



Shorter Notices

“Les Sogdiens en Chine—Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques” and Two Recently Discovered Sogdian Tombs in Xi’an

An international colloquium, “Les Sogdiens en Chine—Nouvelles découvertes historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques,” was held at the National Library, Beijing, on April 23–25, 2004. Organized by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Ecole française d’Extrême Orient, Beijing University, and the National Library of China,¹ the colloquium was accompanied by an exhibition, “From Samarkand to Chang’an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China,” which traced the history of scholarly writings on the subject. After the colloquium, several attendees traveled to Xi’an to see the three funerary monuments and associated materials of Sogdians who were buried in Xi’an in the latter part of the sixth century: that of An Qie, whose remarkable tomb was excavated in 2000,² and those of Shi Jun (figs. 1–6) and Kang Ye, both more recent discoveries.

How the colloquium papers contributed to a broader knowledge and deeper understanding of Sogdians outside of Sogdiana as well as provided insights into their interaction with other peoples was discussed by Étienne de la Vaissière in his concluding remarks and can be accessed online through the Sogdian-List site (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Sogdian-L/files/>). The aim of the present communication is to summarize the papers in brief and report on the tombs of Shi Jun and Kang Ye.

The Colloquium Papers

The presentation of the two tombs by Sun Fuxi, director of the Xi’an Municipal Bureau of Cul-

tural Relics and Archaeology, and Yang Junkai, also of the Xi’an Municipal Bureau, opened the proceedings and, not surprisingly, was one of its highlights. The tomb of the *sabao*, or leader of the Sogdian community, Shi Jun and his wife, which contained an extraordinary sarcophagus carved with scenes alluding to events in Shi Jun’s life, had until the colloquium not been well known, as only a limited discussion and photographs of the tomb and the sarcophagus reliefs had been published in Chinese journals since its discovery in June, 2003.³ A catalogue that accompanied the National Library exhibition presented the sarcophagus more completely along with Shi Jun’s epitaph stone, and also documented other Sogdian or Sogdian-related funerary monuments (the bed of An Qie and the sarcophagus of Yu Hong; the Sogdian cemetery at Guyuan, Ningxia) and epigraphic evidence of Sogdians in China (epitaphs and other inscriptions).⁴ The excavation of Kang Ye’s tomb was truly “breaking news,” as the tomb was still being excavated at the time of the colloquium. Fuller discussion of the tombs and their funerary furniture follows this synopsis of the colloquium.

Shi Jun’s tomb contained the only Sino-Sogdian bilingual epitaph stone so far known. Its careful reading by Yoshida Yutaka (“Sogdian Version of the New Xi’an Inscription”) offers a view into the life of an important member of the Sogdian community in China, whose Sogdian name was Wirkak and whose ancestors came from Kish (modern Shahr-i Sabz, Uzbekistan). Wirkak or Shi Jun, who died in 579, was given his title of *sabao* of Kachan (Guzang/Liangzhou) by the emperor. According to the Chinese version of the epitaph, his wife was also of Sogdian ancestry (her Chinese surname was Kang) and died one month after Wirkak; their three sons built their tomb, “in a suitable place” in Xi’an. Yoshida’s reading of the titles in the epitaph proves his identification of

Sogdian *sartapao*, the title borne by Wirkak's grandfather possibly while still in Sogdiana, with *sabao*. This shows, according to Yoshida, that there were two *sabao* titles, one the original Sogdian epithet meaning "caravan leader," and the other the sinicized title conferred by the Chinese emperor on the leaders of the Sogdian communities in China.⁵

Another significant philological discovery was made by Nicholas Sims-Williams in his paper, "Towards a New Edition of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." Written in the early fourth century by members of the Sogdian merchant colonies in western China (Dunhuang, Guzang, and perhaps Jincheng), the letters mostly concern commercial matters and name a variety of commodities. It had been puzzling, however, that silk seems not to have been mentioned in the letters, since it played an important role in the east-west trade. Sims-Williams showed that silk is in fact referred to, not by a word attested in later Sogdian, but by another term, *pirchik*, that derives from Khotanese. Sims-Williams also presented a new reading of Ancient Letter No. 1 and discussed No. 3, both sent by a woman abandoned in Dunhuang by her husband.

In "Caravans and Caravan Leaders in Palmyra," Albert E. Dien continued his exploration of the role of the *sabao*, a term derived from the Sanskrit *sārvavāha* ("caravan leader" or "merchant chief"), by looking at terminology used at the other or western end of the Silk Road in first- to third-century Palmyra. In "*Sabao* or *Sabo*: Sogdian Caravan Leaders on the Wall Paintings in Buddhist Caves," Rong Xinjiang continued his work on the distinction between these two titles in the Chinese sources, with *sabo* in the Chinese Buddhist canon being a transcription of the Sanskrit *sārvavāha* and appearing in Buddhist legend stories as a wealthy merchant, and *sabao*, the transcription of *sartapao* in Sogdian, undergoing the transformation from "caravan leader" to "colony leader." Rong proposed that the image of the *sabo* depicted in legend story paintings in caves at Kucha and Baicheng is not that of an Indian but a Sogdian, influenced by the Sogdians who both passed through the area and who settled there.

Also discussing visual or textual evidence of Sogdians in the Western Regions were Etsuko Kageyama, Valerie Hansen, and Jonathan Skaff. In "Sogdians in Kucha, a Study from Archaeological and Iconographical Material," Kageyama

concentrated on "finding" evidence of Sogdians in the cave paintings at Kizil, excavated ossuaries, and pottery with molded ornamentation. In "The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 500–800," and "A Preliminary Study of the Demographic Structure of Sogdian Households at Turfan," Hansen and Skaff, respectively, utilized the Chinese sources to reconstruct the economic and social structure of Turfan. In his analysis of household records and land grant holdings, Skaff discerned a pattern of assimilation along with elements of ethnic distinction.

The issue of assimilation—that is, the effect of Han culture on Sogdians and other non-Han peoples living in China and the Western Regions—was treated by other participants and was made palpable by the contrast in burial form and artistic style between the two newly known funerary monuments from Xi'an, to be discussed below. In "Chinese Official Rank of *Sabao* and Monumental Art of Stone Tombs," Jiang Boqin saw a link between the use of stone funerary beds and the official rank of the deceased, whether Han Chinese or foreign immigrants. Moribe Yutaka and Étienne de la Vaissière discussed the role of military officers and warriors of Sogdian origin in Tang China and later ("Military Officers of Sogdian Origin from the late Tang Dynasty to the Period of Five Dynasties"; "Chakars sogdiens en Chine"). Through a detailed analysis of documents from Dunhuang, Zheng Binglin explored the degree to which ethnic names and original culture, as well as the Zoroastrian religion, survived into the tenth century ("Non-Han Ethnic Groups and their Settlements in Dunhuang during the late Tang and Five Dynasties").

Using his translation of two fragmentary Chinese texts from seventh-century Turfan, Arakawa Masaharu ("Sogdian Merchants and Chinese Han Merchants during the Tang Dynasty") reminded us that the Sogdians, although the most active, were not the only mercantile group in China, but existed alongside Chinese Han and other Hu (non-Han or foreign, such as Arab and Persian) merchants. Along with the goods that the merchants transported were people, such as Buddhist monks, artisans, and entertainers, who moved with the caravans for convenience and safety. With both goods and people come ideas via texts and images. Angela Sheng discerned a connection between the house-like structure formed

by the embroidered silk curtains that constituted part of a royal funerary ceremony in seventh-century Japan and the sixth-century stone sarcophagi of Yu Hong⁶ and Shi Jun ("From Stone to Silk: Intercultural Transformation of Funerary Art Among the Sogdian, Xianbei, Han-Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Peoples Around 500–650 CE"). The spread of Manichaeism to the East via the Sogdian mercantile activities was treated by Rui Chuanming ("Practice and Its Transformation of Manichaeism in the East") and Ma Xiaohu ("Sogdian *t'mp'r* [Body]").

That religious syncretism was aided by the overland Silk Road trade (and undoubtedly by the southern sea route as well) was highlighted by Wang Ding's paper, "Nana in China—A New Reading of the Colophon to the Manuscript 65TIN:29, Xinjiang Museum," in which he identified Zoroastrian elements in the colophon of this Buddhist text and compared Nana to Xiwangmu, the "Queen Mother of the West"; he also listed a series of "Nana-names" found in Chinese texts from Turfan and Dunhuang and even posited a temple to Nana in Turfan. The syncretic nature of many of the images on the funerary furnishings of Sogdians in China is especially striking on the stone bed recently exhibited at the Musée Guimet and discussed by Pénélope Riboud.⁷ The iconography shows a special reliance on Indian religious imagery, specifically with that associated with the gods Surya, Vishnu, and Krishna, and reveals the influence of Gandharan and Bactrian art on that of Central Asia as well as China. The interaction between Zoroastrian and Chinese imagery, specifically the "flame-shouldered" beings on the bases of some of the stone funerary beds, was argued by Shi Anchang in "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."

Citing the literary and visual evidence of the Sogdian Ancient Letters, Sasanian texts, and the paintings from Sogdiana proper, that is, from Afrasiab and Kushaniya (the latter known only from Chinese sources), Frantz Grenet focused on the Sogdian world-view in "The Self-image of the Sogdians." He observed that nowhere in surviving Sogdian art is there any reference to trade, only perhaps its rewards (e.g., the harvest; banquets). Similarly, the reliefs that formed the walls of the funerary beds and sarcophagi of Sog-

dians buried in northern China, and which are in great part autobiographical, depict few, if any, scenes of trade.

Other papers treated the non-mercantile activities of Sogdians in China. Eric Trombert presented textual and visual evidence for Sogdians in China pursuing viticulture ("Un vestige de la présence sogdienne en Chine du Nord: Le vignoble du Shanxi"); Qi Dongfang showed the Sogdian elements in the metalwork found at Hejiacun, Xi'an ("The Hejiacun Treasures and Sogdian Culture"); Lin Meicun discussed the Sogdian inscription on a Turkish stone figure (*balbal*), dated to the beginning of the seventh century, which could reflect a Sogdian-dominated chancellery in the local Turkish court ("A Survey of the Turkic Cemetery in Little Khonakhai [Tianshan]"); and Zhang Qingjie and Duan Qing each offered a view of Sogdians as dancers. Using numerous historical and literary texts and visual representations of Sogdians dancing, Zhang ("Sogdian *Hutengwu* in the Northern, Sui and Tang Dynasties") traced the evolution of the two kinds of dance, the *hutengwu* ("Sogdian leaping dance") and *huxuanwu* ("Sogdian whirling dance"), differentiating them by their movements, geographical origins in Sogdiana, and performance by male or female dancers; Duan Qing ("Stories Behind *Jindou*") traced the source of a colloquial Chinese word that means "turn a somersault" and is a key word in *Journey to the West*, the late sixteenth-century Chinese fictionalized account of the Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang's travels to India in the seventh century, to a Khotanese term; she then identified the somersault with the jumping and cartwheel-like movements of the *hutengwu*.

Finally, in "Some Notes on Early Islamic Overland Itineraries to China," Pavel Lurje discussed toponymic and geographical aspects of the overland route between Transoxiana (Sogdiana) and Xi'an as gleaned from later Arab and Persian texts of the eighth–tenth centuries.

The colloquium papers are to be published in 2005 in both Chinese and English/French editions.

The Xi'an Discoveries

Thanks to the generosity of Sun Fuxi, Yang Junkai, the excavator of Shi Jun's tomb, and Cheng

Linquan of the Xi'an Institute of Archaeology and Preservation of Cultural Relics and the excavator of Kang Ye's tomb, attendees of the colloquium were able to study Shi Jun's sarcophagus, his epitaph stone, and some of the accompanying tomb goods at the Xi'an Municipal Bureau of Cultural Relics and Archaeology and also view Kang Ye's tomb while it was under excavation.

The Tomb of Shi Jun

A traditional Chinese shaft tomb, the tomb of Shi Jun (Wirkak) and his wife, Wiyāusī, contained a spectacular house-shaped stone sarcophagus, its outer walls covered with relief carvings that still bear traces of paint and gilding.⁸ Measuring 2.46 meters wide, 1.55 meters deep, and 1.58 meters high, the sarcophagus rests on a platform that extends on all four sides beyond the structure and is decorated on its vertical surface with a rinceau populated with various animals and monsters; directly in the center and below the entrance to the sarcophagus is a frontal ram's head above two outspread wings. The sarcophagus resembles a group of sarcophagi known from northern Chinese tombs of the fifth and sixth centuries that imitate in stone a traditional Chinese wooden structure that has wooden pillars supporting the characteristic architrave with double-arm and inverted v-shaped brackets, and a hipped tile roof.⁹

The sarcophagus entrance, carved to resemble a double wooden doorway with metal studs, is in the south wall and is flanked by two slabs, each divided in half by a pillar to form two rectangular panels (fig. 1). The panels closest to the entrance are each filled with a monumental four-armed guardian supported by a crouching caryatid figure. The two outer panels are each carved with a square window-like grill to the outer side of which stands a servant in Central Asian dress; in each area above the grill are the kneeling figures of three Central Asian musicians, thereby creating a six-man orchestra, while in the panel below each grill is a half-man, half-bird priestly figure, wearing the *padam* and tending a fire, known from the funerary furnishings of other Central Asians' tombs (fig. 2).¹⁰ The bilingual epitaph stone served as a lintel above the door (fig. 3).

The three other sides of the sarcophagus each contain essentially a single narrative scene or

groups of closely related narratives. They are not divided by borders into discrete self-contained scenes as are the reliefs that decorated the couches and Yu Hong's sarcophagus, but into three parts by the superimposition of the structure's columns. Like the couches and sarcophagus, Shi Jun's sarcophagus contains many of the scenes that we have come to expect in these Sogdian monuments: the hunt; the banquet with dancers and musicians; a meeting of important personages. But the scenes on these three walls are distinguished from those of the other monuments by their intensely biographical nature. Although many incidents shown on most of the couches and on Yu Hong's sarcophagus refer to the deeds and accomplishments of the deceased, those on Shi Jun's sarcophagus appear even more personalized, in that they seem to allude to a personal religious crisis and focus on eschatological issues not found on any of the other known funerary furniture of Sogdians. The meaning of the scenes on the east, west, and north walls remains open to interpretation; Yang Junkai pointed the way in his talk and writings, and there was much lively discussion in Beijing and Xi'an. What follows is a description rather than a complete iconographic interpretation of the scenes.

Starting with the west wall (fig. 4) and reading from right to left, a bearded deity is shown seated on a lotus; before him kneel a man and a woman, no doubt Shi Jun and his wife. They are joined by other figures, human as well as animal, who listen to this Buddha-like figure. In the center of the wall is a garden pavilion in which Shi Jun and his wife, both wearing crowns, sit with a child; below the pavilion a groom holds an umbrella over a saddled horse. A river begins its flow at the feet of the horse and runs almost to the left edge of the stone. To the left of this central scene, camels, donkeys, and men on horses move along the river bank, while in the distance, in a hilly landscape, mounted hunters pursue various prey.

The rear or north wall is divided into five scenes (fig. 5). On the far right (western) section, in the foreground, is an encampment scene with kneeling camels, donkeys, and horses, and in the background a tent that contains a man, sitting cross-legged and drinking from a cup, before whom a second personage kneels on a carpet and also drinks from a cup. The scene is reminiscent of the encampment scene with Turks on the



Fig. 1. Tomb of Shi Jun. South wall and entrance. The door is flanked by monumental four-armed guardians; the outermost panels each contain a priestly bird-man below and a row of musicians above.



Fig. 2. South wall, far right of the entrance, with one of the pair of priestly bird-men before a fire-altar.

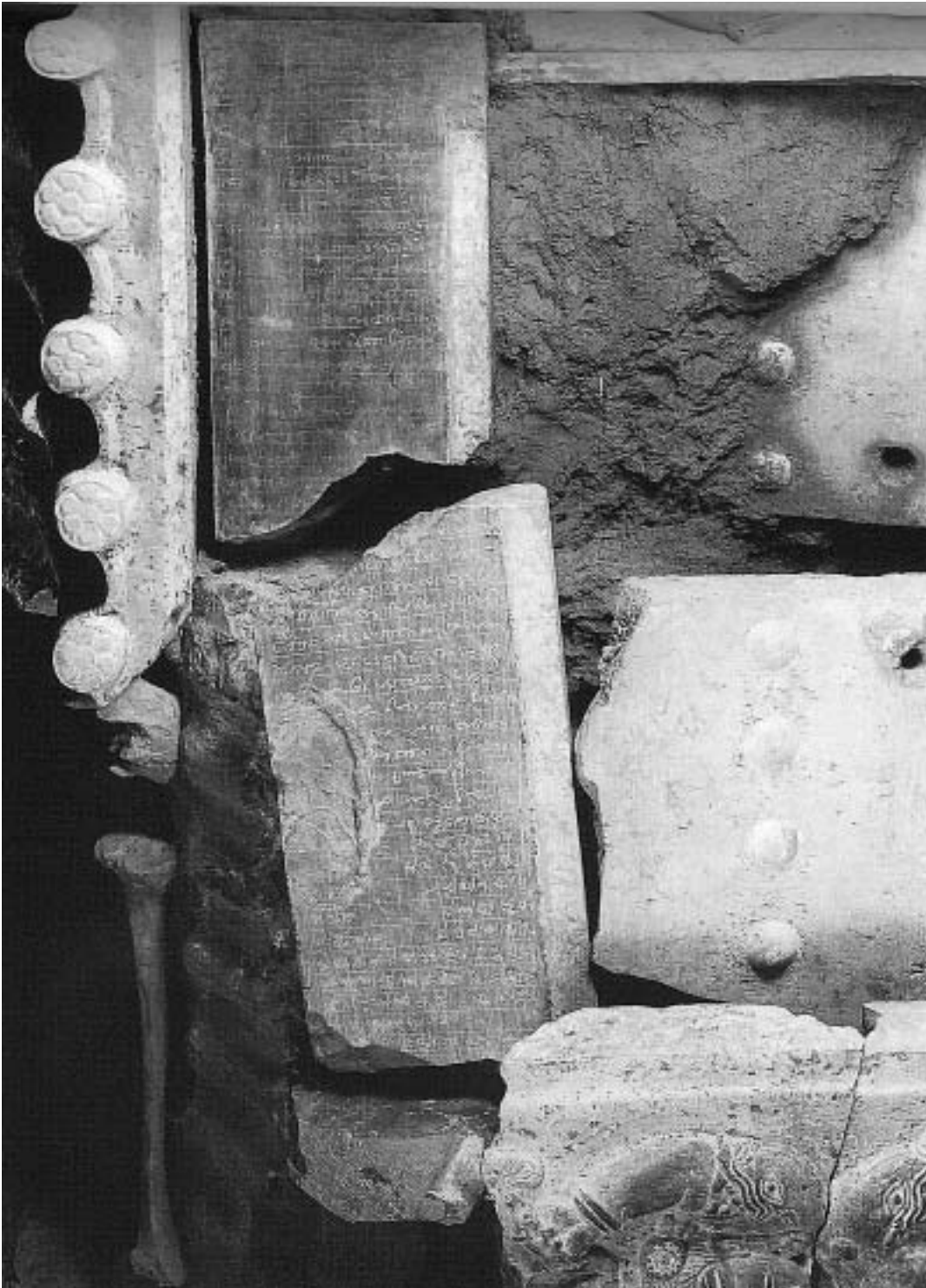


Fig. 3. Portion of the epitaph stone over the entrance to the sarcophagus, showing a part of the Sogdian version.



Fig. 4. West wall. In the upper right, a bearded deity sits on a lotus and preaches while in the center Shi Jun and his wife feast in a pavilion; to the left is a caravan and hunters pursuing game.

Miho couch¹¹ as well as the scene on An Qie's couch that commemorates his diplomatic visit with a Turkish dignitary.¹² To the left of this scene is an elaborate pavilion in which Shi Jun and his wife feast while entertained by musicians and a dancer. To the left of this, in the center of the wall and framed by the two architectural beams, the couple are shown on horseback at the start of a journey, he accompanied by several men, one of whom holds an umbrella above him, she with other women and a servant who holds an umbrella above her, the entire retinue led by

an armed horseman. On the left (eastern) part of this wall, the couple appear again, now beneath a grape arbor drinking along with several men, one of whom holds that quintessential Iranian vessel, a rhyton. At the bottom of the scene, as if in the foreground, women in Chinese dress banquet while others play musical instruments. The last scene, on the far left, shows in its upper portion, a cave in which an ascetic sits, his skeletal frame graphically depicted. Below, two figures (perhaps Shi Jun and his wife), who are swimming, confront two sea creatures; they raise their



Fig. 5. North wall. From right to left is an encampment, Shi Jun and his wife banqueting and entertained by musicians and a dancer, the couple on a journey and in a grape arbor; on the far left an ascetic with the figures of Shi Jun and his wife below, in the river.

hands in fear, as *apsaras* fly toward them as if to save them.

The east wall is perhaps the most significant part of the sarcophagus as it shows the passage of Shi Jun and his wife over the Cinvat Bridge into the Zoroastrian Paradise (figs. 6, 6-a).¹³ The bridge fills the lower two-thirds of the wall; at its entrance on the far right (north) are two Zoroastrian priests carrying barsoms, two fires, and a pair of dogs. Pack animals walk across the bridge, led by Shi Jun, his wife, and smaller figures, either grooms or their sons. Beneath the bridge, which is supported by posts terminating in animal monster heads, a pair of monsters raise their heads from the swirling water.

Above the bridge and above a zone of mountains, Shi Jun and his wife, now wearing winged crowns and kneeling on carpets, are greeted by three crowned female figures who emerge from behind the mountains; these may well be the

Daēnā who meet the souls of deceased and lead them into Paradise. Overseeing these figures and contained within a circle is a frontal male deity, shown holding a trident and seated crossed-legged upon three kneeling bulls; he is flanked by two winged attendants or *apsaras* who float outside the circle and hold a billowing cloth over the god's image. The god appears to be Weshparkar, the Sogdian god of the atmosphere. The sky to the left of this scene is filled with clouds, lotus flowers, *apsaras*—some of whom play instruments—and four winged horses, an apparent allusion to Mithra's quadriga. Between the horses and the scene of Weshparkar and the deceased, towards the center of the wall, a figure with a topknot plunges backwards, as if falling from the sky into the monster-infested waters below. At the left lower portion of the wall the turbid waters beneath the bridge give way to calmer ones populated by ducks, while along the bank rams



Fig. 6. East wall showing the crossing of the Cinvat Bridge and Shi Jun and his wife feasting in Paradise; the god Weshparkar in the upper right greets the deceased and the sun god Mithra in his quadriga appears to the left.

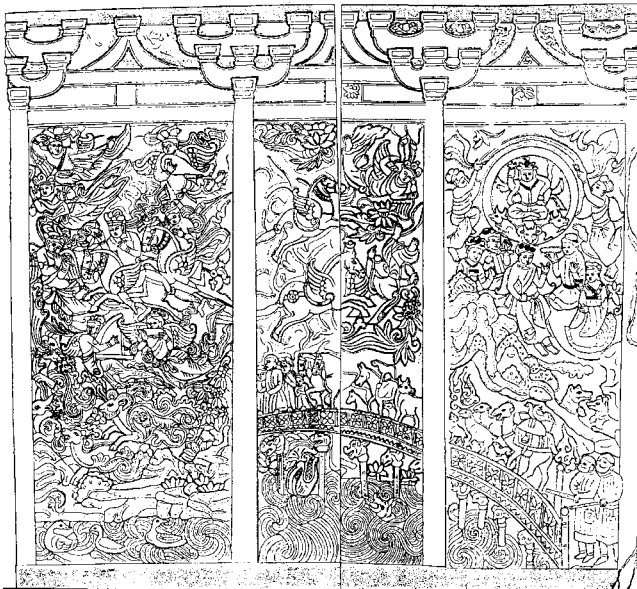


Fig. 6-a. Drawing of the east wall.

run beneath hovering *apsaras* and two of the winged horses.

The allusions to other religions—Buddhism, Manichaeism, Hinduism, and Daoism—in the Zoroastrian context of the actual burial and the subject matter of the reliefs on the north and south walls of the sarcophagus suggest that Shi Jun or his sons wished to record his spiritual journey, perhaps from apostasy to his return to the Zoroastrianism of his ancestors. Whether or not this interpretation proves accurate, the sarcophagus is a poignant document of one man's life and spiritual journey.

The sarcophagus contained a coffin comprised of five slabs of stone, of which four extended above the roof to resemble eaves. According to the excavators, the walls of the inner coffin were painted with cinnabar to resemble wooden architectural elements. The tomb had been robbed, and the bones of the deceased were scattered inside and outside the sarcophagus; animal bones were also found, along with a gold ring with turquoise stone, an earring,¹⁴ a Byzantine coin, and fragments of a ceramic lamp.

The Tomb of Kang Ye

Located in the northern suburbs of Xi'an, not far from that of An Qie, the tomb of Kang Ye is also a shaft tomb with double doors decorated with metal studs and *taotie* door knockers. The epitaph stone was placed above the door, similar to the way in which Shi Jun's epitaph was placed above the door to his sarcophagus. According to the report given by Sun Fuxi, the inscription identifies Kang Ye as "a descendant of the royal family of Kang, kings of Samarkand." Kang Ye claims many generations of ancestors who were appointed Chinese officials; he held various official positions and after his death in 571 was awarded a very high rank, that of provincial governor of Ganzhou (modern Zhangye, Gansu).¹⁵

His epitaph seems not to mention a wife and, indeed, he was interred alone on a stone bed, dressed in a belted garment, most likely of silk, grasping a coin in his hand. That his skeleton was clothed is evidence of immediate burial rather than of the traditional Zoroastrian practice of exposure. Of all the funerary beds so far identified as belonging to Sogdians or perhaps

more accurately Sogdian descendants, Kang Ye's is the most "Chinese" in content and style.¹⁶ Supported on a base that is embellished with squatting lions at each end, a central monstrous figure, and rinceaux enclosing dragons, felines, and other creatures, the bed is screened by four slabs, one on each side and two at the rear; two scenes decorate each of the sides and three each of the two rear slabs. Some of the scenes show aspects of Kang Ye's life: engaged in a transaction, perhaps tribute, that involves bundles of silk and is overseen by Chinese officials; mounted on horseback; seated in a Chinese pavilion. Some of these scenes include Central Asian servants or grooms, their western features clearly exaggerated. In addition to the deceased seated in a pavilion, two other scenes are known from both Sogdian and Chinese funerary art: the oxcart and the riderless horse.¹⁷ In whichever scene he appears, Kang Ye consistently wears Chinese dress and a Chinese-style beard. Additional scenes depict women in Chinese clothing: two of a seated lady (either two different personages or the same) and a procession of women.

The dark grey stone is similar to, if not the same kind as, that of An Qie's bed, but the treatment of the carving is entirely different. Instead of the vigorous relief of the An Qie panels, the Kang Ye panels utilize simple incision in the manner of the stone beds and sarcophagi of the sixth century that display typical Chinese funerary imagery.¹⁸ In contrast to the intense coloring of the An Qie panels and the extensive use of gold for the background of the scenes, little paint seems to have been used (although much of the color may not have survived), and gold foil has been sparingly applied, in some areas seemingly at random, in others to indicate specific features, such as the three bracteates that decorate Kang Ye's hat.

Compared to all other known funerary monuments (including the Tianshui bed), Kang Ye's bed reveals a level of assimilation with Chinese culture in the late sixth century (Northern Zhou period) heretofore not encountered among Sogdians or Sogdian descendants living in northern China. We look forward to the fuller publication of Kang Ye's tomb and to further publication of Shi Jun's, as well as to that of the as yet unexcavated Sogdian tombs in Xi'an and elsewhere to provide a more complete picture of the Sogdian

community and this important transitional period in Chinese history.

Notes

The photographs accompanying this article are after the references cited below in n. 4: *From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China* and Kaogu 2004.7.

1. The organizers were Eric Trombert and Étienne de la Vaissière in Paris and Alain Arrault and Rong Xinjiang in Beijing.

2. Shaanxi Archaeological Institute, "Excavation of the An Jia's Tomb of the Northern Zhou in Xi'an," *Wenwu* (2001.1), pp. 4–26 (in Chinese); Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Anjia Tomb of Northern Zhou at Xi'an (with English Abstract)* (Beijing, 2003); Rong Xinjiang, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: a Depiction of the Daily Life of a Sabao," *Orientalia* 34 (February 2003), pp. 32–35.

In the first articles about the tomb and its bed the deceased's name was given as *An Qie* (e.g., Yin Shenping et al., "Notes on the Excavation of the Tomb of An Qie," *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4 [December 2000], pp. 15–29). Subsequent authors, however, have given the name as *An Jia*. During the visit to Xi'an and after, Victor Mair pointed out that *An Jia* is "a modern mispronunciation of his personal name." The character should be read as *Qie* in Modern Standard Mandarin and not given the Mandarin pronunciation *Jia*, which has "no historical basis for the Six Dynasties or Tang periods." (See vmair@sas.upenn, "Sogdiana" e-mail message to "the Ad-Hoc, Mini-Sogdian List" May 12, 2004.)

3. Han Hong, *Wen Hui Bao* (26 August, 2003), p. 2; Yang Junkai, *Zhongguo Wenwu Bao*, (29 September, 2003), p. 1; *ibid.*, *Wenwu Tiandi* 11 (2003), pp. 26–29; *ibid.*, "A Preliminary Investigation on the Eastern Panels from the Tomb of Shi Jun in the Northern Zhou Period," *Yishu shi yanjiu [The study of art history]* 5 (2003), pp. 189–98 (in Chinese).

4. Yang Junkai, "Newly Discovered Burials of Sogdian Community Leader [sic] in China: A Preliminary Decoding of the Illustrations on the Stone Sarcophagus of the Sabao Shi of Liangzhou Dating from the Northern Zhou Dynasty," in *From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China*, ed. Rong Xinjiang and Zhang Zhiqing (Beijing, 2004), pp. 17–26; 59–65 (in Chinese). See now Xi'an Municipal Institute of Ancient Monument Preservation and Archaeology, "The Shi Sarcophagus Tomb of the Northern Zhou Period in Xi'an," *Kaogu* (2004.7), pp. 38–49 (in Chinese)

and "Sogdian People Known from a Stone Sculpture Object," *Wenwu* (August, 2004), pp. 102–15 (in Chinese); "The Legend of Sogdians on Carved Stone," *Civilization* 8 (2004), pp. 104–15 (in Chinese); "The Shi Tomb of the Northern Zhou Period in Xi'an," in *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2003* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House), pp. 132–39 (in Chinese and English); see also *Wenwu* (2005.3).

5. It is of interest that Kish is also the homeland of the Shi family of Guyuan whose graves date from 609 to 678, and whose members include *sabaos*, a cavalry general of the palace guard, a governor of a Prefecture in charge of military affairs, a manager of a military horse farm, and a translator in the Imperial Secretariat (Luo Feng, "Sogdians in Northwest China," in A. L. Juliano and J. A. Lerner, *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th–7th Century* [New York, 2001], pp. 239–40). Like Wirkak, the Shi of Guyuan tended to marry women with family names that reveal their Sogdian ancestry (Kang and An), and the oldest family member buried in Guyuan, Shi Shewu, claimed two *sabaos* in his lineage, a great-grandfather and grandfather. His epitaph, however, is ambiguous (perhaps purposely) as it is difficult to tell whether these ancestors served as caravan leaders in Sogdiana or were leaders of the Sogdian community in China (see Zhang Guangda's translation, in *Monks and Merchants*, p. 257).

6. Shanxi Institute of Archaeology, "Excavation of Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan, Shanxi," *Wenwu* (2001.1), pp. 28–52 (in Chinese); Zhang Qingjie, "A Preliminary Study of Relief Carvings on the Stone Sarcophagus of Yu Hong at Taiyuan," in Wu Hung, ed., *Between Han and Tang. Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period* (Beijing, 2001), pp. 3–28 (in Chinese with English summary).

7. P. Riboud, "Description du monument" and "Quelques remarques sur l'iconographie religieuse du monument," in Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre, sommeil barbare*, Paris, April 13–May 24, 2004 (Paris, 2004), pp. 15–32 and 43–47. This presentation replaced her scheduled paper, "Rendre une culte à la divinité Xian: quelles religions étaient pratiquées dans les communautés d'Asie centrale en Chine?"

8. It seems that the area was a cemetery, possibly a completely Sogdian one; the locations of more than 40 additional tombs, as yet unexcavated, have been plotted. I owe this information to Yang Junkai, who showed us a map of the area.

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

10. The lintel over the door to An Qie's tomb, the White-Levy funerary bed base, and the sarcophagus base of Yu Hong. See A. L. Juliano and J. A. Lerner,

Shorter Notices

"The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries," *Orientalia* 32 (October 2001), p. 61, fig. 8 (An Qie) and p. 58, fig. 5 (White-Levy base); *Wenwu* (2001.1), p. 45 fig. 31 and p. 46, fig. 36 (Yu Hong). See also F. Grenet, "Mithra, dieu iranien: nouvelles données," *Topoi* 11 (2004), p. 40 and p. 53, fig. 10 for a 7th-century example on an ossuary from Afrasiab.

11. Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, p. 309, fig. K.

12. See n. 2 for references to An Qie's bed.

13. A fuller analysis of this and the south (entrance) wall of the sarcophagus has recently been published by Frantz Grenet, Pénélope Riboud and Yang Junkai, "Zoroastrian Scenes on a Newly Discovered Sogdian Tomb in Xi'an, Northern China," *StIr* 33.2 (2004), pp. 273–84.

14. The earring has parallels in Sasanian Iran.

15. As of December 2004, the only publication of Kang Ye's tomb has been in November 2004: Yang Yonglin in *Guangming ribao* (November 15, 2004); 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," *Zhongguo wenwu bao* (November 24, 2004), p. 1 (all articles in Chinese). I owe these citations

and copies of these articles to the generosity of Victor Mair.

16. Until this discovery, the bed from Tianshu (Gansu) had seemed the most "Chinese" in appearance. Although the bed was excavated, the tomb in which it was found apparently yielded no epitaph stone to identify its occupants. However, the tomb most likely belonged to a Sogdian and his spouse, despite the absence in the eleven panels of the couch of overtly Zoroastrian visual references and the consistent depiction of garden landscapes in the panels which recall the format of later Chinese vertical landscape scrolls and actual Chinese gardens. Its identifying "non-Chinese" features are the inclusion of hunting and feasting scenes, and, most tellingly, a male figure seated in a non-Chinese-style pavilion who drinks from a rhyton (Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, pp. 304–8).

17. See P. Riboud, "Le cheval sans cavalier dans l'art funéraire sogdien en Chine: À la recherche des sources d'un thème composite," *AAs* 58 (2003), pp. 148–61.

18. A. L. Juliano and J. A. Lerner, "Stone Mortuary Furnishings of Northern China," in Gisèle Croës' exhibition catalogue *Ritual Objects and Early Buddhist Art* (Brussels, 2004), pp. 14–55.

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