

# The Costume of Foreign Embassies and Inhabitants of Samarkand on Wall Painting of the 7th c. in the "Hall of Ambassadors" from Afrasiab as a Historical Source

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## Introduction

Wall painting discovered in 1965 in the central part of the ruins of ancient Samarkand (section 23, premises 1) is a valuable source on the history of Western Turkestan. On the most important (for viewing) western wall of the hall opposite the entrance there is (according to L.I. Al'baum's viewpoint) the scene of ambassadors of four different countries at the reception held by the Turkish attendants of Varkhuman (a Sogdian king). On the two opposite lateral walls (northern and southern ones) there is in his opinion, probably, the arrival of foreign brides surrounded by a magnificent suite. (The brides and the leaders of the escort are depicted in two human height; the brides are accompanied by numerous attendants with a group of women ahead). At last, on the western wall (in the last turn viewed by those who entered the hall) the details of mythological and folklore scenes thematically connected with India are presented (they deserve a special consideration and are not the subject of the article). In other words, the placing of either composition of the hall walls is strictly hierarchical and most likely is subordinated to definite political purposes.

The initial copies of the wall painting by L.I. Al'baum<sup>1</sup> were made more exact in 1978 in the course of a new clearing by G.V. Shishkina' group of the Afrasiabian expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of Uzbekistan. It was cleared that the illustrations from the monograph by L.I. Al'baum contained some mistakes in many cases<sup>2</sup>. New sketches substantially change our idea not only about the details of certain figures but about their poses as well. Having been exacted these drawings are being prepared for the publication in the form of a collective monograph by G.V. Shishkina, I.A. Arzhantseva, O.N. Inevatkina, the author of the article and some other researchers. As a source of illustrations the monograph of L.I. Al'baum was used selectively: as the black and white ones in all cases are *partially reconstructed*, so only colored plates with correction of single inaccuracies were used. A part of small and ill readable Sogdian inscriptions, which have additionally been translated by V.A. Livshits for the edition being prepared also amends the interpretation of wall painting. The reconstruction of ill preserved figures of the western wall suggested by M. Mode, unfortunately, does not correspond to defined drawings of 1978 and cannot be used here either. For example: in fact personage 1a is facing personage 1 and speaking with him. Personage 7 is evidently standing upright; the poses of personages 1a and 7 and personage 6a are invented by the author<sup>3</sup>.

The present article was in general written in autumn 1994 for the first version of the monograph planned (later, on the other authors' works being published, the text of the article was only slightly changed)<sup>4</sup>. This publication is of a preliminary character and in future, while working at the collective monograph, its conclusions may be corrected. This work could not have been written without the many sided help of my Moscow colleagues G.V. Shishkina, I.A. Arzhantseva, O.N. Inevatkina: without getting acquainted with a part of photocopies of new sketches of wall paintings the originals being kept in the archives of Institute of Archaeology of Uzbekistan (Samarkand), consulting them about literature and depicted attributes. They were so kind to have read the manuscript and to have made valuable remarks which I tried, as far as it was possible, to take into consideration. In general the article is based on the analysis of the *costume* of different ethnic groups. I should like to display cognitive facilities of this important source on the example of the one of the most famous monuments of Central Asian painting. Such accent should not arouse surprise. The wall paintings of the residence in Afrasiab contains the information, *first of all, about the costume and its accessories*. Though the representatives of a number of ethnic groups are distinguished in a small amount of figures or in the ill-preserved images the value of our wall painting for the study of the costume complexes of the *Sogdian Turks and the Chaganiyans* is exceptionally high.

In literature and oral statements of researchers there is a great diversity of guesses about the interpretation of Afrasiabian Hall images and particularly, probable ambassadors depicted on three walls. Some authors are inclined to think, the wall painting does not reflect reality adequately and does not contain any information about exact political actions, it is only an original "*ethnological encyclopaedia*" illustrating connections with some peoples and it is aimed to glorify the king of Samarkand<sup>5</sup>. Other authors consider the scene being talked about to be a symbolic religious one, displaying the triumph of Zoroastrianism in "four parts of the world", the worshipping the Great Goddess and the sacred marriage where all the events and things have very little in common with real life<sup>6</sup>.

Such a hypercritical approach is very popular today among the researchers, but it has not been well reasoned yet and many facts contradict it. For example, the images of embassies with gifts are attended with inscriptions, naming concrete officials and quoting their speeches, showing the order of their being presented to Varkhuman (for instance: the ambassador of Chach was received after the Chaganiyan one). It should be mentioned that the inscriptions "interfere" rather much to acknowledge many arguable fantastic interpretations. In such cases some authors without any special doubts insist on their versions "completely refuting *the contents of the inscriptions*"<sup>7</sup>. The strict hierarchy of embassy members is being observed (excluding the Chinese ones) there is an etiquette exactness of the costume and accessories. It is also not clear, why there should be the scene of a feast in the depiction of the ambassadors' reception<sup>8</sup>. In conclusion the authors of such approach do not take into consideration some details of the political situation in Sogd under Varkhuman' rule. The comparison with the king' residences in Western Turkestan does not allow to consider this complex a king' palace; it was a residence of a local noble (perhaps responsible for foreign affairs of Samarkand). On the whole, hall 1 had an official character leaving no place for the artistic imagination. However, on some reasons the placing of Chinese embassy members on the western and northern walls was changed several times.

There was an opinion that on the western wall there is an image of ambassadors' reception not in Samarkand but *in the summer or winter residence of the Western Turkic qaghan*<sup>9</sup>. However, the inscriptions on the wall witness quite the opposite: the embassies came to the king of Samarkand - Varkhuman. In its turn, the suggestion that the attending inscriptions could be *done many decades later than the wall painting itself* is scarcely true. In connection with the inner disturbance in Samarkand in 676 AD after the first war with the Arabs the complex was apparently neglected and the legal succession of power in the city was interrupted<sup>10</sup>. The doubts about the adequacy of images and textual commentaries are practically not argued<sup>11</sup>.

Of course, we should not understand the situation as if Varkhuman received all the embassies and wedding corteges depicted, *simultaneously, all in the course of the day*. The simultaneous reception of the *immediate neighbors'* embassies - the Chaganiyan and the Chach is documented in the inscription on the western wall. The rest of the events (the receptions of the Chinese and Korean ambassadors) could happen within *several months of the year*, which on some reasons was especially remarkable and important in Varkhuman' rule. All these events were depicted in the wall painting of the hall.

I have many reasons to consider *the year of 662 AD to be such an important one*. It was just the very year of the only - in the 7<sup>th</sup> century - (after the Tang Dynasty coming to rule in 618 AD), fixed in documents, Chinese embassy to the West, including several countries. That year, namely, emperor Gaozong managed to force (for the first and the last time in the Chinese history) a new administrative division, in which Samarkand played one of the key roles, on the Western Turks, the Sogdians and the Tocharistanians. And in the same year of 662 the Koreans, having been in close diplomatic relations with the Eastern Turks, found serious reasons and opportunities to appeal to the king of Sogd namely or the qaghan of the Western Turks for help in negotiations with China<sup>12</sup>. In other words, my version makes the dating of the wall-painting suggested by A.M. Belenitsky and B.I. Marshak<sup>13</sup> (between 650-675 AD) more exact; the more detailed information is given further.

The peculiarity of Afrasiabian images is that (as I hope to show below) all the embassies and wedding processions presented on the western, northern and southern walls of premises 1 arrived in Samarkand during a short period of time, probably during the year of 662. In this case we have a unique synchronous series of the costumes of different peoples of Western Turkestan dated back to the certain year.

Unfortunately, the specialists have studied the images of the costume items in hall No 23/1 very little. There are some exceptions; there are: the essay about belts by I.A. Arzhantseva, the essay about the costumes of the women in the boat on the northern wall by G.M. Maitdinova, and some interesting notices of N.P. Lobachëva and M. Mode<sup>14</sup>. The above said predetermined the inaccuracy of many descriptions and the doubtfulness of a number of conclusions in the literature on the question. It is significant to say that for three embassies depicted on the western and northern walls (the 10 women in the boat - are they "from Eastern Turkestan", China of Samarkand itself?; the 5 hunters in yellow sleeved coats and headdresses of the officials - "from China or Turfan (Gaochang)"?; the 2 ambassadors from Korea - which one of these three states?).

Below I am trying to *properly characterize the costume of each embassy and each wedding procession of each 5 state formations*, presented in the wall painting, and to define the exact date of embassies' arrival in Samarkand. We need at that to clear up the compositional principles, used by the artist, and the interconnected groups of personages, inside taken apart ethnic groups.

The use of *polychromic subject silk fabrics* in some parts of the gala dress gives very valuable information. I am inclined to consider such fabrics on the personages of West Turkestan's groups in Afrasiab to be Iranian (Sasanian) but not a local imitation. *First*, the garments *entirely* made of such fabrics are presented only on single very important persons of Chaganiyan embassy and on the noblest Sogdians from Varkhuman's encirclement (*further on the numeration of personages/figures is given according to: Al'baum 1975*): personages 2-4 on the western wall; 1-4, 13-15 on the southern wall; others were satisfied only with trimming the edges of collars, hems and cuffs with stripes of such fabrics. *Second*, though by the time of Varkhuman's coming to power, the Sasanian Empire had just stopped its existence (since 651), undoubtedly, there was quite a sufficient number of lengths of precious Persian silks in the capitals of West Turkestan' states. G.M. Maitdinova believes producing of some clothing of the

representatives of West Turkestan' nobility *entirely* of fabrics with Sasanian ornaments in 7th c. to be an argument of their *local origin*<sup>15</sup>; but such suggestion does not seem to be convincing.

So, in our case, the use of *Persian* polychromic fabrics is assumed to be most probable, especially as local imitations in Sogd itself were not hardly prestigious among nobility. The grown aggressiveness of Iran on the routes of the most important caravan ways in the end of 6th c. including Silk Road, where the Persians were able to press Sogdians<sup>16</sup>, should also be taken into consideration.

## The Description of Complete Sets of the Costume of Presented Ethnic Groups

### 1. The Sogdian Turks

We really mean ethnic Turks from the suite of the Samarkand king and not Turkified Sogdians, as L.I. Al'baum suggested<sup>17</sup>. (Marked mongoloid features of the personages and little hair on the lower part of their faces contradict the latter conclusion). All the images of the representatives of the Turkic elite from finally disintegrated not long ago Western Qaghanat (the elite in this case was connected mainly with the southern group of tribes - *Nu-shipi*) are concentrated only on the western wall. It is the most numerous of ethnic groups, having a pronouncing specificity (26 completely or partially preserved figures). Afrasiabian wall painting creates a unique opportunity to characterize the costume of early Turks, as unlike stone-carved images of the Steppes of 6-7th cc. It is colored and detailed.

The most evident *peculiarities* of the Turkic costume are: first, wearing 3-5 long plaits put in one common case; second, monochromic ankle-long sleeved coats with two lapels. Such manner of forming of the edge of the collar was firstly marked on terracotta of Khotan 2-4th cc. (near Turfan, which was the land of Turks ancestry) and then it was spread by the Turks all over Eurasia<sup>18</sup>. All the Turks as well as their subjects (the Sogdians and the Chaganiyans) and their eastern neighbors (the Chinese) are dressed in low black sharp-nosed boots of the same kind with high soling (the sole being cut out separately) (personage 42; pl. 1/18). The boots are partially covered with long sleeved coats, so the Turkic-type boots best of all are depicted on some figures of the Chinese embassy on the northern wall. Evidently, in accordance to the most ancient Central-Asian tradition going back to the Bronze Age (Zagunluq and Subeshi in Eastern Xinjiang), the high boots had a triangle projection of the top - in front just under the knee<sup>19</sup>; in one case the boots are laced tightly with straps at the ankles<sup>20</sup>.

In the garments of Samarkandian Turks - *Nu-shipi* there are traces of *Sogdian influence*. Such high cuffs of polychromic cloth<sup>21</sup>, are to be found due to the specificity of the cut<sup>22</sup> (they had been taken from Sasanians by Sogdians). The same can be said about the manner to fasten one lap to the other with a button on the stomach<sup>23</sup> (pl. 1/14). Such manner was specifically Sogdian beginning from the time of Achaemenids<sup>24</sup> and survived in the child's costume of mountain Tadjiks<sup>25</sup>.

In L.I. Al'baum's opinion Afrasiabian Turks wore only one earring<sup>26</sup>. That is, perhaps, a misunderstanding, because due to the circumstances only the semi-profile or profile images are well preserved.

There are following things hanging down from the belt on special straps: 1)-2) two pieces of arms (a sword and a dagger); 3) a bag (Turk. "kaptarga"); 4) a kerchief; 5) a whetstone in a setting. Such accessory set of an early Turkic belt was later mentioned in a Chinese dictionary by the 11th c. scholar - Cheng Kou<sup>27</sup>. The last item was, probably, considered by L.I. Al'baum to be a knife of a rather small size, sometimes - a "case for brushes" (*kalamdon*)<sup>28</sup>. Chinese chronicles instead of it directly name a small *whetstone* among the main pendants to the belt of early Turkic ethnic groups (see for example: Tang shu, 217 b about Kyrgyzs). In the bags-kaptarga there could be kept, judging from the archaeological data, a mirror, a comb, money and other smaller articles. In the scene of the feast in premises XVI/10 in Penjikent four participating men have such small bags of 3 different types (!)<sup>29</sup>.

All Turkic officials and their long-term subjects (Sogdians and Chaganiyans including women) wear standard massive gold bracelets on both hands with lapis lazuli, turquoise or pearl insets (pl. 1/9).

The following *groups of Turks* are depicted on the western wall.

a) *Three couples of officials* - "*Masters of Ceremonies*". One of them - the left one is placed on the edge of the composition (the western wall, personages 26-27), the second one (central) ahead of three Chaganiyan ambassadors and is listening to the Sogdian interpreter standing in front of the Chinese (personages 5-6); the third couple (to the right) of officials is depicted in front of the embassies of Chach and Korea (personages 18-19). There are gold torques on these personages.

The roles of the personages in each of such couples standing *ahead or behind* are undoubtedly different. In two cases personages standing *to the left* are pointing with a finger of the left hand (to their mates?) (personages 5, 26). On the figures standing *to the right* there are inscriptions-commentaries scratched out in Sogdian (personages 6, 27) (such inscriptions are, usually, the sign of very important persons in the Chaganiyan embassy); only they have shoulder-typed garments with vertical side sections of the hem both of thrown-open (personage 19) and non-thrown-open types (personage 27).

The *left couple* of officials (personages 26,27) concluding the composition from the left differ from all other images of the Turks by a very important peculiarity: their shoulder-typed clothing is of *non-throw-open* type (analogous to the clothing of the part of Chaganiyans and Sogdians of Samarkand depicted on the wall painting). Judging from the image of Turk No 19, *underwear* is probably presented here (see below) (pl. 1/13).

In the hand of the right personage there is a club for *horse-polo* (chougan). This game for horsemen, which was originated from Sasanian Iran and southern Iranian-speaking regions of Western Turkestan, was timed to New Year celebration (Nauruz)<sup>30</sup>. In 7-8<sup>th</sup> cc. it became popular amidst nobility of both the Turks and the Chinese and the conditions of the event changed. In the legends of the Turks-Oghuzs it is stated that the winner of such game sometimes was elected a qaghan<sup>31</sup>. In the countries close to Silk Road (China in particularly) the game of polo on the turn of 7-8<sup>th</sup> cc. was organized also in honor of foreign embassies arrival<sup>32</sup>. The letter also allows to supposing personage 27 to be an official master of ceremonies of high rank.

*In two couples of officials, welcoming the ambassadors*, the first (right) personage is having a talk with the interpreter personally (personages 6, 19). The looks of the *both right, more important personages* have a number of specific features. They have rectangular small bags of polychromic cloth or leather (?) attached to their belts (personage 6; pl. 1/17). Unlike *left* personages they have pink complexion, not white. Evidentially they both had long wooden red "Å"-shaped staffs (this part of personage 6 is damaged) (pl. 1/11). The sleeved coat of personage 19 is loosened down without ceremony and rolled around his waist (the sleeves edges of ornamented cloth are visible on the sides), hiding such an important attribute of a gala garment as a plate-decorated belt. The shirt with a narrow horizontal collar is worn under the sleeved coat. The gold torques of both the "right" officials - have no drop-shaped pendant in the center. The iconography of personage 19 is evidently connected with Chinese painting traditions which demonstrates the comparison with the pose of a Turkic warrior in a much later wall-painting of Prince Zhanguai's tomb, 706-711 AD<sup>33</sup>.

The sleeved coats of *background ("left") personages* (personages 5,18) have high cuffs made of ornamented silk fabrics (pl. 1/14). Their attributes are: a long red "Y"-shaped supports "kurpacha" were used in Western Turkestan up to the 20<sup>th</sup> c. (the information kindly presented by I.A. Arzhantseva, May 1999) (pl. 1/12) and a torque with a large drop-shaped pendant in the center.

*The ornament of the plate-decorated belts* of the two above-described couples of officials presents a big interest. Unfortunately it is preserved only on one of the "left" and one of the "right" personages.

The front ("right") personage' belt is ornamented with a row of large round plaques<sup>34</sup> (pl. 1/20). Background ("left") personage 18 has a belt with a more complicated décor: each large round rimmed plaque<sup>35</sup> is between two rectangles, each formed of 4 very small round brackets (the latter ones could also have been parts of one large bracket<sup>36</sup>). Both variants of belt decoration are known for Turkic burial Kudyrge in Altai<sup>37</sup> and there are reasons to redate it back to the period we are interested in - the period of the First Qaghanat<sup>38</sup>. It is significant to say, grave 9 in Kudyrge (where the belt with plaques analogous to Afrasiabian ones of the "right"/"front" officials in the couples originate from) is much richer in the set of artifacts than grave 11 (containing the belt analogous to the ones belonging to the "left"/"back" Afrasiabian officials). This fact confirms my conclusion about a *higher rank* of "right" personages 6 and 19. The décor of their belts has analogies in early Turkic burials of Tuva<sup>39</sup> and Semyrechy<sup>40</sup>, among the belts from early Turkic burials and in the costume of aristocracy of Sogd and Persia having contacts with the Turks<sup>41</sup>.

Besides, on the western wall there are three groups (left, right and central) of sitting Turkic officials already visible (notwithstanding the upper level of the painting being destroyed). In each of these groups the main personages can be signed out (the faces of the rest personages are turned to them). Unfortunately, none of the figures of the three leaders has preserved satisfactorily.

**b)** The special place among all the Turks presented on the western wall belongs to *the main personage of the central group (personage 36)*. He is the only one wearing a sleeved-coat of blue color - sacred for early Turks (it was associated with the supreme heaven god Tengri (in Turkic Qaghanat nobility had a title "blue" in contrast to "black people" / qarabudun); the sleeves of this coat are much longer than his arms are. Only his kerchief is yellow (made of gold brocade?) and only he has just three plaits. He is only one entertained by the musician sitting in front of him (personage 35); the both personages are squatting not sitting cross-legged. The figure in the blue-sleeved coat is the geometrical center of the whole western wall composition.

**c)** Of all other groups right personage 41 is the best presented one. Two officials sitting next to the leaders in each group are talking with them; in each group two other officials are listening to them in silence. All the personages are probably wearing 5 long plaits (pl. 1/ 2); they also have round small bags (personages 37, 39, 40, 41). "The subordinates" are deprived of torques (see completely preserved personages 28, 29). They have short red "Y"-shaped support "kurpacha" with spotted knobs analogous to above-mentioned ones (personages 28, 42 are leaning on them with their right hands) (pl. 1/12).

Among the suite of the *central personage of the right gathering* - there is a couple of officials with the same supports (personage 42 and one ill-preserved above him) politely sitting not on the carpets but squatting on the ground. They are (like personage 18 with the analogous support) wearing rings on little fingers (they were probably worn on both hands).

Judging from the fragments preserved (personages 28, 42) belts with sets of plaques of the people with 5 plaits and supports-kurpacha are decorated with large round rimmed brackets each having a pair of small flat round brackets (placed one above the other) from both sides<sup>42</sup> (pl. 1/21).

*In the left group of sitting officials* the composition of "flags and drums" takes a special place (for medieval nomads analogies see: Mode 1993, 28-29, abb. 8-9), to the left and to the right there are two sitting men in yellow sleeved-coats and with red kerchiefs (personage 32 and the one to the right of him). Personage 41 dressed in a yellow

sleeved-coat and having a red kerchief is the central one *in the right group*. To the left and to the right groups there also belong (besides the main personages) *four officials sitting on the carpets* (in each group) *and two couples of masters of ceremonies* of lower rank (a couple of personages 33-34 is marching ahead the Chinese ambassadors to the left group; a couple of personages [personages 42 and one above him] with short red supports [also known for another groups] are squatting without carpets behind the main personage of the right group).

Evidently, the yellow coloring of sleeved-coats of high status Turks symbolizes *gold brocade*. In the summer residence of Western Turkic qaghan 200 nobles from his suite, according to the data of Huen Tsiang, were wearing such sleeved-coats, common warriors had sleeved-coats made of linen<sup>43</sup>. It is significant that the yellow color is characteristic to the sleeved-coats of the main figures among sitting officials and also of two people in the couples of standing "masters of ceremonies" directly communicating (by means of interpreters) with the groups of ambassadors (personages 5, 19).

All above said allows to presume that on the western wall each of three officials in yellow long sleeved-coats and with red kerchiefs, sitting on the carpets has dependants, either a couple standing or squatting with short red supports-kurpacha. And the couple of officials with the same supports sitting on the carpets (personage 32 has dependants - 30, 31; for his neighbor to the right personages above him (not preserved) are his dependants; for the upper central personage in the right group personages 37-38 are his dependants. It may be suggested that the right group of sitting officials (the upper part of the painting is not preserved) was organized symmetrically to the left one, i.e. two personages of higher rank were sitting together and had two couples of dependants of two different lower ranks. Obviously, the two couples of standing officials with staffs and supports, welcoming ambassadors, were placed below and the two analogous couples were placed in the upper level of the wall painting (personages 33-34, 42 and ones above them). In the right group we also see a bunch of flags but of a larger size and not between the two important officials but on the periphery of the composition.

Thus, *the composition of the western wall on the whole is symmetrical and properly designed*. Besides mentioned above conclusions, we can add that two chains of people are fanned out around personage 36 - the main one in a blue long sleeved coat. Below, two couples of "masters of ceremonies" with staffs or supports are meeting foreign ambassadors (behind each of these couples there are three persons - Chaganiyan or Turkic officials). To the right and to the left of the main personage there are two compositions of flags, next to each of them - a couple of sitting officials in yellow brocade sleeved-coats with red kerchiefs; to the left of each of these couples there are 4 officials sitting on the carpets, and to the right - standing or coming up 2 "masters of ceremonies" with red staffs.

**d)** Obviously, the chain of 3 *officials coming upright* (to the sitting group) (personages 15-17) presents the ones of the lowest rank in the official hierarchy. Of all other Turks only they do not have any weapons and, evidently, do not have gold plaques but silver (?) ones (personages 15, 17 are not finished and are not completely painted, but personage 16 is depicted more definitely). They have not torques. These officials have 4 plaits. But the sleeved coats of the personages mentioned do not differ in cut and decoration from the garments of the other Turks.

Yu. Motov somehow out of the context of Turkic traditions sees in sitting Turkic officials orthodox Zoroastrians with their sacred carpets. He considers their gesticulation while talking to express adoration<sup>44</sup>.

This analysis allows to single out rather definitely *the following social groups of Turks* in Afrasiabian wall painting according to the compositional place, attributes and costume details.

Personage 36 in a blue sleeved coat, placed in the center of the composition of the western wall, entertained by the musician and so on, can be considered *the main representative of A-shih-na Puzheng qaghan in Samarkand* - *tudun* responsible, besides other duties, for collecting the tribute in the city and the surroundings. The scabbard of the sword was left unpainted, but I do not exclude the possibility of its being gilded (like the scabbards of other Chaganiyan and Sogdian nobles depicted there and in the contrast with the scabbards of other Turks in Afrasiabian painting).

**Group 1.** It contains the personages with a couple of officials standing to the right (personages 6, 9, 27 are speaking with the members of embassies with the help of interpreters (personage 27: the speech of the Chaganiyan ambassador is written on the clothes). Personage 19 is holding a long scuff with an upper ending in the form of letter "Ã", personage 27 is holding a club for horse-polo played at the court. They are wearing gold torques without a drop-shaped pendant, belts with a row of roundels and a square small bag (personage 6). Earrings are either usual with pendants of spherical form (personage 6) or in a leaf-form (personage 19). Among belt pendants there is a large rectangular lengthened case for writing materials (personage 6). There are all reasons to classify these characters as belonging to the early Turkic *high estate "beq"*. Judging from the wall painting the belt of personage 6 had about 30 gold brackets. It should be remembered that in epitaphs of a number of "beqs" from Tuva they had up to 40-50 gold plaques<sup>45</sup>.

An original personage from hall III where the painting is ill preserved can be referred to nobility without any doubt<sup>46</sup>. First of all there should be mentioned a belt encrusted with precious stones; the unique example for the Turks (from Afrasiab) the sleeved coat completely made of silk Sasanian polychromic cloth; unusual (for Afrasiab) number of plaits (not less than 6) and a special rectangular long case for writing materials hanging down from the belt (compare with personage 6 in group 1).

The belt plaques of the man are not characteristic for other Samarkandian Turks either. They are diamond-shaped<sup>47</sup>. In this set each such bracket is placed between two pairs of small round plaques<sup>48</sup> (pl. 1/23).

All said about the personage makes us think him being not from the southern group of Turkic tribes of the Western Qaghanat - Nu-shipi (which controlled Sogd and dominated in the Qaghanat in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. excluding the years 641-642), but from other - *northern group of the tribes* - *Tulu*. Indeed, there has been found a stone-carved image (a male *balbal* of the 7-8<sup>th</sup> cc. with the same diamond-shaped plaques on the belt and the same 6-7 plaits of a<sup>49</sup>). (The analogous shaped plaques on the belt of a later period - 9-14<sup>th</sup> cc. - are known for the Uighurs of Turfan<sup>50</sup>).

**Group 2.** The personages with "Y"-shaped supports-kurpacha with round small bags, 5 plaits and each having a ring on one finger. They are sitting officials in the upper level of the western wall (personages 28-31, 35, 37-40, 42). "Left/back" ones in the couples of standing officials (personages 5, 18, 26?) are also related to group 2. *In the second case* these people have additional golden torques (with a drop-shaped pendant) and belts with a much larger number of small round brackets (due to the additional amount of bracket in the form of 4 small circles (?) joint together - being fastened closer to the ends of the belt). It should be mentioned that all three types of belt brackets are presented in the synchronous "classical" Turkic burial ground - Kudyrga in Altai. The man from burial 11 in Kudyrga, with the belt décor analogous to the one of group 2, is characterized as a warrior having risen from the ranks by himself due to his own qualities<sup>51</sup>. Evidently, all the personages of the group can be referred to the *privileged part of the basic early Turkic warriors estate* - "er".

**Group 3.** Personages 15-17 are unarmed and wearing no torques, have 4 plaits. Their plate-decorated belts are ornamented obviously, with silver brackets. It is difficult to refer these people to the lower category of common warriors because of their presence at the court reception, their being ornamented with Sasanian silk sleeved coats and their having plate-decorated belts. The matter is, that of all unrobed early Turkic "horseman" burrows the plate-decorated belts have been found only in each second one<sup>52</sup>.

It should be marked, that narrow whetstone in splendid cases hanging down from the belts are presented for the persons of the definite rank: the main personages in the left and right groups of sitting officials (personages 32, 41), the couples of standing officials (it is clearly visible in the images of personages 18, 19, 26). The whetstones are also depicted on the western wall in the images of Chaganiyan ambassadors.

It is interesting to say that the noblest persons among the Turks and the Sogdians have no belt-bags on the right (the western wall, personage 36; the southern wall, personages 1-4).

Concluding the survey of the costume complex of Sogdian Turks, I should note some of its *peculiarities* additionally. *First*, personage 19 from the right part of the western wall is wearing an upper garment - a yellow sleeved coat - tucked in from below under the belt and beneath it we can see a non-throw-open shirt with a horizontal collar and high cuffs without any decor (pl. 1/13). Such tucking of clothes in hot weather was evidently in the bounds of etiquette as the personage is wearing his sleeved coat in such a manner at the official reception. Such manner is also known in Chinese images of Turkic-styled sleeved coats<sup>53</sup>.

*Second*, two sitting nobles in red sleeved-coats (personage 39 on the western wall and one in the hall III<sup>54</sup>) have plaits, each of them in its lower part is decorated with large beads of lapis lazuli and pearls (rock crystal?) in 3 rows (pl. 1/4). Such a decoration is partially visible for personage 18.

*Third*, the above-mentioned personage from hall III is wearing the belt with brackets (they are not painted in Al'baum's table, but they could be considered gold/gilded) incrustated with round inlays of the same lapis lazuli and pearls (?).

*Fourth*, the Turkic shoes are sharp-toed with the sole cut separately and then attached highly to the body of the shoe (personage 42) (pl. 1/18).

*Fifth*, in Samarkand even noble Turks did not wear clothes made completely of polychromic subject silks as it contradicted their esthetic norms (the puzzling personage from hall III is an exception). Such fabric was used only for edging, and the basic coloring of the costume was monochromic and bright (red, yellow, light blue, white). Judging from Huen Tsiang messages, it was also typical for Western Turkic qaghans<sup>55</sup>.

The predominating disposition of the Turks in Afarsiabian painting and a complicated hierarchy of the Turkic officials can be logically explained by the dependence of Varkhuman of Western Qaghanat and their logical inclusion into local nobility. On this background the interpretation of "too numerous Turks" being preserved in the wall painting by E. Kageyama<sup>56</sup> looks extremely exotic and weak-proved. She seems courageous devoted to the ruler warriors-*chakars*, being mentioned in different sources<sup>57</sup>, in this group.

## 2. Chaganiyans

The embassy of the Chaganiyan king (chaghanudat) Turantash in Samarkand, if we follow L.I. Al'baum's view, is depicted as most magnificent. It consists, in my opinion, of 13 people. On the western wall there are 3 ambassadors with the head of the mission - *dapirpat* (the head of the king's office) *Pukar-zate*, who is mentioned in the wall inscription and, probably, is heading the procession of the ambassadors from the left (personage 4; the initial sketch of his figure is placed a little to the right: personage 4 a).

The attribution of personages 3 and 4 as *Chaganiyan ambassadors* by L.I. Al'baum arouse some contradictions from a number of researches, but they seem not enough convincing. So, V.A. Livshits, following his own interpretation of the Sogdian inscription on personage 3 ("twpt mrty"), suggested it being a Tibetan one<sup>58</sup>. Unfortunately, the costume of the personage and his accessories do not fit the images of Tibetans of 7-8th cc. known in Chinese art.

Personage 4 according to the hypothesis of M. Mode is not anybody else but the governor of Sasanian Iran - Yazgerd III!<sup>59</sup>. The researcher paid his attention to the fact that the sleeved coat of the man was sewn of Iranian silk

cloth with the image of *Senmurv*. There is a hypothesis of a row of German authors that *Senmurv* by the Sasanids could be an exclusively royal symbol<sup>60</sup>. Indeed, by now it has really been known on the costume attributes only on the fabric of sleeved coats from Hosrau II in Taq-i Bustan and on the headdress of the crown prince on the coins of the Bahram II period. Unfortunately, it is not enough for such a serious conclusion and written and epigraphic sources do not confirm it. In this case we could have declared other animals presented on the clothes of Iranian monarchs and their headdresses to be exclusively royal symbols too, which do not keep to the facts.

The form of the headdress and the belt plaques really have no exact analogies in the costume of the Iranian rulers of the 6-7<sup>th</sup> cc. (With the same reason we could have considered horseman 4 on the southern wall wearing an identical headdress being an Iranian shah). Personage 14 lacks an obligatory for Iranian aristocracy of the period neck decoration - a necklace or a torque - and he is wearing too common high boots without any decor (which has not been documented for the shah' costumes at gala receptions. It is difficult to imagine (if having taken into account M. Mode's version) Yazgerd III in 648 - still a rich and powerful ruler - being at the diplomatic reception without Persian suite, humbly bringing rather plain gifts in his hands.

It is not easier to agree with the opinion that a not clearly visible contour sketch of personage 4 a, standing near by the sketch which was not considered to be worth finishing, presents the most important participant of the event - the king of Samarkand Varkhuman himself<sup>61</sup>.

On the southern wall, in L.I. Al'baum opinion, there is *the meeting of the Samarkand ruler' bride and her suite*<sup>62</sup>. Recently there has also been expressed an opinion about a religious ceremony, connected with some sacred construction. *B.I. Marshak* suggested that it should have been connected with local funeral traditions and that only Sogdians could have been presented there, as the images of people with the lower part of the faces covered with a special bandage (*padam*) known for Sogdians<sup>63</sup>. *Ì.Mode* considers a music cappella at gate to meet an elephant and court dames accompanied by priests in connection with some god worshipping by representatives of neighboring cities forming one federation with Samarkand<sup>64</sup>.

Both this versions still badly explain some details of the images. In the first case, it is not clear, why geese take part in the procession and what the inscription on the back of the horse belonging to personage 13 "He gave us" means<sup>65</sup>, why the richly dressed women -aristocrats heading the procession, do not show any signs of mourning? The construction with supporting poles remains neither a funeral *dakhma* nor a temple. And as I hope to show below some costume attributes are not characteristic for Sogd.

*In the second case*, it is not clear why the supposed musicians on the platform are so magnificently dressed. It is difficult to consider this open-worked construction to be a massive city gate. If the people are bringing the animals for a collective sacrifice, the inscription (on the one of the geese) that they are sent to king Varkhuman personally as a gift cannot be explained. It is not obligatory at all to treat the rods with "dragon" heads as sacred attributes of priests (personages 9, 10). The bandages on the lower part of the face (personages 11, 12) could hardly be priests' attributes only. Thus, on the Iranian dish of the boundary of the 7-8<sup>th</sup> cc. from the Hermitage one of them is depicted on the servant cooking meals for the sacred person of a ruler<sup>66</sup>.

The old version of L.I. Al'baum *about the wedding procession* with a bride seems very perspective, indeed. For to verify it, we should first of all take into account that on the boundary of the 6-7<sup>th</sup> cc., according to "Sui shu" data, the wedding habits of Sogdian nobility were already *Turkic* in generally<sup>67</sup>. Now let us refer to the wedding traditions of the Turks-Oghuzs of Western Turkestan in 9-13<sup>th</sup> cc., well documented in written sources. From *my* point of view, practically all the details of the procession on the southern wall are easily explained with their help<sup>68</sup>. The bride (even from a common family) rode a camel in a special palanquin (*ogyrmak*) (a princess in medieval Chaganiyan could, quite probably, use an elephant for that purpose). A special marquee or a small house (*girdek*) was built for the bridegroom and his friends could feast before the bride' arrival (compare personages 1-4 inside the special construction on the platform); later the bride and the bridegroom secluded themselves from the others. At the moment of the bride' arrival, noble men stood up to greet her (compare the same personages 1-4). Before the wedding (and after the bridegroom' paying the ransom for the bride) the members of the bridegroom' family also got some (much more modest) gifts. These are, probably, the horse in gala harness led by personage 11 and four sacred geese followed by young man 12 on the southern wall (there is the inscription "farn" on one of them and the inscription "a goose" on another one<sup>69</sup>). On the western wall there are, probably, depicted the return gifts: the two attributes of the male and female costume and a roll of the silk stuff for clothes (personages 2-4).

The procession could be accompanied by the relatives (aunts) of the bride and sometimes her girl-friend which is called the same as the match-maker - "yenge" - by a number of Turkic peoples) (compare: noble women 6-8, following the palanquin and girl 5 on the elephant). At last, it becomes quite understandable why the supposed head of the wedding cortege (probably, according to the ancient tradition, it is the bride' uncle from her mother' line) and his companions - horsemen (personages 13-15) besides unusual weapons characteristic for the wall-painting of Afrasiab are also carrying bulky arches with arrows for the gala reception. The point is that a wedding party was obligatory followed by arch-shooting contests and the wish to take with them familiar things of their own is quite understandable.

On the contrary ancient Sogdians had *quite different* traditions of the brides meeting, unlike the described ones. Thus, it can be stated, that the bride was to be met at night with torches or bon-fires, but not at the day time<sup>70</sup>.

On the southern wall the procession of Chaganiyans is headed by the bride (the personage had not been preserved) with a maid or a girl-friend on the elephant (personage 5). Then, there follow three "maids of honor" (they can be

probably the bride' relatives) the lowest one of them is signed out (the Sogdian inscription "a noble lady"). After them there is a young and an old "ambassadors" carrying rods decorated with dragon' heads (pl. 2/9). The procession of the animals to be presented is concluded by the figure of the head of the wedding cortege in double human size, probably, the bride' uncle (the upper half of the figure has not been preserved, but it can be supposed to carry a standard (bunchuq) like the horsemen following him and being equipped in the analogous way, but not a rod with a dragon, as L.I. Al'baum supposed) (personage 13). In the end of the procession there are two horse riders with bunchuqs leading spare horses behind them.

It is quite possible that three ambassadors depicted on the western wall, arrived to Samarkand a little earlier than other Chaganiyans "for voting their respect" (as the text on the wall reads) to Varkhuman himself and presenting him with not numerous gifts of precious gala-costume components. (Pukar-zate and his companions are holding a golden torque and a gold necklace, a belt with pendants of precious stones and a roll of Persian cloth). The necklace is probably for a lady (the bridegroom' mother?) (pl. 2/22).

Both the men and women have a small red round facial mark (between the upper lip and the nose (personages 2, 4 on the western wall; personage 6 on the southern wall). This tradition for both sexes in Bactria / Tocharistan was documented for the first time in the Kushanian period. A. Invernizzi relates its spread to the Hellenistic tradition of Syrian/Mesopotamian origin<sup>71</sup> but there is a fact which has not been taken into consideration: as far back as in the 3th c. B.C. before the Yuech-Chihs' migration from Western China to Bactria such facial marks came into fashion with Chinese noble ladies at the court at the period of emperor Qin Shihuang<sup>72</sup>.

All the men from the southern wall are clad in *non-throw-open* shoulder garments with long narrow sleeves with side knee-high cuttings on the hem, with horizontal collar with the edging of another fabric (both the cuttings and the collar are edged with a strip of polychromic pattern silk cloth (pl. 2/13).

Three ambassadors on the western wall have *quite different clothes* especially well depicted on personage 2<sup>73</sup>: these thrown-open long sleeved coats with a deep left wrap over. On the right side they have a special *trapezoidal lapel* fastening to the other coat breast (pl. 2/12). Personages 2 and 4 have "shoulder-straps" (strips of polychromic fabric) when the representatives of other ethnic groups in Afrasiab lack such element of the costume.

On the whole in the Chaganiyan clothes there can be defined *three specific complete sets* of costume attributes, each of them is presented on several personages.

**Group 1.** Cylinder-shaped (?) low headdresses of pattern silk fabric (pl. 2/3); a short cloak of gray color fastened with a bow on the left shoulder according to Sasanian fashion (pl. 2/11) (personage 4 on the western wall; personage 14 on the southern wall). These personages do not have gold torques. The headdresses of the persons from this group have prototypes on the territory of Bactria / Tocharistan as long ago as the 2-3th cc. in Kushanian period<sup>74</sup>.

**Group 2.** Narrow white head bandages (pl. 2/2); shoulder garment of white color (personage 3 on the western wall; personage 9 on the southern wall). There are gold torques without drop-shaped pendants (pl. 2/4).

**Group 3.** Narrow red head bandages (pl. 2/2); the patterns on the fabric of shoulder garments - wild boars' heads in round medallions (personage 2 on the western wall; personage 10 on the southern wall). There are torques with drop-shaped pendants (pl. 2/5).

The point still is, that the complete sets of the costume of these three groups are difficult to be related to definite class distinctions or official ranks. Each of a complete set is presented on the personages taking probably different positions in the hierarchy of the embassy members, one time - important, another time - second rate. The *real* sign of hierarchy for Chaganiyans was, of course, wearing *wholly gold belts*. On the western wall the owner of such a belt is standing in the head of the embassy: he is, probably, Pukar-zate himself, mentioned here in the inscription (personage 4; pl. 2/23); on the southern wall the belts are worn by the men nearest to the king of Samarkand - the ambassadors on the camels (personages 9 è 10) and one of the horsemen (personage 15) (pl. 2/21).

Coming across with the existence of *several stable complete sets of the costume* L.I. Al'baum tried to find out the explanation of it suggesting that the same people have been depicted twice on the western and southern walls<sup>75</sup>; but too many details contradict this idea (among them - the personages' faces).

Today the following interpretation seems to be the most sufficient. The three above-mentioned groups of men with different costumes reflect a *triple tribal division of the Chaganiyans*, which is mostly likely for ancient Indo-Iranian peoples (the Scythians-Scolots in Herodotus materials, the Alano-Ossets, the Kafirs and oth.). In the chain of the ambassadors on the three groups have different types of purses, hanging from the belt ("kaptarga") (personage 4 has a rectangular one, personage 3 - a heart-shaped one, personage 2 - judging from the manner of fixation - a round one) (pl. 2/15-16). One representative of each group in each embassy is wearing a gold belt and the forms of plaques are also different (but, for example, both the personages of group 1 have definitely the plaques of the same type).

*The decor of plate-decorated belts* gives very important information about the status of men - Chaganiyans. Of 5 known types 4 - are the copies or the results of remaking the Turkic examples.

*Type 1.* Solid gold belts with a set of brackets analogous to the belts of the most important persons from Turkic group 2 (the western wall, personage 4 - Pukar-zate; the southern wall, personage 10) (pl. 2/19, 23). Both the belts are fastened with a massive rectangular buckle, absent in the costume of Turks from Samarkand. There is a drop-shaped pendant hanging from the buckle of Pukar-zate. I can not exclude that the latter element comes back finally to the specifically Kushanian drop-shaped pendants of the buckle<sup>76</sup>. Both the men, possessing these belts are heading the processions of Chaganiyan men-ambassadors on the western and the southern walls. Pukar-zate has no torque at that.

*Type 2.* The solid gold belt of a row of large round plaques with the inlay of a precious stone in the center (of blue or red color) (the southern wall, personage 15) (pl. 2/21). Gold belts of Samarkand inhabitants with such inlays are described by al-Kufi for the boundary of the 6-8<sup>th</sup> cc. The analogous attributes for Persians are known from the text of "Shah nama"<sup>77</sup>; but Sasanian belts with the identical plaques placing are not known to me. The synchronous examples of the belts of noble men of Kutcha in Xinjiang are the exact analogies to our one<sup>78</sup>.

*Type 3.* The leather belt fastened with a massive rectangular buckle. Large round gold/gilded plaques with rimming (pl. 2/17) are placed with rather big intervals between them, i.e. the decor corresponds to the belt of Turkic group 1 (the southern wall, personage 14). Identical belts are known for the Sogdians on painting of objects XVI/10 and XXIV/I in Penjikent<sup>79</sup>. The Chaganiyan personage with the belt of this type has no torque.

*Type 4.* The leather belt with the decor of bracket of two types analogous to the one of the most Turks from group 2 (the western wall, personage 3) (pl. 2/18). The personage is wearing a gold torque without a drop-shaped pendent.

*Type 5.* The leather belt with the décor of monotypic plaques of a rare shape; the analogies of this shape are known for only Turkic sets of the Northern Caucasus<sup>80</sup> (the western wall, personage 2) (pl. 2/20). The personage is wearing a torque without a drop-shaped pendant.

The images of *four women from the supposed suite of the Chaganiyan princess* in the embassy have been presented only fragmentally. It is significant that women are depicted in the head of the wedding cortege that there are horse-riders among them and so on. Chinese chronicles fix equal rights for women for that period in Tocharistan (Chaganiyan was a part of it), the spread of polyandry, which was directly connected with the unfavorable demographic situation in the country with a small number of women<sup>81</sup>.

The woman sitting on the elephant behind (the girl-friend or a maid of bride?) (personage 5) is wearing a long light-blue dress of full-length with flounce (pl. 2/31) (this is a result of the influence of Sasanian fashion<sup>82</sup>) and with a red sleeved coat thrown on the shoulders (?). She has 4 plaits, two of which are shorter and worn in front (pl. 2/24); this tradition is characteristic for both Tocharistan (paintings of Dilberdjin, Balalyk-tepe) and Sogd (paintings of Penjikent). Not long ago such headdress, considered to be proper for unmarried young girls only, was widely spread in Western Turkestan, also among Iranian-speaking Tadjiks<sup>83</sup>.

Of the three women - horse-riders the image of the lowest one has been preserved best of all and has Sogdian inscription "a noble lady" (personage 6). Three horse-riding women, probably, also present three tribal subdivisions of the Chaganiyans. But because of their being fragmentary we cannot compare their coiffure and small accessories of the costume. But evidently, each of the women has a special color of both caftans/jackets and trousers. The latter are very wide and tucked in low boots (pl. 2/29). Shorter than male ones (not reaching knees) loose thrown-open caftans without the belt and with sleeves gathered at wrists. They have a deep wrap to the left and to the right breast lap (being above the left one) is fastened, probably, with a button. The right breast lap is edged with the fabric of another color (its décor consists of a series of circles (pearls?) in the middle and rows of rosettes from both sides (pl. 2/30). Such wide edge of the breast lap decor is known as far back as the Kushanian period (2<sup>th</sup> - 3<sup>th</sup> cc.) for both men *Indo-Scythians*<sup>84</sup> and women personages on Sogdian terracotta<sup>85</sup>. A thin sleeved coat opening the breast, was hardly worn just on the body, probably, there was a shirt with a horizontal collar, seen under the coat at the breast; but because of the damage of the wall-painting we cannot judge it being so for sure. (L.I. Al'baum considered all worn by these women being a single article of the costume with a long attached hem of its own color but such conclusion has not been confirmed with the material known on the ancient costume of Western Turkestan)<sup>86</sup>.

Obviously, all the three women horse-riders (personages 6-7 are better preserved) wore gold bracelets of the same type as men wore and necklaces with large drop-shaped pendants (the Chaganiyan ambassador is holding an analogous necklace in his hand as a gift: the western wall, personage 4; compare also the necklace of the main female personage 11 in the boat on the northern wall).

As the most evident *peculiarities of the Chaganiyan costume* of that period the following ones may be referred to: a very deep wrap to the left for both sexes (personages 2-4 on the western wall, 6-8 on the southern wall), a round red facial mark worn between the upper lip and nose by both sexes and low cylindrical hats of pattern fabric worn by some men. On the whole *the Chaganiyan costume keeps the most ancient features of the Bactrian costume of Achaemenid period* even in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD. These features are: narrow head bandages with ends put inside, non-thrown-open upper garments, very wide trousers<sup>87</sup> (women - horse-riders). G.M. Maitdinova came to the similar conclusions about the succession in her dissertation thesis, though she has been studying it beginning from the Kushanian time<sup>88</sup>.

There should be underlined some very important peculiarities of the costume of the three ambassadors with precious gifts on the western wall (personages 2-4). A trapezoidal lapel was mentioned and such form is very rare, it is known for that and earlier time only in the male costume of serving nobles of Kutcha (Eastern Turkestan)<sup>89</sup>. I have already mentioned the identity of Kutcha belts with incrustation and the belt of personage 15 from the southern wall. The same can be said about the boots of the three ambassadors mentioned above. It is clearly seen that they are wearing black low boots with deep and wide cut in front. The middle one of the ambassadors has a boot cut ending with a diamond-shaped embroidered (?) ornament (pl. 2/14). Analogous boots but with short and oval toes in contrast to sharp and long ones are also known from synchronous depictions of Kutcha<sup>90</sup>. Similar specific analogies are the material evidence of the contacts of two long-term trade partners in the rout of *Silk Road*<sup>91</sup>.

Of all attributes of the Chaganiyan costume the gala belt as a gift from the embassy to Varkhuman (personage 2 on the western wall is carrying it) (pl. 2/22) should be mentioned especially. The belt - not being gold at all (it is only

decorated with gilded plaques) but its lower edge has 2 rows of precious pendants. There are peculiar gold "cross-pieces" with large drop-shaped pendants fixed to them from below and having leaf rimming; the pendants are either white (mountain crystal? pearl?) or blue (lapis lazuli? turquoise?). Probably, partially similar ornaments of a gala belt are described for a female costume in the poem "The singer from Chach": "the patterned pendants are pulling down the belt on the slender waist"<sup>92</sup>.

Patterned silk fabrics are depicted in Afrasiab in the costume of the representatives of all West Turkestan' ethnic groups. But among them *there are fabrics with such plots which are presented only in Chaganiyan garments* (and not once at that). First, it is the image of a white goose holding a necklace in the beak against white or red background in a medallion (personage 3 on the western wall - the main background of the clothes; personage 13 on the southern wall - the main background of the horse's cloth)<sup>93</sup>. It is possible, that fabrics with a goose were used by Chaganiyans not occasionally (as it has been mentioned above, geese are among other return gifts to Varkhuman from the bride' relatives and to V.A. Shishkin' mind, they were sacred birds). Second, there are fabrics with winged lions in medallions (white against the background) (the elephants' cloth on the southern wall; a gift of rolled stuff in the hands of personage 3 on the western wall).

It is interesting to note, that there is no green coloring on Chaganiyan garments, which has been met many times on "archaeological" cloths of Tocharistan<sup>94</sup>. Probably, it is connected with the fact that mainly cheap cotton fabrics are presented in excavations.

Yu. Motov sees in these depictions not real peoples, but semi-divine personages clad in too bright clothes, he supposes them being archaic in looks and dating back as long ago as Achaemenid time. All ornamented motifs of silk he considers to be exceptionally ritual. The religious-mystical character of the scene with Chaganiyans is underlined (in the researchers opinion) by a "womanlike" manner of sitting in the saddle of men-riders (which, in reality is traditional for many nomads of the ancient period) and by the fact that the camels and one horse are marching without being urged<sup>95</sup>.

### 3. The Sogdians

The Sogdian costume has recently been analyzed in detail in my dissertation and in special article<sup>96</sup>. Eight strongly fragmented images of men of European race on the western and the southern walls, taking part in ambassadors' receptions, can exactly be referred to the Sogdians. But even these fragments make it possible to come to a row of interesting conclusions about the specificity of the costume of Samarkandian part of Sogd.

The following personage on the southern wall can be referred to the Sogdians: **1)** four men standing in an unusual open-work construction on the platform (probably being a wedding marquee - "girdek", as it was mentioned above) meeting the wedding procession with the Chaganiyan bride (personages 1-4); **2)** two men in bandages-padam on the lower part of the face (portrayed in Persian Zoroastrian iconographic tradition) leading animals as gifts for the bridegroom - a horse (personage 11) and four geese (personage 12) (pl. 3/8). (In Chaganiyan, where Buddhism predominated such bandages are difficult to be imagined, but there will be no contradiction if we suppose Sogdians escorting the animals to be gifted to the sacred person of the king). Besides, the kneeling youngster, attending the geese, is leaning on a short "Y"-shaped support "kurpacha" already familiar to us, which was also used by Samarkandian Turks of group 2. **3)** Three interpreters, each of them standing on the western wall between a pair of Turkic officials and ambassadors of China (personage 7) and Chach (personage 20).

Wearing of not thrown-open shoulder clothes of full length, white and red colors prevailing, unites all these personages (compare: red and yellow colors are equally popular with the Turks) (pl. 3/9-10). The belts are either leather ones with gold/gilded brackets (personage 12 on the southern wall) or gold (personage 11 on the southern wall) (pl. 3/8). Judging from written sources in the 7<sup>th</sup> - the beg. of the 8<sup>th</sup> cc. in Sogd *gold belts* were worn by hereditary aristocrats-*dikhans*<sup>97</sup>; in Bukhara they were at that the attributes of *dikhans* - personal guards of the ruler<sup>98</sup>. The more ancient completely gold belt of Iranian peoples (compare the Achaemenian king' belts: Curt. Hist. Alex. III.3.17) was also founded in the South of Western Turkestan<sup>99</sup>.

Unlike Penjikent in Afrasiab such elements of decor as shoulder straps of polychromic silk cloth are not presented. Unfortunately, the headdresses of Sogdians are not portrayed (probably, there was an exception for king Varkhuman but the upper part of his figure has not been preserved). In contrast to the members of foreign embassies all the subjects of the king of Samarkand (Sogdians and Turks) do not have headdresses in documented cases; it contradicts ancient Iranian and Turkic traditions and is most likely, connected with the court ritual. At that time men-Sogdians (the same as men-Chaganiyans) obviously had no habit of demonstrating their waist clothes (wide trousers): they were covered with shoulder clothing and boots.

Only noble men-Sogdians (like Chaganiyans) had gold torques (the southern wall, personages 11,12). Only mature persons of both Iranian-speaking ethnic groups wear beards.

Shoulder clothing of men of these ethnic groups, in contrast to Turks, is decorated with polychromic plot silk not only along the collar, and the cuffs but also along the edge of the hem and its cuts, through this peculiarity is characteristic for some categories of personages only (see below chapter 6).

Sogdian and Chaganiyan nobles and officials wear swords and daggers with gilded scabbard (for Turks in Afrasiab such cases are not known for certain).

There are 4 noble Sogdians depicted on the southern wall meeting the wedding procession from Chaganiyan and standing in the marquee on a special platform (personages 1-4). *It seems the most probable to consider the middle*

one of standing closely together figures being either king Varkhuman from the Unash clan (or qaghan' vicegerent - "ihshid") (personage 3, which partly covers neighboring personage 4). His clothes are generally of white color in contrast to the standing neighbors' garments having white-red décor (the costume of the bridegroom of a Sogdian descendants - a Tajiks - was of white color). But who are in this case three high-ranked companions of Varkhuman? Let us consider the witness of a Chinese chronicle close in time to that period about the power structure in Samarkand (K'ang): "Three nobles manage state affairs"<sup>100</sup>.

The headdress of the ruler of Samarkand of the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> - 1st half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. is known through Chinese sources. During the period of the Turkic rule it was a gold diadem with 7 precious stones in combination with a Turkic hair-do with plaits (the latter was for example forced upon another Turkic vassal - the ruler of Turfan Kan Peya about 590 AD)<sup>101</sup>. Varkhuman was, probably, depicted on the western wall either, in the center of it, above personage 36, but this part has not been preserved (but his presence in the scene is obvious from the accompanying inscription).

The figure of a Sogdian aristocrat leading the horse - a gift from the Chaganiyan leader - presents a special interest (the southern wall, personage 11). He is the only one from all the Sogdian figures preserved having a solid gold belt. The belt is ornamented with 2 types of brackets analogous to the Turkic personage' from group 2 (the western wall, personage 18). But the buckle of the Sogdian is of another form - a massive rectangular one, analogous to the buckles of the row of the noble Chaganiyans (compare: the western wall, personage 4; the southern wall, personages 9, 10, 14).

A short cloak of this personage and a forehead bandage - are of red color (two cloaks of the same type, but other colors are depicted on the two most important Chaganiyan ambassadors: personage 4 on the western wall and personage 9 on the southern wall). The other important attributes of his costume - large round medallions of yellow color (gold brocade?) by the shoulders (L.I. Al'baum took such a medallion on the left shoulder for a plum of a bride of the horse held in leash behind<sup>102</sup>. The latter is a sort of misunderstanding: the medallion differs from the plume not only in form but also in color: all genuine plumes of horse bridles are white). Such round medallions on men' shoulder clothes appeared in Iran at the beg. of the 3<sup>th</sup> c. AD under the influence of Eastern Roman provinces<sup>103</sup>: see in particular the silver dish of the 3<sup>th</sup> c. AD with the portrait of shah from Frir gallery<sup>104</sup> and a graffiti from Harem in Persepolis<sup>105</sup>. Later the fashion for such medallions in the men' costume of aristocracy spread along Silk Road eastward, including the clothing of prince' family of Kutcha<sup>106</sup> and sleeved coats of the Tang dynasty emperors.

The youngster with geese (the southern wall, personage 12) as far as his rank is considered may be compared with the most significant Turks of group 2: he also has a short "Y"-shaped support (kurpacha) and a gold torque with a drop-like pendant<sup>107</sup>. Unfortunately, the details of his leather belt are practically not seen.

The *Sogdian interpreters* from the western wall are singled out by wearing pure-white garments, with the edging of polychromic silk cloth along the collar and cuffs only. The caftan/jacket of personage 20, depicted standing with his back to the viewers has an interesting detail of cut, the boundaries of which are shown with a contour line. This small "triangle" on the back, adjoining the collar (pl.3/10) (many researchers by mistake define it as a hood). Firstly, this element in the costume of Iranian peoples was depicted on the Greek-Scythian gold comb of the 4<sup>th</sup> n. BC from Solokha barrow (in this relief image it is absolutely flat). The "triangle" is known for the male costume of many ancient Iranian ethnic groups, and for the Western Turkestan it was first documented for I c. AD Yuech-chih's Tillya-tepe burial in Bactria<sup>108</sup>.

The shoulder clothing of the interpreters differs from the garments of noble Sogdians on the southern wall in *narrower patterned edging* of polychromic silk along the collar and the absence of such edging along the hem and its side cuttings.

Such detail of cut of non-throw-open clothes as side cuttings (such detail is natural for this length of clothes) is clearly visible in the depiction of personage 7.

Probably, both interpreters wore plate-decorated belts but these fragments of depiction have not been preserved. It is possible to say it for sure for personage 20 as we can see an edge of the kerchief hanging down from the belt, the image of which has not been preserved.

The haircuts of Sogdian officials of lower ranks present a great interest. Interpreter 20 from the western wall has a very short haircut with the shaved back of the head and without parting (pl. 3/1). Such haircut is from time to time documented on Sogdian cultic terracotta<sup>109</sup> and it is documented in Chinese chronicles for the 6-7<sup>th</sup> cc.<sup>110</sup>. The young man with geese (the southern wall, personage 12) is wearing his hair parted in the middle, gathered behind in a very short plait (pl. 3/2).

As to the cloths depicted, the message of the chronicle "Pei shi" about Samarkandians seems to be perfectly trustworthy<sup>111</sup>: "The garments are of embroidered silk fabrics, diaper-cloth and white linen". Even in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. Ch'ang Ch'un documented the predomination of shoulder clothing of woolen cloth of white color for both sexes<sup>112</sup>. Of numerous *plots* presented on polychromic silk fabrics from Afrasiabian Hall the basic groundwork of sprouts on the clothes is (repeatedly) marked *for Sogdian garments exclusively* (the southern wall, personages 2, 12).

#### 4. Inhabitants of Chach

The Chach embassy (mentioned in the big Sogdian inscription on the western wall) is depicted as group of three persons. Unfortunately, their figures in the central part have been preserved very badly.

The men' heads are ornamented with leather (?) ribbons-diadems with one gold plaque-rosette, the leader' (dapirpat of Chach) diadem being ornamented with three ones (pl. 3/15). A ribbon-diadem with three analogous rosettes has

been known for the costume of Iranian nobles from the South of Western Turkestan since ancient times. In the 1th - 2th cc. AD it was noted on the Kushanian goodness image from Dalverzin-tepe<sup>113</sup>, in early medieval Sogd - in terracotta depicting a winged god<sup>114</sup>. Later the analogous female diadem is known for the Lyakhsh burial in Tokharistan (Kumed region of Tadjikistan)<sup>115</sup>. It is also presented on the head of a reveling Sasanian nobleman from the painted vase-ossuary of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. found at the Buddhist stupa in Merv<sup>116</sup>. (The spread of such diadems in Western Turkestan should be connected with Near East impulse: the examples of such type appeared firstly in Sumerian Mesopotamia).

Footgear with upturned toes and soles sewed very high. And high tops are depicted with many narrow horizontal strips with traces of polychromic ornament inside (pl. 3/19). L.I. Al'baum considers them foot-bindings made of pieces of cloth, which is hardly probable. Obviously, it is footgear indeed with turned-up toes so convenient in mountains, but either knitted, made of quilted felt or combined (made of two-three types of different materials). Such variants are known for many mountain peoples of the world and are well documented for example in the Eastern Caucasus<sup>117</sup> and for men of Iranian-speaking peoples of Khorasan<sup>118</sup>.

The figures of personages 21 and 22 have been preserved better than others. It can be supposed that the dapirpat (personage 21) is wearing a non-throw-open garment with narrow horizontal collar and the hem a little above knees (there are trousers depicted lower knees). The latter are rather wide and tucked in high boots.

The sleeves of shoulder garments of the head of the embassy become narrow to the wrists and have wide cuffs with white pattern (pl. 3/12); the sleeves of personage 22 do not become narrower at the wrists and the edge of the collar is also ornamented with white dots (pl. 3/13). The basic color of the cuffs and collars of the both figures is black. Though personage 21 has shoulder and waist clothes of pink color, for personage 22 only the color of the shoulder garment is known (yellow).

It is not clear how the belts of the ambassadors looked. But, they, probably, looked the same as the one belonging to the Chach dancing youth from one of Chinese poems<sup>119</sup>, they were girdles with ends hanging down. They are typical for the male costume of Western Turkestan as far back as Achaemenian time<sup>120</sup>.

In conclusion of the survey of Chach ambassadors costume it could be mentioned that all the three of them evidently in accordance with Turkic fashion are wearing a long plait (its lower part, unfortunately, is not visible) (pl. 3/14).

## **5. The "Turkization" of the costume and plate-decorated belts of the Sogdians and the Chaganiyans**

The two latter peoples were included in the united Turkic Quaghanat up to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> c., and then in Western Turkic Qaghanat (On Oq Eli) and its remains. The influence of Turkic fashion (to be more exact - of five southern tribes of the Qughanat - Nu-shipi) produced similar phenomena in the male costume on the territory: the spread of a certain type of high leather boots, the standardization of the shoulder clothes length, wearing of plaits by noblemen in the number of cases (see personage 12 on the southern wall, personages 21-23 on the western wall) and also using of the belts with a certain set of brackets, buckles and a definite set of accessories suspended to the belt. *There is a ground to consider the connection between the introducing of these new costume elements for Iranian-speaking subjects of the Western Qughanat and important administrative reforms of Ton-yabgy-qaghan (618-630)*<sup>121</sup>. As a result of them the local aristocracy of conquered territories got Turkic titles and was officially included in the system of governing; although special high-ranked officials (tuduns) were appointed to supervise tribute collection.

The depictions of the *belts* in hall 1 happened to be badly damaged in most cases or unclear and because of it the system of decor can often be restored only presumably. Practically, all the brackets in Afrasiabian images are gold or gilded. (In archaeological and epigraphic monuments of that time both variants are documented<sup>122</sup>).

Even if we just cast a glance at Afrasiabian wall-painting it will make it possible to mark a certain *local specificity* in decorating of the series of plate-decorated belts of the Western Qaghanat which we are interested in. The belts of Turkized Sogd and Chaganiyan are characterized first of all by *preservation of a number of local features*.

*First*: wearing of solid gold belts by noblemen-dihkans (the Turks did not use such belts). There were additional brackets of Turkic type, fixed on them. *Second*: using of a massive rectangular was buckle not typical for Afrasiabian Turks. Even in case of direct and whole adoption of belts of a definite Turkic type, we can not exclude the probability of *the semantics of brackets having different comprehension if compared with Turkic comprehension*.

The complex of Chaganiyan costume presented in Afrasiabian wall painting gives ground to such conclusion. *Third*: Chaganiyans with the belt décor analogous to Turkic group of officials 1 and to the decor typical for the most important persons from group 2 (the western wall, personage 18), usually, in contrast to the Turks, have no torques.

*Forth*: people having belts of the most important persons from Turkic group 2 (the western wall, personage 4; the southern wall, personage 10) are heading the group of Chaganiyan ambassadors; and vice versa, personage 14 having the belt with the décor of most important Turkic group 1, is taking one of the last places in the wedding cortege.

The presence of some forms of brackets of Turkic belts known only for Sogd is also significant<sup>123</sup>.

The *semantics* of early Turkic plate-decorated belt plaques and tips of the Turkic type has not been properly elaborated yet<sup>124</sup>. The investigation of their semantics is frequently based on the conclusions made on the analysis of Avars' belts<sup>125</sup>. Meanwhile, such parallels should be drawn very carefully as the ancestors of Avars in Mongolia

were the most evil enemies and rulers of the Turks, belonged to another cultural layer and, obviously, to a special, now extinct group of languages.

It is significant that in early Turkic epigraphy either *the material* (gold) or *the number* of brackets is specially underlined for noblemen having done great personal service to the qaghan<sup>126</sup>. The gala belt, presented to the Chinese Emperor in 627 by Western Turkic Ton-yabgu (Tung Shehou) was a traditional for the Turks leather one (its production of gold is not mentioned which could have been natural in such cases in Chinese chronicles); but to make up for it, it was ornamented with inlays of precious stones and "a countless number of brackets" (Tsong Tang shu, CXCIV b, 3599 b).

It is a custom to consider the tips of additional straps hanging down from the belt and having a round lower butt to appear in Sasanian Iran (D. Gropp) or to be brought by the Turks. However, the latest finds in the South of Eastern Europe contradict these statements. The earliest series of enamel-decorated gold and silver sets with such tips are known for the Sarmatians in the 1 c. AD (Kosika, Pervomayskoye, Tsvetna, Porogi)<sup>127</sup>.

## 6. Polychromic silk plot fabrics in the costume of different ethnic groups

Probable Sasanian relation of most of them and especially the peculiarities of their usage by the Chaganiyans and the Sogdians have been mentioned above.

Are there any other regularities of their distribution for the personages from the Afrasiabian wall painting? First of all there should be mentioned that the decorative pattern of the basic groundwork for the representatives of each ethnic groups (the Sogdians and the Chaganiyans) in each scene (on the southern and western walls) *are never repeated*.

*Second:* we gather the impression that the use of these fabrics as basic groundwork of shoulder garments (i.e. the most expensive clothes of such stuff) depends not only on the *status* of the personages but *on the fact of their participating (in different roles) in this or that ritual*. Thus for Sogdians such polychromic cloths are noted on the southern wall only four noblemen on the platform meeting the wedding cortege (personages 1-4) and for the youth leading sacred Chaganiyan birds - geese (personage 12).

For the Chaganiyans they are depicted for all the three participants of the preliminary reception in Samarkand palace (the western wall, personages 2-4) and for the members of the wedding procession leading horses with standards-bunchuqs (the southern wall, personages 13-15).

*Third: a symbolic meaning of polychromic silk fabrics with this of that particular plot* can be expended in some cases. For example, it is not difficult to notice, that the fabrics with the image of a *winged horse* form the basic groundwork of clothes only for one person - the supposed king of Samarkand (the southern wall, personage 3), and for the main Turkic personage 36 on the western wall (the supposed qaghan' tudun) they only form edging of his monochromic blue sleeved coat. The cloth with this plot is used for ornamenting of the costume of the central group of standing Turkic officials (personages 5, 6) meeting the main embassies from China and Chaghaniyan. On Sogdian fabrics of the 7-9<sup>th</sup> cc. winged horses - one of the not numerous plots, quite deliberately adopted from Sasanian repertoire<sup>128</sup>.

As to the Chaganiyans, the fabric with winged horses ornaments the collar of the aged ambassador on the camel (the southern wall, personage 9) and we see winged horses on the horse cloths of the head of the wedding procession (personage 13) and the eldest of the "noble ladies". At last this plot, namely, ornaments the sleeved coat of a mysterious personage - the only one of all depicted in hall III and the only one of the Turks dressed completely in polychromic clothes<sup>129</sup>.

Perhaps, a specific role belonged *to the fabric with Senmurws*. It decorates the sleeved coat of the only personage - the head of the Chaganiyan embassy - the head of the state office (the western wall, personage 4). This is the plot used in clothing of Sasanian shahs; in Moshchevaya Balka in the Northern Caucasus in the 8-9<sup>th</sup> cc. it is presented on the sleeved coat of a local chief of the Alans<sup>130</sup>.

## 7. The Koreans

Two Korean officials are standing behind Chach ambassadors in the periphery of the western wall (personages 24-25). The Sogdian officials pay no special attention to them, they are not holding any gifts. The two Korean officials are standing behind Chach ambassadors in the periphery of the western wall (personages 24-25). The character of this embassy is mysterious in many respects (see below). The ambassadors are clad in short yellow (knee-long) throw-open jackets (chogori), wide ones with wide sleeves (which is characteristic for nobility) and wide trousers (padi), with a cord at the ankles.

Headdresses in the form of a chignon with two large bird feathers stuck at the top of the head are known from Chinese chronicles in the states Koguryo and Pekche<sup>131</sup> and from the painting of some Koguryo' tombs<sup>132</sup>. They were worn by officials of different ranks<sup>133</sup>.

## 8. The Chinese

Five Chinese ambassadors are, evidently, depicted in hall I *three times* and it caused a serious confusion in literature. On the western wall they are marching with gifts (personages 8-11, 14), on the northern wall they are hunting snow leopards on horse back (personages 1-5) and then they are getting to cross the river (which, taking into account the

route of the embassy, should be the Amudarya) (personages 6-10). It should be mentioned, that if in the scene of the official reception in Samarkand the Chinese costume is depicted in detail, on the northern wall on the contrary it is done schematically (without exact drawing of the details of headdresses and belts).

The costume of the Chinese officials in all scenes is of one and the same type, to be more exact - standard. The head of the embassy differs from others not only in the costume but in size (being depicted twice as tall as a common human figure is) and in the scene of snow leopard hunting he is killing not one wild animal but two (personage 1 on the northern wall). On the ambassadors' heads we see black headdresses "putou" with flat tops, which are formed by a special chignon. The putou of such types is known on the images of Tang' period of 30-60 years of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD<sup>134</sup> (pl. 4/9). G.M. Maitdinova considers putou to have originated from peaked felt headdresses of nomads (the Sakas and the Scythians)<sup>135</sup>. Meanwhile, this headdress is the result of complicated evolution of a kerchief<sup>136</sup>. In the 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD it was still specific for the Chinese and could not be used by neighboring "barbarians".

The officials are clad in standard yellow coats. Only the color of their lining differs. White at the court reception in the palace, the lining is also yellow (the western wall, personage 9); in "traveling" scenes the lining is red (the northern wall, personage 4 and the figures in the boat).

A typical costume of an official consisting of a yellow sleeved coat and a headdress putou is known in a miniature variant on burial figurines of Tang period<sup>137</sup>.

Each Chinese from the western wall *is wearing two belts - a sword belt and a gala-belt* (pl. 4/10). The first one made of black leather was worn below and was ornamented with a row of rectangular plaques with 4 round rivets in the corners and one in the center. Gala belts in the L.I. Al'baum' monograph are depicted in yellow color<sup>138</sup>, but according to the data of I.A. Arzhantseva they were, on the contrary, not colored in wall paintings. If the information of L.I. Al'baum had been exact, all the Chinese personages from the western wall (personages 9-11) would have been considered officials of the highest 1-2 ranks (judging from the data of "Cheng tsetung" dictionary just concerning the beginning of Tang dynasty) which is absolutely incredible for an embassy of little importance to a distant country<sup>139</sup>. At the end of Gaozong ruling (650-683) from 675, i.e. after the date of supposed by me embassy (see below) all the officials began to wear 13 plaques on the belt<sup>140</sup>.

The Chinese on the northern wall have low leather boots of raven wing color of Turkic type on<sup>141</sup>. The initial sketch of personage 7<sup>142</sup>, where the upper edge of the high boot top under the knee is sharpened according to the Turkic fashion of that period (pl. 4/11). The Chinese of Tang epoch began wearing such footwear at official receptions.

B.I. Marshak supposed that one of mounted hunters on the northern wall (personage 1 of two man height) should be *an image of the Chinese emperor*. This version was supported by M. Mode, who considers him being emperor Taizong (626-649)<sup>143</sup>. Unfortunately, I still can not share their opinion. All we know about China of Tang epoch do not allow to suggest that idolized Sun of the Heaven should not differ from other hunters in his looks and should wear the costume of a common official (!).

## 9. The bride from Khotan and her female suite

The attention of researchers was frequently attracted to the image of the boat with 10 women in it on the northern wall (personages 11-20). "The scene in the boat" was interpreted absolutely differently. There is rather strict hierarchy of the places in this composition and the costume details.

The bride (personage 11) - as L.I. Al'baum supposed - is depicted in two man' height standing in the center of the boat. We can see earring and a necklace (with inlays of a blue stone - lapis lazuli or sapphire) only in her depiction (pl. 4/4-5). The faces of all her companions are turned to her (all but the women actively working with oars in the boat ends). The princess is clad in a red dress on a high yoke belted with a wide yellow (gold brocade) girdle. Lower the waist the dress is stripy (we can see 2 red vertical stripes, one light blue, one yellow and one dark blue) (pl. 4/6). A blue sleeved-coat is put on above the dress. The sleeves of the coat are longer than arms and wide, the sleeved coats breasts are ornamented with the strips of black fabric with yellow flowers (pl. 4/7).

The princess is closely surrounded by 5 "court ladies": all 6 have a similar type of a headdress. The hair of each of the ladies is gathered into a plait and pushed through a gold (?) cone, then the plait goes freely down on the back of the head. At the temples the coiffure has two vertical flat diamond-shaped "wings" of gold foil encrusted with turquoise (?) fastened with two gold / gilded pins. To differ from others the princess' headdress has a small gold disk above the forehead (pl. 4/3).

Five "court ladies" and the princess differ from the other women in the boat not only in their headdress, but also in their under-dress with red color domination. There is an interesting lady to the right (from the viewer) from the mistress, clad similarly (but earrings, a necklace a disk above the forehead - the latter are only the princess attribute) including the coloring of the costume (personage 12). To the left of the princess there is a lady in a brocade (?) sleeved coat with blue coat breasts talking with her (personage 17). She is holding her neighbor by hand. The latter (personage 18) is wearing a blue sleeved-coat the breasts of which are ornamented with brown fur (pl. 4/7).

Three above-mentioned ladies, and also the princess, are wearing their sleeved coat thrown open on the shoulders (thrown over), and the coat breasts are ornamented with the fabrics of special color. Personages 12,17,18 are sitting in the foreground, surrounding the princess. Above them on the background there are depictions of other "maids of honor", who are also wearing headdresses with gold "wings" and dresses with high yokes with red color prevailing, but they lack upper gala coats and are standing.

Two more women in the ends of the boat are surely from the category of servants. Behind the princess there are two women-musicians, the images of whom have not been well preserved. They are both in red dresses; the lower one (personage 15) is clad in the same blue sleeved coat (with the edging of flower pattern) as her mistress is. Her hair is put up in a low knot fixed with a long gold pin. The images of such forehead ornaments on straps in L.I. Al'baum drawing are evidently not exact (compare: pl. 4/3).

At the ends of the boat there are two more women-rowers standing with oars (personages 16, 20). There are two peculiar features in their costumes. First, their upper sleeved coats are worn pinned at the neck; lower their sleeved coats are thrown to the sides (pl. 4/8). Second, like the hair of noble women, their hair is made in a plait and put up through a gold cone, but then the plait is fixed to the rest of the hair twice. At the temples there are two huge gold (?) pins, reminding modern sewing needles with a long eye (personage 16) (pl. 4/1), analogous to the pins of noble ladies.

*We shall try to clear up the ethno-political affiliation of the ladies from the boat. To do it we shall refer to the unique peculiarities of their costumes.*

1) The tradition to put the hair up and make a plait at the top of the head and then put the plait through the cone or a hole in the headdress. In the costume of different Iranian ethnic groups it is documented beginning from Achaemenian/Scythian period: it was presented in the image of the goddess from the ring of Scythian king Scylos (the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and in the image of a Scythian policeman in Athens from the Athenian painted vase of the same period<sup>144</sup>, in materials from Sayan and Altai barrows (a female headdress from barrow 5 in Pazyryk, 5-4<sup>th</sup> cc. BC<sup>145</sup>; a female headdresses from burial in Tuva<sup>146</sup>). In Early Middle Ages there was only one ethnic groups which is known to preserve this tradition for both sexes - the Khotano-Sakas of Eastern Turkestan. In the series of terracotta from the ancient capital of Khotan kingdom (well-dated with the help of the coins of the 2-4<sup>th</sup> cc. AD) we see them on the figures of men (so-called "harlequins"), probably, the participants of some court ritual<sup>147</sup>. For the later period it is presented, for example, on a maid from the group of adorants in the wall painting of Tarishlak<sup>148</sup>. In Sogd typologically close headdresses are known only for men from Penjikent, and the researchers often take them by mistake for war helmets<sup>149</sup>. They differ from our ones both in decor (triple vertical lines) and in design (the opening at the top of the head is formed differently).

2) The same "harlequins" of Khotan in the 2-4 cc. (and nowhere else in Eurasia) in the "boat scene" are depicted with semi-spherical head-dresses with two gold diamond-shaped "wings" at the sides *in combination* with above-mentioned tradition of putting the plait through the opening at the top of the headdress.

3) Female dresses with high yokes with a big number of narrow vertical strips of different colors. In early Middle Ages, besides our "boat scene", they are known in the depiction of one more place only - in Balavaste on the territory of Khotan<sup>150</sup>. The probable Khotan term for such clothing - "guna"<sup>151</sup>. In other cases (for example, in the northern neighboring country - Kutcha - in cave paintings in Qizil and Kumtura) there is a smaller number of stripes and each of them is wider<sup>152</sup>.

Thus, the intuitive conclusion of L.I. Al'baum that in the "boat scene" we can see the depictions of the inhabitants "of one of the regions of Eastern Turkestan" is affirmed<sup>153</sup>. In Varkhuman' period China possessed Khotan directly (the local dynasty being preserved); the traditional way to Western Turkestan lead through the capital of Khotan. It is logical to suggest, that Chinese embassy could escort Khotan bride - the king' (rrund) daughter from the dynasty of Vidzhita on their way to Samarkand.

A special article by Guzel M. Maitdinova was devoted to the ethnical attribution of the women from the "boat scene". She considers them to be *local Samarkandians on a row outing*. The arguments of the author are small in number and arouse serious objections.

The key argument of G.M. Maitdinova is the opinion that on the territory of Central Asia in early Middle Ages noble ladies wore sleeved coats only in Samarkand<sup>154</sup>. The prototypes of sleeved coats she sees on terracotta of the same city but of the Kushanian period. Whereas long throwing-open shoulder gala clothing of Iranian nobles (worn thrown on shoulders) in Achaemenian/Scythian time, known from Altai to Iran and cold "kandys", differed from the upper garments of Afrasiabain "ladies in the boat" only in narrow false sleeves. To make up for it, the variant of a kandys characteristic for European Scythian women by the 5-4<sup>th</sup> cc. BC corresponds to it according all basic parameters (rather wide sleeves, the edging decor along coat-breasts and decorated cuffs etc.); it is documented on gold sewn-on plaques widely spread in Scythia "a goddess on the throne and a youth standing"<sup>155</sup>. As to Khotan, the images of noble ladies in sleeved coats with sleeves of different shape are documented there from the 2th c. AD<sup>156</sup>.

Further, G.M. Maitdinova considers the type of the princess' earrings being close to depictions on some Afrasiabian terracotta of the Kushanian epoch, although she acknowledges the similarity in this case being not complete<sup>157</sup>. All the author' arguments are exhausted in this point.

The fabric with floral pattern on two Khotanian women from the boat presents a special interest. Evidently, there are local silks (silk shoulder clothing was called "thauna" by the Khotanians<sup>158</sup>). Silk production penetrated Khotan and Kashgar not later than in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD and then spread to Western Turkestan<sup>159</sup>. Khotan of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. was famous for its silk goods of high quality, according to the data of Hsuan tsang<sup>160</sup>.

After a new copying of Afrasiabian wall painting by G.V. Shishkina' group it has been noticed that above the "boat scene" there is a personal seal of a Chinese (?) painter with a hieroglyphic text, not skillfully reproduced. One should think, it can be easily explained by the evident elements of painting tradition for depicting the details of poses of the personages in boats. Obviously, the Samarkandian artist used some Khotanian scroll for embodiment of

an unusual "ethnological" plot, having added the details, necessary in this occasion. The more so probable, as in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. K'ang Satou - a Sogdian painter and Weich'ih Iseng - a Khotanian artist, creating as they said, wonders and having reformed Chinese painting, gained a great fame in China itself.

A couple of small ducks, depicted by the boat, is traditionally treated as a symbol of matrimonial happiness in Chinese art (this plot was borrowed for Sogdian silk cloths not by chance in the 7-9<sup>th</sup> cc.<sup>161</sup>). However, the main symbolic image near the boat is a snake eating a frog in front of it. The princess front neighbor is pointing at the very scene with her finger and, evidently, the episode is being discussed by the personages sitting in the boat. In pagan religion of Iranian peoples such sign had a very important meaning. For example, as long ago as in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., only a person having seen a frog in a snake' mouth could become a sorcerer among the Ossets<sup>162</sup>.

M. Mode is inclined to consider the people in the boat to be a *Chinese princess* with her suite. He refers this plot to the real event - a successful match making of Western Turkic qaghan *Shekui*. In 646 AD he sent an embassy to emperor Gaozong and in the same year (from the M. Mode pint of view) the initiative become a success<sup>163</sup>.

Unfortunately, the version do not seems convincing. *First*: the specific form of the headdress and the coiffure, the decor of the under dress of the women do not have exact analogies in the Chinese costume of the 7-8<sup>th</sup> cc. The bright mongoloid look of the women was characteristic for the Khatanians from the ancient times as a result of their contacts with the southern neighbors - proto-Tibetans, judging from Chinese chronicles.

*Second*: the embassy of qaghan *Shekui* was not a success; there was no wedding at all as Gaozong in return demanded from the qaghan to give him back some rich towns of Eastern Turkestan.

*Third*: even if such wedding had taken place (which contradicts all Chinese chronicles) 648 AD the less fortunate time than could hardly ever have been imagined. At that period exactly Western Turks started a direct confrontation with China, but the Turkic army was completely defeated not far from Kutch<sup>164</sup> and the most of their territories immediately swore allegiance to China.

## The Dating of the Embassies and the Circumstances of Their Arrival to Samarkand

At the beginning of the 90-ies M. Mode made a very interesting and important attempt in a special monograph to prove that the composition from hall 23/1 on the western, northern and southern walls correlated in details is connected with real political events which can be dated back as long ago as 648 AD<sup>165</sup>.

M. Mode's version is grounded on the series of the following basic hypothesis: 1) Personage 4 on the western wall presents the last shah of Sasanian Iran - Yazdgerd III (killed in 651). 2) Personage 11 on the northern wall is a Chinese princess who is being brought to Western Turkic qaghan *Shekui* after his match making in 646. 3) Mounted hunter 1 on the same wall is emperor Taizong (626-649). 4) Chinese ambassadors and the ambassadors of the enemy of China - North-Korean state Koguryo could come to Samarkand simultaneously only in case of armistice between them (one of such armistice was concluded in 645)<sup>166</sup>. These hypotheses, excluding latter one, have been properly analyzed by me above.

Is it possible to define the exact date of the embassies? My version, like M. Mode' version, answers such question positively. The depiction of the Chinese embassy must be the key to it, as the Chinese chronicles preserved from that time, documented scrupulously all such facts. The first variant of my version has already been given in short<sup>167</sup>. It was being worked out practically simultaneously with M. Mode' version, but being not dependent on my will certain reasons did not give me the opportunity to publish this version in my native Russian language in due time.

Different missions from Sogd beginning from the 20-ies of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. arrived to China practically every year. However, *there were only two Chinese missions to Sogd* in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. (to be more exact - embassies passing through it). They were the mission between 604 and 618 years to Bukhara and other regions and *the mission of Wang Minyuan to Tokharistan and the neighboring countries in 662*. In the both so rare for Chinese diplomacy occasions there were detailed accounts about their results presented to the emperor.

*Only the second embassy* corresponds (in any variant) to the period of Varkhuman' rule in Samarkand and the time of Tang dynasty. There is a long chain of events connected with it, the participants of the events being Chinese emperor Gaozong (650-683), Varkhuman (Fu-humen) itself, the son of the last Sasanian shah Peroz and two West-Turkic qaghans, who became Chinese "puppets"<sup>168</sup>.

Earlier, between 650 and 656 AD the embassy of Varkhuman arrived to Gaozong<sup>169</sup>. Undoubtedly, it could happen in 656, when the power of Nivar Ishbara-yabgu (650-658) (actively fighting against China and trying to revive Western Qaghanat) Sogd and Tocharistan become weaker. The emperor court, as usual, officially interpreted this mission as a wish of the next in turn group of the "western barbarians" to come under Chinese power and Varkhuman was conferred a title of *tutuq* in the new administration of dudu "Kang-Kü". In the established political situation the success of the embassy meant international recognizing of a new status of Sogd, united after a long period of Turkic rule by the man of Iranian (Sogdian) name.

In 658 the Chinese, trying to prevent the restoration of Western Qaghanat in future, made two of their "puppets" from king' family of A-shih-na (earlier having run to China) to govern the groups of Western Turks and their traditional territories. The existence of two semi-independent qaghanats was to convince the population of the Western Turkestan in China' being not interested in direct territorial gains<sup>170</sup>. However, by 661 it had become clear that the nomadic population of the region did not subordinate to "puppet" governors willingly. (Moreover, the true

projects of China, as far as Western Turkestan was concerned, were revealed in the summer of 650, when the former West-Turkic qaghan Chebe was taken prisoner by a Chinese general. Just by the time of the Chinese embassy arrival to Samarkand in 662 (see below) the system of vassal qaghanats had been principally changed: one of the qaghans blamed another one (who governed Tulu tribes) in betrayal of China and the latter one was executed in the Chinese military camp<sup>171</sup>. Ashih-na Puzheng formally governed the territories of former Western Qaghanat under Chinese control. But this control could not be effective owing to the remoteness of many regions. Nomadic subjects of the "puppet" ruler began scattering; Turkic territories started splitting. In such conditions the role of Sogd as a potential partner must grow notwithstanding the nominal dependence from Puzheng qaghan. The Iranian term "mlk" on Varkhuman' coins is very significant. In neighboring Sasanian Iran it was a traditional title of mighty governors - the deputies of the central power in the large regions of the state.

Between April of 661 and January of 662 Peroz - the son of former shah of Iran Yazdgerd III - sent a message to Gaozong asking for the military help in the fight against the Arabs. One should think, the letter was dispatched to Ch'ang-an by the group of ambassadors from Western Turkestan' territories, having arrived to China namely at that time. (The first letter with such request was sent by Peroz to former emperor Taizong in 642; nevertheless he did not get actual support).

The Chinese court at that moment did not have a chance to influence principally the course of affairs in Western Turkestan and Iran. Being absorbed by a large war in Korea. However, universal ambitions of the emperor' power and the wish to show off to impress his own people gained the upper hand. There was taken a decision to include Iran and the regions of Western Turkestan which had sent their ambassadors into Middle Empire and make 16 fictitious areas with the state of officials who were not inclined to leave China. Obviously it happened in May-June of 661, as in June official Wang Minyuang (being just appointed a supervisor of district forming in Tokharistan) in his flattering letter to emperor Gaozong asked for a stele in his honor, to be installed in new lands. Soon after that Wang Minyuang was sent to head the mission to Western Turkestan and Iran and on his coming back presented a report "The Travel Writings about the Western Lands" to the emperor. We do not know the exact route of the embassy. The traditional way to Tocharistan lead through Khotan, Kashgar, Ferghana valley and then through the Gissar range from the north. Samarkand was a little aside to the west from the shortest route<sup>172</sup>, but, taking into account a special task of the embassy (collecting of military-political data about a vast territories, changing of the administrative division), he could hardly pass this largest political center. The wall paintings of hall 32/1 on the territory of the ancient city give the evidence of the visit.

The Chinese embassy had, probably, arrived in Samarkand by the spring-summer of 662. (On all the depictions we see warm season clothes). Of course, it did not bring any concrete results in the plan of creating of an anti-Arabic coalition and soon, in 676 the first raid of governor of Khorosan Said b. Usman to Samarkand confirmed the seriousness of the Arabic threat.

*The dynastic marriages* with ruling houses of other Iranian-speaking countries (Khotan and Chaganiyan) were aimed at the growing of the influence of the new Sogdian dynasty. Both the countries, namely in 662, came across with a serious and new for them foreign threat (it was not a question of a habitual submitting to Western Turks or China). In the condition of sharp weakening of the Western Turks power and China being too far away, it was probably very important for them to enlist the support of the nearest strong neighbors (Sogd, being temporarily united by Varkhuman, belonged to the most important of them). One of the easiest way to enlist such support was to contract a dynastic marriage.

In 662 the Arabic expansion reached the southern borders of Tokharistan and the Arabs captured Kabul, that could not but caused anxiety of Tokharistan authorities and small neighboring Chaganiyan.

The contracting of the marriage with Vidzhit dynasty of Khotan in the same year looks entirely natural. Khotan was one of important trade partners of Sogd on Silk Road, and Khotanian merchants profited out of resale of half-precious stones and other rarities. Nevertheless, the black clouds were thickening above rich, and highly cultural Khotan in 662 notwithstanding the fact of a large Chinese garrison being placed there and the center of Chinese governing "Pacified West" being situated not far from it, in Kutcha, beginning from 647<sup>173</sup>. However, in 662 a new and very powerful at that neighbor - Tibet for the first time interfered the situation in Western Xinjiang. The Chinese-Tibetan conflict at first restricted to the fight for Togon situated to the east (the chronicle from Tunhuang describes the dramatic victory of the Tibetans in 659 in the battle of Stong-ru), in 662 the Tibetans unexpectedly attacked the Chinese army, which marched to suppress disturbances in Kashghar. Soon, in 665 Tibetans attacked Khotan, and in 670 were able to conquer it for a long time<sup>174</sup>.

*The Korean ambassadors* depictions help us to clear up very important additional circumstances of Varkhuman' reception.

As it has been marked of late by a Japanese investigator E. Kageyama, the depiction of the Korean ambassadors is entirely stereotyped. Thus it is can not be a picture of a real embassy (Kageyama 1999, 1). Her observations are very interesting but in my opinion they can not be the arguments in favor of this version. *First*: in the Chinese depictions being referred to us as iconographical ones (Dunhuang, cave 220, 642 AD<sup>175</sup>; Prince Zhanghuai's tomb, 706-711 AD<sup>176</sup>) there has been presented only one Korean but not two ones as it is in Afrasiabian paintings. *Second*: the only Korean presented in these Chinese depictions is always clad in luxurious ceremonial garments and he is unarmed, while "Afrasiabian" Koreans are clad very modestly (in short jackets and armed with swords depicted in detail). It is more probable to be a Chinese iconographical scheme (men marching to the left with their arms crossed at the breast

and stuck into opposite sleeves), on the contrary, is used by the Afrasiabian artist for the embodiment of a not entirely stereotyped scene.

The largest group of ambassadors - the Chinese one is heading the procession on the western wall. It could have been quite natural to expect the Koreans in the end of it being the representatives of the government of the devoted ally of China - who soon after that united all the Korean peninsula with the help of Gaozong - the state Silla. But we shall be disappointed surely. In the Korean chronicle it was stated that long before that in 648 the ruler of Silla in his decree introduced Chinese clothes and headdresses; soon it became actual for court ladies<sup>177</sup>. It should be supposed, that the embassy in Afrasiab presents *one of the enemies of China* of that period - either Pekche (destroyed in the next 663) or mightier *Koguryo*, which resistance had finally been crushed with the help of Silla only by 668. The latter variant seems to be more preferable. It is difficult to define what the two modestly clad (judging from the Koreans standards of that time) without any gifts ambassadors of Koguryo (surrounded by enemies and situated on the other end of Asia) wanted from Varkhuman. But it is evident: their reception simultaneously with Wang Minyuan's mission could not be approved by the Chinese, but once more demonstrated a big factual independence of the new ruler of Sogd.

For many researchers the depiction of the Korean ambassadors in Samarkandian palace arouses a big confusion and even serves as an argument *for an imaginary character of the wall paintings*, as if not reflecting real political events. The supporters of the version, naturally, do not take into the account neither the specificity of the political situation in Central and Eastern Asia in 662, nor the peculiarities of the course of foreign policy of Koguryo's rulers, nor the number of interesting *coincidences* of political events, connected namely with the year of 662.

Koguryo, in its fight against China, used the help of northern forest tribes. Nevertheless, in north-west it bordered with nomads of Steppes, who took part in military actions on the side of China. So, frequent embassies of the Koreans in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. to Western Turks are not surprising<sup>178</sup>. But in 662, exactly, Western Turks, headed by woman-qaghan Bisudu, revolted against Chinese authorities and were finally defeated<sup>179</sup>. On the other hand Western Turkic qaghan A-shih-na Misheng (fallen in battle in 661) took an active part in the previous cruel war with Koguryo in 634-645 in the Chinese army ranks<sup>180</sup>. The probable embassy of Koguryo arrived very soon after his death to his long-term enemy Puzheng. Perhaps, this coincidence was not occasional. The authorities of Koguryo could use some cause and appeal to qaghan Puzheng or Varkhuman, who were devoted allies of the Chinese, with the offer of mediation in peaceful negotiations with China. It is less probable, that they could ask the merchants of Sogd (having influence along all the route of Silk Road) for help future war actions against China. Judging from the place the Koreans take, post factum, among the scenes of reception of the embassies, their mission can be considered to be failed.

Thus, the scenes of embassies reception depicted one of turning dramatic points in the history of Western and Eastern Turkestan. Many concealed implies, inaccessible beyond the comprehension of modern viewers, were transparent for the wall paintings contemporaries.

Unfortunately, the version of the political events reflected in the wall paintings and suggested by me is not so spectacular and romantic as M. Mode's one. He thinks, the wall paintings to depict the most prominent politicians of that time (Iranian shah Yazdgerd III, Chinese emperor Taizong, West Turkic qaghan Shekui). From my point of view these scenes reflect (in the greater extent) provincial local ambitions of the Samarkandian ruler (the dynastic marriage with king's family of the small neighboring region of Chaganiyan, the reception of the only second Chinese embassy for last centuries, and a wonderful for Samarkandian inhabitants visit of two representatives of Northern Korea and so on). The main attention is paid to the arrival of two brides from the small neighboring countries.

About 662 for a small time Sogd gained a relative autonomy being rather independent of strong neighbors. It turned out to be in the periphery of Chinese interests, for emperor Gaozong, who was busy with other problems, it was difficult to control it; the power of the Chinese "puppet" - Turkic qaghan Puzheng hardly being cruel. As to the Arabs, their expansion at that period was directed at southeast, and, luckily, they attacked Samarkand only 14 years later.

At the same time to glorify Varkhuman's (and his advisers') foreign policy it was not obligatory for the Samarkandian painter to invent some events (at some researchers believe) in order to lead the viewers into error. The dynamic political history of Central Asia in the 3<sup>d</sup> quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD and the active participation of Samarkand in contemporary international political process allowed to avoid inventing of such kind.

To conclude the part concerning the political events depicted in the wall paintings, I would like to underline the great importance of the monograph by the two researchers, which for a long time will certainly be a proved basis for all the investigators of Afrasiabian painting.

In the monograph by L.I. Al'baum, who *started* this difficult work and could operate with a comparatively small number of facts, due to his intuition and great knowledge, the conclusions (as far as the historical interpretation of the depictions is concerned) made by him has been still actual, and with a rare exceptions entirely fair, even after almost 25 years of intensive research work of many authors. The role of M. Mode's monograph is not less important; for the first time this work argumentatively proved the possibility of exact dating of the images depicted, and their authenticity itself, for the first time many details were identified. My article just continues and confirms the main ideas of the two monographs being guided by more exact drawings of the depictions and a much bigger volume of literature; the contradictions with the two above-mentioned authors being partial.

I am sure that in the closest future some new exotic and effective interpretations of the depictions from "the Hall of Ambassadors" will appear. Nevertheless, the imagination of researchers should not substitute the knowledge of all the totality of real facts.

## Some Conditionalities in Afrasiabian Wall Paintings

The wish of the painter to group the personages *in units divisible by 5* (on the western wall -there are 5 Chinese ambassadors in a line, after them there are 5 foreign ambassadors to the right from the Sogdian interpreter - personage 20; 5 Turkic officials sitting on the carpets in the preserved lower row of the right group; on the northern wall - there are 5 hunting Chinese; 10 Khotanian ladies in the boat; on the southern wall in Chaghaniyan embassy there are 5 women ahead and 5 men behind - should be interpreted as one of the conditionalities.

The next conditionality still stays (in many cases) puzzling: the coloring of the personages of the same ethnic group either reddish or white. A certain regularity here has been followed only in the cases when 3 personages are portrayed one after another: *the middle one of them always has a red face* (on the western wall there are: the Chaghaniyan ambassadors - personages 2-4; the Turks depicted coming as if upstairs - personages 15-17; the Chinese depicted below - personages 9-11). (There was even a suggestion about "Red" and "White" Hunns being presented there <sup>181</sup>). At the same time, all the Khotanian ladies have white faces, and all the ambassadors of Chach reddish ones. One could think, the alternation of face coloring was used by the painter for the intricate purpose of symmetry and composition.

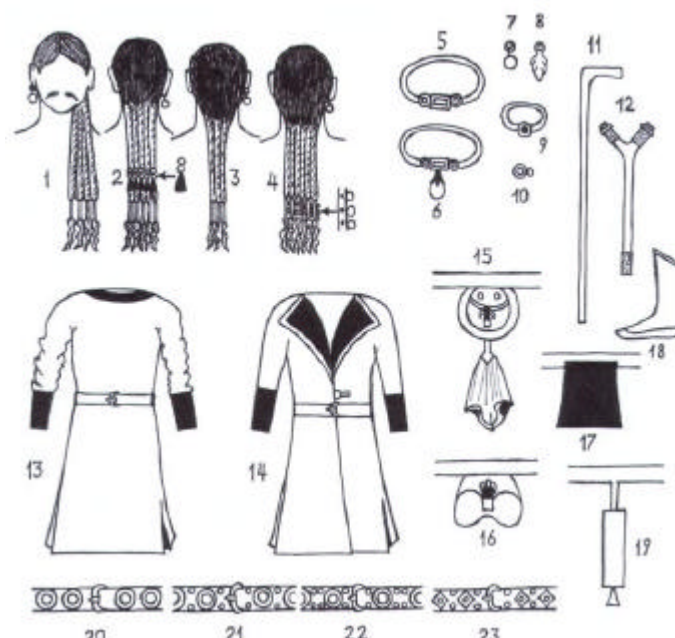
The third conditionality is connected with the dominating clothing color of the couples of personages placed closely together on the western wall. Thus, *the man clad in red in the combination of "red-white" couple is always depicted to the left from the personage clad in white* (the couples of personages 18-19, 26-27, 28-29, 39-40, 42 and one above him).

In whole in the costumes of the most representative embassy - the Chaghaniyan one - and in the costumes of the Sogdians meeting them on the platform practically for each personage *the combination of three colors is used: they are - white, red and blue (light blue)*. I think it is not by chance. Not long ago for some groups of the descendants of ancient inhabitants of Sogd and Tocharistan - the Tadjiks - the everyday clothes had to include obligatory these three colors. We can say the same about some other Iranian-speaking peoples <sup>182</sup>. In the zone of the Tadjik-Uzbek contacts for shamans the sets of three garments of the same three colors have been noted <sup>183</sup>. Probably, not by chance, the same three colors dominated the painting of a number of Kushanian towns in Bactria <sup>184</sup>. The Dards of Hundukush (Indo-Aryan by the language) had a myth about three sacred trees - white, red and blue - growing in the center of the Universe <sup>185</sup>. In the Indian tradition three main varna were often associated with the three colors mentioned above (black sometimes is adequate to blue) <sup>186</sup>.

As to *precious and semi-precious stones* in gold items (necklaces, belts, bracelets, earrings) mineral inlays of blue or white (transparent?) colors are depicted. The very big size of some stones do not allow to see the most precious kinds of them (sapphires and pearls). In such cases we probably deal with less valuable (found by Sogdian borders) *lapis lazuli and rock crystal*. They were just the kind of stones (judging from Chinese sources) being exported from Sogd and Chach <sup>187</sup>.

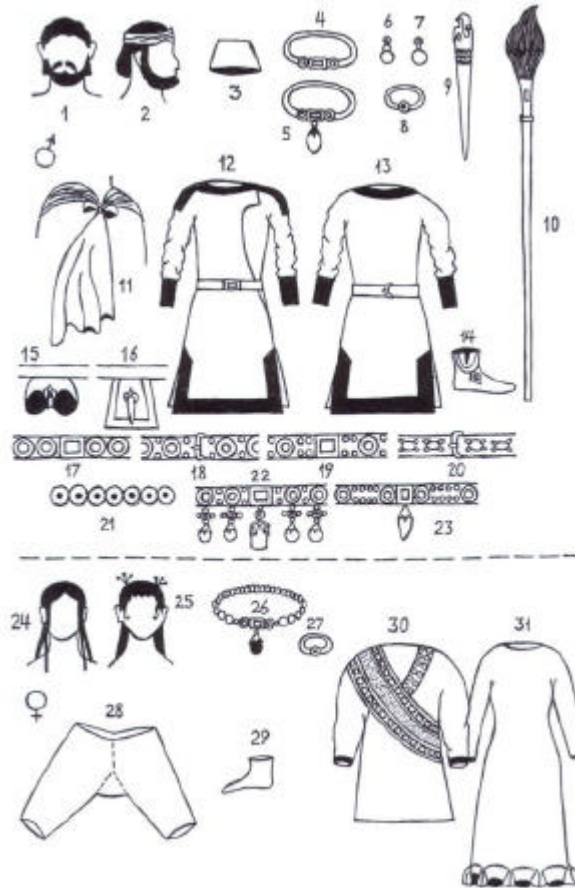
Thus, the costume of the personages from Afrasiabian wall paintings being investigated properly, has presented a lot of surprises later on (after the full publication of justified drawings and attending Sogdian inscriptions) the volume of the information on the theme *may grow up substantially*.

## Illustrations



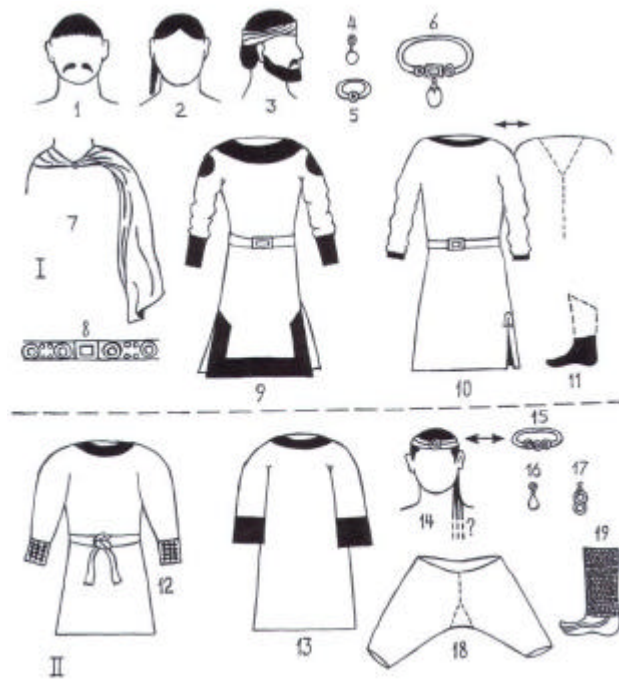
**Pl. 1.** The male costume of the Turks in Afrasiab (the western wall of the hall 23/1):

1 - personages 15, 16, 29, 42; 2 - personage 39; 3, 21 - personage 28; 4 - the hall III; 5 - personages 6, 19, 26; 6 - personages 5, 18; 7 - personages 5, 6; 8 - personage 19; 9 - many personages; 10 - personage 18; 11 - personage 19; 12 - personages 5, 18, 28, 42; 13 - personages 19 (the under clothes), 26, 27; 14 - personages 5, 18; 15 - personages 26, 28, 39; 16 - personages 16, 39, 41; 17, 19-20 - personage 6; 18 - personage 42; 22 - personages 18, (42?); 23 - the hall III.

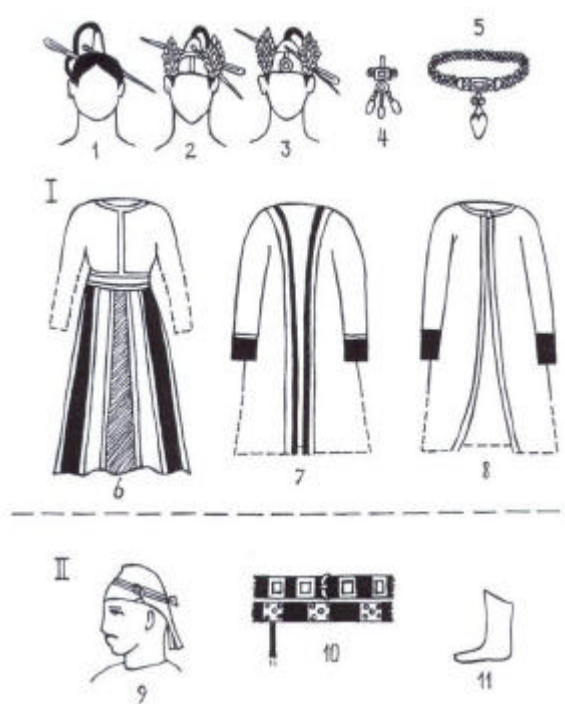


**Pl. 2.** The male and female costume of the Chaganiyan' embassy:

1 - the western wall, personages 2-4; 2 - the western wall, personages 2,3; the southern wall, personages 9,10; 3, 16, 23 - the western wall, personage 4; the southern wall, personage 14; 4 - the western wall, personage 3; 5 - the western wall, personages 2, 3; the southern wall, personage 10; 6 - the western wall, personage 3; the southern wall, personage 9; 7 - the western wall, personages 2, 4; 8 - the western wall, personage 2; 9 - the southern wall, personages 9, 10; 10 - the southern wall, personages 9, 10, 14; 11 - the western wall, personage 4; the southern wall, personage 14; 12 - the western wall, personages 2, (3, 4?); 13 - the southern wall, personages 9, 10, 14; 14, 15, 18 - the western wall, personage 3; 17 - the southern wall, personage 14; 19 - the southern wall, personage 10; 20 - the western wall, personage 2; 21 - the southern wall, personage 15; 22 - the western wall, personage 2 (the thing in his hands); 24, 31 - the southern wall, personage 5; 25, 28-30 - the southern wall, personage 6; 26, 27 - the southern wall, personages 6,7.



**Pl. 3.** The male costume of the Sogdians (I) and the ambassadors of Chach (II):  
**1** - the western wall, personage 20; **2, 4** - the southern wall, personage 12; **3, 7-9** - the southern wall, personage 11; **5** - the western wall, personage 20; the southern wall, personage 11; **6** - the southern wall, personage 12; **10** - the western wall, personages 7, 20; **11** - the western wall, personage 7; **12, 15** - the western wall, personage 21; **13** - the western wall, personage 22; **14** - the western wall, personages 22, 23; **16** - the western wall, personage 23; **17** - the western wall, personages 21, 22; **18** - the western wall, personages 21-23.



**Pl. 4.** The female costume of Khotan (I) and some elements of the China's embassy costume (II):  
**1** - the northern wall, personages 14, 16; **2** - the northern wall, personages 12, 13, 17-19; **3-5** - the northern wall, personage 11; **6** - the northern wall, personages 11, 17; **7** - the northern wall, personages 11, 12, 17, 18; **8** - the

northern wall, personages 16, 20; **9** - the western wall, personage 14; **10** - the western wall, personages 9-11; **11** - the northern wall, personage 7a.

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## Abbreviations

**BAI** Bull. of the Asia Institute. New Series (Bloomfield Hills).

**IMKU** Istoriya material'noy kul'tury Uzbekistana (Tashkent).

**IYuONII** Izvestiya Yugo-Osetinskogo NII (Tbilissi / Tshinvali).

**KSIÉ** Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta étnografii Akademii nauk SSSR (Moscow).

**MIA** Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR (Moscow).

**PAV** Peterburgskii arkheologicheskii vestnik (St.-Petersburg).

**SRAA** Silk Road Art and Archaeology (Kamakura).

**SNV** Strany i narody Vostoka (Moscow).

**SA** Sovetskaya arkheologiya (Moscow).

**SMAÉ** Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i étnografii (Leningrad).

**USA** Uspekhi sredneaziatskoy arkheologii (Leningrad).

**VDI** Vestnik drevney istorii (Moscow).

## Notes

[1](#) Al'baum 1975. See also, for example: Silvi Antonini 2003, figs. 83-86.

[2](#) See: Arzhantseva, Inevatkina 2003, 18-21.

[3](#) Compare: Mode 1993, Abb. 6, 14.

[4](#) See: Yatsenko 1995, 13-16.

[5](#) See for example: Belenitskii, Marshak in *Azarpay 1981*, 61-63; Marshak 1994, 5-20; Kageyama 1999, 1-3.

[6](#) Motov 1999, 71-72, 75-76.

[7](#) Ibid., 75.

[8](#) Compare: Ibid., 76.

[9](#) Mode 1993, 74.

[10](#) Akhunbabaev 1990, 19.

[11](#) See, for example: Motov 1999, 59.

[12](#) Yatsenko 1995, 13-17.

[13](#) Belenitsky, Marshak 1979, 35.

[14](#) Lobachëva 1979; Maitdinova 1984; Arzhantseva 1987; Mode 1993, 60-72, 79.

[15](#) Maitdinova 1991, 27.

[16](#) Frye 1993, 75.

[17](#) Al'baum 1975, 30-34.

[18](#) Yatsenko 2000a, 332-333; 2001 b, 10; 2002, 364, 499.

[19](#) Al'baum 1975, fig. 19, personage 7a.

[20](#) Ibid., fig. 16, personage 1.

[21](#) Lobachëva 1979, 25.

[22](#) Orfinskaya 2001.

[23](#) Al'baum 1975, fig. 5, personage 5.

[24](#) Gorelik 1985, pl. II/3.

[25](#) Rassudova 1970, fig. 8.

[26](#) Al'baum 1975, 32.

[27](#) Fen Hantsi 1959, 436.

[28](#) Al'baum 1975, 33.

[29](#) Belenitsky 1973, 29; pls. 19-21.

[30](#) Karamysheva 1987, 237-239.

[31](#) Osmanli tarihleri 1949, 385.

[32](#) Kryukov, Malyavin, Sofronov 1984, 168.

[33](#) Kageyama 1999, 1; fig. 8; Kageyama 2002, 313-327.

[34](#) Al'baum 1975, 22.

[35](#) Arzhantseva 1987, fig. 8/5-8.

[36](#) See: Ibid., fig. 8/19.

[37](#) Dobzhansky 1990, pl. XXV/1-2.

[38](#) Azbelev 1993, 89-92.

[39](#) Evt'yukhova 1952, figs. 18-19.

- [40](#) Sher 1966, pl. VII/33.
- [41](#) Dobzhansky 1990, pls. XXIII/4, XXIV/1,3, XXXI/4, XXXIII/1.
- [42](#) Arzhantseva 1987, fig. 8/1-3.
- [43](#) Chavannes 1903, 194.
- [44](#) Motov 1999, 76.
- [45](#) Dobzhansky 1990, 78.
- [46](#) Al'baum 1975, pl. V.
- [47](#) For the analogy see: Arzhantseva 1987, fig. 8/13-14.
- [48](#) Al'baum 1975, pl. V.
- [49](#) Charikov 1989, figs. 2/1; 3/1-2.
- [50](#) Grünwedel 1912, fig. 56, 664.
- [51](#) Dobzhansky 1990, 74.
- [52](#) Ibid., 73.
- [53](#) Northern Qi Tomb 1990, 8, fig. 8.
- [54](#) See: Al'baum 1975, pl. V.
- [55](#) Chavannes 1903, 194.
- [56](#) Kageyama 1999, 2.
- [57](#) Beckwith 1984, 24-43.
- [58](#) Mode 1993, 44; Anm. 96.
- [59](#) Ibid., 59-71.
- [60](#) Ibid., 60-64.
- [61](#) Ibid., 74.
- [62](#) Al'baum 1975, 56.
- [63](#) Mode 1993, 14; Anm. 279.
- [64](#) Ibid., 91-92.
- [65](#) Ibid., 147, Anm. 288.
- [66](#) Lukonin 1977, 169.
- [67](#) Bichurin 1950, 281.
- [68](#) Ñompare, for example: Agadzhanov 1980, 228, 230-236.
- [69](#) Mode 1993, Anm. 281; see Rapoport 1977 about the sacred meaning of geese for Iranian peoples.
- [70](#) Kislyakov 1958, 134.
- [71](#) Invernizzi 1990.
- [72](#) Yatsenko 2001a, 99.
- [73](#) Al'baum 1975, 40.
- [74](#) Rosenfield 1967, pls. 23, 24; Yatsenko 2001a, pl. 12/22.
- [75](#) Al'baum 1975, 45-46.
- [76](#) See: Rosenfield 1967, pls. 8, 22, 67; Yatsenko 2001a, pl. 12/78-79.
- [77](#) Belenitsky, Raspopova 1980, 213-214.
- [78](#) Grünwedel 1912, fig. 12-13, 16.
- [79](#) Belenitsky 1973, pl. 20; Belenitsky, Raspopova 1980, fig. 2.
- [80](#) Arzhantseva 1987, fig. 8/23.
- [81](#) Malyavkin 1989, 68-69.
- [82](#) See: Ghirshman 1962, fig. 256, 259; Ziapur 1965, 410-411.
- [83](#) See, for example: Shirokova 1976, 104-105.
- [84](#) Rosenfield 1967, pl. 3; Yatsenko 2001a, pl. 14/23.
- [85](#) Meshkeris 1989, fig. 26.
- [86](#) Compare: Al'baum 1975, 43.
- [87](#) Compare: Gorelik 1985, pl. III/2.
- [88](#) Maitdinova 1991.
- [89](#) Grünwedel 1912, figs. 15, 334.
- [90](#) Grünwedel 1920, Taf. XLVIII.
- [91](#) See, for example: Yatsenko 2000a, 332-333, 360-361.
- [92](#) Schafer 1981, 85.
- [93](#) Compare: in the costume of the Late Sasanids: Schulze 1920, taf. 37; Fukai and all. 1984, fig. 39, 42.
- [94](#) Compare: Maitdinova 1991, 18-19.
- [95](#) Motov 1997, 47; 1999, 59, 67-68.
- [96](#) Yatsenko 2002, 351-58, 408-35, 534, 567, 587, 594; Yatsenko 2004.
- [97](#) Belenitsky, Raspopova 1980, 213.
- [98](#) Narshakhi 1897, 15.
- [99](#) The belt of Yuech-Chich prince of the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the I c. AD from Tillya-tepe in Bactria: Sarianidi 1985, pls. 88-97.
- [100](#) Bitchurin 1950, 271.

- [101](#) Ibid., 271.
- [102](#) Al'baum 1975, fig. 11.
- [103](#) Compare: Harper 1971, 513.
- [104](#) Gunter, Jett 1992, 41; Collon 1995, pls. 174, 188.
- [105](#) See, for example: Fukai and all. 1984, fig. 29.
- [106](#) Grünwedel 1912, fig. 510.
- [107](#) See the analogous of the latter ones in Sogdian depictions of the 6-7<sup>th</sup> cc.: Meshkeris 1989, fig.112 a, g; 146; Belenitsky 1973, 25.
- [108](#) Yatsenko 2001a, 83, fig. 5/5.
- [109](#) Meshkeris 1989, 292; fig. 186/1.
- [110](#) Bitchurin 1950, 271, 281.
- [111](#) Ibid., 271.
- [112](#) Bartol'd 1963, 240-241.
- [113](#) Pugatchenkova 1978, fig. 28.
- [114](#) Meshkeris 1989, 230; fig. 125/1.
- [115](#) Maitdinova 1992, 88-89; pl. 34/1.
- [116](#) Lukonin 1977, 215.
- [117](#) Gadzhieva 1981, 63-67; pl. 8/10-12.
- [118](#) Beyhaqi 1992, 833, fig. 69.
- [119](#) Schefer 1981, 84, 387, note 141.
- [120](#) See for example: Gorelik 1985, pls. II/3-4, III/3.
- [121](#) See for example: Klyashtorny, Savinov 1994, 22.
- [122](#) See: Dobzhansky 1990, 78; Belenitsky, Raspopova 1980, 214.
- [123](#) Raspopova 1980, 95-97, figs. 36/7, 23-24, 32-33, 64/6-9.
- [124](#) Dobzhansky 1990, 9.
- [125](#) See: Laszlo 1955, 16, 55-56; Csallany 1962, 454-460.
- [126](#) Dobzhansky 1990, 78.
- [127](#) Simonenko, Lobay 1991, figs. 11, 27; Dvornitchenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1993, figs. 11, 20.
- [128](#) Compare: Ierusalimskaya 1992, 14.
- [129](#) Al'baum 1975, pl. V.
- [130](#) Ierusalimskaya 1992, 14.
- [131](#) Jarylgasinova 1972, 136-137.
- [132](#) Ibid. 10, 58; Freski 1979, 60-61, 158.
- [133](#) Bitchurin 1950, 58.
- [134](#) Fu Sinyang 1978, 42, No 2-3.
- [135](#) Maitdinova 1987, 130.
- [136](#) See, for example: Sychev, Sychev 1975, 56-60.
- [137](#) See, for example, a statuette of 733 year from Astana burial in Chinized forcibly Turfan: Shosoin bunka 1986, fig. 79.
- [138](#) Al'baum 1975, pl. IX.
- [139](#) Tsihai 1948, 1380; Kryukov and all. 1984, 156.
- [140](#) Laufer 1912, 286-287.
- [141](#) Compare: Kryukov and all. 1984, 157.
- [142](#) Al'baum 1975, fig. 19; pl. XXXVI.
- [143](#) Mode 1993, 14, 84.
- [144](#) Yatsenko 2000 b, 26, 28, pl. 1/5; 2002, pls. 22/13, 23/17.
- [145](#) Rudenko 1953, 23; Yatsenko 1999, 161; 2002, pl. 46/4.
- [146](#) Semenov 1993, 74.
- [147](#) Stein 1907, II, pl. XLIV; Dyakonova, Sorokin 1960, N° 16, 19; Dyakonova 1978, fig. on p. 226.
- [148](#) Stein 1921, IV, pl. CXXXVI.
- [149](#) Zhivopis' 1954, pl. VII, XXXVII.
- [150](#) Gropp 1974, 169.
- [151](#) See: Bailey 1982, 15-16.
- [152](#) Grünwedel 1912, figs. 17, 191, 216, 366.
- [153](#) Al'baum 1975, 19, 70.
- [154](#) Maitdinova 1984, 23-24.
- [155](#) See for example: Schiltz 1994, 187, pl. 134.
- [156](#) See, for example: Dyakonova 1980, pl. II/2, right.
- [157](#) Maitdinova 1984, 25.
- [158](#) See: Bailey 1982, 15-16.
- [159](#) Lubo-Lesnitchenko 1994, 70-173.
- [160](#) Si-Yu-ki 1906, 309.

- [161](#) See: Ierusalimskaya 1992, 13.  
[162](#) Totrov 1978, 54.  
[163](#) Mode 1993, 49, 79-81.  
[164](#) Bitchurin 1950, 298.  
[164](#) Mode 1993.  
[165](#) Ibid., 47.  
[166](#) Yatsenko 1995, 13-15.  
[167](#) For more detailed accounts of below described, see: Malyavkin 1989, 68, 75, 77 - the materials of Chinese chronicles.  
[168](#) Malyavkin 1989, 77.  
[169](#) Malyavkin 1984, 140.  
[170](#) Gumilev 1993, 244.  
[171](#) Borovkova 1989, schemes 6, 7.  
[172](#) Malyavkin 1988, 309-311.  
[173](#) Vorob'eva-Desyatovskaya 1992, 158-159.  
[174](#) Sabaku 1996, pl. 25.  
[175](#) Zhongguo 1989, pl. 118.  
[176](#) Kim Busik 1959, 154, 169.  
[177](#) Bitchurin 1950, 244-245.  
[178](#) Gumilev 1993, 243.  
[179](#) Ibid., 231.  
[180](#) Litvinsky 1996, 136.  
[181](#) Rassudova 1970, 19; Yatsenko 2002, 595-596.  
[182](#) Basilov 1982, 173-174.  
[183](#) Compare: Vorob'eva 1995, 47.  
[184](#) Iettmar, 1986, 217.  
[185](#) See, for example: Ivanov 1980, 166-167.  
[186](#) Schefer 1981, 300, 305.