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Cover photo: Uppland runestone U 654, Varpsund, Övergrans sn., Sweden, raised by the sons of “Gunnleifr, their father, who was killed in the east with Ingvar...He could steer a cargo-ship well.” Photo copyright © 2008 Daniel C. Waugh.

The Silk Road
Book notices


This impressive volume belongs on every reference shelf. The book is remarkable for its coverage, from earliest recorded times down to the 21st century. To the best of my knowledge, there is no equivalent with the same chronological and geographical scope in any language. It is divided into these major sections:

I. China (pp. 27–384)
II. Non-Han states which existed on the territory of China and adjacent countries in the Middle Ages and used the Chinese calendar (pp. 385–434).
III. Vietnam (pp. 435–530)
IV. Mongolia (pp. 531–92)
V. Korea (pp. 593–694)
VI. Japan (pp. 695–802).

While the book is intended in the first instance for Russian users, the detailed table of contents includes both original language and English renderings of all the headings. The chronological tables of rulers likewise provide Romanized transcription and the original characters along with the Cyrillic phonetic renderings of proper names. There is a short summary in English at the end. So the book can be used by those who know no Russian, even if the extensive notes will not be accessible to them.

The section on China begins with a discussion of calendrical systems and includes tables of the various cycles and their correspondences. There is a section on historical onomastics and other aspects of naming practices and titulature. Then the ruler tables start with what can be established about the period of the legendary five emperors and move down through to the People’s Republic and Taiwan. Apart from listing the leaders, the modern section includes the chronology of the main Communist Party congresses and plenums. Each table has, where appropriate, Russian transcription of the name, Pinyin and Wade-Giles transcription, Chinese characters, reign name in Russian transcription and in the original characters, reign dates according to cyclical years and modern calendrical equivalent. Since the sources for such data are often in disagreement, the extensive notes explain the choices and alternatives.

In Section II, the tables include the Joujan, the rulers of Gaochang, Nanzhao (and various subdivisions), Bohai, the Khitan/Liao, Kara-Khitai, Xi Xia, Jurchen/Jin, Manchu/Qing. Under Mongolia, we have the rulers for the Yuan and in Mongolia proper, both before and after the Yuan period, but not for the western and Central Asian parts of the empire. One is reminded here that the specific Russian “Tsentral’naia Azizia” of the title, often rendered as “Inner Asia,” is not the same as “Sredniaia Azizia,” which we would normally translate “Central Asia” and might be understood to have a narrower, more “western” locus. Apart from the ruler chronologies, there is a detailed chronological table for the Mongolian calendar from 1912–30.

The other sections of the book, which I shall not comment on here, are similar in structure and content.

A second volume has been promised, with addenda and what one imagines will be a huge bibliography of the sources. While Kontsevich obviously deserves the lion’s share of the accolades for this book, he acknowledges the help of a great many colleagues, some of whom undertook editorial responsibility for the sections falling within their particular areas of expertise.

In the past, Russian translations of important Western reference works have been produced, often with valuable additions of material from Russian sources. One thinks, for example, of Stanley Lane-Poole’s Muslim Dynasties, translated and supplemented by none other than V. V. Bartol’d in 1899 (reprinted in 2004); Walther Hinz’s Islamische Masse und Gewichte (1955), which in its Russian version (1970) was supplemented by a separate set of materials for Central Asia compiled by the noted numismatist E. A. Davidovich; and Charles Storey’s multi-volume bibliography of Persian literature (begun in 1927), which in Russian was much expanded thanks to the work especially of Iurii Bregel’ and Iurii Borschchevskii (1972). Western scholars who
do not know Russian should hope that these examples be reciprocated, with a translation of Lev Kontsevich’s book, even if, as I would guess, there may be few stones unturned whose evidence might supplement the colossal work he and his colleagues have already done.

— DCW


This sizeable volume pulls together the results of nearly a decade of archaeological work in the Eastern Desert of Egypt and principally at Berenike, an important port on the west coast of the Red Sea. A specialist on Roman economic policy, Professor Sidebotham headed the excavations and field work. Here he draws on an impressively wide range of reading to contextualize the Berenike material. Even though the meticulous work there so far has excavated only some two percent of the surface area and has yet to reach the bottom level of habitation, the results are significant. For the most part the remains have lain undisturbed by medieval or modern habitation or looting, a fact which, in combination with the dry climate, has preserved a unique record of life in the port and its extensive trade. While much has been published on Indian Ocean trade in antiquity, the Berenike excavations considerably deepen our understanding of it. The author emphasizes that the Maritime Spice Route was one of several significant trade routes in antiquity, another being the largely overland Silk Route. Since all these routes overlap or intersect, any history of the others will perforce have to take into account the material presented here.

There are chapters with a chronological treatment of the history of the port and its hinterlands in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. It flourished especially in the first and second centuries CE after the Roman conquest of Egypt, and, after a hiatus, revived in the fourth and fifth centuries. As the introductory chapter on geography and the later one on water emphasize, the location had the major advantage of enabling ships to unload about half way up the Red Sea before they encountered the adverse northern winds that prevailed in its upper reaches. From Berenike the trade then ran overland to the Nile. The disadvantage of Berenike was the dry climate, which meant that many products needed for subsistence had to be brought in from a distance, and the management of water resources was critical to the viability of the port.

Thematic chapters include a very illuminating one on roads, another on other emporia, a discussion of the ships, and, of particular interest for readers of this journal, a discussion of commercial networks, trade costs and the various products which were traded. In the early Roman period, the source of goods coming into Berenike from the north ranged all across the Mediterranean; but in the later period, the emphasis was more on products from the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the population in the town, which in the early period probably was continually renewed by short-term residents from other parts of the Roman Empire, in the later period seems to have been more fixed, with the inhabitants relying primarily on local resources for their sustenance. There is evidence of residents in Berenike coming from various important trading centers with which it connected: Nabataeans, Palmyrans, and Indians.

There is a good discussion here regarding the written and material evidence about long-distance trade down the African coast, to Arabia and to India. Previous scholarship has mined the writers of antiquity, whose evidence is also frequently invoked here — among others, Strabo, Pliny the Elder and the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (describing the route all the way to India) provide a great deal of information. The Berenike excavations supplement such material from notes written on potsherds (ostraca), which were a readily available writing material. Of course much of this is fragmentary, but taken together it does provide at least episodic insights into how trade was conducted, the people and the costs involved, and much more.

The material evidence includes huge numbers of amphoras from around the Mediterranean, in
which in the first instance wine was conveyed. There are also ceramics from various other areas, including some from India probably brought by the Indian merchants who took up residence in the town. The occasional pieces of wood (some of it probably recycled from ship timbers) include teak from southeast Asia and cedar from Lebanon. There are large quantities of beads made in Sri Lanka or India, cotton textiles from India and very prominently, Indian black pepper. A cache of 7.5 kg of peppercorns was found buried in a pot in a temple courtyard at Berenike; pepper is found in almost every other site that has been investigated in the region.

Of particular interest is Prof. Sidebotham’s discussion of the larger interpretive issues of whether the trade was primarily that in luxury goods and whether we find here evidence for the view promoted by moralizing Roman authors such as Pliny that the Eastern trade was a drain on the Empire’s wealth. As he suggests, certain key imports — pepper and aromatics such as frankincense — were really considered essentials, especially insofar as they were used in ritual contexts, and the quantities imported were so large the prices were within reach of ordinary people. In examining the question of balance of trade, he concludes especially from the coin evidence that there is little reason to think the trade drained Rome of its wealth. In fact, the eastern trade, important as it was, probably represented only a fraction of the larger Roman economy.

By setting Berenike in the immediate context of its hinterland and in the broad context of the international routes and distant emporia, the author provides an excellent example of the kind of analysis which can profitably be extended to other seaports but also to emporia located along the overland routes. That is, it is important to think not simply in terms of a kind of “global economy” but also to look at more specific local contexts, even if for other places and times we do not always have the richness of written material which can be brought to bear here.

The book is largely accessible for general readers, though some may find the author’s tendency to catalogue each and every illustrative bit of evidence a bit tiresome. Furthermore, given his approach of examining the material first from one vantage point or topic and then from another, he inevitably (though not necessarily unavoidably) repeats information cited in other places. Probably a more careful editing could have avoided some of this repetition. Readers wishing a more general treatment of the spice trade may wish to start not with Sidebotham’s book but rather with John Keay’s recent, careful The Spice Route: A History (Univ. of California Pr., 2008), which burnishes his reputation as one of the best distillers of often complex historical subjects.

Sidebotham’s book has a number of well-chosen black-and-white photos taken by the author and, blessedly, a number of excellent maps. The bibliography is huge, and full of interesting leads which go well beyond the immediate subject of the maritime spice trade. Indexing is less than thorough; it would have been nice had there been a glossary or at least explanatory identifications in the index.

The book is immensely stimulating as a clear summary of an important area of trade in antiquity. Moreover, it demonstrates the value of very careful archaeology — even if, in a sense, it has only scratched the surface of an important site. We can be thankful for an effort to make preliminary conclusions widely known even as the latest results have only barely arrived from the field. The author is the first to admit we do not have answers to a lot of important questions, but at least we can learn from him what they are and what the range of interpretations may be at this state of our knowledge.

— DCW


Bhikku Anālayo’s deceptively slender monograph is an auspicious beginning for a new
series, edited by Michael Zimmermann, and published by the University of Hamburg Center for Buddhist Studies. The author defended a Ph.D. thesis in 2000 on the Satipatthāna-sutta and subsequently completed habilitation research on the Majjhima-nikāya discourses. General readers should not be put off by the fact that half or more of most pages is occupied by detailed footnotes and the bibliography occupies another 40 pages, since the main text is very clearly written and can be understood by the non-specialist. Here I quote the summary of the book from the back cover:

In this book, Bhikku Anālayo investigates the genesis of the bodhisattva ideal, one of the most important concepts in the history of Buddhist thought. He brings together material from the corpus of the early discourses preserved mainly in Pāli and Chinese that appear to have influenced the arising of the bodhisattva ideal. Anālayo convincingly shows that the early sources do not present compassionate concern for others as a motivating force for the Buddha’s quest for awakening. He further offers an analysis of the only reference to Maitreya in the Pāli canon, showing that this reference is most likely a later addition. In sum Bhikku Anālayo is able to delineate a gradual genesis of central aspects of the bodhisattva ideal by documenting (1) an evolution in the bodhisattva concept reflected in the early discourses, (2) the emergence of the notion of a vow to pursue the path to buddhahood, and (3) the possible background for the idea of a prediction an aspirant to buddhahood receives from a former buddha.

***


This is a perplexing book. As curator of the Tibetan, Mongolian and Khotanese collections in the State Hermitage Museum, Iuliia Igorevna Elikhina brings to the subject substantial expertise and the great advantage of familiarity with material in the museum which to date has not been widely known. The focus of her kandidat dissertation on the veneration of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara and its relationship to the Tibetan state system (gosudarstvennost’) explains the emphasis here. Yet her attempt to broaden the subject to include Manjushri and Vajrapani and survey the veneration of these three bodhisattvas across a broad swatch of East and South Asia is at best uneven. While the blurb on the back of the title page indicates that “the publication is intended for orientalists and anyone interested in history, culture and art of Buddhist Asia,” one comes away with the sense that the author was caught between writing for a general audience and providing material for specialists, a challenge which is almost impossible to meet successfully. Neither the general nor the more knowledgeable audience is likely to be satisfied with the result. (My comments here, while extensive and often critical, should not be taken as the judgment of an informed specialist.) There is a helpful glossary, and for those who do not know Russian, a two-and-a-half page summary in English.

The opening chapter outlines Buddhist beliefs, in particular with regard to bodhisattvas. Subsequent chapters deal with the veneration (and to some degree the iconography) of bodhisattvas in various geographical regions: India, East Turkestan, China, Japan, Tibet, Nepal and Mongolia. The section on Tibet occupies about two-thirds of the narrative and includes a lengthy excursus on Tibetan history. There are capsule histories of the Dalai Lamas, and a particular focus on the activity of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The other sections are thin at best and rather mechanical, and the references in them to iconographic representations arbitrary. The Buddhist grottoes in western China certainly are under-represented. Ladakh might well have figured significantly here as a sub-section for India, but appears only fleetingly. It is impossible from all this to discern a chronologically coherent explanation of the evolution of the iconography either within a given region or across regions. While Elikhina uses to a limited degree some unpublished Tibetan manuscript material in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg,
for the most part she is summarizing existing scholarship.

She commands several languages (inter alia, she has excellent English), which enables her to draw on a wide range of publication, at the same time that she relies heavily on Russian work (some of it rather general and dated) which may not be accessible to most Western readers. While her bibliography is perforce selective, one suspects that some of the obvious gaps (e.g., Beckwith’s monograph on early Tibetan history, Petech’s important book on Sino-Tibetan relations in the early 18th century, Elverskog’s study of Buddhism in Mongolia in the Qing period, Eugene Wang’s study of the Lotus Sutra illustrations in the Mogao Caves) reflect simply her inability to obtain the books, a challenge that often confronts serious scholars in Russia. The bibliography is divided into “[Primary] sources in Tibetan,” and then secondary literature in Russian, in European languages, and in Mongolian. Odd that Russian is not a “European language.” It is curious that her own article, published in this journal, is listed by title, with no indication she is the author, even though it is cited as “Elikhina 2008.”

The greatest value of the book for those who do not read Russian will be the numerous illustrations, almost entirely drawn from the extensive collection of Buddhist art in the Hermitage Museum. There are 17 full-page color plates and, scattered throughout the text, more than 100 black-and-white photographs, the latter for the most part rather small size, though, at least for the sculptures, sufficiently clear to be of some use. To a considerable degree, the selection is 18th and 19th century Chinese or “Sino-Tibetan” representations, in the first instance the bodhisattvas themselves, but in a number of cases their terrestrial reincarnations. Each illustration is accompanied by a descriptive caption with a short paragraph highlighting the iconographic features. (One notes that the caption to color plate No. 4 is wrong, though the item depicted is correctly described elsewhere in the text.) The odd thing here is that while the main text explicitly refers to the color plates, only occasionally does it refer to the black-and-white illustrations, whose placement on the pages more often than not has nothing to do with the adjoining narrative. It is as though one aim of the book was to provide a substitute for a yet-to-be-published (but much needed) catalogue of the Hermitage’s Buddhist collection. A great many of the objects are from the collection of Esper Esperovich Ukhtomskii, about which a reader might like to know more.

Several of the objects are from the collection of the explorer Petr Kuz’mich Kozlov, best known for his re-discovery of Khara-Khoto and for his excavations which uncovered there a trove of manuscripts and Buddhist art now housed in St. Petersburg. It is puzzling that Khara-Khoto is mentioned, I believe, only once in the text, and then in passing. Elikhina says nothing about Buddhism amongst the Tanguts (Xi Xia), nor does she cite the recent substantial catalogue of the Buddhist paintings from Khara-Khoto by her colleague in the Hermitage, Kira Samosiuk. Even if the Xi Xia rulers did not consider themselves re-incarnations of the bodhisattvas, surely their propagation of Buddhism as a state religion deserves some consideration in a book concerned with the relationship between that faith and “state systems.” And, as Elikhina is well aware, some of the most striking images of the bodhisattvas she is studying are on the banners recovered at Khara-Khoto.

Another desideratum reflects a personal wish of this reader. A few years ago, I viewed in Beijing in a gallery of the Forbidden City a very interesting display of the Buddhist statuary presented to Chinese emperors and a selection of the impressively extensive production of “Sino-Tibetan” statuary in the 18th century, especially under the Qianlong Emperor. Given that a significant portion of the Hermitage collection seems to be such statuary, it would have been nice to find here a discussion of the context in which the enterprise of producing it was deemed so important. In curious ways, Qing relations with Tibetan (and Mongolian) Buddhism seem underdeveloped here, probably because of the chronological focus on the 17th-century Fifth Dalai Lama.

One is puzzled by the absence of systematic analysis of iconography in the narrative text — discussion of it is episodic and generally not well integrated with the rest of the material. The appendices in the book seem to be intended to compensate for this. The first appendix opens
with a brief overview of the iconography of Avalokiteshvara, followed by summary listings of basic categories established by earlier scholars, notably Antoinette K. Gordon and Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. The largest part of the appendix is a descriptive listing and line drawings of the 108 forms of Avalokiteshvara from the Machhendra Bahal in Kathmandu. While not explicitly stated, this is apparently drawn from Bhattacharyya’s work, first published in 1924. Even though some emendations to the earlier schemes are suggested, there is no attempt here to provide an integrated new classification scheme. In the other, shorter appendices, Elikhina provides verbal descriptions of the iconographic representations of the Dalai Lamas, of Manjushri, of Vajrapani, and of the early Tibetan kings. All this would have been the more useful if cross-referenced with the illustrations scattered throughout the book, even if those by no means constitute a comprehensive corpus.

— DCW

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The author is well known for his books such as *Southern Silk Road: In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin* (2000) and *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (2006), one virtue of which is the professional quality of his photographs with which he illustrates them. His new book is based on three extended trips to Wutai Shan between 1993 and 2007. Here is the publisher’s description:

Rising from Shanxi Province like a three-dimensional mandala, the soaring peaks of Wutai Shan ('Five-terrace Mountain') have inspired pilgrims and travellers for almost two millennia. A striking terrain of towering emerald forests, wraith-like mists and crenellated ridges, this consecrated and secluded site is said to be the spiritual home of Wenshu Pusa, Bodhisattva of Wisdom. It is one of the most venerable and important Buddhist sanctuaries in China, yet still remains relatively little known in the West. Christoph Baumer has travelled extensively in the Wutai Shan region, and here offers the first comprehensive account of the cradle of Chinese Buddhism. In his remarkable new travelogue, 300 luminous photographs capture the unique spirituality of the 60 monasteries which straddle the complex. Charting festivals, rituals, pilgrimages and the daily life of the monks, abbots and abbesses, *China’s Holy Mountain* is both a splendid introduction to the history of Buddhism in East Asia and an evocative and lavishly-illustrated gazetteer of the monasteries and sacred artefacts themselves. It will be an indispensable resource for students of Asian religion and philosophy, with further appeal to general readers.

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After several years of reconstruction and no little controversy even up to the last minute, the National Museum of China on Tienanmen Square in Beijing re-opened this year. The news stories in the West focussed on political issues. What this volume, issued for the occasion of the re-opening, blessedly emphasizes is the treasures in the museum pertaining to the earlier history of China. Many of them are well known from earlier catalogues and their having been on loan in international exhibitions. The book is in large format with superb color illustrations, including closeups of inscriptions, and limited but informative descriptive text in good English.

As the Director of the museum, Lu Zhangshen, emphasizes in his introduction, one of the prides of the museum is its collection of early bronzes, which are well represented here. The aesthetics of the huge 833 kg Houmuwu ding (square cauldron) (cat. no. 3) leave me cold, compared to some of the other objects. Its impressive casting (being so large) and its inscription and likely provenance, associated with Fu Hao, the consort of Shang king Wu Ding, make it of particular interest though. Several other bronzes (cat. nos. 4-8) shown here come from her well preserved tomb. Indeed, for a great many of the objects depicted in the catalogue, there is the virtue that
their provenance can be documented; we are told when and where they were excavated.

Much else in the catalogue is familiar, at least by analogy, but the examples in the National Museum collection are particularly fine ones and occasionally really distinctive. A lot of museums have polychrome glazed ceramic Heavenly King guardian mingqi from the Tang period, but how many have a gilded bronze example (cat. no. 66)? There are not many examples around, are there, of a whole orchestra riding on the back of a polychrome glazed camel, but here we have the one originally excavated in Xi’an (cat. no. 100), which, if I am not mistaken, was on display in the Shaanxi Museum there back in 1998 and has traveled all the way to New York. Also among the ceramics which struck me are the Yuan Dynasty Jun ware vase (cat. no. 132) and a 16th-century Ming enameled wucai pot with a bright design of fish and aquatic plants (cat. no. 142).

The jades shown here begin with an exquisite dragon excavated from a Hongshan Culture (6000–5000 BCE) site (cat. no. 154). Cat. nos. 157-164 are all late Shang period (1300–1046 BCE), from Fu Hao’s tomb. Among the items I found to be striking is a silver belt buckle with inlaid jade from the Warring States period (375–256 BCE) (cat. no. 172), the simple, small bowl with a gilded rim (cat. no. 177) from Li Jingxun’s early 7th-century tomb (most famous for its intricate necklace that probably came from Central Asia), and the chime stones with a dragon and cloud design outlined in gold (cat. no. 189) dating from the reign of that great connoisseur, the Qianlong Emperor (1736–95).

There are some striking gold pieces here, currency, pictorial bricks with scenes of everyday life, and a few paintings. Among the latter, for Silk Road enthusiasts, the Song period scroll depicting emissaries offering tribute (cat. no. 259) will be of particular interest. I do not recall seeing before the Tang gilded stone sculpture (cat. no. 298) of a soldier with all his battle equipment. There is, surprisingly, only one lacquerware object, a Ming gold-inlaid medicine chest (cat. no. 300).

We get little sense from the catalogue of what may be in the museum’s presumably extensive exhibits about China’s modern history. What we do learn though is that one can see the movie camera Edgar Snow borrowed to use in Bao’an in 1938 (cat. no. 316) and an excess of kitsch that tells us more about American than Chinese culture, the crystal bald eagle given to Deng Xiaoping by Ronald Reagan (cat. no. 323). Such items notwithstanding, on perusing this elegant book, I can hardly wait for my next visit to Beijing, when I may finally have a chance to see the National Museum’s collection.

— DCW
The papers of a conference held in 2007 in Kazan’ on the interactions between medieval Russia, Volga Bulgaria and the northern Black Sea littoral, this well-illustrated volume contains much of interest for students of the Silk Road who can look beyond its East and Central Asian parts. The essays include some very useful overviews of large topics, a few stimulating suggestions about new methodological approaches, and a number of rather specialized treatments of smaller subjects. Most of the volume is in Russian with English summaries, some of respectable length, and one article (unfortunately not very comprehensible) in English. I discuss here only the (for me) most interesting of the contributions.

N. A. Makarov’s opening essay on “Rus’ and Volga Bulgaria in the North” shows how the archaeological evidence defines specific regions of interaction and moves us away from a too generalized narrative covering larger territories within which often there are large lacunae in the evidence. Artifacts that may be confidently connected with Volga Bulgaria specify particular areas of the Russian north which were of interest for their supply of fur-bearing animals. Penetration of settlers from the Russian principalities into the region around the upper Kama river occurred somewhat later than commonly believed. The relationship between traders from Bulgaria and from Rus shifted over time, of course, but it was not always one of direct competition.

The article by S. L. Zakharov and I. N. Kuzina on Rus’ trade with Volga Bulgaria extends very fruitfully some of the considerations raised by Makarov, in that it details how certain objects found in Rus’ settlements may be definitely attributed as having come from Volga Bulgaria. Certain ceramics, some metal work, and especially glass beads provide fairly convincing evidence to delineate changes in trading patterns over time. One no longer has to rely in the first instance on general statements primarily about trade in furs derived from the cryptic information in written sources. The assortment of valuable trade objects seems to have been rather broad, with their distribution and chronology allowing for much more precision in determination of trade patterns. In an analogous fashion, F. Sh. Khuzin emphasizes the importance of the archaeological evidence as a corrective to the picture of largely hostile relations between the Rus’ and Volga Bulgaria.

Iu. Iu. Morgunov likewise begins his long and useful review of evidence about the relations between Rus principalities and nomads of the Black Sea littoral with a discussion of the picture in the written sources which chronicle raids and counter-raids in the period between the late 10th and end of the 12th century. The article then maps in interesting ways the defensive works along the southern borders of Kievan Rus’ and concludes with a discussion of the way in which certain of the nomad groups were in fact allied with the Rus’ princes and an integral part of the border defenses. While much of this is not new, the article has a salutary emphasis on the fact that “aggression” was not a one-sided thing coming only from the steppe. It might be of interest to compare this evidence with ideas put forth by Nicola DiCosmo and others reinterpreting the purpose of the Great Wall with an emphasis on Chinese expansion into the northern steppes rather than the more traditional narrative that the wall was built mainly to keep out hostile nomads.

V. Iu. Koval’s “Men of the Golden Horde in Rus’” raises the very important question of how one can document the presence of Mongol officials and others in the medieval Russian principalities, a presence that for the most part has been known only from written sources and toponyms. He adduces examples (granted, the total number of the objects is quite small) of items which might well be associated with steppe dwellers but not with sedentary Slavs (and probably not imported by the latter). These include mirror fragments, finger rings for archers, stone and iron kettles of a particular form, and some other types of vessels. In general it seems that there is much less evidence for the presence of Golden Horde Mongols in Russia than there is for the presence
of Russians in the cities of the Golden Horde. That said, the material evidence can with some confidence be used to identify settlements of the Mongols in Rus’.

Several other articles expand our understanding of relations between Rus’ and the Mongols of the Golden Horde. L. F. Nedashkovskii provides statistics on what archaeology seems to reveal about the ethnic composition of various settlements within the territory of the Golden Horde. His article also has some value as a catalogue summary of various products of trade, which, stripped of the long parenthetical citations of authors, would make a useful short encyclopedia essay. M. E. Rodina, in discussing the trade between Vladimir-Suzdal’ Rus’ and the East in the 10th–14th centuries, provides a much more detailed and useful examination of various products, though on a level of generalization that is insufficiently attentive to diachronic change. A very specific (but unique) example of an Eastern import is an intact glazed ceramic pitcher from Iran (specified as being of the type of “Sultanabad ware” that was manufactured under the Mongol Ilkhanids). V. Iu. Koval’ provides details of this find from Suzdal’, where it was in the company of some other ceramics likely of Volga Bulgar origin. He argues (not entirely convincingly) that this group of ceramics attests to the presence of Golden Horde Mongols at the site and should not be considered imported ware belonging to the local elite of the Rus’. Recent archaeological evidence about Rus’ contacts with the Golden Horde and its successors includes a good many discoveries of Jochid coins, described in A. V. Pachkalov’s article. Some of these new finds are in areas where previously no Jochid coins were known, thus suggesting broader involvement with the eastern trade than had been assumed.

Future studies of Eastern metalwork should find much of value in I. E. Zaitseva’s compendia of spectral analysis for the composition of non-ferrous objects found in Volga Bulgar sites. Likewise, the long, if somewhat diffuse discussion by I. L. Kyzlasov regarding the spread and impact of the “Askiz” metalwork of Khakassia in the 13th and 14th centuries may be valuable in classifying new finds from as far west as the Carpathians.

A good example of a settlement site from the 15th century with a broad range of economic activity is Toretskoe, just north of the major town of Bilyar. S. I. Valiutina’s article provides an overview of the local economy — metallurgy was important — and the range of evidence about far-flung international trade in this multi-ethnic center that developed in the period of the early Kazan’ khanate. There are Baltic amber, Central Asian ceramics, Chinese celadons, and much more. A. G. Sidikov’s survey of trade in the Kazan’ Khanate from the 15th–17th centuries is a useful summary which raises interesting questions about the impact of the Muscovite conquest in 1552. The evidence cited points to a sharp decline in the subsequent century, with a revival of the international trade through Kazan’ along the Volga coming only in the middle of the 17th century. I remain to be convinced that the negative impact of the conquest was as long-lasting.

While a real conclusion must await the further accumulation of data, of some interest is the “experimental archaeology” project carried out in conjunction with excavations of the Samosdel’skoe site near the mouth of the Volga as part of a larger investigation of Khazar settlements. D. V. Vasil’ev describes the discovery of the remains of “yurt-shaped” dwellings in the historical layers and the subsequent effort to reconstruct such dwellings using the same techniques and see what kind of evidence would remain after the reconstructed dwellings were burned and allowed to decay under natural conditions in the open air for a period of years. The point here, of course, is to try to establish possible new ways to interpret evidence left from perishable dwellings constructed of materials that largely disappear in the archaeological record. The construction techniques here involved use primarily of locally available wood (willow branches) and mud plastering.

Finally, I would mention L. A. Beliaev’s article, which asks the reader to reassess broad questions about whether we should be speaking of “Eastern influence” in medieval Russia instead of (as he argues) a kind of more general Western “orientalism.” His purpose is to open discussion, not provide final proof; in fact, his examples are not very persuasive. He suggests that there
was relatively little demand in Russia for direct imports from the East. When Eastern motifs in the arts broadly speaking become important in the Muscovite period, it is less because of direct imports and more a reflection of a kind of Renaissance fascination with the exotic that filters in from the West. One might well ask where the Ottoman Empire fits into this scheme, especially since we know there were significant imports (and booty) coming from it. Also, one should not minimize the importance of the development of the Volga trade with Safavid Persia in the late 16th and 17th centuries.

The book is one of a series published in the past decade summarizing new evidence from Russian archaeology. One of the more interesting earlier volumes was devoted to evidence relating to the impact of Mongol rule in Russia. The production values are excellent — good quality color plates, a great many maps and artifact drawings. There is much here to interest students of the Silk Roads, providing, of course, that they do not have an unduly narrow view of what that study may mean.

— DCW

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A reworking and expansion of the author’s kandidat dissertation, this is a systematic catalogue of “oriental” ceramics found on the territories of “early Russia, Ukraine and Belarus” (Rus’) for the indicated centuries. It has many virtues: an effort (within the limits described below) to be comprehensive and include a great deal of material from yet unpublished collections, serious technical analysis, good illustrations (presented in large format), and an attempt to devise a much more precise scheme of classification of such material than we have previously had. His database includes some 2000 examples of glazed and 20,000 examples of unglazed ceramics.

One of the challenges here which is immediately apparent concerns definitions: what is an “oriental” ceramic, and what constitutes “Rus’”? Both are moving targets, especially when such a long time span is encompassed. For his purposes, the “Orient” includes Byzantium, Volga Bulgaria, the Near East and Central Asia, China, the Mongol Empire in “Inner Asia,” the “Golden Horde” and its successor states, the Ottoman Empire. “Rus’” seems to be more problematic. As I understand it, material from territories that were at one time part of “Rus’” are included, but then if that same territory ceased to be part of Rus’ by virtue of its inclusion in another polity, ceramics from that period are not included. In the case of the Golden Horde (Ulus Jöchi), material from its territories that were not part of Rus’ but which have been abundantly excavated, are not included (see the illustration below); whereas the same ceramics, if they found their way into the “Russian principalities,” are. If we confined ourselves to this catalogue and its illustrations, we would have only a rather limited sampling of Golden Horde ceramics against which to compare new finds. What we are talking about then is imports into territories controlled by “Russian” princes, even if the author has obviously looked much more widely to establish his classification scheme.

It will be interesting to learn the response of ceramics specialists to this classification scheme, which is a bold attempt to establish a more precise typology than others have done. I personally
can appreciate the potential value of this, since, indeed, descriptive captions for ceramics often are frustratingly opaque and vague. His typology (diagrammed on p. 17) has six main divisions, moving hierarchically from general (functional) to specific (material, decoration). He goes on to explain what all these mean in technical terms, and then lays out the results of his chemical analysis of glazes. The numerical results of that analysis, broken down by chemical compound, are included in a large table in Appendix 1. A second appendix classifies the finds of amphoras in Rus’.

The main part of the book is the catalogue. This is a tour-de-force of classification, if complexity is our criterion for assessment. We have series, groups, sub-groups, types, variants (vidy), sub-variants (varianty). All in all, it seems, dozens if not hundreds of specific categories if one takes it to the finest level of detail. While Koval’ states that one of his (laudable) goals is to provide a reference work for future classification of finds, one has to wonder whether a provincial museum worker or archaeologist is really going to have the technical knowledge to determine where he or she has in hand fits in this complex scheme, especially since, as the author admits, not all types can be illustrated from examples found in Rus’. A good many of the subcategories which can be so illustrated reference only a couple of sherds discovered to date. Here is typical example of his scheme in practice: Polumaiolika [semi-majolica]: Series 1. Semi-majolica without additional decoration: Group 1. Non-engobed semi-majolica: Subgroup A. Semi-majolica with colorless (or pale green) glaze: Variant 1. Ceramic of non-ferrous (lightly colored) clay without visible temper; Variant 9. Ceramic of strongly ferrous (red-colored) coarse clay with inclusions of “fire-clay” and small hollows due to the burning of (organic?) matter. Each of these two variants is illustrated with reference to a very small number of fragments.

Since there are some good sections of the book discussing the history of the importation of various types of ceramics into Rus’, readers interested in this category of evidence concerning medieval trade and interactions will find here valuable material. Koval’ is an archaeologist with extensive experience and an impressive publication record. This volume is the culmination of a decade and a half of serious study of the subject and undoubtedly will indeed become a standard reference work. I suspect that his typology may not really come to be used widely until it is placed on the Internet along with the underlying data in retrievable form, and programming and technologies devised that can automate a lot of the analytical comparisons. He may be ahead of his time here, but if so, that is all to the good.

— DCW

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This densely argued and challenging book should be required reading for anyone who would venture to write about the history of the “Silk Roads,” be their subject economic, artistic or other aspects of cultural exchange. Flood, who is a specialist on Islamic art and has previously written on the Umayyad Great Mosque of Damascus, argues here “the need for a reconfiguration of premodern cultural geography, moving beyond the linear boundaries of the modern nation-state and the static taxonomies of modern scholarship... to a more dynamic emphasis on networks of encounter and exchange” (p. 2). The road to this reconfiguration rests in part on a foundation of modern and post-modern linguistic and cultural theory, a fact which will deter the general reader and require re-reading on the part even of some specialists. For the book goes well beyond the invocation of fashionable academics and thinkers such as James Clifford, Sheldon Pollock, Benedict Anderson, Pierre Bordieu, the sometimes unfathomable Bruno Latour, the intimidating Homi Bhabha, and others who often decorate modern scholarship but may contribute little to its substance. Flood actually uses their ideas, periodically (overenthusiastically?) quoting them for interpretive emphasis to develop his subtle analysis of cultural exchange. He admits it may seem somewhat paradoxical to be “adopting
linguistic models for a book that champions the value of material culture” (p. 11). Indeed, unlike in older studies which have tended in the first instance to be text-based, here he is concerned with objects, modes of dress, architecture, though not to the neglect of texts, manuscripts, titulature, ritual practice, and much else. My summary here can barely begin to explicate the richness and nuance of his analysis.

His focus is on the eastern frontiers of the Abbasid Caliphate between the 9th and 13th centuries CE, an area which encompasses the permeable and shifting boundaries between Islamic and Hindu or Buddhist polities. Their history is commonly treated in terms of conquest and cultural subjugation, motivated in part by irreconcilable religious differences. By exploring such topics as gift exchange, Flood shows how the cultural objects were treated by all parties often in complex symbolic ways, their significance translated into idioms that might be meaningful in their new context. Of particular interest in this are robes and textiles and related modes of dress. Coins are also an important part of the evidence, in some cases combining both script and imagery from the Islamic and Hindu worlds. Flood’s purview is a broad one, for he introduces comparative examples from other areas of the Islamic world (notably Seljuk Anatolia).

The cultural history of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids, who rose to power in the eastern Iranian lands, receives here long overdue attention. By looking closely at them, it then becomes possible to reinterpret the cultural policies of the early rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. Not surprisingly, some of his most detailed treatments of the evidence concerns their architectural monuments. Here we find new analysis of the imposing Ghurid minaret at Jam in Afghanistan, with particular attention being given to the choice of Quranic quotations. For me, perhaps since I had the privilege of visiting it briefly a decade ago, his treatment of the important Qutb mosque complex in Delhi is of special interest. Here, for the first time, one can understand the ways in which the new Islamic rulers of Delhi in the early 13th century appropriated and transformed existing cultural objects. The re-use of Hindu carved relief, the inscriptions, the details of decoration, and the famous iron pillar all make sense not merely as a statement of Islamic conquest, but as a conscious attempt to incorporate local political and cultural traditions to shape a new kind of historical memory and make a statement about the centrality of Delhi in the Islamic world.

Flood concludes with the bold thought (for which he gives credit to earlier scholars) that cultural borderlands, such as those he is discussing, may be the places where we can best expect to find innovation. It is in such regions that the process of translation is an essential part of the cultural landscape; new ideas and new combinations emerge. What this then means is that the traditional historic focus on centers and peripheries, in which the former are privileged, needs to be jettisoned if we are to understand cross-cultural interactions. Students of the Silk Roads can appreciate how this kind of approach might help to sharpen our understanding of the cultural interactions in borderlands between northern China and the steppes, the spread of Buddhism in the oasis cultures of the Tarim basin in the early centuries of the Common Era, the multi-ethnic history of Khazaria’s northern frontier...and much more.

— DCW

The History of Beyhaqi project was sponsored by the Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University through National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grant funding. It is published by the Ilex Foundation, Boston, Mass. and the Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University.

Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeritus Professor of Arabic at the University of Manchester, wrote the standard treatment of the Ghaznavids in English, published in two volumes in 1963 and 1977. Mohsen Ashtiany, who revised Bosworth’s translation of Beyhaqi, is a research scholar at Columbia University.

From the publisher’s website:

Abu’l-Fażl Beyhaqi, a secretary at the court of a number of Ghaznavid rulers in eastern Iran and Afghanistan in the early Middle Ages, is a most perceptive, as well as intriguing, commentator on the history of the Islamic Near East. The surviving volumes of his massive project, dealing in depth with the years 1030–1041, combine astute criticism and wry humor with an unobtrusive display of mastery of the learned literature of the time, both in Arabic and Persian. Through a skillful manipulation of different styles, and timely introduction of the authorial voice as a framing device to bring a sense of heightened drama, the historian comments on mankind’s individual frailties and the many lost opportunities that hasten a mighty dynasty’s decline. Although there are already a number of articles and monographs in English and other Western languages on aspects of his style and historical approach, this is the first complete translation of the extant volumes with a detailed commentary.

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This lavishly illustrated, large format volume contains the proceedings of the International Conference on Xiongnu Archaeology held in Ulaanbaatar, 16-18 October 2008, supplemented by additional invited articles. Planning for the conference involved the Institute of Archaeology of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, the National Museum of Mongolia, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Bonn. The American Center for Mongolian Studies was the local organizer, and financial support came from the Silkroad Foundation. The Foundation and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung supported publication of this book.

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Jan Bemmann, Ernst Pohl, Brigitta Schütt, Wolfgang Schwanghart. “Archaeological Findings in the Upper and Middle Orkhon Valley and their Geographical Setup.”
The book is superbly produced in large format, with many illustrations, diagrams, and maps. A great many readers will be thankful for the decision to publish most of the essays in English, even though that meant adding to the editorial burdens.

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Ron Sela: Philippe Forêt and Andreas Kaplony, eds. The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road.

As we have come to expect from this important series, the articles are extremely well illustrated, including a section of color plates.

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Zhang Tieshan. Translation and Introduction of
Unpublished dissertations


The author is currently Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History at The Ohio State University.

Her own abstract (pp. iii-iv, quoted with her permission):

This dissertation examines the relationship among space, ritual, and cosmology in medieval Buddhism by means of a comprehensive analysis of the pagoda, the most representative architectural typology of East Asian Buddhism throughout its two-thousand-year history. The Chaoyang North Pagoda (1043-44), a Liao-dynasty (907–1125) structure in northeast China whose excavation was completed only in the 1990s, provides an excellent focus for such a study.

After Buddhism was transmitted from India to East Asia, a cosmological scheme of unprecedented sophistication, which consists of an infinitely expanding multiverse framed by a fractal-like structure, was developed in the seventh century by the Huayan school, a uniquely East Asian Buddhist sect. Examination of the Chaoyang North Pagoda reveals that it was designed to be an architectural epitome of the trichiliocosm described in the literature of the Huayan school. It conceptually transforms physically finite architectural space into an infinitely expanding cosmic space. Thus, examination of this space allows us to see how an Indian architectural prototype — namely, the stupa, which was envisioned to be the center of the cosmos — later developed in China. More importantly, however, it suggests that Buddhist architectural structures should be viewed as embodiments of vision rather than understood only in terms of their physical shape.

Further examination of the inner space of the pagoda reveals that its relic crypt simulated a miniaturized version of the altar for chanting the Buddhist incantation known as the Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī. This suggests that the pagoda was designed not simply as static reliquary on an architectural scale but was intended to be a dynamic space wherein the benefits of ritual could be extended infinitely and eternally. The discovery of this ritual altar inside a permanently sealed space raises further questions regarding our present notions of ritual and ritual space.

Lastly, my comparison of the ritual altar configuration from this Liao pagoda with documents concerning a twelfth-century Japanese ritual brings this study into transnational dialogue. It reveals hitherto unknown connections between continental ritual practices and the purportedly indigenous Japanese esoteric ritual known as the Nyohō Sonshō Ritual, practiced by the Shingon school since 1109. This discovery testifies to the importance of the Liao dynasty, which is drawing increasing academic attention due to recent archaeological excavations, in completing our understanding of the landscape of medieval East Asian politics and religion.


Written in excellent English, this is a major contribution to the study of the culture of the Liao Empire (907-1125) and will be a valuable
reference work both for curators of museum collections and archaeologists working at Liao sites. One of the distinctions of the study is the author’s extensive field examination of Liao kilns, few of which have previously been systematically investigated. The 255 pages of analytical text of the dissertation are followed by summary tables, maps, an illustrated systematic catalogue (pp. 516–871), a lavishly illustrated section of plates (pp. 872–970) showing kiln sites, unpublished shards, details of decoration and makers’ marks, etc. Pp. 971–91 are an illustrated chronological table of Liao ceramics. The work concludes with summary statistical charts. Eberhard Karls Universität is to be commended for making a valuable work such as this freely available on the Internet.

— DCW


The author is currently a research associate at the British Museum, cataloguing the three-dimensional objects in the Stein Collection and coordinating their digitization for the International Dunhuang Project.

The focus of this study is belt plaques which have loosely been characterized in the past as “Ordos bronzes,” and which, as the author explains, embody a pictorial language which may be decoded and contribute to our understanding of the history of the peoples of the steppe region of northern China. She places the material in the context of what is known about different regions and archaeologically determined cultures, taking into account evidence about climate change which might help explain particular images of fauna. Of particular importance is that, where possible, she discusses the plaques with reference to their archaeological context in the various burial sites. She provides a detailed classification of the different types and images. The several volumes of this impressive dissertation contain numerous excellent maps illustrating among other things the regional distribution of specific types, 175 plates illustrating the objects, many of the grave sites and their artefacts, and much more. The dissertation certainly deserves to be published and translated.

— DCW