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The Sui Dynasty and the Western Regions

Yu Taishan

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A

By the reign of Emperor Wen 文, the Sui dynasty had already developed relations with various states in the Western Regions, as demonstrated by the following passage from the “Gaozu Ji B” of the *Suishu* 隋書, recording that Emperor Wen “had commanded those around him to send off from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier the envoys who came to present tribute from the Western Regions. These people sometimes accepted gifts, such as parrots, deerskins and horse-whips, from local governors along their path. His Majesty was very angry on hearing that.”

However, Sui management of the Western Regions, strictly speaking, began after Emperor Yang 煬 pacified the Tuyuhun. According to the “Tuyuhun Zhuan” of the *Suishu*, the Tuyuhun’s “territory combined both Shanshan and Qiemo” at that time.¹ Since Shanshan and Qiemo belonged to the Western Regions, the fact that Sui undertook a punitive expedition against the Tuyuhun means that Sui management of the Western Regions had officially commenced.

In the “Tuyuhun Zhuan” of the *Suishu* it is recorded that in the fifth year (609) of the Daye 大業 reign period, Emperor Yang ordered [Yang] Xiong, the King of Guan, to dispatch troops from Jiaohe 澆河, and Yuwen Shu 宇文述, Duke of Xu 許, from Xiping 西平, to make a surprise attack against the Tuyuhun, and they utterly routed their enemy. Fuyun 伏允 ran away. Over 100,000 tribal members surrendered, and over 300,000 domestic animals of different species were captured. [Yuwen] Shu pursued a terrified Fuyun, who escaped into the valleys to the south, and the former [Tuyuhun] lands were deserted. The region extending west from the town of Linqiang 臨羌 in Xiping 西平 Prefecture, east of Qiemo 且末, south of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains and north of the Snowy Mountains, measuring more than 4,000 *li* 里 from east to

west and more than 2,000 *li* 里 from north to south, all became the territory of the Sui dynasty.” In other words, Sui influence already extended into the Western Regions due to Emperor Yang’s pacification of the Tuyuhun. The direct result was the establishment of four prefectures, i.e., Shanshan, Qiemo and two others, that provided the base for managing the Western Regions.² Therefore, the “Dili Zhi 地理志 A” of the *Suishu* states that “in the fifth year [of the Daye reign period], [Emperor Yang] pacified the Tuyuhun, and a further four prefectures were established,” so that [the entire territory of Sui] “stretched 9,300 *li* from east to west, and 4,815 *li* from north to south, reaching the sea in the east and south, Qiemo in the west, and Wuyuan 五原 in the north at the height of the Sui’s prosperity.”

According to the “Dili Zhi 地理志 A” of the *Suishu*, of the four prefectures, the Prefecture of Shanshan 鄯善 was established in the fifth year of the Daye reign period, after the defeat of the Tuyuhun. The seat was the town of Shanshan, i.e., the site of the ancient town of Loulan 樓蘭. At the same time the prefectures of Qiemo 且末, Xihai 西海, and Heyuan 河源 were founded, so that there was a total of four prefectures. There were also the Puchang 蒲昌 Sea and the River of Shanshan in Shanshan Prefecture. There were two counties: Xianwu 顯武 and Jiyuan 濟遠. The seat of Qiemo Prefecture was the ancient town of Qiemo. There were the Qiemo River and the Sapi 薩毗 Marsh. It comprised two counties: Suning 肅寧 and Furong 伏戎.

It has been suggested that the government seat of Shanshan Prefecture must have been located in the Town of Yixun 伊循 as seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan A” of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (the present-day site of the remains of Miran).³ As for Qiemo Prefecture, its government seat must have been located in the government seat of the Qiemo state, to the southwest of present-day Qiemo County.

B

Apart from the two prefectures of Shanshan and Qiemo mentioned above, various evidence shows that the Sui dynasty also established Yiwu 伊吾 Prefecture in the Western Regions.

Yiwu was subject to the Tujue 突厥 in the early period of the Sui dynasty. In the "Xi Tujue Zhuan 西突厥傳" of the *Suishu*, it is recorded that "the [ruler] of the Western Tujue was Daluobian 大邏便 (r. 581–587), the son of Khan Mugan 木杆 (r. 553–572). The Western Tujue felt some enmity for the Shabolüe 沙鉢略, so split from them, and became strong and prosperous. They resisted Dujin 都斤 in the east, and encroached upon the Jin 金 Mountains in the west. Qiuci 龜茲, Tiele, Yiwu, and various Hu groups in the Western Regions became subject to them." Moreover, according to the "Xiyu Zhuan B" of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書,

the town of Yiwu was the headquarters of the Yihe 宜禾 Colonel, and there merchants and Hu people lived together. There were a thousand men able to bear arms. It was subject to Tiele. The inhabitants were brave and tough, and its soil was fertile and benign. It submitted to the Middle Kingdom toward the end of Sui, becoming the Prefecture of Yiwu. When chaos ensued, it submitted to the Tujue again. In the fourth year (630) of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period, its chief came to pay his respects. When Jieli 頡利 was defeated, Yiwu surrendered with seven towns, and the area became the Province of Xiyi 西伊州.

It has been suggested that the above shows that Yiwu was subject to Sui before it was subject to the Tiele.⁴ In my opinion, according to the "Tiele Zhuan" of the *Suishu*,

in the first year (605) of the Daye reign period, Khan Chuluo 處羅 (r. 603–611) of the Tujue attacked the various Tiele tribes, and extorted heavy taxes and levies. He was suspicious of Xueyantuo 薛延陀 and others, and was afraid that they would rebel, so he assembled several hundred of the Tiele chiefs and leaders and had them all killed. For this, [the Tiele tribes] all rose in revolt and resisted Chuluo. They established the Silifa 俟利發 and Sijin 俟斤 [official titles], Qibigeleng 契弊歌楞, as Khan Yiwuzhenmohe 易勿真莫何, whose seat was set up at Tanwu 貪汙 Mountain. They also established the Neisijin 內俟斤 of the Xueyantuo 薛延陀 tribe, who styled himself Yezhi 也咥, as the Lesser Khan. With the defeat of Khan Chulo, the power of the Khan Mohe 莫何 increased. Mohe, renowned for his unrivaled valor and will, enjoyed the support of his

people, and was feared by the neighboring states. The states of Yiwu 伊吾, Gaochang, and Yanqi were all subject to him.

From this it can be seen that the Tiele rebelled against the Türks successfully after 605 and controlled the eastern regions of the Western Regions, and these regions thus submitted to the authority of the Tiele. According to the "Tiele Zhuan 鐵勒傳" of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, when Shekui 射匱 Khan of the Western Türks (r. 605–617) was strong the Tiele "gave up the title of Khan and were subject to him." The Tiele's control of Gaochang, Yiwu and the region surrounding them lasted until around the seventh year (611) of the Daye reign period.⁵ In sum, Yiwu, as the portal to the Western Regions, was subject to the Türks during the Kaihuang 開皇 reign period, and had been subject to the Tiele 鐵勒 in turn after the Daye 大業 reign period and before it was subject to the Sui dynasty.

According to the "Yangdi Ji 煬帝紀 A" of the *Suishu*, in the fourth month of the fifth year (609) of the Daye reign period, Yiwu first came to the court of the Sui. This may have been connected with the summons of Pei Ju. According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Suishu*, Emperor Yang paid attention to communications with the various states of the Western Regions after he ascended the throne, and "ordered Pei Ju 裴矩, the Duke of Wenxi 聞喜, to the area around Wuwei 武威 and Zhangye 張掖 to deal [with the tribes there] and win them over." "Yinwu 璽吳, the envoy to Tutun 吐屯,"⁶ mentioned in "A bill to send and supply food by Zhongbao 眾保 and so on from Gaochang 高昌," a document unearthed from Karakhoja Tomb No. 33 at Turfan, was probably the envoy of the Tutun of Yiwu, who was summoned by Pei Ju.⁷

The fact that the relations between the Sui and Yiwu became closer has something to do with the punitive expedition against the Tuyuhun. According to the "Liu Quan Zhuan" of the *Suishu*, Liu Quan was appointed as Chamberlain for the Place Garrison and was promoted to the position of Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with the Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon after Emperor Yang ascended the throne. "In the fifth year of the Daye [reign period], following the Emperor, he went on the expedition against the Tuyuhun. [Liu] Quan led the horde emerging from the Yiwu Route and met the rebel army. Liu drove them away. Then he pursued the rebel army, which had escaped, and reached the Qing Sea where he captured more than 1,000 individuals, following the victory achieved in the town of Fusi 伏俟." From this, it can be seen

that Yiwu was the first to be affected when the Sui army undertook the expedition against the Tuyuhun, and it was inevitable that Yiwu became subject to the Sui.

According to the “Yangdi Ji 煬帝紀 A” of the *Suishu*, in the sixth month of the fifth year of the Daye reign period, after the Tuyuhun were pacified,

on the day *renzi* 壬子, the king of Gaochang, Qu Boya 麴伯雅, came to the court to pay his respects, and the Tutun She 吐屯設 of Yiwu 伊吾, offered an area several thousand *li* square to the emperor. The emperor was greatly pleased.... On the day *guichou* 癸丑, the four prefectures of Xihai, Heyuan, Shanshan, and Qiemu were established. On the day *bingchen* 丙辰, the emperor went to the Hall of Guanfeng 觀風 [“Observing Customs”], a temporary palace hall. With an extravagant display of antiques, the performance of nine-part music, and a display by magicians, jugglers, and acrobats, he held a banquet to entertain the king of Gaochang and the Tutun She 吐屯設 [of Yiwu] in the hall, showing his favor towards them. The barbarians from more than thirty states were also entertained along with them.

Yiwu’s offer of land marked the beginning of its role as a subject state of the Sui dynasty. However, the offer of land at that time was most probably formal. “Tutun She” would have been the transliteration of *tudun* and *ša*, both of which were official titles, the former being the officer responsible for guarding the various kings of the oasis states and collecting taxes, and the latter being in charge of the military affairs of separate tribes.⁸ As for “Tutun She,” the title of the Yiwu garrison commander, we do not know whether this was a title conferred by the Tiele or by the Türks.

In the “Xue Shixiong Zhuan 薛世雄傳” of the *Suishu* it is recorded that Xue Shixiong: following the Emperor, went on the expedition against the Tuyuhun and was promoted to the Grand Master for Thorough Counsel.... More than a year later, [Xue] Shixiong was appointed as Senior General commanding the troops along the road to Yumen 玉門, and he was to join forces with Khan Qimin 啓民 (r. 599–611) of the Tujue to attack Yiwu 伊吾. [Xue’s] army arrived at the Yumen

[Barrier], but Khan Qimin broke his promise and his forces did not arrive. [Xue] Shixiong’s army crossed the desert alone. [The ruler at] Yiwu first thought that the Sui army would be unable to reach it and did not prepare for defense. When he heard that the [Xue] Shixiong’s army had crossed the desert, he was greatly frightened and offered to surrender, going to the campsite of [Xue’s] army to present oxen and wine. Thereupon [Xue] Shixiong built a walled town to the east of the old town of Yiwu of Han times, and called it New Yiwu. He then made his way back, leaving Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with the Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon, Wang Wei 王威, to garrison it with over a thousand troops wearing armor. The main forces returned to court, and the Son of Heaven was delighted. [Xue Shixiong] was promoted to the position of Grand Master for Proper Consultation, and was given 2,000 pieces of assorted silk.

In my opinion, since Xue Shixiong attacked Yiwu after he accompanied the Emperor on the expedition against the Tuyuhun, he would have joined forces with Khan Qimin 啓民 of the Tujue to attack Yiwu between the sixth and seventh year of the Daye reign period,⁹ as a result of which Yiwu was swallowed up by the Sui dynasty.

According to the “Sui Ji 隋紀 5” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿, Xue Shixiong attacked Yiwu in the fourth year (608) of the Daye reign period, and Yiwu offered the land in the fifth year (609). The *Tongjian Kaoyi* 通鑿考異 states:

The event whereby Xue Shixiong attacked Yiwu is not recorded in the primary chronicles of the emperors. The deed whereby he followed the Emperor on the expedition to the Tuyuhun is first recorded in the Memoir of Xue Shixiong, and following this, it is also recorded that [Xue] Shixiong was granted the post of Senior General [commanding the troops along the road to] Yumen 玉門; uniting with the forces of Qimin Khan of the Türks, he attacked Yiwu. On the basis of these records, the attack against Yiwu seems have been at the change from the sixth to the seventh years of the Daye reign period. However, [Qimin Khan had already died at that time, and Yiwu offered several thousand *li* 里 of land in that

year when the Sui dynasty attacked the Yuyuhun,] and so was highly favored. So why did Sui attack it? Now we [must] move Xue Shixiong's attack against the Yiwu to before the date of the offer of the land.

Thus Xue Shixiong's attack became the reason Yiwu offered the land. However, Xue Shixiong was promoted to the rank of Grand Master for Thorough Counsel because he followed the Emperor on the expedition against the Tuyuhun in the fifth year of the Daye reign period, and was promoted to the rank of Grand Master for Proper Consultation because he went on the expedition to Yiwu. Based on the "Baiguan Zhi 百官志 C" of the *Suishu*, "Thorough Counsel was the accessory fourth rank, and Proper Consultation was the fourth rank." From this, it can be seen that Xue Shixiong's attack on Yiwu must have been later than his accompaniment of the Emperor in the attack on Tuyuhun. And the year when Qimin Khan died should have been the seventh year of the Daye reign period, not the fifth year as inferred by the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑.¹⁰ In other words, the *Zizhi Tongjian*'s above-mentioned view on the date is unacceptable.

According to the *Shazhou Yizhou Dizhi Canjuan* 沙州伊州地志殘卷, "in the sixth year of the Daye reign period of the Sui dynasty bought land to the east of the town to establish Yiwu Prefecture."¹¹ The statement "bought land" and so on may refer to the event whereby Xue Shixiong "built a walled town to the east of the old town of Yiwu." In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Suishu* it is recorded that "Emperor Yang's 煬 enterprise was so grandiose that it eclipsed both Qin 秦 and Han 漢. As soon as Pei Ju 裴矩 presented his *Xiyu Tuji* 西域圖記 (Maps and Records on the Western Regions) to stir the imagination, he set off to personally lead ten thousand chariots from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and establish Yiwu 伊吾 and Qiemo 且末. From the Barrier west as far as the Flowing Sands the people had become disaffected and were deprived of their livelihood." After "establish Yiwu 伊吾 and Qiemo 且末," the word "Prefectures" can be added.

C

In order to manage the Western Regions, the Sui dynasty established the Protector General for Pacifying the West.¹² The evidence appears in an inscription on stone:

1. According to the “Epitaph of Tang’s Late General for Pacifying the Distance, the Probationary Right-Courageous Guard of the Standby Garrison, the Left-Leader of Court Gentlemen, Supreme Pillar of State, Posthumous Police Patrol Guard Commander of Left, the Guangping 廣平 Prefecture’s Mister Song and Henei’s 河內 District Mistress Qinghe’s 清河 Lady Zhang,”¹³ Song Guogong 宋廓公, the great-grandfather of Song Zhigan 宋知感, who was the occupant of the tomb, was appointed “the Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with the Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon, and Protector General for Pacifying the West of Sui 隋.” Song Zhigan died in the tenth year (722) of the Kaiyuan 開元 reign period, and was buried together with his wife in the tenth year of the Kaiyuan reign period.
2. According to the “Epitaph of Tang’s Late Office Manager of Shunyi 順義 Prefecture, Adjutant, Commandant of Flying Cavalry and Shanggu’s 上谷 Mister Hou 侯,”¹⁴ [Hou] Yu [侯]昱, the great-grandfather of Hou Fang 侯方, who was the owner of the tomb, was appointed Protector General for Pacifying the West of Sui. Hou Fang died in the fourth year (745 CE) of the Tianbao 天寶 reign period.
3. According to the “Epitaph of Great Tang’s Late Mobile Corps Commander, Probationary Police Patrol Guard Commander of Left, the Permanent Superior Courageous Commandant of Pinyang Assault-resisting Garrison, Mister Kang 康”¹⁵ and the “Epitaph of Great Tang’s Late Mobile Corps Commander, Mister Kang 康,”¹⁶ [Kang] Yande [康]延德, the grandfather of the brothers, Kang Liumai 康留買 and Kang Mojia 康磨伽, was appointed the Superior Courageous Garrison of the government of the Protector General for Pacifying the West of Sui 隋. Both Kangs 康 died in the first year (682) of the Yongchun 永淳 reign period.

Unfortunately, our efforts are confined by the limits of these few materials, and we cannot ascertain the date when the Protector General for Pacifying the West was established, or ascertain the situation of its administration and the relationship between this official and the prefectures that were established in the Western Regions by the Sui dynasty. However, as these titles suggest, the great ambition of Emperor Yang was to manage the Western Regions.

As for the "prefectures" that were established in the Western Regions by the Sui dynasty, they were part of the organizational system of counties, but in fact they were only agricultural garrisons. This is all that can be concluded from the materials we have at present.

In the "Liu Quan Zhuan 劉權傳" of the *Suishu* 隋書 it is recorded that after Liu Quan had arrived in the town of Fusi 伏侯,

the emperor again ordered him to cross Mantou 曼頭 and Chishui 赤水, in order to establish Heyuan 河源 Prefecture and the Defense Command of Jishi 積石, energetically set up agricultural colonies, and maintain guard at the western border. Liu Quan guarded the border for five years. The various Qiang 羌 tribes all submitted to his authority, and the taxes paid were all transported to the court annually. The remains of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 escaped to a distant location, so the routes were unimpeded. He was invited and appointed to be Chamberlain for the National Treasury and Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with the Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon.

From this it can be seen that Sui's management of border prefectures mainly hinged upon the vigorous efforts to quickly establish agricultural colonies.

A similar record also appears in the "Shihuo Zhi 食貨志" of the *Suishu*:

In this year (the fifth year of the Daye reign period) the emperor in person went on a campaign to the Tuyuhun, and destroyed them at Chishui.... Thus Heyuan 河源 Prefecture and the Defense Command of Jishi 積石 were established. Moreover, the emperor established the prefectures of Xihai 西海, Shanshan 鄯善, Qiemo 且末 and so on in the Western Regions, banished the convicts of the land to be unranked soldiers guarding the frontier, actively set up agricultural colonies, and sent out people from the prefectures in the West to deliver food and supply munitions. Many people died in succession because of the vast distances traveled and the robbers and brigands along the way.

This passage reveals the arduous life that was endured in the agricultural colonies.

In the "Shihuo Zhi 食貨志" of the *Suishu* 隋書, it is also recorded that "in the ninth year, [the emperor] ordered taxes be levied on the wealthy in the Guanzhong 關中 area, making them contribute donkeys in proportion to the amount of property they owned, and these were used for the transportation of grains to Yiwu, Heyuan 河源, and Qimo 且末 [prefectures]. One caravan could comprise as many as several hundred donkeys, each worth over ten thousand." This also shows the difficulties of transportation.¹⁷

Therefore, the "Li Daliang Zhuan 李大亮傳" of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 states in the context of Li Daliang's 李大亮 discussion of Sui's management of the Western Regions: "As for the Sui dynasty, it took Yiwu earlier, and it also ruled Shanshan concurrently. After it took control of Yiwu and Shanshan, it made tremendous efforts and incurred heavy costs day by day; the inner resources were used on the outer, which were exhausted to no benefit."

D

The most important measure taken in the management of the Western Regions by the Sui 隋, in addition to establishing prefectures at Shanshan, Qimo, and Yiwu, was strengthening contacts with the state of Gaochang, and it was the location of Gaochang that determined this course of action.

The preface of Pei Ju's *Xiyu Tuji* 西域圖記, recorded in the "Pei Ju Zhuan" of the *Suishu*, stated: "The states on the three routes have their own separate roads leading to the southern and northern routes. The State of Women of the East, the State of Southern Poluomen 婆羅門 and others are also connected to these routes and so access is provided to all places. Thus we realize that Yiwu 伊吾, Gaochang, and Shanshan are the gateways of the Western Regions. All routes converge in Dunhuang 敦煌, which is their hub."

According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Suishu*: "In the tenth year (590) of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign period, the Tujue 突厥 (Türks) captured its four towns and there were 2,000 people who came to give allegiance to the Middle Kingdom." This would have marked the beginning of Gaochang's subjection to the Sui, and it has been suggested that the above record is incredible,¹⁸ but in my opinion, the theory is only conjecture and is thus inadequate.¹⁹

Since Gaochang was located at the hub of East-West communications and was thus a place highly sought after by the Sui for managing the Western Regions, whenever Gaochang suffered from raids or extortion from the nomad tribes beyond the Great Wall, both sides should have had a good relationship.

In the "Yangdi Ji (A)" in the *Suishu* it is recorded that in the third year of the Daye reign period, in the sixth month, on the day *jihai* 己亥 (the tenth day) Gaochang "sent an envoy to present its local produce." This should have been the first time that Gaochang presented tribute to Sui 隋. Moreover, according to the "Pei Ju Zhuan 裴矩傳" of the *Suishu*, Emperor Yang 煬 "sent [Pei] Ju to Zhangye 張掖, in order to win over the western barbarians. More than ten states sent delegations." Gaochang was one of more than a dozen states of the western frontiers that first presented tribute to Sui 隋, and Gaochang's dispatch of an envoy and presentation of tribute were the direct consequence of Pei Ju's encouragement.

Later, in the "Section on Gaochang" in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Suishu* it is recorded: "In the fourth year of the Daye reign period [Gaochang] sent an envoy to present tribute. The emperor treated the envoy kindly and generously." This was the second occasion recorded in the historical records on which Gaochang presented tribute to Sui 隋. Moreover, according to the "Pei Ju Zhuan" in *Suishu*, "in the third year (607) of the Daye reign period, the emperor performed sacrificial rites at Mount Heng 恒, and [the various states] all sent envoys with gifts to participate in the ceremony." The third year of the Daye reign period should have been when the emperor "sent [Pei] Ju to Zhangye 張掖." According to the "Yangdi Ji (A)" of the *Suishu*, Emperor Yang "performed sacrificial rites at Mount Heng 恒 in person" on the day *xinyou* 辛酉 in the eighth month of the fourth year of the Daye reign period. Gaochang sent its envoy specifically to support Emperor Yang in performing sacrificial rites at Mount Heng 恒.

In the fifth year of the Daye reign period, the relationship between the Sui and Gaochang strengthened. According the "Yangdi Ji (A)" in the *Suishu*, in the fourth month of this year, "on the day *renyin* 壬寅, Gaochang, Tuyuhun, and Yiwu all sent envoys to court." This shows that Gaochang annually sent envoys to court since the third year of the Daye reign period. According the "Yangdi Ji (A)" in the *Suishu*, in the sixth month of the fifth year of the Daye reign period, on the day *bingwu* 丙午, Emperor Yang "reached Zhangye," and "on the day *renzi* 壬子, the king of

Gaochang, Qu Boya 麴伯雅, came to the court to pay his respects.” Moreover, according to the “Pei Ju Zhuan” of the *Suishu*, Emperor Yang

was making a tour to the area west of the Yellow River, and again sent [Pei] Ju to Dunhuang. [Pei] Ju sent envoys to the king of Gaochang 高昌, Qu Boya 麴伯雅, and to the Tutunshe 吐屯設 of Yiwu 伊吾, and lured them with lucrative inducements to come to pay their respects. When the emperor made the tour to the west and stayed at Mount Yanzhi 燕支, the king of Gaochang and the [Tutun] She of Yiwu, as well as the Western Hu from twenty-seven states, lined up on the left side of the roads to pay their respects and have an audience. [Pei Ju] had them wear gold and jade ornaments, as well as brocade and woolen dresses, burn incense, make music, and dance, which created a tumultuous sound. He then had the men and women in Wuwei and Zhangye come out, wearing extravagant clothes, to view the spectacle. The carriages along the road extended for tens of *li* and showcased the prosperity of the Middle Kingdom.

According the “Yangdi Ji A” in *Suishu*, in the sixth month, on the day *kuichou* 癸丑, Emperor Yang established the four prefectures in the Hexi region, and “on the day *bingchen* 丙辰, the emperor went to the Hall of Guanfeng 觀風 [“Observing Customs”], a temporary palace hall. With an extravagant display of antiques, the performance of nine-part music, and a display by magicians, jugglers, and acrobats, he held a banquet to entertain the king of Gaochang and the Tutun She [of Yiwu] in the hall, showing his favor towards them. Barbarians from more than thirty states were also entertained along with them.” Moreover, “Cefeng 冊封 (No. 1)” in the “Waichen 外臣 (No. 8)” section of the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 963) records: “In the fifth year of the Daye reign period of Emperor Yang, the King of Gaochang came to pay his respects at the court, and was invested with the titles of the Counselor of the Palace of the Left, Administrator of Jushi 車師, and Duke of Bianguo.” This shows that Qu Boya received official seals, and thus the vassal relationship of Gaocheng was established. In the ninth month, Qu Boya returned to Chang’an with Emperor Yang. In the same year, Qu Boya returned to Gaochang,

leaving his son, Wentai 文泰, at the Eastern Capital as a hostage.²⁰ This is when Qu presented tribute to Sui 隋 for the first time.

In the fifth month of the seventh year (611) of the Daye reign period, Qu Boya, accompanied by Khan Chuluo 處羅 of the Western Tujue (r. 603–611), traveled via Wuwei 武威. As recorded in the “Xi Tujue Zhuan 西突厥傳” of *Suishu*,

[Shegui] 射匱 gathered a force to attack Chuluo. Chuluo was utterly defeated and, abandoning his wife and children, led several thousand horsemen in flight to the east. On the road they were assailed and robbed. They escaped to the east of Gaochang, and settled at Mount Shiluoman 時羅漫 [near present-day Hami; i.e., the Tianshan Mountains]. Qu Boya, the King of Gaochang, sent a memorial to the emperor, who dispatched Pei Ju, along with the woman Xiang 向 and her kin, to ride expeditiously to the town of Jinchang 晉昌 near the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. [Pei] Ju asked Xiang to send a messenger to where Chuluo was staying. He told [Chuluo] how generous and supportive the court was, and persuaded him persistently and patiently. He thus went to the court.

According to the “Fan Zigai Zhuan 樊子蓋傳” of the *Suishu*, “At that time when Khan Chuluo and the King of Gaochang reached the border defense line, [Fan] Zigai was ordered to serve as the Acting Administrator of Wuwei to receive the two of them.” From this, it can be seen that Qu Boya and Khan Chuluo went to court at the same time, and this was when Qu Boya presented tribute for the second time.

In the “Section of Gaochang” in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu*, it is recorded that,

In the following year, Boya came to the court and consequently accompanied [the emperor] in the attack on Gaoli 高麗. When he returned, he was rewarded with the hand of the Huarong 華容 Princess. In the winter of the eighth year he went home and issued an order to his countrymen, stating: “... Thus it is suitable that the common people and the élite all untie their queues and remove their lapels.” The emperor heard of this and approved it, and issued an edict stating: “To cite virtues and praise good conduct is what the sages worship. To commend sincerity

and recommend persons of talent and virtue are the norms that the *Book of Documents* has bequeathed. Boya, the Counselor of the Palace, Duke of Bianguo 弁國, and King of Gaochang, is possessed of broad vision and magnanimity.... It is suitable to grant him accoutrements of hat and gown, allowing him to employ sumptuary norms in their manufacture, and to command envoys to see him off. Thus will the beauty of carriages and clothing again be seen in all their splendor, and felt and animal hides will be cast aside in favor of crowns and sashes [befitting a civilized state].”

“The following year,” based on the context, must have been the fifth year of the Daye reign period, and the “item on Gaochang” thus confused the dates when Qu Boya came to court; the relevant record is ambiguous. The events whereby Qu Boya accompanied the emperor in the attack on Gaoli 高麗, he was rewarded with the hand of the princess, and the order was issued to change hairstyle and dress must all have occurred after he came to court for the second time. According to the “Yangdi Ji (B)” in the *Suishu*, in the first month of the eighth year (612) of the Daye reign period, Emperor Yang issued an edict to launch a punitive expedition against Gaoli, and “in the sixth month, on the day *jiwei* 己未, arrived in Liaodong 遼東.” The year 612 is thus when Qu Boya followed the emperor in the attack on Gaoli 高麗. In the ninth month, Emperor Yang returned to the Eastern Capital, and “in the eleventh month, on the day *jimao* 己卯, the Huarong Princess was wedded to the King of Gaochang.”²¹ The date at which Qu Boya returned home must have been at the end of this year. The official titles of “Counselor of the Palace, Duke of Bianguo 弁國, and King of Gaochang” mentioned in the imperial edict quoted by the *Suishu* are slightly different from the official titles granted when he came to court for the first time. According to the “Libu 吏部” section of *Tang Liudian* 唐六典 (ch. 2): “Emperor Yang made the following changes: the Counselor of the Palace was to be of the first rank, B class; the Counselor of the Palace of the Left, the second rank, A class; the Counselor of the Palace of the Right, the second rank, B class.” From this we know that the rank of the Counselor of the Palace was higher than that of the Counselor of the Palace of the Left. It is possible that Qu Boya had his official rank raised because he came to the court for a second time and had followed the emperor

in the attack on Gaoli. As for Qu Boya ordering a change from Hu hairstyle and dress to Han styles, this did not express an acceptance of Chinese culture as much as the need to become close to the Sui court. It has been suggested that the envoys who were to deliver "accoutrements of hat and clothes" with "sumptuary norms in their manufacture" arrived at Gaochang in the latter half of the ninth year (613) of the Daye reign period at the earliest.²²

In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Suishu* 隋書 it is also recorded:

However, Boya had earlier acknowledged allegiance to the Tiele 鐵勒, and the Tiele often sent ministers to the state of Gaochang. When the Hu merchants came and went, he collected taxes from them and sent the revenues to the Tiele. Although he had issued the directive quoted above to please Zhonghua 中華 (China), he did not dare change the customs in the end because he was threatened by the strength of the Tiele. From then on he ordered envoys to present local products as tribute.

"Thus he now wears tassels, has untied his queue, and has removed lapels in exchange for the trailing skirts [of a Chinese gown]": this describes the change from Hu hairstyle and dress to Han styles. Not only does this change show the determination of Gaochang to join the system of rituals with Sui at its center, but it also signifies the shaking off of interference from nomadic tribes such as the Tujue and Tiele.²³ When it was opposed by the Tiele, this change could not be carried out. "From then on he ordered envoys to present local products as tribute": this does not appear in the historical records of Sui. The change in hairstyle and dress advocated by Qu Boya intensified conflict with the Tiele, which also caused internal strife in Gaochang, leading to the so-called "Yihe 義和 Coup," as a result of which Qu Boya and his heir Wentai 文泰 and others escaped to the Western Tujue for shelter. Communications with the dynasty on the Central Plains were not resumed for a long time.²⁴ It is also possible that "most of the accounts have been lost" due to the chaos at the end of the Sui dynasty.

E

After Emperor Yang's accession to the throne he attached great importance to summoning the support of the various barbarians. In the "Sui Ji 隋紀 5" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 (in the sixth year of the Daye reign period) there is the following description:

Because all of the border tribal chiefs assembled in Luoyang, Emperor Yang held a grand acrobatics show in Duanmen 端門 Street on the day *dingchou* 丁丑 (the fifteenth day). The field for the performance had a circumference around five thousand paces, and there were 18,000 people playing musical instruments. The music could be heard dozens of miles away, from evening to morning, with lights lighting up heaven and earth, until the end of month. The cost was enormous. From then on, this was staged every year.

The border tribal chiefs requested that they be allowed to trade in the Fengdu 豐都 Market and Emperor Yang gave his permission. He first ordered that the shops be decorated and repaired, the eaves be rendered in a uniform style, that curtains and hangings be placed around the stores selling rare items, that the merchants dress sumptuously, and that matting even be supplied for the vegetable sellers. Whenever barbarian customers passed refreshment rooms, the owners were ordered to invite them in to sit down and they were not to be paid until their customers had wine and dined to satiety, and then they were to be informed exaggeratedly: "As China is rich, food and drink are free as a rule." The barbarian customers were all amazed. Those who were smart had an inkling of what was going on; seeing trees wrapped with silk, they asked: "Since there are poor people in China whose clothes are in tatters and patches, why not use this silk to make them clothes rather than use it to wrap a tree?" The people at the market felt ashamed and were speechless.

In the "Pei Ju Zhuan" of the *Suishu* it is also recorded that "[Emperor] also ordered all shops in the Three Markets to hang curtains and to set up tables generously, and sent the officers

to be in charge of barbarians to lead the barbarians when they were trading with the people. Whenever they reached a particular place, they were invited to sit down and could only leave after wining and dining to satiety. The barbarians sighed with emotion, saying that the Chinese were supernatural beings."

A similar record also appears in the "Shihuo Zhi 食貨志" of the *Suishu*:

In the fifth year [of the Daye reign period] the Emperor progressed on his western tour of inspection to the Hexi region. Adorned in gold and jade, dressed in colorful woolen cloth, burning incense, and playing music, the various barbarians of the Western Regions formed a welcoming crowd at the roadside. The Emperor ordered the young men and women in Wuwei and Zhangye to wear splendid attire to watch the events. If the clothes, chariots and horses were not bright, then the provinces and counties would supervise and handle them in order to impress the barbarians.

In short, Emperor Yang spared no expense in the ostentatious display of the peace he had brought.

These frequent contacts with foreign countries necessitated that there were corresponding organizations to oversee them. According to the "Baiguan Zhi 百官志 C" of the *Suishu*:

The Office of Receptions in the Court for Dependencies was changed into the Court of Receptions for Foreigners. Previously, Emperor Yang had established the Hostel for Tributary Envoys at the Gate of Jianguo 建國 to entertain the envoys from all directions, but later this was disbanded. If there was a matter to be attended to then an office to do so would be set up and attached to the Court for Dependencies, and the number of temporary offices would be increased or decreased according to the tasks in hand. The officer dealing with the East was called the Envoy to the Eastern Yi 夷; the South, the Envoy to the Southern Man 蠻; the West, the Envoy to the Western Rong 戎; and the North, the Envoy to the Northern Di 狄; there was one of each of these who was in charge of the states in a particular region and handling the frontier trade with that region. There was one

Manager of Security, one Protocol Official, one Ritual Official, one Supervisor of Tribute Goods, one Supervisor of Transport, one Director of Tributaries and one Vice-Director of Tributaries and one Adjutant. The Manager of Security was in charge of social order and law; the Protocol Official was in charge of all details of procedures and preventing transgressions; the Director of Tributaries and Vice-Director of Tributaries were in charge of frontier trade; the Adjutant was in charge of import and export trade.

According to the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書: “During the Daye 大業 reign period, the envoys of over thirty states came to the court, one after another. Therefore the emperor established a Colonel of the Western Regions to deal with their concerns.” The date when the position of “Colonel of the Western Regions” was created is unknown, but it might have been among the first offices in charge of the reception of the envoys from the Western Regions to be set up. Its charges were perhaps soon afterwards included within the office of the “Envoy to the Western Rong” under the Hostel for Tributary Envoys. This office existed for such a short time that there is no way today of finding details about it. The possibility cannot be ruled out that its seat was in Gua Province 瓜州 or Zhangye 張掖. If that is the case, then the “Envoy to the Western Rong” in the capital was not the successor of the “Colonel of the Western Regions.”

Of the various states in the Western Regions that sent envoys to Sui, the following are clearly recorded:

1. In the third year of the Daye reign period, on the day *jihai* 己亥, “... Gaochang 高昌 sent their envoys to the court to present its local products.” (“Yangdi Ji B” of *Suishu*)
2. “In the fourth year of the Daye reign period, it [Gaochang] sent an envoy to present tribute.” (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書)
3. In the third year of the Daye reign period, in the fourth month, “on the day *renyin* 壬寅, Gaochang... Yiwu all sent their envoys to present tribute.” (“Yangdi Ji B” of *Suishu*)
4. In the fifth year, in the sixth month, on the day *renzi* 壬子, “the king of Gaochang, Qu Boya, came to the court to pay his respects, and the Tutunshe 吐屯設 of Yiwu, among

others, offered an area of several thousand *li* square to the emperor.” (“Yangdi Ji B” of *Suishu*)

5. “In the fifth year of the Daye reign period, it [the state of An] sent an envoy to present tribute.” (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書)²⁵
6. Khan Shekui 射匱 of the Tujue sent an army to destroy the state of Shi 石 (Tashkent), and ordered a *Teqin* 特勤, Dianzhi 甸職, to handle its state affairs in an acting capacity. “In the fifth year of the Daye reign period, [the Türks’ *Teqin*] sent an envoy to present tribute.” (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書)
7. In the tenth year of Daye reign period “on the day *yimao* 乙卯, the state of Cao 曹 (İstikhan) sent envoys to the court to present its local products.” (“Yangdi Ji B” of *Suishu*)
8. “On the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day), in the spring, in the first month of the eleventh year (615 CE) of the Daye reign period [the emperor] entertained greatly all ranks. ...Wunahe 烏那曷 (Andchûi), Bolie 波臘 (Pataliputra),²⁶ Tuhuoluo (吐火羅), Julüjian 俱慮建 (a corruption of Judejian 俱德建, i.e., Quwadhiyan),²⁷ Hulun 忽論 (Kharun), ... Heduo 訶多 (Khuttal), Peihan 沛汗 (Ferghāna), Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Yutian 于闐, An 安 (Buchārā), Cao 曹, He 何 (Kuṣānīka), Mu 穆 (Čardjui), Bi 畢 (Baikand)... Fanyan 范延 (Bamian), Jiazhe 伽折 (Gachi)... all sent their envoys to the court to present tribute.” (“Yangdi Ji B” of the *Suishu*)
9. During the Daye reign period [the definite dates are unknown]: Kang 康, Yanqi 焉, Yida 挹怛, Bohan 纜汗, Mi 米, Shi 史, Bosi 波斯, Cao 漕 all sent their envoys to the court to present tribute.” (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書)

Moreover, according to the “Xirong 西戎 5” in the “Bianfang 邊防 9” section of *Tongdian* 通典, “Pei Ju 裴矩 was sent to receive [the envoys] of the states on the western border, and many states sent their delegations. Only contacts with Tianzhu 天竺 were not made, to the regret of the emperor.”²⁸ Moreover, according to the “Xirong 西戎 5” item in the “Siyi 四夷 12” section of *Taiping Huanyu Ji* 太平寰宇記 (ch. 184): “Emperor Yang wanted to establish communications with it (Tianzhu), but was eventually unable to reach it.” Emperor Yang regretted that Tianzhu did not send its envoy; he also wanted to establish communications with Da Qin 大秦, which also shows the extent of Emperor Yang’s master plan.

F

Sui also sent its envoys to the various states in the Western Regions at the same time as it received the envoys from the various states. Of those envoys who were sent to the Western Regions, Wei Jie 韋節 and Du Xingman 杜行滿 are the best known.

In the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書 it is recorded: “In the reign of Emperor Yang 煬, the Attendant Censor, Wei Jie 韋節, and the Attendant Official of the Metropolitan Colonel, Du Xingman 杜行滿, were sent as envoys to all the states of the western frontiers. They reached Jibin 罽賓 where they obtained a cup made of agate, the town of Rājagriha where they obtained Buddhist sutras, and the state of Shi 史 where they obtained ten dancing girls, a lion skin, and fire-mouse fur; then they returned.” According to one view, Wei and Du set out in the first year (605) of the Daye reign period. According to another view, they set out after the third year of the Daye reign period, because the Department of the Metropolitan Commandant was first established in the fourth month of the third year of the Daye reign period.²⁹ The date of their return should have been the fifth year of the Daye reign period, the same time when the envoy of the An state was to come to court. In other words, the envoy of the An state and the envoys of the Sui reached the Sui capital at the same time.³⁰ In my opinion, the later theory regarding their departure is more likely to be correct, and regarding the date of their return, it should be pointed out that Wei and Du did not necessarily return at the same time.

Moreover, Wei Jie 韋節 wrote the *Xifan Ji* 西蕃記, which the “Jingji Zhi 經籍志 2” of *Suishu* cites as the *Zhu Fanguo Ji* 諸蕃國記 (seventeen chapters). The book is no longer extant, and only some fragments of it are included in the “Xi Rong 西戎 5” in the “Bianfang 邊防 9” in the *Tongdian* 通典. The earliest possible date when Wei Jie could have presented his *Xifan Ji* would have been the fifth year of the Daye reign period.

Apart from Jibin, Rājagriha, and the Shi 史 state, the places Wei and Du may have visited include the states of Kang 康, An 安, and Yida 挹怛. According to the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Suishu* 隋書: “After he ascended the throne, Emperor Yang sent the Attendant Official of the Metropolitan Colonel, Du Xingman 杜行滿, on missions to the Western Regions. [Du Xingman] reached the state (An), obtained five-colored salt, and returned.” In the fragments of the *Xifan ji* 西蕃記 by Wei Jie preserved in the “Xi Rong 西戎 5” of the “Bianfang 邊防 9” in the *Tongdian*

we read: "I personally asked the natives, and they all called their state Yitian 挹闐." Moreover in this book there are detailed records on the customs of the Kang state.

It would seem possible that Wei and Du took different routes after reaching the state of Kang. Wei Jie traveled to Jibin 罽賓 and Rājagriha via the states of Shi 史 and Yida 挹怛. Du Xingman went directly to the state of An 安, and returned to court with an envoy from that state in the fifth year (609) of the Daye reign period.

Moreover, according to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Suishu* 隋書: "Emperor Yang sent the Commandant of Cloud-Swift Cavalry, Li Yu 李昱, on a mission to Bosi, and soon after it sent an envoy following [Li] Yu to present its local products." It has been suggested that Li Yu accompanied Wei and Du, who are mentioned above. They took different routes halfway, with Wei Jie and others going south to India, and Li Yu going west to Bosi (Persia).³¹ If that is the case, then Li Yu first arrived in the state of An 安 in the company of Du Xingman, and then traveled all the way to Bosi by himself.

Notes

¹ The situation whereby Tuyuhun’s “territory included both Shanshan and Qiemo at that time” had already appeared in the Northern Wei. According to the “Travels of Song Yun”, cited in *Luoyang Qielan Ji* 洛陽伽藍記, Song Yun and the others in the first year (518) of the Shengui 神龜 reign period traveled “three thousand, five hundred *li* to the west of Tuyuhun where they came to the city of Shanshan which used to have its own king until it was swallowed up by Tuyuhun.”

² Cf. Ise Sentaro 伊瀬仙太郎, *Chūgoku Seiiki kēiēishi kenkyū* 中國西域經營史研究 (A Study of the History of Chinese Administration in the Western Regions). (Tokyo: Gannandō, 1968), pp. 147–155.

³ Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八, “Udeijyō to Isyunjyō” 扞泥城と伊循城 (The Towns of Wuni and Yixun), in *Tōzai kōshōshi no Kenkyū: Seiikihen* 東西交渉史の研究·西域篇 (Seibunkan, 1943), pp. 253–263.

⁴ Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no Rekishi-chirigakuteki Kenkyū* 古代天山の歴史地理學的研究 (Geo-historical Studies on the Ancient Tianshan Region) (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku, 1970), p. 455.

⁵ Sekio Shirō 關尾史郎, “‘Giwa seihen’ zenshi: Kōsyō kokuō Kikuhakuga no kaikaku wo chūshin toshite” 義和政變前史——高昌國王麴伯雅の改革を中心として (On the History Prior to the “Yihe Coup” — Centering on the Reform of Qu Boya, the King of the Gaochang State), *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 52.2 (1993): 153–174, esp. p. 166.

⁶ *Tulufan Chutu Wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (The Documents Unearthed from *Turfan*) II (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1981), p. 283.

⁷ Jiang Boqin, “Gaochang Qu Chao yu Dong Xi Tujue: Tulufan Suochu Keguan Wenshu Yanjiu” 高昌麴朝與東西突厥: 吐魯番所出客館文書研究 (The Qu Family Dynasty and the Eastern, Western Türks: A Study on the Guesthouse Documents Unearthed from Turfan). In *Dunhuang Tulufan Wenxian Yanjiu Lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 5 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 1990), p. 283.

⁸ In the “Tujue Zhuan 突厥傳 B” of the *Jiu Tangshu*: “He made Jielifa 頡利發 (Iltäbär) king of all the states in the Western Regions, and sent one Tutun 吐屯 to assist in the rule over these states while in charge of taxation. The flourishing of the Western Rong 戎 was unprecedented.” “Tujue Zhuan A” of *Jiu Tangshu*: “The *ehose* who was in charge of the military affairs of the separated tribe was called *she* 設.”

⁹ Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no Rekishi-Chirigakuteki Kenkyū*, pp. 454–456.

¹⁰ Regarding the studies on the dates of the Qimin Khan, see Wu Yugui, *Tujue Hanguo yu Sui Tang Guanxishi Yanjiu* 突厥汗國與隋唐關係史研究 (A Study on the History of the Relationship between the Turkic Khanates and the Sui, Tang Dynasties) (Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1998), pp. 176–177.

¹¹ “Shazhou Yizhou dizhi” 沙州伊州地志 says that “[Yiwu 伊吾] again was annexed by the Hu 胡,” which shows that

Yiwu 伊吾 had been controlled by the Hu 胡 before the prefecture was established. See Wang Zhongluo 王仲樂. *Dunhuang Shishi Dizhi Canjuan Kaoshi* 敦煌石室地志殘卷考釋 (A Study and Commentary on the Fragments of the Geographical Records from the Grottos in Dunhuang) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1993, p. 201.

¹² Regarding the Protector General of Pacifying the West, for details, see *Tujue Hanguo yu Sui Tang Guanxishi Yanjiu*, pp. 124–127.

¹³ Zhou Shaoliang, ed., *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (The Collection of Epitaphs of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 2 (Kaiyuan 開元 444), 上海古籍出版社 (Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1992), pp. 1463–1464. For the plate, see *The Collection of Epitaphs of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties*, ed. the Editorial Board for the Collection of Epitaphs of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties, Vol. Luoyang, No. 10, p. 129 (Tianjin Guji Chubanshe 天津古籍出版社).

¹⁴ Zhou Shaoliang, ed., *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian*, vol. 2 (Tianbao 028), p. 1594. For the plate, see *The Collection of Epitaphs of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties*, Vol. Luoyang, No.11, p. 26.

¹⁵ Zhou Shaoliang, ed., *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian*, vol. 1 (Yongchun 013), p. 694. For the plate, see *The Collection of Epitaphs of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties*, Vol. Luoyang, No. 6, p. 78.

¹⁶ Zhou Shaoliang, ed., *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian*, vol. 1 (Yongchun 013), p. 694. For the plate, see *The Collection of Epitaphs of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties*, Vol. Luoyang, No. 6, p. 79.

¹⁷ The “Yangdi Ji 煬帝紀” of the *Suishu* states that “[Emperor Yang] actively set up agricultural colonies beyond Yumen 玉門 and Liuchang 柳城, and supervised and urged wealthy men to buy many army horses, each valued at more than 100,000 coins. Wealthy families probably thus became poverty-stricken.”

¹⁸ Huang Wenbi 黃文弼 “Gaochangguo Qushi Jinian” 高昌國麴氏紀年 (The Annals on the Gaochang State of the Qu Family). In *Huang Wenbi Lishi Kaogu Lunji* 黃文弼歷史考古論集 (Wenwu Chubanshu 文物出版社, 1989), pp. 170–178.

¹⁹ Shimazaki Akira 嶋崎昌 “Zuishō Kōsyōden Kaisetsu” 隋書高昌傳解說 (A Study on the “Gaochang Zhuan” of the *Suishu*). In *Zui Tō Jidai no Higashi-Torukisutan Kenkyū: Kōshōkokushi Kenkyū o Chūshin Toshite* 隋唐時代の東トウルキスタン研究—高昌國史研究を中心として (A Study of the History of Eastern Turkestan in Sui and Tang Times: Concentrating on Studies of the History of the State of Gaochang) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1977).

²⁰ On the number of missions to Sui by the Qu clan, and their dates, see Wang Su 王素, “Qushi Gaochang ‘Yihe zhengbian’ bushuo” 麴氏高昌‘義和政變’補說, *Dunhuang Tulufan Yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 1 (1996): 177–194.

²¹ According to the entry for “Xizhou 西州” in the “Longyou dao 隴右道 B” of *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (ch. 40): “When Boya came to pay his respects at the court, Emperor Yang invested a daughter from the Yuwen 宇文 family, Yubo 玉波, with the title of the Huarong 華容 Princess, and arranged for their marriage.” The “Su Kui Zhuan 蘇夔傳” of the *Suishu* 隋書 records: “That year, the King of Gaochang, Qu Boya 麴伯雅, came to pay his respects at the court, and the Emperor gave him the hand of a princess. [Su] Kui had a reputation for elegance, and

was entrusted with presiding over the wedding.”

²² Sekio Shirō 關尾史郎, “‘Giwa seihen’ zenshi: Kōshō kokuō Kikuhakuga no kaikaku wo chūshin toshite” 義和政變前史——高昌國王麴伯雅の改革を中心として (On the History Prior to the “Yihe Coup”: Centering on the Reform of Qu Boya, the King of the Gaochang State), *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 52.2 (1993): 153–174, esp. p. 166.

²³ Sekio Shirō, “‘Giwa seihen’ zenshi: Kōsyō kokuō Kikuhakuga no kaikaku wo chūshin toshite,” esp. p. 157.

²⁴ Wu Zhen 吳震, “Qushi Gaochang guo shi suoyin: Cong Zhang Xiong fufu muzhi tanqi” 麴氏高昌國史索隱——從張雄夫婦墓志談起 (Searching for the Origin of the History of the Gaochang State of Qu Family: A Discussion Occasioned by the Epitaph of the Zhang Couple), *Wenwu* 文物 1981.1: 38–46.

²⁵ The memoir adds that “afterwards [missions] were suspended” after recording that the state of An 安 presented tribute in the fifth year of the Daye reign period, which does not agree with the record in the primary chronicles: the envoy of the An state came to the court of the Sui.

²⁶ Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, “Zui Haiku sen ‘Seiikizuki’ ibun sankō” 隋裴矩撰西域圖記遺文纂考 (A Note on the Collected Fragments of *Xiyu tuji* by Pei Ju of the Sui Dynasty), in *Fujiwara Kōdō Sensei Koki Kinen Shigaku Bukkyōgaku Ronshū* 藤原弘道先生古稀記念史學佛教學論集 (Kyoto: Naigai Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1973), pp. 115–128.

²⁷ Julüjian 俱慮建, according to one view, should be located in the lower reaches of the Kafirnigan River, the northern estuary of the Amu Darya. See Uchida Ginpū, “Zui Haiku sen ‘Seiikizuki’ ibun sankō.”

²⁸ According to the “Xi Rong zhuan 西戎傳” in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, “during the reign of Emperor Yang of Sui, attempts were made to win over the states in the Western Regions. Sooner or later more than thirty states came over, with the sole exception of Jibin.”

²⁹ Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, “Isetsu-Tokōman no seishi” 韋節·杜行滿の西使 (On the Mission of Wei Jie and Du Xingman to the Western Regions), *Shiruku Rōdoshi Kenkyū* シルク・ロード史研究 (Historical Studies of the Silk Road) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1979), pp. 481–488.

³⁰ Kitamura Takashi 北村高, “Zuishō Seiikiden ni tsuite: Sono seiritu to jyakkan no mondai” 隋書西域傳について——その成立と若干の問題 (On the “Memoir of the Western Regions” of *Suishu*: Some Problems Concerning Its Textual Formation), *Ryūkyoku Shidan* 龍谷史壇 78 (1980): 31–45.

³¹ Kitamura Takashi 北村高, “Zuishō maki hachijyūsan Seiikiden jyo, batsu yakuchū kō” 隋書卷八十三西域傳序·跋譯注稿 (Annotated Translation of the Introduction to the “Memoir on the Western Regions,” *Suishu*, ch. 83), in *Chūgoku Seishi Seiikiden no Yakuchū* 中國正史西域傳の譯注 (An Annotated Translation of the Memoirs on the Western Regions in the Chinese Official Histories), ed. Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風 (Kyoto: Kawakita, 1980), pp. 51–57.

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