SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

Number 168 December, 2005

Aspects of Assimilation:
The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China

by
Judith A. Lerner

Victor H. Mair, Editor
Sino-Platonic Papers
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 USA
vmair@sas.upenn.edu
www.sino-platonic.org

SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

FOUNDED 1986

ISSN
2157-9679 (print) 2157-9687 (online)

SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS is an occasional series dedicated to making available to specialists and the interested public the results of research that, because of its unconventional or controversial nature, might otherwise go unpublished. The editor-in-chief actively encourages younger, not yet well established, scholars and independent authors to submit manuscripts for consideration. Contributions in any of the major scholarly languages of the world, including romanized modern standard Mandarin (MSM) and Japanese, are acceptable. In special circumstances, papers written in one of the Sinitic topolects (*fangyan*) may be considered for publication.

Although the chief focus of *Sino-Platonic Papers* is on the intercultural relations of China with other peoples, challenging and creative studies on a wide variety of philological subjects will be entertained. This series is **not** the place for safe, sober, and stodgy presentations. *Sino- Platonic Papers* prefers lively work that, while taking reasonable risks to advance the field, capitalizes on brilliant new insights into the development of civilization.

Submissions are regularly sent out to be refereed, and extensive editorial suggestions for revision may be offered.

Sino-Platonic Papers emphasizes substance over form. We do, however, strongly recommend that prospective authors consult our style guidelines at www.sino-platonic.org/stylesheet.doc. Manuscripts should be submitted as electronic files, preferably in Microsoft Word format. You may wish to use our sample document template, available here: www.sino-platonic.org/spp.dot.

Beginning with issue no. 171, *Sino-Platonic Papers* has been published electronically on the Web at www.sino-platonic.org. Issues 1–170, however, will continue to be sold as paper copies until our stock runs out, after which they too will be made available on the Web.

Please note: When the editor goes on an expedition or research trip, all operations (including filling orders) may temporarily cease for up to three months at a time. In such circumstances, those who wish to purchase various issues of *SPP* are requested to wait patiently until he returns. If issues are urgently needed while the editor is away, they may be requested through Interlibrary Loan. You should also check our Web site at www.sino-platonic.org, as back issues are regularly rereleased for free as PDF editions.

Tianshui bed, banquet scene, panel 6

"Sino-Platonic Papers," 168, December, 2005

ASPECTS OF ASSIMILATION: THE FUNERARY PRACTICES AND FURNISHINGS OF CENTRAL ASIANS IN CHINA

Judith A. Lerner

Introduction

The identification and discovery in north and northwest China of the tombs and funerary furniture of Sogdians have provoked a lively interest and much scholarly discussion about those Central Asians who lived among the Chinese in the Northern Qi, Northern Zhou, Sui and Tang periods (second half of the sixth to the mid-seventh century) and who, as individuals, selectively adopted various Chinese mortuary practices.

Gustina Scaglia's recognition 50 years ago that the three stone panels shared by Boston and Paris and two gate posts in Cologne depict Central Asians, and thus were made for a member of a Sogdian community in China,[1] provided the first visual evidence for this foreign presence, previously known only from written sources. Subsequent discoveries, through documented excavation and by way of the art market, have expanded the corpus of these funerary furnishings to eight: six stone beds — three excavated (that found in Tianshui, Gansu [Frontispiece and Pl. 1]; and those of An Qie and Kang Ye in Xi'an, Shaanxi, the Northern Zhou and Sui capital [Pls. 2 and 3]) and three others now in museums (Scaglia's bed, attributed to Anyang, Henan, near Ye the Northern Qi capital [Pl. 4]; the panels in the Miho Museum, Shigaraki, Japan [Pl. 5]; and the

Acknowledgements: I wish to thank Victor H. Mair and Alan S. Kornheiser for their careful reading of this article and their many helpful suggestions. The ideas developed here have benefited greatly from discussions over the years with friends and colleagues who share the fascination about Central Asians living in China, specifically Boris Marshak, Frantz Grenet, Étienne de la Vaissière, Etsuko Kageyama and Annette Juliano. It is to this last scholar and friend to whom I am especially grateful for introducing me to this exciting area of study through one of the panels from the Miho bed on which I recognized an Iranian or Zoroastrian ritual, and for our subsequent years of collaboration. Nonetheless, the opinions and conclusions expressed here are my own, and I take full responsibility for any and all errors.

[1] Giustina Scaglia, "Central Asians on a Northern Ch'i Gate Shrine," *Artibus Asiae* XXI (1958), 2-28. What is most likely the base is in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C.

bed in the Vahid Kooros collection, now in the Musée Guimet, Paris [Pl. 6]) — and two stone sarcophagi, both found in archaeological contexts (one near Taiyuan, Shanxi, belonging to Yu Hong [Pl. 7]; and the other at Xi'an, belonging to Shi Jun, whose Sogdian name, given in the Sogdian version of his epitaph, was Wirkak [Pl. 8]).[2] This corpus provides an important stepping

[2] These monuments must represent the "tip of the iceberg" of beds and sarcophagi commissioned by Sogdians—and perhaps other foreigners—for their burials in China. In Xi'an alone, the areas in which Shi Jun's and both An Qie's and Kang Ye's tombs were discovered seem to have been a cemetery, as more than 40 additional tombs have been plotted and await excavation. (Personal communication, Yang Junkai, Xi'an City Institute of Archaeology, April 2004). That these areas were burial grounds not only for Sogdian elites but for other exalted foreigners is proved by the recent discovery, in the vicinity of Kang Ye's and An Qie's burials, of the tomb of Li Dan (d. 564) who, according to his epitaph, was a Brahman who had emigrated from Kashmir as a youth, in his lifetime was recognized officially for his noble blood, and was appointed Prefect of Hanzhou posthumously by the Emperor (*Zhongguo wenwu bao* [October 21, 2005], 1 and 7; emails of Penelope Riboud, "Report from Penelope Riboud" via Victor Mair; Valerie Hansen, "More About Li Dan's Tomb"; and Min Mao, "About Li Dan's Noble Blood," via Victor Mair.

At the same site near Taiyuan where Yu Hong's tomb was discovered, six other tombs were found that belonged to personages of non-Chinese background who were affiliated with the office of the local *sabao* which administered the local foreign community; these are not yet published (although the epitaphs have been), but it seems that had the tombs contained such spectacular furnishings as beds or sarcophagi they would have been by now (see remarks by Rong Xinjiang in Miho Museum, "Symposium: Central Asians in China—Discoveries in the East of the Silk-road," in *Bulletin of the Miho Museum* 4 [2004], 98-99).

In addition, two stone bases for funerary beds may belong to this corpus, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Etsuko Kageyama, "Quelques remarques sur des monuments funéraires de Sogdiens en Chine," *Studia Iranica* 34 [2005], 257-278; Judith A. Lerner in Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northern China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th-7th Century,* 253, n.7; New York: Abrams and The Asia Society, 2001), the other in the White-Levy Collection, New York (Martha L. Carter, "Notes on Two Chinese Stone Funerary Bed Bases with Zoroastrian Symbolism," in *Iran: questions et connaissances. Actes du IVe congrès des études iraniennes organisé par la Societas Iranologica Europaea, Paris, 6-10 septembre 1999,* vol I: *La période ancienne,* edited by Philip Huyse, [Cahiers de Studia Iranica 25], Paris: Association pour l'avancement des etudes iraniennes, 2002), 268-271 and 283-286, figs. 8-14. Kageyama considers the Victoria and Albert Museum base a product of the Northern Qi dynasty, but there is an archaizing quality about it that might make it later. Carter suggests an early-mid-sixth century date for the White-Levy base, although its style also seems archaeizing and it shows some reworking; it will not be considered in this paper. A third base, also in the White-Levy Collection, most likely belongs to the Miho bed and is cited later (Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries," *Orientations* 32 [October, 2001], 58, fig. 5a; Carter, "Notes on Two Chinese Stone Funerary Bed Bases," 264-268, and 280-283, figs. 2-7).

stone into the exploration of ethnic identity and its converse, the assimilation and sinicization of these "others" — in this case, Sogdians and other foreigners with Central Asian connections (see Table 1 for the dates of those burials for which epitaph documentation survives).

Much of the discourse on the stone beds and sarcophagi has centered on iconography and style, as well as on the lives of the tomb owners—most of whom for which epitaphs survive having been elites, holding the rank of *sabao* (administrator of the foreign communities) or some other office. As one contemplates the entire phenomenon of these mainly Sogdian descendents who lived and died in China, one is struck by the different expressions of ethnic identity as well as the varied degrees of assimilation that are revealed by their funerary practices and grave furnishings. Shared customs, traditions and symbols are elements that help to define the identity of an ethnic group; generally, such identity is reinforced in times of crises in the life cycle through the rituals and material objects used in the rites that mark each crisis. Death, of course, is the ultimate crisis, so it is not surprising that the rituals and objects used in funerary rites can be strong symbolic expressions of ethnic identity. [3]

In this paper, I shall focus on the varying degrees of ethnic identity and its converse, assimilation or sinicization, that may be inferred from the tombs and contents of Central Asians, mostly Sogdians.[4] With the most recent discoveries in Xi'an (Shi Jun's sarcophagus in 2003 and

---

Yet a fourth base, in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C., may be that of the Anyang bed (Scaglia, "Central Asians," 11, fig. 1). There is evidence, however, that it is from cave 4 at Xiangtangshan, Hebei, and formed the platform of a funerary monument of a member of the Northern Qi dynasty. If this is the case then it is hard to reconcile the Central Asian images and iconography of the panels and gateposts with a Buddhist burial site (I wish to thank Jan Stuart of the Freer Gallery for making accessible to me the records pertaining to this perplexing base).

[3] See G. De Vos, "Ethnic Pluralism." In *Ethnic Identity*, eds. Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos, 3rd edition, 26. (Walnut Creek, CA, London, New Delhi: AltaMira Press, 1995).

[4] Much of this article was presented at the 2004 conference dedicated to the centenary of the birth of Aleksandr M. Belenitsky, the proceedings of which are now published as *Tsentral'naja Azija ot Akhemenidov do Timuridov. Arkheologija, istorija, etnologjja, kul'tura. Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoj konferentsii, posvjatsennoj 100-letijo so dnya rozhdenija Aleksandra Markovicha Belenitskogo. Sankt-Peterburg, 2-5 nojabrja 2004 goda.* St. Petersburg: 2005, 386-390 for a summary of that paper. I first wrote about the different degrees of assimilation in

Judith A. Lerner, *"'Les Sogdiens en Chine—Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques'* and Two Recently-Discovered Sogdian Tombs in Xi'an," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 15 (2001 [2005]), 151-162.

It should be noted that not all the burials and funerary furniture discussed in this article may have belonged to Sogdians. Yu Hong, whose sarcophagus includes non-Sogdian themes among more conventionally "Sogdian" ones, has been identified by some scholars as of tribal or nomadic Central Asian origin; he has, however, been shown by Yoshida Yutaka to have been (at least in part) of Sogdian descent, his Sogdian name being Mofan (*Māxfarn*, "the moon's glory") (Etsuko Kageyama, "Quelques remarques," 258, n. 2, citing Y. Yoshida and E. Kageyama, "The Sogdians According to New Archaeological Discoveries which Complement the Chinese Historical Sources" (in Japanese), Sinica 9 [2002], 44-49). For the literature on Yu Hong's origins, see n. 77 below. Even less likely to be of Sogdian background is the owner of the Kooros bed. Its complex iconography suggests that the owner's roots were in northern India or Tokharistan (Bactria) and undoubtedly reflects the religious syncretism that may have characterized at least some of the foreign community (Sogdians included) in China at this time (Pénélope Riboud, "Rèflexions sur les pratiques religieuses designées sous le nom de *xian* ," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, ed. Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), 82-86).

It is likely that another Sogdian or someone close to the Sogdian or Central Asian religio-cultural milieu may be added to this group. Represented by the nine stone slabs from a Northern Qi tomb at Yidu, Shandong, and dated by a now-vanished epitaph tablet to 573, are the funerary furnishings of a member of the Fu family (Xi Mingcai, "The Northern Qi Stone-chambered Tomb with Incised Figures" [in Chinese], *Wenwu* 10 [1985], 49-54; and Zheng Yan, "Northern Qi Pictorial Carvings from Qingzhou and Sinicized Sogdian Art: an Observation Inspired by the Yu Hong Sarcophagus and Other New Archaeological Finds," in *Han Tang Zhijian Wenhua Yishu de Hudong yu Jiaorong (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period)*, edited by Wu Hung, [in Chinese with English summary]. [Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001], 73-109). Although some have posited a Han or nomadic (Xianbei) background for the tomb owner, the slabs depict several Central Asian—even Zoroastrian—images and practices (e.g., Sogdians, flying beribboned birds, and the transportation of what appears to be the outer coffin or sarcophagus by a team of horses, accompanied by a dog) that suggest a stronger Central Asian affiliation for the deceased (see Yang Junkai, "Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, [Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005], 34 and 35, fig. 7). These slabs, however, did not form the sides of a sarcophagus or funerary bed as study of the edges and the partial view of the rear of the two panels when they were displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition, *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD* (October, 2004 – January, 2005), showed unfinished surfaces, suggesting that the slabs originally lined the walls of the tomb chamber—a conclusion reached in the original 1985 report, but subsequently ignored for want of other Northern Qi stone-lined burial chambers (Zheng Yan, *Research on the Wall Paintings from Tombs of the Northern Qi* [in Chinese], [Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2004], 241).

With the evidence of the Yu Hong sarcophagus, Kooros bed and Yidu slabs, one must certainly agree with Étienne de la Vaissière's observation that the ethnic makeup and identity of non-Han émigrés in China is more complex (and still not fully known) than the usual designations of "Central Asian," "Sogdian," "Hu," or "nomadic"

Kang Ye's bed in 2004) significantly expanding the corpus, we have sufficient variations in burial type, artistic style and iconography to embark on the exploration of this phenomenon. Supplementing this group are the burials of the Shi family of Yanzhou (present-day Guyuan, Ningxia Autonomous Republic) which did not contain elaborate stone furnishings [5] but figure strongly in the complementary phenomena of ethnic identity and assimilation. Of lesser rank than men like An Qie, Shi Jun and Yu Hong, members of the Shi family of Guyuan attained distinction in the Chinese military and administrative systems. From their epitaphs we learn that into the fifth generation in China they maintained their Sogdian ethnicity, at least in their appearance, by marrying women with Sogdian family names and who were thus also non-Chinese.[6]

---

allow ("Introduction," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert [Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005], 13). For simplicity's sake, however, and because these individuals' funerary furniture displays many Sogdian or Iranian elements, when discussing the tombs and furnishings collectively, I will generally refer to them as "Sogdian."

[5] Luo Feng, *A Graveyard of the Sui and Tang Dynasties in the South Suburbs of Guyuan* (in Chinese). (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1996) and idem, "Sogdians in Northwest China," in Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 239-345.

[6] Both Shi Hedan (d. 669) of the fifth generation and his brother Shi Daoluo (d. 658) married women with the Sogdian ethnonym Kang (although Shi Hedan later married a Chinese woman by the name of Zhang) and a fourth-generation member of another branch of the family, Shi Suoyan (d. 656) married one An Niang (see n. 84). Indeed, enough remained of the skeletons of Shi Daoluo and Lady Kang to be identified as non-Chinese, with physical characteristics identified as belonging to "Central Asians between the two rivers [i.e., the Amu Darya and Syr Darya or Sogdiana proper]" (Yuanzhou Archaeological Joint Excavation in 1995. *The Tomb of Shi Daoluo of the Tang Dynasty: Excavation Report of the Joint Archaeological Team of Yuanzhou, part 1* [in Chinese and Japanese]. [Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan: 2000], 290). Similarly, An Qie's skeletal remains have been classified as "Caucasoid" (Shaanxi 2003, 92-96). That Yu Hong was non-Chinese in appearance is suggested by DNA testing of the bones from his tomb (Xie Chengzhi and Zhang Quanchao, "DNA Evidence that Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty Taiyuan Was Europoid" (in Chinese), *Zhongguo wenwu bao* [June 11, 2004], 7; I owe this reference to Katheryn M. Linduff). It is unclear how it was determined which remains belonged to Yu Hong rather than his wife, although the excavation report distinguishes "the remains of a male and a female" despite noting that "human remains were scattered inside and outside the sarcophagus and beneath its platform" (Zhang Qingjie et al. "The Yu Hong Tomb of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan," translated by Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Chinese Archaeology* 2 [2002], 259).

I shall return to this practice toward the end of this paper but begin with a discussion of the tombs themselves, followed by the details of burial and the funerary furniture of individual tomb occupants. The specific areas to be explored are

- The adoption of the Chinese tomb form
- The use of funerary beds and sarcophagi
- The treatment of the corpse
- The style and imagery of the beds and sarcophagi
- The use of autobiography and narrative

Adoption of the Chinese Tomb Form

Although there is evidence in Sogdiana for burial practices other than exposure of the corpse and subsequent deposition of the bones in ossuaries,[7] the choice to be buried in a Chinese-style tomb already reveals a sense of identity with or an acceptance of Chinese cosmological beliefs (Pl. 2b). As Jessica Rawson observed, for non-Chinese to adopt such a tomb — an underground square chamber with domed roof, reached by a long and sloping narrow shaft or corridor —implies an acceptance of the complex philosophical ideas underlying the Chinese belief that "for the best possible outcome in an afterlife, the tomb had to be correlated with the universe as a whole."[8] A

[7] Frantz Grenet, *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Publications de l'U.R.A. 29, Mémoire 1) Paris: Editions du Centre Nationql de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984, 36; V.A. Livshits, cited in Aleksandr Naymark, "A Note on Sogdian Coroplastics." In *Eran ud Aneran. Studies presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday- Electronic Version,* eds. Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta and Gianroberto Scarcia, [http://www.transoxiana.com.ar/Eran/Articles/naymark.html], 2003, footnote 9. The use of ossuaries into which the bones of the deceased were placed cannot be documented prior to the fifth century (Naymark, "A Note on Sogdian Coroplastics"; K.A. Abdullaev, E.V. Rtveladze and G.V. Shishkina. *Kul'tura i Iskusstvo drevnogo Uzbekistan/Culture and Art of Ancient Uzbekistan. Exhibition Catalogue,* vol. 2, 65, Moscow: 1991).

[8] J. Rawson, "Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China between the Han and Tang Periods," in *Han Tang Zhijian Wenhua Yishu de Hudong yu Jiaorong (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period),* ed. Wu Hung,. (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001), 137.

domed chamber, however, is not completely alien to Sogdian belief: at Panjikent similarly-shaped mausoleums were built to contain ossuaries for the bones of the dead as well as for fully articulated skeletons; [9] nonetheless, underground burial does seem to be antithetical to Zoroastrian practice.[10]

Another aspect of assimilation is the pictorial embellishment of tomb walls and funerary furnishings, as well as the inclusion of grave goods, such as personal belongings and funerary models (*mingqi*). Rawson notes that "the very fact that all members of the elite, foreigners or Chinese, adopted this essentially Chinese method of presenting the afterlife is an example of the strength of the Chinese tradition"[11] and, I would add, in the case of the Sogdian tomb owners, a sign of sinicization. The robbing of the Sogdian tombs prevents us from understanding the full extent of these Sogdians' adoption of Chinese practice and imagery, but Yu Hong's tomb as well

[9] Among the 2003 discoveries at Panjikent was a seventh-century mausoleum (Naus 12) in which a female skeleton was laid in anatomical order, suggesting that the corpse was not exposed elsewhere with it bones subsequently gathered for preservation in an ossuary which was then placed in a mausoleum (B.I. Marshak and V. I. Raspovova. *Otchet o raskopkakh gorodishcha drevnego pendzhikenta v 2003 godu*. St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyj Ermitazh Institut istorii, arkheologii i ethngrafii im. A. Donisha, Akademii nauk republiki tadzhikistan, institut istorii material'hoj kul'tury ran, 2004, 43 and 58 (English summary); figs. 93 and XXI). Marshak and Raspopova note previous finds of bones laid in skeletal order in several mausoleums and opine that Panjikenters often placed the complete body in a mausoleum with the intention of subsequently collecting the bones, after total decomposition of the flesh, to keep in an ossuary. For similar practices to the east in Semireche, see V. D. Gorjačeva, "La practique des sépultures en *naus* dqns le Sémiretchié (après les fouilles de la nécropole de Krasnorečenskoe)," in *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie centrale préislamique*, ed. Frantz Grenet. (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987), 73-80.

[10] However, just as there is evidence in Sasanian Iran for burials, despite Zoroastrianism being the state religion, there may be a greater diversity in Sogdiana of burial practices than hitherto recognized (see discussion and references in Shaul Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran* [Jordan Lectures 1991], [London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994], 40-42).

[11] Rawson, "Creating Universes," 126-128.

as those of the Shi family still retained many of the objects buried with their owners.[12] The pictorial decoration of the beds and sarcophagi found in these tombs will be discussed later.

The Use of Funerary Beds and Sarcophagi

Stone beds and sarcophagi to support or contain the deceased's remains is a Chinese custom, deriving from Chinese domestic furniture and architecture, respectively.[13] Their use in Chinese tombs is a development of the fifth century, one century before the Sogdian beds and sarcophagi that we know; the two forms continue to be used by the Chinese in their tombs into the sixth and early seventh centuries, the same time span as the Sogdian burials. Thus, Sogdian use of a stone bed or sarcophagus may be seen as further evidence of Sogdian adoption of Chinese practices — and a sign of assimilation — although a stone platform or container fits well with Zoroastrian belief as such furnishings elevate the bones from the floor of an underground tomb chamber and isolate them from contact with earth and water. Indeed, even the tombs of Sogdians that did not contain stone furnishings, specifically the tombs of some of the Shi family, were each fitted with

---

[12] Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi et al., "Excavation of Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan, Shanxi" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 1 (2001), 28-31, for the tomb goods; Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, catalogue nos. 84-91, for objects from the Shi family tombs.

[13] Elinor Pearlstein, "Pictorial Stones from Chinese Tombs." *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 71 (November, 1984), 304; and Annette L. Juliano and Judith A Lerner. "Stone Mortuary Furnishings of Northern China," In *Ritual Objects and Early Buddhist Art*, Gisèle Croës at Danese, March 22-31, 2004 (Brussels, 2004), 14-15; there are examples of stone daises or beds set into stone house-shaped sarcophagi to support the coffin or coffins (see 22, n. 3), and, in fact, both Shi Jun's and Yu Hong's sarcophagi contained stone beds upon which, presumably, the deceased (or their bones) were laid.

For the development of the house-shaped sarcophagus, see Wu Hong, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties," *Orientations* 34 (May, 2002), 34-41, and Angela Sheng, "From Stone to Silk: Intercultural Transformation of Funerary Furnishings Among Eastern Asian Peoples around 475-650 CE," *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), 162-169. For a listing of some of the more than thirty known stone sarcophagi and beds from the Northern Wei period into the Northern Zhou, ending with the discovery of An Qie's bed, see He Xilin, "Northern Dynasties Period Stone Coffins and Funerary Couches with Pictorial Carvings," Between *Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period*, edited by Wu Hung (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House: 2003), 341-376.

a rectangular stone, plastered earthen or brick platform between 30 and 60 centimeters above the floor to support a single or pair of wooden coffins.[14]

Treatment of the Corpse

How the corpse was treated is another indication of the degree to which these Sogdian descendents had assimilated into Chinese society or, conversely, of how staunchly they maintained their Sogdian identity. Using a stone bed or sarcophagus to support the complete body of the deceased is as plausible as using a bed or sarcophagus for the inarticulated bones (which would have been gathered after the body had been exposed according to Zoroastrian practice). As published, none of the remains of wooden coffins in the tombs allows us to reconstruct their measurements; that is, we cannot tell whether they were long and wide enough to hold a complete body or were more compact and ossuary-sized. From the available evidence of the skeletal remains, we know that at least some of these Sogdians were not exposed prior to burial: Kang Ye's complete skeleton, *with silk garments still intact*, was lying supine on his

[14] Shi Hedan: platform of four stone slabs, 35 cm high; Shi Suoyan: brick bed. The other members of the Shi clan, however, had earthen platforms, left when the tomb chamber was excavated and apparently not covered with another material to separate the skeleton from the soil: Shi Shewu: earthen embankment served as a mortuary bed; Shi Tiebang: earthen; Shi Daolu, son of Shi Shewu: earthen platform; Shi Daode: earthen platform. The elevation of the coffin on a wooden framework or platform of layered bricks, or a flat stone is a development that can be traced back to the middle and late Han period (certainly by the 1st century CE). See Luo Feng, *A Graveyard of the Sui and Tang Dynasties*, and Yuanzhou Archaeological Joint Excavation in 1995. *The Tomb of Shi Daoluo of the Tang Dynasty: Excavation Report of the Joint Archaeological Team of Yuanzhou, part 1* (in Chinese and Japanese), (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan: 2000).

stone bed (Pl. 3a);[15] and the stone pillow, gold hairpin and bronze mirror that were found on the Tianshui bed suggest that it bore the intact bodies of the tomb owner and his wife.[16]

Other remains are less conclusive. An Qie's stone bed was empty, with no trace of a body or coffin (Pl. 2b). Instead, his remains were found outside his reportedly sealed tomb chamber, although some of the small bones were missing; this might imply that his body was exposed elsewhere and the bones gathered and then placed in the tomb (also likely is that the tomb was, in fact, disturbed and his skeleton dragged out of the burial chamber to the place where it was found).[17] Another puzzle is that at least one of his femurs showed marks of burning, which would be antithetical to Zoroastrian funeral rites. Both Shi Jun's and Yu Hong's tombs yielded fragments of bones inside and outside their sarcophagi, the result of these tombs having been robbed; bones were also found under Yu Hong's sarcophagus base.

---

[15] Cheng Linquan, *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou—[One of the] Top Ten Archaeological Discoveries in China, 2004* (in Chinese) (Xi'an: Xi'an Institute of Archaeology and Preservation of Cultural Relics, 2005). See also Cheng Linquan and Zhang Xiangyu, "Another Northern Zhou Sogdian Burial is Discovered in the Western Suburbs of Xi'an," and "A Comparison of the Kang Ye Tomb and Several Other Recently Discovered Sogdian Burials" (in Chinese), *Zhongguo wenwu bao* (November 24, 2004), 1.

[16] Tianshui Municipal Museum. "A Sui-Tang Period Tomb with a Stone Coffin-bed and a 'Screen' Discovered in Tianshui City (in Chinese)," *Kaogu* 1 (1992), 52, figs. 10:2 and 11: 3 and 446-68; Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 312-313: no. 108a-c.

[17] Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb of Northern Zhou at Xi'an (with an English Abstract)* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2003), 12-15; 94; 112. According to the archaeological report, some metacarpal and metatarsal bones were missing. Some scholars have seen the five-month interval between An Qie's death in May, 579, and his burial in October of that year as evidence of his corpse's exposure. Indeed, the *Vendidād* (5.14) states that Mazdā-worshippers should let the body lie exposed for a year so that birds may completely devour the flesh (Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism, Volume 1: The Early Period* [second impression with corrections, Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Cologne: 1989], 326). We have no evidence that practicing Zoroastrians or Mazdeans in Sogdiana, let alone in China, followed this precept. The five-month interval between An Qie's death and burial may have been needed to prepare his tomb; similarly, Shi Jun died in June, 579 and was buried eight months later in February, 580; Shi Shewu of Guyuan died in the third month of 609 and was buried in the first month of 610, an even longer interval (Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 257). See also Table 1.

The other Sogdian tombs for which skeletal remains survive have been too fragmentary to draw conclusions about the treatment of the corpse. That exposure may have been practiced by at least some of the Sogdians residing in China is implied by the central panel on the Miho bed that depicts the *sagdīd* ceremony, performed prior to removing the corpse to the *dakhma* for exposure (Pl. 5e),[18] as well as by the recorded use in Taiyuan of an open, *dakhma*-like pit for the corpses of a group of monks and their disciples.[19] Further evidence may be the building-shaped ceramic container in the Palace Museum, Beijing, which has been identified by Shi Anchang as an ossuary.[20] Of a dimension that fits within in the range for ossuaries found in both Sogdiana [21]

---

[18] Judith A. Lerner, "Central Asians in Sixth-Century China: A Zoroastrian Funerary Rite," *Iranica Antiqua (Klaus Schippmann Festschrift)* XXX (1995), 203-214.

[19] Zhang Guangda, "Trois exemples d'influences mazdéennes dans la Chine des Tang," *Études Chinois* XIII/1-2 (1994), 203-209. Apparently, the *dakhma* was in use until suppression of the practice at the beginning of the early eighth century. Zhang opines that the custom had been introduced into Taiyuan by Sogdians residing there (208-209). Although it seems that Zoroastrianism was practiced in China as early as the fourth century, Zoroastrian funerary ritual may only be surmised (see Antonino Forte, "Iraniens en Chine. Bouddhisme, mazdéisme, bureaux de commerce," *La Sérinde Terre d'Échanges. Art, religion, commerce du Ier au Xe siècle* ["Actes du colloque international," Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 13-14-15 février 1996; XIVes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre, 185]. (Paris: La Documentation française, 2000], 185-189).

[20] Shi Anchang, "A Study on a Stone Carving from the Tomb of a Sogdian Aristocrat of the Northern Qi: A Preliminary Study of an Ossuary in the Collection of the Palace Museum," *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, IV/1, 2000, 80-81. The main dimensions of the object are 51 cm long, 36.5 cm wide and 42 cm high, which includes the 12-cm lid. It entered the museum's collections in 1957. Shi posits that the building may represent a religious structure, specifically a Zoroastrian temple. That it is building-shaped and decorated on all sides with architectural details recalls the treatment of house-shaped sarcophagi belonging to Han Chinese (for example, the Ning Mao sarcophagus in Boston, dated 529) as well as to the Sogdian, Shi Jun. See also Shi Anchang, *Fire Altars and Avian Deities as Sacrificial Officiates* (in Chinese) (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 2004), 86-88; for the Ning Mao sarcophagus, see Wu Hong, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties," *Orientations* 34 (May, 2002)," 36-37. The human figure that is placed on the roof of the ossuary recalls several ossuaries found from Sogdiana (Samarkand) to Xinjiang that are topped with human heads or the upper part of a human figure (Frantz Grenet, "Les practiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale préislamique," in *Le Grand atlas de l'archéologie* [Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis, 1985], 236-237[distribution map]), while the lotus flower that is incised on one wall of the Palace Museum ossuary brings to mind a fragmentary ossuary cover, most likely from Bactria and dated to the fifth to seventh centuries, that is capped by a lotus flower that encloses a cubic structure

and Xinjiang,[22] this container may well have held the bones of a Sogdian who lived during the Tang period. To sum up, the evidence from the Sogdian tombs that are so far known suggest the Sogdian practice of exposure and subsequent burial of the bones but also indicate the Chinese practice of interring the complete corpse.

Decoration of the Stone Beds and Sarcophagi

The main tomb furnishings — specifically, the beds and sarcophagi — offer the most graphic evidence of the extent to which these Sogdians identified with their Central Asian roots as well as appropriated the funerary idioms of the Chinese. Why one individual would choose one form over the other may have been simply a matter of personal taste, rather than status or ethnic identity, since the choice of bed or sarcophagus for so-called "Han Chinese" does not seem to follow a social or hierarchical structure but is likely due to the personal preference of the tomb owner.[23] Similarly, the selection of images to decorate a bed or sarcophagus along with the

---

decorated with the heads of putti (Frantz Grenet, "Trois documents réligieux de bactriane Afghane," *Studia Iranica* 11 [1982], figs. 3 and 4).

[21] See L.V. Pavchinskaia, "Sogdian Ossuaries," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 8 (1994), 209-225.

[22] For the Xinjiang ossuaries, see Etsuko Kageyama, "The Ossuaries (Bone-receptacles of Zoroastrians) Unearthed in Chinese Turkestan" (in Japanese), *Oriento* 40-1 (1997), 73-89 and the same author's "Sogdians in Kucha, a Study from Archaeological and Iconographic Material," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005), 365-367; Ma Shunying, Qi Ziaoshan and Zhang Ping, *The Ancient Art in Xinjiang, China* (in Chinese and English) (Urumqi: The Xinjiang Art and Photography Press, 1994), 40, no. 069, and 215-216.

[23] The dangers of attributing such choices are treated by Antony G. Keen in his discussion of the Lycian tomb form ("The Tombs of Lycia. Evidence for Social Stratification?" In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green, 221-225. [Oxbow Monograph 51] Oxford: Oxbow, 1995). Yet the house-shaped sarcophagus does seem to reflect some ethnic association. Wu Hung points out that "during the fifth and sixth centuries, house-shaped sarcophagi were not used by native Chinese who lived in central and southern China for generations, but were favored by Xianbei, Sogdian and other people of either Chinese or non-Chinese origin who moved to northern China from the West. It may be that these people, in their eagerness to seek an authentic 'Chinese' symbol of posthumous longevity, embraced this form of mortuary structure because it was associated with a prevailing Daoist tradition in the north" (Wu Hung, "A Case of Cultural Interaction," 40).

artisans to carve them would have been a personal choice; such a choice is further evidence of how an individual tomb owner could express his ethnic identity.

With the exception of those on Kang Ye's bed, the pictorial panels that form the sides and rear of the other five beds and enclose the two sarcophagi are vertical in their organization of space and share what Annette Juliano characterizes as "a fundamental approach to creating a plausible sense of space within an image field defined by borders in which human, animal [and] landscape elements interact in compositions [of] varying degrees of complexity."[24] This vertical organization seems to have derived from actual hinged screens that enclosed the Chinese formal sitting couch (*chuang*) and the canopied bed (*chazuchuang*); in some Chinese tombs the screen has been painted on the wall behind the coffin platform.[25] Although there are different ways of organizing the vertical space within each panel of a bed or sarcophagus, the panels are generally meant to be read as a single coherent image, beginning at the bottom with the foreground and working upward to the background or the sky above (the Anyang panels [Pl. 4a,b-d], the Tianshui and Kooros beds [Pls. 1a-c; 6b-c], Shi Jun's sarcophagus [Pl. 8b and c], and some of the Miho and An Qie panels [Pls. 5a and f; and 2a and d])[26] or as a combination of two events,

---

[24] Juliano Annette L. "Chinese Pictorial Space at the Cultural Crossroads," In *Eran ud Aneran. Studies presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday Electronic Version*, ed. Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta and Gianroberto Scarcia, [http://www.transoxiana.com.ar/Eran/Articles/juliano.html]. 2003.

[25] Examples are the paintings on the walls of three Northern Qi (550-577) tombs in Shandong province: two near Ji'nan (Ji'nan City Museum. "The Northern Qi Tomb at Majiazhuang, Ji'nan" [in Chinese], *Wenwu* 10 [1985], 42-48; Shandong Institute of Archaeology, "Northern Dynasty Tomb Murals at Dongbaliwa, Ji'nan" [in Chinese], *Wenwu* 4 [1989], 67-78); and the third that of Cui Fen (551) at Linqi (Wu Wenqi, "Painted Murals of the Northern Qi Period in the Tomb of General Cui Fen," *Orientations* 29 [June, 1998], fig. 3). Another is found on the interior walls of a stone coffin chamber of the earlier Northern Wei period (386-534) found near Datong, Shanxi (Wang, Yintian and Junxi Liu. "Excavation of a Northern Wei Tomb with a Painted Stone Coffin Chamber [in Chinese]" *Wenwu* 7 [2001], 40-51).

[26] Anyang: Scaglia, "Central Asians"; Tianshui: Tianshui Municipal Museum, "A Sui-Tang Period Tomb with a Stone Coffin-bed and a 'Screen' Discovered in Tianshui City (in Chinese)," *Kaogu* 1 (1992), 46-68; Kooros: Musée National des arts asiatiques—Guimet. *Lit de pierre, sommeil barbare. Présentation après restauration et remontage,*

placed in a two-tiered composition, with each tier depicting a discreet scene (some of the Miho and An Qie slabs [Pls.5b and 2d and e]);[27] Yu Hong's panels, although vertical in format, each contains a single image separated from a predella-like rectangle below, which, in only some instances, appears related to the events portrayed above (Pl. 7b-d).[28]

In contrast to these seven examples of mortuary furniture, Kang Ye's bed utilizes a horizontal format that follows early sixth-century Chinese coffins in which the long sides provide a format similar to a horizontal scroll painting.[29] The scenes on the coffins, however, flow along the sides without marked breaks, whereas those on Kang Ye's bed are confined to separately delineated panels (several to a single slab of stone) (Pl. 3b), much in the manner as the scenes of filial piety depicted on the highly polychromed Chinese-style bed, recently exhibited in New York, that can be dated to the late Northern Wei dynasty (386-535) (Pl. 9a).[30] Viewed in this context, Kang Ye's bed, of all the Sogdian funerary furniture, seems more "Chinese" in its

---

d'une banquette funéraire ayant appartenu à un aristocrate d'Asie centrale venu s'établir en Chine au VIe siècle, Musée Guimet, 13 avril-24 mai 2004 (Paris: Musée Guimet, 2004); Shi Jun: Xi'an Municipal Institute of Ancient Monument Preservation and Archaeology, "The Shi Sarcophagus Tomb of the Northern Zhou Period in Xi'an," *Kaogu* 7 (2004), 38-49; Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an, "Excavation of the Sabao Shi's Tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty near Xi'an," *Wenwu* 3 (2005), 4-33; and Yang, "Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi"; Miho: Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, "Eleven Panels and Two Gate Towers with Relief Carving from a Funerary Couch," in *Miho Museum, South Wing*, 247-257 (Shigaraki: Miho Museum, 1997); An Qie: Rong Xinjiang. "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*," *Orientations*, 34 (February, 2003), 32-35.

The nine stone panels from the Northern Qi tomb at Yidu are also in this format (see n. 4, above).

[27] Miho: Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," panels B and J; An Qie: Rong, "Illustrative Sequence," 32-33, panels 2 and 3.

[28] Boris I. Marshak, "The Sarcophagus of *Sabao* Yu Hong, a Head of the Foreign Merchants (592-598)," *Orientations* 35 (October, 2004), 64.

[29] Rawson, "Creating Universes," 118, citing examples in Luoyang and Kaifeng, China, and Minneapolis and Kansas City, USA.

[30] Juliano and Lerner, "Stone Mortuary Furnishings of Northern China," 20.

use of space—although it must be noted that the Tianshui bed, with its narrow vertical panels and dominant architectural and landscape elements closely resembles Chinese vertical scroll painting.

Kang Ye's bed also displays the most *traditionally* Chinese style of carving, by which the figures are engraved into the otherwise smooth surface of the four stone slabs that make up the sides and back (Pls. 3c-f). A carving technique found on Chinese funerary monuments of the Northern Wei and even earlier and still employed in Tang times,[31] it contrasts with another carving method that delineates images as smooth, low-relief silhouettes that are set off from the carved-away background. This second technique, also found in the Northern Wei, is used for the Anyang and Tianshui beds (Pls. 4 and 1). The other beds and the two sarcophagi, however, reflect a sculptural trend that began in the latter part of the sixth century in which the figures are emphasized by a more plastic treatment; this is apparent on An Qie's and the Kooros beds (Pls. 2a, b-d, and 6b-d), Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Pl. 8a and c), and, taken to its fullest expression, on the Miho panels and Yu Hong's sarcophagus (Pls. 5b-f and 7b-d).

Turning to what is actually represented on the panels of the beds and sarcophagi, much of the subject matter — banquets, entertainments and hunting expeditions — has a long history in

[31] The late Northern Wei Ning Mao sarcophagus (529) is a good example of this technique (Wu, "A Case of Cultural Interaction," 36, fig. 5). The Yidu panels also display the same kind of linear engraving as does the stone bed from a Northern Dynasty (386-581) tomb in Qinyang, Henan, which Shi Anchang assigns to a Sogdian. However, based on the illustrations accompanying Shi's paper, there seems no reason for this attribution. The tomb, robbed prior to its discovery in 1972 and missing its epitaph stone, contained a stone bed and apparently some skeletal remains along with evidence of a wooden coffin—inconclusive evidence for Sogdian ownership—but the decoration of the stone slabs that formed the back and sides of the bed are covered with figures that are Chinese in physiognomy and dress (despite Shi noting the "non-Han" features of the tomb occupant and four other figures) and there are no overt references to Sogdians (as on Kang Ye's bed or even the Yidu stones) ("Study of the Stone Bed Unearthed in a Northern Dynasty Tomb in Qinyang, Henan Province, with Comparative Study of the Decorative Patterns on the Bases of Seven Stone Beds," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (collected papers presented at the international colloquium "Les Sogdiens en Chine – Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques," Beijing, April 23-25, 2004) 454-464 in Chinese; 465-472 in English). Beijing: 2004 (not included in the 2005 publication of the colloquium).

the Iranian/Sogdian world as well as in the Chinese realm, where such images appeared in tomb art at least as early as Han times (206 BCE-220 CE) and refer to the life of the deceased in this world and the next, typically in a lively fashion and even with individuality.[32] In Chinese tombs of the fifth and sixth centuries, coffins, coffin-bed screens and paintings of screens on the burial chamber walls were also decorated with scenes from the tomb owner's life as well as with auspicious scenes or exemplary figures (such as the well-known stories of filial piety). In contrast, the stone beds and sarcophagi made for the tombs of Sogdians or those with foreign connections, consistently and exclusively show scenes from the deceased's life on earth as well as in the afterlife (see Table 2 for an inventory of scenes and other elements on each of the eight monuments discussed). Many of these scenes employ images that can have meaning in both a Chinese and Sogdian context; others draw from exclusively Chinese iconography (with no reference to Sogdian or Iranian culture) or are solely and intrinsically Sogdian or Iranian.

Regardless of their origins, the scenes depicting life on earth and in the hereafter on the Sogdian beds and sarcophagi consistently portray such events with an immediacy and vibrancy that make these feasts, entertainments and hunts more than just "set pieces" based on earlier models. Thus, the banqueting scenes that occur on most of the Sogdian funerary furniture and that typically include entertainers may superficially recall Chinese examples, but the musicians in the Sogdian scenes accompany a man performing one of the energetic dances known from Chinese accounts to have been performed by Sogdian men, the *huxuanwu* ("whirling dance") or the *hutengwu* ("leaping dance") (Pls. 4b, 5f, 7c and 8d).[33] (Such was the exotic appeal of these dances for the Chinese, that they depicted them in their own funerary and other arts.[34])

---

[32] A good example is the middle chamber of the Helingeer tomb in Inner Mongolia (c. late second century) which illustrates in great detail the cities and towns where the deceased held office in the course of his career (for a view of one of the towns, see Pénélope Riboud, "Le cheval sans cavalier dans l'art funéraire sogdien en Chine: à la recherche des sources d'un thème composite," *Arts Asiatiques* 58 [2003], 155, fig. 13 and 156; and Kageyama, "Quelques remarques," 263, who also cites the late Han stone panel from Xuzhou, Jiangsu).

[33] See Table 2. The dancer entertaining Shi Jun and his wife seems to be performing a variation of the "Sogdian whirl" (Pl. 8d). It is noteworthy that depictions of these dances have not been found in the art of Sogdiana proper.

The caparisoned but riderless horse that appears on several of the monuments, the Miho and Kooros beds, and Yu Hong's sarcophagus (Pls. 5b, 6b, and 7b)[35] — sometimes beneath the protection of a parasol (Miho and Kooros beds) — is a trope in Chinese funerary art of the fifth and sixth centuries, where it represents the horse of the deceased.[36] But the riderless horse is also a recurring theme in Sogdian imagery where it is associated not only with funeral rites but with the Sogdian New Year (*Nō Ruz*).[37] This association may be illustrated on two of the Anyang

---

[34] For discussions of this dance and the distinctions between the *huxuanwu* ("Sogdian whirling dance") and the *hutengwu* ("Sogdian leaping dance"), see Lerner in Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 250-255; Zhang Qingjie, "*Hutengwu* and *Huxuanwu* Sogdian Dances in the Northern, Sui and Tang Dynasties, " in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, eds. Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert. (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005), 123-140; and Luo Feng, "The Sogdian Whirl. A Central Asian Dance in Ancient China" (in Chinese) in *Between Han and Non-Han. The Silk Road and Historical Archaeology of China's Northwestern Regions*, (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2004), 280-298. Catherine Delacour makes a case for the *hutengwu* being performed on these funerary monuments in "Une version tardive du triomphe indien de Dionysus?" *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 84 (2005), 55-98.* (I am grateful to Catherine Delacour for her generosity in making her unpublished article available to me and for her many fruitful communications). A third dance is known, the *zhezhiwu*, which seems to have been a female dance and was associated with the Sogdian town of Chach (near present-day Tashkent); see Chen Haitao, "Huxuanwu, hutengwu yu zhezhiwu," *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 3 [2003], 60, who identifies this dance on Yu Hong's sarcophagus; Victor Mair, private email message; and Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 55.

[35] Miho: Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," B; Kooros: Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre*, 16, fig. 10; Yu Hong: Marshak, "The Sarcophagus of *Sabao* Yu Hong," 62, fig. 11. A horse without a rider occurs on Kang Ye's bed (Pl. 3f) and is discussed later.

[36] It is especially prevalent in tombs of high-ranking military men, for example, the tombs of the Northern Qi general, Xu Xianxiu (571) in Taiyuan (Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi and Institute of Archaeology of Taiyuan, "Excavation of Xu Xianxiu's Tomb of the Northern Qi in Taiyuan," *Wenwu* 10 [2003], pl. 31; also, Riboud, "Le cheval sans cavalier," 156, fig. 15) as well as in the Northern Qi tombs from Ji'nan, dated to 561 (Ji'nan City Museum, "The Northern Qi Tomb at Majiazhuang," 45, fig. 8 and plate at back of the journal), and at Yidu (Zheng, "Northern Qi Pictorial Carvings," 75, fig. 4).

[37] Riboud, "Le cheval sans cavalier"; Frantz Grenet and Osmund Bopearachchi, "Une nouvelle monnaie en or d'Abdagases II," *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999), 77-78. Such riderless horses occur in the seventh–century paintings at

panels and the gateposts: on the panels a pair of riderless horses, attended by grooms, one of whom is holding a parasol, wait outside the gate of the compound in which a princely figure takes part in what is most likely *Nō Ruz* festivities (Pl. 4a and c); on the gateposts two riderless horses take up the rear of a religious procession that culminates in a priest standing before a fire-altar and a bowl with offerings.[38] The riderless horse can also refer to the god Mithra, who serves as the judge of the dead, or, as on the Miho bed, to the cult of another Sogdian deity, Vakhš, god of the Oxus (Amu Darya), the main river of Sogdiana (Pl. 5b).[39] The riderless horse, then, when it appears on funerary monuments belonging to Sogdians may have a double meaning: a reference to these foreigners' high-rank in a Chinese context and an acknowledgment of their Central Asian or Sogdian religious and cultural heritage.

Afrasiab (B. I. Marshak, "Le programme iconographique de la 'Salle des ambassadeurs' Afrasiab (Samarkand)" *Arts Asiatiques* 49 [1994], 10-11 and fig. 8), in an unpublished painting in the sixth-century Temple II, Panjikent (mentioned by B. I. Marshak, "La thématique sogdienne dans l'art de la Chine de la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* [January-March, 2001], 238), and the sixth– to early seventh–century ossuary from Sivas, in the Kashka-darya Valley (Frantz Grenet and N. Krashnenninkova, "Trois nouveaux documents d'iconographie religieuse sogdienne," *Studia Iranica* 22 [1993], 60-61 and pl. IV: 6). Marshak notes that No Ruz was celebrated just after Fravardigan, the Sogdian feast dedicated to the souls of the dead ("Le programme iconographique," 13-14; Boris I. Marshak, "The Miho Couch and Other Sino-Sogdian Works of Art of the Second Half of the 6th Century," *Bulletin of the Miho Museum* 4 [2004], 18).

[38] Scaglia, "Central Asians," figs. 3 and 4 (panels), fig. 2 (side of gate). A riderless horse also appears on the gateposts of the Miho bed as the last in a procession, which is not as long or as official-looking as that on the Anyang gateposts; the horse, however, could also be associated with No Ruz (Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," illustrated on 248-249).

A riderless horse with a groom holding a parasol appears on Shi Jun's sarcophagus, but in this context he seems to be waiting for Shi Jun's departure after his visit to a pavilion with royal figures, the main subject of the scene (Xi'an Municipal Institute, "The Shi Sarcophagus Tomb," 41, fig. 4).

[39] See n. 37, especially Marshak, "La thématique sogdienne," 237-238. The link between Vakhš and the riderless horse on the Miho bed has convincingly been made by P. Oktor Skjaervø based on the animal appearing on the bank of a fish-filled river as a warrior kneels before it proffering a cup. Since at least the first millennium BCE a temple had existed on the shore of the Oxus in Bactria, south of Sogdiana, dedicated to this river god (Sogdian Tombs Workshop, Yale University, New Haven, April 21, 2002).

A stronger identification with Chinese funerary iconography is the frequent juxtaposition of the riderless horse with the exclusively Chinese image of the oxcart that transports the women of the deceased's household. As the female counterpart of the male riderless horse, the oxcart occurs in Chinese tombs as early as the Han period. In both Chinese and Sogdian funerary contexts, when the riderless horse is depicted, the oxcart usually appears in a complementary position; two exceptions, however, are the Anyang panels and Yu Hong's sarcophagus where only the riderless horse occurs. In Chinese tombs the oxcart is typically painted or carved on the wall closest to the entrance to the burial chamber, across from the riderless horse on the opposite wall, so that the funerary banquet scene of the tomb owner and his wife, always on the far (northern) wall of the chamber, is flanked by the riderless horse and the oxcart. This arrangement is found on the inner walls of the Ning Mao sarcophagus and on the late Northern Wei bed previously mentioned (Pl. 9b),[40] in Chinese tombs of the sixth century,[41] and on the Miho and Kooros beds (Pls. 5c and 6c).[42] In these last two examples, the riderless horse and the oxcart bracket the banquet scene, with the riderless horse on the left (western) side of the beds, the banquet scenes in the center (northern wall), and the oxcart on the right (eastern) side. As already noted, Yu Hong and the owner of the Anyang bed eschew the Chinese oxcart, while Shi Jun and the owner of the Tianshui bed include neither it nor the riderless horse.[43] The Tianshui bed

---

[40] Ning Mao sarcophagus: Kojiro Tomita, "A Chinese Sacrificial Stone House of the Sixth Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts,* XL/242 (1942), 104, fig. 7 and 105, fig. 8; late Northern Wei bed: Juliano and Lerner, "Stone Mortuary Furnishings," 16-18 and panels A2 and D2.

[41] For example, the Northern Qi tombs of General Xu Xianxiu, at Taiyuan (Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi and Institute of Archaeology of Taiyuan, "Excavation of Xu Xianxiu," 16, fig. 20); and those at Majiazhuang near Ji'nan (Ji'nan City Museum, "Northern Qi Tomb at Majiazhuang," 45, fig. 8) and at Yidu (Xi, "The Northern Qi Stone-chambered Tomb," 51, fig. 3:2; Zheng, "Northern Qi Pictorial Carvings," 75, fig. 3); but because the placement of the stones from the latter tomb was not documented, it is difficult, even impossible, to reconstruct the arrangement of riderless horse and oxcart .

[42] Miho: Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," K; Kooros: Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre*, panel 10 (fig. 29 and cover).

[43] See note 38 for why the riderless horse on Shi Jun's sarcophagus does not partake of this iconography.

depicts what seems to be an oxcart seen from the rear, but does not show the riderless horse,[44] while An Qie's bed is the only one to include the oxcart twice, on each of the outermost panels of the sides — but it does not show a riderless horse.[45]

Following the model of Chinese tomb decoration, the banquet scene appears on the rear (north) walls of the Tianshui (Pl. 1b and Frontispiece), An Qie (Pl. 2c, Anyang (Pl. 4a and c), Miho (Pl. 5f), and Kooros beds (Pl. 6a), generally in the center, as well as on the rear wall of Yu Hong's sarcophagus (Pl. 7c), the right-hand portion of the north wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Pl. 8d). This funerary banquet, either explicitly (Yu Hong) or implicitly (the others cited) represents the deceased couple in paradisiacal plenitude.[46] In all but the Kooros bed, the deceased and his wife are shown in the same panel seated together, within a pavilion;[47] on the Anyang bed the banquet is shown twice in two contiguous scenes (Pls. 4a and c).[48] The Kooros bed departs from this model as the deceased and his wife appear in separate panels at the center of the bed's rear wall: she, seated with drinking bowl (*piluo*) in hand while offered food and drink by several female attendants, and he, reclining with drunken abandon and raising a bull-

[44] Tianshui Municipal Museum, "A Sui-Tang Period Tomb," panel 4: 47, fig. 2 and first photographic plate, fig. 4.

[45] Rong, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen," 32-33, panels 11 and 12. Kang Ye's bed also depicts the oxcart, but in an idiosyncratic way that will be discussed later (Pl. 3d).

[46] For a discussion of the Chinese notion of "feasting in the eternal life after death" as beginning in the Western Han (206 BCE-CE 8), see Sheng, "From Silk to Stone," 158-160.

[47] Shi Jun and his wife appear again on the north wall of the sarcophagus drinking, if not feasting, in a grape arbor, but there, Shi sits only with other men and his wife sits with other women (Pl. 8d).

[48] Based on my examination of the stones in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the one in the Musée Guimet, the proposed reconstruction of the bed would have both Boston reliefs forming the rear of the bed with MFA 12.589 on the left (west) and MFA 12.588 on the right (east). The Guimet panel seems to have formed the left or western side; the right or eastern side is missing. I thank Arthur Beale of the Museum of Fine Arts and Jacques Giès of the Musée Guimet for allowing me to study and photograph the stones and to Mr. Beale and his staff for removing the two slabs from the wall so that I could see the rear and side surfaces.

headed rhyton aloft, while entertained by a dancer and musicians (Pl. 6d).[49] In distinct contrast with all of these beds and sarcophagi, Kang Ye's bed does not include a banquet scene.[50]

In all these scenes, the feasting tomb owner is dressed as a Central Asian, in tunic, leggings and often a long-sleeved over-garment; his wife, however, always appears in Chinese female dress (Pls. 1b and d, 2c, 4a-c, 5f and 7c)[51] In other scenes the tomb owners consistently wear Central Asian dress, regardless of the activity in which they are depicted (the two exceptions are the owner of the Kooros bed and Kang Ye who are in Chinese clothing). The distinction between male and female dress on all but the Kooros and Kang Ye beds warrants some comment. Except for the Kooros bed owner and Kang Ye, the *sabaos* whose funerary monuments have survived wish to commemorate and portray themselves as Sogdian, yet they do not care to have their wives so portrayed. For whatever reason, Sogdian female dress must have been deemed inappropriate for the wives of these elites so that the depiction of these women in Chinese dress seems to be less one of personal choice than of social convention. An explanation might be a desire to dissociate their wives visually from other Sogdian women who were distinct from the Chinese population not only by their physiognomies but by their attire, particularly as

---

[49] Musée Guimet. *Lit de pierre,* 21, figs. 18 and 19 (panel 5) and 22, figs. 20 and 21 (panel 6).

[50] However, several panels depict women, undoubtedly from Kang Ye's household, in procession (panel 5) and seated in some outdoor setting — but not within a pavilion or beneath the usual canopy — nor apparently feasting (panels 2-3 and 9-10) (Cheng, *The Kang Ye tomb of the Northern Zhou,* 23-27, figs. 20-22; 12-18, figs. 9-15, and 39-45, figs. 36-42). Further, there seem to be two high-ranking women in these scenes, their status indicated by their position and headdress.

[51] As far as can be discerned, the type of dress worn by the feasting couple shown on the Tianshui bed (Frontispiece) conforms to this distinction in dress: the man crosses his right leg on his left, which hangs over the edge of the *kang* on which he and his wife sit, similar to the way in which Yu Hong sits in his banquet scene (Pl. 7c), which suggests that he, like Yu Hong, is wearing Central Asian leggings; his wife, who kneels to his left, seems dressed in a Chinese robe, as is definitely the standing female attendant to the right of the couple (for the clearest photographs of the Tianshui bed, albeit taken through the crude glass and iron case in which it is kept, see Michele Bambling, "Folding Screen with Painting of the Sun and the Moon, Discovered in Tianshui City of Gansu Province, China, Dated to the End of Sui and early Tang Dynasties" [in Japanese] *Ars Buddhica* 222 [1995], color plate 3: panel 3).

Sogdian women seem to have been associated mainly by the Chinese with entertainment, especially with dancing.[52]

Although in the center of the north (rear) wall of Kang Ye's bed are what appear to be the standard contiguous images of oxcart, drinking (banquet) scene and riderless horse (Pls. 3b,d,c and e), the panels depart from the conventional arrangement and depiction of these subjects — and, indeed, may not even be representing some of them. In the center of the north wall Kang Ye sits cross-legged with drinking bowl in a pavilion, attended only by Central Asian servants; the oxcart (Pl. 3d), unlike any other depictions known to me, does not move through the landscape but has halted, with the ox unyoked and reclining on the ground and its two drivers taking liquid refreshment; the riderless horse (Pl. 3e), shown in an unusual rear view, stands among attendants with fans and a Central Asian groom who gestures towards the unseen rider of another horse whose foreparts have just entered into the pictorial frame on the right. Indeed, this sequence of panels is a departure from "standard" Chinese funerary imagery, perhaps referring to some important journey, a stage of which is depicted as this halt along the way, or the panels represent

---

[52] For references to popularity of female Sogdian dancers among the Chinese, see n. 34. This distinction in dress between Sogdian men and women was noted by Frantz Grenet in a lecture, "Religious Diversity Among Sogdians in China" (University of Pennsylvania, November 18, 2005) as well as by Rong Xinjiang, *Medieval China and Foreign Civilization* (in Chinese) (Beijing, 2001) 132-135. The female dancer in Chinese dress on the Miho bed (Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven panels," 254, J) and the pair of dancers on the Victoria and Albert base (n. 2 and Kageyama, "Monuments funéraires," 268 and fig. 2b) should most likely be seen, however, as Chinese—the counterparts of the male Sogdian dancers that appear in the banquet scene on the Miho (Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven panels," 253, E), similar to the depictions of the male Sogdian dancer accompanied by male orchestra and the female Chinese dancer accompanied by a female orchestra on the base of a Buddhist stele of the Northern Zhou period (Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, "Cultural Crossroads: Central Asian and Chinese Entertainers on the Miho Funerary Couch," *Orientations* 28 [October 1997], 75-76 and fig. 6).

At the time that the panels that are now called the "Miho bed" appeared on the art market, only two other examples of funerary furniture that had belonged to Central Asians were known: the panels attributed to Anyang and the recently excavated Tianshui bed. Given this situation, it seemed likely that the Chinese dress of the banqueting women on the Anyang and Miho panels indicated a Chinese or nomadic (Xianbei) origin and, in the case of the Miho panel, that the banquet could perhaps commemorate the marriage of the Sogdian tomb owner with a local woman. The evidence that has built with every subsequent discovery renders this view untenable.

an individual interpretation of the traditional Chinese trope of oxcart, banqueting tomb owner and riderless horse.[53]

Alongside these traditional Chinese images, some of which with possible Sogdian meaning as well, appear those that are unambiguously Sogdian and Zoroastrian. Specific Sogdian divinities or allusions to them — the goddess Nana on one of the Miho panels (Pl. 5d); Mithra on Shi Jun's sarcophagus and most likely on that of Yu Hong (Pls. 8b and 7b);[54] the atmospheric deity Vayu-Wešparkar and the winged Dēn (Daēnā) who greets the deceased souls at the Činvat Bridge, both on Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Pl. 8b);[55] the four divine beings who flank the feasting Yu Hong and his wife (Pl. 7c);[56] the priestly half-bird and half-men — most likely signifiers of the psychopompic deity Sraōš, wearing the *padam* to shield the sacred fire from their breath as they tend a fire-altar — on the bases of Yu Hong's sarcophagus and the Miho bed, at the entrance to Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Pl. 8c), and over the door to An Qie's tomb (Pl. 2f);[57]

---

[53] The two panels to the immediate left (west) of these three panels may depict another part of this journey as they show Kang Ye on horseback accompanied by fan bearers and other attendants (panel 4), followed by a procession of women on foot, one of them clearly of importance, who walks beneath a portable canopy and is surrounded by fan bearers and women carrying various gifts or offerings (panel 5) (Cheng, *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou*, 19-27, figs. 16-24).

[54] Miho: Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," J; Shi Jun: Xi'an Municipal Institute, "The Shi Sarcophagus Tomb," 44, fig. 6; Yu Hong: Marshak suggests the following references to Mithra: the royal horseman beneath an parasol on the panel on the sarcophagus façade, the ancient Iranian Spring Equinox symbol of the lion conquering the bull in the predella, and, as a symbol of Mithra's glory (*farn*), the winged *makara*-like horse in the predella-like panel below the image of the riderless horse ("The Sarcophagus of *Sabao* Yu Hong," 62-64 and figs. 10 and 11).

[55] Grenet, Riboud and Yang, "Zoroastrian Scenes," 281-282.

[56] Seen by Jiang Boqin as four of the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas or Holy Immortals who represent and preside over different aspects of creation (*A History of Chinese Zoroastrian Art* [Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004], 140-141.

[57] Grenet, Riboud and Yang, "Zoroastrian Scenes," 278-279, citing P.O. Skjaervø's calling attention to the cock's association with Sraōš in *Vendidād* 18.14. For Yu Hong's sarcophagus base, see Marshak, "The Sarcophagus of *Sabao* Yu Hong," 63, fig. 12; Juliano and Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited," 58, fig. 5a; for Shi Jun's sarcophagus: Grenet, Riboud and Yang, "Zoroastrian Scenes," 276, fig. 1. In the lunette over the door to An Qie's

and the reference to Vakhš, the Oxus deity, on the Miho bed, previously noted [58] — along with ritual and eschatological scenes: the celebration of *Nō Ruz* on Shi Jun's sarcophagus and the An Qie and Anyang beds (Pls. 8d, 2d, and 4a and b),[59] the *sagdīd* ceremony on the Miho bed (Pl. 5e),[60] and the crossing of the Činvat Bridge on Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Pl. 8b).[61] In addition to the fire-altars attended by birdmen or by priests in the *sagdīd* panel of the Miho bed and on the

---

tomb, mirror images of a birdman each hover over an *afrinigan* table filled with offerings instead of a fire-altar (Juliano and Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited," 61, fig. 8). Pairs of bird-men also tend a fire-altar on two other bases, both of which seem to belong to a later period (see n. 2)

[58] See note 39.

[59] Shi Jun: Xi'an Municipal Institute, "The Shi Sarcophagus Tomb," 42, fig. 5; Anyang: Scaglia, "Central Asians," figs, 3-5.

[60] Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," F, 252; and Judith A. Lerner, "Central Asians in Sixth-Century China: A Zoroastrian Funerary Rite," *Iranica Antiqua (Klaus Schippmann Festschrift)* XXX (1995), 203-214. An allusion to the *sagdīd* ceremony may be found on one of the Yidu slabs which depicts a house-shaped sarcophagus being transported by a team of four horses and accompanied by a dog (Yang, "Carvings of the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi," 34 and 35, fig. 7).

James R. Russell sees a reference to the *sagdīd* ceremony in the seated dog in the riderless horse panel of the Kooros bed (Pl. 6b; see n. 66 for reference), but while Riboud does not reject a Zoroastrian connection, she notes the presence of a dog in the oxcart panel and notes that dogs are often found in Chinese funerary contexts (*Lit de pierre,* 20, n. 5 and 44, n. 6). A dog also appears in the riderless horse panel of Yu Hong's sarcophagus (Pl. 7b), but dogs are found in several scenes with no reference to a specific rite nor even to Zoroastrianism.

[61] Grenet, Riboud and Yang, "Zoroastrian Scenes," 276-283 and figs. 2 and 3. On analogy with the representation on Shi Jun's sarcophagus of the Činvat Bridge which has animals, including a camel, crossing it and, before which stand two priests at a fire-altar, Yang interprets the animal pen in the Miho *sagdīd* panel as symbolizing the railing of the Bridge ("Carvings of the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi," 36-37). But two dogs appear in the Shi Jun scene and instead must refer to the pair of dogs that are "mentioned in connection with the Daēnā (*Vendidād* 19.30), but also without her, as guardians of the bridge (*id.* 13.9)" (Grenet, Riboud and Yang, "Zoroastrian Scenes, 279; Boyce, A *History of Zoroastrianism*, 117).

What may be other references to Zoroastrian deities appear on the base of Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Pl. 8a). Richly carved with, among other images, winged human figures and the frontal head of a ram, in good Sasanian fashion above a pair of wings, which is carved on the south face directly below the entrance to the sarcophagus, the base, to my knowledge, has not yet been studied.

Anyang gateposts, a fire-altar supported by the foreparts of three camels is central to the offering scene painted above the door to An Qie's tomb (Fig 2f);[62] and a censer or altar, which resembles the type that appears in the paintings in the palace at Varakhsha and at Panjikent in Sogdiana, is set before the pavilion in which Kang Ye sits with drinking bowl in hand.[63] The Zoroastrian belief in beneficent birds that protect humans from evil and malice may find its visualization in the beribboned and nimbate parrots, peacocks and other birds that fly overhead on the Anyang panels and most of the scenes on Yu Hong's sarcophagus (Pls. 4a, c-d and 7b-d). Their fluttering neck ribbons recall those worn by birds and quadrupeds on Sasanian metalwork and textiles, a motif associated with kingly glory and, extending beyond royalty, with a more generalized divine grace or good fortune.[64]

---

[62] Juliano and Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited," 61, fig. 8.

[63] Cheng, *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou,* 31-32, figs. 28-29. The fire-altars that appear in the East Hall of the Varakhsha palace and on some of murals in the houses at Panjikent date to the early eighth century (Varakhsha: Aleksandr Naymark, "Returning to Varakhsha," *The Silk Road Foundation Newsletter* I/2 [December 2003], http://silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/december/varakhsha.htm; Panjikent: A.M. Belenitskii. and B. I. Marshak, "The Paintings of Sogdiana," in Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting. The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1981], 31, fig. 6 and 111, fig. 8). One hundred and fifty years separate Kang Ye's tomb from these Sogdian paintings, but one might expect that, as ritual equipment, an altar form would not have changed; however, the possibility should not be ignored that the censer or altar type on Kang Ye's bed antedates its appearance in Islamic Sogdiana.

[64] Fluttering ribbons extend from the Sasanian king's crown as diadem ties as well as appear elsewhere on his and others' dress and as part of equine decoration. As a hallmark of Sasanian art, fluttering ribbons become a widespread pictorial motif, appearing in the Buddhist art of Central Asia and even China. Although flying creatures with fluttering ribbons also appear in Sogdian art, to my knowledge, the surviving examples are later than the sixth century.

In addition to the birds on the Anyang and Yu Hong reliefs, similar creatures appear on most of the slabs from the Yidu tomb (Zheng, *Research on the Wall Paintings,* 255). Although these beribboned birds seem to draw upon Iranian imagery, birds that appear to have some benevolent function also occur in a Chinese context. Kageyama cites a relief from the late Han tomb at Xuzhou that depicts two large birds perched on the roof of the structure in which the deceased is banqueting ("Quelques remarques," 263; other reliefs of the period also show pairs of large birds or a single one perched on a roof as if guarding the building).

Significantly, although much of the imagery on the Kooros bed is drawn from Indian or Gandharan religious iconography, as Pénélope Riboud and Catherine Delacour demonstrate,[65] the figures of the Indian deities Sūrya and Kubera can also be read in an Iranian context;[66] and it should be recalled that in one of the panels, the inebriated tomb owner drinks from that quintessentially Iranian vessel, the rhyton (Pl. 6d). Similarly, certain aspects of Yu Hong's sarcophagus are influenced by Buddhist imagery[67] but, as already observed, his sarcophagus

---

[65] Pénélope Riboud, "Quelques remarques sur l'iconographie religieuse du monument," in Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre*, 43-47; Riboud, "Réflexions sur les pratiques religieuses," 83-85; Catherine Delacour and Pénélope Riboud, "Un monument funéraire en Pierre (Chine, VIe S) au musée Guimet," *Ars Asiatiques* 59 (2004), 161-165; and, in particular, Catherine Delacour, "Une version tardive." Riboud and Delacour make a strong case for the depiction on panel 2 of Surya in his sun disk, floating over turbulent monster-filled waters, and Delacour, most recently, convincingly argues for the appearance of Kubera astride the elephant on panel 3, and discusses the double and even triple readings that are possible for these divine figures, along with that for drunken tomb owner in panel 4 ("Une version tardive").

[66] Identifying the deity in the sun disk in panel 2 as Surya/Maitreya/Mithra, James R. Russell sees in the scene a reference to the Manichaean hymn cycle *Angad Roshan ("Rich Friend of the Beings of Light")* in which the newly deceased soul's fears about the turbulent waters in which it finds itself are calmed by its savior's promise to "deliver thee from all the waves of the sea" ("Soteriology on the Silk Road," lecture delivered at the University of Toronto at Mississauga, Special Lecture Series on Central Asian and Iranian Buddhism (October 7, 2005); I appreciate Russell's providing me with a copy of his paper prior to its publication.

[67] An intriguing example is the seated posture borrowed from Chinese Buddhist art of the period, the so-called "pensive position," (Chinese *siwei*) in which a bodhisattva sits with the foot of the right leg resting on the knee of the pendant left leg; the bent right knee supports the figure's right arm as it rests its chin in its right hand. A common seat for this "pensive-posed" bodhisattva is an hourglass-shaped stool with a band around the middle, as shown in Northern Qi (and possibly earlier) bodhisattvas from Qingzhou in Shandong (Royal Academy of Art, *The Return of the Buddha: the Qingzhou Discoveries* [London: 2002], 156-157, no. 32). On one of Yu Hong's panels, a nimbate figure (Yu Hong?) sits on a similar stool but with left leg crossed over the right; he holds a drinking bowl and is offered what looks like fruit by a kneeling figure (Pl. 7d). This distinctive pose is also held by the owner of the Kooros bed (Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre,* panel 4: 19, fig. 17), by the tomb owner(?) drinking from a rhyton in panel 1 of the Tianshui bed (Pl. 1c), and by the owner of the Yidu tomb (Zheng, "Northern Qi Pictorial Carvings," 75, fig. 2); all three of these figures show the correct (right) leg crossed and all sit on hourglass-shaped stools, receive some offering from a kneeling figure, and the last two, like the Yu Hong figure, hold a drinking vessel (See

reveals strong Zoroastrian connections. Even the Tianshui bed, one of the more "Chinese" of these eight funerary monuments, despite its compositional resemblance to Chinese scroll painting, may acknowledge the Central Asian affiliation of its owner: in one of the panels a man — perhaps the deceased — sits with one leg crossed and drinks from a rhyton (Pl. 1c: panel 1).[68]

An exception seems to be Kang Ye, who in his epitaph acknowledges his Sogdian ancestry as descending from "the kings of Samarkand" but is interred in the Chinese fashion on a bed whose decoration shares little stylistically or iconographically with the beds and sarcophagi of other Sogdian descents or with those who seem to have some Sogdian or Iranian affiliation (that is, Yu Hong and even the owner of the Kooros bed). Indeed, in contrast to An Qie, Shi Jun, the owners of the Anyang and Miho beds and even Yu Hong, some of whom have full beards but all of whom have heavy Central Asian features, and, as noted, wear Central Asian clothes (Pls. 2c-e; 8b and d; 4b; 5f; 7c), Kang Ye is shown as a characteristically Chinese gentleman, with thin mustache and long scraggly beard but clean-shaven cheeks; further, and as already described, he wears Chinese robes and a tall Chinese hat,[69] although when seated in the pavilion, he wears a low, truncated conical hat, marked by two creases or side flaps to either side of a central crease or pleat and decorated with three evenly-spaced circles or appliqués (Pl. 3c); this hat resembles in shape those worn by An Qie in several scenes on his bed, which has been identified by Etsuko

---

also Annette Juliano, "Converging Traditions in the Imagery of Yu Hong's Sarcophagus: Possible Buddhist Sources," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* I [2006], forthcoming.)

Some have equated the "pensive position" with the so-called "relaxed position" (*lalitāsana*) that has the figure seated with the right leg bent so that the right sole is exactly or somewhat parallel with the thigh of the pendant left leg (Delacour, "Une version tardive," [page number not available at the time of this writing] and Kageyama, "Quelques remarques," 262). However, the "pensive position" is not a natural pose and should be distinguished from the *lalitāsana*, which is — particularly when one is at ease and seated on a *kang* — the position assumed by most of the tomb owners in their banquet scenes (Pls. 1d, 2c and d, 4a-d, 7c, and 8d).

[68] Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 307.

[69] Kang Ye's skeleton was dressed in what may have been a cloak, green silk tunic and full pants, cinched by a belt composed of rectangular plaques (Pl. 3a).

Kageyama as a merchant's cap.[70] Kang Ye's physiognomy is in sharp contrast to the male servants and grooms who accompany him and who appear almost as caricatures of Central Asians, with bushy beards and prominent noses (Pl. 3f).[71] (Despite some of the more "Sogdian" images on his bed, the conclusion that the Kooros bed owner was not Sogdian may be drawn from both the choice of other images and, in the surviving complete depiction, by his Chinese physiognomy.)[72]

Narrative and Biography

The narrative character of Sogdian art — at least of the art known in Sogdiana — is reflected in the monuments under discussion.[73] However, what differentiates the mortuary art made for

[70] Her identification relies less on the shape than on its color as it is painted white in An Qie's reliefs ("Sogdians in Kucha," 364-365). On the basis of representations in Xinjang and Sogdiana Kageyama postulates that white caps of different shapes were worn by Sogdian merchants; An Qie's low cap, however, may have been one that was specific to a *sabao* and Kang Ye was not a *sabao* (see Pls. 2 c and e).

The headgear worn by the men—and women—on the Sogdian funerary monuments warrants detailed study and should yield valuable information on the identities and roles of the different personages sporting such diverse types. For example, when riding toward the grape arbor and then while drinking in it, Shi Jun wears a cap similar to those worn by An Qie and Kang Ye, but when seated in a pavilion and drinking with his wife, he wears a crown (as does she); Yu Hong and his wife are both crowned in their feasting scene, while the banqueting tomb owner on the Miho bed wears a low conical cap with turned-up brim (on the other hand, several of the horsemen on other Miho panels wear low caps like An Qie's).

[71] In this regard, the Kang Ye panels recall those from the Northern Qi tomb at Yidu on which the tomb owner's refined Chinese features are contrasted with those of Central Asian grooms and a Central Asian dignitary (or caravan leader?) who respectfully kneels before the seated deceased (see n. 26 and specifically, Zheng, "Northern Qi Pictorial Carvings," 75, fig. 2, in particular).

[72] The two main "portraits" of the owner, panels 4 and 6 have been so damaged as to obliterate his face, but panel 9, on the right side of the bed, shows him with a long beard growing from under his chin with the rest of his face clean-shaven (Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre,* 25, figs. 26 and 27).

[73] For the narrative art of Sogdiana, see Boris Marshak (with an Appendix by Vladimir A. Livshits), *Legends, Tales, and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* ("Biennial Ehsan Yarshater Lecture Series, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London," [May 10-17, 1995]" No. 1). New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2002. For the narrative sequence of An Qie's bed, see Rong, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen."

Sogdians in China from much, if not all, of the art in the Sogdian homeland, is its *strong autobiographical* character, which seems to be absent in Sogdiana.[74] Amid the conventional

---

Frantz Grenet has observed that nowhere in the surviving art of Sogdiana is there any reference to trade, the basis of the Sogdians' wealth, only perhaps its rewards (e.g., scenes of the harvest and banquets) and references to possible raw materials traded in the illustration of two allegorical tales. Grenet states that the Sogdian elites living in China also eschewed scenes of trade even though their influence and status as *sabaos* most likely derived from their ancestors' commercial activities ("The Self-image of the Sogdians," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005, 134-136). Yet there are images that allude to trading activity: panel D of the Miho bed shows a camel laden with goods, accompanied by long-haired Turks, who often served as guards for Sogdian caravaneers (in fact the deceased to whom the bed belonged may show another link to his involvement with trade, his own or ancestral, in the mourning scene in panel F in which the *sagdīd* ceremony seems to be performed in transit, to judge from the pen with camels in the same scene [Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels," 251-252]); the west wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus (Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an, "Excavation of Shi's Tomb," 24, fig. 35; also noted by Grenet) contains a procession of camels with goods accompanied by men on horses and mules, while among the animals that cross the Činvat Bridge with Shi Jun and his wife on the east wall of the sarcophagus is a camel laden with goods, which "probably reflects the particular concerns of a Sogdian merchant on his deathbed" (Pl. 8b; Grenet, Riboud and Yang, "Zoroastrian Scenes," 281; see also Rong Xinjiang, "Studies on the Sogdian Caravan as Seen in the Relief of the Shi Tomb of the Northern Zhou," *Wenwu* 3 [2005] 47-56). A scene that most likely refers to trade occupies most of the left side of Kang Ye's bed and seems to involve bolts of silk (Cheng, *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou*," 8-10, figs. 5-7; Kang Ye was not a *sabao*, but was posthumously awarded the high rank of provincial governor of Ganzhou). Yet another possible reference to trade may be the panel on An Qie's bed depicting him in a yurt negotiating with a Turk while a laden camel and a donkey rest in the foreground (Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb*, pl. 57).

[74] Lerner, *"'Les Sogdiens en Chine...'"*. None of the ossuaries so far known from Sogdiana or in Zoroastrian contexts alludes to specific events in the deceased's life. An exception may be the vase discovered at Sasanian Merv (Turkmenistan); apparently manufactured as a container for the bones of the dead, it is decorated with scenes presumably from the deceased's life, although they could well be generalized images of the good and noble life (the hunt and banquet), followed by equally generalized images of his death (mourning and transport of the corpse). See Niccolò Manassero, "Il Vaso dipinto di Merv," *Parthica* 5 (2003), 131-152, for the most recent discussion of the vessel.

Burials in Sogdiana, though, may not have been anonymous. Although, to my knowledge, no inscriptions even with only the deceased's name, have been found in Sogdiana, perhaps the places in which ossuaries were kept, as well as the mausoleums, bore the names of the deceased. Ossuaries of the seventh century from the cemetery excavated at Tok Kala in Khwarezm are inscribed with the name of the deceased, his father and sometimes dates and messages of good wishes (W.B. Henning, "The Choresmian Documents," *Asia Major* N.S. 15 (1965), 166-179).

subjects of the hunt and banquet on the beds and sarcophagi from China are often depicted specific incidents in the life of the deceased or allusions to the kind of life he led.[75] Thus, An Qie, who was both a *sabao* and a Grand Area Commander-in-Chief (*da dudu*),[76] memorializes his diplomatic mission among the Turks; Yu Hong, who seems to have been of Sogdian origin, but whose ancestor was chief of the Yu state in Central Asia and so may have been of nomadic or tribal ancestry,[77] depicts a series of eclectic images that allude to his role as emissary to countries

---

[75] A prime early example is the Eastern Han Helingeer tomb, mentioned in n. 32.

[76] See Zhang Guangda's reading of the term on Shi Shewu's epitaph (Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 257).

[77] According to his epitaph, an ancestor was chief of the state of Yu, which Yu Taishan locates in a region that became a part of Sogdiana (Yu Taishan, *A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State* ["Sino-Platonic Papers," 139], Philadelphia: Department of East Asian Languages & Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania, 2004). Lin Meicun has shown that his father belonged to a non-Han ethnic group in Shanxi (Lin Meicun. "A Study of JI HU ( ): Some Questions of the Inscription of the YU HONG Tomb of the Sui Dynasty Found in Taiyuan, Shanxi" (in Chinese), *Journal of Chinese Historical Studies* 1 [2002)] 71-84). Luo Feng, however, relates him to the Ruru ("Epitaph of Yu Hong—An Important Historical Document about the Rouran People" [in Chinese], in *Between Han and Non-Han. The Silk Road and Historical Archaeology of China's Northwestern Regions*, [Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House: 2004], 401-422), although Jiajia Wang's unpublished critique of Luo's argument shows it to be untenable. Yu Hong had served as a representative of the Ruru state, but was himself not a Ruru. I am grateful to Victor Mair for sharing with me Wang's perceptive critique.

An argument for a non-Sogdian but Central Asian background for Yu Hong has been based, at least in part, on one of the several administrative posts he held under the Northern Zhou: "Acting Director of the Office of Zoroastrian Affairs" (*jianjiao sabao fu*). According to the excavators of his tomb, "people who filled the post of *sabao* (Director of the Office of Zoroastrian affairs) were all from Central Asia: the [Sogdian] states of Kang, Mi, Shi, and An, among others. 'Acting Director of the Office of Zoroastrian Affairs' may well have been different from *sabao* itself, but they were by no means unrelated. At the minimum, the person appointed should have some degree of familiarity with the affairs of Zoroastrianism. Judging from these factors, we believe that the state of Yu should be located in Central Asia" (Zhang Qingjie et al, "The Yu Hong Tomb of the Sui Dynasty," 268; see also Victor Cunrui Xiong, "China: Dawn of a Gold Age. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 12 October 2004–23 January 2005," *AJA OnlinePublications* [January 2005] [www.ajaonline.org/pdfs/museum_reviews/AJAonline_China_Dawn_of_a_Golden_Age.pdf], 7-8; I wish to thank Victor Xiong for a copy of the draft of his *China Archaeology* article since the article as published contained errors

in Central and West Asia as well as in India. Shi Jun, whose sarcophagus is probably the most individualized, depicts his promotion to *sabao* (north wall) (Pl. 8d) and documents with great poignancy what might be interpreted as his religious quest from following the teachings of the Mani-Buddha (west wall) (Pl. 8a) to his return to the Zoroastrianism of his forefathers (east wall) (Pl. 8b).[78] Kang Ye depicts himself greeting a delegation of Chinese officials that seems to involve the receipt or exchange of bolts of silk.[79]

Biography, of course, is the basis of the epitaph (*muzhiming*), which in China grew out of late Han practice and by the late fifth and sixth centuries became an essential element in Chinese tombs.[80] That most of the excavated Central Asian tombs in China have yielded epitaph stones indicates that the owners similarly felt the need for an epitaph inscription. With the exception of Shi Jun's epitaph, which is in Sogdian and Chinese, the other surviving epitaphs (An Qie's, Yu Hong's, Kang Ye's, and those of the Shi's of Guyuan) are written in the language and literary style of their adopted land and take the form of a standard Chinese, i.e., Confucian, obituary. For example, An Qie's epitaph is typically that of a Chinese military official; written in classical

---

beyond his control). It is to be noted that Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert cite two other "*sabaos*" from mid-sixth-century Taiyuan who were Turko-Sogdian and Tokharian (i.e., Bactrian) ("Les Chinois et des Hu. Migrations et intégration des Iraniens orientaux en milieu chinois durant le haut Moyen Âge," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* 59/5-6 [2004], 948).

[78] See Grenet, Riboud and Yang "Zoroastrian Scenes" for a description and interpretation of the scenes on eastern side of the sarcophagus, and a more comprehensive treatment by Étienne de la Vaissière, "Mani en Chine au VIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique* 293 (2005), 357-378; de la Vaissière suggests that Shi Jun followed Manichaean precepts at Liangzhou where he served as *sabao,* but, as leader of the Sogdian community had to show his espousal of Zoroastrianism in his burial at Chang'an (Xi'an). Although this explanation for the occurrence of such specific references to two different religions on one man's sarcophagus seems forced, the obvious familiarity with these two belief systems implies some syncretism in thought if not in actually practice.

[79] Cheng, *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou,* 8-11, figs. 5-8.

[80] Rawson, "Creating Universes," 135. Rawson suggests that, rather than addressed to later generations, the epitaph inscriptions were intended for the officials of the afterlife.

Chinese four-character phrasing (*chengyu*), the epitaph "begins with his names and place of origin, then moves to the outstanding deeds and sterling qualities of his ancestors before extolling his own magnificent achievements and excellent character;" the concluding verse is also "standard issue."[81] In keeping with Confucian precepts, it should be noted that the sons of these deceased Sogdians displayed their filial piety by building magnificent tombs for their parents, and so recorded it in their father's or parents' epitaph.[82]

Conclusion

The intention of this survey of the archaeological and artistic evidence so far known for Central Asians living in sixth– and early seventh–century China has been to chronicle the different ways these foreigners constructed and maintained their ethnic identity, while, at the same time, pointing out the various degrees by which they began to yield it up. The available evidence of the tombs and furnishings of these Central Asian elites suggests that they adopted the ways of their Chinese hosts, integrating into Chinese society by taking positions in the Chinese administration and military. At the same time, they seem to have maintained their physical if not cultural and religious ethnicity, at least through several generations, by marrying women who were themselves of Sogdian descent. For example, Shi Jun's wife, Wiyusi, had the surname of Kang,[83] and members of Shi family of Guyuan married women with the family names of An and Kang.[84]

---

[81] So characterized by Victor Mair, private email message.

[82] Thus the epitaphs of Shi Jun and Kang Ye, as well as those of the Shis of Guyuan. Cf. Sun Fuxi, "Investigations on the Chinese Version of the Sino-Sogdian Bilingual Inscription of the Tomb of Lord Shi," *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005) 54.

[83] Yoshida Yutaka, "The Sogdian Version of the New Xi'an Inscription," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), 57-59. For another discussion of the epitaph, see Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an, "Excavation of the Sabao Shi's Tomb."

[84] See the epitaphs of Shi Shewu (d. 609), Shi Suoyan (d. 656) and Shi Hedan (d. 669) as well as that of An Niang (d. 661), the wife of Shi Suoyan, in Rong Xinjiang and Zhang Zhiqing, editors, *From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China* (in Chinese with English table of contents) (Beijing: Beijing Library Publishing House, 2004), 90-97; the English translation of Shi Shewu's epitaph in Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and*

Their choice of imagery for their funerary furniture seems a personal one, even though many of the scenes they chose are conventional. Notably, there is no pattern to the degree of assimilation as evidenced by their tombs and tomb furnishings. The four men whose biographies we have were born within 40 years of each other and died within a 21–year period (Table 1). One might think that Kang Ye (501-571), born earlier than An Qie (518-579) and Yu Hong (535-592) but after Shi Jun (495-579), would have the most Sogdian-style decoration for his bed, yet to judge from its images, as well as his actual burial, he seems the most Chinese; indeed the technique and style of carving that characterizes his bed is very close to that of the earlier Northern Wei.[85] Likewise, the stone beds belonging to the other four foreigners, while datable only within the range of a particular dynasty, show no true pattern. Underlying the pictorial compositions of all of these monuments, is, in varying degrees, a strong debt to Chinese funerary art, particularly dating back to Han times.[86] Superimposed on this foundation are unique themes and images based on non-Chinese sources — Sogdian, Sasanian, Bactrian and Greco-Roman — sometimes planted within a more conventional composition as a very specific "quotation" that seems to have particular meaning for the particular tomb owner. Thus, of the two hunts portrayed on An Qie's bed, one depicts a very generalized scene of riders and various animals in a

---

Merchants, 257; and la Vaissière and Trombert, "Les Chinois et des Hu.," 956-957. Interestingly, when Shi Hedan's first wife, a Madame Kang, died he married a Madame Zhang, a Han Chinese.

If the DNA testing of Yu Hong's wife's remains is trustworthy, she, too, was non-Chinese (see note 6).

[85] Similarly, Li Dan, the Indian Brahman whose tomb was recently discovered in Xi'an, and was "first generation," having emigrated to China as a youth, is buried in a Chinese-style stone coffin with incised images of such traditional Chinese themes as Fuxi and Nüwa and the four directional symbols (see n. 2).

That Kang Ye claims in his epitaph descent from "Kings of Samarkand" is not necessarily a sign of traditionalism or ethnic pride but may be hyperbole used to grant himself an important place in the afterlife or simply to accrue greater prestige. A parallel for the latter possibility may be the epitaphs of Shi Jun and Shi Shewu of Guyuan who each claim that his grandfather served as *sabao* in Sogdiana (Shi Shewu also makes the claim for his great-grandfather; more likely, he was a caravan chief, the original meaning of the title (see la Vaissière and Trombert, "Des Chinois et des Hus," 960; and Sun, "Chinese Version," 49).

[86] Pénélope Riboud has pointed out this debt, most tellingly for the Anyang panels, in "Le cheval sans cavalier," 157; see also Kageyama, "Quelques remarques," 263.

naturalistic landscape that is based on prototypical Chinese and Iranian hunt scenes; however, the other, of a horseman shooting at an attacking lion, is more iconic, revealing its source not from the real world, but from that probably known from western or Iranian imported metalwork (Pl. 2d);[87] similarly, the panel that commemorates a treaty with a Turkish chief shows in its upper register the mounted An Qie extending his hand to the mounted Turk in a symmetrical composition that echoes investiture scenes from third-century Sasanian Iran (Pl. 2e).[88] Specific images related to wine-making and wine-drinking are taken from Dionysiac and late Roman iconography for the Kooros bed, Yu Hong's sarcophagus and the Tianshui bed.[89]

The adoption of Chinese burial forms and artistic conventions by these men of foreign origin seems as much the result of their acceptance by Chinese society as of their own individual need to integrate into it. Although as late as the mid-eighth century Chinese chroniclers were still

---

[87] It is quite clear from the way the lion is rendered that the sculptor had no firsthand experience of lions but was copying from some other work. Direct knowledge of Sasanian and other western metalwork is shown by the discovery in Chinese tombs of such pieces. Among the more pertinent to this discussion is the late third-early fourth-century Sasanian silver bowl found in an early sixth-century tomb in Datong (Shanxi) of a hunter dispatching wild boars (Prudence O. Harper, "An Iranian Silver Vessel from the Tomb of Feng Hetu," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute,* N.S. 4 (1990), 51-59). The boars emerging from the bulrushes also appear on An Qie's bed, directly below the lion hunt may in fact, have been inspired by such imports, if not directly, then by other works that copied this western motif.

[88] E.g., that of Ardahir I receiving the ribboned ring from the god Ahura Mazda (Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants,* 233, fig. 1). This, in turn, has antecedents in the Iranian world of the first millennium BCE: fragmentary rhyton, from Karagodenashk, dated to the fourth-third century BCE (Roman Ghirshman, The *Arts of Ancient Iran from Its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great,* trans. by Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons [New York: Golden Press, 1966]), 359, fig. 465).

[89] For the motif of the panther drinking from a kantharos that appears on panel 6 of the Kooros bed, Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre*, 42, and Delacour, "Une version tardive" [page number not available at the time of this writing]. For the wine-making imagery, which Boris Marshak traces to late Roman art, see "The Sarcophagus of *Sabao* Yu Hong," 61-62.

distinguishing military and government officials as Chinese and non-Chinese,[90] the Chinese accepted the Sogdians amongst them, valuing these foreigners for their talents as merchants, translators, soldiers, horse-trainers, craftsmen and entertainers, to name some of the vocations practiced by Sogdians living in China. Ironically, it is this acceptance and integration of Sogdians into the Chinese political and economic system that seems to have led to the erosion of their ethnic identity and eventual cultural and biological assimilation into Chinese society,[91] so that today such family names as An and Kang are among the few reminiscences of the Sogdian presence in China.[92]

---

[90] Jonathan Karam Skaff, "Barbarians at the Gates? The Tang Frontier Military and the An Lushan Rebellion." *War & Society* 18/2 (2000), 23-35. In discussing the military in the mid-Tang period, Skaff notes the attraction of high-ranking military men of both Chinese and non-Chinese origin to "elite Tang culture, probably due to its social prestige" (31). The same impetus for the adoption of Chinese cultural practices seems to have been in play earlier among many of the high-ranking Sogdians (e.g., *sabaos*, military men, court translators) of the Northern Zhou, Northern Qi, Sui and early Tang periods.

[91] In "Variables in Ethnicity," Abner Cohen notes that the interaction of ethnic groups within one political system "can take the form of either alliance or conflict" and that "conflict sharpens cultural differences," but "alliance is bound to lead to integration, first political and later cultural, between the groups involved, that is, it will lead to the disappearance of ethnic differences between them." (In *Ethnic Identity,* edited by Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos, 3rd edition [Walnut Creek, CA, London, New Delhi: AltaMira Press, 1995], 318). It is the Sogdians who eventually "disappeared" into the Chinese cultural milieu, rather than effecting a blending of the Central Asian and Chinese sensibilities; but Cohen's observation helps to explain the assimilation into Chinese society of Sogdians and other foreigners.

This assimilation was hastened by the aftermath of the An Lushan rebellion of 755, which seems to have been a military coup but may have had some underlying ethnic component (Étienne de la Vaissière, "Sogdians in China: A Short History and Some New Discoveries," *The Silk Road Newsletter,* 1/ 2 [http//www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/December/new_discoveries.htm]. [December, 2003] 5-6; and de la Vaissière and Trombert, "Des Chinois and des Hus," 961-963). But see Skaff, who argues for the rebellion as an institutional breakdown and neither the coup of a megalomaniac nor an ethnic uprising ("Barbarians at the Gates?" especially 33-35).

[92] However, some high-ranking Sogdian descendants did sinicize their names after An Lushan's revolt (de la Vaissière and Trombert, "Des Chinois and des Hus," 963).

Another reminiscence of the Sogdian or Iranian presence is contained in the account by Frank Wong of a village not far from Xi'an called Xiwangchuan, which he translates as "village of a western king." The villagers

Bibliography

Abdullaev, K.A., E.V. Rtveladze and G.V. Shishkina. *Kul'tura i Iskusstvo drevnogo Uzbekistan/Culture and Art of Ancient Uzbekistan. Exhibition Catalogue.* 2 vols. Moscow: 1991.

Bambling, Michele. "Folding Screen with Painting of the Sun and the Moon, Discovered in Tianshui City of Gansu Province, China, Dated to the End of Sui and early Tang Dynasties" (in Japanese), *Ars Buddhica* 222 (1995): 15-40.

Belenitskii, A.M. and B. I. Marshak. "The Paintings of Sogdiana," in Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting. The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art*, 11-77. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1981.

Boyce, Mary. *A History of Zoroastrianism, Volume 1: The Early Period* (Second impression with corrections), Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Cologne: 1989.

Carter, Martha L. "Notes on Two Chinese Stone Funerary Bed Bases with Zoroastrian Symbolism," in *Iran: questions et connaissances. Actes du IVe congrès des études iraniennes organisé par la Societas Iranologica Europaea, Paris, 6-10 septembre 1999*, vol. I: *La période ancienne*, edited by Philip Huyse, 263-287 (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 25), Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2002.

---

look Chinese (although Wong states that many have large noses) and are Buddhist with some Christians among them. However, in at least one festival, they depart from Buddhist practice and appear to echo an Iranian one. As Wong describes it, for the Chinese Spring Festival, instead of burning incense and paper money, the villagers light fires that burn the whole evening. They also claim the village as the burial site of Peroz, the son of the last Sasanian king Yazdgird III, who was granted asylum in the Tang court after the downfall of the Sasanian Empire in 651 (Frank Wong, "Chinese descendants of Yazdgerd III," undated email message, forwarded to me on August 18, 2000 by Nicholas Sims-Williams, to whom I express my thanks; Wong's account can be accessed at Frank Wong, "Persians in China," August 10, 2000, [http://www.iranian.com/Letters/2000/August/chinese.html]).

The village's version of the Spring Festival is strongly reminiscent of the Zoroastrian celebration, *Chaharshanbe-suri* ("Wednesday Feast"), which precedes *Nō Ruz*, taking place on the last Wednesday of the Persian solar year and marked by bonfires and fire-jumping.

Chen Haitao. "Huxuanwu, hutengwu yu zhezhiwu" (in Chinese), *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 3 (2003): 56-60.

Cheng Linquan. *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou—[One of the] Top Ten Archaeological Discoveries in China, 2004* (in Chinese). Xi'an: Xi'an Institute of Archaeology and Preservation of Cultural Relics, 2005.

Cheng Linquan and Zhang Xiangyu. "Another Northern Zhou Sogdian Burial is Discovered in the Western Suburbs of Xi'an," and "A Comparison of the Kang Ye Tomb and Several Other Recently Discovered Sogdian Burials" (in Chinese), *Zhongguo wenwu bao* (November 24, 2004): 1.

Cohen, Abner. "Variables in Ethnicity," in *Ethnic Identity,* edited by Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos, 3rd edition, 307-331. Walnut Creek, CA, London, New Delhi: AltaMira Press, 1995.

Delacour, Catherine. "Une version tardive du triomphe indien de Dionysus?" *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 84 (2005), 55-98.

Delacour, Catherine and Pénélope Riboud. "Un monument funéraire en Pierre (Chine, VIe S) au musée Guimet," *Ars Asiatiques* 59 (2004): 161-165.

De Vos, G. "Ethnic Pluralism," in *Ethnic Identity*, edited by Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos, 3rd edition, 15-47. Walnut Creek, CA, London, New Delhi: AltaMira Press, 1995.

Forte, Antonino. "Iraniens en Chine. Bouddhisme, mazdéisme, bureaux de commerce," *La Sérinde Terre d'Éxchanges. Art, religion, commerce du Ier au Xe siècle* ("Actes du colloque international," Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 13-14-15 février 1996; XIVes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre) 181-190. Paris: La Documentation française, 2000.

Ghirshman, Roman. *The Arts of Ancient Iran from Its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great*, Trans. by Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons. New York: Golden Press, 1966.

Gorjačeva, V.D. "La practique des sépultures en *naus* dans le Sémiretchié (après les fouilles de la nécropole de Krasnorečenskoe)," in *Cultes et monuments religieux dans l'Asie centrale préislamique*, edited by Frantz Grenet, 73-80. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987.

Grenet, Frantz. "Trois documents réligieux de bactriane Afghane," *Studia Iranica* 11 (1982), 155-162.

Grenet, Frantz. *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Publications de l'U.R.A. 29, Mémoire 1) Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984.

Grenet, Frantz. "Les practiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale préislamique," in *Le Grand atlas de l'archéologie*, 236-237. Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis, 1985.

Grenet, Frantz. "Mithra, dieu iranien: nouvelles données," *Topoi* 11 (2001) [2003], 35-58.

Grenet, Frantz. "The Self-image of the Sogdians," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 123-140. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Grenet, Frantz and N. Krashnenninkova. "Trois nouveaux documents d'iconographie religieuse sogdienne," *Studia Iranica* 22 (1993): 49-68.

Grenet, Frantz and Osmund Bopearachichi. "Une nouvelle monnaie en or d'Abdagases II," *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999): 73-82.

Grenet, Frantz, Pénélope Riboud and Yang Junkai. "Zoroastrian Scenes on a Newly Discovered Sogdian Tomb in Xi'an, Northern China," *Studia Iranica* 33/2 (2004): 273-284.

Harper, Prudence O. "An Iranian Silver Vessel from the Tomb of Feng Hetu," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 4 (1990), 51-59.

He Xilin. "Northern Dynasties Period Stone Coffins and Funerary Couches with Pictorial Carvings" (in Chinese with English summary), in *Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period*, edited by Wu Hung, 341-376. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House: 2003.

Henning. W. B. "The Choresmian Documents," *Asia Major* N.S. 15 (1965): 166-179.

Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi et al. "Excavation of Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan, Shanxi" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 1 (2001): 27-52.

Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi and Institute of Archaeology of Taiyuan. "Excavation of Xu Xianxiu's Tomb of the Northern Qi in Taiyuan" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 10 (2003): 4-52.

Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an. "Excavation of the Sabao Shi's Tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty near Xi'an" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 3 (2005): 4-33.

Jiang, Boqin. *A History of Chinese Zoroastrian Art* (in Chinese). Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004.

Ji'nan City Museum. "The Northern Qi Tomb at Majiazhuang, Ji'nan" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 10 (1985): 42-48.

Juliano, Annette L. "Chinese Pictorial Space at the Cultural Crossroads," in *Eran ud Aneran. Studies presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday Electronic Version*, edited by Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta and Gianroberto Scarcia. [http://www.transoxiana.com.ar/Eran/Articles/juliano.html]. 2003.

Juliano, Annette L. "Converging Traditions in the Imagery of Yu Hong's Sarcophagus: Possible Buddhist Sources," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* I (2006): forthcoming.

Juliano, Annette L. and Judith A. Lerner. "Eleven Panels and Two Gate Towers with Relief Carving from a Funerary Couch," in *Miho Museum, South Wing*, 247-257. Shigaraki: Miho Museum, 1997.

Juliano, Annette L. and Judith A. Lerner. "Cultural Crossroads: Central Asian and Chinese Entertainers on the Miho Funerary Couch," *Orientations* 28 (October 1997): 72-78.

Juliano, Annette L. and Judith A Lerner. *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China, 4th to 7th Century CE.* New York: Abrams and the Asia Society, 2001.

Juliano, Annette L. and Judith A. Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries," *Orientations* 32 (October, 2001): 54-61.

Juliano, Annette L. and Judith A Lerner. "Stone Mortuary Furnishings of Northern China," in *Ritual Objects and Early Buddhist Art*, Gisèle Croës at Danese, March 22-31, 2004: 14-55. Brussels: 2004.

Kageyama, Etsuko. "The Ossuaries (Bone-receptacles of Zoroastrians) Unearthed in Chinese Turkestan" (in Japanese), *Oriento* 40-1 (1997): 73-89.

Kageyama, Etsuko. "Sogdians in Kucha, a Study from Archaeological and Iconographical Material," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 363-375. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005.

Kageyama, Etsuko, "Quelques remarques sur des monuments funéraires de Sogdiens en Chine," *Studia Iranica* 34 (2005): 257-278.

Keen, Antony G. "The Tombs of Lycia. Evidence for Social Stratification?" in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green, 221-225. (Oxbow Monograph 51) Oxford: Oxbow, 1995.

Kojiro Tomita. "A Chinese Sacrificial Stone House of the Sixth Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts,* XL/242 (1942): 98-110.

de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Sogdians in China: A Short History and Some New Discoveries," *The Silk Road Newsletter,* 1/2 December, 2003 [http//www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/December/new_discoveries.htm].

de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Mani en Chine au VIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique* 293 (2005): 357-378.

de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Introduction," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 11-19. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005.

de la Vaissière, Étienne and Éric Trombert. "Les Chinois et des Hu. Migrations et intégration des Iraniens orientaux en milieu chinois Durant le haut Moyen Âge," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* 59/5-6 (2004): 931-969.

Lerner, Judith A. "Central Asians in Sixth-Century China: A Zoroastrian Funerary Rite," *Iranica Antiqua (Klaus Schippmann Festschrift)* XXX (1995): 203-214.

Lerner, Judith A. *"'Les Sogdiens en Chine—Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques'* and Two Recently-Discovered Sogdian Tombs in Xi'an," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, N.S.* 15 (2001 [2005]): 151-162.

Lin Meicun. "A Study of JI HU ( ): Some Questions of the Inscription of the YU HONG Tomb of the Sui Dynasty Found in Taiyuan, Shanxi" (in Chinese), *Journal of Chinese Historical Studies* 1 (2002): 71-84.

Luo Feng. *A Graveyard of the Sui and Tang Dynasties in the South Suburbs of Guyuan* (in Chinese). Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1996.

Luo Feng. "Sogdians in Northwest China," in *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northern China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th-7th Century,* edited by Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, 239-345. New York: Abrams and The Asia Society, 2001.

Luo Feng. "Epitaph of Yu Hong—An Important Historical Document about the Rouran People" (in Chinese), in *Between Han and Non-Han. The Silk Road and Historical Archaeology of China's Northwestern Regions,* 401-422. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House: 2004.

Luo Feng. "The Sogdian Whirl. A Central Asian Dance in Ancient China" (in Chinese), in Luo Feng, *Between Han and Non-Han. The Silk Road and Historical Archaeology of China's Northwestern Regions,* 280-298. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2004.

Ma Shunying, Qi Ziaoshan and Zhang Ping. *The Ancient Art in Xinjiang, China* (in Chinese and English). Urumqi: The Xingjiang Art and Photography Press, 1994.

Manassero, Niccolò. "Il Vaso dipinto di Merv," *Parthica* 5 (2003): 131-152.

Marshak, B.I. "Le programme iconographique de la 'Salle des ambassadeurs' Afrasiab (Samarkand)" *Arts Asiatiques* 49 (1994): 5-20.

Marshak, B.I. "La thématique sogdienne dans l'art de la Chine de la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (January-March, (2001): 227-264.

Marshak, Boris (with an Appendix by Vladimir A. Livshits). *Legends, Tales, and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* ("Biennial Ehsan Yarshater Lecture Series, School of Oriental and

African Studies, University of London," [May 10-17, 1995]" No. 1). New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2002.

Marshak, Boris I. "The Miho Couch and Other Sino-Sogdian Works of Art of the Second Half of the 6th Century," *Bulletin of the Miho Museum* 4 (2004): 16-31.

Marshak, Boris I. "The Sarcophagus of *Sabao* Yu Hong, a Head of the Foreign Merchants (592-598)," *Orientations* 35 (October, 2004): 57-65.

Marshak, B. I. and V. I. Raspovova. *Otchet o raskopkakh gorodishcha drevnego pendzhikenta v 2003 godu*. St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyj Ermitazh Institut istorii, arkheologii i ethngrafii im. A. Donisha, Akademii nauk respubliki tadzhikistan, institut istorii material'hoj kul'tury ran, 2004.

Miho Museum, "Symposium: Central Asians in China—Discoveries in the East of the Silk-road," in *Bulletin of the Miho Museum* 4 (2004): 90-107.

Musée Guimet. *Lit de pierre, sommeil barbare. Présentation après restauration et remontage, d'une banquette funéraire ayant appartenu à un aristocrate d'Asie centrale venu s'établir en Chine au VIe siècle*, Musée Guimet, 13 avril-24 mai 2004, Paris: Musée Guimet, 2004.

Naymark, Aleksandr Naymark, "Returning to Varakhsha," *The Silk Road Foundation Newsletter* I/2 [December 2003], http://silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/december/varakhsha.htm).

Naymark, Aleksandr. "A Note on Sogdian Coroplastics," in *Eran ud Aneran. Studies presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday- Electronic Version,* edited by Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta and Gianroberto Scarcia, [http://www.transoxiana.com.ar/Eran/Articles/naymark.html]. 2003.

Pearlstein, Elinor. "Pictorial Stones from Chinese Tombs," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 71 (November, 1984): 302-331.

Pavchinskaia, L.V. "Sogdian Ossuaries," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 8 (1994): 209-225.

Rawson, J. "Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China Between the Han and Tang Periods," in *Han Tang Zhijian Wenhua Yishu de Hudong yu Jiaorong (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period)*, edited by Wu Hung, 113-152. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2001.

Riboud, Pénélope. "Le cheval sans cavalier dans l'art funéraire sogdien en Chine: à la recherche des sources d'un thème composite," *Arts Asiatiques* 58 (2003): 148-161.

Riboud, Pénélope. "Réflexions sur les pratiques religieuses designées sous le nom de *xian* ," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 73-91. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Rong, Xinjiang. *Medieval China and Foreign Civilization.* Beijing: Sheng huo..., 2001.

Rong, Xinjiang. "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*," *Orientations*, 34 (February, 2003): 32-35.

Rong, Xinjiang. "Studies on the Sogdian Caravan as Seen in the Relief of the Shi Tomb of the Northern Zhou" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 3 (2005): 47-56.

Rong, Xingjiang and Zhang Zhiqing, editors. *From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China* (in Chinese with English table of contents). Beijing: Beijing Library Publishing House, 2004.

Royal Academy of Art. *The Return of the Buddha: the Qingzhou Discoveries*, London: 2002.

Russell, James R. "Soteriology on the Silk Road." Lecture delivered at the University of Toronto at Mississauga, Special Lecture Series on Central Asian and Iranian Buddhism (October 7, 2005).

Scaglia, Giustina. "Central Asians on a Northern Ch'i Gate Shrine," *Artibus Asiae XXI*: 2-28.

Schafer, Edward H. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963.

Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology. *Anjia Tomb of Northern Zhou at Xi'an (with an English Abstract).* Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2003.

Shaked, Shaul. *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran* (Jordan Lectures 1991). London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994.

Shandong Institute of Archaeology. "Northern Dynasty Tomb Murals at Dongbaliwa in the Southern Suburbs of Ji'nan" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 4 (1989): 67-78.

Sheng, Angela. "From Stone to Silk: Intercultural Transformation of Funerary Furnishings Among Eastern Asian Peoples around 475-650 CE," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 141-180. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Shi Anchang. "A Study on a Stone Carving from the Tomb of a Sogdian Aristocrat of the Northern Qi: A Preliminary Study of an Ossuary in the Collection of the Palace Museum," *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, IV/1 (2000): 72-84.

Shi Anchang. "Study of the Stone Bed Unearthed in a Northern Dynasty Tomb in Qinyang, Henan Province, with Comparative Study of the Decorative Patterns on the Bases of Seven Stone Beds," in Les *Sogdiens en Chine* (collected papers presented at the

international colloquium "Les Sogdiens en Chine–Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques," Beijing, April 23-25, 2004), 454-464 in Chinese; 465-472 in English). Beijing: 2004.

Shi Anchang, *Fire Altars and Avian Deities as Sacrificial Officiants* (in Chinese). Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 2004.

Skaff, Jonathan Karam. "Barbarians at the Gates? The Tang Frontier Military and the An Lushan Rebellion," *War & Society* 18/2 (2000): 23-35.

Sun Fuxi, "Investigations on the Chinese Version of the Sino-Sogdian Bilingual Inscription of the Tomb of Lord Shi," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 47-55. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Tianshui Municipal Museum. "A Sui-Tang Period Tomb with a Stone Coffin-bed and a 'Screen' Discovered in Tianshui City" (in Chinese), *Kaogu* 1 (1992): 46-68.

Wang, Yintian and Junxi Liu. "Excavation of a Northern Wei Tomb with a Painted Stone Coffin Chamber" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 7 (2001): 40-51.

Wong, Frank, "Persians in China," August 10, 2000, [http://www.iranian.com/Letters/2000/August/chinese.html].

Wu Hung, "A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties," *Orientations* 34 (May, 2002): 34-41.

Wu Wenqi. "Painted Murals of the Northern Qi Period in the Tomb of General Cui Fen," *Orientations* 29 (June, 1998): 60-69.

Yang, Junkai. "Carvings on the Stone Outer Coffin of Lord Shi of the Northern Zhou," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 21-40. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Xi Mingcai. "The Northern Qi Stone-chambered Tomb with Incised Figures" (in Chinese), *Wenwu* 10 (1985): 49-54.

Xi'an Municipal Institute of Ancient Monument Preservation and Archaeology. "The Shi Sarcophagus Tomb of the Northern Zhou Period in Xi'an" (in Chinese), *Kaogu* 7 (2004): 38-49.

Xie Chengzhi and Zhang Quanchao. "DNA Evidence that Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty Taiyuan Was Europoid" (in Chinese), *Zhongguo wenwu bao* (June 11, 2004): 7.

Xiong, Victor Cunrui. "China: Dawn of a Gold Age. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 12 October 2004–23 January 2005," *AJA Online Publications* (January 2005) [*www.ajaonline.org/pdfs/museum_reviews/AJAonline_China_Dawn_of_a_Golden_Age.pdf*]: 1-10.

Yuanzhou Archaeological Joint Excavation in 1995. *The Tomb of Shi Daoluo of the Tang Dynasty: Excavation Report of the Joint Archaeological Team of Yuanzhou, part 1* (in Chinese and Japanese). Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan: 2000.

Yoshida Yutaka. "Sogdian Version of the New Xi'an Inscription," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 57-72. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Yu Taishan. *A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State.* ("Sino-Platonic Papers," 139), Philadelphia: Department of East Asian Languages & Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania, 2004.

Zhang Guangda. "Trois exemples d'influences mazdéennes dans la Chine des Tang," *Études Chinois* XIII/1-2 (1994): 203-219.

Zhang Qingjie et al. "The Yu Hong Tomb of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan," translated by Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Chinese Archaeology* 2 (2002): 258-268.

Zhang Qingjie. "*Hutengwu* and *Huxuanwu* Sogdian Dances in the Northern, Sui and Tang Dynasties," in *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, edited by Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, 93-106. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: 2005.

Zheng Yan. "Northern Qi Pictorial Carvings from Qingzhou and Sinicized Sogdian Art: an Observation Inspired by the Yu Hong Sarcophagus and Other New Archaeological Finds," in *Han Tang Zhijian Wenhua Yishu de Hudong yu Jiaorong (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period)*, edited by Wu Hung, 73-109 (in Chinese with English summary). Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House: 2001.

Zheng Yan, *Research on the Wall Paintings from Tombs of the Northern Qi* (in Chinese), Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2004.

LIST OF PLATES

Frontispiece. Bed excavated in Tianshui, Gansu: Banquet scene, panel 6 (Author's photograph)

1. Bed excavated in Tianshui, Gansu
   a. The bed as displayed in the Municipal Museum, Tianshui (after Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 305)
   b. Elevation drawing of the front view of the bed, showing the five rear panels, the base and five musician statues (After *Kaogu* 1 [1992], 47, fig. 2)
   c. Elevation drawing the left and right side panels of the bed (After *Kaogu* 1 [1992], 48, fig. 3)

2. Tomb and Bed of An Qie, excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi (all after Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb*)
   a. The bed as displayed in the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, Xi'an (pl. 1)
   b. Plan and section of the tomb (7, fig. 2)
   c. An Qie and his wife banqueting in a pavilion (pl. 51)
   d. Scenes of wine-drinking in a grape arbor and a lion and a boar hunt (pl. 44)
   e. An Qie meeting with a Turk (pl. 54)
   f. Drawing of painted lunette over the door to the burial chamber (17, fig. 13)

3. Bed of Kang Ye, excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi (all but a and b after Cheng, *The Kang Ye Tomb of the Northern Zhou*)
   a. Bed *in situ* with Kang Ye's clothed skeleton (after *People's Daily Online[www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/14562/3001275.html]*)
   b. Author's drawing of the bed indicating the subjects of the carved panels
   c. Kang Ye seated in a pavilion, drawing (32, fig. 29)
   d. Oxcart, drawing (29, fig. 26)
   e. Riderless horse, drawing (36, fig. 33)
   f. Riderless horse detail: the heads of a Central Asian groom and Kang Ye's horse (95, color plate 35, top)

4. Panels of the Anyang Bed (author's photographs)
   a. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.589
   b. Detail of MFA 12.589: tomb owner in grape arbor
   c. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.588
   d. Musée Guimet, Paris, EO 2062

5. Miho Bed, Miho Museum, Shigaraki (all but a after Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels")
   a. The bed assembled (after a slide, courtesy of Pieter Meyers, Los Angeles County Museum of Art)
   b. The riderless horse (250, B)
   c. The oxcart (255, K)
   d. The goddess Nana (254, J)
   e. The *sag-dīd* ceremony (252, F)
   f. Tomb owner and wife banqueting in a pavilion (253, E)

6. Kooros Bed, Musée Guimet, Paris (all after Musée Guimet, *Lit de Pierre*)
   a. Drawing of the bed reconstructed (32, fig. 39)
   b. The riderless horse (16, fig. 10)
   c. The oxcart (27, fig. 29)
   d. The tomb owner drinking from a rhyton (25, fig. 27)

7. Sarcophagus of Yu Hong, Excavated near Taiyuan, Shanxi
   a. Drawing of the sarcophagus (after *Wenwu* 1 [2001], 29, fig. 4)
   b. The riderless horse (after *Orientations* 35 [October 2004], 63, fig. 11)
   c. Drawing of the panel depicting Yu Hong and his wife banqueting in a pavilion (after *Wenwu*1 [2001], 37, fig. 19)
   d. Seated nimbate figure (after *Wenwu* 1 [2001], 49, fig. 40)

8. Sarcophagus of Shi Jun, excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi
   a. Southwest corner (after Rong and Zhang, *From Samarkand to Chang'an*, 59)
   b. Drawing of panels on the eastern wall (after *Kaogu* 7 [2004], 44, fig. 6)
   c. One of the birdmen on the southern wall (after Rong and Zhang, *From Samarkand to Chang'an*, 64)
   d. Drawing of panels on the northern wall (after *Kaogu* 7 [2004], 42, fig. 5)

9. Northern Wei Couch (both after Juliano and Lerner, "Stone Mortuary Furnishings")
   a. View of the couch (25-26)
   b. The oxcart (A2)

Judith A. Lerner, *Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China* ("Sino-Platonic Papers," 168, December, 2005)

Table 1. DATED BURIALS OF CENTRAL ASIANS IN CHINA

	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Date of Burial	Place of Burial	Where lived or served as *Sabao*	Other information from Epitaph or Tomb
KANG YE	501	571		Xi'an	Ganzhou (Zhangye)	No wife mentioned in epitaph/ Single skeleton in tomb
AN QIE	518	May 579 [1]	October 579	X'ian	Tongzhou (Dali, NE of Xi'an) [2]	No wife mentioned in epitaph/ single skeleton in tomb
SHI JUN	493	16 June 579	23 February 580	Xi'an	Liangzhou (Wuwei) d. in Xi'an	Buried with wife who died one month later; according to his epitaph, his three sons built his tomb so he was probably buried in a temporary grave
YU HONG	535	592	592 or 598	Taiyuan	Bingzhou (Taiyuan)	No wife mentioned in epitaph/ wife buried with him in 598 with her own epitaph

[1] Rendered as 571 in Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb of Northern Zhou at Xi'an (with an English Abstract)*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2003; in *From Samarkand to Chang'an,* the date is given as 579.

[2] I am grateful to Victor Cunrui Xiong for identifying this place name (private email message, 27 May 2005).

Judith A. Lerner, *Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China*
("Sino-Platonic Papers, 168, December, 2005)

Table 2. OCCURRENCE OF SPECIFIC SCENES AND MOTIFS

	Northern Zhou (550 – 577)			**Northern Qi** (557 – 581)		**Northern Zhou – Sui**	**Sui – Early Tang** (581 – 618 +)	
	KANG YE	AN QIE	SHI JUN	ANYANG	MIHO	KOOROS	YU HONG	TIANSHUI
Banqueting Couple in Pavilion		Once	Once	Twice	Once	In separate panels	Once	Once
Rhyton			Once	Once		Once	Perhaps on the base	Once
Sogdian Dancer		Twice	Once	Once	Once	Once	Once	
Hunt		Once	Once		Once	Once	Three times	Once
Riderless Horse	Once			Perhaps	Once	Once	Once	
Oxcart	Once	Twice			Once	Once		Perhaps
Sogdian Rituals/Deities		*No Ruz* feast in grape arbor; Priest bird-men and altar over entrance to tomb chamber	*No Ruz* feast in grape arbor; Činvat Bridge; Wešparkar; Mithra; Dēn; priest bird-men (Sraoš)	*No Ruz* feast in grape arbor	*Sagdīd* ceremony; Nana; Offering to Vakhš; priest bird-men on base (Sraoš)	Surya/Mithra (Kubera/Sraoš)	Mithra? Priest bird-men on base (Sraoš)	
Crossed-leg posture on hourglass-shaped stool ("pensive pose")						Once	Once	Once

LIST OF PLATES

4. Panels of the Anyang Bed (author's photographs)
   a. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.589
   b. Detail of MFA 12.589: tomb owner in grape arbor
   c. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.588
   d. Musée Guimet, Paris, EO 2062

5. Miho Bed, Miho Museum, Shigaraki (all but a after Juliano and Lerner, "Eleven Panels")
   a. The bed assembled (after a slide, courtesy of Pieter Meyers, Los Angeles County Museum of Art)
   b. The riderless horse (250, B)
   c. The oxcart (255, K)
   d. The goddess Nana (254, J)
   e. The *sag-dīd* ceremony (252, F)
   f. Tomb owner and wife banqueting in a pavilion (253, E)

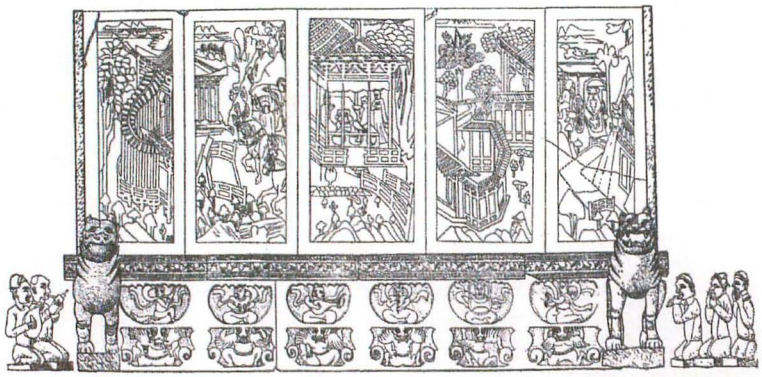
6. Kooros Bed, Musée Guimet, Paris (all after Musée Guimet, *Lit de Pierre*)
   a. Drawing of the bed reconstructed (32, fig. 39)
   b. The riderless horse (16, fig. 10)
   c. The oxcart (27, fig. 29)
   d. The tomb owner drinking from a rhyton (25, fig. 27)

7. Sarcophagus of Yu Hong, Excavated near Taiyuan, Shanxi
   a. Drawing of the sarcophagus (after *Wenwu* 1 [2001], 29, fig. 4)
   b. The riderless horse (after *Orientations* 35 [October 2004], 63, fig. 11)
   c. Drawing of the panel depicting Yu Hong and his wife banqueting in a pavilion (after *Wenwu*1 [2001], 37, fig. 19)
   d. Seated nimbate figure (after *Wenwu* 1 [2001], 49, fig. 40)

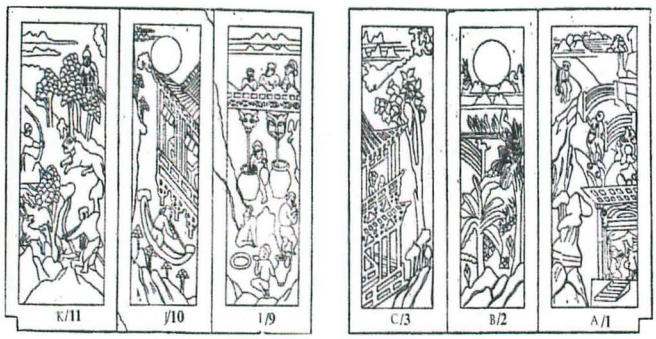
8. Sarcophagus of Shi Jun, excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi
   a. Southwest corner (after Rong and Zhang, *From Samarkand to Chang'an*, 59)
   b. Drawing of panels on the eastern wall (after *Kaogu* 7 [2004], 44, fig. 6)
   c. One of the birdmen on the southern wall (after Rong and Zhang, *From Samarkand to Chang'an*, 64)
   d. Drawing of panels on the northern wall (after *Kaogu* 7 [2004], 42, fig. 5)

9. Northern Wei Bed, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Museum Purchase, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 2005.7a/h. (both figures after Juliano and Lerner, "Stone Mortuary Furnishings")
   a. View of the bed (25-26)
   b. The oxcart (A2)

a. The bed as displayed in the Municipal Museum, Tianshui



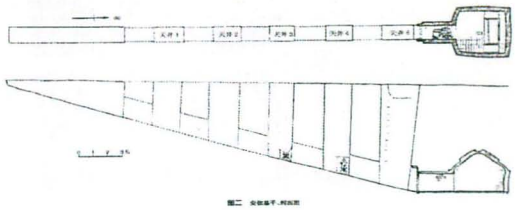
b. Elevation drawing of the five rear panels, 4-8



c. Elevation drawing of left and right side panels, 9-11 and 1-3

Plate 1. Bed Excavated in Tianshui, Gansu

a. The bed as displayed in the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, Xi'an

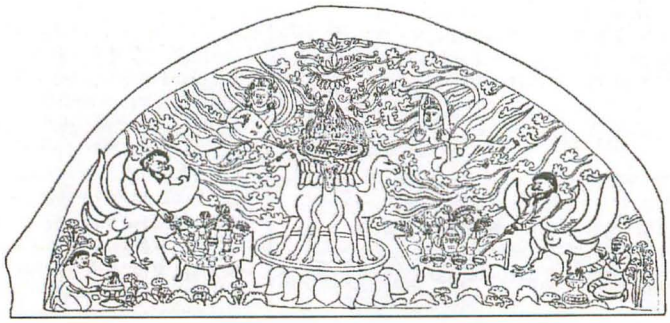


b. Plan and section of the tomb

c. An Qie and his wife banqueting in a pavilion

d. Scenes of wine-drinking and hunting

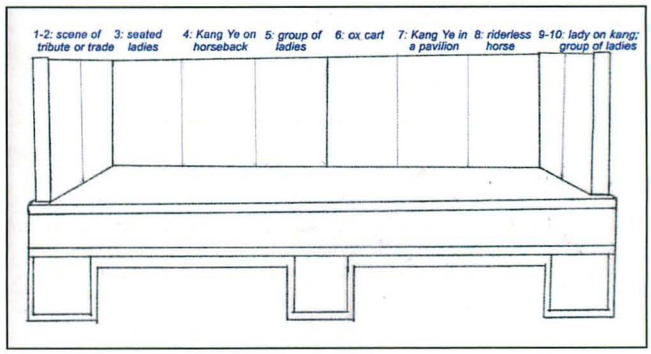
e. An Qie meeting with a Turk



f. Drawing of painted lunette over the door to the burial chamber

Plate 2. Tomb and Bed of An Qie, Excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi

a. Bed *in situ* with Kang Ye's clothed skeleton



b. Author's drawing indicating the subjects of the carved panels

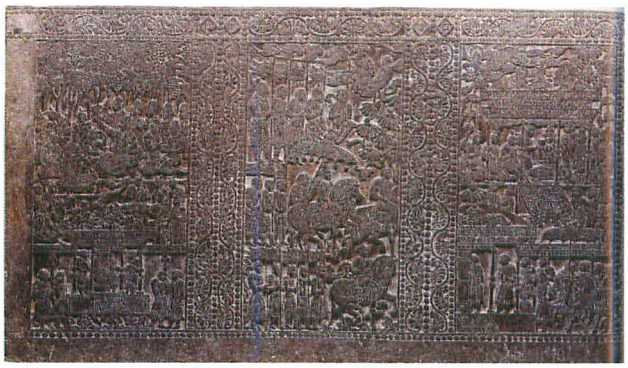
c. Kang Ye seated in a pavilion

d. The oxcart

e. The riderless horse

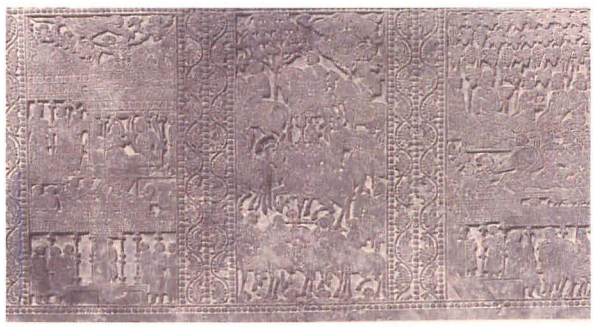
f. Riderless horse detail: Central Asian groom and horse

Plate 3. Bed of Kang Ye, excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi

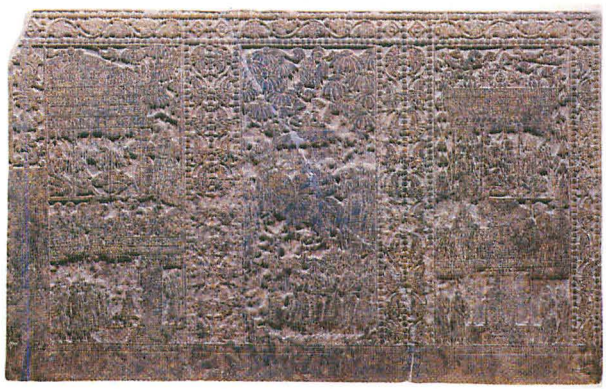


a. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.589

b. Detail of 12.589



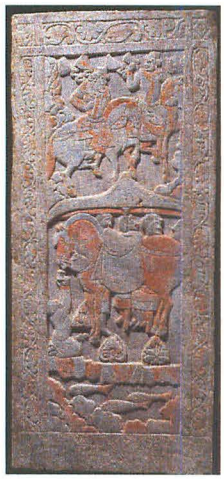
c. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.588



d. Musée Guimet, Paris, EO 2062

Plate 4. Panels of the Anyang Bed

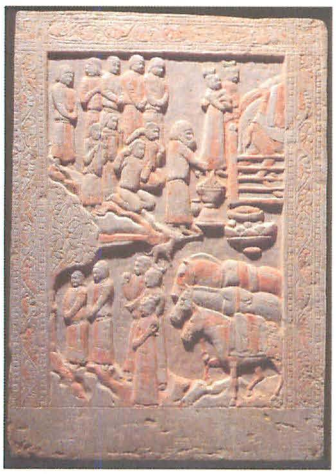
a. The bed assembled



b. The riderless horse

c. The oxcart

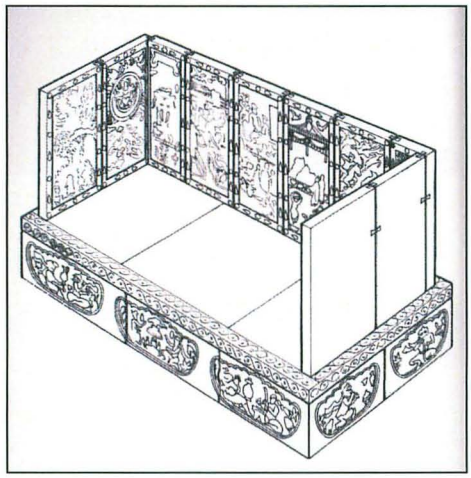
d. The goddess Nana



e. The *sag-dīd* ceremony

f. Tomb owner and wife banqueting

Plate 5. Miho Bed, Miho Museum, Shigaraki



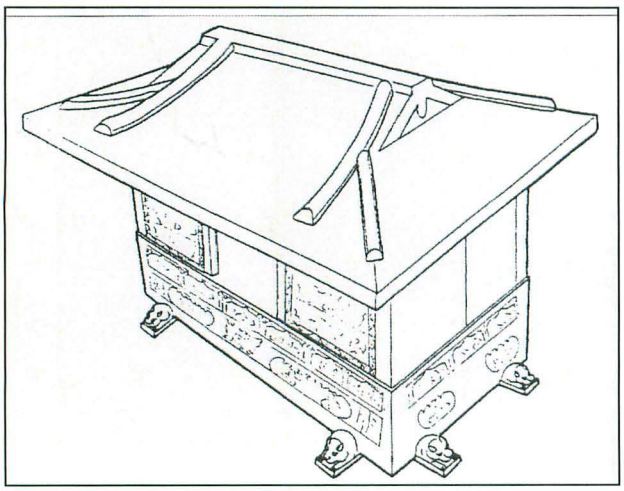
a. Drawing of the bed reconstructed

b. The riderless horse

c. The oxcart

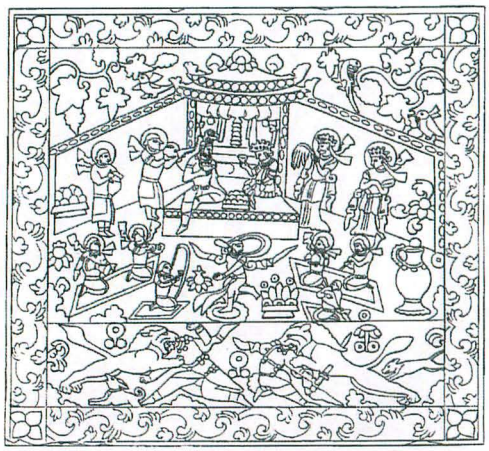
d. The tomb owner drinking from a rhyton

Plate 6. Kooros Bed, Musée Guimet, Paris



a. Drawing of the sarcophagus

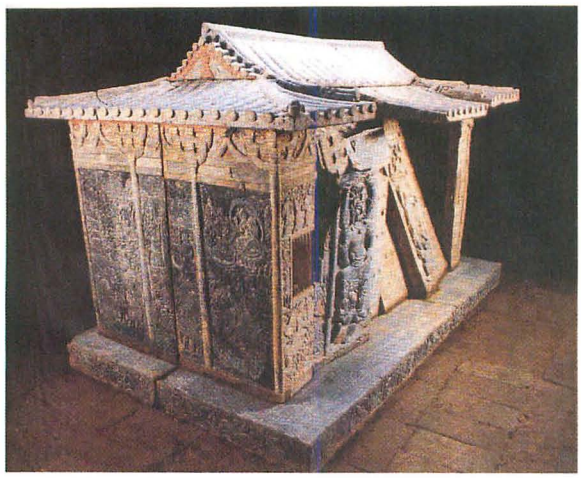
b. The riderless horse



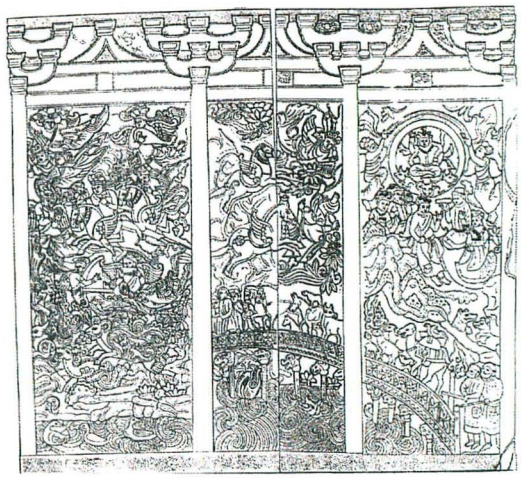
c. Yu Hong and his wife banqueting in a pavilion

d. Seated nimbate figure

Plate 7. Sarcophagus of Yu Hong, excavated near Taiyuan, Shanxi

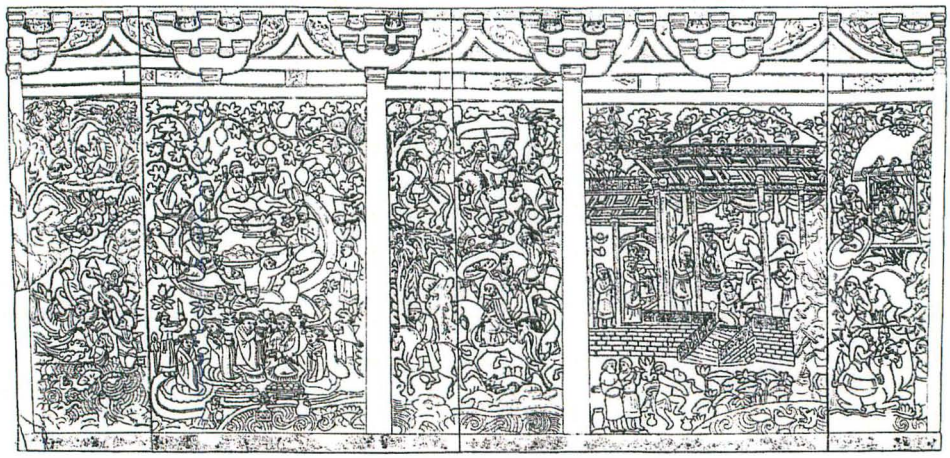


a. The southwest corner of the sarcophagus



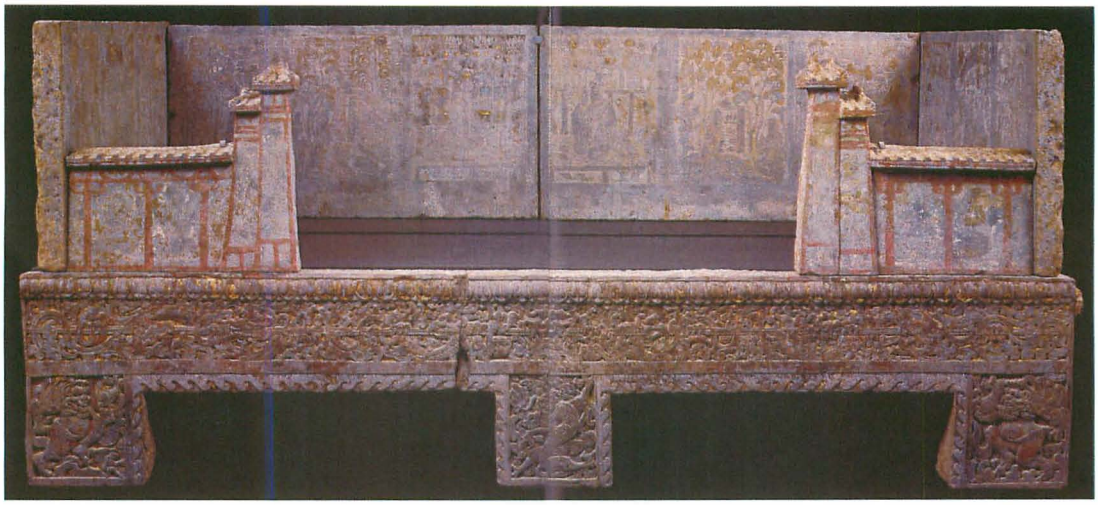
b. The eastern wall

c. Birdman on the southern wall



d. The northern wall

Plate 8. Sarcophagus of Shi Jun, excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi



a. The couch

b. The oxcart

Plate 9. Northern Wei Couch

Since June 2006, all new issues of *Sino-Platonic Papers* have been published electronically on the Web and are accessible to readers at no charge. Back issues are also being released periodically in e-editions, also free.

For a complete catalog of *Sino-Platonic Papers*, with links to free issues, visit the *SPP* Web site.

www.sino-platonic.org