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考古发现的丝绸之路舶来品研究

West and East
Archaeological Objects Along
the Silk Roads

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ISMEO

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丝绸之路研究的新视角

New Research Activities on the Archaeology of the Silk Routes

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在古代中亚考古学文化的研究之中,中国西北是最值得关注的地理区域之一。它包括了新疆这个当代中国最大的行政区以及邻近的甘肃、宁夏、陕西和青海。许多带有异域风格的外来器物在这一地区都有发现^[1]。

从2007年开始,意大利亚非研究院(IsIAO)和北京大学(PKU)签署协议(详见下文)。在协议框架下,一项意—中考古学合作项目得以开展。从那时起,我们就在分析这项国际合作的理论前提、项目实现的具体可能性以及与中国机构和学者合作最终所能达成的目标。主要的依据包括以下几点:

1. 那不勒斯东方大学在中国考古方面仅参与过一项工作,即从1997年开始,由意大利外交部(MAE)、那不勒斯东方大学(UNO)亚洲研究系、意大利亚非研究院(IsIAO,罗马)、意大利国立东方学研究所(京都)、龙门石窟研究院和洛阳市文物局共同合作,由露西娅·凯特琳娜(Lucia Caterina)教授和乔瓦尼·韦拉

The northwestern China is one of the most privileged geographical point of view to watch at the ancient Central Asian archaeological cultures. Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, the largest in China, along with Gansu, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, Shaanxi, and Qinghai as well, located in that part of the country, constitute the areas where many particular and “exotic” objects and items are coming from^[1].

An Italian-Chinese archaeological cooperation started in 2007 with an agreement between IsIAO and Peking University (see below), and since that time one was wandering which could have been the theoretical premises, the concrete possibilities of realization, and the scientific aims of eventual joint projects with the Chinese scholars and Institutions, taking in consideration, nonetheless, the following points:

1. In IsIAO there was only one study tradition of archaeological field work in Cina: the excavation activity (pure sinological in character) jointly with Ministero Italiano degli Affari Esteri (MAE), Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici dell' Università degli Studi di Napoli, “L'Orientale” (UNO), the IsIAO (Rome), the Italian School of East Asian Studies

[1] 多数器物属于铁器时代直至中世纪早期,带有浓厚的中亚、萨珊伊朗、伊斯兰和佛教文化因素

Most part of these objects are datable back to the early and late Iron age and to the historical and early mediaeval age as well, and present a strong central-Asian, Iranian-Sasanian, Islamic and Buddhist cultural character.

尔蒂 (Giovanni Verardi) 教授领导, 在已故的富安敦 (Antonino Forte) 教授的资助下, 在奉先寺展开发掘。该寺位于中国河南省洛阳市南 12 公里久负盛名的龙门石窟西南 (Visconti 2006; 2010)。

2. 那不勒斯东方大学在伊朗、土库曼斯坦、乌兹别克斯坦、哈萨克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦这些与中国距离最近的中亚国家有着悠久而扎实的田野考古工作和学术活动, 但毕竟没有在中国进行考古工作的经验, 对中国考古学也仅限于一些常识性了解。

3. 最有可能开展考古合作的地点, 应在中国的西北地区, 主要是新疆、甘肃、陕西、宁夏和内蒙古。

4. 可行的合作研究领域是铁器时代至中世纪欧亚草原的游牧民族、边界与帝国, 以及关于丝绸之路的问题。

在意大利外交部的资助下, 从 2008 年起至今的每一年, 那不勒斯东方大学都组织考察团, 与中国方面进行学术接触, 这可以视为以往一系列考古研究工作的扩展, 包括 1983—2000 年在匈牙利提萨河谷 (Tisza valley) (Genito 1986; 1988; 1990; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; 1995; 2008) (Genito ed, 1994; Genito a cura di, 2002; Genitocura di, 2002a; Genito a cura di, 2002b) (Genito, Madaras, eds, 2005), 1989—2004 年在土库曼斯坦的穆尔加布河三角洲 (Murghab delta) (Koshelenko, Gubaev, Tosi 1988), 1999—2002 年在乌兹别克斯坦的泽拉夫善河谷 (布哈拉绿洲), 2008—2012 年在该国的撒马尔罕地

(Kyōto), the Longmen Grottoes Academy (Longmen shiku yanjiuyuan 龙门石窟研究院) and the Bureau for Cultural Relics of Luoyang (Luoyangshi wenwuju 洛阳市文物局), headed by Profs. Lucia Caterina and Giovanni Verardi and sponsored by the late Prof. Antonino Forte in the Buddhist monastery of Longmen since 1997, was aimed at excavating the Buddhist monastic complex of Fengxiansi, whose remains lie southwest of the celebrated Longmen Caves, 12km south of the present town of Luoyang in the Chinese province of Henan (Visconti 2006; 2010);

2. Although IsIAO had a long and consolidated experience of field archaeological activity and academic presence in Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kirghisistan, the nearest central-Asian countries to China, there was no scientific archaeological experiences in that country, and, basically, only a common knowledge of it;

3. the most concrete possibility to open an archaeological cooperation appeared, thus, that which could orient the research activities *versus* aspects and topics related to northwestern China and the related matters, mainly in Xinjiang, Gansu, Shaanxi, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia provinces;

4. It was decided to develop a possible ground aimed at dealing with the nomads, frontiers and empires in the Eurasian Steppes from Iron age to the Middle Ages and to the *Silk Routes* issues.

As a sort of a widening the archaeological research activities conducted years before in the Tisza valley in Hungary (1983—2000) (Genito 1986; 1988; 1990; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; 1995; 2008) (Genito ed, 1994; Genito a cura di, 2002; Genito cura di, 2002a; Genito a cura di, 2002b) (Genito, Madaras eds, 2005), in the Murghab delta (1989—2004) in Turkmenistan (Koshelenko, Gubaev, Tosi 1988), in the Zeravshan valley (Bukhara oasis, 1999—2002) in Uzbekistan (Samarkand region

区^[1],这些工作都与欧亚草原游牧和定居民族的早期文化有关^[2]。

在欧亚考古领域,中国的学术机构已经在其境内进行了多种调查和发掘活动,包括其西部的甘肃、内蒙古和新疆北部地区。对意大利学术机构来说,对上述地理关系复杂、历史记载明确的地区的考古研究,可以为20世纪80年代以来的相关工作提供新的启示,从那时起,(意大利方面)进行了许多与中亚古代人类相关的科学研究(Genito 2010)。其中值得一提的有:

1. 举办了一次题为“草原考古:工作方法和策略”学术研讨会,文集收在1994年出版的亚洲研究文丛中(Genito ed, 1994),是我们与匈

2008–2015)^[1], and related to the early cultures of the nomadic and sedentary peoples of the Eurasian steppes^[2], IsIAO and UNO organized study tours and scientific and academic contacts with China with the financial support of MAE (since 2008).

In the field of Eurasian Archaeology, Chinese Institutions had carried out, from their own side, various activities related to surveys and excavations in the western province of Gansu, Inner Mongolia and the northern part of Xinjiang. These new perspectives for the Italian Institutions in this geographically complex and historically very articulated region, could be the crowning achievement to the archaeological research themes conducted since the 80s, when there were numerous scientific initiatives in relation to the themes of the ancient central-Asian peoples (Genito 2010). Among these, one may mention:

1. the Symposium *The Archaeology of the Steppes*:

[1] 意大利亚非研究院与博洛尼亚大学在乌兹别克斯坦开展的考古研究可以追溯到1999年。从2008年开始,乌兹别克斯坦科学院考古研究所与那不勒斯东方大学开展了一项新的考古工作,开始对撒马尔罕地区的阿契美尼德王朝时期遗存进行田野工作,具体选择了Koj Tepa这个地点,开始是探沟试掘,然后进行了大规模发掘。(Genito, Gricina 2009; Genito, Gricina 2010; Abdullaev, Genito 2011; Abdullaev, Genito 2010–2011; Genito, Raiano 2011; Abdullaev, Genito 2012; Raiano 2012; Raiano 2013; Cocca 2014; Genito *et alii* 2014; Raiano 2014; Abdullaev and Genito eds, 2014).

The archaeological Italian activity of IsIAO (and of the Università degli Studi di Bologna) in Uzbekistan dates back to 1999; since 2008, a new collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan (IAASU) and UNO led to start a field project related to the archaeological Achaemenid horizon in the Samarkanda area, with trial-trenches and extensive excavations effected at Koj Tepa (Genito, Gricina 2009; Genito, Gricina 2010; Abdullaev, Genito 2011; Abdullaev, Genito 2010–2011; Genito, Raiano 2011; Abdullaev, Genito 2012; Raiano 2012; Raiano 2013; Cocca 2014; Genito *et alii* 2014; Raiano 2014; Abdullaev and Genito eds, 2014).

[2] 苏联解体后出现的这些新兴国家开始关注自身的历史、文化和人民。对大部分西方学者来说,在若干年前对这些国家的了解仅限于一些地名。如今这里属于土库曼斯坦、哈萨克斯坦、塔吉克斯坦、乌兹别克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦五个国家,它们与阿富汗以及中国新疆、甘肃共同组成了“丝绸之路”,不仅激发了人们对绿洲、商栈、形形色色的游牧人和大帝国、异国情调的人群和珍禽异兽的想象,而且公众对诸如中亚等遥远之地的着迷也重新唤醒了人们对这一地区朦胧不清的古今民俗的好奇心。

Since the Soviet collapse the emergence of new states helped to make attention on their history, culture, and people. For most of the western scholars, these were places whose names barely were known decades ago. Today they are independent states as Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, and in the more remote past, along with Afghanistan, Xinjiang, and Gansu, they evoked images of the ancient *Silk Routes* — oases, caravanserai, nomads, empires, fantastic and exotic beasts and people. The public fascination with these distant lands has rekindled a dormant curiosity in the obscure past and modern folkways of what we now call Central Asia — the lands which embraced the multitude branches of the ancient *Silk Routes*.

牙利科学院考古研究所以及前苏联科学院考古研究所(包括随后的俄罗斯方面在土库曼斯坦境内的工作)十年合作的工作成果。

2. 与上述资料收入同一系列的,还有1995年出版的一卷针对亚洲萨尔马提亚(Asian Sarmatia)地区铁器时代墓葬的社会分析,这是与俄罗斯科学院考古研究所的合作成果(Moškova, Genito eds, 1995)

3. 巴林特主编的一卷出版物(Balint ed, 2000),是匈牙利科学院考古研究所、意大利亚非研究院和那不勒斯东方大学的共同成果。

4. 1999年(VV.AA 1999)、2000年(VV.AA 2000)和2001年(Genito a cura di, 2002),在那不勒斯国家考古博物馆举办了三次考古学展览。

5. 2005年出版了与匈牙利索尔诺克博物馆(Szolnok Museum)的合作成果(Genito and Madaras eds, 2005)。

6. 由那不勒斯东方大学组织、露西娅·卡特琳娜和所有参加者编辑出版的(2012—2013, 2014)以“丝绸之路考古:路线、图像和物质文化”为主题的三个系列讲座。这些讲座由那不勒斯东方大学东方学及非洲方向研究生院(主要包括土耳其、伊朗和中亚、东亚和南美洲等方向的博士),亚洲、非洲以及地中海间的跨文化研究院(主要包括东西方关系方向的考古学博士生),考古学跨学科研究中心(CISA)等机构的资助,目前已经上线(Caterina, Genito eds, 2012, 2013, 2015; 2016)^[1]。

Work Methods and Strategies, published in the *Series Minor* of the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, (Genito ed, 1994) which followed 10 years of joint collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of Sciences in Budapest, and with the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, and, then, Russia in Turkmenistan;

2. the publication in the same series, in 1995 of a volume on the social analyses of the Iron Age cemeteries in Asian Sarmatia within a joint collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of Russian Academy of Sciences (Genito, Moškova eds, 1995);

3. the publication of a volume (Balint ed, 2000) in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest, IsIAO and the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Napoli (now Università degli Studi di Napoli, “L’Orientale”) (UNO);

4. three archaeological exhibitions held at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, one in 1999 (VV.AA 1999) a second in 2000 (VV.AA 2000), and the third in 2001 (Genito a cura di, 2002);

5. the publication in 2005 of the joint volume within a collaboration with the Szolnok Museum (SE Hungary) (Genito and Madaras eds, 2005).

6. the organization at the Università degli Studi di Napoli, “L’Orientale” by the writer and Lucia Caterina of three series (2012—2013, 2014) of lectures on the theme *Archaeology of the Silk Routes: Paths, Images, and Material Culture*. The conferences under the scientific sponsorship of Scuole di dottorato di Studi Orientali e Africani (PhD: Turchia, Iran e Asia Centrale; Asia Orientale e America meridionale), di Studi Interculturali (PhD: Archeologia: Rapporti tra Oriente e Occidente), Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo, and CISA (Centro Interdisciplinare di Servizi per l’Archeologia), are now on line (Caterina, Genito, eds, 2012; 2013; 2015; *eidem* forthcoming 2016)^[1].

[1] 题目的选择旨在阐明以下主题:1. 以往丝绸之路概念分类中的“路线、图像和物质文化”所反映的文(转下页)

中国西部地理概说

中国最大的省区新疆维吾尔自治区(面积 达 166 万平方公里, 约占中国的 1/6), 位于这个国家的西北部, 与中亚地区的文化联系密切, 因为从地理特征上说, 它实际上是延伸至中国境内的中亚地区的一部分, 包括被高原和山脉环绕的塔里木盆地。其地理范畴, 西到哈萨克斯坦草原和帕米尔高原, 北至天山和阿尔泰山, 东至戈壁(包括蒙古国和中国的内蒙古自治区), 南至喀喇昆仑山脉(图 1)。

新疆既是中国西部与中亚交界的边境地区, 也与西藏、青海、甘肃三省区以及蒙古国、俄罗斯、阿富汗、巴基斯坦、印度等国家接壤。塔里木盆地的河流主要汇入罗布泊, 盆地的中央被塔

Geographic Outline of the Western China

Xinjiang Autonomous Uygur Region, the China's largest province (circa 1660000 sq.km, 1/6 of the whole country), is located in the northwestern part of the country and it represents the most suitable area where to find a large amount of Central-Asian cultural relationships, being as it is the geomorphological portion of the Central-Asian land mass in China, having the Tarim basin and the high plateaus and mountains surrounding it. The geographic boundaries of the land are the steppes of Kazakhstan and Pamir chain to west, the T'jan Šan' and Altai mountains to north, the Gobi desert to east, including parts of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China, and Karakorum range to south (Fig.1).

Tip of the western China to Central-Asia, Xinjiang is bordering the Tibet Autonomous Province, Qinghai and Gansu province, the Mongolian People's Republic,

(接上页)化中心, 但不仅仅是年代学意义上的; 2. 陆上及海上丝绸之路路线的多元化; 3. 丝绸之路以前即已存在或跟丝绸之路同时存在的交通路线(例如玉石之路、青金石之路、香料之路等), 是从历史时代早期到中世纪晚期包括罗马、近中东、中亚和中国在内整个古代世界广泛和多样贸易领域的集中反映; 4. 贸易中心及沿线的居住点、停驻点、军队要塞和戍堡的重要性; 5. 居住点、商路、地质环境、土地使用、水的供应和管理之间的统一关系; 6. 基于不同的水平和特色, 将丝绸之路视为一种政治结构的表征, 这催生了由市场而不是国家权力主导的现代经济。正因为此, 商业活动可以灵活整合不同的经济体, 例如中国、印度和西方等; 7. 对于构建更为丰满的地理、历史和考古图景非常有必要的文献和铭文史料。2015年该系列的第四轮讲座已安排就绪。

The theme chosen is aimed at trying to clarify the following aspects of the topic: 1. the cultural centrality, not uniquely chronological, of "Paths, Images and Material Culture" that were previously categorized within the concept of *Silk Road*; 2. the plurality of routes and sea paths of the *Silk Road* that can only be updated with that now, more precisely, of *Silk Routes*; 3. the "precedents" and "contemporary" paths to the *Silk Routes* (e.g. *Jade Routes*, *Lapis lazuli Routes*, *Incense Routes* etc.) as determinants aspects of a much more broad and diverse ground embracing the whole ancient trade, between Rome, the Near and Middle East, Central Asia and China from the early historical times until the late Middle Ages; 4. the centrality and importance of territory settlements, parking stations, military garrisons and forts along the routes of trade; 5. the Unitarian relationships between settlements, trade routes and geo-environmental conditions, land use, water supply and control; 6. the *Silk Routes* as a phenomenon of political structure based on work at various levels and in various specialities, that virtually "invented" the modern economy, dominated by the market and not by the state power. Precisely for this reason, businesses are able to integrate with agility and dexterity in far more rigid state economies, such as Chinese, Indian and Western; 7. the Historical and Epigraphic sources, as necessary help to the construction of a rather ample geographic, historical and archaeological picture. A fourth and conclusive cycle has been already realized for 2015.



图1 位于中国西部的新疆维吾尔自治区, 图片来自 Google Earth

Fig. 1 Xinjiang Autonomous Uyghur Region in western China, after Google Earth

克拉玛干大沙漠占据,它是世界第二大沙漠(图2)。吐鲁番地区地势低凹,最低点在海平面以下154米,是中国陆地最低点(图3)。从帕米尔高原往东南至喀喇昆仑山脉,以及喜马拉雅山脉与其平行的外喜马拉雅山脉,构成了一个巨大的弧型分界线,将印度次大陆和亚洲内陆分开。

青藏高原本身是一个干旱的草原,其间点缀着一些很大的咸水湖(图4)。东南亚和中国的四条大的水系发源于高原的东部地区。南部的三条江即萨尔温江(怒江)、湄公河(澜沧江)和长江(金沙江),基本都流向南方和东南方,被一些连续性的高大山脉与印度支那隔开。第四条即黄河,它的上游与长江相距不远,然后向东和东北方向流向蒙古地区。

Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The great Tarim basin running out into the Lopnur Lake, whose center is occupied by the Taklamakan desert, is to the vastness the second in the world (Fig.2). The depressions of Turfan, located at -154m . below the sea level and that of Hami (to -200m) are the lowest points of the whole China (Fig.3).

Extending southeast from the Pamirs the Karakoram range, the Himalayas, and the parallel Trans-Himalayas (the Kailas [Kang-ti-ssu] range) describe a huge arc curving eastward and forming the boundary between the Indian subcontinent and Inner Asia.

The Tibetan plateau itself is an arid steppe, dotted with large salt lakes (Fig.4). The four great river systems of southeast Asia and China have their sources in the eastern portion. The three southernmost — the Salween, the Mekong, and the Yangtze (Kinsha-kiang) — flow generally south and southeast, separated by high

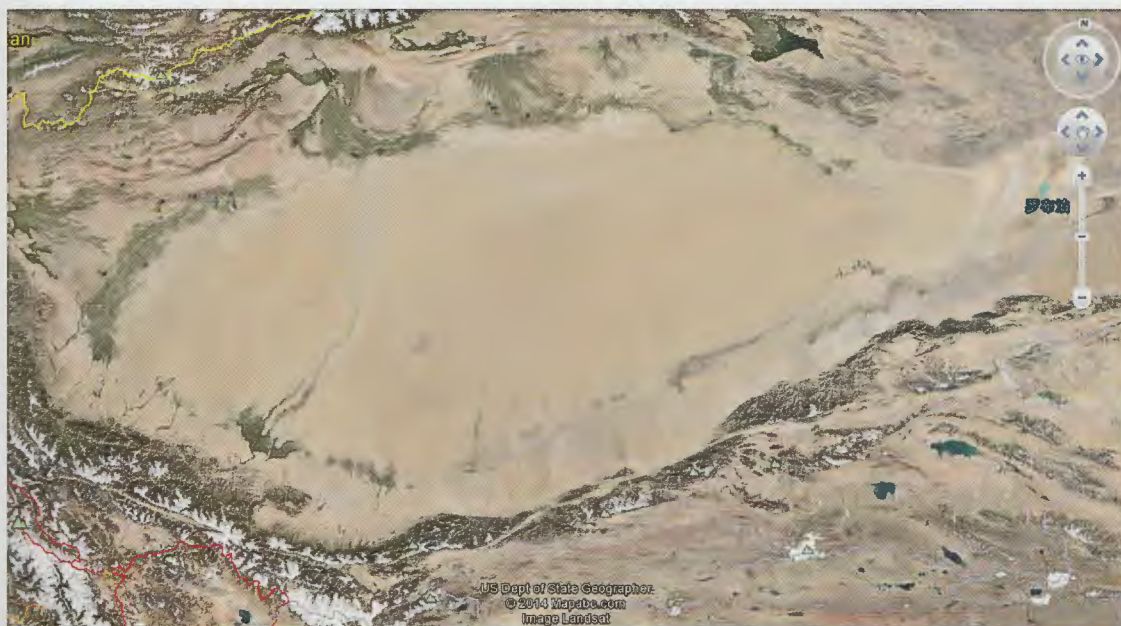


图2 新疆维吾尔自治区的南部, 图片来自 Google Earth

Fig. 2 Southern border of the Xinjiang Autonomous Uyghur Region in western China, after Google Earth



图3 塔克拉玛干沙漠北缘, 吐鲁番附近的沉降区, 图片来自 Google Earth

Fig. 3 Northern border of the Taklamakan desert in Xinjiang Autonomous Uyghur Region in western China, the depression area in Turfan, after Google Earth



图4 青藏高原, 图片来自 Google Earth
 Fig. 4 The Tibetan plateau, after Google Earth

发源于喀喇昆仑山脉东段的叶尔羌河, 与源于阿莱山脉及外阿莱山脉的喀什喀尔河汇合后, 形成塔里木河, 其水量最大的支流是发源于北部的天山山脉的阿克苏河。而塔里木河原来接纳的那些发源于昆仑山的南部河流, 在汇入塔里木河之前就已消失在干涸的土地上。塔里木河往东流过沙漠最终汇入罗布泊, 这里海拔 730 米。这个“游移湖”在 1896 年被斯文·赫定发现, 1934 年他再次造访之时, 罗布泊已从原来位置向东北方向发生了移动。这种移动是频繁的, 既反映出塔里木河流向的不规则变动, 也反映出风力对于浅水的影响。盆地的主要城镇集中在古代丝绸之路的两条分支线路上, 它们的西端都在喀什(海拔 1230 米)。

parallel ranges extending into Indochina. The fourth, the Yellow river (Huang He), follows the Yangtze closely in its upper course, then bends east and northeast toward Mongolia.

The Yarkand river, which rises in the eastern Karakoram, flows together with the Kashgar, which has its sources in the Alai and Trans-Alai ranges, to form the Tarim river, the main tributary of which is the Aksu, descending from the T'jan Šan' mountains to the north; all the former southern tributaries, which rise in the Kunluns, disappear into the dry earth before reach the Tarim. The river flows eastward through the desert to feed the shallow Lop Nor (elevation 730m), the “wandering lake” discovered by Sven Hedin in 1896 and again in 1934, when it had shifted to the northeast of its former position. The major towns in the basin are laid out along two branches of the ancient *Silk Routes* starting from Kashgar (elevation 1230m) at the

北线沿天山南麓而行,途经阿克苏(1010米)、库车、靠近博斯腾湖(890米)的焉耆(1090米)、吐鲁番(-50米),穿越山区抵达巴里坤(1720米)。南线沿着昆仑山的北麓而行,途经莎车(1200米)、和田(1410米)、于阗(1430米)、尼雅(1430米)和且末(1280米)。楼兰古城则位于罗布泊的西北方。

科克沙尔陶(Kok Shaal Tau)山脉从帕米尔高原往东北方向延伸,与天山相连,后者的走向基本与昆仑山平行。西天山位于塔什干以东70公里处,其主峰海拔超过3000米,一年大部分时间里被积雪覆盖,将富饶的费尔干纳盆地与南哈萨克草原分隔开。塔什干以东600公里处的一些北部山脉,其北部被分为昆格山脉和Trans-Ili Alatau(意指天山在中国境外的部分)山脉,南部则是泰尔斯凯山脉,这些山脉的侧面是伊克塞湖盆地(海拔1623米,深700米)。

有两条不大的河流发源于天山,即塔拉斯河和楚河,它们最终都消失在沙漠里。楚河是该沙漠和东部七河流域沙漠的一条边界河;七河得名于一些穿过阿拉套山最终注入巴尔喀什湖的小河流,该湖海拔340米,深达26米。

历史和考古学概说

在演变为浩瀚沙漠以来的许多年间,新疆地区几乎难以接近,也很难进行考古及研究活动。关于新疆历史的研究可以回溯到公元前2世纪,当时汉朝与匈奴之间发生冲突,中国的历史学者们开始注意到并记录下这个地区的地

western end. The northern branch followed the southern slopes of the T'jan Šan' through Aqsu (1010m), Kuča, Qarašahr (1090m) near the Baghrash Kōl (890m), and Turfan (-50m), crossing the mountains to Barkol (1720m). The southern followed the northern slopes of the Kunluns through Yarkand (1200m), Khotan (1410m), Keriya and Niya (both 1430m), and Cherchen (1280m). The ancient city of Krorain (Lou-lan) was situated northeast of Lop Nor.

The Kok Shaal Tau branches off from the Pamirs to the northeast, linking them with the T'jan Šan', which run generally parallel to the Kunluns. Beginning about 70km east of Tashkent, the western T'jan Šan', the highest peaks generally exceeding 3000m in elevation and snow-capped most of the year, separate the fertile Fergana valley from the southern Kazakh steppes. About 600km east of Tashkent the northern chains divide into the Kungey and Trans-Ili Alatau on the north and the Terskey Alatau on the south, flanking the large basin of the Issyk Kul, 1623m above sea level and 700m deep. Two small rivers flowing from the T'jan Šan', the Talas and the Ču, vanish in its sands. The Ču forms the boundary between this desert and the Yetisu (lit., "seven rivers," Russian Semireč'e) desert farther east, which takes its name from a few small watercourses that cross it from the Džungarian Alatau and empty into the Balkhash Lake, 340m above sea level and 26m deep.

A Historical-Archaeological Outline

The area of Xinjiang, for some time become largely desert, was for many years, almost inaccessible and it was very difficult to have related studies and archaeological activities. A few studies in the history of Xinjiang can be traced back even to the 2nd century BC, during the conflict between the Han Dynasty and the Hsiung-nu, when Chinese historians began to reflect and record the geographical, historical, political,

理、历史、政治、军事和经济诸方面的信息。《史记》^[1]的诸多章节被认为是最早的资料来源，此书由著名的历史学家司马迁(Records 1961; Memoires 1967)写成。直至中国帝制时代晚期的清朝，中国的历史学者在对新疆地区的记载上还保持着相似的叙事传统。余太山(1998; 2002)编著了直到突厥时代(7世纪)这个地区的几卷政治史，在涉及新疆的章节中(即西域)，人们可以找到历史学家用以描述本地区的方法和准则，特别重要的是当地政治关系的历史(2004; 2006; 2010; 2011)。

从19世纪晚期至1940年

英国和俄国在中亚地区的扩张导致了19世纪晚期至20世纪40年代的研究活动受到半殖民地时期政治形势的强烈影响。尽管中国中央政府试图去控制它们的势力，但新疆地区实

military, and economic aspects of the region. The earliest sources can be considered the various chapters of the *Shi Ji*^[1], written by the famous Sima Qian (Records 1961; Memoires 1967). Until the last Chinese dynasty — the Qing — Chinese historians continued the tradition of telling stories and descriptions about the Xinjiang region. Yu Taishan (1998; 2002) compiled different volumes on the political history of the region until the Turkish period (7th century AD), and in the chapters relating to Xinjiang (Serindia), one may find the description of methods and rules by which historians used to describe the region, among them particularly important is precisely the history of the political relations (2004; 2006; 2010; 2011).

From late 19th century to 1940

As for the research activities from the late 19th century until the 40s of last century, one may observe how they have been strongly influenced by the political situation during the semi-colonial period, because of the English and Russian expansion in Central Asia. Although the Chinese central

[1] 《史记》，英语书名写作 *Historical Records* 或 *Records of an historian*，其编写工作最初由司马谈进行，此后由他的儿子司马迁完成，时代在汉武帝统治时期(前140—前87)。《史记》有一百三十卷，基本是按照时间顺序编排，内容包括本纪，以编年的方式概括地记录帝国重大事件；表，它以表格的形式记录了周代列国的统治者和汉代诸侯、将相名臣的概况；书，它的每一部分都对应某一个领域，像礼乐、经济、仪式方面的内容；世家，则以详细的方式，记录了周代列国和汉代诸侯的故事；列传，常常很模式化，记录重要人物的事迹。《史记》的体例成为以后二十三部王朝正史的编写范本，唯一的区别在于君主世系方面——与这个王朝之前的时代存在的联系不再被记录——并以“志”取代了“书”。这部世界历史上的不朽著作的出现反映了汉帝国开疆拓土的野心，也促进了意识形态的形成。

Shi Ji or *Shiji*, known also as *Historical Records*, or *Records of an historian*, is a work initially compiled by Sima Tan and completed by his son Sima Qian, during the reign of Wu emperor (140–87 BC). The *Shiji* is composed by 130 chapters constituted in time by annals, giving a chronological profile of the most important events of the Empire, tables, containing, under the forms of table, a summary of the reigns and of the sovereigns under the Zhou dynasty and of the feuds under the Han dynasty, treaties, each of which deals with a single argument, as the music, economy and rites, hereditary families dealing, in a detailed way, with the stories of various states under the Zhou, and feuds under the Han, exemplar traditions, biographies, often extremely stereotyped, of eminent personalities. The structure of the *Shiji* was taken as a model for all the 23 subsequent dynastic histories, the only difference being that the section of hereditary surnames — linked to the pre-imperial era — was never recovered and the name *shu* changed in *zhi*. This monumental work, as world history, is presented to support the ambitions of domination of the Han Empire and contributed to the formation of ideology.

际上还是被分割为两个国家的势力范围：北部包括天山属于俄罗斯，南部属于英国。

这两个部分呈现出不同的地理环境条件：北部主要是游牧民族居住的草原，而南部则是生活着农业人口的沙漠和绿洲。考古活动起初伴随着充满激情和艰辛的地理探险，其中最著名人物之一的斯文·安德斯·赫定(1898a; 1898b; 1903; 1937, r.1940, r. 1942, r. 1955; 1943; 1954)创立了新疆史地研究的基础。此外，基于大量文物和艺术史内容的发现，同时出于政治上的原因，俄国学者的大部分工作是在南疆即塔里木盆地进行的。

马尔克·奥莱尔·斯坦因(1907; 1912; 1921a; 1921b; 1925; 1928; 1932)、阿尔伯特·冯·勒柯克(1912; 1922)、黄文弼(1934; 1948; 1951; 1954; 1958; 1981; 1983a; 1983b; 1990)^[1]和保罗·伯希和(1934)^[2]，他们在众多学者中，留给我们关于古代防御体系、殖民点、寺庙以及题铭的最好、最重要的描述。

government managed to contain a portion of their strength, Xinjiang region was effectively split into two: the north with the mountains of T'jan'-Šan, to Russia and the south, to Great Britain.

The two sides present different geo-environmental conditions: the northern, made mostly of steppes, was inhabited by nomads, the south, consisting of deserts and oases, by farmers. The archaeological activity was in the first place, carried out together with intense and assiduous geographical exploration. One of the most famous geographer Sven Anders Hedin (1898a; 1898b; 1903; 1937, r.1940, r.1942, r.1955; 1943; 1954) established its research base in Xinjiang.

Furthermore, based on the large amount of antiquities, and art historical items found there and also for political reasons, most of the work of Russian scholars took place in southern Xinjiang, the Tarim Basin.

Marc Aurel Stein (1907; 1912; 1921a; 1921b; 1925; 1928; 1932), Albert Von Le Coq (1912; 1922), Huang Wenbi (1934; 1948; 1951; 1954; 1958; 1981; 1983a; 1983b; 1990)^[1], together with Paul Pelliot (1934)^[2], were among the scholars who have left us descriptions of the best and most important defense systems, settlements, temples, ancient inscriptions etc.

[1] 黄文弼(1893—1966)，中国考古学家，也是中国现代考古学的奠基人之一。他参与了斯文·赫定在内蒙古和新疆(在戈壁沙漠中)的考察，主要关注罗布泊地区。他的考察日记于1990年出版(译者注：《黄文弼蒙新考察日记(1927—1930)》)。黄文弼后来供职于中国社会科学院考古研究所，并从1950年代起领导了在西域地区更多的考古工作，尤其是对古代高昌城的研究。

Huang Wenbi (1893—1966), a Chinese archaeologist and one of the founders of the modern Chinese archaeology, participated to the Swedish expedition of Sven Hedin in Mongolia and Xinjiang (in the Gobi desert) which focused on the Lop Nor area. His run on this expedition diary appeared in 1990. Huang Wenbi was a member of the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and led since the 50's further archaeological explorations in the "Western Regions" (Xiyu), in particular, the study of the ancient city of Gaochang.

[2] 保罗·伯希和(1878—1945)，法国汉学家和中亚地区的探险家。起初为了进入(法国)驻外的办事机构，伯希和学习了中文，成为列维和沙畹的学生。伯希和在河内的法国远东学院工作，1900年被派往北京为学院的图书馆搜集中文图书，在那里他遇上了义和团运动，并被困在外国大使馆。被困期间伯希和对义和团发动了两次突袭：一次夺取了义和团的旗帜，另一次为那些被困的人取得了新鲜水果。他的勇敢使他获得了法国荣誉军团勋章。伯希和22岁返回河内，成为远东学院的汉学教授，以后又当选为法兰西学院的教授。

Paul Pelliot (1878—1945), a French sinologist and explorer of Central Asia, initially intended to enter the (转下页)

1950年至今

自1949年起，中国建立了许多学术机构，承担了研究新疆古代文明的任务。作为这方面最高的官方机构，新疆维吾尔自治区文物局负责其境内文化遗产和考古遗址的管理，包括管理当地博物馆的办公室和新疆文物考古研究所，后者是唯一有权可以对当地古代遗存进行发掘和保护的地方单位。学术框架下的研究工作从1950年展开，从1979年至今进一步发展，足迹遍布阿勒泰山到昆仑山几乎所有的山区。主要有两个方面的工作：北部的天山地区主要集中在欧亚草原，在南部则是绿洲文明。从1979年至1989年（参见《新疆文物考古新收获1979—1989》，1995）的工作可以分为8个主题：史前史、青铜时代、楼兰考古、塞人考古、车师考古、察吾乎沟口（文化）的研究（位于乌鲁木齐西南的天山北部）、回鹘考古、黑汗王朝考古。其中塞人考古和察吾乎沟口文化研究与欧亚草原研究关系密切。大部分考古发掘报告和研究成果发表在《新疆文物》这本最初作为内部流通的刊物上，许多另外的文章也发表在《文物》《考古》《考古与文物》等杂志上（参见《新疆文物考古新收获（续）1995》，

From 1950 to the present day

Since 1949 China had put up several academic institutions that were to be the official task of the study and research on the ancient civilizations of Xinjiang. As an official institution of the highest rank, the Office of the Xinjiang Cultural Heritage is responsible for the management of cultural and archaeological heritage in the Autonomous Region. It includes an office of local museums and the Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, the only regional institution that has rights of excavating and conserving the ancient remains. The research and studies in the academic framework initiated as early as in the 1950, and has further developed since the 1979 to date, almost all the mountains of Altaj Kulun of Xinjiang. There are two main sections of operational work, at north of T'jan' Šan focusing activities related to the issues of the Eurasian steppes to the south, and those relating to the Oasis civilizations. From 1979 to 1989 (New Achievements 1995), the work performed were grouped into 8 main topics: Prehistory, Bronze Age Archaeology, Archaeology of Loulan, Archaeology of Saka, Archaeology of Jushi (or Cheshi, Chu-shih), studying the culture of Chawuhugoukou (CWHG) (southwest of Urumqi on the southern side of T'jan' Šan), Archaeology of the Uyghurs, Archaeology of Karakhanids. The Archaeology of Saka and the study of CWHG culture are close to the theme of research of the Eurasian steppes.

Most of the studies and reports of archaeological excavations and articles are published in the *Xinjiang Wenwu* (Cultural Relics of Xinjiang), seeking *XiYu* (Western

（接上页）foreign service, Pelliot took up the study of Chinese and became a pupil of Sylvain Lévi and Édouard Chavannes. Pelliot worked at the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Hanoi, from where he was dispatched in 1900 to Beijing to search for Chinese books for the École's library. While there, he was caught up in the Boxer Rebellion and trapped in the siege of foreign legations. Pelliot made two forays into enemy territory during the siege — one to capture an enemy standard and another to obtain fresh fruit for those under siege. For his bravery, he received the Légion d'honneur. At age 22, Paul Pelliot returned to Hanoi, where he was made Professor of Chinese at the École. He was later elected professor at the Collège de France.

1997)。也有一些独立的学者和组织对新疆草原特别是青河县的巨大古墓进行了研究与分析。

从1999年开始,新疆草原地区的考古工作开始得到快速发展。沿着伊犁河上游开展了大量考古发掘工作,另外还有配合大型农业水利设施所进行的工作。主要由新疆文物考古研究所、伊犁州文物管理局、西北大学联合承担,基本上可分为两个部分:一是沿着尼勒克县境内的巩乃斯河,另一是沿着巩留县、特克斯县境内的特克斯河、昭苏河。发现了不同类型的考古遗存,包括墓地、岩画和居址,时代从旧石器时代至公元8世纪不等。在尼勒克县穷科克首次发现了安德罗诺沃文化遗存,此外西北大学还特别关注穷科克遗址中居址、墓地和岩画之间的联系。

古代和中世纪丝绸之路概况

上古及中世纪时期人们对丝绸之路的研究、学习及分析主要基于古典作家的作品(弗拉罗斯Florus 1999;狄奥尼索斯Dyonisius Periegetes 2005;老普林尼[Pliny]的《自然史》,1962;普里斯库斯Priscus 1983;普洛科匹斯Procopius 1914;托勒密Ptolemy 1971;斯特拉波Strabo 1969)。这些作品提供了有关Seri人(当时生产丝绸的人群)的一些观点,尽管这些观点看来是奇异而不切实际的。到了伊斯兰时代,主要的信息来自伊本·白图泰(2006),他主要提到了在刺桐港(今天的泉州)的经历,此地 在厦门以北,正对台湾,在12、13世纪极为繁

Regions, Serindia), which consists of editorial form, a kind of diary for internal circulation. Many other articles are also published in the journals *Wenwu* (Cultural Relics), *Kaogu* (Archaeology), *Kaogu yu Wenwu* (Archaeology and Cultural Relics) (New Achievements 1995–1997).

There were also some independent scholars and organizations that have made analyses and studies mainly in the Xinjiang steppe, particularly with respect to a gigantic Kurgan in Qinghe County.

Since 1999, the archaeology of the steppes of Xinjiang began to greatly grow, with the opening along the upper course of the Ily River, of large excavations and also with gigantic hydro-agricultural works.

The excavation work was carried out in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics of Xinjiang, the Office for Cultural Heritage of Ily and NWU, Xi'an. The whole project was basically divided into two parts: one related to the areas along the Kaxs River, Nilka County, the other along the Tekes and Zhaozu rivers in the counties of Gongliu Tekes. They were discovered at that time different types of archaeological remains, including cemeteries, petroglyphs, and settlements. The topics which those findings were reported are mainly related to the Paleolithic until the 8th century AD. Remains of the Andronovo Culture, first in China, were discovered in Qiongkek, Nilka County. In addition, the North West University, Xi'an has devoted particular attention to the relations between the settlements, cemeteries and petroglyphs, always at Qiongkek.

The Ancient and Medieval Silk Routes Concepts

As far as the ancient times and early and late medieval time is concerning the research activities, studies and analyses on the topics related to the *Silk Routes* have been mostly based on the classical sources (Florus 1999; Dyonisius Periegetes 2005; Pliny 1962; Priscus 1983; Procopius 1914; Ptolemy 1971; Strabo 1969) which can offer an idea, although exotic and fantastic, of the people called *Seri* which were producing the tissue called silk. In Islamic time the most important source is represented

盛,不同国家的商人居住在这里,进行瓷器和丝绸的买卖。根据这位来自摩洛哥的旅行者的记载,这座港口“是世界上最大的港口……一座巨大的城市,此地生产的绸缎,也以刺桐命名”。

在中国方面,僧人玄奘(《大唐西域记校注》,1985年出版)在结束印度之行后返回中国,于公元644年将他在西域的见闻记录下来,目前这仍然是现代人了解当时朝圣者所经行的不同路线的重要资料。从那时起对丝绸之路各种问题的关注开始集中于佛教在中国的传播上。书中仅涉及于阗的部分就提及数以百计的佛教寺院,这些遗址后来逐渐湮没,直至1860年为农业生产修建从喀拉喀什河引水的水渠,当地人发现了陶器、金器、玉器,地方政权开始专门派出人员来这里淘金(译者注:即和田境内的约特干遗址)。以斯文·赫定(1896)和斯坦因(1901、1906)为代表的学者们重新识别出了整个遗址。

当人们说起“中亚”或“丝绸之路”,它们指代的其实并非同一事物,也不是可以互相替换的概念。“中亚”相对更容易定义,因为它有个大致明确的地理区域;“丝绸之路”以中亚为中心,但其含义却超越了单纯的地理概念,还包括了复杂的历史和文化意义。

地域上的距离以及对19世纪基于旧旅行记录形成的有异国情调的浪漫理解,都导致了西方关于中亚和其境内的丝绸之路的根深蒂固的扭曲印象,爱德华·萨义德在他的名著(《东方学》,1978)中对此做了精准的解构式讽刺。

当然,西方旅行者、学者和考古学家难以进

by the travel of Ibn Battuta (2006) who amongst many other things mentions the Citong harbor (present time Quanzhou), to north of Amoy, in front of Taiwan. In this extremely active harbor in the 12th and 13th century different foreign merchants lived, buyers of porcelain and silks. For this traveller from Morocco, the harbor “was the vastest harbor of the world ... a big, superb city, where tissues were produced called zeitounnyah”.

From the Chinese point of view the record of the western regions written in 644 by a Chinese Buddhist monk in his travel to India and return to China, named Xuan Zang (1985) is still the basis to deal with the different itineraries crossed by the pilgrims at that time starting to focusing all the matter of the Silk Road on the diffusion of Buddhism in China. Only in Khotan he was mentioning hundred Buddhist monasteries. The site covered up until 1860, till when following the work of canals for agriculture, to convey water from the Karakash river, the locals quickly began to report the discovery of pottery, gold and jade, and the authorities began to send specialized teams in the place. The entire area was recognized and explored by archaeologists of the time beginning with Sven Hedin (in 1896) and Aurel Stein (in 1901 and 1906).

When one refers to “Central Asia” or *Silk Routes* is not referring to one in the same thing — they are not interchangeable terms and conceptions. Central Asia is relatively easily to be defined and it is roughly a geographic region, *Silk Routes* are centered on Central Asia, comprising, nonetheless, much more than geographic aspects and issues, including complex historical and cultural processes to be interpreted.

Both the distance from of the territory and the 19th century romantic and exotic notion based on the dated travel accounts, contribute to keep distort and rooted conviction which have been ably and devastatingly deconstructed only in the famous Edward Said's volume (1978).

Of course the difficulty of access for western

人这一地区,而俄国和中国著作仅仅以本国文字出版,都导致了关于这一地区详细的科学资料的匮乏。对于希腊的希罗多德和中国的司马迁各自生活的世界来说,中亚都是特殊而遥远的外围地区,因此也很难建立起一个与他们所了解的世界等量和自主的历史进程。周邻国家与中亚有关的书面材料出现得也相当晚。揭开失落在长期历史进程中的中亚的神秘面纱之责任,只能交给考古学,然而这已是相当晚近的事情了。

丝绸之路还反映出另外一系列问题,例如曾存在一条比运送中国的重要物资——丝绸早得多的“丝绸之路”,在“丝绸之路”这个名词被创造出来之前,这条通道就存在很久了。第一批走出非洲的古人类在欧亚大陆发现了新的栖息地,他们之间一定程度上存在技术、工具和物品的交换。人类逐渐适应了欧亚大陆大部分地方的生存状况,尤其是在距今15000年前末次冰期之后。在大约距今8000年前的新石器时代,现代人已经将欧亚大陆变成一个大的文化交流舞台,互相间存在许多直接或间接的往来。中国输出的丝绸只是从汉代开始成为主要产品,至唐代达到鼎盛。然而并不只是丝绸创造了“丝绸之路”,这个连通欧亚的复杂联系网可以看作是今天常说的“全球化”现象的最早证据。

丝绸之路不是一个简单的时间和地点概念,不过它在传统上的含义就是由商队路线和绿洲构成的连通中国和黎凡特(Levant)的网络。而我们要研究的“丝绸之路”,是一个抽象的、动态交互的过程。这条路不是历史演进的产物,也并非基于特定目的被刻意创造然后又

travelers, scholars, and archaeologists to the area and the fact that the Russian and Chinese works and publications have been written only in their respective languages have done practical unknown large part of the scientific documentation at disposal for the area.

What is more Herodotus for Greece and Ssu Ma Chien for China, were dealing with Central Asia as a particular and very far periphery of their respective worlds, and this did not help very much to construct an equidistant and autonomous historical perspective.

Written Central Asian documents appear relatively late in time compared to its better known neighbors. The duty of unlocking the mysteries of these long lost regions has fallen almost exclusively to archaeology, and even then, only relatively recently.

Silk Routes present another cluster of problems. There existed *Silk Routes* long before the material silk was actively traded by China, and there existed *Silk Routes* for long after that the term *Silk Route* was coined. The first humans out of Africa discovered to new Eurasian habitats, their adaptations and technologies with one another and traded with each other for tools and goods. Gradually, humans developed adaptations to most of Eurasia, especially in the wake of the melting glaciers in the last 15000 years. By the Neolithic, about 8000 years ago, modern humans had transformed the great Eurasia into a large cultural interaction sphere, which effectively connected, on many direct and indirect levels. The silk trade out of China only began to be a major factor in Han times and reached its full flowering in the Tang Dynasty. It was not the silk that created the Silk Road, however. It could be argued that the complex network of links across Eurasia was the first evidence of what we now call globalization.

Silk Routes are not simply a time or merely a place. While it embraces the traditional meaning of a complex network of caravan routes and oases linking China and the Levant, *Silk Routes* for our purposes encompass in addition more abstract processes and dynamic interactions. A road is not an historical artifact, a thing

走向消亡。在更广泛的意义上，丝绸之路是人类在许多实在和抽象方面进行互动和交易的副产品。作为一个概念，丝绸之路包含了史前史和现代人类到达欧亚大陆以后的历史。从这层意义上说，丝绸之路就等同于整个（欧亚）大陆，并且到今天依然积极影响人们的生活，这种影响的方式值得我们努力去确认和理解。

近年来历史学家和考古学家们已经建立起作为文化广泛互动空间的新的欧亚大陆概念，如果喜欢的话，可以用“世界体系”（world system）这个词，整个大陆的许多直接和间接的互动都可以回溯到5万至10万年前。在这种更广阔的时空背景下，丝绸之路是一个多方面互动的象征，其进程依靠不同民族和文明之间在物质文化、行为和信仰方面的交流。例如，不仅有贸易上的往来，还有深层的思想和技术的传播，还有迁移和征战、基因和时尚元素、艺术和文学、音乐和舞蹈、服饰和图像、食品和饮品等方面的交换。当然举出这些例子并不排除其他各种各样的可能内容。在这个更宽泛的意义上，丝绸之路作为族群和文化的交流中介的标志，不仅仅是简单的贸易往来的概念，其中有许多细节值得我们去探索^[1]。

deliberately created, existed for limited purposes, and then died out. Rather, in our wider use of the term, the *Silk Routes* are a by-product of human interaction and exchange on many levels, concrete and abstract. As a concept, the *Silk Routes* embrace the prehistory and history of modern humans since their arrival in Eurasia. In this sense, the *Silk Routes* correspond to the entire continent, they still exist, and they are still active in transforming peoples' lives in ways which are worth our effort to identify and understand.

Recent historians and archaeologists have evolved a new model of Eurasia as an extensive cultural interaction sphere, a “world system” if you will, with direct and indirect interaction across the continents entire expanse on many levels going back 50000 to 100000 years. In this wider context of space and time, *Silk Routes* are a symbol of the manifold interactions and processes by means of which peoples and cultures influenced each other's material culture, behavior, and beliefs — for example, by trade and exchange certainly, but also by less direct diffusion of ideas and technologies, by migration and conquest, by genes and jeans, by art and literature, by music and dance, by costume and design, by food and drink. These examples are not meant to preclude other less or more obvious possibilities. And in this wider sense, *Silk Routes* as symbol transcend its traditional idea of oases and caravans transporting trade and exchange *via* intermediaries between dispersed peoples and cultures. There are more nuanced dimensions to the *Silk Routes* than simply trade and exchange which are worth our while to explore^[1].

[1] 这一系列问题在近年多有争论，关于争论的最新进展可参照以下在线出版物：<http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/toc/index.html>；<http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/>；http://www.livius.org/sh-si/silk_road/silk_road.html；<http://idp.bl.uk/>；<http://www.silkroad-infosystem.org/specto/bin/view/home>；<http://www.unwto.org/silkroad/>；<http://www.unesco.org/culture/dialogue/eastwest/caravan/page4.html>，蒂姆·威廉姆斯（Tim Williams）的著作亦可通过互联网下载（2013；2014）。The whole set of issue has been for long debated in the last year and it is easy to give look to the last on line publications of the topic：<http://www.silkroadfoundation.org/toc/index.html>；<http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/>；http://www.livius.org/sh-si/silk_road/silk_road.html；<http://idp.bl.uk/http://www.silkroad-infosystem.org/specto/bin/view/home>；<http://www.unwto.org/silkroad/> <http://www.unesco.org/culture/dialogue/eastwest/caravan/page4.html> and the volumes of Tim Williams also downloadable on line (2013; 2014).

与北京大学的合作

北京大学考古文博学院为意大利学者提供了一项新的合作研究计划,即从中国的墓葬及其他遗迹中发掘或收集到的但可以归属于中亚、伊朗、伊斯兰、佛教文化范畴的一些物品,在中国考古学者的大力帮助下,现在具备了研究出版的可能。他们熟悉这些发现的背景和完整的历史信息,这将对研究中亚粟特、伊朗、伊斯兰、佛教文化不同领域的西方专家们产生积极的影响。

2010年,在北京大学考古文博学院和意大利的不同研究机构,我们(中国方面有齐东方、杨哲峰、林梅村、魏正中等,意大利方面有卡列宁[P.F. Callieri]、丰塔纳[M.V. Fontana]、葛崑^[1])就不同的议题举行了数次讨论并做了讲座^[2],2011年赵辉教授在那不勒斯参加了另外一次讨

The Collaboration with the Peking University

A new possibility of doing research activities and study in this topic has been offered to the Italian scholars by the Department of Archaeology and Museology of Peking University (PKU). Archaeological objects and items excavated and collected from Chinese tombs, and, nonetheless, attributable to Central Asian, Iranian, Islamic and Buddhist cultures can now be published together with a substantial help of the Chinese archaeologists. They know the original context of the provenance and the whole history of the findings and this facilitates to work on with a particular different perspective provided by different western experts of Sogdian, Iranian, Islamic and Buddhist cultures of Central Asia.

In the Department of Archaeology and Museology and in different Italian Institutions, in 2010 different meetings and seminars have been organized by the respective staff (Prof. Qi Dongfang, Yang Zhefeng, Lin Meicun, Giuseppe Vignato from the Chinese side; Prof. P.F. Callieri, M.V. Fontana, Bruno Genito^[1], from the Italian), on various issues^[2] and in 2011 in Naples by

[1] 2010年10—11月,我受邀在北京大学访问了一个月,其间做了如下的讲座和课程:第一场是《公元前2千纪中期至公元前1千纪的古代近东(米坦尼和赫梯帝国)》(10月19日,北京大学考古学系),第二场是《历史上的粟特:景观、起源和考古》(10月20日,北京大学考古文博学院),第三场是《草原考古:工作、方法和策略》(10月26日,中国社会科学院考古研究所,在丛德新、郭物和金涛的陪同下),最后一场是《伊朗与中亚在文化和历史上的关联:铁器时代至萨珊时期的考古学证据》(10月27日,北京大学考古文博学院)。

I was invited for a month at the Peking University in October/November 2010 and I had the honor and the possibility to have the following lectures and lessons, the first on October 19th about *The Ancient Near East from the Half of the Second to the First Millennium BC* (Mitannian and Hittite Kingdoms) (School of Archaeology and Museology, Peking University), the second on October 20th about the *Historical Sogdiana: Landscape, Sources and Archaeology* (Department of Archaeology and Museology, Peking University), a third on October 26th, about *The Archaeology of the Steppes: Work, Methods and Strategies* Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, attended by the Deputy Director and Dr. Cong Dexin, Guo Wu, and Tong Tao, and the last on October 27th about *Iran and Central Asia: Cultural and Historical Connections, the Archaeological Evidence from Iron Age to the Sasanian Time*, Department of Archaeology, Peking University.

[2] 2010年12月,在意方的邀请下,北京大学考古文博学院组织了一个高水平的教授考察团(由杨哲峰、齐东方、林梅村、魏正中组成)赴意,以加强与意方在学术上的交流合作。12月10日,齐东方教授在博洛尼亚大学做了题为《唐宋金器》的讲座,14日林梅村教授在那不勒斯东方大学做了题为《蒙古山水地图:在日本新发现的中世纪丝绸之路之路地图》的讲座,16日杨哲峰教授在亚非研究院做了题为《关于汉墓研究的新视角》的讲座。(转下页)

论^[1]。北京大学考古文博学院和那不勒斯东方大学的合作是很有成效的，他们邀请笔者及副校长朱塞佩·卡塔尔迪(Giuseppe Cataldi)教授于2011、2012年两次访问北京大学，我的同事帕特里克奇亚·卡廖蒂(Patrizia Carioti)教授也在2011年4月访问北京，有效地巩固了我们的合作关系。

丝绸之路中国段在超过一千年的历史进程中，一直是个经济和文化变化频繁的通道。大量起源于中亚和伊朗的考古遗物在中国西部被发现，既有科学的考古发掘品，也有偶然发现。中国方面提议重新认识这些物品，并选择其中的涉及金器、银器、玻璃器、陶器和丝绸的49件进行更深入的研究。

由于复杂的历史原因，中国考古学家到目前为止还没有在中国以西的那些国家进行考古工作的足够经验，而西方考古学家们对于中国西部的许多考古发掘品也不够了解。这次研究选取的器物中有些之前被研究过，但直到现在所掌握的信息，可能只是来自一些简单的描述和不确定的评价，因而非常有必要在技术、风格、考古调查方面做进一步的工作，目的是为了全面理解这些器物的内涵，以促进丝绸

Prof. Zhao Hui^[1]. The full availability of the School of Archaeology and Museology made easy for us to initiate a broader agreement with UNO which has allowed me to visit two more times PKU in 2011 and 2012 and the vice Rector of UNO Prof. Giuseppe Cataldi and Prof. Patrizia Carioti in April 2011 to consolidate at Peking very much the reciprocal institutional relationships.

The general theme of this scientific collaboration is the study and analyses of the Chinese section of the *Silk Routes* that for more than a thousand years have been the crossroads of intense economic and cultural exchanges. A large amount of archaeological materials from Central Asian and Iranian origin were found in western China, both during regular excavations and sporadic discoveries. The Chinese side has proposed among the materials newly recovered, to jointly publish 49 items, gold, silver, glass, ceramics, silk, selected for a more thorough examination and study.

Due to various historical reasons, the tradition of Chinese archaeologists has never, so far, acquired sufficient experience in the archaeology of the countries west of China, and western archaeologists enough knowledge of excavated materials in western China. The information on archaeological materials previously selected for this study were, until now, possible only through a brief description and provisional assessments; while it remains a strong need for further technical, stylistic and archaeological investigations in order to fully understand the meaning of these objects and contribute to understand the origin and development of economic, commercial and

(接上页) The School of Archaeology and Museology of Peking University has sent in December 2010 a delegation of high level Professors to Italy, formed by Zhefeng Yang, Qi Dong Fang, Li Meicun and Giuseppe Vignato, to consolidate the expansion of academic and scientific cooperation with Italy. In that occasion Prof. Qi Dong Fang had a conference at the Università degli Studi di Bologna, sight of Ravenna on December 10th with the title *Gold from Tang and Song Dynasties*, Prof. Lin Meicun had a conference at the Università degli Studi di Napoli, l'Orientale on December 14th with the title *Mongolian Landscape Map. A Silk Routes Map of Middle Age newly Discovered in Japan* and Prof. Zhefeng Yang had a conference in ISIAO on December 16th with the title *Han Tombs, New Research Perspectives*.

[1] 以北京大学与那不勒斯东方大学签署协议为契机，北京大学考古文博学院院长赵辉教授于10月25日做了题为《中国的新石器时代》的讲座。

In the occasion of the signature of the agreement between UNO and PKU the Director of the School of Archaeology and Museology of PKU had a lecture on October 25th about *Neolithic in China*.

之路的经济、商业和文化路径的起源和发展方面的合作研究。在这样的合作中,中国方面将会提供这些器物的原始和直接的背景知识,意大利方面将会提供它们可能的原产地文化背景的确切解释。这些物品可能是在原产地生产,然后被运往东方的(作为高档礼品)。也有的是中国工匠模仿中亚的产品,或作为新的时尚而制造的仿品。

意大利和中国的考古学传统有所不同,在处理考古记录和艺术史材料方面有不同的方法论,双方必将从这个项目的有效开展中获益,去讨论、分享和寻找到反映丝绸之路关键性问题的最佳方式,正如丝绸之路鼓励不同语言、文化和习惯进行直接沟通的传统一样。为了使双方学者受益,这次研究的成果希望能在2017年完成出版。项目在策划之初即受意大利外交部的支持,并遵循2010年与北京大学签署的协议。

在研究西方文化向东传播特别是对中国的影响方面,铁器时代的游牧人(斯基泰的各个分支),希腊化时代的巴克特里亚、贵霜和粟特(阿富汗、乌兹别克斯坦、印度次大陆西北,1—7世纪),伊朗(主要属于帕提亚和萨珊时代,1—7世纪),伊斯兰(玻璃和釉陶生产,7—10世纪),佛教(石质雕刻等,1—7世纪)等文化的遗物是关注的重点^[1]。

cultural paths through *Silk Routes*. In this collaboration, the Chinese will provide an original and direct knowledge of the archaeological contexts in which these materials were found, and the Italians will provide a decisive contribution to the interpretative approach to the original cultural context in which they were supposed to have been made and produced. Those objects were possibly realized, and transported (high level gifts) to east. Other possibilities of interpretations are also both related to an original Chinese production imitating central-Asian items, and to a local Chinese production as a “fashion” of the time.

The Italian and Chinese traditions, with their different methodological approaches in the archaeological record and art history, will certainly benefit from the effective development of this project, to discuss, share and find the most beneficial ways to reflect on the many significant issues related to the *Silk Routes* which is known to have allowed and encouraged a long tradition of direct channels of communication, in spite of languages, cultures and habits: the results of the study will be published for the benefit of both scholars, hopefully within the year 2017.

The project has operated on the basis of the Italian activities already planned in the last years with the support of MAE, and since 2010 in accordance with the agreement just signed with the Peking University.

The contribution of main groups of cultures, the nomadic of Iron and late Iron age (Scythian, Saka, Sai.), the Greek-Baktrian, Kushan and Sogdian (Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, north-west Indian sub-continent, 1st–7th century AD) the Iranian (mostly Parthian and Sasanian, 1st–7th century AD), the Islamic (glass and glazed pottery production, 7th–10th century AD), the Buddhist (stone reliefs etc., 1st–7th century AD) must be emphasized as the differing aspects of the western cultures spreading over east and basically China^[1].

[1] 哈萨克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦、乌兹别克斯坦、塔吉克斯坦(亚欧草原的中心地区)、俄国、伊朗、阿富汗、巴基斯坦和印度,塞人、斯基泰、突厥、大夏、贵霜、粟特、伊斯兰、突厥、佛教,一直以来都是意大利亚非研究院和那不勒斯东方大学的学者们在考古研究领域的主要兴趣所在。2008年1月26日,北京大学与意大利非洲与东方研究院签订了一项有关学术合作的谅解备忘录,商议出版一套“欧亚丛书”,在这个协议下,已由魏正中、萨尔吉于2009年出版两部著作:《梵天佛地》和《探寻西藏的心灵:图齐及其西藏行迹》。2011年10月25日,北京大学(转下页)

纵横于伊朗、中亚和中国西部间的丝绸之路：对一类史学概念的考古学解读^[1]

Silk Routes, between Iran, Central Asia and Western China. An Archaeological Reading for a Historiographical Category^[1]

自马可·波罗^[2]记述了沟通东西方的商路之后，直到近现代^[3]，有关这些贸易通道的记录一直不绝如缕。这些记录包括了碑铭题刻、文学作品、历史重构、地图、传说、绘画以及旅行家、探险家、商人、僧侣、科学家和艺术家们的日记。除此之外，来回穿行于地中海—中东—巴格达—中亚—中国西部—西

In medieval and modern times there are many epigraphic, literary, historical reconstructions, maps, legends, drawings and diaries of travelers, explorers, traders, religious, scientists and artists, since Marco Polo^[2] who spoke or described the trade routes between East and West^[3]. It is documented as well, that ambassadors, missionaries, soldiers and sailors have crossed the set of paths that departed from the Mediterranean Sea, passed through the Middle East, Baghdad, Central Asia, crossing

(接上页) 考古文博学院又与意大利那不勒斯东方大学签署了一些建立学术交流的协议，计划在下一个阶段进行系统的合作，主要是在田野考古学和文物学方面。这些是在朱佩赛·尼奥利(G. Gnoli)教授、达仁利(Francesco D'Arelli)教授、赵辉教授、魏正中(Giuseppe Vignato)教授、齐东方教授、笔者本人以及其他人的努力下促成的。Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tagikistan (the central areas of the Eurasian steppes) and Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India as well, where the ancient cultures of the Saka Scythian, palaeo-Turkish, Graeco-Bactrian, Kushan, Sogdian, Islamic, Turkish, and Buddhist peoples were located as well, have represented and still represent some of the major archaeological research areas of interests of the Italian scholars of Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, (IsIAO), Rome and of the Università degli Studi di Napoli, "l'Orientale" (UNO), Napoli. PkU with a *Memorandum of Understanding* for an Academic and scientific collaboration signed the 26th January 2008 with IsIAO [(up to now two are the scientific results of that agreement and others are in preparation: a volume in a new series entitled *EurAsia Series* have been published in 2009 by Giuseppe Vignato and Sacerji (2009a; 2009b) on the basis of this agreement, *Indo Tibetica (Fantian Fodi)* and a second volume with the title *Seeking the soul of Tibet (Tanxun Xizang de Xinling)*], and another *Agreement of Education and Exchange and Academic co-operation* signed the 25th October 2011 with the *Università degli Studi di Napoli, l'Orientale* (UNO) has put the basis for a new season of scientific collaboration mostly in the field of archaeology and the antiquity as well. These initiative have been possible thanks specially to the generous and unique efforts of the late Prof. G. Gnoli, Prof. Zhao Hui, Prof. Giuseppe Vignato, Prof. Francesco D'Arelli and last but not least Prof. Qi Dong Fang and myself and others.

[1] 以下内容基本源于笔者2012年在那不勒斯的系列讲座。

This part and the next are more or less following an article of the author in the series of lectures at Naples (2012).

[2] 马可·波罗(1254—1324)，意大利商人、旅行家和大使。他和他的父亲尼科洛(Niccolò)及叔叔马特奥(Matteo)是文献记载最早一批来到中国(马可·波罗称作“Chatai”)的西方人之一。他的旅行经历被热那亚监狱中的狱友鲁斯蒂谦(Rustichello da Pisa)用法语记录下来，并集结成一本叫做《马可·波罗游记》(*Deuisament du monde*)，也叫做《百万》(*Million*, 1954, r. 1981)的书。

Marco Polo (1254—1324), Italian merchant and traveler, ambassador, together with his father Niccolò and his uncle Matteo, was among the first documented westerners to go to China, which he called Chatai. The chronicles of his journey were transcribed in French by a writer Rustichello da Pisa, a fellow prisoner in Genoa. They were collected in a book called *Deuisament du monde*, better known as *Million* (1954, r.1981).

[3] 同类的人物还包括利玛窦(Matteo Ricci)、乔瓦尼·卡博托(Giovanni Caboto)、弗拉维奥·焦亚(Flavio Gioia)、乔瓦尼·达·韦拉扎诺(Giovanni da Verrazzano)、郎世宁(Giuseppe Castiglione)等等。

One can also mention Matteo Ricci, Giovanni Caboto, Flavio Gioia, Giovanni da Verrazzano, Giuseppe Castiglione and many others.

安一线的外交使节、传教士、士兵和水手们也都留下了各式各样的记载。长久以来,这些商路或多或少都被考古发现所证实。有鉴于此,我们就不能仅限于讨论丝绸之路研究所提出的传统问题,而应当扩大视野,特别是关注晚近学者,如费迪南·冯·李希霍芬(Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, 1877; 1883; 1886; 1903; 1907)、斯文·赫定(Sven Hedin 1898a, 1898b)^[1]以及尼古拉·米哈伊洛维奇·普尔热瓦斯基(Nikolai Mihajlovic Przhevalsky 1870-1873)^[2]的研究。他们提出并强调了中亚草原的游牧人群在丝绸之路

the western China and ended in Xi'an and vice versa of course. The same paths for ages long, are widely more or less archaeologically attested. In this perspective, certainly much larger than that which traditionally has always referred to the issues related to the *Silk Routes*, one should remember, of course, the role and the importance of more recent scholars like Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (1877; 1883; 1886; 1903; 1907), Sven Hedin (1898a, 1898b)^[1] and Nikolai Mihajlovic Przhevalsky (1870-1873)^[2], again to name a few, and stress at the same time, the role of the nomadic peoples of the Central Asian steppes, which have always maintained cultural contacts between East and West, from at least the Iron Age. The phenomena can be glimpsed behind the historical and geographical concept of *Silk Routes*, all marked by the growth, no longer controlled by the traditional Great

[1] 就在沙皇俄国和大英帝国间的“大博弈”正如火如荼地进行时,瑞典探险家斯文·赫定决心跟随李希霍芬和普尔热瓦斯基的脚步,在19世纪与20世纪之交开启了一段动人心魄的探险旅程。他探访了中国的西北部,其中绝大多数区域在当时鲜为人知或无人涉足。在穿越塔克拉玛干沙漠时,他发现了许多重要的考古遗迹和遗物,并且曾一度接近拉萨。即将出版的两卷本图书值得一读。

At the height of the “Great Game” between the Russian and the British empires, the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin decided to follow the footsteps of Ferdinand von Richthofen and Nikolai Mihajlovic Przhevalsky, embarking on an epic journey spanning the end of the 19s and the beginning of the 20s century, through the regions of northwestern China, for the most at that time unknown or little explored. Through the Taklamakan desert, he makes important archaeological finds and also comes very close to Lhasa. The books that will ensue (2 volumes) are interesting and fun to read.

[2] 在沙皇俄国向中亚急速扩张期间,波兰裔的地质学家、探险家尼古拉·米哈伊洛维奇·普尔热瓦斯基上校受沙俄政府委托,接受了一项勘察蒙古、中国西藏以及中国其他地区并绘制相关地图的任务。随后他召集一众朋友,从青海湖出发。考察持续了多年,其间他们发现了多个先前不为人知的新物种。考察途中,普尔热瓦斯基听闻蒙古西南部某座城市有野马,这个消息不可谓不重大,因为在瑞典博物学家林奈(Linnaeus [1758])著名的自然分类系统中,马类下面并没有包括野马。在随后由普尔热瓦斯基率领的第二次和第三次考察中,他得到了一个由边境警卫提供的野马头骨,并且在戈壁沙漠附近的塔钦沙拉努鲁(Tachin Schara Nuru)中见到了两群野马。根据林奈分类系统的命名法,新物种的名称要冠以发现者之名,因此这种野马就被称作普尔热瓦斯基氏野马,简称普氏野马。

During a time when Russia is rapidly expanding into Central Asia, the geologist/adventurer and colonel Nikolai Mihajlovic Przhevalsky, of Polish origin, welcomes a mission entrusted to the Russian government, to explore and map the regions of Mongolia, Tibet and China. Gathers some friends and embarks on his journey to the shores of Koko Nor, also known as the Qinghai Lake. All this holds for many years abroad and has led to the discovery of several previously unknown animal species. Having the great Swedish scientist Linnaeus (1758) not included in its system *naturae* the horse, made a great stir the news that during his travels Przhevalsky had heard of wild horses in the city's south-western Mongolia. In a second trip the colonel led, reflecting the fact, a skull of a wild horse that he had been given by a border guard and during a third trip he saw two herds of the animal in the mountains of Tachin Schara Nuru near the Gobi desert. Then as in the system *naturae* the name of a new species was provided to give the name of the discoverer, this wild animal received the complicated name of Przhevalsky.

上所扮演的重要角色。至迟从铁器时代开始，游牧民族就一直是东西方文化交流的纽带。结合丝绸之路的历史和地理的背景，这一现象的出现一方面得益于游牧人摆脱了传统帝国（罗马、波斯和中国）的控制，社会经济不断发展，另一方面则得益于地理上的中间位置，广阔地域内分布着众多政治实体，游牧人在社会、政治方面又具有特殊的联合性。他们的重大贡献远非仅仅维持游牧群体所提供的商贸路线这么简单，这些族群包括铁器时代伊朗语文献中提及的萨迦人（Saka），即汉文文献中所称的塞人；晚期有着不同种族起源的匈奴和乌孙，甚至是种族不甚明了的月氏等等。远在丝绸生产、运输和交易之前，不同种类的商品贸易便已存在，例如玉石^[1]，尤其是在中国西部的新疆地区；或者是阿富汗与美索不达米亚之间呼罗珊大道（*Khorasan Road*）上的青金石^[2]，都是原史时期长距离贸易的代表商品。作为中国与阿富

empires (Roman, Persian and Chinese), of new socio-economic realities on one hand, and geographically intermediate, numerous political entities, including their role held by the combined socio-political character of nomadic type on the other. Their decisive contribution not only was to fulfill the maintenance of these trade routes just offered by the nomadic peoples in the Iron Age, like the Saka, as they are called from the Iranian sources, or Se, as they are from the Chinese; or others, of a later period, of different ethnic origin, like the paleo-Turkish Xiognu and Wu Sun, or even those of more problematically uncertain ethnicity of Yüeh-chi, and others. But trade of different products, as is known, existed prior to the production, diffusion and distribution of *silk* and by the time it is the case of such materials as jade^[1], especially in western China, the Xinjiang, or as lapis lazuli^[2] especially in the so-called *Khorasan Road* between Afghanistan and Mesopotamia, elements of a proto-historic trade of a middle and long distance. The commercial roads of jade and lapis lazuli, are some of the most well-known antecedent of the *Silk Routes* between China and Afghanistan. And it is difficult, here and on this occasion, forget other commercial roads, lived and used in other times and different geographical contexts, such as the so-called *Route of the Spices* considered as an intermediary between Europe and the Indies (Miller 1974; Keay 2007),

[1] 玉石与中国文明有着千丝万缕的联系。千百年来，中国人将玉石视作无价之宝并顶礼膜拜，然而在古代“中国”的范围内，这种矿物并不常见，它们基本是以原石状态从西域，即今天的新疆地区输入的。

The “jade” is inextricably linked to the Chinese civilization. From forty centuries the Chinese have given to this beautiful stone an invaluable value, and have bestowed a cult. Paradoxically, this mineral does not exist in ancient China itself, and has always been imported, almost in its entirety, from its western part, the present Xinjiang.

[2] 青金石是历史最悠久的宝石之一。关于它最早的记录可以回溯至公元前5000年，当时在法老时期的埃及被广泛用于制作珠宝。青金石为深蓝色，并由此得名。它的名字由拉丁文 *lapis*（石头）和 *lazuli* 组成，其中 *lazuli* 是属格名词，起修饰作用，其源于中世纪拉丁语 *lazulum*，而 *lazulum* 又是从阿拉伯语 *al-lazward* 和波斯语 *lāzhward* 而来，意为“蓝”。参见 Tosi (1974), Hermann (1968), Hermann Moorey (1983) 以及 Casanova 关于伊朗和中亚中远距离贸易的论述 (1994, 2000)。

Lapis lazuli is one of the precious stones considered the longest in history. His earliest documentation dates back to the 5th millennium BC, when it was widely used for the manufacture of jewelry found in tombs in the Pharaonic Egypt. The color is intense blue, and from this derives its name, made from the Latin *lapis* (stone) and *lazuli*, genitive of medieval Latin *lazulum*, derived in turn from Arabic (*al-lazward*), and from the Persian *lāzhward* that means “blue”. See articles of Tosi (1974) and Hermann (1968) and Hermann Moorey (1983) and Casanova for business in the middle and long distance between Iran and Central Asia (1994, 2000).

汗之间丝绸之路的前身,玉石之路和青金石之路是最为著名的商路。此外,出现并通行于不同时期、不同地理背景中的商路也应多加留心,比如作为联系欧洲和东印度群岛的所谓的香料之路(Miller 1974; Keay 2007),从罗马时期就开通的连接阿拉伯半岛(阿曼和也门)和地中海的熏香之路,以及盐之路、琥珀之路和香水之路等等^[1]。

对以上贸易之路的研究,无论是从时代跨度上还是在历史文化方面,都极大地拓宽了丝绸之路的内涵,而且其本身便是丝路研究的不同方法。人们逐渐认识到,这些可能在公元后逐渐定型的商路是特定历史时期特定地域内宗教信仰传播的通道,如佛教、景教、摩尼教和祆教,沿途不同种族、不同文化传统的人群也具有类似的社会经济生活条件。当然,这些商路绝非单线发展,在各个自然环境迥异的区域中它们有着纵横交错的支线。在一些地区,比如中国西部塔里木盆地中的塔克拉玛干沙漠,冬季极冷,夏季极热,对身处其间的人和动物来说都是严酷的考验。商队由于暴露在不同人群的攻击之下,也承受着巨大的风险。这些人群所扮演的角

or the *Route of Incense* linking the Arabian peninsula (Oman and Yemen) to the Mediterranean, in use since Roman times, to which could yet others be added, such as the *Route of Salt*, the *Route of Amber*, the *Route of Perfume* etc.^[1].

These general considerations led to an expansion both in a chronological and the historical-cultural sense, of the meaning of *Silk Routes*, and become itself a methodological tool to deal differently with it. It is increasingly clear, in fact, to look further those roads were not only the means of transmission of ideological-religious beliefs of Buddhist, Nestorian Christian, Manichean or Zoroastrian élites, in a given historical period, in key areas and the center of articulated and complex geo-political and geo-economic matters. It seems increasingly plausible, rather, to imagine the routes, may be only better physically recognizable at the turn of the Christian era, as a century, if not millennia trade, between ethnically and culturally diverse peoples, with which they shared, often homogeneous socio-economic conditions of life. These trade-routes, presented, of course, different branches for many geo-morphological and geo-climatic conditions within the crossed regions, placed by the nature, that have always hindered certain linearity. The climate is very cold in winter and hot in summer, p. example, in the depressions of the Taklamakan desert in western China, and it could not put a strain on men and animals. The caravans could also run serious risks, as they were exposed to attacks of different population groups. The role of these populations, which has been already widely emphasized, was, in fact, inherently ambiguous, depending on historical circumstances, and sometimes it was an invaluable mean by which it was necessary to treat the transaction; sometimes, however, it became an insurmountable barrier not without through also

[1] 所有相关问题参见 Betts, Kidd (2010)。书中提到了从史前到伊斯兰时期不同的贸易路线,使得我们十分有必要从新的“考古学”角度去研究“丝绸之路”,特别是目前考古发现中出土了大量青金石,以及汉以前的欧洲和公元前两千年的中亚发现了“丝绸”,如德国的哈尔施塔特文化(Hallstatt culture),雅典凯拉米克斯遗址(Keraimikos)的墓葬,以及中亚 Sapalli Tepe 遗址(Good 2010, 35, 36)。

For all these problems see the recent Betts, Kidd (2010) in which different items, ranging from prehistory to the Islamic period (all listed below), which is strongly raised the issue of a new “archaeological” approach to the concept of “Silk Road”, especially in the light of numerous findings of “lapis lazuli”, but also “silk” in the pre-Han period in Europe, particularly in the Hallstatt culture in Germany, and in the cemetery of *Keraimikos* in Athens, but also at Sapalli Tepe in Central Asia in the second millennium BC (Good 2010, 35, 36).

色已被广泛注意，其作用因不同的历史环境而有较大差别，有时他们是贸易正常进行之必需，有时又因军事武力所导致的永久冲突而成为无法逾越的阻碍。陆上丝绸之路的衰落，是因为一条与之相比更快捷、更安全的新商路崛起，即西方与印度、中国的海上交通。商路为东亚（特别是中国）与近东、地中海及途经地区的文明交流提供了机会，这些地区地处里海与黄河之间，是亚洲的腹地。中亚东边的中国，其最西面的新疆地区通过甘肃天然的河西走廊与内地，特别是以陕西西安为中心的区域连通。

中国以西，公元前6世纪阿契美尼德王朝建立，随后偏东的区域出现了不同的政治实体，如巴克特里亚（主要分布在阿富汗的西北部），粟特（主要分布在泽拉夫善谷地，包括塔吉克斯坦和乌兹别克斯坦）：前者作为双峰骆驼的原产地而闻名，后者则拥有从东伊朗到古突厥世界中最精明的商人。中亚地处中国和伊朗、地中海的古典世界之间，其间草原与沙漠交错，山脉阻隔，各种不同的生活方式各自发展又相互碰撞，互动交流^[1]，北部区域居住着游牧人群，是训练有素的居于帐篷中的骑士和牧人，有着印欧和

military permanent conflicts. The decline of the *Silk Routes* began with the competition from a new market road, faster and more secure than the land routes: India and China, began in fact to be reached by sea from the West, and vice versa. The caravan routes were an opportunity for meeting between civilizations of East Asia (especially China) and the countries of the Near East and the Mediterranean and the crossed territory; they were the heart of Asia, between the Caspian Sea and the Yellow River. To the east of Central Asia the Chinese empire, with its extreme western regions from Xinjiang to Gansu Province, crossed by the famous Hexi corridor, constituted a natural passage leading to Central Asia and vice versa.

To the west of China from the 6th century, the Achaemenid empire was established, and was followed by further east political entities of Bactria (mainly in the north-west Afghanistan), Sogdiana (mainly in the Zeravshan valley, including Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan): the first, famous, among other things, because being the original area of the camel (*camelus Bactrianus*), the second because land of clever merchants, between the eastern Iranian and the starting paleo-Turkish world. Between the Chinese empire, the Iranian and the classical Mediterranean world, there was Central Asia, a stepic and deserted region, interrupted by mountain ranges, where different and opposite ways of life flourished, intended to interact each other^[1]. The northern regions were, in fact, inhabited by nomadic peoples, while in the south sedentary civilizations agricultural populations lived, destined to become autonomous, where urban entities and state formed and made prosperous its intense commercial traffic. The men of the north were skilled horsemen and herders living in housing units and furniture, and belonged,

[1] 从粟特地区的撒马尔罕出发，可以南下经过阿富汗北部的巴尔赫(Balkh)，马可·波罗可能曾在此停留，而根据传说，亚历山大大帝甚至在这里迎娶了波斯国王的女儿。再向南进入位于喀布尔(Kabul)西北的巴米扬(Bamiyan)地区，此处以两尊大立佛像而闻名于世。继续向西，就可以到达赫拉特(Herat)。这里的男人都剃头并包裹白色头巾，女人则将整个头部盖住仅露出眼睛。马可·波罗对伊朗的城镇和文化水平大加赞赏，其中对克尔曼(Kerman)、伊斯法罕(Isfahan)、大不里士(Tabriz)、巴格达(Baghdad)以及摩苏尔(Mosul)等地的描述也许有所夸大。大不里士是一个活跃的贸易中心，再向西就进入到威尼斯和热那亚商人控制的区域。巴格达城的西面没有城墙，而东面由于储放了大量的金银财宝，防御最为坚固。从美索不达米亚出发，人们可以选择不同的路线前往西欧。其中一条是古代以来的传统商路，即途经杜拉欧罗普斯(Dura-Europos)、帕尔米拉(Palmyra)或安条克(转下页)

突厥两个不同的语言和种族来源；而南方则是自治的农业定居文明形成城市与国家，商贸繁盛。

贸易路线

中亚一直以来都是古代商路的必经之地，这些商路既是游牧部落的贸易路线，也是千百年来不同社会政治群体间的商贸交换的重要通道。得益于经济发展以及公元后产生的政治实体的刺激，一系列重要的贸易路线得以开辟，后来被统称为丝绸之路。它们中的一些随着时间而改变，而另一些却保持了几个世纪。根据中国文书，特别是《汉书》(1962, 3872; 1979)、《后汉书》(1907, 1965)的记载，其中一条商路就是从中国当时的首都长安(现陕西省省会西安)发端，向西北延伸穿过中亚。这条道路在敦煌附近分成两支，分别沿塔里木盆地和塔克拉玛干沙漠(死亡之海)^[1]南北两缘，即北道和南

however, to different linguistic and ethnic families: the Indo-Germanic and Turkic.

The Routes

Central Asia was always crossed by ancient caravan routes, which were utilized both as paths for trade of nomadic tribes and commercial routes established thousands of years old, for communities of differing socio-political level. Enriched by new economic potential, and energized by the political authorities not existing before the Christian era, the related regional areas were found to be crossed by a series of itineraries and routes, which were significantly, gave the name of the *Silk Routes* to. The routes taken by the travelers had to change over time, but some of them remained unchanged for centuries. Based on the written testimonies of important Chinese royal annals, particularly in the Han Shu (1962, 3872; 1979), Hou Han Shu (1907, 1965), one of these routes started right from China and its capital Chang'an (the present-day Xi'an, capital of the present Shaanxi Province), and stretched north-west penetrating Central Asia. Near Dunhuang the route forked in two main branches passing along the northern (bei dao) and southern (nan dao) limits of the Tarim Basin and the Taklamakan desert (the place of no return)^[1],

[1] 接上页) (Antioch) 或阿卡 (Acre), 然后进入地中海, 或者可以从克里米亚 (Crimea) 经黑海或东土耳其前往君士坦丁堡, 最后经海路至意大利。

Moving on to Samarkand in Sogdiana, you could descend along the northern part of Afghanistan, Balkh, where would have stopped Marco Polo and even where, according to legend, Alexander the Great had married the daughter of the king of Persia, Bamiyan famous for the presence of two colossal statues of the Buddha, located to the north and west of Kabul. Continuing west, one could reach Herat. Here men shave the head and wrapped in a piece of white cloth, the women covered their heads, leaving only a slit for the eyes. Marco Polo testifies, p. example, with regard to Iran, the urban and cultural quality, though perhaps a bit exaggerated, of Kerman, Isfahan, Tabriz, Baghdad and Mosul, much later. Tabriz was an active center of trade, and beyond it entered the territory controlled by the Venetians and Genoese merchants. As well as Baghdad, whose western part of the city was without walls, while the eastern, given the large amount of gold and precious stones contained there, was most probably fortified. Starting from Mesopotamia one could choose different directions to reach Western Europe. One could follow the trade-routes of classical antiquity, through Dura-Europos, Palmyra or Antioch or Acre, and then cross the Mediterranean, or even Constantinople, which could also be reached from Crimea, and from eastern Turkey, before crossing the Black Sea, to reach, by sea, Italy.

[1] 马可·波罗这样描述他所途经的塔克拉玛干沙漠：“罗不(Lop)是一大城，在名曰罗不沙漠之边境，处东方及东北方间。此城臣属大汗，居民崇拜摩诃末。前此已言凡行人渡此沙漠者，必息于此城一星期，以解人畜之渴。已而预备一月之粮秣，出此城后，进入沙漠。此沙漠甚长，骑行垂一年，尚不能自此端达彼端。狭窄之处，须时(转下页)

道,然后在喀什汇合。这一路线有效地避开了敦煌以西浩瀚的戈壁沙漠^[1]。

北道从敦煌(甘肃)出发,途经哈密、吐鲁

and then reunited in Kashgar. This route was necessary in order to avoid the huge desert gravel west of Dunhuang^[1].

The northern route from Dunhuang (Gansu province)

(接上页)一月,方能渡过。沿途尽是沙山沙谷,无食可觅。然若骑行一日一夜,则见有甘水,足供五十人或百人暨其牲畜之饮。甘水为数虽不多,然全沙漠中可见此类之水。质言之,渡沙漠之时,至少有二十八处得此甘水,然其量甚寡。别有四处,其水苦恶。沙漠中无食可觅,故禽兽绝迹。然有一奇事,请为君等述之。行人夜中骑行渡沙漠时,设有一人或因寝息,或因他故落后,迨至重行,欲觅其同伴时,则闻鬼语,类其同伴之声。有时鬼呼其名,数次使其失道。由是丧命者为数已多。甚至日间亦闻鬼言,有时闻乐声,其中鼓声尤显。渡漠情形困难如此。”(汉译摘自冯承钧译《马可波罗行纪》,上海书店出版社[上海],2001年,页106—107)位于盐湖罗布泊绿洲地区的楼兰遗址,可能由于干旱缺水,在公元400年左右遭到废弃。在楼兰遗址,考古学家发现了大量产自中国和西欧的丝绸和其他织物。得益于本地区极度干旱的环境,考古学家还找到了一些木乃伊,年代不仅是汉唐时期,甚至更早。从罗布泊出发,南道穿过了若羌、且末、和田、叶尔羌的绿洲地带,到达塔克拉玛干沙漠西端、帕米尔高原下的喀什。罗布泊到和田之间是世界上最荒凉的自然环境之一。西行求法的玄奘在公元645年由印度返程时,留下了这样的记载:“从此东行,入大流沙。沙则流漫,聚散随风,人行无迹,遂多迷路。四远茫茫,莫知所指,是以往来者聚遗骸以记之。乏水草,多热风。”(季羨林等校注《大唐西域记校注》,中华书局[北京],1985年,页1030—1031)。

Marco Polo, who travelled the desert described it this way (1954/1981, XLV, 47-48): *Lop è una grande città ch'è all'entrata del Gran Diserto, che si chiama lo Diserto di Lop, ed è tra levante e greco; e sono al Gran Cane, e adorano Malcometto. Quegli che vogliono passare lo diserto si riposano in Lop per una settimana, per rinfrescare loro e loro bestie; poscia prendono vivanda per un mese per loro e per le loro bestie. E partendosi di questa città, entra nel diserto: ed è sì grande, che si penerebbe a passare un anno; ma per lo minore luogo si luogo si pena lo meno a trapassare un mese. Egli è tutto montagne e sabbione e valli, e non vi si truova nulla da mangiare. Ma quando se' ito un dì e una notte truovi acqua, ma non tanta che n'avesse oltra cinquanta o cento uomeni co' loro bestie: e per tutto il diserto conviene che uomo vada un dì e una notte, prima che l'acqua si truovi: e in tre luoghi o in quattro truova l'uomo l'acqua amara e salsa, e tutte l'altre sono buone, che sono nel torno di ventotto acque. E non v'ha né uccelli né bestie, perché non v'hanno da mangiare. E sì vi dico che quivi si truova tale meraviglia: egli è vero che, quando l'uomo cavalca di notte per lo diserto, egli avviene questo: che se alcuno rimane adietro degli compagni per dormire o per altro, quando vuole poi andare per giungere gli compagni ode parlare ispiriti in aiere, che somigliano gli suoi compagni, e più volte è chiamato per lo suo nome proprio, e è fatto disviare talvolta in tal modo che mai non si truova; e molti ne sono già perduti: e molte volte ode l'uomo molti stromenti in aria, e propriamente tamburi. E così si passa questo Gran Diserto. Or lasciamo del diserto, e diremo della provincia ch'è all'uscita del diserto.* Near the site of the lying salty Lopnor oasis of Loulan, was abandoned in 400 AD perhaps because of the drought. Among the ruins of Loulan archaeologists have found numerous fragments of silk and other fabrics made in China and Western Europe. They also found the remains of some human beings, thanks to that particular phenomenon of natural mummification due to the severe drought in the region, the desert Loulan, in fact, returned the dried bodies of individuals not only dating back to the Han and Tang periods, but even during very oldest. From Lopnor, the southern route went through the oasis of Ruoqiang, Qiemo, Khotan, Yarkand, to reach Kashgar, located at the western end of the Taklamakan Desert, at the foot of Pamirs. The landscape between the Lopnor and Khotan is one of the most inhospitable imaginable. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang in 645 AD on his return from India describes *A great desert of shifting sands. The masses of sand have a monstrous extension: at the whim of the wind come together and separate. Travelers do not find evidence of human and many of them are lost. From all over the desert stretches to the horizon, and no one knows which way to go. The travelers crowded therefore, to show the way, animal bones. Is not no water or vegetation, and often fiery winds* (1985, 1030-1031).

[1] 从敦煌分支的两条商路中的南道,向西南穿过干涸的罗布泊荒漠,因为风和洪水沉积经常改变着地形地貌。Of the two caravan routes which branched off from Dunhuang, the south west across the desert Lopnor, a semi-lake dried up, because the winds and flood deposits have frequently changed the contours and location.

喀什^[1]、伊犁河谷及北疆,到达哈萨克斯坦的草原地带。由西向东的路线则必定经过费尔干纳(现在乌兹别克斯坦和吉尔吉斯斯坦境内)到达喀什^[2]。另一条路从印度河谷出发,最终到达敦

and through Hami and Turpan^[1], the Ili River valley, and Zungaria reached the steppes of Kazakhstan. A western route was definitely that from Ferghana (now in Uzbekistan and Kirghisitan) which reached Kashgar^[2]. Another route again, finally reached Dunhuang, starting

① 马可·波罗和玄奘都到访过哈密绿洲。威尼斯商人曾在这里居住并讲述了在此地的冒险奇遇,以及绿洲人民的风俗习惯和日常消遣:“哈密(Camul)州昔是一国,境内有环以墙垣之城村不少,然其要城即哈密。此州处两沙漠间,一面是罗不大沙漠,另一面是一广三日程之小沙漠。居民皆是偶像教徒,自有其语言。土产果实不少,居民恃以为生。其人爱娱乐,只知弹唱歌舞。”(汉译摘自冯承钧译《马可波罗行纪》,上海书店出版社[上海],2001年,页118—119)。这一描述与哈密地区的实际完全相符。在《马可波罗行纪》中提到的“唐古忒州”先前者西夏王国(1038—1227),包括了今天的宁夏回族自治区和甘肃省。继续向西北行进约800公里,就到达绿洲盆地吐鲁番,它是北道上最重要也最古老的商业中转站。在汉代,汉王朝将其营建成控制中亚的据点之一。当地居民是中亚古老突厥民族的后代,而周围的文物古迹则见证了绿洲历史漫长的发展过程。其西面是交河故城遗址,当年曾作为汉代的军事前哨。东面则是靠近所谓“火焰山”的高昌故城,以及佛教石窟遗存柏孜克里克。该地区另一个重要的地点是离高昌不远的阿斯塔那古墓群,由于干燥的气候,墓中出土了大量的丝绸。

The oasis of Hami was visited by Marco Polo and Xuanzang. The Venetian merchant tells of the adventures of this place and lived there, describing the habits and past times of the people of the oasis (XLVII, 50, 51) *Camul (Kamul) è una provincia, e già anticamente fu reame, e havvi ville e castella assai. La mastra città ha nome Camul. La provincia è in mezzo di due deserti: dall'una parte è il grande deserto, dall'altra è un piccolo deserto di tre giornate. Sono tutti sabei, lingua hanno per sè, vivono de' frutti della terra, e hanno assai da mangiare e da bere, e vendonne assai; e sono uomini di grande sollazzo, che non attendono se non a suonare istromenti e a cantare e a ballare.* The description is entirely consistent with the reality of the area of Hami. The province of “Tangut” mentioned in the “Million” (XLVI, 48) indicates the Xixia Kingdom (1038—1227), whose territory included the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and Gansu Province today. Continuing the road to the north-west for about 800km, the caravan routes reached the deep depression of the oasis of Turfan, its most important and earliest of all those of the northern route. During the Han Chinese people made it one of their strongholds in Central Asia. The inhabitants are descendants of ancient Turkic peoples of Central Asia and its surroundings are rich in places of great historical and artistic interest, where are the monuments that bear witness to the ancient past of the oasis. To the west lie the impressive ruins of Jiaohe, a military outpost in the Han period. Equal suggestive power exercise the ruins of Gaochang in the east, near which, on the side of the so-called “Mountains of Fire”, you can see what remains of the complex of Buddhist caves of Bezeklik. Another place of importance in the area is the cemetery of Astana, where inhabitants were buried not far from the famous city of Gaochang; inside the graves were found many silks, preserved thanks to the dry climate of the area.

② 从喀什开始,根据商人们的需求不同,丝绸之路会走向不同的方向。商路在翻越了帕米尔高原后,会继续向印度、伊朗和更西方延伸。喀什绿洲十分广阔,有村庄同时也有大型城镇。虽然远离当时中国的边境,但喀什时常处于中原政权的政治和军事控制之下。为了保证与西方的交流畅通,中原王朝与中亚突厥民族反复斗争以取得对喀什的控制权。从10世纪开始,喀什成为活跃的穆斯林中心,到18世纪才重新回到中原政权的管辖范围,不过伊斯兰风格的建筑仍随处可见。土壤呈砂石质的绿洲的一大特点就是露天市场,几个世纪以来甚至直到今天,来自东西方的产品都在这里交换,如骆驼、织物、马、驴、水果和山羊等。

From Kashgar on, the Silk Routes could take different directions depending on the needs of the merchants. The caravan routes, having crossed the steps of the Pamir, continued in other locations to India, Iran and the West. The Kashgar oasis was extensive, there were villages that were, at the time, major cities. As far from the borders of China, Kashgar was sometimes placed under the political and military control of the Chinese, who fought against the Turks of Central Asia to retain possession of this place, and so check the connections with the West. From the 10th century Kashgar became an active Muslim center, in the 18th century it returned to Chinese control, but still features of Islamic architecture are found there. One of the characteristics of the oasis, where the soil is sandy and stony, are open-air markets, where, as in past centuries, even today eastern and western products are exchanged: camels, textiles, horses, donkeys, fruit, goats.

煌。这一路线从喀喇昆仑山脚下开始，穿过旁遮普(Punjab)和斯瓦特(Swat)的山地，然后继续沿着印度河经过吉尔吉特(Gilgit)和罕萨河谷(Hunza valley)，之后穿过海拔5000多米的明铁盖达坂(Mintaka pass)，最后一路东下到达喀什。各个方向上的支线并不发达：一些路线经齐拉斯(Chilas)上至帕苏(Passu)和明铁盖达坂，一些沿着萨特帕拉河谷(Satpara valley)和卡彭鲁(Kapunlu)，另一些到达拉克(Ladakh)、旁遮普河谷(Punjal valley)和亚辛(Yasin)，连接吉尔吉特(Gilgit)和吉德拉尔(Chitral)。这些支线上有很多古老的人类活动遗迹，时代不同、风格和艺术形式各异的题铭，展现了五千多年来不同人群及其文化的发展历程。北部地区有众多的考古圣地，齐拉斯就是其中之一，从青铜时代的岩画到阿契美尼德王朝、帕提亚时代以及犍陀罗时期的文化遗存应有尽有。犍陀罗地区的艺术风格不断演进，发展出更加复杂的形式，包括对佛塔以及佛教神祇的塑造。这些道路除了用于商贸以外，还为沿途地区文化、宗教以及语言的交流提供通道，形成了多元文化碰撞融合的大熔炉。这些陆上交流的网络，两千多年来连接着东西方文明，从古都西安到地中海，途经现在的中国、俄罗斯、哈萨克斯坦、塔吉克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦、乌兹别克斯坦、土库曼斯坦、阿富汗、伊朗、伊拉克、亚美尼亚、叙利亚、土耳其、希腊、埃及等国家。

伊朗和中国

众所周知，汉代军事战备的需要，是东西

from the Indus valley. The route began at the foot of the Karakorum, in the hilly areas of Punjab and Swat, and continued along the Indus, through Gilgit, Hunza valley, up to 5000 meters of the Mintaka pass, before descending to Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan. Arteries are less developed in every direction: some paths from Chilas went up to Passu and Mintaka, others along the Satpara valley and Kapunlu, others reached Ladakh, the Punjal valley and Yasin, linking Gilgit with Chitral. In these arteries much more ancient are the traces of the human passage. Depictions carved in rock, calligraphy, inscriptions, in a historical sequence and in various styles and art forms, recall the history of different peoples and their cultures have developed over a period of about five thousand years. In the northern territory, the most important archaeological stations begin with Chilas, where there are numerous representations dating back to the Achaemenid (6th century BC), the Parthian (2nd century BC) and the period of the culture of Gandhara (2nd century AD), without forget, however, that there are significant examples of Bronze Age petroglyphs. Artistic styles change up to evolve into more sophisticated forms of Gandhara areas and those of the depictions of stupas and Buddhist deities. These pathways, in addition to trade, constitute, as you can imagine, a background of crossroads of cultures, religions and languages, a "melting pot", where very different cultural experiences met and mingled. They have provided an extraordinary network of contacts originally terrestrial, which for over 2000 years have been a link between the eastern and western civilizations, from the ancient city of Xi'an, to the Mediterranean, through China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Armenia, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, etc.

Iran and China

It is commonly known that one of the reasons for the development of trade routes between China and the West, is traced back to the new military demands of the

方之间丝绸之路发展的重要原因之一。新商路的开辟使得人们可以安全地到达更远的地方；西方的商人得以出口典型的西方产品，如马、骆驼、兽皮、皮草、西瓜、核桃、芝麻、无花果、苜蓿、石榴，甚至还有酿制葡萄酒的方法，而东方的商人则可以出口重要的奢侈品原料，如象牙，以及塔里木盆地山脉中蕴藏的丰富玉石矿，当然还有相当珍贵的丝绸。

这种具有超前性的世界市场在很短的时间内便促进了沿线地区的普遍繁荣，也无疑促进了新商路沿途地区商品交易税收的有益平衡。在第一位中国人到达费尔干纳之后，更多的使者被遣往西方，其中一批时代在公元前115年至公元前105年，相当于伊朗的帕提亚时代。有关这一事件的某些记述也许有夸张的成分，但两国间的互遣使节由此而始，成为当时中国与波斯之间建立新兴商贸关系的基础。

公元1世纪末，由印度—斯基泰人和希腊人组成的贵霜王国崛起并开始控制中亚。有人认为贵霜人就是亚历山大大帝东征遗留在印度的军队的后裔。尽管时间不长，但作为新兴政治力量的贵霜还是有效控制了塔克拉玛干盆地以西绿洲、印度河谷、中亚以及咸海等地的商贸道路。由此，四大政治军事力量，中国、贵霜、波斯和罗马开始争夺丝绸之路上的霸主地位。几个世纪前令中国人恐惧的游牧式袭击及其他军事手段，给伊朗世界带来相同的灾难，然后直奔罗马。应对这些新战术所生产的武器也具有新的功能要求：箭头、铠甲、各色马具、弓，甚至是金属马镫。杜拉·欧罗普斯(Doura

Han Dynasty. The opening of new trade routes offered the chance to ride safely on roads never traveled so far; merchants from the west were able to export typical western products, such as horses, cattle, hides, furs, watermelon, walnut, sesame, figs, alfalfa, pomegranate and, perhaps, also the method of making wine, while those from east had the ability to export important luxury goods, such as ivory and jade from the rich deposits contained in the mountains of the Tarim Basin and, of course, silk, which became a very precious material.

This kind of global market *ante litteram* determined in a short time, a widespread prosperity in all the regional involved areas, promoting undoubtedly positive balance of new taxes imposed on new caravans of goods crossing the vast territories of the area. After the first Chinese travel in Fergana, there were many other ambassadors sent to the west, one of which is chronologically located between the 115 and 105 BC, possibly, during the Parthian Iran. All this could have led to a mutual exchange of ambassadors and this event, maybe legendarily magnified, can only emphasize the fact that they were, at that time, the basis for new established commercial relations between China and Persia.

At the end of the 1st century AD, a new power, formed by the Indo-Scythians and Greeks, descendants, according to some, of the Alexander the Great's army in India, began to practice forms of political control over Central Asia, the Kushans. Become a new political force on the *Silk Routes* to the western oases of the Taklamakan basin, in the Indus basin, Central Asia and the Aral Sea, the Kushans took, albeit for a short time, the role of new lords in controlling these important commercial roads. With their arrival on the new commercial artery, four political/military powers become to contend a sort of supremacy, the Chinese, the Kushan, the Persian and Roman. The raids and other techniques of military nomad assaults who had already scared the Chinese centuries ago, will lead to the same apprehensions in the Iranian world, first and Roman later. The objects that are beginning to be produced in order to adapt them to these new military tactics have the effect

Europos)的涂鸦,蒙古和中国的图像遗存以及萨珊波斯的石刻等,无不在展示着新的军用装备的划时代意义,从铠甲到束带都是典型的 *catafractarii*^[1] 传统,并开启了之后中世纪锁子甲的发展。

当然现实情况远为复杂,以上插曲仅向人们展示了物质交换和文化交流的必要性。另一方面,在罗马人多次被帕提亚人击败后,后者成为了新的统治者,得以完全控制丝绸之路。公元3世纪初,本土的萨珊王朝控制了波斯西南部的法尔斯省。224年,首位萨珊国王阿达希尔(Ardashir, 211-241)击败帕提亚人,控制了波斯全境。在其子沙普尔(Shapur, 241-272)的辅助下,开启了一个政治、经济、文化的新时代。由此萨珊时期的丝绸之路格外繁荣,而新王朝严格控制丝路贸易并开始征收重税,使沿途各国得以分享利益。

在东方,萨珊王朝控制着撒马尔罕地区,纺织技术不再为汉朝垄断,当地的粟特人发展了丝织业。这些产品有少部分抵达欧洲,而另一些则出现在塔里木盆地的佛教石窟中。它们的设计与风格影响了后来中国、拜占庭和伊斯兰

of novel functional requirements: arrowheads, armor, items of horse harnesses, bow, and, finally, even the metal stirrups. From the graffiti in Doura Europos, those in Mongolia and China, the Sasanian rock sculptures, one can see how the new military clothing, from armor and strip, typical heritage of the *catafractarii*^[1], and the anticipation of later medieval vintage chainmail is obsessively played on various media iconography, just to show the sign of a great epoch-making change.

The reality was, of course, more complex, and the episode shows us how the contacts and the exchanges were, by now acquired, a necessity. On the other hand after the repeated defeats of the Romans suffered by the Parthians, these last ones became the new lords able to exercise full control over the *Silk Routes*. At the beginning of the 3rd century AD, the province of Fars in the south-western Persia fell under the political control of the local dynasty of the Sasanians. From 224 AD, the first Sasanian king Ardashir (211-241 AD) defeated the Parthians and exercised, in turn, control over all Persia. With the help of his son Shapur (241-272 AD), Ardashir started a new political, institutional and cultural era. In this way along the *Silk Routes* flourished particularly during the Sasanian period, and the strict control exercised by the new dynasty on trade from which they passed, the Sasanians produced the imposition of new considerable taxes, which favored a redistribution of welfare which enjoyed all the involved countries.

To the east, the Sasanians shared the role of controllers over the Sogdians of the Samarkand region, developing industrial activities related to the silk production, because,

[1] *Catafractarii* 是罗马帝国时代的重装甲骑兵。模仿帕提亚的铁甲骑兵,他们从脖子到脚趾都被鳞片形铠甲(*lorica squamata*)覆盖,通常双手执一种长矛(*contus*),有时也持弓。此外他们还会佩剑。在一些情况下,他们的战马同样也会披着同样的鳞片形铠甲。罗马军队中重装甲骑兵的出现,是为了与东部边境的帕提亚和潘诺尼亚的萨尔马提亚铁甲骑兵相抗衡。

The *catafractarii* were the heavily-armored cavalry of the Imperial Roman army. Modeled on the cataphracts of Parthia, they were covered from neck-to-toe by lamellar (scale) armor (*lorica squamata*), and normally armed with a *contus* a long lance held in both hands, although sometimes they carried bows instead. In addition, they were armed with swords. In some cases, their horses were covered in scale armor also. Cataphract cavalry was developed by the Roman army to counter Parthian formations of this kind on the eastern frontier and Sarmatian cataphracts in Pannonia.

的纺织艺术。

除了丝绸,欧亚大陆上其他不同种类物资的交换与传播也展示了新商路日益增加的重要性。丝绸之路沿线广泛交易的产品有银器、玻璃器^[1]以及“萨珊”风格的带具,这些物品使得萨珊世界成为当时东西方文化交流最好的展示地。它们不仅刺激了新风格与新设计的出现,同时对各国间的商贸与外交关系,乃至军队装备——即骑士装的发展来说都意义重大。这些产品与广袤且多元的曾被称为外伊朗的区域有关,跟这一称呼相比,“欧亚草原”要简略且局限得多。正如我们今天说中国以外一样,这种阐述并不奇怪。目前我们了解到的装饰有狩猎或宴饮场景以及用不同工艺制成的银器,都表现出萨珊时期的特有风格。

大部分发现于中亚,包括粟特地区甚至远东的器物,都普遍被认为是萨珊王朝官方外交活动所赠予的礼品。目前这些器物的原始功用与目的尚不明确,然而它们无疑传播了萨珊艺术风格的主题和图像,并刺激了众多的地方仿制品和创新品的出现,如粟特、花刺子模或是希腊—巴克特里亚王国和远东地区等。萨珊岩刻中描绘的带具,则直接反映了草原骑马民族的影响,它们的广泛使用在一定程度上展示了4—6世纪军事战术与战略发生的重大变化。

in the meantime, the weaving techniques were no longer protected by the Han Dynasty. Very few examples of silk products made their way to Europe, while others have been discovered in the Buddhist caves in the Tarim Basin. Their design and style influenced the designs of later Chinese, Byzantine and Muslim fabric.

In addition to the sources, the increasing importance gained by new trade routes is indicated by the presence and spread throughout Eurasia of particular classes of materials. These products widely traded along the *Silk Routes* were the silver plates, glass vessels^[1] and belt fittings of “Sasanian” type, and which evoke, in a way, the Sasanian world, perfects indicators of the cultural interaction between East and West. These classes of materials are both significant for new styles and iconography, and trade and diplomatic relationships, on one hand, and military costume — chivalrous, on the other. These productions are related to the vast and diverse world, once called outside Iran, since the concept of the Eurasian steppe was perhaps a simplistic and limiting meaning. It would not be absurd today, according to the logic to speak about an outside China as well. It is known how the production of plates and silverware decorated with hunting scenes, or investiture banquet and manufactured according to different techniques, has been considered peculiarly characteristic of the Sasanian period.

Most of these objects, found in Central Asia, including Sogdiana, and even in the Far East, have been widely regarded as a gift offered by the Sasanian dynasty in official and diplomatic missions; of these objects remains uncertain at the moment, the original function and purpose. No doubt they have helped to widespread themes and iconography of a stylistic repertoire, inspiring a number of local productions, among them especially those of Sogdiana, Chorasmia or the Greek-Bactrian kingdom and the Far East. The belt fittings, instead, refer to functional

[1] 这些风格突出、设计雕刻精美的容器由厚的透明玻璃制成,远到日本都有发现。

These are the characteristic containers made from thick clear glass, with elaborate carved designs found up to far Japan.

如果说草原文化所带来的社会经济影响导致了技术的实质性变革，那么骑士装备以及相应马具的变化，则只是接下来马背战争一系列新技术与新功能发展的开端。作为最常见的物质遗存，带具是骑士阶层典型的身份标志。此外，由于制作技术、装饰以及风格的不同，人们还可以利用它们来重建当时的历史文化背景，并据此寻找社会等级划分的蛛丝马迹。然而尽管目前已经发现了数量庞大的墓葬和随葬品，但却很少能依据墓葬遗存所提供的身份、地位、财富等信息来进行复原古代社会的研究。一般认为，草原艺术所反映出的亚洲最后部落迁移的时代已经结束，但目前的研究似乎并不支持这一说法。“大迁徙”时代不断增长的多民族、多文化复杂性并不直接继承于前代。如果将草原艺术归为游牧—畜牧背景下的创造，那么我们就应当认识到那些大量发现于公元500年至1000年之间，跟匈奴、阿瓦尔、哈扎尔等民族相关的器物，其实都属于相同的产品系统（Genito 2002a; 2002b）。尽管以最简单、最基础的形式表达，并且逐渐摘掉“大迁徙时期游牧艺术”的标签，这个产品系统却创造并发展了一系列其他装饰形式，如几何蔓纹装饰等相关体系。与先前的器物相比，它具有更强的民族意味，但却又是前者最终的艺术表现形式。由此看来，认为这些产品是当时定居区域（拜占庭、波斯、中国等）工匠制作的观点有待商榷，而且只有最为广袤、最为强大和最为持久的帝国文明，才有可能对中世纪游牧艺术

and symbolic aspects directly related to the world of the horsemen of the steppes, whose echo was already present in the representations of the Sasanian rock reliefs. Their wide use does not reflect but, on a small scale, the metamorphosis took place in tactics and military strategies between the 4th and 6th centuries and which is attributable to the very cultural contribution of the nomads of the steppes.

If the socio-economic changes brought by the cultures of the steppes had led to a substantial adaptation of these techniques, are now just the knights, with their clothes and all the elements related to the horse's harness, to be harbingers of the new features, both technical and functional, a new way of being and fight on horseback. As is known, the belt-fittings, between the most common material remains, characterize the typical trousseau of the knight of rank and beyond; based on their technical productive aspects, decoration and style, it is possible to make reconstructions of the cultural and historical grounds of the period, also trying to find some sort of social hierarchy. There are few, however, those studies of mortuary analysis that can, on the basis of the indices of status, rarity and wealth etc., try to reconstruct the society of those communities, whose grave goods were found in abundance in numerous tombs. With the migration of the last Asian tribes the period of reference of the Steppe Art, recognized, now, as an appendage chronologically extreme, and certainly much less expressive, is traditionally considered to have finished. The multi-ethnic and multi-cultural growing complexity of this period, defined not by chance *Migration Period*, does not, however, to see a direct continuation of the previous eras. If to the category of art of the steppes is attributed the sense and the expressive value of a production of a nomadic — pastoral background, one can and must recognize that the enormous amount of objects found between the middle and the end of the millennium AD, and attributed to different peoples like the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars, can only belong to the same sphere of pre-existing production figurative (Genito 2002a; 2002b).

具备如此高还原度的理解。在中世纪早期,定居文化与游牧文化依然有着密切的互动与交流。这套产品系统的装饰风格,并没有失去前代的艺术气质与活力,其中心依然流行动物纹,只是增添了新的几何纹样。近年来专家们对草原风格图像文化的研究有了新进展。他们的研究一方面有效遏制了“民族主义”的解释趋势,即将一种物质文化和装饰风格与特定的族群联系,但同时却忽视了游牧艺术风格的周边产品与其他中心文化间的二元解读,认为存在独立的工匠技术集团,没有考虑到其他文化的特有贡献。同前代文化一样,中世纪早期草原民族的物质文化还有待进一步研究与解释。这一时期的新产品蕴含着许多前所未有的图像学意义,为了更好地理解它们,就需要了解近几十年来各个学者所作出的不懈努力,无论是风格细节分析还是更为综合的研究。

结论与视角

在广阔的西部地区,尤其是那些地理特征主要以草原为主的区域,如中国新疆地区,仍然是考古学的处女地,无论对中国学者还是外国学者都是如此。可能会在不久的将来,在不同的国际合作框架之下,中国社会科学院考古研究所、中国国家博物馆、西北大学、吉林大学、南京大学等单位将在新疆开展新的考古活动,这些探索性的考古活动将与欧亚大陆尤其是丝绸之路中国段密切相关。在国际合作的大前提下,在新疆进行考古工作的前景充满希望,而且

Perhaps reductively labeled as *Nomadic Art of the Age of Migration*, even if expressed through the basic forms, but much more simplified than the last, this production creates and develops, however, a number of new coherent systems of decoration defined by others, such as geometric tendril ornamentation. This production, which is recognizable as stronger ethnic connotation than the previous one, is, in a sense, the ultimate stylistic outcome of the first. The idea that such objects have been achieved, as well as has been claimed, at the artisan workshops of contemporary sedentary (Byzantines, Persians, Chinese, etc.), does not appear, in this sense, very convincing, and only the largest and most apparent state-imperial consistency of those peoples may have contributed to have such a reductive perception of the artistic nomadic production of Middle Ages. The phenomena of interaction between the sedentary and nomadic cultures continue with the same intensity along the Early Middle Ages, although their nature is now radically different from the previous. The figurative expression, with at the center still prevalent the animal representation, but enriched with new decorative trends of geometric type, did not lose the elegance and the dynamism of the first. Specialist studies have contributed in recent years to shed light on new aspects of the figurative culture once again “steppic” in character. Their contribution, prevented the development of that “nationalistic” interpretative trend aimed at identifying a material culture and decorative items with a particular group of people on one hand; it has, at the same time indicated autonomous schools and technical trends of production, which escape the duality of interpretation between an artistic nomadic peripheral production and another central, with which one risks to set zero one or another of the several specific contributions on the other. The material culture of the peoples of the steppes of the early Middle Ages is still waiting to be inserted into interpretive categories, similar to what happened with the earlier period. The new products of this era bring many unexpected and figurative meanings; to better understand

会变得更加频繁。

这类考古调查的主要动机源自对由沙漠、荒漠、草原和山脉构成的独特的地理环境的关注。这些新的学术活动将进一步支持和推动自公元前一千纪以来有关新疆的研究传统，同时追寻着公元一千纪以来欧亚草原游牧民族的足迹。众所周知，这些活动在天山及其东西地区的人群的主要特征是游牧，他们不曾留下永久性的居住遗址，但随葬品中金银器等器物上流行雕刻动物形象，也就是所谓动物纹传统，包括鹿、豹、虎、狮、羊，这些东西存在着区域性特征，作为交流媒介，也许便是这些文化中能对其他文化产生影响的诸多领域中最有趣的一个方面，并因情感跟品位的不同而变化着。

them needs to be collected the considerable efforts made in recent decades by various scholars and propose, from time to time, stylistic detailed and more general analyses.

Conclusions and Perspectives

The vast western regions, especially where is predominantly the steppe character, and in particular Xinjiang is still a virgin land for archaeology, both for Chinese and international scholars. It is possible that in the near future, new archaeological activities in Xinjiang with the Department of Archaeology and Museology of PkU, the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the National Museum, the North-west University in Xi'an, Jilin University, the University of Nanjing, the Institute of cultural Relics of Urumchi etc. in the frame of different international cooperation will be opened. The pioneer activities will be those related to the Eurasian and especially the Chinese section of the Silk Routes. The future of archaeology in Xinjiang seems promising in the framework of the international cooperations with increasing frequency.

The very reason of this archaeological investigation lies in a very unique environmental landscape, made up of deserts, grasslands, steppes and mountains. These new research activities opportunities will help and develop very much the tradition of studies in Xinjiang related to the first millennium BC, tracing the path of the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppes and to the first millennium AD. As is known, the main characteristic of these populations which inhabited the space between the T'jan' Šan mountains to the west, east China, is the pastoral nomadism. This cultural feature left no traces in permanent settlements, but above all, in the funerary objects. They include wooden decorations in gold or silver or other finely carved with zoomorphic representations typical of the traditional "Animal Style", including deer, leopards, tigers, lions, goats, made in its regional variants of the area, perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of these cultures able to act as a catalyst for many other cultures, recasting them according to moods and tastes.

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