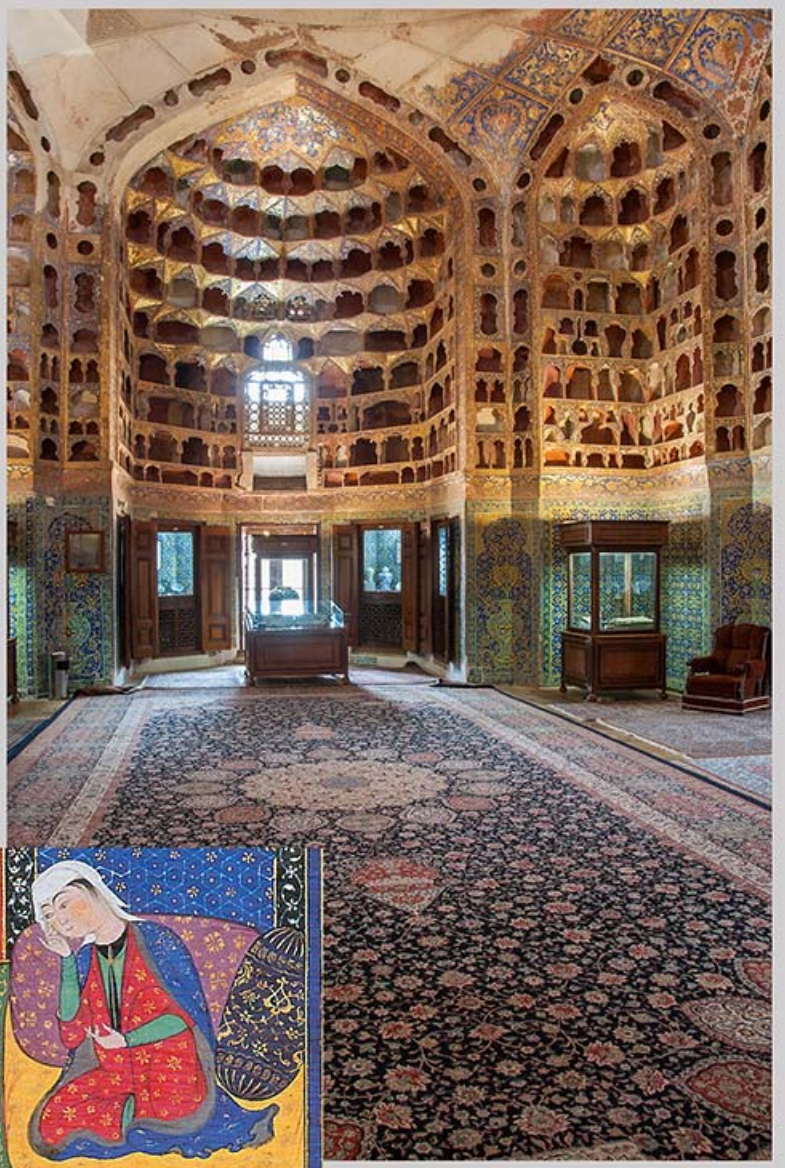
The Silk Road



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Readers are strongly encouraged to view the online version of the journal, since so many of the illustrations are in color and can be best appreciated that way.

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Silk Road Dress in a Chinese Tomb: Xu Xianxiu and Sixth-Century Cosmopolitanism

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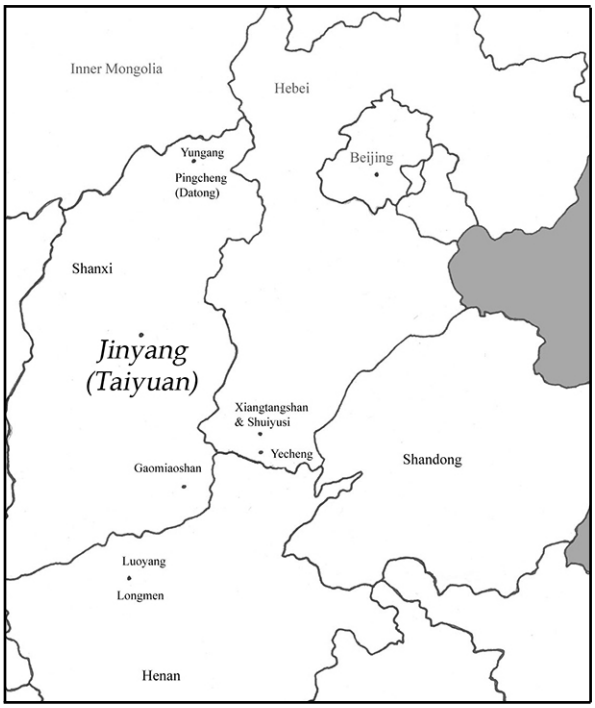
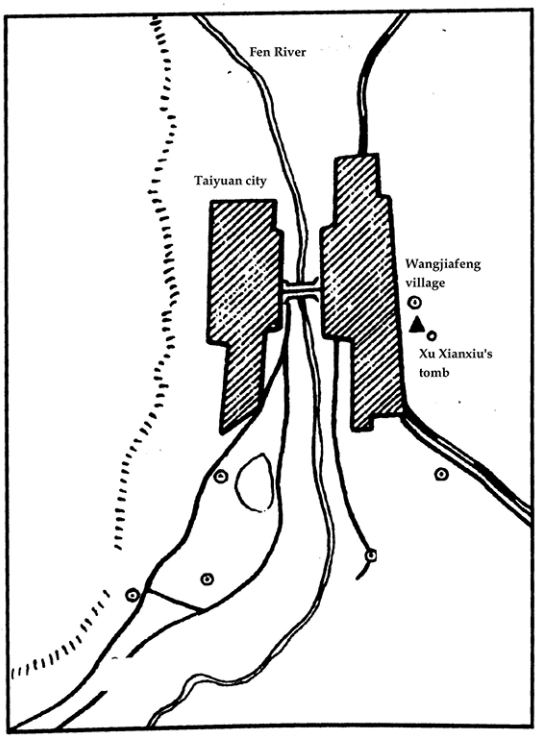
The Northern Qi tomb of Xu Xianxiu in Taiyuan, dating to 571 CE, is remarkable for its unusually well-preserved tomb murals, depicting the deceased and his wife along with over 200 attendants of various kinds. It is a rich resource for the study of a period during which categories of "indigenous" and "foreign" were notably fluid (Lewis 2011, pp. 167–68). By the Northern Qi, the preceding two centuries of conquest and trade gave rise to a cosmopolitan culture that drew on a variety of influences, presaging the better known cosmopolitanism of the Tang. The varieties of dress shown in the tomb's murals illustrate the lively interactions between Chinese and Silk Road cultures during the period, belying the old stereotype of inexorable Sinicization. In fact, the figures in Xu's tomb illustrate a complex transition by which certain styles of dress, derived from Central Asian models, became entirely normalized and domesticated in China by the beginning of the Tang. They can help illuminate the process by which the foreign becomes familiar in a multicultural society.

The tomb

Xu Xianxiu's tomb is located in an orchard near the village of Wangjiafeng, in the eastern part of Taiyuan City, the capital of Shanxi province [Figs. 1, 2]. It is marked above ground with a tumulus that rises five meters above the flat surface of the land, making it visible from a significant distance. It remained undisturbed in modern times until December of 2000, when local residents noticed that tomb robbers had attempted to dig into the tomb, and alerted the archaeological authorities. Salvage excavations and conservation work took place over the next two years, concluding in October of 2002 (Shanxi kaogu 2003).

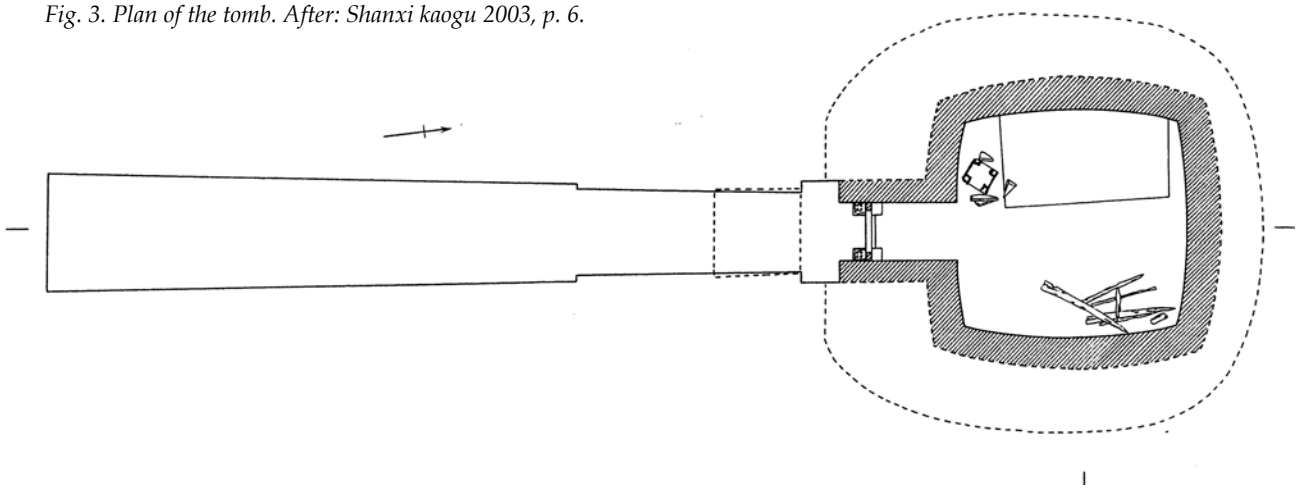


< *Fig. 1. Map of northeast China showing location of Taiyuan, with other significant cities and sites of the period. Drawing by the author.*



> *Fig. 2. Map of the Taiyuan area with location of Xu Xianxiu's tomb. After: Shanxi kaogu 2003, p. 5.*

Fig. 3. Plan of the tomb. After: Shanxi kaogu 2003, p. 6.



The tomb consists of a single, large, chamber about 6.5 m square, constructed of grey bricks, with a four-sided vaulted ceiling. The chamber is located directly under the tumulus, with a short, barrel-vaulted brick entryway and a fifteen-meter-long tomb passage dug directly into the earth [Fig. 3]. The tomb passage begins at ground level at its southern end, extending northward and sloping down to the level of the tomb entrance. The entrance was sealed with a carved stone door and door frame.

The presence of no fewer than five looters' tunnels (four in the main chamber and one in the entryway) suggests it was robbed at various times throughout its history, and relatively few grave goods survive. What remains are mostly objects whose value is largely historical: ceramic tomb figurines and glazed vessels, and the carved-stone tomb epitaph. A plain silver ring, and a more ornate gold ring with a blue intaglio gem, were overlooked by robbers in the rubble, and are nearly the only objects of precious metal found during the dig.

The tomb epitaph identifies the male tomb occupant as one Xu Xianxiu (徐显秀), who died in 571 CE at the age of seventy. Xu was the son and grandson of officials who served the Northern Wei. As a young man, he became a follower of the Northern Wei general Erzhu Rong (尔朱荣), and then of Erzhu's own general Gao Huan (高欢), who became father and grandfather of the emperors of the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577). Under the Northern Qi, Xu served in a series of important military and civil positions, culminating in his enfeoffment as Prince of Wu'an (武安王) under the reign of Emperor Wucheng (武成帝), and later promotion under Houzhu (后主) to Defender-in-Chief (太尉), the head of the imperial armies (Taiyuan wenwu 2005, n.p.). In other words, Xu was an important military official of the Northern Qi, and the scale and elaboration of his tomb were commensurate with his rank and position.

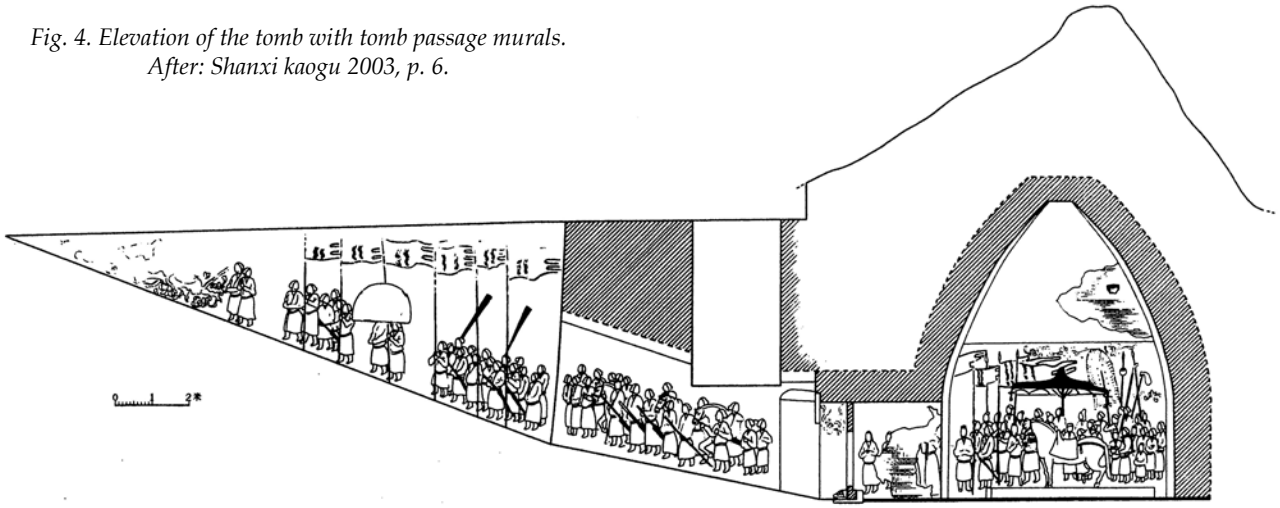
Despite its past depredations, the tomb immediately became the focus of intense interest for its unusually well-preserved mural paintings. Both side walls of the sloping tomb passage and the barrel-vaulted entry, and all four walls of the tomb chamber, are covered with paintings of mostly human figures, painted at or nearly life size. The area covered is more than 300 square meters, and more than 200 human figures are represented. The figures in the tomb passage are painted on a skim coat of white plaster applied directly to the earthen walls. Within the brick structure of the tomb chamber and entryway, a thicker layer of plaster has been applied over the bricks to create a smooth surface for the murals. Other than one missing section on the south wall of the tomb chamber, the murals in Xu Xianxiu's tomb are essentially intact, and provide a rich visual reference for their time.

The murals

This tomb displays a decorative scheme which Zheng Yan has characterized as the "Yecheng model" (邺城规制) (Zheng 2002, pp. 181ff). The Yecheng model is found in aristocratic tombs of Northern Qi date found in the region of the Northern Qi capital, Yecheng (now Linzhang county in southern Hebei province). Tombs of this type are also found in and around the city of Jinyang (now Taiyuan), the Northern Qi's secondary capital. Yecheng-type tombs are simple in layout, like Xu Xianxiu's tomb, comprising a single main tomb chamber with entrance and tomb passage. They are furnished with extensive and elaborate mural paintings in a distinctively Northern Qi style, painted using an iron-wire outline in black on a white plaster ground, which was then filled in with color. Of the eight or more such tombs which have been excavated,[1] Xu's is by far the best preserved.

The decorative program of Xu Xianxiu's tomb (Taiyuan wenwu 2005) begins at ground level, at the en-

Fig. 4. Elevation of the tomb with tomb passage murals. After: Shanxi kaogu 2003, p. 6.



trance to the tomb passage, and culminates on the rear wall of the main chamber. Walking down the sloping passage, the visitor is flanked on either side by mural paintings [Fig. 4]. Those at ground level are fragmentary, but seem to represent a pair of supernatural guardian figures, one on either side of the passage. These are followed by a large number of human figures, making up an honor guard of armed soldiers. These male figures carry a variety of weapons, and fall broadly into two groups. The first group, on both sides of the upper part of the tomb passage, hold aloft standards with streaming banners, and some bear long conical trumpets over their shoulders. In other tombs, murals and figurines show similar instruments actually being played, as if to provide a martial fanfare (see Cheng 2003, p. 441). The second group, nearer to the tomb entrance, bear no banners or trumpets, but lead two war horses, saddled and bridled, on either side. All the figures on the passage walls are painted in three-quarter view, and all face outward, as if they are keeping watch for threats that might come from the outside world. The visitor passes between their ranks like a supplicant.

The tomb entrance, with its stone framing, is flanked by two painted guard figures, armed with whips or flails. Similarly armed figures stand on both sides of the barrel-vaulted entryway. The visitor emerges through an arched doorway into the main tomb chamber, a high-vaulted, square room. On the near wall, the mural paintings have fallen away to the right (east) of the entrance, but the remaining mural on the left side allows us to imagine the missing material with some confidence. The entrance is flanked by standard-bearers who carry banners on long pikes and face the doorway on both sides. Above the doorway are two more supernatural guardians, descending from above.

The procession of standard-bearers continues around the corners of the chamber and onto both side walls [Fig. 5]. The east wall is dominated by a large and very ornate ox-cart, surrounded by grooms and attendants [Fig. 6, next page]. The attendants who follow behind the cart, supporting its canopy or holding fans or other objects, are clearly female. In the corre-

Fig. 5. Drawing of the murals in the tomb chamber. After: Shanxi kaogu 2003, p. 16.

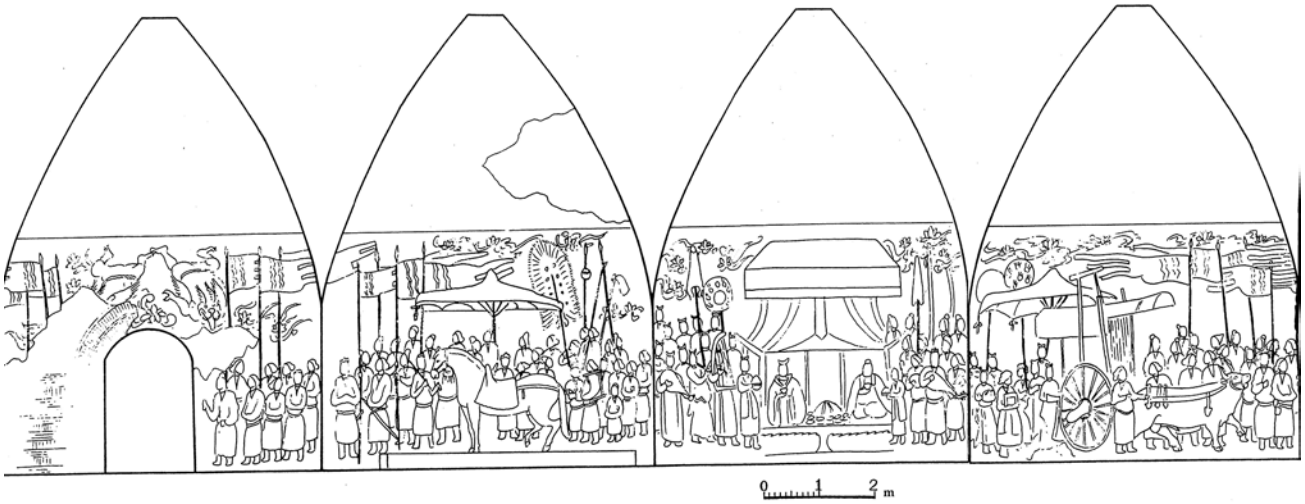


Fig. 6. Photograph of the east wall murals. After: Taiyuan wenwu 2005, Pl. 22.

sponding position on the west wall is a riderless horse [Fig. 7], saddled and caparisoned with a rich saddle-cloth. The horse is followed by male attendants, who bear a large canopy, a huge fan of the deer-tail (鹿尾) type, long pikes and other weapons, and various items of gear.

So far, all the figures encountered by the visitor on the way into the tomb have faced outward, as if to guard against unwelcome intrusion. Within the tomb, the ox-cart and horse also face outward, suggesting the possibility of movement toward the tomb entrance and beyond. But the figures on the rear wall of the chamber face inward, in a composition centered on the portraits of Xu Xianxiu and his wife, whom the viewer approaches face to face [Fig. 8; Color Plate I]. They sit on an elevated platform couch (床) under a high, square canopy, which has been drawn back on either side with ribbonlike ties. A folding screen stands behind them. Xu himself sits on the proper left (the viewer's right) and his wife is at his right hand. Between them are numerous dishes and platters piled high with food. Each holds a drinking cup in the right hand.

Xu and his wife are flanked by an entourage of servants and musicians. On their immediate left and right are a pair of female servants bearing trays of drinking cups. To the viewer's right, nearest Xu Xianxiu himself, the attendants are all men, including two *pipa* (lute) players and what may be a flutist, along with others bearing objects including a furled umbrella-like canopy. To the viewer's left, nearest Xu's wife, the attendants are all women, and include musicians playing a *pipa*, a *sheng* (mouth organ), and a *konghou* (harp). Others carry a second canopy and a large round feather fan. All round the four walls of the chamber, flying lotus blossoms and buds fill the air.

The murals on the vaulted ceiling are damaged and faded, but details of constellations can be made out here and there, and the overall design probably represented the heavens. It is not unusual for mural-painted tombs of the sixth century to have cosmological designs painted on the ceilings, including constellations, the Milky Way, zodiac animals, supernatural creatures, and so on. Examples include the late Northern Wei tomb of Yuan Yi near Luoyang, with a relatively well-preserved star map (Wu 2010, p. 51), or the Northern Qi tomb of [X] Daogui[2] near Ji'nan, in which the portrait of the deceased, on the north wall, sits beneath the Big Dipper and Polaris, flanked by the sun and moon (Zheng 2002, p. 126).

The directionality of this pictorial programme is common to many mural-painted tombs of the sixth century, including those that conform to the "Ye-

Fig. 7. Photograph of the west wall murals.
After: Taiyuan wenwu 2005, Pl. 31.

Fig. 8. Photograph of the north wall murals.
After: Taiyuan wenwu 2005, Pl. 15.

cheng model," as well as later tombs of the same basic type (with arched brick chambers and long, sloping passageways) from the first half of the Tang dynasty (Wu 2010, pp. 213–17). The use of pictorial decoration to give meaning and direction to the spaces of a tomb goes back at least to the Han dynasty, when massed chariots and processions of immortal creatures suggested the movement of the deceased through the spaces of the tomb or out into the world. The same tension seen in Han tombs, between the tomb as the home of the deceased and the idea of a journey from the tomb into the afterlife (Wu 1997, pp. 86–88), is visible in the murals of Xu's tomb. Xu and his wife sit in state, attended by servants and guarded by armed men, and provided with everything they need for enjoyment of a life in the tomb, even as their fine horse and costly oxcart wait, together with an armed escort, supernatural guardians, and traveling gear, to carry them into another existence.

The orientation of the tomb ensures that the portraits of the deceased occupy a position which had both cosmological and political significance. Xu and his wife are located at the north end of the tomb, facing south. In the old geomantic tradition based on principles of *yin* and *yang*, the south-facing position is a position of power and authority. The ruler in his palace is said to sit in the north and face south, which was often literally as well as figuratively true, such that even in very early texts the phrase "to face south" (南面) is used as a synonym for "to rule."[3] The placement of Xu's portrait at the north end of the tomb puts the viewer in the position of a supplicant, approaching a person of superior rank.

The relative positions of Xu and his wife are also governed by concepts of *yin* and *yang*; from their perspective, Xu sits on the left and his wife, on the right. Traditionally, the left hand is the position of greater prestige, as we see in Chinese official titles (where the official of the Left is always senior to the same-titled official of the Right). The reasoning behind this is also apparently related to yin-yang cosmology (Wong 2003, p. 96). The same distinction is easily applied to gender, not only because men were considered superior to women, but also because *yang* is understood as a masculine force, and *yin* a feminine one; this makes it natural for Xu to sit on the left and his wife on the right.

That said, this gendering of space breaks down in the position of the riderless horse on the west wall, and the ox-cart on the east wall. Their presence in the tomb is not remarkable: they represent a means of transport for the deceased on the journey into the afterlife. The theme of the journey of the soul is an old one in Chinese tombs, and well established by this date (Cheng 2011, p. 79; Wu 2010, pp 192ff). Beyond this, the lavishness of both vehicles is also a sign of the status of the deceased. In this case, the richly bedecked stallion surrounded by male attendants is clearly Xu Xianxiu's own mount, while the elaborate enclosed ox-cart, followed by female attendants, obviously belongs to Xu's wife. One might expect the ox-cart to appear on the west wall, nearest the figure of Xu's wife, but for reasons that remain unclear, their positions are reversed.

Dress, textiles, and Silk Road trade

Because of the remarkable state of preservation of the murals in Xu Xianxiu's tomb, it offers a trove of evidence for investigating any number of questions about the Northern Qi. It is a particularly rich source of evidence for modes of contemporary dress and personal adornment. The amount of attention the muralists have given to details of dress and textiles in general, especially in the tomb chamber, suggests that the details were important. Clearly, the way people dressed was not a trivial detail in this context, but rather served as an important visual signal of identity.

Of course, it is far from clear that any of the figures other than those of Xu and his wife necessarily represent actual living members of Xu's household. Just as the terra-cotta warriors in the tomb of the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty are unlikely to be portraits of actual soldiers of the Qin army (Kesner 1995), the servants and attendants and soldiers who surround Xu and his wife are probably not portraits of the people who attended them in life. Rather, they are types: the soldier, the groom, the lady-in-waiting. The clothing they wear may not tell us exactly how servants in the Xu household actually dressed, but it can tell us much about what kind of dress was considered fitting for each of these different roles.

The same is likely also true of the figures of Xu and his wife, even though these are portraits. It is conceivable that they were indeed painted wearing articles of clothing that they owned in life. But it is just as likely that the portraits represent idealized forms of dress considered appropriate to their station in life — or even to a higher station they hoped to occupy after death. Is what we see here everyday dress for people of their social standing? Is it formal court attire? Is it particular to a special occasion of some sort? Might it be somewhat better than the dress they actually wore in life? No textiles remain among the looted tomb goods to help answer these questions. But the representation of dress and textiles in the tomb murals still has a great deal to tell us, even though it cannot be perfectly correlated with actual sartorial practice.

With this in mind, the most striking thing about the styles of dress represented in Xu Xianxiu's tomb murals is how many of them are derived from Central Asian or nomadic designs. The soldiers, grooms, and other male attendants, for example, all dress in the same basic attire: a long tunic or kaftan falling to below the knee, with a V-neck and what appears to be a wrap closure, in which the left-hand front panel laps over the right panel. The narrow-sleeved tunic, which comes in a range of solid colors, is worn over a round-collared undergarment of a light color. Each man wears a contrasting belt that sits low on the hips, sometimes decorated with studs, from which a scabbard or a purse may be suspended. Each also wears high black or brown boots. The men wear a variety of practical headgear, from simple cloth kerchiefs not unlike the later Tang *futou* (幞头), to larger turban-like hats, to small round or pointed caps with a neck-cloth hanging down behind. These doubtless indicate distinctions of rank or function which would have been legible to a contemporary viewer.

All of these details of dress can also be seen represented in other contemporary artworks, including tomb murals, tomb figurines, and the donor images found on Buddhist monuments; for a few comparative examples, see Figs. 9, 10, 11. That said, from tomb to tomb and from monument to monument (and sometimes from figure to figure), one can observe variations in how garments and accessories are combined. This diversity of detail makes it impossible to produce a clear typological reading of sixth-century dress: we can't reliably tell soldiers from house servants from traveling merchants, based solely on what they are wearing. There were doubtless forms of dress considered appropriate to soldiers and to servants and so on, but there was also, clearly, considerable room for variation. The differences may reflect regional fashions, economic constraints, personal preferences (perhaps the figures on the walls of this tomb are dressed in Xu Xianxiu's particular household livery), or any number of other influences.

The basic form of dress we see here — long, belted tunic, boots, and presumably trousers underneath (which are more visible in other representations of this dress) — is clearly derived from similar attire first depicted in Chinese art during the fifth century, after the founding of the Northern Wei dynasty. The Northern Wei was founded by the Xianbei, an ethnic confederation with its roots in what is now China's far northeast. Xianbei dress, as we see it represented during the early years of their rule over northern China, consisted of this long tunic over trousers and boots for men, and long skirts for women. This is by contrast to forms of male and female dress derived from Han-period prototypes, consisting of a long wrap robe closed with a sash, with loose, voluminous sleeves. (For more detailed discussion, see Dien 2007, pp. 317–19.)

Fig. 10. Figure of armored man with tiger-skin pauldrons, from the tomb of Xu Xianxiu. After: Shanxi kaogu 2003, Pl. 37.

The Xianbei were still recognized as a distinct ethnic group during the Northern Qi, and the ruling Gao family had strong Xianbei ties, but by the founding of the Northern Qi in 550, the Xianbei had been living in China proper, and intermarrying with local families, for well over 150 years. After

Fig. 9. Male and female donors from the front wall of the Shuiyusi West Cave Temple, Fengfeng, Hebei. Northern Qi, c. 570 CE. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 11. Donor figure representing Chen Lanhe, wearing a fur coat as a mantle. From the Gaomiaoshan cave temple, Gaoping, Shanxi. Eastern Wei, c. 540-550 CE. Photograph by the author.

so long, distinctions such as "Xianbei" and "Han" had become remarkably fluid (Lewis 2011, pp. 144ff; Dien 2007, p. 427). Similarly, by the late sixth century, it is clear that what we might call "Xianbei-type dress" and "Chinese-type dress" coexisted in China, and that they were in the process of acquiring other meanings besides the strictly ethnic. Eventually, by the early Tang dynasty, the Xianbei-type combination of belted tunic and boots that we see here becomes a form of standard Chinese men's dress, even as it also continues to be worn by Central Asians outside of China. Chinese-type robes continue to be worn by certain types of official into the early Tang, but in general, Chinese-type garments remain much more common in women's dress than in men's (for a fuller version of this argument, see Lingley 2010). Women's dress is also more variable in design, beginning in the late sixth century, than men's dress, and more subject to short-term shifts in fashion.

Xu Xianxiu himself is dressed in attire that differs little from that of his male attendants and soldiers, except that it is clearly finer and more luxurious. He is wearing a similar long tunic in an auspicious red color, with a black belt. His cross-legged pose and one dangling sleeve obscure his feet, but likely the ensemble included trousers and boots like all the others. His headgear is a winged gauze cap which elsewhere seems to indicate official, or at least high, status. The most striking detail of Xu's attire, and one which has not been seen in other tombs of the period, is the remarkable fur coat he wears over his shoulders. It is made of the white winter pelts of ermine, with their black tail tips; it has a collar and shoulder pieces of contrasting dark gray fur, and a dark cloth lining.

Although the coat clearly has sleeves, Xu is not using them, but rather wearing the coat thrown over his shoulders like a cloak. Seen regularly in other sixth-century art, this seems to be a Central Asian fashion. It is traceable as far back as the fifth century BCE, in reliefs at Persepolis depicting Median ambassadors to the Persian court. The same style survived into the modern day in coats worn by Eurasian shepherds, such as the Hungarian *szür* (Gervers-Molnár 1973).

As for the material of the coat, ermine was certainly among the furs hunted and traded by Siberian and Central Asian nomads from the Iron Age onward: samples of ermine are found in garments from the Pazyryk tombs, dated to the 4th–3rd centuries BCE (Rudenko 1970, p. 200; also pp. 59, 85, 86, 97). Extensive finds of medieval Central Asian silver in the Ural Mountains, long a region of fur export, suggest an ongoing trade relationship which probably included ermine pelts. Later records indicate that ermine was traded between Russia and China in the late imperial period: a 1668 caravan to Beijing carried 3574 ermine pelts (Lim 2013, p. 31). Although we have no records to explain the symbolic status of ermine in medieval China, we do know that a fur coat was itself a sign of high status (Zheng 2003, p. 60). The small size of the ermine (a kind of weasel) and the number of pelts required to make a full-size coat suggest that this must have been a valued luxury garment.

The ladies-in-waiting that attend on Xu Xianxiu's wife also wear a form of dress that is based more closely on Xianbei or other Central Asian prototypes than it is on the Han wrap robe. The dress they wear seems to be particular to the Northern Qi and perhaps also to the Shanxi region, as it is also seen in the Shuozhou tomb mentioned in note 1. These attendants wear a round-necked under-dress that falls to mid-calf. Over this is worn a shorter, plain coat of a different fabric, that falls to about knee level. In a few cases the attendants seem to have added a belt over both the under-dress and the coat, and then shrugged out of the coat's sleeves, leaving the upper part of the garment to

dangle behind; this seems to be what the female musicians have done, among others. Perhaps this allowed for more freedom of movement.

For the most part, all the women in the tomb have the same basic hairstyle, an asymmetrical bun which has been identified as the "flying-bird bun" (飞鸟髻) by archaeologists. Again, this is also seen in the Shuozhou tomb. The hair is drawn up sleekly and tightly away from the face and the bun sits atop the crown of the head. There are only two exceptions, among the attendants following the ox-cart on the east wall. Two women show a hairstyle in which curly hair is worn low over the ears and pulled up loosely in the back.

The female attendants in this tomb are especially striking for the variety of textile patterns that can be observed on their garments. These include several variations on the pearl-roundel brocade pattern characteristic of prized Persian and Sogdian silks in the early medieval period. (For more on pearl-roundel textiles in medieval China, see Kuhn 2012, pp. 167–201, esp. 194–99.) The two attendants who flank the deceased both wear red under-dresses with white pearl-roundel patterns, one showing confronted animals within the roundel, and one an abstract vegetal design. More unusual is the pattern seen on one of the female attendants who follow the ox-cart. She wears a white under-dress with a vermilion pearl-roundel pattern. Within each roundel is the head of a bodhisattva, recognizable from contemporary Buddhist art. A similar pattern is seen on the border of the uppermost of two saddle-cloths worn by Xu Xianxiu's horse.

Rong Xinjiang points out that among the motifs found within the pearl roundel on textiles of this kind are supernatural figures, including the sun-god in his chariot or mythical hybrid creatures that come from an Iranian religious context (Rong 2003, p. 66). Although Buddhism was not unknown in Persia and Sogdiana at this time, it was a minority religion at best, except among Sogdians living in China (Marshak 2002, p. 20). Rong notes that a few examples of Buddha or bodhisattva figures in pearl-roundel motifs have been identified at the Buddhist site of Bamiyan in present-day Afghanistan, but the only example known from regions nearer China was found by Aurel Stein at the site of Shorchuk (Ming-oi) in what is now Xinjiang province [Fig. 12]. It is a stucco plaque showing a bodhisattva's head within a pearl roundel (Rong 2003, p. 67). The pearl-roundel textiles seen in Xu Xianxiu's tomb are unusual, but can be explained as an adaptation of an imported motif to a local culture with a strong tradition of Buddhism. No actual textiles with this bodhisattva pattern have so far been identified, but silk from this period rarely survives except in protected or highly arid conditions.

Fig. 12. Stucco plaque with bodhisattva's head in a pearl roundel, from Shorchuk. Collection of the British Museum. Photograph by Daniel Waugh.

The only figure in the tomb who wears clothing unequivocally derived from Han prototypes is Xu Xianxiu's wife. Seated beside her husband, she is dressed in a voluminous wrap-style red robe, with a wide band of white forming a collar that stands away from her body. A light gray under-dress with a plain round neckline can be seen under it. Her large, flaring sleeves are attached with decorative white and red bands at shoulder level; they have wide white bands of yet another material at the wrist. The robe is belted just below her breasts, and a fall of contrasting material cascading downward suggests an additional garment or overskirt. The red material of the robe itself is plain, but there are at least three and maybe four different patterned brocades or embroideries in the neckband, sleeve bands, cuffs, and possibly the overskirt. This is clearly a very fine garment.

The basic design of this robe is Chinese, though its details are altered from its Han prototypes (see Lingley 2010). With its high waist and wide standing collar, it can be seen in many images of women from the sixth century, although other examples are worn without an under-dress, exposing the wearer's throat and decolletage. What is striking is how different her dress is from that of the other women in the tomb. Why might the lady of the household alone choose to dress in so markedly Chinese a fashion? A suggestive observation comes from the research of Judith Lerner, who has studied funerary materials belonging to Sogdians living in China in the sixth and seventh centuries. She points out that Sogdian women's dress was associated with dancing girls and other low-status entertainers who fulfilled north China's taste for en-

tertainment with a Silk Road flavor. In this context, upper-class Sogdian women may have deliberately eschewed Sogdian dress to avoid these associations (Lerner 2005, p. 22 and n. 52). Xu Xianxiu was, so far as we can tell, of Chinese descent, though we know nothing about his wife; but regardless of her ethnic background, if Central Asian-style dress for women was associated with performers of humble status, it might explain why it is seen here on servants but not on their mistress.

The murals in Xu Xianxiu's tomb reflect the internationalism and multiculturalism of the Northern Qi. While the basic layout of the tomb and its pictorial and conceptual themes are consistent with an indigenous tradition of decorated tombs that begins as early as the Han dynasty, the details of dress and material culture reflect post-Han cultural changes, including the arrival of Buddhism and the influx of non-Chinese populations. We can identify various details as Chinese or non-Chinese, but this is less telling than considering the tomb as a whole, as an example of the complex ways material and visual culture reflect a multicultural society. As Albert Dien observes, Xu's tomb suggests strategies of hybridity characteristic of life in sixth-century north China (Dien 2007, p. 427). If we think that Xu Xianxiu and his wife are both "dressed in their best" here, it is worth pointing out that his best included a rich Central Asian-style fur coat, while hers was a fine Chinese-style robe, doubtless of silk, adorned with several different decorative brocades and embroideries. And one of the few surviving valuables from this tomb, the gold ring found among the looters' rubble, was clearly made in western Asia, with its intaglio gemstone, granulated bezel, and double lion's-head mount (Zhang and Chang 2003).

The forms of dress seen in this tomb mark a transitional period, in which styles which began as markers of ethnic difference acquire new meaning after a century or two of ongoing cultural interaction. The phenomenon is familiar in our own experience of living in a globalizing world. U. S. readers over a certain age can doubtless remember when sushi was a new and exotic introduction to the North American palate. Now, although its Japanese origins have not been forgotten, sushi is a familiar part of the culinary scene in most cities. U. S. sushi menus routinely include local innovations like the California roll, whose existence speaks to the "domestication" of sushi. Similarly, Xu Xianxiu and his contemporaries were doubtless quite conscious of the cultural origins of the forms of dress represented here, and likely chose them deliberately for the meanings they conveyed. But it is unlikely that anyone depicted in these murals was understood to be dressing as a foreigner.

This decoupling of dress from ethnic origin only continued into the Tang, when the men's dress shown here became so normalized for Chinese men as to be near-universal in painting and sculpture of the time. Ethnic difference in Tang art is marked by differences of physiognomy, rather than differences of dress (Abramson 2003). We can already see the beginnings of this process in the figure of the groom who stands behind the ox's rump on the east wall of the tomb. By contrast to all the other figures in the tomb, this man is shown with wide, round eyes, a protuberant nose, and a full beard. He appears to wear a close-fitting cap, with curly hair protruding at the sides and back. This is the only figure in Xu's tomb who is unequivocally marked as a foreigner, and it is his physiognomy rather than his dress which distinguishes him.

Xu's tomb was furnished to provide for his journey into the afterlife, and to ensure his rank and privilege would be recognized along the way. The signs of that privilege, including his entourage and guard company, are made legible through the dress and personal adornment of the figures on its walls. They are a manifestation of Northern Qi cosmopolitanism, when the new ideas, people, and objects pouring into China along the Silk Road fed the growth of a vital, multicultural society, decades before the founding of the cosmopolitan Tang.

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Notes

1. These are enumerated in chapter six of Zheng 2002, pp. 181–203. They include the tomb of the Ruru Princess, the tomb of Yao Jun, the tomb of Gao Run, and the Wanzhang tomb, all near the former city of Yecheng (p. 187), plus a number of additional tombs in the region whose wall paintings have not survived (p. 188), as well as the tombs of Kudi Huiluo, Lou Rui, and Xu Xianxiu, and the Taiyuan No. 1 Thermoelectric Plant tomb, all near Taiyuan (pp. 199–200). The more recent discovery of a tomb of this type in Shuozhou, in the northern part of Shanxi province, implies that it was even more widespread among the Northern Qi aristocracy than Zheng's preliminary study suggests (Shanxi kaogu 2010).

2. The tomb occupant's surname [X] has been lost, and only his personal name, Daogui, survives.

3. Although by no means the earliest, an example of this usage can be found in Burton Watson's English translation of the *Records of the Grand Historian*, a history compiled in the first century BCE by Sima Qian: "Wu Chen, Zhang Er, and Chen Yu brandished their horse-whips and conquered twenty or thirty cities of Zhao and, when they were done, each hoped to face south and become a king. How could any of them be satisfied to remain a minister?" (Sima 1993, p. 137)

Images of the Early Turks in Chinese Murals and Figurines from the Recently-Discovered Tomb in Mongolia

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The comparison of costume materials of the early Turks in the east and west of their territories following the dissolution of a single Qaghanate is of great interest. Their costume, especially that of the elite, changed significantly under the influence of both internal and external factors (Yatsenko 2009). Our subject here will be depictions from the Shoroon Bumbagar tomb in Baiannuur sum, Bulgan aimag, Central Mongolia, excavated in 2011 (Fig. 1.1-2). The anthropomorphic images of this site (in the murals and the burial figurines made by the provincial Chinese artists) have been completely published (see esp. Ochir et al. 2013; Sartkojauly 2011), but they undoubtedly will continue for a long time to be the subject of scholarly analysis. This is the northernmost location where there is an extensive series of works by early medieval Chinese artists created at the site. The murals, executed by artists of varied skill, are in all sections of the structure except section IV [Fig. 1.3] (Ochir et al. 2013, Figs. 5, 19). On the right side of the walls (as one faces the burial chamber), which is the more significant in traditional societies, priority was given to the display of the more complicated subjects and related symbols. We will not dwell here on the iconography of these scenes.

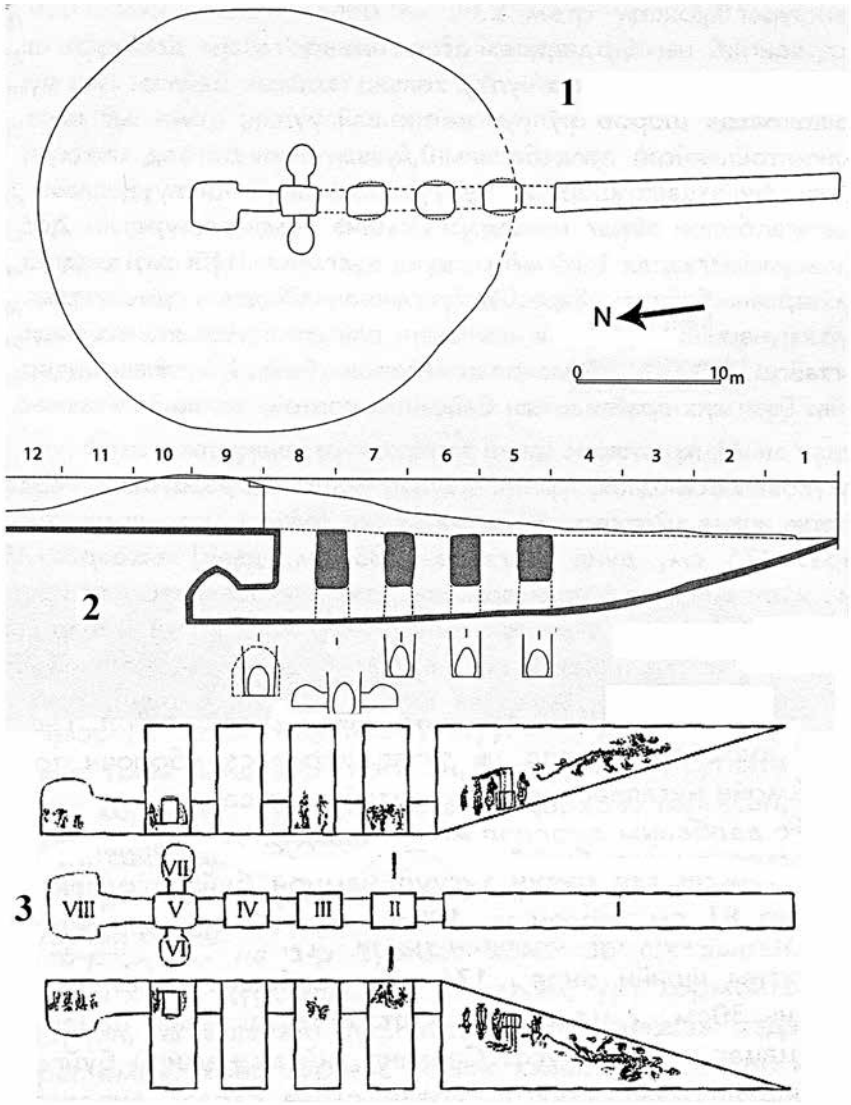


Fig. 1. Plan of the barrow and crypt in Shoroon Bumbagor. After: Ochir et al. 2013, Figs. 5, 19.

On each side of the entrance corridor (section I) are analogous compositions of the genuflection to three banners on the part of four standing men (Nos. 1-4 counting from the entrance). They include on each side a "master of ceremonies" [Fig 2.1], the only individual with a sword, dressed in a red or brown caftan, who stands on one side of the banners. On the other side of them are two praying men of different height

Fig. 2. Costume details from the wall painting and terracotta in Shoroon Bumbagor. After: Ochir et al. 2013.

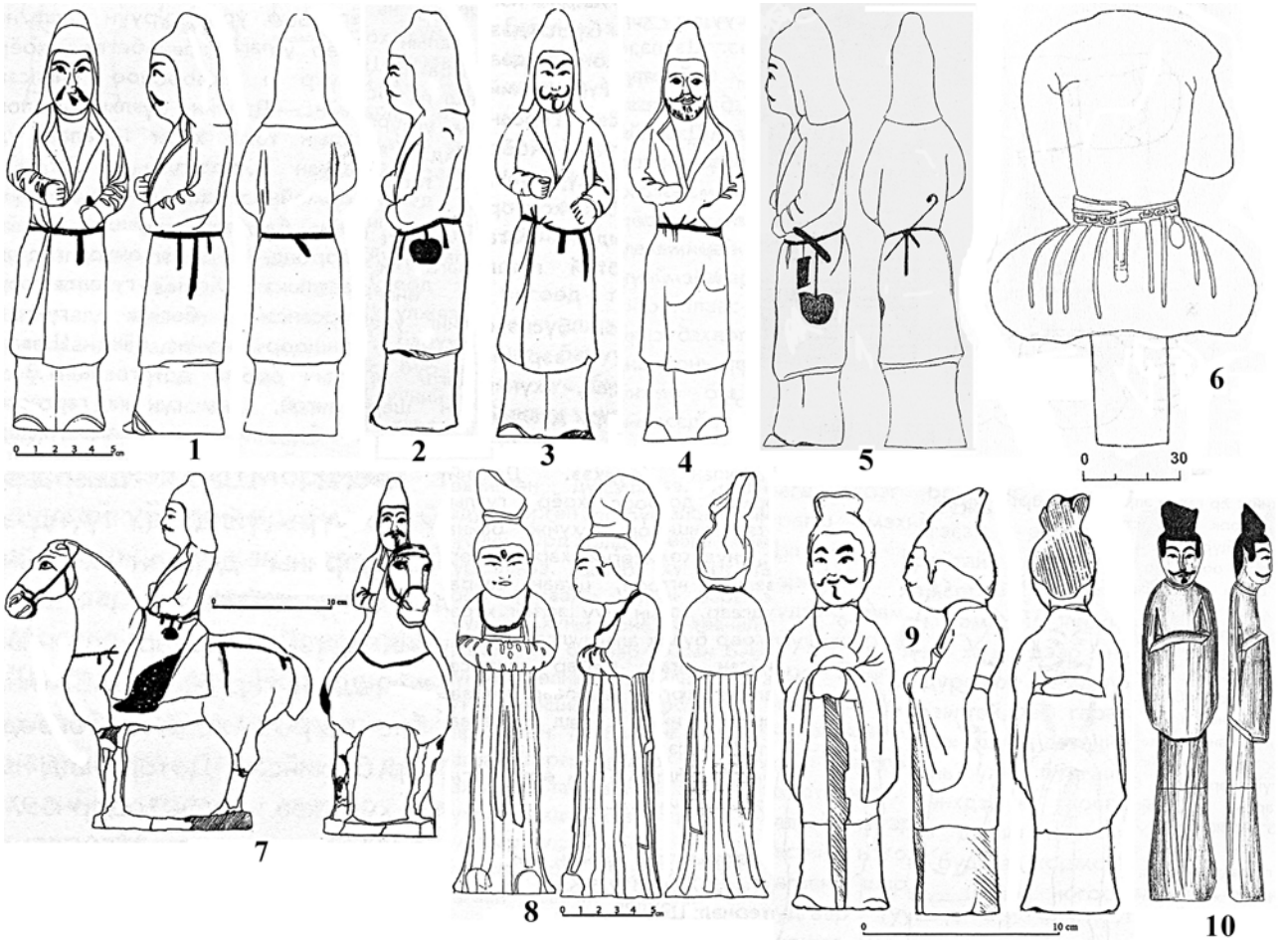
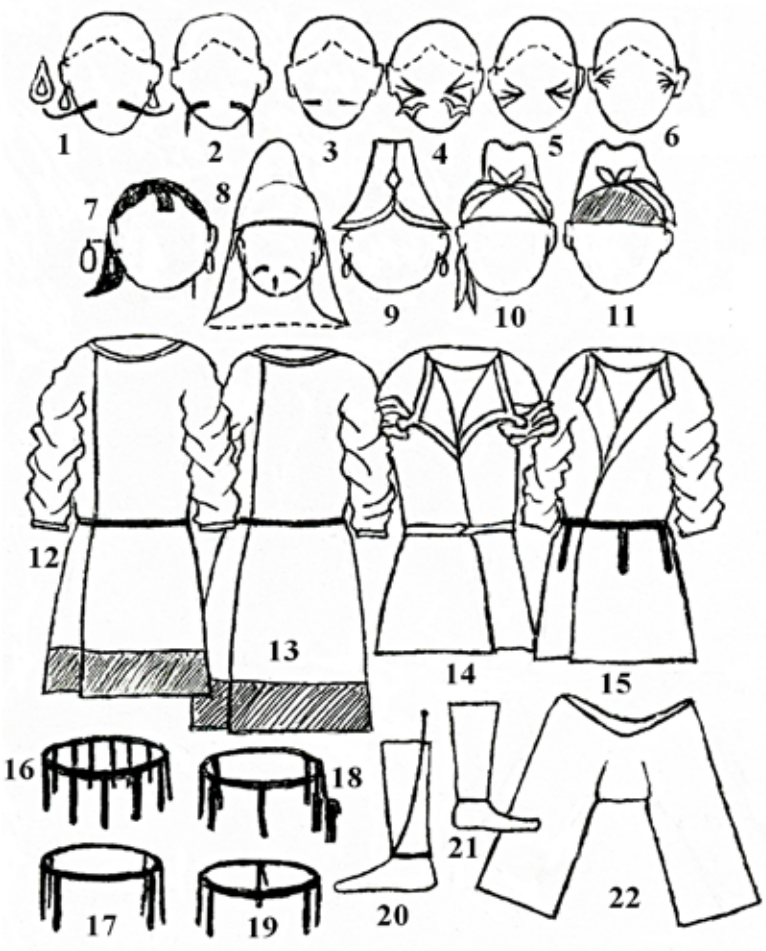


Fig. 3. Some types of burial mingqi terracotta from Shoroon Bumbagor and from Omogoor Tash (6). After: Ochir et al. 2013.

*Fig. 4. Chinese analogies for the female costume (1) and the means of tying up "*putou*" headdresses (2) (1 – After: Li 1995, pp. 153, 159, 193; 2 – After: Kriukov et al. 1984, pp. 159–60).*



< Fig. 5. Male costume elements of the early Turks in Shoroon Bumbagor.

(and age?), with crossed hands, dressed in gray-green caftans. In between the two is a personage in a red caftan [Fig. 2.2], standing with hands clasped in the Chinese manner. The costume of all the participants in these scenes is quite similar [Fig. 2.1-2.8]. That is, they have caftans of a single color somewhat below the knees in length, with a wide collar without lapels, tightly fastened on the chest and below the belt with buttons, wrapped over in the Chinese manner on the right side and sewn along the bottom hem with a wide, somewhat darker selvedge. Their sleeves (markedly longer than the arms) are gathered at the cuffs by buttons [Fig. 5.12]. Under them is a white shirt with a narrow horizontal collar. Also specifically a Chinese fashion are the complete "*putou*" headdresses, gray in color, with the 7th-century technique of tying them [Figs. 4.2; 5.10-11] (see the plates in Kriukov et al. 1984, pp. 159–60).[1] The boots are of a rather light color, tied with thongs around the ankle (they are black only on the "master of ceremonies" on

the left side) [Fig. 5.20]. They have black leather belts (no buckles or tie straps are visible), which can have as many as 12 unevenly spaced hanging straps (on the second personage on the left) [Fig. 5.16], from 4-8 on a side. The ends of the belt itself hang down in front and in back. Only the third figure on the left lacks the hanging straps entirely.[2] The men are beardless, but have moustaches of three kinds: very long and slightly curled on the ends, saturated with a pomade (on both of the masters of ceremonies and on right figure no. 2 and left no. 3) [Fig. 5.1]; long and hanging (no. 2 on the left) [Fig. 5.2]; and short horizontal (no. 3 on the right) [Fig. 5.3]. On the left master of ceremonies are drop-shaped earrings [Fig. 5.1]. The figure farthest from the entrance on the right points with his hand in the direction of the burial chamber.

On each side of the corridor of the following section II we see a "groom" leading a horse (of the deceased?). These youths, who lack moustaches, apparently are of lesser rank, although they are dressed very impressively. In contrast to the figures in Section I, their costume has no elements of Chinese origin [Fig. 2, Nos. 5.7,9,14,21]. On the caftans of both (folded over following the ancient tradition on the left side) are two lapels with a button on the tip. Sleeves are rolled up for engaging in work; on the figure on the left, the left hem of the caftan is tucked in, displaying white trousers [Fig. 5.14]. They have red boots, tied with thongs at the ankle [Fig. 5.21]. Even the shape of the faces differs from the faces of all the other men: they are not elongated but wide and flattened. Their caftans are red and (as was specific to the Early Turks) blue with black or white linings respectively. The white belts have no supplementary ties. The figure on the right (pointing with his hand in the direction of the burial chamber) has a red headdress in the shape of a low, truncated cone, sewn from four "petals" with rounded lower edges; on the forehead is sewn an amulet (?) [Fig. 5.9]. Such a headdress is so far unique for the early Turks, though known on depictions of later Turks. The left groom is one of only two of the men shown with straight hair (both of them on the left side from the entrance): he has long hair to the shoulders; the brow is partly shaved, leaving in the center a small forelock [Fig. 5.7]. Both grooms wear oval-shaped earrings.

In the next compartment, section III, are depicted on both sides what are possibly family members of the deceased (Ochir et al. 2013, Fig. 27, Pl. 26). Unfortunately their images have been poorly preserved: the colors have faded; the surface of the wall is partly damaged. On the right a man, dressed like the figures in the entrance corridor, section I, says something to a woman standing to his left in a Chinese costume of that period and points also with the right hand in the direction of the burial chamber. On the left (the side of lesser stature) the images are just barely and very badly preserved to the level of the chest: a youth in the center, a girl to his left (and of shorter stature) in Chinese costume [Fig. 2.7], and to his right (on the "male side") possibly a boy of short stature (the figure is barely visible). The youth in the center has no moustache, sports a *putou* headdress, but like the left groom, wears a white caftan with two lapels (buttoned on the tips) on a red lining. Under the caftan is a white shirt with a narrow horizontal collar. In other words, elements of his costume are in part similar to those of the men in the entrance corridor (section I), in part those of the young grooms. He has drop-shaped earrings, turned upside down.

In the burial chamber itself (section VIII) are two groups of wall paintings. In one of them are the mourners and those praying for the soul of the deceased who are of junior status and the younger relatives and faithful servants (?). Left of the entrance is a symbolic row of men and women (7 of them preserved), the predominant color of their attire red. Each of them prays separately next to a tree. The tallest figure is man who heads the group, praying with arms crossed on his chest. Like the figures in the entrance corridor, he wears a tightly buttoned red caftan to the knees and dark boots. But he lacks the headdress; instead of it we see his shoulder-length hair combed back. The second figure, also a man in a longer (almost to his heels) red caftan [Fig. 5.13], has on his head a black *putou*. He points ahead, his sleeve ritually hanging loose below the hand. Then there are two women of equal stature with clothes and coiffure typical for Chinese women of the 7th century [Fig. 2.11, the better preserved of the two]. The fifth individual is a man, dressed identically to the second figure. He prays with his arms crossed on his chest [Fig. 2.3]. The sixth figure is a short girl (her height indicating either her status or age); the seventh, a woman, again of normal height. All the women have long-sleeved jackets, the sleeves ritually allowed to hang loose. The left hand of figures 4 and 6 extend forward.

On the other side of the walls of the burial chamber are three young men without moustaches (all are different heights). Unlike all the other figures, they are not standing still but walking, with hands crossed at the chest and flowing sleeves. On their heads they have the *putou*. On the cheeks of each of them is a specific drawing in black paint or a tattoo [Fig. 5.4-6]. On the cheek of the lead one are two signs— in the shape of a trefoil ("growing" from the eyes) and below it, one shaped like "the silhouette of a flying gull." On the brows of the middle figure is a small sign shaped

like a sprout with four leaves, "growing" toward the eyes. The last one in the row has a mark also shaped like a sprout on the cheek, "growing" away from the eyes. The first two wear long (almost floor-length) caftans in blue and red, under which can be seen the toes of boots. The rearmost individual has a red caftan that is shorter, extending a bit below the knees [Figs. 2.4; 5.13].[3]

The second important group of images from the tomb is the terracotta burial figurines common in China in that period (*mingqi*). They were positioned in a complex composition in the burial chamber. In front were 13 figurines of standing Chinese women in fancy dress [Figs. 2.12, 3.8]. Their costume, coiffure and makeup (the marks on the face, etc.), like those on the murals, correspond to widely known Chinese models [Fig. 4.1] (see concrete analogies to this tomb, e.g., Li 1995, pp. 153, 159, 193 etc.). Then in three columns/rows were 15 standing Turk horsemen, many of them playing horns (of several different types) [Figs. 2.6, 3.7]. At the back, along the wall of the burial chamber were 37 figures of standing male Turks [Figs. 2.9; 3.1-5], several of whose left (!) hands, by good fortune, still holding the wooden staffs of banners (Ochir et al. 2013, pl. 37) and even partially their fabric. Alternating with them in a single row (at varying intervals) were 40 terracotta standing Chinese officials, leaning on staffs [Figs. 2.10, 3.9]. In addition, there were four wooden figurines of officials with red caftans [Fig. 3.10] and nine figurines and busts of Chinese women [Fig. 2.13]. The figures of each group were crafted following a single iconographic type, but are not identical. They differ not only in small details of the faces drawn freehand (and apparently in some haste), but also in some instances in the color of the décor of some details of the clothing.

Among the terracotta figurines of particular interest for us are the standing Turkic standard-bearers. They are conventional types, grown men with small, somewhat drooping moustaches (in two cases, the moustache is longer; only in one case out of the 36 does it bend upwards) (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 58, 113, 126). They display a barely noticeable band of a small beard on the chin[4]; only in one instance does this "typical" small beard cover the chin (Ibid., p. 57). The figures are dressed in red-brown caftans extending to the knees and folding over slightly in Chinese fashion to the right. The sleeves of the caftan are longer than the arms and, gathered at the wrist, lie in folds. It has two lapels; along the upper edge sometimes there is a decorative band on which is visible a white lining [Fig. 5.15]. Worn under the caftan is a white shirt with a horizontal collar. On analogous and synchronic terracotta *mingqi* from the territory of China proper, among the rare depictions of Turkic figures, the standing notables have a longer caftan without sleeves that serves as a cloak (Yatsenko 2009, Figs. 20–21). The caftan of the standard-bearer is made of inexpensive material, apparently of brown silk, which in the 7th century fell out of favor among the Turkic elite and is found among peripheral groups in entirely ordinary burials (Ibid., n. 23). It is close in appearance to an example on an as yet rare figurine of an ordinary person, where, however, the surface treatment underscores the fact it is made of animal skins (Ibid., Fig. 22).[5]

On the head of the standard-bearer, the headdress is shaped like half an egg, with a wide and elongated projection on the back of the neck [Fig. 5.8], of the type which in Mongolia and China became widespread starting in the 4th–5th centuries in the time of domination by the descendants of the nomadic Xianbei. In one instance it is known on an early Turkic statue in Mongolia (Yatsenko 2009, Fig. 26); we also see it on *mingqi* from China which depict members of the Turkic elite (Ibid., Fig. 20). The long, wide white trousers do not reach the ground; from under them can be seen the toes of shoes. Drawn on the figurines is a black belt with hanging straps. This detail is the only one in which the artist (and patron), unlike in the mural, felt it necessary to vary somewhat the design [Fig. 5.17-19]. Here we see a belt significantly longer than the circumference of the waist and wrapped twice around it. In addition one end is fastened by a buckle, which hangs in front. Only on five of the terracottas was the buckle apparently on the side (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 57, 59, 67, 88, 115). The other end of the belt, which is tucked in and has a distinctive decorative tip, always hangs down from the back. For comparison, see the back of the statues from the Bilge qaghan complex in Mongolia and in Omogoor Tash [Fig. 3.6]. In addition, besides the two hanging ends of the belt, there are several short hanging straps for the fastening of various necessary accessories. In the majority of cases there are three on each side, six altogether.[6] These items suspended from the belt on the left are depicted on two terracottas—a small pouch (*kaptarga*), in one case also a whetstone (?), and a pencil-box (*kalamdon*) (?) [Fig. 3.2,5].[7]

There are fewer equestrian musicians than standard bearers. The elements of their costume and coiffure are the same in both groups. There are three hanging straps on each side of their belts. However, the color of the headdresses and caftans on the musicians is entirely different, the Turks' sacred blue of the sky god Tengri (cf. in Samarkand; Yatsenko 2004). A pouch is suspended from the left side of the belt on only one figurine, and its caftan is longer than that of the others, covering the trousers. Possibly this individual has a

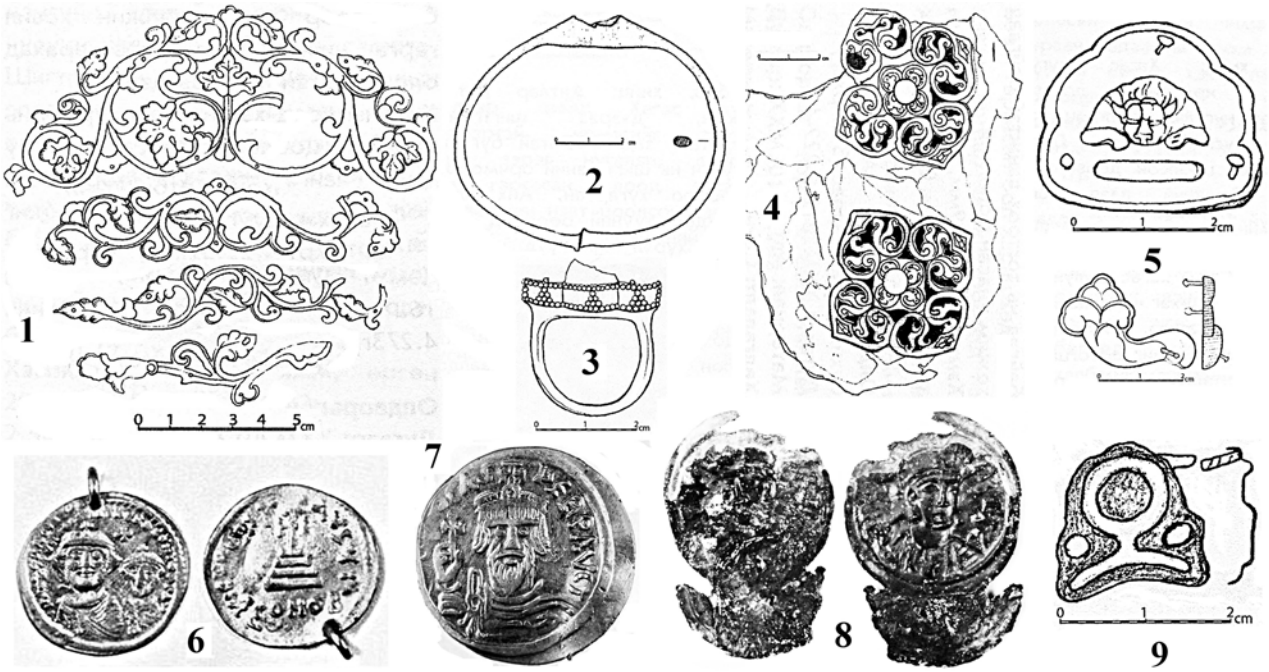


Fig. 6. The golden personal accessories (1-5), some Byzantine coins and their imitations (6-8) and the tamga-sign (9) from Shoroon Bumbagor (After: Ochir et al. 2013).

somewhat different status than do the rest.

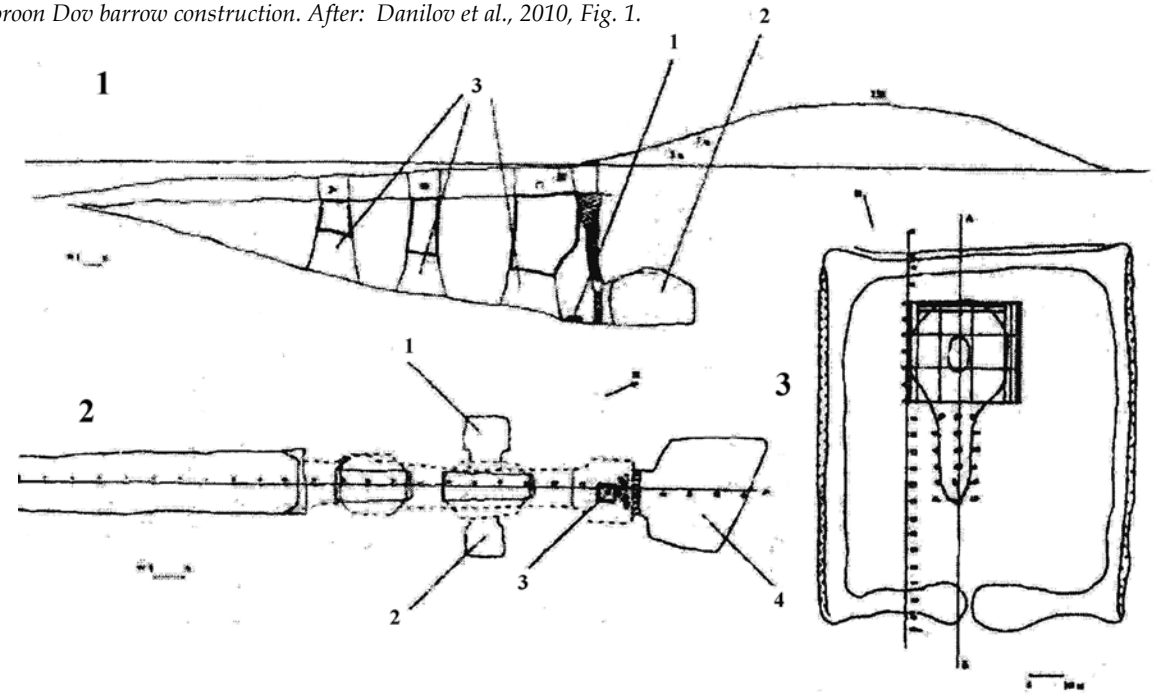
The burial chamber contained a wooden coffin with a symbolic arrangement of the accessories of a no longer extant cremated body, whose remains were placed in a special small box. In the coffin were elements of the costume of its elite owner—fragments of a caftan with large gold appliqués which decorated the breast [Fig. 6.4], appliqués for the diadem, made of bronze and covered in gold foil [Fig 6.1], gold bracelets and a signet ring [Fig. 6.2-3], gold parts of a belt, among them appliqués depicting a recumbent bull and stylized clouds [see for example Fig. 6.5], etc. The diadem with bronze decorations seems rather modest, and such obligatory attributes of the Early Turkic rulers as large earrings and a torque are absent. Buried in this tomb was a representative of one of the noble clans of the Eastern Turks. Fortunately, on one of the gold plaques is his tamga-sign, of a very rare type [Fig. 6.9].[8]

In the costume of the early Turkic men in the various depictions of Shoroon Bumbagar we see new elements which appeared precisely in the 7th century, after the collapse of a unified Qaghanate: two lapels on the caftans, the almost complete disappearance on them of a decorative selvedge, the appearance of clothing with a blue color, the predominance in each object of clothing of fabric of a single color. In addition, preserved here are earlier features which on other depictions of the 7th century no longer are present (on the most important figures—the tight buttoning up of the caftans and in one instance its brown color) (Yatsenko 2009).

Unfortunately, dating the barrow more precisely within the 7th century presents many difficulties. Of little help is the identification of several Byzantine gold coins and their imitations [Fig. 6.6-8].[9] Most important for any hypothesis here are the Chinese elements in the tomb: the Chinese features in the dress of the Turkic men (in particular the *putou* headdress, and the folding of the caftan to the right, elements which ordinarily were borrowed by foreigners of various origins temporarily or permanently living in China [Yatsenko 2012, p. 111]); the presence of figurines of Chinese officials; the completely Chinese appearance of all the women; the employment for the decoration of the tomb of Chinese painters and potters. The barrow realistically can be dated only in the period when the Eastern Turks had lost their independence and become part of the Tang Empire (630–682 CE). In the opinion of Dmitrii Stashenkov (Samara Museum), judging from the shape of the horse harness and belt details, it can be dated after the middle of the 7th century. That is, Shoroon Bumbagar may actually date between 650 and 682 CE. However, as is well known, even Iangar Kemin, the founder of the Eastern Qaghanate, provided an example to his subjects, having worn the Chinese *putou* and the long-sleeved coat since 604 CE (Yatsenko 2009).

How is one to explain the presence in the burial chamber of depictions of Chinese officials and the exclusively Chinese appearance of the women? The most probable explanation seems to be that the in-

Fig. 7. Shoroon Dov barrow construction. After: Danilov et al., 2010, Fig. 1.



terred in his lifetime had long been on (military) service of the Tang Empire, lived and possibly died in China proper, had Chinese wives (and, of course, the Chinese servants attending them), and his lifestyle and tastes were strongly Sinicized. This situation was, it seems, rare. Indicative is the fact that the burial *mingqi* of Turkic individuals from ethnically Chinese regions at that time, unlike other ethnic groups depicted on such figurines (Yatsenko 2012, pp. 103, 111), often do not change their external appearance (clearly wishing to preserve their cultural identity). In many instances their costume is entirely devoid of any Chinese elements (Yatsenko 2009). Precisely thanks to the long personal connection of a specific Turkic aristocrat with China, for his burial in his distant homeland, in the fastnesses of the steppes of Northern Mongolia, a complex was created that was unusual for that region. In the costume (Yatsenko 2013, Figs. 1, 9) and overall in the culture of the Western Turks in the 7th century, such obvious manifestations of Sinicization are not to be found.

The given tomb obviously is not unique in containing a large number of products of Chinese art. In 2009 only a few kilometers from it in the neighboring Töv Aimag was excavated the Shoroon Dov barrow, which had an analogous construction [Fig. 7]. This was a grave, looted in antiquity, containing a symbolic burial of two coffins, one inside the other, but without the body, with an array of wooden and clay *mingqi*. There were no murals. The Chinese epitaph on granite commemorates the burial here in 667 CE of I Yaoyue, a third generation hereditary Chinese vicegerent of the Pugu region whose grandfather began his career in the Imperial Guard back at the time of the birth of the Tang Dynasty. Here the equestrian musicians have two types of iconography: analogous to those described above; and wearing the *putou* and sporting a thick small beard. All that has been preserved of the wooden figurines of the Chinese officials is busts [Fig. 8] (Danilov et al. 2010, Fig. 2.1-2.5; Buraev 2013).

Fig. 8. Clay (1-2, top row) and wooden (bottom) mingqi from Shoroon Dov barrow. After: Danilov et al., 2010, Figs. 2.1-2, 5.

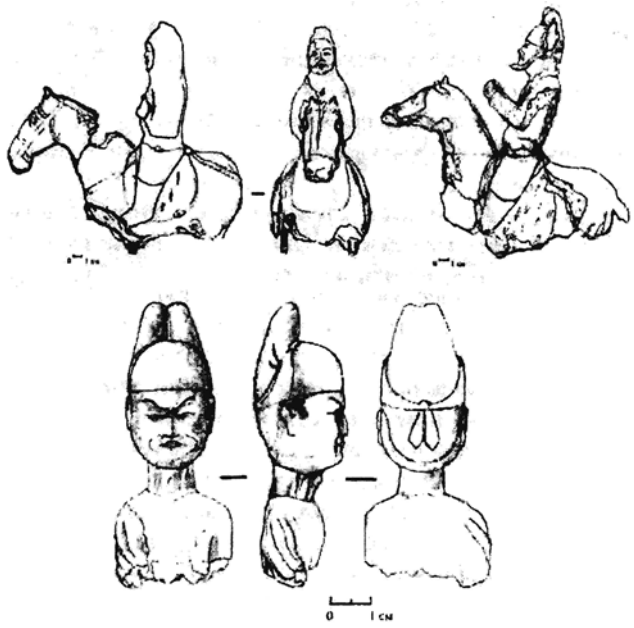


Fig. 9. Woman with child mingqi, Richard Stern Foundation for the Arts <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451565/>.

Of no little interest are the presumed early Turks among the *mingqi* of the 7th–8th centuries depicted in recent auction catalogs and found in a number of museum and private collections. Many of them have yet to attract the attention of specialists. Here, to illustrate, I make use of the photo series published in <http://www.pinterest.com>.

As is well known, few realistic depictions of women from that period with detailed costume have been preserved. For the most part these are probably depictions of the Goddess Umai in stone and her analogue, the wife of the ruler, on the coins of the Tashkent Oasis (Chach). Other female figures are very rare (Yatsenko 2013, Fig. 9).

Thus a terracotta of a Turkic woman, sitting on a camel and breastfeeding an infant, in the collection of the Richard Stern Foundation for the Arts, is of great interest. To a considerable degree it preserves its coloring [Fig. 9]. The woman, with a generous figure and full face, is dressed in a caftan which slides off the shoulders. Under it she wears a red shirt with a vertically cut collar (?) and rolled up sleeves; fastened under the bodice is a long white skirt. Also she wears wide white trousers, below which are red shoes. On her head is a rather high headdress shaped like half an egg. She has short hair (in back the locks do not extend lower than the base of the skull). On her wrists she wears narrow bracelets. The figure of the baby is also interesting, dressed only in a very short shirt with long sleeves. Another example, where the combination of costume elements has no analogue among the known depictions of peoples of Central Asia, is a female camel rider (not colored) from a grave dated 625 CE, probably depicting a Turkic girl [Fig. 10]. She likewise wears a skirt that is fastened up high (here it is apparent that its length extends slightly below the knees), a shirt with a slit and long sleeves and boots. Her hair is combed straight and gathered in a knot on the crown. In her left hand she holds a large, flat flask probably for *kumys*.

Fig. 10. Girl mingqi from the grave dated by 625 CE <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451543/>.

Among the terracotta equestrian musicians are an interesting example of the early 8th century from the Metropolitan Museum [Fig. 11, next page], another sold in February 2013 in the Giafferi Auction of Asiatic Arts in Paris [Fig. 12], and several figurines of young men without moustaches [Fig. 13]. Their belted knee-length caftans are red, white or black. Usually the breasts of the caftans are not distinctly delineated, even when the lower flaps are separated, and the gar-

Fig. 12.Horseman mingqi, Giafferi Auction of Asiatic Arts, Paris <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094260570/>.

Fig. 11. Horseman mingqi, *Metropolitan Museum <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094260568/>.*

ments can be interpreted as shirts. On one figurine the caftan has a small "Chinese" fold to the right and two narrow lapels [Fig. 13.3]; on anther, the sleeves of the caftan are rolled up [Fig. 13.1, right]. Trousers, of middling width, are white; in one case, brown. Sometimes they are tucked into shoes, in other cases, boots, and in one case are worn over shoes. Headdresses usually are the same color as the caftans and vary in shape. Some are low, in the shape of half an egg or with a sharp tip and wide projection on the back of the skull [Figs. 11, 12, 13.2]. Such were widespread among the Xianbei as early as the 4th–5th centuries in the eastern steppes and northern China. On others there is a rather high cone with externally folded flaps [Fig. 13.3], on whose sides are two slits. Also, one finds a gray (felt?) tight-fitting small cap whose wide ear flaps are tied under the chin [Fig. 13.1].

Fig. 13. Young horsemen mingqi <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094260522/> ; Ibid.: <…573/> and Ibid. <…604/> (the left horseman).

Fig. 14. Camel rider mingqi, Institute for the Arts, Chicago <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451530/>.

Fig. 15. Hunter mingqi <http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451556/>.

A pair of figurines with what are assumed to be Turks riding camels is very interesting. One of these *mingqi* is in the collection of the Institute for the Arts, Chicago [Fig. 14]. There one sees on the man a dark red short caftan with two large lapels (ending in large buttons, which are favorite details on depictions of Turks) and with a green lining. On the head is a closely fitting small white cap. The other figurine [Fig. 15] depicts what one imagines to be a hunter (on the hump of the camel is fastened the skull of some animal). His caftan with two lapels extends below the knee and has a wide selvedge along the bottom hem. His narrow trousers are tucked into shoes. He has small moustaches and a small thick beard. His unusual headdress is a hat with a high crown and wide brim. Such hats are known on petroglyphs of the Early Turks (Yatsenko 2013, Fig. 4.6).

As a whole, the *mingqi* which depict what we assume are the early Turks display a number of surprises and notably help us to determine more precisely their external appearance.

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Notes

1. The manner of the tying of the ends of this in fact still distinct kerchief nonetheless varies: on the figures in gray-green caftans, the ends drop down from the forehead (and the lower part of the kerchief on the forehead of one of them is of a darker cloth) [Fig. 5.11], and on the others, they are in back at the base of the skull [Fig. 5.10].

2. It is interesting that even in this part of the murals with the more detailed and realistically depicted small details (the treatment of the eyes, of the details of the earrings etc.) nowhere have metal details of the belts (buckles, appliques) been drawn, even though among early Turkic men these were the most important indicators of social rank.

3. The artist initially dressed him in an even shorter (knee-length) caftan, but then with paint corrected what in the eyes of the patron must have been a very significant mistake.

4. Cf. various guesses about the origin and social status indicated by such a type of small beard (Ermolenko and Kurmankulov 2012).

5. One notes that the type of face (fleshy and round) of this figure of a «common man" differs from the elongated faces of aristocrats, just as the less important grooms depicted in the murals are distinguished by their facial types.

6. On two figurines there is one such strap on each side (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 60, 86); on three of them, two to a side (Ibid., pp. 57, 58, 126); and in one instance in addition there are two small straps which apparently hang down in back (Ibid., p. 61).

7. The only terracotta standard-bearer which by mistake was not included in the complete catalog (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 57–127), this is the one with the belt richest in accessories. An image was provided to me by Kharjaubai Sartkojauly.

8. The tamga-sign has a precise analogy only in the same central areas of Mongolia—in the early Turkic sanctuary at Bichigt Ulaan Khad (cf.: Samashev et al. 2010, Fig. on pp. 71, 149). It has no close analogues either among the tamgas of the Eastern Turk ruling clan or in general among their most politically active clans.

9. Among the no fewer than 40 gold coins, not all of them included in the catalog (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 183-96), are no fewer than 15 Byzantine ones and their imitations. Unfortunately, some time elapsed before these coins made their way to the other end of Eurasia, where for the most part they were used as medallions and costume decorations. Iurii E. Goncharov has identified three of them: a bracteate imitation of a solidus of Tiberius II Constantinus (?) (578–582); and solidi of Phokas (602–610) and Heraclius (the type produced in 616–625) (Ochir et al. 2013, pl. 54-56) [respectively, Fig. 6.8,7,6].

— *Translated by Daniel C. Waugh*

Connections between Central Asia and the Northern Littoral of the Black Sea: the Evidence from Objects with Tamgas

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The article by Bella I. Vainberg and Eleonora A. Novgorodova (1976) regarding parallels between Mongol and Sarmatian signs and tamgas has been well known and much cited for nearly four decades. In searching for the original home of the nomads who participated in the formation of middle Sarmatian culture and in attempting to resolve the problems of Alan ethnogenesis and Sarmatian-Chinese cultural connections, scholars invariably turn to the conclusions of that work, which are now regarded as a "classic" (Yatsenko 1993, pp. 63, 64, Fig. 2; 2001, pp. 27, 28, 105; Tuallagov 1994, p. 62; Skripkin 2010, p. 165; Simonenko 1999, p. 114; 2003, p. 56; Shchukin 2005, p. 67).

The overwhelming majority of Central Asian parallels to the Sarmatian tamgas are to be found in the petroglyphs of Mongolia: the cliffs of the Tsagaan Gol region, Tevsh uul, Bichikt, Arshan-Khad (Vainberg and Novgorodova 1976, p. 69; Yatsenko 1992, p. 195; 2001, pp. 27, 28, 105; Okladnikov 1980, Tab. 95.12, 111.9, 154, 155; 1981, pp. 16, 57, Tab. 107, 108; Batbold 2011, pp. 96–99). The tradition of inscribing signs on objects in nature is also well known in the territory of Sarmatian culture of the first centuries CE: the caves of Ak-Kai I and II in the Crimea, the grotto on Kamennaia mogila hill on the northern littoral of the Sea of Azov, the cliff of Uitash in Dagestan (Solomonik 1959, pp. 113–20; Mikhailov 1994; Markovin 1970; 2006, p. 175; Yatsenko 2001, p. 63). That one can draw reliable analogies between tamgas and the traditional marking of objects in nature over such widely scattered territories goes without saying. But which manufactured objects with tamgas might we now add to the already known objects in nature? The list of the categories of manufactured objects with tamgas from the territory of Sarmatia is varied and includes horse harness, details of belt decoration, vessels, cauldrons, mirrors, whetstones etc. (Solomonik 1959, pp. 49–165; Yatsenko 2001, pp. 142, 143). In this regard, what do we find in the territory of Central Asia? This article attempts to answer that question.[1]

The last two decades have seen many publications with the results of excavations of Xiongnu monuments in Buriatiia and Mongolia; Xiongnu archaeology has advanced appreciably. The information in these publications makes it possible to distinguish several categories of objects with tamgas which, in my opinion, display convincing analogies with the Alano-Sarmatian monuments of the northern Black Sea littoral.

Vessels

In 2009 I attempted to explain the function of Sarmatian tamgas on vessels from middle Sarmatian culture (Voroniatov 2009). This category of objects turned out to be sizeable; in the great majority of cases, the tamgas were depicted on the exterior or interior surface of the bottoms of ceramic and metal vessels of various shapes. Among the Xiongnu artefacts discovered to date in Transbaikalia are a number of ceramic and wooden vessels with signs which may somewhat boldly be designated as tamgas.

1. In the materials from the Ivolga settlement (2nd–1st century BCE) of Tansbaikalia are fragments of the bases of ceramic vessels on whose exterior are depicted various signs. Except for a single seal with Chinese hieroglyphs (1st century BCE–2nd century CE) all the other signs have been interpreted as possible seals of the potters (Davydova 1995, p. 28, Tab. 38.7, 179; Kradin 2002, pp. 84, 85). Among them is a sign which can be termed a tamga [Fig. 1.1, next page]. On the territory of the northern Black Sea littoral the given sign is a component element of a tamga known on a wooden harp from a burial of the end of the 1st–beginning of the 2nd century CE excavated in 1918 not far from Olbia (Simonenko 1999, Fig. 7.33; Yatsenko 2001, Fig. 4.95). A closely related sign with an equivalent design is attested in the collection of tamgas compiled by E. I. Solomonik (1959, Tab., Nos. 151–154, 160) and V. S. Drachuk (1975, Tab. IX, Nos. 652–654, 680).

2. Among the artefacts from the settlement of Nizhnie Durëny in Transbaikalia is a fragment of the bottom of a vessel with the impression of a potter's wheel pin [Fig. 1.2] on which is a sign that is very well known on the territory of Mongolia and Sarmatia (Davydova and Miniaev 2003, Tab. 21.5). Since it is on the field of

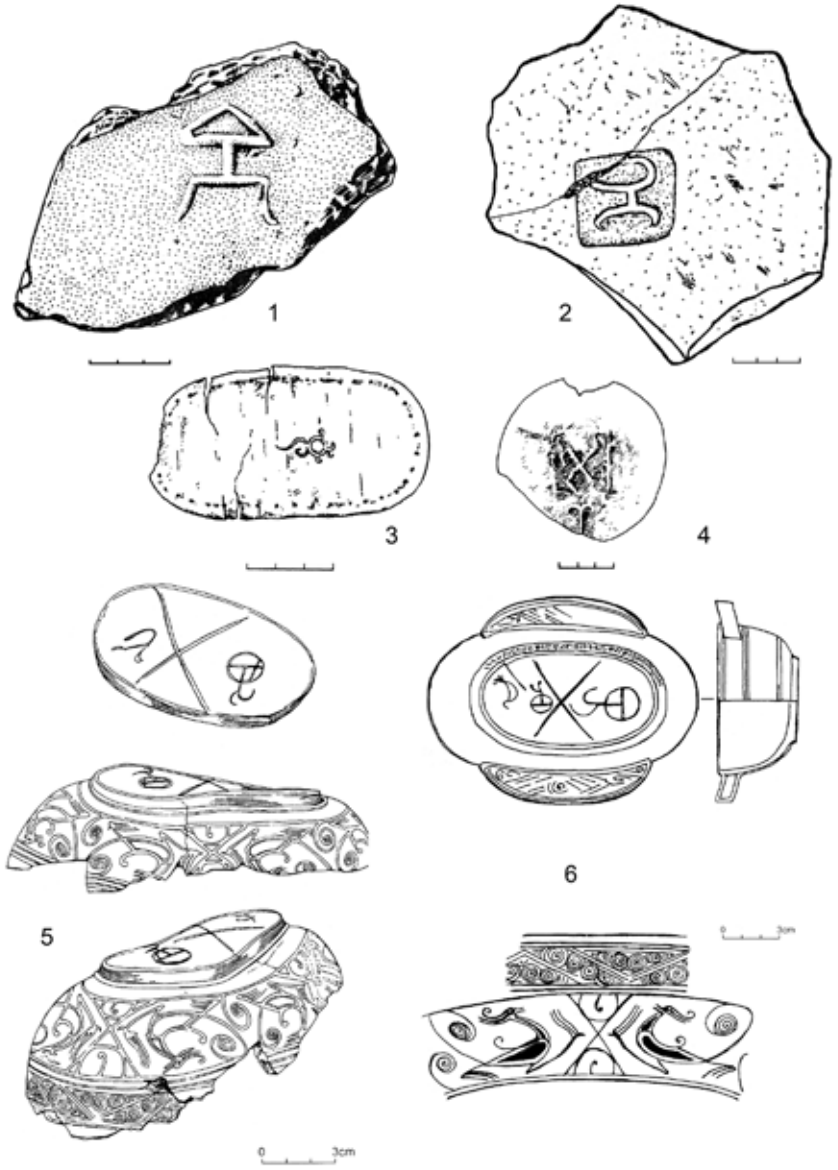

Fig. 1. Ceramic and wooden vessels from Mongolia and Buriatia: 1) Ivolga settlement (Davydova 1995, Tab. 179.7); 2) Nizhnie Durëny settlement (Davydova and Miniaev 2003, Tab. 21.5); 3) Tsaram Valley Barrow No. 7 (Miniaev and Sakharovskaia 2007, Fig. 3.3); 4) Grave No. 210, Ivolga cemetery (Davydova 1996, p. 74, Tab. 60.8a); 5, 6) Barow No. 20, Noyon uul cemetery (Polos'mak et al. 2011, Figs. 1.3; 2.2).

the impression made by the pin of the potter's wheel, it is logical to consider the sign to be the seal of the craftsman. However, given the absence of a series of ceramics with a similar seal and the presence of persuasive analogies to that sign in Central Asia and on the northern Black Sea littoral, I would suggest that this mark is in fact a tamga, depicted on the impression made by the wheel pin. A similar tamga in Sarmatia has been reliably connected with the clan of King Farzoi (49–70 [?] CE), who minted his own coins in Olbia (Karyshkovskii 1982, pp. 66–79; Shchukin 1982, pp. 35–38; Yatsenko 2001, pp. 48, 49).[2]

3. Artefacts from the Xiongnu complex of barrow no. 7 at Tsaram in the Kiakhta region of Buriatiia include the base of a birchbark box which is of interest for its depiction of a tamga (Miniaev and Sakharovskaia 2007, p. 164, Fig. 3.3) [Fig. 1.3].[3] The sign is fluid and rather complex. Even though there are many signs with a central element in the shape of a circle found on the territory of the northern Black Sea littoral (Yatsenko 2001, Figs. 4–7), I am unaware of any precise analogy.

4. The complex of Grave No. 210 in the Ivolga cemetery yielded fragments of a ceramic vessel, on the bottom of which are two signs [Fig. 1.4] (Davydova 1996, p. 74, Tab. 60.8,8a). The shape of the signs resembles certain types of tamgas in the petroglyphs of Tevsh uul in the Gobi Altai (Okladnikov 1980, p. 44, Tab. 95.12) and in the corpus of Sarmatian tamgas of the northern Black Sea littoral (Yatsenko 2001, Fig. 6.84a,117; Voroniatov 2008, p. 349).

5. Among the rich materials of Barrow No. 20 in the Süzhigt Valley of the Noyon uul cemetery in northern Mongolia is a series of lacquered wooden vessels (known as ear-cups or "*bei*" cups). The year of manufacture (9 BCE) of one of these cups provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of Barrow No. 20 (Chistiakova 2009, p. 65; 2011, p. 88; Miniaev and Elikhina 2010, p. 175). On the exterior surface of the bottom of these vessels [Figs. 1.5,6; 2.2], along with a large skewed cross and depictions of a bird, are incised tamgas of a single type (Polos'mak et al. 2011, Figs. 1, 2). Very similar signs are known among the petroglyphs of Mongolia (Yatsenko 1993, Fig. 2). On the territory of Sarmatia, the given type of tamga is rather widespread: in Barrow No. 48 between the Kazanskaia and Tiflisskaia *stanitsy* in the Kuban region (Gushina and Zasetskaia 1994, p. 50, Tab. 14.142), on a limestone slab from Pantikapaion (Drachuk 1975, Tab. XI, No. 832), etc. But one should note that the signs differ some in details. For example, among the tamgas of this type in the northern Black

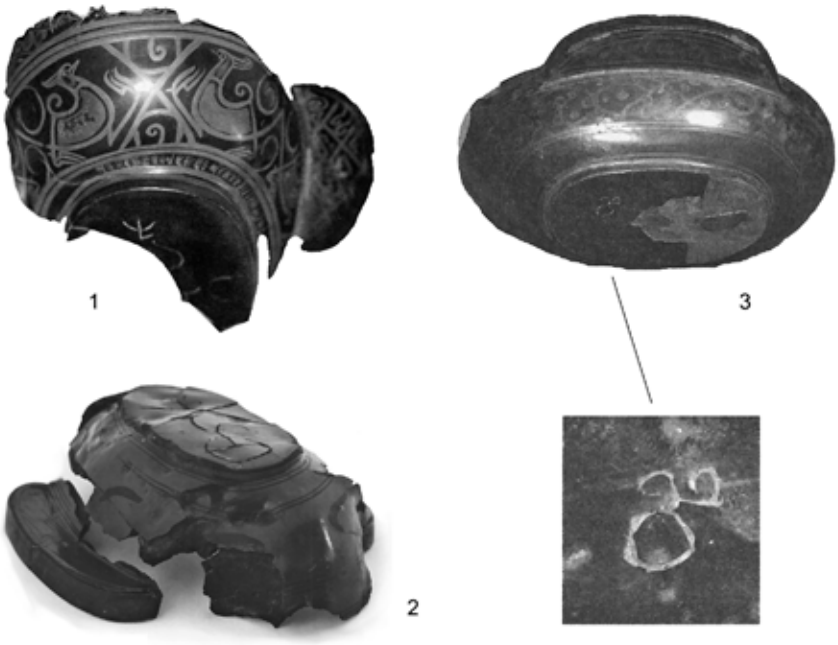

*Fig. 2. Wooden lacquer cups from Mongolia and Buriatia: 1) Unnumbered barrow, Zuramt Valley, Noyou uul cemetery (Miniaev and Elikhina 2010, Fig. 3.1); 2) Barrow No. 20, Noyon uul cemetery (*Treasures *2011, No. 262); 3) Süzhigt Valley, Noyon uul cemetery (Miniaev; Elikhina 2010, Figs 4, 2.6).*

Sea littoral I am unaware of any with lines inside a circular element.

6. An analogous lacquer cup with incised tamga on the exterior of the bottom [Fig. 2.1] is among the artefacts from the unnumbered barrow in the Zuramt Valley of the Noyon uul cemetery. The *terminus post quem* for the barrow is the date of the manufacture of the cup, 2 BCE (Chistiakova 2009, p. 67, Fig. 4; Miniaev and Elikhina 2010, p. 173, Fig. 3.1; Eröol-Erdene 2011, p. 185, No. 263). I am unaware of any analogous tamga from the territory of Sarmatia.

7. One more lacquer cup with a tamga incised on the exterior of its bottom [Fig. 2.3] comes from Barrow No. 23 in the Süzhigt Valley of the Noyon uul cemetery. The *terminus post quem* for the barrow in all probability is the last third of the first century CE (Miniaev and Elikhina 2010, pp. 174–75, Fig. 4.2,6). The tamga has very close analogues on the northern Black Sea littoral, in particular on a limestone slab from Pantikapaion (Drachuk 1975, Tab. XI, No. 832). The comparable signs differ only in the direction of the curls of the upper elements.

8. In the looted grave No. 24 of the huge burial complex No. 1 of the Gol Mod 2 cemetery in Mongolia was the base of a ceramic vessel with a tamga in relief in the form of a trident (Miller et al. 2008, p. 65, Fig. 5.2). A design like a trident is a component of a large number of tamga types in petroglyphs of Central Asia and among the materials of the northern Black Sea littoral (Yatsenko 1993, p. 63).

The number of "Xiongu" vessels with tamgas is by no means exhausted by the enumerated finds. One encounters in publications brief and preliminary information about vessels with signs resembling tamgas (Konovalov 1976, p. 198; Kovalev et al. 2011, p. 339).

Even on the basis of the selection here one can conclude that the Xiongnu had a tradition of inscribing tamgas on the base of vessels. The same tradition has been observed among the Alano-Sarmatians of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE (Voroniatov 2008, p. 348). The comparison extends as well to specific features which characterize that tradition. A certain number of the vessels with tamgas in the territories being compared are found in the richest burial complexes of the elite — the Xiongnu *shanyus* and the Alano-Sarmatian chiefs (Kradin et al. 2004, p. 14). Tamgas were inscribed not only on ordinary ceramics but also on valuable vessels. In Central Asia these were lacquer cups, whose manufacture by Chinese artisans was an unbelievably labor-intensive process (Polos'mak et al. 2011, pp. 330–31). On the territory of Sarmatia, such objects were expensive terra sigillata [Fig. 3.2] or gold, silver and bronze vessels

Fig. 3. Gold and ceramic vessels from the Northern Black Sea littoral: 1) Olbia (Scanlon 1961, Fig. 11.2,3); 2) Chersonesos (Shtaerman 1950, Fig. 1).

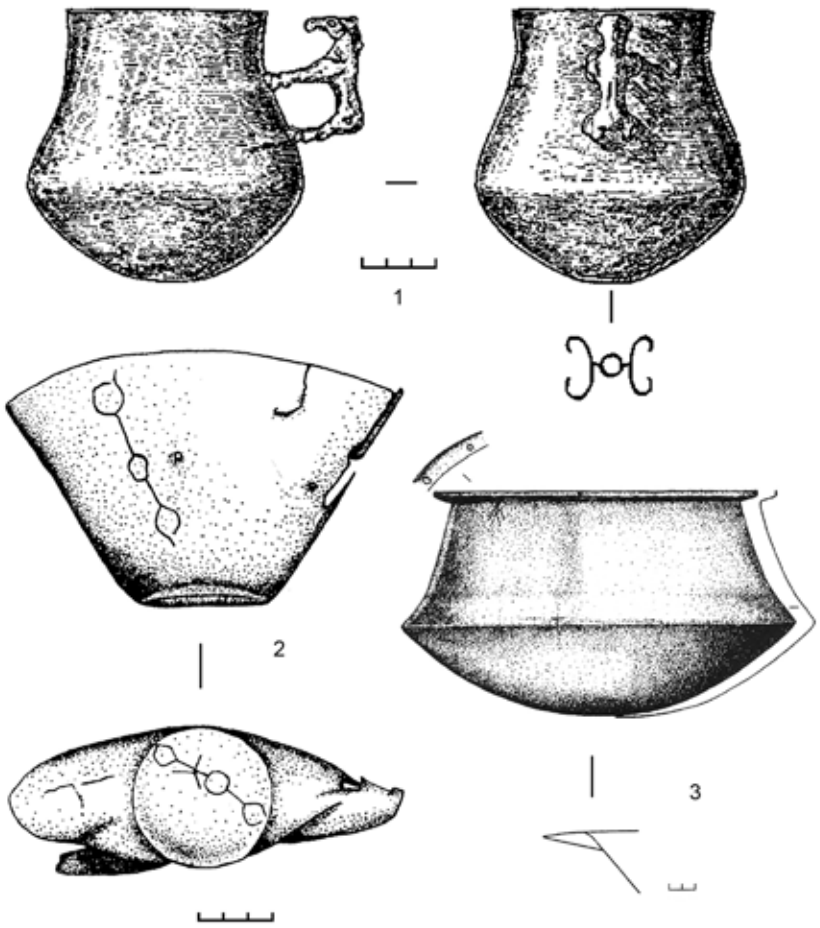

Fig. 4. Silver and bronze vessels from the Northern Black Sea littoral and the area between the Volga and Don rivers: 1) Grave No. 1 of Barrow No. 2 at the village of Porogi (Simonenko and Lobai 1991, Fig. 16.1,2); Grave No. 2 of Barrow No. 8 in the Berdiia cemetery (Sergatskov 1999, Fig. 1); 3) Kurgan No. 75 in the Zhutovskii cemetery (Sergatskov 2004, Fig. 4).

[Figs. 3.1 (and Color Plate II), 4.1-3, 4a, 4b] (Shtaerman 1950, p. 113, Fig. 1; Artemenko and Levchenko 1983, p. 147, Figs. 1.15, 2.8; Puzdrovskii 2007, Fig. 178.4,6; Simonenko and Lobai 1991, p. 28, Fig. 16; Simonenko and Raev 2009, pp. 65–69, Figs. 1, 2; Voroniatov 2009, pp. 92–95, Figs. 2, 3, 4).

Within these traditions are also some distinctions for which I am unable as yet to find an explanation. On vessels from Xiongnu sites, the tamgas, with the exception of one unclear instance of the birchbark box, are always depicted on the exterior of the bottom [Figs. 1, 2]. The tamgas on "Sarmatian" vessels in most cases are found on that surface [Figs. 3, 4] only when it was difficult to depict them on the interior (Voroniatov 2009, pp. 82, 83).

In a previous publication I proposed that the "Sarmatian" vessels with tamgas most likely were used in rituals of the nomads (Voroniatov 2009, pp. 83–92), a conclusion that may be extended as well to the "Xiongnu" vessels. I would add to this conclusion, presented in my work from 2009, one analogy which could strengthen it. B. A. Litvinskii (1982, p. 42) has provided interesting information about the use of cups in ritual practice: "A relic of ancient concepts and customs connected with cups is contemporary Iranian Zoroas-

Figs. 4a, b. Silver mug from a man's grave (No. 1), Barrow No. 2 at the village of Porogi, now in the Kraevedcheskii muzei in Vinnitsa; detail of the tamga on its bottom. This is the object depicted in Fig. 4.1. Photographs by the author.

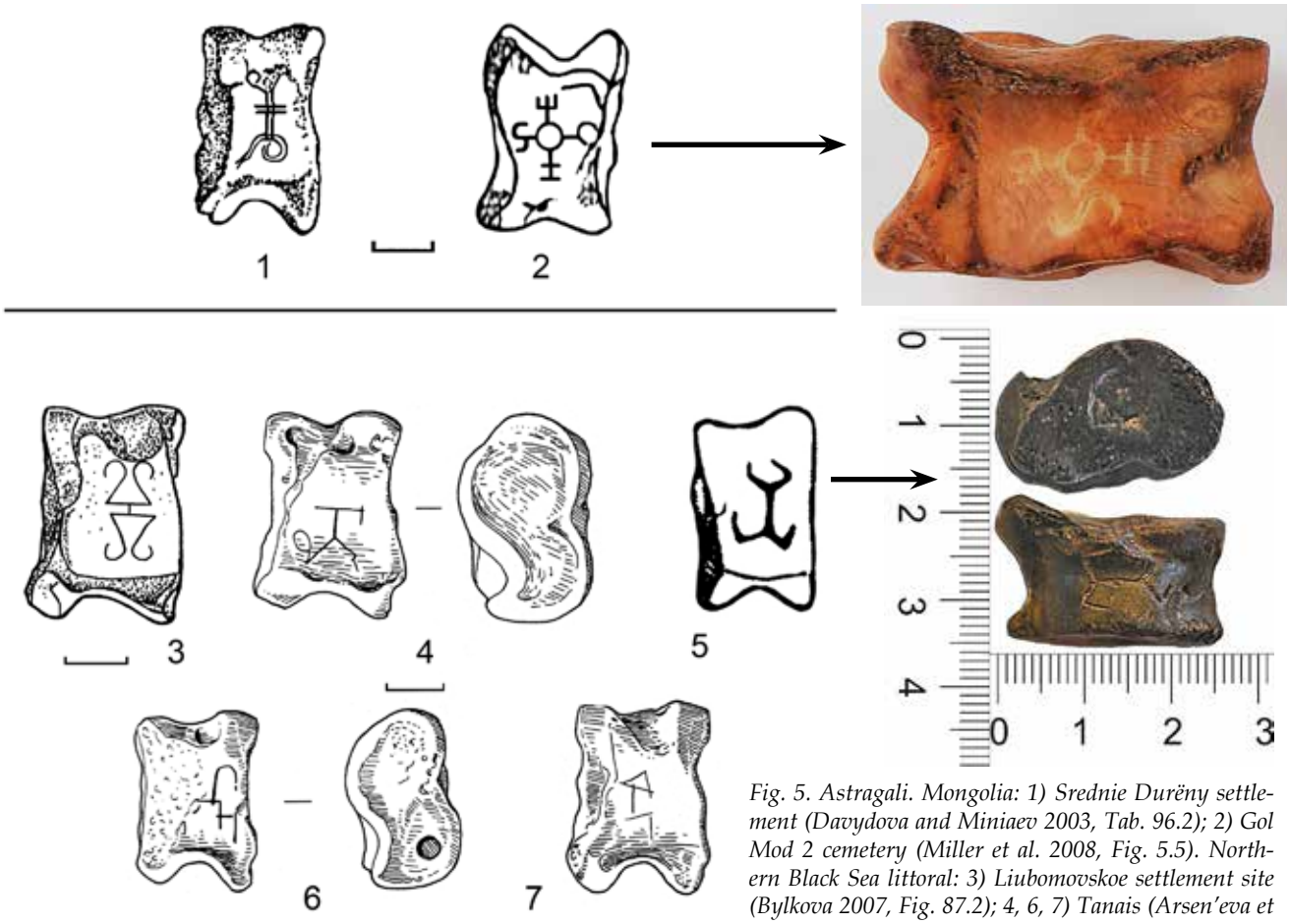

Fig. 5. Astragali. Mongolia: 1) Srednie Durëny settlement (Davydova and Miniaev 2003, Tab. 96.2); 2) Gol Mod 2 cemetery (Miller et al. 2008, Fig. 5.5). Northern Black Sea littoral: 3) Liubomovskoe settlement site (Bylkova 2007, Fig. 87.2); 4, 6, 7) Tanais (Arsen'eva et al. 2003, Abb. 12); 5) Artezian settlement (Vinokurov 2007, Fig. 2). Photographs of 5.2 and 5.5 by D. Erdenebaatar and N. I. Vinokurov respectively.

trians' use in commemorative observance of a bronze cup inside of which is engraved the name of the deceased friend or relative." Might it not be that "Xiongnu" and "Sarmatian" vessels with tamgas were used in commemorative rites before they were deposited in the burial inventory? Commemorative libations might precede the filling of the grave pit and the construction of the barrow. For the performance of the ritual they might incise the tamga of the one being buried on valuable vessels, and after the commemorative rites could place the vessels in the tomb.[4]

I would add to this comparison an observation by M. B. Shchukin, which also relates to vessels. In studying the problem of the early Alans, he compared ceramic vessels from Barrow No. 13 near the Kazanskaia stanitsa in the Kuban region with materials from the Ivolga settlement in Transbaikalia. While different in size, they are similar in form and ornament (Shchukin 1992, p. 114, Fig. 2; Yatsenko 1993, p. 63).

Astragali

This category of objects with tamgas is as yet infrequently found among Xiongnu antiquities but nonetheless merits attention. I know of only two instances of astragali with signs that can be termed tamgas among the numerous finds of astragali with and without incised depictions found in the Ivolga settlement and its cemetery, in the Xiongnu stratum of the Durëny settlement, in the burials of Il'movaia pad', and elsewhere[5] (Davydova 1995, p. 30, Tab. 184; 1996, Tab. 13.14, 37.9, 41.2–4,7,8,11; Konovalov 1976, p. 202, Tab. XVIII.1–7,9,10; Davydova and Miniaev 2003, p. 37, Tab. 93.6–11, 107.9–15):

1. In residence complex No. 5 of the Srednie Durëny settlement in Buriatiia was an astragalus [Fig. 5.1] with a tamga (Davydova and Miniaev 2003, Tab. 96.2), analogous to one known in petroglyphs in Mongolia (Vainberg and Novgorodova 1976, Fig. 7, Tab. II.59; Yatsenko 1993, Fig. 2). Component elements of this tamga are widely represented in designs of a large number of tamgas of Sarmatia in the first centuries CE.

2. In the inventory preserved from the looted tomb No. 3 of the huge burial complex No. 1 in Gol Mod 2 Cemetery in Mongolia is an unusually large collection of astragali (267 of them). On 36 of them were incised various symbols (Miller et al. 2008, p. 65, Fig. 5.5; Erdenebator 2011, p. 205, Fig. 3; Erööl-Erdene

2011a, p. 268, No. 397). Of particular interest is an astragalus with a sign that can be considered a tamga [Fig. 5.2]. I know of no exact analogy to this sign, but one should note that it recalls tamgas on Sarmatian mirrors of the type Khazanov-IX (Drachuk 1975, Tab. XVI.42,43,49,50; Yatsenko 2001, Fig. 18.14-19; Khazanov 1963, pp. 65-67).

The category of astragali with tamgas is well known from the northern littoral of the Black Sea.

1. An astragalus with a tamga [Fig. 5.3] (Bylkova 2007, pp. 99, 100, Fig. 87.2) was found in the ash layer of the Liubimov settlement of the lower Dnieper region. Scholars associate this find with the final stages in the life of the settlement, which burned during a hostile attack in the first centuries CE.

2. An astragalus with a tamga [Fig. 5.5] was found in the burned layer of the first half of the first century CE in the Bosporan fortress of Artezian. This find, and a fragment of a ceramic vase with tamgas from the same layer, have been interpreted as cult objects (Vinokurov 2007, p. 196, Fig. 2).

3. Four astragali, three of them with tamgas [Fig. 5.4,6,7], come from the complex of house No. 1 of structure No. 7, studied in 2002 in Tanais (Arsen'eva et al. 2005, Abb. 12.7,9.10).

4. Among various beads of the neck decorations of the buried woman in Grave No. 1 of Barrow No. 33 in the Valovyi-I cemetery on the lower Don were several gagate, coral and mother-of-pearl beads shaped like astragali (Bespalyi 2000, p. 162; Bespalyi et al. 2007, p. 78, Tab. 88.1*o*,*p*). On two of the gagate "astragali" is a sign shaped like the letter "N" (Bespalyi 2000, Fig. 3.10; Yatsenko 2001, pp. 142, 143, Fig. 6.30).

The tradition of using astragali in cultic practice and in games,[6] which scholars believe were organically connected in antiquity, is known from the Eneolithic period and was widespread in pastoral societies of various parts of Eurasia over the course of millennia (Klein 2010, pp. 322–35; Konovalov 1976, p. 203; etc.).

Prior to the appearance in the northern Black Sea littoral of Sarmatian tribes, sheep astragali and their imitations with inscriptions and marks are known among the materials of the Greek city colonies and their necropolises — Olbia, Chersonesos, Pantikapaion, Myrmekion, etc. (Rybakova 2007; Kalashnik 2010). As the complex phenomenon of Sarmatianization of the Bosporus developed beginning at the turn of the Common Era (Desiatchikov 1974, pp. 18–21), astragali began to appear on the northern Black Sea littoral. Apparently this tradition of depicting specifically Sarmatian tamgas arrived in the given territory with a new wave of nomadic tribes during the first century CE.

Depictions of animals with a brand and the tradition of branding cattle

The tradition of branding horses among the Inner Asian nomads is reliably documented in the section entitled "Tamgas of the horses of vassal principalities" in such Chinese sources as the *Tang Huiyao* (唐会要) of the 8th–10th centuries. Its information embraces the period from the beginning of the 7th to the beginning of the 9th century CE and consists of a list with brief practical characterizations of various tribes' horses which were imported into China. All the descriptions conclude with depictions of the tamga with which the given tribe branded its horses (Zuev 1960, pp. 93–97). Although the source contains information about Turco-Mongol tribes of the early Middle Ages, it seems important to note there was a tradition of branding horses in territories to the west and north of China. This practice might have a close connection with the Chinese practice of branding cattle (Zuev 1960, p. 96). Given the close interaction with the Xiongnu, one can suggest that such a widespread practice amongst the nomads was adopted as well by the Han Chinese.

In the context of the Central Asian custom of branding cattle, of interest is the recently published bronze buckle [Fig. 6.1] from a private collection, which, judging from the information provided, came from Arvaikheer, Övörkhangai aimag, Mongolia (Erdenechülüün and Erdenebaatar 2011, No. 378). Framed in the buckle is a skillfully delineated fantastic beast which the publication identifies as a dragon, although its exact identity is less important than the fact that it is a so far unique example of a fantastic creature with a tamga-brand depicted on the shoulder-blade or shoulder. Such bronze belt plaques and their fragments with similar fantastic predators are well known from Xiongnu antiquities (Kiselev 1949, Tab. XXI.18; Devlet 1987, p. 224, Fig. 6.2; Miniaev 1998, p. 97, Tab. 81.8; Davydova and Miniaev 2008, p. 65, Fig. 60) and specifically in materials of Övörkhangai aimag in Mongolia (Odbaatar 2011, pp. 130–31, Nos. 163-64). Hence there can be little doubt about the chronological and cultural attribution of this poorly documented object. However, as is usual in such situations, one should not exclude the possibility that it is a modern fabrication. As far as I know, this is the only example of an object from the Xiongnu period with a depiction of a branded animal; so it is as yet premature to consider that there was an entire category of such objects among the Xiongnu.

In contrast, along the northern Black Sea littoral they are numerous. E. I. Solomonik's study on the branding of cattle there discusses two stone steles of the first centuries CE depicting riders on branded horses, a stone slab with a domesticated animal and a terracot-

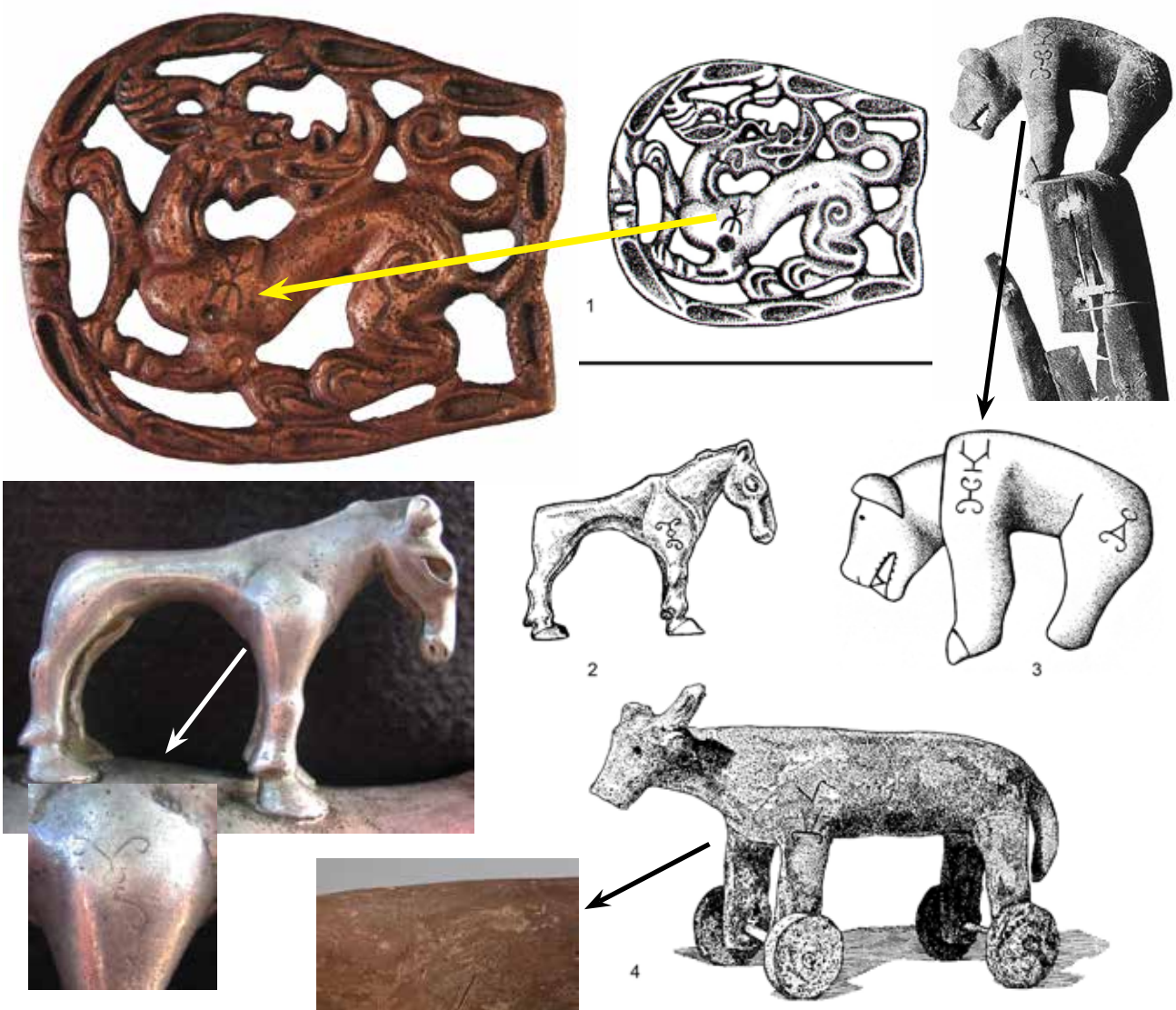

Fig. 6. Depictions of fantastic and real animals in metal, ceramic and wood. Mongolia: 1) Arvaikheer, Övörkhangai aimag (Erdenechülüün and Erdenebaatar 2011, No. 378). Northern Black Sea littoral: 2) Grave No. 1, Barrow No. 2, Porogi (Simonenko, Lobai 1991, Fig. 16.3); 3) from wooden harp found in burial near village of Kozyrka (?) (Simonenko 2004); 4) Grave No. 312, Kerch, in the Glinishcha district (Solomonik 1957, Fig. 2). Photograph of 6.2 by author; of 6.4 by Leonard Kheifets, Copyright The State Hermitage Museum, used with permission.

ta model of a bullock with a brand on its shoulder [Fig. 6.4] from a destroyed tomb of a child at Glinishcha in Kerch (Ben'kovskii 1904, pp. 65–67, Tab. VII.a,b; Solomonik 1957; 1959, pp. 26–27, 157–59).

Starting in the 1950s, the source base for the study of the branding of cattle has substantially broadened. One of the Sarmatian burials of the lower Don contained a unique instrument for branding an animal (Raev 1979, pp. 207–08, Fig 3.9; Yatsenko 2001, p. 12, Fig. 1.1). A male burial of the last quarter of the 1st century CE not far from the village of Porogi near the Dniester yielded a silver cup with a handle in the form of a horse with brands on the right shoulder and left flank [Figs. 3.1, 6.2]. In this same complex was a gold torque with ends shaped like horse heads. One of the heads has a brand on the cheek (Simonenko and Lobai 1991, Fig. 16.1,2; Simonenko 1991, p. 316, Nos. 154, 157). One should include here a long-known gold bracelet accidentally discovered on the shore of the Bug estuary. Its ends, analogous to those of the torque from Porogi, also are shaped like horse heads, on one of which is a brand (Solomonik 1959, pp. 131–32; Voroniatov 2013, Fig. 1.2). Additional evidence regarding the tradition of branding Sarmatian horses may be found in numerous examples of Roman-period ceremonial horse harness, whose decoration includes Sarmatian tamgas

(Voroniatov 2013). S. A. Yatsenko's idea (2001, p. 13) that details of horse gear can duplicate or imitate a real brand on the body of the horse merits close attention.

As unusual as the buckle from Mongolia is the depiction of a bear on a wooden harp [Fig. 6.3] from the interesting complex of the end of the 1st–beginning of the 2nd centuries CE not far from Olbia (Simonenko 1999, pp. 111–14, Figs. 2, 3; Simonenko 2004, pp. 209–21, Abb. 7). In toto there are 32 tamgas on the harp, six of which are incised on the figure of the bear. A. V. Simonenko emphasized (1999, p. 112) that the tamgas are placed in the same locations as the signs on the figure of a horse which served as the handle for the silver cup from Porogi [Figs. 3.1, 6.2].

I would propose that the depiction of a branded wild animal (a bear) on Alano-Sarmatian materials is related to the depiction of a fantastic animal with a brand in Xiongnu antiquities. It is possible that the meaning attached to signs specifically on such creatures relates to something other than the pragmatic tradition of branding cattle. This phenomenon, on which I will not dwell in greater detail, requires special study. I would merely note that early medieval depictions of wild animals and mythical creatures with a brand are attested in the territory of Inner Asia and Asia Minor (Boardman 2010, Fig. 19; Samashev and Bazylkhan 2010, p. 311).

In discussing the tradition of branding cattle along the northern Black Sea littoral, E. I. Solomonik (1957, pp. 215–17) provides information about this practice in archaic Greece, a practice which might well also have existed in the Greek Black Sea colonies. Clearly horses and cattle, branded with Sarmatian tamgas and, correspondingly, their depictions appear in the steppes of the northern Black Sea littoral and in the Bosporan region with the arrival of a new wave of nomadic tribes in the first century CE.

Conclusions

The objects examined here in the three categories demonstrate not only the similarity of several types of tamgas of Inner Asia and Sarmatia but also suggest common features of ritual practice among the Xiongnu and the Alano-Sarmatians. All three categories of objects have characteristics which are not merely the inherent qualities found in artefacts of daily life.

Along the northern Black Sea littoral are instances in which the indicated categories of objects may be juxtaposed in a single complex. For example, the grave inventory of the child's burial at Kerch, which has been mentioned, contained in addition to the terracotta figurine of a branded bull [Fig. 6.4] fragments of an analogous figurine and vehicle, on which were 21 sheep astragali (Ben'kovskii 1904, pp. 65–66). In my opinion, this complex most likely reflects some religious concepts of the nomads and of the sarmatianized population of the Bosporan region.

The astragalus with a tamga found in the burned layer of the Bosporan fortress of Artezian [Fig. 5.5] also has been interpreted as a cult object (Vinokurov 2007). In addition to the astragalus with a tamga, in the same layer of the Liubimov settlement on the lower Dnieper [Fig. 5.3] was a whetstone inscribed with three tamgas. Scholars have attributed a cultic and magic purpose to unusual whetstones of the Scytho-Sarmatian period and specifically to whetstones with tamgas (Griaznov 1961; Anikeeva and Iablonskii 2012, p. 52; Voroniatov 2012).

The important symbolic meaning of objects with tamgas has recently been noted for Xiongnu antiquities as well. The structure of Barrow No. 1 at Khökh Üzüüriin Dugui II in Mongolia had a so-called ritual compartment, in which were bronze vessels and a ceramic vessel with impressions of tamga-like signs (Kovalev et al. 2011, p. 339).

The indicated parallels among categories of objects with tamgas and especially their proposed ritual subtext enable one to establish a reliable connection between the Xiongnu and nomadic tribes which appeared on the northern Black Sea littoral in the first century CE. What contribution these new proofs of this connection may make to the discussion of Alan ethnogenesis and the emergence of middle Sarmatian culture is a complicated question. However, apparently in the Alan question one should pay more attention to the search for a Xiongnu component. Urals scholars have already convincingly accomplished this task for the later Sarmatian period (Botalov and Gutsalov 2000, pp. 145–84; Botalov 2003).

Studies which address the connections of the nomads of Central Asia and the northern Black Sea littoral contain some problematic assertions. At one time, S. A. Yatsenko, referring to the work of V. N. Poltoratskaia, wrote that the tradition of the inscribing of tamgas on ceremonial dishes was known among the Pazyryk people (Yatsenko 1992, p. 195). However, my own study of signs on objects from barrows of the early nomad period in the Altai failed to find such information. The only examples I could identify were two vessels of the Karasuk period found at Dyndybai in Central Kazakhstan (Poltoratskaia 1962, p. 83; Griaznov 1952, p. 136, Figs. 5.2,5,5a; 6, 7). There are doubts as well in the interpretation of numerous signs on wooden parts of horse harness from the Altai barrows (Poltoratskaia 1962). S. A. Yatsenko interprets them as tamgas (1993, Fig. 2; 2012, p. 206). This designation seems questionable, in that the shape of these signs is significantly different from that of the

signs in Mongolia and on the northern Black Sea littoral. Moreover, since these signs are inscribed on the reverse sides of wooden plaques, it is more likely that they are artisans' marks, as V. N. Poltoratskaia had believed (Poltoratskaia 1962, p. 87).

Of course these two observations do not minimize the significance of the Pazyryk factor in the discussion of the Alan problem (Raev 1984; 2009, pp. 263–64; Yatsenko 1993, p. 66). The important thing here is to recognize that the Pazyryk antiquities on which there are tamgas are not at all similar to the Xiongnu material. In this I support the observations of A. V. Simonenko (2003, pp. 55–57) and disagree with the opinion of S. A. Yatsenko (Yatsenko 2011, p. 206).

My views and those of A. V. Simonenko are also similar regarding the swiftness of the migration of those nomads who brought to the northern Black Sea littoral Central Asian elements (Simonenko 2003, p. 57). However, for a complete picture, it is necessary to study material from the regions between Mongolia and Sarmatian territory related to the subject of the parallels discussed here. For example, one cannot ignore the depiction of a branded horse on one of the remarkable Orlat plaques found on the territory of Uzbekistan (Nikonorov and Khudiakov 1999, p. 147, Fig. 3; Yatsenko 2000, p. 90, Fig. 2.b; Iliasov 2005, pp. 102–03). The Xiongnu designation of the recently discovered Orlat complex and materials of the Kul'tobe cemetery in southern Kazakhstan appears to be convincing (Podushkin 2012, pp. 31–49). Similar materials from the territory of Central Asia can establish the path and possible stages of the migrations which we as yet but poorly understand.

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About the author

The research interests of **Sergei Voroniatov** include the interrelationships of sedentary and nomadic peoples in Eastern Europe in the Roman period, the problem of the appearance of the early Alans in Eastern Europe, and Sarmatian signs/tamgas on the northern Black Sea littoral. The author is the curator of Sarmatian and Gothic collections in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. E-mail: <s.voroniatov@gmail.com>.

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Notes

1. I know of only one work (Kovalev et al. 2011, p. 339) which notes the necessity of studying Xiongnu tamga-like signs on various objects in the context of tamga-signs of Eurasia from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE.

2. Minor losses in the depiction of the sign on the fragment of the base of the vessel from Nizhnie Durëny [Fig. 1.2] might raise doubts about the accuracy of the comparison of the sign. Nonetheless I am inclined to think that the upper part of the sign is an incomplete but not closed oval.

3. It is not clear from the publication whether the tamga is on the interior or exterior surface.

4. Among "Sarmatian" vessels are examples where the tamga was not inscribed on the vessel after its production but was cast together with the foot (Simonenko and Raev 2009, p. 67, Fig. 2). This could be evidence that it was a ritual vessel ordered specially from the artisan.

5. We note that in the materials of the Dyrestui cemetery of Transbaikalia, only Grave No. 75 contained an astragalus (Miniaev 1998, p. 60, Tab. 56.2).

6. However, there are materials which contradict the hypothesis about an exclusively game function of astragali (Savinov 1996, p. 27).

– *Translated by Daniel C. Waugh*

Some Examples of Central Asian Decorative Elements in Ajanta and Bagh Indian Paintings

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The pictorial decoration of the 29 Buddhist caves of Ajanta (Maharashtra) is amongst the most ancient Indian painting extant.[1] According to Walter Spink (1976/77, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 2004, 2005, 2010), the caves should be dated to the second part of fifth century CE, most likely between 460 and 480. The paintings were commissioned by members of the aristocracy of the Vakataka (c. 255–480), one of the most powerful dynasties of Southern India, at the time ruled by King Harishena (Weiner 1977: 7–35; Spink 1990, 1991a, 1992). The paintings in the Buddhist caves at Bagh (south-western Madhya Pradesh) have in common with the ones at Ajanta both chronology and patronage (Spink 1976/77; Zin 2001).

Several studies have been dedicated to the representations of foreigners in Indian art and, specifically, in the paintings at Ajanta (Dhavalikar 1970, p. 24; Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw 1989). However, there are many objections to the proposed identifications for these paintings (Schlingloff 1988, pp. 59–60; Zin, 2003, pp. 286–91). Given how numerous are the figures of foreigners at Ajanta and Bagh, a brief article would not be enough. For this reason, only few details in Ajanta Caves I, II, XVI and XVII and Bagh Caves IV–V will be considered in the present paper.

The representations of foreigners are easily recognizable, especially when they can be identified as Iranians, because of the characteristic garments so unusual for the Indian climatic conditions and more suitable for members of the Kushan aristocracy or other external invaders. These people were first considered Persians by students of Indian art, and in one specific case, it was thought that one famous scene from Cave I had been positively identified as a presentation of the embassy sent by Khusro II Parvez (590–628) to Pulakeshin II Calukya (c. 608–642) which took place around 625 [Fig. 1].[2] That identification openly conflicts with the chronology of the paintings proposed by Walter Spink and currently accepted by most scholars. Moreover, the identification fails to consider that Pulakeshin was a Hindu sovereign, and so his presence in a Buddhist context is furthermore suspect (Spink 1992, p. 251).

According to Dieter Schlingloff, the scene should be identified as a story that the Buddha told to Ananda when the latter raised objections to his master's choice of Kushinagara as the place to enter *nirvana*. The Buddha related the story of a pious Kushinagara king called Mahasudarshana. His people loved him and wanted to give him precious gifts. Mahasudarshana was reluctant in the beginning but in the end he financed a religious building with the money received from the gifts. According to Schlingloff, the Iranian features of some people depicted giving gifts to the king underlines the exotic character of the inhabitants of Kushinagara, who very often are represented in foreign dress (Schlingloff 1988, pp. 59–60; 1996, Cave I, No. 44, p. 1; 2000, n. 44/Cave I, pp.1, 2).

Foreigners dressed like Kushana or Śaka (that is to say wearing caftans, trousers, boots and the

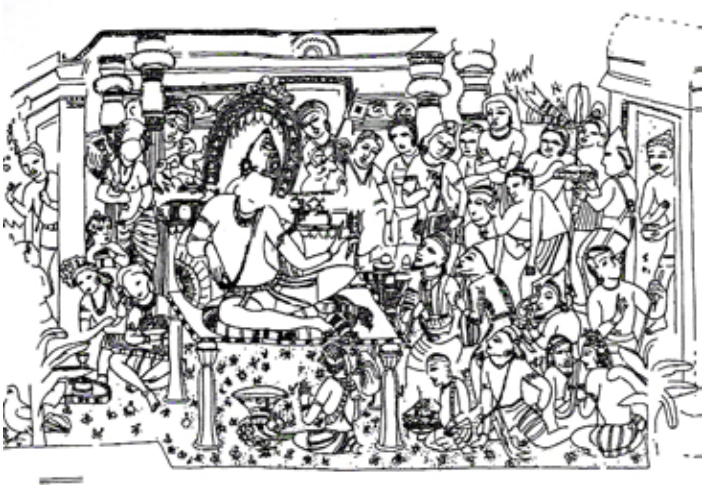

Fig. 1. Depiction of the story of a pious Kushinagara king called Mahasudarshana, Ajanta Cave I. After: Schlingloff 1988, Ch. 4, Fig. 1.

Fig. 2. Ceiling panel with banquet scenes, Ajanta Cave I. After: Griffiths 1896/1983, Pl. 94.

so-called "Phrygian" cap) can be seen very often in Indian art. However, they seem to be used simply as a decorative theme without any specific allusion to Iranians.[3] Most likely, the models for such representations were just merchants, soldiers, or invaders come to India from the northwest. In fact, Frantz Grenet (1996, p. 72) identified two donors in front of King Mahasudarshana as Persians because of their beards and bright skin.

The other important pictorial cycle of cave I is reproduced on the central ceiling [Fig. 2]. Here four panels are decorated with banquet scenes, which were greatly appreciated in pre-Islamic Persia and Central Asia (Silvi Antonini 1996). Unfortunately, one of the panels has been completely lost. The sitting central figures of the three that remain are larger in size than the attendants around them. They hold weapons and in one hand a dish or a cup. Their garments are typical of the people from Central Asia, and they wear also exotic headgear. In two panels, it is possible to observe floating ribbons attached to the shoulders of the larger figures. This is another characteristic of Iranian art that sometimes appears also in Gupta Vakataka arts (Pal 1978, p. 64). The servants are all women or men, and so the person sitting next to the central one can be a man or a woman, with a finger lifted in a manner commonly depicted in Sasanian and Sogdian art, expressing reverence (Frye 1972; Bromberg 1991). The three scenes have been identified as generic representations of the Persian court[4] or as representations of Kubera/Vaishravana in his Western Paradise (Grenet 1996, pp. 79–80, n. 34; Bautze-Picron 2002, pp. 250–51). However, since the three main figures of every scene are not identical, it is not excluded that they are representations of the *Lokapala*, especially considering the fact that, counting the missing panel, there would have been four altogether (Bautze-Picron 2002, pp. 250–51; Zin, 2003, pp. 287–91).

At least two dancers wearing garments similar to the ones of the foreigners at Ajanta, appear in a painting on the wall between Caves IV and V at Bagh [Fig. 3]. The scene is probably the representation of a dance which takes place in the sky close to Indra's palace as part of the story of King Mandhatar (Zin 2001).[5]

Fig. 3. Painting on wall between Bagh Caves IV and V. After: Marg *1972: 11.*

Several people in the paintings at Ajanta and the two dancers at Bagh wear a particular kind of dress called *chamail*. This is a poncho-like, multi-pointed jacket similar to the one worn by the joker of the modern playing cards. According to James Harle (1987, pp. 571–72), the *chamail* is a Central Asian invention and its

Fig. 4. Buddha adorned with the chamail. Ghorband Valley, Fondukistan Monastery, Niche D. 7th century CE. Collection of the Musée Guimet, Inv. no. MG 18960. Photograph Copyright © Daniel C. Waugh.

introduction in India would have been dated to the period of the Śaka and Kushan invasions. The *chamail* can be observed in Gandharan reliefs and on the dress donors around the Buddha over a very long period as far away as in Xinjiang (Harle 1987, pp. 571–72; Bussagli 1984, p. 25; Kurita 1990, p. 291, Fig. 4; pp. 335, 465, 523). At several 6th–7th-century Buddhist sites of modern Afghanistan like Bamyan and Fondukistan, the *chamail* can be seen even on Buddha paintings and statues [Fig. 4; Color Plate III].[6] Also some 6th–7th-century bronze statuettes of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Surya from Kashmir (Pal 1975, Pls. 30a-b, 32, 36; Paul 1986, Pl. 87; Bhan 2010, Fig. 372; Siudmak 2013, Pls. 145-146, 149) and at least two 7th–8th-century stone statues (Paul, 1986, Pl. 88; Bhan, 2010, Figs. 14-15; Siudmak 2013, Pls. 152, 189) have the same dress.[7] The *chamail* was certainly known also in 8th-century Sogdiana, as can be noted in painted programs at Panjikent identified as epic local stories [Fig. 5]. Here the *chamail* seems to be a garment for men and women. In a painting found in the Temple I at Panjikent a deity accompanied by a horse wears the *chamail* as well [Fig. 6]. But the statues from Afghanistan and Kashmir, and the Sogdian paintings are all dated to a later period than the Ajanta and Bagh paintings, while the only earlier specimens come from Gandharan reliefs representing foreign donors. So, it is highly improbable that the people dressed like Central Asians at Ajanta and Bagh are Sogdians. Most likely, they are Bactrians who, in the second half of the 5th century had been conquered by the Hephtalites (Grenet 2002, pp. 209–10).[8]

Fig. 5. Depiction of the girl following the Ruler of the Demons, mural in Room 50, Sector XXIII, Panjikent. After: Marshak 2002: Fig. 60.

Fig. 6. Deity accompanied by a horse, mural in Temple I, Panjikent. Fig. 6. After: Marshak and Raspopova 1991, Fig. 11.

A 5th–6th-century silver bowl considered to be Bactrian (now in the British Museum) is embellished with roundels containing human heads whose features offer a clear parallel with the Ajanta and Bagh paintings [Fig. 7, next page].[9] The visible portion of their dress and, above all, their headgear call to mind some figures at Ajanta. Also the beard is a characteristic typical of many foreigners represented in Indian paintings.

The ceilings of Caves I and II are divided into several squares, in some of which other foreigners can be recognized. In this case their attitudes are not serious

Fig. 7. Silver gilt bowl. Northwest Frontier Province, Pakistan, 6th century CE.Collection of the British Museum, OA 1963.12-10.2. Photographs Copyright © Daniel C. Waugh.

and their pronounced noses and beards call to mind typical Chinese funerary statuettes (the *mingqi*) which are, however, mostly dated to the 6th–7th centuries.[10] In fact, it is not improbable that at both Indian and Chinese courts during the fifth century, the most requested dancers and musicians were of Iranian origin, possibly just Bactrian. While such a hypothesis is reasonable, it does not explain the representation of foreigners in more serious contexts both at Ajanta and Bagh [Figs. 2, 3]. Possibly in Indian art the "paradisical" scenes had to evoke exotic lands like Central Asia or Persia, and in such a context the people had to be dressed like strangers.[11]

Another peculiarity of the foreigners at Ajanta is that they hold metal objects. Very interesting metalwork resembling typical Iranian vessels can be observed on the external ceiling of Cave II and in a painting on the external wall of Cave XVII where two lovers seem to be disturbed by a servant wearing a green caftan and a cap who holds a metal jar [Fig. 8] (Ghosh 1996, Pl. LVIII, Fig. 15; Okada and Nou 1996, p. 169). Also, in this case there is a clear parallel with some Chinese funerary paintings of the Tang period, representing local or Central Asian attendants with imported metal objects in their hands.[12]

Fig. 8. Lovers and a servant, mural on external wall of Cave VIII, Ajanta. After: After: Ghosh 1996, Fig. 20.

Horsemen wearing caftans, with particular headgear and floating ribbons, can be seen in some paintings from Caves XVI and XVII. The horses of the strangers in a scene painted in Cave XVII identified as the Devavatara *jataka* (Schlingloff 1996, Cave XVII, No. 86, p. 53; 2000, p. 486) have a crenellated mane, uncommon in Indian art [Fig. 9, next page]. This is another element originally extraneous and definitely introduced into India from the steppe world during the invasions that occurred from the northwestern regions.[13] Those horsemen and one other foreigner sitting next to the central preaching Buddha are wearing typical 6th-century CE Sogdian "*Sapao*" headdresses (Marshak, 2001). As Sören Stark kindly pointed at me, there is no evidence to exclude that these specific images of foreigners could be actually identified with Sogdians.

A last decoration worth mentioning concerns the pictorial ornament of four inner octagonal pillars of Cave XVII.[14] At the end of 19th century, John Griffiths reproduced the decorative elements of these pillars, but his work was almost completely destroyed during a fire (Griffiths 1896/1983, Pls. 143, 147). One pillar in particular presents very interesting decorative elements composed by white pearl roundels on every side of the octagonal support containing single vegetal and animal subjects, such as the bull and the wild

< Fig. 9. The Devavatara jataka, mural in Ajanta Cave XVII. After: Schlingloff 1996, Cave XVII, No. 86, p. 53.

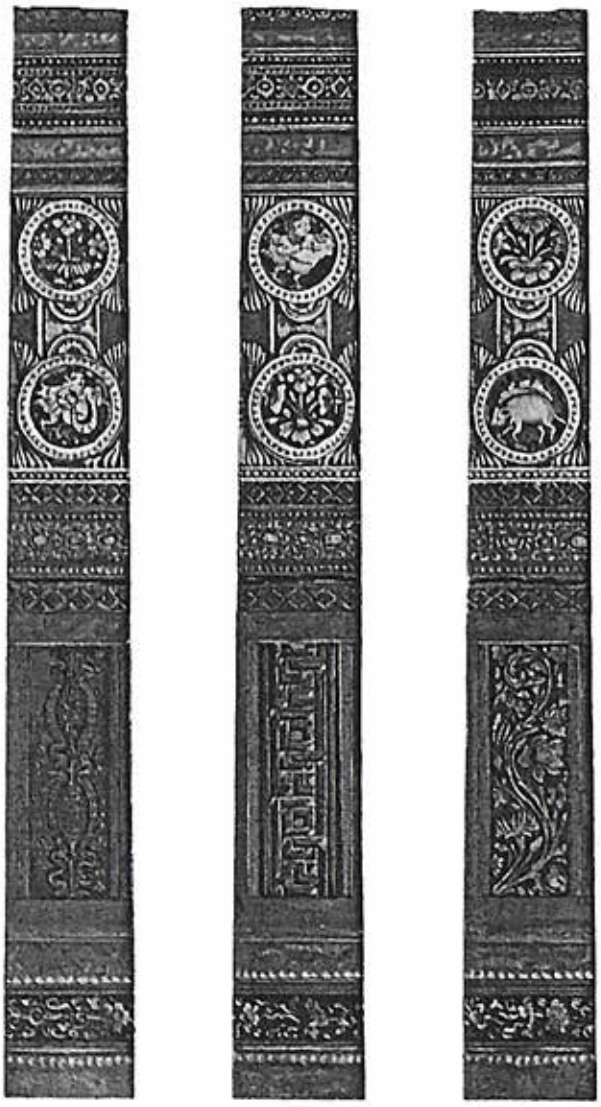

Fig. 10 (below left). Inner octagonal pillars, Ajanta Cave XVII. After: Griffiths 1896/1983, Pls. 143, 147.

boar [Fig. 10]. The pearl roundel containing the wild boar could be compared to similar Sasanian decorations from Damghan (northwestern Iran) where some 6th-century stucco panels present boar heads within pearl roundels (Kröger 1982: 262; Bromberg 1983). Sasanian art possibly had some influence on 5th-century Indian decorations (Jairazbhoy 1963, pp. 148–62; Meister 1970, pp. 265–66; Kröger 1981, p 447; Klimburg-Salter 1996, pp. 480–81, 485), but it is clear that round frames embellished by pearls along their rims and containing various subjects spread in India at least since the first century BCE.[15] The entire figure of a white wild boar is depicted on the column of Cave XVII, whereas in Persian (at least in Bamiyan) and Sogdian art (in the motherland and in the colonies in the Tarim Basin), there is only the head of the animal [Fig. 11; Color Plate IV] (Compareti 2004a). It is not clear if this was just a decorative element or a symbolic representation of a deity, nor is it clear whether the wild boar had a specific meaning. It is worth noticing that the coinage circulating in the Vakataka kingdom included also representations of a bull, a conch, a vase and other objects that call to mind the elements included within the roundels painted on the column in Cave XVII (Raven 2004).

Fig. 11. Fragment of mural from Bamiyan, depicting a boar's head in a "pearl roundel." Collection of the Musée Guimet, Inv. no.: MG 17972 or 17973. Photograph Copyright © Daniel C. Waugh.

Pearl roundel decorations have been among the favorite textile embellishments in Central Asia since the sixth century and were spread in the ancient world most likely by the Sogdian merchants active along the so-called "Silk Road" from China to the Byzantine Empire (Compareti 2000; 2004a, 2006a). However, the pearl roundels observed in India, especially as architectonic decorations, seem to be a local creation: they appear isolated, inside there is usually a flower or vegetal motif, and it is only at Ajanta that different subjects are represented.[16] The textile decorations of the foreigners at Ajanta and Bagh display only simple geometric designs and no pearl roundels at all. This observation is further evidence in support of the chronology advanced by Walter Spink. If the later chronology advocated by other scholars, especially the Indian ones (e. g., Khandalavala 1990; Jamkhedkar 1991; Deshpande 1991; Khandalavala 1991) were to be correct, then we would expect pearl roundel decorations to have been reproduced on the garments worn by the numerous foreigners of Iranian origin portrayed in those Indian paintings.

The relationship between the Subcontinent and the Iranian world must have been very intense during the pre-Islamic period, judging from its reflection in Indian arts. However, the perception that Sasanian Persia was the main source of influence should be re-examined in the light of new discoveries in the field of Iranian studies. The evidence seems to point at 5th-century Bactria-Tokharistan as the place of origin of most of the decorations that appear in the paintings at Ajanta and Bagh, while only the foreigners depicted next to the preaching Buddha in cave XVII could be possibly identified as Sogdians because of their hats.

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Notes

1. The monks at Ajanta were followers of the Mulasarvastivadin sect which is a form of Hinayana (Weiner 1977: 32–35).

2. The hypothesis of identification was advanced few decades after the discovery of the Ajanta caves (Fergusson, 1879). See also the summary of this story with commentaries in Spink, 2005: 181–83.

3. At Ajanta some decorations of the façade of cave XIX are arch-like-niches containing the head of a foreigner, in some

cases wearing a Phrygian cap and with long moustaches (Bautze-Picron 2002, p. 248; Zin, 2003, p. 287). I owe the latter reference to Falk Reitz, whom I wish to thank. Other ornamental architectonic elements of probable Iranian origins are the crenellations represented very often at Ajanta (Melikian-Chirvani 1975, pp. 9–10). Crenellations can be observed at Bharhut, Sanchi and Bhaja (see for example, Franz 1965, Figs. 31, 53, 64, 91; Huntington and Huntington 1999, Fig. 5.22); so it is possible that their introduction from Persia or Central Asia in India happened during the Parthian period or even before (Goetz 1974, pp. 4–5).

4. It is worth noting that in contemporary Sasanian art the gods have never weapons (Vanden Berghe 1988, p. 1514). Only at Taq-e Bostan does the equestrian statue in the big grotto have a shield and a spear, but it is probable that this is a representation of the king as a warrior and not a deity as previously thought by this writer (Compareti 2006b, p. 167). In any case, Taq-e Bostan is a very late Sasanian monument which could hardly be considered representative for the whole of Sasanian art.

5. On the paintings at Bagh, see Marshall 1927 and *Marg* 1972. For more recently published studies see Zin 2001 and Pande 2002. According to Walter Spink (1976/77; 2004, p. 97), the period of inactivity at Ajanta caused by a war that lasted between 472–474 corresponds to the flourishing period at Bagh because of the migration of the artists to this latter site.

6. Tarzi 1977; Klimburg-Salter 1989. On the problem of the so-called "Buddha paré" see Rowland 1961.

7. Some garments worn by Indian deities seem to be typical of Kashmir only. A typical dress for the so-called "mother-goddesses" also has a pointed ending in the lower part and a pearl border (Bhan 2010, Figs. 207–208, 213, 221; Siudmak 2013, Pls. 85–88, 196).

8. It is now clear that the Hephtalites were not part of those Huns who conquered the land south of the Hindu-Kush and Sind as well in the early 6th century. In fact, this latter Hunnic group was the one commonly known as Alkhon because of the inscriptions on their coins (Vondrovec, 2008). The Hephtalites in Central Asia and the Alkhon in north-western India had probably some connections (Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 85–88).

9. The bowl is part of the so-called "Oxus Treasure," at present in the British Museum (Dalton 1964, Pl. 205). There are at least other three metal vessels like this. Two were recovered at Datong, China, while the third one was found in the Molotov Region (Russia) and is now part of the Hermitage collection (Fajans 1957, p. 56, Figs. 3-4; Qi 1999, part 2, p. 257, Figs. 124, 125; p. 319, Fig. 3-8; Marshak 2004). The same knotted cloak and headgear can be observed in a painting from Cave XVII at Ajanta identified as the Mahakapi *jataka* (Schlingloff 1988, Cave XVII, No. 31, p. 47; 1996, Cave XVII, No. 24.1, p. 30; 2000, p. 144. Decorations of bearded human heads wearing a cap inside pearl roundels appear on the garments of a participant at the banquet at Balalyk Tepe, a site of 6th-7th century Bactriana (Al'baum 1960, Figs. 115–116, 148; Silvi Antonini 1972).

10. Most of the material on this kind of *mingqi* was collected by Mahler 1959. It is worth remembering that in 6th-7th century China, the Iranians represented in arts are mostly Sogdians (Compareti, 2004b; 2006c). There is no specific study on these foreigners in Indian paintings. For a recent mention of foreigners in Ajanta, see Albanese 2004, p. 203.

11. Evocative distant lands represent a literary *topos* in many cultures and civilizations. For the Muslim Persians, for example, China and Khotan played this role. This appears very clearly in the famous *Shahname* by Firdousi. A similar phenomenon happened also in Chinese literature where some characters of entertaining tales were Iranians or Arabs come from very distant lands (Schafer 1951). Curiously enough, it is very likely that, for the Sogdians, India represented the magic land of their tales (Marshak 2002, pp. 27-28). In the Greco-Roman world too, India was more exotic than any other land (Compareti 2012).

12. Again, the metalwork in Chinese paintings reflects most likely a Sogdian production. See, e.g., the 8th-century Tang funerary paintings found in the Shaanxi Province with attendants bringing in their hands metal objects (Qi 1999, pp. 420–27). Some of these exotic objects include also the *rhyton*. This is a horn usually in the shape of animals used to drink. It appears sometimes in Indian reliefs representing foreigners such as on a relief on a pillar from Nagarjunakonda, Site 37 at present kept in the National Museum, New Delhi (Stone 1994, Fig. 281).

13. For a general discussion on this element see Lucidi 1969.

14. One of the main studies on Indian columns is still Stern 1972. The pearl roundels on the pillar under examination in Cave XVII at Ajanta can be seen in Nakamura 1968, p. 35, Tab. 21, and Taddei 1976, Fig. 57.

15. Pearl roundels can be observed on the reliefs at Sanchi and Bharhut (2nd–1st century BCE) (Bénisti 1952). On pearl roundels in Indian painting see also Eastman 1943.

16. There were probably some direct influences of Sogdian art into Northern India and especially in Kashmir, but there is no evidence about such an exchange before the 7th century (Compareti 2000, pp. 338–39).

The Afrasiab Murals: a Pictorial Narrative Reconsidered

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The Sogdian murals discovered in 1965 in a structure identified as Hall 1, also known as "the Hall of the Ambassadors," at Afrasiab, ancient Samarkand, have inspired much scholarly exchange and speculation about their date and meaning [Fig. 1].[1] The present paper reviews the events celebrated in the Hall's pictorial narrative within their historical context, and explains the reason for the notable absence in that narrative of divine and religious imagery that is elsewhere prevalent in Sogdian art.

Hall 1 and the Pictorial Narrative of Its Murals

Hall 1 is a square room 11 m^2, with its only entrance in the East wall facing the principal West wall. The Hall's walls are decorated with murals placed above a continuous wall-bench with a slight projection on the West wall [Fig. 2, next page].[2] Two superimposed friezes of figures were partially preserved up to a height of 1.5 m in murals on the lower half of the walls, the upper parts of which were destroyed when the ceiling collapsed causing the room to be sealed up in the tenth century.[3] The East wall mural in Hall 1 is excluded from this study due to its poor state of preservation.

The West Wall Mural

Geopolitical considerations appear to have played a role in the distribution of the subject matter of Hall 1. The principal West wall mural depicts a celebratory event, generally identified with the Sogdian Nowrūz, or New Year's festival, now placed around 660 CE.[4] But which Nowrūz festival in Samarkand is celebrated around 660 CE in this mural? Is it the Zoroastrian Nowrūz, traditionally celebrated in the Iranian world on the first day of spring, or does it refer to Nowrūz as the "opening

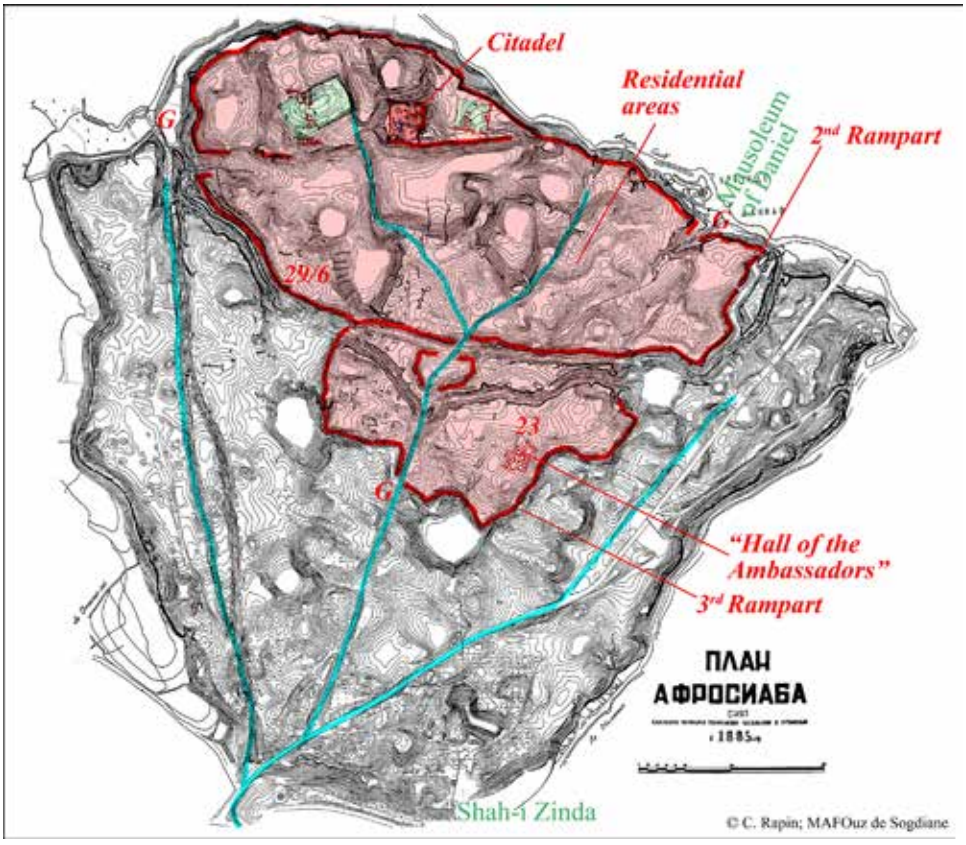

Fig.1. The plan of Samarkand (Afrasiab) with Hall 1, "Hall of the Ambassadors", situated in the city's third rampart. Originally drawn in 1885, by the Topographical Survey of the Russian army, the plan was redrawn in the 1990's during the French Archaeological Mission in Uzbekistan. I wish to thank Claude Rapin of MAFOuz de Sogdiane, for permission to publish this plan.

Fig. 2. The Interior of Hall 1 at Afrasiab, showing the South wall mural in situ, in 1968, prior to removal of the murals to the nearby museum where they remain today. Photograph by author.

day of taxation," observed in late Sasanian and early Islamic Iran?

The calendrical anomaly in late Sasanian and early Islamic Iran in the seventh century had led to the postponement of Nowrūz from the first day of spring, the time of the vernal equinox, to the ninth month, Ādur, the summer solstice, in the Iranian calendar (de Blois 1996, pp. 40, 47, 50, n.14; Abdollahy 2000). A significant conjunction of the summer solstice at Nowrūz is its coincidence in seventh-century Iran with the official date of the "opening day of taxation." There, the observance of Nowrūz in the month of Ādur, after the harvesting of crops, was the state date for "the opening of taxation" in the Islamic *kharājī* calendar that was presumably based on an earlier Sasanian *kharājī* calendar.[5] The coincidence, in seventh-century Iran, of the Nowrūz festival with the official date of the "opening day of taxation" would not have been lost on Sogdian rulers of the seventh century, nor on their overlords who are honored in the North and West wall murals.[6]

The focal composition in the pictorial program in Hall 1 is that of the West wall mural [Fig. 3]. Here, the destroyed upper section of the composition was originally devoted to the towering image of one or possibly two principal personages. In the preserved lower section of this mural, three superimposed files of regional and foreign gift-bearers converge from left and right to join a central file of ascending figures below the lost image in the uppermost center of the wall.[7] At the bottom left of the composition, are images of the Sogdian king, Varkhuman, and other regional gift-bearing dignitaries [Fig. 4, next page].[8] In the bottom right row are shown foreign dignitaries from Korea, China, and China's dependencies. Notable here are images of long-haired Turks who, instead of native Sogdians, serve as guards that usher gift-bearers from the lowermost friezes towards the central file of ascending figures.[9] Foremost among regional dignitaries is the ambassador from Chaganian, in Tokharestan, to the south of Sogdiana, in the second frieze of figures, on the left [Fig. 3, no. 27]. The latter addresses the Sogdian king, Varkhuman, in a welcoming speech, written on the ambassador's robe, in Sogdian and Bactrian cursive script (Livšic 2006, pp. 59–65). The remaining fully preserved images in the second and third friezes in this mural represent Turks with long hair, many grouped in camps, where they sit cross-legged with their backs to the viewer, below the destroyed image of the personage above them. The proprietorial presence of Turks that circulate in the gift-giving ceremony in this mural is explained by the following historical realities in Sogdiana of the seventh century.

Sogdiana, which had been a subject of the Turks in the sixth century, continued its tributary obligations even after the defeat of the Qaghanate of the Western Turks by the Tang Emperor, Gaozong (649–83), in 658–59 CE. The West wall mural, which postdates China's defeat of the Qaghanate, corresponds to the time of Gaozong's appointment of Mishe and Buzhen, earlier Qaghanate leaders, as China's Protectors-general. The latter were now charged with the expansion of China's influence across Central Asia through Transoxiana to the borders of Persia (De la Vaissière 2006, pp. 156–57; Grenet 2006, pp. 52–53; Azarpay 2013, p.

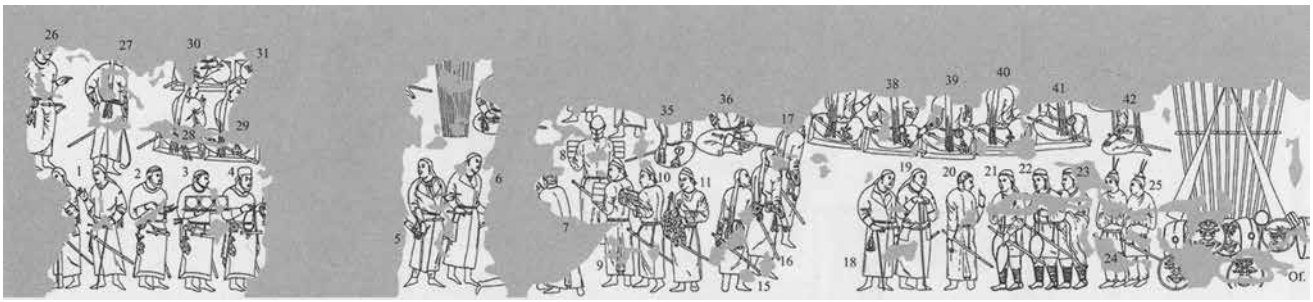

Fig. 3. Outline drawing of preserved images in the West wall mural, of Hall 1, numbered by Al'baum 1975, tracing by A. Barbet and drawn by F. Ory, Royal Naurūz *2006, p. 26, Pl. 3.*

Fig. 4. Copy of figures numbered 2, 3 and 4, from the West wall mural, Hall 1. The name 'Varkhuman,' was inscribed on the neck of the figure number 4, on the right, Al'baum 1975, Pl. 6.

310; Golden 2011, p. 42). In the years between 658 and 661 the Tang administration established over a hundred area commands and prefectures that extended into Central Asia (Pan 1997, p. 196). If the date of the completion of the Afrasiab murals is placed around 660 CE when one or both *qaghan*s of the Western Turks, Mishe and Buzhen, served as China's Protectors-general in Sogdiana, then the West wall mural surely honors the Turks, identified with regions to the West of Sogdiana (De la Vaissière 2006, pp. 156–57; Azarpay 2013, p. 310; Golden 2011, p. 42).

Fig. 5. Outline drawing of preserved images on the North wall mural based on drawings in Al'baum 1975, with Albaum's numerical order of figures, reproduced in Royal Naurūz *2006, p. 27, Pl. 5.*

The North Wall Mural

The theme of the North wall mural in Hall 1, as established by Compareti and Cristoforetti, is the celebration of the Duanwujie, or the "Dragon-Boat" festival in China [Fig. 5] (Compareti and Cristoforetti 2005; Compareti 2006). Like the Sogdian and Persian Nowrūz, the Chinese Duanwujie also coincided with the summer solstice in the seventh century. In this mural, China's royal couple is shown fully engaged in activities related to the celebration of the "Dragon-Boat" festival in China, on the very day of the Sogdian Nowrūz festival. Hence, it is surely not an image of Gaozong, the Chinese Emperor in person, who receives taxes and gifts in the distant land of the golden peaches, in the damaged upper section of the West wall mural, discussed above, but rather his trusted deputy, China's regional Protector-general of Sogdiana.

Fig. 6. Outline drawing of preserved images on the South wall mural, Hall 1, based on drawings in Al'baum 1975, with Al-baum's numerical order of figures, reproduced in Royal Naurūz *2006, p. 26, Pl. 4.*

The South Wall Mural

The South wall mural, perhaps the most striking among the wall paintings from Hall 1, is distinguished by its brilliant colors, rich ornamental details, and extraordinary subject matter.[10] Here the complex perspective effects of the West and North walls murals are replaced by a horizontal flow of figures from left to right, reminiscent of compositions of pictorial narratives in other Sogdian murals, such as the Rustam cycle from Panjikent (Azarpay et al. 1981, passim). The South wall mural depicts an extraordinary caravan of gift-bearers, in two superimposed files, against an intense lapis lazuli-colored background [Figs. 6, 7].[11] The procession is led by riders on a small white elephant, followed by four richly dressed women on horseback, two male Chaganian dignitaries, shown riding side-saddle as they prepare to descend from their camels, and a pair of male and a female pedestrians who lead a trained horse and two pairs of white geese [Figs. 8, 9, next page] (Azarpay 2013, pp. 314–16). The figures move from the viewer's right towards a small, guarded structure, their ultimate destination, at the extreme left of the procession [Fig. 6]. At the rear of the procession, to the viewer's right, an outsized image of the Sogdian king, Varkhuman, on horseback, followed by his equestrian troops, welcomes the neighboring Chaganian emissaries after their long journey from territories to the south of Sogdiana and escorts them to Samarkand's South Gate [Fig. 6].[12]

The Avoidance of Divine Imagery in the Afrasiab Murals

The Hall 1 murals at Afrasiab are exceptional in Sogdian painting for their avoidance of divine, demoniac, and supernatural symbols and images. It is only as decorative and repetitive textile patterns that mythical motifs are encountered in these murals.

Fig. 7. The central section of the procession of figures depicted in the South wall mural, Hall 1. Photograph of the original mural in its present state of preservation courtesy Étienne De la Vaissière.

Fig. 8. The head of a Chaganian emissary, before the degradation of its colors, from the South wall mural, Hall 1. Photograph by author, 1968.

Notable among them is the 'dog-bird' or *senmurv*, which is repeated on the garment of the Sogdian ruler, Varkhuman, whose name is inscribed on his neck [Fig. 10; Color Plate V].[13] The use of the *senmurv* motif on Varkhuman's courtly robe is seemingly a wishful statement of the wearer's rank and prestige, modeled after Sasanian prototypes, attested in depictions of *senmurv*-patterned royal garments of Sasanian kings.[14] As noted by Vladimir Livšic, despite Manichaean, Christian, and Buddhist missionary activities in seventh century Sogdiana, native Sogdians largely retained their Zoroastrian faith (Livšic 2006, p. 62). Hence they were doubtless fully cognizant of the association of the *senmurv* motif with the Zoroastrian Dēn, or religion, in Persian art. The colossal, equestrian statue of Khusro II, in the large grotto at Taq-i-Bustan, portrays the helmeted ruler in protective chain-mail armor worn above *senmurv*-patterned trousers [Fig. 11, next page]. Here, with shield and a raised spear, the king postures as a quintessential champion of his realm, fortified by impenetrable armor and his Dēn, the Zoroastrian religion.[15]

Fig. 9. Outline drawing of a caparisoned, trained horse, from a detail of the South wall mural, Hall 1, Al'baum 1975, Fig. 12.

Fig. 10. The senmurv *motif used as a textile pattern on the robe of the Sogdian king, Varkhuman, in the North wall mural, Hall 1. Recently photographed detail, courtesy Matteo Compareti.*

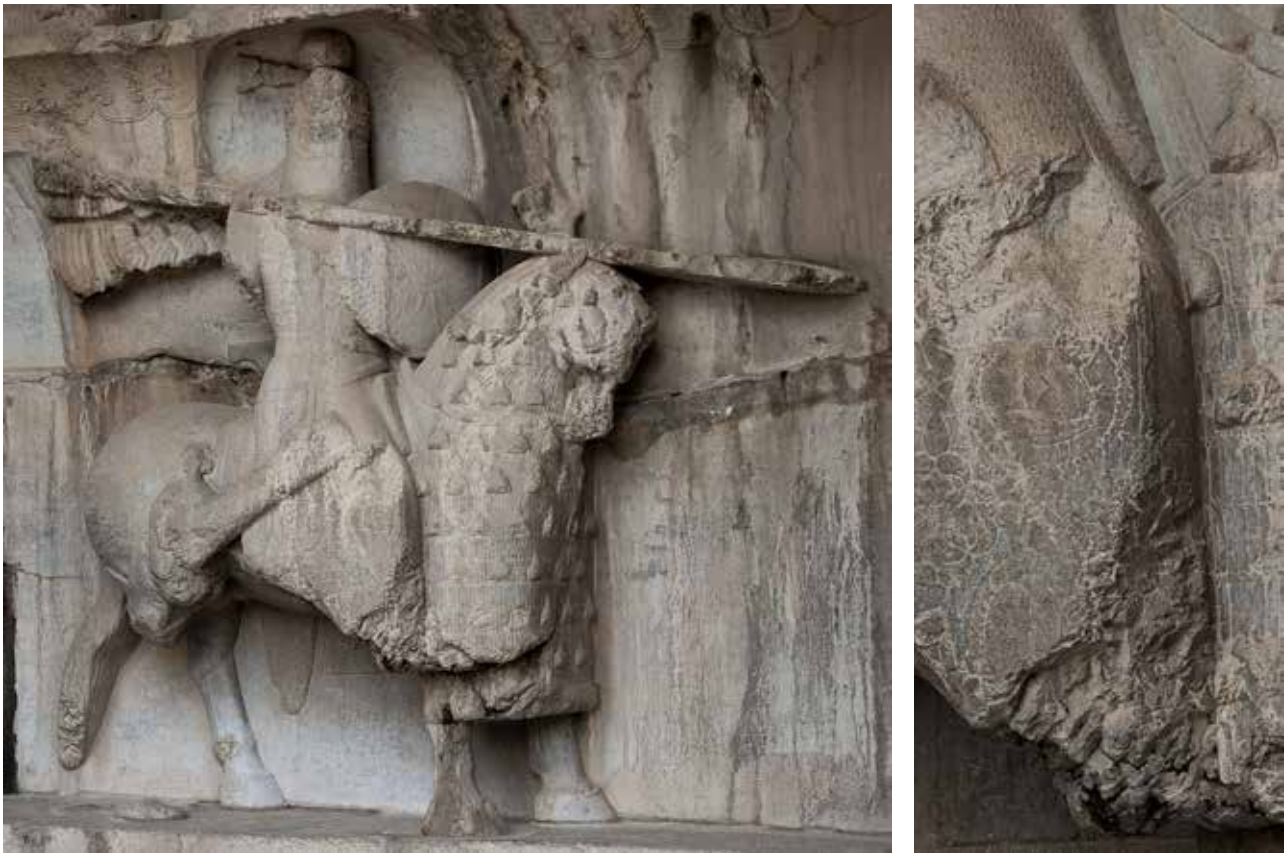

Fig. 11. The senmurv *motif on the coat and trousers of the colossal, equestrian image of the late Sasanian king, Khusro II, in the lower level of the large grotto at Taq-i Bustan, Iran. Photographs courtesy Daniel C. Waugh.*

Finally, the avoidance of divine imagery in the Afrasiab murals may be attributed to the secular function of the Nowrūz festival portrayed in the West wall mural at Afrasiab. Nowrūz, which in the years around 660 CE coincided with the official date of the "opening day of taxation" in Iran, would have served as an operable model for the collection of revenue by superpowers to meet regional expenses. In the wake of the Arab conquest of the Persian Empire a generation earlier, and on the eve of the Islamic conquest of Transoxiana, Sogdiana's hope for survival lay in its alliance with China and its surrogates, a hope that is vividly and eloquently expressed in the pictorial narrative of the murals from the Hall of the Ambassadors.

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Notes

1. I wish to thank Frantz Grenet for information on the source of the plan of Afrasiab, published here as Fig. 1. The plan of Afrasiab was originally drawn in 1885 by the Topographical Survey of the Russian army, and redrawn in the 1990s by two draftsmen from the French Archaeological Mission in Uzbekistan, the MAFOuz de Sogdiane. Claude

Rapin, of the MAFOuz de Sogdiane, the source of the plan, has kindly provided me with the following information and has permitted me to publish his revised version of the plan in the present article. According to Claude Rapin, this plan shows the reduced limits of the town (2nd and 3rd ramparts) on the eve of the Arab invasion. However, several buildings, such as those to the east and west of the citadel date to the early Islamic period. The external boundary of the site coincides with the city limits datable to the Achaemenid period. The urban area, shown in the plan, was reduced in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, but reached its maximum dimensions in the Islamic era. Whereas the location of the South Gate of the Early Medieval city is certain, the precise locations of the North and East Gates remain conjectural. Based on recent publications of archaeological explorations in this area, Claude Rapin has added to his plan the locations of Hall 1, "Hall of the Ambassadors," (Area 23), but has omitted details of area 29/6 where excavations are in progress.

2. For the plan of Hall 1, by François Ory, see *Royal Naurūz in Samarkand* 2006, p. 25, Fig. 2. Hall 1, also referred to as Palace 23, is situated within the third and last fortification wall that surrounded the city before the Arab conquest of Samarkand. Hall 1 was situated far from the citadel within the first rampart and was separated from the residential area within the second rampant. Construction of Hall 1 evidently began before the building of the third rampart that surrounds it. I wish to thank Claude Rapin for the foregoing information. In light of the conclusions reached in the present paper, it may be proposed that Hall 1 was not a royal palace but rather a functionary's residence and reception area, reserved for special occasions such as that depicted in the mural of the hall's West wall.

3. For a clear distinction between original and reconstructed images in the Afrasiab murals, see Al'baum 1975; Ory 2006, pp. 87–90, Figs. 1–3, 5b, 8; De la Vaissière 2006, pp. 24–25.

4. De la Vaissière 2006, pp. 156–57. See below for arguments in support of the date of the West wall mural. See below for arguments in support of this date proposed for the West wall mural. For the earliest identification the Nowrūz festival as the theme of the Afrasiab murals, see Silvi Antonini 1989.

5. The earlier Sasanian *kharājī* calendar began in the year 611 CE, during the reign of the Sasanian king Khusro II (591–629 CE) (Azarpay et al. 2007, pp. 20–21; Weber 2013, p. 172).

6. Although Compareti and Cristoforetti refer to the Muslim practice of starting the fiscal year with the summer solstice, they fail to connect this event with the "gift-giving" procession depicted in the West wall mural at Afrasiab (Compareti and Cristoforetti 2005, p. 217; Compareti 2009).

7. For differing speculations on the identity of the personage depicted in the destroyed upper section of this mural, see Grenet 2006, pp. 48–49, and *Royal Naurūz 2006*, passim. The perspective strategy used in this composition, perhaps a Chinese import, is unusual for Sogdian painting. For the modular layout of the West wall composition, compared by Markus Mode to a unit of measure, the 'bu', in Tang China, see Mode 2006, pp. 117–18. On Chinese artistic elements in the North wall mural from Afrasiab, see Kageyama 2006 and Compareti 2009.

8. Varkhuman's name was written in Sogdian cursive on the neck of this figure by a visitor to the hall sometime after the original dwellers had vacated the building (Livšic 2006, pp. 60, 71).

9. The role of ushers, played here by Turks, is aptly compared by De la Vaissière (2006, p. 149) to that of Persians and Medes who, as host and ushers, direct gift-bearing foreign delegations into the presence of the enthroned king, depicted on reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis a millennium earlier.

10. For a detailed and accurate description of ornaments and realia in the Afrasiab murals, see Yatsenko 2004.

11. On techniques of execution and pigments used in the Afrasiab murals, see Barbet 2006. Of the upper register of figures in the South wall mural, only multiple horses' hooves and fragmentary details of stirrups have been preserved (*Royal Naurūz 2006*, p. 27, Pl. 5).

12. According to Chinese sources that date to 650 and 658, Varkhuman, mentioned twice in inscriptions written on the West wall murals at Afrasiab, had been king of Samarkand, and was appointed by the Chinese as governor of Sogdiana in 658, shortly before completion of the mural at Afrasiab around 660 (De la Vaissière 2006, p. 155). In support of this date, see Azarpay 2013, pp. 310–11; against it, Mode 2006, pp. 112–13.

13. Livšic 2006, pp. 66, 71. This Sogdian inscription was evidently written by a visitor after the building's original dwellers had left the site, and thus belongs to a second series of Sogdian labels written on the murals. The earliest inscriptions, written in Sogdian and Bactrian cursive, served as explanatory comments written on the murals upon their completion, see Livšic 2006, pp. 59, 65–66.

14. The use of the *senmurv* pattern is notable in Sasanian rock sculpture and reliefs at Taq-e Bostan where it decorates the garment of the colossal equestrian image of Khusro II, carved in three-quarters view, inside the large grotto, see Fukai and Horiuchi 1969-1971,Vol. 2, Pls. 34, 44–48. The *senmurv* motif is repeated on the coat and trousers of images of the hunter king in reliefs on the left wall of the same grotto (Fukai and Horiuchi, Vol. 1, Pls. 60–64). For other examples of *senmurv*-patterned textile, see Jeroussalimskaja 1993.

15. On the symbolism of the *senmurv* motif as a reference to the supernatural pair of winged dogs that accompany the Dēn at the Činwad Bridge and guard the perilous passage of the soul across that bridge, see Azarpay 2011, p. 60.

The Performance of Pain and Remembrance in Late Ancient Iran

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The ancient Iranian world, influenced by Zoroastrianism, is notorious for its obsession with the well-being of the body and the soul. However, it is peculiar that one encounters acts of self-laceration or self-mutilation during mourning ceremonies, especially those held in honor of a god-like hero or a blameless youth. This essay focuses on communal death commemorations held in remembrance of the undeserved killing of Siavash, the Kayanid Prince, and Hussain the third Shia Imam who both suffered a tragic and undeserved and untimely death at the hands of super-villains.[1] Their deaths are commemorated by ceremonies that include acts of self-harm, self-mutilation, and performances of lamentation, staged in remembrance of the deceased hero's pain. This paper attempts to explain the background and the history of self-laceration and self-wounding preformed as a symbol of deep grievance.

Fig. 1. The killing of Siavash. Illustration to the Shahnameh*, dated AH 1065/CE 1654-65. Islamic Manuscripts, Garrett no. 57G. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Copyright © Princeton University Library, reproduced with permission.*

The Kayanid prince Siavash, a mythological persona who has enjoyed much popularity in the Persianate world, is one whose killing has been mourned by not only his kin but also by many generations of Iranians. Ceremonies held in his remembrance are unique in the sense that mourners indulged in acts of wailing and self-injury. The story of Siavash revolves around a young prince characterized by his high morality, heavenly looks, and chivalry. The protagonist is caught in the midst of the feud between his father (Kavus, the king of Iran) and his father-in-law (Afrasiyab, the king of Turan), who ironically is also the arch-enemy of Iran. After a dramatic series of events, Siavash is brutally and unjustly killed at the hands of Afrasiyab [Fig. 1; Color Plate VI]. Eventually, his death is avenged by the Iranian national hero Rostam.

This tragedy of Siavash and its aftermath is narrated in several Medieval Persian texts. In *Tarikh-e Bukhara*, an early tenth century historical account, we encoun-

ter a detailed depiction of an early Iranian mourning ceremony, where the author records the communal custom of remembering the untimely death of the young innocent mythical hero, Siavash. According to the text "the people of Bukhara perform/have amazing hymns/songs pertaining to the killing of Siavash and minstrels call these hymns/songs, *kin-e Siavash* (Avenging Siavash) ... Muhammad-ibn-Jaffar believes that it has been three millennia since this incident [the killing of Siayavash]" (*Tarikh-e Bukhara* 1984, p. 24). Furthermore, *Tarikh-e Bukhara* reports that the burial place of Siavash is believed to be in the city of Bukhara, and that:

> The magi of Bukhara honor this place and find it dear to their hearts and every year, each person sacrifices a rooster there. The people of Bukhara also mourn and grieve the death of Siavash on the day of *Nowruz*, and sing sad hymns in his commemoration. [These songs] are famous in all regions and are called *Gristan-e Moghan* or 'the weeping of Magi' by the minstrels. [*Tarikh-e Bukhara* 1984, pp. 32–33].

It can be assumed that this remembrance ceremony was accompanied by both emotional and physical self-harm that is, wailing and pulling one's own hair, which are both indeed two very unorthodox Zoroastrian practices. What makes these rituals more interesting is that they are not only practiced by common people but the Zoroastrian magi are present at the event.

According to the *Shahnameh*, the kin of Siavash did not handle the news of his passing calmly: "When the tragic news reached his kin, the palace trembled with screams and cries. His kin and servants pulled their hair, cut off their locks, and scratched their cheeks" (Ferdowsi 1990, vol. 2. p. 359). While Siavash's palace in Turan, the land of Afrasiyab, is filled with echoes of painful screams, the *Shahnameh* turns our attention to Iran. As the news of the beheading of Siavash reached the gates of the palace, the Iranian hero, "Piran fell from his throne in a faint, ripped his garments, tore at his hair, and threw heaps of dust over his head" (Ferdowsi 1990, vol 2, p. 361).[2]

Grieving for Siavash does not end in the medieval period and has continued until as early as the twentieth century. For example, in an early recording of this tradition Sadeq Hedayat (1955, p. 56) reports that in the mourning rituals held in many areas of Iran, such as Kohkiluyeh, "women who recite old ballads and solemn songs while they wail call this action *Susivosh* (*Sug e Siavash*)." Also in the novel by Simin Daneshvar (1969) entitled *Suvashun*,[3] we encounter the story (pp. 27–274) of how women in the southwestern province of Fars observed a funerary ritual, where they would cut their hair and tie it to a tree and perform wailing and other acts of grievance which they called *Suvashun*. Ironically, the story ends with the death of Yousef, Zari's blameless husband, which reminds the reader of the death of Siavash and Imam Hussain (Daneshvar 1969, pp. 290–91)

Although it is clear that acts of self-laceration were practiced in pre-Islamic Iran (Yarshater 1979, p. 93), we cannot associate it with Zoroastrian customs and regulations promoted by the Achaemenids and the Sasanians. Zoroastrian textual evidence displays a very strict abhorrence of any and all kinds of self-injury. Middle Persian Zoroastrian texts produced in the Sasanian period indicate very clearly that the infliction of any type of emotional or physical harm on the self is strictly forbidden. For example, in the fifth question of *Menog i Xrad,* a Middle Persian text, it is stated that "the most miserable land ... is that in which people cry, wail, and pull their hair [as a sign of mourning]" (*Minooy-e Kherad* 1985, p. 19). Another Zoroastrian Middle Persian text, the *Arda Wiraz Namag*, in narrating the events of the afterlife witnessed by Arda-Wiraz during his journey to the other world, sheds light on the Zoroastrian view of lamenting the passing of a loved one. Arda-Wiraz states that: "I came to a place and I saw a big mighty river...some were crossing with great difficulty and some were crossing easily"... and the god Adur said: "... those who are not able to cross are those for whom after their passing much lamentation, mourning, crying, and mourning was made...And tell those in the world '...do not unlawfully mourn and grieve and cry for the souls of your departed shall receive that much harm and difficulty'" (*Arda Wiraz Namag* 1986, p. 200).

In regard to the aftermath of the death of Siavash a Middle Persian poem entitled, *Abar Madan i Wahram i Warzawand* (On the Coming of the Miraculous Wahram), states "then we will bring revenge …, in the manner which Rostam brought a hundred revenges of Siavash" (Daryaee 2012, pp.10–11). So we can see that the idea of revenge is promoted as the conclusion to the tragedy, without mention of any sort of ritualistic mourning in his remembrance, let alone engaging in physical self-harm. Thus, here in Zoroastrian orthodoxy, the death of innocent Siavash merits revenge, to equalize the harm done, but no lamentation is mentioned or permitted. Unlike in Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts, the *Shahnameh,* composed in the 10th Century CE in Khorasan, describes how Siavash's death is lamented and his passing mourned.

There is material evidence, especially from the eastern borders of the Persianate world beyond the Oxus, which suggests that Zoroastrian taboos regarding physical or emotional self-harm in mourning rituals were not observed. In Sogdiana, a region of what may

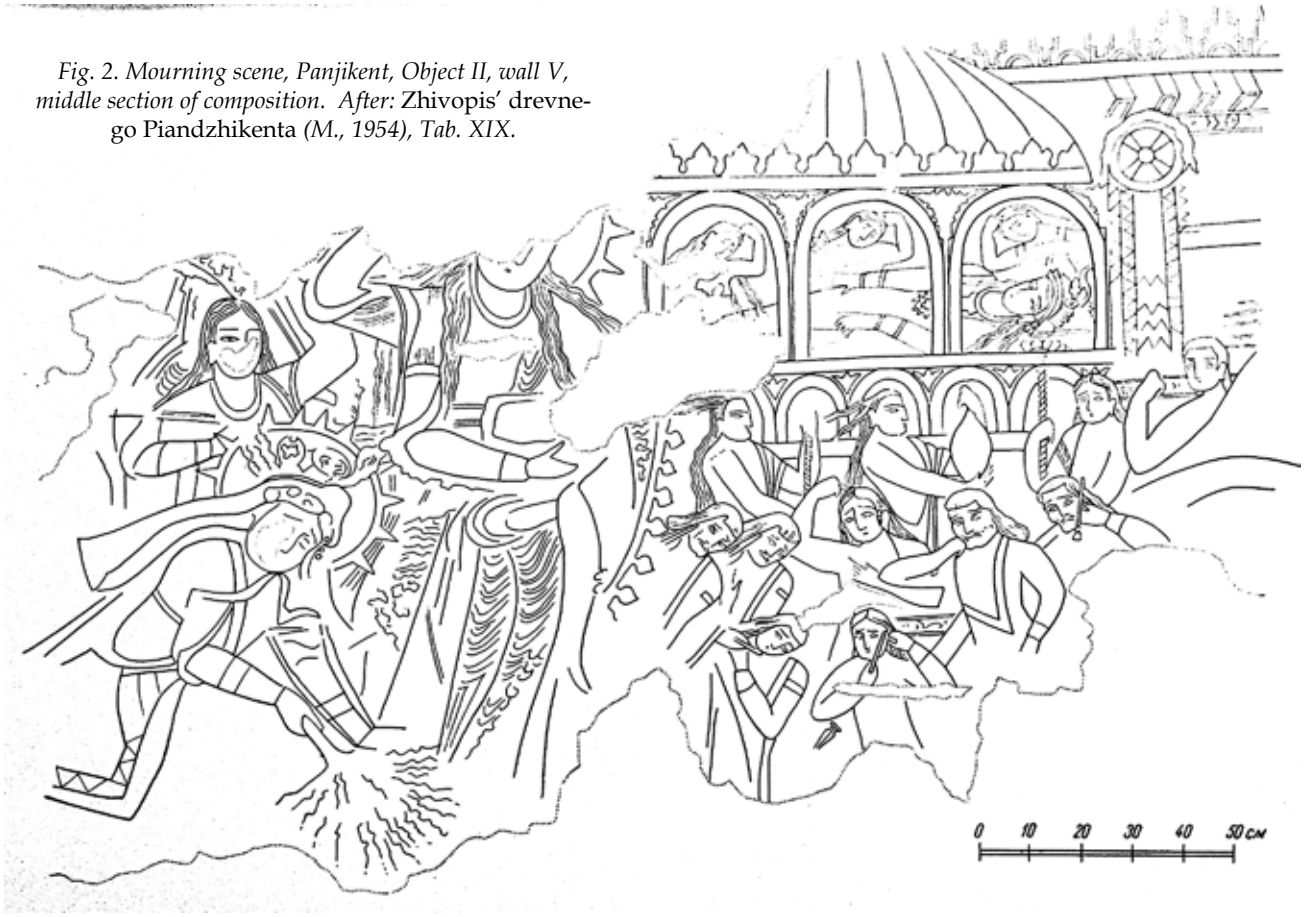

Fig. 2. Mourning scene, Panjikent, Object II, wall V, middle section of composition. After: Zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta *(M., 1954), Tab. XIX.*

be called "Zoroastrian orthopraxy," one of the cultural centers was Panjikent, where in many drawings the Sogdian *Vaghnpat* (βγnpt) "Master of a Temple" is depicted as being in charge of the affairs of the temple (Grenet and Azarnouche 2012, p. 160). One of the best known artistic representations of a lamentation ceremony is a mural that displays a youth on his deathbed and several people gathered around him lacerating their face and body, probably as a funerary rite [Fig. 2]. A. M. Belenitskii argued that this illustration might be a depiction of Siavash's mourning scene, citing as part of his evidence the passage from *Tarikh-e Bukhara* (Belenitskii 1954, pp, 78–82; Azarpay et al. 1981, p. 130; for a different interpretation, Grenet and Azarnouche 2012, pp. 162–63). Here women are wailing, pulling their hair and lacerating their faces in a ritualistic form in remembrance of a deceased person.

In recent years, more fascinating evidence has been found in East Asia. Of particular interest are the elaborate funerary images carved on the panels of burial couches in Sogdian Iranian tombs in China (Lerner 2005). A panel on the burial couch now housed in the Miho Museum, which probably dates from the third quarter of the 6th century CE, provides us with very interesting clues (Lerner 1995, 2011; Feng 2001, p. 244). At the center of the image is a Zoroastrian priest, who can be identified by his *padam* or mask, and is tending to the sacred fire and performing a ritual [Fig. 3]. There is also a dog present at the feet of the priest is probably depicting the *Sag-did* ceremony.[4] In the Zoroastrian tradition, the "four-eyed dog" is believed to have had the ability to drive off demons and to decrease the infection of the corpse (Boyce 1996, p. 303). In this tomb portrait, the dog (*Sag*) is viewing the funeral, as it should do at any orthodox Zoroastrian funeral in the pre-modern times. This scene depicts the service for death in Zoroastrianism which is called *rawanpase* "soul-service", which is a solemn affair in orthodox Zoroastrianism.[5] The rest of the scene includes a noble lady

Fig. 3. Detail of panel on the Miho Museum's Sogdian burial couch depicting the Zoroastrian rawanpase*, "soul-service". Source: <http://heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/images/death/sogdianchinvatdetail.jpg>.*

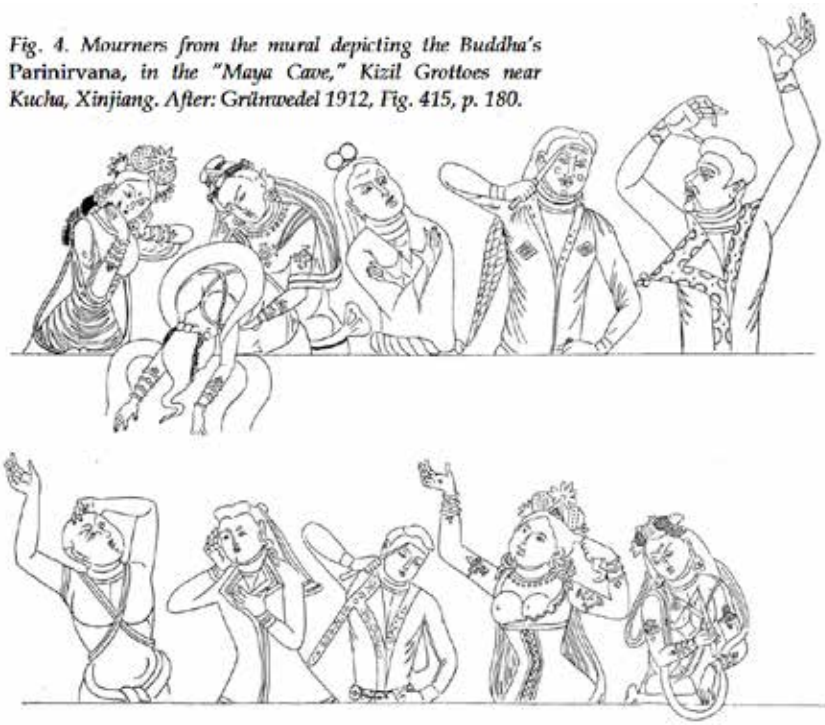

Fig. 4. Mourners from the mural depicting the Buddha's Parinirvana, *in the "Maya Cave," Kizil Grottoes near Kucha, Xinjiang. After: Grünwedel 1912, Fig. 415, p. 180.*

holding the deceased person's *kusti* (sacred girdle). Behind her is a group of mourners. This would be an orthodox Zoroastrian funeral, except that four of the mourners are lacerating their faces.[6]

More evidence is found in textual sources from Greater Khorasan. For instance, a Sogdian Manichaean text describes the way Iranian partook in a funerary ritual: "… and there take place spilling of blood, killing of horses, laceration of faces, and taking (=cutting off?) of ears (?). And the Lady Nan(a) accompanied by her women, walks on to the bridge, they smash the vessels, loud they call out, they weep, tear (their garments), pull out (their hairs), and throw themselves to the ground" (Henning 1944, p. 144; see also Russell 2004, p. 1449). This matches the funerary scene described earlier.

Buddhist cave images from along the "Silk Roads" document what can be interpreted as Central Asian mourning traditions. The examples here both depict the death of the Buddha, the *Parinirvana*, where he is being mourned by his disciples and others. The earliest of these [Fig. 4], dated to the 5th or early 6th centuries CE, is from the Kizil Caves along the "northern Silk Road" near Kucha.[7] Above the flaming bier with the Buddha's body is a "balcony" with a row of figures dramatically displaying their grief. Two of them are either lacerating their faces or preparing to cut off their noses. The physiognomies of several of the individuals suggest they might be of central Asian ethnicity—in any event, different from the "Indian" appearance of the other figures.

Further to the east, at the important cross-cultural Silk Road oasis of Dunhuang, one of the most impressive of the Mogao Caves, No. 158, dating from 839 CE, is dominated by a huge statue of the Buddha reclining in *Parinirvana*.[8] Around him on the walls are paintings of the mourners (and all the other surfaces of the cave are painted as well with imagery drawn from Buddhist scriptures). The usual form of mourners at the time of Buddha's passing is the gesture of holding the hand by the ears to try to remember what the last words of the Buddha to his disciples were. At the feet of the Buddha in this care are depictions of foreign emissaries (from the West), and followers of Buddha who are engaged in lacerating their face, chest, or nose [Fig. 5]. One of the mourners is even committing *hari-kiri*. The suggestion

Fig. 5. Mourners depicted on the mural behind the statue of the Buddha in Parinirvana, *Mogao Cave No. 158, Dunhuang, Gansu Province. After:* Dunhuang Mogaoku *1987, Pl. 65.*

may be that we are dealing with Iranian or Turkic emissaries who are witnessing the passing of Buddha and mourning in their own traditional custom.

Thus, we might cautiously conclude that lacerating one's body, contrary to both Zoroastrian and Buddhist traditions was practiced in Central Asia. While the Miho couch relief very likely reflects some direct knowledge of at least "unorthodox" Zoroastrian rituals, as we would expect in a Sogdian milieu, the Buddhist paintings may or may not reflect realities familiar to the artist — they could be a kind of ethnic stereotyping or caricature, with, from the Buddhist standpoint, negative connotations.[9] At very least though, it is clear that these artistic depictions of mourning rituals originated in regions where there was an ethnically mixed population that included Iranian and Turkic peoples and whose cultural traditions left their mark in what we think of as "Chinese" culture.[10] The period of the Tang Dynasty (618–906) is considered to be one in which the presence of foreigners and a taste for foreign exotica reached a peak. However, on the Iranian Plateau, we do not have much information for laceration in any performances of pain and memory. It may be that the documentation is simply not there, or more probably Zoroastrianism did not allow such practices to take place.

In Islam, the practice self-harm and self-injury as a mourning ritual remains prevalent among Shiites. Another hero whose annual mourning ceremony involves self-laceration is Hussain ibn Ali, the youngest grandson of the prophet Muhammad. He rose against the Ummayad Caliph, Yazid, and was defeated by the latter's army. Hussain, his sons, and his allies were brutally killed on the day of *Ashura*, the tenth day of the lunar month of *Moharram*, in 680 CE. His death subsequently was avenged by Mokhtar (Zarrinkub 1975, pp. 36–37), just as Siavash was avenged by Rostam, and his legacy as a blameless hero who preferred to die rather than give in to tyranny and suppression was carried on by Shiite Muslims.

On the day of Ashura, almost everywhere in the Shiite world, public mourning ceremonies commemorate this loss. Among various customs of this day, two specifically pertain to our interest. The first is *Ta'ziyeh* (mourning) (Monchi-Zadeh 1967; Yarshater 1979), a staged performance, where the battle of *Karbala* and the slaughter of Hussain and his followers is reenacted, while the audience engage in fits of grievance, hitting or pounding of the chest, and shedding of tears. The second ritual is a parade-like event called *Zanjir-zani,* where groups of men walk through the streets in an organized manner while the leader of the event chants somber hymns commemorating the suffering of Hussain. Male participants either pound their chests or slash their own backs with the *zanjir* (chain). Slashing one's back with the *zanjir* can be done either lightly or draw blood depending on the region where the ritual is observed. For example, parts of the Shiite world such as Afghanistan witness very bloody scenes of *Zanjir-zani*. A third custom, now outlawed in Iran, is called *Qameh-zani* where participants, usually male, would stab their foreheads with the tip of a dagger (*Qameh*). This ritual takes place while mourners/participants, clad in black, walk the streets either weeping or chanting songs of grief.

Such practices of self-harm are not new. Customs and rituals found among civilizations with an enduring ancient background are usually deeply rooted and can be traced further back in history. This especially pertains to customs dealing with death and the spiritual realm. With regard to the practices of Ashura, in a study on the performance of Ta'ziyeh we find amazing drawings from the 19th century CE depicting scenes where men are illustrated lacerating their faces as a sign of mourning. More documents can be found in travelogues of Europeans who have visited Persia, especially in the seventeenth century, and left vivid descriptions of the performance of Ta'ziyeh on the day of Ashura (Newman 2008, p. 78). They report encountering scenes where people lacerated themselves during this day in an attempt to feel the pain of the irreproachable hero Hussain.

Although many believe that the tradition of self-laceration was promoted by the Safavids (Newman 2008, p. 36) in the 16th and 17th CE and is limited to the Shiite history of Persia, it appears that the custom of punishing one's body as a sign or an act of mourning for the passing of someone dearly loved or someone with a high religious, spiritual or political status has had a longer history in the Iranian world and its neighboring lands. In the 10th Century CE, in a period which has been dubbed as the Iranian *Intermezzo*, we see the performance of pain, in what Marshall Hodgson has termed the "Perso-Islamicate world."

Among the various dynasties who ruled at the time, only the Buyids (concerning whom, see Minorsky 1932) adopted a distinct religious stance vis-à-vis the Sunni Caliph at Baghdad. The Buyids, from the Caspian region, had "national" interests, from the minting of coinage in the style of the ancient Persian kings (Madelung 1969), to leaving inscriptions at Persepolis and consulting with the Zoroastrian Magi (Frye 1993, p. 251). However, their commitment to Shi'ism was also abundantly clear, or it became clear when they became the de facto political power. While the Buyids began as Zaydis by the time they extended their power beyond the Caspian, they had become "twelver Shiites," a tradition that was elevated to official status alongside the dominant Sunni tradition of Baghdad.

It is difficult to determine when and how the first Shiite passion-play and acts of self-laceration became part of mourning rituals dedicated Imam Hussain. One of the earliest attestations is from the Buyid period. Mu'izz al-Dawla was instrumental in promoting Shiite practices and for the first time on the 10th of Muharram in 963 CE a public mourning was performed. "The markets were closed and commerce ceased. Women, with loosened hair, blackened faces, and rent garments, marched in procession, beating (and lacerating) their faces in lamentation" (Kraemer 1992, p. 42). Historians categorize this type of mourning ritual as a Caspian region/Daylamite tradition, the region being closely connected to Khorasan both geographically and culturally (Ibid., p. 42).

What is interesting to note is that not only Zoroastrianism and Buddhism but also Islam disallow wailing and mourning.[11] It is in the Shiite tradition that the mourning ritual gains ground and becomes fully accepted. Because of their lamentation practices in line with those of the Greater Khorasanian or Central Asian world, the Buyids seem to have been responsible for promoting such observances or at least laying the basis for their broader dissemination. It is also interesting that the early Persian text which narrates such practices of mourning, the *Shahnameh*, is contemporaneous with the first Ashura performance/ceremony held by the Buyids in Baghdad. Possibly this marks an important step in the transmission of a ritual from Greater Khorasan across the entire Iranian plateau. Were not the Daylamite Buyids interjecting into the minds of their subjects their own rituals and those of the east as performance of pain in commemoration of blameless heroes whose life was taken unjustly? In this way the death of Siavash in Khorasan and Imam Hussain in Iraq came to be remembered in a similar fashion and their mourning rituals came together and intertwined in the larger Iranian world.

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Notes

1. On the death of Siavash, see Meskoob 1971; Hasouri 2005. For more details on the death of Hussain and his allies during the battle of Karbala, see Ṭabarī 1990, pp. 92–178.

2. It is interesting to note here that still in some areas of Iran, funerary ceremonies, especially those held in honor of a popular person, are accompanied by participants covering their head or their whole body in dust or mud as a sign of mourning.

3. The term is most probably a shortened version of *Sug e Siavashan.*

4. For other representations of *Sag-did* in Sogdian funerary art, see Lerner 2013, p. 137.

5. Henning believes that the significance of the term "soul service" is not clear, but that "it might refer to a religious service for the souls of the departed" (Henning 1944, p. 143, n. 6).

6. A vase from Merv depicts a possibly Sogdian funerary scene with mourners, who may be weeping but are not lacerating their faces. See Compareti 2011.

7. The painting, in the so-called "Maya Cave" was removed by the German Turfan expeditions of the early 20th century, a process which, unfortunately, destroyed a good portion of the imagery of greatest interest here. What remains may be seen in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin, MIK III 8861, which indicates it has been carbon-dated 416-526 CE. See online <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/museums/mia/im71e.jpg>; for a sharper, good color reproduction, *Kezi'er shiku* 1997, Pl. 224. The mourners are in a "balcony" above the bier on which the body of the Buddha was being cremated. As the caption to Grünwedel's drawing indicates (1912, Fig. 415, p. 180), the figures were painted in a single row, which he has divided into two.

8. For a description of the cave, see Whitfield 1995, Vol. 2, pp. 323–325; there are some color plates in his Vol. 1, pp. 103–104. More generally on a number of the most important Buddhist cave sites in the region, see Juliano 2001.

9. On the possibility of caricature in the Chinese depiction of foreigners, note Lerner 2013, p. 138.

10. There is a huge literature relating to this subject. Good introductions can be found in Juliano and Lerner 2001 and the classic book on Tang exotica by Schafer 1963.

11. For the *hadith* that prohibit pulling of hair, scratching of cheeks, and wailing over the deceased in Islam see Al-Bukhari 1997, pp. 216–28.

Russo-Polovtsian Dynastic Contacts as Reflected in Genealogy and Onomastics

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The description of Polovtsian-Russian contacts — embodied not only in constant lesser and greater military conflicts but also in peace treaties, military-political alliances, inter-dynastic marriages, family ties, and finally, simply in personal relations — occupies in the oldest Russian chronicles devoted to the pre-Mongol period a significant place. The breadth of coverage is barely less than that devoted to the history of the Riurikid clan itself.

However, the modern reader of the Russian chronicle, having become interested in the history of Russo-Polovtsian interactions, comes up against two partly discouraging, partly disorienting circumstances. On the one hand, this history, for all its eventfulness, gives the impression of something monotonic and undifferentiated: over the course of a century and a half Polovtsian invasions and answering campaigns of the Russian princes are recorded in the sources so frequently that it is difficult to detect any indication of intensification or weakening of military conflict. One is struck by the similarity of those events which fall at the boundary between the 11th and 12th centuries and those which occur a bit more than a century later. In the first as in the second of the indicated periods, we learn about the alternating success of Russians and Polovtsians in battles not far from Pereiaslavl', about the capture of Russian princes by the nomads, about the fact that another prince marries his son to a Polovtsian woman, about flight—successful or unsuccessful — of yet another Riurikid to the Polovtsy…

On the other hand, in the chronicle accounts, one can but infrequently locate some information about everyday practice which made up the substance of these contacts. It is rare to encounter a reference as to how on the eve of the murder of the Polovtsian prince Itlar' he was invited to change his footwear in a warm hut and breakfast with a certain Ratibor, in order then to set off to Vladimir Monomakh. Likewise, a tale according to which the guard assigned to the captive Igor' Sviatoslavich in the Polovtsian camp carried out its orders and released the prince to participate in a falcon hunt. In most such cases, all our suppositions about the organization of the Polovetsian part of the court of the Russian prince, who was married to a Polovtsian, about the language spoken between two cousins — one of whom was a nomad heir, the other a Riurikid — are impossible to support with any direct evidence from the sources. There is definitely a lack of information suited to our modern perception concerning the daily aspects of the Russo-Polovtsian interactions; neither is the distinctive cyclical nature, the almost pathological stability of the contacts with the nomads, entirely illusory.

Nonetheless, the onomastic material and history of Russo-Polovtsian marriages offer a possible, if partial path to escaping some of these limitations. The study of the Russian names of Polovtsian rulers recorded in the chronicles along with the genealogical connections of the two dynasties gives rise to a series of observations, some entirely expected and in a certain sense superficial, but others by no means obvious and requiring multi-layered commentary. The history of the appearance of these anthroponyms, juxtaposed with the history of inter-dynastic marriages, of itself suggests a tentative, if somewhat vague but distinctive periodization of Russo-Polovtsian contacts.

We note, for example, that, unlike modern scholars, the first chroniclers never call the Polovtsian rulers "khans," but rather call them princes (*kniaz'ia*) just as they do their own dynasts. While by this measure from the Russian perspective the Polovtsy seem to have been treated identically with, for example, the Pechenegs, at the same time there is a fundamental difference. In fact, the Riurikids married only Polov-

tsian princesses among all the numerous nomads with whom they dealt. Even the people called the Chernye Klobuki, who from a certain period settle in Rus' and play a very important role both in the struggle with external enemies and in the civil strife of the princes themselves, were not granted such an honor.[1] Thus, it was only the Polovtsy whom the Russian princes considered in a specific sense to be equal partners with them: all the rest of the steppe world was suited for negotiations and treaties, but not for sealing those treaties with marriages.

Lacking their own written tradition, the Polovtsy in a certain sense were fortunate in the Russian historical narrative: they appeared in Rus' not long before the compilation of those redactions of the *Povest' vremennykh let* which have come down to us in chronicle compilations.[2] Thus the Polovtsian invasions affected directly the authors of the chronicles but at the same time never were treated by them as an inescapable and unknown evil. This was a new threat, which was necessary physically to endure, internalize and situate in a picture of the world, in world history. Thus it was no accident that the Polovtsy appear in the chronological framework of the annals with a significant degree of anticipation long before Rus' had to confront them in reality. For example, in recounting the creation of Slavic writing—that is, an event from the 9th century—the compiler of the *Povest' vremennykh let* introduces the Polovtsy as an ideal type to illustrate precisely what a nomadic people is and how the migration of peoples generally occurs: "The Ugry passed by Kiev over the hill which is now called the Ugrian hill, and on arriving at the Dnieper, they pitched camp, for they were nomads like the Polovtsians. The Ugry had come from the East and struggled across the great mountains (which were called the Ugrian mountains) and began to set upon those who lived there" (*PSRL*, I, col. 25; II, col. 18).

As far as events are concerned in which the Polovtsy figure directly, the first stage of their interaction with Rus' begins with entirely peaceful negotiations, but quickly gives way to a series of destructive defeats which the nomads inflict on the Russian princes. When Sviatoslav Iaroslavich succeeds in gaining a victory over them at Snovsk (*PSRL*, I, col. 172; II, col. 161; II, pp. 189–90), the chronicler embroiders on the event itself with a whole series of characteristics which elevate its significance, such as a speech by the prince to his soldiers. It is no accident that this speech echoes a fragment of a speech by the ancestor and namesake of this prince, Sviatoslav Igorevich, prior to his victorious battle against the Byzantines (Litvina and Uspenskii 2006, pp. 436–37).

On the whole one can say that in the 60s and 70s of the 11th century the Riurikids had but learned how to oppose the Polovtsy when they immediately attempted to make use of the "atomic energy" of nomad clans in their own internal family conflicts. To do so could be dangerous, especially at the beginning. One of the Russian princes, Roman Sviatoslavich, perished, killed by his own Polovtsian allies after a military failure (*PSRL*, I, col. 204; II, col. 195–96; II, 18). Yet this is the first and last instance: thereafter it was only for the Riurikids to kill Polovtsian princes who had entered into peaceful negotiations of alliance with them.

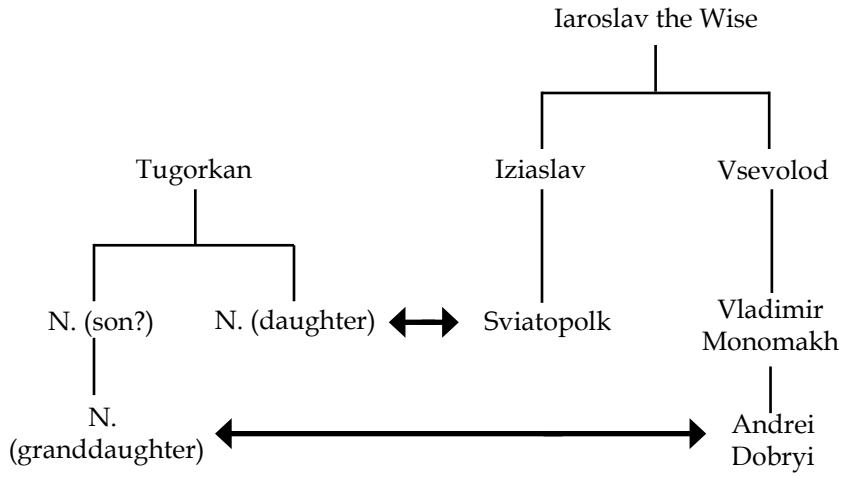
How then did the princes attempt to control or regulate this new and threatening force? They turned to the universal dynastic means for taking control of the world. Starting at the end of the 11th century, the Riurikids began to enter into marriages with the Polovtsian princesses. The first one to do so apparently was Oleg Sviatoslavich of Chernigov,[3] the brother of the murdered Roman, thereby laying the foundation for the reputation of "cumanophiles" which his heirs, the Ol'govichi, enjoyed in Rus' over a century and a half.

In general, the end of the 11th and first decades of the 12th centuries — the era of the grandsons of Iaroslav the Wise — marked a new era in Russo-Polovtsian relations. The Riurikids finally learned how to defeat the Polovtsy and actively began to establish family ties with them and enter into marriages. Vladimir Monomakh, who above all was known for his battles with the pagans, on separate occasions arranged for two of his sons, Iurii Dolgorukii (*PSRL*, I, cols. 282–83) and Andrei Dobryi (*PSRL*, II, col. 285), to marry Polovtsian women.

In the marriage strategy of the Riurikids with respect to the nomads, already at that time the most important principle of checks and balances was put in place — each branch of the princely family thus tried to secure for itself the military support of the nomads. Looking ahead, we can say that this principle gave a definite rhythm to the marriages, and to depart from that rhythm, to refuse to marry steppe princesses, in a certain sense amounted to rejecting pretensions to clan seniority. When Monomakh married his son Iurii Dolgorukii to a Polovtsian woman (one who was still a minor, it seems), this marriage was part of a significant peace treaty. On the Riurikid side participated three cousins (Vladimir, Oleg and David), and on the Polovtsian side several princes who were leaders of different clans. Moreover, Vladimir married his son to one Polovtsian princess at the same time that his cousin and constant opponent, Oleg Sviatoslavich, hastened to organize an analogous marriage with a Polovtsian woman for one of his own sons who was not yet of age (*PSRL*, I, cols. 282–83).[4]

In this period the attention of the chronicler (and, it goes without saying, the Riurikids themselves)

was drawn to Polovtsian names and, even more interestingly, to Polovtsian genealogies. As is well known, one of the characteristic features of Russian naming practices for people is patronymics. In other contexts, the old Russian hagiographer or preacher was capable of providing patronymics even for Biblical personages, whose genealogy understandably was considered to be of primary importance: for example, the designation of Jesus, son of Sirach as Iisus Sirakhovich in the "Chronicle" of Geogios Harmatolos (Istrin 1920, I, p. 204; see B. A. Uspenskii 2002, pp. 51–52; on old Russian patronymics, see also F. B. Uspenskii 2002, pp. 65–110). As far as the chronicle itself goes, in the frequency of the use of patronymics the Polovtsy unquestionably are "silver medalists." Of course the princes themselves are more frequently named with their patronymics, but the Polovtsian rulers in that regard are only slightly behind the Riurikids. This indicates that the chronicler — mentioning, for example, Kozel Sotanovich, Kodechi and Kaban Urusovich, Begbars Akochaevich, Kobiak Kardyuevich, K[o]za Burnovich, Kotian Sutoevich — knew perfectly well the immediate genealogy of the steppe peoples and it was for him not merely an item of current interest. It was important for him to indicate precisely who was involved in the next invasion of Rus' and who was responsible for the next victory or defeat of the Riurikids. The Russian princes themselves apparently were even better informed; and in any event, the text of the famous "Testament" of Vladimir Monomakh is saturated with information about patronymics.



It is necessary to stress that the patronymic form in *–ich/-ovich* does not always reflect directly the name of the father. From the philological standpoint, it is precisely the onomastic characterizations of the Polovtsy, supplementing the Slavic material itself, which make it possible to discern that universality of morphological devices that create a distinctive linguistic continuum including patronyms (i.e., specification with reference to the father), clan names, indications of a specific ethnos or geographical location. Moreover, the drawing of firm boundaries between the component parts of this continuum is not always possible. Be that as it may, evidently from the standpoint of genealogy, neither the Poles, with whom many dynastic marriages were concluded, nor even the Byzantines interested the Rus' to the degree that the Polovtsy did.

Of course, as soon as Polovtsian women married Russian princes, they were baptized. At the same time, the "Russian side" apparently very carefully calculated the degree of consanguinity with these new brides and their relatives, thereby attempting not to violate canonical rules forbidding marriages between close relations. Sviatopolk Iziaslavich and Andrei Dobryi married an aunt and niece (respectively, the daughter and granddaughter of the Polovtsian prince Tugorkan) (*PSRL*, I, cols. 231–32; II, cols 216, 285), but the degree of consanguinity between these princes themselves was sufficiently distant that the ban on marriages with brides who were too closely related was not in this case violated.

A century later Vladimir Igorevich of Novgorod-Seversk and Iaroslav, son of Vsevolod "Large Nest," were married to an aunt and her niece, but again the degree of consanguinity between these Riurikids was absolutely acceptable for such a marriage. If the Russian princes themselves were relatively closely related, then it was necessary to emphasize that their Polovtsian wives were not related. In part precisely for this reason it was important for the chronicler to indicate not only who was the father, but also who was the grandfather of each of the Polovtsian women: "In the same year and month, Vladimir and David and Oleg went to Aepa and to the other Aepa and concluded a peace, and Vladimir took as a bride for Iurii, Aepa's daughter, Osen's granddaughter, and Oleg took as a bride for his son Aepa's daughter, Girgen's granddaughter" (*PSRL*, I, cols. 282–83). The author of the text shows that the newly-acquired Polovtsian brides taken by Oleg and Vladimir Monomakh were not sisters and came from different families, although the names of their fathers were identical.

Characteristically, however, neither the native or baptismal names of the Polovtsian brides themselves are ever specified in the chronicles of the pre-Mongol period. No less significant is the fact than in the first,

earliest phase of military conflicts with the Polovtsy the Russian chronicle indicates the names of these nomadic leaders but not their patronymics. One might tentatively suggest that at the moment the Riurikids began to marry Polovtsian women, the text begins to record genealogical information about the nomads, although obviously the meaning and import of this information is by no means limited to the matrimonial sphere.

The next stage in the relations of the Russian dynasty with the Polovtsian elite begins when individuals of mixed blood appear—Polovtsian grandsons and nephews—in the paternal line belonging to the Riurikid clan. The marriages concluded earlier bore their natural fruits. Such individuals of mixed blood included, as is well known, Andrei Bogoliubskii and Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov, and many other princes. In the sequence of civil conflicts of the 1140s and 1150s which broke out in Rus', the majority of them eagerly availed themselves of their maternal uncles ("wild uncles", *dikie ui*), and these with equal eagerness provided support. Simply stated, the Polovtsy loved their Russian grandsons and nephews more than their newly-made sons-in-law—one can fight with a son-in-law, but one must support nephews, grandsons and granddaughters. More precisely, one can note that the Polovtsy held in rather high regard their blood relations, established through the female line, viewing the children of sisters and daughters to a significant degree as members of their own clan.

Most importantly, thanks to the Polovtsy the value of such connections also increased for the internal dynastic politics of the Russian princes themselves. As a dynasty that was increasingly androcentric, the Riurikids ruled for more than six centuries on the basis of succession in a single patrilineal blood line. Power could pass from brother to brother, from father to son, from uncle to nephew (but only if the latter was the son of a brother, not of a sister!). Various branches of the clan descending from a common ancestor could succeed one another on the most prestigious princely seats. Marriages frequently were concluded between distant relatives, representatives of one and the same dynasty. However no ruling privileges could be inherited through women in the 11th and 12th centuries. It was not impossible that under the influence of Polovtsian examples, the Riurikids to a certain degree were able to emphasize connections via the female line. A tradition developed within which young Russian princes began to enlist the help of the brothers of their Russian mother who was born a Riurikid princess, this process similar to the way that representatives of the clan enlisted the support of brothers and other relatives of their Polovtsian mother.

It is noteworthy that in describing princely conflicts in this period there is a growing frequency in the chronicles of the term *sestrichich* (i.e.., "the son of a sister, nephew from a sister"), which is used to characterize internal clan relations of the Russian princes themselves (cf., for example, *PSRL*, I, col. 315; II, cols. 327, 367, 471). Thus, one of the representatives of the house of Chernigov, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, constantly turns for support to his maternal uncles, the Polovtsian leaders related to him through his mother, at the same time that another prince, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, successively allies either to *stryi*, his paternal Russian uncles, or to his *ui*, maternal Russian uncles who are ready to support him as their *sestrichich*.

On the whole, it is as though the Russian princes work out with the help of the Polovtsy several strategic models which in the future would be used in their internal and external affairs. Among them, for example, is the model of synchronic contracting of several dynastic marriages which can create triple unions of the fathers of the newlyweds and simultaneously operate on the principle of checks and balances, immediately leveling the matrimonial advantages of several dynastic lines. As mentioned already, the marriage of the young Iurii Dolgorukii with a Polovtsian woman took place simultaneously with the wedding of his third cousin, the son of Oleg of Tmutorokan'. In his turn, having attained his majority, Iurii simultaneously marries off two of his daughters to junior members of two powerful Russian princely families, those of Chernigov and Galich, so to speak to a degree replicating the actions of his father and father-in-law on Russian soil (*PSRL*, II, col. 394).

One can even more broadly suggest that such a model of dynastic marriage involving Polovtsians was approved when relations were established between the parents of the bride and groom. These brides and grooms were not necessarily minors, but at the moment of the wedding, they are not the main parties involved in negotiating the contract. A similar model can be designated as the negotiation by the father of the bride directly with the father of the groom (*svat*↔*svat*), which in itself is universal for dynastic practice (Litvina and Uspenskii 2013a, pp. 308–25), but in Russian practice becomes fully operative only from the time of the Polovtsian marriages.

This third stage of Russo-Polovtsian contacts, when among the Riurikids Polovtsian sons-in-law, Polovtsian grandsons and Polovtsian nephews all act simultaneously, has yet one more characteristic feature: the Russian princes can temporarily or permanently flee to the Polovtsian camp, to the nomads, without thereby severing their connection with their own dynasty. At the end of the 1140s Rostislav Iaroslavich flees to the Polovtsy from the throne of Riazan' in the face of a military threat from his relatives, the sons

of Dolgorukii. Moreover, he has a specific target of his flight—he going to a certain Eltuk, which allows one to suppose that he was related to that Polovtsian chieftain either by blood or marriage (*PSRL*, II, cols. 338–39). It is no surprise that somewhat earlier the people of Chernigov suspected their prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of having similar intentions, since he was half Polov-tsian (*PSRL*, II, col. 301).

In the 1150s there was a completely indecent episode of dynastic history when the widowed princess Riurikovna not only fled to the Polovtsy but did so in order to marry there the Polovtsian prince Bashkord (*PSRL*, II, cols. 500–01). On the whole the marriage strategy of the Rurikids toward the Polovtsy was very one-sided: the princes eagerly married Polovtsian women but never, insofar as one can determine from the sources, gave their daughters in marriage to Polovtsy. On the other hand, the position of princely widows in Rus' was rigidly ordained—they could not plan on a second marriage in their homeland. As far as our fugitive is concerned, through the power of her new Polovtsian husband she was able to help not only her son from the first marriage, the Russian princeling who remained in Rus', but also the brother of her late husband. One can but speculate that the princess fled to the Polovtsy with the connivance of that clan of her Russian husband — an entirely unheard of situation for Rus'.

Be that as it may, of course the departures of Russian princes to the Steppe (at the same time that other princes living among the Polovtsy had occasion to return to their hereditary seats), created along with, so to speak, "normal" dynastic marriages, an extremely close-knit milieu of cultural exchange on the highest level. That is when the written sources mention for the first time possessors of Russian names connected in one way or another with the Polovtsian world. Perhaps the best known of them was a certain Vasilii Polovchin, who figures in the account of the Hypatian Chronicle about the collaboration of Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich with his Polovtsian relatives and allies (*PSRL*, II, cols. 341–42). It is not always possible to determine from this early example whether we are dealing with Polovtsy per se, whether they are in the nomadic milieu or at the court of Russian princes, and even more problematically, whether one of them is a Polovtsian prince of equal status with his Rurikid partners.

So it is entirely justified to ask whether our Vasilii Polovchin was a Polovtsian or whether we are dealing with a nickname, derived from a universal model, according to which a Russian craftsman who studied in Greece would be called a Greek or a Norwegian merchant who traded in Rus' would be nicknamed "Russian." Nonetheless, it is evident that such bearers of Russian names, who more likely than not emerged in the preceding era of Monomakh, serve as intermediaries between two ever more closely interconnected worlds, the Russian and the Polovtsian. These mediating functions become from that moment something very significant and in constant demand in Russian dynastic life.

The foregoing may seem to suggest that toward the second half of the 12th century the boundary between the Russian and Polovtsian dynasties was finally erased, that Rus' and the nomads had fused to the point of being indistinguishable. Of course this was not the case. As before, one world was separated from the other by several barriers, and the highest of them undoubtedly was the confessional one. Throughout the entire pre-Mongol period, for the Old Russian bookman the Polovtsy remained accursed, pagan and godless, and, everything considered, the explanation for this is the fact that they were just that, unbaptized.

Having accumulated already no little experience of marriages with Polovtsian women, of life among the Polovtsy, of peace treaties and exchanges of hostages with them, the Russian princes for their part apparently treated treaties with the steppe peoples in a somewhat different way than they did treaties with Christians. In the time of Vladimir Monomakh, it was possible to kill a Polovtsian prince who came to the court, one with whom Vladimir was bound by a *rota*, an oath of peace—thus perished Itlar' and Kitan (*PSRL* I, cols. 227–29). In spite of the evident closening of ties with the Polovtsy, even long afterwards it was still possible to kill a captive steppe prince who had but recently been a military ally. Apparently, in the middle of the 1180s this was how the famous prince Kobiak perished. By all accounts, it was marriage which was supposed to provide a guarantee against princely violation of oaths. Yet even that guarantee was not absolute, as we have seen in the fate of Tugorkan, who set off on a campaign against his son-in-law and perished in battle with him (*PSRL*, I, col. 232; II, col. 222).

One might note that in spite of all disagreements and conflicts which shook the extremely prolific clan of Russian princes in that century, generally in the confrontations amongst the Riurikids themselves there was, so to speak, a definite limit or inviolable boundary, in no way explicitly delineated but consciously recognized by the princely clan. Of course, as with all inviolable boundaries of dynastic custom, from time to time there were violations, ones which, however, each time were understood to be something extraordinary, scandalous, almost beyond the bounds of what was imaginable. In contrast, in relations with the nomads, there seems to have been a distinct a priori assumption that obligations could be violated, be they ones established by treaty, matrimonial ties or close personal ties.

The fourth and for us the most interesting stage in Russo-Polovtsian relations begins with the next upsurge in the intensity of the military confrontation between Rus' and the nomads. It is precisely then, in our view, that a whole group of heirs of the Polovtsian elite who have Russian names make their first appearance: Iurii Konchakovich, Daniil Kobiakovich, Roman Kzich, Gleb Tirievich, Iaropolk Tomzakovich… The number of such individuals is so noticeable that it allows one to speak about a distinctive "anthroponymic mode" of such a naming practice among the most powerful of the Polovtsian rulers.

The history of these anthroponyms is one way to raise the curtain on a whole array of multi-layered combinations in the interrelations among the Russo-Polovtsian elite of the last third of the 12th and first decades of the 13th century. Especially telling in this regard is the history of the contacts of Russian prince Igor' Sviatoslavich of Novgorod-Seversk and the Polovtsian prince Konchak, which is inscribed in texts of entirely different genres—in the chronicle and in the epic "Tale of the Host of Igor'." We know that Igor', as a result of an unsuccessful campaign, found himself in Polovtsian captivity in very advantageous and honorable conditions (*PSRL*, II, col. 649). We also know that at some point Konchak, the father of his future daughter-in-law, vouched for him, which indicated that Prince Konchak and Prince Igor' had agreed to marry their children some time prior to the campaign. The marriage took place, despite the military campaign of Igor' against the Polovtsy, his captivity and flight from captivity (*PSRL*, II, col. 659). Even more significant is another circumstance, which attracts less attention: apparently the friendship of Igor' and Konchak at the beginning of this unsuccessful campaign had already lasted more than a decade from the first half of the 1170s. At a certain moment, for example, the Polovtsian chiefs, Konchak and Kobiak, made a point of asking that prince to campaign with them. When the campaign ended in a defeat, Igor' and Konchak fled in the same boat from the field of battle and Konchak, apparently, was forced to hide for a time somewhere in the Chernigov lands, at the same time that his own brother was killed and sons taken into captivity (*PSRL*, II, col. 623). It is conceivable that the Russian prince and Polovtsian prince were something like sworn brothers.

What, however, is the onomastic substance of this situation?

As is known for certain from various sources, Konchak had a son named Iurii. Much later, in the 13th century, he was, according to the note of the chronicler, "the most important of all the Polovtsians" (*boliishe vsikh Polovets*) (*PSRL*, II, col. 740) and died at the hands of the Tatar-Mongols. Furthermore, our Prince Igor', the friend and ally of his father, was baptized as Iurii (Georgii) (*PSRL*, II, col. 422). Assuredly such a coincidence cannot be called accidental—it is clear that Konchak's son was called Georgii (Iurii) precisely because Georgii was Igor'-Georgii of Novgorod-Seversk. Most likely, the Polovtsian Iurii was born in the 1170s and his naming was one of the first pledges securing the given Russo-Polovtsian friendship.

"Russian" names of a similar kind have not been the subject of special study, but modern scholars are inclined without further discussion to consider that all who bore those names are Christians (Popov 1949, p.104; Pletneva 2010, pp. 153–54; Golden 1990, p. 283; Golden 1998; Tolochko 2003, p. 129, Osipian 2005, p. 10, Pylypchuk 2013a, p. 91). We should qualify this immediately by noting that the scholars of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries refrained from such categorical assertions and proposed, in our opinion entirely correctly, that such names could appear among the Polovtsy not only as a result of baptism but in the process of a kind of cultural interaction with Russians (cf. Golubovskii 1884, p. 225; Hrushevs'kyi, II, pp. 537-38).

We would suggest that whenever the subject is the sons of Polovtsian rulers who over time inherited the property and power of their fathers, in no case is the appellation with a "Russian" name accompanied by the change of faith. What we have here is the operation of completely different cultural and political mechanisms. In fact, from the standpoint of confessional identity of "Russian" names among the Polovtsian elite, the name Iaropolk stands out. In no way could it have been given at baptism, in that right down to the 19th century it was not Christian. Yet it was a dynastic name of the Riurikid princes. If we look closely at the entire "Russian" micro-onomasticon of our nomads, it turns out that all the rest of the names—Vasilii, Gleb, Davyd (?), Daniil, Roman, Iurii (Georgii)—are not simply Christian names, widespread in Rus', but the favorite Riurikid dynastic names, often the only names borne by Russian princes in the pre-Mongol period.[5]

In other words, among the Polovtsian elite there was a widespread fashion not only for Russian or Christian names, but for princely, dynastic names, and, judging from all the evidence, behind each instance of such naming stood a treaty between the Russian ruler and the Polovtsian ruler. A treaty of that kind could sometimes be sealed by an inter-dynastic marriage, sometimes by the naming of the Polovtsian heir with a "Russian" princely name, and sometimes both of them together as occurred with Igor'-Iurii of Novgorod-Seversk and Konchak, when their children married and the Polovtsian princeling received a Russian dynastic name. At the same time we call attention to the fact that the Novgorod-Seversk prince himself

had a traditional name Igor', of Scandinavian origin.

Why then did he decide to share with the Polovtsian heir his other name, Iurii? In a certain sense, he could not do otherwise. Traditional princely names were, so to speak, the inalienable property of the Riurikid dynasty. Even in Rus', among the clans close to the princes, there could be no Mstislavs, no Vsevolods, no Igors or Olegs, at the same time that there were Christian names, which, we might suggest, united princes with their subjects: rather early we meet Glebs, Daniils and Vasiliis, who are definitely not of princely origin. Furthermore, far from every Christian name was appropriate for a prince as a dynastic name. It is noteworthy that the Polovtsy acquired precisely such anthroponyms — ones very prestigious from the Polovtsian standpoint and in Russian eyes permissible to adopt beyond the bounds of the dynasty. Thus we can be sure that Christian names could be adopted by Polovtsian heirs irrespective of whether they converted.

However, what exactly compels us to deny even the possibility that such sons of Polovtsian princes as Roman Kzich, for example, were baptized? It is necessary to remember that at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries the inter-confessional confrontation of the two worlds, Russian and Polovtsian, like the military confrontation itself, hardly diminished. The Russian chronicle of that period is full of extended invective against the godless Polovtsians. Moreover, the early Russian author in his anti-pagan inclination in no way singled out from among the other Polovtsian chiefs those possessing "Russian" names. Gleb Tirievich, Daniil Kobiakovich and Iurii Konchakovich were equally termed accursed, godless and pagan, as were the bearers of indigenous Polovtsian names. The fathers of the Polovtsian princelings with Russian names were among the most powerful of all the chiefs who fought Rus' and whose godlessness especially often and regularly was stressed in the chronicle. It is difficult to imagine that, having remained pagan, they permitted the conversion of their eldest sons who attained the most powerful position in the clan after their deaths. Moreover, there was no weakening of confessional confrontation between Rus' and the nomad world in that period when Iurii Konchakovich and Daniil Kobiakovich succeeded their fathers in power among their clansmen.

In addition, the early Russian chroniclers say absolutely nothing about the conversion of any of those who possessed Christian names. If in the oldest chronicles there is no mention at all of the conversion of Polovtsian princes, might one consider that for some unknown reasons this subject escaped the attention of the chronicler (which of itself would, however, be rather strange)? However, we do have evidence how a Polovtsian chief adopted Christianity, and it indeed provides us with an excellent possibility to understand when and why that might happen. The Polovtsian prince Basty was baptized on the eve of the battle on the Kalka, when the Polovtsy, whom the Tatars had crushed, in the face of mortal danger were compelled to flee to Rus' seeking Riurikid aid (*PSRL*, I, col. 505; II, col. 741). It is obvious that such extreme circumstances were capable of moving them to such extreme measures. According to the chronicle narrative, the Polovtsy at that time understood better than the Russian princes that this was the beginning of the collapse of the entire system of relations between Rus' and the nomad world. Therefore, in their pleas for help they brought to bear everything—reminders of kinship, unheard of gifts, and for some even baptism.

Does this mean we are saying that until the 1220s no Polovtsy who interacted with Rus' converted at all? Of course not. There was apparently an entire social circle of mediators—merchants, negotiators, former captives, slaves from the Polovtsian milieu itself or children from mixed marriages—who for one or another reason adopted Christianity, as usually happens when there are close contacts of a pagan people with Christians. We wish merely to emphasize that in the pre-Mongol period, things had not yet reached the point of the baptism of the upper elite, and the model of the "baptized ruler of an unbaptized people" right up to the era of the extraordinary dislocation of the Tatar-Mongol invasion, did not become a reality for Polovtsy who interacted with Russians. The borrowing of primarily Christian anthroponyms by the Polovtsian princes was determined by the cultural and functional status of such names among the Russian princes with whom the Polovtsy had to reach an understanding. Their use (in contrast with the majority of secular princely names) was not the exclusive prerogative of the Riurikid clan, and therefore in their eyes was an entirely permissible instrument for regulating contacts with the nomads.

Russian princely names appeared among the sons of those Polovtsian rulers who supported alliances with each other and dealt most closely, in peace and in war, with the Riurikids. In other words, the appearance of Russian names often expresses on the one hand the presence of more or less long-term alliances of the Polovtsian princes with Russians, and, on the other hand, the presence, however paradoxical that may seem, of entirely long-term alliances of steppe rulers amongst themselves.

It is an extremely interesting task to determine in whose honor were named other Polovtsian owners of these anthroponyms, not only Iurii Konchakovich. Behind the naming of Roman Kzich can clearly be seen the figure of Roman Rostislavich, whose brother Riu-

rik was married to a Polvtisan, the daugther of Beluk, an ally of Kza. The naming of Gleb Tirievich most likely is to be connected with Gleb Iur'evich, the Prince of Pereiaslavl' and Kiev, son of Iurii Dolgorukii. It is not impossible that two Glebs influenced the selection of the name Gleb for the Polovtsian—relatives of the princes who had fled to Bashkord, and/or Gleb Rostislavich, son of Rostislav Iaroslavich, who also fled to a Polovtsian encampment in the middle of his princely career.

Daniil, son of Kobiak, possibly was named in honor of one of the princes of Novgorod-Seversk, the brother of Igor-Georgii Sviatoslavich. If that latter reconstruction is accurate, then the following picture emerges: there are two Polovtsian prince-allies who in their relations with Rus' frequently acted together, Konchak and Kobiak, and there are two Rurikid brothers—Igor'-Georgii and Vsevolod-Daniil, who together both warred and made peace with the Steppe. One of the Polvtsian chiefs called his heir Iurii in honor of Igor', and the other Daniil in honor of Vsevolod (Litvina and Uspenskii 2013, pp. 126–46).

The determination of such anthroponymic donors inescapably has a certain hypothetical element; yet the very process of the sorting of possibilities is entirely productive. It allows one to see practically the entire network of Russo-Polovtsian interactions, where the internal Russian, internal Polovtsian and international interests are all closely connected with one another.

We would emphasize that in the last third of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries inter-dynastic marriages remained an integral component of Russo-Polovtsian relations. It is important, for example, that at that time the chronicler could state not only the clan and relationship by marriage of the Polovtsy with the Russian princes, not only the relationship of the Polovtsians among themselves, but also the internal Polovtsian relationships by marriage. For example, there appeared such designations as "Turundai, Kobiak's father-in-law"(*PSRL*, I, col. 395–96), which, of course, speaks of the growth of inter-dynastic ties.

Marriage and the bestowing of names, undertaken either separately or together, were the active means of strengthening developing coalitions. Furthermore, the rhythm of Russo-Polovtsian marriages, which gradually developed from the start of the century, increasingly is integrated into a certain rhythm of inter-dynastic relations among the Riurikids themselves. Indeed, not only in the middle but also at the start of the 12th century we observe how the marriage of a Russian princeling with a Polovtsian became a distinct instrument for rapid tactical reaction. The princes had just fought with the nomads; now a peace was concluded with them, but that peace of itself was not stable, and the advantages which might be gained from it unreliable unless the settlement took the form of a marriage between representatives of the recently warring clans. In similar fashion, treaty relations could be established in the 13th century as well. Just as Vladimir Monomakh, having concluded peace with the Polovtsians, married his minor son Iurii to the daughter of Aepa Osenev, a century later his grandson Vsevolod Large Nest, after a successful anti-Polovtsian campaign, arranged for his adolescent son a marriage with a steppe princess, the daughter of Iurii Konchakovich. However, the Russian dynastic semantics of these two matrimonial acts coincides only partially. Vladimir Monomakh acted simultaneously with his cousin and rival Oleg Sviatoslavich and tried to balance his own Polovtsian ties with the analogous ties of the heirs of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich. However, his grandson had to take into account the accumulated legacy of Russo-Polovtsian relations, in which the majority of powerful princely houses had succeeded in establishing family ties with the steppe peoples. Therefore, in fighting and allying with each other, by no means all of them found occasion to enlist on their side one or another group of nomads.

On the other hand, certainly one should not forget that as earlier, the struggle with the Polovtsy remained a distinctive mark of the unity of the dynasty, which compelled various branches of the Russian princely clan to cooperate. In the telling of the chronicle, that tendency can be very distinctly traced. It suffices to recall, for example, the fragment of the Novgorod First Chronicle, devoted to the concluding act of relations with the Polovtsy in the period that interests us, on the threshold of the battle on the Kalka and that battle itself (*PSRL*, III, 61–63, 264–67). In the eyes of the chronicler, the new danger that threatened —the invasion of an unknown nomadic people—to a considerable degree paled against the backdrop of the unpleasantness inflicted by the Polovtsy, the usual enemy. The death and misfortune of Polovtsian princes, with many of whom Russian princes had managed to establish family ties, is seen as punishment they deserved for their godlessness and the bloodshed which they had inflicted on the Russian land. The predation of the Polovtsian allies is represented as an evil deed hardly more oppressive than the perfidious murder of many captive princes by the new conquerors, the Mongols. In the eyes of the chronicler the very idea of alliance with the Polovtsy against this enemy which had previously not touched Rus' directly, was anything but a foregone conclusion.

Turning to the perspective from the Polovtsian side, which has left us none of its own written monuments, it is also necessary to remember, for example, that we cannot talk about the mass penetration of Russian

princely anthroponyms in the naming practices of the Polovtsian elite. The corpus of such names among the Polovtsy always remained very limited, and there was no total russification of the onomasticon. Their "own" names remained the more commonly used, however suitable Russian names might have been in other circumstances.

Although we emphasize the height of the barrier which existed between the two traditions, we cannot but note again and again the evident intensification of cultural contacts between them in the indicated period. To put it more precisely, the last decades of the 12th century and first decades of the 13th witnessed with particular clarity the appearance of an agglomeration of mutually worked out practices, ceremonies and terms, which had accumulated over the long years of interaction. We cannot always say what created that clarity—the growing closeness of the contacts themselves or the growing attention to them in the written texts. In all likelihood, one naturally drew the other with it.

Here it suffices to take even a cursory look at those ceremonial aspects of international life which traditionally interest students of the Middle Ages. For example, very telling is the precision of the spatial ordering of the sides during negotiations of a newly enthroned Russian prince with the Polovtsy. Who, in what direction, and in what order should one move—this was clearly subjected to a kind of strict regimentation, to rules almost like chess, where any departure from them was significant and could lead to frequent diplomatic failures or the breaking off of the whole process of negotiation. Diplomacy here might very quickly turn into military actions. Juxtaposition of the chronicle account with the text of the "Tale of the Host of Igor'" enables one to follow by what complicated ceremonial the stay of the captive Russian princes among the Polovtsians was circumscribed, to what degree the norms of etiquette were significant in analogous situations, and how close was the day-to-day contact between the "guests" and the receiving side.

The practices of etiquette of an analogous kind originated most likely long before the end of the 12th century. Unfortunately, the sources do not always allow us to trace the process of their formation, but nonetheless we have some fragmentary data from which to extract, for example, individual details about the successful scenario for the stay of a Polovtsian as the guest of a Russian prince. However, characteristically, even in such cases there was the constant possibility of a sudden devaluation of all these ceremonially shaped procedures and the treacherous murder of a captive or guest.

The exchange of gifts, that most important part of medieval negotiating practice, also assumed a varied and multi-layered character, which contains features of the mutual interpenetration of two cultures. Apparently, this was a development as yet unknown in the era of Vladimir Monomakh, even though, as we know, more than once he had occasion to present peace-making gifts to his nomad neighbors. At the end of the century, his heirs were no less diligent in using these ceremonial practices than their longstanding opponents the Ol'govichi, just as the one and the other could be distinctive donors of Russian princely names for the Polovtsy.

Russo-Polovtsian contacts as such did not disappear without trace after the Tatar-Mongol invasion. While it is hardly possible to trace any kind of strict chronological development, changes of no little consequence can be seen in the relations of the two elites. For the first time we learn from the chronicle of the baptism of a Polovtsian prince, clearly undertaken in order to strengthen ties with Russian allies. On the other hand, marriage as a form of inter-dynastic interaction vanishes suddenly. Matrimonial practice in the given instance is a reliable indicator of the significance of the given contacts or, more precisely, the legal power of the contracting sides. The final (after a long interval) indirect mention of such a union between a Riurikid and a Polovtsian woman is in the entry of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle under the year 6761 (1252/3), which relates how Prince Daniil Romanovich had a Polovtsian in-law named Tegak who participated with him in a military campaign (*PSRL*, II, col. 818). At the end of the 1220s the young Daniil of Galich had occasion to remind the Polovtsian prince Kotian about the relationship they had by marriage (Daniil was married to his granddaughter, the daughter of Mstislav Mstislavich), in order to use that connection in a multi-sided conflict involving not only the Riurikids but yet another group of their relatives and in-laws—the Polish and Hungarian dynasts (*PSRL*, II, col. 753).

However, for all the weight of the Polovtsian marriage connection in this final episode, one must not forget that it was the consequence of a matrimonial union concluded several decades prior to the events described. Almost a half century elapsed between the previously mentioned information about the marriage of Iaroslav, son of Vsevolod Large Nest to a Polovtsian woman and the information about the Polovtsian marriage connection of Daniil Romanovich (which was, apparently, not especially long-lasting). Later instances of Riurikid marriages with daughters of the chieftains of this people are unknown. In other words, one can tentatively characterize the era beginning with the battle on the Kalka and ending toward the middle of the 1250s as a period of conscious dampening of the wave of Russo-Polovtsian

matrimonial treaties and the gradual weakening of Russo-Polovtsian interconnections as a whole. In that time span, after the death of Iurii Konchakovich and Daniil Kobiakovich, the chroniclers cease to mention any Russian names of Polovtsian chiefs. For reasons independent of both sides, the relations of Russians with the Polovtsy ceased to be dynastic ones.

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In a forthcoming book of essays, *Rus' in the 12th Century. On the Crossroads of Culture* (Brill), the authors will reassess that era as one of flourishing development rather than a period of impoverishment and decay as it has often been considered.

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Notes

1. Yet it is curious that in the 12th century the Polovtsian rulers themselves hardly avoided matrimonial ties with other nomads who interacted with Rus'. In any event, the Polovtsy and Chernye Klobuki are called "in-laws" (*svaty*) (*PSRL* II, cols. 652, 674), just as are the Polovtsy and Russian princes. This system of matrimonial alliances extending in two directions made more complicated and unstable what independently of it was a constantly fluctuating equilibrium in relations of the Rus' with the Steppe.

2. The "Tale of Bygone Years" (*Povest' vremennykh let*) is the name accepted in scholarly tradition for the historical text completed in the second decade of the 12th century and containing an account of the earliest history of Rus'.

3. The fact of this Polovtsian marriage has been taken into account by scholars, beginning with Nikolai M. Karamzin. For a discussion of the various points of view as to whether the Polovtsian woman was the first or second wife of this prince and from which of the wives the children were born, see Gurkin 1999, pp. 43–44. However, the question as to which Polovtsian princess Oleg married is not as simple as it may seem. As is known, in the chronicle there is no direct information about the Polovtsian marriage of Oleg Sviatoslavich, even though it provides the names of the Polovtsian uncles of his sons: «…и Половцемъ дикымъ . оуемъ своимъ . Тюнрако<ви?> . Шсоулокови[ч] и бра[т] его Камосѣ» (*PSRL* II, 334). Consequently, in the literature the father-in-law of Oleg, with certain qualifications and more often with none, is called Osoluk. The matter is complicated also by the fact that the Russian chronicle is full of graphic variants and distortions of native Polovtsian names, often making it difficult to establish whether the text is referring to one and the same name which assumed various forms at the hand of the Russian authors and copyists or whether we have different names belonging to different individuals. For example, is Osoluk identical with the Polovtsian prince Seluk or Oseluk, who, according to the evidence of the Hypatian Chronicle, in 6636 (1126/7) helped the sons of Oleg (*PSRL*, II, col. 291, fn. 1, fn. a; I, col. 296)?

4. It is not excluded that somewhat later the third prince who participated in the negotiations, David Sviatoslavich, arranged a marriage for his son Iziaslav with a Polovtsian woman. Supporting such a supposition is is a whole series of details in Iziaslav's biography. On more than one occasion he used Polovtsian support in his struggle for the princely throne, and after one of the battles even was able to free from Polovtsian captivity his recent opponents, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and many members of his Russian retinue, while not surrendering to the Polovtsy those who had managed to escape from them. The chronicle emphasizes that he acted together with his wife—a specific statement that of itself was somewhat unusual for our source: «Изѧславъ же съ женою своею . въручиста Сѓослава в Половець . и инѣхъ Рускои дружины . многы[х] въручиста . и многы[м] добро издаваста . аче кто оу Половець оутечашеть . оу городъ . а тѣхъ не въдавашеть» (*PSRL*, II, cols. 475–76). Apparently the obligations as an ally which Iziaslav had toward the nomads did not allow him to block the seizure of Russian captives, but the prince attempted, in part in violation of those obligations, in part by means of some kind of negotiations or payment of ransom, to help his blood relatives and countrymen.

5. As is known, the dominant model of Russian princely naming practice at that time was to use two names, wherein the prince had not only a Christian name (the name of a certain saint), received at baptism, but a birth name, traditional and pagan in origin (such as Igor', Oleg, Mstislav, Vsevolod, Iaropolk, Sviatoslav, Rostislav etc.). The majority of Russian princes appear in the chronicle under their traditional name, which apparently dominated in princely civil life. In addition, beginning at a certain point, some Christian names — above all David, Roman, Vasilii, Georgii and Andrei — begin to be adopted in the Russian dynasty as clan names, since their most illustrious ancestors previously had received them in baptism (in the capacity of second, added ones). Their heirs, new members of the clan given these names, seem not to have needed yet another dynastic name. One can recall such Russian princes as David and Roman Sviatoslavich (grandsons of Iaroslav the Wise), Vasil'ko Rostislavich of Terebovl', Iurii Vladimirovich Dolgorukii and Andrei Vladimirovich Dobryi (the younger sons of Monomakh), Iurii Iaroslavich of Turov, Andrei Bogoliubskii, Roman Mstislavich of Galich and his sons, Daniil Romanovich and Vasil'ko Romanovich. All these rulers always appear in the chronicle sources exclusively under their Christian names, at the same time that their closest relatives, we repeat, as previously are remembered by their traditional names. Concerning the dual naming of Russian princes, see details in Litvina and Uspenskii 2006, pp. 111–75.

— *Translated by Daniel C. Waugh*

Excavation of Rezvan Tepe in Northeastern Iran, an Iron Age I-II Cemetery

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Compared to the other regions of Iran, its northeast has not received as much attention by archaeologists. This may seem somewhat strange, since, given its favorable geographical conditions and critical geopolitical location, it has been home to important human settlement from the prehistoric period until the present. Among the regions in northern and northeastern Iran which were significant in the Iron Age are Amlash, Khaloraz, Marlik, Talesh and Khorvin. This report concerns what was to a degree a salvage excavation at Tepe Rezvan, one of several Iron-Age hill sites in the Kalpoush region of Semnan Province, located along one of the historic east-west routes of communication. The goal of the study was to establish the structure and history of the site and to excavate in its Iron Age I-II cemetery.

To understand the context for the discussion below, it is important to keep in mind the chronology of the Iron Age in Iran, where Iron Age cultures emerged in a very short time in the middle of the second millennium. There are different schemes for the chronology, which in the first instance has been established with reference to pottery types. Young distinguishes old gray pottery (pottery horizon 1), late gray pottery (pottery horizon 2), and buff pottery (pottery horizon 3). The pottery of Iron Age III is plain and in some cases painted, having replaced the gray pottery of Iron Age I and II. Examples have been found in Hassanlu III and Zivieh (Young 1965, pp. 53–58). Dyson (1965) divides the Iron Age into three periods: Iron Age I (1450–1200 BCE), Iron Age II (1200–800) and Iron Age III (800-500). However, relying on carbon-14 data, Danti (2013) has suggested different dates: Iron Age I (1250–1050), Iron Age II (1050–800), and Iron Age III (800–550).

Generally speaking, the studies on the Iron Age in Iran have been based primarily on work in the northwest, notably in the basin of Lake Urmiya (Kroll 2005), Hassanlu (Dyson 1989), Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974), Haftvan Tepe (Burney 1969) and Guy Tepe (Burton-Brown 1951). Our focus here is Semnan Province, 515,985 km^2 in size, which is traversed by historic routes, including a branch of the famous Silk Road. Its geographical position and several landscape and climate zones supported a rich and varied history of human settlement. Along the northern borders of Semnan Province lie the highlands of the Alborz Mountains, and on the south it is bordered by the great Dasht-e Kavir salt desert. It thus encompasses parts of two geological zones, separated by the "Semnan fault," that of the east-central Alborz and of Central Iran. The northern strip of the province (the route connecting Garmsar, Semnan, Damghan, and Shahrud) is part of the southern slope of the east-central sector of the Alborz.

The larger geographical context here encompasses the Neishabur plain, which connects Afghanistan to Shahrud, and is part of greater Khorasan. Evidence of wares made from lapis lazuli, alabaster and turquoise confirms that exchange along the east-west route through Khorasan to Damghan was active at least since 4000 BCE and on through the Parthian, Sasanian and Islamic eras (Hiebert and Dyson 2002, p. 116). Eastern Iran encompasses mountain borders and barriers, misshapen valleys and huge expanses of deserts (*Cambridge History* 1968, Vol. 1, p. 15). Khorasan is bordered on its northwest by the Gorgan and Atrak River and on the north and northeast by the Kopet Dag mountains and their subsidiary ranges. The Mashhad plain in the northeast is bordered on the north by the Kuh-e Hazar Masjid (Kopet Dag) range and on the south by the Kuh-e Binalud and Kuh-e Shah Jahan mountains. The valleys located between the Koped Dag and the latter ranges are 1000 meters higher than the regions to the north of the Kopet Dag (Hiebert and Dyson 2002, p. 115; Eduljee 2007, p. 9).

Rezvan Tepe is a round hill in the southern part of the green Rezvan valley some 210 km east of Shahrud

Fig. 1. Map of northern Iran, showing location of Rezvan Tepe.

Fig. 2. Rezvan Tepe. Photograph by authors.

city in Semnan Province [Figs. 1, 2]. Its location, some 500 m north of the Sodaghlan road and 3 km east of Hosseinabad village, is 371 0920 N and 5546508 E, at an altitude of 1388 m above sea level. The site, which rises 7.5 m above the surrounding land, is flanked on north and south by springs. It is one of several ancient hilltop sites in the Kalpush/Hosseinabad region which lie along the historic east-west route connecting the three provinces of Semnan, Golestan and Khorasan. This was in part a salvage excavation, anticipating the construction of the Kalpush dam. A careful topographical plan was drawn [Fig. 3]. Some test trenches were excavated to establish the cultural identity of the site and the stratigraphy. One of them, which uncovered a burial, will be described here along with a comparative analysis of its artefacts, the most important of which were several pottery vessels.

Test trench A7, eventually measuring 5 x 5 m, was excavated on the southern slope of the hill, where it is bordered by a dirt road. At a depth of 60 cm agricultural soil was reached, and an earthenware crock found which had sandy gray temper containing lime and had been poorly baked. Three more vessels were then found, two of them gray pottery bowls, one of those spouted. In the northwest corner of the trench was spindle whorl and another earthenware bowl. To the north of the assemblage of pots a human skeleton rested in a depression [Figs. 4, 5, 6, next page]. This led us to extend the initial trench, anticipating the dam construction which will affect the hill to the north.

The skeleton was found at a depth of 1 meter and had significantly deteriorated due to the moisture of the soil. The grave pit, which was a simple hole, measured 140 cm x 50 cm. Traces of ashes could be seen on the skeleton. The body was laid horizontally in a compact fetal position on the right side along a northwest-southeast line, its fully retracted legs and knees close to each other and the heels drawn up close to the pelvis [Fig. 7]. The right arm was retracted, with the hand drawn up to shoulder level. There is evidence of head injury. Small bumps can be seen on the brow, the nose was small, but its angle impossible to determine. The tip of the chin protrudes and is rounded, but the mandible is delicate. The no. 3 molar, with slightly diagonal wear, was preserved. The incisors have diag-

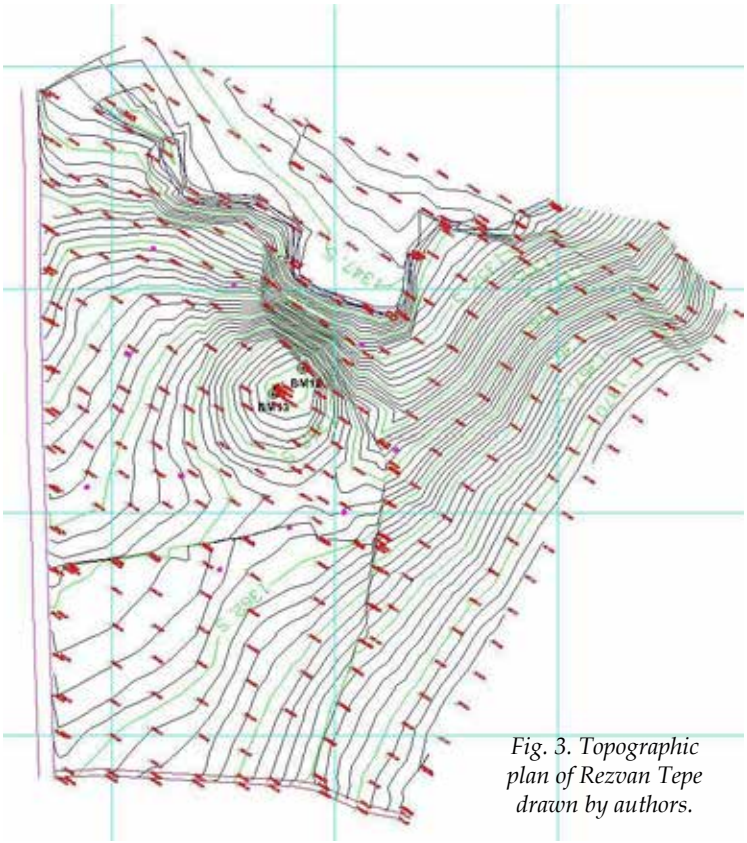
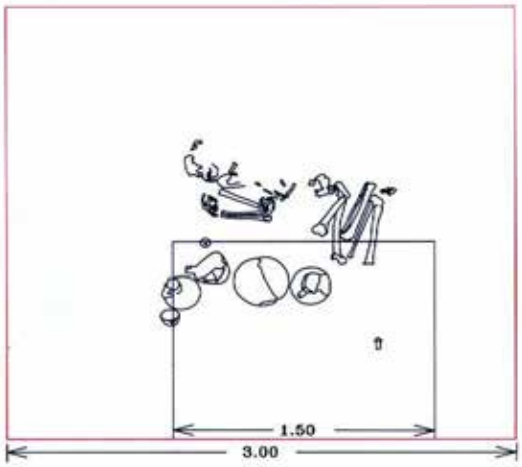


Fig. 3. Topographic plan of Rezvan Tepe drawn by authors.



onal wear and are perfectly healthy. The upper edge of the pupil is sharp; fusing of the cranium bones had begun. The humeral bones are short and thick, but the ulna and radius bones delicate. The femurs are short and solid, but somewhat curved. The hip bone is large and the sciatica angle is open. The maximum length of the femur is ca. 420 mm and the tibia 340 mm. We calculated the person's height to have been 157 cm. The body is that of a female, approximately 25–30 years old.

Fig. 4. Plan of the excavated grave drawn by authors.

Fig. 5. The excavated grave from the south. Photograph by authors.

Fig. 6 (above). The excavated grave from the east. Photograph by authors.

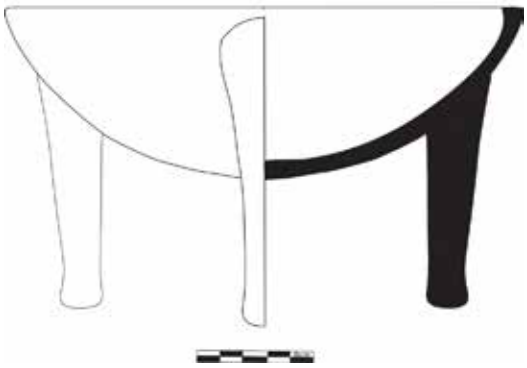
The artefacts and comparative evidence for dating

The Kalpush region and Rezvan Tepe are located on the border of Semnan and Gorgan. The objects found in this region are similar to those of the Iron Age found in the Gorgan plain by Bouchalart and Lecomte (1987). The evidence for dating Rezvan Tepe, its gray pottery, points to Iron Age I and II. Grey wares discovered in the grave at Rezvan Tepe include a vessel with a handle, a long neck and spherical body [Fig. 8, next page], a tripod dish [Fig. 9], a spouted vessel [Fig. 10], a small crock [Fig. 11] and a spindle whorl. These vessels are wheel-made and fully baked. They are simple wares; decoration is confined to some burnishing on the surface. One of the most important aspects of Iron Age pottery technology in Iran is an unprecedented increase in the quantity of grey wares, which have more strength than other types. This may explain their widespread use (Tala'i 2008, p. 94). Burnished decoration was common in the northeastern region of the Iranian plateau in the third millennium BCE for both grey and black pottery. The replacement of polished gray pottery by painted wares marked a new stage in the development of cultural traditions and the beginning of the late period of the Iron Age (Tala'i 2004, p. 36).

Narrow-mouthed pitchers [Fig. 8], with or without handles, are common to all regions during the Iron Age. They vary in some details of their shapes, but the ones most similar to the example in Rezvan Tepe were found in Khorvin and Qeitarieh.

Legged dishes are more widespread in northern Iran and in the northern part of the Iranian plateau. They

Fig. 7. The skeleton. Photograph by authors.



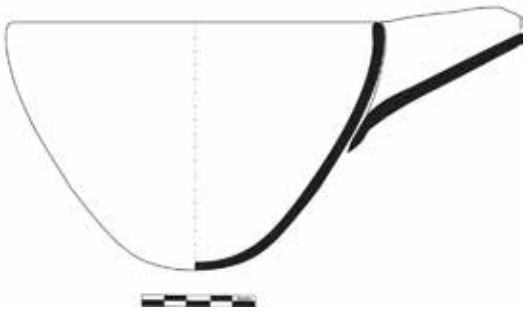


Fig. 8 (top left). The vessel with long neck and spherical body.

Fig. 9 (top right). The tripod dish.

Fig. 10 (bottom left). The spouted vessel.

Fig. 11 (borrom right). The small crock.

Photographs and drawings by authors.

tripod dish [Fig. 9] found at Rezvan Tepe must date to the Iron Age and is similar to one found on the Gorgon plain.

Spouted wares [Fig. 10] and those with vertical handles are commonly found in Khorvin (Vanden Bergh 1964, Pl.VI, Nos. 30-34), Qeitarieh (Kambakhsh Fard 1991, Fig. 105, No. 1146), Sialk B with differences in the details (Ghirshman 1939, Vol. 2, Pl. XVII; Pl. LXXIII, S926, S928; Pl. LX, S619; Pl. LXII, S772a,c), Marlik (Negahban 1996, Vol. 2, Fig. 28, Nos. 610, 614) and Jeiran Tepe (Majīd'zādah 2003, Figs. 12, 13). The spouted vessel is comparable to ones found at Hesar Tepe (Roustāei 2007-2008, p. 82).

The small crock [Fig. 11] began to disintegrate on exposure to air; its shape is comparable to that designated as A from Haftavan IV (Tala'i 2007, p. 119).

These comparisons then suggest that the vessels found at Rezvan Tepe date to the late second millennium and the early first millennium BCE, dating which coincides with that advanced by Young in his well-known paper. By his criteria, most of the pottery found at Rezvan Tepe falls into the early and late gray pottery horizons (Young 1965, Figs. 11, 13). Furthermore, he offers dates based on a comparative typology of pottery for the graveyards in Khorvin and Sialk A and B that are in some ways similar to what has been found at Rezvan Tepe. He claims Khorvin started in the 15th century BCE and ended after 1000 BCE. He also suggests that Sialk A have been found in Khorvin (Vanden Bergh 1964, Pl. XIV, nos.105-119), Qeitarieh (Kambakhsh Fard 1991, Fig. 99, Nos. 907, 921, 220, 296, 409), Sialk A (Ghirshman 1939, Vol. 2, Pl. IV, Nos. 4, 6; Pl. XLIII, S523a) and Jeiran Tepe (Majīd'zādah 2003, Figs. 12 and 13). The

started at the end of the 14th - beginning of the 13th century BCE and ended around 1050 to 1000 BCE (Young 1965, pp. 82-83, Fig 14).

There are similarities between this grave and others found at sites in northern Iran which are also simple without any architectural structure. The simple pit graves in this area compare with simple oval-shaped ones in the Kalouraz cemetery (Khalatbary 1992, p. 87). Other examples are a pit grave discovered in Jamshid Abad, Gilan (Fallahian 2003, p. 218), graves at Gohar Tepe, Mazandaran (Mahfrozi 2007), and in Halimehjan and Lame Zaminshahran. Pit graves have been discovered in the Iron Age layers of Yanik Tepe in Azarbaijan (Tala'i 1998, p. 62); others of the Iron Age III and II strata at Gian Tepe in Nahavand have been reported as simple and oval-shaped. Further analogues are the graves of Khorvin in Pishva, Varamin and Qeitariyeh, Tehran, which have been described as having the simple from of shallow pit. There are some simple hole-like graves from the Iron Age layer in Sagzabad located in Qazvin plain; also at Sialk A and Jeiran Tepe. Finally, we would note the similarity of this burial to those found at Teimouran Tepe in Fars Province (Overlaet 1997, p. 26, Fig. 12). Other possible comparisons are the graves found at Dinkha Tepe, Godin Tepe, Gian Tepe and Bardbal.

In contrast, the graves in Marlik are like small rooms with stone-faced walls, and in Sialk B there are boulders around or on the graves. Even if the positioning of the bodies is similar to what is found in the pit graves, and individual burial is common, at Sialk B there are numerous instances of a second or multiple burials in the same grave. Except at Sialk B, the bodies are usually placed in the graves on one side with legs drawn up in a fetal position (Vanden Berghe 1959/2000, pp. 122, 133; Kambakhsh Fard 1991, pp. 41–47; Majīd'zādah 2003, pp. 46–47; Negahban, 1996, Vol. 1, pp. 13–16).

The general characteristics of the graves aside, it is difficult to establish clear groupings of Iron Age burials in this region, as their features (including topography, construction, direction and position of the artefacts) tend to follow local traditions. Cemeteries located outside of settlements, such as seems to be the case with Rezvan Tepe, may contain the bodies of a particular local or tribal group from the region. One can, of course differentiate burials according the presumed wealth of the deceased (Kambakhsh Fard 1998, p. 14). More study is needed before we can begin to generalize about the religious beliefs possibly evidenced in the local burial customs. The location of the site on a major east-west route (Fahimi 2002, p. 10) makes it likely that what we find here is evidence left by groups which had migrated into the region.

While we have some confidence that the Rezvan Tepe site can be dated to Iron Age I and II, approximately the second half of the second millennium to the early first millennium BCE, we must emphasize that this conclusion is based on limited evidence. A great deal more must be learned before we can begin to flesh out a picture of the lives of the people who lived and died there.

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The Site of Banbhore (Sindh – Pakistan): a Joint Pakistani-French-Italian Project. Current Research in Archaeology and History (2010-2014)

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The site of Banbhore rises amidst swamps and mangroves at the mouth of the Indus deltaic region on the northern bank of the Gharo creek, midway on the route from Karachi to Thatta, and ca. 30 km from the present shoreline [Figs. 1, 2 (next page)]. It consists in a "citadel" encircled by bastions (47 circular towers and 8 rectangular bastions), overlooking an artificial lake of sweet water to the northeast of the wall, and a vast area of *extra moenia* ruins – likely harbor structures, still visible at low-tide, and other structures: probably urban quarters, suburbs and slums, warehouses, workshops, artificial barrages. There are widely spread scatters of shards, porcelains, beads, clay moulds, coins and other artefacts. A towered wall, questionably called the "Partition Wall" by previous scholars, runs through the whole citadel, approximately north-south, bending at middle length in the southeastern direction [Fig. 3]. Altogether, the citadel and the surrounding quarters cover a surface of ca. 65 hectares.

Even though its ruins have been target of more than one archaeological expedition since the end of the 19th century, the site poses many questions and only now is being given proper attention. The archaeological value of Banbhore was first recognized by Henry Cousens, who visited it in 1929, and by Nani Gopal Majumdar, who dug some trenches in 1930 (Cousens 1929, pp. 80ff., Majumdar 1934, pp. 18ff.). In 1951, Leslie Alcock, at the time an officer in the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan, undertook preliminary excavations on the mound commonly called "the citadel." Soon afterwards, Fazal Ahmad Khan started his campaign which brought to light important data. Professor Rafique Mughal added valuable new information, and as did Nabi Bux Khan Baloch and, in 1972, Muhammad Sharif.

The excavations carried out by the late Fazal Ahmad Khan (1958-1965) revealed important architectural and archaeological remains of a pre-Islamic and Islamic settlement (Khan 1969). The latter was represented by a Mosque, a Hindu Temple, houses, palaces, workshops and warehouses, market and "industrial" areas. Various kinds of objects such as Chinese porcelain and celadon, Indian artefacts, clay honey-combed moulds, coins, beads and glassware were found, witnessing the wealth and importance of Banbhore in the Islamic age. Skeletons left unburied inside the houses and on the streets were also found,

Fig. 1. Banbhore seen from the east. All photographs by authors.

Fig. 2. The eastern side of the fortified wall of the citadel.

which seems to point to a violent, dramatic end of the town around the 7th century AH/13th century CE. Under the Islamic town, two main cultural layers were uncovered: the upper one produced archaeological data connected with the Sasanian period. It also produced evidence of a Hindu temple and other cults, thus giving the image of a mercantile, cosmopolitan market and harbor-town. The layer below the Sasanian yielded a large collection of vessels, grey and red polished ware, as well as some Hindo-Parthian and Kushan coins. But no real structures were discovered, nor was the virgin soil reached due to heavy water infiltration. Thus, the information on the early stages of peopling and life of the site of Banbhore remained incomplete, representing a major challenge for future research. According to F. A. Khan, the lowest layer reached by his excavations corresponded to the origin of the settlement and could be dated to the Schytho-Parthian period, followed by a Hindo-Sasanian phase.

Unfortunately, all we have of Khan's campaign is a first map of the "citadel" and its encircling towered walls, a booklet (1st edition 1963) and a few articles in *Pakistan Archaeology* by the same scholar and his collaborators (Ashfaque 1969, Ghafur 1966, Khan 1964, Nasir 1969). The chronological layers of the site have been left unstudied and unpublished: excavation notes, stratigraphic sequences and drawings have disappeared; nobody seems to know where they are. Whether they have been dispersed or lost, it is impossible to date the finds (and the site) with accuracy. Some *lingas* and a great amount of ceramics, properly stored and classified in the storerooms adjoining the Site Museum of Banbhore, have never been analyzed. There has never been any precise indication of the trenches and layers where they were unearthed. Moreover, despite the wealth of unearthed inscriptions and coins, no place name has so far come to light that can be matched with other historical records to flesh out the site's long life and history.

The importance of the site is undoubtedly linked to its strategic position and the surrounding environment. The imposing remains are a clear testimony to the major role it played in the course of centuries. In various periods of its life it would seem to have been a nerve-junction of the Indus system, the northern terminal of the monsoon routes, and the center of a prosperous trade of luxury goods between the Central Asian basin and the Iranian plateau, Arabia and the Indian Ocean all the way to China in the East and the major markets in the West. Its location along a branch of the Indus River – the Gharo channel – could provide excellent shelter for all convoys arriving there from North and South, loaded with precious merchandise to bargain, to sell and purchase. The favorable environment, if properly irrigated by means of human intervention, could provide agricultural resources which must have formed a formidable economic backbone of the city, providing passing caravans and convoys with fresh supplies too.

Fig. 3. The so-called "Partition Wall" running across the citadel, seen from the north.

Various historical sources inform us about a harbor town at the mouth of the Indus delta which, due to its strategic position, played a central role since about the 3rd century BCE. Scholars have identified it with the harbor of Barbarikon –named by the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* – and with the Sasanian and Islamic harbor-town called Deb/Debal/Daybul, first mentioned by the preacher Mani and by several later sources in Arabic and Persian, which provide a wealth of information. Even though such identifications are strongly debated and there is no general agreement among scholars, the location and the imposing structures of the fortified citadel on the Gharo channel make it appealing tentatively to link the site with those ancient towns.

Clearly there was a case to be made for renewed field work, in order to solve one of the major problems of the historical topography of the Indus deltaic region. Moreover, to give a name and a precise historic life to this impressive site might fill an important gap in our ability to answer the many queries arising from the intricacy of land and sea trade-routes and the international network of allegiances, trades and business over a period of at least fifteen centuries. New evidence and archaeological data are coming to light from excavations carried out in the Indian subcontinent and the Arabian Peninsula,[1] which seem to point to a major harbor located somewhere along the southern coastal region of the Indian subcontinent, an active and authoritative partner in the international trade network over a large span of time. This was the starting point of our project.

Between 1989 and 1995, the French Archaeological Mission to Sindh, under the direction of Dr. Monique Kervran and with the collaboration of Dr. Asma Ibrahim and Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari, resumed explorations in the Indus deltaic region. This led to the discovery of important sites, and to systematic excavations at Ratto Kot, Lahori Bandar and Sehwan Sharif (Kervran 1992, 1996 and 2005). At the same time, an Italian Archaeological and Historical Mission, under the direction of Prof. Dr. Valeria Piacentini Fiorani, was carrying out surveys in Southern Makran and Kharan, with the collaboration of another French archaeologist, Dr. Roland Besenval (Besenval and Sanlaville 1990; Piacentini Fiorani 2014). The result of this project was to highlight the role played by the so-called Green Belt in Southern Makran, as a hinge and land route between the Iranian plateau, the Central Asian steppes and the Indus system. The two Missions were working on the basis of a Licence granted by the Federal Government of Pakistan and under the sponsorship of their respective Ministries for Foreign Affairs. Both scholars found a natural partner in the other's experience and learning; at this point, the two decided to join efforts, scholarship and the data so far obtained. The *incognita* of Barbarikon/Deb/Daybul still stood as a challenge, a void to be filled from both the archaeological and historical point of view. The majestic site of Banbhore still defied all efforts. The Pakistani Devolution Law speeded up the formalization of the project with Pakistani scholars.

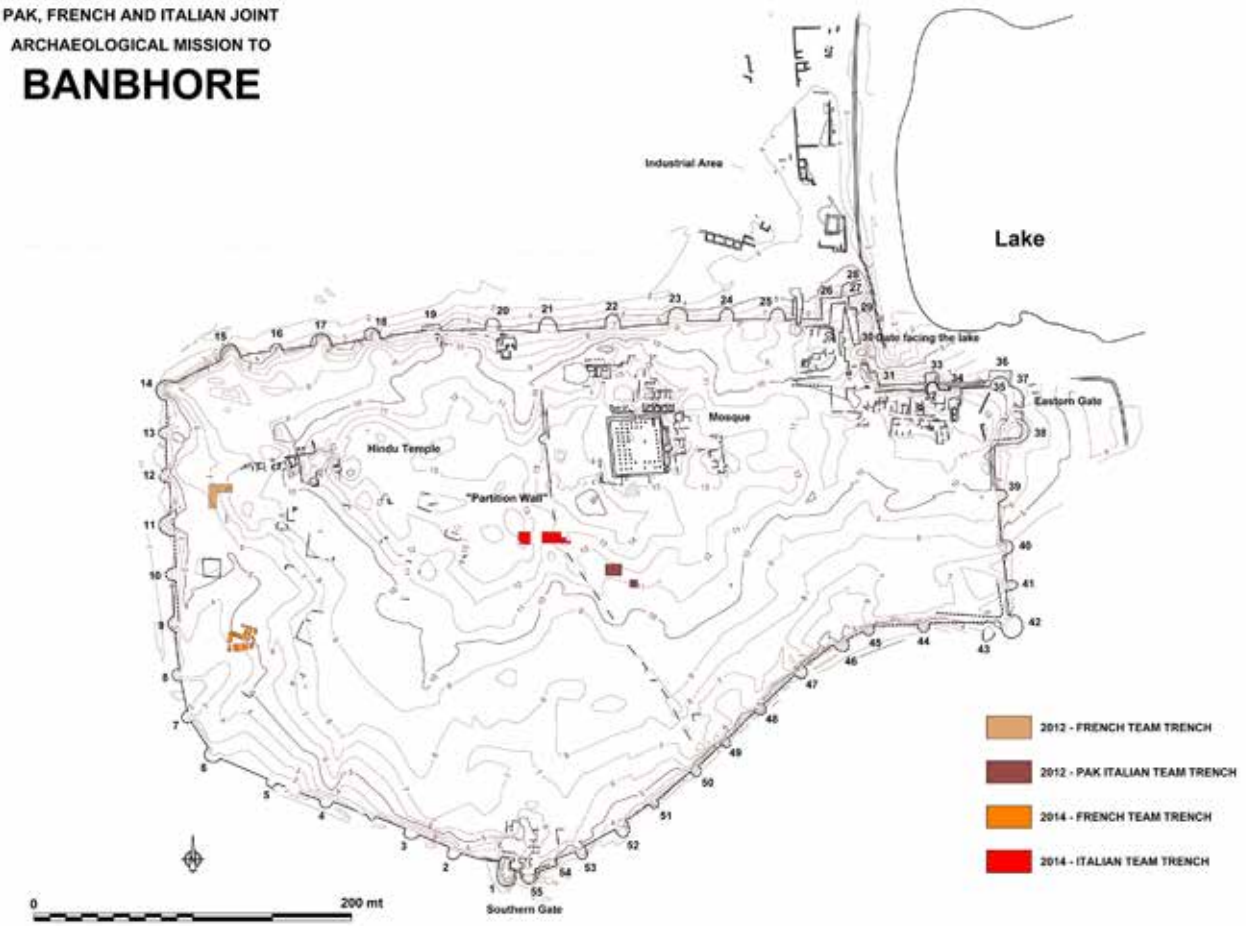
The aim of the following notes is to present the first stages in an ambitious project, the Archaeological and Historical Pakistani-French and Italian Joint Project at Banbhore (Sindh), which has been going on since 2011 on the basis of a Licence granted by the Government of Sindh, Pakistan (prot. So/Secy/Antiquities/2010/2132), extended for three further years (License No. So/Secy/Antiquities/III-131/2013). The Pakistani partner operates under the direction of Drs. Lashari and Ibrahim (Museum of the State Bank of Pakistan); the French partner operates under the direction of Dr. Kervran (University of La Sorbonne and CNRS, Paris/France); the Italian partner operates under the direction of Prof. Piacentini Fiorani (CRiSSMA Centre – Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan/Italy). The ongoing archaeological activities use traditional methods supported by geomorphological and geophysical surveys and analyses, pottery-assemblages investigation in stratigraphic sequence and archaeometric non-destructive analyses in situ conducted by Prof. Mario Piacentini and Dr. Anna Candida Felici (LANDA Lab, Rome La Sapienza University). Historical "digging" in contemporary sources aims at providing new clues to the reading and understanding of the material evidence coming to light. All in all, the first steps demonstrate that the site is more complex than was thought before. A first systematic "joint report" is underway, and it will be published at the end of the forthcoming field-season (January-March 2015).

As indicated above, by reason of its strategic position along the main north-south and east-west sea and land routes, the site of Banbhore certainly was an important market and harbor town. With the exception of the fortifications and palatial-religious structures still visible, levels of early periods are buried deeply under those of middle-early Islamic, Sasanian and Scytho-Parthian occupation, which are to be still adequately explored. The preparatory work in 2010 included an accurate re-reading of the available literature and contemporary written sources. Then, the most pressing task was to create a new, updated scale-study and contour-lines map of the site, the indispensable tool to proceed to further investigation and excavations. Such a task was accomplished in the course of the 2011 and 2012 field-seasons through a topographic survey and a kite-photo campaign (Yves Ubelmann, Sophie Reynard, Alessandro Tilia)

under the supervision of Monique Kervran. The citadel was carefully mapped within the whole circle of its bastioned walls, the resulting map to serve as a permanent basis for every further investigation of the site [Fig. 4]. Some *extra moenia* quarters were also mapped, such as the so called "Industrial quarter" to the north and northwest, the artificial lake and some urban areas to the northeast and east of the walls (A. Tilia, 2012 and 2013 campaigns). During these field-seasons, further investigation has been carried out on the complex walled enclosure – which clearly presents various phases of building, re-building, refurbishing and restoration – and the city-gates, plus smaller entrances and posterns. Structures and masonry are typical of the settlement periods given by F. A. Khan: Hindo-Parthian / Kushan, Sasanian, early Islamic and mediaeval Islamic. Posterns and at least two more city-gates have been identified and are under study (to the NE and to the NNW). The so-called Partition Wall presents structural features that are typical of the middle-Islamic period, as can be seen at Julfar / Ras al-Khayma: e.g., the lower part in semi-worked stones surmounted by mudbrick structures, likely archers' galleries and sentinels' posterns; regular interval towers. With regard to this latter wall, a tower and adjoining quarters have been accurately excavated during the 2014 field-season by the Italian-Pakistani partners (Niccolò Manassero, Kaleemullah Lashari, Asma Ibrahim). Some questions have been answered (especially, its date, which is late), but many other questions remain. Considered within the urban plan of Banbhore, what does this later wall mean? Why was it built? Was it really made to separate the Muslim community settled inside the eastern portion of the citadel from the non-Muslim community settled in the western areas? Or was it rather built in order to re-shape the citadel at some time of its history, a last defense when waves of invasion from the northern and northwestern regions menaced the survival of the town and its activity? And did the western half of the citadel have a shorter life than the eastern one, as its lower elevation seems to suggest?

We were still confronted with the question: how ancient is the site? When was it initially settled? Are the Scytho-Parthian layers the most ancient ones or might we expect the site to have been peopled in previous epochs? Might Banbhore have been the site of Barbarikon, the harbor of Scythia reported by the *Periplus*? Might the citadel be the Daybul stormed

Fig. 4. The plan of Banbhore, updated at the last campaign (February 2014).



after a long siege, in 711–712 CE, by Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Thaqafi, which marked the conquest of the Sindh region by the armies of Islam? May this famous Debal/Daybul be also identified with Deb, where the apostle Thomas landed and started to preach Christianity through India? When and why did its "Indianization" start? When and why did decline set in, leading to its death? And so on.

Thus, all in all, the preliminary goal was to "date" the site and get detailed and quantifiable archaeological evidence for its urban structure and the wide range of activities carried out there. At the same time, the shifting of the main course of the Indus River through the centuries, and the changes that occurred in the deltaic region, have posed other important questions with regard to the ancient location of the harbor and its access from the sea. Was the city built on the very edge of the Kohestan plateau, its substratum being tertiary rock of sedimentary origin (Kervran 1996), or was it built on consolidated sand-dunes?

The field work that is underway involves: (1) a geo-morphological survey and accurate studies and analyses of the environment surrounding the site (still ongoing); (2) the digging of a number of small trenches in different areas of the citadel, in order to collect archaeological evidence which could provide complementary data and a wide range of information.

In the first proper archaeological campaign, November-December 2012, the French team explored an area west of the Hindu Temple, by means of a large sounding and a deep trench. It also cut a small trench across one of the towers of the fortified wall to get clearer insight in its building-structures and chronology. Meanwhile, the Pakistani-Italian team opened two soundings in the central area of the citadel, south of the Mosque. The French soundings reached the deepest layers before being hampered by heavy water infiltration. Notwithstanding, these brought to light artefacts of pre-Islamic age as far back as the Kushano-Sasanian period. The Pakistani-Italian team concentrated on palatial structures, craft workshops, and a refuse pit. Artefacts from the latter provided important evidence of ordinary life at Banbhore.

Niccolò Manassero joined the Italian team for the January-February 2014 campaign, when, once again, the Italian and the Pakistani teams have been working together. The researches focused on the very center of the site: here, two trenches were cut, across the "Partition Wall" and just west of it. The main aim was to provide new evidence with regard to the meaning and date of both the wall and the structures adjoining it [Fig. 5]. The French team, still working in the western part of the citadel, shifted southwards, investigating a rectangular structure that revealed a rich array of crafts involving glass, ivory and shells, and dating from the Islamic as well as the pre-Islamic eras [Fig. 6, next page].

Ceramic assemblages, carefully studied by Dr. Agnese Fusaro, have provided important data when read "in stratigraphic sequence," documenting the "international" dimension of the site of Banbhore through the centuries, and providing clear evidence of the process of its "Indianisation."[2] Archaeometric analysis of the recovered artifacts (glassware, ceramic vessel, little objects and beads, metals, coins, clay moulds etc.) has supported and complemented the investigations. For example, excavation uncovered a wealth of "copper coins" – small thin discs 10-20 mm in diameter, appearing as corroded copper, which, when analyzed, turned out to be made of a copper – lead – tin alloy. Small samples of pre-islamic ceramics were taken to the Sapienza University of Rome for more complete analyses. It seemed that a few were imported, but preliminary results of the ongoing analysis now indicates that all are of local production (Soncin 2014).

Fig. 5. The 2014 Pakistani-Italian sounding.

The geomorphological and hydrologic survey and sedimentological investigations and tests carried out during the 2014 season have advanced our knowledge of the changes in the Indus' course and helped us achieve a better

Fig. 6. The 2014 French sounding.

understanding of the environment and the local natural habitat, the population's distribution and its development (Louvre University of Abu Dhabi, under the direction of Prof. Eric Fouache).

The re-examination of the written sources has provided a wealth of information referring to the late Sasanian and Islamic periods, data on military and political events taking place in Sindh, social and administrative institutions, commercial codes and economic activity, links and interlinks with the surrounding world (Piacentini Fiorani and Redaelli 2003; Piacentini Fiorani 2014).

As a whole, these field seasons have brought to light a considerable amount of new data. To a certain degree, they confirm Khan's statements on the main stages of life at Banbhore, at the same time that these first campaigns have offered better insight into some specific issues. The trenches have undoubtedly provided a clearer understanding of the organization of space and the combination of building materials, disposal and recycling of materials (either objects or construction materials) and the development of the fortification system which encased the city. Moreover, no less valuable data have been collected referring to domestic life and the context of the city, such as the religious communities within it, craftwork and shops, market activities, the production of goods both for local consumption and for export, and other goods imported for a re-distribution market.

These notes have only explored some of the complexities of the site of Banbhore. Annual preliminary reports have been written and deposited with the competent authorities in Pakistan. The joint teams are preparing to publish a thorough report of these five years of field-work, including excavations, surveys and observations of the still standing monuments, their study and analyses.

Acknowledgments

We want to express our deepest gratitude to Dr. Monique Kervran, Scientific Director of the French team, whose efforts and skills made mounting the expedition possible, and Drs. Asma Ibrahim and Kaleemullah Lashari, whose generous collaboration and constant support (in every respect) allow the expedition to keep proceed despite the challenges every archaeological expedition encounters. Our deepest thanks to all the Pakistani, French and Italian collaborators, who are too numerous to list here, for their enthusiastic participation in the campaigns and contribution to the growth of knowledge on this hugely important site.

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Notes

1. See for example the papers presented at the 2012, 2013 and 2014 *Seminar for Arabian Studies* held in London, and published in the Proceedings/BAR International – Oxford, UK.

2. We should also keep in mind the strong economic and cultural links of Sindh with Central Asia; e.g., several early-Islamic shards from Banbhore strictly match those found at Ghazni. In this regard, see Fusaro 2014.

Emgentiin Kherem, a Fortress Settlement of the Khitans in Mongolia

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Lkhagvasüren Erdenebold, *Ulaanbaatar*

Interest in the archaeological investigation of urbanization in the Mongolian steppes began in the middle of the 20th century (Kiselev 1967, Perlee 1961). However in the first decade of the new millennium there has been a surge of attention to this topic (Danilov 2004, Rogers et al. 2005, Kyzlasov 2006, Kradin 2008, Tkachev 2009, Waugh 2010). This interest has been stimulated by new archaeological discoveries as well as the attempt to develop new theoretical paradigms.

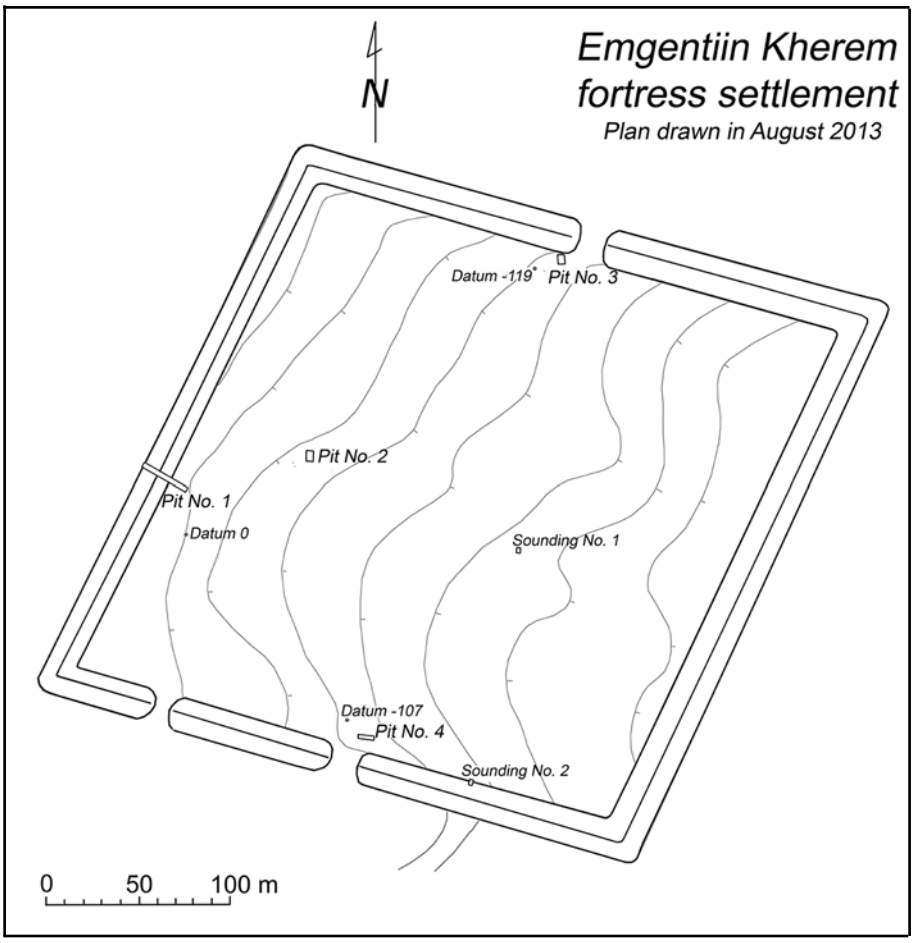
Among the nomad polities of Inner Asia the Khitan empire of the Liao (907–1125) occupies an important place. The period of the emergence of the Liao came during a geopolitical crisis in Inner Asia, when in the interval of several decades, the last steppe empire, the Uighur qaghanate, perished and the Tang dynasty collapsed in China. The Khitans succeeded not only in uniting the nomadic chieftains into a strong confederation but in subduing several states which had been created after the fall of the Tang empire. Have conquered agrarian peoples, the Khitans created a dual system of administration both for the Chinese and for the pastoralists. The northern administration occupied the higher position; it controlled the nomads and other northern peoples (as the "metropole"). The southern administration copied the bureaucratic system of China, controlling the sedentary agricultural territories (Wittfogel and Feng 1949).

The Liao government actively promoted urban construction in Manchuria, Northern China and Mongolia (Ivliev 1983, Steinhardt 1997, Hu 2009). The Khitans could not forget that over a long period of time they had been subjected to raids and exploitation by the Turkic qaghanates. For this reason they undertook a whole series of measures to obstruct the unification of the nomads who moved across the territories of the Mongolian steppes. One of these measures was the creation of a series of urban centers in the Kerulen and Tola river basins. For a long time now Mongolian and Russian scholars have been studying and excavating Khitan settlements in the Tola basin (Ochir et al. 2005; Kradin et al. 2005, Kradin and Ivliev 2008, 2009; Ochir et al. 2008, Kradin et al. 2011). A whole series of larger and smaller settlements are located there. In addition, the Khitans built a wall some 760 km long, which extends through the territory of Eastern Mongolia, Russia and China (Lunkov et al. 2011).

In 2004-2008 a Russo-Mongolian international expedition carried out excavations on the territory of the largest town, Chintolgoi Balgas, which was a Khitan administrative center in that territory, the city of Zhenzhou [Fig. 1, next page]. A substantial collection of artefacts of the urban culture of the Liao empire was obtained and results which demonstrated the multi-ethnic composition of the town (Kradin and Ivliev 2009; Kradin et al. 2011). In 2010–2012, excavations were undertaken in another interesting urban site—Khermen Denzh (Kradin et al. 2012). The archaeological materials there differed from the collection made at Chintolgoi Balgas. There were also many artefacts of an earlier (Uighur) period. We hypothesized that this archaeological site should be identified with the city of Khedun (Kradin et al. 2013). In addition, during two field seasons, 2009 and 2013, the settlement of Emgentiin Kherem was excavated. The general results of the excavations from five years

Fig. 1. Map showing extent of Liao Empire and Bohai state, with the location of Chintolgoi Balgas.

Fig. 2. Site plan drawn August 2013.



ago have been published. Here we lay out the results of the study of the settlement during the two years of the excavations and also offer some general conclusions concerning the place of the given settlement in the administrative structure of the Zhenzhou district.

The fortifications of the settlement

The Emgentiin kherem settlement is located in Dashinchilen sum, Bulgan aimag, approximately 200 km west of Ulaanbaatar. The settlement is located 25 km north of the settlement of Chintolgoi Balgas on the other side of a mountain ridge and sits in a valley between two ridges of hills. It is among the settlements of medium size and is significantly smaller than four large Khitan settlements in that region: Chintolgoi Balgas, Khar Bukhyn Balgas, Khermen Denzh, and Ulaan Kherem. This suggests that its population was of lesser political significance.

The settlement is close to rhomboid in shape [Fig. 2]. The walls are oriented close to the cardinal points of the compass with slight deviation: the deviation of the north-south line

Fig. 3. View to northeast along the western wall.

is 19–20°, the east-west line 9–11°. The west wall is 305 m in length, the eastern 312 m, the northern 315 m and the southern 316 m, with the total length of the walls 1248 m. The area of the settlement is 9.6 hectares. The height of the walls is from 0.5–0.7 m on the east and up to 1–1.5 m on the north and west. The width of the wall at the top is 3-4 m and at the base up to 15 m. The eastern wall is the least well preserved and in places has largely crumbled.

Along the eastern side in the lower part of the valley is the bed of a small river (actually streams, which in the rainy season become a rapid river). The settlement is interesting because both the interior and exterior of its wall were faced in stone [Fig. 3]. This is quite similar to the construction principles of the Bohai people, who were conquered by the Khitans in 926 and some of whom deported to the territory of Mongolia (Kradin and Ivliev 2008, 2009). It was precisely this circumstance which was the reason for our studies at the site. Another feature connecting it with Bohai settlements is the technical features of the construction of the gates. There are two gates in the settlement, respectively on the north and south sides. The gates have no supplementary fortification; their external appearance is simply that of gaps in the walls. In addition, on the southern wall near the southwestern corner is a depression which at first was interpreted as yet another gate.

Excavation of the fortress wall

In 2009 a cut was made across the wall (*Pit No. 1*) {Fig. 4], its location selected on the western wall, which is the best preserved. The excavation was 121 m from the southwestern corner of the settlement and 182 m from the northeastern corner. The excavation was perpendicular to the wall and ditch and the trench measured 25 x 2 m, its total area thus 50 m^2. The trench was oriented along a NNW-SSE line with a declination of approximately 19–20° from the east-west line.

As the turf and first 20 cm deep layer were being removed, the iron tip of an arrow was found along with a piece of iron (possibly the fragment of a cauldron). In the interior part of the settlement were encountered fragments of ceramics and bone, one piece of ceramic with Uighur ornament, and a piece of a corroded cast iron object. The excavation of the third layer turned up an iron weight with loops for attaching a cord [Fig. 7, p. 95], possibly a plumb-bob. Also in this layer were a fragment of a leg for a ceramic pot and several other ceramic fragments. The main finds (ceramics and animal bones) were concentrated next to the wall on its interior. In the subsequent layers also were found ceramic fragments and bones and a very poorly preserved piece of a basalt millstone.

Fig. 4. Pit No. 1, cut through the western wall. View from the southwest.

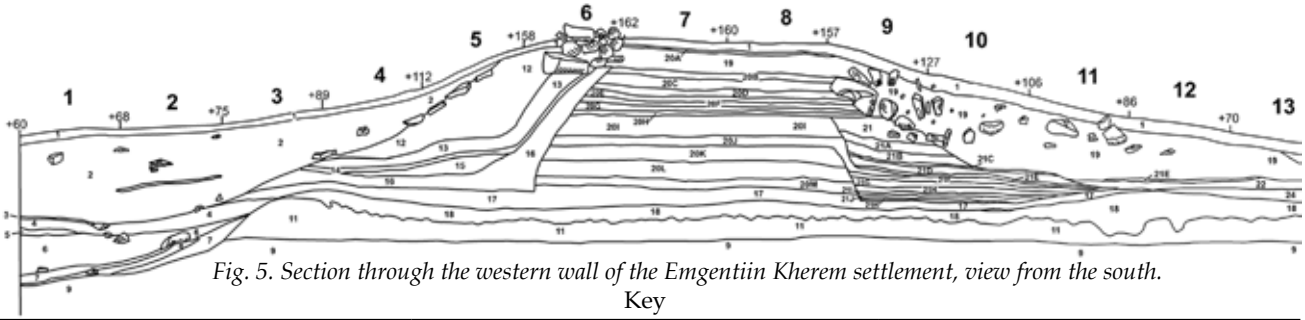


Fig. 5. Section through the western wall of the Emgentiin Kherem settlement, view from the south.

Key

1 – humus	2 – brown loam	3 – black loam
4 – light brown loam	5 – black loam mixed with brown	6 – brown loam
7 – whitish light brown clay	8 – white clay	9 – light brown clay with a yellowish cast (virgin soil)
10 – dark brown loam	11 – compact whitish gray clay	12 – compact white clay with brown specks
13 – light brown clay	14 – brown clay	15 – whitish light brown clay with small lumps
16 – light brown clay with small lumps	17 – brown clay	18 – dark brown clay (buried turf)
19 – compact gray clay	20A – compact white clay	20B – compact white clay
20C; 20E; 20G; 20I; 20K – gray clay	20D; 20F; 20H – white clay	20J – brown clay
20L – dark gray clay	20M – dark brown clay	21 – brown clay
21A; 21I – gray clay	21B; 21H – light brown clay	21C; 21G – gray clay with gravel
21D; 21K – white clay	21E; 21J – dark brown clay	21F – compact white clay
22 – dark brown clay	23 – lens of gray ashy clay	23A – lens of dark brown clay
24 – light brown loam	25 – light brown loam dotted with gray and reddish color	25A – gray ashy loam

The study of the stratigraphy shows that the wall was constructed by the method known as *hantu* — that is, of rammed earth layers. In addition, both inside and out the wall was faced with stone [Fig. 5]. The technique of *hantu* was known to the Chinese from ancient times. In Mongolia it was used in the construction of the capital of the Uighur qaghanate, Karabalgasun, and the Khitan towns Chintolgoi Balgas and Khermen Denzh. This technique also is encountered in the Jurchen towns of the 12th–14th centuries on the territory of the Russian Far East. For Bohai towns on the territory of the Russian Far East different construction techniques were used: a stone facing of unworked rock, stone fill, a stone facing of the interior, exterior and top of an earthen wall, and a facing of stone blocks. Stone facings have been found as well on the walls of the Upper Capital of Bohai in Heilongjiang Province 黑龙江省 (Ivliev et al. 1998; Kradin and Nikitin 2003).

Thus the wall of the Emgentiin Kherem settlement somewhat differs from the Far Eastern tradition. Here we have the combination of the *hantu* method and the use of stone for facing the exterior and interior.

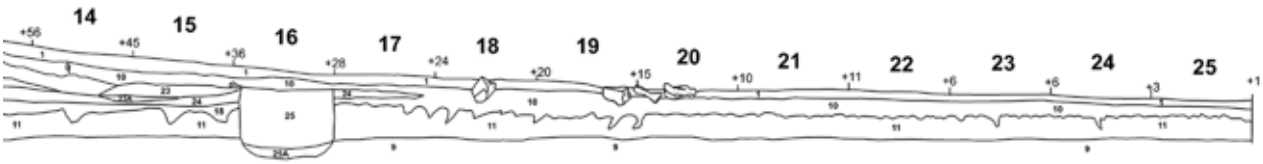
Other excavation areas

In 2013 our expedition continued excavations at the settlement. Three small pits were opened with a total area of 60 m^2.

Pit No. 2, measuring 4 x 6 m, was located 70 m to the west of the eastern edge of the section through the wall which was designated as Pit No. 1. There was an accumulation of stones here, sticking out of the ground, which we thought could have been the remains of a *kan* — a heating system. In the removal of the turf and excavation of the first layer were found several small fragments of ceramics and also animal bones. The majority of the stones lay on the old surface and over time had become covered over with turf. It turned out that this was not a heating system. The excavation revealed two pits. One of them extended into the wall of the excavation; a second round pit was approximately in its center with a slight deviation in the direction of the eastern edge. Its diameter was approximately 1.8–2 m, and the fill was light brown loam. This pit contained remains of a large bovine: its rib section joined to the spinal column in correct anatomical position. While finds in the pit were few, it is interesting that Khitan ceramics were found both above and below the animal bones.

Pit no. 3 was located approximately 20 m southwest of the northern gate. Initially we supposed that here might have been graves of a somewhat later origin than the settlement itself. One of the supposed graves was a round covering approximately 3 x 4 m in size, slightly stretched along the north-south line or north-west to south-east line. In the center was a guardian stone leaning in the northeastern direction, its height 36 cm and rhomboid section measuring approximately 20 x 16 cm. The top of the stone showed evidence of having been shaped by chipping.

The excavation of a 5 x 4 m pit revealed no traces of a grave under the stone cover. There were some animal



bones and one ceramic fragment, and the excavation exposed a cover of rectangular stones, oriented SW-NE and measuring 110 x 80–90 cm. The cover was filled with stone rubble. Following the removal of the stone construction, dark soil was removed and an oval pit opened oriented along the east-west line and measuring about 2 m long, 0.5–1 m wide and 15–20 cm deep. Below the pit was a fragment of a bushing from the hub of a wheel.

The excavation of the rest of this pit revealed a large collection of bones in the northwestern part, ceramics, and also a partially worked bone object. Underneath was a shoulder-blade of some animal, and below it was a layer of ash and ceramic with Khitan decoration. Theoretically this could be the remains of a hearth or several hearths of different periods. We can surmise that in this part of the site were no surface or dugout dwellings. The population lived in yurts, inside of which were hearths faced with stones.

Pit No. 4 was located in the southern part of the settlement approximately 8 m north of the southern gate. The excavation was opened so as to study the area in front of the gate and if possible to identify the remains of a street and other structures. The trench measured 2 x 8 m, its long dimension oriented along an east-west line. The cultural layer in this part of the settlement is very thin. The stratigraphy of the pit divides in two parts. In the western part is brown loam (a street?); in the central and eastern part light brown loam. The third layer (at a depth of 20–30 cm from the current surface of the ground) yielded a fragment of the neck of a gray vessel polished on its interior and with two horizontal grooves on the exterior.

The artefacts

A lot of ceramics, clay objects, iron, and faunal remains were found during the excavations. The ceramics constituted the largest part of the finds, all of the ceramics wheel-turned and the majority made of gray fine-textured clay with a temper of small pieces of stone, often white in color. The distinctive feature of Khitan ceramics observed here as elsewhere is the concave base of the vessels and the presence on the walls, primarily in the lower part of the body, of ornament made by a stamp wheel in the form of rows of wedge-shaped or rectangular incisions (the so-called comb ornament).

At the same time, in this settlement among the ceramics are some distinct, non-Khitan features. These include horizontal corded handles, which are characteristic of Bohai ceramics, and so-called Uighur ornament decorated with rhombs or concentric arcs. The excavations of the Chintolgoi Balgas settlement in 2004–2008 showed that such Uighur ornament continued in use there in the Khitan period. Evidence of this are vessels of Khitan shape with such ornament and the combination of the Khitan comb stamp with Uighur ornament on one and the same vessel (Kradin and Ivliev 2009). In the Emgentiin Kherem settlement the excavations likewise uncovered a fragment of a vessel with the combination of the comb and Uighur ornament.

We can distinguish two groups of vessels according to the composition of the ceramic fabric. In the first group are vase-shaped vessels, basins and tubs of dark gray clay with a temper of small pieces of white stone. The second group is distinguished by a porous black or brown ceramic with sand temper. Vessels of this group include clay kettles and cooking pots which as a rule had undergone heating in the process of being used.

Ewers. In the third layer in sector 6 was a fragment of the base of a ewer, a gray shard with a temper of small pieces of white stone. The surface is dark gray. Starting at the bottom, the vessel is covered by 2 cm-wide horizontal bands of comb ornament impressed by a wheel. While the clay was still wet, at the very bottom in the vessel wall was made a 1.6 cm diameter opening of the type found in other such Liao ewers.

Fragments of vase-shaped vessels include their tops and parts of the neck, extending into the shoulder. One of these pieces from the second layer of sector 8 is a cylindrical neck that curves inward on the exterior and has a thicker upper edge. Polishing on the exterior of the neck has added an ornament shaped like a vertical zigzag. The interior fabric of the shard is gray, its surface dark, almost black. The top of a vase-shaped vessel from layer 4 in sector 5 is a rounded convex cylinder whose upper edge widens above

the neck. Its upper part is covered with horizontal polishing. The diameter of the rim is 15.6 cm. Another variant of decoration, on the neck of a vase-shaped vessel found in the 5th–6th layers in sector 1, has several polished vertical bands. A large fragment of the neck and shoulders of a vase-shaped vessel from Pit No. 1 in sector B16 has a cylindrical neck covered with horizontal polishing and with a chain of triangular impressions midway in its height. On the shoulders directly below the neck is a wide band of comb stamp made with a wheel. This band is separated from the next band of comb stamp by a band of horizontal polishing 3.8 cm. wide. The fabric of the vessel is dark gray, almost black, with tiny inclusions of white stone.

A significant part of the whole mass of ceramics found at the settlement of Emgentiin Kherem consists of fragments of *pails* or *tubs* of similar capacity which have a thick rim and vertical walls but with marked inward curvature on the lower exterior. The outer surface of the rim is covered entirely with horizontal polishing. Below the rim on the exterior walls are wide horizontal bands of comb ornament; in one instance there is a horizontal raised band with triangular incisions. Unlike the bowls, such containers had no polished ornament on the interior of the walls and bottom. The diameters of their rims vary from 22 to 44 cm. In fact these are storage vessels. From the artefacts of other sites, among them Chintolgoi Balgas, we know that the Khitans had their own bowls with more gently sloping walls and polished ornament on the interior. Two such fragments with ornament of curving polished lines on the interior surface were also found in the excavations at Emgentiin Kherem.

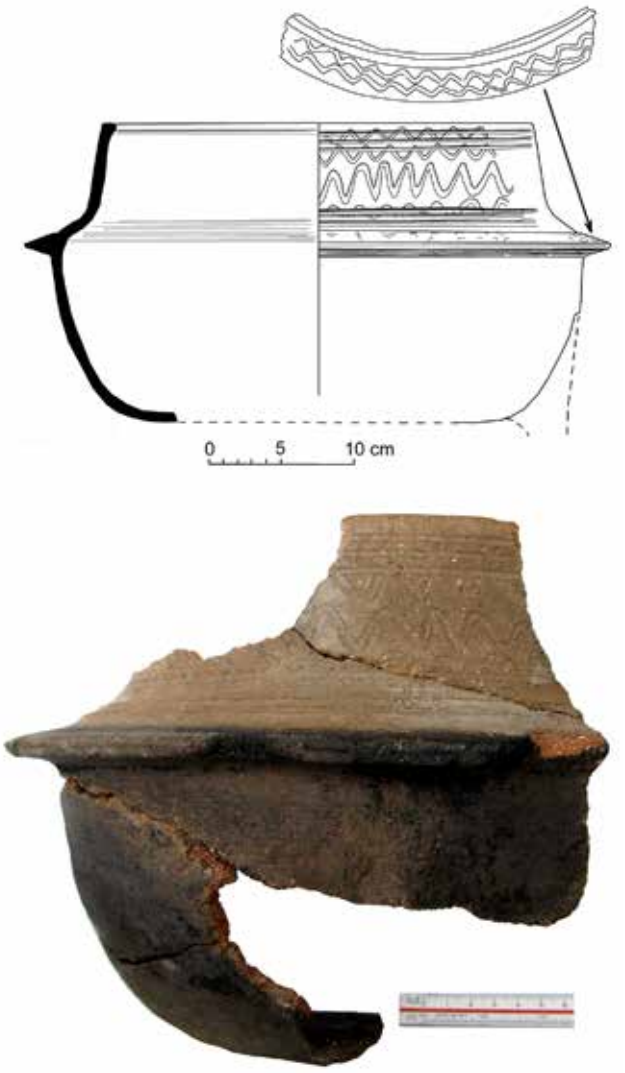


Fig. 6. Fragment of a clay cauldron.

Seven fragments of the tops of *cooking pots* of the "Khitan type" were found, rather ill-defined vessels whose shape varies from pots with a clearly articulated body, neck and mouth, to vessels of an almost tub-like cylindrical shape. We label them in this way because they are among the most characteristic types of vessels found in Khitan culture. As a rule, all of them have traces of burning on the walls. The ceramic fabric of cooking dishes contains a significant amount of temper of sand and has a black, red or brown color—evidence of firing in an oxidizing atmosphere. The tops of such dishes are thicker along the upper edge; their exterior surface and also the upper border often are covered with impressions of comb ornament. All the fragments with one exception come from rather thick-walled vessels. They differ from ordinary pots of the "Khitan type" by the absence of clearly delineated raised bands on the exterior wall below the rim. One vessel whose rim diameter is approximately 13 cm is distinguished by walls only 0.35 to 0.55 cm thick. The raised band on its exterior wall immediately under the rim was created by applying pressure to the wall, as evidenced by a groove on the interior.

The most interesting of the ceramic finds are fragments of *clay cauldrons* which are copies of analogous iron wares [Fig. 6]. They have a vertical mouth, decorated with horizontal grooves. The edge of the rim is turned in. On the main body of the vessel is a broad horizontal ring. Pendant legs are attached to the body. On the interior surface can be seen traces of its having been worked on a potter's wheel. Among the fragments of such cauldrons found in the excavation are tops, legs and part of a horizontal ring. Two examples are very well preserved, one found during the collection of scattered artefacts in the area of the northern wall of the settlement. The fabric of this cauldron varies in color from bright red-brown to black. In the clay is temper of stone grains measuring 1-1.5 mm; some individual pieces of stone are as long as 5 mm. The surface of the cauldron is brown with

traces of soot; the interior surface black. The horizontal ring which goes around the middle of the body of the cauldron is 3 cm wide; its diameter is 36.6 cm. Above the ring, the walls of the vessel have not survived; only one of the three feet has been preserved.

A second example of a cauldron has preserved a significant part of the body from the rim to the base. The clay fabric of this vessel is analogous to that of the one described above. Right above the horizontal ring the vessel has angled shoulders which transition toward the vertical, still somewhat tilted walls of the mouth. The bottom is flat, smoothly transitioning into the walls. On the exterior of the walls and to a degree on the ring is soot and a layer of remains from burning. On the lower part of the body is a remnant of where one of the three feet was attached. This example of a cauldron differs in its unusual décor in the form of wavy incised lines. Two such lines are on the upper surface of the horizontal ring and three on the exterior of the vertical wall of the neck. Furthermore, the corrugation typical for such cauldrons on the surface of the neck is inscribed in the shape of three horizontal grooves above a wave-like ornament at the edge of the lip and along the shoulders. The diameter of the cauldron at the ring is 40.4 cm.

Glazed ceramics are represented by two fragments. One of them is a fragment of the bottom of a vessel with a wide circular base whose ring is 1 cm thick. It has a fine grained beige fabric with numerous pores and specks of white stone. The vessel is covered with a transparent, shiny, olive-colored glaze. The interior surface is uneven on account of its having been stretched out on a potter's wheel. The exterior surface of the ring-shaped base and the area inside it are unglazed. A second fragment comes from a thick-walled bottle-shaped vessel, covered with dark olive glaze. The thickness of the walls, which also have an uneven surface, is 2.2cm.

Porcelain. Lying on the ground was a fragment of the bottom of a porcelain cup. The cup is white with a fine-textured cream-colored fabric. The transparent shiny glaze was applied over a thin layer of underglaze. On the surface of the walls is only a dribble of glaze without the white underglaze. The diameter of the ring-shaped base is approximately 9 cm.

Stone wares. A fragment of a basalt millstone was found, shaped like a slice from a cone with lightly marked depressions on the narrow side. The entire surface was carefully worked, but the sides are chipped; yet there are no traces of abrasion. The diameter is 17.8 cm. at the bottom and 21 cm at the top and the thickness 9.5 cm.

Among the *clay wares* in the excavation were a spindle whorl and two chips. The spindle-whorl, carved from the wall of a vessel, is 7.1 cm in diameter. In the center is a drilled opening 0.7 cm in diameter. The chips are round pieces, 4.1 and 4.7 cm in diameter, which were used either in table games or ones whose playing board was laid out on the ground. They are rather crudely formed out of fragments of the walls of clay vessels. Such chips are common finds at Bohai sites in the Russian Far East. They are also known from the Khitan settlements at Chintolgoi Balagas and Khermen Denzh.

The *iron and cast iron wares* in the excavation included five objects: a nail, a plumb-bob, an iron plate, the leg of a kettle and the bushing of a wheel hub. Of the greatest interest was the discovery in Pit No. 1 of a cast iron round weight with a pointed lower end and a loop at the top. It measured 5.5 cm in height and 3.5–3.6 cm in diameter, the height of the loop being 1.5 cm and the weight approximately 150 g. Its shape recalls that of a steelyard weight, but differs from it on account of its sharp lower tip [Fig. 7]. In Pit No. 3 was a fragment of an iron bushing of the hub of a cart wheel. The wall of the bushing narrows on one end; its thickness is 0.9-1.1 cm, and the length of the bushing is 2.9 cm. One of the teeth on the exterior of the bushing has been preserved. This bushing is typical for the wagons of East Asia throughout the first two millennia CE.

Fig. 7. The plumb-bob found in Pit No. 1.

Discussion and conclusions

The artefacts from the excavations of the Emgentiin Kherem settlement are evidence that the site dates to the Liao period. The materials of the excavations here also demonstrate the presence of Bohai and Uighur cultural traditions. Furthermore, one can note some differences between the materials of this site and that of Chintolgoi

Balgas. At Emgentiin kherem they are evident in the unusual décor of the pottery cauldron, in a certain distinctness of the shape of the cooking vessels "of the Khitan type," in the predominance among the ceramic materials of storage vessels similar to tubs, and also in the insignificant presence of prestige dishes (only one porcelain fragment, found in surface scatters in 2013 near the southern gate).

On the whole, the cultural layer in the settlement is thin. The quantity of deposits from human activity is also small. This might attest either to a short period of habitation at the site or to the fact that the site could have been a place for the stationing of a separate military cavalry unit. One could suppose that the nomads lived in yurts and did not construct permanent houses, and also possibly that they used the enclosure at the site only in certain seasons and, in the event of danger, as a refuge (possibly along with their cattle). If this was the case, then it is understandable why there is such a limited cultural layer, compared with that of other Khitan settlements in that region. A task as yet for the future is to reconstruct the features of the daily lives of Khitan military units and the craftsmen and agriculturalists from among the Bohai, Jurchens and Chinese who were assigned to them in Mongolia.

We know from written sources that in 1004 CE 20,000 Khitan cavalrymen were sent here on military duty, and for the provisioning of them were assigned 700 Bohai, Jurchen and Han Chinese families, which were distributed in the district center Zhenzhou and its subordinate towns Fanzhou and Weizhou (Kradin et al 2011, p. 163). In order to bring under their control the nomads who inhabited the Mongolian steppe, the Khitans created a network of urban centers in the Kerulen and Tola.river basins. In the Tola basin was a whole series of larger and smaller settlements. The four largest were Khar Bukhyn Balgas, Chintolgoi Balgas, Ulaan Kherem and Khermen Denzh, positioned almost in a single line which one can actually trace if looking at a map or a satellite photo. From the hill of Chintolgoi in good weather one can see the stupa of the settlement of Khar Bukhyn Balgas. In all likelihood, in each town were erected signal towers, and in emergencies, with the aid of fires, information could instantly be sent around to the entire territory of the district. It is interesting that the distance between settlements was roughly half a day's journey on horseback. Approximately the same distance separated the district center and Emgentiin Kherem. If our hypothesis is accurate, that settlement was a place for the stationing of a mobile military garrison and their families, which defended from the north the approaches to the district city Zhenzhou, that is, the site of Chintolgoi Balgas.

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— *Translated by Daniel C. Waugh*

The Carpet Index: Rethinking the Oriental Carpet in Early Renaissance Paintings

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Since the beginning of Carpet Studies as a discipline in mid-19th–century Germany, specialists have claimed that eastern carpets — from their first appearance in European paintings in the mid-13th–century to the present day — must be understood as luxury items of Muslim manufacture. This widely repeated conventional wisdom, often called the Berlin School of thought, was formulated when Victoria still ruled the British Empire but unfortunately it has been rarely questioned since.[1] Most modern carpet specialists continue to hew to the Muslim-origin theory of the founders of the Berlin School, by insisting that if the carpet was to have any iconographical significance at all within a painterly Renaissance context, it was as a sign of heavenly comfort (since pile carpets were expensive and available only to the wealthy), and as a marker of worldly honor (since it was made by religious rivals).[2]

Fig. 1. Dominico Ghirlandaio, Madonna Enthroned with Saints, ca. 1480, La Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Yet hundreds of paintings prominently feature the oriental carpet within a deeply Christian setting, where it is always depicted squarely under the feet of the Virgin and her saints. We western art historians have been taught (and we continue to teach our students) that every one of these Italian and Flemish religious paintings contains layer upon layer of iconographic meaning; that everything the painter included, from the indigo blue pigment for the Virgin's cloak (indicating her purity, and purchased at great cost, often specified in the contract), to the vase of roses or lilies depicted on the carpet in front of her, is imbued with deep theological meaning [Fig. 1]. Were the interpretation of the Berlin School to be right, the carpet then is the *only* item within a heavenly setting without any Christian significance or iconographic meaning. This hardly seems likely, and art historians specializing in the Renaissance have rarely addressed the problem. Most often we ignore the presence of the carpet altogether, leaving it to the scrutiny of a few carpet specialists interested in the development of classical Turkish patterns and motifs.

I became involved with this problem while writing a book chapter on the Council of Florence of 1439, and its impact on the art of the early Renaissance period. This famous Council, attended by prominent Christians from the entire known world — among them Latin, Coptic, Jacobite, Maronite, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox — sought to reconcile the eastern and western branches of Christianity in the face of militant Ot-

toman incursions into Asia Minor and the surrounding ancestral Christian lands.[3] The delegates brought with them rare sacred books written in Aramaic (the language of Christ), Greek, Armenian, Coptic, and Syriac, many of which, given to the Pope, become the core of the emerging Vatican Library (Grafton 1993, Introduction). The Council took place over many months and involved long theological discussions and very difficult compromises. When it concluded with a Decree of Union in July 1439, all of the bells in Florence rang out and the Council was thought to be a triumphant success.

With historical hindsight, we know that the meeting failed to bring about the much-longed-for universal Christian unity, but in 1439 hopes ran high. In my chapter, I speculated that this conference with its desire for East-West religious union spawned a whole new genre of religious painting – the *sacra conversazione* or the "sacred conversation" -- where the Virgin is surrounded by her gently conversing saints [Fig. 1].[4] I further proposed that Fra Angelico, a monk resident at the time in the Florentine convent of San Marco, painted the very first Italian *sacra conversazione* specifically for his fellow Dominicans there who had hosted the Council in Florence in 1439 [Fig. 2]. Fra Angelico depicted a heavenly gathering of saints under the benign gaze of the Virgin and, in this ground-breaking painting, he prominently included an oriental carpet beneath the Virgin's feet.[5]

But the carpet itself gave me pause. Given my own expectations and academic training, this object ought to have been a luxurious pile carpet signifying status and wealth. Instead, Fra Angelico featured a simple flat-weave rug with crude, almost folkloric animal motifs. The depicted carpet was not luxurious by any stretch of the imagination. How could Fra Angelico have made such a mistake — and why was such a carpet even there?

My puzzlement over the inclusion of this rustic item in such a significant painting began an almost decade-long quest to rethink the role of the oriental carpet within Renaissance paintings. For an art historian specializing in east-west artistic exchange, the premise of the Muslim-made carpet included as a mere status symbol and/or a trophy perch for the Virgin quickly became intellectually unsatisfying, particularly after finding so many instances, such as the Fra Angelico altarpiece, where the old Berlin School theory simply did not apply. I decided to start fresh by compiling and researching a *catalogue raisonné*, a visual database of all Renaissance paintings that contained oriental carpets. This database, called the Carpet Index, has been online since 2008.[6] While still a work in progress, the Carpet Index has grown to over 800 images related to oriental carpets in Western art from around 1190 to 1800, with research essays, source material, and sets and collections of images. The research possibilities from this concentrated gathering of material are vast for oriental carpet enthusiasts. At the Index's core is a workable collection of about 350 paintings dated between 1250 and 1550. This core has allowed me to re-assess conventional wisdom concerning the inclusion of the oriental carpet in early Renaissance paintings, and propose some controversial new conclusions.

The examination of hundreds of examples arranged in chronological order made it clear that the Victorian-era theory as to the purpose of the carpet in these paintings was seriously flawed. Within this time frame (ca. 1250–1500), *the carpet did not once signify domestic comfort, luxury, or status*. Instead, in over two-thirds of the paintings, it clearly delineated the Precinct of the Virgin, with the carpet conspicuously placed as holy ground beneath Mary's feet in her role as Mother Church. The carpet appeared in paintings large and small, created for public or private devotion, for guilds or merchants in disparate municipalities and regions, but invariably it marked holy ground beneath the Virgin and her saints.

By extension, the marking of the holy ground of Mother Church is further seen in Renaissance depic-

Fig. 2. Fra Angelico, San Marco Altarpiece, ca. 1439, Museo San Marco, Florence.

tions of the rituals surrounding the Seven Sacraments of the Latin church: baptism, confirmation, Eucharist (celebrating the Mass), almsgiving (the repentant giving of charity), ordination into holy orders, marriage, and last rites (including Christian burial). A large subsection of the Carpet Index paintings is devoted to depicting these rituals, especially the most public sacraments of marriage, the giving of charity, and funeral scenes where again, the carpet signifies holy ground.

The surprises of the Carpet Index data did not stop with the discovery of iconographic and sacramental meaning. Not only did the eastern carpet mark holy ground, but within another subsection of the Index, certain recognizable carpets appeared multiple times, often over several centuries. Interestingly, these repeating carpets are among the oldest depicted. These were not the sumptuous pile carpets of later fame but plain utilitarian flat-weaves, often with crude animal imagery, very similar to the San Marco carpet by Fra Angelico of 1439 [Fig. 2 above]. Despite their lack of luxury, the rude carpets were repeated in paintings large and small, all dedicated to the Virgin: one distinctive carpet in Florence repeats at least 9 times from 1250 to 1472 [Fig. 3]; an entirely different old rug appears over 18 times in Sienese paintings from 1300 to 1462, where it visibly ages and fragments [Fig. 4].

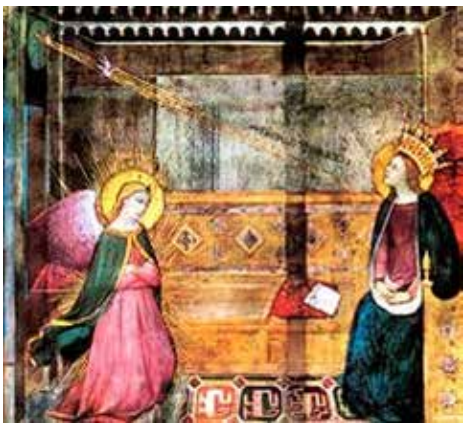

Fig. 3. Fra Bartolomeo, Miraculous Annunciation, 1252, Santissima Annunziata, Florence.

Clearly, there were problems with conventional wisdom. The most glaring gap in conventional carpet theory, however, is that specialists simply did not have — and never have had — an adequate explanation for the core problem: what is a Muslim carpet doing in a Christian painting in the first place? Indeed, the evidence indicates that the carpets which entered Europe and appeared in paintings before 1500 were *not* commercial items manufactured by Anatolian Muslims for luxury-loving western Christians. Instead, the new data in the Carpet Index point toward an eastern Christian origin for these carpets in Asia Minor and the Greater Armenian Highlands, and indicate that the carpets themselves held deep religious significance to those who brought them west. The simplest, most obvious answer in this Renaissance context is the best: These are Christian carpets that we are seeing in Christian paintings.

In particular, these new data call attention to one of the most long-lasting legacies of the Berlin School of thought: its bias against Christian participation in the art of carpet weaving, which has hobbled Carpet Studies from the beginning.[7] As I was assembling the Carpet Index and beginning to conclude that the carpets in question were of Christian origin, I came upon Volkmar Gantzhorn's pioneering study that had earlier argued the case for Christian weavers, and his work has solidified much of my own.[8] The land mass that we call Asia Minor or Anatolia was populated by local Christians for almost a millennium before and another millennium after the arrival of the first followers of Mohammed in the 10th century.[9] It is wishful thinking to insist that carpet weaving suddenly arrived and burgeoned on the Anatolian plateau *only* with the arrival of the late-coming nomadic Muslims from the east, and that somehow the inclusion of carpets in western Christian paintings before 1500 indicates an oddly benign trade relationship between bitter and antagonistic religious rivals.

My work, however, takes us beyond Gantzhorn's initial observations of the possibility of Christian weavers in Asia Minor: I advocate that we view the depictions in European paintings as historical markers in themselves. As such, I suggest that many of the carpets that we observe in early Renaissance paintings were actual revered relics brought by small groups of Eastern Christians — Syrians, Greeks, Georgians, but

Fig. 4. Sano di Pietro, The Betrothal of the Virgin, ca. 1446, Musei Vaticani.

especially Armenians — fleeing westward in advance of Mamluk, Mongol, and Ottoman incursions into their ancestral lands. Thus the aging carpets shown over centuries in Florentine and Sienese paintings can be seen anew as relics, historical objects of great veneration brought from the Christian East.[10] Their repetition in paintings before 1500 implies that these carpets were recognizable entities within their new European communities and of great importance to the émigrés. Indeed, fragments of carpets which closely match the oldest depicted ones, came onto the art market in the 19th century from church treasuries in Italy, apparently after being preserved there for centuries.[11]

Art historians have been largely blind to indicators of significant colonies of eastern Christians migrating to the west in the early modern period.[12] Yet, archival documentation and various historical studies confirm that, beginning after the first Crusade (and certainly by 1100), trade, social relations and intermarriage developed among the Crusaders and various groups of eastern Christians who supported the European venture to return the Holy Land to Christian control (Runciman 1994, p. 29 and *passim*).[13] Western relations with Byzantium and Greek Orthodoxy were decidedly less friendly than most art historians propose, and cultural relations were severely strained after the Crusaders sacked Constantinople in 1204. During this same period, however, Crusader relations remained warm with the other eastern Christian groups who supported them against the Byzantines: notably the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Syrian Christians who had long chafed under Byzantine domination. Beginning with the first Crusade (1096–99), and certainly after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, successive small waves of Armenians and other eastern Christians with family and business ties to the west left to pursue business opportunities on the Italian peninsula along the pilgrimage roads to Rome that led directly through Tuscany.

During the chaos and uncertainty that followed the fall of the Crusader kingdoms at the end of the 13th century, a new group of Armenian refugees began to arrive in Italy — these were artists and craftsmen from Armenian Cilicia, whose livelihoods were threatened by new *aniconic* Sunni overlords.[14] The artists and craftsmen were helped by the newly-emergent Franciscans and Dominicans, whose missionaries were also being forced out of the Outremer and who were returning home to Tuscany after the fall of Acre in 1291. This symbiosis between the Latin mendicant orders and the Cilician artists, I suggest, is reflected in the decoration programs in the newly built churches in Florence and Siena.[15]

My primary example for this demographic shift is a flat-weave rug with folkloric motifs that first appeared in the west in a painting around 1300 [Fig. 4]. My research indicates that the carpet represents an already revered Christian rug that was spirited away to the west by a family of Cilician Armenians seeking safety when the Holy Land fell to Muslim forces in 1291. Helped by the Franciscans, the family fled to a new life in Italy, specifically coming to rest within the pilgrimage road city of Siena. There the precious relic carpet was well-known within the assimilating Armenian community, reverently depicted in the Sienese *contado* over 18 times in large altarpieces, frescoes, and small devotional triptychs. The last time it was painted was in 1462 (where it appeared to be in tatters) when the Sienese Pope Pius II commissioned its inclusion in a painting for his new cathedral in the southern Tuscan town of Pienza [Fig. 5].[16]

Like the Sienese relic carpet itself, arguably the small but significant Armenian migrations into the Italian peninsula have been hiding in plain sight for many centuries. One intriguing but ignored signal of this demographic shift (and this applies to other eastern Christian groups as well) is that, beginning in the 13th century each new wave of refugees brought with it their own patron saints. These saints were then added to locally venerated ones on the Italian peninsula as the newcomers acclimated to their new surroundings. In Tuscany specifically, we should look at the emerging veneration of Armenian national saints — Bartolomeo, Taddeo, Gregorio, and lesser-known Armenian martyrs such as S. Miniato, S. Biagio, S. Vittorio — who began to have established churches from the 13th century onward. As an example, the Armenian patron saint Bartolomeo was added to the patron saints of Siena by 1215 (just a decade after the fall of Constantinople), and later the Cilician martyr Vittorio was added in 1308 (about a decade and a half after the fall of Acre. See Norman 1999, pp. 35–36). The civic presence of these foreign saints would suggest an influx of merchants and craftsmen from the Greater Armenian Highlands and the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.[17] In the same vein, other Eastern Christian populations in Italy would be indicated by churches and chapels dedicated to Syrian, Greek, and Georgian saints. This movement of small groups of eastern Christians over several centuries is not merely theoretical or based on the visual evidence of the painted carpets and/or the ethnicity of imported saints: a DNA study from 2005 found that up to

Fig. 5. Detail of carpet in painting commissioned in 1462 by Pope Pius II for the new cathedral in the southern Tuscan town of Pienza.

10% of randomly tested Italian men show the unusual "G-marker" on their Y-chromosome, which indicates Armenian, Georgian, or other Caucasian background in their male line.[18]

Conclusions: three new theories

Working from a database of over 800 paintings in the Carpet Index, it is now possible to re-assess some of the core tenets of the discipline of Carpet Studies. To be fair, before the advent of the internet, so much of this new information was not readily available to the early Victorian specialists in the field. Yet, intuitive and brilliant scholars in the early 20th century such as Fredrik R. Martin, and in the 1980s such as John Mills in England and Volkmar Gantzhorn in Germany, grasped the potential of a more diversified ethnic and religious approach to this subject and attempted at that time to balance the record by including the presumption of Christian weavers in Asia Minor.[19] Yet, my own generation of American carpet specialists has been largely content to follow the traditional Muslim-origin view. As a fresh counterpoint to tradition, however, I offer three new theories derived from the data in the Carpet Index.

First, the oriental carpets' presence in European paintings before 1500 indicates that some of them were religious relics brought to the west by eastern Christians fleeing Muslim incursions into their ancestral lands in Asia Minor. Within this context, their presence in early Renaissance paintings is not and never has been an indication of benevolent commerce between religious enemies.[20]

Second, I am certain that the carpet in early Renaissance paintings has significant Christian symbolic meaning, marking holy ground beneath Mother Church; it has particular additional meaning in images related to the Seven Sacraments of the Latin church, particularly in relation to marriage, the giving of alms, and funerals. We can understand these carpets in paintings as public declarations of fidelity to the Latin church of newly-arrived eastern Christians, indicating a willingness to conform to and assimilate within the Latin church.

Third, and possibly most important, carpets in early Renaissance paintings can now be understood as visual markers of a demographic shift across the Mediterranean basin. Westward migrations of small communities of eastern Christians occurred over several centuries, as families of merchants, painters and craftsmen from Cilicia and the Armenian Highlands resettled in the hill towns of Italy along the pilgrimage roads to Rome. They brought their relic carpets with them and, over time as they assimilated into the sacraments of the Latin Church, the paintings with carpets became proud, familial reminders of their eastern past.

Marking a demographic shift, the carpet restores a forgotten legacy

As such, this re-examination of the oriental carpet opens a whole new window onto life and art in the early Renaissance. By the time of the Reformation, these assimilated groups of Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, and Syrians were no longer distinguishable from their European co-religionists, and with the Reformation accusing the Latin Church of Mariolatry, the eastern carpet ceased to be an attribute of the Virgin as Mother Church. By 1520 the oriental carpet was well on its way to becoming a coveted commercial good, and the Golden Age of the Muslim carpet mass-produced for domestic consumption in Europe truly began.[21]

Adding to the pioneering ideas of Volkmar Gantzhorn, the data collected in the Carpet Index supports the role of the Christian carpet in early Renaissance paintings. It restores to the Armenians, the Greeks, the Syrians and the Georgians an art form that they certainly have always shared with non-Christians in Asia Minor. Yet modern politics and national interests have excluded eastern Christians from this artistic legacy for over 150 years. Dismissed by the discipline of Carpet Studies, and ignored by academics, nevertheless the vibrant and significant contribution by eastern Christians to the art and communal life of the early Renaissance shines forth in hundreds of paintings, where their luminous carpets mark their faith, and their life, in their new lands.

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Notes

1. The perception that Muslim weavers in Turkey/Anatolia and Persia were and always have been the only source of carpets found in European paintings was formulated by the German founders of Carpet Studies in the late 19th century, including Wilhelm von Bode, who largely based their observations on the then-50-year-old Turkish commercial carpet industry. A prime advocate of Muslim origin theory was the mid-20th century specialist Kurt Erdmann. For his views on carpet-weaving as a uniquely Muslim craft, see Erdmann 1970 and the work of his student Friedrich Spuhler, both of whom expanded upon the observations of von Bode (see Spuhler 1987, Introduction, pp. 9–16).

2. See Mack 2002 and Denny 2002 (also Tom Verde's 2010 interview with Walter Denny). Spallanzani 2007 is the most thorough and interesting of the current traditionalists, as he delves into actual Florentine archival sources and inventories for his information, rather than relying on older German secondary sources.

3. The Dominicans had considerable contact with the Armenian *Unitores* in the Greater Armenian Highlands, who were pro-Latin and at odds with the Armenian Orthodox Church. For Latin Christians in the Armenian province of Nachivan, see Leonertz 1934 and Oudenrijn 1936. Atamiam 1984, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis that has contributed greatly to my forthcoming work, is a thorough and illuminating work on the later Dominicans in Armenia.

4. I theorize that the bearded saints in Fra Angelico's painting very likely represent the delegates of several eastern denominations, i.e., Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox, while the clean-shaven saints represent the Latin delegates, all conversing in new-found harmony around Mother Church.

5. It can be argued that the Flemish artist Jan van Eyck painted the very first of this genre in his *Madonna and Cannon van der Paele*, dated 1436, which pre-dated the Council of Florence by several years. The carpet contained in Jan's work also repeats itself 5 times over a century in Bruges, last seen in 1526.This Flemish relic carpet is discussed in the series of online lectures on "Re-Thinking the Oriental Carpet in Early Renaissance Paintings," being filmed in the fall of 2014. Contact the author for more information.

6. Between 2008 and 2013, the Carpet Index was accessible online to a small group of critics and friends. It was released to the general public in February 2013, at a meeting sponsored by the Armenian Rugs Society in Laguna Beach, California. The Carpet Index and the essays in Circa 1440 are found online on *flickr* at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/26911776@N06/collections/72157632803028991/>, the direct link to the images being <http://www.flickr.com/photos/26911776@N06/sets/72157605221104561/>.

7. See Erdmann 1970. Erdmann was adamantly against the idea of Christian weavers. His explanation of the presence of animal carpets found in early Renaissance paintings is firmly traditional (pp. 18–19): "After 1500 no such animal carpets seem to have been represented in a European painting and we may therefore assume that, in the course of the 15th c., their production came to an end. The reasons for this are not difficult to guess. In this group we are dealing undoubtedly with Anatolian products. In the 13th and 14th centuries Anatolia was ruled by the Turkish Seljuks who took kindly to the representation of figures in their art. In the 15th century, the Ottomans, who were also Turks, became the rulers and to a great extent dispensed with figures. This was certainly on religious grounds because according to strict Muslim teaching the representation of men or animals is forbidden…"

8. Volkmar Gantzhorn's original work from the 1980s, establishing the concept of the Christian carpet, is now over 30 years old and new research has revealed some flaws in his theories. Nevertheless, his pioneering work on the Christian carpet has no match in modern Carpet Studies.

9. Beginning with the arrival of the nomadic Seljuks who formed the Sultanate of Rum (Rome) in central Anatolia in 1060. The Seljuks were Oghuz Turks who originated on the Kazahk steppes of Turkestan north of the Caspian and Aral Seas. They converted to Sunni Islam around 985, and in the 11th century began their migrations west into Asia Minor.

10. It is possible that the Sienese repeating carpet was believed to have been an actual item in the Virgin's home at the time of the Annunciation. As such, it might have been brought out on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, and displayed during popular re-enactments of the holy event.

11. See von Bode 1892. Wilhelm von Bode, the illustrious scholar and collector who directed the Berlin Museums before WWI, collected the famous Dragon Carpet fragment in the 1880s that was said to have come on the art market from a church treasury in Umbria, Italy. It is possible that the Dragon Carpet fragment is the actual relic carpet depicted in Florentine paintings; even if it is not, my research convinces me of its Armenian origin.

12. An even earlier wave of eastern Christian migration came to the Italian peninsula in the 8th century, as Byzantine iconoclasts forced Armenians and other eastern Christians from the same areas to flee west carrying their precious art works and relics with them — hence the establishment of S. Gregorio Armeno in Naples, and the various relics of S. Bartolomeo that arrived in Rome during the same period.

13. Many intermarriages — both high and low — took place between Crusaders (and their non-soldier followers) and Armenian and Syrian women. For instance, one of the most famous intermarriages was that of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (r. 1118–31), who, when he was Count of Edessa, married a local Armenian princess, Morphia of Melitene (d. ca. 1127), and with her had their daughter Melisende (1105–61), who succeeded her father Baldwin as Queen of Jerusalem. See Runciman 1994, p. 29 and *passim*.

14. There is no explicit injunction against making images of living creatures in the Koran, but the various *Hadith* or sayings of the Prophet contain numerous warnings against it, including: "Those who paint pictures would be punished on the Day of Resurrection and it would be said to them: Breathe soul into what you have created." (Hadith, *Sahih Muslim* vol.3, no. 5268); and "Narrated 'Aisha [wife of the Prophet]: The Prophet entered upon me while there was a curtain having *pictures (of animals)* in the house. His face got red with anger, and then he got hold of the curtain and tore it into pieces. The Prophet said, 'Such people as paint these pictures will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Resurrection.'" (*Bukhari* vol. 8, book 73, no.130). The Sunni tradition tends to be more *aniconic*, or against images, than the Shiite tradition embraced by the Persians. See Islamic Figurative Art 2004–2014.

15. Over the next few centuries (especially after the fall of Acre in 1291) the mendicant orders facilitated the resettlement and employment of the refugee Armenian artists from Cilicia (who were renowned in their homeland for the beauty of their manuscript illuminations and gold and silver liturgical objects) in decorating their vast new Tuscan churches. Settled with their extended families and workshops in towns in Tuscany all along the pilgrimage roads to Rome, but especially in conservative Siena, their evolving artistic output had a decidedly "Byzantine" flair.

16. It is even possible that the tattered relic fragment still exists, hidden away within the sealed and consecrated altar that Pius dedicated upon the completion of the church in the summer of 1462. The altar seal that Pius himself set has never been broken.

17. When hard documents are lacking, anthropologists and sociologists often use "anthroponymic data," where ethnic names within a specific historical context often yield considerable demographic information. For instance, the popularity in Italy of S. Biagio (St. Blasius or St. Blaise, an Armenian bishop martyred in what is now Sivas, Turkey) would indicate a migration of Armenians from what is now northern Turkey or the Armenian Highlands. Over 80 Italian churches are dedicated to S. Biagio, more than half of them in Tuscany.

18. McDonald 2005 found that 7 to 11% of randomly tested Italian men had the distinctive Haplogroup "G" marker on their Y or male chromosome, which according to Wikipedia, is "most common in the Caucasus, the Iranian plateau, and Anatolia; in Europe mainly in Italy, Greece, northern Spain, the Tyrol, as well as Bohemia, Moravia; Britain and Norway at only 2%." Although the sample of Italian men was small, the unusually high percentage with this marker indicates some eastern patrilineal descent.

19. The Belgian scholar Fredrik R. Martin, author of *A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800* (Vienna, 1908), concluded

that eastern Christian weavers had a place in the history of early Anatolian carpet production. His conclusions were roundly dismissed by the American scholar Arthur Upham Pope and other traditionalists, who argued for Muslim exclusivity.

20. See Spallanzani 2007, p. 18, for an overview of the mechanics of the late 15th century carpet trade in Florence. Spallanzani's archival work is a marvelous gift to carpet specialists: see especially documents 67b, 84, 88b, 98, and 127 that mention the merchants involved, some of whom (by their names) might have eastern Christian heritage.

21. Although, I contend that it retained much of its sacramental significance especially in Dutch Golden Age genre paintings. See my series of online lectures on "Re-Thinking the Oriental Carpet in Early Renaissance Paintings," Segment VI, The Sacramental Carpet," being filmed in the fall of 2014. Contact the author for more information. For a visual history of this era, and its sumptuous Persian and Turkish carpets, see Onno Ydema's work *Carpets and their Datings in Netherlandish Paintings, 1540–1700* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1991).

Safavid Carpets of the Tahmasp School and the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*

Gholamreza Yazdani
Mina Ranjbar
Masume Azarmdel
Maryam Rezai Banafshe Deraq
Tabriz

One can argue that the root of Persian fine art is undoubtedly the carpet. The intricate and colorful designs of carpets give them an allure that transcends generations. It was captured by miniaturists during the Golden Age of Persian painting in the 15th and 16th centuries. The detailed representations of early carpet designs in those miniatures helped shape the material contexts in which the artists were conveying their understanding of the immaterial world and expressing spiritual values. The often precise replication by the painters of motifs on actual carpets provides important documentation for writing the history of Persian carpet making, and it is generally accepted that the painters were involved in carpet design.

To illustrate the close connection between carpet design and contemporary painters' record of it, this article will focus on Safavid carpets woven in the workshops associated with Shah Tahmasp and miniatures in the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*. This period is considered by many to represent the epitome of achievement in these branches of the arts in Safavid Persia. The selection here includes works where one can see similar designs and colors. The growing recognition of the importance of Safavid carpets and miniatures has inspired a substantial scholarly literature and been the subject of several important conferences. A number of articles complement the present study but do not deal directly with same issues. Daryayi (2006) has written about design features in the carpets; Emami (1995) has studied the possible sources for those designs in Safavid carpets. A number of articles have discussed motifs used in both carpets and miniatures.[1]

Some Background on the Carpet in Iran

Iranian carpets are like a mirror reflecting Iranian art and civilization. While the origin of this craft is uncertain, many would agree that the best carpets have been woven in Iran. Since carpets wear out, their fabric may disintegrate, and thus the preservation of ancient examples is problematic, documenting the history of carpet weaving in Iran prior to the 15th century is difficult. Nevertheless, the famous Pazyryk carpet, some 2500 years old and long considered the oldest surviving example of a pile carpet, attests to carpet manufacture in Achaemenid Iran. In the pre-Islamic Sasanian period, there is evidence regarding Khusro's Biharestan and Zimestan carpets which were adorned with gold, silver, and gems. In the 9th and 10th centuries, carpets woven in Khorasan, Isfahan, and Azerbaijan were sent as a tax to the Abbasid Caliphs. Other evidence, including some paintings, attests to weaving carpets with specific designs and colors in the 12th century (Behnam 1965, pp. 4-42).

Carpets were exported to Europe as early as the 13th century, ones perhaps similar to the oldest Seljuk carpet (now in Istanbul), which has geometrical patterns (Razavi 2008, p. 160). It is necessary to rely on miniatures for evidence about carpet design prior to the 15th century, but several 15th-century miniatures convey the quality of carpet design at that time. In the Timurid period of the late 14th–15th centuries, there was a close relationship between carpet weaving and painting: miniatures depicted carpets and carpet-like patterns, and the painted images in turn might influence carpet design (Emami 1995, p. 156)

Some of the finest carpets kept in world museums date to the Safavid Period. Given the importance Safavid rulers attached to this art, carpet weaving flourished at this time: it was a Golden Age of carpet weaving in Iran. The unique coincidence of factors such as royal patronage, the influence of court designers at all levels of artistic production, the wide availability

of locally produced raw materials and dyes, and commercial acceptance, particularly in foreign markets, all contributed to this peak of excellence (Ibid., p. 75).

Among the Safavid rulers, as artists themselves, Shah Ismail (r. 1501–1524) and Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576) were important patrons in all the areas of the arts, but especially in the carpet industry. Under Shah Tahmasp, who had spent time in Herat before succeeding his father, there was a revival of interest in and further development of the contributions made in the Mongol and Timurid periods to Persian culture. The results in miniature painting and carpet design were outstanding (Pope and Ackerman 1987, p. 206). Shah Tahmasp was personally involved in carpet design and commissioned important projects (Behnam 1965, pp. 4–7). In his international diplomacy, he often donated valuable carpets to neighboring rulers, thus introducing Persian carpets to the other countries (Ferrier 1995, p. 123).

Carpets woven at the time of Shah Tahmasp were technically superb. Their depiction of plants, both realistically (for example, palm leaf motifs) and with stylized imagined flora, combined with a range of new motifs (Ettinghausen and Yarshater 2000, p. 300). Among the outstanding examples of the carpets from this period are the "Chelsea" and "Ardabil" carpets (in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), the "Hunting" carpet (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan), and the "Anhalt" carpet (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) [Fig. 1a-d].[2]

Safavid Miniatures

Miniatures provide among the best evidence about the history of carpets, given the way they record patterns and motifs (Sūr-e Esrafil 2001, p. 12). To appreciate that evidence first requires we consider the history of miniatures as they developed in the Safavid period. Such small scale and richly detailed paintings have a long history in Iran, but really bloomed under the Safavids.

After establishing Safavid rule, Shah Ismail (1501-1524) made Tabriz his capital and summoned many artists there. They worked in his library, where there were ateliers for book production. After his conquest of Shiraz in 1504, he transferred some of its artists to Tabriz; he also invited Abd al-Aziz from Isfahan to join them. It was probably toward the end of his reign that Kamal al-Din Bihzad, the greatest miniaturist of the time who had previously been employed by the Timurids in Herat, came to Tabriz to head the royal library (Almasi 2001, pp. 48–49; Ashrafi 2005, p. 35; Sims 2001, pp. 60–63; Blair and Bloom 1995, pp. 165, 167). Qasim 'Ali, Shafi zade, and Aqa Mirak were miniaturists who accompanied Bihzad to Tabriz. In this way was created the remarkable Tabriz miniature school.

Two important Iranian traditions came together in Tabriz, one associated with the patronage and artists of the earlier Turkoman rulers there (a "ruder and more original style"), the other with the Timurid painters from Herat (a "refined style") (Azhand 2005a, p. 118; Grabar 2000, p. 61).[3] The Herat school of miniature painting embodied in the work of Bihzad and his followers had a significant influence on the work that emerged in Tabriz in the early decades of the 16th

Fig. 1. a) The "Chelsea" carpet. b) The "Ardabil" carpet; both Victoria and Albert Museum, London. c) The "Hunting" carpet; Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. d) The "Anhalt" carpet; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The individual images are not in the same scale (that is, the lengths of the carpets are not identical). For photo sources, see n. 2.

century. Most scholars emphasize that their style involved a kind of "realism" in the depiction of architecture and the drawing of human figures, placing them in real-life contexts. The people inhabiting the images have varied poses and gestures; in Grabar's words (p. 62), "what is new is the life brought to every detail, especially to the human figures, who have for the most part lost their puppet- or marionette-like characteristic." At the same time, there are distinct influences of Sufism in the late 15th-century paintings done in Herat (Sims 2001, p. 60; but cf. Grabar 2000, pp. 64–65). By the 1530s and 1540s, the painting done in Tabriz adds an increasing attention to landscape with mountainous rocks and bright colors: nature really comes alive (Ashrafi 2005, pp. 48–51).

However, if the emphasis of the Herat school was on materiality and realism, the Tabriz school developed a spiritual and mystical emphasis. Most of those involved were followers of Sheikh Safi's mystical school (*Ketāb-e Māh* 2011, p. 6). According to Alam Arayie Shah Abbasi, Shah Ismail and Shah Tahmasp promoted three principles in establishing national unity. They were: Shiia, the interdependence Shiia and Sufism, and the close relationship of Shiia with ancient Iranian culture. At the time of Shah Tahmasp, these principles not only affected political and social issues but also made an impact on art (Emami 1995, p.75). Since Iranian art is deeply rooted in religious beliefs and insights, the effect of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) on the development of the Iranian miniature cannot be ignored. It is possible that precisely this impact of Sufism differentiates the Iranian art of this period from that of other countries.

Sufism has long history in Iran and more generally reached its fullest development in the middle Islamic centuries. Sheikh Farīd al-Din Aṭṭār Nishaburi (a poet and Sufi in the 13th century) described seven valleys of spirituality, which came to be invoked symbolically in miniatures: 1. Quest, 2. Love, 3. Understanding or knowledge, 4. Contentment, 5. Unity, 6. Astonishment and bewilderment, 7. Deprivation and Death (*Fana*) (Sur-e Esrafil 2001, pp. 9–12). As Malherbe has stated (1990, pp. 192–94), according to the Sufis, all existence comes from God and God alone is real. The created world is but a reflection of the Divine; "the universe is the Shadow of the Absolute." The ability to discern God behind the screen of things implies purity of the soul. It is only through an effort to withdraw from the world that one can approach God: "Man is a mirror which, when polished, reflects God."

One of the characteristics of Sufism is timelessness and lack of specificity with regard to place. Its followers should be independent of the material world. By using certain motifs and colors, miniaturists tried to create a mystical world in which time and location are meaningless, even if a picture might include clouds, the sun or the moon. Locations are strange and unknown, whether landscapes with gardens or plains or houses that are more "virtual" than earthly. Sometimes, the artists drew plain garments to suggest the puritan nature of dervishes' clothes. Wool hats without any ornament represent hats woven by dervishes and Sufis (Hosseini 2008, pp. 42–83). The border of the Chelsea carpet has a design reminiscent of the hat worn by Sufis [Fig. 2]. Insofar as the founder of Safavid dynasty, Shah Ismail, was one of the Sufis, it is possible to infer that his thoughts impressed designers and weavers. Medallions in the Safavid carpets represent domes of Emam Reza's shrine (Miri 2002, pp. 21–22).

Fig. 2. Detail showing the border of the Chelsea carpet.

Among the most gorgeous illuminated manuscripts of the Safavid period is the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*, produced in the royal atelier [see pp. 111–15 below and Color Plates VII, VIII]. The project was begun in the royal workshop in the last years of Shah Ismail, intended as a gift to his son (Welch, p 17; Sims 2001, pp. 63–64). It was not completed until around 1537 in Shah Tahmasp's workshop (Hosseini 2008, p: 231; Bahari 1997, p. 191).[4] The manuscript is of interest in part for the way it documents an important period in the evolution of Persian miniature style. Given that more than a dozen artists worked on it, the miniatures vary considerably in both quality and style, some much more relecting the Turkoman traditions of Tabriz; others the style of the painters from Herat. In its size, fantastic compositions, striking use of color and richness of the gilding on the pages, it is the most sumptuous book of its time (Āzhand 2005a, pp. 115, 24; Blair and Bloom 1995, p. 168). A number of these features are truly innovative and can be credited to the artist Sultan Muhammad, who inspired subsequent generations of painters, many of whom were his pupils, and some, members of his family. Welch has identified many of those who worked on the project under his supervision: Mir Musavvir, Aqa Mirak, Dost Muhammad, Mirza Ali, Muzaffar Ali, Shaykh Muhammad, Mir Sayyid Ali, and Abd al-Samad (Grabar 2000, p. 67).

Similar features – the carpets depicted in Tahmasp's *Shāhnāma* and those produced in his carpet atelier

There are various ways one might explore the connections between court painting and carpet manufacture. One might argue that the products in the two media had similar purposes. By their very nature, miniatures

Fig. 3 (above). The Ardabil carpet, as now displayed in the Islamic gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

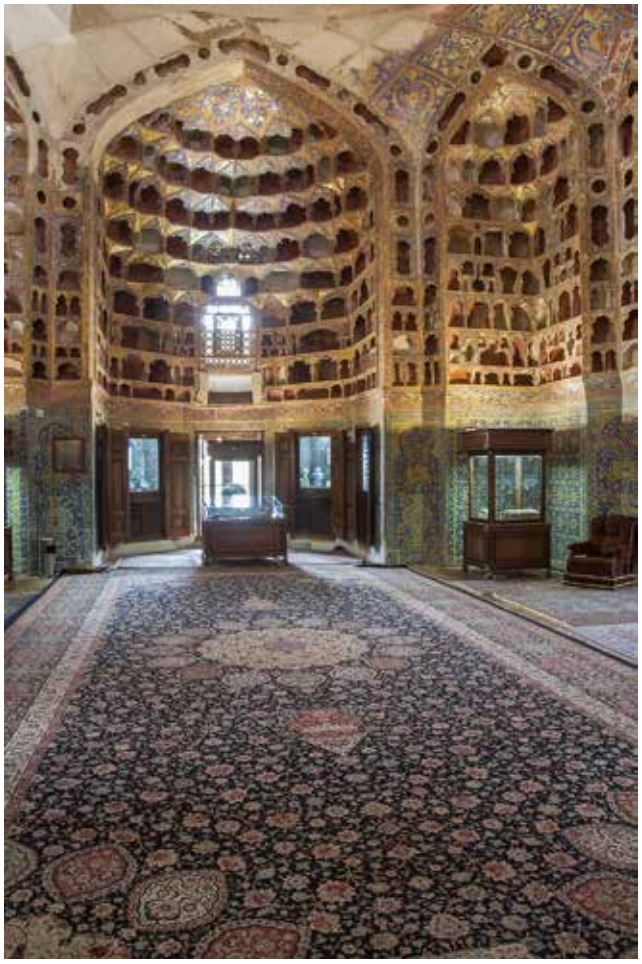

Fig. 4. A modern replica of the Ardabil carpet in the Chini Khaneh at the Ardabil shrine.

Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

can be viewed at one time only by very small numbers of privileged individuals, even if the lavishness of their treatment was intended to convey an impression about the wealth of their patron and their content convey a political or ideological message. Such manuscripts might be intended as gifts to foreign rulers—whatever its original purpose, Tahmasp's *Shāhnāma* ended up in the treasury of the Ottoman sultans, a gift to Sultan Selim II. Carpets could have similar purposes, the most expensive ones not necessarily intended as floor coverings (Ettinghausen 1971). They could have been used to drape thrones, for example. Tradition has it that the Ardabil carpet (in fact there was a pair of them) was made specifically to be given to the shrine/mausoleum in Ardabil honoring Shaykh Safi, the eponymous founder of the Safavid line [Figs. 3, 4].[5] While it is difficult to document Iranian carpet trade prior to the 16th century, clearly Safavid carpets found their way into foreign collections and were treasured.

It is generally accepted that there was a close interconnection between painters and carpet makers in the Persianate world of the late 15th century onwards (Blair and Bloom 1995, p. 171; *Masterpieces* 2011, p. 258). Many of the decorative motifs found in miniature paintings probably were copied as stencils for use by carpet designers. Stuart Cary Welch (1971, p. 7) describes a scenario for what may have been involved in the creation of the famous Boston Museum hunting carpet:

> The patron, in all likelihood Shah Tahmasp, the second Safavid shah, would have discussed the matter with the director of the royal carpet atelier. Together they would have decided upon a subject. With the help of court painters, designs would have been produced, or, conceivably, the carpet designer would have gone through miniature paintings and drawings in the royal library and in the workshops and selected motifs to be enlarged and adapted to his own purposes. Full scale patterns would then have been made by tracing and enlarging as guides to the weavers, who would have spent months or even years carrying them out.

Designing and dyeing a carpet are like painting a miniature. The miniaturist has much greater freedom to use colors and incorporate finely drawn motifs on paper, but the dimension and size of knots in a carpet restricts its designer even if his aim is to produce carpets similar to paintings. In both cases the color palettes are striking, with natural dyes accounting for the characteristic Safavid carpet colors of green, yellow and brown set off against background colors of navy blue, yellow, and reddish (Malūl 2005, p: 56).

While our concern here is mainly with decorative details, a few comments are in order about overall design features. The carpets which we have chosen for our main examples either have a central medallion (e.g., the Milan hunt carpet, the Ardabil and Anhalt carpets), may have two such medallions (the Chelsea carpet) or a main field without the medallion that is filled entirely with repetitive design elements (e.g., several of the other hunting carpets). Cartouches may be added to the main field along with decorative el-

ements such as hanging lamps. In most instances of these designs, they are symmetrical, though in details showing animals and hunters, the hunting carpets may not have exact symmetry. Interestingly, the designer of the Ardabil carpet seems to have taken into account the perspective of those who presumably would have sat around it; so he adjusted the size of the lamp images and pendant decorations accordingly.

Decorative details included elements that derive from earlier traditions in the arts of Iran: arabesques, arabesque scrolls (*khatayi*), vegetal elements including lotus and other flowers, palmate leaves and trees. Bird motifs (for example, peacocks) are common, as are many of the wild animals that either symbolized royal power or may have been the objects of the royal hunt, although none of the examples of carpets we have chosen here from the *Shāhnāma* include depictions of fauna. What we encompass with the general term "arabesque" might include stylized motifs of vegetation that can be found in arts of Iran as far back as the Achaemenid and Sasanian periods when they had associations with Mithraism and Zoroastrianism (Malūl 2005, p. 110). In their transformations over time, they served as sources for other motifs such as *boteh jeghe* or what came to be known as paisley designs. It is possible to trace how arabesque scrolls in spiral or snakelike forms, which initially were repeated but not linked, then come to be joined and, adorned with flowers and leaves create arabesque scrolls (khatayi) (Malūl 2005, p. 22; Vazīrī 1961, pp. 7–83, 206). Careful attention was given to coordinating the designs of the borders and the main field of the carpet (Daryayi 2006, p. 31). Some of the design elements were imports, such as Chinese cloud bands, which can be found in Iranian painting as early as the 14th century and then became common throughout the Safavid period.

Where carpets are no longer extant, their depictions in miniatures may give us an idea of what those carpets may have been like, even if in many cases the painted images may be compositions drawing on the painter's design repertoire rather than from seeing the carpets themselves. In the analytical tables which follow here, we have taken examples from the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma* where carpets are illustrated, provided line drawings of the carpet designs in them, and separated out the decorative motifs. Then we proceed to comparisons between such design elements in actual carpets and those found in the miniatures. These tables thus demonstrate what a systematic comparison of the designs in the two media can suggest about the relationship between them.

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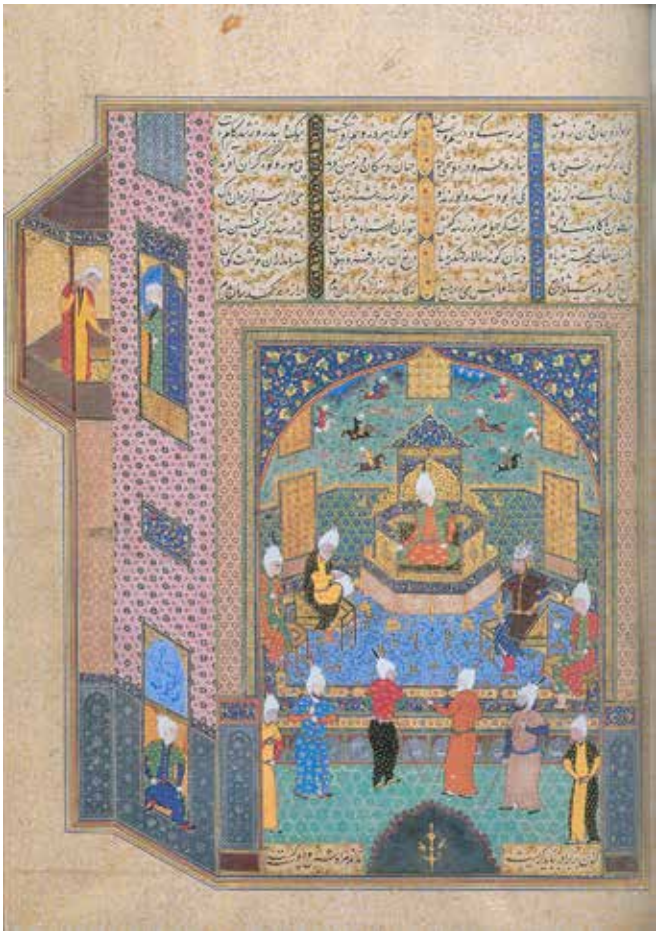
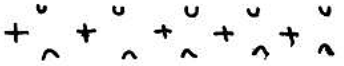
Gholamreza Yazdani is a conservator and the Director of Azerbaijan Museum in Tabriz. He has an M.A. in restoration of historical artifacts from Tehran University, teaches at the university, and does research on ceramic tiles and on Safavid artifacts. He has been supervisor and advisor of many theses on handicrafts.

Mina Ranjbar, who is on the museum staff, has an M.A. in English Literature from Tabriz University. She does research on mythical patterns on the historical artifacts, and for her dissertation has done a comparative study of animal images in the poetry of Sylvia Plath and Ted Hughes in the light of mythology. She has written on goddesses in Sylvia Plath's Ariel collection, and has a forthcoming book on the stamps and cylinder seals of the Azerbaijan Museum. Her translation and editing projects relating to the collections of the museum include: *East Azerbaijan: Paradise of Iran* (Adine Press, 2011); *An Overview of Cultural Heritage and Tourism of East Azerbaijan* (Adine Press, 2005).

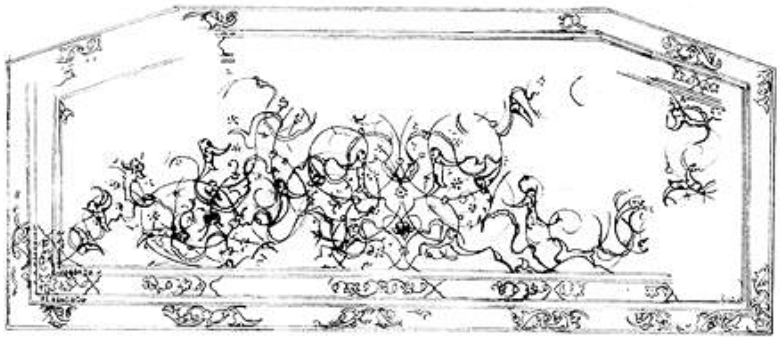
Masume Azarmdel, has a B.A. in Handicrafts; she has done research Persian miniature painting. She produced most of the drawings of the carpet details.

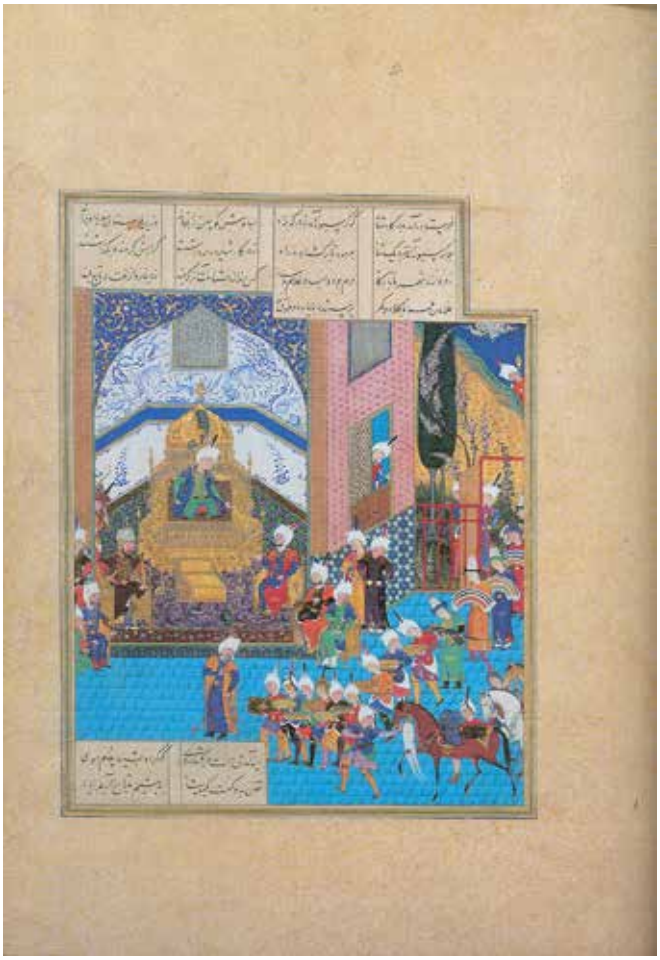
Maryam Rezai Banafshe Deraq also has a B.A. in Handicrafts and collaborated in drawing the images.

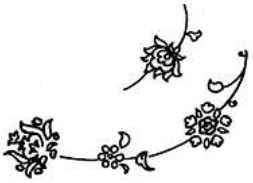


	general shape
	interior border
	exterior border
	arabesque scroll (*khatayi*)
	arabesque

Kay Khusrau invites Tus.
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005 *, p. 276.*

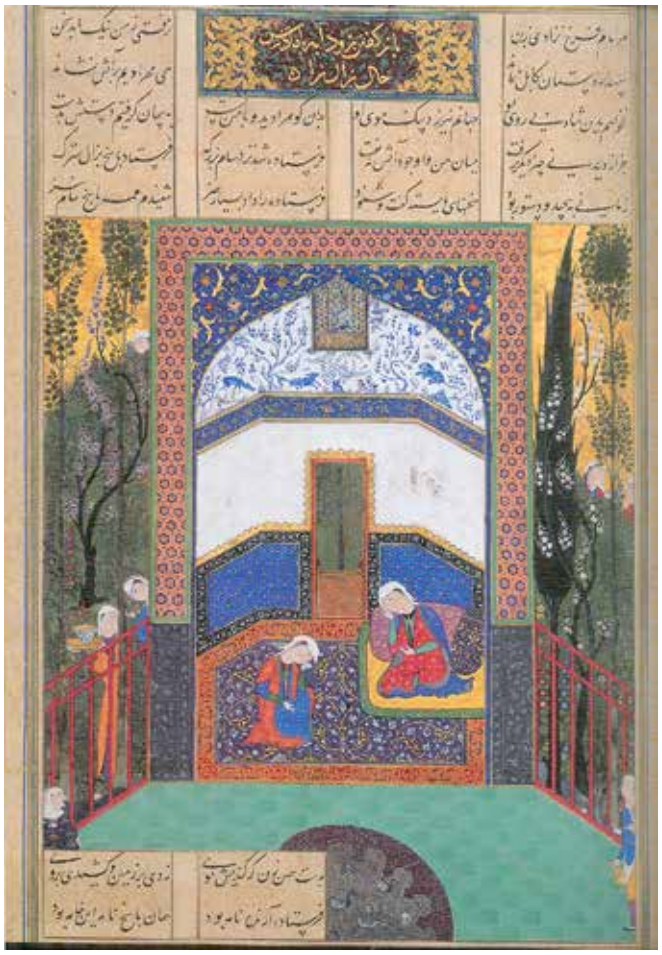




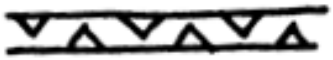
	general shape
	margin/ border
	arabesque scroll (*khatayi*)
	background arabesque

Siavash receives gifts from Afrasyab.
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005, *p. 264.*

	general shape
	margin/border
	arabesque scroll background
	background arabesque



Sindukht and Rudabeh.
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005*, p. 254.*

	general shape
	interior margin/ border
	exterior margin/ border
	arabesque scroll
	arabesque

Snakes growing from Zahhak's shoulders.
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005, p. 232.

	general shape
	border
	arabesque scroll (*khatayi*)
	arabesque

Kava tears Zahhak's scroll.
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005, p. 234

shape	location of the carpet
	inside the enclosure, outdoors
	inside the enclosure, on the bench
	on hexagonal bench
	on octagonal bench

Table 1. Shapes of carpets in miniatures.

	filled arabesque
	hollow arabesque
	cloud arabesque
	chain arabesque
	arabesque sign

Table 2. Arabesque designs in miniatures.

	rosette (four petals)
	rosette (five petals)
	narcissus (daffodil)
	flower in shape of butterfly
	lotus palmette
	lotus palmette
	leaves
	Lancelot palmette
	blossom

*Table 3. Floral elements in Arabesque scrolls (*khatayi*) in miniatures*

Comparing Carpets of the Shah Tahmasp School with Those Depicted in Miniatures of the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*

Details of borders on carpets of the Shah Tahmasp school	Details of borders on carpets in miniatures of the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*
	 
	 
	
	
	 

Table 4. Comparison of borders.

Background details — Tahmasp school carpets	Background details — miniatures
	 
 	 
	 
	 
	
	
	

Table 5. Comparison of background details.

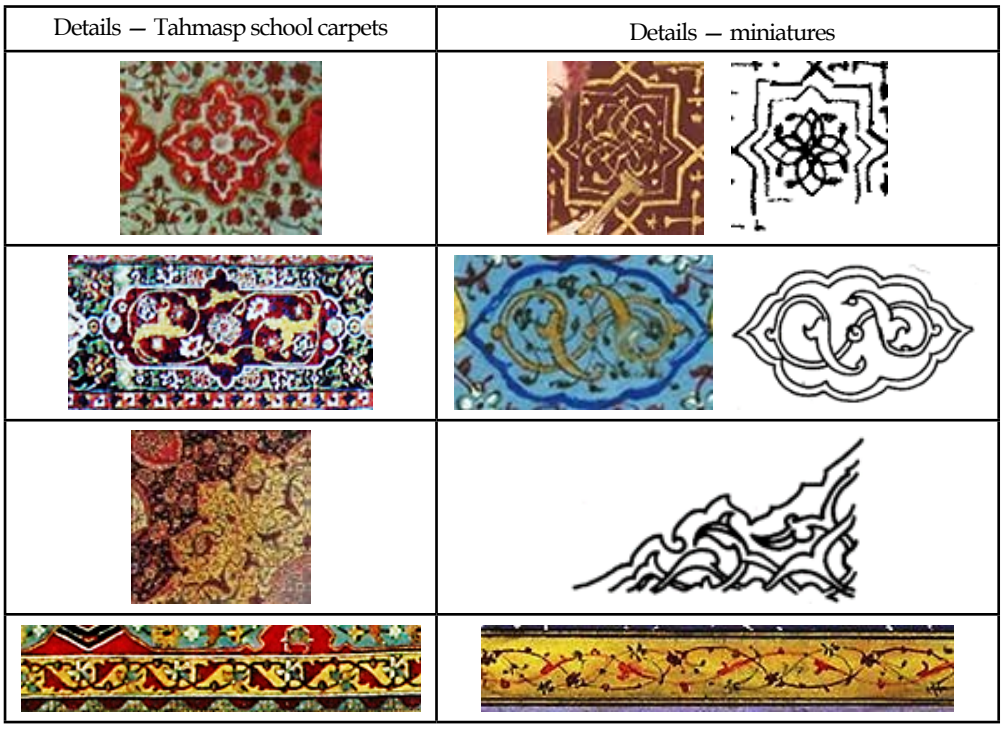


Table 6. Additional comparisons of details in carpets and in the miniatures of the Shāhnāma.

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Notes

1. While her particular example is earlier than the ones we are considering here, readers should be aware that Eleanor Sims (2002, pp. 191–92) has expressed some reservations about the degree to which miniature paintings depicting carpets can be taken as a faithful representation of actual carpets. She wonders "whether the aesthetics of one distinctive and sophisticated art form—a woven one—could ever be found truly reproduced in an utterly different, and even more sophisticated art form, whose purpose was highly formal, whose mode was archetypal, and whose practitioners did not necessarily choose to reproduce anything—much less literally so—unless it served the internal aesthetics of painting."

2. For the Victoria and Albert Museum's "Chelsea Carpet" (Museum no. 589-1890) see <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85144/the-chelsea-carpet-carpet-unknown/>; for its "Ardabil Carpet" (Museum no. 272-1893), <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O54307/the-ardabil-carpet-carpet-unknown/>, both web pages including many detailed photographs. For the Metropolitan Museum's Anhalt Carpet (accession no. 46.168), see <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/450716?rpp=30&pg=1&gallerynos=462&rndkey=20141103&ft=*&pos=11>, where there are many close-up details; also *Masterpieces*

2011, pp. 257-58. For the "Hunting Carpet" in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Inventory No. D.T.1, see <http://www.museopoldipezzoli.it/#!/it/scopri/collezioni/1095>, which includes a link to the two-minute audio guide description (in Italian) but no close-up photographic details. An analogous animal carpet is that in the Metropolitan Museum (Inv. no. 14.40.721), on which see *Masterpieces* 2011, pp. 261–63, and <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/446642?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=animal+carpet&pos=1>; other famous examples are in Boston and Vienna. In his analysis of all these hunting carpets in a special volume of the *Boston Museum Bulletin* devoted to the one in its collection, Dimand (1971, esp. p. 16) argues that the Milan carpet must be dated 1522–23, given its distinct stylistic differences from the Boston and Vienna examples of hunting carpets and from the Ardabil carpet, all of which were produced later, in Shah Tahmasp's reign. If he is right, then the inscription in the central medallion which indicates a date of the early 1540s must be a later addition. That number of the Boston Museum's *Bulletin* contains detailed photographs from these several carpets, which allow one to compare their decorative elements.

3. Grabar, whose phrases are quoted here, expresses reservations as to whether it is possible to assign artistic styles to specific localities in the way that is normally done; he considers that there was a very fluid pattern of artistic exchange and influence not so easily connected with one "school" or another.

4. Various dates have been given for the *Shāhnāma* project: it may have started only in the year of Shah Ismailo's death, 1524; its completion could have been around 1540.

5. This tradition apparently is not supported by explicit documentation. See the skepticism of Blair and Bloom, 1995, p. 171. It is not clear that the two carpets could have fitted into the antechamber to Sheykh Safi's tomb. A replica of the Ardabil carpet, presumably full size, is currently in the *Chīnī-khāna*, built in the early 17th century and the repository for Shah Abbas I's collection of Chinese porcelain. However, that carpet is too long for the space.

Huang Wenbi: Pioneer of Chinese Archaeology in Xinjiang

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Whenever one thinks of the history of the Silk Road and of the explorers and archaeologists who first unearthed its myriads of ancient treasures, a select group of names readily comes to mind: Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Albert von Le Coq, and Paul Pelliot, to name just a few of the most famous (or infamous, depending on your perspective). For those scholars who are somewhat more familiar with the history of the expeditions themselves, other explorers and influential personages are just as well known: Nikolai Petrovskii, Otani Kozui, Tachibana Zuicho, George Macartney, Clarmont Skrine, Gustav Mannerheim, and perhaps even Ellsworth Huntington. One name that is rarely included within such lists, however, is Huang Wenbi (1893–1966) [Fig. 1], the first Chinese archaeologist to undertake excavations in Xinjiang. An international symposium dedicated entirely to Huang's life and career, held in Urumqi in October 2013 and sponsored by Xinjiang Normal University 新疆师范大学 and the newly established Huang Wenbi Institute 黄文弼中心, constitutes the first significant attempt to reassess his legacy.

Fig. 1. Huang Wenbi. After: 黄文弼研究论集 *2013, frontispiece.*

The conference, in which scholars from China, Japan, Europe, and America all participated, was held in tandem with the publication of three substantial collections of articles likely to be of interest to anyone who studies some aspect of the history of the Silk Road in northwestern China. For historians and linguists of the pre-modern era, the most useful volume is likely to be *Collected Papers on the Documents Discovered by Huang Wenbi in the Western Regions* 黄文弼所获西域文献论集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2013), edited by the noted Dunhuang scholar Rong Xinjiang. In his preface, Rong observes that scholars have long referred to repositories of manuscripts and artifacts in London or Paris as "the Stein collection" or "the Pelliot collection," but that no one ever refers to "the Huang Wenbi collection," despite its comparable size. As Rong himself also notes, however, this is a natural result of the historical inaccessibility of the collection, a situation akin to similar collections held in the former Soviet Union. Now that materials from all such previously restricted holdings are rapidly being made available through facsimile reproductions and electronic repositories, Rong hopes that more scholars will be able to

take advantage of the wealth of material that Huang collected during his expeditions to Xinjiang. The articles in this volume, authored by a balanced mix of Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars, represent some of the first systematic attempts to integrate the "the Huang Wenbi collection" into wider fields of comparative scholarship.

Two other volumes offer an eclectic sampling of articles relating mostly to Huang's life and career in a historical context, though some continue to pursue the above volume's focus on analyzing the actual archaeological material that Huang brought back from Xinjiang. *Collected Essays on Huang Wenbi* 黄文弼研究论集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2013), edited by Zhu Yuqi and Wang Xinchun, includes articles of both historical and historiographical import, many of which were first published several decades ago [Fig. 2]. Generally speaking, the later the date of original publication, the higher the quality of scholarship. Though some of the articles included in this volume break new ground in going beyond mere admiration of the man and his work, too many of them simply cover more or less the same standard points of biographical interest, lacking both new sources and new interpretations. Six entire articles, for instance, are authored by Huang's son, and belong more to the category of studied reminiscences than scholarship. Far more promising is *The International Symposium on Huang Wenbi and the Sino-Swedish Northwest China Scientific Expedition* 黄文弼与中瑞西北科学考察学术研讨会论文集, a collection of papers presented at the international conference in Urumqi in 2013. Here one finds cutting-edge research into Huang's life and work, put forth by new and promising scholars—mostly from mainland China—for whom the restrictive politics and scholarly taboos of earlier generations exert less influence than they did on their forbears.

The purpose of the present article is to bring much-needed attention to the lively reassessment of Huang Wenbi's life and work currently underway, and further to contribute to the emerging field of "Huang Wenbi studies." For the historian of twentieth-century China, the life and times of Huang Wenbi offer original and rare insights into the relationship between foreign scholars and their Chinese counterparts during an era of great upheaval. Huang came of age during a time when the global monopoly of Western and Japanese scholarly institutions was gradually — and reluctantly—giving way to the determined efforts of Chinese scholars to join the ranks of an international scientific elite. Though it was a protracted, painful, and highly illuminating process, it is one that has not yet received the serious scholarly treatment it deserves. By means of a careful analysis of the personal diary Huang kept during his first and most famous expedition to Xinjiang (1927–30), it is hoped that more scholars, both within China and abroad, will recognize the enormous potential of a field of study dedicated to the life and times of Huang Wenbi, in much the same way that other fields of study have grown up around the lives of men like Aurel Stein or Sven Hedin.

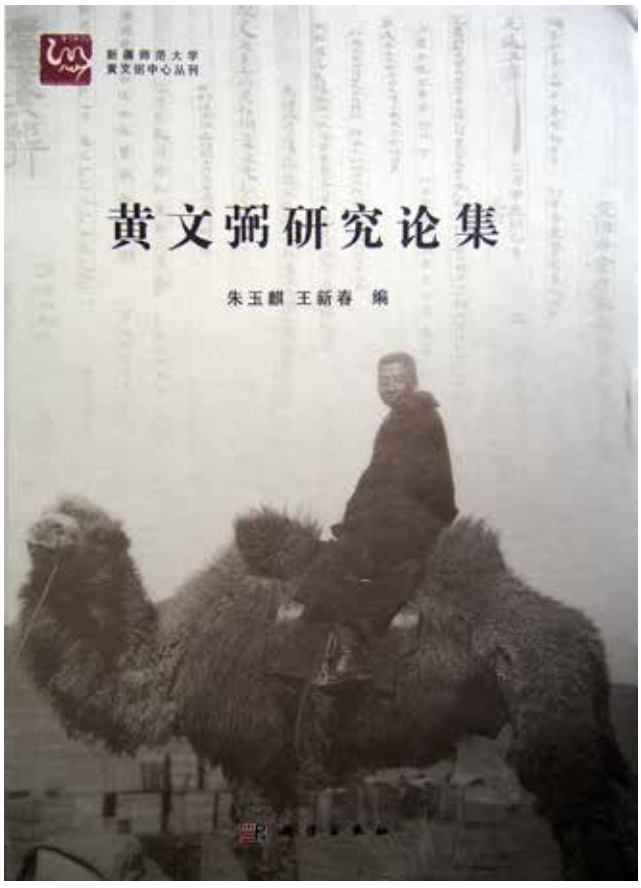

Fig. 2. The cover of 黄文弼研究论集 *with an expedition photo of Huang Wenbi.*

A Life of Obscurity

Up until very recently, the name Huang Wenbi has been relatively unknown outside of China. Even within China, he enjoys nowhere near the prestige and recognition of other contemporaries in related fields. Why? Two explanatory frameworks may go some way in helping to understand his neglect: language and politics. The first explanation is largely responsible for his obscurity outside of China and Japan. Huang was educated entirely within China, obtaining all of his degrees from Peking University in the late 1910s and early 1920s, and never traveled abroad. Though it seems he could read publications in major European languages pertaining to his field, and was able to carry on basic conversations with his foreign colleagues — apparently in English or German — his own work

was published exclusively in Chinese, and remains so to this day. This stands in stark contrast to some of his more well-known contemporaries — such as the archaeologist Li Ji or anthropologist Fei Xiaotong — who were educated abroad and saw to it that their works appeared in both English and Chinese. That Huang did not survive the Cultural Revolution, succumbing to his persecutors on a snowy winter day in 1966, similarly deprived him of the opportunity to oversee a revival of his scholarship during the reform era.

Another inhibiting factor related to language is the fact that many of Huang's discoveries contained ancient Central Asian scripts and languages. Indeed, as will become evident in the analysis to follow, this is one of the more important and compelling aspects of Huang's legacy, and one that carries profound implications for the political and cultural debates attendant on any "frontier expedition." In the context of his time, however, the unfortunate result was that few scholars within China had the linguistic expertise which might have allowed them to study Huang's collection with profit, even if it had been accessible to them. As Wang Guowei observed in the 1920s, "none of our countrymen have yet studied these sorts of ancient languages." As a result, those who wanted to unlock the secrets of non-Chinese documents and artifacts discovered in Xinjiang "have no choice but to look toward England, France, and Germany" (Wang 1999, p. 52). (Even today, roughly half of the articles contained in *Collected Papers on the Documents Discovered by Huang Wenbi in the Western Regions* [2013] have been penned by Western or Japanese scholars). And yet scholars from these latter countries could not obtain access to the collection during the tumultuous decades subsequent to Huang's return to Beijing in 1930. Furthermore, the fact that Huang was not chiefly engaged in the recovery of classically oriented sources, filled with symbolic nationalist potential — such as the Shang oracle bones unearthed by Li Ji at the government-funded Anyang site in Henan — could only further undermine his prospects for scholarly celebrity.

Matters of linguistic import notwithstanding, the chief reason Huang has fared so poorly in the historical imagination is due to politics. More specifically, it is due to the politically charged tensions Huang maintained with both Chinese and foreign members of the famous and much touted Sino-Swedish Northwest Scientific Expedition to Xinjiang (1927–33). Billed both then and today as the first scientific expedition to Xinjiang in which Chinese and foreign specialists participated on equal footing and on terms respectful to Chinese political and cultural sovereignty, the Sino-Swedish expedition has long occupied a hallowed and sacrosanct position within China as a model to which all foreign scholars are expected to adhere should they desire to do work in China. For Xu Bingxu, the professor of philosophy at Peking University who was selected as Co-Director of the expedition alongside Sven Hedin, the venture was regarded as a politically successful enterprise that paid professional dividends for the rest of his life. Xu's diary of his experiences, first published in 1930, has long attracted scholarly attention and is frequently reprinted.

In stark contrast, Huang's diary, amounting to 565 typeset pages, was never even prepared for publication during his lifetime. (It is a wonder at all that the original handwritten manuscript managed to survive Huang's persecution during the Cultural Revolution). Only through the unstinting efforts of Huang's son, Huang Lie, was the manuscript rescued and edited during the reform era, finally seeing the light of day in 1990. What can account for such a delay? Articles by Li Xun and Håkan Wahlquist, appearing in two of the three volumes published on the occasion of the 2013 conference, both give prominence to a series of remarkable entries in the second and third volumes of Hedin's massive *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927–1935*, long the chief narrative of the expedition with which most people outside of China are familiar. As Wahlquist notes, it is in these portions of the narrative, particularly the one detailing Hedin's return to Beijing in 1934, that Hedin takes the unprecedented and — for him — highly unusual step of vilifying one of his adversaries in print. That adversary is Huang Wenbi, whom Hedin repeatedly disparages as an unscrupulous rumor-monger and relentless saboteur of Hedin's most recent collaboration with the Nationalist government in Nanjing: a motor expedition across Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang intended to produce blueprints for future road construction.

Outside of China, these provocative entries have most likely escaped previous scrutiny simply because Huang was such an unknown and shadowy figure within the standard histories of the Silk Road and its latter-day expeditions. Within China, the reason no one has highlighted these entries prior to Li Xun's article in 2012 can only be due to the fact they touch upon extremely sensitive issues located at the heart of nationalist narratives of scholarly collaboration with foreign explorers. In short, as a result of his unprecedented willingness to re-organize his Swedish and German expedition as a joint Sino-Swedish venture, Sven Hedin has long occupied a cherished position atop the pantheon of enlightened and progressive foreign scholars sympathetic to, and respectful of, Chinese concerns. That Huang Wenbi, a relatively low-ranking member of this expedition, would later incur Hedin's very public wrath for suggesting that Hedin had been less than honest in adhering to the

stipulation of the Nationalist government that he not engage in archaeological excavations during the 1934 motor expedition — Huang even alleges that Hedin conspired to smuggle his finds out of China altogether — thus presents a very serious problem.

Li's and Wahlquist's findings naturally lead to even more questions. If, for instance, Huang's relationship with Hedin could end with such public acrimony in the mid-1930s—and still bother Hedin enough to consider the episode worthy of inclusion in his official narrative of the expedition a full decade later — could there also be signs of discord during the original Sino-Swedish expedition in 1927–30? If so, then the outlines of Huang's historiographical ostracization might finally be within our reach. In other words, was Huang's feud with Hedin one of the chief reasons why Huang's diary was deemed unfit for publication during the entirety of Huang's natural life? And, by extension, could this be responsible for his marginalization both from scholarly and from popular narratives of archaeological expeditions to Xinjiang? This theory appears even more promising when we consider the diary of Chinese Co-Director Xu Bingxu — Huang's colleague and superior — who was able to publish his narrative of the expedition almost immediately upon the return of most of its members to Beijing in 1930. For instance, while Xu was only too willing to print his criticisms of some of the rank-and-file foreign members of the expedition, he always portrays Hedin himself as beyond reproach.

Huang, however, does not. Thus it is with the above backdrop in mind that we now turn to a close reading of Huang's diary itself, in order to paint a fuller picture of the many tensions attendant upon a scholarly venture between Chinese and foreigners during a key transitional period in modern Chinese history. Huang's diary will also prove instructive in challenging some of the conventional wisdom regarding the attitude of Chinese scholars in the eastern metropole toward the linguistic and ethnic heterogeneity of the distant non-Han borderlands. Ultimately, the following analysis will show that the career of Huang Wenbi, the first professional Chinese archaeologist to conduct fieldwork in Xinjiang, bears a striking resemblance to that of Aurel Stein, toward whom Huang harbored equal parts admiration and jealousy.

Huang and the Teutons

The opening lines of *The Diary of Huang Wenbi during an Expedition to Mongolia and Xinjiang* (*Huang Wenbi Meng Xin kaocha riji* 黄文弼蒙新考察日记), make it clear how Huang regarded the nature of his mission to Xinjiang:

> My colleagues and I have been deputed by the Chinese Association of Academic Organizations to serve as members of the Northwest Scientific Expedition, entrusted with the task of excavating antiquities and other assignments. Originally Hedin, a Swede, had planned to organize a large-scale expedition to northwestern China to excavate antiquities and study the geology, climate, etc. Chinese scholars expressed their opposition. After negotiations, China sent five scholars and five students to accompany the survey. I was one of the scholars. As a result, our task was twofold. On the one hand, we were to supervise the foreigners, and on the other hand we were to carry out scientific investigations. [Huang 1990, p. 1]

Xu Bingxu, the professor of philosophy at Peking University who was chosen as the Chinese Co-Director of the expedition, expressed similar sentiments in the preface to his published diary. Noting the unprecedented nature of the Sino-Swedish collaboration, Xu let it be known that all future proposals for foreign expeditions in China would have to follow this new model. "As for our posture toward foreigners," Xu wrote, "we will embrace them with friendship and welcome those who are willing to cooperate with us. But for those who pursue an agenda of cultural aggression (*wenhua qinlue* 文化侵略), hoping to pillage and carry off our precious resources, we will find a way to resist them and prevent their return to our land" (Xu 2000, p. 2).

Although both men professed similarly lofty goals, there was a key occupational difference between them, and it was one destined to give rise to tensions in the field. In short, Xu's appointment to the expedition was based upon political considerations, whereas Huang was attached to its roster on the strength of his scientific qualifications. In other words, Xu was not trained to undertake excavations in the field, nor did he. He was appointed to the expedition solely for the prestige of his name and willingness to endure hardship. As a result, it is clear that Xu had a greater stake in adhering to a politically correct narrative of the expedition than did Huang, who was more likely to see himself in direct methodological competition with the Swedish and German members of the expedition. And the politically correct line of the day, one that has continued down almost to the present, was that Sven Hedin was an enlightened foreigner whose actions on this expedition stood as sufficient atonement for his past "imperialist" activities in China.

In his diary, Xu always refers to Hedin as "Mr. Hedin" or "Dr. Hedin." Huang, however, never refers to Hedin by anything other than his unadorned surname, reserving such titles of respect only for "Mr. Xu" and

the other Chinese members of his party. On several occasions, Xu records his admiration for the spirit of scientific discovery and unflagging persistence of Hedin, as was the case when the latter muddied himself in the water in order to measure the velocity of a river current. "We Chinese may laugh at them now," Xu observed, "but it is only later that we will come to realize that the levels of judgment and tolerance exhibited by foreigners are very difficult to reach" (p. 94). By contrast, Huang demonstrated little interest in holding up his foreign colleagues as a model for his countrymen to emulate. What he wanted more than anything else was to become that model himself. When Huang learned early on that the Swedish archaeologist Folke Bergman had already uncovered a large number of artifacts, and that Hedin was promising a reward of up to 5,000 dollars to anyone who discovered "the next Loulan," Huang let his competitive spirit be known:

> Mr. Xu laughed and said that no one should tell Mr. Huang about this, or he will certainly go looking for two ancient cities, and we shall have to give him 10,000 dollars. Hedin agreed, saying we absolutely cannot let Mr. Huang know about this. But Mr. Xu then turned his head around and told me. I laughed, and said that the discovery of one ancient city is nothing, for when I get to Xinjiang I expect to discover an entire kingdom. [Huang 1990, p. 112]

Whereas Xu was eager to participate in a Chinese and German language exchange arrangement with Hedin, Huang kept his distance, despite his linguistic deficiencies. And though both Xu and Huang record criticisms of their foreign colleagues, Huang's are far more scathing and indiscriminate. Xu, however, took great care to insulate Hedin from censure. The best illustration of this comes from the arrival of the expedition in Hami, its first major stop within the borders of Xinjiang. Faced with orders from the governor that every member's baggage must be opened and inspected, some of the European members dug in for a fight. Calling their intransigence "very immature" and "unreasonable," Xu wrote that he could not "countenance any foreigner enjoying special privileges within my country." After several of the foreigners decided to eat separately from the Chinese, Xu proceeded to disparage them in his diary. "Faced with such nonsense and their childish temper, I could only let them go." Several days later, however, Hedin, sidelined during the dispute with a fever, returned and "asked about the course of the luggage inspection and why we were eating separately. He then roundly castigated Massenbach and the others" (Xu 2000, pp. 164, 166).

If we only had Xu's version of events to go by, then it would seem like Hedin really was the foreign saint that seven decades of glowing Chinese historiography have made him out to be. But Huang's diary provides a very different perspective, including several key episodes that Xu chose either to omit or severely circumscribe in his narrative. Here we will limit our analysis to four of the most telling: the filming of a traveling theater troupe, a proposal to survey the ruins of the Great Wall, the camel thief episode, and access to strategic military sites.

On June 26, 1927, a traveling contingent of the Flower and Drum Opera Troupe passed by the expedition's encampment in a part of what is now Inner Mongolia. Huang thought "their performance and lyrics were very crass and depraved," and took solace in the fact the new Nationalist government in the south had already issued a ban on its performance, so as to "improve the customs and habits of the people." Much to Huang's chagrin, however, "the foreigners decided to take a motion picture of it, with the intent of showing it to audiences overseas and exposing the backwardness of the Chinese race. How very humiliating!" Worst of all, Huang continued, was that Co-Director Xu Bingxu refused to stand up for what Huang thought was right. "I made strenuous attempts to suggest that they not do this, but Mr. Xu did not approve. What a shame" (Huang 1990, p. 24). When Huang again broached the fate of this film with one of his Chinese colleagues, he concluded that Xu's "excessive weakness and pliability (*guoyu ruanruo* 过于软弱)" were a "cause for concern" (p. 34).

One week later, Huang proposed a side trip to investigate rumors that a ruined portion of the Qin "Great Wall" was nearby. "I decided to head out and investigate it," Huang wrote on July 1, "but was prevented from doing so by the foreigners. This made me extremely angry and sad" (p. 26). Four days later, Co-Director Xu took up the proposal with Hedin, and Huang recorded them "talking endlessly" in his diary. According to Huang, Hedin initially demurred on the pretext that there were not enough camels to permit their departure from the party. When faced with Xu's lobbying on Huang's behalf, however, Hedin changed tack, telling Xu "that this part of the wall had already been noted on European maps." Hedin's ever-changing excuses did not sit well with Huang. "I suspect that Hedin is simply trying to frustrate us. Originally when we broached this matter with Hedin, he didn't know anything about it. Now that we've told him it might be the Qin wall, he says that it has already been discovered. Could it be that he doesn't want the Chinese to be the first to discover it?" (p. 27)

Several months later, one of the expedition's Han porters attempted to abscond in the night with two camels. Though both Huang and Xu recorded this event, their responses could not be more different.

Huang wrote that he was "greatly ashamed of this Chinese man, who has no self-respect and whose actions have led to a loss of face for all of us." Wishing to "prevent the foreigners from applying their own form of private punishment," Huang and the rest of his Chinese colleagues decided to deliver the thief to the local officials. Soon, however, Huang's indignation turned to pity:

> This man is already more than fifty years old and he has great difficulty walking. Thus he stole two camels, one to carry his possessions and the other for himself to ride. Other than his clothes and some other sundry possessions such as a few pieces of bread, he didn't touch any other important items. So to label him a thief rests upon a single moment of muddleheaded action; he is certainly not a seasoned criminal. But the foreigners have already tied him up in chains, verbally abused him, and even taken pictures of him. How many more such insults can our country bear? [p. 68]

Most distressing to Huang, however, was what happened two weeks later, when "the foreigners tied up the camel thief and filmed him on camera." For Huang, this was further evidence that "foreigners all adopt an insulting attitude toward China, imposing a deep affront to our honor" (p. 86). On the contrary, Xu, in his published account of the camel thief affair, sides entirely with Hedin and the foreigners. In stark contrast to Huang, Xu describes the thief as a "seasoned criminal," and approves of the shackles used to immobilize him, confident that "there was no intent to abuse him" (Xu 2000, p. 64).

The final source of tension between Huang and the foreigners — and between Huang and Xu — was a result of the strategic aims of Hedin's original German financiers. In short, Hedin's purpose in attempting to organize an expedition to Xinjiang had originally been to undertake geological, meteorological, and cartographic surveys in support of German aeronautic expansion throughout Central Asia. Huang's understanding of these aims comes through clearly in an account of an extended discussion he had with another Chinese member of the expedition, in which Huang learns that "their goal for this expedition is entirely related to airplanes"; hence, the cover pretext of "implementing aerial archaeology." After summarizing the geopolitical goals of interwar Germany vis-à-vis the Soviet and British presence in Xinjiang, Huang expresses his adamant opposition:

> I am of the opinion that such a project as this absolutely cannot be countenanced, as the rights for aerial routes concern national security. If we permit airline routes, then Germany can simply fly straight into the heartland of China via Central Asia and the Pamir plateau, without having to travel around the ocean. China has already lost its riverine shipping routes to foreigners, and this is cause for regret to this day. [Huang 1990, p. 33]

Huang concluded the matter by expressing his resolve to "restrict them from any and all strategic military regions" (p. 34). Later developments show that he stayed true to his word. When the Swedish geologist Erik Norin proposed a survey of the strategic Juyanhai region, Xu expressed his disapproval. Huang went on to note in his diary that "Hedin suspects that I am the true cause of obstruction," a suspicion Huang makes no attempt to dispel. From that point on, tensions mounted. "Originally Norin wanted to map a lake," Huang wrote, "and planned to take a southern road to get there, but I expressed my disagreement. Then he decided to take the northern road, and stopped for three days. We started off after them." What their ultimate intentions were, Huang was uncertain, "but whenever they see me they stop their secret discussions, and we simply have to act like we don't understand what they are saying" (p. 112).

In the end, Huang rejoiced when he heard that the governor of Xinjiang had refused to yield an inch to Hedin's proposal that his German sponsors be allowed to establish aerial routes through Chinese territory. Again, however, the differing accounts of Xu and Huang are instructive. Whereas Xu dispassionately describes Hedin's meeting with the provincial Minister of Foreign Affairs, refraining from adding any commentary of his own, Huang indulges in scarcely concealed *Schadenfreude*. "Hedin then mentioned that [warlord] Yang Yuting had already issued his approval [in Beijing], hoping to use this as an intimidation tactic against [the governor]. This is truly laughable." Several weeks later, the matter was closed for good. "They were refused," Huang noted. "I am thrilled. For many days now the air has been filled with the shrill voices of the Germans saying they will return home, but this is not enough to intimidate my countrymen" (p. 178).

From these few examples, it is clear that the animosity between Huang and Hedin destined to surface publicly in the mid-1930s traces its roots back to the earliest days of the Sino-Swedish expedition. At the crux of the matter lay the understandable tensions between foreign explorers long accustomed to getting their way in China, and a new generation of professional Chinese scientists eager to displace them. The irony of the situation, of course, is that in choosing Xu and Hedin as model examples of the new spirit of international scientific cooperation in China, those responsible for the suppression of Huang's no-holds-barred

account inadvertently consigned him to the margins of historiography on the archaeology of the Silk Road. For it is clear that Huang's diary, with its frank and none too flattering appraisals of Hedin and its raw expose of jealous competitions on all sides, could not be reconciled with the politically correct narratives put forth by Xu and Hedin, both of whom were far more renowned than Huang.

And yet it is clear that Huang deserves his due, perhaps now more than ever. Toward this end, the remainder of this article will analyze the substantive work that Huang undertook in Xinjiang following his departure from the main body of the caravan. As we shall see, there is much more to learn from Huang's career than that made relevant by his principled opposition to the foreign presence in China. Evaluated on the merits of the work he performed rather than the political battles he lost, it is difficult to see Huang as anything other than the Chinese embodiment of Aurel Stein.

A Chinese Stein?

The similarities between Huang Wenbi and Aurel Stein are many. Both undertook four expeditions to Xinjiang during their lifetimes. Each was the first of his countrymen to complete a successful crossing through the heart of the Taklamakan Desert (Stein did it both from north to south and in reverse, while Huang did it from north to south). Both men were indefatigable in the field, yet neither was eager to dramatize their accomplishments back home or bask in the limelight. Both men were fiercely independent and shunned the company of colleagues: Stein went to great lengths to avoid the sort of burdensome partnerships that he saw in his German and French competitors, while Huang and Xu nearly had a falling out over Huang's insistence that he be allowed to split from the party and conduct his own excavations without a Chinese colleague by his side. Furthermore, both men evinced a strong archaeological "conscience," evident in Stein's criticisms of German excavation methods and the care with which he reburied those murals he could not take with him, and in Huang's repeated determination to lock horns with both Hedin and Xu, despite the detrimental effect such a principled stance had upon his career and legacy.

One other point of comparison, however, carries far greater import vis-à-vis the Chinese scholarly community than it does for its Western counterpart. This is the realization that Huang Wenbi took just as much care to unearth and preserve Central Asian artifacts and manuscripts as he did Chinese. Why is this so important? For two reasons. First, it carries profound implications for political claims to the region by an array of policymakers, scholars, and dissidents around the world — but especially within China — who may wish to advance their own agendas regarding the future of Xinjiang today. Second, from a historical perspective, it is clear that many influential scholars on the eastern seaboard demonstrated a strident bias against the recovery of that which Huang had devoted himself to collecting. Chen Yuan, president of the Catholic University of Peking, expressed precisely this sentiment in the preface to his *Index to the Dunhuang Manuscripts Remaining after the Plunder* (*Dunhuang jieyu lu* 敦煌劫餘錄), completed soon after Huang's return to Beijing. "Manuscripts written not in Chinese but rather in one of the ancient Central Asian languages are not worth much (*bu guizhe* 不貴者)," he wrote. "What the Chinese people value (*guoren suo guizhe* 國人所貴者) are ancient manuscripts written in Chinese" (Chen 1931). Much like Stein, who often lamented the lack of institutional and financial support for any archaeologist who chose to lead an expedition outside of the "Bible lands," Huang faced an uphill battle to procure funding and support for archaeological labors deemed unlikely to shed light on the classical forbears of Chinese civilization.

Nonetheless, this is precisely the task to which Huang set himself, despite the wholesale lack of interest among many of his colleagues back home and despite the fact that few if any of them were equipped to conduct research on what he had uncovered. His unorthodox interest in such remains was kindled almost immediately after the expedition's departure from Beijing, during a cursory survey of the environs of Bailingmiao in today's Inner Mongolia. Huang's first big find was a Chinese-language stele "capable of yielding an investigation into the history of the Mongol kings, which we can then use to supplement in many places the official history of the Yuan." Noting that there were very few rubbings of Mongol steles then in circulation, Huang noted his "great luck" in stumbling upon this one. In addition to the Chinese-language stele, Huang also made two additional rubbings of Mongol-language steles, sending at least one of these back to his sponsors in Beijing (Huang 1990, pp. 16–17, 19, 22). Three months later, on the fringe of the Gobi Desert, Huang notes that he "took some workers to Sa-la-zai Temple to examine the Tibetan inscriptions. I made two copies of rubbings" (p. 60).

With artifacts or manuscripts written in Mongolian or Tibetan, Huang could rest content that someone in Beijing would be able to read them. The further west he traveled, however, the likelihood that anyone in China would be able to decipher the scripts he was collecting decreased significantly. On such occasions,

Huang merely expressed a desire to safeguard the material for consultation by future generations of more linguistically endowed Chinese scholars. Once, when he uncovered a script "that wasn't Tibetan or Mongolian" but rather Tangut, Huang cursed his own linguistic deficiencies, a refrain often heard from Stein regarding his own sinophilic inadequacies. "It is a shame that I cannot read Tangut," Huang noted in his diary. "Thus I can only briefly describe it here for future consultation by those who know how to read it" (p. 89). He pursued a similar approach to what he thought would be a bilingual stele in Chinese and Mongolian near Karashahr. After offering a reward of five silver *liang* to whichever of his laborers managed to recover it first, Huang found that he could not identify the script. Nonetheless, "I took three pages of rubbings, to retain for future research" (p. 235).

During his time in Xinjiang, Huang made it a priority to collect manuscripts and artifacts exhibiting non-Chinese scripts. Sometimes they surfaced as a result of his own archaeological labors, but more often than not he acquired them through purchase. In Turfan, Huang records that "some of the locals dug up two pages of a manuscript in Uighur, so I gave them one silver *liang* for it. That is a pretty good deal" (p. 168). Near Kucha, Huang encountered a village headman trying to sell some manuscripts, all written in non-Chinese languages "that were probably from India but with some slight changes." He paid thirty *liang* for the lot of them, all of which were "complete from front to end, and are probably government documents or letters of some sort." He then articulated the precise reason why he was paying so much attention to the collection of these sorts of artifacts: "We do not lack for Tang manuscripts on Chinese soil, so I am beginning to pay closer attention to the collection of items in other scripts" (p. 263). On another occasion near Domoko, a Uighur man approached Huang with some manuscripts for sale. "The script resembles that of India but with some differences," Huang noted. "They are printed documents, but printing developed in the Western Regions relatively early. I gave him twenty *liang* and he left" (p. 426). Huang regarded such finds as "exceedingly precious" (*shen zhengui* 甚珍貴) (p. 207).

In fact, by the time Huang was about to leave the province, word had circulated far and wide through local bazaars that this was a Chinese explorer who would pay good money both for non-Chinese finds and for Chinese manuscripts concerning non-conventional subjects. On his return to Turfan in early 1930, Huang was swarmed by locals trying to sell him various antiquities, few of which seem to have displayed Chinese characters. One such peddler brought him a Muslim manuscript written in five different languages, none of which was Chinese. "If not consulted for its contents," Huang wrote, "it can be used as a linguistic reference book." The same man also brought *The Acts of Mohammed*, while another brought a manuscript about "the conversion of the Mongol kings at Khotan and Kashgar to Islam" (p. 516). In letting it be known that he was interesting in acquiring in such items, Huang was positioning himself against decades of antiquarian transactions in northwestern China, most of which took it as an article of faith that foreigners would pay the highest prices for Central Asian artifacts and manuscripts, while the Chinese would do similarly for the same in Chinese.

In pursuing his interest in procuring Central Asian artifacts and manuscripts for consultation by future generations of Chinese scholars, Huang found himself constantly in the footsteps of Stein and other foreign explorers. Time and time again, he notes in his diary traces of sites where his predecessors had excavated, and what, if anything remained. At one site in Turfan, Huang notes that "foreigners only excavated in this spot for two days, and they did not find much. I doubt that everything inside has already been discovered. If I dig here carefully, I am certain to uncover much" (p. 165). Most of the time, however, Huang realized that the foreigners had done their work only too well, as was the case at Ming-oi:

> It is a pity that this site has already been excavated. I see some fragments with the letters 'mixi' on them, and other foreign papers, all of which proves beyond a doubt that this was done by foreigners. According to one of the guides, a foreigner came here (probably Stein) with thirty laborers and worked for more than forty days. So there will not be much left to excavate. In matters of archaeology, we have already fallen far behind the foreigners. It is no longer possible to enjoy the ease of discovery which they experienced upon their arrival. [p. 203]

Whenever Huang learned that he was closing in on a site of Stein's past labors, he usually gave up any and all hope for fresh discoveries. "I excavated here for half a day, but did not see a single thing," Huang wrote two weeks later. "It is said that twenty or thirty years ago a foreigner dug here for many days, and everything he found was taken away. This must be Stein" (p. 209). Unfortunately for Huang, foreigners — even those working outside the Bible lands — had far more resources to work with than he did. "I inspected the site from north to south," he wrote in the environs of Kucha, "but most everything has already been excavated by foreigners. It is said about twenty years ago, a foreigner was here. Every day he employed tens of laborers to dig, for twenty or thirty days straight. This

makes it clear on just how grand a scale the foreigners pursued their work" (pp. 313–14).

Despite the often melancholy nature of Huang's work, coming as it did a full generation after the "golden age" of foreign expeditions in Xinjiang, Huang reserved very little energy for scolding his predecessors. Mostly he simply aspired to do what they had already done. And in the case of Stein specifically, any antipathy Huang may have felt was balanced by a large dose of quiet admiration. In his diary, we see Huang going to great lengths to procure only those guides once used by Stein, staying in local lodgings once frequented by Stein, noting Stein's campsites, and making liberal use of Stein's maps, which Huang deemed far superior to those produced by his own government. Huang frequently consults Stein's publications, and does not second guess the old Hungarian lightly:

> Looking at the shards of pottery and coins, it seems like this region was still inhabited a thousand years ago. Yet Stein, based upon the papers he unearthed here written in ancient Western Regions script, concludes that these all date to after the eighth century. As I do not have any evidence to the contrary, I dare not say otherwise. [p. 425]

Like Stein, Huang makes frequent reference to the travels of Xuanzang. Unlike Stein, however, Huang also had full recourse to the classical canon of Chinese literature and histories at his fingertips.

More than anything else, the reader of Huang's diary gets the sense that what he most fervently wished for was to be regarded as the Chinese successor to Stein. Thus, it should come as no surprise to learn that few things bothered Huang more than attempts to obstruct his progress toward such a goal by local Chinese officials. In December 1928, five months after the assassination of the governor of Xinjiang had given the new governor a pretext to attempt to disband the expedition, Huang wrote a pointed letter to the latter that laid bare a raw sense of injustice. "In the past," Huang observed from Aksu, "scholars from both East and West have come numerous times to conduct excavations, and they have collected untold numbers of crates full of antiquities. In particular, the officials who hosted them were solicitous to the extreme in seeing to their needs. Today, however, when Chinese come, they are not even allowed to obtain a single glance. What will people say about this?" (p. 373). Though one of his Chinese colleagues succeeded in convincing him to remove several provocative phrases from this letter, Huang's most fundamental insecurities remained on full display in his diary.

At the crux of the matter was a simple chronological fact: Huang and his colleagues lagged behind the foreigners by a full generation, more than enough time for the former to remove the cream of the crop from Xinjiang. Throughout Huang's diary there is a recurrent air of melancholic tardiness, nowhere more evident than when Huang encounters what appears to be several "tourist placards" at sites long since explored and explicated. At one bare site near Aksu, Huang was taken aback by the sight of "a wooden board in the middle [of the site] inscribed with the words: 'The Tang city of Qieshi.' It was erected in 1925 by Magistrate Yang Yingkuan." One week later, he found another. "Halfway up the mountain there was a wooden sign, erected by the magistrate of Bachu County, Duan Quan. On it appeared the words, 'Ancient ruins of the Tang state of Weitou,' followed by several lines of description…" (pp. 478, 484). Few things could be more demoralizing to any explorer, much less the first Chinese archaeologist ever to visit Xinjiang, than to come face to face with the realization that a great number of people before you had already been there and done that.

Conclusion

The diary of Huang Wenbi contains a virtual treasure trove of data and commentary relevant to scholars in many disciplines. For the archaeologist and historian of ancient China or the Silk Road, it is akin to reading Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay* or Le Coq's *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*, in that it provides the situational and topographical context indispensable to a comprehensive understanding of the artifacts and manuscripts now contained within "the Huang Wenbi collection." For the historian of modern China or the historian of archaeology, it provides a wealth of documentation regarding Huang's interactions with local Chinese officials in Xinjiang, international scholarly collaboration in China, the daily lives and livelihoods of the southern Uighur oases, the warlord politics of the early Nationalist era, and the amateur excavation activities of Chinese officials themselves. Though Huang's diary has long taken a back seat to the accounts of Sven Hedin and Xu Bingxu, it is arguably the most informative — and certainly the least censored — of the three. That its long delayed publication may very well be a consequence of Huang's falling afoul of the political lines of his day only makes it more valuable as a historical resource for scholars of our own day. As recognition of the value of the Huang Wenbi collection increases in tandem with international accessibility to its contents, there is no doubt that studies of Huang Wenbi will flourish as well.

About the author

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The David Collection

Journal of the David Collection. Ed. Kjeld von Folsach; Joachim Meyer. Vol. 4. Copenhagen, 2014. 223 pp. ISBN 978-87-88464-12-2; ISSN 1603-5313.

The David Collection in Copenhagen was established and endowed as a public museum by a prominent lawyer, Christian Ludvig David, who began by collecting European porcelain, more generally European art of the 18th century, and early modern Danish art, and then developed a serious interest in the arts of the Islamic world. Islamic art is now the dominant part of the collection and has been substantially augmented and broadened by acquisitions beginning in the 1980s. It is one of the ten most significant collections of Islamic art worldwide and by far the largest one in Scandinavia. Books on Islamic art and exhibitions around the world regularly draw on its many superb and unique objects.

The new volume of the museum's journal (the first to appear since 2009, at the time of the reopening of the re-mounted collection), contains a series of fascinating and broadly-conceived articles which highlight pieces in The David Collection and thereby can serve as an introduction to the riches it contains. The volume is illustrated with high quality images (the collection photos taken by Pernille Klemp), a great many of them in color and full page in medium format. After reviewing the contributions in it, I shall make some additional observations on the Museum's website, which invites anyone interested in Islamic art to learn about the subject.

This volume of the journal opens with one article not devoted to The David Collection, Anatol Ivanov's very useful introduction to the history of the Islamic collections in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. He reviews the various acquisitions over time and then summarizes the strengths of the holdings. A good many black-and-white photos showing the galleries as they looked in earlier years illustrate the article. The process of producing modern catalogs of the material is ongoing, and, although he does not comment on this, one can hope that the recently re-designed Hermitage Museum website eventually will include the kind of extensive collection database that other museums now provide (The David Collection provides a model for what one might wish). Ivanov emphasizes that the Islamic material in the Hermitage has traditionally been organized under rubrics other than "Islamic art," often instead by a geographical or political principle, since there is still no dedicated "Islamic art" division administratively in the museum. Among the strengths of the collection are Iranian metalwork, late Iranian ceramics, and Central Asian material.

Thinking about such issues of organizing principles for any collection of "Islamic art" inevitably raises questions about how one might best define the subject. For The David Collection, Islamic art is "works of art produced in the part of the world where the religion of Islam has played a dominant role for a long period of time. They do not necessarily have to be works of art made by or for Muslims. The artists might also be followers of another religion, for example Christians or Jews. And the message conveyed by their art does not have to directly reflect the religion of Islam. It can also have a purely secular character" (What is Islamic Art <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/2353/What_is_Islamic_art_02.pdf>). The rest of the articles in this volume of the museum's journal provide an excellent sense of that range of work over time, space and genre.

Joachim Meyer writes on "The Body Language of a Parrot: An Incense Burner from the Western Mediterranean" (pp. 26–49), the subject being a late 11th or early 12th century bronze incense burner, in the shape of a parrot [Fig. 1, next page]. Meyer's essay ranges widely over analogies among other animal- or bird-shaped examples of Islamic metalwork, the closest parallels being from Muslim Spain. Metallurgical analysis also points to an origin of the object in the Western Mediterranean. Yet some features of the Arabic inscription on it (analyzed here by Will Kwiatkowski) suggest the provenance was not Spain; in fact the most likely origin may have been Norman Sicily, where the Christian rulers presided over a court at which Muslim craftsmen and savants were welcomed (famously, in the 12th century, the geographer al-Idrisi). So the in-

cense burner was not necessarily produced for a Muslim patron, even if it connects with traditions of the manufacture of such objects for elites in other parts of the Islamic world.

One of the most significant of the essays in this volume for laying the basis for future study is Jangar Ya. Ilyasov's "Exotic Images: On a New Group of Glazed Pottery of the 10th and 11th Century" (pp. 50–87). He stresses that the significant attention which has long been devoted to the study of Islamic pottery might make it unlikely for a whole new category of Islamic ceramics to be discovered. Yet this is precisely what two examples from The David Collection [Fig. 2], ones recently excavated in Central Asia, and a suddenly rather abundant group of wares which have otherwise surfaced in recent years would suggest we have. The dishes in question have bold figures of fauna (strikingly, many depict fish), anthropomorphic or fantastical creatures on them, brightly colored and with distinctive (often purplish gray) background color. He analyzes and catalogs here 43 examples, being careful to note where there may be serious doubts as to the age/authenticity of some of them. Where so many of them are of unknown provenance, the question of authenticity is a serious one, but the fact some have come from documented excavations and others (for example, The David Collections pieces) have had their dates verified by thermo-luminescence provides a reliable reference base for the group. The second part of his article explores the possible models the ceramicists might have drawn upon for some of the designs, thus providing a convincing context in which the dishes could have appeared. Ilyasov concludes that the group might best be designated as Tokharistan pottery and dated to the 10th century. Obviously further analysis and testing of the many un-provenanced examples is going to be needed.

Fig. 2. Earthenware bowl, decorated with colored slips over an aubergine-colored ground under a transparent glaze. Central Asia, Samarkand, or Afghanistan; 10th century. D 29 cm; foot D 11 cm; H 10 cm. Inv. no. 87/2004. Source: <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/177/8.12-87-2004-Keramisk-skal-med-loeve.jpg> © The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.

Fig. 1. Incense burner. Cast, engraved bronze. Sicily or southern Italy, end of 11th–beginning of 12th century. H: 35.5 cm. Inv. no. 10/2005. Source: <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/158/5.2-10-2005-Roegelsesbraender-i-form-af-en-falk.jpg> © The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.

In an equally substantial and significant contribution, Eleanor Sims writes on "The *Nahj al Faradis* of Sultan Abu Sa'id ibn Sultan Muhammad ibn Miranshah: An Illustrated Timurid Ascension Text of the 'Interim' Period" (pp. 88–147). Her article includes the formal publication and analysis of eight exquisite illustrated manuscript pages (five in the David Collection [Fig. 3, next page, and Color Plate IX], three in the Sarikhani Collection) that had been removed from a manuscript book which remains in private hands and is not currently accessible. While the importance of Timurid miniature painting for the larger developments in that genre in the Islamic world has long been recognized, the middle of the 15th century has been something of a void. Attention has been devoted to the period of Tamerlane's successor Shah Rukh or that of Sultan Husayn Baykara in the last decades of the century, the patron of the famous painter Bihzad. The "Paths of Paradise" manuscript discussed here, produced under the patronage of Tamerlane's

Fig. 3. "The Prophet Muhammad Before the Angel wisth Seventy Heads." Miniature from a copy of al-Sarai's Nahj al-Faradis *(The Paths of Paradise). Signed: "work of the slave Sultan 'Ali al-sultani (in royal service)." Iran, Herat; probably 1466.*

Folio size: 41.1 × 29.9 cm. Inv. no. 14/2012r. Source: <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/3114/Copyright_David-Collection_Copenhagen_14_2012_side-A_web.jpg> © *The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.*

great-grandson Sultan Abu Sa'id (d. 1469) in Herat, helps fill that void and leads Sims to reexamine the significance of other manuscripts from the same atelier. As it turns out, Abu Sa'id's manuscript is in many ways almost identical with the famous *Mi'raj-nama* manuscript now in the Bibliothèque nationale, which was produced a generation earlier under Shah Rukh. Clearly the later of these two books devoted to the Ascension of Muhammad is in fact a direct copy of the earlier one, both from the standpoint of the images and the fact that the text is written in Uighur script in Turkic. Interestingly, both manuscripts then fell into Ottoman hands in the early 16th century, following the Ottoman defeat of the Safavids at Chaldiran, before eventually ending up in Western collections. Sims credits a great many people for their assistance with this article and makes it clear that the study of the *Mi'raj-nama* by Christiane Gruber (published in 2008) is fundamental and provides important information on the Abu Sa'id manuscript. The emphasis here is broadly on what we learn about Timurid painting and Abu Sa'id's atelier and less on the sources for the images, which include, as is well known, Buddhist imagery. The article provides superb full-page illustrations of the eight illustrated folios (plus the text-only page for one of the David folios) and on facing pages the comparable images from the BN manuscript.

In analogous fashion to Sims, Howard J. Ricketts substantially enhances our knowledge of the arts at the court of one of the lesser-known Indian rulers, in "Ahmadnagar: Nizam Shahi Blazons, Animal Sculpture, and Zoomorphic Arms in the 16th Century" (pp. 149–69). The evidence in the first instance is in the sculpted relief of the Ahmadnagar buildings dated 1550–1560s, which include various animal and foliate designs that then compare with the elaborate hilts of two daggers in The David Collection [Fig. 4, next page; Inv. no. 18/1982] and also can be seen in somewhat schematic form on a dagger handle in a painting it owns depicting the ruler of Bijapur [Inv. no. 6/2013]. While eventually it fell to the Mughals, Ahmadnagar emerges here as more significant politically and culturally than one might previously have assumed.

Fig. 4. Dagger with gilded bronze hilt, set with a few rubies. Probably Ahmadnagar, ca. 1575. L: 42 cm. Inv. no. 36/1997 <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/278/18.4-36a-1997-Dolk-med-dyregreb.jpg> © The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.

The David Collection has an important group of works produced in Islamic South Asia. Steven Cohen's "Two Outstanding Mughal Qanat Panels in the David Collection" (pp. 170–201) highlights two large *qanats* or panels for cloth screens which commonly were erected to form an enclosure within which the ruler's tent might be situated. The well-preserved David panels, one in lampas weave [Inv. no. 19/2011], the other [Fig. 5] in "cut, voided velvet enhanced with metal-wrapped threads," are significant for their having required a massive pattern unit "possibly unprecedented in the history of 16th and early 17th-century lampas weaving for textiles displaying human figures" (p. 177). While there is much in the arts of the Mughals which draws on Persian traditions, there is no precedent in Safavid textiles for lampas weavings with such a large pattern. The evidence here points to the initiative of the Mughal emperor Akbar, but it was not simply a matter of his attracting foreign craftsmen, as there is much to suggest the weavings come out of well-established Indian textile traditions. Cohen's discussion embraces evidence about the uses of the *qanat* panels as well as a great deal on the development of silk weaving in northern India. An appendix to his article by Anne-Marie Keblow Bernsted provides technical analysis of the two panels and drawings of the weave structures.

The final article in this volume illustrates another of the strengths of The David Collection, so many of whose objects speak specifically to long-distance cultural exchange. Yuka Kadoi, whose book *Islamic Chinoiserie* was reviewed in this journal (vol. 8 [2010], pp. 130–32) brings her unique expertise on both Islamic and Chinese art to bear in her "From China to Denmark: A 'Mosque Lamp' in Context" (pp. 202–23). The unusual late Qing cloisonné hanging "lamp" [Fig. 6, next page] serves to illustrate the importance of taking seriously Islamic art objects produced in China. The shape here imitates that of mosque lamps produced in the Islamic West (two good examples, one in brass,

Fig. 5. "Standing Lady Beneath a Cusped Arch." Qanat panel. Velvet, silk and silver lamella spun around silk. Mughal northern India, ca. 1600. 143 × 69 cm. Inv. no. 37/1995. Source: <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/446/19.2-37-1995-Floejlsdame.jpg> © The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.

the other enameled glass, are also in the David Collection and depicted here). Yet it seems almost certain that the Chinese craftsman had as his model a hanging lamp made under Mamluk Sultan Baybars I in the 13th century, which he knew not from the original work but from a photo published in a noteworthy French album of Islamic art in 1869-1877. Interestingly, that same photo provided the model for a replica lamp commissioned by Lord Curzon to be hung in the Taj Mahal. Kadoi's essay discusses the distinct Chinese-Arabic calligraphy on the "lamp" and other examples of Chinese cloisonné, including a tankard now in the Victoria and Albert Museum which is modeled on a design popular in Timurid metalwork that was widely imitated (the David Collection includes an elegant silver Ottoman version, Inv. no. 15/1986). Kadoi concludes her essay with a challenge: "Having confirmed the power of portable objects that can bridge Islamic, Chinese, as well as European art histories in a visually dynamic and convincing way, it is hoped that the present study will broaden our disciplinary horizons, redress the art-historical merits of the arts of Islam in the eastern periphery of the Muslim world, and, finally, provoke the contentious issue of the definition of our field — what is Islamic art, after all?" (p. 217).

Fig. 6. Lamp, bronze, parcel-gilt and decorated with cloisonné enamel. China, 19th century. H without chain: 25; D: 23 cm. Source: <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/912/Copyright_-David-Collection_Copenhagen_42-1966_web.jpg> © The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.

The David Collection is clearly committed to educating a broad public who might wish to tackle that question. There are regular public lectures (in Danish) and regularly scheduled gallery tours on various topics, for which one can download concise overviews in pdf format from the website. The website <http://www.davidmus.dk/en> offers access (in both Danish and English) to the Islamic collection by dynasty, materials or cultural-history theme. Each dynasty is introduced by several paragraphs on its history and relationship to cultural production. From each overview page, one can choose links to images of works of art, coins, architecture, and a map. There also is a series of nearly hour-long recordings of radio broadcasts (in Danish only) about the dynasties and their art. The linked pages bring up sets of thumbnails which then lead to pages with the individual works of art and brief but very informative descriptive text. One can click then to bring up huge jpeg images of the objects, of a size and quality that enables close examination: one might hope that other museums would emulate this generosity [as I write, the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington, D. C., have just announced the imminent posting of their whole collection in such large, high-resolution images]. For some objects, there is more than one view (e.g., the exquisite *kesi* medallion from the Mongol period, Inv. no. 30/1995, has five detail photos in addition to the overall view). Both the obverse and reverse of coins are shown. The descriptive paragraphs for the materials pages are quite short. It is important to note that some objects, for which no dynastic date has been assigned, may be found only via these pages. The thematic pages have more substantial text, under topics such as "The Five Pillars of Islam," "Sunni and Shia," "The Religious Prohibition against Images" and "Symbolism in Islamic Art." Apart from links to the relevant images, there may also be supplementary materials: e.g., for "Trade, Measures and Weights" there is a schematic map of trade routes and a set of photos of caravanserais and bazaars; for "Mechanics, Astronomy, and Astrology" there are photos of the Jantar Mantar observatory in Jaipur. The website has a separate section "Mostly for kids" with a memory game, a quiz and a set of Islamic geometric pattern drawings that can be copied as pdf files.

Fortunately I can look forward to an opportunity in the next few months to visit Copenhagen for more than a brief stopover between SAS flights. Even if there for a short time, a visitor would be well advised to skip the Little Mermaid and Tivoli, and instead head to C. L. David's former residence at Kronprinsessegade 30, the home of one of the best Islamic art collections anywhere.

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The Arts of China in Seattle

Josh Yiu. *A Fuller View of China: Chinese Art in the Seattle Art Museum*. Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2014. 192 pp. ISBN 978-0-932216-71-7.

Chinese Painting & Calligraphy [on-line catalog of the Seattle Art Museum collection] <http://chinesepainting.seattleartmuseum.org/OSCI/>

These two distinctive and excellent works introduce one the best collections of the arts of China in North America and serve as tributes to two visionary directors of the Seattle Art Museum (SAM). Rather than write a "masterpieces" catalog, Josh Yiu offers an elegant study of the vision and collecting acumen of SAM's founder, generous patron, and director for four decades, Richard Eugene Fuller, whose passion was Chinese art. And his impact went beyond the museum: in Yiu's words (p. 21), "his work turned Seattle from a small town to the public-spirited urban city we know today." Whereas Fuller was largely self-taught in Asian art, Mimi Gardner Gates came to her directorship in 1994 as a recognized academic specialist in Chinese painting, that expertise abundantly evident in the innovative on-line catalog (funded by the Getty Foundation) whose creation she and Josh Yiu supervised. SAM's director until her retirement in 2009, Gates oversaw a major expansion of the museum, positioning it as an innovative 21st-century institution.

As curator of SAM's Chinese collection for several years, Yiu became intimately familiar with the holdings and was able to sift the archives for documentation about acquisitions. The result is a compelling "life history" of the first decades of the Seattle collection, from its infancy to adulthood, a history that is coterminous with the maturation of Richard Fuller as a collector. Inspired by his mother Margaret's modest collection of Far Eastern *objets d'art*, Fuller developed an early interest in jade and snuff bottles, although that enthusiasm often led him to acquire objects he soon understood to be of limited artistic merit and which he then might happily de-acquisition.[1] For students of exchange along the "silk roads" one of the jades he kept that is of particular interest is a Ming-period ewer [Fig. 1],[2] which cost him $78 at Macy's (yes, department stores in those days were often good sources for high-quality Asian antiquities). The relationship between Chinese ceramics and Central Asian or Islamic-world metalwork is well documented, of course. As James Watt observed, this small ewer "is the earliest Chinese jade carving to display Islamic influence" (quoted, p. 31). It dates to a period when a good many objects made of blue-and-white porcelain were decorated with Arabic inscriptions, and craftsmen in China were not only catering to possibly new domestic tastes but also producing for specific export markets in the Islamic world.

Fig. 1. Chinese nephrite ewer, late 15th-early 16th centuries. H: 8 in. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 33.77. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

While an early trip to China and then many years later a long encounter in London with a major visiting exhibition from China helped sharpen his acumen, to a considerable degree Fuller's success lay in cultivating the right dealers. When asked about his collecting philosophy in later years, he emphasized that "the true value of art depends on an intangible aesthetic return, which varies with the knowledge and taste of each beholder" (quoted, p. 25). That is, the monetary value attached to a work of art was not the important thing. Indeed, one of the impressive facts which emerges here is how Fuller often swam against the tide of what was currently fashionable in acquisitions of Chinese art, with the result being that many of his lastingly significant purchases cost almost trivial sums. His "first important acquisition" (in 1918?), a tall Wanli period blue-and-white vase [Fig. 2; Color Plate X] cost all of $10 (p. 28). By 1932, when he was making considerable efforts to broaden the coverage of his collection and was increasingly discriminating, he would pay $500 for a Tang sculpture of a female polo player [Figs. 3, 4]. While now not an uncommon type (the Musée Guimet in Paris has several wonderful examples), this piece occupies a prominent place in the Seattle collection of Tang Dynasty funerary figurines (*mingqi*). At the time Fuller acquired what is arguably the best of the tomb attendants in his collection [Fig. 5; Color Plate X], only one other example of the type was known, but as in the case of others of Fuller's forward-looking acquisitions, subsequent archaeological ex-

Fig. 2 (left). Wanli period porcelain vase, late 16th–early 17th century, H: 22.5 in. Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 54.120. Fig. 3 (below). The current display of Tang-era mingqi in SAAM. Fig. 4 (bottom left). Polo player, 7th-8th century, L: 14 in. Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 33.7. Fig. 5 (below right). Tomb attendant, late 7th century, H: 27.5 in. Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection , 35.6. Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 6. Bronze hand censer, 7th century, Chinese. H: 2.5 in. (6.3 cm); L: 14 15/16 in. (37.94 cm); diam.: 4 3/8 in. (11.11 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 39.27. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

cavation has turned up almost identical ones that help to contextualize the statue (p. 70). Even though such objects were very rare and not always correctly identified, when Fuller acquired his bronze censer (also Tang period) [Fig. 6] in 1939, he understood that it was to be compared with a famous one preserved over the centuries in the Shosoin (p. 88).

By the early 1930s, Fuller's collection was already significant, and, given the interest shown in Seattle at a special exhibit which highlighted it, he embarked on an ambitious plan to replace the struggling Art Institute of Seattle with a real public museum, the emphasis in whose collections would be Asian art (p. 46). He and his mother funded the construction of a new building in a hilltop park overlooking the city. To encourage public interest, and appropriate to its focus, they acquired and installed in front of the severe Art Deco façade genuine statuary that had once been part of a "spirit way" leading to a Chinese tomb [Fig. 7]. The camels flanking the entrance became immediate hits, fully justifying Fuller's instincts despite the fact that some art critics rather disparaged their quality. The camels one sees there today are replicas (still clambered over by children and senior citizens and nowadays featured in selfies), the originals of the Seattle version of a "spirit way" having been moved indoors to the new downtown SAM building that opened in 1991 [see Fig. 30 below] (the original building now houses only the Asian collections as the Seattle Asian Art Museum [SAAM]).

Fig. 7. The entrance to the original building of the Seattle Art Museum, opened on June 23, 1933, as seen today. For a historic photo giving a sense of Fuller's concept of the "spirit way," see Yiu, Fig. 27, p. 47. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fuller understood clearly that the interests of a private collector were not necessarily the priorities that were needed for a public museum (p. 49). So he set about broadening the acquisitions for the new museum and increasingly trying to ensure that only the highest quality works entered the collection. Despite the fact that much of the operating expenses of the museum were being covered by the Fullers (who had deep but not bottomless pockets), there continued to be funds for purchases, and he had basically a free hand in the decisions about what to buy.[3]

On the eve of the opening of the new museum in 1933, he acquired a set of remarkable embroidered silk bed curtains which probably had been commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor (1736–1795) [Fig. 8, next page; Color Plate XI]. Josh Yiu notes that they "may be the best that exist" [p. 63]. Trips to Japan and London in the mid-1930s both resulted in new acquisitions and contributed to the broadening of Fuller's knowledge of the field. As a result, Seattle now has one of several elegant, large Song- or Jin-period wooden statues of a seated Guanyin (Fig. 31 below; others are in London, Princeton and Kansas City). The catalyst for the visit to London was the opening of a major exhibition of art on loan from Chinese collections, which provided a unique opportunity to study a broad array of the finest works. Fuller's purchases in London included another large wooden sculpture, a spirited Yuan-period evocation of a monk at the moment of Enlightenment [Fig. 9].

Perhaps more important for the broadening of the Seattle collection was the development of Fuller's interest in painting. He acquired what was thought to be a Song-period landscape (Song paintings in general are very rare and highly prized)

Fig. 8 (left). Bed curtains, Chinese, 1735–1796 (Qianlong period). Silk and gold thread, 107 x 70 3/4 in. (266.7 x 179.71 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 33.159.2. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

Fig. 9 (top right). Monk at the moment of Enlightenment, Chinese, ca. 14th century. Wood with polychrome decorations, 41 x 30 x 22 in. (104.14 x 76.2 x 55.88 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 36.13. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

Fig. 10 (right). Scholar gazing at the moon. Ma Yuan 馬遠 Tradition (15th century). Ink and color on silk. Overall: 116 1/4 x 48 5/16 in. (295.3 x 122.7 cm); Image: 78 x 41 3/4 in. (198.1 x 106 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 36.12. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

[Fig. 10; for detail see below, Fig. 28]. While it then turned out to be a later, Ming work, it remains one of the museum's best paintings. Fuller's cultivation of local patrons in Seattle eventually led to the donation (by Mrs. Donald E. Frederick) of a Song painting that is understandably one of the highlights of the collection [Fig. 11, next page]. Looking back on the time when he was advising the San Francisco Museum of Asian Art on its acquisitions, James Cahill has written somewhat ruefully about how an extraordinary album of landscapes by the innovative late Ming artist Shao Mi 邵彌 [Fig. 12; Color Plate XIII], ended up in Seattle when he could not persuade the decision-makers in San Francisco that it was worth buying.[4] Later the acquisition of painting and calligraphy became one of the priorities of Mimi Gates. It took an honor roll of donors (she and her husband were among them) to add an important poem scroll dated 1521 by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 [Fig. 13]. Modern works of Chinese calligraphy are now in the collection as well, one a couplet donated by the artist Xu Bing 徐冰 [Fig. 14] to honor Gates on the occasion of her retirement.

Fig. 11 (above). Hawk pursuing a pheasant, by Li Anzhong 李安忠, 1129–30. Ink and color on silk. Image size: 43 1/2 x 16 in. (25.9 x 26.8 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Donald E. Frederick, 51.38. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 12 (above right). "Landscape of dreams," by Shao Mi 邵彌, 1638. One of ten album leaves: ink and color on paper. Overall: 11 7/16 x 17 in. (29 x 43.2 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 70.18.2. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

A number of the most important additions to the collection were made during the short period, 1948–52, when Sherman Lee was Fuller's assistant, hired at a time before he earned what would be a huge reputation in the art world. This was a period when the museum began to build a good collection of early bronzes [e.g., Fig. 15, next page] and became one of the first to

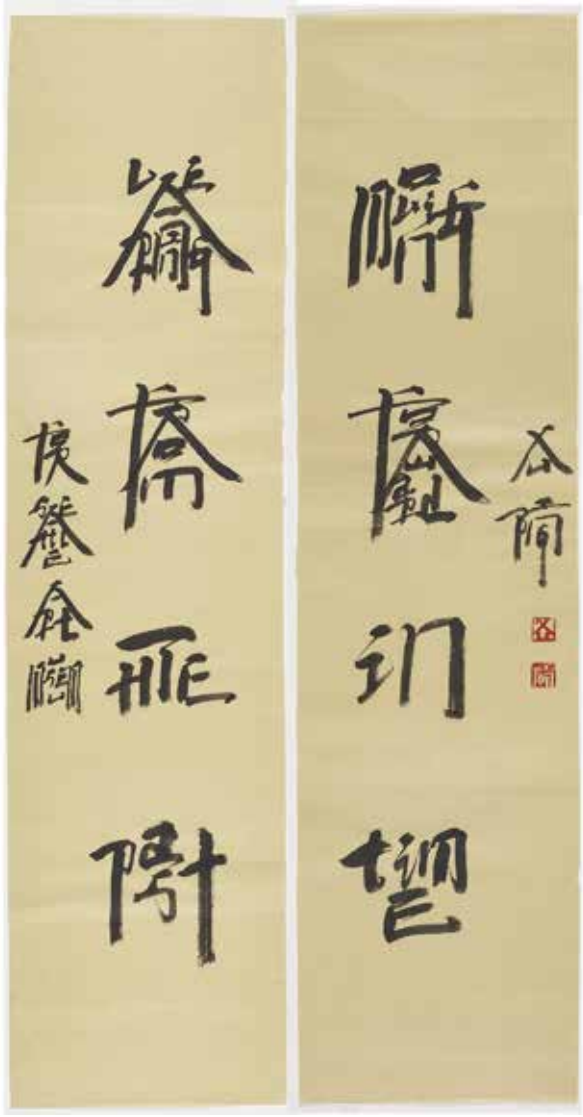


Fig. 13 (below). Poem for the painting "Sunset over the Jin and Jiao Mountains," by Wen Zhengming 文徵明, 1521. Ink on paper. Overall size of scroll: 15 3/16 x 454 1/2 in. (38.5 x 1154.5 cm), a portion of which is shown here. Seattle Art Museum. Purchased in honor of Jay Xu and Jennifer Chen with funds from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Art Acquisition Endowment, Anonymous, Mimi and Bill Gates, The Asian Art Cuncil, Jeffrey and Susan Brotman, Lyn and Gerald Grinstein, Jane and David Davi, 2003.1. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

Fig. 14 (right). Couplet: "Learning from the Past, Moving Forward in Time," by Xu Bing 徐冰, 2009. Calligraphy; ink on paper. Dimensions: 53 1/2 x 13 3/4" each sheet. Seattle Art Museum, Gift of the artist in honor of Mimi Gardner Gates, 2010.7.2. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

Fig. 15 (above). Bronze you *(wine vessel), 11th century BCE (Western Zhou period). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 56.33. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.*

Fig. 16 (above right). Painted bowl, Chinese, 3rd century BCE. Wood with lacquer, 10 x 2 7/16 in. (25.4 x 6.19 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 51.118. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum

develop a serious interest in lacquerware. Arguably the most important example of the latter is a black-on-red dish dating to the Warring State period [Fig. 16; Color Plate XII], a piece found in a documented excavation. Lee himself was a collector; the museum bought from him the superb, large Cizhou ware vase dating to the 13th century [Fig. 17], a work that has inspired both admiration and silly comments about its "vulgarity" (p. 129) on account of its fertility imagery.

The directors in Seattle clearly have an eye for talent, but keeping it proves to be difficult. Lee moved on and up, to become director of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Under Mimi Gates, the curator for Chinese art was Jay Xu, who organized a blockbuster exhibition of the archaeological finds from Sanxingdui in Sichuan. Xu is now the director of the Museum of Asian Art in San Francisco. When Josh Yiu left Seattle, it was to become Associate Director of the Art Museum of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

If, when Fuller began, Seattle was on no one's map for its Chinese collections, well before he retired in 1973 (he died three years later), what he had built was widely appreciated by specialists in Asian art, who paid tribute to his excellent taste and his ability to stretch limited financial resources so effectively in a world when huge sums were now being lavished to obtain what in lesser hands sometimes turned out to be works lacking in real merit. The Se-

Fig. 17. Vase, 13th century (Jin period). Stoneware with black decoration on white slip. H. 35 in. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection 48.34. Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 18 (above left). The east wall of the atrium of the Seattle Asian Art Museum.

Fig. 19 (above). Mi'raj, *illustrated frontispiece from the* Mahzan al-Asrar *of Nizami (Book One of the* Khamsa*), ca. 1550–1600. Note the decorative Chinese cloud motif on the background. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper. Iranian (Safavid period). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 47.96.*

Fig. 20 (left). Figurine of a wine seller, 8th century (Tang period). Earthenware with polychrome glazes. H: 14 5/8 in. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 38.6.

Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

attle collection is by no means huge, but it contains excellent examples over a range of genres and periods. Fuller's hand is to be found in all the other areas of Asian art in the museum's holdings, from Gandharan and later South and Southeast Asian sculpture (beautifully displayed in the atrium of SAAM, Fig. 18) to Islamic and Mughal miniatures (the subject of a current small exhibition in the adjoining room, Fig. 19).

Before turning to questions of access and education about the collection, I will indulge in a few notes about some of the objects which, in addition to those already discussed, should be of considerable interest to students of the "silk roads." Let's begin [Fig. 20]

Fig. 21 (above left). Semitic peddler. Tang period (618–906). Ceramic with polychrome paint. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 33.19.

Fig. 22 (above). Covered bowls in the shape of a five-petaled flower, with floral patterns, late 8th-early 9th century (Tang period). Beaten silver with gilt decoration. D: 9.5 in. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 45.61.1-.2.

Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

with one of the most widely reproduced works in the collection, a polychrome-painted earthenware depicting a Semitic or Central Asian wine merchant. While such figurines (generally made to accompany the deceased into the afterlife and thus buried in tombs) are among the most popular objects of art from China, the uniqueness of the Seattle wine merchant had raised questions as to its authenticity. Thermo-luminescence testing has confirmed now its early date to the Tang period (p. 102, n. 105). Analogous to the wine merchant is another depiction of a foreigner, wearing a peaked Central Asian cap and hunched under the burden he is carrying [Fig. 21]. He is quite similar to examples well known from the collections of the British Museum (Museum Nos. OA 1973.7-26.192; 1936.10-12.56) and the Musée Guimet (Museum No. MG 18260). Among the Tang period objects Fuller acquired is a pair of fine silver bowls with gilt decoration [Fig. 22] and a silver cup with a chased pattern of vegetation and birds, whose shape reflects the norms of Sogdian silver from Central Asia [Fig. 23; Color Plate XII]. Opportunities to see such fine examples of Tang silver are rare.[5]

Fig. 23. Cup, Chinese, late 7th to early 8th century. Silver, with chased patterns of lotus, vines, and birds. H: 2.5 in. (6.3 cm.); D: 3 in. (7.62 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 42.5. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

The Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty period in China in the 13th and 14th centuries is often considered to mark the epitome of cross-Asian trade (indeed, this was when Marco Polo and his father and uncle went from Italy to China and back). While eclectic in their religious beliefs, the Mongols in China cultivated close connections with Tibetan Buddhism. One apparent witness to that is a stunning gold- and silver-decorated bronze statue of a Buddha, which is distinguished by what

Fig. 24. Seated Buddha, Chinese, 14th [- 15th] century. Bronze with inlaid gold and silver thread. 6 1/2 x 4 1/2 x 3 in. (15.88 x 11.43 x 7.62 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 69.114. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

are variously described as Nepali or Indian features [Fig. 24]. Sherman Lee's inclusion of it in an important exhibition in Cleveland on Chinese art under the Mongols helped persuade the experts that it is a Yuan-period work (p. 149). Most agree that the Yuan period also saw the full flowering of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, with the production of large vessels suited to Mongol elite foodways and exhibiting a dense array of decorative motifs. While Seattle has a good range of blue-and-white, arguably the most important of its pieces is a 14th-century charger (large dish or plate), which, unusually, has a raised, moulded design for the large flowers and a formally composed garden scene in the center featuring two phoenixes [Fig. 25].[6] Major donations were necessary for the museum to be able to afford its purchase from Eskenazi in London in 1975.

Fig. 25. Dish with phoenix and flower motifs, early 14th century (Yuan period). Jingdezhen ware; porcelain with underglaze cobalt-blue decoration. D: 18 3/4 in. Seattle Art Museum, purchased in memory of Elizabeth M. Fuller with funds from the Elizabeth M. Fuller Memorial Fund and from the Edwin W. and Catherine M. Davis Foundation, St. Paul, Minnesota, 76.7. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Access and Education

At the beginning of his book, Josh Yiu referred the reader to several published catalogs of the Seattle collection (p. 10). While ultimately one can expect that the museum's website will provide complete on-line access, would not it make sense in the meantime to digitize these mostly out-of-print publications and link them to the website? For in fact, as the discussion which follows will elaborate, SAM's online catalog is still very much work in progress and is far from complete.

The brilliant exception here is the new online catalog of Chinese painting and calligraphy, created with the support of a grant from the Getty Foundation, which can be accessed from the top of the "Collections" page. Users would be advised first to click on "About" to learn about the goals of the project, stated as follows:

> …Seattle's collection of 152 Chinese painting and calligraphy has never been studied in depth and is heretofore largely unpublished. For the first time, it is being introduced and made universally accessible through this newly developed online catalogue, which features thoughtful and provocative essays about major works by renowned scholars, with high-resolution, zoom-able images of the works of art, and thorough documentation—including tran-

scriptions and translations of inscriptions and colophons, and seals which are transcribed, identified and located….

This online catalogue is designed to facilitate scholarly dialogue. Readers are encouraged to post comments about the works of art and the accompanying essays, as well as to formulate answers to questions that we put forward under the section "Questions for Thought."

The open-ended nature of the online catalogue represents a significant departure from the standard printed catalogue. In contrast to printed catalogues, which reflect a specific fixed moment in time, the Seattle Art Museum considers the online catalogue an adaptable document that will continue to evolve as the collection of Chinese painting and calligraphy grows. Moreover, in the future we hope other aspects of the Seattle Art Museum collection will be researched, documented and entered online to complement this groundbreaking catalogue.

Before going on to explore the collection the user then is advised to watch the brief instructional tutorial. The design and functionality here are first-rate, with a range of filters on the left which let one select groups of works by artist, period, region, subject and more.

It is appropriate that the first work which appears on a full page with tiles for each item in the collection — the exquisite treatment of plum blossoms by the 15th-century painter Yang Hui 楊輝 [Figs. 26, 27; Color Plate XIII] — is one for which Mimi Gates has written the long and scholarly analytical essay. General readers may be satisfied with the opening summary paragraph of essays such as hers, but if one chooses to "read more," there is so much that can be learned. The Yang Hui painting opens doors into poetry and the spiritual associations of plum blossoms. The reader learns how the painting's attribution was confirmed and is introduced to a strikingly similar painting in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. A separate set of links leads to related works in the Seattle collection. There are study questions, a listing of exhibitions and previous publications and additional bibliography. The zoom feature of the catalog, illustrated on the next page {Figs. 27, 28], is a marvel allowing one to seen the paintings in intimate detail or focus on seals and inscriptions while reading their translations.

Like a reviewer of a detective novel, I would be depriving readers of the pleasure of discovery were I to devote much more space to this catalog. I would note though that the essays I have examined closely, while perhaps somewhat intimidating for general users where they include, appropriately, the Chinese characters along with translations of their texts, are full of fascinating material which can help one better appreciate more broadly Chinese art. Josh Yiu's essay on Wen Zhenming's poem scroll [Fig. 13 above] offers many insights into the importance of calligraphy in Chinese culture. Yiu's essay on the 2009 couplet by the innovative contemporary artist Xu Bing [Fig. 14 above] offers a fascinating account of the creation of this bold calligraphic piece. Another of the essays which struck me for its personal note, combined with scholarly detachment, is James Cahill's, to which I referred earlier, discussing Shao Mi's album "Landscape of Dreams" [Fig. 12 above].

There has been little time yet for users to take up the offer of interacting with SAM via this catalog and posting comments. I have already sent some suggestions to the museum staff (outside of the format of the catalog) regarding possible fixes for a few glitches, and they have been very responsive. One desideratum here would be for them to obtain permissions to use or link to larger images of the paintings cited for comparison in the essays. Over time, I assume, that will become possible. In general, one of the as yet too rare features of museum collection

Fig. 26. "A branch of the cold season," by Yang Hui 楊輝, ca, 1440. Ink on paper. Overall: 30 5/16 x 56 1/16 in. (77 x 142.4 cm); image: 12 3/16 x 25 in. (30.9 x 63.5 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 51.132. Photograph © Seattle Art Museum.

catalogs is cross-referencing and linking to examples in other collections. The beginning made here should inspire others. As should this catalog project as a whole. This clearly has to be the wave of the future into which more museums should move to make their collections accessible.

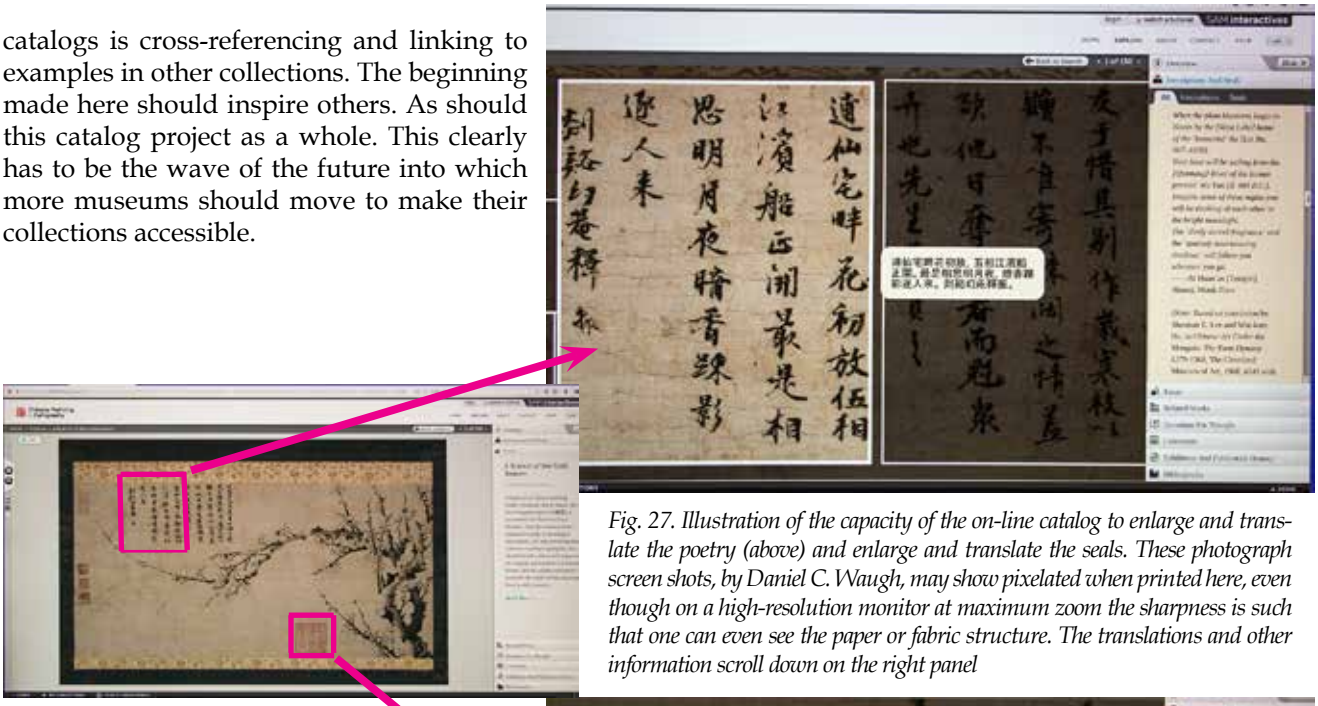


Fig. 27. Illustration of the capacity of the on-line catalog to enlarge and translate the poetry (above) and enlarge and translate the seals. These photograph screen shots, by Daniel C. Waugh, may show pixelated when printed here, even though on a high-resolution monitor at maximum zoom the sharpness is such that one can even see the paper or fabric structure. The translations and other information scroll down on the right panel

Fig. 28 (below). A photograph screen shot at maximum zoom showing detail from the painting of the scholar gazing at the moon (Fig. 10 above; Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 36.12).

It would be nice to be able to lavish similar praise on the SAM website as an access point to other parts of the Chinese collection. The website has recently been redesigned, and work on it is ongoing, which means that the comments which folliow here undoubtedly will soon be dated. At least as of this writing, there is still much to be done before the Seattle collection is fully available and easily searchable on-line. These remarks are intendeed to present a kind of "user's perspective" as of the end of 2014, one which may say as much about the user as about the website itself.[7]

The "Collections" web page by department includes a link to Asian Art, where there are relatively few highlighted objects on the page. Only 14 of these are from the Chinese collection, and very few of those are items which are currently on display in the museum. It seems in fact that the indication of whether any object listed in the online database is on display is not being kept up to date (case in point, Doug Aitken's "Mirror" installation on the outside of the new SAM wing). While the arrangement of the tiles in the display groups them alphabetically by the rubric for "people" (Chinese, Japanese, etc.), it would have been good to have distinct specific pages for each of those sub-categories. That then would allow for expanding the selection of highlighted works without requiring the user to do excessive scrolling to pick an object. In clicking on any of these tiles, the user brings up a separate page, containing one or more images. None are enlargeable, which is unfortunate, though some offer close-ups of detail. Are the main images anywhere near large enough? — the Freer and Sackler Galleries in D.C. are poised to make available their entire collection in high resolution downloadable images, and they are not unique in this. Included on the SAM website are outdated photos from the museum archive that are inferior to the newer ones and might well have been dropped. The standard for verbal descriptions is a usually brief, and if so, not always very informative paragraph. For many interesting objects in the collection (e.g., the early Chinese bronzes), as yet there are no descriptive paragraphs at all.

When I realized that the limited array of "highlight" objects was not going to get me to other parts of the Chinese collection (aside from the thorough coverage in the new online catalog of the paintings discussed above), I tried various search strategies using the "Search Collection" link. Could I easily locate "Chinese blue-and-white porcelain" or "Tomb figurines," since both categories include items of interest for the history of the silk roads? While part of the problem was the learning curve for a new user, I concluded that the search mechanism may still need of a lot of work. The "thesaurus" that would allow one to figure out what term to use for certain categories is apparently still not in place; it seems likely that much more needs to be done to equip the system to handle alternative designations that a casual user might put into the quick search box. The most refined chronological divisions under dynasties generally are problematic, especially since datings by dynasty are so problematic to begin with and because the descriptive verbiage in the captioning may not necessarily correspond to the category breakdown offered in the search tool. "Porcelain" as a search term may not bring up all that is captioned as porcelain. "Earthenware" is a useful term, but when should one apply it under "material" instead of just doing a more general search under the "classification" of "ceramic"? Is there any consistent idea of what is a "vessel" as opposed to a "dish" or "bowl"? The country listings lack "China" (!); so the way to get Chinese artefacts is to insert "Chinese" as the supplementary search term under the rubric "people." I tried several different ways to bring up the link to the page about my favorite figurine of the wine merchant, but he did not always appear when I would have expected to find him. The most general searches are likely to bring up the most options. E.g., just look for works attributed to the "Tang Dynasty," or do a query for the "classification" of "bronzes" and add the supplementary criterion, "Chinese" — which then brings up an impressive number of items, more than I had been aware the collection holds.

Clearly some of these problems can be at least mitigated if there would be an explanatory page for the search categories being offered and a more detailed indication of search strategies. But I wonder if the problems may lie deeper in the coding for the objects or the search algorithms. There is certainly some inconsistency in captions, where I assume for each item a term has been entered in the appropriate line on a spread-sheet that then provides a searchable file. I would not suggest that the problems I encountered here are unique, but at least some other museums may have figured out some solutions. In sum, at least for now it takes a lot of work and guessing to locate on-line what in fact seems to be a quite extensive cataloguing of the Chinese collection in Seattle (note, however, many of the items listed as yet lack photos or any kind of meaningful description).

Beyond a mere catalog description with a short paragraph, what else might one hope *eventually* to find on a good web page for any object? I would think we need some linked introductory essays (e.g., one on calligraphy, one on the different types of ritual bronzes) and more comparative examples. Should one happen to stumble on the page provided for the wonderful Yuan blue-and-white charger discussed earlier, one finds in fact a number of complementary, informative paragraphs and some comparative photos. That page as it

Fig. 29. The display of many of Richard Fuller's snuff bottles, in the Seattle Asian Art Museum. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh .

stands is where the user interested in blue-and-white might well start. But how is he or she to know? If a visitor to Seattle wanted to see its good collection of Asian ceramics he or she should also be aware that what is displayed, but a fraction of the whole, is divided between SAAM and a porcelain room (mainly focused from the European perspective) in the downtown museum. It is in the latter that some of the examples of "kraack" wares, the export blue-and-white of the late Ming period, are to be found. One can, at least, download a pdf file on the porcelain room ahead of a visit, in order to see exactly what is in it.[8] Apart from a rather extensive display of Richard Fuller's snuff bottles in SAAM [Fig. 29], I think that porcelain room is the closest thing we have here to a "study collection." One specifically for Chinese ceramics would be highly desirable.

On a very few of the caption pages for individual objects, along with bibliographic references, are links to explanatory pages on other museums' websites. So far this barely hints at what might be possible. In one of the galleries at SAAM, which currently displays a handful of the early Chinese bronzes, there is an interactive monitor where one can follow the process of how a bronze was cast. This was created by the Princeton Art Museum <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/asianart/interactives/bronze/bronze.html>. A link to this resource could be added in the on-line catalog pages for Seattle's Chinese bronzes. Princeton has another page with a similar interactive learning tool for making a Cizhou ceramic vessel <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/asianart/interactives/ceramics/ceramics.html>, which would be good to connect somehow with the several fine examples in Seattle.

There have to be numerous possibilities here for reaching out to other museums and sharing the educational resources which many of them have created. A substantial annotated listing of portals to major internet resources can in fact be found linked to the SAM's "Programs and Leaning" pages <http://www.seattleartmuseum.org/programs-and-learning/libraries-and-resources/online-resources>. What I have in mind here as a desideratum though is the specific kinds of focused learning pages, often interactive, which naturally take a huge amount of time to produce. Unless one is provided with direct links to them where they relate to a given object in the collection, one may not be aware they exist.

SAM has begun to move in this direction. In its small Islamic exhibit in the downtown museum, there is a little computerized set of pages to introduce visitors to Islamic art. All that material seems to have made it into the online catalog, including the audio recordings of a curator discussing a particular topic. When SAM mounted in the downtown museum a beautifully curated exhibition ("Luminous") of its best treasures of Asian art after they had returned from touring in Japan, I was very impressed by the computerized display which had been created to explain the extraordinary Japanese "Deer Scroll" in the Seattle collection. That interactive display offers information about poets, translations of the poems, the ability to zoom in to look at details, etc. (that is, very like what one can do in the new on-line catalog of painting). The "Deer Scroll" feature is available on the SAM website now and linked on the collections page for the scroll <http://www1.seattleartmuseum.org/exhibit/interactives/deerscroll/webSAM_deer.swf>. Another online resource, accessible from "Collections Resources" is pdf files of the papers given at a symposium on "Masterpieces of Japanese Painting." There is also supposed to be an interactive catalog, "Discovering Buddhist Art—Seeking the Sublime." but the link to it seems to be dead.

An important part of Mimi Gates's legacy is the Gardner Center for Asian Art and Ideas at SAAM, established at the time of her retirement, which supports an ambitious array of public education programs. It has forged close relationships with the relevant academic programs at the University of Washington and has been expanding considerably on an earlier legacy that dates back to the time of Richard Fuller, when he

would give public lectures on Seattle's Asian art. Any good museum nowadays takes its educational mission seriously, something that arguably was always foremost in Fuller's mind.

I can recall participating several decades ago in a grant-funded NEH program for teachers involving University of Washington outreach programs and SAM that focused on "objects of trade." My wife still has vivid memories of a workshop allowing participants to learn about Chinese ceramics and actually handle some of the objects in the collection. Apart from a regular array of films and performances ranging from the Southeast Asian version of "The Vagina Monologues" to traditional Afghan music, one of the star attractions of the Gardner Center now is its "Saturday University" lectures, each series exploring a broadly-based theme that generally will connect historic cultural traditions with the present. One that I was involved in on Central Asia attracted an overflow audience of hundreds. The most recent one, which filled every week the 200-seat auditorium, explored science and technology in East Asia. Christopher Cullen of the Needham Institute in Cambridge introduced the series and played a key role in the selection of topics and speakers.

Into the 21st century

I have to wonder a bit whether Richard Fuller, whose view of Chinese art shaped the first decades of SAM, would be comfortable with the 21st-century museum which has grown out of those ambitious beginnings. He probably would rue the fact that the "spirit way" sculptures he installed to lure the public into his new museum have now been moved indoors in an infamous "stairway to nowhere" that Venturi and Associates designed for the new downtown museum building that opened in 1991 [Fig. 30].[9] With the further expansion of the downtown museum into the adjoining modern office tower in 2007, the main entrance being in the new wing — a move that was essential to SAM's future — both staircase (rightfully) and Chinese sculptures (sadly) languish largely unnoticed.[9] On the other hand, the idea of luring the public to experience art by bringing art to the public is certainly in accord with Fuller's vision, even if now what one sees on the street is Jonathan Borovsky's huge "Hammering Man" sculpture with its motorized arm and Doug Aitkin's recently installed digital display, "Mirror," that wraps around part of the new wing of the museum. Fuller might have welcomed this as necessary for the greater good of a successful public museum.

As the neighboring Seattle Symphony has also determined, to bring in new audiences seems to require an emphasis on the modern and postmodern. Certainly this message is reinforced in the lobby of the new SAM, where one stands, somewhat nervously, under Cai Guo-Qiang's 蔡国强 eye-catching "Inopportune: Stage One" 2004, "a large-scale installation work consisting of a meticulous arrangement of life-size cars and multichannel tubes that seem to blow up in sequence, symbolizing a series of car explosions." Indeed, work by modern Chinese artists occupies an important place in the museum: one room in SAAM has been featuring Ai Weiwei's 艾未未 "Colored Vases" (2010), and the larger gallery that at one time held Fuller's collection of *mingqi*, hosted a temporary exhibit of Chen Shao-xiong's 陈劭雄 "Ink, History, Media," a captivating display of video and ink drawings created from historic photos. The southern galleries of SAAM currently host the work of the Japanese Neo-Pop artist who goes by the professional name of Mr., timed presumably to coordinate with the downtown museum's "Pop Departures" exhibit. I have not yet had time to explore a new exhibit on at SAAM from late December until mid-June in 2015: "Conceal/Reveal: Making Meaning in Chinese Art." It promises to connect older and newer traditions.

This new emphasis on the modern clearly strains the existing gallery space, although fortunately many of the best items in the older part of the Chinese collection (in the first instance, ones acquired by Fuller) are still to be seen, in the company of some outstanding similar works from private collections that one can hope eventually will be donated to the museum. Over the last year or two, for example, there has been a lovely selection of celadons, including some of

Fig. 30. The "grand staircase" (a.k.a. "Art Ladder") in the Venturi wing of SAM, the statues having been moved from in front of the original SAM building in Volunteer Park. The camels are out of sight farther up the stairs. Photo by Joe Mabel. Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/SAM_Art_Ladder_02.jpg>.

Fig. 31. Images from SAM's "Luminous" exhibition. Left to right: In the foreground of a display of Buddhist sculpted heads, a late 7th–early 8th-century (Tang period) head of a Buddha (Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 39.29); detail from a statue of a seated Guanyin, 10th–late 13th century (Song period) (Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 35.17); a standing Bodhisattva, early 8th century (Tang period) (Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection 34.64). Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

dramatic size. It is not as though the historic core of the Seattle collection is really being consigned to the dustheap of history. Josh Yiu's book was published in conjunction with a like-named exhibition in SAAM that highlighted Fuller's legacy. "Luminous" <http://www1.seattleartmuseum.org/luminous/>, one of the best recent exhibitions held in the large galleries of the downtown museum, displayed SAM's masterpieces of Asian art after they had returned from a successful tour in Japan [Fig. 31]. The exhibition included an inspired installation commissioned from contemporary artist Do Ho Suh <http://www1.seattleartmuseum.org/luminous/doho.html>, through which the visitor passed to be met by the remarkable early 17th-century Japanese painted screens depicting "Crows," yet another of Richard Fuller's important acquisitions. Thus one could experience what was expressed in Xu Bing's couplet presented to Mimi Gates on her retirement: "Learning from the past, Moving forward in time" (or its reverse: "Learning from the present, moving backward in time"?).

Yet one can dream of the day when one of Seattle's philanthropically generous moguls, far better heeled than Richard Fuller ever was, would allocate even a fraction as much for Asian art in the city as for, say, basic science research or, heaven help us, a professional sport franchise. A visionary donation might make possible an addition to SAAM respectful of the existing architecture and its surrounding park, a space that then could allow much more of the Asian collections to be available to visitors on a permanent basis. After all, we can continue to be inspired by the "intangible aesthetic return" of the objects Fuller acquired, such as this evocative dry lacquer head of a luohan [Fig. 32], which I first saw years ago in the basement storage rooms but to our good fortune is currently on display. So many of these works invite us to return and contemplate them anew on every visit.

-- Daniel C. Waugh
University of Washington (Seattle)

Fig. 32. Head of a Luohan, 10th–12th century (Song period). Dry lacquer and glass. H: 17 1/4 in. Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection 40.20. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Notes

1. His collection of snuff bottles that remain in the museum is still recognized as being a very important one. See Fig. 29.

2. Note that the ewer is green, even if Yiu's book, Fig. 12, p. 32, depicts it as gray.

3. The Fuller legacy in the collections is denoted under two important rubrics. His own collection and the purchases for the museum which grew it bear not his name but rather that of his father: "The Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection." An endowment in his mother's name is "The Margaret E. Fuller Purchase Fund."

4. See his essay on the album which was commissioned for the on-line catalog of the Seattle paintings.

5. Both the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert in London have quite a few pieces of Tang silver, but of different forms or techniques. A dish in the Musée Guimet is very similar to one of the Seattle dishes. One of the more spectacular collections of Tang precious metalwork was auctioned off at Southeby's in May 2008, with a number of the best pieces being bought for a museum in Qatar. The item most similar to Fuller's, was a covered dish bought by the famed London dealer Giuseppe Eskenazi for nearly 1.6 million British pounds. It is lot 64 and may be viewed on-line <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/masterpieces-of-chinese-precious-metalwork-early-gold-and-silver-early-chinese-white-green-and-black-wares-l08211/lot.64.html>. For a somewhat sensationalized news account of the sale, see Suren Melikian, "Whiff of mystery hangs over sale of China objects," *The New York Times*, May 23, 2008 <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/24/arts/24iht-melik24.1.13157032.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0>, accessed 3 December 2014.

6. The rareness of the Seattle dish is indicated by the fact that in the huge collection of the British Museum, there is apparently only one roughly analogous example of a Yuan-era blue-and-white porcelain with the raised flowers in the design (Museum no. 1951.1012.1). The famous collection of Safavid Shah Abbas at Ardebil had a dish with a nearly identical design in the outer rings (including the raised floral images) but a central design that only very selectively replicates a motif found on the dish in Seattle. The Topkapi Saray collection in Istanbul, has a dish with a much more closely related design in the center, but which otherwise is different. The Ardebil and Topkapi dishes are nos. A.15 and T.15 respectively in T. Misugi, *Chinese Porcelain Collections in the Near East: Topkapi and Ardebil*, 3 vols. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Pr., 1981).

7. I should also qualify my remarks by stressing that I have accessed the web pages only using a desktop computer with a mouse. I assume the redesign of the website in part is to accommodate access by mobile and other touch-screen devices.

8. The guide to the Wyckoff porcelain gallery is <http://www.seattleartmuseum.org/Documents/SAMPorcelainGuide_4mg.pdf>. An excellent overview of porcelain, drawing extensively on Seattle's collections, is Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner Gates, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2000).

9. The construction of the downtown building was fraught with controversy, as the available site and funding required considerable revision and downsizing of the original architectural plans. In effect, Venturi re-cycled his design for the Sainsbury wing of the National Gallery in London, where the "grand staircase" actually connects in a meaningful way to both the older building and the new annex. The expansion of SAM has also included the creation of a beautifully situated outdoor sculpture park overlooking Puget Sound and the Olympic Mountains.

Featured review

Re-Imagining and Re-Imaging Eurasian Exchange

Daniel C. Waugh
University of Washington (Seattle)

Wollt ihr nach Regeln messen,
was nicht nach eurer Regeln Lauf,
der eignen Spur vergessen,
sucht davon erst die Regeln auf!
— Hans Sachs
(Wagner, *Die Meistersinger*, Act I)

Toby C. Wilkinson. *Tying the Threads of Eurasia: Trans-regional routes and material flows in Transcaucasia, eastern Anatolia and western central Asia, c. 3000-1500 BC.* Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014. 406 pp. ISBN 978-90-8890-244-4.

Threads of Eurasia databank <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/a/index>, or <http://www.archatlas.org/databank/2014/Wilkinson.tc/a/index>.

This is a challenging, innovative, and, I would argue, very important book. Since it takes on a lot of conventional wisdom, specialists may well find ways to fault it. This essay is an attempt to interpret what its significance is for non-specialists like this reviewer who come at the material from the perspective of the history of the chronologically later "silk roads." Since the author has commendably made freely available for academic users downloadable copies of most of his maps and datasets, most of the illustrations below are taken from his website.

Toby Wilkinson began this, his Ph.D. dissertation project at the University of Sheffield, with the goal of trying "to explore and map the possibility of earlier prehistoric precursors to the 'historical' silk roads to assess the antiquity of trans-regional and trans-continental cultural interconnections." (p. 23). Those who have explored the important *ArchAtlas* <http://www.archatlas.org/Home.php>, an on-line project at Sheffield, founded by the late Andrew Sherratt, will have seen a preview of Wilkinson's project. The challenges presented by the uneven and often inadequate data required that he develop new ways of trying to reconstruct the history, going beyond what texts, artefacts and geography of themselves seem to reveal. The result, in his words, is "a never-finished tapestry," whose complexity does not lead to simple generalizations and is going to require a lot more spinning and weaving if it can ever be expected to cover the cavernous walls of an ancient edifice. Readers wanting neat conclusions here may come away disappointed, even though Wilkinson is very careful along the way to summarize important points clearly and offers an admirable summary discussion, followed by a conclusion which re-visits the research questions first posed on p. 59, indicating clearly which hypotheses and methods seemed to produce the desired results and which did not.

Wilkinson's starting point of itself has been anticipated by others who have written about Eurasian exchange, especially during the Bronze and early Iron Ages, generally with an eye to how that history may relate to that of the so-called silk roads. Little of that previous work though has proposed the kind of methodological sophistication or comparative perspective found in this book and thereby has offered little which might help us to "re-configure" the history of the silk roads themselves. While Wilkinson bookends his material with references to the silk roads, as he rightly points out, "The Silk Road" is really a "literary trope," "a modern attempt to create a fixed identity for a very vague idea about trade across Eurasia in the pre-modern age" (p. 93). His subject then has little to do with it, even if at the end he suggests that possibly applica-

tion of some of the techniques of analysis he lays out may lead to fruitful results in helping us understand the Eurasian exchange of the first millennium or so of the Common Era. For that reason, I would argue, every student of the silk roads should read this book.

He starts by discussing interpretive strategies and terminology regarding long-distance exchange, where he argues that a "networking" model (providing it is not too abstract and takes into account material evidence) seems more appropriate as a way of conceptualizing pre-historic exchange than does the "world-systems" approach with its hierarchical scheme of dynamic core territories and marginalized peripheries. He stresses that while his focus is on "material flows," this does not mean simply charting where objects or products originated or ended up. Critically important is to understand the contexts in which they seem to have been used and are found, since often it is the changing patterns of use more than the objects themselves which will be revealing of cross-fertilizing interaction. Another interesting emphasis here is on the aesthetic or ritual value of objects, which may be a more important indicator of the esteem in which they are held than "economic" value as conventionally defined. As he proceeds, for example, he returns on more than one occasion to the significance of color, which may explain why certain materials were more valued than others, at times defying what a rational modern standard might suggest. Once he introduces an aesthetic criterion, he then can argue logically for the inclusion of certain proxies (especially from pottery) which may be relevant to filling in the gaps in the material record for substances such as metals or textiles.

At the heart of the book is a sophisticated use of GIS (Geographic Information Systems)-based mapping. Were it merely a matter of registering locations of sites and artefact finds, to be able to connect them with linear routes, this would hardly be new, even if his database is more carefully constructed than that which others have used. His Ch. 2, "Routes: on the Trail of History and Myth," contains much that will be familiar to those who have tried to map concrete routes across Eurasia, but the whole point of his review is to suggest why most such attempts are of questionable value if one is trying to project back in history. In particular he takes on what he calls a largely unstated assumption that there was "route intertia" — the idea that what can be documented from later sources defines routes which undoubtedly had deeper histories. In such argument, over time people followed more or less the same major routes, some of which eventually came to be paved (e.g., by Roman roads) or dotted with caravansarays to accommodate travelers. One of the issues here which Wilkinson is testing is whether one can, on the basis of the later historical evidence, establish clear "route hierarchies." A great virtue of his review of the evidence is his inclusion of elegantly drawn maps, with the individually determined historical routes (everything from Roman roads to ones mapped by British Naval Intelligence) traced over shaded topography. He then brings together the various data (p. 90), to show the complexity of "all reconstructed routes" as they might be envisaged for the period covered in his book. Significantly, the one route he does not illustrate explicitly is the "Silk Road."

This review leads him to the conclusion that a new approach is needed, since there are too many unprovable assumptions about "route intertia," and the hard data we have are so uneven and arguably quite incomplete. The traditional approach, which produces static "road maps," fails to provide a way of determining periods of "route dynamism." Historically attested later routes by no means determine the possible corridors of movement in earlier periods; indeed, one has to define "route" as a "corridor," not think of it as a thin line on the map. Wilkinson presents his alternative to the traditional way of mapping routes in Ch. 3, "Landscape and Non-linear Networks: Finding Methods to Visualize Ancient Flow of Materials." His new approach is

> a novel computerized method based on the principle of landscape continuity, in which the traversability of terrain is modelled and visualized using cost-surface GIS techniques, and this then can be used in association with period-specific distribution data to suggest the density of travel across this terrain. [p. 325]

The cost-surface analysis takes into account topography, availability of water, and climate by assigning proximate values for "cost" of whether one is going uphill, downhill, is nearer or farther from sources of water, is in a more or less extreme temperature zone (see Appendix A for details on the numerical values assigned). It is possible to weight topography or water availability differently, which then will alter the "cost of passage". Thus he can construct a grid ("raster") model used for the subsequent analysis in the book [p. 114; Fig. 1, next page], the greener areas designating the terrain least costly to traverse, shading then through yellow into red, where the darkest color then indicates the terrain most costly to traverse (e.g., waterless desert, high mountains). [I would emphasize that gray-scale reproductions of his color maps are inadequate to show clearly some of the distinctions in shading; readers of the print version of this journal should consult the on-line version or go directly to the same maps on Wilkinson's website. Some of his maps have been reproduced here as well in the Color Plate insert.]

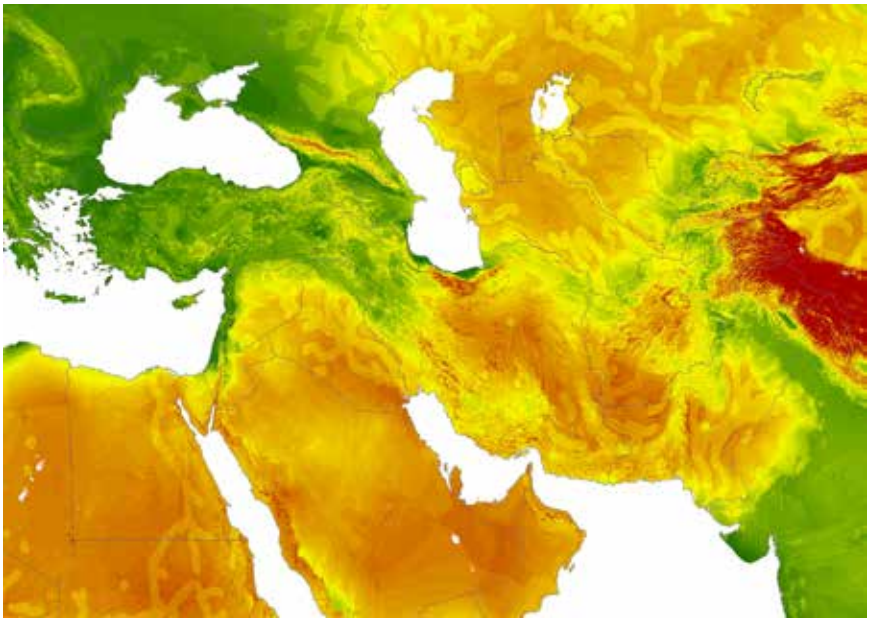


Fig. 1. "Cost of passage" raster--Model 2. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/3/FIG3-1_model1.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, p. 114.

Once he has this cost-of-passage model, Wilkinson is able to input on it archaeological data on sites and finds, creating what he terms "archaeotopograms" [Fig. 2]. By the color gradation in them, they can indicate "relative distance" (time or energy cost of travel) from a particular site or source of a substance, or can show "zones of interaction," which suggest the regions around a site or sites in which particular objects most likely circulated. They are intended to help in visualization. They are "heuristic tools of interpretation… not … 'objective' maps of past exchange networks" (p. 327), and suggest corridors of interaction. It does not necessarily follow that the "least costly" corridors were always the ones followed in reality, since a great many variables may have affected the actual choice of routes. Moreover, as Wilkinson stresses, just as it is important to determine what facilitated movement, it is equally important to take into account the barriers to movement. Among the more interesting results of this analysis then is what it suggests about archaeological "cultures" which straddle terrain that is costly to traverse, but which lies between areas of less costly travel and easier access to materials.

To be able to construct such archaeotopograms does require sufficient hard data. Thus, for example, he can produce them for some kinds of raw material sources and the objects made from them (e.g., stone, metals) or different types of pottery, but not for direct textile remains, which are so infrequently found and in ways that obviously would not correspond in any accurate way to the actual distribution of textiles historically. Wilkinson recognizes that what he has come up with here is at best what we might term a first approximation, and that a great deal of additional discovery and collection and organization of data is going to be necessary before it will be possible to confirm some of the suggestions he makes: "To a large degree, the future of synthetic approaches to archaeology must lie, therefore, in the digital management of data" (p. 328).

While his geographic purview perforce has to be much wider, to be able to deal with a manageable data set (and one based on areas for which there is at least an adequate density of archaeological material), he focuses on two regions, which he has defined as Eastern Anatolia/Transcaucasia and Western Central Asia [Fig. 3] (see pp. 29–30 for details of what these encompass). Of course even within these areas, the distribution of archaeological sites and quality of the evidence varies considerably. To some extent, his

Fig. 2. Archaeotopogram illustrating distribution of "inter-cultural style" stone vessels of known provenance, with "zones of interaction" suggesting areas of circulation around the find sites. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/4/FIG4-8_interc_simple-cost-dist.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson p. 138.

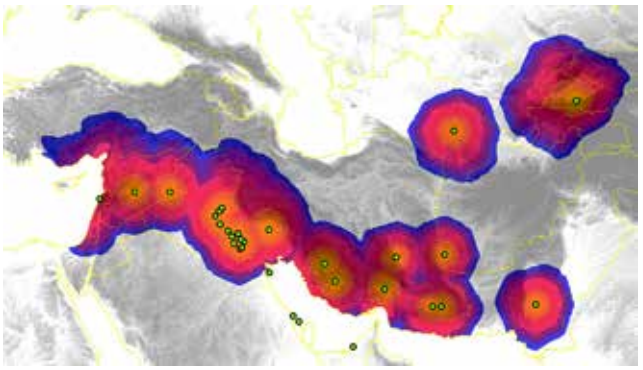


Fig. 3. Map indicating broad location of the two main case-study areas. Source: Wilkinson, Fig. 1.1, p. 29.

Fig. 4. Decoration on harp buried in tomb of Queen Puabi, with gold, lapis lazuli and shell. Ca. 2500 BCE (Early Dynastic III). From Grave PG 800, Ur. Collection of the British Museum, ME 121198A. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

choice was governed by wanting to look at areas that were considered to have been important in the later history of the "silk roads"; also to look at regions that did not include what are considered to be the urban "cradles of civilization" which lie to the south. That said, he devotes some attention to the south, insofar as the source of some of the materials he is considering undoubtedly was the Indus Valley and adjoining regions, where maritime transport surely was involved. His focus on the period between 3000 and 1500 BCE reflects the fact that this was a time when significant changes in trade and interaction are known to have occurred, involving in particular development of metal technology and new means of transportation that facilitated widely ranging exchange. He admits that having to use standard chronological divisions within this range (ones largely based on typology of pottery) is problematic (see the comprehensive chart, p. 39), but there is as yet too little analysis which would enable one to develop more precise chronologies.

The rubber hits the road in the book in Chapters 4-6 on material flows, dealing successively with stone and stone objects, metals, and textiles and patterns. It is no surprise to find in the first of these a discussion of evidence about lapis lazuli and carnelian, both rare minerals which were highly prized for their color and possible religious or spiritual connotations. In the case of lapis, whose source, it still seems, was a remote mountainous area in what is now Afghanistan, there is ample evidence of its having traveled far and wide. The royal burials at Ur, contain large quantities of it [Fig. 4], as do Egyptian tombs. Yet, oddly perhaps, there is also insufficient data to map precisely the flows and their changes over time: "the density and resolution of the evidence remains too low and our distribution map is incomplete" [Fig. 5] (p. 129). Wilkinson's discussion of the several most likely corridors of movement of lapis (pp. 130-31) and how the preference for

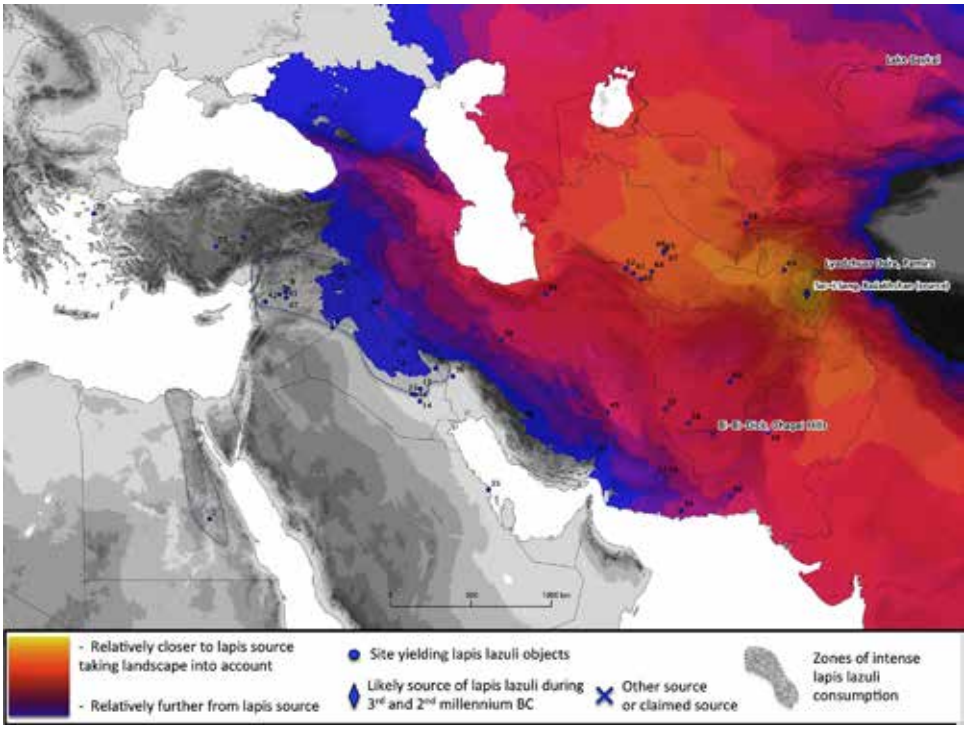


Fig. 5. Distribution of known lapis-lazuli objects and regions of intense consumption in relation to the material's sources. Relative distances from sources in Badakshan, shown by diamond, indicated by archaeotopogram type A2 (yellow -- close; purple -- far). Numbers key for sites given in Appendix C.1.1. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/4/FIG4-2_lapis_srcs.tif>. Also, Wilkinson, p. 128.

Fig. 6. Carnelian beads. Iran (Susa), ca. 2600–2200 BCE. Musée du Louvre, Sb 17751. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 8 (right). Bronze-age weights. Collection of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

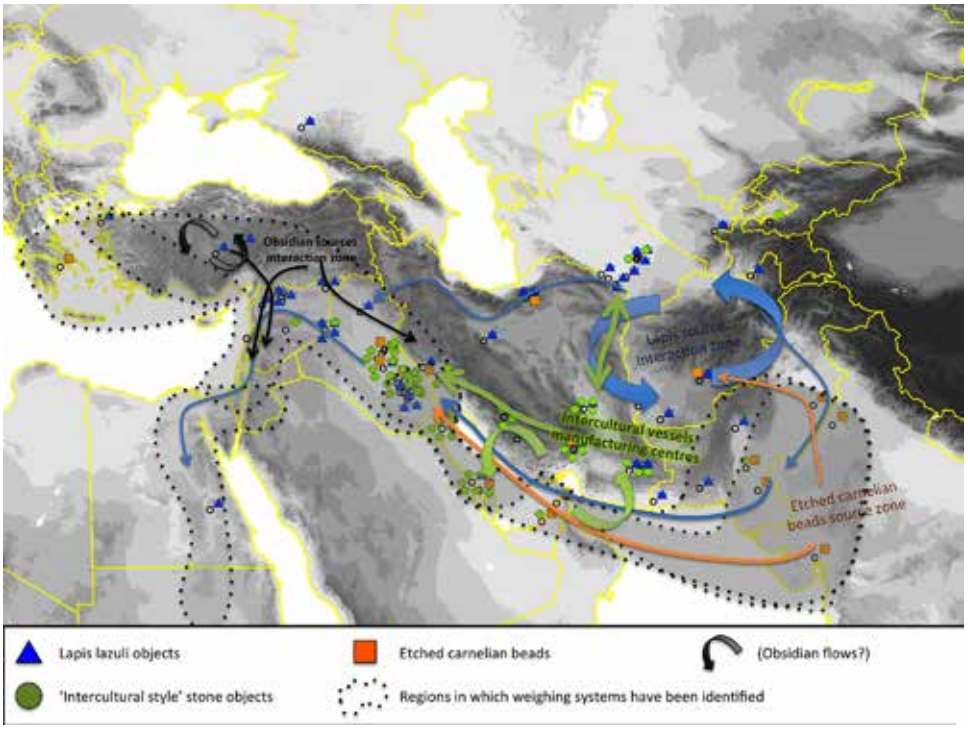
one over another may have changed over time provides a good sense of his analytical approach and the somewhat open-ended suggestiveness of what his archaeotopograms illustrate. The evidence for carnelian also leaves open a good many questions, not the least being the issue of where the prized etched carnelian beads were actually manufactured [Fig. 6].

Arguably the most intriguing section of Ch. 4 concerns objects made of other stones (steatite and chlorite) in an "intercultural style" and weights [Figs. 7, 8]. Widespread as some of these objects are, it seems likely, he argues, that the meaning attached to them varied considerably from one region to another. It is entirely possible that some of the containers were valued less for themselves than for the perishable substances (herbs, narcotics?) that they may have contained. The development of weighing systems (where many of the weights which have been preserved are made of stone) is a crucial indicator of changes in the broader patterns of international exchange (in this, Wilkinson is following arguments by L. Rahmstorf). By the late third millennium, the weighting systems in various regions seem to have been calibrated in a way that allowed for easy conversion from one region to another, this suggesting a conscious development which had occurred to facilitate significant international trade (see the table of the common multiples on p. 148, and the maps showing the regions in which the different systems seem to have operated, p. 149).

Once he has examined all this evidence, Wilkinson then constructs a visual summary of distribution data [Fig. 9] showing the most likely (generalized) direction of material flows overlaid on an indication of the

Fig. 9. Summary of distribution data on lapis lazuli, carnelian, "intercultural-style" objects and weighing systems for the 3rd millennium BCE. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/4/FIG4-14_summary.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, p. 150.

Fig. 7. Vase. SE Iran (Kerman province). 2600–2200 BCE. Chlorite, mother of pearl, turquoise (?).Musée du Louvre, AO-31918. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.



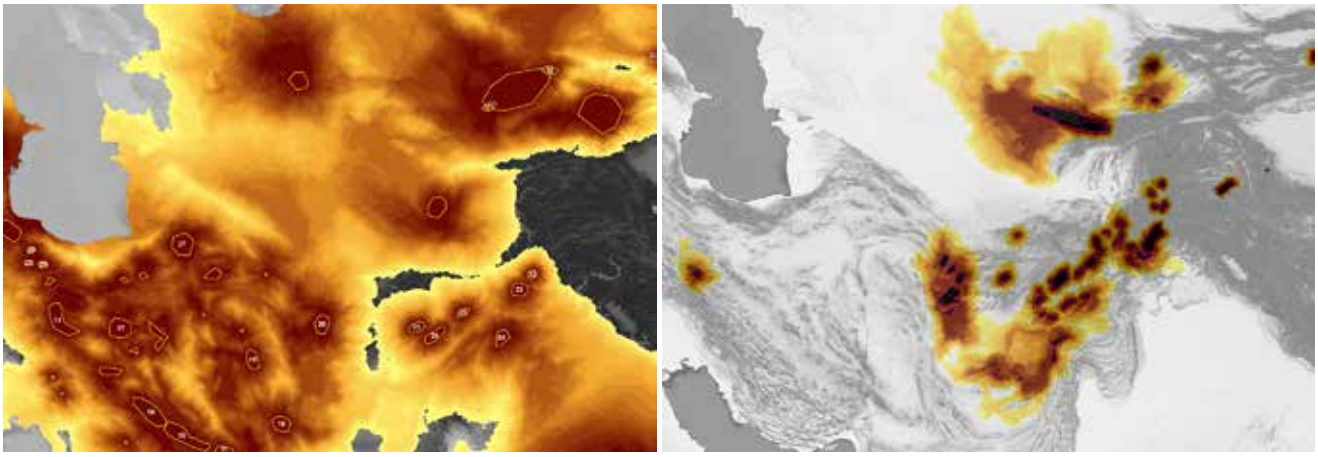


Fig. 10. Archaeotopogram showing on left relative distance from copper ore sources and on right from tin ore sources around Western Central Asia. Darker color indicates closer proximity to ore sources. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/5/FIG5-3_Cusrcs_pathdist_ca.jpg>, <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/5/FIG5-6_a2_tinsrcs-ca.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, pp. 159, 163.

areas in which weighing systems have been identified. What this map suggests is that the concentrations of finds and the most likely areas in which the objects circulated correspond to regions where particular (as yet undeterminable) cultural values were attached to them. Notably, there is practically no evidence that these objects were valued in the Eastern Anatolia/ Caucasus region which is one of his areas of primary concern.

Pride of place in Ch. 5 on metals goes to copper and tin, the former abundantly available in various places, whereas the sources of the latter seem to have been few. [He also treats precious metals and to a limited degree iron.] As Wilkinson emphasizes (and this is especially important for the question of whether there were significant sources of tin other than in Central Asia), there often is little evidence to show where ores were mined back in the Bronze Age, either because the mines were exhausted or have been obscured by later mining. And, in any event, there still has not been close enough archaeological survey in many regions. The differences in the availability and accessibility of the ores of the two metals are vividly highlighted by comparison of the archaeotopograms for copper (p. 159) and tin (p. 163) [Fig. 10], the former dense with regions of easy access, the latter very sparsely so populated. Not the least of the challenges in analyzing the data for the production of bronze derives from the tendency to privilege tin-bronze (as "more advanced") over arsenic-bronze, even though it would seem the latter continued to be made in many areas and the evidence about it therefore needs much more careful attention. Among the more intriguing of the archaeotopograms here is one [Fig. 11] which suggests where we might expect to locate several centers for early tin-bronze experimentation, based on the relative proximity to sources of both metals.

Wilkinson is very interested in the cultural contexts of both production and consumption. Following on his discussion of sources of the ores and transmission patterns, he examines the distribution of various categories of objects made from the metals, and then devotes considerable attention to the metallurgical "provinces" determined by E. N. Chernykh's huge database, whose evidence attempts to track and map changes in the composition of alloys over time (this

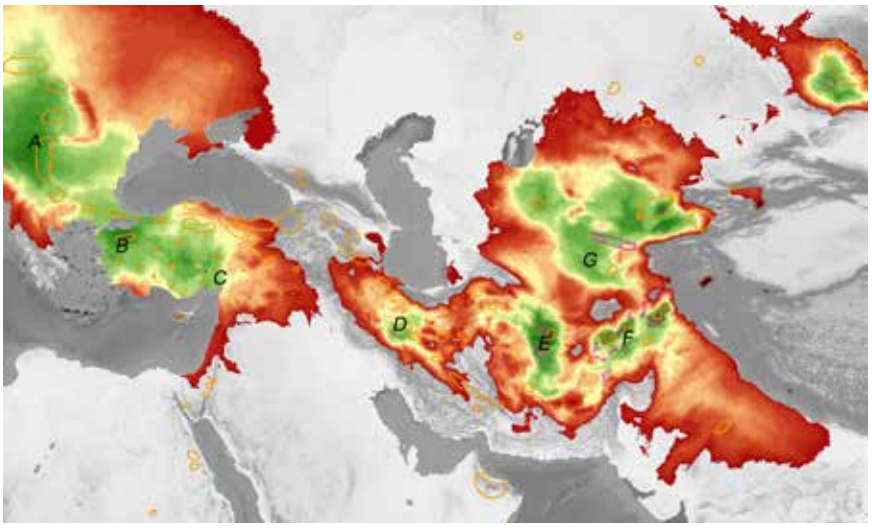


Fig. 11. Prediction for centers of early tin-bronze experimentation based on archaeotopogram showing sum of relative distance from copper and tin sources, the green areas showing regions with relatively easy access to both metals. (A. Balkans; B. Marmara; C. Taurus and Cilicia; D. Luristan; E. west Afghanistan; F. east Afghanistan; G. Zerafshan and Ferghana). Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/5/FIG5-11_b_cu-and-sn.ai>. Also, Wilkinson, p. 169.

relates, for example, to the question of arsenic- vs. tin- bronze). Chernykh's material raises important questions about "networks of interaction" and "key social boundaries" (p. 180). In considering how such questions might be answered (without being able to flesh out any kind of definite answer), Wilkinson ventures the following cautionary note, which is bound to raise the hackles of those who have devoted a lot of energy to proving different hypotheses (p. 181):

Fig. 12. Spouted pitcher, Acemhöyük. ca. 18th century BCE. Museum of Anatolian Civiliations, Ankara. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

> [W]e need to evoke a dynamic model in which there must have been substantial movement between a province's constituent regions, whether by this we mean movement of people, movement of objects and materials, or, less tangibly, movements of ideas. The migrant people we would need to envisage should not be the monolithic and unidirectional hordes of traditional culture-history, nor a version of modern day nomadic pastoralists, but groups or individual crafts people moving in both directions with particular interests or motivations in maintaining cultural links for a variety of reasons… Even if an individual moves only a few kilometres to the next village, if that individual's apprentices also then migrate a few kilometres, over only a few generations the knowledge of particular techniques and shapes can be transmitted over large distances without necessarily requiring the bulk of population to move in the same direction. Marriage and similar social alliance patterns can [have] played a role in this kind of mobility and transmission of techniques.

Patterns of consumption of metals have received less attention than patterns of production. In focusing on consumption, Wilkinson finds of value a distinction posited by David Wengrow between deposits of metal objects in a "sacrificial economy" as opposed to those in an "archival economy" (pp. 194-95), the latter relating to periods when there may have been a much larger scale of exchange but also reflecting a different set of cultural values. Such considerations might then lead to a conclusion that the metallurgical boundaries in Chernykh's scheme are not coterminous with boundaries between value systems (p. 198).

Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, for all of the abundance of metal objects found in excavations, the evidence is not necessarily representative of the real range of metal usage. Certain kinds of objects would not necessarily be deposited in the ground; metal objects would be recycled. To try to gain a fuller picture of how metal wares were valued, Wilkinson turns to another kind of evidence, what he terms "skeuomorphs," that is objects not made of metal which deliberately imitate the shape or substance of metal wares but are composed of different materials. In particular here, he means certain types of pottery vessels, whose color, shape, and/or texture most likely was based on metal wares (or wares with a "metallic" appearance). In the western sector of his research area, there are both reddish "Metallische Ware" objects [Fig. 11], very likely made to imitate copper vessels, and black wares which arguably imitate obsidian (parts of Eastern Anatolia were long an important source of that stone). In Wilkinson's Western Central Asia region, the skeuomorphs of particular interest are the plain "metallic" Namagaza V ceramics (found beginning ca. 2500 BCE), which replace the highly decorated ceramics of the earlier Namagaza sequence.

If we accept the argument for using these proxies for actual metal objects, then there is a sufficient density of finds to enable the creation with some confidence of archaeotopograms that define circulation and distribution areas. All this evidence then can be combined in a very suggestive visualization of metal flows overlaid on a mapping of the circulation/distribution areas of the relevant pottery [Fig. 12, next page; Color Plate XIV].

Textiles, in particular woven and decorated ones which are the focus here, are hugely important, not necessarily in purely economic terms, but for how they were used to adorn, "a vital medium for 'symbolic' negotiation of social identities, particularly through human clothing and the display and emulation of desirable colours, motifs and materials, but also in other contexts (wrapping of goods, decoration of architectural spaces and dressing of animals)" (p. 226). The ease with which they could be transported could explain the long-distance migration of patterns and motifs. Since so rarely have the actual textiles been preserved (and then in what we might call a-typical and localized contexts), evidence about them largely has to be sought from indirect sources. The huge numbers of clay tablets preserved at some important sites such as Ebla [Fig. 13], Mari and Kültepe help document the social contexts of textile manufacture and to a degree the range of trade, although Wilkinson cautions about how much one can conclude if a given textile is desig-

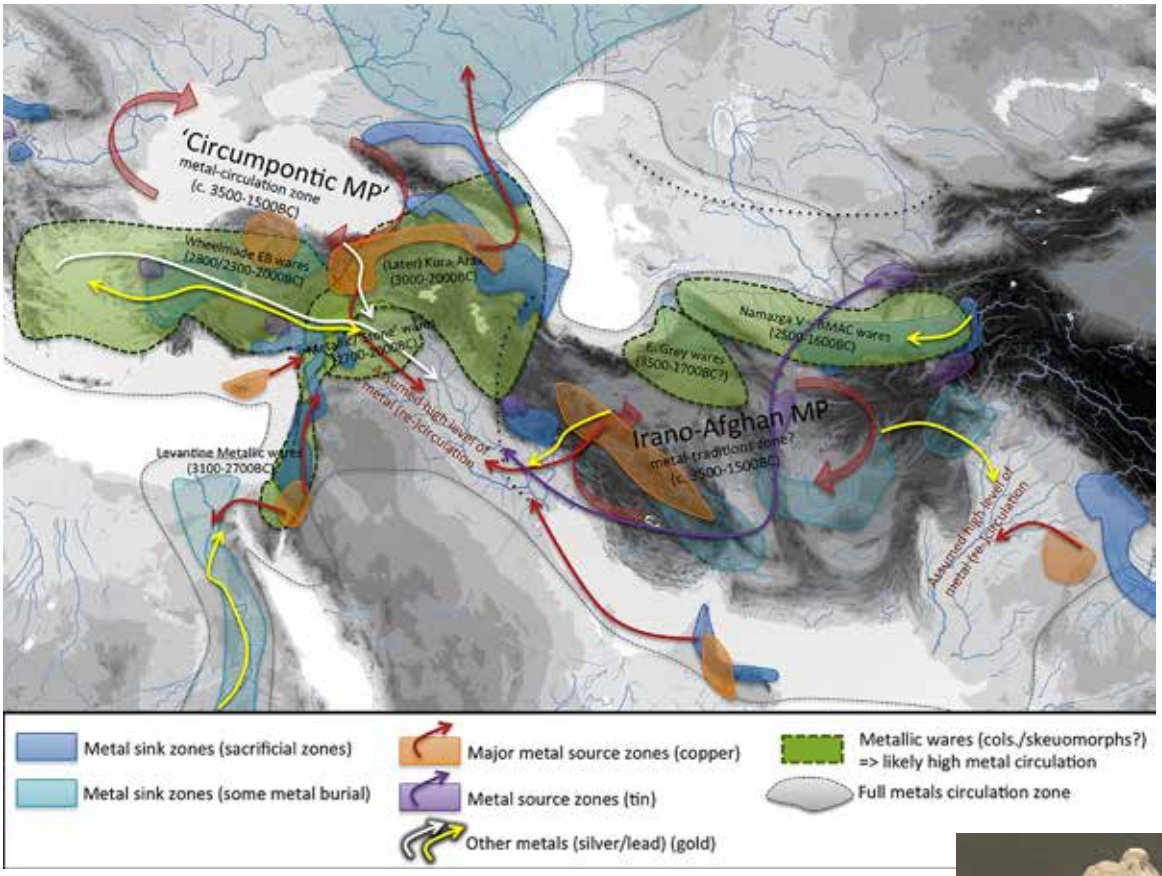


Fig. 12. Summary of distribution data on metals over the 3000-1500 BCE period. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/static-files/5/FIG5-52_summary_metals.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, p. 223

nated by a term associated with a particular place, the name not necessarily referring to its actual origin (p. 231). In instances where no actual textiles have been preserved, they may have left their traces imprinted on hard objects or in dye residues. One aspect of textile production he explores is the source of fibers. In much of the area that concerns him, wool made from sheep and goat hair was the most important source. Whereas the actual fibers have for the most part not been preserved, spindle and loom weights have. In his discussion of textile technology, he gives due credit to Elizabeth Wayland Barber's important book, even as he differs from her in some matters of interpretation. Weave patterns sometimes can be reconstructed

Fig. 13. The ruins of Ebla in Syria, the lighter (plastered over) walls marking the palace area where the archive of clay tablets was found. Photo panorama by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 14. Relief of goddess Lama, Mari, early 2nd millennium BCE. Musée du Louvre, AO 19077. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

on the basis of depictions such as those on seals, but he is skeptical of conclusions some scholars have reached associating patterns on textiles found in burials in the Tarim Basin with a particular (in particular, Indo-European) language group (pp. 255–56).

Apart from seal impressions, there is a lot of other visual evidence for learning about fabrics and dress (or its absence) — figurines or reliefs [Fig. 14], some wall

Fig. 15. Investiture scene, Mari royal palace. 2nd half of 19th century BCE. Possibly representing a tapestry. Musée du Louvre, AO 19826. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

paintings [Fig. 15], and, significantly, the replication of patterns in the decoration of pottery. Certain kinds of jewelry also are very important for suggesting areas of the spread of particular styles of costume. As with the evidence concerning metals, the pottery, which is abundant and relatively well represented in the archaeological record, is particularly important for constructing archaeotopograms. It is important to note that the pattern of the areas well covered by particular classes of evidence changes between the third and second millennia BCE. Wilkinson ventures that, if one accepts the idea of the correlation between pottery decoration and textile design, it might be possible "to construct textile provinces and foci in a similar way to Chernykh's metallurgical groupings. However, more work needs to be done to integrate these patterns with the distribution of and variation in textile technologies—which…we still know very little about" (p. 274).

In "Tying the Threads" (Ch. 7), Wilkinson divides his 1500 years into 300-year segments (and adds a "postscript" one for the period after 1400 BCE), for each producing a map charting the flows of stones, metals and textiles, supplemented by indications of culture areas of importance and directions of other flows (such as the introduction of new means of transport, changes in pottery type, or distribution of figurine types) [Fig. 16; Color Plate XV]. His discussion then highlights the changes these maps exhibit and presents

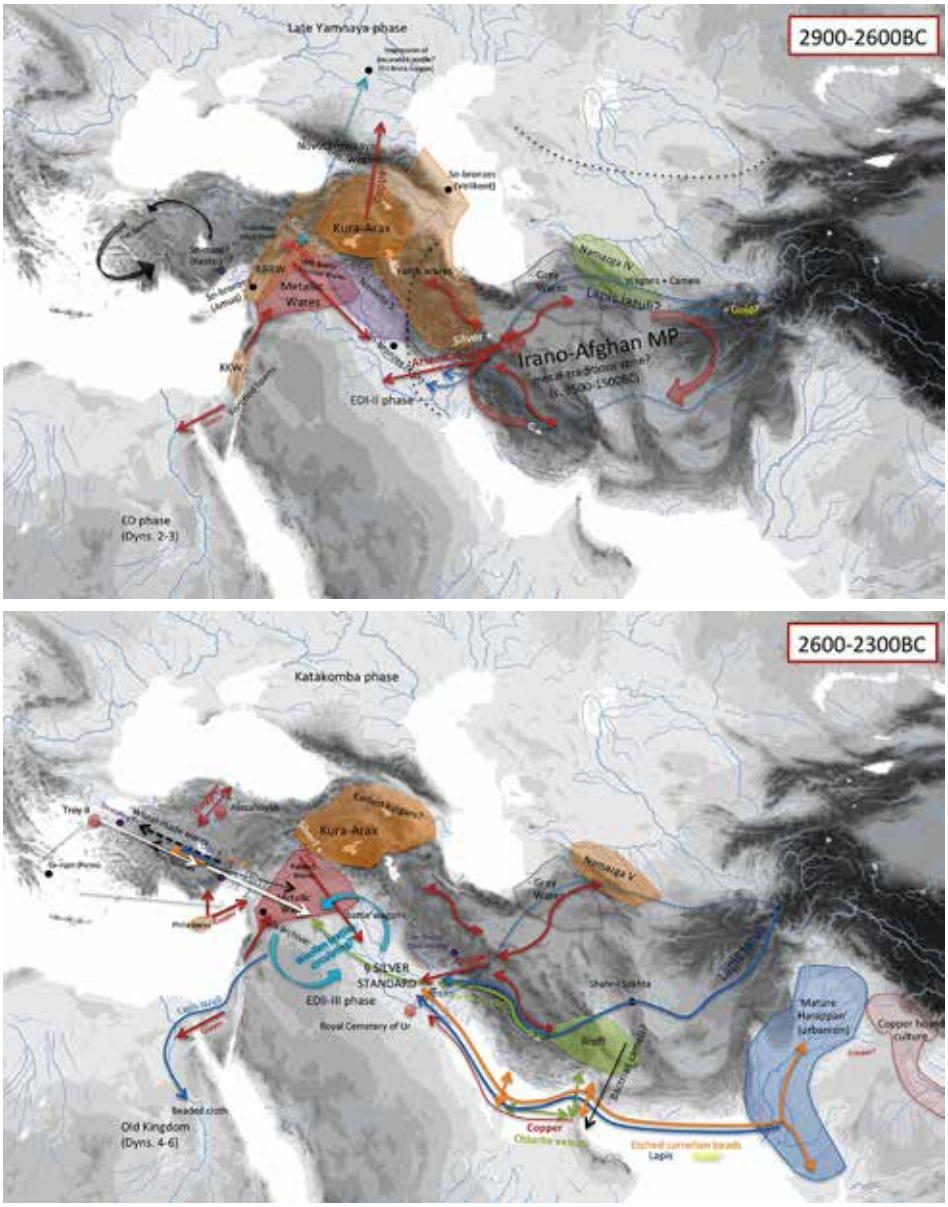


Fig. 16. Summary of data on flows of stones, metals and textiles for periods 2900–2600 and 2600–2300 BCE. Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-2_2900-2600.jpg>; <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-3_2600-2300BC.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, pp. 293, 296.

hypotheses as to why they occurred. He readily admits that with more time, additional detail could have been provided for regions outside his self-selected core zones and for products (e.g., foodstuffs) which are obviously very important to provide a fuller picture of exchanges.

Central to his interpretation of this dynamic picture of exchange is what the evidence reveals about two culture areas represented in the Kura-Arax assemblages of Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus and the so-called "Bactro-Margiana Culture Complex" (BMAC) in Western Central Asia [Fig. 17; Color Plate XVI]. The position of each straddles what seems to be a "high-cost" boundary between lower-cost areas, and the respective chronologies of their expansion and contraction are of particular interest. In contrast to Philip Kohl, who has suggested a possibly related synchronous rise or fall of both areas, Wilkinson wonders whether revisions of chronology may suggest a more complex relationship (p. 316). Even if those two areas might be construed as "peripheral" to the main centers of urban development to the south, in fact one can argue they were actors in control of their own destinies, who were able to maximize benefit from their interaction with surrounding regions by controlling material flows. Changes in identity and the ways in which it was expressed seem to have been part of the explanation for changes we can in fact document in the flows of material objects. Perhaps the most provocative idea to come out of this analysis, in particular regarding the evidence from Wilkinson's "non-urbanized" western study area, is that, ironically, "'urbanism' is often seen to represent a process of settlement and sedentism, when in fact it appears to have involved a much greater degree of mobility (in the movement of people and goods) and a focus on the increase of 'por-

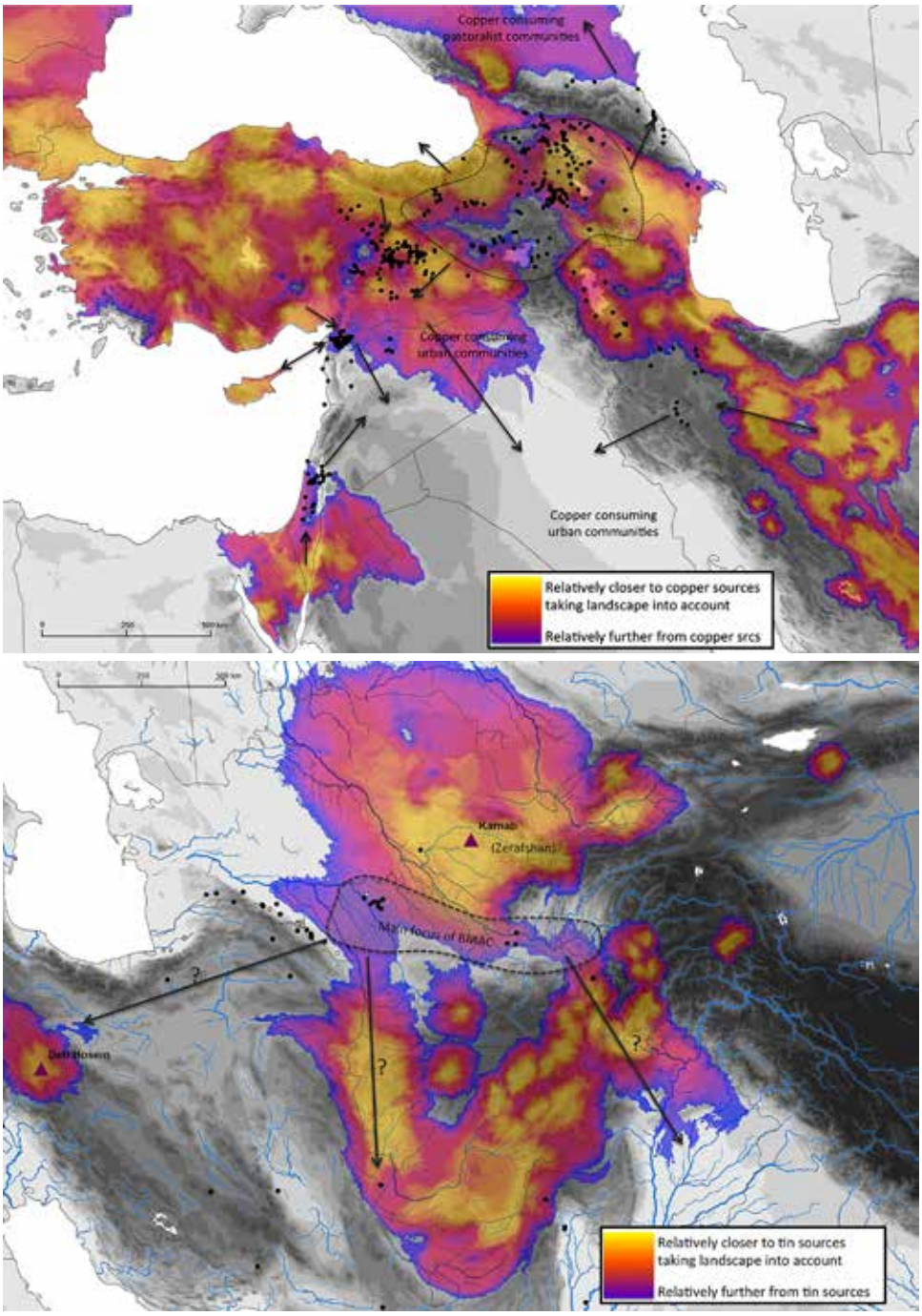


Fig. 17. (top) The relationship between Kura-Arax assemblage (at their greatest extent) and the accessibility to copper sources known to modern geology (archaeotopogram type A2). (bottom) The relationship between BMAC/Namazga VI-related material culture, the central BMAC zone and areas of high accessibility to tin sources (archaeotopogram type A2). Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-8_cu_KuraArax.jpg>; <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-9_sn_BMAC.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, pp. 312, 313.

tability' of wealth and abstraction of social relations" (p. 322).

Returning to his original set of research questions, Wilkinson concludes that his new methodological approach works reasonably well for some material flows, but not so well for others. The fault is not necessarily in the model, but rather in the availability of enough data and, where the evidence is huge and complex, the amount of time it would take to code and have even a fast computer crunch the numbers. He remains confident that further application of his methodology may move us closer to a real understanding of the processes and patterns of exchange.

With regard to his original question about the relationship of the historic "Silk Road" to earlier patterns, he re-emphasizes, quoting Andrew Sherratt, that it should at best be treated as "a directional chain of preferentially orientated transactions, which allowed a complementary flow of products" (quoted, p. 332). If there was a "continuity of partners" over the *longue durée*, it "was probably far from continuous, and … it was precisely the constant transformations of partners (or rather the transformations of their preferences of consumption) that drove the evolution of routes." What was involved may have been driven by both a cumulative process of particular routes "gaining momentum through time" and oscillation whereby routes emerged and others disappeared. If further research proves this to be the case, then it may well be possible to find the roots of the silk roads in the Bronze Age exchange networks (p. 332).

In sum, Wilkinson's book is a bold and sweeping call to re-think many of the traditional approaches to analyzing Eurasian exchange, in the process highlighting time and again the limitations of the evidence we have in hand and the possible paths for further exploration. Even those like this reviewer who are not familiar with the underlying architecture of the data analysis that has produced the abundant and elegant visualizations found throughout this beautifully printed book should find most of it accessible. Wilkinson does an excellent job of explaining concepts and delineating exactly how much or how little can reasonably be concluded from his evidence. True, most readers probably would prefer to find a more definite set of "answers" here, rather than be left with a bundle of provocative hypotheses, which may not yet be testable. It can be difficult to see how one can combine visualizations in a set of fairly conventional maps plotting sites or find distributions with visualizations in archaeotopograms that may resemble more abstract expressionist art (or oil slicks on water) than anything one can relate to hard data, and end up with maps which overlay directions of material flows on summary graphic representations of other evidence. However, to the degree that the construction of such composite maps for a sequence of time periods then allows visual comparison highlighting change over time, the results indeed meet what Wilkinson had hoped to achieve.

I have been searching for some time to find new approaches to re-conceptualize how we might talk about the "silk roads." I am not sure yet that I have found an answer, but how I might go about looking for one has been fundamentally changed by this book. As the listeners responded, when Walther von Stolzing had followed Hans Sachs' advice: "…Wer hätt's gedacht, was doch recht Wort und Vortrag macht!" (Who would have thought it? What a difference the right words and proper delivery make!").

Note: I have found few technical flaws in the book — a few typos, and a couple of cases (easily figured out) of switched images and captions (pp. 147, 163), and a stray artefact of a reference to a non-existent data CD (p. 403; superseded by the fact that the data have been made available on-line). The publisher has assured me that since this is a print-on-demand volume, copies fulfilling new orders will have had such oversights corrected.

Reconfiguring the Silk Road. New Research on East-West Exchange in Antiquity. The Papers of a Symposium Held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology March 19, 2011. Ed. Victor H. Mair; Jane Hickman. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2014. xvi + 104 pp. ISBN-13? 978-1-934536-68-1.

The "Silk Road" as we thought we knew it has been subject to "reconfiguring" for a good many years now, thanks in no small part to the prodigious efforts of Victor Mair, the convener of the symposium whose papers he and his colleague Jane Hickman (editor of the Penn Museum's excellent *Expedition* magazine) have edited into this attractively presented book. The occasion for the symposium was the exhibition of artefacts excavated in Xinjiang which Mair organized and whose last stop on its U.S. tour was Philadelphia.[1] It is difficult to imagine a more appropriate and distinguished group of presenters, whose papers are here published. Had Andrew Sherratt, to whom Mair offers a warm tribute at the end of his Introduction, still been alive, surely he would have participated. Had Toby Wilkinson (whose book is reviewed elsewhere in this journal) completed his Sheffield dissertation and come to Mair's notice, surely he would have been considered, since he has a great deal to say about "reconfiguring" the Silk Road.

Yet I came away from the book somewhat puzzled as to its audience and, sharing some of the reservations expressed in Philip Kohl's thoughtful concluding assessment, wondering how much of what is here really contributes to reconfiguring the silk roads. Not everything here is really new, some of it is very accessible for the general reader, and some is definitely not. There certainly is plenty to stimulate the imagination and much that quite appropriately leaves open many questions to encourage continuing research that may eventually provide some answers. One of the great virtues of the symposium and this volume is to bring together scholars with such a wide range of interests, extending from the Mediterranean world of late Antiquity back through pre-history to the era of the spread of major language families. Archaeologists, historical linguists, a textile specialist and historians all contribute to the discussion. Such multi-disciplinary perspectives are essential for any study of the complexities of Eurasian exchange.

The essence of J. C. Manning's "At the Limits: Long-Distance Trade in the Time of Alexander the great and the Hellenistic Kings" is to insist any discussion of the silk roads (which were many and included importantly maritime routes) should not just focus on Rome and China. The earlier history of western Asia and northeast Africa are important, as the evidence for Eurasian exchange under the Achaemenids and Alexander's successors makes very clear. Little of this is news, but to have it emphasized in this way is valuable.

The distinguished historian of Late Antiquity Peter Brown reminds readers how some of the most important early explorations of the Silk Road a century ago were inspired by the effort to find Late Antiquity along the Silk Road. Brown invites us not to see "the Silk Road either as a fascinating conservatory of exotic mutations of Western forms of art and religion on their long way across Eurasia, or as a corridor of trade, in a modern manner," but rather to focus on the distinctive societies along it in the late antique period (p. 16). That is, we might think of the exchanges across Eurasia as creating "a magical Middle Ground — at once local and international — in which rulers and aristocrats met in an environment carefully constructed to be a world out of this world" (p. 18). He cites as examples of the kind of study which is needed the impressive recent books by Jonathan Skaff and Matthew Canepa.[2] What emerged was a kind of "archaic globalization," "a world still made up of local units without the extensive outreach of modern states." (p. 20). The nuance here is important, for Brown clearly is avoiding the danger some fall into of wanting to read back into the deep past a globalization that is distinctive to the modern age.

One of the most intriguing of the essays is Victor Mair's contribution on "The Northern Cemetery: Epigone or Progenitor of Small River Cemetery No. 5?" The artefacts from Xinjiang brought together in the Penn exhibition included ones from the Xiaohe (Small River) necropolis, about which Mair has also published a nice summary article.[3] He reviews that material before laying out what for many readers indeed will be new, the discovery of another site some 500 km from Xiaohe in the Taklamakan, where the artefacts are strikingly similar to those excavated at Xiaohe.

There is an air of mystery here regarding this "Northern Cemetery," concerning which there is as yet no official publication (and, given the disturbed and looted nature of the site, Mair suggests, there may never be one). He obtained information on it and some pictures (Figs. 3.2–3.7 in the excellent color insert) from respected archaeologists in Xinjiang but also was able to examine artefacts in private hands of individuals (looters? dealers in illegal antiquities?) whom he cannot name. It seems clear, as Christoph Baumer notes in his book (listed by Mair in his bibliography but not specifically cited with reference to the Northern Cemetery), that this must be the same place Baumer terms "Ayala Mazar" and concerning which he has several pages in that book, based on his own apparently unauthorized digging at the site in late 2009.[4] Baumer had in fact reached the same conclusion about the close connection between his Ayala Mazar and Xiaohe. The issue here should not really be one of who gets credit for first discovery — though there is little doubt the Xinjiang archaeologists visited the site, already much disturbed, early in 2008 — since any knowledge of the artefacts from the two cemeteries would point to the same conclusion. But it is curious and no little disturbing to see such obvious tiptoeing around with regard to sources and what I would judge to be an understandable unwillingness to call attention to work (or looting) that occurred in circumstances clearly at odds with the rules which govern archaeological exploration in Xinjiang.[5] One of the pressing desiderata if we are ever to get control of the archaeological data for early Eurasia is to put everyone on the same page in terms of identification and location of sites, even as it has become necessary to conceal or alter their actual GIS locations in the hope of deterring looting.

Mair's conclusion here is no surprise, in that he has consistently argued for migration of Europoid peoples into the Tarim Basin from the north and west, and he promises soon a sequel to his book (co-authored with J. P. Mallory) on *The Tarim Mummies* which will bring the archaeological evidence for such migration up to date. In his scenario, the Xiaohe burials represent the "main trunk" of migrants, who then could have easily found their way from the Tarim River into the Keriya River (which at that time would still have flowed probably all the way through the desert) and its still little analyzed sites in the region of the Northern Cemetery. This is an interesting, and as Mair emphasizes, hypothetical scenario, which certainly should encourage further exploration if it is to be proven.

Elizabeth Wayland Barber is one of the leading experts on ancient textiles who has in her earlier work devoted considerable attention to those excavated in Xinjiang. Her essay here ("More Light on the Xinjiang Textiles") is a set of annotations correcting her catalogue entries for the *Secrets of the Silk Road* exhibition, which she wrote prior to having a chance actually to examine the rich collection of textiles that were included in it. To the degree that there is any general conclusion, it seems to be that a variety of weaves were produced in the various communities in early Xinjiang. Her article is illustrated with several good color photos.

Among the kinds of analysis needing further attention and with the potential for really helping to document the long-distance interactions across Eurasia is the study of domesticated plants. Michael D. Frachetti's contribution here ("Seeds for the Soul: Ideology and Diffusion of Domesticated Grains across Inner Asia") presents some of the most important preliminary results of the long-term archaeological project he has been engaged in located in the foothills of southeastern Kazakhstan. In recent publications, he has argued that an "Inner Asian Mountain Corridor" passing along the slopes of the knot of mountains in the center of the continent was a crucial pathway of long-distance communication and may well have been route for the east-west or south-north transmission of important products and ideas. This then would be something of an alternative to the idea of the Silk Road and one that came into being well before the era associated with the concept enunciated first by Ferdinand von Richthofen.

The excavations at what was probably a seasonal camp of the mountain pastoralists at Begash has yielded "the earliest evidence of domesticated wheat and broomcorn millet in the Central Eurasian region" (p. 45), a discovery first reported back in 2010. The wheat presumably passed along this corridor from the north and west into China, and the millet moved in the opposite direction, since it is indigenous to East Asia. C-14 analysis for the discovery at Begash suggest a date of 2300–2200 cal BC. The scarcity of the grains and their having been found in burial contexts suggest that they were initially used for ritual purposes and had not yet become a part of the local diet. Frachetti concludes from this that in regions such as Begash, the local population was not just passively absorbing what many have come from the outside but was actively engaged in adapting it to the local culture and thus must be credited with a significant role in cross-cultural interaction that in the long term would have a fundamental impact in many areas of Asia (p. 45). He admits there is still a huge amount to be done to confirm his hypotheses about the Inner Asian Mountain Corridor, but what we have here to date is one of the most far-reaching of all the essays in this book if indeed we are to reconfigure our inherited ideas about Eurasian exchange.

David W. Anthony and Dorcas R. Brown have written a great deal about the domestication of the horse in the Eurasian steppes and use their essay here ("Horseback Riding and Bronze Age Pastoralism in the Eurasian Steppes") to review, update, and somewhat refocus their earlier conclusions. Anthony's 2007 book (*The Horse, the Wheel, and Language*) presents a closely argued case for a correlation between the development of new technologies of communication (horse riding; wagons) and the spread of Indo-Europeans across Asia. This article rests firmly on that interpretive foundation. What is of particular interest here first of all is the clear admission that there is a large gap between the earliest horse domestication and the "relatively recent" (ca. 900–400 BCE) emergence of mounted warfare (p. 55). Secondly, even though the authors still feel that there is a case to be made for the earliest horse domestication having occurred in the western steppes (at the so-called Yamnaya horizon, when there seems to have been a transition to a mobile pastoral economy), to date the only concrete evidence for it is at Botai (ca. 3600–3500 BCE) in northern Kazakhstan. "Domesticated horses might well have diffused from the western steppes to Botai during the middle 4th millennium BC, but it is remarkable that there is so little evidence for exchange between early Botai-Terek sites and the contemporary western steppe cultures" (p. 60). Along the way here, Anthony and Brown cast some doubt on the idea that something like Frachetti's Inner Asian Mountain Corridor can explain certain kinds of cultural diffusion connecting areas of southern Central Asia with those far to the north (in particular, the so-called Afanasievo culture in the Altai). In their argument, the earliest east-west interaction was across the northern forest-steppe zone.

Their graphic display concerning the relative percentages of different animal remains at various excavation sites and how that changed over time (Fig. 6.2, p. A-15) is of some interest for summarizing the changes in herd composition. This is the kind of evidence which supports broader generalization about fundamental social and economic changes in the steppe world. As Philip Kohl rather bluntly reminds the reader (pp. 91-92), speculation on ethnic and linguistic identities though is largely just that (his target here is not just Anthony and Brown but also Mair and Mallory). Yet he detects a "more guarded" note here in what is said about such matters (p. 93).

J. P. Mallory's article ("Indo-European Dispersals and the Eurasian Steppe") addresses yet again the question of Indo-European origins, his emphasis here being that the "out of Anatolia" hypothesis some have advocated cannot be sustained when one looks at the alternative Eurasian steppe hypothesis. The specific issue he addresses is whether or not there is a "fault line" along the Dnieper River separating the Tripolye culture to its west from the Yamnaya to the East. He finds that arguments for the latter having developed out of the former to be unconvincing. His review of the sometimes obscure archaeological and linguistic evidence leads to what may seem a surprising conclusion. Even if one assumes that the populations in the Tarim Basin that he and Mair believe spoke an Indo-European language trace their origins to Indo-Europeans in the western steppes, then there is a disparity between language evidence in the East relating to such things as settled agriculture and the virtual absence of archaeological evidence for it in the alleged "homeland" in the West (p. 86).

In many ways, the best strategy for the general reader, who might pick up this book and admire the historical photo on the dust jacket of an camel rider against a backdrop of what likely is the ruins of Palmyra, would be to begin not by reading Colin Renfrew's brief Foreword or Victor Mair's Introduction, but rather by turning to the excellent summary and pointed critique of the various articles in Philip L. Kohl's concluding comments. Then go back, read the book and finally re-read Kohl, who concedes that the essays "have posed many more questions than provided answers. Perhaps this is a healthy situation" (p. 94). He leaves us with the stimulating thought: "[O]n present evidence…the real Silk Roads began in the Iron Age at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st millennium BC. In other words, there were no Bronze Age Silk Roads and, thus, the world of the Bronze Age steppes cannot be reconfigured on the basis of its later inhabitants" (p. 94).

Acknowledgement

By way of full disclosure here, I should note that I was invited to contribute to the issue of *Expedition* (Vol. 52/3 [2010]) published in conjunction with the *Secrets of the Silk Road* exhibition and then had the good fortune to visit it and listen in on the conference.

— Daniel C. Waugh
University of Washington (Seattle)

Notes

1. The catalog is Victor Mair, ed. *Secrets of the Silk Road* (Santa Ana, CA: Bowers Museum, 2010).

2. Jonathan Karam Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580-800* (Oxford, etc.: Oxford Univ. Pr., 2012); Matthew Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth. Art and Ritual Kingship between Late Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr., 2009).

3. Victor H. Mair, "The Rediscovery and Complete Excavation of Ördek's Necropolis," *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 34/3-4 (2006): 273-318.

4. Christoph Baumer. *The History of Central Asia*. Vol. 1. *The Age of the Steppe Warriors* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 123–33. Baumer takes pains (p. 321, n. 118) to establish his priority for the discovery by casting doubt on Mair's assertion that the cemetery had been discovered in 2008 by a Uighur archaeologist [Idris Abdurssul]. Baumer notes his first communication of the discovery was in newspapers published in February 2010, whereas Mair's comments on the site in the *Secrets of the Silk Road* exhibition catalog appeared in print only in March.

5. Mair tabulates (p. 31) C-14 dates measured on 27 August 2011, ranging from ca. 1950–ca. 1450 BCE, which fits his assumption that the Northern Cemetery should be dated somewhat later than Xiaohe. In his text though, Mair pegs the starting date for this evidence as 1800 BCE (p. 28). Baumer cites analogous dates (1890–1660 BCE), based on a hair sample he had removed that was tested separately on 11 March 2011 (*History*, p. 129 and n. 119).

James A. Millward. *The Silk Road: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, etc.: Oxford Univ. Pr., 2013. xvi + 152 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-978286-4.

Oxford University Press deserves accolades for its vision of providing several series of books of differing lengths and formats intended for the general reader. One is its series with the generic "[X] in World History" titles, which contains a good many excellent volumes of interest to Silk Road enthusiasts. Another is this series of "Very Short Introductions," "for anyone wanting a stimulating and accessible way into a new subject," each book about the size of a smart-phone. When asked for an opinion by Oxford regarding James Millward's proposal for a volume in this series, I recall giving it a thumbs-up. Millward, known for his books on Xinjiang, certainly has not disappointed me.

One of the commendable aspects of the book is his successful integration of the early history with modern concerns and experiences. He starts with the Silk Road festival events sponsored by the Smithsonian in 2002, later builds a chapter around what he encountered in the market in Urumqi (Xinjiang), and concludes with a review of "modern echoes" of the Silk Road, most of them the ways the term is invoked which of course for the most part have nothing to do with the earlier history of Eurasian exchange.

The point of these invocations of the modern world is not simply to draw in a reader oriented toward the immediate rather than the past. As Millward explains in a cover letter (with the letterhead "News from Oxford") which accompanied the copy of his book I received, "we should think of the silk road… as an ongoing process whereby a pan-Eurasian cultural substratum has been created and enriched over millennia." In many ways then, his book is the embodiment of a "reconfiguration" of the silk routes, taking the reader away from outdated concepts of a single East-West road, bookended by Han China and Rome, and existing only from about 200 BCE to ca. 1500 CE. Much of his emphasis is on exchanges across Eurasia (often, granted, impossible to document precisely as to direction and chronology) well prior to the Common Era, and in the end he addresses squarely the fact that important exchanges following the patterns established in earlier centuries continued well beyond 1500 and down into modern times. If the silk roads came to an end, it was mainly due to the intervention of modern technologies of the industrial and post-industrial age.

Another emphasis in the book is on the significance of political entities ("states" or their precursors) in promoting exchange. This may make parts of the second chapter, which compresses so much of the sweep of political history, somewhat tough slogging for some readers. I think figuring out how to connect Eurasian exchange meaningfully with the political history has always been something of a challenge; I am still not entirely comfortable with an emphasis on "empires." Once this review is behind him though, Millward is free to move back and forth in the subsequent chapters, rather than feeling compelled to follow a strictly chronological framework. There is much to commend this approach, which will, however, keep the reader on his or her toes.

The thematic discussions in the subsequent chapters encompass a lot that has been missing in earlier efforts to survey the Silk Road. Ch. 3 ("The biological silk road") ranges over material from DNA evidence to foodways, with a good choice of viniculture and dumplings as focal points to illustrate how products spread. Not the least of the attractions of this chapter is his quotation of poetry illustrating the cultural im-

portance of wine both in China and the Islamic world. While there are few illustrations in the book, the two included here are well chosen, one a Gandharan relief of a feasting scene, and the other the famous wine merchant figurine from the collection of the Seattle Art Museum.

Ch. 4 ("The technological silk road") begins with a brief excursus on furniture and then develops in a sustained way the significance of silk, paper, medicines and military technology. Millward is careful not to insist on a definite direction of "borrowing" where one cannot in fact be demonstrated. Thus, for example, while he makes it clear that printing with moveable type came out of East Asia, he leaves open the question of the degree to which knowledge of that might have influenced Gutenberg. One of the more interesting sections of this chapter concerns the way in which the knowledge of smallpox vaccination developed and spread. I had not previously known about its early history in East Asia.

"The arts on the silk road" (Ch. 5) begins with a discussion of literary motifs and genres before moving on to music, visual arts and blue-and-white porcelain. The section on music, allows Millward to draw on material in which he has particular expertise, the pride of place being given to the widespread adoption of the lute and the techniques of sound reproduction which it allowed. I would have welcomed more on painting, but the choice of Islamic miniatures and the spread of a motif of rabbits serves well to make the point about how motifs traveled. In his discussion of the export of porcelain, it would have been of interest not only to point out how the Dutch developed their own industry under the inspiration of Chinese designs but to be explicit about how much of the "kraak" porcelain was ordered to meet specifications and actual designs sent by the Dutch to the Chinese kilns.

I can but rarely fault Millward for any of his choices here. He clearly has kept up on many of the most important subjects which are forcing us to revise entrenched stereotypes, at the same time that he conveys where there may be differing interpretations. I would beg to differ in his decision, while emphasizing the importance of pastoral nomads, to open with three long, quite negative quotations about them as a rhetorical device against which to develop the more positive assessment that follows. Edward Gibbon, after all, is even more famous for his equally disparaging comments on the Byzantines. Millward does have a tendency to set up the reader with an idea that he then proceeds to deconstruct and substantially "correct." This runs the danger, I think (as I know from observing recently how high school students respond to the Mongols in their world history classes), of having the first impression trump the later, rational discussion of the real evidence. So I would have avoided a statement such as "Arguably, however, the greatest demographic legacy of the Mongols was not in making people, but in eliminating them" (p. 45), especially since it now seems certain that the traditionally cited accounts of the destruction of Otrar or Baghdad greatly exaggerate what actually happened. That said, Millward deals judiciously with another of the canards cast at the Mongols which blames them for the spread of the Black Death to Europe.

Some might wish he had devoted a more focused section of the book to the transmission of religious ideas. It is not as though the spread of religions is missing here — in fact he makes it clear that religions played a role as important as political structures in facilitating exchange. Along the way, we find examples of how Buddhist jataka tales were probably part of the channel for the development of secular literary motifs. I think though that there are some missed opportunities to show how the adoption of religious concepts in new environments often required substantial adjustment of the original ideas.

The book has notes clearly indicating key sources he draws on or quotes, many of them accessible on-line. He includes a well selected bibliography, recommendations for a few Internet resources, and an index.

Reading an excellent book like this one (or any in the Oxford series) is bound to raise some questions in this age of rapidly changing technology. I, for one, appreciate the commitment to old-fashioned paper and print, at the same time that the volumes are available as e-books (just think how many of these "short introductions" would fit on a Kindle!). What I am wondering though is whether Oxford might not take us a step further, recognizing that readers on their electronic devices might like to see more visual material. Would it not be nice for an author like Millward, sensitive to correlation of good visual examples with his carefully crafted text, to offer as a companion a much larger selection of images on a dedicated website maintained by the publisher?

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Note: Some very minor corrections: If metals were coming out of Central Asia to the south, contributing to the making of the Bronze Age, surely what was being exported was tin, not the relatively ubiquitous copper (cf. p. 7). There is an obvious typo in the dates given for Gutenberg's work on his Bible (p. 74); Richard Foltz, who wrote a much-cited little book on *Religions of the Silk Road*, is listed in the bibliography (p. 134) as Richard "Forbes."

Court and Craft: A Masterpiece from Northern Iraq. Edited by Rachel Ward.
London: The Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2014.
176 pp. ISBN 978-1-907372-65-0.

It is to the great credit of Rachel Ward that the small exhibition at the Courtauld Gallery, built around the unique Ilkhanid inlaid brass "bag" in its collection, took place. Alas, I missed it, though fortunately I have at least seen the bag [Fig. 1, and details, Fig. 2, next page] and some of the pieces which have been brought to bear to contextualize it. The exhibit (and its catalog) is an inspiring example of how the "biography of a single object" can serve to illuminate much broader historical and cultural matters. Accompanied by various lectures, a symposium and this book, the exhibition explored not only this remarkable piece of Islamic metalwork, arguably produced by the masters in Mosul in the first decade or so of the 14th century, but also shed considerable light on the aftermath of the Mongol conquest of the Middle East, the culture of the Ilkhanid court, and the survival and flourishing of craft traditions under their rule. The distinguished contributors here, apart from Ward, include, inter alia, Charles Melville, Robert Hillenbrand and Julian Raby. Raby's essay is of particular interest for documenting the likelihood that, as in other cities that were allegedly destroyed at the time of the Mongol conquest, in fact Mosul and its renowned craft tradition of inlaid metalwork continued to flourish. Mosul metal craftsmen (or at least those who wished people to believe they were from Mosul, since this testified to their skill) produced important inlaid vessels for the Ilkhanid rivals in Egypt. For Mosul to have continued to produce work of the excellence and cost represented in the Courtauld bag hardly would have been possible had the city remained in ruins.

Fig. 1. The Courtauld bag prior to its recent cleaning and restoration. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 2. Details of the Courtauld bag. Photographs by Daniel C. Waugh.

The various essays draw generously on comparative examples, some from objects which were assembled to display with the Courtauld bag. Among them are the famous "Blacas Ewer" from the British Museum, another example of what is arguably Mosul inlaid metalwork, if from a slightly earlier period [Fig. 3], an inlaid basin now in the collection of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin [Fig. 4], and various miniatures from contemporary illuminated manuscripts. Perhaps the most interesting of these is one of the pages from the so-called Dietz albums, in the given instance a painting showing a court scene and undoubtedly dating from the Ilkhanid period [Fig. 5, next page]. In it, next to the throne with the Khan and his consort stands a female attendant who holds a bag very much like the one which the Courtauld owns. It was an inspired decision to have Judith Pfeiffer write for the catalog an essay on the position of women in Ilkhanid elite culture, at least one of whom has poetry attributed to her, quoted here in translation. Other essays focus on the depictions associated with the royal hunt and with courtly musical entertainments, where there is a widely ranging iconography of such pursuits in both painting and metalwork. James Allan writes on the likelihood that images on Chinese silks were among the inspirations for the design on the bag.

Fig. 3. The Blacas Ewer, dated 1232. Collection of the British Museum, Acc. no. ME OA 1866.12-29.61. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

The production values of the book are excellent. One can see the famous bag, carefully cleaned and restored

Fig. 4. Detail of the Berlin basin, 3rd quarter of the 13th century. Collection of the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin. Inv. no. I.6580. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

Fig. 5. Detail from Ilkhanid miniature of enthronement scene, early 14th century. Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Dietz album 70, S. 2. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

(and a technical analysis performed on its substance), with many close-up details of the individual scenes and decoration on it. Similarly, there are close details from the comparable metalwork and miniatures. In the case of the metal objects, this then helps document the stylistic similarities which point to the provenance and possible identity of the master craftsman who produced the bag.

If one could choose a single object to illustrate the positive side of Mongol rule, the Courtauld bag might well be the leading candidate.

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Kochevniki Evrazii na puti k imperii. Iz sobraniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha. Katalog vystavki [Nomads of Eurasia on the path to empire. From the collections of the State Hermitage. Exhibition catalog]. Sankt-Peterburg: Gos. Ermitazh; AO "Slavia," 2012. 272 pp. ISBN 978-5-9501-0209-7.

This is the catalog for an exhibition held at the "Hermitage Center" in the Museum of the Kazan' Kremlin, 18 June 2012-31 March 2013. The incredible number of 749 objects illustrated here in excellent color photographs is explained in part by the fact that many are the small items which probably have long remained in the vast storerooms of the Hermitage Museum and rarely been seen in public. To be able now to see them is a cause for celebration. The flip side, of course, is that many of the best known and arguably most important objects for the cultures covered here were not included. Thus, for example, we do not find major objects from the Pazyryk tombs in the Altai or from the Xiongnu tombs at Noyon uul in Mongolia. The choices, however, are valuable for the inclusion of what in many cases are the ordinary objects of daily life, be it arrowheads, pottery, or parts of horse harness.

The organization here follows a rather loose chronology of successive cultures, starting well back in the first millennium BCE and coming down to the period of the Mongol Empire. There are also sections pertaining to a particular collection or find: e.g., the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great, the hoard found in Ukraine near Poltava that is associated with the Bulgar Khagan Kuvrat, and the very recently excavated Alan material from the Kichmalka II cemetery in the north Caucasus. The essays are uneven, some providing mainly a compact historical overview, others more intensively attempting to introduce key items from the exhibition pertaining to a given culture. It is not always clear what one should make of the objects which accompany each essay, since the caption entries contain only basic data and no interpretive discussion. For example, there is a large and amorphous collection (some 70 items) that somehow illustrates the culture of Turkic peoples beginning with the establishment of the Turk Empire in the 6th century, but the introductory essay discusses specifically only about 20 of them. What is one to think of the selection of objects from the Saltovo excavations which follows an essay that focused only on the history of the excavations at Sarkel? The Sarkel essay seems to have been an excuse for Z. A. L'vova to discuss what appears to be still very controversial evidence from a 17th-century text that contains what purports to be a 13th-century Bulgarian chronicle. The catalog tails off at the end, with a page on the Khitans and but two objects found in Mongolia which hardly suffice to illustrate much about Khitan/Liao culture.

The interpretive framework in the book swings from dated and rather negative views of "what nomads were all about" (the introductory essay by T. V. Riabkova) to very speculative assertions about their high level of understanding of mathematics and astronomy (the essay by L. S. Marsadolov). The results of recent

German-Mongolian excavations at Karakorum are barely acknowledged in passing, with the emphasis instead being on the work of Kiselev's expedition in the late 1940s. Understandable, of course, given the fact that the Hermitage collection contains a good deal of what he found. But that is no excuse for salvaging his erroneous determination that he had found the remains of Khan Ögedei's palace — we now know that the building was a Buddhist temple — by suggesting that probably the temple served as the palace or that the palace was built on the site of a temple. From K. V. Chugunov's discussion of the Scythian material, one would never know that the excavation of the important burial at Arzhan 2 to which he devotes considerable attention was a joint project with the German Archaeological Institute.

The book's value lies in its illustrations, not only for the objects themselves, but for the occasional drawings reconstructing the dress of those who were buried with the ornaments which have survived. Two double-page maps with indications of find spots and overlaid with thumbnails of key objects provide a vivid sense of the range of what the book encompasses.

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Sogdiitsy, ikh predshestvenniki, sovremenniki i nasledniki. Na osnove materialov konferentsii "Sogdiitsy doma i na chuzhbine", posviashchennoi pamiati Borisa Il'icha Marshaka (1933–2006) / Sogdians, Their Precursors, Contemporaries and Heirs. Based on proceedings of conference "Sogdians at Home and Abroad" held in memory of Boris Il'ich Marshak (1933–2006). Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha LXII. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd-vo. Gos. Ermitazha, 2013. 504 pp. + color inserts. ISBN 978-5-93572-522-8.

This is the second sizeable Festschrift celebrating Boris Marshak, who is so highly regarded for his excavations at Panjikent and his widely ranging expertise on the Sogdians and the artistic culture of Central Asia and its broader connections. The volume published (in print and online) in 2006, *Ērān ud Anērān*, contained the bibliography of his work up through 2004; a supplement to that impressive listing opens this new volume. The editors deliberately delayed publishing conference proceedings when it became possible to include a broader range of papers and participants. The articles here are in Russian and in English, with brief summaries of each provided at the end in the other language. Here is the table of contents, with descriptive annotations added for many of the contributions.

Oleg Grabar. "A Letter to the Organizers of the Conference" (p. 9)

"Dopolneniia k bibliografii B. I. Marshaka" [Supplements to B. I. Marshak's Bibliography] (10–12).

Frantz Grenet and Claude Rapin. "Formirovanie etapy sogdiiskoi kul'tury" [The formation of the stages of Sogdian culture] (13–28). The authors review Marshak's periodization, basically confirming its accuracy, though suggesting some emendations based on their ongoing excavations at Afrasiab and especially Koktepe, with its carefully studied stratigraphy.

Sergei B. Bolelov. "Remeslo drevnego Khorezma na rannikh etapakh razvitiia gosudarstvennosti" [The craft production of Khorezm in the early stages of the development of the state] (29–44). Analyzes evidence that the craft production of the region has features which make it quite distinct from what is found in other areas of Central Asia.

Eleonora Pappadardo. "Ivory Rhytons from Old Nisa. Methodological Remarks" (45–59). Based on her work published as a monograph in 2010 (*Nisa Partica. I rhyta ellenistici*). She establishes eight style groups, illustrating their features with drawings; she concludes that simply treating them as examples of Hellenized works of art obscures the features which must be explained within the context of local artistic production.

Carlo Lippolis. "The 'Dark Age' of Old Nisa. Late Parthian Levels in Mihrdatkirt?"(60–70).

Vladimir A. Livshits. "Parfianskie shutniki" [Parthian jokers] (71–76). Reinterprets the rock inscriptions found at Lakh-Mazar (southern Khorosan) not as religious inscriptions but rather crude and humorous graffiti left by caravaneers.

Nicholas Sims-Williams. "The 'Lord's Vihara' at Kara-Tepe" (77–81). Evidence from an inscription on the wall of "Complex B" at Kara-Tepe which confirms V. V. Vertogradova's reading of inscriptions on several fragments of clay jars from the site.

Aleksandr N. Podushkin. "Epigraficheskie artefakty gorodishcha Kul'tobe" [Epigraphic artefacts from the site of Kultobe] (82–95). Places the as yet undeciphered inscriptions on baked bricks from this site on the Aris

River in southern Kazakhstan in their archaeological context, arguing for a date around the turn of the Common Era and connecting them with the Kangjiu state rather than defining them as "ancient Sogdian" writing. Several color plates illustrate the article.

Erbulat A. Smagulov. "Kul'tovye postroiki khramovogo kompleksa na gorodishche Sidak (Iuzhnyi Kazakhstan)" [Religious structures of the temple complex on the site of Sidak, Southern Kazakhstan] (96–128). A detailed preliminary report from the excavations, including a discussion and illustration of the artefacts. Dating of the excavated material to the 7th–early 8th century, on the eve of the settlement's destruction by the conquering Arabs.

Judith A. Lerner. "Yidu: A Sino-Sogdian Tomb" (129–46). The carved stone slabs are from a tomb dated 573 CE excavated in 1971 in Shandong Province. Lerner concludes the slabs served as the walls for a house-shaped sarcophagus made for a non-Chinese burial, most likely Xianbei in origin. The images are noteworthy for their various Zoroastrian elements. The analysis is illustrated with clear line drawings.

Valentin G. Shkoda. "V. I. Marshak i zhivopis' Pendzhikenta (Metod issledovatelia)" [V. I. Marshak and Panjikent painting (his method of analysis)] (147–58).

Larisa Iu. Kulakova. "Rospisi paradnogo zala XXI ob"ekta Drevnego Pendzhikenta" [The murals of the ceremonial hall of Object XXI of Ancient Panjikent] (159–73). Careful reexamination of this well-known depiction of "Amazonomachy" reveals some new details. Illustrated with excellent color foldout and drawings.

Matteo Compareti. "Coronation and Nawruz: a Note on the Reconstruction of the Missing King at Afrāsyāb" (174–89) Interesting for comparisons with frontispiece painting in Istanbul Topkapi Saray album H.2152, suggesting possible completion of reconstruction proposed by Grenet and Ory for the upper part of the famous "Ambassadors" painting at Afrasiab. Also suggests Chinese parallels to the north wall images in that room.

Mukhammad K. Akhmedov. "Rannesrednevekovyi 'Dom vina' na Afrasiabe" [The early medieval "House of Wine" on Afrasiab] (190–95). An early ancestor in function to the modern *chaikhana* for the reception of guests.

Tat'iana G. Tsvetkova. "Rezba po ganchu v dekore dvortsa Varakhshi: motivy, kompozitsionnye priemy i zhivopisnye traditsii" [Carved stucco in the décor of the Varakhsha palace: motifs, compositional methods and pictorial traditions] (196–200).

Yutaka Yoshida. "Heroes of the *Shahnama* in a Turfan Sogdian Text. A Sogdian Fragment Found in the Lushun Otani Collection" (201–18) While the many Chinese Buddhist text fragments collected by Count Otani that now are housed in the Lushun Museum have been published, the Sogdian texts on the reverse of them are still needing analysis. Here a facsimile, transcription and translation, with copious annotation, of the text fragment 2LM20: 1480/22(02), which may be either a Manichaean or Zoroastrian work. An appendix includes a facsimile, transcription and translation of Sogdian fragment L59 (SI 5438) housed in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg.

Pavel B. Lur'e. "O sledakh manikheizma v Srednei Azii" [On the traces of Manichaeism in Central Asia] (219–51). A thorough review of all the, as it turns out, sparse evidence for Manichaeism in Central Asia, where Central Asia is here defined in the narrow former Soviet sense of the four republics plus southern Kazakhstan. Xinjiang is not included. The English summary of this article is substantially longer than that for others in the volume.

Stefano Pellò. "A Paper Temple: Mani's *Arzhang* in and around Persian Lexicography" (252–65). Explains how the term seems to be used both to refer to collections of Mani's paintings and more broadly to assemblages of paintings which might be associated with a Central Asian Manichaean milieu.

Igor' A. Kyzliasov. "Eniseiskaia runicheskaia nadpis' s iranskim zaimstvovaniem" [A Enisei runic inscription with an Iranian borrowing] (266–94). Detailed new reading and analysis of an inscription on a cliff overlooking the Enisei River first discovered in 1982. It probably dates to the 10th century and is unique for including what seems to be the name of a Manichaean priest. Illustrated with close-up photos.

Iurii A. Piatnitskii. "Golgofa i chetyre raiskie reki: novoe serebrianoe vizantiiskoe bliudo nachala VI v. v sobranii Ermitzha" [Golgotha and the four rivers of Paradise: a new silver Byzantine dish of the early 6th century in the collection of the Hermitage] (295–330). An important purchase by the museum (with the encouragement of Boris Marshak), from a private seller in 2002. The Eucharistic plate is one of very few with seals which attribute its production to the time of Monophysite Emperor Anastasius I (491–518). On its face is a depiction of a cross on Golgotha with the four rivers of Paradise and what Piatnitskii identifies as the cave of Adam incised in the side of the mount. Detective work traced the probable find location of the plate to the Khashupsa fortress in Abkhaziia, where there has been massive looting of this important but yet unexcavated site. While the author leaves to further research what exactly the plate may mean in the context of the religious debates of the time, he seems to feel it was deposited in Abkhaziia prior to Emperor Jus-

Fig. 1. Byzantine silver plater with stamp of Emperor Athanasius (491-518), unearthed in the Sutton Hoo ship burial in England. Collection of the British Museum, Acc. no. 1939,1010.78. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh

tinian I's reaffirmation of Orthodoxy beginning in the 520s. Among the few other vessels with the stamps of Athanasius is a huge silver platter found in the Sutton Hoo ship burial in England dating from the early 7th century [Fig. 1].

Vera N. Zalesskaia. "K interpretatsii siuzheta na nestorianskom diskose iz sela Grigorovskoe" [On the interpretation of the subject on a Nestorian paten from the village of Grigorovskoe] (331–38). Marshak dated this dish (found in Perm' guberniia in 1897) and another important one (depicting Jesus Navin before Jericho) to the 9th–10th centuries and argued from stylistic details that they were both made in Central Asia. There seems to be general agreement that they were produced in a Nestorian milieu. The new analysis here suggests the iconography of the Grigorovskoe paten is to be connected with the apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter.

Simone Cristoforetti and Gianroberto Scarcia. "Talking about Sīmurġ and Tāq-i Bustān with Boris I. Marshak" (339–52). The first part, by SC, offers various considerations as to why the winged creature usually indentified as a Sīmurġ (e.g., in the Rustam cycle at Panjikent) may be some other creature. GS's contribution here concerns arguments for a late date for the Tāq-i Bustān grottoes and a connection between Bustām, a real uncle of the Sasanian ruler Khusro Parwīz, and the mythical Farhād of the *Shahnama*.

Dzhamal K. Mirzaakhmedov. "K sotsial'no-ekonomicheskim faktoram razvitiia glazurovannoi keramiki Maverannakhra IX–XIII v." [On socio-economic factors in the development of glazed ceramic of Transoxania in the 9th–13th centuries] (353–75). Examination of the changes in ceramic design, notably with increasing simplification and stylization, leading eventually to pseudo-epigraphic decoration. The author connects this with decline of the Samanids, decentralization and the apparent loss of functional literacy in Arabic on the part of the craftsmen. Excavations of several house units at Kuva, each with its own assortment of ceramics, provides a sense of some specific social contexts in which the wares were used by the 12th and early 13th centuries, with increasing numbers of the dishes showing signs of having been repaired. One finds increasingly the production of local ceramics imitating some of the costlier ones imported from Iran which may still have been available to the elite. Excavations also point to a shift in the economy away from dependence on trade to self-sufficient agriculture.

Asan I. Torgoev. "Remennye ukrasheniia Karakhanidov (K postanovke problemy)" [Belt decorations of the Karakhanids (Toward the formulation of the problem)] (376–401). This is a pioneering effort to develop a classification scheme and chronological sequence for the evolution of Karakhanid belt decorations, according to shape and decorative designs. It is illustrated with a good many comparative drawings.

Anatolii A. Ivanov. "Tainstvennyi master Mukhammad-Ali Inaiaton" [The mysterious craftsman Muhammad-Ali Inaiaton] (402–07). Identification of craftsmen active in Merv, whose names appear on several stamp seals.

Ekaterina A. Amarchuk. "Dekorativnye nadgrobiia Khorezma i Zolotoi Ordy" [Decorative cenotaphs of Khorezm and the Golden Horde] (408–30). A complete descriptive catalog of cenotaphs decorated with glazed ceramic tiles from Khorezm in the time when it was ruled by the Mongols of the Golden Horde. At the end the author discusses the problems created by the loose use of the term "majolica" to describe such tile work.

Ernst J. Grube. "Some Thoughts on the Longevity of Sogdian Iconography in the Muslim World" (431–49). Descriptive analysis of miniatures Nizami's *Khamsa*, illustrating "The Last Meeting of Laylā and Majnūn." The focus here is on explaining the depiction of a lion attacking a man on the outskirts of the camp where the lovers have met and swoon. Citing the inspiration from Boris Marshak to look for the origins of certain motifs of Persian miniatures in the earlier painting that has survived from Sogdiana, Grube identifies the motif with one depicting a Brahman killed by a Tiger (Panjikent, Room 1, Sector XXI). The article is illustrated with both black-and-white and color images

and includes a descriptive catalog of the miniatures in question.

Eleanor Sims. "The Stephens' Inju *Shahnama* Manuscript. Millennial Thoughts and a Tribute to the Late Boris I. Marshak" (450–60). Produced probably in Shiraz in the time of its last Ilkhanid ruler in 1352–53, the manuscript is on long-term loan at the Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution. A few of the pages are dispersed in other collections. It is important for documenting the early development of *Shahnama* illustration and the work of the artists at the Inju court, which is now a subject of increasing attention. The miniatures have elements that can be connected with pre-Islamic painting in Central Asia.

Antonio Panaino. "The Italian Scientific Mission in Tajikistan. The Case of the Yagnob Valley" (461–76). An overview of the multidisciplinary, multi-year Italo-Tajik expedition, which is documenting the language, historical sites and ethnography in the remote Yagnob area of the upper Zeravshan watershed, an area whose traditional culture is rapidly succumbing to the incursions of the modern world. The region has been known as the supposed last hold-out for the ancient Sogdian language, but apart from that is arguably of great importance for a good many yet unstudied historic sites. A goal of the project is to encourage local efforts to conserve what is left of historic traditions.

Paolo Ognibene. "Ital'ianskaia nauchnaia ekspeditsiia v Tadzhikistane" [The Italian Scientific Mission in Tajikistan] (477–80). A brief supplement to the discussion by Panaino in the preceding article.

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*Scripta Antiqua. Voprosy drevnei istorii, filologii, iskusstva i material'noi kul'tury. Almanakh / Scripta Antiqua. Ancient History, Philology, Arts and Material Culture. The Almanac.*Vols. I–III. Moscow: Sobranie, 2011–2014. ISSN 2221-9560

Published by the Bongard-Levin International Institute of the Classical World, these substantial and nicely printed volumes contain much of interest for those studying broadly pre-modern Eurasian history. While most of the articles are in Russian, with English summaries, some are in English. I can but single out here a few articles that I think should be of particular interest in Vols. I and II (the tables of contents for all the volumes may be found at <http://kronk.spb.ru/library/scriptaantiqua.htm>). Since Vol. III is a Festschrift for the distinguished specialist on Central Asia, Edvard Rtveladze, I provide a fuller account of its contents.

In **Volume I**, Andrei Iu. Alekseev's article (pp. 73–89) on the previously unknown images of griffins on a leather object from the 4th–century BCE Scythian Alexandropol' Kurgan is of interest for the comparisons with, inter alia, images on objects from the Pazyryk burials in the Altai. Mikhail Iu. Treister (pp. 90–146; available on-line at <https://www.academia.edu/1163605/M._Treister_Silver_Phalerae_with_a_Depiction_of_Bellerophon_and_the_Chimaira_in_Russian_>) writes on silver phalerae with images of Bellerophon and chimaera from a Sarmatian burial in Volodarka, western Kazakhstan, which shed new light on the problem of the "Graeco-Bactrian Style." He dates these phalerae with a *terminus ante quem* of the third quarter of the 2nd century BCE. The article includes comparison drawings and a number of excellent photographs, including several in the color insert of this volume. The Greek presence on the Black Sea and interaction with the steppe nomads is the focus of several articles. Having recently seen some of the Pontic tombs in Amasya (Turkey), I found Sergei Iu. Saprykin's analysis/reconstruction (pp. 294–315) of a Greek inscription on one of them to be of some interest, as it commemorates the burial there of the highest priest of the capital of the Pontic kingdom. Even though much of what he covers has been widely known thanks to exhibition catalogs, Sergei V. Laptev's generously illustrated survey (in English) of the masterpieces of the Classical and Hellenistic collections in the Miho Museum (pp. 345–66) provides a good introduction to this striking material, the selection both overlapping with and supplementing what is depicted on the museum's own website <http://www.miho.or.jp/booth/html/plaart140902/smape.htm>. Each volume of this series includes a section on numismatics, the one here devoted to a long article by Aleksei N. Gorin (pp. 369–402; on line at <https://www.academia.edu/3849681/scripta_1_2011>) analyzing a recently discovered hoard of late Kushan

copper coins from the vicinity of Termez. The article is of value in part for his summary tables of the other hoards of Kushan and post-Kushan coins found in southern Uzbekistan, southern Tajikistan and along the Amu Darya in Turkmenistan.

In **Volume II**, the brief article by Galina B. Trebeleva and her colleagues (pp. 94–101) introduces some of the results of a GIS modeling project for the archaeological topography of the Sukhumi region, where the database for the larger coastal region of Abkhazia now includes more than 800 monuments. The subject of Boris E. Aleksandrov's critical text and analysis of an Akkadian version of a 14th–century BCE Hittite-Mitanni treaty (pp. 185–207) may seem remote from the interests of most readers of *The Silk Road*, but as he suggests, the history which this text helps reconstruct is very significant in the larger pattern of international relations in the period. Despite the fact that the main Hittite versions of the treaty have long been known (and are available on the Mainz website devoted to the Hittites), there is clearly much yet to be learned. Sviatoslav V. Smirnov's political biography of Seleukos Nikator (pp. 257–90) updates the standard biographies by Grainger (1990) and Mehl (1986) with reference to Babylonian tablets discovered in the last two decades. The "Masterpieces of World Museums" section of this volume highlights the Hermitage Museum's Siberian Collection of Peter the Great (pp. 329–54). Elena F. Korol'kova reviews the collection's history and discusses a number of the most interesting items, including belt plaques with animal motifs. She emphasizes the collection's importance (despite the lack of a precise provenance for the objects) for the early date at which it was assembled, thus providing some guarantee that it does not include forgeries. More than half of the excellent color photos in the insert to this volume illustrate her article; these images can be supplemented by the much more extensive coverage (mostly in black-and-white) in Sergei I. Rudenko's *Sibirskaia kollektsiia Petra I* (1962). Annotated Russian translations are an important part of this series. In this volume Mikhail D. Bukharin introduces and translates the reconstructed text of Book I of the treatise "On the Erythrean Sea" by Agatharchides of Cnidus, and Ivan Iu. Miroshnikov offers Russian readers an annotated translation of all the witnesses of the Gospel of Thomas, superseding the translation from the Coptic version published by S. K. Trofimova in 1972 (Miroshnikov's article is on his web page at <https://helsinki.academia.edu/miroshnikov>).

The contents of *Scripta Antiqua*, **Volume III** (2014), subtitled: *K iubileiu Edvarda Vasil'evicha Rtveladze*. I have selectively added some descriptive comments.

Aleksandr B. Dzhumaev. "K iubileiu Edvarda Vasil'evicha Rtveladze" [For the jubilee of Edvard Vasil'evich Rtveladze] (pp. 11–28).

Leonid M. Sverchkov, Wu Xin, and Nikolaus Boroffka. "Gorodishche Kizyltepa (VI–IV vv. do n.e.): novye dannye" [The settlement of Kizyltepa (6th–4th centuries BCE): new data] (31–74). Results of the excavations begun in 2010, after a long hiatus since the initial excavations of this site in Surkhandarya province. Details of stratigraphy; overview of artefacts, illustrated with a good many photos and drawings. The recent work re-assessed the function of what the first excavations had designated as the "citadel" dated to ca. the end of the 6th century BCE. After the settlement's destruction, presumably by the Graeco-Macedonian forces in 328 BCE, a new lower city emerged below the ruins of the original massive structures.

Sergei B. Bolelov. "Kampyrtepa — antichnaia krepost' na Okse: stratigrafiia, periodizatsiia, khronologiia" [Kampyrtepa: an ancient fortress on the Oxus: stratigraphy, periodization and chronology] (75–132). This is a lengthy review of recent excavations, with a good summary of what one assumes is the current thinking about the chronology of the several layers at this important site, assumed to be the Hellenistic Pandaheion, established to protect an important crossing point on the Oxus no later than the last quarter of the 4th century CE. It continued as a major transit center between Balkh and points east and south.

Karl M. Baipakov. "Issledovaniia islamskoi arkheologii i arkhitektury v Kazakhstane" [The studies of Islamic archaeology and architecture in Kazakhstan] (133–42).

Mitsuru Haga. "Tyche as a Goddess of Fortune in "the Great Departure" (出家踰城) scene of the Life of Buddha" (145–51).

Mikhail D. Bukharin. "Refleksy **axšaina-* v iranskoi gidronimii" [The reflexes of **axšaina-* in Iranian hydronymics] (152–63).

Aleksei A. Zavoikin. "Bosporskie greki i 'aziatskie varvary' v period arkhaiki rannego ellinizma" [Bosporan Greeks and 'Asiatic barbarians' in the Archaic Period of early Hellenism] (164–96). Makes an interesting case for integrating studies of the Greek settlements and their "barbarian" neighbors if we are to understand fully the history of the Bosporan region.

Sviatoslav V. Smirnov. "Anabasis Antiokha I" [The Anabasis of Antiochos I] (197–203). Uses evidence from cuneiform tablets, numismatics and archaeology to reconstruct the history of an important eastern campaign of Antiochos I which left few traces in the narrative sources.

Igor' V. P'iankov. "'Kamennaia Bashnia' na Velkom Shelkovom puti" [The 'Stone Tower" on the Great Silk Road] (204–19). P'iankov, who has written a substantial monograph on the Classical sources for the geography of Central Asia, argues that the famous "Stone Tower" most likely was located near modern Daraut-Kurgan where the Karategin enters the Alai Valley in Kyrgyzstan. Apart from the archaeological and textual evidence, he brings to the subject systematic travel over the possible routes for this segment of the Silk Roads. While he cites a range of studies in various languages, the most recent French contributions to this debate are not among them.

Kseniia D. Nikol'skaia. "Povsednevnaia kul'tura Drevnei Indii: vzroslye i deti" [Daily life in Ancient India: adults and children] (220–36).

Sergei G. Kliashtornyi. "Sogdiiskii vel'mozha v gosudarstve eniseiskikh kyrgyzov" [A Sogdian magnate in the Enisei Kyrgyz state] (237–40; on-line at <http://kronk.spb.ru/library/klashtorny-sg-2013.htm>). Analysis of Yenisei inscription Elegest-2, arguing that there is a Sogdian Manichaen name in the text, likely that of an ambassador from Sogdian colonies to East Turkestan.

Anvar Kh. Atakhodzhaev. "Numismaticheskie dannye k politicheskoi istorii Sogdiany IV–II vv. do n.e." [Numismatic data on the political history of Sogdiana 4th–2nd centuries BCE] (243–79). This is an expanded version of one accepted for publication in *Revue numismatique*. He addresses the disputed issue of whether Alexander's Hellenistic successors exercised control over Sogdiana, bringing to bear new coin discoveries from Afrasiab to build on earlier analysis, especially that by Aleksandr Naimark. Atakhodzhaev provides formal descriptions of the coins with photos and drawings (the photos for the largest number of them are really too small to be of much value here). He tabulates the new material and juxtaposes it with evidence from other finds and from the written sources, arguing that during the 3rd century BCE, the Seleucids did control Sogdiana but then lost that control in the following century in the time of Diodotos. There is no numismatic evidence supporting the idea that Eucratides I exercised political influence in Sogdiana.

Mikhail G. Abramzon and Iuliia A. Fedina. "Zolotye monety s legendoi KOΣΩN iz rossiiskikh muzeinykh sobranii i problem dakiiskoi chekanki I v. do n.e." [The gold coins with the legend KOΣΩN in Russian museum collections and the problems of the Dacian coinage of the 1st century BCE] (280–301).

Aleksei N. Gorin. "Parfianskie monety Kampyrtepa" [The Parthian coins of Kampyrtepa] (302–29; linked to his web page at <https://independent.academia.edu/%D0%90%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%B9%D0%93%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BD>). The Parthian period in the history of Kampyrtepa is the least well studied; coin evidence is crucial for filling in this lacuna. Gorin analyzes in detail a relatively small (and rather badly preserved) group of copper coins, distinguishing genuine ones from imitations. This evidence points to trade relations but not Parthian control over the middle Amu Darya.

Nikolaus Schindel. "A New Kushano-Sasanian Coin Type?" (330–40). Several different coin variants attributed to Wahram have been studied; here a new type is analyzed, which suggests there may be more than one provincial governor's issue within this group.

Mikhail Iu Treister. "Klad serebrianykh ritonov akhemenidskogo kruga iz Erebuni" [The hoard of silver rhyta of the Achaemenid sphere from Erebuni] (343–424; on-line at <https://www.academia.edu/5517923/M._Treister_The_Hoard_of_the_Silver_Rhyta_of_Achaemenid_Circle_from_Erebuni_in_Russian_>). The several striking Achaemenid silver objects excavated at Erebuni (Armenia) in 1968 have received much attention, most recently by David Stronach, with whose cooperation the author has used drawings and photos from his article published in 2011. Treister's long article provides a full technical analysis of the objects (three of the rhyta) along with a careful comparison of them with analogous pieces. He suggests that the objects were crafted probably in eastern Anatolia and over a period from as early as the late 5th century through the first half of the 4th century BCE. They may have been buried around 330 BCE, which is also the date of an important hoard excavated at Pasargadae. The article is illustrated with a good many detailed photographs.

Anatolii R. Kantorovich. "Izobrazheniia losia v vostochnoevropeiskom skifskom zverinom stile: klassifikatsiia, tipologiia, khronologiia" [Depictions of elk in the East European Scythian animal style: classification, typology, chronology] (425–82). An interesting attempt to systematize the evidence regarding depictions of the Asian elk (in North America, a moose) in various objects found across Eurasia and dating from the 7th to early 3rd century BCE. He traces the development from relatively realistic images to increasingly abstract ones, where at first blush it would be difficult to discern any relationship to the earlier images. Some groups of the figures display a kind of syncretic combination of the cervid with a raptor. He provides a chronology for the different types and an interesting "genealogical" chart (p. 478). Each of his subgroups is illustrated with comparative photos and drawings.

Nigora D. Dvurechenskaia and Sergei V. Novikov. "Terrakotovaia plastika Margiany (po materialam Sredneaziatskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii 1980–2003 gg." [Terracotta sculpture of Margiana (from the materials of the Central Asian Archaeological Expedition, 1980-2003] (483–573).

Prilozhenie 1. Katalog nakhodok antropomorfnykh terrakotovykh statuetok Sredneaziatskoi Arkheologicheskoi Ekspeditsii [Appendix I. Catalog of the finds of anthropomorphic terracotta statuettes by the Central Asian Archaeological Expedition]

Prilozhenie 2. Tablitsy dannykh terrakotovykh statuetok Sredneaziatskoi Arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii [Appendix II. Tables of the data for the terracotta statuettes of the Central Asian Archaeological Expedition].

This careful classification of the terracotta sculptures of Magiana excavated between 1980 and 2003 seems largely to be the work of Dvurechenskaia, who wrote her *kandidat* dissertation on the material. Earlier analyses of comparative material (e.g., from Ay Khanum; inter alia, by Henri-Paul Francfort) have, she argues, glossed over some stylistic details, which are important for any effort to identify who may be depicted in the figurines. Dvurechenskaia and Novikov's work here should serve as a basic reference work, with a minutely analyzed series of types, their details illustrated with photos and drawings.

Shakirdzhan R. Pidaev, Kyuzo Kato, and Tigran K. Mkrtychev. "Kamennyi skul'pturnyi dekor na Karatepa (raskopki 1998–2000 gg.)" [Sculpted stone décor at Karatepa (excavations of 1998–2000)] (574–613). The evidence here (generously illustrated with photos) testifies that Buddhist monuments of the Kushan period in Northern Bactria included narrative reliefs. The date of this group of sculptured fragments is the 2nd century CE.

Mikhail A. Shenkar'. "Boginia ili tsaritsa? K interpretatsii zhenskogo personazha na rel'efe Narse iz Naksh-e Rustama" [Goddess or queen? On the interpretation of the female personage on the relief of Narseh at Naqsh-e Rustam] (614–34; linked to his web page at <https://dainst.academia.edu/MichaelShenkar>). Unlike earlier scholars, Shenkar argues that the figure in question is not a queen but a goddess, most likely Anahita.

Rafael' S. Minasian. "Zolotaia maska 'Reskuporida'" [The golden mask of "Rescuporid"] (635–42).

Katsumi Tanabe "A Study of the Buddha's Coffin in Gandharan Art. Introductory Remarks" (643–54).

Tat'iana G. Tsvetkova. "Reznoi ganch Varakhshi: opyt klassifikatsii i obshchie kopozitsionnye priemy" [Carved stucco of Varakhsha: an attempt at classification and general compositional devices] (654–714). This long article publishes for the first time numerous stucco fragments from the wall decorations of the well-known site of Varakhsha. The author argues they seem to have been part of compositions that imitated Iranian "garden carpets."

Sergei V. Kullanda "North Caucasian Loanwords in Indo-Iranian and Iranian" (716–25).

Pavel B. Lur'e. "Neskol'ko neizdannykh khorezmiiskikh nadpisei iz Tok-Kaly" [Some unpublished Khorezmian inscriptions from Tok-Kala] (726–37).

Dzhangar Ia. Il'iasov. "Arabskie nadpisi na glazurovannoi keramike Samarkanda" [Arabic inscriptions on the glazed ceramics of Samarkand] (738–47).

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Ol'ga V[asil'evna] D'iakova. *Gosudarstvo Bokhai: arkheologiia, istoriia, politika / Pohai State: Archeology, History, Politics*. Moskva: Nauka—Vostochnaia literatura, 2014. 319 pp. + 32 color plates. ISBN 978-5-02-036574-2.

Ol'ga Vasil'evna D'iakova has published extensively on the archaeology of the Bohai (Parhae) State (698–926), whose territories encompassed parts of what is now the Russian Far East, China, and Korea. The great virtue of her monograph is to provide a systematically organized descriptive catalog of its archaeological sites and to summarize her previously published classification of the pottery found there (crucial to any discussion of the composition of the population) and the nature of the fortress architecture, which similarly is important for delineating the historical development of the Bohai. She concludes that the Bohai state was multi-ethnic, developing initially out of the local Mokhe population, but then strongly influenced by an influx of people following the end of the Koguryo state. Chinese culture also then played an

important role in the evolution of Bohai culture and administration in the period when the Tang Dynasty exercised what seems to have been a loose protectorate over it. Somewhat vaguely, she refers to elements that might be have come via Indo-Europeans who spread across Inner Asia, filtered through the contacts with the early Turks and their successors.

To write this history necessitates relying heavily on the primarily Chinese written sources; there seems to be little new here in what she does with them. If one accepts what turns out to be a relatively nuanced reading of what one might conclude from the archaeology regarding the ethnic diversity of the Bohai state, she is able to go beyond what others have done with its history. Her great strength in all this is the work she has done over several decades in excavation and survey archaeology and tracing routes of communication in the Russian "Primor'e" region east of the Ussuri River. This an area where V. K. Arsen'ev (of "Dersu Uzala" fame) undertook pioneering exploration over a century ago, work that she credits as retaining its value.

In cataloguing the sites, she summarizes the evidence from archaeology and in each case then provides a pithy conclusion as to whether the site is definitely to be associated with the Bohai or only probably can be connected with them. Complicating this is the unevenness of the scholarship (in Chinese, Russian, Korean and Japanese) and the fact that many of the sites have a much longer history of occupation. There is no evidence that the material has been incorporated into a GIS database. Those who would wish to consult her sources will be frustrated by the fact that she cites the non-Russian East Asian literature only by translations of titles and uses the standard Russian system of Cyrillic transcription for names. We get neither *pinyin* nor Chinese characters, which then also challenges the reader to figure out what the names of the Chinese locations are.

As her concluding chapter emphasizes, work on the Bohai has very much been the captive of nationalistic politics. She has particularly strong words for the relatively recent and systematic Chinese effort to "incorporate" neighboring territories and peoples into a scheme where all roads lead to Han China. The Korean narratives likewise are problematic for their nationalistic slant. So we are left to understand that perhaps the Russian perspective offers the greatest objectivity. Of course one can imagine her own conclusions here will end up being roundly criticized for disputing the nationalist narratives, and one has to wonder a bit about possible unstated political motivations here, where there are still tensions regarding the borders between Russia and China in the Far East.

She suggests that to date there have been few syncretic works of substance in any language which have attempted to bring together all the information, textual and archaeological, to write the history of the Bohai. It is odd though that she ignores Johannes Reckel's large monograph published in 1995 (*Bohai: Geschichte und Kultur eines mandschurish-koreanischen Königreiches der Tang-Zeit*), perhaps because it is in German. She tends to rely rather heavily on often rather slim Russian treatments for the textual evidence and eschews an in-depth study of the culture. Nonethless, future studies of the Bohai will need to consult her book and take into account her pointers about the direction for future archaeological exploration in these regions of the Far East if we are to gain a fuller understanding of the Bohai and liberate the scholarship from the blinkered attempts to impose modern political boundaries on the evidence which transcends them. Among the desiderata is to try to unearth evidence about what happened to the Bohai after their state collapsed and its territories ended up under the control of the Khitans and others.

The book has a several page "summary" in English which is really a focused discussion of her conclusions regarding the ethnic history of the Bohai. There is also an English version of the table of contents. The insert of color plates is of good quality; there are numerous site maps for Bohai settlements, artefact drawings and maps.

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Elmira Janabergenova, *Kazakhstan. Songs from the Aral Sea.*

Bidas Rustembekov. *Kazakh Terme. Sung Poetry of Wisdom.*

Faik Chelebi, Tar. *The Classical Mugam of Azerbaijan in Solo Instrumental Performance.*

The Epic Körughly. The Kazakh version. Performed by Bidas Rustembekov.

An Anthology of Kazakh Epic Songs and Dombra Kyuis (recording) and *A Journey to Epic Qyzylorda: Three Kazakh Jyraus* (video)

Silk Road House <www.silkroadhouse.org>, which occupies a modest store front not far from the University of California campus in Berkeley, is the creation of Alma Kunanbaeva and Izaly Zemtsovsky, distinguished specialists on the literary and musical traditions of Central Asia. Over the years, the Silkroad Foundation has been happy to provide funding to support this non-profit organization in its goal of presenting to the public an impressive array of diverse ethnic cultural traditions. SRH offers lectures, concerts, art exhibits and much more and reaches out beyond the one location near the Berkeley campus. One of its most important recent contributions is the series of CDs and the one video DVD which are the subject of this brief note and which can be purchased from SRH. One can supplement the information provided with the disks by some of the essays linked to the SRH website (most by Kunanbaeva, a couple by Zemtsovsky).

Accompanying each disk is a booklet that provides background on the performances and performers, Kunanbaeva the author of all but the one for Chelebi, written by Zemtsovsky. For Janabergenova and Rustembekov, there are translations of the lyrics, and for the latter's performance of the epic, a detailed summary of its contents. The emphasis in the introductory texts is on the way in which the performers are direct heirs to an oral tradition whereby the musician learns at the feet of a master, rather than by some formal process of institutional musical education. Given what we are told in these biographies, we are to assume that the performances are an authentic evocation of tradition, even as it is also clear that tradition is a moving target. Performers may sing or play compositions handed down over generations but may also perform new compositions created in traditional fashion and in whose performance improvisation is expected. Having Rustembekov's performance of the important epic *Körughly* is especially valuable, given how widely known it is across much of southern Central Asia.

Since both Janabergenova and Chelebi have formal academic positions (and the latter advanced degrees from Russian institutions), one does wonder to what degree that experience may have altered "tradition." Here one thinks about what Theodore Levin documented in his *Hundred Thousand Fools of God*, which charted the difficult path he followed in trying to identify performers in Central Asia whose art had not somehow been corrupted by the cultural norms imposed by Soviet-era institutions. While it appears that there is precedent for solo performance of *muğams*, as Zemtsovsky's notes indicate, they were conceived for ensemble. The solo versions of the pieces are indeed captivating, and one can appreciate his somewhat tongue-in-cheek reference to this music as "*muğam* Sebastian Bach." It would have been interesting to learn something here about gender roles in traditional performance: is the current prominence of a talented woman performer like Janabergenova a relatively new phenomenon, an artefact of the liberation of women under the Soviet regime, or does it have deeper roots in a nomadic culture in which women's roles were not constrained in the same way that might have been true of their urban counterparts?

The performer adjusts his or her presentation depending on the particular audience and venue. That is, audience response and cultural expectations are part of any performance. The recordings here at least in part reproduce programs the musicians presented where the goal seems to have been to a degree to anthologize for the uninitiated from a broad repertoire, in some cases then mixing different genres and motifs. As the notes indicate, to some extent adjustments were made to accommodate an audience on whom some more complex or sophisticated elements might have been lost. The last of the disks listed has an interesting history, in that the recording was done in 1990 as part of a Smithsonian Folkways project. For various reasons, the material was never issued then and the tapes nearly lost. Two of the performers have since

died. The accompanying video, which provides the best sense of how performances traditionally would have taken place, was filmed about a decade later in a yurt in the Qyzylorda region of southern Kazakhstan, the region from which much of the Kazakh music presented here comes. We might well wish to learn more about the differences to be found among regional traditions.

As with any music, its appreciation may take a bit of getting used to for the unpracticed ear. Even though the superficial impression may be that a lot is the same in song after song, in fact there are subtle progressions and differences. Certain of Janabergenova's pieces are quite lyrical; in a song such as her lament for the disappearing Aral Sea, she conveys on the other hand a vivid sense of her anguish. The texts offer a lot of insight into Kazakh culture, many of them being didactic and challenging listeners to respect traditional social and family norms of conduct. A good many of them are musings on life from the perspective of elders who remind the listeners of the inevitabilities that come in old age. A few of the songs are overtly connected with Islamic belief; one might wish to know their relationship to Sufi traditions. One is struck by the degree to which lyrics evoke nature, animals both wild and domesticated, and do so in unexpected phrasing. Presumably those who are equipped to study more deeply the culture would have benefitted had the texts included transcriptions of the original Kazakh.

In reading and hearing so much wise counsel about values that should be shared and held in esteem across cultures, yet which, like the Aral Sea, seem threatened everywhere with extinction, this listener could not help but wonder to what degree the elites who are benefitting from the petroleum-fueled excesses of modern Astana or other locations in Kazakhstan really do care any more about this heritage. Assuming that the technology to play them will still be available to future generations, at very least what Kunanbaeva and Zemtsovsky are so lovingly preserving on these discs will be available long after the Aral Sea has disappeared entirely and some of the glittering façades of new buildings have been shuttered.

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Book Notices

Written/compiled by
Daniel C. Waugh

Two Arabic Travel Books: Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī. *Accounts of China and India*. Ed. and tr. by Tim Mackintosh-Smith; Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān. *Mission to the Volga*. Ed. and tr. by James E. Montgomery. Volume editors Philip F. Kennedy; Shawkat M. Toorawa. New York; London: New York Univ. Pr., 2014 x + 312 pp. ISBN 978-1-4798-0350-7 (cloth); 978-1-4798-4452-4 and -0028-5 (e-book).

This welcome volume is one of the first in a new series that will be of inestimable value to both scholars and general readers. NYU's *Library of Arabic Literature* publishes both the original Arabic texts and on facing pages their English translations. Each text is prefaced by a brief introduction; there are notes, selected bibliography, indexes and glossaries.

The texts chosen for this volume are the earliest extant Arab travel narratives. Abū Zayd's compendium from various accounts by merchants is important evidence regarding the Indian Ocean trade connecting China with the Middle East in the 9th–10th centuries CE. Ibn Faḍlān's narrative concerns the embassy sent by the Caliph to the Bulgars on the Volga in 921 CE, from which the lurid description of a Viking funeral has inspired both fiction and film.

The editor/translators bring to their task what I assume are impeccable credentials for translation of the Arabic. Mackintosh-Smith, long resident in Yemen, is best known as a travel writer, with several books following in the footsteps of the 14th-century traveler-extraordinaire Ibn Battuta. Montgomery holds a name professorship at Cambridge. Their different profiles are reflected in the apparatus here, Mackintosh-Smith somewhat chattier and less scholarly, Montgomery more inclined to analytical detail and with deeper annotation. Montgomery does include references to important literature in Russian, though he admits it is not in his arsenal of scholarly languages. Both editor/translators have admirably fulfilled the goals of the series in making their commentary and translations accessible, and the selected bibliographies offer plenty of guidance for those wishing to explore more deeply each of the texts.

Mackintosh-Smith has had the easier task in editing his Arabic text, in that there is a single manuscript. Montgomery has had to make some harder editorial decisions in coordinating the witnesses of the separate Mashhad manuscript of Ibn Faḍlān and passages not always replicated in it which are quoted by the noted geographer Yāqūt. The result is a kind of hybrid edition. For specialists, he is providing an alternate edition of the Mashhad manuscript and additional annotations, to be posted to the website for the Library of Arabic Literature <http://www.libraryofarabicliterature.org/>, although at this writing apparently not yet available.

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Uighurskie delovye dokumenty X–XIV vv. iz Vostochnogo Turkestana [Uighur civil documents of the 10th–14th centuries from Eastern Turkestan]. Predislovie, transkriptsiia, perevod s drevneuigurskogo L. Iu. Tugushevoi. Faksimile rukopisei. Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka, CXXXVIII. Moskva: Nauka—Vostochnaia literatura, 2013. 326 pp. ISBN 978-5-02-036525-4.

This annotated edition and translation of 97 Uighur documents housed either in the original manuscripts or in photocopies in the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies (St. Petersburg) was issued to mark the 85th anniversary of V. V. Radloff's pioneering publication of many of these same texts (*Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leningrad, 1928). Radloff's edition and that by Yamada (*Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*, 3 vols., Osaka, 1993), contain most of the texts, a few having been published separately, a number by Tugusheva, whose work on this material goes back over nearly half a century. Her new edition organizes the material under the rubrics of "Sale documents," "Loan documents," "Economic records" and a large miscellaneous category. She provides new Romanized transcriptions, modern Russian translations and philological commentary. There are name and word indexes. Serviceable photo facsimiles are included for all the instances where the original manuscripts have been preserved. Since some of those used by Radloff are no longer extant, those texts are reproduced from his edition.

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"Novye zakony" Tangutskogo gosudarstva (pervaia chetvert' XIII v.) [The "New Laws" of the Tangut state (first quarter of the 13th century)]. Izdanie teksta, perevod s tangutskogo, vvedenie i kommentarii E. I. Kychanova. Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka CXL. Moskva: Nauka—Vostochnaia literatura, 2013. 501 pp. ISBN 978-5-02-036544-5.

In 1987-1989, the noted specialist on the Tanguts, E. I. Kychanov, published in four volumes in this venerable series an edition, translation and commentary of the 12th-century Tangut Code which is part of the Khara-Khoto collection in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies. This new volume contains supplements to the earlier code, compiled in the second decade of the 13th century at a time when there were still positive economic and political developments in the Tangut state which required additional legislation. He hypothesizes that the intent had been to publish a supplement to the earlier code, but the destruction of the Tangut state by the Mongols within the next decade prevented that publication from having been issued.

While he notes that most of the manuscript pieces which he has brought together here have been published in facsimile in a Chinese edition of the Khara-Khoto material (Shanghai, 1999), he has now attempted to provide the fullest reconstruction of this set of laws, with a photo facsimile of the manuscripts, his Russian translation and extensive commentaries that indicate the relationship of the supplements to the laws in the earlier code and explain specific references. He considered the options of providing the facsimile only on a disk as an electronic file or simply referring the reader to the Chinese publication, but, thankfully, he decided on this hard-copy publication to make the material more readily accessible in a form that might outlive inevitable changes in technology which might eventually render a digital disk undecipherable. For all his great expertise on the Tangut material, he admits to not being able to read the texts copied in "rapid cursive." Chapter 5 of this set of the laws is entirely in that cursive; so he has not attempted to translate it here. He also readily admits that further study may require some revision of his translations.

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Dokumenty i materialy po istorii bashkirskogo naroda (s drevneishikh vremen do serediny XVI v.) [Documents and Materials on the History of the Bashkirs (from ancient times to the mid-16th century)]. [Comp. F. G. Khisametdinova et al.] Ufa: IIIaL UNTs RAN, 2012. 340 pp. ISBN 978-5-916-08095-7.

The genre of collected materials on the history of a "people" is common, if obviously problematic for the attempt to shoehorn materials from a time when the current ethnic identity did not exist into a modern interpretive framework. How much of what is here really relates to the Bashkirs, except by virtue of having been found on their territory or of imagining a past that serves to buttress the notions of the present? That said, the collection can be useful for its various sections with specific commentaries on passages (rendered into Russian) from historic written sources, folklore and evidence from archaeology. There are chapters on epos, on ancient Iranian sources for the Southern Urals, on Greek sources, on "small cult objects," on medieval sources, on representations on historic maps and on traditions that have been preserved about the spread of Bashkir settlement. The black-and-white drawings range over petroglyphs, man-made structures, artefacts (including Central Asian silver found in the Urals forests; Achaemenid wares). There are distribution maps and tabulations of features of kurgans and menhirs. The volume was published as a supplement to a recent two-volume history of the Bashkirs.

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A[leksandr] M[ikhailovich] Leskov, E[lena] A[lekseevna] Beglova, I[rina] V[asil'evna] Ksenofontova, V[ladimir] R[oal'dovich] Erlikh. *Meoty Zakuban'ia IV–III vv. do n. e. Nekropoli u aula Uliap. Sviatilishcha i ritual'nye kompleksy / Maeotians of the Trans-Kuban region in the 4th–3rd centuries BC. The Necropoleis near the aul of Ulyap. Shrines and Ritual Places*. 184 pp. + color insert (23 photos). Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi muzei Vostoka, 2013. ISBN 978-5-903417-35-3.

The second of a projected three volume publication of the excavations of the Ulyap necropolis carried out in 1981-1983, this beautifully-produced volume is a fitting tribute to Aleksandr Leskov, who directed the excavation, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. The first volume, on the burial complexes, appeared in 2005. A third volume will discuss all of the material artefacts found at the site.

As Aleksandr Naymark wrote of his mentor and colleague on the pages of this journal (Vol. 2/2, December 2004, pp. 12–16), Leskov's career in the former Soviet Union was marked by spectacular discoveries as well as entanglements with politicized bureaucracies which ultimately compelled him to emigrate to the United States at the stage in life when many would look to a comfortable retirement. Once here, he worked productively on the complicated history of the "Maikop Treasure" (now scattered in several museums), and published the authoritative catalog and study of it in 2008 (see the book notice in *The Silk Road* 6/1 [2008], p. 72). As he notes in his introduction to the volume reviewed here (p. 14), while many of the spectacular finds from Ulyap were shown in various exhibitions and an album published by Hirmer in Munich in 1990, a publication of the details of the archaeological context was still needed. Hence the current three volumes, the contents of volume 2 but briefly described in what follows.

As Leskov points out in his introductory essay, the discoveries at Ulyap had a major impact on re-thinking the connection between the richest kurgan burials (previously known from the southern steppes, the Crimea and the Taman' peninsula) and the Greek colonies on the Black Sea littoral. It now became clear that the Kuban was a major center of Maeotian culture. After his brief history of the surveys and excavations in the region and at the site, the book contains descriptions of the excavation results for each of barrows Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 14, seen to be a single ritual complex, in which the density of finds was often breath-taking. The particularly rich barrow No. 5 included a wooden (partially roofed?) structure. Apart from the abundance of objects made of precious metals and Classical amphorae and wide range of less spectacular artefacts, there were horse sacrifices. After the description of the excavation of each barrow and the detailed inventory of its artefacts, there is a substantial essay by V. R. Erlikh on shrines in Maeotian culture, starting in the "proto-Maeotian" period in the 8th century BCE and coming down to the 3rd century. His concluding section discusses the problems of reconstructing the rituals performed at the shrines. Results of the ongoing work at other sites is revising some of the initial conclusions that had been based on the Ulyap excavations. Arguably the

Ulyap complex began as a ritual site, with the burials then occurring in proximity to it.

Half of this large format volume is illustrations — many historic photos taken during the excavations, 23 excellent color photos of artefacts (yes, the famous rhyton with the protome of Pegasus unearthed in barrow No. 4 is here).

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Materialy Tokharistanskoi ekspeditsii, Vyp. 9. *Poselenie Dabil'kurgan v Severnoi Baktrii.* [Materials of the Tokharistan Expedition, Vyp. 9. The settlement of Dabil'kurgan in Northern Bactria]. Elets: EGU im. I. A. Bunina, 2013. 120 pp. ISBN 978-5-94809-657-5.

Obtaining older archaeological reports concerning Central Asia can be a challenge. Even in the recent era of better distribution and, thanks to the Internet, easier purchase, keeping track of all the regional publications can be well nigh impossible. The publications of the Tokharistan Expedition have been appearing in Tashkent and Elets since 2000, covering work done in the Pashkhurd Valley in southern Uzbekistan in which a key role was played by Edvard V. Rtveladze. The major site in the region and apparently the focus of the first volumes in the series is Kampyrtepa on the Amu-Darya. This volume deals with excavations in 2010-2013 at Dabil'kurgan, the administrative town away from the river in the center of the region. The authors are to be commended for getting at least preliminary results out relatively quickly. The three articles which constitute this slim, small format, but well-illustrated volume are:

- E. V. Rtveladze. "Istoriko-geograficheskii i arkheologicheskii obzor Pashkhurdskoi doliny" [Historical-geographical and archaeological survey of the Pashkhurd Valley}, which provides a good overview and explanation of its importance especially as a transit zone on the Central Asian routes leading north from the Amu Darya.
- V. S. Solov'ev. "Raskopki na ob"ekte V Dabil'kurgana v 2010–2013 gg." [Excavations on Object V of Dabil'kurgan in 2010–2013], which details a relatively small but fruitful excavation that uncovered five rooms and, despite some later pits through the four strata, enabled the team to determine a fairly precise chronology that is very useful for comparison with other sites in this region. The strata date between the 5th and 9th century; of particular importance was the evidence in the 5th–early 6th century layer. Solov'ev brings to bear a lot of comparative material in discussing the artefacts and chronology.
- R. V. Tikhonov. "Arkheologicheskii kompleks kushano-sasanidskogo perioda po materialam ob"ekta V" [The archaeological complex of the Kushano-Sasanian period based on the materials of Object V], which discusses material excavated in 2012 along one edge of the larger excavation. Among the finds are some interesting terracottas.

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K. M. Baipakov. *Drevniaia i srednevekovaia urbanizatsiia Kazakhstana (po materialam issledovanii Iuzhno-Kazakhstanskoi kompleksnoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii). Kn. 1. Urbanizatsiia Kazakhstana v epokhu bronzy-rannem srednevekov'e. Kn. 2. Urbanizatsiia Kazakhstana v IX–nachale XIII v.* [Ancient and medieval urbanization of Kazakhstan (according to materials from the research by the Southern Kazakhstan Complex Archaeological Expedition. Book 1. Urbanization of Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age to the Early Middle Ages; Book 2. Urbanization of Kazakhstan from the 9th to the beginning of the 13th centuries] Almaty, 2012-2013. 390 pp. + 76 color plates; 516 pp. + 76 color plates. ISBN 978-601-210-062-4; 978-601-7312-25-1.

Karl M. Baipakov is one of the most prominent archaeologists in Kazakhstan; his work is at least to some degree known to those who cannot read it in Russian. He has published extensively, including volumes on the Silk Road and on urban culture in early Kazakhstan. To a degree the current volumes can be seen as an update and expansion of that earlier work. Published on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the beginning of the Southern Kazakhstan Expedition, these very useful thick volumes pull together much of what that ongoing project has accomplished in both broadly based archaeological survey and excavation of specific sites. While at the outset Baipakov emphasizes quite properly that traditional ideas of "nomadism" as just pastoralism need to be discarded in favor of the idea that nomadic society and economy was complex, readers may come away wondering whether the emphasis here on "urbanization" is always an appropriate read of what the archaeological record reveals. There is some attention early in the going to definitions of a city and the delineation of stages in a progression toward urbanization. However, a good deal of the material here, which incorporates but does not always update earlier excavation reports, is presented in a somewhat dated interpretive framework or at very least not re-examined in ways that would help to build a coherent argument.

The books in fact are very much a mixture of the new and old, with the review of "New Methods of Documentation" (Ch. 3) highlighting the GIS-based survey work of recent years that has resulted in the publication of archaeological atlas volumes illustrated extensively with new maps (a few of which are reproduced in the color inserts here). For sites whose excavation began years ago, new material has been added if there has been recent resumption of the work. But to a considerable degree, as near as I can tell, what we have is sometimes condensed replication of the earlier published reports, often extensively quoted, where, unfortunately, no effort has been made to coordinate the labeling on the numerous site plans with the references to those same plans in the current text. As a collection of materials then, where one cannot easily obtain the earlier reports, these volumes are valuable, but they also are somewhat frustrating. Furthermore, it is clear that in many instances newer work published in languages other than Russian by international scholars too rarely has been taken into account. For example, much more could have been done in the discussions regarding the Sogdians.

The books are well illustrated with many black-and-white photos and diagrams and very generous and good quality color inserts. Each volume has a conclusion/summary in both Kazakh and in English. Book 1 was published in 300 copies, Book 2 in only 200. Be sure your library obtains copies before they disappear.

A third volume has been promised, but apparently its publication date is as yet uncertain. That volume is one to anticipate, since the excavations of sites in Kazakhstan dating to the Mongol period seem to be raising so many doubts about how destructive the Mongol invasions of Central Asia actually were.

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K[imal'] A[kishevich] Akishev. *Drevnie i srednevekovye gosudarstva na territorii Kazakhstana (Etiudy issledovaniia)* [Ancient and Medieval State on the Territory of Kazakhstan (Interpretive Essays)]. Almaty: [Institut arkheologii im. Margulana], 2013. 192 pp. ISBN 978-601-7312-28-2.

One can but wonder whether the decision to publish posthumously this volume left behind by the noted Kazakh archaeologist K. A. Akishev (1924–2003) was an appropriate tribute to his memory. For decades he was involved in important excavations and was most famous for unearthing the Issyk "golden man." He was in charge of Kazakh archaeology from 1955 to 1989.

The current volume contains a rather loose discussion of evidence for economic, social and political change, framed explicitly in the kind of Marxist interpretive scheme which was expected in Soviet-era scholarship half a century ago. While his chronology may differ from that in some of the older publications, his scheme of the inevitable progression to class society and state formation is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Marx and Engels which are not merely here as window-dressing. The longest and arguably the most interesting section of the book concerns the Wusun polity, which in this telling achieved the status of a true state. He draws frequently on the Chinese sources (in Russian translation), for want of other textual evidence, and does incorporate a lot of general information drawn from archaeology. However, the archaeology by Chinese scholars is not included. He argues quite reasonably that tomb size and inventories point to developing social and economic differentiation. However, one comes away with the distinct sense that the real rationale for the publication of the book was that it will guide Kazakhs seeking their roots in a somewhat invented version of the early history of the Eurasian steppe.

Readers will appreciate the well-printed archaeological drawings and starkly rendered archival photos from some of the excavations in which Akishev played a key role. I am particularly fond of the one (p. 49) showing the bulldozer climbing the Besshatyr *kurgan*, prior to participating in its disembowlment. The photos of the log burial chambers that were down under the huge stone mounds are striking.

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Catrin Kost. *The Practice of Imagery in the Northern Chinese Steppe (5th – 1st Centuries BCE)*. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology, Vol. 6. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitāt, 2014. 401 pp. ISBN 978-3-936490-32-9.

Since I am listed as co-editor of this volume (with Güde Bemmann, who in fact deserves the lion's share of the credit), it would be inappropriate for me to attempt to review it. Suffice it to say that the book's production values, including abundant high-quality illustrations, are up to the standard of the other volumes in this series. The book is a much revised translation into English of the author's German dissertation. Her introductory chapters explore the cultural contexts and meaning of the belt plaque images that she then presents in a systematic catalogue. The emphasis here is on the plaques for which a documented archaeological context is known and whose distribution then is indicated on the 30 excellent maps. However, to provide the fullest possible coverage of the different motifs, she includes as well ones whose precise provenance is unknown. Much of this material is familiar, especially through the publications of Emma Bunker, who has written a brief preface. However, Kost's is the first attempt to systematize the various types and designs in a manner that can provide a basic reference point for further discoveries and their analysis.

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A[leksandr] G[avrilovich] Grushevoi. *Ocherki ekonomicheskoi istorii Sirii in Palestiny v drevnosti (I v. do n.e. – VI v. n.e.) / Essays on Economic History of Ancient Syria and Palestine (1st c. BC – 6th c. AD)*. Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2013. 380 pp. + 8 color plates. ISBN 978-5-90598-803-5.

While one might think there is plenty written already on the economy of the Roman East up to the rise of Islam, this book by A. G. Grushevoi, a senior scholar in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, demonstrates that there is still much of value to be learned. In particular, he draws on evidence from epigraphy and papyri to supplement the generally well known from the narrative and descriptive texts. He has a particular interest in the patterns of land ownership and exploitation, arguing that the hinterlands of urban areas formed long-standing economic units that require we look closely at regionalism if we are to understand the larger area's economic history. He is interested in the social organization of local craft production and trade, where possible focusing on particular families. There is a section on the spice trade, where his focus is specifically on what can be learned about prices and the market (referring readers to J. I. Miller's book for a details on the products themselves and their sources). One of the values of the book is his transcriptions and translations of texts. Included are a section of nice color plates of famous sites, some decent maps, a bibliography and several indexes.

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Articulating Indic Ideas in Sixth and Seventh Century Chinese Buddhism, ed. Chen-kuo Lin and Michael Radich. Hamburg Buddhist Studies, Vol. 3. Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2014. 565 pp. ISBN 978-3-943423-19-8.

The description from the publisher's website, where one can see the table of contents and either download the entire book for free in a pdf <http://hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/volltexte/2014/146/pdf/HamburgUP_HBS03_LinRadich_Mirror.pdf> or order a hard copy print version <http://blogs.sub.uni-hamburg.de/hup/products-page/publikationen/125/>:

> In this book, an international team of fourteen scholars investigates the Chinese reception of Indian Buddhist ideas, especially in the sixth and seventh centuries. Topics include Buddhist logic and epistemology (pramāṇa, yinming); commentaries on Indian Buddhist texts; Chinese readings of systems as diverse as Madhyamaka, Yogācāra and tathāgatagarbha; the working out of Indian concepts and problematics in new Chinese works; and previously under-studied Chinese evidence for developments in India. The authors aim to consider the ways that these Chinese materials might furnish evidence of broader Buddhist trends, thereby problematizing a prevalent notion of "sinification", which has led scholars to consider such materials predominantly in terms of trends ostensibly distinctive to China. The volume also tries to go beyond seeing sixth- and seventh-century China primarily as the age of the formation and establishment of the Chinese Buddhist "schools". The authors attempt to view the ideas under study on their own terms, as valid Buddhist ideas engendered in a rich, "liminal" space of interchange between two large traditions.

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Timothy Brook. *Mr. Selden's Map of China. Decoding the Secrets of a Vanished Cartographer*. New York, etc.: Bloomsbury Press, 2013. xxiv + 211 pp. ISBN 978-1-62040-143-9.

Readers of this appealingly written volume by a distinguished historian of China can expect to be taken on a wild ride, starting with the author's having had a map confiscated at the Chinese border in 1976 and the incident in 2001 where Chinese interceptors forced down an American reconnaissance plane over the South China Sea, before finally reaching in the final chapter the substantive analysis of the map of its title. Brook admits he had never expected to be exploring some of the byways here. He consciously is using the map as a way to provide broad insights into the world in which it was produced and through which it then traveled to be deposited and forgotten in the Bodleian Library until dusted off in 2008 by David Helliwell, who brought it to Brook's attention. Along the way we learn about its owner, the 17th-century English lawyer John Selden, and the context of debates over the law of the sea within which his interest in the map would have been sparked. We learn about traders and routes in the Far East, Chinese navigation and cartography, western mapping of China, and much more.

"The most important Chinese map of the last seven centuries" (p. xx), it is, of course, the star of the show, even if it walks offstage to wait in the wings after but a brief initial bow (in a discussion of what is "wrong" with it at first blush, that being primarily its not really focusing on China but rather on the southeast Asian seas). As the analysis of the final chapter eventually reveals, there is every reason to believe it was a navigator's rendering of the seas through which he moved, but only peripherally the adjoining land areas, and as such, its perspective is unique and hugely important. The work done for Brook by Martha Lee (and generously acknowledged here) in geo-referencing the map and then analyzing the techniques of its construction was crucial to understanding that it is: "a commercial navigation chart devoid of imperial designs or claims. Political nations, Ming China included, did not interest our cartographer…" (p. 167).

Anyone interested in the history of pre-modern European intellectual and commercial engagement with the wider world, the maritime history of southeast Asia, the cartography of China and the era of the late Ming (to name but a few topics) will find a great deal in Brook's book to stimulate further inquiry. Brook emphasizes that there is no rational way the map could be used to buttress current Chinese attempts to claim sovereignty over disputed islands way out in the South China Sea, but then he seems to be enough of a realist to appreciate they may well try.

Note: A review in *The Economist* (Jan. 18, 2014), which focuses on Brook's book, briefly describes another recent book drawing on Selden's map: Robert Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549–1689* (Chicago; London: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 2013).

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Cities of the Dead. The Ancestral Cemeteries of Kyrgyzstan. Photographs by Margaret Morton. Text by Nasser Rabbat, Elmira Köchümkulova, and Altyn Kapalova. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2014. xviii + 107 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-99398-0.

With its artfully subdued black-and-white images, this picture book is a pleasure to peruse. Margaret Morton is known for her other work photographing "alternative built environments"; her pictures here deliberately blend the cemeteries into the extraordinary natural environment of Kyrgyzstan. Beyond the photos, there is but limited introductory captioning; the only substantial essay is that by Elmira Köchümkulova, which in a few pages situates the cemeteries in the context of Kyrgyz culture, including religious beliefs and practice. To a considerable degree the essay draws on material both from her personal experience and from her University of Washington Ph.D. dissertation. The essay whets one's appetite for seeing the full publication of her research as a monograph.

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Ming: 50 Years that changed China. Ed. Craig Clunas; Jessica Harrison-Hall. London: The British Museum Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014. 312 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-99450-5.

This elegantly produced, large format volume accompanies the current exhibition (which closes 5 January 2015) at the British Museum and makes me wish I could be there to visit it. The exhibition is noteworthy for its emphasis on the connections between the early Ming and the previous Yuan Dynasty. That the Ming rulers were busy fighting the Mongols in order to solidify their own power did not mean that cross-cultural fertilization was dead. On the contrary, there were still plenty of non-Chinese employed by the new regime, Mongol fashions appropriate for hunting or military affairs were still in vogue, the kind of expansiveness to places far beyond the borders of China which we associate with the "Pax Mongolica" was still very much in evidence. Of course, all that did not last, as is well known, but the first half of the 15th century was a vibrant period which witnessed a significant impact of Chinese culture on other peoples and had a long-lasting impact in China itself. For this exhibition, the British Museum drew extensively on British collections but also imported a great many treasures. To my mind, most noteworthy are paintings loaned from collections in China (and Taiwan); for example the "Miracles of the Mass of Universal Salvation Conducted by the Fifth Karmapa for the Yongle Emperor" with its text in Chinese, Persian, Tay, Tibetan and Mongolian, on loan from the Tibet Museum, and the "Assembly of Artists and Scholars of Various Talents and Schools of Former Times," from the Shanxi Museum. As with other paintings, in both cases the catalog shows a number of close-up details. The acknowledged focus here is the arts and projects of the court and imperial family. Some of the most impressive pieces are ones excavated from tombs of the numerous dynastic progeny who were farmed out to administer the provinces.

The material is grouped around several long essays which do quite a good job of contextualizing the objects. Craig Clunas sets the stage in "A Second Founding: Ming China 1400-1450." Jessica Harrison-Hall writes about "Courts: Palaces, People and Objects"; David Robinson about "*Wu*: The Arts of War"; Clunas about "*Wen*: The Arts of Peace"; Marsha Haufler about "Beliefs: Miracles and Salvation"; and Timothy Brook concludes with "Commerce: The Ming in the World." While some parts of the story are well known — Zheng He's voyages, blue-and-white export porcelain, diplomatic and economic relations with the Timurids, to name a few — there is also much here which may be new to those who are not specialists on the Ming. I learned a lot about official writing projects, about the patronage of painters, about Zheng He's multi-faith patronage, about the fact that the Xuande Emperor (1426-1435) was himself a noted artist (some of whose work can be seen here)… While there have been many illustrations of the relationship between Chinese and Middle Eastern arts in this period, the juxtapositions here and the introduction of other kinds of comparative material are well chosen. It is nice to see Korean and Japanese paintings which were created following Chinese examples.

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Adam T. Kessler. *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road*. Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology, Vol. XXVII. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012. XVI + 587 pp. + 76 illustrations. ISBN 978-90-04-21859-8 (hardback); 978-90-04-23127-6 (e-book).

Those who have the intestinal fortitude to chew on this large volume will find the main arguments in it familiar from Kessler's 1993 catalog of the exhibition *Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan*. He included in that exhibition a few pieces of Chinese underglaze blue-and-white porcelain which had been found in the northern borderlands and argued that they should be dated prior to the Mongol (Yuan) period, even though the consensus of scholarly opinion has always favored a Yuan (1279-1368) date for the real beginning of the production of the underglaze blue-and-white. At least one reviewer (Suzanne Valenstein) jumped on this claim, declaring it to be "outrageous," and subsequently scholars have either dismissed or ignored Kessler's idea. He has spent the last two decades assembling this overblown response to the slight.

His main contentions include the following:

- The dating of "pre-Ming" (the term he uses to avoid calling it "Yuan"; I will call it simply "early") blue-and-white porcelain to the late Yuan period by stylistic comparisons, as has been done by most art historians, is wrong.
- The Yuan rulers (the Mongols) in fact did not value porcelain and never seriously backed its production. Kessler even casts doubt on the key *point d'appui* for standard comparisons, the dated vases in the Percival David Collection ("even were it to be assumed they are authentic… [they] were not made for the Yuan imperial court, but dedicated to a Daoist temple" [p. 255]) [see photo next page].
- What has been termed Yuan-period blue-and-white was developed under the Song (960–1127 and 1127–1279).
- Unlike the Mongols, the Jin (Jurchen) rulers of north China (1115–1234) greatly admired all things Song, including the porcelain, and thus obtained lots of it and were involved in trading it to others (notably the Xi Xia).
- Where that early blue-and-white has been found in archaeological contexts in the North (and also at kiln sites), it is in Jin, Xi Xia, or Song contexts; the wares so found are to be attributed to the Song.
- The finds of early blue-and-white in Southeast Asia and at sites around the Indian Ocean all must be dated to the Song period, when the state was involved in promoting the maritime trade.
- Supporting evidence for the argument about the Song dating is provided by a more accurate reading (at odds with currently accepted interpretations) of key terms for certain kinds of wares (e.g., *qingbai*; those marked *shufu* and *taixi*).

- Technical analysis suggests there is little if any evidence to support the idea the cobalt used in pre-Ming blue-and-white was imported from the West, nor is there reason to think the Chinese technique of underglaze painting of pottery came from there.
- The early blue-and-white wares in Ming burials are from the Song, since the Ming despised everything connected with the Yuan and hence valued that of their predecessors; blue-and-white production under the Ming could only have been a "revival" of the Song traditions.

Should any of the real specialists on Chinese ceramics and archaeology invest the time it may take to review all this, "outrageous" is likely to be one of the milder epithets they will use. Kessler has a talent for undermining the reader's confidence at every turn. A good half of his text is undigested and repetitive quotations, intended to impugn the credibility of all who have argued for the traditional dating and attributions. In the process he finds petty reasons to snipe at their work (John Carswell, of course, comes in for special treatment). On the other side, he seems to think repeated quotations of vague doubts and unproven assumptions by the few such as the art dealer Sammy Yukuan Lee, whose views he wholeheartedly endorses, somehow serve as proof. Suppositions easily morph into certainties. His archaeology in the first instance consists of walking around some sites and picking up shards. In spite of the fact that there are serious concerns that have been raised about the degree to which Chinese coin finds can be used for dating (given the long circulation of many issues), he is comfortable citing such evidence to prove an early date for sites where early blue-and-white has been found.

One of the blue-and-white porcelain temple vases in the Peercival David Collection, dated 1351. British Museum, PDF,B.614. Photograph by Daniel C. Waugh.

At very least this is a book crying out for an editor, since all that he has to say could have been more effectively presented in short of half the space. So far I have found one review of it, by the respected scholar of early architecture in China, Nancy Schatzman Steinhardt (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25/1 (2015): 184-87). She is open-minded about what the specialists ultimately may conclude concerning Kessler's in-your-face assertions.

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Publications of the M. A. Usmanov Center for Studies of the History of the Golden Horde

I[l'nur] M[idkhatovich] Mirgaleev. *Zolotaia Orda: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*. Seriia "Istoriia i kul'tura Zolotoi Ordy," vyp. 18. Kazan': Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT, 2013. 412 pp. ISBN 978-5-94981-180-1.

Zolotoordynskaia tsivilizatsiia. Nauchnyi Ezhegodnik. 6 vols. to date. Kazan', 2008-. ISSN 2308-1856

The study of Tatar history has blossomed since the emergence of a meaningfully autonomous Tatar Republic more than two decades ago. Anyone studying seriously the Golden Horde (Ulus Jöchi) and many related topics pertaining to the history of Eurasia in the Mongol period probably is well aware of the prolific output of the Usmanov Center, which is under the aegis of the Sh. Mardzhani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. While most of the Mardazhani Institute's website <http://www.tataroved.ru/institut/> is (as yet) only in Russian, it is an important resource for keeping up on the publications, which are not always readily available in libraries around the world.

The director of the Usmanov Center, I. M. Mirgaleev, has compiled a very extensive bibliography of publications about the Golden Horde, while admitting that it will need to be supplemented and even for the period it covers cannot be considered complete. To a degree he has had to rely on material sent him by colleagues; so not everything has been checked *de visu*, page numbers and some publication details may be missing, and so on. My sense is that publications outside of Tatarstan and Russia are less well represented here than they should be. The entries are organized by year of publication, starting in 1726 and coming down through 2012 (though clearly for the last year, what is here is just a beginning). Under each year one first gets publications in Cyrillic, followed by those with Romanized titles. Looking beyond this volume, in his introduction Mirgaleev lays out the exciting prospect that eventually we will have an electronic corpus of publications about the Golden Horde, work on which is progressing. His Center is also in the process of preparing editions of previously unused sources and/or new editions of some of the well-known sources.

Of particular interest for the publication of ongoing research is the Center's annual, *Golden Horde Civilization*, which has been publishing a wide array of valuable scholarly articles in large format and with decent illustrations. While in the most recent number there is one article in English, the rest so far is in Russian. Clearly though there is a serious attempt being made to include publications by scholars outside of Russia and Tatarstan. Both Russian and English tables of contents and English resumés of the articles are provided. One can access the table of contents for each volume from the link <http://www.tataroved.ru/institut/cizc/sb/>, where the English titles of the articles follow upon the listing of them in Russian. The translations are sometimes a bit awkward, but it should be easy enough to figure out whether the content may be worth your trying to

obtain a copy and have it translated (if you do not read Russian). I think anyone working on the Mongols would ignore this annual at his or her peril. I just discovered in fact that I should have cited one of the articles in something I had recently submitted for publication.

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Gorod i step' v kontaktnoi Evro-Aziatskoi zone. Materialy III mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii, posviatshchennoi 75-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia professora G. A. Fëdorova-Davydova (1931–2000) [City and steppe in the Eurasian contact zone. Materials of the 3rd international scientific conference dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the birth of Professor G. A. Fëdorov-Davydov (1931–2000)]. Otv. red. V. G. Rudakov. Trudy Gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeia, Vyp. 184. Moskva, 2013. 200 pp. ISBN 978-5-89076-168-2.

Honoring the memory of the important archaeologist and art historian G. A. Fëdorov-Davydov, who wrote significant works on the history of the Qipchaq steppe and especially the Golden Horde (Ulus Jöchi). Large format with many illustrations. The table of contents:

V. M. Kishliaruk. "Vliianie klimata na zemledelie poselenii Nizhnego Pridnestrov'ia vo vtoroi polovine I tysiacheletiia do n. e." [The influence of climate on the agriculture of the settlements of the Lower Dnieper region in the 2nd half of the 1st millennium BCE] (7–16)

E. A. Kudriavtsev. "Transformatsiia pogrebal'nykh sooruzhenii naseleniia Tsentral'nogo Predkavkaz'ia v skifskoe vremia v kontekste vzaimodeistviia i vzaimovliianiia osedlo-zemledel'cheskikh i kochevykh kul'tur (po materialam Tatarskogo gorodishcha)" [The transformation of mortuary constructions of the population of Central Ciscaucasia in Scythian times in the context of the interaction and mutual influence of the settled agricultural and nomadic cultures (based on the materials of the Tatar settlement site)] (17–23)

D. A. Stashenkov. "Pamiatniki skifskogo kruga v Srednem Povolzh'e" [Monuments of the Scythian sphere in the Middle Volga region] (24–36)

V. I. Mamontov. "K voprosu o sarmatskikh plemenakh volgogradskogo levoberezh'ia Dona" [On the Sarmatian tribes of the Volgograd left bank of the Don] (37–43)

L. N. Plekhanova. "Izmenchivost' klimata stepnogo Zaural'ia na rubezhe pozdnesarmatskogo i gunnskogo vremeni (IV v. n.e.)" [Climate change of the steppe region beyond the Urals at the boundary between the late Sarmatian and Hunnic times (4th century CE)] (44–52)

B. B. Dashibalov. "Ob osedlosti rannnikh mongolov" [On the sedentarism of the early Mongols] (53–57)

M. S. Gadzhiev. "Gradostroitel'naia i fortifikatsionnaia deiatel'nost' Sasanidov na Vostochnom Kavkaze" [Sasanian city building and fortification activity in the Eastern Caucasus] (58–64)

V. I. Zav'ialov, L. S. Rozanova, and N. N. Terekhova. "Etnokul'turnye vzaimodeistviia v epokhu Velikogo pereseleniia narodov v svete arkheometallograficheskikh dannykh (po materialam pamiatnikov Volgo-Kam'ia i Pooch'ia)" [Ethno-cultural interactions in the era of the Great Migrations in the light of archaeometallographic data (based on the materials of monuments of the Volga-Kama and Oka river regions)] (65–73)

E. V. Kruglov. "O 'kurganakh s rovikami', pogrebeniiakh tipa 'Sokolovskoi balki' i nekotorykh inykh drevnostiakh khazarskogo vremeni (k postanovke problemy)" [On the "barrows with moats," burials of the "Sokolovskaia balka" type, and several other antiquities of the Khazar period (towards the formulation of the problem)] (74–83)

M. S. Gatin. "'Ostforschung' i izuchenie Zolotoi Ordy v Germanii v gody natsizma (1933–1945)" ["Ostforschung" and the study of the Golden Horde in Germany in the Nazi years (1933–1945)] (84–91)

Kh. Iu. Minnegulov. "O literature Zolotoi Ordy" [On the literature of the Golden Horde] (92–97)

T. M. Dostiev. "Goroda i gorodskaia kul'tura Azerbaidzhana v epokhu Il'kanidov" [Cities and urban culture of Azerbaijan in the Ilkhanid period] (98–101)

A. A. Kudriavtsev. "Srednevekovyi severokavkazskii gorod v istorii Zolotoi Ordy (po materialam Derbenta XIII--XV vv.)" [The medieval North Caucasus city in the history of the Golden Horde (based on the materials of Derbent in the 13th–15th centuries)] (102–09)

M.-Sh. Kdyrniazov. "Khorezm v epokhu Zolotoi Ordy" [Khorezm in the era of the Golden Horde] (110–14)

D. N. Masliuzhenko. "K probleme khronologii nasledovaniia ulusa Shibana v sostave Zolotoi Ordy (seredina XIII–seredina XIV v.)" [On the problem of the chronology of the succession in the *ulus* of Shibani as a component of the Golden Horde (mid-13th–mid-14th centuries)] (115–20)

A. N. Maslovskii. "Kochevniki v zolotoordynskom Azake" [Nomads in Golden Horde Azak] (121–27)

V. M. Dëmkin, A. O. Alekseev, A. S. Iakimov, T. S. Dëmkina. "Paleoekologicheskie usloviia nizhnevolzhskikh stepei v XIII–XIV vv." [Palaeoecological conditions of the lower Volga steppes in the 13th–14th centuries] (128–32)

Iu. A. Zeleneev. "Etnokul'turnye osobennosti gorodskogo i kochevogo naseleniia zolotoordynskogo Povolzh'ia" [Ethno-cultural features of the urban and nomadic population of the Golden Horde Volga region] (133–35)

S. A. Koten'kov and O. Iu. Koten'kova. "Novye dannye po istorii zolotoordynskikh gorodov v Astrakhanskom krae" [New data on the history of Golden Horde cities in the Astrakhan' District] (136–41)

L. F. Nedashkovskii. "Selitrennoe gorodishche i poseleniia ego periferii" [The Selitrennoe settlement site and the settlements of its periphery] (142–44)

E. M. Pigarëv. "Issledovaniia Selitrennogo gorodishcha v 2006 g." [Studies of the Selitrennoe settlement site in 2006] (145–46)

R. A. Singatulin. "Uvekskoe gorodishche: nekotorye itogi kompleksnykh geologo-arkheologicheskikh issledovanii

2001–2006 gg." [The Uvekskoe settlement site: some results of the complex geo-archaeological studies of 2001–2006] (147–50)

O. V. Orfinskaia, V. P. Golikov, O. B. Lantratova, V. G. Rudakov. "Tekstil' iz zakhoroneniia zolotoordynskogo perioda na mogil'nike Maiachnyi bugor-I" [Textiles from Golden Horde period burials in the Maiachnyi-bugor I cemetery] (151–62)

N. F. Lisova. "Zoomorfnyi ornament na zolotoordynskoi bytovoi polivnoi keramike" [Zoomorphic ornament on ordinary Golden Horde glazed ceramics] (163–72)

V. Iu. Koval'. "Faiansy 'minei' (k diskussii bez temy)" ["*Minai*"-wares (toward a discussion without a theme)] (173–82)

E. A. Begovatov and A. V. Pachkalov. "Novye nakhodki dzhuchidskikh monet v Respublike Tatarstan" [New discoveries of Jöchid coins in the Republic of Tatarstan] (183–96)

G. Iu. Starodubtsev. "Nakhodki monet Zolotoi Ordy na Gochevskom arkheologicheskom komplekse" [Finds of Golden Horde coins in the Gochevsk archaeological complex] (197–98)

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Ermitazhnye chteniia pamiati V. G. Lukonina (21.01.1932–10.09.1984). K 80-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia. 2007–2012 / In Memoriam V. G. Lukonin (21.01.1932–10.09.1984). To Mark the 80th Anniversary. 2007–2012. Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, LXXII. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd-vo. Gos. Ermitazha, 2014. 242 pp. + 20 color plates. ISBN 978-5-93572-540-2.

The latest in an ongoing irregular series of volumes with papers honoring the late head of the Oriental Division of the Hermitage Museum, the ancient and medieval Iran specialist Vladimir Grigor'evich Lukonin. There is a table of contents and summaries in English. A list of the papers given at the Lukonin "readings" for 2007–2012 is appended, with citations of where some of them have already been published. The table of contents:

V. K. Afanas'eva. "Pechati vremeni Enkheduany i skul'pturnaia golova 'Sargona Akkadskogo'" [Seals from the time of Enheduanna and a sculpted head of 'Sargon of Akkad'] (7–11).

V. K. Afanas'eva. "Pechat'-amulet DV-15774, Ili kto takaia Tsarevna-Liagushka" [The amulet-seal DV-15774, or Who is the Frog-Princess] (12–15).

V. K. Afanas'eva. "Bulava ili zhezl? Problemy attributsii i interpretatsii" [A mace or a scepter. Challenges of attribution and interpretation] (16–18).

N. V. Kozlova. "Chinovnik Lugirizal'—nachal'nik chetvertoi brigady v dokumente DV-15267. Otmena voprositel'nogo znaka" [The official Lugirizal, a foreman of the fourth working team in document DV-15267. A question mark removed] (19–32).

A. B. Nikitin. "O proiskhozhdenii dinastii sasanidov" [On the origin of the Sasanian dynasty] (34–36).

A. Ia. Kakovkin. "Koptskaia tkan' V v. s izobrazheniem redkogo fantasticheskogo sushchestva" [A Coptic textile of the 5th century depicting a rare fantastic creature] (37–42).

A. Ia. Kakovkin. "Patriarkh Iosif—'otrasl' plodonosnogo dereva…'" [Joseph the Patriarch, "a branch of a fruitful tree…"] (43–52).

A. Ia. Kakovkin. "Identifikatsiia epizodov na koptskikh fragmentirovannykh tkanykh klavakh VIII–IX vv. iz muzeev Lunda, L'vova i N'iu-Iorka" [Identification of scenes on Coptic textile clavi fragments of the 8th and 9th centuries from Museums of Lund, L'vov and New York] (53–57).

O. V. Osharina. "Izobrazhenie 'Poleta Aleksandra Makedonskogo' na koptskoi tkani iz sobraniia Ermitazha" [A depiction of the "Flight of Alexander of Macedon" on a Coptic textile from the Hermitage collection] (58–66).

A. A. Ierusalimskaia. "O simvolike sasanidskogo medal'ona s bordiurom iz tak nazyvaemykh perlov" [On the symbolism of the Sasanian medallion with the so-called pearl border] (67–75).

A. N. Tepliakova. "Redkii golovnoi ubor s Severnogo Kavkaza" [A rare headdress from the North Caucasus] (76–83).

A. A. Ivanov. "Drakon v iskusstve Kubachi" [The Dragon in Kubachi art] (84–94).

P. B. Lur'e. "K tolkovaniiu siuzhetov i nadpisei pendzhikentskogo zala s Rustamom" [On the interpretation of the subjects and inscriptions of the Panjikent Rustam hall] (95–102).

K. F. Samosiuk. "Rekonstruktsiia siuzheta fragmenta svitka Vimalakirti iz Khara-Khoto" [Reconstruction of the subject of a scroll fragment of Vimalakirti from Khara-Khoto] (103–14).

M. G. Kramarovskii. "Dva tipa rannei mongol'ski filigrani XIII v. po nakhodkam v Mongolii i Kitae" [Two types of early Mongolian filigree of the 13th century, based on finds in Mongolia and China] (115–20).

M. L. Men'shikova. "Novye atributsii kitaiskikh reznykh lakov" [New attributions of carved Chinese lacquerware] (121–28).

M. L. Men'shikova. "Russkii mongol ili frantsuzskii kitaets?" [A Russian Mongol or a French Chinese?] (129–35).

Iu. I. Elikhina. "Tibetskaia bronzovaia statuetka Vairochany XV v. K voprosu ob avtorstve pamiatnika" [A 15th-century Tibetan bronze statue of Vairochana. On the question of the piece's maker] (136–42).

Iu. I. Elikhina. "Tangka s izobrazheniem gor Utaishan'" [A thangka depicting Mt. Wutaishan] (143–51).

A. A. Egorova. "Inozemnaia keramika v Iaponii kontsa XVII–nachala XVIII v. i slozhenie stilia Ogata Kendzana (1663–1743)" [Foreign ceramics in Japan at the end of the 17th–beginning of the 18th centuries and the formation of Ogata Kenzan's (1663–1743) style] (152–60).

A. M. Bogoliubov. "Karta Iaponii Daikokiuia Kodaiu" [The *Daikokuya Kodayu* map of Japan] (161–65).

A. M. Bogoliubov. "Svitok s izobrazheniem ostrova Desima" [A scroll depicting Dejima Island] (166-71).

A. M. Bogoliubov. "Iaponskii svitok s izobrazheniem ev-

ropeitsev" [A Japanese scroll depicting Europeans] (172–75).

A. V. Savel'eva. "'Strannye kartiny'. Dukh sorevnovaniia" ["Strange pictures". The competitive spirit] (176–84).

O. P. Deshpande. "Dereviannye monastyri Pagana i Mandalaia" [The wooden monasteries of Pagan and Mandalay] (185–214).

M. G. Kramarovskii. "A. Diurer: Braslet s kitaiskim drakonom (zametki o iuvelirnom prototype)" [Albrecht Dürer's drawing of a bracelet with a Chinese dragon (notes on a jewelry prototype] [pre-publication of paper for the 2014 Lukonin readings] (215–20).

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Bulletin of the Asia Institute. N. S., Vol. 23 (2009) [2013]. *Evo ṣuyadi. Essays in Honor of Richard Salomon's 65th Birthday*. Ed. Carol Altman Bromberg, Timothy J. Lenz, and Jason Neelis. Published with the assistance of the Neil Kreitman Foundation (U.K.). ISSN 0890-4464. 240 pp.

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西域文史 *Literature and History of the Western Regions*. Vol. 8 (2014). Ed. 朱玉麒 Zhu Yuqi. 366 pp. + 4 plates. ISBN 978-7-03-040379-7. (Articles are in Chinese with summaries in English. For the Chinese table of contents, visit <http://www.serindia.org.cn/post/267.html>.

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Xiyu yanjiu 西域研究 *The Western Regions Studies. A Quarterly*. Urumqi: 新疆社会科学 Xinjiang shehui kexue, 1991-. ISSN 1002-4743.

Articles are in Chinese, with abstracts in English. Content listings and abstracts (in Chinese and, for the most recent decade in most cases also in English) may be accessed in the China Academic Journals Full-text Database <http://en.oversea.cnki.net/kns55/oldnavi/n_item.aspx?NaviID=48&Flg=local&BaseID=XYYJ&NaviLink=China+Chronicles+of+Nationalities+and+Local+Chronicles-%2Fkns55%2Foldnavi%2Fn_list.aspx%3FNaviID%3D48%26Flg%3Dlocal%26Field%3D168%25E4%25B8%2593%25E9%25A2%2598%25E4%25BB%25A3%25E7%25A0%2581%26Value%3DF094%253F%26OrderBy%3Didno%7CThe+Western+Regions+Studies>. Subscribers may access full text of the articles.

Plate I

[Lingley, "Silk Road Dress," p. 5.]

The northern wall of the tomb of Xu Xianxiu in Taiyuan.
After: Taiyuan wenwu 2005, Pl. 15.

PLATE II

[Voroniatov, "Connections," p.27]

Gold vessel from Olbia on the Northern Black Sea littoral.
Photograph courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

PLATE III

[Compareti, "Some Examples," p. 41]

Buddha adorned with the chamail. *Ghorband Valley, Fondukistan Monastery, Niche D. 7th c. CE. Collection of the Musée Guimet, Inv. no. MG 18960. Photograph Copyright © Daniel C. Waugh.*

Plate IV

[Compareti, "Some Examples," p. 43]

Fragments of murals from Bamiyan, depicting a boar's head. Collection of the Musée Guimet, Inv. nos.: MG 17972 and 17973. Photographs Copyright © Daniel C. Waugh.

PLATE V

[Azarpay, "The Afrasiab Murals," p. 53]

The senmurv *motif used as a textile pattern on the robe of the Sogdian king, Varkhuman, in the North wall mural, Hall 1, at Afrasiab. Recently photographed detail, courtesy Matteo Compareti.*

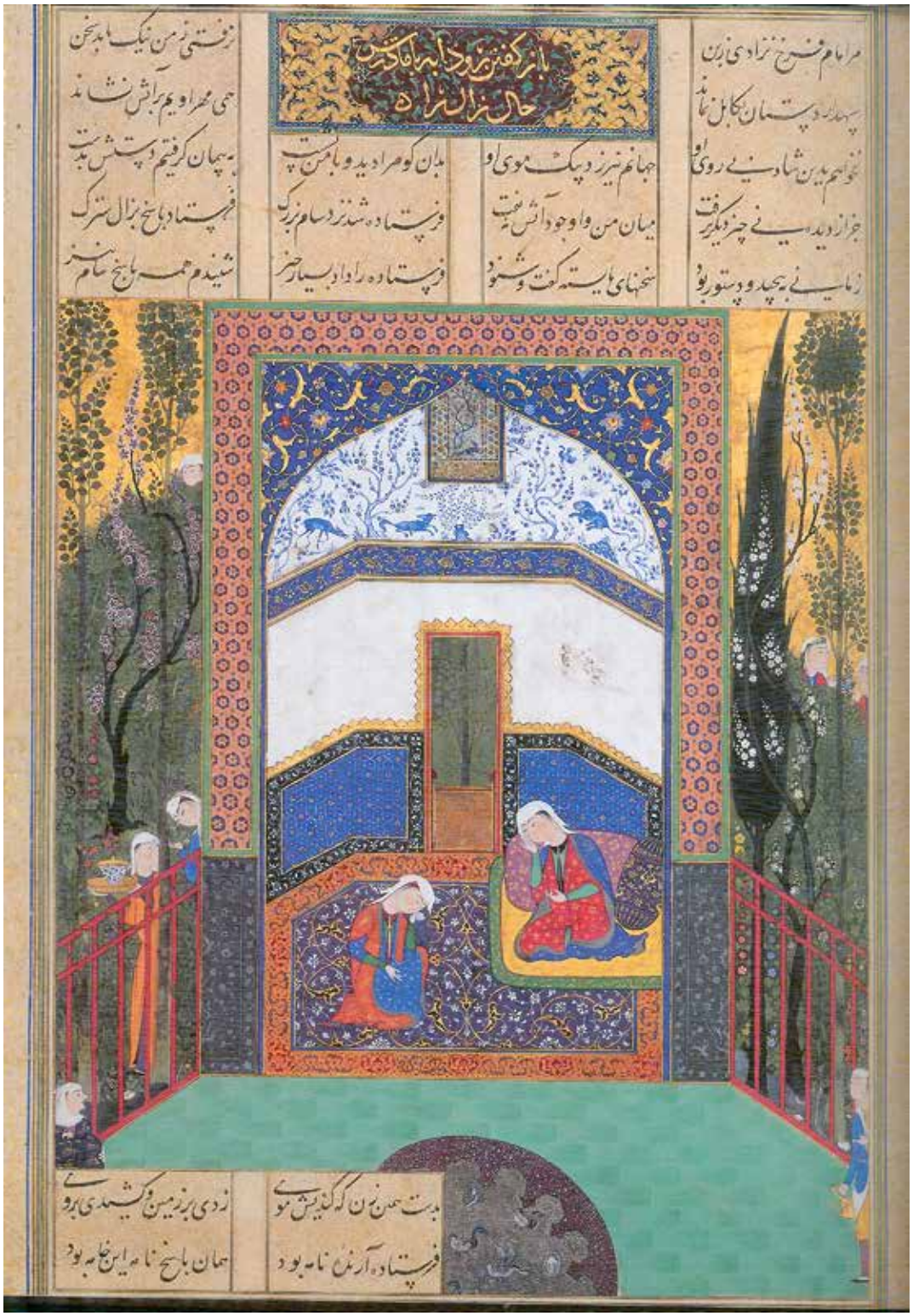
Plate VI

[Daryaee and Malekzadeh, "Performance of Pain," p. 57]

The killing of Siavash. Illustration to the Shahnameh*, dated AH 1065/CE 1654-65. Islamic Manuscripts, Garrett no. 57G. Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Copyright © Princeton University Library, reproduced with permission.*

PLATE VII

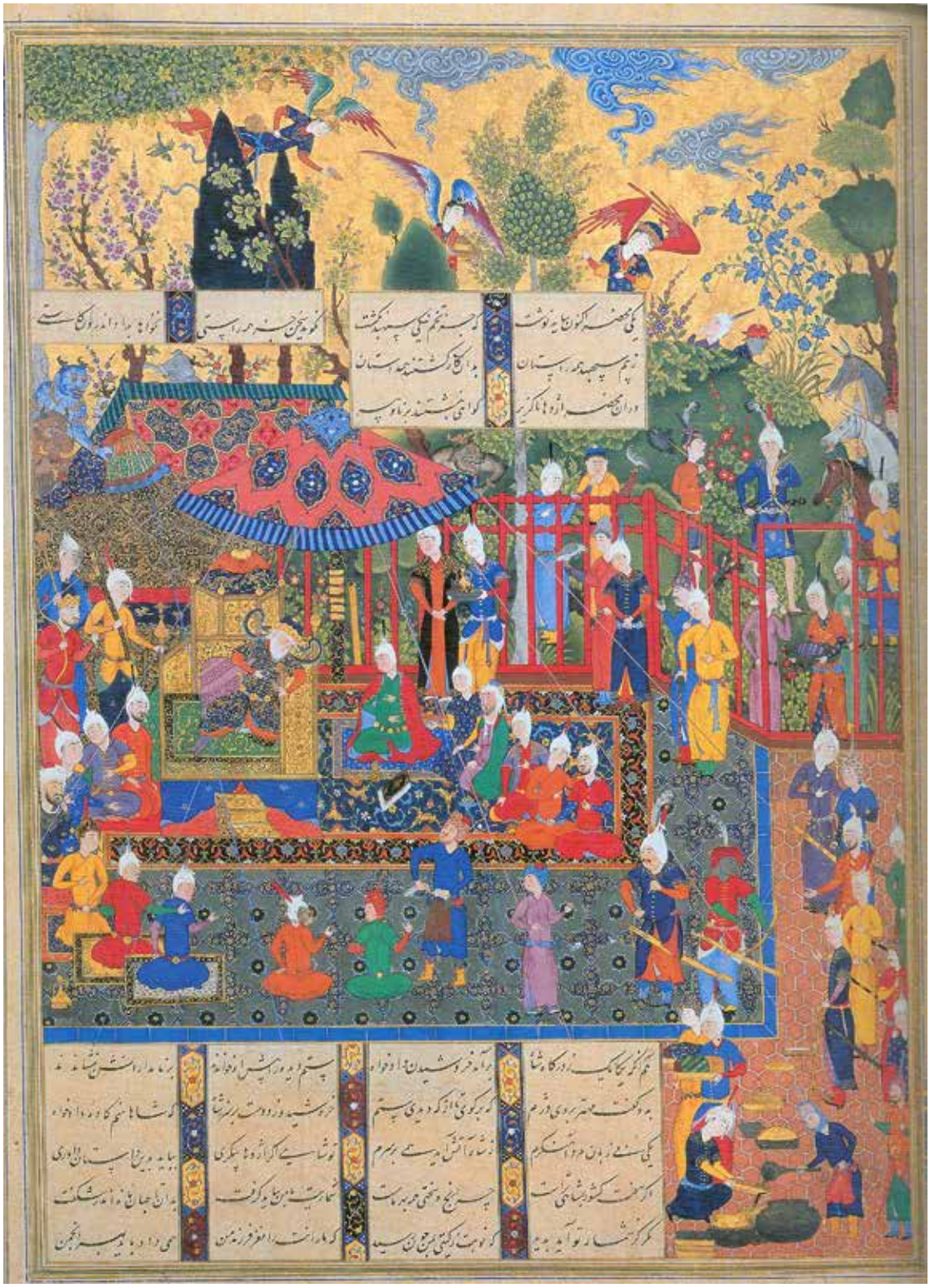
[Yazdani et al., "Safavid Carpets," p. 108]



Sindukht and Rudabeh. Miniature from the Shāhnāma *of Shah Tahmasp.*
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005, *p. 254.*

Plate VIII

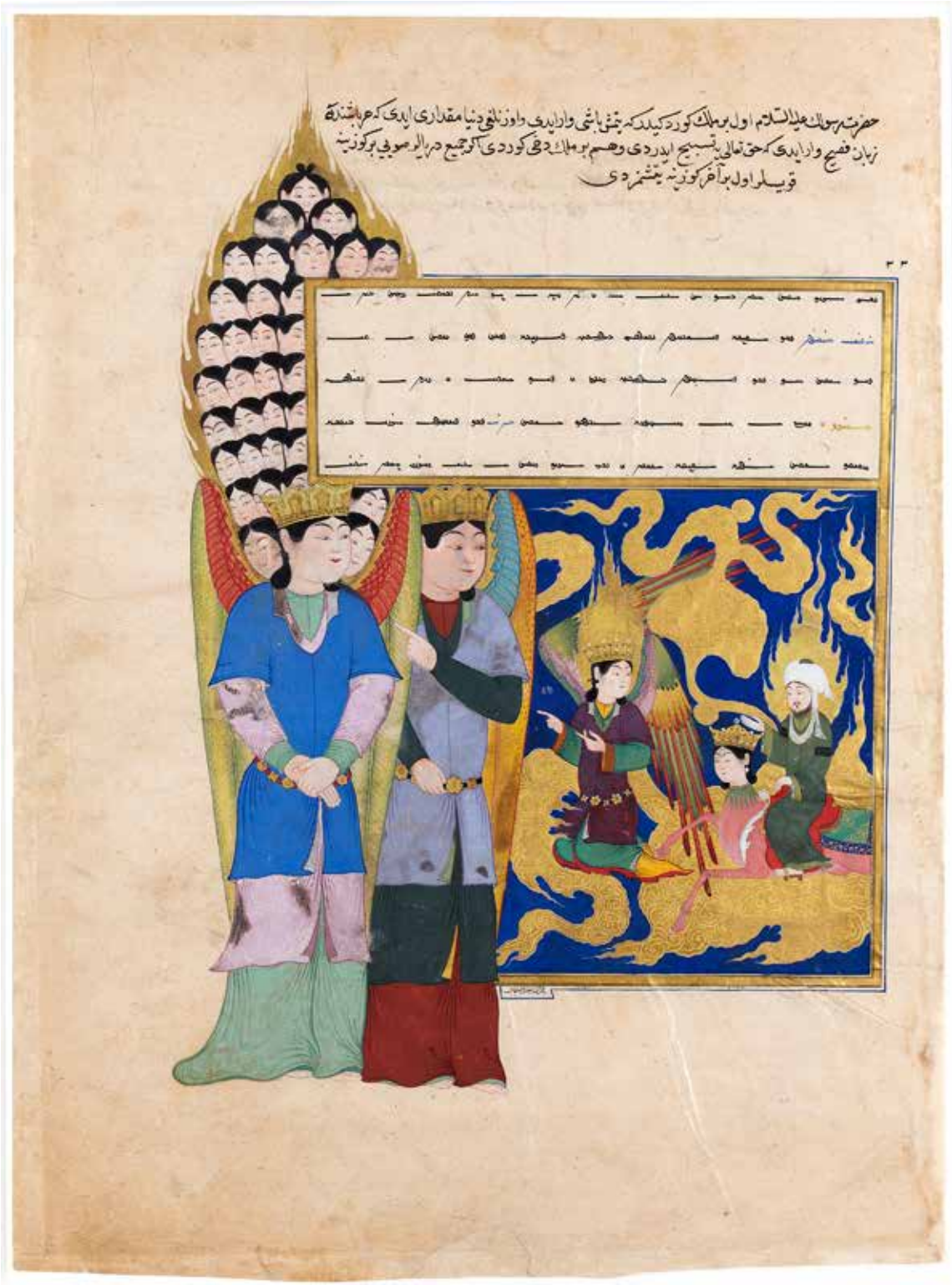
[Yazdani et al., "Safavid Carpets," p. 108]



Kava tears Zahhak's scroll. Miniature from the Shāhnāma *of Shah Tahmasp.*
After: Miniature Masterpieces 2005*, p. 234*

Plate IX

[Waugh, "The David Collection," p. 134]



"The Prophet Muhammad Before the Angel wisth Seventy Heads." Miniature from a copy of al-Sarai's Nahj al-Faradis *(The Paths of Paradise). Signed: "work of the slave Sultan 'Ali al-sultani (in royal service)." Iran, Herat; probably 1466.*

Folio size: 41.1 × 29.9 cm. Inv. no. 14/2012r. Source: <http://www.davidmus.dk/assets/3114/Copyright_David-Collection_Copenhagen_14_2012_side-A_web.jpg> © The David Collection, Copenhagen. Photo: Pernille Klemp. Reproduced with permission.

PLATE X

Waugh, "Arts of China," p. 138.

Vase. Chinese, late 16th – early 17th century. Porcelain with molded and underglaze-blue decorations. 22 1/2 x 9 3/4 in. (57.2 x 24.77 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 54.120.

Photograph © Seattle Art Museum

Tomb attendant. Chinese, late 7th century. Earthenware with glaze, gilt, and paint. 27 1/2 x 11 x 10 5/8 in. (69.85 x 27.94 x 26.99 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 35.6.

Photograph © Seattle Art Museum

PLATE XI

Waugh, "Arts of China," p. 140.

Bed curtains, Chinese, 1735–1796 (Qianlong period). Silk and gold thread, 107 x 70 3/4 in. (266.7 x 179.71 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 33.159.2.

PLATE XII

Waugh, "Arts of China," pp. 142, 144.

(top) Painted bowl, Chinese, 3rd century BCE. Wood with lacquer, 10 x 2 7/16 in. (25.4 x 6.19 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 51.118.

(bottom) Cup, Chinese, late 7th to early 8th century. Silver, with chased patterns of lotus, vines, and birds. H: 2.5 in. (6.3 cm.); D: 3 in. (7.62 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 42.5.

PLATE XIII

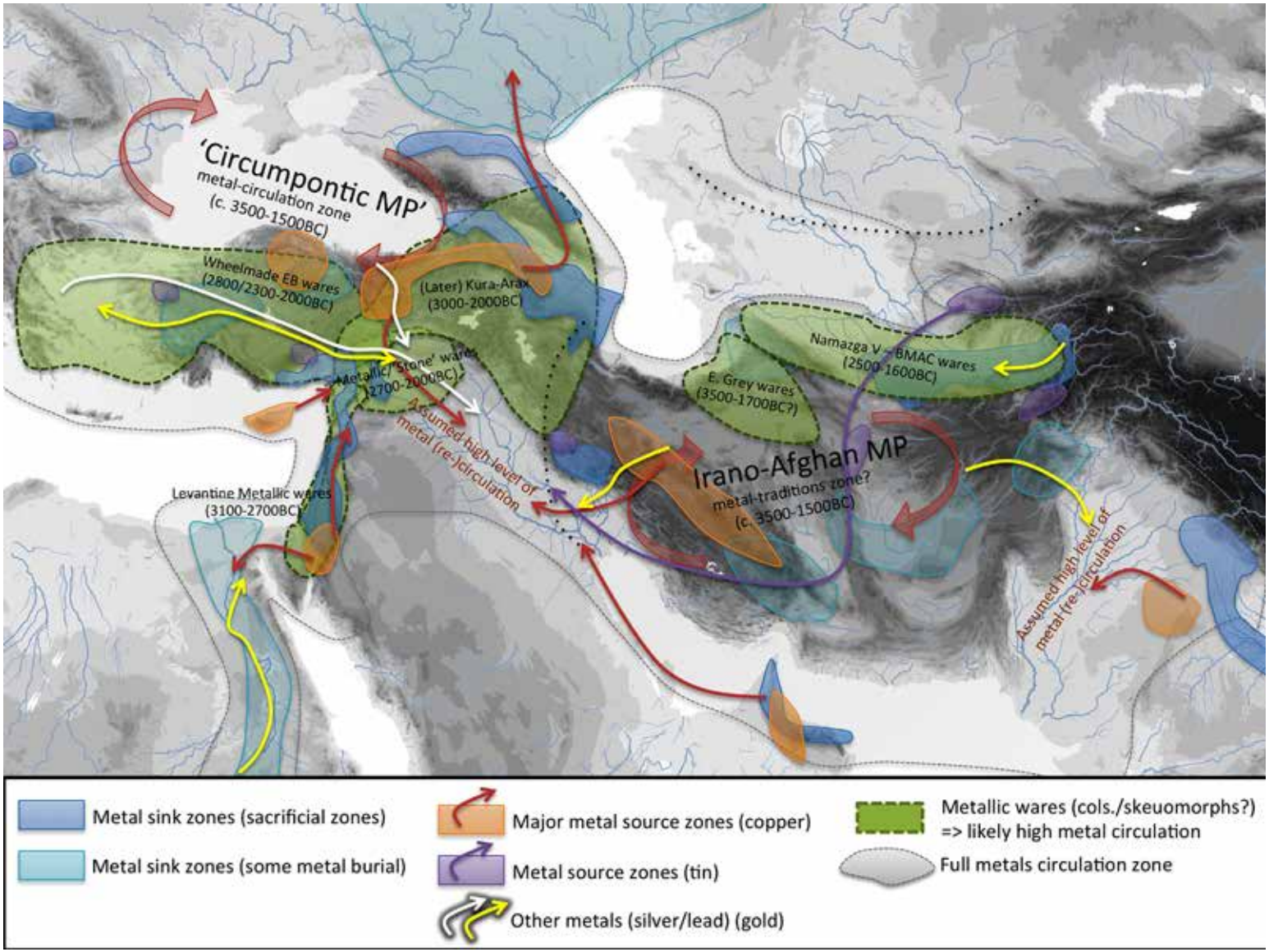
Waugh, "Arts of China," pp. 141, 146.

(top) "Landscape of dreams," by Shao Mi 邵彌, 1638. One of ten album leaves: ink and color on paper. Overall: 11 7/16 x 17 in. (29 x 43.2 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 70.18.2.

(bottom) "A branch of the cold season," by Yang Hui 楊輝, ca, 1440. Ink on paper. Overall: 30 5/16 x 56 1/16 in. (77 x 142.4 cm); image: 12 3/16 x 25 in. (30.9 x 63.5 cm). Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 51.132.

PLATE XIV

[Waugh, "Re-Imagining," p. 160]

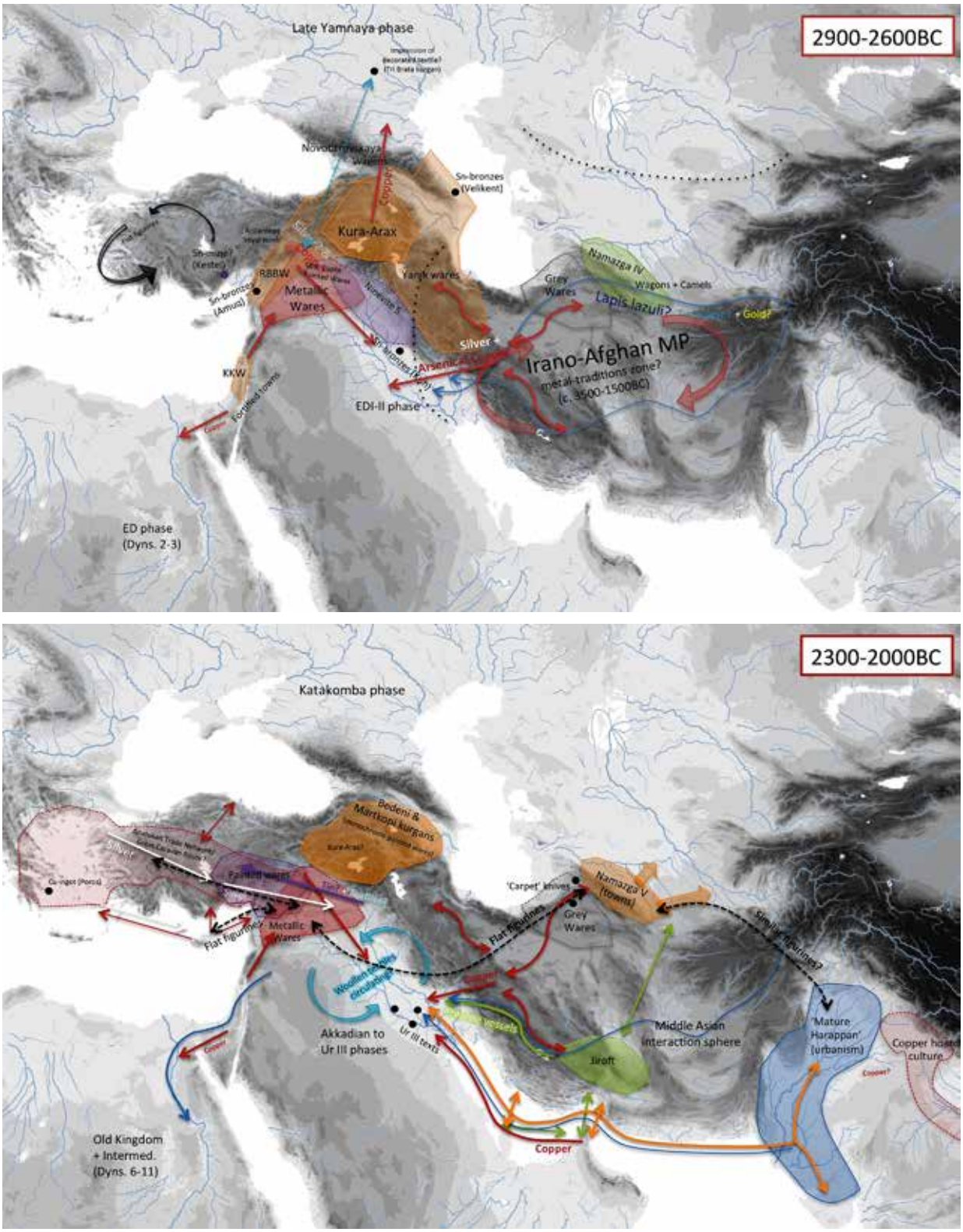


Summary of distribution data on metals over the 3000-1500 BCE period.

Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/5/FIG5-52_summary_metals.jpg>.
Also, Wilkinson, p. 223

Plate XV

[Waugh, "Re-Imagining," p. xxx]

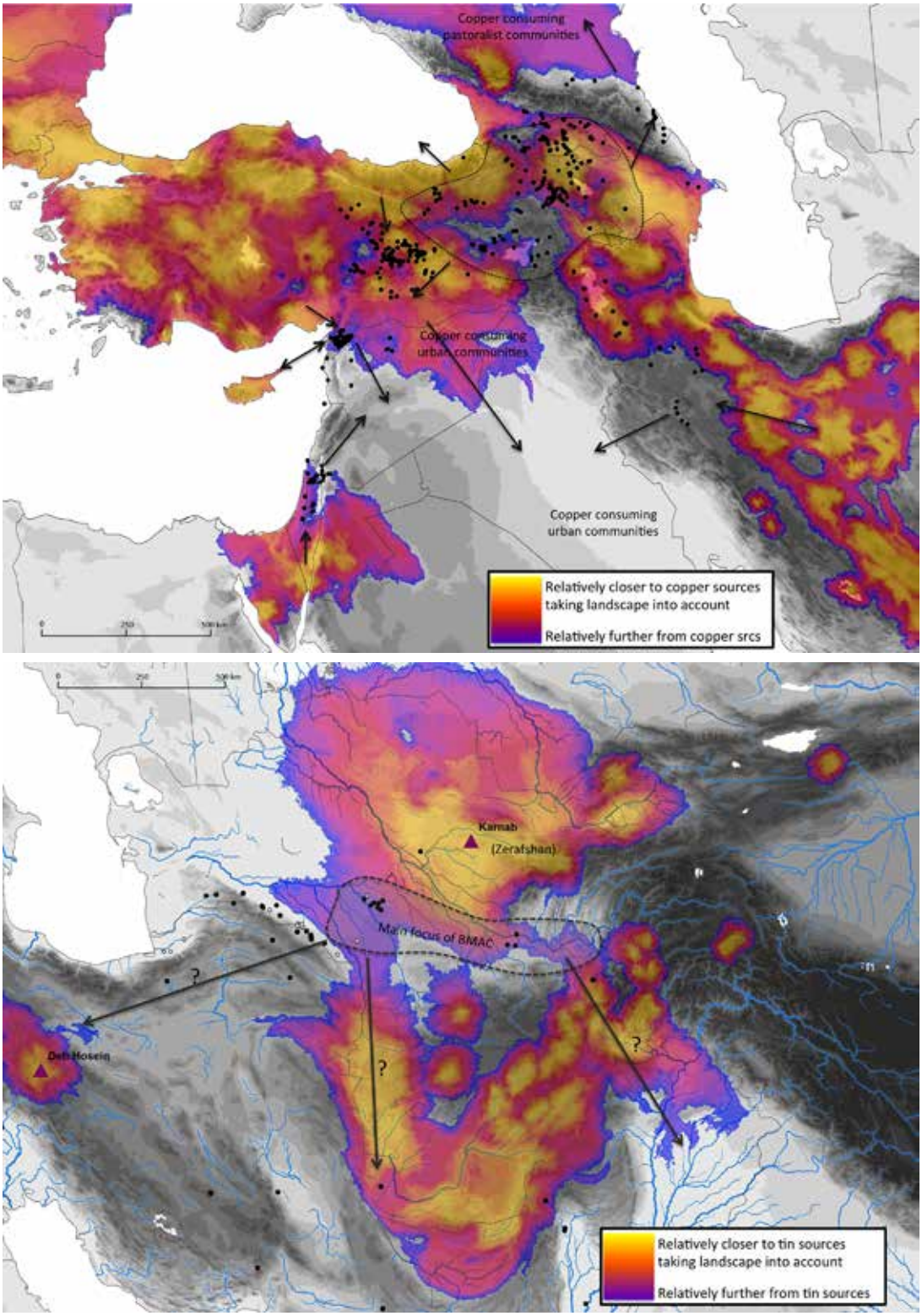


Summary of data on flows of stones, metals and textiles fir periods 2900–2600 and 2600–2300 BCE.

Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-2_2900-2600.jpg>; <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-3_2600-2300BC.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, pp. 293, 296.

Plate XVI

[Waugh, "Re-Imagining," p. xxx]



(top) The relationship between Kura-Arax assemblage (at their greatest extent) and the accessibilityto copper sources known to modern geology (archaeotopogram type A2). (bottom) The relationship between BMAC/Namazga VI-related material culture, the central BMAC zone and areas of high accessibility to tin sources (archaeotopogram type A2).

Source: <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-8_cu_KuraArax.jpg>; <http://tobywilkinson.co.uk/threadsofeurasia/staticfiles/7/FIG7-9_sn_BMAC.jpg>. Also, Wilkinson, pp. 312, 313.