

## ARTICLES ON WESTERN CENTRAL ASIA

# The Winged Crown and the Triple-crescent Crown in the Sogdian Funerary Monuments from China: Their Relation to the Hephthalite Occupation of Central Asia\*

ETSUKO KAGEYAMA

(Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Kobe, Japan)

## I. INTRODUCTION

Since 1999 four tombs of Central Asians, mostly Sogdians, have been discovered at Xi'an 西安 and Taiyuan 太原 in China, which provide us with stone funerary couches and house-shaped sarcophagi, decorated with painted reliefs. Each of these tombs contained an epitaph in Chinese or in Sino-Sogdian, which states that these personages were buried at the end of the Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581) or in the early Sui 隋 (581-618): Kang Ye 康業 in 571, An Qie 安伽 in 579 (Fig. 1), Shi Jun 史君 (whose Sogdian name was Wirkak) in 580 (Fig. 2) and Yu Hong 虞弘 in 592. Most likely dating to the same period (the last third of the sixth century) are the funerary couches in private and public collections, which are attributed to Sogdians or Central Asians by their subject matter and carving techniques.<sup>1</sup> The varied subjects depicted in the reliefs of these monuments mirror the luxurious life of the deceased, each of whom played an important leadership role in the social or religious activities of his community in China.

In Sogdiana, especially at Panjikent (in present-day Tajikistan), numerous paintings of religious and secular subject matter have been found. Most of them date from the second half of the seventh to the first half of the eighth century when Sogdiana was under the nominal control of the Tang; in contrast, paintings of the sixth century, when Sogdiana was occupied by the Hephthalites and the Western Turks, are few. The reliefs on the Sogdian couches and sarcophagi from China now provide us with abundant examples of the art and iconography of the Sogdians of the sixth century. Equally important, this new evidence for Sogdian imagery has been a source for research about the nomadic Hephthalites, who ruled in Bactria and Sogdiana as well as Xinjiang and northwest India.<sup>2</sup>

Recently, Yutaka Yoshida and Jangar Ya. Il'yasov have expanded our knowledge of the Hephthalite presence in Central Asia through linguistic and art historical analysis, respectively. Yoshida has demonstrated that Zhaowu 昭武, mentioned as a Sogdian surname in documents of the Tang period, is actually a phonetic transcription of the Sogdian *čamūk*, which is an element encountered in the name of several Sogdian rulers, as well as a city in the *History of Bukhara*. However, he suggests that *čamūk* is not a Sogdian word or name, but considering the area and the period in which *čamūk* is attested, *čamūk* belongs instead to the Hephthalite language.

He discerningly compares the Hephthalite rule in Central Asia with that of the Kushans which covered almost the same region in the first and the second centuries and left a great influence on the languages and Buddhist art in that region.<sup>3</sup> Analyzing a group of terracotta figurines from Chaganian, northern Tokharistan (present-day Sukhandar'ya province, southern Uzbekistan), Il'yasov defines a set of characteristics (to be discussed later on) as Hephthalite.<sup>4</sup>

Inspired by Yoshida's and Il'yasov's work, I shall discuss in this paper the possible influence of the Hephthalites on the Sogdians, both in Sogdiana and in China that can be discerned from the Sogdian funerary monuments found in China. To do this, I will focus on two types of crowns represented in the reliefs: a winged crown and a triple-crescent crown. Our knowledge of the Hephthalites is considerably less; for, example, we know very little about the various rulers among whom their vast territory was probably divided. Here I will rely on a work of Frantz Grenet, which gives us a new perspective for the Hephthalite occupation in Sogdiana and the resulting influence.<sup>5</sup> Yutaka Yoshida and I are working together on Shi Jun's tomb inscription and reliefs, and the third part of this paper is based on the results of our collaboration.

## II. THE WORK OF GRENET AND IL'YASOV

Using mainly the archaeological evidence from Sogdiana and Bactria, Grenet rejects the traditional view that Sogdiana had suffered from the successive invasions of nomadic tribes, the Huns, Kidarites and Hephthalites, and has shown that the Hephthalites actually contributed to the reconstruction of Sogdian cities.<sup>6</sup> In his view, the Huns left Sogdian cities in ruins, but they quickly recovered in the middle of the fifth century under the Kidarites, and in the first half of the sixth century under the Hephthalites. In these centuries, in fact, Sogdiana saw an increase in its population and the rise of new cities, which prepared the way for the economic and cultural flowering of the seventh century.

Grenet also stresses the contribution of the Kidarites and the Hephthalites for the dissemination of Indian cultural elements into Sogdiana. For example, a goddess painted in the Northern chapel of Temple II in Panjikent, and dated to the sixth century, shows the influence of Hindu art, a consequence of the political

unification of the northern and southern regions of the Hindukush accomplished by the Kidarites and the Hephthalites.<sup>7</sup> Some time later, in Panjikent (about 740) a reception hall of a house was decorated with paintings of the epic cycle of Rustam. Boris I. Marshak, who directed the archaeological research at this site, has drawn attention to the head of Rustam, remarkably deformed, and suggested that this image of the hero was borrowed from the royal portraits attested on coins of the Hephthalites, who practiced cranial deformation.<sup>8</sup> Thus, beginning in the sixth century, the period of Hephthalite rule, iconography, that originated with the Hephthalites, along with elements of Hindu art from northern India, entered Sogdiana and persisted there until the eighth century.<sup>9</sup>

Recognition of a “Hephthalite period” in Sogdiana was first proposed in 1971 by A.M. Belenitskii, Marshak’s predecessor at Panjikent, after taking into consideration the evidence of Hephthalite coins, silverwork, and the Panjikent paintings and sculptures. Citing Belenitskii, Il’yasov attributes to the Hephthalite period the group of terracotta figurines from the Surkandar’ya region (Southern Uzbekistan) on the basis of their garments—a caftan with a triangular collar on the right-hand—a crown with three crescents, a crown with wings, and a particular hairdo.<sup>10</sup> He further points out that figures with these features are also found elsewhere in Sogdiana, in Bamiyan (in present day Afghanistan), and in Kucha (in present-day Xinjiang), the region that corresponds to the territory ruled by the Hephthalites (Table 1<sup>11</sup>). His observations are significant because he recognizes a political and cultural unification of Central Asia by the Hephthalites behind the diffusion of identical costumes in the region, and refuses to see the direct influence of the Sasanian Empire to the East.

### III. CROWNS REPRESENTED IN THE SOGDIAN FUNERARY RELIEFS FROM CHINA

A winged crown and a triple-crescent crown, both of which became prevalent in Central Asia in the Hephthalite period, are associated with some of the figures in the Sogdian funerary reliefs from China. The occurrence of these crowns in sixth-century China enables us to understand further Hephthalite influence among the Sogdians.

#### 1. The winged crown represented on the sarcophagi of Shi Jun and Yu Hong

In 476/477, the Sasanian emperor Peroz introduced as his third crown, one with a pair of wings (Fig. 3a). This crown is attested widely in Central Asia, as shown in Table 1: figurines from the Surkhandar’ya region (sixth-seventh century), paintings from Sogdiana (eighth century), Bamiyan (mid-sixth century) and Kizil (*ca.* 500) (Table 1b, f, i, k).<sup>12</sup> Il’yasov has noted that the “diffusion [of winged crowns] in Tokharistan and especially in Sogdiana is associated not as much with Sasanian influence as

with the Hephthalite expansion.”<sup>13</sup> Certainly, from the middle of the fifth to the first half of the sixth century, the Kidarites, followed by the Hephthalites, expanded their power toward the west, forcing the Sasanians to lose control over Sogdiana and Bactria. As is well known, Peroz’s drachms bearing his portrait with a winged crown were paid in large quantities to the Hephthalites, and the latter issued their own coins in imitation of these drachms.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, it was assumed that Hephthalite kings actually adopted and wore the winged crown, which must have been most familiar for them, although so far there was no evidence for such an assumption.

Recently, Yoshida has convincingly demonstrated that one of the figures with the winged crown on Shi Jun’s sarcophagus should be identified as a Hephthalite ruler.<sup>15</sup> The figure appears in a scene on the right of the northern wall, where Shi Jun visits with his caravan a king seated in a yurt (Fig. 4, 5a, Table 2d). In the art of this period, a figure in a yurt is a standard means of indicating that the individual is a ruler of a nomadic tribe. The funerary couches of An Qie and the Miho Museum have a similar scene of a nomadic ruler who sits in a tent and who, in both cases, can be identified as Turkic by the long hair down his back.<sup>16</sup> In the case of Shi Jun, the ruler in the yurt has a winged crown instead of long hair, which precludes a Turkic origin for him. He cannot be Persian, because the Sasanian king should not be represented in a nomad’s yurt. Yoshida identifies the figure as a ruler of the nomadic Hephthalites, who came under the cultural influence of the Sasanians. Frantz Grenet and Pénélope Riboud reached the same conclusion as Yoshida: because shortly after the fall of the Hephthalite empire winged crowns are attested on coins of the “Nezak-shah” dynasty in Kapisa, they propose that the Hephthalites had established this regal fashion. In addition, they point out that Shi Jun’s life (495-579) overlapped with the Hephthalite period rather than with subsequent Turkic rule.<sup>17</sup> This identification of a Hephthalite ruler on a Sino-Sogdian funerary monument is the first evidence that a leader of the Sogdian colony in China had direct contact with a Hephthalite ruler as well as with a Turkic one;<sup>18</sup> it also confirms that among Hephthalite rulers some wore a winged crown. After Peroz, the winged crown was not used for over 100 years by any Sasanian kings until Khusro II in 590, about ten years later than Shi Jun’s burial. Therefore it is certain that Peroz’s crown served as a model for the winged crown of the Hephthalite kings.

In Shi Jun’s relief, we find a second figure with a winged crown (Fig. 4, 5b, Table 2c). This crown, however, is slightly different from that of the Hephthalite ruler previously mentioned, having a pair of wings, a small circle and a crescent in the center. Some identify this person also with a Hephthalite ruler,<sup>19</sup> while others identify him with Shi Jun himself.<sup>20</sup> This figure appears as many as three times as principal figure, twice in banquet scenes and once in a hunting scene.<sup>21</sup> In the banquet and hunting scenes on other Sogdian funerary monuments, it is almost always the deceased who stand out and show off their rich lives. Thus, I agree with the latter interpretation that it is

Shi Jun and not a Hephthalite ruler who wears the second type of the winged crown in these banquet and hunting scenes. This identification suggests that some of the Sogdian leaders in China wore a winged crown; in fact, at least two more examples, confirm that this is so. The first example is Yu Hong, who is repeatedly represented on the panels of his sarcophagus wearing a winged crown (Table 2e). The second example comes from a tomb at Jiulongshan 九龍山, Guyuan 固原, Ningxia 寧夏, discovered in 2003. In it, the deceased was buried wearing a thin gold foil ornament on his head in the shape of a winged crown (now exhibited in the Ningxia Provincial Museum, Yinchuan 銀川; Table 2g). According to Luo Feng, the tomb can be dated to the Sui or Tang period, although no epitaph was found.<sup>22</sup> A leader of the local Sogdian community might be the most probable identity for this person who was buried wearing this kind of gold headdress. Recently, through careful examination of the epitaphs belonging to Sogdian immigrants in China, Shōji Yamashita demonstrated that some Sogdians played an important military role in the founding of the Tang dynasty.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it does not seem unlikely that if some of these Sogdian high-ranked military wished to be represented wearing a crown, they would choose the winged one of the Hephthalites, the conquerors of Central Asia.<sup>24</sup>

Turning to Sogdiana, the iconography of wall paintings, ossuaries and coins all show that the winged crown was the most prevalent crown in the eighth century (Table 1f).<sup>25</sup> In a hall of the palace of Dēwāštīch, a ruler of Panjikent in the early eighth century, was found a small mural fragment representing the very moment that a winged crown is being tied to someone's head. Both Belenitskii and Marshak assumed that the paintings in this hall depicted the siege of Samarkand by Arab armies in 712 as well as the coronation ceremony of Dēwāštīch as king of Sogdiana, performed possibly just after the fall of the capital (Fig. 6a).<sup>26</sup> If this is so, the crown of a Sogdian king in the early eighth century was a winged crown. In 2003 in Panjikent, a room in a merchant's residence, dated to the first half of the eighth century, yielded a mural fragment depicting a four-armed King of Demons who wears a crown with a pair of hands and a skull in the center<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 6b). This blackly humorous headdress had been invented as a crown for a villain by replacing the components of the winged crown that belonged to a hero or king; this transformation of the winged crown proves that in Sogdiana at this period it was considered a stereotype for the royal crown.

All the images cited above date to the seventh and eighth centuries. However, as pointed out by Il'yasov, the prevalence of winged crowns in Sogdiana should be attributed to the Hephthalites, who took control of the region in the first half of the sixth century and left an important cultural heritage. Thus, already in the sixth century, following the Hephthalite kings, Sogdian rulers seem to have adopted the winged crown. This assumption corresponds well with the evidence that, by the late sixth century, some of the leaders of the Sogdian communities in China wore a winged crown.

## 2. The triple-crescent crown

As Table 1 shows, we find a figure with a triple-crescent crown and its variation (small ornaments on the crescent) in a terracotta figurine from the Surkhandar'ya region (sixth-seventh century), in paintings from Sogdiana (seventh century) and Bamiyan (mid-sixth) (Table 1a, e, h). Il'yasov assumes that in Central Asia the triple-crescent crown became popular together with the winged crown under the Hephthalite occupation. In this case, in contrast to the winged crown, numismatic study has confirmed that it was introduced by the Hephthalite ruler, Khingila (ca. 460-490),<sup>28</sup> and that its variations were adopted by his successors (Fig. 3b, c).

In 1994, in Jingbian 靖邊 (northern Shaanxi, about 120 km to the east of Yanchi 鹽池) were discovered a set of tomb gates decorated in relief with a pair of non-Chinese guardians, each wearing a triple-crescent crown (Fig. 7, Table 2a). Although the full archaeological report on this tomb has not yet been published,<sup>29</sup> part of the epitaph from the tomb was analyzed by Rong Xinjiang. He identifies the deceased as Di Caoming 翟曹明, who held the title Xiazhou Tianzhu 夏州天主 ("Tianzhu of the Xia region") and was buried in 579 (Northern Zhou).<sup>30</sup> Rong states that the surname Di has generally been considered as that for Dingling 丁零 or Gaoche 高車, but some of those who have the surname Di can be identified as Sogdian. Di Pantuo 翟槃陀 is a good example. He was Xianzhu 祜主 "priest of the Zoroastrian temple" of Yizhou 伊州, and his given name Pantuo is a phonetic transcription of a Sogdian form *bandak* "slave."<sup>31</sup> Next, *xian* is a graph created in the early Tang period to designate Zoroastrianism. Before its invention the graph Tian 天 "heaven" was used.<sup>32</sup> Tianzhu, Di Caoming's title is, therefore, equal to Xianzhu of the later period, and indicates a Zoroastrian priest. Taking into account the non-Chinese features of the guardians represented on the gates, we can safely identify Di Caoming as Sogdian. Accordingly, we can deduce that the triple-crescent crown, one of the Hephthalite crowns, was known by Sogdians in China already in the middle of the sixth century.

Sogdiana itself has produced examples of triple-crescent crowns, in a painting from Panjikent (Table 1e), on ossuaries and on coins dated to the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>33</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the triple-crescent crown, together with the winged crown, was introduced into Sogdiana in the Hephthalite period, and it continued to be used until the eighth century, though less frequently than the winged crown.

## IV. THE WINGED CROWN AND TRIPLE-CRESCENT CROWN IN CHINA

In the Tang, the winged crown and triple-crescent crown are found in abundance, particularly in crowns of bodhisattvas.<sup>34</sup> These two crown types had been seen as evidence of cultural exchange between the East and the West already in 1950's,



when both were considered influenced by the Sasanian crown.<sup>35</sup> Now, we can state that the triple-crescent crown is not Sasanian but a Hephthalite crown. As for the winged crown, we may posit, based on our examination of its occurrence, that it was adopted not only by the Sasanian king but also by the Hephthalite ruler and that it was used to decorate the head of rulers and gods in the region ruled by the Hephthalites and among the Sogdians in China. It is plausible to think that Hephthalite influence is responsible for the prevalence of the winged crown and the triple-crescent crown in China.

As it is impossible to cite all the examples of these two crowns in China, so we will content ourselves to see whether these two types were represented in the Yungang and Dunhuang caves dated to around the first half of the sixth century. Since in this period the Hephthalites expanded their power to Sogdiana and to Eastern Turkestan, it seems probable that the two crowns had penetrated into China in this period (Table 3). At Yungang, there is no example of a triple-crescent crown; at Dunhuang, it is represented in the caves of the Northern Wei (440<sup>36</sup>-534) and of the Western Wei (535-556) (Table 3a, c).<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the winged crown of the Peroz type is not attested before the Sui period (Table 3d-f).<sup>38</sup>

It is worth referring to a particular type of bodhisattva crown of the Liang 梁 period (502-557) on a stele from Chengdu 成都 (Sichuan 四川), which has both elements of the winged crown and the triple-crescent crown<sup>39</sup> (Table 3b). The wings at both sides of the crown have been ignored so far, but they are visible in a recently published photograph.<sup>40</sup> We know that the Hephthalites had direct contact with the Liang, as they subjected the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 who controlled the route passing through Qinghai 青海.<sup>41</sup> In a famous painting of ambassadors attributed to Xiao Yi 蕭繹, the fourth emperor of the Liang, an ambassador of the Hephthalite kingdom (Huaguo 滑国) is represented.<sup>42</sup> Considering the close contact between the two countries, it is tempting to assume that the two types of Hephthalite crowns served as a model for the composite crown of bodhisattvas from the Liang period. In Central Asia, we have no example of this composite crown. Instead, it appears on An Qie's couch, worn by a figure who has a long sword on his belt and participates with An Qie in a meeting with a Turkish ruler; however, his nationality has so far not been identified (Table 2b).

In China before the Tang period, winged crowns and triple-crescent crowns are attested mainly in Buddhist art as the crowns worn by bodhisattvas. It is not certain whether these

crowns were introduced in China through Buddhist art, since in Central Asia they both, but especially the winged crown, appeared often in non-Buddhist contexts: as the crown of a king or a member of the royal family or the crown of Zoroastrian gods.<sup>43</sup> Apart from Buddhist art, we can presume that these crowns came to China along with the Sogdian immigrants under Hephthalite influence.

In closing, I should like to mention an instance of the winged crown from the early Tang that provides further evidence of its origin in China with Sogdians. It is worn by the royal hunter on the famous brocade preserved in the Hōryū-ji in Nara, Japan and is assumed to have originated in the official atelier of the Tang in the first half of the seventh century. The hunter's winged crown is shown with a double-square ornament and a crescent with a circle at the center; only one wing is visible<sup>44</sup> (Table 10). Components of the crown and its view in profile show a striking similarity to the crown worn by Yu Hong in several scenes on his sarcophagus (Table 2e).<sup>45</sup> Also noteworthy is the Hōryū-ji hunter's upper garment, which has a frill around the elbow. Figures with similarly frilled garments can be seen on Yu Hong's sarcophagus (a figure on an elephant who may be Yu Hong or a Hephthalite, a figure on a dromedary (Arabian camel) who may be an Arab and a long-haired Turk on a camel with two humps), and in the Miho Museum's couch (two figures on an elephant who may be Hephthalites).<sup>46</sup> Thus, the model of the Hōryū-ji hunter might not be an image of a Sasanian king attested in silver vessels, as has been generally accepted, but that of royal figures represented by the Sogdians in China. This observation, however, requires further research.

## V. CONCLUSION

In this paper, using new evidence provided by the funerary monuments of Sogdian immigrants in China in the second half of the sixth century, we have attempted to advance Il'yasov's research, which, through its thorough examination of iconographical material from Central Asia, revealed Hephthalite artistic influence in this territory. Examination of the two types of crown has enabled us to posit that the Sogdians in China had close contact with the Hephthalites and were influenced by them. Further research will be necessary to know more precisely when and how winged and triple-crescent crowns were introduced into China.

## Notes

\* I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Yutaka Yoshida and Judith A. Lerner for their many valuable suggestions and encouragement. I am grateful to Takao Moriyasu for allowing me to participate in his research team in Northern China in 2005-2007.

<sup>1</sup> For an up-to-date and comprehensive study on the funerary monuments hitherto attributed to Sogdian or Central Asian immigrants in China, now refer to Judith A. Lerner, *Aspects of Assimilation: the Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China* ("Sino-Platonic Papers," 168, Philadelphia: 2005). One more tomb is to be added to the corpus: tomb of Di Caoming 翟曹明 buried in 579 at Jingbian 靖边, which will be discussed below. The ethnicity of Yu Hong has been much discussed, but another given name of him Mupan 莫潘, a phonetic transcription of Sogdian name *Māxfarn*, glory of the god Mākh (=Moon), identified by Yoshida, strongly suggests his Sogdian origin: refer to Etsuko Kageyama, "Quelques remarques sur des monuments funéraires de Sogdiens en Chine," *Studia Iranica* 34 (2005), n. 2 (The Chinese graph and pronunciation given in the article (莫潘 Mofan) should be corrected.) For other examples in which 潘 pan was used for transcription of Sogdian *farn*, see 翟那那潘 Di Nanipan, *Nanai-farn*, glory of the goddess Nanai and 曹提始潘 Cao Tishipan, *Dhēshchifarn*, glory of the creator (=Ahura Mazda) given by Yoshida in the list of Sogdian names in Chinese characters, in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, eds. Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), 305-06 (The Chinese pronunciation given in the list (潘 fan) also should be corrected). His Central Asian ancestry has been confirmed by DNA testing of his remains (see C. Z. Xie et al., "Evidence of ancient DNA reveals the first European lineage in Iron Age Central China," *Proceedings of the Royal Society, Biological Sciences*, 274, No. 1618 (July 07, 2007): 1597-1601); in his epitaph, Yu Hong claims descent from a ruler of the state of Yu, which became part of Sogdiana (see Taishan Yu, *A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State* ["Sino-Platonic Papers," 139; Philadelphia: 2004], 1-20). I owe the last two articles about Yu Hong's origin to Judith Lerner, who considers the possibility that he was not Sogdian: Lerner, "Aspects and Assimilation," n. 4, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Mao Min, "Shi Jun shitang shang suo jian Yandaren xingxiang chutan" [On the Hephthalite Figures Depicted on Shi Jun's Sarcophagus] (in Chinese), in *Si-liu shiji de Bei Zhongguo yu Ouya dalu* [Northern China and Eurasia from the Fourth to the Sixth Century], ed. Zhang Qingjie et al. (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 2006), 199-214; Frantz Grenet and Pénélope Riboud, "A Reflection of the Hephthalite Empire: The Biographical Narrative in the Reliefs of the Tomb of the *sabao* Wirkak (494-579)," *South Asian Archaeology Conference*, London, July 4th - 8th 2005, forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Yutaka Yoshida, "On the Origin of the Sogdian Surname Zhao 昭武 and Related Problems," *Journal Asiatique* 291 (2003): 35-67; Yutaka Yoshida, "Some Reflections about the Origin of *čamūk*," in *Chūō Ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō* [Papers on the Pre-Islamic Documents and Other Materials Unearthed from Central Asia], ed. Takao Moriyasu (Kyoto: Hōyū Shoten, 2004), 129-35.

<sup>4</sup> Jangar Ya. Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 187-200.

<sup>5</sup> Frantz Grenet, "Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite Periods," in *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, ed. Nicholas Sims-Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 203-24.

<sup>6</sup> Frantz Grenet, "Crise et sortie de crise en Bactriane-Sogdiane aux IV<sup>e</sup>-Ve siècles," *La Persia e l'Asia centrale da Alessandro al X secolo* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996), 367-90; Grenet, "Regional Interaction."

<sup>7</sup> Grenet, "Regional Interaction," 213; A. M. Belenitskii and B. I. Marshak, "The Paintings of Sogdiana," in Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting, The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1981), 43, fig. 13, pl. 27; B. I. Marshak, "Les fouilles de Pend-

jikent," *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-lettres* (1990), 296-97.

<sup>8</sup> The painting is in the so-called "Rustam room," (Sector VI/Room 41) and was discovered in 1956-7. It has been much published; for the most recent and detailed examination, see Boris I. Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2002), 25-54, especially 37 and fig. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Grenet, "Regional Interaction," 218-20. In the seventh century in Panjikent, paintings of so-called "Dancing Shiva" decorated a hall of two houses (Sector VI/Room 8, Sector VII/Room 24), and a clay sculpture of Shiva with Parvati was set in a room near the entrance of Temple II (A. M. Belenitskii and B. B. Piotrovskij, *Skul'ptura i zhivopis' drevnego Pjandzhikenta*, (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1959), 17-18, pls. 9-10; A. M. Belenitskii, *Mittelasiens: Kunst der Sogden*, (Leipzig: VEB E. A. Seemann Verlag, 1980), 197; B. I. Marshak, "New Discoveries in Pendjikent and a Problem of Comparative Study of Sasanian and Sogdian Art," in *La Persia e l'Asia centrale*, 425-38, figs. 7 and 8). The penetration of Shiva figure has been attributed to the Hephthalite period as well (B. I. Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables*, 38), but it is possible that Shiva became popular in Sogdiana in the later period, probably in the seventh century, when Shivaism was very strong in northwest India. Recently, a new coin type with a Shiva image on the reverse has come to light, and tentatively attributed to the Khalaj Turks in the sixth century when they were in the North of Hindukush. In analysis of the Shiva figure on the coins, the painting of Shiva from Panjikent (Sector VII/Room 24) is referred as the most relevant parallel (Michael Alram and Ciro Lo Muzio, "A New Coin Type of the Khalaj?" *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 1 (2006), 133-39. This needs further study.

<sup>10</sup> Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta." Belenitskii's article, which is not accessible to me, was published in 1972: "Ob efitalitskom etape v istorii sred-neaziatskogo iskusstva" ("About the Hephthalite Stage in the History of Central Asian Art") in *Tezisy dokladov na sessii i pleniumakh, posviashchennykh itogam polevykh issledovaniy v 1971 g* (Moscow).

<sup>11</sup> Table 1 is made by the author of the present article to show some examples. Figures a-d, h-j, l-n are taken from Il'yasov's article, "The Hephthalite Terracotta."

<sup>12</sup> For the painting from the 38-meter Buddha niche in Bamiyan, I follow a radiocarbon dating presented by the German team in the report: M. Petzet, "The Bamiyan Buddhas Dated for the First Time," *ICOMOS nouvelles/news* 15-2 (2005), 6-7, which is not accessible to me. The dating to the middle of the sixth century is cited and accepted by Akira Miyaji in his article "Bamiyān no bijutsushi kenkyū to hōshasen tanso nendai" [Art historical Study and Radiocarbon Analysis of Bamiyan Murals], in *Bamiyān Bukkyō bekiga no hennen* [Radiocarbon Dating of the Bamiyan Murals Paintings], eds. Japan Center for International Cooperation in Conservation et al. (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten: 2006), 131-41.

<sup>13</sup> Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," 196.

<sup>14</sup> E. V. Zeimal, "The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Period (Fifth-Eighth Centuries A. D.)," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 (1994): 245-67, especially 251-57.

<sup>15</sup> Yutaka Yoshida, "The Sogdian Version of the New Xi'an Inscription," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, 57-72, especially 63.

<sup>16</sup> Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Xian Beizhou An Qie mu* [Anjia tomb of the Northern Zhou at Xi'an] (in Chinese), (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2003), pls. 57, 58; Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, "No. 125. Eleven Panels and Two Gate Towers with Relief Carvings from a Funerary Couch," in *Miho Museum, South Wing*, ed. Miho Museum, (Shigaraki: 1997), 250, panel C.

<sup>17</sup> Grenet and Riboud, "A Reflection of the Hephthalite Empire."

<sup>18</sup> Hunters in two panels of the Miho Museum are supposed to be Hephthalite, but their relation with the deceased remains unclear: Juliano and Lerner, "No. 125. Eleven Panels and Two Gate Towers," 250, panel A; 255, panel I.

<sup>19</sup> Mao Min, "On Hephthalite Figures"; Grenet and Riboud, "A Reflection of the Hephthalite Empire."

<sup>20</sup> Judith A. Lerner, "Les Sogdiens en Chine -- Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques" and Two Recently Discovered Sogdian Tombs in Xi'an," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 15 (2001), published in 2005, 151-62, esp. 154-57; *Wenwu* 2005/3, 10-16; Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation," n. 70.

<sup>21</sup> *Wenwu* 2005/3, 23, fig. 34; 24, fig. 35; 25, fig. 38.

<sup>22</sup> I wish to thank Luo Feng, Director of the Ningxia Archaeological Institute, for permission to use in this paper my drawing of this unpublished find. This ornament reminds us of the "elements of a mask" made of gold foil pieces, from the tomb of Shi Daohe 史道德 (Sogdian d. 678) from Guyuan: Judith A. Lerner, in Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, *Monks and Merchants, Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China* (New York: Harry N. Abrams with the Asia Society, 2001), no. 90.

<sup>23</sup> Shōji Yamashita, "Zui Tōsho no Kasei Sogudojin gundan, Tenri Toshokan zō *Bunkan shirin*, An Shūjin bohimeizō zankan wo megutte" [The Sogdian Army Corps in Hexi during the Sui and Early Tang: a Section of the Epitaph of An Xiuren in the *Wenguanlin* Held by Tenri Central Library] (in Japanese), *Tōhō gaku* 110 (2005), 65-78.

<sup>24</sup> Shi Jun is represented wearing a cap when he is at a picnic or is leading a caravan. This cap seems to be the typical headgear of the *sārtipāw*, the leader of Sogdian colonies in China: Etsuko Kageyama, "Sogdians in Kucha: a Study from Archaeological and Iconographical Material," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, 2005, 363-75, esp. 364-65. Shi Jun seems to have chosen his headdress according to his particular activity (Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation," n. 70).

<sup>25</sup> Frantz Grenet, "L'art zoroastrien en Sogdiane," *Mesopotamia* 12 (1986), 97-130, esp. 113-14; Zeimal, "The Circulation of Coins," 257-59, fig. 3.20; V. D. Shagalov and A. V. Kuznetsov, *Catalogue of Coins of Chach III-VIII A.D.* (in Russian and in English, Tashkent: Edition FAN Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2006), 248-54.

<sup>26</sup> Belenitskii and Marshak, "The Paintings of Sogdiana," 64-67.

<sup>27</sup> B. I. Marshak and V. I. Raspopova, *Otchet o naskopkakh gorodishcha drevnego Pendzhikenta v 2003 godu* (St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Museum, 2004), 50, color plate, and figs. 127, 128. The hall is in Sector XXVI/Room 19.

<sup>28</sup> I follow Grenet's dating in his "Regional Interaction," 211-12, pl. 1f.

<sup>29</sup> However, a preliminary article and photograph were: Xin Xiaqing, "Shaaxi Jingbian chutu caihui tiejin fudiao shimumen ji qixiangguan wenti tantao" [The Painted and Gilded Bas-reliefs on the Stone Doors of the Tomb Unearthed at Jingbian, and a Discussion of the Relevant Issues], *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 1 (2005): 49-53 and color photograph on the cover.

<sup>30</sup> Rong Xinjiang, "Zhongguo Zhongxi jiaotongshi shang de Tongwancheng" [Tongwancheng in the History of Relation between China and the West in Medieval Time] (in Chinese), in *Tongwancheng yizhi zonghe yanjiu* [General Research on the Site of Tongwancheng], ed. Shaanxi Shifan Daxue Xibei Huanfa Zhongxin (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2004), 29-33. I am grateful to Bi Bo for drawing my attention to this article.

<sup>31</sup> Rong Xinjiang, "The Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang," *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4/1 (2000): 117-63, esp. 127.

<sup>32</sup> Tōru Haneda, "Ten to Ken to Kiren to" [Tian, Xian and Qilian] (in Japanese), first published in 1924 and reprinted in *Haneda Hakushi shigaku ronbunshū* [Recueil des oeuvres posthumes de Tōru Haneda] II (Kyoto, 1958), 513-25. I thank Yutaka Yoshida for drawing my attention to the relation of Tianzhu with Xianzhu. Kang Ye had also a title of Tianzhu: State Administration of Cultural Heritage ed., *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China 2004* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2005), 129.

<sup>33</sup> Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," pl. 3; Grenet, "L'art zoroastrien," 115; Shagalov and Kuznetsov, *Catalogue of Coins*, 257-58, 270-75.

<sup>34</sup> Winged crowns continue in Chinese art for a long time after the Tang.

<sup>35</sup> Mikinosuke Ishida, "Waga Jōdai no bunka niokeru Iran yōso no ichirei" [An Example of Iranian Elements in Ancient Japanese Culture] (in Japanese), first published in 1957 and reprinted in his *Tōa bunkashi sōkō*, [Studies in Cultural History of Eastern Asia] (Tokyo: The Tōyō Bunko, 1973), 489-510; Ryōichi Hayashi, "Sāsān-chō ōkan hōshoku no igi to tōden" [Sasanian Crown Decoration: the Significance of the Importation of Crown Decoration to the Far East] (in Japanese), *Bijutsushi* 28 (1958): 107-22.

<sup>36</sup> In 440 the Northern Wei (386-534) conquered the Northern Liang 北凉 (397-439) and took control of Dunhuang.

<sup>37</sup> Shōshin Kuwayama, "Sāsān kanshoku no Hokugi ryūnyū" [The Sasanian Crescent-shaped Ornaments in Northern Wei China] (in Japanese) *Oriente* 20/1 (1977): 17-35, especially fig. 1.

<sup>38</sup> The winged crown of guardians in several caves in Yungang (e.g. Cave 6, 8 and 10) is not considered here because it seems different from the winged crown of Peroz's type: the winged crown of the Yungang guardians is constituted only by a pair of wings overlapping each other and has no ornament in the center. See The Depository for Cultural Relics of the Yungang Grottoes (ed.), *Chūgoku Sekkutsu, Unkō Sekkutsu* [The Yungang Grottoes] 1-2, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989, 1990): vol. 1, nos. 60, 61, 68, 69, 175; vol. 2, no. 66.

<sup>39</sup> See for example *Wenwu* 10 (2001): 11, fig. 15 and 23, fig. 10.

<sup>40</sup> James C. Y. Watt *et al.* eds. *China, Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 220, "No. 124. Stele with bodhisattvas (front) and landscape scenes (back)," the crown is worn by two bodhisattvas in what is now the top register of this fragmentary stele.

<sup>41</sup> Sentarō Ise, *Chūgoku Seiki keiei-shi kenkyū* [Study on the History of Administration of the West] (in Japanese), first published in 1955 (Tokyo: Gannandō, 1968), 136-137; Shinsei Yamana, "Toyokukon to Seito no butsuzō" [Ancient Tuyuhun Tribe and Buddhist Images in Chengdu] (in Japanese), *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 218 (1995), 11-38.

<sup>42</sup> Hiroshi Sobukawa and Ken Okada eds. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū* [New History of World Art] (in Japanese), Asia 3, (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2000), pl. 80; Shen Zongwen (ed.), *Zhongguo meishu quanji* [Chinese arts], huihuabian [paintings] 1 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986), no. 99. The ambassador from the Hephthalite kingdom represented in the picture is not necessarily of Hephthalite origin, because nomadic tribes often sent foreigners like Sogdians as their emissaries.

<sup>43</sup> For the depiction of royal figures with the two kinds of crowns, see for example a painting from Panjikent (Table 1f) and paintings from Bamiyan (Table 1h, i). For the depiction of Zoroastrian divinities, see for example, a painting from Panjikent Temple II (Table 1e) and ossuaries from Sogdiana (Grenet, "L'art zoroastrien," esp. 113-14).

<sup>44</sup> Shōshin Kuwayama, "Hōryū-ji shiki shishikarimon kin no seisaku nendai (1)" [Dating of the Brocade with Lion Hunting in Hōryū-ji Treasury (1)] (in Japanese), in *Egami Namio kyōju koki kinen ronshū, Kōko bijutsu hen* [Collection of Papers Honoring Prof. Egami Namio's 70th Birthday, Archaeology and Art], (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1976), 137-61.

<sup>45</sup> I am grateful to Yutaka Yoshida for drawing my attention to the similarity of the hunter in Yu Hong's panel with the hunter in Hōryū-ji brocade.

<sup>46</sup> Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology *et al.*, *Taiyuan Sui Yu Hong mu* [Sui Dynasty Tomb of Yu Hong in Taiyuan] (in Chinese) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2005), figs. 149, 140, 141, pl. 47, 31, 34 (For the identification of the two figures as Arabic and Turkic, see B. I. Marshak and J. C. Y. Watt, "No. 175. Sarcophagus," in *China, Dawn of a Golden Age*, 276-83. Judith Lerner suggested me the possibility that the figure on an elephant is not Yu Hong but a Hephthalite); Juliano and Lerner, "No. 125. Eleven Panels and Two Gate Towers," 225, panel I.





Fig. 1: *An Qie's funerary couch*. Northern Zhou. 579 CE. Xi'an. After Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb*, pl. 1.



Fig. 2: *Shi Jun's sarcophagus*. Northern Zhou. 580 CE. Xi'an. After *Wenwu* 3 (2005): colour plate.





Fig. 3:

a. *Third crown of Peroz*. Sasanian. 476/477-484 CE. After Robert Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, first published in 1971 (New York: Sanford J. Durst, 1990), table 9.

b, c. *Crowns of Khingila*. Hephthalite. Ca. 460-490 CE. After Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien IV* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), table 2/34, 1/17a.



Fig. 4: *Northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus, detail from northern wall*. Northern Zhou. 580 CE. Xi'an. After Wenwu 3 (2005): 25, figs. 37 and 38.



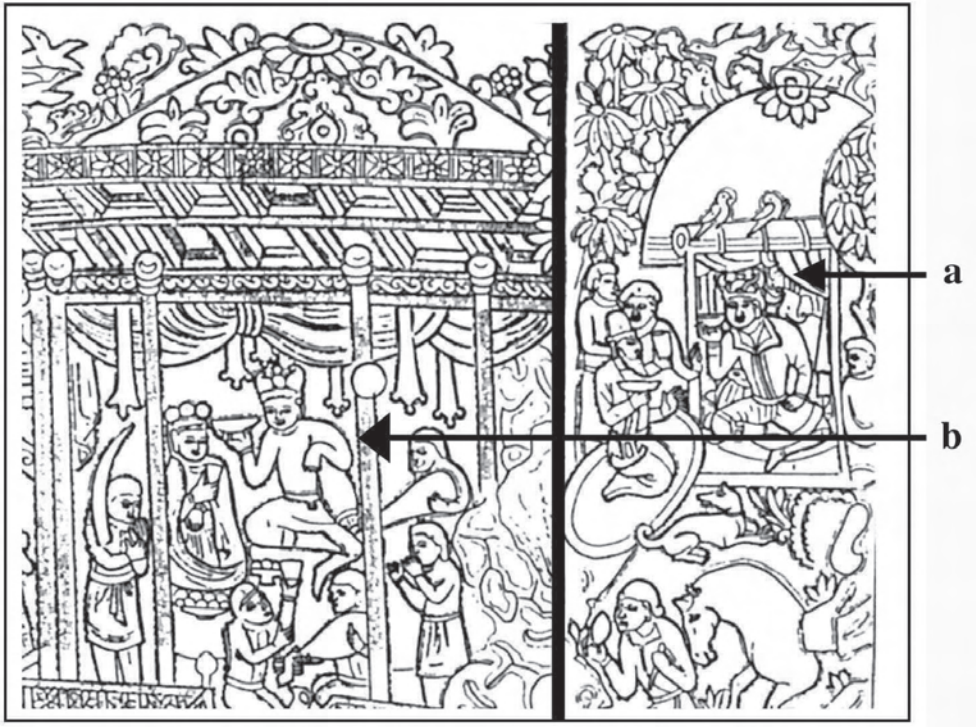


Fig. 5a and b. Northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus, detail from northern wall (drawing). Northern Zhou. 580 CE. Xi'an. After *Wenwu* 3 (2005): 29, fig. 50.  
a: Hephthalite ruler in a tent. b: Shi Jun in a pavilion.

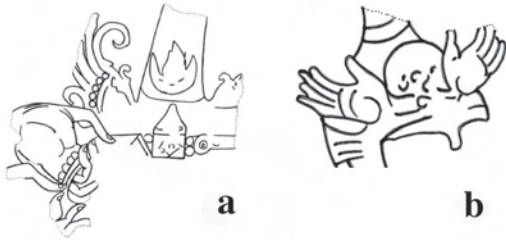


Fig. 6. Wall paintings. Panjikent.  
a: Winged crown being tied to the head of a king. Early eighth century. After Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting*, pl. 24.  
b: Demon with a crown with a skull and hands. First half of the eighth century. After Marshak and Raspopova, *Otchet o Raskopkakh*, colour plate.



Fig. 7. Di Caoming's tomb gates, detail. Northern Zhou. 579 CE. h. 159cm, l. 127cm. Jingbian (Shaanxi). After *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 1 (2005), cover.

















	Bactria	Sogdiana	Bamiyan	Kucha	China, Japan
Triple-crescent crown	 a	 e	 h		 n
Winged crown	 b	 f	 i	 k	 o
Triangular collar	 c	 *from Anyang g	 j	 l	 p
Hairdo	 d			 m	

Table 1: *Crowns, costumes and hairstyles attested in iconographical materials from Central Asia, China and Japan.*

a, b, d: Terracotta figurines. Sixth-seventh century. Budrach. After Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," pls. I: 2; I: 6; IV: 3.

c: Terracotta figurine. Sixth-seventh century. Surkhandar'ya valley. After Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite terracotta," pl. IV: 1.

e, f: Wall paintings. Panjikent. e: Temple II, Seventh-beginning of eighth century. After Marshak, "Les fouilles de Pendjikent," fig. 9. f: Sector VI/Room 1. Ca. 740. After Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting*, fig. 53.

g: Panel from a funerary couch. Northern Qi. 550-577. Assumed to be from Anyang (Henan). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. After *Orientalism* 32/8 (2001): 54, fig. 1.

h-j: Wall paintings from the 38-meter Buddha niche. Middle of the sixth century. Bamiyan. After Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," pls. IV: 2; II: 5; and II: 4.

k-m: Wall paintings from Kizil (Xinjiang), k: Cave 77. Ca. 500. After Hayashi, "Sasanian Crown," fig. 9a. l: Cave 224. First half of the seventh century. After Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," pl. II: 7. m: Cave 8. First half of the seventh century. After Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," pl. II: 8.

n: Painting on hemp cloth. Nara period. Eighth century. Shōsō-in, Nara. After Il'yasov, "The Hephthalite Terracotta," pl. III: 11.

o: Brocade with hunting scene. Early Tang, first half of the seventh century. Hōryū-ji, Nara. After Kuwayama, "Dating of the Brocade," fig. 8.

p: Brocade with hunting scene. Nara period. Eighth century. Hōryū-ji, Nara. After K. Matsumoto, *Jōdai-gire, Seventh and Eighth Century Textiles in Japan from the Shōsō-in and Hōryū-ji* (Kyoto: Shikosha Publishing, 1984), no. 46.










	Winged crown	Triple-crescent crown
<b>Di Caoming</b> 579 CE Jingbian		 a
<b>An Qie</b> 579 CE Xi'an	 b	
<b>Shi Jun</b> 580 CE Xi'an	 c	 d
<b>Yu Hong</b> 592 CE Taiyuan	 e	
<b>Unknown</b> End of the 6th C Anyang	 f	
<b>Unknown</b> Sui-Tang Guyuan	 g	

Table 2: *Winged crowns and triple-crescent crowns found in Sogdian funerary contexts in China* [all are on monuments except the gold foil headdress].

a: Di Caoming's tomb gates. Northern Zhou. 579 CE. Jingbian (Shaanxi). After *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 1 (2005): cover.

b: An Qie's funerary couch. Northern Zhou. 579 CE. Xi'an. After Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb*, pl. 59.

c: Shi Jun's sarcophagus. Northern wall. Northern Zhou. 580 CE. Xi'an. After *Wenwu* 3 (2005): 23, fig. 34.

d: Shi Jun's sarcophagus. Northern wall. Northern Zhou. 580 CE. Xi'an. After *Wenwu* 3 (2005): 25, fig. 37.

e: Yu Hong's sarcophagus. Left panel in the front. Sui. 592 CE. Taiyuan. After Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology *et al.*, *Taiyuan Sui*, fig. 154.

f: Base from a funerary couch. Northern Qi. 550-577. Attributed to Anyang (Henan). Freer Gallery of Art. After Sobukawa and Okada, *Sekai bijutsu*, pl. 28.

g: Headdress ornament. Gold foil. Sui or Tang. Late sixth or early seventh century. L. ca. 30 cm. Ningxia Provincial Museum, Yinchuan. Unpublished; author's drawing.









	Winged crown	Triple-crescent crown
Northern Wei		 a
Liang	 b	
Western Wei		 c
Sui	 d  e  f	 g  h

Table 3: *Winged crowns and triple-crescent crowns represented in the Buddhist art of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Sui.*

a, c, e-h: Wall paintings. Dunhuang (Gansu). a: Cave 254 (Northern Wei. Second half of the fifth century or first half of the sixth century), c: Cave 285 (Western Wei. 538-539 CE), e: Cave 276 (Sui. Late sixth or early seventh century), f. Cave 380 (Sui. Late sixth or early seventh century), g. Cave 389 (Sui. Late sixth or early seventh century), h. Cave 407 (Sui. Late sixth or early seventh century). From Dunhuang Research Institute ed., *Chūgoku sekkutsu, Tonkō bakkōkutsu*, [Mogao Caves in Dunhuang] 1-5 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989-1991), vol. 1, nos. 32, 118; vol. 2, nos. 122, 191, 185, 91.

b: Stone sculpture from Wanfo-si 万仏寺. Liang. First half of the sixth century. Chengdu (Sichuan). Sichuan Provincial Museum. After Watt, *China, Dawn of a Golden Age*, 220, no. 124.

d. Stone relief from Dazhusheng 大住聖 Cave, Baoshan Lingquan-si 宝山靈泉寺, Anyang. Sui. 589 CE. After *Wenwu* 4 (1988): pl. 1.