

**THE SILK ROADS OF THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU DURING
THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES (FROM THE HAN TO TANG DYNASTY)
AS RECONSTRUCTED FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND WRITTEN
SOURCES**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Artibus Asiae
AAs	Arts Asiatiques
AEAE	Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia
BS	Bei Shi 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties)
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
CFYG	Cefu Yuangui 册府元龟 (Outstanding models from the storehouse of literature)
HHS	Hou Han Shu 后汉书 (History of the Later Han)
HS	Han Shu 汉书 (History of the Former Han)
JS	Jin Shu 晋书 (History of the Jin)
JTS	Jiu Tang Shu 旧唐书 (Old History of the Tang)
KG	Kaogu 考古 (Archaeology)
KGXB	Kaogu xuebao 考古学报 (Acta Archaeological Sinica)
KGyWW	Kaogu yu wenwu 考古与文物 (Archaeology and Cultural Relics)
KGTX	Kaogu tongxun 考古通讯 (Archaeology Report)
LS	Liang Shu 梁书 (History of the Liang)
MSYJ	Meishu yanjiu 美术研究(Art Research)
NQS	Nan Qi Shu 南齐书 (History of the Southern Qi)
QKXH	Qinghai kaogu xuehui huikan 青海考古学会会刊 (Journal of Qinghai Archaeological Society)
QHWW	Qinghai wenwu 青海文物 (Qinghai Cultural Relics)
SJ	Shi Ji 史记 (Records of the Historian)
SuS	Sui Shu 隋书 (History of the Sui)
SGZ	San Guo Zhi 三国志 (History of the Three Kingdoms)
SS	Song Shu 宋书 (History of the Song)
TD	Tong Dian 通典 (Comprehensive Canons)
WB	Wenbo 文博 (Cultural Relics and Museums)
WS	Wei Shu 魏书 (History of the Wei)
WW	Wenwu 文物 (Cultural Relics)
WWSJ	Wenwu shijie 文物世界 (World of Antiquity)
XTS	Xin Tang Shu 新唐书 (New History of the Tang)
XWDS	Xin Wu Dai Shi 新五代史 (New History of Five Dynasties)
XZYJ	Xizang yanjiu 西藏研究 (Tibetan Studies)
ZGD	Zhongguo guojia dili 中国国家地理 (Chinese National Geographic)

ZGWWB	Zhongguo wenwu bao 中国文物报 (Weekly News about China's Cultural Relics)
ZGZX	Zhongguo zangxue 中国藏学 (China Tibetology)
ZLSWW	Zhongguo lishi wenwu 中国历史文物 (Journal of National Museum of Chinese History)
ZS	Zhou Shu 周书 (History of the Zhou)

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 ABOUT THE CONCEPTS OF THE SILK ROAD AND A BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON THE SILK ROAD ON THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU

1.1.1 About the Silk Road

The term “Silk Road” is often spoken of as a series of travel routes that crisscrossed Eurasia from the imperial court of China in the East and the Roman Empire in the West from the first millennium BC through the middle of the second millennium AD. It served as a complex network not only for items and goods being traded from east to west and vice versa, but also as channels for international cultural exchange. The phrase “Silk Road” was coined by the German geographer Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen in 1877 and then generally accepted. From the beginning of the 20th century it was rediscovered by archaeologists and explorers like Sven Hedin of Sweden, Sir Aurel Stein of Britain and Albert von Le Coq of Germany.

There is ample evidence that in prehistoric period, especially in the Bronze Age, communication between East and West thrived by way of the northern steppe, the so-called “Steppe Road”. The traditional major Silk Road, also named the “Desert Road”, was officially opened resulting in Zhang Qian’s diplomatic mission to the West in the 2nd century BC. The best known segment began in the Chinese capital of Chang’an (present day Xi’an) or Luoyang, passed through the Hexi Corridor (now called the “Gansu Corridor” or “Panhandle”), and diverged at the oasis of Dunhuang into the northern and the southern route that skirted the Central Asian Taklamakan Desert. These routes later converged to cross the Iranian plateau and ended on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea in cities like Antioch and Tyre. During the first several centuries of the Christian era the route became a major artery connecting Central China and the West. Its rise and decline were strongly influenced by the politic conditions in the various states on its course.

During the three hundred years of division before the Sui Empire (581–618 AD) reunited China in 589 AD, frequent warfare resulted in the blockage of the Gansu Corridor and the section of the Silk Road between there and the capital Xi’an. The northern Qinghai region, with the Huang Shui region in the east and the Qaidam Basin in the west, which hitherto had been thought to be unsuitable for transportation due to the severe climate and harsh terrain, now unexpectedly began to dominate East-West transport and sometimes even replaced the Gansu Corridor. The Xianbei regime Tuyuhun, which governed the territory,

began to play an important role as intermediary tradesmen. Therefore, the routes through the northern Qinghai Province are named the “Qinghai Silk Road”, the “Tuyuhun Road” or the “Henan Road” (the road south of the Yellow River). The routes in the east extended farther on to the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, where the Southern Dynasties, the contemporary Han Chinese powers, were located.

During the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD) Tibetans began to dominate the Tibetan Plateau. The route connecting Lhasa and Chang'an was explored and then came into frequent use, which accelerated the rise of the Tubo Empire¹. The route was customarily called the “Ancient Tang-Bo Route” 唐蕃古道 by scholars. The Tubo Empire also established stable contact between its capital and the northern frontier, for instance with Dunhuang and Turfan, by way of the Luoxie (modern Lhasa)-Sha Zhou (modern Dunhuang) Route. These routes will be mentioned in the presenting research due to their significance.

The geographic Silk Road will not be the main topic of this monograph, since it has been discussed sufficiently by former researchers on the basis of textual analyses. The events in history along the routes and the development of tracks, however, will be sketched here in the context of the artifacts that have been found. Thereby, reference will be made to some archaeological complexes, such as city-sites, fortifications, settlements, rock carvings and cemeteries, whose locations manifest definite routes.

Just like the Silk Road in general brought commerce to most crossroad regions, the section in Qinghai Province provided different trade goods, languages, life ways and religions from many parts of Eurasia to the Province, and different traditions co-existed there and intermixed with each other. The fascination for exotic goods, which was thought to be one of the basic driving factors behind Silk Road commerce², could be directly disclosed by numerous archaeological finds. Silk was just one of the goods exchanged along this road. Artifacts of gold, silver, bronze, iron and precious stones provide ample testimony to how widely and intensively trade was carried on. The very term “commerce” suggests the exchange of goods as much as ideas, and, hence, it has been defined as an interregional mechanism or dialogue between cultures. This exchange led not only to a

¹ The Tubo Empire of the Yarlung Dynasty (7th–mid 9th centuries AD) founded its capital in present day Lhasa. It was the first and last empire covering the entire Tibetan Plateau and beyond. Tibetans were called “Tubo”, a term that seems to derive from *tu bod* (great Tibet) or *stod bod* (upper Tibet). *Bod* might have originated from the ancient Tibetan religion *Bon* (Encyclopedia 1998, 437).

² Tucker 2003, 15.

huge amount of export and import, but also to an immense exotic influence on local techniques and aesthetic tastes as well as aspects of everyday life. Detailed analyses on the artistic style of artifacts are necessary in order to unveil the syncretism nature of the Silk Road cultures. Therefore, it is highly desirable that emphasis be placed upon the dynamic effects of transmission, impact and transfer³. The cultural interaction between East and West, in my understanding, could be regarded as the essence of the Silk Road.

1.1.2 Previous studies on transport routes on the northern Tibetan Plateau

Over the past decades considerable research has been conducted about the transport routes on the Tibetan Plateau, whereby initially attention was not focused on the Silk Road that connected the West and the East, but on the route between Tang China and the Tubo Empire. Some scholars have made great efforts to clarify the itinerary, either by studying Chinese and Tibetan documentation or through on-site exploration. Although the Tibetan station on the route was Lhasa, the section before Gonghe County overlapped with the eastern part of the Qinghai Silk Road. Zhou Xiwu's journey was documented in his *Notes of Investigation to Yushu* and *The Diary of Journey to Yushu*⁴, for the purpose of exploring Yushu County, which started out from Lanzhou on October 8, 1914, and ended at Yushu on November 26th in the same year.

Due to the important role Tuyuhun played in the development of the Qinghai Silk Road, its history, territory and policy have long been of major interest. Hisao Matsuda discussed the location of some of the documented toponyms within Tuyuhun's boundary and its commercial activities with the peripheral regions⁵. The ambassadorial relations between Tuyuhun and the Southern Dynasties (420–589 AD) and Rouran⁶ were also examined. Although the Tang-Bo Route sketched out by him was proved to be inaccurate, the paper was the earliest attempt which covered historical geography and the nature of important

³ Elisseeff 2000, 15.

⁴ Yan G. W. 1985, 575–583.

⁵ Hisao Matsuda 1981a, b.

⁶ 'Rouran' or 'Ruru' was the Chinese name of a confederation of proto-Mongolian tribes, who formed a powerful empire during the 4th–5th century in Central Asia. They are perhaps akin to the Xianbei. After being attacked by the Tujue, they emigrated towards Russia and Hungary (560–567 AD), where they were called Avar (Frederic 1984, vol. 6–7, 487). The Northern Wei (386–534 AD) waged wars against the Rouran, with the intent of intimidating the confederacy. It thus established stable relations with Tuyuhun and the Southern Dynasties.

events. Many questions were put forward for the first time, and draw the attention of the later researchers.

During 1940s one Chinese officer Wu Jing'ao spent several years making several journeys across China's northwestern and southwestern frontiers. The outcome of the investigation, *The Research on Historical Geography of the Western Frontier*⁷, was a report on and analyses of his field surveys, which includes mainly geographic data, corroborated by linguistic, historic and ethnic evidence. In his endeavors, one basic transport network on the northern plateau and in neighboring regions was established. Wu Jing'ao localized three specific routes that ran from the Dulan region in Qinghai to Yutian in Xinjiang. In the other direction, the route extends southeast through the area south of the Yellow River and leads via Sichuan ultimately to the lower Yangtze River.

By examining texts, Yan Gengwang could reconstruct the main transport network of the Tang Dynasty. One whole chapter of his work⁸ (chapter 13) was devoted to locating definite military garrisons and post stations in the Qinghai region. Although the paper focuses on the transport in the Tang Dynasty, the early history is also traced. Based upon the ample sources and precise reasoning, an explicit and detailed transport network was established from point to point, and section by section. The western regions of the Qinghai Hu (Lake), however, were omitted, since this area was not under the direct rule of the Tang government. The location of some places is erroneous, due to the lack of support from archaeological data.

Tang Changru discussed the overland transport between *Xiyu*⁹ and the Southern Dynasties¹⁰. Quoting rich sources of historical records, Buddhist documents and Turfan scripts, he generalized that during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 AD), there existed between Yi Zhou (present day Sichuan) and Shanshan in Xinjiang the Henan Road, which ran parallel with the traditional Silk Road through the Gansu Corridor.

⁷ Wu J. A. 1948.

⁸ Yan G. W. 1985.

⁹ The term 'Xiyu' (West Region) was used in two different senses. In a narrow sense, it meant the region of what is now the province of Xinjiang. In its broadest sense it refers not only to this region, but also to huge parts of Inner and West Asia, India, the Levant, and even North Africa. The particular definition used depended upon the power of the imperial government. In the Han, Tang and Qing dynasties it was used in a somewhat broad sense. In the Yuan it reached its broadest extent. In other periods, when China lost control of the region, the extent of the definition narrowed (Wilkinson 2000, 734).

¹⁰ Tang C. R. 1983.

Among the earlier studies, Satō Hisashi's systematic research on the historical geography of the Tibetan Plateau is of great importance. He devoted several articles to the discussion of general routes between Central China and Tibet and of the events that took place along these routes. The article *The Route of the Sui Emperor Yangdi's Conquest of Tuyuhun*¹¹ looks at paths of Sui Emperor Yangdi's punitive expedition to the Tuyuhun territory. In the article *Citadels of Tuyuhun*¹², the author discusses the locations of the Tuyuhun's capitals and main garrisons, as well as the detailed routes of the Tang general Li Jing's military actions in the Tuyuhun territory. Concerning the ancient Tang-Bo Route, his article *The Route from Kokonor to Lhasa during the Tang Period*¹³ made a great step forward on the basis of former research. Quoting Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan linguistic sources, comparing the related records of the Tang and later dynasties and referring to Zhou Xiwu's expedition, it endeavored to make clear the courses and distances of the road between Xining and Lhasa. Many names of post stations on the route are explained thoroughly and located precisely in the map. Basing on this aforementioned research, his monograph was published, entitled *Studies in the Historical Geography of Tibet*¹⁴.

Zhou Weizhou conducted a systematic study on the Tuyuhun people¹⁵, which covers Tuyuhun's rise and fall, its important role in East-West contacts and relations with contemporary powers. In another article, *A Research on the Ancient Qinghai Road*¹⁶, in light of the ancient record Zhou Weizhou presents an overview of the development of the Silk Road in the Qinghai region, from the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC–8 AD) and even to the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127 AD). A complete picture is presented; however, the author argues that during the Tang and the Five Dynasties this Silk Road declined, an assertion which is contradicted by the wealth of archaeological finds.

Other cultural relics have been found along the Silk Road, which confirm the exact locations of the routes, such as the ancient Fuqi city, the capital of Tuyuhun Kingdom¹⁷, and other cities around the Qinghai Hu¹⁸. On-site investigations will lead to more

¹¹ Satō Hisashi 1982a.

¹² Satō Hisashi 1982b.

¹³ Satō Hisashi 1975.

¹⁴ Satō Hisashi 1978.

¹⁵ Zhou W. Z. 1984.

¹⁶ Zhou W. Z. 1982.

¹⁷ Huang/Fang 1962.

¹⁸ Huanhu 1984.

convincing results. Chen Liangwei mainly investigated the transport routes from Sichuan to Qinghai¹⁹, namely the Henan Road. The value of his book lies in the copious data from his field surveys, which start in western Sichuan, extend across the south of the Yellow River and the Qaidam Basin and ultimately reach southeastern Xinjiang. All possible passages and important junctions were detected and documented. The monuments, sites and ruins of Buddhist cultures along the possible routes, ranging from the Palaeolithic period up to the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 AD) were remarked upon, which could possibly cause some chronological disorder in the development of transport, but the course of routes is clarified much better than in earlier research. The geographer Andreas Gruschke was the first western scholar, who systematically documented the historical monuments on the northeastern Tibetan Plateau²⁰. Although the main emphasis of his book is upon the remaining Lamaist monasteries, one brief chapter is devoted to the introduction of non-Buddhist archaeological sites. Gruschke's extensive travels and field work are admirable; they provide abundant geographical information about the regional cultural study.

1.1.3 Previous studies on the cultural history of the northern Tibetan Plateau

The distinction and analysis of cultural connections were the most important as well as the most difficult work in the Silk Roadology. To extract the useful information from the vanishing and fragmentary archaeological finds, and then to disclose the process of cultural communication along the main routes could be quite difficult but very attractive. Through the archaeological or artistic analyses the activities of certain peoples could be reconstructed to a certain extent.

Pei Wenzhong argued that the road running from the south of the Qilian Shan Mountain range, along the Huang Shui to the Qinghai Hu, then via the Qaidam Basin to the south of Xinjiang was a primary passage linking East and West. This assertion was indicated by the countless Palaeolithic relics found in the reaches of the Huang Shui²¹. Pei's work was the earliest tentative study of cultural exchange based on the analysis of archaeological data.

In 1956 more convincing archaeological evidence for the Qinghai Silk Road appeared in Xining, the capital of the Qinghai Province. A pot full of more than 76 Sasanian silver

¹⁹ Chen L.W. 2002.

²⁰ Gruschke 2001.

²¹ Pei W. Z. 1948.

coins was unearthed there. According to Xia Nai's study²², the coins can be dated to the 5th century. With support of this new foreign material, for the first time Xia Nai could elucidate the geographical importance of Xining in its commercial and transport connection with the West, from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 6th century AD. His opinion was supplemented by Feng Hanyong²³, who argued that even after the 5th–6th centuries AD the roads were still prosperous, as documented by Chinese sources.

Wu Zhuo studied the early Buddhist images found in Sichuan, which date to the late Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD), and argued that they spread from the Chinese West Region via the Qinghai Road. He thereby cites some scattered ancient records to prove this possibility²⁴. In the 1980s, along with the extensive excavation activities abundant archaeological data were accumulated, much of which has provided new insight into the Silk Road. *An Atlas of Chinese Cultural Relics: Qinghai volume*²⁵, edited by the National Bureau of Cultural Relics, presented a comprehensive introduction about the new finds and their distribution. The multi-disciplinary cooperation and comprehensive investigation became possible. The report *Studies of the Silk Road in Qinghai Province, China*²⁶ is one result of the field survey that was carried out jointly by the Research Center for Silk Roadology in Japan and the QPAI (the Qinghai Provincial Archaeological Institute) from 1999 to 2001. The expedition involved not only archaeological, but also geographical and environmental studies. Almost all parts of the main routes in Qinghai as well as numerous sites and finds were recorded. Some reports on the new excavation and special research articles were added at the end of the report.

Among the abundant finds, the most interesting were the Tubo cemeteries in Dulan and the painted coffins unearthed in Delingha. The Tubo cemeteries yielded a great number of artifacts made of wood, lacquer, silver, gold, silk, leather and other materials. Archaeological and artistic analyses of the finds were carried out on the objects. However, only one formal excavation report has been published so far²⁷.

Silk textiles from the tombs in Dulan were tentatively analysed by Xu Xinguo and Zhao

²² Xia N. 1958.

²³ Feng H. Y. 1958.

²⁴ Wu Z. 1992.

²⁵ NBC 1996.

²⁶ RCS 2002.

²⁷ Dulan 2005.

Feng²⁸. The authors made a general introduction about the types and structures of the textiles, whereas designs and datings were discussed in more detail. Silk textiles could be divided into four phases: the late Northern Dynasties, the Sui Dynasty, the early Tang Dynasty and the high Tang Dynasty. The technical differences between ‘warp order textile’ and ‘weft order textile’, the ‘East textile’ and the ‘West textile’ were clarified. Some questions concerning the Silk Road were also been discussed. Xu Xinguo ascribed the warp silks decorated with pearl roundels²⁹ with confronting animals inside as products from Shu (modern Sichuan); he maintained that they were imported by way of the Henan Road³⁰. He also introduced and categorized the silk fragments with the design of a bird holding a ribbon in the beak, which was one of the typical Sasanian patterns, but has two provenances: Persia and Sogdia³¹. He especially discussed silks with Helios figures³². Lin Meicun classified some pieces of silk with confronting phoenixes and the single falcon motifs as Islamic textiles³³.

Studies on objects made of silver and gold were not as intensive as those on the silk textiles. In two articles Xu Xinguo restored the gilt silver openwork casket unearthed in the sacrificial horse pit and designated it and some other golden ornaments as Sogdian metalwork³⁴. The newly found Byzantine and Sasanian coins were only briefly reported³⁵. The new archaeological finds quickly gained great interest among Tibetanologists. In her article *Archaeology of Funeral Rituals as revealed by Tibetan tombs of the 8th to 9th century*³⁶, Amy Heller compared metal and bone artifacts with the descriptions of Tibetan burial rituals, and argued that the local religious practices were a synthesis of Buddhist and non-Buddhist rituals. In *Archaeological Artifacts from the Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*³⁷, she examines a spectrum of objects in gold and silver, which were attributed to Tibetan patronage during 7th–9th centuries AD, including Dulan items and some private

²⁸ Xu/Zhao 1991.

²⁹ The so-called “pearl roundel” pattern is composed of a circular frame which is filled with white discs that might resemble pearls, hence the designation “pearl roundel”. Compareti 2003.

³⁰ Xu X. G. 2007.

³¹ Xu X. G. 1996a.

³² Xu X. G. 1997.

³³ Lin M. C. 2003.

³⁴ Xu X. G. 1994; 1995.

³⁵ Liu B. S. 2004; Xu H. M. 2004; Dananwan 2002.

³⁶ Heller 2003a.

³⁷ Heller 2003b.

collections. In another article *The Silver Jug of the Lhasa Jokhang*³⁸, she discusses some silver wares found on the Tibetan Plateau, including objects from Dulan too. Thereby, she revealed their amalgamating workmanship, which harmoniously blended Sogdian and Chinese elements.

Discoveries near the city Delingha have drawn great interest of experts. In 2002 two tombs were excavated that contained four painted wooden coffins. Certain ones were reported and briefly studied³⁹. In May 2006, I had the opportunity to draw these panels. Their rich contents provide a wealth of information concerning the Silk Road cultures in the High Tang or Tubo period, which will be discussed here in Chapter 6.5. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive report by the excavators is still in preparation.

1.2 GOALS OF THIS RESEARCH

The major part of previous research concerning the Qinghai Silk Road is focused on the history of events along the routes, and the Road has been reconstructed basing mainly upon textual analyses. Because the desolate western frontier and the high plateau were inhospitable to Chinese, written sources about this region are much more scarce and complicated than sources about Central China, and only greatly influential events are known for certain. Whereas the few written sources suffice for making a rough outline of the routes, the actual function and role of the routes are left to be verified or amended.

Compared with documents, archaeological finds are far more fragmentary and insufficient for presenting the whole picture; nevertheless they can provide deeper insight into the cultural communication along the Silk Road. However, the finds do not always match exactly with the records. For example, during the Tuyuhun period trade was brisk on the Qinghai Silk Road and merchants came in flocks, creating close ties between the northern Tibetan Plateau and the regimes in the lower Yangtze River. Archaeological discoveries, however, tell us extremely little about this situation. On the contrary, the persistent prosperity of commerce along the route during the time of the Tubo Empire conflicts strikingly with common Chinese sources, which evidently resulted from either historians' indifference or their limited field of view. The artifacts also illustrate how different cultures interacted and fused together, behind which stood the communication between different groups of people. Therefore, probing into the information hidden within artifacts in historical and archaeological contexts will be the principal mission of the present

³⁸ Heller 2002.

³⁹ Xu X. G. 2005; Luo S. P. 2006; Huo W. 2007a; Huo W. 2007b; Tong T. 2007.

research.

Consequently this study intends to achieve the following aims: 1. Provide a brief local history concerning the development and exploration of the Qinghai Silk Road; 2. Set up a catalogue of archaeological finds in the northern Tibetan Plateau; 3. Map the distribution of important archaeological sites along the routes; 4. Trace the interregional cultural dialogue of finds with regard to their provenance and context; and 5. Decipher the pictorial scenes and restore the cultural panorama reflected in the coffin paintings.

This research is the first systematic exploration of archaeological data of the early Middle Ages that was unearthed along the Qinghai Silk Road, by integrating the abundant historical sources. It is constituted by the following major components: After the introduction and a description of the natural environment of the northern Tibetan Plateau (chapters 1 and 2), chapter 3 traces the documented history of the Silk Road from its initial stages to the period of its heyday. Important events and associated personalities are described, and the itinerary of the routes is roughly outlined chronologically. Corresponding to the history of events, chapters 4, 5 and 6 contribute a comprehensive analysis of the archaeological findings along the routes, including tombs, settlements, city-sites and fortifications as well as numerous small objects made of various materials. Their distribution, typology, artistic style, provenance and especially the cultural interaction reflected in them are unveiled in an attempt to present the complexity resulting from communication along the Silk Road. This not only covers the general cultural appearance, but also enters upon intricate details. One section of a chapter (chapter 6.5) is dedicated especially to the recently unearthed wooden coffin paintings, the most important parts of which were drawn by this author in 2005 in Qinghai. Here they are interpreted and analysed, affording visible scenes of multiple aspects of interregional relations. Finally, chapter 7 concludes with a brief summary of the general features of the Qinghai Silk Road and the influences upon the related cultures.

CHAPTER 2. THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU

2.1 THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT (Map 2.1-1, Map 2.1-2)⁴⁰

Situated in the interior of Asia and as the ‘roof of the world’, the Tibetan Plateau is physically unique due to its great elevation, vast size, and comparatively young mountains in terms of geological history. It extends over 2,500 km from west to east and 1,200 km from north to south at the widest points. The ground surface of the plateau stands 3,500 to 5,000 masl. The entire plateau has been treated mainly as two political units: the Tibetan Autonomous Region in the southwest and Qinghai Province in the northeast. It also includes the northwestern part of Sichuan Province and the southern border area of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The northern Tibetan Plateau here is roughly equivalent to Qinghai Province, a name taken from the lake of the same name, meaning “blue sea”, which also goes by the name Kokonor.

Qinghai Province occupies a vast area between ca. 32° and 39° N and ca. 90° and 103° E. It is 1,200 km long from east to west and 800 km wide from south to north; about 90% of the area is covered by mountains and plateau that have an average elevation of 3,000 m. Most lines of mountains extend from the northwest to the southeast, hence causing the latitudinal distribution of geographic units. The Tanggula Mountains mark the southern border with the Tibetan Autonomous Region. In the north it is separated from the Tarim Basin-Gansu Corridor by the Altun Shan-Qilian Shan. In the middle, ranges of the Kunlun Shan and Bayanhar Shan almost bisect the province, with the Qingnan Plateau rising in the south and the Qaidam Basin-Qinghai Hu dropped in the north; rendering a saddle shape to the whole province.

Considering the comprehensive natural environment, the whole region can be divided into three major areas⁴¹:

2.1.1 Eastern monsoonal region of the Tibetan Plateau (Map 2.1-2, Region ①)

The eastern monsoonal region comprises the eastern Qilian Shan Mountain range, which consist of a series of northwest-southeast coursing ranges about 1,000 km long and rising to a height of 4,000 m. Its eastern part forms a plateau in northeastern Qinghai at more

⁴⁰ Geographical names in the present study are according to Gazetteer (1983) and Atlas (1995).

⁴¹ Zhang Z. X. 2004, 208–213.

than 2,500 masl. The Lenglong Ling Mountain, standing as the borderline of the Qinghai and Gansu Provinces, is the only mountain with icecaps within this area. To the south the region displays an arrangement of mountain valleys, including the Datong He valley, the Huang Shui valley and the Yellow River valley running north to south.

The Huang Shui valley, formed by the Huang Shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, slopes from west to east, with a length of 170 km; it has long been the main transport route between Qinghai and outside world. The capital city of Qinghai, Xining, is located in the middle of the Huang Shui valley. The Datong He valley is formed by the Datong He, which is a tributary of the Huang Shui, flowing from northwest to southeast; it is 90 km in length and 15–30 km in width. In the south the Yellow River cuts through the high mountains, and the valleys feature series of narrow gorges and rapids. Representing the largest lake in China, the Qinghai Hu is situated in the Qilian Shan Mountain range. With a height of 3,000 masl and about 4,500 km² in area, this oval lake is encircled by mountains, steppe, desert and a salt swamp. On its eastern bank is the Riyue Shan (the mountains of Sun and Moon), at 3,520 masl and 90 km long. The Riyue Shan represents an important natural and geographic boundary between monsoon and non-monsoon areas, exterior drainage and interior drainage, as well as agriculture and pasture. It is also the westernmost fringe of the Loess Plateau. Within a short distance the landforms are quite distinct between east and west. The Riyue Shankou (Mountain Pass) is also the most important gateway to Tibet, through which the present day Qing-Zang highway passes.

The region is the westernmost edge of the summer monsoon from the Pacific Ocean. Its windward slopes benefits rainfall, which ranges 300~600 mm, in few areas 500~700 mm of rainfall annually. This makes it one of the few regions of Qinghai with the most abundant precipitation.

The vertical landscape zone of Qilian Shan is relatively clear. The valleys have broad fertile land for crops, and most mountains around them are quite suitable for grazing. Wheat, maize, potato and soybean are planted, and some places even succeed in growing rice. Some basins and tributaries of the Yellow River foster agriculture and stock raising. The animals in the Qinghai Hu area and its surrounding mountains are like those of the southern plateau; there are wild yaks, Tibetan donkeys, Mongolian gazelles, Tibetan marmots and pikas.

2.1.2 Northwestern arid region of the Tibetan Plateau (Map 2.1-2, Region ②)

The northwestern arid region mainly encompasses the Qaidam Basin, but also comprises

the Caka Basin, the Gonghe Basin and the western part of the Qilian Shan Mountain range. Administratively this region belongs to the whole Haixi Mongolian-Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and the southern Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

The western part of the Qilian Shan is higher than the eastern part and also has more parallel valleys and mountains covered with firs and glaciers. The meltwater is of importance for the development of agriculture, livestock breeding and industry both in the Gansu Corridor and the Qaidam Basin. The Altun Mountains, at an average 4,000 masl, separate the Qaidam Basin from the Tarim Basin and connect with the Qilian Shan range in the northeast at the Dangjin Shankou (mountain pass) in Gansu. The name ‘Qaidam’ Basin means “salt swamps”. It is located in the northwest of the province and presents a great desert basin, which is encircled by the Altun Shan, the Qilian Shan, the Kunlun Shan and the Burhan Buda Shan. As the third largest inland basin of China, the Qaidam Basin is 800 km long from west to east, 250 km wide from south to north at its widest point, and more than 200,000 km² in area.

There are more than 40 inland rivers in the Qaidam Basin; the bigger ones like the Naren Gele He, Golmud He, Qaidam He and Qahan Usu He are fed by glacier meltwater and desiccate in salt lakes at the center of the basin. Around the piedmont area along the rivers are well-developed diluvial plains. Large areas in the northwest and center are covered by salt deserts without any plants. The landscape from the piedmont area to the center is similar to that of the Tarim Basin and the Gansu Corridor.

The Qaidam Basin is one of the driest areas on earth, with an average annual rainfall of 50 mm and less than 20 mm in the western part. This arid feature of the landscape is fully manifested in the wide distribution of gobi and desert, the salinization of soil, the sparse and low xeromorphic vegetation, which is drought-enduring and salinity-resistant, Oases developed along the Chahan Usu He, Xiangride He, Golmud He and Bayin He and fostered the cities like Dulan, Golmud and Delingha, all of which are situated at the Basin’s southern and northern fringes.

A few families of animals exist in the region, especially in the center of the Qaidam Basin. The representative animals include the jerboa, wild donkeys, Mongolian gazelles, wolves and the steppe cat. Wild camels have been found in the east of the Basin, but yaks have not been observed. Birds are widely distributed throughout the lakes area.

2.1.3 Southern alpine cold region of the Tibetan Plateau (Map 2.1-2, Region ③)

The southern part of the Tibetan Plateau occupies more than half of the whole province. It

is made up mainly by the Tanggula Range, Bayanhar Shan, Anyemaqen Shan, Burhan Buda Shan and a spur of the Kunlun Shan, with an average height of more than 4,000 masl. Most of the peaks reach 5,000 masl. The vast region is covered by glaciers, and star-studded by lakes and marshes, among which the Gyaring Hu and the Ngoring Hu are the largest freshwater lakes and nourish the headwaters of the Yellow River. The other two large rivers, the Yangtze River and the Lancang Jiang also derive from this region. In the northeast many arable and pasturable basins and valleys are formed by the course of the Yellow River. In the southwest is the Hohxil Nature Reserve.

The southeastern plateau is under the influence of warm moist air currents from the Indian Ocean in the southwest; rainfall on the plateau decreases from 600-700 mm in the southeast to under 200 mm in the northwest. Accordingly, the vegetation changes from alpine meadow to alpine steppe to alpine cold desert in the same direction. Only few of the lower valleys are suitable for highland barley, cole and potato. The region is ideal for plateau animals and rich in chiru, wild yaks, Tibetan donkeys, bharals woolly hares and Tibetan jackals. The most common species of birds are vultures and big crows that feed on dead animals as well as dead human beings.

2.2 The Population

Qinghai is a typical region featuring a high degree of ethnic mixing. It has a population of 5,230,000 (2001), among which Han Chinese make up 54% and the rest is shared mainly by Tibetan (20%), Hui (15%), Tu, Mongolians and Salar. The population is composed of peasants and itinerant herdsmen, and it is distributed extremely unevenly in regard to the variations in the geography. Most of the arable land is concentrated in the eastern part, in the valleys of the Huang Shui, and, hence, this is the most populated area of sedentary people. In Xining, for example, the density is 268 persons per km², in contrast to the western areas with only 1.16 per km². Han Chinese, Tu, Hui (Chinese Muslims) live primarily in the eastern lower precincts, while Tibetans inhabit the southern higher areas as well as the northern mountainous border regions of Qinghai and Gansu. Salar mainly dwell in the Xunhua Autonomous County, in the valleys of the Yellow river; Mongolians largely live in the prairies and desert areas within and around the Qaidam Basin as well as some of the southeastern counties. Conforming to the regional environment, most Tibetans and Mongolians carry on itinerant stockbreeding or semifarming, while Han Chinese and other minorities mostly engage in agriculture.

CHAPTER 3. TRANSPORT ROUTES ON THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU AS MENTIONED IN CHINESE SOURCES

3.1 THE EARLY RECORDS (PRE-HAN PERIOD)

According to Chinese records, the earliest inhabitants of the region were the Qiang. A pictograph composed of sheep and men could be easily interpreted as stock-raising nomads. They were the western neighbors of Shang Dynasty (17th–11th century BC) and the Western Zhou Dynasty (11th–8th century BC) in China at the northwestern extremity. Around 1400 BC the name Qiang emerged in oracle-bone inscriptions of the Shang period⁴². According to the fourth century BC historical novel Mu Tianzi Zhuan⁴³, during the Western Zhou period King Mu of Zhou (r. 956–918 BC) travelled to the Kunlun Shan and visited Xiwangmu (the Queen Mother of the West), who was probably a chieftain of the western Qiang tribes. At the beginning of the Warring State period (5th–3rd BC), the He-Huang regions (the regions of the upper Yellow River and the Huang Shui) lacked grain, but had an abundance of animals, and the people lived from hunting. Later, during the rise of the Qin Kingdom in Shaanxi, the Qiang tribes changed their ways of food-production. Yuanjian, a Qiang slave, learned about crop cultivation and stockbreeding in the Qin Kingdom and introduced these techniques to Qiang tribes⁴⁴.

During the reign of Qin Lord Xiangong (384–362 BC), the growing pressure from the Qin Kingdom forced the descendants of Yuanjian and his tribes to the inner high plateau, then isolated with other tribes. It is believed that they became one part of the later Tibetans. Other Qiang tribes moved farther west, even to the southern road of the Tianshan Mountain; they were later designated “Ruoqiang”. Further, many tribes permeated southeast along valleys of the eastern Tibetan Plateau. After the precarious period of emigration and dissociation, the Qiang had become widely dispersed along the mountainous fringes of the northern and eastern Tibetan Plateau, from the Kunlun Shan Mountains in Xinjiang and eastern Qinghai to southern Gansu, western Sichuan and northern Yunnan, forming a Qiang ‘belt’ in southwestern China. Their emigration and dissemination are indicative of their exploitation of routes within these regions.

⁴² Gu J. G. 1980; Stein 1972, 29.

⁴³ Mu Tianzi Zhuan, vol. 3, 10.

⁴⁴ HHS, vol. 87, 2875.

3.2 THE HAN AND JIN PERIODS (206 BC–317 AD)

3.2.1 The Western Han and Xin Dynasties (206 BC–25 AD)

A. Initiation of Han administration

At the beginning of the Western Han dynasty, the Qiang people were an important ally of the Xiongnu. There are indications that cultural affinities may have drawn the Qiang closer to the Xiongnu than to the Han⁴⁵. Their alliance was so serious a menace that it became the “right arm” among their military collisions with Han China and, therefore, had to be demolished whenever possible.

In 177 BC, Xiongnu succeeded in forcing the Rouzhi⁴⁶ of the Chang-i area (in present day Gansu) into complete submission, resulting in that the greater part emigrated to the West, eventually to the Oxus region. The rest escaped to the Qilian Shan Mountains and settled in Huangzhong (the region along the Huang Shui river) among the Qiang tribes; later they were called the “Barbarian Rouzhi in Huangzhong” 潼中月氏胡. They apparently escaped southwards along valleys of the Huang Shui tributaries. Ancient historians were seldom aware of the existence of the routes during the earlier period. Si Maqian (ca. 145–86 BC) had simply noted the “Route through Qiang” 羌中道, when he recorded Zhang Qian’s diplomatic expedition to the Chinese West Region during 139–126 BC⁴⁷. He wrote that when Zhang Qian journeyed back (from Rouzhi) along the Southern Mountains (present day Kunlun Shan), he intended to reenter China through the territory of the Qiang, but was seized once more by Xiongnu. Apparently the routes were then under the direct control of Xiongnu, and the inhabitants along the routes were mainly Qiang groups.

The threat from Xiongnu and the anti-Xiongnu campaigns were the direct inducement for the Han’s attempting to get through the Gansu Corridor. During the reign of Emperor Wudi (140–87 BC), massive military campaigns were launched persistently. Especially in 121 BC, the Han army advanced 2000 *li*⁴⁸ deep into the Xiongnu tribes. The Gansu Corridor was consequently clarified and opened to the east. The vast region stretching

⁴⁵ Twitchett/Loewe 1986, 424.

⁴⁶ Rouzhi (also read as Yuezhi) were groups of nomadic tribes (perhaps of Indo-European origin) and speaking an Iranian (?) dialect (Tokharian), coming from the Gansu region of China; they were repulsed by the Xiongnu toward the 1st century AD. They invaded the north of India and founded there a great empire known as Kusana (Frederic 1984, 268).

⁴⁷ SJ, vol. 123, 3159.

⁴⁸ The “Chinese mile” is a measure of distance in ancient China. It was supposedly 1/10 of one double-hour’s walk on level ground (Wilkinson 2000, 237).

from Jincheng (present day Lanzhou), along the Qilian Shan to Lop Nor in southeastern Xinjiang became empty of Xiongnu. However, the situation did not remain stable for long. In 112 BC Qiang and Xiongnu restored relations and formed an alliance to resume their incursions along the Han frontier. Emperor Wudi mobilized about 100 thousand soldiers, who were led by generals Li Xi and Xu Ziwei; they marched westwards to pacify the turmoil. The army defeated the enemy in Fuhan (present day Linxia, Gansu), took control of the regions along the Huang Shui, and the majority of Qiang submitted. The Han government installed the Lingju Garrison (in modern Yongdeng County of Gansu) and the office of colonel-protector of the Qiang, who was responsible for coordinating all matters related to them as well as to keep secure the Silk Road in the Gansu Corridor. The minority of Qiang fled to the Qinghai Hu and Caka Yanhu (Salt Lake) regions. Afterwards the Han reinforced its domination through immigration and the establishment of fortresses and *tings* (outposts) in the Huang Shui valleys. Xiping Ting and Dong Ting, both in present day Xining, were established in 111 BC and were responsible for the western and eastern directions of Xining respectively. The Changning Ting was built at Changning Township in the Datong County, with charge over the post and military alerts along the northern route.

During the reign of Emperor Xuandi (73–49 BC), the Xianling Qiang tribe immigrated to the uncultivated regions of the Huang Shui reaches to “graze animals”; there they allied with other tribes to rebel⁴⁹. The Han general Zhao Chongguo was in command of 60,000 soldiers to pacify these tribes in 60 BC. The army crossed the Yellow River, passed through the Siwang Gorge (present day the Laoya Gorge in Ledu County), and entered the Huang Shui valley⁵⁰. As a consequence, the Qiang alliance was shattered, and the Jincheng Prefecture was enlarged to a subordinate kingdom, with 13 counties under its control. Four of these counties Qianya (in present day Minhe), Poqiang (in present day Ledu), Linqiang (in present day Huangyuan), Anyi (in present day Ping'an) were situated in Qinghai, and the capital was also moved from Jincheng to Qianya⁵¹. The Huang Shui region formally came under the Western Han administrative system, and the east-west route running along the Huang Shui valleys was initiated.

B. Zhao Chongguo and the agricultural garrisons

⁴⁹ HHS, vol. 87, 2877.

⁵⁰ HS, vol. 69, 2975–2976.

⁵¹ HS, vol. 28, 1610–1611.

The frontier policies of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties featured the implementation of agriculture garrisons, which were setup by the deployed soldiers for their own supply with food and for other logistic supplies. After the initial success, probably following the same measures taken in the West Region⁵², General Zhao Chongguo proposed to the emperor the relinquishment of solely military action and the development of colonies in the Qinghai region. As recorded in HS⁵³, in his communication *A memorial to the throne for the agricultural garrison* *屯田奏*, Zhao Chongguo mentioned that from Linqiang to Haomen (present day Yongdeng in Gansu) there were more than two thousand *qing* (units of area) of uncultivated fertile land. The *tings* along the routes were severely damaged. Some parts of his army had entered the mountains and felled more than 60 thousand logs of varying size, most of which were closed to rivers. Therefore, transport in the region awaited development and possessed good conditions. According to his proposal, if the towns and *tings* were repaired, the canals dredged and 70 bridges at the west of the gorges constructed, the Qinghai Hu would be easily approached. If the cavalry were abandoned and ten thousand foot soldiers were engaged in both military and agriculture, this measure would not only save huge costs and develop agriculture, but it would also enhance the ability of long term control of the Han government over the frontier. These proposals were adopted, although Zhao Chongguo returned to the Central Plain in the next year. A large number of Han Chinese were left in the region and applied advanced agricultural techniques and implements of the Central Plain. The establishment of Han colonies led directly to the spread of Han culture and strengthened the connections between the Huang Shui regions and Central China.

C. Wang Mang and the Xi Hai Prefecture

At the end of the Western Han, Wang Mang dedicated himself ambitiously to the expansion of the northwestern territory⁵⁴. In 4 AD, he sent officers to the Beihe Qiang tribe and succeeded in persuading them to give up the Qinghai Hu region, the Yungu region (in the present day southeast of Gonghe) and the Caka Yanhu region, through generous offers of gold. With that the Beihe tribe had to move thousands of *li* away. In the new territory Wang Mang established the Xihai Prefecture, i. e. the prefecture of the

⁵² Twitchett/Loewe 1986, 419.

⁵³ HS, vol. 69, 2986.

⁵⁴ HS, vol. 99, 4077–4078.

Western Sea, with Longqi city (the present day Sanjiao city-site in Haiyan County) as its capital. The prefecture consisted of five counties around the Qinghai Hu⁵⁵. It was also legislated that the prisoners would be deported to the prefecture, which accounted for tens of thousand and caused much complaint⁵⁶. Thus, for the first time, the Han culture reached to the Qinghai Hu.

D. The roads through the Qilian Shan Mountain Range

Although no records demonstrate that the Han governments used the routes through the Qilian Shan Mountain range (**Map 2.1-3, Road 2**), the Han did in fact explore and design them. According to HS⁵⁷, in 61 BC, in order to attack the Qiang tribes near the Qinghai Hu, Xin Wuxian, the satrap of Jiuquan Prefecture (in present day Jiuquan) advised Emperor Xuandi that in early July the armies from Wuwei, Zhangye, and Jiuquan should take 30 days' food supply, start off from Zhangye and Jiuquan simultaneously and make a joint attack on the Qiang tribes at the north of the Qinghai Hu. At the same time Zhao Chongguo in Huangzhong should march westwards to create a diversion. Zhao Chongguo objected to this plan, arguing that it was too risky due to the many valleys and mountain passes near Wuwei and Zhangye which would allow Qiang to collaborate with Xiongnu. The objection indicates there were some routes connecting the Qinghai Hu with Wuwei and Zhangye in the Gansu Corridor, although it seems that they were not very practical for the long expedition.

3.2.2 The Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD)

A. Ma Yuan and Huangzhong

At the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty, rebellions of the Qiang people occurred so frequent that the local governments could hardly survive. HHS⁵⁸ recorded that the central government even plan to retreat from Huangzhong, but this plan was strongly opposed by Ma Yuan, who was then the satrap of the Longxi Prefecture. Emperor Guangwudi (5 BC–57 AD) adopted his proposal and ordered the more than three thousand refugees who had fled from Jincheng Prefecture to Wuwei during the turbulence of wars back to their hometowns. Ma Yuan repaired cities, built fortresses, channeled water to the fields and

⁵⁵ HHS, vol. 87, 2878.

⁵⁶ HS, vol. 99, 4077–4078.

⁵⁷ HS, vol. 69, 2977–2980.

⁵⁸ HHS, vol. 24, 835–836.

encouraged agriculture and pasturage. These effective measures led to a short period of stability in Huangzhong. The Qiang and other minority tribes beyond Han's control also asked to become subjects of the empire or they established rapprochement. In their position as subjects, Ma Yuan would request that the court confer them with honorary titles of marquis, prince or lord. The minorities with prestige were bestowed official seals and commissioned as tribal leaders. These measures consolidated the Eastern Han's mastery and accelerated the intermingling of different ethnic groups, among which the Han culture were unquestionable dominant. With the development of the local population, in 200 AD the Xiping Prefecture was established on the foundation of Xiping Ting, charging the Huang Shui region directly instead of the former Jincheng Prefecture.

B. Development of the Qinghai Hu and the Yugu regions

The Great and Small Yugu valleys are located south of the Yellow River, west of the present day Guide. According to HHS⁵⁹, at the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty, They were occupied by the Qiang tribe Shaodang. When it became strong enough, it began to harass the Han borders. After a series of setbacks, the Han government squashed the revolts. Transport between Huangzhong and the Yugu regions were, consequently, developed as a byproduct. Because the rebelling tribe was settled in the south of the Yellow River, the Han army needed to cross the great river in order to conquer it. In 88 AD, when the Qiang tribes intended to attack the Han army, more than 40 thousand Qiang soldiers had to wait for the river to ice up and become capable of bearing them⁶⁰. In the spring of the same year, Deng Xun, the colonel-protector of Qiang, mobiled six thousand persons to build a leather bridge above the river for the army to cross, and then the victory was achieved⁶¹. In 93 AD Guanyou, commander-in-chief of Juyan, erected fortresses along the river, built large boats and constructed a bridge across the river in order to assault the Qiang tribe Shaohe⁶². Later when the Qiang tribes begged to surrender, the Han court ordered them back to the Yugu valleys. The Qiang objected for fear that the bridge would enable the Han army to come and go at will; hence the Yugu valleys would no longer be safe⁶³. Thus, it is apparent that the transport network between the Huang

⁵⁹ HHS, vol. 87, 2885.

⁶⁰ HHS, vol. 16, 609.

⁶¹ HHS, vol. 16, 610.

⁶² HHS, vol. 87, 2883.

⁶³ HHS, vol. 87, 2884.

Shui and the Yellow River regions eventually came into being. HHS⁶⁴ recorded that when the rebellions were quenched, one officer named Cao Feng proposed to develop military agriculture in the Great and Small Yugu regions in order to advance the local economy as well as to hamper the roads between Qiang and Xiongnu. He led armies to settle in Longqi city (in modern Haiyan, see chapter 4.4.1); he also had the ruined city repaired in the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan reign (102 AD). After that large scale agriculture garrisons expanded from Huangzhong to the Yellow River valleys. A total of 34 districts of agriculture garrisons “secured the Yellow River”. The Great and Small Yugu regions were incorporated into the Han administration.

3.2.3 The Wei and Western Jin period (220–317 AD)

A. *Zhi Wudai's journey*

During the Three Kingdom period (220–280 AD), the Shu Kingdom in southwestern China and the Wei Kingdom in the Central Plain struggled for the eastern Qinghai region for a long period of time. The Qiang in Qinghai appeared closer to the Shu Kingdom, which probably was rooted in the cultural and ethnic affinities as well as transport accessibility. Disseminated among the mountains of northwestern Sichuan were various Qiang tribes, who had the same origin and maintained cultural connections with those Qiang tribes in Qinghai. The route from Qinghai to Chengdu in Sichuan must have run along rivers or through valleys, with which Qiang tribes were quite familiar. Thereby, the various “barbarians” in Qinghai cooperated with the Shu Kingdom to fight against the Wei Kingdom. According to SGZ⁶⁵, in 248 AD a barbarian chief, Zhi Wudai, besieged Wuwei, with his family members left behind in the vicinity of the Qinghai Hu. The Wei general Guo Huai marched to the Qinghai Hu from the east in order to capture them, when Zhi Wudai retraced, and they fought north of the city Longyi (Longqi) in Haiyan. Zhi Wudai was defeated, but he escaped to the south to the Shu Kingdom and resettled near present day Chengdu. When Zhi Wudai returned from Wuwei to the Qinghai Hu, he quite likely chose paths through the Qilian Shan. However, written sources do not supply further details. His entire journey from Wuwei, the city of Longyi, the south of Gansu and Chengdu provides us the earlier information about the Qinghai Silk Road extending to the upper Yangtze River, which enjoyed great use in the later period.

⁶⁴ HHS, vol. 87, 2885.

⁶⁵ SGZ, vol. 26, 735.

B. Zhang Gui's actions

JS⁶⁶ records that in 308 AD, when the satrap of Xiping Prefecture (capital in present day Xining) attempted to overthrow Zhang Gui's rule of the Northern Liang Kingdom (401–439 AD, present day Wuwei as capital), Zhang Gui sent two generals in command of 800 cavalrymen to attack Xiping in cooperation with the main troops coming from the east. They set out from the southwest of Wuwei, passed by Shilü 石驴 (meaning the stone donkey), reached Xiping and fought against the satrap near present day Datong. The place Shilü is likely a mountain in the Qilian Shan range, along which the route passed (**Map 2.1-3, Road 2**). It is probably the present day *Lenglong Ling*, a Tibetan word meaning ox, named after the mountain's shape, which resembles an ox and stands as the borderline between Gansu and Qinghai.

3.3 THE EARLY TUYUHUN PERIOD (300 –663 AD)

3.3.1 The Sixteen States period (300–420 AD)

A. Military actions

The period from the beginning of the 4th century to the 30s of the 5th century witnessed a long term of turbulence and confusion. China was split into many small ephemeral states, namely the Five Barbarians and Sixteen States, most of which were established by non-Chinese. The intricate political circumstance enhanced the local transport, which became well developed. Many routes that had previously been used very seldom now flourished. The route from the Huang Shui regions to Wuwei and Zhangye attained greater importance than ever due to frequent military campaigns. In 406 AD, the King Nutan of Southern Liang sent envoys from Xiping to Jiuquan through the Xianbei⁶⁷ tribe Beishan, who occupied the present day Menyuan County⁶⁸. Three years later, when a general of the Southern Liang who had guarded the Shilü Mountain committed betrayal, the state immediately lost control over the Gansu Corridor and had to move the capital from Xiping to Ledu⁶⁹. In 413 AD the He-Huang region was annexed by the Northern Liang. Their king and army once marched to the west of the Qinghai Hu and approached the Caka

⁶⁶ JS, vol. 86, 2224.

⁶⁷ Xianbei were proto-Mongolian tribes composed of three main groups (Tuoba, Yumen and Murong), who replaced the northern Xiongnu in the 2nd century. They founded five dynasties in northern China and were destroyed by Yangdi in 608 AD (Frederic 1984, vol. 10, 92).

⁶⁸ JS, vol. 87, 2263.

⁶⁹ JS, vol. 126, 3153.

Yanhу, where they sacrificed to King Mather of the West⁷⁰.

B. Buddhist monks

During this period Buddhist monks, who travelled to India for Buddhist scriptures and on pilgrimage, began to appear on the Qinghai Silk Road. In 399 AD Fa Xian and his fellows started the long journey from Chang'an to India. They crossed the long county (part of Shaanxi and Gansu) and arrived in the Western Qin. After a summer retreat they journeyed on to Xiping, the capital of the Southern Liang, and after crossing the mountains they arrived at Zhangye⁷¹ (**Map 2.1-3, Road 2**).

Soon after Fa Xian, in 420 AD another monk – Fa Yong – marched west on a pilgrimage. He first arrived in the state of Henan, which is likely the Western Qin. Then he left the Haixi Prefecture and entered Liusha, a region of flowing sand, and ultimately reached Gaochang Prefecture (present day Turfan). It has been argued that Liusha could be the Heka region of the Tuyuhun's territory⁷², but this proposal needs more evidence. In all likelihood, Fa Yong adopted the same route as in Fa Xian's journey.

The fact that Buddhist monks passed through the region demonstrates that regional transport was involved in the international network. For a long time the Gansu Corridor dominated the links between Central China and the West Region, but during this particular period, when warfare and turmoil increased, the section that passed through the Huang Shui valleys came into use by travellers pursuing various goals.

C. Founding of the Tuyuhun Kingdom

Tuyuhun's occupation of the northern Tibetan Plateau was a turning point in the development of the Silk Road in Qinghai. According to WS⁷³ and JS⁷⁴, 'Tuyuhun' was originally the name of the elder son of Tuhe Shegui, who was assigned 700 families of the Liaodong Xianbei tribe in northeastern China. At the end of the 3rd century AD, he led his tribe westward along the Yin Shan Mountain into exile. During the Yongjia reign of the Western Jin (312–313 AD), they went on to the Long Mountains, crossed the Tao He River, and settled in the area of Fuhan (present day Linxia in Gansu). From there Tuyuhun

⁷⁰ JS, vol. 129, 3197.

⁷¹ Fa Xian Zhuan, vol. 1, 1-2.

⁷² Chen L. W. 2002, 306.

⁷³ WS, vol. 101, 2233–2234.

⁷⁴ JS, vol. 97, 2537.

expanded the territory southwards and westwards simultaneously. The territory encompassed the region from Fuhan as far as Angcheng (present day Aba in Sichuan) and Longhe (present day Songpan in Sichuan) on the southern border, from southwest of the Tao River (a southern tributary of the Yellow River) as far as Bailan, covering an area of some thousand *li*.

When Tuyuhun's grandson Sheyan came to the throne, the tribe founded the state formally, which was named the Tuyuhun Kingdom. The northwestern minorities also called them ‘A-chai Lu’ or ‘Ye Lu’⁷⁵, meaning ‘barbarians A-chai’ and ‘barbarians savages’ respectively and known in Tibetan sources as ‘A-za’ or ‘Ha-za’⁷⁶. LS⁷⁷ wrote, “...ancestor of the Henan king (of the kingdom in the south of the Yellow River) was the Murong clan of Xianbei ... its land was located in the south of Zhangye, west of Longxi, and south of the Yellow River, after which it was so named.” After the founding of the Kingdom, it began to set up official relations with its neighboring powers like the Former Qin in 371 AD (Chang'an as the capital)⁷⁸ and the Western Qin in 390 AD (in southwestern Gansu)⁷⁹. To them Tuyuhun paid tribute, and, therefore, its king was titled governor of Shazhou and king of Bailan. These two places were special symbols of Tuyuhun’s territory. Shazhou, the sandy land, was the present day Muge sand beach in the southwest of Guide; Bailan was located in the Xiqing Shan regions, near the first great bend in the Yellow River. The latter was often a place of refuge or asylum, when Tuyuhun were defeated, due to its broad space and precipitous natural environment.

3.3.2 The Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–581 AD)

A. Envoys and military actions

During the later period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, many smaller powers gradually were aggregated into a few larger regimes. The Northern Wei united northern China, standing face to face with the southern powers set up by Han people on the lower Yangtze River. In the Mongolian steppe the nomadic power of the Rouran rose against the Northern Wei. In the Qinghai region, small states like the Southern Liang, Western Qin and Northern Liang were annexed by the Northern Wei. Meanwhile Tuyuhun became

⁷⁵ JS, vol. 97, 2538.

⁷⁶ Pelliot 1912; 1920.

⁷⁷ LS, vol. 54, 810.

⁷⁸ JS, vol. 113, 2894.

⁷⁹ JS, vol. 125, 3116.

strong and acquired a large territory covering southern Gansu, northwestern Sichuan and the whole Qinghai. Since the Northern Wei controlled the main section of the Silk Road, contacts between the Han powers with the West Region and its alliance with the Rouran against the Northern Wei could be carried out only by way of the routes within the Tuyuhun territory. In 423 AD the Tuyuhun King A-chai sent an envoy to Liu Song (420–479 AD)⁸⁰ and established a stable alliance with the Han power. The policies sustained during the successive kings' reigns, and the Henan Road (**Map 2.1-3, Road 4**) running from Qinghai via Sichuan to arrive in Jiankang (present day Nanjing) became the only overland passage between the southern powers and the West Region. During the early period of Liu Song (the 420s), the Sogdian, Northern Liang and Rouran sent their embassies from the Hexi region through Tuyuhun territory to Chengdu, the west frontier of Liu Song, and farther to the capital on the lower Yangtze River⁸¹.

During this period transport in the Qaidam Basin was recorded for the first time by historians, and this could signify the beginning of its large-scale use. According to WS⁸², in 439 AD, fearing an attack of the Northern Wei from its newly conquered region of the Northern Liang, the Tuyuhun King Muliyan leading his tribes escaped to the western desert, which is likely in the Qaidam Basin. WS⁸³ and BS⁸⁴ wrote that in 445 AD, when the Northern Wei armies attacked Tuyuhun's Mantoucheng fortress (at present day southwestern Gonghe), Muliyan again escaped to the western sandy region (**Map 2.1-3, probably Road 3a**). Beinang, the son of Mugui, was pursued by other troops and had to flee to the Sanwei Mountain in the south of Dunhuang, then to the Xue Shan (the Snow Mountain, today southeast of Anxi, Gansu), where they were eventually captured. Muliyan fled west to Yutian (Khotan of Xinjiang) and killed its king and thousands of Khotanese. He subdued Jibin (Kashmir) in the south and sent ambassadors appealing Liu Sung for help, thereby presenting Wuwan⁸⁵ headgear, golden Nü Guo⁸⁶ wine vases, gold

⁸⁰ SS, vol. 4, 64.

⁸¹ Tang C. R. 1983.

⁸² WS, vol. 101, 2237.

⁸³ WS, vol. 101, 2237.

⁸⁴ BS, vol. 2, 58.

⁸⁵ Wuwan or Wuhuan were ancient Mongolian (or proto-Mongolian) nomads. After the Donghu (Eastern Hu) were betrayed by the Xiongnu Maodun, the surviving group split into two, one which settled on the banks of the Sira-muren became the Xianbei, and the other which moved to the banks of the Liaohe became the Wuwan. After Eastern Han Dynasty they were mixed with Xianbei (Frederic 1984, vol. 10, 81). Tuyuhun obviously preserved their Xianbei costume tradition after they migrated to the Tibetan Plateau.

bracelets of the barbarian kings and other objects. Emperor Wendi of Liu Song made him a gift of a chariot. He then returned to his former territory in the second year.

Subsequently the Northern Wei had launched another two wars against Tuyuhun. After the last war in 470 AD, Tuyuhun established stable peaceful relations with the Northern Wei, and their communication was strengthened by frequent envoys. According to the account of WS, from 473 to 534 AD Tuyuhun sent envoys to the Northern Wei 56 times⁸⁷. The region became closely connected with Central China again.

Rouran and the Southern Qi (479–502 AD) kept an alliance against the Northern Wei. Their communications were achieved through the Tuyuhun territory too. During the Liang period of the Southern Dynasties (502–557 AD), states in the West Region like Yedai⁸⁸, Gaochang, Kucha, Khotan and Persia sent envoys and paid tribute regularly to Liang⁸⁹. The routes from the western region via Tuyuhun to Sichuan (**Map 2.1-3, Road 3a, 3b and 4**) and then along the Yangtze River to Jiankang were in brisk and effective use. Thus, the Tuyuhun Road became an international thoroughfare between west and east.

B. Business

Due to the close relations with the Northern Wei, Tuyuhun's politics, economy and culture experienced a rapid development. During Fulianchou's reign (490–529 AD), Tuyuhun entered its most splendid period. Its territory spread west to the eastern Xinjiang. Shanshan (present day Ruoqiang) and Qiemo were under its control at least before 508 AD⁹⁰. The vast united territory made transport along the Silk Road reliable and efficient, and trade on the Silk Road developed quickly. In fact, the envoys among the various states accelerated the exchange of merchandise. The states often presented each other their special local products. Paying tribute was essentially a commercial activity, and private

⁸⁶ Nü Guo (the Country of Women) also named ‘Supi’ in Chinese and ‘Sum po’ in Tibetan. It was located at the northwestern Tibetan Plateau from the Sui and Tang Dynasties. Rulers in the country were all women, and men were only responsible for war. It was annexed by Tubo Empire in the 7th century AD (SuS, vol. 83, 1850–1851).

⁸⁷ Hisao Matsuda 1981a; Zhou W. Z. 1984, 38.

⁸⁸ Yedai, Chinese name of a Mongolian (?) group of nomads Rouzhi, called Hepthalites (white heads) by the Byzantines. They were vassals of the Rouran in the 5th century AD and defeated by the Western Tujue in ca. 565 AD (Frederic 1984, vol. 10, 195).

⁸⁹ Tang C. R. 1983.

⁹⁰ Zhou W. Z. 1984, 40.

merchants were often organized in foreign missions for trade. ZS⁹¹ recorded that in 553 AD the Tuyuhun King Kualü sent a delegation to the Northern Qi. When they returned through Liangzhou (**Map 2.1-3, probably Road 2**), they were captured by a Western Wei officer. The captive caravan consisted of two military officers, 240 *hushang* (non-Chinese merchants), 600 camels and mules and ten thousands of miscellaneous silks. The records demonstrates that the foreign mission often gathered large numbers of *hushangs*, which commonly refer to the western merchants, especially Sogdians, and the most popular merchandise was silk wares. Tuyuhun were the important guides and mediators as well as interpreters. LS⁹² mentions that the language of Yedai could be understood only with the aid of the Henan people's translation, who of course referred to the Tuyuhun people. The long distance trade has brought them great fortune. The documents indicate that Tuyuhun possessed huge amounts of precious goods. For example, the same Western Wei officer who captured their caravan had assaulted Tuyuhun cooperating with the Tujue (Turkic) army (**Map 2.1-3, part of Road 2**). They succeeded in capturing Tuyuhun's heartland and thereby seized huge amounts of treasures. The merchants obviously played an important role in state finance. ZS⁹³ documented that the state had no stable taxes, and whenever needed, it was levied from the rich families and tradesmen.

Animals like horses, cattle and camels were likely their competitive exports. They introduced Persia mares and bred *Qinghai cong* (piebald horses of Qinghai) of their own (see chapter 6.5.2). They trained dancing horses, which were presented to friendly states like Liu Song and Liang⁹⁴. In 499 AD Tuyuhun sent 50 yaks to the Northern Wei⁹⁵. In 460 AD the Northern Wei attacked Tuyuhun and captured more than two hundred thousand camels and horses⁹⁶. Documents repeatedly mention that Tuyuhun produced *shu ma*, the horses of Shu (present day Sichuan)⁹⁷, which could be a consequence of exchanges between the two regions.

C. Buddhist monks

⁹¹ ZS, vol. 50, 913.

⁹² LS, vol. 54, 812.

⁹³ ZS, vol. 50, 913.

⁹⁴ SS, vol. 85, 2175; vol. 96, 2373; LS, vol. 33, 475.

⁹⁵ WS, vol. 7, 147.

⁹⁶ WS, vol. 101, 2238.

⁹⁷ BS, vol. 96, 3185.

Buddhist monks travelling to the West Regions and Yi Zhou through the Tuyuhun territory appeared much more frequently during this period. For instance, Hui Lan during 440–444 AD and Ming Da in 502 AD travelled from the West Regions to Yi Zhou; in 475 AD Fa Xian journeyed from Yi Zhou to the West Regions⁹⁸.

The routes between Chang'an and the West Region were also used by Buddhist monks. In 518 AD, the monk Song Yun of Dunhuang headed for India with Hui Sheng on a mission; they were sent by the Empress Dowager Hu of the Northern Wei in pursuit of Buddhist scriptures. As Luoyang Qielan Ji⁹⁹ notes, “They started from the capital Luoyang, travelled westward 40 days and arrived at Chi Ling (the Red Mountain), where the western border of the state was, and the border passes of the Royal Wei were located there... Starting from Chi Ling and marching westward for 23 days, they passed through the region of flowing sand and arrived in the Tuyuhun Kingdom. The road was quite cold with many snow storms. Sand flew about and stones hurtled through the air everywhere. Only the Tuyuhun city was warmer than elsewhere ... They marched westward from Tuyuhun 3,500 *li* and reached Shanshan city. The city had its own king and was annexed by Tuyuhun. Now the lord of the city was the second son of the Tuyuhun king, the General of Quenching West, who commanded 3,000 tribes to resist the western barbarians. They travelled westwards from Shanshan for 1,640 *li*, and they arrived at the Zuomo (Qiemo) city.”

The route Song Yun and Hui Sheng chose was obviously the Tuyuhun Road (**Map 2.1-3, Road 3b**). Chi Ling was the Riyue Shan; the Tuyuhun city must be a certain city situated in the Qaidam Basin, probably Dulan, which means “warm” in Mongolian, corresponding to the record of “warmer than elsewhere”. They went along the southern edge of the Qaidam Basin westwards to Shanshan and Qiemo on the southern edge of the Tarim Basin, where the Tuyuhun Road joins with the northern Silk Road.

In the Northern Zhou period the Gansu Corridor was controlled by Tujue. Jnanagupta (Chinese Zhena Jueduo or Zhide) travelled from Gandhara to Chang'an via the Tuyuhun Road. He passed by Khotan, reached the Tuyuhun Kingdom and then arrived in Shanzhou (present day Ledu) in 535 AD¹⁰⁰. The route he travelled is likely the same as Song Yun and Hui Sheng’s itinerary.

⁹⁸ Tang C. R. 1983.

⁹⁹ Luoyang Qielan Ji, vol. 5, 587-545.

¹⁰⁰ Tang C. R. 1983.

3.3.3 The Sui and Tang rule (581–663 AD)

A. *Emperor Yangdi's conquest*

In 589 AD Sui united China and ended centuries of division. After a short period of conflict, Tuyuhun began to pay tribute to the Sui Dynasty, and Sui married Princess Guanghua to the Tuyuhun King Shifu, leading to temporary peaceful relations. After Emperor Yangdi (569–618 AD) ascended the throne, he showed great interest in the West Region and the Silk Road. At that time Zhangye became an important commercial center for Western and Chinese merchants in the exchange their merchandise¹⁰¹, whereas the Western Regions were under sway of the kingdoms Tujue and Tuyuhun, and the Silk Road was therefore often obstructed.

According to SuS¹⁰², in March 609 AD a military campaign was launched against Tuyuhun. Yangdi and his army started from Chang'an, passed by Longxi (in southeastern Gansu), crossed the Tao River and arrived in Linxia. Then via the Linjin Pass (at the present day southern Minhe) they crossed the Yellow River and reached Ledu and Xining. In May they entered the Changning valley (present day Beichuan river valley in the north of Xining), crossed the Xingling Mountain (between the Beichuan He River and the Datong He River), and feasted officers on the Jin Shan Mountain (at the south of the Datong He). When Yangdi crossed the Datong He, the bridge was broken. He therefore killed the officers, who were charged with its construction. Armies were sent to besiege the Tuyuhun king, and Fuyun escaped with only tens of equestrians. When the Sui army passed the Dadouba valley (present day Biandukou Pass between Qinghai and Gansu) in June, the rugged route and fierce storm plunged the army into chaos, and half the number of soldiers froze to death. Finally they arrived in Zhangye (**Map 2.1-3, Road 2**). The subsequent war forced ten thousand Tuyuhun people to surrender to Sui, and Fuyun fled to the southern valleys. Tuyuhun's old lands were emptied and became the possession of Sui, extending from the city of Linqiang in the east to Qiemo in the west, from the Qilian Shan Mountain range in the north to the Snow Mountain (the Anyemaqen Mountain) in the south. Four prefectures and many counties and fortifications were set up and populated with Chinese criminals convicted of 'light' crimes. Large-scale agricultural garrisons were installed. For the first time the Qaidam region was ruled directly by the central Chinese government. Therefore, all of the Tuyuhun Road via the Qaidam Basin was policed. Nevertheless, Fuyun soon reoccupied the old territory and began to make raids on the

¹⁰¹ SuS, vol. 67, 1578.

¹⁰² SuS, vol. 3, 73.

Chinese northwestern border after the Sui Dynasty collapsed in 618 AD¹⁰³.

It is thus no coincidence that Fu Guo¹⁰⁴ chose the year 608 AD to send the first delegation to the Chinese court¹⁰⁵. The Chinese source¹⁰⁶ states that: “In the fourth year of the Daye reign, their king sent a total of eight persons – the envoy Su Fu and others – to the court. The next year, he again sent his servant Yi Lin to lead sixty Jialiang Yi (foreigners) to pay tribute. They wanted to present their fine horses, but because the roads were dangerous and blocked, they appealed to open a mountain road. Emperor Yangdi did not give his consent due to the high cost of manpower.” This could be the first documented attempt of the southern Tibetan Plateau to gain contact with Central China.

B. Tang-Tuyuhun war

In 618 AD Tang overthrew Sui and became the new ruler of China. In 625 AD Fuyun requested the opening of border trade at Chengfeng Garrison, which was permitted by the Tang emperor¹⁰⁷. The Chengfeng Garrison, located at the Chengfeng Ling Mountain in the north of Guide, therefore became an important pass between Tang and the Tibetan Plateau.

Tuyuhun’s endless plundering at the Tang border led to a large-scale punitive expedition against it, when Tang became powerful. According to Chinese sources¹⁰⁸, in 634 Tang sent three brigades of forces to attack the Tuyuhun Kingdom. The first brigade aimed at the capital Fuqi city (in the west of the Qinghai Hu), the Jishi Prefecture (in modern Xinghai County), the Qiemo and Shanshan prefectures (both in modern southeastern Xinjiang); the second brigade headed for the Yanze Prefecture (the Caka Yanhu region) from the Tao Zhou (present day Lintan in Gansu); and the third brigade marched from the Song Zhou (present day Songpan in Sichuan) to the Chishui Prefecture (in the southeast of the Qinghai Hu). The three forces aimed to overcome Tuyuhun’s western, eastern and

¹⁰³ SuS, vol. 83, 1844–1845.

¹⁰⁴ Beckwith regarded Fu Guo (the Fu Kingdom) here as Tibet. Their relation has been a disputed issue since 1940s. The Fu Kingdom was located in the mountainous region about 2000 *Li* (equal to 1000 km) northwest of the Sichuan Basin (SuS, vol. 83, 1858). In the early Tang Dynasty it was seized by the Tubo Empire. The researchers tend to place the central Fu Kingdom in Ganzi County in the southeastern part of the Tibetan Plateau (Shi S. 2003).

¹⁰⁵ Beckwith 1987, 18.

¹⁰⁶ SuS, vol. 83, 1859.

¹⁰⁷ Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 174.

¹⁰⁸ JTS, vol. 69, 2509–2510; XTS, vol. 221, 6225–6226.

southeastern frontiers respectively, and attacked the region in mainly two directions (**Map 2.1-3, Road 3 and 4**). From the plan it is evident that the second and the third brigades planned to take the Henan Road. However, they failed due to their impediment by Qiang tribes, while the first brigade progressed successfully. The army captured the capital Fuqi, pursued the Tuyuhun army near the Qinghai Hu and the Jishi Mountains (present day the Anyemaqen Shan) and even southwards to Baihai (present day the Gyaring Hu and the Ngoring Hu, the headwaters of the Yellow River) and westwards to Qiemo. Fuyun eventually fled to Tulunqi (the Gobi desert between Qiemo and Khotan) and would have escaped farther to Yutian (Khotan), but was defeated by the Tang cavalry. There Tang soldiers killed horses and drank blood for want of water. After the great victory, all forces jointed together near the Qinghai Hu. The routes they actually travelled included the routes via the Qaidam Basin (**Map 2.1-3, Road 3b**) and the northern part of the Tang-Bo Route (**Map 2.1-3, Road 5**). After being subjugated, Tuyuhun became a vassal state of Tang. In 639 AD Princess Honghua of Tang was married to Nuohebo, the *qaghan* of Tuyuhun.

C. The Tang-Bo Route

At the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries AD, the Yarlung Pugyel rised from the central Tibet (in the region around Lhasa) and united many tribes around into the powerful confederation of Tubo. During the reign of King Songtsen Gampo (605?–649 AD), Tubo succeeded in conquering the Supi Kingdom in the north, the Yangtong people in the west and Dangxiang people in the east; thus, all Tibet came under its sway.

In 634 AD Tubo opened diplomatic relations with the Tang court by sending envoys and tribute. It was the first of a hundred or so similar missions, both official and unofficial, during the course of the dynasty¹⁰⁹. A few years later the Tubo King Songtsen Gampo, after hearing that Tang princesses had been given in marriage to rulers of the Eastern Tujue and of the Tuyuhun, demanded that he too be granted a similar honour. After his assault on the Tang western border Sichuan, the request was granted. In 641 AD the Tang Princess Wencheng was married to Songtsen Gampo (629–650 AD). She entered the Tibetan Plateau by way of the Tang-Bo Route, escorted by the Tang officer Wang Daozong, who had just taken part in the Tang-Tuyuhun wars and was therefore familiar with the route. When they passed through Tuyuhun, Nuohebo built special

¹⁰⁹ Twitchett/Loewe 1979, 230.

accommodations for them, and their delegation was received solemnly. They were then met by Songtsen Gampo in the Baihai region¹¹⁰. Princess Wencheng brought to the Central Tibet plentiful silk wares, Buddhism sutras, books on medicine, crafts and techniques, as well as large number of craftsmen and skilled workers to Central Tibet. The request for silk-worms, workmen trained in the production of alcohol, millstones, paper and ink was also fulfilled¹¹¹. These greatly propelled the spread of the advanced Tang culture throughout the Tibetan Plateau and exerted a huge influence on the development of Tubo culture. The marriage alliance was followed by twenty years of rapprochement. Large amounts of silk, gold and silver and special local products were exchanged between the two sides. The Tang-Bo Route therefore became more prosperous than ever. To ensure transport, the Tubo built a number of bridges and post stations along the route¹¹². Along the roads every one hundred *li* there was one post station¹¹³. The postal system was well established across the Tubo Empire¹¹⁴.

3.4 THE PERIOD OF TUBO RULE (THE LATER TUYUHUN PERIOD) (663 –842 AD)

A. Expansion of the Tubo Empire

After Songtsen Gampo's death, his minister Blon-po mGar seized power and planned to conquer Tuyuhun. The main purpose of the northeastward expansion was not only to establish more direct economical and cultural relations with Tang, but also to participate in the lucrative Silk Road trade¹¹⁵. In 663 AD, when Tuyuhun's high officer Su Hegui committed treason and fled to Tubo, whereupon, the Tubo army could attack and defeated Tuyuhun near the Yellow River. Nuohebo and Princess Honghua had to flee to the Tang territory. After seizing Tuyuhun's land, the Tubo ruler took advantage of the convenient transport to the West Region and Tang to expand the territory. A series of rebellions were instigated against the Tang in the West Region. In 670 AD the Four Garrisons of Anxi came under Tubo domination for the first time. Tang deployed one hundred thousand armies to fight against Tubo in Dafeichuan (present day the Qieji Meadow in Gonghe), but was utterly defeated. Tubo consolidated its hold of Tuyuhun, and subsequently a

¹¹⁰ XTS, vol. 216, 6074.

¹¹¹ Stein 1972, 58.

¹¹² XTS, vol. 40, 1041–1042.

¹¹³ XTS, vol. 216, 6072.

¹¹⁴ Zhang G. D. 1982.

¹¹⁵ Chen/Gao 2003, 34.

period of long lasting alternating battles between Tang and Tubo began. Both sides developed regularly placed fortifications and agricultural garrisons along the borders. In the new territory, Tubo installed *khroms*¹¹⁶ along the borders, established colonies by resettling Tibetans, replicated its own ruling system and implemented the ‘Tibetanizing’ policy by generalizing the Tibetan language and costume¹¹⁷. On the Tang side, the Shan Zhou (Ledu as the capital, with charge over the Huang Shui valleys) and Kuo Zhou (modern Hualong as the capital, with charge over the Yellow River valleys) formed the key lines of defence. More than 10 *juns* (fortresses) were constructed at all accessible passes along the border, among which the Heyuan *jun* in Xining was the most crucial stronghold¹¹⁸.

Meanwhile the Tubo and Tang empires contested intensively in the West Region, especially for the Four Garrisons and the kingdom of Great and Little Bolor (the name for Gilgit-Baltistan and adjoining areas, Chinese Bolü, Tibetan Drusha). From the second half of the 7th century to the beginning of the 8th century Tubo captured the Four Garrisons from Tang several times and brought Bolor under its disposal. It also formed an alliance with Arabs to invade Fergana, which was subject to Tang’s suzerainty. Evidently Tubo troops passed through the Tarim Basin by way of both the Qinghai Silk Road and the so-called “the Middle Road”, which connected the Central Tibet with the Karakorum Range and Pamirs¹¹⁹, as well as through Bolü on “the Bolü Road”¹²⁰. Although expanding in all directions, the Tibetans apparently viewed expansion northward as more profitable and certainly healthier than expansion to the south¹²¹. The first expansion from Yarlung was northeastwards, towards Koko Nor by way of the great plain of Yarmothang, and farther east to Amdo. This entire region bred horses of high repute, perhaps partly through which the empire could enlarge quickly within a century¹²². Apart from the swift horses, the subdued Tuyuhun and Supi supplied the Tubo army with large quantities of provisions as

¹¹⁶ The *khrom* were military governments established in borderlands, or at least in the eastern, northern and westernmost frontier zones, which were of the greatest military importance for the Tubo Empire (Uray 1980).

¹¹⁷ Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 194–200; Wang X. J. 1989.

¹¹⁸ Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 172–173.

¹¹⁹ Moriyasu Takao 1987; Yin 1994; Huo W. 1995b.

¹²⁰ Wang X. F. 1994.

¹²¹ Beckwith 1980.

¹²² Stein 1972, 62.

well as military forces¹²³. According to records of ancient Tibetan documents that unearthed in Dunhuang and Miran¹²⁴, grain was often collected from Tuyuhun region and transported to Sha Zhou (Dunhuang) and Miran, possibly by way of the Qinghai Silk Road (**Map 2.1-3, Road 3a and 3b**). The Qinghai Silk Road played a leading role in Tubo expansion, especially before the end of the 7th century when Tang resumed its dominance over the Four Garrisons, and, thus, “the Bolü Road” was developed by Tubo¹²⁵.

Climatic conditions might also have contributed partly to these political events. The reconstructed changes in precipitation attest that there were relatively wet periods between 576 and 675 AD on the northern Tibetan Plateau¹²⁶, which could have obviously led to the best conditions for horse-breeding as well as food production, therefore easily incurring the aggression of the southern neighbors.

The Tubo Empire reached its zenith during the reign of King Trisong Detsen (755–797 AD). By seizing the opportunity of the An-Shi Rebellion of Tang (755–763 AD), in ten years its cavalry penetrated as far as Shaanxi Province and several Central Asian states, and even captured the Tang capital Chang’an (modern Xi’an) in 763 AD. The Tang Empire was forced to mobilize all its military might to repel the onslaughts of the Tibetans. Tubo’s occupation of the Gansu Corridor lasted about one hundred years until the local Chinese aristocrat Zhang Yichao led an army to victory over the Tibetans in 848 AD. After changing hands several times, the West Region was incorporated into the Tubo Empire from 790 to 866 AD. With Tubo’s control of the main part of the Silk Road through the Gansu Corridor and the Southern Road of Xinjiang, the Qinghai Silk Road became an internal segment of the entire network. For military purposes postal stations were established along the routes. For the first time records note the use of the Luoxie-Shazhou Route (**Map 2.1-3, Road 6**)¹²⁷, which connected Dunhuang via the Qaidam Basin with the capital Lhasa and which was probably followed by the present day Qing-Zang railway. This suggests that the Qaidam Basin was a regional transportation center, as attested by numerous archaeological finds.

B. Intermarriages, envoys and business

¹²³ Thomas 1951, 5–7.

¹²⁴ Thomas 1951, 17, Fr. 66; 30, M.I. xxviii, 1.

¹²⁵ Yang M. 1990.

¹²⁶ Tarasov et al. 2003.

¹²⁷ Mi 1986; Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 210.

The location immediately adjacent to the Tang territory would obviously result in direct communication, either in political or cultural spheres, especially during the short intervals of war. In 706 AD, when the two sides were almost exhausted, they signed a peace agreement. In 710 AD, following in the steps of Princess Wencheng, Princess Jincheng of Tang was married to the Tubo King Tride Zhotsan. She brought to Tibet an abundant trousseau bestowed by the Tang emperor, which included tens of thousands silk wares, various performers and craftsmen, as well as the musician bands from Qiuci (Kucha)¹²⁸. The marriage fostered a short period of reconciliation. In 734 AD border stones were erected along the Riyue Shan.

Through their travels back and forth between Chang'an and Lhasa, ambassadors from both sides made the Tang-Bo Route much more well-known. During the two centuries from 634 to 846 AD, Tang sent envoys to Tubo 66 times, while Tubo sent envoys to Tang 125 times¹²⁹. The most prominent of these were Wang Xuance and Liu Yuanding. From 643–661 AD Wang Xuance was dispatched to India three times by way of the Tang-Bo Route which extended even farther to northern India¹³⁰. In 822 AD Liu Yuanding was sent to Tubo, and his travel route is attested in detail¹³¹; it was the same as the route taken by Prince Wencheng and Jincheng.

Ambassadors often took an active part in trade, both officially and privately, and silks were the most popular merchandise. For example, in 719 AD, when Tubo sent envoys to appeal for peace, the Tang Emperor awarded a huge amount of silk wares to the Tubo royal family and high officers¹³². In 733 AD, when the Tang envoy Li Gao visited Tubo, he brought abundant polychromatic silk wares, including ten thousand bolts as official gifts and two thousand bolts as private gifts¹³³. At the same time Tubo often presented Tang with various special products, some of which were considered ‘wonders of the medieval world’,¹³⁴ such as the golden vessel in goose shape (646 and 730)¹³⁵, the golden model of a city with lions, elephants, horses, rams and other animals, golden urns and *boluo* (wine

¹²⁸ XTS, vol. 216, 6081.

¹²⁹ Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 209.

¹³⁰ Huo W. 1995b.

¹³¹ XTS, vol. 40, 1041–1042.

¹³² CFYG, vol. 974, 11446.

¹³³ JTS, vol. 112, 3336.

¹³⁴ Schafer 1963, 254.

¹³⁵ JTS, vol. 196, 5222, 5231.

vessel) (657) and even wild horses and huge yurts (654)¹³⁶. In 736 AD a Tubo envoy sent Tang several hundreds of gold and silver objects in unique forms¹³⁷.

Besides such exchanges representing official gifts, the markets were also opened at important mountain passes along the borders. In 731 and 815 AD border markets were established in the Riyue Shan and the Long Zhou (present day Long County, Shaanxi)¹³⁸. Tubo bartered mainly horses, animal products and other natural goods for Tang products like silks and tea. It was the Tang-Bo Route passing through the Riyue Shan that was the most visited.

Compared to the exchange with Tang, Tubo's trade with the West is not as well known. Written sources seldom mention the situation of the Tuyuhun Road after it was incorporated into the Tubo Empire. In fact, the expansion of the Empire made the transport network within its territory much more complete and practical than ever. Some of the recorded products, such as musk, sheep, cloth and slaves exported from Tibet, as well as iron and steel products like fine chain mail and long swords imported from Central Asia¹³⁹, could have been transported by way of or exchanged on the Qinghai Silk Road.

The various means of communication resulted in an influx of foreign products and personnel into Tubo. According to the record of XTS¹⁴⁰, when Liu Yuanding travelled to Tubo for an alliance, the Tubo king received him with grand ceremony and welcome banquets, which were approximated those in Tang. Various Tang music was played by numerous Tang performers. By the 8th century AD at the latest, Khotanese (and no doubt Tocharians and other Serindians) were living in Central Tibet, including a very large number of monks, Khotanese artisans and certainly merchants as well¹⁴¹. It is conceivable that many of them arrived by way of the Silk Road on the northern Tibetan Plateau. Through this influx of foreigners, a vague idea of foreign religions may have reached Tibet: Manichaeism through the Tujue (Uighurs), Sogdians and Chinese; Nestorianism by way of Iran; and Islam through the Arabs¹⁴². Perhaps in the 7th century, *Bon*, the indigenous belief system of many on the Tibetan Plateau, was already adopting foreign

¹³⁶ CFYG, vol. 970, 11402.

¹³⁷ JTS, vol. 196, 5233.

¹³⁸ XTS, vol. 216, 6085, 6100.

¹³⁹ Beckwith 1977.

¹⁴⁰ XTS, vol. 216, 6103.

¹⁴¹ Beckwith 1977.

¹⁴² Stein 1972, 60.

elements. The Iranian influence in *Bonpo* cosmogony is well-known. Towards the end of the 7th century AD, when Tibetans contested for domination over Central Asia where Buddhism flourished, *Bon* was exposed directly to Buddhist influence and thereby absorbed Indian theories¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ Karmay 1975.

CHAPTER 4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS OF THE HAN AND JIN PERIODS (3RD CENTURY BC–3RD CENTURY AD)

4.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRE-HAN CULTURE

As attested by mitochondrial DNA analysis, indigenous Tibetans have a north Asian and Siberian origin of uncertain antiquity¹⁴⁴, while the process and routes of their entry and the time of their habitation of the plateau remain unclear. Reliable archaeological contexts and radiometric dates indicate an occupation at least since the Late Palaeolithic period (30 ka BP)¹⁴⁵. Sites of this era were discovered in Xiao Qaidam (in the central Qaidam Basin), the upper Yellow River valleys (near Gonghe) and on the southern margin of the Qinghai Hu. The stone-tool techniques of the Layihai site (6475±85 BP), located at the Gonghe Basin, bear many resemblances to those of contemporary counterparts in northern China¹⁴⁶, suggesting certain cultural relations. Some trial excavations on the shores of the Qinghai Hu have provided preliminary evidence that the initial occupation of the plateau's extreme environment was by small groups of foragers, probably travelling from lower elevations at the plateau's margins, possibly the Yellow River or the Huang Shui valleys¹⁴⁷. A three-step model for the populating of the plateau, from the low elevation zones north of the plateau, through the higher eastern Qinghai Hu region and onto the much higher central plateau, has been proposed and discussed¹⁴⁸. It not only corresponds with the mtDNA data and sources of technological traditions, but also with the documented history of general trends in later migrations.

During the Neolithic period the upper Yellow River was dominated by the Majiayao Culture (3800–2000 BC), which was named after the site of Majiayao in Lintao, Gansu, in the 1920s¹⁴⁹. Sites of this culture that were found in Qinghai Province amount to 917, and are largely concentrated in the Huang Shui valley near Ledu, Minhe and Datong, and in the Yellow River valley near Xinghai, Guide, Xunhua and Hualong¹⁵⁰. The Majiayao culture is characterized by advanced painted pottery. The burials are mostly in shaft tombs

¹⁴⁴ Torroni et al. 1994.

¹⁴⁵ Huang 1994.

¹⁴⁶ Gai/Wang 1983.

¹⁴⁷ Madsen et al. 2006.

¹⁴⁸ Brantingham et al. 2003; Madsen et al. 2006.

¹⁴⁹ Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 6.

¹⁵⁰ QPAI 1999, 457; Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 6.

or a shaft with a chamber; the deceased were placed in an extended supine position, an extended prone position or flexed position. In the funerary assemblages stone tools for farming and hunting prevailed. It was generally accepted that the Majiayao culture was one western variant of the Yangshao cultural system, which derived from Central China¹⁵¹. Its four types or phases exhibit a trend in expansion from east to west¹⁵². In the Gansu Corridor near Wuwei and Jiuquan, some sites were also discovered, which were seen as evidence of the spread from the Huang Shui region and an example of early connections between the two areas¹⁵³.

The next period to be found in the region is the Bronze Age, comprising the Qijia culture, the Kayue culture, the Xindian culture and the Nuomuhong culture. The Qijia culture (2200–1800 BC), named after its type site at Qijiaping in Guanghe, Gansu, in 1924, was an early Bronze Age culture that was widely disseminated along the upper Yellow River region¹⁵⁴. About 430 sites were uncovered in Qinghai; the westernmost sites reached north of the Qinghai Hu¹⁵⁵, representing a new spatial development after the previous Majiayao culture. Similar to the Majiayao culture, shaft graves and burials in extended supine position continued to dominate, and secondary burials in flexed or prone positions were also very common. Occasionally a sacrificial human burial was found. Some sites in Datong and Xining yielded large amounts of animal bones. Painted pottery is seen occasionally, and stone tools for farming or hunting were made with an advanced polishing technique. The earliest bronze mirrors and weapons from China emerged at this time. Archaeological and archaeo-metallurgical evidence reveals that the Qijia culture may have had contacts with cultures farther to the west and north, especially with the Seima-Turbino complex in the Eurasian steppe¹⁵⁶. This contact was speculated as a complex pattern of interregional interactions, rather than a simple process of one-way diffusion¹⁵⁷. For the first time archaeological finds on the northern Tibetan Plateau presented a closer appearance with various exogenous cultures within the broader Eurasian sphere, which could indicate the initial communication between West and East

¹⁵¹ QPAI 1999, 458.

¹⁵² An J. H. et al. 1992, 103.

¹⁵³ Li S. C. 2001.

¹⁵⁴ Shui 2001, 205; Cui Y. H. et al. 1999, 12.

¹⁵⁵ QPAI 1999, 459.

¹⁵⁶ Fitzgerald-Huber 1995.

¹⁵⁷ Mei 2003.

through the Silk Road in that early period.

The Xindian culture (1600–600 BC), first found at a village site in Lintao, Gansu, in the 1920s, is distributed mainly in Minhe, Ledu, Huzhu and Datong¹⁵⁸. The culture features an advanced painted pottery. Stone tools and small bronze objects were also found. The burial customs are similar to those of the Majiayao and the Qijia cultures. The connection between the Xindian culture and the Bronze Age cultures of Central China is striking, such as some ceramic vessels and their decorations, which obviously were created under direct influence from Central China¹⁵⁹.

The Kayue culture (1600–800 BC)¹⁶⁰ was an indigenous and also the most important Bronze Age culture in Qinghai. It displays the widest distribution, the longest time span and the largest number of sites. Remains of the culture were first discovered in the village of Kayue in Huangzhong in 1923. Now the number of sites approaches more than 1700 by far, which are confined by the Gansu-Qinghai border in the east, the Qinghai Hu in the west, the Qilian Shan in the north and the Anyemaqen Shan in the south¹⁶¹. Burial customs of the Kayue culture are similar to those of the Majiayao culture. Tombs are mainly in form of shaft graves or a shaft with a chamber. Secondary intentionally disturbed burials as well as human and animal sacrifices were very common. A considerable number of animal bones of horses, cattle, sheep, dogs and pigs were buried, demonstrating a high development of stock-raising. Stone tools were still used for farming and hunting. The Kayue culture saw a decline in pottery production, but quite developed small bronze objects, including weapons, forms of which display influences from Central China and the northern steppes¹⁶².

The Nuomuhong culture was discovered in 1959. It is distributed only in the east of the Qaidam Basin and comprises about 40 sites, among which the Talitaliha site in Balong¹⁶³ and Xiachaike site in Xiangride¹⁶⁴ are most important¹⁶⁵. The culture started in 3000 BP

¹⁵⁸ Shui 2001, 220.

¹⁵⁹ Encyclopedia 1986, 585–586.

¹⁶⁰ Shui 2001, 243.

¹⁶¹ QPAI 1999, 460.

¹⁶² Wagner 2001; QPAI 1999, 460.

¹⁶³ Nuomuhong 1963.

¹⁶⁴ Xiangride 1960.

¹⁶⁵ QPAI 1999, 461.

and continued until the Western Han period¹⁶⁶. Round and rectangular wood-and-mudbrick houses have been unearthed, suggesting a sedentary way of life. Animal pens were located near the houses. Remains of the excrement of sheep, cattle, horse and camel found inside the pens, as well as models of yaks demonstrate that animal domestication and nomadic life also played an important role. Stone and bone tools, bronze objects and textiles were found, which are likely of local make. One notable discovery are two components of a wooden two-wheeled wagon, indicating that the wooden wagon pulled by animals had been created and put into use, thus marking a significant progress in regional transportation. The entire cultural appearance is very distinct from other well-established cultures, but not totally isolated. The pottery of the early period of the Nuomuhong culture was obviously influenced by Bronze Age cultures in eastern Xinjiang, where mudbrick houses, various textiles and leather objects were also very common. Pottery of the later period was closely related with that of the Kayue culture, resulting from the westward expansion of the Kayue culture¹⁶⁷.

In general the Kayue and Xindian cultural groups are viewed as members of the Qiang culture, and the Qijia and Majiayao groups of the proto-Qiang cultures. Although they vary in different regions, they still retain an apparent commonness and continuity. Their dating, distribution and features display a close association with those found in the Central Plain of China and should be the western branch of Central China cultures, whereby the local characteristics are also distinctive, such as the high development of the painted pottery. As far as burial customs are concerned, the secondary intentionally disturbed burials and flexed burials are seldom seen in other regions, which could be typical Qiang practices. These local traits continue in the later period.

For more than 3000 years the Neolithic and Bronze Age in Qinghai witnessed a wide and intensive distribution of these sites, most of which are concentrated in the valleys of the Huang Shui and the upper Yellow River. This dissemination laid the foundation for the later Han settlements as well as for the formation of the Qinghai Silk Road. During the time of the Qijia culture, settlements increased greatly and extended significantly in the Kayue culture, indicating that the Qiang tribes had become more powerful than before and now could even contend with the civilization of Central China. Occupying the eastern Qaidam Basin, the Nuomuhong culture seems rather isolated in the eastern plateau and its

¹⁶⁶ Shui 2001, 272.

¹⁶⁷ Shui 2001, 283.

connection through the Qaidam Basin relatively limited, whereas its contacts with eastern Xinjiang and the He-Huang region could be traced.

4.2 THE HAN AND JIN CEMETERIES

In the year 2002 archaeological sites that were investigated in whole of Qinghai Province and that date to the Western Han and Jin Dynasties amounted to a total of 236¹⁶⁸. Among these were more than 50 sites constitute cemeteries, about half of them covering an area of over 10,000 m²¹⁶⁹. Most Han and Jin cemeteries are distributed in the northeastern corner of the Province, concentrating in the valleys of the middle and lower Huang Shui, especially near present day cities like Xining, Datong, Huzhu, Ping'an, Ledu and Minhe (**Map 4.2-1**). Relatively few tombs are located in the Yellow River valleys. In the vast region surrounding the Qinghai Hu and farther west, cemeteries of this period could hardly be traced, except for some in Gonghe. Most of the Han and Jin cemeteries have only been simply surveyed; however, the larger ones like the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery in Datong, the Nantan, Pengjiazhai and Taojiazhai cemeteries in Xining, the Wangjiazhuang cemetery in Huzhu, the Gucheng and Gaozhai cemeteries in Ping'an and the Dongyuan Han cemetery in Minhe were scientifically excavated during the last decades, albeit most of them were rescue excavations. Due to the huge amount of information gained from these projects, the following units will first conduct a detailed typological analysis on one typical site, the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, and then make a brief introduction to other cemeteries. The funerary objects that appeared in a wide variety and large quantities will be discussed accordingly as last, focusing thereby on the perspective of interregional cultural interactions.

4.2.1 The types of the Han and Jin tombs in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery (Map 4.2-1/1)

The Shangsunjiazhai cemetery is located north of the village Shangsunjiazhai in the township of Houzihe, Datong County, 14 km north of Xining. It is situated on the west bank of the Beichuan River, which is the main branch of the Huang Shui. Numerous cemeteries of the Bronze Age are present in the region, indicating it was long inhabited by local ethnic groups. Han settlement sites are in large numbers too, among which one settlement is located on the same side of the river and at a short distance from the cemetery.

¹⁶⁸ Xu X. G. 2002.

¹⁶⁹ NBC 1996.

The cemetery is the largest of the Han and Jin periods in Qinghai, covering more than 500,000 m². Scientific excavations were conducted there by the QPAI during 1973–1981. Thereby, for the sake of convenience the site was divided into two sections: Section A measures 1,000 m long from west to east, 500 m wide from south to north, while section B was only partly unearthed. A total of 171 Han and Jin tombs were recovered in Section A and 12 in Section B. Three types of graves could be distinguished: constituted in all by 41 shaft tombs, 30 graves with wooden chambers, and 108 fired clay brick tombs. The graves yielded a great number of funerary goods. The excavation report was published in 1993¹⁷⁰, and the two most important of the tombs were also reported separately¹⁷¹.

The Han and Jin tombs span the time from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD. The development of the tomb types and objects are very complete, making it the most typical and appropriate cemetery for studying the Han culture's expansion in the He-Huang region, as well as the process of the assimilation of the Han Chinese with the indigenous inhabitants.

The three tombs types and corresponding examples will be described in the following.

A. *Shaft tombs*

Simple tombs consisting of a vertical shaft, without a wooden or fired clay brick burial chamber fall into the category. All shaft tombs are simple and on a small scale. Some of them have a passage.

Type 1: Shafts without passage

A total of 16 tombs have only a shaft, the plan of which is normally roundish rectangular. The scale is small. In the interior of four tombs fired clay bricks were set in such a way, so as to symbolize a complete brick structure. In five tombs funerary furniture was found consisting of wooden or tile coffins. The five wooden coffins were decayed, and only traces could be discerned that were rectangular in shape. The two tile coffins were constructed with flat tiles. All tombs held single interments and were not disturbed. The skeletal remains were found mostly in an extended supine position; only two cases displayed an extended side position. Few funerary goods were found in the tombs, mainly fine clay pottery. Some sandy clay pottery was also found. A very few tombs contained bronze mirrors, stone ink slabs, iron objects, jade beads, glassware, wooden or lacquer

¹⁷⁰ Shangsunjiazhai 1993.

¹⁷¹ Shangsunjiazhai 1981; Shangsunjiazhai 1979.

wares and coins. Most tombs yielded only one to three jars, while in some the deceased was not accompanied by any goods at all.

Tomb M154 was the richest one of this tomb type (**Fig. 4.2.1-1**). It was oriented towards the north and consisted of a shaft that is 3.78 m long, 1.62 m wide and 1.86 m deep. In the shaft only traces of the wooden coffin could be discerned, which was 2.20 m long and 0.78 m wide. The deceased was a young man, 14–15 years old, who was lying in an extended supine position with the head towards north. The burial goods included 3 pottery jars, 2 wooden and lacquer objects, 1 stone ink slab, 1 iron object and some animal bones.

Type 2: Shaft tombs with a passage.

About 25 shaft tombs have a passage that leads to the lower end of the shaft. When the tomb was built initially, a sloped or stepped passage was dug first, and at its deeper end a roundish cubic chamber was made. The entrance to the tombs all displays an arch shape; five entrances were closed with wooden planks or timbers. The grave chambers are rectangular in plan; their width is equal to or wider than the grave passage. The burial furniture consists of a simple board upon which the body lay (only in one case), and a rectangular wooden coffin (14 in all). There were 16 single burials, 8 burials of a couple – male and female – and 1 burial that reinterred later. Among these, secondary burials were very common, numbering 10 in all, and four cases revealed fired clay bricks lying upon the skeletons, a feature that only appeared in secondary burials. Regarding the position of the interred, the extended supine position burial is predominant, with a flexed position is secondary. Besides pottery, the number of graves goods exceeded that in tombs of Type 1. They include pottery kitchen ranges, bronze mirrors, bronze cauldron, one belt buckle, unidentifiable iron objects and lacquer cup with ledge handles. Some tombs yielded coins and animal bones.

One example is tomb M126 (**Fig. 4.2.1-2**). It was oriented north and had a passage at a 28° slope, and 3.98 m long, 0.74 m wide and 2.30 m deep (at the lowest point). The grave chamber was rectangular in plan, measuring 2.92 m in length, 0.74–0.96 m in width and 1.34 m in height. A wooden coffin, 2.06 m long and 0.67 m wide, contained a male about 28 years old, who lay in an extended supine position and faced the west. The grave goods include 3 pottery jars, 1 iron object and dog bones.

B. Tombs with wooden coffins

The difference between tombs Type B and tombs Type A is that, all tombs in Type B have

a ramped passage and a wooden outer coffin and one or more wooden inner coffins. The passage leads to the middle of the tomb's chamber. All tombs have one single outer coffin, whose lid, four sides and base are built of wooden planks. About one-third of the tombs was reinforced by 3–5 upright wooden posts set outside the coffin along the sides and at the corners. The entrance of most tombs was blocked by wooden logs. According to their structure, these tombs can be divided into two categories.

Type 1: Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber

This type is represented by 20 tombs, and all of them have a ramp that leads to the burial chamber. The shape of the shaft is with roundish rectangular shape. The wooden chamber was built in nearly the same size as the shaft; in most graves it was decayed. On hand of the occasional complete ones, it is possible to reconstruct the structure. The chamber is rectangular, with the bottom and three sides – but not the front – constructed with horizontal wooden planks. The roof were built of horizontal wooden planks or semi-round timbers. The front sides were blocked with upright wooden posts. In some tombs additional wood posts had been erected outside in order to stabilise the wooden chambers. In 17 tombs the inner wooden coffin or matted board was still preserved in the wooden chamber, but in the majority of tombs it had decayed. The coffin was made of wooden planks, some with ornamental bronze fittings. There are 9 single and 11 burials of a couple, most of which were found in an extended supine position; burials in extended prone and flexed supine position were seldom. Some tombs displayed secondary burials and disturbed secondary burials. The grave goods comprised mainly pottery, but also some bronze and iron objects as well as wooden and lacquer wares. The coins include *banliang* and *wuzhu*. Compared with tombs of Type A, more animal bones were found, belonging to horses, cattle, goats, pigs, dogs and chicken.

Tomb M135 (**Fig. 4.2.1-3**) was oriented to the north and had a ramped passage at a 27°-slope, 7.36 m long, 0.78–1.00 m wide and 4.90 m deep (lowest point). The plan of the chamber is roundish rectangular shape, measuring 4.00 m in length, 2.40 m in width and 3.00 m in height. The furniture consists of one outer and two inner coffins. The outer coffin, measuring 3.60 m long, 2.04 m wide and 0.92 m high, was built with wooden planks, except for the entrance that was walled up with logs. The two inner coffins were placed side by side in the back part of the outer coffin. The eastern coffin measured 2.20 m in length, 0.74 m in width and a remaining 0.17 m in height. It held a male of 40–50 years in age. The western coffin was 2.14 m long, 0.60 m wide and 0.20 m high,

containing a female adult. Both of the interred were oriented to the north and lay in an extended supine position. All burial goods were found in the front part of the outer coffin, including 5 pottery jars, 1 pottery basin, 1 bronze *fu* cooker, bones of dog and other animals.

Type 2: Shafts with a wooden chamber

Ten tombs have shafts with a passage and a wooden chamber. The shafts are rectangular. The structure of the wooden chamber is same as tomb Type 1, except for tomb M122, which has a combination of brick-wood structure. Around the wooden chamber is an *ercengtai* (a ledge formed in the immature soil) to support the chamber roof and the soil fill above. The wooden coffins themselves were found inside the chamber. Most tombs are burials of couples, except for one single burial. No secondary burials were found. Eight tombs yielded pottery, usually 3 to 5 pieces in each. Bronze mirrors, stone ink slabs and a bronze chariot and horse fittings numbered more than other objects. The number of coins found in each tomb ranges from one or two or to several hundreds. Animal bones were found in four tombs; inscribed wooden slips appeared only in the tomb M115 (**Fig. 4.2.1-4**).

Tomb M115 was oriented to the north and had a passage at a 17°-slope, 13.82 m long, 1.50 m wide and 4.70 m deep (lowest point). The shaft was 5.80 m long, 3.50 m wide and 5.50 m deep. On two sides there is an *ercengtai* structure. The furniture consists of one outer coffin and two inner coffins. The outer one was built of wooden planks and logs, and measured 5.30 m in length, 2.20 m in width and 1.90 m in height. It was covered by one layer of charcoal. The two inner coffins were placed side by side in the back part of the outer coffin. The coffin in the east, measuring 2.04 m in length and 0.66 m in width, contained one male, and the coffin to the west, measuring 2.10 m in length and 0.66 m in width, held a female. Both coffins were still preserved to a height of 0.55 m. Their outer surface was likely adorned with gilt bronze ornaments, which had fallen upon the board. Both skeletons had been taken out of the coffins and the remains lay scattered in the proximity. All burial goods were not in their original positions. They included 4 pottery ewers, 1 pottery kitchen range, 3 bronze mirrors, 1 bronze seal, 96 bronze horse and chariot fittings, 6 components of bronze crossbows, many bronze ornaments and nails, 3 iron knives, 4 iron nails, 1 set of ink stones, 2 stone rings, 1 jade nose plug, many inscribed wooden slips, 1 wooden box and more than 400 *wuzhu* coins.

C. Fired clay brick tombs

All fired clay brick tombs have passages, and in the case of some tombs there are still remains of a mound on the surface. In constructing a brick tomb, first the passage and the tomb's shaft or chamber were dug, and then the burial chamber(s) and the door were built inside. When deceased and all funerary necessities were placed in the tomb, the shaft was filled with earth, and a mound was erected above the tomb. Most tomb passages lead to the center of the tomb's door. They are at a slope and of rectangular shape. Very few are stepped. Their length and width are accordant with the scale of the tomb. The arched tomb entrances were blocked up with bricks. Many tombs have a short wall (like a flat gable) above the entrance, upon which the roof components rested, as an imitation of a real house. According to the difference in their plan and the roof or dome, the brick tombs can be divided into four types, as follows:

Type 1: Tomb with a single vaulted brick chamber

The type includes 36 tombs, all of which have a ramped passage and a rectangular chamber. The brick domes were vaulted. Wooden coffins were found inside, although most were decayed. The skeletal remains were severely disturbed, and judging from the number of human skulls, there were new burials comprising more than three persons. The extended supine position dominated; only one flexed prone burial and one flexed side burial were observed. The funerary goods include earthen ware, bronze objects, lacquer wares, and ornaments made of various materials. Animal bones were also found in some tombs.

The exemplary tomb M91 (**Fig. 4.2.1-5**) was oriented to the north and had a passage at a 25°-slope, measuring 0.90 m in width and 3.90 m in depth (lowest point). It was not entirely excavated, and therefore the length is not clear. The plan of the vaulted brick chamber is rectangular, 4.50 m long, 1.60 m wide and 1.76 m high inside. The chamber contained two wooden coffins, both of which measured 2.06 m in length, 0.6 m in width and 0.54 m in height. The coffin to the west contained the skeletal remains of one male; the eastern coffin, one female. Both persons lay in an extended supine position with the head towards the north. The burial goods were all placed in the front part of the brick chamber, including 1 carved kitchen range of brick, 3 pottery jars, 1 pottery lamp, 1 bronze basin, 1 lacquer table with animal bones upon it, 1 stone ink stone, 2 *wuzhu* coins, 1 bronze mirror, 1 coal earring, 2 wooden horses, 2 wooden boxes and one pile of animal bones.

Type 2: Tomb with a single domed brick chamber

Nine tombs have a domed single brick chamber. Almost all domes were destroyed. The tombs had a sloped passage and a square chamber with four convex sides that continue into a domed roof. Some tombs have short wall at the entrance. In four tombs traces of the wooden coffin were found, but the form was indistinct. Among the nine tombs, three are single burials, two are burials of a couple, and one is a multiple burial. Two tombs represent a so-called transferred burial, meaning that the tombs were moved from the original location to another place. One recognizable skeleton was placed in an extended supine position. The secondary and secondarily disturbed burials were found in one of the tombs. The tombs' objects and the burial position do not differ much from those of Type 1. Tomb M111 (**Fig. 4.2.1-6**), for example, was oriented to the north and has a ramped passage, 6.68 m long, 0.90 m wide and 3.84 m deep (lowest point). In front of the tomb's entrance was a short path, 1.34 m long, 0.90 m wide and 1.24 m high. The main part of the brick chamber is square and domed, measuring 3.0 m in length, 2.8 m in width and 3.3 m in height. One female was buried in extended supine position at the southeast corner of the chamber, but without a coffin. One brick had been placed in front of the head and under the knees, respectively. The grave goods consisted of only 1 pottery jar, which was placed near the entrance. Some animal bones were in front of the head.

Type 3: Tomb with a vaulted brick antechamber and rear chamber

Five tombs fall into this category. They have two rectangular chambers, both of which have a vaulted brick roof. Some tombs have a side chamber. In four tombs wooden coffins were found. The identifiable burials consist mostly of multiple burials containing two to six deceased. Most skeletons were disturbed, whereas the intact ones display an extended supine position and secondary burial features. The tombs' objects do not differ greatly from those in the other brick tombs.

The tomb section B M12 (**Fig. 4.2.1-7**) was oriented to the south and had a passage of 1.50 m width and 3.55 m depth (lowest point, length unknown). A short path in front of the entrance and two brick chambers are square in plan. The entire brick structure measures 6.16 m in length, 2.06 m in width at the widest part, and 1.80 m in height at the highest point. Both of the chambers are vaulted. Two wooden coffins were allegedly placed at the back of the rear chamber. The coffin in the east was 1.96 m long, 0.50 m wide, and contained one female; the western coffin was 2.16 m long, 0.54 m wide and

contained one male. Their ages and positions are not clear. The burial goods include 5 pottery jars, 1 pottery bowl, 1 pottery kitchen range, 1 pottery *zeng* cooker, 1 bronze mirror, 2 wooden horses and 24 *wuzhu* coins.

Type 4: Tomb with domed antechamber and rear chamber

Tombs of this type are numerous, amounting to 57. They are all on a large scale and have two main chambers. Fourteen tombs have only one dome over the square antechamber, while the rear rectangular chambers are vaulted. The other 43 tombs have domes over both chambers. The antechambers are all square in plan, while the rear chamber are square or, rarely, rectangular. Eleven tombs have one or two rectangular side-chambers. In seven tombs a low brick platform were built in the antechamber. Some tomb entrances have a short wall above them, some of which were made in shape of roof, imitating a real house. Most tombs housed one wooden coffin, and only one tomb contains two coffins, one outer and one inner. The multiple burials of several individuals, ranging between 2 to 16, are in high proportion, with only two exceptions in 57 tombs. Most of the skeletal remains were seriously disturbed; thus, the burial positions are unclear. However, the extended supine position, extended prone position and secondary burial could be discerned. The tomb's objects comprised mainly pottery: pots, models of kitchen range, granary, and a well. Most bronze goods were cooking utensils, and iron objects represented mainly implements. Ornaments were made of various materials, including gold, silver, jade, glass, bone, horn, stone and amber. Wooden objects and lacquer wares were found in six tombs, most of which seriously decayed. Eight tombs contained animal bones, and 44 tombs yielded coins, which ranged from 1 to 145 in number.

The tomb section B M6 (**Fig. 4.2.1-8**) has a mound on the surface, which measures 10 m in height and 20 m in diameter. The tomb was oriented northwards. Its passage inclines at 10° and measures 31.50 m in length, 1.90–2.10 m in width and 4.80 m in depth (lowest point). The brick structure is composed of five parts: the tomb entrance, the front domed chamber, the rear domed chamber and the two paths or corridors connecting the entrance and the chambers. The whole structure measures 14.5 m in length, 4.20 m in height and 4.40 m maximum width. A brick platform was built in the front chamber near the south and west walls, which measures 4.30 m in length, 1.20 m in width and 0.48 m in height. Another smaller brick platform was built at the place near the rear corridor. Sixteen skeletons, including 7 male adults, 7 female adults and 2 children were found scattered over the surface in great disorder and not in the original places. Most pottery was placed

in the front chamber, and some precious goods were found in the earth of the rear chamber. The finds include a large number of pottery like urns, jars, vases, bowls, plates, basins, lamps, kitchen ranges, wells and vessel lids; as well as bronze objects like *zeng* cooker, hairpin, mirrors, crossbow components and other goods; iron nails; a silver finger ring; lacquer wares; ornaments of semi precious stones like turquoise, amber and agate; and many coins like *wuzhu* and *huoquan*. Sheep bones and grain were also discovered.

4.2.2 Other important Han and Jin cemeteries

Owing to the large-scale construction work in the western territories of China, during the last decades numerous Han and Jin tombs have been excavated or investigated. Many cemeteries extending over large areas have yielded abundant artifacts, which provide new insights. Some of the sites are so large in area that the excavation has been continued for several years. Their localities are listed in **Table 4.2.2-1** and denoted in **Map 4.2-1**. The important cemeteries are described in more detail in the following unit.

A. *The Nantan cemetery, Xining (Map 4.2-1/5)*

Located in the southern part of Xining city, the Nantan cemetery is one of the largest cemeteries of the Eastern Han Dynasty in Qinghai. In 1964 and 1985 small scale excavation were conducted there¹⁷². Two single-chambered brick tombs were revealed that yielded a few wooden objects such as a cup with ledge handles, wooden models of horses, a wooden model of an ox cart and some earthen wares. In 1999 during the construction of the highway that encircles the city, 23 tombs were discovered and excavated¹⁷³. Except for tomb M62, which is a shaft containing wooden furniture, all other tombs are constructed of brick: One has three chambers, two have double chambers, and all others consist of a single chamber. The tombs contained more than 400 objects, including 60 ceramic vessels, 13 objects carved of brick, 5 clay objects, 54 bronze objects, 12 iron objects, 11 jade objects, 2 pieces of glassware and 281 coins. The objects do not differ greatly from the Shangsunjiazhai finds. In view of the forms and chronologies, only tomb M62 is dated to the Wang Mang period; all others belong to the middle of the Eastern Han period (**Fig. 4.2.2-1**; **Fig. 4.2.2-2**).

¹⁷² Nantan 1964; Ren X. Y. 1987.

¹⁷³ RCS 2002, 196–203.

B. The Taojiazhai cemetery, Xining¹⁷⁴ (Map 4.2-1/3)

The largest Han cemetery in Xining city, the Taojiazhai cemetery is located in the village Taojiazhai in northern Xining and covers an area of about 240,000 m². In the 1950s the cemetery originally had more than 20 mounds, but only 13 are preserved today. In 1980 six brick tombs were unearthed, revealing two single-chambered tombs and one double-chambered tomb, all of which are burials of a couple. The other three double-chambered tombs are burials of several individuals, each containing 4–6 persons. For example, tomb M1 is built of brick with two chambers and a short corridor connecting them. The rear chamber is vaulted, while the top of the antechamber was damaged. The tomb contained four wooden coffins, which were placed in the two chambers. Each coffin contained one skeleton in an extended supine position. The two skeletons in the antechamber were identified as a male and a female, while the two in the rear chamber are male. The funerary objects were placed near the entrance and in the rear chamber, and include pottery jars, basins, kitchen ranges and *zeng* steamer. Some bead ornaments were scattered near the ears of the deceased (**Fig. 4.2.2-3**).

C. The Pengjiazhai cemetery, Xining¹⁷⁵ (Map 4.2-1/4)

Pengjiazhai village, located in eastern Xining, is also an important point in the distribution area of the Han cemetery. Southeast of the village more than 30 mounds were still visible on the surface before 1949. During 1950s most of them were destroyed by the agricultural activities. In 1977 two tombs were excavated and yielded precious artifacts. Both tombs are brick chambers. Both were looted, but tomb 1 still held a great number of objects. Tomb 1 has a rectangular main brick chamber with one side chamber and a passage. The main chamber contained two coffins of one male and one female. The side chamber contained the coffin of one male. The male and female couple was both in an extended supine position, and the entire body of both had been covered with silks, including their faces; however, the silks were too decayed to be collected. The female had some grain, wooden combs and earrings near the head. The tomb objects also include one horse and chariot, some colorful wooden horses, one wooden ox and cart, and other wooden models such as a table, animals, a coin-tree, house and some pottery (**Fig. 4.2.2-4**).

D. The Wangjiazhuang cemetery, Huzhu¹⁷⁶ (Map 4.2-1/10)

¹⁷⁴ Taojiazhai 1984; RCS 2002, 134–136.

¹⁷⁵ Pengjiazhai 1991.

Wangjiazhuang is located east of the Shaotangchuan River, a tributary of the Huang Shui. It is 11.5 km south of Huzhu and 3 km north the Huang Shui. In 1979 more than ten tombs were disclosed there. Similar to the Shangsunjiazhai Han cemetery, they included three types of tombs: 3 shaft tombs, 3 wooden chambered tombs and 4 brick tombs. The burial customs also displayed three types: the single burial, the burial of a couple and the multiple burials. The funerary objects included pottery, brick wares, bronze objects and some jade and glassware. The ten tombs date from the late West Han Dynasty to the late East Han period.

Some cemeteries were also excavated or investigated in Huzhu, such as the Zongzhai cemetery, which is 4,000 m² in area. Some tombs were destroyed by erosion or by looting. In 1979 more than 20 tombs were excavated there. They represent two forms: shaft tombs and brick tombs. The burial goods included pottery jars, bottles, kitchen ranges, a well, granaries, and *wuzhu* coins. However, there is no formal report about the excavation. Only five tombs were briefly described in a monograph¹⁷⁷.

E. The Gucheng cemetery, Ping'an¹⁷⁸ (**Map 4.2-1/46**)

This cemetery is located near the village of Beicun village, Gucheng Township, 20 km south of Ping'an County. The site experienced two excavation campaigns, during which five tombs were opened in 1996 and two tombs in 1998. Only the latter two tombs numbered M6 and M7 were reported on briefly.

The two tombs both have a vaulted single brick chamber with a ramped passage. M6 is a secondary burial with two skeletons: one male and one female. The female had a wooden coffin, which is severely damaged, but the dovetailed structure could still be recognised. The skeleton lay in a flexed supine position. The male had been placed upon a brick platform without coffin and apparently represents a later burial. The main funerary objects stood in front of the female's coffin, including pottery jars and a bronze cauldron. Only one clay lamp was found in front of the male. Above both skulls lay a copper coin (**Fig. 4.2.2-5**).

Tomb M7 contained three wooden coffins, placed side by side in east-west direction. The easternmost coffin held a burial in extended supine position. The individual was a male, about 20–25 years old. He wore a yellow flat-topped turban with a wooden hairpin to

¹⁷⁶ Wangjiazhuang 1983; RCS 2002, 130.

¹⁷⁷ RCS 2002, 127.

¹⁷⁸ Gucheng 2002.

fasten the hair and turban, and was dressed in a cotton coat with the left side of the collar placed upon the right. The two hands were crossed upon the belly. A straw mat covered the bottom of the coffin, and grain seeds, likely millet, were scattered upon the body. The center coffin contained a female of ca. 50–60 years of age, in extended supine position. Her hair was coiled atop the head, fastened by a horn hairpin and wrapped with a piece of yellow cloth; a piece of yellow square cloth covered the face. She was dressed in a long coat with the left side of the collar upon the right, and under the coat a short cotton coat. Her hands also lay upon the belly. At the right side of the head was a semicircular pillow; underneath the body was a straw mat. The western coffin belonged to a male of ca. 50–60 years in age, in an extended supine position. His hair was coiled atop the head, with the underside bound by a piece of cloth. The red gable-topped turban on the head was fastened to the hair with a wooden hairpin. Underneath the head was a semicircular pillow. The deceased was covered with a cotton quilt, and the clothes were not distinct. Some traces of millet were found beside the head. The three wooden coffins were all built in dovetail construction.

Most objects were of wood and well-preserved; they had been placed either upon the cover of coffins or in front of the coffins. The wooden objects included tables, *Lian* food containers, cups with ledge handles, bowls, ox carts, tomb guardians in the form of animals, combs, hairpins and an unidentifiable oblong strip. Other objects comprised pottery jars, a horn hairpin, a glass earring, corroded copper coins and a brick lamp. Upon the cover of the western coffin lay a poplar branch with a piece of white silk tied on one end, on which some illegible black characters were visible. It was likely a funeral banner, which was common in Han tombs and mentioned in classical documents. Some cups with ledge handles and bowls contained bones of chicken and sheep as sacrificial food (**Fig. 4.2.2-6**).

Due to the dry climate and the fact that the tomb had not been looted, M7 is the best preserved among the Han tombs known so far in Qinghai Province. Two tombs are single brick chamber with a vaulted top. This type first appeared on the Central Plain in the late Western Han period and then spread to Qinghai in the early Eastern Han. The pottery jars are similar to those found in early Eastern Han tombs in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery. The headdress and costume of the deceased closely resemble those of the Han people of the Central Plain. The tombs' objects like the wooden wares also exhibit similarities to those in Han regions. Since almost no local trait could be observed, the tombs owners were probably Han immigrants.

F. The Dongyuan cemetery, Minhe¹⁷⁹ (Map 4.2-1/26)

Dongyuan village is located south of the Huang Shui, 0.5 km east of Chuankou Township in Minhe County. The cemetery discovered there covers about 150,000 sq m. Some tombs were exposed to the air. In 1984 two tombs were excavated and 37 objects were recovered¹⁸⁰. Two tombs are both multiple burials with two brick chambers. Tomb Dongyuan M1 contained three skeletons in disturbed condition in the antechamber, and two empty coffins in the rear chamber. Because the tomb was still intact, the original interred persons had likely been removed, and only the accompanying bodies in the antechamber were left. The tomb yielded 28 objects, including a set of pottery and glazed pottery, *wuzhu* coins, iron objects, a golden earring and stone beads (**Fig. 4.2.2-7**).

G. The Gaozhai cemetery of Wei-Jin period, Huzhu¹⁸¹ (Map 4.2-1/11)

The Gaozhai cemetery lies near the village of Dongzhuang, Gaozhai Township, in Huzhu County. Twelve mounds are located north of the Huang Shui, ranging from 6–20 m in diameter and 4–9 m in height¹⁸². In 1990 two tombs, M1 and M2, were looted and then later salvaged by archaeologists.

All tombs were built of brick and composed of a tomb passage, entrance wall, tomb entrance, a corridor, and one or two chambers. Tomb M1 was a single-chambered domed tomb. The chamber is rectangular with slightly curved walls. The tomb contained three coffins, which had been broken open by the tomb robbers and were in great disorder. The skeletal remains belonged to four persons, including 2 males, 1 female and 1 unidentified gender. The funerary objects comprised pottery utensils and models, bronze implements and mirror, and *wuzhu* coins (**Fig. 4.2.2-8**).

Tomb M2 had a domed brick antechamber and a domed brick rear chamber. Above the tomb entrance was a short wall, imitating the gable of a house, with brick carvings representing human figures and structural members, which were painted with red and black pigments. A red and black net pattern was also drawn on the facade. The antechamber contained four coffins. Three were of rectangular form, and one was of canoe shape. All are painted red. The skeletal remains belonged to five persons. The

¹⁷⁹ Dongyuan 1986.

¹⁸⁰ NBC 1996.

¹⁸¹ Gaozhai 2002; Dongzhuang 1984.

¹⁸² NBC 1996, 96.

person interred in the canoe coffin was a child; the others were adults. The rear chamber contained three rectangular coffins, originally arranged side by side. The center coffin had been pulled out by the tomb robbers. It was painted with red and black patterns, and the skeleton was missing. The other two coffins each contained one skeleton in a disturbed state. The funerary objects were more than 60 in number, including pottery utensils and models, wooden implements and animals, bronze mirrors and coins. One brick bears a bowknot-like design and the following eight words in red: *gaolingwei xuqing fu jishe* 高陵尉徐卿府吉舍 (meaning: the propitious residence of the military officer of Gaoling). In view of the tomb structure and the grave goods, the two tombs could be dated to the Wei-Jin period (**Fig. 4.2.2-9, 10**).

Apart from the important cemeteries described above, there are still more than 40 cemeteries on a smaller scale and scattered tombs. Some of them have been excavated and reported, but most of them have only been investigated. In some areas only sporadic surface collections indicate the existence of tombs, but their exact locations and/or further information are unavailable. For example, the bronze seals with an official inscription found in the Ledu¹⁸³ and Minhe County¹⁸⁴ must be funerary objects from very important Han tombs, whose owners were once high ranking officers in the Han government. They would be convincing evidence of the Han's administration in the region, but the details about the tombs are not clear.

4. 3 HAN AND JIN CITY-SITES¹⁸⁵ AND SETTLEMENTS

The majority of sites of documented cities and *tings* have been discovered, but few of them have been excavated. Some of the locations are being disputed. The important sites which were excavated or investigated are listed in **Table 4.3-1** and denoted in **Map 4.2-1**. During the Eastern Han and Western Han periods, due to the scale of economic development and military expansion, cities were limited to a very small number. Most cities were built in places with a superior geographic position, especially in the broad flat riversides in the valleys of He-Huang and their main branches. The cities were usually rectangular or square in plan, encompassing a larger area of more than 40,000 m².

¹⁸³ Bai W. R., 1995.

¹⁸⁴ Zhao C. L. 1987.

¹⁸⁵ The term *city* or *city-site* as used in Chinese archaeological research refers to urbanized settlement which can be enclosed by a wall that encompassed many structures and a system of streets. Building remains can include dwellings, market places, workshops, military facilities, etc.

Functioning as the local political or business centers, they had a rich water supply at their disposal and convenient transport connections. Among these sites, two cities are of great significance: ancient Poqiang city and ancient Longqi city (the capital of the Xihai Prefecture).

A. *Ancient Poqiang City (also named Laoya city-site)*¹⁸⁶ (**Map 4.2-1/24**)

This representative city was established in 60 BC, soon after Zhao Chongguo's success in subjecting Qiang. The city was abandoned during the Jin period. The name 'Poqiang' means 'crushing Qiang'. The city-site is located southwest of the village Laoya, in Gaomiao Township, Ledu County. The village Laoya lies at the western entrance to the Laoya Gorge, which was a crucial passage connecting Qinghai Province with the eastern regions. The Huang Shui flows by to the south of the city. Only the northeastern corner of the city remains; the southern and western parts were destroyed by floods. Remains of the eastern section are 39 m long, 4.5 m wide and 2–3 m high, and those of the northern section, 21 m long, 4.5 m wide, and 3–5 m high. The walls were built of rammed earth and had two gates. The defence trench outside the city walls was 7 m deep and 6.5 m wide. Almost all documents clearly show that this was the precise location of the ancient Poqiang city; its dating, however, has been doubtful because of the paucity of Han artifacts found within the sphere. Nonetheless, a large Han cemetery, the Baiyazi cemetery, covering more than 30,000 m², was discovered 4 km west of the city¹⁸⁷. Some bricks of tombs and grey pottery were exposed on the surface. In the 1940s the famous stone stele of *Sanlao Zhao Kuan* (see chapter 4.4.1) was found there, and later the clan tombs of the Zhao family were discovered there as well. The stele's text mentions that the family of General Zhao Chongguo had settled in Poqiang County, which supplies evidence on the city's history.

B. *Ancient Longqi city or the capital of the Xihai Prefecture (Sanjiao city-site)*¹⁸⁸ (**Map 4.2-1/28**)

The capital of the Xihai Prefecture was named Longqi city during the Eastern Han period. It was confirmed as Sanjiao city-site in Haiyan County. The site is located northeast of the Qinghai Hu and 250 m northwest of Haiyan County. It was discovered early in the 1930s,

¹⁸⁶ NBC 1996, 22; RCS 2002, 112–113.

¹⁸⁷ NBC 1996, 26; RCS 2002, 113.

¹⁸⁸ NBC 1996, 125; RCS 2002, 104–106.

but had been looted several times. In the 1950s it was investigated by an archaeological team¹⁸⁹. The city is arranged in a square plan, 650 m long, 600 m wide and 4 m high in its ruined state. It has four gates that are well maintained. Traces of three rectangular or square areas bordered by walls could be recognised vaguely within the city. The southwestern corner of the city was disturbed long ago, and many tile fragments are exposed. Sporadic finds have been made in the city, such as tile ends, mould for casting coins, and coins of *wuzhu*, *banliang*, *huobu* 货布, *huoquan* and *daquan wushi*. The most important discoveries include one inscribed stone monument, *hufu shikui* 虎符石匱 (the tiger tally and stone cabinet), and two tile ends with the inscription *xihai* 西海 (the Western Sea), both attesting that the city-site was the capital of the Xihai Prefecture, ancient Longyi city (later named Longqi city). A detailed description and explanation of this history will be presented in the following text. According to the record¹⁹⁰, the Xihai Prefecture was founded in 4 AD during Wang Mang's reign and governed five counties of the surrounding Qinghai Hu. After that, 50 new laws were supplemented, and the crimes were reported to the prefecture; immigrations were estimated up to tens of thousands (see chapter 3.2.1). The names of four other counties are not documented, but the archaeological investigations have proven that they were Gahai city-site, Beixiangyang city-site, Caoduolong city-site and Zhidongjiala city-site (**Table 4.3-1**).

C. Jiamugeertan city-site¹⁹¹ (**Map 4.2-1/35**)

The site lies 14 km west of Tianjun County, south of the Buh He River and north of the Tianjun Mountain. It is located at 98°45'E/37°21'W and at the altitude of 3485.51 m. The site was discovered and investigated in 1996; a detailed report is still in preparation.

The preliminary survey revealed that the city has a rectangular plan, 750 m long from east to east, and 600 m from north to south. The east and north wall are destroyed. Only one section remains of the west wall, and it was ramped, measuring 1.8 m in height and 8 m thick at the base. There are many sites of houses within the city: 8 along the city walls and one main house in the center. Three walled sections were found: Section I is rectangular, with a length of 80 m and a width of 78 m. The wall is 4 m thick at the base. It has a gate in the west wall, whose remains measure 6 m in width and 0.2–0.5 m in height. Section II

¹⁸⁹ An Z. M. 1959.

¹⁹⁰ HS, vol. 99, 4077–4078.

¹⁹¹ RCS 2002, 210–211.

is rectangular too, 75 m long and 68 m wide. It has a gate in the north wall near the northeastern corner, which is 10 m wide. There is a moat surrounding the walls, measuring 20 m in depth. Section III is trapezoid in plan, measuring 110 m in length and 85 m in width. It has two gates. The northern gate is 12 m wide and the western gate, 20 m. The buildings are in ruins, appearing as small mounds at about 0.5 m in height. Their cobblestone foundations were exposed. Many pieces of brick and tile were scattered on the surface. Three houses were unearthed. The square floor bricks with diagonal lines and tiny cube patterns and large amount of tiles were excavated. One tile end was found with the Chinese inscription *change wanyi* 常乐万亿 (long lasting happiness for a trillion years).

The excavators tended to date the city-site to the Southern and Northern Dynasties in the light of the tile end. The large size of the city and the palace also allowed them to correlate it with the Tuyuhun Kingdom. However, the same kind of tile end was prevalent mainly during the Eastern Han period. No such tile ends were present in China during the whole Southern and Northern Dynasties. Furthermore, the Tuyuhun's nomadic way of life was not conducive to many residential remains, just as with Fuqi city (see chapter 5.1). We hesitate to date the findings to this later phase.

4.4 THE IDENTITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE HAN AND JIN SITES

Judging either from the sources or from the archaeological finds, the inhabitants of the Han and Jin sites in Qinghai were a mixture of different ethnic groups. They included mainly the Han Chinese, Qiang, and also some other smaller ethnicities. The tomb types and funerary objects were under the direct influence of the Central Plain and this reveals the close relation between the two regions. Although the Han Culture was the dominant factor at the sites, it is difficult to make quick judgement about their identification without specific evidence, for direct immigration and gradual contact both could lead to the same consequences. Yet, many finds have provided direct and concrete proof that is consistent with the recorded history. More detailed analyses will aid in presenting a clear and tangible picture.

4.4.1 The Han Chinese

Among the tomb objects, one of the most important finds is the stone stele of *Sanlao Zhao Kuan*. The stele was found in the Han cemetery at the village of Baiyazi, Gaomiao

Township, in Ledu County in 1942¹⁹². It was slightly damaged when unearthed, broken into two parts during transport and totally destroyed in a fire in 1951. The remnants were collected in QPAI. In a complete form the stele was 1.1 m high, 0.55 m wide and 0.17 m thick. The inscribed headline contained six words: *Sanlao Zhao Yuan zhi bei* 三老赵掾之碑 (the stele of Sanlao Zhao Yuan), in a writing style of seal character. The text had 23 lines and 694 characters in official script style, describing the lineage of the famous Western Han general Zhao Chongguo, his outstanding achievements of conquering the He-Huang region and stories of his offspring who settled down in the frontier regions and continued the great cause. The holder of the stele was Zhao Kuan (d. 152 AD), who was a member of the offspring of Zhao Chongguo. He had been appointed as Sanlao (thrice venerable; an official title of the respectable elders in the Han Dynasties who was charged moral leadership), and *Huqiang xiaowei jiasima* 护羌校尉假司马 (the honorary commander of the office of colonel-protector of the Qiang). He survived the fierce wars between Han and Qiang. The tomb was located near the ancient county of Poqiang, which was established in 60 BC, soon after Zhao Chongguo subdued the Qiang (see chapter 3.2.1). The stele verified the recorded history precisely and also revealed that Zhao Chongguo's offspring continued his political aims, from which we could reconstruct that a Han Chinese settled in the remote Qinghai frontier.

A similar story pertains to another Han Chinese. Tomb A M115 in section in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery displayed no local cultural traits at all, and the tombs objects revealed undoubtedly that the owner of the tomb was a Han Chinese. Some 240 pieces of inscribed wooden slips were found between the two inner coffins¹⁹³ (**Fig. 4.4.1-1**). The inscriptions' contents can be divided roughly into two parts: the art of war and military law and order. Some words of the famous military book *Sunzi bingfa* (Sunzi: art of war) were cited, which could make supplement to the remaining text. According to Li Ling's opinion, all content could fall into one category of military law and order¹⁹⁴. In view of the large scale of the tomb, its owner was probably a Han general, during whose career, military actions and strategies, army arrangements and administration were so important that when he died naturally or was killed in battle, the instructive guide book, which had long been in his company, together with weapons like the set of crossbows, three sharp

¹⁹² Xie/Ge/Yuan 1993, 66–74.

¹⁹³ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, 186–194.

¹⁹⁴ Li L. 1983.

iron knives and parts of a chariot and harness, were placed near his body. From a bronze personal seal we know that this general called Ma Liang, a typical Han Chinese name (**Fig. 4.4.1-2/2**).

Three bronze mirrors have a round shape with a round knob in the center, bearing identical designs of four knobs and four dragons (**Fig. 4.4.1-3**), which prevailed in the late Western Han Dynasty. The *wuzhu* coins are identified as deriving from Emperor Wudi to Pingdi's reign (140 BC–5 AD), by comparison of their characters with similar coins found on the Central Plain. No coins of Wang Mang period (8–25 AD) were found. Other objects, such as a kitchen range and horse-and-chariot fittings (**Fig. 4.4.1-4**), also confirm that the tomb was built during the late Western Han Dynasty. The position of the skeletal remains shows that it was robbed before the corpse had totally decomposed, that is, soon after the time of interment. The tomb's structure was also closely related with that of the Central Plain. For example, the charcoal layers under and upon the outer coffin bear resemblance with the early Western Han tombs on the Central Plain, and the lower end of the ramp is almost at the same level with the tomb's base, which allows its placement in the evolutionary sequence of tombs in the eastern region. It is very possible that Ma Liang was involved in certain events pertaining to the Han army's conquest of the Qiang during Zhao Chongguo's reign and stood to his military station until his death.

Still other evidence attests the Han Chinese identity. According to the private bronze seal unearthed in the tomb M164 in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, its owner was named Zhang Dinghan¹⁹⁵ (**Fig. 4.4.1-2/3**). The surname is typical Han Chinese, and the name “Dinghan” means “stable Han (China or Chinese)”. The tomb yielded two iron knives and one set of ink stones, suggesting he could have been a lettered soldier. In the cemetery a total of twelve 12 tombs yielded ink stones, which demonstrates that Han Chinese writing was well distributed.

When Wang Mang firstly expanded the territory to the Qinghai Hu and established the Xihai Prefecture, about ten thousand prisoners were deported from the Han region to this frontier zone. Discoveries in Sanjiao city-site (ancient Longyi city and the capital of the Xihai Prefecture) most certainly relate to specific important politicians.

The above-mentioned stone monument originally stood in Sanjiao city-site and later was moved to Haiyan County. It is composed of an upper and a lower part. The upper part depicts a crouching tiger on a cubic base with two small square holes in each lateral side,

¹⁹⁵ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, 152.

used in fastening and transporting. The lower part is the continuance of the base with a small trough in the center of its upper side, making the upper part of the monument like its lid. The figure of a tiger is 1.32 m long and 0.46 m high. The base, two parts together, is 1.39 m long, 1.17 m wide and 1.57 m high. The facade of the base was engraved with three rows of Chinese seal characters, in total 13 words: *Xihaijun hufu shikui, shijianguo yuannian shiyue guimao, gong henna guorong zao* 西海郡虎符石匱, 始建国元年十月癸卯, 工河南郭戎造 (the tiger tally and stone cabinet of the Xihai Prefecture, on the Guimao day, October in the first year of the Shijianguo reign, was made by the artisan Guo Rong from Henan) (**Fig. 4.4.1-5**). According to the inscription, the stone monument, named *hufu shikui* 虎符石匱 (tiger tally and stone cabinet), was a monument of the Xihai Prefecture and carved by a Chinese artisan Guo Rong from the Henan Prefecture, of course, on the Central Plain, in October, 9 AD. The inscription attests that Sanjiao city-site was precisely the city of Longyi of the Han period, the capital of the Xihai Prefecture, which was established by Wang Mang in 5 AD.

The tiger tally *hufu* originally was a tiger-shaped bronze means of identification, which was cut into two parts and held by the central and provincial military powers respectively. Only when the two parts were coupled could military orders be executed. The tiger tally here does not convey the exact same meaning, as the same form signifies Wang Mang's occupation in the Qinghai Hu region. The precise mean of *fu* was probably an auspicious omen, which seems much more conformed to Wang Mang's intention. The stone cabinet referred to is the precious and sealed casket for important texts, which was missing or was only symbolic. Wang Mang and his followers were expert practitioners at manipulating the public. For usurping the throne, he tried best to legalize his enthronement by manufacturing auspicious omens and inventing prognostications. Beginning in 6 AD and accelerating after 8 AD, one omen after the other was reported, some of them related with inscribed stones or bronze caskets with inscribed covers, in all cases conveying strongly the message that Wang Mang should ascend the throne¹⁹⁶. This inscribed stone tally and cabinet in this very form was one of the skilful methods of propaganda employed by Wang Mang to persuade the general public, to validate and justify the occupation, and to monumentalize the successful establishment of the Xihai Prefecture as well¹⁹⁷.

A tile end remnant with the inscription *Xihai* 西海 could be restored by another complete

¹⁹⁶ Twitchett/Loewe 1986, 231.

¹⁹⁷ Lu Y. G. 1999.

one, which had the inscription: *Xihai anding yuanxing yuannian zuo dang* 西海安定元兴元年作当 (Placid Xihai, the tile end was made in the first year of the Yuanxing reign)¹⁹⁸ (**Fig. 4.4.1-6**). *Yuanxing* was the royal title of the Emperor Hedi, and the first year of the Yuanxing reign was 105 AD. The tile end must be the relic of Cao Feng's reconstruction of Longyi city (also written Longqi city, see chapter 3.2.2). The inscription *Xihai* testifies again that Sanjiao city-site was the ancient Longyi city, the capital of Xihai Prefecture. The word *anding* (placid) indicates the eagerness for local peace after the long riotous period.

4.4.2. The Indigenous Qiang (?)

Specific local cultural features survived in many burials, demonstrating the differences between the Han and Jin tombs of the Central Plain. Among these features the most distinct one is the secondary intentionally disturbed burial practice, which was attested five times in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery. The practice entailed something like the following: The deceased was first interred in a tomb chamber according to a certain burial rite. After a certain period of time, when the corpse had mostly decomposed, the living entered the tomb chamber and intentionally moved or disturbed parts of or the whole skeleton. Then it was reburied in the same tomb. For example, in Shangsunjiazhai tomb M127 (**Fig. 4.4.2-1**), the skeleton's clavicle, scapula, hipbone and the four limbs were complete and lay in the original position, but breastbones were in disorder, and the skull had been placed between the two lower limbs. Other examples of this intentional disturbance were found in tombs M105, M106, and M130. This kind of burial rite did not exist in Han tombs on the Central Plain, but it bears close resemblance to the numerous secondary intentionally disturbed burials in Qijia culture and the Kayue culture in Qinghai, suggesting a local tradition in burial practices.

The second local convention is animal sacrifice. In the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, the tombs of the Western Han period, like the shaft tombs and the wooden chamber tombs, all contained animal bones. Among the 182 tombs, 51 contained animal bones. Usually parts of or the whole animal body, including goats, sheep, horses, cattle, dogs, pigs and chicken, was placed mostly beside the coffins (**Fig. 4.2.1-1; Fig. 4.2.1-3**), some upon the coffin's cover (**Fig. 4.2.1-2**), or mixed with the bones of the deceased. Many of the animal bones cannot be clearly identified. This practice was quite rare in the Han tombs of the Central

¹⁹⁸ Huang S. Z. 1961.

Plain, but very common in the local Kayue and Xindian cultures.

The third evident local feature is pottery made of sandy clay. They appeared in tombs datable to the period of Emperor Zhaodi and Xuandi, but disappear after that time. The pottery includes the jar with one handle, the two-handled jar and the three-legged container (**Fig. 4.4.2-2**). This kind of pottery was also the special ware of the Kayue culture.

The Han and Jin cemeteries in the region undoubtedly belong to the Han cultural sphere, but it is very possible that many tombs could have been those of the indigenous population, which were gradually assimilated into the Han culture or were Sinicized, by maintaining some features of the Qijia, Kayue and Xindian cultures, who were normally considered to be a Qiang ethnic group.

4.4.3. The Xiongnu (Huns)

The other undoubtedly ethnic group settled in the region was the Xiongnu (Huns). In section B of the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, tomb M1 contains nothing that differs from other Han tombs except for a bronze seal. The seal has a cubiform pedestal with a crouching camel-shaped handle and is engraved with the characters: *han xiongnu guiyi qinhan zhang* 汉匈奴归义亲汉长 (Chief of the Xiongnu in Allegiance and Friendship with Han). It is 2.9 cm high and 2.3 cm wide¹⁹⁹ (**Fig 4.4.1-2/1**).

Ever since the Western Han Dynasty, the chiefs of ethnic groups native to certain areas of the Empire were conferred titles such as *chanyu* (king), *wang* (prince) or *zhang* (chief), and invested with a seal of office that was made of gold, silver, bronze (depending on the rank). For example, the bronze seal found at Shaya, Xinjiang, was inscribed with the characters: *Han guiyi qiang zhang* 汉归义羌长 (Chief of the Qiang in Allegiance to Han).

The golden seals found in Gansu were engraved with: *Jin guiyi qiang* 晋归义羌 (Marquis of Qiang loyal to the Jin)²⁰⁰. The Han government began this practice of conference in 51 BC, when the Chanyu Huhanye arrived at Chang'an to pay tribute. HS²⁰¹ recorded that, after Wang Mang ascended the throne, he changed the characters of Xiongnu's seal from *Xiongnu Chanyu Xi* 匈奴单于玺 (the royal seal of Xiongnu Chanyu) to *Xin Xiongnu Chanyu Zhang* 新匈奴单于章 (the stamp of Xiongnu Chanyu of Xin Dynasty). As the

¹⁹⁹ Shangsunjiazhai 1979.

²⁰⁰ Watt et al. 2004, 193.

²⁰¹ HS, vol. 95, 3820.

status of Xiongnu was obviously humbled, it caused an argument between the Xiongnu and the Han. More Xiongnu seals have been unearthed or preserved from ancient times²⁰². Including the example from the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, all seals carry the character “Han” before “Xiongnu”, meaning that the Xiongnu were under the supervision of the Han Empire. This undoubtedly referred to the southern Xiongnu, who split from the northern group and submitted to the Han in 50 AD²⁰³. However, according to HS and HHS, no clear word reveals that the main stream of Xiongnu had made their presence in the Huangzhong region. If Xiongnu people were indeed there, it must have been a branch tribe, the barbarian Lushuihu, which came from the southern Qianlian Mountains south of Zhangye. They were named after the Lushui River, the area of which they had inhabited for a long time. According to HHS²⁰⁴, in 57 AD the Qiang tribe Shaohe was attacked by the Lushuihu and escaped to Linqiang County (west of present day Xining) in the Han Empire. Therefore, the Lushuihu must not have been too far from Linqiang County and must have kept in touch with the Qiang people. In the summer of 77 AD, Lushuihu allied with the Miwu tribe and other Qiang groups to repel the Han governors. The prefect of Wuwei was ordered to substitute for the former incompetent *Huqiang xiaowei* (the office of colonel-protector of the Qiang) and moved to Linqiang County to regain control. This indicates that the Lushuihu might have lived in the Huangzhong region and intermingled with Qiang groups. The interred in Xiongnu tombs in the cemetery were very possibly these Lushuihu people.

The tomb has two brick chambers; the skeletal remains of one male and two females were strewn everywhere. According to Han Kangxin’s analysis of the skulls, the male was about 35 years old, and the two females were both older than 60²⁰⁵. The skulls belong to the Northern Asiatic Mongoloid race, which would support their Xiongnu ethnic affiliation. Since the chief of one Xiongnu tribe were buried in the cemetery, the tombs of the same ethnic group are surely not in small number.

4.5 REGIONAL CULTURAL INTERACTIONS AS REFLECTED BY IMPORTANT ARTIFACTS

According to the types and the chronology represented by the funerary objects,

²⁰² Xu X. G. 1989.

²⁰³ Twitchett/Loewe 1986, 400.

²⁰⁴ HHS, vol. 87, 2880.

²⁰⁵ Pan/Han 1984.

Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, as a typical example, was divided into six periods, spanning the time starting with Emperor Zhaodi and Emperor Xuandi of the Western Han, that is, ca. the second half of 1st century BC, and ending with the late Eastern Han and beginning of the Wei-Jin period, that is, the middle of the 3rd century AD. The other Han and Jin cemeteries in Qinghai are also included in this periodization. The evolution of the tomb types basically followed the steps of the Han tombs on the Central Plain; that is, they developed from the simple rectangular tomb with wooden funerary furniture to the complex brick tomb that symbolized an actual building. The roof structure also developed from the vaulted form to the domed form. These changes were undoubtedly the consequence of influences from the Central Plain. Therefore, the presence of the new forms and the disappearance of older ones generally occurred a period later than on the Central Plain and at a time closer to the Gansu Corridor.

The burial practices display a similar retardation. From the period of Emperor Zhaodi (86–74 BC) and Xuandi (73–49 BC) to Wang Mang (9–23 AD), multiple burials prevailed, with one couple buried together in the same tomb with their respective funerary objects. After the early and middle Eastern Han Dynasty, the new custom of multiple burials with only one set of tomb objects appeared and began to predominate. This process was also parallel with burial changes of the Central Plain, where this occurred somewhat earlier, approximately during the Wang Mang period.

The influence from the Central Plain was dominant, but it was not the only origin of the cultural elements. Regional peculiarities and foreign elements also survived, and thus helped to present a multicultural picture.

4.5.1 Expansion of the Han culture from the Central Plain

Among the tomb objects, pottery in Han style amounts to 99%. The production system, making methods and techniques, and general forms are quite identical with those of the Central Plain, albeit with some local features. Typical pottery includes granaries, kitchen ranges, wells, lamps, vases, jars, urns and cups (**Fig. 4.5.1-1**). Glazed pottery appeared during the late Eastern Han period and resembles that from Guanzhong. It is likely that the pottery was of local manufacture under the strong influence from the Central Plain, because of the time lapse and some peculiarities. The funeral objects like models of granaries, kitchen ranges and a well, as one fixed group, appeared in this region at a later time than on the Central Plain. The cord decoration on gray pottery was very prevalent during the time from the middle Western Han to the early and middle Eastern Han

Dynasties, whereas it disappeared from the Central Plain early in the middle Western Han period; thereafter most pottery was plain. This change came about in Qinghai around the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty. The pottery retardation reveals that it was likely produced locally.

Unlike pottery, other tomb objects such as bronze mirrors, *wuzhu* coins, and other objects of bronze and iron, were possibly imported from the Central Plain, as a retardation like in the evolution of pottery and burial forms is not evident in these products. Their arrival in the region was probably caused by the direct commercial or political activities.

The Han culture expanded to the region after series of successful military actions, mainly by immigration and the establishment of the agricultural garrisons. The government encouraged crop cultivation in the He-Huang Valley, and it made a strict control on interregional trade. In Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, about 15 iron implements were found, including 2 ploughshares, 6 spades, 1 sickle, 1 shovel, 2 axes, and 3 adzes (**Fig. 4.5.1-2**). In the Eastern Han Dynasty, iron manufacture was under the control of the commanders and counties rather than the superintendent of agriculture²⁰⁶, but the iron workshops were concentrated on the lower reaches of the Yellow River or the Central Plain. The nearest iron producing centers were in Shaanxi (6 iron agencies) and Sichuan (3 iron agencies)²⁰⁷. Regardless from where the iron wares came, they were not local products. Among the bronze objects, mirrors were important commodities. Their forms, decoration as well as the metal composition and structure all accord with those of mirrors from the Central Plain²⁰⁸. In all probability they were cast in the same workshops. During the Eastern Han Dynasty most bronze mirrors in northern China were produced in the capital Luoyang²⁰⁹ (**Fig. 4.5.1-3**).

Due to the poor conditions for preservation, silk textiles are seldom found. There should be a large amount in the region, since both the Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples needed silk dresses, and silk textiles were often regarded as precious treasure. In the Han and Jin cemeteries two tombs revealed the deceased covered with silk cloth: tomb M7 in Ping'an County and one tomb in Pengjiazhai cemetery, Xining (chapter 4.2.1). However, the textiles were too decayed to be collected or preserved. In the Han Dynasties, silks were mainly produced in Shandong, Henan, and Sichuan, among which the Shu brocade

²⁰⁶ Twitchett/Loewe 1986, 583.

²⁰⁷ Wang Wei 1999, 47.

²⁰⁸ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, 245.

²⁰⁹ Wang Z. S. 1956.

from Sichuan was the most reputed and widespread. Lacquer wares were in the same unfortunate situation. Some lacquer articles were found, such as the bowl in the Han tombs M7 in Ping'an County, and bowls, boxes, cups with ledge handles and plates in Shangsunjiahai cemetery. Although most of them could be recognised only from traces, the acquisition of these luxuries could be perceived. At least eleven metal-rimmed lacquer wares and a large lacquer plate in tomb BM1 in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery are indicative of the complex lacquer craftsmanship, which required team work. Sichuan was a famous center for the lacquer manufacture during the Han Dynasties. Its products were spread as far as Korea. We cannot determine the exact provenance of the Qinghai articles, but the Central Plain and Sichuan should be first in the list for consideration.

Wuzhu coins were used extensively in business as the necessary currency. In Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, among the 182 tombs, 92 tombs yielded coins, i.e. a total number of 3343, excluding some severely damaged pieces (Fig. 4.5.1-4/1). All of the coins are made of copper, most of which are *wuzhu*. Coins of the Wang Mang period take second position. The *banliang* coins of the Western Han Dynasty make up only a small proportion. The location in which the coins were found in the tombs is similar to that in the region of Luoyang. Usually they were placed at the side of the body, or in the hands, occasionally in a container. For example, a pottery jar from tomb M122 in section A contained about one thousand coins. Differences in the amounts of coins buried with the deceased were dependent upon the property and status of the person and the period as well. Generally the amounts of coins in Eastern Han tombs are greater than those in Western Han tombs. Mints of the Western Han period were concentrated in the capital city Chang'an²¹⁰, but some were also located in the provinces including the Gansu Corridor. During Wang Mang's reign, the monetary system was in great chaos. After he expanded the territory to the Qinghai Hu, mints were also established in that region. One piece of a pottery model for the *xiaoquan zhiji* coin, which was minted since 9 AD, was collected in the ancient city Xihai Prefecture in present day Haiyan County (Fig. 4.5.1-4/2). In the Eastern Han Dynasty, in order to achieve higher standardization, coins were minted under the uniform control of the central government, and in the whole territory very few coin models or mints have been discovered, indicating minting was more concentrated, probably in the capital city Luoyang. Local mintage was in existence for only a short period. The abundant coinage covering a large part of the region reflects the commercial

²¹⁰ Cai Y. H. 1978; Potou 1982.

status within the boundary.

4.5.2 Special items from beyond the Central Plain

Although the political and commercial connections with the Central Plain were principal, elements from other regions could also be observed in particular finds. They were brought to this region by means of commerce, war or immigration. Regardless, they must have been imported by means of interregional transport, although the precise routes are not easily localized. Examples of these items are discussed in the following.

A. *Bronze coin-trees*

The fragments of bronze coin-trees were found in two tombs in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery: section A tomb M4 and section B tomb M8²¹¹ (**Fig. 4.5.2-1**). Although only fragments were left, it is not difficult to recognize the branches bearing coins as fruits. The coins are round with a square hole in the center. The characters on the coins are effaced too greatly to be read, but usually they are *wuzhu* coins. The coin-tree was a typical funerary object in the southwestern China, especially centered around Chengdu and Chongqing. It symbolized unexhausted sources of wealth in the afterlife, or the worship of the divine tree (**Fig. 4.5.2-2**). In some cases the coin-tree carries deities like the Queen Mother of the West, Buddha and other immortal figures or mythical creatures, representing a fantasy world. Coin-trees emerged in the early 2nd century AD and pervaded the late Eastern Han and the Shu Han periods (221–263 AD). They spread to Yunnan and Guizhou in the south and to Shaanxi and Gansu in the north, mostly along the main convenient routes. For example, they are found northwards from the Chengdu Plain along the present day Baoji-Chengdu railway, passing by Guangyuan City, and reaching Mianxian, Hanzhong, and Chenggu. One coin-tree reached Gangu County in Gansu, and another one as far as Wuwei²¹². The two farthest-found coin-trees in Wuwei and Datong very possibly arrived there via the eastern road, which connected with Gangu or Hanzhong area. But it is also plausible that they were imported from the Chengdu Plain through the Henan Road, passing by Ruoergai and Songpan, and then along the Minjiang River, because Aba is also a distribution center²¹³ that stands nearly at the middle point of this route. This could be regarded as solid evidence of the cultural exchange between the

²¹¹ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, pl. 71/4, 5.

²¹² Jiang Y. X. 1995.

²¹³ Zhao/Gao 1976.

two regions, which is supported by the classical sources.

B. The bronze openwork buckle

Tomb M24 in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery yielded one bronze openwork buckle plaque²¹⁴ (**Fig. 4.5.2-3**), which is likely a relic of a certain nomadic people. The plaque has a rectangular shape, 8.7 cm long and 5.5 cm wide, with a rhomboid trellis within the frame, and enhanced with raised bosses – 23 in all – at the intersections. Near the rim of one end is an oblong hole. At the back of the opposite end is a protrusion that functioned as a belt hook. Regarding the pottery and the coins, the tomb was dated to the late Eastern Han period. The buckle represents a striking nomadic style and, thus, possibly belongs to the relics of the Xiongnu. The same items were found in the southern Xiongnu tomb in Erlanhugou cemetery in Inner Mongolia²¹⁵, in Zhangjiakou of northern Hebei²¹⁶ and in Guyuan of southern Ningxia²¹⁷. The former two were dated to the Eastern Han period, but the last item was erroneously dated to the Warring States period (475–221 BC).

The Museum Barbier-Mueller acquired two rectangular bronze grid-patterned plaques from the Mongolian region, both of which have raised bosses or buttons at the intersections. One of them is completely analogous to the Shangsunjiazhai item. Their sizes, 9.5 cm in length and 5.7 cm in width, are also approximate. But they were dated somewhat earlier, to the 4th–1st century BC²¹⁸ (**Fig. 4.5.2-4/1**).

Two plaques of the same style are preserved in the Sackler Collections²¹⁹ (**Fig. 4.5.2-4/2, 3**). One is quite elegant and beautifully cast in comparison to the other plaque, whose crude casting suggests a somewhat later date. The back of this later plaque is flat and smooth. In the text the author mentioned another two pieces. One is the antiquities collection of the 11th century Song artist Li Gonglin, who did not notice that the plaque was non-Chinese. Li Gonglin named it *Baoding gou* 宝钉钩 (hook with precious peg) and commented that it was not used as a belt hook, but for suspending objects²²⁰ (**Fig. 4.5.2-4/4**). The other is a stone belt plaque excavated in dwelling 5 at Duren, a first century BC

²¹⁴ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, pl. 53/1; 135, fig. 80/2.

²¹⁵ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, 217.

²¹⁶ Hebei 1980, 162, fig. 286, fig. 287.

²¹⁷ Zhong/Han 1983, 206, fig. 4/6.

²¹⁸ Museum Barbier-Mueller 1996, 61, no. 65.

²¹⁹ Bunker/Kawami et al. 1997, 268, fig. 235.

²²⁰ Harrist 1995.

Xiongnu site in Buryatia²²¹ (**Fig. 4.5.2-4/5**). This one was engraved with a simple diagonal pattern and has turquoise and mother-of-pearl inlays at the intersections of the lines. The bronze buckles were believed to be translations into metal of works like the Duren buckle. The author was unaware of the item from the Shangsunjazhai cemetery, so the exact ethnic group they are associated with was not asserted beyond doubt, but his conjecture that they related to the late Xiongnu seems justified. Furthermore, concerning the distribution of tombs in the Shangsunjazhai cemetery, tomb M24 is very near to the Xiongnu tomb M1 in section B, which strongly reinforces the conclusion.

The plaque found in the cemeteries indicates that the southern Xiongnu had close interactions within a broad spatial sphere, and that some of their nomadic traits survived even after they immigrated to the Huang Shui valleys. In that connection, the Xianbei cemetery at Sandaowan, Inner Mongolia, datable to late Eastern Han period approximately, also yielded a bronze plaque with the diagonal pattern and the same total of 25 intersections, except that the hole, round protrusion and knobs at the intersections are absent²²² (**Fig. 4.5.2-4/6**). This example could be a rough Xianbei imitation of the southern Xiongnu artifact. After filling the vacancy created left behind by the Xiongnu, Xianbei adopted many cultural traits from the former repertoire.

C. *The silver ewer*

The Section B tomb M3 in the Shangsunjazhai cemetery is about 60 m north of the Xiongnu tomb BM1. It is larger than the latter and contained six skeletons. The tomb also yielded abundant funerary objects, including one significant silver ewer²²³ (**Fig. 4.5.2-5, 6**), which turns our attention again to the nomad ethnic groups.

The silver ewer has an upright mouth, long neck, bulging belly and flat bottom. It is 15.8 cm in height. The mouth, belly, and bottom are respectively 7.0 cm, 12.0 cm and 5.4 cm in diameter. Attached to its shoulder is a ring handle. The body was raised from a thin single sheet of silver. Three gilt ornamental bands decorate the mouth, shoulder and base, respectively. The ornamental band beneath the lip consists of a row of wave meanders running from right to left against a dotted background. The shoulder is ornamented with a band of floral tendril designs. It depicts six various blossoms with an anther, each enclosed by a vine with volute shoots, running clockwise and counter-clockwise in

²²¹ Miniaev 1995.

²²² Wei J. 2004, 28.

²²³ Shangsunjazhai 1993, 160, fig. 95; Watt et al. 2004, 193, no.100.

alternating order and ending in a leaf with a dotted serrated edge in profile. Each blossom has three to five petals, which are in the shape of a pomegranate, a leaf with a round or pointed tip, or a leaf with serrated edges. Between the adjacent petals are one or two filaments each ending with three dots, perhaps symbolizing pollen grains. A curved anther spreads from the center of each blossom to the greater interstice between the petals.

Above the base the vase is decorated with a band of stepped crenellated frieze against a thickly dotted background. Each crenellation has five steps. The ornamental bands of the silver ewer are very rare in the east, but in the west regions they have many parallels. There are numerous silver bowls with similar decorative style in the collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum²²⁴. As is the case with the silver bowl no. 10 (**Fig. 4.4.2-7**), it was raised from a single sheet of silver and partially gilt, and decorated with a scale medallion with an empty center in the interior, framed by two garlands. The gilt emblem is bordered by a floral tendril, which is framed with gilt wave meanders running in opposite directions. The background of the tendril is gilt. Beneath the lip there is a gilt stepped crenellated frieze. The three ornamental bands coexist on one same gilt silver vessel, which immediately resembles the ornaments of the silver ewer. Most bowls of this kind have similar bands of decorations (**Fig. 4.5.2-8, 9**).

The treasures were purchased on the Swiss art market, and nothing could be learned about their origins. Further close analogies in private collections or museums are reported in Luristan, Iran, and are dated no later than the first century BC, which accompanied by an Aramaic inscription on some bowls sheds light on the provenance of these artifacts. Through a detailed comparison and analysis conducted by Michael Pfrommer, it is strongly suggested that most of the objects were highly probably found in western or northwestern Iran, even though the northern Afghan territories cannot be excluded with absolute certainty. It seems likely that the finds were made in the provinces of Parthia or Hyrcania, southwest of the Caspian Sea, during the earlier Parthian period.

As Michael Pfrommer stated, the floral ornament seems to be based upon early Hellenistic Macedonian decorative art with its influences from Magna Graecia. The choice of flower forms also speaks unambiguously for an attribution to the Hellenized Near East in the Seleucid or formerly Seleucid sphere of influence. Wave meander or running dog is one of the most common Hellenistic decorative motifs, which was seldom found on metal wares from the late fourth or the first half of the third century BC, although the ornament itself

²²⁴ Pfrommer 1993.

was well known. The stepped crenellation frieze was of Achaemenid, pre-Hellenistic origin, and rarely represented outside the Seleucid sphere of influence. That is to say, the vessels adopt forms from the Greek-Seleucid repertoire.

The detailed comparison also stresses this opinion. The floral pattern on the silver ewer resembles more closely the tendrils that Michael Pfrommer ascribed as group three, which has a fairly well-founded dating in the first century BC. As shown by examples no. 14 (**Fig. 4.5.2-8**) and no. 16 (**Fig. 4.5.2-9**), their floral bands contain both three and four-petaled blossoms with one bent slim bud in similar conformation. The scrolling leaves are also serrated in the same way. Although the three-dot-shaped anther could not be seen in these floral patterns, they appeared in the earlier examples from late Classical times (**Fig. 4.5.2-10**). The multi-petaled blossoms without a bud are quite common in the floral bands. Many of them bear dot decoration. The comparable ornaments are found in the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery too. Eight golden blossom plates, three of which were buried in the same tomb as the silver ewer, have 6 to 12 petals and similar dot patterns (**Fig. 4.5.2-14**). It is very possible that the golden ornaments were attachments on certain objects that also stood in the Greek-Seleucid tradition and were of the same origin as the silver ewer. Similar decorations were very common on the gilt silver objects found in the area north of the Black See. Many gilt silver phalerae have the wave pattern along their edges²²⁵. One phalera bears the scrolling floral pattern, which is not that different from the pattern on the Parthian bowls and the Qinghai ewer (**Fig. 4.5.2-11**). Another gilt silver jar has two bands of crenellation patterns and one band of the wave pattern²²⁶ (**Fig. 4.5.2-12**). The artifacts were ascribed to the Sarmatian culture, dating from the end of the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD. Both the Greek and Persia influences in the region are fairly distinct. In view of the important role that the Sarmatians played in the vast Eurasian sphere, it is quite possible that the decoration elements on the Qinghai ewer were passed on to the east by them via the steppe roads.

Although the provenance of the decoration on the silver ewer could be vindicated with some certainty, metal vessels in that same shape are not easily found. One fragment of a similarly decorated silver vessel was found in the tomb of a Xiongnu prince in Gol Mod, Mongolia, datable to the first century AD²²⁷ (**Fig. 4.5.2-13**). One band of a wave meander running from right to left upon a dotted background decorates the mouth, which is clearly

²²⁵ Mordvintseva 2001, pl. 1, pl. 14, pl. 26.

²²⁶ Tokyo 1991, 98.

²²⁷ André 2002, 204, fig. 33.

resembles the Shangsunjiazhai silver ewer, probably indicating the same ethnic affiliation. Boris I. Marshak claims that the shape of this vessel was typical of vessels made by the nomad cultures of Eurasia, such as ceramic jugs from the famous Issyk tumulus in Kazakhstan, dated to ca. the fourth century BC²²⁸. It seems justified if it is related with the nomadic culture. In any case, we cannot find better analogies. Marshak points out that the ring of the silver ewer was a later addition, either nomad or Chinese, which offers a clue to the later history of the vessel. He reaches the final conclusion that it was possibly made for a steppe aristocrat and decorated by an itinerant craftsman working in the tradition of Hellenistic silversmiths. Perhaps the nomad owners perhaps lost the ewer during the period of the Han Dynasties' westward expansion during the first century BC or the first century AD, and it was later found by a Chinese warrior family that had settled in the frontier zone. This reconstructed story seems legendary but reasonable, if we modify the drop scene. According to actual situation of the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery, the precious silver ewer most likely belonged to a southern Xiongnu aristocrat, who obtained the object from a certain craftsman who was quite familiar with the Hellenistic-Parthian art, together with other similar golden objects, directly or indirectly, by looting or by dealing. He possessed the objects for a certain period even after his tribe submitted to the Eastern Han governments in 50 AD and migrated to the Huang Shui valley. For this reason he could maintain his personal fortune. After his death, he was buried 60 m north of the cemetery of his tribe's chief, together with his treasures as the mark of his prestige in life.

D. Glassware

The Han and Jin cemetery yielded numerous articles made of glass. Most constituted two types: glass ear ornaments and glass beads. In the Shangsunjiazhai cemetery a total of 84 glassware was found in 31 tombs, 35 ear ornaments and 49 perforated beads. The ear ornaments are T-shaped or a waisted shape, 10–20 mm long and 10–15 mm in diameter (**Fig. 4.5.2-16**). They are light in color and transparent, green or blue. According to the analyses conducted by the Institute of Chinese Architecture Science, all examples are PbO-BaO glass. In the ancient glassware, only China possessed glass containing a great quantity of PbO and BaO simultaneously. In addition, the shapes of the ear ornaments are of the typical Han style, and they were found in many Han Dynasties tombs in different provinces. Therefore, this glassware likely comes from the Han regions, that is, the Central Plain, Gansu or Sichuan.

²²⁸ Watt et al. 2004, 193.

The glass beads are much more colorful, displaying hues of golden yellow, red, white, light yellow, deep blue, light blue, light green and deep green. Some of them are covered with pigment of red, green or yellow, and several with gold foil. Their diameters range from 3 mm to 10 mm. Beads with gold foil that is filled between two layers glass or wrapped around the whole bead are very rare on the Central Plain, whereas they are quite common among glass beads in ancient India. Their components are rich in CaO and Na₂O, as the glass of the West or India origin. Before the 2nd century AD PbO-BaO glassware was found sporadically in China, most of which was imported from abroad, either from the West Region or India.

One other kind of bead²²⁹ belongs to the K₂O-SiO₂ glass category. This blue glassware is not rare in the Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, and was also found in the neighboring Gansu Province. It is very possible that it came through Gansu, but the origin is far from certain.

4.6 SUMMARY

The Han and Jin sites are distributed only in the northeastern corner of Qinghai Province, mostly along the Huang Shui, especially in its middle reaches, including Huangzhong, Xining, Ping'an, Ledu, Minhe, Huzhu, and Datong (**Table 4.2.2-1, Map 4.2-1**). The area became the most populated Han region during the Han and Jin periods. Three counties, Huangzhong, Minhe and Ledu, are the most densely populated. The region Xining, including Datong and Huazhong, could be the heart of the area, where the Beichuan River flows into the Huang Shui. The distribution corresponds with the geographic features as well as with the historical records concerning transport. In other regions, sites are very sparse, and in most cases they played a role in the military, post or transportation rather than as an actual settlement. The northernmost site is in Qianlian County, which connected the Huangzhong region through the site in Menyuan County with the Gansu Corridor. The cities surrounding the Qinghai Hu to some extent only signified the border of certain period. In the south in valleys of the Yellow River, the sites are quite rare. In Guide some were found, demonstrating the Han culture extension to this area. According to the written sources, several *tings* or fortresses were erected in Jianzha and Hualong, which shows that during the Han and Jin periods the regional development was relatively limited, and the transport route through this region was equally as insignificant.

²²⁹ Shangsunjiazhai 1993, 253-254, table 2, no.3.

The broad time span of the Shangsunjiazhai Cemetery in Datong witnessed an ethnic amalgamation and cultural evolution. The earliest tombs of Western Han Dynasty were observed only in this cemetery, which reveals that the heartland of the region inherited some features of the early local culture, like the Qijia and Kayue cultures, and gradually absorbed elements from Han Chinese. The advantageous conditions for transport made it a relatively open area to eastern influence. The tombs of Western Han period are very rare in other regions, even in the lower Huang Shui. The significant increase in the number of settlements and cities took place during Wang Mang's reign and the Eastern Han period. The wider distribution of the sites mainly benefited from agricultural garrisons and immigration policy.

In the vast region to the west of the Qinghai Hu, sites of the Han and Jin periods are much more rare. The westernmost site, the city-site of Jiamugeertan, is located in Tianjun County. Chinese sources were silent about the Han Dynasties' lasting control over the area. Obviously it mainly was under control of Qiang groups. It was noted that the Xiangride site in Dulan in the Qaidam Basin experienced quite a long time span, continuing from the Nuomuhong culture of the Bronze Age, throughout the Wei and Jin periods and even into the Tang period²³⁰. There must be some remains there that are contemporary with the Han period, but no typical finds could be dated precisely to this period.

The spatial distribution of the Han sites demonstrates that during the Han period, transportation in the west of the Qinghai Hu was quite backward, and the relation between the Qaidam Basin and the eastern region was limited. The routes connecting the He-Huang region with the Gansu Corridor in the north and Chang'an in the east, played a dominant role in interregional transportation and trade networks.

Motivated by commerce, immigration and warfare, the regional culture witnessed a tremendous change from the pre-Han to Han period. During the pre-Han period the local population was relatively quiet, and exchange with the outside world were not very marked. During the Han period, interregional immigration and the local economy flourished, leading to change either in the population structure or the cultural features. Under the unified Han culture the indigenous and other alien elements were seemingly concealed, of which Qiang and Xiongnu identity remained but gradually waned. Advanced techniques and products of the Han Chinese obviously permeated the area, making Qiang hard to recognize. The local Xiongnu tribe, probably the barbarian

²³⁰ NBC 1996, 185.

Lushuihu, was no longer nomads, and only occasional ancestral objects as well as simple names were maintained. Nevertheless, the route was explored and developed partly: The army was redeployed along the route, outposts and agriculture garrisons were established, and the disintegration and Sinicizing of ethnicities were carried out.

The He-Huang region, therefore, advanced more than ever. Its connection with the Central Plain or Guanzhong became prosperous and vigorous, although a slight retardation still existed. The routes connected with Sichuan in the southeast and Gansu Corridor in the north also came into use. Yet during this period, the Han culture was confined to the east of the Qinghai Hu. In the vast Qaidam Basin there was absolutely no Han influence. This means that the routes through the Basin were seldom used. Then the Gansu Corridor was still the new artery of transport, and even the He-Huang region was also a supplement to the northern route.

CHAPTER 5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF SITES ON THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU ALONG THE SILK ROAD DURING THE EARLY TUYUHUN PERIOD (4TH–MID 7TH CENTURY AD)

5.1 CEMETERIES AND CITY-SITES

A. The Northern Dynasties tomb at the brick factory, Xining²³¹ (Map 4.2-1/7)

The tomb, located at the brick factory in Xining, was excavated in 1985 after destroyed by the factory's exploitation of earth. The tomb was likely the type with a shaft, measuring 10 m in depth and 3 m in length; the width is unknown. The coffin was rectangular in shape, with a larger head end and smaller foot end. The remaining fragments suggest that it was originally lacquered red. The skeletal remains of one adult male were found in the coffin. Among the tomb's objects were a bronze seal and seal casket. The seal has a knob in the shape of a tortoise and is 2.30 cm long and wide and 3.00 cm high. The inscription reads: *lingjiang jiangjun zhang* 凌江将军章 (the seal of General of Lingjiang). The hemispherical horn seal casket was engraved in the middle with the Four Creatures: *qinglong* (the blue dragon), *baihu* (the white tiger), *zhuque* (the vermilion bird) and *xuanwu* (the black tortoise), and with a dragon and tiger on the top. The small holes at the bottom and top were inlaid with turquoise stones (**Fig. 5.1-1**).

Another tomb object, an ivory comb, was still preserved in a width of 6.9 cm, a height of 7.4 cm and a thickness of 0.80 cm. Its arched handle was engraved on one side with a pair of confronting dragons with a bead posed between their mouths, and on the opposite side confronting phoenixes holding a *sheng* (an object symbolizing auspicious) in their beaks. Both sides have a border lined with triangular patterns (**Fig. 5.1-2**).

A further tomb object is golden plaque with bird heads, half of which is missing. The remaining half measures 6.5 cm in length and 5.5 cm in width. It is engraved with bird heads connected to one body; both face in the same direction. A figure is sitting on the birds' body (**Fig. 5.1-3/1**).

Further, a cup with two ledge handles was made of one whole clam shell and edged with golden sheet. It is 13.7 cm long, 7.6 cm wide and 3.60 cm deep. The two thin horizontal handles are made of gold sheet (**Fig. 5.1-4/1**).

Other finds include a white jade hairpin, an iron knife and some accessories from the knife

²³¹ Lu/Shang/Jia 1989.

scabbard. Many copper coins were unearthed, which enable a relatively precise dating of the tomb; they including *banliang* coins (4), *wuzhu* coins (53), *buquan* coin (1), *huoquan* coins (14) and one *fenghuo* coin. Most of them belong to the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties, except for the *fenghuo* coin (**Fig. 5.1-4/2**), which was cast by the Later Zhao during Shi Le's reign (319–351 AD).

The tomb's objects exhibit a blend of different cultures. Most finds such as the with ledge handled cup, the engraved comb, the seal set and the copper coins are Chinese artifacts, while the golden plaque with bird heads displays a non-Chinese element. More precisely, it could be Xianbei metalwork. A similar object has been found in the Xianbei tomb in Wulanchabu League, Inner Mongolia²³² (**Fig. 5.1-3/2**). It is complete and displays two pairs of bird heads, with the two upper heads posed antithetically while the lower two face each other. Between the two upper birds' head sits a figure, probably a goddess, wearing a long robe, with her arms touching the backs of the birds. Between the lower bird heads is a mask. The birds' bodies are engraved with two round patterns with holes in various sizes. It is likely a decoration related to certain god or goddess. The tomb was ascribed to the Xianbei culture. A golden plaque in a much closer form and size was kept in the Carl Kempe collection²³³ (**Fig. 5.1-3/3**); it was believed to serve as an amulet.

Before the 430s, the territory of the Tuyuhun Kingdom had not expanded to the Huang Shui valleys, which were successively controlled by small regimes of the Sixteen Kingdoms, such as the Former Liang, the Former Qin, the Later Liang, the Northern Liang and the Southern Liang. Most of them were established by Sinicized non-Chinese. Two regimes, the Southern Liang (397–414 AD) and the West Qin (385–431), were even established by Xianbei ethnic groups. This tomb's occupant, the *Ling Jiang General*, was likely a general of one of these small kingdoms. It is evident that during the warring period the Chinese culture and nomadic culture were fused rapidly. The eastern Qinghai kept close touch with the central and northern China in certain ways.

B. *The Tiebuqia city-site (ancient Fuqi city)²³⁴ (Map 4.2-1/34) (Fig. 5.1-5)*

The city lies southwest of Tiebuqia Township in Gonghe County, on the grasslands to the south of the Qieji River (a branch of the Buh He River) and about 7.5 km west of the Qinghai Hu. The city has a rectangular outer rampart, built with river pebbles, and extends

²³² RCS 2002, 264.

²³³ Gyllensvärd 1953, 88, fig. 33.

²³⁴ Huang/Fang 1962.

1400 m in width from east to west. Its northern section was destroyed by floods; thus, its length is unknown. A section wall divides the outer rampart in two: the eastern and the western part. The eastern part is rectangular in plan and small in area. The western part is square and much larger. It contains a square inner rampart at the center, which measures about 200 m in width and length, 5 m in height and 6 m thickness at the base. The inner rampart has only an eastern gate, which is 10 m wide. One street leads westwards from the gate, along which house sites of 50 m length and 30 m width are arranged. At the west end of the street is a small square yard that shares the west wall with the inner rampart. The yard is about 70 m in length and width and less than 2 m high. It is likely the foundation of a palace. Between the yard and the foundations of the southern house is an earthen platform with ramp, measuring 15 m in diameter and 9 m in height. Some traces of building can be discerned on the platform. Also, there are remains of tiles and pottery on the surface inside the city, but only a small number.

The site was predicated to be ancient Fuqi city, the capital of the Tuyuhun Kingdom²³⁵. According to the records, when Kualü came to the throne, he gave himself the title of Kehan and settled in Fuqi, which was located fifteen *li* west of the Qinghai Hu. The city has inner and outer walls, but the people of the kingdom did not reside there. They always lived in tents, driving their herds in the search for water and pasture²³⁶. The location of the site and the paucity of remains there accord exactly with the record. There is only this city-site in the region. Even permanent buildings are very rare. In all probability this city-site was the ancient capital of the Tuyuhun Kingdom. Kualü came to the throne in about 540 AD; thus, the site can be dated no earlier than this year. It could have been the capital until 663 AD, when Tuyuhun surrendered to Tubo.

Su Bai has determined that the only eastern gate could have been a continuation of the Xianbei custom of erecting a yurt as a dwelling, which opened to the east and towards the sun²³⁷.

C. *The Qugou city-site*²³⁸ (**Map 4.2-1/39**)

This site is located 500 m east of the former village of Juhua, Qugou Township, in Gonghe County. It is square in plan, measuring about 400 m each side. The wall is made of tamped

²³⁵ Huang/Fang 1962.

²³⁶ WS, 101, 2234.

²³⁷ HHS, vol. 90, 2979; Su B. 1977.

²³⁸ NBC 1996, 149.

earth and is preserved to a height of 10 m high and a thickness of 7 m at the base. The city-site has two gates, one in the east and one in the west wall; both gates display a *wengcheng* (barbican entrance to the city). The city was used during the time of the Southern and Northern Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty. Excavations in 1979–1980 yielded more than 200 artifacts, including iron objects and pottery, but there is no detailed report of the work and results. The city was supposed to be the ancient Shudun city, capital of Tuyuhun before Kualü's reign. It was inundated by the Longyang Gorge reservoir after excavation.

D. The Longyangxia city-site²³⁹ (Map 4.2-1/40)

The site is located 4 km east of the village of Jiashida, Qugou Township, in Gonghe County. It actually consists of two city-sites, built on the two sides of the Longyang Gorge entrance, and was therefore named the twin cities. The western city belongs to Guinan County. The plan is irregular. Its western wall is preserved to a height of 4.7 m and 7.9 m thickness at the base. There is a gate in the western and northern wall respectively, each gate 4 m wide. The western gate was excavated in 1979. The floor of this entrance was paved with wooden boards. Outside the gate was a square *wengcheng*. The excavator thinks that the city was inhabited during the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Tang and the Song Dynasties. It was later destroyed by the Longyang Gorge dam.

E. Other sites

Chinese written sources indicate that Tuyuhun established other strategic fortifications or cities, such as the cities of Jiaohe, Mantou and Chishui. Jiaohe lies in present day Guide, but this city is no longer visible now. The latter two cities Mantou and Chishui are probably not far away from Jiaohe and the Yellow River valleys²⁴⁰. Archaeological investigations have also revealed other city-sites in Gonghe County and Xinghai County, such as the city-sites of Xiatang and Xingfu²⁴¹. They were thought to be Tuyuhun remains. However, the investigations yielded too few archaeological data to support this opinion. Some cities were destroyed or built over by later ones, which causes difficulties in dating them exactly. It is certain, however, that most Tuyuhun cities were located southeast of the Qinghai Hu, as attested by both written sources and archaeological remains. The region

²³⁹ NBC 1996, 149.

²⁴⁰ Zhou W. Z. 1984, 112.

²⁴¹ Li Z. X. 1995, 254-257.

between Guide, Gonghe and Xinghai, namely the Henan region, could be the fundamental area of its political dominion.

Settlements might have been established in the Dulan region. Archaeologists mentioned briefly that at some sites like Xiangride (in Xiangride Township) and Nanxitai (in Chahan Usu Township) ceramics of the Wei, Jin and Tang periods were found²⁴². However, there are no further reports about the results.

5.2 ARTIFACTS

A. Bronze openwork plaque

The plaque was found in a shaft tomb in Huzhu County and originally dated to the Eastern Han period²⁴³ (**Fig. 5.2-1**). It presents a small horse on the back of a larger one. Each horse has a fan-shaped forelock, which are connected to each other by a narrow bar. Under the larger horse's belly is one pair of disproportionately large stirrups. The horses appear to be recumbent; however, the plaque is so stylized that the folded legs of the larger horse are fused into a narrow bar that joins its tail and the upper small horse's tail as well. The complete plaque should be a closed, although irregular form, measuring 5 cm high, 7.5 cm wide and 0.3 cm thick. The body of both horses was adorned with a medallion surrounded with small pearls, and *sheng* and ring patterns. The same tomb also yielded some buckles. The finds exhibit a strong nomadic style. A similar bronze plaque was also found in Gonghe County according to one report²⁴⁴.

Similar plaques have been discovered not only in Qinghai, but also in other regions of northern China as well. An early version of this plaque was unearthed at Xichagou, Xifeng County, Liaoning. It represents a large horse carrying a smaller horse, of which only the hind part is preserved²⁴⁵ (**Fig. 5.2-2/1**). The item was assigned to the Xiongnu culture of the Western Han period. The Xianbei, who dominated the Chinese northern frontier instead of the Xiongnu since the 2nd century, inherited many Xiongnu elements including this kind of horse plaques. The Houbaoshi cemetery in Daan County, Jilin Province, which was also the heartland of the early Xianbei cultural sphere, yielded three similar examples²⁴⁶ (**Fig. 5.2-2/2**).

²⁴² NBC 1996, 185.

²⁴³ Xu X. G. 1981, 96, fig. 2.

²⁴⁴ Xu X. G. 1981.

²⁴⁵ Sun S. D. 1960.

²⁴⁶ Guo 1997, 86, fig. 1/2, 3, 4.

More plaques in the same style and of different materials appeared in Inner Mongolia. Two golden plaques and one bronze plaque were unearthed at Sandaowan, Wulanchabu League²⁴⁷ (**Fig. 5.2-2/3, 4**). All of them are incomplete. The other gold item, of which only the bigger horse remains, was found in the Dongdajing Xianbei cemetery in the same League²⁴⁸. The tomb was identified by the excavators as the remains of the Xianbei culture in view of the seals with inscription. Some scholars further asserted that the golden plates were relics of the Tuoba clan of the Xianbei²⁴⁹. Another similar bronze plaque was found in 1974; its archaeological complex is unknown²⁵⁰.

There are a few such plaques in museum collections worldwide. The Sackler collection contains four such artifacts (**Fig. 5.2-3/1, 2, 3**), one of which has two rings on the back of the small horse for suspending. The researcher maintains that they were “garment plaques”²⁵¹. Two horse plaques are found in the Barbier-Mueller Museum²⁵² (**Fig. 5.2-3/4**). One complete golden item was cast in bas-relief, with the folded legs of the larger horse displayed clearly²⁵³ (**Fig. 5.2-4/1**), possibly representing a later style. Although many of these finds have lost their context, their provenance might very well be Inner Mongolia.

On all of these finds no stirrups are present under the larger horse, instead its legs. This is unlike the horses depicted on the Huzhu plaque, indicating that the latter could have been made in a relatively later period. One exactly similar golden plaque was collected by Pierre Uldry²⁵⁴ (**Fig. 5.2-4/2**). The patterns on the two horses’ bodies are analogous with those on the Huzhu item, even the small knot on the back of the smaller horse. These features could not be seen on other examples. The only differences are that on the Pierre Uldry plaque the thin bar connecting the two horses’ heads was broken, and a bit shorter in length. If it is not a modern imitation, the item might possibly derive from nearby regions.

It is certain that the northeastern Qinghai kept close ties with the northern nomadic

²⁴⁷ Sandaowan 1994, 419, fig. 14/1, 2; 415, fig. 11/1.

²⁴⁸ Li X. S. 2003, 72, fig. 5.

²⁴⁹ Qi D. F. 1999, 240.

²⁵⁰ Qingtongqi quanji 1995, no. 156.

²⁵¹ Bunker/Kawami et al. 1997, 283, no. 251; nos. 251.1–3.

²⁵² Museum Barbier-Mueller 1996, 43, nos. 20, 21.

²⁵³ Han/Deydier 2001, 94, fig. 215.

²⁵⁴ Uldry 1994, 125, fig. 93.

regions, particularly with Xianbei ethnic groups in Inner Mongolia and Liaoning. According to some scholars' research, the double stirrups made their appearances first in the Xianbei tombs in northeastern China around the 4th century, and then spread to other regions²⁵⁵. The dating and cultural affiliation both accord with Tuyuhun's circumstances. It seems plausible to associate the Huzhu and Gonghe bronze plaques with the Tuyuhun's migration.

B. Other finds

Some finds were dated to this period, such as Byzantine golden coins, Sasanian silver coins and some silk textiles, which will be introduced in the following chapter. Almost all of them were buried in tombs of the Tubo period. This means that the time of their production was much earlier than the time of their burial. Any explanation for the difference in time would be tentative here; we cannot, however, exclude the possibility that they were traded into the region during this phase.

5.3 SUMMARY

During this period the eastern Qinghai Province began to be dominated by the Xianbei culture, mixing with the Han culture. Before Tuyuhun seized this region, many other Xianbei tribes had left their northern grasslands, resettled there and even founded small kingdoms. Perhaps it was the experiences and influence of these early immigrations that led to the lengthy expeditions of the Tuyuhun clans. Archaeological finds show that the region kept a close link with the Chinese northern frontier, especially the area Inner Mongolia. Tuyuhun migration from northeastern China through the Yin Mountains to southeastern Qinghai must have left some traces. At the beginning of their resettlement, their style of decoration remained in the old tradition, which was greatly influenced by the nomadic Xiongnu culture.

Tuyuhun activities were concentrated in the eastern part of Qinghai, especially the Henan region (the region south of the Yellow River). Affirmed archaeological data from this period is scarce, although the Silk Road became prosperous under Tuyuhun sovereignty. The nomadic life style probably resulted in the scarcity of settlement ruins. According to the records, Tuyuhun burial custom is inhumation²⁵⁶. Thus, they should have left behind a number of earthen graves. Perhaps in the Dulan region, especially the Reshui cemetery,

²⁵⁵ Wang T. Y. 2002.

²⁵⁶ WS, vol. 101, 2240.

there are grave mounds that belong to the early Tuyuhun period. However, this hypothesis awaits further archaeological excavation and systematic analyses, although the presence of silk fragments buried in the Dulan cemeteries make it plausible.

CHAPTER 6. ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF SITES ON THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU ALONG THE SILK ROAD DURING THE TUBO PERIOD (THE LATER TUYUHUN PERIOD, MID 7TH-8TH CENTURY AD)

6.1 THE TUBO-TUYUHUN CEMETERIES

6.1.1 The structure of the Tubo cemeteries: the Reshui cemetery as an example

The Tubo cemeteries are mainly distributed in Dulan County, in Delingha city and in Ulan County (**Map 6.1-1**). Dulan County is located at the southeastern fringe of the Qaidam Basin, and Delingha city and Ulan County at its northeastern edge. They are most concentrated in Dulan County. Current archaeological surveys and excavations have revealed that more than one thousand grave sites are disseminated in the Reshui, Xarag, Chahan Usu townships and the Qaidam He valleys, including the Reshui cemetery, the Yingdeer cemetery, the Xarag cemetery and the Kaoxiaotu cemetery (**Map 6.1-2**). The Reshui cemetery (**Map 6.1-3**), situated on the Xuwei pasture near the town of Reshui, about 10 km southeast of the town of Chahan Usu, possesses the greatest number of graves as well as the largest area. The Chahan Usu He rises from high mountains in the southeast, flows northwest through the Ela Mountains and by Dulan County, and finally disappears in the Qaidam Basin. About 165 tombs are located along the river, in the area of four villages, forming a belt 7 km long and 1 km wide. As many as a dozen or more graves were often clustered together on the terrace, and a larger grave was frequently surrounded by several dozen smaller ones, indicating the prevalence of clan burials. The cemeteries on the Xuwei pasture are divided by the river into a southern and a northern part, which are designated Section I and II respectively. The tombs in Section I (**Map 6.1-4**) are quite dense and of varying sizes. The largest tomb Reshui M1, located at 98°18'E and 36°10'N, conjoins the Dongshan Mountain in the north and faces the Chahan Usu He in the south. Most other tombs in the section are distributed on its two sides.

During 1982–1985 more than 20 tombs including tomb Reshui M1 were excavated by the QPAI²⁵⁷. During 1994–1998, nine tombs in the Dashijiaogou cemetery in Xarag, 20 tombs at Zhigari village II in Reshui, one tomb in the Mokeligou valley as well as the Kaoxiaotu

²⁵⁷ Xu X. G. 2006b.

site in Xiangjia were disclosed²⁵⁸. Most of them are tombs of medium and small size. From July to September 1999, four large and medium-sized Tubo tombs in Section II (**Map 6.1-5, Map 6.1-6, Fig. 6.1.1-6**) of the Reshui cemetery were unearthed by the School of Archaeology and Museology, Peking University, in cooperation with QPAI²⁵⁹. The two excavations yielded a wider variety and larger quantity of artifacts, including silk, gold, silver, wooden objects and animal bones. In 2000 about ten tombs were uncovered, but only the dendrochronological date of seven tombs was presented²⁶⁰.

Although in the past decades a total of more than 80 tombs were excavated, only the four graves of the Section II excavated in 1999 were formally reported. Relying on additional sporadic and indirect reports, we could only gain a relatively rough impression about the artifacts and cultural traits of the relics. Most tombs were seriously destroyed; nevertheless their basic structure could be observed. A complete grave usually includes the following three parts:

A. *Mound*

Most tombs have mound upon the surface, varying from 2 to 35 m in height. The larger tombs are normally in tapered trapezoidal shape with a flat top, and the medium- and smaller-sized ones are round in shape. Most trapezoidal mounds face with their long side towards the river, while the shorter side faces the high mountain. The mounds have complicated inner supportive structures. They were confined by an encircling low wall above the ground, which was built of wood and stone or mere earthen bricks. Inside and above the framed wall earth and stones was filled and rammed. The larger tombs have some layers of cypress beams between the tamped earth layers for reinforcement, thus forming an earth-stone-wood structure. Usually inside the mounds of medium- or smaller-sized tombs, low earthen brick walls were built to support the earth. At the center of some mounds the stone walls were constructed in square lattice plan. At a certain depth in the mounds sacrificial animals were buried, which include sheep, horses, cattle, deer and dogs. Reshui M1 (**Fig. 6.1.1-1**) has the largest and most complicated mound on the surface, which consists of two trapezoidal mounds, with one surmounting the other, and measuring 35 m in height. The four sides of the upper mound, beginning from the north in clockwise direction, are 55, 58, 65, and 58 m long respectively. The height is about 12 m. As for the

²⁵⁸ Xu X. G. 2006b.

²⁵⁹ Dulan 2005.

²⁶⁰ Wang S. Z. 2004.

lower part, the southern side at the base measures about 160 m, and the shortest section of the northern side, 60 m. Only the upper part of the mound has been excavated. In order to determine the structure of the lower part, one big trench was dug at the place where the tomb connects to the northern mountains. To the south of the mound large scale sacrificial animal pits were wholly disclosed. The mound was built with earth, gray sandstone, pebbles and huge stones and generally encompasses an outer wooden structure, tamped enclosing wall, stonewall and other building foundations.

The outer wooden structure (**Fig. 6.1.1-2**)

The upper part of the mound is enclosed with 7 layers cypress beams in a trapezoidal plan, with each two layers spaced 0.8–1.2 m apart. The layers decreased in size from the bottom to the top, hence forming the trapezoidal frontal outline. All wood beams are placed with the thinner top towards the inside and the rough ends outside. The wood in the lower layers is thicker and longer than that in the upper layers.

Tamped enclosing wall (**Fig. 6.1.1-3**)

Under the wooden structure is one course of a tamped enclosing wall. Its plan is trapezoidal too, 3.5 m high, about 5 m long and 5 m wide. The tamped wall was built with mixture of loess and pebbles. Between every two tamped layers was placed one layer of local *salix mongolica* branches as reinforcement. The outer surface of the wall is so flat that traces of the building implements, probably wooden planks, could be seen.

Stone wall (**Fig. 6.1.1-4**)

Under the tamped wall is a circular stonewall, which was built with granite rocks. It consists of three steps, each 1 m high. The steps are separated by cypress beams. The entire structure is 3.3 m thick and 3~6 m wide. The lowest step is 56 m long on the southern side, 37 m long on the northern side and 49 m long on its eastern and western sides. The upper step lies 6.5 m below the top of the mound.

Sacrificial animal pits

A sacrificial animal pit, designated PM1, was found at a depth of 4.5 m beneath the top of the mound. It is rectangular in shape, being 5.8 m long, 4.8 m wide and 2.25 m deep. The pit was enclosed by stone walls about 1 m thick and covered with 13 cypress beams. In the pit a great quantity of the bones of goats, horses, cattle and deer was found (**Fig. 6.1.1-**

5). Another animal pit PM3 was found in its northwestern area, beneath the lower part of the mound. It is round in shape and 1.2 m in diameter and 0.4 m in depth. Inside the pit 27 skulls of cattle and sheep were buried.

Mounds of other tombs were built on a smaller scale, while their forms are approximately similar (**Fig. 6.1.1-7, 9, 10, 11**). However, there are no grave mounds with the same internal structure, showing that the reinforcements are complicated, and could serve the structural stability rather than the ritual purposes.

B. Grave Chambers

The tomb chamber is located under the mound. According to the structure, tomb chambers could be classified into following types:

Type 1: The rectangular single-chambered tomb

This type of tomb has only one stone chamber, for example tomb 99DRNM4 (**Fig. 6.1.1-7**). The top of the chamber consists of two layers of cypress beams, upon which stones were paved. The chamber has one main room and one passage. The main room is rectangular: 3.6 m long, 1.8 m wide and 1.6 m high. Its four sides and floor were built with cypress beams, which are close to the outside stone walls. The passage is about 1 m long and 1 m wide, constructed with stone walls on each side. The entrance to the passage was sealed with upright wooden posts.

Type 2: The double-chambered tomb

The rectangular tomb is divided into a front and a rear chamber. The chamber containing the deceased was often lined with wood. Tomb Zhigazi M1 in the village of Reshui displays this form (**Fig. 6.1.1-8**). Its chamber is located at the center of the tomb pit, and separated into two parts by a wood-stone wall with an entrance. The short passage in front of the front chamber was sealed with upright posts. A coffin was placed in one corner of the rear chamber; it consists of a timber base and side panels, but without a cover. The tomb floors and funerary structures were covered with stone slabs and timber planks.

Tomb 99DRNM2 also has the same structure (**Fig. 6.1.1-9**). The shaft is rectangular, 6.16 m long and 4.80 m wide. The opening of the shaft was surrounded by one course of a short earthen brick wall. At a depth of 2.3 m below the opening is the tomb chamber. Its top was covered by a layer of small stones. Above this stone layer was a mudbrick wall.

Under the stone layer is a course of cypress beams, about 11 in number. Below the beams is the rectangular chamber. Its four side walls were built of stone, while the floor remained unpaved. An outer wooden coffin fashioned of cypress beams takes up half the space of the chamber. It has an entrance towards the front half of the otherwise empty room, in which there were only several upright posts to support the tomb's ceiling.

Type 3: The multi-chambered tomb

These tombs have three or more chambers. The main chamber and its side chambers form a symmetrical composition. For example, in tomb 99DRNM1 (**Fig. 6.1.1-10**), the chambers are located at the center of the tomb and measure in total 7.05 m in width and 6.67 m in length. The chambers comprise a passage, a front chamber, a rear chamber and two side chambers. Each chamber is square in plan, and all of the ceilings were built with huge cypress beams. The front chamber was built of mudbricks, and the passage and the side chambers with stones, reinforced with upright posts. Their earthen floors were tamped. The four sides and the floor of the rear chamber were constructed with beams.

Tomb 99DRNM3 (**Fig. 6.1.1-11**) displays a different shape. It consists of three chambers: the eastern chamber, the central chamber and the western chamber. All chambers are of roughly rectangular plan. Altogether the chambers measure about 12 m long and 4 m wide. They were covered with cypress beams, and the sidewalls were built with stones. Red wood strips were placed inside to strengthen the walls. The floors were paved with mudbricks. In the earth of the eastern chamber two skeletons were found, indicating that the coffin was likely placed there.

Type 4: The multi-chambered grave with an encircling corridor

Tomb Reshui M1 is the only example of this type (**Fig. 6.1.1-12**). The chambers are located 11.5 m directly beneath the top of the mound. It has a cruciform plan and is 21 m in length from east to west and 18.5 m in width from north to south. The tomb consists of sealed stones, a wooden roof, an entrance passage, a tomb entrance and the chamber complex that includes an encircling corridor, a central chamber and three side chambers. The walls are all built with stone, sometime alternating with cypress. A low wall was built upon the wooden lintel above the entrance. The entire tomb was covered by 61 huge cypresses of 3~5 m length, the remains of which were burnt. The entrance passage, a rectangular shaft at the north of the tomb, was filled with huge stones. The entrance is on its south side, connecting the corridor with the entrance of the central chamber. In the

sidewalls of the central chamber were set large trimmed horizontal beams held in place by vertical beams, on which burned traces could be observed. The three side chambers are all rectangular in plan and built with stone and timbers; each had an opening connecting with the corridor. The tomb had been severely looted. In the central chamber numerous textile fragments belonging to clothing and funeral flags were found. The eastern chamber contained wooden food containers and a great amount of bones of cattle, goats and horses. In the western chamber the broken wooden wares and great amounts of wheat seeds were found. The southern chamber contained some wooden wares. No human bones were found.

C. External sacrificial animal pits and auxiliary buildings

Sacrificial animals are fairly common in Tubo cemeteries. They were often placed in the tomb chambers or buried in the mound. In the larger cemeteries, besides these two burial forms, they were also deposited in special separate pits. For example, on the flat ground south of the tomb Reshui M1 are 32 associated pits that occupy an area about 80 m long and 50 m wide (**Fig. 6.1.1-13, 14**). In the center are 5 long trenches, with the longer side towards the east and west. They are arranged from north to south in sequence. About 87 complete horses were buried in the pits. Other round pits are on two sides of the horse pits, numbering 14 in the east and 13 in the west. They were arranged on each side into two rows. Except for four empty pits, 13 pits contained the heads and hooves of cattle, 8 pits contained dogs, and 2 pits contained huge stones. Above the first horse pit was a huge stone, 1 m in diameter, under which horse bones with gilt silver fragments of a casket were buried.

In the vicinity of many tombs were found the foundations of houses, which were likely auxiliary buildings. In tomb Reshui M1, such a foundation was located near the base of the upper mound and to the east of its stone wall. It is rectangular in plan and built of stones. In the middle of the house foundation is a wall that subdivides the house into a southern and a northern room. In the northern room is again a wall that separates it into a smaller eastern and western room. There are two doorways in the north wall of the house.

6.1.2 Other important Tubo-Tuyuhun cemeteries

Besides the Reshui cemetery, there are more cemeteries in Dulan County located near townships like Xarag, Chahan Usu, Xiangjia, Gouli and Balong. The majority of these cemeteries was severely disturbed and has not yet been excavated scientifically. From

September to November 1994, nine tombs of the Dashijiaogou cemetery near the village of Hebei, Xarag Township, were unearthed. From 1995 to 1996, the Kexiaotu religious sites in Xiangjia Township were surveyed. In 1998 the graves in Mokeli Valley of Xiangjia Township were disclosed²⁶¹. However, they were only briefly mentioned in excavation reports. Ulan County and the city of Delingha are important distribution areas of cemeteries too. From July to August 2000, 6 tombs, 2 ritual sites and 2 house sites were excavated in Dananwan, Dulan, and later reported²⁶². In 2002, two tombs were disclosed near Delingha in Guolimu County²⁶³. Although a formal report has not appeared yet, from the indirect introduction most of the important finds were still present.

A. *The Kaoxiaotu cemetery, Xiangjia*²⁶⁴ (**Map 6.1-1/3; Fig. 6.1.2-1**)

The cemetery is located in the Kaoxiaotu valley of Xiangjia Township, in the east of Dulan County. The biggest tomb was located at the confluence of several rivers. The mound was encircled by two rectangular earthen walls, with the inner wall measuring ca. 200 m in length and width, 1.2 m in thickness and 0.50 m in height; the outer wall is ca. 350 m long, 280 m wide, 2.3 m thick and 1 m high. The mound was located in the south corner of the walls and consisted of mudbrick–stone structures; it is square in plan, 15 m long on each side, and like a stepped pyramid in shape. The pyramid shaped mound measures ca. 10 m in height and was built in three steps, with the upper step higher than the lower. On its north, east and south side is there a protruding region respectively, all measuring 5 m in length. The entrance to the tomb, which is a shaft leading to the underground chambers, was located at the eastern protruding region and reinforced with logs. The chamber is roughly rectangular in form with several rooms (the exact structure is unknown). In front of the tomb are house foundations with a stone enclosure, which could have been the platform for ceremonies. Ash could be detected nearby, and these structures are perhaps relics of the custodians or guardians of the tomb. Within the area of the cemetery two stone lions and one stone pillar were found, but they were moved from their original position (see chapter 6.2.6). The finds from the tomb chamber include the skull of a camel and goat bones with Tibetan inscriptions or drawings, figurines, and wooden slips with Tibetan inscriptions. Some votive tablets (*tsha-tschas*) were found at

²⁶¹ Xu X. G. 2006b.

²⁶² Dananwan 2002.

²⁶³ Xu/Liu 2006.

²⁶⁴ NBC 1996, 186; RCS 2002, 85-88.

the base of the foundation of the peripheral wall (see chapter 6.2.6)²⁶⁵. It is noted that some coins of Tang Dynasty minted in 725–759 AD were also found²⁶⁶. However, these finds have not yet been published.

Two medium-sized tombs, with the mounds ca. 20 m long, 10 m wide and 5–6 m high, were located on the higher land to the southwest of the largest tomb. They were severely disturbed, and the remaining parts reveal that the mounds were all built of tamped earth; occasionally mudbrick structures were employed as reinforcement. Smaller tombs, with mounds ca. 10 m long, 7 m wide and 3–4 m high, were also observed in the vicinity. The robbers' pits revealed that the mounds were built with tamped earth, and stone chambers could be seen inside.

B. The Yingdeer cemetery, Xarag²⁶⁷ (Map 6.1-1/2; Fig. 6.1.2-2)

The cemetery is located southeast of Xarag Township and 14 km east of Chahan Usu Township. One round mound remains, measuring 15 m in height and 32 m in diameter and built of tamped earth. The tamped layers are 8–10 cm thick. Encircling the mound are two wall enclosures. The inner one is square in plan, measuring 60 m on each side, with one opening in the east side. The outer wall is rectangular, measuring 200 m in length and 180 m in width. The wall is about 10 m thick, and its entrances are not distinct. Located on the periphery of the outer wall are more than 20 tombs, most of them with mounds. In view of the robbers' pits, the tombs' structures are basically the same as the Reshui cemetery.

C. The Dashijiaogou cemetery, Xarag²⁶⁸ (Map 6.1-1/5; Fig. 6.1.2-3)

The cemetery is located at 7 km east of the village of Hebei, Xarag Township, in the southern valley of the Xarag River. The mounds were destroyed, and, thus, their exact number is not clear, likely hundreds. The remaining mound of the tomb no. 1 displays a similar structure like that in the Reshui cemetery, with a square stone enclosure surrounding mudbrick-cypress structures. The tomb yielded one unidentified curved strip of gilt silver, measuring 10 cm in length, 6.2 cm width and 0.01 cm thickness and decorated with honeysuckle designs. The object is likely the handle of a weapon or tool. The other collected materials include ceramic fragments, bronze objects, bows and arrows.

²⁶⁵ Heller 2003a; 2003c.

²⁶⁶ Heller 2003c; Tang H. S. 2003.

²⁶⁷ NBC 1996, 185.

²⁶⁸ RCS 2002, 99.

D. The Dananwan cemetery, Ulan²⁶⁹ (**Map 6.1-1/18**)

The Dananwan site is located in the village of Chahannuo, Tongpu Township, in Ulan County. It is 20 km east of the county town. The site lies in a small basin that is surrounded by mountains. The excavation in 2000 uncovered several tombs, two ritual sites and the remains of two houses. Analyses revealed that the two so-called ritual sites were tombs as well.

Tombs M1 and M3 are of the typical Tubo tomb style. They both have a round mound above the ground. The mound of M1 (**Fig. 6.1.2-4**) is 1.7 m in height and 12 m in diameter. Under the surface soil three layers of mudbricks were set. Below the mudbrick layers is an ash deposit of 0.10 m thickness, which contained a few cattle and horse bones, and some black-gray pottery fragments. The lower part of this deposit layer consists of tamped earth. A square pit, about 6 m long and 2.4 m deep, was dug into the ground. Tomb looters left nothing inside of it. The mound of Tomb M3 (**Fig. 6.1.2-5**) is 0.5 m in height and 13 m in diameter. It was built with mudbricks and tamped earth. The tomb shaft is rectangular: 9.5 m wide along its east and west side, and 11 m long along its north and south side. The chambers built of mudbricks were separated into three rooms and connected with passages. The doorway was placed in the southeastern corner. In the four corners are pillar holes with a square stone base inside each. In the middle of the north wall was a flat stone, upon which a reddish clay pot had been inverted; it contained the burial of an infant. On the floor was reddish burnt earth containing cattle and sheep bones. The tomb yielded one small pottery ring, one bronze button and other bronze ornaments.

The other tombs, except for tomb M4, were severely looted and could not be clearly dated. Tomb M4 is a tomb with a shaft. The structure is too different to be described as a Tubo-Tuyuhun tomb. Tomb M2 has a mound measuring 27 m in diameter and 7 m in height. It was totally destroyed, and a clay *tsha-tscha* was left by looters.

The reported ritual sites J1 and J2 are likely two more Tubo-Tuyuhun tombs. The plan of J1 (**Fig. 6.1.2-6/1**) is nearly square, with 10 m length and 9.4 m width. It has a mound that is 0.4 m in height and 4 m in diameter. In the mound were found a few bones of cattle and sheep. Inscribed on one ox skull was a black cross, probably for divination. Below the mound was a square pit, whose fill consisted of five layers: Two stone layers and two earthen layers placed in alternating order, with a cypress stick was erected in the center of

²⁶⁹ Dananwan 2002.

the lower stone layer. The fifth layer is burnt earth containing a few sheep bones. Underneath the fifth layer in the center of the pit was a wooden coffin, which measures 1.45 m in length, 0.45 m in width and 0.38 m in height. The coffin (**Fig. 6.1.2-6/2**) was made of wooden planks for the cover and the sides, while the base was the earthen floor. Two square holes were cut into the coffin's lid. A board separates the coffin into two parts, inside which sheep bones and grains had been placed. Fifteen postholes are distributed along the four sides of the pit and surround the coffin at regular intervals; the holes are mostly square in outline and 0.25–0.30 m deep. In some holes were flat pebbles. Other holes held the remains of broken wood with colorful pigments traces. Hole D7 is about 0.97 m deep. The original wooden pillar was decayed. Buried at the bottom of the hole were six Sasanian silver coins and one Byzantine gold coin. Some stones remained, under which ashes and charcoal could be observed.

Site J2 is square in plan, consisting of one mudbrick platform and a house ruin. The mound is 2 m in height and 7 m in diameter. The platform, 1.4 m high, had a plaster covering on its surface. In the center a stone structure was built in a lattice shape (**Fig. 6.1.2-7/1**), below which was another stone structure, cruciform in plan (**Fig. 6.1.2-7/2**). The second stone structure divides the platform into four square rooms; however, nothing was found inside them. The platform was built upon a cobblestone base. It was adjoined by a rectangular building, 7 m long and 3.2 m wide. A three-stepped ladder inside made it easy to climb onto the platform. A doorway is situated in the north side, and two separate small rooms were built along the south side. A pillar hole was dug near the ladder, and a stone pillar base was found in the southeast corner, which displayed the remains of rotten wood. The site yielded some pieces of gray pottery and cattle and sheep bones. The burnt earth was preserved.

Although no skeletons were found at the two sites, they both, nevertheless, have complicated mound structures and burial furniture. J1 has a wooden coffin, and J2, some stone rooms. Animal bones were very common. The house in J2 could be related with the house relics adjoining the mound of Reshui M1.

E. *The Guolimu cemetery, Delingha²⁷⁰ (Map 6.1-1/21)*

The Guolimu County is about 30 km southwest of the city of Delingha. In August 2002, two tombs were found on the south side of the Bayin River, near the foot of the Caochang

²⁷⁰ Xu/Liu 2006.

Mountain, Xiatatu (**Fig. 6.1.2-8/1**). Archaeologists from QPAI and the Museum of Haixi Prefecture conducted an excavation. Although both tombs were seriously disturbed, some finds were made that are of great significance.

The two tombs each have an earthen mound that is about 1.5 m high. Both consist of a single shaft that is rectangular, 4 m long and 2.5 m wide, with a rectangular sloping passage leading to the shaft. Tomb M1 (**Fig. 6.1.2-8/2**) contains a wooden chamber and a coffin. Its occupants were a couple: a male and female (likely husband and wife). One complete horse and one complete camel were buried on the two sides of the outer wooden coffin, respectively. Many silks were found, including *jin* (brocade), *ling* (damask), *luo* (leno), and *juan* (general types of tabby weaves). There were also some wooden objects like a bowl, a saddle and the model of a bird. The other tomb M2 (**Fig. 6.1.2-8/3**) is a transferred burial, that is, human bones were in a small coffin which was in turn contained by a bigger outer coffin. The opening of the earthen shaft was covered with cypress timbers, on which placed sheep bones. The tomb yielded many fragments of silk and wooden objects, such as a saddle, a quiver and the model of a bird, and a large pottery jar. The decorative patterns include honeysuckle and other floral designs, and confronted dragons enclosed in pearl roundels. In view of the Tibetan images painted on the coffin planks, the excavator dated them to the High Tang period, approximately 700–750 AD.

The painted coffins in the two tombs are the most valuable discoveries. The outer surface of three coffins was covered with abundant paintings. Each coffin included two side planks, two end panels and one lid. The side planks of two coffins and three pairs end panels were already published by the QPAI, or an on-site copied by this author, while the side planks of the third one and the lids of all coffins are still unavailable. In view of the importance of these paintings, I shall make a more detailed analysis of them in chapter 6.5.

6.1.3 A discussion of the general features of the Tubo-Tuyuhun tombs

From a general point of view, the site chosen, the distribution plan and the mound structures are all similar to those in Tubo cemeteries that are found in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The large- and medium-sized graves of the Tubo period in Central Tibet are scattered along the lower Yarlung Zangbo River. Thereby, Xigaze, Lhasa, Shannan and Nyingchi are the most concentrated regions, where graves amount to more than ten thousand. Principally the choice of a site for a tomb was governed by geomantic rites, in which locations on the slopes or at the foot of a mountain overlooking the broad

fields, or on slopes facing a watercourse were preferred²⁷¹. The cemetery normally had one or more tombs that were the largest at the center or on the highest point of the terrace. The medium- and small-sized tombs were placed at the sides and in the lower areas. The typical Tubo cemeteries like the cemetery of Tubo kings in Qionggyai County, the Ningshan cemetery in Sa'gya County, the Chamuqin cemetery in Lhaze County, the Jidui cemetery in Lhunze County and the Hongmushan cemetery in Nedong County all display the same layout. Mounds of these cemeteries can be categorized roughly into two types. The majority of mounds of the larger tombs have a trapezoidal plan, with the longer side facing the lower lying river and the shorter side facing the high mountains. The frontal planes are tapered with flat top like a pyramid. CFYG²⁷² states: “When (a Tibetan) died, cattle and horses would be killed for sacrifice. Heads of cattle and horses are piled upon the grave mound, which is in square shape, built with stone and looks like a flat-topped house.” It is proposed that the importance of the mountain-divinities in Tibetan pre-Buddhist cults were well known, and that the position of the tumuli’s short sides facing the high mountain might be related to a cult of sacred mountain, whose summit might have been the seat of the divinity²⁷³.

The mounds of the smaller graves are usually circular or oval, which perhaps is indicative of the deceaseds’ lower social class. The mounds were built with tamped earth together with wood, stone or mudbrick to support the structures. The mounds of larger tombs have a more complicated interior structure, especially in the Tubo kings’ graves in Qonggyai. JTS²⁷⁴ states: “When the *Zanpu* (Tubo king) died … the great houses were constructed on the grave, an earthen mound was built, and various woods were inserted to make a ceremonial place.”

Auxiliary buildings were very common in the cemeteries. Some buildings were built on the top of the mound and others in the lower space in front of the mounds. The buildings served for sacrificial purposes, or they provided accommodations for the tomb guards. XTS²⁷⁵ states: “There are many cypresses on the mountains. Many grave mounds are distributed over the hillsides, nearby which houses were built and painted with vermilion color and white tiger images.” Remains of the sacrificial animals played an important role

²⁷¹ He Q. 1993.

²⁷² CFYG, vol. 961, 11308.

²⁷³ Caffarelli 1997.

²⁷⁴ JTS, vol. 19, 5220.

²⁷⁵ XTS, vol. 216, 6103.

in all cemeteries. Animals like horses, cattle, yaks, sheep and dogs were interred in special sacrificial pits or trenches that were arranged regularly in front of the grave mounds, or they were buried in certain places in the mounds, or they were placed in the grave chambers or the auxiliary buildings. In some cemeteries the sacrificial animals were found in very large numbers. For example, the Chawugang cemetery in Lhaze County has about 300 graves and several tens of sacrificial horse pits. Some trenches of animals were excavated in the Qielongzemu cemetery in Nedong County. One trench of ca. 9 m length contained more than six horses aligned in a row²⁷⁶. The sacrificial custom on the Tibetan Plateau is clearly documented in Chinese sources. Documented in SuS²⁷⁷: “(in the Fu Kingdom) when there is a funeral, relatives and guests must be assembled, and the slain horses could easily amount to hundreds”. The horse sacrifice was one important program of the royal and aristocratic funeral ceremonies. Normally, the higher social status of the deceased, the greater the number of horses that were buried.

The chambers of the largest tomb, Reshui M1, and certain medium-sized tombs were built in a cruciform. In some grave mounds lattice-shaped stone structures were constructed. They correspond with the structures of the recorded royal graves. The grave of the Tubo King Songtsen Gampo has not yet been excavated. Its inner structure, however, could be revealed and reconstructed to some extent by tracing the Tibetan documents, as Haarh has done²⁷⁸, although it seems to be very imaginative and imprecise. His reconstruction shows a square chamber that is divided into nine cells. Tomb chambers that have been disclosed thus far in the Reshui cemetery do provide some supportive evidence for Haarh’s plan, and also inform about the high status of the tomb owners as well as their cultural background.

A large number of graves in Dulan did not contain any burial furniture. The deceased were placed directly upon the stone and timber flooring, generally in a contracted position, facing downwards or turned to one side, while the supine position was very rare. Reinterred burials were also observed. Graves normally consisted of single burials, double burials of a male and a female, or several individuals buried together²⁷⁹. The same burial practices were very widespread in Central Tibet²⁸⁰.

²⁷⁶ Qielongzemu 1985.

²⁷⁷ SuS, vol. 83, 1858.

²⁷⁸ Haarh 1969, 380–391.

²⁷⁹ Xu X. G. 1996b.

²⁸⁰ Huo W. 1995a.

Many aspects of the Tubo tombs are similar to the royal cemeteries of the Central Plain, for example, the trapezoidal mound and the stone monuments in front of them. Many mausoleums of the Tang emperors had a great earthen mound in tapered square or trapezoidal shape. In particular, the grave of Prince Huizhuang (buried in 724 AD)²⁸¹ in Pucheng County, Shaanxi, which has a mound in a similar tapered trapezoidal form. Two stone statues of a crouching lion on the southwestern side of the mound are almost same as those found in Dulan and Central Tibet. In the Tang royal cemeteries, a square wall surrounds the mausoleum and its accompanying graves, thus forming a cemetery yard; this composition finds parallels in the Yingdeer and Kaoxiaotu cemeteries as well. The mausoleum complex during the Tang period was fairly advanced and influential in many respects. Due to the regular communication between Tang and Tubo, especially Tubo's thirst for knowledge and technique from Tang, it is highly probable that the complex of royal cemeteries was introduced to the Tubo region and then adapted to local funeral practices.

Although burial customs in Dulan and vicinity resemble those in Central Tibet to great extent and can be regarded as one provincial type of the classical Tubo culture, other provincial features existed as well that differed from the Yarlung Zangbo Jiang River regions. For example, the prevailing wooden furniture rarely appears in Central Tibet, where either only stone coffins were used or even no coffin at all²⁸². The cypress wooden frames seem to have inherited some features from the Han and Jin cemeteries in the He-Huang region, since in Shangsunjiazhai cemetery a similar type of wooden furniture was found (**Fig. 4.2.1-3**). Their chamber entrances were both sealed by upright posts. The inner painted wooden coffins found in the city of Delingha probably had another origin, yet were also indirectly from the Central Plain. In particular, the images of the Four Mysterious Creatures on the end panels of the painted coffins have long been a traditional theme in Han culture. Their artistic styles are exactly those of the Tang period.

Qinghai Province was the frontier both of the Tang culture and of the Tubo culture. Undoubtedly it was influenced by both cultures and formed its own style. The Tibetan culture predominated for political reasons. Some factors were introduced from the Han region of Central China, while most others from the Central Tibet, where was the political and cultural heartland. Archaeological finds also show that the Tubo costume, Tibetan language and Bon religion flourished in the area. This aspect will be further analysed in

²⁸¹ Huizhuang Tomb 1999.

²⁸² Hou S. Z. 1993.

following chapters. As the crucial bridge linking the Tubo heartland with Central Asia and the Central Plain of China, the Dulan region was the first station in the expansion of Tubo culture. Obviously Dulan cemetery can be regarded as a peripheral model of the Tubo culture.

6.2 BURIAL GOODS

6.2.1 Pottery

Pottery in the Reshui cemeteries was not found in great quantities. Hitherto only the pottery in section II has been reported²⁸³, which includes less than ten identifiable pieces. There are three kinds of pottery: two-handled jars that are painted, cups and simple jars. Two painted two-handled jar were found in 99DRNM1 (**Fig. 6.2.1-1/1; Fig. 6.2.1-2/4**), one of which is relatively large. Both are made of sandy gray or dark gray clay and wheel-made; they have a flared mouth, contracted neck, flat base and round belly; the two handles are attached oppositely on the belly, at about the largest diameter. The vessels' bodies are painted with red, blue, white and orange, whereby the patterns are very blurred. Some wave and cord patterns were incised on the shoulder or belly. One fragment of a painted rim probably belongs to this category (**Fig. 6.2.1-2/1**). The outer surface displays a floral decorative motif, and the inner side of the rim was painted too. The two-handled jar in tomb 99DRNM2 is not painted, but has a rich decoration composed of cords, waves, and punctated designs on its shoulder and belly (**Fig. 6.2.1-2/5**). The neck also has an encircling horizontal ridge. The tomb yielded two other pieces of pottery. One is a cup, made of gray clay tempered with mica particles, and made by hand (**Fig. 6.2.1-2/2**). It has a vertical form and a handle. Food residue was preserved inside the cup, while the outer surface and the base showed ash remains. The cup was unearthed from the mound at the depth of 2.90 m beneath the top; possibly it was left there by the tomb builders, after it was broken. The other piece of pottery is a jar (**Fig. 6.2.1-2/3**), found in a robbers' pit. It is made of similar material and has a flared mouth, round belly and flat base. Ash remains were noted on the surface and base. Tomb 99DRNM3 yielded one complete jar and some pottery fragments (**Fig. 6.2.1-1/3, 4, 5**). The jar's shape approximates that of the large two-handled jar from M1. It is made of dark gray sandy clay. Other sherds include rims, handles and decorated parts. Their incised wavy patterns are similar to the pieces from tomb 99DRNM1.

²⁸³ Dulan 2005.

6.2.2 Painted wooden fragments

Painted wooden furniture or burial objects were very common. The finds include wooden planks and various components of certain pieces of furniture. The wooden objects were likely manufactured in the vicinity of Dulan. An examination of them shed valuable light on the origin of other materials, whose provenance could not be identified easily.

Reshui section II yielded a number of wooden fragments with various paintings. Except for one wooden casket in tomb 99DRNM3, most examples are fragmentary and could not be reconstructed; thus, their shape and function are unknown. The casket was found in the disturbed earth in the passage of tomb 99DRNM3 (**Fig. 6.2.2-1, 2**). It was rectangular in shape, measuring 44 cm in length, 40 cm in width (bottom, height unknown), and was made of cypress planks. The outer surface of all of the planks was painted. Each side consists of four planks joined together with iron nails, of which only traces remain. Decorative designs were applied on the exterior surface. The designs on the uppermost four side planks – counter-clockwise – depict two clouds, a man shooting a deer, two musicians playing a lute and a *sheng* (a reed wind instrument). Each of the figures is enclosed separately in a rather heart-shaped outlined space, which is not very large and, therefore, the figures are in a sitting position. The hunters and musicians are in Tubo costume, with red painting on their faces (see chapter 6.5.2). The scenes and compositions are analogous with the paintings on the side panels of the Guolimu coffins, suggesting the same tradition. All of the lower planks were painted with floral and geometric patterns (**Fig. 6.2.2-3**), which are accordant in style with the paintings on the end panels (**Fig. 6.5.1-5~10**) and some fragmentary pieces (**Fig. 6.2.2-4**) of the Guolimu wooden coffins. The other tombs yielded wooden pieces too (**Fig. 6.2.2-5**). Although they need not belong to the same kind of furniture, their floral and geometric designs are identical. Some floral patterns seem plump and full like clouds, which is likely a variation of the honeysuckle motif. One piece of wood shows part of a bird's wing and an exuberant floral scroll behind and a patch of the lotus-form petals at the bottom (**Fig. 6.2.2-5/6**). The same design is on the left part of the end panel of the Guolimu coffin painting (**Fig. 6.5.1-5**). The reconstructed figure is likely a vermilion bird standing on a lotus platform.

The bottom of the casket was simply painted white and blue. All paintings were rendered in white and red colors as the background, and then the figures were outlined with blue, and finally filled in with proper colors.

The aesthetic style of the paintings corresponds with the floral designs on the gold and

silver objects illustrated in chapter 6.2.8. Hence, we could easily draw the conclusion that they derived from the same cultural sphere. Humans and horses were delineated on some planks (**Fig. 6.2.2-6**), recalling the scenes on the Guolimu coffin paintings. One figure has a full beard and a high-bridged nose. It is obviously a typical Tang manner of portrayal, although the figure depicted was neither Chinese nor Tubo, but possibly of Central Asian origin.

Painted wooden planks are supposedly the remains of caskets or coffins that contained burial objects like the Guolimu finds, but they are relatively small and thin. Further proof is needed to identify their usages.

6.2.3 Leatherware

Leatherware was found in four tombs in Reshui section II. Tomb 99DRNM1 contained five leather shoes. They are black and still maintain good elasticity; the kind of animal hide is awaiting identification. One shoe is complete and displays a slightly pointed toe, a flat sole and a high tube-shape upper part (**Fig. 6.2.3-1**). It is composed of three pieces: the heel and back section of the tube; the front part of tube; vamp and sole. The pinholes at the edge of the pieces are quite clear and aligned, inside which thread in golden color can still be recognized. The tube-part and vamp were affixed by two layers of leather, and the heel and toe were also backed with a kind of soft skin. The other four remains represent only the sole and vamp part (**Fig. 6.2.3-2**), which have the same shape as the complete shoe; some have an additional leather strip at the joint of sole and vamp.

Two pairs of leather shoes were found in tomb 99DRNM3, two of which are complete. Their form is similar to that of the shoes in tomb M1 (**Fig. 6.2.3-3**). Tomb 99DRNM2 yielded one piece of leather and one strip with pinholes; both are black. The first piece is irregular in shape. The stitched traces could be seen on the edges of the second piece. It is highly probable that they are part of leather shoe. Another piece of leather was found in tomb 99DRNM4. It is quite fragmentary, and displays only a round edge and traces of stitching with white thread. The surface was treated, and is soft and shiny.

The form of shoes is depicted in profusion in wooden coffin paintings and other Tubo images (see chapter 6.5), especially the shoes of Blon-po mGar, which was clearly made of leather. Some depicted shoes have a taller tube part and sharper toes than those of the real finds, suggesting there could be several variations. This black leather footwear was generally in widespread use across Central Asia, even among many remote nomadic tribes from the 6th century onwards as well as the Tang people. A part of Tubo costume, it was

influenced by Sogdian and Tujue attire.

Several sections of leather belts were found in 99DRNM1. Two rows of round holes are visible on the belt, some of them with the remains of small silver nails inside. The front side of all of the belts is black (**Fig. 6.2.3-4**).

The four tombs with remains leatherware, although seriously disturbed, show that leather was commonly used by local people. XTS²⁸⁴ recorded that Tubo people all wore costumes of felt and leather. This also indicates that the shoes were local products.

6.2.4 Bronze and iron

Bronze objects could be sorted into three categories: belt buckles and belt hooks, ornaments, and bells as well as other small finds. Two belt buckles were found in tomb 99DRNM1, one larger and one smaller example; both were forged (**Fig. 6.2.4-1/1, 3**) and were not decorated. Each of the Dananwan tombs M3 and M4 in Ulan contained one buckle, one of which still bore remains of the leather belt (**Fig. 6.2.4-2/1, 2**). Tomb M4 had a gilt bronze belt hook, which is rare in the region (**Fig. 6.2.4-2/3**). It shows in a crouching tiger shape. On its bottom are two knobs used to hook the belt.

In the same tomb M1 five rosette-shaped ornaments were unearthed (**Fig. 6.2.4-1/2, 3, 4, 5, 6**). They are all similar in shape and do not differ greatly in size; each has six ring-like petals centered one central iron nail. The top of some nails is covered with silver sheet. One nail still carries the remains of wood fragments. Fifteen similar bronze ornaments were found in tomb 99DRNM4 (**Fig. 6.2.4-1/7**). These ornaments were probably used to decorate the exterior surface of certain wooden objects.

Tomb 99DRNM3 yielded about nine bronze articles, including two bells, two handles of certain objects, one painted fragment, some unidentifiable fragments and other objects (**Fig. 6.2.4-3**). The larger bell is a sphere, composed of two hemispheres. On its top is a ring-shaped handle, in which a section of textile was preserved and which was used to attach the bell. At the place where the handle adjoins the spherical bell is an applique of eight petals. The bottom of the bell has an opening in the shape of a long strip with two round ends. Inner the bell is a solid bronze ball (**Fig. 6.2.4-3/3**). Another bell has about the same shape, but is smaller and without an ornament (**Fig. 6.2.4-3/2**). The handle of a bronze object was found in the robbers' pit in tombM3. It has the shape of a long stick with a fragment of the main body (**Fig. 6.2.4-3/1**). A painted bronze fragment (**Fig. 6.2.4-**

²⁸⁴ XTS, vol. 216, 6072.

3/4) was found beside the painted wooden cock, entangled with some bronze strips, indicating their usage. The cloud and strip patterns were painted in red against the yellow ground.

Iron objects are very rare. In Reshui section II only three pieces were found in the disturbed earth of tomb 99DRNM3; they include one knife with a wooden scabbard (**Fig. 6.2.4-3/5**), one buckle (**Fig. 6.2.4-3/6**) and a spade. In Dananwan tomb M4 one piece of iron armor was discovered, in badly rusted condition and only in fragments. It consists of separate iron plates that overlap partly, one by one, and are fastened with wire. The plates were backed with silk, of which only some traces remain. Each plate is rectangular (**Fig. 6.2.4-4**). The iron armor appears very like the lacquer armor unearthed in the Kaoxiaotu cemetery (**Fig. 6.2.7-5**).

6.2.5 Semiprecious stones

The majority of semiprecious stones used to make ornaments is turquoise. Usually the turquoise was inlaid in ornaments of other precious materials, like gold and silver (see chapter 6.2.7). The fragmentary finds also make up a large proportion. Forty-five pieces of turquoise in various shapes were discovered in tomb 99DRNM1 (**Fig. 6.2.5-1/1**). Their colors range from blue, bright green, dark green to emerald green. Four pieces are rectangular; the largest one was perforated. Eleven pieces are round without perforation, and their sizes vary greatly. The surface of the turquoise was polished, whereby some of them have been carved. Tomb 99DRNM3 yielded three pieces. One is oblong, perforated and emerald green. The perforated pieces were likely from strings of beads, while the unperforated beads were likely inlaid in other objects.

One semiprecious stone was collected from the rear chamber of tomb 99DRNM1. It is hemispherical in shape, glassy and transparent, and has neither color nor decoration. On its base are the remains of black powder and minute bright fragments, which are probably mica (**Fig. 6.2.5-1/2**).

Two preserved strings of semiprecious stone ornaments were unearthed in tomb 99DRNM3, each strung with perforated beads in five colors: red, emerald green, black, bright green and white. The beads, 25 in all, have a lozenge shape. The arrangement of stones of different color on the strings was at random (**Fig. 6.2.5-1/3**). The tomb also yielded many small pieces of calcite. It is conjectured that they are related to the Bon funeral ceremony.

Two pieces of silk from tomb 99DRNM3 bear a string of pearls. One piece has a knot at one end, to which is stitched a green filament threading seven pearls. The pearls are more or less spherical (**Fig. 6.2.5-1/4**). Considering that the silk pieces were products from the Tang region, the pearls should also be Tang imports. Tomb Reshui M1 yielded some perforated beads of blue glass. They are approximately the same size, shape and color, and were originally on a string and used as a body ornaments (**Fig. 6.2.5-2**).

It is difficult to determine the provenances of most ornaments. Tibetans have long been fond of turquoises, but actual finds are few, and even less than those depicted in coffin paintings. During the prehistoric period the material was fashionable in many neighboring regions, especially as inlay in certain metalwork, and at least in the early medieval period turquoise was endowed with a certain mysterious or religious significance²⁸⁵. The finds in these tombs could be seen as the initial practices that gained later popularity.

6.2.6 Stone, brick, wood and clay sculptures

The stone statues found in the cemeteries are large in size. They were placed as special monuments in front of the great cemetery, or they belonged to the auxiliary buildings of the cemetery. The finds include one pair of sitting lions, a pillar and a column base. The two lion statues (**Fig. 6.2.6-1**) were originally situated in the Kaoxiaotu cemetery. Now they are in the QPAI collection. The two lions differ in size: 0.83 m and 0.76 m in height respectively, indicating they might represent one couple, a male and a female. It is said that in the 1996 excavation one *kaiyuan tongbao* coin, dated to 729 AD, was discovered in the same stratum as the buried lions²⁸⁶. The two lion statues were carved out of granite in the same Tubo style, and each possesses a long curled mane covering the head and neck, a concave forehead, an obvious protruding breast, a medial line on the back and chest and a tail curled between the haunches and up to waist-height on the left side. These features are quite similar to those of stone lions unearthed in the Tubo kings' cemeteries in Central Tibet, for example, the Chamuqin cemetery in Lhaze County and the cemetery in Qionggyai County. They also recall the lion figures on the golden belt ornaments from other Dulan cemeteries (**Fig. 6.2.8-16/ 3, 4**). The provenance of the stone lions in Tubo territory was clearly Tang China. Many stone lion statues have been found in Tang imperial tombs, which bear resemblance to these characteristics, with slight differences.

²⁸⁵ Cui Z. N. 2007.

²⁸⁶ Tang H. S. 2003.

One example is the stone lions in front of the tomb of Prince Huizhuang²⁸⁷ and from the spirit road of General Li Ji at Zhao Ling²⁸⁸. The lion is not an indigenous Chinese animal; but with the introduction of Buddhism, it began to be a popular motif in the fifth century, continuing through the Sui and into the Tang dynasties. Although lion-like creatures guard the Eastern Han burial grounds (“spirit road”), more recognizably leonine guardians protect Tang mausoleums²⁸⁹.

The stone pillar found in the Kaoxiaoatu cemetery was also a result of such influence from the neighboring civilization. The surviving fragments are in cubiform with 3–4 m height, 0.20 m width and length. They could be relics of certain structures that were in front of the cemetery. The Dananwan cemetery yielded two stone column bases that follow in a characteristic Tang typology²⁹⁰ (**Fig. 6.2.6-2**). They have a round shape, ornamented with eight lotus petals, and measure 30 cm in diameter and 20 cm in height. At the center of the upper flat surface is a small hole for securing the column – which was missing – that was inserted above. This kind of columns was very common in Tang China.

Images of lions also appeared on the brick sculpture and wooden objects. One square pictorial brick found in Xinghai, which measures 33 cm long, 32 cm wide and 5 cm thick, carries the image of a lion sitting on a lotus platform and surrounded by scrolled floral pattern²⁹¹ (**Fig. 6.2.6-3**). The composition is reminiscent of the coffin paintings in the Guolimu cemetery (see chapter 6.5.1). It was evidently in the Tang artistic style, while representing some local traits as well, such as the thick foliage at the back of the lion, which was the way of Tubo depiction.

Painted and gilded wooden figurines were special burial objects in Tubo tombs. The wooden models were common in Han Chinese cemeteries of the very early period, especially Eastern Han tombs in the Gansu Corridor. They were used as substitutes of the real objects or human and could be placed in the graves or attached to other objects. The wooden models found in the Tubo tombs were often heavily painted and gilded. Lions and birds were the most popular motifs, including some equestrian figurines as well. Lion models were carved vividly in a standing position with its mouth wide opened (**Fig. 6.2.6-4**). Their backs were carved flat with a hole, showing that they were presumably attached

²⁸⁷ Huizhuang Tomb 1999.

²⁸⁸ Juliano 1981, 151, bottom left.

²⁸⁹ Juliano/Lerner 2001, 268.

²⁹⁰ Dananwan 2002.

²⁹¹ Xu X. G. 1996c.

to some other appliances. Some red and yellow pigments and gold coating still remain on the bodies. One pair of bird models unearthed from tomb 99DRNM3 in the Reshui cemetery was relatively well preserved (**Fig. 6.2.6-5**). They were made in the similar size and form, 8.6 cm high and 32.6 cm wide, and consist of several components. Rectangular holes on the main body were chiseled at the places where the wings and feet that join the main body were to be attached. The wings are spread wide, whereas the feet are missing. The bird bellies were gilded, and the rest of the body including the long plumes of wings was painted red, yellow and green in order. One bird model with a bronze leg and a conical wooden pedestal indicates how these models were placed (**Fig. 6.2.6-6/1**). Some bird heads and bodies are preserved, but separated from each other, most of which were painted or gilded (**Fig. 6.2.6-6/2, 3; Fig. 6.2.6-7**). Some bird heads, ca. 3 cm long, were inlaid with turquoise to emphasise their eyes (**Fig. 6.2.6-7/1, 3, 4**). These birds are likely phoenixes or cocks, which appear very often in coffin paintings in the Guolimu cemetery (see chapter 6.5.1).

Some equestrians were modeled in an austere style. Each piece was carved from a whole piece of wood. Few details are depicted, but the costume with long sleeves and girdle can be recognized (**Fig. 6.2.6-8/1**), indicating that the equestrians were undoubtedly Tubo people (see chapter 6.5.2). One figurine wears armor, with ink-sketched scales fully covering the front and back. The side-slit of the robe was also one feature of the Tubo costume (**Fig. 6.2.6-8/3**).

One tile end with a winged creature is in the collection of the Museum of Minhe County in the town of Chuankou²⁹² (**Fig. 6.2.6-9**). It is about 13 cm in diameter and depicts a figure standing frontally and playing a musical instrument, which is likely a flute. The figure is a hybrid being, both human and bird; its double wings spread behind the body, and the claws of the plumed hinter part of the body are visible. The figure is encircled by beads along the edge of the tile end. It is likely the celestial musician *Kalavinka*, a common Buddhist motif of the Tang period both in Central China and Tibet (see chapter 6.2.8). The tile end was found at the place between these two regions, providing convincing evidence of the diffusion of this motif as well as Buddhism.

Buddhist influence is reflected in more finds, and shows more local characteristics as well. In Tubo tombs and their vicinity *tsha-tschas* were found occasionally. The designation *tsha-tschas*, a word of Prakrit origin, is for a tiny clay cone-like or stupa-shaped amulet,

²⁹² RCS 2002, 106; Chen S. X. et al. 2000, fig. 157.

molded and impressed with Buddhist divinities and script. These objects were left at the tombs as offerings for the dead. It bears formulas written in Sanskrit and later in Tibetan characters, which were used as a model in Tibet²⁹³. The Kaoxiaotu cemetery yielded two pieces of *tsha-tscha*s (**Fig. 6.2.6-10/1**), measuring ca. 7 cm and 2.5 cm in diameter respectively. Each piece displays a divinity, one sitting upright and cross-legged, while the other sits in a relaxed pose atop a lotus pedestal²⁹⁴. It was noted that one other *tsha-tsha*, in the shape of a stupa, was found under the foundations of the peripheral wall at the Kaoxiaotu cemetery²⁹⁵, but its picture is not presented. In inner Tibet a large number of *tsha-tscha*s have been found, most of which are dated to a later period (at least after the 11th century)²⁹⁶, whereas some very similar finds in eastern India or Bangladesh are dated to ca. the 8th century²⁹⁷. The excavation of Buddhist temple-sites at Damagou in Qira County of Hetian Prefecture (Khotan), Xinjiang, has yielded several clay *tsha-tsha* too²⁹⁸ (**Fig. 6.2.6-10/2**). Their forms and molded figures are quite similar to the Kaoxiaotu items. Temple no. 2, where the *tsha-tscha*s were unearthed, also yielded *kaiyuantongbao* coins, just as in the Kaoxiaotu cemetery, and thus the temple is dated to the Tang Dynasty. The excavators date the *tsha-tscha*s prudentially to the 10th-11th century. In my opinion, they were probably manufactured during the approximate period as the Kaoxiaotu *tsha-tscha*s, i.e. in the 8th-9th century. Their appearance in Dulan and Khotan on the Silk Road should reflect certain connections between the two regions and their close links with Central Tibet as well.

The same is the case in the Dananwan cemetery in Ulan. The cemeteries contained several *tsha-tscha*s in different forms²⁹⁹ (**Fig. 6.2.6-10/3**), apparently symbolizing stupa. They are again dated to the 11th century, although the house foundations where they were found are dated to the Tang or Tubo period.

6.2.7 Lacquerware

A certain number of lacquerware was found in the Dulan tombs, whereby a great number

²⁹³ Tucci 1973, 117.

²⁹⁴ RCS 2002, 220.

²⁹⁵ Heller 2003a.

²⁹⁶ Tucci 1973, 117-118.

²⁹⁷ Huntington/Huntington 1990, pl. 53, pl. 54, pl. 55.

²⁹⁸ Damagou 2007.

²⁹⁹ Dananwan 2002.

is represented by fragments, and only some of these could be reconstructed. Many of the lacquer objects was used daily as tableware, such as bowls, cups, dishes, and jars. Other objects like saddles, quivers, armor and structural components were also lacquered (**Fig. 6.2.7-1, 2, 3, 4, 5**) (**Table 6.2.7-1**). The tableware was carved out of a larger wooden block and coated with black or purple-black lacquer or varnish. There are three ways of manufacturing lacquerware: 1. Lacquer is rendered directly onto the wooden body; 2. The polished wooden body is coated with a layer of gray clay, and then polished again and covered with lacquer; 3. The cracks on the surface of the wood are filled and polished first, and then the wood is coated with one or two layers of flax cloth; as the last, lacquer is applied to the cloth. Most products are very shiny and glossy and of superb quality³⁰⁰.

Lacquerware that appeared in peripheral areas of China and in foreign territories was commonly imported from China, especially from central and southwest China. Trade in lacquerware played an important role in the Han-Tang period. However, judging from the forms and functions of the Dulan lacquers, they could have been local products. Especially in the case of lacquered architectural components, it does not seem possible that they were exported from distant regions. Lacquer saddles and fragments of birch-bark ware all appear in the same forms as wooden examples, indicating the same provenience or cultural sphere. Tableware appears in relatively simple and monotonous forms and bears no exquisite, traditional Chinese patterns. Lacquer colors are similar to other lacquer objects, demonstrating the use of the same techniques.

Some bowls bear Chinese or Tibetan inscriptions, both of which were written with lacquer at random. The Chinese words only show numbers, counted by the craftsmen in the process of production (**Fig. 6.2.7-1/9**). These artisans could have been Chinese or Tubo-Tuyuhun people who mastered the Chinese language. The Tibetan inscription (not legible) also supports the latter possibility; at least the Tibetan-speaking craftsmen took part in the manufacture of the objects.

According to Chinese sources, neighboring regions like Gaochang (present day Turfan) produced lacquerware even early in the 5th century³⁰¹. The Fu Kingdom on the Tibetan Plateau also mastered the lacquer technique in the Sui Dynasty. They could make lacquered leather armor³⁰². The Kaoxiaotu find provides insight into locally made lacquer armor (**Fig. 6.2.7-5**).

³⁰⁰ Xu X. G. 2006a.

³⁰¹ BS, vol. 97, 3212.

³⁰² SuS, vol. 81, 1858.

When Princess Jincheng entered Tibet, accompanied by many Chinese craftsmen, there must have been some among them, who could make tableware for daily use in their relatively simple working procedures. After Tubo annexed the Gansu Corridor, the lacquer handicraft industry near Dunhuang probably continued, because a number of lacquer objects are mentioned in the Dunhuang scripts, including bowls, dishes, plates, tables and other tableware, which were used in the Buddhist monasteries³⁰³. In view of the distance and the bilingual features, Dunhuang is the most probable production center of Dulan lacquerware, although local production should not be excluded.

6.2.8 Gold and silver ware

The number of gold and silver objects that survived the serious tomb robberies is very small and fragmentary. Furthermore, the excavated items were not reported systematically, except for the four Dulan tombs excavated in 1999. There still some collections, whose places of excavation are not clear. The gold and silver wares fall into four categories in term of their functions: belt ornaments; the surface ornaments of certain objects made of other materials which were already missing; body ornaments; and other individual objects such as the gilt silver casket, the gilt silver Janus head and silver tubular objects. Most fragments were beat from a single thin sheet of silver and parcel gilded. Many articles are in openwork and relief style. Honeysuckle, animals and birds are the most popular motifs, often applied on belt plaques. Honeysuckle motifs appear in various arrangements, and animals like winged lions and deer as well as birds like phoenixes are presented in a unique style. Turquoise was often used as inlay on small items or ornaments. In some cases granulation was used as the background for the main motifs. The features seem accordant with Sogdian silverware in many aspects, and Xu Xinguo therefore ascribed all gilt silverware to Sogdian metalworking ateliers³⁰⁴. However, detailed comparisons are needed in order to distinguish the individual artistic styles and cultural interactions reflected in them. The gilt silver casket, belt buckles and the Janus head will be analysed here as examples.

A. *Gilt silver casket*

A wooden container covered with thin sheets of gilt silver was discovered at the center of

³⁰³ Xu X. G. 2006a.

³⁰⁴ Xu X. G. 1994.

a sacrificial horse trench in front of the tomb Reshui M1³⁰⁵. The casket lay beneath a sacrificial boulder, which had crushed the container. Ash remains surrounding the object reveal that the artifact had been burned. The preserved sections include the following:

Gilt silver base strips

Eighteen pieces of gilt silver strips covered the rectangular wooden fragments. The strips are decorated in openwork technique with patterns of honeysuckle vines within linked heart-shaped rings (**Fig. 6.2.8-1/1~5**). Each strip measures ca. 16.8 cm in length, 2.6—3.2 cm in wide and 0.01 cm in thickness. In the long sides of each strip were two or three tiny holes, some of which contained traces of copper nails, demonstrating the way in which the strips were adfixed to the wooden container. The strips were backed with a layer of tabby textile.

Some preserved fragments are roughly of the same shape as the above pieces, but the openwork honeysuckle vines along the long side of the strip are substituted by a wave pattern scrolled from left to right (**Fig. 6.2.8-1/6**). These strips are 3 cm wide and 0.8 cm high; the length is not clear. On one side are grooves and nail holes. The strips were backed with a layer of tabby textile.

Gilt silver trapezoid side panels (**Fig. 6.2.8-2**)

The two trapezoid sections each measure 23.5—25.6 cm in length and 13—15 cm in height. The openwork honeysuckle designs are interwoven with heart-shaped patterns, and the whole is framed by rope-like strip of 0.01 cm thickness. The panels were backed with silk.

Gilt silver end panel in irregular form (**Fig. 6.2.8-3**)

One panel is roughly lozenge-shaped with a central section that extends upwards. The panel measures 30 cm high, 0.01 cm thick and 26.5 cm wide at its maximum. It is completely decorated in openwork with honeysuckle vines enclosed in heart-shaped rings; the whole panel is bordered by a rope-like strip, of which only the top section remains.

Gilt silver side panels with a standing phoenix (**Fig. 6.2.8-4**)

Two pieces of ornamental sheet bear the design of a standing phoenix, framed by rope-like strip. The pieces are roughly rectangular in shape with a width of 15.3—16 cm. Each

³⁰⁵ Xu X. G. 1994.

phoenix stands facing to the left or right in the midst of interwoven honeysuckle vines. Each holds a twig of honeysuckle in its beak; a streamer in bud-shape is tied around its neck, and the two wings are spread wide and raised, displaying a row of decorative beads. The whole body is also interspersed with honeysuckle vine patterns.

Gilt silver lid strip with a row of standing phoenixes (**Fig. 6.2.8-5**)

One gilt silver strip, measuring 44.5 cm in length, 3 cm in width and 0.8 cm in height, carries a row of similar phoenixes, which face in the same direction. Only six phoenixes are preserved. They are made of iron and encased in gold-plated silver. All display the same shape with a raised tail, backward spiral combs and closed wings. On their neck is tied a streamer in honeysuckle design, which connects each bird's comb with the tip of the tail. The wings and tail are diffused with honeysuckle vines. The five buds on the tails of some phoenixes are set with turquoise. The eyes and the center of the wings are inlaid with turquoise too. The gilt silver base is rectangular, backed with a layer of silk and attached to a wooden strip of the same size by seven copper nails along both long sides. The rectangular base is also adorned with openwork honeysuckle vines within symmetrical heart shapes, running lengthwise on the strip. Amid the honeysuckle vinework are six small elliptical foot plaques, each with one square and two tiny round holes, to allow the birds to be fixed in position.

Silver *baoxianghua* plaques (**Fig. 6.2.8-6**)

Two pieces of a silver lozenge plaque measuring 9.8 cm in length, 7.3 cm in width and 1.2 cm in height have an openwork design of honeysuckle vines forming a *baoxianghua* (precious bud) pattern, consisting of four-directional heart-shaped petals. At the center is a rectangular hole, 2.2 cm long, 1.2 cm wide and 1.2 cm thick. Each plaque is backed with a piece of green tabby silk and attached to a piece of wood in the same size.

The gilt silver strips and plaques were found together with a number of wooden components, 5.2 to 12 cm high, which were carved into sticks with stepped protrusions (**Fig. 6.2.8-7**).

As reconstructed by QPAI, the set of gilt silver ornaments and the wooden structure belonged to a coffin-shaped container. Its overall length is indicated by the length of the strip with a row of phoenixes (**Fig. 6.2.8-5**), which was originally positioned on the lid of the container. The panel with the central projection was originally one of the end-panels

on the container, indicating its maximum height (**Fig. 6.2.8-3**). The width of the central projection also conforms to that of the strip with a row of phoenixes. One trapezoidal section (**Fig. 6.2.8-2**) joined with the fragment displaying one single standing phoenix (**Fig. 6.2.8-4**) to form one side-panel. The other pair forms the other side. Their length is also equal to that of the strip with a row of phoenixes. The strips with grooves and nail holes on one side were likely adfixed to the two sides of the protruding part on the lid, and the two *baoxianghua* plaques (**Fig. 6.2.8-6**) were probably attached to the two end panels. The stepped wooden sticks might have been inserted into the central hole of the *baoxianghua* components and also the four corners of the lid. The remaining eighteen pieces of gilt silver strips were likely the side-panels of the stepped base. The approximate reconstruction of the casket structure is illustrated (**Fig. 6.2.8-8**).

Inside tomb Reshui M1 two further pieces of gilt silver openwork plaques were discovered (**Fig. 6.2.8-9**): One plaque is in a four-directional palmette shape, measuring 4.8 cm long diagonally, 0.24 cm in height and 0.03 cm in thickness, with a square hole at the center. The other plaque is preserved like one half of the former one, in triangular shape, and measures 4.2 cm in length, 0.24 cm in height and 0.03 cm in thickness. Both plaques could be from another similar container.

The container is reminiscent of a *sarira* casket of the Tang Dynasty. Thus far, all similar containers were found within the Han region. *Sarira* caskets of the early period found in China were all cubiform stone chests. The earliest one is datable to 481 AD; it already differs from the Indian and Central Asian prototypes, which were normally in shape of a pagoda or a cylindrical casket³⁰⁶. The coffin-shaped *sarira* casket, fashioned with silver and gold, has been created during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (690–705 AD). Daoxuan recorded the provenance of the first *sarira* casket in coffin shape³⁰⁷: In 660 AD the *sarira* from the Famen-si Monastery were removed to the royal palace in the eastern capital Luoyang. The Empress Wu Zetian donated one thousand bolts of silk from her wardrobe to make nine golden and silver inner and outer coffins to house the *sarira*, which were decorated with remarkable openwork engravings. Since then the *sarira* casket began to imitate the coffin, and the cavities housing the casket under the pagoda were built like the tomb chamber too. The total number of coffin-shaped caskets found thus far approaches more than ten, seven of which have a precise date, ranging from 694 to 741 AD. The best analogue to the Dulan casket is a gilt bronze container from the Dayun

³⁰⁶ Yang H. 2004.

³⁰⁷ Jishenzhou Tasi Sanbao Gantong Lu.

Temple in Jingchuan County, Gansu, dated to 694 AD³⁰⁸ (**Fig. 6.2.8-10**). It is in coffin form, with one end higher than the other. The surface was decorated profusely with honeysuckle-vine patterns against a granulated background. Although the phoenix motif was not depicted, flying bird designs of all kinds, especially *Kalavinka*, a celestial musician with a bird's body and human head, are quite common. The floral or cloud patterns are indispensable for the surface decoration. A further casket discovered in the underground hall of the Famensi Temple in Fufeng, Shaanxi, presents confronting phoenixes holding a connecting ribbon in their beaks and surrounded by cloud patterns. On the Dulan casket, the phoenixes on the ante-sections of the two side panels hold a twig of honeysuckle in the beak; the double wings are fully spread and are decorated with a row of beads. The phoenix' neck is tied with a streamer of bud-shape. The distinct features appear very often on the Tang objects. Basing upon these features, Xu Xinguo asserted that the Dulan casket is a Sogdian manufacture. An emblem of the Empress Wu Zetian, the phoenix was a traditional Chinese decorative motif, while in the High Tang period, it appeared more frequent than ever, and these images seem standardized and stiffly. The bird stands on a lotus flower, with the pair of wings spread and the tail raised very high, often surrounded by complicated floral designs. Typical examples are the phoenix image on the red-stained ivory ruler with relief carving, imported from the Tang Empire and collected in Shoso-in of Japan. It is dated to 756 AD (**Fig. 6.2.8-11/1**); the lintel decoration from a Tang tomb in Xi'an, dated to 716 AD (**Fig. 6.2.8-11/2**); the stele design from the Xingfusi Temple in Xi'an, dated to 721 AD (**Fig. 6.2.8-11/3**); and the lintel design from the Li Ren tomb (710–726 AD) in Xi'an (**Fig. 6.2.8-11/4**)³⁰⁹. Their datings range from 710 to 756 AD, mostly during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong. In some cases the phoenix holds something in the beak, as with two pairs of ornamental phoenixes from a mirror or textile (**Fig. 6.2.8-11/5, 6**). All carry a twig, crowned by buds, in the beak, just like the phoenix on the Dulan casket. The representation of two confronting phoenixes sharing one linked twig or ribbon in the middle was also very common³¹⁰. Sometimes the twigs are substituted by ribbons with a pendant. The ribbon tied around the birds' neck is also depicted in many figures, such as the phoenix images on a bronze mirror with silver and gold inlays³¹¹, as well as the examples in **Figure 6.2.8-11/ 1, 4 and 6**.

³⁰⁸ Jingchuan 1966, 252–259.

³⁰⁹ Zhang/Xu 1988, fig. 1.

³¹⁰ Heller 2003b, 60, fig. 11.

³¹¹ Watt et al. 2004, 322.

The confronting phoenixes with a row of beads on the two wings are represented on the Dulan silk (**Fig. 6.2.8-12**) as well; they were obviously imported from the Tang Empire and represent an imitation of the confronting *hanshou* bird motifs.

It is evident that the shape, function and main motif of the Dulan *sarira* casket were inspired by Tang analogues, although they are mixed with western elements. In all probability it was an imitation of a Tang *sarira* casket. There are no similar caskets among Sogdian metalwork, nor are there comparable phoenix designs, although Sogdian influence was exerted indirectly on the Dulan casket. The casket might even be regarded as a mixture of the Tang phoenix with the *hanshou* bird of the Central Asia.

The differences between the Dulan casket and Tang counterparts are also apparent. The wooden structure to which the openwork gilt silver sections were attached does not appear in Tang caskets. Most Tang *sarira* caskets were made wholly of silver or golden plates. All Tang *sarira* caskets were buried in the halls under the pagodas, while the Dulan casket was found in the sacrificial horse trench beneath a large stone. It is evident that the funerary rituals absorbed many Buddhism elements, which certainly came from the Tang region, especially after Princess Wencheng was married to Tubo King Songtsen Gampo in 641 AD, while the local traditional religious practice, Bon, dominated the rituals of life and death of the Tibetans. The influence of Buddhism was retained for a limited period and space. The unique execution of the *sarira* casket probably reflects the syncretic religious practices.

This synthesis of the phoenix appears not only in the Tubo-Tuyuhun cultural sphere, but also in the adjacent Tujue region. The royal mausoleum of Bilge Khan, King of the Eastern Tujue Empire (d. 734 AD), yielded a golden diadem which was stamped out of a thin gold sheet and ornamented with the figure of a mythical bird³¹² (**Fig. 6.2.8-13**). The bird is shown frontally, with its wings fully spread, holding a long ribbon strung with a pink-red jewel in its beak. Along the base of the long plume on each wing is a decoration of a half-circle of linked beads. The large holes in the crown, including at the center of the wings, presumably contained precious stones, which were found nearby. The bird is flanked by two foliages on each side, which is decorated with interwoven honeysuckle vines against a granulation background. The golden crown conforms to the image of the Dulan phoenixes in many ways, especially the linked beads on the fully spread wings, an

³¹² Bayar 2004; Dschingis Khan 2005, 75, no. 45.

object held in the beak, the inlaid jewels at the wings' center (like the row of smaller phoenixes) as well as the honeysuckle patterns. It is obviously a similar mixture of the Tang phoenix and the Central Asian *hanshou* bird. Although it is not impossible that the regions of Tubo-Tuyuhun and Tujue maintained certain direct relations in the manufacture of metalwork, it is much reasonable to propose that the hybrid motif was a common phenomenon in the transitional regions between the Tang Empire and the West.

It is not easy to locate the production place of the casket. According to the report³¹³, most silver components were backed with a layer of tabby textile, which obviously was a Tang product, suggesting that the Tang silk was indispensable for casket-making and easily accessible for the craftsmen. The casket is in the traditional shape that prevailed in Central China during the first half of the 8th century AD, and the entire figure of the phoenix was basically in the Tang form, although some differences are evident. There is one hypothesis on its provenance: The casket was probably made by Tang craftsmen, especially for export or on order from non-Chinese regions like Tubo-Tuyuhun. The craftsmen borrowed the Sogdian decorative elements intentionally, catering to local tastes. This proposal is strongly supported by the large amount of Tang silks in western styles found in the Dulan tombs, as well as mentions in Chinese records.

As a supplement, some pieces in private collections that seem to be associated with the casket should be noted here. Amy Heller introduced a group of gilt-silver repoussé figures in the Pritzker collection, including eight *kinnaras* (celestial musicians, half-bird half-human)³¹⁴ and eight phoenixes³¹⁵. She thinks that they were probably once affixed to a wooden casket, which may have contained treasures buried as belongings of the deceased. The holes interspersed among the figures indicate they perhaps were set with semiprecious stones. Each *kinnara* is matched by a phoenix, also standing upon a lotus pedestal. The presentation of the body is similar to that of the Dulan phoenix. The orchestra and phoenix reflect an essentially Buddhist conceptual and aesthetic scheme, corresponding to the Dulan casket. The collections are without context, and even their provenance is unknown. Amy Heller believes that they were artifacts of the Tubo Empire, dating to the 8–9th century, but this needs further evidence. The group of objects was perhaps the exterior decoration of a Tang *sarira* casket, since the same motifs appear very often on the *sarira* caskets in Central China. The only difference is that they are flat

³¹³ Xu X. G. 1994.

³¹⁴ They probably are *Kalavinka*, as mentioned above.

³¹⁵ Heller 2003b.

ornamental sheets that had to be affixed to an underlying support of wood. In this aspect it is a perfect analogue for the Dulan casket. In whatever case, the set of ornaments could have been manufactured by Tang craftsmen or an atelier, which were either in the Tang region or in Tibet.

B. Belt ornaments

Golden and silver belt ornaments are very common in the Dulan tombs, amounting to 30 pieces, the majority of which are gilt silver plates.

Silver belt ornaments from Tomb M17³¹⁶ (**Fig. 6.2.8-14**)

The 26 silver belt ornaments from tomb M17 are in the same style. They are all of silver sheet that was beaten into a roughly hemispherical or trapezoidal profile.

- 1) Twenty-one pieces are rectangular in frontal view: 2.5 cm long, 2.1 cm wide, 0.4 cm high and 0.01cm thick. At the center are one larger circle and four smaller ones, enclosed by a wavy rhomboid border. The four corners are decorated with similar wavy tendrils. Two small nails on the reverse side were used to fix the plate to the belt (**Fig. 6.2.8-14/1**);
- 2) Two pieces are heart-shaped and consist of three petals: 3.3 cm long, 1.7 cm wide, 0.5 cm high and 0.1 cm thick. On the surface is a decorative palmette enclosed by curved border. On the concave reverse side is a small nail (**Fig. 6.2.8-14/2**);
- 3) Two pieces are elliptical with curved edge: 3.3 cm long, 1.7 cm wide, 0.5 cm thick and 0.1 cm thick. The surface is decorated with symmetrical palmette pattern enclosed within wavy border (**Fig. 6.2.8-14/3**);
- 4) One piece is roughly in a heart-shaped: 2.5 cm long, 1.7 cm wide, 0.5 cm thick and 0.1 cm thick. The surface is decorated with symmetrical palmette pattern enclosed within curving borderlines. It rather appears like two-thirds of a part of the preceding elliptical ornament, no. 3 (**Fig. 6.2.8-14/4**).

Silver belt ornaments from the Reshui cemeteries³¹⁷ (**Fig. 6.2.8-15/1**)

At least five silver ornaments, obviously from one belt, were found in the Reshui cemeteries, but the exact tomb number in which they were found and their exact sizes are unclear. All of the ornaments are decorated with the same palmette pattern as seen on the

³¹⁶ Xu X. G. 1995.

³¹⁷ Cui 2006, 70.

belt ornaments described above, albeit the central circles are absent and granulation was added as background. Two holes at their tips probably were used to attach them to the belt. Both the shapes and patterns are completely symmetrical.

Golden plaque from Tomb 99DRNM3³¹⁸ (**Fig. 6.2.8-16/1**)

The golden plaque was excavated from the charcoal layer in the central chamber of tomb 99DRNM3. It is rectangular in shape and measures 2.4 cm in length, 1.5 cm in width and 0.01 cm in thickness. It is decorated with a regular quatrefoil motif with a round circle in the center; each petal is separated by a pair of flutes. The rather coarse wave of floral design is also visible along the edges.

Golden plaque from Tomb 99DRNM3³¹⁹ (**Fig. 6.2.8-16/2**)

The golden plaque was excavated from the disturbed earth of the robbers' pit in tomb 99DRNM3. It is roughly rectangular in shape and 4.2 cm long, 3 cm wide and 0.3 cm thick. It displays quatrefoil motif, whereby one of the petals is replaced by an oblong hole, and the other three are rolled up with three distinct petals like acanthus. At each corner is a small hole, which originally held a turquoise inlay; three are still present. The space between the holes and the corners is filled with decorative tenuous wavy tendrils, similar to the decoration on the square belt ornament in **Fig. 6.2.8-14/1**. Four golden wires were soldered onto the back of the plate, used for fixing it on the belt. The plate was beaten smooth and polished.

Silver ornaments overlaid with in gold sheet from Tomb 99DRNM3³²⁰ (**Fig. 6.2.8-16/3, 4**)

Two ornaments were unearthed in tomb 99DRNM3. Each is 0.05 cm thick. The complete one is hemispherical and composed of three panels, each bearing one standing lion. All of the lions face in the same direction, and all have one forepaw raised and the tail curled between its haunch and up to the waist. At the top is a hole for enclosing semiprecious stones, probably turquoise. On the belly of each lion is also a hole for a turquoise inlay. The reverse side of the plate is bronze corrosion. Another similar ornament from the same tomb is seriously damaged, with only one remaining lion. The lion does not have a hole on the belly, but is surrounded by three holes, in which only one turquoise is left.

³¹⁸ Dulan 2005, 67.

³¹⁹ Dulan 2005, 67.

³²⁰ Dulan 2005, 67.

Gilt silver buckle from Tomb 99DRNM1³²¹ (**Fig. 6.2.8-17**)

The gilt silver buckle with a piece of the original leather belt was found in the front chamber of tomb 99DRNM1. It was cast in roughly rectangular shape and is 1.8 cm long, 1.3 cm wide and 0.4 cm thick. A roaring animal head, probable of a wolf, is depicted in the center of the buckle and enclosed by running scrolls along the buckle edges. On the reverse side three small silver nails are soldered, two of which could be riveted into the leather belt. The preserved piece of leather belt is 5–6 cm long and 1 cm wide, and has a silver belt ring, measuring 2.7 cm in length, 1.4 cm in width and 0.3 cm in thickness.

Golden belt plaques from the Reshui cemeteries

- 1) Three pieces are square in shape, about 4 cm long on each side and 0.5 cm thick. The plaques consist of two parts: the front ornamental section and the back plate. The back plate is made up of a row of vertical golden tubes that are held together by thin horizontal golden strips. The front section is inlaid with turquoises set within the golden bands in shape of palmettes and round petals against a granulated background. The whole decoration was bordered by an outermost beaded edge, a middle rope-like golden strip and an innermost thin golden ridge. The back of one plaque is covered with thick bronze corrosion (**Fig. 6.2.8-20/4, 5; Fig. 6.2.8-21**);
- 2) Two pieces are of rectangular shape and 2 cm wide, 4 cm long and 0.5 cm thick. Their sizes and patterns are half the part of the preceding plaques (no. 1), but with fewer round petals. The decoration is also framed in the same form (**Fig. 6.2.8-20/1, 3**);
- 3) This plaque has the same shape as the preceding square ones, except that it is smaller in size and displays a different pattern. The plaque measures 2.4 cm on each side. The pattern consists of a central flower with eight petals, surrounded by eight petals arranged two each along one side. Turquoise was set inside the petals against the plain background (**Fig. 6.2.8-20/2**);
- 4) Golden plaques with latticework pattern (**Fig. 6.2.8-23/1**)

One pair of square plaques was seized from Dulan tomb looters and is presently preserved in the Security Bureau of Dulan County³²². The exact tomb numbers in which they were found and their size are unknown. They are similar to the square golden plaques described above, except that their ornamental patterns are different. Instead of the palmette design,

³²¹ Dulan 2005, 11.

³²² Dulan 2005, 166–167; Cui 2006, 71.

the two plaques were decorated with latticework in a diagonal direction upon a granulated ground. The turquoise was presumably set in the cells within the squares formed by the thin golden sheet. On one plaque is green corrosion, probably caused by bronze ingredient in the solder.

The 26 belt ornaments from tomb M17 in **Fig. 6.2.8-14** apparently stem from one or more similar belts. They were beaten into a similar hemispherical shape and adorned with similar patterns. Palmettes are concisely decorated on their exterior surface, sprouting from a central circle. Their edges are curved, corresponding to the inner palmette design, all in a symmetrical form. Another set of belt ornaments in **Fig. 6.2.8-15/1** are in the same artistic style. These belt ornaments exhibit a distinct nomadic character, immediately reminiscent of the golden ornamental bracteate that was discovered in the Shi Daode (d. 678 AD) tomb in Guyuan, Ningxia (**Fig. 6.2.8-15/2**). It was fashioned with a similar curved contour and floral pattern and was inaccurately argued as an animal mask³²³. The other golden bracteates from the same tomb bears a lion with a raised forepaw and the tail curled up from the haunch³²⁴. The size and form of the lion are comparable with the silver ornaments overlaid with gold sheet in **Fig. 6.2.8-16/3, 4**. In light of his surname, the burial custom and the epitaph, Shi Daode could have been the descendant of a Sogdian³²⁵ or the Xi people³²⁶³²⁷, who settled in the Chinese northwestern frontier. His official position is noted in the epitaph as horse administrator of a state pasture, where surrendered Tujue tribes were settled by the Tang government³²⁸, revealing Shi Daode's close relations with nomadic Tujue people.

The belts depicted on the figures in the Guolimu coffin paintings are all decorated with a row of roundels like the horse harness, which strongly resembling Sogdian belts, as illustrated in Central Asian murals (**Fig. 6.5.4-11**). However, some Tibetan figures depicted in the Dunhuang mural of the Tang period (**Fig. 6.5.2-6**) wear Sogdian belts such as the above, with suspended accessories. Some later examples also represent the same

³²³ Juliano/Lerner 2001, 269, no. 92b.

³²⁴ Juliano/Lerner 2001, 268, no. 92a.

³²⁵ Shi Daode Tomb 1985.

³²⁶ Ma 1991.

³²⁷ Xi 綏, a nomadic tribe at the end of Sui Dynasty and beginning of Tang Dynasty, which was under the control of the Eastern Tujue.

³²⁸ Ma 1991.

belt components, which are presumed to be a Tibetan fashion in royal attire around the second half of the 10th century AD³²⁹. Actually the date could be much earlier. This type of belt was obviously not typically Sogdian, but instead Tujue style³³⁰. In Tujue burials in southern Siberia, belt pendants of actual gold were found, and their forms and designs are similar to those from the Lijiayingzi tomb in Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia³³¹ (**Fig. 6.2.8-18**). The ornaments are profusely decorated with scrolls and honeysuckle vines. The systematic contours of the objects shaped by the running scrolls and the palmette or honeysuckle designs are analogous to those on the Dulan items. The finds were ascribed to Tujue metalwork³³². Similar golden ornaments in Tujue style were also discovered at the Butubumuji site in Sunite Right Banner, Inner Mongolia³³³ (**Fig. 6.2.8-19**). They have similar fringes formed by the symmetrical scrolls, while enclosing asymmetrical hunting scenes or single animals against a granulated background. Except for horses, the visible animals are all lions, reminiscent of the lions on the Dulan ornaments. The belt accessories with scroll patterns appear very rarely in other cultural spheres, which is likely a distinct feature of the Tujue tradition, indicating the close relations between Tubo and Tujue.

The square or rectangular golden belt plaques in **Fig. 6.2.8-20** and **Fig. 6.2.8-21** are also very common in Tubo attire. The thick bronze corrosion on the back of some plaques indicates that their underlying plates were made of bronze or gilt bronze, or, if not, the front sections were fixed to the back plate with a solder containing bronze, a technique quite familiar to Tang goldsmiths. Due to the bronze, many gold and silver objects developed green corrosion on their surface³³⁴. This group of plaques possesses a similar structure and rigid symmetrical pattern, revealing that they were fashioned in the same atelier. One pair of items of exact resemblance and dated to the Sui or early Tang period was collected by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (**Fig. 6.2.8-22**); its provenance is unknown. Their size, each about 3.9 cm long and 3.5 cm wide, is close to that of Dulan examples too. It is noted they were made of bronze with gold granular work³³⁵. One

³²⁹ Rhee 1997, 45.

³³⁰ Yatsenko 2006.

³³¹ Lijiayingzi 1978.

³³² Sun J. 1993.

³³³ Ding X. Y. 1997.

³³⁴ Qi D. F. 1999, 185.

³³⁵ Gyllensvärd 1957, 50-1; pl. 1d; fig. 16d.

complete set of belt plaques unearthed from the tomb of Dou Yu (d. 646) in Xi'an, Shaanxi, was decorated with comparable palmette patterns against a granulated background and backed by gilt bronze plates, whereas in this case all metal plaques were set in jade frames and inlaid with polychrome semiprecious stones³³⁶. The tomb of Heruo Shi (d. 621) in Xianyang, Shaanxi, contained two comb handles with birds and floral patterns set against a granular background, both bordered with a beaded edge³³⁷. It seems that during the early 7th century these decorations were very prevalent in the Tang capital of Chang'an.

The two golden belt plaques with a lattice pattern in **Fig. 6.2.8-23/1** bear close resemblance to one pair of gilt bronze plaques housed in the Pierre Uldry collection³³⁸ (**Fig. 6.2.8-23/2**). Both are square in shape and framed by three bands, conforming to the Dulan articles, although the beaded border are too corroded to be seen clearly. The main motifs enclosed in the inner thin band are in lattice form, arranged diagonally and containing squares forming cells to hold turquoise inlays, some of which still remain. The backgrounds, differing from those of the Dulan items, are like ropes, which was prevalent on nomadic belt plaques several centuries before. The two plaques are dated to the 4th–3rd century BC, obviously too early. They must have certain cultural, technical and aesthetic relations with their Dulan counterparts.

The square belt plaques are also visible on preserved Tibetan figures after the Tang period. The statue of Songtsen Gampo in Potala (14th century) (**Fig. 6.5.2-10**) and Bodhisattvas statues in Temple of Yemar (11th century) (**Fig. 6.5.4-12**) wear belts composed of square plaques. On the former example the floral patterns of the belt can be seen clearly, although it does not resemble with the Dulan finds exactly; and on the latter the buckle and loose loop formed by the belt end are shown in front of the belly. Thus, it can be verified that these kinds of square belt plaques were very common in the Tubo royal attire.

C. Ornaments on unidentified objects

Gilt silver plate from Xiariha tomb M1³³⁹ (**Fig. 6.2.8-24/1**)

The plate presumably covered a wooden object in stick shape; after being unfolded it displays a rectangular shape. It has six holes, two of which hold the remains of the iron

³³⁶ Yuan A. Z. 1993; Watt et al. 2004, 296, no. 188.

³³⁷ Yuan A. Z. 1993; Han/Deydier 2001, 105, fig. 259–260.

³³⁸ Uldry 1994, 78, no. 20.

³³⁹ Xu X. G. 1995.

nails. It is likely an ornament on a stick, tool or weapon. The design consists of an interwoven heart-shaped honeysuckle vine against a granulation background.

A similar pattern can be observed on the tubular objects in another Dulan tomb (**Fig. 6.2.8-24/2**), but its use is not clear. Among the Butubumuji finds is a small golden scabbard (**Fig. 6.2.8-24/3**) that is decorated with a symmetrical spreading honeysuckle design against a granulated background and which originally held certain inlaid semiprecious stones. Although of different functions, they all bear similar patterns, indicating the same aesthetic predilection and cultural connection.

Gilt silver bird-shaped ornaments from Tomb 99DRNM1³⁴⁰ (**Fig. 6.2.8-25/1, 2**)

The two items were excavated from the front chamber of tomb 99DRNM1. One is 1.9 cm long, 1.5 cm high and 0.2 cm thick; the other is 1.5 cm long, 1.5 cm high and 0.2 cm thick. They were beaten into a standing eagle shape, of which only the two bodies remain. The corrosion on the reverse sides shows that they were ornaments of certain bronze object.

Gilt silver deer-shaped ornament³⁴¹ (**Fig. 6.2.8-25/3**)

This ornament was found in Reshui tomb M2. It was beaten from thin silver sheet in shape of a recumbent deer and measures 5.6 cm in length and 3.5 cm in height. At its mouth is a hole used to attach it to a certain wooden object.

Golden plaque in human shape (**Fig.6.2.8-26**).

The exact tomb number in which the plaque was found is unknown. The golden plaque was fashioned in a human figure following the same technique as that of the plaques in **Fig. 6.2.8-20~23**. It measures 8.5 cm in height and 4.3 cm in width. It is based on a golden plate, on which the outlines of the inlaid areas required by the design are defined by thin bars, which are soldered onto the granular ground, thus forming cells in varying sizes and shapes as hair, face and body; however, all of the inlaid semiprecious stones are missing. The entire figure was bordered by a beaded edge.

D. Body ornaments

Threaded golden bead from Reshui tomb 99DRNM3³⁴² (**Fig. 6.2.8-27/2**)

³⁴⁰ Dulan 2005, 11.

³⁴¹ Xu X. G. 1995.

³⁴² Dulan 2005, 66.

The bead is perforated and threaded with a silk thread, which has a knot at each end. The remains are 5 cm long. The spherical bead is composed of five lobes.

Silver ring from Reshui tomb 99DRNM3³⁴³ (**Fig. 6.2.8-27/3**)

The ring was excavated from the disturbed soil of the eastern chamber. It is rectangular with rounded corners, with a diameter of 1.5 cm and a section of 0.2 cm.

Silver ring from Reshui tomb 99DRNM3³⁴⁴ (**Fig. 6.2.8-27/4**)

The ring is round, with 1.4 cm in diameter and 0.3 cm in thickness.

In addition, one golden earring with a beaded edge and turquoise inlays, conserved today in the Newark Museum (New Jersey) was claimed as being from Tibet and dated to the Tubo period³⁴⁵ (**Fig. 6.2.8-27/1**). It conforms to the Dulan golden plaques, both in the production techniques and aesthetic predilection, but the precise provenance is unclear.

As far as the metal technique are concerned, goldsmithing and the aesthetic predilection in Dulan were seriously influenced by both the Tang and the northern nomadic culture simultaneously, as well as Western workmanship, either from Sogdia or Iran. As stated by Bo Gyllensvärd, during the Tang Dynasty tracing, granular work, cloisonné with turquoises and filigree work were common in ornamentation. Granular work became mainly a background for turquoise cloisonné. The Tang Chinese were very fond of setting the whole pattern on hair ornaments – with birds and flowers, rosette flowers or lotuses – in turquoise within metal bands³⁴⁶. Observed from the hitherto finds, this decoration was mostly applied on small objects for women's use, such as earrings, comb handles, the back of “palm mirrors”³⁴⁷ and sometimes on belt plaques. It is argued that the technique “cloisonné enamel” was created in Iran and thence spread to other regions, including the Far East. At least in the later period of the Sasanian Empire it was an established and technically perfected art³⁴⁸. The presence of this decorative technique in Tang

³⁴³ Dulan 2005, 67.

³⁴⁴ Dulan 2005, 69.

³⁴⁵ Heller 2003b, 56.

³⁴⁶ Gyllensvärd 1957, 31.

³⁴⁷ National Museum 1997, 196, no. 200.

³⁴⁸ Margulies 1967.

workmanship could have resulted in its influence, but the earliest introduction into China was much earlier³⁴⁹. In fact, many striking features on the Dulan belt plaques, such as their granular background, sheer turquoise inlays, square or rectangular forms and the rope-like borders were long a steppe tradition. The mixed style conforms again to the status of the Tubo Empire in the whole Eurasian sphere and the close connections to neighboring nomadic tribes.

E. *The gilt silver Janus head*³⁵⁰ (**Fig. 6.2.8-28/1**)

Among the silver and gold objects, the gilt silver Janus head bears more exotic features. It is about 3.3 cm high. The top of the head was separate from the missing part and exposes the hollow interior, resembling a vessel. The neck's base has a ring foot, which was presumably meant to be soldered to the main body of a certain ware. The head has two faces in opposite directions. Their appearance is the same: fine and graceful, with a high-bridged nose, deep-set eyes and golden hair, of which traces of gilt still remain. The features demonstrate the faces represent a Western foreigner, most likely a Roman.

Amy Heller believes that the head portrays the mythical Roman deity Janus, capable of simultaneously seeing the present and future and represented with two faces. The object is so small that it could be the finial of a silver ewer. A gilt silver *huping* (the foreign bottle), decorated with people in costumes and inspired by classical Greco-Roman styles, was found in Ningxia in a mid-sixth century tomb. The figure of a man's head was affixed to the highest point of the handle, instead of a ball as on the Sasanian *huping*. B. I. Marshak argued that the object is a Sogdian product, which emulated Sasanian and Hellenistic shapes and motifs³⁵¹. Another *huping* of 7th century, excavated in Inner Mongolia, bears a young man's head on the top of the handle (**Fig. 6.5.4-17**). His mustache, sparse beard and hairdo with shaven temples are unmistakably Sogdian. The base of the Janus head is ring-shaped and resembles the same part of finial on the Ningxia *huping*. It is very possible that the Janus head was the same component of a *huping*, which was in daily use, as seen in depictions in the coffin paintings illustrated in chapter 6.5.4. In the Tang region, similar Janus heads were applied to handles of silver vessels too (**Fig. 6.2.8-27/2**), which were ascribed to Sogdian metalworks³⁵².

³⁴⁹ Watt et al. 2004, 112, no. 12.

³⁵⁰ NBC 1996, pl. 104.

³⁵¹ Watt et al. 2004, 256.

³⁵² Qi D. F. 1999, 357, fig. 3-61.

F. Byzantine golden coins

Two Byzantine golden coins have been found in Qinghai. One was unearthed in the Dananwan cemetery in Ulan in 1999. It was buried beneath a wooden pillar near the wooden coffin, along with six Sasanian silver coins (see chapter 6.1.2). The tomb Dananwan J1 is not large, and the coin had been placed beside the deceased's head³⁵³. It was cut down and is now 12 mm in diameter and 0.5 mm thick, with obvious traces of having been used. On the obverse is a frontal bust of the Emperor. He wears a cloak, armor and a crown adorned with beads and pendilia. He holds a shield in his left hand and an orb mounted with a cross in his right hand. The inscription of the left side was cut away, but on the right side is ANVSPPAVG. The complete inscription probably is DNIVSTINI ANVSPPAVG, meaning "our lord Justinian forever Emperor". Hence, the coin was issued during the reign of Justinian I (527–565 AD). On the reverse side is the winged victory standing frontally, with a long cross in the right hand and a globe crowned with a cross in the left hand. The remaining inscription is AAVCCC (meaning Augustus) and an official mark. The letters on the lower part are worn away³⁵⁴ (**Fig. 6.2.8-29**).

The second Byzantine golden coin was discovered in a tomb in the village of Mucao, 3 km east of Xiangride, Dulan, in 2002. The coin is cut down and worn away; it has a remaining 14 mm in diameter. There are two holes near the upper and lower edge. On the obverse is the bust of an emperor, facing right in four-fifth profile. He is crowned, wears a cuirass and holds a spear on the right shoulder with the right hand and a shield in the left hand. Ribbons from the crown flow behind his right ear. The inscription written clockwise along the edge is DNZENO PERPAVG, meaning "our lord Zeno forever Emperor", indicating that the coin was issued during the reign of Emperor Zeno (ca. 474–491 AD). On the reverse side stands a winged Victory, facing right in three-quarter profile with a long cross in the right hand. The inscription along the edge from left to right is VICTORI AAVCCC (meaning Victory Augustus), followed by an official mark. Under the figure is inscribed CONOB, representing that the degree of gold purity abided by the Constantinople standard (**Fig 6.2.8-30**)³⁵⁵.

With reference to statistics, more than 50 Byzantine golden coins were found in China, most of which are distributed in the north along the Silk Road. Their time span covers

³⁵³ Xu H. M. 2004.

³⁵⁴ Dananwan 2002, 55; Luo F. 2004, 137.

³⁵⁵ Liu B. S. 2004; Luo F. 2004, 130.

more than 300 years, whereby there are especially concentrated in the period from Anastasias (491–518 AD) to Justinian II (565–578 AD). Coins emerged in China at the beginning of 6th century and disappeared after the mid 8th century. The difference in time from the coins mintage to their arrival in China ranges from 20–30 years to more than 170 years, but is mostly within 100 years³⁵⁶.

Although the two coins in Qinghai are dated to the period of Zeno (474–491 AD) and of Justinian I (527–565 AD), they must have been buried much later, quite probably in the Sui-Tang period. The Byzantine golden coins appear in northwestern China only sparsely, and they were deposited there under various circumstances. They were not used as payment, but were taken out of circulation to serve as jewelry and luxury gifts. Many coins were given a sigil, or perforated in several places to enable them to be sewn onto garments and headdresses and to be suspended as pendants³⁵⁷, such as parts of necklaces, bracelets and rings, especially in women's graves. Some coins may have been used as talismans for good luck. They were also placed in the deceased's mouth or buried beneath certain building foundations for religious purposes. The two golden coins found in Qinghai obviously served the last use. Although they undoubtedly derived from the Byzantine Empire, their function is analogous with that of coins found in nearby regions, such as Xinjiang, Ningxia and Shaanxi Provinces. This context indicates that imports from afar in Qinghai were under the influence of the same culture there, and that the Silk Road in Qinghai was also an indispensable segment of the entire east-west transport network.

G. Sasanian silver coins

In contrast to Byzantine coins, Sasanian silver coins were found in quite a large number in Qinghai. In 1956 a pot of coins, obviously a hoard, was unearthed during construction on Chenghuangmiao Street in the city of Xining³⁵⁸. According to the later report of the observer, the pot contains more than 100 silver coins and about 20 copper coins including *kaiyuan tongbao* of Tang (minted in 621 AD) and *huoquan* of the Wang Mang period³⁵⁹. This information indicates that the hoard should not be dated any earlier than the early Tang period, although other coins including the Sasanian coins were minted a little earlier. About 76 Sasanian coins were retrieved, four of which were severely damaged. The

³⁵⁶ Luo F. 2004, 152.

³⁵⁷ Alram 2001, 272.

³⁵⁸ Zhao S. C. 1958.

³⁵⁹ Wang P. K. 1962.

selected 20 pieces measure 2.5–3 cm in diameter and weigh 3.8–4.1 g. According to the differences in the portrayal of the emperor on the obverse, these coins were analyzed and classified into two categories by Xia Nai in 1958³⁶⁰. In 2000 the Dananwan site in Ulan County yielded six Sasanian silver coins, which were buried beneath a wooden pillar near the wooden coffin together with one Byzantine golden coin³⁶¹ (see chapter 6.1.2). Their classificatory assignment in the report is problematic. As an alternative, these six coins, like those unearthed in Xining, could also be assigned to the same two categories.

Xia Nai's work is basically plausible, but needs further improvement. Referring to Schindel's classification to Sasanian coins³⁶², the coins on the northern Tibetan Plateau could be sorted into following categories (**Table 6.2.8-1**):

Type A (Schindel: type IIa/1e and type IIa/1c) (**Fig. 6.2.8-31, Fig. 6.2.8-32**):

About 15 coins from Xining and 2 coins from Ulan belong to this type. On the obverse (Schindel: type IIa) is an emperor facing to the right; he wears a crown topped by a crescent and sphere. Adjoining to the same crown is another crescent with crenellation. Two fillets flow behind the upper part of the crown. On some examples a bejeweled border of the cap can be seen. The hair falls onto the neck in curls or plaited locks. Behind the round bunch of hair is a broad ribbon rising from the right shoulder. The necklace consists of a string of beads. On some coins lines of Pahlavi legend in front of the emperor's face are legible, reading: *kdy pylwcy* (King Peroz). Some coins bear the letters ML or MLKA, meaning “king”, nearby the crown.

On the reverse is the fire altar flanked by a pair of attendants. They stand facing the altar, with one hand raised as a gesture of adoration. The altar consists of a pillar with three stepped base and top. The central pillar is wound with a ribbon, with its two ends hanging down symmetrically on the left and right sides. The fire is flanked by a star and a crescent. Behind the left attendant are legends of the king's name *ylwcy* (Schindel: type 1e) (**Fig. 6.2.8-31/1, 2, 3; Fig. 6.2.8-32/1**) or *pylwcy* (Schindel: type 1c) (**Fig. 6.2.8-31/4**). Behind the right attendant is mint signature, representing the place of mintage. The legends and their localizations are listed in **Table 6.2.8-1**. On some examples there is no legend behind the left attendant (Schindel: type 1g), and sometimes the date is inscribed (Schindel: type 1d).

³⁶⁰ Xia N. 1958.

³⁶¹ Dananwan 2002.

³⁶² Schindel 2004.

Type B (Schindel: type IIIa and type IIIb) (**Fig. 6.2.8-33, Fig. 6.2.8-34**):

A total of 61 coins from Xining and 4 coins from Ulan belong to this type. The most distinct difference from Type A is the shape of the emperor's crown. Although the coins of Type B are not completely the same, they belong to the same emperor. Double wings are added to the tip of the crown under the top crescent, symbolizing the god of victory³⁶³. There is no flying fillet behind the upper part of the crown, while one additional broad ribbon rises from the left shoulder in symmetry with the right one. According to the small difference of the shoulder ribbons, this type of coin could be further divided into two sub-types. Legends nearby the crown on some coins are relatively clear, which could be read as *kdy pylwcy* and ML. Most other examples are illegible and only some letters can be recognized.

The reverse side is analogous with that on the Type A examples. The two types (Schindel: type 1e and 1c) could be seen. The legends behind the right attendant and their represented localizations are listed in **Table 6.2.8-1**.

The two types of coins are clearly the Peroz's Drachms. Each Sasanian king had his own crown that was designed especially for him. Therefore, the crown has become an infallible means of identifying the royal individual. Peroz is the first king to have had three different crowns in succession³⁶⁴. The first crown was very rare and does not appear in Qinghai. The crowns of type A and B were in larger number. The type A (his second crown) was struck between ca. 458-474 AD, and the type B (his third crown) was struck between ca. 474-484 AD.

The Peroz coins unearthed in Xining and Ulan could have been buried during the same approximate period. The hoard in Xining is not earlier than the early Tang period, and the Dananwan site could be dated to the Tubo period. There is a large time difference between its mintage and deposition. The coins found in Xining are in large quantity and could have been used as currency, which is different from the function of the Byzantine golden coins. Conversely, in the Dananwan site in Ulan the silver coins were buried with the Byzantine coin, indicating their ceremonial function. In many cases they were also perforated as ornaments or placed in the deceased's mouth like the Byzantine coins; this did not occur in Qinghai.

³⁶³ Goebl 1971, 13.

³⁶⁴ Goebl 1971, 49.

About 1900 Sasanian silver coins have been unearthed in all of China, most of which are concentrated in the period of Peroz (457/59–484 AD) and Chosroes II (590–628 AD). This reflects that communication between China and Persia was very frequent during the two periods, which is also attested in written sources. Although it is impossible to state precisely when the coins were first brought into Qinghai, their deposition during the Tang and Tubo periods demonstrates that the people who then owned them had the same manner and idea as other regions along the Silk Road, and that their arrival naturally was through the Qinghai Silk Road.

6.2.9 Silkware

Compared to other materials, silkware was quite an expensive, light and portable product, and, hence, it became the most popular merchandise along the Silk Road. These fabrics also provide a wealth of information about international commerce and transport, since due to the special technique and environment, only a few regions could produce certain types of silk products. Through them cultural communication can be observed much more clearly and definitely. Fragment of silkware that were unearthed in Dulan are quite abundant. According to the statistics, there are more than 350 pieces of silkware, including all categories of the Tang period that were found in China before, and some categories are even preserved that are rarely seen. The silks comprise 130 kinds of different patterns, among which 112 are Chinese silks, amounting to 86%, and 18 are Central Asian and West Asian silks, making up 14%³⁶⁵. Their main motifs and categories are summarized briefly in the following:

A. Weaving structures³⁶⁶

The majority of the silk textiles excavated in Dulan are *jin* brocade. On the basis of the weaving structure they can be divided into four categories: the warp-faced compound tabby, the warp-faced compound twill, the weft-faced compound twill and the brocades with gold. The warp brocades have a very long tradition in China, especially the warp-faced compound tabby brocades. A few examples of this warp-faced compound tabby were found in Dulan, among which the piece designated DRMIPM2: S109³⁶⁷ (Fig. 6.2.9-

³⁶⁵ Xu X. G. 2006b, 139.

³⁶⁶ Xu/Zhao 1991.

³⁶⁷ The letters in the tomb number mean: DR-Dulan Reshui; M-Tomb. DRM1PM2 signifies Reshui tomb M1, which was renamed by the excavators, who believed that the largest pit beneath the mound of Reshui

1) is the most special. It was woven with two groups of warp ends, red and yellow, in a ratio of 1:1. Most of the brocades are warp-faced compound twills, which appeared during the Sui Dynasty. The new weaving technique often displayed patterns by arranging warp-ends in four or five colors to different areas and were woven in a ratio of 1:2. Examples of this type are the *jin* silks DRMIPM2: S150-1 (**Fig. 6.2.9-20/1**); DRMIPM2: S127 (**Fig. 6.2.9-30/1**); and DRMIPM2: S17 (**Fig. 6.2.9-18/1**).

The Dulan tombs also yielded large number of weft-faced compound twills. Most of them have two warps. For example, the *jin* silk DRM25: S1 (**Fig. 6.2.9-23/2**) and DXM1: S5. The interspersed weft threads have a firm S or Z twist. The most distinct examples are the weft brocades with a medium-sized roundel enclosing *hanshou* birds against the red ground. Normally their motifs are petals, small flowers or linked pearls; the ground is purple; and the patterns are dark blue, orange yellow and blackish green. At the point where the colors change, the weft threads are completely woven in and form the weft-faced compound twill in a ratio of 1:3, while in another part where there is less color change only in a ratio of 1:1 or 1:2, leaving the surplus weft threads passed through to the back and not woven in. The weaving technique as well as the motifs and color scheme make them easily ascribable to the West Region textile workshops (**Fig. 6.2.9-6, 7, 8, 9**).

A belt with a gilt hexagon was also found in Dulan; it could be the earliest example of a gold woven textile found in China. The design is very simple: a series of hexagons, each enclosing a six-petalled rosette (**Fig. 6.2.9-2**).

Kesi (tapestry-woven silk) is one kind of textile that consists of a complete warp and a non-continuous weft. A natural colored warp was used as the foundation of the weave, and the design was produced by a coiled colored weft. The piece DRMIPM2: S70 (**Fig. 6.2.9-3**), which has a blue ground and a decoration of small flowers, is an example of a particularly valuable type of *kesi* of the Tang Dynasty.

Ling (silk damask) found in Dulan are also abundant, including tabby “shadow” damask, twill weave ground “shadow” damask and plain damask. The majority of *ling*, about 80%, belong to the kind of tabby weave ground with a twill weave decoration, which is a direct continuation of the weaving technique that existed after the Western Han Dynasty. It is designated by archaeologists as *qi* weave (figured woven silk) (**Fig. 6.2.9-4**).

Juan, *luo*, and dyed textiles *jian* and *beng* (ikat) were also discovered in Dulan, among which *beng*, the tabby weave strip-dyed textiles, is the earliest example in China (**Fig.**

M1 was not the main tomb, but an accompanying one; therefore, PM (accompanied tomb) was added, and the pit was numbered 2, next to the upper smaller pit inside the mound (see chapter 6.1.1).

6.2.9-5, right part). A similar fabric, so-called *ideles*, is still produced in Khotan, Xinjiang, today³⁶⁸.

B. Motifs

The *hanshou* bird

The *hanshou* bird motif features one single bird or one pair of confronted birds standing within a pearl or petal roundel and holding or sharing a ribbon in the beak. Usually the birds have linked pearls decorating the neck, wings and tail, and streamers flutter from the back of the heads. The interstices of roundels are filled with four directional palmettes. Unlike other confronting animals or birds, this motif is not found in the Tang region, but prevailed on silk in the Turfan tombs, on the Sogdian murals, and even farther west in the Byzantine cultural sphere. According to the analysis of techniques as described above, the textiles with the motif of the *hanshou* birds are typical products of the West Regions. They were found in abundance in Dulan and can be classified into two groups according to their different patterns.

Group I has one pair of confronted birds standing on a split palmette platform or each on a pearled socle and encircled by pearl or petal roundel (**Fig. 6.2.9-6, 7**). This group of textiles is generally faded. Their colors are dark red, green, yellow, dark green and white. Silks of group II show one single bird standing on one pearled socle and encircled by petal roundel (**Fig. 6.2.9-8, 9**). The colors of this group are relatively fresh, mainly bright red, dark blue, yellow and brownish green.

The two groups bear many common characteristics. All of them are weft-faced compound twills, which are strikingly distinct from the Chinese weaving method, the warp-faced compound twill. In addition, they are thick, dense and pristine, woven with Z-twisted wefts and dyed with strongly contrasting colors. Group I is comparable with the so-called Zandaniji silks³⁶⁹, and therefore was ascribed to Sogdian workshops, while group II, due to its accordance to the Persian tradition of a single creature enclosed in a pearl or petal roundel, was ascribed to Sasanian silks. This argument is strongly supported by the woven

³⁶⁸ Zhao F. 2002, 106.

³⁶⁹ In the 1959 article by D. G. Shepherd and W. B. Henning, a piece of brocade with a motif of paired stags in a roundel and a merchant's mark written in ink on the back preserved at Huy, Belgium, was identified with the silks made in Zandana, a village in Bukhara (Shepherd/ Henning 1959). Since then the series of brocades that have motifs and color schemes similar to the Huy silks have been regarded as the production of Sogdia.

Pahlavi inscription on a piece of silk fragment with the same structure (**Fig. 6.2.9-10/1**, see chapter 6.2.10), which was reported to be the edge of either the fragment in **Fig. 6.2.9-8** or in **Fig. 6.2.9-6/3**³⁷⁰. A similar textile found in Iran (**Fig. 6.2.9-10/2**) testifies that it could be associated with the former alternative. The Iranian textile, dated to the 6th–7th century, displays a similar petal roundel enclosing a single bird. The pattern of the edge is composed of linked three-petaled flowers that are flanked by two lines of pearls; this quite resembles the Dulan fragment. The Pahlavi inscription as well as the Iranian example reinforces the view that group II could be Sasanian textiles.

Some fabrics collected in the Gansu Museum in China and the Abegg-Stiftung in Switzerland could also fall into these two categories³⁷¹ (**Fig. 6.2.9-11, 12/1-3**). One piece stored in the Münster Treasure in Aachen³⁷² (**Fig. 6.2.9-12/4**) is perfectly uniform with the Dulan item (**Fig. 6.2.9-8**), both in design and color, but its origin is unknown.

It is quite hard to identify the production centers of Sogdian and Sasanian silks. The classification and identification seem plausible, yet they are far from certain. Some examples carry the patterns of one group, but the color scheme belongs to the other group. Compared to the so-called Zandanji silks, group I exhibits many differences. It contains no denticulated projections on the roundel borders, but instead small-petal roundels. The so-called Zandanji silks do not have *hanshou* bird motifs. Assigning the pattern of confronted birds on pearl socles to one group has caused self-contradictions in Xu Xinguo's article several times.

Group II also comprises some silks that can hardly be differentiated from those of group I. For example, the Abegg-Stiftung silk no. 4900 (**Fig. 6.2.9-12/1, 2**) shows little difference with silk no. 4861–4862 (**Fig. 6.2.9-12/3**), especially the color schemes and the palmettes in the interstices of the roundels. On one fragment, which carries confronted animals (**Fig. 6.2.9-24/2**), the interstice palmettes are much more analogous. In my opinion they cannot be convincingly located in two different provenances. In fact, they exhibit strong features of admixture, either in pattern styles, color schemes and/or in techniques. I tend to assign all of them to one uniform textile workshop, a great possibility being a Sogdian workshop. Hence, these groups do not necessarily mean different provenances. Both types have similar petal roundels. The bird shapes, ribbons, streamers and adornments are all homogenous forms. Since during the period from the end of 7th to the mid 8th century, to

³⁷⁰ Xu X. G., 1996a.

³⁷¹ Lin/Zhao/Xue, 2005; Otavsky 1998.

³⁷² Muthesius 1997, fig. 71A.

which the group II was dated, the Sasanian Dynasty had already disintegrated³⁷³, the Sasanian silk unearthed in Dulan (if it is really of group II) could have been woven in certain regions between Central Asia and China by Sasanian immigrations who had fled to the east. The political support from the Tang Dynasty could have led to frequent commercial activities. In this way, even the Sogdian or Xinjiang region could have produced silks in their own styles, for example, in the style of group I; it must have kept fairly close contact with Sasanians. In any case, interregional communication tended to merge the two groups into a uniform one.

The eagle

The eagle is a popular motif in the art of Central Asia. On one fragment of silk the eagle is depicted frontally and enclosed by a petal roundel; its wings are outstretched, the head turned to the left, and a figural motif is on its breast (**Fig. 6.2.9-13/1, 2**). A similar motif appears on a Sasanian silver plate in Hermitage Museum, which has more delicate details (**Fig. 6.2.9-13/3**). The design had long been explained by the succession of myths relating to the given personality of a sacred or magic bird being carried either up to or down from the sky. The nude goddess, probably Anāhit, is held by the sky eagle with claws and circlets on the wings. Below her are two small nude boys, the infant Sun and Moon gods. In addition to fertility, Anāhit has a specific astral meaning: She was the planet Venus; thus, the motif represents the sky presenting its loveliest planet³⁷⁴. This motif is an ancient Iranian theme and also continues on silk textiles during the Islamic period³⁷⁵. Although the figures were fairly simplified on the Dulan item, the eagle's two claws that grasp the figure's waist can be seen clearly, emphasizing their similarity with other examples.

Confronted eagles also appear on Dulan silks. One piece now preserved in the Abbeg collection allegedly comes from Dulan (**Fig. 6.2.9-12/1, 2**). Depicted on it are confronted eagles, shown frontally in the same way, with the wings outstretched and linked pearls decoration on the wings and chest, similar to the sky-eagle motif on the aforementioned examples; here, however, the figures on the breast are absent.

Another piece of silk from excavations in Dulan depicts the same motifs (**Fig. 6.2.9-14/1**). The confronted eagles stand frontally within a petal roundel. They have linked pearls on the wings and chest, and also an aura circling the head. This example finds parallels on

³⁷³ XTS, vol. 221, 6259.

³⁷⁴ Pope/Ackerman 1967, vol. II, 882.

³⁷⁵ Pope/Ackerman 1967, vol. V, 2014, fig. 649.

Byzantine silks too (**Fig. 6.2.9-14/2, 3**). It is argued that the motif might originate from Byzantine³⁷⁶. Further, the weaving technique of the sky-eagle silk seems to differ from that of the Sogdian group or Central Asia, but is similar to that of textiles from farther west, probably Byzantium³⁷⁷. Nevertheless, the Sasanian influence cannot be denied by any means.

Helios

Three pieces of *jin* silk with Helios were all found in tomb DRM1PM2. On the example designated S109 (**Fig. 6.2.9-15**), three roundels framed with whirl and pearl motifs are spread in the weft direction and connected to each other by rosette. Helios, the mythical Greek sun god, is enclosed in the central roundel and shown on a carriage pulled by four winged horses. The other two roundels depict four like motifs, all in pairs: a hunter riding on a camel and hunting a tiger, a hunter riding on a horse and hunting deer, a cavalier fighting a lion, and a soldier holding a sword and shield. The whole pattern shows an admixture of cultures from both East and West. In this image, Helios wears a Bodhisattva headdress, has a Buddhist aureole, and assumes a Buddhist sitting position, but the dragon banner, the animal masks connecting the roundels and the Chinese characters, *ji* 吉 (auspicious) and *chang* 昌 (prosperous) are typical Chinese. Also, the structure of the weave is undoubtedly traditional Chinese.

The pattern on example S157 (**Fig. 6.2.9-16/1, 2**) is almost same as that on example S109, having three roundels that enclose Helios in the center, while the other connected roundels encircle confronted figures from top to bottom: elephants, riders shooting deer, lions and hunters on camels. A piece of silk with exactly the same pattern was found in Astana tomb no. 101, in Turfan, and is dated to the 5th–6th century³⁷⁸ (**Fig. 6.2.9-17/1, 2**). Most of the details are the same, except that the Astana silk has a yellow ground, while the Dulan item has a red one.

As to the third example S41 and S50 (**Fig. 6.2.9-16/3**), the Helios images are quite simplified in design. The carriage is not depicted in detail, but symbolized by two wheels and four horses. This image finds analogies in the Kizil caves at Kucha as well as in the Mogao caves in Dunhuang³⁷⁹.

³⁷⁶ Muthesius 1997, 97.

³⁷⁷ Watt et al. 2004, 347.

³⁷⁸ Watt et al. 2004, 272.

³⁷⁹ Zhu 2003.

Helios images on silk textiles were very common on Byzantine silks as well (**Fig. 6.2.9-17/3, 4**). The close similarities between them demonstrate that the Dulan fabrics could be Chinese imitations of Western patterns, catering to foreign markets. Their presence on silk was not an innovation of Central Asia or farther East, but an imported Byzantine tradition.

Confronted animals and birds (except *hanshou* birds and eagles)

A large number of Dulan *jin* silks and *ling* damasks carry the images of animals and birds facing one another and enclosed in a petal or pearl roundel as a design. The animals include winged horses, bulls, stags, lions and dragons, and the birds represent phoenixes and sparrows.

Silks displaying confronted winged horses, that is, pegasus, enclosed in pearl roundels are very common in Dulan (**Fig. 6.2.9-18/1, 3, 4, 5**). They are all warp-faced compound twills. The color schemes are of two types: one consists of blue and green patterns displayed alternatively against a yellow ground, and the other is of green and purple-red patterns displayed alternatively against an orange ground. The horses differ very little from one another. Each raises one front and one hind leg, standing upon a lotus-form pedestal with scroll outshoots or only bisected scrolls, which obviously are imitations of the Sogdian split palmette under the confronted *hanshou* birds and other Zandaniji patterns. Some horses have floating ribbons on the neck and simple floral symbols above the head. The pearl roundels are connected at four points with small flowers, or they are separate from each other. The space between the roundels is filled with four directional palmettes. Some pieces of silk with the same pattern have been found in Turfan. The earliest one was dated to 620 AD (**Fig. 6.2.9-18/2**), which bears the totally same pattern like the one in Dulan³⁸⁰.

About ten pieces of silk have patterns of confronted rams enclosed in pearl roundels (**Fig. 6.2.9-19/1**). Their color schemes are very rare, with reddish brown as the ground within the roundels and orange outside the roundels. Certain parts of pattern are displayed in blue. The rams have wings and bent horns, and stand upon bisected scrolls. The same pattern can also be seen in a Turfan silk (**Fig. 6.2.9-19/2**), which is dated to 688 AD³⁸¹. One piece bears patterns of confronted lamps encircled by pearl roundels (**Fig. 6.2.9-19/3**). The lamp motif was very rare in Sogdian and Sasanian cultures.

Confronted lions always appear among other paired animals or birds. Besides the

³⁸⁰ Wu M. 1984, 76.

³⁸¹ Wu M. 1984, 74.

confronted lions on the Helios silk (**Fig. 6.2.9-16**) and silk with human figures (**Fig. 6.2.9-27/1**), they also depicted along with confronted phoenixes, dragons and sparrows on the excavated silk banner fragments (**Fig. 6.2.9-20**). In most cases they are in a sitting position, unlike the standing lions in the Zandaniji silks.

Confronted dragons and phoenixes are typical Chinese motifs. They appear on silks accompanied by pearl or petal roundels, demonstrating a strong mixture of the Western and Eastern cultures. The confronted phoenixes pattern appears on two *jin* fragments, which might originate from the same textile (**Fig. 6.2.9-21/1, 2**). Their patterns and color schemes are fairly analogous to those on the silk jacket of a female found in a Turfan tomb that is dated to 633 or 688 AD, according to the different inscribed dates of burial of the wife and husband³⁸² (**Fig. 6.2.9-21/3**).

Two pieces of *ling* damask with the dragon motif (**Fig. 6.2.9-22/1, 2**) enclosed in several circles of pearl or petal rings are very similar to the items found in Turfan (**Fig. 6.2.9-22/3**). The dragons are separated by a tree-like column with lotuses at the top and bottom. The item could be a Shu (present day Sichuan) product, as vindicated by Wu Min in a comparison with another inscribed one, which was woven in Shuangliu County of Chengdu in 710 AD³⁸³.

One piece of silk carries images of confronted tigers under a central tree, enclosed by a pearl roundel (**Fig. 6.2.9-23/2**). This motif is very rare in Sogdian or Sasanian cultures. The large expansion of floral patterns in the interstice displays the Tang style. On another piece only several clawed paws of certain beasts, probably tigers or lions, can be seen within the roundels (**Fig. 6.2.9-23/1**). Between the roundels there is a copious palmette in the shape of a bound cluster of flowers that enclose a pearl medallion. The floral palmette developed to become the main pattern, which seemed to dominate over the confronted animals. A similar example has been found in Turfan (**Fig. 6.2.9-23/4**). Instead of fierce animals, one pair of confronted stags stands under an extravagant tree, with the same copious palmette outside the roundel. The Chinese inscriptions at the center of the roundel, *hua shu dui lu* 花树对鹿 (flower tree and confronted deer), inform that the silk was a Tang fabric, more precisely, Shu silk with a date no later than the Wu Zetian period (690–705AD), in Wu Min's opinion³⁸⁴. On one *ling* damask shows the images of a crouched winged stag within the double pearl rings and a lush palmette of the same type outside the

³⁸² Watt et al. 2004, 289.

³⁸³ Wu M. 1984.

³⁸⁴ Wu M. 1984.

roundel (**Fig. 6.2.9-23/3**); they are reminiscent of the damasks with designs of confronted dragons. The large proportion of interstitial palmettes, contraposed animals in Chinese style separated by a lush tree or decorated column found in both *jin* silks and *ling* damasks could be special traits of Shu silks in the early Tang period.

These kinds of patterns are clearly documented in contemporary Chinese sources as the *lingyanggong* patterns, named after *Lingyanggong* (Lingyang Duke) Dou Shilun, who created the silk patterns of confronted pheasants, fighting rams, flying phoenixes and swimming dragons in Yi Zhou (present day Sichuan) during the period of the emperors Gaozong and Taizong (the early Tang period)³⁸⁵. Archaeological finds are accord well with the written sources. Many silk objects with confronted creatures found either in Dulan or Turfan might have been imported from Sichuan. Their spatial distribution indicates that Chinese silk with these patterns were fairly popular along the Silk Road. It is very possible that most of them were Chinese exports with patterns strongly influenced by Sogdian silks, or produced especially for foreign or frontier markets. Compared to Sogdian or Sasanian silks that display similar motifs, the features of Chinese silks are very distinct. Most of them have the pearl roundels that differ from contemporary Western petal roundels, which could be a development based upon the former. Under the confronted animals or birds there is no split palmette or pearled socle, but instead a spreading lotus or scrolls, obviously an inaccurate imitation of the former. The animals and birds seem much more like a silhouette than a detailed depiction.

Several silk fabrics in the Abegg-Stiftung that display patterns with confronted stags, oxen, lions and horses might also have come from Dulan³⁸⁶ (**Fig. 6.2.9-24**). In view of the weaving technique, patterns and color scheme, they are likely Sogdian silks. The confronted stags bear a strong resemblance to those in Zandaniji silks in many ways, especially the Qianfodong silk in Dunhuang³⁸⁷ and the Huy silk in Bruxelles. The latter silk was inscribed with the name ‘Zandaniji’³⁸⁸. The stags stand on similar split palmettes in similar poses; their bodies are decorated with medallions in the same places; even their two long, branch-shaped antlers rendered in two different colors are quite alike. The roundels enclosing confronted oxen and the interstitial palmettes are perfectly identical with those in the inscribed Zandaniji silk. The confronted standing lions are also in the

³⁸⁵ Lidai Minghua Ji, vol. 10, 192–193.

³⁸⁶ Otavsky 1998.

³⁸⁷ Stein 1981, vol. IV, pl. cxv, ch. 009.

³⁸⁸ Shepherd/ Henning 1959.

same form as those on the Zandanji silk, although without a split palmette platform and denticulated roundel border. The fragments are likely representatives of contemporary Sogdian silk.

Human figures

Many human figures depicted on the silk closely resemble non-Chinese. They are mostly shown leading or riding on animals like elephants, camels or horses, used for hunting or transport. Besides the human figures depicted on the Helios silks, there are several fragments that illustrate scenes in life. One piece of silk strip shows different motifs: a figure leading a camel and a figure leading an elephant, within a wavy framework pattern (**Fig. 6.2.9-25/1**). A silk from Turfan with similar motifs was inscribed with the Chinese *huwang* (king of non-Chinese) (**Fig. 6.2.9-25/2**).

The silk fragment designated DRM1PM2: S63 shows a pattern of interlocking roundels with figures inside (**Fig. 6.2.9-25/3**). The seated figure has a full beard, wears crown and tight-fitting clothes, and sits upon a platform with the two hands raised. His appearance, sitting position and dress obviously are not of Chinese tradition. Between two figures inside the interlocking area, the top of a canopy with ornaments in flower shape is depicted. Under the canopy are three human figures, with the central one wearing a crown and flanked by the other two.

Tomb DRM1 yielded one small piece of silk with human figures drinking wine (**Fig. 6.2.9-26/1**). The reconstructed pattern likely depicts a pearl roundel enclosing one pair of confronted non-Chinese holding high a goblet in the hand and with a huge wine urn between them. A similar drinking scene also appears on the silk from the Astana tomb in Turfan (**Fig. 6.2.9-26/2**). The figures' costume, their standing position, the wine urns and the pictorial compositions are fairly parallel, but in this case they hold a horn or rhyton instead of a goblet.

There are also some figures which could probably be identified as Chinese. The silk piece sewn with the Helios silk S157 depicts a pair of confronted lions in the center and two large lion masks near the selvages. Between the lions and lion masks are represented two symmetric buildings, each containing three figures: one sitting on a platform and two guarding on both sides, each holding a trident in hand (**Fig. 6.2.9-27/1**). The buildings are typical Chinese buildings, indicating that the fabric should be Chinese silk. A similar piece of silk was also found in tomb 99DRNM1 (**Fig. 6.2.9-27/2**). Although only a small section remains, the motif is obviously one part of the building pattern as in S157. The lions,

Chinese buildings, the sitting position of the central person and the composition of the three figures are quite reminiscent of the Chinese Buddhist temples and Buddhist images.

Floral patterns

Various floral patterns are widely used in the Dulan silks. Most roundel patterns consist of petal borders and cross-shaped lotus-palmettes in the interstices. Sometimes on small silk strips the lotus-palmettes forms main patterns by themselves (**Fig. 6.2.9-28**), showing strong Sogdian and Sasanian styles. This type of interstitial palmettes is quite different from those of Chinese imitations, which were usually much more tenuous and delicate and later developed into sumptuous bunches of flowers.

Many silk fragments present typical Chinese motifs, especially the *ling* damask, *jin* silk, *kesi* woven gilt and embroidery, wax-resistant dyed damask and clamp-resistant dyed silk. The Tang floral patterns were greatly influenced by Western patterns and, hence, formed a special blended type. For example, some silks carry a *baoxianghua* roundel enclosing the confronted animals or birds (**Fig. 6.2.9-29/1, 2**), or they display only floral roundels or medallions without any animals or birds inside (**Fig. 6.2.9-29/3, 4, 5**), while the interstices are filled with the four directional palmettes. The rosette patterns are enclosed in separate pearl roundels, which appear both in Dulan and in Turfan tombs. The latter example could be dated to 653 AD (**Fig. 6.2.9-30**).

The huge import of silk in Tang style had a direct impact on the aesthetic tastes of Tubo, especially when we consider the extent to which the painted wooden objects (in all probability locally made) found in the Tubo-Tuyuhun tombs were accordant with the silk patterns (see chapter 6.2.2). Silk was likely the most powerful media to transfer different ideas and tastes. At the same time, the Chinese also met the international demand and produced silks with exotic or mixed patterns for a contemporary, relatively mighty power in Central Asia.

C. Uses

Most silk wares are preserved in tattered fragments and cannot be reconstructed. Therefore, their use is unclear. However, some of them still retain their original forms, providing us an insight into how intensive silk dominated people's lives.

Banners

Some silk banners are present in square or pennant shape, and were sewn together with

different silk fragments, indicating how valuable the silk textiles were (**Fig. 6.2.9-11/2; Fig. 6.2.9-15; Fig. 6.2.9-20**). Silk banners seem to have been very important for the noble class, particularly in certain ceremonies, obviously due to the textile's shiny surface and high value. Several banners were all made of silks with pearl or petal roundels enclosing a Helios, confronted *hanshou* birds, horses (Pegasus), Buddhas and dragons, which represented different gods or mysterious creatures. On painted coffins, silk banners were portrayed at the head of the funerary procession (**Fig. 6.2.9-31/1, 2**). One example has a pentagonal panel decorated with the pearl roundel and hung with long floating streamers. The same kind of banner also appears in Turfan, with confronted birds or a single stag enclosed in pearl roundels (**Fig. 6.2.9-31/3, 4**). The Western motifs seemed quite suitable for the silk banners. They are composed of fragments with different patterns and colors, that were sewn together, suggesting that they were made especially for the funeral ceremonies and afterwards buried in the tombs. In view of the fact that the banners' datings were much earlier than the time of burial, the fragments had obviously been in use for different purposes for a long period of time before their final use in the funeral.

Spur khang (body-tent)

Two samite fragments with petal roundels enclosing confronted lions and horses in the Abegg-Stiftung could be the cover of a “body tent” or “body house” (**Fig. 6.2.9-24/3, 4**). They bear two inscriptions in black ink in archaic Tibetan, which were probably written by the same hand. The first inscription, inside the roundel of prancing lions beneath the left lion’s raised foreleg (inv. No. 4863b), reads:

Spur: khang: zang: zango (reconstituted: zang-ngo)

meaning: “treasures from the repository of the corpse”

The second inscription, outside the roundel of standing lions (inv. No. 4864c), reads: *Spur*, meaning: “corpse”, in this case³⁸⁹.

Amy Heller points out that *spur khang* may refer to a chamber where a corpse, usually that of a high cleric, is kept during the lengthy process of mummification, which agrees with “body-tent” (ring-gur) and “body-house” (ring-khang). I shall mention it in chapter 6.5.1. The image of a “body-tent” was vividly represented in a coffin painting (**Fig. 6.5.1-2**), which was partially covered by a heavily-decorated silk with reddish pearl roundel designs. With support of the image and inscriptions, we believe that the Abegg-Stiftung’s

³⁸⁹ Heller 1998.

silk with similar patterns could have been used as part of the “body-tent” cover. The confronted lions might be a silk version of the double stone lions in front of the Tubo mausoleums, which were a symbol of political authority and therefore to be shown outside, if the pattern could be ordered or chosen from a production center by Tubo consumers.

Clothing

Certain *jin* silk pieces in small strips could have formed the edges of clothes. Silk usually decorated the collars, hems and cuffs (see chapter 6.5.2). In light of the coffin paintings, the majority of these edgings were made of silks with roundel patterns. The burial inventory in the form of Tibetan inscriptions on wooden slips in the Dulan tombs demonstrates that many objects of this kind were buried in the tomb (see chapter 6.2.10). The unearthed Chinese *ling* damask and other lighter and polychrome textiles might also have been the remains of clothes. One embroidered sock found in a Dulan tomb is an example of the extent to which Tang silks were used in everyday life (**Fig. 6.2.9-32/1**).

Horse saddleries

Silkware was also used in horse saddleries. The coffin paintings display heavily decorated silks were used to cover the horse’s mane during the grand funeral ceremony (see chapter 6.5.1). One saddle in the Abegg-Stiftung is entirely covered with excellent *jin* silk decorated with Sogdian or Sasanian patterns: one pair of confronted birds standing on opening palmette and encircled by multiple pearl-petal roundels (**Fig. 6.2.9-11/1**). The thickness, heaviness and softness of the Sogdian and Sasanian silk made it the best choice for the saddle cover, while the lovely Tang silk also had its uses. A Tang embroidered silk with floral pattern was used as the saddle blanket, the cloth placed under the saddle to protect the body of the horse (**Fig. 6.2.9-32/2**).

D. The dating of the silks

The Astana cemetery in Turfan yielded a large amount of silkware, many of which could be dated absolutely through reference to the epitaphs. **Table 6.2.9-2** illustrates that the silkware in tomb DRM1 was of various periods, lasting from the 6th century to the early 8th century, but mostly concentrating in the 7th century. The silks could be separated mainly into three phases:

- 1) The late Northern Dynasties – the Sui Dynasty: second half of 6th century (**Table 6.2.9-2, no. 1, 2, 3, 4**);

This period fashioned frameworks of opposing waves and roundels connected at four points, as influenced by the West Region. The main motifs included non-Chinese, lions, elephants and camels, which are also Western figures and animals. The patterns are symmetrical in warp direction.

- 2) The early Tang Dynasty: first three quarters of 7th century (**Table 6.2.9-2, no. 5, 6, 7**);

This is a period of transformation of silk patterns. Separate pearl roundels became prevalent, and more floral patterns in the typical Tang style appeared. The Western silks with *hanshou* bird pattern were popular.

- 3) The high Tang Dynasty: last quarters of 7th – early 8th century (**Table 6.2.9-2, no. 8, 9 10, 11, 12**).

During this period the characteristic Tang typology formed and became established. The Western frameworks of opposing waves and roundels connected at four points basically disappeared. The remaining separate pearl roundels were mainly large-sized, and the palmettes in the interstices became elaborate. The *baoxianghua* medallions, as a mixture of the Western roundel design and the Tang floral pattern, developed quickly. Chinese creatures like dragons, phoenixes, and Chinese-adapted Western animals such as deer and goats were fairly common.

The amount of silks from the tombs DRNM1, M2, M3 and M4 can be assigned to the three phases, especial the phase 3. The patterns of the *hanshou* bird (**Fig. 6.2.9-6/4, 5**), non-Chinese drinkers (**Fig. 6.2.9-26/1**), and figures in Chinese buildings (**Fig. 6.2.9-27/2**) might be somewhat earlier and belong to the first two phases. *Ling* damask with ink-painted deer and floral patterns (**Fig. 6.2.9-23/3**) are similar to the *ling* damask with confronted dragons enclosed in a pearl roundel (**Fig. 6.2.9-22/2, 3; Table 6.2.9-2, no. 12**), and therefore fall into the third phase. The other fragments with floral patterns could also be of the same period.

The silk not only provides us with an approximate date for the tombs, but also helps to reconstruct the historical background. As recounted in chapter 3.4, in 663 AD the Tuyuhun territory became a vassal state of the Tubo Empire. The sudden direct touch with the Tang border and the West Region could have led to a large influx of silks. Silks of different periods that were assembled and buried together in one tomb reflect how feverish Tubo nobles were in obtaining the imported treasures. Different antiquated fragments that were pieced together demonstrate how prudently they were used.

6.2.10 Materials with inscriptions

Many articles bear inscriptions, which are important for us in order to understand the context of either the unearthed materials or of their history. Objects with inscriptions are made of various materials like wood, stone and silk. Here it is deemed necessary to make a special discussion, in view of their rich information about the cemeteries as well as the cultural activities in the various locations.

A. *Tibetan inscriptions*

The richest finds are a number of wooden slips with Tibetan inscriptions. Tomb Reshui M10 yielded eleven pieces (**Fig. 6.2.10-1**). All of the slips are short, 10.5 cm long at maximum, 2.3 cm wide and 0.2 cm thick. They have a small hole or groove at the right end for being bound with cord. The inscriptions are in running hand style, varying between cursive hand and regular script. According to the study of Wang Yao and Chen Jian³⁹⁰, the texts are the inventory of the buried goods, especially the clothes, including damask cloth, silk clothes, black high shoes, goat-skin clothes, lamb-skin clothes with silk collars and red-band sleeves, and other objects such as a copper trumpet, a felt mat, bracelets and cups made of semiprecious stones. The texts also mention the golden thread and damask with Chinese word *shou* (longevity), which coincides with the actual finds. The inventory shows that the burial goods were of superb quality and in great quantity; thus, the tomb occupant was likely a Tubo aristocrat.

The shapes and contents of the wooden slips are similar to those found in Xinjiang, and should be dated to the same period, that is, before the Tibetan letter revolution in 9th century. Making an entry of the burial goods was a funerary custom in the Han region. In this aspect the tomb apparently followed in the burial practices of Central China.

The Reshui section II also produced such strips. Three pieces were unearthed in tomb 99DRNM3 and one piece in tomb 99DRNM2 (**Fig. 6.2.10-2**). Only two of them are complete. There are no holes for fastening. The inscriptions were written on the front surface and one side with ink. The texts are awaiting interpretation. One piece was also unearthed in tomb 99DRNM1 (**Fig. 6.2.10-3**). It has five grooves on one side and one groove on the back side. Both sides were inscribed in Tibetan running hand. They contain one word *vdzong/ zhang-skyes*, which Wang Yao argues to be the occupant's name. His

³⁹⁰ Wang/Chen 1991.

surname *vdzong* indicates that the deceased was a member of the family having marriage relations with the royal family. Wang Yao doubts that he could be the person *Jiesang*, which is mentioned in Tibetan historical documents from Dunhuang³⁹¹. He was a high officer in charge of important ceremonies of alliance, and he seized great power before his death in 757 AD. If this interpretation is plausible, it would be of great help in confirming the date and identity of the cemetery.

Although the identification of tomb occupants is somewhat tentative, the inscriptions provide substantial evidence for the social status of the tomb owners. In tomb 99DRNM3 were placed twelve large stones, which could have been used to seal the entrance. Four stones with inscriptions are of the same size. They have holes at one or both ends, inside of which bronze corrosion could be seen. Inscribed in each stone is one single word in the center (**Fig. 6.2.10-4**), which was originally gilded. One of them “*blon*” was translated as *lun* in classical Chinese, which is the officer equivalent to the minister, revealing that the tomb occupant was a high officer in the Tubo government.

Two skulls of sacrificial horses were found in a grave at the Kaoxiaotu cemetery. They both bear a drawing mixed with Tibetan inscriptions on the foreheads³⁹² (**Fig. 6.2.10-5**). The two drawings present similar images: A figure with dishevelled hair, in frontal view, is chained at the wrists and ankles; it is enclosed in two concentric circles, with linked petals of triangular or lotus shape aligned within the inner circle; Tibetan inscriptions are interspersed in the circles or aligned along the outer rim of the outer circle. Inscriptions in the first drawing (**Fig. 6.2.10-5/1, 2**) have been partly transliterated by Amy Heller as follows: *gong sri mar mnan/ rta 'dre dang rta sri mar mnan/*, meaning “crush the horse demon: *rta sri mnan*”³⁹³. She argues that the drawings on the horse skulls are what Tibetans now call a *linga*, that is, a ritual offering of anthropomorphic or animal shape in clay or drawn on paper, and that the *linga* drawn on horse skulls served as protection of other horses from illness or dire conditions attributed to the *sri* demons³⁹⁴. In fact, the *linga* is solely the chained naked figures in the center of the concentric circles, which in turn are called *cakra* (magic circle) and were used for various ritual purposes, especially for protection from evil spirits³⁹⁵. There are some images of these *cakras* that are

³⁹¹ Dulan 2005, 132–134.

³⁹² Xu X. G. 1996d, p. 13.

³⁹³ Heller 1999; 2003a.

³⁹⁴ Heller 2003a.

³⁹⁵ Karmay 1988, 72.

preserved in 17th century manuscripts from Lhasa³⁹⁶. Some *lingas* are shown being struck by ritual weapons, including arrows. These images easily remind of the evil spirits depicted in some coffin paintings (**Fig. 6.5.1-2**, **Fig. 6.5.1-12**, **Fig. 6.5.1-13**), which are naked, chained with ropes, with dishevelled hair, in a kneeling position or standing upside down, and struck by arrows. It seems plausible to place them in the same cultural context. Killing the evil spirit or demons, by drawing it/them on the horse skulls or on the coffin planks, constitutes an important part of the funeral ceremony.

The Tibetan language was also written on silks with ink. The samite with an inscription of *spur khang* (see chapter 6.2.9) is one of the most informative examples. It articulates the use of the piece of fragment. Some small finds like other silks and lacquer objects also bear single Tibetan inscriptions. One inscribed silk fragment was collected from tomb DNRM1. In the main pattern is a line of Tibetan letters in running hand, written in ink (**Fig. 6.2.10-6**). A lacquer dish also carries a Tibetan inscription on its base (see chapter 6.2.7). However, most of these ink inscriptions were added later, probably after the products had been imported.

B. Chinese inscriptions

One bronze seal with the Chinese characters *jin feng* 謹封 (sealed cordially) was declaimed as having been collected in the Dulan cemetery in the early years (**Fig. 6.2.10-7**). It is in typical Chinese style, and must have been used by a Chinese or someone who was Sinicized. Similar seals are not rare in the Tang region; they were usually used in the exchange of letters.

Most Chinese inscriptions are written on silkware in ink. Among them three pieces are Daoist secret talismanic writings, which were constantly carried out to avert evil and to pursue good fortune. One piece displays the word *shi* 市 (market or trade) (**Fig. 6.2.10-8/1**); it is interpreted as a very rare talisman that was closely related to commercial activities³⁹⁷. The word means: “The heaven and all gods bless the market and trade, the great luck will come. Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances.” Resorting to these objects, the user hoped that the Daoist gods would bless his trade. The second piece is concerned with *ai* 爰 (love)³⁹⁸ (**Fig. 6.2.10-8/2**); However, the

³⁹⁶ Karmay 1988, pl. 45, pl. 46, pl. 55.

³⁹⁷ Dulan 2005, 139.

³⁹⁸ Dulan 2005, 141.

interpretation awaits further research. The third piece (**Fig. 6.2.10-8/3**) is in poor condition and awaiting further study.

Some other silk fragments bear Chinese ink letters in large length, but they are seriously damaged. Only one word on one piece provides valuable information. It records a place named *Huang Zhou* 黄州, present day Huangzhou in Hubei Province (**Fig. 6.2.10-9**). Considering the trade talisman, the silk seems to have been bought from that region.

One Chinese name, *Xue An* 薛安 (**Fig. 6.2.10-10**), also appears on silkware. It was written in running hand on the back corner of a piece of silk, which carries typical Chinese peony pattern. The name must correlate in some aspect with the piece of silk, most possibly as a mediator. The Chinese numbers written on the base of a lacquer vessel shows that the maker was a Chinese speaker (see chapter 6.2.7).

If the aforementioned materials were imported from the Han region, some characters that appear on the wooden components³⁹⁹ could have been processed locally, thus demonstrating that Chinese speakers played an important role in local handicrafts. That means, not only the material trade with the Han regions was prosperous, but also immigration occurred as well.

C. Pahlavi inscription

In Reshui tomb M2 one piece of silk with a Pahlavi inscription of the Sasanian period was discovered (**Fig. 6.2.9-10/1**). It is the edge of a piece of weft-faced compound twill (**Fig. 6.2.9-8 or Fig. 6.2.9-9**), which was obviously a Western product. Dark blue, grayish-green and yellow flowers are displayed against a red ground. At the center is a row of linked heart-shapes, flanked by two lines of a connected tiny pearl pattern. The Pahlavi words were woven in the silk. They have been transliterated by D. N. Makenzie as following⁴⁰⁰:

MlkanMLKA=Sahansah

LBAGOH=Wuzurg xwarrah

The inscription means: “Great glorious king of kings”. This piece of silk does not attest that the local people could speak or understand Pahlavi, for the inscription was woven in the silk during its production, not written with ink like the other examples. However, this discovery is in any case convincing evidence of the communication between Tibet and regions farther west.

³⁹⁹ Dulan 2005, 95, fig. 59-3.

⁴⁰⁰ Xu X. G. 1996a.

Without doubt, the local official language was Tibetan, but Chinese was not prohibited, at least in certain fields. Considering that such materials with Chinese characters were buried in Tubo-Tuyuhun officers' tombs, and especially that Chinese seals and Daoism talismans were used and Chinese carpenters were employed, it is hard to conceive that the tombs' occupants could not understand Chinese. Actually before Tibet's conquest in 663 AD, the Tuyuhun people made use of Chinese, at least among the elites, although they mainly spoke the Xianbei language. According to the record of Luoyang Qielan Ji⁴⁰¹, the kingdom "has characters, and its situation like Wei (the Northern Wei)". Thus, they must be Chinese characters. NQS⁴⁰² recorded that Yiduhou, the son of King Shiyin, was interested in astrology. He requested it from the Southern Qi, the representative Chinese authority at that time. Although this request was refused after the discussion of state policies in the royal court, the incident suggests that at least the aristocratic class could have mastered Chinese.

Under Tubo's supervision, the situation probably sustained to certain extent. The region was really a Tibetan-Chinese bilingual sphere. The coexistence of the two languages allowed the cultural amalgamation to continue further and intensively, even when Tibetanizing policies were carried out widely among Central Asian Chinese and other minorities during the 8th century.

6.3 THE DATING OF THE TOMBS

The dating of the tomb Xuwei M1 (renamed by the excavator as DRM1PM2) could be established by means of the various finds. The tomb structure shows that it should be ascribed to the Tubo type of tombs. The gilt silver coffin-shaped casket and engraved standing phoenix point to a probable date in early 8th century metalwork (see chapter 6.2.8). This dating was further confirmed by the wealthy silkware. Many of them could be dated to the 7th century, but the latest fragments probably are the early 8th century products (see chapter 6.2.9 and **Table 6.2.9-2**). It seems justified to date the tomb Reshui M1 to the early 8th century.

Seven other tombs in Reshui, which were excavated in 2000, have been dated with dendrochronology⁴⁰³. Their established datings are listed as follows:

⁴⁰¹ Luoyang Qielan Ji, vol. 5, 95.

⁴⁰² NQS, vol. 59, 1026.

⁴⁰³ Wang S. Z. 2004.

Tomb 00DRXM10	611 AD
Tomb 00DRXM21	685 AD
Tomb 00DRXM14	691 AD
Tomb 00DRXM19	713 AD
Tomb 00DRXM3	732 AD
Tomb 00DRXM23	753 AD
Tomb 00DRXM8	784 AD

The excavation report is awaiting publication; therefore, the dating can only provide a general impression of the whole Reshui cemetery. The seven tombs are in all probability not far away from the Reshui M1 in date. Most of them are early and high Tang tombs. The silver belt ornaments found in tomb M17 resemble the golden bracteates unearthed in the Shi Daode tomb, which dates to 678 AD. Therefore, tomb M17 may belong to the close period (see chapter 6.2.8).

The four tombs located south of the Chahan Usu He (section II) were dated to the mid 8th century by the excavators, in light of the interpretation of the Tibetan inscription on one wooden slip (see chapter 6.2.10). This evidence based on the alleged tomb occupant seems inconclusive, but its date is approximate. The four tombs' distribution suggests that they belonged to a clan cemetery⁴⁰⁴. The tombs yielded silks with patterns of *hanshou* birds and Chinese buildings showing figures, which are similar to those found in tombs on the northern bank (**Fig. 6.2.9-6/4, 5; Fig. 6.2.9-7/1, 2, 6**). The lotus-palmette designs on the silk strips (**Fig. 6.2.9-28/2, 3, 4**) are also analogous with those on other finds. Furthermore, probably the most convincing evidence are the paintings on the wooden objects (**Fig. 6.2.2-2; Fig. 6.2.2-3; Fig. 6.2.2-4**), which resemble those found in the Delingha tombs (see the following chapter). Both of them could be dated to the high Tang period.

6.4 IMPORTANT TANG-TUBO FORTRESSES, CITY-SITES AND OTHER MONUMENTS ON THE NORTHERN TIBETAN PLATEAU

During the Tang-Tubo period many fortresses and cities were established at strategic sites of military significance along the Tang-Tubo borderlines, for example, in the present-day Huangyuan and Gonghe counties, due to frequent conflicts and to gain control over the

⁴⁰⁴ Dulan 2005, 126.

Tang-Tubo passage or at river crossings in the Yellow River valleys. Compared to the Han and Jin periods there was a greater number of fortresses, cities and settlements along the Yellow River, and in the entire He-Huang regions there were more fortresses than settlements. Although there are many Tubo cemeteries and some settlements in western Qinghai, fortresses or walled cities are very rare, indicating that the region was in peace during the warring periods under Tubo-Tuyuhun domination.

Most sites have only been inspected. Their distribution is shown in **Map 6.1-1**. Some of the important sites will be introduced in the following, and others are listed in **Table 6.4-1**, **Table 6.4-2** and **Table 6.4-3**.

The Kaiyuan border steles⁴⁰⁵

The stone steles, also called *Tang-Bo Chiling jiebei* (Tang-Bo Chiling border stele), were erected at the Riyue Shankou (mountain pass) on the present day Qinghai-Tibet road in Huangyuan County, to mark the Tang-Tubo borderline during the 21st year of the Kaiyuan reign (733 AD). The inscribed text is preserved in CFYG⁴⁰⁶. Two steles were placed on the western and eastern sides of the Riyue Shan respectively. The western stele, probably erected by the Tubo government, was discovered in 1983 and is now stored in the Huangyuan Museum. It consists of a main part (likely rectangular) and a pedestal in tortoise shape; the stele is 2.7 m high, 0.96 m wide and 0.27 m thick. The inscriptions are not readable, except for three Chinese characters in seal script: *Ri yue shan* 日月山 (the Riyue Shan), on the back of the stele. In 1984 another stele was discovered on the eastern side of the mountain, of which only the tortoise-shaped pedestal remains, together with more than twenty Tang bricks. It was originally erected by the Tang side.

The Beigucheng city-site in Chaigou⁴⁰⁷

The city-site is located west of the village of Beigucheng, Chaigou Township, in Minhe County. The city was built according to the terrain, that is, in a rather irregular layout, with 700-meters' length from west to east and 80–110 m from south to north. Only the northeastern and southwestern rampart, which was built with tamped earth, remains today. An abundance of materials like tiles, tile ends, bricks, shards of pots, urns and basins are scattered over the surface of the city. A bronze mirror, gray pottery, a stone column base

⁴⁰⁵ Xie/Ge/Yuan 1993, 74–77.

⁴⁰⁶ CFYG, vol. 979, 11503.

⁴⁰⁷ NBC 1996, 80; Li Z. X. 1995, 35–36.

and a large number of *kaiyuan tongbao* coins were unearthed. The city is likely the Longzhi city of Tang.

The Yangjiacheng city-site⁴⁰⁸

The city-site is situated northeast of the village Lijiamo, Chengguan Township, in Datong County. It was built on a small hill with tamped earth and displays an irregular layout. Its four walls, starting from the northern in clockwise direction, are 260 m, 230 m, 100 m and 400 m long respectively. Their remains are 3 m high and 10 m thick at the base. There is one gate in the western wall, 6 m in width. The ground surface within the city is very uneven, with the northern part much higher than in the south. Bricks, tiles and an abundance of ceramic pieces are scattered on the surface. There are two small mounds in the northeastern and southwestern corners of the city, each measuring 20 m in diameter. The site of a Buddhist temple was found in the northern part. In light of the Chinese sources, the city is thought to be the Anren Garrison of the Tang period.

The Suirong city-site⁴⁰⁹

The city-site is located near the village of Guanghua, Chengjiao Township, in Huangyuan County. Its north wall is close to the mountain. The other three walls face a cliff. A moat was dug between the northern wall and the mountain. The walls were built with tamped earth, and the remains are still 7 m high and 18 m thick at the base. There are four *mamian* structures (square bastions at regular interval along the exterior walls) on the four corners. The northern wall is 150 m long, with a *mamian* at the middle point. The eastern wall is 412 m long and has 5 *mamians*. The southern wall is 414 m long and has a gate at its east end. The west wall is 478 m long, with a gate in its northern section. The two gates are both 10 m wide. A broad street leads from the western gate to the east of the site. A yard is situated in the north, where a rich deposit of about 2 m thick was observed. Houses are concentrated in the yard and along the street. In the south is a open space that takes up 1/4 of the entire city area. Outside the east wall there is another extra wall, 500 m long, 3 m wide and a remaining 4 m high. It has a gate that faces the gate in the south wall. At one end is a watch tower, which is 11 m high and 12 m long and wide. There are three similar towers on the mountain as well, which measure 19 m in height. Abundant artifacts are scattered over the surface of the city within the walls, including bricks, pottery, broken

⁴⁰⁸ NBC 1996, 9; Li Z. X. 1995, 96–99.

⁴⁰⁹ NBC 1996, 53; Li Z. X. 1995, 124–128.

bones, grinding stones and a stone column base. Some *kaiyuan tongbao* coins, one bone object and one stone horse were collected.

The site is likely the Baishui Garrison of the Tang period, which was established in 715 AD according to the records. It was the largest military base in the upper reaches of the Huang Shui. It acted as a barrier between Shancheng and regions to the west, also as the first position for attacking the Qinghai Hu.

The Shibao stone fortification⁴¹⁰

The fortification is located 30 km southwest of Huangyuan County and 10 km northeast of the Riyue Shankou. It was built on the mountain, with the northern side close to the mountain and the other three sides facing the cliffs. It consists of two natural platforms, one in the southeast and the other in the northwest. They are connected by a narrow mountain ridge. On each platform is a watch tower, whose remains are 1 m high and 3 m in diameter. The smaller platform measures 40×40 m². Some tile fragments were found scattered there. The larger platform is a mountain ridge, 50 m long and 15 m wide. Some houses were built there near the cliffs and arranged in U-shape; they were covered by an abundance of tiles and brick fragments. The *kaiyuan tongbao* coin was found also collected there. Viewed from the foot of the mountain, these natural platforms look very like *shibao* stone fortress, as recorded in the Tang sources. The Tubo called it the *tieren* (iron sword) fortification. The site was established in the seventeenth year of the Kaiyuan reign (729 AD); it was later renamed as the Zhensu Garrison, first, and subsequently the Shenwu Garrison. This site was one of most crucial military forts between the Tang and Tubo empires.

The Jinbatai city-site⁴¹¹

The city-site is situated north of Jinbatai village, Beishan Township, in Menyuan County, and on the only road from Qinghai to Zhangye in Gansu. The city wall was built with tamped earth and measures 230 m from south to north, 200 m from west to east, 2–3 m high and 10 m thick at the base. There is one gate in the eastern side. In the west of the city is a platform of 40-m length and 30-m width. No tile or brick fragments or building remains have been found, but a large amount of animal bones was unearthed from the ash deposit. The city was likely built and inhabited by nomadic people. The platform could

⁴¹⁰ NBC 1996, 53; Li Z. X. 1995, 128–133.

⁴¹¹ NBC 1996, 128; Li Z. X. 1995, 197–201.

have served as a place for their tents.

Located 1 km north of the city is a small stone castle, measuring 70 m in length and 40 m in width, which is an auxiliary structure of the city. In its southwestern corner is a high stone platform, 5 m long and wide and 10 m high. In the southeastern corner is a gate. Many fragments of iron and pottery were noted on the surface. It was reported that the pottery shards have protruding node patterns, which are similar to pottery in the Reshui tombs. If this observation is correct, the city was likely built by the Tubo Empire. It was also the Weirong Garrison of the Tang Empire.

The Yinglong city-site⁴¹²

The city-site is situated on a mountain on the island in the Qinghai Hu. The wall was built with tamped earth, and the remains are 3–5 m high and 8 m wide at the base. The site's plan is trapezoid, measuring 65–137 m from east to west and 210 m from south to north. One gate was built at the middle point of the southeastern wall. The northeastern wall has two *mamians*, and other three walls each have four *mamians*. However, the original layout within the city is unclear. There is a Buddhist temple of the later period in the city. Some ceramics of the Tang period were found scattered on the surface. According to the records, the city was built in 747 AD by the Tang general Geshu Han and named ‘the Yinglong’ (the legendary winged dragon) city and the Shence Garrison. The island was called Longju (the dragon colt) Island, named after the Tuyuhun, who bred their horses, “dragon seed” and “Qinghai cong”, on the island (see chapter 6.4.2).

The Xiakou city-site⁴¹³

The city-site is located northeast of the village Chana, Qugou Township, in Gonghe County, and about 1 km west of the entrance to the Longyang Gorge. It was built on a small stone hill in irregular plan. The size of the site is not clear. The wall was built with tamped earth, and the remains are 4 m high and 6 m thick at the base. The wall has a northern gate. In 1979 the city was excavated. The finds include house sites, *wuzhu* coins of the Sui Dynasty, iron armor plates, arrow heads, ceramics and human and animal bones. The city could be the Hongji city of Tubo. In 754 AD it was reoccupied by the Tang general Geshu Han, and the Jintian Garrison was established. After its excavation, the site was inundated by waters of the Longyang Gorge Reservoir.

⁴¹² NBC 1996, 150; Li Z. X. 1995, 218–222.

⁴¹³ NBC 1996, 150.

The Watan city-site⁴¹⁴

The city-site is located 5 km northwest of Xinghai County. It has a square plan and measures 105–107 m long on each side. The wall remains are 4 m high in the southeastern corner and 1.5 m in the other parts. A gate is built in the eastern wall. The mound in the northeastern corner was excavated in 1990. It was the ruins of a Buddhist temple, built upon on a high terrace. Inside the temple were still the remains of some clay Buddha statues. An abundance of bricks and roof components such as tile ends with lotus pattern and eavesdrops with animal-mask pattern were excavated, which are typical Tang artifacts.

The rock carvings in the Lusi valley⁴¹⁵

The rock carvings are located on a cliff wall in the Lusi valley, near the village Xitai, Chahan Usu Township, in Dulan County. The Lusi valley lies to the south of the Chahan Usu He and west of the Reshui cemeteries. The carvings comprise images of a horse, three sitting figures of Buddha and three standing Buddhas. The horse was carved in low relief and is 2.5 m long and 1.6 m high. The three sitting Buddha figures were carved above the horse, each about 1 m high. The three standing Buddha figures are located west of the sitting ones, and are about 5 m high and carved in lines. They were dated to the Tubo period in comparison with the rock carvings in the Leba valley in Yushu County⁴¹⁶.

6.5 THE COFFIN PAINTINGS AND THE REFLECTED CULTURAL PANORAMA

6.5.1 The content and pictorial program of the wooden coffin paintings

This chapter will introduce and discuss three painted wooden coffins that were unearthed in an oasis in the northern Qaidam Basin. The three wooden coffins were found in tombs M1 and M2 in the Guolimu cemetery in Delingha city (the cemetery of Guolimu was already introduced in chapter 6.1.2). I had access to study two of the coffins. The third coffin discussed here is in unknown private hands. Its exact origin cannot be determined exactly, but it is likely from the same region. The coffins were painted on the outer surface of the two side planks and the two end planks, whose edges were connected in rabbet joints. The painting itself proceeded as follows: firstly the background was painted in brown or red, then all of the images were sketched in ink or red lines, and finally all were

⁴¹⁴ NBC 1996, 167; Li Z. X. 1995, 257–258.

⁴¹⁵ NBC 1996, 186.

⁴¹⁶ RCS 2002, 93, 94.

filled in with colors. The paintings' contents offer many insights into the Tubo-Tuyuhun world of life and death.

A. *Guolimu M1*

The coffin was likely rectangular or slightly trapezoidal in shape, i.e. after reconstruction. The lid and bottom were missing. The two end panels were confused with the end panels from the other coffins.

Plank I (**Fig. 6.5.1-1**)

This plank is likely the left side panel of the coffin. The right end is wider than the left. The panel is 2.20 m long, 0.56~0.70 m wide and 0.04 m thick, and is joined by three pieces of wooden board. The painting is very well preserved. Depicted are three scenes, proceeding from left to right:

- 1) Hunting
- 2) Caravan going to a feast
- 3) Enjoying a feast, love and amusement.

As a whole a complete scene of real-life activities is portrayed. It should be the representation of the living world. On the left are four horsemen, three behind and one ahead, chasing and shooting two yaks. All of them hold a bow directed at two yaks who gallop to the right; one yak is wounded and bleeding. A red hound runs parallel with yaks, seemingly barking at them. Under the three hunters at the back are three deer escaping to the left and being shot at by one rider. Two deer are bleeding, and one seems exhausted with a hanging tongue.

Beside the hunting scene is a caravan, joined by five riders and one camel. Four riders go ahead of it and one leads the camel that carries a bulk of goods. One rider follows behind. The caravan's destination is the banquet site, where two servants already stand before the yurts to welcome them. The revelry now reaches a climax. The host sits with his wife in a huge yurt, holding the cups, drinking and talking. Two guards stand outside the door, simultaneously receiving the newcomers. In front of the tent many guests are already gathered, who are enjoying food and drink. Men sit on the long carpet at the left, while women stand at the right, both in a row and flanking the host's yurt. A guest is quite drunk, bent over and vomiting, but the others continue. One guest holds a rhyton high and seems to drink the rest 'bottoms up'. Some people stand in the square in front of the tent; they are serving, drinking, talking and celebrating.

Behind the square some amusements are depicted. A man stands on a small square carpet, draws a full bow directed at a yak, which is secured at a stake. Behind him another archer is waiting for his turn. Two servants stand on the side to serve drink. One holds a *huping* (the foreign bottle), and another holds a salver with three goblets (stemmed cups) in it. There are also two onlookers besides. Between the scene of shooting the yak and the yurts, one couple – a man and a woman – are engaged in sexual intercourse, with an onlooking man holding his genitals kneels on the side. According to the record of XTS⁴¹⁷: “When the banquet was held to honor distinguished guests, the hosts had to drive yaks and let the guests shoot them by themselves, before they would dare to present them.”

Plank II (Fig. 6.5.1-2)

This plank is likely the right side panel of the coffin. It is 2.09~2.14 m long, 0.58~0.71 m wide and 0.04 m thick, and is joined by three pieces of wooden board. The left end is wider than the right end. The painting on the panel is not well preserved. Depicted are six scenes, proceeding from right to left:

- 1) Offering decorated horses to the deceased
- 2) Mourning the deceased
- 3) Shooting an evil spirit
- 4) Offering sacrificial animals
- 5) The deceased riding a decorated horses and traveling to paradise
- 6) Enjoying a feast and love in paradise.

The scenes were arranged along the length of the sides, without marked breaks in the depictions. The former four scenes should be a depiction of funeral ceremony, and the last two scenes depict the afterworld.

The first scene portrays three guests visiting the ceremony, bringing four decorated horses, and being greeted by three persons, one standing and two kneeling, all of them making a bow with hands folded in front. The horses are heavily decorated with pearl roundels on their face, manes and saddles, which might represent silk objects. Three stepped ornaments stand upon the neck. The scene conforms to details of a ceremony that are recorded in the Tibetan script in Dunhuang. According to P. T. 1042, line 1–13⁴¹⁸, (on the morning of the first day of the funeral ceremony) various participants in the celebration, including the king and the uncle-minister, arrive and are greeted. Offerings and libations

⁴¹⁷ XTS, vol. 216, 6072.

⁴¹⁸ Haarh 1969, 368; Chu J. J. 1989a.

accompanied with various sacrificial ingredients were brought. Line 13–22 relates the arrival or introduction of various participants, sacrificial animals and objects to form the funeral procession, among which the *thugs-gur* (catafalque, or certain ritual object made of silk) and the *dbon-lod* (selected horses) are mentioned in particular. The preliminary disposition of the procession is made, and various salutations, offerings, and libations are performed.

Behind this reception is the mourning scene. At the center stands a yurt covered by a piece of silk with pearl roundels, surrounded by three men in the front, only whose backs are visible, and four women behind, whose tear-streaked faces are clearly depicted. Behind them is a camel facing the right with goods on its back. Two servants, at least one of whom is a woman, stand next to two large urns that apparently contain drink. In the upper right corner of the panel is a young man beating a drum on a high stand with two drumsticks. Two men beside him face to the left, both with a sad expression, and one even raises his arm likely in the gesture of grieving.

P. T. 1042, line 40–47 describes the ritual in the afternoon of the first day of the funeral ceremony. During the funeral procession three circumambulations were made around the tomb⁴¹⁹. The text mentions *ring-gur* (body-tent)⁴²⁰ many times, which is interpreted as a kind of silk covering or “tent” with an image or representation of the deceased. There is also the possible equivalent expression *ring-khang* (body-house), which was believed to be the special interim chamber before the final burial⁴²¹. Both of them could be this kind of tent for containing the corpse, in which the living could express their grief and the deceased were prepared for various ceremonies or mummification.

On the left side is another man, inclined towards the yurt and with a long stick in hands. Behind him is a group of animals, including four cattle and one horse. They are driven towards the yurt by three persons, one on horseback and two on foot, all of them holding a long or short stick in hand. The scene must describe an animal sacrifice, because the group of animals is guided to the “body-tent”. It was believed that the road to “the land of joy” was long and hard, and for this reason the deceased had to rely upon the aid of the living through the performance of certain funerary rites, especially sacrificing animals. These animals were used to remove all obstacles, to guide the deceased and to serve as his mounts on the dangerous road. The sacrificial animals also were intended as a “ransom” to

⁴¹⁹ Haarh 1969, 368.

⁴²⁰ Stein 1972, 160, 178–179.

⁴²¹ Chu J. J. 1989b.

malignant spirits, who might otherwise harm the deceased. In other words, the animals served as a substitute for him. Finally, the Tibetans apparently also believed that the deceased needed all of the objects that they possessed in life, and, hence, the sacrifice of animals may also be understood as affording the dead with herds of yak and horses for use in the afterlife. Offerings of food, clothes and precious objects mean the same⁴²². In fact, animal sacrifices in Tubo tombs are very common, as fully elucidated in the previous text (chapter 6.1.3). According to the Dunhuang manuscripts, animal sacrifice was continuous from the first day of the funerary activities onwards, at various times and locations. In the Dulan cemetery, animals were sacrificed in different ways and in huge number, indicating the different purposes of animals.

Right above the yurt is the scene of shooting an evil spirit. Two horsemen ride to the left, each holding a bow directed at an obscure figure near the yurt. The figure seems to be naked with messy hair, bound to a post, kneeling down and shot by an arrow in the shoulder. His round wide eyes seem full of terror. The scene depicts the killing of an evil spirit. The same topic is repeated on other coffin planks (see section B, C, and D of this chapter). Although the figures are in different positions, fastened between posts or lying on the ground, they exhibit some common features. Their bodies are all naked, black and have been shot by arrows. All surrounding horsemen direct their bows at the figures.

SuS⁴²³ describes the funeral custom of the Fu Kingdom: “When a man died, there was no systematic funeral costume. The body was placed upon a high bed, washed and dressed in clothes, then in armor and covered with animal skins. The offspring did not weep, but dressed in armor too and brandished swords, declaring: ‘My father was killed by the devil and now I will kill it in revenge.’ Then the relatives wept briefly and finished.”

The customs of the Fu Kingdom were analogous with those of the Tubo and Tuyuhun people in many aspects, including animal sacrifice and conserving the corpse of the deceased for several years before burying it. The killing-spirit-ritual was likely shared by them too. Bon religion believed that it was the evil spirit that took people’s life. Killing this evil spirit and releasing the soul of the dead from suffering was one of the most important funerary rites. The killing required various weapons. The horsemen and their bows and arrows were part of these weapons. According to the Dunhuang text, this ritual was probably held in the afternoon of the second day of the burial ceremony.

⁴²² Kvaerne 1985, 7.

⁴²³ SuS, vol. 83, 1858.

P. T. 1042, line 101—102⁴²⁴: (On the second afternoon) during the burial ceremony … the necromancers drive away the devils.

Line 110—111⁴²⁵: *gShen* and Bonpo exert sorcery to each burial object, one by one to ward off evils.

Ahead of the two hunters, right above the scene of animal group, is a procession of three horsemen. The first person rides on a plain horse and holds a silk banner with long floating streamers and decorated with a pearl roundel in the upper panel. The following two figures seem quite special. They both ride heavily decorated horses, like that in the lower right corner. The middle figure wears a slightly square cap and a red mantle, and the last figure a black cap with oval top and back flap. The procession marches to the left, apparently in the direction of paradise. This scene should depict the deceased going to heaven.

The sacrifice of horses in the Tubo funeral ceremony probably originated from a legend. According to the record of P. T. 1136, line 20-29⁴²⁶, a poor man and his horse had very close friendship. They promised that when the one died, the other should build a tomb for the deceased. When the man died, his horse was very sad and built a yurt-shaped tomb for him. The deceased said: “My dear animal, you shall have courage to pass through the mountains and rivers! When they arrived in *byang rnams* (joy of land, or paradise), the horse was given the name *serngang* (the name of valuable horse). Its manger was filled full with food, and it could eat green grain, drink sugarcane water; its mane was decorated with brocade and its head with feathers of birds and rocs; its tail was combed downwards and tied with a small band; it had a straw stall with windows. It had the courage and passed the mountains and rivers calmly, and then could enjoy happiness.

Many details mentioned in the text correspond with depictions in the coffin paintings. For example, the yurt-shaped tomb, the owner traveling to the joy of land together with his intimate friend the horse, the horse’s mane decorated with brocades and the head decorated with bird feathers. The horse figures in the paintings carry decoration on their mane, with silk or brocade, and on their head, with high stepped ornaments. The most solid evidence is that these horses were donated by the guests who attended the ceremony, and they were ridden only by the two distinguished persons in the procession. All other

⁴²⁴ Chu J. J. 1989a.

⁴²⁵ Chu J. J. 1989a.

⁴²⁶ Chu J. J. 1989b.

horses in the paintings are not decorated. Undoubtedly the scene depicts the deceased traveling to the land of joy, riding on their special supernatural horses.

The last great scene depicts a broad space, where a grand banquet is going on. In the center is a large yurt with the door opened to the right and two persons inside being served. Outside the door stand guards, one of whom holds a stick. Two rows of guests, males on the left side and females on the right, sit on a long red carpet, flanking the yurt and forming half a circle in front of the yurt. In the center of the area stand many figures, most of whom are servants. They stand around three big urns, scooping out drink and passing it on to guests. Some of the guests already seem to be drunk. One figure sits on a square carpet and holds a long straight stick, with a lamp nearby, probably cooking meat for the banquet. Behind the row of women are two men groveling on the ground; they are seriously drunk too. On another side of the yurt stands one couple, perhaps flirting. Another couple of male and female is engaged in sexual intercourse in the mountains behind the yurt.

Brief floral images are used to fill the compositional voids. Mountains and trees are portrayed along the upper edge of the plank, creating a background of the natural landscape for the stories.

B. Guolimu M2

The coffin is similar to the coffin of the tomb M1, but of a smaller size.

Plank I (Fig. 6.5.1-3)

The plank should be the left side panel of the coffin. It is 1.93~1.98 m long, 0.47~0.57 m wide and 0.04 m thick, and is joined by two pieces of wooden board. The right end is wider than the left. The painting is very well preserved. It depicts two scenes, proceeding from left to right. In contrast to Plank I of Tomb 1, the scenes of caravan and shooting yak are omitted.

- 1) Hunting
- 2) Enjoying a feast and love

Obviously the two scenes are a vivid depiction of the living world.

On the left upper side three horsemen ride towards the right, one ahead and two behind, all with a drawn bow directed at three sprinting deer, one of which has been struck by an arrow. Below the scene are two horsemen riding to the left, both with a drawn bow directed at three startled escaping yaks, two of which are wounded and bleeding. Behind

the horsemen rides a hunter on a galloping horse; he holds a bow and directs it at two galloping wild donkeys. The scene is full of excitement and dynamic action.

The right part of the panel's painting portrays a grand banquet. In the center is a huge yurt; the host and his wife sit inside, drinking and talking. Two guards stand outside the door, one holding a stick. The yurt is flanked by two rows of guests, with the men sitting on the left side and the women standing on the right. Some men are quite drunk, some even vomiting or sleeping. Behind them stand several free horses, with which the guests came. All of the women stand quietly, with arms folded in front of the chest. In the front of the yurt, between the row of men and women, is a large area. There many servants stand next to two huge urns filled with drink and covered with colorful mantle. Between the urns and the yurt is a small table, upon which stand four cups. The servants talk and serve drink. Some hold a *huping* (the foreign bottle) and goblets, while others ladle drink from the huge urn into a cup.

Behind the yurt, a drunken man sleeps deeply, his hair in a mess. Beside him a dog is eating the leftover bones greedily. On the right side of the yurt stands a couple, a man and a woman, who are cuddling and kissing each other. Another man flirts with one woman in the row of women.

Small images of flowers and mountains fill the compositional voids. A range of mountains with trees is depicted along the upper edge of the plank, creating a background of natural landscape for the stories.

Plank II (Fig. 6.5.1-4)

This plank is likely the right side panel of the coffin. The left end is wider than right. It is 1.91~1.97 m long, 0.49~0.58 m wide, and 0.045 m thick, and is joined with two pieces of wooden boards. Only the upper half of the painting is well preserved, while the lower part is poorly preserved, and little can be recognized. According to the reconstruction, the painting should depict six scenes, proceeding from right to left that basically corresponds with plank II in tomb M1.

- 1) Offering decorated horses for the deceased
- 2) Mourning the deceased
- 3) The deceased riding on a decorated horse and traveling to paradise
- 4) Shooting an evil spirit
- 5) Offering sacrificial animals
- 6) Enjoying a feast and love in paradise

A group of visitors followed by decorated horses arrives at the funeral site and are greeted by the servants. A female servant is ladling drink from a big urn into a cup to serve the guests. Beside them is a yurt surrounded by people, which of course represents the mourning scene. The outline of one horse, facing the yurt, can be seen faintly. Above the greeting scene, in the upper right corner of the panel, are two persons, apparently a man and a woman, riding on decorated horses and waving the long sleeves to the back. Before them a man holds a long stick with a red banner hanging from the top, which is decorated with a pearl roundel and tied with long floating ribbons.

Ahead of the banner and above the mourning scene are four horsemen, two riding ahead and two following, all with drawn bows aimed in the same direction at an image, which was worn away completely. According to the counterpart scene in tomb M1, it should be the scene of shooting an evil spirit.

The left part of the painting is the depiction of paradise. A huge yurt faces to the right, inside which stand one man and two women. Two guards stand outside the door, both holding a stick in the hand. The yurt is flanked by two rows of men and women. The women sit on the right side and the men stand on the left. In front of the yurt is a square. Some figures are holding cups, drinking or serving. Behind the row of women, one couple of lovers are cuddling and kissing; two men, one holding a sword and another, a stick, rush towards them, probably struggling for the woman. Behind the huge yurt another man and woman are engaged in sexual intercourse. Mountains are portrayed along the upper edge of the plank.

C. End panels

Three pairs of end panels were found. Two pairs were painted with *zhuque* (the vermillion bird) (**Fig. 6.5.1-5, 6**) and *xuanwu* (the black tortoise) (**Fig. 6.5.1-7, 8**). They all stand upon the lotus flower and are surrounded by a floral abundance. They are supposed to be the end panels of the coffin of M1 and the outer coffin of M2. The board with the vermillion bird should be the head panel and the one with the black tortoise, the foot panel. One pair is trapezoidal in form, and the other pair is square but with a wider round top. The images of the creatures, the lotus platforms and the floral patterns are typical Tang style.

Four supernatural beings had long been the prevalent motif within the Han culture sphere during the Han-Tang period. The vermillion bird symbolized the South, while the black tortoise the North. Together with *Qinglong* (the Green Dragon) of the East and *Baihu* (the

White Tiger) of the West, they symbolized the whole universe. In many cases only one pair of them was used as a simple symbol. According to the *Yin-Yang* theory, the vermilion bird represents fire, belonging to the *Yang* (masculine or positive principle in nature), while the black tortoise's nature was the nether world, relating to water and belonging to the *Yin* (feminine or negative principle in nature).

The third pair of boards is square with round top, although the top of one is missing (**Fig. 6.5.1-9, 10**). They seem smaller in size and are likely the end panels of the inner coffin of M2. On them is depicted one standing bird and one running rabbit respectively, both surrounded by profuse floral, rosette and honeysuckle patterns, which are typical Tang floral motifs. In the Han-Tang Chinese culture the bird represents the sun, while the rabbit represents the moon, also the universe, with one *Yin* and one *Yang* as well.

The motifs on end panels were of typical Han Chinese culture, and their styles also conformed to the contemporary Tang artistic style. In the Central Plain they were carved on the stone door of graves, or drawn on the tomb murals, or decorated on daily-using utensils. Apparently the themes were borrowed from the heartland of the Han culture. In view of their artistic style, it is most likely that the painters came from the Tang region, or at least learned technique from Tang artisans. The ideology of the Tang Chinese blended with the local funeral custom too. If it is reasonable that the two side planks were equipped with imagery of the worlds before and after death respectively, the two end panels painted with representations of *Yin* and *Yang* worlds were also correspondent with the whole composition, and served the same funeral principles.

Some other fragmentary painted strips were also collected, but their original positions were unclear. Some carries images of flowers and birds, and one was painted the fierce face of tomb guard, which was possibly part of the head panel. All these images were quite normal in tombs of the Han region.

The preliminary observation reveals that, the coffin paintings of Tomb 1 and Tomb 2 have the similar themes, pictorial program and layout, as well as their artistic styles. Only details are different. They should be drawn by the same painter and perhaps in the same time too. The burial status also supports the conclusion. Tomb 2 is a transferred burial, which obviously was reburied to accompany with the Tomb 1. The two side planks of each coffin depicted the life before and after death respectively. The images of direction creatures on the two end panels were also symbols of the living and nether world. Although the narrative events and the figures in the coffin painting were quite alien to the Tang culture, the direction symbol had long been the prevailing elements in the Han-Tang

tombs, which was introduced in and intermingled with the local funeral customs.

D. Other painted coffin planks

Some painted wooden planks which are probably from the Delingha region came into private hand, and only a few vague photographs of some pieces were available to me. Two side planks and one end panel very possibly came from the same coffin, but information is needed about other fragmentary pieces.

The two side planks, each made of two pieces of board, are trapezoidal; the head end is wider than the foot end. The measurements of each were not available, but they appear to be similar to the coffin in the Guolimu tomb M2. The left side plank depicts the living world in three scenes, proceeding from left to right (**Fig. 6.5.1-11**):

- 1) Hunting
- 2) Caravan going to the feast
- 3) Enjoying amusement and banquet

One horseman waves a weapon and chasing four escaping deer that are running towards the left. Two horsemen shoot at a yak in their midst that runs towards the right. One horseman pulls a camel, which is loaded with goods, followed by another horseman and accompanied by a running dog. They are going to a feast. A group of musicians are playing instruments, and a dancer is performing before them. A row of women sit on the carpet and watch. One old man sits on a stool to the right of the performers; he holds a stick with one hand, and with the other hand he receives a bowl served by a bowed servant. Beside the man is a big yurt with two guards standing at the gate and a dog crouching in front of the gate. Inside the yurt several men can be seen who are sitting by a pile of goods. One servant and two resting horses stand behind the yurt.

The right side plank presents the funeral ceremony and the afterworld. There are four scenes, proceeding from right to left (**Fig. 6.5.1-12**):

- 1) Mourning the deceased
- 2) Shooting an evil spirit
- 3) The procession marching to paradise
- 4) Enjoying feast and love in paradise

In the center of the right half of the plank is a small yurt erected upon a platform and enclosed by a black screen, where the heads of three men in mourning can be seen. In front of the yurt two horsemen, one in front and the other behind, who are shooting at evil spirit between them. The spirit is secured between two upright posts, and one arrow has

pierced its waist. Above the yurt a procession is shown marching to the left. It consists of five horsemen and some animals. The first rider holds a banner and one of following holds a horsetail whisk, which was one special device for honor guards. The last rider is obviously the protagonist. He wears a splendid dress and sumptuously decorated cap, which is totally different from the others. His horse looks also very strange. Its head is not exactly that of a horse, and its long pointed mouth makes it appear like a mouse. Although the horseman holds the reign in his hand, there is no harness on the horse's head. One square piece of material covers its mane, reminiscent of the silk decoration on the horse's mane in the coffin painting from Guolimu tomb M1. The unique appearance of the horse demonstrates that it is not a normal equine, but a divine creature, which has the special function to carry the owner to the other world. The group of mounted figures is guided by some animals, including one dog side by side with one sheep, and two yaks farther in front. In this scene one function of sacrificial animals is expressed explicitly. The procession is welcomed by one person, and another beats a drum. The rest of the painting depicts the joy of land. The host sits in a big yurt with two guards beside the gate. In front of the yurt are many men and women guests, who stand or sit. Several servants serve drinks and cook meat. Two children are playing games nearby, and behind the yurt a couple is engaged in sexual intercourse. Mountains, trees and the sun are painted along the edges of both planks.

At least one of the end panels, designated Panel I, belongs to this coffin, because it has the same ground color as the side planks. It is roughly square in shape. Two images were painted in this space: The upper part is the vermilion bird standing on a lotiform pedestal, surrounded by clouds. The lower part portrays the fierce face of a tomb guard, holding a big ring in his mouth. The motif was a typical tomb-door decoration: *pushou* (knocker-holder) in the Han region during the Han to Tang period. This indicates that the end panel possibly was the head panel of the coffin and symbolizes a door.

The painting on this coffin was not skilfully executed. Although the scenes and contents are analogous to those in paintings from Guolimu tombs M1 and M2, these painting techniques were at a different level. The lines on this coffin are stiffly drawn. The figures and animals are not portrayed as vividly. However, it seems justified to say that the painters of these coffins came from the same ateliers.

There are still some fragmentary finds of painted coffin planks, which could not be traced clearly. One end panel from the Dulan region depicts a galloping rider holding a bow directed back at a spirit, which is naked, stands upside down and shot with an arrow in the

waist⁴²⁷ (**Fig. 6.5.1-13**). Another end panel, a chance find, carries the image of a cock beside some clouds; this is likely a misunderstanding expression of the vermilion bird (**Fig. 6.5.1-14**). The third painting is a long plank displaying mysterious creatures enclosed by pearl roundel patterns against a red ground (**Fig. 6.5.1-15**). The creatures are typical Tang themes and style. They include, from left to right, a tiger, a rabbit, a dragon and a snake (**Fig. 6.5.1-16, 17, 18, 19**). The tiger and dragon are two of the ‘Four Supernatural Beings’. The snake could be a simplified form of the black tortoise, which was frequently depicted as a tortoise enwound by a snake. The rabbit is a symbol of the moon. There could be more creatures along the length of the strip, because the two ends are not the original ones. In view of its shape, the piece of board was probably a part of the coffin lid. This strip and the panel with the cock’s image could be from the same coffin, because they have the same ground color and artistic style. The simple curling cloud pattern beside the cock is almost the same as that beside the rabbit and the snake.

The image of a pearl roundel enclosing a figure is not an isolated motif. A piece of board painted with a poorly executed version of a similar composition was also in a private hand. Pearl roundels are aligned along the length of the board with the simple palmettes filling the interstices. Only one horseman enclosed in one roundel was preserved completely, but comparatively it seems stiffly drawn.

6.5.2 The human figures in the coffin paintings and the ethnic affiliations of the cemetery’s occupants

In chapter 6.1.3 a comparison of cemetery structures found between the Qaidam region and Central Tibet was made, and the conclusion was drawn that the cemeteries in Dulan and vicinity exhibit overwhelming influences of the Tubo culture. In chapter 6.5.1 the pictorial program on the wooden coffin was interpreted directly by referring to the ancient Tibetan scripts on funerary rituals. Therefore, it can be maintained that the figures in the coffin paintings can be identified as a Tibetanized Tuyuhun population. In order to vindicate this view, two aspects must now be discussed in detail: one is the characteristic costume; the other is the origin of forms in the coffin painting. As a further important aspect, the face painting will also be commented.

A. The characteristic costume

⁴²⁷ Ding W. 2004, 181.

The Tibetan costume

Most men in the paintings wear two types of headdresses. One is a high turban with a spiral pleat on the top and the other is a thick coiled headband with flat top. The headdresses are in different colors, such as red, white, yellow, brown and blue, among which red is most fashionable.

All male figures have long hair that is formed into a knot or ring-shaped plait on the nape of the neck. Some males wear the hair separated into two bunches, which are fastened with ribbons with a big bead and fall upon the two shoulders. The faces of many figures are painted with vermillion. The red marks in round, strip or dot shape are applied to the forehead, cheek and jaw. Most figures are dressed in a loose robe with a narrow girdle and long sleeves covering the hands. Thereby, some figures have the sleeves rolled up for convenience, for example, hunters, musicians, servants and guards. Their collars are folded back on each side to form triangular flaps, with the right side overlapped on the left, and the lower part is tucked into the narrow girdle. Usually the neckline is hemmed with a thick ornament with two round ends, which form part of the triangular flap. The collar and cuffs are often made of contrasting materials, like silk with pearl roundel patterns. The robe of some figures has a round collar, which was probably formed by two triangular lapels being folded upwards and fastened to enclose the neck.

Most of the figures in the paintings wear black boots. In some cases trousers under the robe are visible through the robe's side slit. Some figures wear a long garment over the robe. Its collars and hem are decorated with materials with pearl roundel patterns too. Their narrow black girdle is adorned with a pearl pattern, resembling the painted horse harness straps.

These costumes are typical of the Tubo style during the 7th–9th century, which had been studied by several Tibetologists before. By comparing with the surviving pictorial materials, Heather Karmay summed up the characteristics of the Tubo costume as follows: “Several striking features of early Tibetan costume may thus be identified, the first being two types of turban, one with a high flute of pleats standing up on the crown, probably worn only by royal persons, and the other a flat, tightly rolled ring or head-cloth leaving the crown bare. Often one end of cloth projects to the side of the turban. The robe is long and slim-fitting around the waist, perhaps in the same way as the present day *chu-ba*, with folds of material at the back. The triangular collar flaps are of different sizes, the broadest apparently falling right back over the shoulders, and extending down the front to tuck under the narrow girdle. The hem, cuffs and collar are of contrasting material. The sleeves

are long and cover the hands. The boots are usually dark and with turned-up toes. The essential difference in this dress and that worn by later Tibetans lies in the turban, and the broad triangular collar.”

Compared with the figures in the coffin paintings, the features summarized above are convincingly confirmed, except for some details. For example, most robes are not slim-fitting but very loose; the boots are often without a turned-up toe, but flat, which is further attested by a leather boot excavated in the tomb 99DRNM1 in the Reshui cemetery (**Fig. 6.2.3-1**). In spite of the divergency, there can be little doubt that the figures in the coffin paintings are identical with those in coeval illustrations. The illustrations include:

1) *Bunian tu*⁴²⁸ (**Fig. 6.5.2-1**)

A Chinese scroll painting kept in the Palace Museum in Beijing, attributed to Yan Liben (627-673 AD), who was a court painter and official of the Tang Dynasty. It depicts Blon-po mGar, Songtsen Gampo’s famous minister, visiting the Tang Emperor Taizong in the matter of the marriage between the Tubo king and the Tang princess. The envoy’s robe is patterned with the pearl roundel enclosing a bird on the collar, cuff, central closure, and side slit, and the scale patterns enclosing a deer or horse on the rest part. The head band and hair-knot likewise recall the figures in the coffin paintings.

2) Dunhuang cave 158⁴²⁹ (**Fig. 6.5.2-2**)

The cave was dated to the period of Tibetan occupation (781-848 AD). The painting on the northern wall shows a crowd of kings of different lands mourning for the Buddha. The Tubo king supported by two attendants stands left most, which should be at the head of the crowd. His identity is stated by a horizontal cartouche bearing the inscription in Tibetan *Bo Zanpu*, meaning “Tubo king”. His robe, with two triangular lapels, is profusely decorated with roundel designs. His fluted crown and the attendants’ headbands are clearly presented.

3) Dunhuang cave 159⁴³⁰ (**Fig. 6.5.2-3**)

The wall painting in the cave 159 was executed in approximately the same period as that in Dunhuang cave 158. It depicts a Tubo king standing at the foot of the scene of the Vimalakīrti debate, followed by his attendants and a crowd of figures. The first seven figures in the group, including the king, wear Tubo robes and headdresses, while the rest wears a variety of costumes.

⁴²⁸ Hu J. 1959.

⁴²⁹ Dunhuang Cave 1985, pl. 100.

⁴³⁰ Dunhuang Cave 1985, pl. 111.

4) Illustration of the Vimalakīrti-sūtra⁴³¹ (**Fig. 6.5.2-4**)

This Dunhuang painting in the Stein collection is dated to the late 8th century. Similar to the painting above, it shows a Tubo king and his entourage coming to hear the debate. Their dress is obviously Tubo costume.

5) The Śariputra and Raudrakṣa scroll⁴³² (**Fig. 6.5.2-5**)

This scroll from Dunhuang is dated to the 8th century. It depicts several Tubo figures in groups in the audience watching the contest between Śariputra and Raudrakṣa. They wear identical Tubo headdresses and robes; their faces are also painted with vermilion dots on the forehead, cheeks and jaw, which clearly resembles the figures highlighted with vermilion in the coffin paintings.

6) Other Tubo figures in the Dunhuang and Anxi Yulin caves in Gansu Province.

Many images of Tubo donors are preserved in the wall paintings in the cave 359 (**Fig. 6.5.2-6**), cave 225 and cave 220, dating to the period of Tubo occupation⁴³³. An illustration of a Tibetan wedding banquet in the paradise of Maitreya on the northern wall of cave 25 of the Yulin caves in Anxi⁴³⁴ (**Fig. 6.5.2-7**), dating to early 9th century, is also visual evidence of the Tubo costume at that time. Thereby, for the first time women appear to dress like men.

7) The rock carving in Yushu, Qinghai⁴³⁵ (**Fig. 6.5.2-8**)

In the Lebagou valley in Yushu Prefecture, through which it is believed the Princess Wencheng passed when journeying to Lhasa for marriage, an ancient rock carving presents a group of Tubo nobles worshipping a Buddha. The male and female figures wear a robe and headdress very much like those worn by the figures in the coffin paintings. The carving is placed in the early Tubo period.

8) The painted wooden casket in the Reshui cemetery, Dulan (**Fig. 6.2.2-2**).

Similar figures and artifacts appear also in Reshui tomb 99DRNM3 in the Dulan cemetery (see chapter 6.2.2). Their costumes and face paintings are matched well with those in the coffin paintings.

9) Images from central and western Tibet

Except in Dunhuang on the northeastern border of the Tubo Empire, a similar costume can

⁴³¹ Whitfield 1982, pl. 20.

⁴³² Shen Y. Z. 1977; Karmay 1977.

⁴³³ Duan W. J. 1987.

⁴³⁴ Dunhuang Cave 1985, 43.

⁴³⁵ Tang H. S. 1998, fig. 1.

be traceable in western and central Tibet as well. In the Buddhist cave murals at Piyang-Dongga, dating no later than the 9th century, many donor figures wear similar robes and headdresses⁴³⁶. The same style in clothing lasts until the 11th century, which Heather Karmay views as the second group, for instance, in the wall paintings of the Tabo Monastery in western Tibet (**Fig. 6.5.2-9**), Iwang in central Tibet, and a Tibetan manuscript illumination from western Tibet⁴³⁷. This reveals that even in inner Tibet several centuries later, the costume still maintained the tradition of the highest period. Chinese and Tibetan sources document some aspects of the Tubo costume. CFYG⁴³⁸ mentions that the king of Nü Guo “dresses in a blue gown with sleeves reaching to the ground; in winter he wears sheepskin decorated with patterned silk; he has a small coiled bun; he puts on golden earrings and barbarian shoes.” The depicted costume and headdress features concur precisely with the painted Tubo figures. Tibetan headgear is also clearly documented. XTS⁴³⁹ describes: “The Tubo king sits in a yurt...clothed in a white woolen gown; a hat with the top in color (or in shape) of *zhaoxia* 朝霞 (the morning clouds) covered his head; he wore a sword encrusted with gold at his waist”. According to Tibetan sources, King Songtsen Gampo had his head wrapped in red silk, and he worn a multicolored brocade mantle. The successive kings imitated this headdress; and when the New Year and festival came, they worn the archaic clothes and a red crown called *btsan zhaw* 赞夏, which is thin and tall, with a statue of Amida Buddha on the top. The crown was fashioned with entwined red silk, which crisscrossed at the front⁴⁴⁰. Some statues of King Songtsen Gampo dating to the later period (14th-17th centuries) are preserved, on which the crown *btsan zhaw* is clearly represented⁴⁴¹ (**Fig. 6.5.2-10**). The pronunciation of the word *btsan zhaw* is very close to the Chinese word *zhaoxia*, indicating their possible connection.

In addition to the two typical Tubo headdresses mentioned above, a third type, a black hat with a high round top and upturned brim (**Fig. 6.5.2-11**), occasionally decorated with a patch of pearl roundel patterns and worn by some figures in the coffin paintings, probably falls into the Tubo costume repertoire as well. The similar hat, albeit with a rounder and

⁴³⁶ Huo W. 2001.

⁴³⁷ Karmay 1977.

⁴³⁸ CFYG, vol. 960, 11294.

⁴³⁹ XTS, vol. 216, 6103.

⁴⁴⁰ Zhang Y. 1989, 126.

⁴⁴¹ Henss 2004, 128-171.

lower top, can be seen in western Tibet monasteries or cave paintings, for example, in the Dingqionglakang grotto in Rutog County, cave 1 of the Baidongbugou grotto in Dongga, and the monastery of Tabo, Mang-nang. Among them the most comparable figures are the two figures in the wall painting in the Tabo monastery (**Fig. 6.5.2-9**). Two men on the right side of the scene wear the same hats, especially the right one, whose hat rim is distinctly upturned, just like those in the coffin paintings.

Women figures do not appear as often in medieval pictorial data, except for a few sporadic finds, in which they wear male's crown or just leave the head uncovered. The coffin paintings provide much information concerning the Tubo female costume. They wear similar robes like men, but no girdle at the waist. Most of them drape a loose folded cloth on the hair, with two long side strips suspended alongside the long hair, passing over the ears and hanging down the back. The hair near both cheeks is embellished with a string of beads, mostly in blue. On some female figures depicted sitting with their backs towards the viewer, it can be seen that the hair hangs loosely and forms a bunch at the end. Other women wear no head cloth, but separate hair into two parts and tie each bunch with ribbons at ear level. They usually have only one bigger blue bead in the upper center of the forehead. There are also a few female figures who are dressed like men.

The female costume was also recorded by Chinese sources. BS⁴⁴² noted that Tuyuhun women all were strings of beads and jewelry in their hair, and the more they had, the nobler they were. Women in Bailan region wore the same ornaments. CFYG⁴⁴³ states: “The (Bailan) women are adorned with golden flowers; their hair is plaited, entwined on the back, and hanging with jewelry.” The blue bead was named ‘*sese*’ bead. XWDS⁴⁴⁴ records that Tubo women “have their hairs plaited and wear *sese* beads. It is said that the best *sese* bead is valued at one superb horse”. According to the coffin paintings, a few men also wear the beads, when they have their hairs tied up. TD⁴⁴⁵ records that custom valued Chinese silk and treasured *sese* beads, which were used as ornaments by both men and women.

From the paintings the same headdress and blue bead ornaments do not appear to have been rare in other areas of Tibet. For example, in the wall painting in the Tabo monastery, each man and woman wear bead ornaments in their hair and around the neck. The beads’

⁴⁴² BS, vol. 96, 3186.

⁴⁴³ CFYG, vol. 961, 11303.

⁴⁴⁴ XWDS, vol. 74, 918.

⁴⁴⁵ TD, vol. 190, 1022.

color, shape and decoration are very similar to those in the coffin paintings. Another example is two Bon priestess figures, whose headdresses and bead ornaments are again in the same form⁴⁴⁶.

Sese beads are recorded in the Chinese 17th century technological book Tiangong Kaiwu: “Within the category of blue-green gems there is the *sese* bead, *zumu lü* (emerald)...”⁴⁴⁷ The material of the *sese* bead was interpreted as sapphire⁴⁴⁸. Other scholars thought it could be turquoise or lazurite⁴⁴⁹. Comparing the pictures we can easily understand that these blue or green large beads decorating the hair of Tubo men and women should be the documented *sese* beads. Due to their large size and number, it is highly probable that they were not any other tiny, rare or precious stone, but instead turquoise. Even today the same turquoise ornaments are an important part of Tibetan women’s headdress, and they maintain a similar style as in the Tubo period⁴⁵⁰.

Forty-five pieces of turquoises in various shapes were recovered from Reshui tomb 99DRNM1, which could function as body ornaments or inlay material for certain objects. Although they resemble any objects depicted in the paintings, their prevalence in the region is beyond doubt.

Xianbei attire elements

On the middle upper part of the coffin plank II from tomb Guolimu M1, in the procession journeying to paradise is a mounted figure, who wears a tall oval-shaped black hat with a back flap (**Fig. 6.5.2-12**). On the same plank the scene of receiving guests shows two kneeling figures who have an identical hat. This kind of hat also appears in the scene of receiving guests on plank II of the Guolimu tomb M2. The tall oval-shaped black hat with a back flap does not make its appearance in the pictorial data of the Tibetan Plateau found prior to this, whereas it is similar to the typical early Xianbei costume, which is largely found in northern China. The confirmed early Xianbei figures are frequently found in murals, grottoes, pottery tomb figures and textiles, most of them dating before 494 AD, when the Wei capital was moved from Pingcheng (present day Datong) to Luoyang, and when Emperor Xiaowendi (r. 471-499 AD) advocated the Sinicization of many Xianbei

⁴⁴⁶ Hoffmann 1950, pl. 9.

⁴⁴⁷ Tiangong Kaiwu 1993, 313.

⁴⁴⁸ Tiangong Kaiwu 1993, 210; T’ien-kung K’ai-wu, 299.

⁴⁴⁹ Schafer 1963, 333, no. 88.

⁴⁵⁰ Wei R. H. 1992, 125-127.

customs including Xianbei attire.

For example, an embroidered silk showing donors and part of a Buddha, dated by the inscription to 487 AD, was discovered in the front room of Caves 125 and 126 at the Mogao Grotto in Dunhuang⁴⁵¹ (**Fig. 6.5.2-13**). The silk displays a Xianbei noble, Prince Guangyang, and his family members in worship to Buddha. The male and female donors are lined up along both sides, and all wear a tall black hat with a back flap. The tomb of Sima Jinlong, an elite of Northern Wei, and his wife, dated to 484 AD, yielded several glazed clay figurines of musicians wearing the same type of clothing and headgear⁴⁵². The same tomb figurines appear frequently in the Northern Wei tombs in Datong, like tomb M2 in Yanbei Teachers College⁴⁵³ (**Fig. 6.5.2-14**), tomb M1 in Xiashenjing Township⁴⁵⁴ and tomb of Song Shaozu (477)⁴⁵⁵. Many donors' statues wearing a similar costume, dated to early Northern Wei period, were also observed in the Yungang Grotto in Datong. Thus, it seems justified to identify the figures depicted on the coffin paintings, wearing a black hat with a back flap, as Xianbei people. In view of dating and historical background, they should be the Tuyuhun elements of attire that survived the Tibetanizing during the Tubo period. The Tuyuhun was a branch of Murong Xianbei of Liaodong, who originally inhabited in the present day Liaoning Province. At about the beginning of the 4th century, the Tuyuhun migrated to present Qinghai Province and established a state in the land of Qiang. Before this population was subdued by the Tubo Empire in 663 AD, it continued traditional Xianbei customs as well as their attire. LS⁴⁵⁶ states, "The king of Henan (Tuyuhun) originated from the Xianbei clan of the Murong..., they wear tight-sleeved garments, narrow-legged trousers, and hats with broad top and long flap. Women have their hair braided and draped". BS⁴⁵⁷ also notes that Kua lü, a king of Tuyuhun, had on black hat, which is likely the aforementioned Xianbei hat. During the Tubo period, it is well known that, notwithstanding the practice of Tibetanizing policies, some traditional Xianbei elements survived. In any case, the Xianbei hats represented in the coffin paintings indicate the inevitable interaction between the Tubo and the Xianbei cultures.

⁴⁵¹ DWYS 1972.

⁴⁵² Sima Jinlong Tomb 1972.

⁴⁵³ Gu S. F. 2004; Watt et al. 2004, 143.

⁴⁵⁴ Xiashenjing 2004.

⁴⁵⁵ Song Shaozu Tomb 2001.

⁴⁵⁶ LS, vol. 54, 810.

⁴⁵⁷ BS, vol. 96, 3186.

Vermilion face painting: a Tubo or a Xianbei custom (?)

Most of the figures, men or women, on the three coffin planks from the two Guolimu tombs had vermilion marks on their faces. The places where it was applied are the forehead, cheeks and jaw. The vermilion marks are round, band-shaped or dotted. The custom is quite unusual in other regions. On some figures' faces there is no painting, indicating that this custom was not pervasive, even on the Tibetan Plateau. However, it definitely offers one more clue in tracing the formation of the Tubo culture.

As illustrated above, some pictorial material like the Śāriputra and Raudrakṣa scroll and the painted wooden casket in the Reshui cemetery represents some Tubo figures, whose faces are painted in vermilion. Apart from these examples there are no more comparable finds on the Tibetan Plateau. In ancient Chinese sources the custom is mentioned as *zhemian*, meaning ‘vermilion the face’. Some Tibetan texts also indicate its prevalence in Tubo society. XTS⁴⁵⁸ documents that Tubo people “wear felt and leather, and regard the vermilion face as beauty”. JTS⁴⁵⁹ also records that, when the Tang Princess Wencheng married Srong btsan sGam po, she “had an aversion to the natives painting their faces with vermilion, so the King interdicted it temporarily across the state.” It is obvious that the interdiction was a makeshift or merely confined in a small range, because the custom prevailed considerably in the vicinity of Dulan during the 8th century, as attested by the paintings. Even today women in pasture areas of northern Tibet still maintain this same face decoration.

SuS⁴⁶⁰ records that in Nü Guo (the Country of Women) “men and women all paint their faces with various colors, and during one day they probably change the face painting many times”. Although the note about the custom seems a little earlier than others, it is far from certain to be regarded as the origin of the vermilion face painting in Tibet.

From a significant archaeological find, we again relate the Tubo culture with the Xianbei tradition. In 1997 three painted wooden coffin planks were discovered in a Northern Wei tomb near the village of Zhijiapu in Datong, Shanxi⁴⁶¹. The coffin paintings are analogous with the Guolimu coffin paintings in many ways, for example, the shape and structure of the coffin, the themes of the paintings, even the drawing technique and colors (**Fig. 6.5.2-**

⁴⁵⁸ XTS, vol. 216, 6072.

⁴⁵⁹ JTS, vol. 196, 5222.

⁴⁶⁰ SuS, vol. 83, 1858.

⁴⁶¹ Liu/Gao 2004.

15, 16). All figures in the paintings wear the Xianbei costume: a black hat with round top and long flap and a long gown with crossed collars and tight cuffs, as illustrated by other pictorial materials. The details of the painted coffin will be discussed in the following section. That which deserves first mention is several figures with analogous face painting. In the procession scene on the right plank are two grooms, who stand by the black ox pulling the main carriage. Their forehead, cheeks and jaw are painted red. Some women in the entourage behind the carriage also have their faces painted with vermilion. On the left plank there is also at least one servant painted with vermilion standing beside the food utensils. Many Northern Wei tombs have been found in the close vicinity of the tomb in the past years. In 1997 some 20 m southwest of the tomb another Northern Wei tomb with a sarcophagus and murals was unearthed, which demonstrates the area is likely a large-scaled Northern Wei cemetery. As indicated by the tomb's layout, burial objects, and especially the subject matter in the coffin paintings, the tomb is a cultural manifestation of the 5th century, during which period Datong (Pingcheng) was the capital of Northern Wei (398-494 AD).

The vermilion face painting is quite significant, because it was apparently not a popular fashion in regions beyond the Tibetan Plateau. In view of the evident Xianbei characteristics of the tomb and figures, there can be little doubt that vermilion face painting was one of the Xianbei traditions.

As mentioned above, the Tuyuhun was a branch of Xianbei people, who emigrated from northeastern China to the Tibetan Plateau in the 4th century. They traversed the Yin Shan Mountains, which were inhabited by the Tuoba Xiabei clan, the founder of the Northern Wei Dynasty, and thereby spread their native traditions to the high plateau. Even if the time was too early and/or the event too casual to be correlated precisely, at least the close military, political and economical relations with Northern Wei in the later period could have fostered this influence from Xianbei of the Northern Wei on the high plateau. In any case the Tuyuhun acted as transmitter of vermilion face painting to the Tibetan Plateau. The case provides an insight into the cultural amalgamation on the Tibetan Plateau, even the shaping of modern Tibetans. Certain features that are supposed to be of Tibetan native culture, which can be observed among the present day people, could originally have had other ethnic affiliations. Tuyuhun was later subjected to the rule of the Tubo Empire and then gradually assimilated with the Tibetans, as did its culture. Today it cannot be stated with certainty who the descendants of the Tuyuhun are and where they live. Nevertheless, the depictions in the coffin paintings of the Tubo period indicate how the process of

assimilation started. Although it is hard to differentiate their particular cultural features from that time, traces are still preserved. The painting's contents further suggest that when the Tubo Empire came into being and expanded, during which time the Tubo language, costume and ruling system was intentionally imposed on the submissive regions, a reciprocal process of its unconscious adoption of alien cultural traits also began. The relatively open attitude was an undercurrent of the obvious cultural spread of the Tubo, which led to the flourish of the Silk Road on the Tibetan Plateau.

B. Forms of painted coffins: A feature of the Xianbei burial

Not only the rendering of the costumes and the faces in the coffin paintings of the Guolimu tombs can be attributed to the Xianbei custom, but also other aspects such as coffin shape and paintings' content. Seen through the historical lens and through comparison with other painted coffins, these features could be clearly distinguished.

The coffin decoration emerged very early in China and was especially prevalent during the Western Han and Eastern Han dynasties. Three painted lacquered coffins excavated in the Western Han tombs in Mawangdui in Changsha⁴⁶², with the images of cloud and creatures, are all among the important samples for the study of coffin systems and funerary customs of the period. The Eastern Han exhibits a strongly supernatural atmosphere, and the sarcophagi with designs pertaining to the ascent to immortal afterlife in a netherworld were quite favored in the southwestern China. It appears the painted wooden coffins were also very fashionable on the Central Plain. However, the wood of these coffins – and with them the paintings – have rotten away. After the Wei and Jin periods, coffins were seldom decorated, according to the simple funeral principles. Afterwards with the development of mural tombs, the coffin paintings were less important than ever, and, therefore, became rare. Most of coffins of the Middle Ages in Central China are unpainted or simply lacquered.

However, archaeological finds have shown that the convention of painted coffins survived in the northern borderlands of China, which were dominated by Xianbei. Although the form and content of the decorations was receptive to influence from the Han culture, it forged its own style. The earliest example is the tomb of Feng Sufu in Beipiao, Liaoning Province⁴⁶³. Feng Sufu was an aristocrat of the Murong Xianbei; he died in 415 AD. His outer coffin was of rectangular shape and built with stones. The inner coffin is built of

⁴⁶² Mawangdui 1973.

⁴⁶³ Li Y. B 1973.

cypress and painted (**Fig. 6.5.2-17**). The head end is higher and wider, and the foot end shorter and narrower. The two end panels and the two side panels are each made of seven planks, the surface of which was lacquered and then painted. The head panel is painted with two rows of winged immortals, and the foot panel with cloud patterns. The left side panel portrays the tomb's occupant, sitting in a pavilion surrounded by many figures wearing black hats and long robes with a black round collar and white cuffs. The motifs in the paintings as well as the tomb murals were strongly influenced by the Han culture, whereas the shape of the wooden coffin is adapted to the forms of the Xianbei coffins, which was normally wider and higher at the head end, and narrower and lower at the foot end. For example, among the Xianbei tombs in Zhajinuoer, the Inner Mongolia, a considerable number of wooden chambers display this shape⁴⁶⁴.

With the foundation of the Northern Wei and its conquest of Central China, the funeral rites of Xianbei blended with Han culture, and many elements came into being and prevailed. After a short period of decline, the tomb with murals and the pictorial sarcophagus flourished once again. In addition, new forms such as pictorial stone coffin platforms and folding screens appeared, for example, the lacquered folding screen founded in the Sima Jinlong tomb in Datong, Shanxi Province⁴⁶⁵. These screens were made of cypress; the lacquered surface depicts famous virtuous women, dutiful sons, sages and hermits. The motifs are of typical Han tradition, but the thought-provoking problem is that no such similar furniture is found in tombs of this same period in Central China. Although Sima Jinlong was the descendant of a Han Chinese, several of his generations were senior officials in the Northern Wei government. As mentioned above, the tomb yielded many pottery figurines wearing the typical Xianbei costume, which indicates the strong influence of the Xianbei culture.

The discovery of a coffin in Guyuan, Ningxia further confirms the argument. Guyuan was a well populated city in Xianbei city and was of great military importance in the Northern Wei era. In the 1970s, a painted lacquered coffin was unearthed there, which featured the taller wider head end and the lower narrower foot end. The coffin lid is triangular and portrays the gods the Royal Lord of the East and the Queen Mother of the West, both in Xianbei costume. The image of the occupant and his attendants are painted on the head panel. The upper part of the side panels illustrates the dutiful sons; in the middle is the half portrait of a husband and wife, against the background of a framework made of

⁴⁶⁴ Zhajinuoer 1961.

⁴⁶⁵ Sima Jinlong Tomb 1972.

interlocking bead hexagons and roundels that enclose confronted dancers or birds. The lower part presents a hunting scene, which attracts special attention. Animals like boars and deer run about the mountains. The mounted figures hold a bow or lance directed at the beasts. All of the human figures are dressed in long robes with crossed collars and narrow cuffs and the black Xianbei hat with a long flap. These paintings provide visual evidence of the real life of the Xianbei at that time⁴⁶⁶.

A similar lacquer painting on a coffin was found in tomb M1 of Hudong, Datong⁴⁶⁷. The tomb contained an outer and an inner coffin; under the coffins was a platform; all were fashioned out of pinewood. The coffins are wider and higher at the head and narrower and lower at the foot. The wooden panels are held together with mortise-and-tenon joints and secured with additional nails. The coffins and the coffin couch display a lacquer painting on the surface. The designs comprise honeysuckles, pearl roundels, buildings and figures (**Fig 6.5.2-18**). The left panel portrays bead roundels, each enclosing a young musician in a different pose, encircled by a honeysuckle pattern. On the foot panel is a traditional Chinese gate, which is not completely closed, and from which a figure looks out. Flanking the gate is a pair of kneeling guards. On the left and right side of the foot panel are vertical rows of interlocked bead roundels, enclosing a young boy or a flower in alternating order. Head section of the rectangular coffin lid is angular, in *gui-tablet* shape; the lid is decorated with groups of interlocking pearl roundels, with young boys, flowers or plants inside. As the painting is severely damaged, it is difficult to identify other details.

In 2005 a Northern Wei tomb with murals and inscriptions was excavated in Shaling, Datong. The tomb yielded numerous fragments of lacquer paintings. After recovering some of the fragments, the contents of the paintings could be recognized. They depict the painting of the seated male and female occupants of the tomb as well as a cooking and a winnowing scene. The legible inscription records that one of the tomb's occupants died in 435 AD and was of the Xianbei people. The deceased was the mother of Poduolu shi, who had charge of the minorities and foreign affairs of the Northern Wei and who was also titled the Great General of Subjugating the West. Based on the former discoveries, it is evident that the fragments are from a painted lacquered coffin⁴⁶⁸.

Among all of the painted wooden coffins, the finds in Zhijiapu are of greatest significance in connecting Guolimu coffins with the other Xianbei wooden coffins, as well as in

⁴⁶⁶ Guyuan 1984; Han/Luo 1984; Wang Long 1984.

⁴⁶⁷ Hudong 2004.

⁴⁶⁸ Liu J. X 2006.

reinforcing the argument about the cultural attribution of the coffin paintings. The painted coffin of Zhijiapu has the same form as the others⁴⁶⁹ (**Fig. 6.5.2-15, 16**): It has a taller wider head and a lower narrower foot. The planks are fixed together with mortise-and-tenon joints. The interior of the coffin is lacquered in black, and the exterior is painted in bright colors. The figures were first sketched in red outlines against a yellow background, before the final forms were outlined again in black. Then diverse colors were applied, by shading in gradated tones as well as evenly filled single colors. The main theme in the right panel is divided into two parts by mountains and rivers. The procession and the dancing and acrobatic performance are on the left, and the hunting scene is on the right. On the right planks the scene is focused on the activities around a folding screen. On its left is an orderly row of male and female attendants, horses and carriages, and on the right is a scene of cooking and serving food. The third plank was damaged; it is likely part of the left side panel, on which eight double-shaft carriages and several figures are shown. All painted figures wear black hats with round tops and long flaps, and long robes with crossed collars and tight cuffs. Usually males wear trousers and females skirts. The themes of the painting are similar to those on the Guyuan and Yushe coffins. The report mentions that in 1988 some pieces of a painted wooden coffin were found in a Northern Wei tomb in the southern suburb of Datong⁴⁷⁰. The remaining part of the coffin paintings depicts the mounted figures hunting a tiger and sheep.

The founders of the Northern Wei Empire – the Tuoba clan of Xianbei ancestry – were northern nomads. Hunting was their traditional means of sustenance and way of life. The nomad hunting is vividly captured in the hunting scene amongst hills and forests in the coffin painting. After the reformation launched by Emperor Xiaowen in 494 AD, their way of life changed. Hunting was replaced by crop cultivation. By decree the royal and noble tombs had to be built on the Mangshan Mountain in the north of Luoyang, the new capital. During this period painted wooden coffins disappeared from the cemetery; in their place many stone sarcophagi appeared, such as the coffin of Yuan Rong (509 AD), Yuan Mi (524 AD), Qin Hong (526 AD), Yuan Wen (532 AD) and Wang Yue (533 AD). Most of the sarcophagi were engraved with wonderful designs. The main themes include filial pieties and virtuous women, the occupant's procession and ascent to the immortal world, and mythological creatures. Hunting scenes appear very rarely. In Yushe, Shanxi, a place between Luoyang and Datong, a sarcophagus was unearthed that could be definitely

⁴⁶⁹ Liu/Gao 2004.

⁴⁷⁰ Liu/Gao 2004.

dated⁴⁷¹ (Fig. 6.5.2-19). Carved in the right side panel is the scene of the deceased enjoying a happy life and ascending to paradise after death. The left side depicts a procession and hunting, the former part of which is the performance of acrobat. A trapezoidal panel depicts a couple, male and female, sitting and drinking in the center, flanked by servants and the vermilion bird, beneath which are musicians and dancers. In light of the inscription on the stele, the tomb was dated to the Shengui reign of the Northern Wei (518-520 AD). The motifs differ from those on the Luoyang sarcophagi, but resemble the lacquer wooden coffin from Guyuan and the painted wooden coffin in Zhijiapu, thus representing a transitional model. All of these stone coffins comprise six panels: two side panels, two end panels, one lid and one bottom. They all are wider and higher at the head end, and narrower and lower at the foot end. Some stone coffins still have the lid with angular head sections. These hallmarks are totally different from the stone coffins in the Eastern Han period, which are rectangular and carved from one whole large stone, but analogous with the wooden coffins in the Pingcheng era of Northern Wei. Apparently the stone coffins are imitations of the wooden ones. After the Northern Wei moved the capital to Luoyang, the new type of stone sarcophagus came into fashion and motifs were innovated; nevertheless, it still inherited the shape of the early wooden coffins. The abundant coeval finds demonstrate that the kind of decorated wooden coffin can be viewed as a Xianbei burial custom, which, however, has never attracted archaeologists' attention before. Although the Xianbei originally borrowed this burial custom from the Han region and practiced it, at the same time it was rarely observed in Central China and other regions. They could form one of distinct characteristics of the Xianbei culture during the Pingcheng era. Analyses and differentiations would aid in vindicating the Xianbei attributions in the Guolimu coffins.

Among the Xianbei tomb furniture, the Zhijiapu coffin bears more resemblance to the Guolimu coffins. Their long span of time and distribution can be reasonably explained by the Tuyuhuns' migration. Besides the above-mentioned vermilion face painting, distinct Xianbei figures, wooden coffin shapes and painting technique, there are more details that exhibit the close connections. For example, (1) the hunting scenes on both coffins are arranged together with processions and occupy the rear half of the panel. These exhibit (2) the same spatial arrangement of hunting scenes, with hunters besieging animals from opposite directions; (3) the same poses of the hunters drawing their bows, the scared

⁴⁷¹ Wang/Jia 1993.

animals and galloping horses which greatly animates the pictorial space; (4) even the rendering of the arrowheads as an inverted triangle; and (5) the position of males and females standing in a row with arms resting on their chests.

Although the painting on the Guolimu coffin were really in the Tang style of painting and seems much more fluid and skillful, many similarities between them can be interpreted as direct cultural links rather than a simple coincidence. It is evident that the Guolimu coffin paintings inherited many Xianbei cultural traits.

6.5.3 The documented scenes of life of the Tuyuhun

The arguments above demonstrate that the painted wooden coffins from Guolimu are essentially a mixture of Tubo and Xianbei cultural elements as well as those of other cultures. Among them the Tubo influence is overwhelming with regard to the political background, embodied by Tubo costume worn by most figures. Xianbei and other cultures was represented unsystematically or only in few traces, but made them quite distinguished from the Central Tibet tombs; and it is precisely these features that reveal their true identity. These circumstances can be correlated at most with the Tuyuhun people. They inherited the Xianbei culture before being conquered by the Tubo Empire, and afterwards they had to submit to Tubo influences. But their earlier way of life was preserved and continued. Some aspects of their life are depicted in scenes on the coffins and correspond with the ancient records.

The yurts, animals, hunting and caravan scenes depicted in the coffin paintings conform exactly to the records. NQS, LS⁴⁷² and other Chinese sources all record that the Tuyuhun possessed permanent houses and towns, but that they mainly relied on *baizi zhang*, ‘a hundred children yurt’, since they had to attend to their herds and reach the best pastures. WS⁴⁷³ records that the regions of the Tuyuhun had an abundance of animals; they were fond of hunting and fed on meat and cheese; their land produced yaks, horses and parrots. Horses played a very important role in the life of the Tuyuhun. The reason they initially left their hometowns and migrated to the southwest was that the horses of their tribe fought with another⁴⁷⁴. The same chapter⁴⁷⁵ records that they often took thoroughbred mares to the small island in the Qinghai Hu as soon as the winter ice had hardened and

⁴⁷² NQS, vol. 59, 1026; LS, vol. 54, 810.

⁴⁷³ WS, vol. 101, 2240-1.

⁴⁷⁴ WS, vol. 101, 2233.

⁴⁷⁵ WS, vol. 101, 2240-1.

collected them again in the following spring. The mares were all pregnant and gave birth to colts known as “dragon seed”, which possessed amazing qualities. They procured Bosi (Persia) mares and bred horses in this way, and then the mares gave birth to piebald colts capable of travelling more than a thousand *li* per day. These were the famous *Qinghai cong* (piebald horses of the Qinghai). These excellent horses were very often sent as tribute. Camels and mules were also of importance for transportation, especially when business along the Silk Road prospered, which is documented in the captive Tuyuhun caravan in 553 AD (see chapter 3.3.2).

Almost every coffin portrayed at least one erotic scene. Normally these were located at the back of the yurt and amongst mountains, constituting one recurring part of the feast scenes. They were depicted as one standing male and female couple, embracing and kissing each other, or lying figures engaged in sexual activities, in some scenes with another kneeling man masturbating, or two rivals holding weapons and contending for a woman. It seems that women were a serious shortage. In fact, the scenes are an evident depiction of the matrimony status in the nomadic or semi-nomadic regions. Due to their very similar way of life or their proximal territory, Levirate and fraternal marriage were very common among Xiongnu, Qiang, Xianbei, Tujue and Tibetan as well as the Tuyuhun peoples. According to the record of SS⁴⁷⁶, Princess Guanghua of the Sui Dynasty married the Tuyuhun King Shifu in 596 AD, and in the second year when Shifu died in an accident, his younger brother Fuyun succeeded the throne and requested to marry Princess Guanghua. The Sui Emperor Wendi allowed this marriage, out of respect for their convention. This custom in matrimony is probably rooted in the shortage of women, taking the best advantage of fertility, but it was normally not accepted by the traditional Han culture. As a rule, the Han people regarded it as very “barbarian” behavior. JTS⁴⁷⁷ mentions that a high officer advised the Tang Emperor Taizong not to move the submitted Tujue tribes close to the central Han regions, because he heard that “the barbarians were similar to beasts: When in poverty they struggled and when gathered they conducted group marriage”. The erotic scenes on the sacred coffins were very “barbarian” and alien to Confucianism, which indicates that the Han influence was quite limited in ideology, and that local sexual customs were actually one aspect of the nomadic or semi-nomadic cultural complex across the vast region.

As reflected in the chapter 6.1.3 and analyzed in chapter 6.5.1, the Bon religion was very

⁴⁷⁶ SS, vol. 83, 1844.

⁴⁷⁷ JTS, vol. 61, 2369.

pervasive in the local burial ceremony, due to the expansion of the empire, Tubo migration and Tibetanizing policies. According to the Tibetan documents, during the Zhigong Zanpu period, two Bonpos (Bon priests) were invited from Ta-zig (Persia) and A-za (Tuyuhun)⁴⁷⁸ to Tibet to hold a burial ceremony. This attests that even prior to Tubo's conquest the Bon religion had already made its appearance in the Tuyuhun region. Animal sacrifice had long been the requisite burial ceremony of the Xianbei and Qiang people, but their relations with the provenance of the same Tubo custom is a puzzle. Ancient documents do not provide further information about the Tuyuhun's religious life.

6.5.4 The Influence of the Western Region (Xiyu) on the Tubo-Tuyuhun coffin paintings

The coffin paintings exhibit primarily an overwhelming influence of the Tubo culture, and secondarily the Tang influence. Features from other cultures are also noticeable, especially when they are observed within a broader scope. Many Western elements in the Guolimu coffin paintings are convincing evidence of the role of middleman, which was played by Tuyuhun and Tubo people at the cultural crossroads. In order to reveal Western influence on the coffin paintings, a detailed comparison is necessary, not only with Sogdian cultural relics in Central Asia, but also with objects and images related to Sogdian immigrants or their descendants in the Chinese heartland.

A. Themes in the coffin paintings compared with pictorial elements relating to Sogdians

In past years many tombs of the Central Asian immigrants were found in central and northern China. Most of them were identified with certainty as the descendants of Zoroastrian Sogdians in light of their epitaphs. The tombs yielded significant stone furniture with rich carvings that depicted their activities in the religious, political, economical and cultural spheres. Some scenes also represented aspects of Tujue life and the close association with Sogdians, thus providing insight into various aspects of Sogdian immigrants and Tujue tribes. The finds include: the An Jia tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty in Xi'an (579 AD)⁴⁷⁹ (**Fig. 6.5.4-1, 2, 3**); the Yu Hong tomb of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan (592 AD)⁴⁸⁰; the Shi tomb of the Northern Zhou in Xi'an (579 AD)⁴⁸¹; some Sui

⁴⁷⁸ Hoffmann 1950, 211, 212, 246.

⁴⁷⁹ An Jia Tomb 2001; An Jia Tomb 2003.

⁴⁸⁰ Yu Hong Tomb, 2001; 2005.

⁴⁸¹ Shi Tomb 2004, 2005.

and Tang tombs in the southern suburb of Guyuan⁴⁸²; and the tomb of Kang Ye in Xi'an (571 AD)⁴⁸³. Also in this category are finds in some museum collections, for example, an engraved stone couch of Northern Qi Dynasty from Anyang⁴⁸⁴ (**Fig. 6.5.4-4**) and another engraved stone couch purchased by the Miho Museum of Japan (Northern Dynasties)⁴⁸⁵ (**Fig. 6.5.4-5**). Although most of the depictions are mixed together with Chinese elements, revealing their Sinicizing process, they inherited or were strongly influenced by Sogdian mural themes in Central Asia.

Compared with the early Xianbei coffin paintings, the stone furniture are much closer in time to the Guolimu coffin paintings and possesses more mutual themes and manner of representation. Almost all of the scenes in the Guolimu coffin paintings are also presented on the engraved stone furniture, although some of them convey different religious concepts.

Banquet scenes were depicted very frequently on the stone furniture. Usually the hosts or the distinguished guests sit in a yurt, talking and drinking. Outside the yurt are other seated guests and standing servants, dancers and music performers, relaxed horses, and a variety of food and wine vessels on the ground. Not only the general pictorial compositions, but also details, such as the sitting position with two legs crossed and the hand posed with a thumb and a forefinger holding a goblet stand, are alike with those in painted Tubo figures. The forms of wine vessels such as *hupings* (the foreign bottles), goblets, and rhytons are just like those portrayed in the coffin paintings, which are by all means Sogdian features and appear repeatedly in Central Asian murals (**Fig. 6.5.4-6**). Scenes of dancing and musical performances represent various musicians and a dancer surrounded in the center. This dance is known as *huxuanwu* (Sogdian whirl) in Chinese sources, which was often described as a dancer raising one leg and waving long sleeves above the head. The dance shown in the coffin paintings was most probably the same kind of performance.

There are many hunting scenes to be seen on the stone furniture as well as in the Central Asian murals. The depiction is a typical mixture of West and East. As illustrated in chapter 6.5.2, the hunting scene in coffin paintings inherited many elements from the early Xianbei coffin paintings, and during the time abounding with Sasanian Persian and

⁴⁸² Luo F. 1996.

⁴⁸³ Cheng/Zhang 2004.

⁴⁸⁴ Scaglia 1958.

⁴⁸⁵ Miho Museum 2008.

Sogdian influences, the scenes became even more common. All of the hunting scenes on the sarcophagus from the Yu Hong tomb and at least one hunting scene on the An Jia couch are entirely in Persian style: more symbolic and rigid in their scheme, often depicting a man on a camel or an elephant killing Western or mysterious animals like lions or winged creatures. By contrast, most of the hunting scenes on the An Jia and Miho couches were depicted more realistically and vividly. These stylistic characteristics were likely borrowed from Xianbei hunting scenes. The hunting scenes within the Chinese territory could have been very influential, even in Central Asia. This appears in the murals from Afrasiab, in which a group of Tang figures, probably including Tang Emperor Taizong, is shown hunting animals (**Fig. 6.5.4-7**). The Guolimu coffin paintings display the same kind of mixture. The reversed triangular arrowheads are obviously of Xianbei tradition, while the quivers are in the Western style, called *hulu* in Chinese sources. This particular name suggests a Western origin, as it appears very often on the images of Persia, Tujue and Sogdian equestrians.

Caravans with heavily loaded camels and accompanying mounted guards were represented in some scenes, indicating the wealthy tribute or prosperous business along the Silk Road. Very rarely depicted are funeral ceremonies, such as on the Miho couch, which is similar to Zoroastrian funeral scenes in Central Asian murals. To a certain extent it could correspond to the funeral scenes of the Guolimu coffins. Although these scenes display different religious practices, some common traits should be pointed out here. In the funeral scene on Sogdian stone furniture in China, there is no yurt containing the deceased as in the Guolimu coffin paintings, whereas a similar “body-tent” appears in the murals of Pyjikent (**Fig. 6.5.4-8**). In light of Chinese and Western written sources, the custom prevailed among Tujue as well. BS⁴⁸⁶ state: “The (Tujue) deceased is placed in the yurt, all males and females of the offspring and relatives kill goats and horses, and put them in front of the yurt to sacrifice (to the deceased)”. It is possible that the “body-tent” was a prevalent temporary funeral appliance among Central Asian populations, especially the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes like the Tujue and the Tubo-Tuyuhun people.

There are still other scenes that correspond with the Guolimu depictions, such as the dedication of a horse to certain gods on Yu Hong’s sarcophagus and the Miho couch, and the procession journeying to paradise on Shi’s sarcophagus. The relationship between the various scenes seems to be deliberately organized; therefore, it forms a narrative pictorial

⁴⁸⁶ BS, vol. 99, 3288.

program, and the whole panorama can be interpreted systemically. The conception or model was applied perfectly in the Guolimu coffin paintings, as analyzed in the chapter 6.5.1. The kind of model or idea was neither a Chinese nor a Xianbei artistic tradition. In the search for the origins, the first option would be the Central Asian murals.

B. Painted pearl roundel pattern

Whereas the pearl roundel designs on silk found in other tombs were imported from foreign regions and, therefore, weakly verify the syncretic local culture, the paintings on the wooden coffins are more convincing evidence that they are made locally, or at least in the vicinity, due to their easily accessible materials, heavy weight and simple requirements for processing. The Chinese cultural influence was substantiated in chapter 6.5.1 on the basis of the supernatural beings painted on the head panels, while the supernatural beings are enclosed in bead roundels. This reveals the predilection of the Tubo-Tuyuhun people for exotic factors and their ingenuity in creating new patterns.

The pearl roundel encircling animals, birds or other representation of divinities was created in Sasanian Iran. It spread broadly throughout Central Asia and is associated with light in certain religions. The motifs were applied widely on textiles, architectural fragments, relief carvings and vessels as well as on burial furniture since the 6th century. At approx. the same time they became fashionable on coffins in northern and Central China, such as the painted and lacquered wooden coffins in Guyuan and Hudong M1 in Datong, Shanxi, which are both Xianbei tombs of the early Northern Wei period (the 5th century). Further examples are found on the engraved stone coffin of Li He (dated 582 AD) in Sanyuan County⁴⁸⁷ (**Fig. 6.5.4-9**), the engraved painted stone couch of the An Jia tomb in Xi'an (dated to 579 AD)⁴⁸⁸ (**Fig. 6.5.4-10**), both in Shaanxi, and the engraved stone couch from Anyang, Henan (550-557 AD)⁴⁸⁹. The deceased in the former two tombs were Xianbei people, and they were likely disciples of Buddha, judging by the tomb finds. An Jia was a Sogdian descendant, who was a devotee of Zoroastrianism, and his second home was in Wuwei, Gansu. The owner of the stone couch from Anyang was likely another Sogdian immigrant, who – in view of the engraved scenes – embraced Zoroastrianism. According to Li He, ZS⁴⁹⁰ records that his father was a foster son of a Buddhist monk.

⁴⁸⁷ Li He Tomb 1966, 27-42.

⁴⁸⁸ An Jia Tomb 2003, 41-46.

⁴⁸⁹ Scaglia 1958, 11, fig. 1.

⁴⁹⁰ ZS, vol. 29, 497.

The complicated design of pearl roundels enclosing various animals and divinities engraved on his coffin lid are quite analogous with those on the stone couch of An Jia, indicating their religious functions.⁴⁹¹ Among these earlier examples the pearl roundel embellishment on the burial furniture was a typical Western motif, closely related to the deceased's beliefs. During the Tang period pearl roundel designs appear very rarely in tomb decorations, not to mention in coffin paintings. Therefore, the Guolimu finds are an exception. On the Guolimu items the pearl roundel designs encircle traditional Chinese motifs, manifesting a new version of cultural exchange between China and its immediate west. The western pearl roundel was applied more flexibly, either to enhance the sacredness of the encircled supernatural beings, or less, merely because of aesthetic tastes in view of the common equestrian figures in the center. The painted fragments are so incomplete, that it is difficult to reconstruct the original position. In relation to the other coffin decorations, in all probability they were applied to the coffin lid, as on the Li He's coffin, since the side planks were normally painted completely with narrative scenes. The interstices among roundels are filled with the half of four directional palmettes. Their spatial arrangement and background color are actually an imitation of silkware of the time.

C. *The Tubo costume*

Chapter 6.5.2 attests that the costume of most figures in the coffin paintings belonged to Tubo attire. When making further comparisons, it is easy to find that the Tubo costume was close related with the whole complex of Central Asian costumes. Heather Karmay believes that the Tubo robes can be reduced to two basic patterns. One pattern is of the "classical" Chinese type with voluminous sleeves, while the other pattern is of central or west Asian origin and was suited for riding horseback⁴⁹². In fact, in view of contemporary materials, striking differences from the classical Chinese type and many similarities to the Central Asian type can be recognized. Although it has the same V-neck, the front of the classical Chinese robe was closed with the left side covering the right, which is designated *you ren* (right garment front), while the non-Chinese type was mainly the opposite, with the right side over the left, that is, *zuo ren* (left garment front). This characteristic was so distinctive that the word became a symbol of the "barbarian" from the very early period onwards, especially in reference to the northern or northwestern non-Chinese. At the same

⁴⁹¹ The images enclosed in the pearl roundels on the Li He's coffin were recognized by Jiang Boqin (Jiang B. Q. 2004, 105).

⁴⁹² Karmay 1977, 80.

time the robe with a huge triangular lapel and pearl roundel designs on the collars, cuffs and hems was mainly seen in the Sogdian costume (**Fig. 6.5.4-11**). Most figures in the murals of the Pyjikent and Afrasiab are dressed in the same type of robes. Sometimes the pearl roundels are profusely applied over the whole surface. Apart from the triangular lapel, the collars also have round forms, as depicted in the coffin paintings. The only difference is that the pearl roundels patterns of the costume represented in the coffin paintings contain scrolled strips dotted with pearls, replacing animals, birds or other motifs, as on the Sogdian costume. Nevertheless, it did not change our judgment about the original form, because the large amount of similar patterns on the coffins make it difficult to represent all details of the design. It could be a cursory or simplified edition of the same pattern. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that Tubo created new patterns. It is noticeable that there are many sculptures in some early Buddhist temples (the 11th century) in Central Tibet, which are shown wearing garments that are heavily decorated in relief with pearl-encircled medallions. Some medallions contain lions, birds or floral motifs⁴⁹³, but most encircle four scrolled strips surrounding a divided rosette⁴⁹⁴ (**Fig. 6.5.4-12**). Tucci notes that the medallions are clearly of Sasanid origin, indicating that the fashion for Sasanid dress, or for garments modeled after Sasanid types, had a long life in Tibet: It may well have been adopted in the first place by nobles and then transferred to the figures of Bodhisattvas⁴⁹⁵. Vitali further asserts that the presence of medallioned robes is a Tibetan symbol of rank and is not meant to represent an ethnic mode of dress⁴⁹⁶. However, both authors neglected the key point, that is, that the garments could be made of silk, and perhaps it was the value of silk that made the patterns popular among high ranking persons or images of deities. The pattern might have been regarded as a spectacular symbol of Sasanian or Sogdian silk, as depicted in the coffin paintings.

It seems that the diffusion of this pattern in costume was closely related with the activities of Sogdian immigrants. When they moved to Central China, they carried their costume traditions with them. Many figures on the stone furniture in the tombs of Sogdian immigrants found in Xi'an, Taiyuan and Anyang are shown in the same robes (**Fig. 6.5.4-4**). This costume also had an influence on other nations like Tujue, hephthalites as well as the Tubo-Tuyuhun peoples, probably through the trade in silk. In Chinese sources this

⁴⁹³ Tucci 1973, 144.

⁴⁹⁴ Vitali 1990, pl. 24-27; 41, fig. 7a-b; 42, fig. 8-9.

⁴⁹⁵ Tucci 1973, 144.

⁴⁹⁶ Vitali 1990, 52.

kind of uniform dress was named *fanke jinpao* 蕃客锦袍 (brocade robes of the western foreign guests). TD⁴⁹⁷ records that the Guangling Prefecture (in present day Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province), the textile center in the southeast, paid taxes every year 250 pieces of *fanke jinpao* and 10 bolts thin *ling* damask with separate roundel patterns to the central government. CFYG⁴⁹⁸ also documents that in 718 AD the Tang emperor ordered the southwestern textile center, Yi Zhou, to send 15 pieces of coarse and fine *jinpao* every year to the Imperial Manufactories for presenting to the foreign leaders.

The same costume that prevailed in Tubo-Tuyuhun territory could be imported from both Tang and Sogdian region, just as verified by the actual silkware found in the Dulan tombs. One impressive particularity which distinguishes the Tubo robes from other Central Asian types is the long sleeves, which are seldom seen in Sogdian dress and also differs from the broad sleeves of certain Chinese robes. It could be an adaption to the cold climate of the plateau, since the long narrow sleeves could cover the hands completely. It could have been a special type of robe that existed in Central Asia early before Tubo's modification. In many dancing scenes on the stone furniture of the Sogdian immigrants, the dancers are dressed in robes with long sleeves that are analogous with the Tubo robes (**Fig. 6.5.4-13, 14**). It is also possible that Tubo people preferred one favorite type as their own from the Sogdian costume inventory.

Comparisons have revealed that the Tubo-Tuyuhun costume largely maintained the uniform dress with the broad Central Asian type and was quite alien to the Chinese costume. It became the uniform dress of Tubo kings and high ranking officers, indicating not only how valuable silk was in the eyes of Tibetans, but also that they probably regarded themselves as representatives of Central Asian culture.

Many features like the headdress make this manner of dress fairly distinct from other cultural spheres, which Richardson has ascribed to the influence from India⁴⁹⁹. According to the Chinese sources, the headdress called *zhaoxia* 朝霞 (the morning clouds) could refer to its red color, cloud-shaped crown as well as the materials. According to the records of TD⁵⁰⁰, the Tubo kingdom paid tribute to the Tang government with one kind of *zhaoxia die* 朝霞疋 (*zhaoxia* cotton cloth)⁵⁰¹, which could have been the raw material for

⁴⁹⁷ TD, vol. 6, 35.

⁴⁹⁸ CFYG, vol. 63, 708.

⁴⁹⁹ Richardson 1975, 24, 15.

⁵⁰⁰ TD, vol. 146, 762.

⁵⁰¹ Tang Hui Yao, vol. 97, 1793.

their *zhaoxia maoshou* 朝霞冒首 (*zhaoxiao* cap top). Yet, the cotton was obviously not a product of their own country, due to the unfavourable conditions, but from southern regions influenced by India. The headdress tradition could have been influenced by that region, but more confirming evidence is needed. In any case, wrapping the head with a colorful cloth was not an isolated or singular manner of adornment. In the Xili Kingdom, which was located southwest of Tubo and much nearer to India, men wore this type of headdress⁵⁰².

D. Wine vessels

According to Tibetan documents, large volumes of wine were consumed at banquets and funeral ceremonies, as portrayed in the coffin paintings. The period, during which wine spread to the Tibetan Plateau, is still unknown, although coffin paintings depict some wine vessels, indicating the strong influence from the West Region upon aspects of daily life. In each banquet scene, a set of wine vessels is often used. The set consists of the *huping* ewers and goblets (Fig. 6.5.4-15, 16). The *huping* (foreign bottle), probably of Sasanian origin, is widely distributed and exists from the Roman to Islamic periods. After it spread to China and Japan, it was named *huping*. During the Northern Dynasty to the Tang period, some real silver *hupings* were found in the central and northern China, which display a strong Sogdian style and could have been manufactured in Central Asia⁵⁰³ (Fig. 6.5.4-17). In the murals of the Sui-Tang tombs, images of *huping* are often depicted together with other Western vessels too, like those in coffin paintings, indicating a predilection for the exotic novelty among the Tang aristocrats⁵⁰⁴ (Fig. 6.5.4-18). Porcelain imitations of *huping* were also very popular. The *hupings* portrayed in coffin painting have a short broad neck and a short ring foot. The terminals of the handle are attached at the rim and shoulder. In its form, the *huping* is typical Sogdian, more organic and fluid than comparable Sasanian examples.

Ewers made of precious metals were always used as gifts between the Tang government and Western foreign guests. For example, the Emperor Xuanzong rewarded An Lushan, who came from Sogdian, a silver *huping*, and An Lushan presented a golden *huping* in return⁵⁰⁵. The *huping* was also included in the gift inventory sent between Tang and Tubo.

⁵⁰² XTS, vol. 221, 6240; CFYG, vol. 960, 11293.

⁵⁰³ Lijiayingzi 1978, 117-18.

⁵⁰⁴ An Z. D. 1990.

⁵⁰⁵ An Lushan Shiji, vol. 1, 9.

In 730 AD, when a Tubo envoy visited Tang, he paid several golden objects to the Tang Emperor as tribute, including a *huping*, and the Tang government sent him back with a *huping* and other precious objects⁵⁰⁶.

The goblets were very prevalent from the Sui Dynasty to the high Tang period, and were often used as a match for the *huping* ewers at banquets. Actual goblets are made of various metals or imitated in porcelain. It is believed that the goblet was relics of the nomadic tribes of the Pontic region, and similar utensils have been found across the steppe, from Hungary to the Central Asia and China. However, the distant origins of the goblet should be sought in Roman tableware⁵⁰⁷. One golden goblet that was found in Xi'an and dated to 608 AD has the same horizontal rib around the body like some examples depicted in the coffin paintings (**Fig. 6.5.4-19**). Many figures in banquet scenes of Central Asian murals hold goblets, as do many Tujue stone statues, and the figures in the Sui-Tang tomb murals (**Fig. 6.5.4-20**). The goblet spread over a vast expanse, like the *hupings*, and appeared for the first time on the Tibetan Plateau, possibly in relation to activities of the Sogdians or Tujue.

Another wine utensil of Western style is the rhyton. It appears only one time in the coffin paintings: in the banquet scene of the left coffin plank of Guolimu tomb M1 (**Fig. 6.5.4-21**). The rhyton is in the shape of a horn and decorated with several parallel bands with dot pattern. There must have been a spout at the lower pointed end, because the user is shown drinking wine from there. The rhyton was of western Asian origin, having reached Central Asia perhaps as early as the Seleucid-Parthian era in Iran, if not earlier under the Achaemenids⁵⁰⁸. Some images were represented in banquet scenes of the Central Asian murals as well as on Yu Hong's engraved couch (**Fig. 6.5.4-22**). One silver rhyton from Tibet, now in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, was dated to the middle to late 7th or 8th century and ascribed to a Sogdian workshop⁵⁰⁹ (**Fig. 6.5.4-23**). The slim and curved form of rhyta in these areas is quite analogous, except that the animal head was not represented and the decorations are different.

These Tubo vessels in Western style appear in sources and paintings and could have been made by the Tubo themselves under the strong influence of the West Region; or they could simply have been imitated. It seems rather reasonable that the Tubo repeatedly

⁵⁰⁶ JTS, vol. 196, 5231.

⁵⁰⁷ Marschak 1986, 326.

⁵⁰⁸ Carter 1998, 27.

⁵⁰⁹ Carter 1998, 29.

presented products that they made themselves as tribute to the Tang Emperor. According to records on the wooden Tibetan strips from Miran, one Tubo craftsman was hired to engage in cup-making in the Nob region (in southern Taklamakan, between Dunhuang and Khotan)⁵¹⁰. It is not surprising that Tubo craftsmen appeared in large number in the West Region, whether to learn Western techniques in metalworking or engage in handicraft industries.

⁵¹⁰ Thomas 1951, 120, M.I. xix, 001.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

As observed in both written sources and archaeological finds, the development of the Silk Road through the northern Tibetan Plateau experienced three basic phases:

Phase I, The Han to Jin period (3rd century BC–3rd century AD)

It was the initiating phase, and the development of routes was limited to the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau, that is, the He-Huang region. The chief motivation of first Chinese exploration of the region was to separate Qiang from Xiongnu peoples, which were the long-standing enemy of the Western Han, and meanwhile to support and secure the Silk Road that passed through the Gansu Corridor, which was the main channel connecting Central China with the West. The He-Huang region possessed suitable natural environmental niches for Han Chinese to establish colonies, and the routes developed much more rapidly than in other parts of the Tibetan Plateau. After the Han Chinese immigrated to the new territory, they endeavored to expand agriculture and set up agricultural garrisons. This policy facilitated the cultural and social transformation of indigenous cultures. The paths along the valleys of the Huang Shui and its tributaries therefore developed considerably during this period. Archaeological evidence shows that most tombs and settlements distributed along these paths, and the regional inhabitants, including the native Qiang tribes, Rouzhi and Xiongnu who immigrated from the north through the Qilian Shan Mountain passes, started a process of Sinicizing, arising from the development over time of mixed settlements that incorporated the Han Chinese. In the course of time, Han culture elements increased and indigenous elements decreased. In the middle and late Eastern Han period the local Han culture reached its climax. The whole evolution of the Han culture followed in close step with that in Central China, although a delay is evident. The tomb structures and most unearthed objects bear great resemblance with those in Central China, indicating that the transport routes connecting the two regions were unobstructed. Xiongnu identity and cultural factors could be perceived in some treasures, demonstrating the far-reaching and ‘melting-pot’ function as a part of the Silk Road. During Wang Mang’s reign and the Eastern Han period, the influence of the Han culture extended to the west of the Qinghai Hu and the upper reaches of the Yellow River, laying the foundation for the exploration of the western and southern branches of the Silk Road in the later period. There is no evidence that points to routes via the Qaidam Basin being adopted during this phase. The broad territory was occupied all along by the

Qiang tribes.

Phase II, The early Tuyuhun period (4th–mid 7th century)

During this period Central China and its western frontier experienced long-lasting turbulence caused by warfare, but consequently the non-Chinese and Chinese were fused together. In the eastern Qinghai some small states were established by varying ethnic populations. Their striving for survival led to the further advancement of the local economy as well as transport. At the same time the Gansu Corridor was often obstructed. The spread of Buddhism and East-West commerce made it urgent to pass through Qinghai to the West. Under these circumstances, after its territory covered the whole northern Tibetan Plateau the Tuyuhun took full advantage of its broad territory and profitable position, endeavoring to survive among the mighty powers and acting as intermediary traders, guides and interpreters. Transport via the Qaidam Basin had also been explored and adopted, serving Tuyuhun as an escape from the subjugation of eastern powers and an approach to Xinjiang and Dunhuang. The Qinghai Silk Road became unprecedentedly flourishing paths connecting the eastern powers with Central Asia and farther west; it achieved its first zenith of performance. The Sui and Tang empires both launched large-scale wars against Tuyuhun, which resulted in the Chinese becoming better acquainted with Tuyuhun territory and transport. The Han culture, therefore, could exert greater influence upon the inner highland. Perhaps due to the nomadic way of life, the affirmed Tuyuhun relics were in very small number, while its influences could be traced through the contemporary objects yielded by tombs of the later period.

Phase III, The later Tuyuhun (Tubo) period (mid 7th–8th century).

This period witnessed the second and also the most prosperous phase of the Qinghai Silk Road. After the Tibetans established the Tubo Empire, they built up close relations with the Tang government. Their intermarriages, envoys and business occurred frequently along the Tang-Bo Route, which coincides with the Silk Road in the eastern section. After Tuyuhun was annexed by Tubo, its communication with Tang, either by war or by dialogue, played a leading role. Meanwhile it gained a crucial route for expanding its territory to the Gansu Corridor and Central Asia. The foreign cultural elements swarmed into the Tibetan Plateau from the east, north and west, thereby presenting complicated cultural features. The trade along the Silk Road was much more advanced than in former periods, which is evidenced by numerous archaeological finds. Qinghai Tibetans acted as

the ultimate consumers rather than intermediary traders, but they did not hesitate to pass all new influences and products to the political center in the south. The Qinghai Silk Road not only brought together abundant various goods, but also shaped the appearance of the Tubo culture.

Written sources tell little about the role of the Qinghai Silk Road under the Tubo reign; this is mainly perceived relying upon the archaeological finds in Dulan, Delingha and their vicinity. The culture was principally the same as the Tubo culture in Central Tibet, as reflected by tomb structures, animal sacrifices, ancient Tibetan inscriptions as well as typical Tubo figures in the coffin paintings. The funerary ritual, attested by buried animals and depictions of funerals on the painted coffins, was adopted the Bon religion, the primitive religion of Tibetans, while the influence of Buddhism can also be observed, which in all probability came from the Tang region. The dominant language was undoubtedly Tibetan. Sometimes Chinese was also used in certain spheres. Tubo maintained some Xianbei cultural traits, such as the painted coffins and vermilion-painted faces, which were probably brought by Tuyuhun from the northern China.

The tomb objects were subject to the influence from neighboring regions. The majority of silk was imported from the Tang Empire, and one lesser amount from Central Asia and western Asia. The gold and silver objects were greatly influenced by the Tang counterparts, mixed of course with many Central Asian and Tujue elements. Some objects could be direct Sogdian products. The Sasanian silver coins and Byzantine gold coins are evidence of its further connections with foreign cultures.

It seems that the textile patterns exerted a profound influence on Tibetan aesthetic taste. The Tubo absorbed the western traits probably from two directions: One was the direct import of silk from Sogdian or Persian regions, and the other, from the Tang products that bore Central Asia or West Asia patterns, some of which were probably woven in Sichuan, or the middle reaches of the Yangtze River. Many objects made locally displayed obvious exotic features, such as the decoration on the wooden objects and patterns on the painted coffin planks. The Sogdian costume was also imitated by the Tubo people, especially among the high ranks. This perhaps occurred firstly in Qinghai and then spread to the whole of Tibet. There is no doubt that silk was quite a valuable goods, which was particularly popular among the higher class. However, the basic reason behind this high regard could have been the Tibetans' new recognition of their own identity, as representatives of the whole of Central Asia.

As revealed by archaeological finds, the Qaidam Basin was fairly an open region during

the Tubo period. Dulan apparently was a regional political, economical and cultural center. Located in a pivotal position between Central Tibet and the Tang Empire and the Western Regions, it was not only an outpost for Tubo troops in their conquest of northwestern China and Central Asia, but also a door open to eastern and western exotica. During the 7th–8th century, it founded wide interregional relations with Sogdiana in the west, Dunhuang and Turfan in the north, Xi'an as the center of Central China in the east, and further extended the network to Ningxia, Sichuan, and the middle reaches of the Yangtze River in the northern and southern China.

The far-reaching influence of the Qinghai Silk Road perhaps was its great contribution to the Tubo culture and the Tubo nation. The 6th–9th century was a period, during which Tubo was at its peak with the greatest territory and most prosperous civilization. Without a transportation network in the northern nomadic regions as a link with the outside world, with its political center located in the southernmost part of the highland, it is hard to imagine what the Tubo culture would have been like. Although the route connecting Lhasa westwards to Central Asia also existed at that time, its actual function and role deserve further discussion. By introducing and integrating foreign advancements through these passages, Tubo fashioned its own culture complex. As one by-product of its subjection, Tuyuhun gradually fused with Tubo, resulting from the enforcement of Tibetanizing policies. The present-day distribution of Tibetans was basically shaped during this period. After the retreat of Tubo rule in Central Asia and the Gansu Corridor in the mid 9th century, the Qinghai Silk Road declined, although it continued to be used and once even thrived during the 11th century, when the Xixia Kingdom controlled the Gansu Corridor⁵¹¹. Nevertheless, Due to the booming maritime trade, the whole overland Silk Road gradually lost its domination of the East-West commerce. As a supplementary path to the main overland Silk Road, the use of the Qinghai Silk Road never regained its former status.

⁵¹¹ Gu J. C. 1989.

APPENDIX

Table 4.2.2-1 Han and Jin settlements¹

No.	Name	Location	Size (m ²)	Thickness (m)	Finds ²
1	Balangxi site	West of Balang village, Dabaozi Township, Xining.	2400	0.5	Shards of corded clay grey ceramics
2	Balang site	100 m west of Balang village, Dabaozi Township, Xining.	2800	0.6	Shards of clay gray ceramics: jars, vases and urns
3	Mayishan site	North of Beimen village, Nianbo Town, Ledu.	40000	0.5-1	Fragments of corded clay gray ceramics: jars and vases
4	Dongmenxiang site	Southwest of Dongmenxiang village, Ledu.	5000	0.6	Shards of corded clay gray ceramic jar
5	Nantai site	South of Liujiacun village, Yurun Township, Ledu.	30000	0.3-0.5	Shards of corded clay gray ceramics: jars and vases; houses and ash pits
6	Zhujia site	Zhujiazhuang village, Xiaying Township, Ledu.	400	0.10	Shards of clay gray ceramics, one jar and one <i>wuzhu</i> coin
7	TuqiaocunBei site	150 m north of Tuqiao village, Ganggou Township, Ledu.	2000	5-6	Shards of clay gray ceramics: vases, jars, model of a well and granaries, cups
8	Pitiaoliu site	Pitiaoliu, east of Xinzhuang village, Zongzhai Township, Huangzhong.	5000	0.1	Shards of clay gray ceramics
9	Xingjia site	West of Xingjiazhuang village, Zongzhai Township, Huangzhong.	100	Unclear	Shards of clay gray ceramics: two-handled jars and a ceramic jar; one bronze vase
10	Lijiucun site	150 m southeast of Lijiucun village, Xibao Township, Huangzhong.	60000	0.5-1	Fragments of gray tiles and ceramic jars

¹ The materials without reference are from NBC (1996).

² Most finds were scattered on the surface of the site, if no special note is made.

11	Shangyuan site	East of Xiliangqi village, Xibao Township, Huangzhong.	5000	Unclear	Fragments of gray clay ceramics
12	Liuxiaozhuang site	Liuxiaozhuang village, Shangxin Township, Huangzhong.	2500	1-1.5	Shards of gray clay ceramics: jars and vases; animal bones
13	Xiayingbei site	Xiaying village, Ganhetan Township, Huangzhong.	30000	0.4	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
14	Shuidi site	Southwest of Shangmashen village, Weixin Township, Huangzhong.	2000	0.4	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
15	Taiziwan site	200 m southwest of Hewan village, Weixin Township, Huangzhong.	2100	0.3	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars and vases
16	Zhalanpo site	East of Qianying village, Gonghe Township, Huangzhong.	75000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
17	Nilongkou site	200 m south of Nilongkou village, Lanlongkou Township, Huangzhong.	2000	0.8	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars; one jar
18	Namendong site	East of Nanmen village, Lanlongkou Township, Huangzhong.	1500	1.5	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars, urns and vases, and animal bones
19	Donglatai site	Shangzhuang village, Lanlong Township, Huangzhong.	4500	1.2	Shards of gray clay ceramic urns and vases
20	Duanbayingnan site	50 m south of Duanbaying village, Lanlong Township, Huangzhong.	1000	0.5	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars, vases, and animal bones
21	Chengerpo site	East of Xingfu village, Lanlong Township, Huangzhong.	6000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars, vases, models of granaries and wells
22	Lengkandi site	600 m east of Xiaxihe village, Lijiashan Township, Huangzhong.	20000	0.3	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
23	Gedawan site	Southeast of Xiaping village, Lijiashan Township, Huangzhong.	Unclear	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars and vases, one jar

24	Laoying site	Shangyeniugou village and Laoyingziran village, Shengping Township, Huangzhong Township.	1500	1	Shards of gray clay ceramic vases; one bronze mirror
25	Tanjiadong site	50 m east of Tanjia, Zongyuan village, Zongbao Township, Minhe	15000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
26	Qiaojiawan site	South of Zongyuan village, Zhuando Township, Minhe.	6000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
27	Quangou site	South of Dazhuang village, Dazhuang Township, Minhe.	5000	Unclear	Shards of ceramic and animal bones
28	Qianhewangjia site	Northeast of Wangjia village, Qianhe Township, Minhe.	15000	Unclear	Shards of corded gray clay ceramic jars
29	Xiacha site	Qingjia village, Manping Township, Minghe.	Unclear	Unclear	Shards of gray ceramic
30	Dasilu site	Dasisu village, Weiyuan Township, Huzhu.	3000	1	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars and vases
31	Dazhuangxi site	West of Dazhuang village, Shuangshu Township, Huzhu.	Unclear	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
32	Zhoujia site	West of Zhoujia village, Shuangshu Township, Huzhu.	4200	0.2-1	Shards of gray clay ceramic jar, vase and kitchen range, bricks and tiles
33	Shizi site	100 m northeast of Shizi village, Shuangshu Township, Huzhu.	12000	0.2-1	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars, vases, models of wells and animal bones
34	Guojia site	150 m south of Guojia village, Shatang Township, Huzhu.	1500	0.6	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars, animal bones and iron arrowheads
35	Miaotai site	Southwest of Xingjia village, Hongyazigou Township, Huzhu.	2000	0.5	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
36	Gasijiaxi site	West of Gasijia village, Nanmenxia Township, Huzhu.	4000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars and vases

37	Dongzhuang site	100 m northeast of Dongzhang village, Gaozhai Township, Huzhu.	2000	0.2-0.9	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars, vases, bricks and tiles
38	Talongtan site	100 m east of Talongtan village, Dongchuan Township, Menyuan.	2000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars and vases
39	Yushan site	Yushan village, Xinjie Township, Guide.	2000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay ceramic jars
40	Guola site	East of Guola village, Heyin Township, Guide.	2000	Unclear	Shards of corded gray clay ceramic jars

Table 4.2.2-2 Han and Jin cemeteries¹

No.	Cemetery name	Location	Size (m ²)	Preserved state and excavation	Finds
1	Xinghailu cemetery	Xinghai Road, West Xining City.	Unclear	In 1964 two single chambered brick tombs were excavated. In 1987 five brick tombs were excavated.	Bronze mirrors, fasteners, gilt <i>pushou</i> , lacquered cup with ledge handles, ceramic jars, vases, boxes, stem cups, <i>wuzhu</i> coins, Daquanwushi coins.
2	Liujianghai cemetery	South of Liujianghai Village, Pengjianghai Township, Xining.	Unclear	Two mounds were preserved. In 1984 two brick tombs were excavated.	Ceramic jars, vases, models of kitchen ranges and granaries, wooden objects, brick lamps, brick mortar
3	Taojianghai cemetery	West of Taojianghai village, Xining.	240000	21 mounds were preserved, and 13 of them were destroyed. In 1980 six brick tombs were excavated.	Ceramic jars, vases, models of kitchen ranges and granaries, steaming utensils; bronze kettles, basins and figures; wooden horses, swords, combs; lacquer handled cups, tables, plates; jade beads, stone bi; <i>wuzhu</i> coins, etc.
4	Wuzhong cemetery	West of Wuzhong Village, Dabaozi Township, Xining.	15000	In 1950s there were 30 mounds and only 2 left now. In 1965 five brick tombs were excavated.	Ceramic models of kitchen ranges and granaries; bronze swords, crossbows; <i>wuzhu</i> , <i>huobu</i> and <i>huoquan</i> coins.
5	Nantan cemetery	In Wayaogou, Nantan, Xining.	Unclear	In 1960 two tombs with wooden coffins were cleared. In 1985 five brick tombs were excavated.	Ceramic jars, bowls, vases, models of kitchen ranges; wooden handled cups, horses, oxcarts, tables.
6	Huangdong cemetery	North of Huangdong Village, Huangjiazhai Township, Datong.	Unclear	One brick tomb was excavated.	Ceramic jars, <i>ding</i> cauldron; stone spindle whorl.

¹ The materials without reference are from NBC (1996).

7	Xiataojiazhai cemetery	South of Xiataojiazhai village, Huangjiazhai Township, Datong.	2000	In 1959 twenty-six mounds were found, and now all were destroyed.	Unclear
8	Huangxi cemetery	Huangxi village, Huangjiazhai Township, Datong.	30000	In 1984 three brick tomb were cleared.	Amount to 113 objects including ceramic models of kitchen ranges, jars and <i>wuzhu</i> coins, etc.
9	Shangsunji azhai cemetery	West of Shangsunjiazhai village, Houzihe Township, Datong.	500000	During 1973-1981 about 182 tombs were excavated.	About 5500 objects including ceramic, wood, iron, golden and silver, bronze, stone, jade and amber objects.
10	Shangtan cemetery	North of Shangtan village, Ping'an Township, Ping'an.	3000	Most mounds were destroyed and only one remained.	Unclear
11	Yaofang cemetery	East of Yaofang Village, Ping'an Township, Ping'an.	Unclear	In 1982 two tombs with pictorial bricks were excavated.	The pictorial bricks amount to 134, each 20 cm long, 16 cm wide; the depicted figures include guards, cavalry, banquet, holy birds, and immortals etc.
12	Dongcun cemetery	East of Dongcun village, Ping'an Township, Ping'an.	Unclear	In 1985 one tomb was excavated, and in 1986 a ceramic jar was collected.	Ceramic jars, models of kitchen ranges.
13	Shijiaying cemetery	Southwest of Guchengya, Xiaoxia Township, Ping'an.	10000	In 1982 one tomb was excavated. On the surface are scattered bricks, ceramic shards.	On the surface are scattered bricks, ceramic shards. The tomb yielded seven skeletons, brick lamps, <i>wuzhu</i> coins.
14	Sanhedong bei cemetery	Northeast of Sanhe village, Sanhe Township, Ping'an.	Unclear	Unclear	On the surface are scattered bricks, ceramic shards.
15	Zongmen cemetery	South of Zongmen village, Gucheng Township, Ping'an.	Unclear	In 1984 one tomb was excavated.	The tomb yielded 4 ceramic jars and several coins.

16	Baiyazi cemetery	North of Baiyazi village, Gaomiao Township, Ledu.	30000	Tombs were exposed.	On the surface are scattered bricks, ceramic shards; In 1940s the stone stele of <i>Sanlao Zhaokuan</i> was found.
17	Gaocaoxiang cemetery	East of Gaocaoxiang village, Nianbo Township, Ledu.	15000	Tomb bricks were exposed.	On the surface are scattered ceramic shards.
18	Liumushan cemetery	East of Dongguan village, Nianbo Township, Ledu.	35000	Tomb bricks were exposed.	On the surface are scattered corded ceramic shards.
19	Langjia cemetery	North of Langjia village, Gaomiao Township, Ledu.	3000	The cemetery has been excavated.	On the surface are scattered shards of ceramic jars. A gray ceramic model of kitchen range was collected.
20	Majiatai cemetery	South of Majiatai village, Ganggou Township, Ledu.	15000	Tombs were exposed. Two tombs were seriously damaged.	On the surface are scattered shards of corded ceramic jars, bricks.
21	Xujiawa cemetery	North of Hanzhuang village, Yurun Township, Ledu.	5000	Tomb brick were exposed.	On the surface are scattered shards of corded ceramic jars, bricks.
22	Shagou cemetery	East of Hanzhuang village, Yurun Township, Ledu.	5000	Tomb chambers were exposed.	On the surface are scattered shards of corded ceramic jars.
23	Hanzhuang cemetery	North of Hanzhuang village, Yurun Township, Ledu.	2500	All mounds have been destroyed.	On the surface are scattered shards of ceramic jars.
24	Qunzishan cemetery	North of Dagucheng village, Nianbo Township, Ledu.	120000	Unclear	7 tombs were found, and on the surface are scattered shards of bricks.
25	Duoba cemetery	Southeast of Zhihuizhuang village, Duoba Township, Huangzhong.	60000	2 mounds remained, 7 m high and 25 m in diameter. In 1957 one brick tomb was excavated.	The tomb yielded ceramic vase, jar, iron object and <i>wuzhu</i> coins.

26	Duobabei cemetery	North of Duoba village, Duoba Township, Huangzhong.	50000	All mounds were destroyed. Some tombs were exposed.	Unclear
27	Yingedala cemetery	Geda village, Duoba Township, Huangzhong.	Unclear	In 1964 some brick tombs have been dug.	Ceramic jars and vases
28	Yanerger cemetery	Northeast of Yanergou village, Duoba Township, Huangzhong.	3000	All mounds were destroyed.	On the surface are scattered shards of ceramic jars and vases. The tombs yielded skeleton, <i>wuzhu</i> coins and ceramic vases.
29	Yangjuan cemetery	Yangjuan village, Duoba Township, Huangzhong.	Unclear	Brick tombs have been excavated.	Ceramic vases and models of kitchen ranges
30	Dujiazhuang cemetery	Southeast of Dujiazhuang cemetery, Zongzhai Township, Huangzhong.	25000	In 1958 21 mounds remained and now more than 10 left. In 1985 3 tombs were excavated.	Silkware; ceramic plates, bowls, models of kitchen ranges, stem cups, jars, vases; more than 200 <i>wuzhu</i> coins.
31	Duanbayiing cemetery	North of Duanbayiing village, Lanlongkou Township, Huangzhong.	4000	In 1958 seven mounds remained, and in 1986 only six remained. The mound was 7 m high and 20 m in diameter.	Unclear
32	Maliankou cemetery	Shangying village, Lanlongkou Township, Huangzhong.	Unclear	Some brick tombs have been found.	On the surface are scattered shards of bricks. Collections included ceramic models of granaries, wells and kitchen ranges; jars, vases and bowls.
33	Magenpo cemetery	North of Heerying village, Lanlongkou Township, Huangzhong.	900	In 1979 some brick tombs were exposed.	Bronze vases; On the surface are scattered shards of ceramic jars and vases.
34	Wangjiabao cemetery	East of Wangjiabao village, Lijiaxiang Township, Huangzhong.	Unclear	Some brick tombs were exposed.	On the surface are scattered shards of bricks; some ceramic jars and vases were collected.

35	Dongyuan cemetery	Dongyuan village, Chuankou Township, Minhe.	150000	In 1982 and 1984 two tombs were cleared.	The tombs yielded 37 objects, including glazed ceramic, ceramic, stoneware, crossbows, glassware, brickware and <i>wuzhu</i> coins.
36	Lichangyu an cemetery	Southwest of Milawan village, Chuankou Township, Minhe.	5000	The mounds were destroyed and tombs were exposed.	Ceramic and brick shards are scattered on the surface.
37	Helijia cemetery	North of Helijia village, Chuankou Township, Minhe.	Unclear	A mound remained 23 m in diameter and 15 m high.	Unclear
38	Dawan cemetery	Dawan village, Xinmin Township, Minhe.	6000	Tombs were exposed.	Ceramic and brick shards are scattered on the surface.
39	Sanjiayuan cemetery	South of Sanjiayuan village, Zongbao Township, Minhe.	10000	In 1989 a brick tomb was cleared.	Tomb objects amounts to 24, including <i>wuzhu</i> coins, bone tubes, brick lamps and glassware.
40	Hujia cemetery	North of Hujia village, Zhuandao Township, Minhe.	2000	In 1980 a pit tomb was excavated.	3 <i>wuzhu</i> coins, bronze mirror, ceramic jars, vases and bowls.
41	Xiachuank ou cemetery	North of Xichuankou village, Machangyuan Township, Minhe.	Unclear	One mound remained, 9 m in diameter, and 2.5 m in height. In 1982 a tomb was excavated.	Unclear
42	Qijia cemetery	North of Qijia village, Zhongchuan Township, Minhe.	60000	31 mounds remained. In 1980 a brick tomb was excavated.	On the surface are scattered ceramic and brick shards. The tomb yielded bronze mirror, brick model of a bear and human figures, bronze ring and animal bones.
43	Hulijia cemetery	North of Hulijia village, Zhongchuan Township, Minhe.	60000	5 mounds remained, 9-12 m in diameter and 4-8 m in height. In 1980 two brick tombs were excavated.	Glazed ceramic, ceramic model of a kitchen range and bronze ornaments.

44	Xiamajuan cemetery	Northwest of Xiamajuan village, Wufeng Township, Huzhu.	60000	In 1958 three mounds could be seen, and now destroyed.	Brick and ceramic shards are scattered on the surface.
45	Zongzhai cemetery	East of Zongzhai village, Shatang Township, Huzhu.	4000	In 1979 more than 20 tombs were excavated.	Ceramic jars, vases, models of kitchen ranges, granaries and wells, and <i>wuzhu</i> coins.
46	Wangjiazhuang cemetery	East of Wangjiazhuang village, Shatang Township, Huzhu.	Unclear	In 1979 more than 10 tombs were excavated.	370 ceramic; bronze mirrors, <i>wuzhu</i> coins, bone tubes, golden ring.
47	Dongcun cemetery	North of Dongcun village, Gaozhai Township, Huzhu.	Unclear	Tomb bricks were exposed.	Ceramic shards are scattered on the surface
48	Gaozhai cemetery	Northeast of Dongzhuang village, Gaozhai Township, Huzhu.	Unclear	12 mounds remained, 6-12 m in diameter, 4-9 m in height. In 1990 two tombs were cleared.	Ceramic vases, jars, models of wells, handled cups; wooden figures, model of chariot and horses; bronze mirrors, <i>wuzhu</i> coins; lacquered tables, boxes, plates, handled cups; ink stones.
49	Majiawankou cemetery	East of Haidong village, Jintan Township, Haiyan.	Unclear	Bones and ceramic shards were exposed.	Bronze mirror and bone bead
50	Baishiya cemetery	East of Baishiya village, Ebo Township, Qilian.	2000	Tomb and bones, ceramic shards were exposed.	A ceramic jar
51	Gonghe cemetery	Nanjie street in Qiabuqia Township, Gonghe.	Unclear	Unclear	Human bones and ceramic jars and vases
52	Shasuoma cemetery	Shasuoma village, Dongba Township, Gonghe.	10000	Unclear	Man bones, stone mill, ceramic jar and vase
53	Gucheng cemetery	Beicun village, Gucheng Township, 20 km south of Ping'an.	unclear	The sites were investigated in two excavation campaigns during which 5 tombs in 1996 and 2 tombs in 1998 were opened.	See chapter 4.2.2 E.

Table 4.3-1 Han and Jin fortresses and city-sites¹

No.	Site name	Historical name	Location	Remaining Wall	Excavation and finds
1	Sanjiao city-site	Longyi city, the capital of the Xihai Prefecture, Later also named Longqi city	250 m northwest of Haiyan.	Rectangular, 650×600 m ² , 4 m high, with four gates; tamped earth.	It was investigated in 1950s and 1980s. There are three square areas enclosed by walls; finds includes a tile end with the inscription <i>xihai</i> , an inscribed stone with a tiger tally and a stone cabinet, <i>wuzhu</i> coins and a coin model, and other coins.
2	Gahai city-site	One of the five counties of the Xihai Prefecture that established in the Wang Mang period.	Gahai village, Ganzihe Township, Haiyan.	Rectangular, 436×435 m ² , 4 m high, 8 m wide, with four gates; tamped earth.	It was investigated in 1980s. A square in the northeast and some houses in the southwest were found; other finds include gray ceramic shards, <i>wuzhu</i> coins and bronze mirror fragments.
3	Nanxiang yang city-site	Unclear	Southeast of Jiermeng Township, Gangca.	Rectangular, 120×90 m ² , 2.5 m high, 12 m wide, with a west gate; tamped earth.	Ceramic shards
4	Beixiangyang city-site	One of the five counties of the Xihai Prefecture established in the Wang Mang period.	1 km west of Jiermeng Township, Gangca.	Rectangular, 300×400 m ² , 2-5 m high, 13 m wide, with a south gate; tamped earth.	A central road passes from the south to the north and separates the city into two parts; The eastern part is a flat square, and the southwestern elevated and uneven areas could be houses relics; Gray ceramic shards are scattered on the surface; <i>wuzhu</i> coins were found.

¹ The materials without reference are from NBC (1996) and Li Z. X. (1995).

5	Caoduolong city-site	One the five counties of the Xihai Prefecture, established in the Wang Mang period.	South of Caoduolong village, Qugou Township, Gonghe.	Rectangular, 420×412 m ² , 3 m high, 6 m wide; Tamped earth.	It was excavated in 1978 and 1979. Finds include ceramics, tile ends, iron plough, bronze mirror, arrowheads, coins, crossbow and stone mill. The city was later submerged by the Longyangxia Reservoir.
6	Xiachuan kou city-site	Qianya city	Xiachuankou village, south of the Huang Shui, Minhe.	Rectangular, 220×100 m ² , with three gates and three inner cities.	Unclear
7	Baojia city-site	Baitu city of the Jin dynasty.	North of Baojia village, Guanting Township, Minhe; 250 m north of the Yellow River.	Irregular; the south part is 540 m long and 95-119 m wide; the north part is rectangular, 70×40 m ² ; The tamped wall remains were 1-5 m high; a protecting wall runs parallel to the north wall in equal length; two gate are located at the southeast and the southwest corner.	The north part is higher than the south; bones of cattle and goats, a few ceramic shards are scattered on the surface.
8	Shangchuankou city-site	The small city of Jinxing, the Jin period.	50 m south of Chengshan village, Chuankou Township, Minhe.	One section wall built with tamped earth; remains - 100 m long, 5-6 m high and 8 m wide.	Unclear
9	Dawan city-site	Unclear	Northwest of Dawan village, Xinmin Township, Minhe.	The city was built on the top of the mountain; rectangular, remains - 60×50 m ² , 5 m high and 3 m wide; tamped earth.	Gray ceramic shards are scattered on the surface.
10	Laoya city-site	Poqiang city	Laoya village, Gaomiao Township, Ledu.	The south and west part of the city was destroyed by flood. The eastern section remained were 39 m long, 4.5 m wide and 2-3 m high. The northern section remains were 21 m long, 4.5 m wide and 3-5 m high; The walls were built with tamped earth. It has two gates, and the protecting trench is 7 m deep and 6.4 m wide. The early record shows the city originally was 787 m in perimeter, and the wall 8 m high and 6.4 m wide at the base.	Tiles shards could be seen.

11	Pota city-site	New Linqiang	Northeast of Duoba Township, Huangzhong.	Square; in 1960s, the city was 250×250 m ² , and had three gates; The wall remains were 3 m high and 12 m wide; there were <i>mamians</i> on it.	The city destroyed after 1960s. A lot of shards of ceramic, brick, and bone scatter on the surface. Some artifacts were collected, including ceramic jars, tiles, bricks, <i>wuzhu</i> coins, bronze arrowheads, bronze lamp and bronze mirror. Many Han tombs were found in the vicinity of Duoba Township.
12	Hexi city-site	Unclear	West of Ebo village, Ebo Township, Qilian.	Square; 110×80 m ² ; 1.5 m high.	Inside and outside the city exposed shards of red sandy ceramics and corded gray ceramics.
13	Zhidongjiala city-site	One of the five counties of the Xihai Prefecture established in Wang Mang period.	1.5 kilometer north of the ninth subunit of Tanggemu farm, Heka Township, Xinghai.	Rectangular with four gates; 510×250 m ² ; 0.8 m high.	At the gate ceramic shards, arrowhead and <i>wuzhu</i> coins were collected.
14	Jiamugeertan city-site	unclear	14 km west of Tianjun County, south of the Buh He River and north of the Tianjun Mountain	See chapter 4.3.	See chapter 4.3.

Table 4.3-2 Han and Jin cities only recorded in Chinese sources (no archaeological remains)¹

No.	Recorded name	Approximate location	Established time
1	Linqiang city	The region where the Yao Shui (Qiang Shui) River flows into the Huang Shui, Huangyuan	60 BC
2	Anyi city	West of Ping'an Township, Ping'an	60 BC
3	Xiping Ting	In the east of Xinig City	111 BC or later. In Eastern Han Dynasty it was enlarged as the capital of the Xiping prefecture.
4	Dong Ting	Lejiawan, Xining City	After 111 BC
5	Changning Ting	Changning Township, Datong	The Western Han Dynasty
6	The official center of <i>Xibu duwei</i>	West of Ledu; near the Siwang (Laoya) Gorge	Between 111 BC and 61 BC
7	Luo Ting	In Jianzha	The Eastern Han Dynasty
8	Han Ting	Gandutang, Hualong	The Eastern Han Dynasty
9	Huqiang city (the office of colonel-protector of the Qiang)	Southwest of Linqiang city, Han period; present day Huangyuan	Firstly it was in Lingju and An'yi. In 77 AD it was moved to nearby Linqiang city.

¹ According to the record of Shui Jing Zhu.

Table 4.6-1 Distribution of the Han and Jin sites

Location	Settlement	Cemetery	City ¹	Total	Site area (in m ²)
Xining	2	5	2	9	260000
Datong		4		4	530000
Ping'an		7	1	8	13000
Ledu	5	9	2	16	310000
Huangzhong	17	10	2	28	480000
Minhe	5	9	4	18	360000
Huzhu	7	5		12	4000
Huangyuan			2	2	-----
Haiyan		1	2	3	-----
Gangca			2	2	-----
Menyuan	1			1	2000
Qilian		1	1	2	2000
Gonghe		2	1	3	10000
Guide	2			2	4000
Xinghai			1	1	-----
Jianzha			1	1	-----
Hualong			1	1	-----

¹ Including cities only documented in Chinese sources.

Table 6.2.7-1 Black or purple-black lacquerware¹

1. Bowl

Number and figure	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
Reshui MIPM2: 9-1 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/1)	Upright mouth, contracted belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 10, base diam.: 5.4, remained height: 6.4, depth: 4.4, wall thickness: 0.4-1.4.	Wooden body, black lacquer	incomplete
Reshui MIPM2: 9-2 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/2)	upright mouth, contracted belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 11.4, base diam.: 5.2, height: 5.8, depth: 5.8, wall thickness: 0.4-1.6.	Wooden body, gray clay, black lacquer	incomplete
Reshui M25: 6 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/3)	Flared mouth, contracted belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 10.1, base diam.: 5.2, height: 6.8, depth: 5.4, wall thickness: 0.2-0.8.	Wood body, black lacquer	incomplete
Reshui MIPM2: 9-3 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/4)	Flared mouth, contracted belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 10.5, base diam.: 5.3, height: 6.5, depth: 4.2, wall thickness: 0.2-1.7.	Wooden body, purple-black lacquer	incomplete

¹ The materials without reference are from Xu X. G (2006, 337-345).

2. Dish

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
MIPM2: 10 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/5)	Slightly contracted mouth, shallow belly, flat base	Mouth diam.: 17.4, base diam.: 15.3, depth: 2.1, wall thickness: 0.2-0.5.	Wooden body, black lacquer	Complete, with discernible red lacquer Tibetan inscription on the base.
Reshui MIPM2: 254 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/6)	Flared mouth, shallow belly, shallow ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 17.5, base diam.: 15.5, depth: 2, wall thickness: 0.2-1.	Wooden body, black lacquer	Mostly incomplete
Reshui M21:4 (Fig. 6.2.7-1/7)	Flared mouth, shallow belly, shallow ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 11.2, base diam.: 5.5, depth: 2.6, wall thickness: 0.2-0.6.	Wooden body, flax interlining, gray clay and purple-black lacquer	Complete
99DRNM1: 15 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/ 10)	Flared mouth, sharp rim, shallow belly, round base.	Mouth diam.: 15.8, height: 2.2, wall thickness: 0.8.	Wooden body, black lacquer on both sides.	Dulan 2005, 13, fig. 9-1.
99DRNM1:16 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/ 11)	Flared mouth, sharp rim, shallow belly, round base	Mouth diam.: 14.2, height: 2.7, wall thickness: 0.7.	Wooden body, black lacquer on the exterior surface	Dulan 2005, 13, fig. 9-2.

3. Jar

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
Reshui MIPM2: 48	Upright mouth, square rim, sloping shoulder, upright belly, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 11.6, remain base diam.: 18, depth: 2.6, wall thickness: 0.7-2.8.	Wooden body, gray clay black lacquer. No lacquer on the middle part and the base.	Remains of the upper part
Reshui MIPM2: 48-2	The part seems originally attached to others object. The function is not clear.	Belly diam.: 19.6, base diam.: 17, wall thickness: 0.2-1.2.	Lacquered black only below the protruding belt. Wooden body with flax interlining.	Remains of the base
Reshui MIPM2: 48-3	No protruding belt, upright belly, flat base, ring foot.	Belly diam.: 20, base diam.: 14, remaining height: 12.5, wall thickness: 0.6-1.8.	Wooden body, black lacquered. No lacquer on the base.	Remains of the base.

4. Rim and base remains

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
99DRNM1: 17, 18.	Square rim.	Remaining height: 2.9-3, Wall thickness: 0.2-4, One rim's mouth diam.: 9.4.	Wooden body, purple-black lacquer on both sides, the exterior surface incised with black designs.	Dulan 2005, 14.
99DRNM1: 19	Square rim	Remain height: 2.2, wall thickness: 4.	Wooden body, purple-black lacquer on both sides. The outside surface is engraved with black patterns.	Dulan 2005, 13, fig. 9-5.
99DRNM1: 20	Flared mouth, square rim, round belly with a protruding line.	Mouth diam.: 11.15, remain height: 3.2, wall thickness: 0.4.	Wooden body, purple-black lacquer on both sides above the protruding line	Dulan 2005, 15, fig. 10-2.
Reshui M6: 14	Round base	Thickness: 0.4, diam.: 16.	Wooden body, black lacquer on both sides	Only remain the base, with the Chinese inscriptions “九”, “十”, “庚”.
Xiariha M1: 20	Round base	Thickness: 0.4, diam.: 16.	Wooden body, black lacquer on both sides	
99DRNM3: 90	Ring foot.	Diam.: 6, height: 3.5.	Wooden body, black lacquer on both sides	Dulan 2005, 88, fig. 54-3.

5. Saddle and armor

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
Reshui M13: 3	rear section	Width: 44.5, height: 25, thickness: 1.5-3.8.	Wooden body, Black lacquer on both sides.	
99DRNM2: 23	rear section	Length: 21.6, width: 7.2, thick 2.8.	Wooden body, partly black lacquered	Dulan 2005, 51, fig. 32-2.
Xiariha M1: 1	base	Length: 48, width: 23.5, thickness: 1-2.8.	Wooden body, partly black lacquered	
99DRNM2: 21 (Fig. 6.2.7-3)	Irregular fragment	Length: 27.2, width: 17.2, thickness: 4.2.	Wooden body, partly black lacquered	Dulan 2005, 48, fig. 31.
99DRNM2: 24	Irregular fragment	Length: 12.8, width: 10.4, thickness: 3.1.	Wooden body, partly black lacquered	Dulan 2005, 51, fig. 32-3.
In the house foundation in front of the Kaoxiaotu cemetery (Fig. 6.2.7-5)	A great number of oblong plates	Unclear	The plates have holes for connecting and overlapping to form one section of armor	RCS 2002, 217, pl. 28.

6. Fragment and Wooden component

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
99DRNM2: 5	Fragment with round patterns tangent with each other. The round pattern has a star in the center surrounded by 7 elliptical circles	Diam. (the biggest circle): 5.3.	Red as ground; the central star and the region around the 7 circles were lacquered black.	Dulan 2005, 53, fig. 33-1.
99DRNM2: 25	Irregular fragment with a leather rope knot through the hole.	Length: 7.6, width: 2.8.	The region near the hole was lacquered black.	Dulan 2005, 53, fig. 33-4.
99DRNM1: 31 (Fig. 6.2.7-4)	Long slip, slightly curved, with two rectangle holes. It should be a part of yurt.	Length: 14.5, width: 5, thickness: 2-2.5.	Wooden body, black lacquer	Dulan 2005, 18, fig. 13-3.
99DRNM1: 32	In "Y" shape	Length: 3.3, height: 2.2.	Wooden body, black lacquer	Dulan 2005, 18, fig. 15-4.
99DRNM1: 34	Round plate with two tenons	Diam.: 9.6, thickness: 0.75.	Wooden body, one side black lacquer and the other purple-black	Dulan 2005, 20, fig. 14-1.

Table 6.2.7-2 Varnish (or *tong* oil) ware¹

1. Bowl

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
Xiariha M1: 3	Flared mouth, round belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 12.8, base diam.: 4.2, belly diam.: 3.8, height: 5, thickness: 0.3-1.	Wooden body, Varnish outside	complete
Reshui M6: 44 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/1)	Flared mouth, flexed belly, flat base, ring foot. The breakage was repaired with copper pieces and rivets.	Mouth diam.: 6.4, base diam.: 5.5, height: 5.2, thickness: 0.2-0.8.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	Incomplete
Reshui M25: 4 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/2)	Flared mouth, flexed belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 9.6, base diam.: 6.2, Height: 3.8, thickness: 0. 2-1.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	Incomplete
Xiariha M1: 10	Flared mouth, flexed belly, flat base, ring foot.	Mouth diam.: 8.8, base diam.: 8, remain height: 5, thickness: 0.2-0.8.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	fragment
Reshui M6: 59 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/3)	Flared mouth, shallow belly, round pedestal. The breakage was repaired with copper pieces and rivets	Mouth diam.: 8.8, base diam.: 6.8, height: 4.8, thickness: 0.2-2.6.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	incomplete

¹ The materials without reference are from Xu X. G (2006, 337-345).

2. Cup

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
Reshui M26: 3 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/4)	Flared mouth, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 7.6, base diam.: 3.4, belly depth: 4.2, thickness: 0.2-12.	Wooden body, Varnish on both side	complete
Reshui MIPM2: 12 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/5)	Upright mouth, slight straight belly, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 7.6, base diam.: 5, belly depth: 6.2, height: 7 thickness: 0.2-0.6.	Wooden body, Varnish on both side	complete
Reshui M6: 47 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/6)	Upright mouth, slight straight belly, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 9.2, base diam.: 5.2, belly depth: 6, height: 7, thickness: 0.2-1.	Wooden body, Varnish on both side	complete

3. Dish

Site and number	Form	Size (in cm)	Structure	Comment
Reshui M20: 2 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/7)	Flared mouth, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 14.8, base diam.: 10, belly depth: 1.4, height: 2.2, thickness: 0.2-0.7.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	complete
Reshui MIPM2: 5-1 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/8)	Flared mouth, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 17.4, base diam.: 15, belly depth: 1.2, height: 2.4, thickness: 0.4-1.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	complete
Reshui MIPM2: 5-2 (Fig. 6.2.7-2/9)	Flared mouth, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 11.6, base diam.: 10, belly depth: 1.4, height: 2.2, thickness: 0.2-0.8.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	complete
Reshui MIPM2: 5-3	Flared mouth, flat base.	Mouth diam.: 7.8, base diam.: 9, belly depth: 1.7, height: 3, thickness: 0.4-1.7.	Wooden body, Varnish on both sides	complete

Table 6.2.8-1 Sasanian silver coins

Type	Figure number	Type (Schindel 2004)	Mint signature	King name
A	Fig. 6.2.8.31-1	IIa/1e	AH (Hamadan)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.31-2	IIa/1e	ART (Ardashir-khwarrah)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.31-3	IIa/1e	AT (Adurbadagan)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.31-4	IIa/1c	AH (Hamadan)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.32-1	IIa/1e	WH (Weh-Andiyok-Shapur)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.32-2	IIa/1?	NY (Nihawand)	Peroz
B	Fig. 6.2.8.33-1	IIIa/1e	DA (Darabgird)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.33-2	IIIa/1e	NY (Nihawand)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.33-3	IIIb/1c	ST (Stakhr)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.33-4	IIIb/1c	KA (Karzi)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.33-5	IIIb/1c	KA (Karzi)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.34-1	IIIb/1e	WH (Weh-Andiyok-Shapur)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.34-2	IIIb/1c	WH (Weh-Andiyok-Shapur)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.34-3	IIIb/1c	ShY (Shiraz)	Peroz
	Fig. 6.2.8.34-4	IIIb/1c	AS (Asuristan)	Peroz

Table 6.2.9-1 Silkware

Number and figure	Pattern	Color	Size (in cm)	Technical analysis	Reference
DXDM8: S2 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: blue, yellow and green	Unclear	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill, with weft floats on the reverse sometimes. Pattern repeated: 26 cm in warp direction	Xu X. G. 1996a, 5, fig. 1
DRM26: S2	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red Pattern: blue, yellow and green	Unclear	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 1996a, 5, fig. 2, pl. 1.
DRM9: S2 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: yellow Pattern: green and white	Roundel size (inner circle): 25 diam.	Weave: 1:2 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 1996a, 5, fig. 3, pl. 2.
DRM9: S20-1	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: yellow and green	Unclear	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 1996a, 7, fig. 4-1, 2, 3.
DRM9: S20-2 (Fig. 6.2.9-7/5, left and middle)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: yellow and green for main motifs, dark blue for outline, dark and red for pearls alternatively	Roundel size: 21 diam.	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 21.5 cm in weft direction	Xu X. G. 1996a, 4, fig. 5-1; 6, fig. 5-2.
DRM9: S3 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/7)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird (interstitial palmette)	Ground: dark red. Pattern: dark blue, yellow, and brownish green	Roundel size: longer than 30 diam.	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 1996a, 6, fig. 6.

DRM9: S22 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/6)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: dark red. Pattern: dark blue, yellow, and brownish green	Unclear	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill, with weft floats on the reverse sometimes	Xu X. G. 1996a, 8, fig. 8
DRM1PM2: S165 (Fig. 6.2.9-7/3)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: grass green for the ground within the roundel and brownish green for outside the roundel, blue for outline and petals	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 35 cm in weft direction	Xu X. G. 1996a, 8, fig. 9.
DRM1PM2: S163 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/3)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: bright red. Pattern: dark blue, yellow, brownish green	Unclear	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 1996a, 10, fig. 11.
99DRNM1: 39 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/4)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 8.8 W 7.4	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 21, fig. 15/3, pl. 11/3.
99DRNM1: 40 (Fig. 6.2.9-7/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 8.8 W 7.4	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 22, fig. 16/4.
99DRNM1: 42 (Fig. 6.2.9-6/5)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 11.3 W 5	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 22, fig. 16/5, pl. 11/1.
99DRNM3: 30 (Fig. 6.2.9-7/6)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: red. Pattern: blue, green and yellow	L 31 W 3.5	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 79, fig. 50/1, pl. 24/3.
DRM1PM2: S160-1 (Fig. 6.2.9-8)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>hanshou</i> bird	Ground: dark red as ground. Pattern: dark blue, green and yellow	Unclear	Warp: Z-twisted. Weft: untwisted. Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated (reconstructed): 17 cm in warp and 13 cm in weft directions	Xu/Zhao 1991, 72, fig. 12, pl. 4-2; Zhao F. 2002, 88, pl. 32; Xu X. G. 1996a, 9, fig. 10-1.

Unclear (Fig. 6.2.9-1/1)	Unclear	Ground: yellow. Pattern: green or brown alternately	Unclear	Warp: Z-twisted. Weft: untwisted. Weave: 1:2 weft-faced compound twills. Pattern repeated (reconstructed partly): 24 cm in warp probably and larger than 19 cm in weft directions	Zhao F. 2002, 91, pl. 33.
Unclear (Fig. 6.2.9-13/1)	Samite with eagle in petal roundel	Ground: brownish yellow. Pattern: dark brown, green and light yellow	Unclear	Warp: Z-twisted. Weft: untwisted. Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 20 cm in warp and longer than 20 cm in weft directions	Zhao F. 2002, 92, pl. 34; Watt et al. 2004, 347, no. 246.
DRM1PM2: S109 (Fig. 6.2.9-1; Fig. 6.2.9-15)	<i>Jin</i> silk with Helios and Chinese inscriptions	Ground: red. Pattern: yellow	Unclear	Weave: 1:1 warp-faced compound tabby. Pattern repeated: 14.5 cm in warp direction	Zhao F. 2002, 74, pl. 27; 77, pl. 27-2.
DRM1PM2: S157 (Fig. 6.2.9-16/1, 2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with Helios and hunters	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue or green alternatively	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound tabby. Pattern repeated: 21.5 cm in warp direction. Loom width: 41 cm	Zhao F. 2002, 81, pl. 28-2.
DRM1PM2: S41 (Fig. 6.2.9-16/3)	<i>Jin</i> silk with Helios	Ground: green. Pattern: yellow	Unclear	Weave: 1:1 warp-faced compound tabby. Pattern repeated: in warp direction	Xu X. G. 1997, 70, fig.3.
DRM1PM2: S143 (Fig. 6.2.9-18/5)	<i>Jin</i> Silk with confronted horses	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue or green alternatively	Unclear	Weave: warp-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 2007, 98, fig. 5.
DRM1PM2: S17 (Fig. 6.2.9-18/1)	<i>Jin</i> Silks with confronted horses	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue or green alternatively	Unclear	Unclear	Xu/Zhao 1991, 69, fig. 7, pl. 4/1; Xu X. G. 2007, 99, fig. 6.1.
DRM1PM2: S159 (Fig. 6.2.9-18/4)	<i>Jin</i> Silks with confronted horses	Ground: orange. Pattern: green and purple-red alternatively	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: Larger than 7.5 cm in warp direction and 10 cm in weft direction	Zhao F. 2002, 75, pl. 27-1; Xu X. G. 2007, 99, fig. 6.2.

DRM1PM2: S109-4 (Fig. 6.2.9-18/3)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted horses	Ground: yellow and white. Pattern: blue and green alternatively	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 8 cm in warp direction	Zhao F. 2002, 83, pl. 29-1; Xu X. G. 2007, 99, fig. 7.
Unclear	Samite with confronted horses	Ground: yellow. Pattern: green, reddish brown, blue	L 11 W 55.2	Warp: Z-twisted. Weft: untwisted. Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill, with weft floats on the reverse sometimes. Pattern repeated: 23.5 cm in weft directions	Zhao F. 2002, 94, pl. 35.
DRM1PM2: S150-1 (Fig. 6.2.9-20/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted lions, dragons and phoenixes in opposing wave patterns	Ground: red. Pattern: yellow	Unclear	Weave: 1:1 warp-faced compound tabby. Pattern repeated: 8 cm in warp direction.	Zhao F. 2002, 84, pl. 29-1; Xu X. G. 2007, 97, fig. 4.
DRM1PM2: S85 (Fig. 6.2.9-20/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted lions and phoenixes in opposing wave patterns	Ground: green. Pattern: yellow	Unclear	Weave: 1:1 warp-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 10 cm in weft direction	Xu X. G. 2007, 96, fig. 3.1, fig. 3.2; Xu/Zhao 1991, 68, fig. 5.
10 pieces (Fig. 6.2.9-19/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted rams in pearl roundel	Unclear	Remaining size: L 42.5 W 8.5	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 6 cm in warp direction, 6.8 cm in weft direction. selvage on one side	Zhao F. 2002, 86, pl. 30; Xu X. G. 2007, 102, fig. 10.1.

DRM1PM2: S59 (Fig. 6.2.9-19/3)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted lamps enclosed in pearl roundel	Ground: yellow for the ground within the linked-pearl rings and outside the rings; purple for the ground within the enclosed circles. Pattern: blue and green alternately for the main motifs; white for the linked pearls and the borders	Unclear	Weft: relatively strong S-twist. Weave: 1:3 warp-faced compound twill. Loom width: 52.5 cm	Xu/Zhao 1991, 70, fig. 8, pl. 3/2; Xu X. G. 2007, 100, fig. 8.1.
DRM1PM2: S31 (Fig. 6.2.9-22/1)	<i>Ling</i> damask with confronted dragons enclosed in pearl roundel	Ground: red. Pattern: yellow	Roundel size: 23.5-25.3 diam.	Pattern repeated: 29 cm in warp and 26 cm in weft direction. Loom width: 49 cm	Xu X. G. 2007, 105, fig. 13.
DRM1PM2: S27 (Fig. 6.2.9-22/2)	<i>Ling</i> damask with confronted dragons enclosed in petal-pearl roundel	Ground: red. Pattern: yellow	Roundel size: 44 diam.	Weave: 3/1 twill on tabby. Pattern repeated: 46.5 cm in warp direction, unclear in weft direction	Xu X. G. 2007, 106, fig. 14.
Unclear	Tang samite with confronted birds in floral roundel	Unclear	Roundel size: ca. 10.5 diam.	Warp: S-twisted. Weft: untwisted. Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 14 cm in warp direction, and larger than 13 cm in weft direction	Zhao F. 2002, 96, pl. 36.
DRM1PM2: S128 (Fig. 6.2.9-21/1, 2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted phoenixes enclosed in pearl roundel	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue and green alternatively for the main motifs, white for pearls	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 4.5 cm in weft and 4 cm in warp direction	Xu X. G. 2007, 101, fig. 9; Xu/Zhao 1991, 71, fig. 10.
99DRNM3: 56	<i>Jin</i> silk with bird enclosed in petal roundel	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue	L 14.5 W 4.3	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 83, fig. 52-3, pl. 27/4.

DRM25: S1 (Fig. 6.2.9-23/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted tigers enclosed in pearl roundel	Ground: yellow. Pattern: brownish yellow for the tree and stripes of the tiger, green for leaves and tiger	L 110 W 110	Weft: strong S-twist. Weave: weft-faced compound twill	Xu/Zhao 1991, 71, fig. 11.
DRM1PM2: S25-1 (Fig. 6.2.9-29/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted deer enclosed in scroll roundel	Ground: yellow. Pattern: green for main motifs, brownish yellow and white for supplement	Roundel size: 20 diam.	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill	Xu/Zhao 1991, 72, fig. 13.
DRM1 (Fig. 6.2.9-23/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted beasts enclosed in pearl roundel	Ground: yellow. Pattern: green	Unclear	Inner warp: S-twist, single. Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G 2007, 103, fig. 11.
DRM1PM2: S157 (Fig. 6.2.9-27/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with lion mask and figures	Ground: red and yellow. Pattern: dark brown, blue and green alternately	L 11 W 41	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound tabby. Pattern repeated: 11 cm in warp direction. Loom width: 41 cm	Zhao F. 2002, 79, pl. 28-1; Xu X. G. 2007, 94, fig. 1.1, fig. 1.2.
99DRNM1: 43 (Fig. 6.2.9-27/2)	Unclear	Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 10.6 W 3.9	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 22, fig. 16/1, pl. 10/2.
DRM1PM2 (Fig. 6.2.9-25/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with non-Chinese leading an elephant or a camel	Ground: red and yellow. Pattern: blue and green	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound tabby	Xu X. G. 2007, 95, fig. 2.
DRM1PM2: S63 (Fig. 6.2.9-25/3)	<i>Jin</i> silk with interlocking roundels and figures	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue and green alternatively	Roundel size (reconstructed): 22.5 diam.	Unclear	Xu/Zhao 1991, pl. 1/1.

DRM1 (Fig. 6.2.9-26/1)	<i>Jin</i> silk with drinkers in pearl roundel	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	RCS 2002, 222, pl. 35.
DRM1PM2: S93	<i>Jin</i> silk with rhomboids and floral	Ground: orange. Pattern: blue and green alternatively for the main motifs, white for pearls	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound twill	Xu/Zhao 1991, pl. 4-4.
DRM1PM2: S141	<i>ling</i> damask with Persimmon blossoms	Pattern: green	Unclear	Weave: 3/1 twill on tabby. Pattern repeated: 2.5 cm in warp and 12 cm in weft directions	Xu/Zhao 1991, pl. 2/3.
DRM9: 25	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>baoxianghua</i> medallion	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue and brown	Medallion size: 20 diam.	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 24.5 cm in weft direction	Xu/Zhao 1991, 73, fig. 14.
DRM1PM2: S21-1 (Fig. 6.2.9-29/4)	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>baoxianghua</i> medallion	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue for the main motif, white for supplement	Medallion size: 33 diam.	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 34.5 cm in warp direction	Xu/Zhao 1991, 73, fig. 15, pl. 3/3.
DRM1PM2: S70 (Fig. 6.2.9-3)	<i>Kesi</i> tapestry-woven. with rosette	Ground: blue. Pattern: green, yellow and white mainly	L 25.5 W 8.5	Warp: 2-S ply. Weft: Z-twisted. Weave: <i>kesi</i> , in somewhere, the wefts are only wrapped around one warp end. Pattern repeated: 4 cm in warp and 2.8 cm in weft direction	Zhao F. 2002, 98, pl. 37.
Unclear (Fig. 6.2.9-2)	Belt with gilt hexagon	Unclear	L 70 W 3.2	Warp: Z-twisted. Foundation weft: Z-twisted. Patterning weft: gold foil in strips 1.2 mm wide, without substrate. Proportion: one gold foil strip to one foundation weft. Weave: 1/1 tabby	Zhao F. 2002, 100, pl. 38.
Unclear (Fig. 6.2.9-32/2)	Embroidery saddle blanket with floral pattern	Ground, yellow. Pattern, white, brown, blue and green	H38 W 51	Silk thread, 2-Z ply about 0.3-0.4 mm thick. Weave: split stitch on tabby	Zhao F. 2002, 102, pl. 39.

99DRNM3: 50	Embroidery strips with floral pattern	Ground: light green. Pattern: yellow, brown and green	L 6-22 W 4.5	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 81, fig. 51/2, pl. 28/3.
Unclear	Wax resisted dyed damask	Ground: dyed blue. Pattern: dyed white	L 22 W 55	Warp and weft: both untwist. Pattern repeated: 0.5 cm in both directions	Zhao F. 2002, 104, pl. 40.
99DRNM3: 24	Wax resisted dyed damask	Ground: dyed dark green. Pattern: yellow	L 14.5 W 6.3	Weave: 1:1 tabby	Dulan 2005, 77, fig. 49/4, pl. 26/2.
DRM1PM2 (Fig. 6.2.9-4)	Damask with grape motif dyed in stripes.	Color: dyed in alternating stripes of green and white by the tie-dyeing method	L 10.5 W 12	Weave: 3/1 twill on tabby. Pattern repeated: 3.5 cm in warp direction and 5 cm in weft direction	Xu/Zhao 1991, 68, fig. 6; Zhao F. 2002, 105, pl. 41.
Unclear	Damask with grape scroll pattern	Ground: tan. Pattern: tan	Unclear	Warp and weft: both untwisted. Weave: 3:1 Z-twill and 1:3 S-twill alternately as pattern and ground. Pattern repeated: 5-7 cm in warp direction and 49 cm in weft direction. Loom width: 49 cm	Zhao F. 2002, 107, pl. 42-2.
Unclear	Fragment of clamp resist dyed silk with floral medallion	Ground: dyed blue. Pattern: dyed brown	L 24 W 28.5	Unclear	Zhao F. 2002, 108, pl. 43.
DRM1PM2: S61	Jin silk with circles of pearls and floral	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Xu/Zhao 1991, 70, fig. 9.
DRM1PM2: S127 (Fig. 6.2.9-30/1)	Jin silk with pearl roundel enclosing rosette	Ground: orange. Pattern: green and purple alternatively	Unclear	Weave: 1:2 warp-faced compound twill. Loom width: 44-44.5 cm	Xu/Zhao 1991, pl. 1-3; Xu X. G. 2007, 104, fig. 12.1.
DRM1PM2: S23, S42 (Fig. 6.2.9-29/1)	Jin silk with standing phoenix enclosed in petal roundel	Ground: yellow for the ground within the roundel and purple for outside the roundel. Pattern: blue, green and white	Roundel size: 12-13 diam.	Weave: 1:3 weft-faced compound twill. Pattern repeated: 16.5 cm in warp direction, unclear in weft direction	Xu X. G. 2007, 107, fig. 15.

DRM1PM2: S47	<i>Jin</i> silk with flowers and paired birds	Ground: red. Pattern: unclear	L 13.5 W 8	Pattern repeated: about 20 cm in weft direction	Xu X. G 2007, 108, fig. 16.
99DRNM3: 23-1 (Fig. 6.2.9-29/5, Fig. 6.2.9-23/3)	<i>Ling</i> damask with ink-painted deer and floral patterns	Unclear	L 53.6 W 40.6	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 73, fig. 46 (1); 74, fig. 46/2, pl. 25/2.
99DRNM3: 23-2	<i>Ling</i> damask with ink-painted floral patterns	Unclear	L 45 W 38.5	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 75, fig. 47, pl. 25/1.
99DRNM3: 23-3	<i>Ling</i> damask with ink-painted floral patterns	Unclear	L 33 W 26	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 76, fig. 48.
99DRNM3: 104	<i>Ling</i> damask with print floral patterns	Ground: orange yellow. Pattern: blue, gold yellow	L 50 W 16	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 87, fig. 53, pl. 28/2.
99DRNM1: 44	Silk with guava flower	Ground: blue. Pattern: yellow	L 12.1 W 6.1	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 22, fig. 16-3, pl. 10/6.
99DRNM1: 45	Unclear	Ground: blue. Pattern: yellow	L 19.4 W 4.2	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 24, fig. 17-4, pl. 10/4
99DRNM3: 25 (Fig. 6.2.9-28/2)	in shape of a small rectangular bag,	Ground: blue. Pattern: red, green and yellow	L 2 W 2	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 72, fig. 45/1, 2, pl. 27/1.
99DRNM3: 47 (Fig. 6.2.9-28/3)	Unclear	Ground: blue. Pattern: yellow	L 68 W 4.4	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 79, fig. 50-3, pl. 27/5.
99DRNM3: 58 (Fig. 6.2.9-28/4)	Unclear	Ground: blue. Pattern: yellow, green and red	Unclear	Unclear	Dulan 2005, pl. 27/3.
99DRNM3: 72	Unclear	Ground: yellow. Pattern: blue, green and red	1. L 34 W 11; 2. L 24 W 24.	Unclear	Dulan 2005, pl. 26/1.

Unclear (Fig. 6.2.9-5)	Ikat	Ground: yellow. Pattern: dyed blue and brown	L 91 W 8.5	Warp: S-twisted. Weave: 1/1 tabby	Zhao F. 2002, 106, pl. 42-1.
DRM9: S24	Unclear	Ground: red. Pattern: blue, green, and yellow	Roundel size: over 30 diam.	Weave: 1:1 weft-faced compound twill	Xu X. G. 1996a, 7, fig. 7.
99DRNM1: 48	Silk with geometric design	Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 5.3 W 5.6	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 22, fig. 16/2, pl. 10/3.
99DRNM1: 49		Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 8.2 W 3.2	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 24, fig. 17/1, pl. 11/2.
99DRNM1: 50 (Fig. 6.2.10-6)	With Tibetan inscription written with ink.	Ground: red. Pattern: blue and yellow	L 6.4 W 3.4	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 24, pl. 10/5.
99DRNM4: 2	Unclear	Ground: yellow. Pattern: black, green, red	L 31 W 2.4	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 123, fig. 79/1, pl. 37/2.
99DRNM4: 5	Unclear	Ground: yellow. Pattern: red	L 15.5 W 2.2	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 123, fig. 79/4, pl. 37/3.
DRM1PM2: S161 (Fig. 6.2.9-10/1)	Textile with woven Pahlavi inscription	Ground: red. Pattern: dark blue, brownish green and yellow	L 28.5 W 8	Weave: 1:4 weft-faced compound twill.	Xu X. G. 1996a, 10, fig.12; Watt et al. 2004, 345, no. 244.
99DRNM3: 42 (Fig. 6.2.10-9)	Juan thin silk with ink inscription of Chinese words	Color: yellow	L 8.2 W 3.2	Unclear	Dulan 2005, 77, fig. 49/3, pl. 27/2.
99DRNM1: 46 (Fig. 6.2.5-1/4)	Juan thin silk strips with a string of pearls	Color: yellow	L 5 W 0.5	Unclear	Dulan 2005, pl. 26/3.

Table 6.2.9-2 Dating of silkware in comparison with Turfan silks

Number	Dulan silk	Comparable Turfan silk	Pattern	Dating (AD)	Reference of Turfan silks
1	<i>Jin</i> silk with Helios and hunters: DRM1PM2: S157 (Fig. 6.2.9-16/1, 2)	TAM101, Turfan (Fig. 6.2.9-17/1, 2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with Helios and hunters	5 th -6 th century	Watt et al. 2004, 272
2	<i>Jin</i> silk with non-Chinese leading an elephant or a camel: DRM1PM2 (Fig. 6.2.9-25/1)	64TAM18: 5 (Fig. 6.2.9-25/2)	<i>Huwang</i> (King of non-Chinese) leading a camel	589	Astana-Halahezhuo 1972, pl. 1-2; Xinjiang 1975, 53, pl. 82; Watt et al. 2004, 335, no. 234
3	<i>Jin</i> silk with interlocking roundels and figures: DRM1PM2: S63 (Fig. 6.2.9-25/3)	69TAM48	Interlocking roundels with the Chinese character <i>gui</i> 貴 (noble)	596	Astana-Halahezhuo 1972, 28, fig. 59; Xinjiang 1973, pl. 27
4	<i>Jin</i> silk with drinkers in pearl roundel: DRM1 (Fig. 6.2.9-26/1)	TAM507, Turfan (Fig. 6.2.9-26/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with drinkers in pearl roundel	6 th -early 7 th century	Watt et al. 2004, 272
5	<i>Jin</i> Silk with confronted horses enclosed in pearl roundel: DRM1PM2:S17, S159, S109-4 (Fig. 6.2.9-18/1, 3, 4, 5)	TAM, Turfan (Fig. 6.2.9-18/2)	Confronted horses enclosed in pearl roundel	625, 653	Xia N. 1963
6	<i>Jin</i> silk with pearl roundel enclosing rosette: DRM1PM2: S127 (Fig. 6.2.9-30/1)	TAM, Turfan (Fig. 6.2.9-30/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with pearl roundel enclosing rosette	653	Wu M. 1984; Watt et al. 2004, 340
7	<i>Hanshou</i> bird enclosed in pearl roundel: DRM1PM2: S160-1, S163 (Fig. 6.2.9-6, 7, 8, 9)	59TAM332	<i>Hanshou</i> bird enclosed in pearl roundel	665	Xinjiang 1987, no. 55

8	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted phoenixes enclosed in pearl roundel: DRM1PM2: S128 (Fig. 6.2.9-21/1, 2)	TAM, Turfan: Tomb of Zhang Xiong (d. 633) and his wife (d. 688) (Fig. 6.2.9-21/3)	The figure's jacket, patterned with confronted phoenixes enclosed in pearl roundel	633 or 688	Watt et al. 2004, 288
9	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted goats in pearl roundel: 10 pieces in Dulan cemetery (Fig. 6.2.9-19/1)	TAM, Turfan (Fig. 6.2.9-19/2)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted goats in pearl roundel	688	Wu M. 1984
10	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted beasts enclosed in pearl roundel: DRM1 (Fig. 6.2.9-23/1)	TAM, Turfan (Fig. 6.2.9-23/4)	<i>Jin</i> silk with confronted deer enclosed in pearl roundel	Not later than the Wu Zetian period (690-705)	Wu M. 1984
11	<i>Jin</i> silk with <i>baoxianghua</i> medallion: DRM1PM2: S21-1 (Fig. 6.2.9-29/4)	TAM64, Turfan	<i>Jin</i> silk with large <i>baoxianghua</i> medallion	706	Astana-Halahezhuo 1973, pl. 1-1
12	<i>Ling</i> damask with confronted dragons enclosed in pearl roundel: DRM1PM2: S31, S27 (Fig. 6.2.9-22/1, 2)	1. TAM, Turfan; 2. TAM221, Turfan. (Fig. 6.2.9-22/3)	<i>Ling</i> damask with confronted dragons enclosed in pearl roundel	1. 710; 2. Early 8 th century.	1. Wu M. 1984; 2. Watt et al. 2004, 341

Table 6.4-1 Tang-Tubo settlements and rock carvings¹

No.	Site name	Location	Size (in m ²)	Thickness (in m)	Finds ²
1	Dongmenxiang site	Southwest of the village Dongmenxiang, Ledu.	5000	0.6	Shards of clay gray double handled pots and <i>kaiyuan tongbao</i> coins
2	Minzucun site	Minzucun village, Gonghe Township, Ledu.	2800	1	Shards of clay gray pots and animal bones
3	Yari site	At Yari village, Baizhuang Township, Xunhua.	3500	Unclear	Shards of clay gray double handled pot
4	Wajiangzhuang site	South of Wajiangzhuang village, Qingshui Township, Xunhua.	3500	0.4	House sites and scattered clay gray ceramics
5	Tongjia site	North of Tongjia village, Heyin Township, Guide.	1200	Unclear	Shards of clay gray ceramics
6	Heyin site	North of the Martyr cemetery in the Heyin Township, Guide.	20000	Unclear	Shards of clay gray ceramics
7	Bianducun site	North of Biandu village, Hedong Township, Guide.	8000	Unclear	Shards of clay gray ceramics
8	Zidehai site	Northwest of Chada village, Hedong Township, Guide.	1000	0.1	Shards of clay gray pot, ewer and basin.
9	Xitai site	West of Hongyazui village, Hexi County, Guide.	4200	Unclear	Shards of clay gray pottery
10	Rock carving in the Shebuqi valley	In the Shebuqi valley, Jiermeng Township, Gangca.	Unclear	Unclear	30 images of oxen, sheep, wolves, carriage pulled by horse, hunting scenes were carved.

¹ The materials without reference are from NBC (1996).

² Finds were scattered on the surface of investigated sites, if no special note is made.

11	Rock carving in the Halong valley	In the Halong valley, Quanji Township, Gangca.	Unclear	Unclear	Carvings divided into two sections: section I depicts four images depicting oxen, tigers and deer; section II depicts a man pulling a camel.
12	Huligou rock carving	15 km east of Ranqu village, Heimahe Township, Gonghe.	Unclear	Unclear	More than 50 images of various animals like oxen, deer, horses, dogs, leopards and wolves.
13	Kamutun rock carving	15 km northwest of Dongke village, Qieji Township, Gonghe.	Unclear	Unclear	12 images of various animals like yaks, oxen, sheep, and deer.
14	Qieji rock carving	1 km west of Dongke village, Qieji Township, Gonghe.	Unclear	Unclear	More than ten animal images like antelopes, wolves and oxen. were carved on rocks on top of the mountain.
15	Changmu site	In the government yard of the Changmu Township, Guide.	5000	0.1-0.3	Shards of gray clay ceramics
16	Dongrang site	South of Dongrang village, Shagou Township, Guinan.	2000	0.2	Shards of gray clay pot and tiles
17	Eboliang site	Southeast of Zhanjiang village, Mangla township, Guinan.	6000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay pot
18	Wubaowan site	Southeast of Wubaowan village, Layihai Township, Guinan.	2000	Unclear	Shards of gray clay pot
19	Rock carving of the Yenui valley	In the Yenui valley, Guolemude Township, Golmud.	Unclear	Unclear	46 carved pictures including 250 animal figures like horses, oxen, eagles, wolves, camels, sheep and hunting scenes.
20	Hedong site	In the Hedong village, Xiligou Township, Ulan.	600	0.10	Gray ceramic shards
21	Balitan rock carving	At the entrance to the Bali valley, 10 km northeast of the Chaka township, Ulan.	2.1H 2.9W	Unclear	12 carved pictures including hunting scenes, moon, sun, dog and leopard.
22	Xuji rock carving	In Chahantai village, Xuji Township, Ulan.	Unclear	Unclear	Carved figures of camels, human, deer and ox etc.

23	Huaitoutala rock carving	In the Haqibuqie valley, 40 km northwest of the Huaitoutala Township, Ulan.	Unclear	Unclear	Carvings include 100 figures of animals including oxen, sheep, eagles, snakes, wolves and hunting scenes; inscription of Tibetan, symbols.
24	Lushan rock carving	8 km south of the Jianghe Township, Tianjun.	Unclear	Unclear	270 figures were carved on more than 40 rocks, including oxen, sheep, leopards, horses, eagles, human and scenes of hunting, war and procreation.
25	Rock carving in the Lumang valley	In the Lumang valley, Tianpeng Township, Tianjun.	22.1	Unclear	Three sites include 79 pictures, depicting animals like horses, oxen, goats, camels, pigs, wolves and so on.
26	Xiangride site	South of the Xiangride Township, Dulan.	1500	0.2-0.5	Ceramics and animals bones, including fragments of clay gray pots of the Wei-Jin and Tang periods.
27	Nanxitai site	Northwest of Dongfeng village, Chahan Usu Township, Dulan.	6000	0.4	Fragments of clay gray pots of the Wei-Jin and Tang periods
28	Rock varving in the Lusi valley	In the Lusi valley, Xitai village, Chahan Usu Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Unclear	See chapter 6.6.
29	Rock carving in the Bahamoli valley	Northeast of the Xiangjia Township, Dulan.	7L 4W	Unclear	Carved figures of deer, sheep, snakes, horses, donkeys, cocks, sun and inscriptions of Chinese and Tibetan and symbols.
30	Zhaheitang rock carving	250 m south of Douhoutang village, Zhongtie Township, Xinghai.	0.73L 0.36W	Unclear	Carved figures of oxen, sheep and humans..

Table 6.4-2 Tang-Tubo cemeteries¹

No.	Cemetery name	Location	Size (in m ²)	Excavation and finds
1	Qingquan	North of Qingquan village Zhongchuan Township, Minhe.	Unclear	In 1980 two small pit tombs were disclosed. The chamber is close in size to that of the wooden coffin, 0.5 m in height and 0.7 m in width. The deceased was in extended supine position. Finds include a bronze mirror, <i>kaiyuan tongbao</i> coin and belt.
2	Xinyuan	Southwest of Xinyuan village, Shuangshu Township, Huzhu.	3000	Human bones were exposed, and pottery were scattered.
3	Senganglaga	North of the Banzhuwa village, Xiongxian township, Hualong.	Unclear	In 1988 and 1990 eight tombs were excavated. All tombs are tombs with shaft; some of tombs have chambers built with stone slabs. The deceased lay in extended supine position. Finds include fine clay pots, silver hairpin, iron plate and lacquer fragments.
4	Xitaidi	West of Xiaduoba second village, Yashiga Township, Hualong.	10000	A wooden coffin containing human bones; pottery shards.
5	Yari	In Yari village, Baizhuang Township, Xunhua.	7000	Human bones exposed; pot shards and one earring were found.
6	Shangkamiaogou	South of Shangkamiao village, Xinjie County, Guide.	6000	Human bones exposed; pot shards were scattered on the surface.
7	Gangri	East of Xialuowa village, Mangla Township, Guinan.	Unclear	Tombs were exposed on the cliff. Shards of gray clay pottery were scattered on the surface.

¹ The materials without reference are from NBC (1996). Important cemeteries that are introduced in the chapter 6.1.2 are not included in this table.

8	Gawu	South of Gawu village, Chahan Usu Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Remains of one mound, 8 m in height, with a robbers' pit at the top.
9	Tuohai	South of Tuohai village, Xiangride Township, Dulan.	Unclear	In 1982 robbed by farmers. Wooden coffins and human bones were exposed.
10	Hebei	In the primary school of Hebei village, Xarag Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Mounds were all destroyed. Number of tombs unclear. Bronze objects, arrowheads and pieces of pots were collected.
11	Henan (the Dashijiaogou cemetery?)	In the Dadajiaolongwa valley, Xarag Township, Dulan.	Unclear	In 1985 one of the two tombs was excavated. Tomb with shaft; finds: bronze ornaments and leather clothes ornaments.
13	Xarag	In Yingdeer, Xarag Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Remains of one mound, 3 m high and 8 m in diameter.
15	Jiayang	At the foot of the Jiayang Shan Mountain, Gouli Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Remains of 4 mounds, distributed in a line of 200 m long. The mounds are about 3 m high.
18	Sanggelilaoge	West of the Zongjia Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Remains of one mound, 4.5 m high and 5 m in diameter.
17	Keri	South of Keri village, Balong Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Remains of 12 mounds, distributed on the terraces west of the Keri valley.
18	Kangdianer	Northwest of Yingdeer, Xarag Township, Dulan.	Unclear	Remains of 4 mounds, 10-20 m high.

Table 6.4-3 Tang-Tubo fortresses and city-sites¹

No.	Site name	Location	Excavation and finds
1	Xiangtang	Southwest of Xiangtang village, Chuankou Township, Minhe.	The city wall is 300 m long, 3-8 m high, 7 m wide at the base and 3 m wide at the top. The cultural deposit is about 0.7 m thick, containing tiles fragments, tile ends with locus pattern and winged human pattern, and gray clay ceramics. The city is likely the ancient Haomen County.
2	Chahansu	In Chahansu village, Heping Township, Huangyuan.	The city is square in plan, 60 m long and 50 m wide. In the west wall there is an entrance. Finds: <i>kaiyuan tongbao</i> coins and gray clay ceramic.
3	Ruoyao	East of Ruoyao village, Riyue Township, Huangyuan.	The city is nearly rectangular in plan, 80 m long and 40-60 m wide. The walls were built with stones, remaining 2 m in height and 4 m in width at the base. The place of entrance is not clear. A stone wall foundation remains at the southeast corner of the city. There is a watchtower outside the southwestern corner of the city. Gray tiles were scattered on the surface within the city.
3	Guyingpan	South of Halakutu village, Riyue Township, Huangyuan.	The city is rectangular in plan, 150 m long and 100 m wide. Remains of a ramped wall are 0.5 m high. Traces of a moat are recognizable outside the city. In the north of the city is a watchtower. Nine groups of house foundations were found within the city.
4	Kesuer	North of Kesuer village, Riyue Township, Huangyuan.	The city was built on the high mountain, in irregular plan. Four walls measure 137 m, 110 m, 147 m and 203 m in length respectively, and form the northern wall (measurements in clockwise direction). Remains of ramped walls 1-3 m high and 2 m wide at the base, with <i>mamian</i> structures on the exterior surfaces. At the northwestern and southeastern corners is one entrance respectively, 10 m wide. A watchtower was built within the city. <i>Kaiyuan tongbao</i> coins and gray clay ceramics were collected.

¹ The materials without reference are from NBC (1996) and Li Z. X. (1995). Important fortresses cities that are introduced in the text are not included in this table.

5	Ruoyao	East of Ruoyao village, Riyue Township, Huangyuan.	The plan is approx. rectangular, 80 m long and 40-60 m wide. The wall was built with stone; remains are 2 m high and 4 m thick at the base. The entrance is not clear. Clay gray ceramics and tile fragments are scattered on the surface. At the southeastern corner of the city is a wall foundation built of pebbles. At the southwest of the city is a watch tower.
6	Shenzhong	North of Shenzhong village, Shengzhong Township, Huangyuan.	Located in the northern mountains of the Huang Shui. The plan is approx. trapezoid, 115 m long and 30-200 m wide. The wall was built with tamped earth, 3 m high and 5 m wide at the base. Entrances are not clear. In the city a <i>kaiyuan tongbao</i> coin and clay gray pottery have been collected.
7	Pochengzi	Near the Yellow River, in the Gandu Farm, west of the Gandu Township, Hualong.	The plan is rectangular, 600 m long from south to north, and 500 m wide from east to west. Remains of ramped walls are 2-5 m high and 13.5 m thick at the base. Fragments of gray clay pots and urns can be seen on the surface. The city was the new Michuan County of Tang.
8	Ancient Kuozhou	In the Qunke Township, Hualong.	The city is rectangular, 344 m long and 228 m wide. The walls are built with ramped earth; the remains are 5 m high and 10 m thick at the base. Inside the ramped earth layers is pine wood layer 0.1 m thick. The city has <i>mamian</i> structures. Within the city fragments of bricks, tiles and ceramic pots, ewers, basins, urns etc. could be seen. The city could be the ancient Kuozhou city of the Tang Dynasty.
9	Ehetan	In Ehetan village, Gandu Township, Hualong.	The city is irregular, 130 m long from east to west. Southern and northern walls were destroyed, only remaining a section with 30-70 m long. The ramped walls are 7 m high, 6 m wide at the base and 2 m wide at the top. At the northern wall is a gate, fortified on the exterior with a <i>wengcheng</i> , like a barbican outside. The buildings were located at the northern higher part.
10	Gongboxia (northern)	At the east entrance to the Gongbo Gorge, Xitanxin village, Gandu Township, Hualong.	The city is like a bridge tower of the Yellow River. It is rectangular in plan, 320 m long and 60 m wide. The walls were built with a ramped earth and sand, remaining 4 m high, 5.5 m wide at the base and 0.9 m wide at the top. Fragments of gray clay pottery could be found. In the north of the city is a protective wall against floods.

11	Kewa	At Kewa village, Baizhuang Township, Xunhua.	It is likely the Michuan county of the Tang Dynasty, established in 631 AD. The city trapezoid, 1000 m long on one side, remaining 10 m high and 6 m thick at the base. It has eastern and western entrances. Fragments of bricks, tiles and ceramic pots and basins can be seen within the city. In 1976 a stone door with inscription of <i>da tang</i> 大唐 (the great Tang) was unearthed.
12	Gongbo xia (southern)	South of the Gongbo Gorge, Chahandusi Township, Xunhua.	The city has inner and outer cities. The inner city is square in plan, 180 m long and 58 m wide, and has a eastern entrance. Remains of the walls are 5 m high, 7 m wide at the base. The plan of outer city is trapezoid. Remains of the western, southern and eastern walls are 7 m thick and together 400 m long. It has an eastern entrance.
13	Hongshan	On the Hong Shan Mountain, east of Huanggang village, Hantai Township, Menyuan.	The city is rectangular in plan, 80 m long and 40 m wide. It has one northern gate and four <i>mamians</i> at the four corners.
14	Laohugoukou	At the entrance of the Laohu valley, Beishan Township, Menyuan.	The city is square in plan, 70 m long, 40 m wide. The walls were built with stones; the remains are 2 m high and 4 m wide at the base. It has an eastern gate 3 m wide. At the southeastern corner is a watchtower in square plan, measuring 10 m long at the base and 4 m long at the top, and 7 m high. Ceramics of Tang can be seen within the city.
15	Ancient Huangshashu	At the east of Yanmao village, Maketang Township, Jianzha.	The remaining southern wall measures 50 m long, 2.8 m high and 6 m thick at the base. The wall was ramped. No artifacts were found within the fort. It is thought to be the Huangsha Fortress of the Tang period.
16	Qieji	1 km southwest of Hongqi village, Heka Township, Xinghai.	The city is rectangular in plan, 427 m long from south to north and 232 m wide from west to east. The wall was built with tamped earth; the remains are 5 m high and 3 m thick at the base. It has two entrances in the eastern and western sides, each measuring 12 m in width. On the surface were gray brick and tile fragments.
17	Xiatang	3 km east of Xiatang village, Sangdang Township, Xinghai.	The city is rectangular in plan, 170 m long from south to north and 160 m wide from west to east. The wall was built with tamped earth; the remains are 3 m high and 4 m thick at the base. It has an entrance in the eastern side, which measures 15 m in width. At the southwestern corner of the city is a round platform built of tamped earth, 3.8 m in diameter and 2 m high. On the surface are scattered fragments of gray pottery jars and tiles.

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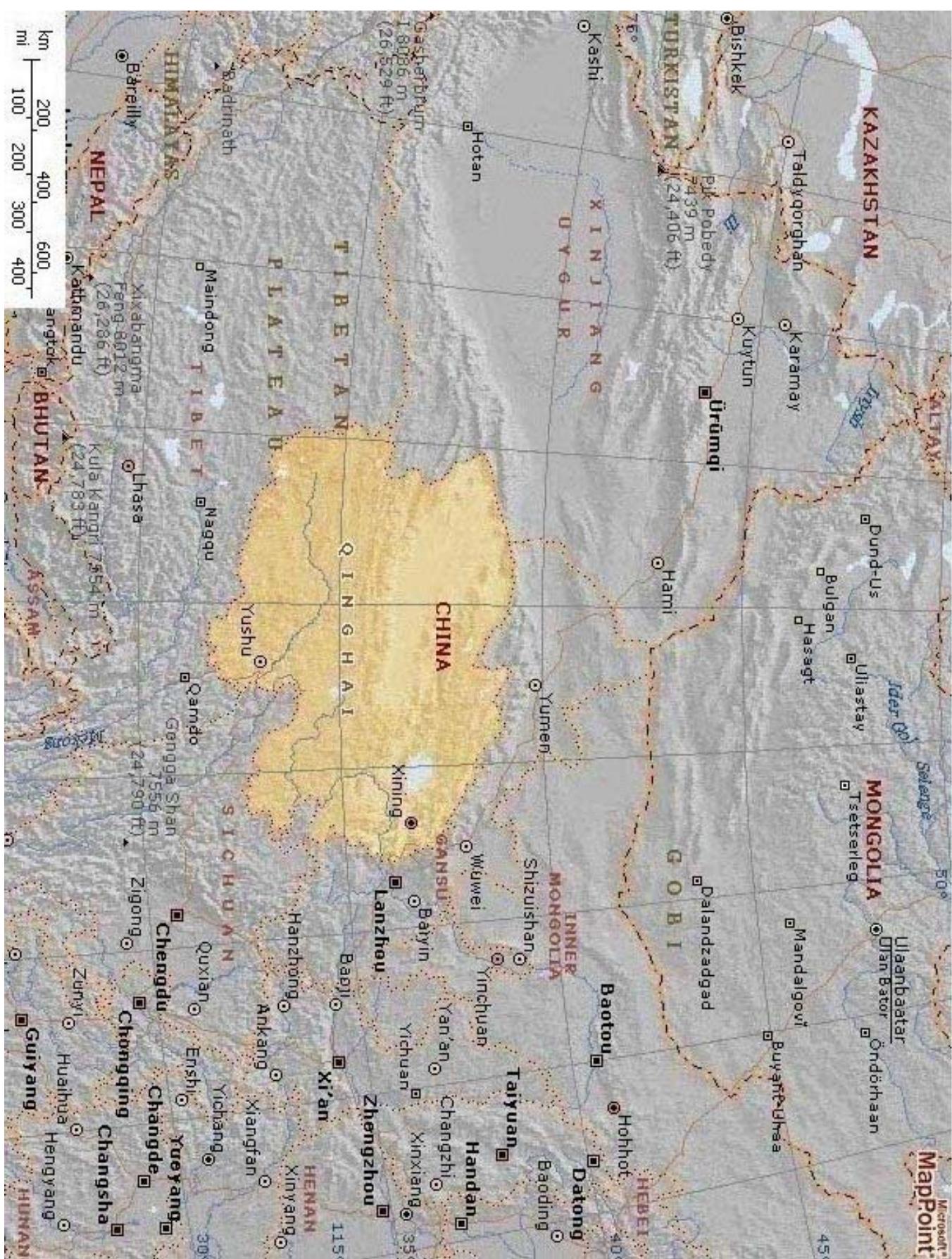
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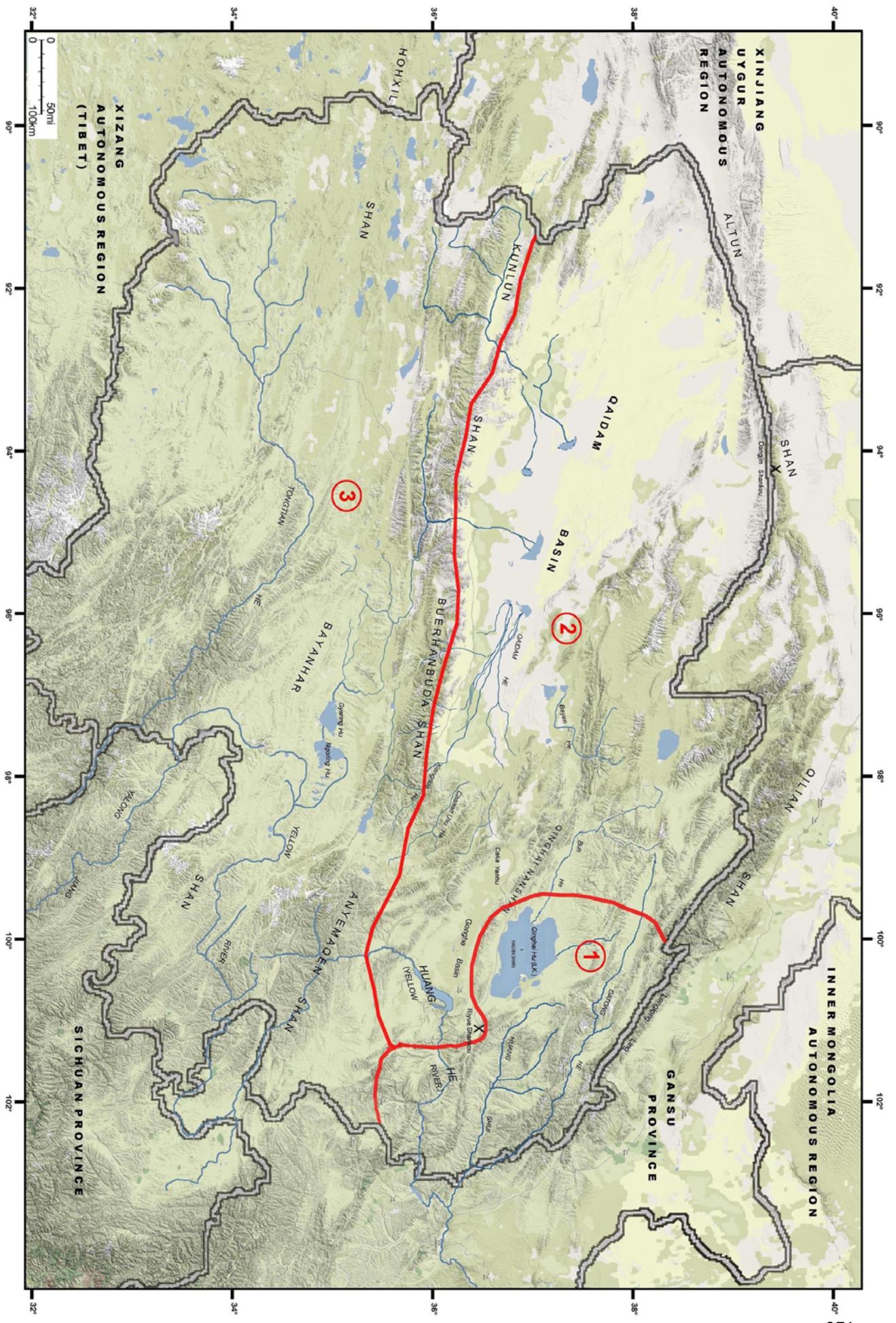
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Map 2.1-1 Location of Qinghai Province



Map 2.1-2 Natural environment of the northern Tibetan Plateau

Notes to the Map 2.1-3 : Transportation networks on the northern Tibetan Plateau

Route 1, The traditional major Silk Road (through the Gansu Corridor):

Xi'an—Lanzhou—Wuwei—Zhangye—Jiuquan—Dunhuang—Turfan or Ruqiang

Route 2, The Qinghai Silk Road (the Qilian Shan Road): Xining—Zhangye

Route 3, The Qinghai Silk Road (the Qaidam Road):

a. Xining—Ulan—Delingha—Dunhuang

b. Xining—Dulan—Golmud—Ruqiang

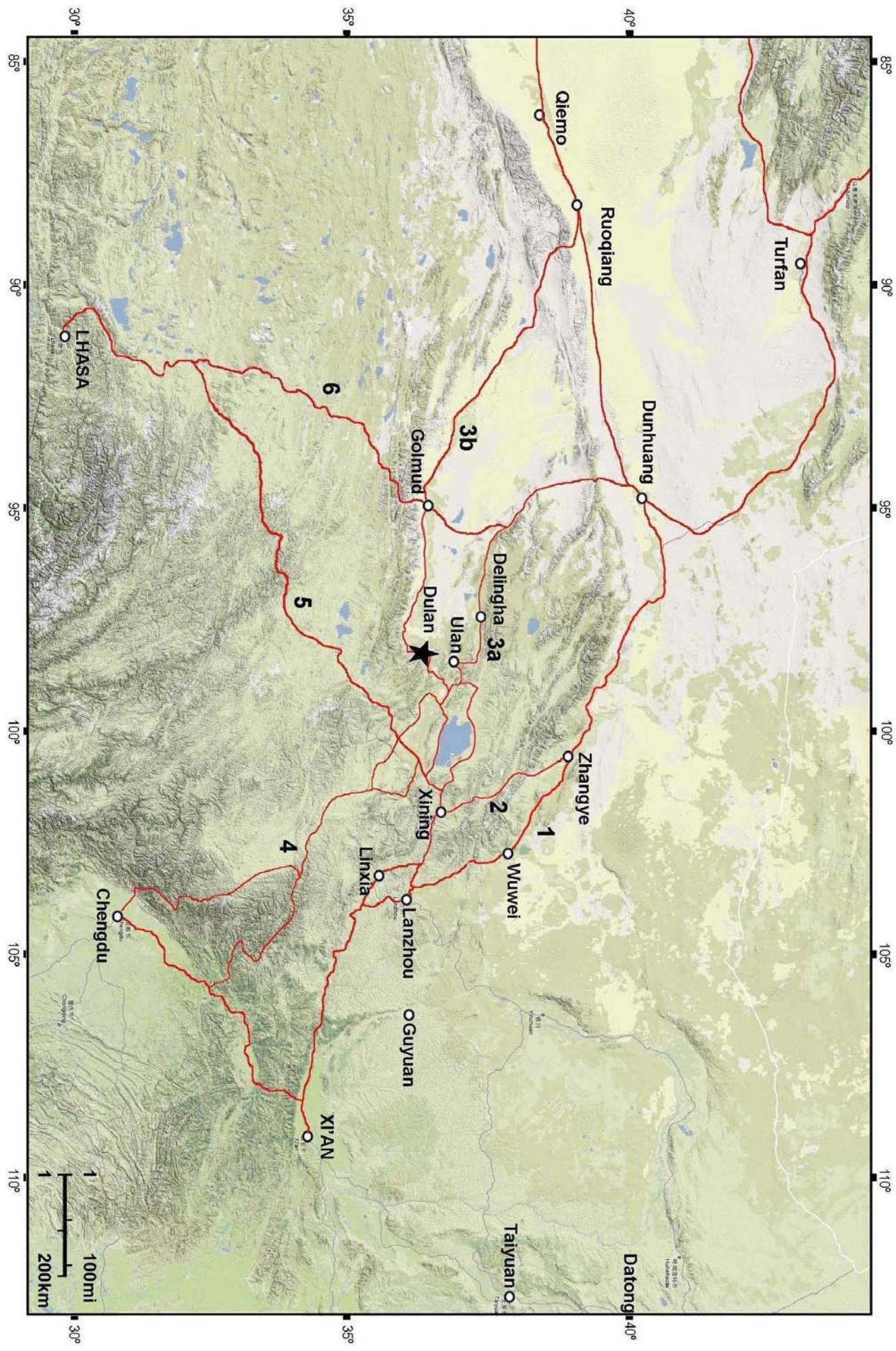
Route 4, The Qinghai Silk Road (the Henan Road): Chengdu—the Qinghai Hu

Route 5, The Tang-Bo Route: Xi'an—Xining—Lhasa

Route 6, The Luoxie-Shazhou Route: Dunhuang—Golmud—Lhasa

The course of Route 1 is well defined by scholars and coincides with the modern road; the courses of Route 2, 3 and 4 were determined basing on the study of Yan G. W. (1985, fig. 8), NBC (1996, 29, 30) and Chen L. W. (2002, fig. 1, fig. 2, fig. 8, fig. 10, fig. 11, fig. 12, fig. 13, fig. 16); the course of Route 5 is defined basing on the work of Satō Hisashi (1975, 19); the section from Golmud to Lhasa in the course of Route 6 presumably coincides roughly with the modern Qinghai-Tibet Railway, but it has not yet well identified by archaeological surveys. In addition, at least one map shows a small track leading from Dulan to join Route 5 in the south (Shao G. X. 1994, fig. 99). There are some other small tracks that connect Route 3a and Route 3b via the Qaidam Basin (Chen L. W. 2002, 190; 193, fig. 13) and connect Route 4 with the Huang Shui valley (Chen L. W. 2002, fig. 10). These supplementary small tracks are not presented in this map.

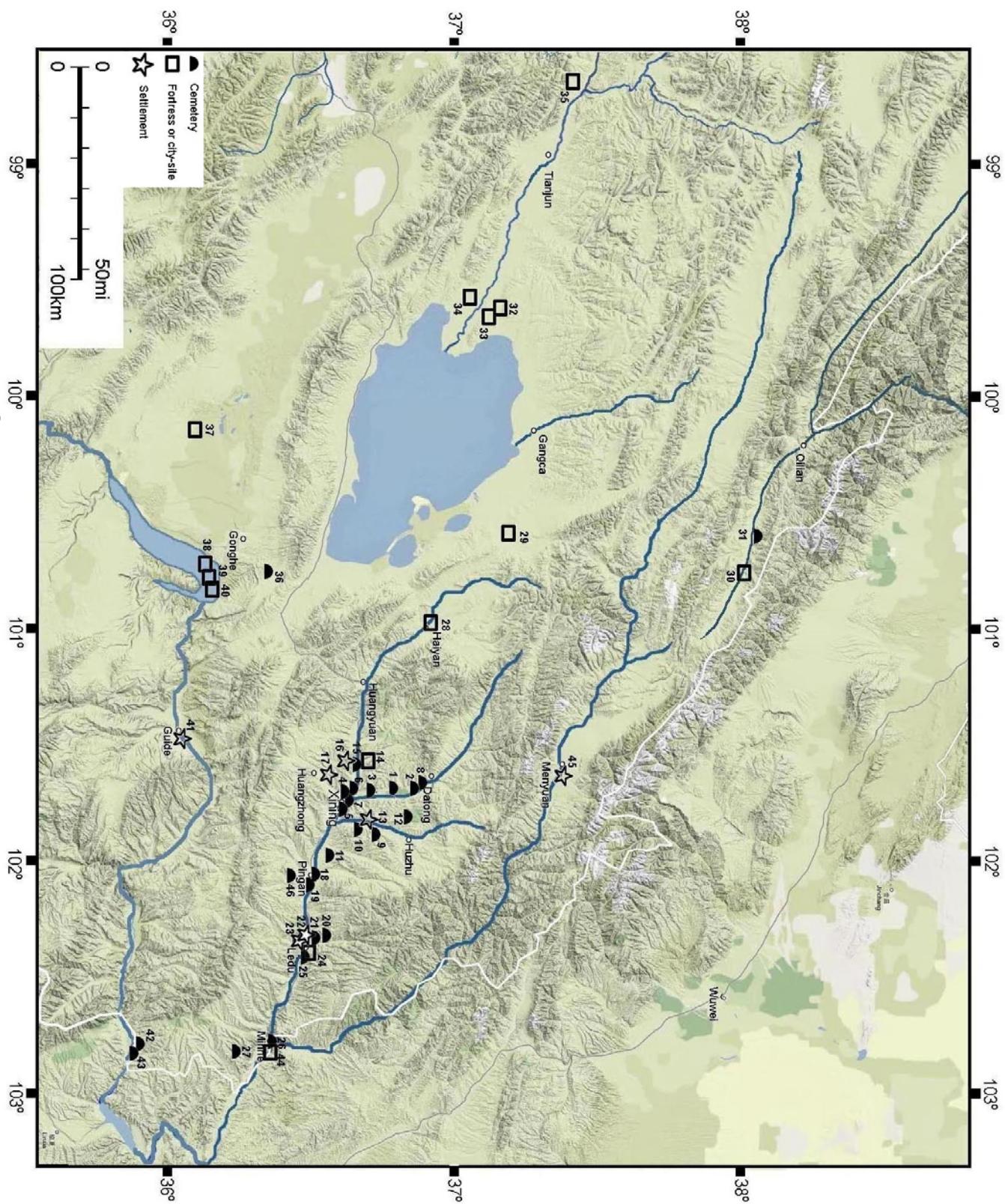
Map 2.1-3 Transportation networks on the northern Tibetan Plateau

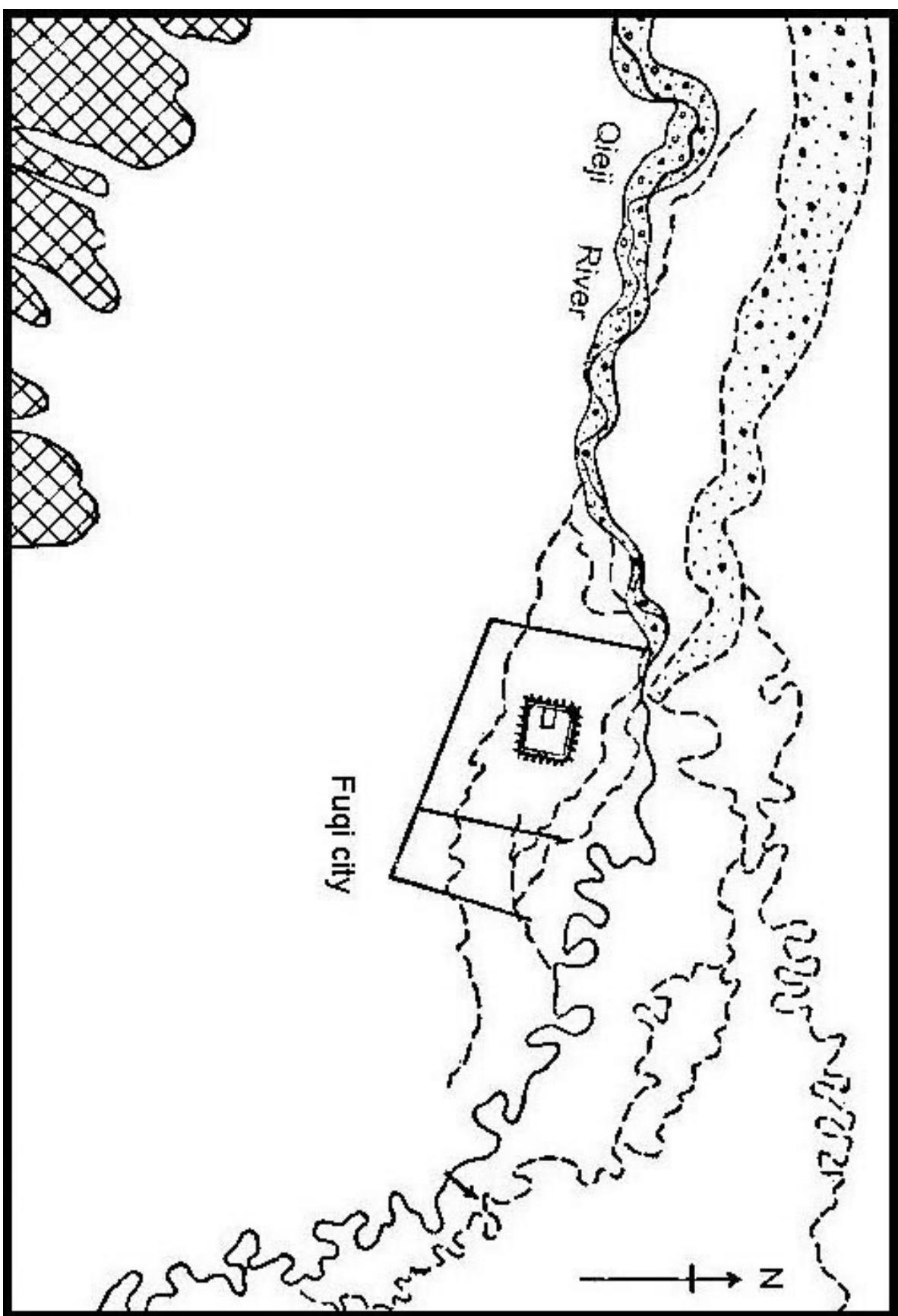


List of sites in the Map 4.2.1: Sites of the Han, Jin and early Tuyuhun periods

1. Shangsunjiazhai cemetery
2. Xiataojiazhai cemetery
3. Taojiazhai cemetery
4. Pengjiazhai cemetery
5. Nantan cemetery
6. Wuzhong cemetery
7. North Dynasty tomb at the brick factory of Xining
8. Huangxi cemetery
9. Zongzhai cemetery
10. Wangjiazhuang cemetery
11. Gaozhai cemetery
12. Xiamajuan cemetery
13. Shizi site
14. Pota city-site
15. Duoba cemetery
16. Zhalanpo site
17. Lijucun site
18. Shijiaying cemetery
19. Yaofang cemetery
20. Liumushan cemetery
21. Qunzishan cemetery
22. Mayishan site
23. Nantai site
24. Laoya city-site
25. Baiyazi cemetery
26. Dongyuan cemetery
27. Sanjiayuan cemetery
28. Sanjiao city-site
29. Gahai city-site
30. Hexi city-site
31. Baishiya cemetery
32. Beixiangyang city-site
33. Nanxiangyang city-site
34. Ancient Fuqi city
35. Jiamugeertan city-site
36. Shasuoma cemetery
37. Zhidongjiala city-site
38. Caoduolong city-site
39. Qugou city-site
40. Longyangxia city-site
41. Yushan site
42. Hulijia cemetery
43. Qijia cemetery
44. Xiachuankou city-site
45. Talongtan site
46. Gucheng cemetery

Map 4.2-1 Sites of the Han, Jin and early Tuyuhun periods



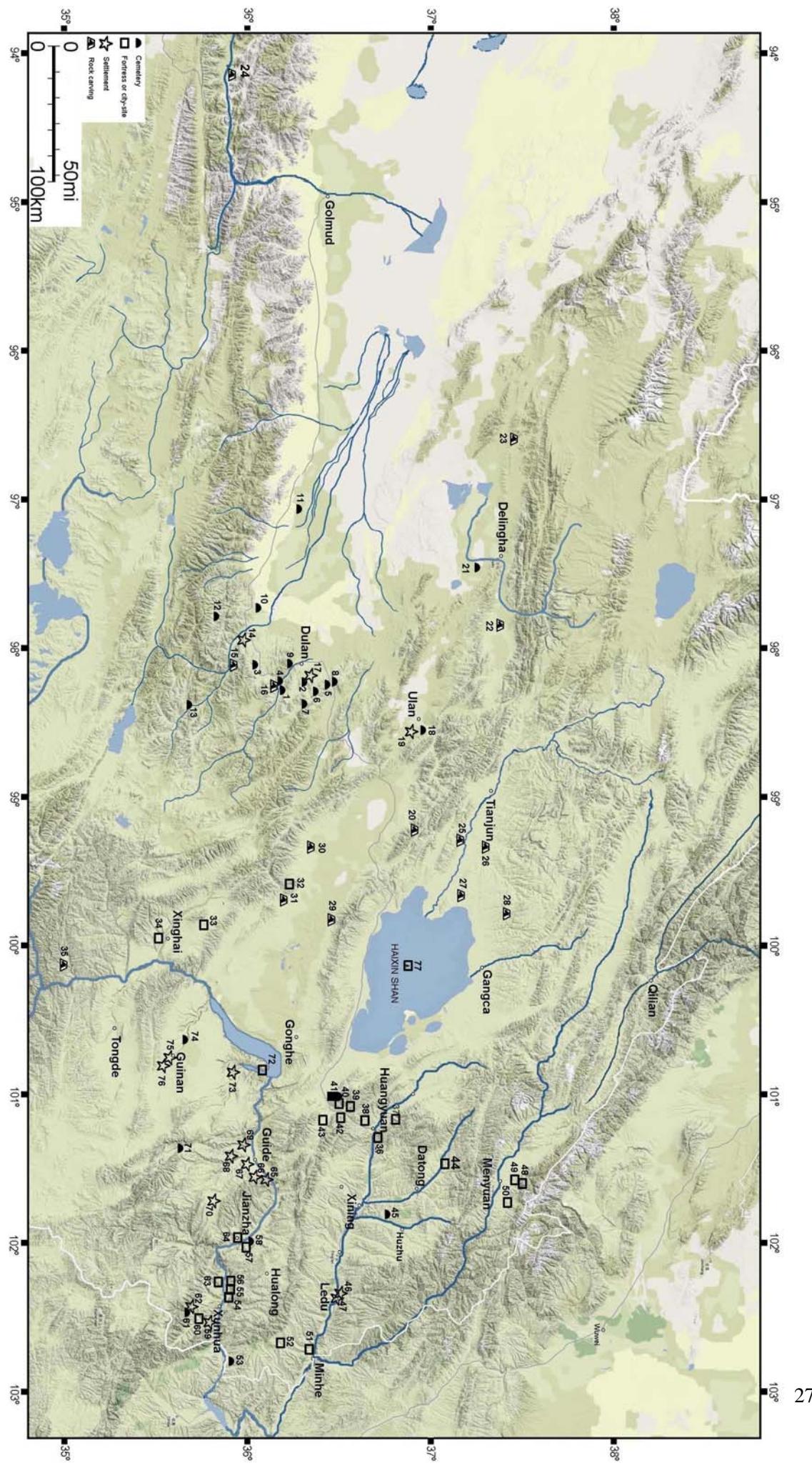


Map 5.1-1 The ancient Fuqi city
(after Huang/Fang 1962, 437, fig. 2)

List of sites in the Map 6.1-1: Sites of the Tubo-Tuyuhun period

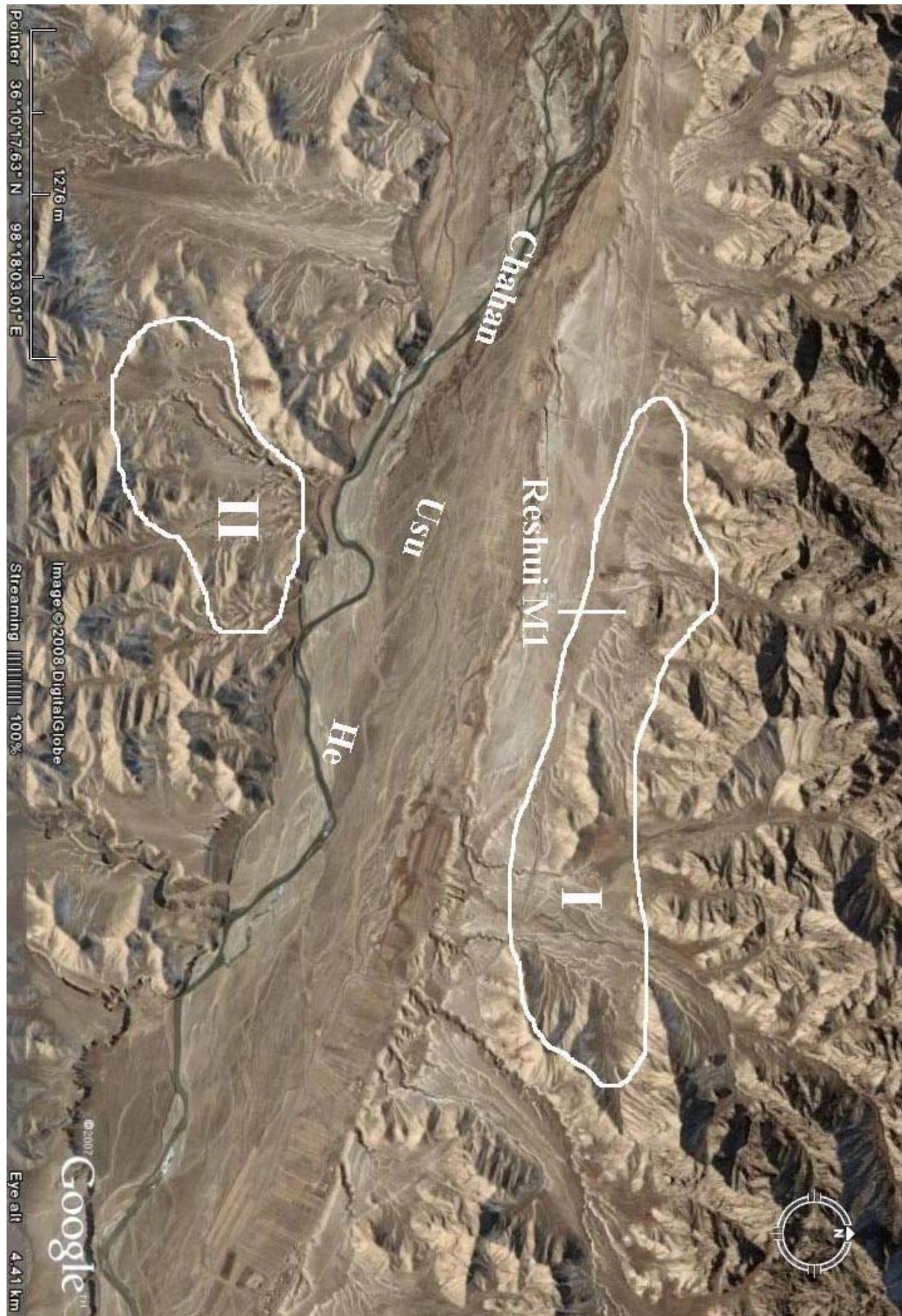
1. Reshui cemetery
2. Yingdeer cemetery
3. Kaoxiaotu cemetery
4. Zhigari cemetery
5. Dashiijaogou cemetery
6. Kangdianer cemetery
7. Xarag cemetery
8. Hebei cemetery
9. Gawu cemetery
10. Tuohai cemetery
11. Sanggelilaoje cemetery
12. Keri cemetery
13. Jiayang cemetery
14. Xianggride cemetery
15. Rock carving of the Bahamoli valley
16. Rock varvning of the Lusi valley
17. Nanxitai site
18. Dananwan cemetery
19. Hedong site
20. Balitan rock carving
21. Guolimu cemetery
22. Xujii rock carving
23. Huaitoutala rock carving
24. Rock carving of the Yeniu valley
25. Rock carving of the Lumang valley
26. Lushan rock carving
27. Rock carving in the Shebuqi valley
28. Rock carving in the Halong valley
29. Huligou rock carving
30. Kamutun rock carving
31. Qieji rock carving
32. Qieji city-site
33. Watan city-site
34. Xiatang city-site
35. Zhaheitang rock carving
36. Suirong city-site
37. Shenzhong city-site
38. Chahansu city-site
39. Kesuer city-site
40. Ruoyao city-site
41. Kaiyuan border steles
42. Shibao fortification
43. Guyingpan city-site
44. Yangjia city-site
45. Xinyuan cemetery
46. Minzucun site
47. Dongmenxiang site
48. Laohugou city-site
49. Jinbatai city-site
50. Hongshan city-site
51. Xiangtang city-site
52. Beigucheng city-site in Chraigou
53. Qingquan cemetery
54. Ehetan city-site
55. Pochengzi city-site
56. Gongboxia city-site (northern)
57. Kuozhou city-site
58. Xitaidi cemetery
59. Waijiangzhuang site
60. Kewa city-site
61. Yari cemetery
62. Yari site
63. Gongboxia city-site (southern)
64. Ancient Huangshashu fortress
65. Zidehai site
66. Bianducun site
67. Heyin site
68. Tongjia site
69. Xitai site
70. Changmu site
71. Shangkamiaogou cemetery
72. Xiaokou city-site
73. Dongrang site
74. Gangri cemetery
75. Eboliang site
76. Wubaowan site
77. Yinglong city-site

Map 6.1-1 Sites of the Tubo-Tuyuhun period

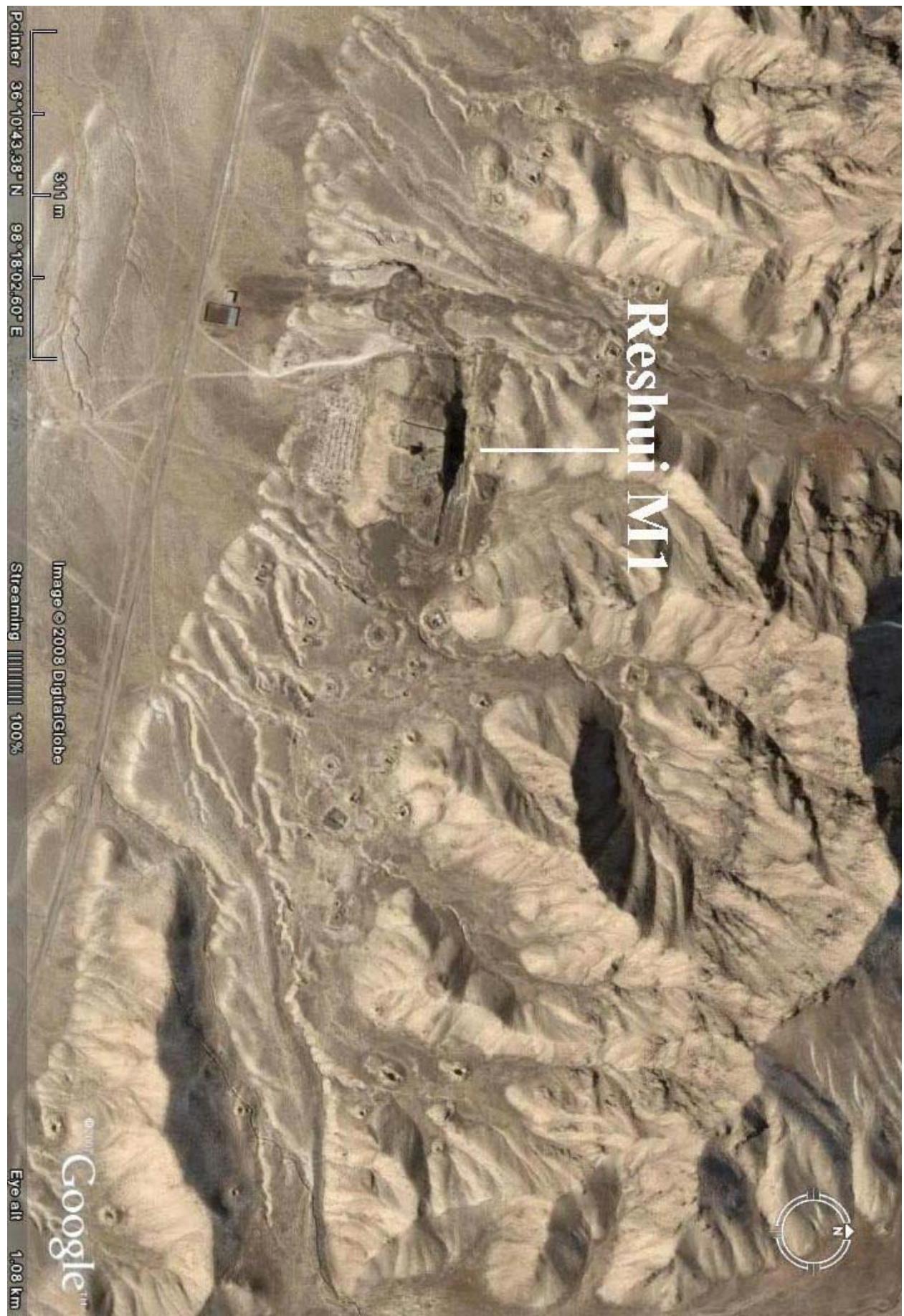




Map 6.1-2 Tubo-Tuyuhun sites and the Silk Road in Dulan region

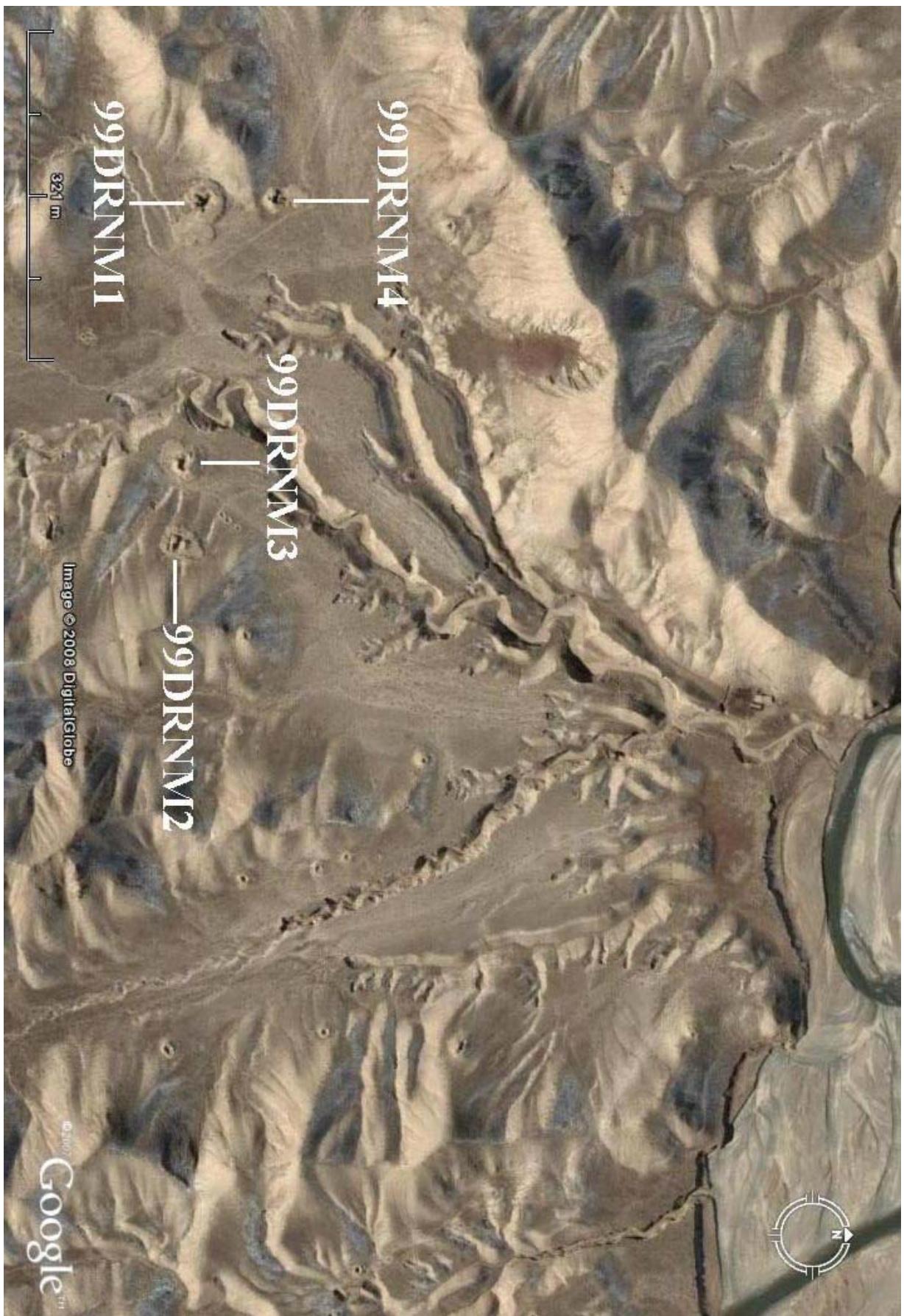


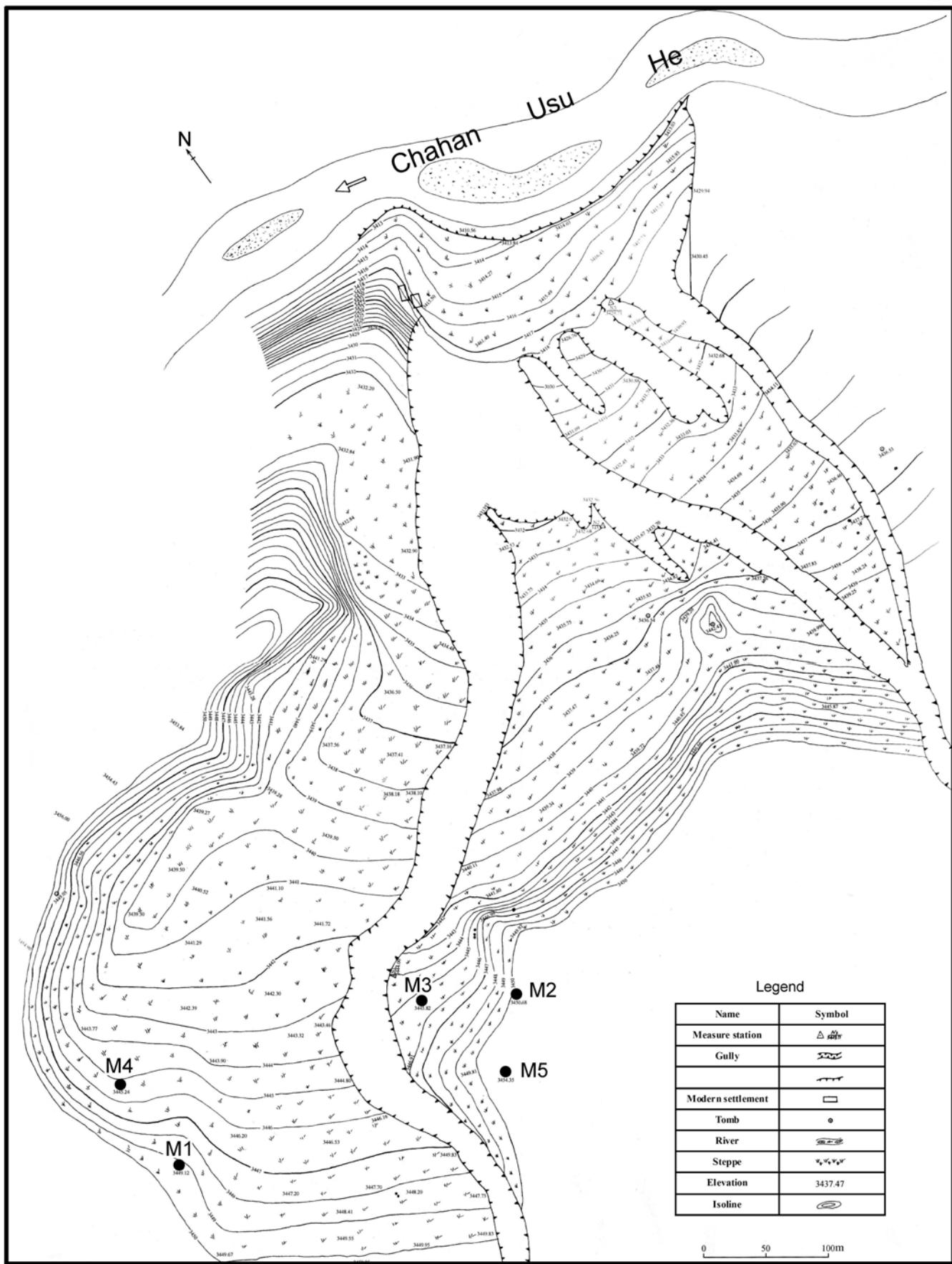
Map 6.1-3 The Reshui cemetery



Map 6.1-4 The Reshui cemetery (Section I)

Map 6.1-5 The Reshui cemetery (Section II)





Map 6.1-6 The Reshui cemetery (Section II) (after Dulan 2005, fig. 1)

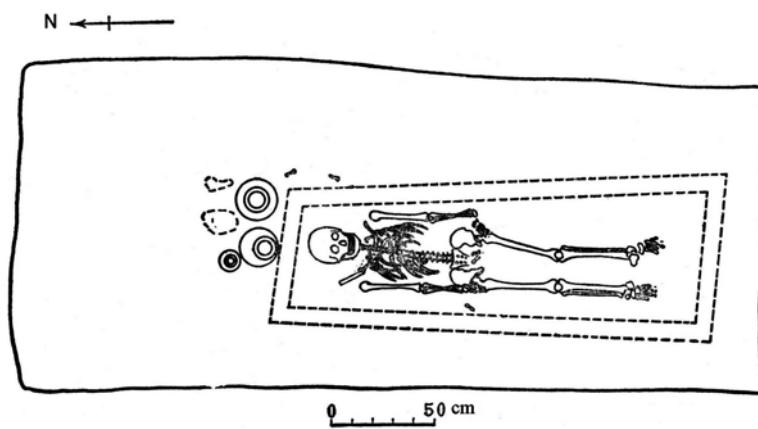


Fig. 4.2.1-1 Shangsunjiazhai M154

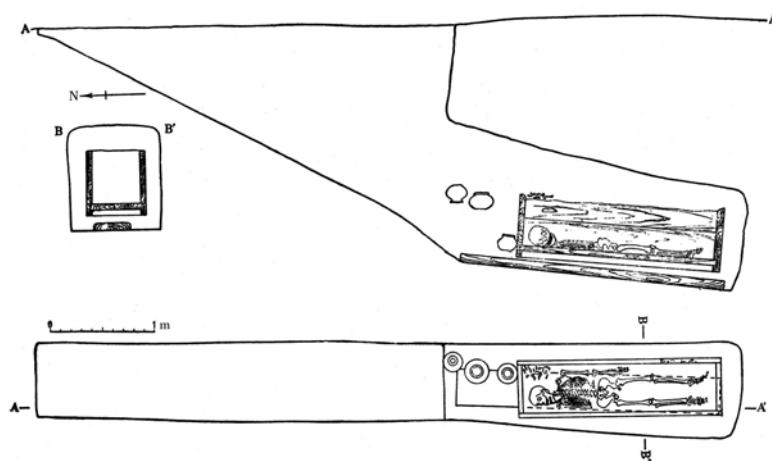


Fig. 4.2.1-2 Shangsunjiazhai M126

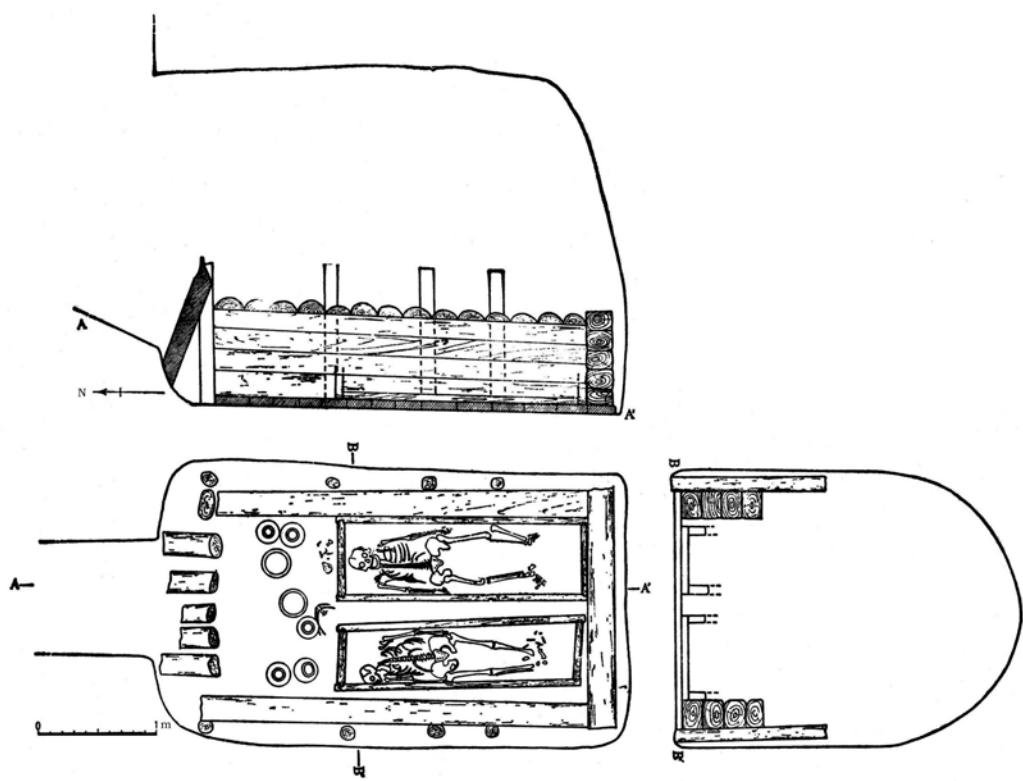


Fig. 4.2.1-3 Shangsunjiazhai M135

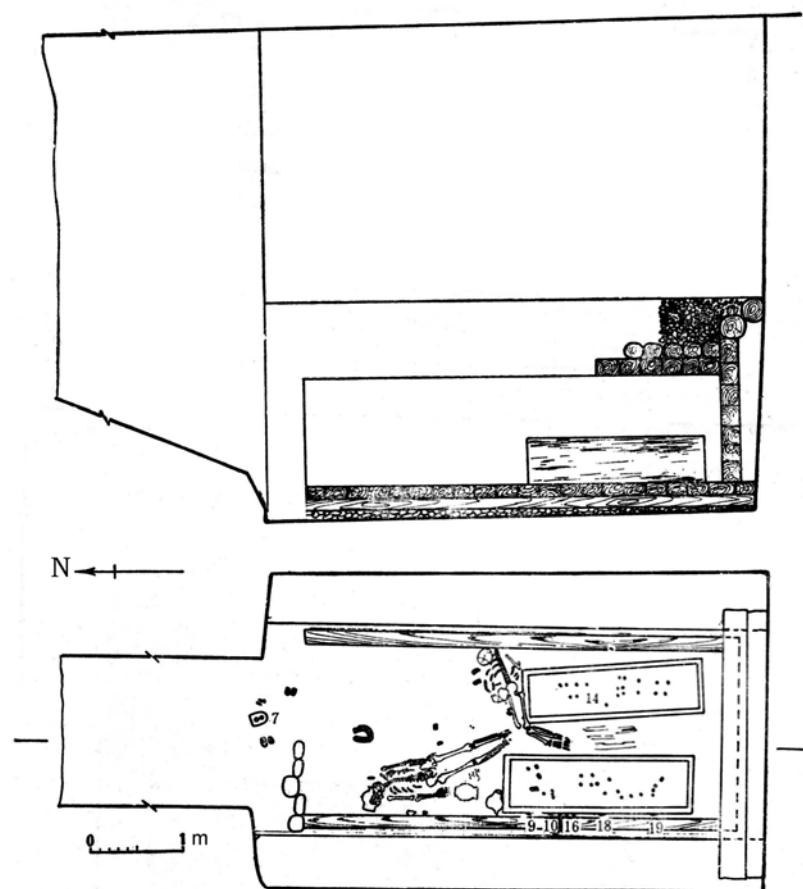


Fig. 4.2.1-4 Shangsunjiazhai M155

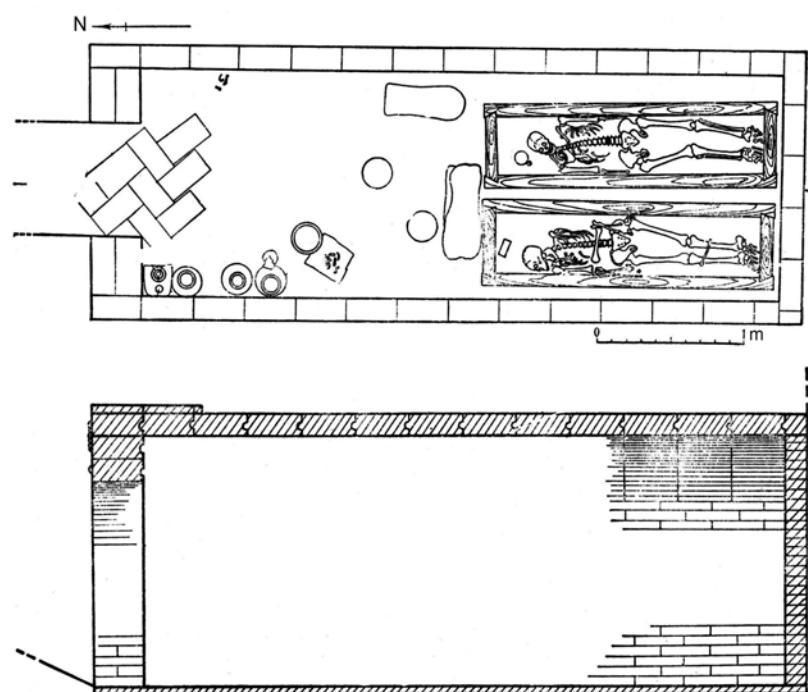


Fig. 4.2.1-5 Shangsunjiazhai M91

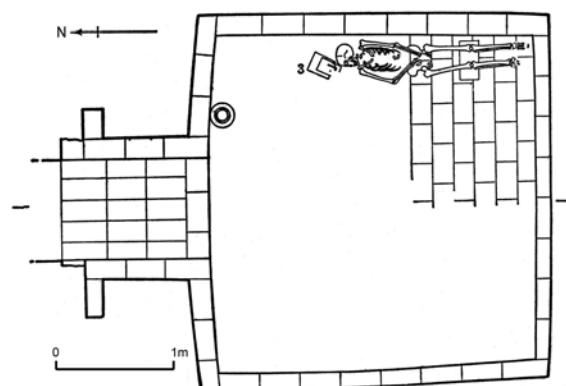
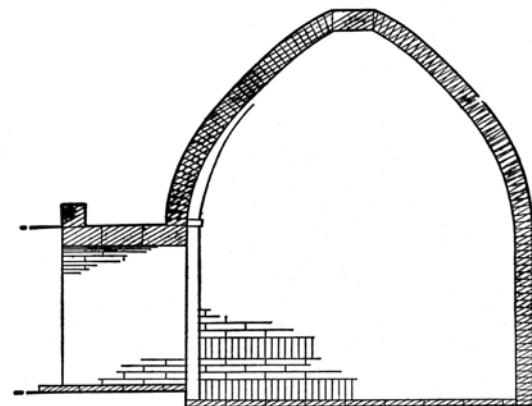


Fig. 4.2.1-6 Shangsunjiazhai M111

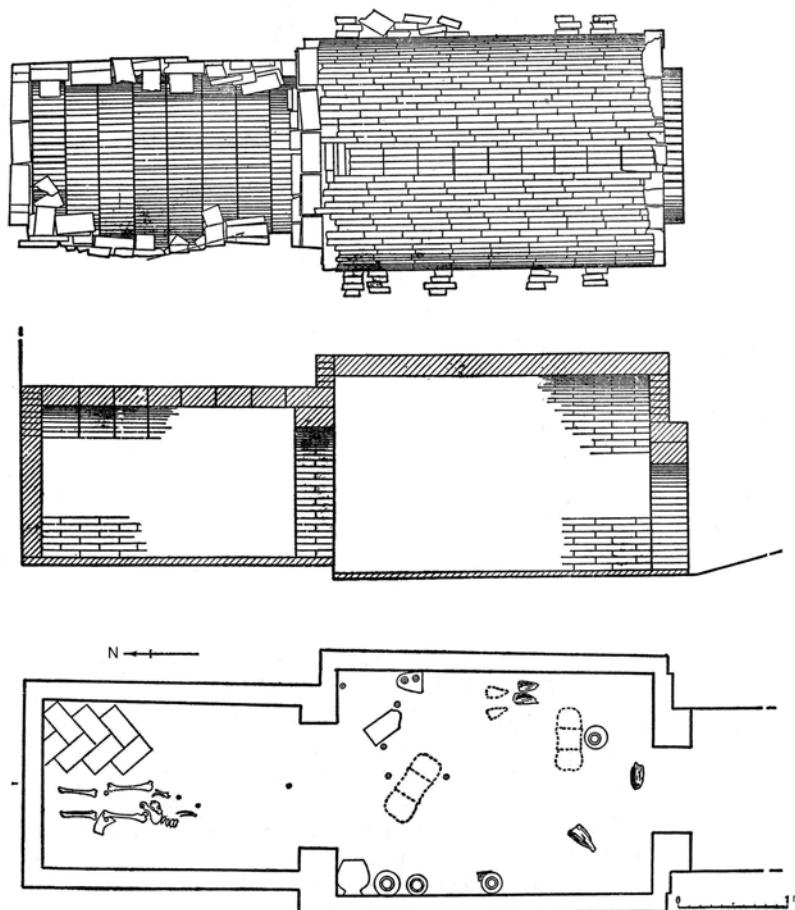


Fig. 4.2.1-7 Shangsunjiazhai B M12

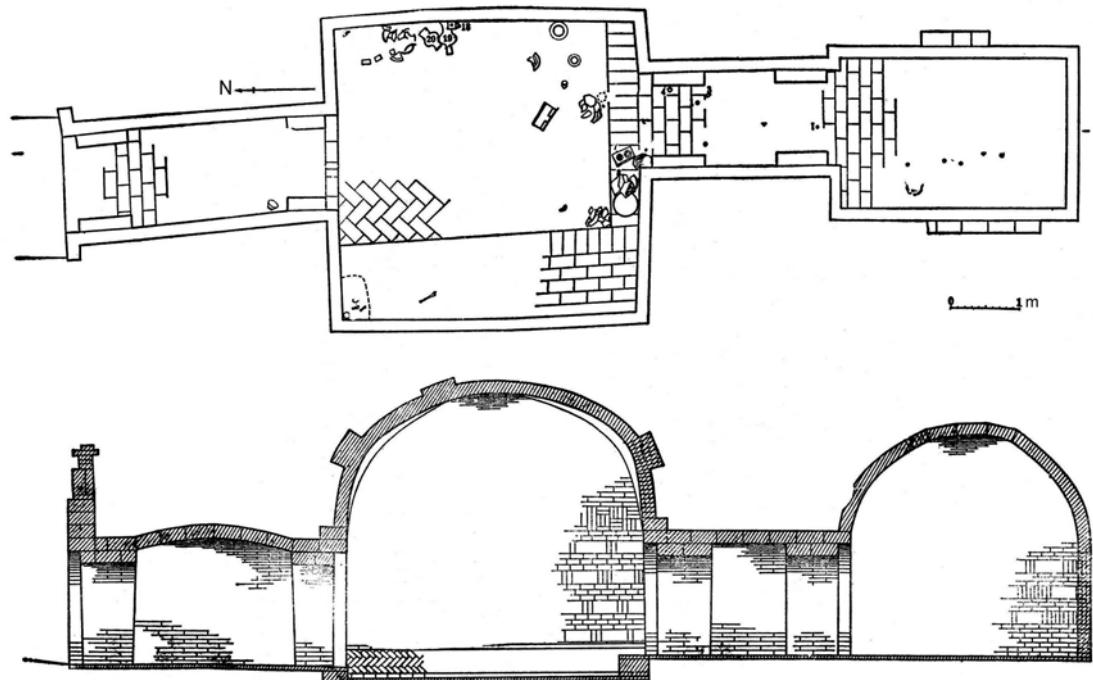


Fig. 4.2.1-8 Shangsunjiazhai B M6

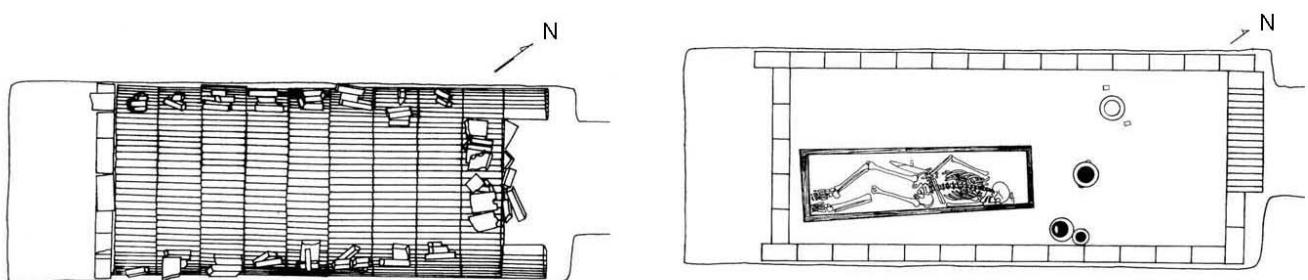


Fig. 4.2.2-1 Upper layer of M37, Nantan

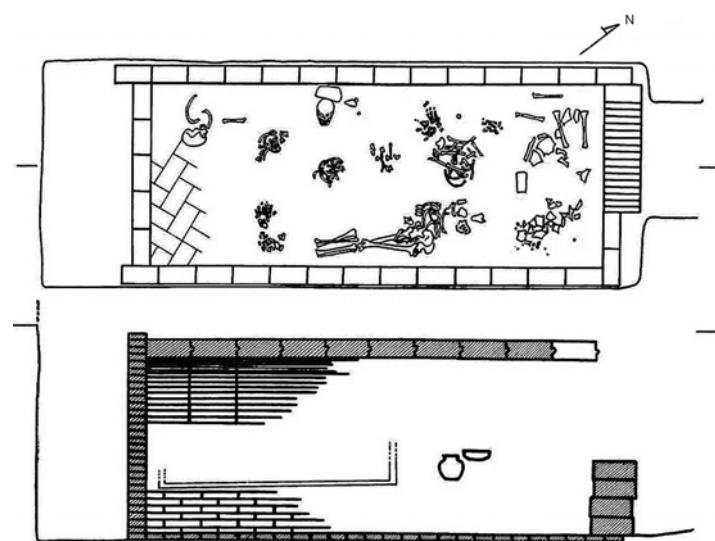


Fig. 4.2.2-2 The lower layer of M37, Nantan

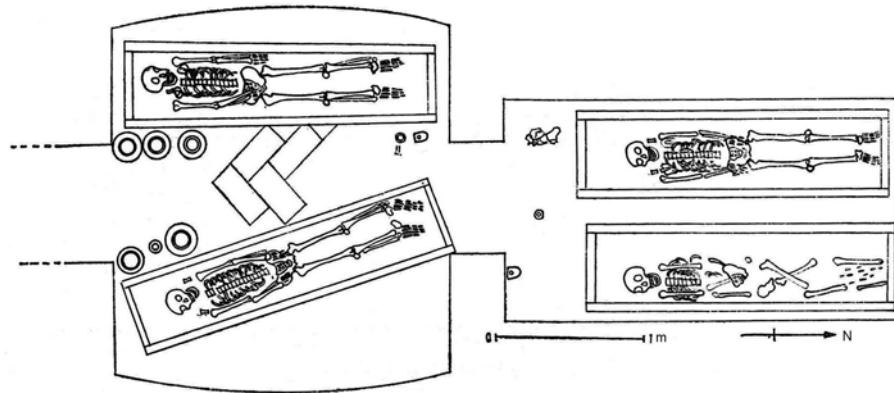


Fig. 4.2.2-3 M1, Taojiazhai

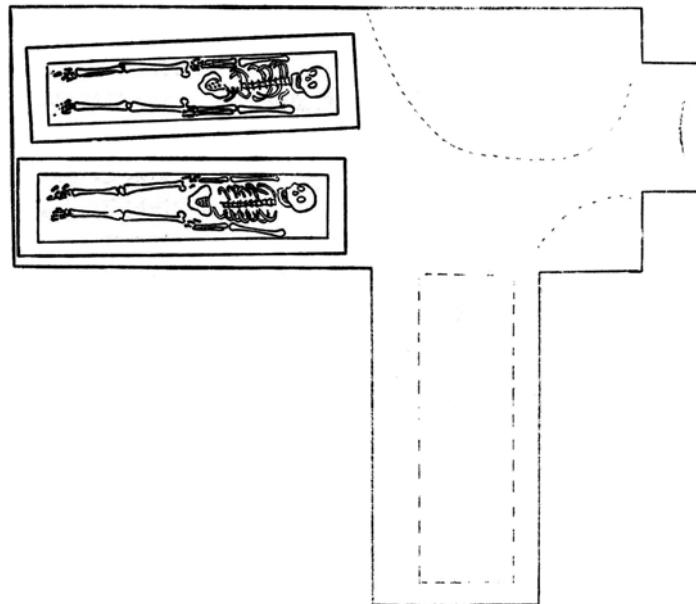


Fig. 4.2.2-4 M1, Pengjiazhai

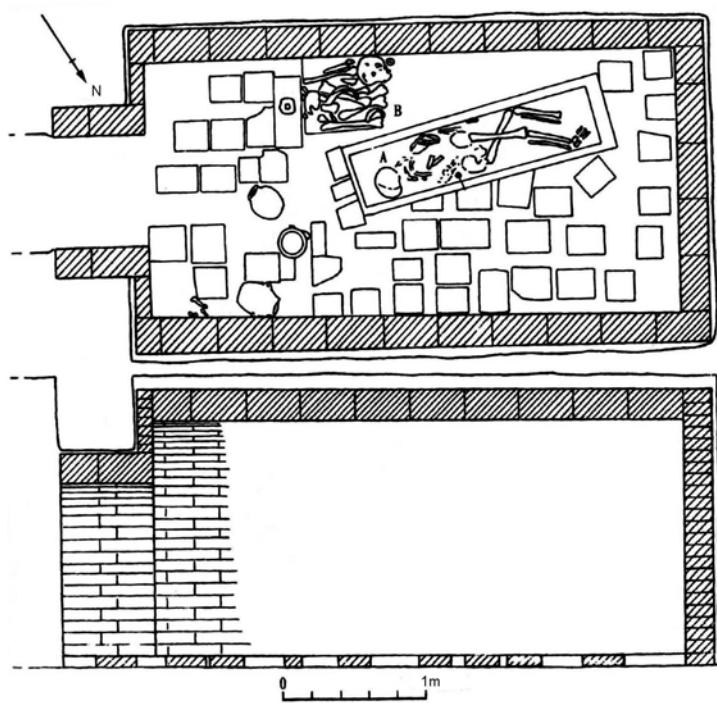


Fig. 4.2.2-5 M6, Gucheng, Ping'an

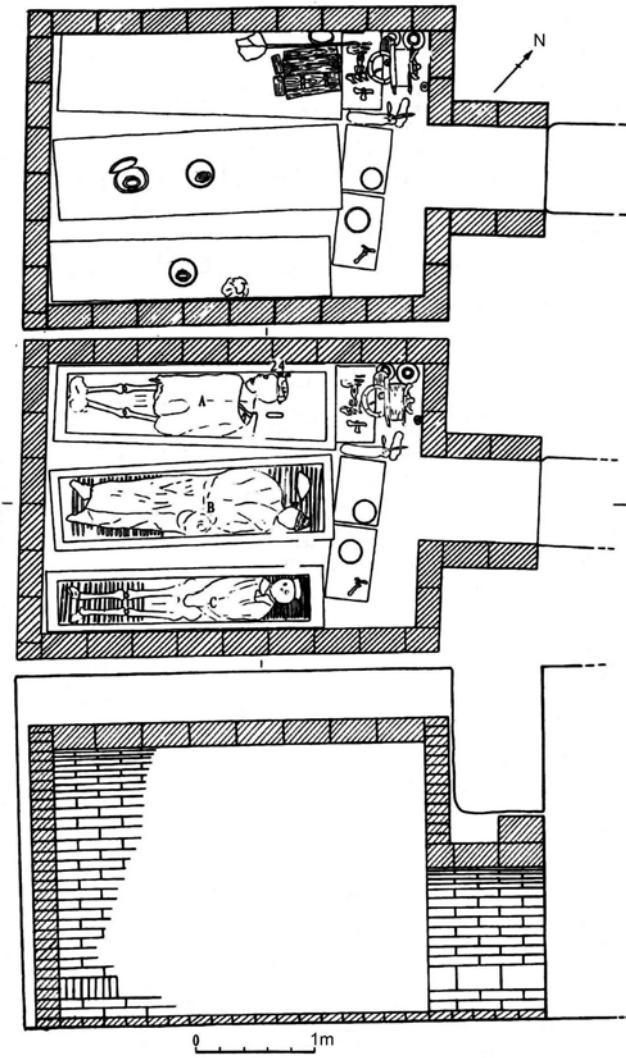


Fig. 4.2.2-6 M7, Gucheng, Ping'an

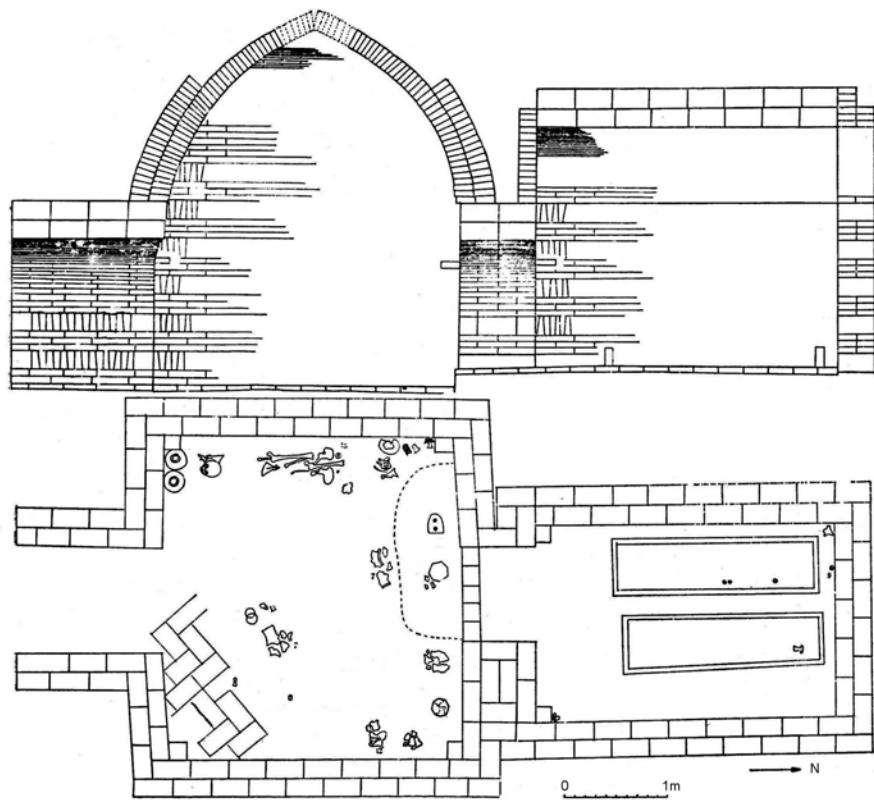


Fig. 4.2.2-7 M1, Dongyuan, Minhe

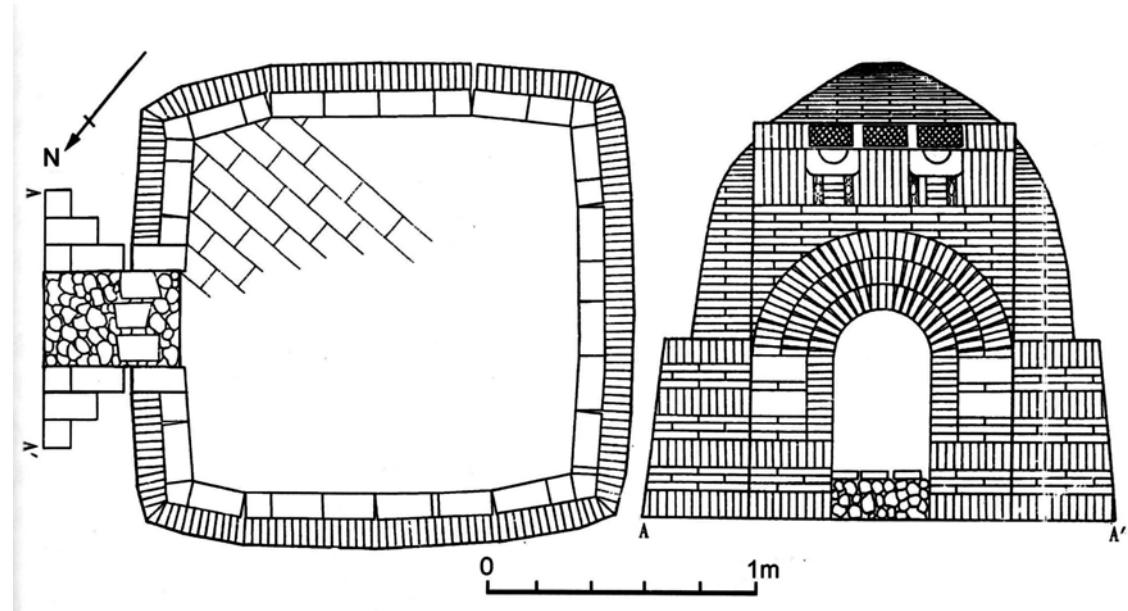


Fig. 4.2.2-8 M1, Gaozhai, Huzhu

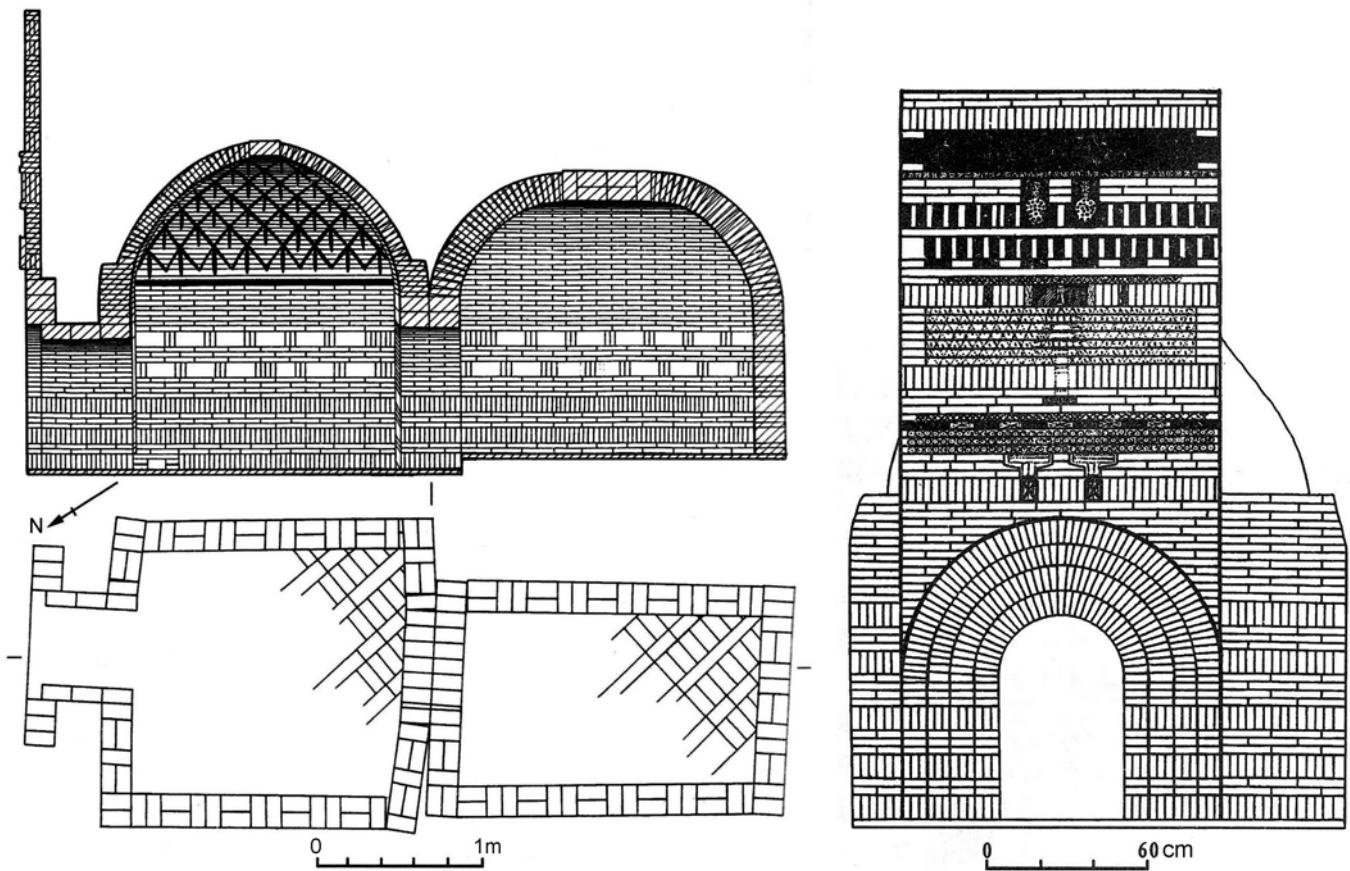


Fig. 4.2.2-9 M2, Gaozhai, Huzhu

Fig. 4.2.2-10 M2, Gaozhai, Huzhu



Fig. 4.4.1-1 Wooden inscribed slips, Shangsunjiazhai M115

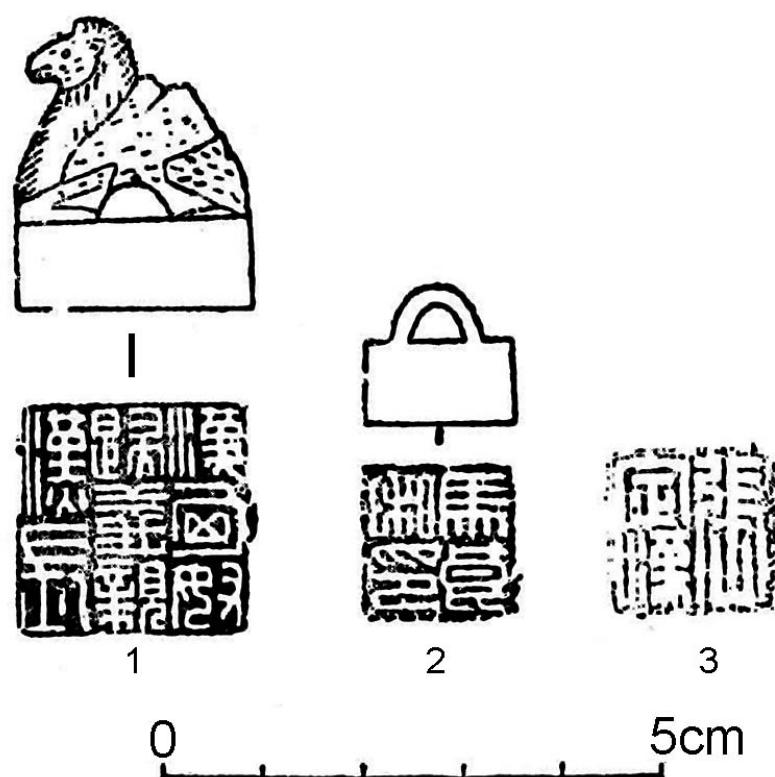


Fig. 4.4.1-2 The bronze seals, Shangsunjiazhai



Fig. 4.4.1-3 The bronze mirror, Shangsunjiazhai M108

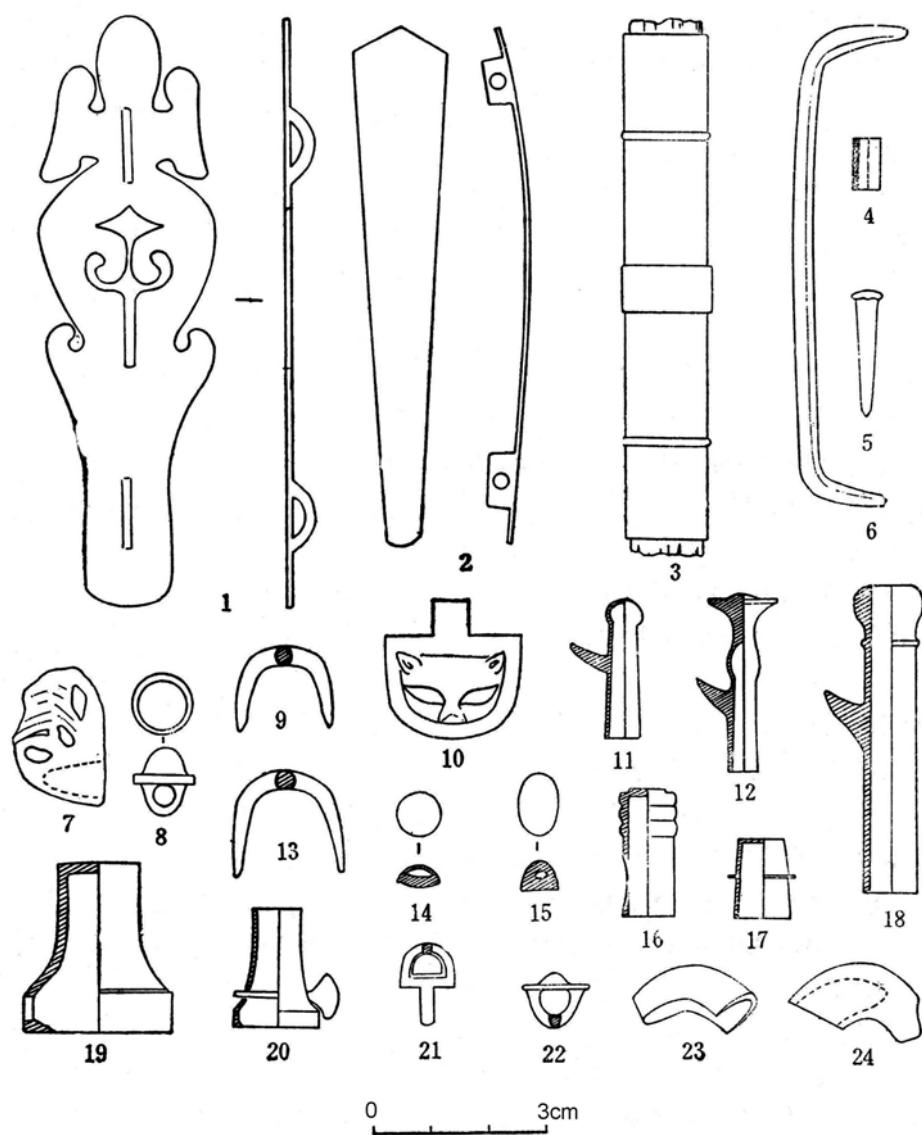


Fig. 4.4.1-4 Horse-and-chariot fittings, Shangsunjiazhai M115

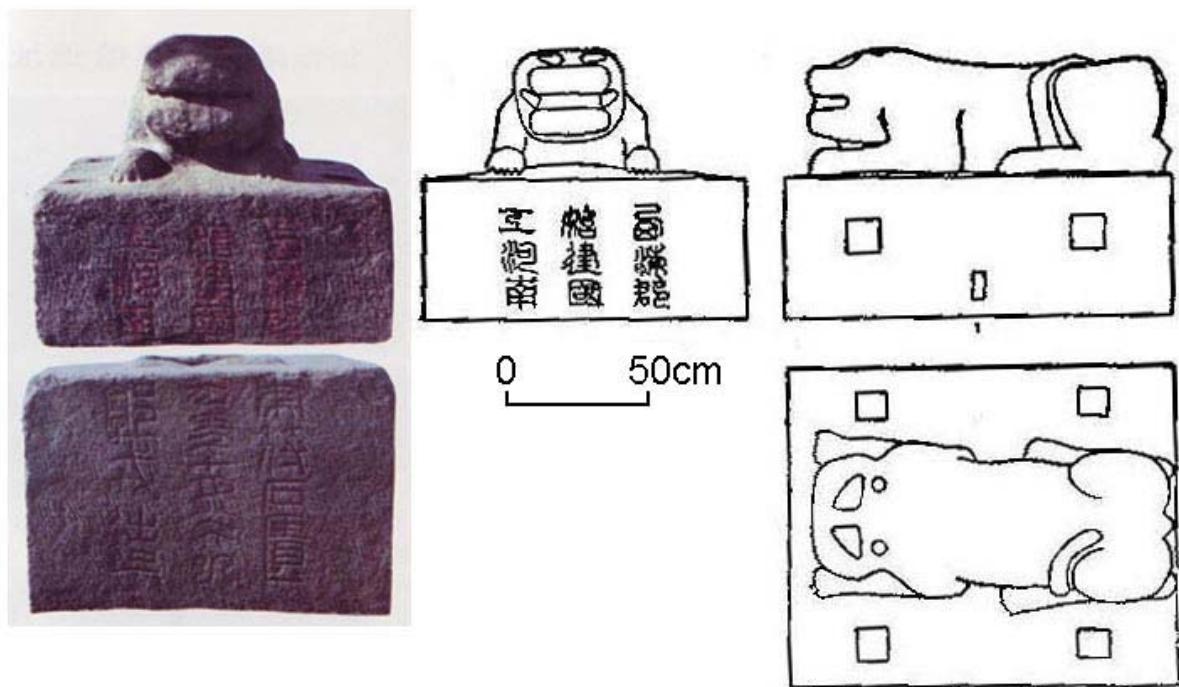


Fig. 4.4.1-5 The *hufu shikui*, Sanjiao city-site



Fig. 4.4.1-6 The tile-end, Sanjiao city-site

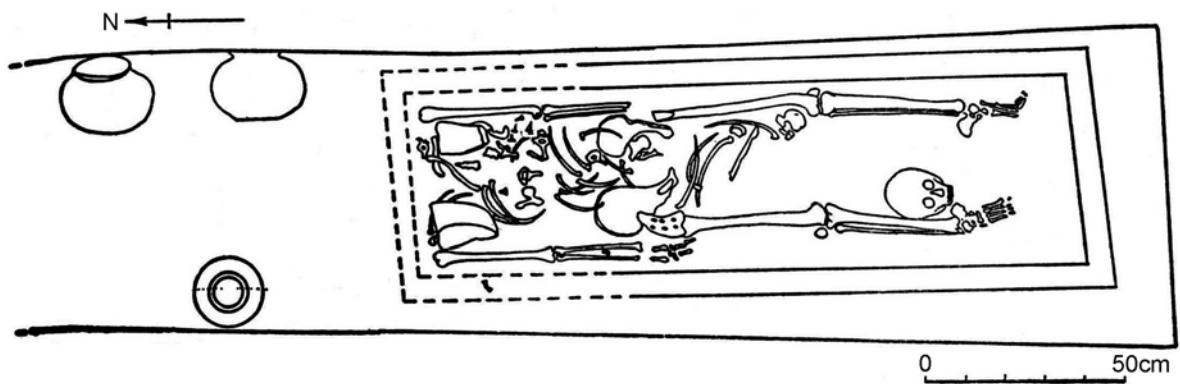


Fig. 4.4.2-1 Shangsunjiazhai M127

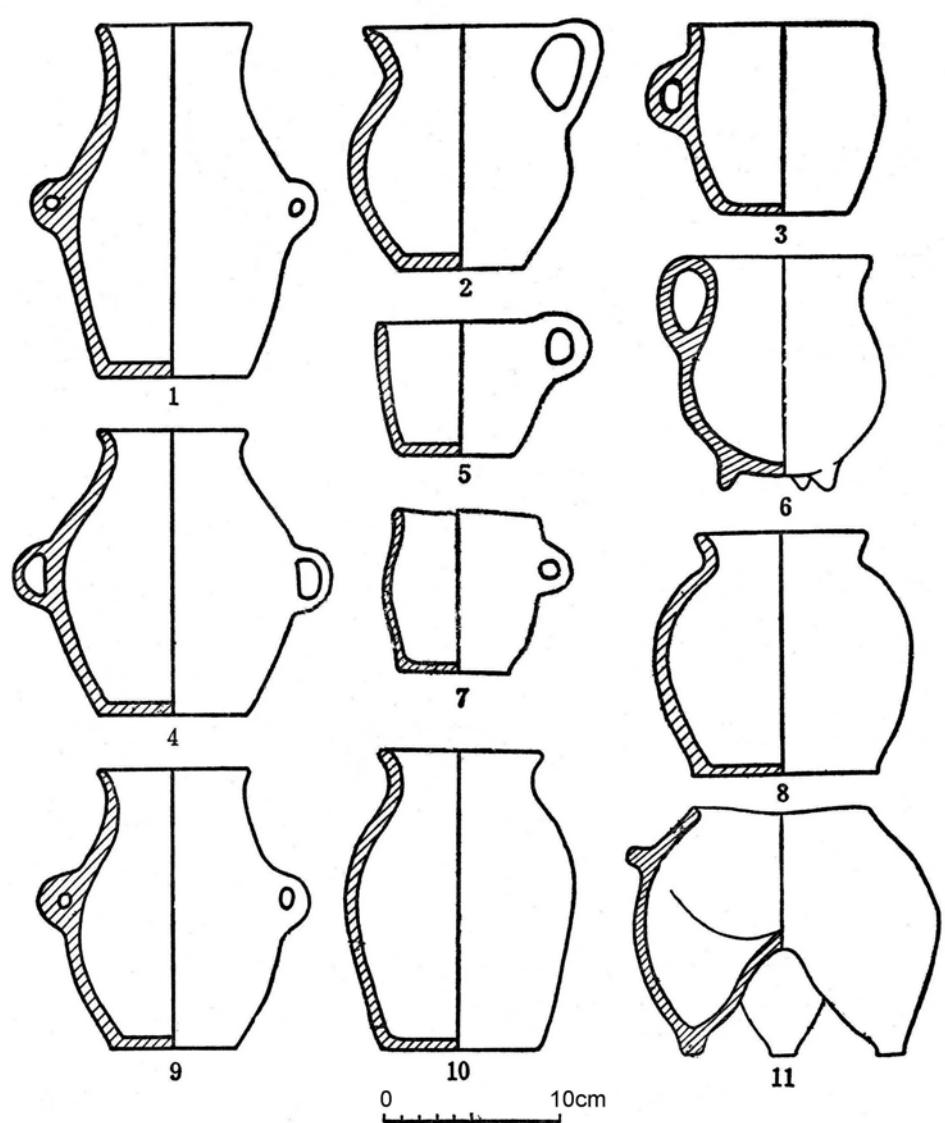


Fig. 4.4.2-2 Sandy clay pottery, Shangsunjiazhai

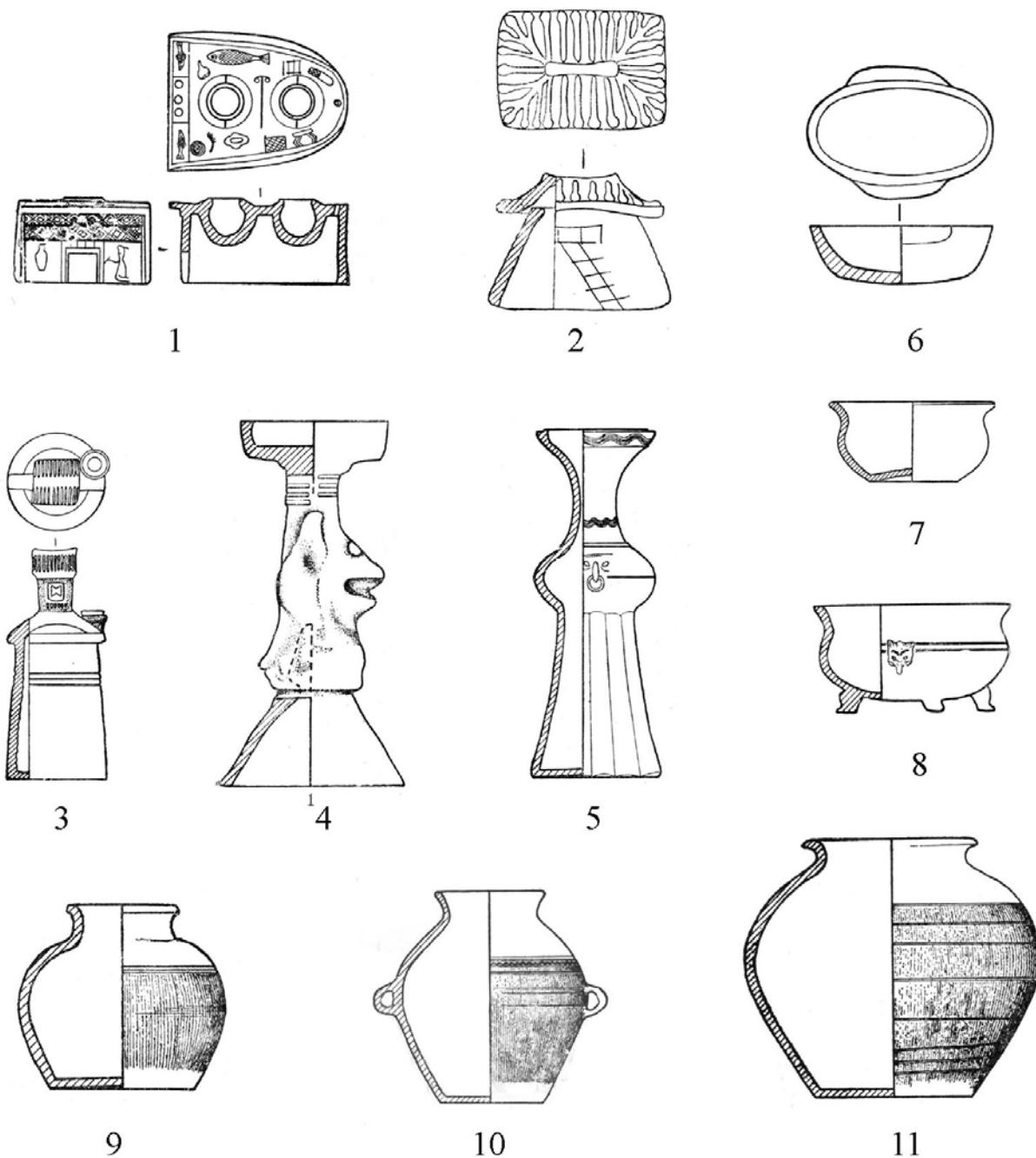


Fig. 4.5.1-1 Pottery, Shangsunjiazhai

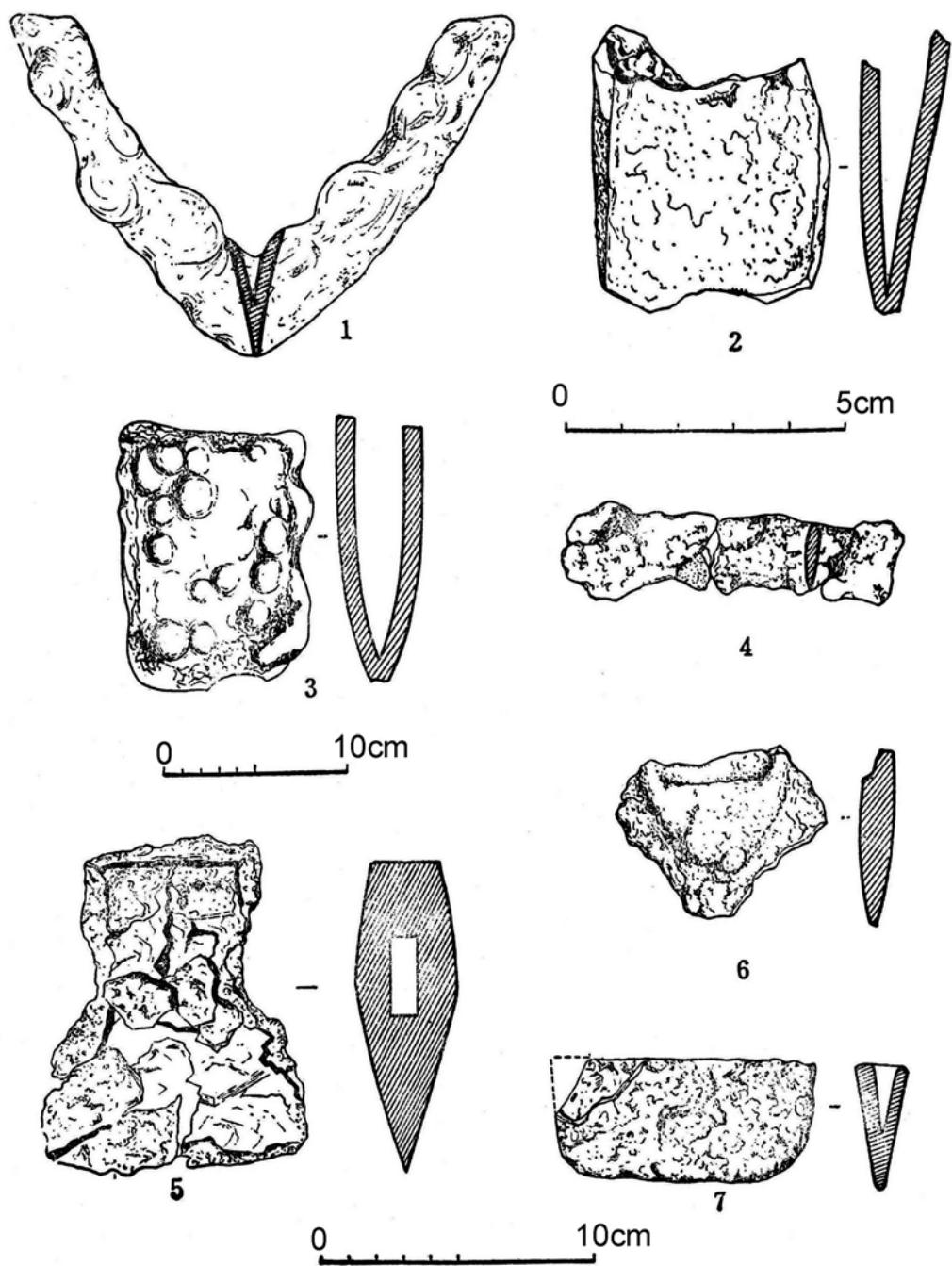


Fig. 4.5.1-2 Iron implements, Shangsunjiazhai

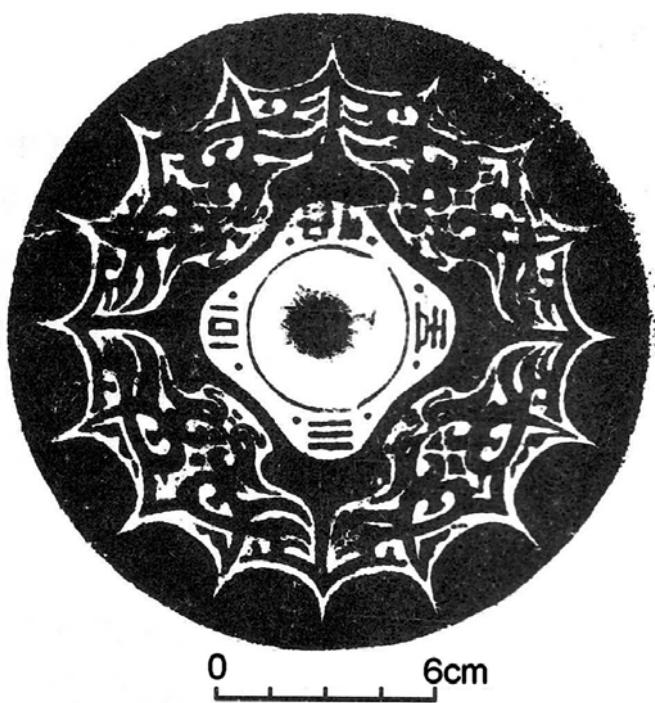
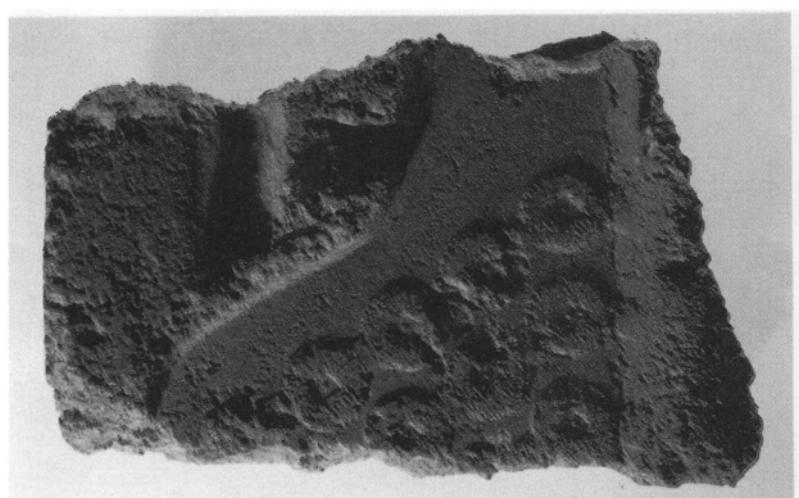
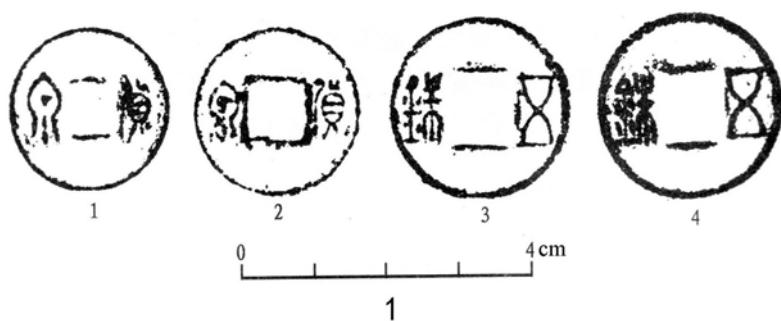


Fig. 4.5.1-3 Bronze mirror, Zongzhai



2

Fig. 4.5.1-4 Wuzhu coins, Zongzhai; coin model, Sanjiao city-site

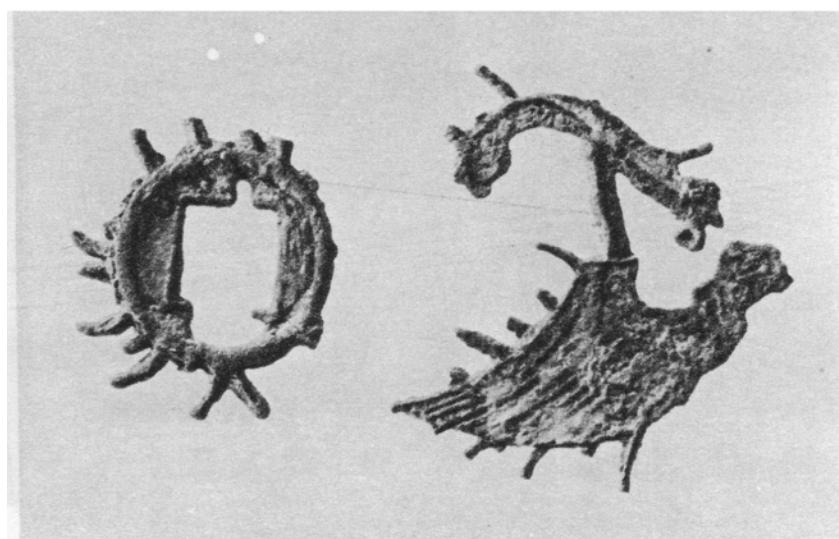
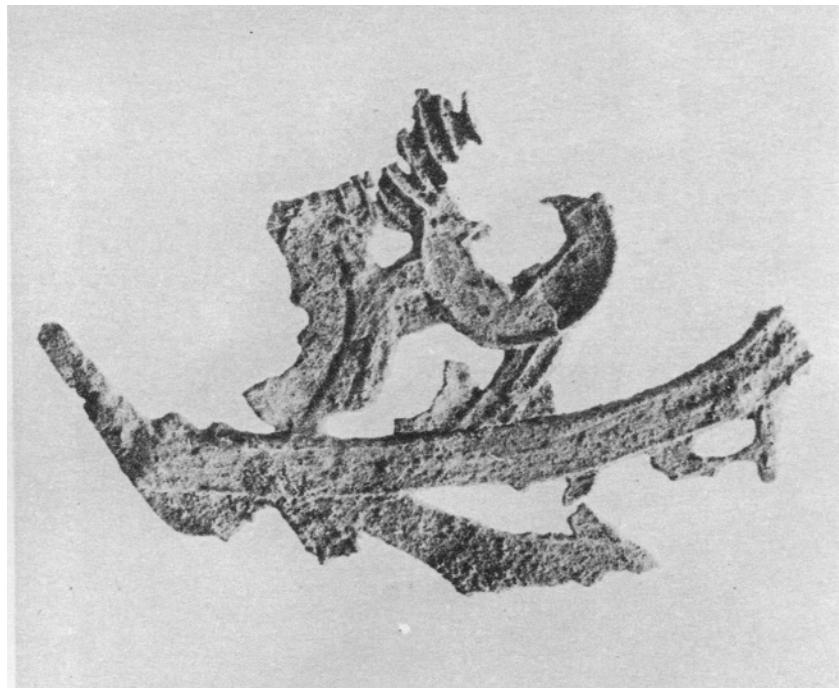


Fig. 4.5.2-1 Bronze coin tree, Shangsunjiazhai

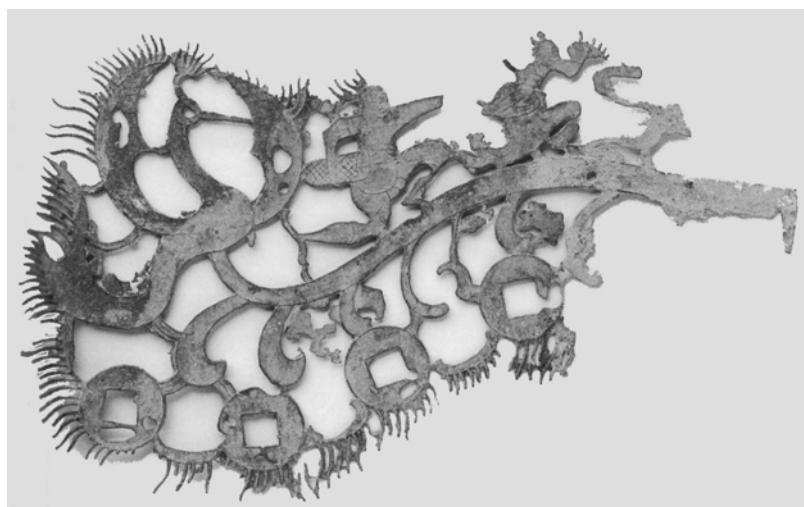


Fig. 4.5.2-2 Bronze coin tree, Sichuan

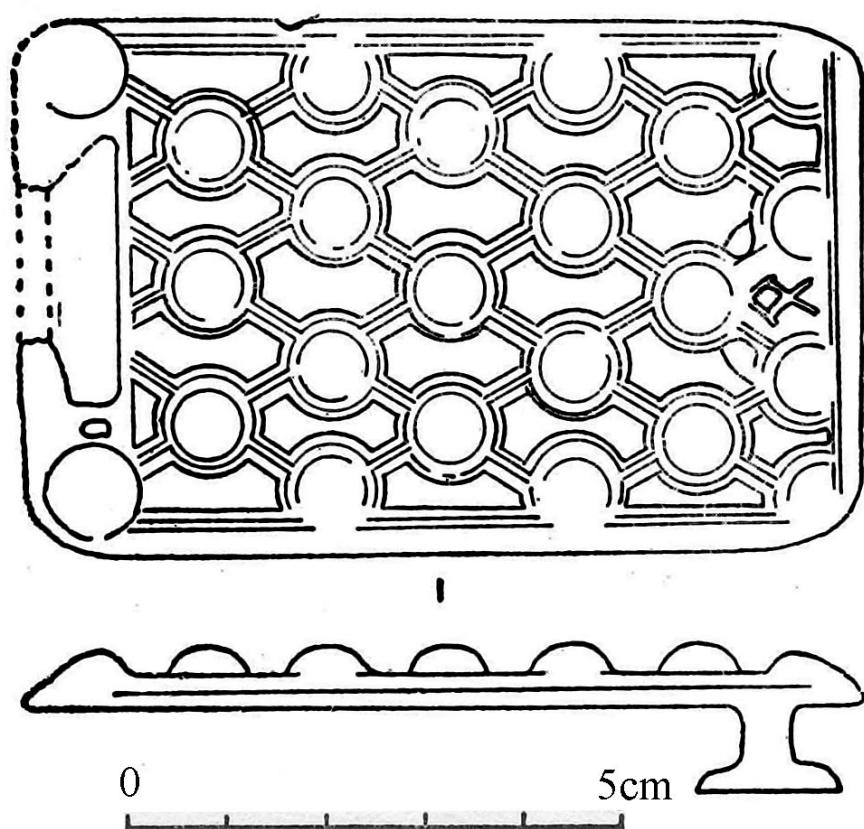
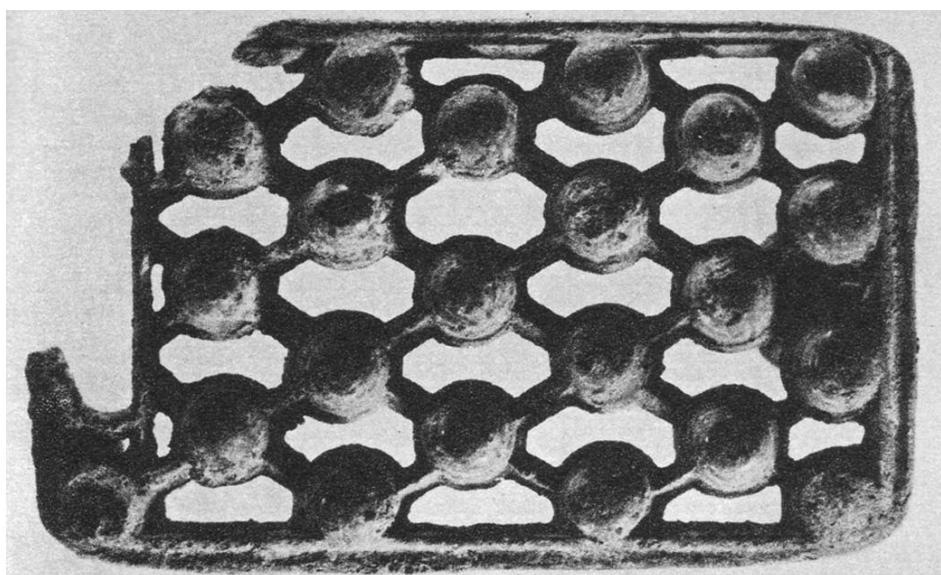
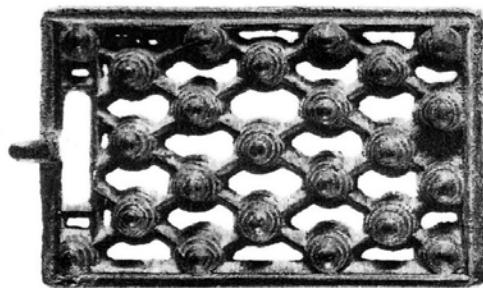
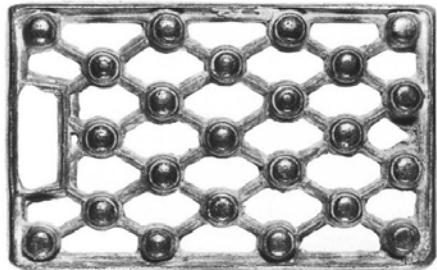


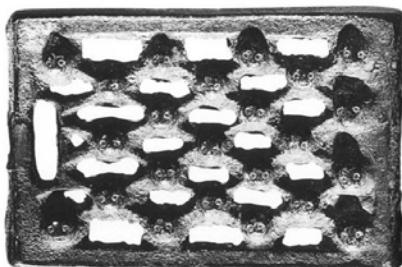
Fig. 4.5.2-3 Bronze openwork buckle, Shangsunjiazhai M24



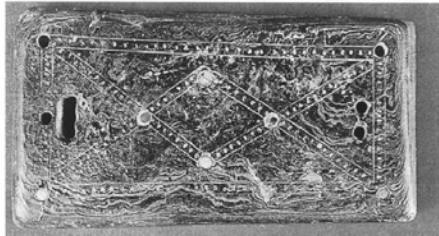
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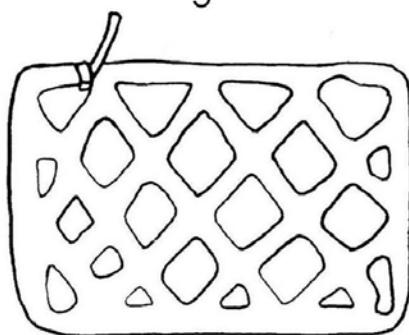
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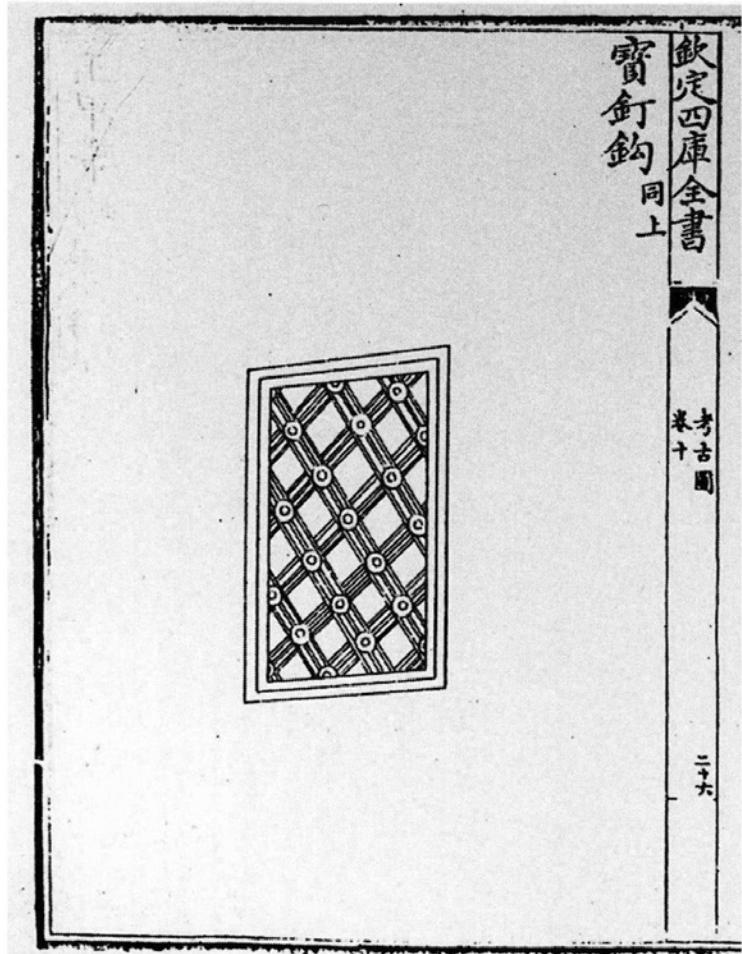
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6



4

Fig. 4.5.2-4 Openwork buckles: 1. Inner Mongolia; 2, 3. The Sackler Collections; 4. Collection of the 11th century Song artist Li Gonglin; 5. The Xiongnu site in Buryatia; 6. The Xianbei cemetery in Inner Mongolia

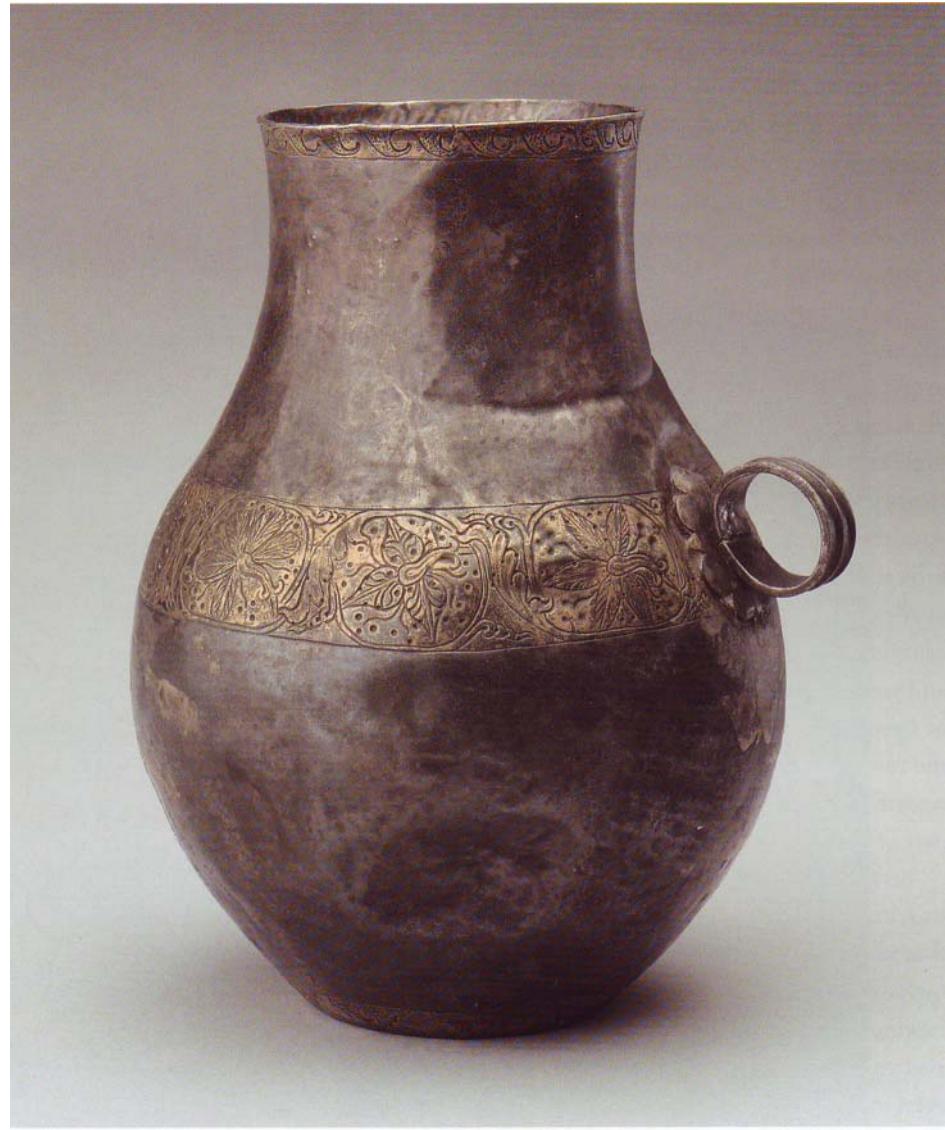


Fig. 4.5.2-5 Gilt silver ewer, Shangsunjiazhai section B M3

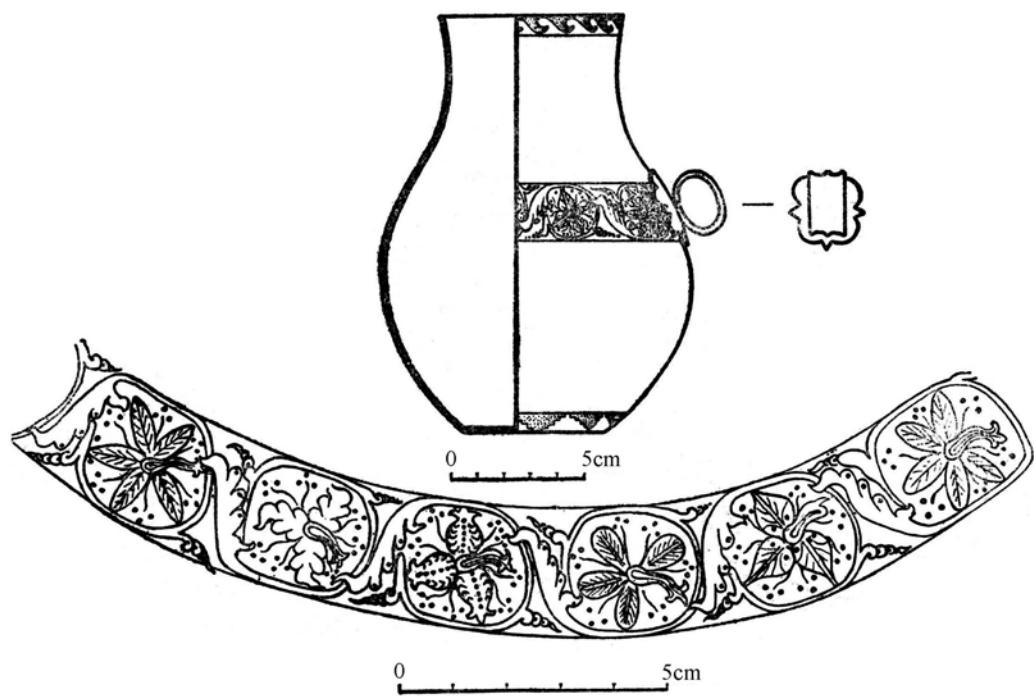


Fig. 4.5.2-6 Gilt silver ewer, Shangsunjiazhai section B M3



Fig. 4.5.2-7 Gilt silver bowl,
the J. Paul Getty Museum
Collection

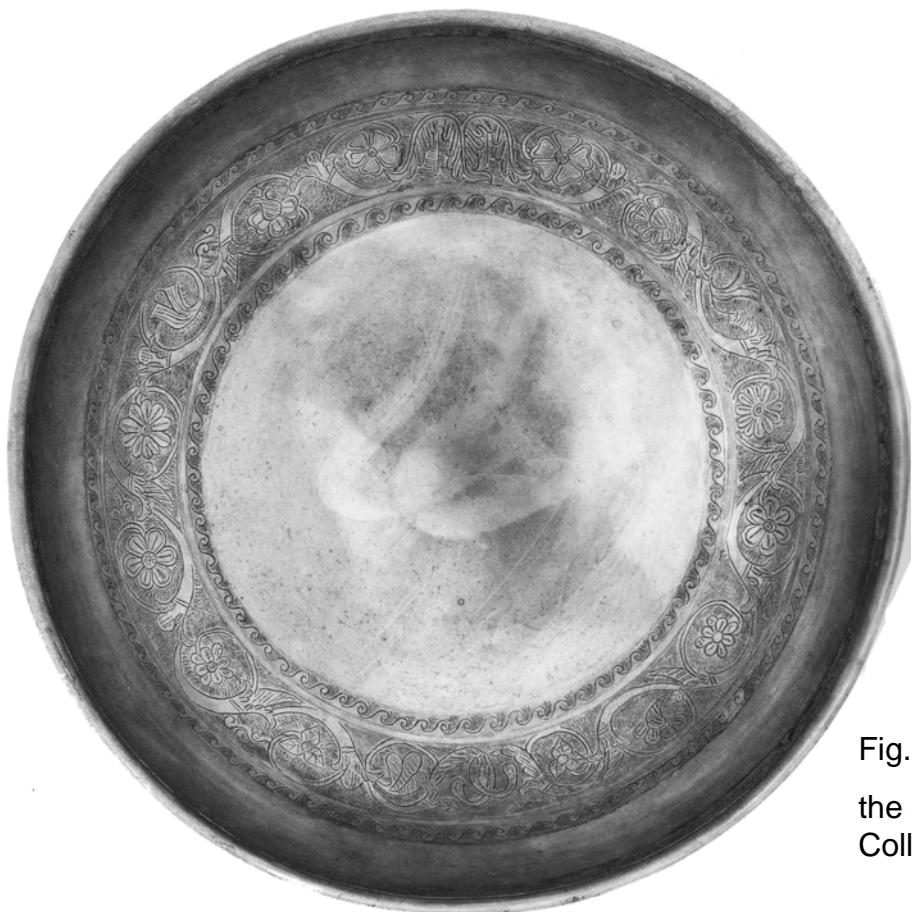


Fig. 4.5.2-8 Gilt silver bowl,
the J. Paul Getty Museum
Collection

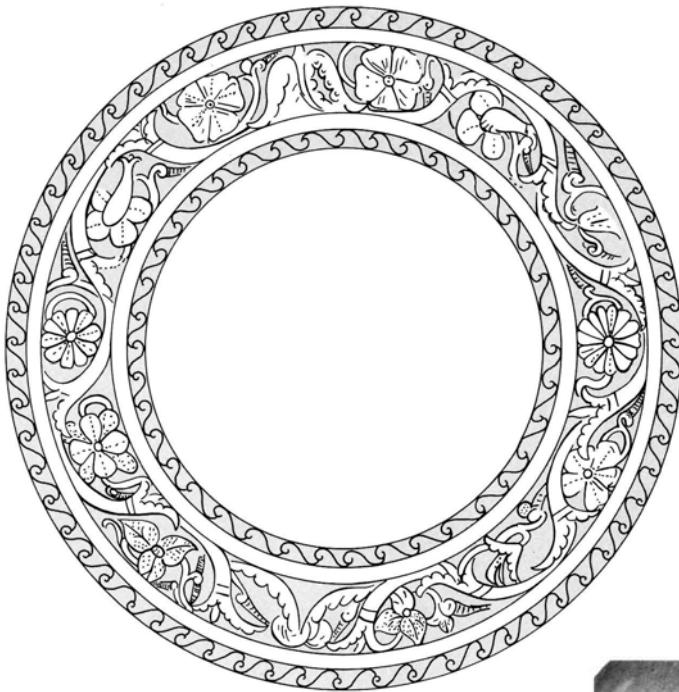


Fig. 4.5.2-9 Gilt silver bowl, the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection



Fig. 4.5.2-10 Inner surface of a silver kylix, the Louvre Museum Collection



Fig. 4.5.2-11 Gilt silver phalera, Rostov, Russia



Fig. 4.5.2-12 Gilt silver jar, Rostov, Russia

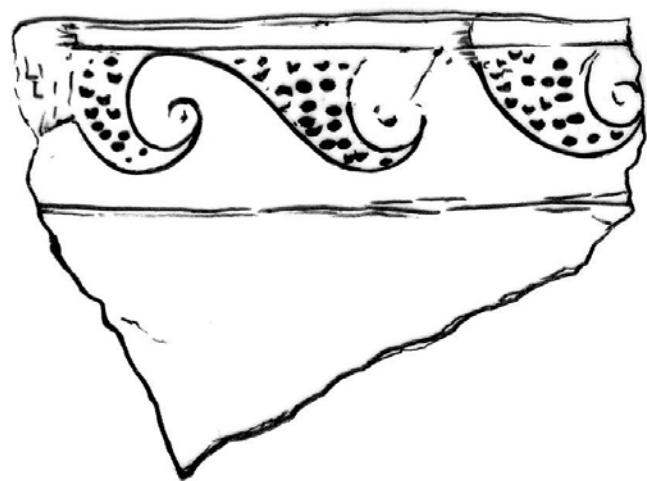


Fig. 4.5.2-13 Gilt silver fragment, Gol Mod, Mongolia

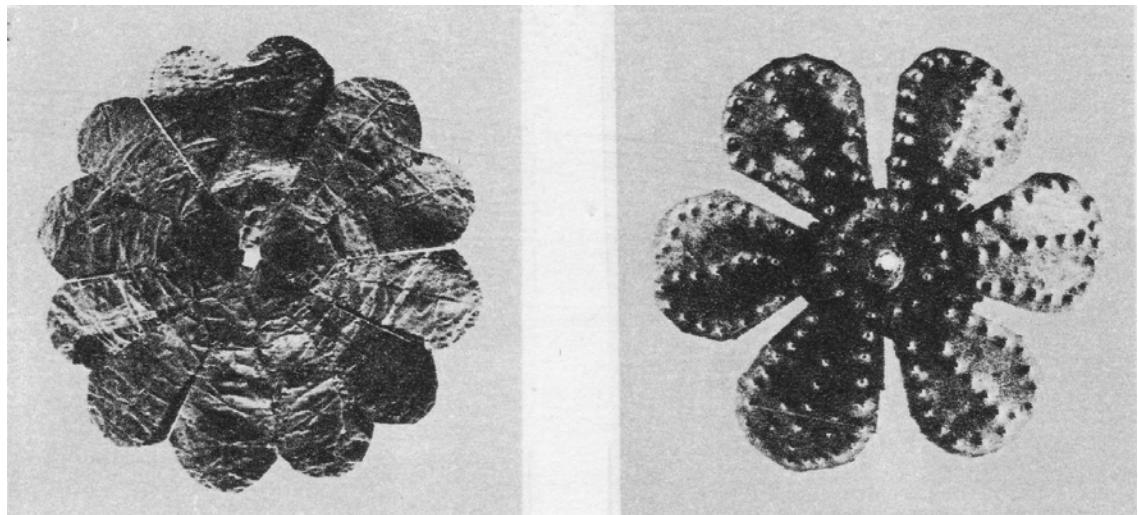


Fig. 4.5.2-14 Golden ornaments, Shangsunjiazhai

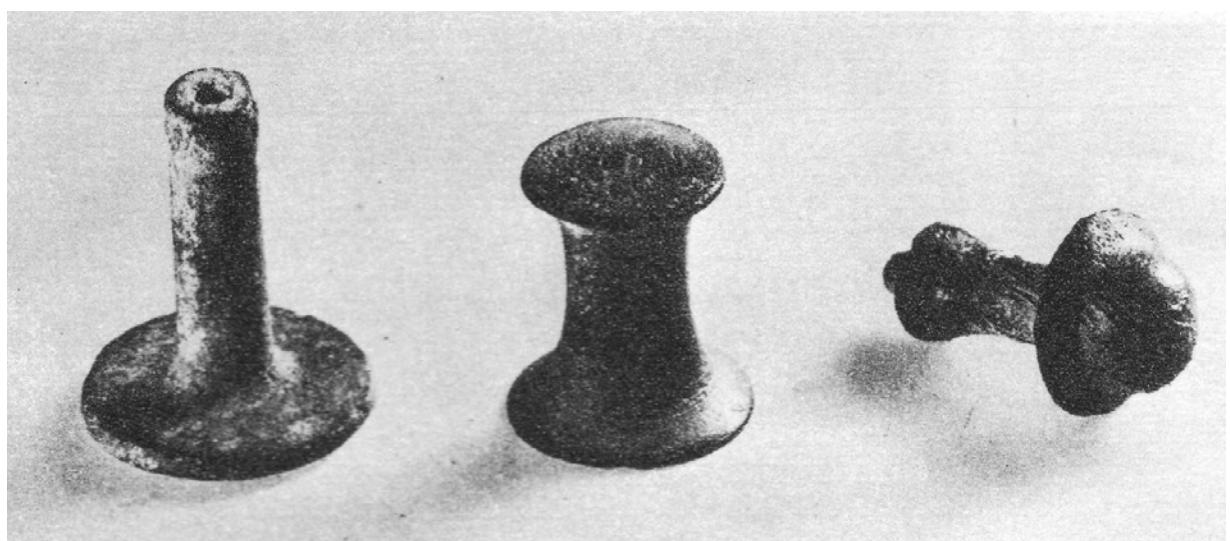


Fig. 4.5.2-15 Glassware, Shangsunjiazhai

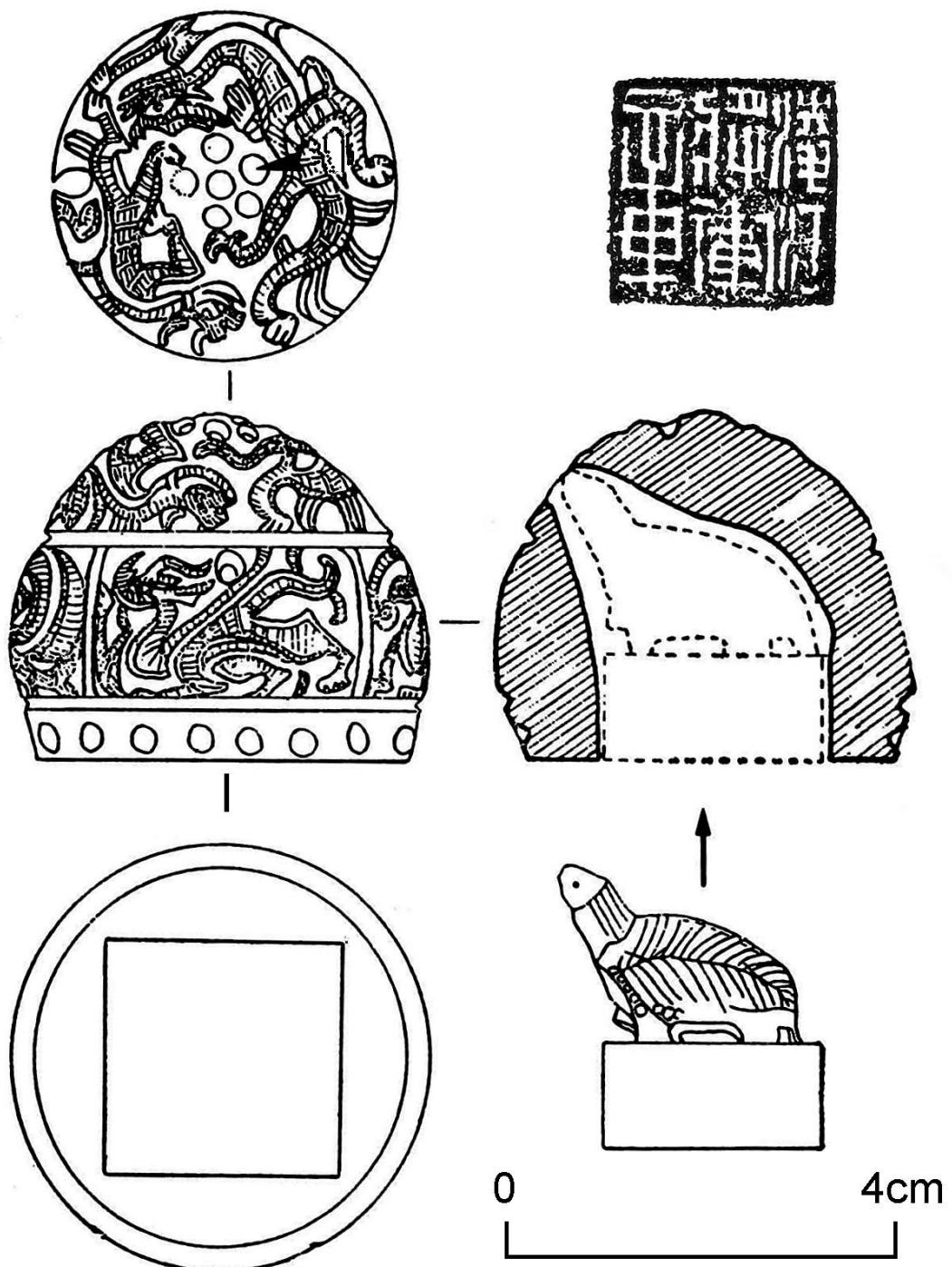


Fig. 5.1-1 Bronze seal and seal casket, the Northern Dynasties tomb in Xining

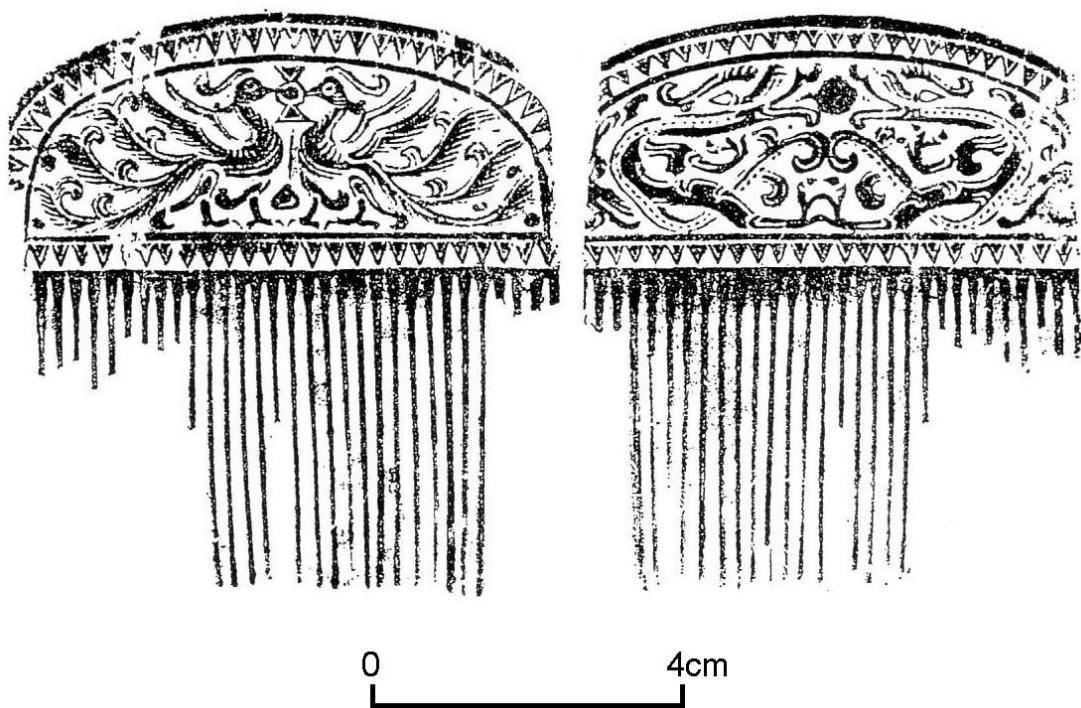


Fig. 5.1-2 Ivory comb, the Northern Dynasties tomb in Xining

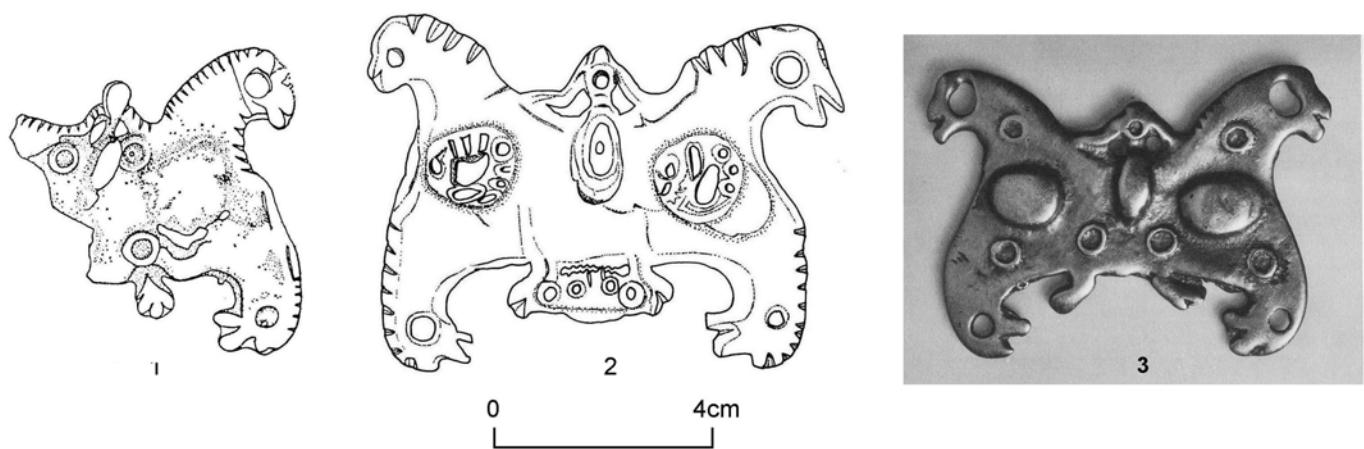


Fig. 5.1-3 Golden plaques, Xining; Inner Mongolia; the Carl Kempe Collection

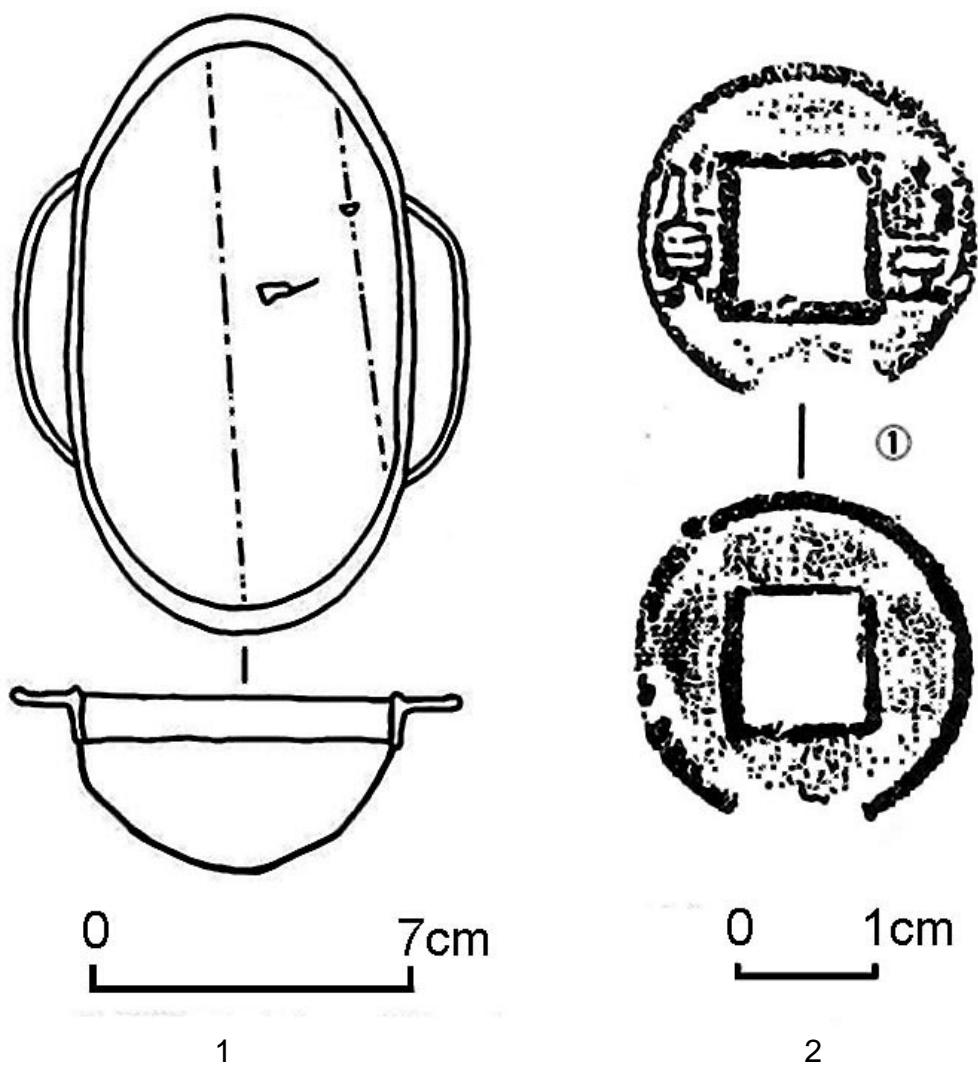


Fig. 5.1-4 Clamshell cup with handles and *fenghuo* coin, Xining

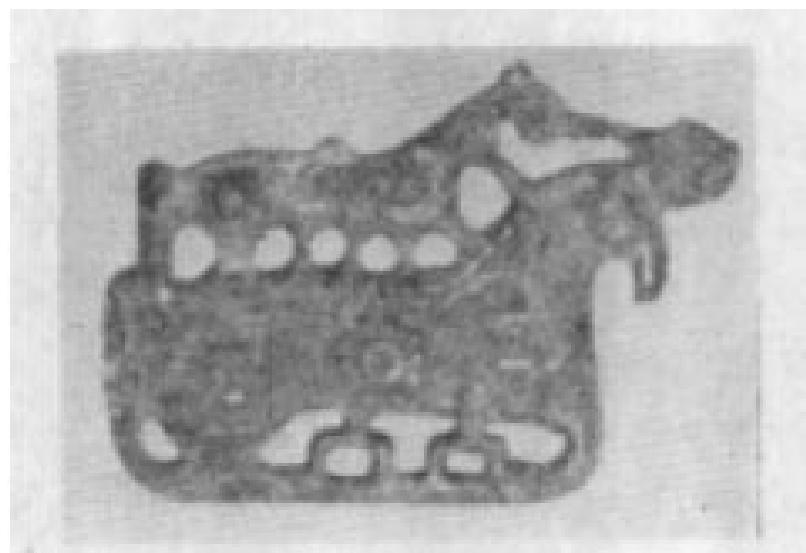


Fig. 5.2-1 Bronze plaque, Huzhu

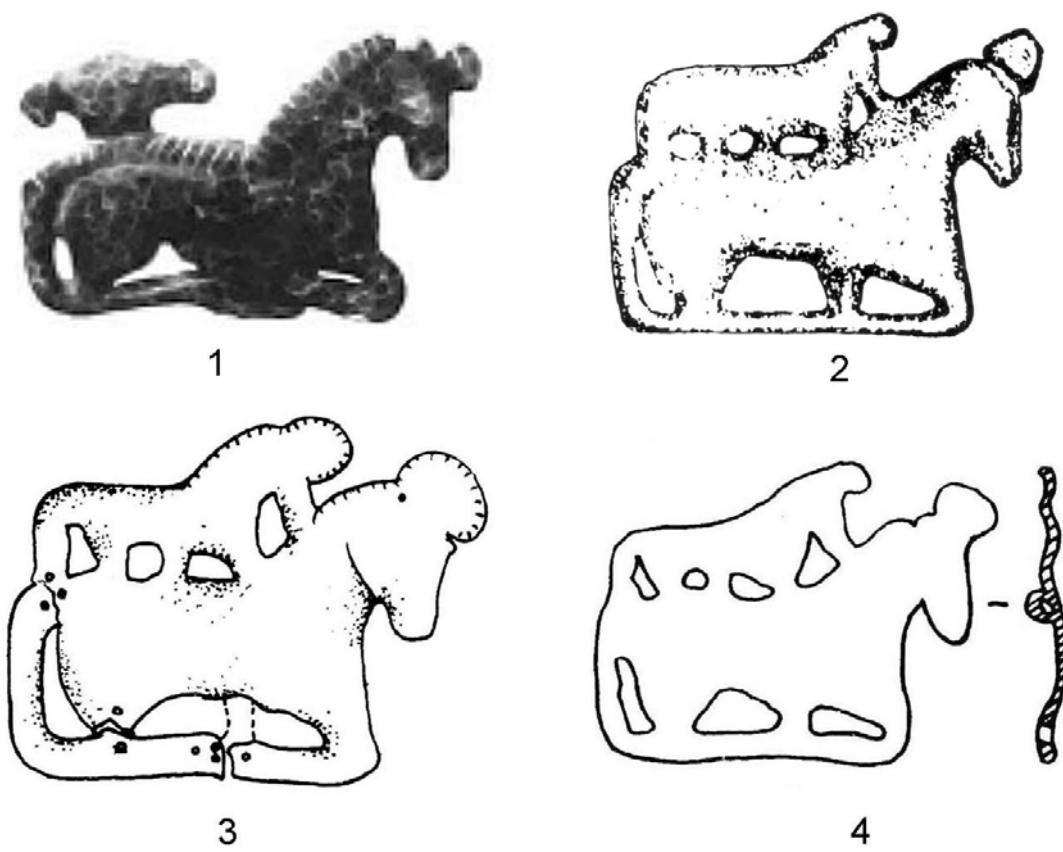


Fig. 5.2-2 Bronze and golden plaques: 1, Xichagou, Inner Mongolia;
2, 3, 4. Sandaowan, Inner Mongolia

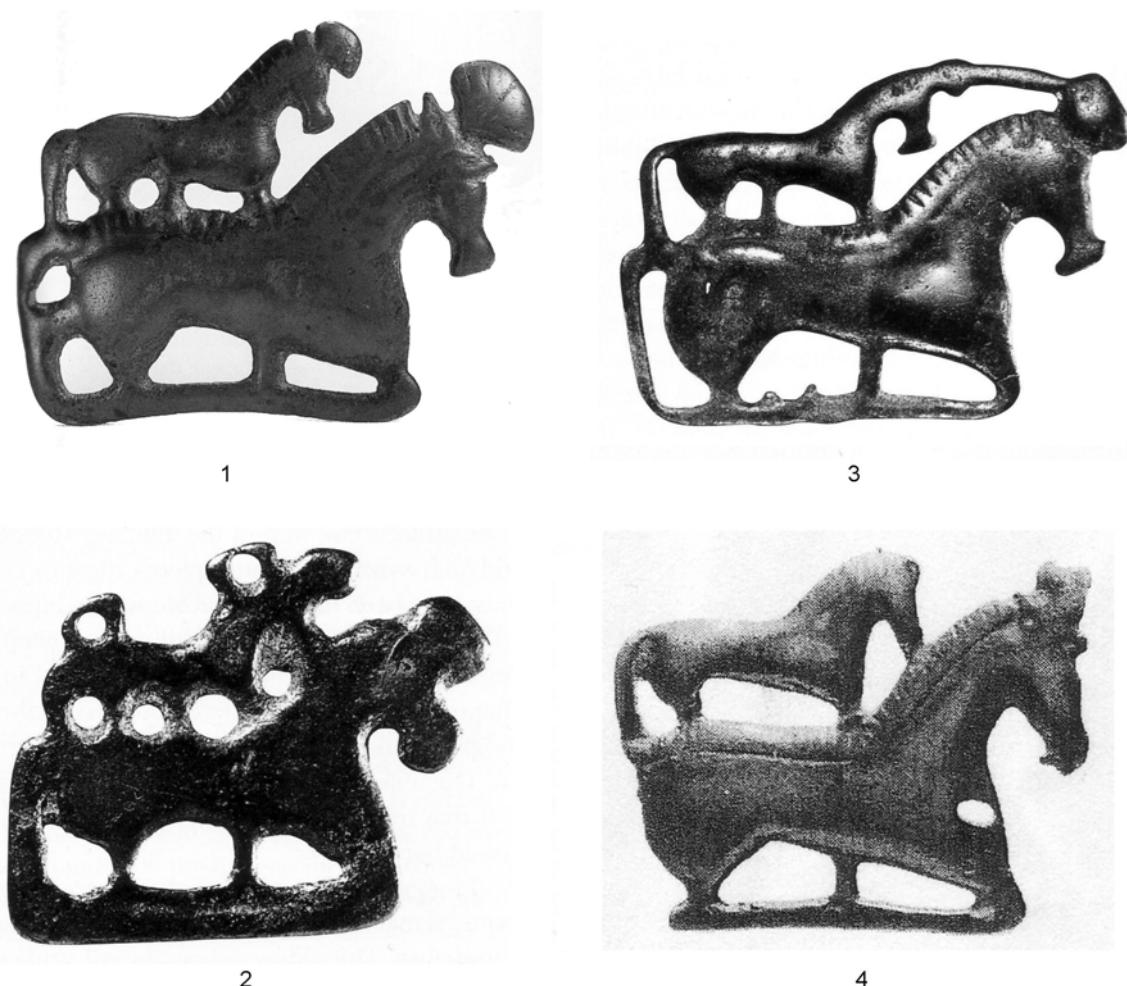


Fig. 5.2-3 Bonze plaques: 1, 2, 3. The Sackler Collections;
4. The Barbier-mueller Museum Collection



Fig. 5.2-4 Golden plaques, Inner Mongolia; the Pierre Uldry Collection

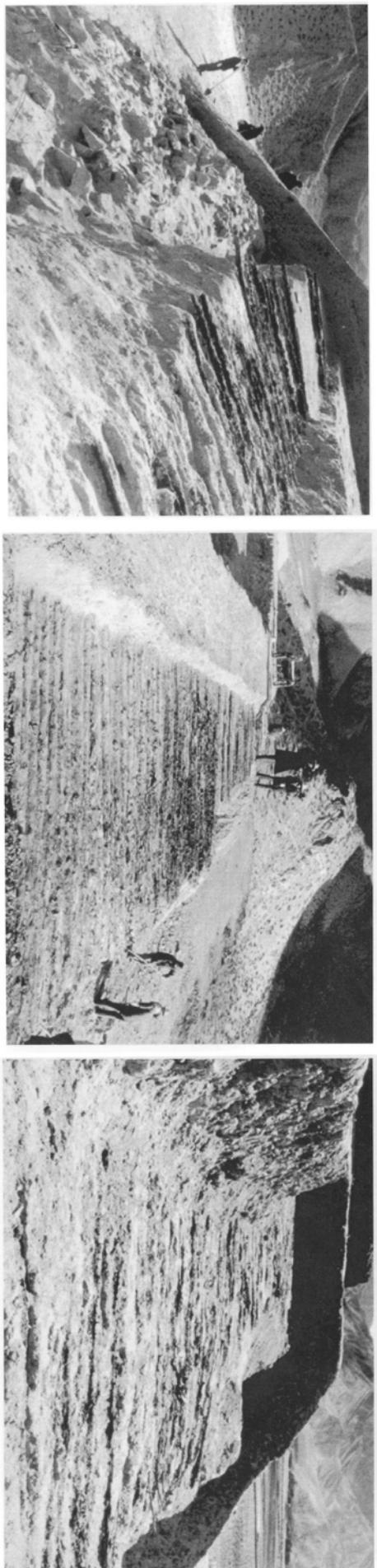


Fig. 6.1.1-2 The outer wooden structure of the mound, Reshui M1

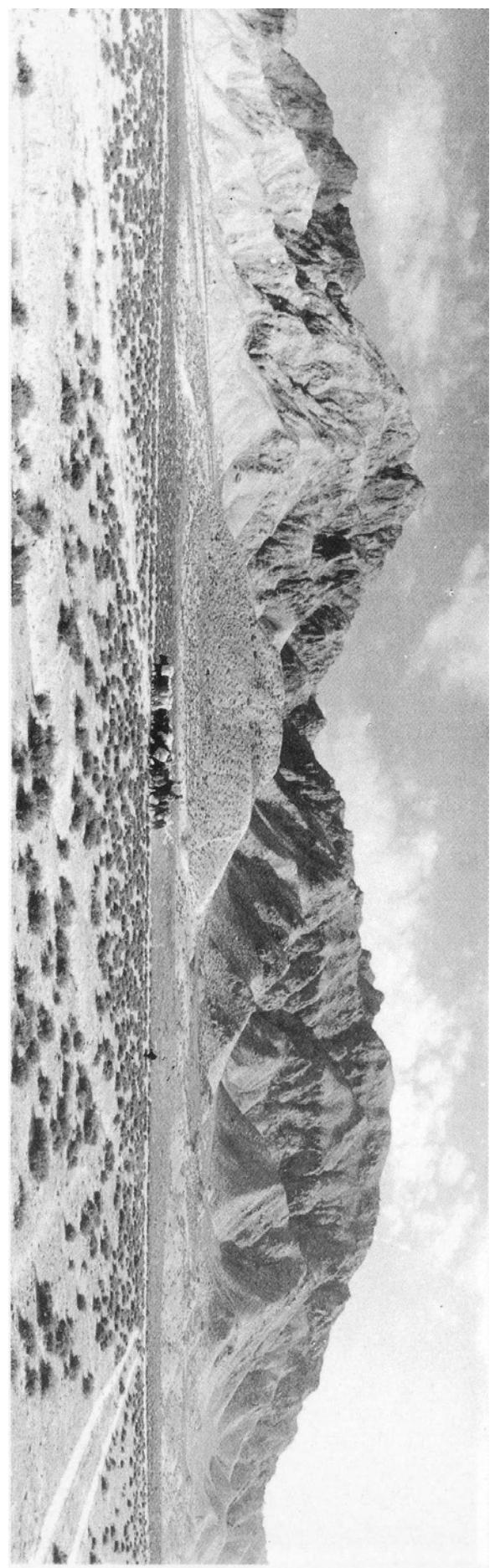


Fig. 6.1.1-1 Mound of Reshui M1 (before excavation)



Fig. 6.1.1-3 Tamped enclosing wall of the mound



Fig. 6.1.1-4 The stone wall of the mound

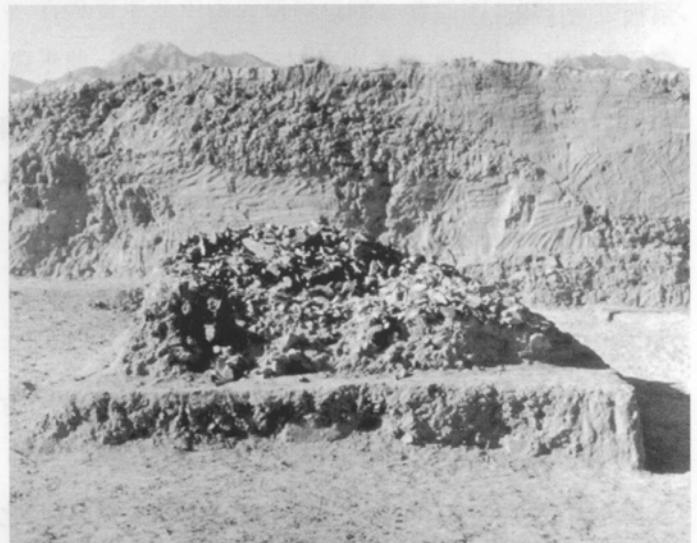


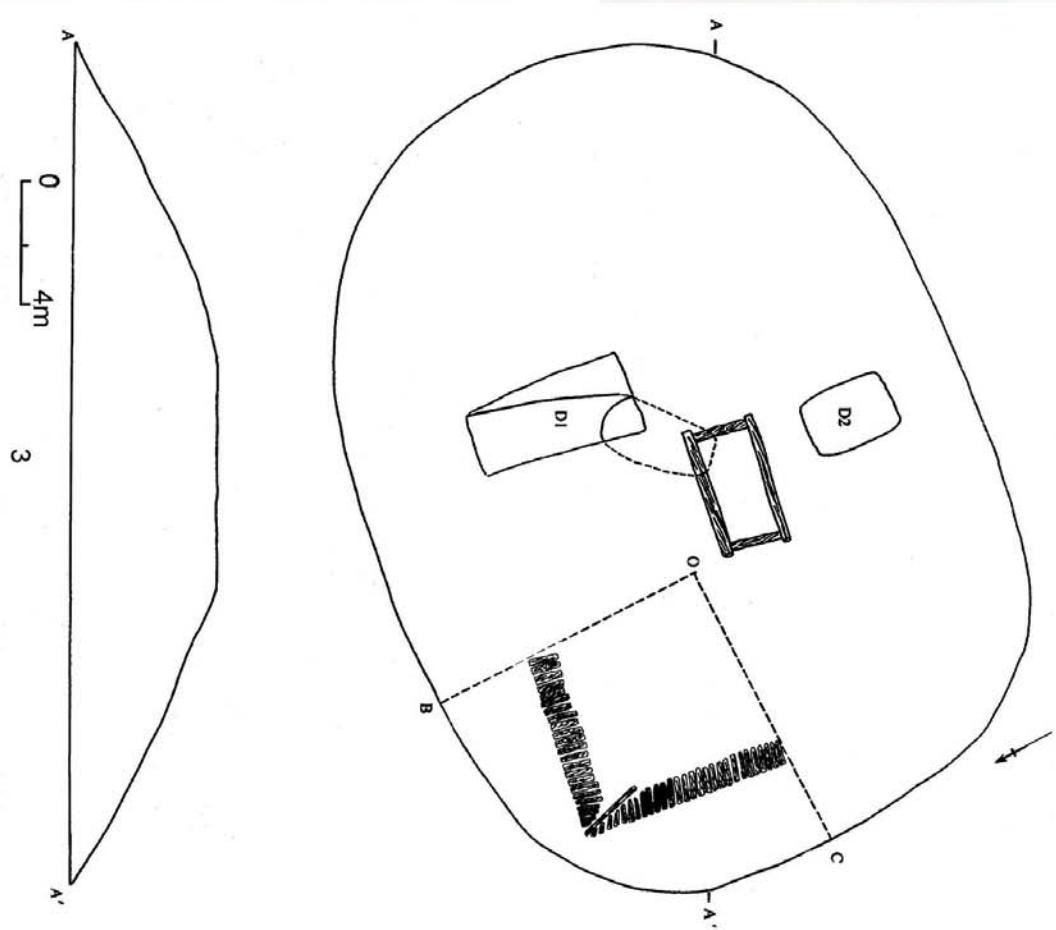
Fig. 6.1.1-5 Sacrificial animal pits in the mound



Fig. 6.1.1-6 The Reshui cemetery (Section II)



Fig. 6.1.1-7 99DRNM4, Reshui section II



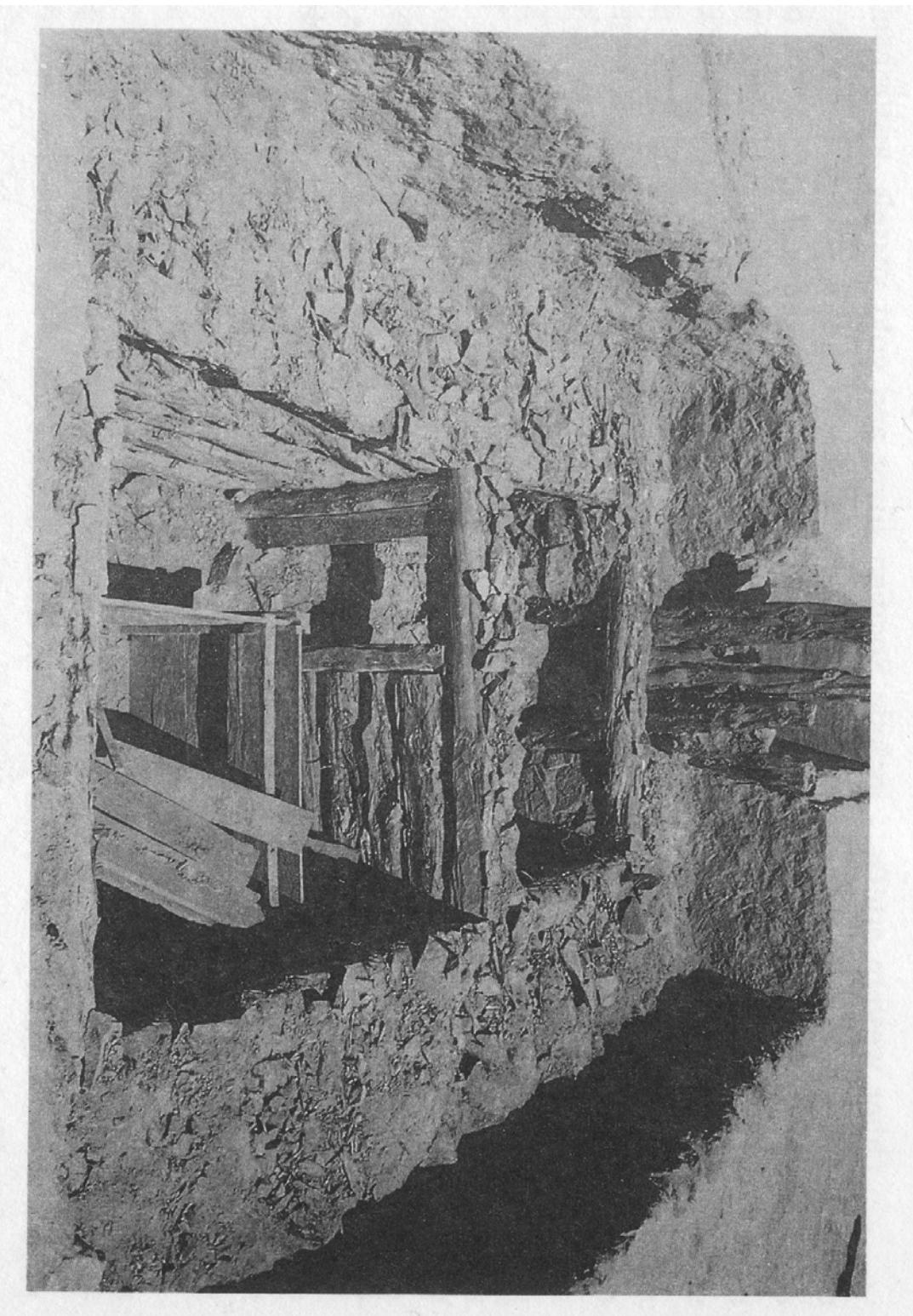
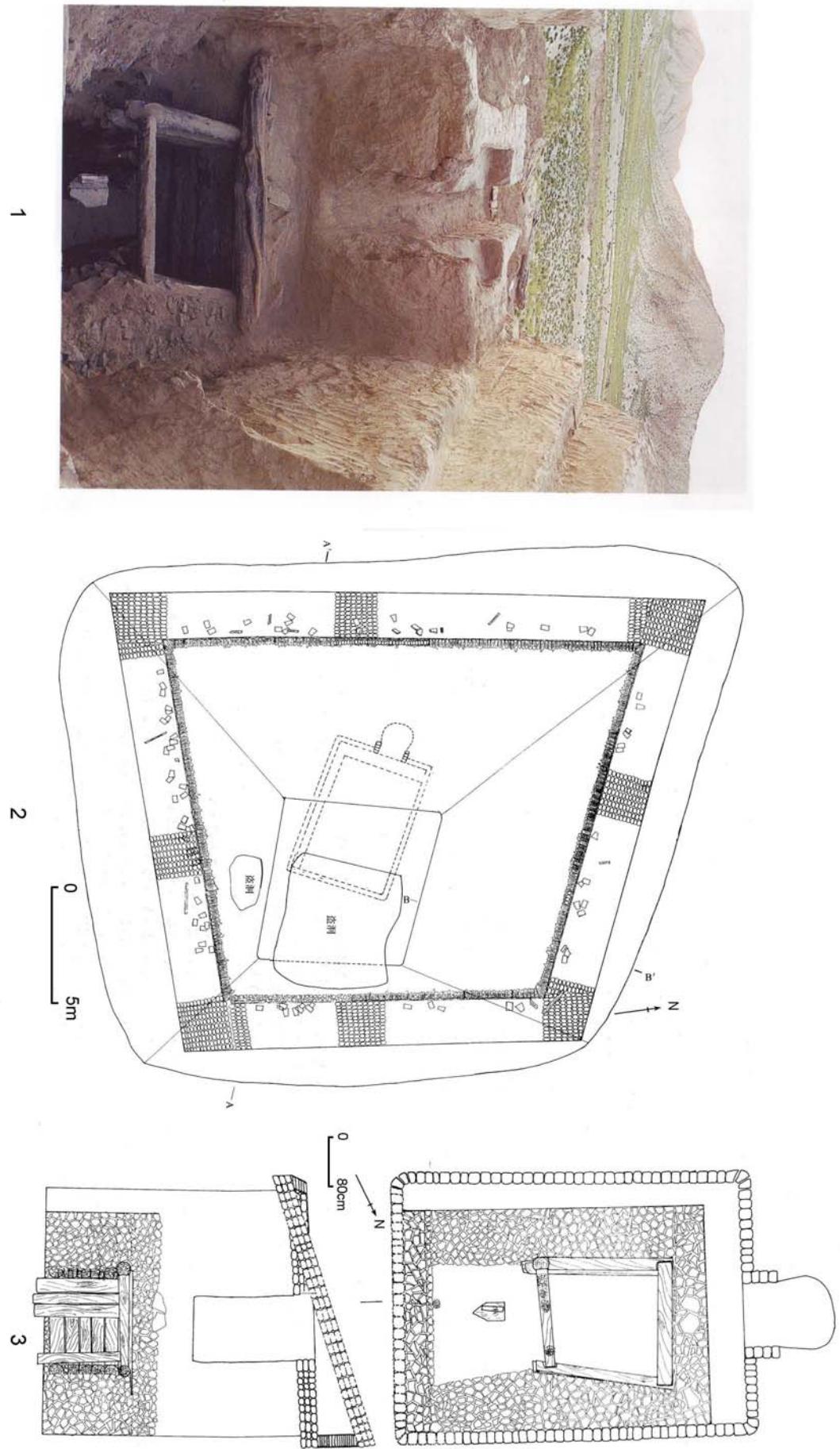


Fig. 6.1.1-8 Zhigazi M1, Reshui

Fig. 6.1.1-9 99DRNM2, Reshui section II



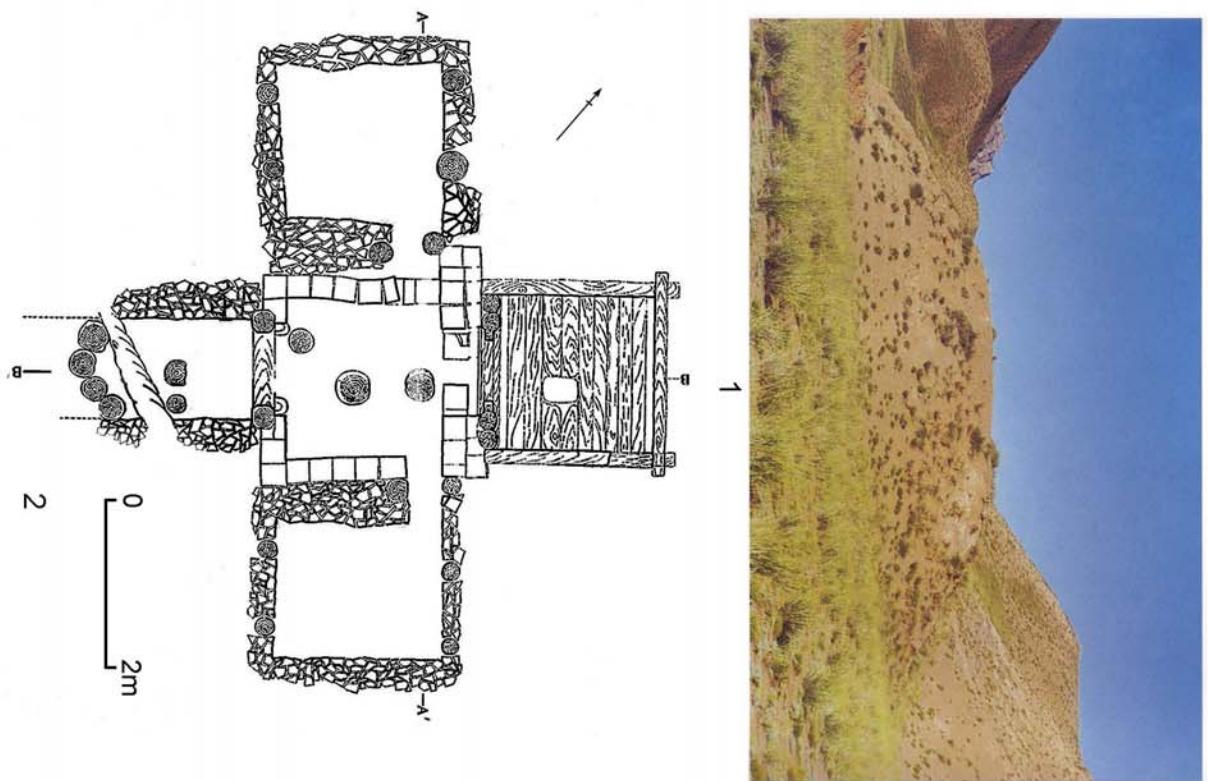
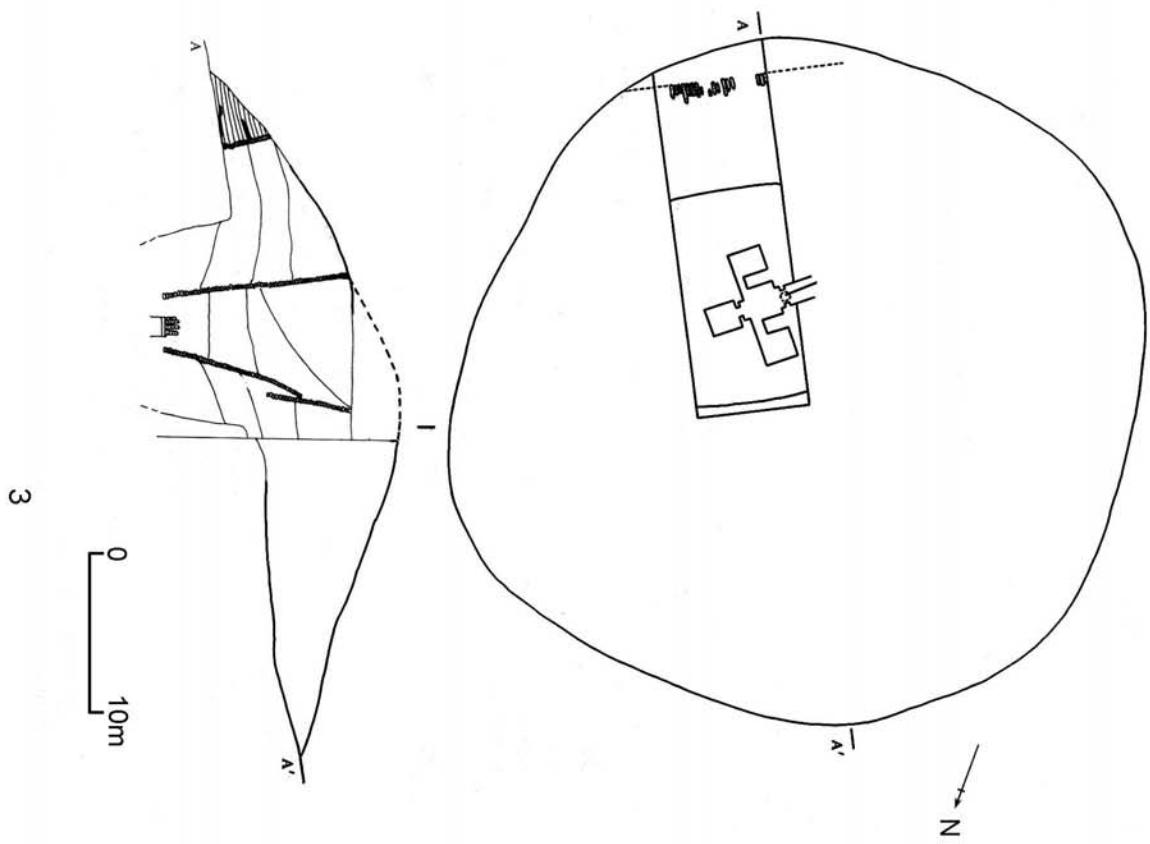


Fig. 6.1.1-10 99DRNM1, Reshui section II



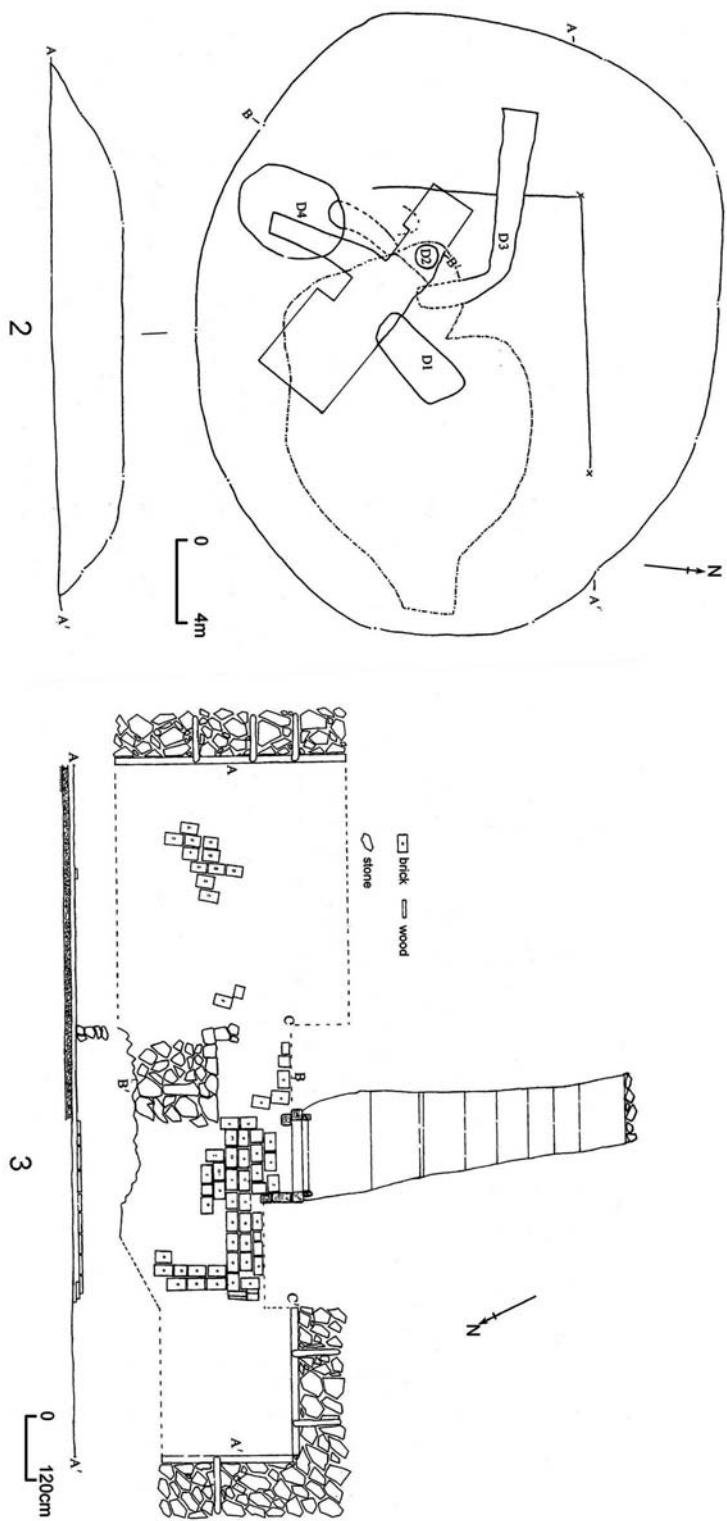
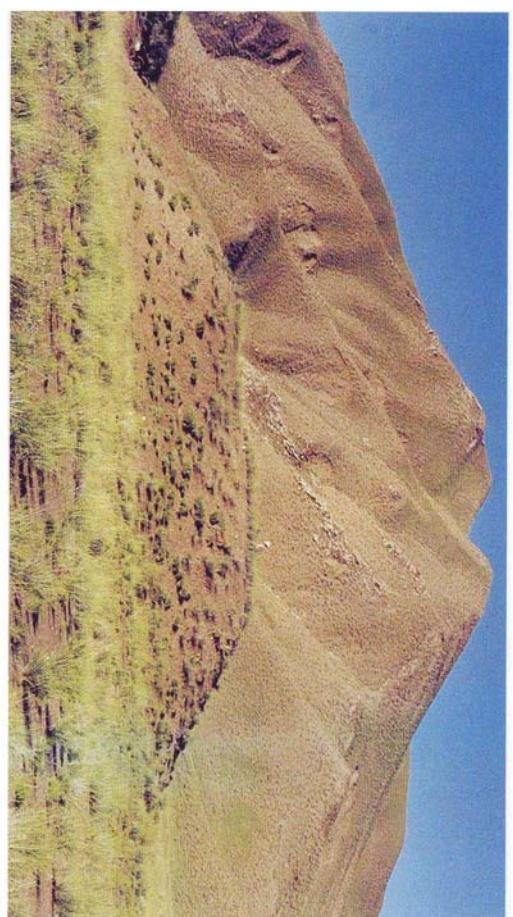
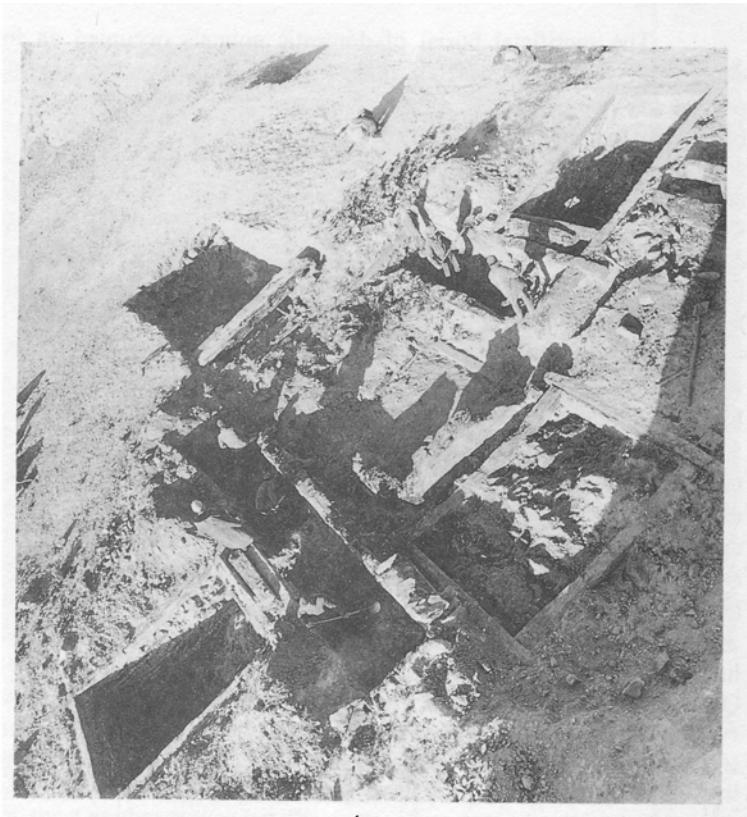
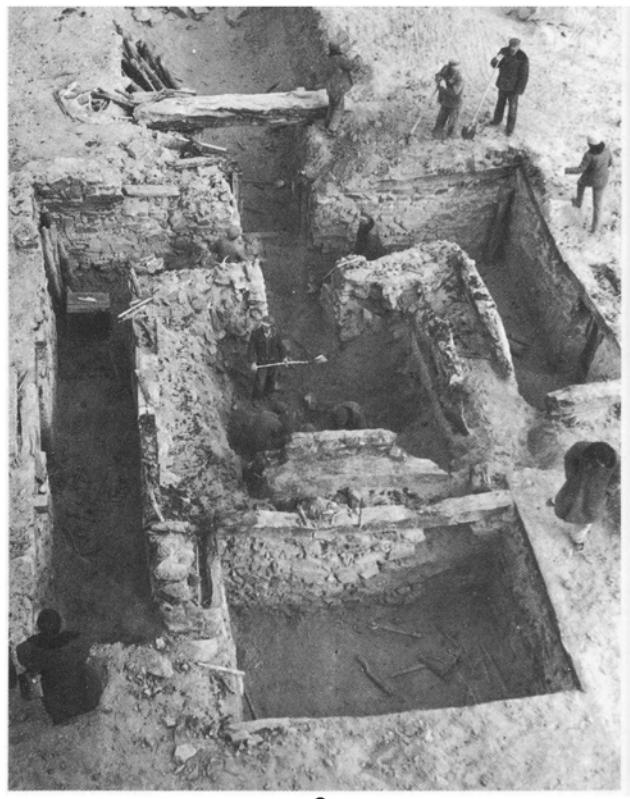


Fig. 6.1.1-11 99DRNM3, Reshui section II



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Fig. 6.1.1-12 Chamber of Reshui M1

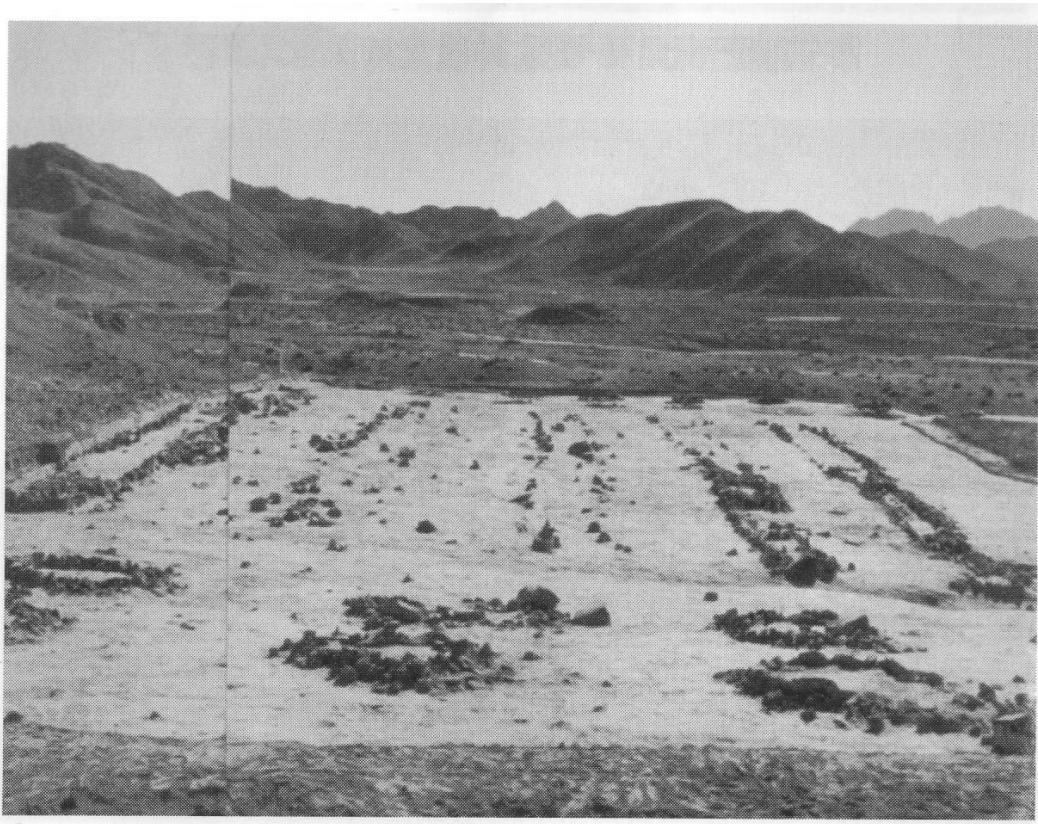


Fig. 6.1.1-13 Sacrificial pits of Reshui M1



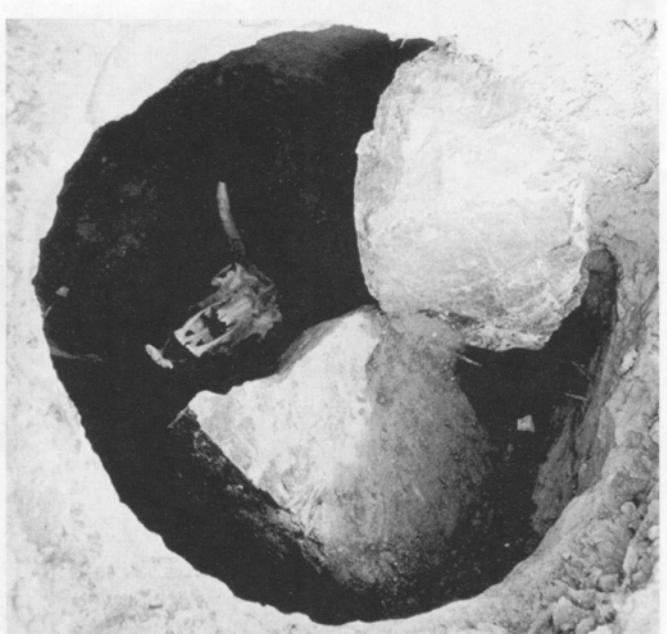
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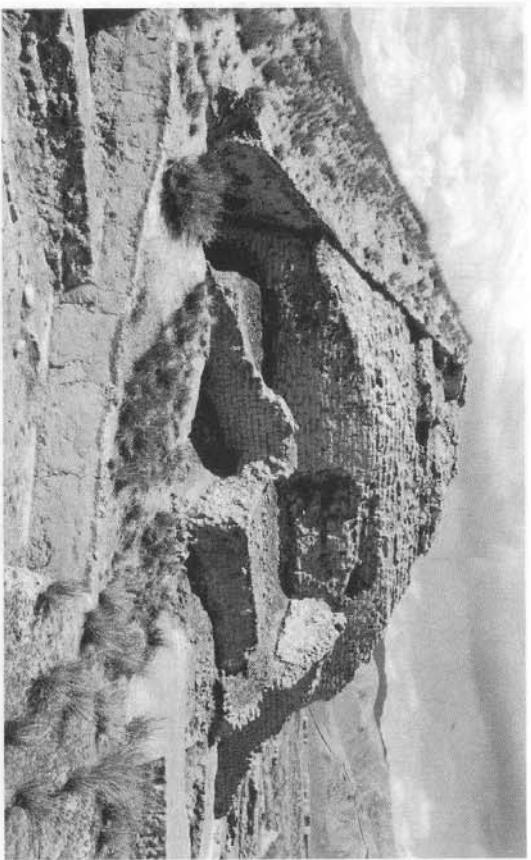


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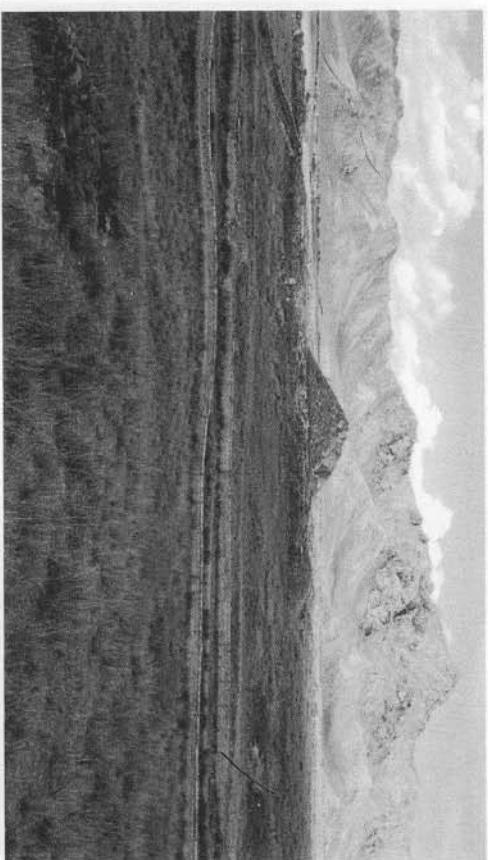


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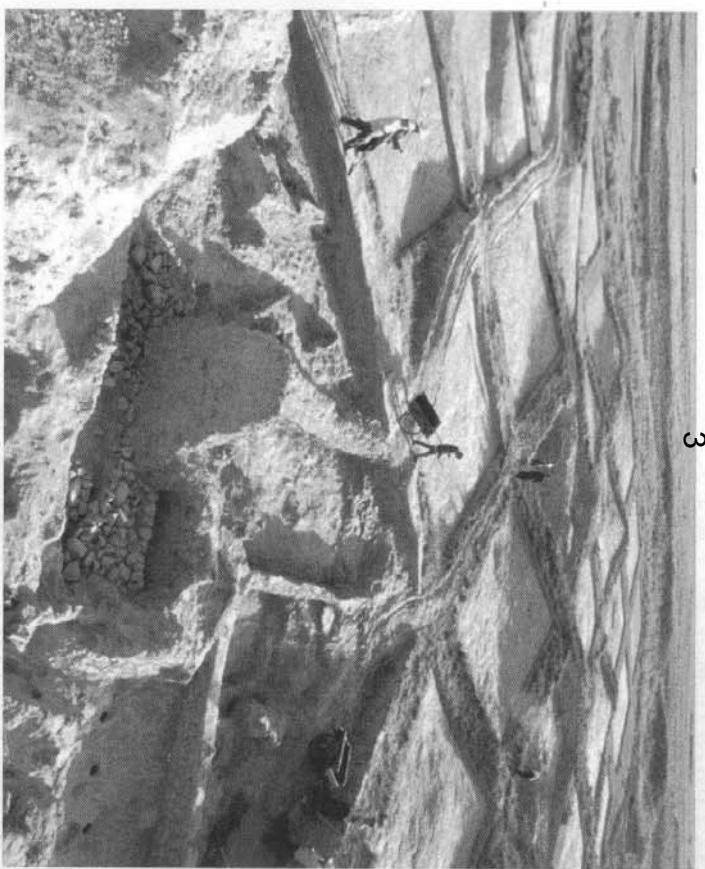
Fig. 6.1.1-14 Sacrificial pits of Reshui M1



2



1



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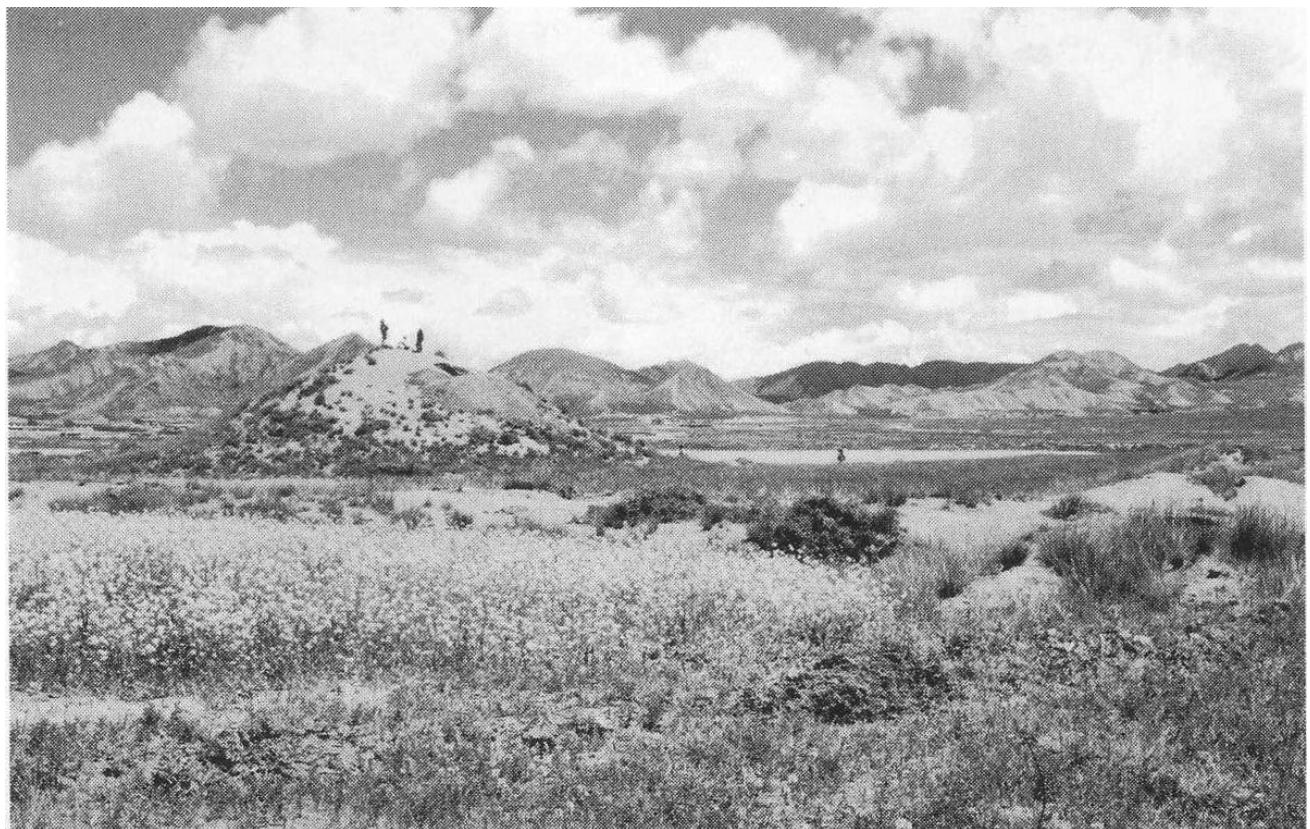


4

Fig. 6.1.2-1 The Kaoxiaotu cemetery and house foundations

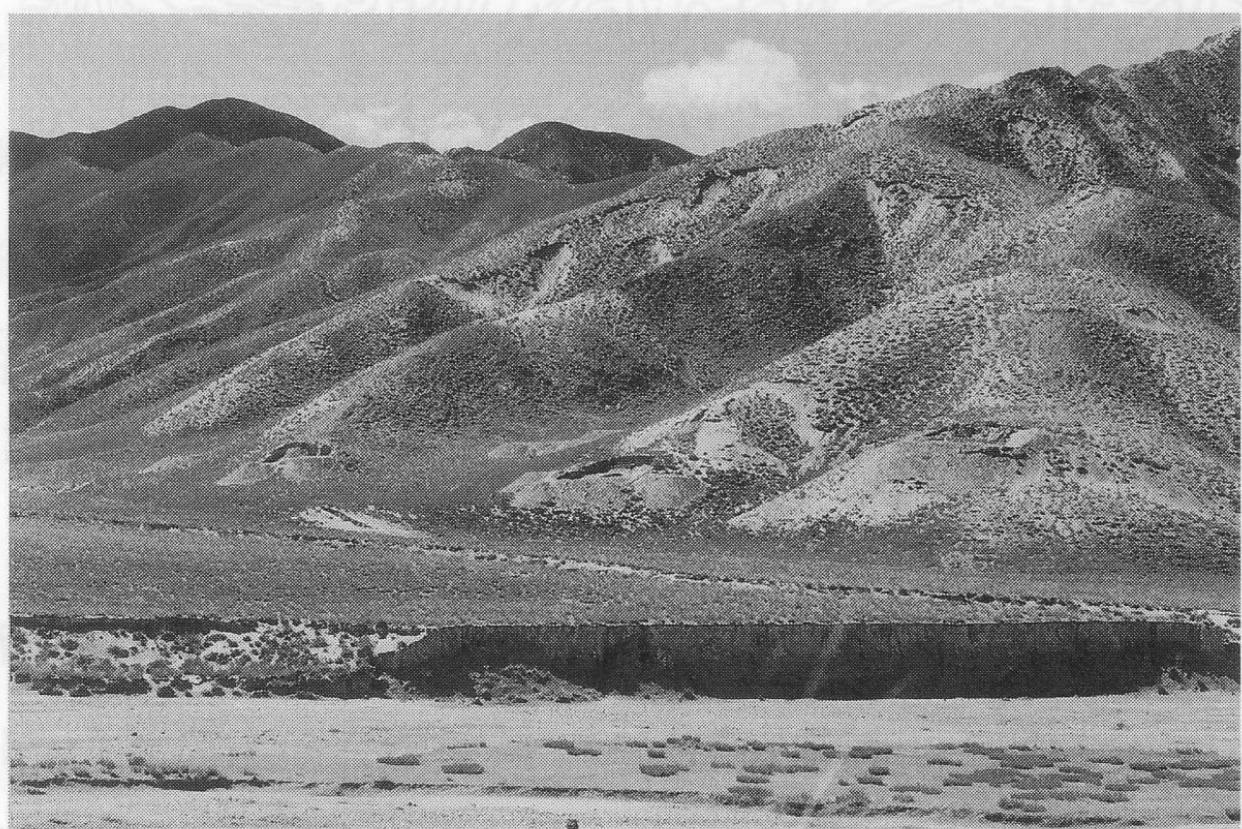


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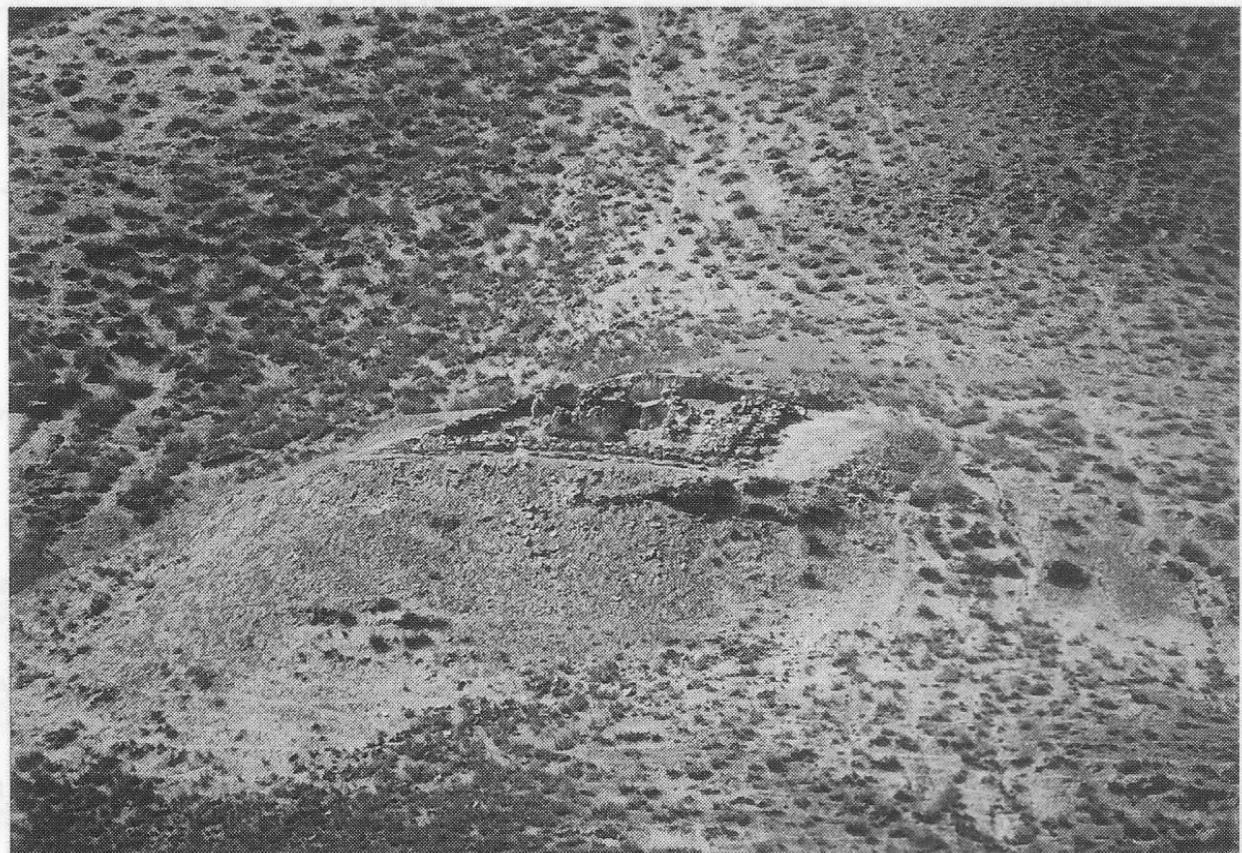


2

Fig. 6.1.2-2 The Yingdeer cemetery



1



2

Fig. 6.1.2-3 The Dashijiaogou cemetery

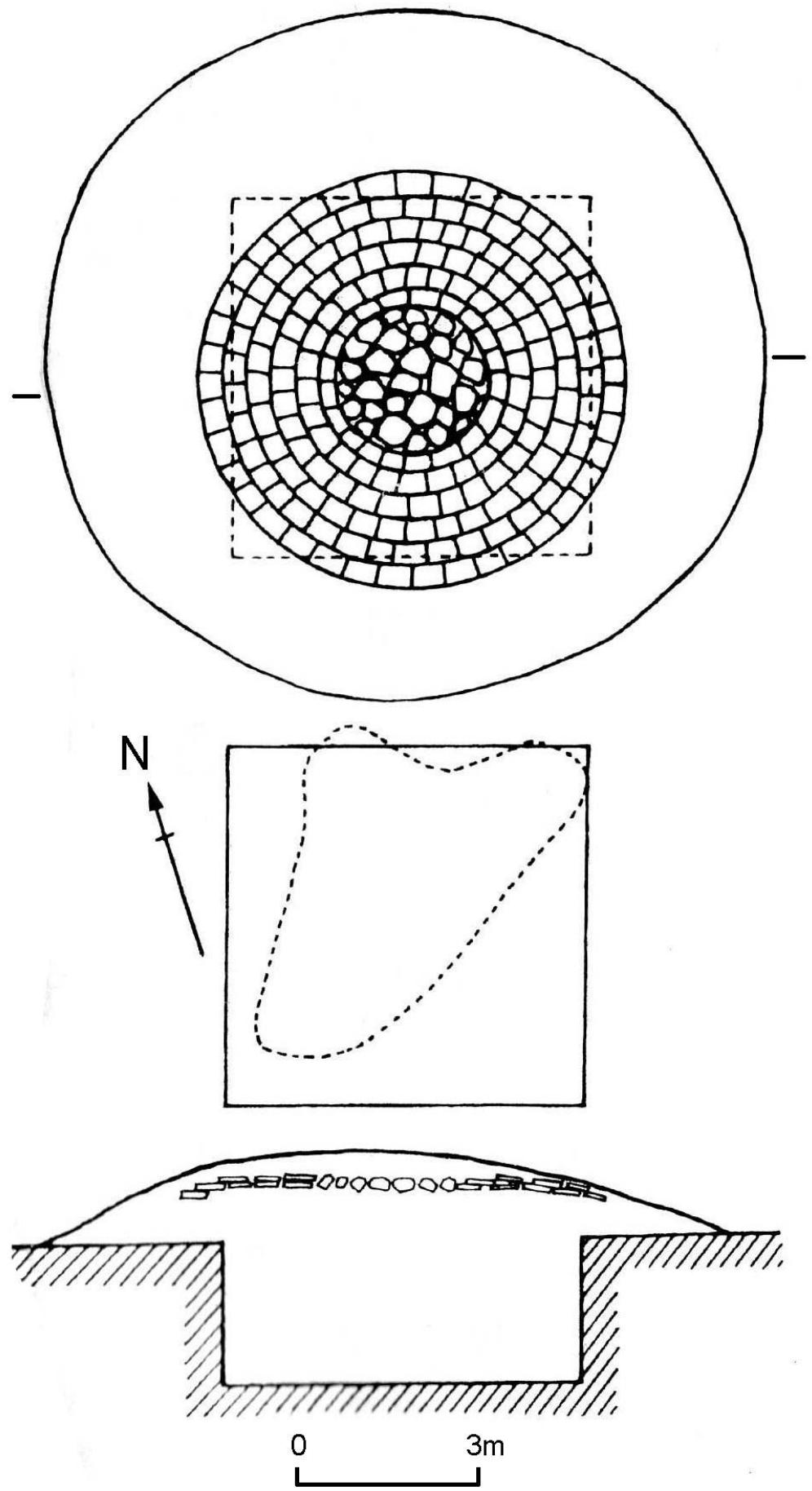


Fig. 6.1.2-4 Dananwan M1, Ulan

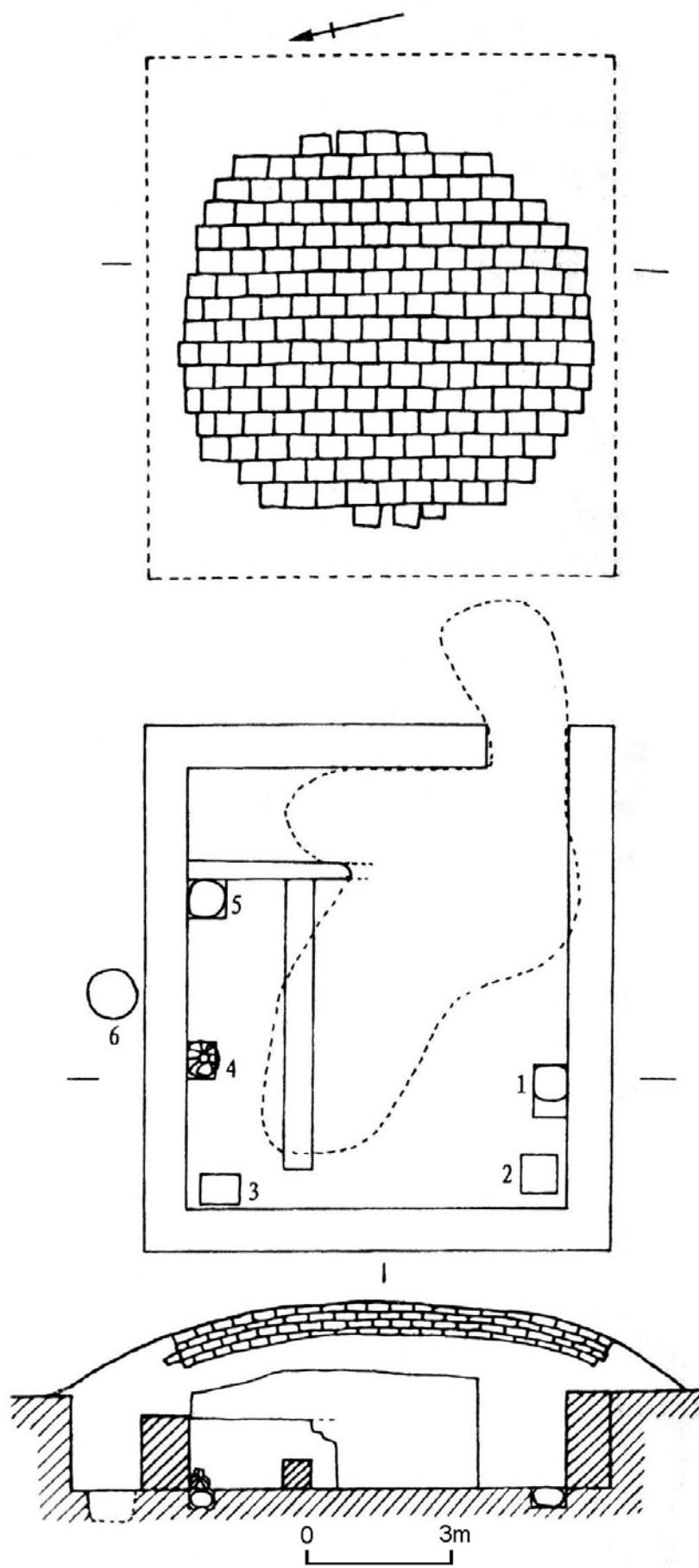


Fig. 6.1.2-5 Dananwan M3, Ulan

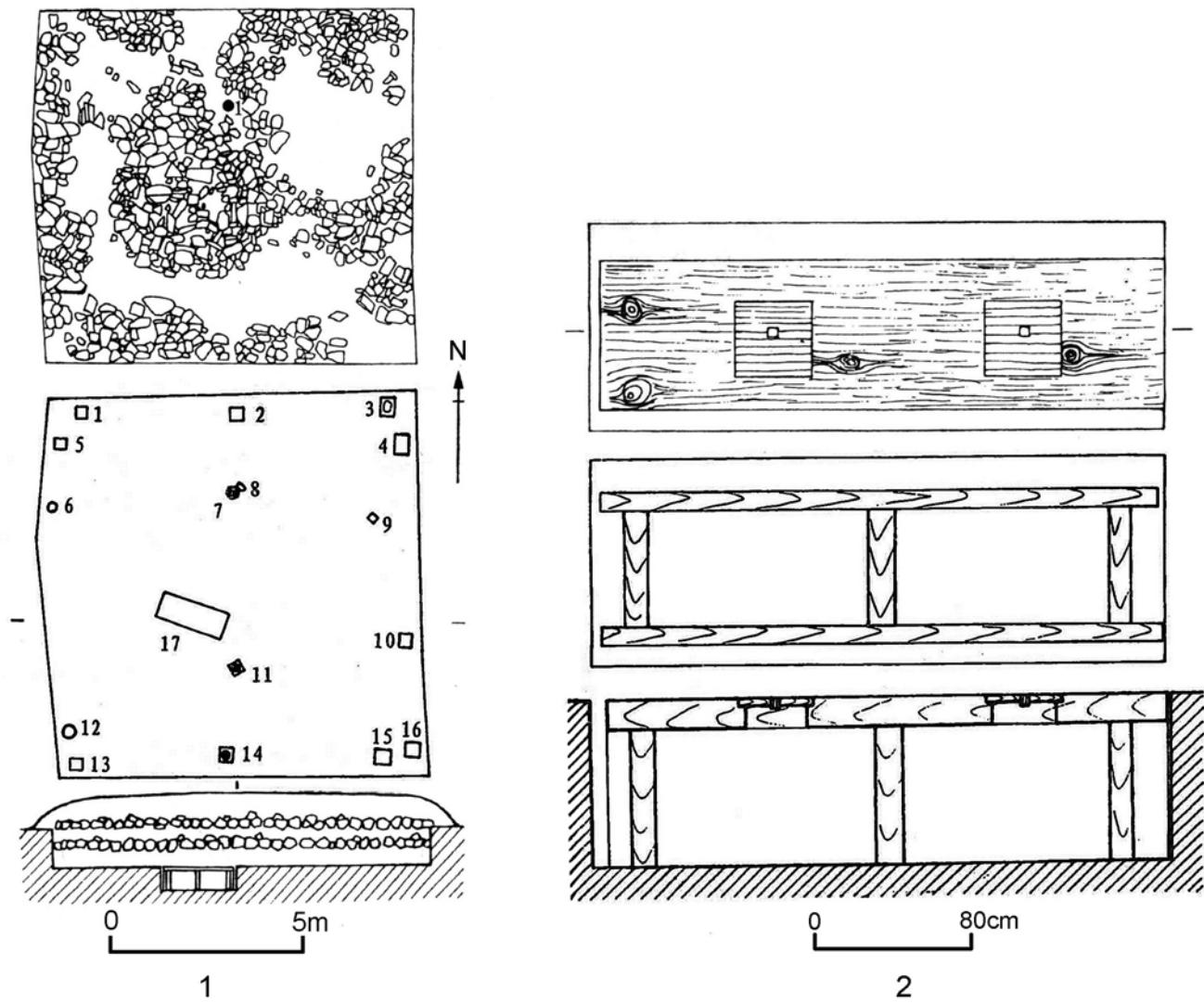


Fig. 6.1.2-6 Dananwan J1, Ulan

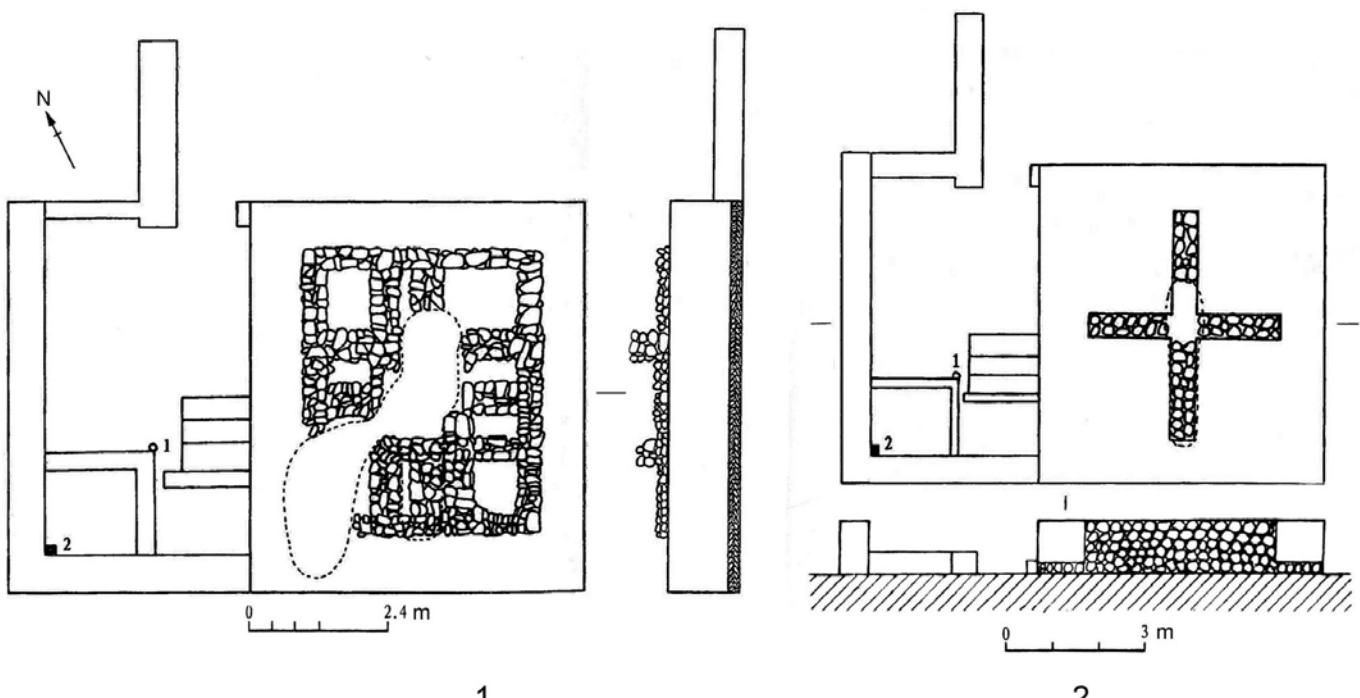
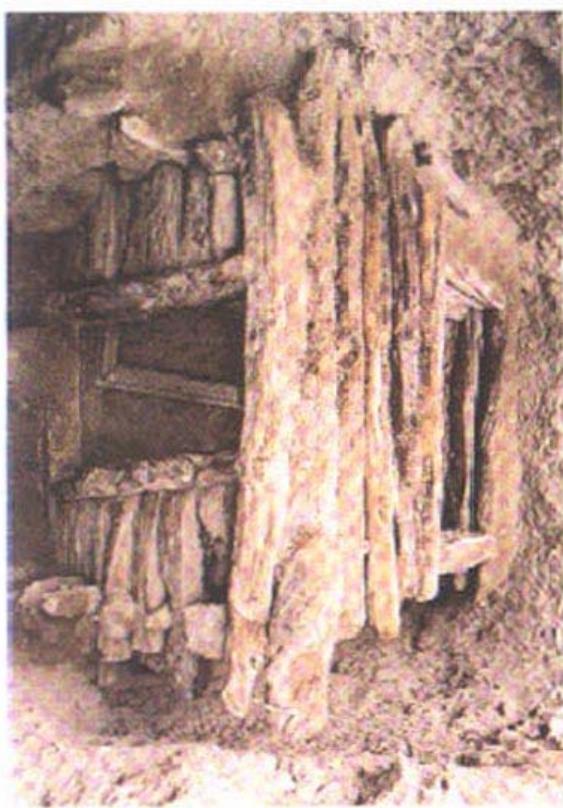


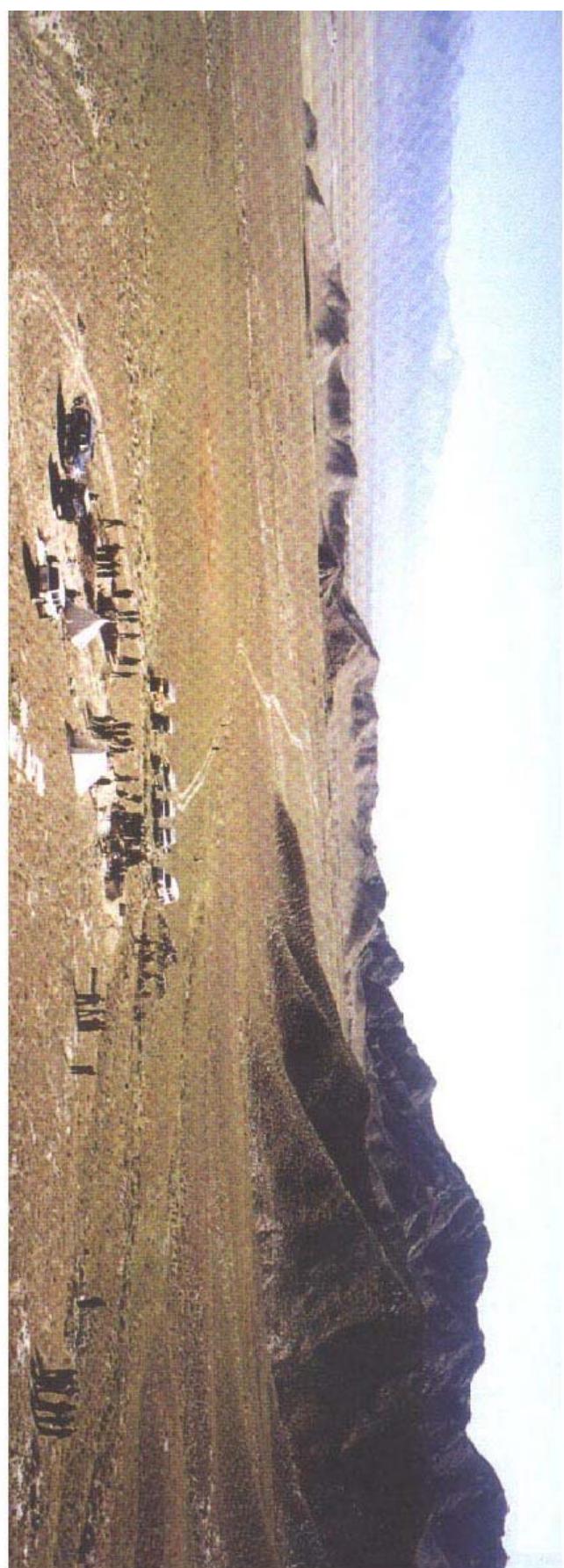
Fig. 6.1.2-7 Dananwan J2, Ulan

Fig. 6.1.2-8 The Guolimu cemetery (M1, M2), Delingha

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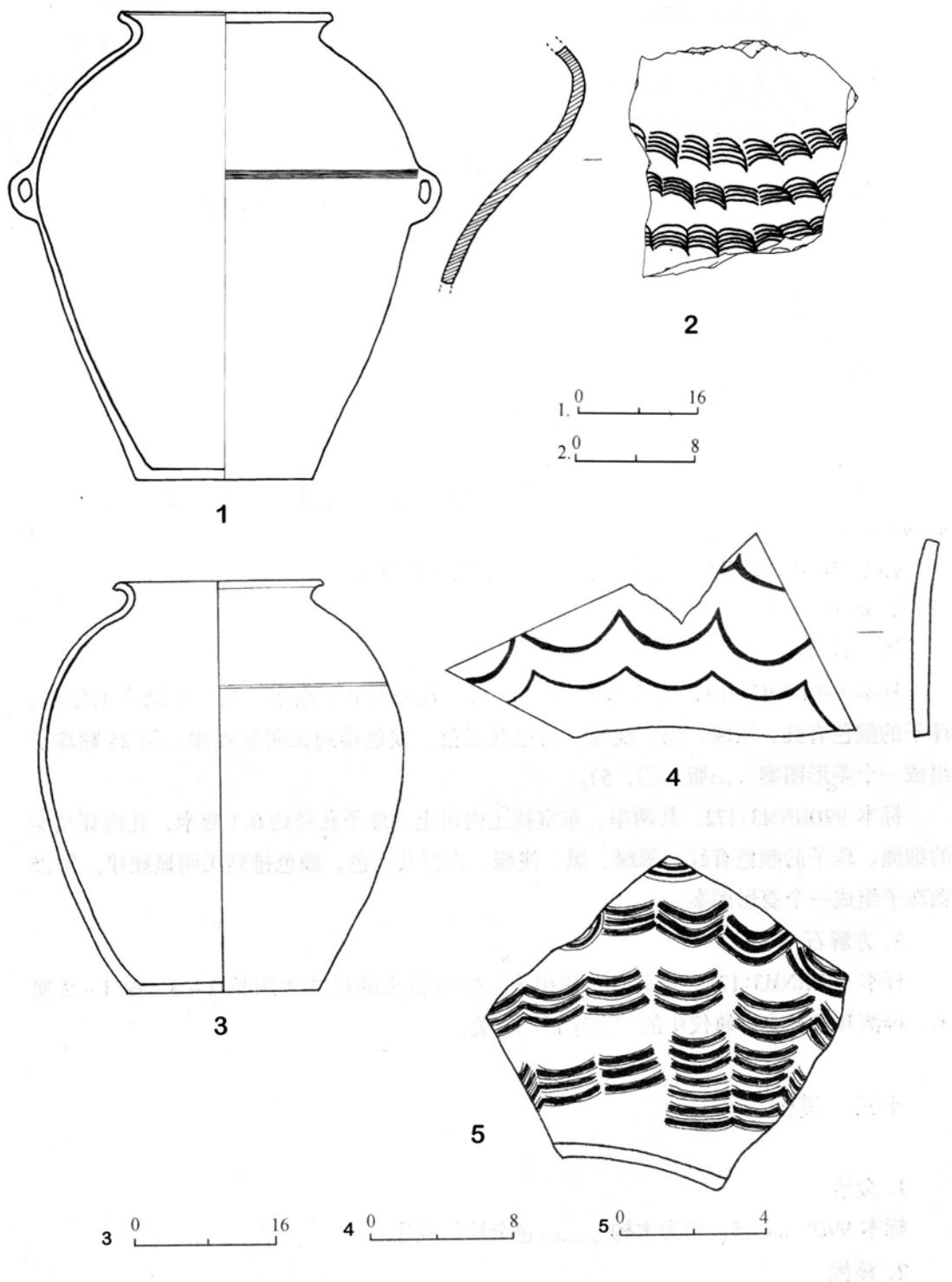


Fig. 6.2.1-1 Pottery, Reshui section II: 1, 2. 99DRNM1; 3, 4, 5. 99DRNM3

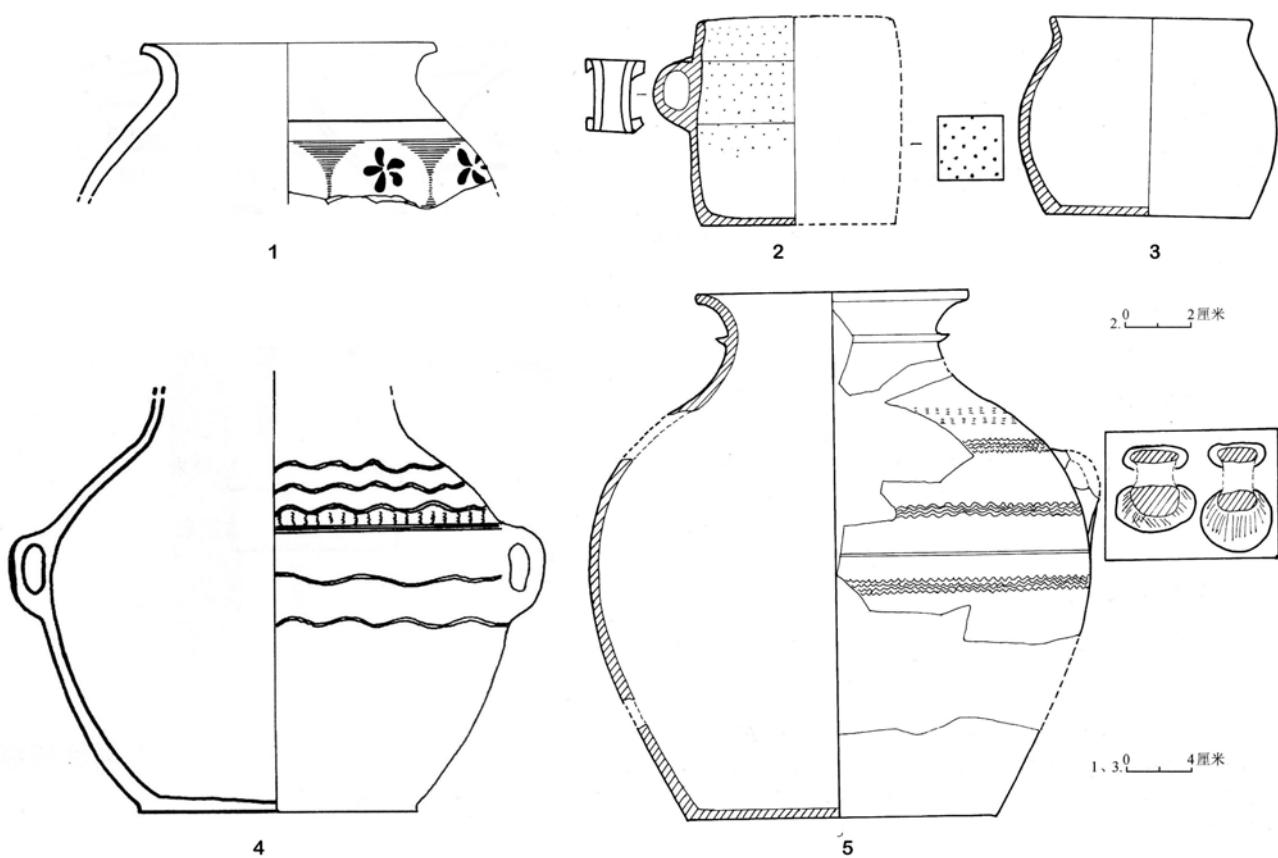


Fig. 6.2.1-2 Pottery, Reshui section II: 1, 4. 99DRNM1; 2, 3, 5. 99DRNM2



Fig. 6.2.2-1 Wooden casket, 99DRNM3

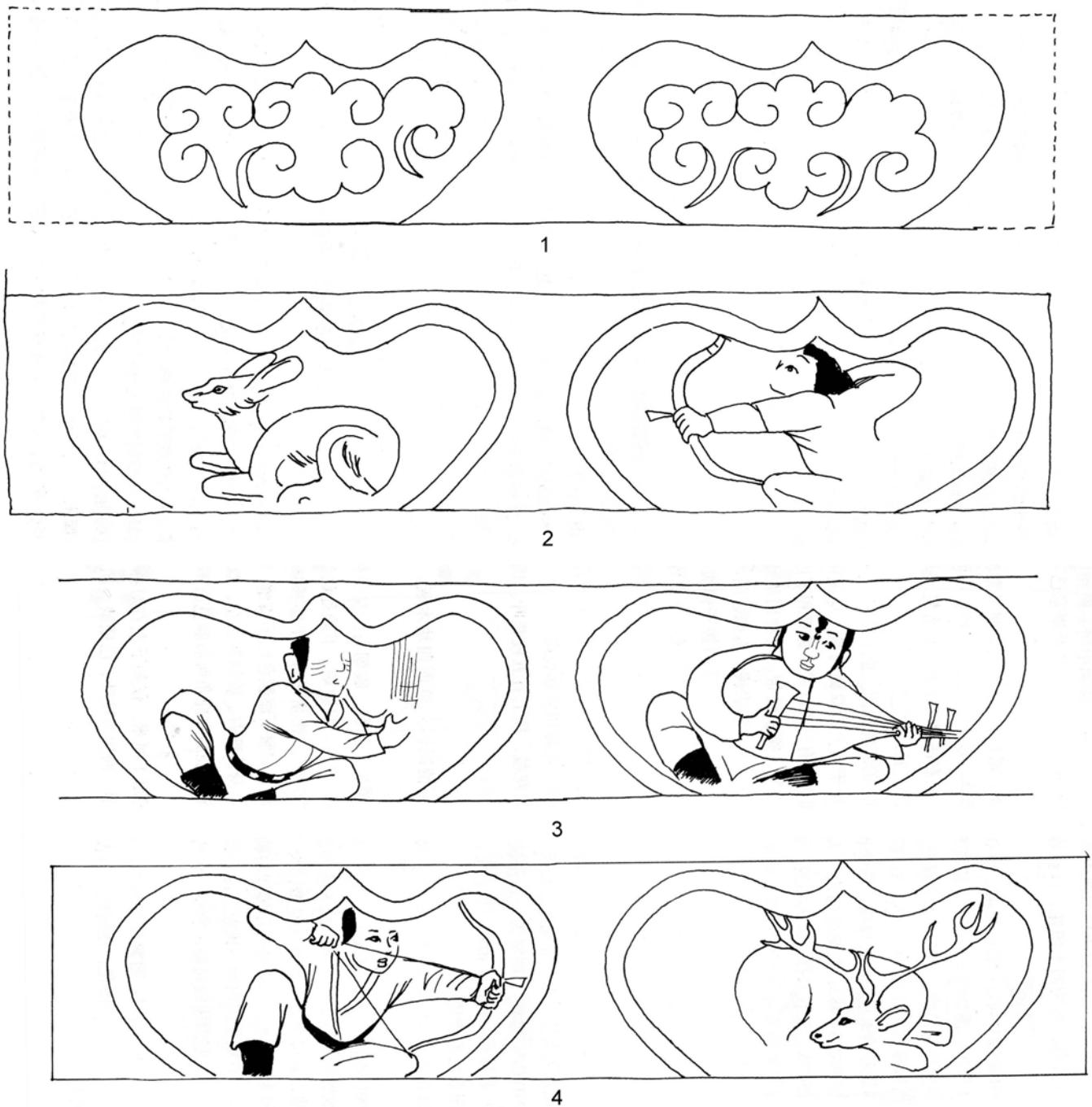


Fig. 6.2.2-2 Designs on the wooden casket, 99DRNM3

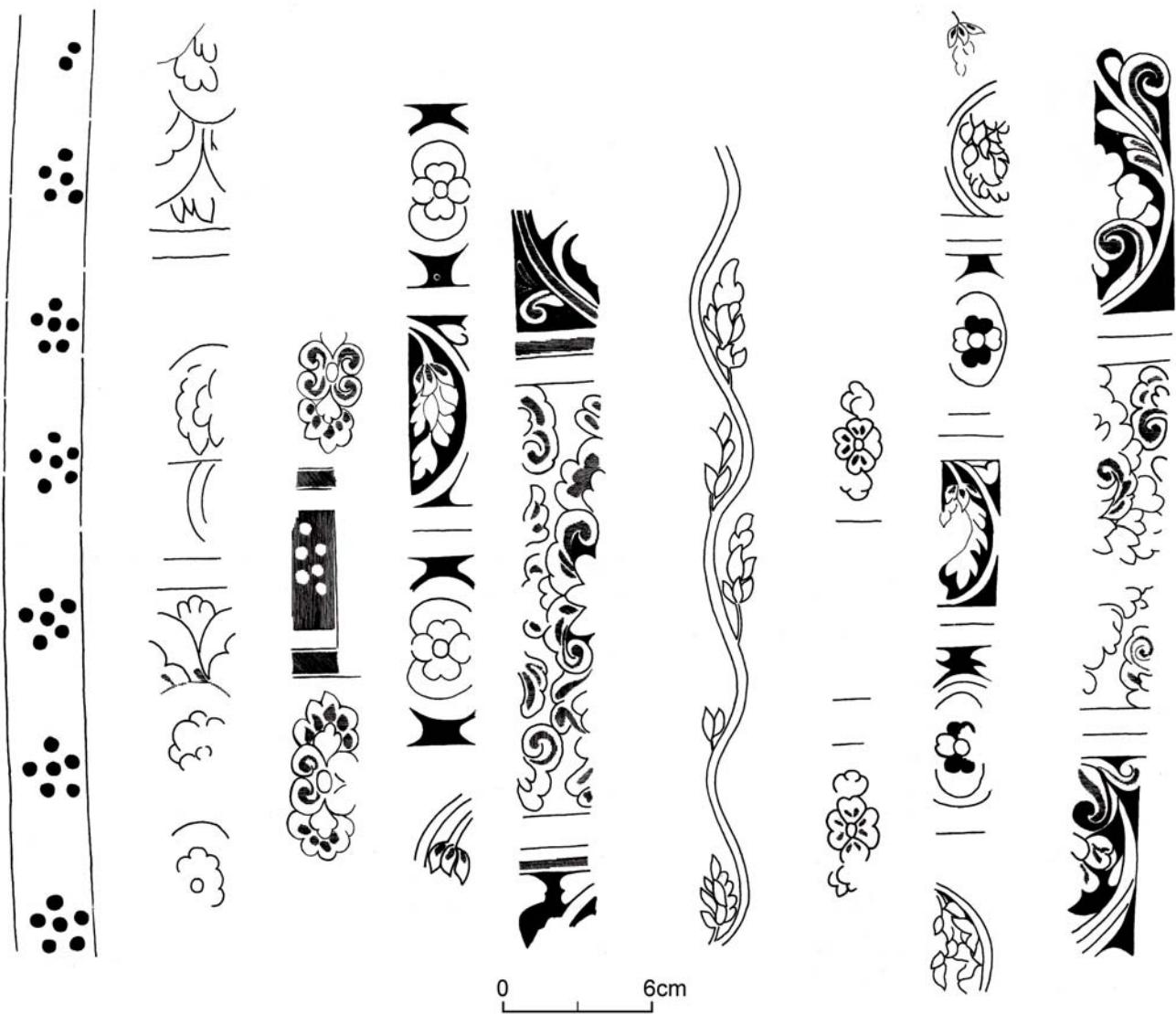


Fig. 6.2.2-3 Designs on the wooden fragments, 99DRNM3



Fig. 6.2.2-4 Designs on the wooden fragments, Guolimu



Fig. 6.2.2-5 Designs on the wooden fragments, Reshui section II

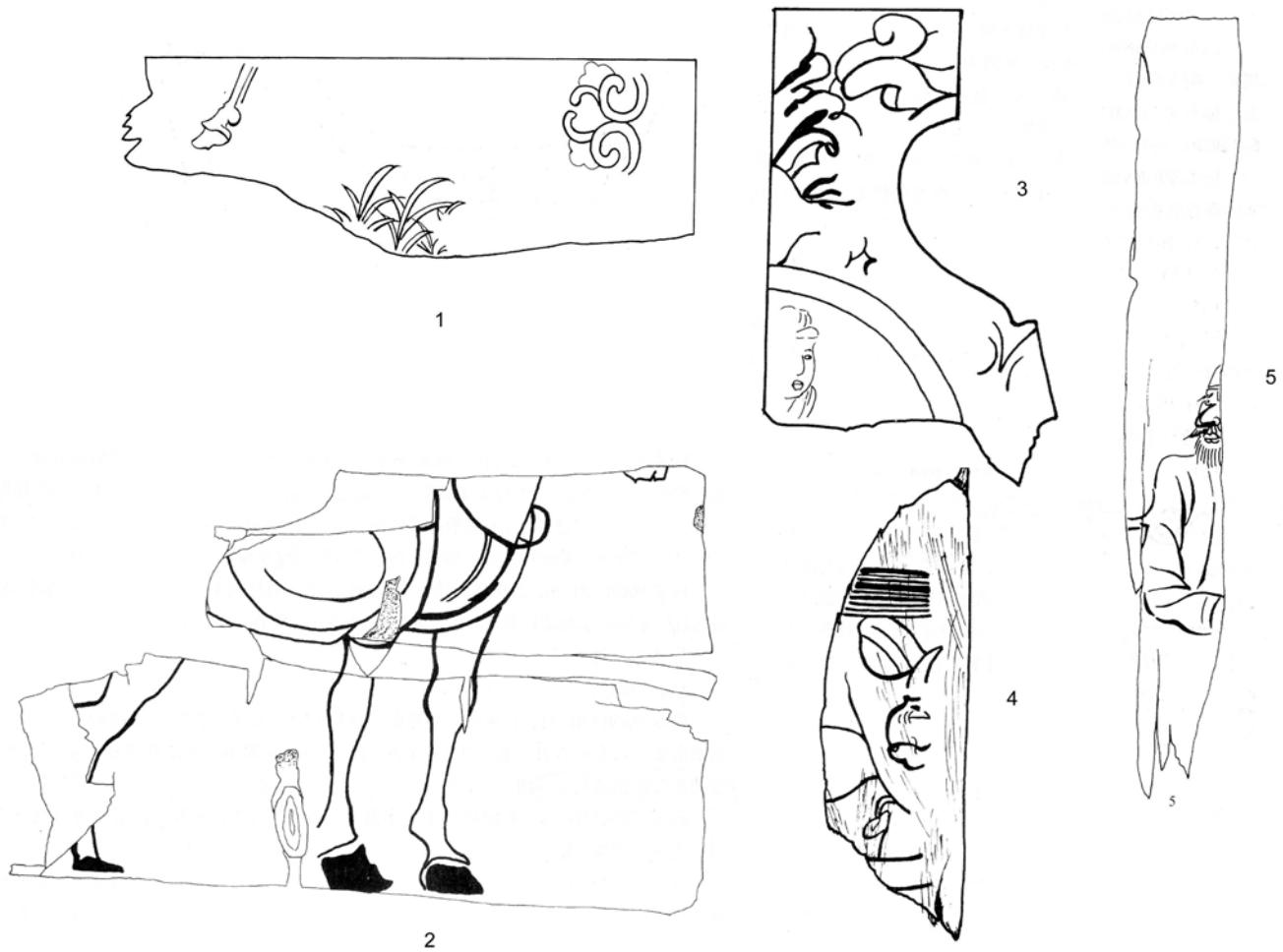


Fig. 6.2.2-6 Scenes on the wooden fragments, Reshui section II

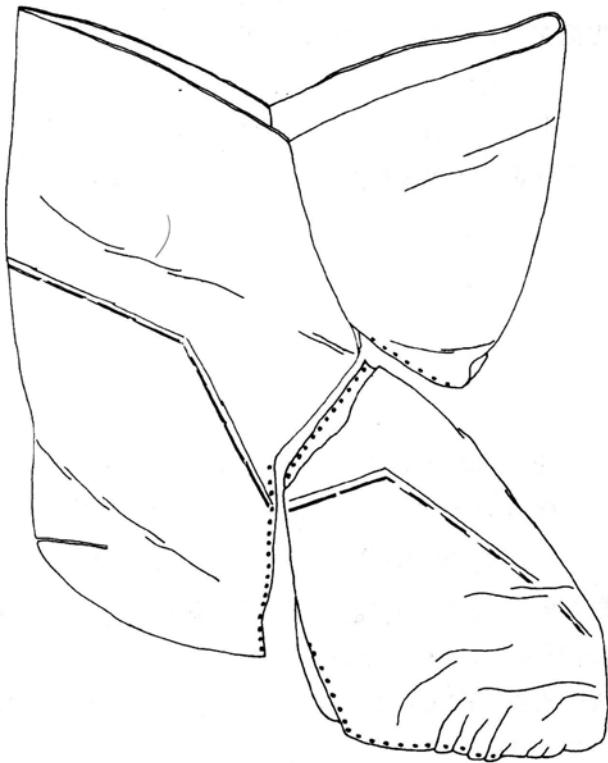


Fig. 6.2.3-1 Leather shoe, 99DRNM1

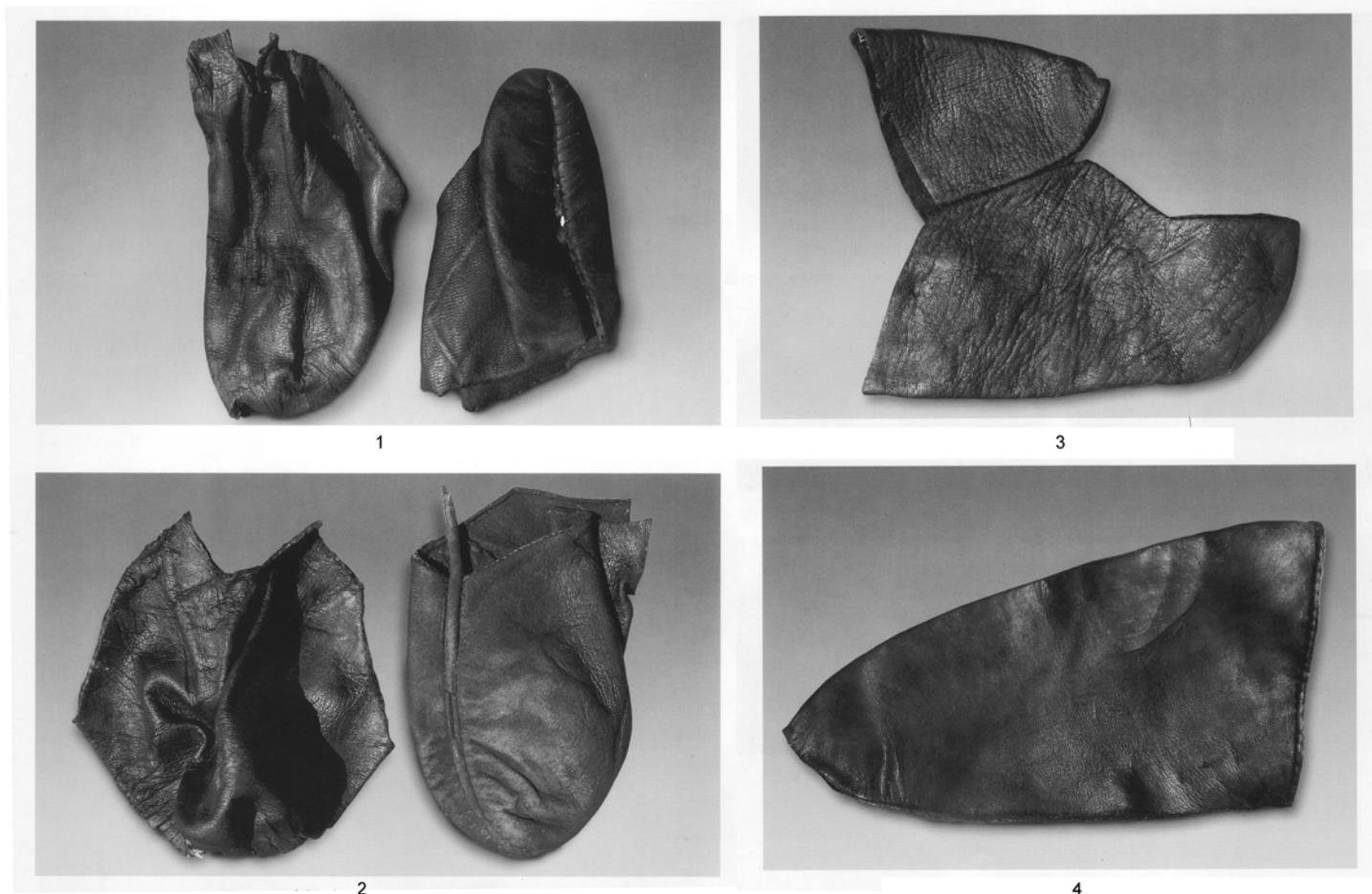


Fig. 6.2.3-2 Leather shoes, 99DRNM1

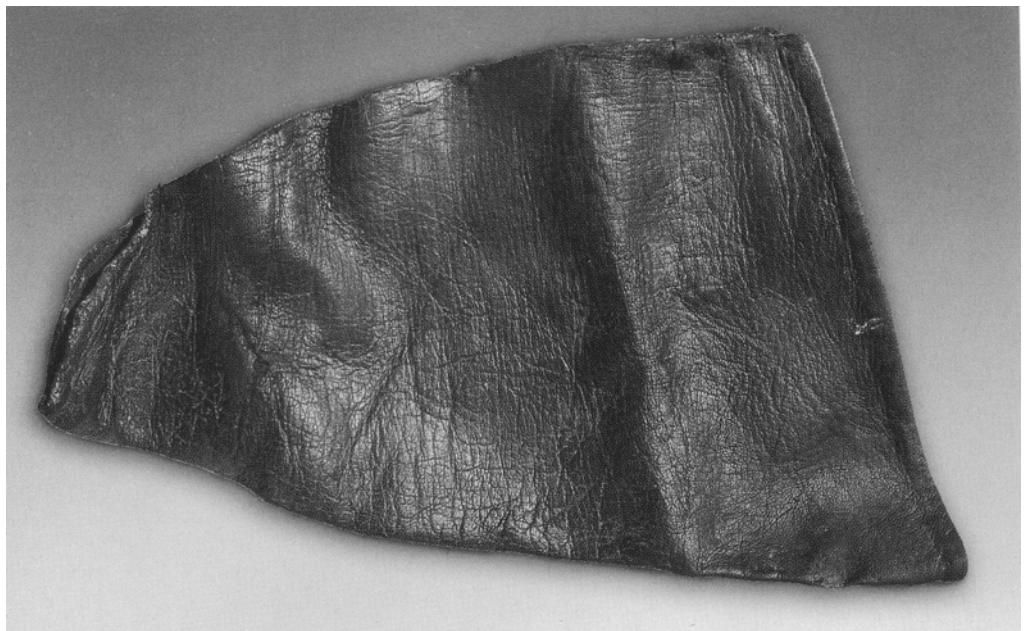


Fig. 6.2.3-3 Leather shoes, 99DRNM3



Fig. 6.2.3-4 Leather belts, 99DRNM1

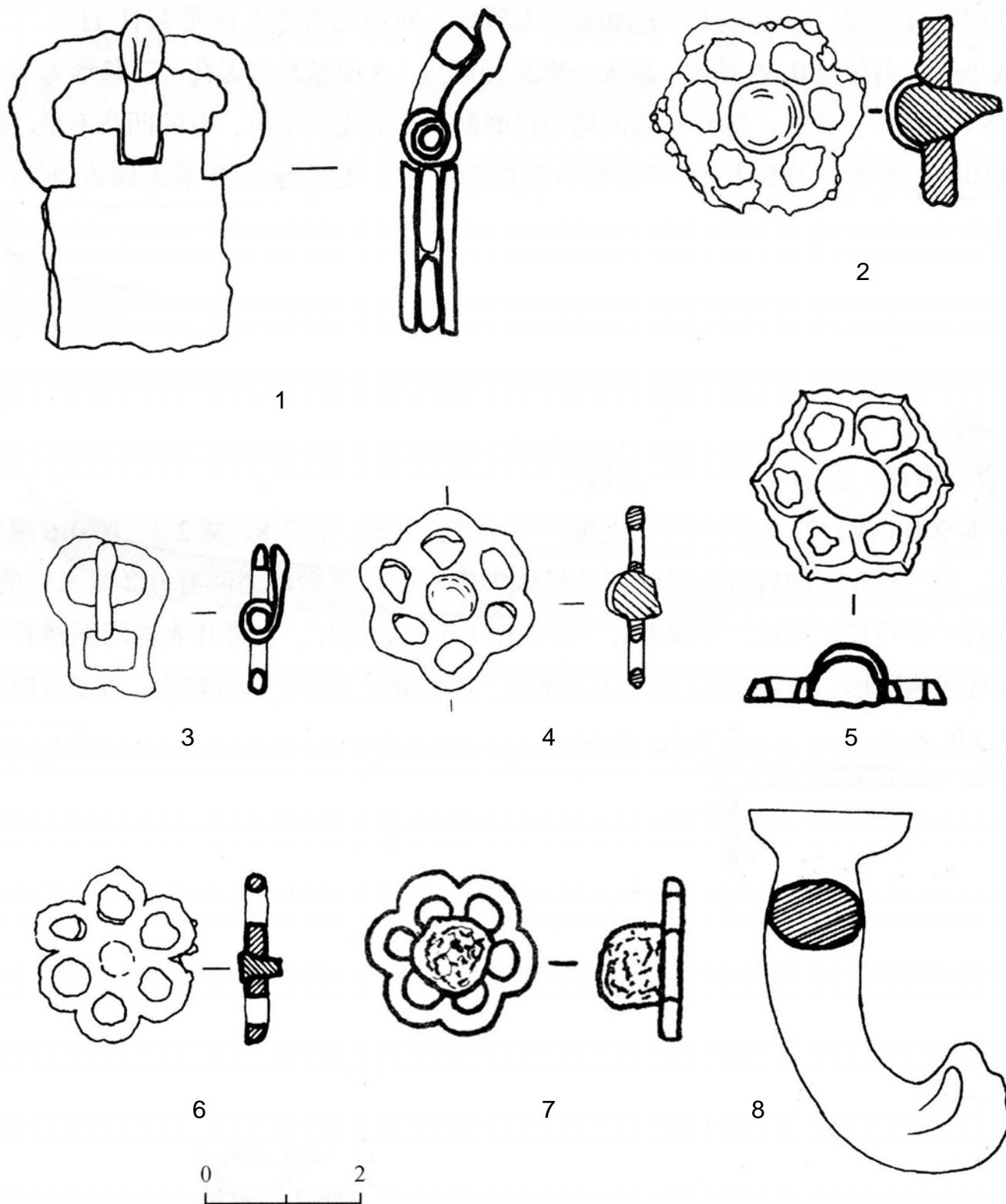


Fig. 6.2.4-1 Bronze belt buckle and rosette, Reshui section II

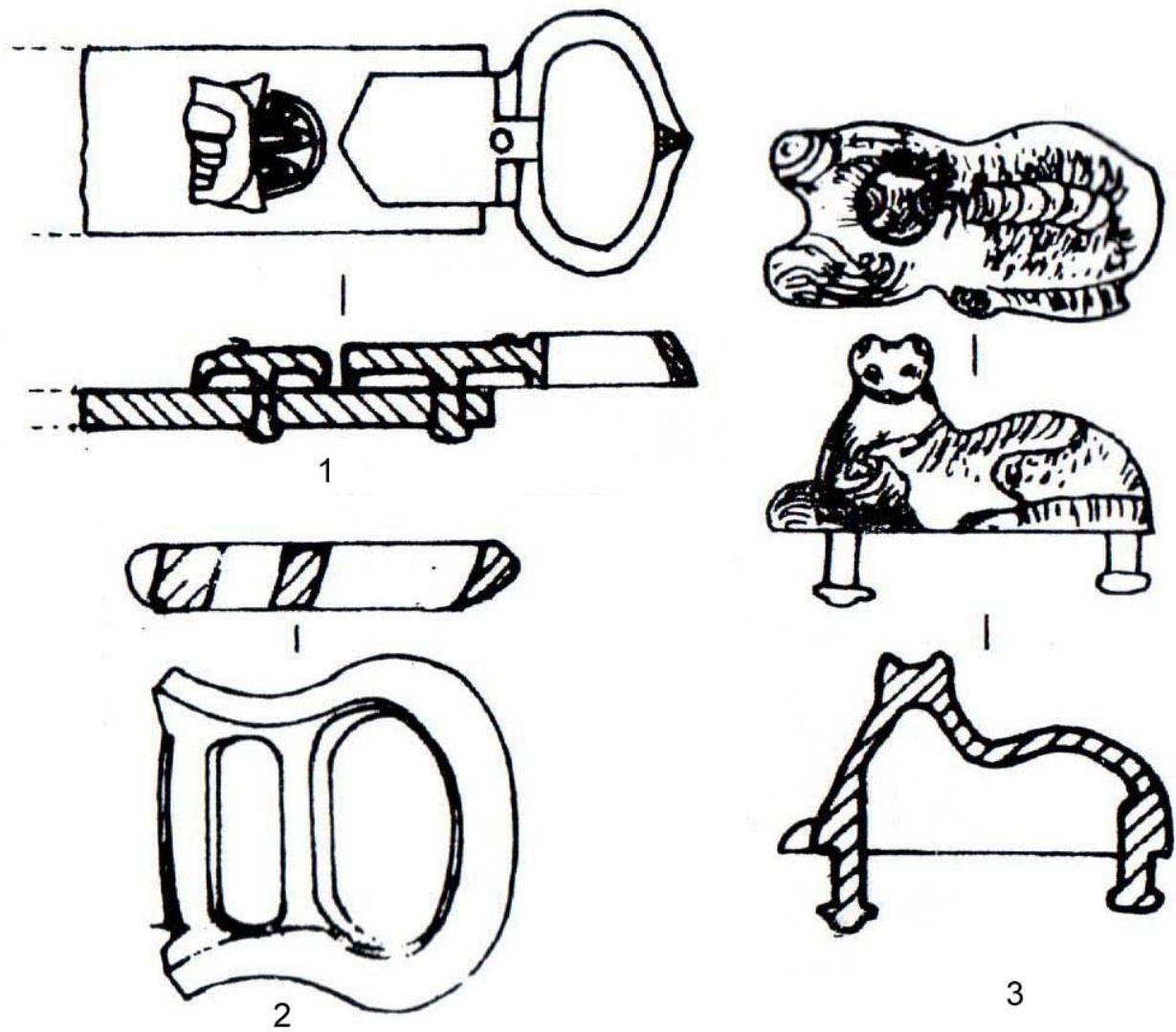


Fig. 6.2.4-2 Bronze belt buckles and hook, Dananwan

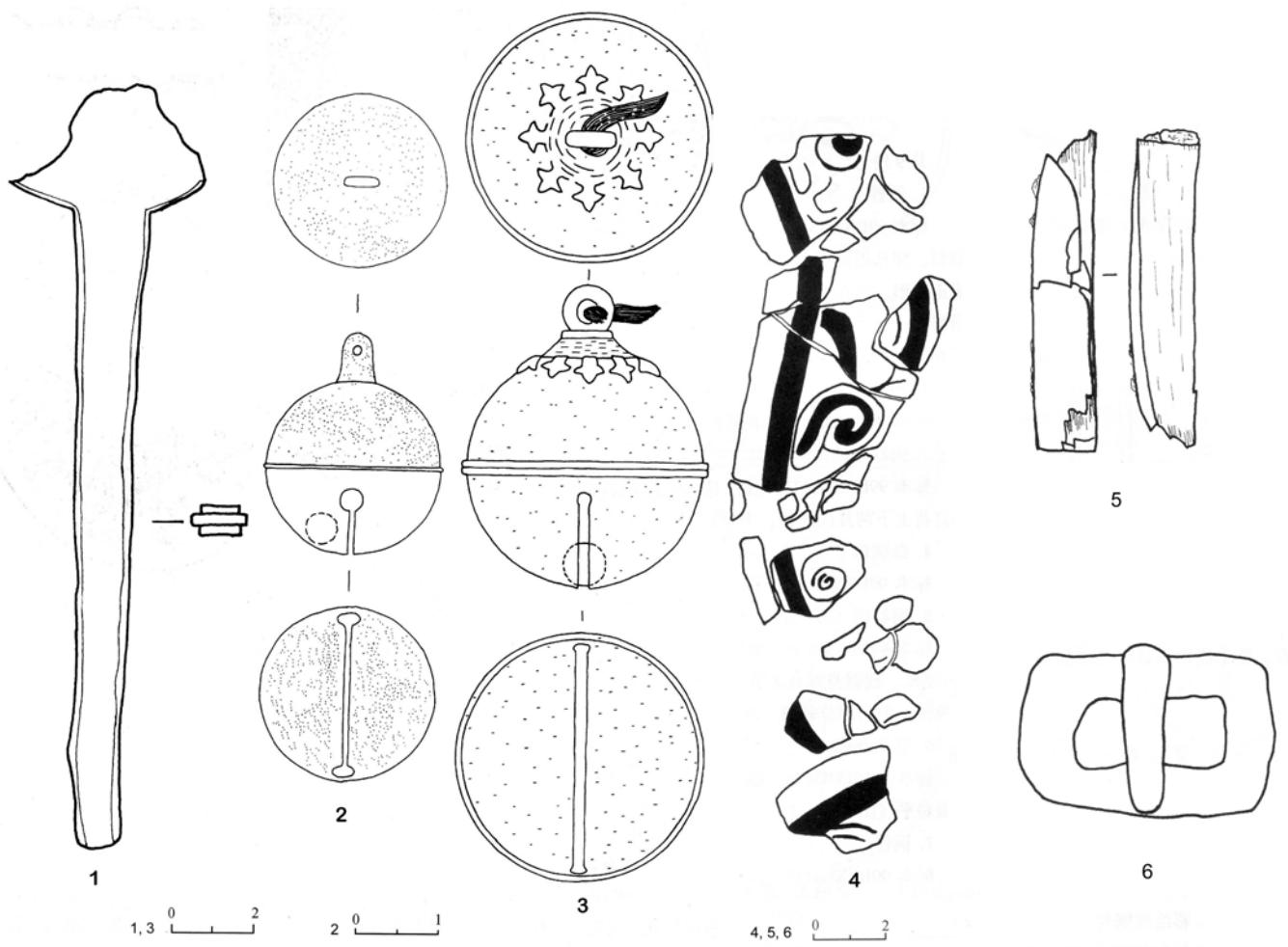


Fig. 6.2.4-3 Bronze and iron objects, 99DRNM3

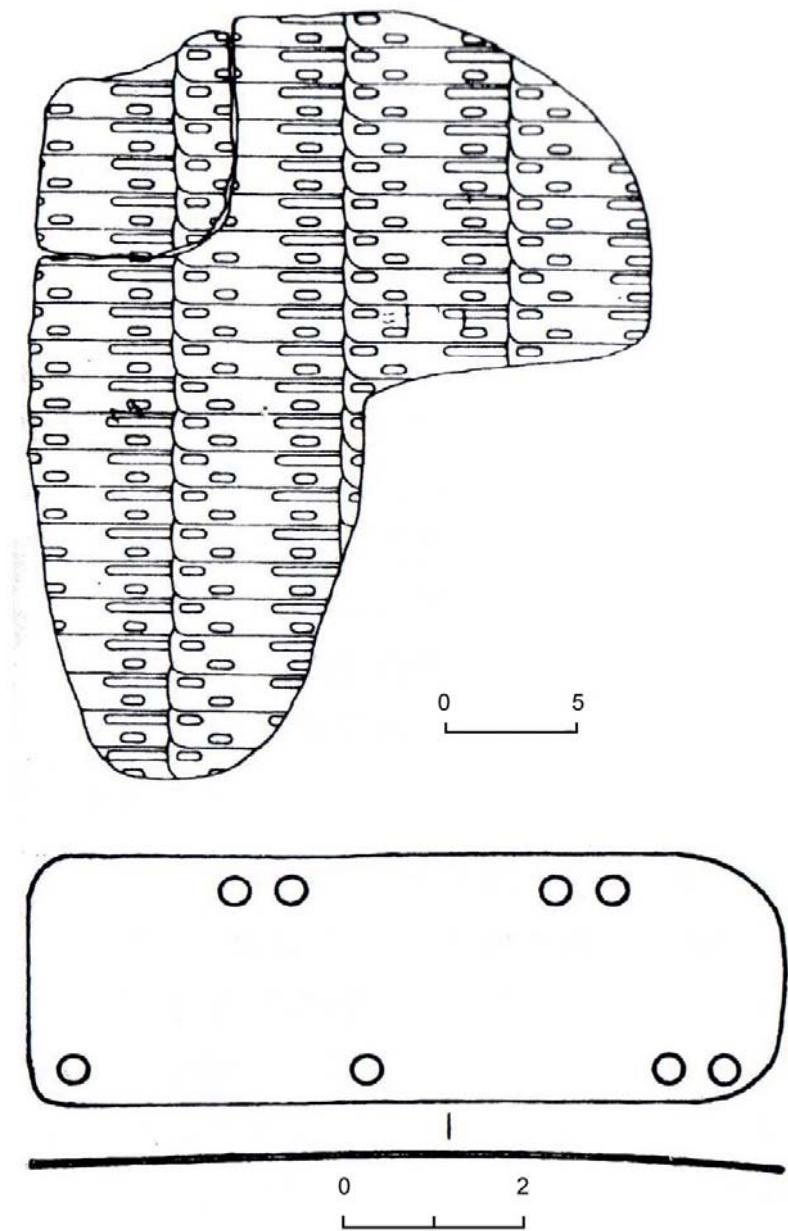


Fig. 6.2.4-4 Iron armor, Dananwan M4



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Fig. 6.2.5-1 Precious stones and pearls, Reshui section II

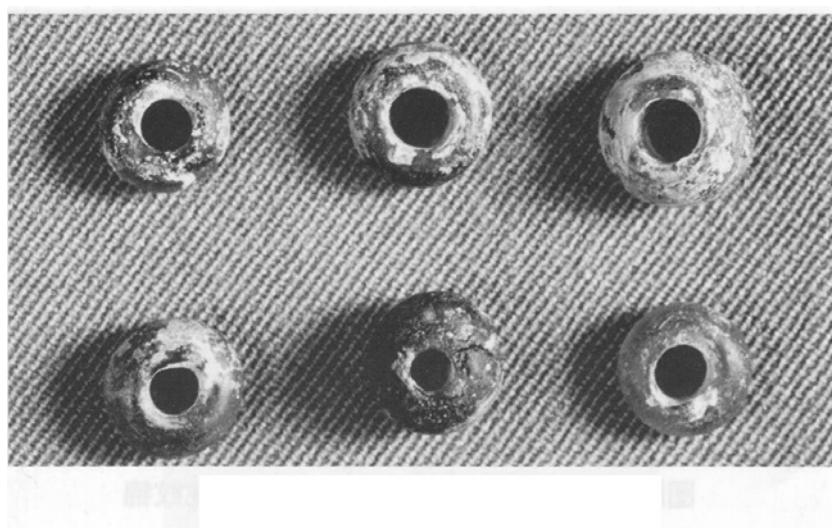


Fig. 6.2.5-2 Glass beads, Reshui M1

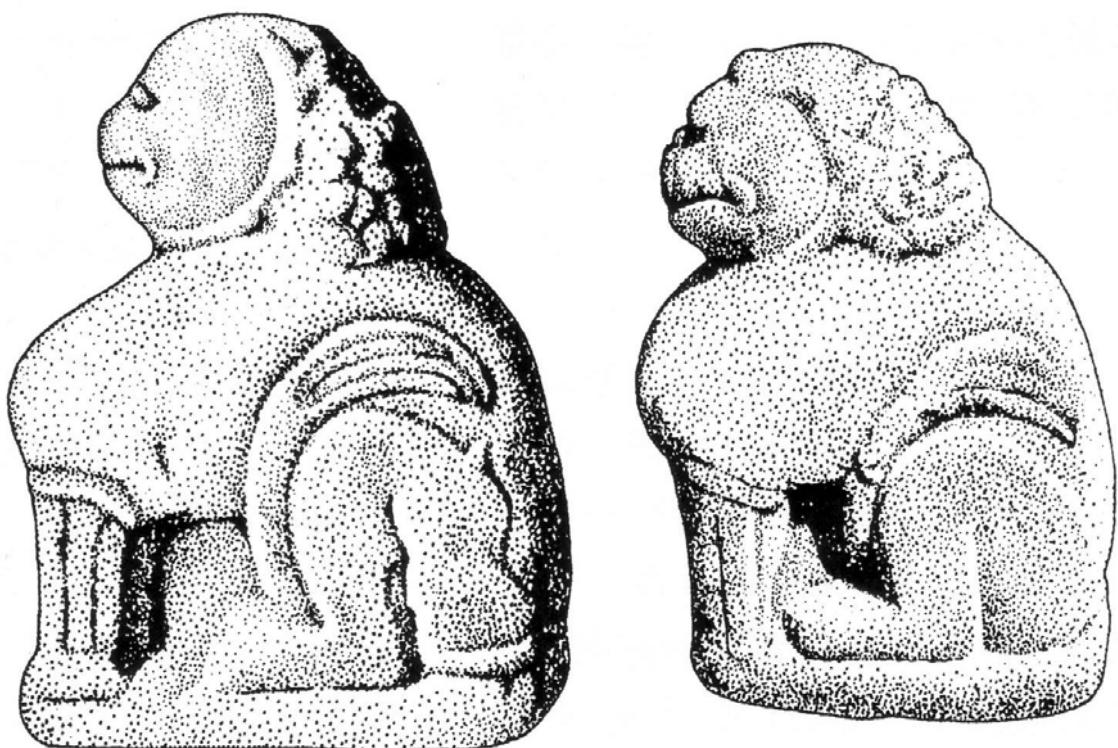


Fig. 6.2.6-1 Stone lions, the Kaoxiaotu cemetery

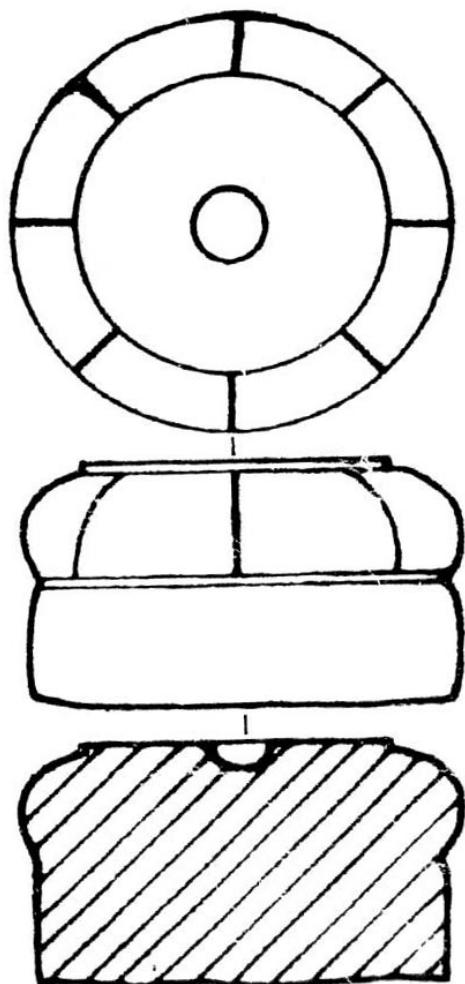


Fig. 6.2.6-2 Stone column base,
the Dananwan cemetery



Fig. 6.2.6-3 Pictorial brick, Xinghai

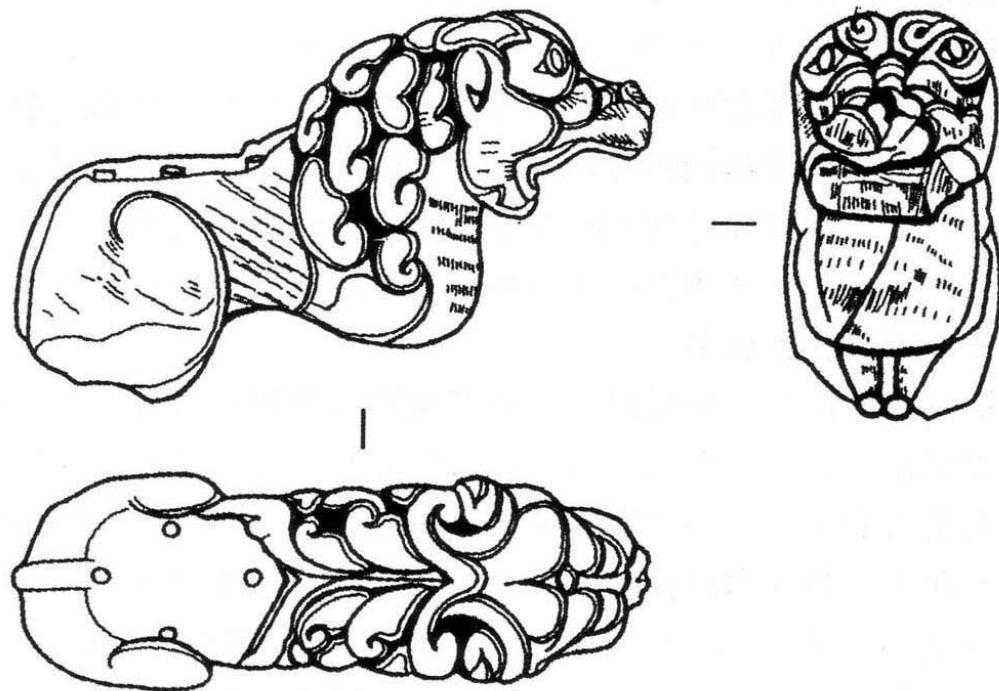


1



2

ca. 0 2cm



3

Fig. 6.2.6-4 Wooden lions, Dulan

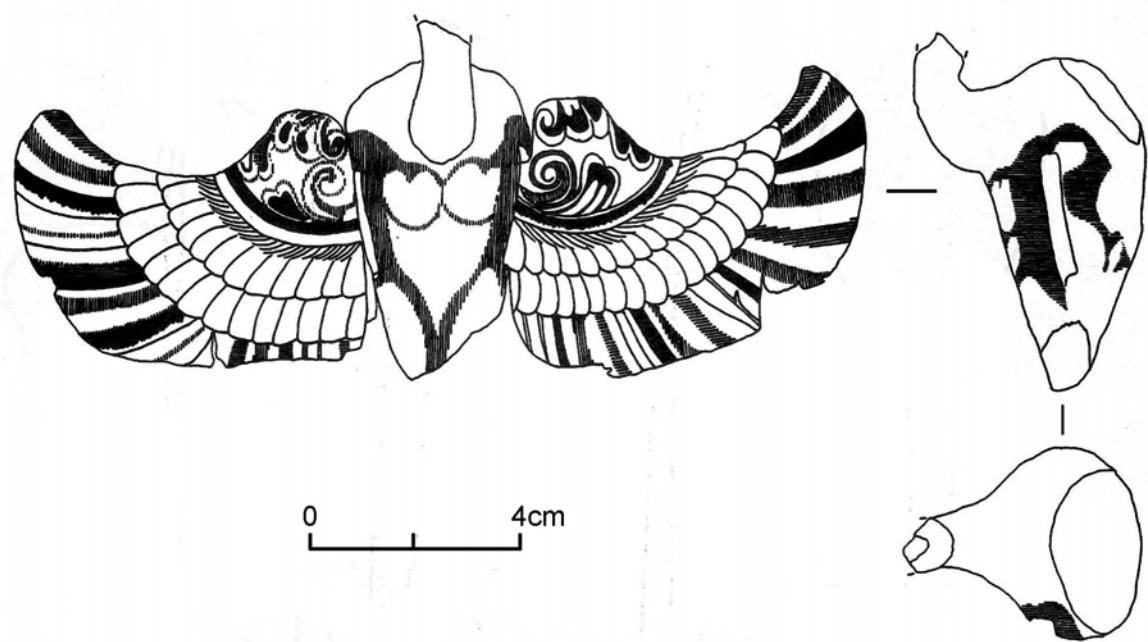


Fig. 6.2.6-5 Wooden bird, 99DRNM3

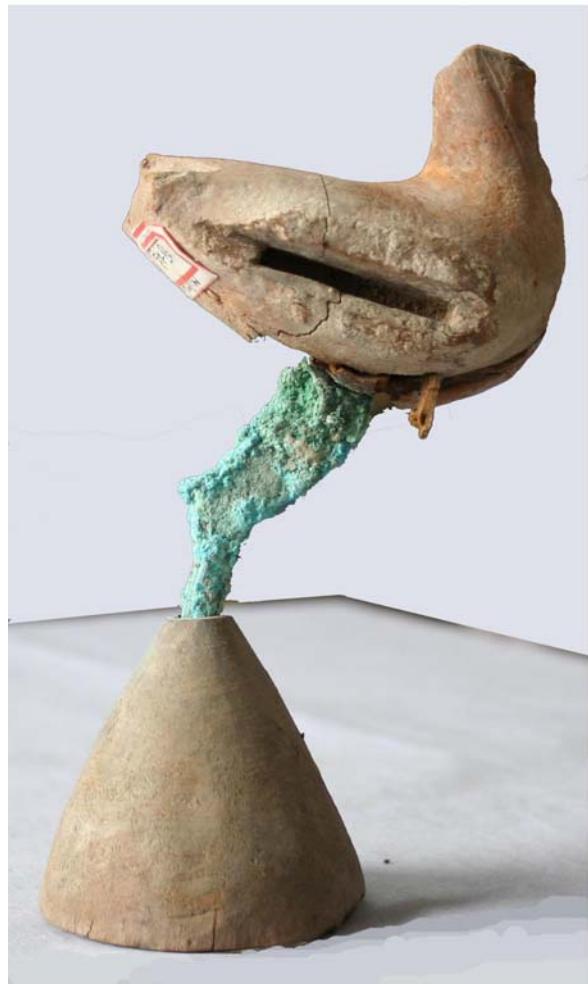
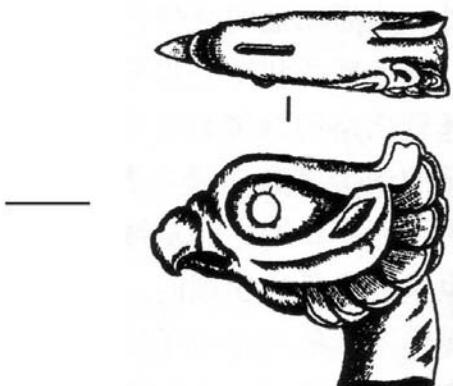


Fig. 6.2.6-6 Wooden birds, Dulan



ca. 0 2cm



2

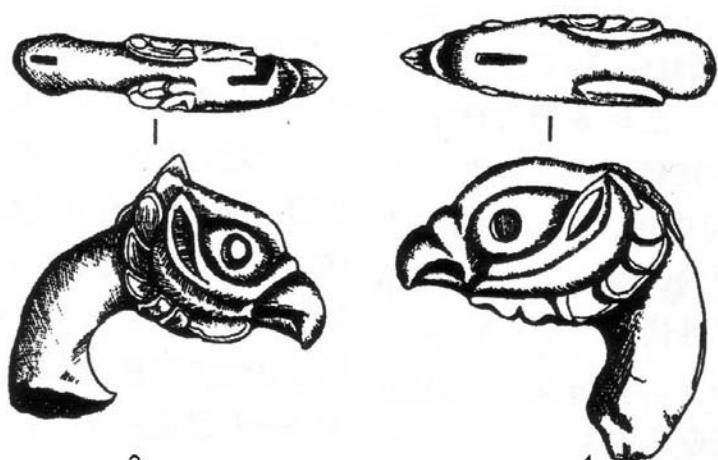


Fig. 6.2.6-7 Wooden bird heads, Dulan

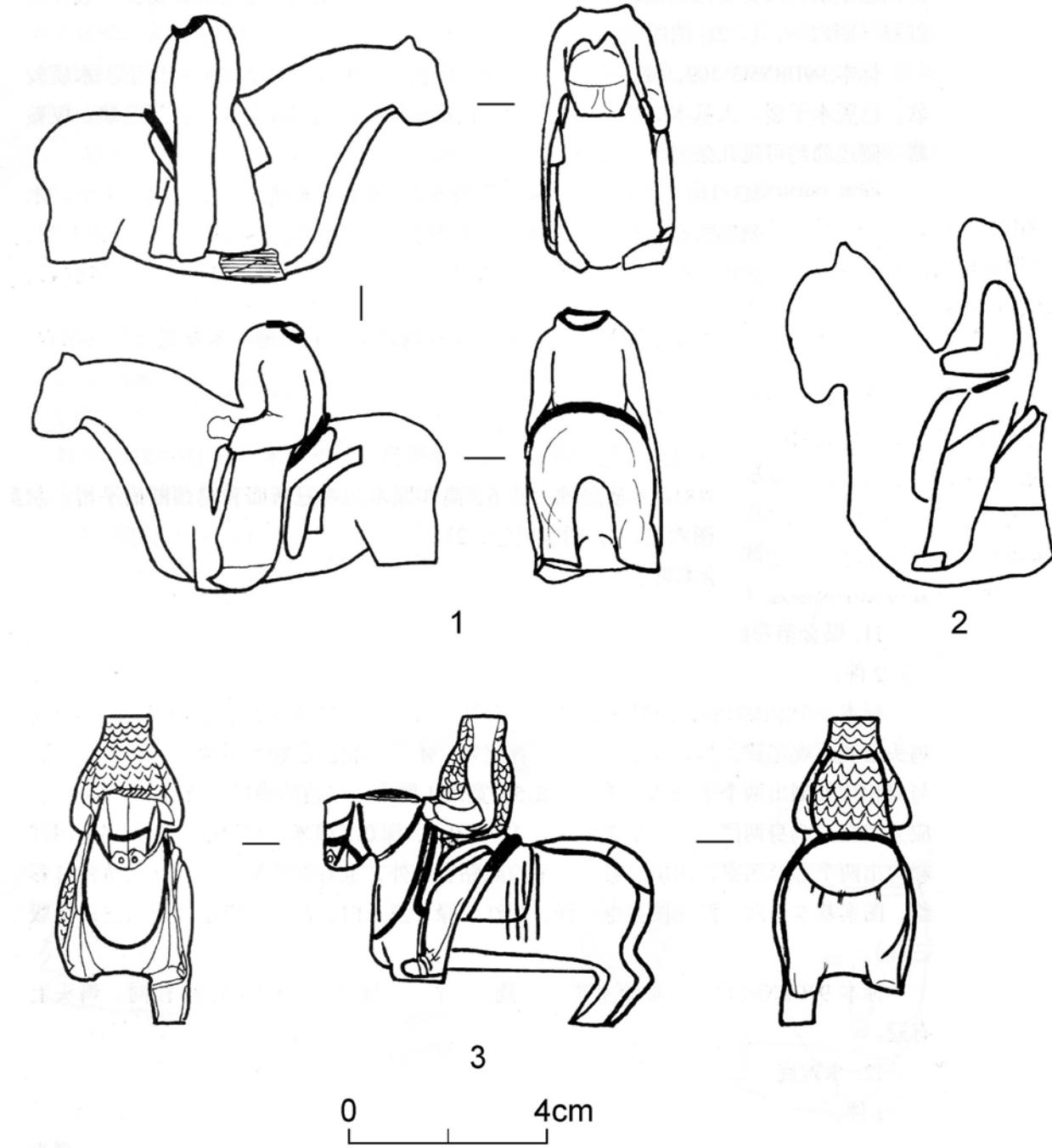
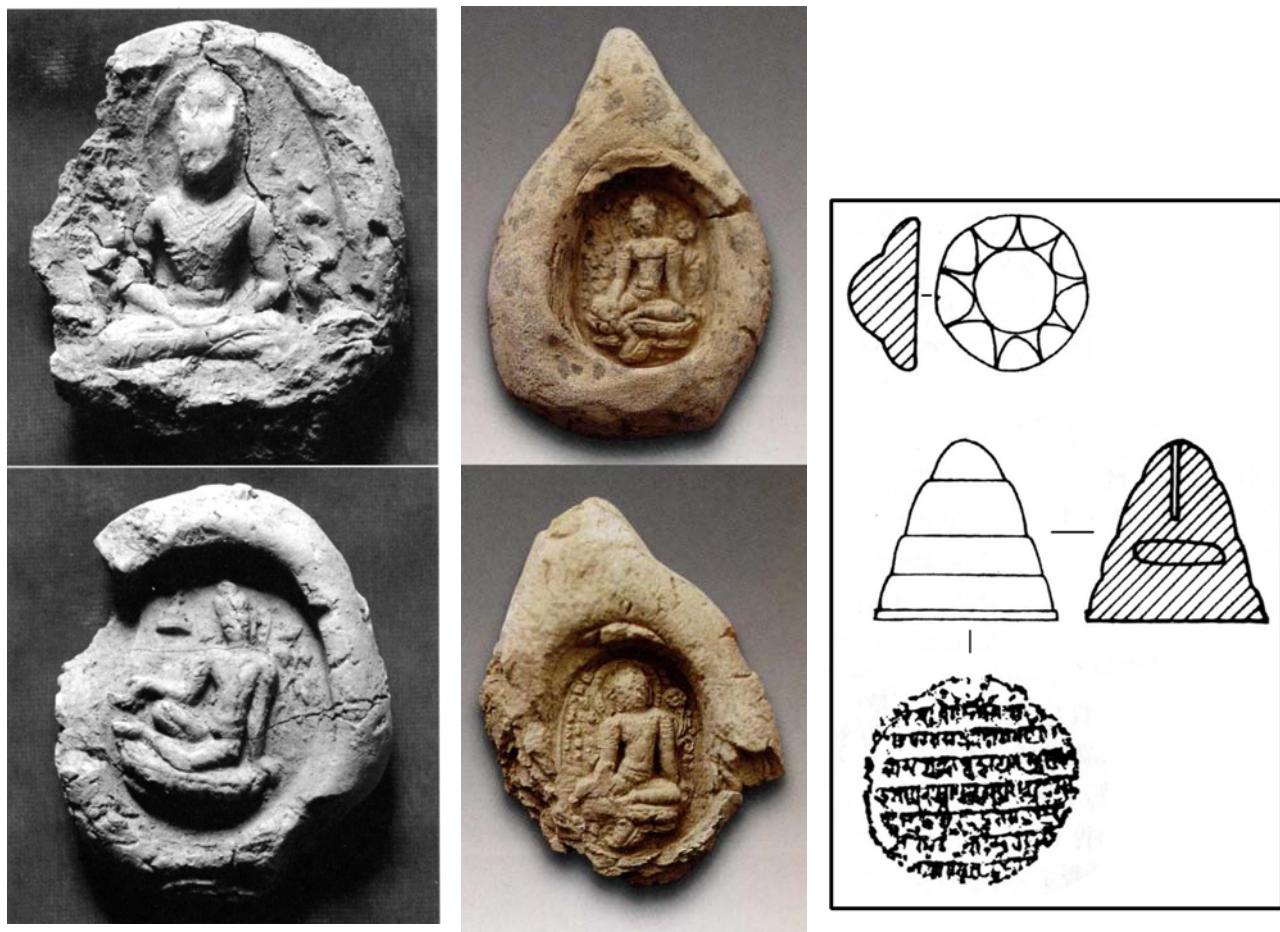


Fig. 6.2.6-8 Wooden equestrians, 99DRNM3



Fig. 6.2.6-9 Tile end with a winged figure, Minhe



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Fig. 6.2.6-10 *Tsha-tschas*: 1. The Kaoxiaotu cemetery in Dulan; 2. Damagou Buddhist temple-sites in Khotan, Xinjiang; 3. The Dananwan cemetery in Ulan

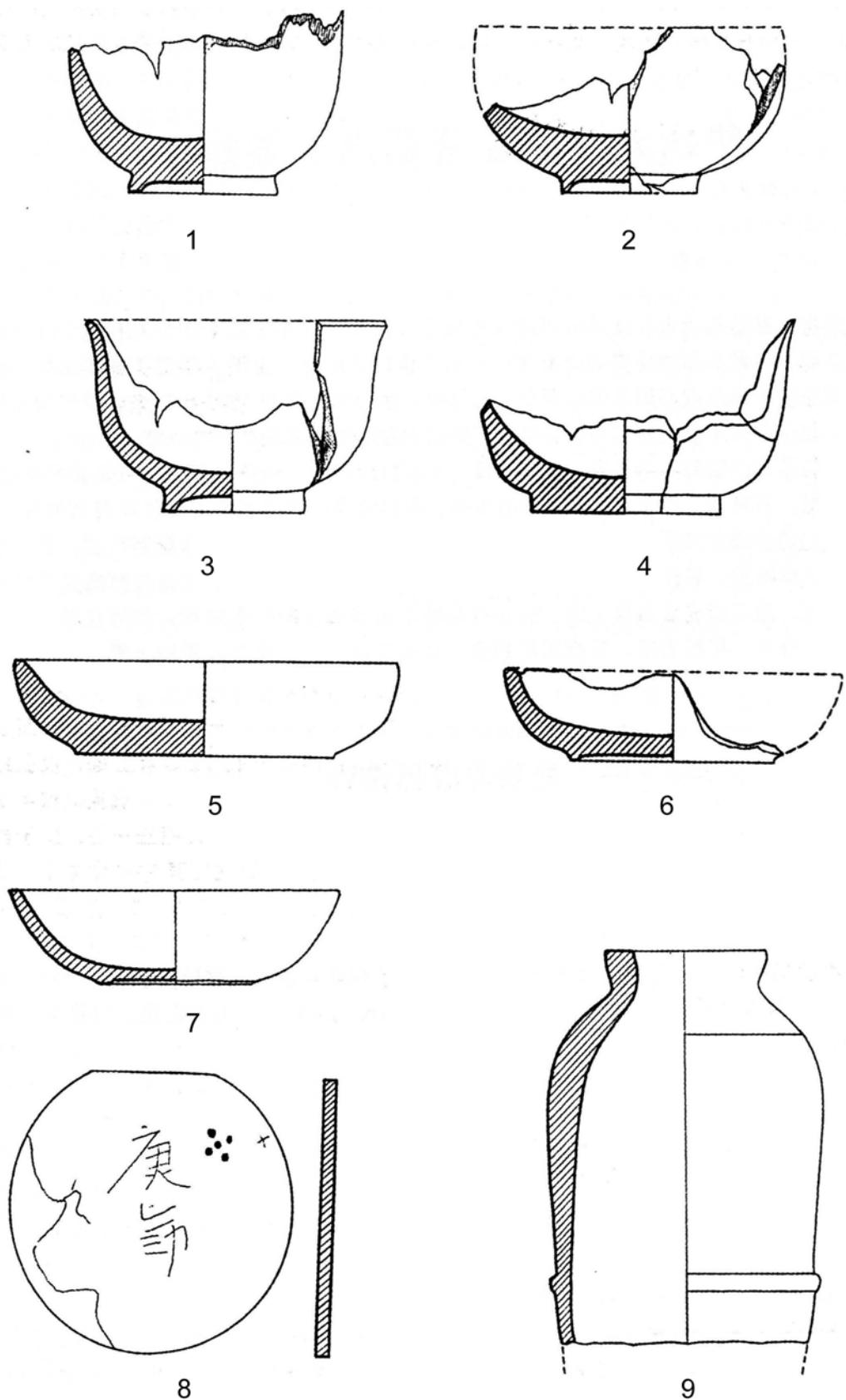


Fig. 6.2.7-1 Lacquer table wares, Dulan and vicinity

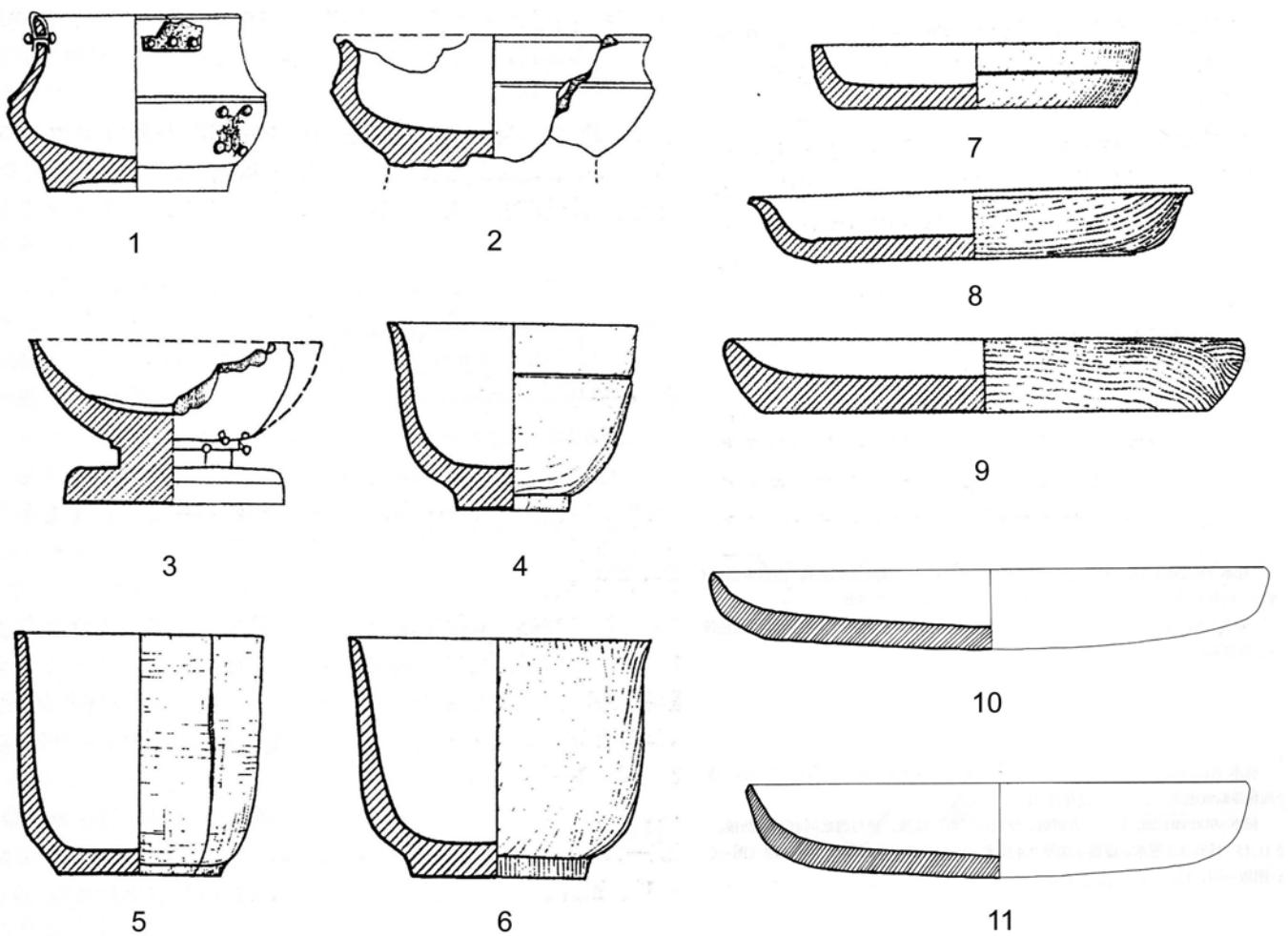


Fig. 6.2.7-2 Lacquer table wares, Dulan and vicinity

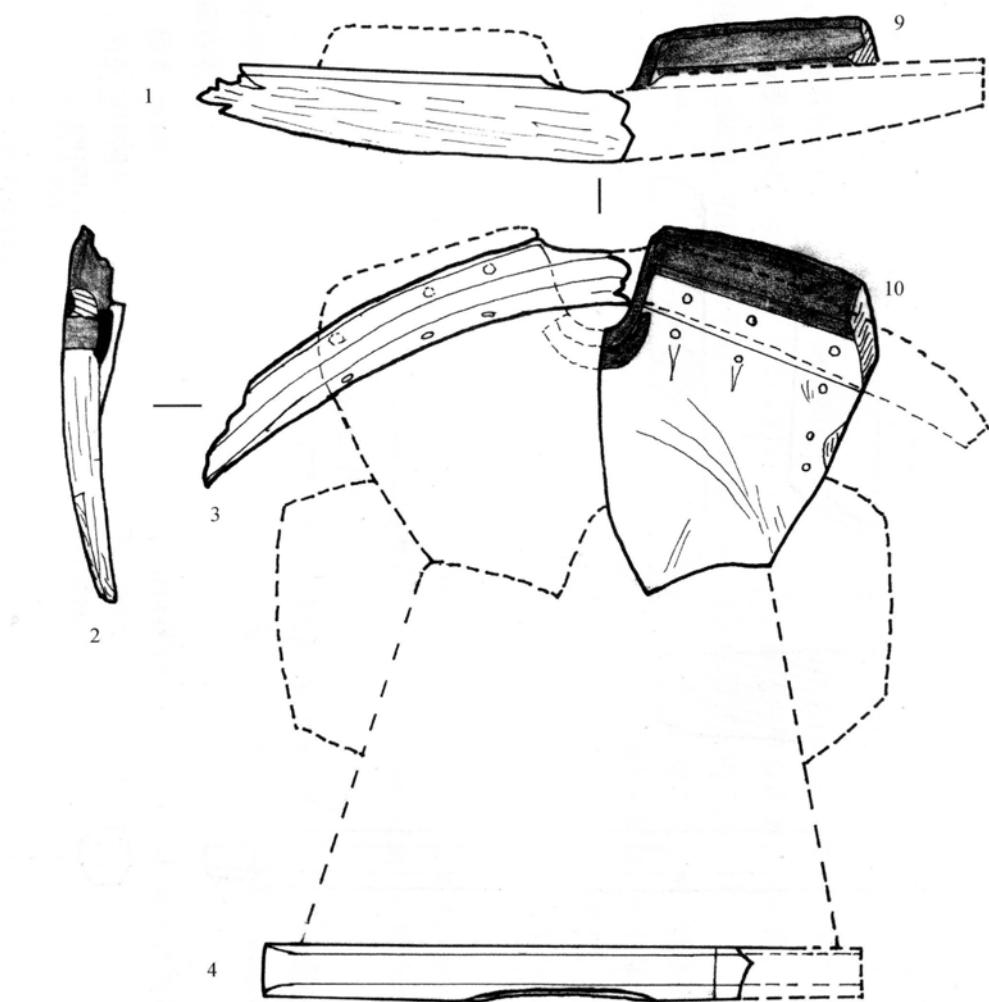


Fig. 6.2.7-3 Lacquer saddle, 99DRNM 2

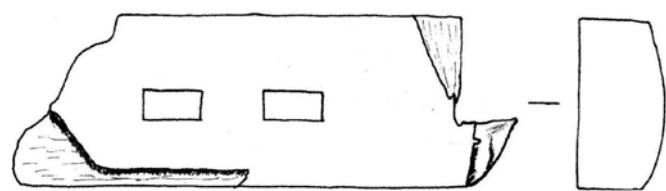


Fig. 6.2.7-4 Lacquer structural component, 99DRNM 1

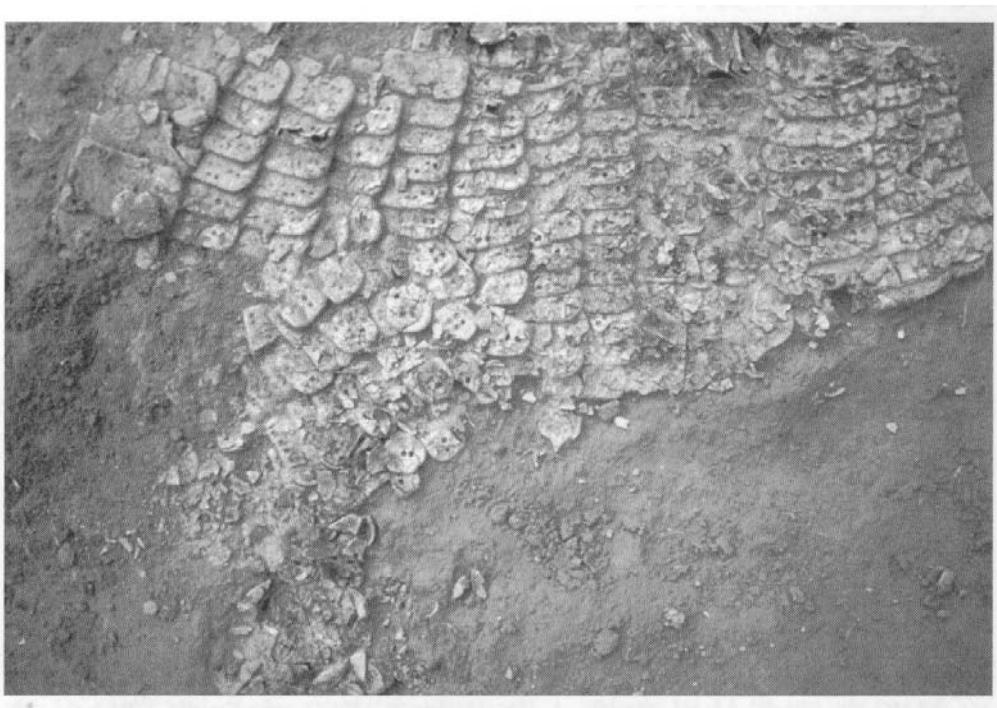


Fig. 6.2.7-5 Lacquer armor, Kaoxiaotu

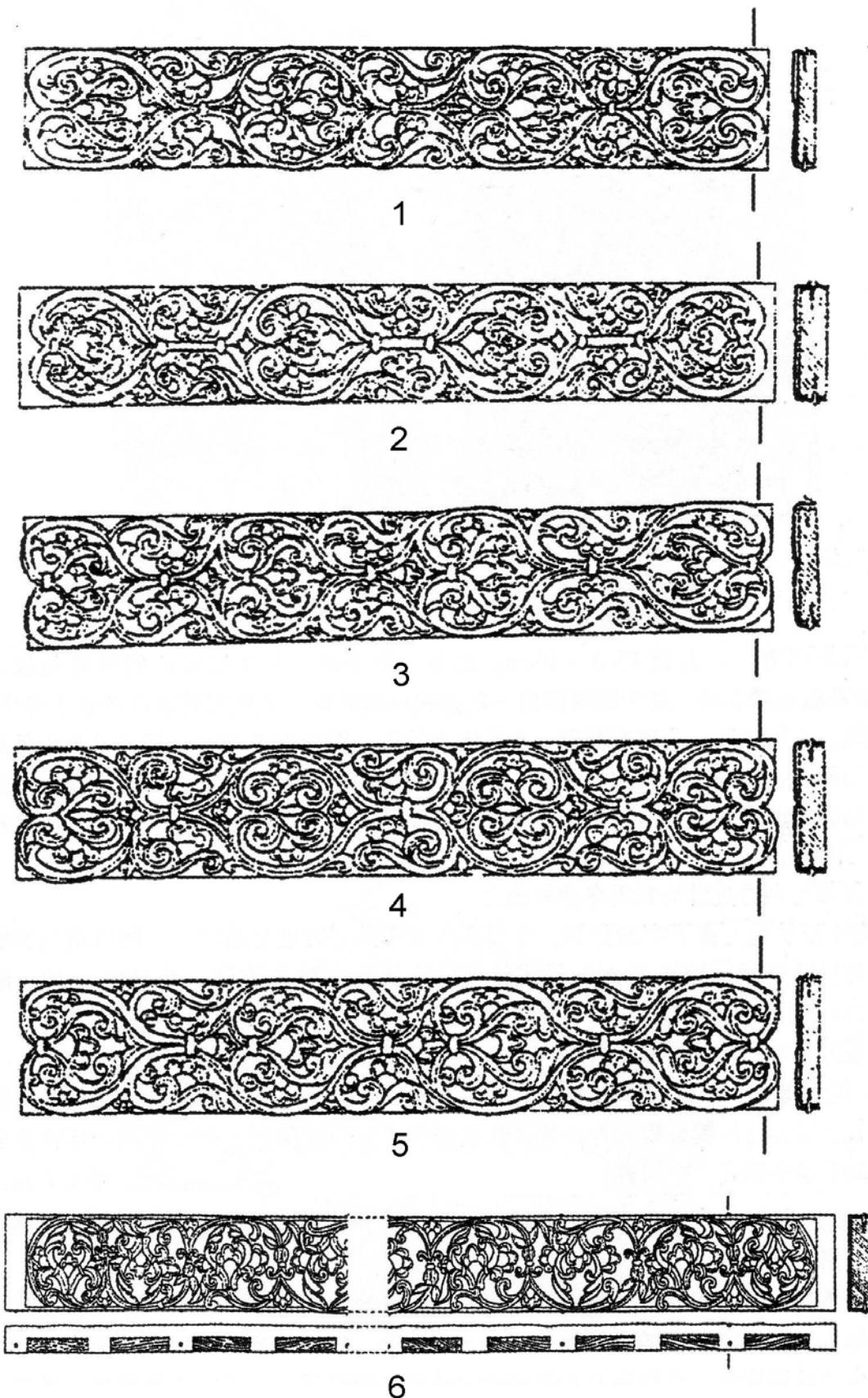


Fig. 6.2.8-1 Gilt silver components of the sarira casket, Reshui M1

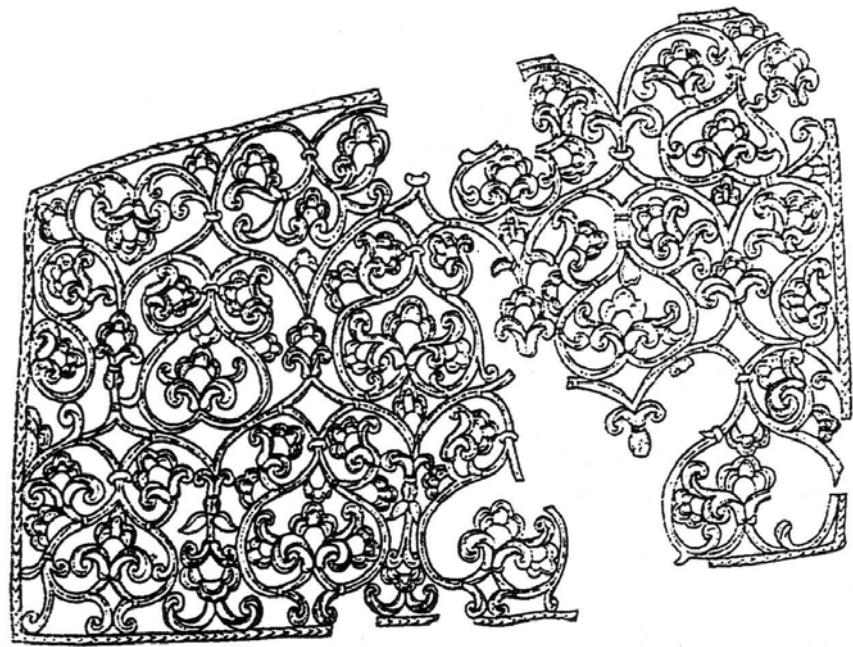


Fig. 6.2.8-2 Gilt silver component of the *sarira* casket, Reshui M1

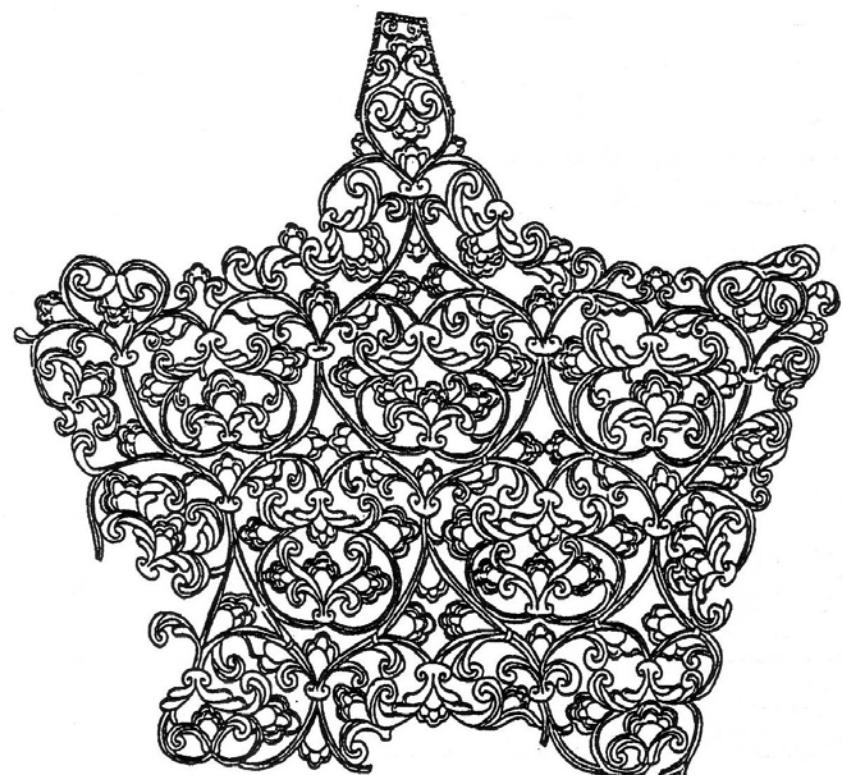


Fig. 6.2.8-3 Gilt silver component of the *sarira* casket, Reshui M1



Fig. 6.2.8-4 Gilt silver component of the *sarira* casket, Reshui M1

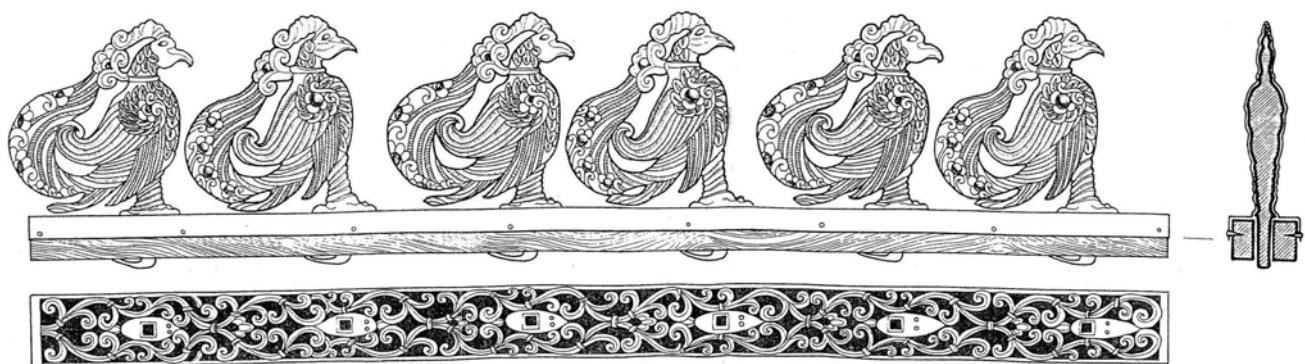


Fig. 6.2.8-5 Gilt silver component of the *sarira* casket, Reshui M1

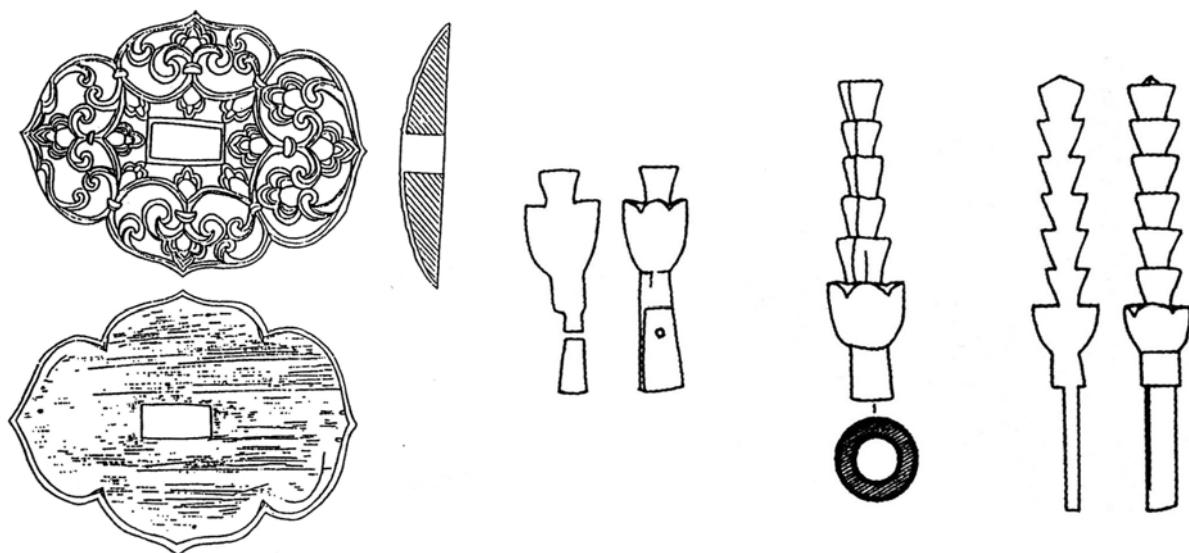


Fig. 6.2.8-6 Gilt silver components of the *sarira* casket, Reshui M1

Fig. 6.2.8-7 Wooden components of the *sarira* casket, Reshui M1

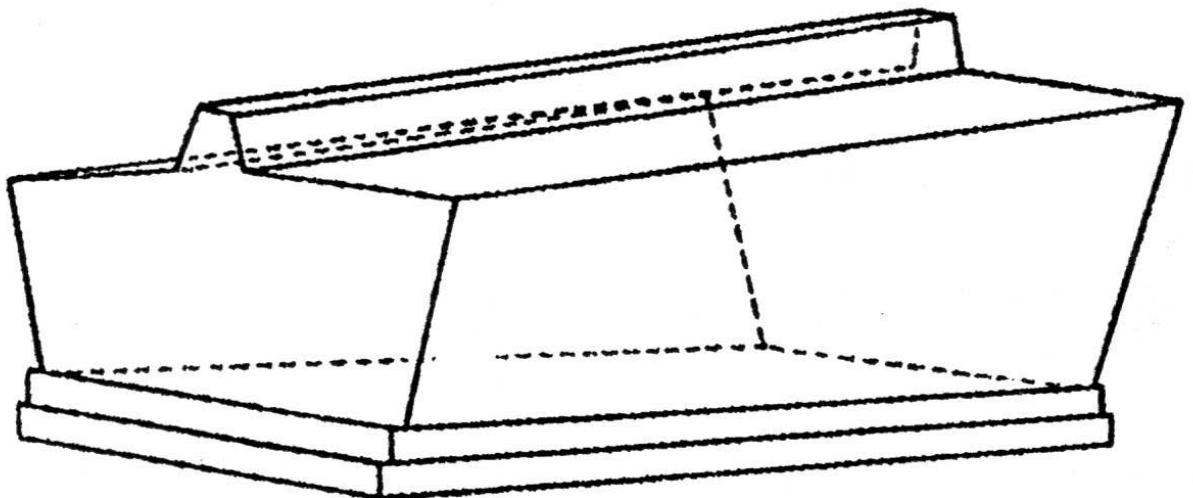


Fig. 6.2.8-8 The reconstructed casket

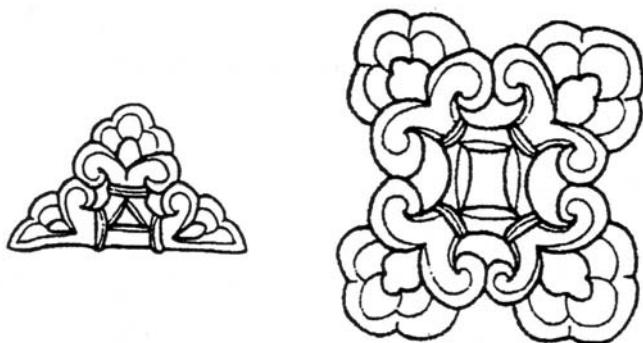


Fig. 6.2.8-9 Gilt silver panels, Reshui M1



Fig. 6.2.8-10 The silver casket from the Dayun Temple, Gansu

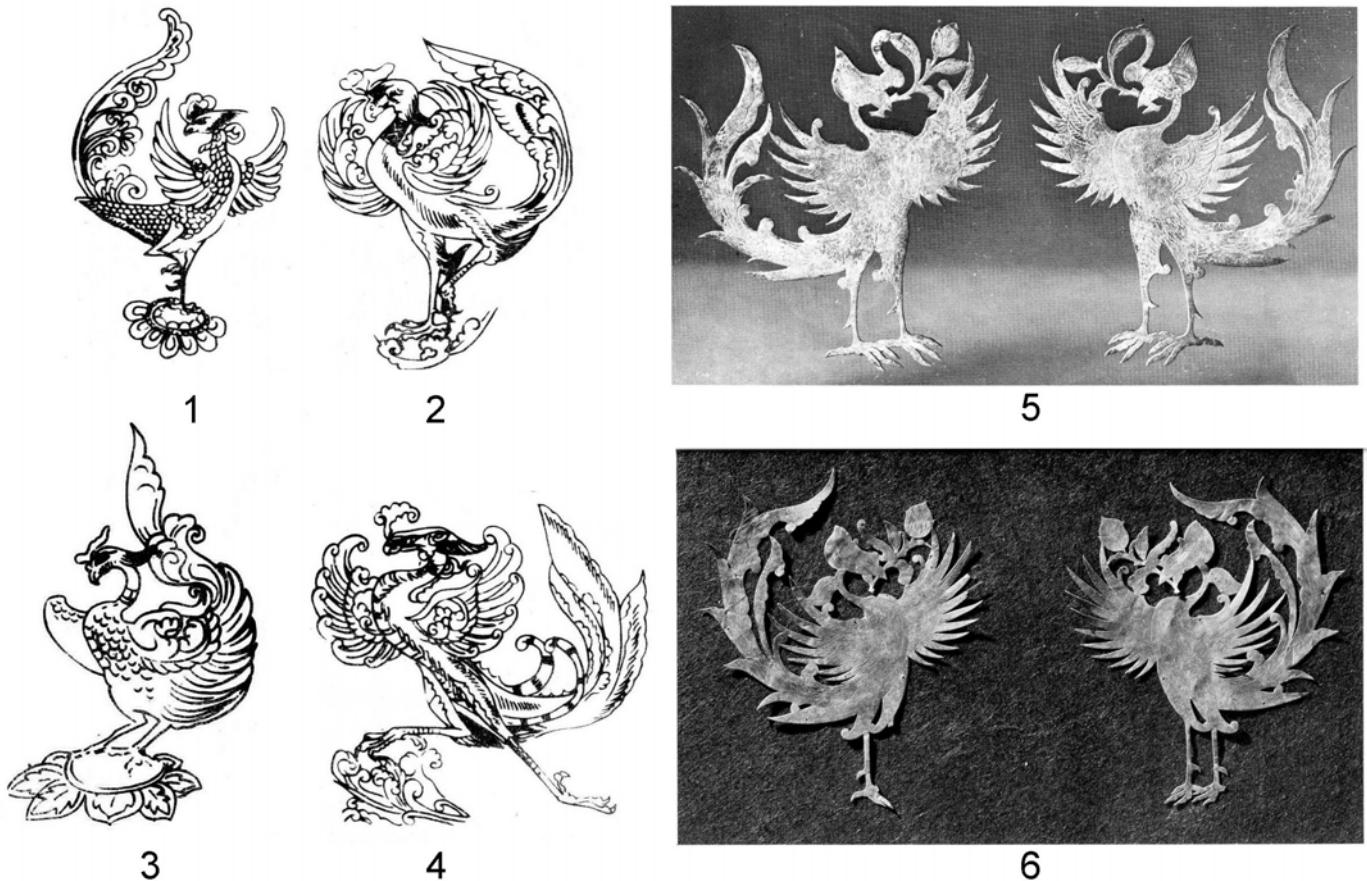


Fig. 6.2.8-11 Phoenix images in the High Tang period: 1. Shoso-in Collection; 2, 3, 4. Xi'an; 5. Bequest of Mr. and Mrs. Myron S. Falk, Jr.; 6. The Cleveland Museum of Art Collection



Fig. 6.2.8-12 The confronted phoenixes on Dulan silk



Fig. 6.2.8-13 The golden diadem of Bilge Khan, Mongolia

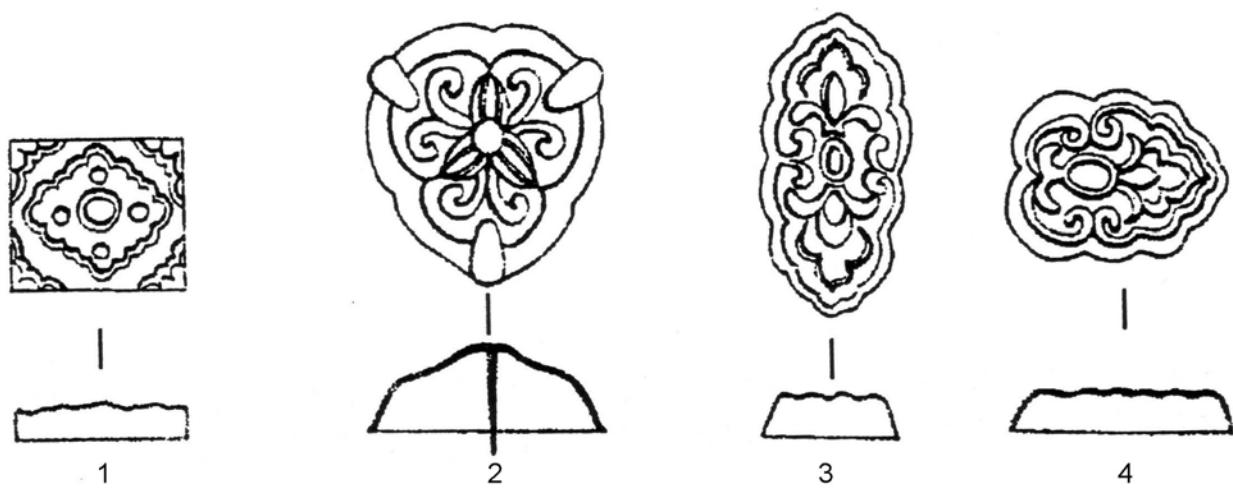
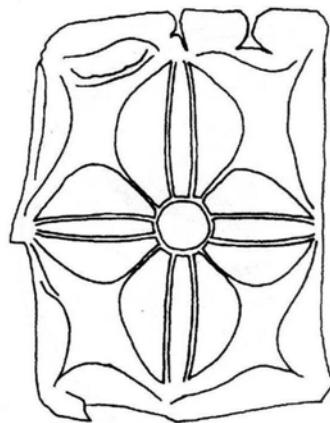


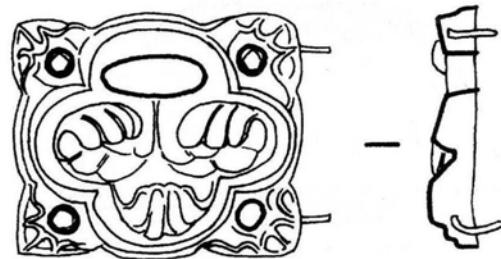
Fig. 6.2.8-14 Silver belt ornaments, Reshui M17



Fig. 6.2.8-15 Golden belt ornaments from Dulan and Guyuan



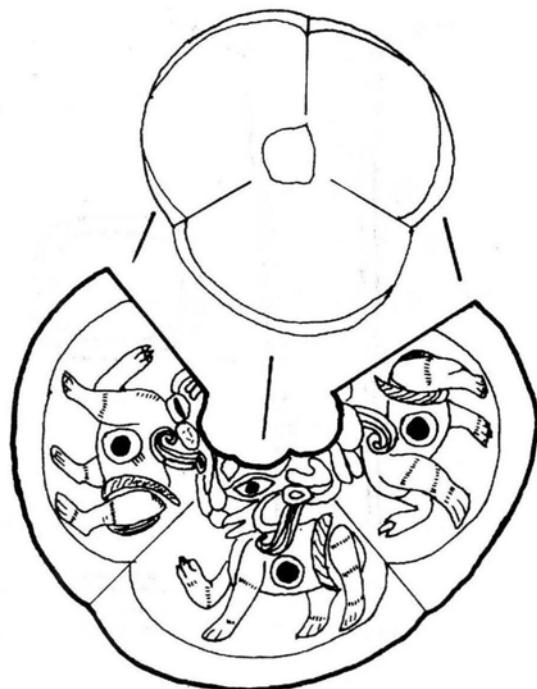
1



2



3



4

1 0 1cm

2, 3, 4 0 2cm

Fig. 6.2.8-16 Gold and silver plaques, Reshui 99DRNM3



0 1cm

Fig. 6.2.8-17 Silver buckle, Reshui 99DRNM1



Fig. 6.2.8-18 Golden belt ornaments, Lijiayingzi, Inner Mongolia

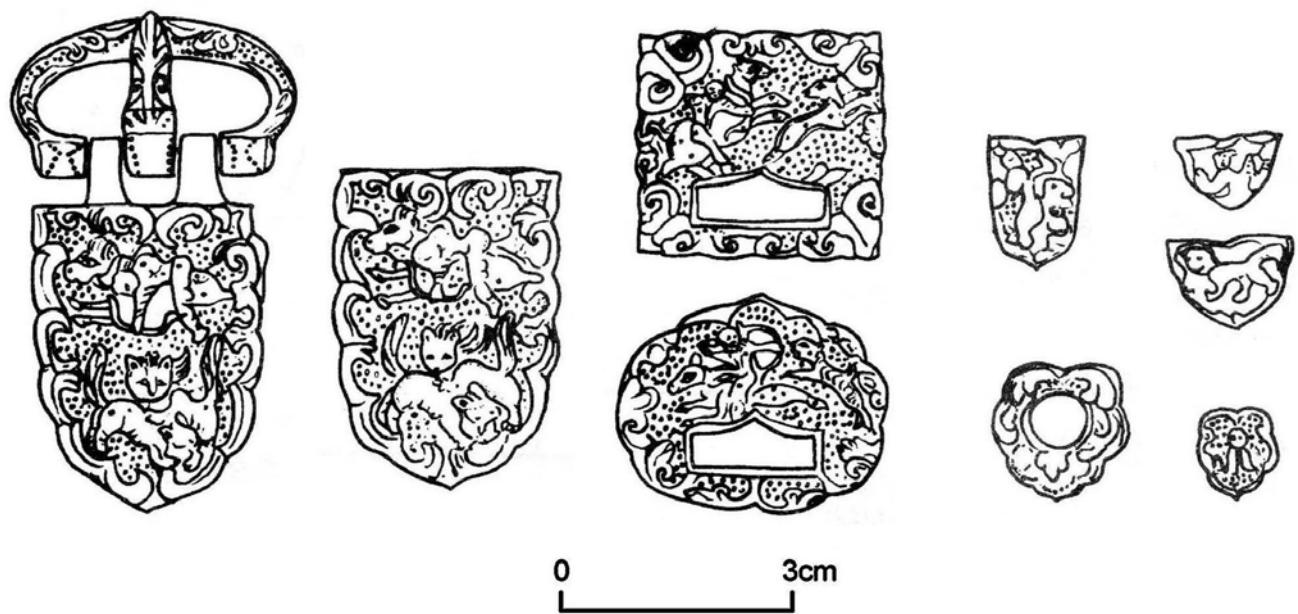


Fig. 6.2.8-19 Golden belt ornaments, Butumuji, Inner Mongolia

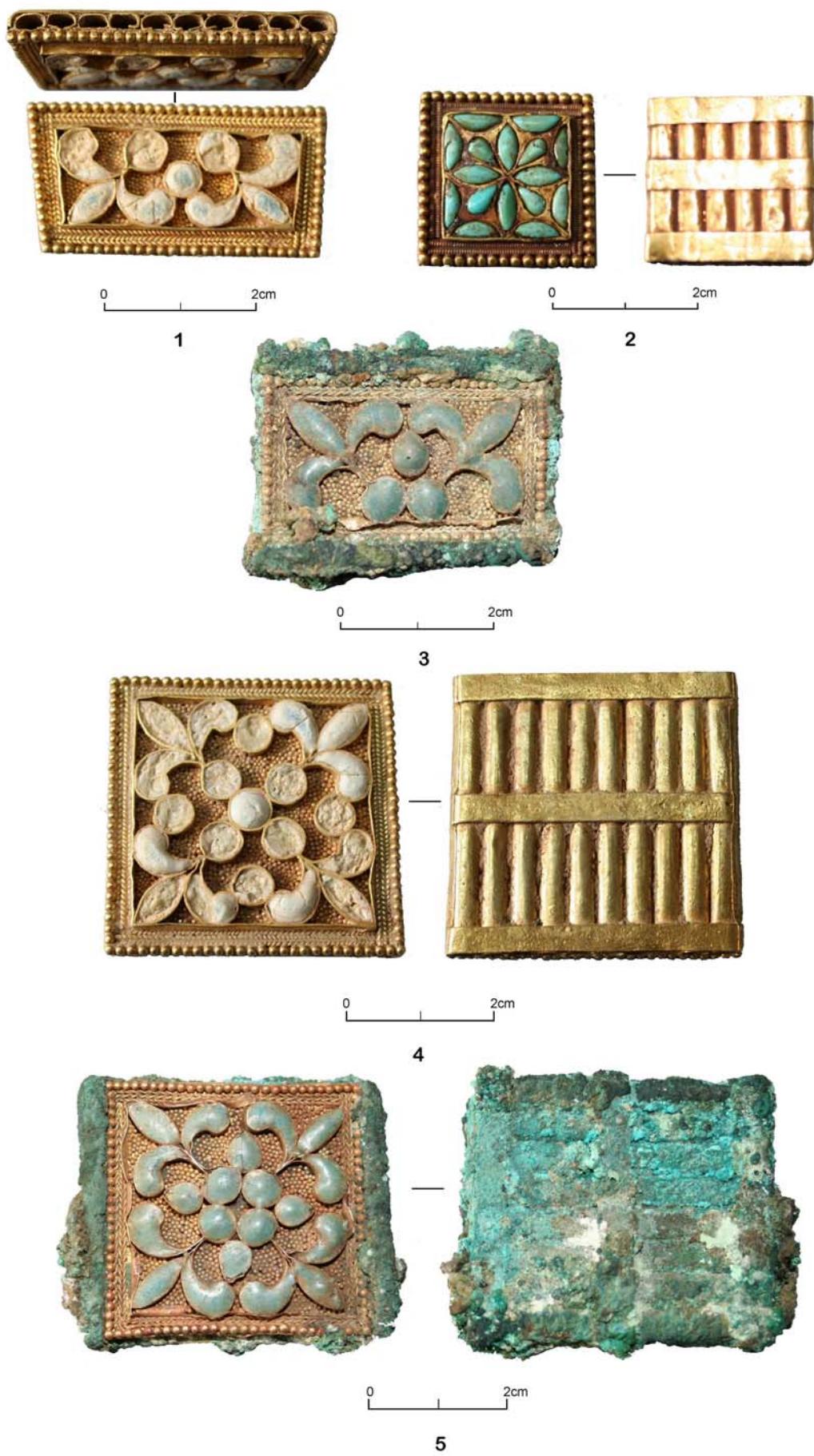


Fig. 6.2.8-20 Golden belt plaques, Reshui

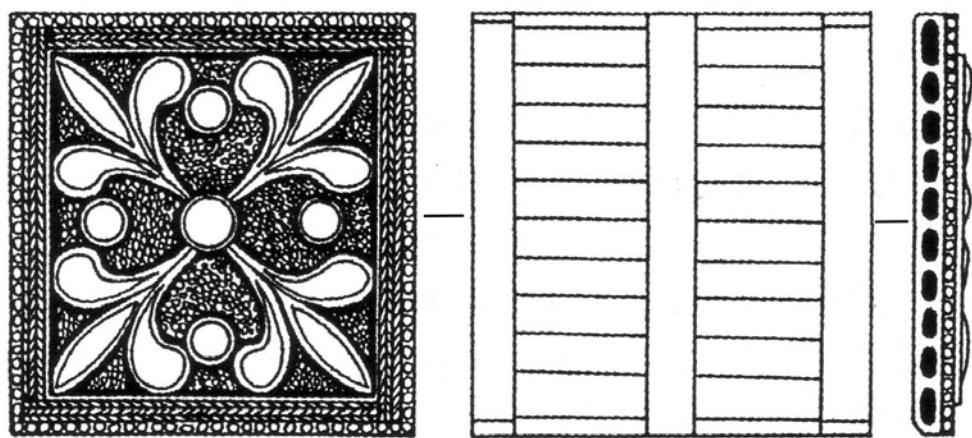


Fig. 6.2.8-21 Golden belt plaque, Reshui

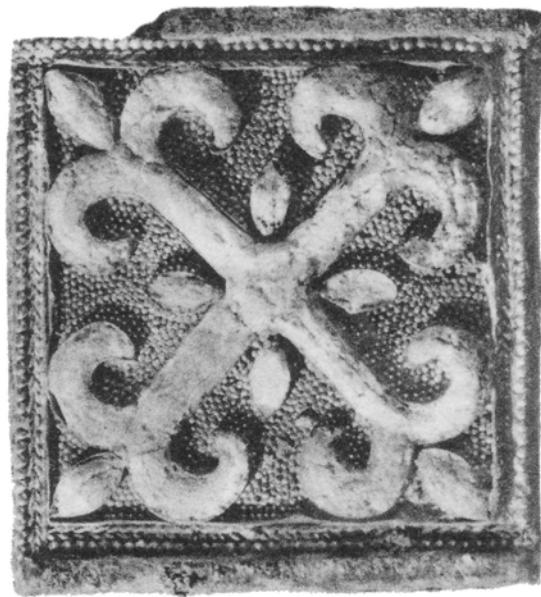


Fig. 6.2.8-22 Golden belt plaque, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

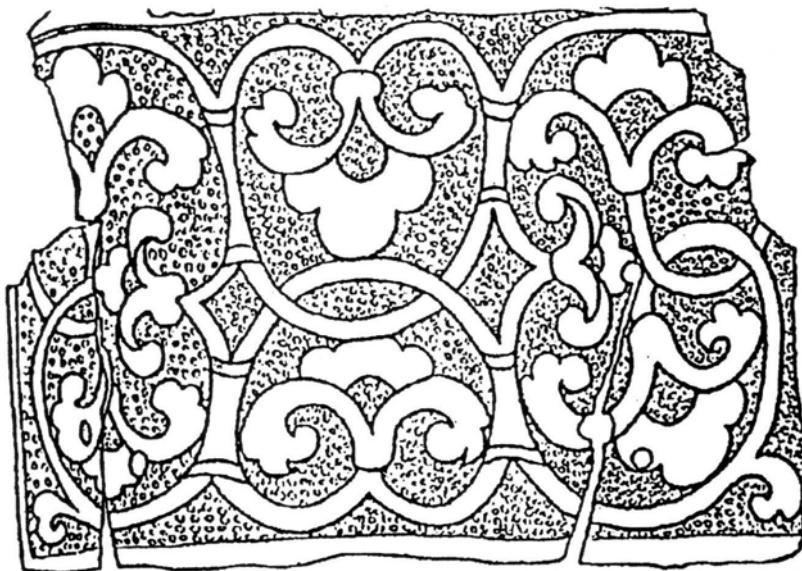


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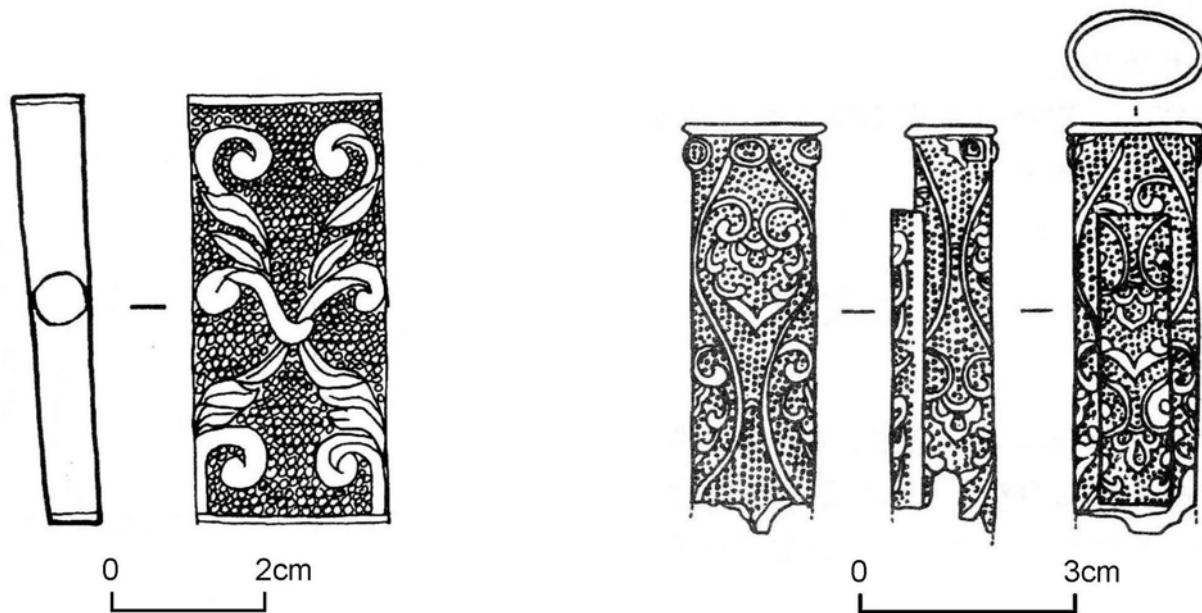


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Fig. 6.2.8-23 Golden plaque, Reshui; gilt bronze plaque, the Pierre Uldry Collection



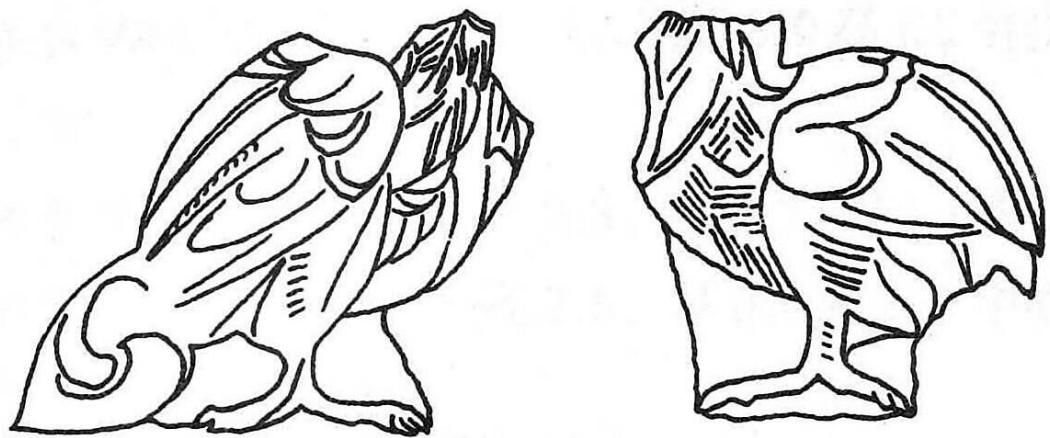
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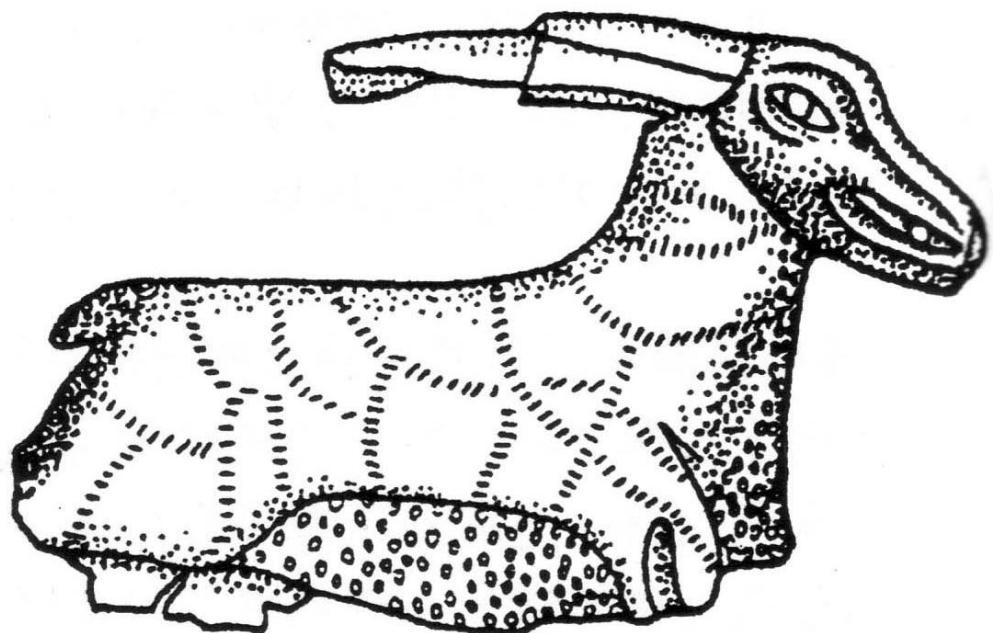
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Fig. 6.2.8-24 Gilt silver plate, Xiariha M1; silver tube, Reshui 99DRNM3; golden scabbard, Butubumuji, Inner Mongolia



1 0 2

1cm



3
0 1cm

Fig. 6.2.8-25 Silver bird-shaped plate, Reshui 99DRNM1; gilt silver deer-shaped plate, Reshui M2



Fig. 6.2.8-26 Golden anthropomorphic plaque, Dulan



1



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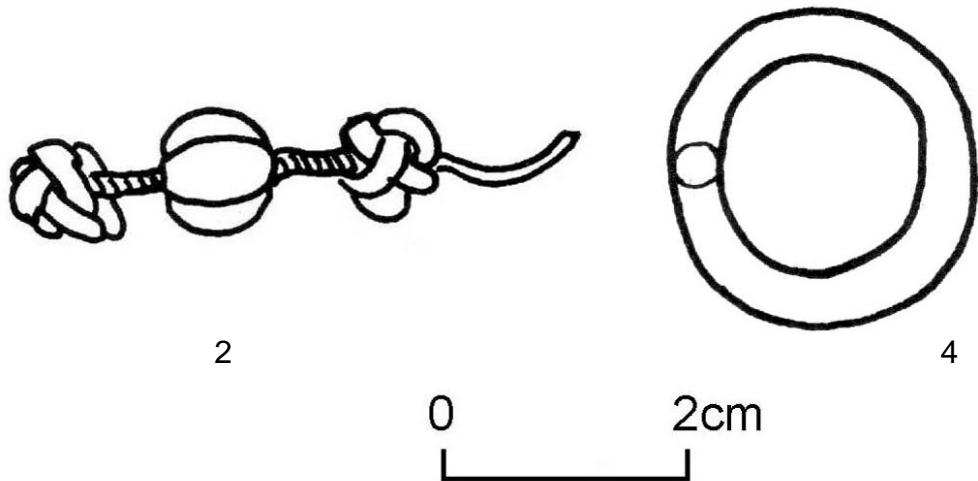
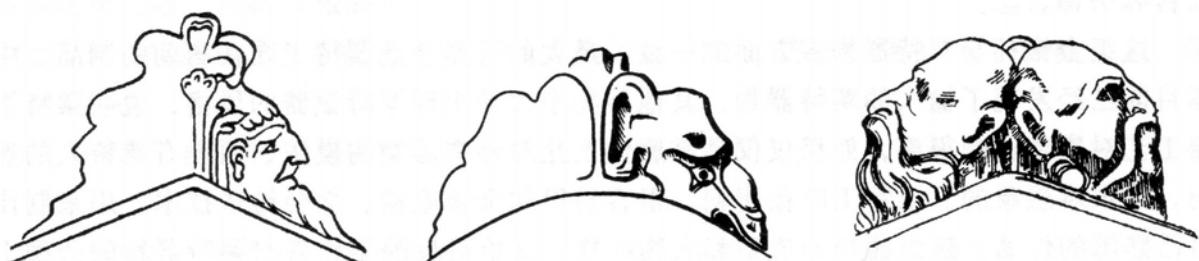


Fig. 6.2.8-27 Body ornaments: 1. Golden earring from Northern Tibet (?), the Newark Museum; 2. Threaded golden bead, Reshui 99DRNM3; 3, 4. Silver rings, Reshui 99DRNM3



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Fig. 6.2.8-28 Gilt silver Janus head, Dulan; Janus head on handles of Sogdian vessels, Xi'an



Fig. 6.2.8-29 Byzantine golden coin (Justinian I), Ulan



Fig. 6.2.8-30 Byzantine golden coin (Zeno), Dulan

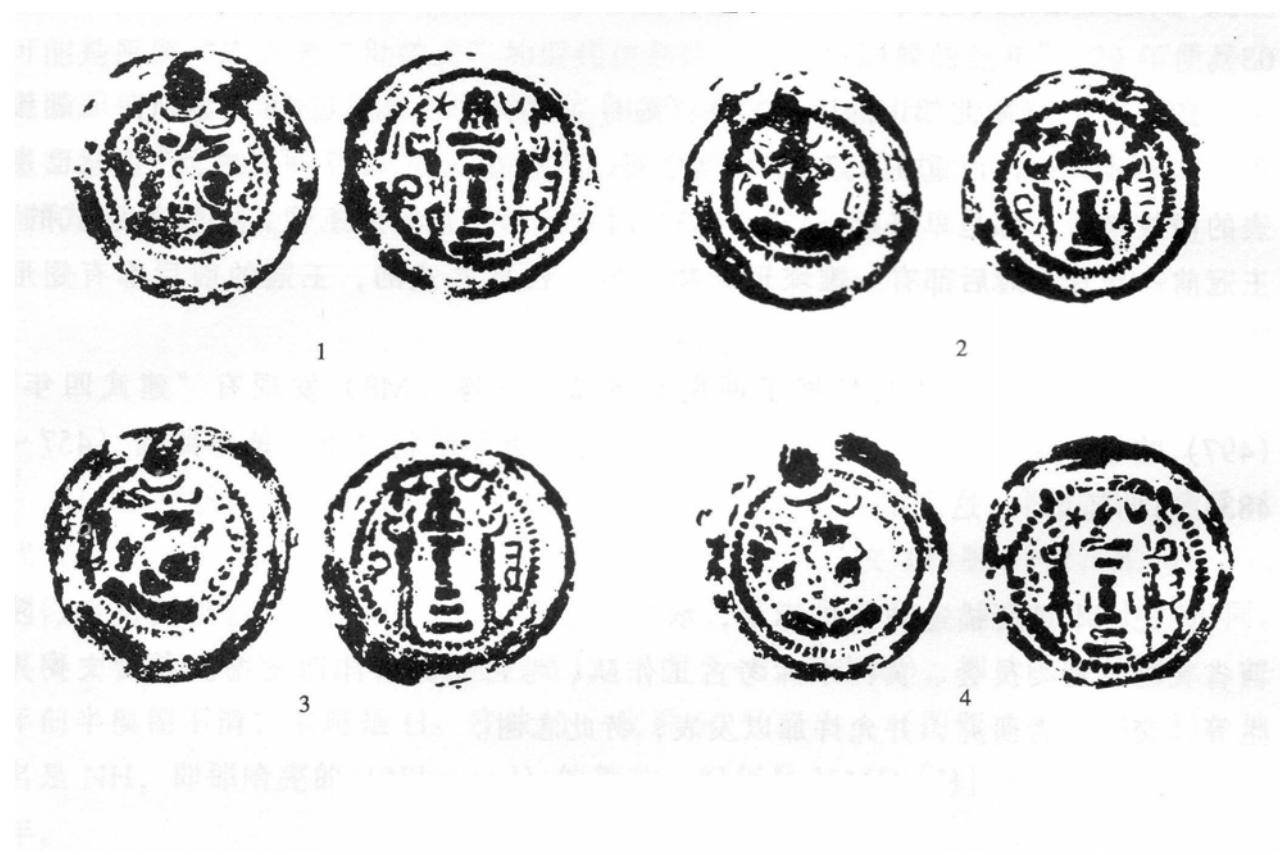


Fig. 6.2.8-31 Sasanian silver coins of Type A (Peroz), Xining



1



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Fig. 6.2.8-32 Sasanian silver coins of Type A (Peroz), Ulan

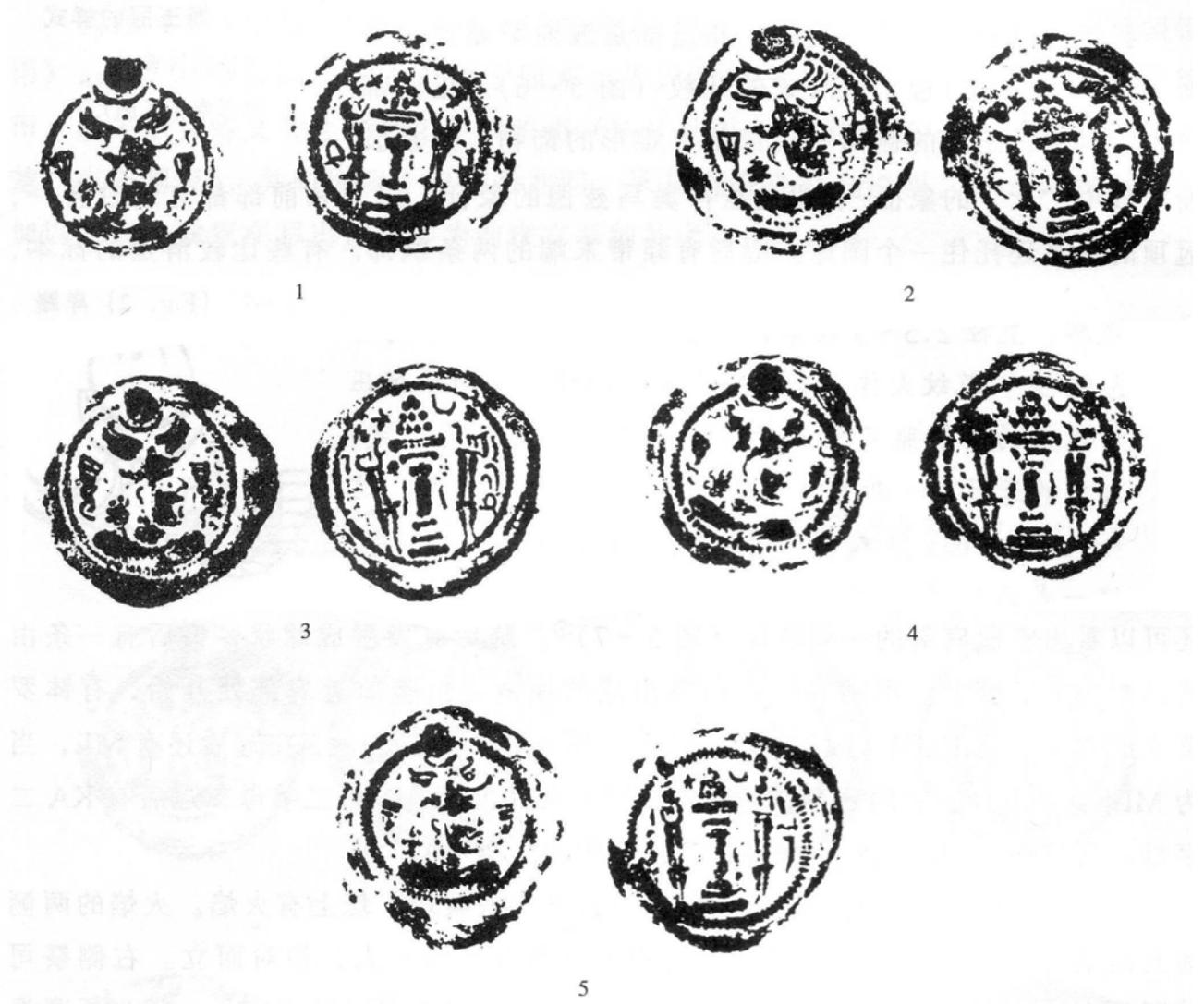


Fig. 6.2.8-33 Sasanian silver coins of Type B (Peroz), Xining



Fig. 6.2.8-34 Sasanian silver coins of Type B (Peroz), Ulan



Fig. 6.2.9-1 warp-faced compound tabby, Dulan (detail of Fig. 6.2.9-15)



Fig. 6.2.9-2 Belt with gilt hexagon, Dulan



Fig. 6.2.9-3 *Kesi* with rosette pattern,
Dulan



Fig. 6.2.9-4 Damask with grape
motif dyed in stripes, Dulan



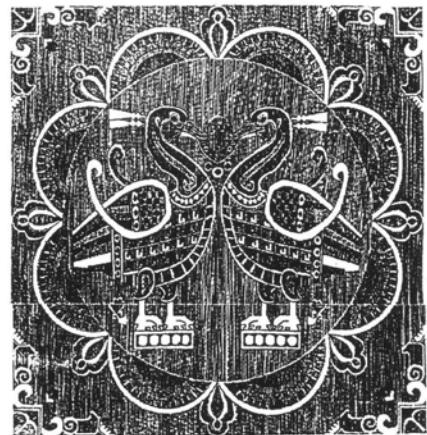
Fig. 6.2.9-5 *Beng* (Ikat), Dulan



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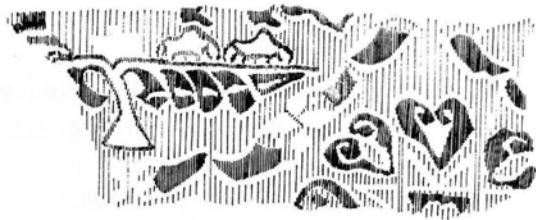
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Fig. 6.2.9-6 *Hanshou* bird silks (group I), Dulan

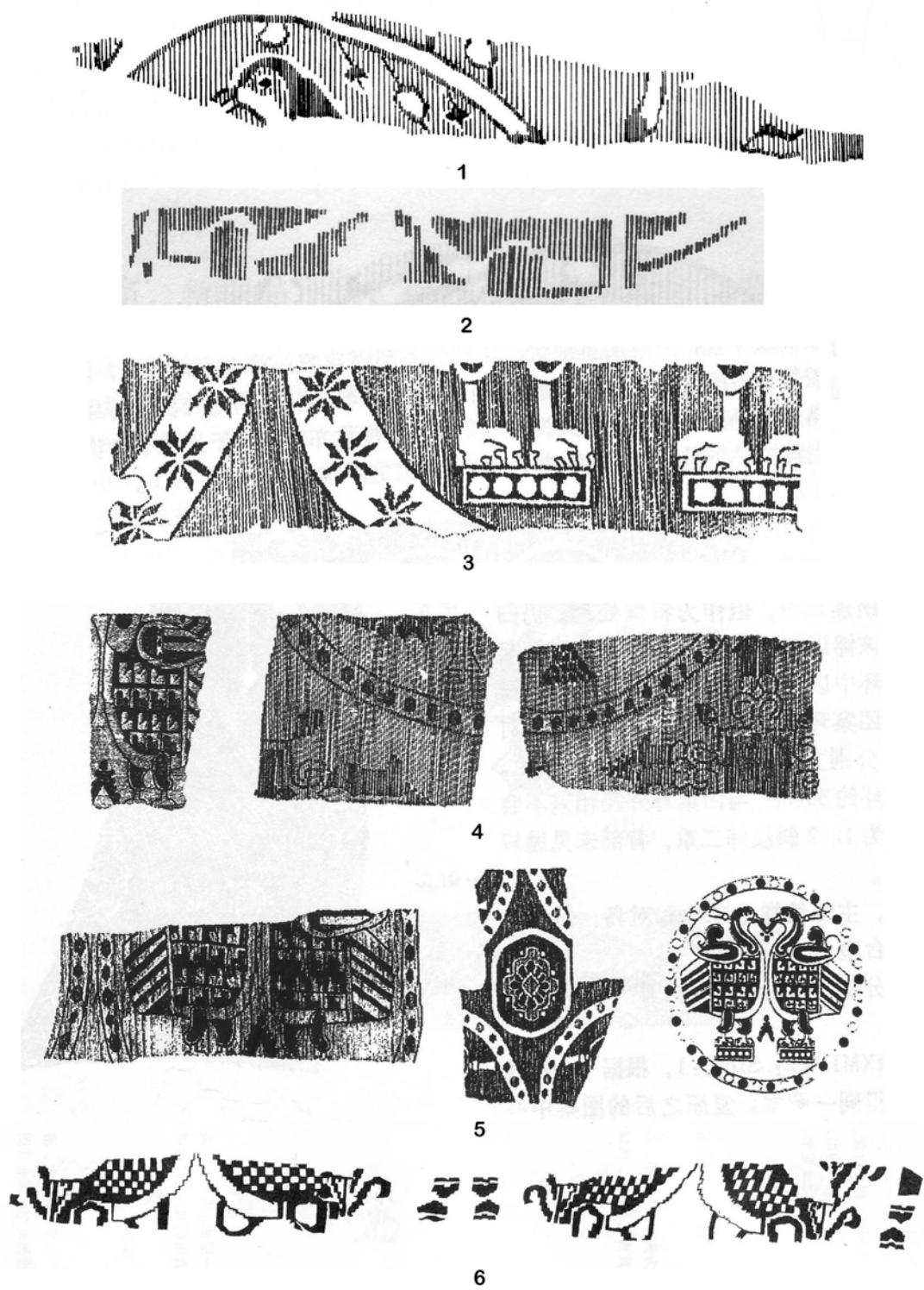


Fig. 6.2.9-7 *Hanshou* bird silks (group I), Dulan

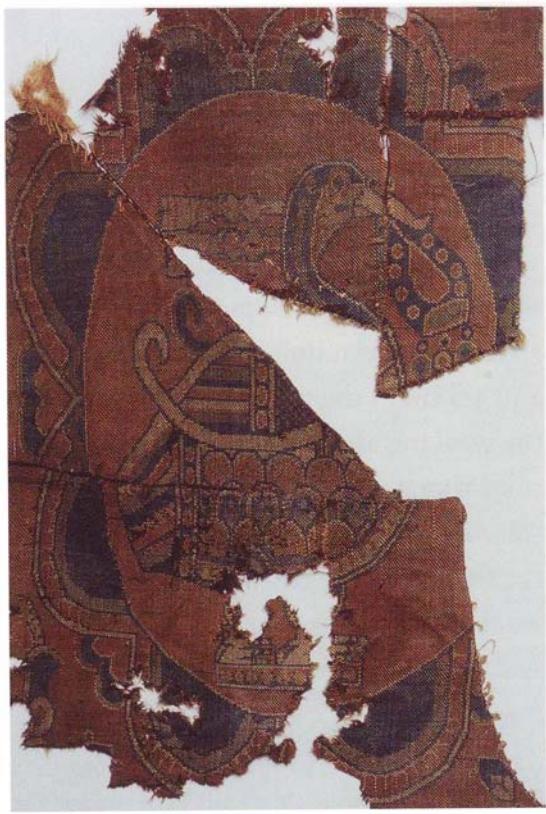
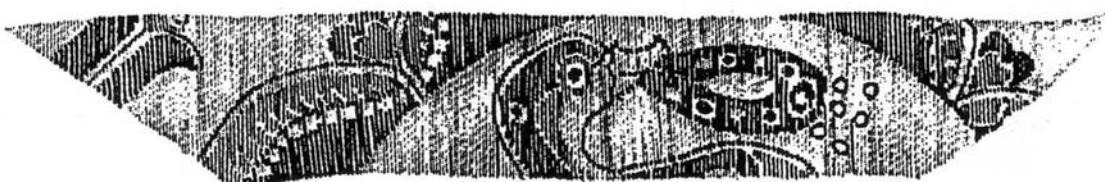


Fig. 6.2.9-8 *Hanshou* bird silk (group II), Dulan



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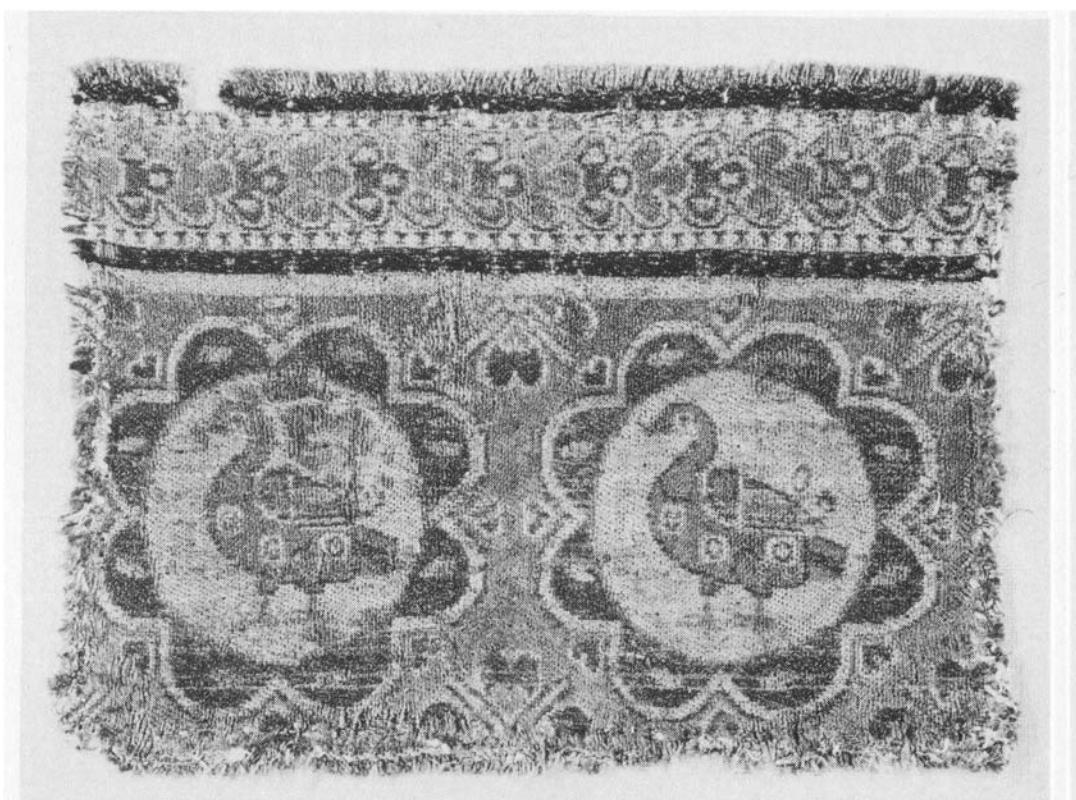


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Fig. 6.2.9-9 *Hanshou* bird silks (group II), Dulan



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Fig. 6.2.9-10 Silk with Pahlavi inscription, Dulan;
silk fragment, Iran (the Cleveland Museum of Art
Collection)



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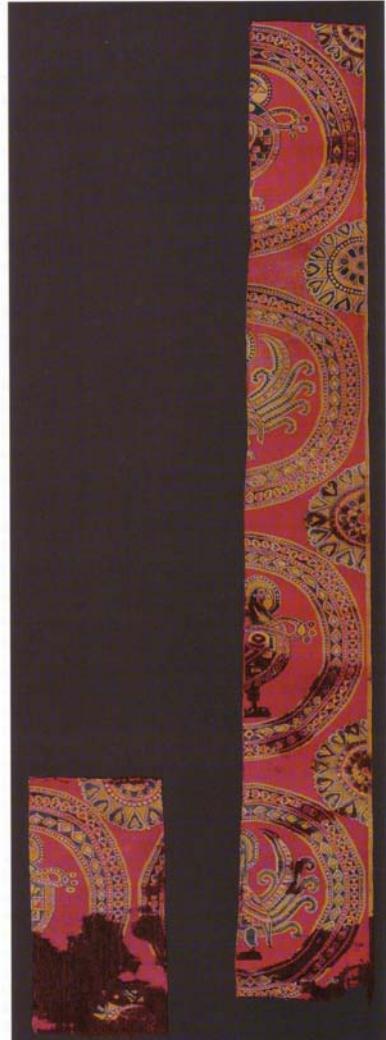
Fig. 6.2.9-11 Silks with *hanshou* bird, the Abegg-Stiftung Collection; the Gansu Museum



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Fig. 6.2.9-12 Silks with *hanshou* bird: 1, 2, 3. The Abegg-Stiftung Collection; 4. The Münster Treasure in Aachen



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Fig. 6.2.9-13 Eagle on Dulan silk and a Sasanian silver plate



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Fig. 6.2.9-14 Silks with confronted eagles: 1. Dulan; 2, 3. Byzantine



Fig. 6.2.9-15 Helios on Dulan silk (DRM1PM2: S109)



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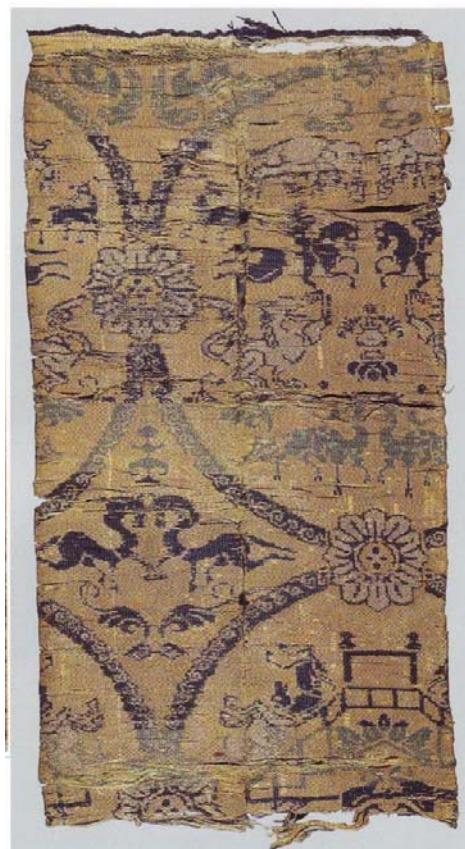


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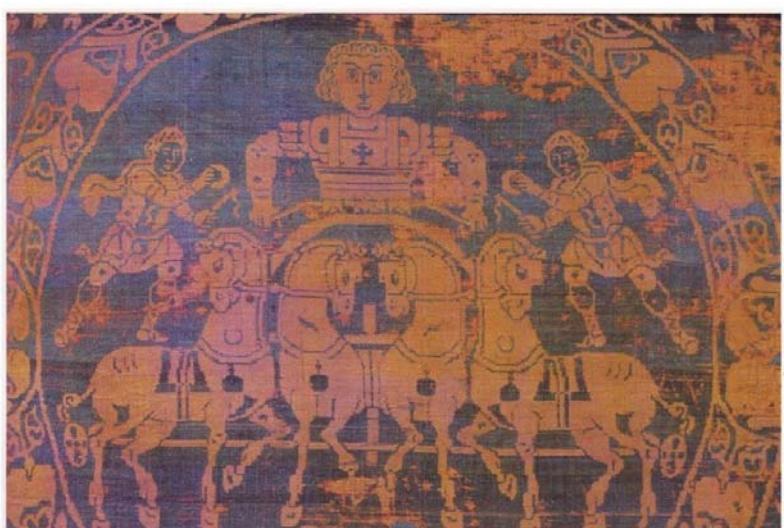
Fig. 6.2.9-16 Helios on Dulan silks (DRM1PM2: S157, S50)



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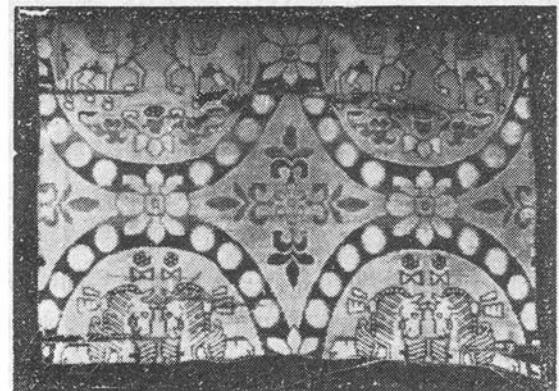
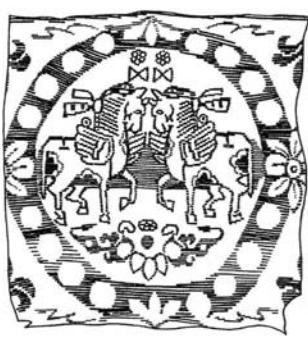


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Fig. 6.2.9-17 Helios on silks: 1, 2. Turfan; 3, 4. Byzantine



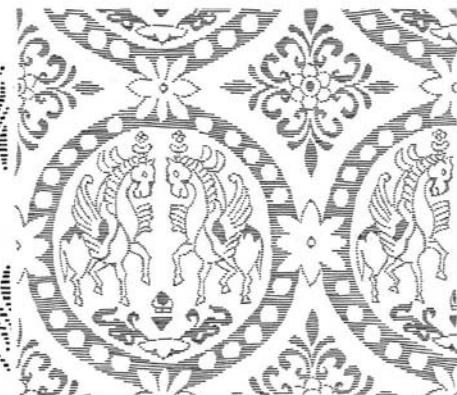
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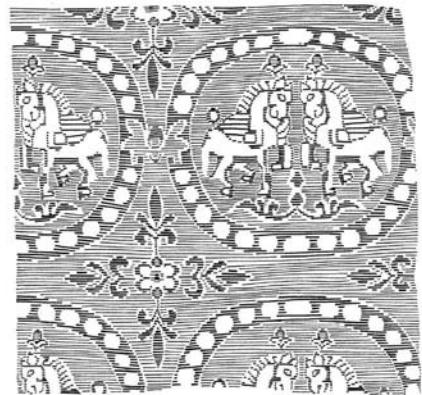
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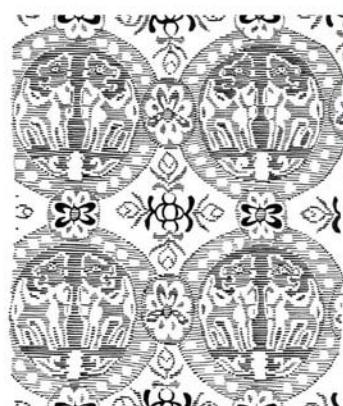
Fig. 6.2.9-18 Confronted horses on silks: 1, 3, 4, 5. Dulan; 2. Turfan



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Fig. 6.2.9-19 Confronted rams and lamps on silks: 1, 3. Dulan; 2. Turfan



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Fig. 6.2.9-20 Confronted lions and phoenixes on Dulan silks



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Fig. 6.2.9-21 Confronted phoenixes on silks: 1, 2. Dulan; 3. Turfan



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Fig. 6.2.9-22 Confronted dragons on *ling* damasks: 1, 2. Dulan; 3. Turfan



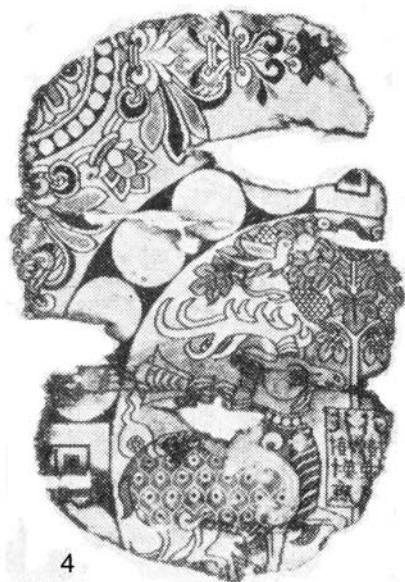
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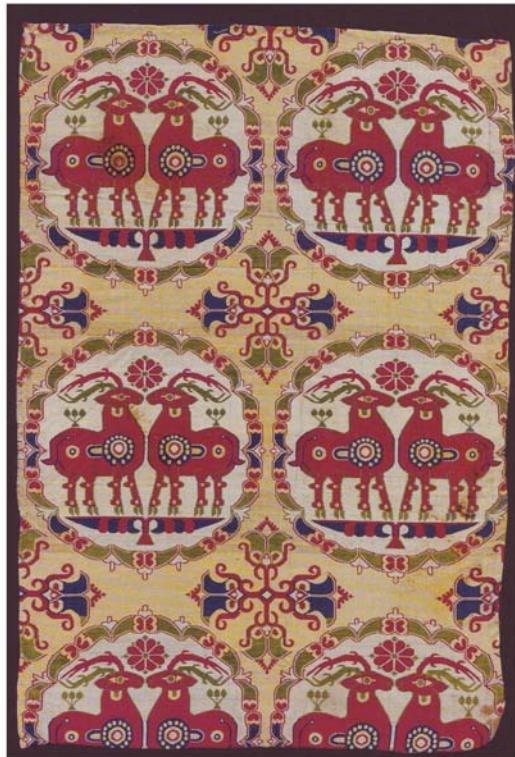


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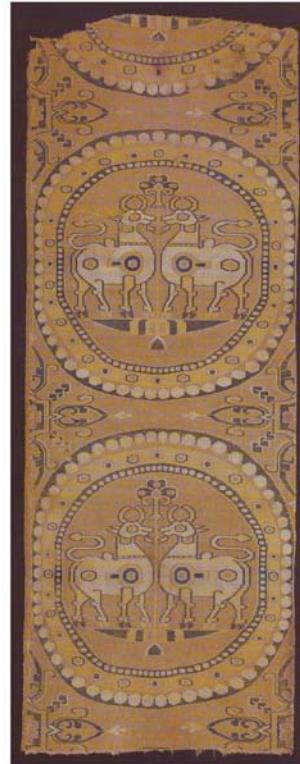


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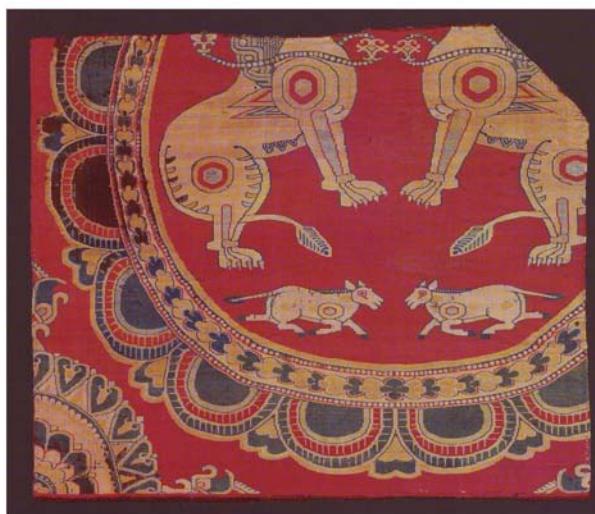
Fig. 6.2.9-23 Confronted tigers and stags on silks: 1, 2, 3. Dulan; 4. Turfan



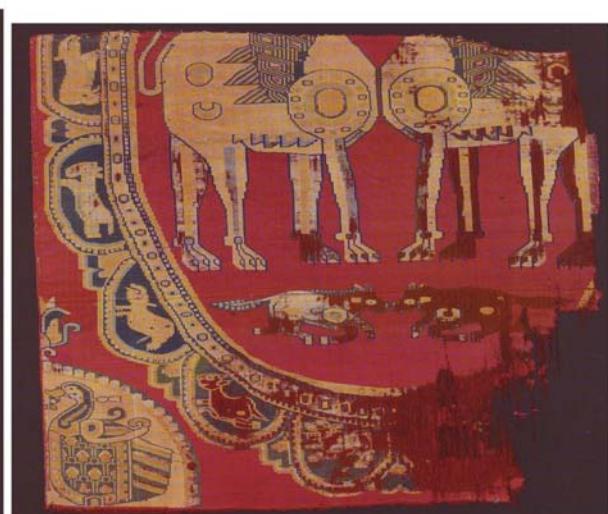
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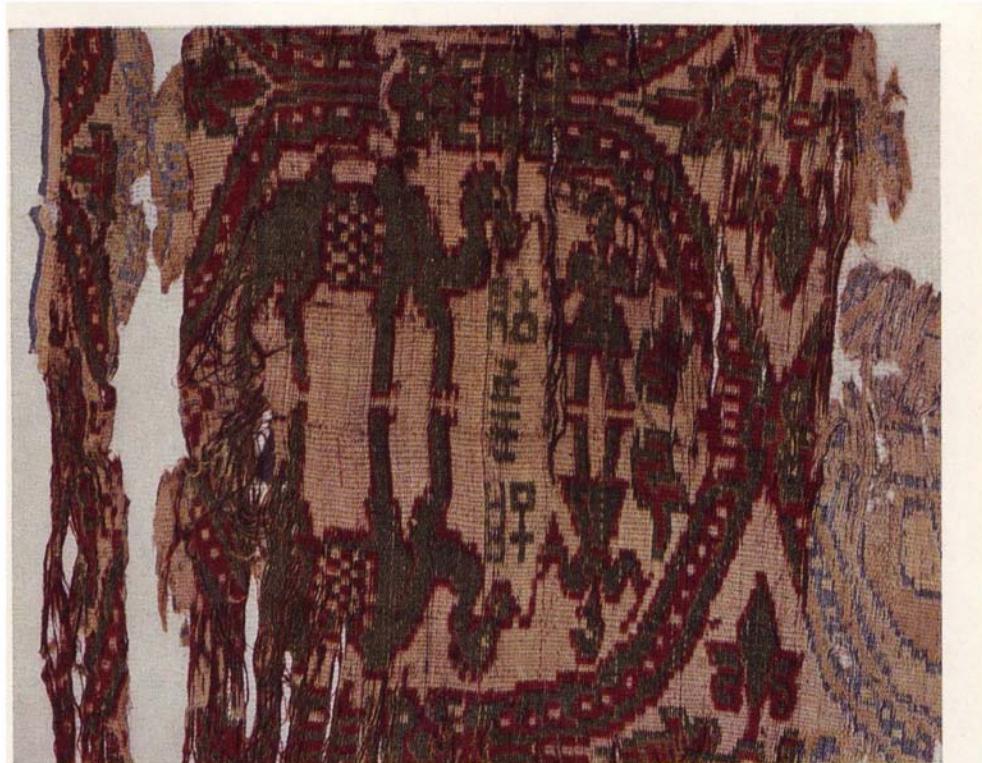


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Fig. 6.2.9-24 Confronted animals on silks, the Abegg-Stiftung Collection



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3

Fig. 6.2.9-25 Non-Chinese figures on silks: 1, 3. Dulan; 2. Turfan

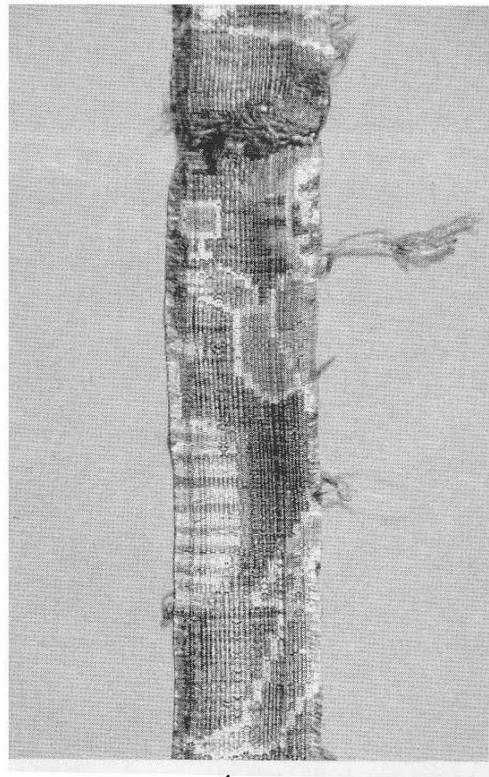
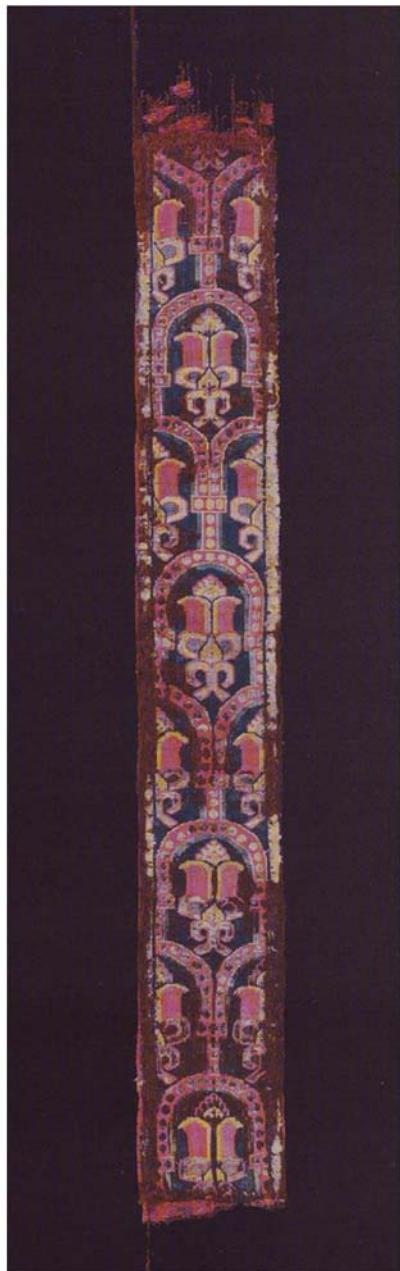


Fig. 6.2.9-26 Non-Chinese drinking scenes on Dulan and Turfan silks



Fig. 6.2.9-27 Design of Chinese buildings containing figures on Dulan silks



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Fig. 6.2.9-28 Lotus-palmette patterns on silks: 1. The Abegg-Stiftung Collection; 2, 3, 4. Dulan section II

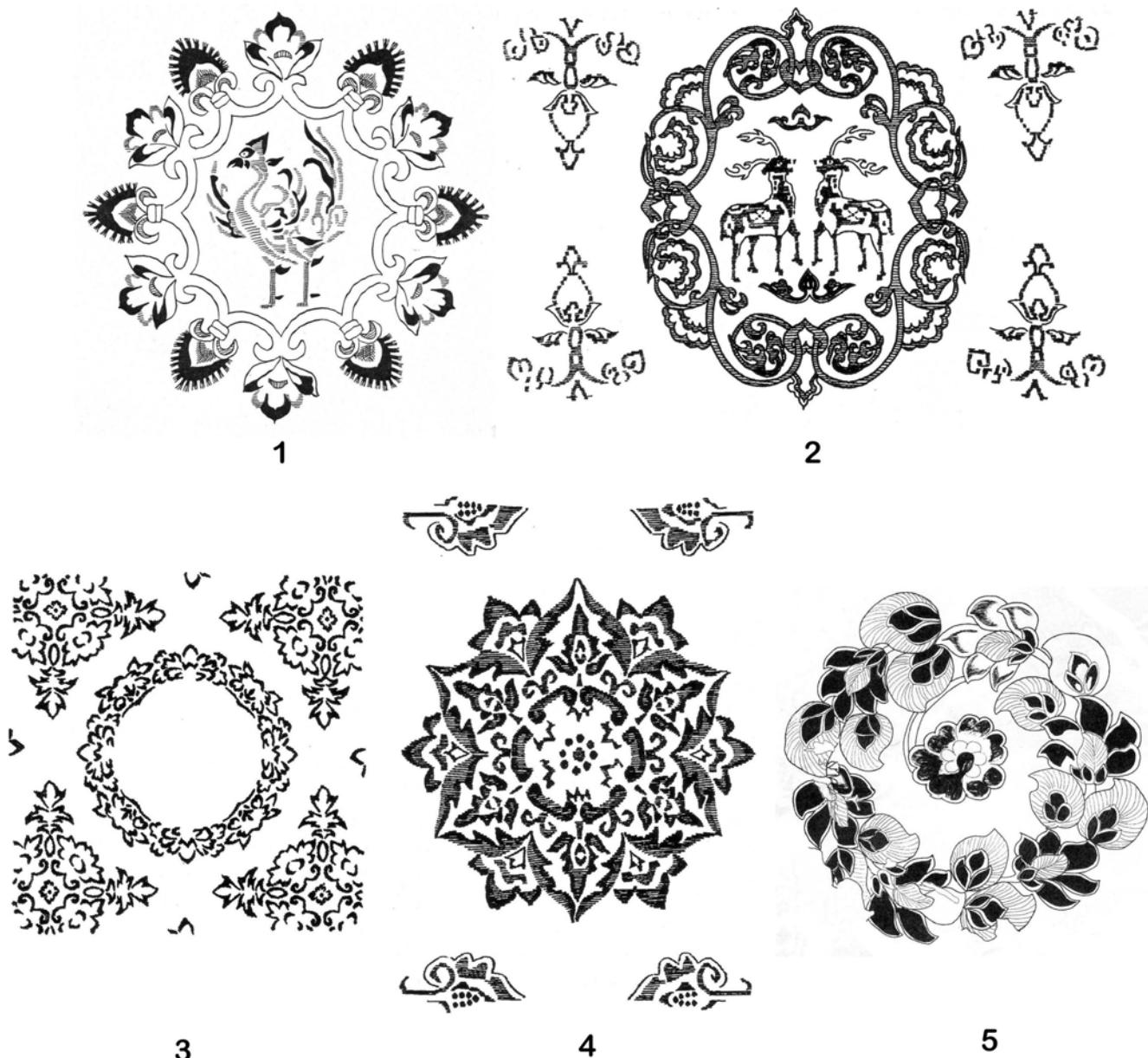
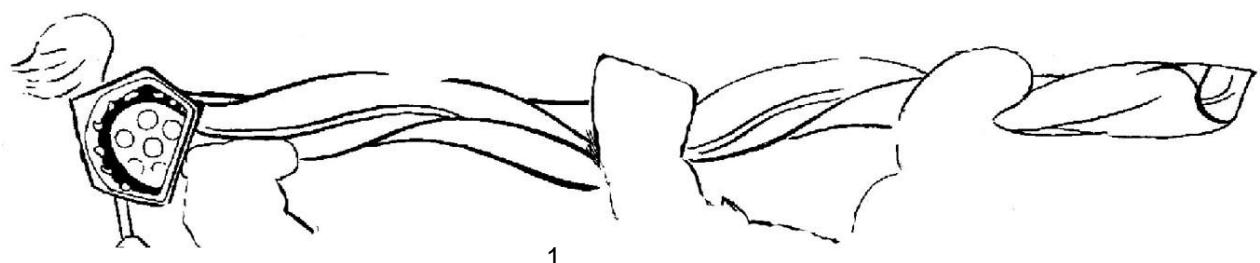


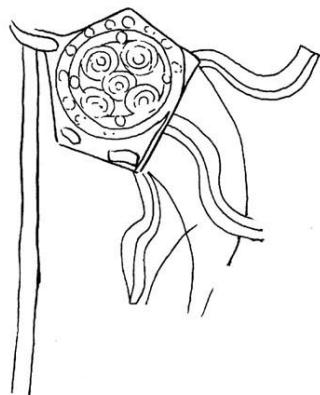
Fig. 6.2.9-29 Floral roundels on the Dulan silks



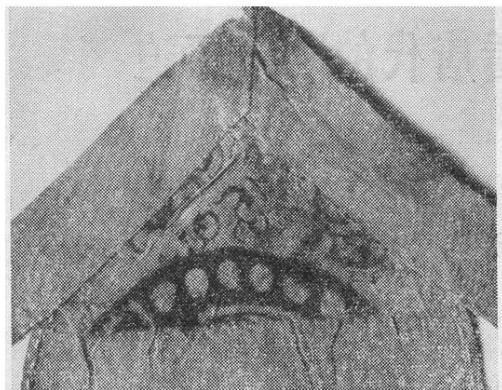
Fig. 6.2.9-30 Rosette patterns on the Dulan and Turfan silks



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Fig. 6.2.9-31 Banners: 1, 2. Painted on the Guolimu coffins;
3, 4. Turfan silk



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2

Fig. 6.2.9-32 Silk clothing and saddle blanket, Dulan

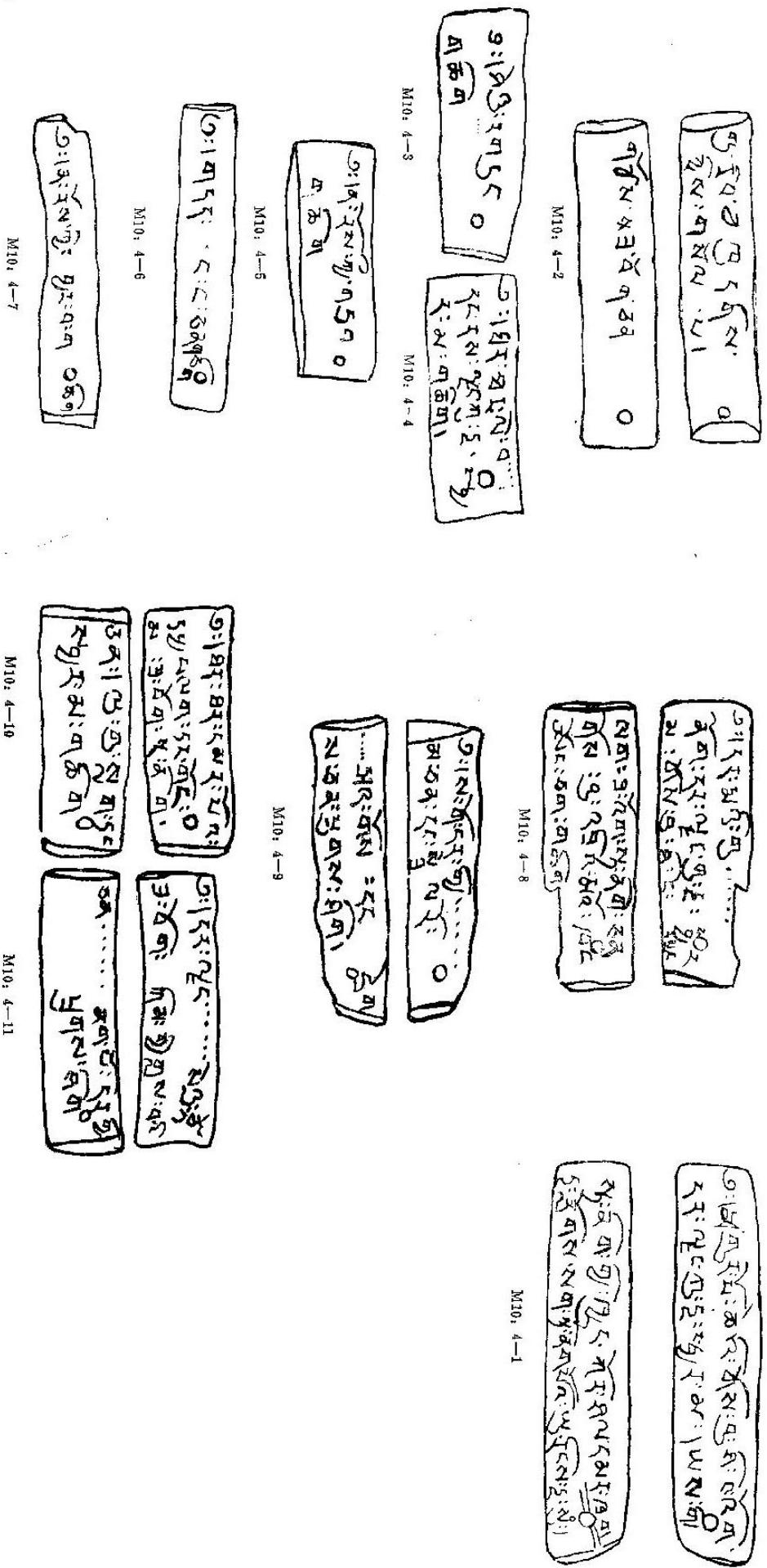


Fig. 6.2.10-1 Wooden slips with Tibetan inscriptions, Reshui M10

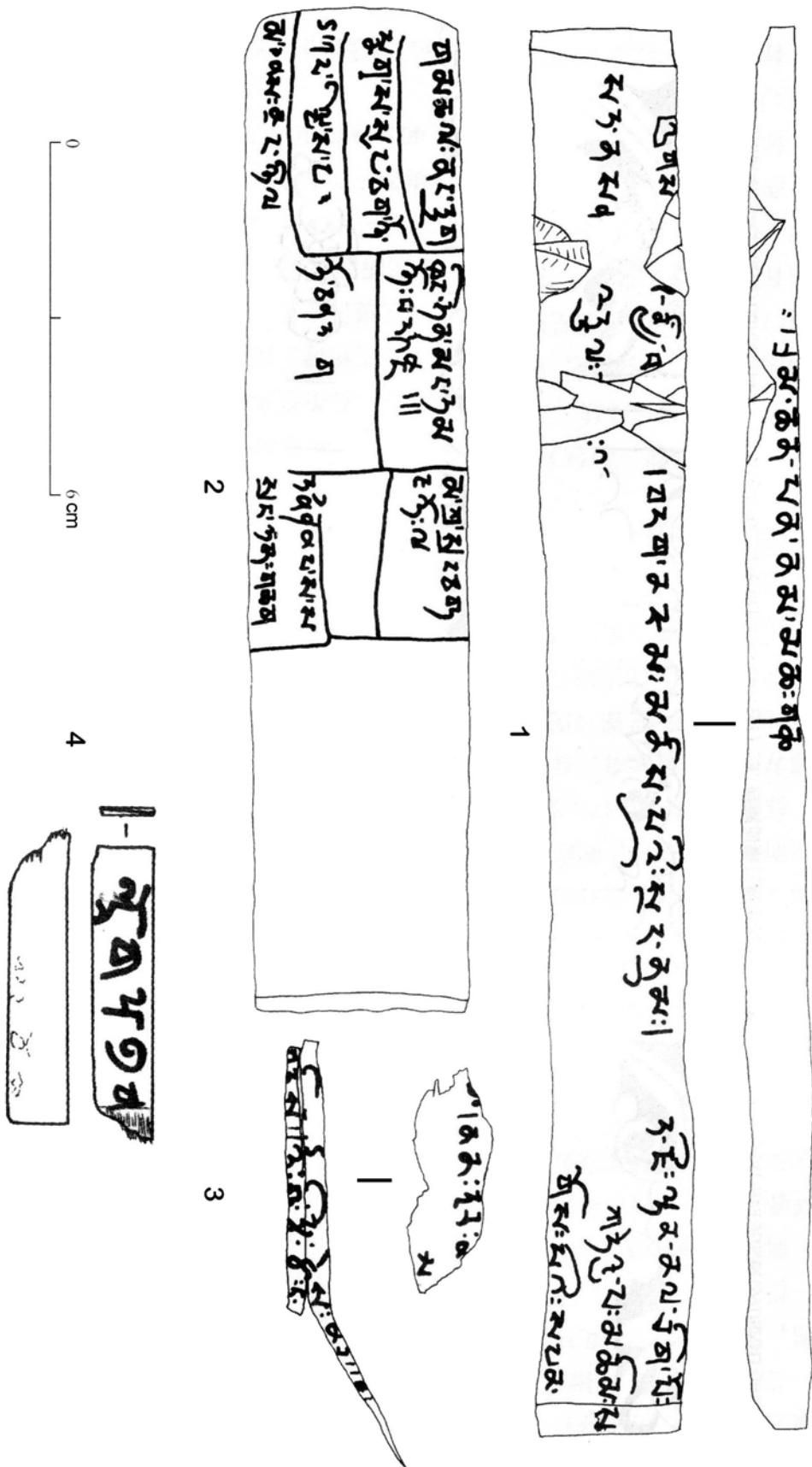
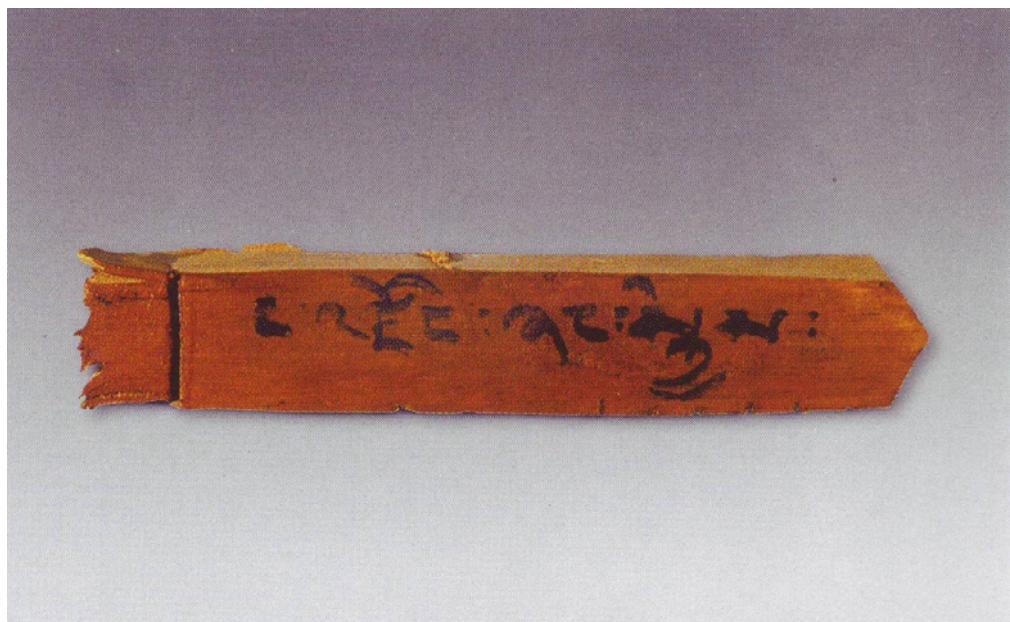


Fig. 6.2.10-2 Wooden slips with Tibetan inscriptions:
1, 2, 3. 99DRNM3; 4. 99DRNM2



1



2

Fig. 6.2.10-3 Wooden fragments with Tibetan inscriptions, 99DRNM1

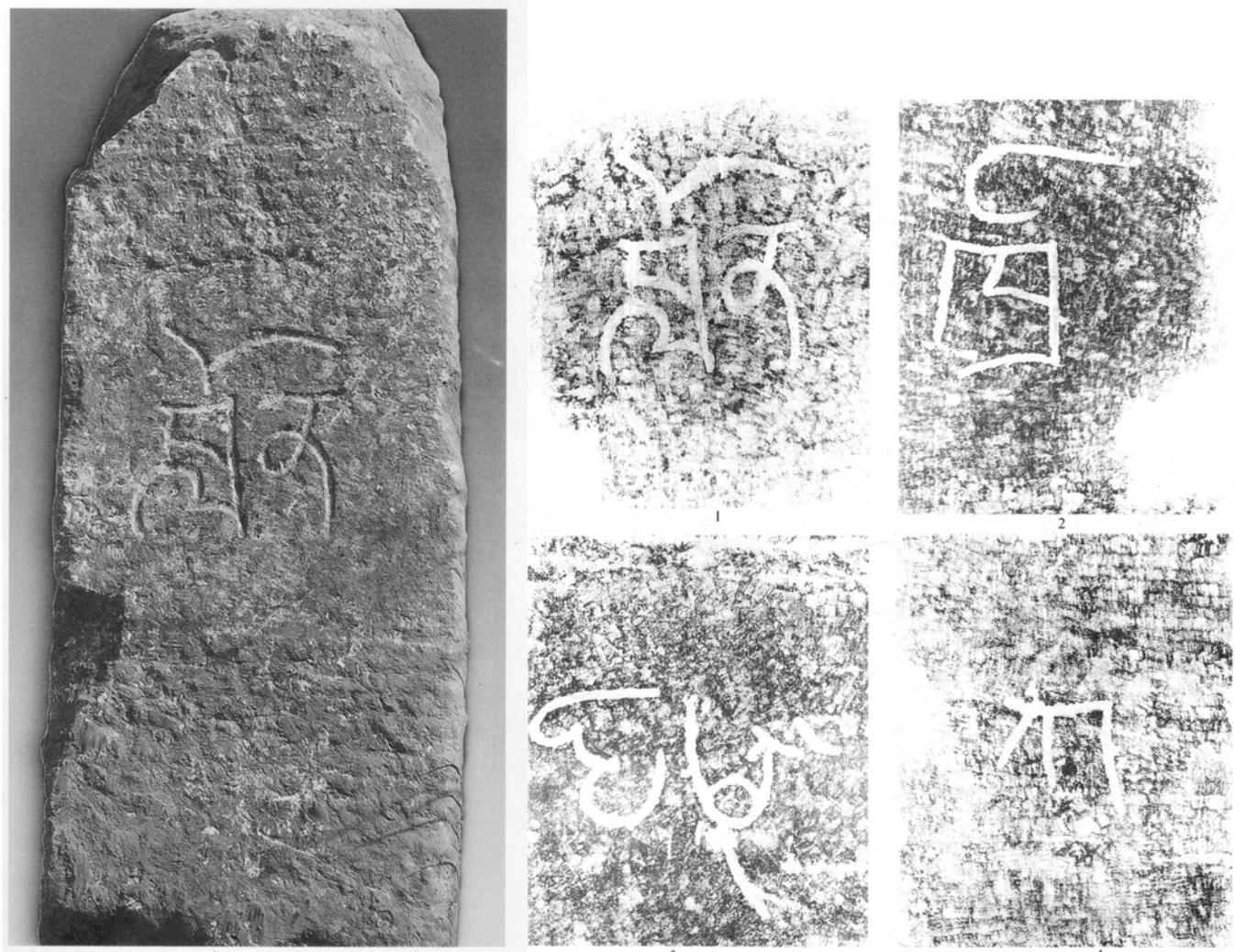


Fig. 6.2.10-4 Tibetan inscriptions on stones, 99DRNM3



1



2



3

Fig. 6.2.10-5 Drawings of *linga* on horse skulls, the Kaoxiaotu cemetery



Fig. 6.2.10-6 Tibetan inscriptions on a silk, 99DRNM1

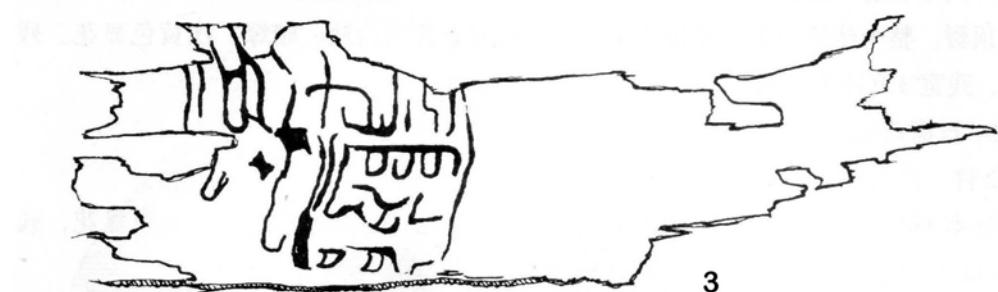


Fig. 6.2.10-7 Bronze seal with the Chinese characters *jin feng*, Dulan



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Fig. 6.2.10-8 Chinese inscriptions on silk: 1, 2. 99DRNM3; 3. 99DRNM1



Fig. 6.2.10-9 Chinese inscriptions on silk, 99DRNM3

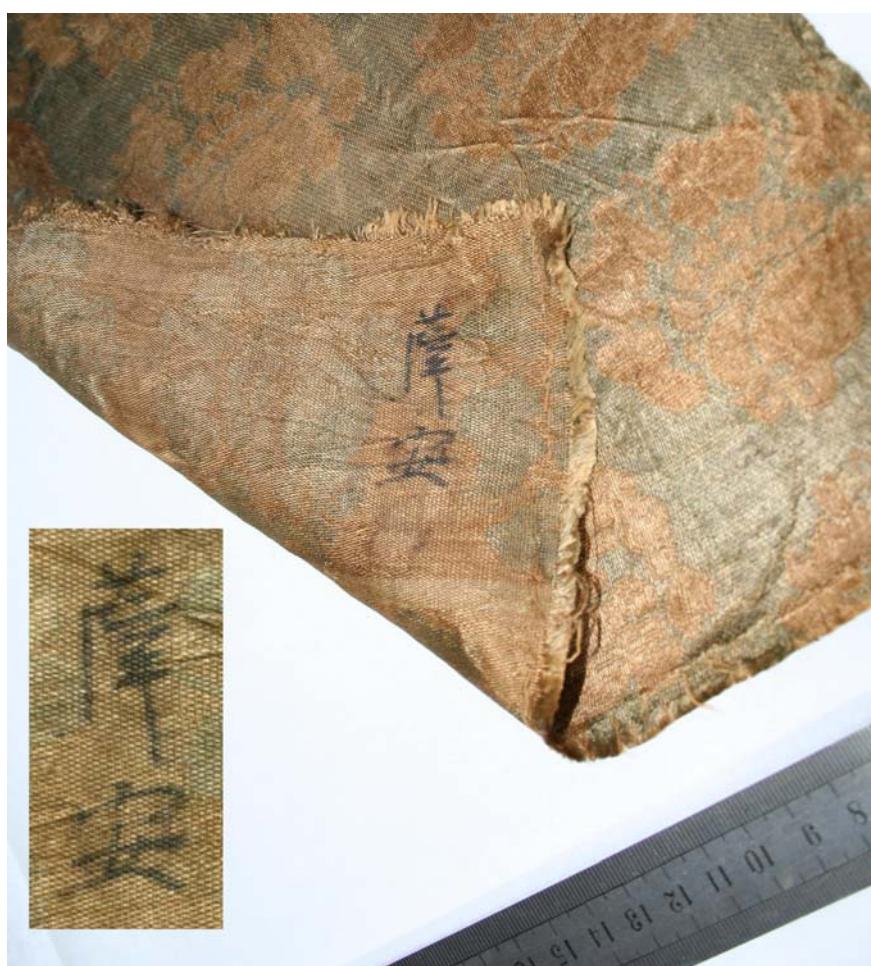


Fig. 6.2.10-10 Chinese inscription *xue an* on silk, Dulan



Fig. 6.5.1-1 Left side panel of the coffin in Guolimu M1



Fig. 6.5.1-2 Right side panel of the coffin in Guolimu M1



Fig. 6.5.1-3 Left side panel of the coffin in Guolimu M2



Fig. 6.5.1-4 right side panel of the coffin in Guolimu M2



Fig. 6.5.1-5 Head panel with *zhuque*



Fig. 6.5.1-6 Head panel with *zhuque*, Guolimu



Fig. 6.5.1-7 Foot panel with *xuanwu*, Guolimu

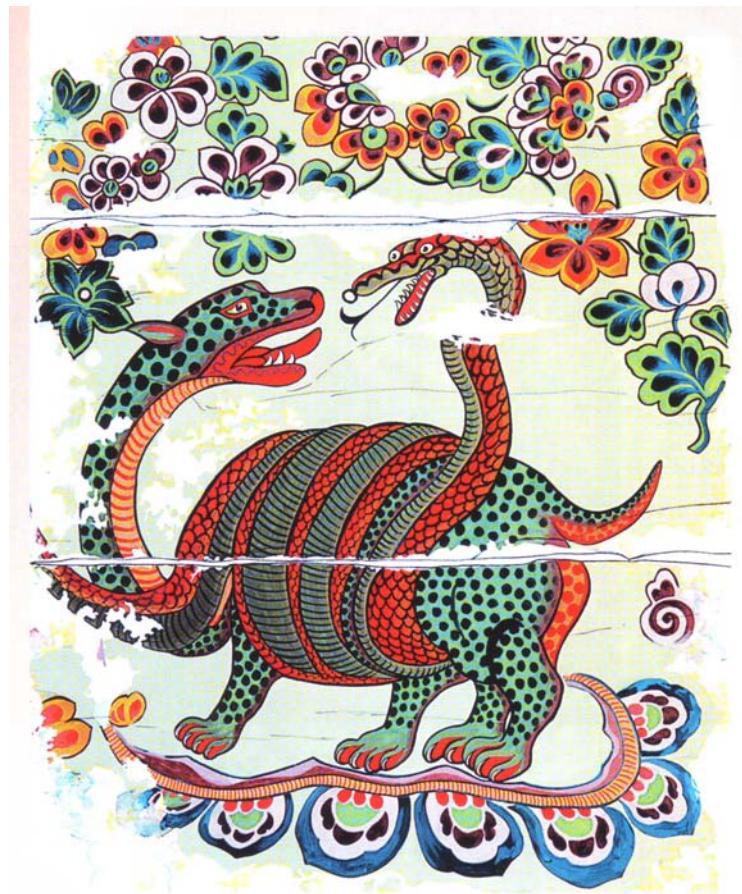


Fig. 6.5.1-8 Foot panel with *xuanwu*, Guolimu



Fig. 6.5.1-9 End panel with bird, Guolimu



Fig. 6.5.1-10 End panel with rabbit, Guolimu



Fig. 6.5.1-11 Left side plank of the coffin, Delingha (?)

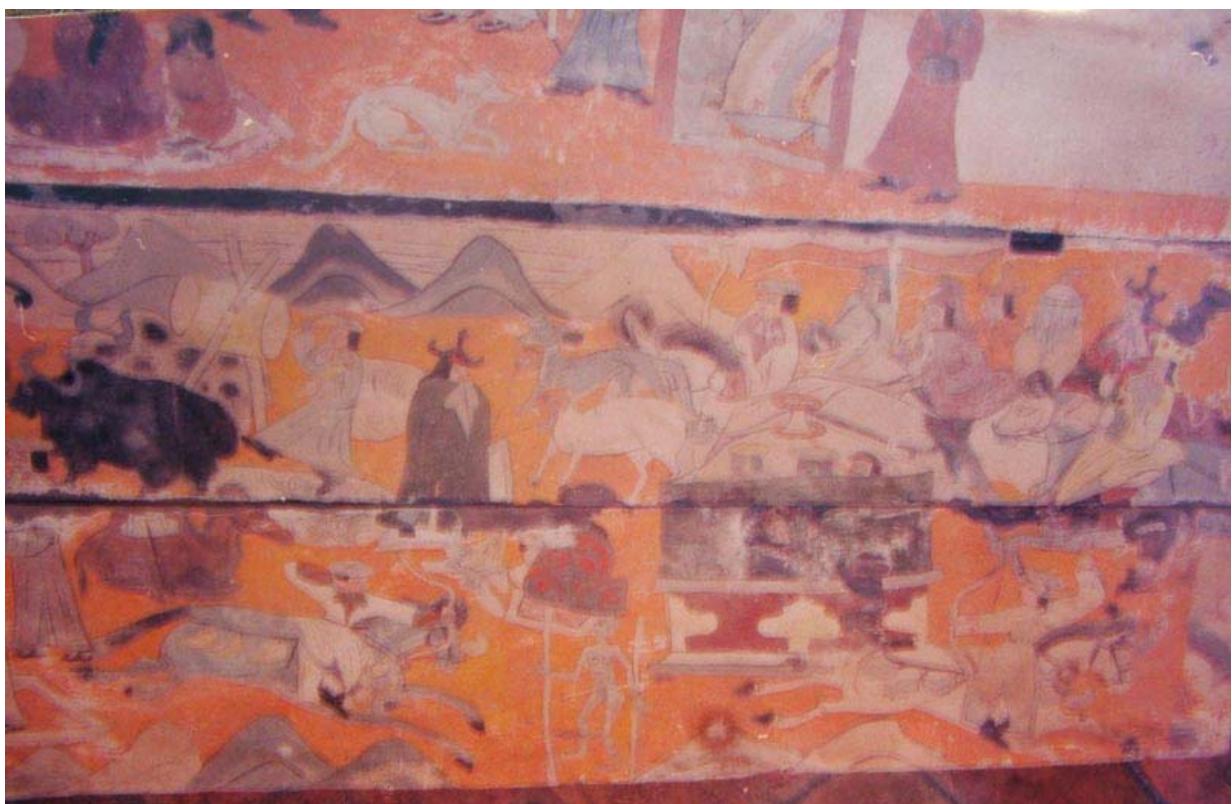


Fig. 6.5.1-12 Right side plank of the coffin , Delingha (?)



Fig. 6.5.1-13 End panel with spirit-shooting scene, Dulan



Fig. 6.5.1-14 End panel with a cock image, Delingha (?)



Fig. 6.5.1-15 Painted coffin panel with mysterious creatures, Delingha (?)



Fig. 6.5.1-16 Details of Fig. 6.5.1-15



Fig. 6.5.1-17 Details of Fig. 6.5.1-15



Fig. 6.5.1-18 Details of Fig. 6.5.1-15



Fig. 6.5.1-19 Details of Fig. 6.5.1-15



Fig. 6.5.2-1 *Bunian tu* (detail), the Palace Museum in Beijing



Fig. 6.5.2-2 Dunhuang cave 158 (detail)



Fig. 6.5.2-3 Dunhuang cave 159 (detail)



Fig. 6.5.2-4 Tibetan king and retinue in Dunhuang painting, British Museum



Fig. 6.5.2-5 Śāriputra and Raudrakṣa scroll (details), Dunhuang



Fig. 6.5.2-6 Tibetan figures, Dunhuang cave 359



Fig. 6.5.2-7 Tibetan figures, Yulin cave 25, Anxi



Fig. 6.5.2-8 The rock carving in Yushu, Qinghai



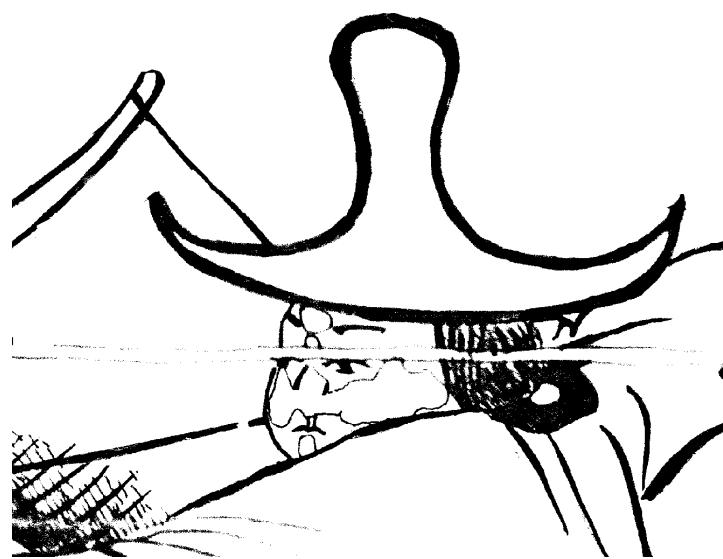
Fig. 6.5.2-9 Wall painting of the Tabo Monastery (detail), western Tibet



Fig. 6.5.2-10 Statue of King Songtsen Gampo, Potala, Lhasa



1



2

Fig. 6.5.2-11 Tibetan figures, detail of Fig. 6.5.1-2 and Fig. 6.5.1-3



Fig. 6.5.2-12 Xianbei figure, detail of Fig. 6.5.1-2



Fig. 6.5.2-13 Xianbei figures on a Dunhuang silk



Fig. 6.5.2-14 Tomb figurines, Datong, Shanxi

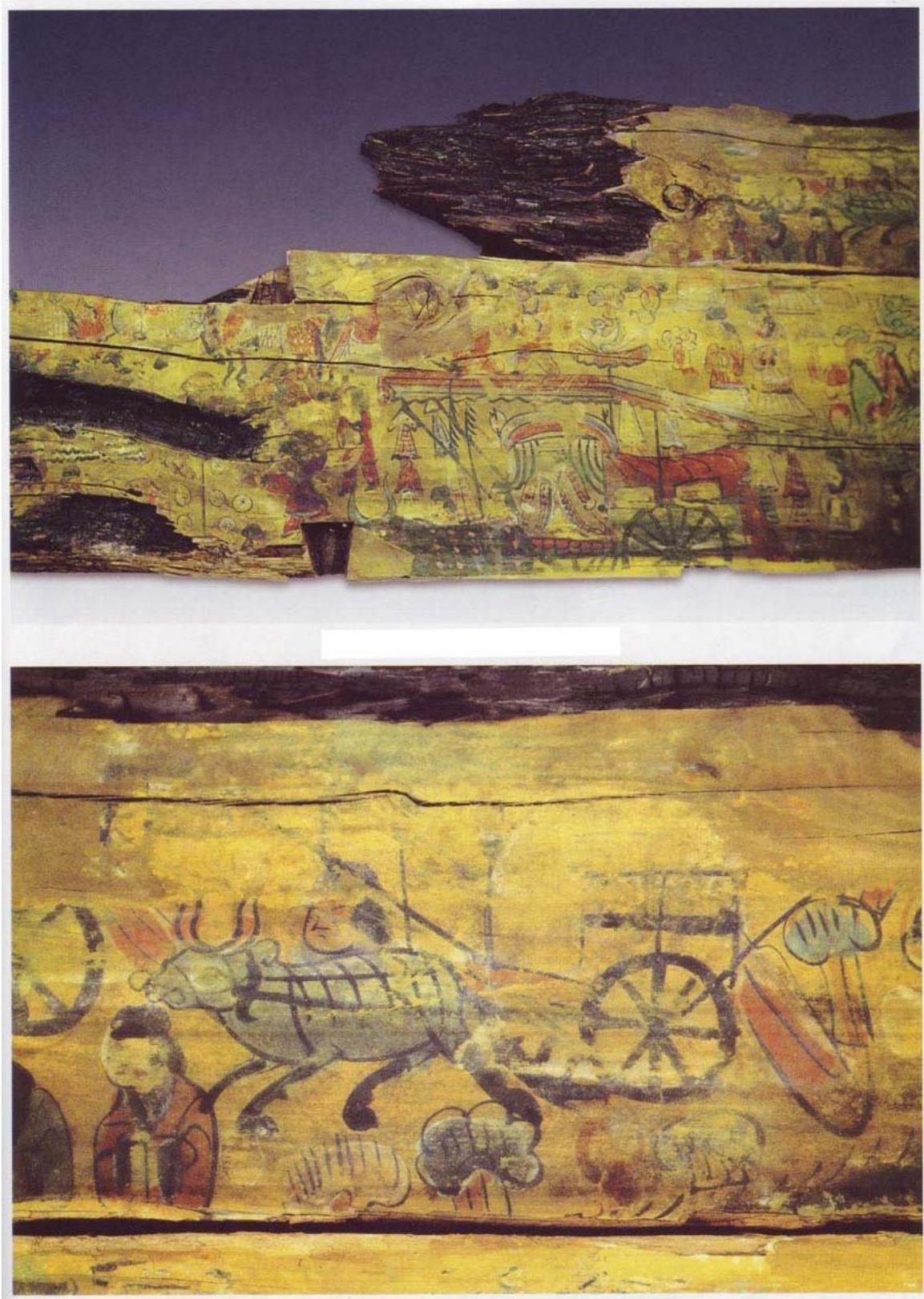


Fig. 6.5.2-15 Painted wooden coffin with Xianbei figures, Zhijiapu, Datong

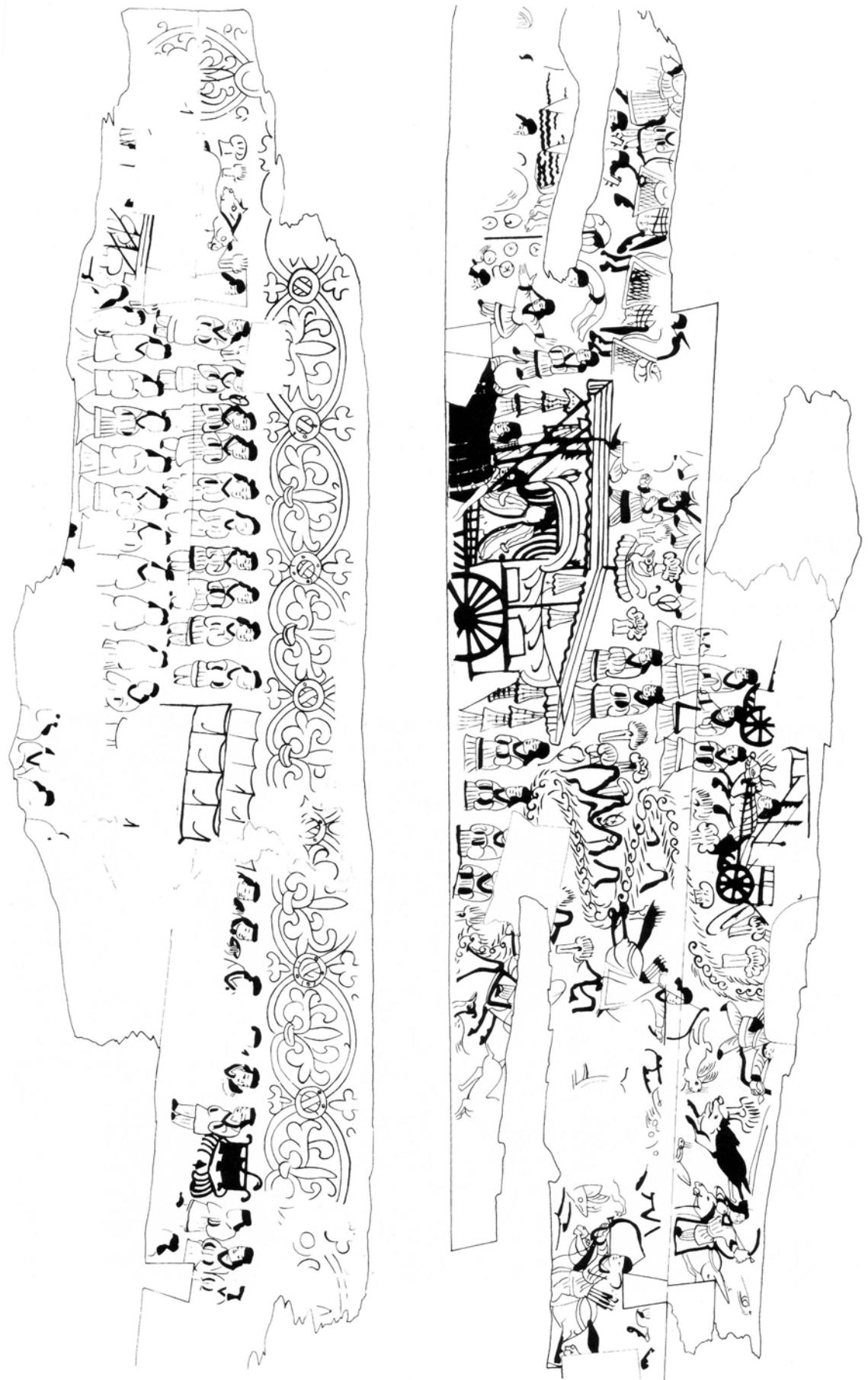


Fig. 6.5.2-16 Painted wooden coffin with Xianbei figures, Zhijiapu, Datong

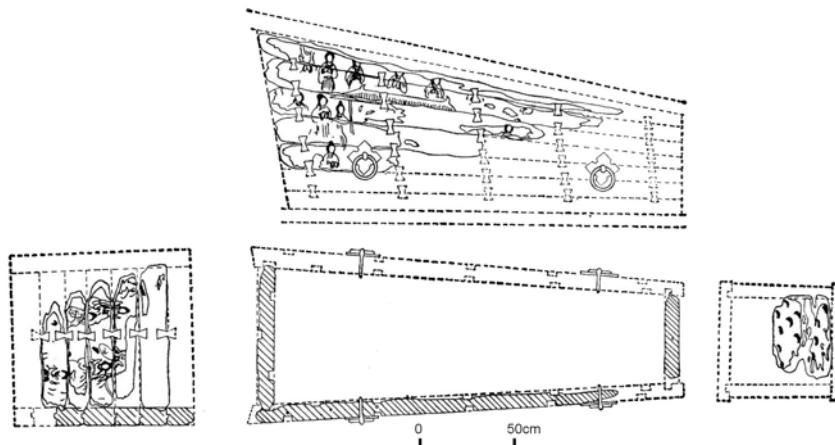


Fig. 6.5.2-17 The Feng Sufu painted coffin, Beipiao, Liaoning

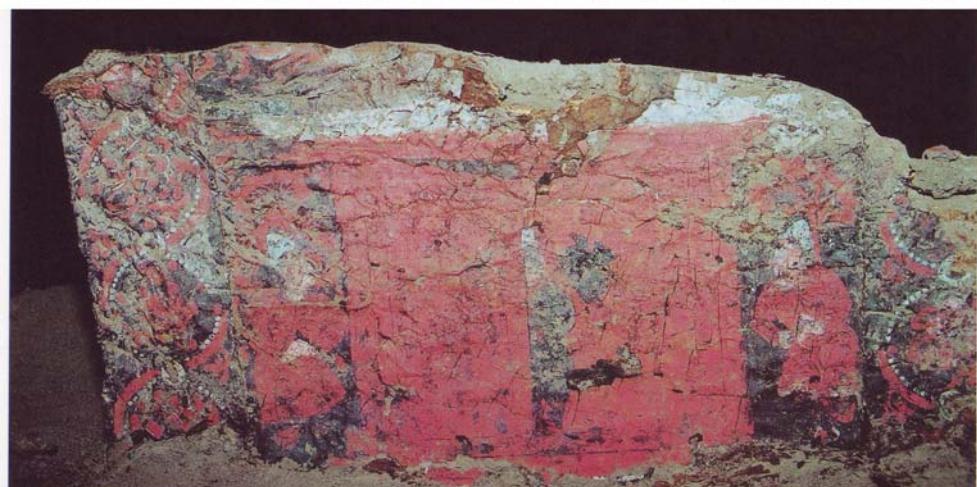


Fig. 6.5.2-18 Lacquered coffin, Hudong, Datong



Fig. 6.5.2-19 Pictorial sarcophagus, Yushe County, Shanxi

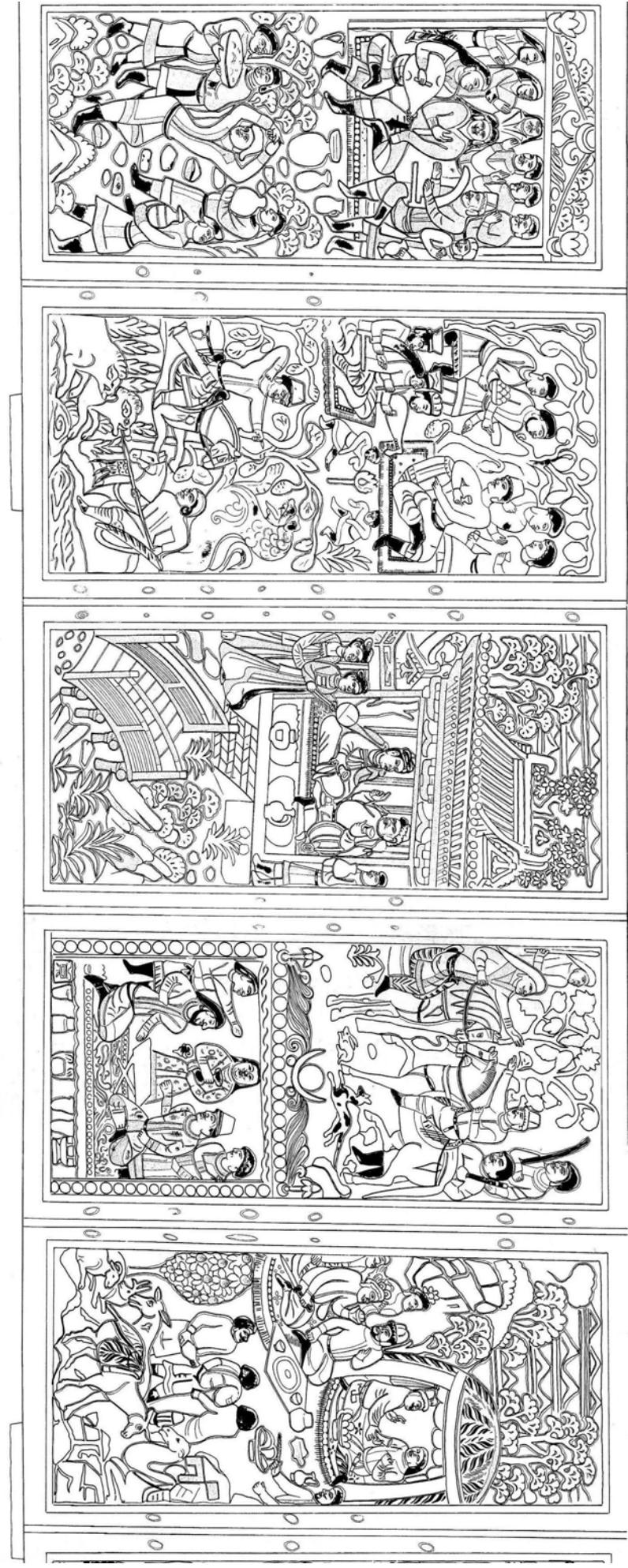


Fig. 6.5.4-1 The front screen of the An Jia stone couch, Xi'an



Fig. 6.5.4-2 Left screen of the An Jia stone couch

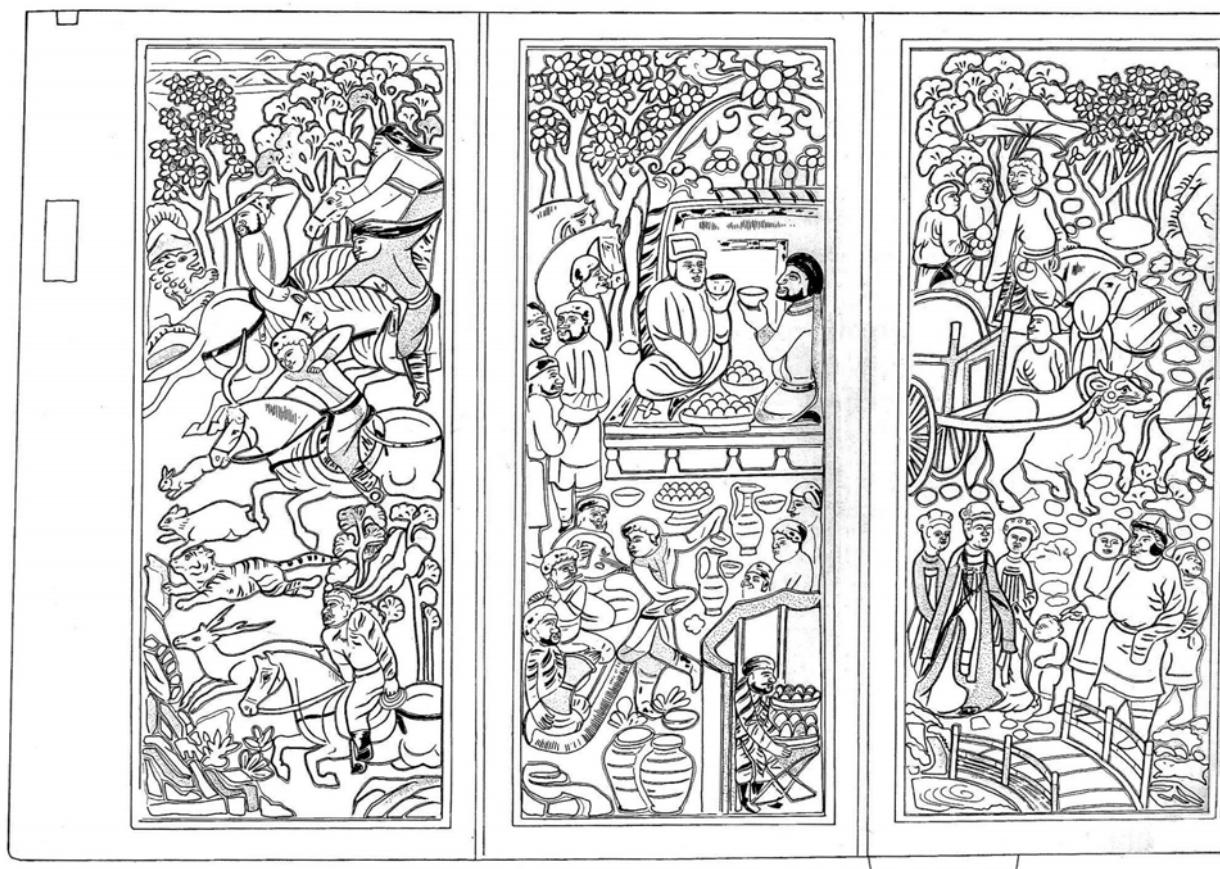


Fig. 6.5.4-3 Right screen of the An jia stone couch

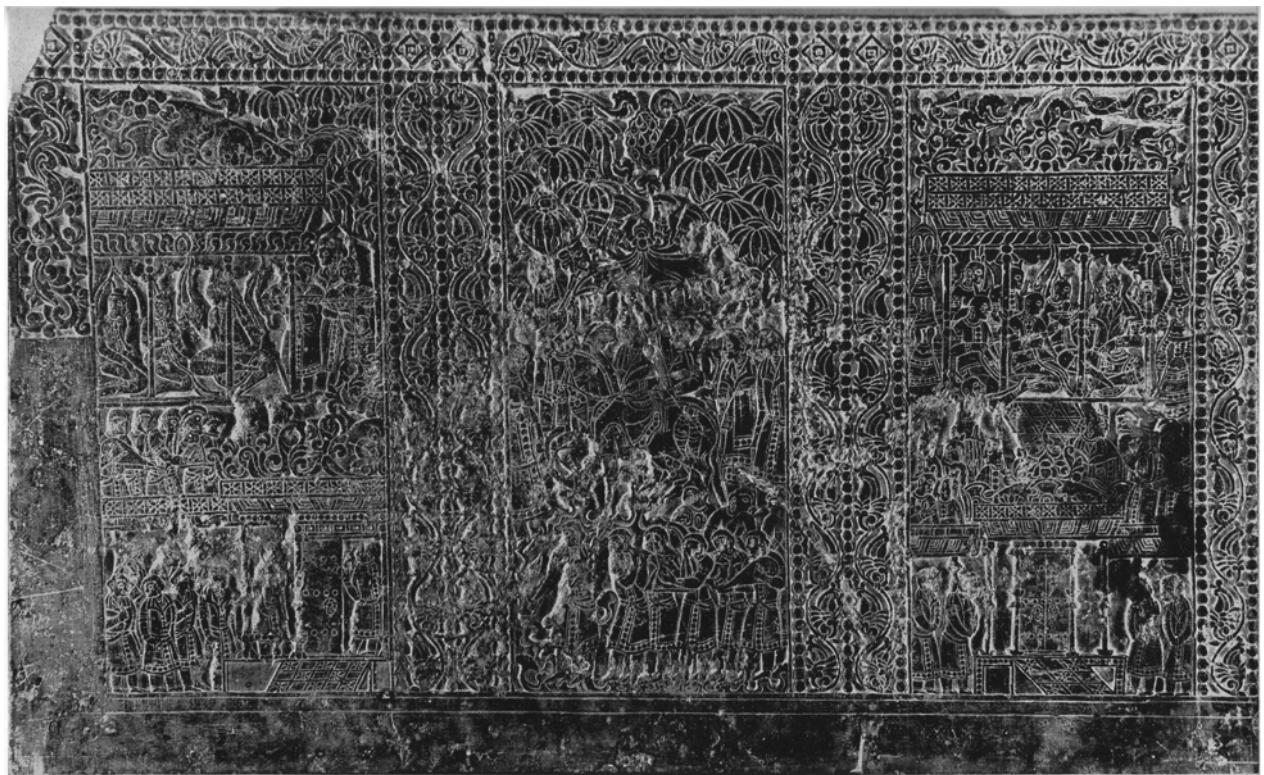


Fig. 6.5.4-4 Engraved stone couch (panel) from Anyang
(the Guimet Museum Collection)



Fig. 6.5.4-5 Engraved stone couch (panels) from northern China
(the Miho Museum Collection)

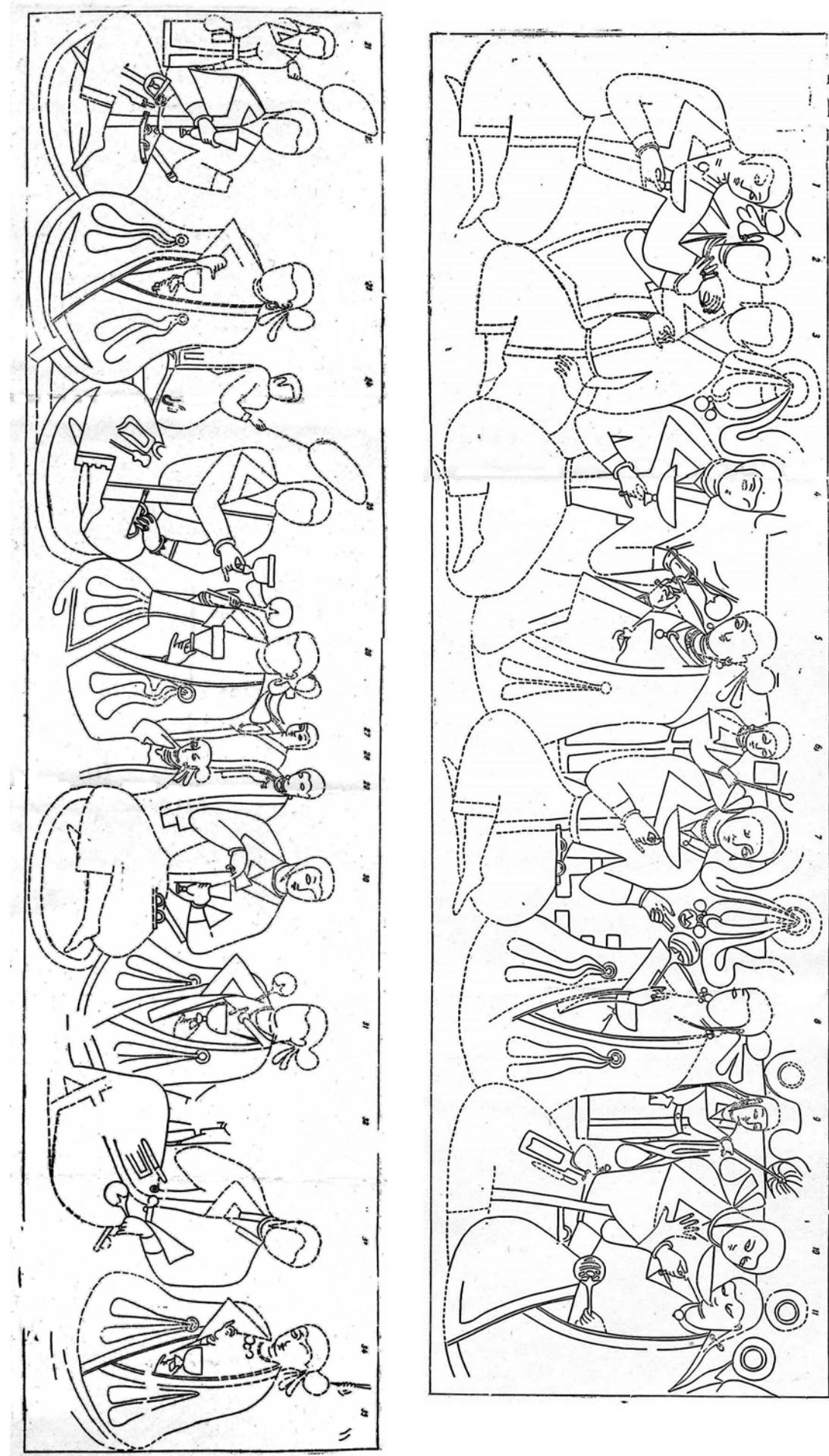


Fig. 6.5.4-6 Wall painting, south wall and north wall, Balalyk-Tepe



Fig. 6.5.4-7 Wall painting, room 1, north wall, Afrasiab

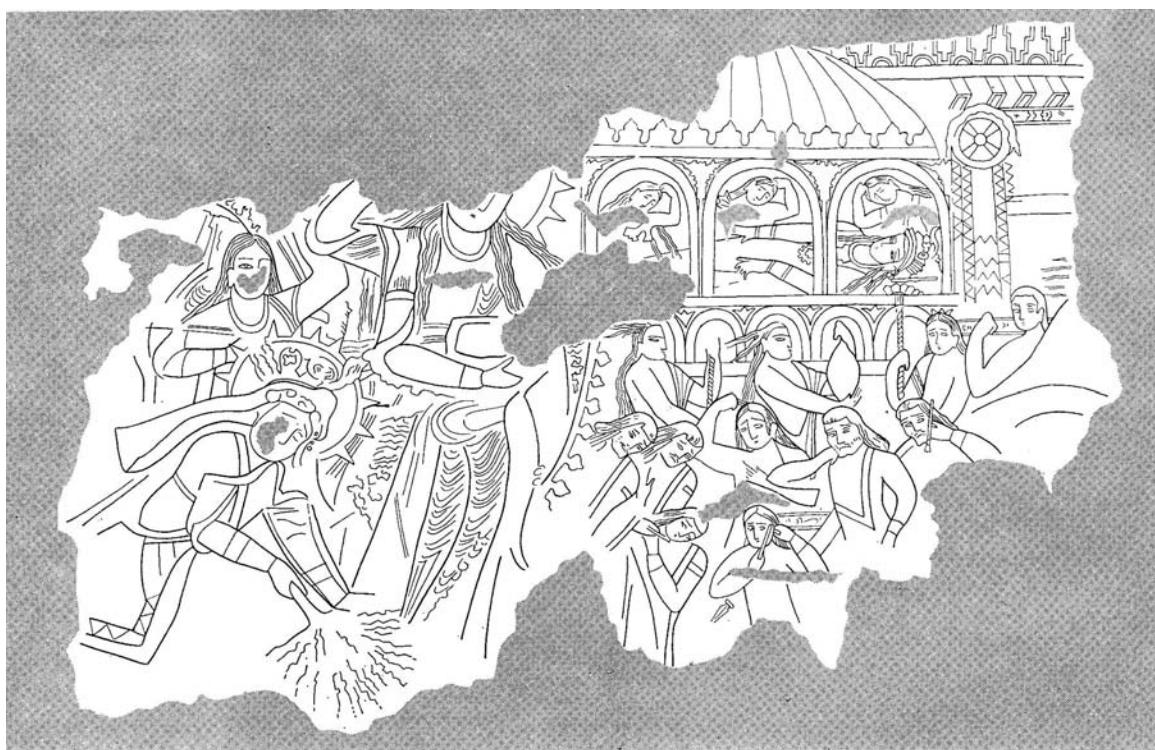


Fig. 6.5.4-8 Wall painting, temple II, south wall, Pyjikent

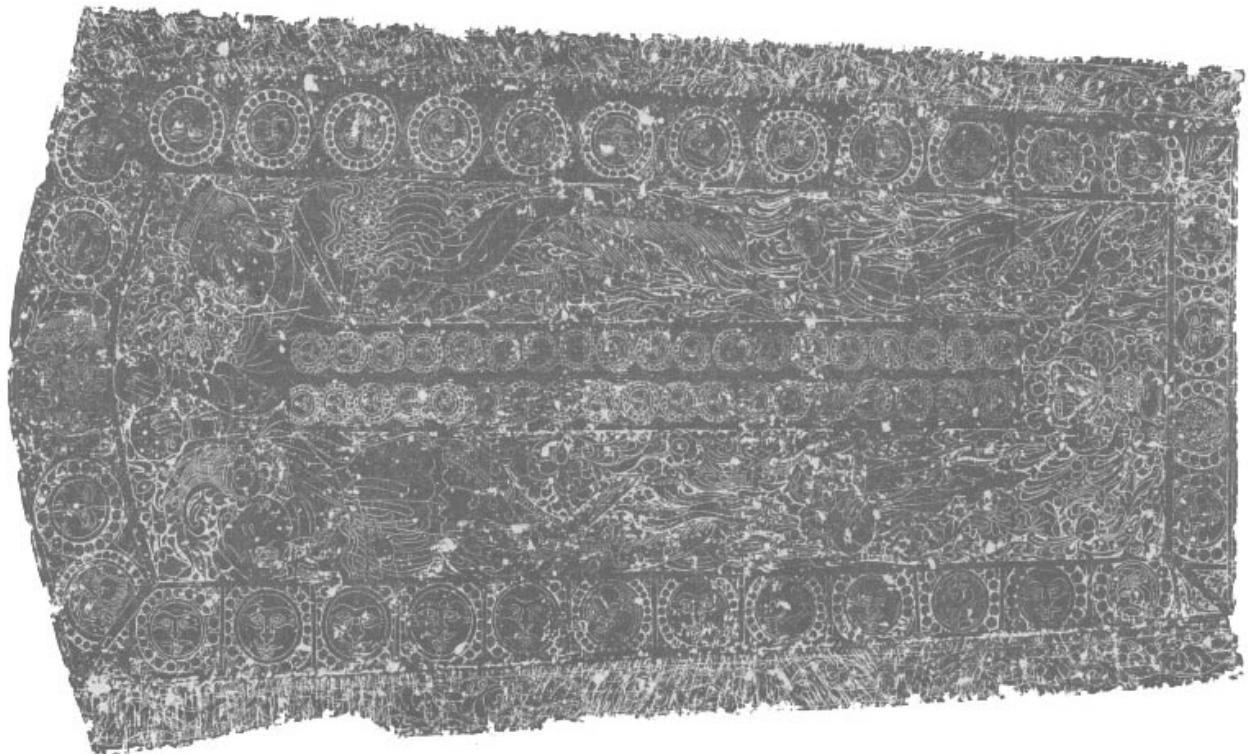


Fig. 6.5.4-9 The engraved stone coffin lid of Li He, Sanyuan County, Shaanxi

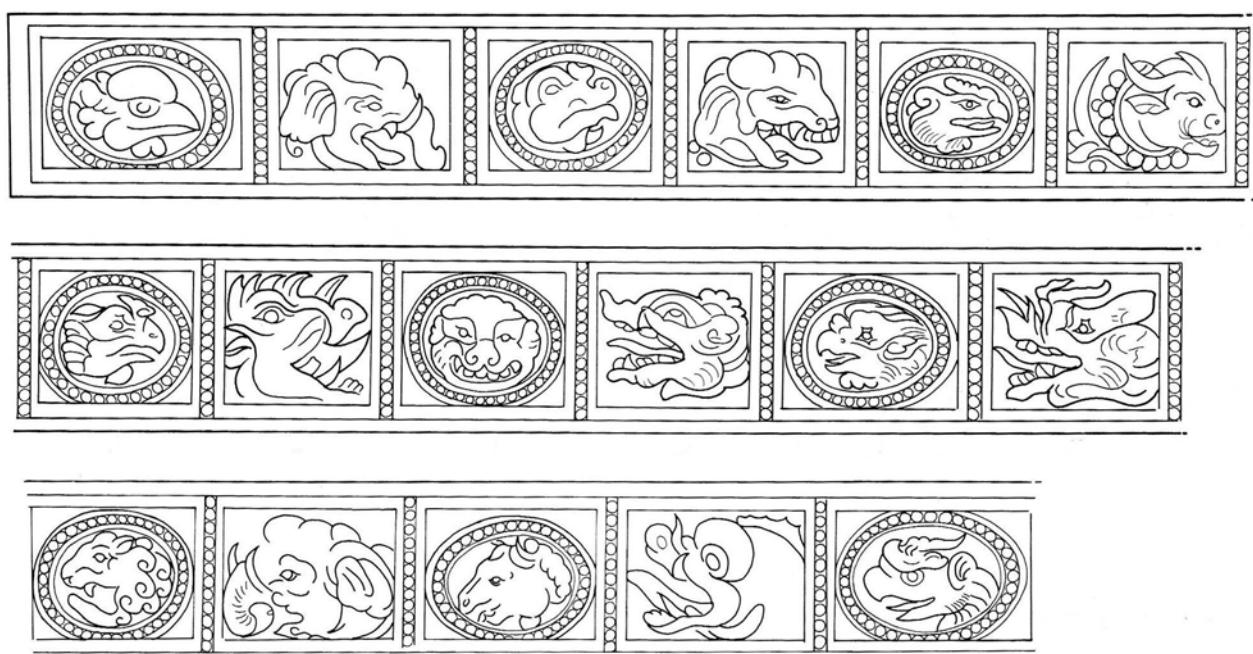


Fig. 6.5.4-10 Pearl roundel patterns on the dais of the An Jia stone couch, Xi'an

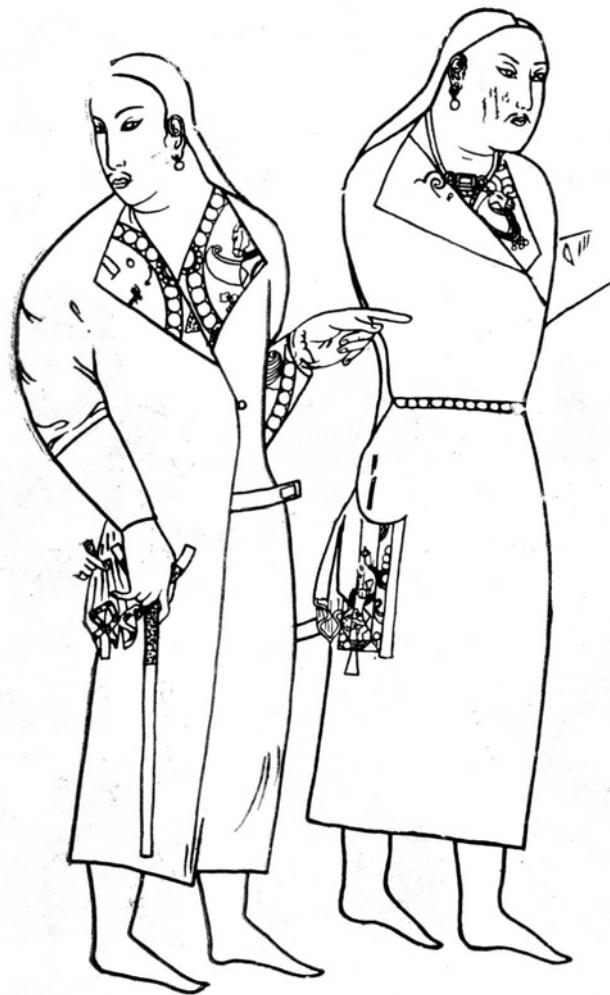


Fig. 6.5.4-11 Sogdian figures,
room 1, west wall, Afrasiab



Fig. 6.5.4-12 Bodhisattvas statues,
Temple of Yemar, Central Tibet



Fig. 6.5.4-13 Details of Fig. 6.5.4-1

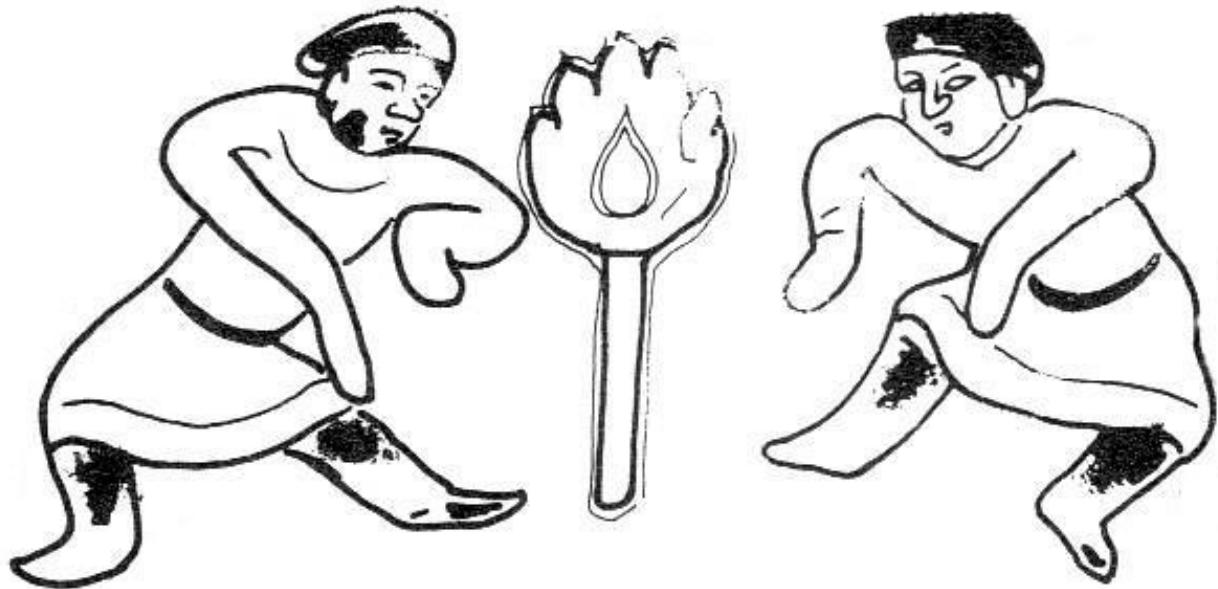


Fig. 6.5.4-14 Details of Fig. 6.5.4-1

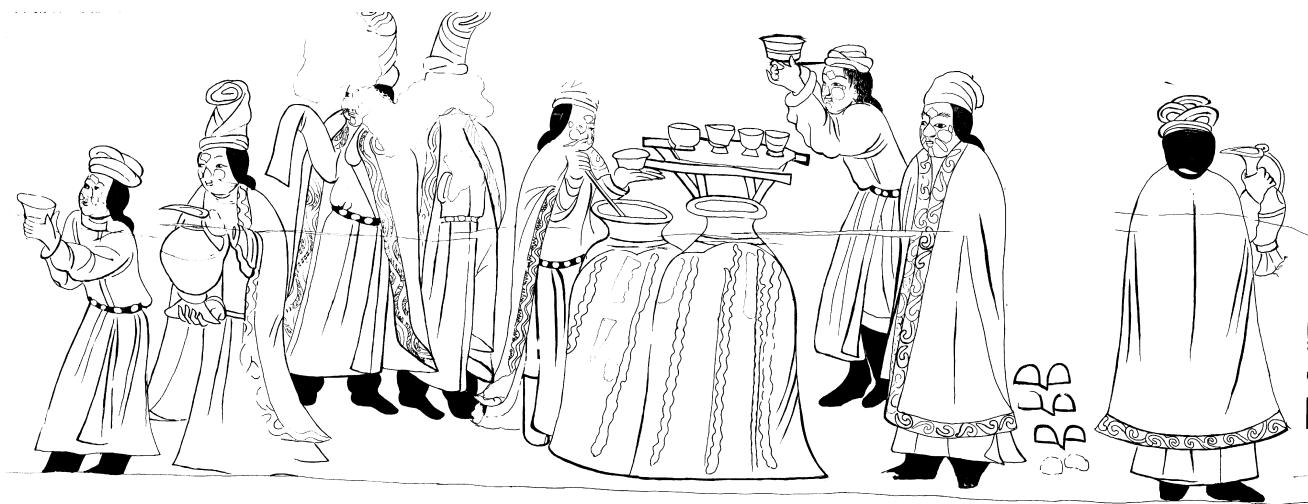


Fig. 6.5.4-15 Detail of Fig. 6.5.1-3



Fig. 6.5.4-16 Detail of Fig. 6.5.1-1



Fig. 6.5.4-17 Silver *huping* from Chifeng, Inner Mongolia



Fig. 6.5.4-18 Wall painting of the Tang Princess Dazhang tomb, Shaanxi



Fig. 6.5.4-19 Goblet from Li Jingxun tomb, Xi'an



Fig. 6.5.4-20 The ink painting on the Yu Hong sarcophagus, Taiyuan

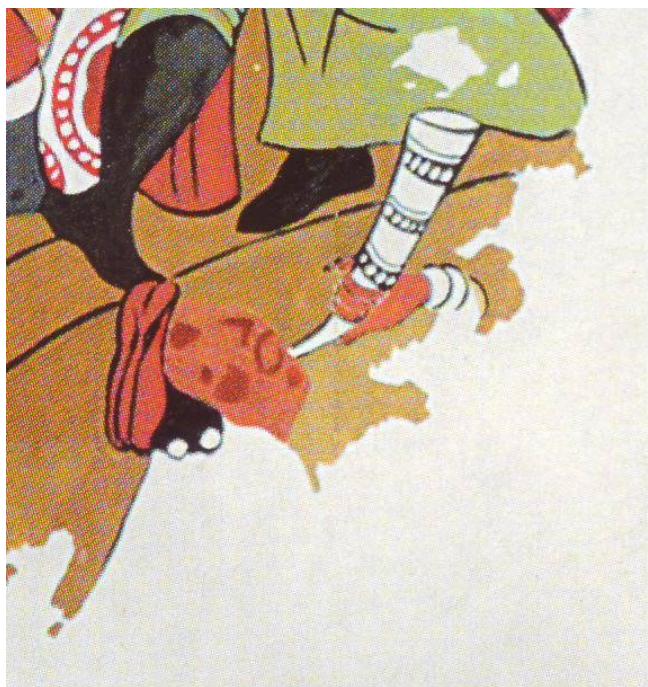


Fig. 6.5.4-21 Detail of Fig. 6.5.1-1

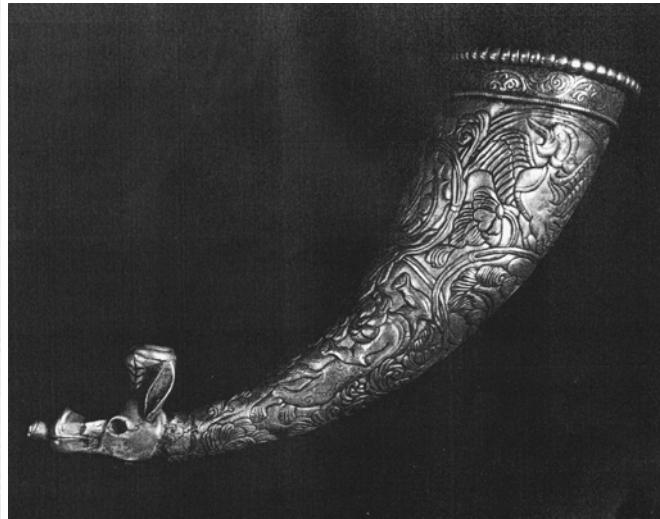


Fig. 6.5.4-23 Tibetan silver rhyton, the Cleveland Museum of Art Collection



Fig. 6.5.4-22 Reliefs on the dais of the Yu Hong sarcophagus, Taiyuan