THE SILK ROAD

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NOTICES AND REVIEWS

From the Editor

Welcome to the first and (hopefully) only pandemic issue of *The Silk Road*. It has been a trying year for everyone, and many sectors in the global economy have suffered severe economic losses. Academic institutions were by no means immune to these consequences, and the disruption to education, both K-12 and universities, is unprecedeneted in our lifetime. The human toll, of course, is incalculable. Perhaps no academic venue is more suited to reflect on the interconnectivity of the world we live in—for better or for worse—than *The Silk Road*.

The articles in this volume were all produced in trying times, when the normal cycles and rhythm of academic research were no longer possible to maintain. It is thus doubly impressive to see that it was still possible to produce an excellent volume in spite of all the hardships currently facing researchers throughout the world. And our accomplished authors do indeed come from all over the world. We begin with the sort of photo essay that only our former editor Daniel Waugh could produce: poignant photographs of a Kashgar that is fast disappearing under the impulse of modernization. We then are treated to an in-depth article by Jolyon Leslie on ongoing conservation work on the Shahzada Abdullah Mauseolum in Herat, Afghanistan. Caren Dreyer provides an overview of the "Turfan Files" in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin, with an eye toward making the archives of the German expeditions to Turfan more accessible to researchers. Hongnam Kim then engages in an engrossing comparative study of the spread of stone-joint metal clamp technology in medieval China and Korea. In an English translation from the original Chinese publication, Chen Chunxiao makes her fascinating research on the evolution of Muslim terms for "China" available to audiences in the Anglophone world. John Man reflects on the manipulation of Mongol history for political and tourist agendas in Inner Mongolia, while Luca Villa once again rescues a precious photographic collection from near obscurity and provides a preliminary analysis of its scholarly value. An obituary for the great Russian scholar Sergiev Miniaev concludes the narrative portion of this volume, with a rich collection of book reviews and notices to follow. As an appendix, we are also reprinting Daniel Waugh's photo essay on the Hagia Sophia mosque, which he compiled in 2020 in response to the Turkish state's decree that it once more become an active mosque.

- Justin M. Jacobs, Editor
American University
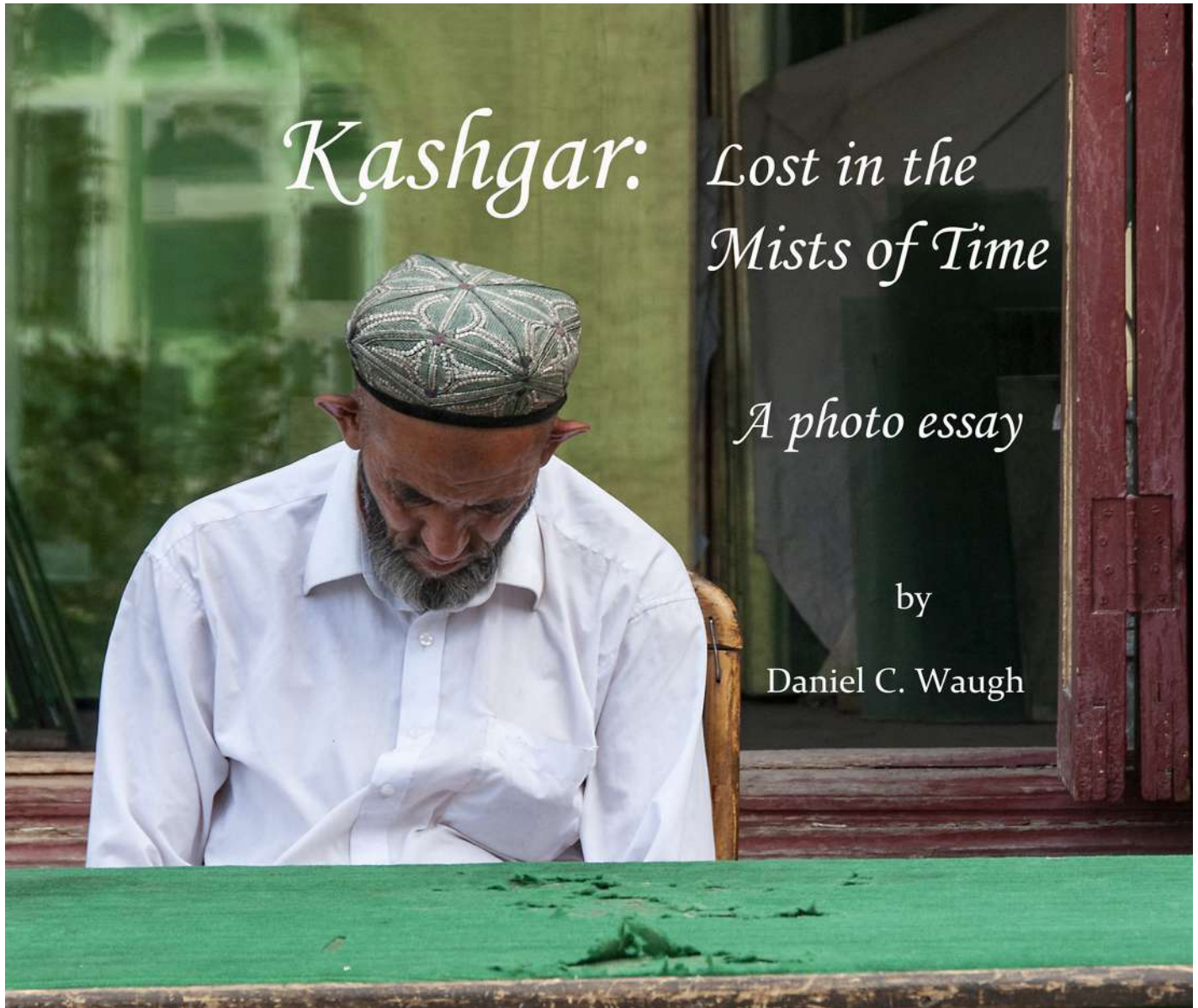
Kashgar: Lost in the Mists of Time

A photo essay

by

Daniel C. Waugh

Oh call back yesterday, bid time return.

— Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 3.2

$\mathcal{E}$very student of the Silk Roads has heard of Kashgar, one of the key nodes in the network of routes crisscrossing Afro-Eurasia. A city with an important if, surprisingly, understudied history, Kashgar has also featured in alarming news reports of recent years. The very fabric of its physical remains and the lives of its inhabitants have been rapidly and inexorably altered by government policies that have provoked moral outrage from those who deeply care about the people who have so been affected. That recent history has been amply documented, often with dramatic photographic evidence of the changes. My purpose is not to engage in the same discussion, even if my photos may be related to it. The brief essay at the end here will provide some references and also indicate my indebtedness to colleagues who have generously answered specific questions or provided a few of the images. Unless otherwise specified, the photos are my own.

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As John Berger reminds us (in his response to Susan Sontag's *On Photography*, which he quotes):

> …[U]nlike memory, photographs do not in themselves preserve meaning. They offer appearances—with all the credibility and gravity we normally lend to appearances—prised away from their meaning. Meaning is the result of understanding functions. 'And functioning takes place in time, and must be explained in time. Only that which narrates can make us understand.' Photographs in themselves do not narrate. Photographs preserve instant appearances.

Presented here with some historical contextualization but otherwise minimal captioning, my photos should be understood in those terms. They capture instants during visits to Kashgar in 1995, 1996 and 2009. No individual photo can have meaning when viewed out of context. Since my human subjects are anonymous, captured primarily in unguarded moments of their daily lives, the context perforce is external to those individuals. Images of buildings of themselves similarly are limited, unless there are comparable pictures from another era which may reveal something about historical change. I have included a few such images, mainly because of their connection with my study of the British consulate in Kashgar in the early 1920s. A full collection of historic photography in Kashgar is an important project for someone to undertake in the future.

To the degree that I wish to imbue the images with meaning, it is primarily by posing the question of whether they capture something of what has already been lost in the decade since the most recent ones, and whether they might offer paths for better understanding changes in the more distant past. My question in a sense is rhetorical, as I leave it for others who command a fuller range of evidence to provide answers. If, as David Lowenthal has argued (following L. P. Hartley), "the past is a foreign country," largely an "artifact of the present," photographs are but one of the kinds of evidence we have, and not necessarily the one best suited to recapture that elusive past. At least in my imagination, they conjure up something of "what the past ought to have looked like," even if what they show may be but a "replica" with limited resemblance to a past reality. As with controversial attempts to employ insights from ethnography in order to interpret archaeological remains, the photos may tell us more about ourselves or our own era than about earlier generations and their lives.

My visits to Kashgar were brief and certainly cannot be characterized as research trips. In 1995, I led a mountain bike trip that stopped there on its way from Kyrgyzstan to Pakistan via the Karakorum Highway. In 1996, mountaineering and a long, solo hike in the mountains south of Kashgar were my main reason for being there. While the trip in 2009 was part of an academic summer travel program, its extensive itineraries in Xinjiang never involved long stays in any one location. As with any such travel, but also even where one can benefit from longer stays and be better prepared in knowing the local culture, often it is only in retrospect that one may realize the significance of something that was observed and photographed or regret not having photographed something else. I like to think that I understand now much better what I saw. Would that I could return with new eyes and with a new focus.
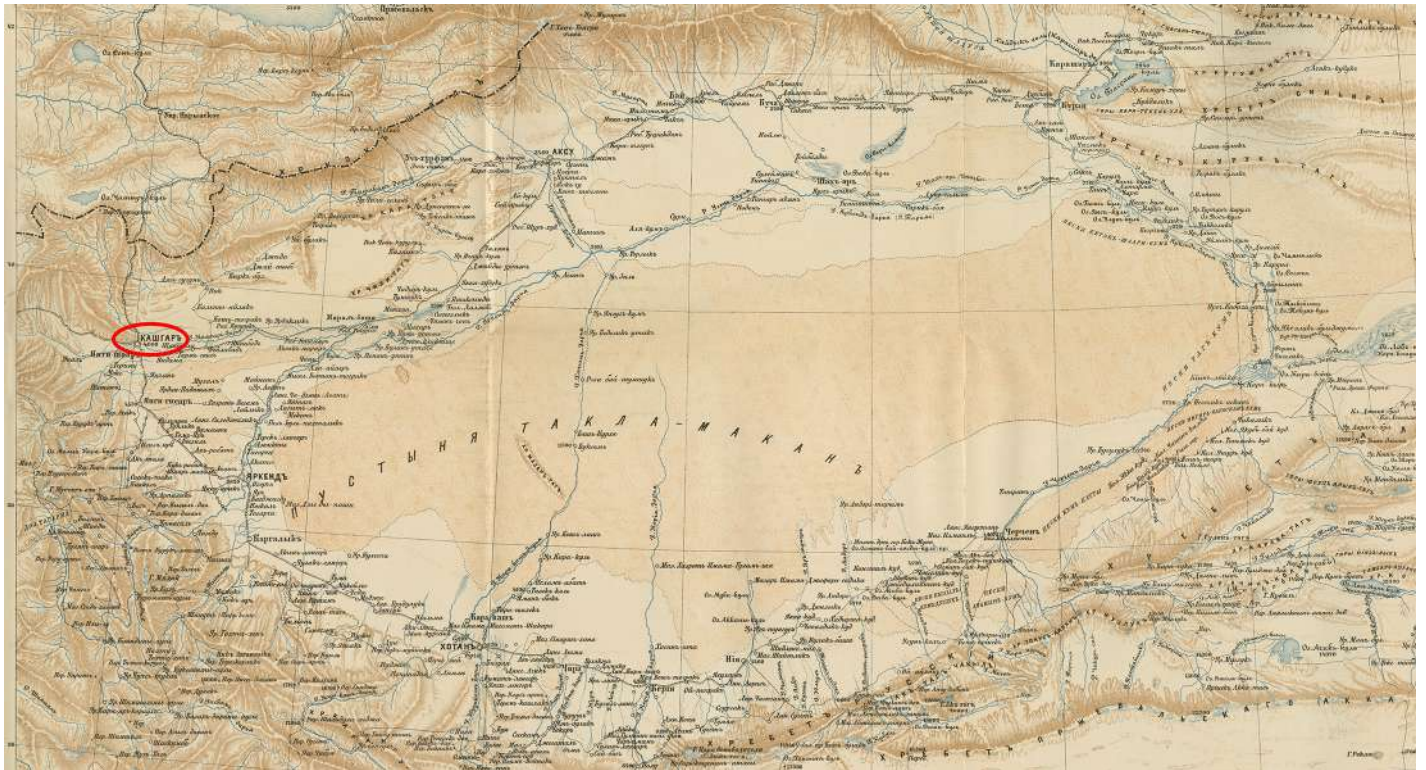
Detail from "Map of Eastern Turkestan and the Northern Border Regions of the Tibetan Plateau," appended to *Trudy Tibet-skoi ekspeditsii 1889-1890 gg. pod nachal'stvom M. V. Pevtsova*, I (S.-Peterburg, 1895); open access, downloaded from http://jarringcollection.se/Library/Maps/TRV049aM/TRV049aM.jpg.

Kashgar's location, circled above on a Russian map of the Tarim Basin published in the 1890s, explains a great deal about its history. At the western end of the vast Taklamakan Desert, it is the clasp joining the necklace of the north and south routes of the Silk Road before they cross the mountains into Central Asia. As the map below illustrates, there is a dense network of rivers and seasonal streams which make possible the intensive agriculture of the Kashgar oasis.

Detail and caption from Defense Mapping Agency NJ-43-3, Kashi, China; downloaded from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashgar#/media/File:NJ-43-3_Kashi,_China.jpg.

A Google Earth image depicts vividly the extent of the green oasis, flanked on the north, west and south by high mountains.

Views below taken from a flight landing at Kashgar in 2009 illustrate the boundary between the cultivated area and the immediately surrounding arid hills and show how reclamation is gradually extending the sown area. Already such development is taxing the available water resources, a situation that is exacerbated by global warming. Historically the fate of the oasis towns along the Silk Roads was often determined by such climate cycles.

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The life-giving water of the oases comes from the melting snow and ice of the surrounding mountains. Although too infrequently seen on account of dust haze, they provide dramatic vistas: above are two segments of a panorama sweeping across the horizon from southwest to north, including the lofty and rarely climbed peaks of Chakragil (6760 m) (top) and Kongur (7719 m), shown in detail on the right from the highway into the Gez River gorge which separates the two ranges and opens access to the west and south. The image on the right provides a good sense of the topography rising from irrigated oases through foothills (where hidden valleys often provide good grazing for herds) to the icy summit.

Fragments of a Buddhist past

The famous pioneer of Silk Road archeology, Aurel Stein, wrote about spending several weeks in Kashgar in 1900 early in his first major expedition into Central Asia:

> During my stay I did not fail to examine closely whatever ancient remains of the pre-Muhammadan period survive at and about Kāshgar. Unfortunately such remains are out of all proportion scanty compared with the antiquity of the site and the historical importance of the territory of which Kāshgar has been the capital during successive ages.

Indeed the early written evidence about the spread of Buddhism indicates that Kashgar had been an important center: the famous translator Kumarajiva may well have been there, and Xuanzang reported a large Buddhist community. Stein did investigate somewhat cursorily several sites, the most prominent of which is that of Mori Tim, a major Buddhist complex northeast of Kashgar in what is now a dessicated landscape. Still impressive for their size are the circular stupa and an adjoining pyramidal rectangular temple that had rows of niches with Buddha statues (illustrations below). There are analogies with other early Buddhist sites, for example in the Turfan region. Apart from the two looming remains, several smaller mounds mark the location of other structures. As the studies sponsored by the Monash University Kashgar Research Project and Kashgar Normal University have demonstrated, Stein's judgment of over a century ago, even if it is in need of corrections, is still true. Much more archaeology needs to be done, especially since some of the few sites recorded elsewhere in the Kashgar region now have been destroyed by modern construction.

During our visit to Mori Tim in 2009, we were unaware that underground *karez* water channels are located not far from the stupa. Their existence helps explain how a major Buddhist complex could have survived out in what is now an arid plain. The question of Kashgar's role in the early spread of Buddhism from South Asia is still debated, but it seems certain that the region played a major role in that early history.

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When bicycling down to Kashgar from the north in 1995, we passed another of the few extant Buddhist sites in the Kashgar region, visible from below as three windows (in local parlance, Üch Merwan) inaccessible high on a cliff above the highway. In the 19th century, one of the Russian consul Petrovsky's Cossack guards lowered himself into the cave from above but found little. Stein noted their existence; Paul Pelliot's expedition in the region in 1906 entered the caves, measured and photographed them. They were also visited by the German Turfan expedition. There were vague fragments of painting and the remains of one Buddha statue.

The British consul in Kashgar in the early 1920s, Clarmont P. Skrine, who corresponded with Stein and hoped at least on a small scale to emulate him with finds of artifacts, planned to photograph the cave interiors but never managed to do so. His letter to his mother, written on 5 May 1923, provides a vivid description of the location:

Uch Merwan ('The Three Windows'), 5 May 1923

Our address sounds rather like a pub, but as a matter of fact it isn't. We are spending the week-end at a little place about 8 miles from Kashgar to the north-west, in the valley of a river which comes down from the Tien Shan [...] The river, which is of a rich chocolate colour not crystal-clear like the Karatash and its tributaries, flows under perpendicular cliffs of clay about 200 feet high on one side and open stony 'sai' (gravel desert) on the other. There are two or three lovely little oases of greenery, a mill buried among tall poplars, a farm with tiny fields of young corn & willow-plantations nestling under the cliff, a wayside shrine and a tiny shop in an orchard carpeted with wild irises. Our tents are under mulberry-trees on a strip of land between the shallow brown river and the great cliff. The 'Three Windows' are half a mile below us, where the cliff is lower, about 100 ft. perhaps. They are carved out of the clay half way up the perpendicular (slightly overhanging in fact) face of the cliff, side by side, and lead I believe to an ancient Buddhist temple with frescoes. Stein has not been inside this temple, but mentions it in 'Serindia' [...] Stein had no time for ancient sites that someone else had discovered before, so he passed it by [...]

Kashgar's Islamic past and present

Over the long span of its history, the Kashgar region has been home to many different faiths whose practices often incorporated elements of folk belief and legend. The early Uyghurs brought Manichaeism; Marco Polo wrote of a Christian community (the Syriac Church of the East, commonly termed "Nestorian"). Islam became the dominant faith of the majority of the population, although exactly when is difficult to know, as local legends about its introduction have come down to us only from later centuries. The major impetus to the islamization of the region came probably not with the first Arab conquests in Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries (CE) but rather under the Turkic Qarakhanid dynasty in the 11th and 12th centuries. Two of the earliest and most important Islamic Turkic authors were from the Kashgar region and flourished under the Qarakhanids. Apart from the evidence in their writings, their connection with Kashgar has been commemorated in mausolea constructed in modern times.

Travel southwest some thirty kilometers from Kashgar along the Karakorum Highway, where at the town of Upal one takes a side road leading to a vast necropolis on a hillside with vistas of the distant mountains. This is where **Mahmud al-Kashghari** is venerated.

The tomb complex of Mahmud al-Kashghari (above), tucked into the grove of trees on the left in the panorama. On the right, one of the more substantial among the many tombs in the cemetery.

Skrine visited Upal at the beginning of July 1924, was hosted by the local *qadi* (religious judge), and described for his mother the shrine and necropolis:

> A mile and half up between the two jilgas [valleys] you come to the butt end of a rocky range of low hills & there there is an interesting and extremely picturesque old shrine, the mazar of Hazrat Maulam. The lower part of the ridge is of loess earth & is covered with ancient trees, which clothe its slope, in a way one seldom sees in this country where as a rule trees only grow where they can be reached by streams or irrigation-channels, i.e., on relatively flat ground. Little mosques and many tombs, mostly overgrown with greenery, dot the ridge and peep coyly out among the trees; behind is the bare craggy hill, and the great expanse of 'sai' or gravel desert, in front the incredibly rich and fertile champaign, well timbered & heavy with crop, cut by the winding 'jilgas' with their yellow bluffs. And on the afternoon I first saw it, a rare sight at this time (at most times in fact) of the year, the whole vast panorama of the snows spread for a hundred and fifty miles along the horizon from S.E. round to west [...]

> There is a cave in the rocky hill at the foot of it a few yards from a corn-field. This cave which is about 50 yards deep used long ago to be inhabited by a dragon, which preyed upon the countryside after the manner of its kind. This went on until the Four Imams who converted Kashgaria to Islam came along. They commissioned one of their captains, Hazrat Maulam, to slay the dragon & gave him a magic belt which enabled him to do it. Unfortunately, the dragon's poison was too much for the Hazrat and he died in the moment of victory. He is buried not at the Mazar on the hill but at the meeting-place of the two jilgas, Black and Red, some miles below Opal; this was because the people of the two jilgas could not agree as to which should have his grave. I was told all this by my host at tea yesterday, a nice old beaver full of ancient lore.

So at the time, there was no idea that the site was to be connected with Mahmud al-Kashghari, even though there was an abundant local lore whose content is analogous to the popular beliefs about the history of other local shrines in western Xinjiang. The association of the site with Kashghari became widely known only in the early 1980s, his identification with "Hazrat Maulam" based on oral testimony and written documents apparently no earlier in date than the late 18th century. Of these, the most specific text, with an inscription dated 1836, is a waqf donation to "the shrine of Hazret Mawlam Sams al-Addin Chin Sahibi Qalam Mahmud al Kashghari, buried abouve the pure spring, on the hillside of Opal in Kashgar." Subsequent archaeological work at the site found pre-Islamic artifacts including pieces of Buddhist sculpture and Sanskrit text fragments. That the location had a long history as a sacred site in part probably is due to the spring, which in fact still can be seen just below the current mausoleum.

Source: Wikipediacommons

It appears that a number of the various items of evidence concerning the identification with Kashghari have conveniently disappeared. However, that has not discouraged the designation of the site as an important cultural relic. Why the interest? Kashghari (whose *nisbah*, al-Kashghari, identifies the location of his ancestral home) was a truly important scholar. Presumably because his home town had too little to offer, he went off to Baghdad, the intellectual capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, where he wrote his scholarly work in Arabic. He is known for a unique dictionary of Turkic dialects (the *Diwan Lughat at-Turk*), the first of its kind, that includes a great deal of information about geography, examples of popular sayings, and in one copy a map (right) that places Kashgar and Balasaghun

(the dual capitals of the Qarakhanid state), at the center of the world. Despite the skepticism which might reasonably be raised regarding the evidence that Kashghari is buried here at Upal, there certainly was good reason to enshrine his memory in a local history with few really deep roots that can otherwise be securely documented. If there is an "invention of tradition" here, it has its justifications.

Clearly the veneration of the tomb (irrespective of whether the local population knew the now presumed real identity of its occupant) was important to the Islamic community, as the extensive necropolis indicates. After the identification with Kashghari, the specifically Islamic associations of the site remained important. These photos taken in 1995 show the cenotaph, draped in brocade, inscribed with Kashghari's name and honorifics and attached to which is a small banner with what presumably is a Quranic text. Copies of the modern publication of his famous dictionary are also in the display along with an image of the Khoja Afaq mausoleum in Kashgar, the burial place of the Naqshbandi sufi rulers of Kashgar in the 17th and early 18th centuries (see below).
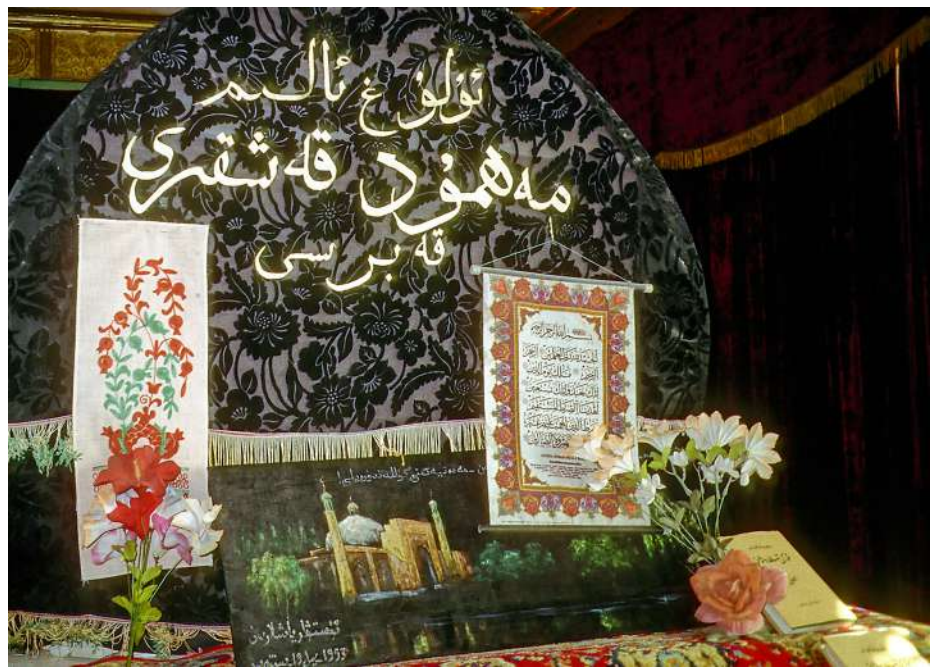
When John Gollings photographed the site in 2005, the inscription on the shroud had been simplified, but otherwise the display was little changed. In 2009, any direct evidence of religious associations of the tomb had been removed, the inscription on the cenotaph indicating only Kashghari's name and dates. There was a small "portrait" of him (imagined, as we have no contemporary portrait) and a display case with copies of the modern edition of his book.

Popular shrines frequently have evidence of veneration attached to a particular tree or spring. Both are located just below the current mausoleum of Kashgari and form part of the complex of sacred features associated with it. In 2005 and as recently as 2007, John Gollings and Angelo Andrea Di Castro photographed strips of cloth, hung as votive offerings on the tree, which according to current legend was planted by Kashghari. I do not recall seeing any such strips in 2009, though I have seen such at various other locations in Inner Asia, some of them with no obvious connection to established religious belief. Perhaps here at first the more important thing was not the tree but rather the spring, since water sources frequently are the focus of such veneration. Without a fuller set of observations and images, it is impossible to know whether in fact a kind of "desacralization" of the Kashghari tomb was underway as early as 2009, the year after it received official designation as an important cultural relic. One can assume that pilgrimage to the site may continue, whether or not such is being actively discouraged.

The mausoleum commemorating **Yusuf Hass Hajib** in Kashgar in many ways may have an analogous history, even if the cemetery that apparently once adjoined it is no longer in evidence. I was able to visit it only in 1995. The building itself, in its current incarnation, is a modern reconstruction, as a display

plaque suggests. The earlier mausoleum on the site had been erected in the middle of the 19th century and then was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The current structure, erected with the blessing of the local authorities, post-dates the death of Chairman Mao. Whether Yusuf Hass Hajib is actually interred there has been disputed. The cenotaph inside has an inscription on tiles that at very least names the occupant of the tomb, gives his AH dates, and includes what may be a Quranic verse. A display case contains modern printed copies of his book.
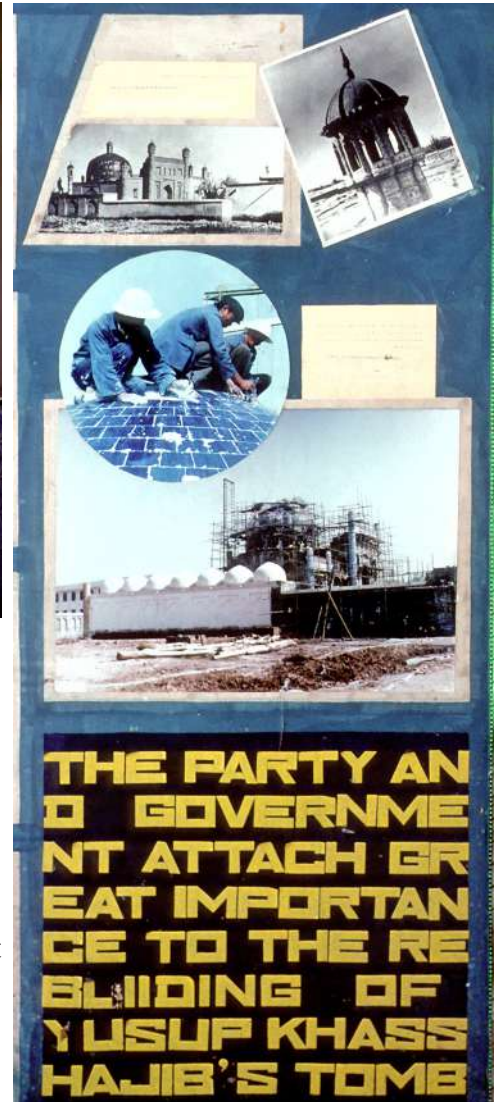
Yusuf Hass Hajib was important in the administration of the Qarakhanid ruler in the middle of the 11th century CE in the capital of Balasaghun and wrote a kind of "mirror of princes" book of advice for him, the *Qutadhghu bilig* (*The Wisdom that Brings Heavenly Good Fortune*) in 1069. It is considered the earliest substantial work of Islamic Turkic literature, full of maxims for an enlightened ruler. Only the introduction seems to reflect specifically Islamic ideas; there is reason to think it may have been added by a different author. Of the three manuscript copies, only the latest (dated 1439) is in the Uyghur script that was common in many parts of Eurasia; the others are in Arabic script.

THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE REBUILDING OF YUSUP KHASS HAJIB'S TOMB

Of somewhat uncertain identity is this modest structure, according to my notes the burial place a **Sayyid Ali Asa Khan** (probably an error for Sayyid Ali Arslan Khan, a 9th/10th century Qarakhanid ruler, who is more commonly associated with two other prominent tombs). The "Sayyid" is an honorific indicating he was a descendant of the Prophet, presumably via the lineage of his daughter Fatimah and son-in-law Ali. The photo was taken in 1995.

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The **Khoja Afaq Mausoleum**. Top right and below, view in 2009; middle right, 1995.

Apart from the Id Kah mosque (about which, see below), the best known of the historic Islamic monuments of Kashgar is the Khoja Afaq Mausoleum, originally built in the 17th century but restored at various times since. Its dome collapsed in an earthquake in the 1980s; while the perspective in the photos above may be deceptive, clearly there was further work on the dome between 1995 and 2009, along with some removal and/or restoration of tiles. While the mausoleum has long been a major tourist attraction, the interest enhanced by its popular epithet, "The Tomb of the Fragrant Concubine," it is significant as the resting place of one lineage of the Naqshbandi Sufi order which for a time in the 17th and early 18th centuries exercised political leadership in Kashgar. Several generations of the family, beginning with the father of Khoja Afaq, are buried here. As is the case with such important mausolea, a sizeable cemetery adjoins the tomb, and the site has been a center of worship. As the next photos illustrate, the tomb complex includes other significant structures.

The tiled entrance portal to the complex notes its construction in 1811, with Persian verses possibly celebrating the princess who funded it. To the left is a mosque whose "summer" columned hall includes on the beams painted panoramas. It likely dates to the 1870s when Yaqub Beg, at the time the independent ruler of Kashgar, expanded the complex.

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گتتکاپخانا

گتتکاپخانا - ئاپپاق غوجا مازبرىدىكى ئەڭ دەسلەپكى قۇرۇلۇش بولۇپ، ئەينى
ۋاقىتتىكى ھاجى مۇھەممەد يۇسۇپ خوجا ۋە ئاپپاق غوجىنىڭ تەبلىغ قىلىدىغان
جايى ئىدى. بۇ قۇرۇلۇش - گتتكاپخانا، مەستچىت ۋە ھوجرىدىن ئىبارەت ئۈچ
قىسىمدىن تەركىپ تاپقان. گتتكاپخانا ئىچىگە30سانتىمېتىر ئۇزۇنلۇقتا ئېللىس
شەكىللىك بىر دانە گۈللۈك كۆكۈش تاش قويۇلغان بولۇپ ،رىۋايەتلەرگە قارىغاندا
بۇ تاشنىڭ ئاجايىپ خىسلەتلىرى بار ئىكەن .

讲 经 堂

景区最早的建筑，是当时玉素甫霍加和阿巴克霍加讲经
的地方.讲经堂由内外两部分组成的,冬季在内殿讲经,夏季
在外殿讲经.室中央安放有一块椭圆形,长约30公分显青
白色点状花纹的''圣石''据传这块''圣石''有祛病驱邪的功
能,兼敬恭顺的信徒扶摸''圣石''后,多能得到平安和幸福。

Jermon Hall

It is the oldest building, used by Apak hoja and his father to teach doctrine,
including indoor (used in wintr) and outdoor(used in summer)hall.
There is a 30cm long and with ligh green and white spots holy stone
in the center of the hall.It is said that the stone can kill disease and
devil. A lot of the people touched it to keep themselves safe

According to the explanatory plaque in place in 2009, the older of the two mosques (below) dates back to the time of Khoja Afaq, though more likely what one sees now is a later construction. Of interest and possibly accurate is what this same inscription relates about beliefs of those who might have worshipped in this hall. As the photos indicate, between 1995 and 2009, the building has deteriorated, the portico propped up and access closed .

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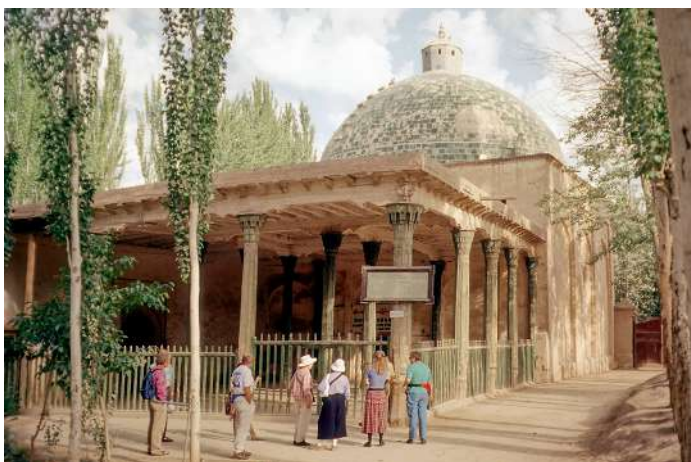
Inside the mausoleum is an array of cenotaphs for the deceased, with identity cards (the more recent, above, elaborately printed) and, for some, tile inscriptions. The catafalque (middle right) is allegedly that in which the body of the "Fragrant Concubine" was transported back from Beijing, although it most likely was used to transport that of a male member of the family. As James Millward has documented, the idea that a captured Uyghur princess (Xiang Fei) was taken off to be the Qianlong Emperor's concubine, rejected his advances, was murdered and her body brought back is a myth that conflates her with a real imperial concubine. Its tellings and re-tellings have served political and nationalistic purposes. The Fragrant Concubine is not here. The idea of her special fragrance is part of the myth perpetuated at the site for the edification of visitors (see next page).

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So the Khoja Afaq complex today has undergone "museumification" as a tourist attraction, even if some visitors of the older generation with their grandchildren may harbor memories of it as a religious site. When Gunnar Jarring was in Kashgar in 1930, he photographed a pile of Marco Polo sheep (*Ovis ammon polii*) horns on an "altar" near the entrance, a phenomenon not atypical for Central Asian shrines where animal skulls or horns often decorate the buildings and attest to some kind of religious syncretism. In the 1990s, this evidence of veneration long gone, tourist stalls were hawking "portraits" of the Fragrant Concubine, copies of a painting attributed to Giuseppe Castiglione showing her as a kind of Europeanized Joan of Arc. The inner compound around the mausoleum now offers opportunities to don elaborate dress and/or pose with a suitably attired camel. In the age of selfies, the attraction is obvious.

Three photos courtesy of Charlotte Green

In many traditional societies, the focal point of communal life is the central religious complex, for Kashgar historically the **Id Kah mosque**. One can but imagine this central square of the Old City in earlier times, when, as documented in the photograph taken by C. P. Skrine, a thriving market filled what is now an empty expanse of pavement, with the old market stalls replaced by modern eateries and emporia. As with the Khoja Afaq complex, the tourist is offered opportunities to sit on or be photographed next to a Bactrian camel. For the local Muslims, the mosque now apparently is one of the few locations where worship is permitted in the city, open to them only at designated times.

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The view of the mosque from the square seems relatively modest (if one's standard for comparison is some of the grandiose mosques of Iran or Turkey), but the compound inside is spacious and inviting. There is little evidence here of the early history of the site, the mosque having been built in 862 AH/1442 CE but having undergone major rebuilding and renovation especially in the last half century. When we were there in 2009, mid-day prayers were underway in a canopied space in the courtyard. From there one proceeds to the main prayer hall through a gate flanked above the donation boxes by a Quranic admonition emphasizing the virtue of charity (Arabic on the right, Uyghur on the left).

Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah 2:274: "Those who spend their wealth by night and by day, secretly and publicly, will find that their reward is secure with their Lord and that there is no reason for them to entertain any fear or grief."

The somewhat austere interiors can accommodate thousands of worshipers but here on an ordinary weekday were nearly empty. Unlike in other Muslim countries, the *mihrab* (the niche indicating the direction of prayer toward Mecca) lacks elaborate inlay or tiled decoration. In it are a hanging depicting the *Kaaba* at Mecca, the clocks necessary to determine the hour of of worship, and an elaborate *minbar* (pulpit).

Hanging in the main prayer hall is an imposing Persian carpet, which was presented to the mosque by an Iranian delegation.

In the 1990s and 2009, public manifestations of Islamic cultural norms were still much in evidence, though now, a decade later, there is ample proof that they have been banned. In the bazaar there were stalls selling prayer beads and Qur'ans in 1996; occasionally one might witness shopkeepers at mid-day prayer even in the now sterile halls of the covered market (2009). In traditional Islamic cities, neighborhoods each had their local mosques, which in Kashgar were still in evidence (most of them apparently of new construction or recently renovated). Now, we are told, most have been shuttered, converted to other uses or destroyed, and a great many of the ubiquitous shrines to locally venerated figures have been obliterated. Conservative traditions in dress, especially for women, were in evidence a decade ago, although obviously there was a wide range of what individuals and families deemed acceptable. Many women covered much of their faces with scarves or even the entire head and shoulders with what is termed a *tor romal*, a head scarf, here of knitted fabric. The term for this fashion is "wearing brown" (*chümbel artish*). As the pictures suggest, it is not incompatible with wearing otherwise more "modern" fashions.

1996

2009

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In the open-air Friday market, 1995

2009

Photo courtesy of Charlotte Green

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Some are shy; for others, there is no
"unguarded moment".

Kashgar ... has villages and towns in plenty. The biggest city, and the most splendid, is Kashgar. The inhabitants live by trade and industry... This country is the starting-point from which many merchants set out to market their wares all over the world...

— Marco Polo, *The Travels* (Latham translation), 80

Re-visit now the famous open-air Friday market as it was in 1995 and 1996 before much of the activity was moved into the sterile environment of regular stalls under a roof (2009). Throngs arrive from the surrounding villages, walking, bringing their produce on donkey carts, in some cases leading one or two sheep to sell. Not so many years earlier, one might have witnessed merchants arriving on camels. Wares are arrayed on the ground or in temporary stalls, a knife sharpener pedals to spin his grinding wheel, some goods are weighed on traditional balance beam scales, barbers ply their trade, hand-pulled noodles are offered with condiments for traditional *laghman*... Walk through the streets of the Old City and see the craftsmen at work, the fast food stalls, the marketing of what was produced to a considerable degee for local consumption, though some increasingly just for the tourist trade. Sense the encroachments of the modern world, in which the traditional economies of Silk Road cities have succumbed to economic realities, technological change and government policies. It is tempting to romanticize what we have lost... Even a quarter century ago, there had been significant change.
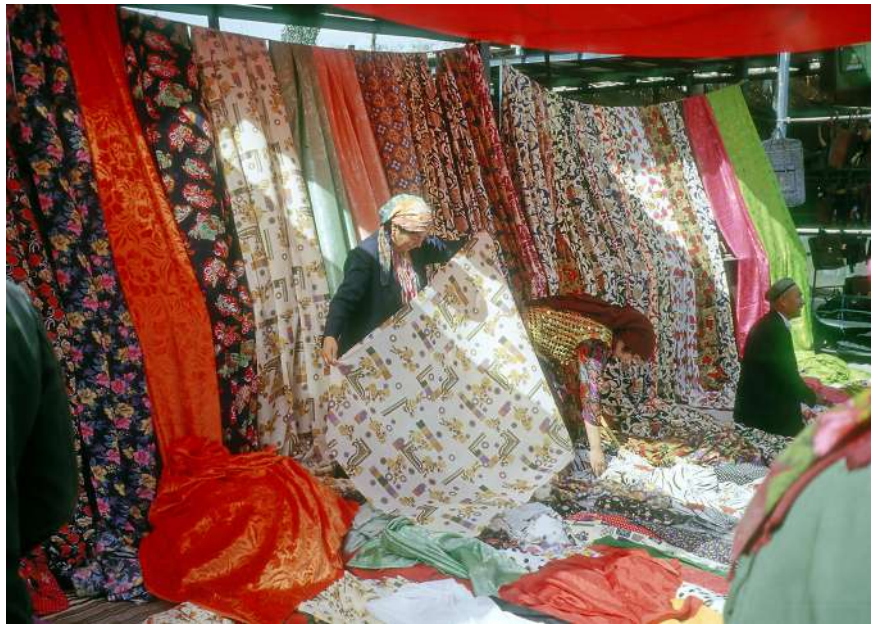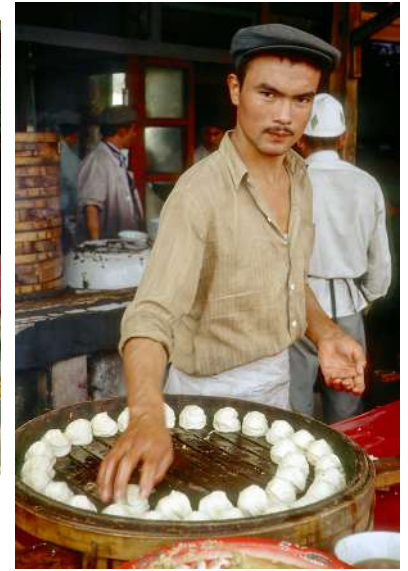
2009: In the era of Coca-Cola signs on umbrellas (in Chinese), though next to a tea merchant, and mobile phones.

Can he play the musical instruments he sells but presumably does not make? Artificial flowers. Kashgarcarpet.com no longer responds to an Internet search. But *in situ* in 2009 one could even buy a wall hanging featuring the mythical portrait of Chinggis Khan. Weavings for every taste and pocketbook.

One of the fascinations of international travel is to visit societies where craftsmen still have the skills to make things by hand and where the streets of even large cities often are lined with small businesses producing and/or selling a specific set of goods. The traditions of neighborhoods, where the inhabitants regularly interacted with others living close to them and did much of their shopping in local stores had not yet vanished. However, the box stores, the supermarkets, and the online giants inevitably will change all this. The throwaway society was not yet there in Kashgar; so people turned to specialists for repair of that which was valued. Even with the significant changes in Kashgar evident in 2009, and the imminent threat of even more rapid erosion of traditional ways, there was a huge amount of interest still to be seen in the perhaps already not so old "Old City". And some of this production was on a not insignificant scale. There was at least some evidence that the skills were being passed on to the younger generation, even though, as recent news articles indicate, it is increasingly hard to find apprentices willing to learn how to do the hard work.

Photo courtesy of Charlotte Green

Techniques seem to have changed little in a decade and a half: soften the wood, then heat it so it will bend into the circular shape of the steamer tray (the photo below taken in 1995, the others in 2009). Steamed buns, *manta*, are one of the local diet staples.

36

Above left and right: 1995

2009

37

The region was once re-nowned for its cutlery (picture upper right, 1995), though recently restrictions have been imposed on sales. In middle right, the craftsman is fixing inlay in the handle of a knife. Where sharpening in the market in 1995 had been done on a human-powered wheel, here electric motors are the norm.

Photo below 1996; the
rest, 2009

A dental clinic

In 2009, blocks of glacial ice arrived in the back of a pickup, not on a donkey cart.

43

The Old City: gone forever?

While it is clear that Kashgar's transformation long antedates our visit there in 2009, we witnessed the beginnings of the acceleration of the process. Already a year or two later, comparative images, in part based on satellite photos, showed that large areas of the Old City had been razed for new development, with only two relatively small districts designated for preservation. Whether those in fact have been "preserved" is now doubtful. The photos here are but a limited snapshot from a brief moment in an ongoing process.

The two photos below courtesy of Charlotte Green

One of the quarters designated for preservation (Kozichi Yarbeshi) is shown in the panorama below. It adjoins a new quarter, whose construction can be seen to the left in the above photo. Recent aerial news photos indicate that the little park with the ferris wheel is but a small element in the "renewal" project, with a much larger park and lake nearby. Clearly some of what was underway here in 2009 could have ben justified by concern over public health, since the excavation happening above was around a stagnant water body that was little other than an open sewer.

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A recent visitor to this same quarter reported that it had been closed to tourist access, and, disturbingly, the homes seem to have been emptied and closed. This was not what I saw in 2009 when in all innocence I climbed the same stairs children were using and wandered through the narrow passages and occasional open squares. Granted, few people were around, but then it was the middle of the work day. At one point a guide with a small tourist group yelled at me for being there "illegally", suggesting that tourist access was already being restricted. And indeed it seemed that there was one main, well-paved route through the center, with occasional signs in English, and a shop or two tucked away in what had probably once been private quarters. The official tags affixed above the doorways included one identifying the residence as a "safe house/family" and another with the designation "civilized/cultured household", possiby indications that these were homes which could receive tourists. By chance, a girl (interested in selling me some beads) invited me into her very modest home. In no way did it resemble the "delicately painted three-story house with a good-sized yard" in which is a 60-year-old fig tree, the "homestay" for "visitors wanting to experience the real Kashgar" touted in a recent article in *China Daily*. There is no reason to think what I photographed in that one home was typical, as other residents clearly had open vistas, possibly inner courtyards, and the like (see below). But it was "real Kashgar".

***

A family's home: the "kitchen"/"living room", the bedroom; the only daylight coming from the opening to the roof, accessible by a ladder. Some apricots were laid out there for drying. Socialization with neighbors commonly might occur on the rooftops, which are interconnected.

The "tourist shop" enjoyed some greenery and running water. While door tags included one indicating homes that had water, clearly some families seem to have relied on a public faucet. This quarter of the Old City did have the occasional small shop which obviously served the residents (and in the given instance was manned by two boys to the accompaniment of wonderfully melodic bird song).

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On my first visit to this same quarter in 1995, we could look along the façade (apparently right to left in the previous photo). We were in the residence of a potter with expansive views to what then was still a lot of greenery and whose home was his workshop with a wheel and the thrown pots drying in the sun.

Photos above and above left courtesy of Charlotte Green

It is impossible today to get a real sense of the "medieval" Kashgar that even well into the 20th century was a walled city. The map below, drawn in 1908 by a British officer, shows it encircled with the fortifications. While one section of wall has been "restored" (re-built from scratch?) for touristic purposes, there is no obvious evidence of the remains in the top photos taken in 2009. As elsewhere in the world, walls and moats have yielded to the modern demand for roads to handle auto traffic, rather than the traditional kinds of transport such as horse and donkey taxis, photoed in 1995.

SKETCH MAP OF THE CITY OF KASHGAR

Showing position of British and Russian Consulates, the Swedish Mission, and Chinese Yamens and also bazaars outside city.

Scale. 1 inch = 140 yards

by
Captain A. R. B. Shuttleworth
Supply and Transport Corps
Offg: His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Kashgar.
Kashgar, December 1908.
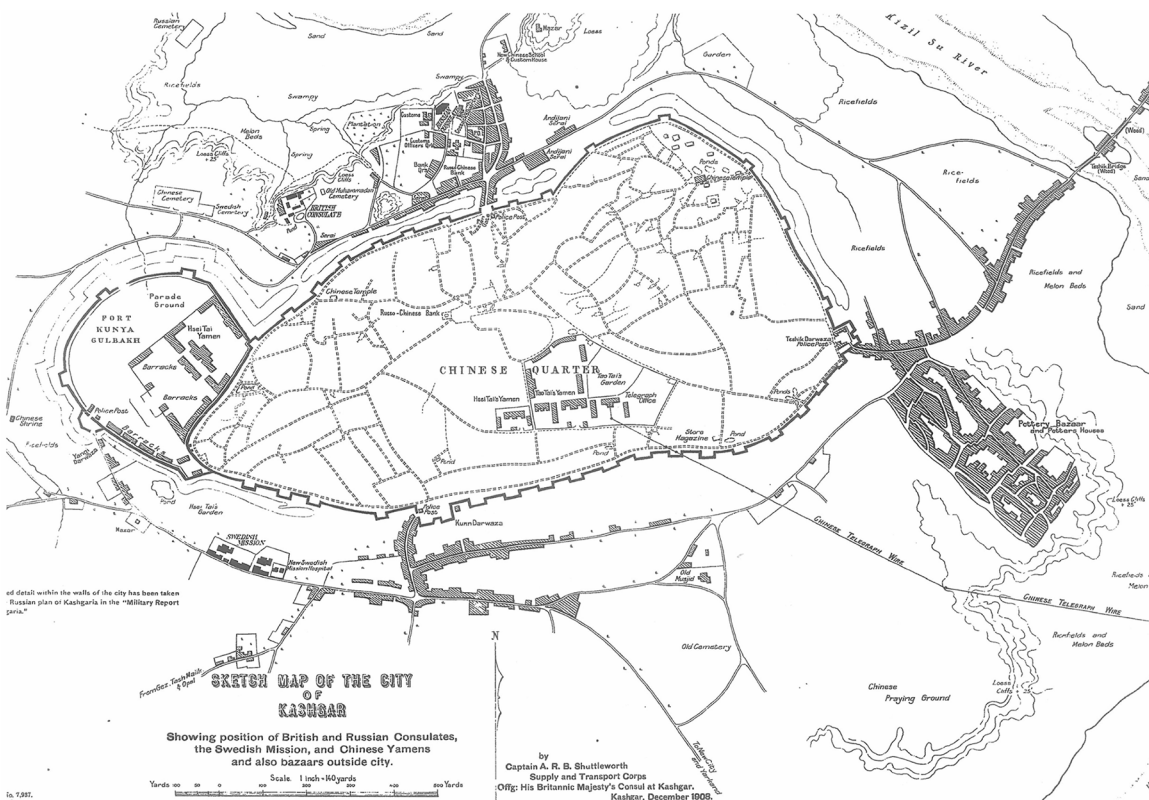
As one would walk in 2009 from the new market emporium into the Old City, heading toward the main square with the Id Kah mosque, much of what we have seen in the Kozichi Yarbeshi quarter would be familiar, although there was a more varied landscape of residential and commercial areas, including already new construction emulating someone's idea of "traditional" architecture. One could still see how people interacted with close neighbors in narrow and winding streets and passages. However, there also was a prominent billboard extolling visually the new housing that was being planned and to which displaced residents were going to have to re-locate. What was shown on it has the misleading title "Construction plans for the renovation of dilapidated houses in Kashgar's old district." Nothing it depicts suggests just "renovation". Well over 80% of the Old City no longer exists, and what is left, we are told, continues to shrink or has been embalmed in a kind of Disneyfied tourist trap.

Of course this is just the vision for primarily a residential quarter, probably located far from the center. The vision also has been to create a landscape of modern highrises, which in fact can be seen scattered across the horizon in recent photos. This was the backdrop for a tourist song and dance extravaganza in 2009, where the old clock tower, one of the landmarks in front of the Id Kah mosque, is on the left.

51
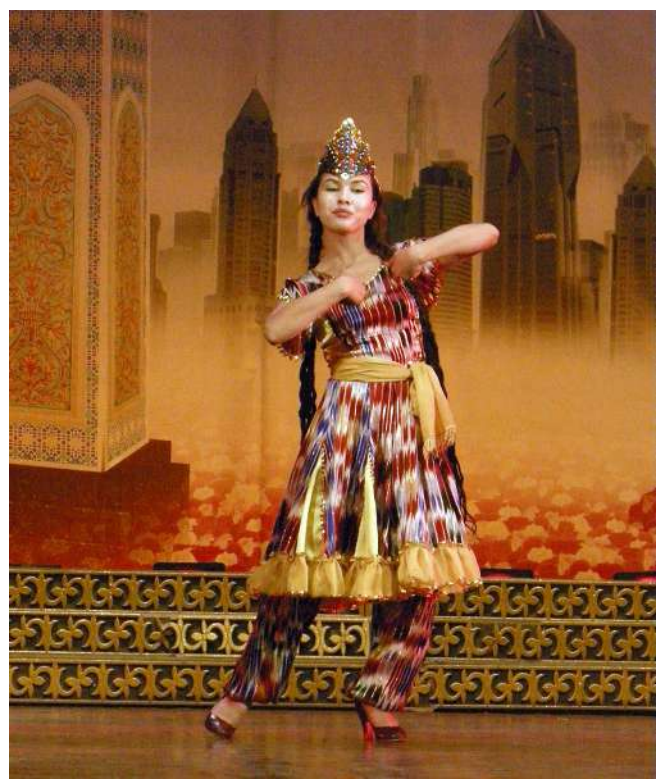
I have a particular interest in a part of Kashgar's history that understandably is not one either the local population or the political authorities have cared to commemorate and preserve. Kashgar was one of the outposts in the so-called Great Game, where Russians and Brits attempted to exert influence through their consular officials. The Russians entrenched themselves first by the 1890s, and the British followed. After many years there, George Macartney finally was appointed British Consul-General in 1908. The shells of both consular buildings survive, but how they have been treated exemplifies the way in which commercial interests have co-opted history to their own purposes.

When I came to Kashgar in 1996, it was but a temporary stop on the way to the mountains, though at one point in our expedition, we returned there for R & R. We stayed in the Seman Hotel, where on our arrival, the exotic Orient of dancing women and young men greeted us. For the most part, we ate our meals at an excellent, but inexpensive cafe across the street, run by a "Mr. Daniel". On my visit to Kashgar in 2009, our group had a meal in the old building of the Russian consulate at the Seman Hotel, the interior of the Russian-style building gutted and re-made to serve the purposes of modern tourism. A clumsy modern camel statue evoking the Silk Road greets visitors as they enter the hotel grounds.

Even as late as 2009, as the next photos show, the interior of the consulate preserved an earlier re-decoration in a kind of orientalist style and apparently was occasionally used for banquets. The garden in back was overgrown. More recent photos (not shown here) indicate some kind of gaudy portico has been added to the façade.

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In 2016, as the photos below and right (courtesy of Hermann Kreutzmann) illustrate, the interior apparently has been gutted, in the process damaging the painting of "Theseus Taming the Bull of Marathon", which the Russians had commissioned (an undistinguished copy of an original by a famous 18th-century French painter, Charles-André van Loo). Compare the original now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2000.179.15 (lower right).

Photo from https://collections.lacma.org/node/201903

53

A photo of George Macartney taken in 1890. He is on the left in front, next to the Amban of Keriya, who is flanked by Francis Younghusband, here acting as Macartney's translator and later infamous for the bloody invasion of Tibet. Private collection.

Search for the **Chini Bagh** (Chinese Garden) today, and you will come to a modern hotel, seen here from the street. The name has been shamelessly borrowed from the name that the British adopted for their consulate grounds, a rather choice location on a bluff with a view looking down on gardens extending to the river. The "original" Chini Bagh had been built under the first British consul in Kashgar, George Macartney. Over time, renovations were made in the interior, which now, like the Russian consulate building, has been gutted and re-decorated with ersatz orientalism to serve as a Chinese restaurant. At least in 2009, the terrace was being used as a rubbish heap, and what used to be the gardens below has been replaced by a hodgepodge of nondescript buildings.

Here is how C. P. Skrine described the Chini Bagh in a letter to his mother dated 2 August 1922, soon after he had arrived in Kashgar:

> The 'Chini Bagh' is a large house of the North Indian Commissioner's Bungalow type standing on a bluff overlooking paddy fields and the river beyond. There are two courtyards with trees and lotus-ponds, one behind the other, & the front door opens on to the inner one; but the real front of the house is on the other or N.W. side, looking towards the river. Here there are fine terraces onto which the French windows of the big drawing room open, & a veranda belonging to the very roomy & comfortable suite of rooms (2 bedrooms, 2 dressing rooms, bathroom with big English bath h[ot] & c[old], and study) occupied by D[oris] [*his wife—DW*] and myself. There is a big hall, also a smaller hall with a side-door on to the garden used by the occupant of the flat on the upper floor (obviously intended for a Vice-Consul), a fine big drawing room & a still bigger dining room; a library room & a boudoir off the drawing room which D. monopolizes & calls her 'office.' The kitchen is larger & conveniently placed close to & on the same level as the dining room; it boasts a real English range. There are excellent ice-cold cellars too. The flat on the top floor contains 3 nice airy rooms & must be a pleasant habitation; the rest of the roof is flat à l'Indienne.

He would later complain bitterly about the fact that Macartney had installed Russian-style stoves for winter heating (the winter climate in Kashgar is severe). In Skrine's view, the stoves were "cheerless compared with a bright roaring English fire"; so eventually he had open fire-places installed.

The Chini Bagh had an open forecourt, gated at front. Now all that space, but for a bit of lawn and greenery, is taken up by the modern hotel, through which one walks to reach the old consulate building.

54
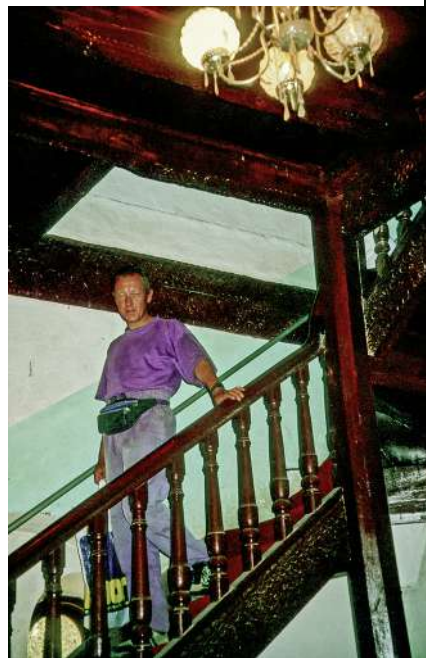
When these four images were taken in 1996, apparently at least one room in the building (the former library) was still used for hotel guests, even if some other part was already a Chinese restaurant. What may be the original woodwork was still intact, but radiators had been added for heat. The building had not yet undergone its transformation into a gaudy restaurant (see next page) announced over the entrance with a much larger sign in 2009. One wonders about the fate of the very good library of exploration and travel books, which apparently remained behind when Eric Shipton, the last British Consul-General, left in 1947.

The view through a screened window out onto the terrace in 2009 contrasts with C. P. Skrine's photos of the same terrace and the rose garden below when he was hosting 214 guests to celebrate the birthday of King George V on May 30, 1923. The Muslim delegation from the city, both British subjects and Uyghurs, was about to observe their prayers. Private collection.

When Skrine arrived in Kashgar in 1922, he was appalled at what he deemed the bad taste in furnishings by his immediate predecessor, Percy T. Etherton. One can but imagine what Skrine, never one to mince words, would have thought of the current interiors and the desecration of the terrace and gardens. All that is now left of the original compound is the shell of his "bungalow" and, oddly, an elm tree that in 1998 was 108 years old. The tree has merited the kind of special protection never accorded to the historic building, perhaps because of its usefulness to shade those who might sit at one of the outdoor tables of the "Former British Consulate Cafe".

A full history of the British consulate in Kashgar remains to be written. George Macartney never produced a book on his service there. His wife's published memoir is thin gruel, perhaps because she had to focus her energies on raising their three children. The Skrines had no children; so Doris Skrine, while fulfilling her expected role as hostess and house manager at the consulate, traveled widely with her husband, many of the trips on horseback. The photo below shows her ready to venture out accompanied
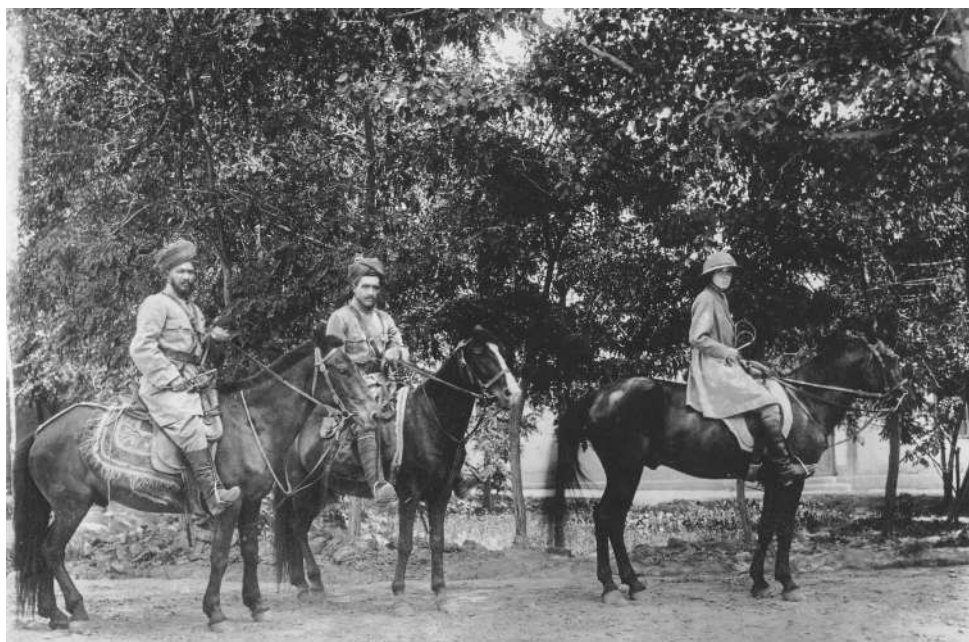
by two of the consular guards. Skrine bought her a "riding camel", a huge shaggy bactrian. Another of his photos shows her on her "Suleyman", as he was dubbed, in the courtyard of the consulate. She collected quite a menagerie of animals (especially birds) in the lower garden of the consulate and was devastated when wild dogs from the city broke in one night and killed most of them. Unfortunately, her letters home were not saved

Private collection

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by her family; unlike her husband, who would publish a book about Kashgaria, she had no interest in recording her experiences. Somewhat to the discomfort of her husband (for whom informal engagement with the local population had distinct limits), she developed close friendships with the women from the local community who worked at the consulate. Doris Skrine learned enough Uyghur to be able to talk with them and thus has to have learned a fair amount about their lives and customs. When Clarmont Skrine wrote his book, he was able to incorporate at least some of what she told him and wrote in letters that are no longer extant. She had some ability as an artist, and left behind a fair number of ink drawings (usually character portraits) and some watercolors, two of which are reproduced here.
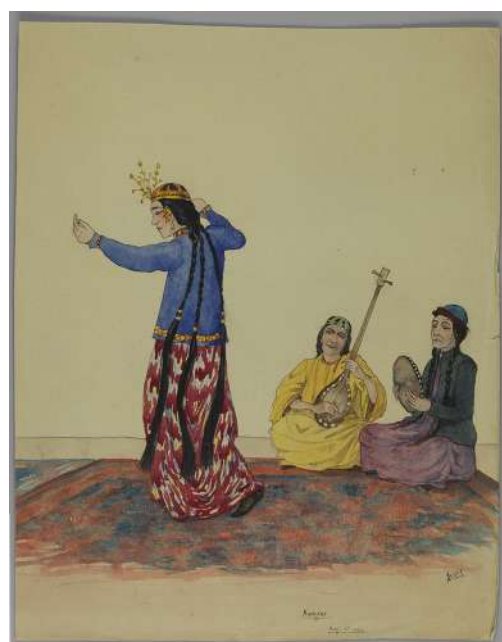
© British Library Board, IOLR EurF 154/54 (021 and 025). On the reverse of the picture on the left, Doris Skrine wrote: "Festival of the Ide (after Ramasan)." The picture on the right, dated Kashgar, 6 August 1922, probably was drawn at the same time. The festival was Eid al-Adha, the Feast of the Sacrifice, which was celebrated on 4 August 1922. The month of fasting, Ramadan, had been in May.

The Skrines both seem to have enjoyed their two years in Kashgar. While the florid prose (which is somewhat typical for C. P. Skrine) may have been intended in part to reassure his mother right after they had arrived at the Chini Bagh, his enthusiasm was not forced:

> Kashgaria is a favored land, a regular Arcadia of prosperous, contented peaceable folk and well-watered green fertile lands, of trees and gardens and a hundred different crops, of big fat sheep and goats, in fact, a land flowing with milk and honey — and its atmosphere seems to favor the growth of friendliness & good feeling…

Words that could easily find a place in a travel brochure or the *China Daily* today!

At their departure for the long journey back to India in 1924, the Skrines were seen off on the way out of town by several different delegations of those with whom they had interacted. Doris's female friends, veiled, took her aside for their goodbyes. In a fragment of one of her letters, Doris wrote:

> I choked down a little tea, but cut the party pretty short, for they were all weeping and my own face was stiff with the effort not to do so. They dropped their veils over their faces and came with me as far as the road, and I would I'd had the mental support of a veil too!

> I said goodbye & rode off, but slowed down before reaching a corner and looked round. I shall never forget the picture they made, standing together under the trees, with the afternoon sun slanting through the branches on to the blue and red and purple of their dresses. Then I turned the corner, and they were hidden from sight.

When he quoted Doris's letter in his book, Skrine deleted her "and I would I'd had the mental support of a veil too!" It was a bit much for him to imagine that a British official's wife could even entertain the thought of so covering her face in a place where veiling in public was common for the women. Some of their descendants may wish they still had the option.

The Skrines never saw Kashgar again. The Kashgar *we* might wish to see is now lost in the mists of time. The experience of wandering through the crowded Friday bazaar on the edge of town a quarter century ago may have veiled my vision with the illusion that one could extrapolate from it into the past, and project from it into the future. The past, however, is a foreign country. And a chance encounter recorded in this photo from 1996, which I might title "The Company Portrait", clearly signaled what the future might hold.

Acknowledgements and Sources

Since the current essay is focused mainly on the photos, I have not attempted to do an in-depth survey of the academic literature and very extensive news reporting about Kashgar. However, here are some suggestions, based on what I have found useful. One of the best introductions to the history of Turkic peoples in Central Asia is Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford Univ. Pr., 2011). A good overview of Xinjiang's past is James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (London: Hurst, 2007). For the origin and uses of the legends about the "Fragrant Concubine", see his "A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The meaning of the Fragrant Concubine," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53/2 (1994): 427-458. On traditional music and its politicization, see his "Uyghur Art Music and the Ambiguities of Chinese Silk Roadism in Xinjiang," *The Silk Road* 3/1 (2005): 9-15 (illustrated with three of my photos).

M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907; also reprint editions and available on-line), has a detailed discussion of what he knew from textual sources and learned on visiting key sites. See esp. Chs. 3 and 4. For essential updates and specifically for Kashgar, reviewing what is known and what still needs to be learned, see Marika Vicziany and Angelo Andrea Di Castro, "The Kashgar Oasis: Reassessing the Historical Record," in Alison V. G. Betts et al., eds., *The Cultures of Ancient Xinjiang, Western China: Crossroads of the Silk Roads* (Archaeopress Archaeology, 2019): 113-142; Vicziany, Di Castro and Xuan Zhu, "The Kashgar Oasis in Buddhist and Pre Buddhist Times: the Archaeological and Environmental Record," in ibid.: 143-170. Di Castro has several other valuable publications based on the work carried out by the Monash University Kashgar Project; see, e.g., his "The Mori Tim Complex in the Kashgar Oasis," *East and West* 58 (2008): 257-283; "Graves, trees and powerful spirits as archaeological indicators of sacred spaces," in *Old Myths and New Approaches: Interpreting Ancient Religious Sites in Southeast Asia*, ed. by Alexandra Haendel (Monash Univ. Publishing, 2012): 237-251 and plates 14.1, 14.2. Paul Pelliot's description of the "Three Windows" site is "Notes sur l'Asie Centrale," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 6/3-4 (1906): 255-269 (specifically, 255-261). On the discovery of Mahmud Kashgari's tomb, see Kahar Barat, "Discovery of History: The Burial Site of Kashgarli Mahmud," in *Central Asia Reader: The Rediscovery of History*, ed. by H. B. Paksoy (Armonk NY and London: Sharpe, 1994): 77-81. For an introduction to Qarakhanid literature by an authority and the translator of both Kashghari and Yusuf Hass Hajib, see Robert Dankoff, "Qarakhanid Literature and the Beginnings of Turco-Islamic Culture," in *Central Asian Monuments*, ed. by Hasan B. Paksoy (Istanbul: Isis, 1992): 73-80. Gunnar Jarring's memoir is *Return to Kashgar: Central Asian Memoirs in the Present*, tr. by Eva Claeson (Duke Univ. Pr., 1986), where he writes about the Khoja Afaq mausoleum on pp. 185-195. For Uyghur food, which figures in a good many of my photos, see "Uyghur Cuisine" (Wikipedia) and the very interesting new book by Paul D. Buell et al., *Crossroads of Cuisine: The Eurasian Heartland, the Silk Roads and Food* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020).

On Islamic shrines and worship, see Rahilä Dawut, "Shrine Pilgrimage among the Uighurs," *The Silk Road* 6/2 (2009): 56-67; and Rachel Harris and Rahilä Dawut, "Mazar festivals of the Uyghurs: music, Islam and the Chinese State," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11/1 (2002): 101-118, of particular interest for its discussion of the importance of music. The current authoritative monogaph in English on the Islamic religious geography in Xinjiang is Rian Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History* (Harvard Univ. Pr., 2014). His article, "The Spatial Cleansing of Xinjiang: *Mazar* Desecration in Context," *Made in China Journal* 5/2 (2020): 48-61 (on-line at https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/08/24/the-spatial-cleansing-of-xinjiang-mazar-desecration-in-context/), provides a well-documented analysis of recent developments with interesting observations about the importance of built environment for Uyghur culture and identity. In the article are a couple of recent photos that illustrate vividly how the "Old City" has been re-configured as a tourist attraction, with ticketed access.

On the recent and current situation in Kashgar, of considerable interest is the discussion of the social and cultural impact of the enforced changes in urban living space by Sawut Pawan and Abiguli Niyazi, "From *Mahalla* to *Xiaoqu*: Transformations of the Urban Living Space in Kashgar," *Inner Asia* 18 (2016): 121-134. That number of the journal is a special issue devoted to "Spatial Transformations in China's Northwestern Borderlands." The Uyghur advocacy organization, Uyghur Human Rights Project (www.uhrp.org), has published substantial reports that are particularly valuable for their historical contextualization, illustrations, and eyewitness descriptions. They may be downloaded from the UHRP website. I have consulted [William Drexel], *Kashgar Coerced: Forced Reconstruction, Exploitation, and Surveillance in the Cradle of Uyghur Culture* (2020); Bahram K. Sintash, *Demolishing Faith: The Destruction and Desecration of Uyghur Mosques and Shrines* (2019); and [Nicole Morgret], *Extracting Cultural Resources: The Exploitation and Criminalization of Uyghur Cultural Heritage* (2018). A well illustrated recent news report about the fate of Islamic sites is Chris Buckley and Austin Ramzy, "China is Erasing Mosques and Precious Shrines in Xinjiang," *The New York Times*, September 25, 2020 (on-line at: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/25/world/asia/xinjiang-china-religious-site.html?searchResultPosition=3). For the official Chinese response to criticisms, see Chris Buckley, "Brushing Off Criticism, China's Xi Calls Policies in Xinjiang 'Totally Correct'," *The New York Times*, September 26, 2020 (updated October 14, 2020) (on-line at https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/26/world/asia/xi-jinping-china-xinjiang.html?searchResultPosition=2). For a Chinese report promoting opportunities for "immersive" tourism in Kashgar, see Xinhua, "Kashgar natives open homes, hearts to immersive travelers," September 9, 2018 (on-line at https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201809/28/WS5bad6ad5a310eff30327fe29_1.html). At the head of the article is a stunning aerial photo by Jiang Wenyao looking from the Id Kah mosque across the new "Old City" to the highrise-studded suburbs beyond.

On more general issues of interpretation, I have benefited from John Berger, "Uses of Photography," in idem, *About Looking* (New York: Pantheon, 1980): 48-63; and David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1985). Lowenthal's Ch. 6, "Changing the Past," is particularly relevant; I credit him for my use of the epigram from Shakespeare.

Special comment is merited for an elegantly printed photo essay on Kashgar, which I saw for the first time only after completing my own essay. As I discovered, my own editorial decisions and those reflected in the book are in many ways very similar, although at the same time the two projects complement one another. Had I seen the book earlier, I might have been discouraged from attempting to do something with my own photos. The book is drawn from a collection of over 7000 photos by John Gollings taken in March and April 2005 as part of the Monash University project: *Kashgar, Oasis City on China's Old Silk Road,* photographs by John Gollings; introd. by George Michell, Marika Vicziany and Tsui Yen Hu (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008). Gollings is a professional photographer with a particular interest in architecture. Many of the images thus show buildings or interiors devoid of people, at the same time that he has very interesting images of crowded markets, including at least one in a small town outside Kashgar that preserved traditional ways even after the main bazaar in Kashgar itself was being "modernized." His superb work on Kashgar can be sampled on-line at https://johngollings.com/cultural-projects/kashgar-and-the-silk-road. The un-edited full collection in middle-size jpegs may be viewed via the Monash University library at https://figshare.com/collections/Kashgar_project_Gollings_collection/3474396. Of particular value and relevance are the many photos of shrines and their adjoining cemeteries, not just in Kashgar itself but in the surrounding region (sites that I never saw). These images document a lot that may now have been destroyed or altered by removal of evidence of religious veneration.

About the author/photographer: **Daniel Waugh** is Professor Emeritus of History, International Studies and Slavic at the University of Washington (Seattle, USA). Trained as a specialist on early modern Russia, prior to his retirement in 2006 he taught courses relating to the Silk Road and developed the educational website "Silk Road Seattle" (https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/), which still offers some valuable materials even if it is badly in need of updating. From 2003-2017, he edited and produced for The Silkroad Foundation what is now the substantial annual, *The Silk Road*. His international exposure to the Silk Roads in Afro-Eurasia has included participation in archaeological excavations of Xiongnu sites in Mongolia and study of Buddhist art in the Mogao Grottoes at Dunhuang. In 2010, supported by a fellowship from the Mellon Foundation, he was able to travel and photograph extensively in the Middle East. Collections of his photos are being added to various academic databases, including ArchNet (a partnership between the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the Aga Khan Documentation Center at MIT) and the HEIR (Historic Environment Image Resource) at Oxford. Among his other photo essays are "Hagia Sophia" (published at the end of the current volume of *The Silk Road*); "Light on the Liao" (https://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal/wp-content/uploads/sites/984/2018/03/Waugh_Liao_SR_15_2017_pp83_106.pdf); and "Water" (https://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal/wp-content/uploads/sites/984/2018/03/Waugh_postscript_water_SR_15_2017_pp187_218.pdf). He contributed to the recent *The Silk Road: Peoples, Cultures, Landscapes*, edited by Susan Whitfield), and has forthcoming book chapters on "Archaeology and the Material Culture of the Ulus Jöchi (Golden Horde)" and "Virtual Silk Roads: Objects, Exhibitions and Learners."
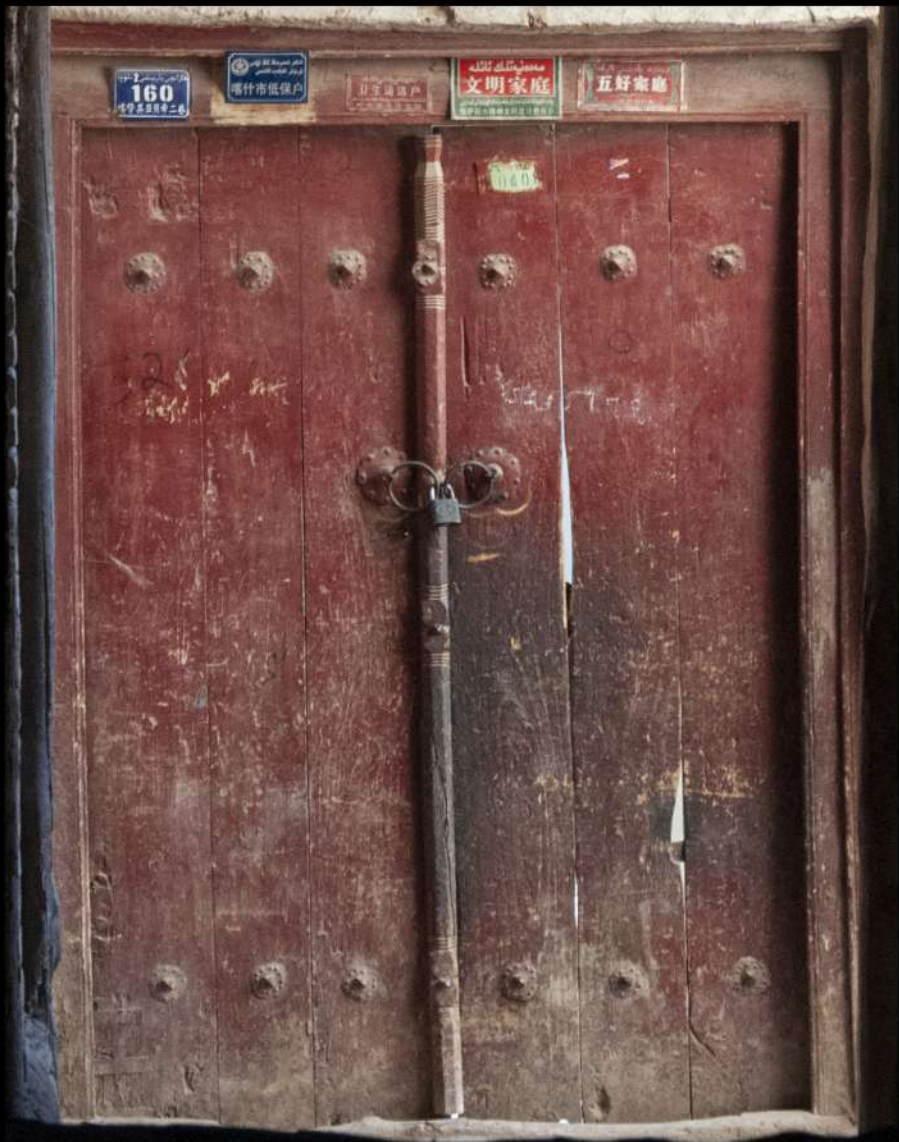
Conservation of the Mausoleum of
Shahzada Abdullah in Kuhandiz, Herat

Jolyon Leslie

Through history, the cities and towns of Afghanistan have been hubs of commercial, social, and cultural activity, as well as sites on which political and military rivalries are played out. Urban centers experienced cycles of investment and destruction, as they were looted and laid waste, only to be rebuilt by new rulers whose control was challenged in turn by those who demolish or transform the legacy of their predecessors. During the 20th century, this process of urban transformation was part of efforts to realise the image of a "modern" Afghan state, both through planning measures and the construction of public buildings. Similarly ambitious visions are projected on the urban landscape by Afghan planners today, as they try to keep pace with the rapid growth of towns and cities over the past two decades. While the surge in urban investment tends to be portrayed as a sign of recovery, in the absence of coherent strategies or effective development controls, such growth poses a threat to important traces of the country's history.

An initiative in Herat between 2016-18 aimed to address this erasure of history through conservation of a monument that has religious and social value for the population, as well as being of architectural importance. The works were implemented by the Afghan Cultural Heritage Consulting Organisation (ACHCO) in collaboration with the department for Safeguarding of Historic Monuments of the Ministry of Information and Culture of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and the Association for the Protection of Herat's Cultural Heritage. Financial support was provided by the US Department of State through the US Embassy in Kabul.

The monuments of Herat are among the most recognisable images of Afghanistan. A source of great pride for Heratis, they serve as a reminder of the cultural achievements of their forebears. Many of these monuments were damaged during conflict that was sparked by an uprising in the city in 1978 and that lasted for more than a decade. The area of Kuhandiz, just north of the old city, was in effect a "no-man's land" between the forces of the government and the armed opposition, and was thus particularly affected. It is thought to have formed part of the ancient urban settlement of Haraiva mentioned in Achaemenid inscriptions and earlier Indian texts from the late 2nd millennium BC. Along the north perimeter of what is now a cemetery are the remains of defensive mud-brick walls, while to the south, the man-made ridge on which stands the citadel of Qala Ikhtyaruddin, where excavations have yielded material dating from 8th century BC, defines the southern edge of the ancient settlement.

The urban fabric in the shadow of the citadel has been shaped by cycles of destruction, decline, and prosperity through its history. A thriving commercial centre in the 10th century, Herat was subsequently capital of the Ghorid sultanate, when defensive walls and a large congregational mosque

Fig. 1. View of Shahzada Abdullah Mausoleum from the west.

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Fig. 2. Map of Afghanistan, with Herat in the west-central region.

Since the overthrow of the Taliban in 2002, the population of the city has increased rapidly, as refugees return and rural communities flee conflict in the adjoining provinces. This has put intense pressure on systems of urban management and public services, with growing demand for land. As the value of urban property has risen, Herat witnessed a surge in private speculative construction, the majority of which is unregulated. The impact of this "development" on sensitive areas such as Kuhandiz has been dramatic, with the area now surrounded by multi-story buildings.

One of two mausolea within the cemetery marks the grave of the great-grandson of Ja'far al-Tayyar, Abdullah bin Mu'awiyya, whose rebellion against the Umayyad dynasty in Iraq caused him to flee east to Iran, where over time he gained control over significant territory. Killed in 746 CE (129 AH) during a visit to Herat, Mu'awiyya was buried at Kuhandiz. There are earlier references to a structure over the grave, but an inscription exposed during the conservation work bears the date 1461 CE (865 AH) and records that the mausoleum was commissioned by Sheikh Bayazid, son of Ali Mashrif.

As well as a memorial to Mu'awiyya, the mausoleum is a place for visitors to seek spiritual guidance and provides space for religious instruction.

were built. After destruction by the Mongols in 1221, the city underwent a revival under the Kartid dynasty, before becoming an important political and cultural center for the Timurid court, a position it retained for almost a century. Herat served primarily as a marginal military outpost for the Mughals in the 16th century, but regained strategic importance as the British and Russian empires vied for control of the region in the 19th century. It was not until 1857 that the region was designated as part of Afghanistan.

Its rich agricultural hinterland and location on an important trade corridor contributed to Herat's prosperity into the 20th century, with a new administrative center constructed in the 1950s outside of the walled city and commercial activity spreading beyond the traditional bazaars. The conflict that followed the 1978 uprising limited further development, with many neighbourhoods in the west of the city de-populated as a result. Along with other war-affected cities, Herat experienced some recovery and limited reconstruction took place after the fall of the Soviet-backed government in Kabul in 1992, only to revert to a state of stagnation during the Taliban administration after 1996.

Fig. 3. North wall of Qala Ikhtyaruddin.

Fig. 4. Traditional fabric of the old city.

Fig. 5. New construction beside Kuhandiz.

Fig. 6. Shahzada Abdullah dedicatory inscription.

The numbers of close-spaced burials around the building bear out how proximity to Muʿawiyya's grave is perceived to confer a sense of piety and distinction. It was the popularity of the site—and the poor state of repair of this and the later mausoleum of Shahzada Abdul Qasim nearby—that prompted surveys to take place in 2015. Certain assumptions made about the building at this initial stage proved to be mistaken and,

Fig. 7. Cemetery at Kuhandiz with historic walls and Musallah behind.

as the conservation work proceeded, the project team faced many a surprise. This account outlines what became in effect a process of "building archaeology" and what this tells us about the complex history of the mausoleum and its setting.

In addition to the physical evidence, historic photographs provided a useful reference in identifying alterations that had taken place since 1934, when Robert

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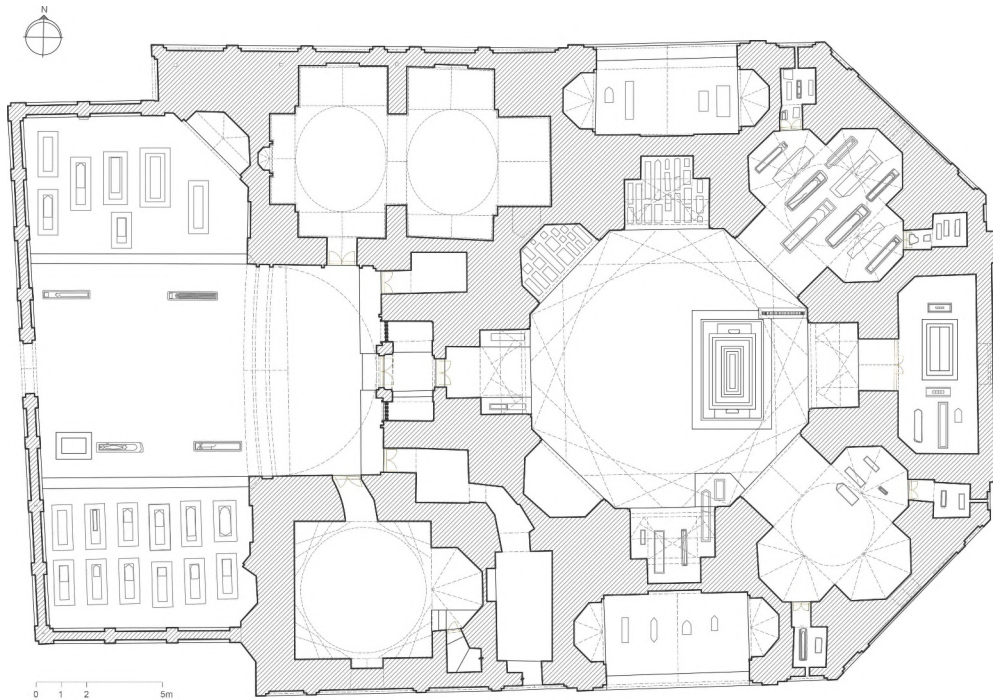
Fig. 8. Plan of Shahzada Abdullah Mausoleum.

niches on three sides, off which lead pairs of small chambers set into the brick masonry structure. The shallower *iwans* on the north and south axes are vaulted.

What the mausoleum may lack in architectural virtuosity, it makes up in the mosaic faience decoration that, judging from surviving sections in the west-facing *iwan,* would have been an impressive sight for those approaching the entrance. These blend Islamic and Chinese motifs, with glazed tiles set in plain fired brick in a manner that is characteristic of Timurid monuments. In the interior, a more restrained scheme of mosaic faience forms a dado on the lower part of walls around the central domed space. The technique employed was to cut glazed tiles into interlocking shapes to form a pat-

Byron visited the site. Subsequent photos by Lisa Golombek, Bernard O'Kane, Mehrdad Shokoohy, and Bernard Dupaigne shed light on the period between 1960 and 1993 and the damage the mausoleum sustained.

In comparion to other Timurid monuments in Herat, the mausoleum of Shahzada Abdullah is modest in scale. It is organized around a central dome (spanning 12.5 meters) that, unlike most religious buildings of the time, is not elevated and forms a subsidiary external element—although its interior is impressive. The mausoleum has full-height arched openings (*iwans)* on the external elevations on four axes. To the west, the largest *iwan* frames the main entrance, flanked by niches in a screen wall, only part of which has survived. Behind this wall to the north is a mosque, with a room for religious instruction (*khaneqa)* to the south. The east *iwan* (now walled-in) is flanked by domed internal bays on the diagonal with deep

Fig. 10. Preparing mosaic faience panel.

Fig. 9. East-west lateral view of Shahzada Abdullah.

tern in contrasting colours.[1] The shaped tile pieces were then placed edge-to-edge face down on a cartoon (possibly on paper) of the design, with a slurry of gypsum plaster then poured over the beveled backs of the tiles. Once the gysum set, the panels would have been lifted and placed in position on walls or other surfaces.

The initial focus of conservation work was on the west elevation of the mausoleum, where structural cracks were visible in the semi-dome over the entrance. This area suffered significant damage during fighting in the 1980s, when the building served as a vantage-point for government snipers. The removal of layers of *kahgel* (earth and straw mix) from the semi-dome exposed a fragile structure of half-bricks laid in gypsum/earth mortar, apparently part of repairs hurriedly undertaken at that time. After taking measures to ensure the stability of the supporting arch of the *iwan,* the entire semi-dome was dismantled in stages and, having removed an embedded reinforced concrete beam, the original masonry at the springing was exposed. During its reconstruction, flat stone plates were laid at intervals within the supporting walls to provide an effective structural connection, with lengths of durable timber (*binowsh*) laid horizontally in places to add strength. Once the reconstruction of the semi-dome was complete, it was sealed with a lime slurry before application of a layer of lime concrete (comprising lime, fine sand,

Fig. 11. Brick paving over reconstructed west iwan.

Fig. 12. Conservation of tilework on west elevation.

brick and charcoal dust, bulrush fibres mixed with water) that was manually compacted with rubber hammers over two days. Fired brick paving was then laid to form a durable roof surface. While historic photographs indistinctly show patterned decoration in the soffit of the semi-dome, no trace was found during these works of either plaster or tiles, indicating that the entire upper section of the *iwan* had been comprehensively re-built at some stage in the past.

Subsequent work at a lower level of the west *iwan* revealed that the original Timurid tile decoration within the arched opening extended to ground

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[1] Laboratory analysis of a selection of glazed tiles indicated a body comprising a mix of stone paste (ground quartz obtained from sand or ground pebbles), glaze frit (a combination of pounded quartz and calcinated soda plant, heated until melted to clear glass) and clay. Glazes are alkaline, using soda (potash) to lower the melting-point, with tin or copper (for opaque turquoise, for example) pigments.

level, before it had been concealed by insertion of a small entrance lobby in the early 20th century. This decoration suggests that the *iwan* had originally been open, for no evidence of fixings for doors or screens were found. Along with the east *iwan*, where tilework (to a different pattern) was also found at ground level, their enclosure represents something of a transformation from how the Timurid-era builders seem to have conceived the mausoleum.

Surveys revealed serious cracks in the mosque in the north-west corner of the mausoleum, with historic photographs indicating re-building in this area in the 1960s or earlier. In order to assess the stability of the masonry structure, layers of earth material were removed from the roof. The large quantity of spent ammunition found buried in this material bears out accounts of the building being used as a vantage-point in the conflict in the 1980s, when vibration from artillery is likely to have weakened the brick structure. The discovery of fragments of a broken masonry arch suggests that the structure had collapsed in the past. Removal of the internal plaster revealed evidence of major alterations to the layout of the mosque that may also have affected its structural integrity. Traces were found of internal openings on two levels, with an intermediate floor having been removed. It is unclear why this transformation was made; it is conceivable that the original builders envisaged another function for this space, only for it to subsequently be converted into a mosque, for which greater volume was felt to be necessary.

Despite having been re-built in the past, the outer walls of the mosque were unstable, requiring consolidation of the stone foundations before the two domes and supporting arches that span the mosque were dismantled and reconstructed following the original geometry. Again, lengths of durable *binowsh* timber were laid in the masonry at regular intervals to provide additional strength.

It was fortunately not necessary to undertake such drastic reconstruction on the central dome of the mausoleum, where repairs were limited to consolidation of brick masonry in the sub-arches around the drum, around which a ring of connected timbers was embedded in a brick masonry "skirt." Following this, lime concrete was applied as described above, with a finish of fired bricks laid concentrically over the upper surface of the dome.

Fig. 13. Interior of mosque prior to reconstruction.

Fig. 14. West iwan decoration.

Fig. 15. Cleaning marble panel.

Fig. 16. Detail of mosaic faience.

Subsequent investigation of other parts of the roof revealed that the other *iwans* had undergone significant repairs over time. On the north and south sides, the geometry of the vaults was badly deformed, and they were dismantled to the level of the springing and reconstructed, using specially fired bricks (matching the original size of 23 x 23 x 5cm) set in lime mortar. A less drastic intervention was necessary in the east *iwan,* where the arched opening had been closed at some stage by a full-height wall. The condition of the masonry required the wall to be dismantled, exposing a band of well-preserved mosaic faience decoration in the soffit of the arch, with areas of original fair-face brickwork on the lower walls. The removal of plaster from the inner wall revealed an area of mosaic faience in an unusual hexagonal pattern formed by parallel lines of dark blue tile slips with a series of star-shaped

tiles at the edges, set in a ground of smooth-fired bricks. Given the quality of this decoration, it is difficult to understand why it had been plastered over, except perhaps as a protective measure. Set into the centre of this wall is an intricate lattice screen, comprising small fillets of turquoise, blue and black glazed tile formed into ribs between octagonal openings. After documentation and cleaning, the screen was repaired, with fired brick elements introduced to replace missing sections of tilework.

As with the *iwans,* many of the secondary domes of the mausoleum were found to be deformed and therefore required repairs, with relieving brick arches introduced in places.

Inside the mausoleum, 36 gravestones were found under a layer of modern cement screed. While a few of these appear to mark actual graves (with the

Fig. 17. Detail of mosaic faience.

Fig. 18. Detail of mosaic faience.

head facing north), others appear to have been laid at random. After documentation in situ, the latter group was re-located elsewhere in the building, with the agreement of the custodian. A number of marble elements around the base of Mu'awiyah's grave had insets that seem to have housed posts, as part of a balustrade. Several such posts were found discarded elsewhere, along with fragments of marble lattice panels (similar to balustrades at the shrine complex of Abdullah Ansari in Gazurgah). One intact panel was cleaned of modern oil-paint and re-installed beside Mu'awiyah's grave.

The removal of an incongruous modern steel and glass cover placed over the grave exposed a marble dedicatory inscription that was documented and restored. Drawing on evidence from early photographs of the mausoleum interior, a timber enclosure was installed around the grave that enables visitors to now see the inscription.

While much of the external decoration of the mausoleum had been damaged, looted or obliterated, the original mosaic faience dado around its central space survives largely intact. Extending for some 130 meters,[2] it is the most extensive area of Timurid decoration to survive in a single building in Herat and comprises three distinct patterns:

> On the beveled corners of the central domed space are panels flanked by marble columns. Their pattern is of octagons with a central floral motif and alternating radial insets set in black and dark blue, separated by 16-sided stars with alternating gold floral motifs and a petal-like radial pattern.

In the reveals of niches on the four main axes is a pattern of interlacing octagonal motifs made up from turquoise bands around 12-sided black stars with a gold floral medallion in their centre, on a dark blue ground with hexagonal black elements.

In the diagonal niches around the central space and the secondary niches is a pattern made up of a lattice of black and gold rosettes surrounded by turquoise bands separated by cruciform cartouches in white on a dark blue ground.

Fig. 19. Pouring gypsum plaster behind unstable mosaic faience.

Fig. 20. Mosiac faience concealed behind plaster.

The condition of the mosaic faience panels varied considerably, with evidence in places of previous protective measures and repairs. Of the 88 panels on the dado around the central space, 49 required only cleaning and minor repairs, 17 required significant repairs or stabilization, with no tiles remaining in 22 panels.

Several panels had been affected by damp in the supporting wall, causing bulging and eventually disintegration as the gypsum bedding expanded and lost strength. These areas were dismantled and, where the original tile fragments could be retrieved, re-assembled in situ. Elsewhere, gypsum was injected behind the panel (in apertures left by missing tiles) to bond loose areas back to the supporting masonry. No attempt was made to "reconstruct" missing sections using modern components, as it was not possible to match the original glazes. The sections of plaster in imitation of tilework have been retained, on the understanding that they are part of the mausoleum's history, with some areas repaired flush and left unpainted to distinguish them from earlier interventions.

The surface of all internal tile panels were badly
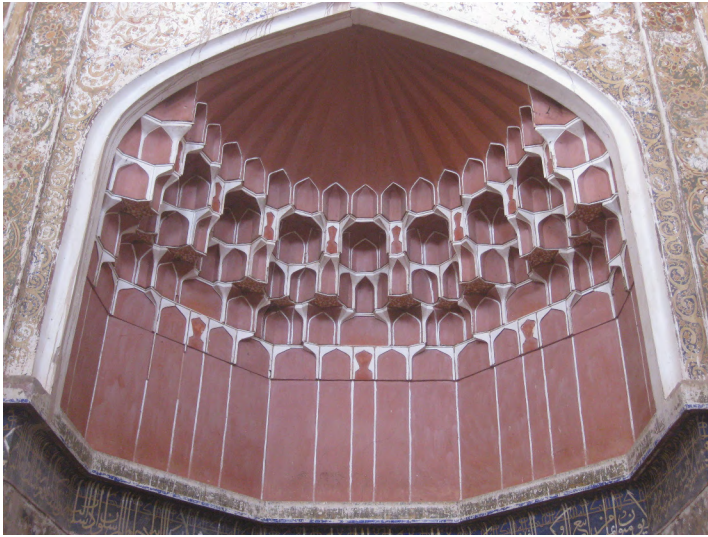
Fig. 21. Muqarnas in central bay.

Fig. 22. Painted decoration on springing of central dome.

discoloured due to an accumulation of dust and grime over the years. After a combination of research and trial and error, the manual use of damp sponges and soft tooth-brushes proved to be an effective technique for cleaning the surface without affecting the glaze or compromising the joints in the mosaic faience panels.

Each of the eight secondary bays around the central space of the mausoleum retains decorated plaster pendentives or *muqarnas* with two geometric schemes, which appear to be original. Repairs were carried out to damaged areas before being repainted with traditional ochre wash with white highlights, matching the original scheme.

The interior of the central space of the mausoleum, including the soffit of the dome, is decorated with paint applied to gypsum plaster. Traces of plain ochre plaster (as found on the *muqarnas*) under lower sections of the painted decoration

suggest that this is a modern alteration and that wall surfaces at this level may originally have been plain.

The painted decoration on the soffit of the central dome was found to be in poor condition, with large areas of loose plaster and some of the paint peeling off despite previous application of varnish. The materials and techniques used in this decoration suggest that it is a later transformation, and it is likely that the soffit of the dome was originally finished with plain ochre pigment as used on the *muqarnas*. A skim coat of pigmented plaster was applied to fragile areas of the dome where no decoration survives. Aside from detailed documentation and removal of accumulated dust from the surface, no further work was carried out on the painted decoration, whose fragile condition requires specialist restoration. Similarly, no work was attempted on the band of calligraphy below the

Fig. 24. Demolition of historic property in the old city.

Fig. 23. New construction at north edge of Kuhandiz cemetery.

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dome springing that seems to be original but is now barely legible and has signs of repeated over-painting.

During the course of conservation of the mausoleum, investments were made in the wider environment at Kuhandiz, with pathways across the cemetery upgraded and indigenous trees planted to provide shade for the many visitors who come to pay their respects at family graves. The existence of these graves precluded archaeological excavation on any scale, but efforts were made to prevent illegal encroachments by those wishing to extend their property into the precinct of the cemetery. With few controls on new construction, the area is however now surrounded by multi-storey buildings that have irrevocably transformed the character of this historic site.

A similar process of transformation can be seen elsewhere in Herat; the iconic minarets, which are all that remains of the mausoleum of Sultan Hussain Baiqara, are now barely visible behind new construction that hems them in on all sides. Across the dense fabric of the old city that, despite extensive war damage, had largely survived until 2002, historic homes and bazaars and homes are being torn down to make way for new buidings whose scale and design pay little heed to the context. This surge in urban investments over the past two decades tends to be portrayed as a sign of recovery but, in the absence of coherent strategies or effective regulation, it poses a growing threat to the country's heritage. While conservation initiatives such as that at Kuhandiz may safeguard single monuments, the real challenge is to protect urban environments that are a critical part of Afghanistan's history.

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The "Turfan files" in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin

Caren Dreyer
Museum of Asian Art, Berlin

The so-called "Turfan Expeditions," led by the German scholars Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq into the province of Xinjiang in China from 1902 to 1914, have supplied scholars with ample research material. More than 9,000 acquisition numbers in the former Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde) in Berlin register the finds of fragments of wall paintings, temple banners, and manuscripts as well as archaeological objects and other artifacts. But they also contain records that document the purchase of contemporary textiles, coins, and pottery from the local Muslim population.

These objects have been a source of scholarly studies for about one hundred years now. The result is a broad enlargement of our knowledge about Silk Road cultures, languages, and arts. Less well known, however, are the documentary materials of the expeditions themselves, which are today housed in the Museum of Asian Art (Museum für Asiatische Kunst) in Berlin.

The collection includes the preservation of about 500 photographs on glass negatives, which show places, people, and landscapes visited by the German scholars on their four expeditions before World War I. They feature rare depictions of working conditions on the sites as well as everyday life with the locals. As such, they are increasingly sought for scholarly research.
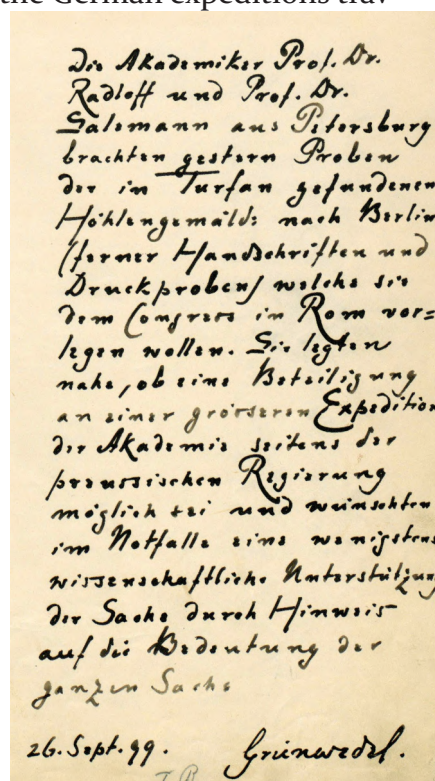
Less well known than the photographs, however, are the so-called "Turfan Files." Containing 21 files consisting of 6,428 handwritten and printed pages, the Turfan Files document all kinds of activities related to the expeditions, such as scholarly results and preservation and display of objects in the museum. These papers have been scanned and will hopefully be available online sometime after the upcoming Humboldt Forum in 2022. On top of this, the newly augmented Cross Asia project of the Berlin State Library will publish a database of the files. This article is intended to give researchers an introduction to the collection by offering a rough overview of the contents of these files.

Organization and Time Frame

Of the 21 files in the collection, the documents in files 1-15 and 17 were collected by the former Museum of Ethnology. Files 16 and 18-21 contain papers collected by the so-called Lokalkomitee zur Erforschung Zentralasiens (Local Committee for Exploring Central Asia), also known as the Turfan-Komitee. Though the Central Committee was based in St. Petersburg, after 1904 various "national committees" were also established in different European countries. The idea was to combine forces of research and build upon pre-existing multifarious Russian efforts in securing research material from Central Asia. The Berlin Local Committee maintained particularly close contact with the Central Committee in Russia and submitted applications to the Russian government for diplomatic permissions and visas. This was necessary because all four of the German expeditions traveled to Xinjiang through Russian territory and its railways. The German Turfan Committee at Berlin operated continuously until 1924, when all hopes for a fifth expedition were dashed, thus leading to the end of the committee's work.

The Turfan Files

Fig. 1. Announcement of the visit on September 26, 1899 of the Russian scholars Wilhelm Radloff and Carl Salemann to the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, with the aim of procuring the contribution of German colleagues to a large expedition to Chinese Central Asia. TA 029. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.
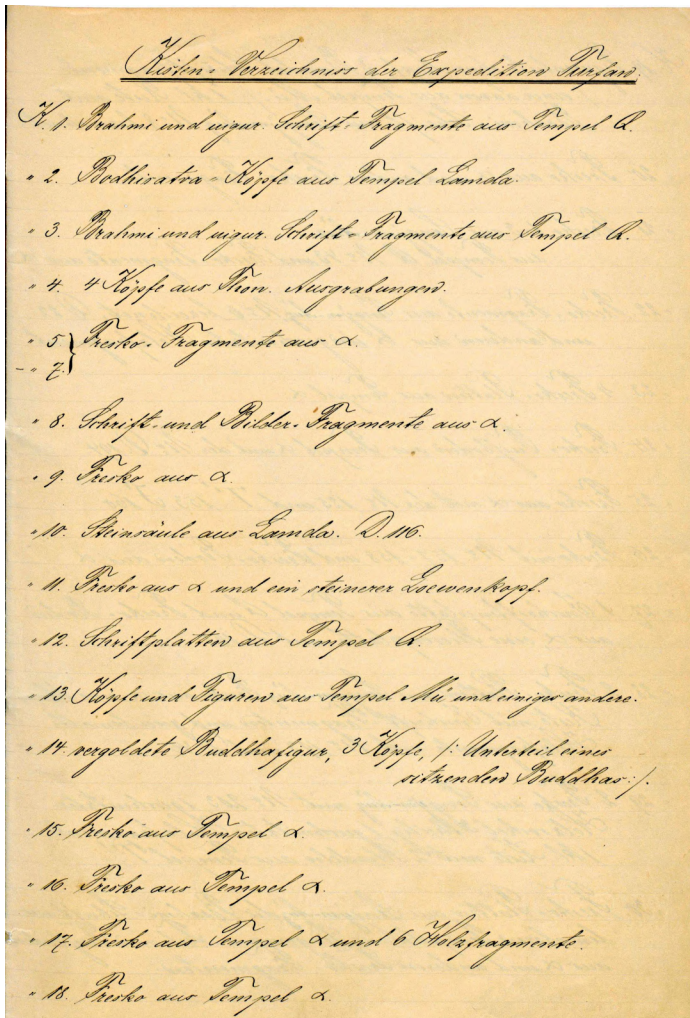
Fig. 2. First page of a list of finds transported to Berlin in 1903 with the return of Grünwedel's first expedition. TA 249. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

are part of the vast set of files that once belonged to the former Museum of Ethnology and are arranged according to their accession dates in the archives of that museum. Papers treating the same subject are registered under the accession date of the first letter of the subject heading, even if their dates are months apart. No other organizational scheme is followed: thus a personal letter may be followed by a bill or an estimate for museum furniture.

Documented is the period from 1899 to 1930, that is, between the earliest consideration of a German expedition to Central Asia and the year after the inauguration of the last exhibition rooms containing objects acquired in

Central Asia in the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. The main reason for creating separate files apart from the general museum files were the four expeditions (1902-14) to Central Asia under the guidance of Albert Grünwedel and later Albert von Le Coq. Though there were also preparations for a fifth expedition under Albert Tafel during the interwar era, that expedition never materialized.

Contents of the Files

The difficult start of the first expedition is documented in detail, including the almost desperate attempts to gain support and funding for a journey into the heart of Asia that could lead to new discoveries. Albert Grünwedel and Georg Huth, a linguist and scholar of Buddhism, eventually managed to go on this first trip, accompanied by the technician Theodor Bartus. They were all supported by Russian colleagues who had expressed an earnest desire to join the party. All of these early activities are well documented by the applications and letters in the files. Also well documented is the return of the party with boxes full of new study material and the promise of fresh findings. It is exciting to read in how short a time F.W.K. Müller, a linguist and head of the Chinese Department at the museum, concluded that the enigmatic illuminated manuscripts in a Syriac script had been made by the followers of Mani.

While language experts were dealing with the textual remains, Grünwedel drew his maps and lobbied for the swift organization of a second

Fig. 3. A draft of Grünwedel's route for the first expedition (1902-3) in Xinjiang, from the final report of his journey to the head office. TA 332. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

Fig. 4. Letter from Aurel Stein to Albert von Le Coq on August 8, 1908 thanking him for sending a publication and announcing his arrival in Turfan. TA 2394, 2395, 2395-1. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

expedition, certain that more knowledge and new discoveries could be unearthed. Even today we can read in the files the excitement with which the newly founded Turfan Committee carried out plans to send the Turkologist Albert von Le Coq to Turfan in order to find new manuscripts in the remains of ancient houses and temples at the site of Kocho. But the letters also show Grünwedel's dilemma: as head of the scholarly team, he should have consented immediately in returning to Cen-

tral Asia. But the first expedition had been hard on his physical health, and administrative obligations in the museum threatened to prevent him from embarking on a return journey. In addition, Grünwedel wanted to organize and publish his notes before leaving on another trip. He later became bitter about the excitement with which his colleagues pressed Le Coq to go, to the point even of risking their friendship with Russian colleagues by rushing to a place that had first been explored by them. Grünwedel insisted that Le Coq would be sent as the head of an advance party and would be in charge only until Grünwedel's arrival in Central Asia about a year later. The files name both Le Coq's initial solo activities and the joint excavations undertaken later by himself and Grünwedel after the latter's arrival (1906-7) as the "Second Turfan Expedition." After their return to Berlin, Le Coq and Grünwedel agreed to split the materials of this one lengthy expedition into two separate ones (1904-5 and 1906-7) for administrative purposes. As a a result, the much later expedition of 1913-14,

Fig. 5. Grünwedel's announcement to the General Director of Museums on December 16, 1908 regarding the reopening of three halls of the Indian Department, which had been closed for more than a year for storage and treatment of the finds of the second and third expeditions after their arrival in November 1907. TA 2440. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

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which was undertaken by Le Coq, was called the fourth.

Interspersed between private letters from Central Asia and correspondence with colleagues concerning the transport of crates through Russia and work on their new archaeological finds, we frequently find letters to the head of the Turfan Committee, the director-general of the museums in Berlin, and the Ministry of Culture. These letters mostly concern the facilitation of travels and mail, customs, and permissions. They are accompanied by photographs, preliminary and printed reports, small articles, and other newspaper clippings that demonstrate the importance and international recognition of their expeditions. Preserved in these files are incoming letters, telegrams, and copies or drafts of outgoing letters. There are documents such as passports and royal permissions to receive funds and accept medals. We also find expense estimates, receipts and money orders, bills for expedition equipment and final accounts, and payment receipts for laborers, photographers, and printers.

With the arrival of more than 200 crates from the second and third expeditions and another 150 crates from the fourth expedition, the files show a marked increase in notes concerning the mountings of wall paintings in metal frames, of bills for workers with gypsum and lac, of orders for carpenters to build shelves and vitrines, and of orders for glass plates to frame manuscripts. There are also long lists of the measurements of objects to be curated, along with records of payment to various suppliers and workers.
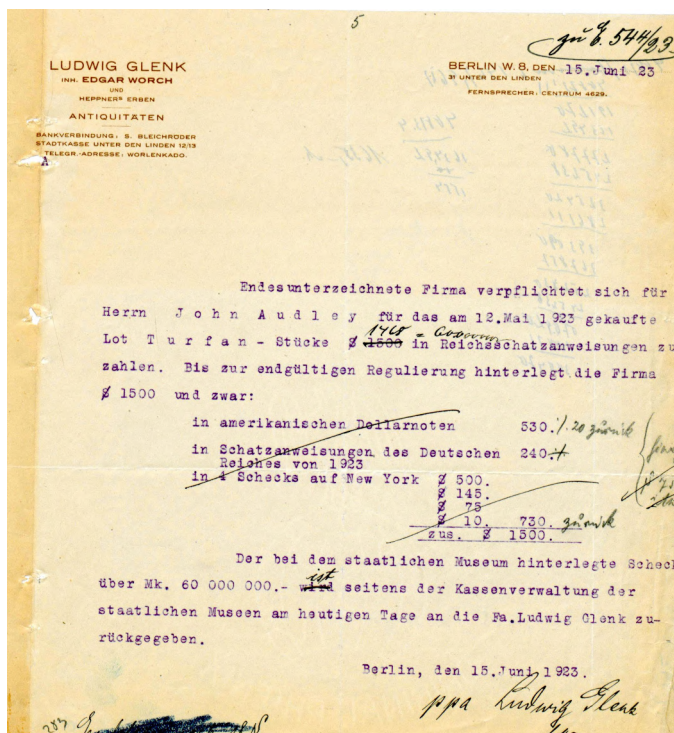
Fig. 6. Guarantee of antiquities dealer Ludwig Glenk, dated June 15, 1923, to pay $1,468 for a collection of objects from Turfan that he purchased on behalf of John Audley on May 12, 1923. TA 4400. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

The addition of more than 9,000 new objects, some quite large, into the museum's collection within just twelve years raised a new set of problems that are mirrored in the files. In short, the Museum of Ethnology, which had opened its new building in 1886 and held objects from all over the world, had almost no storage facilities and very limited personnel. As a result, in 1914 the Indian Department, which had overseen the Central Asian expeditions, asked for more space in the thirty-year-old building. A large portion of the papers after 1904 deal with the restructuring of collections and the separation of instructive or historically important pieces of art from others that were considered of less importance for the general public. Plans for a new museum complex with additional space were shattered in 1918 with the German defeat in World War I. Work came almost to a standstill, scholars and employees had to make up for lost time spent in military service, and then the big recession of the 1920s eliminated all funds. The archival papers reveal the desperate attempts to keep work going. Because they were too old to serve in the military, Grünwedel and Le Coq remained

Fig. 7. Announcement on April 24, 1924 of a small exhibition of wall pictures (originals and reproductions) at the Brooklyn Museum. TA 4481. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

Fig. 8. Telegram from Kucha to Kashgar July 13, 1913 requesting the assistance of British consul Sir George Macartney in procuring the medical aid of Dr. Högberg for Albert von le Coq. TA 5076. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

Fig. 9. Macartney's telegraphic reply to Le Coq, dated July 14, 1913, informing him of the doctor's recommended diet and the dispatch of a medical assistant to Kucha. TA 5077. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

busy publishing their finds. But these hard times left their mark on them as well: each lost close relatives in the war and later their assets in the financial crisis. When Grünwedel retired in 1921, Le Coq was in the middle of publishing his multivolume *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* (*Late Buddhist Antiquity in Central Asia*). In order to cover the cost of printing, he had to reallocate funds originally earmarked for the cancelled fifth expedition.

Because of the financial crisis, General Director Wilhelm von Bode ordered all museums to identify objects that could be sold to art dealers in exchange for gold currency. The Turfan Files have preserved these correspondences and thus show how some of the wall paintings found their way into American museums.

The Museum of Ethnology

The Turfan Files present a compelling picture of how a big museum with important objects worked in difficult times when funds were scarce. They also show how dedicated employees planned for better days in the future by discussing solutions to intractable problems, writing applications for funding, and fighting for support for their work. It seems like a miracle that in 1923, Le Coq, then serving for a short time as curator of the Indian Department, eventually found such support from Wilhelm Wille, the director of construction for the museums, who took his side in convincing the head office and treasury of the museums to consent to an enlargement and refurbishing of exhibition space for the Indian and Central Asian objects. Thus did Grünwedel's and Le Coq's dream come true when in 1928 all objects that they had collected on their four expeditions (1902-14) in Xinjiang with the knowledge of the Chinese authorities go on display for the European public. While Chinese warlords and the Nationalists and Communist parties struggled for power in China, the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin opened an exceptional art show displaying the lost heritage of China's troubled far west.

Fig. 10. Front of the Museum of Ethnology, 1905. No catalog number. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.
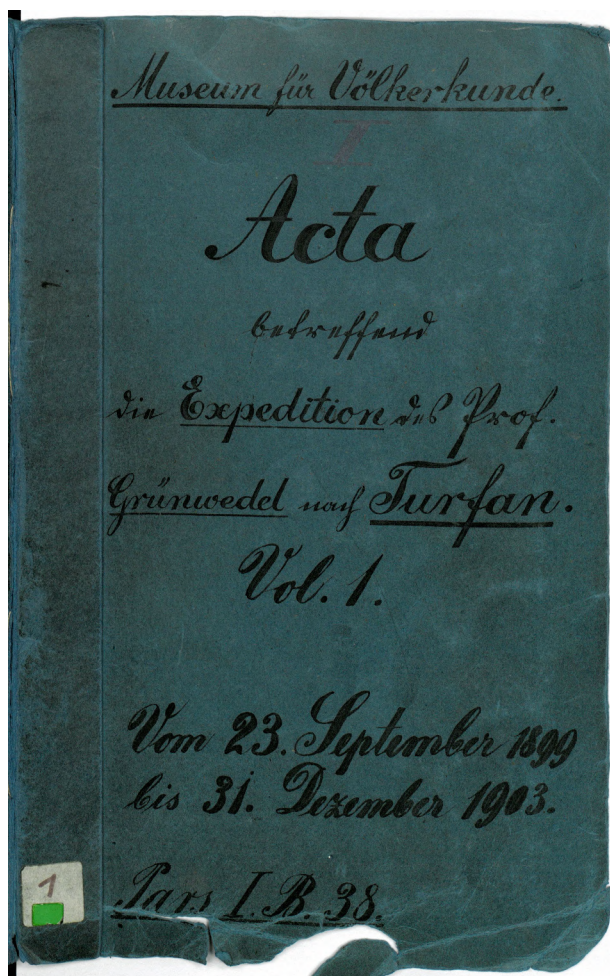
Fig. 11. Frontispiece of the first dossier of the Turfan Files, vol. 1, September 23, 1899 to December 31, 1903. TA 453. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

Fig. 12. One of the large Buddhist wall paintings brought back to Berlin from Bezeklik by the second expedition in 1906 and assembled in Hall 10 of the Museum of Ethnology. This photograph, which was taken around 1932, shows curator Ernst Waldschmidt (right) and two Japanese visitors. These large paintings were destroyed during World War II. No catalog number. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

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The scholars in Berlin were proud of their museum and of the results of their research on the thousands of manuscript fragments that had been preserved since 1912 by the Oriental Commission of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. Even before World War I, Berlin had already become a center of research for the northern Silk Road. With the resumption of scholarly activities in the 1920s and the opening of the new museum rooms—which highlighted magnificent Buddhist wall paintings—visitors from all over the world came to Berlin to view these exhibits.

colleagues in their own field as well as experts in the natural sciences and even journalists. What we call networking today was a matter of professional habit in those days. Though such networking did not stop after Le Coq's death in 1930, the rise of National Socialism in Germany and the advent of World War II did put a damper on further big plans for international research. That the Turfan Files were closed in 1930 suggests that, in the eyes of museum authorities, the handling of Central Asian objects and manuscripts ceased to be regarded as a priority.

After the destruction of World War II and losses of museum holdings through military confiscation and plundering, the Turfan Files suddenly became nearly the only first-hand source of information on the four expeditions, the formulation of scholarly

Research

The Turfan Files bear frequent testimony to cooperation with national and international scholars. It was standard scholarly practice to share knowledge and information with

results after 1914, and conceptions of later conservation and exhibitions. Unfortunately, the diaries and logbooks of Georg Huth, Albert Grünwedel, Albert von Le Coq, and Hermann Pohrt, the chief expedition participants, are all lost. There must also have once been notes of measurements and observations that the scholars drew upon for their publications. In the early 1940s, Ernst Waldschmidt mentioned the many copy books containing the notes of Theodor Bartus, the technician that accompanied all four expeditions, as still extant. We are very fortunate that Grünwedel managed to publish his archaeological observations; otherwise we would know far less about archaeological sites in the Kucha oasis and the Turfan area. The Turfan Files fill part of that gap and supply us with all kinds of information concerning the history of science in Central Asia, German museums, and the history of archaeological expeditions.

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A Study of Stone-joint Metal Clamps in China and Korea during the 6th-8th Centuries*

Hongnam Kim

The use of stone-joint metal clamps to bind cut-stone blocks is a structural reinforcement device in masonry construction. Popularly called "keystone cut clamps" in the Western world, their emergence seems to have coincided with the advent of dry ashlar masonry, which required new approaches in structural engineering.[1] They signify a technical evolution in the manipulation of stones in human history and bespeak the inseparable unity of art and technology down to the last detail.

Stone-joint clamps have been found globally stretching from South America all the way to the Far East, covering a long span of time [**Fig. 1**].[2] By present knowledge, the earliest datable examples come from Egyptian temples of the middle of the second millennium BCE in the shape of a flat rectangular bar with curved-in waist, now commonly referred to as a "dovetail" clamp. Clamp types vary in shape: dovetail, double-T (of "dumbbell-shape") sometimes with circular or semicircular heads, straight bar, the alphabet capitals I and H, and butterfly (or "bow tie"). For the material, iron was the most popular, but wood, stone, bronze, lead, and even gold were used (modern retrofitting is done with steel or titanium). Due to their high cost and the demand for skilled craftsmen to produce both the precision cut of clamp grooves and rust-proof metal clamps, these clamping devices were mostly applied to architecture and monuments built under state and religious commissions of the ancient world. Despite their global presence and continuous reports on new findings, the subject has not received serious scholarly attention.[3] This is probably due to the fact that they are mostly found lying buried and thus considered to be ancillary concern. But their common features in form, material, production, and installation seem to imply trans-regional circulation and world-wide adaptation of the technology. Time and again world history proves that the speed of knowledge-travel is much faster than local-level independent inventions in the field of art and technology.

The Western world of the first millennium CE was, it is no exaggeration to say, under the spell of Roman technology and art in stone masonry—as witnessed through Roman roads, aqueducts, amphitheaters, victory gates, colosseums, and arch bridges built everywhere within the far reaches of the Empire. Their stone monuments and architecture were virtually an encyclopedic repository of stone-joint clamps in all possible types and materials. The enduring influence of the Romans even after the fall of Rome was felt strongly throughout the Byzantine East and Sassanian Persia, who in turn were destined to be the transmitter of Roman masonry to the Far East.

In East Asia, as of now, the earliest stone-joint clamps come from China and are datable to the early 6th century CE, followed by Korea in the late 7th century. Finds from India and Southeast Asia date to the 9th-11th century, though some with even earlier dates may eventually surface. Admittedly, a full investigation of the circumstances behind the relatively late arrival and sudden flourishing of clamping technology in China and Korea is beyond the scope of this article. Such an inquiry may lead us into the complex topic of contacts between East and West in the architectural field—an aspect that has been largely neglected in the general Silk Road narrative of transcontinental and transoceanic exchanges and encounters.

By its very nature, this "microstudy" on the subject of stone-joint clamps cannot be conclusive, and

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* This is a revised and shortened version of an earlier article that was originally published in two parts. See Kim Hongnam, "Tongil-Silla jeongi Geonchuk ui Eun-jang Yeongu" [On stone-joint metal clamp "eun-jang" from early Unified Silla stone monuments], *Misulsahak Yeongu*, no. 303 (September 2019) and no. 304 (December 2019). A few more sites that came to my attention after publication necessitated some revision, but the main points of the argument remain unchanged.
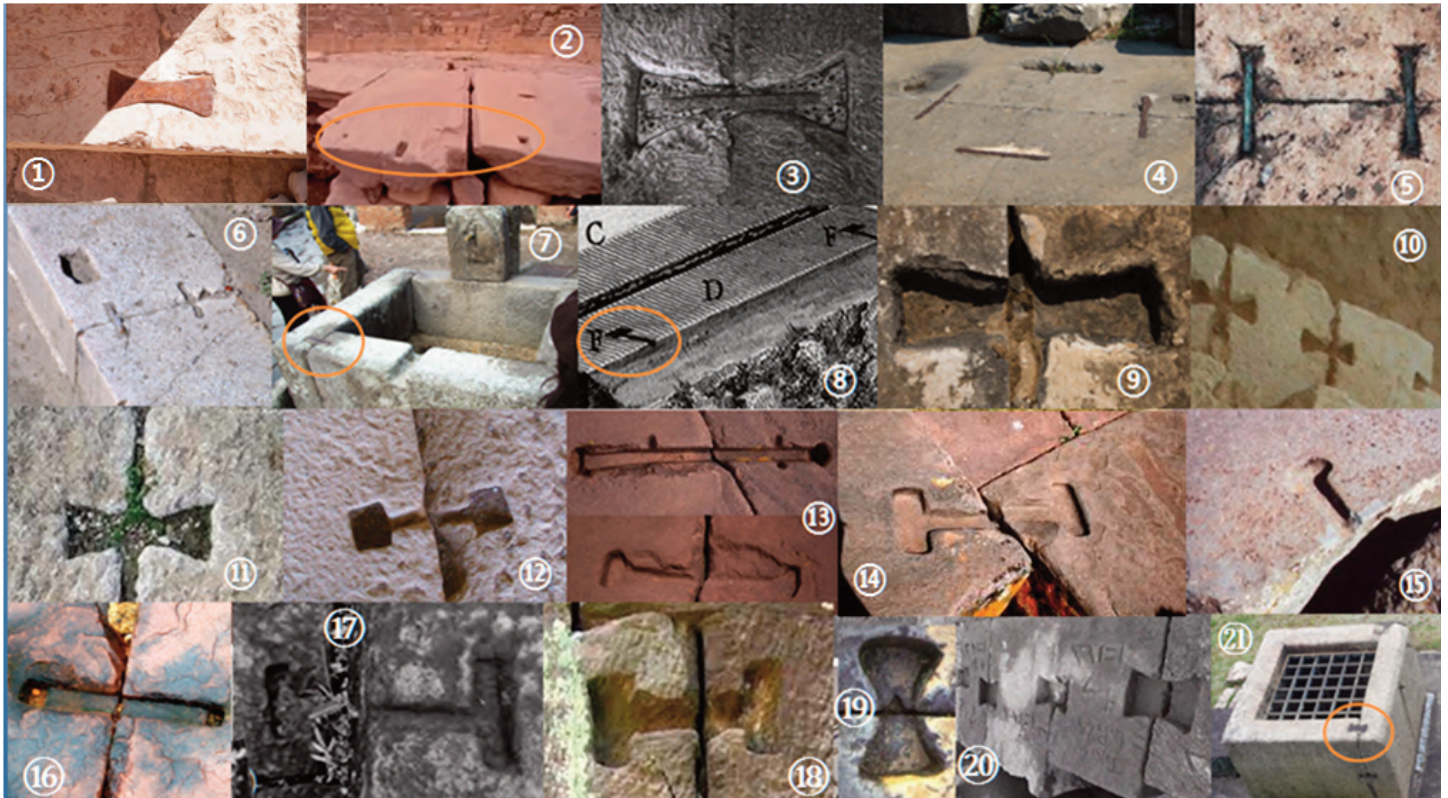
Fig. 1. Examples of stone-joint clamps from around the world: 1) Upper Anubis shrine at the Temple of Hatshepsut, Egypt, Deir El-Bahari, c. 1450 BCE; 2) Theatre at the Acropolis, Greece, 5-4th BCE; 3) Pasagarde, Iran c. 500 BCE; 4) Delphi Temple, Greece, 5th-3rd c. BCE; 5) Oikio Temple, Turkey, mid-4th c. BCE; 6) Roman Forum, Rome, Mid-1st c. BCE; 7) Pompeii, Italy, datable before 79 CE; 8) Aurelian Walls, Rome, 271–275 CE; 9) Artemis Temple, Sardis, Roman Section, 1st-4thc. CE; 10) Tigranakert Roman Ruines, Armenia. 1st c. BCE; 11) Tunisia; 12) Axum, Ethiopia, 3rd-5th c. CE; 13) Puma Punku, Bolivia, pre-Inca; 14) Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, pre-Inca; 15) Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, pre-Inca; 16) Bijamandal Complex, India, pre-13th c. CE; 17) My Son, Vietnam, ca. 10th c. CE; 18) Ankor Wat, Cambodia, ca. 10th c. CE; 19) Angkor Wat, Cambodia, ca. 10th c. CE; 20) Borobudur Indonesia. ca. 9th c. CE; 21) Imperial Palace, Tokyo, Japan, ca. 17th c. CE.

new findings will lead to future revisions. But it is worthwhile to take a step toward understanding the development of East Asian stone masonry. The primary aim of this paper is to introduce the Chinese and Korean stone-joint clamps of the period from the early 6th century to the 8th century through a few representative case studies. First is a survey of the Chinese specimens, with particular attention paid to the Zhaozhou Bridge 趙州橋 of the Sui dynasty 隋朝 (581-618 CE), which represents early Chinese stone architecture above ground with a full-scale application of the device. The second case study will be on Korean specimens found from sites in Gyeongju, the capital of the Unified Silla dynasty 統一新羅 (676-935 CE). Special attention will be given to the Seokguram 石窟庵 Buddhist grottoes of the mid-8th century, which features the true dome architecture of full-fledged ashlar masonry with sophisticated clamping technology.

Stone-joint Metal Clamps from Northern China, 6th-7th Centuries CE

The common Chinese term for stone-joint clamps is *yaotie* 腰鐵 (literally "waist-iron"), a term which first appeared in early 8th century literature to describe the dovetail-type clamps on the Zhaozhou Bridge of the Sui dynasty. According to current knowledge, the earliest known *yaotie* clamps are from the first three decades of the 6th century during the Northern Wei dynasty 北魏朝 (386-534) in the north and the Liang dynasty 梁朝 (502-557) in the south.

The clamps found so far in the north are typologically consistent with the "dovetail" type seen throughout the Tang dynasty 唐朝 (618-906). But in the south a different typology emerges: the clamps are of the dumbbell type with heads in square or circular-shape, which belongs to the category of T-shape in the West. Though limited to only two Southern Liang sites, one appears partic-

ularly significant in consideration of its imperial connection with the Liang royal mausoleum in the vicinity of its capital at Nanjing, the cultural center of southern China. This typology, if practiced with consistency, may indicate that the routes of its transmission were different from that of the north; in fact, this would not have been impossible during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties 南北朝 (386-589), when China experienced political and cultural divisions between the non-Chinese ruled states of the north and the Chinese-ruled states of the south before reunification under the Sui dynasty at the end of the 6th century.

A Seated Colossal Buddha, Yungang Grottoes

Stone-joint clamps were found in a curious circumstance in cave 19 of the Yungang Grottoes 雲岡石窟 at Datong 大同 in Shanxi 山西 province. Established under the patronage of the Northern Wei court, the grottoes were carved directly into the face of a cliff. The seated colossal Buddha in the cave is one of the five colossal Buddha statues executed in the first period (460-465) of the Yungang project as representations of five early Northern Wei rulers as reincarnations of the Buddha.

Included in a comprehensive report on the Yungang complex that was published by Kyoto University from 1938 to 1945 by Mizuno Seichi and

Nagahiro Hoshio are photographs of the grottoes with extensive damage, as if shaken by an earthquake. All images of cave 19 are shown with repair work visible, and is especially prominent on the colossal seated Buddha. These photos of the statue also reveal full-fledged *yaotie,* i.e., iron clamps of dovetail type, to mend heavy cracks on the nose. The application of three dovetail clamps is visible on the damaged nose from the photographs [**Fig. 2**].[4] Obviously these photos were taken before final restoration work; at present, such traces of earlier repair work are no longer visible.

Since the dovetail-type clamps persisted through the Tang dynasty in northern China, the application of clamps and the occurrence of damage must predate Song dynasty. The only pre-Song natural disaster which could have affected the Yungang grottoes to such an extent was the great Shanxi earthquake in the year 512 (two later Shanxi earthquakes in 1303 and 1556 are thus not applicable). The 512 earthquake, which was of 7.5 magnitude, shook northern Shanxi, including the Datong area, and took lives of more than 5,300 people. Considering their symbolic importance to the Northern Wei dynasty, the grottoes—and in particular the five colossal Buddha statues—were probably repaired before the dynastic fall in 534. Thus the clamping work on the broken nose can be dated to sometime between the earthquake in 512 and the

Fig. 2. Left: Seated Colossal Buddha, Cave 19, 460-465, Northern Wei. Yungang Grotto, Datong, Shanxi, China; Right: Repair work (sometime between 512-534) of the cracked nose with dovetail-type iron clamps.

fall of the dynasty in 534. This marks some of the earliest evidence for the use of stone-joint clamps.

Yungang, a great Buddhist monument in northern China, was a melting pot of art and technology from across Eurasia and India. It also demonstrated the adoption of the Indian rock-cut cave tradition along with Hindu iconography and the use of Persian and Central Asian motifs and decorative style. Many artists who worked for the Northern Wei at sites such as Yungang likely came from or were trained by artisans from Central Asia and perhaps even further West, among whom were quite possibly migrant stonemasons and blacksmiths skilled in ashlar masonry and clamping technique. In fact, the Northern Wei rulers of Toba-Xianbei lineage originally came from the Eurasian steppe and were known for their receptivity to outside cultural and technological influences. Ultimately, they fostered a new type of cosmopolitanism in northern China during the 5th and 6th centuries, which would be inherited by the Sui and Tang dynasties.

Although clamping devices were not applied to the

Fig. 3. Top: Excavation site of a Northern Wei imperial tomb (ca. 525-534), Luoyang. Bottom: A stone block from the wall foundation, with evidence of a dovetail-type clamp-groove.

living-rock grottoes of Yungang, the ready application of the *yaotie* device for the aforementioned repair work is indicative of its circulation in cut-stone masonry architectural circles by the early 6th century in north China. This finding is also supported by a stone foundation reinforced with the same dovetail-type clamp that was found at the Northern Wei imperial cemetery in Luoyang, which is discussed in the next section.

The Stone Wall Foundation at a Northern Wei Imperial Tomb, Luoyang

Another early evidence for the use of *yaotie* clamps comes from an imperial tomb of the Northern Wei dynasty that was excavated in 2013 in Luoyang 洛阳, the last of its dynastic capitals. The excavation received extensive coverage in the *Loyang News* 洛阳新闻, including a full interview with Dr. Liu Bin 刘斌, the scholar in charge of the excavation who is affiliated with the Luoyang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology.[5] This large underground tomb has been dated to 525-534 CE, based upon some burial goods left by grave robbers; among them is a Byzantine gold coin of Anastasius I minted between 491 to 518 CE. Emperor Min 闵帝 (498-532) is most likely the owner of the tomb.

Now in a state of ruin, the tomb is about 58.9 meters long and consists of two long slopes (front and rear) leading to a single chamber (19.2 x 12 x 8.1 meters). Built mostly with stone-bricks covered with soil (rammed earth), the tomb reveals the use of large cut-stone blocks for both the entrance and the wall foundation, which are considered rare and unique for Northern Wei tombs and provide new evidence for the development of ashlar masonry. Left of the wall foundation is a single stone block bearing the clear mark of a clamping device with one half of a dovetail-clamp groove, which Liu Bin describes as "an inverted triangle groove" [**Fig. 3**]. Evidently the foundation was constructed of cut-stone blocks bound by stone-joint clamps. This is a significant find of the clamping device for the first time in architectural context.

In view of recent scholarship on the mobility of nomads and steppe people and their exchanges with the Byzantine West and Sassanian Persia, contacts with the Northern Wei could have occurred even earlier when the dynastic capital was

in Yecheng 鄴城 or Datong 大同, or even before their dynastic rise in the Eurasian steppe.[6] In fact, the traces of clamp technology at both the grottoes of Yungang and this imperial tomb site in Luoyang can be taken as evidence for the development of cut-stone architecture in northern China, most likely with stimuli from the Roman masonry built in Byzantine Rome and Sassanian Persia.

Fig. 4. Top: Stone casket from the tomb of Li Dan (d. 564), Northern Zhou, Xi'an, Shaanxi, Xi'an City Museum; Bottom: Detail of dovetail-type clamp-groove.

Stone Mortuary Furnishings of the Northern Zhou and Sui Periods

From the period following the Northern Wei until the time of the Zhaozhou Bridge at the turn of 7th century, *yaotie* clamps appear on some of the stone coffins from tombs in the northern Chinese provinces of Gansu, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Henan, and Shandong. The tomb occupants have been identified as foreign immigrants mostly from Sogdiana, with some from Sassanian Persia and northern India.[7] Related archaeological reports and a good

many studies on these coffins in the collection of Chinese and overseas museums rarely scrutinize aspects of masonry and crafting technique. Therefore, this survey must rely on the occasional reference to the presence of *yaotie* clamps, though the number of cases may increase in the future.

To be discussed below are five stone coffins with *yaotie* devices, which date from the middle of the 6th to the early 7th centuries. Included are one casket type from the tomb of Li Dan 李誕, two house-type sarcophagi from the tombs of Shijun 史君 and Li Jingxun 李静訓, and two screened couch-type from the Vahid Kooros collection (Texas, USA) and from an unidentified tomb excavated in Tianshui 天水 (Gansu Province).

The tomb of Li Dan 李誕 (d. 564 CE), excavated in 2005, is one of the Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581) era tombs that was excavated in the Xi'an 西安 area of Shaanxi province [**Fig. 4**].[8] Li was a first-generation immigrant of Indo-Brahman descent who was originally from the Kabul-Kashmir region. He and his wife were interred in one large Chinese-style stone casket decorated with incised images of traditional Chinese themes (e.g., Fuxi and Nüwa and the four directional symbols) and with a trace of a *yaotie* clamp device on its lid. The casket measures 2.37 meters long with its raised front 1.2 meters in height. The lid, made of a single stone, shows a split developed from the edge of one side with two sets of deeply cut grooves crossing over the split. The grooves are clearly shaped for dovetail-type clamps. The crack positioned at its inflection-weight point and the application of a *yaotie* clamp crossing *over* the incised decoration together indicate an accidental cracking that probably occurred when the lid was lifted for an additional interment, which in turn required the application of a clamp to prevent further split.

The tomb of Shijun 史君 (Master Shi, d. 579 CE), excavated in 2003 in Xi'an, yielded a stone sarcophagus that was modeled after a traditional Chinese house. It is assembled of stone blocks, for which stone-joint clamps were used [**Fig. 5**]. A bilingual epitaph, located on the lintel, reveals that the occupants of the tomb were Shijun (whose Sogdian name was Wirkak) and his wife Wiyusīa, and that they were an elite Sogdian couple from Samarkand who lived in Xi'an. Shijun served as a *sabao* 薩保 in
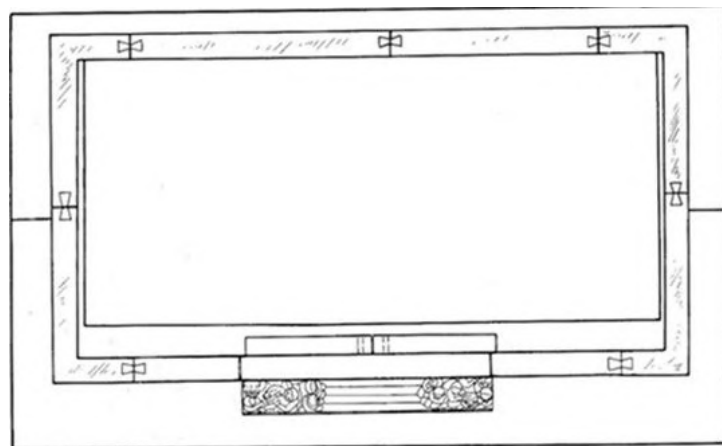
Fig. 5. Left: House-type sarcophagus from the tomb of Shijun (d. 579), Northern Zhou, Xi'an, Shaanxi, Xi'an City Museum; Right: Drawing of (dovetail?) clamps on top of wall panels.

Liangzhou 涼州 (present-day Wuwei, Gansu).[9] Liangzhou was a once-booming hub of international trade on the Silk Road and an important stopover and stronghold of the Sogdians. A *sabao,* meaning "caravan leader," was the title for a head administrator of the foreign communities in China.

This sarcophagus is an assembly of stone blocks sculpted and carved in imitation of a timber-framed Chinese house or temple with a hip-and-gable roof. Consisting of a base, a middle section, and a roof top, the sarcophagus measures 2.46 meters in length, 1.55 meters in width, and 1.58 meters in height. The "Drawing of the Mortise-Tenon Joints for the Stone House" 石堂榫卯結構圖 from an archaeological report shows seven sets of clamps used to bind the eight stone-slabs which made up the wall for the middle section.[10] The

clamps are described in the report as follows: "The 'slender-waist' 細腰 in iron measures 8 centimeters in total length, its head 4 centimeters in width, its waist 2 centimeters in width. It is also called *ying-ing sun* 銀錠榫 ('silver-ingot tenon')." Without any photos available it is difficult to identify the clamp type based on the drawing alone, and speculation is made even more difficult by the use of terminology in the description that is more applicable to carpentry. But in the light of all circumstances prevailing at that time, it is most likely the dovetail type.[11]

Another house-type sarcophagus with the *yaotie* clamp device is from the tomb of Li Jingxun 李静訓墓 (d. 608), which was excavated in 1957 in Xi'an [**Fig. 6**].[12] Li, who passed away at the tender age of nine, was from an aristocratic Sui family of mixed Han Chinese/Yuwen-Xuanbei descent. Popularly

Fig. 6. Left: House-type sarcophagus, tomb of of Li Jingxun (d. 608), Xi'an, Shaanxi, Sui, Xi'an Beilin Museum; Right: Lower part of the inner coffin with dovetail-type clamps.

called the "Tomb of Child Li" 李小孙墓, it contained a small house-type sarcophagus (1.92 meters long, 1.61 meters tall, 0.89 meters wide) filled with lavish offerings consisting mostly of foreign imports such as necklaces and bracelets (made in a "Persian-style"), along with a Persian coin. The sarcophagus is

constructed of 17 blocks of stone in total. The wall consists of six stone blocks joined on top by six iron clamps of the dovetail type. It is also mentioned in the report that more clamps were found in other parts of the sarcophagus.

There are a number of stone funerary couches enclosed by a screen of stone panels with the front open; most of them were excavated from tombs that date from the 6th to early 7th centuries, but some appeared in the art market without provenance and ended up in the museums and private collections abroad. These couch-type coffins, the most sumptuous among the stone coffins of the period, have fascinated many scholars with their Eurasian connections as well as the rich art historical contents.[13] As of now, only two have been determined to feature a *yaotie* clamp to secure the stone screen panels. But due to the instability of the tall screen panels in perpendicular set-up on the edge of the bed, most of these types of coffins probably resorted to the same sort of clamping device, even if they were also locked into the bed-stones below by the tenon-joint method.[14]

One screened funerary couch is from a late 6th-century tomb of an unidentified occupant that was excavated in 1982 in Tianshui, Gansu province [**Fig. 7**].[15] The couch is screened on three sides by 11 stone panels (five back panels, six side panels) embellished with gilded and painted relief images. Although this type of screened couch appeared as early as the 4th century in Chinese depictions of everyday life scenes, the pictorial imagery also includes Near Eastern/Central Asian iconography. These panels (each measuring in average 0.87 meters in height and 30-46 centimeters in width) are tied up by two pairs of dovetail *yaotie* clamps on the back. Now only empty grooves are left in shape to fit clamps measuring approximately 8 centimeters in length, 3-4 centimeters in width (for the head), and 1 centimeter in thickness.

Another screened funerary couch is popularly known as the "Kooros Bed," which is held in the Vahid Kooros collection but used to be on loan at the Musée Guimet, Paris [**Fig. 8**].[16] Based on its overall similarity to the aforementioned couch, it is assumed to have been from the area of Tianshui.

Fig. 7. Left top: Screened-couch type coffin, excavated in Tianshui, Gansu. late 6th–early 7th c., Northern Zhou-Sui, Tianshui City Museum; Left bottom: Drawing of the back of the coffin with clamps marked; Right: Detail of the back of the coffin with dovetail-type clamp-grooves.
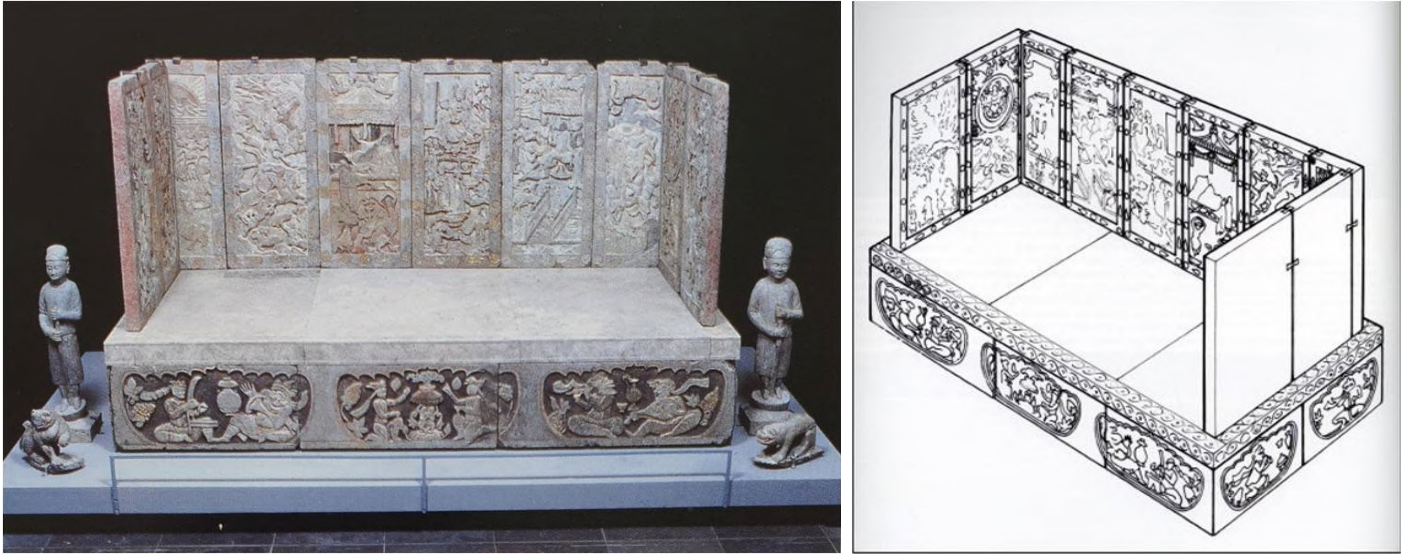
Fig. 8. Left: Screened-couch type coffin, probably from Tianshui, Gansu, late 6th–early 7th c., Northern Zhou-Sui. Vahid Korooso Collection, Texas, USA; Right: Reconstructed drawing of the couch showing dovetail-type clamps on the back and top of the screen panels.

The iconography of the pictorial imagery and stylistic features of both couch coffins give enough evidence to conclude that their occupants came from the border regions of the Indian domain, either from Bactria or from Gandhāra. According to drawings of the reconstructed Koroos bed, the screen consists of 10 stone panels (six on the back and four on the sides) joined by 18 clamps (nine on the back and nine on the top). They are undoubtedly grooves meant for dovetail-type clamps.

Stone-joint metal clamping required individuals who were skilled in both stone masonry and metal-forging for their production and installation. Apparently, the aforementioned tombs mostly belonged to members of thriving communities of foreign immigrants who were capable of underwriting such a costly undertaking as mobilizing a skilled work force for the production and repair work of coffins. Could such communities of westward connections in northern China have attracted and nurtured stonemasons and blacksmiths of Western origin? Furthermore, northern China at the time was under the rule of highly cosmopolitan Inner Asian nomadic peoples who fostered a society receptive of foreign culture and technology. This receptiveness was sustained through the Sui and the mid-Tang until the 755 rebellion of An Lushan (a military commander of Sogdian-Turk descent), which instigated an anti-foreign policy. The emergence of the world-renowned Zhaozhou Bridge at the turn of the 7th

century, discussed below, should be understood against such a historical backdrop.

The Zhaozhou Bridge of the Sui Period

The Zhaozhou Bridge 趙州橋 (officially named Anji Bridge 安濟橋) is a stone arch bridge of the Sui period (581-618), which crosses the Xiaohe 洨河 river south of today's Zhaoxian 趙縣 county (once a part of Zhaozhou 趙州 in ancient times) in Hebei province. The Xiaohe flows into the Fuyang River via the provincial capital city Shijiazhuang 石家庄 [**Fig. 9**].[17] The bridge is also popularly called the "Greater Stone Bridge" 大石橋, in contrast to the smaller Yongtong Bridge 永通橋 nearby, which is known as the "Lesser Stone Bridge." Having been much damaged with the water nearly dried up, the bridge was in disuse and forgotten about until it was "rediscovered" by Liang Sicheng 梁思成, the distinguished Chinese architect and historian of architecture. Liang was instrumental in drawing domestic and international attention to its historical importance and beauty, which eventually led to its major restoration in 1952-56.[18]

The Zhaozhou Bridge's earliest record comes from the "Encomium on the Stone Bridge with a Preface" <石橋銘幷序>, which was written in in the 720s by Zhang Jiazhen 張嘉貞 (665-729). In it, Zhang gives the Sui-dynasty date for the bridge and uses the words *yao* and *tie* for the first time.[19] Embedded in the phrase "waist-slender iron" 腰纖

鐵, the words are used to describe the iron clamps on the bridge, with a curved-in waist commonly referred to as a "dovetail" type in the West and a "swallowtail" type in China. With its exuberant dovetail *yaotie* clamps on the surface of the arch stones, the bridge spawned the popular name "An-jiqiao-style *yaotie*" and became regarded as the *yaotie* type-site.

The Zhaozhou Bridge is a single, segmental-arch bridge (1/4 arch-segment, arc of 84 degrees) with four open-spandrels on the shoulders of the main arch. It measures 64.4 meters in total length and 9.0-9.6 meters in width, with an actual arch-span of 37 meters. Free of piers, the bridge's entire structure and total weight of 2,800 tons are supported by 28 rows of arch stones, including the two outermost rows and the abutments on both shores. It has enjoyed fame for the longest single-arch span in the world. But little attention has been given to the remarkable presence of stone-joint iron clamps, so prominently visible on the perpendicular surface of the main arch and spandrel arches. Its 240 clamps (visible in situ) seem to have functioned not only as a reinforcement device for the arch structure, but also as an integral part of the design to enliven and enrich the beauty of the stone arches.

The 240 clamps are mostly installed in sets of two to join every two arch stones on the main arch, except where a set of 3 clamps is applied to join the regular arch stones with a demon-faced (辟邪用鬼面) keystone. But the spandrel arch-stones are joined by a single *yaotie*. All are dovetail-type iron clamps, identical in form and size. Each one measures approximately 34 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide (of head), and 8 centimeters in thickness. Installing iron clamps on a perpendicular surface meant that the clamps had to be pre-cast and inlaid in the prepared cut-grooves with extreme precision, rather than pouring liquid-iron into grooves from a portable furnace. In addition to the clamps, other structural reinforcement devices include iron tie-bars (trans-piercing the 28 rows of arch stones with only their heads visible), stone-rivets, and keystones, all reminiscent of Roman (West and East) architecture and stone bridges.[20] At the same time the bridge expresses Chinese culture and aesthetics through its design of sculpted rails and vigorous relief sculptures full of traditional Chinese symbolism. The dovetail clamps dotting the arch surface have even been interpreted as resembling "the scales of a dragon" (to bor-

Fig. 9. Top: Zhaozhou Bridge, ca. 600, Sui era, Zhao County, Hebei; Bottom left: Details of dovetail-type clamps (head of the iron tie-bar is circled, while an arrow points to a stone-rivet); Bottom-right: close-up of metal joint clamp.

Fig. 10. Left: Yongtong Bridge (open-spandrel segmental arch bridge), ca. 7-8th c., Zhao County, Hebei; Right: details of dovetail-type iron clamps.

row a Chinese description).

Technically, the Zhaozhou Bridge can be interpreted as a creative adoption of one segment of a Roman-style multi-pier arch bridge built over narrow waters with the omission of piers. This made it possible to avoid constructing piers against the continuous force of the flowing water. The omission of piers, the long extension of arch span, and the additional spandrel openings served several purposes. They allowed inundating water to escape without damaging the bridge and decreased overall weight stress, ultimately contributing to its incredible longevity.

Soon after its completion, the Zhaozhou Bridge became a celebrated cultural symbol of the Hebei region. A number of bridges built in the style of

the Zhaozhou Bridge sprang up in the region with the same inlay application of dovetail *yaotie* on exposed perpendicular surfaces. They are best represented by the above-mentioned Yongtong Bridge 永通橋 and the Qiaolou Dian 桥楼殿 stone bridge in the Xuankongsi temple 懸空寺 on Mount Cangyan 蒼岩山 (located southwest of Shijiazhuang city) [**Figs. 10, 11**].[21] Significantly, it seems that, beginning with the Zhaozhou Bridge, the stone-joint clamps, no longer ancillary, claim their own importance. Though very rare, such exposed

Fig. 11. Above: Qiaolou Dian stone bridge, ca. 7th c. at Xuankongsi Temple, Mount Cangyan, Shijiazhuang, Hebei; Below: Dovetail-type clamps along the span of the segmental arch. (Haphazard repairs impaired the bridge, particularly two spandrels) .

perpendicular inlay-application of clamps—with similar aesthetic intention—is noticeable at some Roman and Roman-influenced architecture. These include the Colosseum (completed in 80 CE) of Rome and the "Mihr Narseh" bridge (early 5th c. CE) now in ruin in Firuzabad Iran.[22]

No one would doubt the Zhaozhou Bridge was a product of the best science, technology, and artistry in stone arch architecture of its day. So extraordinary was it that a folk legend grew up around its construction: it was said that Lu Ban 魯班, an engineer, inventor, and carpenter from the 5th c. BCE and the patron deity of builders, miraculously built the bridge overnight. Even more than a century after its construction, Zhang himself exclaims in his "Encomium" that "its construction is too mysterious and unusual for the people to understand how it became possible" (製造奇特, 人不知其所以).

In the same writing, however, Zhang also refers to a man named Li Chun 李春 who he claims was responsible for the construction of the bridge: "The stone bridge on the Xiaohe of Zhaojun county is a legacy of the Sui-period master craftsman Li Chun" (趙郡狡河石橋，隋匠李春之跡也). This terse account is aided by the only other biographical information, given in a footnote by his grandson, that Li Chun was from Yaocheng village 堯城鎮 (present Longyao xian, Xingtai City 邢台市隆堯縣) in Hebei.[23] It seems that the identification of Li Chun is key to the secret of the construction of the Zhaozhou Bridge. But Li's name has never reappeared in other historical literature, and he later became a quasi-historical figure inseparable from the bridge (he is now honored with a large statue at the site park).

The naming of Li Chun offers a tantalizing insight into the existence of communities of stonemasons and blacksmiths, possibly of foreign origin and including recent newcomers, in the area surrounding the Zhaozhou Bridge. In fact, the region includes the cities of Shijiazhuang 石家庄 (literally meaning "Stonemason's Lodge") and Xingtai (particularly Yaoshan 堯山), both historically famed for rich mineral deposits and quarries that would have attracted communities of skilled stonemasons and stone craftsmen. They in turn would have provided

the workforce and material for the Zhaozhou Bridge.

Certainly, northern China was a nourishing ground for the emergence of outstanding architects and stonemasons—be they native, sinicized nomads, or Western foreigners. Yuwen Kai 宇文愷 (555-612), for instance, who was descended from a Yuwen-Xianbei elite family of nomadic origin, was the Sui court's principal architect and its most celebrated. Li Chun, though his identity has not been historically verified, was most likely the master-builder for the Zhaozhou Bridge and was probably proficient in Roman arch bridge technology.[24]

Obviously, we are still left with an insufficient understanding of how such a bridge, equal to or perhaps even surpassing the best of Roman bridges, came into being at this particular time and at a place far from any metropolitan centers of the day. But from a broader perspective, the Zhaozhou Bridge was unquestionably a manifestation of the cosmopolitan culture of the Northern Dynasties and the culmination of a great synthesis of Eastern and Western stone architecture and arch bridge technology and culture.

Stone-joint Metal Clamps from Southern China, 6th Century CE

Little information has been available for the southern Chinese stone masonry and stone-joint clamps prior to the Song dynasty (960-1279). Therefore it was quite unexpected to find traces of clamps from sites in the lower Yangtze region, which was the political and cultural arena of the Southern Dynasties. Even more surprising is that they seem to present a picture much different from that seen in northern China, though it would be premature at this point to jump to conclusions based on such a small data sample. Nevertheless, they provide new evidence for the development of stone masonry art and architecture under the Southern Dynasties in the period of North-South division.

One find is from a site labeled as "Stone Carvings for the Mausoleums of the Southern Dynasties in Danyang" 丹陽南朝 陵墓石刻, which is located not far from the Liang dynasty (502-557) capital of Nanjing in Jiangsu province.[25] The site is full of animal guardians and memorial steles, mostly in poor condition and half-buried around paddy

Fig. 12. Left: Stone-blocks with dumbbell-type clamps with circular (or square) heads, Jianling mausoleum of Emperor Wen, Liang dynasty, early 6th c., Danyang (near Nanjing), Jiangsu; Right: A sample block.

fields. They originally lined up alongside a spirit road that led to ten imperial mausoleums for the emperors of the Qi 齊 (479–502) and Liang 梁 dynasties and their family members.

The square cut-stone blocks with traces of clamps are found lying on the ground of the Jianling Mausoleum 建陵, which was built posthumously for Emperor Wen 文帝 (Xiao Shunzhi 蕭順之) of Liang by his son Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 502-549), the dynastic founder [**Fig. 12**]. All stone blocks show two inner sides, each of which bears one half of a clamp groove indicating that the blocks were part of an assembly of four or six stone blocks. These blocks served as a stone base for either a guardian-animal sculpture (mostly measuring longer than 3 meters and taller than 2 meters) or a

tall stone stele. Though the grooves are clearly formed to fit the dumbbell-type clamp, the shape of the heads is unclear since they were smudged when the metal clamps were extracted by force. They might have been rectangular, circular, or semicircular. But they are clearly distinguishable from the dovetail type clamp that prevailed in contemporary northern China.

The same type of clamp groove, this time clearly with a circular head, is also spotted from the pier stones of the Yicheng Bridge 义成桥 in Gourong city 句容市 (just south of Nanjing) in Jiangsu province [**Fig. 13**].[26] Although the upper structure of the present bridge is a late Qing reconstruction, the streamlined piers seem to have kept some of the old pier stones, which most likely date from

Fig. 13. Left: Yicheng Bridge; Right: Pier-stones with dumbbell-type clamps with circular head, Gourong City, Jiangsu. The pier-stones date from the Southern Dynasties (420-589), but the bridge is mostly late Qing reconstruction.

the period of Southern Dynasties.

If the north-south difference in clamping typology can be supported by more cases, serious questions would rise as to which route of transmission was taken by the southern clamps, which are distinct from the dovetail clamps of contemporary northern China not only in typology but also in application method. Worthy of note is the assembly of stone blocks with a "hidden" clamp device for large stone bases and for the piers of the stone bridge. This inquiry can be also extended to the Korean clamps of the late 7th-8th centuries, which, though more than a century later, curiously show similarities in both typology and application method.

The Liang royals and Han Chinese elites were the fountainhead of southern Chinese culture and Buddhist religion. Emperor Wu is known for his "excessive" construction of as many as six hundred Buddhist temples, which may indicate Liang contacts with India and South Asia along the "Buddha Road," a part of the maritime Silk Road. In this regard the role played by Jingzhou 荊州 of Hubei 湖北 province was important on the "Buddha Road" as the main gateway to the capital Nanjing, just as Dunhuang of Gansu province played a similar role on the overland Silk Road to Xi'an in northern China.

The central position of the Liang court in the international arena is well illustrated by "The Tribute Bearers" 職貢圖, a painting attributed to Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-554, Emperor Yuan, a son of Emperor Wu), a late copy of which is in the collection of the Nanjing Museum. The list of tribute bearers is extensive and partially overlaps with the international contacts of the Northern Wei such as Persia, Central Asia, and India. But also notable is the inclusion of states from the Sichuan basin and some Southeast Asian states (from Malay and west Indochina) as well as from Korea (Baekjae kingdom) and the Wa state (倭國) of ancient Japan. All this historical background may become more meaningful when more specimens surface in the south.

An Overview of Stone-Joint Metal Clamps in Korea, 7th-8th Century

The general term used in Korea for the stone-joint clamping device is *eun-jang* 隱藏 (literally "hid-den-stored away"), an apt description of its hidden presence and the fact that it can be seen when the structures are dismantled. Korean clamps of this period are found from stone monuments and sites that are constructed out of cut-stone blocks in dry method. They are all located in Gyeongju 慶州, the capital of the Unified Silla dynasty 統一新羅 (676-935).

Korean *eun-jang* clamps resemble flattened dumbbells with two different shapes of heads: one with square heads in the general category of "T" type (also called "double T") and the other with half-circle heads. Thus in typology they differ significantly from the dovetail-type clamp of contemporary northern China, yet still show a curious affinity to the clamp types of the Liang dynasty in southern China. Since the southern Liang court maintained close ties—political, cultural, and religious—with the Baekjae kingdom independent of the other two of the Three Kingdoms (Silla and Goguryeo), this type of clamp could have been initially introduced to the Korean peninsula through the Baekjae kingdom. But as of now there has been no supportive evidence directly coming from the sites of the Baekjae period.[27]

This survey of Korean *eun-jang* clamps is focused on a selection of stone masonry sites of unquestionable provenance. It begins with the twin stone pagodas of Gameun-sa temple, a royal temple completed in 682 soon after the unification of the Three Kingdoms. The clamps found on the pagodas belong to the dumbbell type with square-heads. This Gameun-sa type clamp gained popularity in the following decades. But by the mid-8th century it was replaced by a clamp type with a 'half-circle' head, which is best exemplified by the Seokga-tap pagoda of the Bulguk-sa temple and the Seokguram Buddhist temple, both built in the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742-765 CE) when the Unified Silla culture and masonry art reached their apex. The "half-circle" type remained popular through the end of the century.

During all this time, the use of metal clamps in Silla was limited to state-initiated stone monuments in the capital area. By the end of the 8th century, the *eun-jang* device gradually became an obsolete technology due to the overall reduction of scale and expense for stone constructions, which in

Fig. 14a. Left: Twin three-story stone pagodas, completed in 682, Unified Silla Dynasty, Gameun-sa, Gyeongju, Korea (the western pagoda in front, eastern pagoda in back). Right top: Exposed clamps on the topmost roof-stone of the eastern pagoda; Right bottom: Extracting a clamp (square-headed dumbbell type) from the western pagoda.

turn was most likely caused by the weakening of royal patronage and by the privatization and re-gionalization of religious and civil projects.

The Twin Three-Story Stone Pagodas at the Gameun-sa Temple Site

The Gameun-sa site is nestled on a low hill not far from the eastern seashore of Gyeongju, where lies the "underwater tomb" of King Munmu 文武王 (r. 661-81), who initiated the construction of the temple soon after he succeeded in unifying the Three Kingdoms in 676 CE. It was posthumously completed in 682 CE by his son, Kim Sinmun 神文王 (r. 681-92), who named it Gameun-sa ("Temple of Gratitude" 感恩寺) to express thanks for the protection of the Buddha and commemorate his father.[28] What is left of the complex today are the two majestic stone pagodas, skeletal remains of the stone-foundations for the main buildings and surrounding corridor, and traces of the stone retain-

ment wall on the slopes by the central approach. Pagodas, which developed from Indian stupas, had become prominent Buddhist monuments that were used for enshrining sacred relics in all Buddhist nations by this time. The dazzling relics uncovered from these pagodas are listed as national treasures along with the pagodas themselves.

The two pagodas are nearly identical in style and size. They follow a square plan, each measuring approximately 13.9 meters in height and 8 square meters for the bottommost base. The three main components, successfully receding upward like a soaring spire, consist of the following: a two-tiered base assembled of 44 stone blocks, a three-story main body with three in-between roof stones totaling 13 stones, and a topmost vertical iron-rod finial (originally embellished with symbolic jewels) supported by one small-size base-stone [**Fig. 14a**]. A total of 82 ashlar blocks of tuff-rock were used.[29]

Prior to the Gameun-sa pagodas, there existed

Fig. 14b. Left: Installation condition of four clamps on a four stone-block assembly; Center: four extracted clamps from the second level of the eastern pagoda; Right: Clamp-groove (square-head type) from topmost roof-stone of the western pagoda.

three earlier stone pagodas that were erected in the Baekjae kingdom before its fall in 660. These include the Miruk-sa and Jeongrim-sa temples. Regarded as the prototype of stone pagodas in Korea, they are close imitations of wooden pagodas but were constructed with cut-stones (up to more than 2,000 for each of the Miruk-sa pagodas) sculpted in close proximity to the timber components for both interlocking and groove joints. Consequently, these Baekjae pagodas had no actual need of stone-joint clamps.[30] On the other hand, the Gameun-sa pagodas were assembled out of large cut-stone blocks with mostly flat-surface finish without mortar. This necessitated resort to the *eun-jang* clamping method to bind them for structural stability. The result was a drastic reduction of the number of stone blocks (down to only 82), a remarkable change from the Baekjae-type pagodas. Nevertheless, the Gameun-sa pagodas are regarded as belonging to a transitional phase since they retain certain features of the Baekjae wooden pagodas. These include the stone-blocks for the central and the corner pillars, which were carved for interlocking and groove jointing; the gently sloping eaves; and the everted corner of roof stones.

When dismantled for repair work on the western pagoda in 1959-1960, it was confirmed that as many as 58 *eun-jangs* were installed horizontally at all levels (16 *eun-jangs* were used for the two-tier base stones) and the same number assumed for

its eastern pair.[31] Exceptional is a set of four *eun-jangs* exposed on the topmost roof (assembled of four separate stone blocks), which has no more stone structure above to "hide" them.

All *eun-jangs* are equally of the "square-head" type, measuring approximately 42-48.5 centimeters in length with a head of 4.5 centimeters in width; the fine-earth fillers were found in some *eun-jang* grooves [**Fig. 14b**]. According to a scientific ferrous-component analysis, they are rust-proof, cast-iron clamps of 82-99% purity. To reach such a level of purity from iron ore is not an easy task even by today's standard. The high level of iron-smelting technology achieved at the time can be assessed by the fact that the iron finial of 3.9 meters, exposed to weather for more than 1,200 years, could be reinstalled after only minor conservation work.[32]

The *eun-jang* installation required a knowledge of structural dynamics since it necessitated the positioning of *eun-jang* grooves on the exact center of forces exerted on cut-stone blocks at each level of multi-storied pagoda. The lifting of heavy stones to a height of more than 10 meters and their placement aligned with matching grooves were another challenge that relied on a rudimentary pulley mechanism and manpower. The whole process would have required expert supervision and well-practiced hands. Another noteworthy

Fig. 14c. Stone rivets on the retaining wall.

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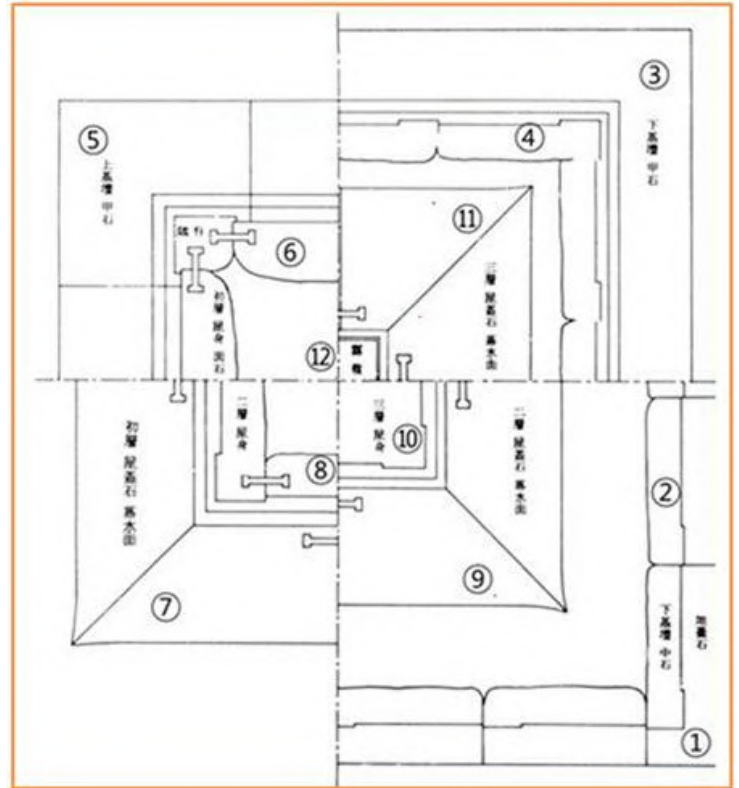
Fig. 15a. Left: Three-story stone pagoda, 682-686, from Koseun-sa temple site, Gyeongju National Museum; Right: Cross-sectional diagram showing location of square-head type clamps.

structural engineering technique at this site includes the stone riveting applied to the retainment wall along the sloping hill [**Fig. 14c**]. This very technique, a common feature in Roman buildings and bridges and also visible on the Zhaozhou Bridge of China, later evolved for a strikingly creative application at the Seukguram dome discussed below.

The Gameun-sa pagodas seem to have laid the foundations for contemporary and later Silla pagodas in basic structure and in the *eun-jang* technology. The "square-head" type was the prevailing clamp type during the following decades, as confirmed by the following two pagodas in Gyeongju:

Fig. 15b. Right: Five-story stone pagoda (in situ), ca. 700, Nawon-ri, Gyeongju; Below: Clamp groove for square-head type from the base for the first story.

96
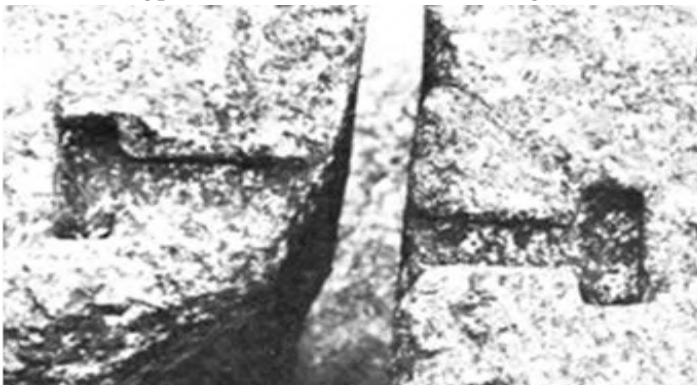
the three-story stone pagoda (10.9 meters in height) from the Goseun-sa temple site 高仙寺址 (now removed to the Gyeongju National Museum) and the five-story stone pagoda (10 meters in height) at the Nawon-ri temple site 羅原里寺址 [**Figs. 15a, 15b**].[33]

Three-Story Stone Pagoda at Bulguk-sa Temple

The Bulguk-sa 佛國寺 ("Realm of Buddha" Temple) in Gyeongju was established under the auspices of the Unified Silla royal house in 751. Nestled at the foot of the sacred Toham mountain 吐含山, it is the best preserved among the Silla temples and famous for its architecture, two stone pagodas, and sculptural icons. During the Japanese invasion from 1592 to 1598, the temple lost all of its wooden components, leaving it with only a stone substructure and stone pagodas. After going through many repair efforts, it was finally restored to its present condition in 1973.[34] Now an active temple, it is inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site together with the related Seokguram 石窟庵 grotto temple. The temple's original construction was carried out during the reign of King Gyeongdeok and supervised by the Prime Minister Kim Daeseong 金大城 (700-774), who was also in charge of the Seokguram project. In the central courtyard stand two stone pagodas, Dabo-tap 多寶塔 ("Prabhutaratna Pagoda") and Seukga-tap 釋伽塔 ("Shakyamuni Pagoda"), which flank the main Buddha hall in front.

The Dabo-tap Pagoda is famous for its unique sculptural masonry with the joinery technique, much like the intricate Lego artistry. As a result, *eun-jang* stone joints were unnecessary at this pagoda. *Eun-jang* clamps are reported only from the Seukga-tap pagoda, which is built of flat-joined stone-blocks. It inherited the same square plan and the general form of the Gameun-sa pagodas, but turned to smaller-volume stones and much simplified masonry.

The Seukga-tap pagoda measures approximately 7 meters in height and 4.4 square meters for the bottommost base (nearly half of the Gameun-sa base). As the result of a simpler approach in its masonry compared to the Gameun-sa pagodas, it replaced cut-stone assemblies by singular monoliths, with the exception of the two-tiered base.

Fig. 16. Left: Three-story stone pagoda ("Seokgatap"), ca. 751, Bukguk-sa temple, Gyeongju (arrows point to clamp locations); Right top: Installation condition of clamps on the four stone-block assembly for the cover-stone of the upper-tier base; Right bottom: four extracted iron clamps of half-circle head type.

This resulted in a reduced number of stone-blocks (down to 27 from the 82 of the Gameun-sa pagoda) and far fewer *eun-jangs* (from 58 down to 10). All 10 *eun-jangs* were installed on the capstones of a two-tiered base, each assembled from four cut-stone blocks [**Fig. 16**].[35] Of significance is the change in the *eun-jang* typology. Here the square-head Gameun-sa type is no longer used; instead, the heads are given the shape of a half-circle. The average length of clamps is 40-54 centimeters. They were cast-iron clamps set into grooves with lead as

Fig. 17. Examples of half-circle head type clamp grooves from: a) Janghuang-ri temple site, b) Inyong-sa temple site, c) Guhuang-dong temple site; d) Howon-sa temple site. All are datable to latter half of 8th c., Gyeongju.

filler to secure the *eun-jangs* and act as a preservative against rust.

Fully endowed with royal prestige and praised for its innovative masonry and aesthetic excellence, the Seokga-tap became the most influential pagoda in masonry technique, style, and clamping technology soon after its completion. Its half-circle head type *eun-jang* became the standard and found its most refined application in architectural context at the Seokguram, a joint building project with the Bulguk-sa temple. Other evidences for the half-circle type *eun-jang* come from the stone blocks of collapsed pagodas of the mid- to late-8th century at several temple sites. These include the Janghuang-ri temple 獐項里寺址, the Inyongsa temple 仁容寺址, the Guhuang-dong temple 九黃洞寺址, and the Howonsa temple 虎願寺寺址, all located in Gyeongju [**Fig. 17**].[36] It is evident that by the middle of the 8th century the half-circle head type had made the earlier square-head type archaic. Accordingly, this typological switch of *eun-jang* around the middle of the 8th century also offers a useful tool for the periodization of undated or misdated stone monuments that bear *eun-jangs* or *eun-jang* grooves.

As evidence of the best masonry technology of the time, the Bulguk-sa complex also boasts other sophisticated devices for structural reinforcement. They include an imposing retainment wall with

uniquely designed stone-rivets and two stone-stairways (which lead up to the central courtyard) with barrel-vault underpasses whose entrance arch is fitted with a wedge-shaped keystone at the apex, in reminiscence of Roman-style keystone arches.

Two Bridges: Woljeong-gyo and Chunyang-gyo

These two bridges were constructed over the Muncheon Stream 蚊川 (also called Nam-cheon 南川), which spans about 61 meters at its widest stretch. The stream separates the Silla palace compound from the southern district of Gyeongju, where the Nam-san 南山, a sacred Buddhist mountain, was frequented by Silla royals. Both bridges, which stand 220 meters apart from each other, were completed in 760 CE in the reign of King Gyeongduk, the monarch who also supported the Bulguksa-Seokuram project. Judging from the last repair record in the year 1280 for the Woljeong-gyo, the bridges most likely remained in use for more than 520 years. Now the restored Woljeong-gyo stands in situ.

Based on material excavated at these sites since 1984, it is clear that the two bridges shared the Chinese style of a "covered bridge" 樓橋 with stone piers, complete with a wooden bridge-deck with stone balustrades supported by multi-layered flying wooden buttresses (built over the piers and the abutments), and a tile-roofed superstructure.[37] The structure of the piers was reinforced by joining stone blocks with e*un-jangs* as indicated by the clamp grooves on the pier stones, while the abutment walls were reinforced by the insertion of stone-rivets, each about one meter in length.

The Woljeong-gyo ("Moon-Purified Bridge") is 61 meters long, 14 meters wide, and supported by four piers separated by 14-meter intervals.[38] The piers consist of stack-up cut-stone blocks with one end streamlined into a "V" shape [**Fig. 18**]. The

Fig. 18. Left top: One of the piers of the Woljeong-gyo Bridge, completed in 760, Gyeongju; Left bottom: Example of a half-circle head type clamp-groove on a pier-stone. Right: Reconstructed Woljeong-gyo at present. Center top: Stone-rivets on the north-side abutment wall; Center bottom: a detail of one stone-rivet.

type on number 3 [**Fig. 19**]. The last one was unprecedented and not to reappear in Korea's *eun-jang* history. Material analysis carried out on the *eun-jangs* collected from underwater debris nearby confirmed they were wrought iron, with an average of 30 centimeters long.[40]

piers measure 13 meters long and 2.8 meters wide at the bottommost level. The length of the stone blocks ranges between 128.9-306 centimeters and the width ranges between 54-90 centimeters. Peculiarly, the *eun-jang* grooves show the use of two different types: the old-fashioned square-head type for piers 1, 2, and 3 (from the south) and the prevailing half circle head type for pier number 4.

From the perspective of typological chronology, this situation places into question the date given for the construction of the bridge.[39]

The Chunyang-gyo 春陽橋 ("Bridge of Spring Light") is smaller than the Woljeong-gyo, measuring 55 meters long and 15 meters wide, with one less pier. All three piers are streamlined at both ends with the traces of a *eun-jang* device. But curiously, the *eun-jang* grooves here point to three types: the square-head type on pier number 1, both the square-head and the half-circle head types on number 2, and the most unexpected "dovetail"

How can we interpret this jarring presence of three types of *eun-jangs*—old, current, and "foreign"— on these bridges? The presence of square-head type clamps may indicate that construction undertaken in the year 760 was in actuality a major reconstruction of the bridges, recycling much of the earlier stone material which bore the square-head *eun-jangs.* In fact, this speculation is backed by archaeologically confirmed traces of earlier bridges at the site. The curious appearance of the dovetail type on one of the piers on the Chunyang-gyo suggests a connection to China, though this is mere speculation. It is clear, however, that it was a prevailing type in contemporary northern China and that it had been gaining greater popularity due to its prominent presence on the famed Zhaozhou Bridge. Not only that, but news of the bridge had reached Korea and Japan by the time the Chunyang-gyo was constructed.

The Seokguram Buddhist Temple

The Seokguram 石窟庵 ("Stone Grotto Her-

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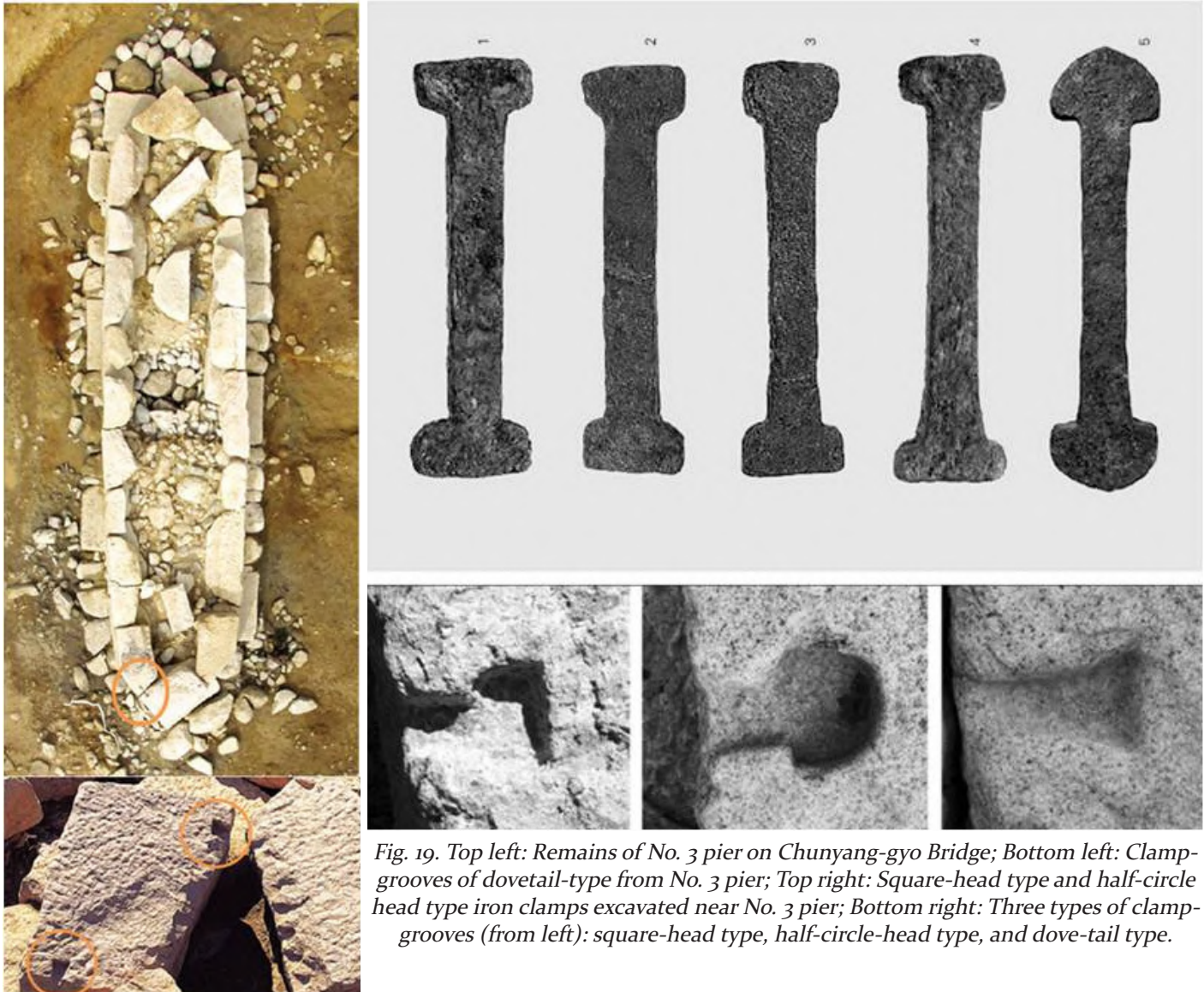
Fig. 19. Top left: Remains of No. 3 pier on Chunyang-gyo Bridge; Bottom left: Clamp-grooves of dovetail-type from No. 3 pier; Top right: Square-head type and half-circle head type iron clamps excavated near No. 3 pier; Bottom right: Three types of clamp-grooves (from left): square-head type, half-circle-head type, and dove-tail type.

mitage") is a Buddhist sanctuary (originally called Seokbul-sa 石佛寺, or "Stone Buddha Temple") nestled on the eastern side of Toham-san, a sacred mountain to the Silla people. It is reachable by climbing up about four kilometers from its head temple, the above-mentioned Bulguk-sa. A UN-ESCO World Heritage site since 1995, it is renowned in the history of Buddhist art and architecture. Its construction began in c. 742 CE under the supervision of the aforementioned Kim Dae-seong, who completed the Bulguk-sa in 751 CE and continued overseeing the Seokguram project until his death in 774, just before its completion. The temple stood pretty much intact, requiring only partial repairs (in 1703, 1758, 1891) until the 20th century, when full restoration works were carried out in 1913-15 (in the Japanese occupation period) and in 1963-64. The Seokguram was officially re-opened on July 1, 1965.[41]

The temple at first glance resembles a tumulus leaning on a mountain slope. Under the grassed earthen mound is a dome architecture consisting entirely of dry ashlar masonry. To enter the temple proper one must go through a reconstructed tile-roofed wooden entrance on a raised platform. Its basic layout includes a rectangular antechamber and then a narrow corridor, all lined up with bas-relief panels of standing guardian figures, which then finally leads into the circular main hall with a dome ceiling. The total length of the interior is 14.8 meters. The rotunda, free of posts and beams, is 8.7 meters in height and 6.5 meters in diameter. It houses the main image of the Buddha seated on a lotus throne, both sculpted in stone and measuring 4.4 meters in total height. The enthroned Buddha was installed prior to the building construction [**Fig. 20a**].

Fig. 20a. Top: Seokuram Grotto Temple, Main Hall, mid-8th c., Gyeongju; Bottom: Three-dimensional view of the left-side interior, from the National Museum of Korea's documentary "Seokguram Grotto, World Heritage Site."

well as on the lintel stones. The clamps found on the foundation and the lintel stones are the same as the Seukga-tap type *eun-jangs* with half-circle heads, measuring 30 centimeters in length with its center-bar 3.5 centimeters wide and head 7.5 centimeters wide (based on the clamps from the lintel) [**Fig. 20b**].[42] Not only are they found in a true architectural context for the first time, but also with the precision of stone masonry and casting technique for *eun-jang* installation at the highest order. By this time the *eun-jang* technology had been in practice for more than half a century. Built of only one layer entirely out of cut-stone granite blocks with no mortar, the stability of the foundation and the lintel was of critical importance. The Gyeoungju area is known for seismic activities in both the past—the most devastating one occurred in 1036—and present. Its survival for more than 1,200 years can also be attributed to other measures of structural reinforcement in addition to the *eun-jang* device.

The dome is assembled of five raws of flat-joined, curved cut-stone blocks (approximately 360 of them, with neither arch-rib supports nor adhesives), which successfully recede upward to meet with the pinnacle of the dome, that is, the oculus closed with a monolith (estimated at 20 tons). Noteworthy is the ingenious use of two re-enforcement devices for the dome, which are also engaged in iconographic visualization for this Buddhist realm.

The enthroned Buddha is surrounded by a circular wall, which consists of three components: 15 stone wall panels of auxiliary images, one large stone block containing a lotus flower in relief and aligned with the back of Buddha's head as a nimbus, and a series of 10 niches of seated bodhisattva images installed above the wall and below the dome proper. Between the Buddha and the wall is an interval space allowing circumambulation. Embodied in the design and its execution is a sophisticated knowledge of mathematics, geometry, and dynamics. Each stone member is precision cut in perfect order, ready for assembly in the same vein as the Dabo-tap pagoda of Bulguk-sa.

When the temple was dismantled in 1913-15 for the first time in its history, twenty-six iron *eun-jang* clamps were found on the foundation stones, as

One is the use of 30 stone-rivets in the shape of a tight-fisted forearm that are inserted in between every two curved stones of the top three raws (10 for each raw) with interiorly protruding fists and exteriorly extending arms. These rivets, about one meter long, are designed to fit together with the rest and generate impregnable structural power. The 30 protrusions in the form of a triple-layer of lotus petals and the oculus stone carved as a seed room (gynoecium) together turn into a gigantic lotus flower to sanctify the hall. The other re-enforcement device consists of ten niches of stone

statabout placed in between the lintel and the dome proper. They form a niche-drum (a device for a domed circular hall used in the West) to distribute the vertical pressure and lateral thrust generated by the dome.

Other hidden surprises include two climate-control devices that are critical for structural safety. The first consists of crescent-shape air holes in the back of all the niches, which were created by having their concave back set beyond the outer edge of lintel stone. These in turn are interconnected with the air-circulating exterior pile of pebble rocks right by the wall. The second climate control device is a natural water passage installed underneath the throne [**Fig. 20c**].

Fig. 20b. Top left: Half-circle head type iron clamps collected during the 1912-1913 Japanese restoration; Top right: Drawing of the clamps found on the lintel stones, from the Japanese report on the 1912-1913 restoration work. Archival collection, National Museum of Korea. Bottom: The layout plan of foundation stones and clamps with a detail of installation, from the National Museum of Korea's documentary "Seokguram Grotto, World Heritage Site."

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Fig. 20c. Top: Detail of niche construction. Below: The inner masonry structure of a Seokguram grotto.

With a full-fledged ashlar masonry dome architecture, the Seokguram is very distinct from the stone-brick or clay-brick domes built in wet method in the Near and Far East. It is also very different from the rock-hewn dome structures of cave temples in Afghanistan (e.g., in the Bamiyan Valley) and in China (e.g., in Yungang and Longmen). Deeply steeped in the universal language of sacred architecture and equipped with highly advanced masonry technology, this mid-8th century domed temple in Korea seems to come remarkably close to Byzantine Roman architecture. Why and how this came about at this particular time and space remain to be answered.

Concluding Remarks

The structural reinforcement device of stone-joint clamping, given its close association with ashlar masonry, spread widely as cut-stone architecture was practiced in many parts of the world. In its long history, the dominant players were ancient Egypt, Greece, Achaemenid Persia, and the Roman Empire. Together, they changed the course of

world architecture. Over the course of their development, various types of clamps were invented and circulated, all conglomerating and flourishing in the architecture of the Roman Empire, which was the western end of the Silk Road. Therefore, the story of Near Eastern and Far Eastern stone masonry and the accompanying technologies in the first millennium CE cannot be narrated without reference to the eastward transmission of Roman architectural methods. On its route were the vast domains of the Byzantine Empire and the empire of Sassanid Persia, both of which absorbed the Roman-style architectural tradition. Particularly significant was the latter's centrality on the Eurasian crossroads and its geopolitical relationship with the Far East.

An analysis of Chinese clamps, called *yaotie,* yield the following results. China began using iron clamps by the early 6th century CE. They are found predominantly in northern China and are typologically consistent with the "dovetail" type through the Tang period (618-906). In the lower Yangtze region of southern China, iron clamps dated from the early 6th century show the use of the dumbbell type with a square or circular head, which is different in typology from those in the north.

The survey of Korean clamps, called *eun-jang,* shows that the earliest datable devices come from late 7th century Buddhist stone pagodas, which were already at quite a sophisticated stage in production and application. These iron clamps were used throughout the 8th century and are of the flat dumbbell type, first with a square head (or "T" type) and later by the middle of the 8th century with a half-circle head. This latter type is very different from the northern Chinese type but similar to the southern Chinese type.

The clamp types of both countries, though different from each other, belong to the most common category in the global repertory of clamps, with shared features in production and application. But the different choice of certain types in each country seems to imply their diverging paths of transmission involving different tales of movement, contact, and political and religious interaction. The study of stone-joint clamps also requires attention to other accompanying masonry features so as to better understand the clamp technology with regard to origin and development. Space con-

straints prevent a full discussion on this aspect.

But it can be said that the applications of clamping technology since the time of its earliest datable appearance reflect the developmental process of stone masonry in each country, with continuous inflow of advanced technical impetus from the West. This resulted in an increasing number of skilled masons and blacksmiths, whose technical expertise culminated in the Zhaozhou Bridge of Sui China and the Seokuram of Silla Korea.

Built with the most consummate artistry, the Zhaozhou Bridge, an open spandrel, segmental single-arch bridge with the longest arch span in the world, along with the Seokuram, the only true ashlar dome architecture in the East Asia, represent epochal achievements in the history of Far Eastern stone architecture. It is hoped that this microstudy on the subject of stone-joint clamps, given their inseparability from stone masonry, will bring forth a heretofore seldom studied international dimension implicit in East Asian stone architecture.

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ENDNOTES

¹ Some speculate that the device was a natural extension from the preexisting technique in carpentry to bind two pieces of wood together, though impossible to verify due to the long perished ancient wooden structures. But a caution is that the flat-joint clamping technique on cut-stone blocks should not be confused with the mortise-and-tenon methods common in carpentry.

² Image sources for Fig. 1 are as follows: 1) Upper Anubis shrine at the Temple of Hatshepsut, Egypt, Deir El-Bahari, c. 1450 BCE (Photographed by the author); 2) Theatre at the Acropolis, Greece, 5-4ᵗʰ BCE (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hz7ebSkY2_8); 3) Pasagarde, Iran c. 500 BCE (http://www.pbase.com/k_amj/gallery/passargad); 4) Delphi Temple, Greece, 5ᵗʰ-3ʳᵈ C. BCE (https://www.coastal.edu/intranet/ashes2art/delphi2/misc-essays/masonry.html); 5) Oikio Temple, Turkey, mid-4ᵗʰ c. BCE (http://www.labraunda.org/Labraunda.org/Oikoi_Building_eng.html); 6) Roman Forum, Rome, Mid-1ˢᵗ c. BCE (G. Gorski, *The Roman Forum*, Cambridge University Press, 2015); 7) Pompeii, Italy, datable efore 79 CE (http://kenbunden.net/zemiseilive/travel/ eida/itaryo8/po2/L/1220.html; 8) Aurelian Walls, Rome, 271–275 CE (https://www.wikiart.org/en/giovanni-battista-piranesi); 9) Artemis Temple, Sardis, Roman Section, 1ˢᵗ-4ᵗʰc. CE (http://sardisexpedition.org/tr/search?page=109); 10) Tigranakert Roman Ruines, Armenia. 1ˢᵗ C. BCE (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tigranakert_of_Artsakh); 11) Tunisia (https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/565835140660145405/); 12) Axum, Ethiopia, 3ʳᵈ-5ᵗʰc. CE (http://solarey.net/ancient-metal-clamp-keystone-cuts-found-axum-ethiopia-south-sahara-africa/); 13) Puma Punku, Bolivia, pre-Inca (https://www.pinterest.co.kr/pin/47498971043852960/; https://www.flickr.com/photos/rotholandus/7572228870/in/photostream/); 14) Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, pre-Inca (http://historyrunamok.blogspot.com/2013/07/tiauanaco-true-ancient-msytery.html); 15) Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, pre-Inca (http://historyrunamok.blogspot.kr/2013/07/ancient-msytery.html); 16) Bijamandal Complex, India, pre-13ᵗʰ c. CE (https://www.indiamike.com/india/madhya-pradesh-f36/trip-report-bhopal-is-not-a-place-to-like-also-sanchi-bhimbetka-bhojpur-1208485/3/#post1759033); 17) My Son, Vietnam, ca. 10ᵗʰ c. CE (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Na7qO10GNQY); 18) Ankor Wat, Cambodia, ca. 10ᵗʰ c. CE (https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/565835140660145405/); 19) Angkor Wat, Cambodia, ca. 10ᵗʰ c. CE (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCEIUd5w6y8); 20) Borobudur Indonesia. ca. 9ᵗʰ c. CE (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Na7qO10GNQY); 21) Imperial Palace, Tokyo, Japan, ca. 17ᵗʰ c. CE (photographed by the author).

³ Scholarly attentions on the device have been site-specific and sporadic, mostly buried in the archaeological and restoration documents, while amateur scholars' jubilant blogs, though of valuable information sources, tend to mystify the finds as "megalithic anomaly" with little interest in their historicity. See, for example, "Mystery of ancient metal clips," (https://www.kramola.info/vesti/letopisi-proshlogo/zagadka-drevnih-zazhimov-iz-metalla?page=47); and "Amazing metal clamps all over the ancient world" (http://www.revelations-of-the-ancient–world.com/). As for Japan, by present knowledge, stone-joint clamps seem to appear when the era of fortress-castle building began in the 16ᵗʰ century; commonly called "*chikiri*" 契り, they belong to the butterfly type made of bronze, iron, or lead, as discovered at the Nakno-mon (中之門) of the Imperial Palace 皇宮, Tokyo (see fn. 3 above). For more information on the Japanese clamps, see fn. 1 above (Kim 2019a, fn. 4. Pl.1-2).

⁴ Peng Minghao 彭明浩, *Yungang Shiku de Yingzao gongcheng* 雲崗石窟的營造工程 [A Study on The Construction Process of the Yungang Grotto], Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2017:225, pls. 5, 10-11.

⁵ Luoyang-shi Faxian Yizuo Diling-ji Bei Wei Muzang 洛阳市发现一座帝陵级北魏墓葬 [An imperial mausoleum-level Northern Wei tomb found in Luoyang] (2013-10-25: Luoyang News 洛阳新闻).

⁶ Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas, eds., *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250–750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018: 635-702 (Chapter, "Nomadic Interaction with the Roman and Byzantine West"). Daniel C. Waugh, "Nomads and Settlement, New Perspectives in the Archaeology of Mongolia," *The Silk Road* 8 (2010): 97–124.

⁷ Li Yusheng, "Study of Tombs of Hu People in Late 6ᵗʰ Century Northern China," *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA* (Centro Interdipartimentale di Servizi di Archeologia, University of Naples "L'Orientale"), Volume 7, (2016): 91-133. Bonnie Cheng, "The Space Between: Locating 'Culture' in Artistic Exchange," in *Ars Orientalis*, published by The Smithsonian Institution, Vol. 38 (2010): 81-120 (Theorizing Cross-Cultural Interaction among the Ancient and Early Medieval Mediterranean, Near East and Asia). Luo Feng. "Sogdians in Northwest China," in Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, ed., *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northern China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th-7th Century,* New York (Abrams and The Asia Society), 2001: 239-345. Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 and Luo Feng 羅豐 ed., *Sutejen zai Zhongguo: Kaogufaxian yu chutuwenxian de xinyinzheng* 粟特人在中國: 考古發現與出土文獻的新印證 [The Sogdians in China: New Confirmation of Archaeological Discoveries and Unearthed Documents] (2 vols), Peking: Kexue chubanshe, 2016.

⁸ Zheng Linquan 程林泉, et al., *Xi'an beijiao Beizhou Li Dan mu* 西安北郊北周李誕墓 [The Tomb of Li Dan in the northern suburb of Xi'an] in Guojia Wenwuju 國家文物局, *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2005. [Important archaeological discoveries-2005], Peking: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006: 125 (illustration). *Yiqian wubai nian de shiguan, zangyou guonei shouci faxian qushi de Yinduren, Guangai bei panliang* 一千五百年前的石棺，葬有國內首次發現去世的印度人.棺蓋被盤亮, kknews 每日頭條 (2019-07-07: https://kknews.cc/culture/34mg9mo.html).

⁹ Yang Junkai 杨军凯 et al., *Xi'an Bei Zhou Liangzhou Sabao Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao* 西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报 [Summary Report on the Excavation of the Liangzhou Sabao Shi's Tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty in Xi'an], Wenwu 文物, 2005, No. 3, 2005-4-3; Yang Junkai, *Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu* 北周史君墓 [Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun], Peking:

Wenwu chubanshe, 2014. Tomb_of_Wirkak (https://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomb_of_Wirkak). Julie Bellemare and Judith A. Lerner , "The Sogdians Abroad, Life and Death in China," in Freer/Sackler, Smithsonian Institution, The Sogdians Influencers on the Silk Roads project, 2019 (https://sogdians.si.edu/the-sogdians-abroad/; https://sogdians.si.edu/shi-juns-sarcophagus/). Li Yusheng (2016): 99-101.

[10] See fn. 7 above (Li Yusheng, 2016: fig. 17). See fn. 9 above (Yang Junkai, 2014: 60, 59, fig. 54).

[11] The clamps from the drawing resemble the "butterfly-type" 蝴蝶形 (also called "bo-tie" type in the West). But this type became popular after the Tang period. The terms such as "tenon" 榫 and "mortise-tenon" 榫卯 are for timber-joints, but unusual for stone masonry, particularly not applicable to flat-surface stone-joint clamps.

[12] Wu Hung, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties," *Orientations*, 33, No.5 (2002): 34-41, fig. 13. Zhou Fanwen 周繁文, *Sui-dai Li Jingxun Mu Yanjiu-Jian lun Tang yichuan fangxing shijuangju de shiyong beijing* 隋代李静训墓研究——兼论唐以前房形石葬具的使用背景 [Study of the Sui Period Li Jingxun Tomb: Also on the Background of the Use of House-shaped Sarcophagi before the Tang Dynasty] from *Huaxia Archaeology* (2012-01:www.cnki.com.cn). "9 sui nutong zhi muke you "kaizhe jisi" 9歲女童之墓刻有開者即死 [The tomb of a girl of 9-year has an inscription, "The one who opens (it) will meet immediate death"], kknews 每日頭條 (2017-05-15: https://kknews.cc/culture/k38mvnb.html); https://kknews.cc/story/925ba95.html. For Li's family tree, see *Ningxia Guyuan xijiao xiang shengoucun nan de Bei Zhou Li Xian Mu* 寧夏固原西郊鄉深溝村南的北周李賢墓 [The tomb of Li Xian in the south of Shengou village in the western suburb of Guyuan, Ningxia] (https://kknews.cc/culture/9ovb6z8.html and http://www.sohu.com/a/252131185_100174912). Li Xian (D.569) was her great-grandfather.

[13] Sun Wujun 孫武軍, *Beizhao Sui Tang ruhua Suteren Muzang tuxiang de wenhua yu shenmei yanjiu* 北朝隋唐入華粟特人墓葬圖像的文化與審美研究 [A study on the culture and aesthetics in the iconography expressed on the mortuary furnishings in the tombs of the Sogdians who entered China during the northern dynasties and Sui-Tang period], Northwestern University 西北大學, Ph.D. thesis (2012). He Xilin. "Northern Dynasties Period Stone Coffins and Funerary Couches with Pictorial Carvings" (in Chinese with English summary) in Wu Hung, ed., *Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period,* Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2003: 341-376. Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, "Stone Mortuary Furnishings of Northern China," in Gisele Croes, *Ritual Objects and Early Buddhist Art,* Brussels, 2004: 15-23, pl. 24-57.

[14] I am grateful to Dr. Judith A. Lerner for updating me with valuable information on the couch-type coffins discussed below (by a correspondence of 2020-09-27).

[15] Tianshuishi Bowuguan 天水市博物館, *Tianshui shi Faxian Sui Tang Bingfeng shiguanchuang mu* 天水市發現隋唐屏風石棺牀墓 [A Sui-Tang Period Tomb with a Stone Coffin-bed and a 'Screen' Discovered in Tianshui City], *Kaogu* 考古, No.1

(1992): 46-68, pl. 2-c. The rear view of the Tianshui couch was taken by Luo Feng, Director of the Ningxia Archaeological Institute, Yinchuan and Director of the Guyuan Archaeological Museum (kindly forwarded by Dr. Judith Lerner).

[16] Judith A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 168 (2005): pl. 6a. "Drawing of the bed reconstructed." (sourced from Musée Guimet. *Lit de pierre, sommeil barbare. Présentation après restauration et remontage,d'une banquette funéraire ayant appartenu à un aristocrate d'Asie centrale venu s'établir en Chine au VIe siècle*), Paris: Musée Guimet, 13 (2004). See also Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, et al. *Sutejen zai Zhongguo: Lishe, Kaogu, yuyan de xin tansuo* 粟特人在中國: 歷史, 考古, 語言的 新探索 [The Sogdians in China: New Investigation into History, Archaeology, Language], *Faguo Hanxue* 法國漢學, Series no. 10, Peking: Zhonghua Shuju, 2005: pl. 5. The Kooros bed is now back to the owner in Texas, USA. The same type of funerary couch in the Miho Museum, Japan most likely had the same dovetail clamps based on its structure and style, although the panels are currently joined by braided wire threaded through iron rings that were set into the sides of the panels (according to Dr. Judith Lerner).

[17] Li Hejun 李合群, *Xiancun zuigulao de shigongqiao* 現存最古老的石拱橋 [The oldest surviving stone arch bridge], *Zhongguo gudai qiaoliang wenxian jingxuan* 中國古代橋梁文獻精選 [Selected Literature on the Ancient Chinese Bridges], Wuhan: Huazhong Keji Daxue chubanshe, 2008. A good introduction and images for the bridge are found in Zaozhou qiao 趙州橋 (2019-03-19: https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/趙州橋); Best China News (http://www.bestchinanews.com/History/1979.html). This part of Hebei province was known for rich mineral deposits and quarries (identified as the source of material for the Zaozhou Bridge) as well as the community of skilled stone masons and craftsman, as suggested by the place name, "Shijiazhuang" 石家庄 (literally meaning "Stonemason's Lodge").

[18] Liang Sicheng 梁思成, "Xianhua wenwu jianzhu de zhongxiu yu weihu" 閑話文物建築的重修與維護 [A discourse on the restoration and protection of heritage architecture], *Wenwu* 文物, No. 7 (1963). In the restoration process, about one third of the original stone material was replaced with new materials, using mortar cement, while some clamps were also removed (probably from the deck and the underside of the bridge), despite the opposition and criticism from Liang and other scholars. Resultantly, the clamps, reduced in number, at present no longer perform structural-reinforcing function.

[19] Zhang Jiazhen 張嘉貞 (666-729), *Shiqiao ming bingshu* 石橋銘幷書 [Encomium on the Stone Bridge with a Preface], composed ca. 720s in *Hantian* 寒天 ed. *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 [Collectanea of Tang dynasty Literature], Tanbian: Yanbian daxue chubanshe, 2003: 127-139. Zhang twice served as prime-minister 中書令 at the Tang court. The Sui-dynasty date given by him has been unquestioned owing to Zhang's status as a scholar-official and the proximity of his years to

the time of the bridge construction. But the exact construction years are unknown; many different dates have been suggested with no supportive evidence. In my opinion, since the bridge, masterful and aristocratic in every sense, could not have been an ordinary bridge for local pedestrians, it would be better to investigate the years when the imperial army or family (including the emperors) passed through the area or its possible connection with the renowned Bolin monastery 柏林寺 in the neighborhood.

[20] As far as is known, the ancient Romans were the first to develop the segmental arch and the open-spandrel segmental arch bridge, such as the Pons Fabricius in Rome, which was completed in 62 BCE (now the spandrel sections are lost). See Ian Dahl, "Pons Fabricius: Rome's Timeless Bridge" (2017-09-15: https://brewminate.com/pons-fabricius-romes-timeless-bridge/). For detailed drawings and information on the ancient Roman monuments, architecture, and bridges, see the collection of etching works (total 1,355 etchings) by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) in his *Le antichità Romane* [The Roman Antiquities] *in WIKIART Visual Art Encyclopedia* (https://www.wikiart.org/en/giovanni-battista-piranesi). As for Persia, a good example is the dam/bridge "Pol-e Kaisar" [Caesar's bridge] in Shushta, built in the mid-3rd century CE, which was among many Roman constructions done by the Roman soldiers taken as captives from the battle of the victorious imperial armies of Šāpūr I (r. 241~272 CE) of Persia against the Roman army of Valerianus (r. 253~260 CE). Pol-e Kaisar (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Band-e_Kaisar). Roman troops had military engineers (to build roads, camps, fortified walls, bridges, etc.) and soldiers were trained in all fields to be self-sufficient. The Roman and Persian examples given here had stone-joint clamps.

[21] The Yongtong Bridge (3,200 cm long, 634 cm wide) closely follows the Zhaozhou Bridge in style and masonry; the identical dovetail clamps (64 in total) are visible on its main arch (https://baike.baidu.com/item/永通橋/13206503?fr=aladdin). The bridge at the Xuankongsi (also known as Fuqing Si) is also a spandrel-arch bridge (15-meter span) crossing over a narrow gorge (52 meters deep) on which the Qiaolou Dian 桥楼殿 (Bridge-Tower Hall) stands. Despite its poor condition with patch repair works, its genuine indebtedness to the Zhaozhou Bridge is apparent in many features (making its traditional Sui dating not too far off), including the overall proportion of its segmental arch and two arched spandrels, with the same dovetail iron clamps installed in the same manner along the span of arch. The traditional Song (960-1279) date for the Yongtong Bridge is questionable since the dovetail type *yaotie* was no longer in fashion during the Song, having been replaced by the "butterfly" type. The Xuankongsi bridge shares the Lu Ban 魯班 legend with the Zhaozhou Bridge: Lu Ban, the patron deity of builders, is said to have built the Zhaozhou Bridge overnight, while his jealous sister flew over to Mt. Cangyan to build her own bridge (https://baike.baidu.com/item/蒼岩山懸空寺). Other Hebei bridges in the Zhaozhou Bridge tradition date from the Yuan and Ming period; such as Leshan qiao 樂善橋 and Dulin qiao 杜林橋 of Cangzhou 滄州, Hongji qiao 弘濟橋 of Handan si

[22] Originally on the surface of the colosseum's outermost

邯鄲市, all can be checked from Baidu 百科 (baike.baidu.com) and Tang Huancheng 唐寰澄, *Zhongguo Kexue jishushi. Qiaoliang juan* 中國科學技術史・橋樑卷 [History of Chinese Science and Technology. Volume on Bridges], Peking: Kexue Chubanshe, 2000 (2nd Edition).
walls were iron clamps amounting 200-300 tons in total weight. See Lynne C. Lancaster , *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome: Innovation in Context*, Cambridge University Press, 2005: Ch. 6 (Metal Clamps and Bars), pp. 113-140. Other examples are the Temple of Augustus on the Philae Island, Egypt (https://www.britannica.com/place/Philae-island-Egypt) and some mausoleums by the Via Appia (see fn. 20. Piranesi, *Le antichità Romane).* For the Mihr-Narseh, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mihr_Narseh.

[23] For Li Chun, see Tangyao Wenhua jiangtang, *Yaoshan Shijiang Li Chun yu Zaozhou qiao* 唐堯文化講堂——堯山石匠李春與趙州橋 [Tangyao Lecture Hall - Stonemason Li Chun from Yaoshan and the Zaozhou Bridge], *Longyao fabu* 隆堯發布 2018-10-23 (https://read01.com/xDaxGox.html#.X3XdqMIzaJB). *Quan Pangwei Xiexi Zhaozhou-qiao Geli 1,400-nian de Bimi* 全方位解析趙州橋屹立1400年的秘密 [A comprehensive interpretation of a 1,400-year old secret behind the rise of Zhaozhou Bridge] (https://kknews.cc/news/5b4byq3.html).

[24] Wang Shusheng, "Yuwen Kai: An Epoch-making Oriental Architectural Master," *Journal of Urban and Regional Planning*, New York: Science Publishing Group, 2013-01. Yuwen Kai masterminded the capital city planning and all palatial projects. It is known he took nine months to design a vast capital city at Daxing, six times the size of present-day Xi'an. This Daxing palace had a rotating pavilion accommodating 200 guests. Curiously, only "floating bridges" 舟橋 ("linked-boat bride") are mentioned under his name.

[25] Nanjing Museum 南京博物館 (Xu Huping 徐湖平 ed.), *Nanzhao lingmu diaoke yishu* 南朝陵墓彫刻藝術 [Carved Stone Art in Southern Dynasty Tombs], *Wenwu chubanshe*, 2006: 78. Also see Luo Zongzhen 羅宗眞, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Wenhua* 魏晉南北朝文化 [*The Culture of Wei-Jin and Southern-Northern Dynasties*], Shanghai: Xuelin Chubanshe, 2000: 57. Luo identifies the clamps on the stone blocks as being of a "T" shape, although to the author some appear to have circular or semicircular heads. My gratitude to Dr. So Hyunsook 蘇鉉淑 (a renowned Korean scholar of pre-Tang Chinese Buddhist art) for the information and photos (from 2020-02) for this Danyang site.

[26] I am informed by Dr. So Hyunsook that the original bridge is given the date of the Southern Dynasties by Professor He Yunao 賀云翔 of Nanjing University, a historian specializing in the Southern-Northern Dynasties period. Dr. So also kindly offered the photos of the piers she took in situ.

[27] Korea had a long history of stone architecture and monuments starting from the prehistoric time of megalithic dolmen to the Three Kingdoms period when dry ashlar masonry was practiced for tombs, walls, foundations for various monuments, small bridges, ice storage, observatory, pagodas, etc. Only two stone pagodas in the old Baekjae territory left some traces of a clamp device, but these are assumed to be post-Baekjae restorations. See fn. 30 below.

28 The history of the temple is narrated in Iryeon 一然, *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 [*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*] written by the Buddhist monk Iryeon (1206–1289) in 1281. *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, trans. by Tae-Hung Ha and Grafton Mintz, Silk Pagoda, 2006. See also panoramic views of the site presented by the Gyeongju National Museum (https://artsandculture.google. com/exhibit/gameunsa-temple-site/QwKSszaEbQBMIQ).

29 Kungnip Munhuajae Yeonguso 國立文化財研究所 (National Research Institute of Cultural Property Research), *Gyeongsangbuk-do ui Seoktap* I [Stone pagodas in the Gyeongsangbuk-do Province], *Seokjo Geonchuk Yeongu Jaryo* [Research material for stone architecture], No. 5 (2007): 78, see table "Number of stones used per component for the stone pagoda."

30 However, the western pagoda of Mireoksa temple 彌勒寺 (in Iksan 益山) did yield several joint-clamps in unusual type applied in haphazard manner, most likely as the result of late reinforcement in the process of modern Japanese restoration. The eastern pagoda left only some stone blocks, one of which has a set of *eun-jang* grooves in the shape of a dumbbell with square head. It is assumed to be from an early Unified Silla restoration because its twin pagoda on the west did not yield such clamps, the debris excavated in situ can be dated to both Baekje and Unified Silla period, the type of clamp is the same as the Gameunsa type, and because the five-storied Jeongrimsa pagoda 定林寺五層塔 (in Buyeo 夫餘), built soon after the Miruksa pagodas in mid-7th century, had no clamps applied.

31 Kungnip Munhuajae Yeonguso 國立文化財研究所, *Gyeongju Gameunsa-ji Seo-Samcheung Seoktap Suribogoseo* [Report on the restoration of the Western Three-story Stone Pagoda at the Gameun-sa site, Gyeongju], 2010: 76, 142-154; *Gyeongsangbuk-do ui Seoktap* I [Stone stupa of Gyeongsangbuk-do province], 2007: 77; *Gameunsa-ji Dong-Samcheung Seoktap Bosu-jeongbi Bogoseo* [Report on the repair and maintenance work of the Eastern Three-story Stone Pagoda at the Gameun-sa temple site], 2011: 42.

32 Kungnip Munhuajae Yeonguso, 2010: 142-154, 211-223 and 2007: 77

33 Kungnip Munhuajae Gualiguk Gyeongju Sajeok Guali Samuso 國立文化財管理局慶州事蹟管理事務所 (Management Office of Cultural Property in Gyeongju), *Goseon-sa-ji Balgul-josa Bogoseo* [Report on the Excavation of Goseon-sa Temple Site], 1977. Geonchuk Munhwajae Yeongusil (Office for Architectural Property Reseach), *Hanguk ui Gogeonchuk* [Old Korean Architecture], no. 7 (1985): 1-19, *Wolseong Nawon-ri Ocheung Seoktap* [Five-story Stome Pagoda in Nawon-ri, Wolseong], p. 14 (for illustration).

34 Kungnip Munhuajae Yeonguso, *Gyeongju Bulguksa Samcheung Seoktap Suri Bogoseo* [Report on the Restoration of Three-story Pagoda at Bulguksa, Gyeongju], 2017: 9 (fn. 5), 285, 295 (fn. 8), p. 307 and pl. 4 (figs. 82-134); *Kyeongsangbuk-do ui Seoktap* [Stone Pagodas in Gyeongsang-buk Province], 2007: 236-265.

35 Normally four *eun-jangs* would have been used for an assembly of four cut-stones. The additional two here are ap-plied on the cracked stone blocks; the accident most likely occurred during the original construction, since the extra two clamps are the same as the rest in type, material, and rust condition; the cracked stones were probably kept with additional *eun-jangs* owing to their weight burden and the invisible location of cracks and *eun-jangs.*

36 a) *Gyeongju Janghwang-ri saji* [The Janghwang-ri Temple Site], (2006.3.22: http://blog.daum.net/kelim/7843495); b) Kungnip Gyeongju Munhuajae Yeonguso, *Jeon Inyongsa-ji Balguljosa Junggan-Bogoseo* [An Interim Report on the Excavation Survey of the Alleged Inyong-sa Temple Site], 2009: figs. 24-26; 76 (Photos 34-37); c) Kim Jihyun, *Gyeongju Guhwang-dong Tapji ui Seoktap Jegochal: Yihyeong-Seoktapseol ae daehan Jeronul Jungsim uro* [Study on the stone material of Guhwang-dong pagoda site: Focused on the review of the hetero-style theory], *Bulgyo Misulsahak* [History of Buddhist Art] 20 (2015.10): 21; d) *Howonsa-ji neun balgul tooneun jeongbi junbi jung?* [Is the Howon-sa temple site in preparation for excavation or repairs?] (2018.09.13: https://blog.naver.com/jw1405/221358251376).

37 Gyeongju-si 慶州市, *Woljeong-gyo-ji Balgul-Josa mit Bokwon-seolgae Bogoseo* 月精橋址發鋼調查——復元設計報告書 [Report on the Excavation Survey of Woljeong-gyo Site and Restoration Planning], 1986. Kungnip Gyeongju Munhuajae Yeonguso 國立慶州文化財研究所 (National Research Institute for Gyeongju Cultural Property), *Chunyang-gyo-ji (Iljeong-gyo-ji, Sajeok 457-ho) Balgul-josa Bogoseo* 春陽橋址(日精橋址, 史蹟457號)發掘調查報告書 [Report on the excavation and survey of Chunyang-gyo bridge "Iljeong-gyo site, Historical Property No. 457" Report], 2005: 376.

38 Seo Byoung-Guk 徐秉局, *Chunyang-gyo wa Woljeong-gyo ui chukjo sigi e daehan geumto* 春陽橋月精橋築造時期檢討 [Investigation on the construction-time of Chunyang-gyo and Woljeong-gyo Bridges]. *Jungang Gogo Yeongu* 中央考古研究 [Journal of Central Institute of Cultural Heritage], No. 1 (2005): 253, 245-283.

39 The *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 (see fn. 28 above) records two major repairs, one in 798 when damaged by fire and another one in 1280. See fn. 39 (Seo Byoung-Guk, 2005: 251-254). By the time of the first repair, the dovetail type clamps could have been inspired by the Zhaozhou bridge, the type-site of dovetail clamps in China. The Zhaozhou bridge had been known in Korea and Japan before the end of 8th century, along with the nearby historical Buddhist temple, Bolin Chansi 柏林禪寺, which is famous for its connection to the Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 and its propagation of the "zen" tea ceremony.

40 An analysis reveals they were produced in a reduction process at low temperature (800-900 degrees Celsius), probably from an outdoor smelting-furnace. See Park Jangsik and Cheung Youngdong, *Gyeongju Iljeong-gyo-ji chulto cheoljae eun-jang ui keumsokhak jeok misae-jojik bunseok* [Metallurgical analysis of microstructure of the iron *eun-jangs* excavated from the Iljeong-gyo bridge site, Gyeongju], in *Kungnip Gyeongju Munhuajae Yeonguso* (2005): 406-410. Iron bars and weaponry had become major export items of the southern Korean peninsula to Japan by the 5th century.

41 Mungyo-bu 文教部 (Ministry of Culture and Education),

Seokguram Seokgul ui Hyonhwang gwa Bosudaechaek(an)-Bogoseo [Report on the Present Status of Seokguram Grotto and Repair Planning], 1961; *Seokguram Surigongsa Bogoseo* 石窟庵修理工事報告書, [Report on the Repair Work of Seokguram], 1967: 9-15 ("Chronology of Repairs and Rstorations"); *Seokguram Bojon-youngu Jaryo* 石窟庵保存研究資料 [Research Material for Seokuram Conservation], 1970. Munhwajae Gwanri-guk Munhwajae Younguso (Management Office of Cultural Heritage-Center for Cultural Heritage Research), *Seoguram ui Gwahakjeok Bojon ul wihan Jeonmunga Hweuirok* [Minutes from the Meetings of Experts for the Scientific Preservation of Seokguram], 1991. Lee Kang Kun 李康根, *Toham-san Seokgul e daehan Geunchuksa jeok Haeseok* [Architectural Interpretation on the Toham-san Stone Grotto], *Gangjwa Misulsa* 講座美術史 (The Art History Journal), no. 46 (2016.6). National Museum of Korea, 3-D Documentary production (2013) on Seokuram (in English) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HeHy3Ml3818). Seokuram, Seokuram English website (2018: http://eng.seokguram.org/).

42 Joseon Chongdok-bu 朝鮮總督府 (Colonial Government of Joseon), *Daisho Sam-nyeon-1914 Habangi Seokguram Bojon-gongsa Gwanryeon Munseo* [Document on the Preservation Work of the Seokguram in the latter half of the third year of Daisho Reign (大正3년)-1914], archival collection of National Museum of Korea. This document, hand-prepared by the Japanese restoration team, provides drawings of *eun-jang* from the lintel (named here as *jang'apseok* 長押石, meaning lintel). This is in agreement with the eyewitness account by Kim Sanggi, Mungyo-bu (1961): 79-123. Kim provides the measurement for the lintel clamps but without any accompanying photos. This was the last time the lintel *eun-jangs* were mentioned. The original iron *eun-jangs* were replaced by lead *eun-jangs* during the 1913-1915 restoration and then to titanium *eun-jangs* during the last restoration (1963-1964).

Appellations of China in Medieval Muslim Literature*

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Muslim literature has been regarded as an important source for studying the relations between ancient China and Iran, apart from an enormous amount of Chinese literature. A lot of accounts about China are found in Iranian poems, travel notes, and literature on history, geography, medicine, gems, etc.; however, the appellations of China vary in them. This phenomenon has drawn the attention of European orientalists since long ago. When studying the origins of the word "China" in European languages, they inevitably came across different appellations of China in ancient Persian and Arabic literature. They identified these appellations, such as "Chīn", "Māchīn", "Ṭamghāj", "Khitāy", "Manzī" and "Nankiyās"; studied their etymologies, meanings, and ways of communication from a linguistic perspective; and finally determined that they were how Persians and Arabs referred to China in the Middle Ages.[1] Chinese scholars have also been interested in this phenomenon. They are adept at researching these appellations by referring to literature in Chinese and the minority languages of China. The challenging yet interesting etymological research on appellations of China has attracted a large number of linguists. For historians, however, the focus is more on the practical use of these appellations in historical materials and how they can be used to study historical issues.

Gabriel Ferrand, a famous French orientalist, has made remarkable achievements in this regard. He wrote *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrème Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles* [**Fig. 1**] in the early 20th century.[2] This book was translated into Chinese by Geng Sheng 耿昇 and Mu Genlai 穆根来 in 1989.[3] For quite a long time, it has served as a major reference for Chinese researchers to make use of Muslim literature. But unfortunately, this book can no longer meet the current needs of scholars. There are two reasons. First, it mentions many Arabic geography books but few Persian historical materials. Second, Ferrand fails to differentiate one appellation of China from another when translating them into French. The same problem exists in the Chinese version, so readers cannot know the original names of "China."

Furthermore, the century following the publishing of Ferrand's book has witnessed tremendous progress in the collation and research of Muslim literature. Higher-quality texts (manuscripts, collated editions, and annotated editions) and translations appeared. New Muslim sources were also discovered. Above all, Chinese scholars have made great progress in the study of Muslim literature
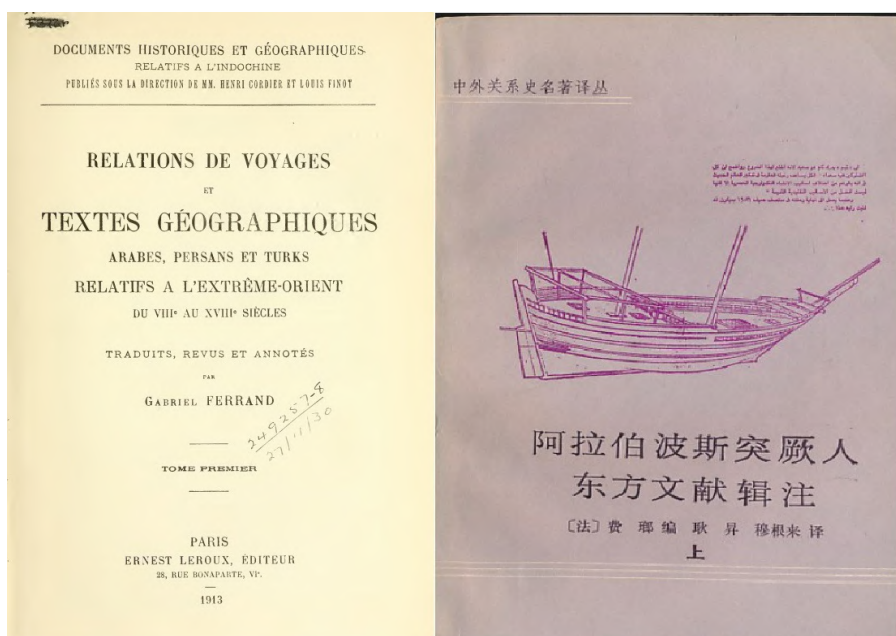
Fig. 1. French scholar Gabriel Ferrand's Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrème Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles (1913), *along with its Chinese translation (1989).*

over the past century. They now prefer original texts to those translated into western languages. Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, a Chinese Arabist, has contributed a lot in this regard in his doctoral dissertation, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' yanjiu 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"研究 ["A Study of 'China' in Ancient Arabic Literature"], where he studies the history of ancient Sino-Arab exchanges based on Arabic literature. From 2002 to 2005, 15 serials of his "China in Ancient Arabic Books" were published in the journal *Arab World Studies*. He collects and translates descriptions of China from 29 categories of Arabic works that are not included in Ferrand's book. This is very important because the lexicographical and religious books he collects are often neglected by historians. It needs to be pointed out that Ge's collection is based only on the word "al-Ṣīn," so accounts concerning other appellations of China are not included. Besides, both Ferrand's and Ge's collections center around Arabic non-historical literature instead of Persian historical sources. Therefore, these are the two aspects this article focuses on.

The amount of Medieval Muslim literature containing complicated appellations of China is voluminous. Analyzing each of them is a prerequisite for using these materials. On the one hand, the meaning and usage of an appellation are not constant over the centuries. On the other hand, as time goes by, some appellations disappear while new ones emerge. Mixed usage of new and old ones is also common. Especially during the reign of the Mongols, their usage changed significantly. Therefore, this article discusses the usage of these appellations in medieval Muslim literature before and after the rise of the Mongols and analyzes Muslims' views of China behind each of them.

Appellations of China in Muslim Literature before the Rise of the Mongols

Judging from a mass of Persian and Arabic sources, "Chīn" (per., al-Ṣīn arb.) is the earliest and most widely used appellation of China. It also has the longest history of use. Modern orientalists, after careful textual research, believe that its pronunciation comes from the Chinese character "Qin 秦," which represents the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE). In early Muslim writings, "Chīn" (or Chīnistān) was the only name referring to China. Works written in

the 9th and 10th centuries, such as *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa al-Hind*, al-Yaʿqūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān*, Ibn Khurdādhbih's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, Iṣṭakhrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Muqaddasī's *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm* and *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, all refer to China as "Chīn" (or Chīnistān). This term is best known to Muslims and has been used since ancient times.

"Chīn" has been a general name of China for a long time in a broad sense; however, when the territories and ruling regimes of ancient China kept changing due to frequent division and unification of the country caused by its nomadic neighbors, Muslim writers in western Islamic regions started to have a different understanding of the word "Chīn" after these changes were disseminated there by land or sea. Derivative names, such as "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn," "Chīn-i Māchīn," "Chīn and Māchīn," "Upper Chīn, Middle Chīn, and Lower Chīn," and "Outer Chīn and Inner Chīn" (Chīn-i bīrūnī va Chīn-i andarūnī), were frequently seen in Muslim literature of that time. At the same time, "Ṭamghāj 拓跋" and "khitāy 契丹," the names of two ethnic groups, also became known to the world as synonyms for China. Therefore, it is very common to see mixed usage of these appellations by Muslim writers from the 10th to 13th centuries. The meaning of each appellation varies in different works, which reflects different perceptions of China's territories and regimes. To clarify their meanings and usages, this article extracts some descriptions containing several typical appellations of China from the 10th to 13th centuries.

1) In *Murūj al-Dhaḥab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar* (*The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*), written by al-Masʿūdī, there is a description of China:

> The Emperor of China (al-Ṣīn) received from his subjects the honorary title of Baghbūr, which means son of heaven (ibn al-samā'). However, the proper title belonging to the monarchs of China, which is usually used when speaking to them, is Tamghamā Jabān (Tamghāj khan) instead of Baghbūr.[4]

Paul Pelliot has made a detailed survey of "Baghbūr." It was a very ancient title and appeared in Sanskrit, Pahlavi, Khotanese, Sogdian, Arabic, and Persian in various forms, meaning "son of God."

Chinese scholars usually translate Faghfūr in Persian into Fa-ge-fu-er 法格富尔 and Baghbūr in Arabic into Ba-ge-bu-er 巴格布尔. That is how people in other ethnic groups called Chinese emperors, which may be a rendering of *Tianzi* 天子 (Son of Heaven) in Chinese. As to "Tamghamā Jabān," Pelliot believes that it is a misspelling of "Tamghāč khan," i.e., Tao-hua-shi-han 桃花石汗.[5]

2) In *Taḥqīq mā lil-Hind* (*Indica*) written by Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, a famous Persian scholar in the 10th to 11th centuries, another appellation "Mahājīn" besides "al-Ṣīn" is used to refer to China. Bīrūnī explained its meaning as Great China (al-Ṣīn al-'uẓma).[6]

3) In *Zayn al-Akhbār*, written by Persian author Gardīzī in the 1050s, there are some descriptions of China:

> Mani fled Iran and settled in **Chīn** and **Māchīn**, where he preached publicly and many people joined his sect…

> As for the country of China (**Chīn**), it is a great country, [so that] if we should undertake to describe the whole of [it], our book would go beyond the limit [we have] proposed [for it]. As for the routes [leading to] it, [one] goes from Tughuzghuz [country] by way of Jīnānjkath to Qumūl eastwards through the desert country. When [this route] reaches Baghshūr, a river which [has to be] crossed by boat comes [up] in front. On the eighth day [after leaving Jīnānjkath] it arrives at Qumūl. From Qumūl [the route] goes by a road through a plain which is all springs and grass for a seven-day [journey], until it reaches a Chinese city called Sājū. Thence after three days [it] arrives at Sanglākh. [Then going] from Sanglākh for [a distance of] seven days it arrives at Sunḥjū. From there [it goes] for three days to Khājū, from there for eight days to Kujā, and from there for fifteen days to a river, called the Ghiyān which [has to be] crossed by ferry. But from Baghshūr to Khumdān, which is the great[est] city of Chīn, it is [fully] a one-month journey by a road [lined all the way by] inns and flourishing halting places.

> Abū Zayd Ḥakīm says as follows: that the Ghuzz Turks are neighbors of the Chinese

(Chīnīyān). And [that] of the boundaries of **Chīn** one is [with] Khutan, [a] second [with] Hindūstān, [a] third [with] Bulūr, [a] fourth [with] Gog and Magog (Ya'jūj va Ma'jūj).

'Ubayd Allāh b. Khurdādhbih says as follows: that whoever goes to **Chīn** becomes wise and great in learning.

Chīn has many kings, but the greatest of them is the Faghfūr "Son of Heaven."[7]

4) In *Qūtādğu Bīlīg* (*Wisdom of Royal Glory*) written by Qara-Khanid poet Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib Balasağuni in Turkic in 1069–1070, "Chīn", "Māchīn", "Khitāy", and "Tamghāj" are used in its prose prologue and verse prologue to refer to China. Geng Shimin 耿世民 says that these two prologues might have been written by later generations. Some researchers still believe the prose prologue was at least written by Yūsuf's contemporary, judging from the tone, while the verse prologue was a rewrite of the prose counterpart. For this reason, this article quotes the prose prologue only:

> This book is exceedingly precious. It is adorned with the proverbs of the sages of **Chīn** and the poems of the learned of **Māchīn**. But he who reads its contents and makes known its verses surpasses the book in excellence. The sages of **Chīn** and of **Māchīn** have all agreed, that in the eastern realm and in all the lands of Turkestan, in the tongue of Buğra Khan and in the language of the Turks, no one has ever composed a book finer than this. Whatever sovereigns this book has reached, and whatever climes, the wise and learned of those lands have accepted it because of its utmost excellence and its boundless beauty. And each one has given it a name and a title. The people of **Chīn** call it "Etiquette of Kings"; and the counselors of the king of **Māchīn** call it "Rule of the Kingdom"; the people of the East call it "Adornment of Princes"; the people of Iran call it "Shāhnameh of the Turks"; others call it "Book of Counsel for Kings"; and the people of Turan call it "Wisdom of Royal Glory" (*Kutadgu Bilig*).

> The author of this book was a pious and abstinent man from Balasaghun. He completed it in the land of Kāshghar, and presented it to the king of the East, **Tavğach** Buğra Khan.[8]

In the text written by Yūsuf himself, "Khitay" and "Tamghāj" are used to refer to China:

> Brown earth wrapped a veil of green silk over her face; the **Cathay** caravan spread out its **Chinese** wares.[9]

As its Chinese translation notes, "Cathay (Khitāy)" here refers to the Liao Dynasty in the north and "Chinese (Tamghāj)" the Song Dynasty in the south.[10]

5) In *Lughāt al-Turk (Compendium of the Languages of the Turks Dīwān)* written by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, a scholar from the same era as Yūsuf, there is a famous description regarding ancient China's different regions and their names:

> **Tawγāč**. The name for Māṣīn. It lies beyond Ṣīn a distance of four months' travel. Ṣīn is originally threefold: "Upper," in the east, which is **tawγāč**; "Middle," which is **Xiṭāy**; and "Lower", which is **barxān**, the vicinity of Kāšγar. But now Tawγāč is known as Māṣīn, and Khiṭāy as Ṣīn.

> **Tawγāč**. The name of a tribe of the Turks who settled in those regions. From this word comes the expression: **tat tawγāč** meaning "Uighur (which is Tat) and Ṣīnī (which is **Tawγāč**).

> "Any manufactured item that is ancient and imposing (iḏā kāna qadīman ʿaẓīman)" is called: **Tawγāč äḏi**. This is like the Arabic expression šay' ʿādī ("something of ʿ**Ād**"). The word is also used as a name for kings: **tawγāč xān** meaning "of great and inveterate rule (ʿaẓīm al-mulk wa-qadīmuhu)."

> They say, as a paired expression: **tat tawγāč**. By "Tat" they mean "Persian (al-fārisī)", and by "tawγāč" they mean "Turk". In my opinion the more correct usage is what I have mentioned [above]. The latter is used in the lands of Islam; the former in that place. Both are correct.[11]

6) In *Ṭabā'iʿ al-Ḥayawān* (*Nature of Animals*) written by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, a Central Asian native in the 11th to 12th centuries, there are also descriptions of China's territories.

> §3. Their territories are divided into three categories, namely, **Ṣīn**, **Qitāy**, called by common people **Khitāy**, and **Uyghur**, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Ṣīn

(China).

> §7. I met a clever man who had been to China and traded with the Chinese in their goods. He said that the city which is their capital is called Y.njūr 扬州. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called KWFWĀ, but the king resides in Y.njūr. …Their king is called Tafghāj-Khān, and it is he who is called Faghfūr.

> §17. The Chinese language is different from other languages and so is the language of Tibet. All Chinese are of one faith which is the faith of Mānī, contrary to the Qitāy and Uyghur among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.

> §19. He who intends to visit these countries upon commercial or other business travels:

From Kāshghar to Yārkand in 4 days

thence to Khotan in 10 days

thence to K.rwyā (Keriya 克里雅) in 5 days

thence to Sājū (Sha-chou 沙州) in 50 days

There (at Sājū) the roads to **China**, **Qitāy**, and **Uyghur** part:

> A. He who travels to Y.njūr, which is the capital of the king of China Tamghāj-Khān, turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches Qām-jū (= Kan-chou 甘州), then L.ksīn—in forty days—and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of Kho-cho 火州, of which are known Sūlmin 唆里迷 and Chīnānjkath 秦城. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njūr in about 40 days.

> Beyond China (**Ṣīn**) there is a nation known as Sh.rghūl, called by the Chinese S.nqū (Sung-kuo 宋国), which is at a month's distance from Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called **Mājīn** (Māchīn 马秦) and the Indians call them Great China (Mahāchīna 摩诃支那).

> B. He who intends going to Qocho (Qūjū), which is the city of the **Uyghur-khan**, turns away towards the left after Sājū (Sha-chou).

C. He who intends going to Ūjam, which is the capital of **Qitāy**, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

Khātūn-san (Khātūn-sīnī 可敦墓) in about 2 months

then to Ūtkīn in a month

then to Ūjam in a month

§29. The great city in which the king of **China** lives is called **Khumdān**, and it is said that from the city of Chīnānjkath to Khumdān there is a distance of four months through pasture lands.

§33. In the environs of **Khumdān**, which is the capital of the king surnamed Faghfūr, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks.[12]

7) In *Jahān-nāma* (*Book of the World*), a geography book written by Persian geographer Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān in 1206, descriptions of "Chīn" and "Khitāy" reflect another understanding of China's territories.

Khiṭā: the Khiṭā tribe comes from the country of Chīn. The pronunciation of "Khiṭā" which is used incorrectly by themselves, should have been "Qitā". Qitā is the name of a large city of Chīn.

Chīn is an extremely huge country with many palaces and cities in its territory. Chīn is said to have three hundred cities, which are large and prosperous. Chīn is divided into two parts: the part with the palaces is called "pure Chīn" (Chīn-i muṭlaq), and some people call it "Outer Chīn" (Chīn-i bīrūnī); the other part located on the east side is called "Inner Chīn" (Chīn-i andarūnī), or "Māchīn."

Later, one Great Amir of the **Qitā**, who was said to have been the monarch of Chīn, left there and fought his way westwards to reach the place of Balasagun. They settled there against no resistance. Then, the pronunciation of Qitā changed, and the place of their residence was named "Qūtū". Their people called themselves "Khitā" by mistake.[13]

Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj are two tribes; the one near the wall (sadd) is "Ya'jūj," and the other farther away is Ma'jūj, similar to **Chīn** and **Māchīn**.[14]

8) In *Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa al-Aghdhiya* (*Glossary of Food and Medicine*), one of the two famous medical works written by the renowned pharmacist 'Abd allāh Ibn al-Bayṭār in the first half of the 13th century, a paragraph about the appellations of China is found under the entry "Rhubarb."

The rhubarb roots, well known under the names of Turkish and Persian, come to us from Turkestan and Persia. They, as I have heard from credible people, also grow in **China** (Chīn), but the Chinese ones are better known and more famous. They grow in the northern part of **China**, the region called Turkestan, and the Persians call that place "**Chīn of Māchīn**" (Chīn-i Māchīn), meaning the same as "**Ṣīn of Ṣīn**" (Ṣīn al-Ṣīn). Since they call China "Shīn," Chinese rhubarb is called "rhubarb of Shīn" (Rāvand-i Shīnī).[15]

9) In a supplement to Ptolemy's works on seven climate zones, the 13th-century Arab geographer Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī wrote the following:

In the east of **Ṣīn** stands a mountain that separates **Ṣīn** from **Ṣīn al-Ṣīn**.

The appearance of the **Ṣīn** people is very similar to that of the **Khiṭā** people. They live between Turks and Indians. Their clothes are of poor quality, and they are used to baring their chests. Their Sultan is called Baghbūr, and their capital is Tājā…

The city of **Manzī** is the capital of **Chīn al-Chīn**.[16]

10) In the well-known geography book *Āsār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād* (*Monuments of the Lands and Histories of the Peoples*), the 13th-century geographer Zakariyā al-Qazvīnī mentioned the following:

China (Ṣīn). Located in the east, its territory extends from the first to the third climates. Its latitude is greater than longitude. It is said that there are 300 cities in the country of **Ṣīn**, and it is a two-month journey around. There is abundant water, lush trees, fertile land, and rich fruits. It is the best and most beautiful and God blessing city.

Farghāna. The country is made up of many towns and cities, located just beyond the Transoxiana and close to Turkestan. The people there are beautiful and believe in the Hanafi sect. This place was destroyed in the war between Khwārazm-shāh and the **Khitans** (Khiṭāyiyān). Its residents migrated to Transoxiana and Khorasan.

Ṭamghāj. A place name in Turkestan. There are many houses and residents there. Men and women are hairless. There are two springs, one of sweet water, and one of salt water. They merge into a pond, and then two streams flow from the pond, one salty and one sweet, as if they have never been mixed.

Transoxiana (Mā warā' al-Nahr). It had been always prosperous and rich, until it was occupied by Khwārazm-shāh Muḥammad. In 601 Hijri, **Khitans** left there.[17]

The ten quotes above represent the typical usage of appellations of China in Muslim literature down to the Mongol era. The following section analyzes the specific meanings of these appellations and Muslims' views of China reflected by them.

1) **Ṭamghāj.** "Ṭamghāj" 桃花石 was usually used in Chinese and the languages of neighboring ethnic groups and spread westward to Persia, Arabia, and Europe. Both Chinese and western scholars have done a lot of research on the word based on Turkic, Uyghur, and Chinese sources. Paul Pelliot believes that Central Asia used "Ṭamghāj" instead of "Chīn" to refer to China from the 5th to 6th centuries while "Ṭamghāj" was later replaced by "Khitāy" during the 10th century.[18] However, according to the related Persian and Arabic literature, "Ṭamghāj" was never a mainstream name for Muslims to address China in the central and western regions of the Islamic world, not to mention a substitute for the ancient name "Chīn." "Ṭamghāj" occurred in Persian and Arabic literature mostly in the form of "Ṭamghāj Khān" as a title of rulers. This title can refer to the ruler of Qara-Khanid such as "Tavġach Buġra Khan" (in *Qūtādǧu Bīlīg*, quoted above) and "Naṣir bin Ibrāhīm Ṭamghāj Khān" (in *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* [*The History of Bukhara*], written by Narshakhī).[19] It can also refer to a Chinese emperor in general, similar to "Faghfūr." Masʿūdī and Marvazī used this appellation in their works quoted above, and it

was even used after the decline of the Mongol Empire.

"Ṭamghāj" also occurred in Muslim literature as a place name in two different situations. First, as an appellation of China, it was far less commonly used than "Chīn" and "Khitāy" in Persian and Arabic literature. It can be found from the quotes above that "Ṭamghāj" actually refers to the Chinese territories ruled by the Han people, especially when it was mentioned together with "Khitāy," as in Kāshgharī's and Yūsuf's writings. However, only Kāshgharī gave a detailed explanation of these territories. This can be attributed to Kāshgharī's special cultural background. He lived in Qara-Khanid in the eastern Islamic world in his early years and later moved to the city of Baghdad, the center of the western Islamic world. He was proficient in Persian, Arabic, and Turkic. He compiled the *Compendium* to explain Turkic vocabulary in Arabic. Therefore, the phrase "Tawγač is known as Māṣīn and Khiṭāy as Ṣīn" was a translation between Turkic and Arabic. He interpreted Turkic words "Tawγāč" and "Khitāy" with "Māṣīn" and "Ṣīn," which were commonly used by Persians and Arabs. This also proves that "Ṭamghāj" was not a mainstream term to address China in the western Islamic world. Kāshgharī's *Compendium* has had a profound influence on the Persian and Arab worlds. "Ṭamghāj" also became known to Persians and Arabs as an appellation of China.

Second, "Ṭamghāj" refers to a place in Turkestan. Kāshgharī explained the second meaning of "Ṭamghāj": "the name of a tribe of the Turks who settled in those regions." This usage was also seen in Zakariyā Qazvīnī's geography book in which the entry "Ṭamghāj" was clearly defined as a place in Turkestan.

2) **"Khitāy."** Pelliot believes that "Khitāy" originally represented Chi-tan 契丹, a tribe in North China that founded the Liao 辽 Dynasty. Muslims in Central Asia and Western Asia soon used it to refer to North China ruled by the Liao Dynasty.[20] It can be seen from the quotes above that "Khitāy" in Muslim literature of the 10th to 13th centuries had two different meanings: 1. The original meaning—the Khitan tribe and territories ruled by the Liao Dynasty, as in the works of Kāshgharī and Marvazī. It was an appellation of China; 2. The derivative

Kāshgharī	Ṣīn	Upper Ṣīn = Māṣīn = tawγāč
		Middle Ṣīn = Ṣīn = Xiṭāy
		Lower Ṣīn = Barxān
Marvazī	Ṣīn	Ṣīn or Mājīn
		Qitāy or Ṣīn
		Uyghur or Tughuzghuz
Bakran	Chīn	Inner Chīn = Māchīn
		Outer Chīn = Pure Chīn = Qitā
Ibn al-Baytar		the northern part of Chīn = Chīn-i Māchīn = Ṣīn al-Ṣīn
Maghribi		Ṣīn
		Ṣīn al-Ṣīn

Fig. 2. Appellations of ancient China in Muslim literature of the 10th to 13th centuries.

meaning. After the Liao Dynasty was overthrown, one of the noble Yelü Dashi 耶律大石 marched westward to Central Asia with his troops. "Khitāy" was then used to refer to this tribe and their West Liao 西辽 regime in Central Asia, which was later called "Qara-Khitāy" in Muslim literature. This is the case with "Khitāy" in the works of Bakrān and Zakariyā Qazvīnī.

3) **"Chīn."** Different appellations derived from "Chīn" (or Ṣīn): "Māchīn," "Upper Ṣīn," "Middle Ṣīn," "Lower Ṣīn," "Outer Chīn," "Inner Chīn," "Chīn of Chīn" (Ṣīn al-Ṣīn), and "Chīn of Māchīn" (Ṣīn al-Maṣīn). These names reflect how the Islamic world viewed ancient China, which was experiencing frequent division and unification at that time, while various usages of them by different authors reflect the differences in their perceptions of ancient China with multiple regimes.

Figure 2 shows these perceptions. It demonstrates the meaning of "Chīn" in both a broad and narrow sense. "Chīn" in a broad sense is a general name of China, while in a narrow sense it refers to a certain part of China. It is necessary to refer to the related literature and other place names appearing at a specific time to determine which part of China "Chīn" stood for exactly. Another important appellation closely related to

"Chīn" in a narrow sense is "Māchīn." Alfred von Gutschmid believes that "Māchīn" in Persian has nothing to do with "Mahāčin 摩诃秦" in Sanskrit, but Pelliot refutes his hypothesis based on the works of Bīrūnī and Rashīd al-Dīn as well as *Āyin-i Akbarī* of the 16th century. All of them prove that "Māchīn" was derived from Mahāčin.[21] Most scholars agree with Pelliot that "Māchīn" is equivalent to Mahāčin, which means "Great China."

When "Chīn" in a narrow sense and "Māchīn" occur in the same context, which region of China do they stand for respectively? There are a lot of different opinions in this regard, but most of them

Fig. 3. Kāshgharī's world map, from the Diwan lughat al-Turk, *Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri 4189, fols. 22b-23a, Istanbul.*

center around the related descriptions in Kāshgharī's works [**Fig. 3**]. V.V. Barthold says that "Ṣīn" and "Māṣīn" were distinguished from each other at the age Kāshgharī lived in. "Ṣīn" referred to North China, and "Māṣīn" referred to South China. "Māṣīn" was also known as "Ṭamghāj," standing for Chinese regions ruled by the Song Dynasty.[22] Pelliot points out that the terms "Upper" and "Lower" in Kāshgharī's map mean "east" and "west" respectively.[23] Zhang Guangda 张广达 also says that Kāshgharī's "Ṣīn" in a narrow sense refers to Khitāy while "Māṣīn" refers to Song. They are east-west adjacent to each other.[24]

However, other writers had different understandings of "Chīn" and "Māchīn." Even the same writer used these two terms inconsistently in the same piece of work. This can be seen in §19 of Marvazī's works. §19 describes the route from Central Asia to China. It starts from Kāshghar to Sājū where the road diverges into three towards Ṣīn, Qitāy, and Uyghur respectively. His descriptions about the routes reflect the view of "China divided into three parts," which is also shown in §3 and §17. "Ṣīn" refers to the region ruled by the Song Dynasty. Marvazī talked about Māṣīn in the second half of the description of the route to Ṣīn in §19. He said Māṣīn was another country, and it was called "S.nqū" (Sung-kuo) by the Ṣīn people. Residents in the country were known as "Sh.rghūl" (Han Chinese). According to Kang Peng's 康鹏 survey, the pronunciations of "S.nqū" and "Sh.rghūl" were derived from the Khitan language.[25] Therefore, those who spoke these two words should be from Khitāy. That is, "Ṣīn" means Khitāy and "Māṣīn" means Song. Why does the meaning of "Ṣīn" change in such a short piece of text? V. Minorsky analyzes the historical sources of Marvazī's narrative and helps to answer this question. He says Marvazī's description of China was a complicated patchwork of quotes from various sources.[26] The descriptions of the route and "Māṣīn" in §19 come from two different historical sources. These two sources adopt two different naming systems for China. In the first system, Song is called "Ṣīn" and Liao "Khitāy." In the second system, Song is given the name of "Māṣīn" and Liao "Ṣīn." These two systems were clearly explained in the entry "Tawγāč" in Kāshgharī's *Compendium*: "Ṣīn is originally three-fold: 'Upper,' in the east, which is tawγāč; 'Middle,'

which is Xiṭāy; and 'Lower,' which is Barxān, the vicinity of Kāšγar. But now Tawγāč is known as Māṣīn, and Khiṭāy as Ṣīn." Kāshgharī clarified that these two naming systems were used at different times. Unlike Kāshgharī's research-based writing, Marvazī's accounts can only be regarded as a kind of "compilation." Marvazī's understanding of China was indirect and fragmentary. He put together all the information regardless of their era and background and used these two different naming systems without differentiating one from another. That's why the information is contradictory and confusing. In summary, there are two naming systems for China in Marvazī's works: when used with "Khitāy," "Ṣīn" refers to the Song Dynasty, and when with "Māṣīn," "Ṣīn" refers to Khitāy.

Besides Kāshgharī and Marvazī, Bakrān also had his way of explaining China's territories and appellations. "Chīn" was used in both a broad and a narrow sense in Bakrān's works. In a broad sense, "Chīn" stands for China as a whole, while in a narrow sense, it only refers to the region under the Khitāy's rule (he called the ruler of Khitāy the monarch of Chīn), namely the Liao Dynasty. Furthermore, he divided "Chīn" in a broad sense into two parts: "Inner Chīn" and "Outer Chīn." "Inner and Outer" is similar to "Upper and Lower" in Kāshgharī's view. They were commonly used by Muslims to describe a geographical orientation. Bakrān also explained that "Outer Chīn" referred to the pure Chīn. "Pure Chīn" is not a proper name. "Pure" is an adjective, meaning that Outer Chīn is exactly Chīn, that is, "Chīn" in its narrow sense. "Chīn" in a narrow sense is equivalent to Khitāy because Bakrān used the system of "Chīn = Khitāy and Māchīn = Song." Bakrān is superior to Marvazī in logic in this regard. He integrated different systems but ensured consistent logic, indicating that he had a better understanding of China.

Finally, let us take a look at "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" and "Ṣīn al-Māṣīn" in the works of Ibn al-Bayṭār and al-Maghribī. Pelliot indicates that Ibn al-Bayṭār pointed out the correlations between "Chīn-i Māchīn" in Persian and "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" in Arabic. As for "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn," Pelliot infers that it refers to Guangzhou 广州 based on the descriptions by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Ibn Baṭūṭah. However, Ge Tieying holds a different

opinion:

> As for Ṣīn al-Ṣīn, ancient Arab writers have different views on which region it refers to. Some say Guangzhou, and some say Nanjing. Western scholars think it refers to Guangzhou or Yangzhou 扬州. It is even more ambiguous on the side of Chinese researchers and translators. Some transliterate it into Qin-a-Qin 秦阿秦, and some paraphrase it into "little China" 小中国. Since the areas listed in this book are countries rather than cities, and "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" is at the same level as "China," it seems appropriate to consider it as southern China, which of course covered not merely the southern part of China today.[27]

Ge selects texts containing "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" from Ibn al-Khatib's *al-'Iḥāṭah fī 'Akhbār Gharnāṭah (The Complete Source on the History of Granada)* and Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā (The Dawn of the Blind)*, both of which use "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" together with "Ṣīn." For example, in *al-'Iḥāṭah fī 'Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, it says:

> Ibn Baṭūṭah traveled from his homeland to oriental regions including Egypt (Miṣr), Syria (al-Shām), Iraq (al-ʿIrāq), Iraq of Persia (ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam), Hind (al-Hind), Sind (sl-Sind), Ṣīn, Ṣīn al-Ṣīn, and Yemen (al-Yaman).[28]

"Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" here obviously does not refer to a certain city. Analogous to "Iraq and Iraq of Persia" and "Hind and Sind," "Ṣīn and Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" is more likely a combined expression to refer to China as a whole. This is more obvious in *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* by al-Qalqashandī, which mentions that Genghis Khan ruled Ṣīn and Ṣīn al-Ṣīn.[29] Another evidence is Maghribī's words: "In the east of China (Ṣīn) stands a mountain that separates Ṣīn from Ṣīn al-Ṣīn." This is the same as "Ṣīn and Māṣīn" used by Kāshgharī and Bakrān. Therefore, "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn," when used together with " Ṣīn," is equivalent to "Māṣīn" and is an appellation of China.

As for "Chīn and Māchīn" (Ṣīn and Māṣīn), Liu Yingjun 刘英军 says the following when studying Chinese place names in the Persian epic *Kūshnāma*: "Chīn and Māchīn were often used as appellations of ancient China in Persian historical and geographical documents in the Islamic era, but they referred to different parts of China in the

works of different times." He also points out that these two names "form a phrase, referring to the vast area of ancient China."[30] Based on a series of historical records, it is clear that Muslims used "Chīn and Māchīn" in two ways:

1) "Chīn and Māchīn" were regarded as two different regimes in China, that is, the Liao Dynasty and the Song Dynasty, as described by Kāshgharī and Marvazī. They can be used separately in this case.

2) "Chīn and Māchīn" was used as a combined term standing for China in general. They cannot be used separately in this case. Henry Yule points out from a phonological perspective that "Chīn and Māchīn" is an phrase having some analogy to "Sind and Hind" (referring to the whole India) but a stronger one to "Gog and Magog" (referring to the northern nations of Asia).[31]

In short, "Chīn and Māchīn" does not highlight the multi-regime situation in China, but has evolved into a literary expression referring to China as a whole. A lot of examples in Muslim literature have shown that only a handful of Muslim writers knew the real situation in the east. Most authors merely used this phrase to refer to China in general. Even after the Mongols re-unified China, this phrase was still widely used.

In summary, the appellations of China and the descriptions of China's territories in Muslim literature in the 10th-13th centuries have two characteristics:

1) Outdated sources are frequently used, which has been noticed by many scholars. V.V. Bartold says that Arabic geographical literature compiled after the 10th century was mostly a patchwork of quotes from various outdated sources.[32] Michal Biran directly points out that most information about China in many Muslim works of the 10th-12th centuries was based on the outdated knowledge of the Tang Dynasty. For example, Chang'an (Ḥumdān) was still regarded as the capital of China after it lost this position. Literature in the late 11th to early 12th centuries also reveals a confusing understanding of the political situation in China. Most writings at that time were based on Muḥmūd Kāshgharī's *Compendium*. In this book, Ṭamghāj, originally the name of the ruling clan of the Northern Wei Dynasty, was used until the early 13th century.[33] It can also be seen from the literature cited

in this article that apart from Ḥumdān and Ṭamghāj, information about China, such as mention of the Chinese emperors' title "Faghfūr," China's capital as being located at "Yangzhou," and the phrase "Ṣīn has three hundred cities," appeared in various sources of different periods. Some information was still used by Muslim writers even after the Mongol era.

2) The information about a turbulent and divided China was not disseminated to Central and West Asia promptly in the 10th-13th centuries. Muslim writers were aware of this but didn't know the exact progress or details. For instance, although Bakrān accurately recorded in his book *Jahān-nāma* the fact that Yelü Dashi marched west and established the Western Liao Dynasty over half a century later, he still used "Chīn and Māchīn" to refer to China. The reason is that the powerful Western Liao Dynasty in Central Asia spread their stories to Persia and Arabia, but the news about distant China could not reach there in time due to road blockage. This also explains why most Muslim writers had to use works of the previous era as a reference. Regimes in China changed frequently during the 10th to 13th centuries, but the related information was transmitted slowly. Therefore, Muslim writers couldn't update their knowledge and reflect these changes in their works accordingly. Some of them regarded "Chīn" as the regime in South China, some as the regime in North China, and some as the whole of China. Some even used different meanings of "Chin" in the same piece of work without differentiating one from another. It was the division of China that made the meaning of "Chīn" change, and the derivatives of "Chīn" emerge frequently. This shows that the fact of China's division had become common knowledge in the Islamic world, and the various appellations of China are exactly a reflection of the division in essence. On ancient Muslim maps, "upper" and "lower" represented east and west respectively, a 90-degree deviation from Chinese maps. Therefore, some Muslims misunderstood that China was divided into a regime in the east and another in the west. As Pelliot says, the constant changes in the usage of "Chīn and Māchīn" reflect the cognitive confusion among the Islamic world when China was divided into two regimes from north to south and ruled by different ethnic groups.[34]

Appellations of China in Muslim Literature after the Rise of the Mongols

While China was experiencing three hundred years of division, Central Asia and West Asia were also ruled by numerous independent regimes. At the start of the Mongol conquest, there were several powerful regimes from eastern to western Asia, including Jin 金, Western Xia 西夏, Uyghur, Western Liao, Khwarazm, the fortresses of Ismailism in northern Iran and the caliph in Baghdad, as well as a series of small semi-independent regimes in Transoxiana, Khorasan, and Kerman under the rule of the Khwarazm-shah. Three centuries of warfare in the center of Asia resulted in inconvenient land transportation to a certain extent, which was reflected in the chaotic records by Muslim writers of this period. This situation was finally ended by the Mongols. When the Mongol army marched westwards and destroyed all these regimes one after another, the communication barriers caused by the division were broken down and the ancient Silk Road was revived. Along with the military expeditions, merchants, travelers, and scholars exchanged information and updated their knowledge as they moved around. The entire Asian continent was in a state of rapid mobility. A manifestation in Muslim literature of this period is that the accounts of the East suddenly became accurate and clear.

To study the evolution of the appellations of China during this period, the following section lists the descriptions of China in some important Muslim works.

1) 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr wrote his Arabic masterpiece *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* in the early 1230s. China is called "Ṣīn" in this book. In addition, it records a large number of historical events in Khitāy. "Khitāy" here refers to the Khitan tribe who moved westwards and founded the Western Liao Dynasty in Central Asia. For example, the book records what happened in the year 604 (1107-1108) of the Islamic calendar:

> After Khwārazm Shāh had treated the **Khitay** (Khiṭā) as we have described, those of them that survived went to their ruler, for he had not been present at the battle, and they gathered around him. A large group of Tatars had erupted from their homeland, the borders of **China**

(Ṣīn), in the past, and settled beyond Turkestan. There were enmity and hostilities between them and the **Qarakhitay** (Khiṭā),[35] so when they heard what Khwārazm Shāh had done to the **Khitay**, they attacked them, led by their ruler Kuchlug (Kushlī) Khan.[36]

2) *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī*, written by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Nasavī a few years after Ibn al-Athīr's book was finished, is also a masterpiece of history in the early Mongol era. The book describes the history of the Mongols conquering Khwarazm based on the author's personal experience. The use of appellations of China in the book is similar to that in Ibn al-Athīr's book. "Khitāy" refers to the Western Liao Dynasty and is used together with "Qarakhitāy." While "Khitans" (Khitāyīyān) is used to refer to residents in the Western Liao Dynasty, Gur Khan is given the title "Khan of Khans of the Kingdom of Khitay" (Khān-i Khānān Gūr Khān-i Malik-i Khitāy).[37] China is still called "Chīn" in this book. For example, according to the book, when Genghis Khan tried to establish a friendly business relationship with Khwarazm, he asked an envoy to send a message to Khwarazm-shah:

> The envoy said: "Our Great Khan gave regards to you. He said: 'I know your greatness, the vastness of your land, and the wideness of the regions in which your decrees are carried out. I want to make peace with you, and treat you like a child of my own. Tell you the truth, I have seized **Chīn** and conquered the land of Turk adjacent to Chīn. As you all know, my land is the source of troops, gold, and silver. Anyone who comes to my country from other places will become rich. If you accept my kindness and let the businessmen of both sides come and go, we shall be glad to see that all can make great fortunes from it.'"

> After hearing the words of the messenger, the Sultan summoned the envoy Maḥmūd Khwārazmī alone at night, and said to him: "You are from Khwarazm, and your heart shall be with us." … The Sultan asked: "Genghis Khan said: 'I seized **Chīn** and conquered **Tūghāj**.' Is that true?" Maḥmūd replied: "The mirror can only tell the truth. Such a big thing is hidden, and you don't know."[38]

3) The Persian history book *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, written by Minhāj Sirāj Jawzjānī ten years later, is another important source that records the history of Central Asia from the period of the Ghurids to the Mongol conquest. The author describes the historical events of the Western Liao Dynasty in detail and uses various appellations to refer to China. He mentions the following when talking about Khitans moving westward in the book:

> A body of people of **Qarākhiṭā**, from **Ṭamghāj** and the country of **Chīn**, entered the confines of Qarāqurum of Turkestan, and solicited Sultan Sanjar to assign them grazing lands.[39]

> It is said by trustworthy persons that the first irruption of the Turks was when the tribes of **Qarākhiṭā** issued from the territory of **Chīn** and the land of the East, and came out upon the confines of Qayāliq and Balāsāghūn, and withdrew their allegiance from the sovereign of **Ṭamghāj**, and made the frontier tracts of Islam their dwelling place and their grazing grounds.[40]

When talking about the battle between Khwarazm-shah Muḥammad and the Western Liao Dynasty:

> Sultan Muḥammad having gained such a great success, the second year after, again assembled an army, and led a force of 400,000 effective cavalry, both horses and riders arrayed in defensive armour, into the land of **Khitāy**, and completely overthrew Gūr Khān, who was the Great Khan of [Qarā] **Khitāy**. The whole of the horses, camels, and other cattle, baggage, and followers of the army of **Khitāy** were captured, and the Great Khan retreated discomfited before him.[41]

Jawzjānī also mentions the situation in China when describing the rise of the Mongols and their military expeditions:

> The Mongol Chingiz Khān had a son, the eldest of all his sons, Tūshī by name. At this time, this Tūshī, by command of Genghis Khan, his father, had come out of the territory of **Chīn**, in pursuit of an army of Tatār, and Sultan Muḥammad, from Transoxiana and Khorasan, had likewise pushed on in the same direction; and the two armies fell in with each other.[42] …

Chingiz Khān broke out into revolt in the land of **Chīn**, and **Ṭamghāj** and the **Greater Turkestan** (a-'ālī Turkistān), and Altūn Khān of **Ṭamghāj**, who was sovereign of Upper Turkestan (Turkistān-i bālā), and the lineal monarch of **Qarākhiṭā**, was overcome by him, and the territories of **Ṭamghāj**, Tangut, and Ūyghūr and Tatār, all fell into his hands.[43]

When describing the Utrār incident, which triggered the war between the Mongols and Khwarazm, Jawzjānī wrote the following:

> Of that party [of merchants], there was one person, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the [public] hot baths, and he succeeded in making his escape by way of the fire place. He, having taken to the wilds, returned back to **Chīn**, and made Chingiz acquainted with the perfidious conduct of Qadr Khān of Utrār and the slaughter of the party. Chingiz Khān prepared to take revenge, and he caused the forces of **Chīn** and Turkistān to be got ready for that purpose.[44]

In addition, "Chīn and Māchīn" appears twice in this book. The first time is when describing the territories ruled by Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the monarch of the Ghurids:

> His dominions became wide and extended, and from the east [eastern extremity] of Hindūstān, from the frontier of **Chīn and Māchīn**, as far as 'Irāk, and from the river Jīhūn and Khurāsān to the sea-shore of Hurmuz, the Khutbah was adorned by his auspicious name.[45]

The second time is when Güyük Khan, the Mongol Khan, persecuted Muslims:

> When such tyranny and barbarity took root in the mind of Kyuk, and his decision in this course was come to, he commanded that a mandate should be issued, to this effect, throughout all parts of the Mongol dominions, from the extreme limits of **Chīn and Māchīn**[46] to the farthest parts of 'Ajam, 'Irāk, Rūm, and Shām, and the whole of the Mongol rulers, who were located in different parts, were directed to obey it, and hold it necessary to be carried out.[47]

The quotes above from three books show the word choice style in Muslim history books of the early Mongol era.

First, "Chīn" was still the most commonly used appellation of North China, which in these three historical sources referred specifically to the territories ruled by the Liao Dynasty and the Jin Dynasty. In addition to "Chīn," "Ṭamghāj" was also used to refer to North China. It is worth noting that in previous Muslim works by Kāshgharī, Marvazī, and others, "Ṭamghāj" usually referred to South China, which was ruled by the Han people. In the three books mentioned above, however, the meaning of "Ṭamghāj" changed. It was either used in conjunction with "Chīn" or referred to North China on its own. Besides "Chīn" and "Ṭamghāj", "Upper Turkestan" is another appellation in *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* that stands for China. Jawzjānī calls Altūn Khān of Ṭamghāj the monarch of Upper Turkestan. "Altūn" means "gold" in Turkic, and "Altūn Khān" refers to the emperor of the Jin Dynasty.[48] Therefore, "Upper Turkestan" is equivalent to North China, although it is not so commonly used as other appellations. A similar usage appears in Ibn al-Bayṭar's works mentioned in the first part of this article, where the northern part of Chīn is called Turkestan. Although the territories of "Chīn" and "Turkistān" are different in the above two documents, it can be seen that they overlapped with each other. Ibn al-Bayṭar was a contemporary of Jawzjānī. Therefore, it can be inferred that some Muslims thought that North China overlapped with Turkestan in their territories in the 13th century.

Second, it can be seen from the records concerning Genghis Khan's conquest of China that apart from "Chīn" (or "Ṭamghāj" and "Upper Turkestan") ruled by the Jin Dynasty, there were Uyghur, Tangut, and other regimes not within Jin's territories in North China. The scope of "Chīn" here was quite limited and almost equivalent to "Han regions 汉地."

Third, "Khitāy" didn't mean North China at that time. As Yelü Dashi marched westward with his troops, the concepts of "residents of Khitāy" and "land of Khitāy" were disseminated there. They referred to the residents of the Western Liao Dynasty and their dominion in Central Asia respectively. "Khitāy" was equivalent to the term "Qarakhitāy."

Fourth, "Māchīn" was no longer used alone. "Chīn and Māchīn" became a fixed expression to refer to

the whole of China.

4) *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, written by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAtạ̄ Malik Juvaynī, is one of the most important and representative historical works of the Mongol era. The appellations of China used in this book have reflected the word choice characteristics of the era. "Chīn," the most commonly used appellation of China in the past, rarely appeared in this book. It was only used as a literary expression in poems or as a fixed collocation with "Māchīn." For example:

> As the lights of the dawn of his equity were without the dust of the darkness of evening, so the extent of his empire reached from farthest **Chīn and Māchīn** to the uttermost districts of Syria (Shām).[49]

> He who to vigilant fortune has united meekness and modesty and to daily increasing felicity the virtue of guiding wisdom. Confronted with his world-adorning counsel the sun has no beauty and in the presence of his generosity the clouds have no sustenance. Where are the khans of **Chin and Machin** that they may learn the rites of kingship?[50]

An appellation of China frequently used in this book is "Khitāy." This term was transitioning from an ethnic group name to a place name when Juvaynī wrote this book. It had two different meanings:

1. It referred to the Western Liao Dynasty, including the regime, its territories, and residents. It can be replaced by "Qarakhitāy." For instance, "Khitāy" referred to Qarakhitāy in the chapters titled "Of the origin of the dynasty of the Sultans of Khorazm" and "Of the accession of ʿAla-ad-din Khorazm-shah" of this book.[51]

2. "Khitāy" replaced "Chīn" and referred to North China, the area ruled by the Jin Dynasty as shown in the following:

> The home of the Tatars, and their origin and birthplace, is an immense valley, whose area is a journey of seven or eight months both in length and breadth. In the east it marches with the land of **Khitai (Khitāy)**, in the west with the country of the Uighur, in the north with the Qirqiz and the river Selengei, and in the south with the Tangut and the Tibetans.[52]

In short, when these regions had been purged of rebels and all the tribes had become as his army, he dispatched ambassadors to **Khitai**, and afterwards went there in person, and slew Altun-Khan, the Emperor of **Khitai**, and subjugated the country.[53]

Another example was in the chapter "Of the campaign of the world-emperor Qaʾan against Khitai and the conquest of that country," which describes the battle of the Mongols against the Jin Dynasty. After the Jin Dynasty was defeated, "Ogetei left ʿAziz Yalavach in Khitai."[54] "Khitai" here stands for the Central Plains under the rule of the Jin Dynasty. However, after the fall of the Jin Dynasty, "Khitāy" referred to the Han regions in North China, while South China, ruled by the Song Dynasty, was called "Manzī 蛮子":

> He (Möngke Khan) appointed armies for the East and the West, for the lands of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The Eastern countries and the provinces of **Khitai**, **Manzi**, Solangai and Tangut he entrusted to Qubilai Oghul, who is distinguished by his wisdom and sagacity, his intelligence and shrewdness.[55]

Here, "Khitai" (Khitāy) stood for the Central Plains under the rule of the Jin Dynasty. Former territories of the Southern Song Dynasty were called "Manzī" instead of previously used appellations such as "Chīn," "Māchīn," and "Ṭamghāj." "Māchīn," just like "Chīn," appeared only in fixed collocations, while "Ṭamghāj" didn't appear as a place name in this book.

5) *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* is not only the most important achievement of the prolific writer Rashīd al-Dīn, but also the pinnacle of the official historiography of the Il-Khanate. It was finished in the heyday of the Il-Khanate and comprehensively showcased the word choice characteristics of Persian in the Mongol era. The accounts of China in the book were also the most detailed among all the historical sources outside China at that time. In the book, Rashīd al-Dīn used various names, such as "Khitāy," "Chīn," "Manzī," "Māchīn," and "Nangiyās" to refer to China.

First, "Khitāy." In Rashīd al-Dīn's book, it only represents the Han regions in the Central Plains of China. It is used as a place name instead of an ethnic group name which stands for the Khitan tribe

and the Western Liao regime. Rashīd al-Dīn distinguished ethnic group names from place names, calling the Khitan ethnic group "Qarākhitāy." "Qarākhitāy" stands not only for the Western Liao Dynasty established by Yelü Dashi in Central Asia, but also for the people of the Khitan tribe within the territories of China. Bartold once said that in some Muslim historical sources, "Qarākhitāy" refers to both the Khitans who moved westward and the Khitans who were subordinate to the Jurchen regime in China.[56] This was how Rashīd al-Dīn used this word. For instance, when describing how Genghis Khan marched south from the Mongolian Plateau [**Fig. 4**], he wrote the following:

> After this precaution had been taken and the army had been arranged, in autumn of that year he (Genghis Khan) mounted on campaign under good auspices and set out to conquer the territories of **Cathay** (Khitay), **Qarakhitai** (Qarākhitāy), and Jurcha (Jūrja), which the Mongols call Cha'uqut (Jāūqūt). In the idiom of the people of **Cathay** (ahl-i Khiāy), **Cathay** is called Khan-zi (Khān zhī).[57]

This paragraph shows the difference between "Khitāy" and "Qarākhitāy." "Khitāy" refers to the Han regions in the Central Plains of China, while "the people of Khitāy" does not stand for the Khitan ethnic group but refers to the residents living in the Han regions. People in the Khitan ethnic group were given the name of "Qarākhitāy." There is another example in the descriptions of Liuge 留哥 betraying the Jin Dynasty:

> Around the same time, when a Qarakhitai named Liuga (Līūka) saw that the territory of Cathay (Khitāy) was *bulghaq* [in insurrection], he seized the province and large cities of Jurcha, which are adjacent to the yurts of the Qarakhitai tribes—that territory is called Tung Ging [Dongjing] 东京 and Qamping [Xianping] 咸平 and called himself Li[ao] Wang 辽王, meaning the ruler of a realm.[58]

Liuge was mentioned in the *Standard History of the Yuan* (*Yuan Shi* 元史). He was a Khitan and a commander of a thousand soldiers who guarded the northern frontier of the Jin Dynasty.[59] He was an adherent of the Liao Dynasty, so he was called "Qarākhitāy" by Rashīd al-Dīn. The army he commanded was called the Qarākhitāy army. It can be

Fig. 4. Account about China, from the Jami' al-tavarikh, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS. Revan 1518, fol. 94b, Istanbul.*

seen that Rashīd al-Dīn completely distinguished place names from ethnic group names. "Khitāy" in Rashīd al-Dīn's works no longer referred to the Khitan tribe but North China.

As for South China, Rashīd al-Dīn used several appellations such as "Māchīn," "Manzī," and "Nangiyās." He explained many times that these three appellations all stood for the same region:

> Māchīn, which the Khitans call Manzī and the Mongols call Nangiyās.[60]

This sentence explains the origins of these three names. "Manzī" was how residents in Han regions of North China called residents in the South Song Dynasty. "Nangiyās" was used by the Mongols, while "Māchīn" was an appellation that Muslims used to refer to South China for a long time.

As for "Chīn," it was another ancient name well known to Muslims and was still used by Rashīd al-

Dīn in two ways. The first way was the same as how Muslim geographers (such as Kāshgharī) before the 13th century used it, thinking that "Chīn" was equivalent to Khitāy, that is North China. In his book, Rashīd al-Dīn explained the origins of "Chīn" and "Māchīn," believing they both came from India:

> In the language of India and Kashmir that province (Qarajang) is called Kandar, the province of **Cathay** is **Chin**, and the province of **Machin** is **Mahachin** (Mahāchīn), meaning "big Chin." Since our realm is near India and there is much commercial traffic, in these realms those areas are also called **Chin and Machin** in the idiom of the people of India, but the origin of the word is Mahachin.[61]

A similar viewpoint can also be found in Rashīd al-Dīn's *History of China* in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*:

> About the history of the nation of **Khitāy**, which is called "**Chīn**," and "**Māchīn**," important events recorded in their historical books, and the origins of various names of their major provinces.

> In that country there is a vast and prosperous area which is the seat of the capital city for most of its history. It is called "Khān zhū [r] Jūn tū 汉儿中土" by the local people, "Jāuqūt" by the Mongols, "**Chīn**" by the Indians, and is known as "**Khitāy**" in our realm.[62]

The second way was to use it to stand for South China just like Māchīn. Rashīd al-Dīn once said: "Manzī, which is also called Chīn, Māchīn, and Nankiyās."[63] This usage is more common than the previous one. In most cases in Rashīd al-Dīn's works, including *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* and *Āṣār va Aḥyāʾ*, "Chīn" referred to South China and "Khitāy" to North China. Prof. Hua Tao 华涛 once studied the Chinese appellations in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* and noticed that "Chīn" in *History of China* had a meaning different from other parts of *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. He explains that the pattern of "North Khitāy and South Māchīn" formed under the influence of Islamic geographical traditions. However, the usage of "Chīn" referring to North China was based on Rashīd al-Dīn's research on Chinese history books.[64]

In general, "Khitāy" has evolved from a tribal name to a place name in the works of Rashīd al-Dīn. It referred to the Han regions in North China. "Māchīn," "Manzī," and "Nangiyās" were appellations of South China. "Chīn" referred to South China in most cases but also referred to North China in some particular context. Besides, Rashīd al-Dīn didn't use "Ṭamghāj," which used to stand for China. In a word, Rashīd al-Dīn was a historian who kept up with the times. He possessed the most favorable conditions to understand what was happening around the world and to get the latest information about different countries and places. Therefore, his writings were not based on the books of his predecessors. Instead, they were a faithful reflection of world events.

6) *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū* (*History of Uljaytu*), written by Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Qāshānī, is a chronicle compiled in the period of the Il-Khanate, which records the historical events during the reign of Sultan Uljāytū (1304–1316) in chronological order. It is regarded as a continuation of *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. Appellations of China in this book are similar to but more concise than those in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. The most commonly used one is "Khitāy," which referred to North China. For example, the emperor of the Jin Dynasty was called "Altan Khan of Khitāy" (Altān Khān-i Khitāy).[65] Another example can be found in the accounts of the event when the mission sent by the Yuan court to the Il-Khanate in 1313 was held in custody by Yisan Buqa, the Chagatai Khan:

> Another mission from the land of **Khitāy** arrived, who brought tigers, hawks (chargh), Gyr-falcons (sunqūr), royal falcons (shāhīn) and precious treasures to dedicate to Sultan Uljāytū Muḥammad. By order (of Yisan Buqa), the ambassadors were arrested and tortured, and the treasures were taken away.[66]

The appellation of South China used in *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū* is "Chīn," especially when used in conjunction with "Khitāy":

> On Tuesday, January 19, (710) a store in Baghdad filled with goods from Egypt, **Chīn and Khitāy** was on fire. Millions of furniture, fabrics and goods were burned.[67]

Nevertheless, in some literary descriptions, such as the expressions "brocade of China" (dībā-yi Chīn) and "paintings of China" (arzhang-i Chīn), "Chīn"

didn't refer to the northern or southern part of China but to the whole of China.[68]

7) *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat* [**Fig. 5**], written by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn Faḍl-Allāh Sharaf Shīrāzī and aiming to continue the history in Jūvaynī's book, records the historical events during the Mongols' reign. It not only focuses on the history of the Il-Khanate but also describes the conditions in the Yuan Dynasty and other Mongol khanates in detail. In this book, "Khitāy" refers to North China and "Manzī" to South China. In Volume 1, which mentions the Mongols attacking the Southern Song Dynasty, it says:

> In the year 655 (1257), when Möngke Khan dispatched troops to attack the kingdom of **Manzī**, the distant eastern country, his brother Kublai was ordered with a right wing of the mighty, well-equipped army to march to the border of **Khitāy**.[69]

In Volume 4, which describes Möngke Khan issuing a decree concerning the *qupchur* tax, it says:

> In Transoxiana and Khorasan, the rates of *qopchur* are fixed at 10 dinars per rich man, and 1 dinar per poor man; while in **Khitāy** and **Manzī**, 11 dinars per rich man, and 1 dinar per poor man.[70]

Like *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*, "Khitāy" in this book refers only to the Han regions in North China. The Western Liao Dynasty is called "Qarākhitāy." For example, in the section on Genghis Khan exterminating Kuchlug, it mentions Gur Khan of Qarakhitay as follows:

> Kuchlug (Kūchluk), son of Naiman, was defeated with Ong Khan's army at the battle of Bāljūna. Then he fled to Gur Khan in **Qarākhitāy** and was awarded the title of Kūchluk Khān.[71]

When referring to South China, Vaṣṣāf often used the ancient appellation "Chīn" alongside "Manzī." When describing the country of Chīn, Vaṣṣāf wrote the following:

> Khanzāy 行在 is the capital city of the country of **Chīn**, which is 24 farsang around.[72]

Vaṣṣāf explained that "Chīn is Manzī,"[73] proving these two words were both appellations of South China. When referring to the whole of Yuan China,

Fig. 5. First folio of Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat, *Malek National Librabry, Ms 3900, Iran.*

he used several appellations of South and North China together, as in Volume 5, which is about the lineage of the Mongol Khans:

> Today, in the year 727, **Chīn**, and **Khitāy** until the distant border of **Manzī** are all under the role of Yesün Temür, son of Gammala, son of Jinkim, son of Kublai Qaan.[74]

It is worth mentioning that "Māchīn" seldom appears in *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat*. It is only used in conjunction with "Chīn" to refer to China in general. For example, in the paragraph "Kublai ascended the throne" in Volume 1, Vaṣṣāf praised Kublai:

> From **Chīn** and **Māchīn** to Syria and to the westernmost, his justice and benevolence are widely spread in all of the countries at any moment.[75]

8) *Majmaʿ al-Ansāb* is a comprehensive history book written by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkāra'ī in the late period of Il-Khanate. The second half of the book describes the history of the Mongol Empire, including the lineage of Genghis Khan and his descendants and their conquest of the world, the rule over Ögedei, Güyük, and Möngke, the monarchs of the Il-Khanate, and the history of local regimes, including the Chupanids and Jalairids after the Il-Khanate fell. The contents in this book are different from those in the books of Jūvaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Vaṣṣāf; therefore, it has unique historical value. The use of the appellations of China in the book are more standard and unified than in previous works.

The author differentiated various names such as "Khitāy," "Qarākhitāy," and "Chīn." "Khitāy" was used as a place name to refer to North China. For example, the Jin Dynasty was called "The Kingdom of Khitāy" (Mamālik-i Khitāy) and its emperor "Altan Khan" was called "Khan of Khitāy" (Khān-i Khitāy). "Qarākhitāy" referred to the Western Liao regime in Central Asia, and the area under the rule of Gur Khan was called "The Kingdom of Qarākhitāy" (Mamālik-i Qarākhitāy).[76] "People of Khitāy" (Khitāyī) referred to both the residents in North China and the Qarakhitans in Central Asia and Iran. For example, the book mentioned that Barāq, who established a regime in Kerman, were the people of Khitāy (Khiṭāyiyān) from Qarākhitāy.[77] "Chīn" was rarely used in this book and only appeared in the section "character of the people of Chīn." It was used to refer to South China, and the word "Chīnī" referred to the residents there.[78] Appellations commonly used by Muslims, such as "Ṭamghāj" and "Māchīn," didn't appear in this book.

The accounts above are all extracted from history books in the Mongol era. As Ferrand has extracted a lot from Muslim geographical sources in his book, this article will not talk much about this aspect. The following section lists the appellations of China in a Muslim geography book.

9) *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, written by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, is one of the most famous geography books from the Il-Khanate era. It describes the administrative divisions, geographical locations, economic conditions, taxation, and all aspects of life in Iran under the Mongols' rule, as well as the historical and geographical conditions of neighboring countries and regions, including China. It also introduces China's regions, including "Chīn," "Māchīn," "Khitāy," "Tangut," "Tibet," "Uyghūr," and "Khutan" in order of climate zones. About "Chīn," "Māchīn," and "Khitāy," the author wrote the following:

> **China (Chīn).** The Mongols call this land Manzī, while the Arabs name it Ṣīn. It is a broad wide kingdom stretching over the Second, Third, and Fourth Climes. Its capital is called Machīn, and it lies in the Second Clime, in longitude 125°, and latitude 22°. The population for the most part worship idols of the sect of Mānī the painter. Among them live Moslems and Christians, but there are no Jews, and by reason of the fewness of the Moslems and the greater number of the idolaters, the preponderance in power is theirs. In this kingdom all arts and crafts have reached a high degree of perfection, and throughout the land are numerous great cities.[79]

> **Cathay (Khitāy).** This is a great kingdom of the Fourth and Fifth Climes. Its capital is Khān Bālīgh in the Fifth Clime, whose longitude is 124°, and latitude 37°. This is a mighty city, and it was called originally Changdū; and Qubilāy Khān built another city outside the same. Of other great towns and well-known districts are the following: Nanking, where a great river runs through the city, Tabaksīk, Qalʿah Shīkāt and Ṭalmaskū. Further, and besides these there are many others.[80]

> **Māchīn.** A great and extensive kingdom which the Mongols know as Nankiyās. It is of the First and Second Climes, and its capital is the city of Khansāy, which some call Siyāhān. They say that in all the habitable world there is no greater city than this, or at any rate that in the regions of the east there is no larger town. There is a lake in the midst of the city, six leagues in circumference, and the houses of the town stand round its borders. The climate is warm, and both the sugar-cane and the rice crop produce abundantly; but dates are so rare, and difficult to come by, that one *Mann*-weight of these is bartered for ten *Manns* of sugar. Most

of their meat is fish, but beef is eaten, and the mutton is excellent, being exceedingly expensive. The population is so great that they have several thousand—some say ten thousand—watchmen and guards to oversee the city. Most of the people are Infidels, yet the Moslems though so few in number have the power in their hands.[81]

These three paragraphs combine new information about China with old knowledge. Mustawfī Qazvīnī was a writer, historian, and geographer. Before this geography book, he finished compiling a history book, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, and an epic, *Ẓafar-nāma*. Both record many historical events in China. He was quite familiar with what was happening in China. In this book, "Manzī," "Nankiyās," "Changdū," "Khān Bālīgh," and "Nanking" were new information. At the same time, old knowledge of China, which had been well-known in the Islamic world for a long time, also appeared, such as differentiating Chīn from Māchīn and introducing Manichaeism in China. Mustawfī Qazvīnī tried to integrate new information with old knowledge by using "Manzī" and "Nankiyās," which referred to the same area, as the names of two different places to correspond with "Chīn" and "Māchīn" respectively. This phenomenon is common in Muslim geography books. *Taqwīm al-Buldān* is a book written by Qazvīnī's contemporary Abū al-Fidā'. Abū al-Fidā' acquired the latest information about Khwarazm and Tatars from Nasavī's *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī* but also absorbed the outdated knowledge that Yanjū was the capital of Chīn and that the monarch of Chīn was Tamghāj Khān.[82] Unlike history books, geography books are usually less time-sensitive but more comprehensive, so they combine a lot of information from various sources. The same is true with Muslim gem books, medical books, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other similar types of documents. When using such materials, caution should be exerted to distinguish new information from old knowledge; otherwise, wrong conclusions may be drawn.

The above quotes show that the appellations of China in the Mongol era are more concise and unified than those used before the Mongol era. "Khitāy" and "Chīn" became mainstream appellations of China. "Khitāy," originally a tribal name and often confused with "Qarākhitāy," evolved into a geographical term referring to North China. It was completely distinguished from "Qarākhitāy." "Chīn" was not as stable as "Khitāy" in meaning, but in most cases, it was a synonym for South China. "Manzī" and "Nankiyās," which emerged in a special historical context, appeared in Muslim literature referring to South China. "Māchīn" and "Ṭamghāj," widely used in the previous era, were used less and less and almost abandoned by time-sensitive official political and historical works. They only appeared in the form of "Chīn and Māchīn" and "Khitāy and Ṭamghāj" in some geographical, medical, gemological, and literary works that needed to inherit previous knowledge. As for various derivative appellations from "Chīn" that were commonly used in the past, they rarely appeared anymore. The appellations of China in the Muslim literature became concise and unified in the Mongol era.

These changes can be attributed to the Mongols' conquest of the world. The Mongol army's expeditions promoted the exchanges of information between the East and the West. The Islamic world acquired the latest information about China during this period. On the one hand, the once-obscure Oriental world suddenly became clear, making it possible to sort out complicated and contradictory information about China. As Rashīd al-Dīn said in *History of China* in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*: "In the past, we didn't know much about this country (China) and thought that 'Chīn' and 'Khitāy' were two different regions, but now we realize that they actually refer to the same region, only that they have different names."[83] Similar to Rashīd al-Dīn's argument, *Majmaʿ al-Ansāb* described the new and old titles of Chinese emperors like this: "Their monarchs, known in ancient times as 'Faghfūr' and later as 'Ṭamghāj,' are now called 'Khān.'"[84] On the other hand, as new information flooded into the Islamic regions, old outdated knowledge was gradually discarded. More factual descriptions appeared in Muslim historical and geographical works, making them especially valuable for studying the history of that time.

Conclusion

This article sorts out various appellations of China in medieval Muslim literature before and after the rise of the Mongols and summarizes their mean-

ings, usages, and evolution. "China" is constantly changing as a country and a geographic concept, and so are its appellations. "Chīn," "Māchīn," "Ṭamghāj," "Khitāy," "Manzī," and other names emerged and disappeared during the progress of history. They were the embodiments of Westerners' cognition and imagination of China during medieval times. However, it is worth noting that China was in a state of division for a long time before the Mongol era. Therefore, the concept of North China and South China was prevailing in Western Islamic regions. It was deep-rooted and lasted even until the Mongols unified China.

Medieval Muslim literature used a series of geographical terms to describe China, including "Khitāy," "Chīn" (or "Manzī"), "Mughūlistān," "Tangut," "Qarājānk," "Tibet," "Ūyghūl," and so on, but there wasn't any generic term. This phenomenon occurred not only in Muslim works but also in Mongolian and European writings. Although there wasn't a generic term for China from a geographical perspective, the political concept of China was very clear in the literature. As Professor Yao Dali 姚大力 points out: "There may be no term that can embody the concept of 'China' in the Mongolian language during the Yuan period, but it does not prevent us from identifying the Yuan Dynasty as China."[85] Muslim writers in the Mongol era used a special expression, "the land of Qāān," to represent China under the Mongol Qāns' rule. It referred to the territories controlled by Ögedei Khan and Möngke Khan before the Yuan Dynasty was established and later referred to the Yuan Court. It was a colloquial expression instead of a proper noun, but it best described China from a political perspective. It is similar to "Beijing (or Peking)," which is used to represent the Chinese government in the international community.

In ancient times, information that was transmitted over a long distance and across geographical regions often revealed its channels of transmission. All the appellations of China that were spread to the West by land and sea were originally derived from the Chinese character "Qin 秦." With the changes of regimes brought by the rise of ethnic groups in the north of China, a series of new appellations of China came into being and were spread westward to the Islamic regions by land. Different from the turbulent situation on the Asian mainland, maritime transportation was more stable. Therefore, "Chīn," the first name used on the sea, remained the way people at the sea referred to China. When it came to China's sea, Muslim writers usually called it "Sea of Chīn" (daryā-yi Chīn). It didn't change to various names used on the mainland such as "Ṭamghāj," "Khitāy," "Manzī," etc.

In summary, "Chīn" remained a popular appellation of China in Muslim literature both before and after the Mongol era. It was used to refer to South China, North China, or the whole of China. Especially in historical descriptions regarding the marine life, folks, trade, legends, culture, and other issues spanning a long period of time, "Chīn" has played an irreplaceable role. Today, "Chīn" (or "Ṣīn") are still the standard translation of "China" in Persian and Arabic. This appellation has been used for more than 2,000 years and has become a symbol of the Chinese civilization that has been disseminated to the west without interruption since ancient times.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Henry Yule, Berthold Laufer, and Paul Pelliot did a lot of work on it. They collated various opinions of previous scholars and formed the most influential arguments.

[2] Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrème Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913).

[3] Geng Sheng 耿昇 and Mu Genlai 穆根来, trans., *Alabo Bosi Tujue ren dongfang wenxian jizhu* 阿拉伯波斯突厥人东方文献辑注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989).

[4] 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or*, vol. 1, tr. & ed. by Barbier de Meynard, Pavet de Courteille (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), p. 306.

[5] Paul Pelliot, "Facfur," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963), pp. 652-61.

[6] Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq mā lil-Hind* (Beirut: 'Ala al-kutub, 1983), p. 147; for English translation, see *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1, tr. & ed. by Edward C. Sachau (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910), p. 207.

[7] 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Żaḥḥāk Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-

i Irān, 1968), pp. 23, 268-69. For English translation, see A. P. Martinez, "Gardīzī's Two Chapters on the Turks," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, ed. by P. B. Golden, T. Halasi-Kun and Th. S. Noonan, Tomus II, 1982, pp. 136-38.

8 Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, tr. and ed. by Robert Dankoff (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 260.

9 Ibid., p. 41.

10 Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib 优素福·哈斯·哈吉甫, *Fule zhihui* 福乐智慧, tr. by Hao Guanzhong 郝关中, Zhang Hongchao 张宏超, and Liu Bin 刘宾 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1986), p. 13.

11 Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, tr. & ed. by Robert Dankoff & James Kelly, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Print Office, 1982), p. 341.

12 Marvazī, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, tr. & ed. by Vladimir Minorsky (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942). For the English translation, see pp. 14-15, 18, 25-26; for the Arabic text, see pp. 2-3, 6-7, 13-14.

13 Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān, *Jahān-nāma: Matn-i Jughrāfiyā-yī*, ed. by Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī (Tihrān: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Ibn Sīnā, 1963), pp. 71-72.

14 Bakrān, *Jahān-nāma: Matn-i Jughrāfiyā-yī*, p. 112.

15 Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Grosse Zusammenstellung über die Kräfte der bekannten einfachen Heilund Nahrungsmittel*, vol. 2, tr. by Joseph von Sontheimer (Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung, 1840), p. 482; *Traité des simples*, vol. 2, tr. by Lucien Leclerc (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881), p. 159. Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrème Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, p. 269.

16 Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages*, pp. 350, 352.

17 Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *As̱ār al-Bilād va Akhbār al-'Ibād*, tr. by Jahāngīr Mīrzā Qājār, ed. by Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddis̱ (Tehran: Mu'assasah-'i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1994), pp. 97, 291, 479, 638.

18 Paul Pelliot, "Catai," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1959), pp. 216-20.

19 *History of Bukhara* was originally written in Arabic by Narshakhī in 943-944. It was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Naṣr al-Qabāvī in 1128-1129 and abbreviated by Muḥammad ibn Zafar ibn 'Umar in 1178-1179. An unknown writer wrote a continuation of it, concluding the events until the Mongolian conquest. This is the version that survives today. See Muḥammad ibn Ja'far Narshakhī, *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Naṣr al-Qabāvī, ed. by Mudarris. Rażavī (Tehran: Tūs, 1984).

20 Paul Pelliot, "Catai," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 216-17.

21 Paul Pelliot, "Cin," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 273.

22 V.V. Barthold 维·维·巴尔托里德, Geng Shimin 耿世民 trans., *Zhongya jianshi* 中亚简史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 119; V.V. Barthold 巴托尔德, Luo Zhiping 罗致平 trans., *Zhongya tujueshi shi'erjiang* 中亚突厥史十二讲 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 1984), p. 101.

23 Paul Pelliot, "Cin," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 273-274.

24 Zhang Guangda 张广达, "Guanyu Mahemu Kashigali de tujueyu cihui yu jianyu ci shu de yuanxing ditu" 关于马合木·喀什噶里的〈突厥语词汇〉与见于此书的圆形地图, in *Zhang Guangda wenji: wenshu, dianji yu xiyu shidi* 张广达文集：文书、典籍与西域史地 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 63.

25 Kang Peng 康鹏, "Maweiji shu zhong de qidan yuci 'Sh.rghūr'"《马卫集书》中的契丹语词 "Sh.rghūr (汉人)," *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, 2016, No. 3, pp. 30-37.

26 Minorsky recognizes six primary sources as follows: (a) Some ancient (8th to 9th century) accounts of Arab mariners; (b) Some overland travelers to the capital of Khumdān under the Tang (early 9th century); (c) Some merchants who visited the capital of Y.njūr probably in the beginning of the 10th century; (d) Data collected personally by Jayhānī (early 10th century); (e) Data of an embassy from Qitāy in 418/1027; (f) Marvazī's own remarks. And Minorsky categorizes §3 and 19 to the (e) source, which describes the situation after the rise of Khitāy. Marvazī, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, pp. 61-65.

27 Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' (11)" 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"（十一）[China in Ancient Arabic Books] *Alabo Shijie* 阿拉伯世界, 2004, No. 3, pp. 51-52.

28 Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' (15)" 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"（十五）[China in Ancient Arabic Books] *Alabo Shijie* 阿拉伯世界, 2005, No. 2, p. 58. For the Arabic text, see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah fī Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, vol. 3, ed. by Yūsuf 'Alī Ṭawīl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 2003), p. 206.

29 Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' (11)" 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"（十一）[China in Ancient Arabic Books], p. 51.

30 Liu Yingjun 刘英军, "Yilang shihi Kushiwang ji suo zai gudai zhongguo dili xinxi chuyi" 伊朗史诗《库什王纪》所载古代中国地理信息刍议 [A Study of the Geographic Information on Ancient China Contained in the Iranian Epic *Kūsh-nāma*], *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史, No. 10 (2015), Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, p. 241.

31 Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913), p. 151.

32 V.V. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd ed. (London: Luzac & Co. 1928), p. 34.

33 Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: between China and the Islamic World*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 97-98.

34 Paul Pelliot, "Cin," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 273.

35 It should be noted that the English version translates the Arabic text "Khiṭā" into two words: "Khitay" and "Qarakhitay." In fact, the original text is the same word.

36 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 12 (Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, 1965), pp. 269-70. For an English version, see 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l-Ta'rīkh*, pt. 3, tr. & ed. by D.S. Richards (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), p. 134.

37 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mīnkubirnī*, ed. by Mujtabā Mīnūvī (Tehran: Sharkat-i Intisharāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhang, 1986), p. 11.

38 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mīnku-birnī*, pp. 49-50.

39 Minhāj Sirāj Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1984), p. 261. For the English version, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri: a General History of the Muḥammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindūstān, From A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islām*, tr. & ed. by Major H. G. Raverty (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881), p. 154.

40 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 2, p. 94. For the English translation see, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 900.

41 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, pp. 308-9. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 262-64.

42 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 310. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 1, pp. 268-69.

43 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 310. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 1, p. 270.

44 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 311. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol.1, p. 272.

45 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 361. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 1, p. 383.

46 The English version uses "Turkistān" instead of "Māchīn."

47 Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 2, p. 172. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 2, p. 1158. The English translation omits the word "Māchīn."

48 In fact, Genghis Khan did not kill the Jin emperor, but this saying was popular in some Muslim literature. For example, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* records that Genghis Khan killed the Khitan emperor Altan Khan and conquered Khitan. See below for details.

49 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik Juvaynī, *Tarikh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. 1, ed. by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbduʾl-Wahhāb-i-Qazvini (Leiden: Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1912), p. 159. For an English version, see ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Mali Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, tr. and ed. by John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 201.

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51 Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, pp. 280, 289-92, 324.

52 Ibid., pp. 20-21.

53 Ibid., p. 39.

54 Ibid., p. 195.

55 Juvaynī, *History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 2, p. 596.

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57 Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl Allāh, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi), MS. Revan 1518, ff. 94b-95a; Thackston tr. and ed., *Jamiʿuʾt-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1998), p. 213.

58 *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*, MS. Istanbul, ff. 96b-97a; Thackston, vol. 1, p. 222.

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60 *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*, MS. Istanbul, f. 67b; Thackston, vol. 1, p.

61 *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*, MS. Istanbul, f. 95a; Thackston, vol. 1, p. 214.

62 Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl Allāh, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khitāy*, ed. by Muḥammad Rawshan (Tehran: Mīrās̱-i Maktūb, 2006), p. 1.

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70 al-Ḥażrat, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat* (Bombay: Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī, 1853), p. 578.

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78 Shabānkāraʾī, *Majmaʿ al-Ansāb*, pp. 50-51.

79 Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb: al-Maqāla al-Thālittha dar Ṣift-i Buldān wa Wilāyat wa Buqāʿ*, ed. by G. Le Strange (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1983), p. 257. For the English translation, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, tr. by G. Le Strange (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1915), p. 250.

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The True Origin of the Mongols?*

John Man

I was in north China in summer 2019, researching a book on Hulunbuir, a region that takes China surging up past Mongolia and into Siberia. Though virtually unknown in the west, this is a vast and empty mass of grasslands (in the west and south), which give way to the forested Xing'an mountains in the east. Vast and empty hardly do it justice. It is a fraction larger than my own homeland, the United Kingdom, yet has a population of only 2.5 million. Of these, almost 90% are Han Chinese, but 8.6% are Mongols. You would think there were more because their culture is ever-present—in the vertical script that adorns shops and official notices, in their shows which are major tourist attractions, and in their pride in their history, which focuses heavily on the region's connections with the greatest of all Mongols, Genghis Khan. Locals claim he often came here, because this was where his ancestors originated. I wanted to know if there was any evidence for this and—since Genghis's descendants conquered all China—why the Chinese were so keen to promote him.

With a Mongol-Chinese colleague, Alatan, professor of English at the Inner Mongolia University of Technology, we were driven north from the capital Hailar on a road roughly parallel with the Erguna River marking the Sino-Russian border—*very* roughly parallel because the river, named after the Mongolian word for "winding," wriggles north for some 500 kilometres before joining the Amur. About 300 kilometres from Hailar, the road runs past an impressive gateway—a broad arch flanked by four buildings, each topped by a dome in the style of a Mongolian tent [**Fig. 1**]. Flags fly from the roof. Beyond the entrance forested hills rise in waves of green. A sign proclaims this to be Menggu Shiwei 蒙古室韦, or "Mongol Shiwei," the name of the Mongols before they were truly Mongols. In a phrase, this claims to be the "origin of the Mongols."

From today's perspective, that seems a little odd. As most people think they know, the Mongols are people of the grassland, and their homeland is Mongolia. But this was not always so. Their famous foundation epic, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, says they came to their new homeland over the *tengis*—the sea or lake—probably in the 9th century. What an academic storm that word has produced. Which sea or lake does the word *tengis* refer to? There are several possibilities, because *tengis* designates any large body of water, such as the Caspian or Aral Seas. Some scholars argue that this *tengis* was Lake Baikal in Siberia. Others claim that the lake must be the only other large body of water in this part of the world—Lake Hulun. That's what everyone told me when I started my travels in Hulunbuir, named after this lake and its smaller sister, Buir.

There are good reasons for the claim. The *Secret History* was written only a few years after Genghis's death in 1227 (perhaps 1228-9, more probably 1252), and scholars agree that it records stories that were told at the time, many no doubt apocryphal, others backed by Chinese and Persian sources, and many with real-life details that confer verisimilitude. One story tells us how, when Temujin (the future Genghis) was nine, his father Yisugei decided to find a wife for his son. The Mongols did not marry within their own clan. By tradition, they

Fig. 1. Entrance to the "Origins of the Mongols." All photographs by the author.

chose their mates from a group known as Ongirat (or Qongirat, spellings vary), who lived south and east of Lake Hulun. His mother and his wife Hoelun (Genghis's mother) were of this tribe.

As it often does, the *Secret History* turns an event into a romantic tale with poetic additions. Yisugei is riding across Ongirat territory, aiming for his mother's original clan that lived further east, when he meets the Ongirat chief, Dei Setsen (the Wise). The *Secret History* says this occurred near two mountains called Chekhcher and Chikhurkhu, which are unidentified, but were somewhere west of the Orxan (Wuexun) River, which flows between lakes Hulun and Buir.

Offering hospitality to an old acquaintance, Dei, who by chance has a daughter of the right age, sees the political advantages of arranging a marriage and claims he had a dream. "A white gerfalcon clasping both the sun and moon in its claws flew to me and perched on my hand.... Just what sort of good thing does this show?"[1] It is a good omen, because the gerfalcon was the king of hunting birds, white the most auspicious colour, and it was the totem of Yisugei's clan. The sun and moon rule the skies. It means that Yisugei is destined for glory— if the two of them are linked through the marriage of their children. He reminds Yisugei of their traditional bond, emphasising that the Ongirat are peaceful, relying on alliances made with their women:

> With us, the Ongirat people, from old days
> To have the good looks of our granddaughters
> And the beauty of our daughters is enough....
> We lead them off to the khan
> And seat them on the throne…
> We live thanks to the good looks
> Of our granddaughters
> And the beauty of our daughters.

Come to my tent, he says. Take a look at my daughter, Börte. And of course, Yisugei sees that she is a beauty, with a strong character. In a stock phrase often used in Mongol stories, she's a girl

> Who has light in her face,
> Who has fire in her eyes.

Yisugei agrees. He leaves Temujin with Dei as a future son-in-law. Many dramatic events follow: Yisugei is murdered, Temujin survives as an out-

cast. Ten years later, Temujin returns to claim his bride. She becomes his first love, and a powerful influence on him. You could argue that without the Ongirats and Börte, the Mongol empire and China itself would not have turned out the way they did.

The Ongirat remained a force in later Mongol history. Besides Hoelun and Börte, Ongirat women who became empresses include Chabi, who became Kublai Khan's senior and much respected queen, and another 14 queens of later Yuan emperors. Marco Polo described how they were selected. They were checked by "certain elderly ladies, who make the girls sleep with them, in order to ascertain if they have sweet breath, and are sound in all their limbs."

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A second connection with the area was made in 1201-3, when Temujin was in the midst of operations to defeat his enemies, before declaring himself khan with the name of Genghis in 1206 (I'll call him Genghis to keep things simple). His principal foe was his childhood friend and blood-brother, Jamukha, who was elected as alternate khan and head of an anti-Genghis alliance. The two fought it out in a decisive battle at a place the *Secret History* calls Khuiten ("Cold").

The *Secret History* says that the weather played a dramatic role in Genghis's victory, thanks to some inept witchcraft by two generals named Buyuk and Khudukha:

> As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill, and reformed their ranks, those very same Buyuk Khan and Khudukha, knowing how to produce a rainstorm by magic, started to conjure it up, but the magic storm roiled back and it was right upon themselves that it fell. Unable to proceed, they tumbled into ravines. Saying to each other, "We are not loved by Heaven!" they scattered.

Supposedly, the battle site is on the north bank of the Kherlen River as it flows from Mongolia towards Lake Hulun. Archaeologists—notably Meng Songlin (a member of the Standing Committee and Minister of the Propaganda Department of Hulunbuir and author of *Genghis Khan and the Mongolian Plateau*)—have found many arrowpoints here.[2] Other scholars point out that you can

find arrow-points almost anywhere. Wherever it happened, Mongols celebrate this as one of the most significant battles in Mongol and Chinese history. Twice a year, on June 15 and August 15, they gather in their thousands to walk up the 300-meter hill, Holy Mountain (Bogd Uul), 10 kilometers south of Lake Hulun, to honor the nearby battle-site. Just imagine the difference if Genghis had lost: no empire, no Kublai Khan, no Yuan dynasty, Chinese unification delayed or cancelled.

Other links between the 13th-century Mongols and Hulunbuir followed, with Genghis's brother Qasar playing a major role. When Genghis was at his lowest ebb, defeated and down to a hard core of followers, he fled to an unidentified lake or river usually transliterated as Baljuna. Here Genghis proved the strength of his leadership:

> Upon arrival at the Baljuna, the provisions were used up. It happened that from the north a wild horse ran up. Qasar brought it down. From its skin they made a kettle, with a stone they got fire, and from the river, water. They boiled the flesh of the horse and ate it. Genghis Khan, raising his hand toward the sky, swore thus: "If I finish the great work [of creating an empire] then I shall share with you men the sweet and the bitter. If I break my word, then let me be as this water." Among the officers and men, there was not one who was not moved to tears.[3]

This was a turning point. Allies—including the Ongirat—came to him. Victory led to victory until one major enemy remained—the Naimans, now in alliance with Genghis's childhood friend Jamukha. In 1204, the two clashed. The *Secret History* has a superb poetic description of the build-up, with Jamukha giving his ally, Tayang, fearsome portraits of Genghis's generals. When it comes to Qasar, Jamukha paints a nightmarish image in verse, in which Qasar is a giant with superhuman powers. "Mother Hoelun raised him on human flesh," he says,

> His body is three fathoms high,
> And he dines on three-year-old cattle.
> Wearing a three-layered armour,
> He is pulled along in his cart by three bulls.
> When he swallows a man complete with quiver,
> It does not get stuck in his throat.
> When he gulps down a whole man,

> It does not fill his stomach.
> When he is angry and draws his bow,
> And releases a fork-tipped arrow,
> He shoots and pierces ten or twenty men
> Who are beyond a mountain….
> Different from all other men,
> He was born a writhing ogre.

At his coronation in 1206, Genghis gave Qasar the area between the Erguna and Hailar rivers. The result was that Qasar is still a presence in Hulunbuir and beyond. As my guide, Miss Bo, in Hailar's Nationalities Museum put it: "Qasar's later descendants, generation by generation, were scattered throughout Inner Mongolia."

Alatan, my Chinese-Mongol adviser, was listening, and added, "He was known as *khat,* a title meaning 'very strong'"—fair enough, I thought, for someone who could swallow a man whole and shoot over mountains. "Even today, people in Inner Mongolia say they are descendants of Qasar, especially here in the north-east. He was a Borjigin, of course, like Genghis, but in Chinese the name is shortened to Bo. Her name"—he nodded to the guide—"is Bo."

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Though links between the Mongols and Hulunbuir long predate the 13th century, this would not be regarded as "Mongol" territory half a millennium before. The link between the Mongols and Hulunbuir long predated the 13th century, the roots reaching back another half-millennium to a sub-group of a people known to the Chinese as Shiwei. According to 5th-century records, they dominated the forest of the north-east, across Manchuria. They were not herders, having few horses, but lived in huts made of bent branches covered by the skins of the animals they hunted. They paid tributes in furs to the Turkic empire that ruled Mongolia in the 6th century and to the Tang in China from the 7th to the 9th centuries. They were divided into anything up to 20 tribes, one of which lived in the western part of their range and was referred to as Menggu, or Mongol. It is all rather uncertain. They probably had links with the Xianbei, who established their own empire and ruled northern China as the Northern Wei (386-534). But the records are scanty, and no one is sure what combination of Mongol, Turkic, and Tungus they spoke. They only emerge from their shadowy past when the Menggu

Fig. 2. Looking toward the head of the valley.

Fig. 3. The tent of Genghis Khan.

Shiwei moved on to the steppe, learned the crucial art of working iron, and became the ancestors of the Mongols.

Having moved from the forested hills of the Khingan (Xing'an), the proto-Mongols seem to have settled along the Erguna River. As if to prove the point, the little town of Shiwei stands nearby. The name of the river suggests that this is true, since it derives from the Mongol *ergikh,* "to wind."

Which brings us back to the arch near the town of Shiwei, the one proclaiming itself to be the "Origin of the Mongols." The forested hills beyond the arch cover almost 400 square kilometers, the size of the place revealing the significance of the subject to the local government. With a guide, I drove up a road that wound through an infinity of trees and rolling hills, while the guide told me the following story:

> There was a battle between the Mongols and the Turks. The Mongols were, *he said, the ancestors of the Kiyad, the clan to which Genghis belonged. The Mongols were reduced to two couples, who fled into a hidden valley in the Erguna Kun, a mountain or mountain range that has not been identified, but—since the Erguna River ran not far away—it must have been around here*. (On the other hand, the whole thing is a legend, so there may have been no Erguna Kun at all. Whether fact or fiction, here the Mongols lived for four or five centuries, growing in numbers.)
>
> *There comes a time when they want to get out.*

They kill 70 oxen and cows and use the hides to make enormous bellows. With the bellows, they make a huge fire, so powerful that it melted part of the Erguna Kun, making a cleft through which they escape. (Yes, there are some obvious problems with this story, like how did they get into the valley if there was no exit? We are dealing with legends, so should not ask too many questions). *Once free of the hidden valley, they cross the Tengis sea and migrate west, to the Khentii mountains, which become their new homeland.*

I had heard a similar tale before, in one of the museums when another guide was speaking about Mongol origins. In this story, bellows had been used to make a forge, and the Mongols had discovered how to produce iron. That made sense to me, because the Mongol word for "iron" (*temur)* was often part of a name, as in Temujin or his younger sister Temulun. It recalls the story of England's King Arthur, who had been confronted by a stone set in rock, and had magically pulled it out, showing that he knew how to get iron from the ground and so deserved to be king. Like many great advances, the forging of iron seems to be something discovered in several totally unrelated places. Certainly, for people venturing out on to the grasslands as herders, iron was essential for swords, stirrups, pots, arrow-points, and armor.

We arrived at the head of the valley, a beautiful amphitheatre [**Fig. 2**] of grass and scattered trees looking like a picture postcard in the slanting afternoon light. Ahead, on the hillside, was a tent

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Fig. 4. Genghis and his queen, Börte.

Fig. 5. Inside the shaman's hut.

[**Fig. 3**]. A rough approach over tree-trunks led up to the entrance. Inside were a dozen or more statues, all wonderfully lifelike: Genghis holding court, displaying his international credentials with envoys of many nationalities—Genghis himself [**Fig. 4**] on a carved wooden throne, full-bearded with a big fur hat, impressively good-looking, sitting alongside his beautiful queen Börte with a Mongolian head-band, a shaman chanting a blessing, a Tungus from Siberia, a Persian merchant, and a Chinese envoy.

Down from Genghis's tent was a shaman's hut, guarded by a triangular passageway of tree-trunks draped with black ropes, a division between this world and someone who has contact with the

world of spirits. From loudspeakers came the ominous beat of a shaman's drum. Inside a shadowy tent [**Fig. 5**], a chair and desk were covered with carpets decorated with swans. Above hung a face-mask of black ropes beneath a cap covered with doll-like figures, like the spirit images (*ongon*) used by shamans in divination.

We walked on. Further down the valley was a muddy pond, labelled Lake Baljuna [**Fig. 6**], as if this was the actual place where Genghis drank the "muddy waters" with his few remaining companions.

On the other side of the path, on top of a steep little hill, loomed the statue [**Fig. 7**] of a man on horseback—Bodonchar, the ancestor of Genghis's family, the Borjigins. In the *Secret History*, Bodonchar is the hero of his own mini-epic, which took place—if indeed there is any truth to the
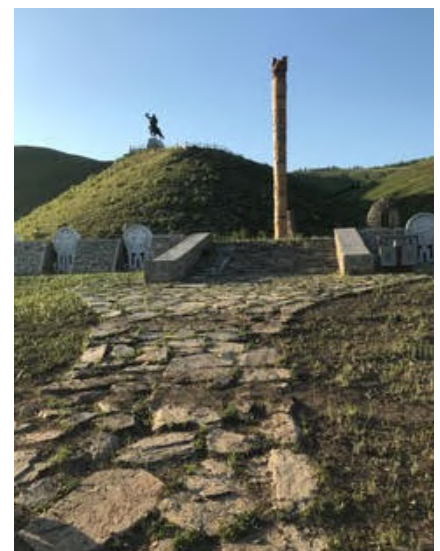
Fig. 6. Lake Baljuna, named in Russian, English, Mongolian, and Chinese.

Fig. 7. Bodonchar, on horseback, behind commemorative pillar.

Fig. 8. Yesugei returning with Tartar prisoners.

Fig. 9. Yesugei's family welcomes him home.

legend—before the year 1000. He is the youngest of five boys born to the legendary Alan Qoa. She has two sons by her husband, who dies. Then she bears three more sons. When the first two want to know who the father is, she replies "a resplendent yellow man" entered through the smoke-hole of the tent, impregnated her and "crept out on a moonbeam or a ray of sun in the guise of a yellow dog." In other words, they are divinely conceived and destined for greatness. Bodonchar is left with nothing when the livestock is divided, and storms off in a fit of pique. After a series of adventures, he is found by his brothers, and together they steal enough livestock to found lineages. From Bodonchar springs the Borjigin, the Golden Family. Twelve generations later, Genghis is born, ready to fulfil his destiny.

Even further down the valley, more statues portray the campsite of Genghis's father Yisugei. It is a moment of high drama. Yisugei is returning [**Fig. 8**] from a campaign in which he has caught a Tartar chieftain. Actually, there are two of them, being led by a chain attached to Yisugei's saddle, but we are only interested in one, because his name is Temujin, which is the name Yisugei is about to give his new-born son. Servant girls dance a welcome. In front of the main *ger* (yurt), Börte holds little Temujin-to-be [**Fig. 9**]. The statues are of bronze, heavy and life-size, set out on grassland and surrounded by forest. In the low evening light, they made a striking pageant.

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What are we to make of all this? The first thing to say is that it is certainly not the place where the

Mongols originated. Nor is it a museum. There is no archaeological evidence here. It is totally artificial, with no connection between this valley and the Mongols or their ancestors the Shiwei. And it does not present a narrative. Whichever order you choose to walk, the displays are mixed up. These items have a chronological order—the 900s for Bodonchar, 1162 for the campsite, 1203 for Baljuna, 1206 or some time thereafter for the royal tent—but no such order on the ground.

But that's not the point. There is an authenticity and power in the scenes designed to create a belief that the whole of Mongol history belongs as much, perhaps more to Hulunbuir, and thus to China, than to Mongolia. Never mind that the Mongols migrated away from here to Mongolia, that Genghis was born, raised, and buried there. His connections were close enough for his story to be part of Chinese history. Politically, this is important. Genghis's grandson, Kublai Khan, conquered all China, united it, and ruled all China and Mongolia as the Yuan Dynasty. He could rule this vast estate (and claim authority over much of Asia through his relatives) only by becoming a Chinese emperor, with a dynasty of his own. Hence, it is logical in Chinese eyes to claim that all Mongols are in fact Chinese, back to Genghis, and beyond.

This is not just a matter of history. It is important right now, because China's present and future position on the edge of Siberia depends on it. Once upon a time this region was very un-Chinese, dominated by various steppe cultures. Then it was disputed with Russia and Japan, but in 1949 it became

part of the revolutionary, resurgent China, and by claiming the past the site makes clear to visitors that the Mongols, Genghis, and his empire are part of China. It is this thinking that explains the recent decision to promote Chinese language teaching and diminish Mongolian, a move that in 2020 led to violent protests, many arrests, and at least one suicide. The fact that Mongolia itself is an independent nation would seem to negate this belief, but in China's long-term view this may turn out to be a brief hiatus. If so—if Mongolia should ever fall back under Chinese control, an outcome of which many Mongolians are extremely nervous—it would for China be a return to the way things once were and ought to be again.

There is unfinished business. Nearby is a new museum, which was not yet open, awaiting archaeological evidence and more diorama. The Shiwei site itself is in the process of development. Captions to the displays are in Chinese, Mongol (both Uighur and Cyrillic scripts), Russian, and English, in preparation for an influx of tourists. When it is all ready, and tourists come by the bus-load, folklore will be marketed as history and who will doubt that this is indeed the place where the Mongols originated?

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ENDNOTES

[1] All quotations from the *Secret History* are from Igor de Rachewiltz, trans. and ed., *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2004).

[2] For the original Chinese version, see Meng Songlin 孟松林, *Chengjisihan yu Menggu gaoyuan* 成吉思汗与蒙古高原 (Beijing: Xin shijie chubanshe, 2009).

[3] This version is adapted from the biography in the *Yuan shi* ("Official history of the Yuan") of the Mongolian general Jabar (Cha-pa-erh), quoted by the great American Mongolist Francis Woodman Cleaves in his magisterial article, "The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18, no. 3/4 (December 1955): 357-421.

Piero Morandi, An Italian Traveler in Kafiristan

Luca Villa

Between 1968 to 1970, Piero Morandi, a collector and art dealer of Venetian origin, twice visited the regions of Chitral and Nuristan in order to learn about the customs and culture of the so-called "Kafir" people. Until the Muslim emir Abdur Rahman's murderous military campaign in 1895, the Nuristan area, located in Afghanistan, was known as Kafiristan. "Kafir" is an Arabic word historically related to the spread of Islam. It referred to non-Islamic people as a whole, though not to Jews and Christians, who were called "peoples of the Book" in the Islamic world.

After Abdur Rahman's military campaign, the Kati ("Red Kafirs") people's culture almost disappeared. By contrast, the Kalasha ("Black Kafirs"), who inhabited Bumburet, Rumbur, and Birir valleys in the present-day Chitral region of Pakistan, did not suffer the same fate. This was due in large part to the Durand Line, a border established in 1893 following the Second Anglo-Afghan war, which separates Afghanistan from Pakistan [**Fig. 1**].

"Pedro" Morandi, An Unconventional Traveler

In 1968, Piero Morandi [**Fig. 2**], known as "Pedro" to many of his friends and acquaintances, arrived in Chitral for the first time. With Piero was Ingrid Borum, a Danish painter who went along with him on previous visits to Turkey. At the time, Morandi was around twenty years old. They stayed for a while with the Kalasha, then moved on to India and later to Nepal. During the 1970s, Morandi decided to settle down in this Himalayan country, where he died in 2007. While based in Nepal, he became a respected art dealer and

worldwide expert on Newari art.

In 1969, before leaving Italy for his second trip to Chitral—when, along with the Venetian painter Nini Morelli, he would also visit Nuristan for the first time—Morandi gave the Florence Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology some selected objects from his collection of Kalasha and Kati material culture. It was his first contribution to our knowledge about these cultures—but not the last. Thirty years later, in 2000, the French music label Disques Dom published a CD titled *Pakistan-Afghanistan: Kafiristan/Nuristan-Chitral—Music and Songs* for the series *Albatros: document original de musique ethnique des peuples du monde.* The album included songs and melodies recorded by Morandi during both of his travels. In recent years, the art collector Gabriele Romiti acquired some photographs and negatives from Morandi and Morelli's journey, which he initially attributed to Morandi. Romiti offered these to the Florence Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology as a means of enriching the Morandi collection. When I started to collect pieces of information about Morandi's travels from his companions, it became clear that Nini Morelli was the photographer. This discovery constituted the first step toward recovering the untold story of the Chitral and Nuristan travels made by Pedro Morandi, whose legacy enhances our knowl-

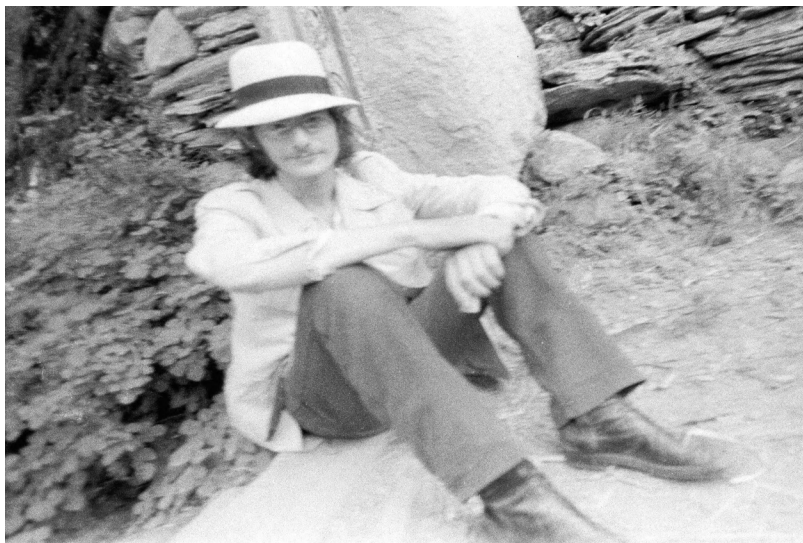*Fig. 1. Map of the Kalasha and Kati area on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.*

Fig. 2. Portrait of Piero Morandi. Nini Morelli collection.

edge of a disappearing culture.

Nonetheless, Morandi only published a single article related to the Kalasha and Kati cultures. It was titled *Etnoresistenza kafira* [Kafir ethnic resistance] and included in *L'umana avventura* [The human adventure], a periodical published by Jaka Book publishing house, in 1980. The article demonstrates that Morandi was very knowledgeable about contemporary literature on the Kafirs. He was aware of recent contributions from Danish anthropologists and also knew of fieldwork undertaken by the Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne, as evidenced by a brief quotation from Morgenstierne's essay. Ingrid Borum, who traveled together with Morandi from 1966 to 1969, first to Turkey and then to Chitral, testified to Morandi's expertise:

> Piero was, already in 1966-67, passionately studying anthropology among many other subjects, mainly in English, and he was rather influenced by the Royal Danish Library, where he found books about Kafiristan, such as George Scott Robertson's *The Kafirs of Hindu Kush*, plus books on Danish expeditions to Hindu Kush/Nuristan Afghanistan. When we entered Kalash Kafiristan, he already knew the places names and locations of the holy spots. Piero was always reading, taking notes, and learning perfect English by reading. (Author interview, July 16, 2015)

In Denmark, Morandi prepared for his journey to Chitral by reading the aforementioned books and Morgenstierne essays. Looking at the related literature, however, the most relevant contributions from Mergenstierne were published after Morandi's travels (see Di Carlo, 2010: 292-93). Nevertheless, from 1926 to 1965, Morgenstierne edited

a large number of articles related to linguistic and cultural issues in Nuristan, most of which Morandi probably could have read in the Copenhagen libraries. Likewise, during his wandering youth, Pedro irregularly attended Ca' Foscari University in Venice. There he took Oriental languages classes together with students who later became scholars in Bologna, such as Claudia Pozzana and Maurizio Pistoso. The latter, in conversation with the author, recalled that Professor Gianroberto Scarcia had given Morandi his translation of the *Ṣifat-Nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Hān-i Ġāzī* (1965), a book which narrates the military campaign led by an Indian Moghul against the Kati people of Nuristan in 1582.

During both of his travels with Borum and Morelli, Morandi acquired objects to bring back to Italy to serve as a record of his experiences. Once, according to Borum, Morandi exchanged his clothes for some artifacts, with no regret for the loss. Nini Morelli told the author that an opportunity to collect Kalasha objects arose when they found some relics from a cemetery that had been scattered after a landslide. In that way, Morandi also acquired grave goods. The artifacts now held in the Anthropology and Ethnography Museum in Florence are labeled as having come from a graveyard, too. According to Borum's statements, Morandi collected these during their journey to Chitral. During the second stay in the same mountainous area of Pakistan and in Nuristan, together with Nini Morelli, they also collected two *urei*, which are metal wine goblets traditionally used by the Kalasha and Kati peoples [**Fig. 3**]. Unfortunately,

Fig. 3. Two urei, *metal wine goblets. Nini Morelli collection.*

Fig. 4. Terracotta vessel. Nini Morelli collection.

Fig. 5. Wooden chairs. Nini Morelli collection.

they disappeared from the Italian consulate in Peshawar some time after being deposited there by the two travelers. As for the objects obtained during the 1970 trip to Nuristan and Chitral, the author could find no trace of these at all. Thanks to the photographic documentation undertaken by Nini Morelli, however, we can still obtain a glimpse of the traditional art from these areas [**Figs. 4-5**].

The Photographic Collection at the Florence Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology

The last pictures, made in Nuristan in 1970 [**Figs. 3-5**], come from Nini Morelli's collection, which were stored in her house in Venice. They consist of an extensive number of black and white diapositives and negatives. The pictures of the *urei*s, the terracotta bowl, and the two chairs portray artifacts from Nuristan. According to Morelli, most of these photographs were taken as they passed through the villages of Wama, Waigal, and Nisheigrom, along with several other places visited during their month in Nuristan. Upon the conclusion of this trip, which included visits to India and Nepal, Piero Morandi added notes about these places on the photographic envelopes, drawn chiefly from Morelli's memories.

Morelli made the pictures using three different cameras: a Rollei, a Nikon-F, and "my grandfather's old Leica." Her private collection enriches the large set of photographs published in 1999 by Max Klimburg in *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush: Art and Society of the Waigal and Ashkun Kafirs.* Klimburg went to Nuristan during the 1970s, to a region not far from Morandi's travels. In this two-volume work, Klimburg was able to include an extensive number of photographs taken by the Danish researcher Lennart Edelberg, who had taken part in the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (1948-49 and 1953-54) and returned to the region in 1964 and 1970 (Barrington et al. 2005: 3).

The reason Morelli could take photographs so freely was due to the friendly disposition of a man named Khalil. Khalil was an art dealer in Kabul and the son of the Nuristan governor [**Fig. 6**]. He accompanied Morandi and Morelli during their travels through Afghanistan. The Venetian artist recalled those days some years ago in a conversation with the author. "When we were in Nuristan," Morelli said in 2016, "I went to the Indrakun Garden, a forbidden place for women. They did not let me go inside. So I went there secretly, and I started to take pictu-

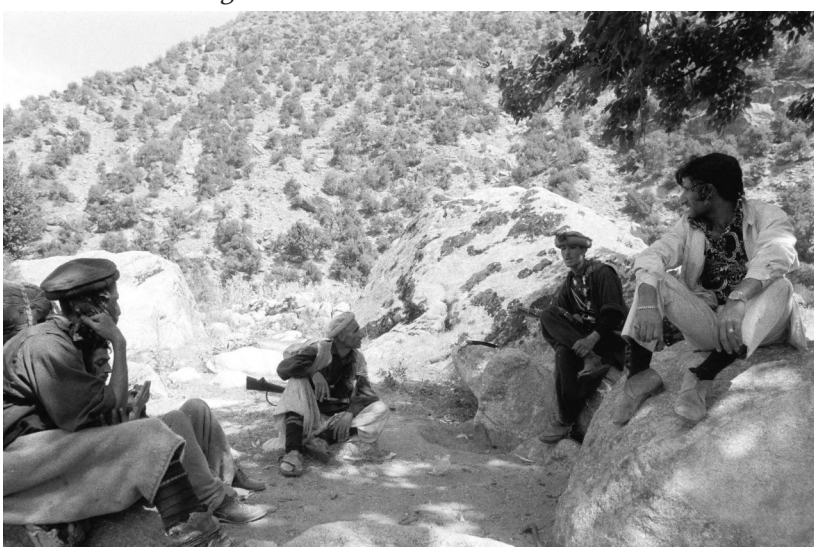Fig. 6. Khalil (right, seated) was an art dealer and son of the Nuristan governor. Nini Morelli collection.

Fig. 7. Young girls wearing the so-h'olyak *hat during the Prun celebration. Florence Anthropology and Ethnology Museum Collection.*

Fig. 8. Kalasha singers during the Prun celebration. Florence Anthropology and Ethnology Museum Collection.

Fig. 9. Kalasha singers during the Prun celebration. Florence Anthropology and Ethnology Museum Collection.

res of the grapevines. They appeared two hundred years old to my eyes. Then my grandfather's Leica broke! I couldn't take pictures from the Indrakun Garden, unfortunately, but a French traveler [I] met in Chitral later fixed my camera."

As mentioned previously, a small part of the Morandi-Morelli photographic collection has been stored at the Florence Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology. These pictures portray the Prun celebration, which nowadays persists only in the Birir valley of Chitral. Thus the set of photographs contribute to our knowledge of the Kalasha culture. Pierpaolo Di Carlo, who spent some time in the Kalash valleys with Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo, wrote extensively about the Prun celebration (2007, 2009). After being shown photographs from the Florence collection by the author, Di Carlo noticed that some of the girls portrayed in the Morelli pictures wear the *soh'olyak,* a traditional Kalasha hat adorned with dog rose berries. The Kalasha girls wear this peculiar hat only during the initiation ceremony (Kal. *soh'olyak sambi'ek* "to wear the *soh'olyak*") on the last day of the Prun celebration [**Fig. 7**]. Alberto Cacopardo also confirmed Di Carlo's identification of the hat, while notes added by Morandi on the photographic envelopes found at Morelli's home dispelled any remaining doubts.

Therefore, we can conclude that the set of pictures

given to the Florence Museum by Gabriele Romiti, who was unaware of the total extent of the collection, most likely depicts the last day of the Prun celebration in 1970. The photographs [**Figs. 8-16**] capture the singers, musicians, and dancers' arrangements at this moment in time, as described precisely in Di Carlo's *I Kalasha del Hindu Kush* (2009). The photographs taken by Nini Morelli [**Figs. 8-9**] recall Di Carlo's descriptions of the singers' postures and their change in number, based on the performance. Thanks to these pictures, it is possible to identify the shimmering cloaks worn by the most prominent singers to distinguish themselves from their companions (Di Carlo 2009: 192). Di Carlo's description of the Prun celebration dances (see also Di Carlo, 2007) is detailed and exhaustive. It can be regarded as a useful commentary on Morelli's photographs. The author invites readers interested in learning more about Di Carlo's contributions to consult his works listed in the bibliography. As Di Carlo wrote, Morgenstierne himself attended the celebration, which the Norwegian linguist called *prū-nat* (viz. "Prun dances"). It appears to confirm the research carried out by Morandi during his travels to Nuristan and Chitral, which were aimed at gathering anthropological research material in the form of recordings and images in hopes of enriching our knowledge about the Kalasha. The same kind of scrupulous photographic report assembled during the 1970 Prun celebration

Figs. 10-13. Performance of the ca~ *dances.*
Florence Anthropology and Ethnology Museum Collection.

Figs. 17-22. A shepherd in Chitral storing milk in his mountain pasture hut. Nini Morelli collection.

was taken in different circumstances. It is thus possible to observe these performances through many sets of photographs kept in Morelli's private collection.

We know that Morandi asked Morelli to stay in Chitral during the subsequent autumn, but she refused due to the hard weather conditions and the lack of food. In any case, in several different circumstances during their spring-summer visit to Nuristan and Chitral, she made the same kind of

scrupulous photographic report as was taken during the 1970 Prun celebration. Morandi and Morelli's trip to Afghanistan and Pakistan is documented through many sets of photographs kept in Morelli's private collection, such as those of a shepherd storing milk in goatskin in his mountain hut [see **Figs. 17-22**]. I invite institutions interested in further enhancing the utility of Morelli's extensive photographic collection to contact me. The photographs concern the ceremonies, landsca-

pes, and daily activities of the Kalasha people. It would be an unworthy end to Morelli's story to let her photographic collection gather dust. When combined with the work of Morandi, these two important scholarly resources can go a long ways toward preserving the story of a nearly forgotten culture and people.

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>.

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Sergei Stepanovich Miniaev (1948-2020)

Xiongnu archaeology lost one of its most productive and innovative contributors with the death of Sergei Stepanovich Miniaev on 11 April 2020.

The focus of much of his work was Transbaikalia, the region encompassing the Buriat Republic, where in the late 19th century Iu. D. Tal'ko-Gryntsevich pioneered archaeological survey and a certain amount of excavation of what he was the first to identify as Xiongnu remains. Among Sergei Miniaev's important contributions was to inaugurate a series devoted to *Archaeological Monuments of the Xiongnu*, one of whose volumes reprinted his distant predecessor's work which would otherwise today be difficult of access. The next major landmark in the history of Xiongnu archaeology was the excavations undertaken in the 1920s at the cemetery complex of Noyon uul in north central Mongolia during the expedition organized by Petr Kozlov. That work uncovered striking artifacts, ones which have done much to shape our perceptions of the Xiongnu nomadic confederation that at its peak ruled a huge swathe of northern Asia. However, as Sergei Stepanovich, never one to mince words, has reminded us, the Kozlov excavations were more of a kind of "treasure hunting," somewhat analogous to what the looters of the tombs did in early centuries. Little attention was given to documenting precisely tomb structure, the position of each artifact, and the territory in the vicinity of the tomb, all of which might reveal important facts about burial ritual and commemoration. And there was much else to be learned if one looked beyond the tombs of the elite.

Sergei Stepanovich was fortunate to begin his professional training at a time when new scientific techniques of analysis in archaeology were being perfected. Significantly, while still an undergraduate, he was involved in laboratory and conservation work; his first regular employment in the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy (now the Institute for the History of Material Culture) was in its laboratory of spectral analysis. His many subsequent achievements in excavations perhaps have obscured the fact that spectral analysis was at the core of his *kandidat* (Ph.D. equivalent) dissertation, supervised by the distinguished specialist in Central Asian archaeology Mikhail Petrovich Griaznov and defended in 1982. Miniaev's substantial 1983 article incorporating his data from analysis of Xiongnu bronzes is a seminal study of how one might approach analyzing regional variation and diachronic change in the Xiongnu polity. (*The Silk Road* had the privilege of publishing a somewhat revised version of it in English in 2016.) Subsequently, in collaboration with other scholars, he turned his attention to such topics as determining the chemical composition of ceramics and identifying the animal

species whose hair was used in Xiongnu textiles. Long interested in the chronology of Xiongnu history, naturally he was one of the first to apply radiocarbon analysis to supplement more traditional kinds of chronological analysis based on tomb structure and artifact distribution. He returned several times to the question of the original home of the Xiongnu, arguing against the view that they emerged in the Ordos region of the bend of the Yellow River and in favor of an origin far to the northeast. As part of that work, he deconstructed the evidence about ethnic groups in the early Chinese narrative histories.[1]

While still a student at Leningrad University, he was acquiring significant experience in field work. Antonina Vladimirovna Davydova introduced him to excavation in Transbaikalia where an important focus of those expeditions was not on the excavation of major elite tombs but rather cemeteries with more modest graves and settlement sites. The first two volumes in his *Archaeological Monuments of the Xiongnu* were Davydova's excavation reports on the fort and cemetery at the "proto-city" of Ivolga. The excavations there covered a much higher percentage of the area than normally can be studied at a major archaeological site; the results are still one of the basic reference points for ongoing analysis of Xiongnu society. Sergei Stepanovich then excavated and co-authored with her a study that encompassed another settlement near Dureny. The fifth volume in his series is a monograph publishing the complete excavation he supervised at the Dyrestui Cemetery, a Chinese translation of which is now scheduled.

Until the beginning of the 1970s, there had never been a thorough scientifically based excavation of one of the elite Xiongnu terrace tombs in order to study its structure and the complex of smaller features adjoining it. The pioneering effort at such an investigation was supervised by Prokopii Konovalov in the Sudzha cemetery near Kiakhta, just north of the Mongolian border in 1971-75. However, the looting of the tomb in early times left no spectacular artifacts to attract wide attention, and only short summaries of the work appeared in print.[2]

Sergei Miniaev's excavation in 1997-2005 of another of the Xiongnu "royal" tombs in Transbaikalia at Tsaram, one of the largest known, not only revealed important details about tomb structure but yielded a good many spectacular artifacts which had escaped the looters. Furthermore, in the same complex were several small burials, which he argued were "sacrificial" ones following a common practice for the elite burial rituals. (As with many questions raised by Xiongnu archaeology, this hypothesis is not universally accepted.) A number of Sergei Stepanovich's articles (some co-authored, published in both Russian and English versions) established the Tsaram excavation as one of the models for future exploration of the major Xiongnu tomb complexes. A posthumous full publication of the results is in preparation.

His last major Xiongnu excavation project (supervised jointly with Nikolai Nikolaev in 2009-2015) was at another Transbaikalia site, Orgoiton, which had first been surveyed by Tal'ko-Gryntsevich. Although badly damaged by looters in early times, as with a number of other elite Xiongnu burials, a dismantled Chinese chariot had been overlaid on the grave in the elite terrace tomb. While there were relatively few other artifacts, study of the tomb structure contributed to the understanding of regional differentiation in the Xiongnu polity.[3] The excavation at Orgoiton attracted local media attention in 2012; one can still view some of the short video clips of interviews with Sergei Miniaev in which he responded with admirable clarity to questions about Xiongnu burials and settlement sites, among them that at Ivolga. The videos capture for us a sense of him as a charismatic spokesman for the accomplishments of Russian archaeology on the Xiongnu, confident in his command of the evidence but willing to admit what we don't yet know.

In watching the videos, I was struck by his insistence that while the scientific work of archaeologists is essential for our understanding of the past, also of great importance is to make the results widely known to a broad audience, where nowadays there is substantial public interest in learning about that history. One thinks back here to the fact that for many years, he maintained a unique website about Xiongnu archaeology, and a number of his articles were aimed at distilling his experience and impressive knowledge of that subject for a wider audience. One of the photos we have used here was

captioned appropriately on its Buriat website: "The experienced scholar shares with youth his scientific erudition." (The Russian word here, *bagazh* [~erudition], can be construed in both its literal and figurative sense...). We know that like many serious scholars, Sergei Stepanovich could be quite stubborn in defending his conclusions. Reputedly, he did not suffer fools lightly, which did not always endear him to some colleagues. But he was passionate about sharing his knowledge.

I met Sergei only once when, by invitation of our project director, he visited briefly to observe our excavation in western Mongolia near Khovd in 2007. Unlike some of his Russian colleagues who have had major projects in Mongolia, he but once excavated a Xiongnu burial there, even though he kept well informed of all the recent work on Xiongnu sites and followed as well related excavations in China. We barely talked at Khovd, since he spent his time at the terrace tomb we were opening, while I was busy at one or another of the peripheral features. Our subsequent interaction over the years thus was at a distance, corresponding about the articles of his which I was happy to translate, or his responding to my queries always graciously and promptly. My memory is of an intense but warm and generous person, whose scholarly achievements will stand the test of time.

— Daniel C. Waugh
University of Washington (Seattle)

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Notes

1. See his "Pis'mennye istochniki o rannei istorii Siunnu," *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 21 (2015): 304-327. The text, in Russian and in English, includes references to his most important articles on the problem of Xiongnu origins.

2. Konovalov finally published his excavation report for the terrace tomb No. 54 at Sudzha in 2008, in part under the stimulus of the publication of Miniaev's results from Tsaram. An English translation of Konovalov's book, with some supplementary materials is: P. B. Konovalov. *The Burial Vault of a Xiongnu Prince at Sudzha (Il'movaia pad', Transbaikalia)*, tr. by Daniel C. Waugh; foreword by Ursula Brosseder and Daniel C. Waugh. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology, Vol. 3 (Bonn, 2008). Brosseder co-authored with Konovalov the section on "The Dating of Barrow No. 54 and its Significance." An interesting report on Xiongnu archaeology in Buriatia, with information on recent accomplishments, is P. B. Konovalov et al., "Khunnskaia arkheologiia v Buriatii: istoriia i novyi etap issledovanii," *Vestnik Buriatskogo nauchnogo tsentra Sibirskogo otdeleniia Rossiiskoi akademii nauk*, 2016, No. 1(21): 9-26.

3. A brief summary of the Orgoiton excavation is in the article we published in *The Silk Road* in 2016. For more details (in Russian) and some good photographs, see N. N. Nikolaev and S. S. Miniaev, "Raboty Tsentral'no-Aziatskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii na mogil'nike Orgoiton," in *Arkheologicheskii sbornik*, vyp. 41: *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii Evrazii* (Sankt-Peterburg: Gos. Ermitazh, 2017): 143-158; idem., "Nekotorye rezul'taty issledovaniia 'kniazheskogo kurgana' Xunnu na mogil'nike Orgoiton," in *Arkheologicheskii sbornik*, vyp. 42: *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii Evrazii* (Sankt-Peterburg: Gos. Ermitazh, 2019): 110-123. Links to the several videos (all in Russian) are in an article "Gunnskie kurgany Orgoitona," on the website "Vizit Buriatii" (http://www.visitburyatia.ru/story/item-2145/, last accessed 15 February 2021). In the first video, Nikolai Nikolaev, shown in the excavation, discusses some of the features. The remaining four videos all are interviews with Sergei Miniaev, on site at Orgoiton, indoors (the clearest, since there is no wind noise—its direct link is https://youtu.be/Rje-Bnrhr5k), and on site at Dyrestui and the Baian-under fort.

Book Reviews

Christoph Baumer. *The History of Central Asia.* Vol. 4. *The Age of Decline and Revival.* Trans. Christopher W. Reid. London: I.B. Tauris, 2018.

Baumer's coffee table-sized book is very much in line with the preceding three volumes—lavishly illustrated with succinct yet sufficiently detailed prose narrating the history of Central Asia. In this volume, Baumer resumes his history of Central Asia at approximately 1500 with the rise of the Uzbek Khanate and ends the volume with a review of the region (including Mongolia and Xinjiang) in the 21st century. He reaches roughly November 2016 (p. 292). Covering approximately 516 years of such a vast and complex region of Central Asia in only 298 pages of narrative is no small feat. Fortunately, Baumer does it very well.

When the book is opened, a color map of Central Asia in 1907 welcomes the reader on the inner front paper. The major empires and states of the day are delineated by colored borders: the Russian Empire, the Chinese Empire (a point to be addressed later), the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Afghanistan, British India are all present along with the border states of Nepal, and Bhutan. While copious maps are included throughout the book (a total of nine), as this map begins the book, it is easily found so that the reader always has a map available for perusal. A similar map of Central Asia in the 21st century concludes the book as well. A comparison of the two maps dramatically shows the changes across a century of time. In my opinion, a book can never have too many maps and the placement of these is well conceived.
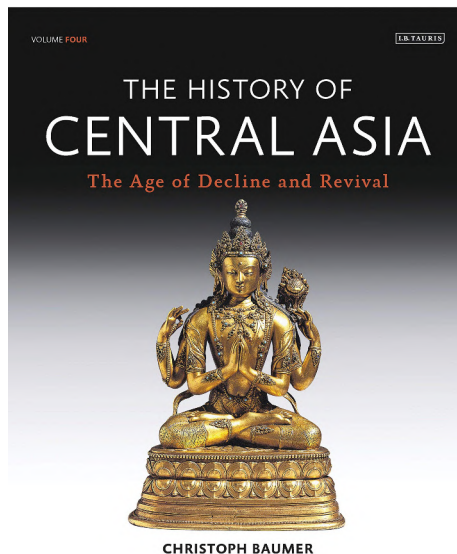
The book is organized into 10 chapters with most containing two or more sections, some of which are further divided. As is too frequent with books intended for a more popular market, endnotes are used rather than footnotes. Baumer is assiduous in his citations and uses a wide array of primary

sources and secondary sources. While all of the works are in western languages, he does not shy away from using primary sources translated into English, German, French, or Russian. While Baumer may not have mastered the languages of the region, this book is not a simple narrative history but a thoughtful work with analysis and as the author moves ever closer to the present, he critiques and comments on policies implemented by various actors.

The first chapter, "The Descendants of Genghis Khanids," begins with the Uzbek Khanate and covers its two major dynasties—the Abu'l Khayrids and the Togha-Timurids or Astarkahanids. From there he explores the khanates that evolved around Khiva and in Moghulistan as well as the rise of the Naqshbandi Khwajas. The final section covers the successors of the Golden Horde, including Sibir and the Nogais. Baumer's talent for succinctly demonstrating the complexity of politics, religion, diplomacy, and warfare are on display in this chapter. Yet, while he is often insightful, he sometimes misses the mark. For instance, when discussing the decline of the Uzbek Khanates he focuses on trade and maintains the idea that the rise of European sea routes undermined the caravan routes to Bukhara and other cities (p. 14). Yet, in the previous sentence, he discussed the rampant civil wars among the Uzbeks, but does not connect how this and the resulting break down in law and order might affect the caravan routes and trade in general.

From there he explores the rise of the Mughal Dynasty in India and Afghanistan in chapter 2, "The Descendants of the Timurids." Overall, this is a very good summary of Mughal history and Baumer does not shy away from aspects that often do not appear in general narratives such as the Timurid Babur's alliance with the Safavids and that he even declared himself their vassal. Still, as with the Uzbeks, at times Baumer adheres to traditional in-

terpretations. For instance, when discussing Portugal's and the East India Company's intrusion into India, he states that the Mughals defeated the Portuguese, but then never truly explains why the Portuguese and EIC were permitted to remain. He simply states that the Mughals were a land empire and could not compete at sea. Some attention to how the Mughals benefitted from the European presence should have been addressed. Furthermore, the Mughal army could have certainly taken any stronghold prior to the 18th century.

The third chapter is "A Reorganisation of Geography: North Central Asia Becomes a Periphery." Here, Baumer explores the post-Yuan world but with most of the focus on the expansion of the Russian and Qing empires. Again, Baumer uses some outdated scholarship in stating that the Buddhism was used to pacify the Mongols (p. 71), but ignoring that the Buddhist Mongols continued to raid and threaten both the Ming and Qing empires. He is correct in that the encouragement of Buddhism was useful after the Qing took control of Mongolia (p. 76), but the earlier periods less so. Still, Baumer aptly discusses the overall situation in the region, but with groups on the periphery such as the Kalmyks and Kazakhs.

"Afghanistan until 1837 and the Khanates of Central Asia until the Russian Conquest" is the topic of Chapter 4. Afghanistan probably receives the most overall attention in this volume. Considering the fact that most readers will have heard of Afghanistan more than the Khanate of Kokand or even Uzbekistan, one cannot fault Baumer's decision here. He also handles its history adroitly without oversimplifying it. Furthermore, he connects the history of Afghanistan appropriately to the broader history of Central Asia and South Asia. For instance, when discussing the Afghan invasion of the Mughal Empire as well as their defeats of the Marathas, Baumer links this to the eventual rise of the Sikhs as well as opening the door for the East India Company's domination of India (p. 106).

In Chapter 5, the reader joins "The Great Game." The chapter is suitably subtitled as "Central Asia as a Pivot of Russian and British Expansion Policy." This chapter covers roughly 1837 until 1907. The Great Game is possibly the most studied or published period of Central Asia history. Yet, somehow, Baumer finds a way to add to that. For

instance, his perspective is not overly Anglo-centric. Nor does he overly glamorize the ability of the Russian or British military power vis-à-vis local powers. Furthermore, he links expansion by both powers to wider events, such as Russia being unchallenged partially due to Britain's involvement in the Sudan and other parts of its empire. History does not happen in a vacuum. Furthermore, he ties the success of Russia to railroads and discusses how this fuels Britain's expansion of railroads in India. My only criticism of this section regards his handling of Tibet, particularly as it lacks an explanation of why it appears to operate independently of the Qing Empire. Baumer provides no context here. To be fair, most works on the Great Game make the same omission.

In Chapter 6, the author provides a short coverage of World War I and ties to Central Asia, but focuses on Central Asia, the between world wars, which is also the chapter's subtitle. Chapter 6's primary title is "The Drive for Sovereignty." Here, Baumer examines not only Central Asia, but also Afghanistan, Xinjiang, and Mongolia. In most accounts of World War I, Central Asia is overlooked. It was not a front but still played an interesting role during the war. Baumer's coverage is adequate and well done. Better still is his explanation of the effects of World War I and World War II on Central Asia in its entire region. As with the other chapters, he remains brief but poignant in his coverage. While scholars of the region are unlikely to learn anything new, a novice will learn much and this serves as a good starting point for further study. This section also has a wonderful map of the Aral Sea showing how Soviet policies affected it from 1960 to 2016 in approximately twelve-year increments. As always, Baumer uses maps effectively.

Afghanistan once again steps into the spotlight in Chapter 7 in "A Multilateral Great Game in Afghanistan, 1978-92." In this chapter, Baumer provides a lucid breakdown of events leading up to the Soviet-Afghan war along with a concise overview of all of the players involved for the past 40 years. Afghanistan demonstrates a reluctance to leave the stage in Chapter 8, "Afghanistan Forces the Three Major powers to Engage in a Joint Struggle against Islamic Extremism." The title, despite the lack of eloquence or pithiness, aptly describes the chapter. Here, Baumer provides good and valid criticism of

U.S. actions after the 2001 invasion. Baumer provides praise where warranted, but also cogently exposes the duplicity of Pakistan and the painful or perhaps willful ignorance of the United States in regards to Pakistan's support of the Taliban as well as Pakistan's support of Islamic extremists as a wild-card versus India. He also lists the external reasons for the continued unsatisfactory conditions of Afghanistan, thus once again placing the region in a larger context.

Chapter 9, "The New Independence of Central Asian States," takes the reader from 1990 to the 21st century. The author includes not only the former Soviet Republics, but also Mongolia as well as regions that did not achieve independence, such as Xinjiang and republics within the Russian Federation. Baumer's coverage of Mongolia in Chapter 7 was a bit lackluster compared to other regions. For instance, he skips from the submission of the Khalkha to the Qing in 1691 to 1911. The omission of 200 years of history is disconcerting, but he redeems himself in his coverage since independence. While he rightfully notes the successful transition to a nascent democracy, Baumer also provides a nice summary of the horrible conditions that international organization created in Mongolia during the 1990s. While well meaning, they were often poorly conceived or executed, which also makes Mongolia's achievement the more remarkable. While this chapter provides brief political and historical overviews, Baumer tends to focus more heavily on economic matters in this chapter.

The tenth and final chapter is titled "Outlook." As the title implies, the author looks forward to the future and it is a proper way to conclude this four-volume series. Baumer is not overly optimistic in his assessment, yet his assessment is not bleak, simply pragmatic. He notes that one of the challenges for the former Soviet republics is how they handle the growing religiosity among their population without pushing the moderate Muslims into the arms of Islamic extremism. He also notes that western countries that advocate an abrupt transition to democracy must be wary, as it can be through democratic institutions that religious extremists can subvert democracy to gain power. The biggest issue, which still remains the elephant in the room, is the stability of Afghanistan. Connected to this, Baumer also brings in another ele-

ment that receives less attention—Saudi Arabia's foreign policy, which has contributed so much to it. Finally, he concludes with economic hurdles, particularly the logistics of being landlocked in a global economy.

The book also includes an appendix of the major ruling dynasties. The fact that he also included his sources for the charts is highly appreciated as it does assist in explaining some of the transliterations of names and other matters. There is nothing egregious in any of these, but as those who study Central Asia know, every name often has multiple spellings. This is an extremely useful resource and one that this reviewer will consult frequently. The index is also divided into concepts, names, and places.

There are a few issues with the book, although minor. When discussing the Battle of the Ugra River (1480), Baumer mentions that King Casimir IV of Poland-Lithuania left Ahmad Khan of the Great Horde in a lurch, but neglects to say that Casimir IV had been intercepted by Muscovy's Crimean allies (p. 37). While he refers to the Altishahr (Six Cities) of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Kucha, and Turfan, he also mentions that they are sometimes referred to as the Yetishahr, but he never names the seventh city (p. 49). The largest issue is Baumer's inability to distinguish between the Qing Empire and China. It should be noted that he is not alone, but in a work that covers the history of Central Asia, I would desire the recognition that the Qing was most certainly not a Chinese Empire like the Ming, but one in which the ruling elite were non-Han, and that well over 50% of the territory was not historical Chinese territory. China and the Qing Empire should not be conflated as the same place. Despite this, these issues do not detract from the overall quality of the book.

In conclusion, this is highly recommended book. Like the previous three volumes, Baumer's final volume to *The History of Central Asia* provides an excellent introduction to the past five hundred years of Central Asian history. Its lavish illustrations and use of maps as well as the high-quality production will make this (and the entire set) an excellent addition to anyone's library.

- Timothy May

Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, eds. *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.

The writers of biographies of Chinese and West Asians of traditional times face considerable hurdles. It is difficult to produce works in Asian history such as Garrett Mattingly's *Catherine of Aragon* or Amy Kelly's *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* or many European figures. The Asian sources offer details about the public endeavors of prominent individuals but often provide scant information about their lives. Anecdotes that would illuminate flesh and blood characters are frequently inaccessible. For example, sources about emperors and khans perhaps deliberately omit the details of their private lives and instead focus on their roles in government. Too much personal information might reduce these "mighty figures" to human size, instead of their importance as a Son of Heaven or a figure blessed by Tenggeri or the Sky God.

My own experiences in writing biographies of East Asians reveal some of the difficulties. In writing biographies of Khubilai Khan and Rabban Sauma, I found that the Chinese sources were fairly silent on their private lives. Marco Polo and Persian histories provided useful personal details, but inferences from the limited biographical sources were essential and provided a means of understanding Khubilai. Discussion of the two men's times offered an opportunity to design a panorama of the social and economic backgrounds of their society.

This is precisely the value of *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia.* The fifteen sketches of gener-als, merchant, and intellectuals in the book yield insights in the broad panorama of Mongol-ruled China and Central and West Asia. The reader may not emerge with an intimate knowledge of the specific individuals, except for one or two for which there is abundant information. Yet he or she would get information about the territorial scope of the Mongol empire and the numerous groups they encountered, which marks the book's important contribution. The fifteen biographies include Chinese, Mongols, Qipchaqs, Arabs, Europeans, and Iranians. The reader would also learn about the significant roles played by women in Mongol-ruled Asia. Three of the sketches concern women who gained considerable power in their respective domains.

The lack of biographies of specific groups is revealing. Of the four merchants, none is Chinese. Could this reflect the attacks of scholar-officials who displayed negative attitudes about merchants and thus omitted mention of traders in their accounts? Similarly, no Chinese women are included. Few Chinese women, even the renowned painter Guan Daosheng, were accorded biographies in the Chinese histories.

More important, however, is to emphasize the quality of the biographies in this volume, which can serve as models for future works on scientists, painters, craftsmen, and doctors of the Mongol period. The illustrations are well chosen, and the bibliographies for each essay are extensive.

The book is worthy of the Philip E. Lilienthal imprint of the University of California Press. Lilienthal was an excellent editor, and I remember him and Sheila Levine, another splendid editor at the Press, with great fondness.

- Morris Rossabi
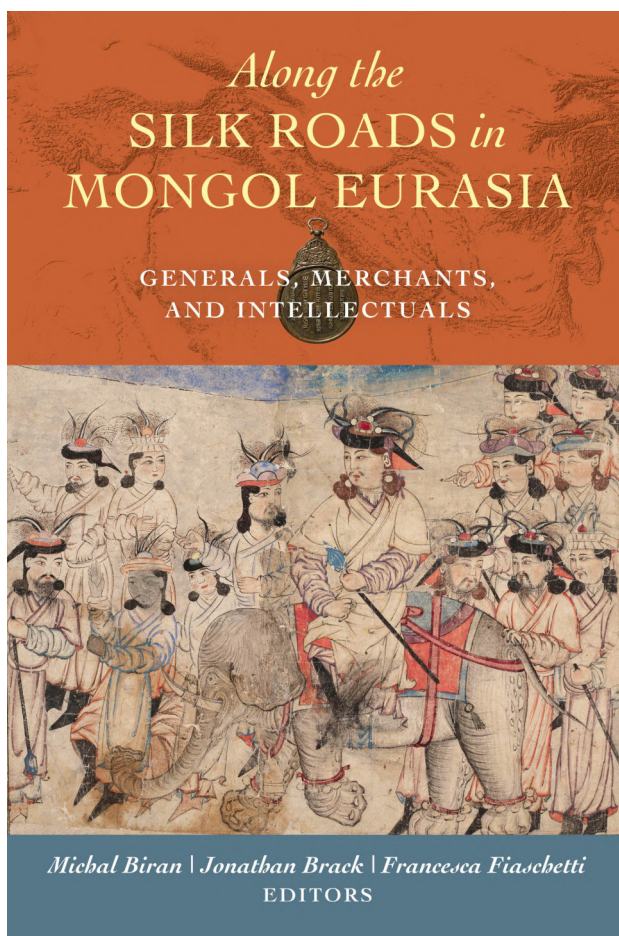
Moritz Huber. *Lives of Sogdians in Medieval China*. Asiatische Forschungen 160. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020. xvi + 350 pp. Appendices online (http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/verlag.de/titel_6520.ahtml), 475 pp.

This new addition to the burgeoning field of Sogdian studies is Mortiz Huber's 2020 dissertation completed at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; judging from the book's appearance, it does not seem to have been modified significantly for purposes of publication. As the heading above indicates, the published (print) portion of the book is less than half of the work; the online appendices, which can be downloaded *gratis* from the Harrassowitz website, are longer. One supposes that this "split publication" technique was employed in order to keep the cost of the book, which lists at 78 Euros, lower than it would have been had the appendices been printed rather than published online. This review will discuss the published book first, followed by a consideration of the appendices.

The print book is divided into four chapters: 1) Historically transmitted Chinese accounts about Sogdiana (pp. 1-103); 2) Sources about Sogdians in China (pp. 105-217); 3) Synthesis (pp. 219-300); and 4) Conclusion (pp. 301-6). While at first glance one might wonder what the first chapter—in which the relevant accounts (in sources ranging chronologically from the *Shiji* to the *Xin Tangshu*) are examined and many are translated—has to do with the lives of Sogdians in China, Huber explains that these early Chinese accounts of Sogdiana (and regions sometimes wrongly identified as Sogdiana) establish "patterns of narration and the use of *topoi*" (p. 69) that he will explore in the second chapter and then further employ in the third chapter in order to create a thematic organization for the synthetic consideration of his topic. These themes, or "categories of description and judgement," are as follows: 1) climate, flora, fauna,

agriculture, and products; 2) the king and his wife, the palace and throne, and domestic politics; 3) people and customs, including physiognomy, military abilities, commerce, social customs, and music; and 4) foreign affairs, focusing primarily on Sogdian gifts to the courts of various Chinese dynasties. Not all of these (for example, the second group) can be used to describe the lives of Sogdians in China, but overall these categories do create a useful system for Huber's purposes.

Chapter 2 focuses on a variety of sources, both archaeological and literary. The author examines the relatively small number of Sogdian-identified graves found in China, considering what these graves and their contents—including the important epitaphs (*muzhiming*) found within the tombs—can reveal regarding names, kinship and marriage, official titles, events of the deceased's life, and much more. Huber creates family trees for each of the interred and discusses what is known of these persons' biographies. He then analyzes the tombs in a comparative study of various aspects of these biographies, including discussion of the deceased's ancestry, "given names and cultural identity," profession and official titles, marriage, and burial. The last section of the chapter considers places in China where the presence of a Sogdian community can be discerned.

In the third chapter, Huber uses his "categories of description and judgement" to examine what can be gleaned about Sogdians living in China. It should be noted that this includes not only people from Sogdiana but also people of Sogdian ancestry (or "western" or *hu* ancestry) who were born and lived in China. In this chapter he adds some new texts including relevant portions of additional epitaphs, steles, printed texts, as well as some manuscripts. Much of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the term *sabao* and its meaning, but there is also consideration of such topics as the
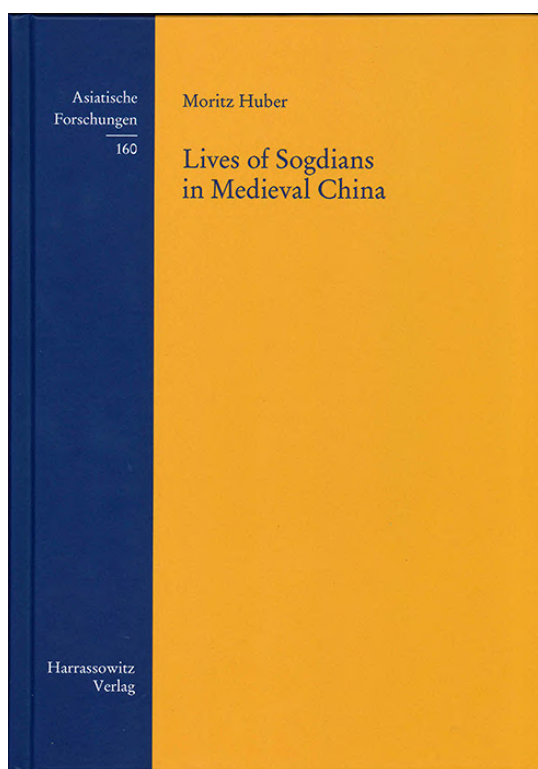
various activities and professions pursued by Sogdians (both in their home region and in China) and the role of religion and ritual in Sogdian communities.

The final chapter presents the reader with some important conclusions. The author describes how Sogdians in China (as well as others identified as *hu*) were formed into a definable group by Chinese observers, leading to specific characteristics (deriving primarily from traditional accounts of Sogdiana and its environs), particularly skill in certain professions, being ascribed to *hu* in general. He adds that within China the Sogdians were allowed a special level of self-administration, primarily through the office of *sabao* that "was the outcome of a successful mobilisation of their accumulated and translated forms of capital" (pp. 303-4). Huber then argues that the creation of a specific Sogdian "identity," bolstered by marriage practices, was an intentional strategy focused on the protection of their position within Chinese society. In Huber's analysis, this speaks against an interpretation of Sogdians in China that would emphasize efforts at assimilation.

Another of the author's contributions has to do with Sogdians improving their social status through military service. One of the characteristics that Chinese often ascribed to Sogdians was skill in martial matters; some of the latter took advantage of this to move up the social "ladder"—in essence, benefiting from a stereotypical image that could help them maintain their distinct identities within China. Finally, Huber argues that "flexible combinations of grave constructions and epitaphs were composed, employing Iranian, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, and typically Chinese structures and symbols" (p. 305) in order to secure the social status (or, as Huber puts it, "social capital") that some Sogdians created for themselves and future generations. This chapter is followed by a biography.

There is much scientific information to be found in Huber's book, with even more in the appendices. Interestingly, the title of the online appendices is not *Lives of Sogdians in Medieval China* but *Studies on Sogdians in China*, which seems in many ways a more accurate title for the overall work. The print book's title seems intended to appeal to readers who might expect a prose narrative

regarding various aspects of how Sogdian émigrés and persons of Sogdian (or partially Sogdian) descent lived in China, while the title used in the appendices seems to emphasize the scientific nature of the bulk of the work and the very large body of data it presents.

The electronic appendices are as follows: 1) excavation reports of the graves and epitaphs of a group of Sogdians surnamed Shi (and some of their wives) from the Sui and Tang eras near modern Guyuan in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region; 2) a case study of epitaphs of two of those, i.e., Shi Shewu (d. 609) and his son Shi Hedan (d. 669); 3) a consideration of the epitaphs of Sogdians in China from an archaeological context; and 4) a synthesis. There are also glossaries of toponyms (Appendix 5, pp. 405-37) and titles (Appendix 6, pp. 439-58).

In the first appendix Huber expands upon the print book's second chapter and brings together a great deal of information from various publications in Chinese and Western languages. This alone will make the work quite useful to researchers. There are plenty of maps, charts, illustrations, and photographs to accompany the author's descriptions. The drawings and photographs are especially helpful in considering the contents of the various tombs that have not been hauled away by robbers. Wall paintings (particularly the murals from the tomb of Shi Shewu), ceramics, coins (both authentic and imitation), and other objects, many of them depicted in color, complement the photographs of the various epitaphs themselves. The Shi family or families have become famous in Sogdianist circles because of the unusual circumstance of having a group of tombs of persons who share a common surname and whose familial relationships to one another can often be determined, and whose careers and family lives are described in the epitaphs found in those tombs. It should be noted that while some scholars have argued that all of the interred members of the Shi family at Guyuan were related to one another, Huber posits two distinct Shi families with different ancestries. One of these included Shi Shewu, Shi Hedan and his two wives (surnamed Kang and Zhang), Shi Daoluo and his wife (surnamed Kang), and Shi Tiebang; the other included Shi Suoyan and his wife An Niang and Shi Daode. This appendix presents

these tombs in a clear and meticulous fashion and occasionally compares their features to other Sogdian-identified tombs found in China.

The second appendix takes a close look at two members of one of the Shi families and their tombs. Both epitaphs are translated in full, with the Chinese and English texts presented together. The author has formatted these so that after almost every Chinese sentence the English translation appears, making it easy to compare the two texts. After each translation the author provides a chart of variant characters, which are quite numerous in each epitaph; this is extremely helpful to readers who may not be familiar with these variant forms.

The third appendix considers the epitaphs of not only members of the Shi family or families but also other Sogdian-identified persons from the same general period, including Shi Wirkak and his wife Kang Wiyusi, Kang Ye, An Jia, Yu Hong and his wife, Cao Yi, He (?), and An Pu (or Pusa). (These well-known Sogdians are also discussed in the print book's second chapter.) In this appendix one can find the Chinese text of each epitaph, but these are not translated. Huber also presents the Sogdian text of the epitaph from Shi Wirkak's tomb, along with an English translation by Yutaka Yoshida. Huber analyzes these epitaphs in terms of what information they provide regarding such things as biographic data, names of relatives, and official titles held by the deceased. The fourth appendix returns to the topic of the title *sabao* and expands upon the information provided in the print book's second chapter; much of the appendix's information is presented in chart form. The remaining appendices are simple glossaries, followed by a (second) bibliography.

Huber's work presents a rich trove of information which is naturally limited by the materials—both archaeological and literary—that are currently available. He has generously provided his readers with an exceptional level of detail concerning the admittedly small number of Sogdian tombs that have thus far been found. He has not only brought together information from a large number of published sources in many languages, but has also evaluated that information to give his own sense of how these archaeological and literary materials should be interpreted.

The production values of the book and appendices are generally high, although there are a few problems. The author's English is at times not idiomatic. Words are occasionally misspelt in ways that will outfox even the best spell-checking program ("plated" for "plaited," "felt" for "pelt," etc.). Other misspellings are simply errors, such as "tharkan" instead of "tarkhan" or "tarqan." It must be pointed out that these matters rarely obscure the author's meaning, although there are a few phrases that ultimately could not be unraveled, such as the translation from a passage in Shi Hedan's epitaph that his sons were "weighed down cranked and wailing out loud" after their father's death (appendices, p. 247). A native speaker could have helped in the editing of the work to avoid such confusions as using "unlikeable" rather than "unlikely" (p. 111) and "intruded" rather than "invaded" (appendices, p. 228, n. 35).

Another issue is the matter of footnotes that refer to other parts of the text itself. This is especially problematic in the print book's third chapter. In such notes, the reader is often referred to the wrong page. For example, at least five footnotes (pp. 252, 254, 255, 256, 362) direct the reader to go to p. 270, n. 170 in the book, but the footnote in question is on p. 250 rather than p. 270. There are other such examples, not only in the book but also in the appendices. It seems likely that these errors are connected to the book being reformatted to the publisher's specifications, causing page numbers to shift. The reader thus must search for the desired footnote—a process which is not terribly burdensome, but does slow things down. In addition, there are occasional misstatements of fact, such as the assertion that "in 732 CE, Manichaeism—the religion of the then despised Uighurs—was already outlawed" (p. 295). Manichaeism may have been proscribed in China in 732, but in that year the Uyghurs had not yet become the dominant power on the Mongolian steppe and indeed were still subordinates of the Second Türk Empire, which they replaced only in 744/745; furthermore, the Uyghurs' adoption of Manichaeism, through the conversion of Bügü Qaghan, took place some decades *after* their rise to power, as Huber himself notes (p. 300). Finally, there is no index for either the book or the appen-

dices.

It must be emphasized that none of these issues will keep readers from understanding and appreciating the book and its contributions. But it is frustrating to find such problems in a book in which the author clearly has taken so much care to provide his readers with meticulous descriptions and observations of the materials, along with thoughtful analysis of those materials in their historical context.

Readers who are familiar with the field of Sogdian studies will wonder how Huber's book compares to Patrick Wertmann's 2015 *Sogdians in China: Archaeological and Art Historical Analyses of Tombs and Texts from the 3rd to the 10th Century AD* (Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern). The two titles alone reveal that the authors are dealing with very similar topics and are focused largely on the same period. Both build their arguments from the archaeological record presented by the same tombs. Both are based on the authors' dissertations, although it is clear that Wertmann has modified his dissertation (Freie Universität Berlin, 2013) significantly in the process of creating his book. Wertmann's book thus is in some ways more inviting to the general reader, as it presents its information in a narrative form, while Huber's text retains the dissertation format of dividing everything into numbered (and sub-numbered) sec-

tions, emphasizing the scientific nature of the author's enterprise and presenting the supporting data as clearly and distinctly as possible. Each book seems well-organized for its purposes.

In the final analysis, although there is significant overlap in the two books, both authors have important ideas and information to present. With the addition of the online appendices, Huber's work is far more voluminous. Wertmann's, however, is easier to use in many ways, particularly for the non-specialist reader, and contains a rich collection of maps, drawings, and color photographs (pp. 219-334) that are of very fine quality. Many of the same illustrations are found in Huber's electronic appendices, but Wertmann's book excels in the presentation of important—and beautifully photographed—images from the tombs of An Jia (also called An Que), Shi Jun, and Yu Hong, as well as other types of material remains connected to Sogdian culture such as ossuaries and funerary couches. Huber's book will appeal to specialists who are eager to have a single source that contains a large amount of scientific data, presented clearly and systematically, while Wertmann's book will appeal to persons looking for a smoothly-presented and well-illustrated narrative. Both authors have much to tell us about Sogdians in China, and both of their books will be of interest and use to those drawn to the subject.

- Michael Drompp

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Hermann Kreutzmann. *Hunza Matters: Bordering and Ordering between Ancient and New Silk Roads*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2020.

Hermann Kreutzmann is the recognised world expert on what he calls the "Pamirian Crossroads" and the "Wakhan Quadrangle." *Hunza Matters* is the latest in his impressive series of scholarly works on the region, and is the third in a trilogy that comprises the eponymous two first volumes (Harrassowitz, 2015 and 2017).

Kreutzmann has found a publisher the quality of whose work matches his own. Richly (even lavishly) illustrated with maps from Markus Hauser's Pamir Archive, superb paintings and portraits by

Alexander Yakovlev[1] and hitherto unpublished archival photographs, together with many of his own, these three volumes complete—but probably do not terminate—his life's work that comprises, to date, more than 100 articles, chapters, and books.

The Avant-propos of *Hunza Matters* is a nostalgic reminiscence of his and his wife's more than forty

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[1] The work of Alexander Yakovlev is virtually unknown in the West. His prolific landscape painting and portraits of people in the Northern Areas of Pakistan date to a very short period in 1931-32, when he accompanied a most unusual expedition (the so-called "Yellow expedition") sponsored by the car manufacturer Citroën to promote its P17 Kégresse track vehicles.

years' experience in and of the region,[2] initially inspired "by imperialism theory and dependency debates to explain relations between colonisers and colonised, and to analyse asymmetries, deformations and marginalisation in world economic relations" (p. 10) and subsequently by a deep love of and respect for the simple and hospitable (and ultimately wise) people of the region.

Despite—or perhaps because of—his scholarly approach, Kreutzmann's work is all about historical and political context. The history of Hunza has centered on control of and access to this remote region. From perceived Russian threats to British India in the 19th c., to contemporary concerns about the role of China in the region, the Northern Areas of Pakistan, and Hunza in particular, have been subjected to policies that had very little, if anything, to do with the interests of their inhabitants, a situation made worse by the stalemate in the Jammu-Kashmir conflict and the failure of the Pakistan government to settle the status of the region. He writes:

> The dispute constellation has left the region stigmatised as part of an unsolved South Asian crisis that has led to ambiguity under international law and created a constitutional limbo that limits political leverage and participation in decision-making. (p. 9)

The language is sometimes problematic for the non-specialist reader: "An alleged vectorial entropy could be understood in energetic categories as an accumulative unilinear direction of modernisation processes." The author rapidly returns, however, to the main focus of his work, namely, a refutation of the perception that "world history is moving from East to West, and Europe represents the final stage of world history per se" (p. 11). Kreutzmann explains that:

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[2] Kreutzmann's wife, Sabine Felmy, a scholar in her own right, reinforces, through her work, her husband's emphasis on local cultural and survival traditions (see her *Märchen und Sagen aus Hunza*, Diederichs Verlag, 1986 and *The Voice of the Nightingale: Personal Account of the Wakhi Culture in Hunza*, OUP Karachi, 1996).

Western supremacy emerged as an unchallenged and constitutional element of the modernisation process on a path without a return option. The 'demystification of Asia' implied a shift from European admiration of the culturally superior Asian continent to a region that could and/or should be forcefully conquered and economically dominated. ... The discourse about the Great Game between Russia and Great Britain has revealed actors and supporters, thinkers and policy-makers, and resulting academic affirmations of allegedly inevitable modernisation processes. (p. 11)

Kreutzmann has spent his academic career attempting to alter such world-views, and this volume is in many ways his testament from a rich and highly focused experience as educator and researcher. He observes that

> Shifting attention from the centres of decision-making and coastal ports to the interior margins and mountain peripheries allowed, for example, to place regions located in between imperial spaces and/or post-colonial states into focus. (p. 11)

The mountainous interface between Central and South Asia provided

> a rural setting in a region between the centres of decision-making. ... Suddenly the interface between China, Central and South Asia became quite a prominent space with historical depth, and the Karakoram Mountains—previously stigmatised as 'remote' and negligible—were suddenly and surprisingly placed in a central location of attention. Their geopolitical significance as contested spaces in boundary-making and providing exchange corridors was obvious even when perceived as sparsely populated valleys of insignificant economic importance. For our empirical undertakings the advantage of a mountain abode was evident: in a less crowded place there would be ample opportunities to get into close contact with actors and stakeholders. The chosen area had never been one of the mainstream examples for testing various theories in development studies and mountain research. (pp. 11-14)

At the same time, he writes:

> Beyond any academic discourse we were attracted
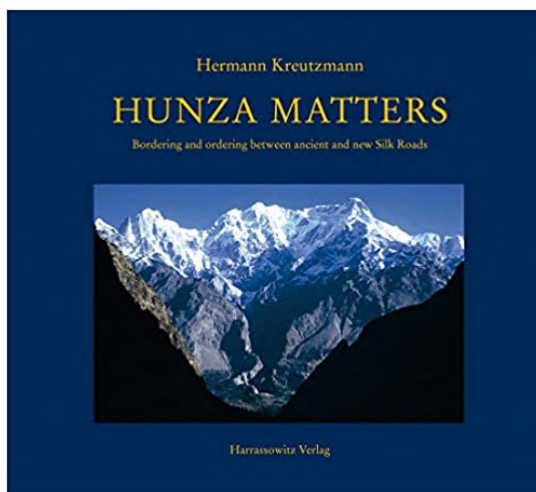
by the openness and hospitality that welcomed visitors in Pakistan. Travel opportunities provided access to rarely visited parts of the Hindukush, Karakoram and Himalaya that opened up a complex and fascinating new world to us. Available literature was quite limited and consisted of reprinted colonial travelogues and gazetteers. The body of literature was augmented by very few post-independence scholarly works from Pakistan, some anthropological studies from international researchers and a growing number of esoteric and popular accounts. The marketing and popularisation of the Hunza myth were coordinated by the authority of the *mir* of Hunza and his relatives who enjoyed the help of diplomats, journalists, travellers, writers and filmmakers. Providing a monopolistic protective screen to any visiting guest, he succeeded in promoting himself as a benevolent ruler in a happy country of centenarians[3] devoid of crime and disease, thus supporting the expectations of searchers looking for and finding a Shangri-La as a self-fulfilling prophecy. (p. 14)

Historical Perspective

Hunza Matters corrects these myths and redefines the historical and contemporary perspective:

By the middle of the 19th century, the Hunza road seemed to represent the hope for an alternative access from Kashmir to Kashgar and an opportunity to control a larger area of the northwest of the continent. British India and Kashmir were the dominant forces in this endeavour to enter an area that had managed to maintain its autonomy by preserving a difficult physical approach.[4] (p. 59)

The Russians, however, were rapidly expanding their influence and control in Central Asia, and the prospect of a Russian attack on India seemed increasingly plausible, despite the manifest impracticability of the local "roads." Even Francis Younghusband, the archetypal Great Game player, considered that the route could not be declared practicable for laden animals; moreover, "Hunza

cannot support a single man of the garrison," and he was convinced that the Russians could never send more than 500 or 600 soldiers through the Hunza valley and that their window of activity would be limited to four months at these altitudes (p. 79).

Kreutzmann comments:

Nevertheless, the promoters of a more active involvement and 'forward policy' interpreted the road conditions quite differently. Many authors supported the view of imminent danger.[5] (p. 80)

The Great Game

These fears were exacerbated by the *mir* of Hunza's warm reception in 1888 of a visit by a Russian officer. The officer in question, Colonel Bronislav Ludwigovich Grombchevsky, claimed to be on a private journey, but his "visit only contributed as a prerequisite for the hawks of the *raj* to promote an immediate conquest of Hunza and Nagar" (p. 94).

Kreutzmann gives credence to Grombchevsky's claim that his visit was private, but alarm bells had sounded and a military force was sent into Hunza in 1891. The campaign lasted less than a month; the *mir* fled to China and his half-brother was installed as a British puppet. Kreutzmann notes:

The military defeat and the loss of sovereignty reversed the attitudes of the inhabitants of the valley towards the British. (p. 93)

Subsequent wiser counsels led to the 1907 border agreement between the British and the Russians. As Kreutzmann observes,

The successors of these last warriors of the Great Game enjoyed a professional form of cooperation. The mountain area, which had functioned as a buffer zone between British India and Russia, now became an area of common interest and communication. (p. 96)

However, much changed with the October revolution in Russia. From 1893 a track from Osh in Kyrgystan had been created to supply the Russian base in Murghab in the Pamirs,[6] but, in 1933, under

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[3] One of my colleagues at the Aga Khan Foundation recounted having met an ancient inhabitant who proudly announced that he was 85. Two years later, my colleague overheard the same inhabitant describing to a tourist that he was 95. Confronted on it, he replied that "the tourists like it better that way."

[4] The 3rd century Chinese traveller, Yu Huan, confirmed the difficulty of the routes to the West: the southern branch went "through the Congling [the Pamirs], and through the Xuandu [the "Hanging Passages"].

[5] See Robert Middleton, *The Great Game - Myth or Reality?*, University of Central Asia, Research Paper #1, 2019 (https://www.ucentralasia.org/Content/Downloads/CHHU%20RP%201.pdf).

[6] In 1914, the Russian Commander in Khorog, Grigori Andreevich Shpilko, arranged the transport of a piano from Osh

the Soviet régime, a fully paved road was opened between Osh and the town of Khorog, the new capital of the Soviet Pamirs. These Soviet infrastructure achievements obliged the British to redefine their strategy:

> It took three decades to change the public attitude and opinion towards a highly competitive drive to win the loyalty of the Hunza rulers and to present the results as the winning streak in a gentlemen's game in the Karakoram. The political implications had been controversially discussed in diplomatic and intelligence circles. Finally, the proponents of the control of the 'Northern Frontier' had succeeded in integrating the mountain region into British colonial control limited by international boundaries; consequently, they would promote the implementation of an adequate infrastructure. (p. 97)

Infrastructure

If the Russians and Soviets were single-minded in the development of the infrastructure in the Pamirs and devoted at an early stage vast resources to its development and expansion, the British (and, subsequently, the independent state of Pakistan) were more ambivalent. Initially conceived with a view to "pacification" of the region, improved road connections to Hunza raised inevitably the question of China's intentions in the region. From the time of the 1907 Anglo-Russian border settlement, possible Russian invasion plans were no longer an issue. However, "the gateway to the Karakoram mountains was wide open, though on difficult tracks in a challenging terrain. ... Consequently, the British authorities were contemplating another upcoming competition: how to cope with it and what would be the best and safest link between British India and the Kashgar oasis" (pp. 102-3).

In 1928, Sir Evelyn Howell, Foreign Secretary to the government of India, described the main considerations as military and stated British policy "to make the Hunza, little Gujhal road, good enough for a trickle of trade but not so good as to destroy what was then held to be the strategical factor" (p. 124).

The establishment of air communications from Dushanbe (then Stalinabad) to the Pamirs in 1932 led the British to intensify work on air links from the South to the Northern Areas:

> Anglo-Soviet competition and different air routings became obvious when in the summer of 1935 an outbreak of 'pneumonic plague' occurred in Kashgar. ... The British authorities flew the serum from India to Gilgit airport from where runners took fifteen days to deliver it at Kashgar. ... Russian medicine and specialists ... were flown from Moscow via Tashkent and had the easier access by avoiding the high and steep Himalayan and Karakoram passes. (p. 126)

However,

> In general, air lifting with the state-of-the-art technology of the first half of the 20th century could not fulfil the demands of material transport required for the supply of administrative and military stations, and for trade and commerce. In awareness of the immediate demand for modern traffic in the mountains, the quest for roads on the ground continued as imperial demands for territorial control grew and political confrontation in Central Asia increased. Flight connections did not take off on a big scale until today. The two operating airports in Northern Pakistan—Gilgit and Skardu—annually served between thirty to forty thousand civilian and military passengers at the beginning of the 21st century. The hope of replacing ground transport by air services never materialised. (p. 129)

In the absence of a motor road, the British authorities did, however, initiate some development activities, although half a century later than their Russian counterparts in the Pamirs.[7] In 1936, a "Rural Uplift Gilgit" program was started, which Kreutzmann describes as "the beginning of rural development activities that are not far off from measures and packages that are discussed in recent programmes" (p. 150). Both imperial powers pursued similar ideas in fostering local agricultural production, but

> in terms of transport infrastructure they were heading in different directions. After the October Revolution in the neighbouring Soviet Union the commencement of reforms and infrastructure devel-

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to Khorog. It was brought by cart on the track to Murghab, and then the remaining three hundred kilometres by some twenty bearers. It now has pride of place in the Khorog museum.

[7] See Robert Middleton, *Russians in the Great Game*, University of Central Asia, Research Paper #2, August 2019 (https://www.ucentralasia.org/Content/Downloads/CHHU-RP2.pdf).

opment posed significant ideological and political challenges in an environment where British India was not leading technological advancements, especially when it came to motor roads and railways.[8] (p. 151)

China-Pakistan Relations

At the same time, for yet different reasons, Hunza again became central to British strategical thinking. As Kreutzmann observes,

> The 1930s developed into a period of turmoil and rebellion in Xinjiang. During this exciting time, the trade routes between British India and Xinjiang were often interrupted or closed. Trade from Gilgit to Yarkand more or less ceased to exist; so-called Indian traders—Shikarpuri, Pathan, Kashmiri and sometimes Afghans—lost their properties, were expropriated and expelled by Xinjiang's Soviet-backed warlord Sheng Shicai. Regularly refugees would cross the Kilik and Mintaka passes on their exodus from Xinjiang and find their first shelter in Hunza before proceeding to Gilgit. The British authorities had urged *mir* M. Nazim Khan to terminate his loyalty to the Chinese authorities in Yarkand and to abandon their annual gift exchange. The reasoning was not much concerned with Hunza itself, but they feared that in the probably inevitable conquest by Soviet troops of Xinjiang, including the Taghdumbash Pamir, a confrontation could occur that was to be avoided by all means. The maintenance of buffer zones between British India and the Soviet Union would then collapse. (p. 155)

Questions inevitably arose concerning the loyalty of the *mir*. Once again, the development of Hunza was made subordinate to great power strategy.

Paradoxically, in the 1940s, strategic considerations led in the opposite direction:

> The issue of constructing a motor road was now embedded in a comprehensive strategy to backstop Guomindang rule in Xinjiang and fend off separatist Turkish movements. Consequently, the plan of having a trans-mountainous motor road matured. (p. 161)

Despite the obvious advantages for the people of Hunza, the plan never materialised because its completion would have been too late to provide any "substantial advantage to the prosecution of the war" (p. 165).[9]

Kreutzmann concludes:

> The voices of the affected mountain dwellers remained unheard: a constellation that has changed only little since. ... Favourable conditions for the implementation of such a costly and challenging project needed further changes in the structure of regional politics. The major road link between the Grand Trunk Road of South Asia and the Central Asian highways was realised only after Pakistan's independence and the Chinese revolution. Connecting the Grand Trunk Road with the southern Silk Road became feasible when Pakistan and China joined forces in a symbolic and strategic effort to fend off a common enemy. (p. 166)

The former Anglo-Russian confrontation was replaced by an enduring Indo-Pakistan conflict over the status of Kashmir. The conclusion of the Sino-Pakistan Frontier Agreement in 1963 gave impetus to the construction of the Karakoram (or China-Pakistan Friendship) Highway, begun in 1959 and opened in 1979. The current Chinese "Belt and Road Initiative" continues the same strategy, and today "Hunza occupies a special position as the hub for Central Asian trade and entrepôt for China" (p. 188).

If this is an indication of a new Great Game being played out in Central and South Asia, it is clear who already has the strategic advantage. Hunza is one of the main beneficiaries. Kreutzmann points out, however, that

> The impression prevails that a road that was built mainly for military and strategic purposes would only reluctantly initiate additional utilisations and value-generation on both sides. (p. 192)

Economic Development and Rural Support

During the short political career of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1973-1979), the government of Pakistan took limited steps to improve the status of Hunza. In 1974, Bhutto decreed the end of the Hunza state and its merger with Pakistan, at the same time announcing reforms in land ownership. However, as Kreutzmann points out, "in Hunza and Nagar no land was distributed among the landless" (p. 187).

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[8] By 1889, the Russians had already completed a railway line from the Caspian to Tashkent. As previously noted, a supply line from Kyrgyzstan to the Pamirs in the form of a paved road was opened in 1933. A similar connection from Dushanbe was completed in 1940.

[9] Quoted by Kreutzmann from a Memorandum by the "Government of India's Road Engineers," October 1944.

A major natural disaster in 2010 brought sharply into focus the neglect of Hunza by the central government authorities. On January 4, a massive rock-fall blocked the Hunza valley at Atabad, causing 20 deaths and leading to the formation of a lake that effectively cut off human settlements to the north, leaving communities to cope as best they could. Kreutzmann comments:

> This singular event was of a dimension that has affected all considerations about safety and security for habitations, impacted on activities in road-building, communication infrastructure and supply lines, and created a challenge for public disaster management institutions that seemed unprepared for such events and have been blamed and cursed for their disastrous performance since. (p. 223)

In the absence of adequate government support, the World Food Programme and a number of Aga Khan agencies stepped in to support the residents until water transport services could be organised on the new lake.

This highlights the fact that the substantial presence in Hunza of Aga Khan institutions since 1946 (schools, health, house-building, and finance) and, from 1982, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, has greatly contributed to modernization of the region and improvement in living conditions. Kreutzmann's unrelenting focus, however, is on the individual human component of development, which he does not find in "conventional" approaches that emphasise isolation as a negative factor rather than a component of cultural identity. He questions the

> conventional approach [that] followed a dual principle in attributing societal stagnation to 'tradition'. In a first approach it did not distinguish among mountain people between poor and rich, between landed and landless, between members of different denominational groups with their own communal setups and structures. ... A description of isolation is quite surprising and seems out of date in an environment where people have been traders and migrants for centuries. (p. 257)

In the same context, Kreutzmann criticizes the guiding philosophy of the Aga Khan network:

> The transition from 'cooperative capitalism' to 'corporate globality' might be an appropriate description for how change is promoted and implemented in Gilgit-Baltistan and in Hunza in times of globali-

sation and neoliberalism. The advantages of community-based cooperatives seem to have translated into communication and network structures that have transgressed national bound¬aries and spanned continents. The historical and political contexts have changed from colonial to post-colonial; nevertheless, the forces of developmentalism and modernisation persist and prevail. (p. 461)

And again:

> The colonial-communal joint venture has critically influenced developments within Hunza and external interventions during the imperial age. The evidence presented here has underlined how the two major forces of modernisation—British colonialism and Ismaili reformism—have shaped an assemblage of various fields. Modernisation as a developmentalist model disguises itself in various designs as the blueprint for change; the powerful concept not only survived the fight for independence but also seems to have remained the major structuring agency and successful tool reinforced by private and state-run development programmes. (p. 462)

For Kreutzmann,

> Modernisation is here reflected as leading to inertia although modernisation theory claims to overcome stagnation in 'traditional' societies. The effort to provide a role model for modern development that is applicable in all Ismaili settlement regions might have caused a highly abstract modernisation strategy that has neglected local conditions and preferences for the purpose of main-streaming a diverse community along the lines of the dominant *khoja* group.[10] (p. 462)

It is not my intention in this review to take part in a debate about development policies, or "developmentalism." I would note, however, that it is easy to ignore three central factors in the strategy of the Ismaili Imam. In the first instance, by not limiting his interventions to his own followers, the Aga Khan has reduced conflict potential between the religious communities in the areas where his institutions work, thus protecting the interests of the Ismailis who are everywhere in a minority in the national and regional context.[11] Secondly, by his high-profile presence as a "head of state without a

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[10] In mentioning the dominant "khoja" group, Kreutzmann refers principally to the Ismaili community in the urban centres of the sub-continent—and immigrants from this community to western countries.
[11] Except in the Tajik Pamirs.

state," he has access to centers of power that would not otherwise take cognizance of the needs of remote communities. Lastly, and perhaps most important, secular western authors very much underestimate the role of faith in mobilising communities: the rapid transition from Soviet farms to private farming in the Pamirs (and accompanying significant crop yields and improvements in self-sufficiency), for example, was greatly aided by the conviction that this was the will of the imam.

I have seen with my own eyes the increased dignity and self-confidence of the communities served by the Aga Khan network in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, in the Pamirs of Tajikistan, and in Gujarat. We are here at the heart of the philosophy of development. At its simplest level, from my own dialogues with villagers in the Pamirs there emerged clear and unprompted priorities for communities: adequate food ("there is a danger of famine, help us increase our crop production"), electricity ("otherwise we live like animals, following the sun" and "our children die on the steep slopes collecting firewood"), water supply ("we women have to walk long distances to fetch water"). At one level, it can indeed be argued that modernization leads to a loss of specific cultural identity: supply of electricity turns on the TV sets and people sing and dance less; market forces create societal tensions; the walk to the river was an opportunity for discussions among women that may now be lost. At another level, the definition of Aga Khan program objectives is today firmly based on the express wishes of the people in the target areas.

It is true that, in the Tajik Pamirs, the Aga Khan Foundation started with a much more egalitarian society with less social stratification and a higher level of local education, both resulting from Soviet policies. This facilitated an open and participatory dialogue. Kreutzmann's argument is that in Hunza it has taken much longer to weaken entrenched hierarchical and authoritarian structures that date from pre-colonial times and were reinforced during the colonial period. He argues that, in the past, the Aga Khan institutions and their *khoja* leadership may have, perhaps unintentionally, reinforced these structures:

> In terms of participation, the process of implementing new rules and regulations conflicted with inherited power structures and traditional influence by elite groups. (p. 460)

More recently, these institutions have "offered well-educated and trained people opportunities to influence their chances of prosperity and well-being; besides politics, this was the most effective avenue for social mobility and transformation" (p. 460). Many choose to return and put their acquired skills at the disposal of their community—this is the most powerful agent of change.

The title chosen by Kreutzmann is a play on words that declares his intentions: for him, indeed, Hunza matters.

- Robert Middleton

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The Sogdians: Influencers on the Silk Roads. A digital exhibition hosted by the **Freer and Sackler Galleries, part of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C.**
http://sogdians.si.edu

This digital exhibition launched in April 2019, but it is still interesting to invite readers to explore the incredible depth and width on offer here, which may not be apparent at first sight to everyone.[1] This is the first exhibition on the Sogdians in any format (as we shall see below, the project started as a real exhibition). I am not sure whether this digital exhibition has received sufficient publicity, although it was announced on several scholarly blogs and platforms. It is extremely important and very enjoyable to view, and the result of years of very carefully weighed work by the best scholars in this field.

[1] This project has been curated by Thomas Wide (Smithsonian Institution), Judith A. Lerner (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, NYU), and Kimon Keramidas (XE: Experimental Humanities & Social Engagement, NYU). The exhibition team has comprised Sana Mirza (Freer|Sackler), Julie Bellemare (Bard Graduate Center), and Matthew Dischner (independent scholar). The initial idea for this project came from Julian Raby, Director Emeritus of the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. See also https://asia.si.edu/the-sogdians-influencers-on-the-silk-roads/

THE SOGDIANS
Influencers on the Silk Roads

Explore the life, art, and influence of the
greatest traders of the Silk Roads

Although I have been returning to it, like to a much-loved handbook since its launch, it is only now when writing this review and systematically looking through the various options, that I have realized the extreme depth of this undertaking. We are now, after a year of lockdown and closed museums, used to digital exhibitions, but this one is not like other examples known to me. The site offers an amazing wealth of visual material in the highest possible quality and with good visual options (such as being able to point to zoom in and find out more[2]), with 3-D scans provided by the science lab of the Hermitage.[3] This allows you to turn the object and zoom in and see details of, for example, the technology as if it were under a magnifying glass. Sweeping landscapes are linked to maps, and in fact I have never seen so many maps (apparently 85)—every time a geographical name appears, an optional map is beside it. Also, 25 objects are highlighted and described in detail, and videos give

even more insight to some of the objects. For example, Keith Wilson shows us two beautiful metal bowls from the Freer-Sackler collection: one Sogdian and one Chinese. Enlarged images, vintage footage from the sites, and a modern drone flight above an archaeological site are also included, as are sound recordings of music. Still, despite all these qualities I would be tempted to call this a ground-breaking new type of digital book, one where you do not have to read from the first page to the last (although you can), but rather can take any number of routes and options.

The format seems to perfectly match the content: not centralised, more similar to a network, like the Sogdians themselves preferred. We learn that the Sogdians never had an empire, but instead established trading colonies, with their language becoming the *lingua franca* of the trade routes that we now refer to as the Silk Roads. They were tolerant of all religions known then in the area and transmitted them along the trade routes acting as translators. Their script became a model for the Uygur script and later this in turn became a model for Mongol and Manchu—looking at it this way, elements of the Sogdian cultural model survived into modern times. In a video, Sören Stark explains how the interplay of nomads and sedentary civilizations were more consequential than empires.

[2] See, for example, Figs. 25-31. Click on the hotspots to view details of the Blue Hall mural and read about the various episodes in the story of Rustam. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, SA-15901-15904. Below the Rustam cycle, approximately thirty panels contained scenes from Hindu animal fables of the *Panchatantra*, Buddhist *Jataka* tales, and Aesop's fables. These last had their roots not only in ancient Greece, but also in the West and farther east, in Asia.
[3] https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/news/news-item/news/2019/news_102_19/?lng=

FIGS. 25–31 Click on the hotspots to view details of the Blue Hall mural and read about the various episodes in the story of Rustam. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, SA-15901-15904. View object page →
Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

The Sogdians were "between Empires."

Judith Lerner, lead curator of the project, introduces the Sogdians as "influencers" of their time in a video and talks about her favourite object in another. "Perhaps the most striking feature of these discoveries is the sheer *variety* of beliefs that existed in Sogdiana: Mazdaism (Zoroastrianism), Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Shaivism, Judaism, and Manichaeism. This suggests that the Sogdians brought the same sense of tolerance, openness, and creativity to their practices of religion as they did to their arts."[4]

The website emphasizes in a balanced way this modern aspect of the Sogdians. "Every religion except Buddhism" was practiced by them in their homeland, says Frantz Grenet in a video. But when they were far from home, the transmission of Buddhism was also one of their main roles, as it is explained in several important videos by Nicholas Sims-Williams, who has shaped our knowledge of Sogdians and their language in a decisive way since his PhD dissertation on Sogdian Christian texts. In a sub-chapter on the Sogdian language written by him we can see all important text types and scripts listed. Experts of the Sogdians explain the most important aspects in the videos.

In the last couple of years, I have come back to this site repeatedly to read about the Sogdian funerary beds that became so famous in the last twenty years since their discoveries in Chinese archaeological sites, and especially to zoom in and look at the detail in the excellent images, such as Wirkak (also known by his Chinese name as Shi Jun 史君, who died in 579)[5] crossing the Chinvat Bridge, where a beautiful maiden awaits him and his caravan to lead him safely across due to his good deeds (if he had been bad he would see an old hag, the bridge would narrow and he would fall off, and in the dangerous waves monsters await him). This scene had only been known from textual sources before the discovery of Wirkak's tomb near Xi'an in 2003. I also re-visited the digital exhibition to learn more about the typical clothing of the Sogdians, the kaftans—as I was preparing the donor paintings of Kizil Cave 8 for conservation and reconstruction in the Humboldt Forum, where they are now being prepared for an opening scheduled for autumn of this year.[6]

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[4] https://sogdians.si.edu/believers-proselytizers-translators/

[5] https://sogdians.si.edu/shi-juns-sarcophagus/

[6] For the Humboldt Forum, see Lilla Russell-Smith, "Berlin's 'Turfan Collection' Moves to the Center," *The Silk Road* 13 (2015): 153–57 + Pls. V-VI. The Tocharian donors wear very
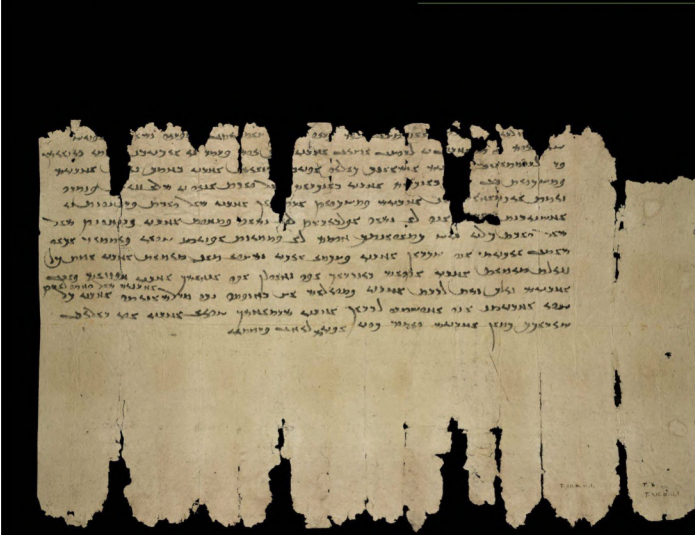
FIG. 5　Sogdian Ancient Letter 1. 4th century CE. Discovered in 1907 at watchtower (T.XII.A), west of Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu Province, China. Ink on paper; H. 42 × W. 24.3 cm.　View object page →
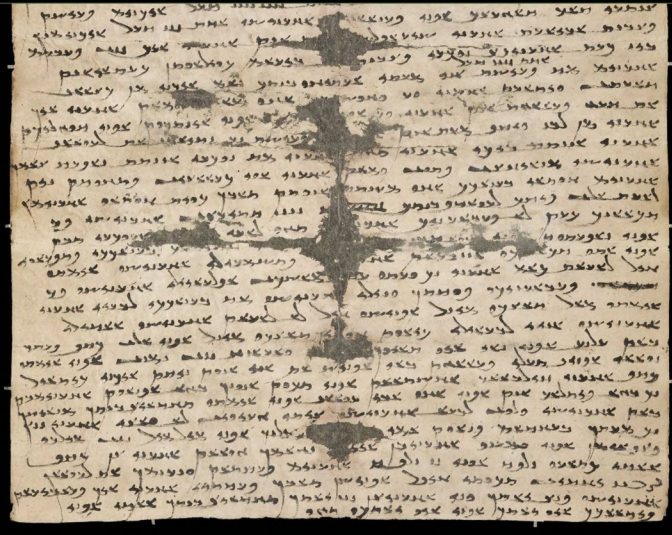© The British Library Board, Or. 8212/92.

FIG. 6　Sogdian Ancient Letter 2, 312 or 313 CE. Discovered in 1907 at watchtower (T.XII.A), west of Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu Province, China. Ink on paper; H. 42 × W. 24.3 cm.　View object page →
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Chinese representations of Sogdians caricatured them (especially showing them as grooms, musicians, and other people of lower status) as having large noses and round eyes, and being heavy-set and generally comical or "barbaric" in appearance. In contrast, the Sogdians depicted themselves as elegant people, with fine features, dressed in silk kaftans.[7] In one of the shorter essays, Betty Hensellek writes about the banquets and the clothes of these elegant figures depicted in wall paintings, which are today in the Hermitage.

Snippets illustrating the depth include the observation that more coins with Christian symbols have been found around Bukhara than anywhere else in Central Asia, which suggests to Aleksandr Naymark that the issuing authority was Christian. And yet the text remains very readable. Due to so many detailed sources, unexpected surprises await the reader, such as a map of the Otani expeditions.[8] This digital exhibition invites you to dive in, enjoy details, and come back another time, which is what I have been doing in the past two years from time to time.

But it is only now, preparing this review, that I noticed that not only is every statement backed up by sources in the references, but also that these are all

put together into a Zotero reading list of over 300 items, which are open source and available to everyone.[9] This is like a starter study kit about the Sogdians, put together by the absolute authorities in the field!

This project started as an idea by Julian Raby, then director of the Freer-Sackler Gallery, to organise a real exhibition about the Sogdians ten years ago. Judith Lerner tells the story in a video, including holding a conference during a hurricane in 2012. As a result, not everyone in Washington D.C. could take part.[10] A second conference followed in January 2014 in Hangzhou. But in February 2014 the Crimea was annexed by Russia, and, despite the close involvement of Pavel Lurje (head of Central Asia Department at the Hermitage and an excavator in Panjikent and other sites), it became very unlikely that loans of real objects would be possible.[11]

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similar kaftans influenced by Sogdian art.
[7] Fig. 42, Fig. 43.
[8] https://sogdians.si.edu/the-rediscovery-of-the-sogdians/

[9] https://www.zotero.org/groups/2132759/freersackler_sogdian_project/library
[10] Judith Lerner explains in an excellent lecture available on the Friends of the Silk Road Museum YouTube Chanel how this project came about and the most important points (June 22, 2019): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0s0AUiJc-Qss&list=PLGVlY9SCbAsNrTqUOAklx6Ae2ey26fzol&index=7. Another earlier lecture (October 19, 2018) was hosted by the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y6zKxdNQqr4.
[11] https://sogdians.si.edu/sidebars/the-castle-on-mount-mugh-and-its-documents-exemplified-by-letter-v-18/

Once it became clear that the project would go digital rather than being a real exhibition, careful planning went into finding the right tone, including a seminar with students at Bard College in 2016, during which—after an introduction on the Sogdians by experts—students would write about aspects that appealed to them most, for example music.[12] This was useful as a basis for the project, which then started in 2017. According to Judith Lerner, the following topics were explored:

1. Who were the Sogdians and why do they matter?

2. Sogdians at home (introducing their material culture)

3. Religion among Sogdians

4. Sogdians abroad (in China)

5. From Nara to Nancy (Japan to France—their heritage)

6. Last days of the Sogdians—Arab conquest

7. Discovery/rediscovery, archaeological finds

They form the basis for the final five chapters that can be found on the home page.

In another section, 25 objects are introduced—perfect to get a first taste, or to learn more. These object pages are also linked into the essays. In a geo-narrative essay, we can follow the Sogdian trade route starting from Afrasiab/Samarkand all the way to Xi'an/Chang'an. Eleven "side-bar essays" give further information on topics such as banqueting, the nine Chinese surnames, the Sogdian language, and even music from the Yaghnub Valley in eastern Tajikistan, as the language used there today can be linked to Sogdian. Aurel Stein and Boris Marshak are also introduced in this section.

The site apparently hosts 362 images, far more than would ever have been possible as real objects in a real exhibition. Five are interactive or 3-D. Internet allows for the inclusion of sound, movement, and people speaking—I suppose we can do all of these in an actual exhibition with media tables or apps, but the freedom of choosing any combinations is only possible at home.

Writing the review, I discovered that it is also nice to use this website more like a book, reading every sentence, following every lead. It is easy to use on a mobile phone, which suggests that the design was especially made for this format. What appears to be a lot of information on my computer screen seems easier to navigate on the mobile screen, with attractive colors and a lot of options for getting extra information. The site combines seamlessly the scholarly aspect, acting as a digital handbook, and the popular aspect for those just scrolling through images or looking at certain aspects. So whichever way you explore, a lot of beauty and a wealth of information will tempt you to come back again and again in ways that is usually not possible after a real blockbuster exhibition.

Needless to say, that I am nowhere near the end, since there is so much material here. This project has set a new standard in digital formats, and my only worry is that this wealth of information may disappear if for some reason the Freer-Sackler Gallery would decide not to host the site anymore (the fate of so many databases and websites). But if it remains, it will give us much material to consider and follow up for many years to come, and perhaps—unlike in the case of a printed catalogue—in a future project even updates could be added in years to come. I hope other museums will also host similar detailed websites or digital exhibitions in the future, as this certainly has been a great inspiration for me. It shows institutions how, during the current pandemic, new ways can be found for hosting information. I recommend this website to everyone, whether they have never heard of the Sogdians (as implied in the introduction to the site) or whether they are looking for specialist information.

- *Lilla Russell-Smith*

[12] The website still exists: https://kimon.hosting.nyu.edu/sogdians/

Book and Journal Notices
Compiled by Daniel C. Waugh

Vostochnyi Turkestan i Mongoliia. Istoriia izucheniia v kontse XIX-pervoi treti XX veka. **T. 1.** *Epistoliarnye dokumenty iz arkhivov Rossiiskoi akademii nauk i Turfanskogo sobraniia*; **T. 2.** *Geograficheskie, arkheologicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniia (Arkhivy Rossiiskoi akademii nauk i Natsional'noi akademii nauk Kyrgyzskoi Respubliki)*; **T. 3.** *Pervaia Russkaia Turkestanskaia ekspeditsiia 1909–1910 gg. akademika S. F. Ol'denburga. Fotoarkhiv iz sobraniia Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei Rossiiskoi akademii nauk*; **T. 4.** *Materialy russkikh turkestanskikh ekspeditsii 1909-1910 i 1914-1915 gg. akademika S. F. Ol'denburga*; **T. 5.** *Vtoraia Russkaia Turkestanskaia ekspeditsiia 1914-1915 gg.*: **S. F. Ol'denburg.** *Opisanie peshcher Chan-fo-duna bliz Dun'khuana* **[Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia. History of Exploration at the End of the XIX–First Third of the XX Century. Vol. 1. Correspondence from the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Turfan Collection; Vol. 2. Geographical, Archaeological and Historical Investigations (Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Sciences of Kyrghyz Republic); Vol. 3. The First Russian Turkestan Expedition of S. F. Oldenburg (1909–1910). Photoarchive from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Vol. 4. Materials of Academician S. F. Ol'denburg's Russian Turkestan expeditions 1909-1910 and 1914-1915; Vol. 5. The Second Russian Turkestan Expedition 1914-1915: S. F. Ol'denburg. Description of the Mogao / Qianfodong [千佛洞] grottoes near Dunhuang.] Ed. by M. D. Bukharin et al. Moskva: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 2018. 703, 707, 530 pp. ISBN 978-5-88451-363-1; -364-8; -365-5; Vols. 4, 5: Moskva: Indrik, 2020. 656, 856 pp. ISBN 978-5-91674-587-0; -588-7.**

These magnificent volumes belong in any library with a serious focus on the history of exploration and the historic Silk Roads. Increasingly in recent years, the archives and collections in Russia have been unveiling some of the sources which too often have escaped the notice of scholars who either could not obtain access and/or do not read Russian. The chief editor and contributor, Mikhail Dmitrievich Bukharin, who has already been recognized with prestigious awards from several international academic societies, has made available here a true cornucopia overflowing with riches.

Volume 1 contains:

An introductory essay by M. D. Bukharin on the history of the study of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Correspondence of N. F. Petrovskii, V. R. Rozen and S. F. Ol'denburg with others, most of whom are familiar names in the history of discoveries in Central Asia. The publication a few years ago of letters written by Petrovskii, the long-time first Russian consul in Kashgar, omitted ones pertaining to the acquisition of antiquities; so we find them now here. The few letters in this collection written by George Macartney (the British consul), Albert Grünwedel, and Aurel Stein are given both in their original French and in Russian translation. Johan-Georg Bühler's letters to Ol'denburg and F. I. Shcherbatskii are in the original German and in Russian translation.

Correspondence and other documents relating to the First and Third Imperial Prussian Turfan Expeditions (1902–1903; 1905–1907), including a lot written by Grünwedel, published here in the German original and in Russian translation.

Correspondence relating to the expedition of M. M. Berezovskii (1905–1907).

Letters of P. K. Kozlov to S. F. Ol'denburg from the former's expeditions of 1907–1909 and 1923–1926. Recent years have seen the publication of Kozlov's diaries from these expeditions, the second of which included the excavations at Noyon uul for which we now have Elikhina's catalog of the finds (see my annotation below).

Correspondence with Ol'denburg relating to his Turkestan expeditions of 1909–1910 and 1914-1915.

Letters from S. E. Malov to Ol'denburg, from the former's expeditions of 1909–1911 and 1913–1915.

A section of additional letters, including ones of Albert von Le Coq and Aurel Stein (his originals in

English).

Volume 2 contains:

An essay by Bukharin, I. F. Popova and I. V. Tunkina on the Russian Turkestan expeditions of 1909–1910 and 1914–1915.

A report on the geography of Kashgaria written by the secretary of the Russian consulate in Kashgar, Mikhail Ivanovich Lavrov (1902–1906). Detailed segments from modern maps have been inserted here in several places to illustrate what he describes.

The diary and photo archive of D. A. Klements from his 1898 Turfan expedition. There is a rich collection of 106 photos, generally well produced, though one wonders whether a bit more work might have brought up details in shadow. Of course it is hard to know with old photos whether that can help. Here and in the publication of the other expedition diaries, there are photos of the sketches by the authors which dot their pages.

M. M. Berezovskii's expedition diary from 1907.

From the 1909–1910 Turkestan expedition, Ol'denburg's notebook and diary and excerpts from a diary kept by S. M. Dudin.

Essays by Ol'denburg, "The scientific expedition," and V. V. Bartol'd, "Historical significance of ancient Türk inscriptions."

Volume 3 contains 510 photographs in the archive of Ol'denburg's Turkestan expedition of 1909–1910. A remarkable collection including some images of modern temples and towns, landscapes, and of course a huge number of historic ruins, including images of Buddhist murals then still *in situ*.

Volumes 4 and 5 (which I have not yet seen) contain the materials of Ol'denburg's 1909-1910 and 1914-1915 Turkestan expeditions, including (in Vol. 5), his description of the Mogao grottoes near Dunhuang, and archival materials relating to the plans for publishing his material.

The volumes include bibliographies and indexes.

Note: For reviews and book notices of other Russian publications from or concerning their archival collections, see *The Silk Road* 9 (2011): 162–164; 11 (2013): 217–220; 13 (2015): 187–188; 15 (2017): 178

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Iuliia Elikhina. *Sokrovishcha kurganov Noin-Uly (Severnaia Mongoliia). Nakhodki eksped-itsii P. K. Kozlova 1923–1926 gg., khrani-ashchiesia v Gosudarstvennom Ermitazhe* [Treasures of the Noyon uul barrows (Northern Mongolia). Finds from the expedition of P. K. Kozlov in 1923–1926, housed in the State Hermitage]. Beau Bassin, Mauritius: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018. 309 pp. ISBN 978-613-9-38745-9.

Iu. I. Elikhina, *Ermitazh dakh' Noen uulyn er-denes: P. K. Kozlovyn shinzhyilgeenii angi – 1924-1926.* Ed. by S. Chuluun. Ulaanbaatar, 2017. 368 pp. ISBN 978-99978-854-4-9.

(Pdfs of both books may be downloaded from the author's Academia.edu web page: https://independent.academia.edu/Elikhina-Julia.)

A long last, we have a thorough catalog of the Hermitage Museum collection of artefacts from the excavations undertaken at the important Noyon uul cemetery complex in Northern Mongolia by the expedition led by P. K. Kozlov in 1923–1926. However, the form in which the catalog has now been published leaves us with an important desideratum, to have it appear in English with quality reproduction of all the photographs. What we have here are two substantially different versions of what the collection's curator, Iuliia Igorevna Elikhina, has accomplished.

The Mongolian version (which I cannot read) opens with a 50-page synthesis of information about the graves, the burial rituals and the various objects, grouped by type (different types of textiles, hair, wood, etc.). Following this is a properly organized catalog with all the finds from each of the several tombs grouped by tomb, all illustrated with photographs and with descriptive data that includes references to where they may previously have been published. At the end of the catalog is a short section co-authored by Elikhina and the late Sergei Miniaev regarding the technical analysis of the finds. The illustrations are large enough to show detail, though, unfortunately, at least in the pdf version I have, a good many of the images are pixelated, perhaps a result of reducing the size of the pdf file.

The book in Russian has the text of the synthesis, into which have been inserted thumbnail-size images, many reproduced so small and in muddy

black-and-white so as to be useless. (The pdf version shows them in color, with better detail.) Whereas in the Mongolian catalog, the cross-references to the objects in the discussion are all to the catalog numbers, in the Russian text, the cross-references are to the Hermitage Inventory numbers. While the Russian book contains the essays on technical analysis by Elikhina and Miniaev (which have been published separately as well), it includes other essays on technical analysis not in the Mongolian book: M. I. Kolosova, identifying the wood species; O. G. Novikova and S. V. Khavrin with chemical analysis of the lacquerware; analysis of the dyes in some of the textiles; technical description of textiles (weave structure, fibers) by Ch. Moulherat; fiber analysis by Moulherat and M. Radepont, with a tabulation of results for hair samples; analysis of fur. Both books include a listing of skeletal remains, human and animal. Apparently, the work by the two French scholars is a translation from articles previously published in French. The Russian text concludes with a very valuable inventory listing for each grave of what was recorded by the excavators but here corrected by taking into account the division of the artefacts by which part of the material was deposited in the National Museum of Mongolia and not in the Hermitage. An uncorrected version of this had been published in S. I. Rudenko's 1962 book on the Noyon uul excavations. Both the Russian and Mongolian books have a useful glossary.

The book in Russian needed better editing (for one, the page numbers in the Table of Contents are out of whack) and better production values. It is surprising that the Hermitage apparently has not yet chosen to produce a version of the entire catalog with the high-quality printing one finds in many of its exhibition catalogs.

As a footnote here, for those who would wish to see the current display of the Noyon uul artefacts (one room), the Hermitage has been creating a series of videos ("Hermitage Online," available first live, and inviting viewers to submit questions that then can be answered by the curator; then made available for subsequent viewing). Clearly this is an attempt to make some of the collections of the museum available in pandemic times when visits in person have been impossible.

So we have (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ynh2owE3FmM), "The burials of the nomadic Xiongnu in the north of Mongolia. The treasures of Noyon uul," with curator Natal'ia Aleksandrovna Sutiagina of the Oriental Section of the Hermitage, which first was streamed live on 16 June 2020. The presentation here is clear enough (for those who understand Russian), though it might have been more tightly scripted. Sutiagina is obviously well informed. The arrangement has her with a host who introduces the event and occasionally prompts with questions. One camera shows the wider views of the room with the two of them and another photographer (apparently using a mobile on a selfie stick) who does the closeups of the objects in the cases. The camera work is uneven at best, and the reflections off the glass of the cases sometimes interferes. It is impressive how good a sampling of the collection is currently displayed, with some of the most important textiles, chariot fittings, horse harness fittings, fragments of gold work, etc. One can, however, imagine ways that introducing some supplementary material would have been informative. For example, the old display years ago had a little model of one of the burial chambers, which very nicely would help explain tomb structure. Maps and other diagrams might have helped those new to the material. Were one to have the catalog entries and been able to match them with what the video shows, the experience could have been enriched. For those who may eventually get to see the objects in the museum, it appears that there is English captioning in the displays.

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Paul D. Buell, E. N. Anderson, Montserrat de Pablo Moya, and Moldir Oskenbay. *Crossroads of Cuisine: The Eurasian Heartland, the Silk Roads and Food*. Ser.: Crossroads—History of Interactions across the Silk Routes, Vol. 2. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020. xii + 340 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-43205-5; -43210-9 (e-book).

Obviously intended as a book for a broad audience, this volume offers a full plate of delectable morsels, drawing heavily on more detailed studies by Buell and Anderson. Roughly half of the volume deals with such topics as geography and climate, socio-economic factors, and the framework of po-

litical history. The second half of the book focuses on foods in the region today. There are some nice color photos, lots of recipes (including ones drawn from historic texts), lengthy quotations from descriptive and travel accounts (some of which would be inaccessible to most readers but for Buell's translations).

In fact there is so much here, packed into a comparatively small space, that the presumed general reader may at times be overwhelmed by lists, facts, sometimes glib generalizations, and digressions which a good editor might have suggested be removed to notes, etc. That said, if Brill would only produce an inexpensive paperback version of the book, the eager public that feasts on Silk Road topics and wants to add a new dimension to that knowledge would certainly find it worth buying.

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Alison V. G. Betts, Marika Vicziany, Peter Jia and Angelo Andrea Di Castro, eds. *The Cultures of Ancient Xinjiang, Western China: Crossroads of the Silk Roads*. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2019. viii + 205 pp. ISBN 978-1-78969-406-2; -407-9 (e-book).

This large format volume, lavishly illustrated with drawings, maps, and photographs (most in color) on art paper, is full of interesting articles which summarize recent scholarship and point the way to the research of the future. The book has been described by Victor Mair as "a major achievement in Xinjiang archaeology." For specific comments on two of the articles, see my Kashgar photo essay in this number of *The Silk Road*. Here, I shall just list the titles:

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Jeffrey D. Lerner and Yaohua Shi, eds. *Silk Roads: From Local Realities to Global Narratives*. Oxford; Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2020. xiv +297 pp. ISBN 978-1-78925-470-9; -471-6 (e-book).

Based on a two-year project that culminated in a conference at Wake Forest University in March 2019, this volume spans a huge chronology from a range of disciplinary perspectives. The material is grouped in the following sections: Acculturation and Hybridization; Understanding Spice Through Interdisciplinarity; Tradition as Continuity and Change; Cultural Transactions; Long-Distance Commodity Trade. The full table of contents is available on the publisher's website (https://www.oxbowbooks.com/oxbow/silk-roads-64718.html). (Note that Amazon.com had previously posted a preliminary draft of the contents, which caused one reviewer to pan the book and return it, since the list did not correspond to the actual contents.)

Among the essays that should be of particular interest to students of the early history of the silk roads are:

Nicola Di Cosmo, "The "Birth" of the Silk Road Between Ecological Frontiers and Military Innovation" (11-20)

Xiaoyan Qi, "Sogdians in Shanxi (386 CE-618 CE): Literary and Archeological Evidence" (21-29)

Saba Samee, "The Karakorum Highway: Gateway of Empires, Religions, and Commerce" (49-62)

Bernadine Barnes, "Devotional Prints and Practice: Woodcuts from the Library Cave at Dunhuang" (113-129)

Di Luo, "Dome of Heaven: From the Lantern Ceiling to the Chinese Wooden Dome" (131-159)

Touraj Daryaee, "Arsacid Economic Activity on the Silk Road" (215-221)

James A. Anderson, "Pearls and Power: Chōla's Tribute Mission to the Northern Song Court within the Maritime Silk Road Trade Network" (223-235)

Dan Du, "'Flying Cash': Credit Instruments on the Silk Roads" (237-264)

Jeffrey D. Lerner, "The Case for Shipwrecked Indians in Germany" (267-284)

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***Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska Museet), Stockholm*, No. 81: *Asia and Scandinavia—New Perspectives on the Early Medieval Silk Roads*. Stockholm, 2020. 224 pp. ISSN 0081-5691.**

The new volume of this venerable series (whose first 40 volumes from 1929–1968 are now freely available in electronic form at https://archive.org/details/ostasiatiska?and%5B%5D=bulletin&sort=-date) contains papers from a symposium held in Stockholm on the occasion of an exhibition of archaeological materials from Luoyang in 2015. (Since I had been asked to read some of the essays in advance of publication and am now a member of the editorial advisory board, I must recuse myself from critiquing the contents.) There is a great deal here which in the first instance should help to expand traditional views of the silk roads to include Eastern Europe and Scandinavia. The volume is nicely illustrated with drawings, maps and photographs (many in color). Each article has a substantial bibliography. A 15–minute video, available on the Bulletin's website, introduces the volume through short talks by most of the contributors (https://youtu.be/CmxjZBA1_HA).

Contents

Editor's Preface (Eva Myrdal): "Asia and Scandi-

navia: New perspectives on the Early Medieval Silk Roads" (5-21)

Susan Whitfield, "The Expanding Silk Road: UNESCO and BRI" (23–42). Discusses how the concept and study of the silk roads have evolved in recent decades, but with many lacunae in scholarship for key areas, especially in Central Asia.

Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, "With Asia as neighbour: Archaeological evidence of contacts between Scandinavia and Central Asia in the Viking Age and the Tang Dynasty" (43–64). Stresses that in the Viking era, the archaeological evidence suggests that silk road regions of Asia were familiar at least in some parts of the European north.

Evan Andersson Strand, "Travelling with textiles – production, consumption, and trade in the Viking Age" (65–88). The emphasis on the range and uses of textiles is a good reminder that any study of textiles along the silk roads cannot just focus on elite silks.

Tong Tao, "Ancient Silks from Western Tibet" (89–106). Little-known examples of the earliest (Han–Jin era) silks yet found on the Tibetan plateau, from the Gurugyam and Quta Cemeteries; comparative analysis with well-known examples from other areas.

Annika Larsson, "Asian Silk in Scandinavian Viking Age Graves: Based on the boat- and chamber graves in the Eastern Mälar Valley" (107–147). Documents how there was quite a bit more silk in those graves than some of us may have thought; brings to her task extensive expertise in technical analysis of the textile finds, illustrated here in part with microphotography.

Guo Wu, "An overview of ancient amber artefacts excavated in China" (149–178). A very useful catalog of finds, many familiar from publications on the Liao.

Janken Myrdal, "Transmission of technology along the Silk Road – theoretical reflections and three examples" (179–222). Stimulating for testing through three examples (the wheelbarrow, the butter churn, and a mousetrap) whether the evidence in each case documents borrowings or rather independent invention. Only the mousetrap (a fascinating object) can be shown to illustrate transmission of technology.

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"*I s kazach'ego piketa byl uzh viden Gimalai.*" *Pamir v fotoob"ektive poruchika Pavla Rodstvennogo.*["And from the Cossack picket the

Himalaya was already visible." The Pamirs through the lens of Lieutenant Pavel Rodsvennyi]. Compiled and introduced by M. K. Baskhanov and S. O. Shevel'chinskaia. Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2019. 440 pp. ISBN 978-5-4469-1585-9.

This album of previously unpublished photographs by Pavel Pavlovich Rodstvennyi documents life and especially the landscapes of the Russian Pamirs with extraordinary clarity. The more than 350 images have been printed in large format on high-quality art paper from pristine glass negatives housed in the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg. Rodstvennyi had been involved in projects initiated by the Governor-General of Turkestan von Kaufmann in the late 19th century to document this recently acquired territory of the Russian Empire. Early fruits of that initiative appeared in the famous *Turkestan Album* (available digitally from the Library of Congress, at https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/287_turkestan.html). Rodstvennyi then was centrally involved in a plan to publish a three-volume record of a visual tour "around Turkestan," the first to include ethnographic material, the second architectural monuments of Samarkand and the third devoted to the Pamirs. The first was published, but the fate of the second is still unknown. In 1901 in preparation for Vol. 3, he set off to take the photographs now published for the first time here. The book also includes a few of his other photographs, among them ones from Samarkand.

The introduction to the pictures includes what relatively little is known about Rodstvennyi's life and career and, in a separate essay, surveys the early exploration and military expeditions of the Russians into the Pamirs and travels there by some of the foreign explorers. A final section of the introduction summarizes information about the photographs taken by Russian military men in the Pamirs between 1888 and 1917.

The high quality of the photos here is truly impressive, and what they document should be of great interest for anyone wishing to learn about the human and physical geography of a region at the heart of the "silk roads."

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A. M. Belenitskii. *Istoriia i kul'tura Tsentral'noi Azii v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Esseistika raznykh let (Obshchestvo, istoriia, kul'tura).* [History and culture of Central Asia in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays of various years (Society, History, Culture)]. Ser.: Istoricheskie issledovaniia; Trudy Instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury RAN. T. LII; Trudy Vostochnogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva, T. 1. Edited by Valerii P. Nikonorov. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd-vo. Rossiiskogo gos. pedagogicheskogo universiteta im. A. I. Gertsena, 2019. 740 pp. ISBN 978-5-8064-2628-5.

Aleksandr Markovich Belenitskii (1904-1993) is best known as one of the most prominent Russian specialists on the early history and art of Central Asia. From formative years in Tajikistan he went on to do graduate study in Leningrad under the well-known specialist A. Iu. Iakubovskii. Belenitskii then took up a position in the Institute of the History of Material Culture and also taught at Leningrad University. His first published work after his military service during World War II concerned historical geography of Herat and the area of southern Tajikistan. He participated in field work of the Sogdian-Tajik archaeological expeditions organized by Iakubovskii and then in 1954 became head of the ongoing excavations at Sogdian Panjikent. Belenitskii's publications from there in 1967 earned him his "second doctorate" (the equivalent of the German Habilitation). He is perhaps best known for his books on Sogdian art and on medieval Central Asian cities.

The introductory materials here include his biography (illustrated with a good many personal photos), a selection of biographical materials from his family archive, and a bibliography of his more than 180 scholarly publications. The bulk of the book then reprints a selection of his scholarly essays (23 in the category of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages; 7 in the category of the high Middle Ages). While many of the scholarly articles (some co-authored) appeared in well-known Russian serials, having them available here is very helpful. Included are some lengthy sections of his published books on Sogdian art. The last part of the book (somewhat short of 200 pages) contains various previously unpublished essays and notes on a range of topics, including commentary on events

in Russia and the Soviet Union which never could have appeared in his lifetime.

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Zhizn' v srednevekovom Khorasane. Geniza iz Natsional'noi biblioteki Izrailia. Katalog vystavki. [Life in Medieval Khorasan. A Genizah from the National Library of Israel. Exhibition Catalogue]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izd-vo. Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 2019. 136 pp. ISBN 978-5-93572-872-4.

When the news first broke a few years ago about the discovery of a cache of Judeo-Persian documents from Afghanistan, I wondered when we would see the details. One of the most important texts was published and translated by Ofir Haim in *The Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 26 (2016): 103-119 (and has been included in the appendix here, pp. 123-131).

This catalog, for an exhibition in the Hermitage from 10 September 2019 to 19 January 2020, opens with two essays: Anton Pritula, "The Culture of Pre-Mongol Khorasan"; Yoel Finkelman, "The Historical and Cultural Significance of the 'Afghan Genizah'" [the term used to describe the document cache]. The exhibition materials then are divided into a group of the documents constituting a family archive from the first half of the 11th century; a section on "Literary Reading in Medieval Khorasan (11th-13th centuries)"; and a third group with business documents of the 12th-13th centuries. The documents include ones in Hebrew, in Judeo-Persian, in Persian, and in Arabic. Each document is illustrated in a high-quality color photograph; throughout the book there is parallel annotation and descriptive text in Russian and in English. The entries are generous enough to provide a good idea of the contents of each item.

The final part of the book is a selection of objects in the Hermitage collections from Khorasan dating to the same period as the documents, which help provide a broader sense of the cultural context for the "Afghan genizah." Most are fine examples of inlaid copper work. Apart from the one letter republished from Haim's earlier article, a second appendix contains Ol'ga Iastrebova's transcription and translation of a panegyric poem from the collection of manuscripts.

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***Arts of Asia*. Vol. 50, No. 5 (September-October 2020): *Blue and White Ceramics at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston*. 128 pp.**

This large-format, exquisitely produced journal hardly needs an introduction to readers of *The Silk Road*. Earlier numbers often had a special thematic focus in addition to information about auctions of antiquities whose selling prices might pay the salary of a poor academic for his or her lifetime. The rationale here for mentioning this issue is its highlighting of one of the museum collections that for at least some of us may not have received the attention it merits. As the essays make clear, the Houston Museum of Fine Arts is one of the largest and best endowed of any American museum. The publication of this volume anticipated the opening there in Autumn 2020 of a special exhibition curated by Dr. Aimée Froom, "Between Sea and Sky: Blue-and-White Ceramics from Persia and Beyond at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston." *The exhibition runs through 31 May 2021.* One can view an excellent 22-minute video/virtual tour by the curator, linked at https://www.mfah.org/exhibitions/between-sea-sky-blue-white-ceramics-persia-beyond. For those not yet acquainted with the subject, the video is a very nice introduction to blue-and-white down through the centuries. This issue of *Arts of Asia* apparently is serving in lieu of a catalog for the exhibition.

The Houston museum houses several private collections by individuals who had a particular interest in blue-and-white, if not for the early Chinese or Middle Eastern examples as much as for the European (especially English and Dutch) ones which were inspired those from East Asia. The core of this current exhibition is a remarkable collection of Middle Eastern ceramics, especially blue-and-white wares, assembled by Hossein Afshar, a collection now on long-term loan to the museum. Included as well are the European wares, comparative material from China and Japan, and some contemporary examples. The lead article in the journal is a long introduction to the special exhibition by its curator. Illustrated with many of the objects she discusses in the video. Three excellent examples of Jingdezhen porcelains were loaned for the exhibition from the San Antonio Museum of

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Art, which has a distinguished collection of Asian materials. One of the loans is a 14th-century plate with an elaborate floral design focusing on two Mandarin ducks in the center. The dish has an inscription indicating it was owned by Shah Jahan in Mughal India in the 17th century, a nice reminder of how monarchs in the Middle East and South Asia amassed huge collections of Chinese ceramics.

Other essays include: Margaret Squires, "Wine, Coffee and Tobacco: The Pleasures of Blue and White in Safavid Iran"; three articles on local collections now incorporated into the Houston Museum; an essay by Beatrice Chan, "Drawn from Cobalt Skies and Seas: Depictions of Animals on Blue and White Ceramics"; Anna Walker's essay on the "The Appeal of Blue and White in Contemporary Ceramics"; an article by Barry Broman on the Shah-i Zinda necropolis in Samarkand (where, note, the contemporary photos show much that is recent reconstruction); and, of particular interest to me, Paula Swart, "Porcelain and Piety: The Persianisation of Chinese Ceramics at the Ardebil Sufi Shrine" (the article uses several of my photographs). The Ardebil shrine in northwest Iran is the resting place for the founder of the Safavid dynasty; in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Shah Abbas donated to it one of the most important collections anywhere of Chinese ceramics (another one in the Middle East was that assembled by the Ottoman sultans in Istanbul, now in the Topkapi Palace Museum). (The final article in the journal is an outlier thematically, Sandra Castro's "Ornamentation and History in Philippine Colonial Silver.")

As a whole, this volume, with its lavishly illustrated essays, offers an excellent introduction to a topic that frequently has been used to illustrate the international cultural exchange which we think embodies the essence of what the Silk Road is all about. But apart from this one special exhibition, there are obviously many good reasons to visit the Houston museum once it becomes possible to travel safely again.

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Susanne Reichert. *A Layered History of Karakorum. Stratigraphy and Periodization in the City Center*. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology, Vol. 8. Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition, Vol. 2. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2019. 347 pp., 39 figures, 2 tables, 12 supplements. ISBN 978-3-936490-33-6.

Susanne Reichert. *Craft Production in the Mongol Empire. Karakorum and its Artisans*. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology, Vol. 9. Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition, Vol. 3. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2020. 345 pp., 77 figures, 26 tables, 76 plates. ISBN 978-3-936490-34-3.

These new large-format volumes in the series, *Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology*, are an impressive achievement. As the author explains in her introduction to the first of them (p. 13), "Karakorum is the only site in Mongolia with such a deep stratigraphy... The documented layers form thus a formidable basis for a relative sequence of occupation through time — a layered history of Karakorum — and at the same time, they contain material remains of various workshops feeding into a study of economic entanglements of Karakorum with the wider political history." The evidence analyzed here is from the excavations by Bonn University in 2000-2005 under the framework of the Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition. Analysis of parts of that material have previously been published, for example, in Vols. 1 and 2 of the Bonn series.

Reichert's first volume is a highly technical presentation of the stratigraphy, employing sophisticated computerized analysis to map the sequence of archaeological levels. Her study "establishes a new chronological system" based on "absolute data from radiocarbon analysis, dendrochronology, coins and a seal" (p. 74). The largest part of the book catalogs in detail a) the 130 spatial units established during the excavations in what is considered to have been the central area of the "Craftsmen-Quarter," and b) 2136 features recorded and located on the accompanying site maps. This is the kind of precise archaeological presentation

of evidence which, in her words (p. 74) "will be the authoritative foundation for future works," both at Karakoram and other sites.

The fruits of such analysis are in her second volume, which is the most precise treatment of craft production and the changes in it over time in Karakorum. Non-specialist readers will find a lot here of interest in her introductory overview of archaeology at Karakorum and earlier work on handicraft production in the Mongol empire and in her notes about the written sources. She then discusses her methodology and contextualizes the city in its natural environment. Analysis of the evidence treats in detail (illustrated with many graphics and tables) a range of materials and then focuses on the development over time of the various workshops. This leads to a broader synthesis regarding the organization of production, economic policies, and the place of Karakorum in its region and within the larger empire. Her material demonstrates how "the wider Mongol economy ... functioned on a highly commercialized level" (p. 206). The book includes a short technical analysis of crucible fragments by Roland Schwab and a substantial catalog of finds and samples, illustrated with high-quality plates.

As Reichert emphasizes, much else can yet be learned from the evidence accumulated during the Bonn excavations. Coins and weights await full analysis. A full treatment of architectures is a desideratum. Her material needs further corroboration and comparison with other sites of fixed habitation (*Layered History*, pp. 74–75). We can anticipate that the estimable Bonn series will continue to expand our knowledge of the early history of Mongolia, where so much cutting-edge archaeological research is underway.

Note: Summary notices about most of the other volumes in the Bonn series are in *The Silk Road* 8 (2010): 125–127; 9 (2011): 182–184; 12 (2014): 185; 13 (2015): 189.

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Rong Xinjiang 荣新江 **and Zhu Yuqi** 朱玉麒, **eds.** *Sichou zhi lu xin tansuo: kaogu, wenxian yu xueshu shi* 丝绸之路新探索：考古，文献与学术史 [**New Exploration on the Silk Road: Archaeology, Texts, and the Academic History**]. **Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2019. 463 pp. ISBN 978-7-5506-3037-6.**

This important volume is the result of the conference "Peking University Forum on the Peak of Civilization along the Silk Road," which was held at Peking University from October 13-15, 2018. It consists of three major sections: new scholarship on ancient peoples, cultures, and polities of the ancient Silk Road; analysis of new documents unearthed along the Silk Road; and studies on the modern expeditions that traveled along the Silk Road in northwestern China. The articles included were authored by some of the top scholars in China and synthesize much of the pre-existing scholarship in Chinese and Western languages, in addition to providing new insights and directions for further research. The table of contents, in English translation, is provided below.

- Justin M. Jacobs

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Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒. *Hanhai lingjian: Xiyu wenxian yanjiu yi ji* 瀚海零缣：西域文献研究一集 [Silk Fragments of the Great Desert: Studies in the Documents of the Western Regions (I)]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019. 587 pp. ISBN 978-7-101-14133-7.

This rich volume contains a collection of some of the most important research published by the great Chinese scholar Zhu Yuqi, who also serves as editor-in-chief of *Xiyu wenshi* (Literature and History of the Western Regions). The articles included were published in various scholarly venues from 2007 to 2018. The subject matter is diverse, ranging from historical analyses of ancient documents excavated along the Silk Road to new insights on the modern-day Chinese scholars and officials who collected, studied, and annotated these materials. In fact, roughly half of the chapters showcase Zhu's insightful research into late Qing and Republican Chinese scholars and officials who collected the steles, manuscripts, and other artifacts that were emerging from the sands of Gansu and Xinjiang. Particular attention is paid to the collections, annotations, and papers of Xinjiang commissioner of finance Wang Shu'nan, whose importance in Silk Road studies still awaits greater recognition outside of Chinese scholarly circles. The value of this volume for Silk Road scholars cannot be under-

stated, and it is most welcome to now have a selection of Zhu's research conveniently available in a single book.

- *Justin M. Jacobs*

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Literature & History of the Western Regions

西域文史

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Hagia Sophia

A Photo Essay

by

Daniel C. Waugh

Hagia Sophia from the Sea of Marmora, the Church of St. Irene to the right.

> ...a spectacle of great beauty, stupendous to those who
> see it and altogether incredible to those who hear of it...
> -- Procopius, *De aedificiis*

The Great Church, as described by Emperor Justinian's chronicler Procopius, still astounds the viewer who first sees it on the skyline of Istanbul and then is privileged to contemplate its interior. It impressed all those who visited Constantinople, the Byzantine capital, left its imprint on the architecture of the conquering Ottoman Turks, and even in our own time has again become a focus of attention and controversy. The selection of photos (all taken by Daniel Waugh) which follows here provides a visual introduction to the history and artistic glories of this building, which is one of the great monuments of world culture. In many ways it is much changed over the centuries, but is no less impressive as a result.

The "Blue Mosque" (Sultan Ahmet Camii) and Hagia Sophia

Aerial view of Istanbul juxtaposed to a 17th-century Ottoman map of Constantinople, the arrows indicating the location of Hagia Sophia.

Located on the Bosphorus, the waterway connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, Byzantium/Constantinople/Istanbul was ideally situated to play a key role in the historic "Silk Road" trade across Afro-Eurasia. The heart of the city is on a peninsula along whose northern shore extends one of the great natural harbors of the world, the Golden Horn. As shown above, the Bosphorus runs North to South, emptying into the Sea of Marmora. Emperor Constantine I made the city the capital of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fourth century CE. Under Emperor Justinian I (527-565), the Byzantine Empire extended from Spain to the Euphrates. His gold coins were in a sense the "reserve currency" of his realm and even were treasured as exotica as far away as China. Justinian was a lavish patron of architecture. Hagia Sophia, arguably the greatest of his foundations, was erected beginning in 537 to celebrate his suppression of a major revolt in the capital. Its dedication is to the Divine Wisdom.

(above) Gold solidi of Justinian I, that on the right found in the tomb of the important general Tian Hong (d. 575) at Guyuan, Ningxia, China. (right) The Golden Horn at sunrise looking east. Hagia Sophia is in the far upper right corner.

A3

Dedication mosaic (late 10th century) above a doorway leading from the south narthex to the main narthex that runs along the west side of the building. On the left, Justinian I presents the cathedral and on the right, Constantine I presents his capital city, invoking the protection of the Virgin Mary.

The church was erected on the location of an earlier cathedral whose remains can be seen displayed adjoining the western side of Hagia Sophia. Its facade, shown here in a reconstruction drawing, included a typical Roman temple portico, from which there are remains of the bases of columns and some of the carved decoration.

A4
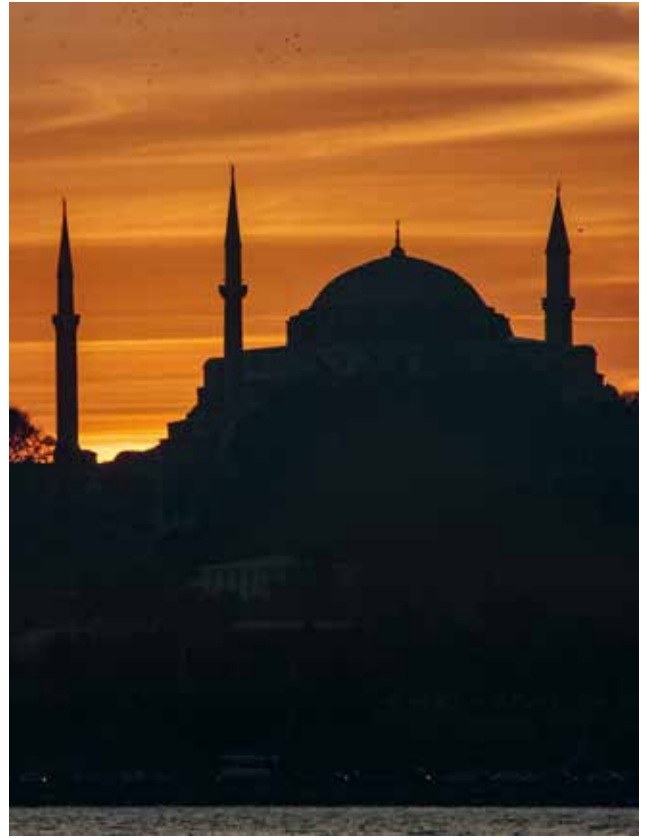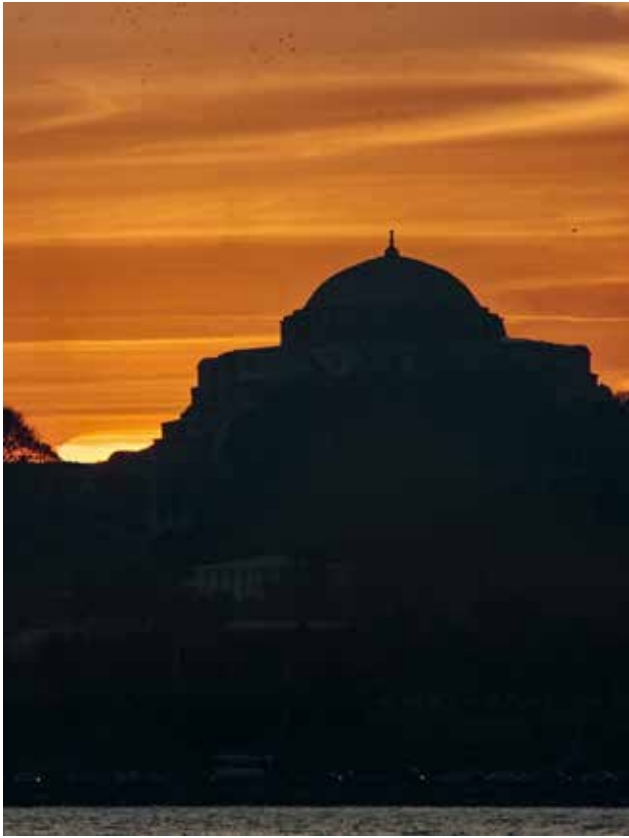
The silhouette of Hagia Sophia, as imagined on the left without the current minarets that were added after the conversion of the church into a mosque by the Ottomans.

Justinian obviously wanted something more grandiose and daring in its design, which must explain why he turned to two "engineers" rather than to experienced architects. Their design in fact was so daring for the proportions of the dome that it collapsed and had to be re-built with a higher arch two decades later.

As the historian of Byzantine architecture, Richard Krautheimer has put it, "Defying all laws of statics, shaken by successive earthquakes, collapsing at its weak points and being repaired, the H. Sophia stands by sheer miracle." Procopius' encomiums in his description of the exterior aside, to the modern eye the silhouette impresses more with its bulk than with grace, a feeling reinforced by the massive buttresses.

Hagia Sophia from the south.

An anonymouis Russian traveler who visited the church in ca. 1390 was particularly taken by the various holy relics on display. While they were removed by Sultan Mehmet II after he conquered the city and converted the church into a mosque, a curious relic of earlier belief remains in the "weeping column" of St. Gregory, where tourists line up to make a wish that allegedly will come true if their finger emerges damp from a hole in its side.

It appears that the development of a coherent iconographic scheme of mosaic decoration occurred only after the end of the iconoclasm of the 8th and early 9th centuries. Decorative mosaic bands presumably from the earliest period still can be seen on arches. But the now well-known anthropomorphic representations of the holy figures and the rulers invoking their intercession all date from various later periods. One of the famous "Silk Road" travelers, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador who traveled to the court of Tamerlane in Central Asia at the beginning of the 15th century, described in some detail Hagia Sophia, which even in that period of Byzantine decline impressed him with its mosaics, colored marble columns and cladding, and a canopied ambo or pulpit that stood in the center of the nave. Most of the mosaics are gone, but the polished marble and exquisitely carved capitals remain.

Polished marble paneling in the upper gallery.

A6

The inlaid floor marking the location in the nave where the imperial coronation took place.

Columns (among them ones of precious porphyry), carved imposts and capitals, and a carved beam in the second-floor gallery. Some capitals that one sees today are modern replicas.

A7

Visitors enter today from the south under the dedication mosaic depicting Justinian and Constantine. Above the central door of the narthex, used for imperial processions, Emperor Leo VI (886-912) kneels before the enthroned Christ.

In the late 10th century, according to tradition, wishing to adopt one of the religions of the book, the pagan Prince Vladimir of Kievan Rus sent out diplomatic missions to observe their practices. His emissary to Constantinople reported, "They took us to the place where they serve their God, and we did not know whether we were in heaven or on earth. Nothing like such beauty can be seen, and we are unable to explain it all. We only know that in that place God is present." Surely he was describing the impact of walking into the vast domed space of the Great Church, which would have been alive from the light streaming through countless windows and at night the flickering of candles and lamps on the gold mosaics covering the vaults and dome.

This composite view toward the main apse provides a sense of the vastness of the space but also reminds the visitor how much changed as a result of the Ottoman conquest of the city in the 15th century. Covered over with plaster, some of the mosaics survived, uncovered and restored after the building was declared a secular museum in 1934. An image of the Virgin Mary holding Jesus, dated to the mid-9th century, occupies the place of prominence in the conch of the apse. A *mihrab* (indicating the direction of Mecca) and *minbar* (pulpit) had been added, along with numerous Arabic inscriptions. The large medallions inscribed with the names of Allah, the Prophet Muhammed, the first four caliphs, and two of the Prophet's grandsons were produced by a noted calligrapher for a restoration in the 19th century.

On the bema vault over the apse were images of the archangels . Only fragments remain on the north, but the south side preserves most of the lovely 9th-century image of Gabriel.

The pendentives (the triangular architectural elements that transition from the circular dome to the rectangular nave) are decorated with seraphim, only one of which now preserves the face of the angel.

A12

While the mosaics had been plastered over back in the first century after the Ottoman conquest, in the middle of the 19th century, the Sultan hired Italian specialists who uncovered and consolidated them and then plastered and painted them over with non-figural "neo-Gothic" designs. Much of that painted overlay still can be seen on the vaults of the church. The restoration project of the Byzantine Institute, under the direction of Thomas Whittimore, uncovered and conserved the main mosaic panels in the late 1930s, the records of its work now preserved at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library in Washington, D.C. While our photos do not include all of the important panels, the most significant ones located on the gallery level of the church are shown here.

*Emperor Alexander, mosaic probably dated to 912/913, located in a rather dark niche on the north side of the center bay of the north gallery. In his right hand is a silken pouch (*akakia*) wrapped in a handkerchief; in his left hand an orb.*

(above). Emperor John II Komnenos and Empress Irene presenting donations to the Virgin and Christ child, ca. 1118/1122.
(below). Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and Empress Zoe presenting donations to Christ, 11th century.

A14

While Constantine IX Monomachos and his wife Zoe reigned from 1042-1050, significant portions of the mosaics date from the time of his predecessors, Romanus III and Michael IV, to whom she had been married. Constantine's name replaces that of his predecessor, and the images of the heads have been updated.

The panel which evokes perhaps the most admiration in the gallery depicts a deesis, *with Mary and John the Baptist praying to Christ. It has been dated as early as the 1260s, though some specialists place it in the 14th century.*

In Orthodox iconography, the central figures of the deesis, *shown here, may be flanked by additional saints: the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and other apostles or possibly locally venerated saints. With the development of the high icon screen in the late Byzantine period, the* deesis *row of icons is the central focus of the larger array. The late 18th-early 19th century icon screen below is in the Church of the Transfiguration at Kizhi in northern Russia.*

The period in which this exquisite *deesis* mosaic was crafted (whatever exactly its date) was in a sense the twilight of Byzantium, whose decline had been accelerating by the late 12th century as the Italian commercial powers gained control of its international trade and political strife weakened the government. A curious testimony to the latter seems to be embodied in the wall-size stucco copy of a synodal decree of 1186 displayed in the outer narthex of Hagia Sophia. A church council which met in the cathedral reversed an earlier decision compelling noblewomen to enter convents but then also deposed the Patriarch, who had crossed the new emperor, Isaac II Angelus, in approving a marriage of illegitimate royals.

The crisis of empire culminated with the diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople and the crusaders' taking of the city by storm in 1204. Massive looting occurred, with many of the spoils carried off to Venice, most famous among them the quadriga of bronze horses that then was installed high on the facade of the Cathedral of San Marco. A Latin emperor was crowned in Hagia Sophia, which, even if we allow for much rhetorical excess by the contemporary Niketas Choniates, lost some of its treasures and many of its holy relics. When Marco Polo's father and uncle passed through Constantinople on their way to Central Asia in 1260, the city was still in Latin hands, but in the following year, the Greeks recaptured it. The next decades under the new Palaeologian dynasty witnessed a kind of Renaissance in intellectual life and the arts, as exemplified in the Hagia Sophia *deesis* and the exquisite mosaics and murals of the Kariye Camii, another of the Byzantine churches that recently has been converted back from museum status to being an active mosque.

(middle). Medieval Italian ships imagined sailing in the Sea of Marmora near the great Byantine walls that failed in 1204 to protect the city.

(bottom). The splendid bronze quadriga looted from Constantinople by the Venetians. Shown here are the original statues, now protected from the elements inside the Cathedral of San Marco, which has replicas of them on the facade.

A17

Portrait of Sultan Mehmet II by Gentile Bellini, 1480. Collection of the National Gallery, London.

Having lost most of the Empire's territories, reduced to a handful of its former population, the once great city fell to the Ottoman army in 1453. The last emperor perished on the walls. Even though the rest of the Christian world knew the end was near, it had failed to provide support and treated the news as a great catastrophe. Over the next century, the Ottomans conquered the Middle East, extended their power across North Africa and threatened the heart of Europe. Mehmet II, who earned the sobriquet "The Conqueror," immortalized by the Italian artist Bellini and buried in an elaborate mausoleum near one of the great mosques that rises over the Golden Horn, understandably today is one of the heroes of Turkish history. Well educated with a breadth of interests beyond his faith, he exercised the prerogative of the conqueror of a city that failed to submit peaceably when he converted Hagia Sophia into a mosque.

A18

Over its nine centuries as the most important of Byzantium's churches, Hagia Sophia inspired the construction of many other central places of worship dedicated to Sophia, the Divine Wisdom. However, architecturally they emulated the building practices of their times, not the original.

Relations between Byzantium and the Viking princes who ruled the lands of Rus in the 9th to 11th centuries were close, if not always friendly. Viking warriors were hired by the emperors for their palace guard, one of them scratching his name in runes on the marble parapet of Hagia Sophia. The conversion of Prince Vladimir of Kiev to Orthodoxy in the late 10th century probably was not due to recognition of its superiority as a religion but rather involved a marriage alliance and military support for one of the emperors. When his son Iaroslav took the throne in Kiev, in celebration of a military victory over the nomadic Pechenegs he commissioned a magnificent new cathedral dedicated to the Divine Wisdom. Even though the goal was to emulate the Great Church in Constantinople, the architecture and iconographic program of the Kievan Sancta Sophia follow 11th-century Byzantine norms. Byzantine mosaicists were hired to supervise the interior decoration, including a depiction of the Eucharist, with Christ officiating, assisted by an archangel at the canopied altar (here we see the left side of the apse).

< *A reconstruction model of the original appearance of Kievan Hagia Sophia.*

A19

The route "from the Varangians to the Greeks," connecting Constantinople along the East European waterways to the Baltic, ran past Kiev. Its major political and commercial center on the north was the city of Novgorod. There, in the middle of the 11th century, another great church dedicated to the Divine Wisdom was erected. Although influenced by the Kievan model (and possibly some knowledge of Western churches), its architects adapted the design to the harsh conditions of Russia.

Another of the important churches dedicated to the Divine Wisdom, initially erected for an Orthodox Patriarch in medieval Bulgaria, is in Ohrid. The current building, roughly a contemporary of the Novgorod Sancta Sophia, has a basilical nave influenced less by Byzantine than by Western architecture. It preserves important frescoes following Byzantine iconographic norms: the seated Virgin is in the conch of the apse; on the arch above her is a *deesis*; below her is the Eucharist; on the vault is a scene of the Ascension. The *minbar* on the right was added when the Turks converted the church into a mosque.

One of the last parts of the Byzantine Empire to fall to the Turks was the Empire of Trebizond (Trabzon), where in the middle of the 14th century the local rulers of the Comneni Dynasty erected their own Hagia Sophia.

A20

In the somewhat under five centuries of Ottoman rule in the former Byzantine capital, changes were made in Hagia Sophia (renamed the Aya Sofya Camii) to conform to the requirements for a mosque.

One can appreciate the aesthetics of the mosque lamps juxtaposed to the calligraphic medallions. Above, the name of the first of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, Umar ibn al Khattab (d. 644 CE/23 AH); on the right, the name of Al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 680 CE/61 AH), a grandson of the Prophet whose martyrdom at Karbala is commemorated in a day of mourning by Shi'i Muslims. The *minbar* (on the left here) and the *mihrab* (on the right) were renovated in the 19th century. The two large candlesticks flanking the *mihrab* are trophies seized by Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent in Hungary in the 16th century.

A21

Among the Ottoman additions was a screened loge where the sultan prayed, the current version, a creation of the 19th century, shown on the left after a recent restoration.

An impression believed to be the footprint of the Prophet, displayed in the Topkapi Saray treasury. (Photo from 1996)

"Trophies" added in the late 16th century in the Aya Sofya Camii included two huge polished marble purification urns, brought from Pergamon/Bergama, where they had been made in the 2nd century BCE. After the conquest of Arabia in the early 16th century, the sultans assumed the mantle of the Sunni caliphs with responsibility for the Muslim holy cities. Over time, a great many relics of the Prophet and the venerated figures of the Old Testament were collected and are now kept in the Topkapi Saray treasury. It would be interesting to learn to what degree any of them may have replaced the Christian relics in Hagia Sophia, since it is not uncommon for mosques to contain analogous Islamic relics.

In the passage to the north of the apse are several panels of Iznik tiles. In the center of the one on the east wall is a *mihrab*. The correct direction of Mecca is indicated by the *mihrab* placed in the apse itself, off-center to the SE. It is not clear when these tile panels may have been added. Note that a separately framed smaller one (above) is a mashup of pieces of different tiles, one of which presumably showed the holy sanctuary at Mecca.

A baptismal font displayed in an annex on the south side of the building. Presumably it had formerly been in the separate baptistery to the south, which was converted into a mausoleum for the deposed Sultan Mustafa I (d. 1639).

What one might term the "museification" of Hagia Sophia, apart from the addition of explanatory captioning, has included the moving of artifacts into the building which presumably never were there originally but might interest tourists. Among them is a large sarcophagus (typical of those made for Byzantine royalty) which was installed in the outer narthex in 1960 next to the wall-size replica of the synodal decree of 1186 (also added at that time??). The sarcophagus is that of the Empress Irene who had been buried in the Pantocrator Monastery. The galleries of the building have been used for special exhibitions, one displaying wonderful examples of modern Islamic calligraphy, and another the stunning large-scale photographs of Hagia Sophia by the Turkish photographer Ahmet Ertuğ, which had illustrated a lavish book of his entitled *Hagia Sophia: A Vision for Empires*. (For the many publications that include his photos, visit the website of Borusan Sanat/Ertuğ & Kocabıyık Publications <https://www.borusansanat.com/en/publications_7/ertug-kocabiyik_41/>).

The sarcophagus of Empress Irene.

A visitor in the exhibition of Ahmet Ertuğ's photographs.

A24

The legacy of Hagia Sophia to Turkish mosque architecture has been substantial, as one can readily see from comparing these views from the east of the church and the nearby Sultan Ahmet Camii (the Blue Mosque). However, we are not dealing with mere copies; the architectural designs reflect the individual talents of the Ottoman practitioners. The interior of the Blue Mosque, striking as it is, has been criticised for its massive columns, structural features that in Hagia Sophia are concealed behind the sides of the nave. The brilliant 16th-century architect Sinan, however, was able to adapt the models to different settings in innovative ways. Among his masterpieces are the Atik Valide Camii in Uskudar (below) and the Suleymaniyye (below right).

The current controversy over the fate of Hagia Sophia involves the decision by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to annul the status of the building as a secular museum and re-convert it to a working mosque. The building had been welcoming the largest number of visitors of any Turkish museum, but its re-establishiment as a mosque was a longstanding goal of the president and his Islamist political allies. Apart from genuine religious motivations, arguably one of his goals has been to restore Turkey to is glory days of the Ottoman period. Other former Byzantine churches are again working mosques, and there have been grandiose construction projects, among them the building of imposing Ottoman-style mosques. It is clear from the most recent news about the first day of prayers in the restored Aya Sofya Camii (24 July 2020) that the decision enjoys wide popular support. Pictures show the nave packed with worshippers, with others filling the parks and squares outside of the building. The Byzantine Christian images have been concealed behind drapes during the time of prayer, though the promise is that they will be unveiled at other times for visitors to view.

The decision has provoked an outcry of protest outside of Turkey. Hagia Sophia is listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site, a designation that is supposed to ensure appropriate protection of cultural heritage (though in practice does not always do so....). Conservators and academic specialists have expressed concern about preservation and the limitation of opportunities for the still needed serious study of the building. Some of those protesting see the change as an affront to their Christian beliefs. As Mustafa Akyol, a Muslim, has argued in an opinion essay: "All religious traditions should be respected. And the magnanimity of tolerance should overcome the pettiness of supremacism." At very least, as the images above should suggest, Hagia Sophia/Aya Sofya Camii, has a complex history as a monument reflecting cultural aspirations of different eras, whether or not they meet approval by anyone's current standards of judgment. It is part of our common cultural heritage that merits understanding and close study.

Note on the photography. *I first visited the building in 1996. Most of the images were taken in 2010 and 2014. On all those visits, parts of the building were under scaffolding, whose placement changed over time as the restoration work proceeded. This means that some parts of the building were not visible; some areas not under restoration were simply closed to access.*

Some bibliographic notes. *The Wikipedia entry for Hagia Sophia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hagia_Sophia> is very informative and has been updated on the current controversy. For the news reports and opinion, see Carlotta Gall, "Erdogan Fulfills Cherished Goal, Opening Hagia Sophia to Prayers,"* New York Times*, 24 July 2020; Mustafa Akyol, "Would the Prophet Muhammad Convert Hagia Sophia?"* New York Times*, 20 July 2020. On the architecture, see Richard Krautheimer,* Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture *(=The Pelican History of Art) (rev. ed. 1975), Ch. 9. While dated and somewhat sketchy, the account by the eminent Byzantine art specialist André Grabar,* Byzantine Painting *(1953/1979), pp. 91-107, introduces the mosaics. Specifically on issues of restoration and conservation, but revealing a great deal about what one now sees in the building, see Natalia B. Teteriatnikov,* Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute *(1998). Given the controversies over the dating of the mosaic in the conch of the apse, one should consult the report on its detailed examination which was undertaken in 1964: Cyril Mango and Ernest J.W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Report on Work Carried out in 1964,"* Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965): pp. 113+115-151. Both of these works may be downloaded for free from the Dumbarton Oaks website. On an important aspect of the interior furnishings of Byzantine churches with a discussion of relics and theological significance, see the remarkable monograph by Jelena Bogdanović,* The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church *(2017), esp. pp. 165-176. An excellent selection of primary source translations is Cyril Mango,* The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453 *(1972), pp. 72-102, 187-190, 237, 249. The epigram from Procopius is Mango's translation. For the account of the sack in 1204, see O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniatēs, tr. Harry J. Magoulias (1984), p. 315. For the anonymous Russian description of the late 14th century, see George P. Majeska,* Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries *(1984), esp. pp. 128-137. Clavijo's description is in Clavijo,* Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406, tr. Guy Le Strange (1928), pp. 71-76. My quotation of the report to Prince Vladimir is from an unpublished draft translation of the Russian* Primary Chronicle *by the late Professor Horace Lunt. Those interested in the music which would have accompanied Byzantine worship in the church can be inspired by Cappella Romana's* Lost Voices of Hagia Sophia*, a sophisticated digitalization reconstructing the acoustics of Byzantine chant as though it is actually being sung in the church. The CD can be purchased via <https://cappellaromana.org/>, where one can also access streaming of a concert version. Cappella Romana has also recorded laments on the fall of Constantinople, which can be heard from a link to our web page on the history of the city <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/cities/turkey/istanbul/istanbul.html>.*