

A Role of Sogds in the Political History of Northern China during the Tang and Five Dynasties Periods

MORIBE Yutaka

Introduction

This article concerns nomadized Sogd horsemen active in the eastern Eurasian world (i.e., east of the Pamir Mountains) between the 8th and 10th centuries and the role they played in China's historical development.¹⁾ This period between the 8th and 10th centuries marks the latter half of the Tang Dynasty's reign, the decentralization of China into Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms and the birth of the Song Dynasty. For historians of China, the period has drawn considerable interest as an era of tremendous social change marking what is termed the "Tang-Song transition." Moreover, when such interest is extended to eastern Eurasia, the researcher also finds similar changes taking place.

From the time of the "An Lushan Rebellion" of 755–763, the actual territorial control of the Tang Dynasty only encompassed the Chinese mainland, with the Eastern Uighur Khanate to the north and the ancient Tibetan empire of Tufan to the west. Moreover, within the Tang Dynasty's territory, a militia comprising An Lushan's rebel army took control of the Hebei region, forming semi-independent kingdoms known as Hebei Sanzhen 河北三鎮 (the three garrisons of Hebei).

Then during the 9th century this regional arrangement began to change, beginning in 840 with the collapse of the Eastern Uighur Khanate followed by the breakup of the Tufan Empire. In their place, the Turkic Shatuo 沙陀 people began expanding into northern Shanxi 山西 during the latter half of the 9th century, and following the fall of the Uighurs, Khitan made its presence known from the direction of Manchuria.

Entering the 10th century, Yelü Abaoji 耶律阿保機 became the paramount chieftain of the eight tribes of Khitan, unified them into a kingdom and assumed its throne in 916. Meanwhile, the three semi-independent garrisons of Hebei situated between growing forces of the Shatuo and Khitan began to lose its autonomy; or rather, began to be absorbed by its two

neighbors. The Shatuo toppled the Later Liang Dynasty and formed the Later Tang Dynasty in 923. From that time on we witness the rise and fall of the Shatuo-based Later Jin, Later Han and Later Zhou Dynasties, leading to the birth of the Song Dynasty in 960 as successor to those Shatuo polities. It was in 979 that the Song Dynasty was successful in unifying the Chinese mainland, while continuing hostilities with Khitan until 1004.

Within these historical developments, specifically the An Lushan Rebellion, the semi-independence of the three garrisons of Hebei and the territorial expansion of the Shatuo, a very important role was played by the Sogd people, although their contributions receive only fragmentary mention in the period's official histories (*Jiu-Tangshu* 舊唐書, *Xin-Tangshu* 新唐書, *Jiu-Wudaishi* 舊五代史 and *Xin-Wudaishi* 新五代史) and *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, thus severely limiting the possibility of historiographically painting a complete picture of actual conditions and activities of the Sogds. However, from the mid-20th century we have seen the continual compilation and publication of both traditional and newly discovered epigraphic sources, in particular epitaphs, which have markedly improved our sources of information on the Sogds, in general, and Sogd warriors, in particular, and have made it possible to pursue their specific activities in a more concrete fashion.

Therefore, in the spirit of the research that has been rapidly accumulating over the past 10 years or so on the East Asian activities of the Sogds during the Tang-Song transition era, this article will attempt to systematically summarize the problems pertaining to Sogd warriors, present an overview of their activities in China during the period in question and discuss their historical importance.

1. Various Issues Concerning Sogd Warriors: The Non-Han People of Liuhuzhou and the Sogdian Göktürks

The Sogdian militiamen who were active in the Huang He river basin of northern China during the 8th century were comprised mainly of *chakars*, who directly migrated from Sogdiana, and Sogds who had been Türkified through a process of migration from Sogdiana through Mongolia into northern China. The term *charkar* denotes a militiaman enlisted in the private armies of the princes and aristocratic families of the oasis kingdom of Sogdiana and is rendered in the Chinese sources as *zhejie*, either 柘羯 or 赭羯. It was *chakars* who comprised the insurgent forces during the “An Lushan Rebellion” and probably fought on the side of the Tang Dy-

nasty as well. The Türkified Sogds adopted nomadic horsemen lifestyles in the process of living among the Göktürks of the Mongolian Plateau, and are identified in the Chinese sources as Liuzhou Hu 六州胡. However, it is necessary to explain that not all the Türkified Sogds of northern China were the non-Han people who were settled in Liuhuzhou 六胡州. The origins of the Türkified Sogds lay in those who migrated to the Mongolian Plateau. It has been thought that the Sogds not only advanced into plains of the Huang He river basin, but also into the Mongolian Plateau, since antiquity. For example, there are historians who argue that they were originally Sogd merchants from the Western Regions who were engaged in the fur trade in Mongolia during the reign of the Xiongnu.

The written sources confirm the Sogds advancing into the Mongolian Plateau and forming settlements under the First Göktürk Khanate (552–630). During the reign of the Khanate's last ruler, Jieli Qaghan 頡利可汗, Tong Tägin 統特勤, a member of the Göktürk royal family, is recorded as commanding a contingent of barbarians (*hubu* 胡部), who were none other than a group of Sogds. There were also Sogds who acted as intellectual leaders of Jieli Qaghan. In any case, it was in 630 that the Khanate fell under siege by the Tang Dynasty and many Türkic nomadic tribes (called "Göktürk Khanate remnants"), including the Ashina 阿史那 branch of the Khanate royal family, pledged their allegiance to Tang China. The Tang Dynasty moved these people to an area extending from Ordos to the northern part of Shanxi and appointed their leader as a prefect (*cishi* 刺史) to govern them indirectly. This is also the time when the Hubu (Sogds) were placed under indirect governance.

After about 40 years of rule under this system, the Göktürk Khanate remnants of Ordos formed an organization to revive the Khanate. In 679 the Ashide 阿史德 family assisted the Ashina branch in organizing a movement for independence, which in 682 resulted in the formation of the Second Göktürk Khanate.

In response to the Göktürk independence movement, the Tang Dynasty set up in 679 six prefectures, Luzhou 魯州, Lizhou 麗州, Hanzhou 含州, Saizhou 塞州, Yizhou 依州 and Qizhou 契州 in the vicinity of what is today Yanchi Prefecture of the Ningxia Hui Ethnic Autonomous Region, appointing "Tang personnel" as their *cishi* in order to strengthen Dynasty control over the Göktürk Khanate remnant settlements. This region appears in the Chinese sources as Liuhuzhou and the people living there as Liuzhou Hu.²⁾ Although the six prefectures would be merged and eliminated in various ways, the name of their residents remained Liuzhou Hu.

Since the term “Hu 胡” in the Tang historiographical sources invariably refers to people of Sogdian heritage, Liuzhou Hu should be considered to have been Sogds. The Turkic Bilge Qaghan Inscription confirms this fact by clearly identifying these people as “altı çub soɣdaq,” which translates as “Sogds of the six prefectures.” Further confirmation is provided by the surnames of the leaders of an anti-Tang rebellion raised in Ordos’ Lanchizhou 蘭池州 (a former prefecture among the original Liuhuzhou) in 721; namely, Kang Daibin 康待賓, An Murong 安慕容, He Heinu 何黑奴, Shi Shennu 石神奴 and Kang Tietou 康鐵頭, all of which are Chinese renderings of Sogdian names. Incidentally, the name of Lanchizhou may have been changed to Lanchi Dudufu 蘭池都督府 in 707, when the original Liuhuzhou prefectures were reorganized.

In addition to the testimony of the official histories, the Dunhuang documents and epitaphs discovered during the second half of the 20th century not only shed a great deal of light on the actual conditions in the Liuhuzhou prefectures, but have also correctly revised what we know from the official histories about the “Tang” cishi of Liuhuzhou. The fact that the Liuhuzhou prefectures were originally populated by Sogds serving the Göktürks is made clear in the epitaph of An Pu 安菩, which was discovered on the eastern side of the Longmen Stone Cave Site in the southern outskirts of Luoyang City, Henan Province. The epitaph, whose title reads, “The Epitaph of An [Pu], Former Grand Chief of Liuhuzhou,” informs us that in 630, at the time when the Göktürks were defeated, An Pu led his group of nomads and submitted to the Tang Dynasty, and then from 641 on commanded an army in a punitive expedition against the Xueyantuo 薛延陀 in northern Mongolia.³⁾ In other words, An Pu has been a Sogd formerly in the service of the Göktürks. The epitaph also mentions that An Pu was married to a woman of the He 何 family, also of Sogdian descent. On the other hand, it is also a fact that An Pu died in Chang’an in 664, 15 years before the establishment of Liuhuzhou. This confusion can probably be explained by the fact that An Pu’s son, An Jinzang 安金藏, brought his father’s remains back to Luoyang for reburial in 709 and in honor of that event, called his father “a former great chief of [what is now] Liuhuzhou.” Although the Liuhuzhou had not been established during the lifetime of An Pu, there is no doubt that the contingent which he led into the region was incorporated into those six prefectures after his death.

The Dunhuang document dated the 2nd year of Jingyun (711) and extolling the achievements of one Zhang tells us more about the Sog-

dian origins of Liuhuzhou.⁴⁾ In the text we find persons residing in Han-, Yi- and Luzhou of the Liuhuzhou with the surnames of An 安, Cao 曹 and Kang 康, all Chinese renderings of Sogdian names. Moreover, in a Tang period epitaph discovered in Yanchi County, Ningxia Hui Ethnic Autonomous Region in 1985 we find concrete explanations about the Sogds who resided in Liuhuzhou.⁵⁾ To begin with, the occupant, with the surname of He, is reported to have died in his home in a village of Rulu Xian 如魯縣, Luzhou, on the 7th day of the 9th month of Jiushu 1 (700) at the age of 85 and was buried in a stone cave to the east of the prefectural capital. From the location of the grave, we can conclude that the Ming Period archeological site of Xinwu Ying 興武營 Garrison was formerly the Tang Period capital of Luzhou.

Turning to the claim that the prefects (*cishi*) of Liuhuzhou were “Tang personnel,” the epigraphical sources contradict the official histories. For example, in Li Zhiyuan 李至遠’s graveside eulogy (*shendao-bei*) of Lord An, the Cishi of Weizhou,⁶⁾ we find that the grandfather of An Fuguo 安附國 was a Göktürk eltäbär, the title given to a headman of a leading tribe, and that Fuguo himself was a Göktürk Khanate remnant who in the 630 defeat of the Göktürks led a “contingent of over 5,000” along with his father, An Feihan 安肥汗, to pledge allegiance to the Tang Dynasty. In sum, An Fuguo and his family were Sogds loyal to the First Göktürk Khanate and may have been the above-mentioned chiefs who led at least one “contingent of barbarians [Sogds] (*hubu*)”; and while they were no doubt chieftains like An Pu, we do not know how they were related, if at all.

Turning to An Feihan’s appointment as *cishi* of Weizhou 維州 after his capitulation to the Tang Dynasty, although the “Weizhou” that we find in the official histories corresponds to a prefectural district in Sichuan, there are historians who propose that An Feihan’s Weizhou was one of the indirectly governed (*jimi*) prefectural settlements of the first Göktürk Khanate remnant Sogds, which did not make the pages of the official histories. After inheriting the position of *cishi* of Weizhou, An Fuguo died in Luoyang on the 18th day of the 2nd month of Diaolu 2 (680) at the age of 83. In the above-mentioned graveside eulogy, An Fuguo’s second eldest son, An Sigong 安思恭, is mentioned as the *cishi* of Luzhou, which implies that immediately after the establishment of the Liuhuzhou prefectures in 679, the *cishi* appointed to them were not “Tang personnel,” but rather Sogd chieftains. It was in 1989 that this implication was clearly proven as fact with the discovery in the city of Xiangyang, Shanxi 陝西 of the Tang Period epitaph of the Consort of State of Hanhai-guo 瀚海國.⁷⁾ The woman

eulogized was from the An Family and was the wife of Ashina Huaidao 阿史那懷道, a member of the Khan family of the Western Göktürks. The text records the fact that the woman's father, one An Fuguo 安輔國, had been the *cishi* of Luzhou and was obviously of Sogdian descent. She was born in 675 and died in Chang'an in 733 at the age of 59, and therefore An Fuguo's prefectship corresponds to the initial establishment of the Liuhuzhou prefectures. Furthermore, her great grandfather, whose name was An Fei 安肥, has been identified as the An Feihan who appears in the above-mentioned graveside eulogy (see Figure 1). If so, at least one of the Liuhuzhou prefectures, Luzhou, was indirectly governed by Sogdian Göktürks descent related to An Feihan.

It was in 1991 that another Liuhuzhou *cishi* of Sogdian descent was discovered in an epitaph of a woman from the Kang family, found in Xi'an.⁸⁾ The deceased, who was born in 706, had married An Jiuguang 安久光, a Sogd who was appointed as a *biejia* 別駕 (administrative aide) of Hezhou 河州, in 720 at the age of 15; and her father was Kang Shi 康石, "Cishi of Changzhou 長州." We know of three different Changzhous that existed during the Tang Period. One was located in Lingnan Dao 嶺南道 (presently part of Vietnam); one was an indirectly governed (*jimi*) prefecture in Tangut; and the other was also a *jimi* prefecture of Liuhuzhou. We will not go into anymore detail here,⁹⁾ but it would probably be best to place the Sogd Kang Shi's prefectship in the last of the Changzhous, among the Liuhuzhou prefectures. This assumption is supported by the marriage of another of Kang Shi's daughters, the wife of one Kang Xiaoyi 康孝義. Kang Xiaoyi's father, Kang Zhi 康植, was distinguished for his role in quelling a "rebellion" raised in the Liuhuzhou prefectures by one Kang Daibin 康待賓 and was a Liuzhou Hu himself. If so, Kang Shi was also a Liuzhou Hu, whose family resided in the Ordos Liuhuzhou prefecture of Changzhou and who arranged for his daughters to marry into fellow Liuzhou Hu families. Finally, Kang Shi's appointment as *cishi* of Changzhou no doubt took place during his daughter's lifetime (706–782), most probably during the early 8th century, which leads us to the conclusion that during that time, the governance of the Liuhuzhou prefectures had been placed in the hands of *cishi* of Sogdian descent.

Now let us turn from politics to the question of the occupations of the Liuzhou Hu. According to the recently progressing research on the subject, it has become clear that they were deeply involved in pastoral animal husbandry.¹⁰⁾ Moreover, in the sources related to the early years of the 8th century, we find that the Liuhuzhou prefectures were one home

of the Tang Dynasty's horse training grounds, which suggests that Liuzhou Hu was not populated by pure-blooded Sogds, but rather by people whose lifestyles were greatly influenced and changed by nomadic culture. Let us delve a little deeper into this point and examine in more concrete terms how the Liuzhou Hu were influenced by the nomadic culture of the Göktürks.

It was in the year 720 that Kang Daibin rose up in rebellion and appointed himself "Yabγu," a Göktürk official title, and another group took up the call and made its leader Kang Yuanzi 康願子 "Qaghan," the title of the Göktürk king. As previously mentioned, the great grandfather of An Pu, who was the paramount chieftain over all Liuhuzhou, was called Bodagan 鉢達干, a Chinese ideograph for *tarqan*, which is a Göktürk official title. These facts imply that the Liuzhou Hu were actually Sogds who were influenced by Göktürk society and culture. Furthermore, the army led by Kang Daibin in his Lanchizhou rising is described in the Chinese sources as comprised of 35,000 *qi* 騎. Since *qi* is the enumerator for counting mounted horsemen, Kang Daibin's army of Liuzhou Hu were thus organized based on cavalrymen.

To sum up the above facts, first the Liuzhou Hu were former subjects of the First Göktürk Khanate who had pledged their allegiance to the Tang Dynasty, but in more concrete terms, were members of a colony of Sogds which had been established among the Göktürks. Furthermore after their removal to Ordos, they retained their Sogdian family names and married among themselves, thus preserving their Sogdian ethnic identity. On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the strong Göktürk influence on the Liuzhou Hu, and that the leaders of Liuhuzhou adopted official Göktürk titles, organized themselves in nomadic fashion into cavalry units and became experts in pastoral animal husbandry. In other words, from the evidence at hand, we can only conclude that the Liuzhou Hu were none other than Türkified Sogds, or rather "Sogdian Göktürks,"¹¹⁾ a term that can be thought of in two different ways. In the strictest sense, it indicates people of Sogdian descent whose lifestyles were nomadized under the influence of Göktürk culture and social organization. In a wider sense, the term indicates horse mounted nomads in the vicinity of Ordos, comprised of not only Sogds, but other ethnic groups, including those of Göktürk or Xi 奚 descent, with Sogdian family names, organized into an inclusive marital group. Members of this latter group could have been influenced by Sogdian Göktürks (in the strict sense) in Mongolia before moving to Ordos, or within the process of moving, and then intermarried.

Actual examples of this latter group can be found in Shi Xiancheng 史憲誠, Military Commissioner of Weibo 魏博, who will be dealt with in detail later on, and He Junzheng 何君政, a governor (*zhangshi* 長史) of a “settlement” (*buluo* 部落) in Jitian-Fu 鷄田府 during the Five Dynasties Period.

There is one more important point to be made before concluding this section. There is no doubt that the Liuzhou Hu were Sogdian Göktürks; however, there were Sogdian Göktürks who were not Liuzhou Hu. The Sogdian Göktürks were already formed during the era of the First Göktürk Khanate, and with other Göktürk Khanate remnants pledged their allegiance to the Tang Dynasty and were settled in indirectly governed (*jimi*) prefectures on China’s northern periphery. Later, when the Second Göktürk Khanate was re-established, there were Sogdian Göktürks who returned to Mongolia north of the Huang He and those who remained in Ordos to reside in the Liuhuzhou prefectures as Liuzhou Hu. We will encounter both groups in the next section, in Hebei during the An Lushan Rebellion.

2. The An Lushan Rebellion and Sogdian Warriors

An Lushan, who rose up in rebellion in 755, was the son of a Sogdian father and Göktürk mother who had been born in Mongolia (perhaps southern Mongolia) during the era of the Second Göktürk Khanate.¹²⁾ A large contingent of An Lushan’s army was made up of Sogdian warriors, who can be first divided into the two previously discussed groups of *chakars* and Sogdian Göktürks, while the latter can be divided into two further groups. One of these latter groups comprised Sogdian Göktürks, who had again pledged allegiance to the Tang Dynasty after the fall of the First Göktürk Khanate, while the other comprised those who chose not to return to Mongolia and remain in the Liuhuzhou prefectures. Upon realliance with the Tang Dynasty, the first group was in 742 put under the jurisdiction of Fanyang-Jun 范陽郡 (Youzhou 幽州) and settled in a new indirectly governed (*jimi*) prefecture called Linzhou 凜州. Then in 744, when An Lushan, who was the military commissioner of Pinglu 平盧, was jointly appointed military commissioner of Fanyang, the Sogdian Göktürks of Linzhou were probably placed under his command. This circumstance is indirectly supported by the fact that it was at this same time that An Lushan added Kang Ayiqu Tagan 康阿義屈達干¹³⁾ to his staff of commanding generals.

Kang Ayiqu Tagan was one of the Göktürk generals who along with

the Ashina and Ashide families had pledged allegiance to the Tang Dynasty in 742. His Göktürk title of *tagan* indicates that he had been a prominent figure in the Second Göktürk Khanate. His father and great grandfather had been “settlement” governors (*buluo dudu* 部落都督), and after reallying with the Tang, he himself was recommended by An Lushan to fill the same post. The ostentatious title of *dudu* in reality made the appointee the chieftain of a “settlement” of nomads (*buluo*) and indicates that his ancestors had also been chieftains. Kang Ayiqu Tagan’s wife was from the Shi 石 Family of Sogds residing in Jiaohe 交河 (near present day Turfan in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region), indicating the way in which Sogds under the rule of the Göktürks continued to maintain Sogdian bonds through intermarriage. On the other hand, Kang Ayiqu Tagan was also called a “scion of the twelve clans of Beifan 北蕃,” by which name the Eastern Göktürks identified themselves before the rise and after the fall of the Second Göktürk Khanate. These facts clearly show Kang’s Sogdian and Göktürk roots. Also, upon his death, his followers committed *limian jie’er* 斃面截耳, a northern Asian nomadic and Sogdian ritual of disfiguring one’s face and ears when parting with a loved one. Here is additional proof that the “settlement” which Kang commanded was Sogdian Göktürk. Although there is no written proof that Kang Ayiqu Tagan’s “settlement” was located in Linzhou, his realliance with the Tang in 742 matches the year of the establishment of that prefecture. In sum, we can safely assume that An Lushan exercised control over Linzhou indirectly through the appointment of Kang Ayiqu Tagan as the prefecture’s commanding general.

On the other hand, it remains unclear when the Liuzhou Hu had been placed under the command of An Lushan. Immediately after the outbreak of the rebellion, the records contain the term *chakar* (rendered 柘羯), but there is no mention of the Liuzhou Hu. There is the possibility that they had yet to be placed under the rebel army command, or that they did not comprise an important contingent in it. The Liuzhou Hu first appear in the 10th month of Zhide 2 (757) on the occasion of An Qingxu 安慶緒’s defeat by the Tang forces at Luoyang, as part of the survivors fleeing for Youzhou. Therefore, looking at the An Lushan Rebellion prior to that time, in the 7th month of Zhide 1 (756), An Lushan’s general Ashina Congli 阿史那從禮 marched from Chang’an to Ordos at the head of a contingent of Tongluo 同羅 and Göktürk troops, and during the 9th month joined an allied force in the tens of thousands supposedly from Jiuxing-Fu 九姓府 and the Liuhuzhou prefectures. Then during the 11th month this

joint rebel army engaged the Tang Army reinforced by Uighur forces at Yulin 榆林, was defeated and routed. However, since Ashina Congli was appointed general of the Zuoyulin 左羽林 army's imperial guard, by An Qingxu at the end of 757, we know that he was not killed at the Battle of Yulin, but returned to Luoyang after the defeat. Therefore we can assume that the Liuzhou Hu under Ashina's command also deployed from Ordos to Luoyang to join An Qinxu's army; then after its defeat, fled to Youzhou.

It is possible to offer profiles of two Liuzhou Hu who migrated from Ordos to Hebei via Luoyang at that time. The first is Cao Runguo 曹閏國.¹⁴⁾ First, Cao is also a Sogdian surname, and secondly, since he hailed from the Liuhuzhou prefecture of Hanzhou, he was a Sogdian Göktürk. One of his wives was of the Shi family, another example of Sogdians who migrated to China tending to intermarry. Although his epitaph states that he migrated to Hebei just prior to the An Lushan Rebellion, in the opinion of this writer, Liuzhou Hu migration to Hebei took place later than that, in 757. To begin with, prior to the Rebellion neither Cao's official title nor his duties had been determined, only the fact that he was suddenly embroiled in the Rebellion and enlisted in the rebel army are recorded. After the rebellion, he was assigned as an officer under the military commissioner of Chengde 成德, one of the three Hebei Garrisons.

Our second profile is that of Kang Rizhi 康日知, a native of Lingzhou 靈州 (present day on the southwestern outskirts of Lingwu City, Ningxia Hui Ethnic Autonomous Region), whose grandfather, Kang Zhi, we have already seen quelling the Liuzhou Hu rebellion raised by Kang Daibin in 721.¹⁵⁾ According to the epitaph of his son, Kang Zhida 康志達, which became publically available in 1991,¹⁶⁾ Kang Zhi moved to Chang'an, and his son, Kang Xiaoyi (Rizhi's father), was the commander of a garrison militia (*zhechong-fu* 折衝府) by the name of Wan'an-Fu in Jinzhou 晉州, Shanxi 山西 Province. Also, in the previously mentioned epitaph of the wife of An Jiuguang, Kang Xiaoyi's wife is mentioned as being the daughter of Kang Shi, indicating another Sogdian intermarriage (see Figure 2). According to the biography recorded in *Xin-Tangshu*, in his youth Kang Rizhi served Li Weiyue 李惟岳, the son of Li Baochen 李寶臣, the military commissioner of Chengde in Hebei, but as to when and how he made his way to Hebei is unclear.

The fact that his grandfather moved to Chang'an and his father served in Jinzhou would suggest the migration of a family from the Liuhuzhou prefectures to Chang'an, then on to Hebei via Jinzhou over three genera-

tions; however, upon further reflection, the key to discovering the date and route of Kang Rizhi's move to Hebei lies in his aristocratic title of "prince of Yulin-Jun 榆林郡." That is to say, it is first necessary to determine Kang's relationship to Yulin-Jun. What comes to mind in this regard is obviously the fact that it was at Yulin that the Liuzhou Hu under the command of Ashina Congli were defeated, after which the surviving Liuzhou Hu troops joined An Lushan's main army. If we assume that Kang Rizhi was one of their numbers, we can pinpoint his migration to Hebei at the year 757 and his route from Yulin to Hebei via Luoyang. This explains the inclusion of Yulin, a place where Rizhi had formerly resided, in his subsequent title.

Along another vein, the fact that the Kang Rizhi's maternal aunt (nee Kang), who had married An Jiuguang, spent her last years and died in the house built in Hebei by Kang Rizhi shows another migration from Ordos to Hebei. Also, there is the fact that immediately following the pacification of the An Lushan Rebellion both Kang Rizhi and Kang Ricong 康日琮 were assigned as officers under the military commissioner of Chengde. From the names, one can assume that the two officers were of the same family, and the fact that both were residing in Hebei suggests the migration of a whole family and its followers.

The Liuzhou Hu who served under An Qingxu were later placed under the command of Shi Siming 史思明; and it is possible that in that process Kang Rizhi came to serve under Li Baochen, one of An Lushan's generals stationed in Hengzhou 恆州 (present day Zhengding County, Hebei Province). Among the names of officers who served under Li as military commissioner of Chengde inscribed on the reverse side of the Li Baochen Memorial erected in 766,¹⁷⁾ immediately after the end of the An Lushan Rebellion, we find one Kang Rizhi with the rank of Chengde-Jun Zuoxiang Bujun Dushi 成德軍左廂步軍都使. At that time the organization of the troops stationed in Chengde was first divided into cavalry and infantry divisions. Each division was further divided into left and right wings (*xiang* 廂), each commanded by a *dushi*. Therefore, Kang Rizhi was an infantry wing commander in charge of one-quarter of the whole Chengde Garrison. Finally, in the boldest assumption so far, it is possible that it was a regiment of Sogdian Göktürks that was serving under Kang Rizhi and that is why he was chosen by General Li as wing commander to keep his fellow travelers under control.

3. Sogdian Warriors in Hebei During the Latter Half of the Tang Period

To summarize the fate of the Sogdian Göktürks during the latter years of the Tang Dynasty, those who served under An Lushan and Shi Siming remained in the northern and central parts of Hebei after the end of their commanders' rebellion and were reassigned under the military commissioners of Chengde and Youzhou. Then there were those who continued to reside as before in their Liuhuzhou prefectures. While the information provided by the official histories concerning Sogdian Göktürks, including the Liuzhou Hu, during the time in question is extremely scarce, the epigraphical sources are a little clearer and more concrete. In the midst of such circumstances, there is only one compiled history which describes Liuzhou Hu residents of Shizhou 石州 (present day Lishi District, Lüliang City, Shanxi 山西 Province) in the year 786 relocating to the Datong Basin in the northernmost part of Shanxi 山西. There is also the possibility that during that time a portion of the Liuzhou Hu of Shizhou decided to relocate to Hebei instead of northern Shanxi. With these facts in mind, let us look at the activities of the Sogdian Göktürks that did find themselves in Hebei during the period in question.

It was in Hebei during the latter half of the 8th century that the forces supporting An Lushan and Shi Siming incubated, forming semi-independent "kingdoms." The most important geo-political apparatus was the three garrisons headed by the military commissioners of Youzhou, Chengde and Weibo, which maintained their autonomy until the end of the Tang Period, with one short exception at the beginning of the ninth century.

Historically, they are called "the three commands of Hebei" (Heshuo Sanzhen 河朔三鎮; however, on the ground, the character of each garrison was different. The military commissioners of Youzhou were from the time of An Lushan located at the headquarters of the military commissioner of Fanyang and succeeded that stronghold. The military commissioners of Chengde comprised during the An Lushan Rebellion the army of Li Baochen stationed in Hengzhou and continued to do so. These two garrisons continued to be organized from the time of the Rebellion as cavalry divisions, which included Sogd warriors of mixed Sogdian Göktürk descent. In contrast, the military commissionership of Weibo came into the possession of Tian Chengsi 田承嗣, who had taken part in various battles in Hebei and thus had no geographical roots when he pledged

allegiance to the Tang Dynasty. For this reason, Tian had to register the peasants within his jurisdiction to raise a new army. Consequently, the Weibo Garrison was an infantry division of peasants with an insufficient cavalry force, which needed to be bolstered. In response to this situation, Liuzhou Hu began relocating to the Weibo Garrison in southern Hebei, two of whom, Shi Xiancheng and He Jintao 何進滔, rose through the ranks to become military commissioners.

Although Shi Xiancheng called himself Xi 奚, he was a native of Lingzhou, which bordered on the Liuhuzhou prefectures.¹⁸⁾ However, according to the sources related to his son, Shi Xiaozhang 史孝章,¹⁹⁾ Xiancheng's ancestors had resided on the Mongolian Plateau and intermingled with the Göktürks. In this writer's opinion, Xiancheng's Xi ancestors served the Göktürks and in the process established bonds with Sogdian Göktürks through marriage or some other means, meaning that they can be classified as Sogdian Göktürks within our broader definition of the term. Then with the fall of the First Göktürk Khanate, they relocated to northern China and were placed in the Liuhuzhou settlements.

It is said that Shi Xiancheng's father and grandfather also served in the Weibo Garrison. Although both the rank and military career of his grandfather, Shi Daode 史道德, are unclear, his father, Shi Zhouluo 史周洛 served under Military Commissioner Tian Ji'an 田季安 (in office 796–812) as an officer. The lack of information about his grandfather's career may be due to the fact that he did not relocate to Weibo. If so, it was his father's generation that first came to Weibo, during the Zhenyuan Era (785–804). This era corresponds to the above-mentioned relocation of Liuzhou Hu from Shizhou to the Datong Basin and may indicate that Shi Zhouluo had reached Hebei from Ordos via Shizhou at that time.

Shi Xiancheng rose through the officer ranks to become Weibo's military commissioner in 822, an epoch-making event in the garrison's history. That is to say, the post, which had been passed down to the descendants of Tian Chengsi for some fifty years, was now handed over to Shi Xiancheng, thus terminating an important Tian Family tradition. The circumstances surrounding Shi's appointment are as follows.

At the beginning of the 9th century, Emperor Xianzong (r. 805–820) was successful in implementing a policy to strengthen the Dynasty's control over its provincial garrisons, resulting in even the previously semi-independent garrisons of Hebei submitting for a time to the Tang authorities. Then upon the sudden death of the Emperor in 820, the military commissioners of Youzhou and Chengde began to distance themselves

again from direct Tang governance. Within all the confusion, Shi Xiancheng managed to obtain special privileges for the Weibo Garrison in exchange for appointment as its commissioner. Could it have been that among the troops making up the garrison, there were many who did not recognize the right of the Tian Family to inherit the commissionership, thus opening the door to someone other than a Tian Family member to gain the appointment? Before taking up that question, let us turn to the other Sogdian Göktürk, He Jintao, who also rose to the rank of military commissioner.

Like Kang Rizhi and Shi Xiancheng, He Jintao was a native of Lingzhou bordering on the Liuhuzhou prefectures. Both his great grandfather, He Xiaowu 何孝物, and grandfather, He Jun 何俊, were commissioned officers in Lingzhou; and his father, He Mo 何默, was an officer in Xiazhou, while Jintao himself relocated to the Weibo Garrison during the Yuanhe Era (806–820) and served under Military Commissioner Tian Hongzheng 田弘正 (in office 812–820), also as a Weibo commissioned officer. In 829, Shi Xiancheng, the first Sogd warrior to be appointed military commissioner, now fearing for his life, appeared before the Dynasty to request transfer to another garrison commissionership. It seems that Shi had been accused of embezzling garrison assets, inciting the officers serving under him to mutiny and assassinate him. The Weibo Imperial Guard (Yajun 牙軍) recommended that He Jintao succeed Shi as commissioner.

Both the new and old *Tangshu* suggest that He Jintao, as a native of Lingzhou, was of Sogdian descent, and that implication was confirmed in 1973 after the discovery of the epitaph of his son, He Hongjing 何弘敬.²⁰⁾ The epitaph also informs us that Jintao's wife was born into the Kang Family and that Hongjing's wife was the daughter of the An Family of Wuwei 武威, confirming two more cases of Sogdian intermarriage. These facts also lead to the assumption that when He Jintao relocated from Ordos to Hebei, he not only took along his own family, but also the families of his wife and daughter-in-law. The He Family's move to Hebei is described in Hongjin's epitaph as occurring during the Zhenguan Era (627–649), when He Lingsi 何令思 led "800 tribesmen (*buqu* 部曲)" into the "three prefectures of Wei-, Xiang- and Beizhou." However, the official histories state that He Jintao relocated to Hebei during the Yuanhe Era (806–820); furthermore due to a genealogical gap, it is not clear that He Lingsi actually existed. There is the possibility that the epitaph's version was written after He Jintao and Hongjin had been appointed military commissioners, in order to establish the fact that the He family had been

long time residents of Weibo. However, the episode of the “800 tribesmen” may reflect an actual historical event of the 7th century.

In 822 Shi Xiancheng was appointed military commissioner of Weibo, in 829 He Jintao, who probably had just relocated to Weibo, was recommended for the post and then in 870 Jintao’s grandson was murdered by the Weibo Imperial Guard, marking the end of the He Family’s commissionership lasting three generations. Given the fact that Shi Xiancheng was also a Sogdian Göktürk native of Lingzhou, it was for almost half a century that four successive generations of Sogdian Göktürks had held the top military post in Weibo, leading at least this writer to conclude that the military organization which selected these leaders was dominated by the group of Sogdian Göktürks stationed in Weibo. One historical source supporting such a conclusion is the epitaph of Mi Wenbian 米文辯 discovered in 2002.²¹⁾ Mi Wenbian’s grandfather was an officer serving under the military commissioner of Hedong, and his father, Mi Zhenbao 米珍寶, served as an officer at the Weibo Garrison, after relocating there. Given the fact that Mi Wenbian was born in 785, Mi Zhenbao’s move to Weibo must have been around that same time. If so, it is possible that the move also involved Shi Xiancheng’s father or even He Jintao.

Mi Wenbian worked directly under the Weibo military commissioner as supervisor of not only the cavalry horses, but also the camels and mules. Therefore, since Mi served in the garrison at the same time as Shi and He, he represents a concrete example of a Sogdian Göktürk serving in the Weibo Imperial Guard at that time.

The fact that during the terms served by Shi and He as Weibo military commissioners, the garrison’s ranks were filled with Sogdian warriors is suggested by an inscription entitled Wuliji-Bei 五禮記碑 from Daming County, Hebei Province, which lists the names of soldiers stationed at Weibo during that time. This inscription was originally a memorial to He Jintao’s illustrious commissionership at Weibo, erected in 840. In 1114, the original inscription was erased by the Northern Song governor of Daming-Fu (Weizhou during the Tang Period); however, one side of it has existed up to the present day.²²⁾ Although the original contained all the names of the generals and officers who served under He at Weibo, the existing fragment enables us to identify only 45 names and 89 military ranks. Of those 45 names, a little over half, or 23, are of Sogdian origin, namely members of the He (12), An (4), Shi (3), Mi (2), Cao (1) and Luo (1) Families. One can not help thinking that they were part of the “800 tribesmen” described in He Hongjin’s epitaph. Incidentally, the Imperial

Guard of Weibo originally numbered 10,000 and remained 8,000 strong at the end of the Tang Dynasty. Based on the latter figure, the “800 tribesmen” who moved to Weibo with He Jintao made up 10% of that guard.

It was in this way and on this scale that horse mounted nomads exerted their influence on 9th century Weibo, many of them Sogdian Göktürks from the Liuhuzhou prefectures of Ordos, including two warrior who were appointed military commissioners. In the light of the above facts, the research done to date on the Weibo Garrison, at least from the commissionership of Shi Xiancheng on, which describes how the Elite Guard grew out of local peasants originally enlisted at the time of Tian Chengsi and the Guard’s authority to elect the garrison’s military commissioners from its ranks,²³⁾ now needs to be revised.

4. The Shatuo Dynasties and the Sogdian Göktürks

It seems that the three commands of Hebei that came into existence after the An Lushan Rebellion maintained their semi-independent status throughout most of the Tang Period and also would become one source of energy in creating the new post-Tang world after the fall of the Dynasty. However, what ultimately drove the Tang Dynasty into decline was the Huang Chao Rebellion of 875–884, out of which a new power was created to replace the Tang Dynasty. This transition begins with the rise of Zhu Wen 朱溫 an officer under the command of Huang Chao who after submitting to the Tang Dynasty was given the personal name Quanzhong 全忠. It was in 907 that Zhu inherited the imperial throne from the last Tang emperor and gave birth to a new dynasty, which he named Liang (the Later Liang according to historians). Nevertheless, there were also those who maintained their independence by retaining the Tang Dynasty calendar; namely, the Shatuo based in what is today Shanxi 山西 Province. It was in 923 that the Shatuo chieftain Li Cunxu 李存勖 brought down the Later Liang Dynasty and established the Later Tang Dynasty. The Later Tang was followed in succession by four dynasties—the Later Jin, Later Han, Later Zhou and Song—all regimes headed by warriors affiliated with the Shatuo.

We also find Sogd warriors serving within the Shatuo military. Many of them were Shanxi natives of places like Yunzhou 雲州 and Shuozhou 朔州 or their neighboring districts of Yuzhou 蔚州, Xingtangxian 興唐縣, Daizhou 代州 and Taiyuan 太原. There were also natives of “settlements” (*buluo*) like Suoge-Bu 索葛部, Shatuo-Bu 沙陁部, Saibei Buluo 塞北部落,

Daibei San-Buluo 代北三部落 and Shatuo San-Buluo 沙陀三部落. As already mentioned these settlements indicate groups of nomadic people, and while they cannot be identified with any specific location, there is no doubt that they were scattered throughout the Daibei region, which lies in northern Shanxi 山西.

As to the origins of the Sogds of Daibei, first, this region, which was situated between the worlds of the steppe and settled agriculture, was well adapted to nomadism, a fact that makes it possible that Sogdian Göktürks may have been inhabiting the region as early as the time of the fall of the First Göktürk Khanate or the An Lushan Rebellion. However, as mentioned at the beginning of the last section, the official histories tell us that Sogdian Göktürks relocated to Daibei during the latter half of the 8th century, around 786, when the Liuzhou Hu fled to Shizhou in Shanxi 山西 to avoid the ancient Tibetan empire's invasion of Ordos. One source refers to these refugee settlements in Shanxi 山西 as Hequ 河曲 Liu-Huzhou (the six barbarian prefectures of Hequ) and tells us that they were first governed by Ma Sui 馬燧, the military commissioner of Hedong, then later on moved to the Datong Basin (*Zizhi Tongjian*, Vol. 232). It is possible to assume that these "barbarians" were of Sogdian Göktürk descent and were the ancestors of the Sogd warriors who later served the Shatuo. However, after the appearance of "Liuzhou Hu" in the description of 786, we no longer find any reference to it in the compiled histories, preventing us from definitively stating that the Sogds who served in the Shatuo military were descendants of the *hu* of the six prefectures of Liuhuzhou.

The affiliation of Sogd warriors to the Shatuo dates back to the Huang Chao Rebellion, at which time the latter were led by Li Guochang 李國昌 and his son Li Keyong 李克用. The Li Family was formerly named Zhuye 朱邪, before Zhuye Chixin 朱邪赤心 was awarded the name Li Guochang for successfully quelling the Pang Xun Rebellion. It was after the fall of Chang'an to the Huang Chao rebel army during the 2nd month of Chonghe 1 (881) that the Tang Dynasty turned to Li and his son for military assistance. At that time Li Keyong, whose fame had spread throughout the region of Daibei, had originally organized regiments of horse mounted nomads, ethnically comprised of not only Shatuo, but also soldiers of Tuyuhun, Qibi, "Sage" and "Anqing" descent, the last two being led by Sogds (probably Sogdian Göktürks), Mi Haiwan 米海萬 and Shi Jingcun 史敬存, respectively.

The term "Sage" 薩葛, which the compiled histories also render Suoge 索葛 and Xuege 薛葛, has been interpreted as a phonetic equivalent of

Sogd, but recently another hypothesis has been offered to the effect that the term is related to *chakar*. Even if the term turns out not to be a rendering of Sogd per se, the fact that the Sage were led by a Sogdian commander leads to the assumption that they were a regiment of Sogd warriors. Unfortunately, beyond telling us that Li Keyong had joined forces with a band of Sage, the compiled histories have nothing more to say about them; but there are the epigraphical sources.

According to the epitaph of An Wanjin 安萬金,²⁴⁾ his family held the post of prefect (*cishi*) over the “Suoge” for five successive generations from his great grandfather to his son. In addition, An Wanjin’s mother was a member of the Cao Family, his wife a member of the He Family, his concubine a member of the Mi Family, and his daughter married a member of the Shi Family, indicating at least three generations of Sogdian intermarriage. The epitaph of An Wanjin was composed during the Tianfu Era of the Later Jin Dynasty (936–944). The fact that Sogd families were still practicing exclusive intermarriage as late as the mid-10th century indicates that they had not integrated with the Han people and maintained strong bonds based on Sogdian Göktürk solidarity.

The other Sogd-led regiment serving under Li Keyong, the “Anqing” 安慶, appears nowhere in the compiled histories; however, information is provided by the family of Shi Kuang’han 史匡翰 (902–941). Shi Kuang’han, a warrior who served both the Later Tang and Later Jin Dynasties (*Jiu-Wudaishi*, Vol. 88), was the grandson of Shi Jingsi 史敬思 (?–884), who had served under Li Keyong as governor of Jiufu and the son of Shi Jiantang 史建瑯 (876?–921), who served under both Li Keyong and his son Cunxu (*ibid.*, Vol. 55). These facts from the compiled histories can now be enlarged and revised with the publication of part of the graveside eulogy for Shi Kuang’han.²⁵⁾ According to this document, Shi Jingsi was the governor of Anqing Jiufu, a post that had been inherited from his father, Shi Huaiqing 史懷清.

On the other hand, the compiled historiography states that chieftain of the Anqing tribesmen who joined Li Keyong was Shi Jingcun, who is not found in the Shi Kuang’han eulogy, but the fact of the “jing” appearing in the personal name suggests that they were of the same family. Consequently, since the Shi Family were commanding contingents of Anqing tribesmen from the last years of the Tang Dynasty into the Later Jin Period, there is the extremely high possibility that those contingents were comprised of Sogd warriors.

When in 936 Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭, the founder of the Later Jin Dy-

nasty, ceded the 16 prefectures of Yanyun 燕雲 to Khitan as reward for its military assistance in conquering the Later Tang Dynasty, the Anqing were, together with other groups of horse mounted nomads residing in Daibei, put under Khitan jurisdiction. However, immediately after the territorial cession, many of the Daibei nomads fled the territory, probably due to the oppressive nature of Khitanese rule and settled in the territory of the Later Jin Dynasty. Within this process, it is possible to confirm the existence of the nomadic tribe known as Anqing Jiufu. Those who stayed behind were to eventually pledge their allegiance to the Song Dynasty in 979. The official histories describe this time as the arrival of An Haijin 安海進, the governor of the Anqing-Fu. The Song Dynasty utilized the Anqing militarily and stationed them in Shanxi, in such locations as Shizhou and Luzhou 潞州. The Anqing contingent in Shizhou was commanded by Kang Xing 康興, while the Luzhou contingent was commanded by An Mei 安美, both surnames of whom suggest that the Anqing were of Sogdian descent.

Both the “Sage” and “Anqing” who were placed under the command of Li Keyong, were groups led by Sogdian generals who had inherited their commands, again suggesting that their troops were also of Sogdian descent; and these paramount and sub-chieftains formed the Shatuo armed forces by individually placing their troops in the service of Li Keyong.

With the discover of the epitaph of He Junzheng,²⁶⁾ we now know that there were other groups of Sogd warriors besides the “Sage” and “Anqing.” He Junzheng, a native of Datong (called Yunzhou during the Tang and Five Dynasties Periods) with a Sogdian surname, took a member of the An Family to be his wife and married three of his sons to Sogd women of the An and Kang Families, indicating that he and his family were of Sogdian Göktürk extraction and intermarried with similar families.

The title of the epitaph tells us that He Junzheng held the post of settlement governor (*buluo zhangshi*) of Jitian-Fu, which during the Tang Period was an indirectly governed (*jimi*) prefecture in Ordos settled by the Adiz, a Göktürk group. Therefore, while a descendant of the Adiz, He Junzheng, in the process of relocating to Daibei, either allied himself with a group of Sogdian Göktürks and adopted their surname, or it was He Junzheng, as a descendant of Liuzhou Hu, who moved to Daibei; or possibly at the time of absorbing the Adiz native to the region, their Liuhuzhou prefecture was turned into a *buluo*. Within any of these scenarios, He Junzheng should be considered to have been of Sogdian Göktürk descent.

Information concerning the daily lives of the Sogdian Göktürks in Daibei is provided by the epitaph of Shi Jinjun 石金俊,²⁷⁾ a native of Shuozhou with a Sogdian surname who was a descendant of the Liuzhou Hu from the fact that he was an accomplished horse mounted archer. From the fact that “he herded cows and horses over [an area covering several] valleys” we know that he led a pastoral life as a nomad like the other Sogdian Göktürks of Daibei.

The leading chieftains of Sogdian Göktürk groups living their lives in *buluo* “settlements”—the An Family, prefects of Suoge-Fu, the Shi Family, governors of the Anqing Jiufu, and the He Family, *buluo zhangshi* of Jitian-Fu—were not only tribal chieftains, but also commissioned military officers of the Shatuo dynasties. It is said that Shatuo General Shi Jiantang’s attack on Later Liang Emperor Zhu Quanzhong was launched at the head of a “*buluo* of crack cavalymen” who brought Zhu’s troops to their knees, and that this was the same “settlement” of which he was governor. If so, then this kind of Sogdian Göktürk group served the Shatuo emperors by virtue of the fact that their chieftains had placed all or a portion of their members at the disposal of their Shatuo lords.

Conclusion

This article, which draws from the present writer’s previously published research, has focused on activities of Sogdian Göktürks within the context of the political history of China between the 8th and 10th centuries. We have seen how these activities of Sogdian Göktürks began in the year 630 with the fall of the Göktürk Khanate and how from that time on, the Sogdian Göktürks who were settled in Ordos became involved in the An Lushan Rebellion, the governance of the garrisons in Hebei and rise of the post-Tang Shatuo dynasties.

However, we still know very little about 1) what role the *chakar* Sogd warriors played in the process and 2) the activities of the Liuzhou Hu other than those of the Hebei garrisons and Shatuo battalions. Regarding this second problem, there is a distinct possibility that the Tang Shence 神策 Imperial Guard was comprised of Sogdian Göktürks, a portion of whom were Liuzhou Hu. For example, after the death of Emperor Muzong of Tang at the young age of 30 in the first month of 824 and the accession of Emperor Jingzong of Tang to the throne, a palace rebellion broke out in the 4th month. Commanding the Shence Guard, which was mobilized in response, were Kang Yiquan 康藝全, commander of the left wing with He

Wenzhe 何文哲 as adjutant and Kang Zhimu 康志睦, commander of the right wing, indicating that at least there were Sogd warriors leading the Guard. Moreover, He Wenzhe was a native of the Liuhuzhou prefectures in Ordos, and Kang Zhimu was the son of the Sogdian Göktürk, Kan Rizhi, whom we have discussed previously. The Sogdian warriors who served in the Shence Guard is an issue requiring future study.

Notes

- 1) This article is based on chapters 3–5 in Moribe 2010 and idem. 2011 with new perspectives and later findings added.
- 2) For a review of the research and pending issues regarding the Liuhuzhou, see Li Danjie 2004.
- 3) For the circumstances surrounding the excavation of this epitaph, see Luoyangshi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1982, and the latest research can be found in Li Hongbing 2011. The text of the epitaph is contained in Luoyangshi Wenwu Gongzuodui 1991.
- 4) See Ōba 1961.
- 5) For the circumstances surrounding the discovery of this epitaph, see Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqiu Bowuguan 1988.
- 6) *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華, vol. 920.
- 7) For the research done to date on this epitaph, see Ishikawa 2011.
- 8) The text of this epitaph was published in Shi 1997.
- 9) Moribe 2010:104–6.
- 10) See Yamashita 2008.
- 11) While Nakata 2009 uses the term “Sogdian Göktürk People,” the author argues that the group so identified were “Göktürks,” indicating a different interpretation from that presented in this article. However, upon a more detailed reading of Nakata’s research, one sees that she is describing the same ethnic group as this writer, resulting in less difference of perception as one might detect at first face. Nakata’s emphasis on “Göktürk People” seems to arise from a perception that Sogdian Göktürks were already Göktürk People. In contrast, this writer’s opinion that they were Sogds has been arrived at through a consideration of the kind of historical role the Sogds played in eastern Eurasia, the analysis of which is facilitated by that definition of Sogdian Göktürk.
- 12) Concerning the background of the An Lushan “Rebellion” and the composition of the rebel forces, see Moribe 2013.
- 13) Concerning Kang Ayiqu, see Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, “Tejin Hangzuo-jinwu-wei-dajiangjun Shangzhuguo Qinghejun-kaiguogong Zeng-kaifu-yitong-sansi Jian-Xiazhou-dudu Kanggong shendaobei” 特進行左金吾衛大將軍上柱國清河郡開國公贈開府儀同三司兼夏州都督康公神道碑, in *Yanlugong wenji* 顏魯公文集, vol. 6 (Sibu congkan 四部叢刊, 1st edition).
- 14) The records of Cao Runguo can be found in “Tang gu-shi-guangluqing Cao-

- fujun muzhi bingxu” 唐故試光祿卿曹府君墓誌并序, in *Jingji zhongmu yiwén* 京畿冢墓遺文 (Repr. in *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編, vol. 18 [Taipei: Xin Wenfeng Chuban Gongsi 新文豐出版, 1977]).
- 15) Kang Rizhi’s biography is contained in Vol. 148 of *Xin-Tangshu*.
- 16) “Tang gu-Youzhou-lulongjun-jiedu-yaqian-bingmashi Zhaosan-daifu Jianjiao-guangluqing Jian-Jiancha-yushi Zeng-Mozhou-cishi Kuaiji Kanggong muzhi bingxu” 唐故幽州盧龍軍節度衙前兵馬使朝散大夫檢校光祿卿兼監察御史贈莫州刺史會稽康公墓誌銘并序, in *Sui Tang Wudai muzhi huibian: Shanxi juan* 隋唐五代墓誌匯編：陝西卷, vol. 4 (Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe 天津古籍出版社, 1991).
- 17) “Chengdejun-jiedushi Kaifu-yitong-sansi Jianjiao-shangshu Youpuye Jianyushi-daifu Hengzhou-cishi Guannai-zhidu-yingtianshi Qinghe-junwang Ligong jigong zaizhengsong bingxu” 成德軍節度使開府儀同三司檢校尚書右僕射兼御史大夫恆州刺史管內支度營田使清河郡王李公紀功載政頌并序, in *Changshan zhenshizhi* 常山貞石志, ed. Shen Tao 沈濤, vol. 10 (Daoguang 道光 22; Repr. in *Shike shiliao xinbian*, vol. 18).
- 18) Shi Xiancheng is mentioned in vol. 181 of *Jiu-Tangshu* and vol. 210 of the *Xin-Tangshu*.
- 19) See Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫, “Tang gu-Bin-Ning-Qing dengzhou-jiedu-guancha-chuzhishi Chaosan-daifu Jianjiao-hubu-shangshu Jian-yushi-daifu Ci-zijin-yudai Zeng-youpuye Shigong shendaobei” 唐故邠寧慶等州節度觀察處置使朝散大夫檢校戶部尚書兼御史大夫賜紫金魚袋贈右僕射史公神道碑, in *Liu Yuxi ji jianzheng* 劉禹錫集箋證 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1989) and Guo and Zhao 2007.
- 20) See “Tang gu-Weibo-jiedushi Jianjiao-taiwei Jian-zhongshuling Zeng-taishi Lujiang Hegong muzhiming” 唐故魏博節度使檢校太尉兼中書令贈太師廬江何公墓誌銘, in *Sui Tang Wudai muzhi huibian: Hebei juan* 隋唐五代墓誌匯編：河北卷 (Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1991). Concerning the epitaph of He Hongjin, see Moribe 1997 and Ren and Li 2006.
- 21) “Datang Weibo-jiedu gu-bujun-zuoxiang-duzhi-bingmashi, Jian-jiedu-yaya, Yinqing-guanglu-daifu, Jianjiao-taizi-bingke, Jian-shiyushi Migong muzhiming bingxu” 大唐魏博節度故步軍左廂都知兵馬使·兼節度押衙·銀青光祿大夫·檢校太子賓客·兼侍御史米公墓誌銘并序. See Sun, Li, and Ma 2004.
- 22) See Sun 2006.
- 23) See Hori 1960.
- 24) “Jin gu-Junzhou-cishi, Guanglu-daifu, Jianjiao-situ, Jian-yushi-daifu, Shangzhuguo, Kaiguonan, Shiyi-sanbaihu-Anfujun muzhi” 晉故均州刺史·光祿大夫·檢校司徒·兼御史大夫·上柱國·開國男·食邑三百戶安府君墓誌, in *Luoyanshi Wenwu Gongzuodui* 1991. See Moribe 2001.
- 25) “Gongchen Yichengjun-jiedu-?-Pu-dengzhou-guancha-chuzhi-guannei-hedi-dengshi, Qifu-guanjun-dajiangjun, You-jinwuwei-dajiangjun, Yuanwai-zhishang-zhengyuan, Jianjiao-situ, Jian-yushi-zhongcheng, Fuma-duweishang???” Zeng-taibao Shigong shendaobei ming bingxu” [上欠] 功臣義成軍節度□濮等州觀察處置管內河隄等使·起復冠軍大將軍·右金吾衛大將軍·員外置尚正員·檢校司徒·兼御史中丞·夫馬都尉上□□□□□□□□ [欠] 贈太保史公神道碑銘并序, in *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編, vol. 120.

- 26) “Dajin gu-Jitianfu-buluo-zhangshi Hegong muzhiming bingxu” 大晉故鷄田府部落長史何公墓誌銘并序, in *Sui Tang Wudai muzhi huibian: Shanxi juan* 隋唐五代墓誌匯編：山西卷 (Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1991). See Moribe 2001.
- 27) “Dazhou gu-Beijing-feisheng-wujundu-zhihuishi, Yinqing-guanglu-daifu, Jianjiao-sikong, Jian-jushi-daifu, Shangzhuguo, Zeng-zuo-xiaowei-jiangjun Shigong qi Henan-jun-taifuren Yuanshi muzhiming bingxu” 大周故北京飛勝五軍都指揮使·銀青光祿大夫·檢校司空·兼御史大夫·上柱國·贈左驍衛將軍石公妻河南郡太夫人元氏墓誌銘并序, in *Qiantang zhizhai zangzhi* 千唐誌齋藏誌 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1984).

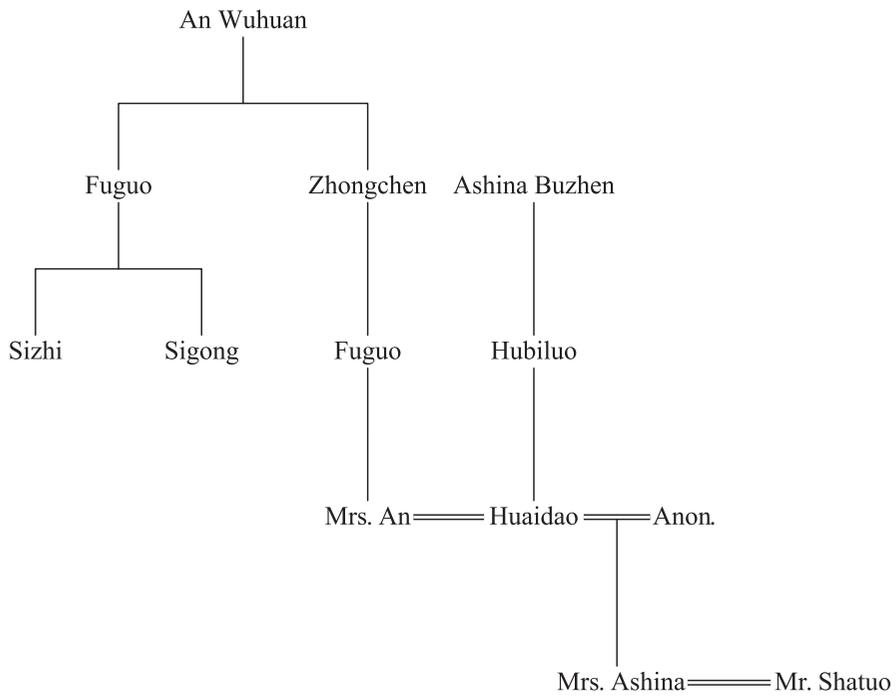
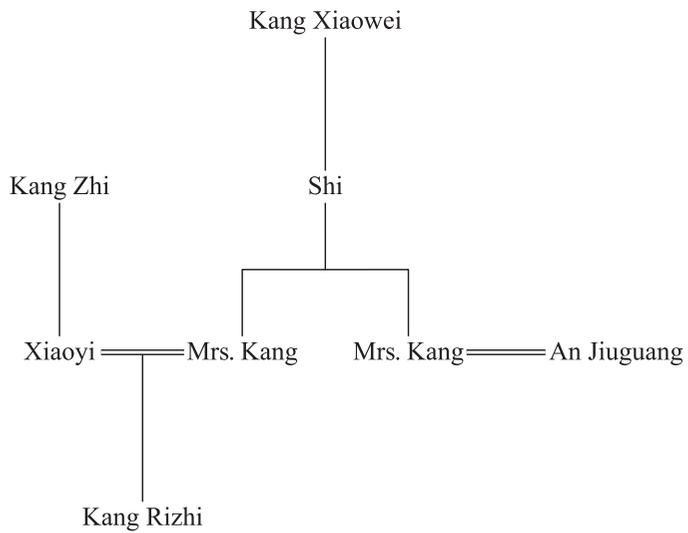
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**Fig. 1: An Fuguo Family****Fig. 2: Kang Rizhi Family**