Protection and Research on Cultural Heritage in the Chuy Valley, the Kyrgyz Republic
Ak-Beshim and Ken Bulun
Appendix 1

Suiye (碎葉) and Ak-Beshim: a Historical Development at the Western Tien-shan in the 7th to the First Half of the 8th Century

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1. Introduction

The historical importance of the Suiye Garrison (碎葉鎮) known as the westernmost foothold of the Tang Dynasty has been recognised for a long time, in its relationship to the Four Garrisons of Anxi (安西四鎮), the Tang’s footholds to rule the Western Regions. First of all, K. Otani discussed the brief history of the Four Garrisons of Anxi (Otani 1925), and then, T. Matsuda (1970, pp. 357–391), S. Ise (1955), and H. Sato (1958) made great achievements in the study of this area. Nevertheless, each study is fragmentary, and overviews of the history of the Tarim Basin including Suiye, and its previous studies have not been conducted rigorously since T. Moriyasu (1984) and C. Beckwith (1987) studied the development of the Tibetan Empire. On the other hand, since the great work of M. Naito (1988), dealing with the history of the Western Türk Qaghanate, who were nomads in the northern Tien-shan Mountains and deeply involved with the Suiye, it is necessary to correlate all of the prior studies.

Furthermore, although little was dealt in the above studies, archaeological research has been conducted in the Western Tien-shan area and Suiye, including by K. Kato who has published an overview (Kato 1997). Among the revealed objects, there is an epitaph written in Chinese, which has an important relevance to Suiye, and research has been published on this topic.

Due to the above, this paper will present the activities of various forces over Suiye in the 7th–8th centuries and their historical development in chronological order, based on a discussion and summary of the previous studies. Then, it will address the Du Huaibao Stele (杜懷寶碑) unearthed at Ak-Beshim, and introduce the relationship between it and Suiye.

2. A Historical Development of Suiye

2.1. Suiye and the Western Türk Qaghanate

This chapter reviews how various forces, such as the Western Türk Qaghanate, the Tang Dynasty and the Tibetan Empire, extended to the Western Region, and interacted with Suiye, based on the results of previous studies.

The Western Türk Qaghanate is the first force that extended its influence to Suiye. The western Türk Qaghanate was the western part of the nomadic confederation of Törks (突厥), which was established on the Mongolian Plateau in 552, and founded by İshṭəmi Qaghan (室點密可汗), the younger brother of Yili Qaghan (伊利可汗; Bumīn Qaghan), the founder of Türk Qaghanate. The Türk Qaghanate was divided into the Eastern and Western Türk Qaghanates on either side of the Altai Mountains. The throne of the Western Türk Qaghanate was succeeded by İshṭəmi Qaghan’s descendants.

Initially, the territory of the Western Türk Qaghanate was the Yulduz Grassland (now known as the Bayanbulak Grassland) (Matsuda 1970: 248–287). Afterwards, Niqûe Chuluq Qaghan (泥撅叱羅可汗) moved it to near Beshbaliq (present-day Jimsar) (Shimazaki 1977: 181–182), and Ton Yabghu Qaghan (統葉護可汗) moved it to near Suiye (Matsuda 1970: 287–288; Naito 1988: 2–3).

Suiye is a transliterated form of Sūyāb in the Islamic sources. Although its original meaning was the Chuy River, it had already become a place name by the Tang period, meaning the Chuy River and the plains along the river (Naito 1988: 1–2).
(碎葉城, present-day Ak-Beshim) was established there. Xuanzang visited Suiye City in 630, and documented the city in the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (大唐西域記), Volume 1, p. 18.

Traveling 500 lis (ca. 220 km) to the northwest of Da Qing Lake (Issyk-Kul), we arrive at the city of the Suiye River. The city is 6 or 7 lis (ca. 2.5–3 km) in circuit; merchants of various states here came from surrounding nations congregate and dwell. The soil is favourable for red millet and for grapes; the woods are not thick, the climate is windy and cold; the people wear garments of twilled wool. Traveling from Suiye westward, there are a great number of isolated towns; in each there is a chieftain; these are not dependent on one another, but all are in submission to the Türk.

It is noteworthy that merchants came to Suiye Garrison from surrounding nations to dwell, and the cities, including Suiye Garrison, submitted to the Western Türk Qaghanate. Suiye Garrison was the international commercial city, and its submission to the Western Türk Qaghanate strengthened the Qaghanate’s power.

Then, where was the home of the Western Türk Qaghanate? Naito considered this question in detail (Naito 1988: 1–21). She also took note of Xuanzang’s manuscript.

Daci’en-Si Sangzang Fashi Zhuan (大慈恩寺三藏法師伝), Volume 2

Travelling 500 lis northwest along the sea (Issyk-Kul), we arrived at Suiye. We met Si Yabghu Qaghan (肆葉護可汗) of the (Western) Türk Qaghanate. He was just going hunting, horses were so strong--He was pleased with the (Xuanzang’s) meeting, and told “I am going to somewhere, and return in a few days. You go to ordu (牙帳).” He had Damozhi (答摩支), the tarqan, send (me to ordu) and rested me--Travelling 400 lis (ca. 176 km) west from here (ordu), we arrived at Pingyu (屏聿).

It is also called as Qianquan (千泉). The land was hundred lis square, and had many ponds, marshes and rare trees. Forests were so thick, and the climate was so cool and humid, it is summer resort for the Qaghans.

This is the record of Xuanzang’s visit to Si Yabghu Qaghan of the Western Türk Qaghanate in order to be assured a safe journey to India to seek Dharma. According to this record, Xuanzang met Si Yabghu Qaghan at Suiye Garrison. However, since Si Yabghu Qaghan was going hunting, he ordered Damozhi to send Xuanzang to Ordu. The document states that Ordu, the home of Si Yabghu Qaghan, was located away from Suiye Garrison.

Additionally, Naito studied the descriptions of the homes of successive Qaghans of the Western Türk Qaghanate, and Qaghans of Western Türk Qaghanate origin after its collapse in various Chinese and Islamic manuscripts. Finally, she concluded that Ordu of the Western Türk Qaghanate had been located in the Chuy-Ili Mountains, north of Suiye Garrison, from the reign of Ton Yabghu Qaghan, who was contemporay with Xuanzang, until the Türkish Dynasty, which strengthened its power after the collapse of the Western Türk Qaghanate (Naito 1988: 48).

On the other hand, according to the description found in the Daci’en-Si Sangzang Fashi Zhuan, Qianquan was the summer resort of the Qaghans. Qianquan is identified as present-day Merke, west of Suiye Garrison, which was thought to be the summer resort for the Qaghans of the Western Türk Qaghanate (Matsuda 1970: 288–289).

The Qaghans of the Western Türk Qaghanate moved seasonally around Suiye Garrison. According to the description of the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, it is noteworthy that Suiye Garrison was an independent city for one of chieftains, but not for Qaghans.
2.2. Extension of the Tang Dynasty to the Western Region

The Western Türk Qaghanate lost its power in 630, because of internal divisions among influential people. Afterwards, the Tang dynasty extended from the Tarim Basin to Suiye Garrison. The Tang began to extend its powers to the Western Region, by subjugating the Hami (伊吾) Oasis in 630, and Tuyuhun (吐谷渾) in 634–635 to obtain Shanshan (鄯善) and Cherchen (且末) regions (Matsuda 1987: 111–114; Moriyasu 1984: 2). Moreover, the Tang invaded the Turfan Oasis in 630, and established the Anxi Protectorate (安西都護府) in the next year (Otani 1925: 274–277). Furthermore, they invaded the Karashahr (焉耆) Oasis in 644 (Matsuzaki 1987).

At the same time, the Tang planned to subjugate the Western Türk Qaghanate. Around 642, Yipi Shegui Qaghan (乙毗射匱可汗) was enthroned as the new Qaghan, elected under the observation of a Tang envoy. However, since this Qaghan could not extend his power to the Tarim Basin, the Tang subjugated the Kucha (亀茲) Oasis in 644 (Matsuzaki 1987).

As seen above, the Four Garrisons of Anxi enabled Tang to establish dominant force over the Tarim Basin. Although three places of the Four Garrisons of Anxi have been identified as Kucha, Kashgar (疏勒) and Khotan (于闐), two different places are referred to as the last garrison one in the historical documents: Suiye and Karashahr. Scholars who deny that Suiye was one of Four Garrisons contend his power to the area under the domination of the Western Türk Qaghanate could not extend to the area under the domination of the Western Türk Qaghanate before its collapse, and was re-established as a coalition government of 10 tribes after the collapse and removal of the Qaghan. The coalition government was called the “Shixing (十姓, Ten Tribes)” or “Shijian (十箭)” in the Chinese documents, and “On Oq (ten arrows)” in the Orkhon inscriptions, which came to mean the Western Türk Qaghanate during the 680s and 690s.

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Under the Tang’s expansion, Ashina Helu became independent from Tang, when Taizong (太宗) died in 649. The Tang sent expeditionary forces three times between 651 and 657, with Ashina Mishe (阿史那弥射) and Ashina Buzhen (阿史那跋真), members of the royal family, and Tiele (鐵勒) nomads in the north of Gobi Desert, and finally recaptured Ashina Helu.8)

Although the collapse of the Ashina Helu administration is generally considered as the “downfall of the Western Türk Qaghanate,” this only means that the legitimate nomadic confederation succeeding Ishtämi Qagan did not appear after this. Tribes consisting of the Western Türk Qaghanate continued to exist.9) Türkish which was prosperous in the early 8th century, was one of these tribes. According to Naito (1988: 62–64, 67–68), the Western Türk Qaghanate had 10 tribes under the royal Qaghan before its collapse, and was re-established as a coalition government of 10 tribes after the collapse and removal of the Qaghan. The coalition government was called the “Shixing (十姓, Ten Tribes)” or “Shijian (十節)” in the Chinese documents, and “On Oq (ten arrows)” in the Orkhon inscriptions, which came to mean the Western Türk Qaghanate during the 680s and 690s.

On the other hand, the royal families did not perish completely. They continued to hold the loose-rein control (羁縻支配) (indirect rule) of the former Western Türk Qaghanate people, as the puppet Qaghans by using the family’s authority. The first
instances of these puppet Qaghans were Ashina Mishe and Buzhen who subdued Ashina Helu. The Tang divided the 10 tribes under Ashina Helu into eastern and western sections. In December 657, Ashina Buzhen was sent to the five tribes of the Nushibi (五弩失畢) area (western part), and was appointed as Jiwängjüe Qaghan (繼往絶可汗) and the Mengchi Protector-general (濛池都護), while Ashina Mishe was sent to the five tribes of the Duolu (五咄陸部) area (eastern part) and appointed as Xingxiwäng Qaghan (興昔亡可汗) and the Kunling Protector-general (崑陵都護) (Naito 1988: 30–32). At that time, the center of the Mengchi Protector-general is thought to have been established at Suiye (Naito 1988: 44). However, when Ashina Mishe was murdered by Ashina Buzhen in 662, this organization collapsed. Ashina Buzhen was also murdered in 666 or 667 without being able to reunify the former area of the Western Türk Qaghanate, causing there to be no ruler of the Western Türk Qaghanate (Naito 1988: 271–275). Moreover, Naito believes that the Suiye Garrison, one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi, was abandoned with Ashina Buzhen’s death, and the Karashahr Garrison was established in its place (Naito 1997: 155). The Tang could not hold its authority in the conflict-prone territory of the Western Türk Qaghanate.

2.3. Disputes between the Tang and the Tibetan Empire over the Four Garrisons of Anxi

The state of the Four Garrisons of Anxi including Suiye changed frequently. At first, the Tibetan Empire extended its power over the Tarim Basin. The Tibetan Empire became large enough to dominate the Tibetan Plateau during the reign of Songtsen Gampo (the end of the 6th century to 649), and the Tang sent Princess Wenchen (文成公主) to him as an empress. The Tibetan Empire did not extend to the Tarim Basin during his reign, but in 662 when Ashina Mishe was murdered by Ashina Buzhen (Moriyasu 1984: 7). After Ashina Mishe’s death, when the commander of Yuhaidao (鯨海道総管) Su Haizheng (蘇海政) who murdered Mishe, attacked Kashgar (疏勒), Gongyue (弓月) and Tibet with the Buzhen, two of the five tribes of Nushibi, sent an army to help Kashgar (Matsuda 1970: 325; Moriyasu 1984: 7; Naito 1988: 272). Tibet withdrew, and Kashgar returned to the rule of the Tang (Naito 1988: 273). Naito considers that Tibet’s sending of troops was the set-up for the extension of power to the Tarim Basin (Naito 1988: 272–273).

In 670, the Tibetan Empire conducted a large military campaign to conquer the Tarim Basin. Kucha, the Anxi Protectorate, was attacked. The Anxi Protectorate was annihilated, and the Four Garrisons of Anxi came under the control of the Tibetan Empire. The Tibetan Empire’s extension of power was so prominent that it brought Tuyuhun in the Qinghai (青海) Region under its control in the same year (Yamaguchi 1983: 686–694).

Nevertheless, the Tibetan Empire’s domination lasted for only a few years, and the Tang recovered the Four Garrisons of Anxi in between 673 and 676. Although it is uncertain why the Tibetan Empire left the Tarim Basin so easily (Moriyasu 1984: 12–13), it did not give up its power over the basin completely. When Ashina Duzhi (阿史那都支) of the Chumukun tribe (処木昆部) called himself the Shixing Qaghan (十姓可汗) and raised a rebellion against the Tang in 677, the Tibetan Empire subjugated the Four Garrisons of Anxi once again (Moriyasu 1984: 13–15; Naito 1988: 276–278). Naito assumes that Ashina Duzhi dominated the entire Western Türk Qaghanate with his base in Suiye until 676 when Ashina Duzhi, the Turkic king, invited the Tibetan premier to visit him in an annual of the Tibetic language (Naito 1988: 276–277).

However, the Tang retaliated and defeated Ashina Duzhi in 679. As described in the next chapter, Pei Xingjian (裴行儉) attacked Ashina Duzhi by using a descendant of the Persian royal family, and caught him. At this time, the Tibetan
Empire did not seem to have enough power to extend control to the Tarim Basin, because of its struggle for political power (Moriyasu 1984: 15–16). The Tang took over Suiye Garrison, the stronghold of Ashina Duzhi, and added it as one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi in place of Karashahr Garrison. However, it is uncertain whether the Tang recovered all of the Four Garrisons of Anxi because there is a lack of supporting documents (cf. Moriyasu 1984: 16, 65, n. 74, 76; Beckwith 1987: 46–47, n. 47).

Suiye Garrison was maintained by Wang Fangyi (王方翼) in 679. His activities are well known and documented below.

Furthermore, he (Wang Fangyi) established (fortification walls of) the Suiye Garrison city. He made 12 gates (in total) on all 4 sides (of the walls), and all gateways were bent so that they hid (soldiers') sally and retreat. (The construction work) finished in 50 days. Foreign rulers rushed from the Western Region to see the walls, and dedicated special products of each country. [Jiutangshu 185, p. 4802]

The fortification walls built at that time are considered to correspond with the area called “Rabat” at Ak-Beshim, identified as Suiye Garrison (Gorycacheva and Peregudova 1996: 186. cf. Kato 1997: 148–149). The association of Suiye Garrison with Ak-Beshim is addressed in the next chapter. The characteristics of Suiye Garrison as referred to in the manuscript above include the shape of the walls and the number of the gates, which are expected to be discovered in the future excavations at Ak-Beshim.

After the recovery of the Four Garrisons of Anxi, the Tang held the indirect rule over the 10 tribes of the former Western Türk Qaghanate again. The Tang again used the legitimate royal family of the Western Türk Qaghanate as puppet rulers. The Tang nominated Ashina Yuanqing (阿史那元慶) as Xingxiwang Qaghan of the Mengchi Protector-general to control the western five tribes and inheriting his father, Ashina Mishe’s position in 685, and nominated Ashina Huseluvo (阿史那斛瑟羅) as Jiwangiue Qaghan of the Mengchi Protector-general to control the western five tribes and inheriting his father, Ashina Buzhen’s position in 686 (Naito 1988: 288, 307). However, soon after that, the Four Garrisons of Anxi came under the control of the Tibetan Empire again. Sato (1958: 348–352), Moriyasu (1984: 17) and Beckwith (1987: 50) posited the date of the collapse of the Four Garrisons of Anxi as 687. On the other hand, W. Zhou (1977: 141–143) and Naito (1988: 291–293) suggested the date of 686, based on the rescript in the eleventh month of 686, quoted by “Register for Fan Deda (樊德達告身)” (68TAM100:1; Tu Wen III: 604) unearthed from the Astana Tombs in Turfan, which indicate that “the Jinya Jun (金牙軍) force left off the four Garrisons of Khotan, Anxi, Kashgar and Suiye”. They interpret “left off” as “abandoned.” According to the latter theory, Suiye Garrison came under the control of Tibetan Empire at that time, since it was included in the four Garrisons.

The Tibetan Empire’s attack extended to the Western Türk Qaghanate which Tang tried to conquer. Ashina Yuanqing, Xingxiwang Qaghan of the eastern part, was caught by the Tibetan Empire in between 686–689. Although he was released afterwards, he entered Tang instead of returning to the Western Türk Qaghanate, and was executed for calumny in 692 (Naito 1988: 290–291).

On the other hand, Ashina Huseluvo, the Jiwangiue Qaghan of the western part, was not attacked by the Western Türk Qaghanate, but was attacked by the Eastern Türks (The Second Türk Qaghanate). The Second Türk Qaghanate was established in the Inner Mongolia in 682, mainly consisting of the people of the First Türk Qaghanate which collapsed in 630 and was held by the Tang under the loose-rein control.13 Because the Second Türk Qaghanate repeatedly invaded the area of the former Western Türk Qaghanate, Ashina Huseluvo had to escape the Tang in 690 (Naito 1988: 305–314).
Although the Tang tried to defend against the seizure of the Four Garrisons of Anxi by the Tibetan Empire, the attacks of the army corps in the Parthian region (安息道行軍) were unsuccessful twice (Ise 1955: 260; Naito 1988: 293–295). The Tang recovered the garrisons as the result of the victory of the final battle against the Tibetan Empire during 692–694, for which Tang allied with Wuzhile (烏質勒) of the emerging Türgish (Moriyasu 1984: 18–20). According to an article written in 692, “Tang defeated and recovered the four Garrisons of Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar and Suiye” [Jiutangshu 93, p. 2977], which means Suiye was included in the recovered region. The Tibetan Empire established Ashina Tuizi (阿史那俀子), who re-emerged after his father, Ashina Yuanqing’s execution, as the Ton Yabghu Qaghan to rally the former Western Türk Qaghanate (Naito 1988: 295–298). As a result, some tribes of the former Western Türk Qaghanate agreed and attacked Suiye. However, the Tibetan Empire did not recover the Four Garrisons of Anxi, since Han Sizhong (韓思忠), the governor-general of Suiye, intercepted him and crushed the Tibetan Empire’s force at Qianquan (Naito 1988: 298–302). Nevertheless, Naito presumes that Ashina Tuizi retained power in some areas of the Suiye Plain, after the failure of the revolt (Naito 1988: 323).

The Tibetan Empire made the royal family of the Western Türk Qaghanate a puppet ruler to dominate the Western Türk Qaghanate, especially the Suiye Plain with the Four Garrisons of Anxi (Naito 1988: 304). The Tibetan Empire, as well as the Tang, aimed to expand its power to Suiye through the use of the royal family of the Western Türk Qaghanate.

2.4. The rise of the Türgish and the Eastern Türk Qaghanate’s invasion

After this, the situation became more complicated. Wuzhile of Türgish, who supported the Tang’s recovery of the Four Garrisons of Anxi increased his power and became independent, while the Eastern Türk Qaghanate did not conceded the Tien-shan area, and entered battles between the Tang and the Tibetan Empire with the former Western Türk Qaghanate among them. The Tang sent Ashina Huseluo again to Suiye in 700, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Pingxi Force (平西軍大總管), and not as Qaghan. According to Naito (1988: 319–321), the reason that Ashina Huseluo did not name himself Qaghan was to communicate his presence as the Tang commander, not the Western Türk Qaghanate’s, to the Eastern Türk Qaghanate who aimed to expand its power into the Former Western Türk Qaghanate area by sending the Inäl Qaghan (拓西可汗). A second goal was to force the former Western Türk Qaghanate settle down by suppressing the Türgish, who were originally subject of the Western Türk Qaghanate.

On the other hand, the Tibetan Empire also took action in 700 by using Ashina Tuizi. According to the Old Tibetan Annals (ver. 1, l. 133), Ton Yabghu Qaghan (Ashina Tuizi) was sent to Dru-gu (Dotson 2009: 101). Although the location of Dru-gu is unknown, there are two interpretations of the inscription. The first is to consider Ashina Tuizi as a reinforcement for Axijibaolu (阿悉吉薄露), who was thought to be of Western Türk Qaghanate origin and who raised a rebellion against the Tang (Moriyasu 1984: 22–23; Naito 1988: 322–323; Beckwith 1987: 62). The interpretation states that Axijibaolu raised the rebellion with the Tibetan Empire, and Ashina Tuizi was sent in response. The other interpretation is to consider that he was sent to the Eastern Türk Qaghanate as a messenger of the united front with the Tibetan Empire (Moriyasu 1984: 23–24). In any case, the Tibetan Empire continued to expand its power in the plain by using Ashina Tuizi.

Contrary to the actions of the Tang and the Tibetan Empire, the Türgish gained control of Suiye. After Wuzhile seized Suiye and banished Ashina Huseluo, the Türgish became the strongest force in the Tien-shan area (Naito 1988: 324–328). Nevertheless, “Suiye Garrison” is still seen in some of the Chinese documents because the Tang
normally placed the governor-general of Suiye by compromise with the Türgish. This does not mean that Suiye was once again substantially under the Tang’s control (Matsuda 1970: 367–369).

After Wuzhile’s death in 706, his son Suoge succeeded as leader of Türgish, while the Tang sent Ashina Huaidao (阿史那懷道) , a son of Ashina Huseluo, who was appointed as Shixing Qaghan, and appointed Suoge as the Dujun (Commander-in-chief) of the Walu Prefecture (嚈鹿州都督) and the Huaide Commandery Prince (懷德郡王) (Naito 1988: 335–339). T. Saito points out the reason Suoge was given the title of Dujun, not Qaghan, is that the Tang tried to appease him with neighboring states. He also argued that Ashina Huaidao, who was the true royal family of the Western Türk Qaghanate and Shixing Qaghan was sent because the Tang were trying to appeal the existence of the “true heir to the Qaghan” of the Western Türk Qaghanate and show Ashina Huaidao’s higher ranking over Suoge (Saito 1991: 36–37). Moreover, the Censor-in-chief (御史大夫) Jie Wan (解琬), was sent to Suoge to bestow him the title of the Jinhe Commandery Prince (金河郡王) in 708.

The good relationship between the Tang and Suoge temporarily deteriorated: Tang attacked Suoge in 708 by deferring to Ashina Zhongjie’s opinion, who was a subordinate of Wuzhile. Suoge confronted the Tang by declaring himself Qaghan, while the Tang appointed Ashina Xian (阿史那獻), a son of the Xingxiwang Qaghan Ashina Yuanqing (and a younger brother of Ashina Tuizi), as “Shixing Qaghan” and sent him to the region (Moriyasu 1984: 24–25; Naito 1988: 346–349). Although the Tibetan Empire supported the Tang, it was defeated by Suoge, and Ashina Zhongjie was captured (Moriyasu 1984: 24–25; Naito 1988: 346–349). Therefore, the Tang made a great concession to Suoge and appointed him as the “Fourteen Tribes Qaghan (十四姓可汗)” in 709 [Jiutangshu 97, p. 3048)]. “Fourteen Tribes” are presumed to be the Türgish clan, which was one of the Ten Tribe that was divided into black and yellow tribes, three clans of Turkic Qarluq (葛邏禄), and were the “Ten Tribes” (Matsuda 1970: 370–371). Naito assumes that “Shixing Qaghan” of Ashina Xian was abolished, as this title, that Suoge used when he declared himself as Qaghan in 708, was ratified by the Tang, and included the “Ten Tribes” (Naito 1988: 352–354).

This appointment of Qaghan caused the Tang to approve Suoge’s rulership over the former Western Türk Qaghanate in both name and reality (Saito 1991: 37). According to Osawa, this appointment was implemented through the mediation of the Qïrqïz (黠戛斯) located north of the Mongolian Plateau (Osawa 1996: 12–16). The reason for the good relationship among the Tang, the Türgish and the Qïrqïz was to confront the Second Türk Qaghanate, which had become strong under the rule of Qapghan Qaghan (默啜可汗: 691–716) and had appointed Bars-Bäg as a puppet Qaghan in the first half of 708. Bars-Bäg secretly formed a relationship with the Tang to overthrow Qapghan Qaghan, despite the fact that he was a puppet Qaghan of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate. The Eastern Türk Qaghanate attacked the Qïrqïz and killed Bars-Bäg in 710, and attacked the Türgish and killed Suoge, bringing the Türgish Khaganate to extinction (Iwasa 1936: 195–201; Naito 1988: 360–361).

After the death of Suoge, Suiye became temporarily a blank area. The Tang appointed Ashina Xian as “the Pacification Commissioner of Shixing (安撫招慰十姓大使)” and the Xingxiwang Qaghan “to control the former Western Türk Qaghanate areas (Naito 1988: 82–85; Saito 1991: 38). Nevertheless, Suiye was seized in 714 by Dou Dan (都達) from the Huluwu tribe (胡祿屋部) which was a group of the former Western Türk Qaghanate (Matsuda 1970: 373; Naito 1988: 72–75). Dou Dan’s war did not lead to a serious takeover, because it was suppressed by Ashina Xian who was appointed as Qixi Military Commissioner (碛西節度使) in the same year [Zizhi Tongjian 211, “the Second Year of Kaiyuan (714)”, p. 6698]. Furthermore, according
to Naito, the Eastern Türk Qaghanate attacked the Beiting Protectorate (北庭都護府) to occupy Suiye beyond the Beiting Protectorate (Naito 1995: 36–37). However, this was ceased with the death of Tonga Tegin (同俄特勤), a son of the Qapghan Qaghan, and the Eastern Türk Qaghanate retreated (Naito 1995: 34–35).

On the other hand, the Türgish were revived by Sulu (蘇禄) from black tribe of the Türgish which had been disrupted by the Eastern Türk Qaghanate (Matsuda 1970: 371; Naito 1988: 354–355), and became independent as a Khagan in 716 [Zizhi Tongjian 211, “the Fourth Year of Kaiyuan (716)” , p. 6698]. The Tang appointed Ashina Xian as the Shixing Qaghan again in 716 or 717, and appointed Sulu as the Dujun, to appease Sulu and show Ashina Xian’ s dominance (Saito 1991: 40–42). However, this situation was ended by Ashina Xian’ s dogmatic suppression of Sulu and his defeat in June and July in 717. The Tang then had to support Sulu’ s control (Saito 1991: 43) and appointed him as the Shunguogong Duke (順國公) in 718, and appointed Sulu as the Zhongshun Qaghan in 719, which meant that the relationship between him and the Tang would have been a good one. Therefore, the Tang would have ceded control of Suiye to Shixing Qaghan when appointing Zhongshun Qaghan. Secondly, Shixing Qaghan Ashina Xian was not described in 719, although he was around Suiye in 716 and 717; third, the situation in 719 was so unstable that Tang could not send Shixing Qaghan to Suiye. Thirdly, the editor of the Xintangshu may have mistaken Sulu for Shixing Qaghan.

On the other hand, A. Liu discusses the documents describing the situation of that time (Liu 2002), including the letter sent by Xianzhi (獻之), the Yanpo Area Commander of the Huluwu tribe (胡禄屋部壇泊都督府) of the five tribes of Duolu, unearthed from the Shanshan District (鄯善縣) in Turfan. According to Liu’ s interpretation, Xianzhi was requisitioned to the force to Dingyuan by the “Commander-in-chief of the Campaign to Dingyuan (定遠道行軍大總管) and Qaghan” Ashina Xian in November 717, and finally returned to his village near Turfan in 721 (Liu 2002: 178–186). Furthermore, the force to Dingyuan was in the eastern Tien-shan area for defending from an attack from the Eastern Türk Qaghanate in 717 (Liu 2002: 201). Liu insists that the “Shixing Qaghan” in the Xintangshu was Ashina Xian, because the authority of Ashina Xian spread to the areas of the Western Türk Qaghanate in 721. However, there are some problems in the discussion of the “Shixing Qaghan in Suiye” such as the fact that Ashina Xian was called only “Qaghan” in the letter, and that the sphere of Xianzhi’ s activity was the eastern Tien-shan area, as Liu points out. Therefore, the author follows the
Saito’s opinion, even if these two opinions should be verified in detail in the future. In any case, Suiye was rarely described in Chinese documents after it was under the control of Sulu.\textsuperscript{16}

As seen above, the history of the eastern Turkestan including Suiye is complex. However, the point is that the authorities of the Ashina family, the royal family of the Western Türk Qaghanate, lasted for a long time. Suiye was under the authority of the Western Türk Qaghanate, and therefore, the Tang and the Tibetan Empire tried to expand their power to Suiye by using the puppet Qaghan. The Ashina family lost power after the rise of the Türgish. Afterwards, the Ashina family vanished from history through the rise of Qarluq and Kara-Khanid Khanate.

3. Du Huaibao Stele

In this chapter, the Du Huaibao stele, which is written in Chinese and was unearthed at Ak-Beshim site, will be discussed.

Although some scholars have tried to associate Suiye with Ak-Beshim (Clauson 1961: 4; Zhang 1979: 463), the theory was not confirmed due to the lack of strong evidence. However, a Chinese stele identifying Ak-Beshim as Suiye was uncovered in 1982.

This stele was first published by V. D. Goryacheva and S. Y. Peregudova (1996: 185–187; c.f. Kato 1997: 148–149). Naito presents the description that was offered as the rubbed copy made by K. Kawasaki and considers the stele’s historical background (Naito 1997). Furthermore, Y. I. Ludo-Lesnichenko and Xue also mention the stela, based on Naito’s theory (Ludo-Lesnichenko 2002: 123–126; Xue: 133–137), while Zhao partially alters Naito’s views (Zhao 2000).

The description of the stele is shown below. This is the revised translation presented by Naito, based on the inspection of the rubbed copy, offered by Kawasaki.\textsuperscript{17}

1. Vice-commander
2. of Anxi, in Suiye, Pacifier of (碎葉鎮圧),
3. the Ten Tribes (十姓使), Supreme Pillar of State (上柱国)
4. Du Huaibao… from the top
5. for the Tianhuang (天皇),\textsuperscript{18} and to the bottom
6. …(for) my deceased mother
7. …
8. Fajie (法界)…\textsuperscript{19}
9. wishes (the mother) getting
10. repose the soul, and builds a Buddha statue
11. and two statues of Bodhisattva.

As Naito points out, this stele is a pedestal (32.6 cm wide, 11 cm deep and 13.5 cm high) of a Buddha statue offered by Du Huaibao to his deceased mother (Naito 1997: 151–152).

Then, who was Du Huaibao? Unfortunately, his biography does not mention any details concerning himself, and the description below is the only document that mentions him.

Zhang Yue (張說) “Memorial Inscription of the Dujun of Xia Prefecture, Wang from Taiyuan (夏州都督太原王公神道碑)” [Wenyuan Yinghua (文苑英華) 93 p. 4804]

When Pei Xingjian (裴行俭) caught Li Zhefu (李遮匐) actually, he nominally insisted to help assume a Persian prince. Then he found Wang Fangyi’s great high spirits. Pei soon recommended him. An imperial ordinance was given, and Wang became the vice-commander of the force to Persia (波斯軍副使), holding the Anxi Protectorate, and the person [of Merit Title (勲官)] was promoted to the Supreme Pillar of State, while (Du) Huaibao transferred from the Anxi Protectorate to the Prefect of the Ting Prefecture (庭州刺史). Chinese and foreign people could not arrive at the opposite side of the great city Suiye even they walk much, because it had complex streets and castles… (partially omitted) … Not long after, another imperial ordinance was given to
appoint Wang as the Prefect of the Ting Prefecture, and had him control the Jinshan Protector-general (金山都护) (latter Beiting Protectorate) as the Commander of the Persia (波斯使). The predecessor Du Huaibao controlled Anxi in instead and guarded Suiye... (omitted)

This document describes the stele built in front of the tomb of Wang Fangyi, and was written by Zhang Yue. In the first half of the document, the 677 rebellion of Ashina Duzhi and Li Zhefu of the Chumukun tribe is recorded. Pei Xingjian made a surprise attack and captured them in 679 (Moriyasu 1984: 14–16; Naito 1988: 275–280). This time, Pei captured them by having the force invade the former Western Türk Qaghanate area, nominally aiming to leave the Persian prince to return home, calling himself as the “安撫大食使 (the Pacification Commissioner of the Arab).” In the next sentence, Wang Fangyi was appointed as the Anxi Protectorate instead of Du Huaibao. As noted above, Wang Fangyi established the walls of Suiye Garrison in September 679 [Tang Huiyao (唐会要), 73, p. 1571].

Furthermore, Wang Fangyi was transferred to be the prefect of the Ting Prefecture, and Du Huaibao was assigned to Suiye instead, which Naito and Ludo-Lesnichenko consider to have occurred in late 679 or early 680 (Naito 1997: 154; Ludo-Lesnichenko 2002: 126). Naito suggests that Du Huaibao’s title was “砕葉鎮守使 (Guardian of Suiye),” because he “guarded Suiye” according to the tomb stele, along with the vice-commander of Anxi seen in the Du Huaibao Stele. Naito believes that the Du Huaibao Stele has an error in which the printer had written “砕葉鎮守十姓使” instead of “砕葉鎮守使 鎮守十姓使 (the Guardian of Suiye, Pacifier of the Ten Tribes),” because of duplication of the character, “鎮” (Naito 1997: 152–153).

However, the assumption of Du’s title has not been proven, because it is based only on the description of the tomb stele. On the other hand, Xue criticizes Naito’s theory as he reads the same words as “砕葉鎮，圧十姓使.” Furthermore, he insists Du had the title of “押十姓使”, interpreting “壓” to have the same meaning as “押” (Xue 2010: 136–137). However, Xue’s theory has also not been proven, because he does not present similar instances of the substitution of “圧” for “押.”

Moreover, Zhao suggests that “砕葉鎮圧十姓使” is the temporary title for the conquering of the Ten Tribes at Suiye, and assumes it would have changed to the permanent title “砕葉鎮守使” at a later time(Zhao 2000: 388, 390).

As seen above, the interpretation of “砕葉鎮圧十姓使” has not been agreed upon. However, the discovery of the Du Huaibao Stele clarified that Du Huaibao was assigned to Suiye as the vice-commander of the Anxi, and therefore, that Ak-Beshim is Suiye Garrison.

Concerning the date of the stele, Zhao concludes that Du Huaibao was assigned to Suiye in 679 instead of Wang Fangyi and again in 686 when the Four Garrisons of Anxi were surrendered by the Tibetan Empire (Zhao 2000: 389–390). On the other hand, Naito maintains the strict date by the inclusion of the “Ten Tribes” in the Du Huaibao Stele. As mentioned above, the “Ten Tribes” originally signified the ten tribes consisting of the Western Türk Qaghanate, over which the Qaghan Ashina family reigned (Naito 1988: 67). After the fall of the Western Türk Qaghanate, Ashina Duzhi (of a non-royal family), who was captured by Wang Fangyi reorganized the Ten Tribes, and called himself “Shixing Qaghan”, the head of the alliance. Afterwards, the title became established as the Western Türk Qaghanate after its decline (Naito 1988: 67–68).

After 679 when Du Huaibao was assigned to Suiye, the Shixing Qaghan was Ashina Chebu (阿史那車簿) who confronted the Tang and, whose origin was also non-royal. Although he sieged the Gongyue Cheng (弓月城) which is identified as the area around Almalik in the Mongolian Period, 21) he was...

Zhao suggests that Du Huaibao may have built the Buddha statues for the repose of his deceased mother during the confusion of the former Western Türk Qaghanate area a few months after the Ashina Chebu rebellion (Zhao 2000: 388). However, according to Naito, the name of the “Ten Tribes” had not been used when Ashina Duzhi raised the rebellion in 677, and the name “Ten Tribes of the Turks (十姓突厥)” was used at this time. Therefore, Naito concludes that the Tang came to perceive the former Western Türk Qaghanate as the “Ten Tribes” during the 680s and 690s (Naito 1988: 60–64). If this is true, at the time of the Ashina Chebu rebellion when the stele was created, the Tang had begun to refer to the group of the former Western Türk Qaghanate as the “Ten Tribes,” which may indicate that the rebellion prompted the name. According to this opinion, the date of the stele can be specified between 682 and 686, nevertheless it cannot be defined precisely as 682 in accordance with Naito.

Moreover, the title “天皇” in the Du Huaibao Stele can aid further in the specification of the date. This title was used for only 10 years between 674 and 683 during the reign of the third emperor of the Tang, Gaozong. According to the Jiu Tangshu, Volume 5, “the Chapter of Gaozong” (p. 99), “（咸亨五年八月）皇帝稱天皇，皇后稱天后” (from August 674, the Gaozong started to call himself as Tianhou, while the Empress Wu as Tianhou). These titles continued until the death of Gaozong. According to the Jiu Tangshu 6, p. 116, “弘道元年十二月丁巳，大帝崩，皇太子顯即位，尊天后為皇太后” (4th December 683, the Emperor Gaozong passed away and the Crown Prince Xian was enthroned, while Tianhou was called Huangtaihou for respect).

Unfortunately, this description does not indicate whether the title Tianhuan continued after 683. However, in the Jiu Tangshu 6, p. 116, “（嗣聖元年）二月戊午，廢皇帝為廬陵王，幽於別所，仍改賜名哲” (6th February (684), the Empress Wu confined the Emperor Zhongzong after dethroning him, called as Luling Prince and changed his name to Zhe), the title “Emperor” is used. According to Luo, changing his title to Tianhuan and Tianhou was a demonstration of Wu’s intension to be equal to the Emperor and superior to the Empress (Luo 2009: 230–231). Therefore, the original purpose of changing titles was to establish the Tianhou, and establishing the Tianhuan was incidental. Furthermore, Luo points out that Wu Zetian did not lose power even after the death of Zhongzong, and finally called herself “Shengmu Shenhuang (聖母神皇)” superior to the Emperor. Following the opinion above, the title of Tianhuan was abolished at the end of 683, because continuing the title was not necessary after the title of Tianhuan had been abolished.

Based on these argument, the description “for Tianhuan” in the Du Huaiiba Stele can be considered a wish for the charity of the donation of the Buddha statues to reach the Tianhuan Gaozong as well as the deceased mother. Therefore, the date of the stele should be between 674 and 684, even considering the period until the news of the death of Gaozong would have reached Suiye. In addition, considering Naito’s opinion that the name “Ten Tribes” did not appear before the Ashina Chebu’s rebellion in 682, the stele was most likely made between 682 and 684.

4. Conclusion

As seen above, Suiye in the 7th and 8th centuries was a land of the conflict among the Tang, the
Tibetan Empire and the Eastern Türk Qaghanate, while the Western Turkic Khagante nomads were active in the region. On the one hand, Suiye was an international city with merchants from various places as Xuanzang reported, and on the other hand, it was a rich grassland for the nomads living around the city. Moreover, it was one of the Tang’s strongholds in their control of Inner Asia, even if it was for a short period.

Concerning the topographical importance of Suiye, T. Matsuda pointed out that the city had been crossroads of an oasis trading area in Mawarannahr (Transoxiana) to the west, the nomadic area to the north, and China to the east, and therefore, the Tang tried to rule over this region to control caravan trades in Inner Asia (Matsuda 1970: 430–431). Furthermore, Naito regards Suiye Garrison as the Sogdian commercial city, and considers the city to be a strategic point on the route from the Western Regions to China, or from Altai to Mongolia across the Chuy-Ili Mountains, and the entrance to the eastern world for the colonial cities of the Sogdians (Naito 1988: 37–38). Moreover, M. Arakawa, who studied the Tang’s trading system in the Western Region in detail suggests that the Suiye Garrison’s development under the control of the Tang would show the Tang’s intention to maintain trade routes by taking control of the steppe routes on the northern Tien-Shan from the nomadic countries. Arakawa also thinks that Beiting (Bešbalîq) in Jimsar in the eastern Tien-Shan had a similar role (Arakawa 2010: 507–508, 517).

On one hand, Suiye developed as a pivotal point on the trading route in the Western Regions, and on the other hand, it was the contact point between the nomadic and settled people. K. Iwami points out that Suiye Garrison functioned as the capital city of the Western Türk Qaghanate for foreign envoys and merchants, but not for nomads, which is similar to Ordu-Balîq (current Kharbalgas archaeological site), the capital city of the Eastern Uyghur Khaganate which demolished the Second Türk Qaghanate and ruled over the Mongolian Plateau in the mid-8th century, and Qaraqorum, the capital city of the Mongolian Empire in the 13th century (2008: 49). It will be necessary to reconsider Suiye Garrison’s historical importance in the future, as the relationship between nomadic and settled peoples must be understood to further elaborate the history of the Chinese and Inner Asian.

Therefore, excavations at Ak-Beshim are quite important. The author hopes that further excavations will result in new relations concerning the situations of Inner Asian commercial cities, the relationship between nomads and urbans, and Tang’s rulership over barbarian peoples.
Notes

1) This is a revised article based on presentation given at the symposium entitled “Archaeological Sites in the Chuy Valley, the Kyrgyz Republic” held in January, 2011.

2) Ishtämi Qaghan was called as “Ishtämi Qaghan” in the Orkhon Inscriptions written in Old Turkic alphabet (Tekin 1988: 8–9, 70), while transliterated as “室点密可汗” or “瑟帝米可汗” in Chinese documents (Matsuda 1970: 256). He has been identified as Dizaboulos (or Dilziboulos, Silziboulos) in Greek documents written by Menandros (Naito 1988: 399).

3) Concerning the genealogy of the Qaghans of the Western Türk Qaghanate, see Naito (1988: 256).

4) The identification of Suiye Garrison as Ak-Beshim will be discussed below.

5) The author follows the De la Vaissière’ s theory that Xuanzang departed from Chang’ an in 629 and visited Suiye in 630 (De la Vaissière 2010: 166).

6) The person called “葉護可汗” in this document was identified as Ton Yabghu Qaghan (統葉護可汗) for a long time. However, De la Vaissière clarified his identity as Si Yabghu Qaghan, the next Qaghan of Ton Yabghu Qaghan (De la Vaissière 2010: 165–166).

7) The loose-rein control of oasis regions, where the Four Garrisons of Anxi was located, was a double ruling system of the Area Command (都督府) and the king as seen previously and in the Tang’ s guardian force (鎮守軍) (Moriyasu 1984: 52–54; Zhang and Rong 1987: 90–91; Zang and Rong 2008: 111–117; Arakawa 1997: 10–16).


9) In this article, the nation governed by the Ashina family before the fall of Ashina Helu’ s government is called “the Western Türk Qaghanate,” while the tribes constituting the Western Türk Qaghanate after its fall is referred to as “the former Western Türk Qaghanate.”

10) Concerning the loose-rein control of survivors of the Western Türk Qaghanates and the establishment of the Second Türk Qaghanate, see Iwasa 1936; Iwami 1998; Saito 2009; 2011.

11) Recently, the authority of the Türkic Qaghans starting with Bumïn Qaghan, the founder of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate has been thought to be important in the legitimacy of rulership throughout the Eastern Türk Qaghanate’ s history. Some aspects of this have been clarified such as the Second Türk Qaghanate creating a false genealogy that displayed a direct line from Bumïn Qaghan (Suzuki 2008: 147–145), and the Tang making Ashina Gande (阿史那観德), a direct descendant of Bumin Qaghan, the puppet Qaghan in control of the survivors of the Eastern Türk Qaghanate (Saito 2011: 25–31). Therefore, it is necessary to note the Ashina family’ s authority over the Western Türks.


13) Beckwith insisted that he was sent to the Western Türk Qaghanate, because Dru-gu referred to the Western Türk Qaghanate, as the Eastern Türk Qaghanate was called as “Bug-čhor” in the Old Tibetan Annals (Beckwith 1987: 63–64, n. 56). However, the author has pointed out that in another article (Saito 2011), ‘Bug-čhor is not the term used to refer to the Eastern Türk Qaghanate itself, but the groups who survived the purge during the enthronement of the Bilgä Qaghan, led by the son(s?) of the predecessor Mochuo Qaghan. 
Therefore, the Beckwith’s theory should be reconsidered.

14) Ashina Huaidao’s wife was from the An family of the Six Sogdian Prefecture (六胡州), according to the tomb inscriptions of Ashina Huaidao and his wife (Ishikawa 2011: 28, 44).

15) Osawa (1996: 1–6). Although Naito insists that Bars-Bâg’s origin was the former Western Türk Qaghanate (Naito 1988: 39–40; 1995: 37–39), the author follows Osawa’s theory that concludes that he was of Qïrqïz origin based on the Orkhon inscriptions.

16) The fact that the walls of Suiye had been destroyed by the attack of the Beiting Military Commissioner (北庭節度使) Wang Zhengjian (王正見) in 748, and that the Dayun temple (大雲寺) survived when Du Huan visited Suiye were reported in the Jingxingji (経行記) by Du Huan (written after 762, original does not exist) and in the Tongdian (通典) 193 p. 5275.

17) In addition to Naito’s interpretation of inscription, Zhao (2000: 384), Ludo-Lesnichenko (2002: 124) and Xue (2010: 134–135) also provide original interpretations.

18) Although Zhao reconstructed this as “天子” (emperor) (Zhao 2000: 384), Professor Yutaka Yoshida suggested personally to read this as “天皇.” The author would like to thank him sincerely for his advice.


22) For instance, there has been discussion that the mixed region of nomads and settled people created dynamism in the Chinese and the Inner Asian histories. Although the name of the region differs according to individual researchers, Iwami (1999), Moriyasu (2007: 60–61) and Seo (2009: 113–116) provide an overview. Moreover, Moribe (2010), Yamashita (2008; 2011), Nishimura (2005; 2008; 2009), Murai (2003; 2008; 2010) and Suzuki (2006; 2011) consider the historical development in the region.
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