

Some Remarks on the Headgear of the Royal Türks

SÖREN STARK

I. INTRODUCTION

This article was inspired by Etsuko Kageyama's thoughtful study on Hephthalite crowns in one of the last issues of this journal.¹ At one point she briefly touches upon the question of the crown of the Türks (the successors of the Hephthalites in Western Central Asia), by referring to the differences between the crowns of the Türks and those of the Hephthalites. But in fact, our knowledge of "Turkic" crowns from the mid-sixth to the mid-eighth century is rather scanty. In this article I will offer a critical overview of this topic while at the same time introducing some relevant monuments up until now neglected in the discussion.

The chronicles of several Chinese dynasties inform us of the customs and traditions among the Türks (Tujue 突厥) and their ruling clan, the Ashina 阿史那. But although these reports include some basic (albeit rather topical) information about the Türks' traditional costume and hairstyle,² they do not mention anything about their headgear. Thus, from the Chinese dynastic chronicles we hear nothing about special headgear in the sense of a crown being associated with the ruler of the Türks or with any of his high officials. But just a few years after the downfall of the Ashina Türks in Mongolia (742 CE), the chronicles mention a "barbarian hat" 胡帽 worn by the Uyghur Bilgä Kül Qaghan (re. 747–759) on the occasion of state ceremonies.³ Also the Uyghur Qatun wore a special headdress, namely a "cap with golden ornaments in the form of a horn pointing forward" 金飾冠如角前指.⁴ In the western hemisphere a crown is mentioned in regard to an early Khazar prince.⁵ Given the close cultural similarities among Türks, Uyghurs, and Khazars (including a number of elements of political legitimization), it seems likely that the Ashina rulers also wore some type of royal headgear, even if there is no mention of it in the Chinese dynastic records. However, we possess sufficient archaeological data as well as textual evidence to favor such an assumption. Some of these data have come to light only recently; others have been known for many years but either have been neglected or require, in the opinion of the present author, some further comments.

II. THE "BIRD TIARA" OF THE LATE EASTERN TÜRKIS

The sculpture of the early-mediaeval nomads in Central Asia reveals a wide range of headgear types.⁶ However, most come from anonymous sites and so are extremely difficult to date with precision. Only very few specimens originate from archaeological complexes associated with members of the ruling clan of the Türks. Yet these statues provide a valid starting point for the present study.

Probably the best-known sculpture relevant to our question is the head from a statue commonly attributed to the eastern Turkic prince Kül Tegin (d 731 CE) (Fig. 1 a-b), excavated in 1958 by a joint Czechoslovakian-Mongolian expedition at the site of Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2. The famous inscription found in 1889 by Nikolai Yadrintsev⁷ at this site identifies it as a "memorial" for Kül Tegin, younger brother of the Eastern Türk ruler Bilgä Qaghan (r. 716–734). Excavations revealed a small building (10.25 × 10.25 m) in the centre of the complex, consisting of a central room and a surrounding corridor. In the western part of the central room were found the headless torsos of two seated figures. Immediately to the east, the excavators located three pits, two containing fragments of the head of a statue with a tiara-like headdress.⁸

It is generally assumed that the head originally belonged to one of the seated torsos from the same building and represents an image of Kül Tegin himself.⁹ Although we lack any positive proof, this assumption accords well with the testimony of Chinese sources. Thus a passage in the Old Tangshu explicitly mentions a stone statue of Kül Tegin in his "ancestral temple," obviously the chapel-like building at Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2: "In the 20th year (of the device "kaiyuan") Que Teqin 闕特勤 (Kül Tegin) died. At the emperor's command the Jinwu Jiangjun 金吾將軍 (the General of the Palace guards) Zhang Quyi 張去逸 and the Duguan Langzhong 都官郎中 (the Director of the Criminal Administration) Lü Xiang 呂向 were sent with a letter sealed with the emperor's seal to the barbarians in order to condole and to make offerings. They presented gifts and set up a stone stela 碑 with an inscription composed by the emperor himself. Furthermore an ancestral temple 祠廟 was erected. [There] a portrait [of the deceased] was cut out of stone and the four walls

[of the temple] were [decorated with] murals [depicting] scenes of his battles.”¹⁰

The headgear of Kül Tegin’s statue represents a high, tiara-like hat consisting of five panels, each of which is approximately rectangular with an arched upper end. The front panel is slightly higher than the four others. The lower end of the hat is marked by a circumferential band on which the five panels appear attached. Three ribbons hang from the back of the hat. Noteworthy is the *en face* figure of a bird of prey with spread wings, standing on the lower band on the front panel. It is not clear what kind of bird is depicted: At first, Lumír Jisl interpreted it only as “a heraldic bird, maybe an eagle.”¹¹ Later, in a posthumously published work, he opted for a falcon and explained it either as a totem or as a symbol of death.¹² Indeed, we know that the Türks associated the eagle or falcon with the soul of the deceased, and in fact, depictions of eagles or falcons appear in funerary contexts.¹³ But this bird could also represent a phoenix as a number of phoenix depictions with similarly spread wings are known from “memorial” complexes associated with peers of the late Eastern Türk Empire (some of them even contemporaries of Kül Tegin).¹⁴

Among the smaller fragments of statues, the excavators discovered “a piece of yet another, similar, but smaller tiara.” Jisl assigned that piece to the other seated torso that he thought represented the wife of Kül Tegin. He therefore concluded that “all members of the royal family, at least in direct line, were entitled to wear this as an insignia of their status.”¹⁵ But there is a notable difference between these two tiara-like hats, as the one assigned to Kül Tegin’s wife seems to lack the image of a bird (at least Jisl does not mention one). And yet, the headgear of Kül Tegin was not unique in this feature, as we know from a recent find from the neighboring site Khöshöö-Tsaidam-1, the “memorial” of Kül Tegin’s elder brother Bilgä Qaghan. Here a Turkish-Mongolian expedition made the spectacular discovery of a depot containing some 2000 silver and gold objects.¹⁶ These include a golden “diadem” with close analogies to the headgear of the head from Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2 (Fig. 2). The “diadem” consists of a band of thin gold sheet on which five oblong panels are attached. The four side panels are decorated with tendril ornaments on a chased ground, while the front panel carries an *en face* image of a bird of prey with spread wings very much like that on the headgear of the head fragment from Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2. The lower and upper edges of the Khöshöö-Tsaidam-1 “diadem” band are pierced by a row of small perforations which obviously served to attach the object to some textile support, probably a hat or cap. The “diadem” was originally set with precious stones, but already at the time of the deposit all had been lost or deliberately removed. Thus it seems that this object was in use for some time prior to its final deposition.¹⁷

The parallels between the recent find from Khöshöö-Tsaidam-1 and the head from Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2 are striking and have been noticed since the former’s discovery.¹⁸ It even seems that the “diadem” initially was part of similar tiara-like hat. Both objects strongly suggest that such a “bird tiara” was indeed used as a ceremonial headgear at the eastern Turkic court in the first half of the eighth century. But it probably was not worn by the Qaghan himself, because that would mean that a Qaghan and a Tegin would wear the very same insignia on their heads, which I find rather hard to accept. But how do we, then, account for the presence of this type of headgear at the “memorials” of both Bilgä Qaghan and Kül Tegin?

In order to speculate on the duty or office associated with this insignia it seems useful first to investigate the origin of the “bird tiara.” In this regard, some evidence points toward mid-Tang China. The first clue comes from the report in the Old Tangshu mentioned above, stating that it was Chinese artists who created the sculptures and mural in the “ancestral temple” at Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2. The parallel report in the New Tangshu even specifies this point by mentioning “six highly skilled men, sent by imperial order, who composed refined and naturalistic paintings.”¹⁹ The presence of an imperial Chinese workshop at Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2 is also confirmed by the well-known Runic inscription in which Bilgä Qaghan, the older brother of Kül Tegin, proudly states: “[I sent to the Tabgh]ach Qaghan (i.e. the Chinese emperor) and called artists (*bädizchi*) to come. I ordered them to decorate [the “memorial” of Kül Tegin]. He (i.e. the Chinese emperor) did not ruin my message. [They] sent the court artists (*ichräki bädizchi*) of the Tabghach Qaghan. I got them to build an extraordinary chapel (*barq*), inside and outside I had them engrave extraordinary images (*bädiz*).”²⁰ Thus it seems that not only the paintings (of which only some very few remains survive)²¹ but also the sculptural decor at Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2 were the work of Chinese court artists.²²

Of course there is no reason to assume that those Chinese artists would not have faithfully reproduced the actual head-dress of the late prince. But both sources draw some light on a certain “chinoiserie” at the late eastern Turkic court. Could the “bird tiara,” therefore, have been imported from Tang China or at least been influenced by the contemporary Chinese costume? As I have shown elsewhere, such influences (and maybe even imports) are quite evident for other elements of Tang costume being fashionable at the late eastern Turkic court, notably belts.²³ As for the “diadem” from Khöshöö-Tsaidam-1, a Chinese import cannot be totally excluded: there are closely comparable examples for its tendril ornament on a chased ground from Tang China.²⁴ However, it seems far more probable that this outstanding object had been manufactured locally in a workshop at one of the late Eastern Türk residences, possibly by a Chinese or Central Asian master.

But there is other evidence to link the “bird tiara” with mid-Tang China: a very similar tiara-like headdress with a bird on the front panel appears on a wooden statue of Vaiśravaṇa from the Rashōmon (“the Castle Gate”) in Heian-kyō (ancient Kyōto), which is said to have been brought around 800 CE from China (Fig. 3).²⁵ Although a Buddhist interpretation can be ruled out for the head fragment from Khōshōō-Tsaidam-2,²⁶ the guardian statue in Kyōto points to a possible military context for the headgear in question. Indeed, we find a distinctively military hat with the image of a bird in China – the *heguan* (鶡冠), “he-bird hat” or “pheasant hat,” reserved for high-ranking military officials. In the mid-Tang period such “pheasant hats” were frequently given a tall shape, very much like the tiara from Khōshōō-Tsaidam-2 (Fig. 4).

As for the Turkic “bird tiara,” a military context accords well with what we know about the careers both of Bilgā Qaghan and Kül Tegin: Kül Tegin died as his royal brother’s supreme military commander.²⁷ And Bilgā Qaghan held for many years the office of “Shad” (i.e., of a high-ranking army commander) before he seized the Qaghanate.²⁸ Possibly the “diadem” found at Khōshōō-Tsaidam-1 was actually part of his old insignia as Shad. At least it seems that the diadem had not been used for some time prior to its deposit (obviously in 735, the year of Bilgā Qaghan’s death) because by then the “diadem” had already lost its stone inlays. At any rate it seems safe to say that the “bird tiara” was an insignia of supreme *military* authority among the late Eastern Türks and should be traced back to the “pheasant hat,” a traditional headdress of high ranking military officials in China.

III. THE HEADGEAR OF THE STATUE OF XIAO HONGNAHAI

At present, we know of only one archaeological site that can be firmly attributed to a Western Türk Qaghan, that of Xiao Hongnahai, c. 6 km southeast of the county seat of Zhaosu in the Tekes valley (Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang). Its relevance apropos the royal headgear of the Western Türks has previously been unnoticed.

The site represents a “memorial” similar to the ones at Khōshōō-Tsaidam.²⁹ Its most remarkable extant feature is a 1.83 m-high stone statue of a male, facing east and holding a goblet in his right hand before his breast (Fig. 5 a-c). Below its belt runs a Sogdian inscription of 20 or 21 lines. The statue has been known since the 1950s, but only since 1990 have efforts been made to read and date its inscription, specifically by Yutaka Yoshida and Lin Meicun.³⁰ Both scholars agree that it is dedicated to a certain Pāy Nirī Qayan (*p’y nry x’γ’n*), grandson of Mūxān Qayan (*mvx’n x’γ’n*). On this basis, Takashi Ōsawa proposed to identify him with the western Türk-Qaghan *Nili* 泥利 known from Chinese historical records. It

is, therefore, only logical to assume that the statue itself represents an image of this little known western Qaghan who died shortly before or after 600 CE.³¹

Despite its importance as the earliest securely dated Turkic sculpture, the Xiao Hongnahai statue has been neglected in scholarly discussion. In August 2008, I had the chance to visit the site and carefully examine the statue *in situ*. The most surprising results came from my inspection of its headgear (Fig. 6 a-d). Although the head of the statue is severely weathered, and in some parts even damaged, it is still possible to identify the major elements of its headgear. The basic element is clearly a headband to the top of which several other elements are fastened. Most prominent is a disc-shaped piece affixed to the front of the headband, on which can be made out an inner concentric and slightly convex element. Slightly smaller than the frontal disc are two other discs, each to either side, also affixed to the top of the headband. The elements between these three discs are not completely clear, but it is possible to identify an arc-shaped element at each side of the frontal disc. On top of each disc an additional, but smaller disc, appears to be attached.

Judging from the head’s rounded shape it might seem that these elements are to be appliqués on a flat cap or hat, but this impression probably due to the poor artistic quality of the statue, which was largely left *en bosse* with only very sparse modelling. Instead, we may assume that the depiction of a circlet supporting various elements was actually intended. That there is no indication of hair within the circlet or above the headband but several braids are shown running down the back does not necessarily contradict this assumption. In my view this is simply because the artist paid attention only to the braids as they are characteristically Turkic. The same tendency can be observed on other Turkic statues with braids.³² Thus, it is most likely that the statue wears a crown composed of a circlet or headband that supports several disc- and arc-shaped elements.

There are – to the best of my knowledge – no direct analogies for this type of crown from the archaeology of the early Turkic steppes. But we find comparable crowns both in Sogdia and in Eastern Turkestan. In Sogdia they appear on several early medieval terracotta figurines (Fig. 7 a-c). A further example comes from a sixth-century mural fragment from the northern wall of the ayvān of temple I at Pendjikent, which shows a “ruler” who wears a crown with three golden discs, probably affixed on a diadem (Fig. 8).³³ Because of a serpent growing out of his shoulders he is generally identified with the Avestan demon *Ḍahhāk*. However, this interpretation is not definitely proven.³⁴ In Eastern Turkestan close comparative examples can be found on fourth–eighth century murals in the Kucha area, specifically at Qyzyl and Duldur-aqur where a very similar diadem with three discs appears as the headdress of *apsaras*,

bodhisattvas, and devas, as well as foreign (i.e., Indian) kings (Fig. 9 a-c).

It is not easy to determine the ultimate origin of this type of crown but it seems foreign both to Eastern Turkestan and to Sogdia. In Sogdia it never appears in identifiable representations of contemporary Sogdian aristocrats as known from history painting, images of donors or from coins. On the contrary, in the case of the Pendjikent mural from temple I the three-disc crown is associated with a clearly supernatural character. Unfortunately, nothing can be said with certainty about the identity of the terracotta figurines. As recently pointed out by Kageyama, it seems as if Sogdian aristocrats actually preferred crowns with wings and crescents.³⁵ Also in the Kucha area the three-disc crown is never associated with representations of local donors and was, therefore, probably not used by the local aristocracy.³⁶ Because of the Buddhist contents of the Kuchean murals one might speculate about a—however distant—“Indian” origin for this crown.³⁷ Further, in Sogdia, iconographic influences from Indian art are strong in the sixth century.³⁸ At the same time, the so-called “Ḍaḥḥāk” from Pendjikent has some iconographic parallels with Buddhist art in China.³⁹

A link between Sogdia and the Kucha area on the one hand and a statue of Western Türk Qaghan in the Tekes valley on the other is not at all surprising. The influential role played by Sogdians at the residences of the Türks is well known⁴⁰ and it should be remembered that the statue in question carries a Sogdian inscription. The Tekes valley was, in fact, directly linked with the Kucha oasis via the Muzart pass. Documents from Astana, dating to around 670, show that this route was regularly used by Sogdian and Chinese merchants.⁴¹ What is even more noteworthy is that from the 560s to the 620s the residence of the Western Qaghans was mainly situated at the Ektag which should be localized somewhere in the Tianshan range just north of Kucha.⁴²

However, the wearing of a crown reminiscent of “Indian” models by a Western Türk-Qaghan is, admittedly, not easy to explain. Perhaps it is related to a Buddhist mission among the Western Türks – although in fact very little is known about this mission before the time of Xuanzang 玄奘 (and even later). We do know that as early as 564 a Chinese pilgrim monk named *Daopan* 道判 sojourned at the residence of the Western Qaghan at the Ektag.⁴³ He was probably not the only one as the close proximity of the wealthy monasteries in Eastern Turkestan makes the early presence of Buddhist missionaries among the Western Türks very likely.⁴⁴ Besides, *Nili* Qaghan was not a descendant of Ishtāmi, the founder of the hereditary line of the Western Türks, but the grandson of Mūxān Qaghan and therefore of “eastern” origin. Among the Eastern Türks, however, Buddhist missions are amply attested from the days of Mūxān and Tātpār Qaghan.⁴⁵ Thus, the possibly Indian-

inspired crown of the Xiao Hongnagai statue could actually be related to the Eastern Türks.

However, a headband or a diadem with two to three appliquéés (but not actual “top pieces”) might not have been completely alien to the sixth-century Türks. In a Turkic burial from Mogun-Taiga in Tuva (MT-58-VIII) the two small gilded rosette appliquéés, found near the head of the deceased, should be interpreted as part of a headband or cap (Fig. 10 a-b).⁴⁶ The burial cannot be dated before the second third of the seventh century; more probable is a date between the end of the seventh and the middle of eighth century, thus considerably later than the Xiao Hongnagai statue. However, two or three almost identical gilded rosette appliquéés of an original diadem were found in a rich burial of an Early Avar warrior in Szegvár-Sápoldal (Hungary);⁴⁷ a (possibly semi-official) imitation of a solidus of Maurice (from 583/584 and in mint condition) dates the burial probably still in the 580s.⁴⁸ Most probably this Avar belonged to the first generation of Avars and came from the Asian steppes. Like his riding equipment and arms, the headband with appliquéés appears to stem from traditions rooted in his old homeland somewhere east of the Urals, as already noted by I. Bóna.⁴⁹

Interestingly, a similar headgear consisting of a diadem or a headband with three oval-shaped appliquéés is known from a mural in cave No. 33 (Chinese numbering; No. 20 after Grünwedel) in Bāzāklik depicting a mourning scene at the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa* and dating to the Uyghur period (after mid-ninth century).⁵⁰ The diadem in question is worn by a princely figure that features Mongoloid traits and – more importantly – long hair divided into long strands or braids (Fig. 11). Although the hair of the figure is partially defaced its outlines are still traceable. As this hairstyle is very similar to the one of the sixth-eighth-century Türks (see the depiction of a Türk at Qianling in Fig. 15 a-d discussed below) it might be suggested that the image actually goes back to an older representation of a Turkic prince).

Yet a further monument must be mentioned apropos of disc-shaped appliquéés on a Turkic headdress, namely the funerary bed now in the Miho Museum (Shigaraki, Japan), most probably dating to the second half of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century (Fig. 12 a-b).⁵¹ On two of its panels, figures identified as “Türks” wear a headdress consisting of a disc affixed to the centre of a headband. There are numerous examples of headbands or diadems with one central disc from sixth–eighth century painting or sculpture, such as from Qyzyl, Bāmiyān, and Dandān-uiliq⁵² and from Sogdia (Fig. 13 a-d). But, in contrast to the Miho panels, these examples show a central disc that clearly stands up from the band. This might suggest that we are dealing here with two different kinds of headgear revealing different functions or offices. In fact, the headgear on the Miho panels cannot be considered a “crown”

as on one Miho panel (Fig. 12a) it is only members of the Türkic retinue who wear this type of headband while their master (whose princely status is indicated by a parasol) does not wear any headgear at all. That this headband cannot even be considered as characteristic only for Türks is apparent from mid-seventh-century murals from Afrasiab (Old Samarqand) where we find a delegation with a very similar headdress (Fig. 14). The ethnic identity of these delegates is not entirely clear but they are definitely not Türks.⁵³

IV. THE HEADBAND OF THE WESTERN TÜRK-QAGHANS

In addition to the “Indian style” headdress of the statue of Xiao Hongnagai we have evidence of another type of headgear worn by the Western Türk-Qaghans in the seventh century, namely a simple headband (without any appliqué) bound at the back of the head. The first reference to this headdress comes from Xuanzang 玄奘 who met the Yabghu Qaghan in spring 630 CE near Süyāb. Concerning the Qaghan’s appearance, he relates that “the Qaghan wore a robe [made of] green damask silk; his hair, which was ten feet long, he wore loose. Around his forehead a band of white silk was wound which hung down behind.”⁵⁴

A very similar headband can be observed on one of the statues of the so-called “61 foreign chieftains” from the Spirit Road of the Qianling 乾陵 (Fig. 15 a-d; Fig. 16). Divided into long strands or braids, this identifies the figure as a Türk; furthermore, it can be demonstrated, with a high degree of probability, this is indeed the depiction of a Western Türk Qaghan.

The statues of the “foreign chieftains” are arranged in two groups of originally 32 statues, each composed of four rows with eight statues, to the east and to the west of the passage way (Fig. 17).⁵⁵ Originally every statue of these “foreign chieftains” bore an inscription on its back giving the name and titles of the depicted person; however, this inscription has long disappeared from this particular statue. Fortunately, a list of 36 of the original inscriptions has been preserved in the *Chang’an Zhitu* (長安志圖; mid-fourteenth century).⁵⁶ This list ultimately goes back to four tablets, each containing the names and titles of 16 statues, compiled from older rubbings and placed near the statues between 1086 and 1094 by a certain You Shixing 游師雄. Obviously, these tablets did not cite the inscriptions in completely random order—instead it seems that each tablet contained the original inscriptions of two rows of statues (each made up by eight persons) because the passage in the *Chang’an Zhitu* refers to a “first” and a “second left tablet” and a “first” and a “second right tablet”. This corresponds perfectly with the four (2 × 2) rows of statues to the “left” of the passage way and another four rows to the “right” of it. However, by the time of the compilation of the *Chang’an*

Zhitu only three of the four original tablets had survived, namely the “second left tablet,” the “first right tablet,” and the “second right tablet.” On them the compilers of the *Chang’an Zhitu* deciphered (sometimes wrongly) the names and titles of a total of 36 persons: 10 from the “second left tablet,” 12 from the “first right tablet,” and 14 from the “second right tablet.”⁵⁷ Chen Guocan was the first to draw attention to the existence of these lists and scrupulously corrected them according to data from the dynastical chronicles and encyclopaedias.⁵⁸

Now, it seems possible to determine which of the 2 × 4 rows of eight statues each belonged to the “second left tablet,” the “first right tablet,” and the “second right tablet,” respectively. A starting point is given with the surviving inscriptions of six statues published 1960 and corrected by Chen Guocan in 1980.⁵⁹ According to Chen these six extant inscriptions refer to a king from Qiemo 且末, a Yabghu from Tokhāristān, a Tegin from Tokhāristān, a king from Khotan, a king from Zhujuban 硃俱半, and an emissary from the Eastern Türks. Unfortunately, neither the article from 1960 nor Chen’s substantial study indicates which of the surviving statues bears which of the surviving six inscriptions on its back. When I visited the site in July 2008, I was only able to identify the statue of the Tegin of Tokhāristān and of the King of Zhujuban with certainty (traces of the original inscriptions on two other statues were too badly preserved to be assigned). Yet these two inscriptions make it clear that the inscription of the statue of the Türk with headband once must have been recorded in the “first right tablet.”

This observation helps us to narrow down the possible identity of the statue with a high degree of probability because from the original 16 persons once recorded in the “first right tablet” a total of 11 are still known to us from the list in the *Chang’an Zhitu*. Amongst them are only three Türks – all of them Qaghans of the Nushibi or Duolu wing of the Western Türks, namely Ashina Mishe 阿史那彌射 (d. 662 CE), his son Ashina Yuanqing 阿史那元慶 (d. 692 CE) – both Qaghans of the Duolu 咄六 wing – and his cousin’s son Ashina Huseluo 阿史那斛瑟羅 (d. 701 CE), Qaghan of the Nushibi 弩失畢 wing.⁶⁰ Given that these close relatives stood near to each other we might even restore one of the four persons missing from the list, namely Ashina Buzhen 阿史那步真 (d. 666/667 CE), cousin of Ashina Mishe, father of Ashina Huseluo, and Qaghan of the Nushibi wing of the Western Türks.

As we can see, the statue of a Türk from the Qianling is most probably that of a Western Türk-Qaghan from the second half of the seventh century. Like his ancestor in 630 he still wears a simple headband bound together at the back of the head. However, this headband was not part of the ceremonial costume of the Western Türk-Qaghans, although the crown on the statue from Xiao Hongnagai at the turn of the sixth to seventh century was part of such a costume. This is obvious

from the circumstances under which Xuanzang met the Qaghan who wore the headband, namely on a hunting excursion. Also, on the Qianling statue the headband is only a personal attribute because the statue was intended as a representation of a Chinese official, not of a sovereign of a foreign people.⁶¹

The question then arises of whether there was an actual “crown” of the western Qaghans in the later seventh and the early eighth centuries. Numismatic data seem to deny it. The portrait of a seated male on the coin series which G. Babayarov recently attributed to Tong Yehu Qaghan does not show any headgear at all.⁶² Other series attributed to the same Qaghan show two half-length portraits *en face* which Babayarov interprets as portraits of the Qaghan and the Qatun. But here again, the left one which seems to be a male person is given without any headgear; only the right and possibly female portrait wears a peculiar triple-pointed headdress.⁶³ At this moment, however, it would be premature to give a definite answer because in a yet unpublished manuscript of al-Tha‘ālibī’s *Ghurār al-siyar* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a “Qaghan, king of the Türks” (*khāqān malik at-turk*) is mentioned who actually wore “a crown on his head” (*tāğ-ubū ‘alā ra’s-ih*).⁶⁴

V. CONCLUSION

This short survey should by no means be seen as a final result of research. However, I hope to have shown that the Royal Türks seem to have worn at different times quite different types of headgear. At least partly this variety seems to be due to functional aspects. Thus, the “bird tiara” was primarily worn by high-ranking military officials of the late Eastern Türks.

A second more general conclusion which might be deduced is a certain tendency for the Royal Türks to imitate “foreign” models. These models relate not only to Chinese influences (as in the case of the “bird tiara”) but possibly also to more distant prototypes, as suggested by the statue in Xiao Hongnagai. At the same time, a specific “Turkic” form of crown is lacking. A possible reason for this is that originally Turkic chieftains do not seem to have worn a specific headgear as a sign of authority. Thus, the Turkic chiefs on the Miho bed or from the stone bed of An Qie 安伽 (d. 579 CE) are all represented without any headgear at all. Probably, the Türk Qaghans and their entourage developed a taste for crowns and similar kinds of headgear only under the influence of their sedentary neighbours and subjects.

Notes

¹ E. Kageyama, "The Winged Crown and the Triple-Crescent Crown in the Sogdian Funerary Monuments from China: Their Relation to the Hephthalite Occupation of Central Asia," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2 (2007): 12.

² *Zhoushu* 50 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 909; *Suishu* 84 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 1864: "It is their custom to let their hair loosely hanging down the spine (*pifa* 被髮) and to close their gown on the left side (*zuoren* 左衽)." Similarly also *Beishi* 北史 99 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 3287. However the expression *pifa zuoren* 被髮左衽 is a highly conventional expression to indicate a "barbaric" life-style already in use since in the Western Han period [see the commentary of Yan Shigu 顏師古 on *Hanshu* 73 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 3126].

³ *Jiu Tangshu* 195 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 5200; *Xin Tangshu* 217a (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 6116.

⁴ *Jiu Tangshu* 195, 5213. The parallel report in *Xin Tangshu* 217b, 6130 gives a slightly different description of the Uyghur Qatun's crown: "a golden cap, pointed in the front and in the back" (冠金冠前後銳).

⁵ Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūb* (Ḥaidarābād al-Dakkan: Maṭba'āt Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Uthmāniyah [Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau], 1968–75), VIII 56. For a detailed survey on this issue see D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen* (Inaugural-Dissertation zu Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster/Westf.) (Münster: University of Münster, 1982), 192–94.

⁶ There is an extensive literature on this subject. For an overview and further references see G. V. Kubarev, "The Robe of the Old Turks of Central Asia according to Art Materials," *Archaeology, Ethnography and Anthropology of Eurasia* 3 (2000): 81–88 and S. Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien. Archäologische und historische Studien* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2008), 187.

⁷ The early research history of Khōshōō-Tsaidam is discussed by V. E. Voitov, "Khronika arkheologicheskogo izucheniia pamiatnikov Khusho-Tsaidam v Mongolii (1889–1958)," *Drevnie kul'tury Mongolii*, ed. R. S. Vasilevskii (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1958), 114–36.

⁸ L. Jisl, "Vorbericht über die archäologische Erforschung des Kül-tegin-Denkmal durch die tschechoslowakisch-mongolische Expedition des Jahres 1958," *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 32 (1960): 70–71.

⁹ Jisl, "Vorbericht," 71; E. Nowgorodowa, *Alte Kunst der Mongolei* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1980), 240–41.

¹⁰ *Jiu Tangshu* 194a, 5177; Similar *Xin Tangshu* 215b, 6053–6054 which has the correct date as year 19 kaiyuan (631 CE). Italics author's.

¹¹ Jisl, "Vorbericht," 71

¹² L. Jisl, *The Orkhon Türks and Problems of the Archaeology of the Second Eastern Türk Kaghanate* (Prague: Náprstek Museum, 1997), 72.

¹³ See for instance the relief carvings at Khōl-Asgat in Central Mongolia (Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, fig. 36b).

¹⁴ Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 79, 122, 187, fig. 34a–b.

¹⁵ Jisl, "Vorbericht," 71.

¹⁶ D. Bayar, "Recent archaeological research at the Bilge-Kagan's site," *Archaeology, Ethnography and Anthropology of Eurasia* 20 (2004): 78–79.

¹⁷ This observation is important as some of the objects from the same hoard seem to have been specifically manufactured for deposition as they are worked *en miniature*.

¹⁸ Bayar, "Recent archaeological research," 78.

¹⁹ *Xin Tangshu* 215b, 6054.

²⁰ Inscription in honor of Kül Tegin, south, lines 11–12. Translation by the author on the basis of the text in T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968), 231–38.

²¹ Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 120, fig. 31d.

²² This was already assumed by L. Jisl, *Balbals, Steinbabas und andere Steinfliguren als Äußerung der religiösen Vorstellung der Ost-Türken* (Prague:

Academia, 1970), 29. Nowgorodowa, however, considers all statues from Khōshōō-Tsaidam-2 to be the work of indigenous Turkic masters (*Alte Kunst*, 243).

²³ Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 180–81, 204.

²⁴ Qi Dongfang, *Tangdai jinyingqi yanjiu* [Research on Tang Gold and Silver] (in Chinese with a summary in English) (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue: 1999), 133, fig. 1-369/370.

²⁵ However, as Ken Okada points out, the same iconography is rarely seen on the extant examples in China proper. Furthermore, they all date to the ninth century or even later (Ken Okawa, "Tobatsu bishamon-ten ryuzō," *To-ji no Rekishi to Bijutsu* (in Japanese – *non vidi*) (Tokyo: 1995). I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Yukiko Shirahara, Chief Curator of the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts in Tōkyō, to whom I owe this information.

²⁶ The site Khōshōō-Tsaidam-2 served the commemoration of a deceased person (perhaps combined with the worship of ancestors). Such "memorials" are extremely widespread in the Turkic steppes of Inner Asia: see V. E. Voitov, *Drevnetiurkskii panteon i model' mirozdaniia v kul'tovo-pominal'nykh pamiatnikakh Mongolii VI–VIII vv.* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi Muzei Vostoka, 1996); V. D. Kubarev, *Drevnetiurkskie izvaianiia Altaia* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1984); Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 109–19. Nowhere is this type of site in any way associated with Buddhism; the assumption that the inscription of the stele from Bugut (probably the "memorial" for Tuobo/Tātpār Qaghan; d. 581 CE) refers to the construction of a Buddhist monastery is now obsolete, according to the new reading provided by Yutaka Yoshida (together with Takao Moriyasu), "Bugut Inscription," in *Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998*, eds. T. Moriyasu and A. Ochir (Ōsaka: The Society of Central Eurasian Studies, 1999), 122–24. Furthermore we observe an "anti-Buddhist" attitude among the elites of the Eastern Türks exactly in the time of Kül Tegin (*Jiu Tangshu* 194a, 5174; *Xin Tangshu* 215b, 6052).

²⁷ *Jiu Tangshu* 194a, 5173: "[Bilgä Qaghan] was aware that he owed his rule to Kül Tegin and he was willing to cede him [the throne]. However, Kül Tegin did not consent. Finally [Bilgä Qaghan] appointed him as 'Wise King of the left [wing]' and entrusted him alone with the supreme command about the army."

²⁸ Inscription in honor of Bilgä Qaghan, south, line 9: "I reigned nineteen years as Shad, nineteen years I reigned as Qaghan." Translation by the author on the basis of the text in T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968), 246. Concerning the office of "shad" among the Türks, see R. Giraud, *L'empire des Turcs célestes: Les règnes d'Elterich, Qaghan et Bilgä (680–734). Contribution à l'histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1960), 78; B. Ögel, "Über die alttürkische Schad (Sü-baschi)-Würde," *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963): 27–42; A. Bombaci, "On the Ancient Turkish Titel 'Šad,'" *Gururajamanjarikā: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci* 1 (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1974), 163–93.

²⁹ For a detailed description of the site see T. Ōsawa, "Aspect of the Relationship between the Ancient Turks and the Sogdians – based on a Stone Statue with Sogdian Inscription in Xinjiang," in *Ērān ud Anērān. Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, eds. M. Comparesi, P. Raffetta, and G. Scarica (Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscara, 2006), 471–504; Lin Meicun, "A Survey of the Turkic Cemetery in Little Khonakhai," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, eds. É. de La Vaissière and É. Trombert (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient, 2005), 377–96. Despite the statement of these authors, it is *not* a burial site (see Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 73–75).

³⁰ Y. Yoshida, "Shinkyō uyuru jichiku shinshutsu sogudogo shiryō [Reports on Sogdian texts newly discovered in Xinjiang] (in Japanese)," *Nairiku Ajia gengo nokenkyū* 6 (1990), *Kōbeshi gaikokugo daigaku gaikokugo kenkyū* 23, 57–83 [*non vidi*]; Y. Yoshida, "Sogudo go shiryō kara mita sogudo jinn no katsudō (in Japanese)," *Iwanami kōza sekai rekishi* 11 (1997), 227–48

[*non vidi*]. For an English translation of Yoshida's reading (with some improvements by Ōsawa) cf. Ōsawa, "Aspect of the Relationship," 475–76; as for the date of the inscription proposed by Lin Meicun cf. Lin, "A Survey," 389–93.

³¹ Ōsawa, "Aspect of the Relationship," 478–81, 486; Lin, "A Survey," 392.

³² Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, fig. 41e–f.

³³ A. M. Belenitskii and B.I. Marshak, "Nastennye rospisi, otkrytye v Pendjikente v 1971 godu," in *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitaja* 37 (1973): 56; G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting. The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art. With contributions by A. M. Belenitskii, B. I. Marshak, and Mark J. Dresden* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 67–68, 108, 187. Unfortunately, the published drawings of this mural differ somewhat from each other exactly with respect to the headgear: the drawing as published by Belenitskii and Marshak in 1973 (and in some later publications) clearly shows two disks (with two concentric circles inside) and the edge of a third one. However, this drawing is rather schematic and seems, therefore, not absolutely reliable. This is obvious if compared with the drawing as published by the same authors in Azarpay, *Sogdian painting*, fig. 33. But although more accurate in detail it also shows two discs and the edge of a third one. In a different and also quite detailed drawing, published in A. M. Belenitskii and V. A. Meshkeris, "Smei-drakony v drevnem iskusstve Srednei Azii," *Sovetskaiia arkhologiiia* 3 (1986): 24, fig. 8, traces of only two discs are reproduced. This, however, contradicts the description of the crown in A. M. Belenitskii, *Monumental'noe iskusstvo Pendjikenta* (Moskva: Iskusstvo: 1973), 13.

³⁴ M. Mode, "Die Gottheit mit den Drachenschultern (zur Herkunft und Identität des 'Dahhāk' von Pendžikent)," *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 11 (1987): 65–81; M. Mode, "Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst," in *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens* (Die Religionen der Menschheit 4.3), eds. K. Jettmar and E. Kattner (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003), 179.

³⁵ Kageyama, "The Winged Crown."

³⁶ A very similar crown consisting of a diadem with three discs is worn by a royal person in the lunette painting of the 38-meter Buddha at Bāmiyān (figure E 9 according to Z. Tarzi, D.6 E). However, this person seems to represent a princess; cf. Z. Tarzi, *L'architecture et le décor rupestre des grottes de Bāmiyān* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1977), 8–9, pl. D 53; d; D. Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bāmiyān. Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindu Kush* (Naples-Rome: Istituto Universitario Orientale and Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989), fig. 4. The drawing in Klimburg-Salter (after Akira Miyaji) somewhat differs from the one in Tarzi with respect to the headgear, but this seems to be due to the (repeated) reproduction of the plate in question.

Perhaps the cultural area of "greater Kashmīr," stretching from eastern Afghanistan to Ladakh, and south to Taxila (for the terminus see Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bāmiyān*, 50) played some role in this context. Already twenty years ago Klimburg-Salter suggested that there was some cultural interaction between the Turks and the Kashmiris as early as in the sixth century (Klimburg-Salter, *The Kingdom of Bāmiyān*, 31). Indeed, very similar arc-shaped elements as those from the Xiao Hongnahai crown can be found on the crown of a Viṣṇu bronze from Swāt in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin. This bronze sculpture is mostly dated to the seventh (H. Härtel, "Zur Datierung einer alten Viṣṇu-Bronze," in *Indologen-Tagung 1959*, ed. E. Wäldschmidt [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960], 165–178) or sixth century [P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir* [Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975], 64–65).

³⁷ Mode, "Die Religion der Sogder," 169.

³⁸ Mode, "Die Religion der Sogder," 179, n. 170.

³⁹ Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 287–314 (with older literature).

⁴⁰ V. Hansen, "The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 550–800," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, eds. É. de La Vaissière and É. Trombert (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, 2005), 291–92.

⁴¹ Probably in the Yulduz valley (É. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toue-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* [St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale de Sciences, 1903], 235–37) or even in the Tekes valley itself. Attempts to localize Ektag

in the Talas area or even in the Altai are not in accord with our sources (Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, 192, n. 1086).

⁴² *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, juan 12 (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 50/2060, 517a); cf. Wang Huan, "Apa Qaghan, Founder of the Western Turkish Khanate, the Splitting Up of the Turkish Khanate and the Formation of the Western Turkish Khanate," *Social Sciences in China* 3/4 (1982): 132.

⁴³ If Beckwith's derivation of the name of the first Türgesh Qaghan Wuzhile ("Ochirliq" from "Vajrapāni" is correct, this would shed some light on a surprisingly strong Buddhist impact on the elites of the On Oq, at least by the second half of the seventh century; cf. C. I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 65, n.70.

⁴⁴ A. von Gabain, "Buddhistische Türkenmission," in *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller, zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, eds. J. Schubert and U. Schneider (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1954), 161–68; Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)* 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1958), 461–62.

⁴⁵ A. D. Grach, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Kara-Khole i v Mogun-Taige (polevoi sezon 1958 g.," in *Trudy Tuvin'skoi Arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi Ekspeditsii* 1 (Moscow and Leningrad: Nauka, 1960), 121.

⁴⁶ I. Bóna, "Studien zum frühawarischen Reitergrab von Szegvár," *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica* 32 (1980): 36–39.

⁴⁷ Regarding this coin see P. Somogyi, *Byzantinische Fundmünzen der Awarenzeit* (Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie 5 (Innsbruck: 1997), 84–87

⁴⁸ Bóna, "Studien," 92.

⁴⁹ Zhao Min et al., eds., *Zhongguo Xinjiang Bibua Quanji 6: Tuyugou, Baizikelike* [Complete Collection of Xinjiang Murals 6: Tuyugou and Baizikelike] (in Chinese) (Shenyang: Liaoning Meishu Chubanshe, 1995), 42.

⁵⁰ J. A. Lerner, *Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China*. Sino-Platonic Papers 168 (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 2005), 1–3 (with further literature).

⁵¹ M. Mode, "Sogdian Gods in Exile. Some iconographic evidence from Khotan in the light of recently excavated material from Sogdiana," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1991/1992): 184

⁵² For the different opinions on the dating of the murals see the different contributions in M. Compareti and É. de La Vaissière, eds., *Royal Naurüz in Samarqand. Proceedings of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Paintings at Afrasiab* (Pisa/Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2006). The older opinion of L. I. Al'baum that the delegates in question come from Chāch can be safely dismissed (see M. Mode, *Sogdien und die Herrscher der Welt. Türken, Sasaniden und Chinesen in Historiengemälden des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Alt-Samarqand* [Frankfurt a. M. et al.: Peter Lang, 1993], 45–46). Marshak interprets them as envoys from "a mountainous country (Tibet?)" (B. I. Marshak, "Remarks on the Murals of the Ambassadors' Hall," M. Compareti and É. de La Vaissière, eds., *Royal Naurüz in Samarqand. Proceedings of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Paintings at Afrasiab* (Pisa/Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2006), 76) At any rate they must belong to a country of "greater East Asia" (M. Mode, *Court art of Sogdian Samarqand in the 7th century A.D. Some remarks to an old problem* [www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/afra/text/wmyst.htm]).

⁵³ *Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* [Biography of master Sanzang of Dacien temple] (in Chinese), eds. Sun Yutang and Xie Fang (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 28.

⁵⁴ Still the most essential study on this sculpture is: Chen Guocan, "Tang Qianling shirenxiang ji qi xianming de yanjiu" [Research on the stone statues from Tang Qianling and their titles] (in Chinese) *Wenwu jikan* 2 (1980): 189–203.

⁵⁵ "Chang'an Zhitu" [Illustrated Chronicle of Chang'an] (in Chinese), in *Songyuan fangzhi congkan* [Collection of the Song and Yuan gazetteers] 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1990), 215–16. This observation was first made by Chen, "Tang Qianling," 190.

⁵⁶ *Chang'an Zhitu*, 215–216.

⁵⁷ Chen, “Tang Qianling,” 190–201.

⁵⁸ Shaanxi wenguanhui, “Tang Qianling kanchaji” [Report on explorations at Tang Qianling] (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 4 (1960): 54; Chen, “Tang Qianling,” 190.

⁵⁹ *Chang'an Zhitu*, 215.

⁶⁰ Each of the four Qaghans in question was only a Chinese puppet Qaghan. The statue's character as a representation of a Chinese official is clear from the inscription mentioning the depicted person's court title. Furthermore, the statue (like most of the other “foreign chieftains”) wears the contemporary Chinese court costume.

⁶¹ G. Babayarov, *Drevnetiurkskie monety chachskogo oazisa (VI-VIII vv. n.e.)* (Tashkent: Natsional'naia biblioteka Uzbekistana, 2007), 9–10.

⁶² Babayarov, *Drevnetiurkskie*, 14. A very similar headgear is known from several “Turkic” stone statues and carvings from Semirech'e, the western Tianshan and present-day Xinjiang (Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit*, fig. 40).

⁶³ al-Tha'ālibī, *Ghurār as-Siyar*, Ms. D'Orville 542, f. 48a (*non vidi*). I owe this information to Dr. Yurii Karev who worked with this manuscript and to whom I would like to express my sincere thanks. Unfortunately, the text does not tell anything about the shape of this crown.



a. After *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*. Catalogue of an Exhibition (Munich: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 2005), Cat.-Nr. 44.

b. After L. Jisl, "Výzkum Külteginova památníku v Mongolské lidové republice," *Archeologické rozhledy* 12 (1960): fig. 51.

Fig. 1. *Head of a Statue of Kül Tegin*. 732 CE. Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2. h: 42 cm, l: 21 cm, d: 21.5 cm. Marble. National Museum of Mongolian History.



Fig. 2. *Appliqué from a Headdress*. Before 735 CE. Khöshöö-Tsaidam-2. h: 9.8 cm, l: 25.7 cm. Gold and ruby. National Museum of Mongolian History, Ulaanbaatar. After *Dschingis Khan*, Cat.-Nr. 45.



Fig. 3. *Vaisravana*. Tang (before c. 800 CE.). Wood. To-ji Temple, Kyoto. After *Treasures from the To-ji Temple*, ed. Kyoto National Museum, To-ji Temple and Asahi Shimbun. (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1995), 44.



Fig. 4. *Military Official*. Tang (717 CE). Grave of Li Zhen. h 112 cm, l 27 cm. Clay with painting and gilding. Zhaoling Museum, Shaanxi. After D. Kuhn and I. Asim, eds., *Chinas goldenes Zeitalter* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1993), Cat.-Nr. 20).



Fig. 5 a–c. *Statue with Sogdian Inscription*. C. 600 CE. Xiao Hongnahai (Xinjiang). h 183 cm (above ground), 10.50 cm (max.). Granite. *In situ*. Author's photograph.

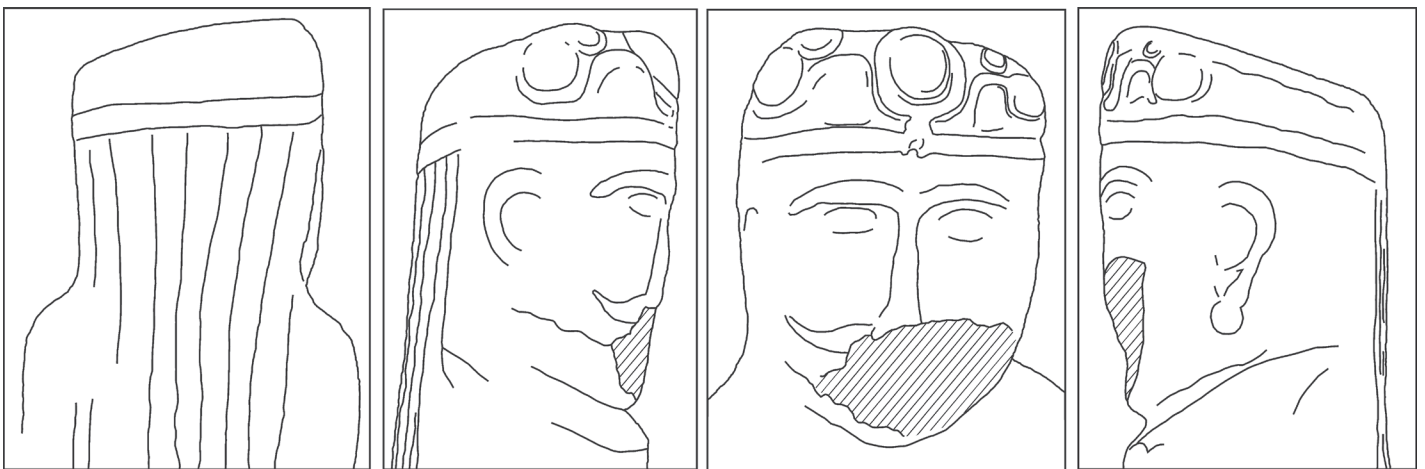


Fig. 6 a–d. Details of Fig. 5. Head of the Statue. Author's drawings.

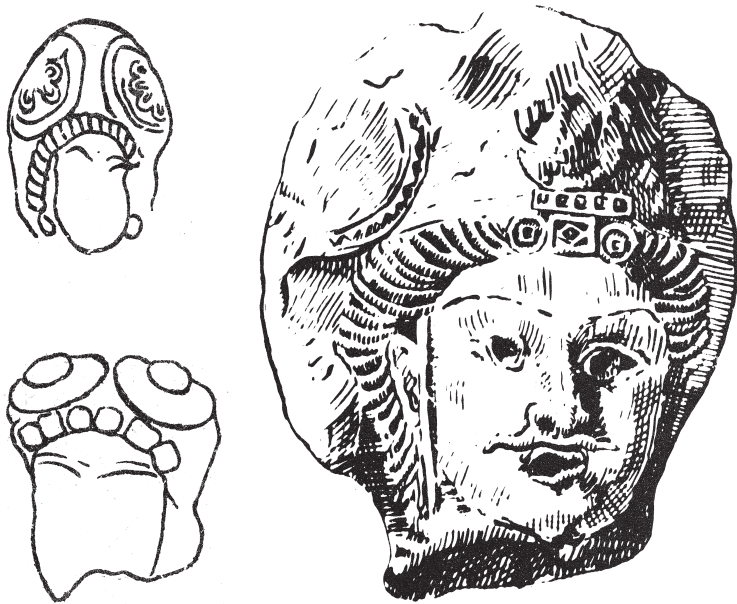
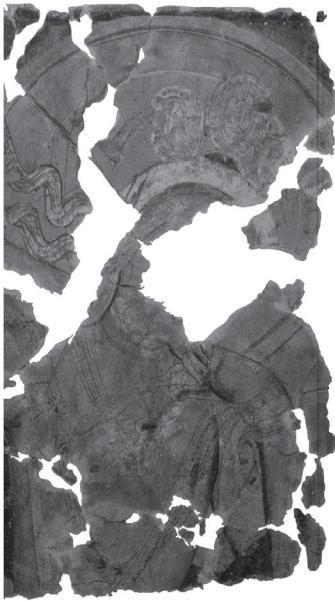


Fig. 7. a–c. *Sogdian Figurines*. C. fifth–eighth centuries CE. Clay.
 a. Afrasiab. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection Kastal'skii). After V. A. Meshkeris, *Sogdiiskaia terrakota* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1989), fig. 87:1.
 b. Afrasiab. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection Kastal'skii). After V. A. Meshkeris, *Sogdiiskaia terrakota* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1989), fig. 87:3.
 c. Afrasiab? State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Collection Kastal'skii). After V. A. Meshkeris, *Sogdiiskaia terrakota* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1989), fig. 95:5.



Fig. 8. *Ḍabḥāk* (?). Sixth century CE. Detail of a mural from the ayvān of temple I in Pendjikent. After G. Azarpay, *Sogdian painting*, fig. 33.



a. *Rudrāyana* (detail). Qyzyl. Cave 83, fourth century CE. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. After A. Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha. Archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus Buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt* (Berlin: Otto Elsner, 1920), Taf. XL-XLI.

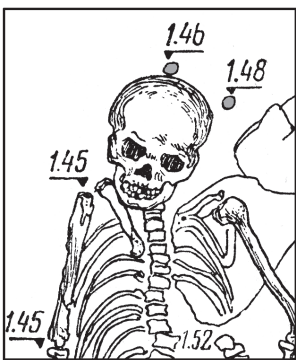


King Suddhodana passes his crown to a servant. Qyzyl. Cave 206. C. sixth/seventh century CE. Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. After A. Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha. Archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus Buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt* (Berlin: Otto Elsner, 1920), Taf. XXX.

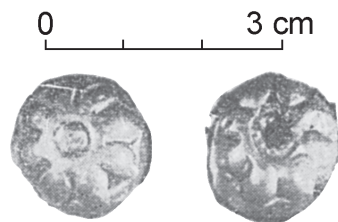


b. *Apsara*. Mural from Duldur-aqur. C. 700 CE. Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris. After W. Seipel, ed., *Weibrauch und Seide. Alte Kulturen an der Seidenstraße* (Vienna and Mailand: Kunsthistorisches Museum & Skira Editore, 1996), Cat.-Nr. 195.

Fig. 9 a-c. Murals. C. fourth–eighth century CE Kucha region (Xinjiang).



a. *Plan* (detail). After Grach, “Arkheologicheskije issledovaniia,” fig. 57.



b. *Rosette appliques from a beadband*. After Grach, “Arkheologicheskije issledovaniia,” fig. 60.

Fig. 10 a-b. *Mogun-Taiga. Burial MT-58-VIII*. Seventh–eighth century CE.



Fig. 11. *Mourning Prince at the Buddha's Parinirvāna* (detail). After mid-ninth century CE. Mural from Bāzāklik, cave 33. After Zhao Min *et al.*, eds., *Zhongguo Xinjiang*, fig. 107.

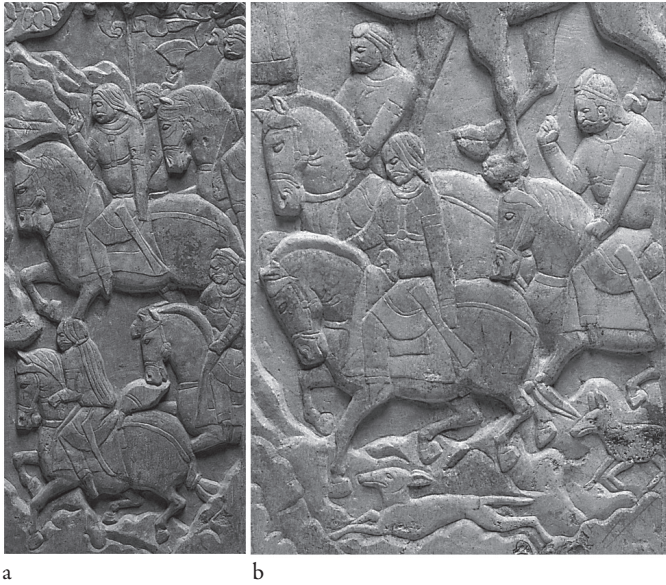


Fig. 12 a-b. *Two Panels from the Miho bed*. Northern Qi/ Early Sui (second half of the sixth century CE). Marble.
 a. *Turkic chieftain and his entourage* (detail). Courtesy of the Shumei Foundation/Miho Museum, Shigaraki, Shiga, Japan.
 b. *Turkic horsemen guarding a caravan* (detail). Courtesy of the Shumei Foundation/Miho Museum, Shigaraki, Shiga, Japan.



Fig. 13. *Headband or Diadem with Disc Appliqué*.
 a. *Vajrapāni*. Mural from Qyzyl, cave 206. C. sixth/seventh century CE. After Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Taf. XXVIII-XXIX/fig. 1.
 b. *Unidentified Sogdian (?) god* (above) and *Washagn (?)* Painting on wood. Dandān-uilik. British Museum. After M. Yaldiz, *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang)* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1987), fig. 117.
 c. *Sogdian coroplastics*. C. fifth/sixth–eighth century CE. Above: Unknown find spot, now in The History Museum, Tashkent; below: Afrasiab, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Both after Meshkeris, *Sogdiiskaia terrakota*, fig. 93: 10 and 4).
 d. *Donor*. Mid-sixth century CE. Mural from the lunette of the 38-m Buddha niche at Bāmiyān (after Tarzi, *L'architecture*, pl. D 53:e).

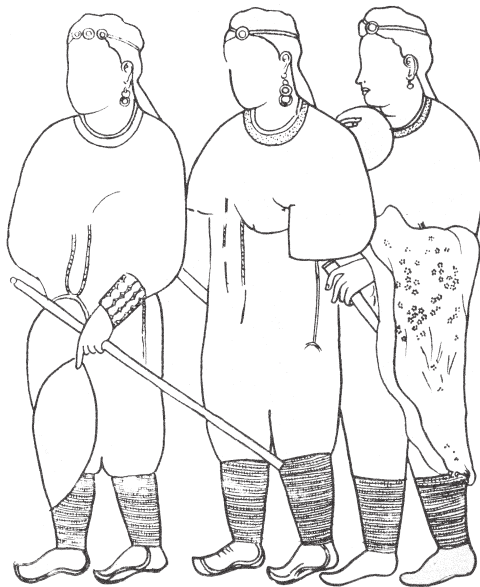


Fig. 14. *Tibetan (?) Delegation*. Mid-seventh century. Mural from Afrasiab (Old Samarqand). After L. I. Al'baum, *Zhivopis' Afrasiaba* (Tashkent: Fan, 1975), fig. 7.



Fig. 15 a–d. *Statue of a Western Türk-Qaghan*. Tang (c. 705 CE.). Qianling (Shaanxi). Limestone; h. c. 160 cm, l 45 cm (max.). Author's photograph.



Fig. 16. Detail of Fig. 15.

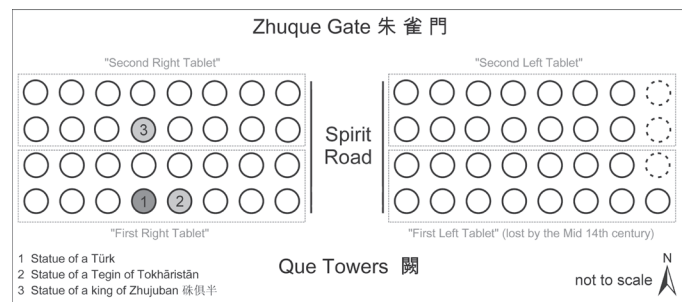


Fig. 17. *Sketch plan of the "61 Foreign Chieftains" at Qianling (Shaanxi)*. Author's drawing.