See “Zhaowu jiu-xing huren Cao Mo Wen Tuo deng mengji” 昭武九姓胡人曹莫門陀等名籍 in *Tuwen* 1, p. 359.
- 26) 'Kwcyk in Sogdian language means “Kuchean.” cf. Yoshida and Kageyama 2005, p. 305.
- 27) Makh Vandak in Sogdian language means “servant of the moon god.” Yoshida and Kageyama 2005, p. 305.
- 28) Wu 1991, p. 57.
- 29) Arakawa 2010, pp. 98–101.
- 30) Arakawa 2010, pp. 50–55.
- 31) Arakawa 2010, pp. 103–107.
- 32) Ikeda 1965.
- 33) Yoshida 2013, p. 158.
- 34) Arakawa 2010, pp. 340–344.
- 35) Arakawa 2010, pp. 360–365.
- 36) Moribe 2010, pp. 89–240.
- 37) Moribe 2010, pp. 98–121.
- 38) Arakawa 2010, pp. 176–181, 278–284.
- 39) Arakawa 2010, pp. 506–517.
- 40) Arakawa 2010, pp. 403–420.
- 41) For details, see Arakawa 2010, pp. 438–443; 2011b, pp. 180–183.
- 42) Arakawa 2010, pp. 391–399.
- 43) cf. Arakawa 2010, p. 437.
- 44) Arakawa 2010, pp. 518–533.
- 45) Arakawa 2011a.
- 46) Arakawa 2011c.

Abbreviation

Tuwen Tang Changru 唐長孺 (supvr.), Zhongguo Wenwu Yanjiusuo 中國文物研究所

所, Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu Bowuguan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館, and Wuhan Daxue Lishixi 武漢大學歷史系 (eds.), *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 [Documents unearthed in Turfan], 4 vols. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1992–96.

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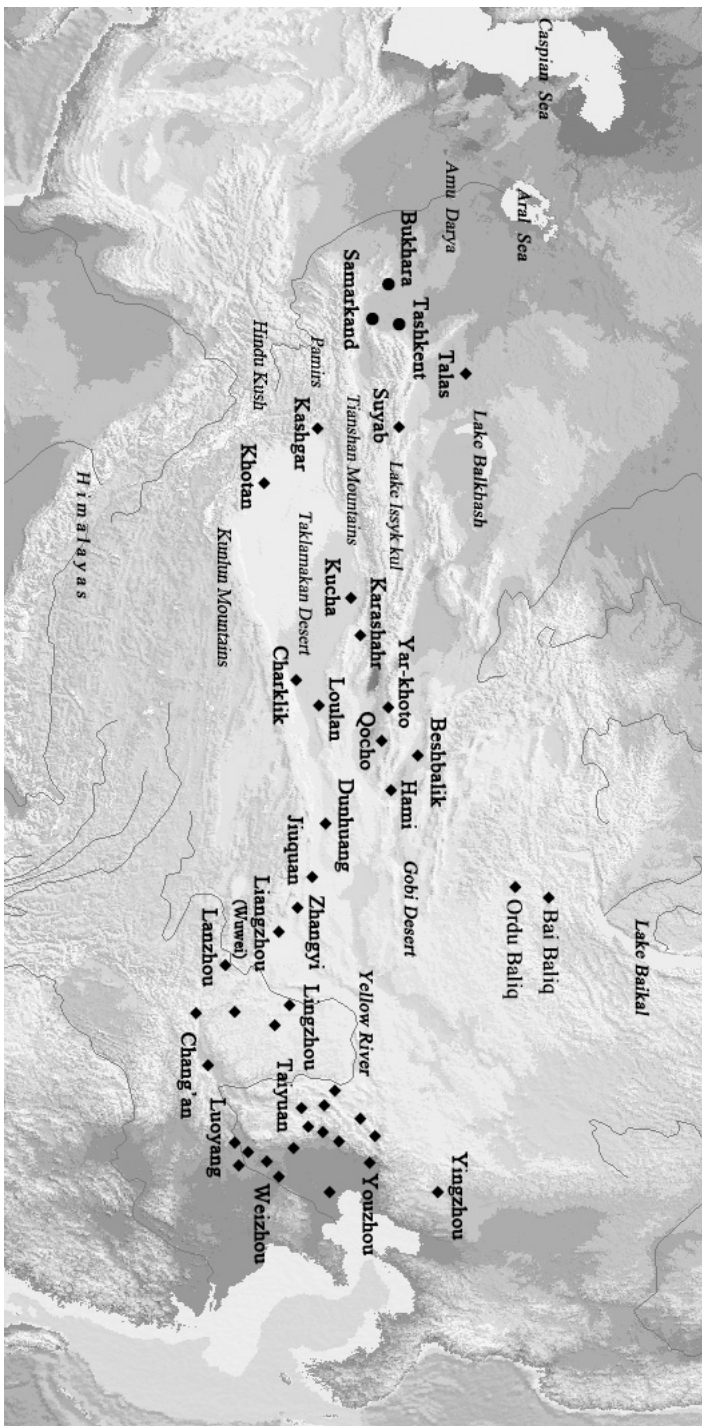
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Map. Sogdian settlements east of Sogdiana
(Created based on the World Atlas of Microsoft Encarta 2008)