

THE SOGDIAN TRADE DIASPORA IN EAST TURKESTAN DURING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

BY

JONATHAN KARAM SKAFF*

Abstract

Evidence from Chinese documents supports the hypothesis that Sogdians dominated Silk Road trade in East Turkestan during the seventh and eighth centuries. The merchants lived and/or traveled among a diaspora of Sogdians who settled in the oasis cities of the region and also practiced farming and handicraft making. Some traders traveled the entire distance between China and West Asia, but others operated along circumscribed routes that connected to the broader commercial network. Residents of the diaspora facilitated trade by acting as cultural intermediaries for unassimilated merchants.

Le témoignage des documents chinois soutient l'hypothèse selon laquelle les Sogdiens dominèrent le commerce sur la route de la soie pendant les VII^e et VIII^e siècles. Les marchands habitèrent et/ou voyagèrent parmi une diaspora de Sogdiens qui s'établit autour des villes-oasis de la région et exercèrent l'agriculture ainsi que l'artisanat. Certaines marchands voyagèrent sur toute la distance entre la Chine et l'Asie occidentale, tandis que d'autres travaillèrent sur des chemins courts les reliant à un réseau commercial plus large. Les habitants de la diaspora facilitèrent ce commerce en leur qualité d'intermédiaire culturels au service des marchands étrangers.

Keywords: Sogdians, Trade, Diaspora, Silk Road, Turkestan

Since the early twentieth century when Paul Pelliot (1912: 104-5) first advanced the hypothesis that Sogdians dominated medieval Silk Road commerce, it has been commonly assumed that this now extinct people played the major role in long distance Inner Asian trade.¹ However, with a few exceptions the

* Jonathan Karam Skaff, History/Philosophy Department, Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, PA 17257, jkskaf@ship.edu

This is a revised version of a paper that was presented at the 36th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies in August 2000. I would like to thank Éric Trombert for his invitation to take part in a panel on East-West relations, which precipitated this article. I also would like to show my appreciation toward Yoshida Yutaka, Étienne de la Vaissière and three anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions, and Ilya Yakubovich for allowing me to consult his translation of a Sogdian document prior to publication.

¹ At the same time, Pelliot (1912: 104-5) advanced the related hypothesis that the Sogdian language was the “*lingua franca*” of the Silk Road. However, although there are a number of references in modern scholarship to Sogdian as a *lingua franca*, no evidence has ever been

evidence mainly has been anecdotal, relying on scattered evidence of Sogdian mercantile activity, such as comments in traditional Chinese histories on the commercial acumen of the Sogdians. How the Sogdians may have organized and implemented their trade also has been little understood until recently.² This article advances previous research by analyzing Chinese language documents that have been discovered in the twentieth century at Turfan in northwestern China to glean precious information about Sogdian diaspora society and commerce in the seventh and eighth centuries. It also provides evidence from the Turfan documents that supports the presumed Sogdian dominance of Silk Road trade in East Turkestan during this period.

Turfan at the start of the seventh century was an independent oasis state, called the Gaochang (高昌 Qocho) Kingdom, under the political control of the Qu 麹 Dynasty (499-640), which in turn recognized the suzerainty of the Western Turk nomadic confederation. China's Tang Dynasty (618-907) conquered Gaochang in 640 and incorporated the oasis into its large empire until the mid-eighth century. During this time the city was a major way station on the silk routes that linked China with India and West Asia, and diaspora communities of Sogdians settled there and at other oasis cities to engage in commerce, farming, and handicraft production. Sogdian merchants interacted with people in the diaspora as they traveled from town to town in East Turkestan, buying and selling goods. Some traders appear to have traveled the entire distance between China and West Asia, but others operated in circumscribed regions that connected to the wider commercial network. Many goods moving long distances between east and west seem to have passed through the hands of various merchants in this Sogdian diaspora.

The Sogdian homeland was Transoxiana, located in West Turkestan between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers (modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan). The Sogdian language, an Iranian dialect, dominated the oasis cities in the Zarafshân and possibly the Jaxartes River basins. The most prominent Sogdian cities were Samarqand and Bukhârâ. Politically, the main oasis cities normally remained independent from one another despite lying along a common river valley. They also were generally free of dominance from empires on the Iranian plateau until the Muslim conquest of Transoxiana in the eighth century. Prior to the coming of the Muslims, it was most common for them to be ruled by a loose over-

supplied to confirm that non-Sogdians used it as a common commercial language. For references to Sogdian as a *lingua franca*, see Laufer 1919: 530; Schafer 1951: 405; 1963: 12; Lerner 2001: 222.

² Recent scholarship that has provided more substantial information on Sogdian Silk Road trade, the topic of this paper, are Sims-Williams 1996; Skaff 1998; Vaissière 2002.

lordship of nomadic tribes. Socially, Sogdian society was divided into four classes: nobility, from which rulers were chosen, merchants, workers and slaves. Agriculture and mercantile activity were the economic bases of society (Narain 1990: 174; Frye 1996: 183-97). From this region Sogdians began to move east toward China.

It is possible to reconstruct some aspects of Sogdian society and economic activity outside of their homeland in East Turkestan thanks to Chinese language governmental and private documents. The most important ones are the previously mentioned "Turfan documents" unearthed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Russian, Japanese, British and Chinese excavators at the contiguous ancient burial grounds of Astana (阿斯塔那 Asitana) and Karakhoja (哈拉和卓 Halahozhuo) near the ruins of the ancient city of Gaochang. These sites are in the Turfan oasis, presently located in northwestern China's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, which in this paper will be referred to as East Turkestan.³ The three thousand tombs in the burial grounds have been dated from the third to eighth centuries, based upon information from excavated documents and tomb inscriptions. The graveyard was used by the social elite among the ethnically Han settlers who came from China's interior to Turfan from the third century onward.⁴ Many of the tombs included documents placed there as waste paper that was cut and folded to make grave goods and clothing for the dead. The arid climate in the region helped to preserve the writings for more than a thousand years, but most manuscripts still are fragmentary because of the intentional mutilation prior to placement in tombs, natural deterioration over time, and disruption by tomb robbers.⁵

Despite the imperfect preservation of the Turfan documents, they can be of tremendous value to modern historians because they often are dated or at least approximately datable, and are extremely rare local records from this era in East Asia or any other part of the world. Another advantage of the Turfan documents is that they mostly were waste paper that was placed in the tombs without regard to content. As such, they represent a random sample of governmental and private writings discarded around the time that people were being interred

³ I will refer to the region as East Turkestan rather than Xinjiang to highlight its long history of cultural connections with West Turkestan that is obscured by modern political designations. For a geographic description of East Turkestan, which also is known as Chinese Turkestan, see "Chinese Turkestan," 1985-.

⁴ In this paper "Han" will be used to refer to the ethnicity of Chinese speaking people. "Chinese" will refer to the language.

⁵ For an introduction to Turfan's history and Turfan studies, see Tang 1982; Hansen 1998; Zhang and Rong 1998.

in the cemeteries. However, the question remains whether the documents mentioning Sogdians, mainly private contracts and governmental tax, legal, and travel records, also represent a random sample of Sogdians who were in Turfan. In the case of governmental records, which are the main source for this article, the answer should be affirmative. It was in the interest of Gaochang Kingdom and Tang Empire authorities to monitor and tax all subjects and visitors regardless of ethnicity. In addition, the political elite who were buried in the tombs presumably would have had access to governmental waste paper. On the other hand, private contracts, which are less crucial to this study, probably exhibit some bias that underrepresents Sogdians. Only a tiny minority of dead interred at Astana and Karakhoja had Sogdian surnames, so presumably the Sogdian community's private waste paper, whether written in Sogdian or Chinese, was less likely to end up in the tombs.⁶ This may explain why only a single seventh century Sogdian language document—a contract involving Sogdians as buyer, seller and guarantors—has been discovered so far in the tombs at Astana and Karakhoja.⁷ The paucity of Sogdian language documents in the tombs may indicate that the waste paper of the Sogdian community was less likely to fall into the hands of the Han elite buried in the tombs. If this is the case, evidence from Turfan contracts will underrepresent the internal dealings of the Sogdian community. Despite the data's bias, the surviving Chinese language contracts mentioning Sogdians still have value because they are a random sample of transactions that went on between the Han majority and Sogdians at Turfan.

We can identify Sogdians in the Turfan documents because it was a standard practice when transliterating a foreigner's name into Chinese to use the native country as the surname.⁸ Thus, the homelands of foreigners or their descendants

⁶ Hou Can's compendium of over 150 tomb inscriptions uncovered by Chinese archaeologists since the 1950s reveals only one person with a Sogdian surname, Shih Zhuzhi 史住者 d. 673 (1990: 602). At Turfan, Chinese was the written language of the government and Han settlers, who apparently made up the bulk of the populace. Although Sogdians in China are known to have used written Chinese, the extent to which they may have continued to use oral or written Sogdian among themselves is unknown. There are many examples of Sogdians serving Chinese dynasties in an official capacity, which would assume a knowledge of written Chinese. There are also many examples of funerary epitaphs composed in Chinese for deceased elite Sogdians. See Luo 1996; 2001; Rong 1999; 2000; 2001.

⁷ Sogdian writing may have been more prevalent at Turfan than the tombs indicate because other sites at the oasis have produced Sogdian language religious texts. For the Sogdian language contract, see Yoshida and Moriyasu 1988; Vaissière 2002: 165-6. Aside from the contract, the only other evidence of Sogdian writing found in documents from the tombs are scribbles beneath the Chinese names of Sogdians that appear to be in Sogdian script (Yoshida Yutaka, personal communication. 4 July 2003).

⁸ Ikeda 1965: 61; 1993: 155. It is not known who determined Chinese language names for people of non-Han ethnicity. Perhaps translators and scribes collaborated in creating the name.

often can readily be identified. There are seven surnames known to have been used by Sogdians in China: Kang 康 (Samarqand), An 安 (Bukhârâ), Shi 石 (Shâsh), Shih⁹ 史 (Kish), Mi 米 (Maimargh), Cao 曹 (Kabûdhanjakath), and He 何 (Kushânîyah). Although there is ample evidence that Sogdians adopted these surnames, and even began to use them in Sogdian language documents (Henning 1948: 603, n. 2; Sims-Williams 1996: 58-9), data on Sogdians gleaned from the sources must be used with caution because of several possible problems of identification and interpretation. First, the only surname known to have been used exclusively by Sogdians was Mi (Pulleyblank 1952: 320-1). The other surnames also were used by Han Chinese or other ethnicities. For example, some Turks who came to China adopted Shih as an abbreviated form of the royal surname Ashihna 阿史那.¹⁰ Second, in the diaspora there were opportunities for intermarriage between Sogdians from different cities, and between Sogdians and Han or other non-Sogdians (Rong 2001: 132-5). As a consequence, Sogdians born in the diaspora might have ancestral connections with two or more Sogdian cities or be of mixed Sogdian and non-Sogdian descent. The connection to Sogdia would usually not even be apparent if only the mother was Sogdian.¹¹ Moreover, intermarriage and life among non-Sogdians would inevitably cause cultural changes.¹² As will be discussed below, Sogdian ethnic identity and customs in the diaspora probably did not remain static, as families at least partially assimilated into the local culture.

Despite the problems of identification and ethnic definition, it is possible to ascertain people with the seven surnames who have a high likelihood of having Sogdian origins. A direct reference to birth or ancestry in a particular Sogdian city is the surest form of identification.¹³ Another solid method is to identify

⁹ In the Chinese pinyin romanization system, this surname should be spelled Shi. I have adopted the alternative spelling, Shih, to distinguish it from the homophonous surname associated with Shâsh.

¹⁰ A Turk who used the surname Shih was Shih Xin 昕, a scion of the Ashina line (JTS 194b:5192; Chavannes 1900: 47). According to *Yuanhe xing zuan* [The surname compilation of the Yuanhe reign period], during the Kaiyuan reign period (713-56) the surname was changed from Ashina to Shih (YHXZ 5:574).

¹¹ For an example of intermarriage between a Han male and Sogdian female, see the husband Cheng Renzhen 程仁真 with a concubine surnamed An in a census register dated 747 (Yamamoto and Dohi 1985: no. XV, c, In 116, 118).

¹² Anthropologists generally agree that ethnicity is mutable, and recognize that when different cultural groups meet, they are prone to mutual influence, even in cases where one culture is militarily and politically dominant. On ethnic change see Barth 1969; Keyes 1981; Bentley 1987. On ethnic changes resulting from cultural contact, see Pratt 1992: 6-7.

¹³ An example is the great chief of Samarqand, Kang Yandian 康艷典 (S. 367 in Chavannes 1913: no. 917; Pelliot 1916; DSJW 1:39-42).

people with given names that are transliterated from Sogdian into Chinese characters. Unfortunately, this can only help us in a limited number of cases because many Sogdians who were permanent residents of Gaochang or the Tang Empire had typical Han Chinese given names.¹⁴ In addition, philological scholarship confirming which foreign names are transliterated from Sogdian is only at its formative stages.¹⁵ Pulleyblank has argued that the seven surnames in combination “with the ethnic description *hu* [Western Barbarian] may be taken as *certain indication* of Sogdian origin” in Tang period texts,¹⁶ but Forte has identified at least one exception.¹⁷ Still, in the absence of a large number of proven exceptions to the rule, we can assume that this combination has a high likelihood of indicating Sogdians.¹⁸

In the Turfan documents most people with these surnames can be presumed to be of Sogdian origin even though many cannot be firmly identified according to the above criteria. We can suppose that people with these surnames who lived and passed through Turfan mostly were Sogdians because the oasis’ location on the Silk Road made it a likely place for Sogdian commercial activity and settlement. In addition, there are far more examples of people named in the documents who can be recognized as Sogdian based upon the criteria than can be proved not to be. In contrast to the many firmly identified Sogdians who will be discussed below, I have found only one instance in the Turfan documents where a person with one of the seven surnames is associated with a non-Sogdian ethnicity.¹⁹ Consequently, we can presume that the data in this paper

¹⁴ For an example of changes in naming practices over several generations, see the Shih family members buried at Guyuan, Ningxia (Luo 1996: 185-216; 2001).

¹⁵ The linguist, Yoshida Yutaka (1989), has made the most important contributions in this regard.

¹⁶ Pulleyblank 1952: 321-3, italics added. The term *hu* when used alone should not be assumed to refer to Sogdians. Chavannes, Pelliot, and Schafer agree that during the Tang it was a general designation for Iranians, including Persians, Sogdians and other natives of West Turkestan (Schafer 1951: 409, 413). Schafer points out that *hu* also could refer to Arabs (1951: 413). Pulleyblank, writing elsewhere, and others have assumed that *hu* specifically refers to Sogdians. For example, Pulleyblank cites Schafer’s article “Iranian Merchants in T’ang Dynasty Tales” (1951) as evidence that “the Hu, or Sogdian, merchant . . . had become a commonplace figure in popular literature” (Pulleyblank 1991: 426). However, none of the *hu* merchants in the twenty-six stories that Schafer examines are identified specifically as Sogdians, whereas seven are called Persians and two are Arabs (Schafer 1951: 409, 413).

¹⁷ Forte (1996) discusses the case of an An family identified as *hu*, who were of Parthian rather than Sogdian descent.

¹⁸ An example of a person described as *hu* with a clearly identified Sogdian surname is the western barbarian merchant from Samarqand (Kangguo *xingsheng hu* 康國興生胡) Kang Wupoyan 康烏破延 (64TAM35:21 in TCWS 7:389-90; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 29).

¹⁹ The Sogdian surname attributed to a member of another ethnic group is in a court depo-

are not perfect because on occasion non-Sogdians will have “Sogdian” surnames and some Sogdians may be of mixed descent and culture or have adopted typical Han surnames. However, it would be foolhardy to pass up this opportunity to learn about Sogdian activities in East Turkestan because of some blemishes in the evidence.

SOGDIAN SETTLEMENTS

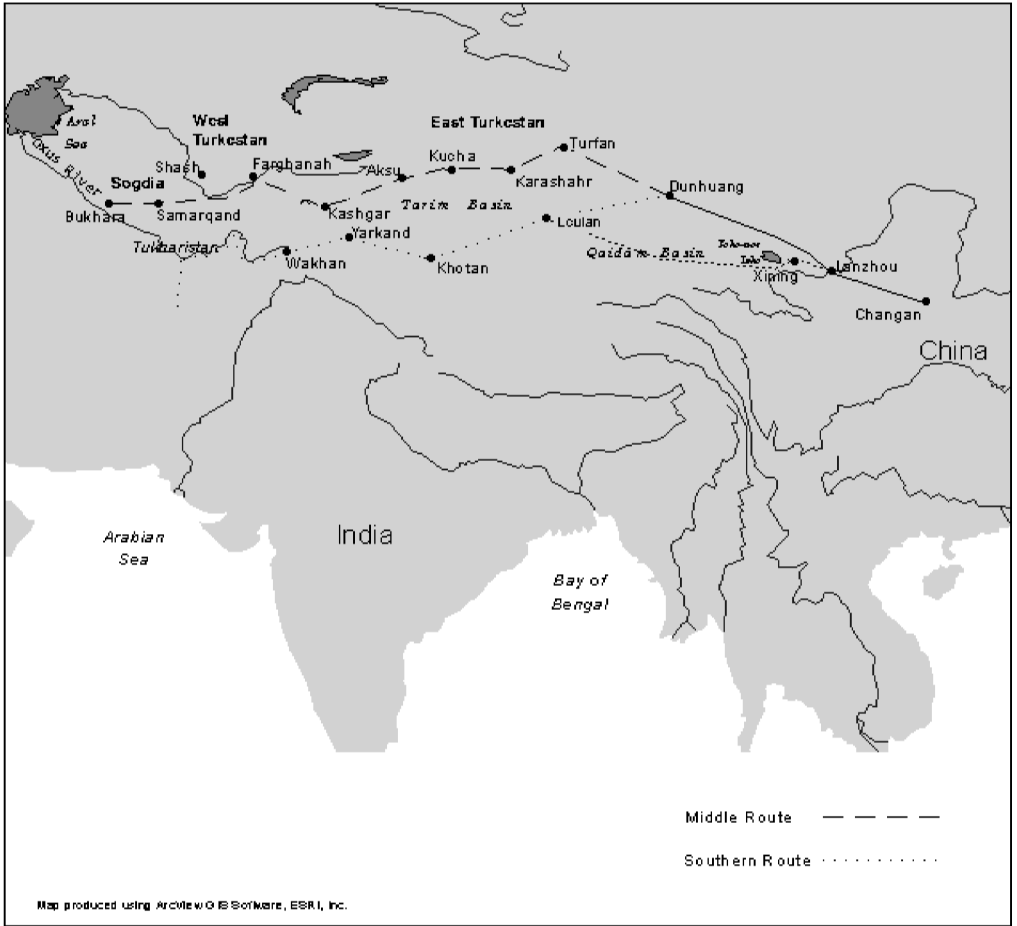
It is clear that many Sogdians settled down in towns and cities along trade routes in East Turkestan and China. They were part of what Curtin (1984: 1-3) calls a “trade diaspora,” his term for a network of merchant communities living as alien minorities in cities and towns along trade routes. The earliest evidence of Sogdian communities comes from the so-called Sogdian language “Ancient Letters,” which have been dated to the early fourth century. They were discovered in a watchtower outside of Dunhuang. The letters, apparently written by Sogdians in the Gansu corridor and sent to the west, appear to be the contents of a lost mailbag. They mention at least five Sogdian settlements existing by the early fourth century at Dunhuang, Jiuquan, Guzang, Lanzhou and Luoyang.²⁰ Sogdian Ancient Letter II contains the only reference to the size of settlements when it mentions “a hundred freemen from Samarkand” in one unknown town and forty men in another.²¹ This was during a period of political division and instability in Chinese history lasting from 221-589, which appears to have led to precarious conditions for Sogdians in the diaspora. For example, some Sogdians died of starvation after the destruction of the Jin Dynasty capital of Luoyang in 311 (Sims-Williams 2001: 49). Later in 439, Sogdian merchants were captured when the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534) conquered

sition where a Kang Shifen 康失芬 is identified as a commoner of the Chumi 敕密 tribe (73 TAM509:8/1(a), 8/2(a) in TCWS 9:130; Hansen 2002). The Chumi were a pastoral nomadic tribe that inhabited the Tianshan mountains and Jungarian basin to the north of Turfan. (On the location of the Chumi, see where they are described as being on the way to Kucha from the north: ZZTJ 199: 6262; JTS 3:6; XTS 2: 47, 110: 4115; CFYG 985: 18b-19b.) Could Kang Shifen have been the descendant of Sogdians who had gone to live among the Chumi, just as other Sogdians had lived among the Turks? (On the Sogdians among the Turks, see Pulleyblank 1952; Vaissière 2002: 196-212.)

²⁰ Sims-Williams 1996: 48; 2001: 49; Vaissière 2002: 50-3. On the dating of the letters, which has been contentious, I find the argument of Grenet and Sims-Williams to be convincing. See Grenet and Sims-Williams 1987, which also summarizes the various points-of-view on this issue. Sims-Williams brings the debate further up-to-date (1996: 47).

²¹ Harmatta 1979: 162; Sims-Williams 1985: 7; 1996: 48; 2001: 49. I have adopted the reading of the passage in Sims-Williams’ translation (2001).

Trade Routes



the Northern Liang capital of Guzang in modern Gansu. They were not released until 452 after a Sogdian king paid a ransom (Rong 2000: 134; 2001: 69-70).

Conditions for trade and long-distance communication improved after the unification of Inner Asia under the Turks in 567 and China under the Sui Dynasty in 589. After the Turks and Sui fell in the early seventh century, the Tang generally maintained order in China and East Turkestan until the mid-eighth century.²² Not surprisingly, numerous Sogdian communities have been firmly documented during this period. In East Turkestan they existed at Turfan, Dunhuang, and Loulan, and fragmentary evidence may point to settlements at other cities. In the Chinese interior the Sui and Tang capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang, and many other cities in North China had Sogdian populations.²³ It is not known whether there was any continuity between fourth and seventh century settlements.

A mid-eighth century local geography of the Dunhuang region provides a rare glimpse at Sogdian immigration. The document mentions that a "great chief" (*da shouling* 大首領) of Samarqand, Kang Yandian 康艷典, came east to live at Loulan during the reign of the Tang emperor Taizong (r. 627-49). Thereafter "western barbarians" (hu) followed him to create a settlement, which became known as "the walled city formed by [Kang Yan]dian" (Dianhecheng 典合城). Kang Yandian also is credited with establishing Xin 新, Putao 蒲桃, and Sapi 薩毗 Walled Cities in the vicinity of Loulan.²⁴ Although the document describes a situation in which a leading figure is given credit for attracting later settlers, this may reflect popular legend or the assumptions of the unknown author rather than a more complex reality.

The pull of economic opportunity in trade and farming may have been the most important factor in drawing Sogdians to the east, even for those who may have had their journeys facilitated by a leader, like Kang Yandian. Étienne de la Vaissière had hypothesized that there may be a relationship between the Loulan settlement and Sogdian population expansion in West Turkestan that has been demonstrated by Russian archaeology. In the fifth century settlements expanded in the vicinity of the main Sogdian cities of Bukhârâ and Samarqand, and subsequently in the sixth and seventh centuries Sogdian urban and architectural styles, and agricultural methods spread to the northeast to Shâsh (in northeastern

²² On fluctuations in long-distance trade activity, see Skaff 1998: 79-89, 99-104.

²³ The most comprehensive studies to date of the locations of Sogdian settlements are Rong 1994; 1999. The latter is translated into English (Rong 2000). Both are reprinted in Rong 2001: 19-110.

²⁴ S. 367 in Chavannes 1913: no. 917 and DSJW 1:39-42. See also Pelliot 1916: 111-23. On the etymology of Dianhe Walled City, see Pelliot 1916: 121, n. 2.

Uzbekistan) and Semireche (northern Kyrgyzstan).²⁵ Presumably, the settlements in East Turkestan were another aspect of the same phenomenon, as population growth in established Sogdian communities encouraged migration to new areas with opportunities in farming and business.²⁶

Census registers from seventh and eighth century Dunhuang and Turfan provide more information about the emigré society in these Silk Road towns. Ikeda On's magisterial study of "Bukhara Town" (Ancheng 安城) at Dunhuang was the first major effort to closely analyze documents relating to a Sogdian settlement. Under Tang rule, the government gave Bukhârâ Town a new name: Conghua "Surrender to the Transformation [to Sinicization]" Township (Conghuaxiang 從化鄉). Ikeda uncovered a great deal of information about this community by studying a Tang Dynasty tax register, dated 751, showing the labor and military service adult males owed to the Tang government. This research demonstrates that more than 90% of the 257 households in this settlement were headed by non-Han who mostly had Sogdian surnames.²⁷

To the northwest in Turfan, fragmentary early seventh century Gaochang Kingdom census records show a Sogdian minority intermixed with the majority Han population.²⁸ At least as early as the beginning of the eighth century, they had a recognizable community that was concentrated in one portion of the oasis. A relatively complete Tang inspection record of land registers, dated 707 from Chonghua "Venerate the Transformation [to Sinicization]" Township (Chonghuaxiang 從化鄉) of Gaochang County lists forty-seven households with readable surnames.²⁹ Of these, twenty-five households (53%) were recognizably Sogdian.

²⁵ For Vaissière's hypothesis and references to Russian archaeological findings, see (Vaissière 2002: 109-30). The spread of Sogdian building styles and farming methods to Shâsh and especially Semireche probably represents a combination of Sogdian settlement activity and cultural influence over native populations.

²⁶ In the eighth century another possible factor encouraging emigration from Sogdia was the Arab invasion and occupation of Sogdia, which caused dissatisfaction among some Sogdians who fled to Farghâna and Shâsh (Gibb 1923: 62-3; Beckwith 1987: 94-5, 119-124). Some may have entered the East Turkestan diaspora communities, but there is no documented evidence of this.

²⁷ Ikeda 1965: 49-59; 1993: 140-54. The original document is P 3559 (= 3664v), P 2657, P 3018v in Yamamoto and Dohi 1985: Cl. Ikeda's statistics on the percentage of Sogdians in Conghua Township may be inflated because he assumes that the surnames Luo 羅 and He 賈 are Sogdian. The present article does not count these surnames as Sogdian.

²⁸ See Sogdian surnames in two Gaochang Kingdom documents found at Turfan, which may be land tax records showing exactions in silver coins (67TAM78:17(a), 18(a), 19(a), 28(a) and 68TAM99:2 in TCWS 4:68-70, addendum 50-1). The latter is dated 631. Xie (1989), Zheng (1986), and Lu (1983) argue that these are tax documents. Of the aggregate of fifty-eight surnames recorded in both documents, six or a little over 10% are recognizably Sogdian.

²⁹ 64TAM 35:47(a)-58β(a) in TCWS 7:468-85. Information from the document is tabu-

Moreover, a large fragment of the document referring to Anle “Peace and Happiness” Village (Anle li 安樂里), which was located within the township, had nineteen out of twenty-three households with Sogdian surnames (83%).³⁰ Obviously, the Sogdians in Anle Village were about as concentrated as those at Dunhuang’s settlement. The community at Anle must have been there for at least a decade because six families are listed as having absconded from their land for ten years.³¹ In addition to the concentration of Sogdians at Anle, an appreciable number must have lived elsewhere at Turfan through the middle of the eighth century. A Tang document dated 744, listing those with labor service exemptions in many of the townships of Turfan’s Gaochang County, shows that Sogdians made up one quarter of forty-four visible surnames of this group. Only two of the Sogdians listed in the document were from Anle’s Chonghua Township, the remainder were spread among various other townships.³² Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidence to know whether Sogdians outside of Anle also congregated in particular villages.

We can obtain a rare glimpse of Sogdian society in the diaspora thanks to the previously mentioned 707 Chonghua Township inspection record. It contains a relative abundance of demographic information that was of interest to local tax officials, who needed to allocate land and collect taxes under the Tang equal field land tenure system.³³ This document is valuable to demographic and economic historians, as Victor Xiong (1999: 358) points out, because “the spatial proximity of so many households and the temporal unity of their related information” is rarely seen in the mostly fragmentary Turfan documents.³⁴ More specifically to the study of the Sogdian diaspora, the document has uncommon significance because it allows us to compare Sogdians and their Han neighbors,

lated in Appendix II. For an introduction to the document, see Ikeda 1988. Earlier less comprehensive treatments of the Sogdians in this document are in Jiang 1994: 167-74; Skaff 1998: 95-6.

³⁰ Appendix II, Parts 2 and 3. Anle could be a double entendre also meaning “Bukhârân Delight.”

³¹ Appendix II, Part 2.

³² 72TAM187:194(b), 95/1(b) in TCWS 8:437-42. Eleven out of forty-four males listed have Sogdian names. Two of the Sogdians and three of the Han Chinese were from Chonghua Township. The remainder of men listed in the document were from other townships.

³³ On the equal field system see Twitchett 1970: 1-17, 206-47; Xiong 1999. This particular document’s relationship to the equal field system has been carefully analyzed in Ikeda 1988; Xiong 1999: 358-64, 368-74.

³⁴ One caveat concerning the temporal unity of the document are six households listed as having absconded for ten years (see Appendix II, Part 2). I have chosen to include these households in the following analysis because they can still help us to understand the structure of Sogdian families in a more general ten year time span.

each of whom made up about half of the registered households. A comparison of both groups can help us to see what was specifically “Sogdian” about the demographic profile of those living in this portion of the East Turkestan diaspora among a Han majority and a few other non-Han minorities.³⁵ Demographic data on each household in this document are listed fully in Appendix II and tabulated in Tables 1a and 1b.

Table 1a: Sogdians in Chonghua Township, Demographic Breakdown

<i>ID</i>	<i>Males</i>					<i>Females</i>					<i>Children</i>				
	<i>H</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>AM</i>	<i>YM</i>	<i>TM</i>	<i>EF</i>	<i>AF</i>	<i>YF</i>	<i>TF</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>IM</i>	<i>IF</i>	<i>TC</i>	
R5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	
R06	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
R07	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
R08	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	
R09	9	0	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	
R10	7	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	2	0	5	
R11	7	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	4	1	1	0	0	2	
R12	11	1	2	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	5	
R13	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
R14	11	1	2	0	2	2	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	3	
R19	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	1	0	2	0	3	
R20	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
R21	4	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
R22	5	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	
R23	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
R24	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	
R25	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	
R26	8	2	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	2	
R27	7	?	1	0	1	?	?	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	
R28	7	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	3	0	0	4	
R29	8	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	2	1	1	5	
R30	8	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	2	2	0	0	4	
R31	8	0	3	1	4	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	

³⁵ Four non-Sogdian households out of twenty-two total have surnames that may be non-Han. Jiang Boqin (1994: 173) suggests that households R15 and R16 (Appendix II, Part Three) may be of Indian descent, based on the hypothesis that their surname Zhu 竹 (bamboo) may be a variation of Zhu 竺 (India), which would have been derived from the ancient Chinese name for India, Tianzhu 天竺. Two households with the Bai 白 surname, have family heads whose given names appear to be non-Han (Appendix II, Part 4: R46, R47). The Bai surname has been associated with the oasis city of Kucha (see Skaff 1998: 94, n. 83).

Table 1a (cont.)

<i>ID</i>	<i>Males</i>						<i>Females</i>				<i>Children</i>				
	<i>H</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>AM</i>	<i>YM</i>	<i>TM</i>	<i>EF</i>	<i>AF</i>	<i>YF</i>	<i>TF</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>IM</i>	<i>IF</i>	<i>TC</i>	
R44	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	3	
R45	4	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	?	1	?	?	?	1	
Total	25	137	6	16	3	19	9	36	6	42	13	23	7	9	52
Ave		5.5	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.8	0.4	1.6	0.2	1.8	0.5	1.0	0.3	0.4	2.2
% Ho			17	44	16	48	30	78	22	78					78
% Pop			4	12	2	14	7	26	4	31	9	17	5	7	38

Table 1b: Han Chinese and other Non-Sogdians in Chonghua Township, Demographic Breakdown

<i>ID</i>	<i>Males</i>						<i>Females</i>				<i>Children</i>				
	<i>H</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>AM</i>	<i>YM</i>	<i>TM</i>	<i>EF</i>	<i>AF</i>	<i>YF</i>	<i>TF</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>IM</i>	<i>IF</i>	<i>TC</i>	
R1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	
R2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
R3	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	
R4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
R15	9	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	3	1	3	0	0	4	
R16	5	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	
R17	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
R18	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	
R32	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	3	
R33	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	
R34	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
R35	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	
R36	6	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	2	
R37	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	
R38	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	2	
R39	8	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	4	0	0	4	
R40	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
R41	8	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	2	?	?	?	5	
R42	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
R43	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	?	?	1?	
R46	5	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	2	
R47	5	0	1	0	1	1	?	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	
Total	22	83	0	13	1	14	2	28	4	32	10	10	4	4	31

Table 1b (*cont.*)

	<i>Males</i>					<i>Females</i>					<i>Children</i>				
	<i>ID</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>AM</i>	<i>YM</i>	<i>TM</i>	<i>EF</i>	<i>AF</i>	<i>YF</i>	<i>TF</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>IM</i>	<i>IF</i>	<i>TC</i>
Ave		3.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.1	1.3	0.2	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2	1.6
% Ho			0	55	5	55	9	81	18	86					75
% Pop			0	16	1	17	2	34	5	39	12	12	5	5	37

Key: ID = ID Number of household in Appendix II; H = Total Family Members in Household; EM = Elderly Males, 61+ years old; AM = Adult Males, 22-60; YM = Young Men, 16-21; TM = Total males, 16-60; EF = Elderly Females, 61+; AF = Adult Females, 22-60; YF = Young Women, 16-21; TF = Total Females, 16-60; B = Boys, 3-15; G = Girl, 3-15; IM = Male Infant, 1-2; IF = Female Infant, 1-2; TC = Total Children, 1-15; Ave = Average per household; % Ho = Percentage of households containing a population category; % Pop = Percentage of Sogdian (Table 1a) or non-Sogdian (Table 1b) population in Chonghua township.

Notes: Age ranges are given according to Han Chinese practice with babies counted as being one year old at birth. Ages ranges of population categories differ slightly from those stipulated by Tang law because they have been adjusted to reflect local standards visible in the document. In Appendix II, Part 3, see Cao Shilou (R26) who is categorized as an "adult male," age 60, even though the "elderly" category begins at this age in the Tang statutes. Part 1, Zhang Cishan (R1) is categorized as a "young woman" age 21. According to Tang regulations, people were supposed to be categorized as "adults" when they turned twenty-one. Part 3, Xiao Wangxian (R18), age 3, is categorized as a "boy," rather than an "infant male," despite the stipulation that the boy and girl categories should begin at age four. See Xiong (1999: 355-6, 362-3).

A comparison of the tables reveals some striking differences between the Sogdians and their mostly Han neighbors. Perhaps the most eye-catching contrast is the average size of households (H) with Sogdians having an mean of 5.5 family members versus 3.8 for Han and other non-Sogdians. Sogdians had a slight advantage in the average number of males (TM) and females (TF) per household ages 16-60, but other demographic categories account for more of the difference. Sogdians had more children, ages 1-15 (TC), with a mean of 2.2 per household versus 1.6 for non-Sogdians. The Sogdian figure most likely has been distorted downward and probably was closer to 2.6 because, as will be noted below, their families tended to send away almost half of their male children. For the sake of comparison, another rare population register of mostly Han from Hexi in the middle of the eighth century shows 2.6 children per household, so the figures for Chonghua Township non-Sogdians can be considered low.³⁶ Even

³⁶ The figure for Hexi is based on Ikeda's (1973: 137-39) data for 153 individuals from a total of twenty-nine families. There were forty males and thirty-five females in the 1-15 age group, which, according to my calculations, gives a rate of 2.6 children per household.

more striking is the almost total lack of an older generation in the non-Sogdian community, which had no elderly males (EM), and elderly females (EF) only made up 2% of the population. On the other hand, seniors combined to constitute 11% of local Sogdians. In comparison, the above mentioned population register from Hexi shows a more moderate rate of elderly in the community of 4%, which is evenly split between males and females.³⁷

Overall, the Sogdian figure of 5.5 family members per household is in line with the Tang interior, which generally averaged around five or six people throughout the dynasty, but compares favorably with the average of 4.38 in Turfan in the mid-seventh century.³⁸ On the other hand the figure of 3.8 for non-Sogdians has to be considered low. What explains this discrepancy in household size and survival rates between Sogdians and non-Sogdians in Chonghua Township? Since Han Chinese had a long history of settlement in Turfan and are less likely to be recent immigrants with truncated households, a possible explanation is that the Sogdians had more wealth and consequently better nutrition than their non-Sogdian neighbors. We can support this hypothesis by comparing the agricultural resources in both communities. Fortunately, we have data that can allow us to make this comparison because this document also records the amount of land that the Tang government granted to each household under the Equal Field system. The data are tabulated in Tables 2a and 2b.

Table 2a: Sogdian Land Grants, Chonghua Township

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Eligible for land</i>	<i>Land (Mu)</i>	<i>Mu/person</i>	<i>Mu/eligible person</i>
R5	2	1	NY		
R06	1	1	NY		
R07	1	1	NY		
R08	2	1	NY		
R09	9	1	9	1.0	9.0
R10	7	1	10	1.4	10.0
R11	7	3	8	1.1	2.7
R12	11	3	25	2.3	8.3
R13	1	1	?	?	?
R14	11	4	23	2.1	5.8
R19	7	2	10	1.4	5.0

³⁷ According to my calculations based upon Ikeda's (1973: 137-39) data on 153 individuals, there were three males and three females in the 61-85 age group, who together accounted for 4% of the population.

³⁸ Dong 1993: 359-60, 379-80. Dong's figures for Turfan are based on seventy-eight households visible in twenty-four fragmentary census documents dating from 640 to 671.

Table 2a (*cont.*)

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Eligible for land</i>	<i>Land (Mu)</i>	<i>Multiperson</i>	<i>Muleligible person</i>
R20	3	1	3	1.0	3.0
R21	4	3	7	1.8	2.3
R22	5	1	5	1.0	5.0
R23	3	1	10	3.3	10.0
R24	4	1	5	1.3	5.0
R25	4	1	10	2.5	10.0
R26	8	4	12	1.5	3.0
R27	7	2	13	1.9	6.5
R28	7	3	8	1.1	2.7
R29	8	1	10	1.3	10.0
R30	8	2	14	1.8	7.0
R31	8	3	?	?	?
R44	5	1	10	2.0	10.0
R45	4	1?	?	?	?
Total	137	43	192		
Average/ Household	5.5	1.8	10.7	1.6	6.4
Median/ Household	5.0	1.0	10.0	1.5	6.1

Table 2b: Han Chinese and Other Non-Sogdian Land Grants, Chonghua Township

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Eligible for land</i>	<i>Land (Mu)</i>	<i>Multiperson</i>	<i>Muleligible person</i>
R1	2	1	NY		
R2	1	1	NY		
R3	3	1	NY		
R4	1	1	NY		
R15	9	3	17	1.9	5.7
R16	5	3	9	1.8	3.0
R17	1	1	5	5.0	5.0
R18	3	2	5	1.7	2.5
R32	5	1	9	1.8	9.0
R33	4	1	7	1.8	7.0
R34	1	1	2.5	2.5	2.5
R35	3	2	5	1.7	2.5
R36	6	2	?	?	?
R37	2	1	5	2.5	5.0
R38	5	4	9	1.8	2.3
R39	8	2	?	?	?

Table 2b (*cont.*)

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Eligible for land</i>	<i>Land (Mu)</i>	<i>Multiperson</i>	<i>Mu/eligible person</i>
R40	2	2	?	?	?
R41	8	1	11	1.4	11.0
R42	1	1	10.5	10.5	10.5
R43	3	1	?	?	?
R46	5	1	9	1.8	9.0
R47	5	2	15	3.0	7.5
Total	83	35	119		
Average/ Household	3.8	1.6	8.5	2.8	5.9
Median/ Household	3.0	1.0	9.0	1.8	5.3

Key: NY = Land had not been distributed to these households yet.

The tables demonstrate that although Sogdian households were granted median plots of land about one *mu* (0.13 acres) larger than non-Sogdian holdings, they had a median of 0.3 *mu* less land available per person than non-Sogdians because of their larger household sizes.³⁹ In both cases, these land allocation figures of nine or ten *mu* (about 1 acre) per household were far below the standards stipulated in the Tang statutes for restricted localities of sixty *mu* per adult male.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, Xiong (1999: 377-83) demonstrates that a family of five in Turfan could survive on these small land allotments of ten *mu* (2 *mu* per person) thanks to high yields attributable to double cropping and fertile soil. Still, it is unlikely that farming these lands could provide more than a marginal subsistence for most non-Sogdians, who had a median of 1.8 *mu* per person. Among the non-Sogdians, poor nutrition can explain the low number of children per household and almost total lack of elderly in the community. Consequently, it is startling to see that the Sogdians, who had even less land per person, could support more children and had higher survival rates. In Anle village the only

³⁹ I compare median rather than average land holdings in this case because the latter are skewed by the vagaries of the Tang land distribution system. Since single person non-Sogdian households R17, R34, and R42 lacked other family members to share their land with, the per person averages have been distorted upward. On the size of a *mu*, see Twitchett (1970: xiii).

⁴⁰ In the Tang system smaller parcels of land also were allocated to female and child household heads, elderly males, widows and the disabled (Xiong 1999: 364-74).

non-absconded Sogdian household with adequate land and labor to support a family entirely on subsistence farming appears to be that of Shi Fuzhi?man (R25), who headed a nuclear family of four, farming about ten mu.

The most likely conclusion that can be drawn is that most Sogdian households were supported by relatives who were pursuing non-agricultural occupations. The Turfan documents provide evidence that Sogdians practiced a number of non-farming professions. Long distance trade is the most prevalent business activity—and it will be dealt with extensively below—but Sogdians in Turfan also are mentioned as bronzesmiths, ironsmiths, artists, a painter, leatherworkers, a veterinarian, and an innkeeper.⁴¹ If we are to believe the letter of Tang law, the adult males mentioned in the inspection record document all would have had to have been farmers because in areas with land shortages, like Turfan, merchants and artisans were prohibited from receiving land allocations.⁴² If this is the case, added financial support probably came from absent male relatives who were craftsmen or itinerant traders. This would help to explain the lack of males in Sogdian households, which will be discussed below. However, at least some of the resident Sogdian males may have supplemented their incomes with non-agricultural pursuits. For example, Kang Lushan supported a family of nine, including two wives and a concubine, on a mere nine mu of land.⁴³ It is hard to believe that a relative would give him sufficient funds to live so much more extravagantly than his neighbors.⁴⁴

Another fascinating aspect of the 707 Chonghua Township inspection record is the lack of adult males in the Sogdian and non-Sogdian communities. As Tables 1a and 1b demonstrate, males 16-60 (TM) made up only 14% of the Sogdian and 17% of the non-Sogdian populations. In contrast women of the same age group (TF) comprised 31% of Sogdians and 39% of non-Sogdians. What could be the cause of such skewed demographics? Clues begin to appear if we look at sex ratios of different age groups in both communities that appear in Table 3.

⁴¹ See Wu 1999, 258, 261. Angela Sheng (1998) has proposed the interesting hypothesis that new silk weaves appearing in Turfan were the products of Sogdian workshops. Although at Dunhuang Ikeda On only found direct evidence of farming among the Sogdians, this is probably a distortion caused by the nature of surviving documents, which for eighth century Dunhuang mainly deal with issues of land registration and taxation (Ikeda 1965: 79-80; 1993: 188-90).

⁴² Merchants and artisans were eligible for half shares of land under normal circumstances, but were not give any allocation in “restricted” areas (Twitchett 1970: 4, 129).

⁴³ Appendix II, Part 2: R9.

⁴⁴ Perhaps Kang and some others used their wealth to bribe officials in order to obtain special treatment, such as illicit land allocations. Another possibility is that local officials did not fully enforce Tang law.

Table 3: Chonghua Township Male-Female Sex Ratios

Age Category	Sogdians	Non-Sogdians
Infant (1-2)	1:1.3	1:1
Child (3-15)	1:1.8	1:1
Adult (16-60)	1:2.2	1:2.3
Adult (16-60), adjusted for deceased males	1:1.6	1:1.2

Among infants and children, non-Sogdians demonstrate a normal even split between males and females, but the Sogdians experienced a dearth of males from early in childhood. The 1:1.3 male-female ratio for infants could be distorted because the sample (7 males [IM] and 9 females [IF]) is so small, but the 1:1.8 ratio among children, based on a larger sample (13 boys [B] and 23 girls [G]), is firmer. It appears that almost half of the boys departed the Sogdian settlement in Chonghua Township before the age of fifteen, while neighboring non-Sogdian boys stayed put.⁴⁵ The probable explanation is that many Sogdian boys were sent off to become apprentices in commerce and other trades. This hypothesis gains support from the observations of Wei Jie 韋節, who visited Sogdia as an official Chinese ambassador in the early seventh century. He noted that in Samarqand boys began to learn to read at age five, and states explicitly that “when they attain rudimentary literacy, they are *sent off* to study commerce.”⁴⁶ Presumably this means that they apprenticed with itinerant traders on the road. As will be discussed below, male dominance of Sogdian commerce is attested by the fact that all of the long-distance Sogdian merchants and laborers in surviving Tang travel documents were males, and very few women are mentioned in the more than 650 Sogdian inscriptions found in the Upper Indus Valley (Sims-Williams 1996: 56; Vaissière 2002: 85-89).

Turning to adults, we can see that the two communities have almost identical sex ratio imbalances of more than two women for every man. This is far greater than the sex ratio of 1.25 seen in the previously mentioned document from Hexi.⁴⁷ Among non-Sogdians, their ratio of 2.3 females for every male

⁴⁵ This would explain why Sogdians, despite their presumed wealth, averaged less children per household than the previously mentioned households in Hexi. If we correct for missing boys and male infants in Chonghua Township, the rate of children per family would be 2.6, which is about the same as the figure from Hexi.

⁴⁶ Wei Jie’s book *Xifan ji* 西番記 is now lost, but parts have been preserved in *Tong dian*. For this particular passage, see TD 193:5256; Chavannes 1900: 133 n5.

⁴⁷ According to my calculations based upon Ikeda’s (1973: 137-39) data on 153 individuals, there were thirty-two males and forty females in the 16-60 age group, giving a male-female ratio of 1.25.

represents a steep 130% increase in the imbalance between childhood and adulthood. In comparison the Sogdian imbalance increased more moderately by 22% to 2.2. Clues to explain the disappearance of adult males begin to emerge when we compare the rates of widowhood in both societies, which is tabulated in Table 4. Widows (W), age 22-60, comprise 16% of the non-Sogdian population, but only 5% of Sogdians. Obviously, men were dying at a greater rate among the non-Sogdians. Assuming that each widow represents a dead adult male, we can adjust the sex ratios for both communities.⁴⁸ We then discover that non-Sogdian sex ratios return to more normal levels of 1.2 women for every man. On the other hand, the Sogdian adult sex ratio is reduced more moderately to 1:1.6, which is a level slightly lower than that of the children in their community.

Table 4: Sogdian and Han and other Non-Sogdian Widows in Chonghua Township

<i>Sogdian</i>				<i>Han and other Non-Sogdian</i>			
<i>ID</i>	<i>EW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>TW</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>EW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>TW</i>
R5	0	0	0	R1	0	0	0
R06	0	1	1	R2	0	1	1
R07	0	0	0	R3	1	0	1
R08	0	0	0	R4	0	0	0
R09	0	0	0	R15	1	0	1
R10	0	0	0	R16	2	0	2
R11	1	1	2	R17	1	0	1
R12	0	0	0	R18	1	0	1
R13	0	0	0	R32	0	0	0
R14	1	0	1	R33	0	0	0
R19	0	1	1	R34	0	0	0
R20	0	0	0	R35	1	0	1
R21	2	1	3	R36	1	0	1
R22	1	0	1	R37	1	0	1
R23	0	0	0	R38	3	0	3
R24	1	0	1	R39	0	0	0
R25	0	0	0	R40	1	0	1
R26	0	0	0	R41	0	0	0
R27	?	?	?	R42	0	0	0
R28	0	2	2	R43	0	0	0

⁴⁸ It is valid to assume that each widow generally represents one dead man for two reasons. One, given the shortage of men, widow remarriage must have been uncommon. Two, there is only one example of polygyny in Chonghua Township (Kang Lushan, Appendix II: Part 2, R9).

Table 4 (*cont.*)

	<i>Sogdian</i>				<i>Han and other Non-Sogdian</i>			
	<i>ID</i>	<i>EW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>TW</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>EW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>TW</i>
	R29	0	0	0	R46	0	0	0
	R30	0	1	1	R47	?	1	1
	R31	0	0	0				
	R44	0	0	0				
	R45	?	?	?				
Total	25	6	7	13	22	13	2	15
Ave		0.3	0.3	0.6		0.6	0.1	0.7
% Ho		22	26	39		48	10	55
% Pop		4	5	9		16	2	18

EW = Elderly Widows, 61+; W = Widows, 22-60; TW = Total Widows

The persistent sex imbalance among Sogdians makes it appear that the boys who left during their childhood never came back as adults, or if they did return, they may have stayed off census registers illicitly to avoid tax, labor and military obligations because they did not need government allocated land to support families.⁴⁹

To support this hypothesis, we have hard evidence at Turfan that Sogdians were less rooted than their neighbors. Although newly arriving widows and

⁴⁹ The elevated levels of unnatural deaths among males and consequent high rate of widowhood in both communities, but especially the non-Sogdians, is an interesting phenomenon that is beyond the scope of this paper, but deserving of further study. Dong Guodong explains the overall sex imbalance in this document as a result of males absconding from their household registrations in order to avoid taxation and military service. He believes that many widows were “fakes” whose husbands probably were alive and hiding from tax officials. Although this may explain some instances of widowhood, Dong’s aggregated census data of mostly Han at Turfan in the 640 to 671 period do not demonstrate any kind of sex imbalance, even though the same tax and military systems were in place (Dong 1993: 381, 402, 421-2). A more important factor to explain the sex imbalance probably was warfare. Turfan was in an unstable borderland region in the northwestern part of the Tang empire. To the west, there had been fighting with the Tibetans for control of the Tarim Basin from 670-692. The early eighth century had witnessed warfare with the Eastern Turks and Tibetans (Beckwith 1987: 37-75; Skaff 1998: 100). On suggestions of military operations against the Eastern Turks in 707, see Skaff 1998a: 295-6 and Skaff forthcoming). There also must have been many minor raids that were not recorded in surviving historical sources. The eight newly registered households in the 707 Chonghua Township inspection record are composed of widows and orphans (Appendix II, Part 1). Were they survivors of recent fighting?

orphans at Chonghua Township were evenly split between Sogdians and Han Chinese, who may have been fleeing warfare,⁵⁰ the only households to abscond for more than ten years were six Sogdian ones, which constituted one quarter of Sogdian families in the document.⁵¹ Interestingly enough, all but one of the absconding households were large, including the three largest households listed in the entire document.⁵² We can surmise that the absconders were merchants who left in search of better business opportunities, even though abandoning their land in most cases would have been a violation of Tang law.⁵³ Tang authorities attempted to control this sort of migration. For example, in a certificate of ownership, listing goods that the merchant Shi Randian 石染典 was transporting, guarantors vouched that Shi had a house and family and pledged to pay his taxes if he did not return.⁵⁴ Obviously, these precautions were not always effective. Perhaps absconding Sogdians bribed officials to obtain paperwork that would allow them to move their households illicitly.

The legal status of Sogdians in Turfan is a final area that can be illuminated by the 707 inspection record. In Chonghua Township the Tang government generally did not treat the Sogdians differently than their non-Sogdian neighbors. Like all Tang subjects, the Turfan Sogdians were given allotments of land based upon household size. In return they owed taxes and labor service to the government. Many men served in the military. Tables 2a and 2b demonstrate that although Sogdians were granted slightly less land per person, they received somewhat more per eligible person. In showing slight favor toward the Sogdians, local officials may have been trying to compensate partially for the greater number of people ineligible for land in Sogdian households.⁵⁵

In terms of military and governmental service, there was not an appreciable difference between the two communities. The inspection record shows that many Sogdian and non-Sogdian adult males in Chonghua Township, like their counterparts throughout the Tang empire, were responsible for serving as part-time guardsmen (*weishi* 衛士) in the Tang *fubing* 府兵 military system. Data tabulated in

⁵⁰ See previous note.

⁵¹ Appendix II, Part 2.

⁵² Appendix II, Part 2: R9, R12, R14.

⁵³ It was only permissible to move from an area with a shortage of arable land, like Turfan, to places with a surplus (Twitchett 1970: 128, art. 12; 145, art. 14, 15). It would have been difficult to arrange a legal transfer because land would have been in short supply in all of the East Turkestan oasis cities and most places with good business opportunities in the interior (Twitchett 1970: 7-11).

⁵⁴ 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

⁵⁵ Ineligible household categories were women and children, unless a person from either group was the head of a household (Xiong 1999: 328-33).

Tables 5a and 5b show that 63% of Sogdian males, ages 22-60, and 54% of their non-Sogdian counterparts served as guardsmen. Guardsmen were given tax exemptions and in return had to supply themselves and serve regular shifts at garrisons, beacons, and state farms. They also were responsible for taking part in ad hoc military expeditions.⁵⁶ The Sogdians and non-Sogdians in Chonghua also shared similar patterns of participation in low-level local official service. The same tables demonstrate that 18% of Sogdian males and 15% of non-Sogdians males had status titles that indicate local imperial service or kinship with those who served in government. This difference is not statistically significant. In comparison to Turfan, the Sogdian rates of military (35%) and official (9%) service at Dunhuang's Conghua Township were somewhat lower, but still were roughly comparable to those of four other mostly Han townships at Dunhuang.⁵⁷

Table 5a: Sogdian Governmental and Military Service, Chonghua Township

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Elderly Males 61+</i>	<i>Males 22-60</i>	<i>Total Males 22+</i>	<i>Status titles</i>	<i>Guardsmen</i>
R5	2	0	0	0	0	0
R06	1	0	0	0	0	0
R07	1	0	0	0	0	0
R08	2	0	0	0	0	0
R09	9	0	1	1	0	0
R10	7	0	1	1	0	0
R11	7	0	0	0	0	0
R12	11	1	2	3	2	1
R13	1	0	1	1	0	1
R14	11	1	2	3	0	2
R19	7	0	0	0	0	0
R20	3	1	0	1	0	0
R21	4	0	0	0	0	0
R22	5	0	0	0	0	0
R23	3	1	0	1	0	0
R24	4	0	0	0	0	0
R25	4	0	1	1	0	1
R26	8	2	1	3	0	0
R27	7	?	1	1	0	1

⁵⁶ Classic studies of the Tang militia system are Cen 1957; Gu 1962. Pulleyblank (1955) treats the subject more cursorily in English. On the special situation in frontier regions, see Kikuchi 1969-70; Tang 1990: 64-102.

⁵⁷ The mostly Han townships had rates of military service ranging from 24% to 63% and official service in the range of 14% to 25% (Ikeda 1965: 72-73; 1993: 176-79).

Table 5a (cont.)

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Elderly Males 61+</i>	<i>Males 22-60</i>	<i>Total Males 22+</i>	<i>Status titles</i>	<i>Guardsmen</i>
R28	7	0	0	0	0	0
R29	8	0	1	1	0	1
R30	8	0	1	1	0	1
R31	8	0	3	3	1	1
R44	5	0	1	1	1	1
R45	4	0	0	0	0	0
Total	137	6	16	22	4	10
Average/ Household	5.5	0.3	0.6	0.9	0.2	0.4
Median/ Household	5.0	0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
Percentage of Households		17%	44%	56%	12%	36%
Percentage of Population		4%	12%	16%	3%	7%
Percentage of Eligible Males					18%	63%

Table 5b: Han and other Non-Sogdian Governmental and Military Service, Chonghua Township

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Elderly Males 61+</i>	<i>Males 22-60</i>	<i>Total Males 22+</i>	<i>Status titles</i>	<i>Guardsmen</i>
R1	2	0	0	0	0	0
R2	1	0	0	0	0	0
R3	3	0	0	0	0	0
R4	1	0	0	0	0	0
R15	9	0	2	2	0	2
R16	5	0	1	1	1	0
R17	1	0	0	0	0	0
R18	3	0	0	0	0	0
R32	5	0	1	1	0	0
R33	4	0	1	1	1	0
R34	1	0	0	0	0	0
R35	3	0	0	0	0	0
R36	6	0	1	1	0	0

Table 5b (*cont.*)

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Family Size</i>	<i>Elderly Males 61+</i>	<i>Males 22-60</i>	<i>Total Males 22+</i>	<i>Status titles</i>	<i>Guardsmen</i>
R37	2	0	0	0	0	0
R38	5	0	0	0	0	0
R39	8	0	1	1	0	1
R40	2	0	1	1	?	?
R41	8	0	1	1	0	1
R42	1	0	1	1	0	1
R43	3	0	1	1	0	1
R46	5	0	1	1	0	1
R47	5	0	1	1	0	0
Total	83	0	13	13	2	7
Average/ Household	3.8	0	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.3
Median/ Household	3.0	0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
Percentage of Households		0%	55%	55%	10%	29%
Percentage of Population		0%	16%	16%	2%	8%
Percentage of Eligible Males					15%	54%

The one instance in the 707 Chonghua Township inspection record where it appears that a Sogdian may have enjoyed special treatment from local officials involves Kang Lushan's wealthy household. In addition to his above mentioned suspicious land allocation and subsequent disappearance from Turfan, his family is the only polygynous one recorded in the entire document. All other unions involve a single husband and wife. Kang Lushan's marriages to two wives and a concubine represents a Sogdian-Iranian practice that violated Chinese law and customs. Under Tang law it was permissible to take multiple concubines, but only one wife. The penalty for having two wives was one year of penal servitude.⁵⁸ On the other hand, multiple wives appear to have been legally acceptable

⁵⁸ TLSY 13:255-6, art 177; Johnson 1997: 154-5, art 177. Ebrey (1993: 47) describes the

in Sogdia. Evidence for this comes from the only existing Sogdian language marriage contract, dated to the eighth century and found along with other documents at Mount Mugh in western Tajikistan, which penalizes the husband for taking additional wives or concubines. This implies that polygyny was legally permissible, but that there may have been a customary preference for a single female spouse.⁵⁹ This may explain why almost all Sogdian unions at Turfan involved a single husband and wife. In Kang Lushan's household the presence of a young secondary wife, age sixteen to twenty-one, indicates that he was following a permissible Sogdian marriage practice without suffering sanctions under Tang law. This could mean that Sogdian customs were tolerated locally, but it also is possible that Kang Lushan might have enjoyed special considerations in deference to his wealth or ability to pay bribes.

Despite the exceptional case of Kang Lushan, we can conclude that local officials in Turfan considered the Sogdian settlers to be regular Tang subjects with all of the normal rights and obligations. The Sogdians appear to have been well integrated into the public life of local Tang society. Although their private lives are not displayed as obviously in the surviving governmental documents, we also have some evidence of assimilation into local Han society. For example, some Sogdians have typical Han given names, such as An Dezhong.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the Turfan Sogdians retained traditions that distinguished them from their neighbors. An example is their propensity to send young males away from the households, presumably to learn commerce and other trades. This phenomenon of cultural assimilation combined with ethnic distinction has been noted elsewhere in the Sogdian diaspora in China, and was common among ethnic minorities in other contexts, such as the frontiers of the Roman empire.⁶¹ Sogdian traditions in the diaspora were not submerged, nor did they remain unchanged.

legal situation later under the Song Dynasty, but the fundamental legal principles were shared by the Tang.

⁵⁹ Frye 1996: 195; Yakubovich 2002; Vaissière 2002: 157. In the contract the bride is a Sogdian noblewoman and the groom carries the Turkic title of Tegin, which normally indicates a close relative of a Qaghan. These special circumstances could mean that this marriage was not typical, but unfortunately, it is all the evidence that we have. For the Chinese description of Turkic and Western Turkic titles, see JTS 194a:5153, 194b:5179; XTS 215a:6028; CFYG 962:10a-11a; Chavannes 1900: 164 n3.

⁶⁰ Appendix II:R19.

⁶¹ Vivid examples of partial assimilation of Sogdians elsewhere in the diaspora are seventh century tombs excavated in modern Ningxia that reveal spiritual practices and material culture that is neither purely Sogdian nor purely Han Chinese (Lerner 2001; Luo 2001). For comments on Sogdian ethnic assimilation and distinction, see Juliano and Lerner (2001: 296-99). Examples of ethnic groups in late Roman and post-Roman Europe can be found in Pohl (1998).

SOGDIAN DOMINANCE OF TRADE

Although commerce appears to have been an important activity to Sogdians living in the diaspora, this does not establish the relative importance of the Sogdians to the Eurasian Silk Road trade. As noted in the introduction, since Pelliot advanced his hypothesis in 1912, it has been common to assume Sogdian dominance of trade despite the anecdotal nature of most of the evidence. A frequently quoted example is the remark in the *New Tang History* that the Sogdians “excel at commerce and love profit . . . they go wherever there is profit.”⁶² Although this type of testimony reinforces the impression that Sogdians were involved in trade activity, it does not reveal the degree of their participation. Fortunately, new evidence and more systematic analytical methods have begun to appear that can provide stronger support for the Pelliot hypothesis.

The first evidence of the extent of Sogdian involvement in Inner Asian commerce came from more than 650 Sogdian language inscriptions found since 1979 along a fifty kilometer stretch of the upper Indus Valley in Northern Pakistan. Although most are brief, consisting of names and patronymics, their numbers greatly exceed the relatively few epigraphs in Middle Persian, Parthian, Bactrian, and Chinese. Presumably, this is evidence of Sogdian dominance of commerce in this particular market area, which must have involved trade between Inner Asia and the Indian subcontinent (Sims-Williams 1996: 52-56; Vaissière 2002: 85-89).

The Turfan documents can provide further valuable insights into the extent of Sogdian involvement in Silk Road trade in East Turkestan. An analysis of the surnames in two separate sets of Turfan documents related to commerce supports the hypothesis that Sogdians dominated international trade in eastern Turkestan during the seventh and eighth centuries. The first part of the evidence from the independent Gaochang Kingdom in Turfan is the only known surviving record of “scale fees” (*chengjiaqian* 稱價錢), which was a sales tax on goods sold by weight, paid when merchandise was weighed on official scales.⁶³ The document is undated, but it seems to be from the early seventh century before the Tang Empire’s conquest of the Gaochang Kingdom in 640.⁶⁴ A remarkable feature of the document is the dominance of merchants from Sogdia. As demonstrated in Table 6, more than eighty percent of individuals mentioned

⁶² XTS 221b:6244; Chavannes 1900: 134-5. This passage is cited in Pulleyblank 1952: 317; Sims-Williams 1996: 46; Lerner 2001: 223.

⁶³ 73TAM514:2/1-2/11 in TCWS 3:318-25; Skaff 1998: 89-95.

⁶⁴ On the dating of the document, see Skaff 1998: 90 n. 71. For the history of Turfan in this period, see Zhang and Rong 1998: 17-9. Skaff discusses the importance of trade to the Gaochang Kingdom (1998: 86-9).

in the document were of Sogdian origin. The remainder includes one Turk, six East Turkestanis, and one unknown.

Table 6: Surnames of Merchants in Scale Fee Document⁶⁵

Surname	Origin	No. of Merchants	Percentage
An 安	Sogdia	6	12%
Cao 曹	Sogdia	7	14%
He 何	Sogdia	8	16%
Kang 康	Sogdia	19	38%
Shi 石	Sogdia	1	2%
Total Sogdia		41	82%
Bai 白	Kucha	2	4%
Di 翟	Gaoju Tribe (Turfan)	2	4%
Ju 車	Jushi Kingdom (Turfan)	1	2%
Ning 寧	Gaochang Han	1	2%
Total East Turkestan		6	12%
A 阿	Unknown	1	2%
Gongqin Tarqan (<i>daguan</i>) 供勤大官	Turk	1	2%
Total Other		2	4%

Although this document only presents a snapshot of long distance trade occurring in one Silk Road city over a limited amount of time in the early seventh century, it is compatible with the impression of Sogdian dominance of trade.

Another set of evidence from the Tang Dynasty's (618-907) period of control at Turfan, lasting from 640 until the mid-eighth century, demonstrates greater geographical and chronological breadth, though the sample of data remains frustratingly small. The data are drawn from eight surviving travel permits (*guosuo* 過所) or governmental records related to issuing them from Turfan and Dunhuang. Under Tang rule all imperial subjects and foreigners, engaging in long distance travel not involving governmental business, were required to carry travel permits for inspection at internal customs barriers.⁶⁶ There were

⁶⁵ For the origins of non-Sogdian surnames see Skaff 1998: 94, n. 83. For the possibility that the surname Di (also pronounced Zhai) sometimes was adopted by Sogdians, see note 74 below.

⁶⁶ TLSY 8:171-2, no. 82; Johnson 1997: 46-7; Tonami 1993; Cheng 2000.

twenty-six of these spread throughout the empire, including one in Tang controlled East Turkestan.⁶⁷ Complete documents record the names of travelers, caravan drivers, laborers, and slaves; types and numbers of animals; intended destinations and purposes of travel. All of the surviving records were for journeys within Tang territory. Appendix I contains a complete inventory of travel party leaders who are listed in these documents, which all involved journeys on Tang China's northwestern frontier. Data concerning the surnames of travel party leaders are tabulated in Table 7.

Table 7: Ethnic Origins of Travel Party Leaders in Extant Travel Documents from East Turkestan

Surname	Probable Ethnicity	No.	Percentage	Travel Objective		
				Business	Misc. Travel	Unknown
He 何	Sogdian	1	5%	1		
Kang 康	Sogdian	3	15%	3		
Shi 石	Sogdian	1	5%	1		
Shih 史	Sogdian	1	5%	1		
Tuholuo 吐火羅	Tukharistani (Bactrian)	2	10%	2		
Non-Han, missing surname	?	2	10%			2
Total Non-Han		10	50%	8	0	2
Meng 孟	Han	1	5%		1	
Nian 年	Han	1	5%		1	
Qu 瞿	Han	1	5%		1	
Tang 唐	Han	1	5%		1	
Wang 王	Han	1	5%		1	
Xue 薛	Han	2	10%		2	
Yin 陰	Han	1	5%			1
Total Han		8	40%	0	7	1
Gao 高	Han or Korean	1	5%			1
Name lost	?	1	5%			1
Total Unknown		2	10%	0	0	2

⁶⁷ TLD 6:48a-49a; Liu 1996: 642. The customs barrier in Tang controlled East Turkestan (Anxi) was at the Iron Gate (Tieguan 鐵關), which was located southwest of Karashahr in the vicinity of modern Korla. Korla was a strategic location because it was the place where the southern silk route, leading from Khotan along the southern and eastern edges of the

What is most striking about the data in Table 7 is that half of all long distance travel parties were non-Han, and all but two of those with recognizable foreign surnames were Sogdians. When we consider the objectives of these travelers, an impression of non-Han and especially Sogdian dominance of mercantile activity in East Turkestan once again becomes apparent. On the other hand, Han participation in long-distance trade does not appear to be extensive. Of the travelers with Han surnames in Table 7, none are merchants. In Table 6 only one merchant (Ning) has a fairly certain Han surname. Another rare example of a Han merchant appears on a late seventh century legal document mentioning a trader Li Shaojin 李紹謹 a “Han 漢 from the capital” who was doing business in East Turkestan. However, this document still reaffirms Sogdian dominance of long distance trade because Li was involved in a business dispute with a pair of Sogdian brothers Cao Lushan 曹祿山 and Cao Yanyan 曹炎延, who resided at the Tang capital of Chang’an, and are described as “western barbarians (hu 胡) who do not understand Chinese.” Two other merchants mentioned in the document also were named Cao.⁶⁸ Overall, the two extant samples of data from the Turfan documents tabulated in Tables 6 and 7, together with the Indus Valley inscriptions and evidence of boys being sent off from the Sogdian settlement in Turfan reinforce the anecdotal impressions of Tang authors that Sogdians were the ethnic group that was most involved in Silk Road trade in seventh and eighth centuries.

Nonetheless, Sogdians did not necessarily dominate the local, as opposed to long distance, commercial economy. We can gain an idea about who engaged in local mercantile activity among the Han population of Turfan by examining extant sales contracts that have been compiled by Yamamoto and Ikeda. It was a Han Chinese customary practice, required under Tang law, to draw up a contract when making sales of relatively expensive things like land, livestock, and slaves, so unfortunately these agreements can only provide information about this limited range of transactions (Hansen 1995). Sogdians honored this practice when dealing with Han because their names appear on contracts as buyers, sellers, and guarantors. In addition, the only Sogdian language contract found at Turfan demonstrates that Sogdians in the diaspora making transactions among

Tarim Basin, joined the silk route that traversed the northern edge of the Tarim. At Korla the way east to the Turfan Basin was guarded by the Iron Pass (XTS 40:1048, 43b:1151; Yan 1985, 2:470-73).

⁶⁸ 66TAM61: 17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9. Both quotations are taken from part 1 of the document. Many of the philological problems involved in dating and reading this difficult, fragmentary document are explained in Huang 1983.

themselves even drew up contracts with Chinese characteristics (Vaissière 2002: 165-66). Out of thirty-four extant Chinese language contracts—ranging in date from 273 to 741, but mostly from the seventh and eighth centuries—seven or about one-fifth involve Sogdians as buyers or sellers.⁶⁹ The earliest contract mentioning a Sogdian is dated 509 and the other six are split evenly between the seventh and eighth centuries. This demonstrates that despite Sogdians' dominance of long-distance trade, they probably were only an important minority in terms of local high-value business transactions involving the Han majority at Turfan. However, as stated in the introduction, this evidence probably does not fully reflect transactions that took place within the Sogdian diaspora community at Turfan.

ORGANIZATION OF TRADE

Aside from advancing our knowledge about the degree of involvement of Sogdians in long distance trade, documents found in Turfan provide a rare opportunity to learn about merchant activities and organization. One item of information spelled out in the documents that hints at the trade patterns of merchants is their residence status according to the Tang government. Some merchants were considered to be itinerant traders without any sort of stable residence in the Tang Empire. An example is the “merchant western barbarian” (*xingsheng hu* 興生胡) Kang Wupoyan 康烏破延. His home is specifically spelled out as Samarqand (Kangguo 康國). He is mentioned in a contract selling a camel to a Tang soldier at Turfan (Xizhou 西州), which was more than 1,000 kilometers from home.⁷⁰ Other Sogdians are considered to be foreigners, but they are recognized to have taken up temporary residence in a Tang empire city. An example is the previously mentioned brothers surnamed Cao, who were considered western barbarians (*hu*) and did not speak Chinese, but resided in the capital of Chang'an. Another unrelated pair of traders, Cao Bisuo 曹畢娑 and Cao Guoyi 曹果毅, are described as “Western Barbarians, temporarily residing in the capital. They have family members there.”⁷¹ Finally, some of the Sogdian merchants were considered Tang subjects with permanent residency, like those in Turfan's Chonghua Township. An example of this is Shi Randidian, who was a Tang subject living at Turfan (Xizhou *baixing* 西州百姓). He

⁶⁹ Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 1-34. Sogdians appear as buyers or sellers in contracts no. 3 (509 C.E.), no. 9 (637 C.E.), no. 13 (638 C.E.), no. 29 (673 C.E.), no. 31 (731 C.E.), no. 32 (733 C.E.), and no. 33 (741 C.E.).

⁷⁰ 64TAM35:21 in TCWS 7:389-90; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 29.

⁷¹ 66TAM61: 17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9. For the Cao brothers, refer to pt. 3, ln 7; Huang 1983: 353. For the latter pair of traders, see pt. 2, ln 10-1 of the document.

was entitled to use a high-ranking Tang military prestige title, which probably indicates that he had performed meritorious military service and provides further evidence of his integration into Tang society.⁷² Another document mentions that he had a house and a wife, children, and other relatives who resided there permanently.⁷³ The differences in status of these traders probably point to variations in their assimilation into Tang society. Some merchants put down permanent roots in an adopted land, but others remained itinerant and never learned the Chinese language. The latter relied on translators who are also mentioned in the documents.⁷⁴

Despite differences in residence status, the merchant caravans depicted in Tang travel documents exhibited some similar characteristics. In all cases merchants are noted to be travelling with pack animals, which normally were donkeys, horses, or camels. It is not clear whether they hired the animals or owned them. The previously mentioned merchant, Shi Randian, may have owned his pack animals because separate documents from 732 and 733 mention the same numbers of donkeys. We might expect the number to vary if he had been hiring them based upon the amount of merchandise on hand at a particular time. The document from 733 notes the addition of a horse and mule. He appears to have recently bought the horse because there also is an extant contract for the purchase of one in 733.⁷⁵ The merchants are noted as being accompanied by male and female slaves, male laborers (*zuoren* 作人), who probably were pack animal drivers, and in one case a retainer (*biezou* 别奏).⁷⁶ Slavery was accepted in Sogdian and Chinese society.⁷⁷ It is not always clear whether the slaves in

⁷² Appendix I, T7, ln 20. The prestige title was Mobile Corps Commander (*youji jiangjun* 游擊將軍), which indicates a rank of 5b2. See Rotours 1974: 101.

⁷³ 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

⁷⁴ See for example the merchants T1-T5 in Appendix I who relied on the translator Di Nanipan 翟那你潘 (pt. 1, ln 2, the name was pronounced Na^h-ni'-p^han in Early Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1991a). Although the surname usually is attributed to the original inhabitants of Turfan (see Table 6), Hansen (2002) points out that his given name may be a transliteration of Sogdian meaning "glory of the female deity Nana". Could Di be the son of a Han father and Sogdian mother? If Di was not of Sogdian descent, is this evidence for Pelliot's hypothesis that Sogdian was a *lingua franca* on the Silk Road (see note 1 above)?

⁷⁵ The horse was purchased in a contract dated 733 (73TAM509:8/10 in TCWS 9:48-9). Shi Randian is noted as traveling with the horse and mule in 733 (73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7), but not in 732 (Appendix I: T7).

⁷⁶ Laborers and a retainer can be seen in Appendix I: T15, ln. 172. For laborers and slaves see Appendix I, T1-5.

⁷⁷ On slavery in Sogdia, see Frye 1996, 195. For Tang China, see Johnson 1979, 28-9. Chinese and Sogdian language contracts from Turfan demonstrate that Han and Sogdians were involved in transactions involving slaves. An example of a Chinese contract is the "merchant western barbarian" (*xinghu* 興胡) Mi Lushan 米祿山 who sold the slave girl Shimaner 失滿兒, age 11, to Tang Rong 唐榮 from the capital district (Jingzhao Superior

the travel parties were meant to be sold, which as we will see below was common, or served the labor or sexual needs of merchants while on the road. The wealthy Han travellers in Appendix I normally journeyed with slaves who presumably were domestic servants. Some merchants may have done the same. The term *zuoren* is peculiar to the Turfan documents, and people with this designation are known to have done a number of menial jobs besides working for merchants. *Zuoren*, as used in the documents, could simply mean “laborers,” as translated above. However, the possibility exists that the term was used to designate Sogdians belonging to the lowest free social stratum of their homeland, which was divided into noble, merchant and worker classes.⁷⁸ This problem requires further study.

The travel itineraries of these merchants can be divided into long, medium, and short haul routes. Some traders appear to have travelled the entire distance between Sogdia and central China, or extensive portions of it. A travel permit from Turfan issued to a group of merchants who needed the aid of an interpreter mentions that they came from the “west,” possibly indicating Sogdia, and planned to go to the capital, Chang’an.⁷⁹ This would indicate a distance of over 3,500 kilometers. The previously mentioned Cao Bisuo and Cao Guoyi, who were temporary residents of the Tang capital, are described as going from Kucha to Gongyue 弓月—near the Yili River on the frontier between East and West Turkestan—and then heading further west, possibly to Sogdia.⁸⁰ However, two others in their travel party who also were residents of the capital, Cao Yanyan and Li Shaojin, headed back to Kucha.⁸¹ Their circuit appears to have been limited to trade between Chang’an and East Turkestan, but this was still a distance of about 2,500 kilometers.

A medium haul merchant seems to be Shi Randian of Turfan. Like Cao Yanyan and Li Shaojin, he apparently operated along circumscribed travel itineraries. His travel permit mentions that he came from Kucha (Anxi 安西) in the Tarim Basin to carry out trade in Gua Prefecture (Guazhou 瓜州) in north-western Gansu, a distance of more than 1,000 kilometers. The permit allowed him to journey from Guazhou returning west to Kucha via the Iron Pass near

Prefecture Jingzhaofu 京兆府) in 731 (73TAM509:8/12-1(a), 8/12-2(a) in TCWS 9:26-8; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987, no. 31). For the Sogdian language contract for the sale of a slave dated 639, see Yoshida and Moriyasu 1988; Vaissière 2002: 165-6.

⁷⁸ On Sogdian social classes, see Frye 1996: 195. On the term *zuoren* and its usage in the Turfan documents, see Sheng 1998: 140.

⁷⁹ Appendix I: T1-5.

⁸⁰ On the location of Gongyue, see Yan 1985, 2:602-5.

⁸¹ 66TAM61: 17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9; Huang 1983.

Karashahr. We do not know whether he reached Kucha on this occasion, but official notations on the permit indicate that he traveled at least as far as Hami (Yizhou 伊州) and engaged in trade at Dunhuang (Shazhou 沙州) and Hami.⁸² Another government document, testimony of guarantors on a certificate of ownership prepared for a business trip from Turfan to Hami, demonstrates that Shi planned to return to the latter city in the first lunar month of 733.⁸³

Other merchants were involved in even shorter distance travel of around 200 kilometers. Two of them are mentioned as travelling between Turfan and Luntai 輪臺 (near modern Urumchi), which was in the grasslands on the southern rim of the Jungarian Basin. Shih Jisi was driving 200 sheep and six cows south from Luntai, presumably to sell in Turfan, which was too hot and lacked grasslands for livestock breeding. The other, Kang Dazhi, was going north to Luntai to collect debts. A third short haul merchant, Mi Xunzhi 米巡職, was going to Turfan from Ting Prefecture (Tingzhou 庭州 or Beshbaliq), also on the southern rim of the Jungarian Basin. Like Shih Jisi, his goods all appear to be “products” of pastoral nomads: fifteen sheep, one camel, a male slave, age fifteen, and a female slave, age twelve. The latter two had foreign names, and might have recently been purchased from pastoral nomadic tribes.⁸⁴ Sims-Williams has proposed that Sogdian trade was limited to shorter routes by the eighth century. However, the data are too limited to draw firm conclusions about chronology.⁸⁵

Although these travel documents give us some information about Sogdian trade patterns, they do not provide direct evidence on how merchants were organized—whether as independent peddlers, members of trade guilds, or partners in commercial associations—because this kind of information was not required by the officials who composed the documents.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, some clues about organization can be gleaned from the Tang documents and the earlier fourth century Sogdian Ancient Letters. Ancient Letter II, composed in Gansu and sent

⁸² Appendix I: T7.

⁸³ 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7.

⁸⁴ For short-haul merchants Kang Dazhi and Shih Jisi, see Appendix I: T10, T15. For Mi Xunzhi, see 73TAM221:5 in TCWS 7:8-9. On the locations of Ting Prefecture and Luntai, see Yan 1985, 2:602-5. For the climate and ecology of Turfan and the Jungarian Basin, see Lattimore 1951: 153; 1975: 36-7, 199.

⁸⁵ Sims-Williams 1996: 60. Most of the surviving travel permits and certificates of ownership involving merchant trips are clustered around the 680s and 730s, and it is not possible to detect any strong chronological trends in this data. For example, the earliest and latest journeys, Mi Xunzhi in 648 (73TAM221:5 in TCWS 7:8-9) and Shih Jisi in 733 (Appendix I: T15), were along short haul routes.

⁸⁶ All three types of merchant organizations are known in later periods. For peddlers, see Steensgaard 1973: 22-59. On associations, see Rossabi 1990: 354-5. On guilds, see Mauro 1990.

to Samarqand, appears to describe a situation in which a wealthy merchant in Sogdia directed the activities of his agent and sub-agents in East Turkestan and China.⁸⁷ Presumably the wealthy merchant in Sogdia supplied capital, decided upon general trade strategy, retained the bulk of profits, and was responsible for losses. On the other hand, Ancient Letter V depicts the activities of a person called a *sârtpâw* operating in northwestern China. Grenet and de la Vaissière argue, based on the small quantities of goods involved, that the *sârtpâw* was a small-time caravan leader (Grenet, Sims-Williams and Vaissière 1998: 98, 101).

In seventh and eighth century Tang Chinese documents from Turfan the activities of a number of Sogdian merchants are visible, but there is no way to determine the extent to which control of trade may have remained in Sogdia. In cases where there is some evidence, traders appear to be itinerant peddlers who worked for themselves. An example of this are merchants who traveled in small caravans made up only of their laborers and/or slaves, such as the previously mentioned short and medium haul traders. They all worked on routes in Tang controlled territory and did not deal in luxury goods that would have required financing or supply from Sogdia. Their failure to travel with other merchants highlights their self-reliance and demonstrates the relative safety of routes in Tang territory in some periods, such as the early 730s when Shi Randian was operating in Gansu and East Turkestan.⁸⁸

At least one larger caravan appears to have been made up of independent merchants brought together for self-protection. The late seventh century travel party of Li Shaojin, Cao Yanyan, Cao Bisuo, and Cao Guoyi went from Kucha to Gongyue. They apparently were independent peddlers because Cao Yanyan loaned silk to Li Shaojin, which shows that they did not have a joint operation. Also, the former two merchants headed back to Kucha while the latter two continued to the west, demonstrating that the common journey to Gongyue was born out of a desire for mutual protection rather than some sort of joint venture.⁸⁹ What may have brought independent peddlers into larger caravans was political instability in East Turkestan during the 670s and 680s when the Tang and Tibet fought over this territory. The one large caravan noted in the travel permit documents also dates from this period.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ See Harmatta 1979; Sims-Williams 1985; 2001: 47-49; Grenet and Sims-Williams, 1987; Vaissière 2002: 53-5.

⁸⁸ In the 730s major attacks against Tang territory occurred to the north of the Tianshan mountains and to the far west in the Pamir Mountains (Beckwith 1987: 108-21).

⁸⁹ For the citation to the document, see note 68.

⁹⁰ For the other large caravan, a group of merchants traveling together from the “west” to the “capital” (Chang’an), see Appendix I, T1-5. Although it is not stated directly that they

The testimony of a guarantor on the certificate of ownership for Shi Randian's business trip to Hami provides some information about the relationship between the settlers and the itinerant merchants in the Sogdian trade diaspora. In this document Tang authorities required Shi Randian to have a compatriot guarantee that he had a house and family and had not gained the use of his employees, slave and pack animals under false pretenses. The guarantor also had to pledge to be responsible for Shi's taxes if he did not return.⁹¹ In a travel permit dating to 685, a group of Sogdians and Bactrians coming from the west who needed the assistance of a translator, had five guarantors who were Tang subjects (*baixing*) from various Tang cities in East Turkestan. Four of the five guarantors have Sogdian names.⁹² Most likely the guarantors were merchants who knew one another through business activity and happened to be congregating in the city where the permit was drafted. This demonstrates that long distance merchants (those requesting travel permit) had contacts with those who had local residences (the guarantors), and that settlers in the trade diaspora assisted their brethren from abroad in dealing with local authorities. We also can suppose that Sogdian settlers provided lodging and supplies to travelling merchants.⁹³ Contacts with Sogdian settlers in the diaspora would have been invaluable to merchants as they negotiated trade circuits between East and West Asia.

GOODS TRADED

It has long been recognized that goods were exchanged between eastern and western Eurasia. The typical approach to this problem among modern scholars has been to rely upon the writings of premodern authors to identify the imports and their origins, but this method has limitations because the traditional authors were as ignorant about how goods were transported as the typical modern consumer.⁹⁴ Archaeological excavations also can provide information about imports, but not their modes of transmission. The documents found at Turfan help to advance research by identifying some of the goods that Sogdians traded along the Silk

are traveling together, they appear to be doing so because they have the same destination and also the same guarantors to prove that their story is true. On fighting in the Tarim Basin in the 670s and 680s, see note 49 above.

⁹¹ 73TAM509:8/9(a) in TCWS 9:44-7. The first part of this document has been lost, so we do not know the surname of the guarantor. However, he may have been a Sogdian because we know that his given name was Ranwu 染勿 (pronounced Niam-mut in Early Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1991a). This name definitely is non-Han and its closeness to Shi Randian's leads me to surmise that it also is Sogdian, but this requires further study.

⁹² Appendix I, T1-5.

⁹³ For evidence of a Sogdian innkeeper, see note 41.

⁹⁴ The most comprehensive study of western goods that arrived in China is Schafer 1963.

Roads. Not surprisingly, we find evidence that silk was brought from east to west. The main item that the above mentioned Cao Yanyan brought from Kucha to Gongyue to make purchases was simple silk tabby (*juan* 絹), produced by the Tang Empire's peasants for tax payments and use as currency. The only item Cao purchased with the silk that is still visible in the document was a quantity of bowls.⁹⁵ The previously mentioned "scale fee" document from early seventh century Turfan notes five major items that were traded on multiple occasions: incense (*xiang* 香), gold (*jin* 金), silver (*yin* 銀), ammonium chloride (*naosha* 鹵[陶]沙[砂]), and silk thread (*si* 糸[絲]). Items traded only one time were brass (*toushi* 鎗石), medicine (*yao* 藥[藥]), copper (*tong* 同[銅]), turmeric root (*yujin gen* 鬱金根), and muscovado sugar (*shimi* 石蜜). All can be considered luxury items.⁹⁶ Some luxury items identified in the fourth century Sogdian Ancient Letters—gold, musk, pepper, and camphor—overlap to a certain extent with those in the scale fee document (Sims-Williams 1996: 48; Vaissière 2002: 57-60). We can suppose that the gold, silver, ammonium chloride, spices, and other goods probably were headed for China in exchange for silk being transported westward.

The Ancient Letters and Turfan documents remind us that Sogdians also dealt in some goods that would be less likely to be traded outside of local or regional markets. The former source mentions hemp cloth and wheat (Sims-Williams 1996: 48). In Turfan's contracts we can see Sogdians buying and selling slaves and livestock, which were things transported by the previously mentioned short and medium haul merchants.⁹⁷ At Turfan, Sogdians also engaged in moneylending. Despite the fact that one of the Sogdians mentioned in the travel permits, Kang Dazhi, was a moneylender and the above mentioned legal dispute involving Li Shaojin arose over a loan, the Sogdians do not appear

For eastern spices imported into the Roman Empire, see Miller 1969: 34-97. Both authors surmise the importance of the Sogdians, but are not able to identify their specific roles as traders of particular goods.

⁹⁵ On Cao Yanyan, see note 68 above. He also is mentioned carrying bows, arrows, and saddles, but these may have been for his own use. On silk tabby, see Sheng 1998: 117.

⁹⁶ See Skaff 1998: 89-95. The mineral ammonium chloride is probably the most unexpected trade item because we normally think that international trade in this period involved exotic luxuries. Although it is not an exotic good, ammonium chloride was a luxury because the well-off ultimately purchased it either directly as a medicine or indirectly in gold and silver goods where it was used as a flux for soldering. It was produced in Inner Asia and especially in the Tarim Basin oasis of Kucha for export to China.

⁹⁷ For slaves, see note 77 above. Two examples of livestock transactions are Kang Wupoyan's sale of a ten year old camel to a Tang military officer surnamed Du 瞿 of Turfan (64TAM35:21 in TCWS 7:389-90; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 29) and Kang Sili's 康思禮 sale of a horse to Shi Randian in 733 (73TAM509:8/10 in TCWS vol. 9, pp. 48-9; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 32).

to have dominated moneylending among the Han populace at Turfan.⁹⁸ Only one loan contract out of the sixty-two compiled by Yamamoto and Ikeda involved a Sogdian lender.⁹⁹

We have evidence that merchants could mark up prices substantially even when working relatively short sectors of the silk routes. The previously mentioned legal dispute involving Li Shaojin arose when he borrowed 200 bolts of silk tabby (juan) from Cao Yanyan in Gongyue. Li was supposed to pay it back with 75 bolts (37.5%) in interest at the Tang “Anxi” Protectorate, which could refer to Kucha or Turfan depending on when this undated document was written.¹⁰⁰ The distance is about 400 kilometers if Kucha or 800 kilometers if Turfan. We can suppose that Li had used the silk to buy goods with a potential resale value that was forty or more percent higher in the east. Unfortunately, we do not have information about travel expenses, taxes, and protection costs that would allow us to gauge the profitability of this trade. If these outlays were not too overbearing, a merchant probably could expect to make substantial profits on a relatively small section of the trade routes between East and West. Rossabi (1990: 355-60) has argued that the Silk Road was extremely profitable during the period of Mongol hegemony over Asia because of lowered protection costs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We can surmise that this also was the case in East Turkestan during periods when the Turks and Tang were able to enforce stability over the region.

CONCLUSION

Chinese language documents from Turfan support Pelliot’s hypothesis that Sogdian merchants dominated trade in East Turkestan in the seventh and eighth centuries. These traders generally appear to have been itinerant, moving from oasis to oasis buying and selling goods in search of profit. Some worked shorter routes and others travelled long distances, but they usually seem to have operated much like the seventeenth-century caravan peddlers about whom we know more. The seventeenth-century merchants normally did not risk specializing in one good, or carry an item all the way from the producer to the consumer, but sought profit by buying and selling relatively small bulk quantities in itinerant travels from market to market (Steensgaard 1973: 22-59). In the case of the Sogdians, the goods were luxuries, like silk and silver, traded over long distances

⁹⁸ For Kang Dazhi, see Appendix I: T10.

⁹⁹ 64TAM35:15 in TCWS 7:453-4; Yamamoto and Ikeda 1987: no. 87.

¹⁰⁰ See 66TAM61:17(b), 23(b), 27/2, 27/1(b), 22(b), 26(b), 27/5(b), 24(b), 16(b), 25 in TCWS 6:470-9, especially pt. 8. Huang argues that it was Kucha (1983: 351-2).

and also necessities, such as wheat and sheep, that never moved far from their areas of production. Chinese documents give the impression that in the seventh and eighth centuries these merchants generally operated independently rather than as part of an organization.

Sogdian settlements in East Turkestan oasis cities were important hubs in a larger Eurasian trade network. They served as home bases and way stations for merchants and even supplied new generations of traders. For example, at Anle Village in Turfan about half of all Sogdian boys left home before the age of fifteen and presumably many joined the ranks of itinerant merchants. Even while retaining this kind of traditional practice, Sogdians integrated into local cities and towns, forming what Wink (1991: 65-67) has called an “open” diaspora “rooted in the broader framework of society” rather than congregating in closed communities. Straddling the two cultures allowed Sogdians to serve as liaisons between visiting merchants and local society and government. Many of the traders would have been unable to operate without the services of Sogdian translators and guarantors who were born or had settled in East Turkestan. The special cultural position of the Sogdians in the East Turkestan diaspora allowed them to act as mediators between the ancestral and host cultures, serving as a major link between the Sui-Tang Empires and West Asia in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Appendix I: Heads of Travel Parties Appearing in the Extant Tang Travel Permit Documents from Turfan and Dunhuang

#	Date	Head of travel party	Probable Ethnicity	Activity	Reference
T1	685	Kang Weiyiluoshi 康尾義羅施	Sogdian	Trade: From west, through Xizhou to Chang'an	64TAM29:17(a),95(a), 108(a), 107, 24, 25 in TCWS 7:88-94
T2	685	Tuhuoluo Fuyan 吐火羅拂延	Tukharistani	Same as previous	Same as previous
T3	685	Tuhuoluo Moseduo 吐火羅磨色多	Tukharistani	Same as previous	Same as previous
T4	685	He Hushuci 何胡數刺	Sogdian	Same as previous	Same as previous
T5	685	Kang Gecha 康紇槎	Sogdian	Same as previous	Same as previous
T6	690-704	Yin Zheng 陰正	Han	?	72TAM225:27 in TCWS 7:241-2
T7	732	Shi Randian 石染典	Sogdia	Trade: Kucha-Guazhou-Dunhuang-Hami-Karashahr-Kucha	73TAM509:8/13 in TCWS 9:40-3
T8	733	General Tang Yiqian 唐益謙	Han	Accompanying uncle's family from Xizhou to Fuzhou	73TAM509:8/4-1(a), 8/32(a), 8/4-2(a) in TCWS 9:31-9

Appendix 1 (cont.)

#	Date	Head of travel party	Probable Ethnicity	Activity	Reference
T9	733	Xue Guangci 薛光泚	Han	Accompanying paternal grandmother from Xizhou to Ganzhou	Same as previous
T10	733	Kang Dazhi 康大之	Sogdian	Collect debts: Xizhou to Luntai	Same as previous
T11	733	Meng Huaifu 孟懷福	Han	Soldier returning home: Kucha-Xizhou-Fangzhou	73TAM509:8/8(a), 8/16(a), 8/14(a), 8/21(a), 8/15(a) in TCWS 9:51-70
T12	733	Qu Jiayan 麴嘉琰	Han	??? Xizhou to Lintao army in Longyou	Same as previous
T13	733	Wang Fengxian 王奉仙	Han	Returning from delivery of military supplies: Chang'an-Kucha-Xizhou-Chang'an	Same as previous
T14	733	Jiang Huaming 蔣化明	Han	Sent to make "equitable purchase" for a general: Beiting-Hami-Xizhou-Beiting	Same as previous
T15	733	Shih Jisi 史計思	Sogdian	Trade: Luntai to Xizhou	Same as previous
T16	748	?	?	?	<i>Wenwu</i> 1972.12: 58, 75
T17	?	Vice-Commandant Gao Yunda 高運達	Han?	?	64TAM29:128 in TCWS 7:105-6
T18	?	? Jidu?pan 藉薦潘	Non-Han	?	Same as previous
T19		? Naweida 那尾達	Non-Han	?	Same as previous
T20	?	General Nian 年	Han	Travel to Chang'an for ?	72TAM228:9 in TCWS 8:416

The appendix is partly adapted from Table 1 in Cheng Xilin 1995. Cheng's data include journeys mentioned on several certificates of ownership (*gongyan* 公驗), which were used to prove that livestock and slaves were not stolen. The certificates of ownership have been excluded from this table because they may skew the data in favor of merchants who were more likely than ordinary travellers to need to certify ownership of large numbers of animals or slaves. Cheng also claims that the non-Han in T18 and T19 were merchants, but he does this on the basis that they are foreigners. There is no description of the purpose of their journey in the extant portions of the document.

Appendix II: Family Composition and Land Allocation in the 707 Chonghua Township
Inspection Record of Household Registers

Part 1: Newly registered households waiting for land distribution, Anle Village,
Chonghua Township

Type of Name/ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult house head	Family Size	Other family members
Han	surnames:					
R1	Zhang Cishan 張慈善	F	21	Young woman	2	1 girl
R2	Wei Shuangwei 魏雙尾	F	60	Elderly Widow	1	
R3	Chen Sixiang 陳思香	F	40	Widow	3	1 woman, 1 infant girl
R4	Li Chounu 李醜奴	M	5		1	
Sogdian	surnames:					
R5	Kang Yiji 康義集		2		2	1 girl
R6	An Shengniang 安勝娘	F	42	Widow	1	
R7	An Fuzhi?tai 安浮呷臺	F	2		1	
R8	Cao Amianzi 曹阿面子	F	13		2	1 girl

Note: 64TAM 35:47(a) - 58/3(a) in TCWS 7:468-85, Part 1, Lines 1-23.

Part 2: Absconded Households, Anle Village, Chonghua Township

ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult house head	Other family members	Family Size	Eligible for land	Land grant mu/bu
R9	Kang Lushan 康祿山	M	49	Adult Male	1 wife, 1 young wife (16-20 yrs), 1 concubine, 1 boy, 1 girl, 1 boy infant, 1 girl infant, 1 young man	9	1	9/80
R10	Kang Tuoyan 康繩延	M	43	Adult Male	1 wife, 2 boys, 1 girl, 2 infant boys	7*	1	10/40

Part 2 (cont.)

ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult house head	Other family members	Family Size	Eligible for land	Land grant mu/bu
R11	Kang Enyi 康恩義	M	9		1 elderly widow, 1 widow, 1 woman, 2 young women, 1 girl	7	3	8/40
R12	He Mopan 何莫潘	M	80	Official service?	1 elderly wife, 2 men (He Anbao, age 35 kinsman of official, He Tuzi, age 36 guardsman), 2 wives, 2 girls, 3 infant girls	11	3	25/40
R13	Kang Jiawei 康迦衛	M	57	Guardsman		1	1	?
R14	Kang Azi 康啊子	M	62	Disabled	1 elderly wife, 2 adult male guardsmen (Kang Shepi, age 37, Kang Pojiepen, age 50), 1 elderly widow, 3 women, 3 girls	11*	4	23/40

Notes: 64TAM 35:47(a) - 58/3(a) in TCWS 7:468-85, Part 1, Lines 24-44. *Author's emendation: total number of family members in the document appears to be a scribal error. Xiong lists household R9 as having two persons eligible for land distribution (1999: 359), but only one should be because elsewhere in the document young men, who must be over 18 to be eligible, have their names and ages recorded. In this case, lack of this information indicates that this young man was under 18 and ineligible at the time the information was recorded.

Part 3: Registered Households, Anle Village, Chonghua Township

Type of Name/ ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult house head	Other family members	Family Size	Eligible for land	Land grant mu/bu
Han/other surnames:								
R15	Zhu Pande 竹畔德	M	50	Guardsman	1 younger brother (Zhu Sengnu, age 42, guardsman), 1 widow, 1 wife, 1 woman, 1 boy, 3 girls	9	3	17/40
R16	Zhu Xiongzi 竹熊子	M	41	Kinsman of official	2 widows, 1 wife, 1 infant boy	5	3	9/40

Part 3 (cont.)

Type of Name/ ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult house head	Other family members	Family Size	Eligible for land	Land grant mu/bu
R17	Yin Asun 陰阿孫	F	35	Widow		1	1	5/40
R18	Xiao Wangxian 蕭望仙	M	3		1 widow, 1 woman	3	2	5/70
Sogdian surnames:								
R19	An Dezhong 安德忠	M	13		1 widow, 1 young woman, 2 women, 2 infant boys	7*	2	10/70
R20	Kang Waihe 康外何	M	68	Elderly Man**	2 women	3	1	3/40
R21	Kang Naqian 康那虔	F	72	Elderly Widow	1 elderly widow, 1 widow, 1 woman	4	3	7/40
R22	He Wuhezhi? 何无賀啣	F	71	Elderly Widow	4 women	5	1	5/40
R23	Shi Fuzhi?pen 石浮呷盆	M	66	Elderly Man	1 elderly wife, 1 girl	3	1	10/40
R24	Kang Achou 康阿醜	F	79	Elderly Widow	1 woman, 1 girl, 1 infant girl	4	1	5/40
R25	Shi Fuzhi?man 石浮呷滿	M	40	Guard sman	1 wife, 1 boy, 1 girl	4	1	10/40
R26	Cao Fushi 曹伏食	M	67	Elderly Man	1 elderly man, 1 man (Cao Shiluo, age 60), 1 young man (Cao Sunshi, age 20), 1 wife, 2 girls, 1 young woman	8	4	12/40
R27	Cao Mopen 曹莫盆	M	40	Guard sman	???	7	2***	13/40
R28	Kang Shougan 康壽感	M	7		2 widows, 3 girls, 1 young woman	7	3	8/40
R29	Kang Yanpan 康演潘	M	51	Guard sman	1 concubine, 1 boy, 1 woman, 2 girls, 1 infant boy, 1 infant girl	8	1	10/40
R30	An Yishi 安義師	M	40	Guard sman	1 widow, 1 wife, 2 boys, 1 woman, 2 girls	8	2	14/40
R31	An Shancai 安善才	M	50	Honorary Official	2 men (An Nanji, age 40 guardsman and An???), 2 wives, 1 woman, 1 young man, 1 infant girl	8	3	?

Notes: 64TAM 35:47(a) - 58/3(a) in TCWS 7:468-85, Part 1, Lines 45-97. *Author's emendation: total number of family members in the document appears to be a scribal error. **Emended by the editors of TCWS (7:472, 485 n1). ***Author's emendation based on Xiong's figures for average land grants (Xiong 1999: 364-74). Jiang Boqin suggests that households R15 and R16 may be of Indian descent, based on the hypothesis that their surname Zhu (bamboo) may be a variation of Zhu (India), which was derived from the ancient Chinese name for India, Tianzhu (Jiang 1994: 173).

Part 4: Registered Households, Unknown Villages, Chonghua Township

Type of Name/ ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult males	Other family members	Family Size	Eligible for land	Land grant mu/bu
Han	surnames:							
R32	Zhao Duli 趙獨立	M	43	Adult Male	1 wife, 1 girl, 1 infant boy, 1 infant girl	5	1	9/40
R33	Xia Yunda 夏運達	M	48	Kinsman of Official	1 wife, 1 boy, 1 girl	4	1	7/40
R34	Liu Shu 劉戍	F	40	Adult Woman		1	1	2.5/?
R35	Zheng Sishun 鄭思順	M	11		1 widow, 1 infant boy	3	2	5/40
R36	Guo Deren 郭德仁	M	55	Adult Male	1 wife, 1 widow, 1 young woman, 2 infant girls	6	2	?
R37	Guo Taoye 郭桃葉	F	32	Widow	1 young woman	2	1	5/40
R38	Guo Zhongmin 郭忠敏	M	10		1 boy, 3 widows	5	4	9/40
R39	Jiao Sengzhu 焦僧住	M	43	Guardzman	1 wife, 1 young man (Jiao Wenshi, age 19), 4 girls, ?1 young woman*	8	2	???
R40	Li Qingwu 李慶斌	M	55	???	1 widow	2	2	???
R41	Guo Junxing 郭君行	M	47	Guardzman	1 wife, 1 woman, 2 boys, ?3 girls and/or infants*	8	1	11/40
R42	Zheng Longhu 鄭隆護	M	52	Guardzman		1	1	10.5/49
R43	Zheng Huanjin 鄭歡進	M	49	Guardzman	1 wife, ?1 young adult or child*	3	1	???
Sogdian	surnames:							
R44	Cao Xuanke 曹玄格	M	49	Official service? Company Commander	1 wife, 2 boys, 1 infant girl	5	1	10/40

Part 4 (cont.)

Type of Name/ ID No.	Head of Household	Sex	Age	Status of adult males	Other family members	Family Size	Eligible for land	Land grant mu/bu
R45	An Shinu 安師奴	M	13		?	4	1?	?
Other	surname:							
R46	Bai Huren 白胡仁	M	45	Guardsman	1 wife, 1 boy, 1 woman, 1 infant boy	5	1	9/36
R47	Bai Mangzi 白盲子	M	25	Adult male	1 elderly widow, ???	5	2**	15/120

Note: 64TAM 35:47(a) - 58/3(a) in TCWS 7:468-85, Parts 2-6. *Author's emendation based on the general pattern in which family members are listed in the document: from eldest to youngest generation with males listed before females within each generation. **Author's emendation based on Xiong's figures for average land grants (Xiong 1999: 364-74).

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