

# IMAGES OF THE EARLY TURKS IN CHINESE MURALS AND FIGURINES FROM THE RECENTLY-DISCOVERED TOMB IN MONGOLIA

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The comparison of costume materials of the early Turks in the east and west of their territories following the dissolution of a single Qaghanate is of great interest. Their costume, especially that of the elite, changed significantly under the influence of both internal and external factors (Yatsenko 2009).

Our subject here will be depictions from the Shoroon Bumbagar tomb in Baiannuur sum, Bulgan aimag, Central Mongolia, excavated in 2011 (Fig. 1.1-2). The anthropomorphic images of this site (in the murals and the burial figurines made by the provincial Chinese artists) have been completely published (see esp.

Ochir et al. 2013; Sartkojauly 2011), but they undoubtedly will continue for a long time to be the subject of scholarly analysis. This is the northernmost location where there is an extensive series of works by early medieval Chinese artists created at the site. The murals, executed by artists of varied skill, are in all sections of the structure except section IV [Fig. 1.3] (Ochir et al. 2013, Figs. 5, 19). On the right side of the walls (as one faces the burial chamber), which is the more significant in traditional societies, priority was given to the display of the more complicated subjects and related symbols. We will not dwell here on the iconography of these scenes.

On each side of the entrance corridor (section I) are analogous compositions of the genuflection to three banners on the part of four standing men (Nos. 1-4 counting from the entrance). They include on each side a "master of ceremonies" [Fig 2.1], the only individual with a sword, dressed in a red or brown caftan, who stands on one side of the banners. On the other side of them are two praying men of different height

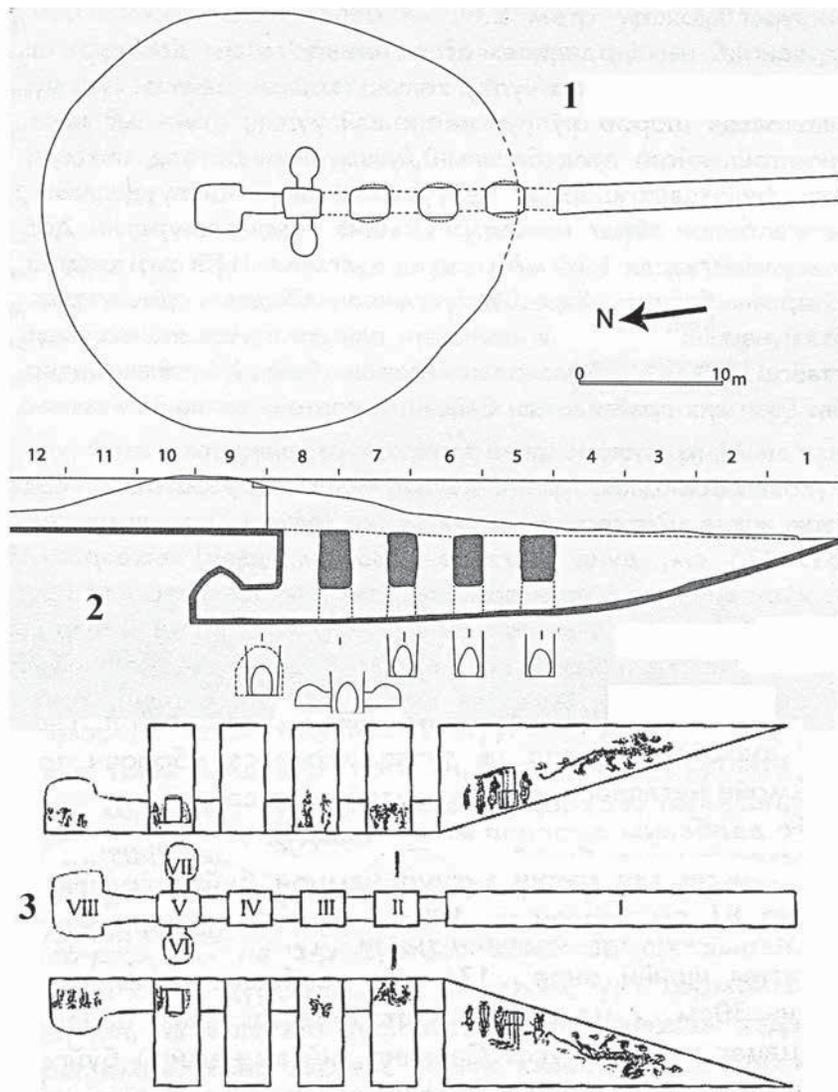
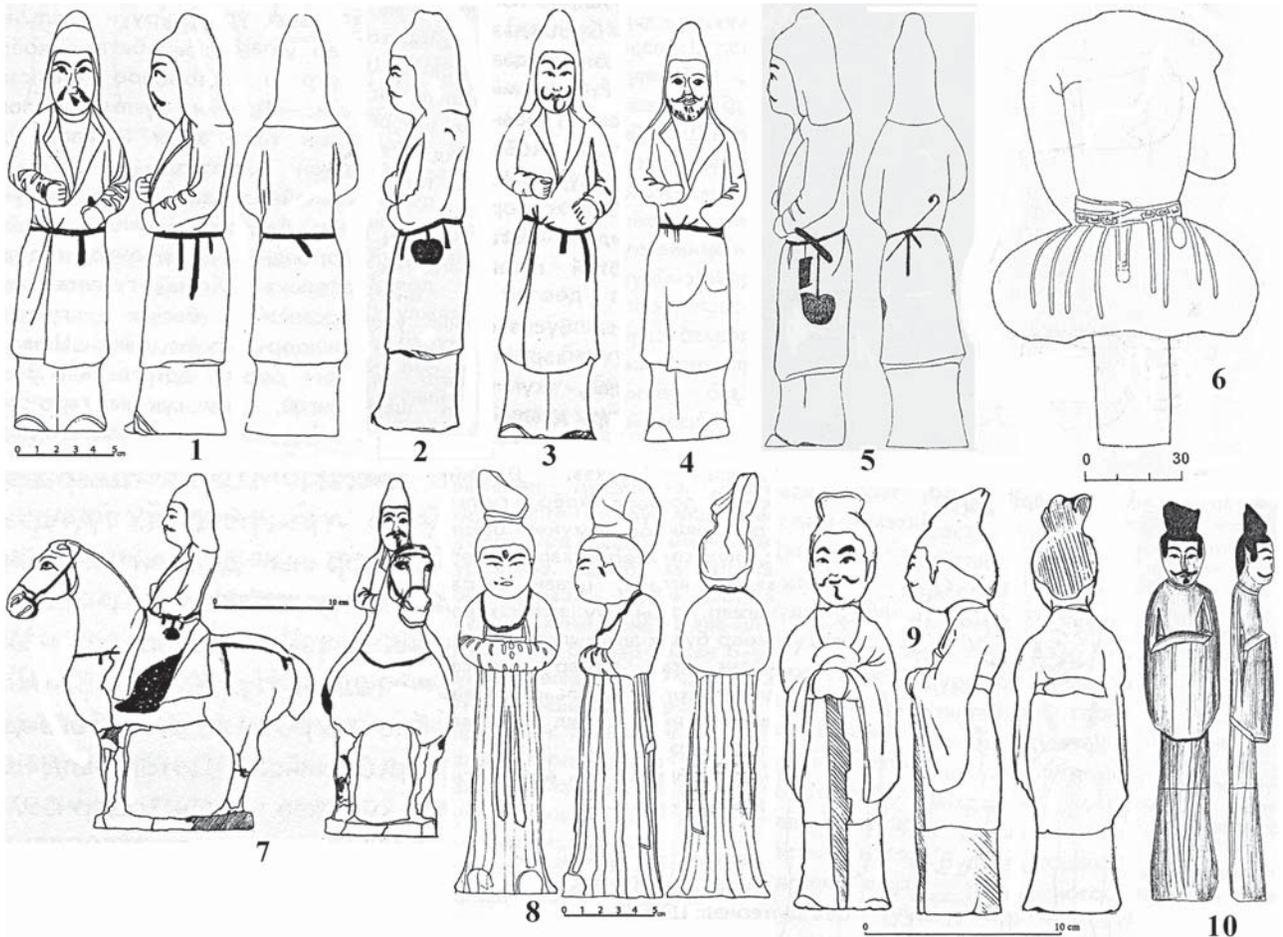


Fig. 1. Plan of the barrow and crypt in Shoroon Bumbagar. After: Ochir et al. 2013, Figs. 5, 19.



Fig. 2. Costume details from the wall painting and terracotta in Shoroon Bumbagor. After: Ochir et al. 2013.

Fig. 3. Some types of burial mingqi terracotta from Shoroon Bumbagor and from Omogoor Tash (6). After: Ochir et al. 2013.



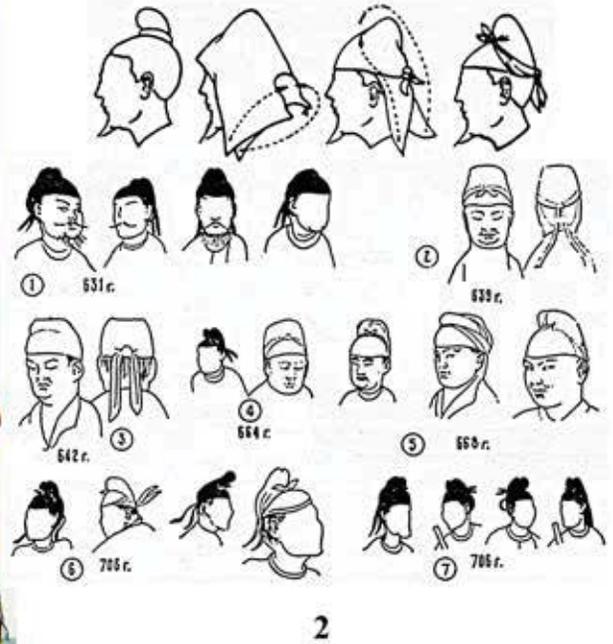
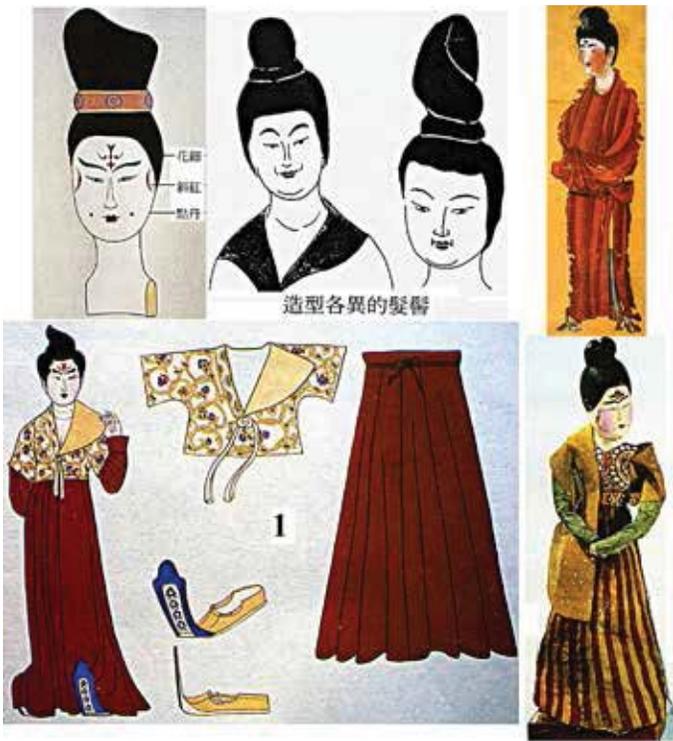
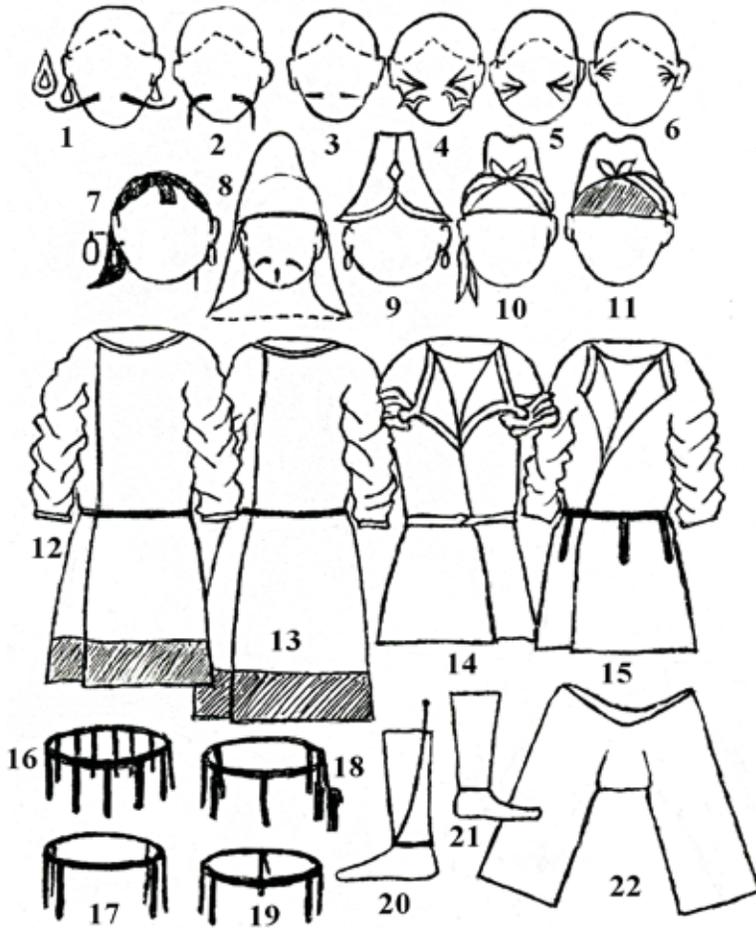


Fig. 4. Chinese analogies for the female costume (1) and the means of tying up "putou" headdresses (2) (1 - After: Li 1995, pp. 153, 159, 193; 2 - After: Kriukov et al. 1984, pp. 159-60).

< Fig. 5. Male costume elements of the early Turks in Shoroon Bumbagor.



(and age?), with crossed hands, dressed in gray-green caftans. In between the two is a personage in a red caftan [Fig. 2.2], standing with hands clasped in the Chinese manner. The costume of all the participants in these scenes is quite similar [Fig. 2.1-2.8]. That is, they have caftans of a single color somewhat below the knees in length, with a wide collar without lapels, tightly fastened on the chest and below the belt with buttons, wrapped over in the Chinese manner on the right side and sewn along the bottom hem with a wide, somewhat darker selvedge. Their sleeves (markedly longer than the arms) are gathered at the cuffs by buttons [Fig. 5.12]. Under them is a white shirt with a narrow horizontal collar. Also specifically a Chinese fashion are the complete "putou" headdresses, gray in color, with the 7<sup>th</sup>-century technique of tying them [Figs. 4.2; 5.10-11] (see the plates in Kriukov et al. 1984, pp. 159-60).<sup>1</sup> The boots are of a rather light color, tied with thongs around the ankle (they are black only on the "master of ceremonies" on

the left side) [Fig. 5.20]. They have black leather belts (no buckles or tie straps are visible), which can have as many as 12 unevenly spaced hanging straps (on the second personage on the left) [Fig. 5.16], from 4-8 on a side. The ends of the belt itself hang down in front and in back. Only the third figure on the left lacks the hanging straps entirely.<sup>2</sup> The men are beardless, but have moustaches of three kinds: very long and slightly curled on the ends, saturated with a pomade (on both of the masters of ceremonies and on right figure no. 2 and left no. 3) [Fig. 5.1]; long and hanging (no. 2 on the left) [Fig. 5.2]; and short horizontal (no. 3 on the right) [Fig. 5.3]. On the left master of ceremonies are drop-shaped earrings [Fig. 5.1]. The figure farthest from the entrance on the right points with his hand in the direction of the burial chamber.

On each side of the corridor of the following section II we see a “groom” leading a horse (of the deceased?). These youths, who lack moustaches, apparently are of lesser rank, although they are dressed very impressively. In contrast to the figures in Section I, their costume has no elements of Chinese origin [Fig. 2, Nos. 5.7,9,14,21]. On the caftans of both (folded over following the ancient tradition on the left side) are two lapels with a button on the tip. Sleeves are rolled up for engaging in work; on the figure on the left, the left hem of the caftan is tucked in, displaying white trousers [Fig. 5.14]. They have red boots, tied with thongs at the ankle [Fig. 5.21]. Even the shape of the faces differs from the faces of all the other men: they are not elongated but wide and flattened. Their caftans are red and (as was specific to the Early Turks) blue with black or white linings respectively. The white belts have no supplementary ties. The figure on the right (pointing with his hand in the direction of the burial chamber) has a red headdress in the shape of a low, truncated cone, sewn from four “petals” with rounded lower edges; on the forehead is sewn an amulet (?) [Fig. 5.9]. Such a headdress is so far unique for the early Turks, though known on depictions of later Turks. The left groom is one of only two of the men shown with straight hair (both of them on the left side from the entrance): he has long hair to the shoulders; the brow is partly shaved, leaving in the center a small forelock [Fig. 5.7]. Both grooms wear oval-shaped earrings.

In the next compartment, section III, are depicted on both sides what are possibly family members of the deceased (Ochir et al. 2013, Fig. 27, Pl. 26). Unfortunately their images have been poorly preserved: the colors have faded; the surface of the wall is partly damaged. On the right a man, dressed like the figures in the entrance corridor, section I, says something to a woman standing to his left in a Chinese costume of

that period and points also with the right hand in the direction of the burial chamber. On the left (the side of lesser stature) the images are just barely and very badly preserved to the level of the chest: a youth in the center, a girl to his left (and of shorter stature) in Chinese costume [Fig. 2.7], and to his right (on the “male side”) possibly a boy of short stature (the figure is barely visible). The youth in the center has no moustache, sports a *putou* headdress, but like the left groom, wears a white caftan with two lapels (buttoned on the tips) on a red lining. Under the caftan is a white shirt with a narrow horizontal collar. In other words, elements of his costume are in part similar to those of the men in the entrance corridor (section I), in part those of the young grooms. He has drop-shaped earrings, turned upside down.

In the burial chamber itself (section VIII) are two groups of wall paintings. In one of them are the mourners and those praying for the soul of the deceased who are of junior status and the younger relatives and faithful servants (?). Left of the entrance is a symbolic row of men and women (7 of them preserved), the predominant color of their attire red. Each of them prays separately next to a tree. The tallest figure is man who heads the group, praying with arms crossed on his chest. Like the figures in the entrance corridor, he wears a tightly buttoned red caftan to the knees and dark boots. But he lacks the headdress; instead of it we see his shoulder-length hair combed back. The second figure, also a man in a longer (almost to his heels) red caftan [Fig. 5.13], has on his head a black *putou*. He points ahead, his sleeve ritually hanging loose below the hand. Then there are two women of equal stature with clothes and coiffure typical for Chinese women of the 7<sup>th</sup> century [Fig. 2.11, the better preserved of the two]. The fifth individual is a man, dressed identically to the second figure. He prays with his arms crossed on his chest [Fig. 2.3]. The sixth figure is a short girl (her height indicating either her status or age); the seventh, a woman, again of normal height. All the women have long-sleeved jackets, the sleeves ritually allowed to hang loose. The left hand of figures 4 and 6 extend forward.

On the other side of the walls of the burial chamber are three young men without moustaches (all are different heights). Unlike all the other figures, they are not standing still but walking, with hands crossed at the chest and flowing sleeves. On their heads they have the *putou*. On the cheeks of each of them is a specific drawing in black paint or a tattoo [Fig. 5.4-6]. On the cheek of the lead one are two signs – in the shape of a trefoil (“growing” from the eyes) and below it, one shaped like “the silhouette of a flying gull.” On the brows of the middle figure is a small sign shaped

like a sprout with four leaves, “growing” toward the eyes. The last one in the row has a mark also shaped like a sprout on the cheek, “growing” away from the eyes. The first two wear long (almost floor-length) caftans in blue and red, under which can be seen the toes of boots. The rearmost individual has a red caftan that is shorter, extending a bit below the knees [Figs. 2.4; 5.13].<sup>3</sup>

The second important group of images from the tomb is the terracotta burial figurines common in China in that period (*mingqi*). They were positioned in a complex composition in the burial chamber. In front were 13 figurines of standing Chinese women in fancy dress [Figs. 2.12, 3.8]. Their costume, coiffure and makeup (the marks on the face, etc.), like those on the murals, correspond to widely known Chinese models [Fig. 4.1] (see concrete analogies to this tomb, e.g., Li 1995, pp. 153, 159, 193 etc.). Then in three columns/rows were 15 standing Turk horsemen, many of them playing horns (of several different types) [Figs. 2.6, 3.7]. At the back, along the wall of the burial chamber were 37 figures of standing male Turks [Figs. 2.9; 3.1-5], several of whose left (!) hands, by good fortune, still holding the wooden staffs of banners (Ochir et al. 2013, pl. 37) and even partially their fabric. Alternating with them in a single row (at varying intervals) were 40 terracotta standing Chinese officials, leaning on staffs [Figs. 2.10, 3.9]. In addition, there were four wooden figurines of officials with red caftans [Fig. 3.10] and nine figurines and busts of Chinese women [Fig. 2.13]. The figures of each group were crafted following a single iconographic type, but are not identical. They differ not only in small details of the faces drawn freehand (and apparently in some haste), but also in some instances in the color of the décor of some details of the clothing.

Among the terracotta figurines of particular interest for us are the standing Turkic standard-bearers. They are conventional types, grown men with small, somewhat drooping moustaches (in two cases, the moustache is longer; only in one case out of the 36 does it bend upwards) (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 58, 113, 126). They display a barely noticeable band of a small beard on the chin<sup>4</sup>; only in one instance does this “typical” small beard cover the chin (Ibid., p. 57). The figures are dressed in red-brown caftans extending to the knees and folding over slightly in Chinese fashion to the right. The sleeves of the caftan are longer than the arms and, gathered at the wrist, lie in folds. It has two lapels; along the upper edge sometimes there is a decorative band on which is visible a white lining [Fig. 5.15]. Worn under the caftan is a white shirt with a horizontal collar. On analogous and synchronic terracotta *mingqi* from the territory of China proper, among

the rare depictions of Turkic figures, the standing notables have a longer caftan without sleeves that serves as a cloak (Yatsenko 2009, Figs. 20–21). The caftan of the standard-bearer is made of inexpensive material, apparently of brown silk, which in the 7<sup>th</sup> century fell out of favor among the Turkic elite and is found among peripheral groups in entirely ordinary burials (Ibid., n. 23). It is close in appearance to an example on an as yet rare figurine of an ordinary person, where, however, the surface treatment underscores the fact it is made of animal skins (Ibid., Fig. 22).<sup>5</sup>

On the head of the standard-bearer, the headdress is shaped like half an egg, with a wide and elongated projection on the back of the neck [Fig. 5.8], of the type which in Mongolia and China became widespread starting in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries in the time of domination by the descendants of the nomadic Xianbei. In one instance it is known on an early Turkic statue in Mongolia (Yatsenko 2009, Fig. 26); we also see it on *mingqi* from China which depict members of the Turkic elite (Ibid., Fig. 20). The long, wide white trousers do not reach the ground; from under them can be seen the toes of shoes. Drawn on the figurines is a black belt with hanging straps. This detail is the only one in which the artist (and patron), unlike in the mural, felt it necessary to vary somewhat the design [Fig. 5.17–19]. Here we see a belt significantly longer than the circumference of the waist and wrapped twice around it. In addition one end is fastened by a buckle, which hangs in front. Only on five of the terracottas was the buckle apparently on the side (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 57, 59, 67, 88, 115). The other end of the belt, which is tucked in and has a distinctive decorative tip, always hangs down from the back. For comparison, see the back of the statues from the Bilge qaghan complex in Mongolia and in Omogoor Tash [Fig. 3.6]. In addition, besides the two hanging ends of the belt, there are several short hanging straps for the fastening of various necessary accessories. In the majority of cases there are three on each side, six altogether.<sup>6</sup> These items suspended from the belt on the left are depicted on two terracottas—a small pouch (*kaptarga*), in one case also a whetstone (?), and a pencil-box (*kalamdon*) (?) [Fig. 3.2,5].<sup>7</sup>

There are fewer equestrian musicians than standard bearers. The elements of their costume and coiffure are the same in both groups. There are three hanging straps on each side of their belts. However, the color of the headdresses and caftans on the musicians is entirely different, the Turks’ sacred blue of the sky god Tengri (cf. in Samarkand; Yatsenko 2004). A pouch is suspended from the left side of the belt on only one figurine, and its caftan is longer than that of the others, covering the trousers. Possibly this individual has a

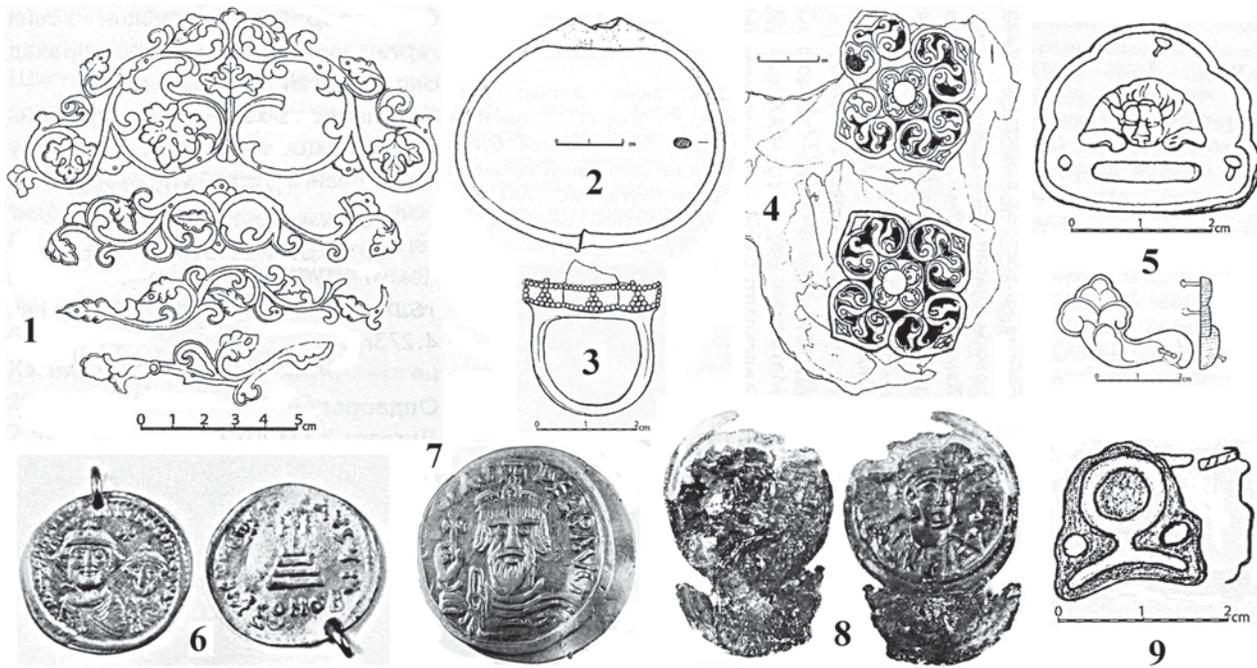


Fig. 6. The golden personal accessories (1-5), some Byzantine coins and their imitations (6-8) and the tamga-sign (9) from Shoroon Bumbagor (After: Ochir et al. 2013).

somewhat different status than do the rest.

The burial chamber contained a wooden coffin with a symbolic arrangement of the accessories of a no longer extant cremated body, whose remains were placed in a special small box. In the coffin were elements of the costume of its elite owner—fragments of a caftan with large gold appliqué which decorated the breast [Fig. 6.4], appliqué for the diadem, made of bronze and covered in gold foil [Fig. 6.1], gold bracelets and a signet ring [Fig. 6.2-3], gold parts of a belt, among them appliqué depicting a recumbent bull and stylized clouds [see for example Fig. 6.5], etc. The diadem with bronze decorations seems rather modest, and such obligatory attributes of the Early Turkic rulers as large earrings and a torque are absent. Buried in this tomb was a representative of one of the noble clans of the Eastern Turks. Fortunately, on one of the gold plaques is his tamga-sign, of a very rare type [Fig. 6.9].<sup>8</sup>

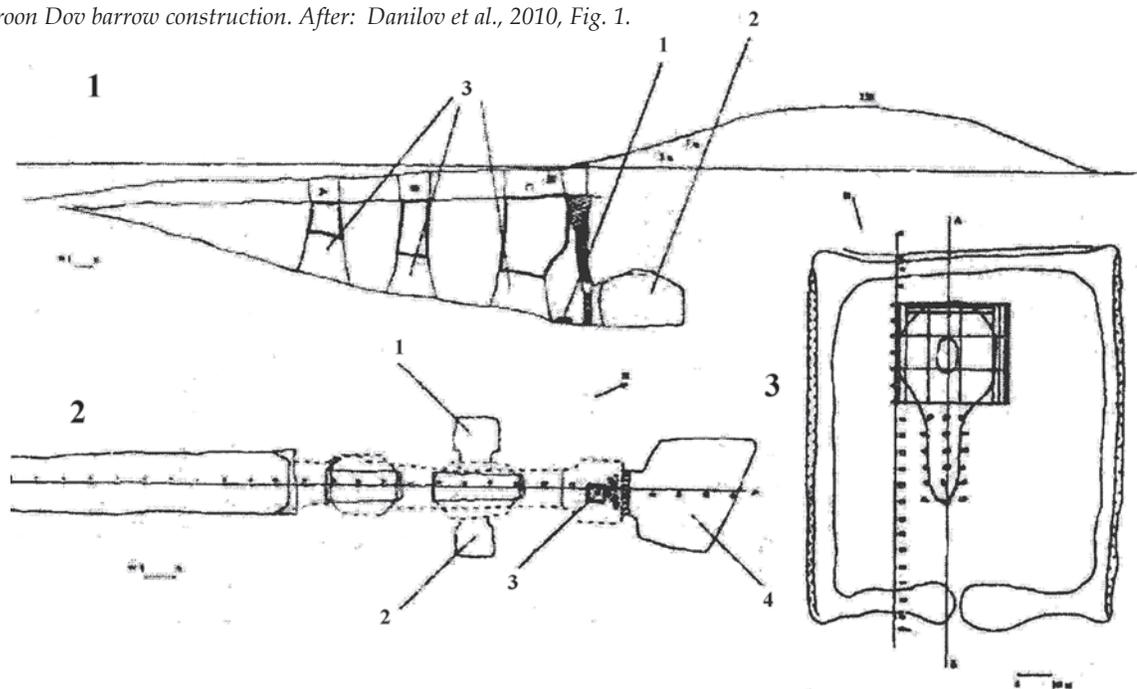
In the costume of the early Turkic men in the various depictions of Shoroon Bumbagor we see new elements which appeared precisely in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, after the collapse of a unified Qaghanate: two lapels on the caftans, the almost complete disappearance on them of a decorative selvedge, the appearance of clothing with a blue color, the predominance in each object of clothing of fabric of a single color. In addition, preserved here are earlier features which on other depictions of the 7<sup>th</sup> century no longer are present (on the most important

figures—the tight buttoning up of the caftans and in one instance its brown color) (Yatsenko 2009).

Unfortunately, dating the barrow more precisely within the 7<sup>th</sup> century presents many difficulties. Of little help is the identification of several Byzantine gold coins and their imitations [Fig. 6.6-8].<sup>9</sup> Most important for any hypothesis here are the Chinese elements in the tomb: the Chinese features in the dress of the Turkic men (in particular the *putou* headdress, and the folding of the caftan to the right, elements which ordinarily were borrowed by foreigners of various origins temporarily or permanently living in China [Yatsenko 2012, p. 111]); the presence of figurines of Chinese officials; the completely Chinese appearance of all the women; the employment for the decoration of the tomb of Chinese painters and potters. The barrow realistically can be dated only in the period when the Eastern Turks had lost their independence and become part of the Tang Empire (630–682 CE). In the opinion of Dmitrii Stashenkov (Samara Museum), judging from the shape of the horse harness and belt details, it can be dated after the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. That is, Shoroon Bumbagor may actually date between 650 and 682 CE. However, as is well known, even Iangar Kemin, the founder of the Eastern Qaghanate, provided an example to his subjects, having worn the Chinese *putou* and the long-sleeved coat since 604 CE (Yatsenko 2009).

How is one to explain the presence in the burial chamber of depictions of Chinese officials and the exclusively Chinese appearance of the women? The most probable explanation seems to be that the in-

Fig. 7. Shoroon Dov barrow construction. After: Danilov et al., 2010, Fig. 1.



terred in his lifetime had long been on (military) service of the Tang Empire, lived and possibly died in China proper, had Chinese wives (and, of course, the Chinese servants attending them), and his lifestyle and tastes were strongly Sinicized. This situation was, it seems, rare. Indicative is the fact that the burial *mingqi* of Turkic individuals from ethnically Chinese regions at that time, unlike other ethnic groups depicted on such figurines (Yatsenko 2012, pp. 103, 111), often do not change their external appearance (clearly wishing to preserve their cultural identity). In many instances their costume is entirely devoid of any Chinese elements (Yatsenko 2009). Precisely thanks to the long personal connection of a specific Turkic aristocrat with China, for his burial in his distant homeland, in the fastnesses of the steppes of Northern Mongolia, a complex was created that was unusual for that region. In the costume (Yatsenko 2013, Figs. 1, 9) and overall in the culture of the Western Turks in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, such obvious manifestations of Sinicization are not to be found.

The given tomb obviously is not unique in containing a large number of products of Chinese art. In 2009 only a few kilometers from it in the neighboring Töv Aimag was excavated the Shoroon Dov barrow, which had an analogous construction [Fig. 7]. This was a grave, looted in antiquity, containing a symbolic burial of two coffins, one inside the other, but without the body, with an array of wooden and clay *mingqi*. There were no murals. The Chinese epitaph on granite commemorates the burial here in 667 CE of I Yaoyue, a third generation hereditary Chinese vicegerent

of the Pugu region whose grandfather began his career in the Imperial Guard back at the time of the birth of the Tang Dynasty. Here the equestrian musicians have two types of iconography: analogous to those described above; and wearing the *putou* and sporting a thick small beard. All that has been preserved of the wooden figurines of the Chinese officials is busts [Fig. 8] (Danilov et al. 2010, Fig. 2.1-2.5; Buraev 2013).

Fig. 8. Clay (1-2, top row) and wooden (bottom) *mingqi* from Shoroon Dov barrow. After: Danilov et al., 2010, Figs. 2.1-2, 5.

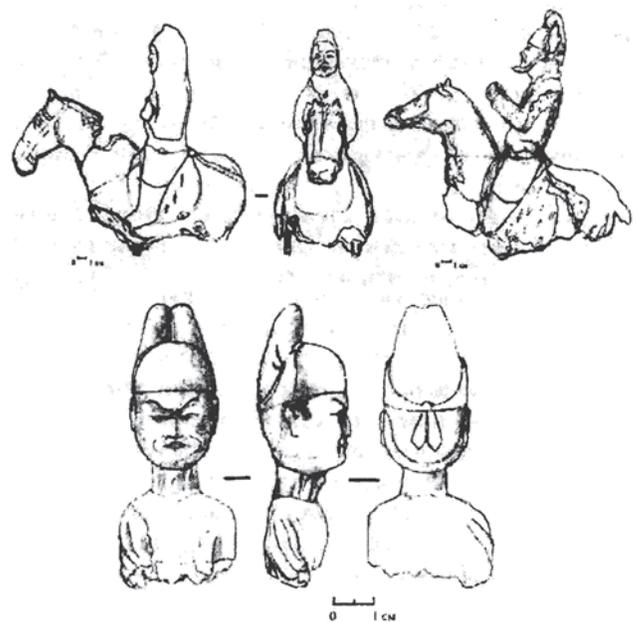




Fig. 9. Woman with child *mingqi*,  
Richard Stern Foundation for the Arts  
<<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451565/>>.

Of no little interest are the presumed early Turks among the *mingqi* of the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries depicted in recent auction catalogs and found in a number of museum and private collections. Many of them have yet to attract the attention of specialists. Here, to illustrate, I make use of the photo series published in <<http://www.pinterest.com/>>.

As is well known, few realistic depictions of women from that period with detailed costume have been preserved. For the most part these are probably depictions of the Goddess Umai in stone and her analogue, the wife of the ruler, on the coins of the Tashkent Oasis (Chach). Other female figures are very rare (Yatsenko 2013, Fig. 9).

Thus a terracotta of a Turkic woman, sitting on a camel and breastfeeding an infant, in the collection of the Richard Stern Foundation for the Arts, is of great interest. To a considerable degree it preserves its coloring [Fig. 9]. The woman, with a generous figure and full face, is dressed in a caftan which slides off the shoulders. Under it she wears a red shirt with a vertically cut collar (?) and rolled up sleeves; fastened under the bodice is a long white skirt. Also she wears wide white trousers, below which are red shoes. On her head is a rather high headdress shaped like half an egg. She has short hair (in back the locks do not

extend lower than the base of the skull). On her wrists she wears narrow bracelets. The figure of the baby is also interesting, dressed only in a very short shirt with long sleeves. Another example, where the combination of costume elements has no analogue among the known depictions of peoples of Central Asia, is a female camel rider (not colored) from a grave dated 625 CE, probably depicting a Turkic girl [Fig. 10]. She likewise wears a skirt that is fastened up high (here it is apparent that its length extends slightly below the knees), a shirt with a slit and long sleeves and boots. Her hair is combed straight and gathered in a knot on the crown. In her left hand she holds a large, flat flask probably for *kumys*.



Fig. 10. Girl *mingqi* from the grave dated by 625 CE <<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451543/>>.

Among the terracotta equestrian musicians are an interesting example of the early 8<sup>th</sup> century from the Metropolitan Museum [Fig. 11, next page], another sold in February 2013 in the Giafferi Auction of Asiatic Arts in Paris [Fig. 12], and several figurines of young men without moustaches [Fig. 13]. Their belted knee-length caftans are red, white or black. Usually the breasts of the caftans are not distinctly delineated, even when the lower flaps are separated, and the gar-



Fig. 12. Horseman mingqi, Giafferi Auction of Asiatic Arts, Paris <<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094260570/>>.



Fig. 11. Horseman mingqi, Metropolitan Museum <<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094260568/>>.

ments can be interpreted as shirts. On one figurine the caftan has a small “Chinese” fold to the right and two narrow lapels [Fig. 13.3]; on another, the sleeves of the caftan are rolled up [Fig. 13.1, right]. Trousers, of middling width, are white; in one case, brown. Sometimes they are tucked into shoes, in other cases, boots, and in one case are worn over shoes. Headdresses usually are the same color as the caftans and vary in shape. Some are low, in the shape of half an egg or with a sharp tip and wide projection on the back of the skull [Figs. 11, 12, 13.2]. Such were widespread among the Xianbei as early as the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries in the eastern steppes and northern China. On others there is a rather high cone with externally folded flaps [Fig. 13.3], on whose sides are two slits. Also, one finds a gray (felt?) tight-fitting small cap whose wide ear flaps are tied under the chin [Fig. 13.1].

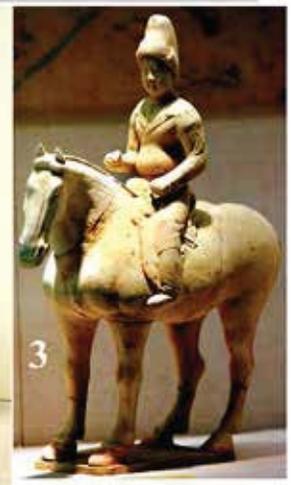
Fig. 13. Young horsemen mingqi <<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094260522/>> ; *Ibid.*: <...573/> and *Ibid.*: <...604/> (the left horseman).



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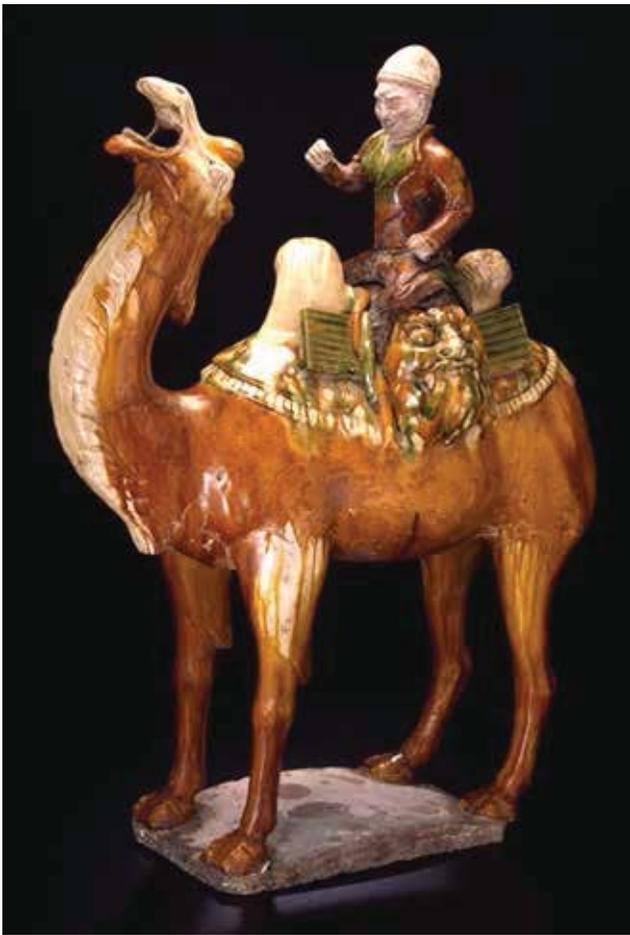


Fig. 14. Camel rider mingqi, Institute for the Arts, Chicago <<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451530/>>.

A pair of figurines with what are assumed to be Turks riding camels is very interesting. One of these *mingqi* is in the collection of the Institute for the Arts, Chicago [Fig. 14]. There one sees on the man a dark red short caftan with two large lapels (ending in large buttons, which are favorite details on depictions of Turks) and with a green lining. On the head is a closely fitting small white cap. The other figurine [Fig. 15] depicts what one imagines to be a hunter (on the hump of the camel is fastened the skull of some animal). His caftan with two lapels extends below the knee and has a wide selvedge along the bottom hem. His narrow trousers are tucked into shoes. He has small moustaches and a small thick beard. His unusual headdress is a hat with a high crown and wide brim. Such hats are known on petroglyphs of the Early Turks (Yatsenko 2013, Fig. 4.6).

As a whole, the *mingqi* which depict what we assume are the early Turks display a number of surprises and notably help us to determine more precisely their external appearance.

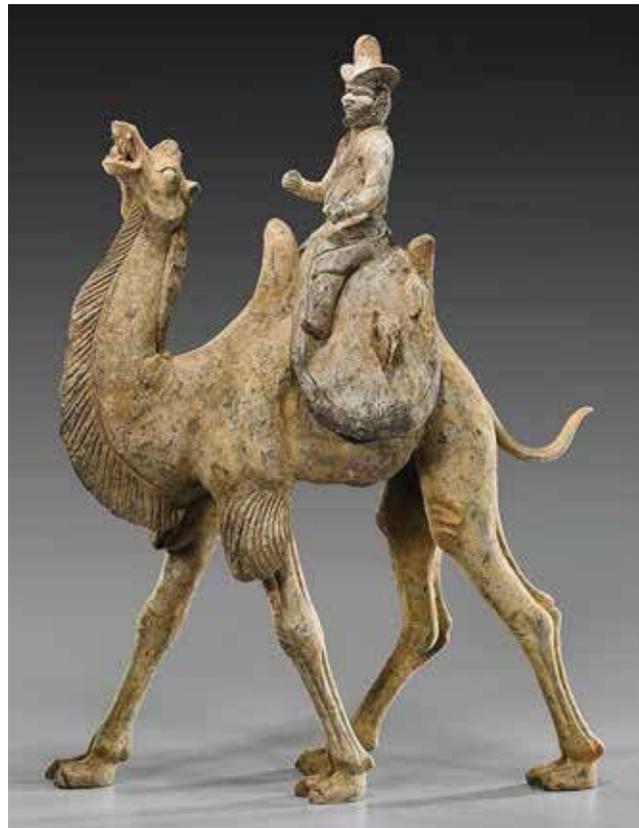


Fig. 15. Hunter mingqi <<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/575616396094451556/>>.

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## Notes

1. The manner of the tying of the ends of this in fact still distinct kerchief nonetheless varies: on the figures in gray-green caftans, the ends drop down from the forehead (and the lower part of the kerchief on the forehead of one of them is of a darker cloth) [Fig. 5.11], and on the others, they are in back at the base of the skull [Fig. 5.10].
2. It is interesting that even in this part of the murals with the more detailed and realistically depicted small details (the treatment of the eyes, of the details of the earrings etc.) nowhere have metal details of the belts (buckles, appliques) been drawn, even though among early Turkic men these were the most important indicators of social rank.
3. The artist initially dressed him in an even shorter (knee-length) caftan, but then with paint corrected what in the eyes of the patron must have been a very significant mistake.
4. Cf. various guesses about the origin and social status indicated by such a type of small beard (Ermolenko and Kurmankulov 2012).
5. One notes that the type of face (fleshy and round) of this figure of a «common man" differs from the elongated faces of aristocrats, just as the less important grooms depicted in the murals are distinguished by their facial types.
6. On two figurines there is one such strap on each side (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 60, 86); on three of them, two to a side (Ibid., pp. 57, 58, 126); and in one instance in addition there are two small straps which apparently hang down in back (Ibid., p. 61).
7. The only terracotta standard-bearer which by mistake was not included in the complete catalog (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 57–127), this is the one with the belt richest in accessories. An image was provided to me by Kharjaubai Sartkojauly.

8. The tamga-sign has a precise analogy only in the same central areas of Mongolia—in the early Turkic sanctuary at Bichigt Ulaan Khad (cf.: Samashev et al. 2010, Fig. on pp. 71, 149). It has no close analogues either among the tamgas of the Eastern Turk ruling clan or in general among their most politically active clans.

9. Among the no fewer than 40 gold coins, not all of them included in the catalog (Ochir et al. 2013, pp. 183-96), are no fewer than 15 Byzantine ones and their imitations. Unfortu-

nately, some time elapsed before these coins made their way to the other end of Eurasia, where for the most part they were used as medallions and costume decorations. Iurii E. Goncharov has identified three of them: a bracteate imitation of a solidus of Tiberius II Constantinus (?) (578–582); and solidi of Phokas (602–610) and Heraclius (the type produced in 616–625) (Ochir et al. 2013, pl. 54-56) [respectively, Fig. 6.8,7,6].

— *Translated by Daniel C. Waugh*