

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: A Song of Diplomacy on the Silk Road	1
PART I. TRAVELERS	17
1 An Archive for an Age of Kings	19
2 People	39
3 Things	63
PART II. TRAVELING	95
4 Facing the Road	97
5 Praising the Host	126
6 Exchanging Gifts	150
7 Switching Languages	170
PART III. THE KING'S ROAD	199
8 The Economics of Diplomacy	201
9 The Kingly Exchange	226

viii CONTENTS

10	The Politics of the Road	261
	Conclusion	285

Notes 303

Bibliography 347

Index 373

Introduction

A Song of Diplomacy on the Silk Road

IN MEDIEVAL DUNHUANG, New Year's Eve was usually cold and rowdy. At dusk, in a widely practiced ritual of exorcism, dozens of teenage boys would dress up as Buddhist, Daoist, and Zoroastrian deities, and local gods—the ghostbuster Zhongkui, the Nine-Tailed Fox, or the “Poisonous Dragon of the Golden Mountain.” Their leader might wear a bronze mask and a leopard-skin robe draped over his body, painted red with cinnabar. With chants like “I am Zhongkui the god!” he would lead this motley procession of deities, beating drums and singing songs, and marching through the streets of the city. These noisy gods would try to expel the many spirits that had been haunting the streets, farms, pastures, and homes of Dunhuang during the previous year. People of all ranks, from commoners to the governor and his family, would witness or even join the carnival as the boys danced from the city gates to their houses and government offices.¹ It would have been difficult to sleep on these festive nights.

Many centuries later, we can almost experience what it felt like to be present during these raucous festivities, because many of the songs that would have been heard on the streets of Dunhuang were recorded in manuscripts that were stored in a small cave southeast of the city and sealed for nine centuries. The rediscovery of these manuscripts in 1900 allowed the buried voices to be heard once again: the boy-exorcists sang for a prosperous new year, with “cows and sheep filling the pastures; wheat and barley piling like hills”; they also prayed that their families would be fortunate and healthy in the new year and behave in a manner appropriate to their social status. Although our contemporary end-of-year rituals are boisterous in rather different ways, we can relate to these sentiments. But in other songs, we find a perspective more

distinctive to medieval Dunhuang. One in particular includes the following stanzas:

The ten thousand commoners sing songs with full bellies like drums,
[living in] a time like that under [the sage kings] Shun and Yao.
Do not worry about the eastern road being blocked.
In the spring, the heavenly envoys will arrive,
and they will contribute large *jin*-silks with coiled dragons,
and different kinds of damask, gauze, plain silk, colored silk.

.....

To the west all the way until Khotan
the road is smoother than those covered in cotton cloth.
[The Khotanese] will offer precious artifacts and white jade,
as well as a thousand rolls of cotton, damask, and miscellaneous
fabrics.
All within the border [of Dunhuang] chant the song of happiness
and enjoy a long life like Ancestor Peng!²

Here, the crowd in Dunhuang wished for a world of happiness and long life, where kings ruled in the manner of ancient sages such as Yao and Shun and commoners prospered like “Ancestor Peng,” who famously lived for eight hundred years. In the context of this song, these better times will not come about through the establishment of any new social institution, the realization of any moral or religious obligations, or the dissemination of any school of thought. Instead, the key to this ideal world is the network of roads that connect Dunhuang to its neighbors, conveying a perpetual influx of diplomatic travelers, such as the “heavenly envoys,” and luxury goods into Dunhuang. Singers of this song reassured their audience that the road leading eastward to North China would remain open, allowing Chinese envoys to bring silk the following spring. Meanwhile, the road to the west to Khotan would be smoother than cotton cloth, and Khotanese envoys would offer jade as tribute. Put another way, to these singers, the operation of diplomacy was crucial to the happiness of the Dunhuang people.

In our time, diplomatic matters are generally far removed from the minds of New Year’s revelers while they wait for the clock to strike midnight. Why were they so critical to the hopes and wishes of the people living in medieval Dunhuang? What social, cultural, and economic circumstances gave rise to the ecstatic vision presented in these lyrics? Looking beyond Dunhuang, what

does this ceremonial song reveal about the history of long-distance travel and connection in medieval Eurasia more broadly?

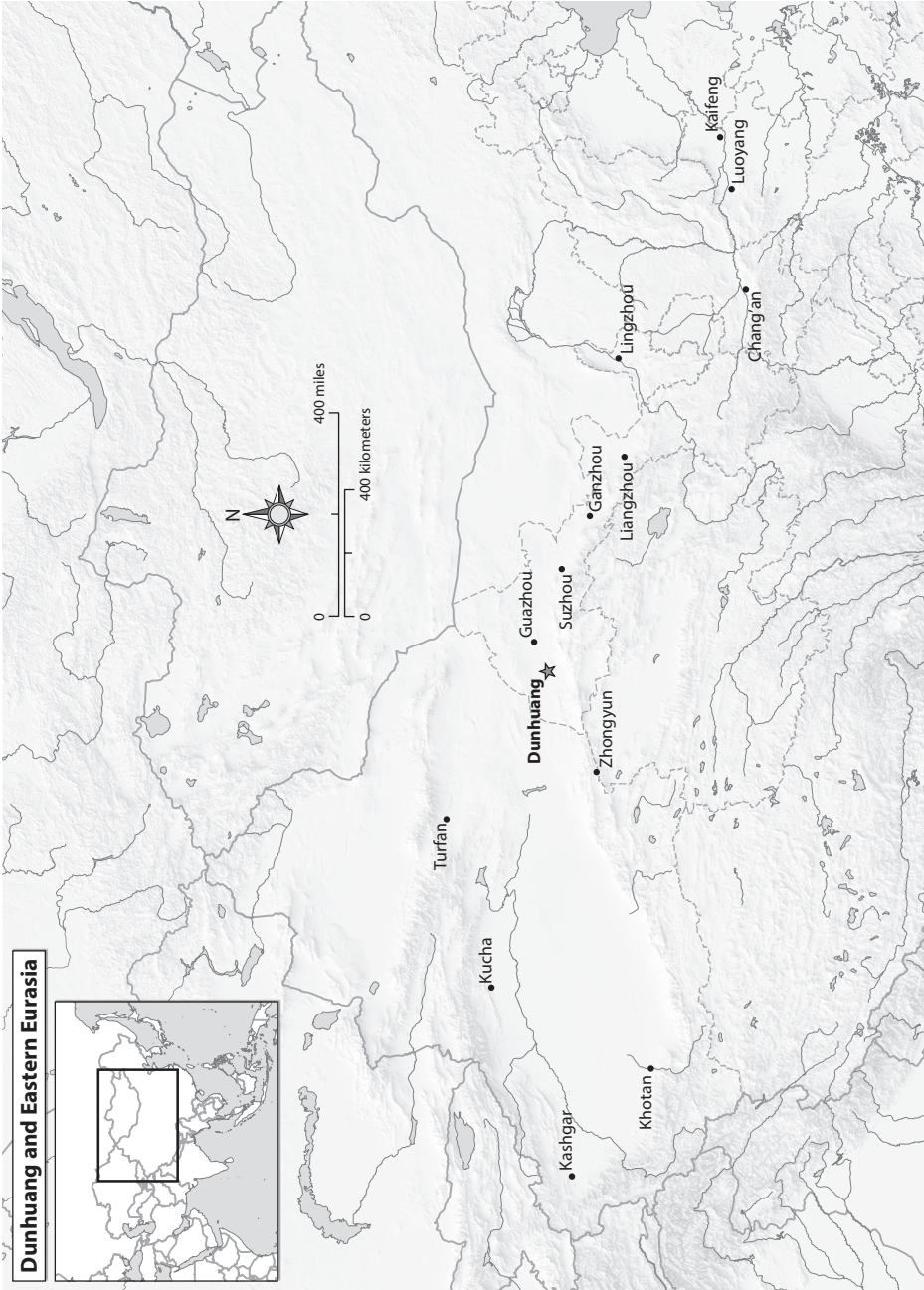
This book is an investigation into the world envisioned within this song. Key to that world are the actions of diplomatic travelers, the very people that the singers eagerly anticipated. By following the emergence, activities, and impact of these travelers, we can begin to understand the world the Dunhuang singers wished for at the dawn of a New Year.

From the Age of Empire to the Age of Kings

The oasis city of Dunhuang sits at the intersection of three main roads in the eastern half of the Eurasian continent (see map i.1). These roads lead to East Asia by way of the Hexi Corridor, to North Asia via the valleys in the Tianshan mountains, and to Central Asia through the oases and deserts north of the Tibetan Plateau. Because of its strategic location, Dunhuang was embroiled in the political drama of the broader Eastern Eurasian world from the moment that it first entered recorded history with the Han emperor Wudi (156–87 BCE) wrangling control of the region from the Xiongnu Empire. This dynamic of survival at the margins of empires persisted into the medieval period, as Eastern Eurasia was dominated, starting in the late sixth century, by three empires: the Tibetan, the Tang, and the Turco-Uyghur.

The power of these empires fluctuated over time: The First Turkic Empire (552–630) achieved regional supremacy in the late sixth and early seventh centuries and subjected the first Tang emperor to political vassalage.³ In the 620s, the Tang Empire (618–907) gained the upper hand, achieving military supremacy and consolidating its rule in the region. The Tang all but eradicated the Turkic Empire as a political power in the mid-seventh century, but the Turkic elites' dissatisfaction with the Tang mounted until they reclaimed their status and established the Second Turkic Empire (681–742).⁴ This new state was less powerful than its earlier incarnation and lasted only a few decades before it was overthrown by an alliance of Tang and nomadic groups. One group of these nomadic rebels, the Uyghurs, succeeded the Turks as rulers of the steppe; their empire (744–840) maintained friendly relations with the Tang, whose empire was greatly weakened by the An Lushan Rebellion (755–63).

Just as the First Turkic Empire was disintegrating, Songtsen Gampo (?–650) expanded the domain of the Yarlung dynasty to cover the entire Tibetan Plateau. He established formal diplomatic relations with the Tang in 634 and consolidated this relationship in 641 by marrying Princess



MAP 1.1 Dunhuang and Eastern Eurasia

Wencheng (623–80). Under the next several *btsan-po* (Tibetan for “emperor”), the Tibetan Empire (618–842) grew to be a formidable military force and expanded its influence far into modern Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Nanzhao in southwestern China.⁵

The oasis region in the Central Asian deserts between Dunhuang and Kashgar—an area central to the events discussed in this book—was located among these three imperial powers, making it the coveted prize of this medieval “Great Game.”⁶ All three empires attempted, at times successfully, to conquer this region.⁷ Beginning in the middle of the sixth century, it was ruled by the First Turkic Empire. The Tang, however, expanded westward into the Hexi Corridor (including Dunhuang) in 619, and then Turfan in 640. In 648, they established “four garrisons to pacify the west” (*anxi sizhen*) in four Central Asian oasis-towns: Kucha, Khotan, Shule (modern Kashgar), and Suyab (Ak-Beshim, near Tokmok in what is now Kyrgyzstan). Then, in 662, Tibetan forces began their incursion into the region. The oases changed hands between Tibetan and Tang forces several times until 692, when Empress Wu (624–705) recaptured them from the Tibetans and stationed thirty thousand troops at the four garrisons.⁸

The significant military presence in the region secured Tang rule until the An Lushan Rebellion in the mid-eighth century. After the retreat of the Tang forces, the Tibetan Empire regained control of the area, imposing a similar military occupation and conquering Dunhuang in 781.⁹ At the same time, the Uyghur Empire invaded, challenging Tibetan forces on the northern frontier. In the 790s and 800s, the Uyghurs successfully captured such important oasis kingdoms as Beshbalik, Kucha, and Turfan from the Tibetans.¹⁰ During the first half of the ninth century, the region between Dunhuang and Kashgar was divided between these two powers, with the Uyghur Empire ruling its northern half and the Tibetan Empire ruling the south.

Then, in the middle of the ninth century, all three imperial powers simultaneously went into decline. The assassination of the last *btsan-po*, Langdarma (799–841), in 841 initiated a long process of disintegration within the Tibetan Empire. Seven years later, in 848, the Kyrgyz drove the Uyghur Empire out of the steppe, leading to the dispersal of Uyghurs across Central Asia. With the rebellion of Huang Chao, lasting from 874 to 884, the Tang dynasty was decisively wounded. Its eventual overthrow would come two decades later.

While we cannot determine whether there was an overarching cause of the near-simultaneous demise of all three empires, we can say unequivocally that the result was the intense territorial division of Eastern Eurasia. Many

smaller states arose in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, including the “Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms” in China, the Guge kingdom in western Tibet, the independent oasis states along the Hexi Corridor from Liangzhou to Dunhuang, and such Central Asian states as Khotan and Turfan. Although many kings of these states clung to imperial titles and rhetoric (the king of Dunhuang, for instance, called himself “emperor” for a few years after the fall of the Tang), none were territorially expansionist in the way that rulers of the three old empires had been.¹¹ In the ruins of these empires, then, we can witness the emergence of a new epoch of political fragmentation—an age of many kings.

It is to this period, when Dunhuang was a *de facto* independent state (848–1036), that the song about diplomacy, silk, and jade, with which we began, belongs.¹² The “heavenly envoys” from the east, of which it speaks, came from either one of the Five Dynasties (907–60) in North China or the early Song state (960–1127), while the envoys from the west came from the newly independent Central Asian kingdom of Khotan, located at the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert.¹³ The existence of these long-distance connections running from North China through Dunhuang to Central Asia contradicts how some scholars have previously assessed this age of political fragmentation in Eastern Eurasia. The historian Morris Rossabi, for instance, comments that “starting around 845, the [Tang] court, as well as rebels, targeted and attacked Buddhism and other foreign religions. Most foreigners reacted by avoiding China, leading to four centuries of limited intercultural contact along the Silk Roads.”¹⁴ Others have written, in similar terms, about how political disunity hindered long-distance connection during this time.¹⁵ The idea that the decline of the Tang brought about centuries of reduced trans-Eurasian connection is widely shared, especially in the field of global history. According to this view, long-distance, intercultural contact was either lost entirely or severely reduced in the absence of large, unified empires, and it would not fully recover until the rise of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century.¹⁶

If long-distance trans-Eurasian travel was indeed as rare at this time as many believe, why would the people of Dunhuang sing about their connections with North China and Central Asia? One possibility is that these references to foreign envoys and luxury goods convey an unrealistic and idealized set of hopes, much like the lyric about Ancestor Peng’s octocentennial lifespan. Or, does this exorcist song performed in Dunhuang disclose a highly interconnected world, the existence of which has gone largely unnoticed by historians?

A Bottom-Up History of Diplomacy

These questions would be impossible to answer—indeed, impossible to raise—if not for an accidental discovery made in 1900. On a hot summer night, a Daoist monk named Wang Yuanlu (1851–1931) was cleaning the sand from the front of the complex of caves known as “The Grottoes of Unparalleled Height” (Mogao ku), located southwest of the city of Dunhuang. These caves housed Buddhist statues and mural paintings created from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. By the late nineteenth century, however, this former center of Buddhism had lost its luster, and few visitors came to see its medieval caves anymore. Perhaps its lone resident at the time, Wang wished to rebuild parts of the cave complex as a Daoist “Palace of Celestial Purity.” On this particular evening, as he channeled running water before the entrance to one of the caves, an opening suddenly appeared in the wall, “giving out a flickering light.”¹⁷ Intrigued by the light, Wang dug through the opening, inside which he found a small hidden chamber of about thirteen square meters.¹⁸ As scholars would eventually realize, this chamber had been sealed in the early eleventh century and remained undisturbed for almost nine hundred years. It contained sixty thousand manuscripts.

The large number of secular documents found in this cave makes it possible to reconstruct, in microscopic detail, the social lives of residents in Dunhuang, including the experiences of travelers who passed through this hub of exchange in the Eurasian heartland. In a remarkable study, Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos have used a single Sino-Tibetan manuscript to show how a traveling monk navigated his life on the road.¹⁹ In this book, I follow their example and expand the lens outward to the entire Dunhuang corpus.²⁰ Many hundreds of unique long-distance journeys are recorded in the Dunhuang archive in different formats: contracts show how travelers financed their journeys; royal edicts include the information that they communicated; maps and road guides reveal how they navigated the difficult terrain of Central Eurasia; personal correspondence and notebooks offer a window into their minds and sentiments while on the road; petitions demonstrate their need for assistance in times of distress; messages of greeting and gratitude bear witness to the relationships that they enjoyed with their hosts. Their stories attest to the persistence of long-distance travel in the “age of kings,” between roughly 850 and 1000.

As the New Year’s Eve song would suggest, the overwhelming majority of long-distance travelers described in the Dunhuang documents undertook their journeys for diplomatic purposes. The centrality of diplomacy to these

documents is unmistakable: an official report details the gifts delivered and received by Dunhuang envoys after they went to the Tang capital; a wine expenditure record from the Dunhuang government describes the reception of Turfan envoys at arrival and departure; two lists of places a group of Khotanese envoys would visit are scribbled on a notebook; a set of poems by a Chinese envoy laments the damage of guesthouses on the Silk Road. Time and again, travelers describe themselves, and are described by others, as envoys, dispatched on their long journeys on behalf of the state. Each year, dozens, perhaps even hundreds, of foreign envoys came to Dunhuang, and dozens of Dunhuang envoys were dispatched to neighboring states. In comparison, commercial travelers are almost entirely absent in the Dunhuang documents.²¹ The examples I collect in this book show that the images presented in the New Year's song are not the fanciful concoction of a dreaming poet. Instead, they reflect the actual experience of the people of Dunhuang in the context of the city's relations with its neighbors in the ninth and tenth centuries.

This book is a social history of the lives of these diplomatic travelers. By tracing their steps, observing their actions, and assessing their impact, the book investigates the organization and mechanisms of Eastern Eurasian international relations in the age of kings. Unlike earlier works of diplomatic history, I am not primarily concerned with military strategies and decision-making in court.²² Instead, my interest lies with more mundane matters: What did the envoys eat and drink? Where did they stay? How did they organize the logistics of transporting goods across the difficult terrain of Eastern Eurasia? How did they communicate, both orally and in writing, with people who spoke a different language? What diplomatic protocols did they follow? These matters open onto a set of larger questions about the political dimensions of this time. What motivated kings to engage in diplomacy? Was diplomacy critical to their idea of kingship, and if so, why? What motivated envoys to participate in diplomacy? The documents discovered in the Dunhuang cave provide the answers to these questions, and many others.

It might be tempting to see these envoys as operating in a "tributary system," a set of diplomatic practices and rhetoric that recognize the superiority of the Chinese emperor in his dealings with neighboring vassal states.²³ This would not be entirely wrong, because the hierarchies typical of such a system are everywhere visible in their lives on the road. But the bottom-up view taken by this book reveals the messy and contradictory way that this "tributary system" actually played out on the ground, and thus challenges the official accounts in sources produced in Chinese courts. One example appears in the

New Year's song with which we began. Here, on the one hand, envoys from North China are described as "heavenly envoys," which seems to suggest their state's elevated status in comparison to Dunhuang. But, on the other hand, the lyrics characterize these Chinese envoys as "contributing" (*jinfeng*) gifts, a close synonym of the more familiar verb *gong* ("to pay tribute"), which implies inferior status of the person performing the action. The assumed hierarchy in the tributary system begins to dissolve when we see "heavenly envoys" from the Chinese emperor "paying tribute" to the lord of the small oasis kingdom of Dunhuang.

Attending to such contradictions allows me to dissect this system and examine its inner workings. As we follow the movement of envoys along the road and their interactions with different states, the Tang and the Song, the two major Chinese empires at the time, move to the margins of our field of vision. Looking closely at the kings of smaller states, we see that they sometimes accommodated the tributary system when dealing with the states based in North China. But, just as often, they rejected the hierarchies that it implied and actually regarded themselves as superior. Certain cases—such as when the Chinese-speaking rulers of Dunhuang acknowledged the superiority of the Iranian-speaking kings of Khotan and addressed them as "emperor" (*huangdi*)—completely subvert our conventional understandings of the tributary system. Meanwhile, envoys had their own economic and religious motives that sometimes caused them to disagree with, or even disparage, the kings who dispatched them. Furthermore, all of these actions taken by kings and envoys can be observed not only in Chinese sources but also in documents written in Khotanese, Tibetan, Uyghur, and Sogdian. Taken together, these sources reveal the interaction between a North China–dominated tributary system and an equally well-established, though much less well-known, Inner Asian tradition of diplomacy. Although widely assumed to have occurred, this process has never before been examined in detail owing to a lack of available sources.²⁴ The world of diplomacy viewed from this peripheral, envoy-centered, and multilingual perspective differs drastically from the tributary system that appears throughout sources from the Chinese court.

Another Silk Road

In addition to diplomacy, this book is also about the Silk Road, a mythical term that is almost universally invoked but rarely defined with precision. A product of the nineteenth century, the concept was introduced by the German

geologist and geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905), who drew scholarly attention to the long-neglected Central Asian interior just as Prussian industrialists were drawing up plans for a trans-Eurasian railroad.²⁵ Richthofen relied on ancient geography: from the works of Marinus of Tyre (ca. 70–130) and Ptolemy (ca. 100–170), and from the Chinese annals of Sima Qian (ca. 145–86 BCE) and Ban Gu (32–92), he advanced the idea that luxury goods like silk might have traveled from workshops in Han-dynasty China to the markets of the Roman Empire via a single route, the “Silk Road.”²⁶

Since Richthofen, scholars have expanded the use of this term. It is now common to increase the lifespan of the Silk Road beyond the Han-Roman period to other premodern eras, such as the Tang-Abbasid period and the Mongol Empire.²⁷ Some have further extended it both backward and forward in time, covering the prehistoric as well as the modern era.²⁸ Others have widened it geographically to encompass not only latitudinal, transcivilization routes but also longitudinal, transclimatic routes.²⁹ The recent advent of the term “maritime Silk Road” has further broadened the term to include the entire Afro-Eurasian world.³⁰ For some historians, the term “Silk Road” has come to serve as a metonym for “global,” despite its longstanding association with the region of Central Eurasia in particular.³¹

At the same time, metaphorical uses of the “Silk Road” remove the term from history and tether it to certain qualities and tropes, as in novels and travelogues that rely on its exotic appeal.³² The name of cellist Yo-Yo Ma’s “Silk Road Ensemble” alludes to the amicable coexistence presumably practiced by different neighboring cultures.³³ China’s ambitious “Belt and Road Initiative” of infrastructure development in nearly seventy countries, on the other hand, conjures the trans-Eurasian economic prosperity that the Silk Road seemingly once made possible.³⁴

Given its origin in nineteenth-century imperial politics and the casual ways in which writers of different stripes use it, scholars have grown skeptical that “the Silk Road” is a productive term to use when referring to premodern Eurasian connections.³⁵ Many reject it altogether as an anachronism. One historian argues that Richthofen’s original concept is a fantasy unsupported by “a single ancient historical record.”³⁶ Another suggests that it “is a purely modern intellectual construct, one that would have been utterly unfamiliar and likely incomprehensible to those historical agents it purports to describe.”³⁷ Even those who continue to refer to a “Silk Road” appear to do so only reluctantly, cautioning their readers that its literal components (“silk” and “road”) do not constitute the full dimensions of premodern trans-Eurasian cultural

exchange.³⁸ It seems that the more popular the idea of the “Silk Road” becomes, the less confident scholars are that it can usefully describe premodern transregional connections.

And yet, the song heard in medieval Dunhuang on New Year’s Eve poses a challenge to such skepticism. By tying luxury goods—both silk and other textiles—directly to an “eastern road” to North China and a road leading west to Khotan, it seems to approximate Richthofen’s historical thesis. To those who sang it, the network of roads that brought luxury goods like silk into Dunhuang was not a myth but a structuring fact of everyday life. People in Dunhuang, of course, did not exactly call the roads that connected them with their neighbors the “Silk Road.” Nevertheless, had they been asked about it, they likely would have found the phrase entirely intelligible, even meaningful.

My investigation in this book shows that both elements of this concept—the “silk” and the “road”—are key to understanding the transregional connections found in the Dunhuang documents. “Silk Road” is not just a convenient shorthand with which we are saddled, but a historically accurate term that we should embrace. Silk, along with other precious textiles such as cotton, is representative of the things that traveled with Eurasian envoys in this period. These envoys carried and exchanged high-value, low-weight goods such as jade, medicines, and aromatics, rather than grain, livestock, and other items for everyday use. But silk and textiles were more central to diplomatic exchange than any other luxury goods. The quantity of silk that traveled was enormous—in large part, because of its versatility: silk was used to create clothing, decorations, paintings, book covers, and other luxurious objects, and, crucially, it served as a medium of exchange.³⁹ It is not an exaggeration to say that silk and other luxury textiles were *the* most important items that these travelers carried with them.

As the New Year’s song makes clear, the people of Dunhuang, from kings and officials to monks and commoners, were keenly aware of the fact that they lived along roads that connected places hundreds, sometimes thousands of kilometers away. These roads brought them political intelligence, news of their families, luxury goods, and foreign guests. Kings and officials relied on the roads to sustain their legitimacy, while commoners depended on them for material necessities. Dunhuang and its neighboring states often swore in diplomatic treaties to protect “the road that made us a family.”⁴⁰ It was clear to the people of the Eurasian heartland that a network of transregional roads bound them together, and that keeping these roads open was critical to their collective political survival and economic well-being.

How might this study change the way we understand the Silk Road? Aside from validating the term's utility, the most important revision may have to do with *who* set the travelers in motion along it, and for what reasons. Throughout its existence, the Silk Road has been a concept primarily associated with merchants.⁴¹ Even though scholars point out the cultural, religious, and diplomatic dimensions of the Silk Road, many believe that it was fundamentally a commercial network.⁴² Because of the close association between merchants and the Silk Road, the breakdown of the Sogdian merchant network in the late eighth and ninth centuries that followed the Arabic conquest of Sogdiana is often regarded as the end of the Silk Road's golden age.⁴³

This book uncovers another Silk Road that formed in the wake of the imperial decline and the retreat of the Sogdians. I show that, in the late ninth and tenth centuries, states between Kaifeng and Kashgar attempted, but ultimately refrained from, territorial expansion, and recognized, if sometimes begrudgingly, the existence of their neighbors on a shared road. The many long-distance journeys chronicled in this book demonstrate that political fragmentation did not simply hinder connections on the Silk Road. If anything, the existence of a large number of independent states further incentivized diplomatic travel, as each state needed to acquire diplomatic information and validate its own status through the exchange of gifts, investiture from a more powerful state, or the tribute from a smaller state. This collection of smaller states was capable of generating and maintaining the physical infrastructure and the systems of knowledge that allowed the Silk Road to flourish. The history of the post-Sogdian Silk Road is not one of precipitous decline. Rather, it involves a long process of remaking by kings and their envoys. By the early tenth century, a network of envoys crisscrossed Eastern Eurasia with evident frequency and regularity along what I call the "King's Road," marking a new phase in the history of the Silk Road.⁴⁴

The Structure of the Book

To describe the "King's Road," the three parts of the book are structured around the three aspects of a diplomatic journey on the Silk Road:

1. Who became diplomatic travelers?
2. How did they travel?
3. What was the world that the travelers created like?

Part I, “Travelers,” consisting of three chapters, offers a profile of the diplomatic travelers found in the Dunhuang documents. Chapter 1, “An Archive for an Age of Kings,” provides the context for the rest of the book in two ways. It introduces the Dunhuang manuscript collection and the social and political world of this collection and the travelers it recorded. I first survey the content of the Dunhuang manuscripts, analyze its use for understanding long-distance travel, and assess its inherent limits and biases. Since most of the travelers I discuss were active between 850 and 1000, I then offer a political history of Eastern Eurasia by following the record of a diplomatic traveler. I argue that, even though this era was one of political fragmentation, the history of Dunhuang and the making of the Dunhuang manuscripts were both deeply rooted in a network of diplomatic connection that reached from the Tang and Song capitals in the east to Khotan and Kashgar in the west. Chapter 2, “People,” shows that, instead of a small coterie of trained bureaucrats, envoys traveling through Dunhuang included Buddhist monks and laypeople, kings and slaves, men and women, and people of diverse (Han Chinese, Tibetan, Sogdian, Uyghur, and Khotanese) cultural backgrounds. When on the road, these individuals banded into diplomatic missions, often with envoys from other states, thus creating a complicated social world of diplomatic travelers. While there is no accounting of how many people in Dunhuang traveled as envoys, evidence suggests that serving as an envoy of the state was a common profession, practiced with routinized regularity and involving a significant percentage of the population in Dunhuang. Chapter 3, “Things,” turns to the nonhuman members of the diplomatic missions. I divide these “things” into five categories: food, clothes, texts, animals, and luxury items, and discuss the relationships they formed with their human companions. These things differed in their functionality, weight, and expected travel time (food items were often consumed after a few days on the road, while luxury items regularly traveled for longer, and lived longer, than envoys themselves), forming a transient companionship that human travelers had to negotiate with care. While envoys directed things to travel with them, particularly potent things, like a large and precious piece of jade, also drove envoys into action. This chapter positions the human-thing symbiosis, rather than envoys alone, as the protagonists of the Silk Road.

Part II, “Traveling,” consisting of four chapters, dissects the diplomatic traveler’s life on the road. Chapter 4, “Facing the Road,” argues that the roads that diplomatic travelers encountered were neither well-maintained highways nor

merely unidentifiable, shifting paths. Depending on the existence of postal systems, military establishments, and sources of water, one can broadly distinguish four types of stops that lent different degrees of navigability to the roads they served. Without comprehensive maps, medieval travelers nonetheless navigated these often-challenging roads through geographical treatises, lists of place names, place-centered poems, and travelogues, as well as with the assistance of local guides and host states. In this way, travelers were able to connect fragments of information about diverse areas into an intelligible whole. Chapter 5, “Praising the Host,” lays out a program of common practices during envoys’ encounters with foreign states in medieval Eastern Eurasia. Envoys met and dined with their hosts, performed official duties, and conducted personal affairs; they did these things in the suburbs, by the city gate, at the polo field, and in palaces. In the process, they often formed a reciprocal relation with their host state. The host state was responsible for their accommodation and honorable treatment as guests; the envoys in turn were expected to praise the host for their generosity and spread their “good name.” Envoys failing to properly conform to this program were reprimanded or even treated as “bandits.” Kings and emperors, and occasionally queens, of host states desired the good name that they could acquire through their generous treatment of envoys, thus perpetuating further diplomatic exchange. Chapter 6, “Exchanging Gifts,” continues this line of investigation and shows the central importance of gift exchange for diplomatic travelers. Gifts accompanied every aspect of the life on the road, from gifts sent along with letters to those exchanged in meetings, and those left after departure. Like cash for a modern traveler, gifts served as the medium that smoothed interpersonal and interstate negotiations and made long-distance travel possible. The exchange of gifts differed from commercial exchanges in that, instead of attempting to gain profit, the parties involved often tried to outspend, and thus to out-gift, one another. This chapter shows how this dynamic of competitive gifting organized not only the relations between kings, but also the daily life of diplomatic travelers on the road. Chapter 7, “Switching Languages,” turns to the question of linguistic negotiation. By analyzing envoy reports, diplomatic letters, and bilingual phrasebooks, this chapter argues that multilingualism on the Silk Road existed, not only because some travelers spoke more than one language, but also through the multilingual diplomatic missions that consisted of monolingual travelers who spoke different languages. Regardless of the language(s) they spoke, the diplomatic travelers shifted their ways of communicating through translations of official documents, interpretations of key conversations, and exchanges on

mundane topics on the road. In all of these cases, shifts occurred not only among different languages, but also between different registers—imperial, bureaucratic, or colloquial—of the same language.

Part III, “The King’s Road,” in three chapters, assesses the economic, political, and cultural consequences of this network of diplomatic travelers in Eastern Eurasia. Chapter 8, “The Economics of Diplomacy,” examines the ways that transregional travel invigorated the local economy in Dunhuang. Using pretravel contracts, stipulations of the Society for Long-Distance Travel, and private and official records of gift redistribution after the return of the travelers, I show that diplomatic travel was an essential part of the Dunhuang economy. Travelers took great financial risks in borrowing camels and silk to fund their trips; such risks were worth taking because the travelers were often able to acquire large numbers of gifts and goods to sell from their journeys. Residents who did not travel themselves pooled resources to support other residents as envoys and were rewarded accordingly after the trips had concluded. In this way, diplomatic travel injected luxury goods into an agrarian economy and offered residents economic opportunities otherwise unavailable in the arid heartland of Eurasia. Chapter 9, “The Kingly Exchange,” considers the kings of Eastern Eurasia whose desires animated this network. I show that these kings made personal gains through gift exchanges and used these exotic and rare gifts, in particular jade and silk, to decorate their bodies. Through the exchange of diplomatic travelers, these kings also kept abreast of the news about other kings and states, and learned about the manner of rulership in other states. It was in this context of intense exchange among the Eurasian courts that we find extraordinary expressions of kingly power, such as the Dunhuang kings’ claim to be “emperors” and the Khotanese kings’ claims to be “kings of kings of China.” This chapter argues that it was this pursuit of kingly glory, expressed in the acquisition of exotic goods, cultural capital, and political information, that motivated the kings of medieval Eastern Eurasia to participate in the diplomatic network described in this book. Chapter 10, “The Politics of the Road,” turns to regional politics in and around Dunhuang. By analyzing the letters exchanged between sovereigns of Dunhuang, Turfan, Ganzhou, and Khotan, I show the central role a shared “road” played in the diplomatic rhetoric and practice among states around Dunhuang. Not only did diplomatic treaties use the idea of a shared road as the rationale for negotiation, rulers and commoners in Dunhuang also regularly prayed for peace on the road in devotional texts. On certain occasions, states even went to war over the blockage of roads or the disruption of travel. Despite their sometimes

adversarial relations, sovereigns of these Central Eurasian states were keenly aware of their states being “on the road,” and reached a political consensus about the need to keep these roads open.

This book represents an attempt to reconstruct the world of diplomatic travelers in medieval Eastern Eurasia between 850 and 1000. In the conclusion, I reflect on how knowledge about this world changes the way we tell the history of the Silk Road and of diplomacy in China and the Eastern Eurasian world.

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* refer to figures and tables.

- Abu-Lughod, Janet, on overland connections, 304n16, 344n34
accidental archive, 23; phrase, 306n17
Afghanistan, 5, 122, 158
Afrasiyab, 292
Age of Emperors, Xue Chen, 308n75
age of kings, 308n75
Agni (Kharashar), 30, 106, 142
agricultural: region, 68; tools, 211; work, 210–12
Along the River during the Qingming Festival (painting), 78, 79
amber, 85–86, 206, 234
Ana Saṃgaa: envoy, 271; writer of letter, 175
Ancestor Peng, 2, 6, 285
animals: camels, 77, 78–83, 79; cows, 81; donkeys, 77, 83, 83–84; horses, 77, 79–80, 79–83; luxury, 84–85; pack, 84; sheep, 84
An Lushan, barbarian languages, 328n23
An Lushan Rebellion (755–63), 3, 5, 300, 345n58
An Qianxiang: murder of, 141, 178, 189, 198, 214, 270
antelope horn, 164, 203, 206, 231
An *zhenshi* (Garrison Commissioner An), 218
Arabia, 232, 335n46
Arabian Peninsula, 86, 232
Arabic, 12, 194
Archaeological Survey of India, 329n55
archive: accidental, 19–25
armāyan, gift, 152
aromatics, 232
Aśoka (r. 268–232 BCE), 39
audience with sovereign, 191; travelers' interactions with hosts, 138
Avalokiteśvara, 278–79; print commissioned by Cao Yuanzhong, 278
Awu, 211, 212
bad name, 147
Bai Xun, 59
Bai Yongji, 58
Balāsāghūn (modern Kyrgyzstan), 35
Balkh, 97
'Bal Rgyal-sum, envoy, 52, 53, 57
bandits, 144; Dunhuang and Ganzhou relation, 272–73; pretending to be envoys, 139–40
Ban Gu (32–92), 10
banquet(s): Buddhist, 223, 231, 280; Cao Yijin, 279–80; diplomatic travelers, 138, 164; farewell, 66–68, 137, 180, 314n24; Khotanese envoys, 129–30; personal, 228; polo game and, 126, 135–36, 288, 322n1, 323n35; Turfan, 123; wedding, 218, 220–21, 223; welcoming envoys, 133–35
Baozang, monk, 48
barbarian bread (*hubing*), 65, 66, 67
barbarian languages, 328nn23–24
Bayly, Christopher: on globalization before nineteenth century, 260; logic behind royal consumption, 230–31
bearer of edict, 297
belāk, gift, 151, 152

- Belitung shipwreck, 341n6
belt(s): carpet, 71; golden, 86; jade, 85, 87, 89, 206, 217, 232–34; royalty, 236, 237, 239, 242–43
Belt and Road Initiative, China, 10
Bentley, Jerry, on rise and fall of Silk Road, 294
Beshbalik, 5
bilingual: envoy, 171, 174, 176, 178; heads of state, 191; phrasebooks, 14, 79, 182, 192–93, 195, 196; texts, 39, 41; travelers, 195
Binzhou, 58, 71, 132, 133
birds: gifts of, 84; painting depictions, 89
Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, 322n86
Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, Mount Wutai, 44
Bohai Bay, 250
books, 7, 75, 92; account, 20, 163; notebooks, 7–8, 53–55, 57, 62, 117, 121, 289; phrasebook, 14, 77, 192–96; prophecy, 76; joke, 170
Bronze Age travelers, 290
Brown, Peter: assessment of Silk Road, 260; on competing glory of kings, 292
Buddha Hall, 20
Buddha statues, 20
Buddhism, 6, 7; Vajrayāna tradition, 41
Buddhist, 1; communities, 231; karmic merit, 231; monasteries, 22, 23; monks, 13; Mount Wutai, 44; texts, 19, 20, 75
Buddhist sutra, 19, 22, 51, 73, 144, 256
Buddhist Tripiṭaka, 85
bureaucratization of personal names, 312n77
bya-sga, gift, 151, 151
'Bye Tutu, envoy, 52, 53, 54
Byzantine Empire, 325n24

Cām Ttüttü, envoy, 52, 53
Cairo Geniza, Goitein for study of, 306n17
Cai Tao: court insider, 227; record of letter, 170–71; *Tieweishan congfan*, 327n1
Cā Kimā Śānā, 39. *See* Zhang Jinshan
calligraphy, 188
Cambridge History of China, 301
camel(s): Bactrian (*Cameus bactrianus*), 78; carrying capacity of, 87, 88–89, 90, 314n30, 317n118; dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*), 78; gifts, 205–6; price of, 205; renting, 212, 213; traveling Silk Road, 77, 78–83; white, 317n93; winged, 317n128; Zhang Xiuzao renting, 207–8
Canepa, Matthew, on polo in Iran, 135
Canwei, 60, 112, 162
Cao, ruling family, 32, 296–97
Cao (Empress) of the Song (1016–79): Emperor Renzong of Song and, 235–36, 237; headdress, 238; portrait of, 236, 238; royal image, 242
Cao Baosheng, Cao Baoding and, 215–16
Cao family, 341n79; power transfer from Zhang family, 264; rule of Dunhuang, 267
Cao Yanlu: Buddhist text request, 75; donor image of, 239; dress, 335n57
Cao Yijin (?–935, r. 914–35), 31, 43, 231, 270, 271; Cave 98 (cave of the great king), 256, 257; cave and prayer, 257–58; connecting Ganzhou and Dunhuang, 265; death of, 269; display of power, 337n100; donations, 231, 234; Dunhuang society, 264, 283; gifting, 220–21; letter from, 85; letter to Shunhua Khan, 190–91, 251; letter to Uyghur kingdom in Ganzhou, 156; military campaign against Uyghurs, 106; prayer text, 257; reopening road of Hexi, 266–67; replacing Zhang, 254; victory over Ganzhou, 281–82; wish for road, 279–80; wives of, 257
Cao Yuande, 72, 256, 275; clothing, 72; letter to Uyghur ministers of Ganzhou, 269, 270
Cao Yuanshen, 256; Dunhuang, 37; meeting envoys, 132–34
Cao Yuanzhong (?–974): belt of, 237, 239; donor image of, 235, 239; dress, 335n57; Ganzhou khan for Uyghurs, 139–40; Lady Zhai and, 235, 238; letter from Viśa' Śūra to, 251; letter to Uyghur khan of Ganzhou, 272, 272–73; lord of Dunhuang, 106, 112; praying for peace on road, 276–81; print commissioned by, 277, 278; royal edict, 255–56; royal image, 242; second

- edict, 297; treatment of travelers, 138–39;
Uyghur bandits on road, 275; Yulin
Cave, 243
Cao Zongshou, offering of jade and horses,
157–58
captive, 43, 63
carpenter, 47, 127, 185, 219
carpet, 70–71, 219
cave complex, 7
cave of the great king (Cave 98), 256, 257, 258
Cefu yuangui, 85, 88, 89
Cen Shen (715–70), poem by, 123
Censor Li, 160
Central Asia, 6
Central Eurasia, 7; making of roads in, 110
Central Plains, term, 304n13
Central Town of Subjugation, Mongolia
Itinerary, 100, 101
Chang'an, 4, 28, 117, 118; barbarian bread, 66;
diplomatic mission (878), 58, 59, 72, 74,
134, 143, 154, 164, 168–69, 173, 228; Ennin's
visit, 160; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; gifts for
travelers, 204–6, 213; Mongolian Itinerary,
101; postal stop, 102, 106; Xuanzang's
journey, 103, 295; Zhang's death in, 43
Chanyuan Covenant, 36, 296
chaoding, 189, 297
Chen Sanping, folk songs, 283
Chen Yuanhong, envoy, 111–12, 288
China: Belt and Road Initiative, 10
Chinese: Buddhist texts, 19, 51; contracts, 44;
courts, 42, 50, 58; documents, 35; emperor,
84; , 121, 166, 222–23, 225, 239–40, 254–55,
257, 259, 296; envoys, 8, 9, 41; history, 25,
34–35, 42; language, 31; letter models,
74; monk, 74, 114, 116, 119, 292, 310n26;
paintings, 78, 88–89, 90–91; pearl con-
noisseurs, 47; personal names, 52, 53–54;
sources, 29, 32, 37, 158, 258, 307n58; texts, 39
Chineseness, claim of, 255
Chinese Social Sciences (Liu Jinbao), 300
Chinese World Order (Fairbank), 344n46
Chongzheng Palace, 194
Chuyue, 106
clothes/clothing, 318n154, 331n5; luxury
items, 85, 87–88
coin, 88, 160, 210, 342–43n26
commerce, Silk Road, 342–43n26
commoner (*baixing*), 43
communication: diplomatic travelers,
73–77; oral mediation, 190–95; written
mediation, 179–90. *See also* languages
Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān
Lughāt al-Turk) (Kāshgari), 145, 152
Confucius, 275
Congde, Khotanese prince, 137, 329n61
Cong Tutu, envoy, 52, 53, 54
Cong Zhang, 322n11
contract, 7, 15, 20, 42, 44, 81, 89, 161, 201, 208,
210–11, 215–17, 218, 223–24, 283, 286, 289;
gift exchange or, 332n48, 342n24
coral, 85, 86, 206
cotton cloth (*xie*), gifts, 156, 233; luxury
item, 88
crown prince, term, 129
culinary rarities, 232
cultural identity, 45; category, 310n39; trav-
elers, 311n59
Curtin, Philip, on periods of Silk Road, 294
custom of mutual donations, 158–59

Daming Palace, 134, 228
dancing elephant, 63–64, 92, 288
Dangxiang, border of, 27
Dantig, Tibetan geography by Chinese monk,
116
Daoist, 1, 7, 334n4
Dār al-Islām, Muslim sovereignty, 117
Davis, Natalie Zemon, study of gift exchange,
150, 158
Dayun temple, 274, 279
Deng Wenkuan, dating songs, 303n12
Dezong (emperor of the Tang) (r. 779–805),
230, 234
Diamond Sutra (868), 339n55
diplomacy: bottom-up history of, 7–9.
See also economics of diplomacy
diplomatic marriages, 46, 262, 296

- diplomatic traveler(s), 196; clothes for, 70–73; daily operation of King’s Road, 286–87; economic, political and cultural consequences, 15; economic incentives and impact, 201–2; elephant lessons, 64; envoy and, 47–57, 310n44; failed encounters, 139–43; gift exchange, 14; languages and, 195–96; life on the road, 13–15; maintenance of network, 259; principle of guest-host relation, 143–48; program of interactions with hosts, 138; Silk Road, 285; successful encounters, 127–39; texts, 73–77
- Discourse on the Hundred Characteristics of Purpose in the Great Vehicle Doctrine, 75
- document, 7–9, 14, 20–25, 42; Chinese, 35, 50; economic, 51, 52, 55, 209; gift exchange and, 206; Liu Zaisheng, 176; Khotanese, 180, 255; secular, 7, 20, 38, 174; Sogdian, 74; survey, 52, 52; Turfan, 293; Uyghur, 42; Zhang Daqing’s, 121; Zhang Jinshan’s, 41. *See also* Dunhuang documents
- Dohi Yoshikazu, 309n20
- Dong Shantong, commoner, 81
- donkey(s): carrying capacity, 317n118; traveling Silk Road, 77, 83–84
- drawing paper, 77
- dudu, 176, 189, 312n77
- Dunhuang, 1–3, 4, 5, 50, 68; animals, 77–85; archive categories, 64–65; Cao Yuanshen, 37; categories of things, 64–65; clothes, 70–73; cost of labor, 211; de facto independent state, 6; document collection, 37–38; economics of diplomacy, 201, 202–3; economy of, 15, 202–3, 209–14; envoy(s), 8, 49, 57–62, 74, 112; envoys’ journey (878) to Chang’an, 143, 228; envoy Zhang Jinshan, 39, 41; food, 65–70, 210–11; Gao Juhui’s journey, 26; geography, 119; housing expenditures, 211; human-thing symbiosis on Silk Road, 88–91; kings of, 6, 15; land ownership, 209–10; library cave, 19, 23, 35, 39, 40, 73, 180, 183, 196, 198, 245; locations of value in economy, 213; luxury items, 85–88; lyrical poems, 261; manuscript collection, 19, 20; manuscripts, 50; negotiating relation between Ganzhou and, 268–76; New Year’s Eve in medieval, 1–3; paper flower, 183, 184, 185; *A Path to India*, 115; people praying for prosperity and peace, 283–84; politics of, 261; population of, 13; postal stop, 102; prayer texts, 261; profits of diplomacy, 203–8; relation with Khotan and Ganzhou, 201–2; Rock City Garrison and, 113–14; rulers of, 32; slave ownership, 211–12; texts, 73–77; Tibetan geography by Chinese monk, 116; travelers for the state, 42–47. *See also* politics of the road
- Dunhuang documents, 13, 20, 22–25, 62, 113, 143; catalogue of, 304n20; diplomatic travelers on Silk Road, 285; records, 106; reference to gifts and envoys, 151–52; road goods for envoys, 159–62; Silk Road in, 98–99; translation and linguistic negotiations, 171
- Dunhuang government: daily wine, 131; Office of Banquets and Hospitality, 127, 130, 162; reception for Khotanese envoys, 128, 128–31
- Dunhuang-Guazhou-Ganzhou mission, 141
- Dunhuang manuscripts: examination of, 341n4; words for “gift”, 151, 151–52
- Dunhuang materials, Kitan references, 345n56
- Duturavaeva, Dilnoza, 327n1, 330n93, 344n38
- East Africa, 232
- Eastern Eurasia, 4, 8, 13, 14, 33, 37; administrative languages, 188; diplomacy, 295–99; diplomatic travelers, 109; empires and languages of, 171–72; Gao Juhui’s journey through, 26; instability of, 261–62; kings and diplomatic network, 226–27, 259; kings of, 15; political regionalism in, 25; postal stations, 143; regional peace, 262; residencies of envoys, 137; term, 25
- economics of diplomacy: Dunhuang, 201, 202–3, 209–14; financial risks of being an

- envoy, 214–17; gifts exchanged between Uyghur Khan and Tang emperor, 206–7, 207; profits, 203–8; sharing risks and fortunes, 217–24; value in Dunhuang's economy, 213
- economy, spheres of, 332n48
- edicts: bearer, 74, 297; *chi*, 182, 255; imperial, 74, 181; Khotanese royal, 181; letters as “original”, 180–81; linguistic ability, 189–90; message from king of Khotan to lord of Dunhuang, 185, 185–86, 186; Pelliot chinois 2826, 181; Pelliot chinois 4091, 181, 183, 183, 184; Pelliot chinois 5538, 181, 255; Pelliot tibétain 44, 181, 182, 187; Pelliot tibétain 1106, 186, 186, 187; Pelliot tibétain 1189r, 273; reconstruction of royal, 182
- elephant(s), 63–64; acquisition of, 181; dancing, 63–64, 92, 288; diplomatic mission, 84; gifting, 163; as pack animal, 77; value of, 87
- emperor (*huangdi*), 9, 255, 256; term, 338n5; title, 35; universal ruler, 36
- Empress Wu (624–705) of the Zhou dynasty, 5
- Ennin (794–864), Japanese monk, 160
- envoy(s): animals for travel, 77–85; bureaucratization of names, 312n77; business of, 55, 55–60; Chinese, 2, 8–9, 48, 122; content of Staël-Holstein manuscript, 52; diplomatic missions, 47–57, 61, 310n44; Eastern Eurasia, 14; failed encounters, 139–43; female, 46; financial return of trips, 202–3; financial risk of being, 214–17; food for traveling, 65–69; foreign, 6, 8, 59, 62, 66, 68, 112, 127, 178, 202, 226, 229, 258, 286; geographical knowledge by, 119, 121–23; gifts, 48, 60, 159–63, 204, 204–5; Guazhou and Dunhuang, 112; heavenly, 6, 9, 31; human-thing symbiosis in travel, 89–91; Jin, 82–83; Khotanese, 2, 8, 76, 137, 145–46; Kitan, 136; languages of, 174–79; as lowly merchants, 343n30; as messengers, 325n19; model letter for traveler's departure, 147–48; monks as, 110; murder of, 141; notebooks of, 57; physical danger of, 214; poems by, 122–23; principle of guest-host relation, 143–48; profitable gift exchange, 207–8; profit of long-distance travel, 224–25; qualities of ideal, 198; residency stage, 187; road goods, 159–62; successful encounters, 127–39; Tajik Arab, 49; Tamim ibn Baḥr, 68; texts, 73–77; travelers for state, 42–47; travel of, 57–62, 126–27; Turfan, 8; Wang Yande, 84; written communications, 190; Zhang Huaiquan, 71–72; Zhang Jinshan, 39, 41–42; Zhongyun, 32
- epitaph, 24, 142, 328n23
- Ershi General, Li Guangli (?–89 BCE), 105
- Ershi Shrine, 105
- escort, 62, 99, 112, 114, 117, 129, 131–33, 137, 139, 173, 178, 191, 194, 196, 292
- ethnicity, 310n39; term, 310n39
- Eurasian history, Chinese history as, 299–302
- Fabao, monk in Sanjie Monastery, 44–45
- fame, 147
- Faxian: Buddhist nun, 45; traveler, 107, 109
- felt, 138–39, 160, 206, 219
- female envoys, 46
- First Turkic Empire (552–630), 3, 5
- fist, jade, 227–28
- Five Barbarians and Sixteen Kingdoms (304–439), 36
- Five Dynasties, 6, 27, 28, 33, 58, 172, 296, 300–302, 345n56
- five-element theory, 253
- Five Horses* (painting), Song dynasty, 89
- Five Liang dynasties, 262
- food: barbarian bread, 65, 66, 67; common for travelers, 65–69; water for travelers, 69–70
- Former Liang (320–76) dynasty, 253
- Former Shu (907–25) dynasty, 253
- Four Heavenly Kings, 276, 279
- frankincense, 86–87, 232
- friend, term meaning, 189
- funerals, 220
- Fuzhou, 166

- Galambos, Imre, on traveling monk, 7
- Ganzhou, 4, 15, 29, 29–30; envoys, 131–32, 179; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; negotiating relation between Dunhuang and, 268–76; *A Path to India*, 115; postal stop, 102; Tibetan geography by Chinese monk, 116
- Gao, General, 67, 161
- Gaochang, 33
- Gao Juhui, 254; arrival at Dunhuang, 133–34; envoy, 25, 27, 31, 83, 244; in Ganzhou, 29–30; Jin envoy, 132; journey destination, 32–33; journey through Eastern Eurasia, 26; mission, 31–32; records of, 30–31, 121; travelogues of, 35, 38, 77, 123; travels of, 29–31, 33–37
- Gaozong (Emperor of the Tang), 135
- Garrison of Heavenly Virtue: Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 101, 108, 126
- Garrison of Peaceful Border: Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 101, 102, 108
- Genghis Khan, 304n16, 344n34
- geographical treatise (*tujing*), 14, 77, 98, 102, 120–21
- Ghost Desert, *A Path to India*, 115
- ghost festival, 276
- gift list, 187–88, 205, 233
- gift(s): activity of long-distance travel, 153; between sovereigns, 154–59; birds, 84; camels, 206–7; cotton cloth (*xie*), 88, 156, 331n5; custom of mutual donations, 158–59; departure goods, 161–62; diplomatic, 150–51; economy and, 150–51; envoy-host interaction, 149; envoys, 48, 60, 130, 204, 204–5; for envoys, 159–63, 207–8; exchange between Song and Champa kingdom (Vietnam), 207; exchange of letters and, 152–53; food as, 67; gift exchanges and, 14, 150, 157–58, 168–69; grain, 156; horses, 84, 206–7; jade, 46, 86, 88, 89, 156, 157, 185–86, 206–7; king's coffer, 227–31; letters without, 153; logic of diplomatic gifting, 163–68; luxury items, 85–88, 89; Mani pearl, 144; mission from Kucha and Dunhuang to Song court (1030), 232; officials in Dunhuang, 204, 204; redistribution of, 221–23; return, from Tang Court, 204, 204–5; silk, 162–63; social functions of, 150; unbalanced gift exchange, 205–7; unequal gift exchange, 167–69; words for, in Dunhuang manuscripts, 151, 151–52
- gilded iron armor, 233
- goats, painting depictions, 89, 90, 91
- “God of Camels and Horses”, 82
- Goitein, S.D., study of Cairo Geniza, 306n17
- Golden Kingdom [Altun El], 42
- Golden Mountain Kingdom of Western Han, Zhang Chengfeng, 253, 262, 301
- gong, gift, 151, 152
- good name, 148
- Goryeo period (918–1392), 341n7
- gratitude, 148
- Great Game, 5
- Great Jeweled kingdom of Khotan, 176
- Great Ocean Desert, 295
- Great Ocean Road (Dahai Dao), 107
- Great Son of God, 297
- Great Wall, 304n16, 344n34
- Grottos of Unparalleled Height (Mogao ku) Buddhist complex, 130, 136
- Gua-Sha road, main road to Guazhou as extension of, 106
- Guazhou, 4, 31; envoys, 112; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; *A Path to India*, 115
- guest, 11, 14, 103, 129, 137, 257; foreign, 229; idea of guest-friend, 324n82; list, 218; visit, 144
- guest-host interaction: principle of relation, 143–48, 298; program of, 130, 137; reciprocity, 326n44; society relations, 289
- Guiwen, Chinese monk, 119
- Guo Min, interpreter, 176, 192
- Haiyin, monk and envoy, 44
- Hami (Yizhou), geography, 119
- Ham Sin-ca, envoy, 52, 53, 54
- Han dynasty (156–87 BCE), 10; Emperor Wudi, 103; Li Guangli (?–89 BCE), 105; winged camel, 317n128
- Han-Roman period, 10, 291

- Hansen, Valerie: on Dunhuang library cave, 23; on "road" in Silk Road, 98
- Han Son of Heaven, 258
- Han Yuanding, sale of daughter, 211, 213, 213
- Harvard-Yenching Institute, 50
- headdress, 92, 238, 239–40, 242
- heaven, Turkic word, 298
- heavenly envoy(s) (*tianshi*), 6, 9, 159
- Heavenly Kings, world protectors, 274
- Heavenly Princess Baolang (Lady Li), 257
- Heavenly Queen, envelope of, 75, 76
- Hebei, 250
- Hebrew prayer book, 19
- He-Long, term, 265
- heqin* marriage, 296, 344n42
- Hexi Corridor, 3, 5, 6, 29, 34, 103, 106, 109, 295
- Hexi Road, 276
- Hexi Tangut, 28–29
- Hezhou, Tibetan geography by Chinese monk, 116
- hidden indemnity, 167
- Horizontal Valley Station, postal stations, 102
- horse(s), 75; Cao Zongshou offering, 157–58; carrying capacity of, 87, 88–89; gifts, 186, 205–6; gratitude for gift of, 160; painting depictions, 89, 91; price of, 205; traveling Silk Road, 77, 79–83
- host, 7, 14, 68–73, 77, 91–92, 112; envoy-host interaction, 127–28, 136–37, 139, 149, 187, 205; principle of guest-host relation, 143–48, 298
- house, 20, 23, 145, 201, 211–13, 215–16, 231; guest, 8, 123; ruling, 252, 254, 262
- household income, 212
- Hou Xudong, non-Buddhist themes, 340–41n78
- huadian, 238
- Huagu (Flowery Valley) road, 106
- Huang Chao (835–84), 58; death of, 246, 252; murder of, and brother, 244–45; news on death of, 245
- Huang Chao Rebellion, 5, 308n81
- Huang Zhengjian, food consumption, 210
- Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, "China" according to, 118, 119; Persian geography, 117
- Huide, monk, 57; monk-envoy, 107
- Huiguang, monk, 165
- Huizang, monk, 157
- Huizong (Emperor of the Song) (r. 1100–1126), 227; Northern Song, 227
- human-thing symbiosis, 289, 290, 341n7
- Hun Ziying: barbarian language, 174; elegy of, 175, 267; envoy, 45, 48; interpreter, 192, 288; panegyric of the portrait of, 320n57; war hero, 288
- Hvai Lā-ttai, identity of, 175
- Hva Pa-kyau, letter to king of Khotan, 119
- Hyecho (704–87), Korean monk, 122
- Hymes, Robert, 339n47
- ibn Baḥr, Tamīm, Samanid envoy, 68
- ibn Faḍlān, Aḥmad, 24, 292
- illiteracy, 178
- illustrated geographies, Tang, 113
- imperial edict, 74, 135
- India: Chinese monk's route to, 114, 116; *A Path to India*, 114, 115, 117
- information network: end of letters, 249; of kings, 244–52; petition letter, 248; scroll for political information, 250, 250–52; self-recommendation letters, 249–50
- Inner Mongolia, 342n26, 342–43n26
- International Dunhuang Project, 20–21; website, 303n2, 304n20
- interpretation, 14, 19, 192, 197
- interpreters, 176, 192–94
- Iron Gate Pass, 123
- itinerary. *See* Mongolian Itinerary
- jade: axes, 233; Cao Zongshou offering, 157–58; chariot, 233, 335n35; fist(s), 227, 227–28, 288; gifts, 46, 86, 88, 89, 156, 157, 185–86, 163, 164, 206–7; imperial adornment, 234; Khotanese, 233; luxury items, 92, 202; products of, 206
- Jade Gate Pass (Yumen Guan), 103, 214, 264; Mongolian Itinerary, 103–4

- Jātakastava, 39, 41
Jia, General, 191
Jialin, 58
Jianzhen (688–763), Tang monk, 66
Jia Yanchang, 214–15, 216
Jia Yanyou, 215, 216
Jiexu, deputy head of a diplomatic mission, 48
Jin dynasty (1125–1234), 37; envoys, 84
Jin emperor's letter, to Kitan emperor, 247
Jingtu Monastery, 67, 160–61, 313n12
Jingzong (Emperor of the Liao) 234
jiu, wine, 313n99
Jiuquan, 29, 45, 122
Jixiang, monk, 63
- Kaifeng, 4, 12, 25, 28, 59; Gao Juhui's
 journey, 26; *A Path to India*, 115
Kang, David, on relative peace in East Asia, 298
Kashgar, 4, 5, 12, 35
al-Kashgari, Maḥmud, 24, 145, 152
Kharashar. *See* Agni
Kharuṣai, envoy, 52, 53
Khotan, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 15, 24, 25; envoys,
 76, 128, 128–31; Gao Juhui's journey, 26;
 Gao's destination, 32–33; kings of, 35; Li
 Shengtian, 37; Qarakhanid people, 34–35
Khotanese envoy(s): behavior of, 192; content
 of Staël-Holstein manuscript, 52, 52–53;
 departure of, 180; gifts between sover-
 eigns, 145–59; gifts for, 159; interpreters,
 192; letters by, in Dunhuang, 187; linguistic
 ability, 175; message delivery to Song
 emperor, 170–71; reception at Dunhuang,
 128; relation with Ganzhou and Khotan, 271
Khotanese jade, 233
Khrri-rttanā, envoy, 52, 53
king(s) (*wang*): adorning, 231–43; coffer,
 227–31; diplomatic network, 226–27;
 Eastern Eurasia, 15, 259; headdresses, 238,
 239–40, 242; information network of,
 244–52; jade fist, 227–28; jade for imperial
 adornment, 234; journey through world
 of, 25, 27–37; kingly claims, 252–59;
 personal treasury, 228–29; royal dress of,
 238–43; taxation regime in Tang, 229;
 textiles, 234–35
king of kings, 254, 258
king of kings of China, 227, 254–56, 258, 259,
 337n89
King's Road, 12, 226, 286; daily operation by
 diplomatic travelers, 286–87; impact on
 societies on route, 287; network, 286;
 role of, 281; structure of book, 12–16
Kitan: envoys, 136; khan's custom of mutual
 donations, 158–59; language, 345n56
Kitan Liao dynasty, 28, 33
Knauer, Elfriede: on camels, 317n85; on travel
 satchels, 78
Konow, Sten, Thomas, F. W. and, 50–51
Kroraina, kingdom, 111
Kucha, 4, 5; cloth, 334n32; kingdom of, 84
Kuchean *jin* silk, 92
Kurz, Johannes, 335n85
Kutadgu Bilig (Wisdom of Royal Glory)
 (Yūsuf), 196–98
Kyōu Shooku collection, Mongolia Itinerary
 in, 99
Kyrgyz, 5
Kyrgyz Rebellion, 29
Kyrgyzstan, 5, 35
- Lady Li, 257
Lady Yin, 146, 146–47
Lady Zhai, 235, 235, 238; headdress, 238; image
 of, 335n55; portrait of, 238; royal image, 242
Langdarma (799–841), 5
languages: bilingual phrasebooks, 192–95;
 Eastern Eurasia, 171–72; envoys and,
 174–79; interpreters, 192–94; loanwords,
 188–89; official administrative, 172–73;
 oral mediation, 190–95; plethora of, 173;
 by regular residents, 172–73; search for
 lingua franca, 171–74; Sogdian as lingua
 franca, 173–74; Tibetan as lingua franca,
 196, 312n75; written mediation, 179–90
Later Han (947–51) dynasty, 27
Later Jin (936–47) dynasty, 25, 27, 28, 37, 246
Later Liang (386–403) dynasty, 27, 253

- Later Tang (923–36) dynasty, 27, 28, 132, 246; court, 49, 140
- Later Zhou (951–60) dynasty, 27, 85
- Lattimore, Owen, on celebrated Silk Route trade, 293–94
- La Vaissière, Étienne de, 343n26; Sogdian as lingua franca, 173–74
- Leo I (457–74), 342n26
- letter(s): exchange of gifts and, 152–53; exchange without gifts, 153; language of, 164–66; linguistic ability, 189–90; type of model, 147–48, 164; written mediation, 179–90
- li, gift, 151, 152
- Liang, kingdoms, 253
- Liang Daolin, 280
- Liang Xingde: death of, 275, 280, 339n35; Later Tang Court, 140; murder of, 141, 214, 269, 270, 271, 288
- Liang Yuanqing, 280
- Liangzhou, 4, 6, 29; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; Tibetan geography by Chinese monk, 116
- Liao: courts, 60; World Order, 308n75. *See also* Kitan
- library cave, Dunhuang, 19, 23, 35, 39, 40, 73, 180, 183, 196, 198, 245
- Li Changzhi, 280
- Li Cunxu (885–926), Later Tang Emperor, 189
- Lieu, Samuel, commerce on Silk Road, 342–43n26
- Li Gonglin, paintings, 89
- Li Guangli (?–89 BCE), Han dynasty, 105
- Li Ji, 142
- Linde Hall of Daming Palace, 134
- Linghu Anding, land ownership, 209
- Lingtu monastery, 157
- lingua franca: search for, 171–74; Sogdian as lingua franca, 173–74; Tibetan as, 196, 312n75
- Lingwu. *See* Lingzhou
- Lingzhou, 4; center of geographical knowledge production, 119–120; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; *A Path to India*, 115
- Lin Yin, 244
- lion king, 254
- Lion King Arslan Khan, 59; Xizhou, 59
- Li Shengtian: Khotan, 37; Khotanese king, 35. *See also* Viśa' Sambhava
- Li Song (?–948): biography of, 246; Later Jin dynasty, 246, 250
- Liu Jinbao, 300; on land ownership, 209
- Liu Shaoyan, on peace of road to Hexi, 266–67
- Liu Sikong, envoy, 176
- Liu Xizhuochuo, road guide, 112
- Liu Yan (889–942), 35–36
- Liu Zaisheng: document about, 176–77, 177; envoy, 176
- live dragons, 202
- Li Wenwen, economic life of, 215
- Li Xian (655–84), paintings on tomb wall, 135
- Li Xun, 142
- Li Yuanhao (1003–48), 34
- loanwords, 188–89
- Long Draft Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror That Aids Governance (Xu zizhi tongjian changbian), 24
- Longjia, 30
- Longxing Monastery, 130, 136, 214
- Lotus Sutra, 167, 176
- Loulan, 56, 111, 128, 335n33
- lowering the carrying pole: gratitude for, 165; term 162
- Lü Fuding, horse to the envoy, 80
- Lu Li, 307n44
- Luminous Emperor, 21. *See also* Xuanzong
- Luo Xianxin: contract, 218; envoy contract, 218; Luo Hengheng and, 217
- Luoyang, 4, 28; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; Later Tang capital, 132
- luxuries, king's coffer, 227–31
- luxury animals, 84–85
- luxury goods/items, 92; adorning kings, 231–43; clothing, 85, 87–88; cotton and silk, 202; jade, 92, 202; live dragons, 202; silk, 86, 87–88; sundry, 85–86; textiles, 87–88
- magic cauldron, 69, 288
- Mahāsaṃnipāta Sūtra, 281

- Maḥmud (r. 971–1030), gift exchange, 158–59;
 Ghaznavid dynasty, 158
- Maḥmud al-Kāshgarī, 24, 145, 152
- Manichaean monasteries, 172
- Manichaeism, 23
- Manichean manuscripts, 19
- Mani pearl, 144
- Maquankou, 129
- Marco Polo, 97, 145, 292, 305n41
- Marinus of Tyre (ca. 70–130), 10
- maritime Silk Road, term, 10
- maritime travelers, 290
- marriages, diplomatic, 46
- Marvazi, records, 298
- Master Si (Pacifying Envoy), diplomatic
 mission by, 119–20
- Maudgalyāyana (Mulian, disciple of
 Buddha), 120
- Mauss, Marcel: on gifts and gift exchange,
 150; on wealth of rich man, 168, 169
- Ma, Yo-Yo, “Silk Road Ensemble,” 10
- measurement, unit of, 332n31
- medicine, 232
- merchant, 12, 103–4, 173, 292–95, 305n41,
 342–43n26, 343–44nn30–33
- Millward, James: on linguistic transition
 using lingua franca, 173; silk-road com-
 munications, 110, 344n36
- Ming and Qing worlds, 299
- Ming dynasty, 37
- Minor Yuezhi people, 32
- mirror, 85, 196
- model letter, 147–48, 164
- modern Eurasian travelers, 290
- Mogao Buddhist caves complex, 7, 24, 320n57
- Mongol Empire (750–1250), 6, 10, 293, 294
- Mongolia Itinerary, 99, 124, 126, 135, 322n2;
 first half of, 104–5; ninth-century diplo-
 matic trip, 100; schematic of, 101; second
 half of, 106; speed of envoys’ progress, 108;
 stops on, 100, 103–4, 122
- monk(s), 11, 48, 57, 62, 63–64, 83, 90; Buddhist,
 13, 19–20, 22, 73, 146, 269; Chinese, 74,
 114, 116, 119, 292, 310n36; Dunhuang, 75,
 208, 220, 279–80, 284, 286; Japanese, 160;
 Khotan, 216, 254; Korean, 122; Tibetan,
 146; traveling, 7, 44–46, 70–71, 107, 110, 117,
 146, 165–66, 168, 176, 193, 195; Vinaya, 66
- monkeys, 71, 84
- Mount Wutai: Buddhist, 44; Cave 61, 349n60;
 Tibetan geography by Chinese monk, 116
- Mthong-khyab, 172
- Mud Bridge, 132–33
- multilingualism, 14, 57, 174–78, 187, 189,
 195–96, 264, 304n20
- murder, 43, 50, 136, 140–42, 178, 189, 198, 214,
 269, 288
- mutual-aid community (*she*), 23
- Nāga (dragon), palace of the, 144
- Naitō Konan (1866–1934), 345n58
- Neng Changren, 21
- Nestorian Christianity, 23; churches, 172;
 manuscripts, 19
- network, term, 286
- New City, 120
- New History of the Five Dynasties (Xin
 Wudaishi), 25, 176
- New Year’s Day, 134, 284; Dunhuang envoys,
 154; exorcist ritual, 264–65; Northern
 Song dynasty, 46
- New Year’s Eve: exorcism, 202; medieval
 Dunhuang, 1–3; song, 7–9, 11
- Ngog Luzhi Namka, 146
- Nine-Tailed Fox, 1
- Ningxia Province, 28
- North China, 6, 9, 11, 296, 300; term,
 304n13
- North China Plain, 34
- Northern Han (951–79), 34
- Northern Liang (397–439), 253
- Northern Song (960–1127), 24, 27, 28,
 37, 300; envoys, 345n54; New Year’s
 Day, 46
- notebook, 7–8, 53–55, 57, 62, 117, 121, 289
- Nugent, Christopher, on “Lament of Lady
 Qin”, 301
- nun, 45, 48, 220, 279

- Office of Banquets and Hospitality, 68, 127, 130, 314n17, 314n24
- Office of Investigation of Xihe circuit, Khotanese envoys, 155
- Old History of the Five Dynasties, biography of Li Song, 246
- old road of Hexi, 282
- Old Tang History (Jiu Tangshu), 24
- order-bearer, 74
- Outstanding models from the storehouse of literature (Cefu yuangui), 85, 88–89
- Ouyang Xiu (1007–72): Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 301; historiography of, 300; recipient of cloth, 233
- Ouyang Xiu's New History of the Five Dynasties, 25
- Paḍā Dūsa, envoy, 52, 53
- Pang Tegin (Pang Teqin), Uyghur prince, 142
- paper, 20–23, 72, 91, 163–65, 168, 229, 317n115, 330n73, 341n4; drawing, 77, 162; fine, 89, 112; flowers, 183, 184, 185, 329n55; pieces/sheets of, 74–75, 77, 181–82, 249; quality, 22, 182; used, 20, 37; waste, 250, 306n17
- Path to India, A (Xitian lujing)*, 117; first section of, 115; manuscript from Dunhuang, 114; Tibetan geography and, 116, 117
- pearl, 47, 140, 144, 157, 230, 232–33, 238, 242
- Pei Chengguo, Turfan's economy, 343–44n32
- Persia, 25; envoys from, 49, 68, 162; polo game, 135; silk from, 88
- Persian: brocade, 207; geography, 117; merchants, 173; term, 311n66
- Persian Empire, 311n66
- p'l'k/pyr'k, gift, 151, 151–52
- poetry, 122, 125, 197, 287
- Poisonous Dragon on the Golden Mountain, 1
- politics of the road: Dunhuang, 261; fighting for the road, 261–68; negotiating for the road, 268–76; praying for the road, 276–84
- polo field(s), 135–36; banquet, 323n35
- portrait, 45, 62, 64, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 243, 255–57, 259, 292, 320n57, 337n100
- portrait elegy (*miaozen zan*), 140, 264, 267–68, 280
- Portraits of Generations of Emperors (Lidai diwang tu) (Yan), 240
- postal system(s), 325n19; empires in Eurasia, 102–3
- Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra account, 19, 320n56
- Pratyutpanna-bhadrakalpa-sahasra-buddhanāma-sūtra, 280
- prayer, 19, 140, 221, 257–58, 261, 276–81, 283, 287, 340n67, 340n78, 345n56
- prince, 36, 43, 63, 82, 119, 128, 128–30, 135, 137, 142, 144, 154, 180, 196–97, 218, 239, 310n47, 329n61
- princess, 3, 46, 86–87, 185, 234, 257, 280, 288, 296
- printing, 276, 302, 340n55
- program, envoy/host interaction, 131
- Ptolemy (ca. 100–170), 10
- Pure Spring Station, postal stations, 102
- Qarakhanids, 32; gifts after victory of Khotan, 155; Khotanese king's defeat of, 252; state, 34–35; Viśa' Sūra victory over, 255–56
- Qilian Mountains, 80, 109
- Qin (259–210 BCE), emperor of, 36
- Qing dynasty, 37
- Qingfu, Buddhist monk-manager, 269
- Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, 34
- Qingjiao eagles, 75
- Qingzhou, 132–33
- Qinzhou, 192
- Qionglin treasury, 228, 334n12
- reconnaissance, 191; term, 130; travelers' interactions with hosts, 138
- Recovered Draft of the Collected Essential Documents of the Song, 24
- Regions of the world (Hudūd al-'Ālam), 117, 118, 119
- Renmei, 140; khan of Ganzhou, 269
- Renyu Khan of Ganzhou (r. ca. 927–60), 29, 140; death of, 269

- Renzong (emperor of the Song) (1010–63):
 belt of, 236, 239; cotton cloth to, 233;
 Empress Cao and, 235, 236; portrait of, 237;
 royal image, 242
residency: stage for envoys, 130; travelers’
 interactions with hosts, 138
resident diplomacy, 137
Rgyal-sum, envoy, 52, 53, 54
River of Sand, 104, 107
road. *See* King’s Road; politics of the road;
 Silk Road
road bags, 318n154
road food, 65, 66, 137, 314n26
road goods, 159, 159–62, 217, 323n56
road protection, 191; travelers’ interactions
 with hosts, 138
road to the Han, 282
Rock City Garrison, 120; Dunhuang and,
 113–14
Roman Empire, 10
Rong Xinjiang, 35, 264; dating songs,
 303–4n12; Khotanese jade, 233
Rossabi, Morris, on Buddhism and foreign
 religions, 6
Rouran Empire, 62
Rrgyada-suma (Rgyal-sum), 52; envoy, 52
Ruizong (emperor of the Tang) (r.684–90,
 710–12), 20, 21, 21; edict from, 21–22, 22, 297

sable skin, 85, 87, 206
sacred waste, 19
Sahlins, Marshall, on gifts and friends, 168
sal ammoniac, 85–87, 206
Samdū, envoy, 52, 54, 55
Sang Weihān, 246
Sanjie Monastery, 19–20, 185; Fabao in, 44–45
Sanjiu Monastery, 123
Sanskrit, 41, 50, 79, 176, 182, 192, 194–95
Sarnādatta, envoy, 52, 53, 54, 55
seal, 75–76, 86, 142, 176, 180, 182, 185–88, 222,
 233, 255, 272, 330n73
Sea of Longevity and Prosperity (Shouchang),
 120
Second Turkic Empire (681–742), 3
 self-immolation, 166–67
 sending off on the road, term, 161, 162
 Sha’du, envoy, 52, 53, 54
 Shang Rang, death of Huang Chao and
 brother, 244
 shangshu, 202, 218, 298
 Shazhou, 29, 31; *A Path to India*, 115. *See also*
 Dunhuang
 sheep, 84
 Shengzong (Emperor of the Liao) (r. 982–1031),
 gift exchange, 158
 Shenzong (Emperor of the Song) (r. 1067–85),
 171, 244
 Shi Jingtang (Emperor of the Later Jin), 35;
 death of, 246, 247
 Shi Xisu, commoner, 81
 Shouchang (Sucana), 128
 Shouchang county, 320n58
 Shouji, Sakamoto, 329n54
 Shule (Kashgar), 5
 shumi, 255
 Shunhua Khan, Cao Yijin letter to, 190–91
 Shunzi, monk, 280
 Shuofang (Lingzhou), 310n47. *See also*
 Lingzhou
 Siddhasāra, copy of, 41
 silk, 331n5; borrowed through a contract, 89,
 214–15, 217; gifts, 162–63, 204, 207; kingly
 decoration, 324, 328; Kuchean *jin*, 92;
 luxury items, 86, 87–88; redistribution,
 222–23; payment for borrowing horses,
 81; payment for borrowing camels, 81;
 payment for child’s song, 283; Tang
 taxation, 334n11
 Silk Road, 8, 283; another, 9–12; concept of,
 11, 93; definition of, 288–91, 342n26;
 description of economy, 332n48; diplo-
 matic travelers on, 285; Dunhuang
 documents on, 98–99; evidence of com-
 merce on, 342–43n26; human-thing
 symbiosis on, 88–91; land-based travelers,
 290–91; linguistic transition using *lingua*
 franca, 173; maritime, 10; Mongolia
 Itinerary, 99, 100, 101, 104, 106, 108, 122,

- 124; nature and chronology of, 291–95; oasis states, 62; resilience, 124–25; Richthofen's, 97, 98; "road" in, 98; shape of, 93; state-sponsored connections, 201; term, 9–10, 284, 287, 291; translation offices, 196; traveler-centered definition of, 288–91; traveler types, 290; understanding, 99, 102–11; visualizations of, 98–99. *See also* King's Road
- silver, 318n142
- silverware, 86, 92, 135, 164, 228–29, 331n5, 334n12
- Sima Guang (1019–86), historiography of, 300
- Sima Qian (ca. 145–86 BCE), 10
- simultaneous kingship, 337n102
- Singing Sand Mountain, 320n57
- Sino-Tibetan treaty, 42
- Skaff, Jonathan: on diplomacy in Eastern Eurasia, 298; gift exchange in diplomacy, 167, 325–26n24; simultaneous kingship, 337n102; uniformity in diplomatic practices, 137
- skyaisa*, gift, 151, 151
- slave, 13, 42, 44, 46, 62, 168, 288; ownership, 211–13; slavery, 47
- societies, 220
- Society for Long-Distance Travel, 15, 67, 220, 225, 291
- Sogdiana, 12
- Sogdian Ancient Letters, , 293, 294
- Sogdian merchant network, 295, 343n26, 343n30
- Sogdian traders, 343n26
- Son of Heaven, 217, 218, 227, 228, 253, 255, 258, 266, 269; Zhang Chengfeng, 263, 296
- Son of Heaven of Nianya, 35
- Song capital, Kaifeng, 25
- Song court, 49; gifts in mission from Kucha and Dunhuang (1030), 232
- Song dynasty (960–1127), 21, 58, 60, 135, 172; interpreters, 192; Kaifeng, 114; Mount Wutai, 114, 116; Wang Ding as envoy from, 165–66
- Song emperor: dancing elephant for, 63–64; diplomatic letters, 73–74; envoys, 314nn38–39
- Song History, 300
- Song huiyao*, bureaucratic system, 179
- Song Runying, 58
- Songshi*, story in, 174–75
- Song Shulue, 58
- Song state (960–1127), 6
- Songtsen Gampo (?–650), 3
- Song Wenzi, commoner, 215
- Southern Liang (397–414) dynasty, 253
- Southern Mountains, 113; buying and selling in, 224; camel from, 80; conflict of Dunhuang and, 262; food for trip, 65, 67; General Gao's trip, 67, 161; people from, as bandits, 268; raiding tribes of, 267–68; tribal organization, 45, 267
- Southern Opening of the Valley, Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 103
- sovereigns, gifts between, 154–59, 163
- Square Canal Garrison, 132, 133
- Staël-Holstein manuscript, 47, 51, 57, 59, 62, 117, 121, 128, 136, 175–76, 177, 187, 206, 289; content of, 52, 53; geography of, 56
- Stallion with a Phoenix Head, 89
- state-sanctioned cloth, 160, 208, 212, 213, 219
- steel, gifts, 186
- Stein, Aurel, 306n22
- Stone City Garrison, 69
- Strengthening the Military Post, Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 101, 108
- suburban welcome, term, 322n11
- Suo family, cost of labor, 211
- Suo Qingnu: annual produce on land, 213; food consumption, 210; income from agriculture, 213; land ownership, 209–10
- Suo Shengquan, general (yaya) in Dunhuang, 81
- Suo *zhihui* (Commander Suo), 218
- Suo Ziquan, 60; Dunhuang envoy, 136; envoy, 108
- Su Sha-li, envoy, 52, 53, 54
- Suspended Spring, 105, 111, 120

- Suspended Spring Garrison, 131, 322n19
Suspended Spring Post (Xuanquan Zhi),
Han site of, 105
Su Wu (140–60 BCE), Han dynasty, 122
Suyab (Ak-Beshim, Kyrgyzstan), 5
Suzhou, 4, 29; Gao Juhui's journey, 26; *A Path to India*, 115; Zhang regime, 30
Śvakala, Prince, camels of, 82
Śvāmnakai, envoy, 52, 52, 53
- Tadi Road, 106
Taibao, title of king of Dunhuang, 265;
Zhang Yichao, 263
Taihang Mountains, 83
Taizong (Emperor of the Liao) (902–47),
21, 34
Taizong (Emperor of the Song) (936–97),
194
Taizu (Emperor of the Song) (927–76), 27;
227; elephant for, 63
Tajik, term Dashi, 335n46
Tajik Arabs, envoys, 49
Takeuchi Tsuguhito, dating of letter, 187;
international lingua franca, 174
Taklamakan Desert, 6, 31, 55, 113
Tämär Quš, 153
Tamīm ibn Baḥr, 298
Tang-Abbasid period, 10
Tang Court (878): gifts exchanged with
Uyghur Khan of Ganzhou, 206–7, 207;
gifts from Dunhuang to, 206; return gifts
from, 204, 204–5
Tang dynasty (618–907), 22, 27–28, 29, 30,
33, 36, 37, 60, 66, 172; geographies, 113;
government, 25; military garrison,
334n13
Tang emperor: taxation regime, 229; treasury
of, 228
Tang Empire (618–907), 3, 24, 36, 58, 102,
171, 293, 294, 295, 296, 300
Tang-Five Dynasties-Song genealogy,
345n58
Tang liudian, bureaucratic system, 179
Tanguts, 27, 28
- Tarim Basin, 55
Tatars, 80
tax, 60–61, 81, 209–10, 212, 228–29, 334n11,
344n36
Teiser, Stephen, on ghost festival, 276
Ten Kingdoms, 34, 301, 335n85
textiles: gift redistribution, 222–23; kings,
234–35; luxury items, 86, 87–88
texts: diplomatic travelers, 73–77; *Discourse on the Hundred Characteristics of Purpose in the Great Vehicle Doctrine*, 75; envelope of the Heavenly Queen, 75, 76; Tripiṭaka (“Three baskets”), 75
Thomas, F. W., Konow, Sten and, 50–51
Thyai Paḍā-tsā, 121
tianzi (Son of Heaven), 36
Tibetan Empire (618–842), 3, 5, 22, 29, 30,
33, 36, 171, 296; content of Staël-Holstein manuscript, 52, 52–53; geography of Chinese monk's route to India, 114, 116; letters, 188; Tibetan as lingua franca, 196, 312n75; written history, 19
Tieweishan congtan (Cai Tao), 327n1
Tingzhou (Beshbalik; modern Jimsar),
106
Torbert, Preston, study of Qing imperial court, 230
trading foreigners, 293
transformation text (*bianwen*) 111, 120, 142
translation, 14, 19, 36, 117, 171, 179–81, 187–89,
193, 196
travel speed, 108–9
travelers: clothes for, 70–73; envoys, 126–27;
food common for, 65–69; model letter for departure, 147–48; for state, 42–47; water for, 69–70. *See also* diplomatic travelers; envoys
treasury, 165–66, 206, 226, 228–30, 234,
334n12–13
Treasury of Military Expenditure, 229
tributary system, 8, 298
tribute objects: envoys, 88–89; painting
Tribute Bearers, 90–91
Tripiṭaka (“Three Baskets”), 75

- Trombert, Eric: diplomacy of gift exchange, 332n48; on economic history of Dunhuang, 223–24; silk and Dunhuang community, 325n3
- Tsongkha, Tibetan geography by Chinese monk, 116
- Tufan, 30
- Tun City, 120
- Turco-Uyghur Empire (744–840), 3
- Turfan, 4, 5, 8, 15, 21, 24, 25, 33; geography of, 106; Pei Chengguo's study of economy of, 343–44n32
- Turkic Empire, 3, 5, 24, 27, 34–35, 52–54, 63, 137, 167, 172, 292, 298, 312n95, 325n24
- Two Sons of Heaven, 301–2
- ügä*, 134, 154, 176
- Uray Géza, study of Tibetan letters, 174
- Uyghur Empire, 5, 33, 34, 36, 142, 171; embassy, 59; envoys, 58; mission of, 49–50
- Uyghur khan in Ganzhou, 112, 139, 140, 297; death of, 251–52; gifts exchanged with Tang emperor, 206–7, 207
- Uyghur kingdom in Ganzhou, 82; Cao Yijin sending letter to, 156; Zhang Chengfeng war with, 262–64
- Uyghurs, 5, 29; envoy attack by, 111; envoy Tamīm ibn Baḥr, 68; marauding, 142–43; mission from, 85; murder of envoy, 178, 189; traveler, 131
- Vaiśravaṇa, 276, 277, 278–79; Heavenly Kings (world protectors), 274
- Vaiśravaṇa text, 281, 340n67
- Vajrayāna tradition, Buddhism, 41
- van Schaik, Sam, on traveling monk, 7
- Veritable Record of Emperor Shenzong (r.1067–85), 171
- Victoria and Albert Museum, 329n55
- Vietnam, 207
- Vinaya monks, 66
- Viśā' Sambhava/Li Shengtian (r. 912–66), 35; image of, 239, 241, 242; Lady Cao and, 256–57; son Viśā' Śūra, 254, 337n89
- Viśā' Śūra (r. 967–77), 329n61, 337n89; king of Khotan, 63; king of kings of China, 254–56; letter to Cao Yuanzhong, 251
- von Richthofen, Ferdinand (1833–1905): concept of Silk Road, 93, 98, 291, 305n41; geography, 10
- von Staël-Holstein, Baron Alexander, 50
- wang, term, 36
- Wang Anzhong: Hanlin academician, 170; reception of envoys, 170–71; relating letter from king of Khotan, 327n1
- Wang Ding, 165–66
- Wang Duanzhang, mission head, 142
- Wang Jingyi, envoy, 222
- Wang Le, references to silk, 234
- Wang Yande, 136; envoy, 84, 244; envoy reception, 134; on horses, 317n95; mission, 59; records by, 121; travelogues, 123–24; travelogues of, 77
- Wang Yuanlu (1851–1931), 7; cave discovery, 25
- water, Ershi Spring as source, 105
- watermelons, gifting, 163
- Wei Zhuang: “The Lament of the Lady Qin”, 308n81; poet, 301
- Wencheng (Empress) (623–80), 3, 5
- Wenmo, 29
- Wenzong (Emperor of the Tang), 234
- Western Liang dynasty (400–421), 253
- Western Xia (1038–1227), 34, 35
- West River, Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 103
- West Town of Subjugation, Mongolia Itinerary, 99, 100, 101, 102, 126
- Wheat Pond, Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 103
- White-Clothes Emperor of the Western Han, 253
- wine: envoy/host interaction, 131; envoy reception, 129; fermented sheepskin, 180; *jiu*, 313n99
- winged camel, 317n128
- Wong, Dorothy, 349n60
- world protectors, Heavenly Kings, 274
- Wu (Empress of the Zhou) (624–705), 5, 135, 274

- Wudi (Emperor of the Han) (r. 141–87 BCE), 3, 29, 103
Wudi (Emperor of the Jin) (236–290), 239–40, 240, 242
Wu Liyu, term meaning friend, 189
- Xianjie qianfoming jing, 280, 281; colophon to, 280, 281
Xia state (1038–1227), 28, 31, 34–36, 264
Xin, Chinese term, 151, 153
Xiongnu Empire, 3
Xizhou, 33; Lion King Arslan Khan, 59; Uyghur kingdom of, 59. *See also* Turfan
Xizhou wenzi, writing of, 179
Xizong (862–88), Tang Emperor, 58
Xuanquan, border management, 323n61
Xuanquan Yi, postal station, 105
Xuanquan Zhen, military garrison, 105
Xuanquan Zhi (Suspended Spring Post), 105
Xuanzang (602–64), 97; biography of, 104; Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (*guanyin*), 322n86; monk, 103; Chinese monk, 292, 294–95; traveler, 109
Xuanzong (Emperor of the Tang) (685–762), 21, 230, 234
- yak tail, 203, 206, 231; gifting, 164
Yang, carpenter, 47
Yang Baoyu, term meaning friend, 189
Yang Hulüpu, house sale, 211
Yang Pass, 129
Yang Shao-Yun, cultural difference, 310n39
Yangtze River, 83
Yang Zhijin, head envoy, 176
Yan Liben (c. 600–673), 89, 239–40; *Lidai diwang tu*, 242; paintings, 89; *Tribute Bearers*, 90–91
Yanmen Pass, Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 101, 102
Yanzi (Agni, Kharashar), 30
Yanzhou, 27
Yarlung dynasty, 3
yaya, 81, 205, 207, 331n5
yellow order, 74
Yellow River, 28, 84
- Yelü, Abaoji (872–926), 34
Yelü, Deguang (902–47), 34, 35
Yimnakä, Prince, camels of, 82
Yin family, pooling resources, 219
Yin Qing'er, 58
Yin Shanxiong, elegy of, 267, 338n25
Yin Shiwu, land ownership, 209
Yizhou (Hami), 21, 120; geography, 119; *A Path to India*, 115
Yonggui Garrison, 140
Yonhaeng-Nok, 299
Youding, female attendant, 86, 86–87
Yo-Yo Ma's "Silk Road Ensemble", 10
Yuan Yuansheng, 280
Yumen Pass, 30; *A Path to India*, 115
Yunjia Pass, Mongolia Itinerary, 100, 126
Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib (ca. 1019–90), 196, 198
- zaixiang, 262
Zen Buddhist manuscripts, 19
Zhang Baoshan, 42–43; envoy, 57, 270; murder of An Qianxiang, 141
Zhang Chengfeng (r. 894–910), 31; Golden Mountain Kingdom, 262, 301; instruction to envoys, 178; mother of, 146; political goals of, 252–54; Son of Heaven, 296; war with Uyghurs in Ganzhou, 262–64
Zhang Daqian, painter, 335n55
Zhang Daqing, copyist, 119–21
Zhang Dudu: construction of stupa, 55; envoy, 53
Zhang family, 30, 32, 296, 341n79; on peace of road to Hexi under, 266; pooling resources, 219; power transition to Cao family, 264; rule of, 284
Zhang Fuding, 280
Zhang Huaiquan: envoy, 71–72; mission by, 46
Zhang Huaishen, 58; envoy reception, 136; gifts to Tang court, 204
Zhang Jinshan: diplomatic traveler, 41–42; envoy, 39, 41, 42–43, 174, 176; marriage alliance mission, 48; mission, 54; note about diplomatic trip, 40; polyglot envoy, 136, 288; Sino-Khotanese envoy, 48

- Zhang Mingji, elegy of, 267
Zhang Qian (164–114 BCE), 122, 292
Zhang Qiu, 214
Zhang Shanbao, commoner, 81
Zhangwu Garrison, regional government, 27
Zhang Xichong, envoy reception, 132–33
Zhang Xiuzao: camel rental, 213, 213; envoy, 57, 81, 107; profit of trip, 213; renting camels for trip, 207–8
Zhangye. *See* Ganzhou
Zhang Yichao (799–872), 25, 29, 30, 31, 142; diplomatic missions, 46; Dunhuang founder, 111; founder of state of Dunhuang, 43; governor Taibao, 263; independent polity of Dunhuang, 174; submissions to Tang court, 75
Zhang Yiquan, 215; house value, 213; housing, 211; housing profits, 212, 212–13, 213
Zhang Yuanjin: envoy, 198; juvenile attaché, 288; on murder of envoy, 178; role in murder, 141
Zhao Feng, references to silk, 234
Zhao Guangyi (939–97), Emperor Taizong of the Song, 27
Zhao Kuangyin (927–76), Emperor Taizu of the Song, 27
Zheng Wenbao (953–1013), Song border official, 175
Zhenzong (Emperor of the Song) (r. 997–1022), 194, 244
Zhimoshan, Khotanese envoy, 157
Zhiyan, monk from Fuzhou, 166–67
Zho gam, envoy, 176
Zhongkui, 1
Zhongshu Sheng, employing translators, 179
Zhongyun, 4, 31; Gao Juhui's journey, 26
Zhongyun people, envoys, 32
Zhu Lishuang, Khotanese jade, 233
Zhu Wen (852–912), 28, 262
Ziting Garrison, 80
Zoroastrianism, 23