

A Study of Ho-hsi 河西 Tibetans during the Northern Sung Dynasty

By Tsutomu IWASAKI

PREFACE

The Sung Court was continually under threat from forces to the north. "The two conquered kingdoms," Liao 遼 during the Northern Sung Dynasty and Chin 金 during the Southern Sung Dynasty, continued to put pressure on Sung in a variety of forms. In particular, it is worth special note that the foundation of Liao 遼 by the Ch'i-tan 契丹 people spurred an ethnic self-awareness among the various peoples surrounding China and exerted very considerable influence. The most striking example of this is the foundation of Hsi-hsia 西夏 by the Tangut P'ing-hsia 平夏 tribes of the northwestern frontier. As is generally known, it was Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷 the most outstanding hero of his day, who laid the foundation for Hsi-hsia, which then brought itself to full national strength during the time of Li Tê-ming 李德明 and saw its founding as a state by the time of Li Yuan-hao 李元昊. Hsi-hsia skillfully exploited the confrontation between Sung and Liao, maintaining continuous contacts with Liao while harassing Sung, and grew to be third strongest nation in East Asia.

We may safely assume that for Northern Sung, then, the Tangut P'ing-hsia tribes' independence movement could hardly be contained within the simple category of a frontier people's crusade to establish their nation—it was a primary factor of considerable influence in shaping Northern Sung's relationship vis-a-vis Liao. In addition, for the Ho-hsi 河西 region, which since ancient times had played a vital role as the central monarchy's source for the supply of cavalry horses, to fall into Hsi-hsia possession would create a shortage of horses in the Sung military and spell doom for her in the war against Liao. Further still, seizure of the Ho-hsi corridor by Hsi-hsia would bring with it interruption of communications between Sung and the nations of the Western Marches (西域), with the additional enormous impact of denying Sung her profits from East-West trade.

For Northern Sung, in other words, the prevention of Hsi-hsia development was a vital issue to be dealt with from the very outset of her foundation as a state. As its method for dealing with this situation, Sung employed none other than the conventional policy, exercised since ancient times, of *i i chih i* 以夷制夷 (use barbarians to conquer barbarians). Into this setting

emerged the Tibetans of Ho-hsi, the third most powerful force, after Liao and Hsi-hsia, to have a deep relationship with China. They are thought to be descendants of frontier tribes of the Kingdom of T'u-fan 吐蕃, and from the late T'ang 唐 and Wu-tai 五代 periods through early Sung, they were scattered in individual tribal units throughout the Ho-hsi region. The T'u-fan which appear with such frequency in Sung period historical materials can surely be no other than they. The Ho-hsi Tibetans made so severe an impression on Northern Sung that Sung people used "T'u-fan 吐蕃" pronominally to refer to them. In fact, so far as I have been able to determine, Northern Sung historical materials yield no mention at all of the Lha-sa area. In Northern Sung times, Central Tibet had disappeared entirely from field of vision of the Sung people, and the Ho-hsi Tibetans monopolized this title. The superior discernment of Northern Sung is seen in their having observed the power of the Ho-hsi Tibetans and contrived to use it to ensure their supply of cavalry horses, while at the same time utilizing it as a countervailing influence against Hsi-hsia.

This paper is an attempt to shed light on the generations of Tibetans, little known hitherto, who cut such a resplendent figure along the northwestern frontiers of Northern Sung. I will do this by examining their relationships with Sung, with Hsi-hsia, and with the other people's of the area, in the light of shifts in the administrations conducted by these Ho-hsi Tibetans.

I. THE HSI-LIANG-FU 西涼府 REGIME PERIOD

1. Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府 in Wu-tai 五代 and Early Sung 宋 Times

Liang-chou 涼州 had served, since of second year of Kuang-tê 廣德 (764) in T'ang 唐, as an important base under the T'u-fan 吐蕃 Kingdom's northward control. With, however, the assassination in the sixth year of Hui-ch'ang 會昌 (846) of King Glan dar ma, known for his suppression of Buddhism,¹⁾ that kingdom collapsed, and after a time, Liang-chou was successfully returned to the T'ang camp by *Sha-chou Kuei-i-chün Chieh-tu shih* Chang I-ch'ao 沙州歸義軍節度使張義潮,²⁾ Subsequently, at the time of late T'ang and early Wu-tai 五代, it would appear that actual power in Liang-chou was held by the Wa-mo 囉末, who are thought to have been on a lower stratum within the former T'u-fan Kingdom³⁾ and who seem later to have been assimilated into the Liang-chou aboriginal Han 漢人 and T'u-fan, and to have lost influence. A little further on in time, it is Han who are surmised to be the inhabitants of Liang-chou, achieving the status of *Liu-hou* 留後. As seen in *Chiu-wu-tai-shih* 舊五代史 volume 138 *Wai-kuo lieh-ch'uan* 外國列傳 2 *T'u-fan* 吐蕃:

至漢隱帝時，涼州留後折通嘉施來請命漢。即以爲節度使。嘉施土豪也。

at the time of the reign of the Hou-han 後漢 Emperor Yin-ti 隱帝 (948-950), a certain powerful local (*T'u-hao* 土豪) known as Chê-pu Chia-shih 折逋嘉施 paid his respects to the *chieh-tu-shih* 節度使 (military commissioner) and received acknowledgement of his sovereignty in Liang-chou. But the authority of Che-pu Chia-shih was in no way sole and absolute, for as we see in *Wu-tai hui-yao* 五代會要 volume 30 *T'u-fan-ch'uan* 吐蕃傳:

周廣順二年九月，河西節度使申師厚奏，吐蕃首領折逋支等請加恩命。其月敕以吐蕃左廂押蕃副使折逋支，右廂崔虎心，並授銀青光祿大夫檢校工部尚書。

with the succeeding Hou-chou 後周 period, someone with power to rival that of Che-pu Chia-shih, a certain Ts'uei Hu-hsin 崔虎心, was appointed *Yin-ch'ing-kuang-lu-ta-fu chien-chiao-kung-pu-shang-shu* 銀青光祿大夫檢校工部尚書. There has in the past appeared the theory that these men were Wa-mo 嗚末.⁴⁾ As is clearly noted in the corresponding sections of the preceding source and in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 *Fang-yü* 方域 volume 21 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 (hereafter abbreviated to as 宋會要西涼府), however.

周廣順二年……奏請授吐蕃首領折逋反等⁵⁾官，並從之。

i.e., these men were not Wa-mo but were connected to the stratum of influence in the *T'u-fan* Kingdom.⁶⁾

Now, with the destruction of Hou-chou and the founding of Northern Sung by T'ai-tsu Chao K'uang-yin 太祖趙匡胤, Liang-chou began to be referred to by the name of *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府, and as may be seen in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 volume 492 外國 8 *T'u-fan-ch'uan* 吐蕃傳 (hereafter abbreviated to as 宋史吐蕃傳) “乾德四年。知涼府折逋葛支上言……” Sung appointed Chê-pu Chia-shih to the position of 知西涼府 (Administrator of *Hsi-liang-fu*) and formally recognized him as sovereign of Liang-chou 涼州. After that, *Hsi-liang-fu* authority was passed on to Chê-pu A-yu-tan 折逋阿喻丹 and then to Chê-pu Yu-lung-po 折逋遊龍鉢,⁷⁾ and there was a period of some fifty years of *Hsi-liang-fu* government under the Chê-pu 折逋 clan.

It may be noted here that two events which provided an occasion for the independence movement of the Tangut P'ing-hsia 平夏 tribes—the Li Chi-pang 李繼棒 exile to the Interior Incident and the escape to Yin-chou 銀州 of the younger tribe member Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷—took place in the seventh year of T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo 太平興國 (926).⁸⁾ Further, the long violent confrontation between the Tangut P'ing-hsia tribes (hereafter simplified for the sake of convenience to *Hsi-hsia* 西夏) and the Ho-hsi 河西 Tibetans had found in these incidents its opportunity to commence. The submission of tribute, thought to have been by order of the *Hsi-liang-fu*, by the various tribes in the eighth year of T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo⁹⁾ represents a gesture showing that the *Hsi-liang-fu* regime would adopt a pro-Sung policy. The *Sung-hui-yao*

宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 reports:

太宗淳化二年，權知西涼州左廂押蕃落副使折逋阿喻丹來貢。先是，殿直丁惟清往涼州市馬。……又吐蕃賣馬還回過靈州爲黨項所略，表訴其事，因惟清至來年同入朝，詔答之。

Indicating that Hsi-hsia subsequently came to obstruct T'u-fan horse trade and that the ferocity of the confrontation between the two would increase. In the fourth year of Ch'en-hua 淳化 (993), Hsi-liang-fu authority was passed to Chê-pu Yu-lung-po 折逋遊龍鉢, but after this time, with the main power of the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部 (described later) up for the taking, the Chê-ping 折平 tribal leader Wu-san 握散 began to conduct spirited maneuverings with respect to Sung. The actual situation under the Yu-lung-po regime included significantly unstable elements. Sung, however, concerned about a state of affairs which might increase the fury of Li Chi-ch'ien's aggression, strengthened the Yu-lung-po regime sought to foster its power as a restraint against Li Chi-ch'ien, and in the tenth month of the third year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 (1000), appointed Yu-lung-po to be *Hsi-liang-fu Liu-ku Ta-shou-ling* 西涼府六谷大首領.¹⁰⁾

2. The Rise of the P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 Regime

In the following year of Hsien-p'ing four, the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 reports however:

四年十月，以西涼府六谷大首領潘羅支爲鹽州防禦使兼靈州西南(面)都巡檢使。十一月，以西涼府六谷左廂副使折逋遊龍鉢領宥州刺史，又以其督六族首領褚下箕等三人並爲懷化將軍，時西涼使又言，六谷分左右廂，遊龍鉢爲左廂副使，崔悉波爲右廂副使。朝廷所降符命龍鉢惠(長編作專)掌之，庶事與首領潘羅支同共裁制。朝廷方務綏懷故有是命。

indicating that the position of *Hsi-liang-fu Liu-ku Ta-shou-ling* 西涼府六谷大首領 would be transferred from Yu-lung-po 遊龍鉢 to a certain P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支, who served also as *Yen-chou fang-yu-shih chien ling-chou hsi-mien tu-hsün-chien-shih* 鹽州防禦使兼靈州西面都巡檢使. *Yu-lung-po* then, while becoming with Ts'uei Hsi-po 崔悉波 one of the two *Hsiang fu-shih* 廂副使 and supporting the P'an-luo-chih regime, continued as before to oversee communications with the Sung side. While this means that the change in regime was conducted during a state of peace, in the section for the fourth year of Hsien-p'ing the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 states:

先是，知鎮戎軍李繼和上言，潘羅支願戮力討繼遷，請授以刺史，仍賜廩給。又經略使張濟賢請封六谷王兼招討使靈州西面都巡檢使，俟其立功則授節鉞。

In other words, viewed from the standpoint that the relevant Sung bureaucracy actively supported the P'an-luo-chih regime and had high expectations of it, we may easily conclude that the change was orchestrated by the Sung side. Sung decided Yu-lung-po, struggling in his attempt to command the Liu-ku fan-pu, did not offer a sufficient restraining influence against Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷. There are background reasons for Yu-lung-po's going along unresistingly with this change in regimes, and they have to do with the fact that there was a large disparity both in their origins and in their power bases. While Yu-lung-po's origins are as we have previously described, Yamaguchi Zuiho 山口瑞鳳 offers the answer to the question of P'an-luo-chih's origins in his study entitled "*Byakuran to Sum pa no rLañs shi* 白蘭と Sum pa の rLañs 氏" (Pai-lan and the rLañs of the Sum pa),¹¹⁾ P'an-luo-chih is a transliteration of the Tibetan ḥphan la che (=ḥphan bla rje), meaning King of ḥphan, i.e. the King of P'an-chou 潘州, and it is clear that he was a descendant of the distinguished Sum pa region clan, the rLañs, which had produced so many high officials for the central government during the era of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 Kingdom.

As regards their power bases, we first of all may note that Yu-lung-po's was with the Tu-liu-tsu 督六族,¹²⁾ mentioned in the previously cited *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 as "又以其督六族首領褚下箕等三人並爲懷化將軍." From the fact that all three tribal leaders were receiving equal treatment from Sung, we would seem to be justified in further concluding that, as a force, Tu-liu-tsu power derived in the main from three separate tribes. P'an-luo-chih's power base, on the other hand, was with the large tribe known as the Chê-lung-tsu 者龍族. Much historical evidence remains pointing out the relationship between P'an-luo-chih and the Chê-lung-tsu, while the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* reports the following concerning the later years of P'an-luo-chih's successor, his younger brother Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督:

仁宗天聖四年正月，者龍族首領厮鐸督·捨欽波，遣蕃部厮鐸完於貢馬，賜衣服銀帶遣之。

and the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Li-tai chao-kung* 歷代朝貢 records the same matter in the following way "者龍蕃部首領厮鐸督來貢馬." Maeda Masana 前田正名 takes these accounts as proof that Ssü-tuo-tu seized command of the Chê-lung-tsu and gives the Chê-lung-tsu as leaders of the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部,¹³⁾ but that is mistaken. The fourth year of T'ien-sheng 天聖 (1026) is in that period when Ssü-tuo-tu was taken under the banner of Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉 (to be discussed later), falling to the status of a just another Tibetan tribe. The above account should be seen as recording Ssü-tuo-tu's return to the chieftancy of his tribe of origin. In any case, there is no question that the Chê-lung-tsu was indeed the power base for both P'an-luo-chih and Ssü-tuo-tu further, since the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* reports "者龍凡十三族", we may conceive

of the confrontation between Yu-lung-po and P'an-luo-chih as having represented an imbalance of 3 against 13. We can see from the circumstances under which Ku-ssü-lo was given backing (to be discussed later), as well, that there was an extremely strong disposition at the time to place a high value on the authority and prestige that had been held among the Tibetan tribes during the period of the T'u-fan Kingdom. It is easy to understand, then, why the position was yielded to P'an-luo-chih, for he surpassed Yu-lung-po, who was struggling to maintain command over the Liu-ku fan-pu tribes, in both his power and his origins.¹⁴⁾ A major factor in the rise of the P'an-luo-chih regime, indeed, was the Sung policy of utilizing his power and prestige in calling forth a kind of ethnic consciousness among the Tibetan tribes, and working for a grand alliance with the goal of the emergence of a powerful force to stand against Li Chi-ch'ien.

With regard to the western peoples (西蕃諸族), in the eleventh month of the fourth year of Hsien-p'ing (1000), Sung did issue an edict in which the post of *Chieh-tu-shih* was offered in exchange for the live capture of Li Chi-ch'ien,¹⁵⁾ thus implicitly pushing forward the posture it had determined to assume toward the P'an-luo-chih regime, which had just come into being. In its section for that year, the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* reports the following with regard to P'an-luo-chih's response to this:

閏十二月，鎮戎軍李繼和上言，得潘羅支書見，發兵討遷賊部下李萬山，願得王師援助。詔繼和諭羅支，朝廷有出師之期，當即詔報宜整旅以俟。

In other words, he proposed a showdown with Li Chi-ch'ien, making the direction of his allegiance perfectly clear.

On the other hand, during this same period, Li Chi-ch'ien's Ling-chou 靈州 offensive became increasingly ferocious, including attacks on Ling-chou in the eighth month of the fourth year of Hsien-p'ing (1001) with 50,000 cavalry, achieving successive victories in the 9th month over Ting-chou 定州 and Huai-yüan-chên 懷遠鎮, and further still, vanquishing the Ch'ing-yüan-chün 清遠軍. In the third month of the following year (1002), he finally took possession of Ling-chou, renamed it Hsi-p'ing-fu 西平府, and made it his base of operations for a subsequent advance into the Ho-hsi 河西 corridor with the purpose of acquiring the profits of East-West trade. To those influential Tibetan tribes which had hitherto followed no clear direction, this large scale offensive by Li Chi-ch'ien presented a sense of crisis and, in fact, actually invited their resulting affiliation with the increasingly strengthened P'an-luo-chih regime. First, in a statement issued by the *Chên-jung-chün* 鎮戎軍 on 咸平四年閏十二月戊子, Ko-le-pan-chu-êrh 格埒班殊爾, the chief of the Liang-chou 涼州 Pei-ning-tsu 卑甯族 tribe, is reported to have come over to the camp, and then in the fourth month of the fifth year of Hsien-p'ing, immediately following the fall of Ling-chou, the Mi-pên-tsu 密本族, a major Ho-hsi tribe, again sub-

mitted tribute, thus confirming their stand.¹⁶⁾ In the section for that year in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, we find:

十二月，西涼府與咩逋族各遣使來貢。帝曰靈州河外賀蘭山則有小涼·大涼部族甚盛。舊與賊遷修好，朕虞其合勢爲患，近累得邊奏，知與繼遷有隙，迭相攻掠。今西涼咩逋使來可召問其委曲。因其歸俾賚詔，招諭令助討遷賊，俟立功則重賞之。

In other words, in order to further toughen resistance to Li Chi-ch'ien, Sung conducted an active courtship of the Ta-liang 大涼, from the eastern base of Ho-lan-shan 賀蘭山 mountains, and the Hsiao-liang 小涼, both of which tribes were estranged from Li Chi-ch'ien, and sought to effect their cooperation with the Hsi-liang-fu regime. This courtship was complimentary to its courtship of the Lung-i-k'o-mei-k'o-tsu 隆伊克美克族, who at the time were based in Feng-chou 豐州,¹⁷⁾ and with it Sung aimed at achieving a front against Li Chi-ch'ien which would link this major Feng-chou tribe with the Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang tribes, with whom it shared borders, as well as with the Mi-pên-tsu, the Pei-ning-tsu, and Hsi-liang-fu. This was how Sung, having a distaste for conducting their relations with Feng-chou through Ch'i-tang-tsu 乞當族¹⁸⁾ (to be discussed later) go-betweens, chose to promote its envisioned grand alliance of Tibetan tribes, which thus steadily took shape.¹⁹⁾ Then, in the second month of the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing (1003), considering its liaisons with the Ho-hsi Tibetan tribes centered about Hsi-liang-fu to be essentially complete, Sung appointed P'an-luo-chih *Shuo-fang-chün Chieh-tu-shih* 朔方軍節度使 in conformance with the previously cited 咸平四年一月 edict, as is noted in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, in the section for the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing, as follows:

二月以潘羅支爲朔方軍節度使充靈州西南(面)都巡檢使。

3. The Structure of the P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 Regime

At this point I would like to investigate, in as much concrete detail as possible, the structure of the P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 regime. While it should be unnecessary to point out that the nucleus of power for this regime was formed by the thirteen Chê-lung 者龍 tribes, we do find in the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 section of the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 that:

八月，西涼府者龍族都首領遣使貢名馬十七疋。帝以其常與潘羅支協力抗賊，命優待之。

That is to say, P'an-luo-chih did not possess the reins of direct command over the thirteen Chê-lung tribes; rather, chiefs (*Tu-shou-ling* 都首領)²⁰⁾ commanded the tribes and followed P'an-luo-chih's lead. The ultimate decision

making authority for each tribe did rest with its chief, however, as may be seen from the fact that in later years six Chê-lung tribes betrayed P'an-luo-chih by defecting to the Tangut side (to be discussed later).

Neither did P'an-luo-chih possess direct command of the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部. They were divided into two *Hsiang* 廂 (Wing), left and right,²¹⁾ and commanded separately by the two *fu-shih* 副使 (Vice Commissioners) — Yu-lung-po 遊龍鉢, the former *Hsi-liang-fu Liu-ku ta-shou-ling* 西涼府六谷大首領, as the *Tso-hsiang* 左廂, and Ts'uei Hsi-po 崔悉波 as the *Yu-hsiang* 右廂. Ultimate control of the Liu-ku fan-pu was held for each by their respective chiefs, in the same way as we have seen with the thirteen Chê-lung tribes. Naturally, however, the *Fu-shih* had backing them a power exceeding anything held by the individual fan-pu 蕃部 within the *Hsiang*; in Yu-lung-po's case, this was the Tu-liu-tsu 督六族, as we have previously noted. The *Yu-hsiang fu-shih* 右廂副使 Ts'uei Hsi-po is thought to be of the same family as the Ts'uei Hu-hsin 崔虎心 who appears in the *Wu-tai hui-yao* 五代會要, most likely his son. It is unclear what its tribal power base was.

Now, we may next ask ourselves specifically what sort of tribes composed the Liu-ku fan-pu. In his book, Maeda Masana provides a "Hsi-liang-fu liu-ku fan-pu 西涼府六谷蕃部" section and places as Liu-ku fan-pu all those tribes thought to have some connection to the Hsi-liang-fu, but this is too reckless a thesis. In point of fact, it was the 18 tribes I will list here which composed the main body of the Liu-ku fan-pu. Among those that Maeda lists, there is no reason to debate the inclusion of Ch'i-tang-tsu 乞當族 found in the fourth year of Ta-chung hsiang-fu 大中祥符 section of the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* as:

九月，涇原鈐轄曹瑋上言，趙德明軍校蘇守信無故領兵攻西蕃乞當族，²²⁾ 其首領斯鐸督會諸族，禦之大敗其衆。

the Yang-tan-tsu 樣丹族 referred to in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* as "西涼蕃部樣丹" and "特令渭州給賜仍別賜其酋斯鐸督，" the Chu-lu-tsu 諸路族 (to be discussed later); or the Chang-mi-tsu 章迷族, which in a group of ten tribes brought tribute to the court in the third year of Ching-tê 景德 (1006).

In addition to these, I would include six fan-pu 蕃部 referred to in the fourth month of the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 section of the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* as:

二十四日，以西涼府斯邦族首領兀佐·馬家族首領渴東·周家族首領斯那叱·的流族首領箇羅·趙家族首領阿斯鐸嗟斯波·日姜族首領鐸論並爲懷化郎將。從潘羅支之請也。

i.e., the Ssü-pang-tsu 斯邦族, the Ma-chia-tsu 馬家族, the Ch'ou-chia-tsu 周家族, the Ti-liu-tsu 的流族, the Chao-chia-tsu 趙家族, and the Jih-chiang-tsu 日姜族.

Further, I would add eight fan-pu 蕃部 referred to in the fifth month of the third year of Ching-tê section as:

是月詔，加廝鐸督檢校太傅，又以廝鐸督蕃部馬咸山·渴龍·刑家·納迷·水馬波·乞當·龕谷懶家·小龕谷章家·心山王家·者龍諸族及李波連等四十九人並爲檢校太子賓客兼監察御史，充本族首領并郎將。

i.e. the Ma-hsien-shan-tsu 馬咸山族, the K'o-lung-tsu 渴龍族, the Hsing-chia-tsu 刑家族, the Na-mi-tsu 納迷族, the Shui-ma-po-tsu 水馬波族, the K'an-ku lan-chia-tsu 龕谷懶家族, the Hsiao-K'an-ku chang-chia-tsu 小龕谷章家族, and the Hsin-shan-wang-chia-tsu 心山王家族。

These eighteen tribes are the main body of what I would recognize as the Liu-ku fan-pu. This decision seems justified in that the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* reports:

(景德)四年五月，廝鐸督遣兵，六谷十八首領蘭連赤等來朝貢，且言感朝廷優卹，故擇名馬……

specifying clearly the number of tribal chiefs as eighteen and thus suggesting eighteen as the number of tribes in the Liu-ku fan-pu.

As further reason for limiting the Liu-ku fan-pu to these eighteen tribes, we should note that included only in the accounts of the two previous citations are the following seven tribes considered clearly to be descendants of Hsien-fan han-hu 陷蕃漢戶: the Ma-chia-tsu 馬家族, the Ch'ou-chia-tsu 周家族, the Chao-chia-tsu 趙家族, the Hsing-chia-tsu 刑家族, the Lan-chia-tsu 懶家族, the Chang-chia-tsu 章家族, and the Hsin-shan-wang-chia-tsu 心山王家族.²³⁾ This agrees with what is found in the memorial to Chang Chi-hsien 張濟賢 in the chang-pien 長編 volume 51 the third month of the fifth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 Kuei-hai 癸亥 section: “……且西涼蕃部多是華人子孫。例會漢言，頗識文字。……” With regard to the essential make-up of the Liu-ku fan-pu, Maeda Masana states in the work cited previously, “The main Liu-ku fan-pu body would seem most likely to have been comprised of the Wa-mo 嗶末, T'u-fan 吐蕃 serfs who took advantage of the Late T'ang 唐 rebellion of Lun K'ung-jê 論恐熱 in order to seize power.” (p. 396), but there are no grounds whatsoever for this inference. As may be seen in the memorial to Chang Chi-hsien, it was in fact comprised of Tibetanized Han-jên 漢人 tribes and native Tibetan tribes, and we should perhaps see the above-mentioned Wa-mo as having been a group which had been absorbed into these two. It is entirely unclear, however, within which *Hsiang* 廂, right or left, they might be presumed to have been included.²⁴⁾

Next, with regard to tribes other than the Liu-ku fan-pu, the above-mentioned Pei-ning-tsu, Ta-liang-tsu, Hsiao-liang-tsu, and Mi-pên-tsu, as has been previously suggested, collaborated with P'an-luo-chih to build a system of



encircling forces. With this system, the Mi-pên-tsu were particularly important. The *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* the third month of the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing section reports:

帝謂近臣曰，泥埋（尼瑪）與潘羅支自來同力討賊部族。居止密爾河外。又遣男成逋（沁布），遠告事宜墜谷而死，可特與轉改委以河外都巡檢之任。庶與羅支掎角直力也。

i.e., they stood on an equal footing with P'an-luo-chih. We may imagine here that they possessed a status higher and an influence stronger than any of the other tribes, and since we see in the first month 正月 section for that same year "……潘羅支差咩連族著官成逋，馳騎至鎮戎軍……," we would basically seem safe in imagining them to have been under P'an-luo-chih's direction. The same would seem to be true of the Pei-ning-tsu and the others. Finally, we can see that the Hui-ku 回鶻, the Tsung-ko 宗哥, and the Mi-no-êrh-tsu 覓諾爾族 dispatched armies to follow P'an-luo-chih, and at the time of Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督, the chief of the tang-tsung-tsu 黨宗族 was given an official position and came under the command of Hsi-liang-fu.

Putting our understanding of the structure of the P'an-luo-chih regime into a more organized form, we may view it as an affiliation of tribes described by three concentric circles—the Chê-lung-tsu 者龍族, the Hsi-liang-fu Liu-ku fan-pu 西涼府六谷蕃部, and the collaborating tribes. This organization may be seen the preceding chart.

4. The First Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府—Hsi-hsia 西夏 War

The Sung 宋—Fan 蕃 organization, allied for a pincer attack against Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷, took form, and Li Chi-ch'ien, who foresaw the advent of a tight situation, made an immediate first move, attacking and subduing Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府 and attempting to sever the Sung—Fan connection in one stroke. The *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 55, the 甲子 day of the first month of the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 section records:

西面部署言，李繼遷劫西蕃，攻陷西涼府，遂出其居人，知涼州殿直丁惟清沒焉。

i.e., it appeared as if Li Chi-ch'ien's invasion of Hsi-liang-fu may have initially succeeded. However, as we see in the *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 56, the 壬子 day of the first month of the first year of Ching-tê 景德 (1004) section:

李繼遷之陷西涼也，都首領博囉齊（潘羅支）僞降。繼遷受之。未幾囉齊遽集六谷蕃部及咱隆族合擊之。繼遷大敗中流矢創甚，奔還至靈州界三十里死。

Li Chi-ch'ien was soon greeted with a P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 counterattack,²⁵⁾ one in which he was slain.

Although P'an-luo-chih was able in such fashion to elude skillfully the

major crises that faced his administration from the time of its inception, like Li Chi-ch'ien, he too was slain. The *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*: 宋會要西涼府 the 17th day of the tenth month of the first year of Ching-tê 景德 section continues an account with:

時，押賜羅支國信使臣焦贊上言，昨離渭州至龕谷懶家族，問得都首領尊及諸路族首領便囑等言，去歲六月中李繼遷攻者龍族，羅支率隨身百騎赴之，儀併兵，攻討繼遷。而族帳養迷般囑與日逋吉羅丹者，先自繼遷所亡歸者龍族，因率其屬殺羅支於其帳。者龍凡十三族，而六族附養迷般囑及日逋吉羅丹²⁶⁾。

In other words, at some time around the sixth month of the first year of Ching-tê 景德 the forces of Li Chi-ch'ien's successor, his son Li Tê-ming 李德明, attacked the Chê-lung-tsu 者龍族, and P'an-luo-chih, upon hearing the report of this, set out on a rescue mission leading a mere hundred cavalry, whereupon it was he, in fact who was slain—by Yang-mi-pan-chu 養迷般囑 and Jih-pu-chi-luo-tan 日逋吉羅丹, who had pretended to submit to the Chê-lung-tsu. It is surely fair to say that the deaths of Li Chi-ch'ien and P'an-luo-chih formed a perfectly matched pair, and that Li Tê-ming managed to revenge his father in splendid fashion. The faked submission of Yang-mi-pan-chu et al., was not simply for the purpose of assassinating P'an-luo-chih, however; it was quite naturally aimed at the conquest of Hsi-liang-fu. The fact is clear that these two actively conducted internal operations against the Chê-lung-tsu, who formed the core of authority in Hsi-liang-fu, took six of the tribes, approximately half of the total, under their aegis, and attempted to undermine Hsi-liang-fu authority from within. It is only to be expected, then, that those six tribes, too, were involved in the assassination of P'an-luo-chih and that this was most surely a coup d'état against him. This six-tribe rebellion suggests that even within the thirteen Chê-lung tribes there existed both a pro-Sung faction, that agreed with the policies of P'an-luo-chih, and a pro-Hsia 夏 faction, that was not cheerfully disposed to such one-sided Sung leanings. Yang-mi-pan-chu, et al. probably utilized this discord skillfully to win over the pro-Hsia faction and kill P'an-luo-chih. With regard to these six Chê-lung tribes in times subsequent to the events described here, the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* continues its account with “西涼府既聞，羅支被害，遂率龕谷·蘭州宗哥·寘諾諸族來攻者龍六族。六族悉投龕山谷。” While we see here that they were quickly routed by Hsi-liang-fu and that the rebellion was suppressed, P'an-luo-chih, too, who had succeeded in unifying the Tibetan tribes and building a Hsi-liang-fu regime stronger than any previously known, ended up reluctantly leaving the world less than five years after he had gained power.

5. Actual Conditions under the Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督 Regime

The *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 the tenth month of the first year of Ching-tê 景德 (1004) section reports the following with regard to the

rebuilding of rule in Hsi-liang-fu:

兼西涼府六合(谷)首領議立羅支之弟厮鐸督言，厮鐸督剛決平恕，每會酋豪設觴豆飲食，必先卑者，犯令雖至親不貸。(中略)帝以遷賊未平，籍(藉?)西涼爲腹背。故奏入有褒贈之命，而以羅支舊秩授之。

Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督, the younger brother of P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支, immediately inherited authority over Hsi-liang-fu, but it is worthwhile nothing that he was chosen for command by consensus of the tribal leaders of the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部. This shows that because the thirteen Chê-lung 者龍 tribes, which had during the time of P'an-luo-chih formed the mainstay of regime support, had been cut down to seven tribes, they were no longer capable of unilaterally—without gaining the consent of the Liu-ku fan-pu—accede to the leadership. One person who fulfilled a very important role in terms of getting the Liu-ku fan-pu to go along with the formation of a Ssü-tuo-tu regime was Ch'ou-chia-tsu shou-ling Ssü-da-chih 周家族首領厮郝叱. The *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* reports "又言，蕃帳周斯郝支有智勇，久參謀議，請授以六谷都巡檢使，帝以嘉獎之，詔從其請賜茶綵." In answer to Hsi-hsia 西夏 aggression, on the other hand, Northern Sung rushed the rebuilding of a regime in Hsi-liang-fu in order to maintain the framework of the Hsi-liang-fu alliance that it had hitherto supported, conferring upon Ssü-tuo-tu with unprecedented haste all of P'an-luo-chih's old titles in the tenth month of that year, appointing him "金紫光祿大夫檢校太保靈州刺史充朔方軍節度靈州管內觀察處置營田押蕃落使兼靈州西面緣邊都大巡檢使西涼府六谷都大首領"²⁷⁾ and investing him with "西平郡開國侯食邑千戶"²⁸⁾ and worked for the strengthening of the regime. The appointment of Ch'ou-chia-tsu shou-ling Ssü-da-chih 周家族首領厮郝叱, in the second month of the fourth year, as *Liu-ku tu-hsün-chien-shih* 六谷都巡檢使 (Chief Military Inspector of Liu-ku) may also be seen as a further indication of the care that Sung was devoting somehow to convince the independence-leaning Liu-ku fan-pu to follow the new regime.²⁹⁾ In spite of these measures, however, there was no stilling of the voices of misgiving heard in Sung court circles regarding the Ssü-tuo-tu regime, as we learn from the *Sung-shih* 宋史 volume 265 Chang Chi-hsien-ch'uan 張濟賢傳:

向使潘羅支尚在，則德明未足爲虞。今潘羅支已亡，厮鐸督非其敵。

Let us take a brief look at how the tribes which formed the new regime had changed from the time of P'an-luo-chih. With regard to the Chê-lung tribes that had been cut to seven, first of all, the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* 25th day of the third month of the second year of Ching-tê 景德 section tells us:

者龍七族悉補其首領月給千錢。

and the first month of the third year section reports:

詔，以西涼者龍族舍窮波等七人，渭州黨宗族業羅並爲檢校太子賓客本族首領。

from which we may know they were deeply bound to Ssü-tuo-tu.

Particularly notable here is Shê-ch'ung-po 舍窮波 (舍欽波), who served also as a Chê-lung tribal chief and was, as we learn from a corresponding account in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 *Tu-fan-ch'uan* 吐蕃傳 the third year of Ching-tê section:

又以者龍族合(舍)窮波，黨宗族業羅等……皆鐸督外姻也。

i.e. a maternal relative of Ssü-tuo-tu. One would imagine that he had must have had greater influence with Ssü-tuo-tu than the other Chê-lung tribal chiefs.

With regard to the Liu-ku fan-pu, the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* the fourth year of Ching-tê section states:

四年五月，斡鐸督遣兵，六谷十八首領蘭逋赤等來朝貢，且言感朝廷優卹，故擇名馬修貢，命中使就禮賓院犒設之。

indicating that within three years following the establishment of the Ssü-tuo-tu regime, all of the tribal chiefs were submitting tribute and suggesting that they were generally submitting to the new order. We should not forget, as was pointed out earlier, however, that since the Ssü-tuo-tu regime had been formed by their consensus, their position must naturally have been a strengthened one. Furthermore, we find that among their ranks there began to appear fan-pu 蕃部 who ignored in their behavior the new regime, as may be seen in the *Sung-shih Tu-fan-ch'uan* the first year of Ching-tê section:

又渭州言，龕谷懶家族首領尊蘊磨壁餘龍及便囑⁸⁰等獻名馬，願率所部助討不附者，又言，西涼市馬道出本族，自今保無他虞，詔賜馬直，以便囑等爲郎將。

and in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* the second year of Ching-tê section:

三月二十四日，西涼蕃部樣丹求市弓矢歸蕃，有司舊例弓矢兵器不入外國，帝以其宣力西陲委之捍寇，特令渭州給賜。仍別賜其酋斡鐸督。

It would seem, incidentally, that it was none other than the replacement of those Liu-ku fan-pu "executives," the *Liu-ku tso-yu-hsiang fu-shih* 六谷左右廂副使, that in the event encouraged this sort of fan-pu behavior. In the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* the third year of Ching-tê section we find:

十二月，厮鐸督遣吐蕃左右廂副使日連速鶻等來貢馬。……

thus learning of the existence in the Ssü-tuo-tu regime as well of the posts, in some form or another, of *Liu-ku tso-yu-hsiang fu-shih*. The names of Chê-pu Yu-lung-po 折連遊龍鉢 and Ts'uei Hsi-po 崔悉波, who were active in those positions during the time of P'an-luo-chih, have already disappeared, however. One would imagine they most likely had from the very first failed to participate in the new regime. Far from it, in fact, for there is evidence that Chê-pu Yu-lung-po, for instance, did quite the reverse, going over to the Hsi-hsia 西夏 after P'an-luo-chih's death,³¹⁾ as may be seen in the *Hsi-hsia shu-shih* 西夏書事 volume 9 in the section for the ninth month of that same year:

六谷諸酋久推忠順，自潘羅支死，折連遊龍鉢等盡歸德明部下。

And still beyond that were the local leaders, those who in actual practice commanded the Liu-ku fan-pu and who had made their tribes subject to the P'an-luo-chih regime: their distancing themselves from the Hsi-liang-fu authorities must inevitably have increased the independence of the fan-pu.

We might next note that, as far as I have been able to determine, once we come to the time of Ssü-tuo-tu, there no longer appears in the historical records any references whatsoever to those major tribes that held the highest status in the P'an-luo-chih regime: the Mi-pên-tsu 密本族, Ta-liang-tsu 大涼族, Hsiao-liang-tsu 小涼族, and Pei-ning-tsu 卑甯族. If for a moment we imagine that they had participated in the new regime and cooperated with it, we would certainly expect to find notices of their official appointments or submissions of tribute. Therefore it would seem justified to imagine that they stood aloof from Ssü-tuo-tu. Thus, considering the fact that among them were tribes which shared physical borders with Hsi-hsia and, like Ta-liang-tsu and Hsiao-liang-tsu, had maintained relations with her since ancient times, it would seem likely that they submitted to Hsi-hsia at about the time of the slaying of P'an-luo-chih. The *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* the first year of Ching-tê account of the suppression of the rebellion of the six Chê-lung 者龍 tribes suggests as much, stating:

西涼府既聞羅支被害，遂率龕谷，蘭州宗哥，覓諾諸族，來攻者龍六族。

In other words, while the Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族 of the geographically distant Huang-shui 湟水 region complied with the suppression of this rebellion, there is no suggestion that the major neighboring tribes participated. This was an opportunity for the Tsung-ko-tsu to have their existence acknowledged, and ultimately, in the coming era, they were to assume a leading role. We cannot fail to notice what a contrast these two camps represent. As we have seen

here, then, the actual state of affairs during the Ssü-tuo-tu regime when compared to that of P'an-luo-chih, indicate an authority greatly scaled down and weakened, and the previously noted fears of Chang chi-hsien were surely not wholly unfounded.

6. The Second Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府—Hsi-hsia 西夏 War

On guard against an invasion from Hsi-hsia,³²⁾ it was only natural that the Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督 regime should strengthen the state of its vigilance. The *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府 the third year of Ching-tê 景德 (1006) section reports in this regard:

七月，令秦翰因便諭意，西涼府厮鐸督令諸蕃部嚴斥堠，以備趙德明。以鄜延路總管石普入奏，德明信約未定，點集蕃部也。

i.e., in response to the Sung demand for vigilance. Hsi-liang-fu was working to strengthen its network of defenses. As evidence that the Northern Sung and Hsi-liang-fu anxiety was definitely no over-reaction, we find in the section for the following year, the fourth year of Ching-tê:

九月，遣渭州指使借職李仁義齎詔賜厮鐸督茶藥……仍令約回鶻爲援，以備趙德明。時邊臣有上言，德明謀襲西涼及回鶻。

which passage gives further clear indication of Li Tê-ming (李德明)'s ambition to invade Hsi-liang-fu and Kan-chou 甘州. It is an open question as to the degree to which the mutual assistance, indicated by Northern Sung in the above account as taking place between Hsi-liang-fu and Kan-chou Hui-ku 甘州回鶻, was actually carried out, but in the following year of the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符, the Hsi-hsia 西夏 invasion of Hsi-liang-fu and Kan-chou finally took place. In the *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 68 the first month of the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符 (1008) section we read:

壬申，邊臣言趙德明邀留輝和爾貢物，又令張浦率騎數千侵擾輝和爾。

This is saying that in the first month of that year they attacked Kan-chou 甘州,³³⁾ then dispatched a major force to subdue Hsi-liang-fu and Kan-chou in one blow, and attempted to gain control of the Ho-hsi 河西 corridor. The *Hsi-hsia shu-shih* 西夏書事 volume 9 the third month of the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu section is brief and to the point:

張浦兵還。德明遣萬子等四軍主悉其族兵，取六谷進圖甘州。萬子軍主至西涼，見六谷兵盛不敢攻，徑趨甘州襲回鶻。回鶻偵知，設伏示弱，不與鬪俟其過奮擊之，剿殺殆盡。軍主挺身走免。

First of all, the Hsi-hsia military force which reached Hsi-liang-fu discovered that the fighting might of the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部 was greater than they had anticipated, and not daring to engage them, they aimed their spearhead at Kan-chou. Hui-ku 回鶻, learning of the Hsi-hsia advance, struck a giant blow by setting out troops and ambushing the passing Hsi-hsia army. The Hsi-hsia invasion of Ho-hsi ended in failure, but Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊 notes, with regard to the connection between this invasion and the Liao 遼 attack on Kan-chou in the same year, "We may imagine that the two nations acted in concert in planning the Ho-hsi advance."³⁴⁾ I wonder, for though Hsi-hsia surely had a close relationship with Liao at that time, control of the Ho-hsi corridor was a life or death matter for Hsi-hsia. If Kan-chou were to fall into the possession of Liao, Hsi-hsia would lose all the profits it had been receiving from the trade among the various nations of the Western Marches (西域), and in terms of its relationships with both Sung and Liao, the significance of its existence would disappear. From this standpoint, it is hardly possible to conceive of Hsi-hsia attacking Kan-chou in concert with Liao. The *Liao-shih* 遼史 volume 14 Sheng-tsung pên-chi 聖宗本紀 the 26th year of T'ung-hê 統和 (1008) section states:

十二月，蕭圖玉奏，討甘州回鶻，降其王耶刺里(夜落紇)，撫慰而還³⁵⁾

Even considering the period of time between the actual invasion and the subsequent report to the throne, the Liao attack on Kan-chou would seem to have taken place in the latter half of the 26th year of T'ung-hê (1008; the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu). By way of contrast, the Hsi-hsia attack took place between the first and third months of that year. In other words, Hsi-hsia, having anticipated the Liao movement, stole the initiative in gaining control of Ho-hsi, and attempted to forestall the Liao advance. In the fourth and twelfth months of the following year they repeated the attack on Kan-chou,³⁶⁾ but these were complete failures. On the other hand, in the following year of the third year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, Liao again attacked Kan-chou and Su-chou 肅州. The *Liao-shih* 遼史 volume 15 Sheng-tsung pên-chi 聖宗本紀 the fifth month of the 28th year of T'ung-hê (1010) section reports:

乙巳，西北路招討使蕭圖玉奏，伐甘州回鶻，破肅州盡俘其民，詔修土隴口故城，以實之。

Although Nagasawa states in connection with this attack that when collated with Sung historical records, the Kan-chou invasion itself was no more than at the maintenance level, he maintains that Hsi-hsia may also have actively participated in it.³⁷⁾ However, this account is, needless to say, weighted in favor of Liao, and unlike reports describing the specific disposition following the Su-chou invasion, an expression such as "伐甘州回鶻" can only be said to be

vague.

Kan-chou Hui-ku 甘州回鶻 subsequently maintained cordial relations with Sung, and when we consider its development later on (to be discussed), we cannot consider the Liao invasion to have borne that much fruit. It would not seem that Kan-chou Hui-ku independence was seriously violated. Further, these alternating attacks on Kan-chou by Liao and Hsi-hsia, rather than being undertaken in concert, would seem to point to the commencement of mutual challenges between the two nations.

Now, having burnt its hand on Kan-chou Hui-ku, Hsi-hsia again turned its attention to Hsi-liang-fu. In the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu section, we find:

九月，涇原鈐轄曹瑋上言，趙德明軍校蘇守信，無故領兵攻西蕃乞當族，其首領厮鐸督會諸族禦之，大敗其衆。

i.e. Hsi-hsia's 軍校 Su Shou-hsin 蘇守信³⁸) attacked the Liu-ku fan-pu Ch'i-tang-tsu 乞當族, but was met with a counterattack and a giant failure for his efforts. However, even though we find no more evidence in the historical records of any subsequent Hsi-hsia attacks on Hsi-liang-fu, the *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 85, the ninth month of the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu section states:

以西涼人蘇守信劫亂日與交關……。蘇守信者夏州所遣，領兵七千馬五千，戍西涼者。

indicating that Ssü-tuo-tu has been replaced by Hsi-hsia's 軍校 Su Shou-hsin. Most likely the Su Shou-hsin invasion of the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu was not a complete defeat for him; it would seem safer to assume that at this point he had achieved a Hsi-hsia toehold in Hsi-liang-fu.

II. THE TSUNG-KO-CH'ENG 宗哥城 KU-SSÜ-LO 响厮囉 REGIME PERIOD

1. The Expansion of the Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族 (clan) and the Appearance of Ku-ssü-lo 响厮囉

Nevertheless, even taking into account the fact that the great raid of Hsi-hsia 西夏 is not recorded in historical sources, the cause of the wane of Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督's regime is unclear. The answer cannot be found in the mere fact of his connection with the Hsi-hsia. Here we should take note of the sudden expansion of the Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族 who belonged to the Ssü-tuo-tu regime. Let us thus shift our attention to the Tsung-ko-tsu and examine this problem.

The Tsung-ko-tsu, who lent their cooperation to the subjugation of rebellion among the Chê-lung-liu-tsu 者龍六族 in the third year of Ching-tê 景德 (1006), joined their name to one of the powerful subsidiary clans of the Ssü-tuo-tu regime to present tribute to the Sung 宋 emperor, as is recorded in the entry for that year in the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hsi-liang-fu* 西涼府:

五月，西涼府龕谷懶家，宗家(哥)，者龍，當宗，章迷等十族朝見進馬，犒以酒食，賜與有差。

Later, in the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符, the clan had sufficiently advanced to bring their tribute unsponsored, as appears in the entry for the 壬申 day of the 11th month of the same year, in the *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 70:

總嚙爾(宗哥)族大首領溫布等遣使入貢。

The fact that the name of Wên-pu 溫布, the clan head, is specified here is particularly important, as it means that his clan had newly received recognition from the Sung. In addition, we find in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* entry of two years later:

三年五月，賜覓諾族可(首)領溫連藥，以所部瘴疫從其請也。

Wên-pu had by this time progressed so far as to make an official visit to the leader of the Mi-no-tsu 覓諾族 clan, who is thought to have been in the Huang-shui 湟水 river basin at the same time. By the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, the Tsung-ko-tsu had established a new political regime and become the focal point of the Ho-hsi 河西 Tibetan clans, eventually overpowering the regime of Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府 (as described below). I would like to cite the following two points as possible causes of this sudden advancement to power of the Tsung-ko-tsu.

The first point is the extension of economic power of this clan, which resulted from their alliance with Kan-chou Hui-ku 甘州回鶻 (Uyghur). In the entry for the eighth month of the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, in the *Chang-pien* volume 76, we find the following:

癸亥，甘州輝和爾可汗伊嚙格勒遣使奉表詣闕。初嚙格勒屢與夏州接戰，每遣使入貢，即爲趙德明所掠。至是，總嚙爾等族皆感朝恩，遣人防援而至焉。

Also, it is recorded in the entry for the tenth month of the same year in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 *ping* 兵 volume 24, *Ma-cheng* 馬政 6:

詔，自今甘州回紇并宗哥族進奉鞍馬，到州告乞印……。

In other words, during this year, the Kan-chou Hui-ku and the Tsung-ko-tsu had come to have common interests. The "Tsung-ko road" mentioned by Maeda Masana 前田正名 refers to the route connecting Kan-chou and Tsung-ko;¹⁾ but while Maeda maintains that this tributary route was opened about this time, it is actually possible to trace it, even by historical sources, to the third year of Ching-tê, some years before. That the Kan-chou Hui-ku and the Tsung-ko-tsu were already connected at this time is substantiated by the *Huai-yüan-i* 懷遠賦 entry in the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Fang-yü* 方域:

景德三年，置掌西蕃交州，西蕃大石，龜茲，于闐，甘州，宗歌等貢奉，以三班內侍二人監²⁾。

Regardless of the request made by the Sung for collaboration between Hsi-liang-fu and Kan-chou Hui-ku, the latter, apprehensive of the advance of Hsi-hsia, had felt uneasy about the tributary road via Liang-chou 涼州 and had already independently established the tributary road used by Tsung-ko-tsu in the Huang-shui basin.³⁾ The aforementioned passages concerning the Tsung-ko-tsu in the first and third years of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu are backed by these facts. It may be said that the Tsung-ko-tsu expected recognition as an independent power because of this road; their prestige was different from any previously seen in the Northern Sung. Furthermore, the entry for the sixth month of the third year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the *Hsi-hsia Shu-shih* 西夏書事 volume 9, reads:

西攻河州，宗哥諸族破之，盡掠其貨財。

In this way, the fact that Hsi-hsia subjugated Tsung-ko and other clans constitutes indirect proof that the trade route of the Tsung-ko road was already well established in the Ta-chung-hsiang-fu year period. At any rate we may be sure that following the establishment of this tributary route, the Tsung-ko-tsu drained off a fair proportion of the intermediate profits from tributary trade coming into Hsi-liang-fu.

However, it is doubtful that the newly arisen Tsung-ko-tsu could have become central in the Tibetan clans and taken over from Hsi-liang-fu merely by an increase in economic power. Even supposing that the power of Hsi-liang-fu was in decline, it still had the weight of long tradition behind it, and the power of Ssü-tuo-tu, as the leader of the rLañs clan, could not be denied. For this reason, the Tsung-ko-tsu needed some symbol which would be sufficiently effective to counteract the power and tradition of the Hsi-liang-fu Ssü-tuo-tu regime, in order to seize the advantage over the latter both in name and in reality. This is the second point contributing to the Tsung-ko-tsu expansion mentioned above. The symbol which had the power to fulfill these requirements was none other than descent from the former royal family

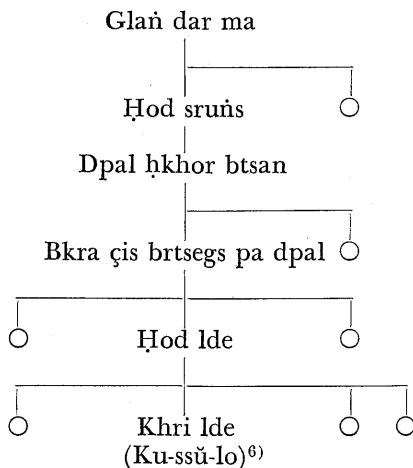
of T'u-fan 吐蕃, and the person who rewarded their search in this direction was none other than Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉. Regarding the origins of Ku-ssü-lo, we read in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 *T'u-fan-ch'uan* 吐蕃傳:

唃廝囉者緒出贊普之後。本名歎南陵溫錢逋。錢逋猶贊普也，羌語訛爲錢逋。生高昌磨榆國。

An even more detailed account appears in the *Ch'in-chou Ku-ssü-lo-shih* 秦州唃廝囉事, in the *Lo-ch'üan-chi* 樂全集 Chang Fang-p'ing, 張方平 volume 22 (hereafter abbreviated to *Lo-ch'üan-chi* 樂全集 *Ku-ssü-lo-shih* 唃廝囉事):

唃廝囉（原注・據譯佛謂唃，兒爲廝囉，漢語佛兒也）本名歎南陵溫錢逋。西域武三咩人。蓋唐吐蕃之裔。吐蕃在唐爲大國，威長夷狄。大中以後，部族衰散，然其種貴羌戎，至今尊服，三咩去，今唃廝囉所居青唐城，經隔諸番極遠。其祖父名字未詳，但傳自唐已來，世襲爲結逋（原注・據譯結逋天子之號，乃僭也）。

From this we know that at the same time, the lineage of the T'u-fan royal family had long been revered, even after the Sung came into power.⁴⁾ The relationship between Ku-ssü-lo and the T'u-fan royal family is concretely recorded in the Tibetan literary work *Hu lan deb ther*⁵⁾ (Japanese translation) in the fourth section, entitled "The Royal Line of Tibet". According to this source, a genealogical chart connecting Glañ dar ma, the last king of the T'u-fan dynasty, to Ku-ssü-lo may be very simply rendered as follows.



In the same work appears the passage, "The descendants of Khri lde are the king of East tsoñ kha, Spyan sña don chen, etc., and the descendants of the king Mdo smad", which substantiates that Ku-ssü-lo moved to the district of Tsung-ko (tsoñ kha). The *Sung-shih* 宋史 continues the story by recording the process by which Ku-ssü-lo was raised up to power:

既十二歲，河州羌何郎業賢客高昌，見廝囉貌奇偉，挈以歸置剽心城。而大姓聳昌廝均又以廝囉居移公城，欲於河州立文法。河州人謂佛喃，謂兒子廝囉。自此名喃廝囉。於是宗哥僧李立遵，邈川大酋溫逋哥略取廝囉，如郭州尊立之。部族寢疆，乃徙居宗哥城。

The fact that all the tribes closely observed Ku-ssü-lo as a descendant of the T'u-fan dynasty probably contributed a great deal to his self-confidence while on the road to political advancement. After all, it is abundantly clear which would have more power to draw the people—the possession of T'u-fan stock or the mere leader of the rLan's clan. Moreover, Ku-ssü-lo was valuable not only because of the advantage of being one of a royal line. His name in Tibetan, *rgyal sras*, means “son of Buddha”,⁷⁾ so that he was also an object of reverence as an incarnation of Buddha. For that matter, when we consider that Ku-ssü-lo's naming took place after he had moved to Ho-chou 河州⁸⁾, in the *Lung-p'ing-chi* 隆平集 of Ts'êng Kung 曾鞏, it may be surmised that he gave careful thought to the Buddhist faith of the Tibetan clans,⁹⁾ and that the use of 貌奇偉 (have a beautiful figure)” was a very clever piece of staging, making a double impression on the people's hearts as “the reincarnation of Buddha”. It was natural that the various clans should contend for Ku-ssü-lo in order to increase their power. In the end, it was the Tsung-ko-tsu, having superior power through their union with Kan-chou hui-ku, who made practical use of this personage.

In this way, by the extension of their economic influence and their support of Ku-ssü-lo, the Tsung-ko-tsu came to be so actively powerful in the region that it was said in the entry for the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the *Sung-hui-yao-chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 *Fan-i* 蕃夷 6, *Ku-ssü-lo* 喃廝囉 (hereafter abbreviated to *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Ku-ssü-lo* 喃廝囉):

時，宗哥族立遵，喃廝囉，溫逋奇等帳族甚盛，勝兵六七萬，與夏州抗敵，希望朝廷恩命。

Later in the same work, we find:

八年二月，宗哥族喃廝囉，立遵，溫逋斯，木羅丹並遣使貢馬。(中略)是時，宗哥立文法，聚衆數十萬，請討夏州，以自効¹⁰⁾。

telling us that in the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1015), the so-called Ku-ssü-lo regime was officially established. As a result, later in the same record, appears the passage:

八月二十九日，曹瑋上言，喃廝囉所部劉王叔遣帳下青波來告，近遣西涼廝鐸督部兵十萬，掩殺北界部落，勝捷，續遣人獻首級。

As we see here, the Hsi-liang-fu Ssü-tuo-tu regime had lost prestige among the Tibetan tribes, and 60,000 soldiers belonging to it made a new vow to serve Ku-ssü-lo. Furthermore, as we read in the entry for that year in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*:

十月，西涼府〔宗〕哥蕃部厮鐸督來貢馬十二疋，其姪又獻馬三疋。

Ssü-tuo-tu himself, as if to substantiate this, eventually declined to the level of one local governor among many within Ku-ssü-lo's regime.¹¹⁾

The eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu was an epoch-making year, encompassing as it did the demise of the Hsi-liang-fu regime and the establishment of that of Ku-ssü-lo. It is evident that the final *coup de grace* to the Hsi-liang-fu regime was not in fact Hsi-hsia's ambition to advance into Ho-hsi, but rather the establishment of the Ku-ssü-lo regime centered in the Tsung-ko-tsu.

2. The Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉 Regime at Tsung-ko-ch'êng 宗哥城 and Li-tsun 李遵

According to the aforementioned *Sung-shih* 宋史 *T'u-fan-ch'uan* 吐蕃傳, about the second year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符 Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉, accompanied by Ho-lang-yeh-hsien 何郎業賢 of Ho-chou 河州, traveled from Mar-yul (Mo-yü 磨榆) to Kung-hsin-ch'êng 剴心城 in Ho-chou. Following this, Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün 聳昌廝均 of Ta-hsing 大姓 moved him to I-kung-ch'êng 移公城 and planned to build a *wên-fa* 文法 in Ho-chou. However, Li-tsun 李遵, the priest of Tsung-ko-ch'êng, and Wên-pu-ch'i 溫逋奇, who had been known since the Hsi-liang-fu era as the leader of the Tsung-ko-tsu, together captured Ku-ssü-lo and put him for a time in K'uo-chou 廓州, later moving him to Tsung-ko-ch'êng and giving Li-tsun the post of *Lun-pu* 論逋. The particulars of Ku-ssü-lo's elevation to power may be summarized very briefly as above. However, it is not hard to imagine that behind all this, a great deal of very fierce and confused fighting was going on among the Tibetan tribes for the acquisition of Ku-ssü-lo. In the present work, we shall proceed from the point where this problem was resolved.

With regard to Ku-ssü-lo's movements in the Ho-chou period, all the historical sources merely record the circumstances of his naming,¹²⁾ without concretely describing any of his activities. However, a noteworthy passage appears in the entry for the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Ku-ssü-lo* 唃廝囉:

五月二十五日，以渭州蕃族首領唃廝囉爲殿直充巡檢使。先是，廝囉率帳下來歸，給以土田未及播種，且求俸給贍用。故有是命。

In this, Ku-ssü-lo's name appears separately from both Ho-chou and the *Tsung-ko-tsu*, designated as *Wei-chou fan-tsu shou-ling* 渭州蕃族首領 ("leader of the Tibetan tribes of Wei-chou"),¹³⁾ being charged by the Sung with the

posts of *Tien-chih* 殿直 (*Palace Eunuchs*) and *Hsün-chien-shih* 巡檢使 (*Military Inspector*). Li Tao 李燾, the author of the *Chang-pien*, had doubts about this. He explains, in an inserted note to the entry for the day of the fifth month of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 82:

按，嘉勒斯賚（喃厮囉）嘗受朝命爲殿直巡檢使。而實錄不載。斯賚附傳及正傳竝略之。不知何也。又按會要，初以斯賚爲渭州蕃族。恐，此時李埶克遵等猶未略取斯賚。故，斯賚以窮歸我，且受朝命。尋卽爲埶克遵略取，如廓州，遂徙總嚙爾城。及此年十一月張佖奏，埶克遵與斯賚召諸酋謀入寇。然，則斯賚蓋驟興者，殿直巡檢之命亦微矣。或史官以其事微，故不著耶，當考。

Almost all of the historical sources, including the *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan* and others, clearly record Ku-ssü-lo as having moved directly from Ho-chou to K'uo-chou, and we cannot help feeling that the passage beginning *Wei-chou fan-tsu shou-ling*, etc., is artificial. It is a fact that at that time there were some clans of Tibetan origin living in the vicinity of Wei-chou; but it is problematical to infer from this, as Li Tao does, that Ku-ssü-lo was actually in Wei-chou. From a geographical point of view, the facts are not compatible. Of course, if we consider that the Wei-chou of the T'ang 唐 period (in other words the Ku-wei-chou 古渭州 or "old" Wei-chou of the Sung) is frequently confused with the contemporary Wei-chou, it is surely not necessary to surmise from the term *Wei-chou fan-tsu shou-ling* that Ku-ssü-lo was living in Wei-chou.¹⁴ If we read Wei-chou as Ku-wei-chou, I think it would not be a definitely serious error to regard the above passage as a record of Ku-ssü-lo's movements in Ho-chou. If we reread the passage in the *Sung-hui-yao*, temporarily replacing Wei-chou with Ho-chou, it comes to exhibit a remarkable correlation with statements in the *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan* and other sources. As is clear from the instance of Chuo-k'o-tsung 卓克宗 in Note 14, fan-pu 蕃部 (Tibetan tribes) all over Ho-chou had a strong inclination to become independent from the Hsi-liang-fu government from early times. Around the second year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, Ku-ssü-lo, then at Kung-hsin-ch'êng, moved to I-kung-ch'êng accompanied by Ho-lang-yeh-hsien; because Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün, the most powerful man in the Ho-chou district, was about to sponsor him. Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün had abandoned the Hsi-liang-fu regime, whose influence over the fan-pu had weakened due to the threat of Hsi-hsia and the steady growth of the Tsung-ko-tsu. He schemed to unite the entire region of Ho-chou, and establish a new regime there, utilizing the lineage of Ku-ssü-lo and the Buddhist faith of the rural districts. It seems probable that the aforementioned passage in the *Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo* recounts the activities of Ku-ssü-lo and Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün under these very circumstances. Perhaps Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün, who was beginning to feel the pressure of the Tsung-ko-tsu as well, made known to the Sung faction the existence of Ku-ssü-lo as a leader of

the Tibetan tribes of Ho-chou even before the fifth month of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, at the same time as he was seeking recognition and protection from the Sung as an independent power unconnected with Hsi-liang-fu.¹⁵⁾ On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month, the Sung entrusted Ku-ssü-lo with the offices of *Tien-chih* and *Hsün-chien-shih*, in response to the requests of the rural districts of Ho-chou. With regard to the post of *Hsün-chien-shih*, this had previously been awarded to Ssü-da-chih, 厮那叱 leader of the Ch'ou-chia-tsu 周家族 at the time of the establishment of Ssü-tuo-tu's regime in Hsi-liang-fu. Probably the Sung, while noting the progress of Ku-ssü-lo, did not feel that Ho-chou was powerful enough to be a substitute for the political influence of Hsi-liang-fu. In all likelihood the Sung regarded them as a measure to protect against the possible resistance of the Ho-chou area, nothing more; this also explains why the true accounts were omitted from the records.

However, the plan of Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün for establishing a new regime in Ho-chou using Ku-ssü-lo went no further. Chih-ch'in-chou Chang-chi 知秦州張佖 relates that in the eleventh month of that same year, a man called Li-tsun 李遵 assumed the leadership of the whole district together with Ku-ssü-lo, and planned an attack on chai-ch'êng 寨城 (fortifications); other such confused conditions were observed at the time (*Chang-pien*, volume 83). It is likely that at that time, the Tsung-ko-tsu, who possessed so much power as a result of their sudden advance that they could oust the regime of Hsi-liang-fu,¹⁶⁾ noticed the royal lineage of Ku-ssü-lo as did Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün. It is clear that Ku-ssü-lo's value when utilized politically would be extremely high, not least because his having been charged with the offices of *Tien-chih* and *Hsün-chien-shih* meant that from then on, they could carry on negotiations with the Sung. The circumstances of Ku-ssü-lo's military advances are related in the *Lo-ch'üan-chi* 樂全集 *Ku-ssü-lo-shih* 唃廝囉事 as follows:

有宗哥城蕃僧李遵，與邈川首領溫逋奇誘略溫錢逋，入國州城（即唐廓州）遂成立文法。

Probably Ku-ssü-lo's occupation of K'uo-chou occurred between the sixth and eleventh months. The *Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo* states:

時，宗哥族立遵·唃廝囉，溫逋奇等帳族甚盛，勝兵六七萬，與夏州抗敵，希望朝廷恩命，佖奏請拒絕。涇原曹瑋又言，宜厚廝囉以拒德明也。

As may be seen from this, the Tsung-ko-tsu, after acquiring Ku-ssü-lo, boasted an army of sixty or seventy thousands they had come to show clearly their strong desire to confront Hsi-hsia in their role as substitute for Hsi-liang-fu. The same work records that in the second month of the following year:

宗哥族喃嘶囉·立遵·溫逋斯·木羅丹並遣使貢馬。充賜行李物色茶藥。詔估其直得錢七百六十萬。詔賜袍笏金帶器幣供帳什物茶藥有差…… (also in *Chang-pien* volume 84)

While officially paying tribute, the Tsung-ko-tsu reported the establishment of the Ku-ssü-lo regime to the Sung. It may be deduced from the above passage that the leaders of the Tsung-ko-tsu, Li-tsun, Wên-pu-ch'i, and Mu-lo-tan 木羅丹 accidentally cooperated in the Ku-ssü-lo capture of K'uo-chou and the foundation of the new regime.

However, this system of cooperation also did not last long. It seems that very soon, discord sprang up between Li-tsun, who held the leadership in the Ku-ssü-lo political structure,¹⁷⁾ and other leaders. As we can see in the *Lo-ch'üan-chi Ku-ssü-lo-shih*:

漸次蕃部歸順，赴宗哥城住坐。娶李遵女。以遵女（三字衍）以遵爲論逋（原注·論逋漢語宰相也）。

Ku-ssü-lo left K'uo-chou and moved to Tsung-ko-ch'êng 宗哥城 (castle), where Li-tsun was residing;¹⁸⁾ giving the latter the office of *Lun-pu*.¹⁹⁾ This fact tells us that Li-tsun ousted the other powerful men such as Wên-pu-ch'i, carried Ku-ssü-lo into his own sphere of influence, and established his own position as dictator of the regime. As was explained in the previous chapter, the original leader of the Tsung-ko-tsu was actually Wên-pu-ch'i, a fact which may be understood from the tribute records of the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu. What was the reason for this monopoly of Ku-ssü-lo on the part of Li-tsun, the "barbarian priest of Tsung-ko-ch'êng", and the latter's managing to rise to the level of dictator of the Tsung-ko-tsu in such a short time? The first fact that may be considered is that Li-tsun as a priest exerted an enormous influence over Ku-ssü-lo, who was revered by the people as an incarnation of Buddha. However, Li-tsun could not have proceeded so easily to the position of dictator merely on the strength of this. We cannot but think that there must have been something behind it, and this was that he was a powerful man on a worldly plane and was in fact a native of fan-ch'iu 蕃酋. As will be mentioned in Chapter 3, Ku-ssü-lo later absconded from Tsung-ko-ch'êng and this castle was controlled even after Li-tsun's death by a member of his family, Li-pa-ch'in 李巴沁. This same Li-pa-ch'in took in the second son of Ku-ssü-lo, Mo-chan-chiao 磨幢角, and established a new regime; thus it seems that the Li family were as a rule centered mainly at Tsung-ko-ch'êng. In other words, Li-tsun had originally been a leader of the Tsung-ko fan-pu, and had made his quarters at Tsung-ko-ch'êng; at the time under discussion he was probably controlling the castle with both secular and religious power. Further, when in attendance on Ku-ssü-lo, he made great use of his standing

as a priest; it is likely that he adhered to Ku-ssü-lo more than any other person. In the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* appears the sentence, “遵一名郢成蘭逋叱” by which we know that Li-tsun had come to hold another title besides *Lun-pu*, that of *Ying-ch'eng-lan-pu-ch'ih*. An inserted note to the entry for the 甲戌 day of the twelfth month, the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, in the *Chang-pien* volume 83, states

而實錄乃云其蕃部郢城琳布且亦望置節度使（中略）蓋埒克遵一名郢城琳布且也。

This title is again repeated in the main text of volume 86. The word *ying-ch'eng*, as Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳²⁰) has pointed out, seems to be able to correspond to *diêng züäng/sde srid* (“regent”) in the Tibetan language. On the other hand, the word *lan-pu-ch'ih* 蘭逋叱·琳布且 appears to be the same as 琳布齊 in the following entry for the second month of the fourth year in volume 84 *ibid.* “……瑋又言，涇原界掌事蕃僧哩碩琳布齊等四人乞賜紫方袍……” which corresponds to *rin-po-che* in Tibetan. The term is explained in the *Tibetan-English Dictionary* of Sarat Chandra Das as “precious, the title which the Lamas of Lhasa and Ta-shi-lhun-po receive when they are recognized as the embodiments of the souls of their predecessors and are installed in the hierarchical office”. This refers to the Grand Lama of the present day; but even in those times this title was conferred on those possessed of religious power. Thus we know that Li-tsun held a position as an agent of Ku-ssü-lo's political and religious power as well as holding the title of *lun-pu*.

Thus, the following passage in the entry for the 甲寅 day of the ninth month of the eighth year (*Chang-pien* volume 85):

時，總噶爾嘉勒斯賈立文法，聚數十萬，遣人入奏願討平夏以自效。

means that Li-tsun, who had monopolized Ku-ssü-lo, proclaimed the establishment of the Ku-ssü-lo regime; and also, by requesting assistance from the Sung to fight Hsi-hsia clearly made known to the Sung his stand as the political successor to the Hsi-liang-fu regime. By the eighth month, the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部 were already subordinated; and furthermore, by the tenth month, Ssü-tuo-tu of the Hsi-liang-fu had fallen to the Tsung-ko fan-pu. The Hsi-liang-fu regime died out both in name and in reality, and the Ku-ssü-lo regime dominated by Li-tsun became even more powerful than before. This political regime will be called the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime hereafter in the present work.

In the following year (1016), the Sung continued to strengthen its vigilance against Li-tsun.²¹) In order to improve relations with the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime, which had grown suddenly strained, the Sung were forced to try a policy of conciliation by conferring on Li-tsun the position he had been seeking. The entry for the third month of the ninth year (*Chang-pien* volume

86) states:

以西蕃總噶爾族李遵爲保順軍節度使，賜襲衣金帶器幣鞍馬鎧甲等。（中略）甚有威名，屢祈朝廷爵命。於是又求稱嘉木布。曹瑋言，春秋許夷狄不一而足。嘉木布可汗號也。使遵一言得之，則何以處嘉勒斯賚耶。且復有求漸不可制，請如斯多特例授官可也。

The Sung conferred the title of *Pao-shun-chiün chieh-tu-shih* 保順軍節度使 on Li-tsun.²²⁾ As we conclude from the fact that Li-tsun himself disregarded Ku-ssü-lo in seeking the title of *Tsan-p'u*, the regime of Tsung-ko-ch'êng was completely controlled by Li-tsun, and Ku-ssü-lo was merely a puppet in the former's schemes of power.

Li-tsun's dealings with the fan-pu after he came to possess Ku-ssü-lo were likewise faultless. A paragraph in the entry for the fifth month of the ninth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the *Sung-hui-yao Fan-i* 4, *Hui-ku-ch'uan* 回鶻傳 (hereafter abbreviated to *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *Hui-ku* 回鶻) reads:

二十九日至宗哥，見僧立遵已還俗娶蕃部十八人爲妻，唵嘶囉又娶立遵姪女。蕃部言，立遵御下嚴暴，蕃家不樂。即日天旱族人多飢死。上有質帳三二千。（also in *Chang-pien* volume 87).

Li-tsun lightly abandoned his priestly calling and resumed his original guise of secular power figure, whereupon he proceeded to create a power base by forming marital ties with the eighteen fan-pu in the vicinity, even arranging a marriage or Ku-ssü-lo with one of his own daughters.²³⁾ He forcibly subordinated the great ministers such as Wên-pu-ch'i, and rendered them powerless.²⁴⁾ It is impossible to go into detail about the eighteen fan-pu, but in regard to the tribes that cooperated in the Fu-ch'iang-chai 伏羌寨 invasion by the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime in the autumn of that year, the *Sung-hui-yao ping* 兵 14 records the names of Ma-hsien-shan 馬銜山²⁵⁾ Lan-chou 蘭州, K'an-ku 龕谷, Chan-mao-shan 種毛山, T'ao-ho 洮河 (misprint for 洮河) and Ho-chou. The term "eighteen fan-pu" is thought to refer to the tribes of these regions, and this tells us that Li-tsun's power reached over an extensive area to the east. It is of interest to note that the Liu-ku fan-pu, as well as the Ho-chou fan-pu, which had formerly supported Ku-ssü-lo, were under his control. It is thought that Shang-yang-tan 尙揚丹 of Ch'in-chou 秦州, who will come under discussion later, was connected to Li-tsun by ties of marriage. It has been indicated by some sources, and is agreed upon by all sources, that Li-tsun exercised a severe control over the fan-pu, and that the country was full of resentment because of it. He schemed for power by extracting large amounts in tax from the people and by using Ku-ssü-lo as his trump card. The entry for the 乙丑 day of the first month of the same year (*Chang-pien* volume 86) states, "……王且曰，頃觀奏章稱立文法，統衆三十萬。……" The number of

300,000 soldiers is open to doubt; however, it may be said that it was during the ninth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu that Li-tsun's power was at its height.

3. The Tsung-ko 宗哥 — Sung 宋 War Centering around the Ch'in-chou fan-pu 秦州蕃部

The great hope of Li-tsun, the dictator of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime, was to unite all the Tibetan tribes in the Ho-chou district, and establish a complete hegemony in the entire region of Ho-hsi by drawing a line between his own government on the one hand, and Hsi-hsia and the Sung on the other. In order to accomplish this, he had to overcome many problems, such as how to rescue Hsi-liang-fu from the grasp of Hsi-hsia and profitably encourage his relations with the Uyghur tribe of Kan-chou. The central and most pressing problem was that of regaining the fan-pu within the regions of Ch'in-chou and Wei-chou, and especially the former. This was because the relation between the Sung and the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime would change radically according to whether the Ch'in-chou fan-pu followed the latter regime or returned to Sung control. If we imagine for a moment that the Ch'in-chou area reverted to the Sung, it would mean that a group of Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi which had no connection with the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime would exist at Ch'in-chou, which was at the eastern end of the newly established east-west route via Tsung-ko. This would be tantamount to a repressive influence on the Tsung-ko-ch'êng by the Sung faction; Tsung-ko would be forced to a disadvantageous position in diplomatic relations with the Sung. Moreover, this situation would cause a setback in the great union of the Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi as planned by Li-tsun. If, on the other hand, the majority of Ch'in-chou fan-pu came under the control of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime, it would mean that a Tsung-ko outpost would be created in the Ch'in-chou region, which was a spot of great military importance for the Sung. If complete control over the Tsung-ko road by that regime were realized, the advantages which it would gain in diplomatic relations with the Sung would be inestimable. Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the tendencies of the Ch'in-chou fan-pu would have a decisive influence on the power play between the Sung and the Tsung-ko-ch'êng.

This was the point at which the two powers engaged in furious battle, centering on the fan-pu of the regions of Wei 渭 and Ch'in 秦. By comparison with the newly-arisen Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime, the Sung had the advantage of past operations with the Tibetan tribes living in the northwest regions, having decided on Ch'in-chou as an outpost. Here, before dealing with the war, let us trace the outline of Sung government.

In the fourth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 (1001), the year in which P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 established political power in Hsi-liang-fu, the recently crowned Chên-tsung 眞宗 showed to his ministers a map of two or three provinces of Shan-hsi 陝西. As recorded in the *Chang-pien* volume 49:

又指秦州曰，此州在隴山之外，號富庶。且與羌戎接畛，昨已命張雍出守，冀其綏撫有方也。

He pointed out very early the importance of the management of Ch'in-chou, and in the fourth month of the following year:

己丑，擇三班使臣熟西鄙山川要害者，自秦州入蕃界招馬。時或言，緣邊有路，可入夷落，因遣視之也 (*Chang-pien* volume 51).

As narrated here, he embarked on the exploitation of a horsedealing road which is thought to have been connected with the establishment of the Tsung-ko road four years later, in the third year of Ching-tê (1006). We can infer the form which the Sung government actively took in the provinces. Moreover, in that year, he took the advice of Chih-ch'in-chou Yang-huai-chung 知秦州楊懷忠 and charged the leader of the Yeh-êrh-ho-shang-tsu 野兒和尚族 with the responsibility of *San-pan-tu-shou-ling* 三班都首領 with its task of managing the collection of tribute (*Chang-pien* volume 64); it can be said that this was the first step in the management of the tribes of Ch'in-chou. A difficult problem in conciliating the fan-pu was the handling of the *Ts'ai-mu-wu* 採木務 (office of the timber felling sites). The removal and eventually the discontinuation of the *ts'ai-mu-wu* in the *Ch'in-chou* region, in the second and third years of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu,²⁶⁾ is considered to have been the most important policy for the conciliation of the fan-pu. After this, in the sixth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1013), Chang-chi 張佶 became responsible for the winding up of the above office; this appointment reflected Chên-tsung's inclination to regard the Ch'in-chou as important (*Chang-pien* volume 80). However, as recorded in the *Chang-pien* (volume 82):

知秦(秦)州張佶言，新置水寨二於大洛門，以不俟朝旨待罪，詔釋之，令佶繪圖來上。

In the sixth month of the following year, Chang-chi, who had recently become Chih-ch'in-chou 知秦州, actively embarked on the management of Ta-lao-mên 大落門 by such actions as the installation of two shui-chai 水寨 in this gate, which was closer to the military frontier than the Hsiao-lao-mên 小落門, and also to changing the hsiao-chün-chai 梟籠寨 of the Ta-lao-mên to wei-yüan-chai 威遠寨 (*Chang-pien* volume 83). Chang-chi's radical policies naturally earned him the resistance of the fan-pu; by the eleventh month rumors of riots among the Ch'in-chou fan-pu were being broadcast (*Chang-pien* volume 83), and even Chang-chi himself made the remark, "蕃部屢擾已出兵格鬪，望量益士卒" (*Chang-pien* *ibid.*). *Chang-chi's* management of Ta-lao-mên was not the only reason for the agitation of the fan-pu; another cause was that Chang-chi was planning to make timber camps as far as the Wei-chou region,²⁷⁾ as we know from the passage in the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 *fang-yü* 方域 19 *Chu-chai*

tsu-lu 諸寨雜錄 “大中祥符七年十二月二十二日，秦州張佖上大洛門新寨圖。先是，佖欲近渭置場採木。蕃部聞之，即徙帳而去。佖不能撫恤。……”。 Chang-chi's attempt to manage the fan-pu was a failure; his duties later fell entirely to Ts'ao Wei 曹瑋。 This was exactly the same time that the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime was growing with the aforementioned Li-tsun as dictator. The agitation of the people caused by Chang-chi's failure in government was an ideal opportunity for the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime to take control. This is how the rivalry between the Sung and the Tsung-ko became overt, and eventually involved the entire group of fan-pu.

The *Lo-ch'üan-chi* 樂全集 *Ku-ssü-lo-shih* 隴厮囉事 states, “祥符八年秋，隴厮囉遣蕃部杜作往秦州東北斷頭山扇動蕃部，欲別立文法”。 In the autumn of the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, that is, around the time when the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime was established, that same regime had already begun political maneuvering toward the Ch'in-chou fan-pu. Again, in the following year, negotiations were made twice toward the powerful tribes of Ch'in-chou. First, as recorded in the *Chang-pien* (volume 86, third month) “秦州蕃部(部)尙揚丹者嘉勒斯賚之舅也。斯賚使與熟戶郭幹蘇都謀立文法於哩旺族，謂蘇都曰，文法成可以侵漢邊，復蕃部舊地”。 In spring there were attempts to secretly control the Li-wang-tsu 哩旺族 tribe, who were the leaders of the Shou-hu Kuo-kan-su-tu 熟戶郭幹蘇都, by making use of the Shang-yang-tan 尙揚丹 of Ch'in-chou²⁸⁾. In summer, as explained in the *Chang-pien*, volume 87: “八月壬申朔，曹瑋言，伏羌寨蕃部斯吉特布與總噶爾族李摩拉木²⁹⁾私立文法，臣領兵趨之，悉皆潰散夷其城帳訖”。 They again attempted negotiations by dispatching Li-mo-la-mu 李摩拉木 to the tribe of Ssü-chi-t'ê-pu 斯吉特布 of Fu-ch'iang-chai 伏羌寨 in Ch'in-chou. Such so-called hidden manipulation of the fan-pu was foiled entirely because of Ts'ao Wei;³⁰⁾ after this the Tsung-ko-ch'êng essayed the control of the fan-pu by sheer military might. With regard to this, a passage appears in the *Sung-hui-yao-chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 *ping* 兵 volume 14 *Ping-chieh* 兵捷 4:

大中祥符九年九月，知秦州曹瑋等言，昨八月內偵知宗哥隴厮囉蕃部馬波叱臘·魚角蟬等率馬銜山·蘭州·龕谷·蘊毛山·滔河·河州蕃兵至伏羌寨界三都谷下。寨臣等尋於當月二十四日，領兵召集熟戶防遏相次。馬波叱臘等率蕃兵約二萬，分爲三隊來當官軍。臣等與之角鬪數合，逐北約二十餘里，斬首千餘級生擒七人，斬馘獲馬牛雞畜衣服器仗凡三萬三千計。馬波叱臘等遁去。官軍將士被傷者百六十人……

While the maneuvers with the Fu-ch'iang-chai fan-pu were not yet fairly over, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime dispatched a huge army of 20,000 (the *Chang-pien* puts the number at 30,000) under the guidance of Ma-po-ch'ih-la 馬波叱臘 and Yü-chiao-ch'an 魚角蟬, who, dividing into three sections, made a decisive attack on San-tu-ku-k'ou 三都谷口 in Fu-ch'iang-chai. If we follow the above account, this particular attack ended in defeat for the Tsung-ko-ch'êng side; but Ma-po Ch'ih-la went on to harry Shou-hu 熟戶 even in Ta-

hsiao-lao-mên, while another segment of the army pressed on in the direction of Ch'ing-chi-ch'uan 青雞川. However, they were repelled by the Sung in both these attempts (*Chang-pien* volume 88). The Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction again attempted other such activities in the following year (the first year of T'ien-hsi 天禧 or 1017) but could not bring about any result owing to meeting with resistance from Ts'ao Wei and also being defeated by Chang-hsiao-ko 張小哥, based at Ku-wei-chou 古渭州. A passage to this effect appears in the *Lo-ch'üan-chi Ku-ssü-lo-shih* “又，遣免藥耳丁等諸羌兵馬，入寇三都谷，度龍口。曹瑋復破之。蕃衆退由野吳谷截山，過永寧等寨。瑋又遣兵追至啞兒陝西，再戰，漢兵不利而還。魚角蟬遂留古渭，欲招集蕃部。瑋令首領張小哥擄散之”。 Again, Chuo-sa-ch'in-ko, 卓薩沁格, of the Tsung-ko fan-pu, was captured, supposedly under Ts'ao Wei's orders, by Ta-ma-chia-tsu chün-chu A-hsi-ta 大馬家族軍主阿錫達³¹⁾ of Yung-hsing-chai 永興寨. The leader of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng, Kan-tsun 幹尊, planned a military action at Jun-nu-ch'uan 澗努川 but failed (*Chang-pien* volume 89); and further, the scheme of Yü-mu-cha-mu-ch'in 裕木扎卜沁 to build a *wên-fa* 文法 at Ch'ui-mang-ch'êng 吹莽城 in Ku-wei-chou was prevented by Chang-hsiao-ko, the head of the Chang tribe, and others,³²⁾ as recorded in *Chang-pien* volume 88 “碩噶(小哥)以兵助破裕木扎卜沁，故命加等”。 In short, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime's conquering schemes in the region of Ch'in-chou ended in dismal failure.

As we read in the entry for the sixth month of the ninth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, in the *Chang-pien* volume 87 “嘉勒斯賚遣人至渭州緣邊，扇搖熟戶。且令納質不爾則破其聚落。此雖未可憑信，然蕃戎之情或以類，相嚮緣。……”。 (presented as the words of Ch'ou-wên-chih 周文質), the Tsung-ko-ch'êng also carried out negotiations for the annexing of tribes in the Wei-chou region. Still, there is little sign of intervention by the Tsung-ko-ch'êng in the Wei-chou fan-pu against the strict guard of Ts'ao Wei and his men (*Chang-pien* 87). With regard to the Sung management of Wei-chou, the *Chang-pien* (same year, ninth month, volume 88) relates “涇原路駐泊都監周文質請，令知鎮戎軍李餘懿以所部兵赴籠竿城駐泊，防護儀渭等州納質熟戶。詔文質與曹瑋及餘懿協議而行之”。 In other words, the Sung were already administering this region so tightly that the Tsung-ko side could find no chink through which to enter. Given these circumstances, it is likely that the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction planned to repeat its persistent onslaughts against the Ch'in-chou fan-pu all the more, and so drive a wedge into the Sung sphere of influence. In any case, all the maneuverings on the part of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng to possess the entire Ch'in and Wei regions ended in miserable failure if we are to believe the Sung historical sources; in the ninth month of the first year of T'ien-hsi 天禧 they were reduced to begging for a peace treaty from the Sung (*Chang-pien* volume 90). Even after this, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime had frequent battles with a *Shou-hu* called Mu-êrh-hsi-li-k'u 穆爾錫里庫 (*Chang-pien* volume 91), but already their decline in power was growing difficult to conceal. As is recorded in the entry for the fourth month of the following year in the *Chang-pien* volume 91

“又，河州諸族亦破總噶爾族所立文法，來歸望令充熟戶依舊出入。詔獎瑋仍從其請”。 Tribes such as those of Ho-chou, who bore an old grudge against Li-tsun, were soon estranged from the Tsung-ko-ch'êng, and became part of the Sung holdings. This immediately influenced other fan-pu many of whom, feeling discontent under Li-tsun's dictatorship, forsook the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime and came to belong to the Sung, as is recorded in the 387th chapter of the *Lung-p'ing-chi* 隆平集 “於是，河·洮·蘭三州，安江·妙敦·邈川·黨通等羌皆破散宗哥所立文法，納質內屬（東都事略略同）”。 The waning fortunes of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction are also recorded in the *Chang-pien* volume 91, entry for the fourth month of that year “庚子，曹瑋言，緣邊諸寨蕃部納質者七百五十六帳。自吹莽城文法破散之後，其崆裕勒·斯節博等族先投尙楊丹者，悉來歸。嘉勒斯賚數爲穆爾錫里庫所困，今還舊地”。

In this way, the dispute between the Sung and the Tsung-ko-ch'êng, which lasted for three calendar years, ended in the second year of T'ien-hsi (1018) in complete victory for the Sung side and without any good results whatever for the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction. The success of the Sung in managing the northwest, particularly the areas of Wei and Ch'in, was largely due to the activities of Ts'ao Wei. Here, let us next summarize the administrative activities of the Sung, centering on the movements of Ts'ao Wei.

4. Ts'ao Wei 曹瑋's Administration of the Northwest Region

Ts'ao Wei was only nineteen years of age when he received the appointment to control *Chih-wei-chou* 知渭州 in the first year of Shun-hua 淳化 (900) (*Chang-pien*, volume 55); in the second year of Ching-tê (1004), he had progressed so far as to receive the additional post of *Chih-chên-jung-chün* 知鎮戎軍 (*Chang-pien* volume 56). He commenced the organization of a provincial defense system, the first step of which was signified by the digging of a trench on the east of the Lung-shan 隴山, which had long formed a natural border against other tribes in the northwest. This is recorded in the *Chang-pien* (entry for the fifth month of the second year of Ching-tê, volume 60) “知鎮戎軍曹瑋言，軍境川原夷曠，便於騎戰，非中國之利。請自隴山而東緣古長城鑿堑，以爲限。從之”。 The *Chang-pien* continues “又言，邊民應募爲弓箭手者皆習障塞蹊隧，解羌人語，耐寒苦。有警可參正兵，爲前鋒。而官未嘗與器械資糧，難責其死力。請給以境內閑田，永蠲其租，春秋耕斂出兵而護作之。詔人給田二頃出甲士一人，及三頃者出戰馬一匹。設堡戍，列部伍，補指揮使以下校長，有功勞者亦補軍都指揮使。置巡檢以統之。其後鄜延環慶涇原并河東州軍亦各募置”。 At the same time, Ts'ao Wei received an additional commission to organize a *kung-chien-shou* 弓箭手 (archery unit) in this way, he intended to shoulder the border people with the responsibility for the defense of the inner environs. As Ogasawara Shōji 小笠原正治 says in his lengthy and detailed research work on the *kung-chien-shou* of the Northern Sung period,³³⁾ a considerable amount of the maintenance of these units within the Sung military system owed much to Ts'ao Wei's efforts. In the sixth month of the fourth year of Ching-tê, Ts'ao Wei also became *Pin-ning-*

huan-ch'ing-tu-ch'ien-hsia chih-pin-chou 邠寧環慶都鈐轄知邠州 (Chang-pien volume 65), by which the sphere of his control was expanded. He single-handedly accepted the task of managing the northwest environs and came to play a key role in that area. He opened another trench, this time on the border of Ch'ing-chou, in the third month of the second year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (Chang-pien volume 71); in the third month of the following year he moved to Chên-ting-lu 鎮定路, and again in the seventh month to Ching-yüan-lu 涇原路 (Chang-pien volumes 73 and 74). During this time the organization of the *kung-chien-shou* was planned. In the eighth month, for the protection of these units, *ning-yüan-p'u* 寧遠堡 were constructed fifteen *li* from Chên-jung-chün in the northeast (*ibid.*). Then Ts'ao Wei was at last put in charge of the construction of Lung-kan-ch'êng 籠竿城 just outside Lung-shan, in the ninth month of the following year (1011). The *Chang-pien* volume 76, states, "涇原鈐轄曹瑋言, 隴山外籠竿川熟戶蕃部以閑田輸官, 請於要害地方立堡寨, 募弓箭手居之". The significance of this castle becomes very clear from a further passage in the *Chang-pien* "且言, 異時秦渭有警, 此必爭其地也. 詔可". In addition, it is recorded in the *Sung-hui-yao Fang-yü* volume 5 "大中祥符四年, 知渭州曹瑋上言, 隴山之外坦爲兵衝. 而州無扞蔽之勢, 請兵成守而城之". Lung-kan-ch'êng was completed three years later, at the end of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu. In the third month of the following year the moat was finished (Chang-pien volume 83). Further, this castle received a grant of 200,000 in common currency after the next year (Chang-pien volume 84) and began to exercise its function as an important defense position outside Lung-shan. When, in the ninth year, the Tsung-ko faction began their campaign, Ching-yüan-lu *Chu-po-tu-chien* Ch'ou-wên-chih 涇原路駐泊都監周文質 dispatched the army of Chên-jung-chün to reside in Lung-kan-ch'êng, under the leadership of Ts'ao Wei and Li Yü-i 李餘懿, for the defense of hostages of *Shou-hu* 熟戶 in I-Wei-chou 儀渭州 as mentioned above. The fruits of the Lung-kan-ch'êng fortifications were thus apparent. In the fifth month of the first year of T'ien hsi (1017), a long trench was completed linking the Shang-shih-mên 上石門 of the castle with Chên-jung-chün (*Sung-hui-yao Fang-yü* 8, *Wang-chia-ch'êng* 王家城) a further excavation from Chên-jung-chün having been already completed in the eighth month of the sixth year as far as Yüan-chou (Chang-pien volume 81). The combination of these two resulted in the completion of the defense line in the northwest region. In addition, Ts'ao Wei, working as an aide to Ching-yüan, established a *kung-chien-shou* in Yüan-chou Wu-ching-p'u 原州五井堡 and reported to the Sung that he had appointed Chang Wên-i 張文義, the *chih-hui-shih* 指揮使 (supervisor) of that area, to the additional post of *Yüan-chou-fan-pu chih-hui-shih* 原州蕃部指揮使 (*Sung-hui-yao-ping* 4, *Kung-chien-shou*). In the following year, he attempted to conciliate the *Shou-hu fan-pu* on the Yüan-chou border, and appointed the tribe's leader, to the post of *Pên-tsu-chün-chu* 本族軍主 with authority over more than a hundred managerial units (Chang-pien volume 82), planning to bring about

centralization under this system of management. These activities may be considered as a policy toward the *fan-pu* which took its precedent from the earlier suppression of the resistance movement of the Tsang-ts'a-lê-tsu 藏擦勒族 on the Yüan-chou border (*Chang-pien* volume 81). Ts'ao Wei's method of conciliating the tribes was, in his own words "蕃戎之情不可專行恩惠，宜先加掩殺使知畏懼，然後招撫則悠久之利也。" (*Chang-pien* volume 85), and this was what he did in actual practice. Incidentally, at this time Ts'ao Wei accepted the additional appointment of *Chih-wei-chou* by the command of Chên-tsung 眞宗. In the fifth year he began work on the moat of Tung-han-ch'êng 東漢城 (*Chang-pien* volume 79), and in the seventh year he dredged the old pond alongside the mountain range, and constructing a reservoir, carried out irrigation programs (*Chang-pien* volume 82). In short, Ts'ao Wei exerted himself also in civil affairs, and indeed played a very important and versatile role in the north-west region.

Chên-tsung took notice of Ts'ao Wei's brilliant management in the Ching-yüan, I-wei and Chên-jung-chün areas, and in the eleventh month of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, reappointed him to his various posts, adding that of *Yin-chin-shih* 引進使 (Office of Presentations); he also had him manage the border riots taking place among the Ch'in-chou *fan-pu* at this very time (*Chang-pien* volume 83). He had obviously come to expect good results of Ts'ao Wei's government in Ch'in-chou as well. In the ninth month of the following year, taking over from the failed Chang-chi, Ts'ao Wei ruled *Chih-ch'in-chou* in the office of *Ying-chou t'uan-lien-shih* 英州團練使 (Military Training Commissioner). He also added to his list the office of *Yüan-pien-tu-hsiün-chien-shih* *Ching-yüan-i-wei-chou* *Chên-jung-chün* *Yüan-pien-an-fu-shih* 緣邊都巡檢使涇原儀渭州鎮戎軍緣邊安撫使, separately casting a seal for the office of *An-fu-shih* 安撫使 (Pacification Commissioner) (*Chang-pien* volume 85). His authority in provincial management was greatly strengthened and expanded, and after this he was to give his energy to the administration of Ch'in-chou as well. As a beginning, he appropriately managed litigations over land rights among the district people, which frequently occurred in Ch'in-chou at that time; he collected 1602 houses and tax money amounting to 4,230 in currency and thus succeeded in doing away with land suits from that time on (*Chang-pien* volume 86). In the third month, he discovered that many of the garrison were leaving their barracks, taking up residence temporarily in homes, and making trouble for the citizenry; whereupon he had the soldiers cut down the trees and made the slates, and had them build 1400 new barracks, thus relieving the burden of the citizens and normalizing the situation of the military forces at the same time (*Chang-pien* volume 86). Ts'ao Wei also carried out plans to organize the military system to correspond to the actual situation, as when he sent four out of six commanders of *pao-i* 保毅 back to their farms in the tenth month (*Chang-pien* volume 88). During this time he was also trying to guard against the machinations of the Tsung-ko faction as described above,

as well as conciliating Kuo-kan-su-tsu 郭幹蘇都 of Shou-hu and having Shang-yang-tan 尙揚丹 murdered³⁴). The *Chang-pien* continues:

瑋方議築南市城。奏蘇都獻地，宜賞乃授蘇都順州刺史。南市本曰南使，蕃語訛謂之南市。西南距州百五十里，東北距籠竿城八十里。秦渭相接扼西戎（戎）要處也。瑋請用秦渭五州兵及近寨弓箭手，城而居之。異日，戍兵代還，則別募勇士三千爲南市城弓箭手。上以瑋靜而集事手詔褒美（宋會要方域八南市城略同）。

Ts'ao Wei praised Kuo-kan-su-tu for giving his castle of residence, Nan-shih-ch'êng 南市城, to him (the castle was described as “秦渭相接扼西戎要處”) and in return, presented Kuo-kan-su-tu with the title of *Shun-chou-tz'ü-shih* 順州刺史. Ts'ao Wei observed that this particular piece of land was an important strategic spot on the defense line linking Ch'in-chou and Lung-kan-ch'êng. He rebuilt Nan-shih-ch'êng here, and immediately prepared for a Tsung-ko attack. He mobilized the *kung-chien-shou* of the nearby fortifications and the soldiers of five provinces including Ch'in and Wei, putting them in charge of the garrison of the northwest sector and later enlisted 3000 new crack troops, to form another archery unit. Kuo-kan-su-tu went along with this by moving his tribe up to Chih-fang-chai 治坊寨 in the eastern part of Ch'in-chou, serving as *kuan-kou* 管勾 to the nearby fan-pu. In the sixth month of the first year of T'ien-hsi, he was appointed to the post of *hsün-shih* 巡使 (Patrolling Inspector) of that tribe, at the request of Ts'ao Wei, which meant that he was then completely bound to the Sung faction and its effort³⁵), Chang-hsiao-ko 張小哥, the leader of the Ch'ui-mang-ch'êng chang-tsu 吹莽城張族, in the ninth month of 1016, got the title of *Shun-chou-tz'ü-shih*, because he foiled the schemes of *Yü-mu-cha-mu-ch'in* 裕木扎卜沁 (*Chang-pien* volume 88). The result was that the Wei-chou fan-pu managed to resist even though they were caught in the midst of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng attacks, and to place themselves within the Sung sphere of influence. Ts'ao Wei went on to put his efforts into the frontier guard as well. In the fourth month of that same year, he mobilized the *Hsiang-chün* 廂軍 (Prefectural Army) and *Chai-hu* 寨戶 garrison troops for the work of defense excavations to reach from Yung-ch'ing-chai hsi-ch'êng 永慶寨西城 fifty-one *li* to Tsa-êrh-lung 咱爾隆 (the site of a fort of the fan-pu); the work was completed in only twenty-two days (*Chang-pien* volume 86). Similarly, in the fifth month, he used the same troops to construct fortifications in Kung-mên 弓門, Chih-fang 治坊, Hê-êrh 和爾, Ching-jung 靜戎, San-yang 三陽, Ting-hsi 定西, Fu-ch'iang 伏羌, Yung-ning 永寧, Hsiao-lao-mên 小落門, Wei-yüan 威遠, and other areas, and also completed a total of 380 *li* of defense trenches.³⁶) Further, he dispatched soldiers and *chai-hu* in the spring and summer of the first year of T'ien-hsi and built a long trench at Ta-hsiao-lao-mên (*Chang-pien* volume 90) and in the eleventh month he constructed the Ch'ing-shui-hsien-ch'êng 清水縣城 (*ibid.*). Such activities as these enhanced his prestige, so that it was said of him “十二月，曹瑋等言，近役兵夫繕葺諸寨及掘縣城壕凡百三十

七萬三千三百六十九。功畢”。 (*Sung-hui-yao ping* volume 27). However the defense trenches at Tsa-êrh-lung and Ting-pien-ch'êng required repairs in the following year (*Chang-pien* volume 91). Let us go back once again to Ts'ao Wei's policies concerning the fan-pu. The *Chang-pien* volume 88, continues on from a passage concerning the records of titles of Chang-hsiao-ko, in the ninth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, and states “秦州永寧·小洛門·威遠寨大首領四十七人並補軍主，加檢校官。階勲皆獎其內附也”。 Again, in the entry for the eleventh month of the same year, we read “丁未，曹瑋言，三陽·定西·伏羌·靜戎·冶(治)方·三門·和爾揚等七寨熟戶蕃部都首領已下凡一百四十六人有功乞賜告身，詔二人授都軍主·四十一人授軍主·五十七人授指揮使，餘悉補蕃官”。 From these passages we see that the people of Shou-hu fan-pu who participated in the construction of a total of ten forts received various titles, including *tu-chün-chu* 都軍主, *chün-chu* 軍主 (Army Commander), *chih-hui-shih* 指揮使, *fan-kuan* 蕃官 etc. As stated in the *Chang-pien* volume 91 “曹瑋等言，伏羌·永寧·大小洛門·威遠寨今定蕃官月俸，正軍主二十一人內六人各二千，一十五人各一千。副軍主四十六人各七百，指揮使百二十七人各五百⁸⁷⁾” (entry for the fourth month of the second year of T'ien-hsi, two years later). Ts'ao Wei fixed a payment of a monthly salary corresponding to these positions. As well, in the second month of the first year of T'ien-hsi, he conferred the title of *tu-chün-chu* on A-hsi-ta 阿錫達 of Yung-hsing-chai 永興寨, general of the Ta-ma-cha-tsu 大馬家族, in recognition of his efforts in warding off the attack of the Tsung-ko faction in the same way as Chang-hsiao-ko and Kuo-kan-su-tu had previously (*Chang-pien* volume 89). In the tenth month, he appointed as *tu chün-chu* Ying-ch'êng Ssü-na 郢成斯納 of the Mo-hsing-tsu 默星族 and *Fan-kuan chün-chu*, and rewarded him for contributing the land of Ta-hsiao-lao-mên by giving him a stipend of 3000 in coin. He also conferred upon A-chu 阿珠, *Fan-kuan chün-chu*, the *Fêng-chou-tz'ü-shih* 峯州刺史 (*Chang-pien* volume 90).

It was in these ways that Ts'ao Wei planned the extension of defenses during the time he governed the northwest region up until the surrender of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction in the second year of T'ien-hsi (1018). Many strategic points such as castles, forts and strongholds were built for defense, and defense lines were made by connecting the castles with moats and long walls; a new organization of citizens' defense was also established including the *kung-chien-shou* using local people. In addition, Ts'ao Wei's government always got in ahead of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction in making conciliatory moves toward the fan-pu, bringing these closer to the Sung influence by the conferring of titles and stipends, and thus leaving the Tsung-ko-ch'êng no place to slip through to influence them.

5. Relations between the Tsung-ko-ch'êng 宗哥城 Regime and Surrounding Powers

Next, we must consider the question of the type of relations the Tsung-ko-ch'êng fostered with non-Sung 宋 powers such as Hsi-hsia 西夏, Kan-chou 甘州

Uyghur, and also the Liao 遼, in order to succeed in their aim of domination of the Ho-hsi 河西 region. With regard to the relations with Hsi-hsia, first of all, the struggle for Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府 must inevitably be the main focus of our study. The attack on Ch'i-tang-tsu 乞當族 by Su Shou-hsin 蘇守信 in the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu has already been described; it is thought that Su Shou-hsin's power came to exceed that of Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督 about two years later. It is certain, too, that around the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1015), the might of Hsi-hsia was steadily taking over throughout Hsi-liang-fu. From the viewpoint of the people of that region, the sixth and seventh years of this year period were a time of great hardship caused by strife, both internal and external, between the newly arisen Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族 and Hsi-hsia with their general Su Shou-hsin. This situation eventually resulted, in the tenth month of the eighth year, in Hsi-liang-fu conferring its leadership on Su Shou-hsin, while affecting to fall into the hands of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime. Because of this, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng, besides scheming for dominion over the Tibetan tribes of the entire area of Ch'in and Wei, also made it their aim to wrest Hsi-liang-fu from the hands of Hsi-hsia. Then, if they also managed to obtain control of the Kan-chou Uyghur, they would end up in almost complete possession of the east-west traffic route, and could have stood in a very advantageous position against both the Sung and Hsi-hsia. This connection, between the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction on the one hand and Su Shou-hsin and the Kan-chou Uyghur on the other, is described in great detail in the *Sung-hui-yao Fan-i*. Although the related passage is long, I quote it below in its entirety:

(A)八年九月，禮賓院譯語官郭敏自甘州回，以可汗王表來上。(B)先是，夜落紇累與夏州接戰，每遣使入貢即爲德明所掠。自四年後，宗哥諸族皆感朝恩，多遣人防援以至。(C)既而宗哥族喚厮囉復與夜落紇因求婚，遂爲仇敵。(D)至是表文曰，忠順保德甘州回鶻外生可汗王臣夜落紇言，臣在州與九宰相諸部落不住。與西涼府人蘇守信鬥殺。見今人戶平安。寶物公主於大中祥符六年二月疾亡。爲蘇守信劫亂，奏報遲違，所貢遺物續次附進。去年十一月中，蒙差通事梁謙，賜臣寶鈿銀匣歷日及安撫詔書。臣並捧受訖。(E)蓋爲西蕃贊普與立遵方用兵馬，道路未聞(開)，臣所有朝貢禮物前去未得。伏乞，皇帝阿舅恕罪，今因敦(郭)敏回京，望賜贊普立遵物色，安撫開路，却令郭敏接引臣本部人使。其蘇守信臣亦不欲與日逐相殺。不敢負背。皇帝阿舅伏乞，聖恩照燭所有。契丹即日與臣本部斷絕，並無消息。(F)先是，咸平末夏州破西涼府知府丁惟清沒焉。夏州令蘇守信領兵七十馬五十於彼巡覘。故此奏及之。(G)十月，學士院言，西蕃喚厮囉昨依蘭逋叱例，並降勅書。甘州可汗王自來用金花綾紙銀裝匣封裏詔如舊例。(H)既而借職郭敏上言，可汗王詔書銀匣，立遵見之且言，我吐蕃大如可汗王，如何無匣。遂令賜可汗詔改爲宣命。(I)十一月，回鶻阿囉等來貢。(J)九年五月秦州言，奉職楊知進自甘州回。(K)初知進以大中祥符五年正月，與譯人郭敏伴送翟符守榮，般次赴甘州，緣路爲浪家祿厮結家乞平家尹家所鈔奪之，角鬥及和斷。至八月十九日達甘州行李平

安。(L)在甘州，爲唃廝囉與可汗不叶，於宗哥阻截道路，唃廝囉欲娶可汗女爲妻，而無聘財，可汗不許，遂相爲仇敵。以是留止甘州。(M)至八年五月，先遣敏還，今年三月可汗遣首領李吉等九人，送知進歸漢境。二十九日，至宗哥見僧立遵，已還俗娶蕃部十八人爲妻，唃廝囉又娶立遵姪女。蕃部言，立遵御下嚴暴，蕃家不樂，即日天旱，族人多飢死，上(止)有質帳三二千。時，郭敏以捕(補)借職復賚賜可汗器幣〔割注·宋史九年遂遣郭敏賜宗哥詔書并甘州可汗器幣〕入蕃，爲立遵所邀留及止。(N)李吉等遣回鶻語可汗曰，楊奉職在甘州住五年，今郭借職去若更留住，則又煩朝廷取接，令可汗急寫領賜物表來兼取所賜物，當遣李吉等同。立遵又語知進曰，秦州大人部領軍馬直入唃囉囉，來深慮部落，有闖諜者回州，自爲告言，且令蕃漢依舊作一家，即不輟進奉也。又令蕃部黨失卑後隨知進來獻馬，且送知進境上。(O)十二月，甘州回鶻夜落隔歸化及寶物公主宰相索溫守貴等遣使都督翟福等來貢馬及玉香藥，賜衣冠器幣婚錢有差。(P)夜落隔歸化表云，父夜落紇今年三月淪。謝九宰相諸部落首領，奉臣爲廻紇王子勾當。昨臨事務惟望朝廷照燭。乍宗哥李遵送馬百匹，與贊普王子定問公主，已許與沒孤宰相家公主，爲親訖所有。(Q)西涼府蘇守信已卒，見有義男羅理勾當。本州自臣父即世，凡差東西四姓部落頭首領兵於西涼府，相殺踐其帳舍百餘，殺賊二百餘人，奪到鞍馬牛羊不少。契丹即日多益兵馬於沙州，往來未知何計使，即日斷絕。

This passage being extremely involved and easily confused, I have divided it into parts (A)-(Q) for the sake of convenience, in order to grasp the meaning. (A) refers to the main story, which described the repatriation of Kuo-min 郭敏 in the ninth month of the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu. (B) and (C) are expository passages which explain the past and present relations between Kan-chou Uyghur and the Tsung-ko-tsu. (D) and (E) are part of the content of records of the monarch Kan-chou K'o-han 甘州可汗 and describe the hardships under Su Shou-hsin and the closing of roads by the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction. It goes on to mention the desire for improvement of relations connected with this, and the lack of relations with Ch'i-tan 契丹. (F) is an inserted passage describing the former dealings between Hsi-hsia and the Hsi-liang-fu, and supplements (D). (G) is the main story and is continued from (A), and details the formalities of the Imperial proclamation to Ku-ssü-lo and K'o-han of the Kan-chou Uyghur; (H) is an expression of Kuo-min's concern in the face of this. (I) and (J) are both part of the main story. (K)-(N) are supplementary to (J): (K) describes the process by which Yang Chih-chin 楊知進 went to Kan-chou, dispatching Ti-fu-shou-jung 翟符守榮 and Kuo-min as interpreters; (L) details the antagonism between the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime and the Kan-chou Uyghur while Yang Chih-chin was in Kan-chou; (M) mentions his return journey, accompanied by Li Chi 李吉, and the circumstances of his forced detainment at the Tsung-ko-ch'êng on the way; and (N) describes how Li-tsun returned Li Chi to Kan-chou and returned Yang Chih-chin to the Sung, fearing an attack by Ts'ao Wei. (O) is part of the main story and describes how Yeh-lao-chieh-kuei-kua 夜落隔歸化 came to pay tribute, and (P) and (Q) are quotes

from records; (P) describes how relations with the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction were improved, and (Q) treats of how Kan-chou Uyghur seized Hsi-liang-fu and the severing of relations with Ch'i-tan.

If we use this source to recount once more the relations between the Tsung-ko-tsu and Kan-chou Uyghur, and between the former and Su Shou-hsin, between the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu and the first and second years of T'ien-hsi 天禧, the results would probably be as follows. As mentioned above, the power of Su Shou-hsin in Hsi-liang-fu was being steadily expanded after the attack on the Ch'i-tang-tsu in the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu³⁸). It may be considered from the records of (D) that he was the reigning power in Hsi-liang-fu after the death of Pao-wu-kung-chu 寶物公主 in the second month of the sixth year. However, since it is recorded that Ku-ssü-lo and the Liu-ku fan-pu paid tribute in both the fourth and eleventh months of the seventh year (*Chang-pien* volumes 82, 83), it is apparent that total control over Hsi-liang-fu had to await the end of the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, as has been mentioned several times. On the other hand, the bond between the Tsung-ko-tsu and Kan-chou Uyghur goes back to the third year of Ching-tê, as previously mentioned; from the passage marked (B), it is possible to guess that these relations were particularly close after the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu. However, the rivalry between these two factions described in (C), (E), and (L) may be interpreted as continuing on from the passages of (B) and (K) respectively, from which we may tentatively conclude that this antagonism began in the following year, centering around a dispute over a marriage contract³⁹); however, this is not definite. It is clearly recorded both in the *Chang-pien* volume 85, and in the place corresponding to (B) in the *Sung-shih Hui-ku-ch'üan* 宋史同龔傳 that “乃遣人援送其使，故頻年得至京師。” The same section of the *Sung-hui-yao* that the payment of tribute by messenger was carried out in the fourth, fifth, and sixth years of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu; as mentioned in (D), in the seventh year an interpreter, Liang Ch'ien 梁謙, was dispatched. Because of the continual interruptions caused by the defense program of Su Shou-hsin, it was natural that these communications should be carried via the Tsung-ko road, which is to say that the relationship between the Kan-chou Uyghur and the Tsung-ko-tsu had not deteriorated at least up to the eleventh month of the seventh year. Another conclusive proof is that as was clarified above, Ku-ssü-lo was definitely in the hands of the Ho-chou fan-pu up until the fifth month of that year; thus the aforesaid problem with the marriage contract could not have arisen earlier in the fifth year. In sum, it is probably safe to judge that the antagonism between the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction and the Kan-chou Uyghur, which was brought to a head by the problem of the marriage contract between Ku-ssü-lo and the princess of Uyghur, occurred between the eleventh month of the seventh year and the fifth month of the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu. This corresponds to the time that Ku-ssü-lo moved to Tsung-ko-ch'êng and the dictatorial regime of Li-tsun held sway. What was

the nature, then, of the antagonism between these two? The Tsung-ko were seeking a noblewoman to become Ku-ssü-lo's wife, and the Kan-chou refused to supply one; this situation would seem at first glance to mean that the latter side was the more powerful, but actually the reverse was true. As we see in (A) and (D), at that time the Kan-chou Uyghur were suffering from the aggression of Su Shou-hsin, so they were forced to send their tribute to the Sung via the Tsung-ko route. It was due to this that the Tsung-ko-tsu achieved such a rapid growth; and the Kan-chou Uyghur needed to maintain friendly relations with them. After all, if the tributary route had been closed through any slight disagreement with the Tsung-ko-ch'êng, the Kan-chou Uyghur would face utter demise. The Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction took this weak position into their calculations when they came seeking a noblewoman; as we read in (L), their plan to get one without giving anything in return amounted to taking a hostage, and clearly if the Kan-chou accepted these terms, it would indicate a willingness to come under Tsung-ko control. However disadvantageous their position may have been, the Kan-chou Uyghur were an independent political power and would hardly have agreed to these terms; it was from their rejection of them that the aforementioned trouble began. In this case, the Tsung-ko side would have done better to close their route as explained above. Instead, Yang Chih-chin, returning from Kan-chou, and Kuo-min, going in that direction, were locked up in Tsung-ko-ch'êng (M); and a gift from the Sung to Kan-chou Uyghur was seized by Li-tsun, who challenged them to come to Tsung-ko-ch'êng to retrieve it (N). From these passages we can see that the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime was choking off the Tsung-ko route with the intention of indefinitely maintaining a hard-line attitude toward the Kan-chou Uyghur. In response, the latter requested the Sung to mediate with Ku-ssü-lo and Li-tsun, planning to use the power of the Sung to better their position in their relations with the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction, as recorded in (E). Kuo-min, too, in compliance with the wishes of Kan-chou Uyghur, voiced his concern to the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction, as we read in (H). This disagreement was thus clearly to the advantage of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng; however, in the next year, they suddenly affected a reconciliation by sending a hundred horses to the Kan-chou Uyghur and prepared for the princess's wedding procession. In other words, they themselves abandoned the plan to dominate the Kan-chou Uyghur. The Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime would not ordinarily have submitted so quietly to the conciliating efforts of the Sung; we must consider that the reason for their reversal lay in changes in the state of affairs within their faction. Needless to say, the fact that their campaigns of aggression against the fan-pu of Ch'in and Wei ended successively in failure caused internal trouble. It is probably appropriate to conclude that the reconciliation was offered in order to dispel their sudden anxiety at their loss of influence. In effect, the escalation of the dispute between the Sung and the Tsung-ko caused the relations between the latter and the Kan-chou Uyghur to be reversed.

Let us return to the central theme of relations with Hsi-liang-fu. Whether because the Tsung-ko-ch'êng were swamped by the work involved in their machinations with the fan-pu of Ch'in and Wei, or whether they were being resisted by the power of Su Shou-hsin, the historical sources show no indication that any decisive steps were taken to attack Hsi-liang-fu during this period. We find the same passage in (Q) and in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* 西夏書事 volume 10, entry for the ninth month of the ninth year "涼州守將蘇守信死, 十一月, 甘州回鶻攻破之". These accounts tell us that it was the Kan-chou Uyghur who took advantage of the confusion following Su Shou-hsin's death to stage a decisive occupation of Hsi-liang-fu. The Tsung-ko-ch'êng, having been continually made a fool of by Ts'ao Wei's government, did not even have time after Su Shou-hsin's death to plan an attack on Hsi-liang-fu before the Kan-chou Uyghur leaped into the gap and captured it themselves, thereby making off with a prize which had been widely coveted. The *Lo-ch'üan-chi Ku-sü-lo-shih* 樂全集唵厮囉事 states at the end of the entry for the first year of T'ien-hsi "李遵又使唵厮囉領兵往西涼府有所討伐, 而以敗歸". This seems to indicate that the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction flustered at the Kan-chou Uyghur's occupation of Hsi-liang-fu, belatedly essayed the recapture of this region; but in this too, they were defeated. By the first year of T'ien-hsi, Hsi-liang-fu was completely in the hands of the Kan-chou Uyghur, as told in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume 10, entry for the eighth month (autumn) of that year "羅麻(羅埋)走入沙漠, 潛遣人至涼州, 約舊時蕃卒內應, 請德明出兵赴援. 回鶻結六谷諸部拒之, 卒不能克". The dispatching of messengers from the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction to Liao in the following year was a desperate measure executed in an effort to extricate themselves from a tight situation with enemies on every side. The entry for the intercalary fourth month of the seventh year of K'ai-t'ai 開泰 (second year of T'ien-hsi) in the *Liao-shih* 遼史 volume 16, *Shêng-tsung-pên-chi* 聖宗本紀 reads, "戊午, 吐蕃王并里尊奏, 凡朝貢乞假道夏國, 從之"⁴⁰; the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction, careless of appearances, attempted to make tribute to Liao even to the point of borrowing the road from Hsi-hsia. Naturally it was not to be expected that this tributary route would be opened to an enemy; why did they resolve to bring tribute to the Liao? At that time, as has already been mentioned, the Liao were attacking Sha-chou and Kan-chou to restrain Hsi-hsia's aggressive activities in Ho-hsi; it is also recorded in (E) and (Q) how Kan-chou Uyghur became an enemy of Liao. The Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction, observing this antagonism between the two, put pressure on Kan-chou Uyghur from the rear, and made tribute to Liao, hoping by this to restore their strategic power. However, their desperate efforts had no result. According to the entry for the third month of the fourth year of T'ien-hsi in the *Chang-pien* volume 95, "壬申, 令西京(涼)府回鶻自今貢奉並由秦州路出入". Kan-chou Uyghur, who had gained Hsi-liang-fu, now had direct connections with the Sung, and the Tsung-ko-ch'êng faction eventually lost all their political value, including that connected with the northwest trade routes.

In this way, the plan of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime to establish a hegemony over all the regions in Ho-hsi was roundly defeated by the Sung government headed by Ts'ao Wei. The campaigns to gain control of the fan-pu of the Ch'in and Wei regions all ended in failure; and this caused the alienation of the tribes who had formerly belonged to the Tsung-ko-ch'êng: Ho-chou, T'ao-chou 洮州, Lan-chou 蘭州, An-chiang 安江, Miao-tun 妙敦, Miao-ch'uan 邈川, Tang-t'ung 黨通, etc. Due to the stimulus of the Sung aggression, the Kan-chou Uyghur was able to develop its strength, and finally to possess Hsi-liang-fu, the most important strategic point for the control of the Ho-hsi region. Finally the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime was reduced to maintaining only their castle as their name implied, and were no longer in a position to resist the Sung and Hsi-hsia in the Ho-hsi region. From their own viewpoint, the Sung reaped the benefits of good management at first; but considering it from the point of the *i-i-chih-i* policy, from this time on, the Tsung-ko-tsu had disrupted the Sung's absolute control, and they could not consolidate their efforts toward suppressing Hsi-hsia. The Sung in fact came to suffer from antinomy.

Needless to say, it was Ts'ao Wei who perceived that the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime no longer had the vitality to build a *wen-fa* 文法, which reports from the west had it was the wish of Ku-ssü-lo in the twelfth month of the fourth year of T'ien-hsi (1020) (*Chang-pien* volume 95). In the ninth month of the following year, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng were dispatching messengers to the fan-pu using for peace; and as stated in the words of Ching-yüan-lu Tsung-kuan-ssü 涇原路總管司 of the eighth month of the next year (the first year of Ch'ien-hsing 乾興), "西蕃總嚙爾與趙德明相攻掠, 請益兵爲備. 從之". They had in fact come to the point of requesting military help from the Sung at the time of their clash with Hsi-hsia. By the eleventh month of that year, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng had fallen so low that they were dispatching Chia-mu-ts'o-pu-li 嘉木磋卜哩 in search of aid (*ibid.*).

III. THE CH'ING-T'ANG-CH'ËNG 青唐城 KU-SSÜ-LO 嚙厮囉 REGIME PERIOD

1. How Hsi-hsia 西夏 Founded a Nation¹⁾

Li Yüan-hao 李元昊 first made his appearance in history in the sixth year of T'ien-hsi 天禧 (1028). The *Sung-shih* 宋史 volume 485, *Wai-kuo* 外國 1, *Hsi-kuo-shang* 夏國上 (hereafter abbreviated to *Sung-shih* 宋史 *Hsi-kuo-ch'uan-shang* 夏國傳上) relates:

天聖六年, 德明遣子元昊攻甘州, 拔之. (中略)弱冠, 獨引兵襲破回鶻夜洛隔可汗王, 奪甘州, 遂爲皇太子.

The invasion of Kan-chou 甘州 was a memorable event, which marked the

first step in the establishment of the Hsi-hsia nation. Yüan-hao's entrance on the scene at this time could be said to be a remarkably symbolic debut. First of all, I wish to give a simple outline of the situation in the northwest around the time he was growing up (the year periods of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符 and T'ien-shêng 天聖). As has already been discussed in Part II, at this time the Tsung-ko-ch'êng 宗哥城 Ku-ssü-lo 喃厮囉 regime had come to be completely confined by the activities of the famous general Ts'ao Wei 曹瑋, and thus was not in a position to make a sufficient show of force in resistance to the Hsi-hsia. On the other hand, however, the Sung administration, headed by Ts'ao Wei, was actually within Hsi-hsia's sphere of influence in a geographical sense. In later years, Li Tê-ming 李德明, when questioned by Li Yüan-hao, was forced to the point of answering "吾久用兵終無益，徒自疲耳。吾族三十年，衣錦綺衣，此聖宋天子恩不可負也"²⁾. In fact, it was a time when the Sung were inevitably shown a cooperative attitude by Hsi-hsia, placing emphasis on the point of economic foreign policy.³⁾ It was also an era in which Hsi-hsia lacked power in foreign relations, which were running counter to the accretion of the nation's power. For example, the Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府 region had come under Hsi-hsia's influence in the attack made by *Chün-chiao* 軍校 Su Shou-hsin 蘇守信 in the last years of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu; but this region was captured in turn by Kan-chou Uyghur 甘州回鶻, who had formerly been involved in endless disputes over intermediate trade along important routes. In regard to Li Yüan-hao, who appeared at this time, the entry for 壬辰 day of the eleventh month of the first year of Ming-tao 明道 (1032) in the *Chang-pien* 長編 volume 111, reads:

夏王趙德明凡娶三姓，黠穆氏生元昊。(中略)元昊小名葉邁，羌語謂惜爲葉，富貴爲邁。性凶鷙猜忍，圓面高準，長五尺餘。少時衣長袖緋衣，冠黑冠，佩弓矢。從衛步卒，張青蓋，出乘馬以二騎引百餘騎自從。曉浮屠學，通蕃漢文字，案上置法律書，當攜野戰歌太乙金鑑。

The *Sung-shih Hsi-kuo-ch'uan-shang* adds:

性雄毅，多大略，善繪畫，能創製物始。

Yüan-hao is described in no uncertain terms as the hero of the building of the Hsi-hsia nation.⁴⁾ As proof that this was not altogether poetic exaggeration, Ch'ên-kua 沈括 states in the *Mêng-hsi-pi-t'an* 夢溪筆談 volume 9:

瑋在陝西日，河西趙德明嘗使人以馬博易于中國，怒其息微，欲殺之，莫可諫止。德明有一子方十餘歲，極諫不已。曰，以戰馬資鄰國，已是失計，今更以貨殺邊人，則誰肯爲我用者。瑋聞其言，私念之曰，此子欲用其人矣。是必有異志，聞其常往來牙市中，瑋欲一識之，屢使人誘致之，不可得，乃使善畫者圖形容。既至觀之，真英物也。此子必須爲邊患

As we see, Ts'ao Wei, the central figure of the northwest administration, had long observed Yüan-hao, and foretold the danger of his existence.

Taking the above sources into consideration, it is not hard to imagine that Yüan-hao, with his excellent talent within the Hsi-hsia and his flair for enterprise, would be antagonistic to the domestic and foreign policies of his father Tê-ming, who was strongly conservative and always chose the dependable course of action. The invasion of Kan-chou, mentioned above, seems to have been actually carried out on his sole authority. Li Tao 李燾, in an inserted note to the *Chang-pien ibid.*, relates:

然德明每不聽元昊用兵。其攻陷甘州及西涼府，想非德明意。傳又稱元昊忽引兵襲甘州，可見德明不在其間。西涼府亦必元昊自拔之，德明不與也。

This historian insists that the attacks not only on Kan-chou but also on Hsi-liang-fu were strategic actions conceived solely by Yüan-hao; judging from the situation within the Hsi-hsia regime, this idea would seem to be on target.⁵⁾

Here I wish to consider the series of invasions carried out by Yüan-hao: under what circumstances, at what time, in what way, and with what object they were inculcated. The shortcut to supremacy in the northwest sector, for the Hsi-hsia, was to seize control of the entire post trade route linking east and west, and the focus of this plan was the recapture of Hsi-liang-fu, then in the possession of the Kan-chou Uyghur. P'an-luo-chih' 潘羅支, who united the Tibetan tribes of Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部 and environs in the Hsien-p'ing 咸平 period, held the Ch'in-chou 秦州 route, which meant that his regime exerted control over Hsi-liang-fu, and that any profit deriving from trade on that route did not reach Hsi-hsia. The hostilities aimed at P'an-luo-chih' by Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷, and the attack on Hsi-liang-fu by the general, Su Shou-hsin in the Tê-ming era were clearly undertaken with the objective of regaining these profits from the post road trade. The problem of how to recover Hsi-liang-fu from the Kan-chou Uyghur, and by this one step to improve the stagnant situation in the northwest, must have been a pressing one for the impetuous Yüan-hao. Yet it was up to him to set in motion these military actions, he occupied Kan-chou first and next Hsi-liang-fu. One of the reasons why Yüan-hao attacked Kan-chou first, as Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊 has indicated,⁶⁾ was doubtless connected with the Liao hostilities toward Kan-chou in the year 1026. Nagasawa cites a passage in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* 西夏書事⁷⁾ which infers that Hsi-hsia followed the lead of Liao in mobilizing troops for this attack; but as he himself points out, this passage is not clearly authoritative. It is hard to credit it, because as I mentioned before, these two countries had confronted each other in a struggle over Kan-chou some twenty years before, in the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1008); and because the problem of how to regain Kan-chou was essentially

one in which the interests of the two were diametrically opposed. Even if we were to believe the passage in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih*, it would mean that Tê-ming had lost the self-respect of twenty years before and adopted a foreign policy which followed Liao 遼; and that Yüan-hao, precisely because of this, would be driven by the necessity to establish himself in Kan-chou before the position of Liao changed, and an attack on that region was again carried out. Here the problem of the Tsung-ko-tsu's activities comes up. In the second year of T'ien-hsi 天禧 (1018), the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime, aiming for a reversal of the balance of power with the Kan-chou Uyghur, planned an alliance with the Liao, who had at that time frequently repeated clashes with the Uyghur. However, this effort failed because they were refused passage through Hsi-hsia's land. The Liao, in later years, formed close relations with the Ku-ssü-lo regime⁸); it may be assumed that their contact began around this time. It is also possible to infer that the motive for the Liao attack on Kan-chou in 1026 was to utilize the Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族's willingness to cooperate and thus dominate the northwest region. They would have predicted that if this were carried out, the Tsung-ko-tsu, who had been suppressed by Ts'ao-Wei's administration, would certainly receive new impetus to withstand Hsi-hsia once again. Another reason why Yüan-hao captured Kan-chou first was that there was a need to occupy it quickly, and so protect the route maintained by the Liao and the Tsung-ko in collaboration. The reason he left Hsi-liang-fu until later was not, as Nagasawa says, a geographical one⁹); but rather that if he had occupied it first, the Ch'in-chou road would necessarily have been closed, and Kan-chou Uyghur would once more be forced to trade using the Tsung-ko route.¹⁰) In this case, there was a great possibility that the situation between the Tsung-ko-tsu and the Uyghur would be reversed, and the latter might even come under the control of the Tsung-ko-tsu, which would contribute to the Tsung-ko-tsu's recovery of power. Hsi-hsia rooted out that possibility by first securing Kan-chou, and blocking the way to any cooperation between the latter and Tsung-ko-tsu, after which he captured the orphaned state of Hsi-liang-fu.

Now let us consider the year in which these invasions occurred. In the *Sung-shih Hsia-kuo-ch'uan-shang* quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the occupation of Kan-chou is clearly recorded as having occurred in the sixth year of T'ien-shêng, and the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume II gives the time as the fifth month of that year. With regard to Hsi-liang-fu, the *Sung-shih* does not mention the invasion anywhere, and the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume II gives the date as the ninth month of the first year of Ming-tao (1032). Both sources are not wholly reliable, so we quote the inserted note in the *Chang-pien ibid.*:

實錄，正史並稱德明既攻陷甘州，拔西涼府，未踰時乃死。甘州及西涼府陷沒，實錄，正史並不記其年月日。所稱未踰時，或即德明死之年。（中略）今皆刪修，使

不相抵牾，要檢尋他書。或載甘州及西涼府陷沒時，則別修附。

As well, the extant abstract version of the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 has no entries at all for this period. Whether or not the collapse of Kan-chou and Hsi-liang-fu reflects the confused power balance outside the Sung sphere of influence, we can see that the date was not clearly grasped by the Sung side. We can attempt to guess the year of the Kan-chou collapse as follows. The Kan-chou Uyghur brought tribute to the Sung in the year following the Liao's attempt at occupation, in other words, in the eighth month of the fifth year of T'ien-shêng (1027).¹¹⁾ They did so again in the second month of the next year, offering jade, amber, and frankincense.¹²⁾ Clearly, this was a way for the Uyghur, who had just avoided invasion from the Liao, to report the urgent situation with the Hsi-hsia to the Sung as well as making a request for help. However, when we see that at this point the Kan-chou Uyghur temporarily disappeared from the historical scene, we do not doubt that they were defeated by Hsi-hsia after this. At this point the movements of the various countries of the Western Marches (西域) become important. Ch'iu-tzŭ 龜茲, who had consistently presented tribute on their own behalf until the seventh year of T'ien-shêng, presented tribute together with Sha-chou 沙州 in the eleventh month of the eighth year, the first month of the ninth year, and again in the first and sixth months of the fourth year of Ching-yu 景祐¹³⁾. It is recorded in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume 11, that Kua-chou 瓜州 Uyghur surrendered to Hsi-hsia in the third month of the eighth year. This surrender was, of course, occasioned by the occupation of Kan-chou, and the dates of the two events are surely not far apart. Moreover, as Kua-chou was attacked anew by Hsi-hsia (see below) at the end of the fourth year of Ching-yu, the condition of surrender mentioned above may be considered to have been temporary. It is thought that the tribute of Ch'iu-tzu in the sixth month of the seventh year was probably carried on the Ch'in-chou road without incident. However, on the occasion of the eighth and ninth years of T'ien-shêng and the fourth year of *Ching-yu*, Kan-chou and Kua-chou had already been seized by Hsi-hsia, and the tribute would naturally have had to be carried by a different route, the Ch'in-chou route being closed to traffic. An interesting passage about this in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 *t'u-fan-ch'uan* 吐蕃傳 continues on from the description of the collapse of Hsi-liang-fu:

廝囉居鄯州，西有臨谷城通青海。高昌諸國商人皆趨鄯州貿易，以故富強。

This historical source has already been remarked by previous scholars, and reveals that travelers from the Western countries left the Zaidam basin, went along the south shore of the Ch'ing-hai 青海, and used the trade route beginning at Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng 青唐城¹⁴⁾ People of the area of Yü-tien 于闐 in particular used this route after Chia-yu 嘉祐. Then, too, Yü-tien had a strong connection with the Tsung-ko-tsu; it is known that Tung-chan

董種, who inherited the position of A-li-ku 阿里骨, was a native of Yü-tien.¹⁵⁾ It is possible that the Ch'iu-tzū asked the help of Sha-chou (who had been exposed to attack from Hsi-hsia) to guide them along the route mentioned above and finally to the Tsung-ko road. Thus I would like to place the capture of Kan-chou as having occurred during the interval between the latter half of the seventh year of T'ien-shêng (1029) and the eighth year, which is one year later than the dates cited by the *Sung-shih* and the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih*.

Next, with regard to the surrender of Hsi-liang-fu, I am inclined to follow the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* theory, which places it in the ninth month of the first year of Ming-tao (1032),¹⁶⁾ the reason being that it can be deduced from certain negotiations Hsi-hsia made with Sung and Liao just before this date. The subjugation of Kan-chou seems to have been very useful to Yüan-hao in the establishment of his reputation; even his father Tê-ming was forced to recognize his power, and his accession to his father's position was actually recognized.¹⁷⁾ At this, Yüan-hao, feeling he should get approval for his conquest of Kan-chou and the subsequent domination of the Northwest, sought a noblewoman from Liao to be his bride.¹⁸⁾ This is thought to have occurred in the eighth year of T'ien-shêng. On the other hand, however, the entry for the end of the twelfth month of that year in the *Chang-pien* volume 109, states,

定難節度使西平王趙德明遣使來獻馬七十匹，乞賜佛經一藏，從之。

Tê-ming is here sounding out the possibilities of a continuation of amicable relations with the Sung. The above two facts indicate that two separate policies existed within Hsi-hsia. We read in the entry for the twelfth month of the first year of Ching-fu 景福 in the *Liao-shih* 遼史 volume 18, *Hsing-tsung* 興宗 1:

是歲 (1031)，以興平公主下嫁夏國王李德昭子元昊。以元昊爲夏國公，駙馬都尉。

As we see from this, the Liao, owing to their failure in attacking the Kan-chou and the death of Shêng-tsung 聖宗, had no recourse but to adopt a passive policy, they provided Yüan-hao with a noblewoman, thus signifying their approval for Yüan-hao's subjugation of the entire northwest. However, the Sung, on the other hand, decided to support Tê-ming in order to restrain his son Yüan-hao's activities. The *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume 11, entry for the first year of Ming-tao (1032), states:

夏五月德明封夏王。¹⁹⁾

德明稱臣三十年，頻窺邊境，中國約束之，卽引還貢獻之使，歲時不絕。仁宗以其恭順，遣使持冊封夏王。車服旌旗降天子一等，又加食邑千戶。德明尋上表謝。

If we are to believe this source, the Sung gave Tê-ming the title of *Hsia-wang* 夏王 over and above his former rank of *Hsi-p'ing-wang* 西平王, and encouraged the pro-Sung groups within Hsi-hsia. As well, the Sung were once more taking notice of the Ku-ssü-lo regime (see below), and during this year charged Ku-ssü-lo with the office of *Ning-yüan ta-chiang-chün Ai-chou-t'uan-lien-shih* 寧遠大將軍愛州團練使 and lent a hand to him in raising a force to resist Yüan-hao. At this point the latter swiftly laid Hsi-liang-fu low and was obliged to establish his power in Hsi-hsia. Li Tao does not go into detail about the date of the conquest of Hsi-liang-fu, but the entry for the ninth month of that year in the *Chang-pien* volume III mentions:

丁酉，環慶走馬承受李德言，西賊寇邊。詔都署司嚴飭兵備，又令鄜延路移文夏州戒約之。

An inserted note to this passage adds,

此事當是元昊襲甘州及西涼府時也。

Judging from these sources and also from later circumstances it is recognized that the subjugation of Hsi-liang-fu must have taken place between the eighth and ninth months of that year.

According to the *Chang-pien*, Tê-ming passed away “未踰時” “元昊繼立。延州以聞”²⁰) is mentioned as occurring in the eleventh month, so that we can understand that the *Hsi-hsia-shou-shih* places Tê-ming's death in the tenth month. About the cause of death, all the sources are silent, which is in great contrast to the rather detailed descriptions of Yüan-hao's death after sixteen years from a wound inflicted by his son Ning-ling 寧凌²¹), and Li Chi-ch'ien's death by assassination by P'an-luo-chih. For this reason, we feel no doubts about Tê-ming's death at first glance; but when we consider the circumstances described up till now, and delve a little deeper into the matter, we feel a deep suspicion that he must have been murdered by his son Yüan-hao. Given the timing of the death, immediately following the fall of Hsi-liang-fu, it seems appropriate to conclude that Yüan-hao, having succeeded in establishing his dominion by his skill in foreign aggression, would with one stroke put an end to Tê-ming, whose usefulness had run out and who in fact stood as the major cause of disturbance to Yüan-hao's regime. The reason this is not made clear in the historical sources is considered to be that the facts of that time were hushed up after the establishment of Yüan-hao's dictatorial regime, or else that they were not reported to the Sung. As further proof that Yüan-hao's accession to the leadership was not a peaceful process, the Sung, anxious to secure Yüan-hao's cooperation after Tê-ming's death, conferred on him the title of “特進檢校太師兼侍中定難軍節度夏銀綏宥靜等州觀察處置押蕃落使西平王”. When they dispatched Yang-kao 楊告 and Chu Yün-

chung 朱允中 to Hsi-hsia with the announcement, the results are described in the entry for 癸巳 day of the eleventh month of the first year of Ming-tao (*Chang-pien* volume 111):

元昊既襲封，即陰爲叛計。時改元明道，而元昊避父名，輒稱顯道。於中國雖亦貢奉，然僭已萌矣。初對使者，設席自尊大。而告徙坐即賓位不爲屈。又聞屋後有數百人鍛聲，知其必叛。獨畏懦不敢言。告允恭子也。

Yüan-hao made his rebellious spirit clear by rejecting the new year period name (Ming-tao), giving as his reason the fact that the name was partly the same as his father's (明), and by refusing even to greet the Sung envoys. This for Yüan-hao signified a kind of declaration of war against the Sung; from this also we understand that he would gain by Tê-ming's death. After this, while Yüan-hao was in the process of developing his battle lines, rebellious activities which had never occurred in Tê-ming's time were being perpetrated one after another by other powerful men within Hsi-hsia, a fact which leads us to guess that Yüan-hao's accession to power was not being carried out by ordinary means. We can also perceive that quite a few powers felt discontent at his radical administration.

At any rate, Yüan-hao, having gained complete control over Hsi-hsia, now had to make known this fact both internally and externally. As we read in the entry for the tenth month of the first year of Ching-yu (*Chang-pien* volume 115):

趙元昊自襲封，即爲反計多。招納亡命，峻誅殺，以兵法部勒諸羌，始衣白窄衫襜冠紅裏，頂冠後垂紅結綬。自號威明吾祖。凡六日九日則見官屬，其僞官分文武，(中略)元昊初制禿髮令，先自禿髮，及令國人。皆禿髮三日不從令許衆殺之。²²⁾

Yüan-hao exerted strict control over the subsidiary clans, revised his mode of dress, gave himself the title of *Wei-ming-wu-tsu* 威明吾祖 and finally demoted the famous *T'u-fa-ling* 禿髮令²³⁾ and declared the establishment of a tribal nation. With regard to the title of *Wei-ming-wu-tsu* (written 嵬名吾祖 in the *Sung-shih* and *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih*), the eleventh volume of the latter work states:

自號嵬名氏，稱吾祖。吾祖華言可汗也。於是屬族悉改嵬名。

In this connection, the following explanation may be found in Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄's "*Seika Ōkoku no seikaku to sono bunka*"²⁴⁾: "The royal clan of Hsi-hsia was also called *mih* (平). In an explanatory note to this character by a person of Hsi-hsia, we find, '*mih* means *ḡiuh* and is another name for—emperor'. The term *ḡiuh* (上), *mih* (平) corresponds to *wei-ming*

in the name *wei-ming-wu-tsu* recorded to have been adopted by Li Yüan-hao in 1032. *Wu-tsu* refers to *yrar* (平) ^{-nd}*žiu* (上), meaning 'emperor.' etc. Yüan-hao wore the clothes and headdress of an emperor, and used the title along with his own name in the Hsi-hsia language, by these means clearly showing his intention to be monarch of the tribal nation. He also used the chance given him by the beginning of a new year period (Ming-tao) to fire off an announcement of his official stance of hostility to the Sung.

The *Chang-pien ibid.* states:

母米氏族人尙實謀殺元昊，事覺。元昊酖其母殺之。沈尙實之族於河。

In the midst of all this, it was revealed that an attempt had been made on Yüan-hao's life by Shang-shih 尙實 of the same clan, who represented Yüan-hao's relatives in the act. Judging from the chronological connections in this passage, this affair is considered to have taken place well before the tenth month of the first year of Ching-yu, but when we notice that his mother was also murdered, it seems to have been a conspiracy of rather broad scope. At this time Yüan-hao was involved in the attack on Tsung-ko Li-niu-ch'êng 宗哥釐牛城 (see below) and the first attack on Fu-chou 府州²⁵). It is interesting that this affair reveals that there were fairly many conservative powers even among his own relatives who were discontented at his sudden involvement in warfare. Again, in the first year of Pao-yüan 寶元 (1038), at the moment when Yüan-hao had won wars against Hsi-hsia and Tsung-ko (see below) and declared the establishment of the nation of Ta-hsia 大夏 in opposition to the Sung, his uncle Chao-shan-yüeh-t'ê 趙善約特 was revealed to have sabotaged the establishment of this new nation. The entry for the ninth month of that year in the *Chang-pien* volume 122 states:

己酉，鄜延路鈐轄司言，趙善約特遣人至金明縣，與都監李士彬約降。已命郤之。詔鈐轄司及環慶涇原麟府等路，各謹斥候。如善約特復遣人至，但令士彬，以已意約回務令邊防安靜。初趙元昊悉會諸族酋豪，刺臂血和酒，置髑髏中共飲之。約先寇鄜延，欲自德靖·塞門·赤城路三道並入。酋豪有諫者，輒殺之。善約特者元昊從父也，數止元昊，不聽。善約特畏誅，先遣人持偽誥，詣士彬，欲自將兵扼黃河南渡，發部落內屬，而挈其妻伊克什羅羅，子阿裕爾及親屬三十二人，以珍寶名馬來降。

At this time, it is indicated, there was serious internal discord within Hsi-hsia over the question of the policy to be adopted toward the Sung. It is interesting to note that these two events (the disturbances caused by Yüan-hao's relatives mentioned above) occurred in the gap in Yüan-hao's nation-building activities. In other words, on these two occasions, he was enforcing his programs for the establishment of his domain, and it was necessary to make a determined stand toward his own people.

2. Confrontation between Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉 and His Sons

The Sung were forced to conceive a new defense policy against Hsi-hsia 西夏 in response to these aggressive activities of Yüan-hao 元昊. Moreover, the recent death of Ts'ao Wei 曹瑋, the man who had given his all in the management of the northwest region, in the eighth year of T'ien-shêng, cast a shadow over the Sung's administration of this area from then on. First of all, in the seventh and ninth years of T'ien-shêng, the Sung were sending money and silk from their treasury to Shan-hsi 陝西, Ho-pei 河北, and Ho-tung 河東 and also buying fodder. Moreover, they were renovating Yung-ching-chün 永靜軍²⁶⁾, Huai-yüan-ch'êng 懷遠城²⁷⁾, and other fortifications, preparing them for imminent attacks from Hsi-hsia. As well, they thought of adopting once more the old trick of *i-i-chih-i* 以夷制夷 in order to lighten the burden of defense against Hsi-hsia, by making use of the Tsung-ko-tsu, who at this time had lost their vitality under Ts'ao Wei's repressive administration and had been relegated to obscurity in the Huang-shui 滄水 river basin. It was decided that they should restore the Tsung-ko-tsu's power and so set in motion a policy to prepare a full-scale restraining force against the Hsi-hsia. This policy is described in detail in the *Sung-hui-yao-Ku-ssü-lo*:

仁宗天聖年中，知秦州王博文遣右都押衙李文素等入蕃，往邈川，招誘唃廝囉。羌人入漢，上京進馬，乞官職。

As we read here, the plan started as an invitation from the then Wang Po-wen 王博文 of *Chih-ch'in-chou* 知秦州. The *Lo-ch'üan-chi Ku-ssü-lo-shih* 樂全集唃廝囉事 of Chang Fang-p'ing 張方平 records the contemporary situation in more detail:

至天聖九年十二月，溫逋奇遣甥。甥齎番字鞍馬乳香，入漢告稱唃廝囉乞通和。秦州以聞蒙朝廷宣賜唃廝囉，溫逋奇，對衣金束帶銀器衣著。後又差人，入漢進謝恩馬。

It is estimated from this passage that *Yu-tu-ya-ya* 右都押衙 (Chief Lockey of right wing) Li Wen-su 李文素's journey to the area took place in the late T'ien-shêng period, perhaps in the eighth or ninth years. And Ku-ssü-lo responded to this by twice dispatching envoys to request an official post as per the Sung invitation.

At this point let us examine the political circumstances of the Tsung-ko-tsu and their leader, Ku-ssü-lo, around this time when the Sung were venturing to make use of them once more. Ku-ssü-lo, then in the prime of life, was probably discontented with having to suffer as a mere puppet governor, his actual power in the hands of Li-tsun 李遵. After describing the failure of the Tsung-ko-tsu attack on Hsi-liang-fu, the *Lo-ch'üan-chi Ku-ssü-lo-shih* goes on to say, "唃廝囉怨爲李遵所使，因而構憾。李遵姪訥廝結等竊誘

唃廝囉，往邈川城，就溫逋奇住坐。以溫逋奇爲論逋”。 Ku-ssü-lo refused to endure the absolute control of Li-tsun any further, and with the guidance of Li-tsun's nephew Na-ssü-chieh 訥廝結, left Tsung-ko-ch'êng for Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng 邈川城²⁸). It is not clear when he made this move, but the following passage in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao fan-i* 宋會要輯稿蕃夷 7, *Li-tai-chao-kung* 歷代朝貢 is noteworthy:

(天聖)四年正月十八日，者龍蕃部首領廝鐸督來貢馬。

As already described, Ssü-tuo-tu 廝鐸督 was the major figure in Hsi-liang-fu, having succeeded from his elder brother P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支; when the Tsung-ko-tsu, who claimed Ku-ssü-lo as leader, came to power, Ssü-tuo-tu followed Ku-ssü-lo and his regime became a fan-pu 蕃部 under Tsung-ko control. Ssü-tuo-tu took the name of "Tsung-ko fan-pu" from the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu after an interval of eleven years; he also mentioned himself as "leader of the Chê-lung 者龍 fan-pu", his original base of power, when he sent dispatches to the Sung. It is thought that at this time, Ssü-tuo-tu may have held a corner of Hsi-liang-fu, or at least lived in that region; but seeing the dissolution of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime, he sought to recover the leadership he had formerly held over the Tibetan tribes in Ho-hsi, and to this end sent these messengers to Sung. It seems that the latter had not previously had dealings with Ssü-tuo-tu. At any rate, judging from this source and also from the tribute records for the three years of Li-tsun's dictatorship (1025)²⁹), we would not be in error to think of Ku-ssü-lo's entry into Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng as having occurred in that year. Ku-ssü-lo awarded the title of *Lun-pu* 論逋³⁰) to Wên-pu-ch'i 溫逋奇, who had taken him in at Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng, and set his sights on the establishment of a new regime. From his point of view, he needed fresh acknowledgement from the Sung at this juncture in order to accomplish his aim. Li Wen-su 李文素's entry into the region also corresponds in time with these new activities on the part of the Tsung-ko-tsu; the two were very conveniently juxtapositioned. Here, the previously quoted *Lo-ch'üan-chi* says of the Sung:

准天聖十年九月六日，宣唃廝囉除寧遠大將軍愛州團練使。每月支大綵一十五疋，角茶一十五觔，散茶五十觔。溫逋奇除歸德將軍。月支大綵十疋，角茶五觔，散茶五十觔。因賜物有差。

In other words, the Sung soon officially recognized the establishment of the new regime, which would be useful in restraining the Hsi-hsia. In the first year of Ming-tao 明道 (1032), they divided the honors as follows: to Ku-ssü-lo, *Ning-yüan-ta-chiang-chün* 寧遠大將軍 and *Ai-chou t'uan-lien-shih* 愛州團練使; and to Wên-pu-ch'i, *Kuei-tê-chiang-chün* 歸德將軍. The reason that the Sung did not at this stage confer on Ku-ssü-lo the title of *Pao-shun-chün chieh-tu-shih* 保順軍節度使 (as they had formerly on Li-tsun in the ninth year of Ta-

chung-hsiang-fu) was that they did not feel that Ku-ssü-lo, who had been protected by the powers of Ho-hsi since the fifth month of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, was a satisfactory substitute for the Hsi-liang-fu regime. This was the same attitude as they had taken when they put him in charge of *Tien-chih* 殿直 (Palace Eunuchs) and *Hsün-chien-shih* 巡檢使 (Military Inspector), and is proof that the Sung as yet did not put their full trust in the Ku-ssü-lo regime at Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng. And the tinge of concern which the Sung felt concerning the new power turned out to be fully justified: the Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng regime, disappointingly, collapsed after the rebellion of Wên-pu-ch'i. The *Lo-ch'üan-chi* continues on to record the details of this period:

溫逋奇復叛。幽喚厮囉置窰中，防守。而身領兵他出。防守人同謀出喚厮囉。收集人馬，以拒溫逋奇，閉城相持。溫逋奇敗死。因此遂于青唐城，住坐至今。

It is easy to imagine why Wên-pu-ch'i incited a rebellion and imprisoned Ku-ssü-lo in a pit. He simply wanted to recreate the same kind of scenario as before, when Li-tsun had monopolized Ku-ssü-lo, made him a puppet under cover of which he established his dictatorship, commanded the entire Tsung-ko fan-pu, and was even charged with the important title of *Pao-shun-chün chieh-tu-shih*. Ku-ssü-lo had originally trusted Wên-pu-ch'i, who had escaped from Tsung-ko-ch'êng and made his headquarters in Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng; Ku-ssü-lo therefore surely did not use his personal military might to enter that castle at the time of his own escape. Even considered simply, the power relationship between the two should have been stable. We can understand Wên-pu-ch'i's position from the fact that in the previously mentioned dispatch to the Sung of the twelfth month of the ninth year of T'ien-shêng (in the *Lo-ch'üan-chi*) he sent his nephew as messenger and made him say "Ku-ssü-lo is seeking a peaceful settlement". How looking at it from Ku-ssü-lo's viewpoint, he probably felt that he was searching for a new domain after finally escaping the clutches of Li-tsun. He would certainly have had a strong desire to create his own regime from then on. The conferral by the Sung of the titles of *Ning-yüan-ta-chiang-chün* and *Ai-chou t'uan-lien-shih* certainly boosted his self-confidence. In effect, Ku-ssü-lo and Wên-pu-ch'i were "sleeping in the same bed but dreaming different dreams". And when they awoke, Wên-pu-ch'i had no hesitation in imprisoning Ku-ssü-lo in a pit in order to retain the Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng government himself. However, this event seems to have brought about a correspondingly large-scale commotion among the fan-pu under Wên-pu-ch'i's control he was forced to leave the castle temporarily with his troops. The entry for the eighth month of the first year of Ming-tao (*Chang-pien* volume 111) gives as the reason for this "出，收不附己者". At any rate, Ku-ssü-lo was able to use this small respite when Wên-pu-ch'i was absent from the castle. Released from the pit by a "fang-shou-jên 防守人 (defender)", he turned around and besieged Miao-ch'uan-

ch'êng eventually he executed Wên-pu-ch'i. The latter's rebellion had failed; but Ku-ssü-lo himself could not stay in Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng either. He abandoned this castle, Wên-pu-ch'i's former base, where the latter's son Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung 溫郢成諷龍 was living, and moved to his new headquarters in Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng 青唐城, farther upstream on the Huang-shui river, there attempting to re-establish his government. With regard to the period when Ku-ssü-lo moved to Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng, Li Tao advances the following theory, in an inserted note to *Chang-pien* volume 119, third year of Ching-yu:

本傳云，明道元年自邈川徙青唐。

Judging from the circumstances of the time, it would probably not be an error to regard the murder of Wên-pu-ch'i and the accompanying move to Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng as occurring within the two years following the end of the first year of Ming-tao. Again, the question of why he did not return to Tsung-ko-ch'êng is answered by the fact that it was under the control of Li-tsun's family as explained below.

Yüan-hao had already conquered Kan-chou and Hsi-liang-fu, bringing the entire Ho-hsi region under his domain, and was planning the establishment of a nation which could stand against the Sung and Liao. However, what he feared most were the activities of the Tsung-ko-tsu. Moreover, as recorded in an entry during the Ching-yu year period in the *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan*:

及元昊取西涼府，潘羅支舊部往往歸廝囉。又得回紇種人數萬。

A few thousand of the Liu-ku fan-pu and the Uyghur who had been allowed to remain in Hsi-liang-fu were moving to the Tsung-ko region and giving their allegiance to Ku-ssü-lo, because Hsi-hsia had conquered their land; it is felt that this must have also occurred during the two years following the end of the first year of Ming-tao. Tsung-ko-tsu still remained the most significant old enemy of Hsi-liang-fu since Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷. This will be explained in more detail later; but regardless of the fact that Yüan-hao had already dealt a severe blow to the Tsung-ko-tsu before, he again showed aggression to Ku-ssü-lo around the end of the first year of Pao-yüan, thinking to cover his rear as he advanced southward. From this we can understand how important he felt Tsung-ko to be. Thus, looking at it from Yüan-hao's point of view, it was only natural, as he schemed for dominion over Ho-hsi, that he should try to seize the opportunity of Ku-ssü-lo's insufficient control of the tribes at the time of Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng's fall and the move to Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng to deal the final blow to the Tsung-ko-tsu. Another major cause of Yüan-hao's determination to attack the Tsung-ko-tsu was the

continuous confused fighting among factions. This is recorded at the close of the entry for the third year of Ching-yu (1036) in the *Chang-pien* volume 119:

初嘉勒斯賚（唵斯囉）娶李埒克遵（李遵）女，生二子。曰轄戩，曰默戩覺。又娶喬氏，生子。曰董戩。埒克遵死，李氏寵衰，斥爲尼，置廓州錮。其二子轄戩及默戩覺，母黨李巴沁竊載其母出奔。轄戩據河州。默戩覺據邈川城，撫有其衆。嘉勒斯賚不能制。

At the time of his separation from Li-tsun, Ku-ssü-lo moved to Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng accompanied by his two wives and three children. (It is also possible that Ch'iao-shih and Tung-chan were contacts made after the move.) Furthermore, Li-tsun probably died during this time. As was natural, the patronage of the Li family toward Ku-ssü-lo declined after he moved to Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng. It was during these events that the hostilities sprang up between Ku-ssü-lo and Wên-pu-ch'i, which ended in the former moving the Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng in the first year of Ming-tao as described above. At this point he shut up the Li clan in K'uo-chou 廓州. Outraged by this action, Ku-ssü-lo's two sons, the brothers Hsia-chan 瞎謹 and Mo-chan-chiao 磨謹角, plotted with Li-pa-ch'in 李巴沁, a kinsman of Li-tsun, who, it is thought, had probably retained control over the Tsung-ko clan after the latter's death, and liberated the Li clan. The two brothers then established separate dictatorships, Hsia-chan (the elder brother) in Ho-chou, and Mo-chan-chiao (the younger) in Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng. Regarding Mo-chan-chiao's headquarters, the second entry (*Ch'in-chou-tsou* 秦州奏) of the *Lo-ch'üan-chi* volume 22, states:

頃年，唵斯囉有長男瞎謹，第二男磨謹角，皆叛其父。瞎謹在河州，磨謹角與母安康郡君李氏在宗哥耶卑城⁸¹⁾，住坐分據土地。部族各立文法。

As we read here, he entered his old haunt of Tsung-ko-ch'êng, accompanied by his mother; he and his brother erected separate *wên-fa* 文法 from that of their father Ku-ssü-lo. Again, the *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh* 東都事略, volume 129, and the *Lung-p'ing-chi* 隆平集 volume 20, etc. say that Hsia-chan was in K'an-ku 龕谷⁸²⁾ and Mo-chan-chiao in Tsung-ko-ch'êng. Thus there is some confusion as to where the two brothers made their headquarters. Actually, Li Tao 李燾, the editor of the *Chang-pien*, was confused himself. He wrote in an inserted note to the entry in the *Chang-pien* *ibid.*:

兩朝本傳云，轄戩居龕谷，默戩覺居總噶爾城。據此則河州當是龕谷也，總噶爾城當是邈川城也。後又遷徙，更須考詳。（中略）隴右錄云，轄戩據河州。聚米經云，轄戩在鞏沁城。與河州地圖各別未知孰是當考。

He in fact published the discrepancies in all the sources he used at the time of compilation of the *Chang-pien*. Using Li Tao's note for reference, let us try to determine the headquarters of Hsia-chan and Mo-chan-chiao. In the case of the elder brother, three locations are mentioned: Ho-chou, by the main text of the *Chang-pien*, the *Lo-ch'üan-chi*, and the *Yüan-fu-lung-yu-jih-lu* 元符隴右日錄; K'an-ku, by the *Liang-chao-pên-ch'uan* 兩朝本傳³³⁾ and the *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh*; and Kung-ch'in-ch'êng 鞏沁城, by the *Chü-mi-t'u-ching* 聚米圖經³⁴⁾. As a matter of fact, these three localities were bound together by an extremely vital connection. As mentioned at the beginning of Chapter II, 2, the person who brought Ku-ssü-lo from Mar yul in Tibet to Ho-hsi was Ho-lang-yeh-hsien 何郎業賢 of Ho-chou, and the first place he stayed at was actually the Kung-ch'in-ch'êng of Ho-chou. Li Tao uses the characters 多僧城 to write Kung-ch'in-ch'êng, in the entry for the 己酉 day of the fifth month of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (*Chang-pien* volume 82) corresponding to the *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan*; but this is clearly an error. The character 劓 is a variant of 窳, and as mentioned in the *K'ang-hsi tzü-tien* 康熙字典 (Character dictionary), its sound is considered to have been close to "kō". The Kung-ch'in-ch'êng (鞏沁城) mentioned in the *Chü-mi-t'u-ching* is actually none other than the Ko-hsin-ch'êng 劓心城 of Ho-chou. This castle may be identified with the Chiang-chu-ch'êng 講朱城 mentioned in the Ho-chou entry in the *Sung-shih*, volume 87, *Ti-li* 地理 3. We also read in the Ho-chou entry, *Shan-hsi* 陝西 9, *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要 volume 60:

講朱城 在州西南百里。本番族所置。宋熙寧中收復。元祐二年熙河將姚兪破鬼章於此。尋復爲番族所據。(中略)又循化城在州西南百三十五里，本名一公城。宋元符二年收復。

The Chiang-chu-ch'êng was located in the southwest of Ho-chou about 100 *li* distant. The reason why this castle was identified with the other one above was not only that the pronunciation was very similar; it was also because it later became the headquarters of the powerful Kuei-chang 鬼章 of the Tsung-ko; and furthermore because I-kung-ch'êng 一公城 (also written 循化城) was located thirty-five *li* to the southwest. Ta-hsing Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün 大姓聳昌斯均, who snatched Ku-ssü-lo from Ho-lang-yeh-hsien and sought to found a *wên-fa* in Ho-chou, made his headquarters in I-kung-ch'êng (written as 移公城 in the *Sung-shih*), which was adjacent to Chiang-chu-ch'êng. From these facts it is probably safe to judge that Chiang-chu-ch'êng was the same as Kung-ch'in-ch'êng (鞏沁城), and that both these names are different transcriptions of the same Tibetan word. This solves the discrepancy among the *Lo-ch'üan-chi*, the *Yüan-fu-lung-yu-jih-lu* and the *Chü-mi-t'u-ching*. Secondly, with regard to the K'an-ku location recorded in the *Liang-chao-pên-ch'uan* and the *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh*, the following passage is a valuable reference:

瞎種居龕谷，屢通貢，授澄州團練使，先卒。子木征居河州，母弟瞎吳叱居銀川。
(entry for the third year of Chia-yu, *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan*).

It is probably appropriate to conclude, as does Li Tao, that Hsia-chan first went to Kung-ch'in-ch'êng in Ho-chou, and afterwards entrusting this castle to his son Mu-chêng 木征, moved to K'an-ku. The *Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo* states:

慶曆七年五月二十八日，臣僚上言，隴厮囉子瞎種別作一城住坐。欲絕往來進奉之路。

It is thought that this source is probably recounting the story of Hsia-chan's move to K'an-ku. Concerning the relation between Ho-chou and K'an-ku, this region disliked being called by the general term of Wei-chou T'u-fan 渭州吐蕃 by the Sung, and organized their own separate territories (as explained in Part II, Note 14). Hsia-chan may have had an alliance with the Lan-chia-tsu 懶家族 and the Chang-chia-tsu 章家族, who had long held power in the K'an-ku region as members of the Ho-chou fan-pu and the Liu-ku fan-pu in connection with his father Ku-ssü-lo; or he may have turned in that direction because he was invited by them. Using them as his power base, he took control of the entire traffic route to the Sung, from Ho-chou to K'an-ku across the T'ao-ho 洮河 river; and building a *wên-fa* there, established an independent regime.

Next, as regards the headquarters of the younger brother, Mo-chan-chiao, the entry entitled *Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'iang* 青堂羌 in volume 25 of the *Mêng-hsi-pi-t'an* 夢溪筆談 joins the main text of the *Chang-pien* in asserting that he moved to Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng. On the other hand, the *Lo-ch'üan-chi*, *Liang-chao-pên-ch'uan*, *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan*, and *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh*, among others, are unanimous in stating that he went to Tsung-ko-ch'êng. The *Chang-pien* entry itself was written four and a half centuries later, yet we find in the entry for the 壬午 day of the fifth month of the third year of Chia-yu (volume 187):

默覺戩（磨種角）居總噶爾城，旣死。所部立其子。母李氏懼孤弱不能守，乃獻皮帛入庫廩，文籍于嘉勒斯賚，因受之。

This proves that Mo-chan-chiao and his mother were living in Tsung-ko-ch'êng. As well, the *Lo-ch'üan-chi* volume 22, *Ch'in-chou-tsou*, section 2, continues:

其磨種角，與夏國及邈川首領溫郢成龕通和。溫郢成龕父溫逋奇。早年爲隴厮囉所殺，結爲世讎。有此三部，分牽制事，力不得齊一。

from which we know that Wên-pu-ch'i's son Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung was alive

and in control of Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng as formerly. Judging from these sources it would not be an error to say that Mo-chan-chiao took his mother, a member of the Li family, with him when he entered Tsung-ko-ch'êng. He then set up an independent regime, as his elder brother had done, with Li-tsun's old base as his headquarters; and there confronted his father Ku-ssü-lo. In addition to this confused fighting among the various members of Ku-ssü-lo's family, Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung (as mentioned in the above sources) also set up a regime at Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng and confronted Ku-ssü-lo as a bitter enemy. It seems that at this time the Tsung-ko-tsu was indeed in a state of turmoil.

3. The War Between Tsung-ko 宗哥 and Hsi-hsia 西夏

The attack on Tsung-ko, which would decide the progress of Hsi-hsia's nation-building, was carried out with full knowledge of the internal political situation there; in fact this situation was utilized to advantage. In the battle between Li Yüan-hao 李元昊 and Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉, Chinese historical sources contain passages on the good fight that the latter faction put up; they also make us think that Yüan-hao was not able to land many decisive blows against the Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族. However, this account is biased against Hsi-hsia, the fact is that the Tsung-ko-tsu forfeited their position of resistance toward the Hsi-hsia, as Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄 asserts.³⁵⁾ With regard to the question of when and how this war developed, the stories in the various historical sources are convoluted, and have not yet been fully traced. Even in the *Chang-pien*, the most trustworthy source of information on Sung historical research, Li Tao 李燾 had trouble with the times of the various battles and their chronological relationship, and treats the subject without making a full elucidation. This is testimony that the war itself was so long, severe and confused that communication with the Sung was interrupted and information could not be transmitted accurately.

I would like to attempt to clarify the circumstances of this war as follows. Generally speaking, the war between Hsi-hsia and Tsung-ko took place over five separate occasions; the *Chang-pien* records it in one lump, as occurring from the twelfth month of the second year of Ching-yü 景祐 (1035) to the end of the twelfth month of the third year. First of all, I will list the separate battles in order below following the order of the records, and inserting markings for convenience. To make a long story short, the war was carried out in the order of (A), (B), (C), (E), (D).

(A)時，元昊遣索諾爾（蘇奴兒），將兵二萬五千，攻嘉勒斯賚。敗死略盡，索諾爾被執。

(B)元昊自率衆攻鼇牛城。一月不下。旣而詐約和，城開乃大縱殺戮。

(C)又，攻青唐，阿爾，總噶爾，帶星嶺諸城。嘉勒斯賚部將阿薩爾（安子羅）以兵十萬絕歸路。元昊晝夜戰三百餘日（宋史；二百餘日），薩爾敗，然部兵溺總噶爾河，及饑死過半。

(D)元昊又嘗侵嘉勒斯賚。并兵臨河湟，嘉勒斯賚知衆寡不敵，壁鄯州不出。陰間元昊，頗得虛實。元昊已渡河，挿旗幟識其淺。嘉勒斯賚潛使人移植深處，以誤元昊。及大戰元昊潰而歸。士視幟渡，溺死十八九，所虜獲甚衆。(second year of Ching-yu, volume 117)

(E)再舉兵攻回紇，陷瓜沙肅三州，盡有河西舊地。將謀入寇，恐嘉勒斯賚制其後，復舉兵攻蘭州諸羌，南侵至馬銜山。築城瓦躡，凡川會，留兵鎮守，絕吐蕃與中國相通路。(third year of Ching-yu, volume 119)

As regards the beginning of the Hsi-hsia-Tsung-ko war, Li Tao says in an inserted note to *Chang-pien* volume 117, in connection with the hostilities at Li-niu-ch'êng 麓牛城：

屠麓牛城，趙珣以爲在明道中，誤也。當在此年。

He judged the beginning of the war as the second year of refuting the *Chü-mi-t'u-ching* 聚米圖經 which was in favor of the Ming-tao year period; and tried to make his theory plausible by inserting the following at the end of the entry for the day of the twelfth month, in the above volume:

秦州走馬承受言，趙元昊舉兵攻嘉勒斯賚，請下陝西預修邊備，從之。

However, this is clearly an error on Li Tao's part. It is unthinkable that the *Chü-mi-t'u-ching*, which was of extremely high value among sources of that time, could have been mistaken on such a point of chronology. As well, the *Sung-hui-yao-ping* 27 records, in regard to the same incident:

景祐元年十二月一日，陝西走馬承受公事言，趙元昊舉兵攻唃廝囉。

The news of the war's commencement clearly broke in the first year of Ching-yu (1034), and the actual outbreak must have occurred during the Ming-tao era. It is considered that Ku-ssü-lo moved his residence to Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng 青唐城 somewhere between the end of the first year of Ming-tao and the second year; and therefore we deduce that Ku-ssü-lo's attack, as recorded by Su Nu-êrh 蘇奴兒 in (A), occurred around the last part of the second year of Ming-tao (1033).³⁶⁾ It is thought that Su Nu-êrh was formerly a retainer of Su Shou-hsin 蘇守信, the Hsi-hsia commander who was occupying Hsi-liang-fu. Su Nu-êrh was probably also on the spot at that time, and crossed the Ta-t'ung-ho 大通河 river at the head of a large advance guard, aiming for Li-niu-ch'êng³⁷⁾ to the north of Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng. The Hsi-hsia met and quickly defeated a surprise attack from the Ku-ssü-lo side; immediately afterwards Yüan-hao himself (B) made a detour and surrounded Li-niu-ch'êng. The battle over Li-niu-ch'êng dealt fairly heavy losses to Hsi-hsia as well as to the Tsung-ko. The *Chang-pien*, volume 162, entry for the day

of the first month of the eighth year of Ch'ing-li 慶曆, states in the queen's introduction to the account of the death of Yüan-hao:

二曰索氏，始曩霄（元昊）攻懿牛城，傳者以爲戰沒。索氏喜，日調音樂。及曩霄還，懼而自殺。

As seen here, a false report of Yüan-hao's death swept through the entire country for a time. The occupation of Li-niu-ch'êng was a difficult endeavor, taking more than a month to accomplish; eventually a false promise of peace tricked the besieged into opening the castle gate, whereupon Yüan-hao seized the castle amid much carnage. The reasons why Yüan-hao was so persistent in attacking Li-niu-ch'êng were, first, that he wished to secure that outpost in order to develop to greatest advantage the ensuing hostilities against Tsung-ko; and also that he was aiming to block the entrance of the Tsung-ko influence into the Ho-hsi corridor. The fall of Li-niu-ch'êng probably occurred between the end of the second year of Ming-tao and the beginning of the first year of Ching-yu.³⁸⁾

On being appraised of the news of the beginning of the war, and then of the attack on Li-niu-ch'êng by the Hsi-hsia, the Sung sought to strengthen the Ku-ssü-lo regime even more by recognizing the latter as having control over the entire Huang-shui 湟水 basin. The *Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo* states:

景祐二年十二月二十一日，除唃廝囉保順軍節度觀察留後，依舊（兼）遼川首領。

Ku-ssü-lo gained the position of Pao-shun-chün chieh-tu-kuan-ch'a-liu-hou “保順軍節度觀察留後”³⁹⁾ and added to this the position of *Miao-ch'uan-shou-ling* 遼川首領⁴⁰⁾. From the third to the fourth year of Ching-yu, the great attack by Yüan-hao (C) was pressed forward. Hard fighting by the officer An-tzū-lo 安子羅 enabled Ku-ssü-lo's side to cut off the Hsi-hsia's retreat and harass their army; this resulted in the entire Huang-shui basin being overrun by Hsi-hsia troops and horses for about a year afterwards. Yüan-hao, who was able to profit by experience from previous bitter struggles, seems after this great battle to have made efforts at conciliation toward Ku-ssü-lo's two sons and Wên-pu-ch'i's son Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung 溫郢成兪龍. The entry *op. cit.* in the *Chang-pien* volume 119 states:

元昊聞，斯賚二子怨其父，因以重賂間之。且陰誘諸酋豪。而溫布且之子伊實濟嚕（溫郢成兪龍）者擁衆萬餘，陰附元昊。

Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung, who held a grudge against Ku-ssü-lo, hastened to respond to Yüan-hao's overtures and fought on his side. This was probably the reason why, as we see in (C), the castles of Ch'ing-t'ang, A-êrh 阿爾⁴¹⁾, Tsung-ko, and Tai-hsing-ling 帶星嶺 were all attacked, while Wên-ying-ch'eng-

yü-lung's castle of residence, Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng, was left untouched. The second section of *Ch'in-chou-tsou* in the *op. cit. Lo-ch'üan-chi* records, "其磨種角與夏國及邈川首領溫郢成翁龍通和". It seems from this fact that Mo-chian-chiao 磨種角 also followed Yüan-hao's conciliation policy and joined the war. In order to reassure the subsidiary groups who were wavering at the sight of these great powers joining the enemy, Ku-ssü-lo dispatched messengers (it is believed in the eleventh month of the fourth year of Ching-yu)⁴²⁾, requesting the title of *Chieh-tu-shih* 節度使 as recounted in the *Hsi-fan* 西蕃 Records 7, *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh* 東都事略 volume 129:

景祐中授兩使留後。唃廝囉與元昊交兵，使人來獻捷。仁宗召見而勞之。大臣議加唃廝囉節度使。韓億以爲不可。語在億傳。

However, at this time, the conferral of the title was put off because of the conservative policy of Han I 韓億⁴³⁾ who was afraid to stimulate the ill-will of the Hsi-hsia. Also, the Ku-ssü-lo side were then sustaining heavy blows which would determine the outcome of the war. Still, the prolongation of the war meant that the damage to the Yüan-hao side was also fairly severe. The passage in (C), "部兵溺總嚙爾河，及饑死過半" cannot thus be regarded as wholly a misrepresentation as regards Hsi-hsia.

In this way, Yüan-hao, who had removed the military threat posed by the Ku-ssü-lo regime and attained something approaching his original objective, postponed the final reckoning with Ku-ssü-lo until he had established his nation. The reason for this was not only so he could reinforce his military power, but also so he could turn to the complete domination of the Ho-hsi 河西 region in accordance with his original plan. The action described in the passage Li Tao inserted at the beginning of (E), to wit "再舉兵攻回紇，陷瓜沙肅三州，盡有河西舊地"⁴⁴⁾ was carried out after completely cutting off the feeler which the Ku-ssü-lo regime tried to stretch into the Ho-hsi corridor. At the end of the entry for the twelfth month of the fourth year of Ching-yu, *Chang-pien* volume 120, we find:

趙元昊既悉有夏銀綏靜宥靈鹽會勝甘涼瓜沙肅，而洪定威懷龍皆即舊保鎮，僞號州仍居興州，阻河依賀蘭山爲固。始大補僞官（中略）置十八監軍司，委酋豪分統其衆。自河北至鄂爾山七萬人，以備契丹。（中略）左廂宥州路五萬人，以備鄯延麟府。右廂甘州路三萬人，以備西蕃回紇。

At the end of this year, the three provinces of Kua 瓜, Sha 沙, and Su 肅 reverted to the possession of Hsi-hsia,⁴⁵⁾ and with that Yüan-hao completed the framework of his nation and also made great efforts to organize its defense system.⁴⁶⁾

For Yüan-hao, about to declare his new nation, and expecting an imminent showdown with the Sung, the existence of Ku-ssü-lo at Ch'ing-

t'ang-ch'êng must have remained ominous. In other words, Hsia-chan 瞎檀, who controlled the territory from Ho-chou as far as K'an-ku (as previously explained) seems to have refused to go along with Yüan-hao's schemes for alienating him from his father.⁴⁷⁾ From a geographical standpoint, he is thought not to have participated in the third clash. Because of this, the Hsia-chan regime remained sound and continued to hold the traffic route from Tsung-ko to the Sung. Naturally Yüan-hao would think that Ku-ssü-lo was collaborating with his son in this, and he feared a rearward attack from the Ku-ssü-lo. At this point, Yüan-hao had to relieve his anxiety over this matter before the impending war against the Sung; as described in (E), he drove a wedge into the Tsung-ko-Sung traffic route, thus completely destroying their line of communication, and then endeavored to confine Ku-ssü-lo in the uplands of the Huang-shui basin. In fact, Yüan-hao succeeded in breaking off the route by crushing Hsia-chan's force at Lan-chou-chu-ch'iang 蘭州諸羌, invading the region of Ma-hsien-shan 馬銜山 (situated between Hsia-chan's two great territories of Ho-chou and K'an-ku), and erecting two forts at Wa-nieh 瓦躡 and Fan-ch'uan-hui 凡川會⁴⁸⁾. This fourth war of the series was probably over before the tenth month of the first year of Pao-yüan 寶元 (1038). By now Yüan-hao had gained confidence, and managed to thwart the sabotage attempt of his uncle Chao-shan-yüeh-t'ê 趙善約特 as mentioned above. He officially proclaimed the establishment of the Ta-hsia 大夏 nation⁴⁹⁾ and named himself Emperor in opposition to the Sung, as described in the entry for the tenth month of the first year of Pao-yüan (*Chang-pien* volume 122):

趙元昊築壇受冊，僭號大夏始文英武興法建禮仁孝皇帝。改大慶二年曰天授禮法延祚元年。遣攀密布伊里馬奇，點兵集蓬子山。自詣西涼府祠神。仍遣使以僭號來告。

In the first month of the following year, Yüan-hao again sent a messenger to present his credentials to the Sung, in which he wrote, “吐蕃·塔坦·張掖·交河莫不服” (*Chang-pien* volume 123), boasting that he had completely subdued the Kan-chou 甘州 Uyghur and the Tsung-ko-tsu regime at this stage.

The Sung were astounded at this news of the establishment of Ta-hsia. As we read in the *op.cit.* *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh*:

久之，朝廷以元昊不臣，遣使者⁵⁰⁾諭唃廝囉，使攻元昊。會元昊舉兵襲唃廝囉。堅壁不與戰。

This is expressed in the *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan* as follows:

寶元元年，加保順軍節度使，仍兼邈川大首領。時以元昊叛。遣左侍禁魯經持詔諭唃廝囉，使背擊元昊，以披其勢，賜帛二萬匹。

Around the close of the first year of Pao-yüan, the Sung finally realized the importance and urgency of this event. They quickly dispatched Lu-ching 魯經 to Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng;⁵¹⁾ as a last desperate measure they awarded ku-ssü-lo the title he had long desired, that of *Pao-shun-chün-chieh-tu-shih* 保順軍節度使⁵²⁾ and aimed at using this regime to rebuild a force to restrain the Hsi-hsia. Thus this title, which had not been used since the time of Li-tsun over twenty years before, was revived. The Sung, still overestimating Ku-ssü-lo's military power, issued a strong request for armed reinforcements with a decoy of the title of *Yin-hsia-têng chieh-tu-shih* 銀夏等節度使 as recorded in the Imperial edict sent to Ku-ssü-lo in the second month of the second year of Pao-yüan (*Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo*):

詔曰，朕以吳賊僭狂，侵擾邊境。卿資忠濟勇効，順輸誠授任。（中略）宜早興師旅，往襲空虛，乘彼未還拔其根本。父子竭力殄族抗渠，今正其時，機不可失。今來吳賊犯邊，卿俟詔到日，連領手下軍，徑往賊界，同共剪除殺戮。如能有心，蕩滅得吳賊，即當授卿銀夏等州節制。

We can be sure that the Sung were making a request to Ku-ssü-lo, because of the fact that they added 20,000 bolts of cloth as a gift and offered a reward of 100,000 in coin for Yüan-hao's capture (*Chang-pien*, entry for the twelfth month of that year). However, during Lu-ching's sojourn, the fifth war (D) suddenly broke out, probably, it is thought, because Yüan-hao heard about these entitlements of the Sung and felt he should deal the final blow to Ku-ssü-lo, who were then in a weak position. Ku-ssü-lo, already exhausted from the drawn-out fighting, and with no extra strength left to fight face-to-face with Yüan-hao, betrayed the Sung's expectations. He retreated into his headquarters at Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng (Shan-chou 鄴州) without fighting, and awaited a good opportunity for a secret measure against Yüan-hao. It is probably a fact that in order to protect his line of retreat, Yüan-hao set up a marker at the river crossing and made that his retreat landmark, his policy probably being to guard against the drowning of his troops as had occurred at the Tsung-ko-ho 宗哥河 during the previous battle. Realizing this, Ku-ssü-lo moved the marker to a deep point in the river, and having thus tricked him proceeded to deal his army heavy casualties. We cannot, however, rely on the entry in the *Chang-pien* "溺死十八九，所虜獲甚衆". Probably Li Tao's inserted note in the same entry is correct:

嘉勒斯賚傳，插幟誤元吳後云，自是數以奇計破元吳。元吳不敢窺其境。蓋飾說也。

In the *Chang-pien op. cit.* volume 119, we find:

斯賚勢蹙，更與喬氏自總噶爾，西徙哩沁城。元吳益得自肆。

This tells us that Ku-ssü-lo eventually became unable to hold the Ch'ing-t'ang-

ch'êng and was forced to move to the Lin-chin-ch'êng 林金城 situated to the west.

In this way, the war between Hsi-hsia and Tsung-ko ended in victory for the Hsi-hsia side. The Ku-ssü-lo regime was finally unable to recover their strength sufficiently to pose a threat to Hsi-hsia thereafter. The entry for the sixth month of the second year of Pao-yüan, *Chang-pien* volume 123, continues:

嘉勒斯賚奉詔，出兵四萬五千，嚮西涼。西涼有備，嘉勒斯賚知不可攻，捕殺遊羅數十人，亟還，聲言圖再舉，然卒不能也。

This in fact records the true state of the Ku-ssü-lo regime at that time. Ku-ssü-lo again dispatched Li-po-mu-la-kan 李博木喇幹 in the third month of that year, and bought the recognition of the Sung with gifts⁵³). The same volume of the *Chang-pien*, entry for the 癸亥 day of the fourth month:

以保順軍節度使邈川大首領嘉勒斯賚妻安康郡君李氏爲尼。仍賜紫衣。妻太原郡君喬氏爲永嘉郡夫人。子轄戩爲澄州團練使，默戩覺爲順州團練使，各賜襲衣金帶器幣及茶。（中略）時，嘉勒斯賚父子猜阻異居，不相統屬。朝廷欲兼撫之，故有是命。

records that the Sung were still aiming for the recovery of harmonious relations within Ku-ssü-lo's family and the restoration of a unified regime; however, the results were as recorded in the subsequent passage:

然，轄戩與默戩覺雖各治一城別立文法，終不能總攝諸蕃，但自保爾。

CONCLUSION

The above has described the first half of the history of the Tibetan tribes in the Ho-hsi 河西 region, from the establishment of the Hsi-liang-fu 西涼府 regime to the era of political power wielded by Ku-ssü-lo 唃廝囉 from Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng 青唐城. In the different periods, various worthy opponents competed strenuously for the dominion of the entire region of Ho-hsi; to wit, Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷 against P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 during the Hsi-liang-fu period, Li-tsun 李遵 against Li Tê-ming 李德明 during the Tsung-ko-ch'êng 宗哥城 period, and Ku-ssü-lo against Li Yüan-hao 李元昊 in the Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng period.

Following the time-honored policy of *I-i-chih-i* 以夷制夷 (playing off one against the other), a regular practice when reigning over foreign peoples, the Sung had encouraged the P'an-luo-chih regime of Hsi-liang-fu in order to restrain the activities of Li Chi-ch'ien; this regime performed the task well, and with the added spurt given by Li Chi-ch'ien's death in battle, succeeded in

dealing Hsi-hsia 西夏's empire-building movement a decisive blow. However, the Sung's policy had the result of stimulating the Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi to a consciousness of their race, and of causing a unification movement to evolve among them. In order to rally all the different powers among the tribes, a symbol which would surpass P'an-luo-chih in power was needed, and the man who fulfilled this requirement was Ku-ssü-lo, the last descendant of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 royal line. Li-tsun, the "barbarian priest" of the Tsung-ko-tsu 宗哥族, based along the Huang-shui 湟水, which eventually came to possess Ku-ssü-lo, succeeded in uniting the Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi. The development of these tribes, for the Sung, always raised the problem of antinomy. The Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi, under the control of Li-tsun, did not only fulfil the role of restraining force against Hsi-hsia; they came to confront the Sung themselves over the fan-pu 蕃部 of Ch'in 秦 and Wei 渭. The Sung were forced to make these tribes, as well as the Hsi-hsia, the object of their repressive policies. The operations in the northwest region of the great Sung general Ts'ao Wei 曹瑋 met with complete success. The war with the fan-pu of Ch'in and Wei also ended in victory for the Sung, and as a result, the Tsung-ko-ch'êng Li-tsun regime quickly fell from glory. Ku-ssü-lo, then in the prime of life, escaped from Tsung-ko-ch'êng, and for a time relied on Wên-pu-ch'i 溫逋奇 of Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng 邈川城, but afterwards established his new government at Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng. However, his two sons, Hsia-chan 瞎孛 and Mo-chan-chiao 磨曷角, each set up independent powers, and Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung 溫郢成兪龍 of Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng also managed his own political regime. Within Tsung-ko-ch'êng, the hub of the Tibetan tribes in Ho-hsi, there developed a situation of disruption. Thus it happened that the result of the Sung's management was that the powers intended to restrain Hsi-hsia were weakened. Li Yüan-hao of the Hsi-hsia could not be expected to let such an opportunity slip by. He won over Wên-ying-ch'eng-yü-lung to his side and made war on Tsung-ko-ch'êng a total of five times. These wars were great affairs, which were intended to contribute to the building of the Hsi-hsia empire. Thus, in effect, the Sung administration of the Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi had the unlooked-for result of giving Hsi-hsia an opportunity to carve out their own empire. The Sung, seeking to strengthen and unify these tribes once more, conferred on Ku-ssü-lo the title of *Pao-shun-chün chieh-tu-shih* 保順軍節度使, but it was already too late; the Tsung-ko-Hsi-hsia wars ended in unqualified victory for the latter, and the Hsi-hsia nation was successfully launched. The Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi continued to exhibit very interesting behavior from this time up to the end of the Northern Sung dynasty, but it is considered better to leave this for treatment at a later date, and to end this account of the political activities of these tribes in their role of restraining influence against the Hsi-hsia at this point, corresponding to the life of Ku-ssü-lo. The failure of the Ku-ssü-lo regime exerted a great influence on Sung-Hsi-hsia relations. Eventually, in 1044, the Sung made a peace treaty with Hsi-hsia, and were reduced to paying

a yearly sum in order to ward off invasion from them.

POSTSCRIPT

The present paper is a suitably edited version of a four-part work in Japanese by the author. Correspondences of the two are given below.

Chapter I, 1-4: "Seiryōfu Hanrashi seiken shimatsukō 西涼府潘羅支政權始末考" (On the Political Power of the P'an-luo-chih Regime of Hsi-liang-fu), *Tōhōgaku* No. 47, 1974, pp. 25-41.

Chapter I, 5—Chapter II, 1: "Seiryōfu seiken no metsubō to Sōkazoku no hatten 西涼府政權の滅亡と宗哥族の發展" (The Collapse of the Hsi-liang-fu Regime and the Development of the Tsung-ko Clan), *Suzuki Shun Sensei Koki Kinen Tōyōshi Ronsō* 鈴木俊先生古稀記念東洋史論叢, Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1975, pp. 73-88.

Chapter II, 2-5: "Sōkajō Kakushira seiken no seikaku to kito 宗哥城唃廝囉政權の性格と企圖" (On the Rygal Sras Government in the Tsung-ko Castle), *Chūō daigaku Ajiashi Kenkyū* No. 2, 1978, pp. 1-28.

Chapter III, 1-3: "Seika kenkoku to sōkazoku no dōkō 西夏建國と宗哥族の動向" (The Formation of the Hsi-hsia Nation and Activities of the Tsung-ko Clan), *Nakamura Jihei Sensei Koki Kinen Tōyōshi Ronsō* 中村治兵衛先生古稀記念東洋史論叢, Tōsui Shobō, 1986, pp. 91-120.

NOTES

Chapter I

- 1) See Satō Hisashi 佐藤長, "Darumaō no zainenji ni suitei ダルマ王の在位年次について". *Shirin* 史林 (1963) No. 5, p. 32 et al.
- 2) Entry for the fourth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通, T'ang-chi 唐紀 66, Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien 資治通鑑 250.
- 3) Maeda Masana 前田正名, *Kasei no rekishi chirigakuteki kenkyū* 河西の歴史地理學的研究 (Study of the Geographical History of Ho-hsi), Yoshikawa-kōbunkan 吉川弘文館 (1964) p. 228.

The Tibetans commonly refer to *wa-mo* 嗚末 (渾末) as *mi nāg* (Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, *Seikamoji* 西夏文字, *Kinokuniyashinsho* 紀伊國屋新書.). R. A. Stein of France puts forward the noteworthy opinion that all those people called *mi nāg* did not become serfs of T'u-fan, but that T'o-pa 拓拔, who founded the Hsi-hsia nation, was their leader (*mi-nāg* et Si-hsia géographie historique et légendes ancestrales, *BEFEO* Tome XLIV, 1951). The content of this book is briefly recounted in Note 134 of Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳 "Sohi no ryōkai 蘇毗の領界" (rTsañ yul and Yan gsum pañi ru), *Tōyō gaku* 東洋學報 volume 50, no. 4.) Nishida denies this idea of Stein's; it is hard to say who is right at the present stage of research. However, it is recognized as a fact that these people played an important role as a subsidiary clan of the Hsi-hsia. With regard to the *wa-mo* in Liang-chou, it is probably appropriate to consider them as having followed the route mentioned by the author. Nishida gives one interpretation of the semantic origin of *wa-mo* in the cited work.

- 4) Maeda Masana, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
- 5) Wu-tai-hui-yao 五代會要 has Chê-pu-chih 折逋支 (see later in this paper. *Fan* 反 is an error for *chih* 支, and 支 itself is a mistake for *ko-chih* 葛支 in the same section of the

Sung-hui-yao 宋會要. *Ko-chih* is simply another way of writing *chia-shih* 嘉施. The *Sung-hui-yao* contains other errors of the same kind (Note 7) but chronologically it is not an error to say that the two names refer to the same person. It is hard to agree with Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊 who refers to them as two people ("Ryōdai Toban kenshikō 遼代吐蕃遣使考", *Shikan*, combined issue no. 57-58, p. 132).

- 6) For more details, see my work, "Seiryōfu Hanrashi seiken shimatsukō 西涼府潘羅支政權始末考" (On the Political Power of the P'an-luo-chih Regime of Hsi-liang-fu), *Tōhō-gaku* volume 47, p. 26.
- 7) In the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, Yu-lung-po 遊龍鉢 is written Yü-lung-po 餘龍波. See Maeda, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
- 8) Okazaki Seiro 岡崎精郎, "Tangūto kodaishi kenkyū タングート古代史研究" (Historical Study of Pre-dynastic Tangut), *Tōyōshi kenkyū sōkan* no. 27, 1972, pp. 182-187.
- 9) "庚午, 吐蕃諸戎以馬來獻, 上召其酋長對於崇政殿, 厚加慰撫, 賜以東帛." appears in the entry for the ninth month of the eighth year of T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo 太平興國 in *Hsü-tzū-chih-t'ung-chien-chang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編 (hereafter abbreviated in the main text to *Chang-pien* 長編).
- 10) The *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* has "(咸平)三年十月, 授西涼府六谷大首領折逋遊龍鉢等將軍郎將司戈."
- 11) *Tōyō gaku*, volume 52, no. 1, (1969) p. 33.
- 12) Tu-liu-tsu 督六族 is recorded in the *Chang-pien* as 多囉族; the *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan* 宋史吐蕃傳 makes this into 都羅族.
- 13) Maeda, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
- 14) The origin of the Chê-pu 折逋 clan is obscure; but it is known from Yamaguchi Zuihō's work that the Che pa (ched-pa) clan existed as part of the rLañs clan. However, it is impossible to regard this as the same as the present one, as the dwelling place of the Che pa clan is not recorded at all in Tibetan historical sources. If we do choose to regard the two as identical, the following deductions can be made: The Che pa tribe, one of the rLañs clan, moved to Liang-chou in the Wu-tai 五代 period in the time of Chê-pu Chia-shih 折逋嘉施; they were known as a powerful provincial family, and their power was recognized by the central authority of the country. After this, the Sung promoted Yu-lung-po to the rank of *Hsi-liang-fu liu-ku fan-pu ta-shou-ling* 西涼府六谷蕃部大首領; but they were uneasy about having him command all the many Tibetan tribes in the area. It was probably at that point that they chose P'an-luo-chih 潘羅支 for the post, as he was an important member of the rLañs clan, which was the parent clan to the Che pa and one of the most noble clans since the T'u-fan dynasty; and also as the kind of person who could govern the tribes and even make Yu-lung-po follow him without a murmur. If we consider this, we can understand the fact that P'an-luo-chih attained such prestige without once being involved in a war (even if it were by command of the Sung); and also the treatment of Yu-lung-po and his group after the change of regime. At any rate, there is no doubt that P'an-luo-chih moved his residence to Liang-chou (possibly he took employment there). It is probably safe to consider that P'an-luo-chih had originally been in control of a region in Liang-chou, judging from this entry in the *Chang-pien* volume 85: "秦州總嚙爾(宗哥)蕃部斯多特……" concerning Ssü-tuo-tu 厮鐸督 after the collapse of Hsi-liang-fu; and also the fact that following the establishment of the P'an-luo-chih regime, the fan-pu of the southwest area came under his control.
- 15) In the entry for the eleventh month of the fourth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 in the *Chang-pien* volume 50, we find, "甲午, 詔西蕃諸族有能生禽李繼遷者當授節度使, 賜銀綵茶六萬. 斬首來獻者授觀察使, 賜物有差."
- 16) According to the *Sung-shih Tang-hsiang-ch'uan* 宋史黨項傳, Ni-ma 尼瑪, the leader of the Mi-pên-tsu 密本族, attained the title of *Fei-chou-tz'ü-shih* 費州刺史 from his former title of *K'ai-tao-shih* 開道使, in the first month of the second year of Hsien-p'ing. In addi-

- tion, the *Chang-pien* volume 50, has in a report of Li Chi-ho 李繼和 “……又爲環慶·原·渭·儀·秦熟戶所依。正當回鶻·西涼·六谷·密本·伽裕勒……諸族之路。” From this we can see that he occupied a position on the Ho-hsi route and that his importance was widely recognized. The *Sung-hui-yao* gives Mi-pên-tsu as Mieh-pu-tsu 咩逋族。
- 17) *Chang-pien* volume 54.
 - 18) The entry for the fourth month of the eighth year of T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo 太平興國, in the *Chang-pien* volume 24, states, “壬寅, 以豐州刺史王承美爲團練使。沒細都大首領越移爲懷化大將軍……乞黨族大首領歲移並爲歸德郎將。賞其破契丹之功也。” The Ch'i-tang 乞黨 tribe followed the Fêng-chou 豐州 regime in fighting Ch'i-tan 契丹. It is probable that the communication line between Hsi-liang-fu and Fêng-chou was operated by the Ch'i-tang-tsu.
 - 19) During this time, in the tenth month of that year, Li Chi-ch'ien 李繼遷 sent an iron arrow as a gift to P'an-luo-chih, and tried to conciliate with him, but the messengers were systematically killed or enslaved, which had the result of deepening the contact between the Sung and the Tibetans.
 - 20) The entry for the fifth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符 (1012) in the *Sung-hui-yao Fan-i* 蕃夷 5 *Hsi-nan-fan* 西南蕃 states “五年正月, 賜西蕃者龍族都首領捨欽波印一祀, 者龍族帳甚大, 久歸誠向化, 故從其請 (宋史吐蕃傳略同)。” From this we understand that the leader (*tu-shou-ling* 都首領) of the Chê-lung-tsu 者龍族 during the Ssü-tuo-tu period was Shê-ch'in-po 捨欽波 (*Sung-hui-yao*, entry for the fourth year of T'ien-shêng 天聖 as already mentioned in the text). In addition, the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, while lacking the characters *tu-shou-ling*, states “(景德) 三年正月, 詔以西涼者龍族舍窮波等七人……”. It may be inferred from this that he was the Chê-lung-tsu *tu-shou-ling* since early times. If we judge by the fact that there is no indication that the *tu-shou-ling* ever became traitors to P'an-Lou-chih, in their period of ascendancy, or joined the riots of the Chê-lung-liu-tsu (mentioned below), it would probably not be an error to think that the *tu-shou-ling* of Chê-lung-tsu was also Shê-ch'in-po in p'an-luo-chih's time.
 - 21) Maeda Masana uses the *Wu-tai-hui-yao* 五代會要 to show that Liang-chou 涼州 of the tenth century was divided into three parts: the left, right, and center *hsiang* 廂 (*op. cit.* p. 367) but after Chê-pu Chia-shih 折逋嘉施 only two, the left and right, existed.
 - 22) *Chang-pien* volume 76 has Hsi-liang 西涼 for Hsi-fan 西蕃.
 - 23) There are almost no accounts besides these two that mention the Han 漢 tribes. For this reason, these two accounts are interpreted as having included entitlements of the Liu-ku fan-pu 六谷蕃部 only. Maeda gives names to some tribes, e.g. K'an-ku 龕谷, Hsiao-k'an-ku 小龕谷; but they are always recorded together as k'an-ku-lan-chia 龕谷懶家 in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, clearly denoting a place name, so that it is an error to treat them as separate tribes. The name of Lan-pu-ch'ih 蘭逋赤, the representative of the eighteen *shou-ling* of the Liu-ku mentioned in the *Sung-hui-yao*, may be restored to the original Tibetan thus: Lan-po che or rin-po-che. In the case of the former, it is felt that the name means “great man of Lan”, in other words, the leader of the Lan-chia-tsu. But, in the case of the latter, referred to chapter II, 2, in this work.
 - 24) If we temporarily regard Ts'uei-hsi-po 崔悉波 as a Chinese (Han), it is not impossible to deduce that the Han tribes belonged to the right *hsian*. The arrangement of the eighteen fan-pu on the map is deliberate.
 - 25) The entry for the first year of Ching-tê 景德 in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* states, “去年十一月二十六日, 與蕃賊李繼遷戰大勝之.” clearly giving the date and time of the counterattack.
 - 26) According to the words of Pien-chu 便囑 and others, this event took place in the sixth month of the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing; but in fact it was an occurrence of the following year (first year of Ching-tê). The murder of P'an-luo-chih also occurred between the sixth and tenth months, most probably the sixth month. The above is Maeda's theory

- (*op. cit.* p. 404, note 47) and the present author agrees. However, the date actually recorded in the entry for 乙亥 day of the sixth month of the first year of Ching-tê (*Chang-pien* volume 56) is “乙未 of the seventh month” thus it is probably safe to consider that P'an-luo-chih's murder took place in that year, between the sixth and mid-seventh months. In addition, the name Chi-ch'ien appears in the passage, but in the *Chang-pien* this is amended to “Chi-ch'ien-chih-tang 繼遷之黨”; needless to say this refers not to Chi-ch'ien himself but to the followers of his son, Li Tê-ming.
- 27) In connection with this, the entry for the tenth month of that year (*Chang-pien* volume 58 states, “凡外臣除官皆舍人院草制, 斯多特 (斯鐸督) 授朔方猶循舊事. 自比乃從學士院降麻.” If we consider that the *ts'ao-chih* 草制 of the foreign minister moved from Shê-jên-yüan 舍人院 (Document Drafting Office) to Hsüeh-shih-yuan 學士院 (Institute of Academicians), we can imagine that the treatment of Ssü-tuo-tu was exceptional compared to the usual instances.
- 28) *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, entry for the twenty-third day of the above month and year.
- 29) *Ibid.*, entry for the second year of Ching-tê.
- 30) The entry for the first year of Ching-tê in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*, chapter 4, states, “諸路族首領便囑”. He was also a leader of the Chu-lu-tsu 諸路族, one of the Liu-ku fan-pu.
- 31) We cannot rely wholly on the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* 西夏書事, but another source, the *Chang-pien* volume 68 (entry for the fourth month of the first year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu) also records “近知趙德明依前攻劫六谷, 兼聞曾破卻西涼府所有節度使并副使結布使朗布 (折逋遊龍鉢) 及在府戶民並錄. 在部下萬一不謬, 則德明之心又似不少, 況其人悉是唐末陷蕃華人” in the form of a report by Chang Chai-hsien 張濟賢. Thus, it is probably not an error to say that Chê-pu Yu-lung-po 折逋遊龍鉢, and his followers, the Tu-liu-tsu 督六族, fell to the Hsi-hsia around the time of P'an-luo-chih's murder.
- 32) In the entry for the sixth month of the first year of Ching-tê, *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume 8, we find “潘羅支死. 西涼大亂, 六谷諸酋共推羅支弟斯鐸督爲首領. 德明乘人心未定, 率兵復攻西涼取之.” After P'an-luo-chih's death, the Hsi-liang-fu seems to have come temporarily under the rule of the Hsi-hsia. The passage in the *Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu* “凡再率衆攻繼遷部族. 虜獲甚衆, 頗有威名……” refers to their expulsion.
- 33) In the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume 9, we read, “夜落紇 (輝和爾) 出兵拒之, 浦不能勝”, Chang-pu was defeated. Judging from the fact that in this attack only “one thousand horsemen” were involved, we can probably conclude that this attack was a skirmish carried out after a reconnaissance of enemy movements.
- 34) See Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, “Seika no kasei shinshutsu to tōzaikōtsū 西夏の河西進出と東西交通” *Tōhōgaku* 東方學 No. 26, (1963) p. 59.
- 35) The Kan-chou 甘州 attack on Liao 遼 is at first recorded to have been a success, but the record is expressed in an ambiguous way, and the actual occurrence requires more interpretation. It would probably not be an error to conclude that the attack ended in failure, as in the case of Hsi-hsia.
- 36) See the entry for that year in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* volume 9.
- 37) Same as Note (34).
- 38) With regard to Su Shou-hsin 蘇守信 he is recorded as having the title of *chün-chiao* 軍校 (general) to Li Tê-ming (*Sung-hui-yao Hsi-liang-fu*), and also the title of *Hsia-chou-ling* 夏州令 (*ibid. Fan-i*, 4 *Uyghur*). At the end of the account of the attack on Ch'i-tan-tsu in the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (*Hsi-shia-shu-shih* volume 9) (which work is mistaken in confusing Ch'i-tang-tsu with Yang-tan-tsu 樣丹族) appears the word “守信西涼人也”. From this it is thought that he might originally have had interests in Hsi-liang-fu.

Chapter II

- 1) Maeda *op. cit.*, p. 506.
- 2) This passage is recorded in an abridged form in *Sung-shih* volume 165, *Chih-kuan* 職官

- 5, entry for *Hung-lu-ssü* 鴻臚寺.
- 3) Okazaki using the account in the *Chang-pien* volume 76, in which this passage is found, has it that the system of alliance between Hsi-liang-fu and Kan-chou Uyghur, planned by the Northern Sung, was showing results (*op. cit.* p. 268). A sharp distinction should be made between Hsi-liang-fu and Tsung-ko-tsu at this point in time. The bond between the Tsung-ko-tsu and the Kan-chou Uyghur, it should be noted, was forged without any connection with either the Northern Sung or Hsi-liang-fu.
 - 4) Yamaguchi Zuihō, in his "Toban—Denshō to seido karamita seikaku 吐蕃——傳承と制度から見た性格" (*Rekishi kyōiku* 歴史教育 volume 15, no. 9-10, (1967) p. 41) says in connection with the descendants of the T'u-fan dynasty, "These descendants are also called *lha pa* ("tribes of the gods") and treated separately by Tibetan historians."
 - 5) See Inaba Masatsugu 稻葉正就 and Satō Hisashi 佐藤長 (tr.), *Hu lan deb ther* (*Chibetto nendaiki* チベット年代記), *Hōzōkan* 法藏館 (1964) pp. 97-102. A detailed genealogical chart appears in the same work on pp. 113 and 115.
 - 6) According to the teaching of Yamaguchi Zuihō, Ku-ssü-lo's original name, Ch'i-nan-ling-wên-chien-pu 歎南陵溫錢逋, is a translation of *khri gnam ldehi dbon btsan po*. Spyan sna don chen refers to Ku-ssü-lo's third son Tung-chan 董種; in the place of birth, the term 高昌 is a translation of *stod* 高 ahd *Shañ* 昌 of *Shañ shuñ stod*. Nagasawa, in the *Ryōdai Toban kenshikō op. cit.* p. 139, advances the theory that Ku-ssü-lo's birthplace was a spot in Central Asia called 高昌. But this is an error. Also, *Mo-yü* 磨榆 is a translation of *mar yul* (see Stein, R. A.; Yamaguchi Zuihō and Sadakata Akira 定方晟 (trs.), *La Civilisation Tibétaine* (*Chibetto no Bunka* チベットの文化), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, (1971) p. 63). 三祥, as appearing in the *Lo-ch'üan-chi*, is probably a translation of *Shañ shuñ*.
 - 7) See Nakajima Satoshi 中嶋敏, "Seikyōzoku o meguru sōka no kōsō 西羌族をめぐる宋夏の抗争", *Rekishigaku Kenkyū* 歴史學研究, volume 1, no. 6, (1934) p. 481 note 7.
 - 8) In the *I-ti Ku-ssü-lo-ch'uan* 夷狄隴厮囉傳, volume 20 *ibid.*, appears the passage, "咸平中迎至河州, 欲立文法. 請更其名, 曰隴厮囉.". Calculating from the fact that Ku-ssü-lo died in the second year of Chih-p'ing 治平 (1065) at the age of 69 (*Sung-shih t'u-fan-ch'uan*), the year in which he moved to Ho-chou would be the second year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu.
 - 9) The question of the Buddhist faith of the Tibetan tribes is planned to be treated in a future paper.
 - 10) The meaning of *wên-fa* is treated by Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄 in "Ōshō no kiga keiryaku ni tsuite 王韶の熙河経略に就いて", *Mōko Gakuhō* 蒙古學報 no. 1, 1940, pp. 90-91. Maeda, in *op. cit.*, p. 405, note 51, gives a counterargument to this. The *Lo-ch'üan-chi* is probably correct, stating "起立文法, 蓋施設號令統衆之意".
 - 11) Nagasawa says, in *op. cit.* pp. 136-7, that the powers of Kan-chou Uyghur and Liang-chou T'u-fan came under Ku-ssü-lo from the sixth year of Tien-shêng into the seventh and eighth years. However, this is an error, at least in the case of Liang-chou T'u-fan. We should take it that the latter would not have been under Ku-ssü-lo's control until the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, even though they had not moved or absconded.
 - 12) *Sung-shih T'u-fan-ch'uan*, *Chang-pien* volume 82, *Lung-p'ing-chi* 隆平集 volume 30, *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh*, etc.
 - 13) Around this account, the *Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo* mentions the names of Li-tsun, Ku-ssü-lo, and Wên-pu-ch'i together. Because of this, we may think that the present passage deals with Ku-ssü-lo's entitlements after he was supported by Li-tsun *et al.* However, as we can see from a glance at the passages surrounding this, if Ku-ssü-lo was being backed by these men, the name of Tsung-ko-tsu would be given, as in the phrase "宗哥族立邊·隴厮囉....." and the backers' names would appear together. In the present case, if we consider that Ku-ssü-lo's name alone appears, and that Wei-chou fan-tsu 渭州蕃族 is clearly mentioned, it is probably safe to say that this passage recounts Ku-ssü-lo's situation before he began to be supported by Li-tsun *et al.* Incidentally, this

- passage, recorded in the *Chang-pien*, is said to be the earliest one relating to Ku-ssü-lo, and should probably be followed.
- 14) The *Chang-pien* records the Chang-tsu 張族 of Ku-wei-chou 古渭州 as living in Wei-chou (see note 32); as we see from this, the Wei-chou of the T'ang dynasty (called Ku-wei-chou in the Sung) and the Wei-chou of the Sung dynasty are confused in places. In the entry for 丁巳 day of the eighth month of the third year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu, as well, we find, "渭州吐蕃部署綽克宗來貢馬。綽克宗自言，本屬西涼府，及爲李繼遷所破遂徙居康古(龕谷)……". Here Ho-chou is recorded as being within hailing distance of T'ao-ch'uan 洮川. Ch'o-k'o-tsung 綽克宗, who lived in K'an-ku, later under the control of Ku-ssü-lo's eldest son Hsia-chan, is called "the leader of the Wei-chou T'u-fan". Thus, within the *Chang-pien*, the fan-pu of the area from Ho-chou in the direction of K'an-ku and Ku-wei-chou are unconsciously referred to as "Wei-chou fan-pu". The passage in the *Sung-hui-yao*, too, adds the word *ku* 古 so that we can probably interpret the meaning here as "Ku-ssü-lo, leader of the Tibetan tribes in the Ku-wei-chou area".
 - 15) The *Lo-ch'üan-chi Ku-ssü-lo-shih* states "潘羅支竟爲德明所破，蓋無遺類以故西蕃無主，蕃部聳昌厮均等遠赴三峽，迎溫竊逋以保其地。時年十二歲，欲就河州起立文法." This changes to the Hsi-liang-fu regime in the *Sung-ch'ang-ssü-chün* 聳昌厮均, from which it is inferred that there was a will to aim at establishing a new regime.
 - 16) The name Tsung-ko-tsu, like that of Ch'ing-t'ang-tsu 青唐族, became a general name for the Tibetan tribes of Ho-hsi after Ku-ssü-lo. At this particular time, however, it referred to the tribes living along the Tsung-ko road, that is, in the Ch'ing-t'ang, Tsung-ko, and Miao-ch'uan 邈川 areas of the Huang-shui 滄水 river basin. It might be better to refer to them correctly as Tsung-ko-pu-tsu 宗哥部族 or Tsung-ko-fan-pu 宗哥蕃部, but the author follows common usage.
 - 17) In the entry for the twelfth month of the seventh year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (*Chang-pien* volume 83), we read "又請如斯多特(厮鐸督)例，授埒克邊(李邊)節度使……". At some point soon after Ku-ssü-lo established power, a notice came, not to Ku-ssü-lo himself but to Li-tsun, to assume the position of *Chieh-tu-shih* 節度使. Probably the Sung were well aware that Li-tsun held the real power of that regime from the beginning.
 - 18) Judging from the entry (M) in the *Sung-hui-yao Hui-ku-ch'uan* (found in 5 of this Chapter), Ku-ssü-lo seems to have already moved to Tsung-ko-ch'êng, with the help of Li-tsun, by the fifth month of the eighth year. Thus we can probably deduce that the move occurred sometime during the interval from the second or third months to the fifth month.
 - 19) A translation of the Tibetan *blon po*. The meaning is indeed "prime minister" or "high official".
 - 20) *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 (Historical Study in Japan), 1978 History Seminar: "Kaiko to tenbō 回顧と展望", p. 259.
 - 21) *Chang-pien* volume 86, entry for 乙丑 day of the first month of the ninth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu.
 - 22) Li-tsun's promotion to *Chieh-tu-shih* is also recorded in "元憲集卷三四曹公墓誌銘，文莊集卷二李邊可洮州刺史充保順軍節度使制，臨川文集卷九十彰武軍節度使侍中曹穆公行狀", Ku-ssü-lo was charged with the same post (*Pao-shun-chün* 保順軍) a full twenty-two years later, in the first year of Pao-yüan 寶元. We can see from this how highly the Sung regarded Li-tsun's influence.
 - 23) There are discrepancies in the various texts about the members of the Li family who became Ku-ssü-lo's wives: both in regard to their number, and to their relation to Li-tsun. Enoki Kazuo, in *op. cit.*, inserted note (11), explains the situation. I think that one of Li-tsun's daughters was given as a bride to Ku-ssü-lo and bore Hsia-chan 瞎德 and Mo-chan-chiao 磨礎角 to him.
 - 24) We can infer from the passage in the *Lung-p'ing-chi* volume 387 (mentioned later) that Wên-pu-ch'i 溫逋奇 temporarily went along with the Tsung-ko-ch'êng regime.
 - 25) Refers to Ma-hsien-shan-tsu 馬咸山族, a member of the Liu-ku fan-pu.

- 26) *Chang-pien* volumes 72-73.
- 27) The entry for the seventh month of the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the *Chang-pien* volume 85 states, “甲子, 秦州伏羌城寨戶文禹伐登聞鼓言, 頃年溫仲舒以戎人屢擾寨戶, 遂拓疆界於隘路口, 大洛門置城守把便致寧貼, 後來者卻召蕃部付與洛門地. 故迄今時有鈔掠, 復請於山丹峽口廣吳嶺上古城大洛門城永寧城隘路口置寨, 以遏戎寇, 詔優賜遣之.” The Sung built a fort to guard against the overflowing of the fan-pu; but we cannot overlook the fact that this ended up encouraging them instead.
- 28) The same passage gives Shang-yang-tan 尙揚丹 as Ku-ssü-lo's father-in-law but the letter entitled 彰武軍節度使侍中曹穆公行狀 in volume 90 of the *Lin-ch'uan-wên-chi* 臨川文集 says, “爾遣使其舅賞樣丹, 招熟戶郭斯敦爲鄉導.”, indicating that he was actually the father-in-law of Li-tsun. As mentioned before, Li-tsun married women from all eighteen fan-pu, when we consider this, it becomes possible to think of him as Li-tsun's father-in-law.
- 29) It is thought that Li-mo-la-mu 李摩拉木 is the same person as Mo-la-mu-tan 摩拉木丹, who followed Ku-ssü-lo in his capture of K'uo-chou 廓州.
- 30) With regard to the results of the plans using Shang-yang-tan, see note (34).
- 31) It is considered that Ta-ma-chia-tsu 大馬家族 refers to the Ma-chia-tsu, which appears in the *Sung-hui-yao Ku-ssü-lo*, entry for the eighth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu “次是冬侍禁楊承吉使宗哥還言, 蕃部甚畏秦州近辺丁家·馬家二族人馬頗衆, 甚依倚朝廷.” It is apparent that their power had long been a matter of awe to the Tsung-ko-tsu.
- 32) Chang-hsiao-ko is mentioned in the same entry in the *Chang-pien* as “以渭州吹莽城張族都首領”. In volume 91 appears the passage, “己卯, 曹瑋言蕃僧裕木扎卜沁先於故渭州吹莽城聚衆立文法, 今悉已破散.” This gives Chang-hsiao-ko as a native of Ku-wei-chou. His descendant Na-chih-lin-chan 訥芝臨占 had his headquarters in Ku-wei-chou as well (as seen in the *Chang-pien* volume 175).
- 33) Ogasawara Shōji 小笠原正治 *Sōdai kyūsen shu no kenkyū (zenpen)* 宋代弓箭手の研究 (前篇) (Studies of the *kung-chien-shou* in the Sung dynasty, part I), *Tōyōshi ronshū* 東洋史論集 II. 1954. pp. 177-328.
- 34) The terms of the conciliation are recorded as follows in the entry for the third month of the ninth year, *Chang-pien* volume 86: “曹瑋知之, 厚結蘇都, 嘗解寶帶予焉. 蘇都感激求自效, 謂瑋曰‘吾父何所欲得吾首猶可斷以獻’. 瑋察其誠謂曰‘我知尙揚丹時至汝帳下, 能爲吾取尙揚丹乎’. 蘇都愕然曰‘諾’, 後十餘日, 果斬其首以至. 丙午瑋請加爵命, 上深嘉瑋功, 欲顯賞蘇都”.
- 35) *Sung-hui-yao ping* 27; *Chang-pien*, volume 90.
- 36) *Sung-hui-yao ping* 27; *Chang-pien* volume 87; *Sung-shih lieh-ch'uan* 17; *Ts'ao-Wei-ch'uan*. In addition, the *Tung-tu shih-lüeh* volume 27, *Ts'ao-Wei-ch'uan* has “自弓門至威遠共置砦十數亭, 障橋梁相望浚壕僅四百丈”.
- 37) Only five *chai* 寨 (forts) are clearly mentioned in this source but if we count the number of people involved, this generally agrees with the total number cited in the above-mentioned two sources. It is probably all right to consider this as a monthly salary for the commanders and other workers of ten forts.
- 38) In the entry for the fourth year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu in the same part of the *Sung-hui-yao* “六月, 甘州進奉回紇安進詣登聞上言, 昨齋本國可汗王表詣闕, 蒙賜錦袍銀帶錦綵選過渭州入西蕃界, 爲賊所劫. 詔別賜與之”; the character 賊 is considered to refer to Su Shou-hsin 蘇守信. It would probably not be erroneous to conclude that the outpost of the Hsi-hsia was built after the fourth year in Hsi-liang-fu.
- 39) Maeda *op. cit.*, pp. 506 and 552.
- 40) Nagasawa *op. cit.*, uses this historical source chiefly to say that the time this tribute was being offered was the period in which the Tibetan tribes were till using Liang-chou as a base. In addition, he reads “Toban ō no heirison 吐蕃王の弁里尊” as meaning the person who conducted the tribute offering, as does the *Hsi-hsia shu-shih*. He assigns the Tibetan word *Phen li brtsan* to this.

Chapter III

- 1) In regard to the establishment of the Hsi-hsia nation, I would like to introduce the following papers as references.
 - Okazaki Seirō 岡崎精郎; "Godai ni okeru tangūto no kenkyū 五代期におけるタングートの研究" (The Studies of the Tangut tribes in the Five Dynasties); "Ri keisen no kōki zengo 李繼遷の興起前後" (The Early Period of the Rise of Li Chi-t'ien); "Ri tokumei jidai no kenkyū 李德明時代の研究" (The Study of the Li Tê-ming Period); *Tangūto kodaishi kenkyū* タングート古代史研究 (*Historical Study of Pre-dynastic Tangut*), Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai 東洋史研究会 (1972).
 - Tamura Jitsuzō 田村實造 "Ryōchō o meguru Kokusai kankei 遼朝をめぐる国際関係" (International Relations in the Liang Dynasty), *Chūgoku Seifuku Ōchō no kenkyū* 中國征服王朝の研究 (*Dynasties of Conquest in China*), Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai (1964).
 - Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, "Ri keisen no kōki to tōzaikōtsū 李繼遷の興起と東西交通" (Rise of Li Chi-t'ien and East-west Traffic), *Haneda hakase shōju Kinen Tōyōshi Ronsō* 羽田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢, Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai (1950).
 - Yamamoto Sumiko 山本澄子 "Godai Sōsho no tōkominzoku oyobi sono Seika kenkoku to no kankei 五代宋初の黨項民族及びその西夏建國との関係" (Tangut Tribes in the North-western Borderland of China during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries and the Foundation of the Hsi-hsia Nation), *Tōyōgaku* 東洋學報 volume 33 no. 1.
 - Wu T'ien-ch'ih 吳天墀, "Hsi-hsia wang-kuo ti hsing ch'êng 西夏王國的形成", *Hsi-hsia shih-kao* 西夏史稿, 四川人民出版社 (1980).
- 2) Entry for the 壬辰 day of the eleventh month of the first year of Ming-tao (*Chang-pien* volume 111).
- 3) Okazaki *op. cit.* "Ri Tokumei jidai no kenkyū"; Tamura *op. cit.* "Ryōchō o meguru Kokusai kankei", p. 207.
- 4) With regard to the achievements of Yüan-hao, see Nakajima Satoshi, "Seika ni okeru Seikyoku no Suii to Bunka 西夏に於ける政局の推移と文化", *Tōhōgaku* volume 6, and Nishida Tatsuo, "Seika Ōkoku no seikaku to sono bunka 西夏王國の性格とその文化", Iwanami Kōza 岩波講座 Sekai Rekishi 世界歴史 9, Chūsei 中世 3, (1970) p. 68 etc.
- 5) Wu Kuang-ch'ên 吳廣成 insists in an inserted note to the entry for the fifth month (summer) of the sixth year of T'ien-shêng, *Hsi-hsia shu-shih* volume 11 "德明于祥符中, 嘗五次圍甘州, 李氏以爲非德明意, 不可信"; but it is difficult to credit this, judging from appearances.
- 6) Nagasawa Kazutoshi, "Seika no kasei shinshutsu to tōzai kōtsū 西夏の河西進出と東西交通" (On Hsi-hsia's Advance into Ho-hsi and the Intercourse between East and West), *Tōhōgaku* No. 26, 1963, p. 61.
- 7) The entry for the fourth year of T'ien-shêng in the *Hsi-hsia shu-shih* has "夏六月遣兵, 助契丹攻甘州."
- 8) Nagasawa *op. cit.*, "Ryōdai Toban Kenshikō 遼代吐蕃遣使考"; Suzuki Ryūichi 鈴木隆一, "Seitō Arikotsu seiken no seiritsu to kittan kōshu 青唐阿里骨政權の成立と契丹公主", *Shiteki* 史滴 volume 4, (1983).
- 9) Nagasawa, "Seika no kasei shinshutsu to tōzai kōtsū, p. 62.
- 10) Maeda, *op. cit.*, p. 506.
- 11) *Chang-pien* volume 105; *Sung-hui-yao li-tai-chao-kung* 宋會要歷代朝貢.
- 12) *Chang-pien* volume 106; *Sung-hui-yao li-tai-chao-kung*.
- 13) *Sung-hui-yao li-tai-chao-kung*.
- 14) Maeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 533 and 628.
- 15) Suzuki, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- 16) Okazaki Seirō supports the theory of the first year of Ming-tao, judging from the age of Tê-ming at his death. *op. cit.*, "Tangut • Uyghur kankei no kenkyū タングート・ウイグル関係の研究" (The study of the relation between Tangut and Uyghur), p. 271.
- 17) *Sung-shih Hsia-kuo-ch'uan* states "奪甘州, 遂立爲皇太子".
- 18) It is recorded in the *Hsi-hsia shu-shih* volume 11, "天聖七年春二月, 德明爲元昊請婚契丹";

- this is Wu Kuang-ch'êng's conjecture.
- 19) The date is given in the *Chang-pien* volume 111, as 癸未 of the eleventh month, but this was already after Tê-ming's death, and Yüan-hao had already accepted the title of *Hsi-p'ing wang*. Li Tao, in the previous inserted note, indicates that he is not sure of the dates during this interval, and I will not use this date here.
 - 20) Entry for 壬辰 day of the eleventh month of the first year of Ming-tao, *Chang-pien* volume 111.
 - 21) Entry for 辛未 day of the first month of the eighth year of Ch'ing-li 慶曆, *Chang-pien* volume 162. *Su-shui-chi-wên* 涑水紀聞 volume 10.
 - 22) The *Hsi-hsia shu-shih* places this passage directly after the death of Tê-ming in the eleventh month of the first year of Ming-tao, but it is probably an event of the early second year.
 - 23) Okazaki Seirō, "Seika no Ri Genko to Tokubatsurei 西夏の李元昊と禿髮令" (Li Yüan-hao of Hsi-hsia and the Order to Shave off the Hair), *Tōhōgaku* No. 19, 1959, p.77 *et al.*
 - 24) Nishida, *op. cit.* paper, p. 66.
 - 25) End of the entry for the first month of spring, first year of Ching-yu, *Chang-pien* volume 114.
 - 26) Ho-pei-hsing 河北省 (Chin-hai-tao 津海道) Tung-kuang-hsien 東光縣.
 - 27) Kan-su-hsing 甘肅省 (Ching-yüan-tao 涇原道) Lung-tê-hsien 隆德縣.
 - 28) With regard to the location of the Tsung-ko-ch'êng and Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng, the various scholars hold differing points of view. Enoki Kazuo, in Note 5 to the *op. cit.* paper, identifies Tsung-ko-ch'êng as "in a place about 20 li equidistant from the west exit of Ta-shih-hsia 大石峽 and the Hsiao-shih-hsia 小石峽", and Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng as at Nien-po 碾伯. In contrast, Suzuki Ryūichi, in his recent work "Seitō o meguru kōtsūro 青唐をめぐる交通路", *Waseda Daigaku Bungaku Kenkyūka Kiyō Bessatsu Dai Hasshū* 早稲田大學文學研究科紀要別冊第八集, identifies Tsung-ko-ch'êng with Min-ho 民和 and Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng with Nien-po.
 - 29) The entry for the 乙未 day of the first month (spring) of the third year of T'ien-shêng (*Chang-pien* volume 103) reads, "涇原路總管司言, 總囑爾等克遵乞給俸錢. 詔渭州月給衣著五十疋, 茶五十斤".
 - 30) See Chapter II, note 19, in regard to *Lun-pu*. In addition, Wên-pu-ch'í may be rendered back into Tibetan as Wên-po-che, and is considered to mean "great man (leader) of Wên".
 - 31) In the *Lo-ch'üan-chi*, other characters are used for Li-ching 歷精 (林金) Yeh-pei-ch'êng 耶卑城. Yeh-pei is thought to be a translation of some Tibetan word.
 - 32) Both texts erroneously make this into 合龍谷.
 - 33) No record in either *Chih-chai-shu-lu-chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題 or *Chün-chai-tu-shu-chih* 郡齋讀書志. It is thought that this refers to *Liang-chao-kuo-shih* 兩朝國史.
 - 34) See my work, "Sodai seitōzoku ni kansuru shiryō ni tsuite 宋代青唐族に關する史料について" (Sources of Ch'ing-t'ang-Tribes in Sung Period), *Chūō Daigaku Daigakuin Ronkyū* 中央大學大學院論究 volume 5, no. 1, (1973), p. 20.
 - 35) Enoki Kazuo *op. cit.* paper, p. 92.
 - 36) Wu Kuang-ch'êng in the *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* gives the date as the seventh month of the second year of Ming-tao, which is valuable information.
 - 37) Corresponds to Hsüan-wei-ch'êng 宣威城 in Hsi-ning-chou 西寧州, *Sung-shih* volume 87, *Ti-li* 3.
 - 38) The *Hsi-hsia-shu-shih* Volume 11, gives the date as the tenth month of the second year of Ming-tao.
 - 39) The *Chang-pien* volume 117 gives Pao-shun-chün Liu-hou 保順軍留後, and the *Lo-ch'üan-chi* *Ch'in-chou-tsou Ku-ssü-lo* gives Pao-shun-chün-chieh-ch'a Liu-hou 保順軍節察留後.
 - 40) The Miao-ch'uan mentioned here is intended to refer to the Huang-shui river basin in general and not to the Miao ch'uan-ch'êng.
 - 41) Corresponds to Pao-sai-chai 保塞砦 in *Sung-shih* volume 87, *Ti-li* 3 *Hsi-ning-chou*.



○ Kan-chou
(甘州)

○ Hsi-liang-fu
(西涼府)

△ Ho-Lan-shan
(賀蘭山)

○ Ling-chou (Hsi-p'ing-fu)
(靈州) (西平府)

Ta-t'ung-ho
(大通河)

Huang-ho
(黃河)

Ch'ing-hai
(青海)

Huang-shui
(湟水)

○ Li-niu-ch'êng?
(臈牛城)

○ Ch'ing-t'ang-ch'êng?
(青唐城)

○ Lin-chin-ch'êng?
(林金城)

○ Miao-ch'uan? or Tsung-ko-ch'êng?
(遼川? 宗哥城?)

○ Tsung-ko-ch'êng?
(宗哥城?)

○ Miao-ch'uan-ch'êng?
(遼川城)

○ K'uo-chou
(鄯州)

○ Lan-chou
(蘭州)

○ K'an-ku
(臧谷)

○ An-chiang
(安江)

△ Ma-hsien-shan
(馬銜山)

○ Ho-chou
(河州)

○ I-kung-ch'êng?
(一公城)

○ Chiang-chu-ch'êng?
(講朱城)

○ T'ao-ho
(洮河)

○ Chên-jung-chün (鎮戎軍)

○ Huan-chou
(環州)

○ Ch'ing-chou
(慶州)

△ Liu-p'an-shan
(六盤山)

○ Yüan-chou
(原州)

○ Lung-kan-ch'êng
(龍竿城)

○ Wei-chou
(渭州)

○ Ning-chou
(寧州)

○ Nan-shih-ch'êng
(南市城)

○ Ching-yüan
(經原)

○ Ching-chou
(經州)

△ Lung-shan
(隴山)

○ Ku-wei-chou (Ch'ui-mang-ch'êng)
(古渭州) (吹莽城)

Ta-lao-mên
(大落門)

○ Yung-ning-chai
(永寧寨)

○ Ting-hsi-chai
(定西寨)

○ Ch'ing-shui (清水)

○ San-mên-chai
(三門寨)

○ T'ao-chou
(洮州)

○ Hsiao-lao-mên
(小落門)

○ Fu-ch'iang-chai
(伏羌寨)

○ Ch'in-chou
(秦州)

○ Min-chou
(岷州)

Wei-shui
(渭水)

○ Chang-an
(長安)