THE SILK ROAD

THE JOURNAL OF THE SILK ROAD HOUSE

Volume 17 2019

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

The Silk Road is an annual online publication of The Silk Road House. Each issue can be viewed and downloaded free of charge at: <http://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal>.

The journal actively invites submissions of articles. Please feel free to contact the editor with any questions or contributions. Information regarding contributions and how to format them may be found on the website. It is very important to follow these guidelines, especially in the matter of citations, when submitting articles for consideration.

Editor: Justin M. Jacobs <jjacobs@american.edu>

All physical mailings concerning the journal, including books for review, should be sent to the editor at his postal address: Justin Jacobs, Department of History, American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016, USA. It is advisable to send him an e-mail as well, informing him of any postings to that address, particularly during the summer.

The Silk Road House (1944 University Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704) is a registered non-profit educational organization.

From the Editor

Not long ago, I was asked to write an article on the history of the concept of the Silk Road in the 19th and 20th centuries for the Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History. As has become customary in Silk Road studies, I began with Ferdinand von Richthofen and his coinage of the term in 1877, before continuing to trace the evolution of the concept into the 20th century. Just as I was signing off on the final version of the manuscript, however, I received a new submission for the journal. The topic was Richthofen. In and of itself, there was nothing surprising about this, since Richthofen often appears as a central subject in scholarship relating to the Silk Road. More surprising, however, was the author's thesis: that Richthofen was not the first to use the phrase "the Silk Road." Not only that, the author argued, but Richthofen wasn't the second or even the third person to use it. In fact, the original German phrase (*die Seidenstrasse*) could be traced back nearly forty years before Richthofen's first usage!

That revelation kicks off the latest volume of *The Silk Road*. In it, Matthias Mertens makes innovative use of new online search engines to confirm, beyond any doubt, that Richthofen borrowed the term from someone else. Mertens' article is required reading for everyone who works in Silk Road studies and will change the way we view the origins of this elusive concept. (Alas, the results of his research came too late to inform my own article!). We then turn our attention to an informative and delightful interview that Sonya Lee conducted with Roderick Whitfield concerning his lengthy experience working on the Stein Collection at the British Museum. Next up is Luca Villa's overview of the little known activities of Francesco Lorenzo Pullè, who contributed numerous South Asian artifacts to the now defunct Museo Indiano in Bologna, Italy. In his article, Villa showcases many of the precious photographs that Pullè bequeathed to posterity to document these artifacts, some of which are now lost. Art historian Zhang He then takes us on a sweeping and richly illustrated journey into textile manufacturing and the exchange of artistic styles and motifs across Eurasia. Sergey Yatsenko revisits the minute details and intricacies of Sogdian dress in China, while I attempt to introduce readers to the historical value of modern Chinese colophons appended to the Dunhuang manuscripts during the first half of the 20th century. A selection of book reviews and journal and conference notices concludes the issue.

Now serving in my second year as editor of *The Silk Road*, I am continually reminded of how vast and endlessly fascinating this field of scholarship can be. In order to ensure that it remain so, I encourage readers of this journal to submit manuscripts for consideration to be published in a future issue of *The Silk Road*. Though we cannot all dethrone Richthofen on our first try, we can each and every one of us enrich the field in our own unique ways.

- Justin M. Jacobs, Editor
American University

Did Richthofen Really Coin "the Silk Road"?

Matthias Mertens

There is little doubt that Ferdinand von Richthofen, the famous German geographer, played an important role in conceptualizing and popularizing the idea of a "silk road." According to historian Daniel C. Waugh, "almost any discussion of the Silk Road today will begin with the obligatory reminder that the noted German geographer [Ferdinand von Richthofen] had coined the term, even if few seem to know where he published it and what he really meant" (2007: 1). But did Richthofen really invent the phrase "the Silk Road," either in its singular (*die Seidenstrasse*) or plural (*Seidenstrassen*) usages? The German archaeologist and geographer Albert Herrmann certainly thought so. In 1910, Herrmann boldly declared that "it was he [Richthofen] who introduced into literature the apt name silk roads [*Seidenstrassen*]" (Herrmann 1910: 7). Three decades later, the Swedish archaeologist Folke Bergman further solidified Richthofen's claim to fame with the observation that "Baron von Richthofen, the famous German geographer, has coined the name Silk Road for these ancient caravan routes, and this name has since been widely used by Westerners" (Bergman 1939: 41).

Though scholars have in recent decades made great strides toward a fuller understanding of the origins and spread of the Silk Road concept (Waugh 2007; Chin 2013; Jacobs 2020), the passive attribution of its original coinage to Richthofen still begs further scrutiny. In their study of the conceptual history of the term "globalization," Paul James and Manfred Stenger have observed that the process of "naming the person who first conceived of a significant word or thing has been crucial for the evolution of modern Western public consciousness" (2014: 417). Because of this collective tendency, "intellectual innovators and technological inventors have been singled out and showered with praise" (417). Richthofen is an excellent example of the individualizing drive described by James and Stenger. As an intellectual innovator, Richthofen certainly did much to consolidate the concept of "the silk road" and introduce it to a broader, albeit still academic, audience. But was Richthofen truly the sole inventor of the term?

With the aid of electronic search engines, a question like this is now much easier to answer. If Richthofen invented the term in 1877, as is often asserted, then it should not appear in books or articles published prior to that date. But it does. By inserting the original German phrases into the Google Ngrams search engine, I was able to trace a history of usage that predates Richthofen by several decades. **Figure 1** shows the graph generated by Google after running a search for four variants of the original German terms for the silk road between the years 1800–1940: *Seidenstraße*, *Seidenstrasse*, *Seidenstraßen*, and *Seidenstrassen*. In it, we can see the gradual dissemination of the term "Silk Road" after 1877 and its sudden popularization in the 1930s. Although much fewer in num-

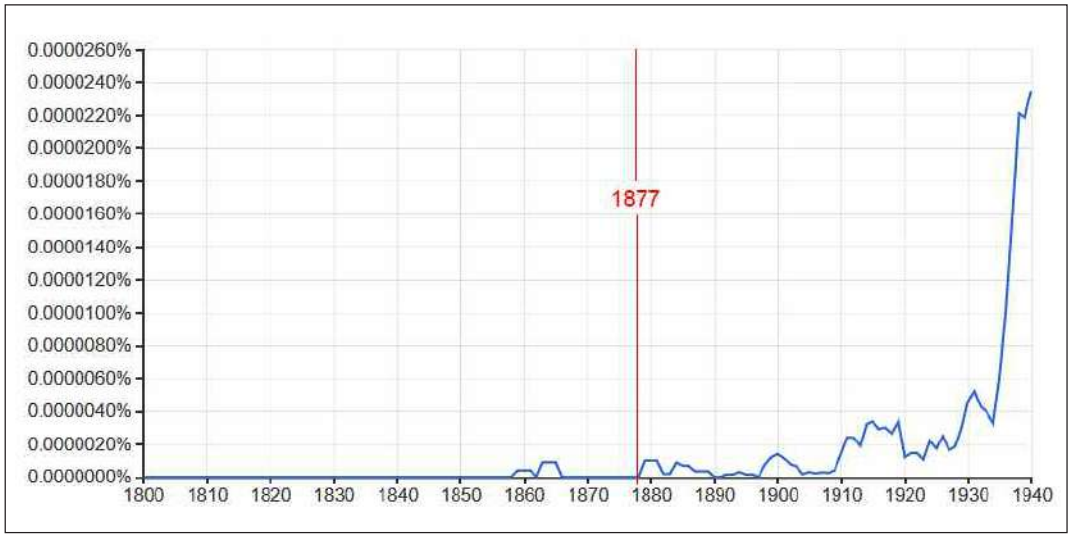


Fig. 1. Search results for German variants of "the Silk Road" on Google Ngrams.

bers, the graph also shows hits for these terms prior to 1877. Upon closer inspection, some of these turned out to be false positives, referencing street names that were merely named after silk. This demonstrates the need to exercise scholarly vigilance while using a tool like Google Ngram. Nevertheless, after carefully sifting through the results, some remarkable discoveries came to light. These discoveries prove that Richthofen did not invent the term "the Silk Road."

The Silk Road before 1877

In 1874, a German high school teacher named Robert Mack completed a dissertation entitled "The Importance of the Black Sea for World Trade" ("Die Beteutung des Schwarzen Meeres für den Welthandel"). In it, Mack explained how the Black Sea had historically served as the gateway for trade along the Silk Road to Europe and the Mediterranean:

> The caravans of China—on the Silk Road [*auf der Seidenstraße*]—[passed] through the Gobi across the Belurdagh to the lands on the Oxus and Jaxartes. For a long time, this road was the only one by which West Asia and India were connected to China. ... For traffic to the Mediterranean and Europe, these exceptionally important commercial centers in Asia depended, because of geographical conditions, on the Black Sea. (Mack 1874: 7)

In this passage, Mack outlines only a rudimentary itinerary for the Silk Road, which is said to pass from China to Central Asia and then continue onward from the Black Sea to Europe. This description is no match for the far more sophisticated one that Richthofen would provide just three years later in 1877. Since Mack's focus lay with the Black Sea, the Silk Road appears in his dissertation only one time. Therefore, it seems safe to say that Mack merely borrowed the term from somewhere else and that its origin must be found further back in time.

One possible source of inspiration for Mack might have been Hermann Guthe's *Textbook of Geography for Middle and Upper Classes of Higher Education Institutions* (*Lehrbuch der Geographie für die mittleren und oberen Classen höherer Bildungs-Anstalten*), which was published six years earlier in 1868. As is evident from the title of this work, Guthe, a teacher at the Polytechnicum in Hannover, was writing for an audience of teachers, students, and autodidacts of geography. In Chapter 7, which deals with the geography of Asia, Guthe included the following passage:

> Along these ways the Buddhist missionaries (Xuanzang 640 AD) pushed into India from China; from here Roman traders reached the "Silk Road" [*Seidenstraße*] to bring that precious product [i.e., silk] to the West, and still one can see the remains of the "Stone Tower" [*Steineren Thurms*], a large caravanserai, where the exchange of goods took place. The Nestorians trod the same route to establish Christian communities in Central Asia and to bring to the Mongols a script and the first beginnings of higher civilization, and finally they were followed by Muhammadian preachers. (Guthe 1868: 176)

Guthe pointed out the importance of the Silk Road for both trade and cultural exchanges, with Roman merchants travelling the same route as Buddhist, Nestorian, and Islamic missionaries. These are familiar themes to any student of the Silk Road.

So is Guthe the unlikely inventor of *die Seidenstraße*? It seems not. A closer look at the list of search results on Google Ngram reveals several that predate Guthe's textbook. In 1858, Johann Kaeuffer, a theologian from Saxony, published his three-volume *History of East Asia* (*Geschichte von Ost-Asien*). In volume two, Kaeuffer mentions "the Silk Road" (*Seidenstrasse*) on five separate occasions (1858: 120, 413, 421, 719, 794). Unlike Mack, however, who considered the Black Sea to constitute an important segment of the silk road, Kaeuffer concluded that the Silk Road began along the banks of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia before heading east to China (Kaeuffer 1858: 413, 719)

Throughout his book, Kaeuffer deploys the Silk Road as an established term, never explaining what he means by it. In several of these usages, Kaeuffer paired the term "Silk Road" with the adjective "old," and on one occasion he even goes so far as to invoke its fame: "Which was the old famous Silk Road [*die alte berühmte Seidenstrasse*] to China from the west?" (1858: 413). This suggests that he expected his readers to be familiar with the term, while simultaneously hinting at the existence of an earlier source. Kaeuffer himself points the way. In a

chapter on the trade of silk, tea, and rhubarb through Central Asia, Kaeuffer indicates that he drew on the work of the German geographer Carl Ritter and his research into the transfer of sericulture from China to the West: "And here once more," Kaeuffer wrote, "is due the most honorable recognition of great merit to the great geographer Karl Ritter" (1858: 411).

Ritter [**Fig. 2**], one of the fathers of modern geography, was the author of an expansive work entitled *Geography in Relation to Nature and Human History* (*Die Erdkunde im Verhaltniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen*). The first edition, printed in 1817–18, consisted of two volumes. In the second volume, Ritter discussed the historical role of Fergana as the "country of passage for Central Asia." In it, he frequently deploys the term "Seres," the inhabitants of Serica, the land where silk was believed to originate:

> This is the eastern continuation of the passage, which Ibn Hawqal named "the great road of Fergana" [*die große Straße von Ferghana*] from Samarkand to Khujand. It is also the same great trade route to the Seres [*große Handelsstraße zu den Seren*] from where the great overland road passed through Bactra to Barhgaza in the south to India. ... To this trade route, to which we have already referred to on Ptolemy ... [Ibn Hawqal] adds the interesting news of four rich and famous cities of the Seres, to which the caravans journeyed to get silk and the fine Serian fabrics that made these people so famous. (Ritter 1818/2: 548–49)

As described by Ptolemy, the "great road of Fergana" was imagined to extend from Samarkand to Seres in the east and thence southward into India. Ritter emphasized its significance by pointing out that caravans hauled silk along this road from Seres to Central Asia and beyond. This great passage was, according to Ritter, the link between the Near East and the Far East, connecting China with Turkestan, Iran, and India. Note the absence of Greece and Rome. A more detailed knowledge of this route, Ritter promised, would shine a light on the history of the peoples of the old continent (Ritter 1818/2: 549). Thus it is clear that the *concept* of the Silk Road was manifestly present in Ritter's depiction of Fergana. Then, as he compares the metallurgical achievements of the Parthians and the ancient Chinese, Ritter takes a great stride towards

Fig. 2. The German geographer Carl Ritter (1779-1859). Lithograph of a photograph by Rudolf Hoffmann, 1857.

reifying this concept into a term:

> Note that Pliny praises the steelwork of the Seres as the most excellent, and Parthian iron as the second best; [and] that the ore mountains of Osruschena geographically lie between both on the big road of the Seres [*Straße der Seren*] through Fergana. (Ritter 1818/2: 558)

With his use here of the phrase *Straße der Seren*, or "road of the Seres," Ritter draws another obvious link between silk and the route through Central Asia that connected China with lands further west. This makes the *Straße der Seren* a clear precursor to the phrase "Silk Road." But Ritter's association of silk with trans-Eurasian interaction was not novel. Already in 1805, Joseph Hager visualized the route of the expedition of Maes Titianus on a map entitled "Route of a Greek Caravan to China" ("Route d'une Caravanne Greque a la Chine") (Hager 1805: 120–22). As pointed out by Tamara Chin (2013: 201), the imagery of a mulberry tree and silkworms placed in the bottom right-hand corner of the map indicate an association between silk and trans-Eurasian exchange.

The second edition of Ritter's *Die Erdkunde*, published between 1822 and 1859, greatly surpassed its predecessor in both scale and ambition. Of its nineteen volumes, fourteen dealt with the geography of Asia. In the second volume, published in 1832, Ritter returned to the "road of the Seres" (*Straße der Seren*) in a brief annotation on the spread of Nestorianism to the east. As he describes the path followed by Nestorian missionaries, the *Straße der Seren* stars as the "great trade route to China":

> Over Merv … and over Bactria to Samarcand and Sascar [Kashgar] goes the main road of the Christian-Nestorian missions of this time. Also here is the entry to the great trade route to China, on the upper Hoangho [*Huanghe*, "Yellow River"], this is the old road of the Seres [*die alte Straße der Seren*], which was already described by Ptolemy. (Ritter 1832/2: 285)

In 1838, Ritter published the eighth volume of *Die Erdkunde*, which covered the Iranian world. In chapter thirteen, Ritter touched upon the importance of Gilan, a province in northwestern Iran, as a center of silk production. He then posed the question of how Gilan had become such a wealthy center of sericulture. First off, he rejected the claim of Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, an 18th century German natural scientist, that silkworms and sericulture were indigenous to Gilan. Instead, Ritter pointed to China as the most likely source of sericulture. How then did it end up in Gilan? Initially, Ritter suggested a maritime route through the Arabian Sea to India and Sri Lanka and then onward to China. But he subsequently declared that this wasn't the only passage along which sericulture could have been transferred to the west:

> Besides this southern maritime route over Ceylon, India and the Persian-Arabian Sea … opened at almost the same time the northern continental route of the silk road [*nördliche continentale Weg der Seidenstraße*], from China westwards to the Caspian Sea. (Ritter 1838/8: 692)

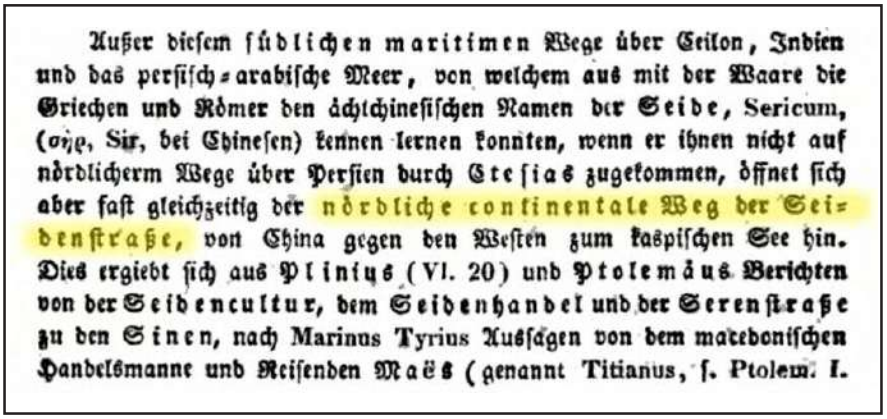

Außer dieſem ſüdlichen maritimen Wege über Ceilon, Indien und das perſiſch-arabiſche Meer, von welchem aus mit der Waare die Griechen und Römer den ächtchineſiſchen Namen der Seide, Sericum, (σῆρ, Sir, bei Chineſen) kennen lernen konnten, wenn er ihnen nicht auf nördlicherm Wege über Perſien durch Cteſias zugekommen, öffnet ſich aber faſt gleichzeitig der nördliche continentale Weg der Seidenſtraße, von China gegen den Weſten zum kaſpiſchen See hin. Dies ergiebt ſich aus Pliniys (VI. 20) und Ptolemäus Berichten von der Seidencultur, dem Seidenhandel und der Serenſtraße zu den Sinen, nach Marinus Tyrius Ausſagen von dem macedoniſchen Handelsmanne und Reiſenden Maës (genannt Titianus, ſ. Ptolem. I.

Fig. 3. Excerpt from Ritter's eighth volume of Die Erdkunde (1838/8: 692). *The portion highlighted in yellow ("nördliche continentale Weg der Seidenstraße") may represent the first usage of the term "Seidenstraße."*

Here we see Ritter identify the path of the Silk Road as a northern continental route from China to the Caspian Sea. Before we wonder if this usage represents the first appearance of the term "Silk Road" [**Fig. 3**], we should try to understand what Ritter meant by it. After mentioning the *Seidenstraße,* Ritter summed up the evidence for the existence of an overland route between China and the West. He first turns to the ancients: Pliny, Ptolemy, Dionysius Periegetus, Agathemerus, Ammian Marcellus, and others. Their accounts, according to Ritter, provided ample proof for the existence of an ancient route from Fergana to Samarkand and Bukhara. Curiously, Ritter referred to this route as the *Serenstraße*. This seems to be a variation on the *Straße der Seren* ("road of the Seres"), which in volume two still encompassed Merv and Kashgar (Ritter 1838: 692–93).

Ritter then continued by addressing the fact that the route from Fergana into China was still, despite the great efforts of geographers, unclear. Here Ritter gives us a hint of his interpretation of the terms *Seidenstraße* and *Straße der Seren.* In volume eight, which concerns the Iranian world, he writes the following:

> Here is not the place for the road of the Seres [*Straße der Seren*], from China over high Central Asia ... especially since what matters to us here now is the location of the western stations from the Stone Tower on to the Caspian Sea. (Ritter 1838/8: 693)

Ritter's *Straße der Seren* was confined to the route

between China and Central Asia. The precise location of western stations or trade stops between the Stone Tower, which Ritter believed to be the Takht-i-Suleiman Rock in Osh, and the Caspian Sea, was his true object of interest. It seems, then, that Ritter's understanding of the terms *Straße der Seren* and *Seidenstraße* was as follows. *Straße der Seren* referred to the stretch of roads from China to Central Asia. These roads, however, constituted merely one segment of the much greater *Seidenstraße*, which covered the whole distance from China to the West, in this case the Caspian Sea.

But this cannot be anything more than a cautious conclusion. In *Die Erdkunde*, Ritter only used the term *Seidenstraße* once and did not provide a clear definition of the term. At the same time, the German geographer Ferdinand Heinrich Müller also used a slight variation of these terms. In his 1837 book *The Ugric Tribe* [*Der Ugrische Volksstamm*], Müller defined the *SerenStraße* as a route stretching from China to Europe:

> Enterprising merchants, who from the furthest East on the great road of the Seres [*auf der großen Serenstraße*] passed across the East-Asian highlands through the Alpine land of Fergana on the upper Jaxartes (Gihon), brought precious woven silk from the homeland of the silk worm to the Western world. (Müller 1837: 63)

In light of the above evidence, are we now obliged to crown Ritter, who first deployed the term *Seidenstraße* in 1838, as the true inventor of the phrase "the Silk Road"? The immensity of *Die Erdkunde* allows us to witness the gradual reification of an abstract historical concept into a concrete historical term, from vague concepts regarding "a great passage" and the "great road of Fergana" over the *Straße der Seren* into, finally, the *Seidenstraße.* It is important, however, not to fall victim to the individualizing drive that once crowned Richthofen the inventor of the Silk Road. Ritter's definition of the *Seidenstraße* remained limited and unclear in relation to the term *Straße der Seren*.

Moreover, it is certainly possible that there is still yet another author who used the term before Ritter. In order to write *Die Erdkunde*, Ritter drew upon numerous ancient, medieval, and modern authors. Some notable near contemporaries that Ritter often referred to in relation to trans-Eurasian interaction were Abel Rémusat, Julius Klaproth, and Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville. A closer study of the work of these men could cast more light on the roots of the term "the Silk Road."

Ritter's deployment of the term "silk road" has another fascinating ramification. The Silk Road concept is, because of its relation to Richthofen, broadly considered to be a product of Western imperialist thinking (Waugh 2007; Chin 2013; Jacobs 2020). Ritter's earlier use of the Silk Road draws this assumption into question. Could it be that the Silk Road's inception is related not to Western imperial and colonial ambitions, but rather to more benign cosmopolitan reasoning? Tamara Chin has already pointed out an early link between the Silk Road concept and cosmopolitanism in Immanuel Kant's description of the ancient silk trade between Europe and "the Land of the People of Ser" within a narrative of perpetual peace (Chin 2013: 196). If so, this would reinforce Marie Thorsten's interpretation of the Silk Road as the symbol of an imagined global community, right down to the very origins of the concept (Thorsten 2005).

Ritter vs. Richthofen

Ritter used the term Silk Road 39 years prior to Richthofen. Furthermore, there is little chance that Richthofen was unaware of previous uses of the term. After all, in his oft-cited *China, Ergebnisse eigner Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien*, Richthofen made specific reference to Kaeuffer's work (Richthofen 1877/a: 700). Not only that, but his thinking about China was heavily influenced by Ritter (Osterhammel 1987: 167–69). He therefore could not have invented the term independently. This revelation, however, does not mean that Richthofen has now lost all his former significance. In the end, Richthofen still set in motion an important new development in the conceptual history of the Silk Road.

First, he provided a far more precise definition of the Silk Road, in part because he had so much more material with which to work. Between 1838 and 1877, historical and geographical knowledge developed by leaps and bounds. In the decade immediately preceding Richthofen's deployment of

"the Silk Road" term, for instance, Henry Yule (1866) published *Cathay and the Way Thither* and Emile Bretschneider (1875) published *Chinese Travelers of the Middle Ages to West Asia* (*Chinesische Reisende des Mittelalter nach West-Asien*).

Richthofen was, therefore, able to produce a far more precise and informed definition of the latest iteration of the Silk Road concept (Jacobs 2020). But his definition was, in the words of Daniel Waugh, "really quite limited" (2007: 5). Richthofen described the routes along which silk was traded through Central Asia from 114 BCE until 120 CE, and justified this tight temporal delineation by stating that before 114 BCE trade in silk had been indirect and unorganized. After 120 CE, when the Han dynasty had retreated from Central Asia, Richthofen asserted, the nature of the silk trade changed so dramatically that "the concept of transcontinental silk roads (*transcontinentaler Seidenstrassen*) has for later eras lost its meaning." (Richthofen 1877b: 95–122). In addition to his clear temporal criteria, Richthofen's *Seidenstraße* was also defined in strict spatial terms. It was, as Tamara Chin has pointed out, a "measurable route" (2013: 202).

Second, Richthofen consolidated the concept of the Silk Road under a single term. In the first volume of *China*, Richthofen referred to trans-Eurasian trade routes with various terms. For the southern route through the Tarim Basin, for example, he uses both *Sererstrasse* ("Seres road") and *Karawanenstrasse* ("caravan route"). But then, like Ritter, he applies the *Seidenstrasse* as an overarching term for the whole route, from China to Iran and beyond (Richthofen 1877/1: 500). On June 2, 1877, during a lecture given at the Society for Geography (*Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*) in Berlin, Richthofen abandoned earlier terms such as *Sererstrasse*. In its place, Richthofen talked only about the *Seidenstrassen,* in its plural form, which was invoked both in the title and throughout the lecture (Richthofen 1877b). It is clear that Richthofen's work, unlike that of Ritter, shows an evolution towards the consolidation of the Silk Road concept under a single term and a single road, free from the ambiguity of various overlapping terms.

Last but not least, Richthofen's use of the term marked the first step toward the transfer of the *Seidenstrasse* from German to French and English. Prior to 1877, Google Ngram does not produce any hits for English and French versions of *Seidenstrasse*. Apparently, Ritter's use of the term did not inspire French scholars who were studying the same topics. In 1842, for example, Jean-Marie Pardessus published an article entitled "A Report on the Silk Trade among the Ancients" ("Mémoire sur le commerce de la soie chez les anciens"). Though Pardessus gives a description, using Ptolemy's accounts of Maes Titianus, of the route along which silk had been carried from east to west, he makes no mention of either Ritter's term or Ritter himself (Pardessus 1842). Even more astonishing is Ernest Pariset's *The History of Silk* (*Histoire de la Soie*), which appeared in 1862. Despite providing his readers with a detailed and comprehensive overview of historical interactions involving silk across Eurasia, Pariset also avoids any mention of the term.

In stark contrast to Ritter, Richthofen's liberal deployment of the *Seidenstrasse* in 1877 lecture in Berlin found its way into two separate English translations just one year after the appearance of his multivolume *China* series. In 1878, two articles bearing the exact same title, "The Ancient Silk Road Trader's Route across Central Asia," appeared separately in both *The Geographical Magazine* (Markham 1878a) and *The Popular Science Monthly* (Markham 1878b)—one for British audiences and one for the Americans (Chin 2013: 198–99). Both made use of the terms "silk route" and "silk road." (The French translation, which appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, did not mention the Silk Road (Chanoine 1878: 81–85).

The difference between the reception of Ritter and Richthofen can be explained by major changes that occurred in the field of geography during the decades that had passed between their two careers. When Ritter published the seventh volume of *Die Erdkunde* in 1838, geography was still a discipline in its infancy. By the time Richthofen's *China* hit the press, however, geography had become a respectable science with a dynamic transnational community of scholars and enthusiasts. In 1871, for example, the first International Geographic Congress was held in Antwerp—a

transnational means of communication among like-minded scholars of historical geography that was not available in Ritter's day.

Although Richthofen was the first to push the term across linguistic borders, a more significant step in the *Seidenstrasse*'s venture out of the Germanophone world came in 1882 with the publication of the seventh volume of Élisée Reclus's *New Universal Geography: The Earth and Men* (*Nouvelle Géographie Universelle: La terre et les hommes*). Reclus, a French geographer who had studied under Carl Ritter at the University of Berlin, frequently referred to Richthofen throughout his work in praiseworthy terms. In his *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Reclus characterized Chinese Turkestan as follows:

> Chinese Turkestan has always had great importance as a place of passage. … Greek and Chinese merchants met on the Silk Route [*la route de la Soie*]; Buddhist missionaries, Arab merchants, the great Venetian Marco Polo, then other European travelers of the Middle Ages all had to stay in the oases of Chinese Turkestan before resuming their painful march. (Reclus 1882: 104)

In 1895, Reclus's *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* was also translated into English and published in both Britain and the United States as *The Earth and its Inhabitants*. It contained the same characterization of Chinese Turkestan, translating *la route de la Soie* as "the Silk Route" (Reclus 1895: 58–59). Nevertheless, even after 1877, despite all of Richthofen's and Reclus's efforts, the term "silk road" remained confined mostly to the Germanophone world and academic circles. The real breakthrough of the term into French and English should be sought in the 1920s and 1930s, when Sven Hedin, Peter Fleming, Ella Maillart, Rosita Forbes, and others published travel writings about Central Asia that reached a broad audience.

Conclusion

Richthofen did not coin the term "silk road." Scholars such as Robert Mack, Hermann Guthe, and Johann Kaeuffer preceded him. Richthofen was but one of many links in the long chain that brought the *Seidenstrasse* out of academic obscurity and closer to the international fame it enjoys today. He provided a precise definition, consolidated the concept in a single term, and helped to set in motion the export of *Seidenstrasse* to other languages.

A likely candidate to replace Richthofen as inventor of the term "silk road" is Carl Ritter. Before we make Ritter the new subject of "obligatory reminders" in our discussions about the Silk Road, however, we might do well to step back and ponder the implications of such a move. If the results of my inquiry into the origin of the "silk road" term have taught us anything, it is that we should not concentrate our attention on one single individual. Instead, we should exchange our biographical approach for a prosopographical approach—one that appreciates the complexities of the Silk Road's conceptual and terminological history among many actors and across many linguistic and political boundaries. After all, the reification of the Silk Road concept into a concrete single term was the result of a team effort from a community of scholars that spanned generations.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Matthias Mertens is a history teacher and independent scholar based in Antwerp, Belgium. E-mail: <MatthiasMertens_1706@hotmail.com>.

REFERENCES

Bergman 1939
Folke Bergman. *Archaeological Researches in Sinkiang.* Stockholm: Bokforlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1939.

Bretschneider 1876
Emile Bretschneider. *Chinesische Reisende des Mittelalter nach West-Asien.* London: Trübner & Co., 1876.

Chin 2013
Tamara Chin. "The Invention of the Silk Road, 1877." *Critical Inquiry* 40 (2013): 194–219.

Chanoine 1878
Charles Chanoine. "Les publications nouvelles sur la Chine et L'Extreme Orient," *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 7, no. 15 (1878): 81–85.

Guthe 1868
Hermann Guthe. *Lehrbuch der Geographie: für die*

mittleren und oberen Classen höherer Bildungs-Anstalten sowie zum Selbstunterricht. Hannover: Hahnische Hofbuchhandlung, 1868.

Hager 1805
Joseph Hager. *Description Des Médailles Chinoises Du Cabinet Impérial de France : Précédée d'un Essai de Numismatique Chinoise.* Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1805.

Herrmann 1910
Albert Herrmann. *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien. Aus dem zweiten Buch: Zentralasien nach Ss-ma Ts'ien und den Annalen der Han-Dynastie*. Wittenberg: Herrosé & Ziemsen, 1910.

Jacobs 2020
Justin M. Jacobs. "The Concept of the Silk Road in the 19th and 20th Centuries." In: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, ed. David Ludden, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

James and Manfred 2014
Paul James and Steger Manfred. "A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept." *Globalizations* 11, no. 4 (2014): 417–34.

Kaeuffer and Rudolf 1859
Johann Ernst Rudolf Kaeuffer. *Geschichte von Ost-Asien: für Freunde der Geschichte der Menschheit dargestellt*. 3 vols. Lepzig: Brockhaus, 1859.

Mack 1874
Robert Mack. "Die Beteutung Des Schwarzen Meeres Für Den Welthandel." *Programm Des Gymnasiums Martino-Catharineum Zu Braunschweig*, s.n. (1874): 3–27.

Markham 1878a
Clements Markham. "The Ancient Silk Road Trader's Route Across Central Asia." *The Geographical Magazine* 5 (1878): 10–14.

Markham 1878b
Clements Markham. "The Ancient Silk Road Trader's Route Across Central Asia." *The Popular Science Monthly – Supplement*. 13-18 (1878): 377–83.

Müller 1837
Ferdinand Heinrich Müller. *Der Ugrische Volksstamm; oder Untersuchungen über die Ländergebiete am Ural und am Kaukasus, in historischer, geographischer und ethnographischer Beziehung*. Berlin: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1837.

Osterhammel 1987
Jürgen Osterhammel. "Forschungsreise und Kolonialprogramm: Ferdinand von Richthofen und die Erschließung Chinas im 19. Jahrhundert." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 69, no. 1 (1987): 150–95.

Pardessus 1842
Jean-Marie Pardessus. "Mémoire sur le commerce de la soie chez les anciens, antérieurement au VIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne, époque où l'éducation des vers à soie a été introduite en Europe." *Mémoires de l'Institut de France* 15, no. 1 (1842) : 1–47.

Pariset 1862
Ernest Pariset. *L'Histoire de la soie*. Paris: A. Durand, 1862.

Reclus 1882
Élisée Reclus. *Nouvelle géographie universelle: la terre et les hommes.* 19 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1882.

Reclus 1895
Elisée Reclus. *The Earth and Its Inhabitants: The Universal Geography*. 19 vols. London: J.S. Virtue & Co., 1895.

Richthofen 1877a
Ferdinand von Richthofen. *China: Ergebnisse Eigener Reisen Und Darauf Gegründeter Studien*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1877.

Richthofen 1877b
Ferdinand von Richthofen. "Vortrage: Herr von Richthofen: Ueber Die Centralasiatischen Seidenstrassen Bis Zum 2. Jarhundert n. Chr." *Verhandlungen Der Gesellschaft Fur Erdkunde Zu Berlin* 5 (1877): 96–122.

Ritter 1818
Carl Ritter. *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen: oder Allgemeine, vergleichende Geographie, als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften*. 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1818.

Ritter 1832
Carl Ritter. *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen: oder Allgemeine, vergleichende Geographie, als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften. Ost-*

asien. 19 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1832.

Ritter 1838
Carl Ritter. *Die Erdkunde im Verhaltniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen: oder Allgemeine vergleichende Geographie, als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften. Die Erdkunde von Asien*. 19 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1838.

Thorsten 2005
Marie Thorsten. "Silk Road Nostalgia and Imagined Global Community." *Comparative American Studies* 3, no. 3 (2005): 301–17.

Waugh 2007
Daniel Waugh. "Richthofen's "Silk Roads": Toward the Archaeology of a Concept." *The Silk Road* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–10.

Yule 1866
Henry Yule. *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China.* London: Hakluyt Society, 1866.

An Interview with Roderick Whitfield on the Stein Collection in the British Museum

Sonya S. Lee
University of Southern California

The Stein Collection in the British Museum is home to some of the most important artifacts discovered in China's Central Asian regions. There are 249 paintings from Dunhuang and several thousand works from various sites along the ancient Silk Road, including painted wooden panels, architectural ornaments, terracotta sculptures, coins, and textiles. All these works, along with over 45,000 manuscripts and printed documents now in the British Library as well as 221 paintings from Dunhuang and large murals and archaeological finds from Central Asian sites in the National Museum of New Delhi, were obtained by Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) during three expeditions to the region that he undertook under the joint auspices of the Government of India and the Trustees of the British Museum in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Stein's successes in acquiring thousands of ancient manuscripts and artifacts from the Daoist abbot Wang Yuanlu at Mogao Caves and bringing them safely to Europe had earned him tremendous fame as one of the greatest explorers of all times.[1]

While his contribution to uncovering many long lost civilizations in Central Asia and establishing the study of material remains from these ancient cultures as a viable field of research in modern academia is beyond doubt, Stein's style of carrying out archaeological excavations and removing artifacts to foreign countries has made him a much vilified figure in post-imperial China. Indeed, his fourth expedition to China's northwest frontiers in 1930 was thwarted by nationalist intellectuals who actively cast the explorer as an imperialist plunderer of China's national treasures and demanded his expulsion from the country.[2] As a result, Stein and many foreign explorers of his generation have since been tied to this negative narrative, which in many ways facilitated the development of a national policy on heritage preservation under the Republican government and later in the People's Republic of China.

More than a century has passed since Stein first brought manuscripts and objects from the ancient Silk Road to England.[3] As expected, the first generation of scholars who worked on these materials—most of whom were personally invited by Stein to participate—focused on identifying the contents and interpreting their significance within their proper historical contexts, while Stein devoted himself to producing an impressive number of detailed expedition reports and catalogues. The explorer's own legacy did not become a subject of inquiry until recent decades, when curators at the British Library and the British Museum began to publish critical studies on Stein and his time.[4] As our understanding of the history of archaeological exploration along the ancient Silk Road continues to evolve, the interest in reassessing Stein will no doubt persist for many years to come.

In the meantime, the historiographic turn in Silk Road studies has also called our attention to other episodes in the history of the field that have remained little explored. A case in point is the state of the Stein Collection in the postwar era. In the first few decades following the end of the Second World War, Central Asian objects were part of the display in permanent galleries of the British Museum, but they were rarely featured in any special exhibitions or research projects organized by the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the time. It was not until the arrival of Roderick Whitfield as Assistant Keeper in the department in 1968 that the situation began to change. His tenure not only marked a renewed interest in the Stein Collection both in the U.K. and abroad, but also coincided with the opening of Communist China under Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms. The increased contact with colleagues in Dunhuang and elsewhere in China brought about new directions in research and collaboration, thus signaling the emergence of a different kind of internationalism in the study of Buddhist art and archaeology beyond its roots in the imperialism and nationalism

of the past century.

This interview was conducted on June 30, 2016, in London. Its publication was originally intended to coincide with the eightieth birthday of Roderick Whitfield, Percival David Professor Emeritus at SOAS, University of London, in 2017. The following is a straightforward transcription of the conversation between the author and Dr. Whitfield on a wide range of topics related to his work in the British Museum, including exhibition and display practices, collection management and development, museum culture, the relationship between Chinese painting studies and Dunhuang art history, conservation and technical investigation, and teaching.

Prior to his appointment at SOAS and as Head of the Percival David Foundation in 1984, Dr. Whitfield was Assistant Keeper in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum from 1968 to 1984. He is the author of numerous articles, books, and exhibition catalogues on Chinese art history and Dunhuang painting, including *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum* (Tokyo, 1982), *Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road* (London, 1995), and *Exploring China's Past: New Discoveries and Studies in Archaeology and Art* (London, 1999).

———

Interview

[SL = Sonya S. Lee; RW = Roderick Whitfield]

***SL*:** Before we begin on the main subject, could you tell us how you came to the job in the British Museum? And what was it like to work there at the time?

***RW*:** The story starts a bit early, because when I graduated in 1965, I also submitted my dissertation to my Cambridge college, St. Johns, and was awarded a three-year research fellowship with an option to spend one year anywhere I chose. I elected to stay at Princeton for another year. In the summer of 1965 I worked with my supervisor, Professor Wen Fong, on the Morse Collection.[5] During the fall, I taught Art 304, the undergraduate survey course of Chinese art, as Professor Fong was not well that term. In early 1966 I worked as Peter Swann's assistant on installing the Asian galleries in the new Princeton Art Museum, which had been rebuilt and was due to open in the summer. Peter Swann was the Keeper of Oriental Art at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.[6] We worked together for six weeks. After he departed, I continued to do the rest of the installation. Peter was an irascible character who couldn't stand Princeton society, preferring to spend the weekends with friends in New York, but he was great to work with.

While we were in the middle of this period, he was appointed to be the next director of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and his post at the Ashmolean Museum was advertised. So I breezed in one morning and said, "Hello Peter, you will be glad to know that I have applied for your job!" He was not amused, wondering why this student had applied for a senior position. And of course I didn't get interviewed, but one of the members of the board considering applications happened to be Basil Gray, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum.[7] Two years later, in the summer of 1968, Basil Gray wrote to me, asking me to apply for a post at the British Museum. This was on the retirement of Soame Jenyns, who was an authority on Ming ceramics and later Chinese porcelain.[8] I inherited his magnificent roll-top Victorian desk, which the in-house carpenters at the Museum beautifully restored.

The work at the Princeton Art Museum involved all kinds of things, as there were ancient bronzes, ceramics, and other objects in addition to Chinese and Japanese paintings. I designed cases for handscrolls. For the end wall of the gallery, I made a giant map of the Silk Road on perspex, basing it on a late 19th-century German map of Asia from the library of the American Museum of Natural History that showed physical features such as the Yellow River very clearly. That was my first exposure to museum work, although I was a very practical person. My mother was a bookbinder and weaver, and I was taught at home until age 11, so I have always been accustomed to making things. I was a good assistant for Peter, because we understood each other and I could do what he wanted. He would send me off to New York to buy fabric for cases. Professor Fong was very keen on long explanatory labels, which I handset and printed on tasteful

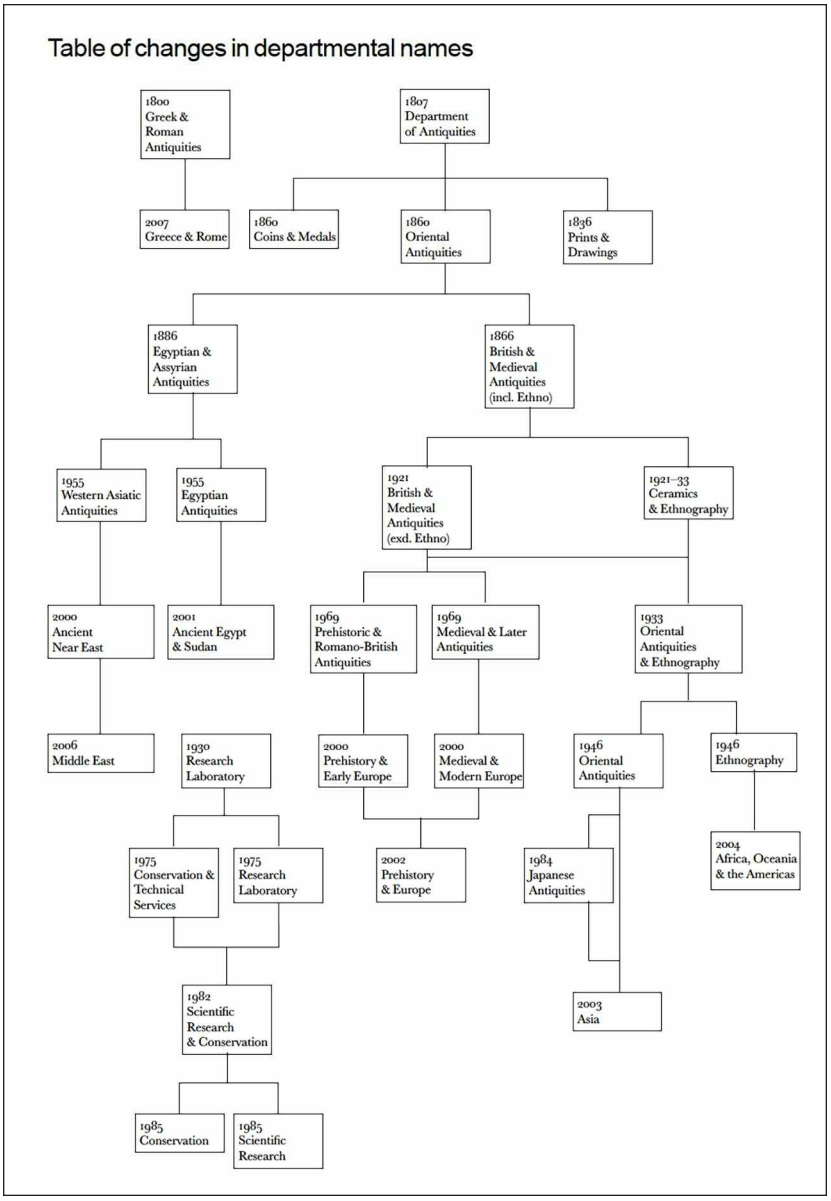


Fig. 1. Table of Changes in Departmental Names in the British Museum.

green paper. This style of long, explanatory labels survives at Princeton Art Museum and I brought them over to the British Museum later on.

I started to work at the British Museum in September 1968. I well remember that there was nobody in the department on the day I started, except for Basil Gray, son-in-law of Laurence Binyon, who had been the head of the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the early 20th century [**Fig. 1**]. Gray was one of the last keepers to live on the Museum premises, in the East Residence, where I visited him during my time at Cambridge. Later I visited him in his house in Abingdon, where I remember works by Ben Nicolson and two brightly colored fragments of a wall painting from Kizil.[9] Albert von le Coq had financed his expedition to Central Asia by selling such pieces, and I imagine he had inherited these from Binyon. Gray was the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities but that year he was also the Acting Director of the British Museum, so I didn't see very much of him, but he was my main support in the department, where apparently, there had been some consternation on account of my Ph.D., which no one else in the department had, although Ralph Pinder-Wilson was universally known as "Doctor" as he had embarked on a Ph.D. at SOAS but never completed it. An Islamic scholar, Ralph was the nicest person, extremely knowledgeable and friendly.[10]

For Japan, there was Lawrence Smith, who had joined the department from the Department of Manuscripts in 1965 to fill the position vacated by David Waterhouse.[11] In regard to Chinese art, Jessica Rawson had come to the museum in 1967, succeeding William Watson on his appointment as Professor of Chinese Art and Head of the Percival David Foundation.[12] Her remit was from ancient times down to the Song dynasty, whereas mine was from Yuan dynasty to the present day, plus Chinese painting, including the paintings in the Stein collection. In 1975 she and I collaborated on the installation of the exhibition of *Chinese Jade through the Ages* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for which she and John Ayers wrote the catalogue.[13]

On Basil Gray's retirement in 1969, Douglas Barrett became the next Keeper.[14] Barrett was a specialist of Indian Sculpture and had very good contacts through Spink's, a major dealer in Indian sculpture. He published a catalogue on the Amaravati collection which at that time was not on public view, as it was stored away in a distant basement.[15] In September 1976 during Barrett's Keepership, the colossal Sui Buddha, dated 585, was brought out of another basement where it had been lying and erected on the North Staircase, which had to be filled with scaffolding to bring it in through the top window.[16]

Also working on Indian art was Wladimir Zwalf, who joined the department from the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books at Barrett's insistence.[17] Wladimir was a Sanskritist and a wonderful person, with whom I was able to work to gather together in the large basement of the King Edward Building all the Indian sculptures until then stored in various basements around the Museum. This was a preliminary task prior to the compilation of his definitive catalogue on Gandhara sculpture.[18] In 1976, much against his better judgement, I persuaded Wladimir, a fluent Russian speaker, to join me in a week-long visit to Leningrad. In the event, it was a great success: we spent almost the whole time in the State Hermitage, and were shown all the paintings from Khara Khoto, as well as the galleries of Central Asian Art, at that time closed to the public. This was a great help to me when, at Wladimir's behest, I undertook to produce the third volume of *Art in Central Asia: the Stein Collection at the British Museum,* comprising the textiles, stucco sculptures and wooden objects from Central Asian sites, which were nominally Wladimir's responsibility. In 1985, soon after leaving the Museum, I was also able to contribute to his fine exhibition catalogue, *Buddhism: Art and Faith*.[19]

It was a hierarchical society in the British Museum at that time. Below the Keeper were the Assistant Keepers (First and Second Class) who each had an office on the mezzanine floor below the reading room. Below the Assistant Keepers were the Museum Assistants, who might have a comprehensive knowledge of where everything was, but in order to advance to assistant keeper, you had to have a first-class or 2.1 degree. Museum assistants were responsible for locating things and running the Students' Room. Every afternoon, from Monday to Friday, we had what you call in America "Show and Tell." People would bring things to seek information from the museum staff. And there were students who wanted to have materials put out. I did all the fetching and carrying of Chinese scrolls and Stein paintings, when people wanted to see them. Below the Museum Assistants were the messengers who wore blue uniforms and would deliver the mail in the morning, take messages to other departments, fetch books, and control entry to the Students' Room. Below them again there were the cleaners who wore green uniforms. Some were immigrants: I remember one with the lovely name Pushpadonta, which Wladimir explained meant "She of the Flowery Teeth."

***SL*:** Did the museum change much during your time there?

***RW*:** Well, there were major changes at about the time I left. The first team of computer experts had arrived in the early 1980s. I mentioned earlier that when I first came to the museum, I taught myself to touch-type on one of my trans-Atlantic crossings. I bought my first typewriter with the money that my Cambridge tutor Dr. Cheng Te-kun paid me for doing the index to his monograph on the archaeology of Shang China.[20] It was an Olympia which I still treasure: a faithful machine on which I typed my thesis. But when I got to the museum, we were not allowed to type our own letters. These had to be written in longhand or dictated to one of the secretaries who would then type it up for you to sign. There were two typists in a small office. They kept a card index of every letter that was sent and received in the department. When we wanted extra information about a given object, I would then look first in the handwritten register to see who it was from, then at the card index under that name to see what kind of correspondence there had been. Then one could go down to an office where the Islamic Gallery is now to see all the brown files where all past letters were kept. Now the Museum has an Archivist and such past records are centrally kept.

***SL*:** Could you tell us about the exhibitions that you did at the museum? And when did you start working on the Stein Collection?

***RW*:** When I first arrived, Basil Gray gave me the remit to do the exhibition "Chinese Paintings Acquired through the Brooke Sewell Fund" (1969). P. T. Brooke Sewell (1878-1958) was a merchant banker whom Gray visited in Lausanne in 1956. He established two funds: the Brooke Sewell Fund and the Brooke Sewell Bequest. The former allowed for the purchase of Chinese painting. Basil Gray used it to acquire fine works such as Wen Zhengming's *Wintry Trees* and a few paintings that turned out to be fakes, notably the *Landscape* attributed to

the tenth-century master Juran, which eventually proved to be by Zhang Daqian. Gray was encouraged by Mrs. Walter Sedgwick (1883-1967) who collected Chinese bronzes and ceramics and who had some Chinese paintings, including a very nice album of eight leaves by six Nanjing artists with annotations by Zhou Lianggong (1612-1672) and others. The exhibition was intended as a farewell for Gray on his retirement, to show what he had accomplished through all the major acquisitions he had made in this field, some from dealers such as Jean-Pierre Dubosc (1903–1988) and Walter Hochstadter (1914–2007).[21]

It was on my first day in September 1968 that Basil Gray asked me to prepare this exhibition, to be shown in May 1969. I objected at first because I was already committed to install "In Pursuit of Antiquity" in July of the same year in Princeton, but to no avail. The exhibition was one of the last to be installed in the old gallery before it was remodeled in the early 1970s. It was in the same place as it is now, but at that time there was no Japanese gallery above. Both exhibitions went ahead successfully in London and Princeton, respectively, and I would eventually install "In Pursuit of Antiquity" again at three venues in Britain: in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Castle Museum, Norwich.[22]

One exhibition that was done entirely from scratch was "The Iron Brush: Chinese Rubbings from Engraved Stones" (1974), from the collections of the Museum and of the British Library.[23] I was keen to show examples from Han to the Southern Song dynasties. It included items such as the Twenty Masterpieces from Guyang Cave at Longmen, the Nestorian tablet, pictorial carvings from Wu Liang shrine, the star map and the map of the city of Suzhou from the Beilin collection in China. As far as I know, it was the first exhibition of Chinese rubbings in the West. At that time, people didn't pay much attention to them, and I had to sort things out at the British Library. There was no catalogue, just a hand-list and an article in *Apollo*.[24] Some years later, there was "Chinese Painting of the Ch'ing dynasty" in 1978, from the Museum's own collection.

In 1975, I did "T'ang Buddhist Painting," which was my first exhibition on the Stein Collection.[25] This was before the Kodansha publication (1982-85). In 1984, there was "Buddhist Art of Central Asia" and, as I said earlier, I also contributed to Wladimir Zwalf's "Buddhism: Art and Faith" (1985–1986), which included quite a few objects from that collection.[26] I did "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" with Anne Farrer in 1990, after I left the museum.[27]

***SL*:** Do you have some favorites among all these exhibitions?

***RW*:** You know, all the exhibitions are like children. You love them all equally. I did an exhibition of "Chinese Traditional Painting: Five Modern Masters 1886-1966" at the Royal Academy (1982). This entailed going to Paris where the exhibition was first shown, taking photographs of the works. John and Orna Design used my photographs in the catalogue, while as well as compiling the introduction and brief notes on the painters, I wrote out all the titles and glossary terms in Chinese, and even faked Chen Zhifo's signature! Of the five painters, my favorite was Pan Tianshou. And there was an exhibition of Sir Harry Garner's collection of Chinese lacquer, which was eventually given by him to the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. John Ayers and I had to divide it, choosing one piece each in turn, trying to make sure that I got the pieces that the British Museum was most interested in.[28]

My last exhibition at the British Museum was "Treasures from Korea" (1984).[29] This was an amazing opportunity to learn much more about Korean art, so I stayed on at the museum a little longer in order to accommodate this exhibition after being appointed to the chair at SOAS. Even after that, the Stein Collection has proved to be very much an ongoing project: after I left the museum, I asked Alfred Crowley to straighten out a lot of crumpled silk fragments and they proved to be most interesting, some of them quite sizeable.

***SL*:** Besides special exhibitions, were objects from the Stein Collection displayed in the permanent galleries at the British Museum?

***RW*:** The Stein Collection was displayed only in the main gallery on the first floor, where there were three-dimensional objects from Central Asia.

Some of those were wooden utensils, some were pottery and a number of molded stucco figures. There was at that time no dedicated space for the display of silk paintings, which for conservation reasons were and still are kept in a humidity-controlled environment away from light. But there will be space for Chinese paintings, including items from the Stein collection, when the Hotung Gallery reopens after the refurbishment now taking place [**Fig. 2**].[30]

While it was my remit to take care of the collection, there was not much that could be done by way of publication. I could do research on it, but the real impetus only came after Kodansha produced a series of books called *Oriental Ceramics in the World's Great Museums*.[31] I was responsible for Vol. 5 on Yuan–Qing porcelains. Sir John Addis was very impressed with this, and he asked me to do a special volume on his collection of twenty-two large Yuan and early Ming porcelains that he was giving to the museum.[32] I drove down to his house in Kent and collected them all. It reminded me of my time at Princeton, when I drove to New York to get the C. D. Carter collection of ancient Chinese bronzes for the Art Museum. It was when editing the catalogue of Sir John Addis's collection that Kodansha first proposed a catalogue of the Stein collection.

***SL*:** I see. Before we go further on this subject, could you tell us where the Stein Collection was stored?

***RW*:** When I arrived, all the Stein Collection was mostly housed in mahogany cupboards outside offices in the department, on the floor below the Prints and Drawings Students Room. Most of the

Fig. 2. The Hotung Gallery in the British Museum after its reopening in 2017. © 2019 The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license.

paintings were in frames and they were stored vertically, back to back. There was a divider between each pair of frames. To get a painting out, you would pull both of the frames out simultaneously. Jessica Rawson's office was lined with glazed cupboards on all sides, where the Stein banners, mounted flat on archival card mounts was stored in stout blue solanders. Many Chinese painting scrolls were rolled up and stored in these cupboards too. In Basil Gray's office, there were cupboards on one side and bookcases on the other side. This was what it was like when I arrived in 1968, and it remained like this until the early 70s. It was unsatisfactory, especially for the larger paintings.

***SL*:** When was the new storage facility built then?

***RW*:** Well, in the early 1970s I went to Stockholm and saw how paintings were stored at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. They had slides on which the paintings were hung, and which could be pulled out individually. As I remember, this arrangement was part of the gallery, rather than in a locked store. As at the British Museum, many of the paintings were in frames. Upon returning, I said, "This is what we need." Although the facility has since been refurbished and expanded, it is still essentially as I first envisioned it.

When Kodansha expressed an interest in the Stein Collection, my office was moved to a large room close to the storage. I would bring the paintings there and we did all the photography in this room against the wall. The editor, Mr. Maruyama, who had also worked on the Ceramics series before, would be standing there, making notes and keeping track of everything, which he did zealously in Japanese style. We got through the whole collection in six weeks. That was also where I did all the color corrections, especially for Vol. 1, which came out in 1982.[33] They sent me all the color proofs and I would examine them and suggest corrections. It was in the winter, so there was good light without bright sunshine. It is very interesting that in the book the colors appear brighter than the paintings themselves. This is because of the type of lighting we had, with strict color temperature control. Lights were set at an angle top and bottom on either side. So all the pigments lodged between the weave structure were well lit. The color you see on the surface is paler because some of the pigment got rubbed off. But when the light comes in at an angle, the color comes out much stronger. You have to make some compromises, but I am confident that the balance was right. Indeed, when we did the second volume, the color proofs came out absolutely just like the paintings. So I was pleased with that.

As I noted earlier, the third volume of *Art of Central Asia* was supposed to be written by Wladimir Zwalf, because he was responsible for Central Asian as well as Indian antiquities. However, he pleaded that he had no expertise in this area and he refused to have anything to do with it. So he got me to take over, and I made the selection. A weaver from Brighton helped me to understand the weave structures of the textiles. We went over the objects together, comparing notes with those made by Stein's "recording angel" Miss Lorimer.[34] That work has since been superseded by Zhao Feng, Director of the China National Silk Museum, and his assistants in *Textiles from Dunhuang in UK Collections* (2007).[35]

***SL*:** So many of these paintings fall between different categories. They are not exactly scroll paintings. They are not textiles, nor are they paper.

***RW*:** True. The majority of the paintings in the Stein collection are on silk or hemp cloth, although there are some on paper and a number of woodblock prints. The silk paintings had no roller or top stave. Instead, the four edges of the silk were reinforced with a border, also of silk or hemp cloth. Most of the paintings on hemp cloth, however, did not need a border, as the material is heavier and stronger. Both kinds were simply folded up when out of use. Some of the narrow banner paintings still retain a wooden weighting board at the bottom; these could be rolled up around this board.

***SL*:** Besides organizing exhibitions and writing catalogues, what other activities were you involved in at the museum?

***RW*:** Routine activities included recording objects in the collection for easy reference in the Students' Room, providing opinions on objects brought to

the Museum by members of the public, and making presentations for potential acquisitions by gift or purchase, and registering them. The main division in the Department of Oriental Antiquities was between graphic objects (of drawings or paintings of any description) and ceramics or anything three-dimensional. We kept separate registers for these categories. The procedure was that all acquisitions were sanctioned by meetings of the trustees, which would take place eight times a year on a Saturday morning, at which items submitted for acquisition either by bequest, gift or by purchase were presented to the trustees and sanctioned by them. On the following Monday assistant keepers would record them in the register and assign the number for the objects (year, month, day, and item number). To distinguish the two categories, the item number for graphic items would start with a zero.

In the nineteenth century, the description would include a miniature drawing for each object. Most of the three-dimensional objects in the Stein Collection were probably recorded in this way.

In the 1970s, we were beginning to make large filing cards for every object in the department. Several years were spent typing or writing out slips for all the ceramics which were down in the basement. In the mid 1970s, I went with Zwalf to locate and rehouse all the Indian sculptures in the museum. Some were around the front colonnade, and others were in different places. As I said before, the Buddhist carvings from the Amaravati stupa were in a basement somewhere beneath the Duveen Gallery. For the Indian sculptures, we had the basement of the King Edward Building. I designed and the carpenters built for me a large divider or a step-arrangement for the sculptures. There were about seven hundred Gandharan sculptures alone and thousands of small Tibetan figures. A lot of my work at the museum was housekeeping. Tasks would come unexpectedly. Keeping records took time and I didn't do as much research as I should have done. In my first year, Basil Gray kept up the tradition that assistant keepers had to write a diary and I could never think of anything new to put in it—What have I done this week? In theory, he would then look at it and sign it off. I am afraid I was never very diligent at this.

***SL*:** Let me return to the subject of the Stein Collection. It was split up when the British Library became an independent entity. Were you involved in the process?

***RW*:** To be clear, from the beginning, the Dunhuang manuscripts had been kept in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, and the paintings in the Department of Oriental Antiquities, so that I had no official involvement with the manuscript collection.[36] But in order to demonstrate the essential unity of the collection, it was my decision to include a sample of the manuscripts from the Library Cave, especially those which were dated precisely, or those with well-preserved roller and end knobs, in the first volume of *The Arts of Central Asia: the Stein Collection at the British Museum.* After I had left the Museum to take up the Chair of Chinese and East Asian Art and Archaeology at SOAS, there was a further opportunity to be involved with the manuscripts when Wang Xu and his assistant Wang Yarong came from China in 1988 to photograph the secular manuscripts from the Stein collection for the *Dunhuang baozang* series published by Sichuan People's Press.[37] I helped him to secure the necessary equipment, and at Christmas I drove him to my parents' house in Edgbaston, Birmingham, and to Stratford and Oxford. Wang Xu was an extraordinary person, who had conducted detailed experiments on every aspect of Han and Tang dynasty textile techniques of weaving and dyeing, and who had taken a prominent part in the excavation of Famensi. He compiled a diagrammatic record of every place he had ever been to (and by what means of transport) between 1937 and 1993, including his service in the Korean War.[38] He and Wang Yarong worked incredibly hard, photographing all day and developing and recording the negatives in the evenings until late at night.

With the Kodansha project, I was very keen that we should include some manuscripts as well as the paintings. I chose representative samples on the basis of chronology and calligraphic quality. I spent some time with the collection in order to select pieces that were complete, showing the rod at the end, the cover, and dated colophons.

I was also involved from 1975 onwards to search for a solution to the conservation of Chinese paint-

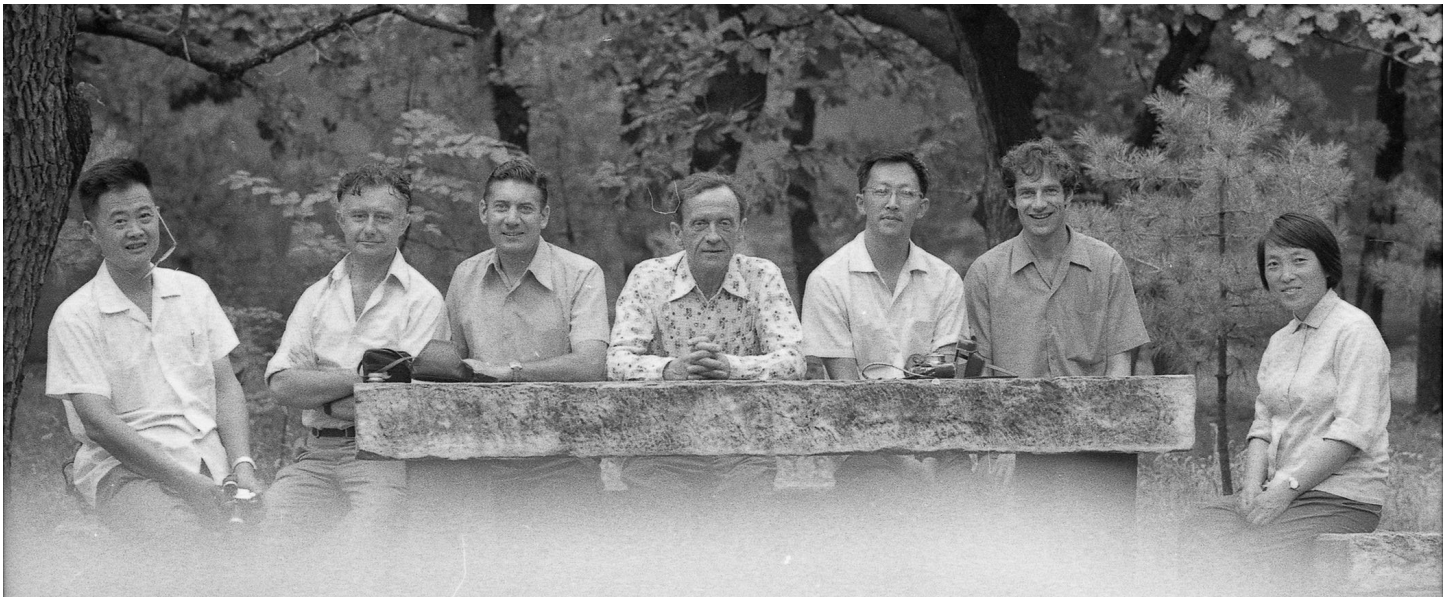


Fig. 3. Luo Zhewen (far left), Peter Lawson (second from left), Alfred Crowley (third from left), Norman Bromelle (center), Roderick Whitfield (second from right) and their two Chinese guides at Changling, Mausoleum of the Yongle Emperor, outside Beijing, September, 1975. Photograph courtesy of Roderick Whitfield.

ings. At this time there was only a very inadequate workshop in the basement of the King Edward Building. When I came to the Museum there was David Dudley who had studied for a year in Japan. When he was offered a post in conservation at the Royal Ontario Museum, his successor was Alfred Crowley.[39] Alf had served a seven-year apprenticeship as a bookbinder, and came to Oriental Antiquities from the Department of Egyptian Antiquities for which he had developed a means of conserving papyrus fragments. He had also worked with some of the Stein manuscripts.

As I saw it, the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. had a workshop with Japanese-trained conservators who were all Japanese. When they retired, they were replaced by others. I felt that this system was not satisfactory. We needed to have some home-trained specialists to order to assure some continuity, and I felt it was extremely important that Chinese paintings should as far as possible be conserved with Chinese materials and in Chinese style. So I was asked to lead a small delegation to visit conservation facilities in China in May, 1975 [**Fig. 3**]. The three other members were Norman Bromelle, Keeper of Conservation at the V&A (his wife was an expert of color pigments, the chief technician at the National Gallery); Alf Crowley from the British Museum; and Peter Lawson from the British Library. We spent a month in China, accompanied by Luo Zhewen, an architecture specialist, expert photographer, and a wonderful person. We started in the Beijing Library looking at the conservation of rubbings. Then we spent a few days in the Palace Museum workshops for the conservation of furniture and paintings, respectively. Alf Crowley was allowed to show off his skills. He was mainly self-taught at the time and the Chinese were pleased with the way he handled the brush. A bonus was that two famous Song handscrolls were being remounted at that time: I was able to see both *Qingming shanghe tu* and *Han Xizai yeyan tu* and even to look at the reinforcement strips on the back of the latter, as the final backing had yet to be applied. Peter Lawson subsequently introduced Chinese mounting techniques for the conservation of Stein manuscripts at the British Library. We also saw the mounting studio in the Nanjing Museum, but the most rewarding of all was at the end of the trip, in the Shanghai Museum, where we could see and photograph every stage of conservation of hanging scrolls, album leaves and even a long handscroll.

At the Shaanxi History Museum in Xi'an, however, we were not allowed to visit the conservation facilities. This often happened. Instead they arranged a demonstration in the hotel lobby. Two old fellows came along with some bronze mirrors and demonstrated how to take rubbings from them. One of them took a mouthful of water, then made an almighty HAAA! and discharged onto the sheet of

paper that his companion was holding. The paper went instantly and evenly limp, to just the right degree to apply to the object to be rubbed. It was very impressive. I made friends with a young curator there who was interested in Western watercolors. Through him I exchanged some rubbings from fourteenth-century brass memorials in English churches, receiving instead for the British Museum some rubbings of panels from the stone funerary shrine of Princess Yongtai's tomb, which had just been excavated.

After Xi'an we went to Longmen. We saw the conservation work that they had done. The site, as you know, consists of cave shrines cut in a limestone ridge which had been thrust up aeons ago, so that the originally horizontal layers are now vertical. There are caves on both banks of the river that bisects the ridge. Rain falling on the ridge, miles away from the site, gradually percolates through and comes out through the sculptures. In 1975, the Chinese had developed their version of the two-part resin that in Britain we call Araldite. They used this brown-color material to fill in the cracks. In Brommelle's opinion, this was a mistake, because the water would build up behind and would eventually lift the surface off. We tried to tell them the error; at the same time, I was very impressed with the thorough knowledge and understanding that the curators had of the Longmen site, although they appeared to have few possibilities at that time to travel to other cave-temple sites.

We then went down to Changsha to see the finds excavated from Han Tomb no.1 at Mawangdui. We saw what the conservators at the Hunan Provincial Museum were doing to preserve lacquer vessels that had been waterlogged. When lacquer objects have become waterlogged, the wood core is basically supported by the water that is within it. As soon as the water is removed, the cells in the wood would shrivel up. So they were developing ways to exchange the water with a different liquid that would strengthen the cell walls and so prevent the catastrophic shrinkage typical of lacquer vessels from earlier excavations. We also saw different methods for preserving textiles in plastic bags with inert gas inside. So it was very interesting to see the problems that were only beginning to be solved.

***SL*:** Did you go to Dunhuang in the same trip as well?

***RW*:** No. I went to Dunhuang for the first time in 1981. I first went to China in 1974, almost nineteen years after I first learned Chinese (I went to Hong Kong and Taiwan four years before that). I then made a trip there almost every year since then. In 1981, I took a very small group of twelve, including some from SOAS, to Turfan and Dunhuang. We were in Dunhuang for three days. Dunhuang airport opened only in 1982, so we had to come to Liuyuan by train from Lanzhou overnight and then took the bus down a very bad road to Dunhuang. I met Director Duan Wenjie, who was not very friendly at all.[40] He had a grudge against the English because of Stein. He told me that the man with the keys had gone into town, so we couldn't see anything that afternoon. But that evening I met the first director Chang Shuhong's son, Chang Jiahuang, who invited me to come with him to the caves the next day. We caught the six o'clock bus to the caves, so we were there in the early morning and the atmosphere was magical. As the sun came up, we climbed to the top of the dunes. I photographed the cliff showing the view to the south from the old road that you are not allowed to go up anymore. Around eight o'clock one or two Chinese groups started to arrive and we could follow them into individual caves, beginning with the famous Library Cave. That first time was very important for me because it was just one year before I started on the Kodansha project.

Basil Gray had been to Dunhuang in 1957 and brought back a set of photographs.[41] That would have been the first official contact between the British Museum and the Dunhuang Academy. Gray must have known Stein, but I do not remember asking about him. A portrait drawing of Laurence Binyon still hangs in the office of the Keeper.

After 1981, the next time I went to Dunhuang was for the international conference in 1987. Arriving was memorable: not only were we able to fly to Dunhuang, but my seat on the plane was next to Chang Shuhong, the first director of the Dunhuang Institute, now the Dunhuang Academy, whose son I had already met.[42] Another time, I met Chang Jiahuang again, and he showed me the 'new caves' that he was having dug in the cliff some

thirty-odd miles away.

In 1981, the first volume of the Heibonsha series on the Mogao Caves had just come out, and we were eagerly waiting for the rest because of the shortage of color photography.[43] The old publication I had was *Dunhuang bihua* which was in black and white.[44] There was only a small book on Chinese landscape painting from Thames and Hudson and a large Japanese album called *Tonkō no bi hyakusen*, which was a selection from the caves.[45] So I was beginning to get an idea of the colors of the murals. And there was Akiyama Terukazu's volume in the *Chūgoku bijutsu* series—vol. 2 (1961).[46] Professor Akiyama came to the British Museum several times and I was able to show him and his disciples the collection. It was very important for me, on account of Professor Akiyama's knowledge of early landscape painting, and because I had always been interested in the relationship between the materials found in Cave 17 and the wall paintings. Is there any relationship? If so, what kind? With stencils it is fairly easy to determine, but other things are much less so. Recently I have become interested in Cave 205, a Tang cave that was begun shortly before the construction of the Great Buddha in Cave 96. Then work was interrupted for a while. My hypothesis is that the rather odd arrangement that we can observe in that cave with different compositions lumped together is the result of that interruption. If I am right, by the time work resumed, more paintings had arrived from central China and the locals tried to incorporate them all into the iconography of the cave.

Fig. 4. The remaining parts of the Representation of Famous Buddhist Images *as they were mounted in 1914 after the best preserved portions had been reserved for the Government of India, ink and color on silk, 7th to 8th centuries, 1919,0101,0.51.1–4 & 1919,0101,0.58, British Museum.*

***SL*:** It's certainly an important next step for researchers today to put the two together in a more systematic way.

***RW*:** Yes, I think so. Zhang Xiaogang, a scholar at the Dunhuang Academy, has just published a large volume on *Gantong hua*, paintings of spiritual response.[47] I'm interested in that, because it includes the paintings of auspicious or Famous Images, the subject of one of the most important paintings in the Stein collection, now divided between the British Museum and the National Museum in New Delhi. Over the years, I have attempted to reconstruct the whole painting [**Fig. 4**].[48] The best preserved section was assigned to New Delhi, and the remaining fragments were left at the British Museum assembled in no particular order.[49] The reconstruction worked particularly well for the scenes at the top of the

painting, which had been all mixed up.[50] In the process of reconstructing the whole painting, I discovered a previously unrecognized fragment, an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, in Delhi. Now that the reconstruction is as complete as it will ever be, I feel that the painting needs to be written up in a more comprehensive way. Zhang Xiaogang dates the Famous Images paintings to no earlier than the late High Tang period, which was when a certain monk went to Puzhou to make an image. Zhang assumes that the image from Puzhou in the silk painting is the image made by that monk. But in fact, the monk went there to "*moxie*" or copy an image that was already there, so the painting may well be earlier. I plan to write more on this to show the relationship such as it existed between the other images of this kind in the Mogao caves and the painting.

***SL*:** I look forward to your new study. Since you have brought up New Delhi, could you describe your relationship with colleagues from India? When was the first time you had the opportunity to see the Stein Collection in New Delhi?

***RW*:** I had no opportunity to travel to India during my time at the British Museum (my early visits to China were as a lecturer for tourist groups). I have from time to time met with Dr. Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner, who was for a long time in charge of the Stein collection in New Delhi, and who compiled a register by site in 21 volumes of the objects in the collection. I have also met with Dr. Robert Jera-Bezard and Monique Maillard who had spent time with the collection, and in 1982 I had the rare opportunity of examining at close quarters the painting of Famous Images, which had been lent by the National Museum, New Delhi to the exhibition "The Silk Road and the Diamond Path" organized by Dr. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter.[51] The first occasion to visit the National Museum was not until 1997, in connection with the Feasibility Conference for the Documentation of Central Asian Antiquities held at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, IGNCA. At that time there was no curator in charge of the Stein collection. A year later, in 1998, Dr. Binoy Kumar Sahay, a numismatist, was assigned to be in charge; unfamiliar with the collection, he proceeded to compile a new register of all the objects, with new numbers classified according to material and not according to site. Only a part of the collection was on view in one large gallery, with an adjacent gallery not open to view. Since then, a catalogue of 141 paintings from the collection, authored by the distinguished Buddhist scholars Dr. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. Nirmala Sharma, has been published in 2012 by Niyogi Books. It is very much to be hoped that eventually the collection can be documented online by the International Dunhuang Project (IDP), as that has been done for the Dunhuang materials in other museums and libraries.

***SL*:** I hope so too. Now, returning to the subject of Dunhuang painting, it is interesting to see that you were first trained to write about traditional Chinese paintings in scroll format and then came to work on wall paintings and other forms of pictorial arts.

***RW*:** At Princeton, we studied with Professor Kurt Weitzmann, a foremost Medievalist, learning about narrative sequences in Norman mosaics at Monreale and in medieval manuscripts.[52] With Professor Fong and Professor Shujirō Shimada, we were intensively looking at Chinese paintings, particularly with regard to composition but also in my case, narrative. Professor Shimada also gave us some marvelous seminars on the Shōsō-in and on early Japanese Buddhist sculpture, emphasizing the contribution of craftsmen of Korean descent.[53] Through him I became aware of the need to view the art of East Asia as a whole and not from a single viewpoint. For my dissertation, I chose Zhang Zeduan's *Qingming shanghe tu*, which I had come across when it was first published in 1959, before I went to Princeton. So I was interested in the narrative aspect of the Stein collection. Some of the larger silk paintings have marginal narratives, and a number of banners illustrate the legendary life of the Buddha. I didn't know much about Buddhist texts. I had to try to absorb all that. It's been made easier nowadays, as you can search the Daizōkyō Database by typing a phrase and get all the instances of that phrase.

***SL*:** When you first worked on the painted banners in the Stein Collection, did you think of them as part of the Chinese painting tradition? Or was it completely separate?

Fig. 5. Maitreya, the future Buddha, seated in the Tusita heaven. Clay stucco image from the north wall of Mogao cave 275. Northern Liang dynasty, early 5th c. AD. (Photograph courtesy of the Dunhuang Academy, after Tonko Bakkokutsu, *Tokyo: Heibonsha, vol. 1, pl.80)*

the coloristic tradition is coming from the West. The highlightings of clothing and figural depiction mark a meeting with the Chinese tradition. You can even see that in the earliest central pillar caves with the architectural format of a front hall with a transverse gabled roof. The lower niches on the side walls are Indian in character, but in the upper niches Maitreya sits beneath a transverse gabled roof, between a pair of *que* towers of manifestly Chinese character. Thus as soon as you enter the cave, you are in Maitreya's paradise [**Fig. 5**]. But the implication is that in the future when Maitreya comes, it is going to be entirely Chinese.

Interestingly, the very first time that paintings from the Stein collection were exhibited, there was no distinction of Buddhist versus traditional Chinese paintings, as the exhibition was simply titled "Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese paintings IV–XIX centuries," which was organized by the Department of Prints & Drawings in the White Wing.[54] In the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Royal Academy, 1935-1936, paintings from Dunhuang were also shown in the same gallery as some Five Dynasties and Song paintings, with no distinction of category. In the recent Masterpieces exhibition at the V&A, they were also presented close to traditional paintings.[55] But of course there are important distinctions in subject-matter and structure.

***RW*:** Yes, I have never considered them as something separate. I tried to relate them to things that had just been discovered at that time, such as the wall paintings from the tombs of Princess Yongtai and Prince Zhanghuai from the early Tang. I have mentioned Professor Akiyama's knowledge of landscape painting and my own interest in narratives. These made a profound impression on me and it became possible to relate the ways in which wall paintings were depicted to the banners and the wall paintings in Dunhuang. We see how close the hunting scenes and paintings of horses were to actual Tang paintings. Dunhuang is a very special place but you have a meeting of East and West and

***SL*:** I see. It is remarkable that you are able to write about such a wide range of topics in Chinese paintings.

***RW*:** I wish I had done more writing while in the museum. In particular, in 1998 I was involved in a plan to publish the Stein paintings in New Delhi, and we made a good start with photography, only for the project to come to a halt with the appointment of a new Director of the Museum, and the

early death of Michael Aris, twin brother of Anthony Aris who had negotiated the deal with the previous Acting Director.[56] But to be an art historian, one should be alert to all kinds of things, and ready to investigate them when you meet them. Building a collection can also be a matter of making the most of opportunities that turn up. My acquisitions for the British Museum range from five small fragments from a Stein painting (sent to auction by the widow of a President of the Royal Academy to whom they had been given by Stein), to Ming dynasty paintings of the Zhe and Wu schools and Chinese woodblock prints of the 17th and mid-20th centuries. Since coming to SOAS, I have had the good fortune to have a considerable number of Ph.D. students, who have researched very different subjects. From them I have learned a great deal and they have gone on to distinguish themselves in academic and museum careers.

I continue to be passionate about conservation. In 1987 I introduced Mrs. Qiu Jinxian, who remembered our 1975 visit to Shanghai, to the Museum and she has been working there ever since.[57] I also introduced her friend and colleague Gu Xiangmei from Shanghai to Yutaka Mino in Chicago, whence John Winter rapidly recruited her to the Freer, where she still works in the conservation studio. The BM set up a Japanese-style mounting studio at 38 Montague Street in 1981 when Paul Wills, whose name I first encountered in Japan in 1970 where he had just started an apprenticeship in mounting, came to the museum on my recommendation. In 1995, thanks to a generous donation from Professor Ikuo Hirayama, the studio moved to a spacious old banking hall on the British Museum site, with equipment for mounting in both Japanese and Chinese styles. Even after her retirement, Qiu *laoshi* continues to work there three days a week, training British, Italian, and Korean mounters.

There is a new one-year MA course at the Courtauld Institute, now in its third year, called "Buddhist Art and Conservation." It is led by Dr. Giovanni Verri, an expert on the identification of pigments in mural paintings, who graduated from the three-year diploma program on Conservation of Wall Painting at the Courtauld, which Prof. Youngsook Pak and I have supported for many years. Each year seven or eight students from as many countries are selected. They are highly motivated and we have been able to take them to Paris (Musée Guimet and Musée Cernuschi) and to China (Beijing and Dunhuang).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Francesca Hillier, Jane Portal, Clarissa von Spee, Tavian Hunter, Joanna Kosek, and Helen Wang for the assistance they so kindly provided in the course of preparing this interview and its publication. She is also grateful to Dan Waugh and Justin Jacobs for their support and advice in the revision and production process.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sonya S. Lee is Associate Professor of Chinese Art and Visual Culture at the University of Southern California. She is the author of *Surviving Nirvana: Death of the Buddha in Medieval Chinese Visual Culture* (Hong Kong University Press, 2010).
E-mail: <sonyasle@usc.edu>.

ENDNOTES

[1] Stein has provided by far the most detailed accounts of his activities in Dunhuang. See especially *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks: Brief Narrative of Three Expeditions in Innermost Asia and Northwestern China* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933), 193–237; and *Serindia*, vol. 2 (London: Clarendon Press, 1921), 791–830. For the reception of Stein's expeditions in the United Kingdom, see Helen Wang, *Sir Aurel Stein in the Times: A Collection of over 100 References to Sir Aurel Stein and His Extraordinary Expeditions to Chinese Central Asia, India, Iran, Iraq, and Jordan in* the Times *newspaper 1901–1943* (London: Saffron, 2002).

[2] Justin Jacobs has offered a provocative account of the change in opinion on Stein among Chinese intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century. See his "Confronting Indiana Jones: Chinese Nationalism, Historical Imperialism, and Criminalization of Aurel Stein and Raiders of Dunhuang, 1899–1944," in *China on the Margins*, eds. Sherman Cochran and Paul G. Pickowicz (Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2010), 65–90.

[3] For a detailed discussion of how the Stein materials were divided among various institutions in the U.K. and India, see Helen Wang, Helen Persson, and Frances Wood, "Dunhuang Textiles in London: A History of the Collection," in *Sir Aurel Stein: Colleagues and Collections*, ed. Helen Wang (London: British Museum, 2012), 1–8.

[4] Frances Wood, Susan Whitfield and Helen Wang have spearheaded this trend through their respective scholarship. Particularly notable is the exhibition catalogue *The Silk*

Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith, edited by Susan Whitfield and Ursula Sims-Williams (Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. and London: The British Library, 2004), in which historical studies on the objects appeared alongside those focusing on the history of the collections and issues of conservation for the first time.

[5] Wen Fong (1930–2018) was Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Art History Emeritus at Princeton University, where he taught Chinese art history from 1954 to 1999.

[6] Peter Swann (1921–1997) was the Keeper of Oriental Art at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford from 1955 to 1965. He served as the director of Royal Ontario Museum of Art in Toronto from 1966 to 1972.

[7] Basil Gray (1904–1989) joined the British Museum in 1928 and became an assistant to Laurence Binyon in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in 1930. He was Keeper of Oriental Antiquities from 1946 to 1969 and served as Acting Director and Principal Librarian in 1969 before his retirement from the museum in the same year. See a detailed biography by Ralph Pinder-Wilson, "Basil Gray (1904–1989)," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 105 (2000), pp. 439–457.

[8] R. Soame Jenyns (1904–1976) worked at the British Museum from 1931 to 1968.

[9] One of these Kucha mural fragments is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University (EA1990.1243). It came to the museum in 1990 as a bequest from Basil Gray.

[10] Ralph Pinder-Wilson (1919–2008) joined the British Museum in 1949 and remained there until 1976, when he was appointed the Director of the British Institute of Afghan Studies in Kabul.

[11] Lawrence Smith (1941–) joined the British Museum in 1962 and became Keeper of the new Department of Japanese Antiquities in 1987.

[12] Jessica Rawson (1943–) served as a curator in the Department of Oriental Antiquities from 1976 to 1994. She joined Oxford University in 1994 as the Warden of Merton College and remained until 2010.

[13] Jessica Rawson and John Ayers, eds., *Chinese Jades through the Ages* (London: Oriental Ceramics Society and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1975).

[14] Douglas Barrett (1917–1992) served as Keeper of Oriental Antiquities from 1969 to 1977.

[15] Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1954).

[16] The Amitabha Buddha was recently restored by the conservators in the British Museum.

[17] Wladimir Zwalf (1932–2002) joined the British Museum in 1962 and retired in 1993. See Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Wladimir Zwalf: 1932–2002," *East and West* 52, no. 1/4 (Dec. 2002), 441.

[18] Wladimir Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

[19] The exhibition was held in the British Museum from July 1985 to January 1986, showcasing over four hundred pieces that were drawn mainly from the museum's own collections and those from the British Library. The show drew over 223,000 visitors. Whitfield was one of fifteen contributors to the exhibition catalogue, which was published by British Museum Publications, Ltd., in 1985.

[20] Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology of China: Vol. 2: Shang China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960).

[21] Dubosc was a well-known collector of Chinese art who was stationed in China as a diplomat during the 1930s and 40s. Hochstadter became a dealer of Chinese ceramics and paintings in Shanghai and Beijing after escaping from Nazi Germany in the 1930s. He moved his collection to the United States just before the Communist victory and the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

[22] This exhibit was on view in the British Museum from April to June 1972. There was an accompanying catalogue: Roderick Whitfield, ed., *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse* (Princeton: Princeton Art Museum, 1969).

[23] The exhibition was on view from April to September in 1974.

[24] Roderick Whitfield, "The Iron Brush," *The Connoisseur* 188, no. 1 (1975).

[25] The exhibition was held from June to October in 1975, drawing over 60,000 visitors. This marked the first show in the British Museum to have featured Buddhist paintings from the Stein Collection since 1938.

[26] The Buddhist Art of Central Asia exhibition was held from February to April 1984.

[27] The exhibition was held from April to December 1990 and accompanied by a catalogue: Roderick Whitfield, ed., *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Route* (London: Braziller, 1990).

[28] Eighty-seven pieces of lacquer of the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries were given to the British Museum. Some of them are discussed in Harry M. Garner, *Chinese Lacquer* (Art of the East) (London: Faber, 1979).

[29] See the exhibition catalogue: Roderick Whitfield, ed., *Treasures from Korea: Art through 5000 Years* (London: British Museum Press, 1984).

[30] The Hotung Gallery (Room 33) underwent a major renovation and was reopened to the public in November 2017. The work was sponsored by the Sir Joseph Hotung Charitable Settlement.

[31] Jan Fontein, ed., *Oriental Ceramics, the World's Great Collections*, 11 vols. to date (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1980–).

[32] Sir John Addis (1914–1983) was a British diplomat who served as Ambassador to China from 1947 to 1974 and as Ambassador to the Philippines from 1963 to 1970. In addition to the works donated to the British Museum, there were a further seventy pieces much smaller pieces destined for the Victoria and Albert Museum which he had collected while working in the Philippines.

[33] Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982).

[34] See Helen Wang, "Stein's Recording Angel: Miss F.M.G. Lorimer," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Third Series, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Jul., 1998), 207–28.

[35] Feng Zhao, Helen Wang, Helen Persson, Frances Wood, Le Wang, and Zheng Xu. *Textiles from Dunhuang in UK Collec-*

tions (Shanghai: Donghua University Press, 2007).
[36] After the creation of the British Library as a separate institution in 1973, the Stein manuscripts were held in the India Office Library on the Blackfriars Bridge Road, then moved to Store Street close to SOAS.
[37] Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan lishi yanjiu suo, *Yingcang Dunhuang wenxian: Han wen fojing yi wai bufen* (Dunhuang manuscripts in British Collections: Chinese Texts other than Buddhist Scriptures), 15 vols. (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1990–1992).
[38] See Zhao Feng, ed., *Wang Xu and Textile Archaeology in China* (Hong Kong: ISAT, 2001), 176-87.
[39] Crowley worked as a conservator in the British Museum from 1967 to 1990.
[40] Duan Wenjie (1917–2011) was Director of the Dunhuang Academy from 1982 to 1998. Having first arrived in Dunhuang in 1946, he devoted his entire career to promoting the art of Dunhuang in China and abroad through publications and making copies of the murals.
[41] Gray was part of a delegation of ten that visited China in May 1957. They were invited to have tea with Zhou Enlai in Beijing. Gray was given the permission to spend four days in Dunhuang. The experience inspired him to write *Buddhist Cave-Paintings at Tunhuang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959).
[42] Chang Shuhong (1904–1994) first came to Dunhuang in 1943 to establish what would become the Dunhuang Academy. He served as its first director until 1985.
[43] *Zhongguo shiku/Chūgoku sekkutsu*: *Tonkō Bakkokutsu*/Dunhuang Mogaoku [Mogao Caves of Dunhuang], 5 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe; and Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980-82).
[44] Dunhuang wenwu yanjiu suo, ed. *Dunhuang bihua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1959).
[45] Enjōji Jirō, *Tonkō no bi hyakusen* [The Beauty of Dunhuang in 100 Plates] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1978).
[46] Akiyama Terukazu and Matsubara Saburo, *Arts of China: Vol. 2: Buddhist Cave Temples; New Researches* (Tokyo and Palo Alto, Calif: Kodansha International, 1968-1970).
[47] Zhang Xiaogang, *Dunhuang fojiao gantong hua yanjiu* [Research on pictures related to the Buddhist concept of sympathetic responses from Dunhuang] (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015).
[48] See Whitfield's reconstruction in Whitfield and Sims-Williams, ed., *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, fig. 36.
[49] Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, ed., *The Silk Road and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes* (Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council, 1982), pl. 56.
[50] Ibid., cat. 242a.
[51] See note 48.
[52] Kurt Weitzmann (1904–1993) taught in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University from 1935 to 1993. He was also a permanent member of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton.
[53] Shujirō Shimada (1907–1994) taught Japanese art history at Princeton University from 1965 to 1976, having worked at the Kyoto National Museum and Kyoto University for many years beforehand. After retiring from his posts in the United States, he returned to Japan and became the director of the Metropolitan Center for Far Eastern Art Studies and Japan Art History Society.
[54] The 1910 exhibition contained only two dozen works brought back from Stein's expeditions to Chinese Turkestan. The first public exhibition devoted solely to the Stein Collection was held at the British Museum in 1914. See British Museum, *Guide to an Exhibition of Paintings, Manuscripts and Other Archaeological Objects Collected by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1914).
[55] See the exhibition catalogue *Masterpieces of Chinese Painting 700–1900*, ed. Zhang Hongxing (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), entries nos. 1–12.
[56] Neil MacGregor was appointed director in 2002. He stepped down from the post in 2015 and was succeeded by Hartwig Fischer the following year.
[57] Qiu is senior conservator of Chinese painting at the British Museum. She worked in the Shanghai Museum for fifteen years before moving to London in 1987.

Faces of the Buddha: Lorenzo Pullè and the Museo Indiano in Bologna, 1907-35

Luca Villa

From November 24, 2018 to April 28, 2019, the Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna hosted the exhibition *I volti del Buddha: Dal perduto Museo Indiano di Bologna* (*Faces of the Buddha: From the Lost Indian Museum of Bologna*). It gathered together some of the artifacts originally stored in the Museo Indiano, but which are divided today among the Museo Civico Medievale and the Museo di Palazzo Poggi in Bologna and the Museo di Antropologia of the University of Padua. The exhibition also included some of the photographs from the Museo Indiano collection, which are now conserved at Museo Civico Medievale and available online, thanks to a digitalization and conservation project supported by Fondazione Del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna.[1] This valuable group of artifacts and photographs, all specially restored for this occasion, showcases the Hindu and Buddhist art that was on display back when the Museo Indiano was open to the public. It also highlights the activities of archaeologists who collected these artifacts during the last decades of the 19th century.

From 1907 to 1935, the Museo Indiano was located in the Archiginnasio, the present public library of Bologna. Its rooms exhibited artifacts, photographs, and manuscripts collected by Francesco Lorenzo Pullè (1850-1934) [**Fig. 1**]. It also contained a high-relief fragment that the archaeologist Giovanni Verardi has in recent years identified by as having coming from the Sanchi area, possibly obtained by Pullè during his brief stay in Lahore. Pullè, a professor of Indo-European philology (i.e. Sanskrit) at Bologna University since 1900, founded the Gabinetto di Glottologia Sperimentale in 1902 and subsequently served as its director.

Also in 1902, he traveled to Hanoi to attend the International Congress of Orientalists. On his way back to Europe, Pullè stopped in what are now Sri Lanka, India, and Pakistan. There he visited monuments, gave lectures on ancient Indian cartography at the Calcutta and Bombay branches of the Asiatic Society, and collected artifacts, photographs and manuscripts. All these acquisitions were later exhibited in the Museo Indiano, which he created with the support of the University of Bologna and the Municipality. The Municipality expressed its support for the newly established museum collection by purchasing some Asian art from a private dealer (e.g., the Chinese metal statues of buddhas and bodhisattvas from the Pellegrinelli collection) and by lending items that were already part of public collections. This latter category includes the Oriental vases from the Sieri Pepoli collection, today stored in the Collezioni Comunali d'Arte. The museum grew little by little into the form its founder had imagined: a museum of Indian and Eastern Asia Ethnography, as it is often described in the archival documents.

Fig. 1. Stephania Pullè, *Portrait of Francesco Lorenzo Pullè,* 1914 ca., Bologna, Quadreria del Rettorato dell'Università degli Studi.

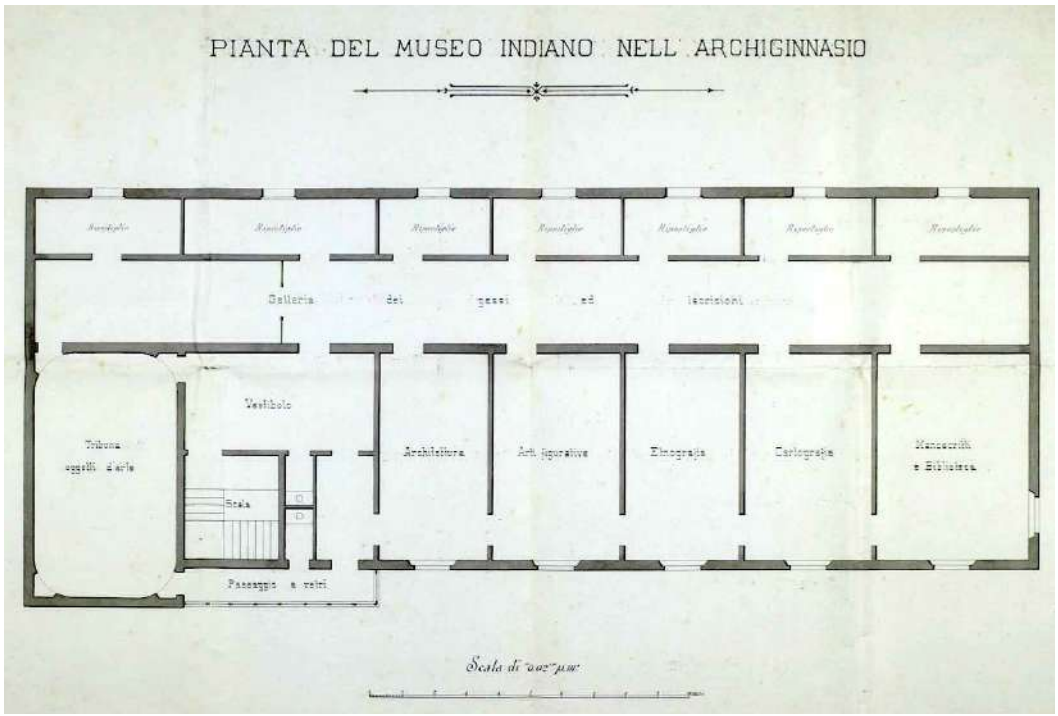


Fig. 2. Plan of the Museo Indiano di Bologna, 1907 ca., Bologna, Archivio Storico Comunale.

The Photographic Collection of Gandhāran Relics from the Lahore Museum[2]

Pullè considered the Museo Indiano [**Fig. 2**] to be *his* museum, with the aim of reinforcing Sanskrit teaching at the University of Bologna. And yet Pullè was not an art historian, nor even an expert on Indian art when he traveled around the Indian subcontinent. In his presentation at the 1902 Hanoi Congress, he noted his attendance at many of the International Exhibitions that had been held in previous years in several different European cities. It was at these exhibitions that he had been able to catch a firsthand glimpse of specimens and artifacts from India and the rest of Asia. As a scholar, Pullè was internationally recognized for his studies on ancient Indian cartography: since the 1890s, he had conducted extensive research on maps of India held in various library collections in Italy. At the 12th International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1899, Pullè presented more than fifty maps, many of them photographed from books—a research technique he had been refining for more than a decade by then. This provided him with faithful but portable copies of many Indian manuscripts held in German institutions, which he used for both research and teaching purposes.

Pullè's enthusiastic embrace of photography as a means of supporting scholarly research is well demonstrated by his acquisition in 1903 of a collection of 150 photographic prints from the Lahore Museum [**Figs. 3-9**]. Jean Philippe Vogel, who was at that time based in Lahore as Superintendent of the Punjab, Baluchistan, and Ajmer on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, presumably helped to facilitate this transaction. In fact, at the Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1897, Pullè was appointed as president of the Italian branch of the Indian Exploration Fund.[3] It may seem surprising that a philologist with no previous experience in the field of archaeology re-

Fig. 3. Dream of Queen Māyā, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, c. 1902, Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

Fig. 4. Māyā Gives Birth to Siddhārtha, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, 1902 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

Fig. 5. Siddhārtha's Horoscope is Explained to Suddhodana and Māyā, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, 1902 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

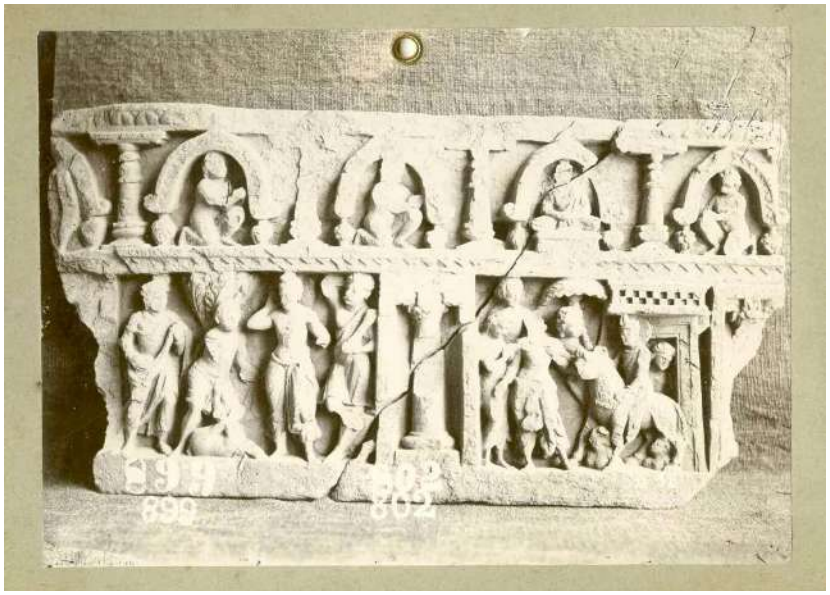


Fig. 6. The Great Departure (right). The Exchange of Clothes, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, 1902 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

Fig. 7. The Attack by Māra and His Host, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, 1902 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

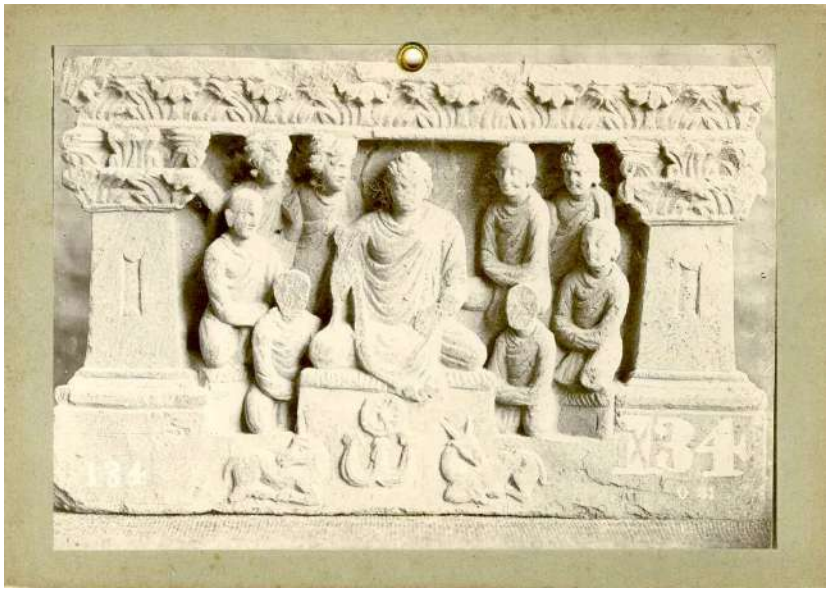


Fig. 8. The First Sermon, Turning of the Wheel of the Law, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, 1902 ca. , Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

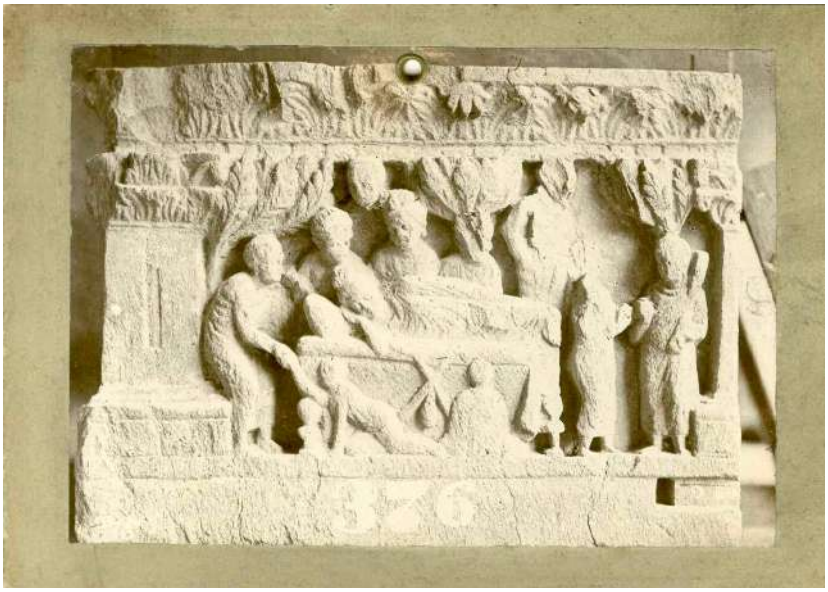


Fig. 9. Death of the Buddha, b/w photograph, silver bromide - gelatin print / paper, Lahore, 1902 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, fondo Speciale "Museo Indiano."

Fig. 10. Relief (fragment), stone, Sanchi (India), early 1st century A.D., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

ceived an appointment as president of a national branch of an international institution. Pullè's shortage of knowledge on art and archaeology, however, was typical of most Italian scholars of his day.

Evidence that Pullè's colleagues were not very interested in the study of Indian art and archaeology can be found in a letter sent by Pullè on January 13, 1901 to Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, a respected Italian linguist. The founder of the Bologna Indian Museum tried to involve the latter in the Italian Committee of the Indian Exploration Fund. Pullè put together four names on a list, which he sent to Ascoli: Ascoli, Michele Kerbaker, Angelo De Gubernatis, and Emilio Teza. Though they would serve as representatives of the Italian Committee, none of them had confirmed their willingness to serve when Pullè sent the list. Pullè did not receive a reply to his letter. It is interesting to note that all of the scholars whose names appeared on the list were philologists and linguists. In spite of Pullè's endeavors, the efforts directed toward conservation and heritage by Lord Curzon in India at the beginning of the 20th century discouraged the collecting of artifacts from India (on this point, see Thapar 1989 and Lahiri 2001). So Pullè decided instead to dedicate himself to the gathering of photographs of monuments, as he did in Lahore.

In April 1903, following his return from India, Pullè displayed his photographic prints of Gandhāran art at the Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche in Rome. He also exhibited them for the general public at the people's university of Bologna, where he served as president. The original plates, however, are now lost.

Pullè also acquired a large set of photographs collected from Del Tufo & Co. Studio, an Italian photographic studio based in Madras and Bangalore. Together with the Lahore prints, which were displayed on the walls of the Museo Indiano, they showcase 7th and 8th-century Hindu religious monuments in Mamallapuram. Alongside them was a fragment of a relief from the Sanchi area [**Fig. 10**] and a plaster cast of the Fasting Śākyamuni taken from Lahore [**Fig. 11**]. The plaster cast, 8 executed by a student from the local School of Arts, was believed to represent the only likeness of the original sculpture apart from one owned by the king of Siam.[4] By such means, Bologna became the unlikely home of one of the most valuable photographic collections of Gandhāran art.

Fig. 11. Fasting Śākyamuni, plaster with black polychromy, Lahore (Pakistan), 1902 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Indian and Asian Artifacts

During the Hanoi Congress of Orientalists in 1903, the Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient organized an exhibition focused on Southeast and East Asian products and industries. According to records documenting the sale of his collection to the Italian state in 1904, it was at this time that Pullè began to acquire artifacts. At the same time, he also took his own photographs of the peoples and monuments displayed in the museum overseen by the Ecole française d'Extreme-

Orient. During his stay in Vietnam, Pullè also completed a set of anthropometric cards with measurements taken from native subjects at the Saigon Military Hospital, which provide some insights into his scientific beliefs.

Unfortunately, the surviving documentation from the 1904 sale identifies the objects in Pullè's collection only by number and geographic provenance (e.g., "ethnographic objects from Tonkin"). Only through repeated inquiries at the Museum of Palazzo Poggi and the Anthropology Museum of Padua University, where a relevant part of the artifacts are kept, was it possible to identify these objects with greater precision. At the Hanoi exhibition, it seems that Pullè collected crab- and tortoise-shaped metalworks and a couple of guardian lions. He seems also to have acquired some Chinese fashion garments, among them a Mandarin dress, which was shown at the exhibition.

During his time in India, Pullè visited local dealers and markets, from which he purchased artifacts that represented various scenes from Hindu mythology. In Darjeeling, Pullè bought some photographs of Himalayan people and Buddhist monuments from the Thomas Paar studio, along with some metalworks [**Figs. 12-13**]. In Uttar Pradesh he collected photographs of Islamic monuments built during the Mughal times, while in Rajasthan he collected several marble statues of gods [**Figs. 14-16**]. Due to the many layovers in local towns when traveling by railway, Pullè also acquired small statues of Hindu and Buddhist deities from different part of India. Last but not least, as Pullè wrote in a letter addressed to his colleague De Gubernatis, he obtained several manuscripts in Gujarat, which later became part of the Museo Indiano library collection. These and other Indian manuscripts, which are now kept in the Palazzo Poggi Museum in Bologna, remain largely unstudied, to the point that many of the languages have not even been identified yet.

This eclectic collection represents the original exhibition at the Museo Indiano when it opened in 1907. Just one year later, the Bologna municipality agreed to purchase eleven metal statues of Chinese Buddhist deities [**Figs. 17-19**] from the Pellegrinelli family. As Pullè later observed during a speech to mark his appointment as dean of the Faculty of Literature at the University of Bologna in 1910, such

Fig. 12. Lamp holder with Garuda, metal, Indian Himalayan Region, 1900 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Fig. 13. Votive Lamp (sukunda), brass, Indian Himalayan Region, 1900 ca., Bologna, Museo di Palazzo Poggi.

Fig. 14. Ganesh, polychrome marble, Rajasthan (India), 1900 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Fig. 15. Gaja-Lakshmi, polychrome marble, Rajasthan (India), 1900 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Fig. 16. Surya, polychrome marble, Rajasthan (India), 1900 ca., Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Fig. 17. Buddha Man-la (Bhaiśajyaguru), bronze, China, late Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Fig. 18. Bodhisattva Puxian (Samantabadhra), gilded bronze, China, Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

Fig. 19. Bodhisattva Maitreya, bronze, China, late Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

acquisitions were tangible evidence of progress being made toward his main goal of creating a museum that could represent the arts and crafts of India and East Asia. Still, as it is clear from the creative but inaccurate registration document accompanying the Pellegrinelli collection, Pullè's lack of knowledge about the Chinese Buddhist pantheon simply underscored just how few scholars at that time were interested in, or capable of, supporting his efforts to study Asian art and archaeology—at least in Bologna. Among Pullè's students, only Luigi Suali, who would later become internationally recognized for his studies on Jainism and the life of the Buddha, would prove capable and qualified to take charge of assistance to the museum. Nearby, the only Asian collections of any note were those of Angelo de Gubernatis, a Sanskrit philologist, and Carlo Puini, a professor of Chinese language in Tuscany who collected artifacts chiefy to adorn his house. (The Puini Collection was transferred to the Milan Civic Collection in Castello Sforzesco in 1925-6.) Nevertheless, Pullè never stopped looking for suitable objects to enhance the Museo Indiano collection. Toward this end, he was aided by a bequest from a Bologna aristocrat and by loans and purchases from private collectors.

In the 1920s, the Museo Indiano acquired a collection of ceramic vases from China and Japan that had been bequeathed to the Bologna municipality by Count Agostino Sieri Pepoli. The museum also purchased some metal statues of Buddhist and Taoist divinities—now held in the Palazzo Poggi Museum—from a private collector whose identity is still unknown. A letter from Pullè to the dean of the University of Bologna, however, suggests the involvement of Raffaele Chiarini, a former infantry officer who had participated in the Italian contingent of the eight-nation military expedition to Beijing during the Boxer War in 1900. A letter written after 1935 by a relative of Chiarini, now held in the university archives, also requests the return of a ceramic vase lent to the Museo Indiano by Chiarini, which was later returned. In the light of these clues, it seems plausible that the dean of the University of Bologna had authorized the purchase of the Chiarini collection on the recommendation of Pullè at some point during the first decade of the 20th century.

Legacy of the Museo Indiano

During its brief life, the Museo Indiano increased and diversified its holdings. One small collection of African items was obtained through a private loan by another ex-soldier who had seen service in Libya. Pullè's maps of India, which continued to grow in number after his participation in the 1905 Congress of Orientalists in Algiers, when he entertained his colleagues with another lecture around Indian cartography, were moved from their original location in the "Cartografia" room (see Fig. 2) to a new location in the long hallway next to the museum chambers. Here they were placed in between the Agostino Sieri Pepoli ceramics and metal statues. Many other spatial arrangements within the Museo Indiano were also modified. The room which housed statues of Hindu and Buddhist deities was greatly enlarged over time, while a room once dedicated to ethnography was moved to make space for the "Cartografia" chamber. This rearrangement also provided space for the "Camera cinese" (Chinese Room), which was located adjacent to the "Camera indiana" (Indian Room). A handwritten map of the museum, depicted by Pullè himself in 1926, just before his retirement, shows these modifications [**Fig. 20**].

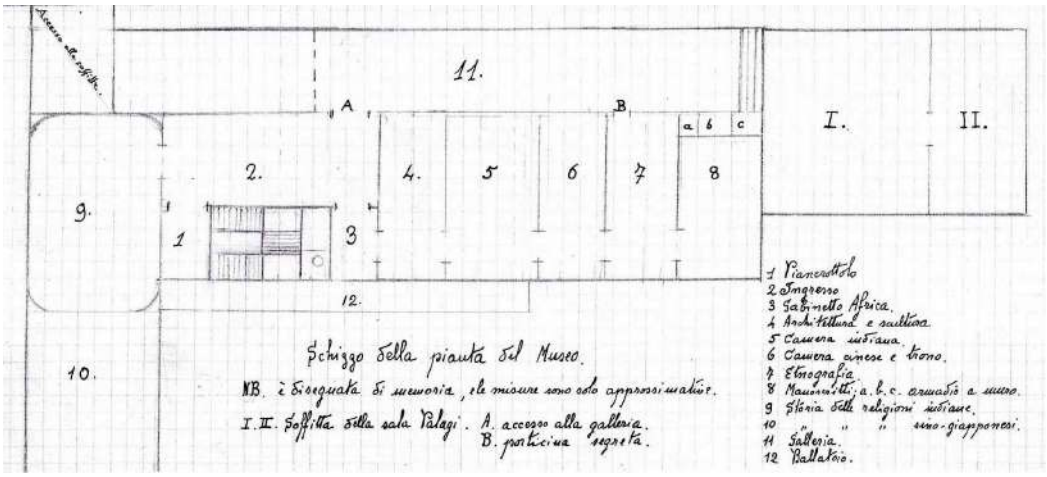


Fig. 20. Plan of the Museo Indiano di Bologna, 1926, Bologna, Archivio Storico Comunale.

Pullè's retirement in 1926 left a glaring void in the Museo Indiano. It was difficult to find anyone of sufficient expertise and diverse interests to succeed him as curator. By the time the museum closed its doors in 1935, its entire staff consisted of a single keeper from the Bologna municipality, who wrote the last inventory in 1936–37. It documents the fate of the artifacts as they were split among the University of Bologna, the city municipality, and the Pullè family. Attempts were made to find more suitable homes for the artifacts: Pullè's son Giorgio offered some objects to the Anthropology Museum at the University of Padua, while Fabio Frassetto, a professor of anthropology at the University of Bologna, explored a transfer to the Istituto di Anthropologia. The Frassetto proposal was not acted upon.

In recent years, the Museo di Palazzo Poggi, which is run by the University of Bologna, and the Museo Civico Medievale, which is run by the Municipality, have set up small displays of artifacts from the old Museo Indiano in their permanent collections. The 2018 exhibition *I volti del Buddha* was an attempt to rediscover in a temporary exhibition the fate of Pullè's collecting efforts, from the photographs of ancient Gandhāran art and the plaster cast from the Lahore Museum to the Qing statues from the Pellegrinelli acquisition. But it is mainly through Pullè's large collection of photographs that the true scholarly value and distinctive traits of the Museo Indiano has emerged. The several hundred photographic prints, some made by Pullè himself during his travels through South and Southeast Asia, offer a tantalizing glimpse into European—and more specifically Italian—efforts to understand and interpret Asian history and culture at the beginning of the 20th century.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Luca Villa is an independent researcher in the field of cultural history. He received his M.A. in Indian Philosophy at the University of Bologna and a Ph.D. in Indology and Tibetology at Turin University. After working together with different public and private institutions, he currently collaborates with Fondazione Del Monte and Fondazione Giovanni XXIII for the religious sciences, photographic inventories, and web-based projects.
E-mail: <villagood@gmail.com>.

REFERENCES

Lahiri 2001
Nayanjot Lahiri. "Destruction or Conservation? Some Aspects of Monument Policy in British India (1899-1905)." In: Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas, eds., *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001: 264–75.

Thapar 1989
B.K. Thapar. "Policies for the Training and Recruitment of Archaeologists in India." In: Henry Cleere, ed., *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1989: 285–301.

Vicente 2012
Filipa Lowndes Vicente. *Other Orientalisms: India Between Florence and Bombay, 1860-1900*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2012.

ENDNOTES

[1] The photographs can be viewed online at: <www.cittadegliarchivi.it/mostrevirtuali/l-indocina-e-l-india-del-primi-del-novecento-negli-scatti-di-francesco-lorenzo-pulle>.

[2] The collection can be viewed online at: <www.cittadegliarchivi.it/pages/getDetail/sysCodeId:IT-CPA-FT0073-0000061>.

[3] The assignment concerned Lord Reay, in charge of the presidency, for his appointment as president of the Royal Asiatic Society in London; Sir Alfred Lyall (India), Hofrath G. Bühler (Austria), Hendrik Kern (Holland), Serge Oldenburg (Russia), Richard Pischel (Germany), Pullé (Italy), and Émile Senart (France).

[4] A restoration of the plaster cast, completed before the Bologna exhibition by a team from the Accademia delle Belle Arti of Bologna led by Prof. Augusto Giuffredi, was presented to an English audience during a conference, "Celebrating Reproductions: Past, Present, and Future," held from January 17 to 19, 2019 at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Knotted Carpets from the Taklamakan: A Medium of Ideological and Aesthetic Exchange on the Silk Road, 700 BCE-700 CE

Zhang He 张禾
William Paterson University

More than a century ago, while exploring Xinjiang, or Chinese Central Asia, the British archaeologist Aurel Stein discovered some small fragments of knotted carpets in Niya, Kaladun, Loulan and a few minor places in the Taklamakan Desert. These fragments are now stored at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. At the time, Stein's collection, dated from the first century BCE to the fifth century CE, represented the earliest existing samples of knotted carpets ever recorded. Then, in the 1950s, Soviet archaeologists excavated several knotted carpet pieces, including a complete one, in the Pazyryk Valley in the Altai region. The Pazyryk specimen, dated to 400 BCE, caused a huge sensation when it was recognized as being the earliest knotted carpet ever found.

However, since the 1950s, there have been several major discoveries in Xinjiang [**Fig. 1**]. These discoveries have not only pushed back the earliest dates to 700 BCE, but have also yielded more complete pieces of higher quality and greater diversity in motifs, thereby greatly enlarging our knowledge of knotted carpets in the oases of the Taklamakan Desert. The most important are seven pieces of knotted carpets excavated in 2003 from Yanghai 洋海, an ancient cemetery in Shanshan County, Turfan District.

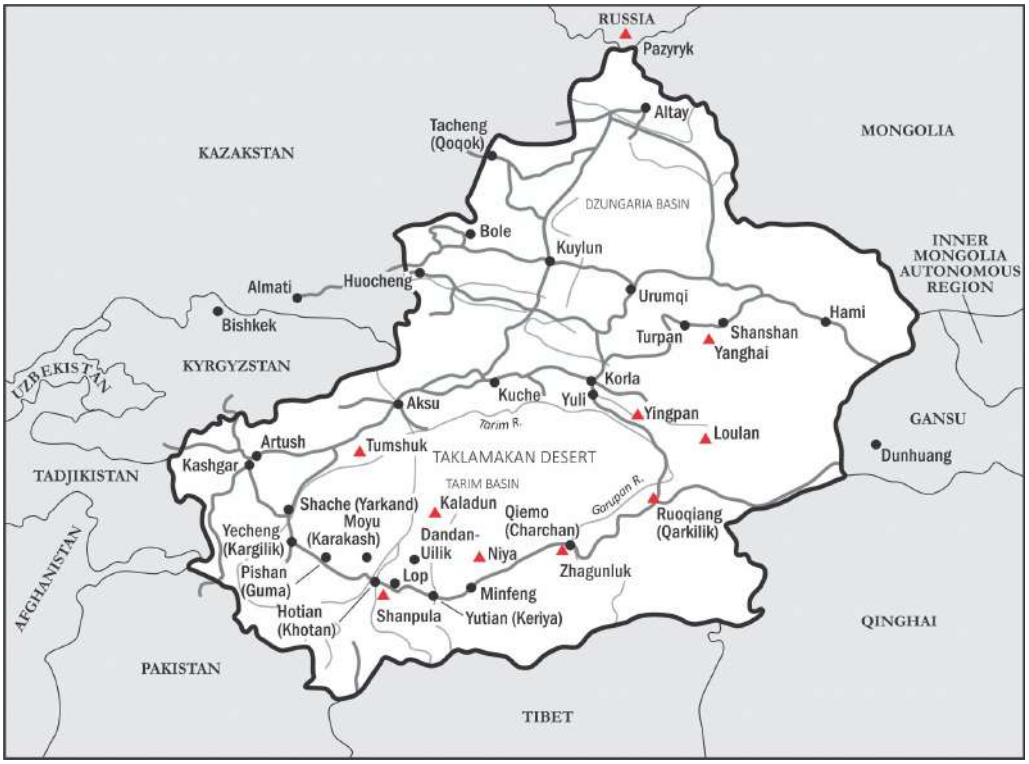
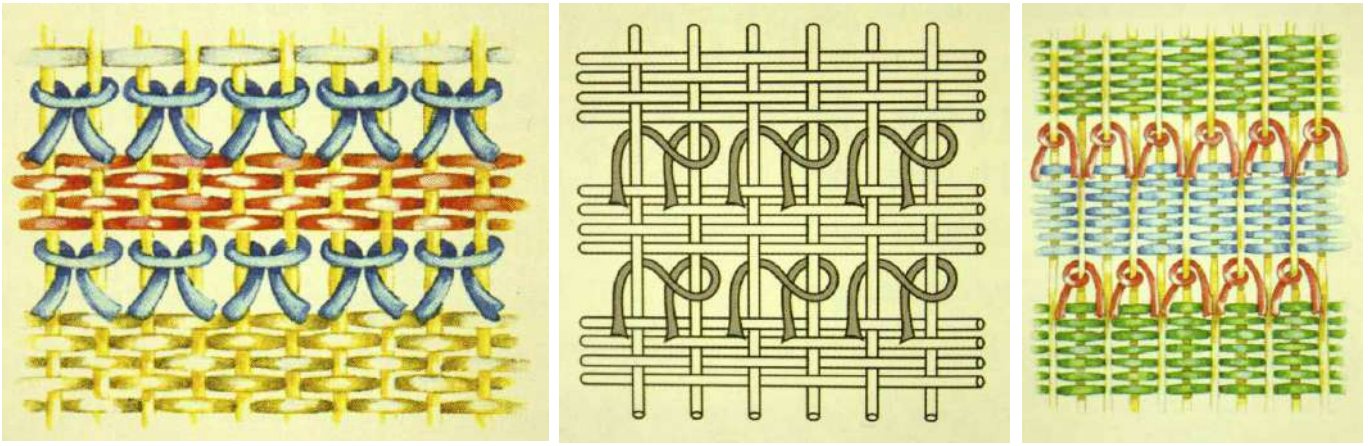


Fig. 1. Map of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Sites where knotted carpets were discovered are marked by a red triangle. Cartography by Debbie Newell.

Dated to as early as 700 BCE (Jia et al. 2009), the Yanghai carpet pieces are approximately three centuries older than the Pazyryk carpets (Rudenko 1970), making them the earliest knotted carpets found anywhere in the world. This earlier date, along with the quantity of the specimens, suggests that the oases of the Taklamakan Desert were some of the earliest producers of knotted carpets.

The Yanghai site is not alone. Since the 1950s, sites near Niya, from which Stein had recovered some tools for carpet-making and documents in Karosthi referring to business transactions involving carpets—also yielded approximately ten pieces, each dated to between the 2nd and 4th centuries CE. The fact that these documents contained the earliest and most frequent terminology for carpets yet found, along with the large number of the actual carpets excavated, indicate that Niya and a few other towns in the Khotan region were centers of



symmetrical knot *asymmetrical knot* *single-warp knot*

Fig. 2. Illustration of knotting techniques (Jia, Li, and Zhang 2009).

carpet-making. And indeed, in Shanpula, a village by the east bank of the Yurong River in Luopu County, Khotan District, many pieces of knotted carpets, often revealing the most beautiful colors and complex designs, have also been found.

There are several more sites in the Taklamakan, such as Loulan, Yingpan, and Zhagunluk, where tens of complete and large fragment carpets with interesting and beautiful designs have been found in recent decades [see **Fig. 1**]. All these discoveries have filled in many of the gaps in the history of knotted carpet-making that exist between the Pazyryk samples (400 BCE) and the appearance of the knotted carpets specimens in Fostat, Egypt during the 9th-13th centuries CE and later in Anatolia during the 13th-14th centuries CE (Aslanapa 1988).

In light of all these new and interesting finds, it is imperative that we situate Taklamakan carpet specimens with a global history of knotted carpet production. It is now clear that the knotted carpet-making industry has thousands of years of history in the Khotan region. Together with silk and jade, knotted carpets may be considered a third type of unique merchandise that passed through the Silk Road via Khotan for thousands of years.

This article will focus on the earliest appearance of the carpet around 700 BCE to the disappearance of the material from the archaeological record after the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE). It will provide a brief introduction to the basic technique of weaving and knotting, an examination of the terminology found in several languages, descriptions of some major findings, and analyses of the motifs and styles in relation to several different cultures crossing the Silk Road.

Knotted Carpets

What is a knotted carpet? A carpet is a piece of fabric to cover a bed or floor. The fabric can be pressed as raw wool into felt, flat-woven as tapestry, or woven with extra yarn threads piled up on warps to produce a thicker and fluffier surface. This last type is called the knotted pile carpet, or simply knotted carpet.

To make a knotted carpet, one starts with the plain weaving of vertical warp threads and horizontal weft threads. After one or several rows of wefts, extra threads will be added by tying on the warps and then cutting the threads, with one or centimeter-long thread-heads left on. There are different methods for tying the knots [**Fig. 2**]. Symmetrical knotting is when the thread is tied on two adjacent warps, with a loop on each warp, and ended between the warps. Asymmetrical knotting refers to the process of looping the thread on one warp, extending the thread on the next warp, and then cut, leaving the ends open. Single-warp knotting is when the thread makes a loop on one warp, before being cut, skipping one warp, and tied again; the next row of knots would then change the warp, with the empty warp tied and skipping the former tied warp. A fourth method is called "U-shaped knotting" (Jia 2015: 184). This refers to the way the thread is laid on a single warp, cut, then skips one

Niya HTB00437 *Niya NN266* *Kaladun*

Fig. 3. Weft beaters from Niya and Kaladun (from left: author photo; Zhongri Niya 1996; Yue 2009).

warp and is tied again. According to my analysis, the samples examined in this article are single-warp knots with a clear loop.[1]

Historically, the three types of tying or knotting method have been given several different names. For instance, the symmetrical knot is also known as the Turkish or Ghiordes knot; the asymmetrical knot as a Persian or Sehna knot; and the single-warp knot as the Spanish knot. These names are not associated with the cultural origins of the techniques (Zhang 2018b), since all three techniques were already known in the Taklamakan region long before they were affiliated with any particular ethnic group—much less Spaniards! In order to avoid confusion, I will use only those terms that describe the structure of the knots: symmetrical, asymmetrical, and single-warp.

Ground or foundation weaving is basically plain weaving with warp and weft crossing each other evenly. Most carpets in this study have plain ground weaving, but there are also occasional twill (Niya and Zhagunluq) and even slit-tapestry (Loulan) weaving. The slit-tapestry weaving is found on the edge of a small knotted carpet fragment found by Stein, where a series of stepped triangles in blue and red colors.

The materials used to create all of the warps, wefts, and knotted piles in knotted carpets in the Taklamakan region from 700 BCE to 700 CE mostly consist of sheep wool and goat wool, with the occasional mixture of cow and horse hair with sheep wool. Indeed, it was not until relatively recent times that weavers in Xinjiang began to use cotton threads for ground warps and wefts (Jia et al. 2009). This differs from other parts of the world, such as in Egypt, Anatolia, and India, where weavers have long used flax and later cotton for warps and wefts. Even today, experts in Xinjang can often tell the origins of wool simply by touch, and determine whether it came from from Khotan or Loulan. The Khotan region is often thought to produce the best quality wool in the region.

Tools that are used for carpet-making include the ground, upright looms, knives, weft-beaters, and scissors. Excavations have not yielded any physical evidence of looms thus far. But according to the studies of Zhang and Jia (1984), upright looms were very likely used early in the history of knotted carpets. The ground loom was occasionally used for narrow strip bands of weaving, but probably not for knotted ones. In Niya, at least eight weft-beaters have been found (see also Zhongri Niya 1996).[2] Made of wood, each one is about the size of a human hand, with a little handle on one end. Though the size of the beaters varies, the average measurement is 20 x 10 cm, including the handle. The quantity of the weft-beaters found at Niya points to the likelihood of the Niya-Khotan region as a center of carpet-making [**Fig. 3**].

Terminology

What did the people who lived in the ancient oases of the Taklamakan call their various textile products? Thanks to the Kharosthi, Khotanese, Sogdian, and Chinese documents recovered from the Taklamakan, among others, we now know some of

those terms.[3] Among them, the best known is that included in the Kharosthi documents discovered in Niya by Stein, in which *Khotani* carpets are mentioned numerous times. With the subsequent discoveries of many actual carpets Niya and Shanpula as well, it is not surprising to learn that *Khotani* carpets were already well-known among the oases in the Taklamakan at least seventeen hundred years ago. The several hundred Niya documents, written in Kharosthi, give us not only the terminology of many kinds of local products, but also a good glimpse into the economic and social life of the region during the third and fourth centuries (Burrow 1940). In these documents, words for carpets, such as *kojava* and *tavastaga*, appear frequently as commodities for commercial transactions, payments, and gifts.

Beginning in the second half of the fourth century and into the early part of the fifth century CE, the people of Khotan adopted the Brahmi script to record an eastern Iranian language known as Saka. This new language, referred to as the Khotan-Saka language, or Khotanese, by the English scholar Harold Walter Bailey, provided new words for carpets. According to Bailey's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (1979), from about the fourth to the eleventh century CE, there were two main words for carpets in Khotanese: *gahāvara* and *thauracaihä*.

As early as the first century CE, Chinese documents make mention of various sorts of textiles produced in the "Western Region," which partially overlapped with modern-day Xinjiang. These terms include *ji* 罽, *qushu* or *quyu* 氍毹, and *tadeng* 毾㲪. This last term was used by the famous historian Ban Gu 班固 (?-92 CE) in a letter to his brother Ban Chao 班超 (32-102 CE), the general of the Western Region, asking him to buy *tadeng* from the Yuezhi tribes (Yu 1600). Since some of these terms are known foreign transliterations, I have pared them down to two words, which parallel the terms found in the Kharosthi and Khotanese documents: *qushu* and *tadeng*.

The Sogdians, who spoke an eastern Iranian language, also left their own terminology for certain textiles. In Sogdian texts, carpets are called *faspā* and *parštarn*, which are derived from the Old Persian words *fraspāt* and *upastərəna*. These Sogdian terms were in use from the 4th to 10th centuries CE.

As for Turkic terminology, the earliest terms for carpets appear in Maḥmūd Kāshgarī's *Turkic Dictionary* (Kashgari 1072-74). According to Kāshgarī's dictionary and those that followed, these terms include the words *kiviz*, *tavrattï*, and *töṣe:k*.

Although the paired terms I listed above all refer to carpets, it is often unclear whether they refer to a flat-woven carpet or knotted-pile carpet. The ancient weavers and traders of these textiles must have known the difference (that is why there were so many different terms), but these distinctions were likely blurred in daily usage. (Even today, people speaking in English use "rugs" and "carpets" to refer to both knotted and piled carpets.) Since there is no record of any explanation of these ancient terminologies, we must differentiate among the swarms of words to figure out which ones were the most likely terms for the knotted carpets.

According to my analysis, from at least the third to the eleventh century CE, the terms used in the Taklamakan region for a knotted carpet were likely as follows:

tavastaga — Niya Kharosthi; 3rd-4th c. CE
thauracaihä — Khotanese; 4th-11th c. CE
faspā, parštarn — Sogdian; 4th-10th c. CE
tadeng 毾㲪 — Chinese; 3rd c. BCE - 13th c. CE
tavrattï, töṣe:k — Turkic; 8th-11th c. CE

After 800 CE, many more terms would appear from New Persian languages to name different types of woven textiles. These include words such as *gelim, kilim, qhali, hali, palaz,* and *zulus*. Two of these terms—*gelim*/*kilim* and *qali*/*hali*—would eventually be adopted by Uyghur and Kazakh weavers, and are still used in the region today. In their present-day usage, *gelim*/*kilim* is used to refer to a flat-woven textile, while *qali*/*hali* refers mostly to knotted carpets.

In some later Chinese documents, however, several descriptive words were used to specify knotted carpets. In the records of a Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) production book for the Office of Felt (Zhan Ju) and Office of Cut-Yarn Carpets and Wax-dye Cloth (Jianhua maotan labu ju), we find the phrases "cut-yarn *tan*" 剪绒毯 and "cut-yarn patterned *tan*" 剪绒花毯 used to describe the production of knotted carpets for Emperor Yingzong's (Gegeen Khan r.

4a. 03SYIM87:23

4b. 03SYIH138:2

4c. 03SYIM189:7

Fig. 4a-c. Three carpet fragments from Yanghai (from left: Jia 2015; Jia, Li, and Zhang 2009; Jia 2015).

1320-1323) mausoleum hall and for the hall of Empress Sadabala (or Sugabala) in the year of 1328. And in 1906, near the end of the Qing Dynasty, the *Xinjiang Gazetteer* includes mention of a "planted yarn carpet" (*zairong tan* 栽绒毯), a term now regularly used in Chinese.

Discoveries of the 20th and 21st Centuries

Stein's Findings

During his expeditions in the Taklamakan desert in the early 20th century, Aurel Stein removed some small fragments of knotted carpets from the Loulan sites LC and LE and from Karadong/Keriya. The Loulan LC fragments were subsequently dated from 150 BCE-60 CE, while the Loulan LE and Karadong fragments were dated to 200-400 CE . Although these pieces are small in size, experts have identified three knotting techniques used in them: symmetrical, asymmetrical, and single-warp knots. Currently most of the Stein's carpet fragments are stored in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and can be viewed online.

Since Stein's collections are all so small and fragmentary, there have been very few attempts to study the design patterns. What remains on these fragments are short straight and diagonal lines, little dots, hooks, and diamonds. The color palette includes red, pink, dark and light blue, and dark and light brown. Judging by the few limited motifs, these fragments may be roughly classified into geometric and dynamic or free-style designs.

Yanghai (ca. 700 BCE)

Since 2003, the Yanghai discoveries have included not one or two but seven large pieces of knotted carpets, with a range of dates between 1100 BCE-700 BCE—thus making them the oldest knotted carpets ever found in the modern world (Jia et al. 2009: 12; and Jia 2015: 167).[4] The ancient cemetery site of Yanghai is in Shanshan County, Turfan District. The cemetery is estimated to contain more than two thousand tombs spanning a period of about one thousand years. There are four chronological phases (Tulufanshi 2019), with the knotted carpets belonging to the second phase (11th-8th century BCE) and early third phase (7th-4th century BCE). All seven fragments are knotted in symmetrical knots on plain woven ground, and have been identified as saddle mats (Jia 2015). The designs on the carpets are mostly triangles, diamonds, and a kind of waving interlocking F-motif. They do not contain any live figures.

03SYIM87:23 / 40x78cm / Symmetrical Knot
This piece [**Fig. 4a**] has a diamond-shaped grid pattern in blue and red. On the tip of the blue diamond, there is a little light blue dot, and the tip of the red diamond has a yellow dot. On the reverse side there are four layers of felt in natural white color, which could indicate a saddle mat.

03SYIM138:2 / 53x43cm / Symmetrical Knot
This piece [**Fig. 4b**] presents a pattern of triangles in alternating red and blue colors. On each tip of a triangle there is a yellow dot.

03SYIM189:7 / 53x49.5cm / Symmetrical Knot
This piece [**Fig. 4c-d**] shows a little more complex design. A letter F motif is doubled head-to-head sharing the top line. This motif repeats itself in a curvilinear fashion in alternative colors of red, yellow, blue, and green, creating an impression of water waves.

Fig. 4d. Detail of Yanghai carpet in Fig. 4c (Yue 2009).

Zhagunluke (ca. 3rd Century BCE)

The Zhagunluke site lies in Qiemo County, Bayinguoleng Mongol Autonomous District. It was first excavated in 1996–98, and its carpet fragments have been dated to the 3rd-2nd century BCE. From a chronological perspective, the Zhagunluke site comes after Yanghai. There are two pieces of note.

Fig. 5. Plain carpet from Zhagunluk, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Museum (author photo).

96QZIIM2:9 / 84x73cm / Asymmetrical Knot

This piece [**Fig. 5**] is in a plain natural off-white color with no apparent decorative designs, although there are some dark brown yarn heads on the foundation. It is asymmetrically knotted on a twill woven ground. The use of twill ground weaving is rare, with only one other piece from Niya made by such means. The knotting on this piece seems to be the earliest use of this kind in the Taklamakan.

98QZIM124:8-9/10x18.5cm/Asymmetrical Knot

This carpet uses orange color for the ground and red, blue, brown, and yellow colors for the knotted threads. Unfortunately, the knotted threads are so badly worn that it is difficult to identify any specific design motif (see Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 2016: 330–31)

Yingpan (ca. 200-400 CE)

The site of Yingpan, which lies in Yuli County, Bayinguoleng Mongol Autonomous District, was visited by Stein, Sven Hedin, and a few other early explorers, but none of them reporting finding knotted carpet. Later on, however, the site yielded several large pieces, including at least three near complete ones—possibly more on the black market—with interesting designs. Most of them are dated to between 200-400 CE, and all three types of knotting are applied.

89YYC3:1 / 95x260cm / Symmetrical Knot

In 1989, archaeologists discovered a carpet with a lion image in the central field, an inner border with diamonds, and an outer border with short bars and checker-board patterns [**Fig. 6**]. The lion is more geometric in its body shape. Its face is in frontal perspective within a square, while its legs and paws are defined with straight lines and sharp angles. The basic color is bright yellow, which is still amazingly bright. Other colors include red, blue, and brown. Its knotting is symmetrical on a plain foundation. The carpet was cut on all four sides, so the designs on the outer borders are not clear.

Fig. 6. Carpet with a lion in geometric style, Yingpan (Jia, Li, and Zhang 2009).

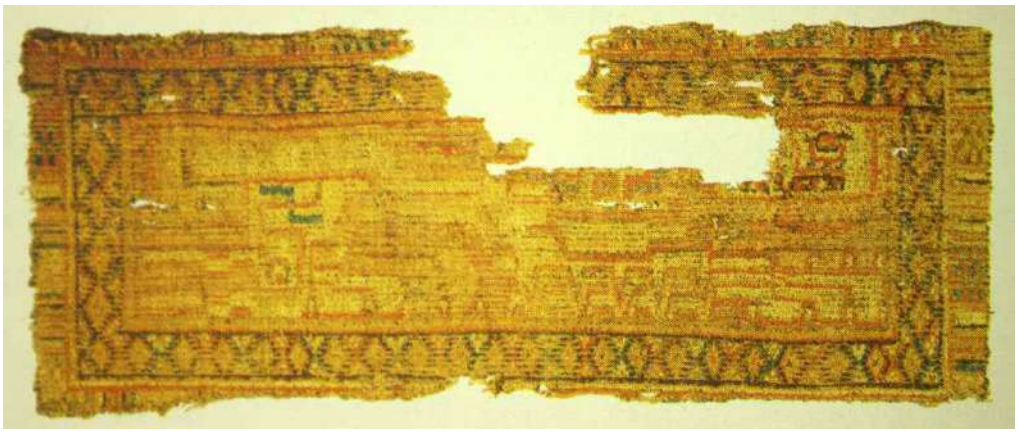


Fig. 7. Carpet with a lion in dynamic style, Yingpan (Yue 2009).

95YYM15:1 / 312x178cm / Single-warp Knot
In sharp contrast to the geometric lion design described in Fig. 6, a fragment discovered in 1995 features a dynamic crouching lion with its body defined by curving lines [**Fig. 7**]. With a more natural look, this lion also shows its face frontally. Its rich mane is zigzagged in several layers and its rear body reveals a hip and hindlegs in natural shapes. With a lifted waist, the lion displays its energy and movement. The inner border is made of organic foliage, an obvious Hellenistic motif. The outer borders, however, are cut off. The ground color is deep red, the lion's body is beige outlined in blue, and the lion's face and features are outlined in deep red. This carpet was found covering a coffin.

Fig. 8. Carpet with a diamond grid, Yingpan (Jia 2015).

99YYM12:8 / 215x115cm / Symmetrical Knot
An excavation in 1999 yielded a symmetrically knotted carpet with large diamond grid lines in dark brown or black color throughout the design, with only the border in rectangular outlines [**Fig. 8**]. The ground color is beige or light yellow. The diamonds include the colors of natural brown, pink, and light yellow. This piece was found wrapped around a body in the tomb. It resembles a fragment collected by Stein, probably from Loulan, and now stored in the Indian National Museum in New Delhi.

Loulan (c. 150 BCE-60 CE; 1-200 CE; 200-400 CE)
Loulan is where Stein found most of his carpet samples, but none has a complete design. While a handful of pieces show clear straight and short lines, along with a series of scrolls, obviously intended as border designs, there is a small piece that carries enough lines and colors that one may see a dynamic tendency for the design. It contains dark blue lines done in a cursive fashion, bright red color for ground, and yellowish colors in some areas and for border lines. This piece is reportedly tied in single-warp knotting. In the 1990s and 2000s, many new pieces were unearthed from Loulan, including a few complete ones. Unfortunately, some large pieces were smuggled out of the country.

98RLEM1 / 266x103cm / Symmetrical Knot
A relatively complete piece [**Fig. 9**, **9a**], now stored in Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, shows a design of a geometric lion identical to the one from Yingpan [see **Fig. 6**], which is also stored in the same institute. This piece was found in Stein's site LE (now called *fangcheng* 方城). It looks like it was made on the same blueprint as the one in Yingpan, except for the colors. The center image consists of a (crouching?) lion situated on the right. The face is in frontal perspective and squared with big eyes and a mouth with exposed fangs, while the background color in the central field is red. The inner border has a diamond-framed pattern all around, and in each diamond there are various colors of red, yellow, brown, blue, and white.

03RLEM1 / 71.5x40cm / Symmetrical Knot
Though another big piece also came from the same LE site, archaeologists were only able to recover three small fragments from the same carpet. Among these, the largest one [**Fig. 10**] shows what appears to be a tiger's tail with stripes, done in a natural curved manner. The background is black

Fig. 9. Carpet with a lion in geometric style, Loulan (Yue 2009).

Fig. 9a. Detail of Fig. 9, Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology (author photo).

Fig. 10. Carpet with a tiger's tail, Loulan(?), Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology (author photo).

filled with little diamond-shaped motifs in beige. A little portion of the inner border has been preserved, with its flora and foliage motifs done in Hellenistic style. Based on an examination of the nearly complete piece of this carpet, it is certain that this portion of the tiger's tail belongs to this carpet. The complete design shows two felines. Judging by the two bodies and tails, one striped (left) and one plain (right), these are probably intended to be a tiger and a lion. The two felines are shown in profile, face to face, jumping up, as if to attack each other. The treatment of the images is natural and free, and the colors for the animals are brightly reddish or orange and yellow. The outer border has a row of rectangles filled in with grid-like pattern in various colors.

Fig. 11. Carpet with grapes in diamond grid, Loulan (Jia 2015).

Number unavailable / 258x131cm / Symmetrical Knot

Only a small portion of this piece [**Fig. 11**], likely looted from the very same LE site, has been recovered by archaeologists. The piece measures 258 x 131 cm in a pattern of diamond framework filled in with bunches of grapes and leaves or possibly insects. The colors of the bunches of grapes include black with white dots, red with white dots, red with black dots, and beige with black dots. The inner border is composed of V-shaped motifs with spirals at the two heads, and a candle-stand like motif with three sticks. The outer border shows short, zigzagged diagonal lines in alternative colors.

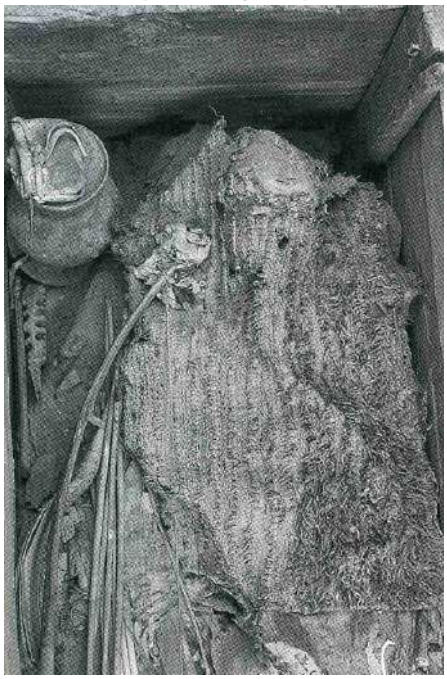
80RLMB2:93 / 18x9cm / Single-warp Knot (knots on double sides)

The site of Gutai (孤台, Stein's LC) has yielded a small piece, made in unique fashion, that has been dated to the 1st-3rd centuries CE. It has single-warp knots piled on both reverse and obverse sides. The more decorative front side includes the colors of red, blue, yellow, green, orange, cream, and white. The other side contains only natural white color knotted threads. The piece is too small and damaged to show any particular design. This double-sided knotting method appears in Shanpula (Khotan) as well (see **Fig. 17a**). At various Loulan sites, many small fragments have been found that can be dated to earlier eras, for example, 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE. Most of these feature geometric motifs such as bars, triangles, squared scrolls, and checker-boards. They are either too small or too worn-out to render clear designs.

Niya (ca. 200-400 CE)

Though Stein visited Niya, one of his favorite sites, three times, he did not find a single piece of knotted carpet. He did, however, unearth a few weft beaters for knotted carpet weaving and hundreds of Kharosthi documents. In 1959, two small pieces were found at Niya (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 1975). Then in 1995, a joint Sino-Japanese team found seven pieces, among which at least four or five were nearly complete. All were found either wrapping or covering a body [**Fig. 12**] (Zhongri Niya 1999b, 2007), which resulted in significant damage to the colors of the designs. It appears as if these pieces were already worn long before they were used for the burial.

Fig. 12. Tomb with a body covered with a carpet, Niya (Zhongri Niya 1996b).



59MNM1:51, 52 / 30x21cm, 16x14cm / Symmetrical Knot
The two small pieces discovered in 1959 [**Fig. 13**] contained symmetrical knots, with black, brown, red, blue/green colors and geometric designs.

Fig. 13. Carpet fragments from Niya (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 1975).

95MN1M3:28 / 295x128cm / Symmetrical Knot
A large piece of impressive size, this carpet features a diamond grid (known as a "turtle-shell" or *guijia wen* 龟甲纹 pattern among Chinese scholars). It also includes small triangles and diamonds, with each diamond of the grid done in different colors. Each joint of the net has an emphasized dot in darker color. The inner border is composed of a series of rectangles, each of which contains a heart-shaped leaf. The middle border has a series of scroll-running waves done in a relatively natural manner. The outer border has four or five stripes in different shades of colors, from lighter to darker.

95MN1M8:3 / 238x118cm / Symmetrical Knot
This is another large piece [**Fig. 14**], one that already had one of its ends cut off when it was unearthed, thus making it impossible to determine the original length. Much like the previous carpet, it also has a blue diamond grid, with each diamond containing an eight-petal flower in alternating colors of yellow, green, and pink. The background color is red-brown. There are four borders. The inner border has a few stripes of rainbow-like colors and series of triangles in green and pink color to make both positive and negative triangles. The next border is wide with a broad square zigzag line in yellow, and in each open square on both sides of the line there is a six-petal flower set against black or dark brown ground. Next to this border is the one with running-scroll waves in dark brown on yellow. The outer border has stripes in yellow, blue, green, red, white, and brown.

95MN1M3:61 / 150x110cm / Symmetrical Knot
A third large piece is incomplete. The design is similar to the last two carpets: a basic diamond grid in the central field, with each diamond containing small triangles of different colors. Its inner border is a series of rectangles with a heart-shaped leaf in each. The middle border has running square scroll waves. The outer border has stripes of rainbow-like colors.

95MN1M3:29 / 112x58cm / Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Knots
One of the large fragments shows a simple design of only line stripes, which appear yellow, light yellow, brown, and orange. This piece is special in that its ground weaving is twill and there are two kinds of knots used together: symmetrical and asymmetrical knots.

95MN1M4 / Measurement NA / Knot NA
This large piece covers, and likely wraps, a body, as shown in the black and white photo [see **Fig. 12**]. It appears to have some simple stripes in a couple of different colors.

Fig. 14. Carpet detail (95MNIM8:3), Niya (Zhongri Niya 2007).

Fig. 15. Carpet with leaves, Shanpula (Yue 2009).

Shanpula-excavated (ca. 200 BCE-200 CE)
In the 1980s and 90s, archaeologists excavated six knotted carpets in Shanpula, Luopu County, Khotan District. In the early 2000s, more pieces were found on the edge of the previous excavated sites. They are divided into two separate groups.

84LSIK2:1 / 76x74cm / Symmetrical Knot
This is a complete carpet [**Fig. 15**], clearly a saddle mat, and found still on the saddle of a horse in a pit. It is in a very good condition. The piece has been exhibited in and out of China on many occasions, so it is already popularly known. Almost a square, the central field of the design is also a square with a diamond grid in red color. Within each diamond is a heart-shaped leaf with a little stem and two or four tiny branches in yellow on black background; the body of the leaf is pink and the stems are yellow. Although this motif is identified as a leaf, it also seems to resemble some sort of little insect [**Fig. 15a**]. The center is framed with red, yellow, orange, and black colors. Next to the frame is the wide inner border running through with a thin blue square zigzag line. In each open square, there is a large five-partite leaf in yellow on black and bright red background. The outer border has two different patterns on two opposite sides: the upper and bottom sides show a series of chevrons in red, black, orange, yellow, and white

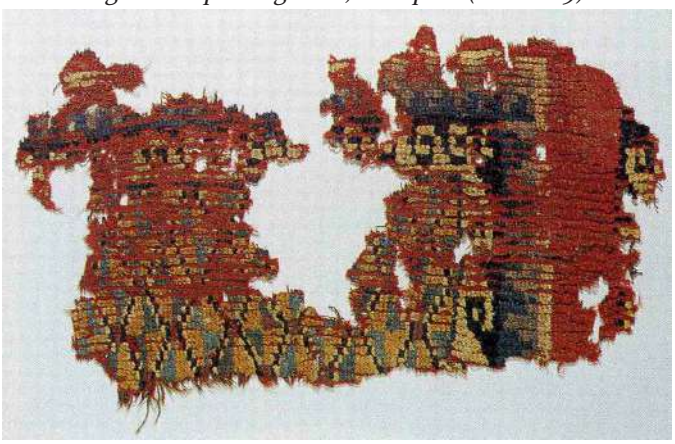
Fig. 15a. Details from the carpet in Fig. 15 (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 2001).

colors, while the other two opposite sides reveal diagonal lines in the order of the same colors as the other sides.

The two shapes of the leaves on the design seem to be the leaves of the *populus euphratica* tree, the most common trees one sees in the Taklamakan Desert. This tree produces several very differently shaped leaves, sometimes on a single small branch. Some are long and thin like willow leaves, some are oval or heart-shaped, some are short and wide with tiny teeth similar to the maidenhair leaves, and some are long with two- or three-tiered splits.

84LSIM01:161 / 31x17.5cm / Symmetrical Knot
Although only a corner, this fragment [**Fig. 16**] is good enough to show clear design motifs and colors. The center design is a diamond grid in black color; in each diamond are four small triangles in yellow and light blue colors. The inner border is a row of running square scroll waves in black and beige. The middle border is a series of triangles in

Fig. 16. Carpet fragment, Shanpula (Yue 2009).



deep blue and beige against each other. And the outer border is plain with red color.

84LSIM01:347 / 67x71cm / Asymmetrical Knot
This piece shows a simple design of long stripes in the colors of red, deep blue, light blue, grass green, yellow, and brown.

84LSIM1:405 / 35x27cm / Symmetrical Knot
This is a plain piece with natural color.

Shanpula-looted (ca. 400-600 CE)
In 2008, on the edge of the main cemetery in Shanpula where the most woolen textiles were excavated, five complete knotted carpets were dug up by looters who were later caught by the police. All five carpets are made of single-warp knots, and one of them, the largest of all, has a full pile also on the reverse side in a natural plain color. All five have striking bright colors and show a unique figurative and naturalistic design style, different from most of the others discussed so far. Four of the five carpets also have some Brahmi script in the Khotan-Saka language woven in. The author has already done both an iconographic and stylistic analysis (Zhang 2010, 2012) and will only summarize the descriptions here.

08LPSB1 / 265x150cm / Single-warp Knot (knots on double sides)
This large piece [**Fig. 17**, **17a**] has at least thirty-five human figures and some trees and furniture, arranged in seven rows in the center area. In the second row (counting from the bottom up), there are three or four words of Brahmi script that appear to read "*ha dī vä*" (Duan Qing 2010), but they have not been successfully deciphered yet. The human figures are in a rich and large repertoire, which includes young and old people, men, women, children, a

Fig. 17. Carpet with human figures and Brahmi/Khotanese inscriptions, Shanpula (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).

Fig. 17a. Back side of the carpet in Fig. 17, Shanpula (author photo).

Fig. 18. Carpet with human figures, Shanpula (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).

king and queen, musicians playing the flute and harp or veena, and a dancer. It also shows people wearing beautiful fancy dresses and headdresses, or those who wear only dhotis. One small figure in blue appears twice in the design. The first time it shows a ball-like motif in its right hand to a nearly nude woman who is seated in an Indian royal sitting posture in the bottom row. The other time it holds something up with its right arm and is accompanied by a girl playing the flute in the fifth row from bottom. It is this little blue figure that provides an important clue for a possible iconography. Most likely, it is a depiction of the young Krishna, god of herdsmen and an avatar of Vishnu, whose name means dark blue or black and who is always portrayed in Hindu art in blue or black (Zhang 2010; see also **Figs. 45, 46, 47**). The overall ground color is bright red.

Fig. 19a. Backside of carpet in Fig. 19 showing two layers of felt (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).

There are two borders. The inner border is composed of rainbow-like strips in red, yellow, light blue, and deep blue, and a series of running-scroll waves in deep blue and white against each other and with a red dot on the tip of the wave. The running waves are treated more naturally in soft curve scrolls. The outer border is wide with some very busy motifs intertwined in alternating colors of light blue, pink, yellow, dark blue, and red, all on bright red ground. The motifs appear to be stylized images of animals, though they have not been successfully identified yet. This wide border is outlined with a thin yellow line on two sides, and a heavy blue line on the outer side.

08LPSB2 / 220x109cm / Single-warp Knot
The design of this carpet [**Fig. 18**] seems to be a scaled-down copy of the first one. With sixteen human figures, the center design contains the basic characters for the Krishna childhood story, with little blue Krishna appearing once in the fourth row from the bottom. The borders are also the same, while the "animal" motifs cannot be identified.

08LPSB3 / 123x119cm / Single-warp Knot (extra two layers of felt sown on)
08LPSB4 / 114x119cm / Single-warp Knot
08LPSB5 / 117x116cm / Single-warp Knot
These three smaller pieces [**Figs. 19, 19a, 20, 21**] show a similiar design: two winged figures in the

Fig. 19. Carpet with Putti figures and Brahmi/Khotanese inscriptions, Shanpula (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).


Figs. 20-21. Carpets with Putti figures and Brahmi/Khotanese inscriptions, Shanpula (photos by Qi Xiaoshan).

center field on red ground, placed upside-down relative to each other and head-to-head, so that each appears to be running or flying to their left. One figure is completely nude, and the other has a short dress on. The chubby bodies with wings and the way they hold long ribbons make these figure look very much like the Putti in Roman art. A Khotanese inscription woven in yellow and blue fills the areas to either side of the figures' heads. The inscription reads "*Spāvatä meri sūmä ho ä*," which translates as "The spāvata-official Meri gave [this] to Sūma" (Duan 2010). The subject seems to be a dedication to a god or mortal.

The border designs in all three pieces are also similar to each other. The inner border is composed of chevrons in various colors. The middle border is the widest one and is filled with stylized animals that are difficult to identify. I could only identify possible birds, camels, and snakes. The outer border is a single S-curved vine with heart-shaped leaves in alternating colors of red, yellow, blue, and black.

Kashgar (ca. 400-907 CE)

In 1959, the site of Tuokuzalai, in Tumushuk County in the Kashgar region, yielded two small pieces. One piece is dated to the 5th-6th centuries CE, measured 17 x 13 cm with symmetrical knotting, and has two or three colors in some small geometric shapes. The design is not identifiable. The other piece is only 6 x 6 cm and is dated to the Late Tang (875–907 CE); however, it is good enough to show a sing-warp knotting.

Xinjiang and Dunhuang after 700 CE

It is worth observing that no knotted carpet dating to the period between the Tang (618-907) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties has been found in an archaeological excavation in the Taklamakan.[5] The lone exception is the tiny piece from Kashgar noted above, which has been dated to the Late Tang. The reasons for the lack of such materials could be many, but most likely political turmoil was a major cause. The change of dynasties and ruling groups, along with its related warfare, would interrupt production and reduce productivity of many goods, or even block tribute and trade routes entirely. The diminished attention paid by the late Tang and Song dynasties to the far western regions, along with their own weakened military force could be contributing factors. Only in the mural paintings in Dunhuang caves do we really still see carpets, which appear until the early Yuan Dynasty in the late 13th century. But even the Yuan dynasty, which was ruled by Mongols who favored woolen materials and carpets, did not leave material traces of carpets. Until the Qing dynasty, carpets only appear in paintings.

a. Dunhuang cave 172, High Tang (713-766 CE), by Sun Xiaoli

b. Dunhuang cave 112, Mid-Tang (762-827 CE), by Chang Shana

Fig. 22a-b. Details of reconstructed carpet paintings on Dunhuang murals (Chang 1986).

In roughly two hundred images of paintings from the Dunhuang murals that depict carpets—limited to those clearly used to cover a floor with people sitting, standing, or dancing on top, and likely all knotted carpets—a large number involve carpets integrated into scenes of palaces, paradise, and landscapes, where Buddhist practitioners sit and meditate or travelers their their rest. Although abundant designs are found, many of them are simply variations in color and details of a few major designs. Among them, two major designs are conspicuous: a triangle or diamond grid pattern and a five-, six-, or eight-petal (or rosette) flower pattern (see **Figs. 22a, 22b, 23, 24**). The former looks like the continuation of the Taklamakan geometric style (see discussion below), and the latter seems to lean more toward a Han Chinese influence and style. There is also a combination of the two, an example of which appears in Dunhuang Cave 98, where the primary donors are the king and queen of Khotan. While the queen and her attendants are represented standing on the square or long carpets of the flower pattern, the king himself is standing on a carpet with diamond-shaped flowers against a dark brown backdrop, thereby creating the effect of a diamond grid [**Fig. 25**].

After Dunhuang, the next appearance of the knotted carpets can be found in paintings of the Yuan (1279-1368) and Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Several scroll paintings have shown the Mongols or other nomads with their yurts and carpets. We see also mention in the Yuan dynasty official records of making "cut-yarn" carpets in some official workshops, which are obviously knotted carpets. In the Ming dynasty, it seems there was a purposeful slow-down of the carpet making industry. For instance, it is recorded that in the tenth year of the Hongzhi 弘治 emperor (1500 CE), Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 wanted to repair and replace about one hundred "dragon" and plain carpets. The head of the Ministry of Public Works (Gong Bu 工部), however, begged the emperor not to do so, for

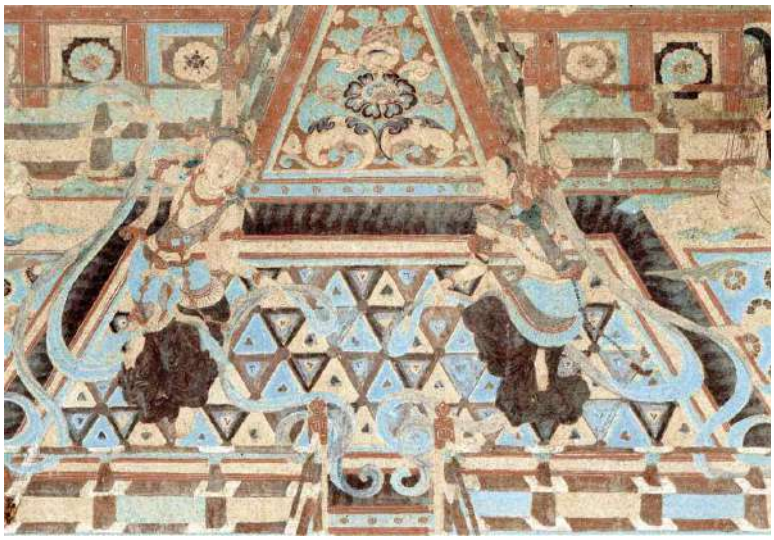


Fig. 23. Dunhuang Cave 156, north wall, late Tang, 827-859 CE (Duan 2006).

Fig. 24. Dunhuang Cave 196, north wall, late Tang, 827-859 CE (Duan 2006).

Fig. 25. King and Queen of Khotan, reconstructed painting from Dunhuang cave 98, east wall, Five Dynasties (907-960 CE) (Hetian 2004: 150-51).

it would be too expensive to get wool from Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces, cotton from Henan, and workers from Suzhou and Shanghai (Jia et al. 2009: 55). But the emperor ignored this warning and continued his project. This documentary evidence confirms two things. First, carpet-making was still carried out during the Ming Dynasty, even if it was not undertaken by workshops in the Western Regions or received via tribute. Second, it was too expensive to make carpets with raw materials and weavers from both north and south China. This suggests that carpet production was very likely reduced and even completely halted at certain times.

It is not until the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and rise of a new Manchu ruling class, with their preferences for wool materials, that we begin to see new enthusiasm again in carpet production. The Palace Museum in Beijing currently has hundreds of pieces in storage, some of which are detailed in a recent publication (Yuan et al. 2010).[6] Many of these carpets are labeled as made in Khotan, alongside tribute gifts from other places such as Gansu, Ningxia, Datong, Baotou, and Hebei. The German diplomat and carpet collector Han Bidder, who published the first and only scholarly book dedicated entirely to knotted pile carpets made in Khotan (Bidder 1964), came to the conclusion that many more well-known carpets in Samarkand, Gansu, and Baotou, among other places, are merely copies or imitations of Khotan designs. According to Bidder, Khotan was the original center of carpet production, and the Tarim basin is "the oldest home of pile carpets known to us today" (11).

Design Motifs and Styles

The design motifs and styles in Taklamakan carpets before 700 CE may be classified into three categories: geometric style, dynamic or free style, and representational or figurative style.

The geometric style features the following motifs: triangle shapes and grids, diamond shapes and grids, stripes, squares, rectangles, waving scrolls, squared scrolls, zigzags, square zigzags, waves with interlocking stripes, rosette flowers, grapes, and abstract animals. In earlier cases (700 BCE-200 CE), such as the ones from Yanghai, Yingpan, Niya, and Shanpula, the motifs are used for both the central field and its borders, while the diamond grid appears to be the most popular overall design (e.g. **Figs. 8, 14**). In later cases (200-400 CE), such as the ones from Yingpan, Loulan, and Shanpula, the aforementioned geometric motifs still play major roles but some of the central fields yield to a single image of a lion or a tiger. In one of the two identical carpets from Yingpan and Loulan that featured a lion in the center (see **Figs. 6, 9**), the lion is abstracted into squares, rectangles, and triangles, to fit the overall geometric look. Many of the geometric motifs would continue to be used for border designs throughout the history of carpet-making. Amazingly, with several interruptions, some small motifs continued to be used in Khotan's carpet designs even into modern times. The eight-petal flower, eight-partite geometric forms, and diamonds can still be seen in the twentieth century, although in many cases the diamond has by this time become much larger, with only

one or two covering the central field and then filled with small geometric motifs.

The border designs done in this style also include a series of squared spirals (or hooks) running in a way similar to the curvilinear waving scrolls that appear in many pieces from Niya, Loulan, and early Shanpula. It is difficult to determine if this series of squared scrolls is also based on Hellenistic and Roman designs. In any case, these squared scrolls go very well with other geometric motifs from earlier eras, which suggests an intentional modification of the curvilinear waves to fit the overall geometric pattern. Not only that, but these squared hooks would also appear consistently—in place of a long series of borders—as individual elements in various designs in later Turkish carpets as well as in Khotan carpets.

The dynamic or free style features more curvilinear and irregular lines and outlines, natural shapes of leaves and vines, and naturalistic animals. Such examples are found in pieces dated to 200-400 CE from Loulan, Yingpan, and Shanpula. In Stein's Loulan collection, there is a little piece that shows curved lines in blue and white next to a border with blue, yellow, and red colors (British Museum Inv. no. MAS.693; also see Spuhler 2015: 13). Although nothing specific can be determined, the way the lines are executed clearly show that they might be some free lines or lines of some organic motifs. The piece from Loulan-LE with a tiger's tail is represented with such vigorous movement that it also demonstrates a naturalistic manner. The floral motifs along the border in the same carpet are also treated in a curvilinear and naturalistic manner.

The larger piece from this same carpet (almost a complete one, now outside China) also shows two animals, a lion and a tiger, in their natural forms. One of the two lion pieces from Yingpan in Figure 6 shows the lion in dynamic vigor as well. In this carpet, there is an attempt to show a modeling effect by using red, pink, and yellow colors in a sequential manner. On the lower border, the paws and part of the tail intentional protrude into the border field, making the image overlapped in space. A similar kind of pictorial device often appears in the Pompeii murals. In the border design of this same carpet, the series of figure-8-, or gourd-shaped motif, is also curvilinear and naturalistic. The Shanpula piece depicting poplar tree leaves is also done in a free style rather than a rigid geometric style (see **Fig. 15a**), although it is framed with a diamond grid and squares. In fact this design looks like a combination of the geometric and free styles—a style that appears in both carpet designs and decorative border designs from the Dunhuang mural paintings, including the carpet painted underneath the king of Khotan.

The representational or figurative style is defined by depictions of human and animal figures in a natural representational manner. The examples are mostly from Shanpula and dated to 400-600 CE. This group is unique from other earlier ones in that the designs are full of human figures represented in interactive narrative relationships and are executed in a naturalistic and free style.

For a quick comparison, there is only one carpet that is dated earlier than the Shanpula ones that features human figures in knotted carpet—and it is the famous carpet from Pazyryk [**Fig. 26**]. In it, a rider walking beside a horse and a rider riding on horseback alternate to make a border series. Though one may interpret the horseback riders as

Fig. 26. Detail of the famous carpet from Pazyryk, c. 400 BCE (Polos'mak and Barkova 2005).

Fig. 27. Detail of the carpet in Fig. 18 (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).

Fig. 28. Greek Red-Figure Vase, c. 350-325 BCE, Paestan, Italy (Metropolitan Museum of Art Creative Commons Zero).

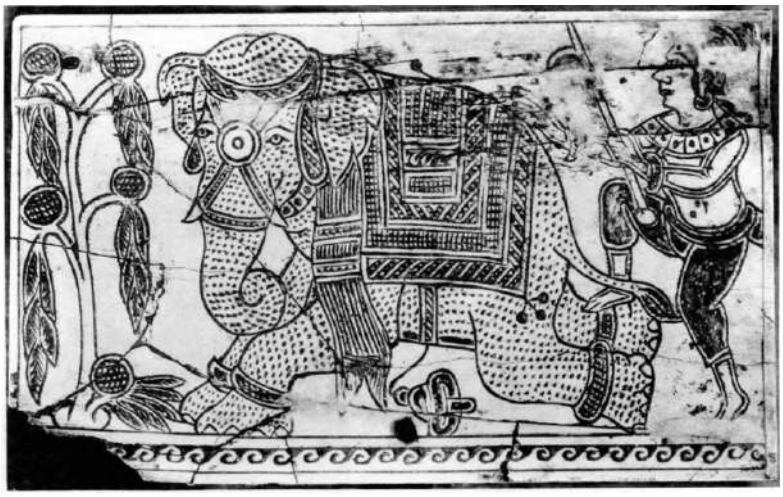
traveling, it does not seem intended to communicate a narrative story. Both the human and horse figures, as well as the grazing deer in the neighboring border, are executed in a geometric and patterned fashion.

In the Shanpula designs, however, a large variety of people are represented, not only in terms of age, gender, posture, and movement, but even in social status. This goes far beyond mere abstract concepts of human figures. The execution of the figures also approaches a naturalistic realism. For example, double-color contour lines of red and pink are juxtaposed next to paler pink skin color to suggest gradation of modeling for the body. A three-quarter view is adopted to show the angle of the high nose, the eye pupils are positioned impart a certain expression, and there is even an attempt to depict a tie-dyed dress decoration.

Fig. 29. Eros or Baby Dionysus, Roman mosaic, Pompeii, before 79 CE, National Archaeological Museum of Naples (author photo).

The motifs in the narrower borders in this style show typical Greco-Roman decorative motifs, the most typical of which are the waving scrolls [**Fig. 27**] and single-leaf vines [**Fig. 38**]. These two designs are commonly found on Greek vases and in Roman mosaics for walls and floors [**Figs. 28, 29**]. So there is no question about the origins of the design. However, since these designs were used in the Bactria and Gandhara regions for so long, they may have become typical of local Bactrian design as well [**Fig. 30**]. They appear mostly in the carpets from Niya, Loulan, Yingpan, and Shanpula, as well as in a large collection of knotted carpets from Bactria to be discussed below.

Fig. 30. Drawing of an ivory carving from Begram, Afghanistan (Hackin et al. 1954).



a. Ground weave: cotton warp and weft; double-sided wool knots

b. Ground weave: linen warp and weft; wool knots

Fig. 31. Carpet fragments from Fostat, Egypt, 9th c. CE (Aslanapa 1988).

This representational group of carpets also includes several new design motifs, such as Khotan-Saka script knotted through the design in four of the five carpets; the narrative story of the childhood Krishna, an avatar of Hindu God Vishnu, in the large carpets; and the winged Eros/Putti as major figures in the three smaller carpets.

Cultural Expression and Interaction

Despite their humble origins as floor coverings and sitting mats, the carpets found in the Taklamakan region are significant in their reflection of artistic ideas and aesthetic tastes from several different cultures, from the wider Taklamakan region itself to as far away as the Mediterranean regions in the distant west. They also express a willingness to borrow and integrate other peoples' ideas and methods. On the cross-roads of the Silk Road, the people of the Taklamakan oases helped spread these multicultural ideas and aesthetics in all directions. As a result, the carpets served as an important medium of cultural expression and as clear evidence of cultural interaction and integration.

Taklamakan Geometric Style

According to my analysis in the last section, the geometric style design appears to be the most consistent design in the Taklamakan oases. From the earliest samples of Yanghai circa 700 BCE to the samples of Yingpan, Loulan, Shanpula, and Kashgar up until about 400-500 CE, the geometric shapes of triangles, diamonds, hexagons, and squares are the most popular motifs used in carpet designs. Triangles and diamonds also continued to be depicted in the carpets appearing in Dunhuang murals from the 7th to 11th century CE. Because of such clustered appearances and quantities done in the geometric style, we might refer to this as the "Taklamakan style." Once identified as a regional style, it becomes possible to further identify fragments of knotted carpets found elsewhere as similar in style to the Taklamakan carpets. These include fragments discovered in Fostat, Egypt [**Fig. 31**]. The Fostat discovery consists of several tens of pieces of knotted carpets. They are divided into two major phases: those of the 9th century and those of 13th century. The samples from the earlier phase are believed to be associated with Abbasid Dynasty in Samarra, Iraq, where Turkish guards were hired, thus suggesting the incorporation of a Turkic tradition from Central Asia. The large group dated to the 13th and 14th century is categorized as Seljuk Turkish carpets (Aslanapa 1988).

Looking at the Fostat fragments of the 9th century, one does sense a strong resemblance to the Taklamakan carpets in their diamond and hexagonal grids. In each diamond or hexagon, there is a similar little flower or triangle or diamond, while the colors consist of deep brown, brown, red, dark red, blue, green, yellow, and black—the colors most often used in the Taklamakan carpets. The two samples in Fig. 31 are tied with single-warp knot, a common method already used in Yingpan, Loulan and Shanpula since at least the 2nd century CE. One of the two [**Fig. 31a**] also has a knotted pile on the back side, another common practice found in Loulan and Shanpula. Intriguingly, however, these two pieces make use of a different material for the warp and weft yarn—linen and cotton instead of wool. The the warps, wefts, and knotted threads of Taklamakan carpets were all made of wool clear up to the 20th century, when cotton was adopted for warps and wefts.

Also worthy of note is that seven of the twenty-nine published pieces from the second group from Fostat feature all-wool and symmetrical knotted carpets. This group, as Aslanapa (1988) concludes, is Seljuk Turkish, and utilizes mostly geometric motifs for its design. This, too, strongly echoes the Taklamakan geometric style, even though the pat-

terns are more complex than those in the Taklamakan.

The Taklamakan geometric style could have migrated in two directions: eastward toward Dunhuang in China and westward toward Western Asia and Egypt. In the westward direction, it could have been carried by the nomadic peoples throughout Central and Western Asia with the rise of the Seljuk Empire in the 11th and 12th centuries, or with the waves of Turkic migration, under Mongol pressure or alliances, that reached all the way to the western tip of Asia from the 13th century on. The geometric style would be adopted as a signature cultural motif of various Turkic groups and later further encouraged by the Muslim preference for geometric and floral patterns instead of human figures. Among these groups, the Azerbaijani and Turkish Turks would become the major successor and innovators of the Taklamakan geometric style. Meanwhile, the style still continued to be used both in the Taklamakan and northeast Asia, as seen in the Yuan and Ming dynasty paintings.

Although geometric in appearance, the Pazyryk carpet stands alone. Though its dominant overall design is the square grid, the triangles, diamonds, and other geometric shapes common in the Taklamakan do not appear. With its horseback riders, deer, gryphon, and four-petal leaf motif, it demonstrates some connection with both Scythian-Saka traditions and Assyrian-Persian-Hellenistic decorative motifs. And yet the same motifs of horseback riders, men walking alongside horses, grazing deer with vertical antlers and decorative motifs on their bodies, and mythical creatures like gryphons all appear in the flat woven textiles (or tapestries) discovered in Shanpula/Khotan and dated to between the 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE. Likewise, the four-petal leaf motif can be found in wood and clay carvings from Niya and Loulan. Therefore, the design motifs in the Pazyryk carpet are still related in one way or another to the Taklamakan oases.

Persian Element

In both the geometric and free styles, the depiction of the lion is notable for its frequent appearances and its occupation of the large central field in composition. The inclusion of the motif might be an inspiration from Assyrian and Persian art directly, or through Hellenistic Bactrian and Buddhist art indirectly. The lion is also a common motif in Roman paintings and mosaics. Despite ferocious and aggressive expression of the beast in Assyrian-Persian art and Greco-Roman art, the lions in the carpets of geometric style are depicted in a more tame, crouched posture, and appear more decorative. Those depicted in the free style, while still vigorous in movement, look more playful. It seems that the weavers of the carpets made a significant modification from the original model of these designs in order to make them conform to the principles of decorative art and the function of the carpets as daily household materials.

Bactrian/Hellenistic Style

The free and representational styles in the Taklamakan carpets are closely related to the art style of Bactria and Gandhara in general, and to the carpets found in recent decades in Afghanistan more specifically. Bactria, which is roughly equivalent to modern Afghanistan, where the Hellenistic influence once prevailed, developed its own art style over the centuries with a combination of motifs and styles from both the Mediterranean regions and the Indian subcontinent. The motifs of vine-leaves and running waves commonly seen in artworks from Bactria and Gandhara, for example, are clearly copies of those of the Greeks and Romans, and the human figures and narratives are very often adapted from either Buddhist or Hindu art from India. However, in Bactria and Gandhara, the two types of border designs are used so frequently, and blend so harmoniously with typical Indian motifs and subjects, that they truly become a local or regional style of its own—Bactrian style.

But Hellenistic cultures brought more than just the actual design motifs to Central Asia. Some concepts and techniques of art-making also became a new norm in Bactria and Gandhara. The most important impact in art would be the practice of realistic or naturalistic representation of human figures, animals, and plants, which comprise the foundation of Greek and Roman art. Along with this practice, the art of Bactria and Gandhara would also incorporate the attempt to represent natural body movements and postures for human figures, the modeling technique to create three dimensional effects, and the tendency to show a three-quarter view of a human face.

In sum, the Taklamakan carpets that showcase the representational style seem to share their ideas with those of Bactria. The looted group from Shanpula, especially, looks closely related to the Bactrian findings; so close, in fact, that they were probably even made from the same blueprints or in the same workshops. As a result, it is important to provide a short discussion, of the carpets discovered in recent years in Afghanistan, for the sake of a simple comparison.

Afghan Carpets in the Kuwait Collection

Thanks to Frederick Spuhler and the Dar al Athar al-Islamiyyah organization in Kuwait, a large group of 2nd-6th century CE carpets found in the northern mountainous region of Afghanistan over the last several decades has been made available for scholarly analysis (Spuhler 2015). These carpets, which are in relatively good condition, retain their bright beautiful colors and are decorated with various animal designs and rich border design motifs. They share many features with the Taklamakan carpets, especially those from Yingpan and Shanpula. Here we will point out just a few important features.

The Afghan carpets in the Kuwait collection are dated to around the 2nd to 6th centuries CE. All but one of the sixteen catalogued carpets are tied with asymmetrical knots; the lone exception is tied with U-shaped loop (or single-warp knot). Their design motifs include griffins, horses, stags, lions, some felines, unidentified mythical creatures, wave-scrolls, squared wave-scrolls, checker-boards, stepped triangles, flora, and vine-leaves. Some designs are clearly Sassanian in style, for example, a deer's neck tied with a *kushti* (a tag-like ribbon) floating horizontally behind the neck or holding in the mouth a horizontally floating object such as fruit, flower, or a looped ribbon [**Fig. 32**].

Fig. 32. Detail of a carpet fragment in the Kuwait Collection (courtesy of Gulf Museum Consultancy Company, WLL #LNS 71 R a-c v1).

The other designs are more typically Bactrian in style and can be found in many different art forms. This Bactrian type of design shows closer connections with the textile designs in the Taklamakan. For example, all the creatures and motifs listed above also appear in the flat weaving materials (such as tapestry textiles) from Khotan/Shanpula and Zhagunluk. They also appear in the silk materials from the Turfan region and in the Buddhist art in Dunhuang, Kashmir, and Tibet. Indeed, one of the designs features two stags kneeling (Spuhler 2015: 54), which is a posture more often seen Buddhist in iconography and style than a random representation of the animals. A similar expression can be found in the Dunhuang mural paintings, while a more precise method of depicting crouched legs can also be found in Tibetan Buddhist art.

Interestingly, many of the border designs in the Afghan carpets, such as vine-leaves and checker board patterns, can be found not only in the Buddhist art of Bactria and the Gandhara region, but also in the Dunhuang murals. For instance, an exact vine-leaf pattern appears in both the Bactrian/Afghan carpet and the Dunhuang mural paintings [**Figs. 34, 35, 36**]. Although this kind of fancy vine-leaf pattern does not appear in the Taklamakan carpets, similar ones do appear in other art objects all over the Taklamakan oases, such as wood carving, ceramic vessels, and mural paintings.

Two of the border designs in the Afghan carpets—running wave-scrolls and series of chevrons—show

Fig. 33. Detail of the carpet in Fig. 19 (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).

Fig. 34. Detail of a carpet fragment in the Kuwait Collection (courtesy of Gulf Museum Consultancy Company, WLL #LNS 67 R a-h [d])

Fig. 35. Reconstructed painting from a Dunhuang mural (Chang 1986).

a direct relation to the carpets from Shanpula. In six or seven pieces of the Kuwait collection, the running wave scrolls appear in such a way that two colors—the color of the wave and the color of the ground—are set against each other to create two actual rows of waves interlocked with each other. This is precisely the same design that appears in many Taklamamkan carpets. In addition, in both the Afghan and Shanpula cases, the tip of each wave scroll includes a little dot in a different color. In the Kuwait collection, the combinations of the colors are as follows: yellow-red with black dot, green-red with white dot, yellow-red with green dot, black-white with red dot, and green-yellow without a dot. In the Shanpula carpets, they are blue and white with a red dot. The running chevrons as a frame band appear once in Kuwait collection (see **Fig. 32**), but in all three smaller Shanpula carpets [**Fig. 33**]. This chevron pattern is also found many times as a halo ring in the Buddhist cave mural paintings in Kizil and Turfan.

In sum, this group of Afghan carpets in the Kuwait collection shares the same tradition with that of Shanpula and other Taklamakan towns. It would be premature to pin down the production center of the carpets with this style, but it is very possible that the workshops on either side of the Pamir

Fig. 36. Mural painting in Dunhuang cave 428 (Duan 2006).

share the same blueprints yet manufactured the products individually. This would parallel similar practices in modern times, when a master workshop in Khotan would pass its blueprints on to individual weavers scattered in different villages in the desert and mountains, sometimes even to the villages as far away as Kashgar.

Fig. 38. The Putti figure in the carpet from Fig. 19 (photo by Qi Xiaoshan).

Greco-Roman Element

Though the Greco-Roman element is still part of the Bactrian-Hellenistic-Roman style discussed above, here we will focus on the Eros-Putti-like figures that appear in the three smaller carpets from Shanpula. In the design, the central field is occupied with two nude and winged chubby baby figures head-to-head—not face-to-face—in a fashion reminiscent of Greek Eros or Roman Putti. Eros or Putti can be found in countless Greek vase paintings and Roman stone carvings such as sarcophagi. Much to my surprise, I found a Greek Red-Figure painting plate [**Fig. 37**] in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore that depicts the nude and winged Eros offering something to an altar-like object. Its design fits not only the image of the Eros figure but also the combination of the figure and decorative motifs surrounding the main figure: the single-leaf vine and a short horizontal bar of waving scrolls under the main figure, just like the combination of the two in the three carpets [**Fig. 38**].

Fig. 37. Red-Figure Plate with Eros as a youth making an offering, c. 340-320 BCE (Walters Art Museum Creative Commons Zero).

However, it might not be so wise to suggest that a Greek model could be transported directly to the Taklamakan desert over a time of seven or eight hundred years. Similar figures also appear in Buddhist and Hindu art in India and Bactria. It must have been through some syncretized process in Bactria and Gandhara all the way down to central and south India that such typical and popular Greco-Roman figures would become popular figures in the art works of Central Asia and South Asia, and eventually China.

As early as the second century BCE to the second century CE, the stone sculptural works on the Great Stupa at Sanchi already showed pairs of nude and winged chubby figures flying over a Bodhi tree or a stupa. A couple of centuries later in the Ajanta caves, more such figures were carved and painted. For example, the capitals of the columns on the façade of Ajanta Cave 2 contain pairs of the so-called flying celestials above a statue of Buddha [**Fig. 39**]. They are nude, chubby, and holding a long ribbon; their legs are turning backwards as if floating in the air; and on their backs are flying rib-

Fig. 39. Putti in Ajanta Cave 2, 2nd c. BCE-5th c. CE (author photo)

Fig. 40. Putti holding a wreath over a statue of the Buddha. Painting on niche, ca. 3rd c. CE, Hadda, Afghanistan (Guimet Museum, inv. nos. MG21810, 19157).

bons that look like wings to suggest the act of flying. These Ajanta Putti appear to be portrayed in the same way as those on the carpets, with the same gestures, same kind of ribbons, and same intention of exposing their little genitals.

In a Buddhist niche discovered in Afghanistan, we also find a pair of Putti—nude, chubby, and winged—holding a wreath together, both painted over a statue of Buddha. They look more Greco-Roman in style and painting technique [**Fig. 40**].

In the Taklamakan desert, such winged chubby, sometimes nude, figures are found as well in the Buddhist mural paintings in Miran [**Fig. 41**] discovered by Stein. They are also found on a ossuary box discovered by the Otani expeditions, which includes a precisely painted nude winged Putti painted in the Roman style, similar to the symbolic paintings with which Roman sarcophagi were decorated. Last but not least, these figures also appear

Fig. 41. Putti in the murals from Miran, ca. 4th-5th c. CE (Qi and Wang 2008).

Fig. 42. Putti in a fine woolen dress on Yingpan Man, ca. 5th-6th c. CE (Qi and Wang 2008).

on a beautiful fine woolen dress worn by the so-called Yingpan Man from Yingpan. Here the woven designs on the tunic dress featured paired Putti holding up swords among trees [**Fig. 42**], and the coffin which encased the Yingpan Man was covered with a carpet featuring the geometric lion in Figure 5. A similar piece of cloth made of fine wool was also discovered, and it features winged Putti catching or playing with butterflies [**Fig. 43**].

Fig. 43. Putti woven in fine wool, Yingpan, ca. 5th-6th c. CE (Qi and Wang 2008).

Fig. 44. Detail of the carpet in Fig. 18 (photo by Qi Xiaoshan)

Fig. 45. Krishna Lifting Mount Govardhan, 5th-6th c. CE. Mathura Museum (author photo).

To conclude, it seems that the models for the Putti figures in the carpets represent a syncretic image from Bactrian, with nude chubby body and wings from the Greco-Roman type and backward-turning legs and long ribbons in the Indian fashion. These motifs were already popular in both the Buddhist and non-Buddhist art of the Taklamakan desert during the time when the carpets under analysis were made.

Indian Element

Besides the three small carpets featuring Putti figures in a Buddhist or Hindu manner, the two larger carpets from Shanpula show a narrative design with human figures dressed in Indian dresses such as dhoti or seated in the royal posture *lalitāsana*. In my previous studies (Zhang 2010, 2011), I identified the narrative as belonging to the Krishna childhood stories. The small blue figure, Krishna, is presented not only in his typical dark blue color, but also holding up a butter ball and Mount Govardhan and being accompanied with flute-playing and dancing girls performing the Lila Dance—all scenes popularly seen in Hindu art since the sixth and seventh centuries CE all way down to modern times [**Figs. 44, 45, 46**] (see also Banerjee 1978). Several ladies wear dresses identical to that of Yashoda [**Fig. 47**], the adopted mother of Krishna, on the fifth-century high-relief sculptures in the Dashavatara (Vishnu) Temple in Deogarh. The

Fig. 47. Exchange of the babies, with Yashoda on the right. Dashavatara Temple, Deogarh, ca. 5th-6th c. CE (author photo).

Fig. 46. Krishna dance with young damsels, 1760-65 (P. Banerjee 1978).

scenes are related to several well-known episodes in the Krishna story, including the Prophecy of Kamsa, the Butter Thief, Holding up Mount Govardhan, Naming Puja, and the Lila Dance.

All five carpets of the group from Shanpula have broader borders that are full of complex motifs. Only some vague animal shapes can be drawn out, such as birds, serpents, and possibly camels, cows, and elephants (Zhang 2012). This group of carpets was very likely made for patrons who were familiar with the Hindu stories and iconography, suggesting that there may have been a Hindu community in the Khotan area.

Khotanese Scripts

The appearance of Khotanese script in four carpets from Shanpula strongly suggests that this group of carpets belonged to local Khotanese purchasers. As discussed above, one of the two large carpets has an inscription in Brahmi script that is woven into the carpet in blue. Though not all the words have been deciphered, three of them seem to be a dedication to a god or mortal.

According to experts on Khotanese writing, the script on the carpets is a Brahmi script that was standardized in India during the Gupta dynasty (320-550 CE). The adoption of this script in Khotan not only gives us a relative time range for the production of the carpets, but also demonstrates strong influences from the Gupta dynasty in India and Central Asia. The Taklamakan oases must have significant political and cultural contact with the Guptas. Further evidence of their relationship can be found in the more than two thousand Khotanese texts, both religious and secular, that were discovered by scholars in Khotan and Dunhuang during the 20th and 21st centuries.

In the final analysis, having established the presence of Hindu stories, Buddhist or Hindu imagery, Bactrian motifs and style, and local Khotanese language, we must address one of the most obvious questions: Who made these carpets? The evidence presented in this article suggests that while the carpets could have been made in either Khotan or Bactria, they were made specifically for Khotanese patrons. These patrons may have included a small Hindu community who spoke or read Khotanese. Nevertheless, in light of Khotan's long history of carpet-making, the large quantity of carpets and weft-beaters unearthed in the Khotan region, the documentation of business transactions mentioning famous *Khotani* carpets, the woven inscriptions of the Khotanese language, and Khotan's longstanding trade relationship with Bactria and further west, it seems much more likely that these carpets were made in the oasis of Khotan itself.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Zhang He 张禾 is Professor of Art History at William Paterson University in New Jersey. She was born in Urumqi and grew up in Khotan, Xinjiang, China. As a "re-educated youth" she went to a farm deep in the Taklamakan Desert before having a chance to go to Xinjiang University to study English language and literature. She has master's degrees in art history from the Academy of Arts of China in Beijing and the University of Cincinnati, and a Ph.D. in art history (pre-Columbian art) from the University of Texas at Austin. She teaches and publishes in English and Chinese on pre-Columbian art, Asian art, and the art of the Silk Road. E-mail: <ZhangH@wpunj.edu>.

REFERENCES

Aslanapa 1988
Oktay Aslanapa. *One Thousand Years of Turkish Carpets*. Istanbul: Eren, 1988.

Bailey 1979
H.W. Bailey. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Banerjee 1978
Priyatosh Banerjee. *The Life of Krishna in Indian Art.* New Delhi: National Museum, 1978.

Bidder 1964
Hans Bidder. *Carpets from Eastern Turkestan Known as Khotan, Samarkand and Kansu Carpets*. Trans. Grace Marjory Allen. Tubingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1964.

Burrow 1940
Thomas Burrow. *A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkistan*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1940.

Chang 1986
Chang Shana 常沙娜, ed. *Dunhuang lidai fushi tu'an* 敦煌历代服饰图案 [Clothing patterns in the Dunhuang mural through the ages]. Xianggang: Qing gongye chubanshe, 1986.

Duan 2010
Duan Qing. "The Inscriptions on the Carpets Found at Shanpula, Luopu (Lop) County, Xinjiang." *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 5 (2010): 95–100.

Duan 2006
Duan Wenjie 段文杰, ed. *Zhongguo Dunhuang bihua quanji* 中国敦煌壁画全集 [Complete collection of Chinese Dunhuang murals]. Vols. 5–9. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2006.

Hackin et al. 1954
Joseph Hackin, Ria Hackin, Jean Carl, and Pierre Hamelin. *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram, (ancienne Kâpici), (1939-1940).* Paris: Presses universitaires, 1954.

Hetian 2004
Hetian Wenguansuo 和田文管所. *Yutian* 于阗 [Khotan]. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 2004.

Jia 2015
Jia Yingyi 贾应逸. *Xinjiang gudai maozhipin yanjiu* 新疆古代毛织品研究 [Studies on woolen textiles in ancient Xinjiang]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015.

Jia et al. 2009
Jia Yingyi 贾应逸, Li Wenying 李文瑛, and Zhang Hengde 张亨德. *Xinjiang ditan* 新疆地毯 [Xinjiang carpets]. Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 2009.

Kashgari 1072-74
Mahmud ibn Hussayn ibn Muhammad Kashgari [Mahemude ben Housaiyin ben Muhanmode Kashigeli 麻赫穆德·本·侯赛音·本·穆罕默德·喀什噶里]. *Tujueyu da cidian* 突厥语大词典 [Compendium of Turkic languages]. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2002.

Polos'mak and Barkova 2005
N.V. Polos'mak and L.L. Barkova. *Kostium i tekstil' pazyryktsev Altaia (IV – III vv. do n. e)* [Costumes and textiles of the Pazyryk people of the Altai (IV – III centuries B.C.)]. Novosibirsk: Infolio Publishing, 2005.

Qi and Wang 2008
Qi Xiaoshan 祁小山 and Wang Bo 王博. *Sichou zhilu: Xinjiang gudai wenhua* 丝绸之路: 新疆古代文化 [The Silk Road: ancient culture in Xinjiang]. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2008.

Rudenko 1970
Sergei I. Rudenko. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia—the Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*. Trans. M.W. Thompson. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970.

Spuhler 2015
Friedrich Spuhler. *Pre-Islamic Carpets and Textiles from Eastern Lands*. Farnborough: Thames & Hudson, 2015.

Tulufanshi 2019
Tulufanshi wenwuju 吐鲁番市文物局等, ed. *Xinjiang Yanghai Mudi wenwu chubanshe* 新疆洋海墓地 [The Yanghai cemeteries in Xinjiang]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2019.

Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 1975
Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆. *Xinjiang chutu wenwu* 新疆出土文物 [Cultural relics excavated in Xinjiang]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1975.

Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan et al. 2001
Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆 and Xinjiang Wenwu Kaogusuo 新疆文物考古所, eds. *Zhongguo Xinjiang Shanpula: gudai Yutian wenming de jieshi yu yanjiu* 中国新疆山普拉: 古代于阗文明的揭示与研究 [Sampula in China's Xinjiang: research and revelations regarding ancient civilization in Khotan]. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2001.

Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 2016
Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆, ed. *Zhagunluke fangzhipin zhenpin* 扎滚鲁克纺织品珍品 [Textile treasures of Zaghunluq]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, and Abegg-Stiftung, 2016.

Yu 1600
Yu Shinan 虞世南. *Beitang shuchao* 北堂书钞 [North House book collection]. Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, Chinese Book Col-

lection facsimiles C5913000.

Yuan et al. 2010
Yuan Hongqi 苑洪琪, Liu Baojian 刘宝建, and Gugong Bowuyuan 故宫博物院, eds. *Gugong cang tantu dian* 故宫藏毯图典 [Carpets in the collection of the Palace Museum]. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2010.

Yue 2009
Yue Feng 岳峰. *Xinjiang lishi wenming jicui* 新疆历史文明集萃 [The best collections of Xinjiang history and civilization]. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 2009.

Zhang 2010
Zhang He. "Figurative and Inscribed Carpets from Shanpula-Khotan: Unexpected Representations of the Hindu God Krishna: A Preliminary Study." *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 5 (2010): 59–73.

Zhang 2011a
Zhang He 张禾. "Xinjiang Luopu xian Shanpula chutu renwuwen zairongtan chutan" 新疆洛浦县山普拉出土人物纹栽绒毯内容初探 [A preliminary study of iconography on the Shanpula carpets]. *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (2011), No. 1: 72–82.

Zhang 2011b
———. "Xinjiang Luopu xian Shanpula chutu renwuwen zairongtan zaitan—jianlun yindujiao chuanru Hetian de niandai ji tujing" 新疆洛浦县山普拉出土人物纹栽绒毯内容再探—兼论印度教传入和田的年代及途径 [Further study of the iconography of the Shanpula carpets—the date and route of the diffusion of Hinduism into Khotan]. *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (2011), No. 4: 60–74.

Zhang 2012
———. "Luopu Shanpula renwu zairongtan yishu tedian jiqi fengge fenxi" 洛浦山普拉人物栽绒毯艺术特点及其风格分析 [Analysis of the stylistic characteristics of the imagery in Luopu/Shanpula knotted carpets]. *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (2012), No. 4: 105–16.

Zhang 2015
———. "The Terminology for Carpets in Ancient Central Asia." *Sino-Platonic Papers*, No. 257 (May 2015).

Zhang 2016
———. "Krishna Iconography in Khotan Carpets—Spread of Hindu Religious Ideas in Xinjiang, China, Fourth-Seventh Century CE." *Indian Journal of History of Science* 51, no. 4 (2016): 659–68.

Zhang 2018a
———. "Gudai xiyu ji zhongya ditanshuyu kaozheng" 古代西域及中亚地毯名称术语考证 [An investigation into terminology and names for carpets in ancient Central Asia and the Western Regions]. *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (2018), No. 4: 7–18.

Zhang 2018b
———. "Stein's Taklamakan Carpet Finds and New Discoveries in Xinjiang—Issues Concerning Knotting Techniques and their Cultural Associations." In: *Marc Aurel Stein with Special Reference to South and Central Asian Legacy: Recent Discoveries and Research*, ed., Radha Banerjee Sarka. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts, 2018: 91–101.

Zhang and Jia 1984
Zhang Hengde 张亨德 and Jia Yingyi 贾应逸. *Xinjiang ditan shilue* 新疆地毯史略 [A brief history of carpets in Xinjiang]. Beijing: Qing gongye chubanshe, 1984.

Zhongri Niya 1996, 1999a-b, 2007
Zhongri Niya diaochadui 中日尼雅调查队. *Zhong Ri gongtong Niya yiji xueshu diaocha baogaoshu* 中日共同尼雅遗迹学术调查报告书 [Reports on investigations at the Niya ruins]. Vols. 1-3. Fojiao daxue Niya yiji xueshu yanjiu jigou, 1996, 1999, 2007.

ENDNOTES

[1] Spuhler (2015) also uses the term "U-shape loop knotting" to describe this method, which is also a single-warp knot, but likely simpler without even a loop, i.e., only laid on a single warp in an upside-down U-shape.

[2] Three of the eight fragments from Niya were excavated by Stein and are now stored in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Chinese archaeologists found one in the 1950s at Karadun, a site west of Niya, where Stein had also found some carpet fragments. Another five were excavated by a Sino-Japanese team in the 1990s. The British Museum also holds one fragment found by Stein at Loulan.

[3] For a more in-depth study of the terminology examined in this article, see Zhang 2015 and Zhang 2018a.

[4] Jia Yingyi, who participated in the excavation of the Yang-

hai site and studied the textiles found there, told me that she used the most conservative date (i.e., the most recent date) for dating the knotted carpets from the tombs of the second phase, which are dated from the tenth to eighth century BCE. The carpet fragments fall throughout the time range.

[5] There might be some looted pieces uncovered in recent decades from Qinghai, Ningxia, and Inner Mongolia that date to the Western Xia 西夏 (1038-1227) and Jin 金 (1115-1234) dynasties.

[6] Thanks to Mr. Michael Franses, founder of Hali magazine, who persisted on gaining a look at the carpets hidden in storage for decades, the Palace Museum now has a place to display the royal carpets.

Some Notes on Sogdian Costume in Early Tang China

Sergey A. Yatsenko
Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow

The significant cultural role of the Sogdians in China in the 6th-8th centuries CE is well known. Indeed, it even is exaggerated in some current scholarship. Despite long years of studying Sogdians in China through their various artistic representations, currently almost any foreigner from Central Asia is considered to be a Sogdian but without careful analysis of supporting evidence. Furthermore, such an important marker of ethnic identity and cultural contacts as traditional costume is not always accurately discussed.

To date, the costume of Sogdians of the 5th-8th centuries CE has been well studied for their homeland in the regions of Samarkand, Bukhara, and Panjikent. Beginning in 1995, over the course of more than a decade I have systematically analyzed it for that period and as well for the earlier period of 1st-4th century CE Sogdia (Yatsenko 2006b: 197-201; Figs. 151-153) in the comparative context of the costume of neighboring peoples (Yatsenko 2004, 2006a, 2006b: 296–98, 321, 330–31, 337, 344, 350, 361–62; Figs. 180-188) [**Fig. 1**]. It seems to me that only the systematic examination of costume through hundreds of micro-elements of silhouette and décor and with reference to the function of costume (inter alia, in ritual) in conjunction with the entire known complex of such micro-elements among neighboring peoples can lead to correct conclusions and can hope to elucidate the ethnocultural specifics of the costume array of each peo-

Fig. 1. Male costume of Sogdia in the 5th-8th centuries CE. Source: Yatsenko 2004, Fig. 3; Yatsenko 2006b, Figs. 180-181.

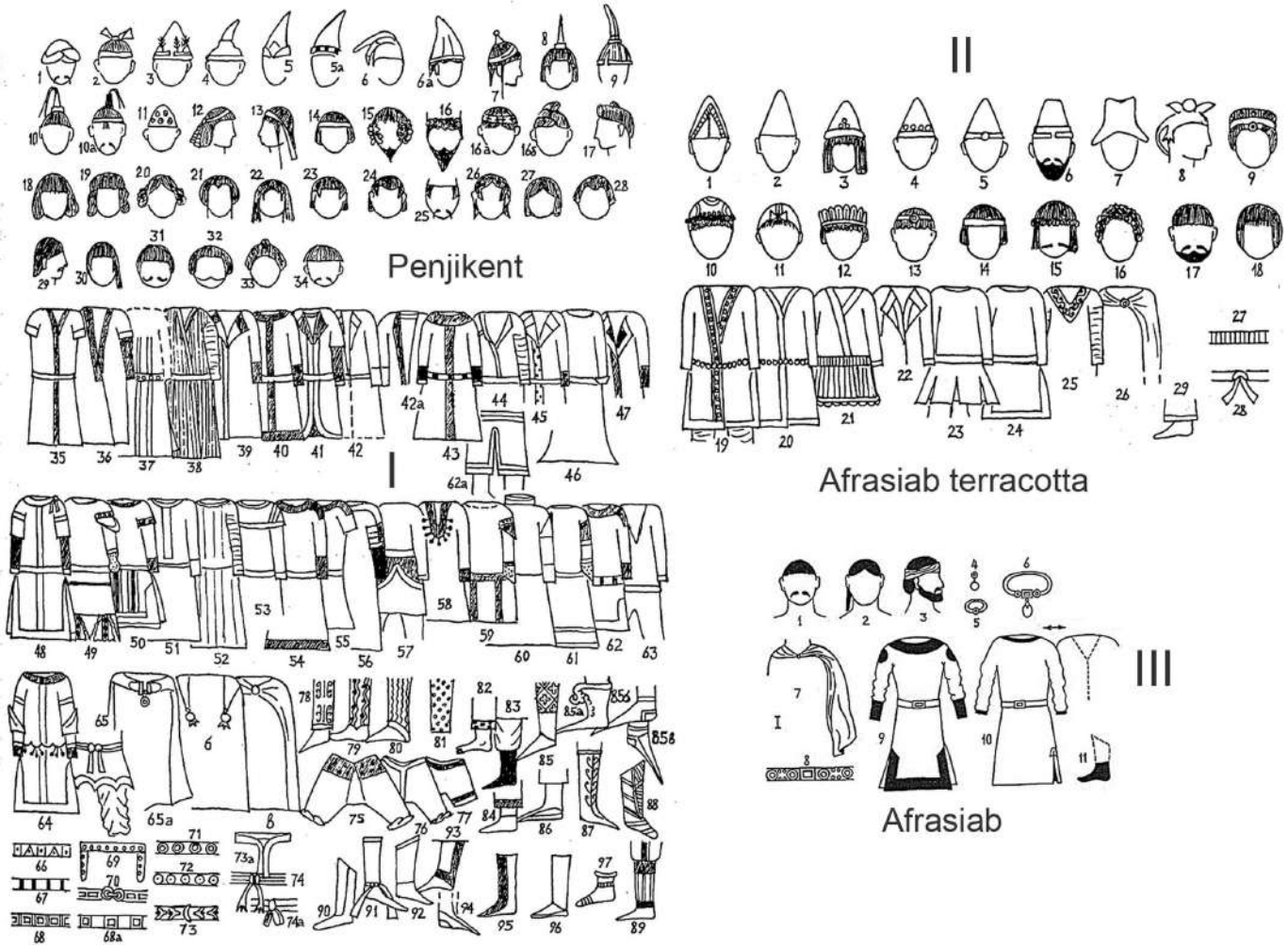


Fig. 2. Map showing the location of peoples active in the Silk Road in the 6th-8th centuries whose costume still has not been studied.

ple. The conclusions of authors who have saved time and effort by studying Sogdian costume through some selected examples of depictions, without analyzing thoroughly what is known about their inter-relationship and without detailed comparison with the attire of neighboring peoples, now appear to be problematic (Bentovich 1980; Naymark 1992; Kidd 2002).

The iconography of reliable and *probable* depictions of Sogdians in China has been examined over the last two decades in many important publications (see esp. Lerner 2003, Rong 2005, Kegeyama 2005, Sun 2014, and Cheng 2016). There also are a number of detailed multi-colored, well preserved depictions, especially those on the mortuary bed of An Jia (An Qie), who died in 579 (Shaanxi 2003), and in a series of *mingqi* 冥器 burial figurines (see, e.g., Valenstein 2014; Yatsenko 2012, 2017, 2018). However, the costume of Sogdians in China long was of little interest to me (Yatsenko 2006b: 245-47).

Eleven years ago in 2008, Professor Michael Sanders from California wrote me requesting that I assist in determining the ethnic attribution of individuals in mortuary Chinese figurines (*mingqi*) from his collection. Initially, I was not optimistic that this was possible. Substantially earlier I had had occasion to read older American and Italian exhibition catalogs (Mahler 1959, Schloss 1969), in which the determination of specific ethnic characteristics of the costume of foreigners was boldly asserted and with a considerable amount of fantasy, devoid of attention to the actual attire of people. Fortunately, curiosity prevailed, and I am still now the victim of the task which Michael set for me. There are many objective difficulties in studying the costume of Central Asian foreigners in Early Tang art. While we know from written sources precisely which peoples actively participated in trade and in leisure activities in China back then, unfortunately, the costume of many important peoples among them is very poorly studied or is even entirely unknown for their homelands [**Fig. 2**]. So there is good reason for me to be uncomfortable while attempting the correct identification of a number of representations.

Sogdian Costumes on *mingqi* Burial Terracotta

As I have observed in a previous study, it is clear that most male "western barbarians" depicted in the 7th-8th centuries are *ethnic Sogdians*. Significantly less frequent are men from Tocharistan and Early Turks (Yatsenko 2009: Figs. 17, 20-24), and only in isolated instances, from the Chach, Khotan, and Kucha oases (Yatsenko 201: 111, n. 4; 2017: 183-84). The appearance and attributes of Sogdians in *mingqi* often correspond to the stereotypes held by the majority of Chinese about the mentalité and professional occupations of this people, views in part influenced by Confucian be-

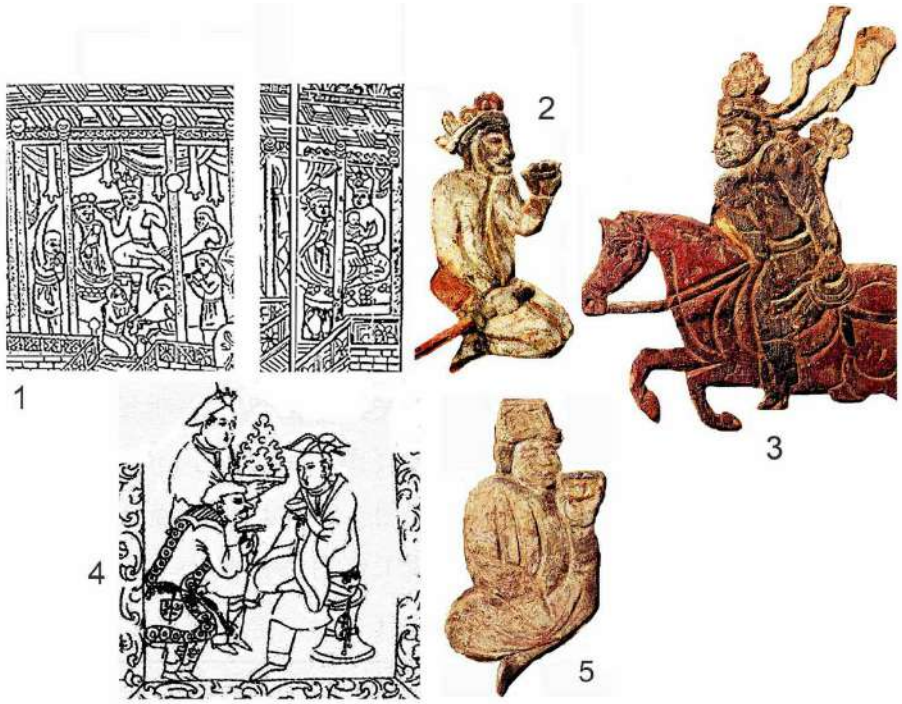


Fig. 3. The elements of male aristocratic costume depicted in Sogdians mortuary beds in China. Source: Fig 3.1 (Grenet & Riboud 2007, Fig. 3), Figs. 3.2, 3.3, 3.5 (Shaanxi 2003, Figs. 183, 185, 191, 193-195), Fig. 3.4 (Sun 2014, Fig. 1-16).

lief (Yatsenko 2010: 101 and figs. 13-14; 2017: 177-178). These *mingqi* depict only males from among the inhabitants of Central Asia.

It has been possible to identify only some of the images by analysis of their stylization, the frequent depiction of everyday or work clothes without bright decorative elements, or the foreigners' borrowings of Chinese elements such as *putou* 幞頭 headwear (caftans wrapped over from left to right in Chinese fashion). This is not surprising, since in China it was common to depict ordinary merchants, musicians, dancers, or servants.

Very few representatives of the Sogdian aristocracy made it into China, and the status-defining elements of their costume (specific headwear, furs, the extension of the right sleeve below the hand when resting) were depicted at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries, prior to the start of the Tang Dynasty [**Fig. 3**]. Frequently the *mingqi* figurines lack national headwear and depict only simple forms of clothing which were widespread in several neighboring regions. This makes it impossible to identify which of the two most popular neighboring and similarly garbed groups of Central Asian oasis inhabitants (Sogdians or the various peoples of Tocharistan) are shown in these images (Yatsenko 2017: 179, 183) [**Fig. 4.I**]. In other cases, identification is hindered by rare types of headwear, which cannot today be connected with any of the peo-

Fig. 4. Terracotta mingqi *depicting "western barbarians" with uncertain ethnic identification. Fig 4.I depicts Sogdians or Tocharistan peoples (with putou headwear); Fig. 4.II shows them with unique headwear. Source: Yatsenko 2017.*

Fig. 5. Sogdian costume on mingqi. *Fig. 5.1: a caftan with the left lapel; Fig. 5.2: a caftan with short sleeves; Fig. 5.3: a textile belt. Source: Yatsenko 2017.*

ples of Central Asia [**Fig. 4.II**]. However, one should not underestimate the attention and effort to achieve precision on the part of Chinese potters. For example, the caftans and shirts of Sogdians more often than not are red, less frequently yellow, and the high boots are white or black, as was the case in the Sogdian homeland. Even in these details the Chinese craftsmen were very precise (Yatsenko 2017: 187).

My work with a series of Chinese *mingqi* has enabled me now to delineate eight elements of costume [**Figs. 5, 6**] which can confidently be connected with ethnic Sogdians, since they are known in depictions of the local inhabitants of Sogdia and are unattested in neighboring regions (Yatsenko 2017: 180–82, Figs. 3-7, 9; 2018: 37-39). They are as follows:

1. A caftan with a single left lapel [**Figs. 1.I.44**; **5.1**].

2. A caftan with short sleeves and a shirt with long sleeves [**Figs. 1.I.35-36, 48**; **5.2**].

3. A decorated textile belt which is unknown in Tocharistan [**Figs. 1.I.73a-74a**, **II.28**; **5.2**].

4. Headwear in the shape of a high cone (its lower edge is sometimes folded up for comfort) [**Figs. 1.I.5a, 6a**; **1.II.2; 6.4**].

5-6. Head coverings similar to military helmets or imitating them (they are worn by unarmed individuals in peaceful situations); on the crown of one is a vertical spike [**Figs. 1.I.7-9**; **6.2-3**].

7. A simple head sweat band for youthful caravaneers employed in physical labor [**Figs. 1.I.14**, **16a**; **1.II.14**; **6.4**].

8. A short hairdo of youths with two spherical knots at the temples [**Figs. 1.I.20**; **6.5**].

No less interesting for the identification of Chinese Sogdians are other observations. For men who have one to three clearly delineated ethnic Sogdian elements of costume, there are also six specific ele-

Fig. 6. Sogdian costume on mingqi. *Fig. 6.1: a high conical hat; Figs. 6.2 and 6.3: headwear imitating a helmet; Fig. 6.4: headband on a boy; Fig. 6.5: a boy's hairstyle with two spherical projections on the sides. Source: Yatsenko 2017.*

Fig. 7. Costume details of Sogdians in China that are unknown in Sogdia. Fig. 7.1: a short winter caftan made of sheepskin; Fig. 7.2: costume of a probable ritual actor; Fig. 7.3: a kitchen apron on a young male; Fig. 7.4: long leggings for riding; Fig. 7.5: a headdress with specific décor; Fig. 7.6: a cylinder–shaped cap. Source: Yatsenko 2017.

ments unknown in Sogdia [**Fig. 7**]. For whatever reason, in official Sogdian art either it was not customary to depict them (e.g., attire for cold weather, travel, kitchen work, etc.), or they are characteristic precisely for those Sogdians who settled in China. These six elements are:

1. A sheepskin jacket suited for caravaneers in cold weather [**Fig. 7.1**].

2. A very interesting long shirt with sleeves that widen at the bottom. Worn together with it is a specific headdress with a mask (which leaves only the eyes visible) [**Fig. 7.2**]. There is no reason to think that this individual, which is held in the Museum of Oriental Art in Turin, is a priest. Such clothes and headwear are unknown in Zoroastrian Iran or in Mazdean Sogdia, Khorezm, Ferghana, and Chach. Possibly this is the depiction of an actor engaged in some kind of ritual performance (Yatsenko 2017: 187).

3. Kitchen aprons for youths [**Fig. 7.3**].

4. Long leggings for travel and dirty work, tied to the belt [**Fig. 7.4**]. They were widespread in Central Asia until recent times, but to depict them in the official art of their countries was in earlier times not acceptable.

5. A headdress with specific décor, in several instances depicted only on wine traders (in Tang China they almost always are attired in Sogdian dress) (Yatsenko 2017: 184) [**Fig. 7.5**].

6. A cap shaped like a cylinder narrowed at the top [**Fig. 7.6**], often depicted on the heads of Sogdian aristocrats in China (Yatsenko 2012, Figs. 7.1, 8.3, 10.2-3; 2017, Fig. 10). It is rare on the *mingqi* but known on figurines of the musicians [**Fig. 3.1, 5**]. While not found in Sogdia, it was used in Buddhist Chaganian, the neighboring part of Tocharistan (Yatsenko 2006b: Fig. 195.3). This comfortable head covering could have been borrowed by the Sogdians in China from the merchants of northern Tocharistan, who lived there as well.

Sogdian Costumes on Chinese Wall Paintings

In contrast to the *mingqi*, on murals reliable depictions of ethnic Sogdians in the 7th-8th centuries are very rare. Only some male individuals—merchants—can confidently be included in that group. The most interesting are the caravaneers who lead camels. One of them (Cheng 2016: 96, Fig. 2-20) [**Fig. 8.1**] has three specific elements of the costume of Sogdia: the high conical headdress, a caftan with the left lapel, and shoes with very long leggings [**Fig. 1.I.85**]. In another analogous scene (Cheng 2016: 115, Fig. 2-43) [**Fig. 8.2**] we see the first two of these elements. For the isolated figure of a seated man (Cheng 2016: 92, Fig. 2-14) [**Fig.**

Fig. 8. Individuals wearing Sogdian costume in murals. Source: Cheng 2016, Figs. 2-14, 2-20, 2-43.

8.3], a caftan with the left lapel was sufficient for his ethnic identification (although his appearance is Sinicized—he wears a *putou* and his caftan is fastened on the right).

Sogdians in Stone Sculpture in Chang'an

It is just as rare to find authentic Sogdians in their ethnic costume among such artifacts. On a funeral statue (Sun 2014: 84, Fig. 1-48) [**Fig. 9.1**] the caftan of a servant is fastened up to the top. But were we to unbutton it, we would undoubtedly have a left lapel. A cap like the one he wears also sometimes is encountered among ordinary individuals in Sogdia [**Fig. 1.I.11**].

Another artefact is a lantern pillar for a Buddhist monastery donated by 66 individuals from the Palace Music School (741 CE) now in the Beilin Museum (Ge 2017, Figs. 1-2, 24-27). On its upper part are images of four musicians. The costume of three of them has no concrete ethnic attribution (although it is clear that all are "western barbarians"). But the ethnic identity of one musician with a *sheng* [**Fig. 9.2**] is emphasized by a very specific headdress with a projection at the

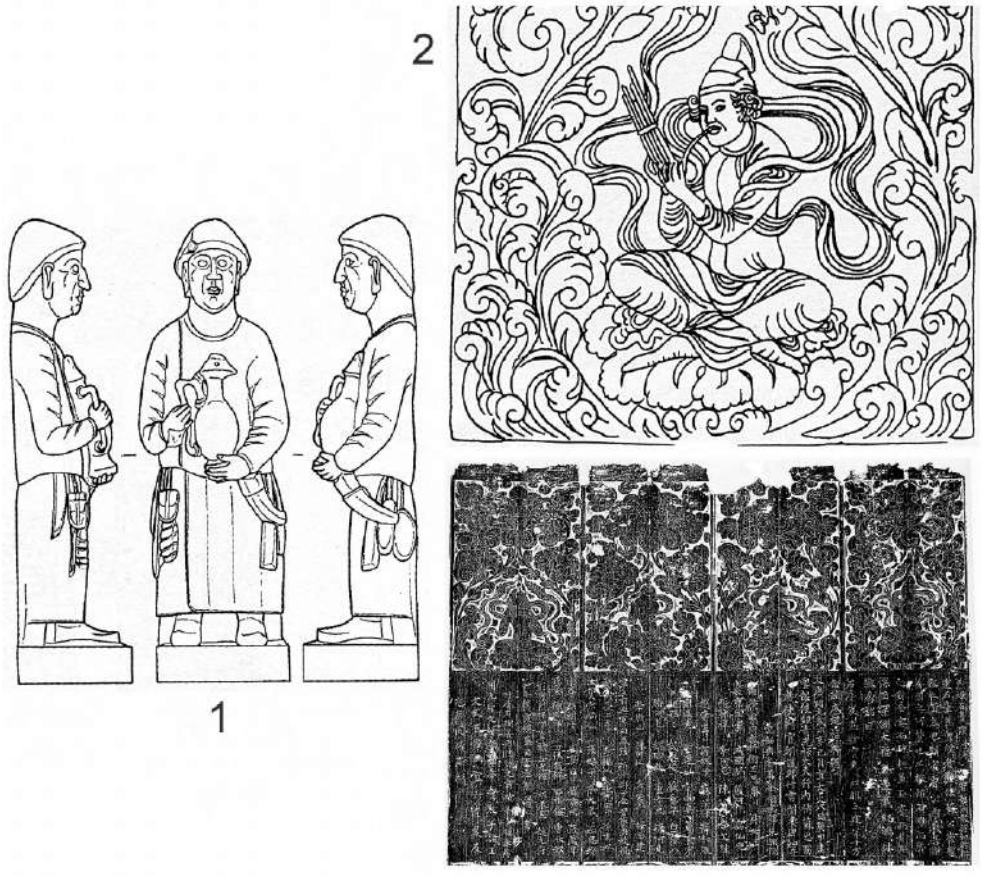


Fig. 9. Sogdians depicted on stone artifacts from Chang'an. Source: Fig. 9.1 (Sun 2014: 84, Fig.1-48), Fig. 9.2 (Ge 2017, Figs. 1-2, 24-27).

Fig. 10. Sogdian influence on the décor of Han servants' trousers. Source: Fig. 10.1, 10.2 (author photos, Shaanxi Historical Museum), Fig. 10.3 (Cheng 2016, Fig. 2-101).

top, through which a narrow braid has been threaded. This headwear is known and often depicted only in Sogdia [**Fig. 1.I.10-10a**].

Sogdian Influence on Han Costume?

Unlike the costume of the early Turks (Yatsenko 2009), the costume of Sogdians exerted little influence on the Han peoples, even in the capital, where the infatuation with foreign fashion at the time was very noticeable. Mostly we see only reverse influence. But there is an exception to that rule, all instances of which date to the second half of the 7th century. This is in the trousers of Han servants (men and women), which exhibit a series of thin vertical stripes (most frequently red). They are known in the tomb murals of two sons of Tang Emperor Gaozong (649-683), who died in 674 and 684, respectively [**Fig. 10.1-2**]. They are depicted also on other wall paintings of that time (Cheng 2016: 184, Fig. 2-101) [**Fig. 10.3**]. Such decoration of trousers is well known in Sogdia [**Fig. 1.I.79-80**].

Conclusions

Which types of art works are the more representative and reliable sources of information on the costume and appearance of Chinese Sogdians? At first glance, the wall painting of the graves of the capital elite (often created by well-known artists, who employed a varied color palette, a wide range of poses, usually depicted concrete individuals, etc.) is deemed to have the greatest value. In contrast, the *mingqi* terracottas are less varied in iconography, replicated standard types, and have a smaller range of colorants and glazes. In fact, though, we observe just the opposite. It is the *mingqi* which more fully and precisely capture the external appearance and costume of ordinary Sogdians.

One can confidently establish a series of elements of costume which are markers of the Sogdians. Several such elements were unknown in Sogdia, but unquestionably were worn by Sogdians in China. Most often it sufficed for the potter or painter to depict one specific element of Sogdian costume (detail of the caftan, specific type of headwear or hairstyle) in order that the patron and observers could establish the ethnic identity. Something similar occurs with representatives of contemporary diasporas in many countries. The influence of Sogdian costume on the Han people is almost entirely undetectable. On the other hand, Sogdians in China were influenced by the costume of the Han, the Early Turks, and to some extent the peoples of Tocharistan.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the administration of the Shaanxi Museum of History for the opportunity in February 2017 to photograph and examine carefully the wall paintings of several tombs excavated in Chang'an. I am truly indebted to my colleague on many expeditions in Mongolia, the specialist on the archaeology of China Andrei V. Varenov (Novosibirsk State University), for consultation regarding Chinese texts.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sergey Yatsenko, an archaeologist and specialist on the culture of the ancient Iranian and Turkic peoples, is a professor in the Department of the History and Theory of Culture at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow. He is author of six books and more than 270 articles.
E-mail: <sergey_yatsenko@mail.ru>.

REFERENCES

Bentovich 1980
Ida B. Bentovich. "Odezhda rannesrednevekovogo naseleniia Srednei Azii (po dannyn rospisei VI-VIII vv.)" [Clothing of the Early Medieval Population of Transoxiana (as evidenced in Wall Paintings of the 6th-8th Centuries)]. *Strany i narody Vostoka* 32: 213-18.

Cheng 2016
Cheng Xu 程旭. *Tangyun hufeng: Tang mu bihua zhong de wailai wenhua yinsu ji qi fanying de minzu guanxi* 唐韻胡風: 唐墓壁画中的外来文化因素及其所反映的民族関係 [Relations between different nationalities shown by foreign elements found on mural paintings in Tang tombs]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2016.

Ge 2017
Ge Chengyong 葛承雍. "Ran deng qifu hu jile: Xi'an Beilin cang sheng Tang fojiao 'ran deng shi tai zan' yishu xinzhi"燃灯祈福胡伎乐: 西安碑林藏盛唐佛教"燃灯石台赞"艺术新知 [Lighting the lantern and performing foreign dance and music to pray for good fortune: a new artistic interpretation of the Buddhist "Eulogy on the Stone Lantern" inscription from the high Tang period collected in the Beilin Museum in Xi'an]. *Wenwu* 2017, No. 1: 60–75.

Grenet & Riboud 2007
Frantz Grenet and Pénélope Riboud. "A Reflection of Hephtalite Empire: The Biographical Narrative in the Reliefs of the Tomb of the Sabao Wirkak." *Bulletin of the Asian Institute*, N. S., 17: 133-43.

Kageyama 2005
Etsuko Kageyama. "Sogdians in Kucha, a study from archaeological and iconographical material." In: *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (Études thématiques, 17). Ed. É. de la Vaissière and É. Trombert. Paris: EFEO, 2005: 362-75.

Kidd 2002
Fiona Kidd. "The Chronology and Style of a Group of Sogdian Statuettes." In: *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History* (Silk Road Studies, VI,). Ed. C. Benjamin & S. N. C. Lieu. Turnhout: Brepols: 197-214.

Lerner 2005
Judith A. Lerner. *Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China*. Sino-Platonic Papers 168. Philadelphia: Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania, 2005.

Mahler 1959
Jane Gaston Mahler. *The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China*. Serie Orientale Roma, XX. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Naymark 1992
Aleksandr Naymark. "Clothing vi. Of the Sogdians." In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V, fasc. 7 (1992): 754-57.

Rong 2005
Rong Xinjiang. "*Sabao* or *Sabo*: Sogdian Caravan Leaders in the Wall-Paintings in Buddhist Caves." In: *Les Sogdiens en Chine*. Études thématiques, 17. Ed. É. de la Vaissière and É. Trombert. Paris: EFEO: 207-30 + Pls. 18, 19.

Schloss 1969
Ezekiel Schloss. *Foreigners in Ancient Chinese Art from Private and Museum Collections. March 27 through May 25, 1969*. New York: China House Gallery.

Shaanxi 2003
Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所. *Xi'an beizhou An Jia mu* 西安北周安伽墓 [The Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia at Xi'an] Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Sun 2014
Sun Wujun 孙武军. *Ruhua suteren muzang tuxiang de sangzang yu zongjiao wenhua*. 入华粟特人墓葬图像的丧葬与宗教文化 [The funerary and religious culture of Sogdian tomb iconography in China]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

Valenstein 2015
Suzanne V. Valenstein. *Cosmopolitanism in the Tang Dynasty. A Chinese Ceramic Figure of a Sogdian Wine-Merchant*. Los Angeles: Bridge 21 Publications.

Yatsenko 2000
Sergey A. Yatsenko. "Kostium" [Costume]. Section 3 in: *Vostochnyi Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e. [Vol. IV]. Arkhitektura. Iskusstvo. Kostium*. Ed. B. A. Litvinskii. Moskva: Vostochnaia literatura: 296-384.

Yatsenko 2004

. "The Costume of Foreign Embassies and Inhabitants of Samarkand on Wall Painting of the 7th c. in the 'Hall of Ambassadors' from Afrasiab as a Historical Source." *Transoxiana: Journal Libre des Estudios Orientales* 8 (June 2004).

Yatsenko 2006a

. "The Late Sogdian Costume (5th-8th cc. AD)." In: *Ēran ud Anērān. Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Ed. M. Compareti, P. Raffetta, G. Scarcia. Venice: Cafoscarina: 647-80.

Yatsenko 2006b

. *Kostium drevnei Evrazii (iranoiazychye narody)* [Costume of ancient Eurasia (the Iranian-speaking peoples)]. Moskva: Vostochnaia literatura.

Yatsenko 2009

. "Early Turks: Male Costume in the Chinese Art. Second half of the 6th – first half of the 8th cc. (Images of 'Others')." *Transoxiana* 14 (August 2009).

Yatsenko 2012

. "Sogdian Costume in Chinese and Sogdian Art of the 6th-8th cc." In: *Serica – Da Qin. Studies in Archaeology, Philology and History on Sino-Western Relations (Selected Problems)*. Ed. by G. Malinowski, A. Paroń, and B.Sz. Szmoniewski. Wrocław: Insytut arkheologii i ethnologii PAN: 101-14.

Yatsenko 2017

. "Inostrantsy iz oazisov Srednei Azii na kitaiskikh pogrebal'nykh terrakotovkh figurkakh 'minzhchi' VII-VIII vv." [Foreigners of the Central Asian oases on the Chinese burial "mingqi" terracotta figurines of the 7th-8th centuries]. In: *Tsivilizatsii Velikogo Shelkovogo puti iz proshlogo v budushchee: perspektivy estestvennykh, obshchestvennykh, gumanitarnykh nauk*. Ed. A. Iskanderova. Samarkand: MITsAI IuNESKO: 173-89.

Yatsenko 2018

. "Sogdiitsy v iskusstve Kitaia nachala dinastii Tan: kriterii identifikatsii" (Sogdians in the art of China of the early Tang dynasty: identification criteria). *Articult* 29, No 1: 35-40.

— Translated by Daniel C. Waugh

An Analysis of Modern Chinese Colophons on the Dunhuang Manuscripts

Justin M. Jacobs
American University

For more than a century, the rich artistic and literary treasures of Cave 17 have managed to shed cultural and historical light on the lives of people who lived in, or merely passed through, the desert oasis of Dunhuang and its associated pilgrimage site, the Mogao Grottoes (*Mogao ku* 莫高窟), also known as Thousand-Buddha Caves (*Qianfodong* 千佛洞), during the first millennium CE. Quite often these same materials, dispersed around the world in the first three decades after their initial discovery in 1900, are also used by scholars to address cultural, social, political, and economic gaps in the premodern historical records of neighboring China, Tibet, Mongolia, or Central Asia. There is one topic of scholarly inquiry, however, that has yet to benefit from a close analysis of some of the materials to emerge from Cave 17: modern Chinese history.

This statement may come as a surprise to anyone who is familiar with the contents of Cave 17 [**Fig. 1**]. These contents include more than forty thousand objects, among which are religious paintings, Buddhist sutras, ritual tools and manuals, secular texts and letters, and administrative records. All of these objects were created or last modified at some point between the years 405 and 1002 CE. Sometime in the early decades of the eleventh century, Cave 17 was sealed off from the main hallway leading to Cave 16 and then forgotten about for the next nine centuries. How then can any of the objects found in Cave 17 serve as source material for historians of modern Chinese history? For the answer, we must look to the modern colophons added by Chinese scholars and officials to those manuscripts that passed through their hands during the first several decades of the twentieth century.

Many of the Dunhuang manuscripts contain ancient colophons that date to the first millennium CE. These are prefaces or postscripts that are contemporary to, or briefly postdate, the creation of the text itself. The modern Chinese colophons are different: they were added to these same Dunhuang manuscripts more than nine hundred years after the original production of the text, and in many cases far longer. More precisely, they were added soon after the initial dispersal of the contents of Cave 17 within China in the years and decades following the opening of the cave by Wang Yuanlu 王圓籙, [**Fig. 2**], the self-appointed Daoist caretaker of the Mogao Grottoes, in 1900. Of those that still survive, the earliest colophon is dated to 1910, while the latest is dated to 1952.

The colophons added to Dunhuang manuscripts by Chinese elites during the first half of the twentieth century appear only on those scrolls which re-

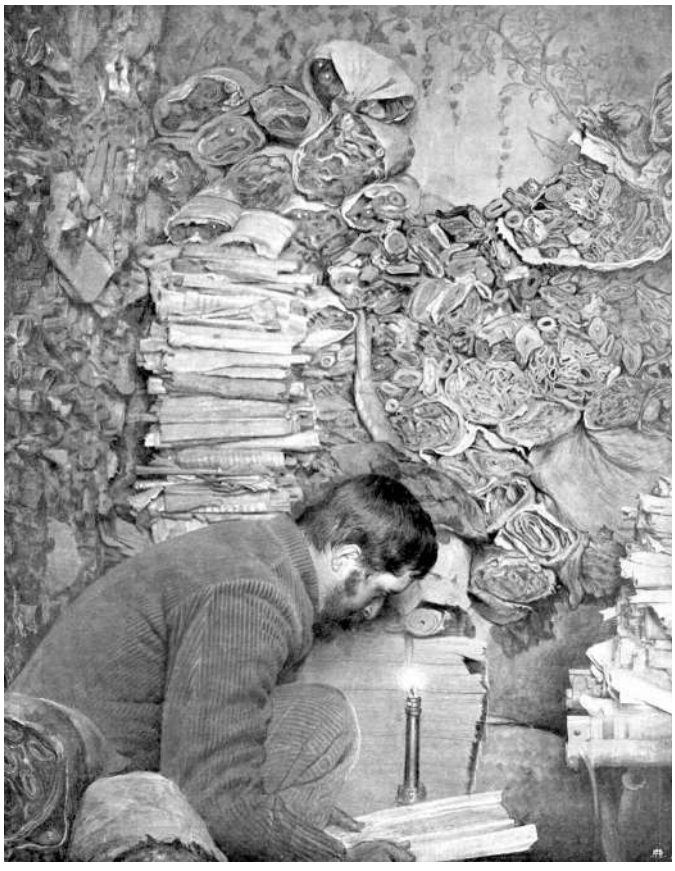


Fig. 1. The secret cave "library," now known as Cave 17, as it appeared when Paul Pelliot gained access in 1908 (Pelliot 1910: 265).

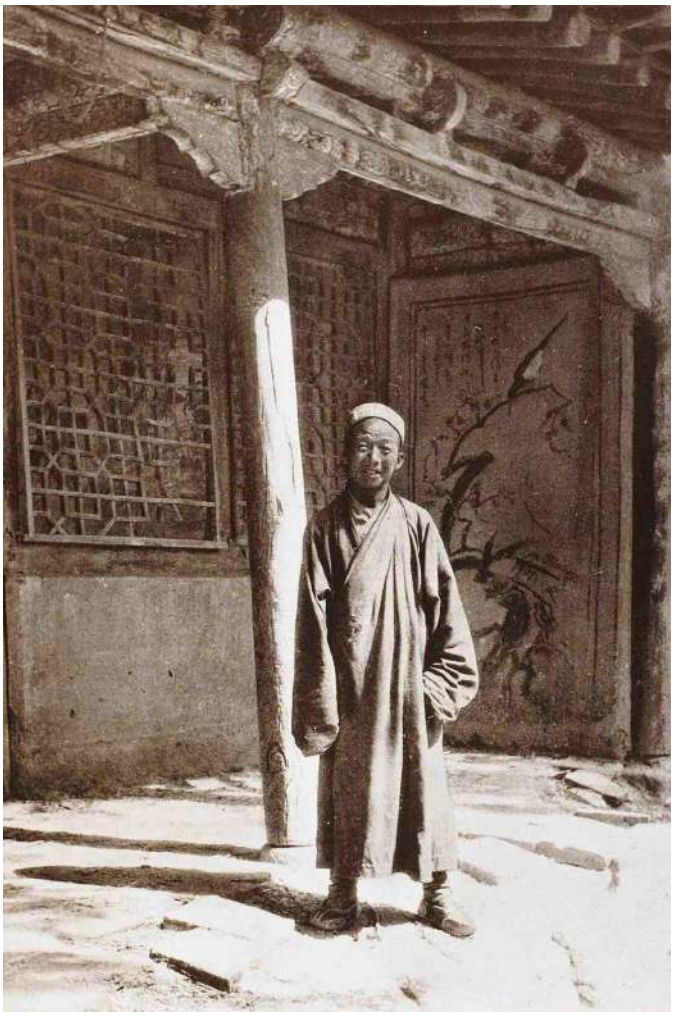


Fig. 2. Wang Yuanlu, the self-appointed Daoist caretaker of the Mogao Grottoes when Stein, Pelliot, and other foreign scholars visited the site in the first three decades of the 20th century (Stein 1912, pl. 187).

mained within the borders of China. In other words, the tens of thousands of Dunhuang manuscripts that were removed from China by foreign scholars and archaeologists and later deposited in various Western and Japanese museums, libraries, and universities do not include such colophons. This, of course, makes perfect sense: once discovered by foreigners, such manuscripts were packed in crates, concealed from view, and quickly transported out of the country. As a result, those scrolls never had a chance to pass through the hands of Chinese scholars or officials and their associated social and political networks. The only modern markings to be found on Dunhuang manuscripts outside of China today are the various catalogue notations indicating their place within the collection to which they belong.

By contrast, those Dunhuang manuscripts that came into the hands of a Chinese collector often contain contemporary colophons added by that very same collector or his close friends and associates [**Fig. 3**]. Complete facsimiles of these manuscripts can be found in five major collections

Fig. 3. Example of a modern-day colophon appended to an ancient Buddhist sutra from Cave 17. The first three lines of a modern colophon by Xu Chengyao are visible to the left, while the final portion of a Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Names of the Buddhas (Foshuo foming jing 佛說佛名經) *appear on the right (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 199).*

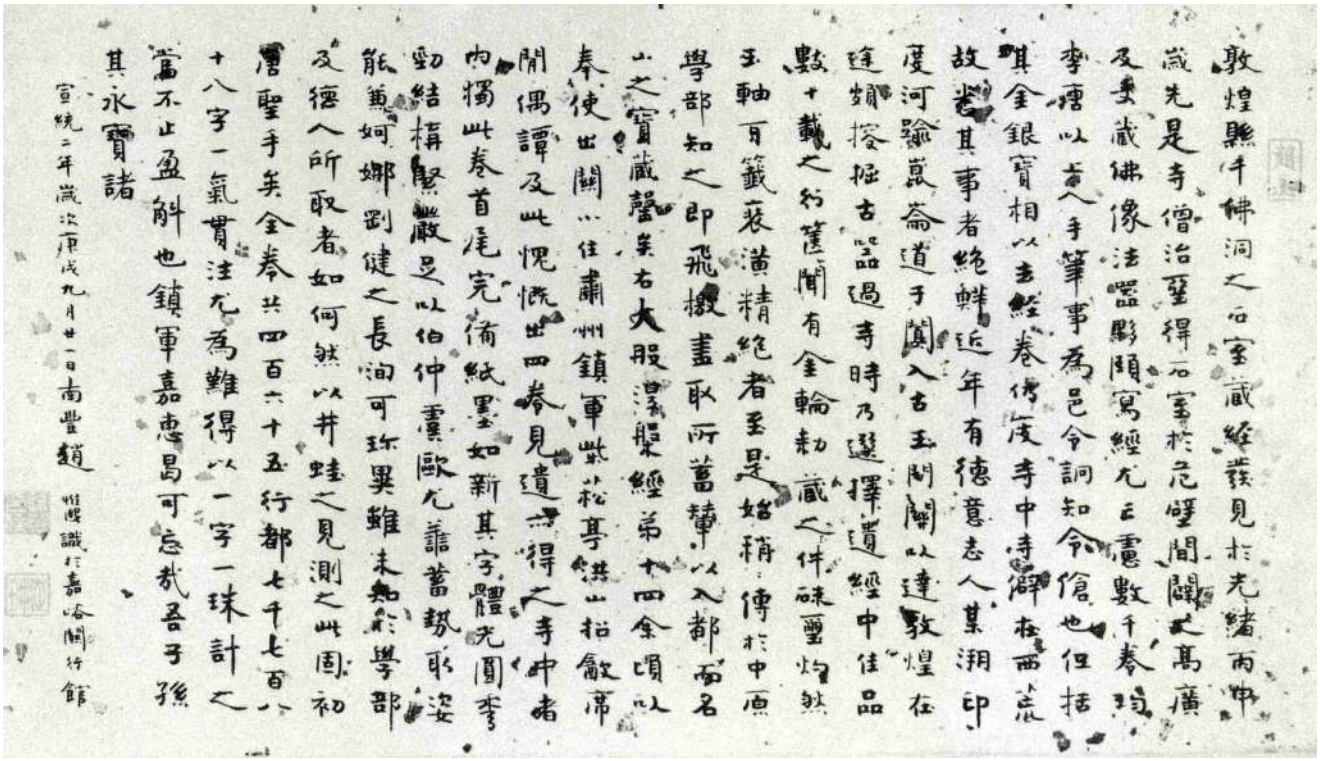
published in China over the past thirty years. Beginning in the early 1990s, Shanghai Antique Books Press (Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社) published the first of three multi-volume collections of ancient Dunhuang and Turfan manuscripts that were collected and preserved within China during the twentieth century. These include manuscripts that ended up in the Shanghai Museum (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993), Peking University Library (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995), and the Tianjin Municipal Museum of Art (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1996). Over the ensuing decade, two more collections from other publishers then followed: Dunhuang manuscripts held by various collectors and institutions in Gansu Province (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999) and those that ended up in the China Bookstore conglomerate in Beijing (Zhongguo Shudian cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui 2007).

Nearly all of the colophons examined in this study were found in one of these collections. Though the facsimiles are generally of high quality, the colophons themselves, written in a free-flowing cursive script that was never intended for publication, are extremely difficult to read. The editors of several of these collections have provided helpful transcriptions of the original text for some of them. Most of the colophons, however, must still be digested in their original forms. As the rest of this article will show, the modern colophons attached to Dunhuang manuscripts stored within China open a rare and precious analytical window onto numerous areas of concern to the historian of the early twentieth century. These include: the cultural priorities of Confucian elites during the Republican era (1912–49), early reactions within China to the dispersal of manuscripts from Cave 17, modes of interaction with cultural artifacts in China before the establishment of national museums and libraries, and, perhaps most interestingly, strategies of deception used to increase the market value of forged manuscripts.

Early Modes of Interaction

Of all the facsimiles included in the five collections published since the 1990s, the earliest authentic colophon of any substance can be traced to the Qing official Zhao Weixi 趙惟熙 in 1910 [**Fig. 4**].[1] This is a relatively late date, a full ten years after

Fig. 4. This lengthy colophon, written by Qing official Zhao Weixi on a Great Nirvana *sutra obtained during his travels through Gansu en route to Urumchi in 1910, is the earliest authentic modern Chinese colophon to survive on a Dunhuang manuscript (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 124).*



Wang Yuanlu first discovered Cave 17 and started to send choice specimens from his hidden cache to Qing officials stationed in northwestern Gansu. Though we do not know how many manuscripts Wang delivered as gifts to such officials, we do know that word of these gifts circulated rapidly within Qing officialdom. As early as 1903, the prominent Qing official and scholar Ye Changchi 葉昌熾, who had received four copies of a *Great Nirvana* (*Da ban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經) sutra from Cave 17 as a gift from another official the previous year, commented upon these manuscripts in his diary. In two diary entries dated to 1903–4, Ye reveals that an unspecified number of Dunhuang manuscripts from Cave 17 had already come into the possession of Dunhuang county magistrate Wang Zonghan 汪宗翰, local military officers Heng Jiemei 恆介眉 and Zhang Xiaoshan 張篠珊, and Wang Zonghai 王宗海, an assistant instructor in the Confucian school of Dunhuang county. In addition, Yan Dong 延棟, the circuit intendant of Ansu, was also known to have a small collection. Last but not least, in 1907 and 1908, respectively, the British archaeologist Aurel Stein and French sinologist Paul Pelliot both caught glimpses of manuscripts that Wang Yuanlu had delivered as gifts to nearby officials, who then took them as far afield as Urumchi in the northwest and Lanzhou in the southeast (Rong 2013: 85–101).

In light of the frequency with which new colophons were added to those Dunhuang manuscripts in the possession of Chinese collectors in later decades, it seems curious that our earliest surviving colophon dates only to 1910—a full decade after Wang started giving them away as gifts in hopes of securing a donation for the restoration of the Mogao Grottoes. What happened to these manuscripts? In his overview of the history of the dispersal of the contents of Cave 17, Rong Xinjiang (2013: 85–101) observes that very few of the earliest dispersals have managed to survive down to the present day. Evidence culled from those Chinese colophons that did survive may provide a clue as to why. In short, the Confucian scholars and officials of the late Qing and early Republican eras did not yet view the Dunhuang manuscripts in the same way as Western archaeologists such as Stein and Pelliot did: that is, as artifacts that belonged in a national museum, library, or research institution. Instead, they viewed them as precious objects that were capable of serving a variety of social, political, and economic agendas within the collector's own private networks.

Let us begin with the social agenda. Whenever a Qing official came into possession of an ancient scroll from Dunhuang, one of the first things he did with it was to display it at a social gathering. In the 1910 colophon appended to a *Great Nirvana* sutra by Zhao Weixi (see Fig. 4), we learn that this sutra had been given to him "during a banquet convened by Garrison Commander Chai Hongshan 柴洪山" (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 124). In 1911, the anonymous author of a colophon appended to another *Great Nirvana* sutra noted that his host "took out all the Dunhuang stone cavern manuscript rolls that he has collected from the second year of the Jiande reign period of the Northern Zhou. The paper used for this scroll is 1,340 years old." The venerable age of the manuscript did not deter further additions, however, for this notation is followed by a list of the names of twelve people who looked at this scroll while it was on display. Over the next seventeen years, this sutra would amass six additional colophons [**Fig. 5**], the last in 1928 by Ma Xulun 馬叙倫, a prominent politician and scholar who ex-

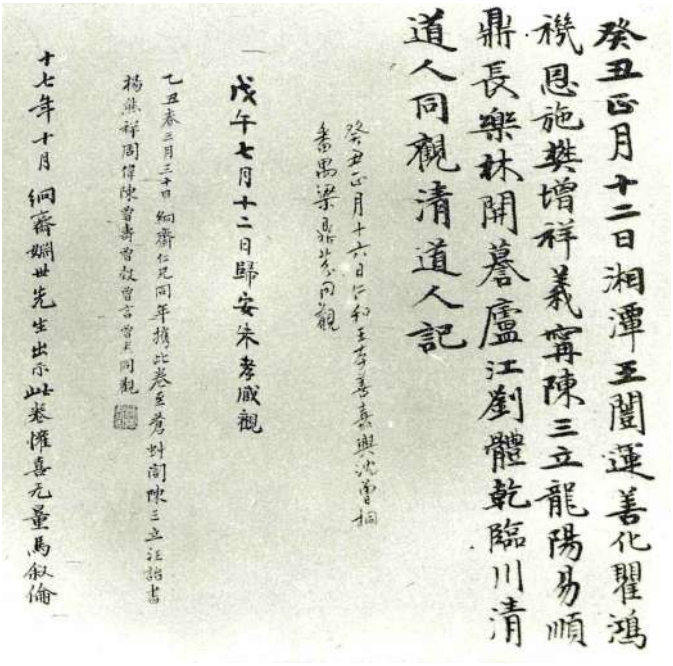


Fig. 5. A succession of colophons appended to a Great Nirvana *sutra (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 93).*

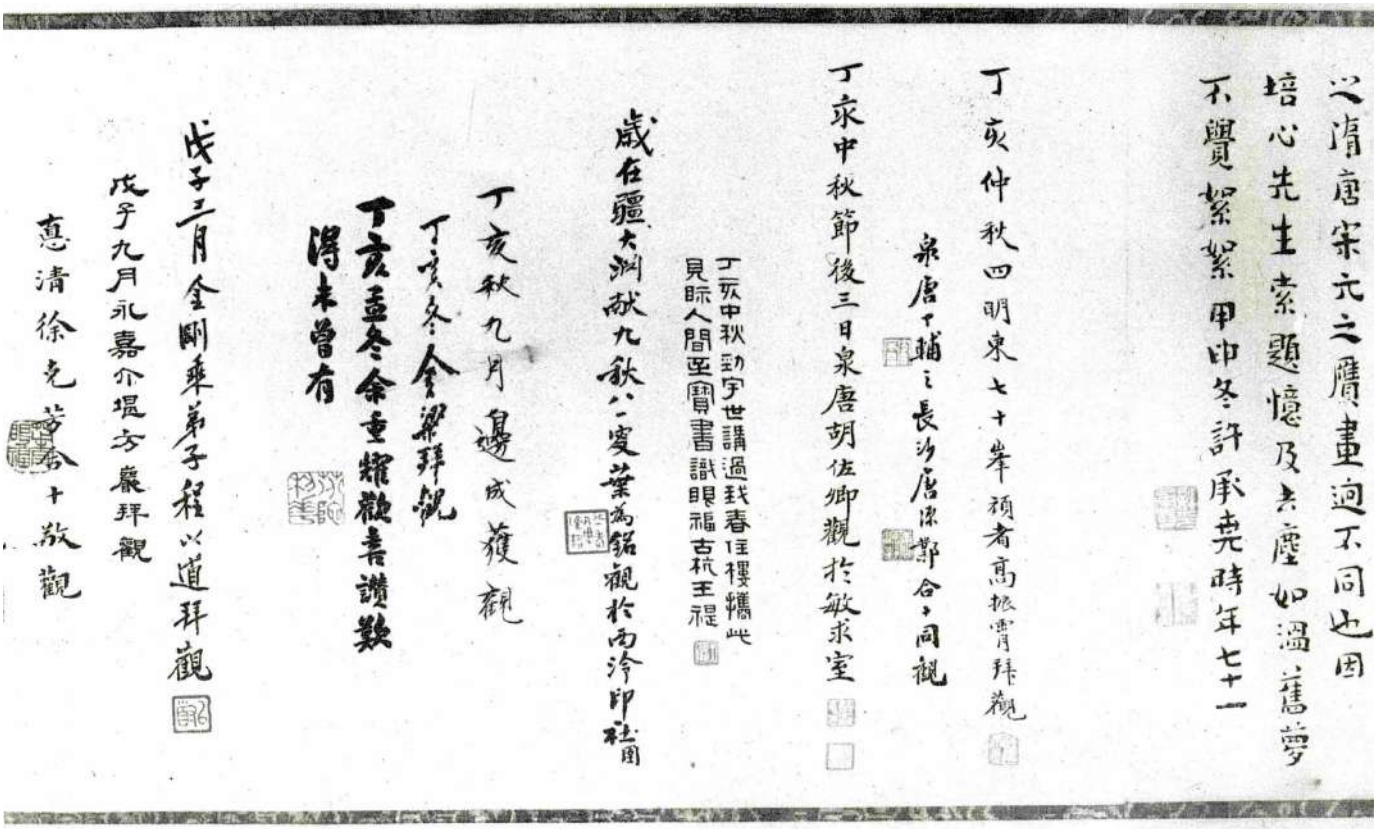


Fig. 6. By 1947–48, this Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Names of the Buddhas *had accumulated more than thirteen signatures from distinguished guests of its various owners (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 200).*

pressed his great pleasure at perusing the scroll (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 92–93).

Many other manuscripts evince a similar life history. No matter how delicately they were handled, it is clear that they were constantly rolled and unrolled over a period of many decades. Cheng Zongyi 程宗伊, a former magistrate of Jiuquan, recalled in his colophon how "Mr. Bingran took out this manuscript for our perusal" (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999/3: 152). Xu Yili 許以栗 expressed his gratitude to Yuan Wenbai 袁文百, who "once served in Yumen County, only 100 *li* from Dunhuang. Often he would take out his collection of manuscripts for our perusal" (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999/5: 308). Each new perusal added yet another imperceptible layer of wear and tear to manuscripts that were already more than a thousand years old. The most obvious example comes in the form of the colophons themselves, which could tally up to several hundred characters each. On a *Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Names of the Buddhas* (*Foshuo foming jing* 佛說佛名經), Xu Chengyao 許承堯 makes note of a request from his host to add a colophon (*suoti* 索題) to his manuscript. As a result, Xu writes at the end of his lengthy colophon [**Fig. 6**], "I have unconsciously jabbered on for too long" (*bujue xuxu* 不覺絮絮). Xu, however, did not jabber on for so long that future guests could not find space to record their own names. The last colophon, dated to 1947–48, includes the signatures of thirteen more men who were invited to view the sutra (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 199–200).

While viewing these manuscripts, the collector and his guests would compete to demonstrate their intellectual sophistication and cultural refinement. The best way to do this was to comment upon the historical origin and aesthetic qualities of the calligraphy left by ancient scribes. In the third colophon appended to his *Great Nirvana* sutra [**Fig. 7**], Zhao Weixi declares that "the ancients believed that the critical evaluation of calligraphy was a sacred task." Thus he, too, was obliged to follow suit. In his first and lengthiest colophon (see Fig. 4), Zhao described the Chinese characters on his manuscript as "vibrant and smooth, tender yet muscular, and tight in structure" (*ziti guangyuan*

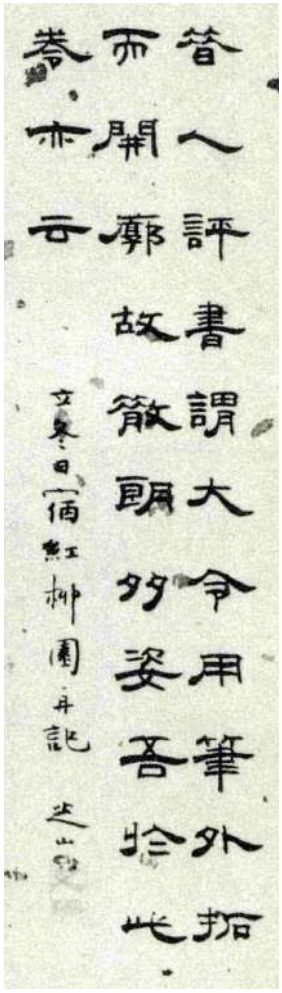


Fig. 7. In his third colophon to the Great Nirvana *sutra in his possession, Zhao Weixi here adopts an ancient calligraphic style to assert the importance of scholarly critique (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 125).*

jijin, jiegou jinyan 字體光圓季勁, 結構緊嚴). After several more lines of such purple prose, Zhao then counted each and every character. "In all there are 465 lines, and 7,788 characters," Zhao continued, "all of which look as though they were written in one breath; truly, an amazing feat. If each character were a pearl, they would overflow a *hu* vessel" (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 124). In 1912, Duan Yongen 段永恩, a longtime northwestern official, described the writing on a Turfan manuscript as if he was watching a theatrical performance. "Like a graceful dance, it is elegant and flows effortlessly" (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999/3: 326).

Two years later, the Xinjiang official and scholar Wang Shu'nan 王樹楠 said of a *Sutra on the Heroic-March Concentration* (*Shoulengyan sanmei jing* 首楞嚴三昧經) from Turfan [**Fig. 8**] that it revealed "a pure representation of the clerical script for seal characters." After describing the style of calligraphy in ethereal terms and reminding future readers of his colophon that the famous 13th and 14th-century calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (i.e., Zhao Zi'ang 趙子昂) once studied this form of script, Wang concludes his colophon with a declaration that each character is "enough to cure your hunger" (*keyi liaoji* 可以療飢) (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 113). In 1921, Cheng Zongyi, the magistrate of Jiuquan, described the calligraphy on his friend's *Lotus Sutra* as "tight and firm in structure, harmonious in spirit. The ink and paper are simply exquisite. Truly, this is one of the best of the Tang manuscripts. Though it is incomplete, what remains is precious beyond measure, and should be cherished" (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999/3: 152).

In 1941, a *Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang jing* 金剛經) that somehow found its way to the Haiwangcun bookshop in Beijing yielded two colophons [**Fig. 9**] that described its script in transcendent terms. "The calligraphy is refined and tight [*shufa jingyan* 書法精嚴]" wrote a man who signed his name as Qinyu 秦浴, just before indulging in a convoluted analogy involving the flame of a fire. This was followed by the notation of one Qigong 啟功, who

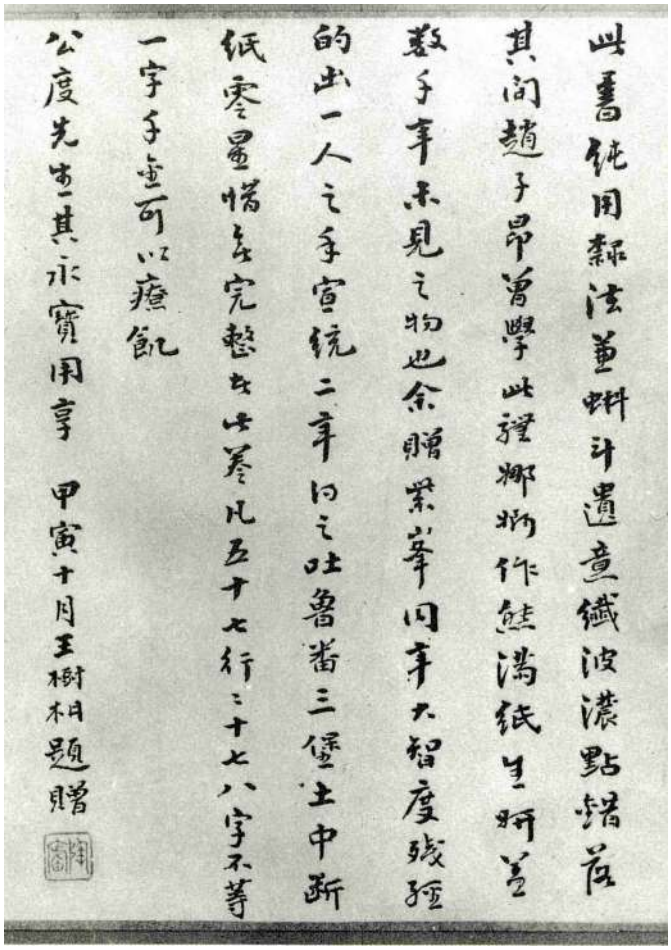


Fig. 8. A colophon from the famous Qing official and scholar Wang Shu'nan. Written at the end of a Sutra on the Heroic-March Concentration (Shoulengyan sanmei jing 首楞嚴三昧經) *unearthed from Turfan, this colophon was intended to demonstrate Wang's ability to identify and appraise ancient styles of Chinese calligraphy (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 113).*

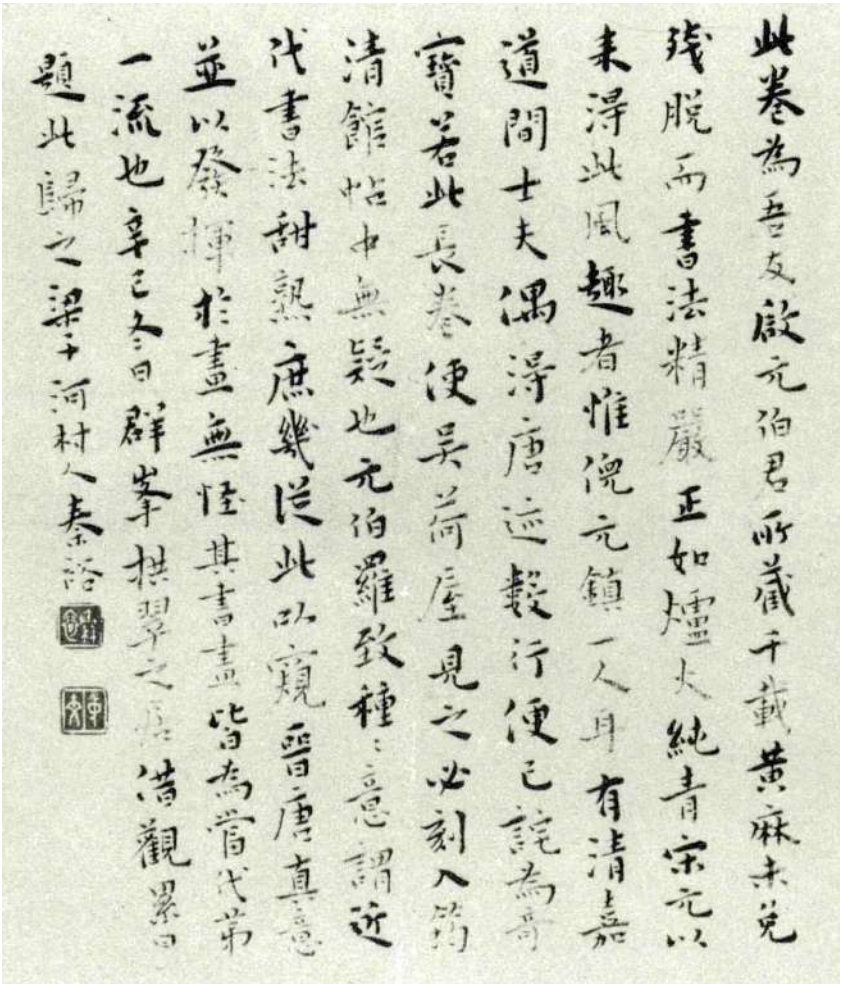


Fig. 9. Calligraphic commentary appended to a Diamond Sutra *(Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 66–67).*

compared the characters to a rainbow (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 66–67). Song Xiaolian 宋小濂, who was invited to view the massive collection of former Xinjiang treasury official Liang Suwen 梁素文 in Beijing, described his experience in mystical terms. "It was like entering a treasure cave, with all five senses mesmerized," he gushed in 1913. "Or like traveling through the Buddhist heaven, with all thoughts obliterated. So beautiful! So extravagant! I could only sigh while viewing them all." (Yang 1995: 43).

Some sutras were cherished for their perceived religious powers. In his 1910 colophons, Zhao Weixi described the genuine spiritual attraction of his *Great Nirvana* sutra in his possession. While suffering from extreme loneliness, Zhao wrote in his second colophon [**Fig. 10**], he discovered that the Dunhuang manuscript in his possession was capable of driving his fears and anxieties away. "After reading this sutra all of my evil defilements have been flushed out and eliminated. [Within this manuscript] lies not only the power of the Buddha but also a noble task for learned scholars." The next day, Zhao rode out to do some hunting and succeeded in shooting "one yellow goat and two wild turkeys." Later that evening, he "took out this manuscript and began to read. Immediately my body and mind were purified. Not only is this sutra pleasing to the eye; it can also help me atone and repent for this afternoon's activities" (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 125). Ye Changchi also believed that the power

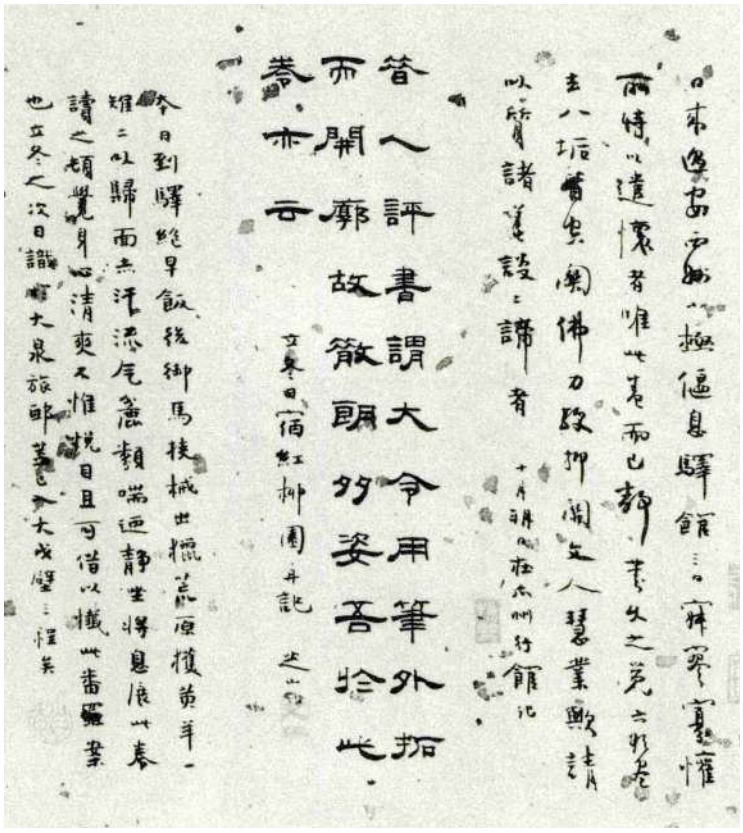


Fig. 10. In the two colophons on left and right—bracketing his assertion of the importance of scholarly critique of ancient calligraphy (see Fig. 7)—Zhao Weixi discusses the perceived spiritual powers of his Dunhuang manuscript (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 125).

of the Buddha still lay hidden within a painting of Guanyin that had come into his possession from Dunhuang. "The frame was merely made from thin paper, and yet it did not wear away in over a thousand years," Ye wrote in his diary in September 1904. "Was it not protected by the power of the Buddha?" (Rong 2013: 90).

Despite these repeated lofty appraisals of the aesthetic, literary, and spiritual qualities of the Dunhuang manuscripts—former Gansu governor Chen Jikan 陳季侃 once referred to them in a colophon as "the foremost treasures [of all that is] between Heaven and earth [*tianrang jian huanbao* 天壤間環寶]" (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 60)—their earliest Chinese owners were more than willing to give them away as gifts to colleagues or friends whose favor they wished to obtain. Sometimes, in order to squeeze as much social and political goodwill out of a single manuscript as possible, they would even cut it up into several pieces, so as to curry favor with multiple friends and patrons. The indelicate fate of one ever-shrinking *Great Nirvana* sutra was documented over the course of multiple colophons, some undated. According to Xu Yili, the author of the first colophon in 1930 [**Fig. 11**], his *Great Nirvana* sutra began to shrink the moment he left his government post at Yumen in Gansu and returned to the eastern seaboard. It was at that point that "all my friends competed with one another to cut off their own piece [*zhengxiang gelie* 爭相割裂]." Later, a subsequent colophon describes how the author "managed to obtain a portion" from the original scroll. In the end, Xu Yili wrote, "all that remains is this small fragment [*jin yu ci duanjian* 僅餘此斷簡]" consisting of about seven hundred characters. The sutra's turbulent journey, however, was still not complete: this final fragment was later given to one Feng Sizhi 馮司直, who in turn gave it to one Zhang Ziying (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999/5: 308).

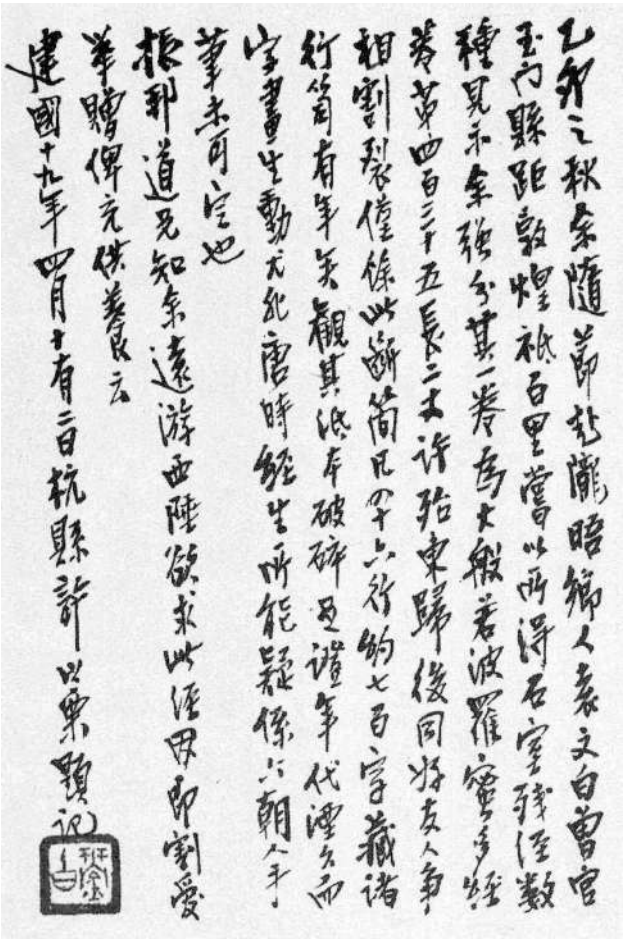


Fig. 11. In this colophon appended to a Great Nirvana *sutra from Dunhuang in 1930, Xu Yili observes (in the fourth and fifth lines from the right) that upon his return to the interior from Gansu, his friends "competed with one another to cut off their own piece" (*zhengxiang gelie*) of this manuscript, to the point where "all that remains is this small fragment" (*jin yu ci duanjian*) (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999/5: 308).*

It is thus little wonder that so few of the earliest Dunhuang manuscripts collected by Chinese scholars and officials within China have survived down to the present day. As the colophons excerpted above demonstrate, each scroll or painting, already bearing the weight of more than a millennium of use and storage, was further pressed into service for a variety of social and political ends. No doubt they were handled with the utmost care each and every time their owner took them out for display. Nevertheless, the fact remains that several decades of reverent handling and penning of colophons, along with the constant packing and unpacking that must have accompanied a lengthy and peripatetic official career, inevitably took its toll on the condition of these manuscripts.

And in the end, when circumstances became desperate enough, these same manuscripts would be sold off for economic capital, regardless of how many times previous owners of the scroll had warned their descendants not to do so. Zhao Weixi left just such a warning in the final lines of his 1910 colophon (see Fig. 4). "How can I ever forget the generous favor bestowed upon me by the Garrison

Commander?" he wrote. "My children shall cherish this for eternity" (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 124). Unfortunately for Zhao, they did not. As subsequent colophons make clear, Zhao's *Great Nirvana* sutra passed through the hands of at least two more owners, before eventually ending up at the Haiwangcun bookshop in Beijing.

In 1944, Xu Chengyao, a former circuit intendant in northwestern Gansu who obtained more than two hundred manuscripts from Dunhuang during his tenure, added a colophon to a *Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Names of the Buddhas* manuscript owned by his friend. In it, he reflected on the tragic fate of the scrolls that once filled his collection. "They have been scattered about and are now mostly lost," he wrote, "while those that have survived by chance are not many" (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 199). On another colophon the previous year [**Fig. 12**], Chen Jikan lamented the scarcity of those manuscripts he had once handled so frequently. "Those manuscripts that my friends and I competed for so intensely back in our days in Gansu are now dispersed all over the world" (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 61).

Chinese Reactions to Stein and Pelliot

The colophons also contain a good deal of commentary on the fate of those Dunhuang manuscripts that Chinese scholars and officials did not get their hands on. Such commentary is of two sorts: descriptions of Stein's and Pelliot's visits to Cave 17 in 1907–8 and the removal of some eight thousand manuscripts to Beijing in 1909.

In the earliest surviving colophon, Zhao Weixi provides a lengthy account [**Fig. 13**; see also Fig. 4] of how he believed the contents of Cave 17 first came to be discovered and how so many of them managed to end up in foreign hands:

> The manuscripts stored in the stone cavern of the Thousand-Buddha Caves in the district of

Fig. 12. In spring 1943, Chen Jikan lamented the dispersal of the Dunhuang manuscripts at the end of this Great Nirvana *sutra (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 61).*

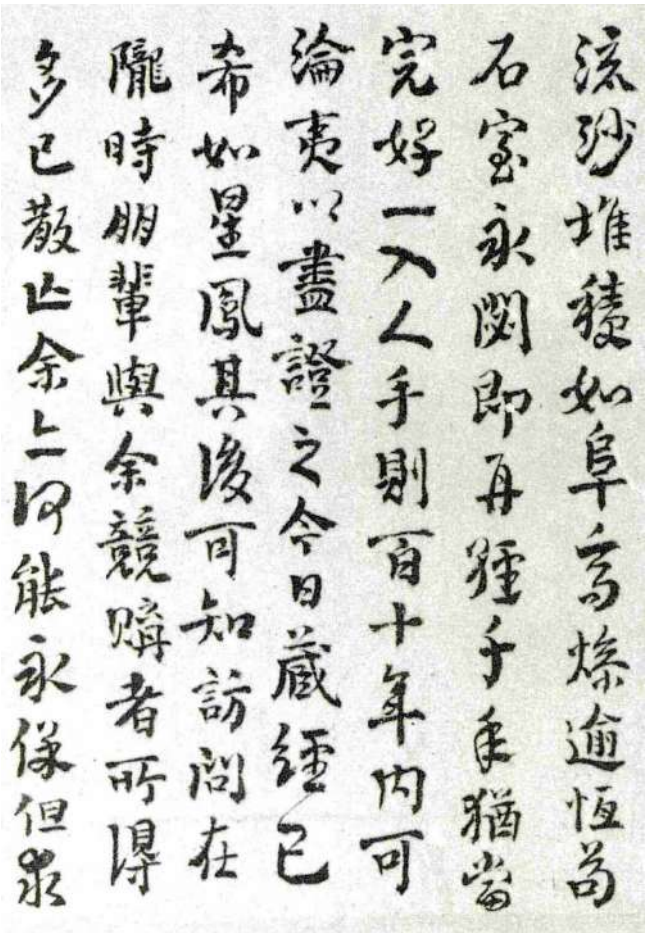
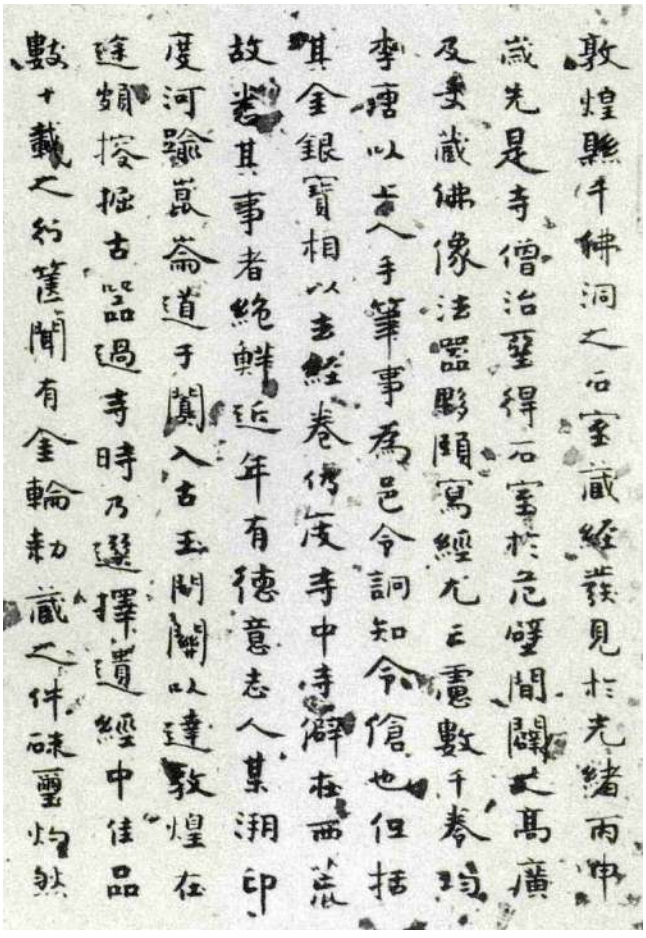


Fig. 13. Zhao Weixi's account of the removal of the Dunhuang manuscripts by foreign scholars (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 124).



> Dunhuang were discovered in the *bingshen* year of Guangxu [i.e., 1896]. It was a monk from the temple who, while applying plaster, discovered a crack in the wall that threatened to topple the partition… [On the other side] was piled high images of the Buddha and other items of religious rituals, along with many thousands of manuscripts, all written by men of the Tang dynasty or after. This discovery was reported to the local official of the district, but he issued muddled orders and merely pocketed the silver and treasures for himself. The manuscripts remained holed up in the temple, and since the temple was located far out in the desert wastes of the far west, very few people were aware of it. Then a German followed the Indus River, crossed over the Kunlun Mountains, and entered Keriya, from whence he traveled to the old Jade Gate Pass and thus reached Dunhuang. En route he excavated a great number of antiquities. When he passed by the temple he selected the best of the manuscripts, packing them away in numerous large cases. (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 124)

Here we see several of the features of such commentary that will appear repeatedly over the course of subsequent colophons: the belief that Stein, whom Zhao does not name, was a German; chronological errors regarding the year in which Cave 17 was discovered; a surprising lack of moral judgment concerning the actions of foreign archaeologists; and a vocal condemnation of local Qing officials, who, along with Wang Yuanlu, will bear the brunt of blame for the loss of so many cultural treasures from Cave 17.

The authors of these colophons never identify Stein by name. They do, however, discuss the actions of Pelliot at length, often conflating his and Stein's visits to the cave. This is likely due to the fact that, unlike Stein, Pelliot spoke Chinese and maintained a Chinese-language correspondence with numerous Qing scholars and officials (Wang 2008). In January 1911, as part of his fifth colophon to the *Great Nirvana* sutra in his possession [**Fig. 14**], Zhao Weixi noted that "Pelliot seized and took away the cream of the crop" (*jue qi jingying* 攫其菁英). He then described the removal of all these manuscripts to France as "a deep humiliation for our people" (*wuren zhi dachi* 吾人之大恥) (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 125). That same year, Wang Renjun 王仁俊 wrote on a *Great Nirvana* sutra that three years prior "the Frenchmen Dr. Pelliot brought copies of five manuscripts from Dunhuang" for his perusal (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 92).

It is worth noting, however, that while the loss of so many manuscripts may have stung, the men who took them were not singled out for blame. In 1944, Xu Chengyao described these painful foreign acquisitions in matter-of-fact, non-judgmental terms: "British and French travelers were the first to bundle them up and take them away" (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 199). In 1943, at the

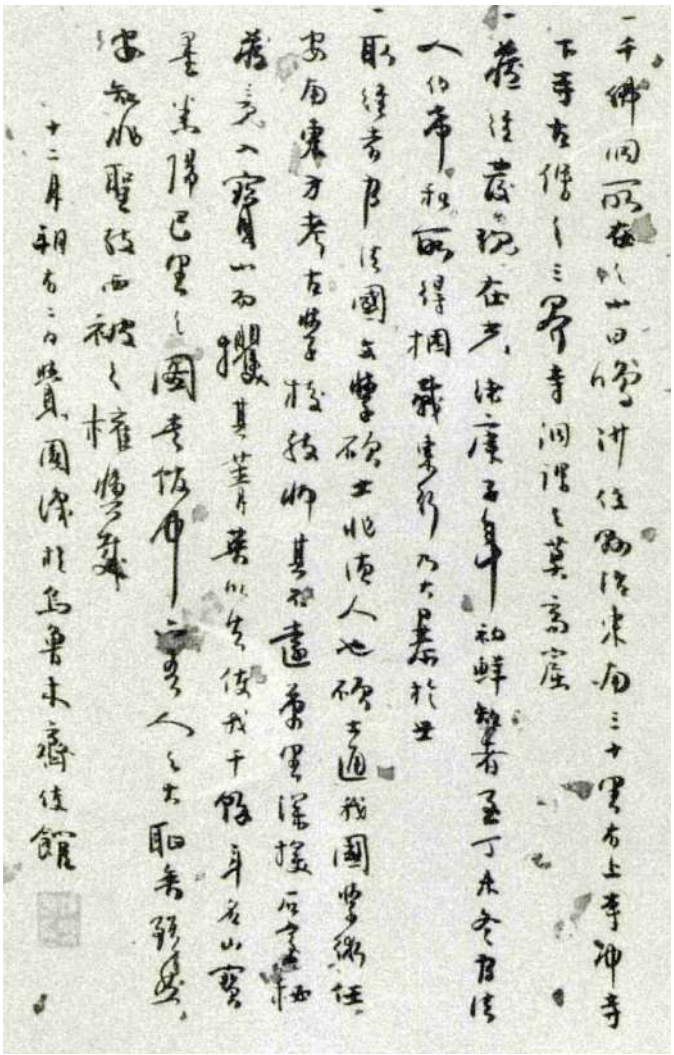


Fig. 14. In one of the many colophons appended to his Great Nirvana *sutra, Zhao Weixi laments how "Pelliot seized and took away the cream of the crop"* (jue qi jingying 攫其菁英, *fourth line from the left) and describes the removal of all these manuscripts to France as "a deep humiliation for our people"* (wuren zhi dachi 吾人之大恥, *third line from left) (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 125).*

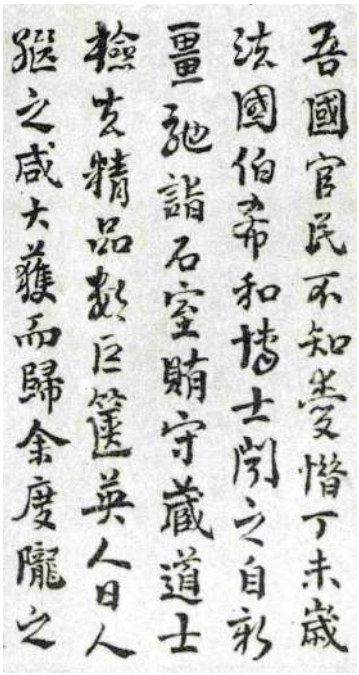


Fig. 15. In a 1943 colophon appended to a Great Nirvana *sutra, Chen Jikan criticizes the officials stationed in Dunhuang nearly three decades earlier and describes the visits of Pelliot and other foreign scholars to the caves (Shanghai guji chubanshe 1993/1: 61).*

end of yet another *Great Nirvana* sutra [**Fig. 15**], Chen Jikan deplored the fact that Qing officials and commoners some thirty years earlier "didn't know that they should have cherished these manuscripts" (*wuguo guanmin buzhi aixi* 吾國官民不知愛惜). He then conflated Stein's and Pelliot's visits to Dunhuang into a single visit by Pelliot. "In the *dingwei* year [i.e., 1907], the Frenchman Dr. Pelliot heard about the cache and hurriedly rode through Xinjiang on his way to the grottoes," Wang wrote. "After bribing the guardian monk who had hid the manuscripts, Pelliot proceeded to select the cream of the collection, loading them into large boxes. Englishman and Japanese followed quickly on his heels, each obtaining a large stash and sending it back to their countries" (Shanghai guji chubanshe 1993/1: 61).

As the final line of Chen's colophon suggests, most of the foreign scholars who secured their own collection of Dunhuang manuscripts were not singled out by name. They simply served as the human backdrop to a cultural tragedy in which anonymous Chinese scapegoats played the starring role. The author of an anonymous and undated colophon [**Fig. 16**] appended to a *Great Nirvana* sutra at some point between 1911 and 1914 seems to identify two chief villains: the monks of Dunhuang and Qing officials. "Though [the manuscripts] managed to avoid being burned for ritual sacrifices or being consigned to the river god," he wrote, "they were, however, bundled up by foreign merchants [*jiahu* 賈胡] and taken to the West." He then notes that officials from the Ministry of Education proceeded to round up a few camels of their own to transport the remaining manuscripts to Beijing, but that they used the funds allotted for that purpose to line their own pockets. The final line of this colophon [**Fig. 17**] draws attention to the actions of an unnamed Wang Yuanlu. "The monk in the hills sold them all to foreigners [*mai yu jiahu qu* 賣与賈胡去]. When will they return? [*he ri gui* 何日歸]" (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 126).

Although most of the authors of these colophons knew that "a monk in the hills" had sold the Dunhuang manuscripts to foreigners, they did not know his name. Neither did they seem to know the

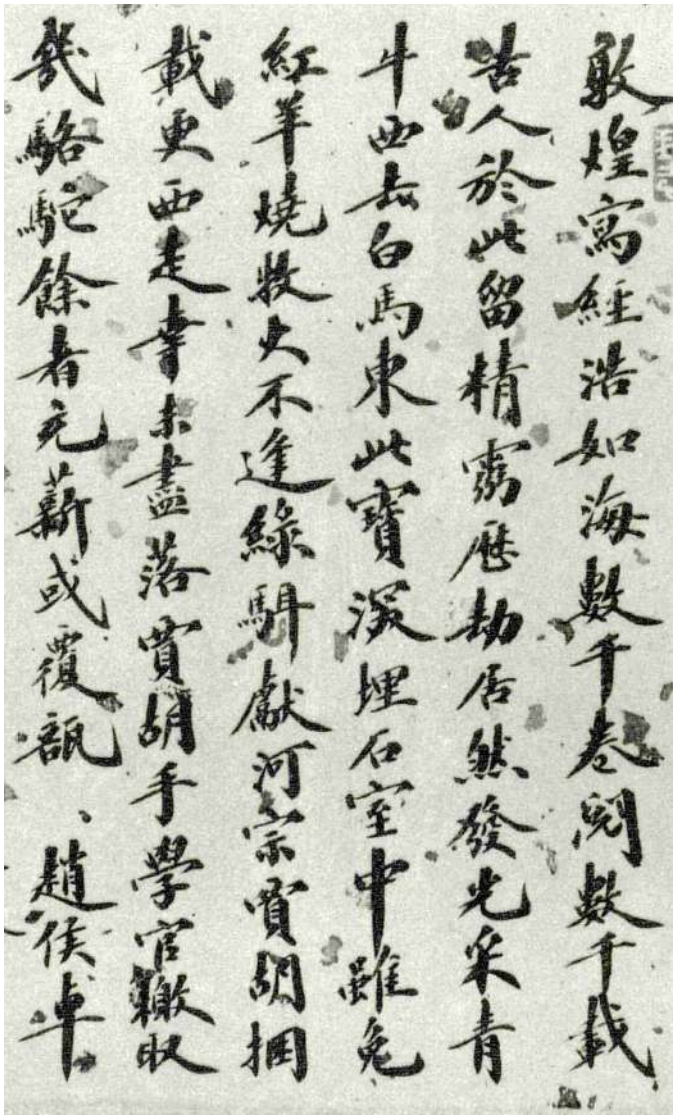


Fig. 16. The anonymous author of a colophon appended to a Great Nirvana *sutra at some point between 1911 and 1914 describes the fate of the Dunhuang manuscripts (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 126).*

Fig. 17. The same anonymous author of the colophon in Fig. 16 wonders when the Dunhuang manuscripts will return to China (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 126).

names of those who had overseen the highly disorganized and ill-fated shipment of some eight thousand manuscripts to Beijing in 1909. During the former Qing, wrote the poet and scholar Chang Tingjiang in a 1914 colophon [**Fig. 18**], those manuscripts that the Ministry of Education managed to bring to Beijing saw the "best of the collection seized and taken away by people the moment the carts arrived in the capital" (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 127). In 1944, Xu Chengyao expressed his disappointment that those manuscripts sent to Beijing three decades earlier "were all in fairly poor condition" and contained "very few of high quality" (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 199).

By the 1940s, the last decade of colophon authorship, some Chinese wished that Cave 17 had never been found at all. "If the stone caverns had remained sealed then their contents could have been preserved in pristine condition for another thousand years," wrote Chen Jikan at the end of a *Great Nirvana* sutra in 1943 (see Fig. 12). "Yet within only a few decades after their discovery, they have all been scattered and lost. Now they are scarce and precious, like a phoenix or a blue moon [*xiru xingfeng* 希如星鳳]." Like every other author of a colophon before him, Chen does not blame Stein or Pelliot for the loss of so many cultural treasures from China, nor does he suggest that anyone had "stolen" the contents of Cave 17. In his eyes, the manuscripts were there for the taking, and the Chinese had simply failed to secure their share. "Those manuscripts that my friends and I competed so intensely for back in our days in Gansu are now dispersed all over the world" (Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993/1: 60–61).

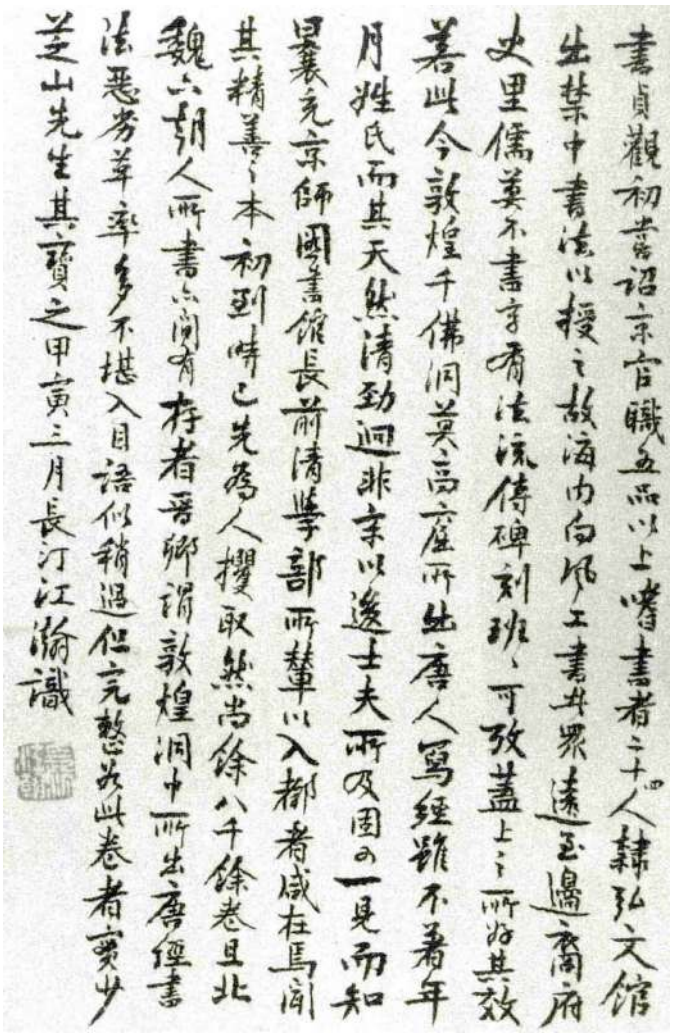


Fig. 18. In a 1914 colophon appended to a Great Nirvana *sutra, the writer Chang Tingjiang describes the corruption that attended the removal of Dunhuang manuscripts to Beijing by the Ministry of Education in 1909 (Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995/1: 127).*

Identifying Forgeries

In attempting to distinguish between a manuscript that indisputably emerged from Cave 17 and one that was later forged so as to fool potential buyers into thinking that it had emerged from Cave 17, scholars face a daunting task. One way to assist in this task is to look to the modern Chinese colophons for additional clues. Such clues can be found in the descriptions of Stein's and Pelliot's expeditions to Dunhuang in 1907–8. Simply put, when the author of any given colophon reveals

more detailed information about either one of these expeditions than was yet available in China at the time of composition, then that colophon—and likely the manuscript to which it is appended—is a fake. Thus far I have uncovered two indisputable evidences of such fakery, either of which, if authentic, would have constituted the earliest surviving colophon. Indeed, it is precisely because the dates of these colophons were so early, predating that of Zhao Weixi's 1910 colophon by several years, that I decided to subject them to closer scrutiny.

In one such colophon [**Fig. 19**], appended to the end of a *Lotus Sutra* (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al., 1999/3: 155–56), the following comments are attributed to Mu Shouqi 慕壽祺, a lifelong Gansu official:

> In the twenty-ninth year of Guangxu [i.e., 1903–4], the Hungarian Stein, who was a specialist in Central Asian geography, set out to investigate the geography of Central Asia and its ancient cultures. Traveling as a representative of the British Indian government, he brought with him a translator named Jiang and traveled to the Mogao Grottoes in order to view the cave murals, which are all from the Six Dynasties era. Then he saw an ancient manuscript on the desk of Daoist priest Wang, and proceeded to enter into secret negotiations with him in order to gain entrance into the treasure cave. Once inside, he saw manuscripts, banners, papers, silks, paintings, and other miscellaneous articles piled high from the ground to the

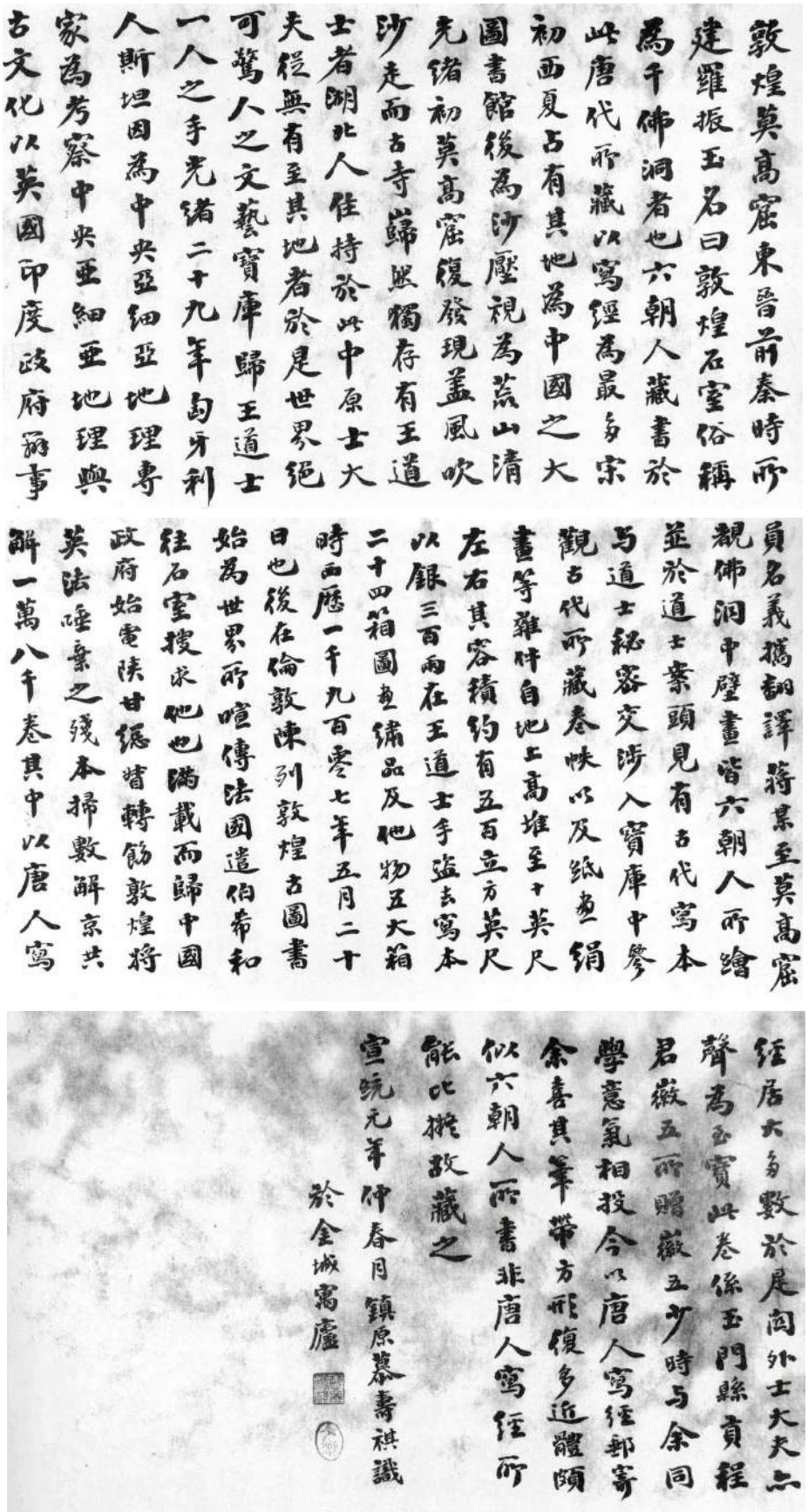


Fig. 19. This lengthy colophon, attributed to Gansu official Mu Shouqi in 1909, is clearly a forgery (Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al., 1999/3: 155–56).

> ceiling. It measured about ten English feet high, with a total volume of about five hundred English cubic feet. After giving the Daoist priest Wang three hundred silver taels, [Stein] stole twenty-four boxes of manuscripts, along with five additional boxes of various items such as paintings. This all occurred on May 22, 1907 of the Western calendar.

The colophon is then signed and dated to the second month of spring in the first year of the Xuantong emperor—February 1909. And therein lies proof of the forgery: at this early date, no one in China possessed such precise knowledge of the circumstances surrounding Stein's acquisitions of the Dunhuang manuscripts. In every other Chinese colophon from these early years, Stein is identified as either German or British; no one seemed to know that he was born in Hungary. Other details—such the cubic dimensions and total volume of the cave library (given in "English feet" no less!), the number of cases of manuscripts and paintings removed, and the exact date of Stein's transaction at the caves—were not made public until the publication of *Ruins of Desert Cathay* in 1912. Even a preliminary report published by Stein in *The Geographic Journal* did not appear until September 1909, a full seven months after this colophon was supposedly written (Stein 1909: 241–64). When this report was hastily translated into Chinese and included in Luo Zhenyu's 羅振玉 *Visiting the Ancients among the Shifting Sands* (*Liusha fanggu ji* 流沙訪古記, 1909), the name of Stein's Chinese secretary, Jiang Xiaowan 蔣孝琬, was rendered not as "Jiang" (as in the colophon) but rather as "Zhang Shuyi" 張叔伊 (Luo 1909: 4)—a strictly phonetic translation of Stein's original "Chiang-ssu-yieh" (*Jiang shiye* 蔣師爺, or "Secretary Jiang").

In other words, in order to lend an air of authenticity to what was almost certainly a forged manuscript in hopes of securing a higher price for its sale, some shady Chinese entrepreneur decided to include an implausibly precise summary of Stein's second expedition. But the details of the summary that he provided could only have been compiled in China at some point after the publication of *Ruins of Desert Cathay* in 1912—provided the person in question could read English, which Mu Shouqi could not. With all evidence pointing in the direction of a scam, the jarring description of Stein having "stolen" (*daoqu* 盜取) manuscripts from Dunhuang can be readily explained: the colophon was written not in 1909, when no one in China yet regarded him as a thief, but rather at some point after the adoption of such criminalizing discourse by Westernized Chinese on the eastern seaboard in the 1920s and 30s.

The second fake colophon is attributed to Yang Zengxin 楊增新 and dated to September or October 1908. At the time, Yang was the circuit intendant of Aksu, four years before he would become the governor of Xinjiang. Instead of narrating Stein's visit to Dunhuang in 1907, however, this colophon treats Pelliot's expedition of 1908. At the end of a *Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論) manuscript, the author of this colophon gives a complete account not only of Pelliot's time at Dunhuang—which had occurred just a few months prior to the date of the colophon and was known only to Wang Yuanlu and the French members of Pelliot's party—but also his subsequent shipment of ten cases of manuscripts back to Paris; his trip to Shanghai to share news of his discovery with Chinese scholars later that same year; and the Ministry of Education's order the following year for officials in Gansu to ship the remaining manuscripts to Beijing (Yang 1995: 43–44). But unless Yang had somehow managed to build a time machine and visited the future, he could not possibly have been privy to events that had not yet occurred at the time he was purported to have written this colophon.

Undoubtedly, there are many other fake colophons appended to the Dunhuang manuscripts that have not yet been exposed as forgeries. As we have seen, the modern Dunhuang colophons contain a diverse assortment of evidence that can prove of benefit to scholars in multiple disciplines, especially to scholars of modern Chinese history. As more Dunhuang manuscripts within China come to light and are made available for study, a wealth of additional colophons are likely to emerge. Some of them will be genuine; some will not. Regardless of the authenticity of these manuscripts, scholars whose research brings them into contact with the literary, artistic, and cultural treasures of Cave 17 would do well to include all of these modern Chinese colophons within their analytical purview.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I could not have translated the modern Chinese colophons examined in this paper without the help of numerous Chinese scholars. Foremost among them is Ye Wa, who gave most generously of her time and expertise. I am also grateful to Lilla Russell-Smith, Judit Bagi, Imre Hamar, and Ágnes Kelecsényi for hosting me at the "Dunhuang and Cultural Contact Along the Silk Road" conference at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest in May 2019, where I first presented an earlier version of this article.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Justin M. Jacobs is an associate professor of history at American University. He also serves as the and editor of *The Silk Road* and hosts *Beyond Huaxia*, a podcast on East Asian history. He specializes in the history of modern China, Xinjiang, archaeological expeditions, and the Silk Road. He is the author of *The Compensations of Plunder: How China Lost Its Treasures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020). E-mail: <jjacobs@american.edu>.

REFERENCES

Beijing daxue tushuguan et al. 1995
Beijing daxue tushuguan 北京大学图书馆 and Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, eds. *Beijing daxue tushuguan cang Dunhuang wenxian* 北京大学图书馆藏敦煌文献 [Dunhuang manuscripts stored in the Peking University Library]. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995.

Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui et al. 1999
Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui 甘肃藏敦煌文献编委会, Gansu renmin chubanshe 甘肃人民出版社, and Gansu sheng wenwu ju 甘肃省文物局, eds. *Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian* 甘肃藏敦煌文献 [Dunhuang manuscripts stored in Gansu]. 6 vols. Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1999.

Luo 1909
Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Liusha fanggu ji* 流沙訪古記 [Visiting the ancients among the shifting sands]. N.p., 1909.

Pelliot 1910
Paul Pelliot. "Trois ans dans la haute Asie." *L'Illustration*, No. 3498 (March 12, 1910): 262–68.

Rong 2013
Rong Xinjiang. *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*. Trans. Imre Galambos. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1993
Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 and Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物馆, eds. *Shanghai bowuguan cang Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian* 上海博物馆藏敦煌吐鲁番文献 [Dunhuang and Turfan manuscripts stored in the Shanghai Museum]. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993.

Shanghai guji chubanshe et al. 1996
Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 and Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan 天津市艺术博物馆, eds. *Tianjin shi yishu bowuguan cang Dunhuang wenxian* 天津市艺术博物馆藏敦煌文献 [Dunhuang manuscripts stored in the Tianjin Municipal Museum of Art]. 7 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996.

Stein 1909
Marc Aurel Stein. "Explorations in Central Asia, 1906–8 (Continued)." *The Geographical Journal* 34, no. 3 (September 1909): 241–64.

Stein 1912
M. Aurel Stein. *Ruins of Desert Cathay: Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1912.

Yang 1995
Yang Ming 杨铭. "Yang Zengxin deng suo cang liang jian Tulufan Dunhuang xiejing" 杨增新等所藏两件吐鲁番敦煌写经 [Two manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan collected by Yang Zengxin and others]. *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, No. 2 (1995): 42–44.

Wang 2008
Wang Nan 王楠. "Boxihe yu Pei Jingfu de jiaowang: yi Zhong Fa xuezhe youguan Dunhuang cangjingdong zuichu yanjiu wei zhongxin" 伯希和与裴景福的交往: 以中法学者有关敦煌藏经洞最初研究为中心 [The relationship between Paul Pelliot and Pei Jingfu: A study centered on the earliest research

among Chinese and French scholars concerning the hidden cave library]. *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究, No. 11 (2008): 427–50.

Zhongguo Shudian cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui 2007
Zhongguo Shudian cang Dunhuang wenxian bianweihui 中国书店藏敦煌文献编委会, ed. *Zhongguo Shudian cang Dunhuang wenxian* 中国书店藏敦煌文献 [Dunhuang manuscripts stored in the China Bookstore]. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2007.

ENDNOTES

[1] The only other modern Dunhuang colophon known to predate that of Zhao Weixi comes from the brush of Wang Guan 王瓘, a famous seal-script calligrapher employed by the great Qing official and collector Duanfang 端方. In 1907, he added a colophon to a painting of the bodhisattva Guanyin in which he acknowledges the painting as a gift from Yan Jinqing, a Qing official in Lanzhou (Rong 2013: 96–97).

Camel Fairs in India: A Photo Essay

Harvey Follender

Western India has four traditional camel trading markets that operate over a period of several weeks during the winter. The biggest and most notable one is at Pushkar in Rajasthan. Pushkar [**Fig. 1**] is located on the edge of the Thar Desert (also known as the Great Indian Desert), which serves as a natural geographic barrier between India and Pakistan. Being situated on the edge of a desert and not far from the important north-south transportation artery from the Arabian Sea to Central Asia, Pushkar constitutes an obvious place to buy and sell camels during the days of the fair.

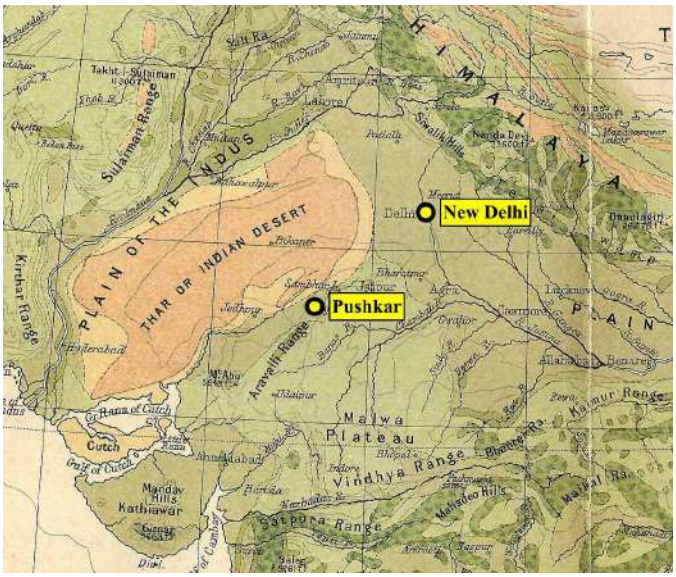


Fig. 1. Map of northwestern India showing Pushkar on the edge of the Thar Desert.

Some of the older lodgings were formerly caravanserai and retain entrances with doors tall enough to allow fully loaded camels to enter. When camels were not expected, the large doors could be kept closed and smaller doors opened to greet guests on foot. Cars are not welcome during the days of the fair and people ride on camel-drawn wagons with wheels that will get them through the sand. By some estimates, the annual Pushkar camel fair attracts approximately 200,000 visitors. And while camels certainly steal the show at Pushkar, they are not the only reason so many people flock to the fair every year. Adorned with many temples and *ghats* (steps for pilgrims to use for bathing along holy rivers and lakes), Pushkar is a pilgrimage site for both Hindus and Sikhs. As a sacred Hindu city, the consumption of alcohol, meat, fowl, and eggs is prohibited in Pushkar and such items are not found or served at the camel fair.

Over the years, the gathering of pilgrims, tribespeople, and camels at Pushkar on the eve of the full moon (Purnima) of the winter month of Kartik (i.e., November or December) has fostered the addition of other markets and amusements. These include farm implements and tools, crafts, an array of cuisines, livestock and agricul-

Fig. 2. Camel herd at Bateshwar.

tural markets, song and dance competitions, and various carnival attractions such as Ferris wheels, rides, acrobats, snake charmers, magicians, contests (e.g., tug-of-war, longest moustache, etc.), hot air balloon rides, and cotton candy. As a result, the Pushkar camel fair is a study in the sheer diversity of the cultures and livelihoods of South Asia, which are given vivid expression in the burst of colors, costumes, and aromas any visitor is likely to encounter. Perhaps most memorably, the fair is brought to an end with an *aarti* fire ceremony at the lake, accompanied by a final bathing ritual and a morning parade of performers, camel riders, decorated camels, and gypsy dancers.

Fig. 3. Arriving at the Pushkar camel fair.

I first visited the Pushkar camel fair in 1974 while my family and I lived in New Delhi. With all the camels and tribespeople, it was like nothing I had seen before and nothing I could have imagined. It was so fascinating that I visited again the following year. Thirty seven years later, I returned to the site that had once so entranced me. Since 2012, I have attended the Pushkar camel fair every year and may continue doing so as long as I am able.

Fig. 4. A camel taxi caravan to the Pushkar camel fair.

Both India and the fair have changed considerably in the 45 years since I first lived in New Delhi. Back in 1974, travel to Pushkar from the capital was by train or bus over bad roads. Taking the train meant an overnight journey of 14 hours, with requisite transfers en route. Now one can hire a car to drive to Pushkar straight from the Delhi airport in just six and a half hours. Another change in recent years is the large number of Israeli tourists who come to the fair—so many, in fact, that there are Hebrew signs in the marketplace and several restaurants specializing in vegan and vegetarian Israeli food.

Other camel markets in Rajasthan and the neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh also convene in the days before Kartik Purnima. One is in Kolayat Village near Bikaner, a second is at Bateshwar near Agra, and a third (Chandrabhaga Fair) is at Jhalrapatan (just south of Kota, Rajasthan). All four of these camel fairs feature similar activities at the same time, but for fewer days. They are located near sacred rivers or lakes, and also include various markets, temporary shops, and carnival attractions synchronized with the arrival of pilgrims.

By far the largest and most well attended camel fair, however, is at Pushkar. The accompanying images are a small selection of the many hundreds of photographs I have taken at camel fairs in India over the years, provided in hopes of introducing this fascinating spectacle to a wider audience.

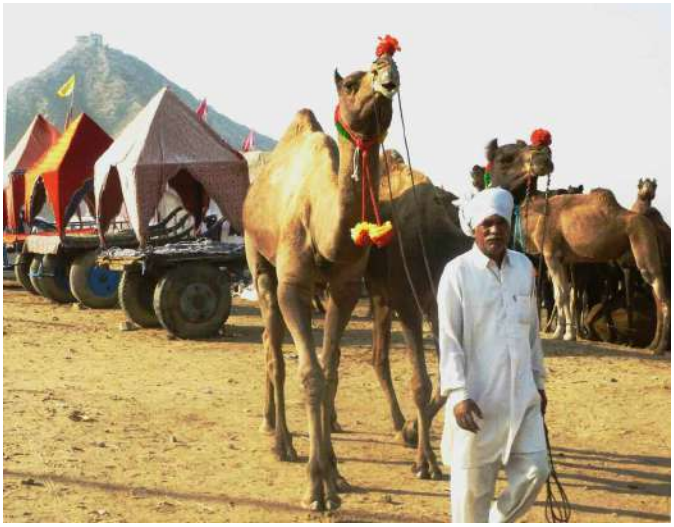


Fig. 5. The camel taxi stand at Pushkar.

Fig. 6. Camel herders camp at Bateshwar.

Fig. 7. Shaved decorations on a camel at Bateshwar.

Fig. 8. Camel traffic jam at a Pushkar crossroads.

Fig. 9. Camel market at Bateshwar.

Fig. 10. Dancing Kalbelia gypsy girls, who live on the outskirts of Pushkar.

Fig. 11. Kalbelia snake charmer at the Pushkar fair.

Fig. 12. Poor women receiving food at a Pushkar temple.

Fig. 13. Children, dressed up as mythological figures, in search of offerings.

Fig. 14. Young female spectator at the Pushkar camel fair.

Fig. 15. Rajasthani camel herder at Pushkar.

Fig. 16. Rajasthani parade at the Pushkar camel fair.

Fig. 17. Rajasthani men at the Pushkar camel fair.

Fig. 18. Rajasthani camel corps.

Fig. 19. Rajasthani camel herders at Pushkar.

Fig. 20. Meeting of Rajasthani tribesmen at Pushkar.

Fig. 21. Pilgrims at a Shiva temple in Bateshwar.

Fig. 22. Hindu pilgrims at Pushkar Lake.

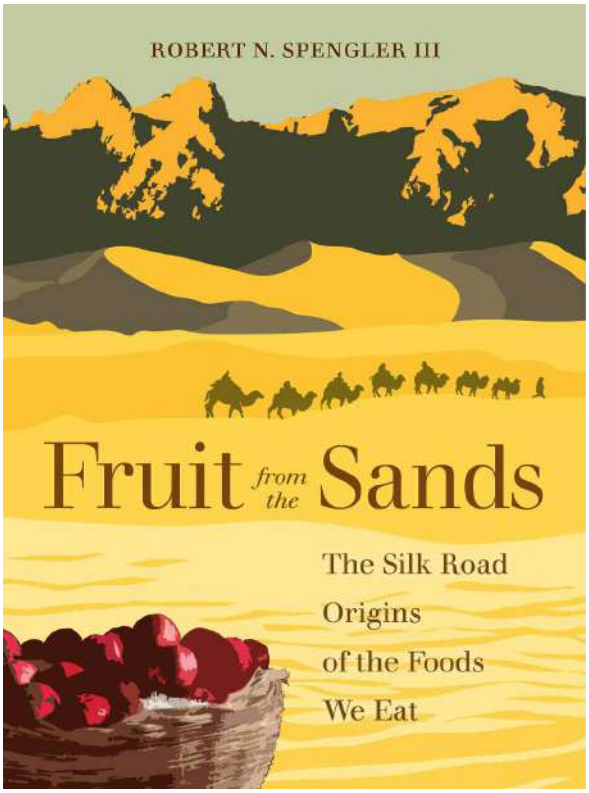
Fig. 23. Pilgrims praying at Pushkar Lake during full moon.

Fig. 24. Camel herders encamped at Bateshwar.

Fig. 25. The author in front of a decorated camel taxi at Pushkar.

Robert N. Spengler III. *Fruit from the Sands: The Silk Road Origins of the Food We Eat*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

As the range of scientific methods available to scholars grows and their methods become more sophisticated and sensitive, artifacts obtained from archaeological contexts that were once ignored or discarded can now be analyzed to provide information about the movement of peoples and the spread of plants. The analysis of the latter—seeds left in rubbish pits, grains found at the bottom of cooking pots and more—is a growing field known as "archaeobotany." This field is both supporting and challenging our theories of the past, most especially in our understanding of the domestication of grains and other foods and their spread across human cultures. In this book, Robert Spengler summarizes much of this research for the Asian continent.



The book is aimed at a general audience, primarily North American with its periodic appeals to U.S. recipes and culture today. Its aim is to show how many of the foods that are part of our everyday diet can be traced back to the cultivation, domestication, and movement of plants—including grains, legumes, vegetables, and fruit—across Asia from prehistorical times. Much of this spread, the author argues, was the result of human agency, and the routes they travelled were those that were later absorbed under the "Silk Road" moniker—hence the justification for the book's subtitle: *The Silk Road Origins of the Food We Eat*.

The author discusses the "Silk Road" concept in his introduction and early chapters, giving the oft-repeated narrative that the Silk Road started with Chinese expansion in the Han dynasty. But he points out the limits of this narrative, in that there had been transmissions across Central Asia long before this, dating back to the third millennia BC. He defines his use of the Silk Road to include the earlier period. The discussion is expanded in Chapter 3 when he notes Russian scholarship on pastoralists and their seasonal routes through the mountains long pre-dating the Silk Road, Richthofen's original coining of the term, and more recent discussions.

I think very few scholars today would deny the existence of routes of trade and transmission across Afro-Eurasia from prehistorical times, as the author sometimes seems to be suggesting. The Silk Road term is used to describe a period when there was a quantitative change in these interactions, most especially across Central Asia, a point the author concedes when he observes that such interactions were "marked by increased mobility and interconnectivity" (46). But this was prompted not only by the Chinese Han dynasty dispatching envoys and then establishing military posts along the main route westward out of China and to the peace between the Romans and Parthian empires in West Asia and Europe, but also to the uniting of much of Central Asia under one political regime, the Kushan empire (1st to 3rd centuries).

The role of the Kushan is not much discussed and, in a type of inconsistency all too frequent in this book, the author gives the dates of the Kushan both as AD 78–144 (42) and second century BC to third century AD (191). Occasional such discrepancies are to be expected in any book covering such a wide chronological and geographical range and

would not usually be noted, but this book is full of them. Even the dates given in the text do not always match the timelines given at the start: for example, the Shang dynasty appears in the timeline as ca. 1600–1046 BC, but elsewhere as ca. 1538–1046 BC (146) and ca. 1558–1046 BC (211, where it is incorrectly named—and indexed as—"Sang dynasty"). The reference on page 238 gives no dates.

There are now many discussions of Richthofen and the Silk Road concept, including its "prehistory," and some of these could have usefully been referenced in footnotes. But the book does not have footnotes as such, only citations, and these overwhelmingly give only one source and no page reference. This means that the reader is left stranded if they want to check the information or find out more. It also deprives the author of the opportunity to follow up on ideas which would otherwise distract from his narrative.

The first two chapters following the introduction consist largely of lists, many of them taken from travelers' accounts of the great variety of foodstuffs to be found across Asia but also, for example, including a list of twenty different shapes of pasta (36). The point of these chapters is not quite clear. There is some historical narrative, although it is patchy and at times unreliable or misleading (such as the claim about sericulture, mentioned below) as it generally relies on only a handful of secondary sources. Again, the reader could have been directed to existing and more reliable histories and the contemporary accounts incorporated into the text later where the foodstuffs they mentioned are discussed in more detail.

What would have been more helpful for the general reader is a chapter introducing archaeobotany, its background, growth, and methodology, with a discussion of the strengths and shortcomings of the procedures currently available, and of the other evidence used by the author. This could have usefully introduced the reader to various concepts referred to later, such as signs which show a plant has been cultivated or domesticated. It would also have been helpful to know about the distribution of evidence, the fact that some regions/sites have been studied more extensively than others, especially in terms of archaeobotanical evidence, and how this might leave gaps or skew our current understanding of a plant's distribution and domestication.

After these introductory chapters, the author considers various groups of plants and here he is clearly on more familiar and comfortable territory. He groups the plants under various headings for discussion, starting with various grains and legumes, then moving onto fruit, nuts, vegetables, and ending with spices, oils, and tea. His speciality comes to the fore when discussing, for example, the different grains, how they adapted to their environments and how we can tell when they were domesticated. This is fascinating material which will undoubtedly increasingly inform our understanding of the movement of peoples across Afro-Eurasia. But, as the author also hints, conclusions drawn by scholars working on this material might not always be reliable. It would have been interesting to learn more about the possible reasons for this: such as contamination of the evidence; inadequacy of the tests available; or scholars, as we have seen in many fields throughout history, seeking to make the evidence fit a preconceived theory. These are the strongest areas of the book and cover wide ground, but I was puzzled by notable omissions. For a book using "Silk Road" in its title, the lack of a small section on the domestication and spread of the mulberry (*morus* sp.) is perplexing. In China, the silkworms were fed on the leaves of the *morus alba*, but the fruit was also probably eaten: they are still found dried today in Turkey and elsewhere. And as sericulture spread along the Silk Road, the leaves of the black mulberry (*morus nigra*) were also used as feed. Remains of desiccated mulberry trees are found in early Central Asian sites (noted on page 16) although the site and dates from the report by the archaeologist, M. Aurel Stein, of his 1900 expedition are cited incorrectly by the author as 8th century Dandan-Uliq when they should be 1st to 4th century Niya (*Ancient Khotan*, 359). His use of secondary sources at times detracts from the reliability of the historical information. Mulberry fruits were greatly prized by many in Central Asia, as early European travelers noted (24-25) and as evidenced by finds (33). The Romans introduced the tree throughout Europe for its fruit and it continued to be cultivated after they had left (mulberry seeds are found in medieval midden pits in England, for example, not

noted here). To add to the story, the bark of both the *morus* sp. and that of a different genus, *broussonetia papyrifea*, were both used in papermaking, another important technology and commodity of the Silk Roads. Regrettably, the confusion between the different genus and species is not noted by the author when he quotes Marco Polo: "mulberry trees, grown to feed silkworms and produce fiber for paper" (35).

The planting of mulberries for silk is mentioned briefly (53, and the only page reference to mulberries given in the index) but this is assigned to the 8th century under the Abbasid caliphate. The author here notes, in parentheses, that "some scholars have suggested, however that there might have been earlier silk industries in Central Asia." He cites one scholar, thus highlighting again the fragility of some of his historical research. The existence of sericulture across much of Asia—not just Central Asia—is widely accepted by most scholars before this date. And by the date he gives, the caliphate was planting mulberries to feed silkworms in southern Spain. Having historical colleagues read the manuscript at an earlier stage might have helped avoid this (or indeed, consulting more than one source).

In his discussion of tea, he concentrates almost exclusively on its cultivation in China and neighboring regions and barely mentions India. This means he assumes that the tea found in an early western Tibetan tomb came from central China, and does not raise the possibility, even to reject it, that it could have come from India (130, 264). He also fails to mention the links between tea drinking and Buddhism—to keep monks awake—and an early Chinese text on tea written by a Buddhist monk. And while his discussion reaches the demand for tea in Russia and extends to the 20th century, the curious history of the 18th century free-trade port of Kyakhta on the Mongolia-Russian border, where merchants from Sichuan traded their tea for furs from Siberia, sadly does not find a place.

In the 19th century, it was suggested that this port be used also for Europeans to obtain "superior" rhubarb from the Indian Himalaya rather than the "inferior" type from China (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3 [March 1986]: xxvii). And indeed, the almost total exclusion of rhubarb in this book is another mystery. Where mentioned it is under the section on brassicas and not in the following section on plants whose roots and stems are used, and then only mentioned in passing as a plant grown in Central Asia and not as an important medicinal export from China to Europe. Nor does he mention the different species and their uses.

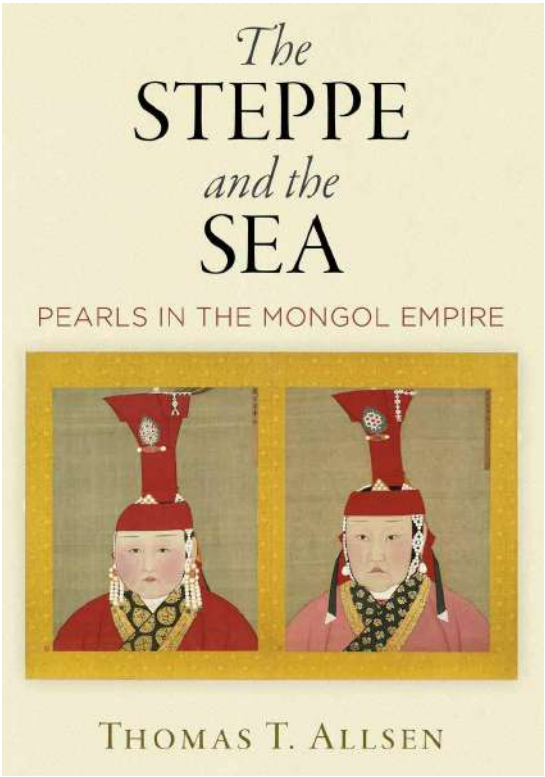
The book is rich in information and some omissions are inevitable. But not inevitable are the regrettable number of inconsistencies and errors. Apart from the dates, mentioned above, the romanization of Chinese names is inconsistent and often incorrect. In one case, a mythical archaeological site is introduced—Kualmqiao (206)—which is in fact the site of Kuahuqiao mentioned on the following page (although given with different dates) They have separate index entries. This probably arose from a mistaken reading of notes, rather than going back to check the original source (which was easily found online) and which betokens the obvious haste in which this book was put together. A quick read by anyone familiar with Chinese would have picked up all these errors immediately, just as a good copyeditor should have noted the many inconsistencies in naming and dating. The author has been badly let down by his manuscript readers and publisher. The book also perpetuates an unwitting and all too common Eurocentrism so, for example, where "Classical" is used to refer to the western definitions of classical without dates or explanation and where non-European periods are dated but not western periods. Again, something that would have been noticed by an alert reader or copyeditor.

The evidence from archaeobotany will undoubtedly play an increasingly important role in constructing a narrative for the prehistory and history of Eurasia and one which historians and archaeologists will be wise to pay attention to. This book is important for bringing this information to a wider audience. It is therefore a shame that it is often a muddled book, lacking a coherent narrative and often reading like research notes, transcribed inaccurately and not checked. It is hoped that a second edition can correct most of these infelicities, as the core of the information it contains and the author's expertise deserve a wider readership.

- Susan Whitfield

Thomas T. Allsen. *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

In *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire*, the late Thomas Allsen takes a topic with which most scholars of the Mongol empire have a general familiarity—the production and exchange of commodities—and introduces readers to a very specific part of that world—pearl exchange—in breathtaking detail. For scholars with an interest in the Mongol Empire, Allsen's take is refreshing. It is well known that the preponderance of scholarship on exchange in the Mongol Empire focuses on the land-locked east-west trade axis of the so-called Silk Roads. While other scholars, notably David Christian, have noted and addressed this, Allsen is one of a relatively small number of scholars who have devoted significant effort to investigating the less discussed but equally important north-south axis of exchange. In so doing, he not only demonstrates to readers the value of such investigations, but also that it is fallacious to separate artificially the east-west and north-south trade axes—in reality, both were part of a single, integrated, pan-continental exchange network and better understood when considered together as parts of a greater whole.



Working with characteristic thoroughness, Allsen divides his book into two parts. The first part, "From the Sea to the Steppe," focuses on grounding readers in a thorough understanding of the importance of pearls (and luxury goods in general) to Mongolian political culture. This includes an extensive discussion of both the economic and the ideological value of pearls and how closely related those apparently separate aspects are. In this discussion Allsen puts the quality of his scholarship on full display. Similar works which focus on the exchange of commodities often take the value of the goods they discuss for granted—"luxury goods" are either simply assumed to be inherently valuable, or their value is discussed only briefly as a function of their rarity, difficulty to produce, or some other factor. Social significance is often treated as a separate topic. The problem with this approach is its tendency to overlook the extensive social processes which imbue an item or class of items with economic value and cultural meaning and how these interact and evolve throughout the object's life. As a result, Allsen spends the first two chapters focusing simply on *why* pearls were valuable, and especially prized by elites in the Mongol empire.

His discussion of the cultivation, acquisition, display, and redistribution of pearls, and the cultural-ideological meaning imbued to them by each step in the process, is concise but thorough. Readers are introduced to the various systems for grading pearls *and* the cultural logic that underlies them. Allsen discusses, for example, why saltwater pearls are considered more precious than their freshwater counterparts (opinions were divided on whether saltwater pearls from India or the Persian Gulf were superior), and how shape, color, luster, size, and setting affect their value and ideological baggage. Pearls were initially subject to various modes of exchange, from plunder to tribute to long-distance trade. But as the Mongols consolidated their empire and their lucrative "booty frontiers" dried up, they began to rely more and more heavily on long distance trade, which Allsen argues was their most productive source of pearls in the long term. The Mongols did not invent the systems of production, valuation, and exchange on which they relied. According to Allsen, these were rather the products of a pan-Eurasian system which stretched across the continent and predated the Mongols by centuries, but to which the Mongols fully subscribed.

The second part of the book, "Comparisons and

Influence," discusses the circulation of pearls within the Mongol empire with an eye to explaining how participating in the pan-Eurasian pearl trade influenced Mongol elite culture and behavior in the long term. Central to this discussion is how the empire's active engagement in seaborne trade was interconnected with the overland trade routes the Mongols are better known for overseeing. As alluded to earlier, Allsen argues that it is inappropriate to partition terrestrial and maritime trade activities artificially (124) and doing so has led to another inappropriate overemphasis: the Mongols' military power over their commercial power. According to Allsen, seaborne trade is one area where the commercial competence of the Mongols far outshines their military strength. The Mongol state had marked limitations as a naval power but also controlled one of the longest sea frontiers in history (154). So it was only through the development of positive relationships with the trading communities already in place that the Mongols could effectively extract the wealth of the sea itself as well as the wealth of places out of their military reach across the sea via trade (such as parts of Southeast Asia). Allsen provides examples to demonstrate that the maintenance of friendly relationships with seaborne merchants was official Mongol policy and not just coincidence. For example, Qubilai issued a prohibition on the forcible relocation or military conscription of merchants that did not apply to artisans or other people whom the Mongols valued but still regularly exercised coercive power over. This indulgence toward merchants in general and maritime merchants in particular, Allsen demonstrates, was partially a product of the Mongol's concern to keep the pearl trade operating at a high volume as the acquisition of goods like pearls through conquest dried up concomitant with the slowing of Mongol military expansion. Without wisely managed commerce, the Mongol's prosperity would have ended at the same time as their military expansion. Trade, including maritime trade, allowed them to continue to prosper as they transitioned from conquerors to rulers. It is important for readers to understand, though, that Allsen is *not* advancing the reductionist argument that pearls, and the pearl trade, were what made the Mongol Empire prosperous.

The breadth of Allsen's research is stunning. Producing a book like this one, with relevant source material spanning many centuries and in many languages, would be intimidating to any scholar. Allsen not only successfully confronts this challenge, but he does so with a mastery that leaves those of us with a repertoire of only two or three functional languages (like myself) feel inadequate by comparison. Allsen knowledgably discusses primary and secondary sources in English, French, Persian, Arabic, Chinese, and Russian. In translation, his sources include works in Latin, Mongolian, and Uighur, among others, and elegantly weaves information from these disparate sources together to demonstrate his points. This book's bibliography alone is a gold mine for scholars interested in the economic and commercial history of the Mongol empire. His famously jargon-free, straightforward writing lends itself to a remarkable concision and prevents the book from becoming bloated (168 pages of text, plus endnotes and the bibliography/index). The unadorned style makes the text broadly useful across many disciplines—there is something for everyone, from anthropologist to historian to economist to political scholar, in this book.

That said, the work is not without a few minor issues. Throughout the text, Allsen provides copious examples drawn from a variety of primary sources to support his claims. In most cases, these examples function as intended, strongly buttressing his claims. At other times, though, the connection between his interpretations and the examples cited is unclear. At worst, even when the connection between interpretation and example is intuitively obvious, the evidence presented seems downright weak. That is a notable limitation of this book. For example, on pages 131-132, Allsen discusses the allegedly great lengths Sogdian merchants who managed commercial activity in the Türk empire went to acquire pearls. He states that "Tabarī reports in 751/52 a Sogdian traveling in Oman, and the only plausible reason for his presence there is the acquisition of pearls, the country's sole export." He does not provide any additional context to support this claim. It is possible the cited primary source (in Arabic) or secondary source (in French) provide better evidence that pearl acquisition was the goal of the merchant in question, but as a reader with no knowledge of either of those languages I cannot

independently verify this. As presented, the simple assertion that pearl acquisition is the only possible reason a Sogdian might have been traveling in Oman lacks persuasive power. Without the primary source making explicit that this was the reason, the support the example was supposed to lend Allsen's claim collapses. Examples like this are sprinkled throughout the book, and attentive readers will no doubt notice them. Most of Allsen's examples are much stronger, and examples like the one above are decidedly in the minority. But the weak examples are also the ones that tend to stand out most to critical readers, and unfortunately cast a pall on the better-documented claims and evidence that surround them.

Overall, this is a thoroughly researched book that is well-written and persuasively argued. Although sometimes the examples provided do not function effectively to support the claims they are linked to, these instances are rare. This is a book that should be read and cited by diverse scholars with a wide variety of interests and disciplinary backgrounds for many years to come.

- Samuel Rumschlag

———

Roman Hautala. *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th - 14th Centuries: A Century of Interaction*. Ed. Victor Spinei. București: Editoru Academiei Române, Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzueului Brăilei "Carol I" 2017. 477 pp.

This anthology reprints seventeen published and prints two unpublished articles by Roman Hautala of the University of Oulu (Finland) and the Marjani Institute of the History of Tatarstan of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Hautala's research focuses on "Latin sources known only to a narrow circle of researchers of Catholic missionary activity in the medieval East" (245). He makes a convincing case that "the accuracy of the Latin sources is not inferior to the reliability of the Mamluk and Persian sources" (433-34). Many of these sources were written by missionaries from inside the Jochid ulus, and thus have an advantage over the Asian sources written from abroad. Collectively the articles in this anthology enlarge the source base upon which the history of the Jochid ulus can be written, or, in some cases, demonstrate that previous historical views should be revised. Hautala thus make a significant contribution to our knowledge of nomads in the western Eurasian steppe.

The published articles appeared between 2014 and 2017. Eleven articles are in English, eight in Russian (each of which has an English-language summary). Hautala has made no effort to standardize terminology, but specialists are accustomed to such variety. In addition, he cites articles that appear in the anthology without cross-referencing them; it is up to the reader to realize that they are readily available by turning the page. The articles are organized in two numbered "parts." In the "Table of Contents," the articles are numbered but the numbers do not appear on the title pages of the article. A full-page color photograph of the author introduces the volume (5).

The anthology begins with an introduction by Victor Spinei, the distinguished Romanian specialist on the history of nomads in the Balkans and the editor of the volume and the series in which it appears. Spinei's introduction appears in both English, "A Medievalist with a Sense of Vocation: Roman Hautala" (11-14) (translated by Adrian Poruciuc) and Russian, "Medievist po priznaniiu: Roman Khautala" (15-18). Roman Hautala was born in Petrozavodsk, capital of the Republic of Karelia in the Russian Federation, and educated primarily in Finland and Italy (University of Siena, from which he received his Ph.D.). In addition to teaching, he is an editor, especially for English-language works, of journals in St. Petersburg and Kazan.

In discussing individual chapters, I have tried to avoid repeating conclusions already adduced from previous chapters.

Part I, "Crusaders and Missionaries," contains eleven articles. Chapter 1, "The Teutonic Knights' Military Confrontation with the Cumans during their Stay in Transylvania (1211-1225)" (21-37), examines the mixed experiences of the Teutonic Knights in Hungary. King Andrew II invited them

independently verify this. As presented, the simple assertion that pearl acquisition is the only possible reason a Sogdian might have been traveling in Oman lacks persuasive power. Without the primary source making explicit that this was the reason, the support the example was supposed to lend Allsen's claim collapses. Examples like this are sprinkled throughout the book, and attentive readers will no doubt notice them. Most of Allsen's examples are much stronger, and examples like the one above are decidedly in the minority. But the weak examples are also the ones that tend to stand out most to critical readers, and unfortunately cast a pall on the better-documented claims and evidence that surround them.

Overall, this is a thoroughly researched book that is well-written and persuasively argued. Although sometimes the examples provided do not function effectively to support the claims they are linked to, these instances are rare. This is a book that should be read and cited by diverse scholars with a wide variety of interests and disciplinary backgrounds for many years to come.

- Samuel Rumschlag

———

Roman Hautala. *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th - 14th Centuries: A Century of Interaction*. Ed. Victor Spinei. București: Editoru Academiei Române, Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzueului Brăilei "Carol I" 2017. 477 pp.

This anthology reprints seventeen published and prints two unpublished articles by Roman Hautala of the University of Oulu (Finland) and the Marjani Institute of the History of Tatarstan of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Hautala's research focuses on "Latin sources known only to a narrow circle of researchers of Catholic missionary activity in the medieval East" (245). He makes a convincing case that "the accuracy of the Latin sources is not inferior to the reliability of the Mamluk and Persian sources" (433-34). Many of these sources were written by missionaries from inside the Jochid ulus, and thus have an advantage over the Asian sources written from abroad. Collectively the articles in this anthology enlarge the source base upon which the history of the Jochid ulus can be written, or, in some cases, demonstrate that previous historical views should be revised. Hautala thus make a significant contribution to our knowledge of nomads in the western Eurasian steppe.

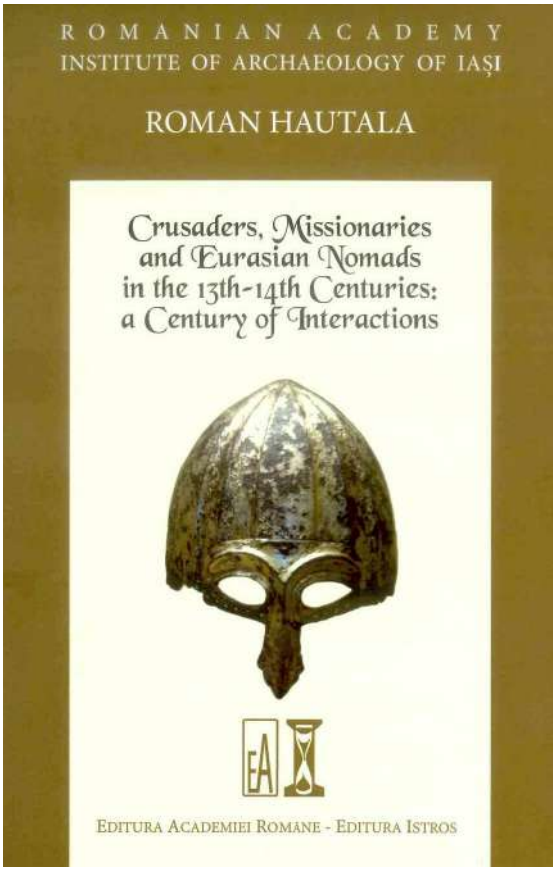
The published articles appeared between 2014 and 2017. Eleven articles are in English, eight in Russian (each of which has an English-language summary). Hautala has made no effort to standardize terminology, but specialists are accustomed to such variety. In addition, he cites articles that appear in the anthology without cross-referencing them; it is up to the reader to realize that they are readily available by turning the page. The articles are organized in two numbered "parts." In the "Table of Contents," the articles are numbered but the numbers do not appear on the title pages of the article. A full-page color photograph of the author introduces the volume (5).

The anthology begins with an introduction by Victor Spinei, the distinguished Romanian specialist on the history of nomads in the Balkans and the editor of the volume and the series in which it appears. Spinei's introduction appears in both English, "A Medievalist with a Sense of Vocation: Roman Hautala" (11-14) (translated by Adrian Poruciuc) and Russian, "Medievist po priznaniiu: Roman Khautala" (15-18). Roman Hautala was born in Petrozavodsk, capital of the Republic of Karelia in the Russian Federation, and educated primarily in Finland and Italy (University of Siena, from which he received his Ph.D.). In addition to teaching, he is an editor, especially for English-language works, of journals in St. Petersburg and Kazan.

In discussing individual chapters, I have tried to avoid repeating conclusions already adduced from previous chapters.

Part I, "Crusaders and Missionaries," contains eleven articles. Chapter 1, "The Teutonic Knights' Military Confrontation with the Cumans during their Stay in Transylvania (1211-1225)" (21-37), examines the mixed experiences of the Teutonic Knights in Hungary. King Andrew II invited them

to settle in Burzenland, through which Cumans entered Transylvania to raid. Under the Teutonic Knights' protection, it began to recover, but tensions between the Knights and the king over intrusions into royal estates, illegal movement of Hungarians and Szekelys back into the region, the construction of forbidden stone castles instead of wood, and the minting of coins by the Knights led eventually to forcible expulsion. The pope, patron of the Knights, blamed Hungarian politics. This article sets the stage for one of the themes of the anthology, namely, the connection between the countries of Eastern or East-Central Europe—Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania—and the nomads of the steppe.



Chapter 2, "Gramoty vengerskogo korolia Andreia II, predostavelnnye tevtonskim rytsariam v Transil'vanii: latinskie teksty, perevody i kommentarii" (39-65), contains Latin texts and fully annotated Russian translations of four royal charters issued by Andrew II dealing with the Teutonic Knights' settlement in Transylvania. The letters are printed not from the lost originals but from papal epistles which quoted them verbatim. Hautala rejects arguments against the authenticity of the fourth letter. A theme that shows up here—Hungarian pretensions to the East Slavic principalities of Galicia and Volynia—reappears later in the anthology.

Chapter 3, "Information of the Latin Sources about the Relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Cumans on the Eve of the Invasion of Batu in 1241" (67-93), deals with efforts at first by the Dominicans (Order of Preachers) and later the Franciscan (Minorites) to convert the Cumans in Hungary. In 1228 the Pope established a Cuman bishopric, probably in the territory formerly occupied by the Teutonic Knights. The friars and the pope were too optimistic about the prospects for conversion and sedentarization of the Cumans. The Cumans' nomadic life-style made adherence to the year-long liturgical calendar difficult. So did the presence of Orthodox Vlachs in the region. There were also jurisdictional disputes between the Cuman bishop and the bishop of Transylvania and the archbishop of Esztergom, and fiscal competition between the hierarchs and the crown.

Chapter 4, "Svedeniia o zavolzhskikh mad'iarakh v latinskikh istochnikakh XIII-XV vekov" (95-124), addresses the Latin sources concerned with "finding" the Trans-Volga Magyars living in "Great Hungary," putatively the Hungarian Urheimat (*prarodina*). The Dominican Julian composed a "Letter about the way of life of the Tatars" and a brother Ricardus transcribed Julian's account of his mission to Grand Bulgar and Great Hungary. The Mongols seem to have deported the Trans-Volga Magyars, because there are no further references to Great Hungary in the fourteenth century, although the Mozhars in the Kasimov Khanate may be their descendants. Hautala prudently avoids walking into the briar patch of the ethnic relationship between the Magyars and the Bashkirs.

Chapter 5, "Zapis' brata Rikardusa ob otkrytii Velikoi Vengrii (nachalo 1236 goda)" (129-45), is devoted only to the text by Ricardus, for which Hautala supplies an annotated Russian translation. Several passing observations in the text resonate with material in other chapters. The friars posed as merchants; the close connection between Italian merchants and the Catholic missionaries is discussed below. Ricardus records that Julian and his party were treated most hospitably by Muslims; by the fourteenth century under the Mongols, Muslims were not always as welcoming. A unnamed Mongol envoy of undisclosed ethnicity supposedly spoke Hungarian, Russian, Cuman,

Teutonic (German?), Saracen (Arabic?) and Tartar (Turkic or Mongol?); Hautala does not comment on the plausibility of so polyglot an envoy at this time. Nor does he comment on the mistaken and optimistic expectation that Rus' Prince Yurii Vsevolodovich was expected to join the Catholic Church. The theme of papal attempts to convince Rus' princes to abandon the Byzantine Church also recurs below.

Chapter 6, "Pis'mo Ladislava, frantsikanskogo kustodiia Gazarii (Kaffa, 10 aprelia 1287 goda)" (145-51), pertains to a fascinating incident of socio-religious interaction between Catholics and Muslims. Father Ladislaus was a Franciscan custodian in Gazaria (the North Black Sea coast). Muslims in Solkhat in 1286 demolished a church in order to silence its bell. The Franciscans complained to Khan Tula-Buga and Nogai,[1] who dispatched representatives, backed up by troops, to punish the offenders severely, to compensate the Franciscans for their losses, and to authorize them to build three churches with bells. Although the representatives were Muslims, they carried out their orders faithfully. Royal patronage of Catholic missionaries was essential in the Jochid ulus. Ladislaus's letter also recounts that the senior wife of Nogai wanted to be baptized by a Catholic, much to the chagrin of Armenian and Greek clergy. The multi-denominational presence of Christians among the nomads and their competition strikes a familiar note. A former Nestorian interpreter, now a Catholic, also shows up. Supposedly a Franciscan cured a woman of a demon, which shamans had failed to do, so she and her husband converted, a typos.

Chapter 7, "The Franciscan Letters from the Golden Horde: Evidence of the Latin Sources against the Thesis of the Total Nomadic Islamization in the Early Reign of Uzbek Khan (1312/1313-1341)" (153-158), accomplishes exactly what the title indicates. Evidence that Catholic missionaries preserved the royal privilege of freely traveling about the steppe among the nomads to spread the Catholic faith impugns the thesis, spread by Uzbek himself to enhance his reputation among Muslim monarchs, specifically the Mamluks, that early in his reign after his conversion to Islam he had exterminated advocates of other religions and Islam had been spread universally. Clearly Uzbek's change of confession did not induce him to ban or even restrict Catholic missionaries in the Jochid ulus. Modern studies declare that Uzbek made Islam the "state religion" of the Jochid ulus, an error that this reviewer has certainly committed, but the Mongols had no concept of a "state religion." Islam did significantly increase in the cities of the Jochid ulus, but not among the nomadic majority of the population. Hautala comments that the friars felt safer among the nomads than in the more Islamicized cities, as the actions of the Muslims in Solkhat just discussed indicate. Nevertheless, the nomadic Mongols clung fervently to the religion of their ancestors, which seems here to mean the traditional steppe "paganism," not Islam. Of course, the Franciscans much exaggerated their success, both quantitatively, as a percentage of the population, and qualitatively, claiming converts among the Chinggisid elite. Hautala pays particular attention to a garbled account that Khan Toqta had adopted Catholicism. The spread of Islam is better documented in the Ilkhanate than in the Jochid ulus.

Chapter 8, "Dva pis'ma frantsiskantsev iz Kryma 1323 goda: latinskii tekst, russkii perevod i kommentarii" (177-212), again provides an annotated Russian translation of Latin texts, in this case two epistles from Franciscans in the Crimea in 1323 to a consistory of the Franciscan order and to the Papal curia at Avignon. The first extolled martyrs in Western Asia, the second overestimated missionary success in Crimea in order to inspire recruits. The details of the letters are consistent with those in a 1320 letter written in Bashkiria (now Bashkortostan) by Iohanca (Johanka), for which Hautala supplies quotations in his footnotes. These letters abound in fascinating details of daily life of both nomads and missionaries. Supposedly Hungarian, German and English friars were far more adept at learning the Cuman language in order to preach than those from the Mediterranean, France and Italy. Italian merchants purchased boys as slaves and donated them to the friars to be converted and raised as Catholics and trained as missionaries who would have the linguistic and cultural advantage of their Cuman birth. The letters also illuminate Mongol diet and dress, although their authors did not always agree with each other, for example,

[1] Hautala does not allude to the lack of consensus on Nogai's Chinggisid status.

on the cost of silk clothing. According to these letters and Iohanca's, "nomads" hated "Saracens," meaning Islam had not acquired significant adherents in the steppe. The missionary-merchant nexus began as soon as a friar decided to go to the Jochid ulus; the sea route, via the Black Sea, accompanying merchants, was highly recommended over the unsafe land route. These Franciscans did not mention Uzbek's conversion; as we shall see, some Rus' chroniclers were seemingly disinterested in that event when they did mention it.

Chapter 9, "Catholic Missionaries in the Golden Horde" (213-20), highlights both adaptation to convert nomads in the form of five mobile residences, felt-covered tents, that could accompany nomadic movement, and conversion top-down, beginning with members of the elite such as the Alan leader of Vosporo (Kerch), Millenus, and the sons of the thousand-man Tharmagar and Estokis, master of Bashkiria.

The previously unpublished Chapter 10, "Western Missionaries and Merchants: An Example of Cooperation within the Framework of the Mongol Empire" (221-43),[2] does not confine itself to the Golden Horde. Venetian merchants purchased land for churches in Khanbaliq and North China. At most the Pope and the missionary orders provided transport, but once onsite missionaries relied on locals, Christian and non-Christian, for financial assistance. Supposedly the cathedral in Samarkand was built through the generosity of a Chaghadaid khan cured of a cancer by a Franciscan, which sounds familiar. Another Chaghadaid khan donated the land for a church in Almalyk. However, Italian merchants were the greatest benefactors of the missionaries. Of course, there were tensions between the missionaries and the merchants, up to and including excommunications, but the friars sought and received Papal dispensation to ease the forbidden degrees of consanguinity for marriage to facilitate marriage among the small Catholic communities. Mongol patronage of the missionaries derived in part from a desire to please the merchants who provided revenue from commerce. Popes emphasized their own patronage of the missionaries in letters to the Mongol Great Khans and the khans of the Jochid and Chaghadaid khanates.

Chapter 11, "Latin Sources on the Missionary Activity of the Franciscans in the Golden Horde during the Reign of Uzbek Khan (1313-1341)" (245-66), also previously unpublished, completes Part I. The popes and the orders of friars attributed their overall failure to convert Uzbek or his people to a shortage of missionaries, but their calls for reinforcements met little response. Misinformation, sometimes akin to wishful thinking, marred relations between the popes and the Jochid khans. The pope thought permission for churches to ring their bells applied not just to Solkhat but everywhere; the khans thought otherwise, although when there was a ban on bell ringing it did not reach Caffa. Only a secular Mongol judge saved the life of the Franciscan Johanca after he denounced Islam as a false faith. Sometimes Catholic apostates to Islam were forgiven upon repentance.

In Part I, Hautala rightly questions the inevitability and speed of the conversion of the Jochid ulus to Islam. Historical "inevitability" is always unprovable, and optimistic assertions on the spread of Islam in the Jochid ulus are no more credible than optimistic expectations of the spread of Christianity. However, we might have doubts that more Franciscans and Dominicans could have altered the religious path the Jochid ulus eventually took. Catholic influence derived from a tiny number of foreign missionary friars, but Islamic influence derived first and foremost from urban regions of the Jochid ulus—Volga Bulgaria and Khwarizm—that were Muslim before they were conquered by the Mongols, and the massive Muslim Central Asian establishment, who had much greater access to Horde urban residents and nomads than did distant Rome.

Part II, "The Mongols in the East of Europe" contains nine articles. Its source base continues to be Latin sources, but sometimes those sources tell us more about the fantasies of their authors and audience than about the nomads. Chapter 12, "Early Latin Reports about the Mongols (1221): Reasons for Distortion of Reality" (269-87), explains the anomaly that these early reports accurately attested the Mongol conquests in Western Asia but perceived them through the distorting lens of the legends of the peoples of Gog and Magog of the "Alexander Romance" and of Prester John. Western

[2] Hautala thanks Stephen Pow for assistance in Chapters 10 and 11.

Catholics believed that the Mongols wanted to believe, which is what their Nestorian informants told them: that the Mongols were or would soon become Christians who would vanquish Islam.

Chapter 13, "Istoriia deianii Davida, tsaria Indii (1221): latinskii tekst, perevod i kommentarii" (289-311), provides a Latin text and annotated Russian translation of the "History of the Deeds of David, King of the Indies" (from the Prester John legend) contained in the seventh letter of Catholic Archbishop of Acre Jacques de Vitry sent to the West on April 18, 1221. It provided the most comprehensive distorted history of the victories of Khwarazmshah Ala ad-Din Muhammed II, Naiman khan Kuchlug, and Genghis Khan, all attributed to the fictional Christian "King David," a potential Crusader ally. Hautala leaves open the question of whether the Georgians invented the crosses on the standards of the Mongols, designed to confuse Christians, or whether they merely misinterpreted sketches of birds on the standards as crosses. We know from Mongol ultimata of the period that the Mongols were devoted to the Great Blue Sky and carried the nine-tail banner of Chinggis Khan. The Mongols were more than willing to send Muslim envoys to Muslim targets of conquest and Nestorian envoys to Christian targets of conquest, and were more than ready to use deceit in battle (like mounting dummies on horses). However, using Christian standards sounds improbable.

Chapter 14, "Latins Sources' Information about the Mongols Related to their Re-Conquest of Transcaucasia" (313-30), clarifies the stages of Latin perception of the Mongols. By the early 1230s Catholic writers had learned that the Mongols were not Christian and were not intent on liberating Jerusalem from the Muslims. Nor were they led by "King David." Rather, they were chasing Muhammed Khwarazmshah. Some, like the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, presented the Mongols as "virgin barbarians," tall and beautiful, but later depictions describe them as ugly. Even with accurate information, some Latin writers believed or hoped that the Mongols would still aid Christians, if only indirectly by weakening Muslims. On the eve of the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe, the pope had no inkling of the reality that the Mongols were far more dangerous than Muslims.

According to Chapter 15, "Latin Sources on the Religious Situation in the Western Mongol Uluses in the Late 13th - Early 14th Centuries" (331-45), the prevailing opinion of Russian, Tatar, and Western historians is that political and economic processes made the conversion of the Ilkhanate and the Jochid ulus to Islam inevitable. Personal religious orientation did not play a significant role in this development. Only Charles Melville has presented a modification of this theory for the Ilkhanate: the support of influential Muslims influenced Ghazan's choice. Rather, to Hautala, Islam spread more rapidly among the nomads than the officials of the government (in contrast to the situation in the Jochid ulus?). In the cities and in Catholic perception, world religions, including Buddhism, Islam, and more than one Christian denomination, were competing for the adherence of the Chinggisid rulers. Adherents of each faith interpreted the contradictory information at their disposal of the religious preferences of the Mongol elite in their own favor.

Hautala's discussion of the methods of nomadic evangelization are quite interesting. The "Codex Cumanicus" used Kipchak vocabulary and folk material to explicate Christian dogma to potential converts. Papal diplomacy with the Ilkhans was quite pragmatic: in return for conversion the popes offered the Ilkhans a military alliance. Of course, the friars used persuasion to spread the faith, particularly the theology of salvation.

Catholic missionary efforts toward the Mongols, both sedentary rulers and nomads, might fruitfully be explored within a broader context by comparing them to the evangelization of non-nomadic "barbarians," the Germanic tribes in late Roman and early medieval times. However, the coercive conversion program of crusading knights in Eastern Europe against Balts and Slavs would provide no useful guidance on this issue.

At 78 pages in length, Chapter 16, "Ot Batu do Dzhanibeka: voennye konflikty Ulusa Dzhuchi s Pol'shei i Vengrei" (347-425), is by far the longest in the anthology. Utilizing Hungarian, Polish, and German chronicles in Latin, Papal letters, and Russian and Mamluk sources, it provides a detailed narrative of conflicts between the Joshid ulus, on the one hand, and Poland and Hungary, on the other, from the thirteenth century conquests and

reign of Batu to the reign of Janibek, son of Uzbek (1342-1357), on the eve of the "great troubles" in the Jochid ulus of the 1360s and 1370s. This narrative foregrounds two salient features of Mongol-East European relations in the thirteenth and fourteen centuries. First, the Jochid ulus never renounced its sovereignty over Galicia-Volynia in modern Ukraine nor its right to receive tribute from those lands, regardless of which East European power occupied them. In pursuit of that revenue, the Jochid ulus made and broke alliances with all the parties involved. Second, Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary were, despite vehement papal criticism, willing to pay that tribute to the Mongols rather than risk full-scale military confrontation. Of course, everybody raided everybody else regardless of political and diplomatic arrangements.

Hautala, relying on papal sources, asserts that before he became grand prince, Alexander Nevsky personally declared his loyalty to the Pope. The pope was dissatisfied with this agreement precisely because it was personal, not political, but when the Mongols recognized Nevsky's accession to the grand-princely throne of Vladimir, Nevsky no longer needed the security of papal favor and he repudiated his declaration (357-58). Even such a temporary lapse of fidelity to Orthodoxy is hardly consistent with Nevsky's idealized image in his vita or Eisenstein's film, but some historians in Russia do accept this narrative.

Hautala suggests that the 1259 Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe may have been more than just an attempt to create a defensive perimeter for Galicia-Volynia, by then fully under Mongol control, but actually preparation for a major invasion of Eastern Europe, aborted by the break-up of the World Mongol Empire (370). Berke had demanded Hungarian subordination to the Jochid ulus, with a dynastic intermarriage of King Istvan V or a son to a Chinggisid princess, as part and parcel of his receiving Mongol military help against Poland. Istvan V refused, precipitating another Mongol invasion of Hungary.

I am inclined to believe that by 1259 the Jochid ulus was far more committed to fighting the Ilkhanate for Azerbaijan than invading Poland, Hungary, or Bohemia. Nevertheless, Hautala does convincingly demonstrate that the Jochid ulus remained a major player in East European affairs long after the campaign of 1240-1241.

Chapter 17, "Latin Sources on the Religious Situation in the Golden Horde in the Early Reign of Uzbek Khan" (427-37), explains that the 1323 Franciscan letter from the Crimea "intentionally or unintentionally distorted reality." Latin and Asian sources must both be examined critically (433-34).

Chapter 18, "Iarlyk khana Uzbeka frantsiskantsam Zolotoi Ordy 1314 goda: latinskii tekst, russkii perevod i kommentarii" (439-54), provides a Latin text and annotated Russian translation (the first in any modern language) of Khan Uzbek's grant of privileges (*iarlyk*) to the Franciscan Order in 1314. Hautala infers that "apparently" the original, which survives only in Latin translation, was written in the Khwarezmian idiom of the Kipchak language, following the view of István Vásáry that in the 1280s that idiom had become "official." (I wonder if the notion of an "official" bureaucratic language is as anachronistic as the concept of a "state religion.") The charter links itself to previous charters from Mengu-Timur and Toqta, also not extant, but attesting to continuity in the Horde policy not only of religious toleration but also of freedom of proselytization. Imperial charters became invalid upon the death of the khan, so they had to be reissued by the new khan. Presumably Hieronym, from Catalonia, bishop of Kaffa, was the recipient of the charter.

Chapter 19, "Russian Chronicles on the Religious Policy of Khan Uzbek (1313-1341) and his Relations with the Principalities of North-Eastern Rus'" (455-77), concludes Part II and the anthology. Hautala cites it as "forthcoming."[3] Although Islamic sources record Uzbek as repressing amirs who opposed Islam, fierce nomadic opposition precluded coercive conversion to Islam, and Uzbek maintained the Chinggisid policy of tolerating all faiths. The Russian chronicles contain very little information on Uzbek's enthronement. Most chronicle compilations (*svody*) arose only a century or two after Uzbek's reign. "Probably, Russian compilers in the 15th - 16th centuries did not consider events of 1312-1313 so important to give them any attention." In general, they were "little interested in events in the Horde and focused on description of only

[3] "In press" (Russian *v pechati*). In the anthology the citation lacked only the pagination. The updated citation is *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie*, tom 5, no. 4, 2017, 736-55.

those events that were directly related to the Russian principalities and their rulers." Russian chronicles paid "so little attention" to Uzbek's Muslim sympathies because they did not affect his Orthodox subjects (461). Uzbek's charter to the Russian Orthodox Church, forged during the 1540s, was based upon the charter he actually issued. Uzbek tolerated both Orthodox and Catholic Christianity in the Jochid ulus. He supported the Orthodox metropolitans, who in turn supported the Muscovite princes allied with the Horde.

The "Tale of Mikhail of Tver" (466-71), who was executed at the Horde, was composed by an eyewitness, probably his confessor Alexander. The Tverian versions of the "Tale" were more anti-Tatar than the more neutral Muscovite chronicles. Only later versions accused Uzbek of persecuting Christians after his conversion to Islam, and even then the connection to his execution of Mikhail is unclear. The villain in the "Tale" is the ungrateful Kavgadyi, whose life Michael spared after he had defeated and captured him. Some chronicles accused Uzbek of being a "lawless tsar" but others omit the accusation and praise him as a just ruler. The "Tale" contains a completely accurate account of the Horde's nomadic itinerary, "but it was hardly the author's intention to acquaint the readers with the activities of the khan's camp" (470).

That the Tatar envoy Shcholkan intended to convert the residents of Tver in 1327 is probably a later invention, influenced by Edigu's assault on Moscow in 1408 (471-74). Therefore Uzbek's conversion did not have a significant impact on the character of his reign. I would argue that if someone forged Uzbek's charter in the 1540s, then his actual charter must not have survived.

Uzbek's conversion certainly did not impugn the traditional Mongol policy of religious toleration, and Tverian and Muscovite chronicles were hardly non-partisan in evaluating the actions of their respective rulers. However, Hautala's analysis treats the reconstructed Trinity Chronicle (*Troitskaia letopis'*) as if it were a text, which it is not.[4] Uzbek's sister, married to Prince Yurii Daniilovich of Moscow, was named Konchaka, not Konchak;[5] her baptismal name was Afagiia. Hautala does not take into account the broader context of Rus' attitudes toward the Chinggisids as legitimate rulers, epitomized by translating "khan" as "tsar'," the translation of the title of the Byzantine emperor, *basileus*. Because of the distinction between Rus' attitudes toward the Tatars and toward the khans, the "Tale" can be seen as neither pro- nor anti-Tatar.[6] Whether the author of the "Tale" intended to convey information about the Horde to his audience is a moot point; he *did* convey such information. On the whole, the Rus' sources provide a wealth of information on the Tatars, although undoubtedly much less than they possessed.[7] The fantastic allegation that Shcholkan intended to convert the Tvreians to Islam probably reflected not the three texts about Emir Edigu's siege of Moscow in 1408—he is not accused of trying to convert the populace of Moscow to Islam[8]—but the equally baseless accusations against Grand Prince Vasilii II during the Muscovite dynastic wars of the 1430s and 1440s.[9] Finally, even if Uzbek's conversion did not immediately alter the religious confession of all his Tatar subjects and never undermined Tatar policy toward Rus' Orthodox Christianity, his conversion to Islam definitely aided and abetted the long-term conversion of the Tatars, urban and nomadic alike, of the Jochid ulus to Islam. Every khan after Uzbek was a Muslim.

---

[4] Charles J. Halperin, "Text and Textology: Salmina's Dating of the 'Chronicle Tales' about Dmitry Donskoy," *Slavonic and East European Review* 79 (2001): 248-63.

[5] Konchak was the name of a Cuman beg in the late twelfth century, immortalized in the "Lay of the Host of Igor'" (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*) for capturing Prince Igor' Sviatoslavich.

[6] Ch. Gal'perin, *Tatarskoe igo. Obraz mongolov v srednevekevoi Rossii*, tr. M. E. Kopylova, ed. Iu. V. Seleznëv (Voronezh: Izdatel'stvo Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2012), 97-102.

[7] Charles J. Halperin, "Know Thy Enemy: Medieval Russian Familiarity with the Mongols of the Golden Horde," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 30 (1982): 161-75, reprinted in Halperin, *Russia and the Mongols: Slavs and the Steppe in Medieval and Early Modern Russia*, ed. Victor Spinei and George Bilavschi (Bucarest: Editura Academiae Romane, 2007), 43-61.

[8] Gal'perin, *Tatarskoe igo*, 161-67.

[9] In analyzing the attitudes of Russian chronicles toward the Tatars, Hautala does not engage Donald Ostrowski's paradigm. For a response to Ostrowskii see Charles J. Halperin, "Paradigms of the Image of the Mongols in Medieval Russia," in Volker Rabatzii, Alessandra Pozzi, Peter W. Geier, and John R. Krueger, ed., *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History: Tümen tümen nasulatugai: Studies in Honor of Igor de Rachewiltz on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday* (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series vol. 173; Bloomington, 2009), 53-62.

As promised, after the appearance of *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th - 14th Centuries: A Century of Interaction*, Hautala did indeed publish an anthology of annotated Russian translations of the Latin texts.[10] In his introduction, Spinei observes that "unlike West-European authors who often ignore works published in Slavic or Balkan languages, or Russian authors who confine themselves to bibliography in their own mother tongue," Hautala's linguistic capabilities enabled him to become conversant with the entire field of Mongol studies (14), for which all specialists in the Mongols, and indeed all medievalists, should be grateful.

- Charles J. Halperin

[10] *Ot "Davida, tsaria Indii" do "nenavistnogo plebsa satany": antologiia rannikh latinskikh svedenii o tataro-mongolakh* (Kazan': Mardzhani institut AN RT, 2018).

———

István Zimonyi. *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies*. Ed. Victor Spinei. Bucureşti: Editoru Academiei Române, Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzueului Brăilei, 2014. 298 pp. Abbreviations.

This anthology by the distinguished Hungarian scholar of the University of Szeged István Zimonyi contains twenty-eight articles, twenty-seven of them previously published between 1985 and 2013. Seventeen are in English, six in Russian, four in German, and one in French, demonstrating his adherence to his own maxim that without translation from Hungarian, research by Hungarian scholars "will not become part of the international literature" (230). The five thematic sections of the anthology reflect Zimonyi's evolving research interests, as outlined in the introduction by András Róna-Tas, "István Zimonyi—A Concise Portrayal" (11-12). Although the "Parts" are numbered, the articles are not. The book concludes with a list of "Abbreviations" (397). A full-page color photograph of Zimonyi graces the volume (5).

These are not facsimiles but reproductions. Neither the author nor the editor, the Romanian specialist on steppe-sedentary relations Victor Spinei, has attempted to standardize the apparatus, so in some articles book and article titles in Hungarian are translated, in others they are not. Different spellings of the same Inner Asian or Oriental names, such as Bulgar and Bulghar, remain unrationalized, but specialists will not be confused, and the lack of an index, a standard omission in an anthology, will not affect the utility of the volume. Aside from the instances mentioned below, the number of typographical and format errors in the English- and French-language articles is puny.

Part I, "Volga Bulgars," the subject of Zimonyi's English-language monograph,[1] contains eight articles. In "The First Mongol Raids against the Volga-Bulgars" (15-23), Zimonyi confirms the report of ibn-Athir that the Mongols, after defeating the Kipchaks and the Rus' in 1223, were themselves defeated by the Volga Bolgars, whose triumph lasted only until 1236, when the Mongols crushed Volga Bolgar resistance.

In "Volga Bulgars between Wind and Water (1220-1236)" (25-33), Zimonyi explores the pre-conquest period of Bulgar-Mongol relations further. The Bulgars defeated the Mongols not only in 1223 but also in 1229 and 1232. However, during this period the Vladimir-Suzdalian Rus' princes annexed Mordvin territory that was part of the Bulgar realm. Zimonyi argues that the Bulgars considered the Mongols a greater threat than the Rus' and therefore did not respond to the Rus' territorial advance. Given Bulgar connections to Central Asia, their knowledge of the Mongols would indeed have given them a better appreciation of the Mongol danger than the Rus' had; after 1223 the Rus' thought that the Mongols had gone away for good. Unbeknownst to me, "between the wind and the water" is a nautical expression for "at a vulnerable point" or "in the crossfire." This article is enhanced by maps showing Eastern European trade and campaign routes and a "Chronology" which serves as an appendix.

In "Volga Bulghars and Islam" (35-40), Zimonyi writes that "The adoption of a world religion is always a political decision" (25). Here he analyzes

[1] István Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulghars* (Szeged: University of Szeged Press, 1990).

As promised, after the appearance of *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th - 14th Centuries: A Century of Interaction*, Hautala did indeed publish an anthology of annotated Russian translations of the Latin texts.[10] In his introduction, Spinei observes that "unlike West-European authors who often ignore works published in Slavic or Balkan languages, or Russian authors who confine themselves to bibliography in their own mother tongue," Hautala's linguistic capabilities enabled him to become conversant with the entire field of Mongol studies (14), for which all specialists in the Mongols, and indeed all medievalists, should be grateful.

- Charles J. Halperin

[10] *Ot "Davida, tsaria Indii" do "nenavistnogo plebsa satany": antologiia rannikh latinskikh svedenii o tataro-mongolakh* (Kazan': Mardzhani institut AN RT, 2018).

———

István Zimonyi. *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies*. Ed. Victor Spinei. Bucureşti: Editoru Academiei Române, Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzueului Brăilei, 2014. 298 pp. Abbreviations.

This anthology by the distinguished Hungarian scholar of the University of Szeged István Zimonyi contains twenty-eight articles, twenty-seven of them previously published between 1985 and 2013. Seventeen are in English, six in Russian, four in German, and one in French, demonstrating his adherence to his own maxim that without translation from Hungarian, research by Hungarian scholars "will not become part of the international literature" (230). The five thematic sections of the anthology reflect Zimonyi's evolving research interests, as outlined in the introduction by András Róna-Tas, "István Zimonyi—A Concise Portrayal" (11-12). Although the "Parts" are numbered, the articles are not. The book concludes with a list of "Abbreviations" (397). A full-page color photograph of Zimonyi graces the volume (5).

These are not facsimiles but reproductions. Neither the author nor the editor, the Romanian specialist on steppe-sedentary relations Victor Spinei, has attempted to standardize the apparatus, so in some articles book and article titles in Hungarian are translated, in others they are not. Different spellings of the same Inner Asian or Oriental names, such as Bulgar and Bulghar, remain unrationalized, but specialists will not be confused, and the lack of an index, a standard omission in an anthology, will not affect the utility of the volume. Aside from the instances mentioned below, the number of typographical and format errors in the English- and French-language articles is puny.

Part I, "Volga Bulgars," the subject of Zimonyi's English-language monograph,[1] contains eight articles. In "The First Mongol Raids against the Volga-Bulgars" (15-23), Zimonyi confirms the report of ibn-Athir that the Mongols, after defeating the Kipchaks and the Rus' in 1223, were themselves defeated by the Volga Bolgars, whose triumph lasted only until 1236, when the Mongols crushed Volga Bolgar resistance.

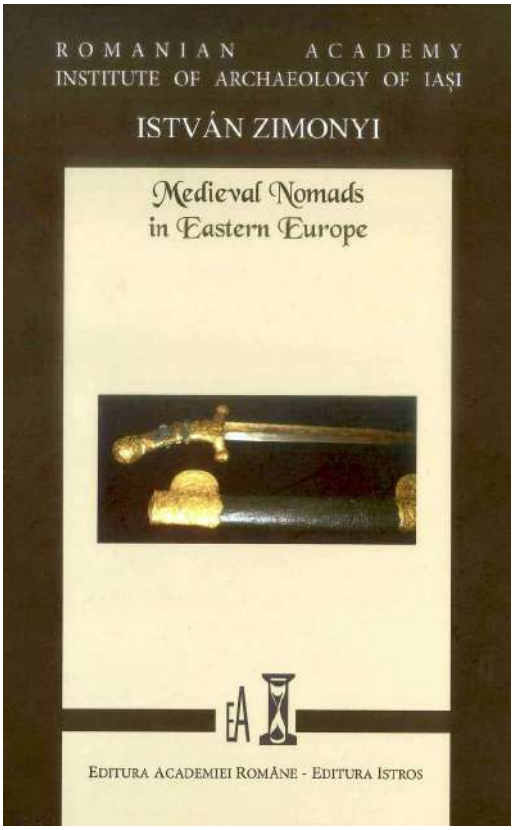
In "Volga Bulgars between Wind and Water (1220-1236)" (25-33), Zimonyi explores the pre-conquest period of Bulgar-Mongol relations further. The Bulgars defeated the Mongols not only in 1223 but also in 1229 and 1232. However, during this period the Vladimir-Suzdalian Rus' princes annexed Mordvin territory that was part of the Bulgar realm. Zimonyi argues that the Bulgars considered the Mongols a greater threat than the Rus' and therefore did not respond to the Rus' territorial advance. Given Bulgar connections to Central Asia, their knowledge of the Mongols would indeed have given them a better appreciation of the Mongol danger than the Rus' had; after 1223 the Rus' thought that the Mongols had gone away for good. Unbeknownst to me, "between the wind and the water" is a nautical expression for "at a vulnerable point" or "in the crossfire." This article is enhanced by maps showing Eastern European trade and campaign routes and a "Chronology" which serves as an appendix.

In "Volga Bulghars and Islam" (35-40), Zimonyi writes that "The adoption of a world religion is always a political decision" (25). Here he analyzes

[1] István Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulghars* (Szeged: University of Szeged Press, 1990).

the internal and external factors that led the Bulgars to choose Islam. Their connections to Central Asia and desire to distinguish themselves from the Khazars, whose official religion was Judaism, figured prominently in their choice.

"The Towns of the Volga Bulgars in the Sources (10-13th Century)" (41-47) discusses Latin, Muslim, and Rus' sources. The towns of the Bulgar Empire arose from commerce and Islamization, but did not reach their height until the fourteenth century under Mongol rule. The sources do not permit conclusive identification of the Bulgar capital cities; the correlation of urban names in different sources and languages also cannot be definitively established. Zimonyi points out that the Volga Bolgars developed no written or oral historical tradition, so Volga Bulgar history must be written from foreign written sources.



"Volzhskaia Bolgariia i volzhskii put'" (49-55) analyzes the western Eurasian river system, the names given the Volga River and its other rivers in various, especially Turkic, languages, and information on Volga Bulgar commercial ties to Central Asia conveyed in legends associated with the Volga River.

"Znachenie volzhskogo puti v istorii volzhskikh bolgar" (57-63) continues the study of the connection between the Volga Bulgars and the Volga River. Zimonyi labels the name of the "Danube Bulgars" a misnomer because the Danube Bulgars arrived in the Balkans not from Volga Bulgaria but from north of the Black Sea. The Volga Bulgars were tied to the Volga River not just by name; the entire history of the Volga Bulgars depended upon Volga trade. The key turning point in that trade was the shift in trade routes by the Saminids of Khorezm from the lower Volga through Khazar territory to overland from Central Asia to the Middle Volga River and the Volga Bulgars. After the influence of the Khazars declined, Volga Bulgars established a colony on the lower Volga.

"Zarubezhnaia istoriografiia" (65-77) (of the history of the Volga Bulgars) appeared in *Istoriia tatar s dreveneishkikh vremen*, v. II (Kazan', 2006), which is now also available in English. It is a masterful survey which includes scholarship in Polish, Turkish, and Bulgarian, in addition to the usual suspects. He includes studies of archaeology and linguistics. Zimonyi details all complete or partial publications and translations of all relevant sources in all languages. Not only did the Volga Bulgars not patronize their own written histories; in fact, no written sources from Volga Bulgars survive from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.[2]

"Zapadnoevropeiskie pis'mennye istochniki o Bulgarakh" (79-82) covers some of the material in the previous article on Latin sources but also discusses Constantine Porphyrogenitus in Greek.

Part II, "Early Hungarians," contains ten articles, the most of any "Part," over a third of the articles in the anthology and over 40% of the pages of the anthology (83-248, 166 of 397 pages).

"Préhistoire hongroise: méthodes de recherche et vue d'ensemble" (85-98), translated from Hungarian by Chantal Philippe, elaborates Zimonyi's methodological premises. He emphasizes the limitations of historical linguistics, physical anthropology, and ethnography in examining the pre-history of the Magyars. The linguistic and archaeological evidence does not correlate. In passing he alludes to the major focus of several of his source studies, the inextant "Geography" of Dja-

[2] Zimonyi notes that a University of Szeged dissertation on eighth- to tenth-century Eastern European trade by Szabolcs Polgár (*Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe* provides only the Russian transliteration of the author's name, S. Polgar) will soon be published in Hungarian. I wish to thank Professor Zimonyi for kindly providing me with the author's name in Hungarian.

jhani (Ǧayhānī, Gayhani), a tenth-century Samanid wazier, which can be reconstructed from later Arabic and Persian sources, Ibn Rusta, Gardizi, Marvai, and al-Bakri, which he terms the "Ǧayhānī tradition."[3] Zimonyi observes that the Hungarians could not have asserted their independence from the Khazars at the time of their invasion of Pannonia because they had not yet elevated their rulers to the status of khaqan, the imperial title of the Khazar monarch.

"The Concept of Nomadic Polity in the Hungarian Chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' De Administrando imperio" (99-108) compares Porphyrongeitus's terminology to that in the Orkhon inscriptions from the Second Türk Empire. With the assistance of S. Szadeczky-Kardos of the University of Szeged, he pays due attention to the appearance of the Slavic loan word *zakon* (law) in the Greek text, meaning Turkic *törü*, "way of life." The political institutions of the Türk Empire passed down to the Hungarians via the Khazars. The Hungarian relocation to Pannonia broke their close ties to the Turkic peoples.

The answer to the question of "Why were the Hungarians Referred to as Turks in the Early Muslim Sources?" (109-21) is because the Byzantine sources referred to the Hungarians as Turks. From the name of the Türk Empire the word "Turk" began as an ethnic term, then expanded to cover all peoples speaking Turkic languages living the same lifestyle. Because a small group of Hungarians lived together with the Turkic Bashkirs, they became known as Turks, and then Bashkirs as well, in Muslim and Latin sources.

"Vengry v Volgo-Kamskom basseine?" (123-63) is the longest article in the anthology (41 pages). It is actually a series of separate studies united around the subject of the early history or pre-history of the Hungarians. Zimonyi impugns any attempt to locate the Hungarian Urheimat (*prarodina*) because the "Hungarians" did not yet exist at the time they supposedly lived in those regions. He therefore calls the area the Volga-Kama Basin instead. Ninth-century written sources locate the Hungarians north of the Black Sea, but no archeological evidence confirms that location. Linguistics supposedly shows that ca. 500 BCE the Hungarians lived between the Ob' and Middle Volga Region, but the "Hungarians" did not become a people until over a thousand years later when the stability of Khazar Pax and the pressure of the Pechenegs forced the formation of a Hungarian people and compelled their migration to the Carpathian basin. Linguistic groups, no more than archaeological cultures, should not be confused with ethnic groups; the peoples who spoke a Hungarian language were not the Hungarian "people." Neither the Yugra region in Rus' sources nor the Volga-Ob' estuary were the Urheimat of the Hungarians. The only link between the Bulgars and the Hungarians is that both lived near the Khazars.

"A New Muslim Source on the Hungarians in the Second Half of the 10th Century" (165-73) returns to Gayhani, as preserved in a Muslim source from tenth-century Spain. Zimonyi details the role of Muslim merchants in Cordoba in Andalusia, which would have enabled al-Bakri to have access to a Samanid source. A Hungarian raid in Spain in 942 would have inspired interest in them by Muslims in Spain.

"Voennye sily vengrov pri obretenii rodiny: kolichestvo voinov srednevekovykh kochevykh evraziskikh stepei" (175-89) utilizes data on the size of medieval Inner Asian nomadic armies to evaluate the size of the army deployed by the Hungarians, summarized in tabular form. A reference to the two tümen of the Hungarians cannot be taken literally as indicating they disposed of 20,000 warriors, because later Mongol evidence attests that a *tümen* did not always mobilize 10,000 troops. However, it is clear that the Hungarians mobilized enough soldiers to conquer the Carpathian basin, to stand off the Franks and periodically the Byzantines, and after their conversion to Christianity, to constitute a major power in Europe for centuries. This article contains a very confusing reference to an army of King Bela IV of Hungary of "60-70 men (*chelovek*)" (183), a typographical error. The word "thousand" (*tysiach*) was omitted.[4]

"Das eingegrabene Land. Ein arabische Volksetymologie der ungarischen Selbstbezeichnung" (191-

[3] This source complex also illuminates the history of the Pechenegs; see below.

[4] I am grateful to Professor Zimonyi for providing the correct wording.

203) takes a primarily linguistic approach to the various forms of the word "Magyar." Muslim writers interpreted the Hungarian self-identification by invoking a phonetic similarity to the Arabic word for "to dig," and, drawing upon the legend of Gog and Magog and the Alexander the Great legend, turned the homeland of the Magyars into the "Buried Land" (my approximate translation).

"The Hungarian Passage of the Ǧayhānī-Tradition" (205-13) constitutes a comprehensive textual analysis of the Persian, Arabic, and Turkic versions of Ǧayhānī's description of the Hungarians, examining the variations in each version individually and then reconstructing the original text and identifying all interpolations. Ǧayhānī presented geographic, political, and sociological information, including the Hungarians' dual kingship, 20,000 warriors, and a tribal confederation consisting of seven to ten tribes and affiliated peoples. This article is severely marred by the omission of the last 35 lines of its original publication.[5]

"The State of the Research on the Prehistory of the Hungarians. Historiography (Oriental Sources, History of the Steppe)" (215-37) is another superb synthesis of the sources and historiography on the early Hungarians that abounds in rich insights and observations. The main channels from which sources about the Hungarians emanated were Samanid Transoxiana, the Caucasus (especially after the Khazars made peace with the Muslim world in 750), and Cordova in Andalusia. Zimonyi discusses Muslim (Arabic, New-Persian, and Turkic in Arabic script), Armenian, Hebrew, and runic Turkic sources. He emphasizes that the Hungarians are a people speaking a Uralic-Altaic language, not a "Uralic-Altaic people," which misleadingly mixes linguistics and ethnography. The formation of the Hungarian people was a long process that lasted from the fourth to the ninth centuries, beginning, according to different scholars, in one of three settlement areas, the North shore of the Black Sea, in proximity to the Caucasus,[6] or the Volga-Kama basin (as indicated above, Zimonyi's choice). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Hungarian historians debated the Turkic Hunnic or Finno-Ugrian ethnogenesis of the Hungarians, a debate strongly influenced by the pretensions of the Hungarian nobility to be the Hungarian people, which influenced the views of opponents of the nobility and proponents of capitalist development in Hungary. By the 1960s Hungarian Marxism was purely formal. Zimonyi concludes incontrovertibly that early Hungarian history is inseparable from the history of Eurasian nomads, to which Hungarian scholars have made major contributions.

"Von Ural ins Karpaten-Becken. Die Grundzüge der ungarishcen Frühgeschichte" (239-48), the last article on early Hungarians, opines inter alia that stereotypes of the pagan barbarian nomads still persist in German scholarship and that the issue of the Judaism of the Khazars has been politicized (which is an understatement). The main features of early Hungarian history include the roles of the Khazars and Pechenegs. The homogenization of the Hungarian people could not and would not have occurred without Khazar political stability and Pecheneg pressure.

Part III, "Nomads of Eastern Europe," contains four articles. Zimonyi begins "Bulgars and Oghurs" (251-69) by noting the these two ethnonyms are used as collective terms for the two principle Turkic-language groups, Common Turkic and Chuvash type, but that their cognate languages do not make the Bulghars and Oghurs kindred peoples. Moreover, an ethnonym cannot determine the language of the people it designates. Therefore it is erroneous to infer that ethnonyms which include Oguz or Ogur, such as the White Ogurs (Saragur), Ten Ogurs (Onogur), Nine Ogurs (Kutrigur), or Thirty Ogurs (Utigur) all spoke Chuvash/Bulgar Turkic. He then proceeds to a highly detailed narrative of both peoples from the 5th century to the arrival of the Mongols. Zimonyi characterizes the Volga Bulgars as the only Eastern European Muslim state before the Golden Horde, an intriguing observation that rests upon an unspoken definition of the eastern geographic boundary of "Europe."

"The Nomadic Factor in Medieval European History" (271-80) succinctly and effectively makes the point that historiography has neglected the role of nomadic tribal confederacies in European history.

[5] See *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, Unviersity of Szeged* 5 (2005), 170 for the missing text.

[6] Zimonyi's text (225) reads "pre-Caucasus," which I take to be a hyper-literal translation from Russian *prikavkaz'e*, the "near-Caucasus region."

The Roman and Germanic peoples dominated only the first phase of European history; the nomads, Slavs, and Vikings dominated the second. Europe consisted not only of the Mediterranean coast and the forest but also the steppe.

"Islam and Medieval Eastern Europe" (281-86) is a concise narrative overview of the competition of the three Mediterranean religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) for adherents in Eastern Europe. Zimonyi might have indicated that Muslims continued to influence early modern and modern Eastern Europe too, certainly in Lithuania and Muscovy/Russia, and if the concept of "Eastern Europe" is broadened to include the Balkans, Bosnia in particular, and all areas conquered by the Ottomans in general.

"The Chapter on the Jayhānī-tradition on the Pechenegs" (287-301) is a companion piece to "The Hungarian Passage of the Ğayhānī-Tradition," analyzing each text in the tradition individually and then reconstructing the original, in this case in two redactions, short and long. Ğayhānī's "Geography" discussed the road from Khwarezm to the Pechenegs, their nomadic way of life, the size of their "country," their neighbors, goods, and weapons, and the road from the Pechenegs to the Khazars. Because Ğayhānī located the Pechenegs east of the Volga River, he must have written before 894. Zimonyi makes the astute observation that Ğayhānī's description of Pecheneg nomadism projects bedouin nomadic elements onto the Eurasian steppe, namely following rain in the winter and navigating by the stars, as well as applying Quranic references inappropriate for the non-Muslim Pechenegs. That the Pechenegs made war on all their neighbors testifies to the fact that they were independent. Eventually the Pechenegs were assimilated by other nomadic peoples.

Part IV, "Mongols," contains three articles. "Die Aussage eines mongolischen Kriegsgefangenen zur Zeit der Belagerung von Kiev in Jahre 1240" (305-17) addresses the list in a Rus' chronicle of Chinggisids and Mongol generals besieging Kiev (Kyiv) in 1240 as given by a Mongol captive, Tovrul (Tavrul). Zimonyi provides a genealogical stemma of the Chinggisids, traces this passage in all Rus' chronicles, and compares their names in Slavonic, Arabic, Persian, and Latin sources. He infers that Tovrul may have been a Kipchak, like Plano Carpinin's interpreter.[7] Zimonyi's comments that the generosity of the Mongols toward the defeated and wounded commander of the Kiev garrison, Dmitro, whose life was spared, was conspicuously absent in the Mongol treatment of defeated rulers, who were mercilessly pursued unto death. Of course, the defeated rulers had run away, hardly a demonstration of courage.

A previous and un-cited discussion of this passage did not incorporate Latin and Oriental sources on these names.[8] Zimonyi reproduced Plano Carpini's observation that only 200 houses were left standing in Kiev after its capture without citing or taking into account Donald Ostrowski's argument that this figure was interpolated into the second redaction of Plano Carpini's work.[9] Zimonyi referred to the correspondence between the Mongols and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, which has since been the subject of considerable research by Aleksandr Maiorov.[10] However, Maiorov accepts the credibility of a narrative in which the Mongols offered Frederick an alliance instead of the usual Mongol ultimatum of submission or death, which severely impugns its credibility. Zimonyi does not consider the possibility that the respect the Mongols showed Dmitro, even if consistent with that of Batu toward Evpatii in the "Tale of the Destruction of Riazan'," might be a literary flourish.[11]

"Ibn Batuta on the First Wife of Özbek Khan" (319-24) concludes that ibn Batuta's informant linked the ring in Taybughi's vagina to Solomon's ring of wisdom and to Quranic and Islamic legend.

The previously unpublished "The Mongol Campaigns against Eastern Europe" (325-52) is written in a very clear narrative and capped by a "Chronology" appendix. Zimonyi observes that the Mongols

[7] Therefore "Mongol" in the title of the article (Mongol prisoner-of-war) was not a narrow ethnic term but refers to everyone in the Mongol (in the Rus' chronicle, "Tatar") army.
[8] Charles J. Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke* (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, Inc. 1986), 44-45. In 2001, Zimonyi could not cite the second edition of this book from 2009.
[9] Donald Ostrowski, "Second-Redaction Additions to Carpini's *Ystoria Mongolorum*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* XIV:3/4 (1990): 522-50.
[10] Aleksandr Maiorov, "Zavoevatel'nyi pokhod v Tsentral'nuiu Evropu: voennaia sila i tainaia diplomatiia," in *Zolotaia orda v mirovoi istorii* (Kazan: Institut istorii im. S. Mardzhani AN RT, 2016), 113-37.
[11] Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke*, 39-43.

attacked the steppe in summer and the forest in winter when they could easily traverse frozen rivers. He agrees with scholars who have concluded that the Mongol campaign west of the Dnieper (Dnipro) River into Poland, Silesia, and Hungary was not part of their original plan, but was added to the Mongol agenda after 1240. He relates the "anti-Tatar tone" of the Novgorod chronicle to the fact that the city was not captured by the Mongols. He argues that the conquest of Galicia and Volhynia was not important in and of itself but merely necessary to achieve the "most important goal" (341) of the campaign, the invasion of Hungary, to chase both refugee Kipchaks[12] and Grand Prince Mikhail of Kiev (later martyred at the Golden Horde after he returned from exile). The Golden Horde became a determining factor in the history of Eastern Europe for the next two centuries.

Novgorod was never captured because the Mongols did not need to capture it. The first Mongols to arrive in Novgorod were census-takers and tax-collectors, not scouts ahead of a Mongol army, which means that the city had already capitulated to Mongol rule. Zimonyi is certainly correct that possession of Galicia-Volynia facilitated the invasion of Hungary, but just as importantly it also helped establish a buffer zone between the forest and the Mongol nomadic base in the Pontic steppe.

Part V, "Miscellanea," contains three articles. "The Concept of Nation as Interpreted by Jenö Szüces" (355-61) is an intriguing and stimulating "think piece." It explores the contrast between medieval and modern concepts of "nation" through the lens of the "pioneering" publications of Jenö Szüces. Before the modern period a person could belong to different nations, there was no equality before the law of all members of a nation, the concept did not depend on a political organization or state, and loyalty to the nation was subordinated to various political and religious loyalties. In the early Middle Ages society was relatively homogeneous, stratified but with a free majority population, ruled by a strong monarch, and sharing a common language. Szüces drew a distinction between "politically organized societies" and "political societies." The medieval "nation" was comprised only of nobility. The most significant contribution of Szüces to the study of the "nation" was not his conclusions, but his premise that "nationalism" is an historical category, and "nation" and "nationalism" needed to be studied from the historical point of view.

"*Bodun* and *El* im Frühmittelalter" (363-86) explores two key concepts of medieval Turkic polities, using primarily the Orkhon Türk inscriptions.[13] Both terms carried multiple meanings. The primary meaning of *bodun* was *Gentilverband*, an organized tribal community, nomadic confederation, or ethnic community; the word derives from the Latin *gens* and *gentium*, hence the noun *gentilism*. A *bodun* fused political limits with ethnic kinship. Its secondary meaning was *Volk*, people. An *el* was a distinct political realm, *Reich*, to which one or more *bodun* were subordinated, usually ruled by a kagan. Zimonyi meticulously enumerates other definitions ascribed to these terms; to *bodun*, clan, ulus, elite; to *el*, Pax, imperium. Following Szüces, Zimonyi rejects a translation of *el* as "state," because the concept is an abstraction, and abstraction was alien to the medieval Türks. He relates *bodun* to legends of descent from a common ancestor and *el* to the concept of *törü*. Another secondary meaning of *bodun* was "subjects," so it could be equivalent to *el*. Zimonyi conceptualizes the history of the Türks on the basis of the evolving applicability of the two concepts to different periods of Türk history.

The final article in this "Part" and in the anthology, "Notes on the Difference between Bedouin and Inner Asiatic Nomadism" (387-95) tries to explain a basic contrast: Arabs and nomads each created empires, but only the Arabs created a new civilization and a new world religion (the bedouin role in the creation of Islam was minimal). Khazanov insisted that there were only quantitative, not qualitative differences between Near East bedouins and Eurasian nomads, but Zimonyi apparently disagrees. Nomads lost their ethnic affiliation when

[12] Zimonyi does not cite Charles J. Halperin, "The Kipchak Connection: the Ilkhans, the Mamluks, and Ayn Jalut," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63:2 (2000): 229-45, which presumably appeared before Zimonyi wrote his article.

[13] I wish to express my sincerest appreciation to Peter Golden for consultation on these concepts and for providing me with a text of a later article by Zimonyi, "Changing Perceptions of Türk Identity among the Medieval Nomads of Central Asia," *Studie Orientalia Electronica* 6 (2018), 879-89, which greatly improved by understanding of *bodun*.

they moved to cities, but bedouins did not. Bedouins were not self-sufficient, so they had to trade with cities or conquer them, but the situation for nomads was more complicated. Nomads at the tribal level and sedentary people at the village level were self-sufficient except during plagues and famines. However, unlike bedouins, nomads had a third option, the forest. Nomads could build forest-steppe empires, and sedentarize only in extreme situations. However, when the Arabs settled down, they could reach a "higher cultural level" (393).

This is a thought-provoking article which deserves wide discussion. I will confine myself to a few tentative remarks. I distrust notions of "higher" and "lower" cultural levels. Certainly, Thomas Allsen and others have shown that the Mongols, who created the largest and most successful Eurasian nomadic empire in history, created their own material imperial culture. The Rus' lived in the forest, where their cities were located, so the distinction between forest and city that Zimonyi seems to be espousing might require qualification. I would suggest that the difference between Inner Asian empires and the bedouin/Arab empire is that the founders of the former, including Chinggis, like the bedouin, did not found a religion, but Muhammed did. This contrast may have been more important than the geographic factors that Zimonyi adumbrates.

Clearly, the question Zimonyi raises in his final article further illustrates the premise of the anthology, that the history of Eurasian nomads sheds light on the history of the sedentary societies surrounding the steppe.

Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies is a first-rate collection of articles by a first-rate scholar. Everyone in Inner Asian studies should be familiar with István Zimonyi's publications. One hopes that this anthology will make it more convenient for scholars in Inner Asian studies to access his research.

- Charles J. Halperin

———

Christoph Baumer and Mirko Novák, eds. *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries. Proceedings of the First International Congress on Central Asian Archaeology Held at the University of Bern, 4–6 February 2016.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019 x + 464 pp.

This richly illustrated volume, published by Harrassowitz Verlag, represents the proceedings of an international conference held in Bern in 2016. The conference, jointly organized by the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia (Switzerland) and the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the University of Bern, brought together thirty-five archaeologists who work in different countries of Central Asia.

The twenty-six conference papers are organized according to modern political geography into four sections encompassing five countries that were formerly Soviet republics: Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan/Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. The boundaries of prehistoric and historic cultures and modern political borders rarely coincide, and the latter often prevent scholars from obtaining a broader perspective. However the editors' intention in this case was to offer an opportunity to see a cross-section of much of the current research.

The origins and characteristics of urbanism, urban places, and the associated problem of the origins of the state in prehistoric times are issues that have attracted scholarly attention for well over a century. The development of archaeological research in Central Asia certainly provides a good basis for discussion of similar issues from a regional perspective. However, it is still difficult to define an individual archaeological site (not only Central Asian) as an urban or non-urban settlement because the size, form, and function of cities vary among different traditions, as well as within individual past urban traditions. Some scholars, including F.T. Hiebert and Ph.L.Kohl, have even questioned the application of the concept of urbanism in Central Asia. Hiebert (1992: 111) suggests that a special, regionally specific definition of urbanism should instead be used for Central Asia,

they moved to cities, but bedouins did not. Bedouins were not self-sufficient, so they had to trade with cities or conquer them, but the situation for nomads was more complicated. Nomads at the tribal level and sedentary people at the village level were self-sufficient except during plagues and famines. However, unlike bedouins, nomads had a third option, the forest. Nomads could build forest-steppe empires, and sedentarize only in extreme situations. However, when the Arabs settled down, they could reach a "higher cultural level" (393).

This is a thought-provoking article which deserves wide discussion. I will confine myself to a few tentative remarks. I distrust notions of "higher" and "lower" cultural levels. Certainly, Thomas Allsen and others have shown that the Mongols, who created the largest and most successful Eurasian nomadic empire in history, created their own material imperial culture. The Rus' lived in the forest, where their cities were located, so the distinction between forest and city that Zimonyi seems to be espousing might require qualification. I would suggest that the difference between Inner Asian empires and the bedouin/Arab empire is that the founders of the former, including Chinggis, like the bedouin, did not found a religion, but Muhammed did. This contrast may have been more important than the geographic factors that Zimonyi adumbrates.

Clearly, the question Zimonyi raises in his final article further illustrates the premise of the anthology, that the history of Eurasian nomads sheds light on the history of the sedentary societies surrounding the steppe.

Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies is a first-rate collection of articles by a first-rate scholar. Everyone in Inner Asian studies should be familiar with István Zimonyi's publications. One hopes that this anthology will make it more convenient for scholars in Inner Asian studies to access his research.

- Charles J. Halperin

———

Christoph Baumer and Mirko Novák, eds. *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries. Proceedings of the First International Congress on Central Asian Archaeology Held at the University of Bern, 4–6 February 2016.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019 x + 464 pp.

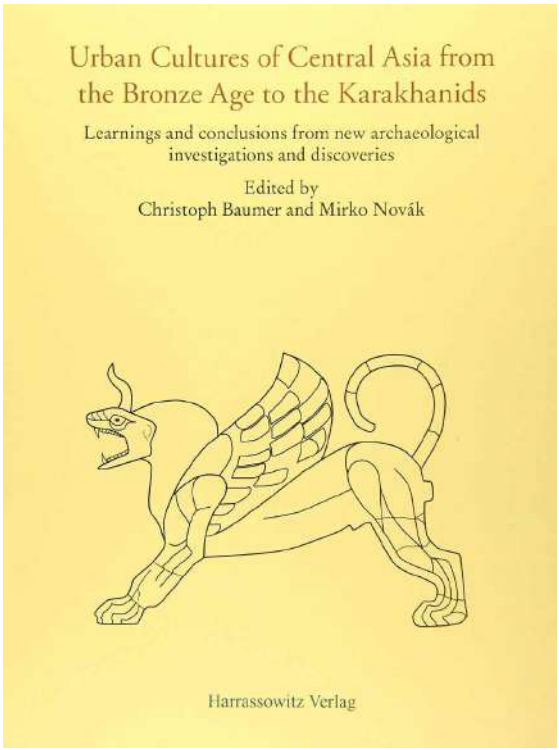
This richly illustrated volume, published by Harrassowitz Verlag, represents the proceedings of an international conference held in Bern in 2016. The conference, jointly organized by the Society for the Exploration of EurAsia (Switzerland) and the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the University of Bern, brought together thirty-five archaeologists who work in different countries of Central Asia.

The twenty-six conference papers are organized according to modern political geography into four sections encompassing five countries that were formerly Soviet republics: Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan/Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. The boundaries of prehistoric and historic cultures and modern political borders rarely coincide, and the latter often prevent scholars from obtaining a broader perspective. However the editors' intention in this case was to offer an opportunity to see a cross-section of much of the current research.

The origins and characteristics of urbanism, urban places, and the associated problem of the origins of the state in prehistoric times are issues that have attracted scholarly attention for well over a century. The development of archaeological research in Central Asia certainly provides a good basis for discussion of similar issues from a regional perspective. However, it is still difficult to define an individual archaeological site (not only Central Asian) as an urban or non-urban settlement because the size, form, and function of cities vary among different traditions, as well as within individual past urban traditions. Some scholars, including F.T. Hiebert and Ph.L.Kohl, have even questioned the application of the concept of urbanism in Central Asia. Hiebert (1992: 111) suggests that a special, regionally specific definition of urbanism should instead be used for Central Asia,

while Kohl (2007: 10-14) encourages rejection of neo-evolutionary approaches and the reconsideration of whether the terms "urban" or "city" can even apply to the Inner Eurasia and Central Asia of the early periods.[1] Others have adopted a new definition of cities based on their social impact. This "functional" approach is also present in some of papers of the present volume.

It is impossible to discuss in detail all (or even most of) the papers within the limitations of this review. Instead, I will highlight some of the papers that caught my attention, with a focus on those that deal with a constant in the history of Central Asia: the political and cultural interplay between nomadic and settled peoples.



In the section titled "Turkmenistan," L. B. Kircho provides an overview of the results of many years of archaeological excavation at Altyn-Depe ("Altyn–Depe. The Formation of the Earliest Urban Centre in Central Asia," pp. 9-28), a settlement that certainly merits the designation "city" even in the canonical sense. The author focuses on two stages in the formation of the first real urban center in the region, which took place during the Late Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age. The next paper, by N. Dubova ("Gonur Depe – City of Kings and Gods, and the Capital of Margush Country (Modern Turkmenistan): its Discovery by Professor Victor Sarianidi and Recent Finds," pp. 29-54), summarizes the major discoveries at Gonur and presents anthropological data obtained during the excavations of the Gonur cemetery. This information, together with the report on a large-scale magnetometer survey by C. Hübner, M. Novák and S. Winkelmann ("The Swiss IAW-EurAsia Project on Urban Development and Land Use in Gonur Depe (Turkmenistan): A Geo-Magnetic Survey," pp. 55-62), will be crucial to any attempt to diagnose the socio-political structure of the Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) and to our understanding of the function of Gonur itself. The end of Bronze Age culture saw an intensification of contacts with the steppe cultures—a topic discussed by B. Cersasetti et al. ("Bronze and Iron Age Urbanisation in Turkmenistan: Preliminary Results from the Excavation of Togolok 1 on the Murghab Alluvial Fan," pp. 63-72).

In the section titled "Uzbekistan," J. Lhuillier ("The Settlement Pattern in Central Asia during the Early Iron Age," pp. 115-28) sheds light on the possible mobility of Iron Age village populations (Dzharkutan and Burgut Kurgan) and their interactions with steppe pastorals. In the same section, F. Kidds and S. Stark ("Urbanism in Antique Sogdiana? A View from the Bukhara Oasis," pp. 163-84) discuss the antique period of Bukhara, "an oasis without cities," and suggest the necessity of reconceptualizing traditional dichotomies (e.g., urban vs. rural, sedentary vs. nomadic, center vs. periphery) in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of pre-modern Central Asian society. The data collected during many years of research from the Uzbek-Italian Expedition in an oasis south of Samarkand allows S. Mantellini to posit complex interactions between the city of Samarkand and its surroundings ("Urbanscape vs. Landscape, or Urbanscape as Landscape? A Case from Ancient Samarkand (Sogdiana)," pp. 185-202).

Delving further into the complexities of Central Asian urbanism, F. Maksudov's et al. in-depth paper ("Nomadic Urbanism at Tashbulak: A New Highland Town of the Karakhanids," pp. 283-306) considers unique features of the Karakhanid city of Tashbulak, which is situated high in the Malguzar Mountains of eastern Uzbekistan. Just like lowland

[1] See Fredrik T. Hiebert, "The Oasis and City of Merv (Turkmenistan)," *Archeologie Islamique* 3 (1992): 111–27; and Philip L. Kohl, *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

cities of the Karakhanid period, Tashbulak consists of a two-part citadel, *ribāt*, and necropolis. However, the lack of a residential quarter, according to the authors, suggests that Tashbulak served as a political and craft center and functioned as a site of religious identity for the nomadic population.

The third section, titled "Tajikistan/Kyrgyzstan," contains reports on various field projects. Some of them have very little to do with the theme of urban culture.

In the fourth and final section, G. L. Bonora presents and discusses some results of new and old research in the Inner Syr Darya Delta ("Inner Syr Darya Delta Archaeological Sites during the Second Half of the 1st Millennium BCE: An Analysis of the Settlement Pattern," pp. 387-402). Based on the demographic/sociological definition of urbanism, the author concludes that none of the large and complex settlements of the Chirik Rabat culture (Chirik Rabat, Babish Mulla, Balandy, and Sengir Tam) could be considered as an urban center—an opinion with which not all scholars will agree. K.M. Baipakov ("Kuiryktobe: The Site of Ancient Keder," pp. 403-14) presents the site of Kuiryktobe, which is identified with the medieval town of Keder. The excavation on the citadel and on the *shahristan* of Kuiryktobe indicate that from the 7th century the settlement functioned as the regional urban center.

All told, the volume is a welcome contribution to Central Asian urbanism studies.

- Barbara Kaim

———

Journal and Conference Notices

Literature & History of the Western Regions

西域文史

Vol. XII (June 2018)

Zhu Yuqi Editor-in-Chief

Contents

Vol. XIII (June 2019)

Contents

Bulletin of the Asia Institute

Vol. 29 (2019)

Contents

Before the Silk Road:
Eurasian Interactions in the First Millennium BC

Hengstberger International Symposium

Heidelberg

October 28-29, 2019

Organized by Dr. Lianming Wang, Institute of East Asian Art History, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Monday, October 28

Welcoming remarks
Prof. Dr. Peter Comba, Director of IWH, and Mr. Klaus-Georg Hengstberger, Sponsor of the Klaus-Georg and Sigrid Hengstberger Award

Keynote speech
The Steppe, the Mountains, the Arc and Central China, Interactions and Resistance
Prof. Dr. Dame Jessica Rawson, University of Oxford

Panel I: Connectivity and Interactions

Chair: Prof. Dr. Enno Giele, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Interaction between China's Great Wall Area and the Steppe in the First Millennium BC
Prof. Dr. Jianhua Yang, Jilin University, Changchun; with English translation by Lokman Yang, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Inner Asia and China – Tracing Connectivity in the First Millennium BC
Dr. Ursula Brosseder, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

Nomads of the Steppe Zone of Eurasia and Northern China at the End of the Second and the Beginning of the First Millennium BC
Dr. Konstantin Chugunov, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; with English translation by Dr. Maxim Korolkov, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

The Southern Contact Zone, Empire-Building, and Economic Change in China's Early Imperial Era: Some Preliminary Observations
Dr. Maxim Korolkov, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
Discussant: Prof. Dr. Anke Hein, University of Oxford

Panel II: Entangled Materialities and Living Legacies

Chair: Senior Prof. Dr. Lothar Ledderose, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

'Ganbei' Along the Eastern Rim of the Tibetan Plateau: Dou-

ble-handled Jars and Their Uses in Bronze Age Western China
Prof. Dr. Anke Hein, University of Oxford

The Silk Road Fashion: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Textile Ornaments
Xuansu Zhang, Freie Universität Berlin

Leather-working in Iron Age China and Inner Asia in Light of the Latest Archaeological Research and the Artificers' Record (Kaogong-ji)
Dr. Annie Chan, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, and the Centre de Recherche sur les Civilisations de l'Asie Orientale, Paris

Was There A 'Bamboo Route' Before Zhang Qian Arrived in Bactria?
Dr. Shengguang Tan, Tsinghua University Art Museum, Peking

Metalwork with Fluted Decoration from the Warring States to the Middle Western Han Dynasty
Dr. Jie Yin, Nanjing University

Discussant: Prof. Dr. Alain Thote, Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris End of discussion & short break

Special Evening Lecture
Beyond the Central Plains: Reflections on Dynamics of Chinese Civilization
Prof. Dr. LaoZhu (Qingsheng Zhu), Peking University; followed by a conversation with Prof. Dr. Sarah E. Fraser, Senior Prof. Dr. Lothar Ledderose

October 29

Panel III: Parallels and Divergences

Chair: Prof. Dr. Sarah E. Fraser, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Imported or Indigenous? The Earliest Forged Tin Foil Found in China
Prof. Dr. Jianjun Mei, Needham Research Institute and Churchill College, University of Cambridge

Finds from the Burial Site in Nalingaotu and Their Analogies in Altai
Prof. Dr. Alexey A. Tishkin, Altai State University, Barnaul; with English translation by Dr. Maxim Korolkov, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Archaeological Evidence of Contacts between Altai Nomads and China in the First Millennium BC: Results and Prospects of Research
Dr. Nikolai Seregin, Altai State University, Barnaul

Beasts Made of Gold: The Majiayuan Cemetery and its Central Eurasian Context
Prof. Dr. Petya Andreeva, Parsons School of Design, The New School, New York

The Construction and Expansion of Nomadic Kingdoms: The Sites of Arzhan and Sandaohaizi
Prof. Dr. Wu Guo, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking; with English translation by Lokman Yang, Ruprecht-Karls-Universit Heidelberg

Horses on a Box. Steppe Motifs on Lacquer Objects from Burials in Chaohu, Anhui Province
Dr. Margarete Prüch, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Discussant: Prof. Dr. Lukas Nickel, Universität Wien

Panel IV: China and the Near East: Remote Contacts

Dr. Annette Kieser, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

The Earliest Use of Greek Letters in China
Prof. Dr. Lukas Nickel, Universität Wien

Traces of Artistic Conventions from the Near East and the Achaemenid Empire in the Art of the Late Bronze Age China
Prof. Dr. Alain Thote, Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris

Zouyu, the Lion: Animal Encounters in the Warring States
Dr. Lianming Wang, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Non-Chinese Sculpture and Achaemenid Art: A Specific Case Study of Cross-Cultural Interaction Between Nomads and Sedentary People
Hua Xia, Hebrew University Jerusalem

Discussant: Prof. Dr. Jianjun Mei, Needham Research Institute and Churchill College, University of Cambridge

Final remarks
Prof. Dr. Thomas O. Höllmann, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

———

Dunhuang and Cultural Contact along the Silk Road

Budapest

May 2-3, 2019

Organized by the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group

Thursday, May 2

Keynote speech
Dunhuang International
Roderick Whitfield, SOAS University of London

Panel I: Buddhism and Art Along the Silk Road

Chair: Neil Schmid, Dunhuang Academy

On the Illustrations of the Chapter Devadatta of the *Lotus Sūtra* in Dunhuang Wall Paintings
Zhang Yuanlin, Dunhuang Academy

The Central Asian Influence on the *Samantabhadra Visualisation Sūtra*
Imre Hamar, MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group; ELTE University

Korea and Silk Road: How Silk Road Affected Korean Buddhist Art?
Youngsook Pak, SOAS University of London

The "Sogdian Deities" Twenty Years on: Reconsideration of a Sketch from Dunhuang in the Light of New Research and Newly Discovered Buddhist and Manichaean Paintings
Lilla Russell-Smith, Berlin State Museums

The Indian Buddhist Images Introduced to Dunhuang from the 10th to 12th Century
Zhao Xiaoxing, Dunhuang Academy

Buddha Images in Dunhuang Caves: Focusing on the Flower-Shaped Heart of the Buddha
Wang Huimin, Dunhuang Academy

Panel II: Archaeology and the History of Dunhuang

Chair: Lilla Russell-Smith, Berlin State Museums

Mogao Miniatures: Dunhuang Caves and the Aesthetics of Scale
Neil Schmid, Dunhuang Academy

Documental Research on the Archaeological History of Dunhuang
Zhang Xiaogang, Dunhuang Academy

From Xiyu to Daqin: Chinese Silk Finds along the Silk Roads
Krisztina Hoppál, MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group; ELTE University

Preservation Status Great Wall of the Han Dynasty in Dunhuang
Sun Zhijun, Dunhuang Academy

The Excavation Methods of Sir Aurel Stein on the Silk Road
Szabolcs Felföldi, University of Szeged

Friday, May 3

Keynote speech
The Codex as a New Book Form in Dunhuang
Imre Galambos, Cambridge University

Panel III: Linguistic and Cultural Contacts along the Silk Road

Chair: Imre Galambos, Cambridge University

Khitan, a Language on the Silk Road
András Róna-Tas, University of Szeged

Organizing the Buddhist Doctrine in Conceptual and Physical Space: Listing, Collecting and Shelving Criteria in Medieval China, with a Focus on *Sūtra* Catalogs and Dunhuang Material
Costantino Moretti, École française d'Extrême-Orient

On the Religious Vocabulary in Turfan and Dunhuang Mongolica
Ágnes Birtalan, ELTE University

Yejufu 耶俱孚 in the Dunhuang *Hymnscroll* and Some Newly Found Scriptures
Gábor Kósa, MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group; ELTE University

Notes on Tibetan Paleography: the use of *tshegs* and *double-tshegs* in the Old Tibetan Documents from Dunhuang
Gergely Orosz, Khyentse Foundation; ELTE Centre for Buddhist Studies

Applicability of Network Analysis Methods in Silk Road Studies: The Case of Old Uyghur Documents
Márton Vér, Turfanforschung, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities

Sūtra on the Profound Kindness of Parents: Confucian Virtue of Respect in its Buddho-Daoist Style
Judit Bagi, Oriental Collection, LIC MTA

Panel IV: Historical Changes along the Silk Road

Chair: Gábor Kósa, MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group; ELTE University

Khitan, a Language on the Silk Road
András Róna-Tas, University of Szeged

An Analysis of Modern Chinese Colophons on Manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan, 1910–1944
Justin Jacobs, American University

A Book of Divination from Dunhuang and Old Turkic Mythology: The Word *täñri* in the *Ïrq bitig*
Edina Dallos, MTA–ELTE–SZTE Silk Road Research Group;